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DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING IN BASQUE:
GRAMMATICALIZATION, ATTITUDES AND IDEOLOGICAL
REPRESENTATIONS

BY

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DISSERTATION

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Abstract

Differential Object Marking (DOM), a typologically common phenomenon, has enjoyed abundant scholarly interest insomuch as theoretical explanations of its key parameters (Aissen, 2003; Malchukov and Swart, 2008; Hoop and Swart, 2007), language-specific constraints (Leonetti, 2004; Seifart 2012; Sinnemaki, 2014) and synchronic and diachronic accounts in various languages (von Heusinger and Kaiser, 2005, 2007; Morimoto and Swart, 2004; Robertson, 2007). However, less attention has been paid to the role that language contact plays in the emergence of DOM or the processes that lead to its variable use in contact settings. Basque DOM has recently been characterized as the product of intense contact with Basque-Spanish *leísmo* (Austin, 2006), but its variable use and the role that attitudes play in its use remain understudied.

The Basque-Spanish contact situation presents an ideal site to tests these contact-effects for two reasons: (1) the long-standing contact between Basque-Spanish will allow us to test possible grammatical restructuring of Basque DOM under the influence of Spanish *leísmo* and (2) the abundant increase of L2 learners in the Basque Autonomous Community in Spain that results from its relatively recent revitalization process will allow us test more recent contact- effects. It suffices to remark that in language contact situations where strong connections between language and identity are the result of political and ethnic-status disparities, social meanings of different features, languages and its users are intensified, especially those pertaining to language contact (Jaffe, 1999; Azurmendi, et. al., 2008; Montaruli et. al., 2011; Edwards, 2009; Ortega et. al., 2015).

With this in mind, the objectives of the present dissertation are two-fold: first, it seeks to study the patterns of use of Basque Differential Object Marking (DOM) in different bilinguals in order to understand the processes of Basque DOM as a contact feature with Spanish *leísmo*. Second, it seeks to understand how ideological representations of contact-phenomena (such as DOM) affect the way different bilinguals use it, shape social identity, and how this social categorization or grouping can affect the use of Basque at a larger scale.

Data comes from 84 Basque-Spanish bilinguals (target group) and 15 Basque-French bilinguals (control group) who participated in four experimental tasks used in second language acquisition and sociolinguistics and informed by variationist approaches to contact linguistics that tap into oral production and covert and overt attitudes: (a) elicited production task, (b) sociolinguistic interviews (c) matched-guise experiment and (d) debriefing interview. Speakers were stratified according to BILINGUAL GROUP; Basque-Spanish bilinguals come from the semi-urban area of Gernika and the Greater Bilbao Area (Gernika, Bilbao and Baiona) and Basque-French bilinguals come from the largest city in French speaking Basque Country, Baiona and its surroundings. Speakers were further stratified according to BILINGUAL TYPE (native bilinguals, early sequential bilinguals and L2 Basque speakers). The dissertation presents a number of detailed descriptive and inferential statistics (mixed-effects models, ANOVAs and correlations) using the statistical software *R* (Bates, Maechler, Bolker and Walker, 2015) to present oral and perceptual results.

Results from these statistical analyses provide support for the view that Basque DOM is the result of contact with Basque-Spanish *leísmo*. A comparison of the linguistic constraints affecting the patterns of use among bilingual groups provides support towards the claim that the mechanisms behind their use are different. More specifically, it is proposed that Basque DOM in L2 intermediate speech is an example of direct transfer or polysemy copying, whereas native bilinguals result in a complex process of *replica grammaticalization* (Heine & Kuteva, 2010). The low use among L2 speakers is explained through the attitudinal results in the MGE; Basque DOM is considered ‘defective’ and ‘non-authentic’ in Standard Basque, the variety of L2 speakers. It is proposed that L2 speakers do not use Basque so that their ‘authenticity’ as Basques is not fully questioned.

The present dissertation builds upon theoretical and methodological implications: first, it argues that a multi-disciplinary study of contact-phenomena advances our theory on the interplay of language as ‘human faculty’ and ‘social competence’ in which bilinguals engage in a linguistic task that involve learning mechanisms and the ability to implement societal norms (Matras, 2010). Second, it advocates for the formal study of language attitudes as an integrated part of a theory of contact-linguistics.

Para aitite Jose Luis y amuma Anita

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: Introduction	1
1.1. Contact linguistics	3
1.2. Basque in contact with Romance languages	20
1.3. Outline of the dissertation	36
 CHAPTER 2: Differential Object Marking	 38
2.1. Introduction	38
2.2. Cross-linguistic variation of DOM	40
2.3. DOM in French	44
2.4. DOM in Spanish	47
2.5. Basque-Spanish DOM (<i>a</i> -marking, <i>leísmo</i> and clitic-doubling)	68
2.6. DOM in Basque	77
 CHAPTER 3: Methodology.....	 94
3.1. Social factors	94
3.2. Test instruments and sampling procedures	102
3.3. Production data	106
3.4. Perception data	117
3.5. Procedures	123
 CHAPTER 4: Production Results	 125
4.1. French: Production of 3 rd person object pronouns	125
4.2. Basque-Spanish: Production of 3 rd person object pronouns.....	132
4.3. DOM in Basque	144
4.4. Discussion	186
 CHAPTER 5: Perception Results	 197
5.1. Elicited Production Task in Basque	197
5.2. Covert attitudes towards Basque DOM	201

5.3. Overt attitudes towards Basque DOM	216
5.4. Discussion	230
CHAPTER 6: Discussion and Conclusions	237
6.1. Basque DOM: replica grammaticalization and polysemy-copying	237
6.2. Can syntax be borrowed?	243
6.3. The role of attitudes in Basque DOM as a contact-induced phenomenon.....	246
6.4. The use of Basque remains low due to ‘linguistic insecurities’	249
6.5. Contributions, limitations and future directions.....	250
REFERENCES	256
APPENDIX A - Language Background Questionnaire	298
APPENDIX B - Proficiency Test.....	301
APPENDIX C - Elicited Production Tasks	305
APPENDIX D - Matched-Guise Task	311
APPENDIX E - Matched-Guise Questionnaire	315
APPENDIX F - Post-Matched Guise interview questions	318

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In the literature on contact linguistics, numerous studies have investigated the influence of one language onto another, by providing thorough descriptive analyses of the outcomes that are a product of contact-induced influences (Thomason and Kaufmann, 1988; Thomason, 2001; Aikhenvald, 2002; Seifart, 2012), but relatively little research has been conducted on the *process* by which syntactic features are integrated into the minority language in linguistic scenarios of intense contact (Heine and Kuteva, 2010). Based on studies that characterize Basque *Differential Object Marking* (DOM, henceforth) as the product of intense contact with Spanish DOM (Austin, 2006; Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2013), the present dissertation, adopting a functionalist and usage-based perspective to language, explores the patterns of use of Basque DOM in the speech of different types of Basque-Spanish bilinguals in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC, henceforth), Spain.

The Basque Autonomous Community in Spain experienced a dramatic change with respect to bilingualism and the demographics of Basque speakers. After the death of the Spanish dictator Franco in 1975, a new standardized variety of Basque (*Euskara Batua* ‘Unified Basque’) became co-official with Spanish and it was implemented in the schools (Amorrortu, 2000, 2003; Hualde & Zuazo, 2007). Many of these L2 speakers were monolingual speakers of Spanish who emigrated in the 60s due to strong industrial opportunities in the Basque Country. The rapid increase of new speakers of Basque has led to a more stable form of bilingualism in which Basque is used in functions that were restricted to Spanish, making the Basque-Spanish contact scenario an ideal testing site to examine processes of contact-induced phenomena, especially considering that 40 years (almost two generations) have passed since Franco's death.

The abundant increase of L2 learners in the (BAC) in Spain is thought to be a result of its successful revitalization (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2013; Azkarate, 2012), although

language-promotion efforts are also regarded as ‘not so successful’ (Maia, 2012) due to the unguaranteed systematic use of the language. Social changes of this character can not only influence certain linguistic features in the minority language, but they can also affect how these linguistic features are perceived and used by the speakers. In language contact situations where strong connections between language and identity are the result of political and ethnic struggles, social meanings of different features, languages and its users can be intensified (Urla, 1987; Jaffe, 1999; Azurmendi, et. al., 2008; Montaruli et. al., 2011; Edwards, 2009), and have important implications for the survival of the feature or the minority language itself. In the case of the Basque Country, Basque DOM is considered an *erderakada* (‘polluted Basque’, Alberdi, 2010), although it is also related to an ‘authentic Basque’ identity (Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2013). The study of language attitudes and ideologies of contact-induced phenomena have scarcely been studied as an integrated part of contact linguistics, and it still remains to be explored on how ideological representations of a possible contact feature can affect its use. Therefore, the present dissertation also explores the perceptions of Basque DOM by adding another level of analysis to the study of contact linguistics.

By studying the use and perception of Basque DOM, this dissertation seeks to complete two major goals within the field of contact linguistics that incorporates methodologies from the fields of quantitative sociolinguistics, language acquisition and linguistic anthropology: first, it seeks to study the patterns of use of Basque DOM in different bilinguals in order to understand the processes of Basque DOM as a contact feature with Spanish. Second, it seeks to understand how ideological representations of contact-phenomena (such as DOM) affect the way different bilinguals use it, shape social identity, and how social categorization or grouping can affect the use of Basque at a larger scale.

In order to uncover the complexity of this contact phenomenon in BAC, the dissertation is built upon interdisciplinary perspectives that contribute to several subfields of linguistics: (a) in contact linguistics, it helps to understand the intertwined relationship between language-internal and language-external factors that contribute to the processes by which features of another language enter and adapt in a minority language especially

when it comes to *grammaticalization*, (b) in second language acquisition studies, it explores how different bilinguals use different learning mechanisms in producing contact phenomena, (c) in anthropological linguistics, it helps to understand how social meanings (such as ‘bad’ Basque) are ideologically charged and connect specific linguistic phenomena to attitudes and complex identities towards members of the community that uses them. In sum, the influence of Spanish in Basque is the *focus* of my research, which, studied as a product of language learning mechanisms combined with social meanings, speaks to the bilingual community that is in constant query of new ways of ‘being’.

In what follows, the present chapter explores current theories of contact phenomena (1.1.) both from variationist sociolinguistics perspectives (1.1.1.), acquisition perspectives (1.1.2.) and current approaches on language attitudes (1.1.3.). Finally, it provides an in-depth view of the socio-political history of the Basque Country in order to understand the linguistic diversity of the Basque Country as well as present the linguistic ideologies pertaining to such diversity (1.2.).

1.1 Contact linguistics

The present dissertation analyzes the variation behind the patterns of use of Basque DOM among different bilinguals, in order to understand Basque DOM as a contact feature from Spanish *leísmo*. To this aim, this dissertation follows models of language contact (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988, 2001) and incorporates variationist methodologies for the study of contact-induced change (Meyerhoff, 2009; Poplack and Levey, 2010) in combination with usage-based approaches to language acquisition (Tomasello, 2003, 2008). Finally, it incorporates models of language ideologies (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005) into the discussion of the language contact phenomena, in order to understand the role that linguistic ideologies and language attitudes have behind the patterns of use of Basque DOM. This approach to language contact brings together the principal components of an explanatory and unified framework that Weinreich clearly voiced in the early emergence of the field, that the study of contact phenomena requires to implement “purely structural considerations (...) psychological reasons (...) and socio-cultural factors” (1953: 44).

The need to integrate the latter two factors into a unified framework came from the pledge that was given to the strictly endogenous (or internal) accounts of language change in historical linguistics, especially those who claimed that language change was principally explicable in terms of the linguistic laws and universal tendencies (Müller, 1875; Sapir, 1921; Lass, 1997) whereby external factors were considered an exception to the rule.

Against this advocacy, and inspired by Schuchardt (1884), Weinreich's rationale was that it was nearly impossible to find a language in complete isolation, serving as a stem for the foundation of its modern theoretical framework of contact linguistics proposed in Thomason and Kaufman (1988). More specifically, the typological hierarchy was created as a framework that covers all language-contact situations, showing a three-way split: contact-induced language change, extreme language mixing (pidgin, creoles and mixed languages), and routes to language death. The one that pertains to the present study is such of contact-induced change whereby two unrelated languages (Basque and Spanish) have been in long-standing contact throughout their historicity. Within the contact-induced language change typology, their model presented a hierarchy in which linguistic factors (*universal markedness*, *feature integration* and *typological distance*) and social factors (*intensity of contact*, *'imperfect' learning mechanisms* and *speakers' attitudes*) are not mutually exclusive, but work as an interplay allowing multiple causation.

This model has been the landmark that served to systematically describe contact-induced phenomena from a wide-array of perspectives such as typology and historical linguistics (Aikhenvald, 2002; Heine & Kuteva, 2005, 2006; Noonan 2010), generativist approaches (Cornips & Corrigan, 2005; Corrigan, 2010), pidgin and creoles (Myusken, 1997; Bakker & Papen, 1997; Windford, 2003, 2005), and sociolinguistics (Meyerhoff, 2009; Poplack et al., 2012), just to name a few. An important line of research within contact linguistics was subsequently adopted, whereby specific linguistic outcomes were correlated to different contact scenarios (Nichols, 1992; Aikhenvald, 2003; Trudgill, 2011), also known as the 'scenario model' (Myusken, 2010). Thus, Trudgill (2011)

suggests that *simplification* is specific of adult learning contact situations whereas *complexification* is typical of long-standing contact involving child-bilingualism, as supported in numerous studies (Seifart, 2012; Clackson & Horrocks, 2007). Similarly, studies in second language acquisition (Sorace, 2006; Sorace, 2011) and heritage language learning (Montrul 2004, 2008) have proposed that language contact leads to simplification because “bilinguals are less efficient than monolinguals in the integration of multiple sources of information” (Sorace 2011: 14). On the contrary, sociolinguistic and bilingualism approaches to language acquisition have proposed that heritage speakers and adult L2 bilinguals may also lead to language complexification (Shin, 2014; Rodríguez-Ordóñez and Sainzmaza-Lecanda, 2016). The difference between this conundrum possibly lies in the fact that the mechanisms or processes of contact-phenomena remain understudied.

Acknowledging this caveat, the present dissertation focuses on explaining the different processes behind Basque DOM as a contact feature following methods in variationist sociolinguistics, current issues in contact linguistics and acquisition as well as models in language ideologies. These are explained in turn.

1.1.1. Contact-induced language change (variationist approaches)

Despite past long-standing debates in the literature, it is now generally established that one of the most prominent outcomes of language contact is *change* (Appel and Muysken, 1987; Harris and Campbell, 1995; Thomason, 2007; Poplack et al., 2010). Language variation is the tenet of change in the sense that change cannot occur without variation, but not all variation may lead to change. This is one of principles that were proposed for a theory of language change by Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968) that served as the foundations of the Labovian variationist framework. The goal of this framework is to seek the linguistic and social explanations for the heterogeneous language use by “describing orderly differentiation in language” (Weinreich et al., 1968: 101) that correlate with particular social properties. Variation is referred to as “normal heterogeneity” (Labov, 1982: 17), which highlights that variation is inherent to language. A way to operationalize the study of variation comes from Labov’s notion of *linguistic*

variable (Labov, 1963, 1966) which refers to the linguistic entity that comprises a set of variants in which speakers alternate according to social, stylistic and/or linguistic parameters. The “orderly” nature of this variation suggests that language variation is not random, but highly structured, conditioned and constrained by linguistic environment, function, topic, style, situation, and other socio-demographic characteristics (Sankoff, 1988).

The intrinsic nature of variability in language is the precursor for a possible change to occur, leading to the truism that language is also in constant change. However, it is also important to recall that language change, as it is driven by social forces, including contact, is not predictable, but probable (Milroy and Milroy, 1992; Thomason, 2001; Hickey, 2012). This is because certain variants of the same variable may persist for centuries, or albeit its rarity, may spread in a matter of a generation, whereas other variants may not ‘catch on’ and die out. As such, Weinreich, Labov and Herzog’s (1968) ‘evolutionary approach’ to language change, further developed in Croft (2000) explains its gradual process in three different phases comes in handy. The first phase refers to *innovation*, in which a linguistic feature emerges within a single individual (or a group of speakers). The second phase refers to *selection* and *propagation* (or diffusion in Poplack and Levey, 2010), whereby the innovative linguistic feature is adopted by the wider community. Finally, the third phase, referred to it as *fixation*, is when the change has reached its completion and it is no longer in competition with its innovative variant. Within variationist sociolinguistics, studies have shown that much of first appearance of innovative features do not spread to the wider community (Poplack, 2012), suggesting that “in the absence of diffusion, change cannot be confirmed” (Poplack and Levey, 2010: 396; Labov, 1994:310-311). Such argument is also voiced by Milroy who argues that “...an innovation in an individual speaker’s output is not a linguistic change until it has been agreed on and adopted by some community of speakers” (Milroy, 1992: 221). This definition of change contrasts with trends in the generativist framework. This is because within generativist tradition innovation and change are often times used interchangeably, especially when it comes to first language acquisition (Lightfoot, 2002). Such differences correlate with whether variation is studied at a social level (variationist

sociolinguistics) or individual level (case-studies in first language acquisition), and whether language change is understood as a social phenomenon or as an individual phenomenon. In this dissertation, we understand language variation as a precursor of language change at the social level.

The study of language variation and change, understood as “orderly differentiation in language” has been attributed to certain social factors as possible determinants of the variation and instigators of such change. For instance, studying *age* from an *apparent time construct*, that is, comparing different age or generational groups, will show that if a curvilinear trend prevails, a possible change is probably at stake (Bailey, 2004; Chambers, 2004: 355-364; Bailey, Wickle, Tillery, & Sand, 1991). In terms of *gender*, the premise that females “women deviate less than men from linguistic norms when the deviations are overtly proscribed, but more than men when the deviations are not proscribed” (Labov, 2001: 367) is widely accepted now after almost sixty years of sociolinguistic research (Trudgill 2002; Chambers, 2004; Tagliamonte, 2012). Finally, the socio-economic status of the speakers has been widely studied showing that the lower class speakers may change their speech for mobility purposes or speakers in the middle class, those with most mobility, tend to lead change by diffusing innovations that those of its counterpart upper classes may have innovated (Labov, 1966, 1972; Trudgill, 1974; Sankoff et al., 2001).

Leaving aside other social correlates, (social networks, social stability, ethnicity, etc.), it is fair to claim that the role that contact plays in such changes is less understood vastly because it is not so clear what constitutes contact-induced change and models in establishing contact have only advanced in the last decades.

1.1.1.1 Establishing contact

Much sociolinguistic research on language contact change has followed the Labovian framework to establish whether a linguistic variable has changed due to contact forces. The first requirement to determine contact, according to Poplack and Levey

(2010), is to determine that a linguistic change has occurred using an adequate reference point. Because change shows a difference in space and time, determining a reference point (be diachronic, be synchronic) is of uttermost importance so that a systematic comparison with a precursor can be performed (Winford, 2003; Poplack and Levey, 2010). In situations of contact, such reference point or precursor is a pre-contact variety consolidating the definition of contact-induced change as follows:

“A candidate for contact-induced change in a contact variety is present in the presumed source variety and either 1) absent in the pre-contact or non-contact variety, or 2) if present (e.g., through interlingual coincidence), is not conditioned in the same way as in the source, *and* 3) can also be shown to parallel in some non-trivial way the behavior of a counterpart feature in the source [language]” (Poplack and Levey, 2010: 398).

Such technique has proven fruitful for establishing contact in migrant situations such as Spanish in the US (Otheguy et al., 2007), French-English contact in Canada (Martineau and Mougeon, 2003) or languages with long-standing corpora that date back to several centuries (Ayres-Bennett, 2000; Gordon et al., 2004; Poplack and St-Anand, 2007; King et al., 2011). However, many contact situations do not enjoy such privilege as reminded by Thomason “in many, possibly even most contact situations around the world we cannot at present satisfy [such] requirement” (Thomason 2001: 94), suggesting that other methods are much warranted. The systematic use of a linguistic phenomenon in terms of its frequency and distribution across different regions or between different types of bilinguals in both languages are possibly the most productive and effective methods.

A 4-step methodological model for determining the likelihood that the emergence of an innovation is due to contact is outlined by Mougeon, Nadasdi and Rehner (2005). They distinguish between two types of transfer-induced innovations, namely *overt-induced*, in which a qualitative difference is perceived in the replica language; and *covert-induced*, a type of transfer that only shows quantitative differences, that is, the increase of a linguistic feature at the expense of its alternative competitor. In order to determine contact in either of these two types, the first step requires determining that the innovative feature in the replica language has an equivalent in the source language. One

example that their study presents is the innovative Canadian French *être peur* ‘to be afraid’ at the expense of the canonical French variant *avoir peur*. Because English, the language which Canadian French is in contact with, also expresses the notion of “being afraid” with copula *be*, it is successfully established that the innovative *être peur* could be influenced by its English counterpart. Second, it is necessary to consider whether the innovative feature could be attributed to solely internal motives, such as generalizations or other patterns of analogical regularization. If such is the case, it will weaken the argument that a particular feature is indeed induced by contact. Such step is not compatible with models of contact-induced grammaticalization (Heine & Kuteva, 2005, 2006), who argue that contact-induced change involves a complex process in which both internal factors (including reanalysis) and social factors interact with each other. In their third step Mougeon et al. (2005) suggest that a systematic comparison with another variety of the replica language, which is not in contact with the source language or any other language, is warranted. This makes reference to Poplack’s pre-contact variety, but also to modern varieties that are not in contact with the presumed source or in no contact at all. The last step, the most deterministic of all steps, coincides with Poplack and Levy’s (2010) criterion in “carefully examining the distribution of the innovation within the speech community” (Mougeon et al, 2005: 103) pertaining to relevant social factors such as degree of contact or bilingualism. The positive correlation between the distribution of the innovative features along with the source and different to non-contact varieties will provide ample support for a case of contact-induced change.

1.1.1.2 Contact mechanisms: product versus process

An important goal in contact linguistics is to describe the *kinds of innovations*, at any linguistic level (Aikhenvald, 2002; Silva-Corvalán, 2008; Meyerhoff, 2009; Hickey, 2010) that can be found in contact scenarios. Importantly, it also seeks to understand the mechanisms behind such innovations (Thomason, 2001; Matras, 2010; Heine & Kuteva, 2005, 2006; Poplack & Levey, 2010; Poplack, Zentz & Dion, 2012; Seifart, 2012). Taking Basque DOM as an example, two very different proposals have been put forward as to what kind of innovation it may be: on the one hand, Alberdi (2010) describes it as a

syntactic calque. On the other hand, Austin (2006) argues that it is an example of convergence with Spanish *leísmo*. The difference between these two proposals is largely because they are describing Basque DOM either as an outcome or as a process, which belong to two different aspects of contact-induced phenomena (Heine and Kuteva, 2010).

Although no explicit definition of contact-induced product or process is provided, *product* can be tentatively operationalized as the stabilization of final outcome of a linguistic structure (at any linguistic level) that has been produced due to contact. *Process* can be understood as the interlocking alterations between linguistic, psychological and socio-cultural factors that come into play in the organization and production of contact-induced linguistic outcomes. In the most simplistic terms, it can be said that the notion of product responds to *what* language contact can do, whereas process is more about *how* contact has lead to such product.

One of the most studied contact-induced linguistic phenomena is linguistic *convergence*, which refers to “the achievement of structural similarity in a given aspect of the grammar of two or more languages, assumed to be different at the onset of contact” (Silva-Corvalán, 1990: 164). The notion of time to make a case of convergence has been given special attention, as many attested examples of convergence have been the result of long-standing contact between languages (Thomason, 2001; Aikhenvald, 2002; Aikhenvald and Dixon, 2006; Law, 2014). Due to the importance of ‘contact time’ to make a case of language convergence, this linguistic phenomenon has been studied either as a product (Austin, 2006) or as a process (Thomason, 2001; Hinskens, et. al., 2005). For instance, Silva-Corvalan’s (1990) definition of convergence refers to ‘an achievement’, which makes reference to the *stabilization* of two grammatical systems at a given time in point. Others such as Thomason (2001) highlight the progressiveness of the phenomenon, as a pattern of use (Matras, 2010: 68) defined as “process through which two or more languages in contact become more like each other” (Thomason, 2001: 89), in which short-term accommodation could also been regarded as linguistic convergence (Hinskens, et. al., 2005).

Although less scholarly attention has been given to the processes of contact-induced phenomena, one of the most prominent reported processes within the morpho-syntactic domain is contact-induced grammaticalization or grammatical replication. Theories of grammaticalization first emerged at the expense of explaining linguistic changes as endogenous, that is, solely internal to the language (Flippula, 2003), suggesting that grammaticalization and contact are mutually exclusive (Meillet, 1921). However, recent models of grammaticalization have shown that universal conceptualizations of language and language contact complement each other explaining the processes behind contact-induced phenomena. Such model of contact-induced grammaticalization was proposed by Heine and Kuteva (2005, 2010) based on ample examples evidenced on different contact situations (Haase, 1992; Harris and Campbell, 1995; Dahl, 2000; Stolz and Stolz, 2001; Aikhenvald, 2002). Thus, contact-induced grammaticalization or replica grammaticalization refers to the “process whereby speakers create a new grammatical meaning or structure in [the replica language] on the model of [the model language] by using the linguistic resources available in [the replica language]” (Heine and Kuteva, 2010: 86). Similar to ordinary grammaticalization, replica grammaticalization follows constraints such as unidirectionality and a step-by-step sequence (Bybee et al. 1994; Hopper & Traugott 2003), meaning that in order for a feature to ‘move on’ to the next stage, it has to pass by the previous stage and once that stage is fully grammaticalized, it cannot take a reverse direction. The difference between ordinary grammaticalization and replica grammaticalization has to do in the mechanisms by which the new use pattern is created: in ordinary grammaticalization, speakers may create a new category using universal principles of grammaticalization whereas in replica grammaticalization, speakers may acquire such new pattern by replicating by drawing material they observe from the model language (Heine and Kuteva, 2005, 2010: 89-90). It is important to recall that in replica grammaticalization, speakers may or may not replicate the entire system of the feature at hand (i.e. definite vs. indefinite articles), which may suggest that the totality or partiality of the replicated feature is contingent upon linguistic and social factors.

1.1.1.3 Linguistic and social factors

With the assumption that language change cannot be predicted but described as trends, both contact linguistics and variationist sociolinguistics claim that language variation is the result of interplay between linguistic, psychological and socio-cultural factors. Several linguistic and social factors have been determined to be the tenets for a reliable account of contact-phenomena (Labov, 1994, 2001; Thomason, 2001; Winford, 2003; Poplak and Levey, 2010; Trudgill, 2011).

In terms of linguistic factors, the three linguistic factors that Thomason (2001) outlines are of important relevance. The factor *typological distance* between the languages in contact makes the prediction that typologically related languages would show higher likelihood to borrow material from each other (Dewaele, 1998; Thomason, and Kaufman, 1988; De Angelis and Selinker, 2001; Winford, 2005). Although there are not known cases in which the entire paradigm of pronominal forms or verbal inflection forms have been strictly borrowed from one language onto another (Aikhenvald, 2007: 19), there are cases of strong borrowing in contact situations of typologically distinct languages. For instance, Aikhenvald (2002, 2006) showed Tariana, and Arawakan language spoken in the Vaupés región of the Amazon, has inherited the non-subject case marking through East Tucanoan languages through ‘indirect diffusion’ (Aikhenvald, 2002: 59).

Others have advocated that structural overlap facilitates borrowing. For instance, Field (2002: 42) argues that “borrowability (...) is constrained by the morphological structuring of the languages in contact”. This claim alludes to Thomason’s notion of *markedness* and *feature integration*. The prediction is that in situations of language shift, marked features or features that are embedded into interlocking structures (i.e. inflectional morphology, case-marking), especially in the morphology-syntax interface are less likely to be transferred, because they are harder to learn, whereas syntactic overlap of features (i.e. common syntactic categories) (even in typologically unrelated languages) work as a predisposition for contact-induced change (Loebell and Bock,

2003). This suggests that those structures that are more closely related are more likely to change through contact. More recently, Babel and Pfänder (2014), inspired by Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) have argued that it is not the predetermined similarities between grammatical categories that facilitates congruence between languages, but the similarities or differences that the speakers *perceive*. This argument is consistent with Thomason's claim that linguistic factors are important in determining contact-induced change, but less so than what the social factors can contribute to such change (Thomason, 2001: 77; 2016).

With respect to social factors, *intensity of contact*, has been considered the most important predictor of language contact influence predicting that the stronger the intensity of contact the more likely structural aspects will be borrowed. The notion of *intensity* has not been formally operationalized, but it can be parametrizable first, in terms of the *social pressure* exerted by a majority language onto a minority one, which predicts that groups that experience more social pressure may borrow more material from the language that represents that social pressure. Second, *length of contact* is also important which predicts that longer duration may lead to widespread bilingualism and therefore, higher chances of structural borrowing. Third, *population size*, is also an important parameter, which may predict that the smaller group is more likely to borrow linguistic material from the larger group. Fourth, the role of *imperfect learning* has shown to make important predictions alleged to the type of linguistic transfer at hand. For instance, when imperfect learning plays a role in the contact-process also known as *substratum interference*, the linguistic structures more vulnerably seem to be syntax (and its interfaces) and phonology whereas in cases of stable bilingualism borrowing may start from basic words to structural elements depending on the intensity of contact. Finally, *speakers' attitudes* have been attributed to contribute to exceptions of previous tendencies (Thomason, 2001) as vocalized: "individual attitudes toward (...) each of the languages *could* also affect the direction of change" (Poplack and Levey, 2010: 399).

Acknowledging these factors, the present dissertation adds *bilingual type* as a crucial factor in proving a rich methodology to help uncover 'what' is it that constitutes

contact-induced phenomena. The factor of ‘bilingual type’ is particularly important for the case of the Basque-Spanish contact situation. This is because the emergence of a relatively new and large L2 population in the Basque Autonomous Community can provide fruitful information in determining their learning mechanisms as well as feature integration as contact features. Social changes of this character not only can influence certain linguistic features in the minority language, but they can also affect how these linguistic features are perceived and used by the speakers. In order to understand how perceptions towards contact features play a role in their use, the present dissertation incorporates the study of linguistic attitudes into the discussion of the language contact phenomena, as aspect that has been lesser studied as an integrated part of a theory in contact-linguistics.

1.1.2 Contact linguistics in acquisition

Variationist sociolinguistics have mainly been concerned with studying the inherent nature of linguistic variation according to certain demographic characteristics (age, gender, social status, education, etc.), but the role that different bilinguals have in shaping linguistic variation has been given less scholarly attention. Within contact studies, such as Spanish in the US, or other heritage speakers in contact with English, “type of bilingual” has mainly been operationalized in terms of generation (first, second and third generation), whose variable use of language was targeted using variationist sociolinguistic frameworks. The acquisition processes of contact-populations have been mainly studied within frameworks in language acquisition, with the goal to understand the differences between heritage languages acquisition and L2 acquisition. As such, the grammatical competence of these type of bilinguals have been studied by paying attention to the role of input, age of acquisition, and age of arrival and have shown that interfaces with syntax (inflectional morphology, pragmatics, semantics) are more vulnerable to be acquired (Sorace, 2004, 2011, 2012; Montrul, 2010) or more susceptible to change (Bybee, 2005).

In an attempt to bridge both lines of linguistic inquiries, the present dissertation focuses its attention on the variable production of Basque Differential Object marking

found in different Basque-Spanish bilinguals, including simultaneous bilinguals, early sequential bilinguals, and second language speakers of Basque. For that, I follow a communication-based approach to language variation, one in which language is not only seen as a ‘human faculty’ but also as a social activity and goal-driven communication (Matras 2009: 3). In this view, the bilingual (or multilingual) speaker is regarded as an actor who uses a wide range of repertoires (grammatical constructions, features, word-formation, code-mixing) in order to achieve communicative goals. Furthermore, language is also seen as ‘triggers of mental processing tasks’ that involves the hearer within a framework of communication. This means that if a successful communication goal is there to be achieved, the speaker may accommodate his or her speech in order to facilitate meaningful processing tasks for the hearer. Under this approach, language (and contact-induced phenomena) is regarded as interplay of cognitive processing mechanisms and the ability to implement societal norms, repertoires that speakers have at their disposal (either in an unconscious or in a conscious manner) in order for the speaker to carry out a ‘linguistic task schema’ (Matras, 2010: 66). This task comes in the form of communication as part of a set of ‘choices’ from ‘a repertoire of social activities’ (Hymes, 1974), that are learned (and forgotten) through the linguistic biographies or experiences of the speakers (Bloomaert and Backus, 2013), and a grammar that consists of formal rules (constraints) applied to constructions (Goldberg, 1995; Croft, 2000). An interplay of these factors give rise to innovative constructions that speakers create with the aim to exploit new meanings that may lead to a variable use of their grammatical system or to grammatical change (Hopper & Traugott, 2003; Heine & Kuteva, 2006).

This line of research is in accordance with usage-based theories of language acquisition (Tomasello, 2003), which make the fundamental claim that language structure emerges from language use (Bybee, 1985, 2001, 2006; Langacker, 2000; Tomasello, 2008). Usage-based approaches within language acquisition studies were first introduced in first language to explain development during childhood, suggesting that grammatical competence develops based on intention-reading and pattern-finding strategies. Intention-reading refers to the socio-pragmatic skill development or the strategy by which children may employ to capture the intention of mature speakers while using linguistic

phenomena. Pattern-finding on the other hand, is the next strategy that allows children to create abstract linguistic schemas that lead them to linguistic distributional analysis.

These claims have followed in second language acquisition as well, suggesting that L2 speakers develop their linguistic structures based on input frequency, form saliency or markedness, and function redundancy (Ellis, 2013). The main difference between typical child L1 acquisition and adult L2 acquisition is that the latter involves in processes of construction and reconstruction from their L1 (Ellis, 2013) but both share the concept of grammar knowledge as an “‘automatized behavior’ whose resulting cognitive mechanisms are abstractions over one’s cumulative experience with language” (Bybee, 2008: 218). The *reconstruction* aspect of L2 grammar comes from the challenge that adult speakers have in their “lack of plasticity they require to set up native-like neuromotor routines for the new language” (Bybee, 2008: 233) as well as potential processing reducing costs in their ability to reach communicative goals (Matras, 2009, 2010). A compromise strategy for such mechanisms may result in replication patterns (Matras, 2010), which used frequently, may grammaticalize and spread to a community resulting in contact-induced change.

The development of Differential Object Marking as a contact phenomenon is a fruitful avenue of research for understanding different learning mechanisms as well as their interaction with linguistic material. This is because as typological research has shown, DOM structures have emerged as a strategy to differentiate uncommon structures (agent subjects, which are usually animate, from animate objects) from common structures (agent subjects with inanimate objects) (Haspelmath, 2008). For languages such as Spanish, this hypothesis has been subsequently tested quantitatively (Tippets, 2011; Balasch, 2011). Within bilingualism, it is hypothesized that bilinguals, in order to achieve their communicative goals, find strategies to reduce their processing costs, following replication patterns. This approach predicts that bilinguals will have higher likelihood to develop a DOM grammar, by restructuring their linguistic knowledge, especially if their dominant language already contains such construction. The main goal of the present dissertation is not necessarily to make a case for contact-induced change,

but to make hypotheses about the processes by which Basque DOM is explained as a contact feature due to its intense contact with Spanish DOM.

Such patterns of linguistic restructuring have been reported in different situations, especially at the grammatical level (Aikhenvald, 2002; Heine and Kuteva, 2005, 2006, 2010). However, many other studies have not found evidence of replication patterns even in long-standing contact situations favorably to do so (Carvalho and Bessett, 2015). Such cases are often regarded as “exception to the rule” because often times, it has to do with the linguistic attitudes of the speakers towards the languages in contact (Thomason, 2001), providing further evidence towards the truism that contact-induced change is unpredictable. Interestingly, with the exception of the explanations of some language contact scenarios (Law, 2014) or isolated case studies (Cornips, 2014), the formal study of such attitudes have rarely been integrated as part of a study of contact linguistics in order to explain how language attitudes possibly affect processes in contact-phenomena.

1.1.3 Language attitudes and its implications

Anthropologists, sociolinguistics and social psychologists have long determined that language is an important, if not the most salient, feature of social identity (Duranti, 1997; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; Labov, 2001; Edwards, 2009). This is because attitudes towards language can determine how speakers position themselves within the wider sociopolitical structure as well as evaluate others. The definition of language attitudes largely depends on the approach one takes to the study of such science. Social psychologists mainly agree that language attitudes are composed by three interrelated components: cognitive (belief), affective (feeling) and conative (behavior) (Lambert et al., 1970). Such components may be summarized as follows: an individual may believe something, which leads him or her to react in a certain way, and it is therefore assumed to behave as such (Edwards, 1994). When it comes to language attitudes, it is important to note that sometimes behaviors and beliefs do not correlate, which urges for the study of both 'overt' and 'covert' language attitudes (Omdal, 1995: 86).

On the other hand, anthropological linguistics views language attitudes as a form of dealing with the wider socio-political structure linguistically. This approach overlaps with the cognitive component of language attitudes, which studies the individual's belief structure. Linguistically speaking, such belief structures represent linguistic *ideologies*, broadly defined as “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (Irvine 1998:52). Because ideology organizes beliefs, practices and power, it has clear consequences for the understanding of social categorization, which is referred to as *boundary distinctiveness* by Giles (1976), that is, the extent to which in-group and out-group members can be easily identified. In the case of the Basque Country, as it will be shown in the next section, the Basque language became the symbolic power to determine this *boundary distinctiveness*, and therefore the most powerful tool for an ideal national ‘authentic’ identity.

In order to understand how and why certain identities are formed, the present dissertation will be applying Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) model of *tactics of intersubjectivity*. This model proposes a combination of three tactics that refer to the relations by which identity work is created. Although this model has been mainly applied to identity work pertaining to language, it is not restricted to *linguistic identity* but can also encompass other notions of a culture. The first tactic corresponds to the notion of *markedness* and it is disentangled into two processes: *adequation* and *distinction*. *Adequation* involves achieving socially recognized *sameness*. *Distinction* refers to the process by which salient differences are created. Its performative character suggests that social difference is not established, but recreated (Bourdieu, 1991) in which certain acts become enregistered as pertaining to that specific group (Agha, 2005). Some of the strategies by which distinction can be achieved are through resistance to domination or by creating an alternative social structure. A typical example is referred by the Corsican identity within the French nation-state, in which the strong links between a Corsican identity and the Corsican language serve to recognize some sort of *sameness* within the Corsican community, are regarded as an essentialized position against by forces within the French state (Jaffe, 1999). The second tactic corresponds to the notion of

essentialism that is divided between the processes of *authentication* or *denaturalization*. This pair of tactics refers to the construction of a credible and genuine, or reversely, a non-credible or non-genuine identity. The most common processes of authentication are reported to be nationalist movements in which language becomes authenticated as the formation of a cohesive national unity. With respect to denaturalization, this process is mainly concerned with destabilizing essentialized claims that are represented by authentication. One case in point could be related to Basque, in which radical Basque youth used creative linguistic resources in their free radio broadcasting to retail against rigid linguistic norms (Urla, 2001). Finally, the third pair of tactics refers to institutional power, divided into *authorization* and *illegitimation*. This third pair of tactics involves the legitimation or conversely, the illegitimation of an identity through institutional authority. One common strategy described in the literature with respect to authorization is corpus planning, or the standardization of languages which not only serves as icons of “the correct” ways of speaking but is also central to the imposition of an homogenous national identity that is based on the speakers who once hold some authority. Often times, a consequence behind the creation of standard varieties is the stigmatization of varieties of the same language. This view is vocalized by Gal (2006:171) who states “contrary to the common sense view, standardization creates not uniformity, but more (and hierarchical) heterogeneity”. Such hierarchical heterogeneity could be referred to the illegitimation of certain varieties. An example of such illegitimation, is the vocalized by an ironic campaign that was recently launched by REA (Real Academia Española ‘Royal Academy of the Spanish Language’),¹ titled *Lengua madre solo hay una* ‘Mother tongue, there is only one’. Such campaign, targeted at the ‘overuse’ of English in the advertising world, is not only an act of illegitimizing Spanglish, but also of the speakers that use it.

The negotiation (and therefore struggle) of an ‘authentic’ identification is not only based on the language itself on *how* linguistic features pertaining to that language are used. In situations of intense contact and past and present political struggles, the role that contact-induced phenomena plays into the negotiation of ‘authentic’ Basque identity

¹ Campaign video available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JBEomboXmTw>. [Last accessed in May 21, 2016].

² Source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AEuskalkiak.svg>

³ At the lexical level, Mitxelena (1995) suggests that a significant number of loan words were taken from Medieval Latin, most of them, of religious character. Such claims are evidenced in one of the first books

cannot be ignored. This is because if a speaker chooses (deliberately or unconsciously) to use a certain linguistic feature, among a pool of feature repertoires, a specific social meaning is immediately attached to the speaker, along with its political attributes (Irvine & Gal, 2000). Focusing on the cognitive aspect of linguistic attitudes, which assumes linguistic attitudes as the atoms of the *linguistic ideologies* that create distinctive boundary specifications, the present dissertation studies linguistic attitudes pertaining to contact-induced phenomena (such as Basque Differential Object Marking) to understand (1) the way they affect the patterns of use of Basque DOM, (2) the way their use shapes social identity, and (3) the way their use affects the vitality of recently revitalized languages (Basque).

1.2 Basque in contact with Romance languages

Basque is an isolate language ancestral to the Basque people in the Basque Country, a small region (20,664 km²) in northern Spain and southwest of France. About 720,000 people speak the language, of which 665,000 reside in the Spanish territory and 52,000 are located in the French area (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2012). Basque has been in contact with Latin and Romance languages (Spanish, French, Occitan) for over 2,000 years and still continues to co-exist with majority languages in its correspondent countries. With no common administration unity, the Basque Country, name used to refer to all 7 provinces that conform it, it is divided in three different administrative territories (figure 1.1): the provinces of Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa and Araba make up the Basque Autonomous in Spain (BAC), where Basque enjoys a co-official status with Spanish. Then follows the Autonomous Community of Navarre in Spain, where Basque has a more restricted official status. Basque is also spoken in the French provinces of Lapurdi, Low Navarre and Zuberoa (*Iparralde*), which comprises the western half of the Département des Pyrénées Atlantiques where Basque has no official status. The small numbers of Basque speakers, along with its diversified limited territory has been claimed to be (and still continues to be) decisive in the evolution of the Basque language (Zuazo, 1995: 6).

Figure 1.1. Map of the Basque Country (Hualde and Zuazo, 2007: 144).



With no known ancestral origins, Basque status as an isolate has not been an obstacle to understand that Basque has hardly ever lived in isolation, and that their current territorial diversification is much owed to the past conquests and modern migrant settlements. Although much available information exists (i.e. onomastics, archeological findings, ancient sources, substrate features in Romance), it remains a challenge to assert with certainty the long history of Basque (Gorrochategui, 1995). Although Roman inscriptions were the first to state the existence of “a type of language which was different from that of other areas around” (Zuazo, 1995:6), it is believed that Basque co-existed with other Indo-European populations (Celts and Iberians) prior to the Roman conquest (Zuazo, 1995) as well. Unlike other parts of current Spain, Romans did not occupy much of today’s Basque territory probably due to its economic and cultural underdevelopment and mountainous geography. Some enclaves of interest existed (flatter areas of the east and south – today’s Nafarroa) in which Basque and Latin coexisted for some centuries.

1.2.1 Historical and Political Overview

The decay of the Roman Empire (2nd and 3rd centuries in the Basque Country) and the resistance to Germanic tribes (8th-9th centuries) have been attributed to the strengthening process of the Basque language, evidenced by low degree of dialectal diversification during the 16th century (Michelena 1964; Lakarra, 1997; Zuazo, 2005), fact that led historians to propose the existence of some sort of unified political entity. However, there is evidence that in the centuries that followed, Basque was not the socially dominant language.

The 16th and 17th centuries were of particular historical importance to the Basque language, especially due to the replacement of Latin as a *lingua franca* by national languages during the Protestant Reformation (Igartua and Zabaltza, 2012). It is at this time that different regions in Europe began its nation-building process in defense of their respective languages in which, Spain (at the time) was no different. The dependence of the Basque people and language on Romance languages grew as a result of the expansion of Castilian Crown, (Zuazo, 1996). In 1659, after the creation of the French-Spanish border, the provinces of Araba, Gipuzkoa, Bizkaia and Nafarroa became attached to the Spanish crown. As a consequence, the use of Basque was relegated only to the oral domain in the Spanish-speaking territories (Zuazo, 2005).

In what constitutes France today, the history behind Basque was somehow different. By the 17th century, although the Basque language lost much of its territory, it enjoyed social prestige in the three territories where it is still spoken today (Lapurdi, Low Navarre and Zuberoa). The province of Lapurdi was known to have a dynamic bourgeoisie that showed relationships with several, not one, crowns (including England and France), allowing them to keep some sort of autonomy (Zuazo, 1996, 2005).

The emergence of a Basque literary tradition was marked with the first book *Linguae Vasconum Primitiae* written by Bernard Etxepare in 1545 in the French territory of Low Navarre. In this writing, Etxepare clearly verbalizes his pride in being the first

man to write a book in Basque and encouraged his fellow priests to continue his tradition. It was at this time that Joanes Leizarraga, a Protestant Minister of Lapurdi origin, was incited to publish a Basque version of the New Testament in 1571 to which others followed (Arnaut Oihenart, Pedro de Axular) at the high point of the Basque literary tradition in the 17th century. The relatively high number of books published at this time were mainly of religious nature, but there were also works were written with literary goals so that they could be understood by as many readers as possible.

The presence of Latin or Romance elements in the work of these scholars appeared abundantly, probably representing the intense contact between Basque, Latin, and the Romance languages. The dialectal diversification of the Basque dialects was already taking ground at this time (Igartua and Zabaltza, 2012), as Axular himself made a note of the possibility of not satisfying all readers due to the high linguistic variability (Hualde, 2008). Such defragmentation was only intensified in the 18th and 19th centuries in both the Spanish and French-speaking territories. After the French Revolution (1789), a report proposing French as the sole official language of the Republic was passed at the Convention of 1794 (Zuazo, 1996). In Spain, a similar decree was passed in 1716 (*Decreto de Nueva Planta*), right after the foundation of *Real Academia Española* in 1731, in favor of a centralized country with laws forbidding the use of other languages other than Spanish. The loss of the Basque language was mainly felt in most of Navarre, especially in the Pamplona area, most of Alava and the Greater Bilbao area. Although Basque was not lost in the French territories, its status of social prestige diminished significantly. It is during this time that the dialectal diversification of Basque took greater strength when, as a reaction to overcome the linguistic threat, many authors began using their own dialects in their work (Zuazo, 1995). Such diversification became well documented in the first dialectological work by Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte (1869), who, aided by numerous collaborators in the Basque Country, produced translations of mainly religious texts in dialects that had not been in written at the time. Additionally, he created the first dialectological map, in which he distinguished eight different dialects as shown in figure 1.2. Interestingly, such dialectal classification does not dramatically

differ from today's diversification (figure 1.3), despite obvious language changes in each dialect (Zuazo, 2005).

Figure 1.2. Map of the Bonaparte's dialectal diversification of Basque.

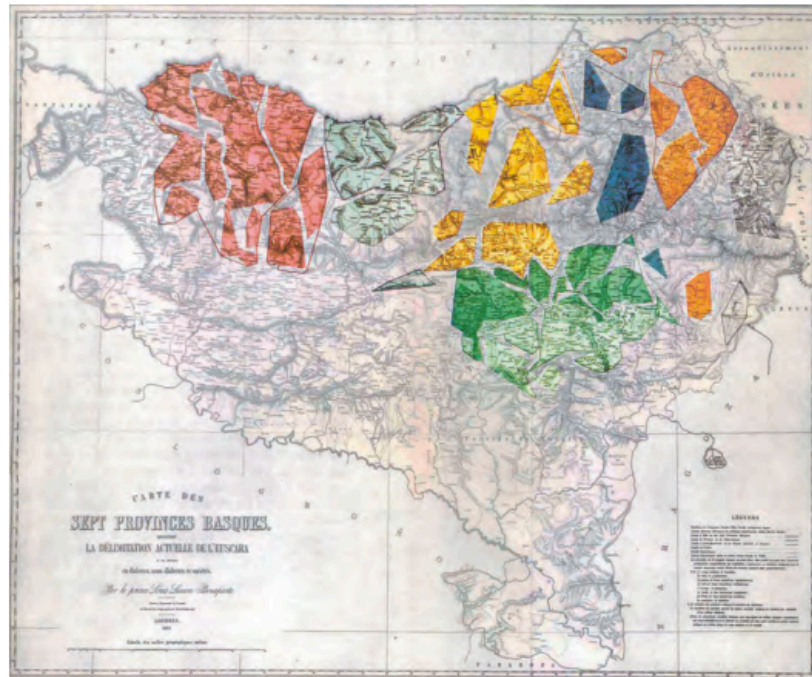
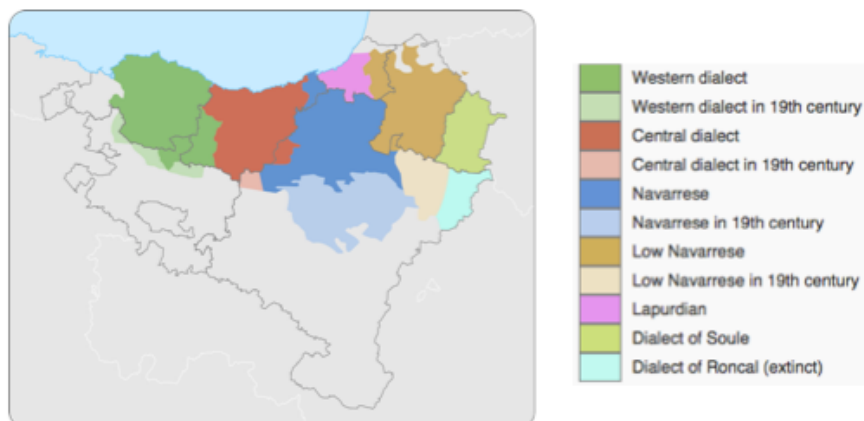


Figure 1.3. Dialect of Basque²



D

Despite the great dialectal fragmentation and subordination to the French and Spanish

² Source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AEuskalkiak.svg>

states, respectively, Basque writers never ceased writing. The rising of industrialization in the late 19th century Basque Country attracted a contingent number of Spanish monolinguals to many cities of the Spanish territory. In the Basque country, this led to a Basque literary tradition that took an extreme purist turn. Many distinguished authors (i.e. Resurrección M. de Azkue) avoided Spanish loanwords, even those rooted from Latin during the Roman times (Villasante, 1988; Hualde, 2008). Such drastic purist ideology was led by Sabino Arana-Goiti, the founder of the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV-Partido Nacionalista Vasco) and promulgator of the Basque nationalist ideology in 1895. The emergence of the nationalist movement brought important changes to the socio-political landscape of the Basque Country that fashionably determined its current contact situation. In the next sections, I elaborate on such movement, along with the Basque revitalization efforts and its consequences.

1.2.2. The Nationalism Era and Revitalization of Basque

It is generally claimed that the contact situation between Basque and other Romance languages until today has been one of diglossia: Basque, mainly used in rural areas, was associated with agriculture, illiteracy and ‘backwardness’ (Trask, 1997; Zuazo, 2005), whereas Spanish and French (in their respective regions), were the languages of ‘power’ as they were used for administrative purposes. This situation continued until the co-official status that Basque reached in 1979 within the Basque Autonomous Community of Spain. Its standardization, which positively served in promoting widespread bilingualism, echoed some of the linguistic ideologies that flourished a century earlier.

In the late 19th century, Arana’s nationalist efforts marked the development of ideologies connected to language in the region. Despite its multiple definitions (Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskrity, 1998), *linguistic ideologies* can be defined as “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (Irvine, 1998:52). These ideas became part of Sabino Arana’s political conversations in 1894. In his well known essays *Qué Somos?* (What are we?), Arana describes five fundamental elements of Basque nationhood. It

starts by giving prominence to language and race (Tejerina, 1992; Urla, 2012).³ In 1899, Sabino stated: “the Basque language is part of our nationality, bell of our unreached independence, the stamp of our race” ([author’s translation] as cited in Tejerina 1992:105-106, fn 47). The invention of the Basque nationhood in the early 20th century, like any other one, is “an expression of modern collective identity, [whose] nature is symbolic” (Díaz, 1999:2). Accordingly, Arana’s discourse established the Basque language as the symbolic powerful marker (Bourdieu, 1991) of a naturally given race, meaning that only ethnic Basques could legitimately be allowed to own the language. Thus, it can be said that Arana’s political agenda served as a tool for the reconstruction of an imaginary ‘ancient world’ in which language and race were the primordial aspects of *Basqueness*.

The decades behind Arana’s nationalist movement were governed by turmoil of political events in Spain. With Arana’s early death in 1903 came the First World War (1914-1918), Primo de Rivera’s dictatorship (1923-1930) and the second republic period of Spain (1931-1936). During this time, *Euskaltzaindia* (literally, “group of keepers of the Basque language”) or the Royal Academy of Basque was founded (1918) with the main goal of standardizing the language. Initially, the process led to a chain of controversial discussions, given the fact that there was no socially dominant Basque dialect due to the subordinate position of Basque with respect to its neighboring languages (Spanish and French). Beyond the lack of consensus among members of Euskaltzaindia, the academy suffered a period of silencing after the Spanish Civil War (1936) broke out.

During the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) the provinces of Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa, where Basque was mostly spoken, were considered ‘traitor’ provinces and maximum repressive laws were passed during the consecutive 40 years of Franco’s dictatorship. With the aim to build a totalitarian Spanish nation-state, Franco banned the propagation and celebration of any cultural diversity activity that were not aligned with Spanish nationalistic ideologies (Torrealdai, 1998, 2000). Catalans and Basques were the most affected ones, with burning of books, banning the use of Basque and Catalan in

public spheres, and the incarceration of people that did not abide to such laws. It is argued that Basque did not completely disappear because it remained spoken in the home sphere or clandestine groups. With respect to the standardization of Basque, the academy was allowed to resume its activities in 1945, thanks to some softening of the repressive measures. However, it was not until 1968 that concluded the selection of the standardization process of *Euskara Batua* ‘unified Basque’.

Koldo Mitxelena set the foundations of *Euskara Batua* (Standard Basque) whose goals were two-fold: to define a common linguistic variety for the entire Basque community and to maximize the linguistic functions of Basque. Following Haugen’s archaizing and statistical procedures, Mitxelena’s proposal were approved (Hualde and Zuazo, 2007): his proposal was to create a standard variety that had strong links to classical Lapurdian (archaizing) and incorporated the modern usage of the central area, taking into account both areas of the Spanish-French border (statistical). In the meantime, one of the biggest challenges of the Academy was to determine what constituted a Basque word. The academy established the following criteria: “those [words] that a Basque speaker would not be able to understand without knowing Spanish or French are not Basque words at all” (Euskaltzaindia, 1991: 446). Although the efforts for the standardization of Basque abandoned Arana’s view against societal bilingualism, purist ideas were not fully dissipated, evidenced by the quotation above. As such, it can be said that the academy’s language loyalism movement somehow echoed the ‘nostalgic romanticism’ (Urla, 2012:48) pertaining to language purification, not necessarily as a mechanism to maintain *distinctiveness*, but national sameness and unity.

The Standardization of Basque came about in a very strategic period of its history. Spain had undergone a rapid process of industrialization in the second half of the 20th century and this encouraged large waves of Spanish-monolinguals to settle and for work, mainly in the greater Bilbao area in Bizkaia, in the industrial towns in Gipuzkoa, and in some areas in Araba and Nafarroa. According to the Spanish National Institute of Statistics (INE), the population in the Bizkaian province doubled from around 555,000 to 1.1 million between 1950s and 1970s (Aranda-Aznar, 1998). This rapid population

growth affected the use of Basque. The effect was that the spoken varieties of the Basque language were used mainly in non-industrialized rural areas. However, a dynamic youth emerged in the industrial areas as strong followers of a new movement of language revitalization that led them to learn the language thanks to the newly formed educational system for learning Basque as a second language (Hualde and Zuazo, 2007). Such schools were the *Ikastolak* and *Euskaltegiak*, directed to teach Basque to adults, either who were new to the language or wanted to gain literacy skills in their mother tongue.

Franco's death in 1975 led to a very favourable period for the revitalization of Basque. In the following years, Spain adopted a parliamentary government under a constitutional monarchy that allowed for the creation of Autonomous Communities, guaranteeing some sort of autonomy (as established in the 1978 Constitution of Spain). The Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) was created based on the Statute of Autonomy of the Basque Country (also known as the Statute of Gernika) in 1979, allowing for Basque to become co-official with Spanish. In order to ensure linguistic rights, the *Act of Normalization of the Basque Language* (Law 10/1982) was approved in 1982, regulating the use of Basque as a medium of instruction. As consequence, different educational models were proposed. In Model A, all courses were instructed in Spanish and a mandatory Basque language and literature class was provided. In Model B, half of the courses were instructed in Basque and the other half in Spanish. Model D, or Basque immersion program, provided all their classes in Basque with an obligatory course in Spanish language and literature. After the implementation of these programs, the enrolment in Basque immersion programs started to increase considerably (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2012), showing positive results in terms of the bilingual growth: the number of bilinguals increased from an average of 20% in 1981 to an average of almost 85% in 2011 (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2012). The implementation of a Basque immersion program led to the creation of a more diverse bilingual population as well. The bilingual landscape changed from mainly Basque-speakers being only native speakers, to a drastic growth of speakers of Basque that were L2 speakers. This took place within 20 years, and especially among the younger age groups. This new Basque-speaking population has been referred to as *euskaldunberriak* 'new Basques', and constitute today 36,6% of the entire Basque

population, and 53% of the younger population below 35 years of age (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2012:5).

The legal situation of Basque in *Iparralde* or in the French Basque Country shows radical differences from the BAC in Spain. According to the French Constitution, French is the sole official language of the France (article 2.1.). France has not ratified the Council of Europe's Charter for Regional or Minority languages, which promotes minority languages and enables speakers to use it in private and public domains. Instead, French is the sole language that can be used by public officials and in administration. In the education domain, the use of regional languages has enjoyed some flexibility according to the L 121-1 article, which states that the optional teaching of regional languages is possible if does not "lead to the abolish[ment of the] use of French as the language of instruction" (López-Basaguren, 2012). Because the immersion program used in BAC would exceed such state needs, the Public Bureau of the Basque Language launched educational plans for the implementation of Basque programs in *Iparralde*, creating a networking foundation of schools called *Seaska* that is also part of the association of Basque Schools in BAC (*Ikastolen Elkartea*). These schools have Basque instruction, of which Basque immersion programs are offered in 23 primary schools, 3 junior high schools and 1 high school. According to the 5th Sociolinguistic Survey of 2011, 66% of children ages between 2 and 10 are enrolled in some sort of Basque program (immersion or dual), yielding a total 51,100 Basque speakers (21,4% of the total population), of which 9% (21,742) are *euskaldunberriak* or 'new Basques' (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2012).

In summary, as a consequence of the drastic socio-political changes that the Basque Country has experienced in the last decades, the status of the Basque language changed from being the language of "the peasants" in the early 20th century to enjoy great vitality in powerful domains such as administration, media and school by the early 21st century. The educational reform allowed for a more widespread type of bilingualism as opposed to the diglossic situation in which, Basque had been contained in for most of its history.

1.2.3. Language Use and Attitudes in the Basque Country

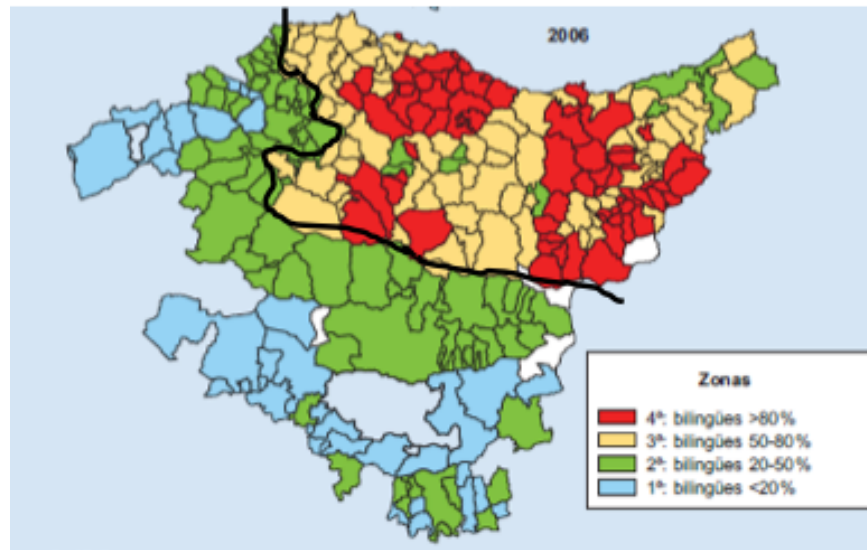
Eusko Jaurlaritza (the Basque Government) conducts sociolinguistic questionnaires every four years with the goal to evaluate vitality of Basque in terms of its use in different social domains. Recent results show that the overall vitality of Basque in the education system is positive, with a growing body of students conducting their studies (less so at the university level) entirely in Basque; 14% of the young population studied in Basque immersion programs in the 1982/1983 academic year whereas 56% enrolled in the same model (D) in 2007/2008 (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2008). Not only are enrollment numbers in Basque immersion programs increased but also the attitudes regarding the promotion of the use of Basque; around 65% of the population in the BAC showed “very favorable” attitudes towards its promotion, as opposed to 12% who are opposed to it. The remaining 13% do not show any preference towards the promotion of Basque (Azkarate, 2012).

Attitudes towards different dialects of Basque (including the Standard, *Euskara Batua*) were empirically studied in Amorrortu (2000) using match-guised techniques. In her study, Amorrortu (2000) studied the professionalism and solidarity dimensions pertaining to two regional dialects (Bizkaian and Gipuzkoan) and the recently standardized *Euskara Batua*. Her results showed that although there were no stereotypes associated with *Euskara Batua*, speakers rated this dialect lower in terms of solidarity. Interestingly, speakers of the Gipuzkoa dialect showed higher rates of professionalism towards *Euskara Batua* than Bizkaian speakers did, but both Bizkaian and Gipuzkoan dialects showed higher rates of solidarity than *Euskara Batua*. The higher results for professionalism among Gipuzkoan speakers were interpreted as the Gipuzkoan dialect being closer to *Euskara Batua*. In terms of solidarity, the higher rates provided for the regional dialects were interpreted for the authenticity attributes that speakers of these dialects attach to their own home variety. More recently, Amorrortu et al. (2009) conducted a study on the attitudes of different profiles of Basque, both native speakers, non-native speakers non-speakers of Basque towards Basque. Although the general results show positive attitudes towards Basque, many, especially low proficiency speakers or non-speakers of Basque, felt “an imposition” to learn it, or “not useful” to

conduct their jobs or daily life activities (Amorrortu et al., 2009: 41-42). Others, on the other hand, felt that learning Basque significantly improves the changes for social upward mobility.

In terms of language use, the success of the revitalization of Basque has been questioned (Maia, 2012). For instance, the European Regional Charter for Regional Minority Languages found that the use of Basque continues to be low (article 10.6). Similarly, the last sociolinguistic survey shows that 15% of speakers reported using Basque regularly in 1991, whereas that number barely reaches 20% in 2012 (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2012). Similar surveys show that the Basque Country does not constitute a homogenous territory in terms of language use either, stratifying the Basque Autonomous Community into four bilingual zones. As figure 1.4 shows, towns in blue show the lowest amount of bilinguals, that is, less than a 20% of the population speaks Basque on a daily basis and Spanish monolingualism is the norm. Regions in green represent that between 20 and 50 % of the population speak Basque and Spanish but still, Spanish monolingualism is highly regarded. Regions in yellow represent the other side of the continuum in which between 50 and 80% of the population speaks Basque on a daily basis. Finally, the red areas represent the highest usage of Basque in which more than 80% of the population uses Basque in their daily lives. It is in the latter two that historical dialects have been preserved. Outside of this territory (black line) all speakers are second language speakers (or child L2 bilingualism) because Basque was not spoken when it was introduced in the education system.

Figure 1.4. Degree of bilingualism in BAC (Eustat, 2006)



This gap between knowledge of the Basque and language usage has been a matter of concern within the language planning bodies. While studies on attitudes show that the acceptance of Basque in the public sphere has been positive (Amorrortu et al. 2009, Hualde and Zuazo 2007), Azkarate (2012) argues that the reason why many do not speak Basque regularly has to do with their level of competency; many Basque speakers feel that their Spanish is stronger, despite their “good” level of Basque, preferring Spanish when having a casual conversation. Martínez de Luna (2013) studied a number of factors that favored the use of Basque among different bilinguals in the BAC. His results showed that although there were positive attitudes towards Basque, it did not correlate with its use, nor did self-identification towards a Basque or Spanish identity. Instead, he concluded that the key for the use of Basque was the form of transmission; people who acquired the language at home were more likely to use the language in other social domains than those who acquired it through schooling.

The fact that schooling in Basque does not necessarily lead to language use in private domains is worrisome. Similarly, the fact that language use is mostly guaranteed if it has been acquired at home has important implications for identity formations and the sociolinguistic meanings attached to different varieties of Basque. For instance, Ortega

and colleagues (2014, 2015) showed that although *Batua* was useful as a recreation of a ‘common language’, participants in their study, who were all L2 speakers, described it as ‘artificial’, ‘plastic’ and ‘textbook’ variety (Ortega et al., 2014: 55). They further showed that some speakers felt that they could not attain the status of a *native speaker*, as in other language revitalization situations, such as Galician and Irish (O’Rourke and Ramallo, 2011). Ortega et al. (2014) further showed that some speakers report a more flexible notion of identity; these speakers highlighted their pride in their conscious effort of ‘hiding’ their non-nativeness by adopting regional features and becoming recognized as ‘legitimate’ members of the speech community (cf. Meyerhoff, 2002). This study did not address whether Basque-Spanish contact-features play a role or not on the perceived notion of authenticity among L2 speakers that they studied, nor does it consider the possible consequences of the adoption or rejection of such features. The present dissertation inquires into such attitudinal work by incorporating comparative investigation of a specific contact feature as used by different types of Basque speakers (either regional dialects or *Batua*-speakers). This doctoral study provides a valuable novel way to inquire about hypothesized linguistic insecurities as a viable explanation for low rates of language use.

1.2.4. Contact features from Spanish

The long-standing contact with Latin, and later with its Romance continuations, is evidenced in the first literary works in Basque in the 16th century. This is not to say that contact between Romance and Basque has been unidirectional, as there are abundant Basque elements in the Romance languages in contact with Basque, which have given rise to new dialects of Spanish, as in the case of ‘Basque-Spanish’ (Echenique, 1992; Fernández-Ulloa, 2005). Such contact effects (from Basque to Romance or from Romance to Basque) have been reported in historical (Trask, 1998: 320; Hualde, 1993, 2010; Mitxelena, 1995; Hammond, 1996), dialectological (Fernández-Ulloa, 1996; Zuazo, 2000; Iribar and Isasi, 2008) and sociolinguistic (Urrutia, 1995; Fernández-Ulloa,

2003; Haddican, 2005, 2007; Lantto, 2014) studies showing evidence that contact effects are present at all linguistic levels.³

With respect to morphological borrowing, the AfBo, a world-wide survey of affix-borrowing, reports that a total of 35 derivational affixes have been borrowed from Latin into Basque (Seifart, 2013), some more production than others.⁴ Although much of these contact outcomes are now part of the standard variety, different regional dialects have developed their own variant at the expense of their strong contact with Spanish (and French) after the creation of the French-Spanish border in 1659. At the morpho-syntactic level, there is evidence that Basque has experienced some changes (Haase, 1992; Ross, 2001) especially at the level of grammatical replication (Heine and Kuteva, 2005, 2006:252), although these changes are much scarce than those reported for lexical borrowing. For instance, work on historical linguistics has shown evidence that Basque has acquired, to some extent, the SOV word order in relative clauses (Trask, 1998: 320). Another example is provided in Haase (1992: 59-71), who has argued that Basque developed an indefinite article as a result in contact with Romance languages.

More recently, the incorporation of ‘foreign’ elements into Basque has been defined as ‘erderakada’ (*erdera* = foreign; *kada* = heap of) (Alberdi, 2010: 81). Gotzon Garate, with the aid of his students, wrote a reference book, called *Erderakadak* in 1988 in which he gathers examples of such ‘foreign elements’ from the 7 provinces of the Basque Country. Although this book constitutes a rich source of contact-phenomena, most of the examples are at the phraseological level. For instance, the book claims that the Basque expression that refers “to collect retirement benefits” should be ‘xahar partea

³ At the lexical level, Mitxelena (1995) suggests that a significant number of loan words were taken from Medieval Latin, most of them, of religious character. Such claims are evidenced in one of the first books written in Basque, Leizarraga’s translation of the New Testament into Basque in 1571. Such words included: *Reguina* ‘queen’, *cerbitzari* ‘servant’, *obedientac* ‘obedient’, *gratiá* ‘grace’, *baquea* ‘peace’, *desiratzen* ‘desiring’ (Hualde, 2008: 3).

⁴ Among the most common ones are the Latin past participle *-tum* > *-tu* to form infinitives or adjectivizers as in *zigortu* ‘to punish’, *ihartu* ‘dry’, *bazkaldu* ‘eaten’ (Segura-Munguía and Etxebarria-Ayesta, 1996). Other less productive but significant derivational morphology include *-(e)sa*, *-(t)sa* ‘female person’ as in *jainkosa* ‘goddess’ (Trask, 2003; Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003: 117), derivational prefix ‘-des’ to denote a ‘privative’ meaning as in *desegin* ‘undo’, or collective ‘-eria’ as in *tresneria* ‘set of tools’ (from *tresna* ‘tool’), *gazteria* ‘youth, group of youngsters’ (from *gazte* ‘young’) (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003: 333).

hartu’ as opposed to the Spanish-influenced ‘erretiroa kobratu’. With an attempt to organize contact-phenomena in Basque, Alberdi (2010) created a typology of calques pertaining to the semantic, morphological, or syntactic level and proposed a criterion to determine which ones are considered plausible to use.⁵ Examples of phonological contact effects are less accounted for today, but nevertheless, prosody always appears at the forefront in guidebooks for the ‘correct’ use of Basque. Expert bodies devoted to the normalization of Basque create such reference books both at local institutional levels (Basque experts in different towns) or wider administrative ones such as Basque services at the University of the Basque Country.⁶ Although most of the entries listed in these reference books are concerned with stylistic rules in the written form, some sections are also devoted to *ahozko erderakadak* ‘spoken barbarisms’, in which some pronunciation rules are provided along with other morphosyntactic phenomena.

One such case of *ahozko erderakada* ‘spoken barbarism’ at the morphosyntactic is Basque Differential Object Marking, notably with the verb *ikusi* ‘to see’. For instance, the online platform sponsored by the University of the Basque Country EHUTSI, whose slogan is *EHUko erkidegoan, HUTSik egin gabe EUTSI nahi diogu euskararen tradizio hoberenari* “At the University of the Basque Community, we want to keep tight to the best Basque tradition without making mistakes” shows an example of the erroneous way of using dative (-ri; as in *irakaslea-ri* ‘to the teacher’) with the verb *ikusi* ‘to see’: *irakasleari kantatzen ikusi diot* should be used with zero-marking as in *irakaslea-Ø kantatzen ikusi dut* ‘I have seen the teacher singing’ (item 350). Similarly, *HABE Ikasbil* is another online platform devoted to the learning of Basque. In this website, one can find ample resources for the learning of Basque, including exercises, level appropriate readings and interactive videos targeting the development of listening skills as well as grammatical competence. Curiously, the explanation of the ‘erroneous’ use of Basque

⁵ These were categorized in terms of semantic calques (*segurtasun-indarrak* Spanish literal = *fuerzas armadas* ‘security forces’) lexical-phraseological calques (*alokairu-osagarri*, Spanish literal = *complemento salarial* ‘wage-supplement’) lexical-syntactic calques (changes of patterns of use in case morphology or verbal valency) phrasal or idiomatic calques (*ulea hartu*, Spanish literal = *tomar el pelo* ‘to joke’).

⁶ See the ‘erderakada’ explanations in the website *azpidazki*. Available at: <http://www.ehu.eus/azpidazki/default.asp?itemID=29&itemTitle=Erderakadak>. [Last accessed: May 20, 2016]

DOM is explained in sketch-comedy video (produced by the Basque TV program *Wazemak*).⁷ The sketch situates a woman giving birth, when his partner, excited to welcome his child suddenly bursts *ikusi diot!* ‘I saw him/her-DOM!’. It is then when the doctor calls for a serious emergency and an agent of *Euskaltzaindia* appears to explain the grammatical rule for the appropriate use of the conjugation of *ikusi* ‘to see’.

In summary, the fact that Basque DOM appears in endless lists of numerous websites devoted to ‘spoken barbarism’ suggests that there is at least some consciousness behind the perception that Basque DOM is a contact feature. Furthermore, the aforementioned sketch situates the use of DOM within a comical framework of ‘emergency’, which suggests that the social significance of Basque DOM does not occur in a vacuum. With this in mind, this dissertation seeks to explore the patterns of use of Basque DOM in different bilinguals in order to understand the processes of Basque DOM as a contact feature with Spanish and incorporates an analysis behind the attitudes of Basque DOM in order to determine how attitudes play a role in those patterns of use.

1.3. Outline of the dissertation

The present dissertation focuses on the patterns of use with respect to Basque DOM among different bilinguals in order provide an understanding behind the mechanisms that different bilinguals employ in its use as the result of intense contact with Basque-Spanish *leísmo*. It additionally explores the attitudes behind Basque DOM in order to understand how language attitudes play a role in the patterns of use of Basque DOM. By examining the mechanisms behind the use of Basque DOM as well as the role that attitudes play behind those mechanisms, the present dissertation intends to offer an interdisciplinary approach to the study of contact phenomena, which takes into account cross-linguistic tendencies, learning mechanisms and wider ideological representations of Basque DOM.

⁷ Available at: http://ikasbilberri.ikasbil.net/web/ikasbil/dokutekako-fitxa?p_p_id=56_INSTANCE_fLB1&p_p_lifecycle=0&p_p_state=normal&p_p_mode=view&p_p_col_id=column-1&p_p_col_count=1&groupId=10138&articleId=291757 [last accessed: May 20, 2016).

Furthermore, it explores possibilities as to why the use of Basque remains low despite the positive attitudes towards the language, as explored in Chapter 1.

Chapter 2 provides the literature review behind the study of Differential Object Marking (DOM) cross-linguistically and situates that literature within the scope of the present dissertation. As such, the use of (and lack thereof) DOM is explored in the two languages that Basque is in contact with; French and Spanish, respectively. Then, it provides a background to the study of Basque DOM.

Chapter 3 details the methodological approach taken in the present dissertation with respect to the two tasks that target DOM production (elicited production task and sociolinguistic interviews in Basque and Spanish or French), as well as the covert and overt attitudes (matched-guise experiment and debriefing interview, respectively).

Chapter 4 presents the results obtained by means of the elicited production task in Spanish and French and by means of sociolinguistic interviews in Spanish, French and Basque. The chapter concludes with a discussion with respect to the mechanisms used behind the production of Basque DOM among different bilinguals

Chapter 5 presents the results obtained by means of the elicited production task in Basque as well as the over and covert attitudes behind Basque DOM. The chapter concludes with a discussion with respect to the attitudes attached to Basque DOM as well as the role that attitudes play in the use of Basque DOM.

Finally, chapter 6 discusses the major findings in the present dissertation and situates these findings with respect central questions in the literature of contact linguistics.

CHAPTER 2: Differential Object Marking

This chapter presents an in-depth background of Differential Object Marking (DOM). In section 2.1, I introduce the phenomenon following a typological account of the phenomenon in section 2.2. In section 2.3, I provide a descriptive account of the ways DOM is expressed morphologically (*a*-marking and *leísmo*) and syntactically (clitic-doubling) in different monolingual and bilingual varieties of Spanish. In 2.4, I describe Basque DOM. Section 2.5 discusses the relevant literature suggesting that Basque DOM is the result of intense contact with the *Basque Leísta Dialect* (BLD) along with the research questions pursued in this dissertation.

2.1. Introduction

Differential Object Marking (DOM) refers to the case marking of a subset of direct objects that are often affected by semantic-pragmatic or referential properties of the object (Bossong, 1991; Aissen, 2003; Malchukov and de Swart, 2008). Much of the literature on DOM has devoted to two important properties of the direct object: animacy and specificity or definiteness. In the sentences below, Basque (1a) obtains dative marking (*-ri*) when the object is animate (*Mikel*) whereas (1b) keeps the canonical absolutive $-\emptyset$ when the object is non-animate, being (1a) an example of DOM.

(1a) *Ni-k Mikel-e-ri_i ikusi d-o-ts-a_i-t*
I-ERG Mikel-epenthesis-DAT see L-3sg.PR-DF-3sg.DAT-1sg.ERG
'I have seen Mikel'

(1b) *Ni-k etxi-e- $\emptyset$ _i ikusi d_i-o-t*
I-ERG house-the-ABS see L-3sg.PR -1sg.ERG
'I have seen the house'

In the most traditional sense, the overt-case marking of these objects is dependent on the principle of *prominence* or *syntactic markedness*, which revolve around animacy

(Silverstein, 1976), and specificity hierarchies (Keenan & Comrie, 1977;⁸ Dixon, 1979), predicting that if objects at a certain rank are overtly marked then those properties ranking higher should also be marked:

Animacy Hierarchy: Human > Animate > Inanimate

Definiteness Hierarchy: Personal pronoun > Proper name > Definite NP > Indefinite specific NP > Non-specific NP.

Although the principle of prominence seems rather simple, the variation found in languages with DOM makes this phenomenon a complex one. This complexity lies in the abundant variation regarding optionality or obligatoriness on the relevance of animacy and specificity or definiteness with respect to object marking. For instance, human direct objects are always marked with dative *-ko* in Hindi but are optional with animate (non-human) or inanimate objects (Mohan, 1995; Montrul et al., 2012).⁹

(2a) *Mira-ne Ramesh-ko dekhaa*
Mira-ERG Ramesh-DOM saw
'Mira saw Ramesh.'

(2b) **Mira-ne Ramesh dekhaa*
Mira-ERG Ramesh saw
'Mira saw Ramesh.'

(2c) *Mira-ne us kutte-ko dekhaa*
Mira-ERG that dog-DOM saw
'Mira saw that dog.'

(2d) *Mira-ne vo kuttaa dekhaa*
Mira-ERG that dog saw

⁸ Keenan & Comrie (1977) refer to this notion Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy.

⁹ Hindi *-ko* is also used as a referential of specificity (Butt, 1993) or definiteness (Mohan, 1990). For a further debate, the reader is directed to Singh (1994), de Hoop & Narashimhan (2009).

‘Mira saw that dog.’

(Montrul et. al., 2012: 150-151)

In Turkish, animacy does not seem to play a role in DOM but rather, specific objects get case-marked (3a) whereas non-specific objects remain unmarked (3b):

(3a) *Ben bir kitap-i oku-du-m*
I a book-ACC read-PAST-1sg
‘I read a certain book’

(3b) *Ben bir kitap oku-du-m*
I a book read-PAST-1sg
‘I read a book’ (von Heusinger & Kornfilt, 2005: 5).

Some Romance languages such as Romanian and Spanish obligatorily mark objects that are both animate and specific (Leonetti, 2004; von Heusinger & Kaiser, 2005, 2007; de Swart, 2007). Before we give an account of the distribution of DOM in Spanish we briefly discuss other linguistic factors pertinent to the study of DOM.

2.2. Cross-linguistic variation of DOM

DOM is considered a typologically common phenomenon, with at least 300 languages showing some sort of differential marking (Bossong, 1991; Sinnemäki, 2014). However, different ways to express DOM exist: DOM can be expressed by (a) **morphemes that derive from prepositions** such in Romanian (Mardale, 2004), Spanish (von Heusinger and Kaiser, 2005), Catalan (Pineda, 2012), Corsican (Neuburger and Startk, 2014), (b) **using morphological case** as in Turkish (von Heusinger and Kornfilt, 2005), Hindi (Butt, 1993; Mohanan, 1995), Kannada (Lidz, 2006), Farsi (Karimi, 1996), Inuit (Bok-Bennema, 1991), (c) through **suppletive determiners** as in Maori (Chung and Ladusaw, 2003), or (d) **by means of agreement markers or clitics** on the verb as in Bantu languages (Bresnan and Moshi, 1993) or Mansi (Virtanen, 2014).

The notion of DOM originated from functional grammarians (Haspelmath, 2008), who assume that language diversity can be explained through the functional use of the language. The rationale behind the markedness of the object comes from the fact the most canonical sentences are the ones with animate subjects and non-animate objects. When a sentence deviates from such canonicity, that is, when both the subject and object are animate, the direct objects tend to be marked somehow. Hence, such objects get marked for being non-prototypical whereas more common structures remain unmarked.

Broadly speaking, cross-linguistic research on DOM has followed two main approaches that are not necessarily incompatible with each other, but the focus of markedness differs. On the one hand, *The Ambiguity Thesis* assumes that languages that do not distinguish between direct objects and subjects develop a way to differentiate between the two (Bossong, 1991; Aissen, 2003). This approach generally focuses its attention to the notion of prominence or markedness of the direct objects in terms of its semantic properties such as animacy, specificity, definiteness, focus or topicality. In spoken language, it has been noted that the most natural (or unmarked) transitive construction is that in which agents are high in animacy and definiteness whereas patients are low in animacy and definiteness (Comrie, 1989). Any deviation from this construction results in a marked construction, which is consequently differentially marked in a way that language allows (by means of any of the mechanisms in a-d above). DOM analyses regarding the *Ambiguity Thesis* have also incorporated theories such as Optimality Theory or Harmonic Alignment (Aissen, 2003), using notions of primary or secondary objects (Givon, 1978; Croft, 2002).

On the other hand, *The Transitivity Thesis* shifts its focus to the notion of transitivity of the verb, suggesting that the direct object will be marked if it is a *good* candidate within the transitivity continuity (Hopper and Thompson, 1980; Naess, 2007). In this regard, Hopper and Thompson (1980: 251) deviated from the formal binary notion of transitivity and instead proposed that that transitivity is a continuous phenomenon whose properties are discourse-determined according to the following ten pragmatic properties:

Table 2.1. Linguistic properties of Differential Object Marking according to the Transitivity Thesis (Hopper and Thompson (1980: 251))

	HIGH	LOW
(1) A. PARTICIPANTS	2 or more participants, A and O. ¹	1 participant
B. KINESIS	action	non-action
C. ASPECT	telic	atelic
D. PUNCTUALITY	punctual	non-punctual
E. VOLITIONALITY	volitional	non-volitional
F. AFFIRMATION	affirmative	negative
G. MODE	realis	irrealis
H. AGENCY	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. AFFECTEDNESS OF O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. INDIVIDUATION OF O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

The scalar component of the transitivity thesis argues that the more features a sentence contains from the *high* column, the more transitive they are and therefore, the more likely they are to be marked. This approach does not only focus on the semantic properties of the DO but also takes into account semantic properties of the verb (telicity, aspect) and thematic information (agency, volitionality, affectedness) of the direct object.

These multidimensional approaches have proven successful in the cross-linguistic comparison of DOM languages (de Swart, 2007), diachronic developments of a single language (von Heusinger and Kaiser, 2007) or typological modeling of DOM (Sinnemäki, 2014). Combining formal analysis of semantics and syntax, de Swart (2007) studied the relationship between meaning and form of transitivity pertaining to a number of DOM languages and showed that different languages tend to use different strategies, either through processes of prominence, recoverability or both. He concludes that languages such as Hindi, Turkish and Spanish mark their objects based on prominence, whereas Malayalam can be better understood from the notion of recoverability.

On a similar note, von Heusinger and Kaiser (2007) studied the diachronic development of DOM-marking in Spanish and claimed that the semantic properties of the

object were not enough to account for its development, but instead, proposed that the semantics of the verb was a driving force in the development of Spanish DOM. For instance, verbs such as *matar* ‘to kill’ are considered more agentive, and therefore, showed signs of DOM from its early developments (LaPesa, 2000; von Heusinger and Kaiser, 2005) as opposed to non-agentive verbs such as *tener* ‘to have’, which are less likely to show differential object marking (López, 2012). Finally, Sinnemäki (2014) studied the distribution of DOM in 744 languages using methods in quantitative typology. His results showed that most languages do not show a preference for traditional semantic properties such as animacy and definiteness to mark their objects, but instead, use other mechanisms that are better explained in terms of an *economy* effect of language use. More specifically, he was able to show that the objects in those structures that were less common were marked in one way or another. For instance, if the word order was a decisive factor, object marking occurred in the least frequent word order structures. If the information structure was the decisive factor, topicalized arguments were cased marked (regardless of semantic properties of the direct object).

Most research on DOM has mainly described the linguistic factors behind its variation, the interplay of these factors or the sociolinguistic stratification of DOM within a single language. For that matter, research on the role that contact plays in the emergence, diffusion or spread of DOM is very scarce. Its attention warrants a special attention because it will allow us to explore the complex relationship between learning mechanisms, sociolinguistic factors and universal factors in shaping the variability found in DOM. Additionally, we will be able to shed some light on the importance of linguistic universals as common mental representations that are shaped by different learning mechanisms or socio-political factors.

As such, the main objective of the present dissertation is to determine the processes by which different bilinguals employ in their usage of Basque DOM, a phenomenon that has been developed through its intense contact with Romance languages such as Spanish (Austin, 2006). Although Spanish is considered one of the most well-known DOM languages in the Romance family, this phenomenon has also been widely

studied in Romanian (Farkas, 2000; Ciucivara, 2009; Mardale, 2012) and attested in other Romance languages such as Portuguese (Schwenter and Silva, 2002; Schwenter, 2014), Catalan (Pineda, 2012), Sicilian (López, 2012) and spoken varieties of French (Rocquet, 2014). The following sections are devoted to DOM-encoding in the languages pertaining to this dissertation: Spanish, French and Basque.

2.3. DOM in French

French, at least in its Standard form, is generally not considered a DOM language.¹⁰ In this respect, French does not show any special marking on the object in simple sentences such as (4a) and (4b):

(4a) Je vois la maison

I see the house

‘I see the house’

(4b) Je vois la fille

I see the girl

‘I see the girl’

Another form of DOM-marking in some Romance languages is through 3rd person object clitics. In Spanish, for instance, the use of dative clitic *le* to mark certain animate direct objects, known as *leísmo*, is attributed to a way to show DOM. Standard French on the contrary, has maintained a quite robust etymological system that derived from Latin (Alkire and Rosen, 2010). Table 2.2 shows weak direct and indirect object pronouns in Standard French:¹¹

¹⁰ More recently, proposals have been made that some spoken dialects of French (Brussels, Toulouse and Bordeaux) are at the incipient stage of DOM-marking with respect to topicality (Iemmolo, 2010) and such system has been attributed to its contact with Gascon (Iemmolo, 2010: 253). With respect to Standard French, Rocket (2014) equates past participle agreement with DOM and proposes that French should also be considered a DOM language.

¹¹ It is important to reassure that this explanation on French object clitics is an oversimplification as there are other object clitics (*y*, *en*) that are heavily used. Such uses do not concern the present dissertation and for a more detailed description of French clitics, the reader is directed to Riegel, Pellat and Rioul, 1994: 199).

Table 2.2. Weak direct and indirect object clitics in Standard French:

	Direct Object	Indirect Object
First singular	me	me
Second singular	te	te
First plural	nous	nous
Second plural	vous	vous
Third singular	le (masc.) / la (fem.)	lui
Third plural	les	leur

In its absence of using ‘*leisme*’, French clitics *le*(m.sing)/*la*(f.sing)/*les*(pl.) are used to mark direct objects, regardless of the animate properties of the objects, whereas dative *lui* (sg.), *leur* (pl.) are used to mark indirect objects as in (5a-b) and (6a-b), respectively (Batchelor and Chebli-Saadi, 2011:435):

(4a) Je le vois

I CL.ACC.masc.sing see

‘I see him’

(4b) Je la vois

I CL.ACC.fem.sing see

‘I see her’

(5a) Je lui donne un cadeau

I CL.DAT.sing give a present

‘I give him/her a present’

(5b) Je leur donne un cadeau

I CL.DAT.pl give a present
'I givem them a present'

Importantly, weak pronouns (such as those explored above) and full NPs appear in complementary distribution in French (6a-b) (Kayne, 1975), which suggests that clitic-doubling with weak direct object pronouns is not allowed in Standard French (DeCat, 2005), with the exception of CLRD (6c):¹²

(6a) Je la vois
I CL.ACC.fem.sing see
'I see her'

(6b) *Je la vois la fille
I CL.ACC.fem.sing see the girl
'I see her'

(6c) Je la_i vois, la fille_i
I CL.ACC.fem.sing see the girl
'I see her, Marie' (Chapman, 2012: 7)

In summary, despite rich dialectal variation, the present dissertation takes Standard French as reference, which exhibits the following characteristics with respect to DOM and third person object clitics: (1) absence of DOM, (2) strict use of accusative clitics to mark direct objects and dative clitics to mark indirect objects and (3) no clitic-doubling of direct object pronouns.

¹² This data is strictly based on previous grammatical accounts of modern standard French (Batchelor and Chebli-Saadi, 2011:435; Hansen, 2016). There is evidence that spoken French exhibits DO clitic doubling in restricted contexts (Kayne, 1994), and it is acceptable in Laurentian French (Chapman, 2012).

2.4. DOM in Spanish

In Spanish, DOM is expressed by means of two forms. The first one refers to the use of preposition *a*, which is often times called *prepositional accusative*, *personal a*, *a-marking* or *flaging*. The second one refers to *leísmo*, in which clitics that double indirect objects are used to mark certain direct objects (Fernández and Rezac, in press). Additionally, Spanish DOM may also appear in clitic doubling constructions, whereby the NP and the clitic appear together. The obligatoriness or optionality of each of these forms varies across dialects of Spanish. In the next sections, I discuss the characteristics of *a*-marking, *leísmo* and clitic doubling and concentrate on how they are manifested in Peninsular Spanish (northern variety) and in the Spanish spoken in the Basque Country (Basque Spanish) as well as the syntactic relationship between the three phenomena.

2.4.1. A-marking

Prescriptively, Spanish human and specific (or definite) direct objects are marked with preposition *a* (7a) whereas non-specific human (7b) or non-animate direct objects (regardless of specificity) (6c-d) typically appear markless:

(7a) Juan vio **a** la mujer [+human, +specific]
Juan saw **DOM** the woman
'Juan saw the woman'

(7b) Juan vio una mujer [+human, -specific]
Juan saw one woman
'Juan saw a woman'

(7c) Juan vio la casa [-animate, +specific]
Juan saw the house
'Juan saw the house'

- (7d) Juan vio una casa [-animate, -specific]
Juan saw one house
'Juan saw a house'

Spanish *a*-marking resembles indirect objects, which mark dative case and is obligatory regardless of animacy or specificity (8a-b):

- (8a) Juan le dio un libro a la mujer / a una mujer
Juan DAT.CL gave a book to the woman / to one woman
'Juan gave a book to the/a woman'

- (8b) Juan le dio una patada a la mesa / a una mesa
Juan DAT.CL gave a kick to the table / to one table
'Juan gave a kick to the/a table'

Furthermore, non-specific direct object quantifiers (*alguien* 'someone') are invariably marked with *a* (9):

- (9) Está buscando a alguien
is looking DOM someone
'S/he is looking for someone' (von Heusing & Kaiser, 2007: 88)

Studies on Spanish DOM in the Spanish-speaking world have shown that examples in (7a-d) are an idealization of the actual use. Although it is generally understood that animate and specific direct objects are *a*-marked in most Spanish-speaking speakers, there are instances in which animate indefinite objects (10a) or non-human animates (10b) can optionally be marked with *a*. Sentences that contain both an inanimate subject and object may also optionally mark the direct object (10c):

- (10a) Juan vio (a) una mujer
Juan saw (DOM) one woman

‘Juan saw a woman’

(10b) Juan vio (a) la gatita

Juan saw (DOM) the kitty

‘Juan saw a woman’

(10c) El submarino hundi6 al/el barco

The submarine sank DOM/the boat

‘The submarine sank the boat’

(Montrul et al., 2015: 569)

Research on the Spanish spoken in the Americas show two opposite directions of *a*-marking. On the one hand, certain speakers of US Spanish tend not to mark objects that are generally claimed to be obligatory in other Spanish dialects (11) (Montrul, 2004, 2014; Montrul and Bowles, 2009). On the other hand, there is a tendency in Latin American dialects such as (Argentinian, Uruguayan, Peruvian or Mexican Spanish) to spread *a*-marking to definite and specific inanimate objects as well (12a-b) (Company-Company, 2002; von Heusinger and Kaiser, 2005, 2007; Tippetts, 2011; Montrul et al., 2015):

US Spanish

(11) Entonces el lobo trat6 de atacar la ni6a

Then the wolf tried of to.attack the girl

‘Then the wolf tried to attach the girl

(Montrul, 2004:134)

Mexican Spanish

(12a) Entonces se mira con gran lentitud a los pies

Then REFL looks with great slowness DOM the feet

‘Then one looks very slowy at the feet’ (von Heusinger and Kaiser, 2005: 58)

Argentinian Spanish

(12b) A la casa la vio Mariela

DOM the house CL saw Mariela

‘The house, Mariela saw it’

(Montrul et al., 2015: 570)

The highly variable use of Spanish DOM in the Spanish-speaking world complicates the search for a uniformed theory of Spanish DOM. This is because *a*-marking often times interacts with pragmatic information (Leonetti, 2004, 2008; Laca, 2006; Iemmolo, 2008; Tippetts, 2011; Balasch, 2011), affectedness (Leonetti, 2004; von Heusinger and Kaiser, 2011) or semantic information of the verb (Torrego, 1999; von Heusinger and Kaiser, 2007), making the pan-hispanic distribution of accusative *a* not entirely clear (Zagona, 2002; Fábregas, 2013).

As far as Basque-Spanish is concerned, there are no known studies that report on the variable use of differential object marking in this dialect. However, some sociolinguistic research regarding *a*-marking exist on Peninsular Spanish that focuses mainly on Madrid Spanish, the closest monolingual variety to Basque-Spanish. In his comparative study on the spontaneous and variable use of *a*-marking of three Spanish dialects (Buenos Aires Spanish, Mexico City Spanish and Madrid Spanish), Tippetts (2011) found that animacy, the relative animacy to DOM and definiteness were the only factors favoring *a*-marking in Madrid Spanish. More specifically, it was shown that it was more likely to use *a*-marking when the DO was higher in animacy prominence than the subject (13):

(13) [La televisión] reúne a la familia

[The television] gathers DOM the family

‘Television gathers the family’

(Tippetts, 2011: 113)

These results, also corroborated in Balasch (2011), provided further support for the functionalist approach to DOM (Comrie, 1989; Haspelmath, 2008), which shows that any structure that deviates from the unmarked (animate subject, inanimate direct object)

is more likely to be linguistically marked. Furthermore, specificity was found not to have an effect on *a*-marking in Madrid Spanish, and there were few inanimate objects (5%) that were *a*-marked.

In summary, based on both formal analysis (Leonetti, 2004, 2008; von Heusinger 2008, López, 2012) and quantitative variationist accounts of Peninsular Spanish DOM (Tippets, 2011; Balasch, 2011), the following generalizations can be made: *a*-marking is obligatory with animate strong quantifiers (*Juan vio a todas las chicas* ‘Juan saw all the girls’), definite referential NPs (*Juan vio a la chica* ‘Juan saw the girl’), proper names (*Juan vio a María* ‘Juan saw María’), pronouns (*Juan me vió a mí* ‘Juan saw me’) and causative constructions (*Juan forzó a María a hacer los deberes* ‘Juan made María do her homework’). *A*-marking is optional with indefinite objects (*Juan vio (a) una mujer* ‘Juan saw a woman’), non-human animates (*Juan vio (a) la gatita* ‘Juan saw the kitty’) and non-specific objects (*Juan tiene (a) gente comiendo en casa* ‘Juan has people eating at home’). Finally, pragmatic-semantic factors such as the relative animacy of DO (with subjects) have shown to strongly favor *a*-marking.

2.4.2. *Leísmo*

The other means of expressing DOM in Spanish is through *leísmo*, whereby the 3rd person pronominal dative clitic *le* (14a) is used to refer to animate and specific (definite) direct objects instead of accusative *lo* (14b):

(14a) *Le* *he* *visto*
 DAT.CL 1sg.have seen
 ‘I have seen him’

(14b) *Lo* *he* *visto*
 ACC.CL 1sg.have seen
 ‘I have seen him’

As such, the use of *le* in *leísmo* morphologically resembles the use of *le* to mark indirect object (15):

- (15) Le di un regalo a Juan
 DAT.CL 1sg.gave a present to Juan
 ‘I gave Juan a present’

In this regard, it can be said that Spanish *leísmo* shares an important characteristic with Spanish DOM: the use of a linguistic structure that marks indirect objects (*a*-marking or pronoun *le*) to mark animate referents. However, such generalization is an over-simplification with regards to Spanish *leísmo*. This is because in most dialects of Spanish, the use of *leísmo* has been referred to the restricted use of *le* to mark masculine singular human objects and other types of *leísmo* have been used to account for the dramatic variation found within and across different Spanish dialects. Such variation has been intrinsically linked to different developments of the pronominal system in Spanish that derived from Latin as well as the sociolinguistic conditions of the dialects at hand. In what follows, I briefly discuss the origins of different pronominal systems (either *leísmo* or lack thereof) that derived from Latin into Peninsular Spanish and the maintenance of the clitic system of Latin into French.

2.4.2.1 Pronominal system in Spanish and French: a historical approximation

In Spanish and French, first and second direct object and indirect object pronouns directly derived from the atonic pronouns *MĒ*, *TĒ*, *NŌS* and *VŌS*. As table 2.3 shows, first and second person direct objects and indirect objects remained syncretic both in Spanish and French.

Table 2.3. First and second DO and IO objects: from Latin to Spanish and French

	LATIN		SPANISH		FRENCH	
	DO	IO	DO	IO	DO	IO
First singular	MĒ	MĒ	Me	Me	Me	Me
Second singular	TĒ	TĒ	Te	Te	Te	Te
First plural	NŌS	NŌS	Nos	Nos	Nous	Nous
Second plural	VŌS	VŌS	Os	Os	Vous	Vous

On the other hand, Spanish and French third person clitics derived from Latin demonstratives and these pronouns constitute one of the few remnants of the case system in Latin (LaPesa, 2000). More specifically, accusative demonstratives ĪLLUM, ĪLLAM, ĪLLUD and ĪLLĪ led to third person direct object and indirect objects pronouns in Spanish and French, also preserving gender, number and case distinctions. Table 2.4 shows such derivations:

Table 2.4. Third person DO and IO objects: from Latin to Spanish and French

<i>ETYMOLOGICAL SYSTEM</i>	LATIN		SPANISH		FRENCH	
	Acc	Dat	DO	IO	DO	IO
Masculine singular	ĪLLUM	ĪLLĪ	Lo	Le	Le	Lui
Feminine singular	ĪLLAM,	ĪLLĪ	La	Le	Las	Lui
Masculine plural	ĪLLOS,	ĪLLĪS	Los	Les	Les	Leur
Feminine plural	ĪLLAS,	ĪLLĪS	Las	Les	Les	Leur

The development of the third person pronominal system presented in table 2.4 has been known as *etymological system* (Fernández-Ordóñez, 1999; LaPesa, 2000) because they reflect the direct etymological or direct developments of the Latin system into Spanish and French. These uses are considered part of Standard Spanish and Standard French languages. However, such system is only one among the large variation that the

third person direct object clitics present today. As shown in 3.3.2, *leísmo* is the use of the indirect object pronoun *le* to mark certain direct object pronouns.

The origins of Spanish *leísmo* that also gave rise to the different *leísmo* types or systems have been the center of much scholarly debate (Fernández-Ordóñez, 1999; Blears, 1999; LaPesa, 2000; Belloro, 2007). For instance, Fernández-Ramírez (1951) and LaPesa (2000) have suggested that the use of *leísmo* emerged back in the medieval times when the dative *le* analogically is replaced by *lo*. This analogy is already evidenced in the first Spanish texts from *El Mio Cid* written between 1140 and 1207. In these texts, the use of first and second person singular and plural do not vary in the accusative and the dative forms. However, the use of dative *le* is used to mark some third person animate objects, especially masculine (16a). These authors proposed that the preference for differentiating gender in the third person objects was the motivation to only use *le* with masculine objects, in the sense that the use of *lo* did not experience analogical changes in these texts (16b). Furthermore, LaPesa (2000: 281) proposed that the apocope *l'* favored the analogical 'confusion' (16c):

(16a) Mandedes *le* tomar [a Babieca]
 send.IMPERATIVE DAT.CL take DOM Babieca
 ‘Send them to take Babieca’ (Cid, 972)

(16b) Que *las* tomássedes por mugieres
 that ACC.CL take.SUBJUNCTIVE for women
 ‘That they would take them for women’ (Cid, 2233)

(16c) *quisol'* besar las manos
 want.CL. kiss the hands
 ‘S/he wanted to kiss [him/her] hands’
 (Cid, 25, 265 cited in LaPesa 2000: 281)

Consistent with LaPesa's (2000) argument, Echenique (1986) found that the presence of *le* (as *leísmo*) was higher in text that also had apocope *l'*, whereas texts that used *lo* hardly had any examples of apocope. Because *leísmo* was affected only with animate objects, it was proposed that animacy was a decisive factor determining the use of *le* or *lo/la*. LaPesa (2000) further argued that the origin of this phenomenon was in the consistent use of dative 'a' in verbs that take animate direct objects. LaPesa (2000: 284-290) especially argues that *le* was traditionally restricted to verbs that would take dative in Latin, and it then extended to transitive verbs in order to mark animate direct objects.

- (17) Si ellos *le* vidiessen [a Féllez Muñoz]
 if they CL.DAT see.SUBJUNCTIVE [DOM Féllez Muñoz]
 'If they had seen Féllez Muñoz (Cid, 2774)

It has also been suggested that this confusion might have also been triggered by verbs that govern infinitives. For instance, when the infinitive is intransitive, the subject is pronominalized in the accusative *lo/la* as in (18a) whereas when the infinitive is transitive, the infinitive is transitive, the subject is pronominalized with the dative *le* as in (18b). LaPesa (2000) proposed that this type of constructions may have triggered some confusion, that is, the subject can be interpreted as the indirect object and the infinitive as the direct object (18c):

- (18a) *las* vio salir
 ACC.CL.FEM.PL saw leave.INFINITIVE
 'S/he saw them leave'

- (18b) *les* vio lavar la ropa
 DAT.CL.PL saw clean.INFINITIVE the clothes
 'S/he saw them clean clothes'

(18c) *les* *ví* *aproximarse*.

DAT.CL.PL saw come.INFINITIVE

‘I saw them come closer’

(Fernández-Ordóñez, 1999:3)

Finally, LaPesa (2000) suggests that the dative / accusative alternation responds to the etymological use of the Latin case system. Sentences in which the subject was in the nominative case, Spanish started taking the dative case, and this alternation occurred with verbs that governed double accusatives such as *enseñar*, *rogar*, *preguntar*, *mostrar* and with subjects of infinitive constructions or of subordinate sentences governed by verbs of prohibition and perception (Romero, 2008).

Although the origins of *leísmo* in medieval times are well attested, it has given rise to copious *leísmo* systems in different dialects of the Spanish-speaking world.

2.4.2.2 Dialectal variation

Prescriptively, the most widely accepted form of *leísmo* is with animate masculine singular direct objects such as (14a)¹³, also known as *prestigious leísmo* (Fernández-Ordóñez, 1999). This form of *leísmo* is known to be a form of ‘proper’ Spanish according to grammatical accounts of Spanish such as *Esbozo* (RAE, 200). Not surprisingly, it is also the form of *leísmo* most used in the Spanish-speaking world, both in educated speech (Quilis et al., 1985; Uruburu, 1993; Klein-Andreu, 1998; DeMello, 2002) and literary tradition (Kany, 1970: 133-137; Klein-Andreu, 1992). Within the studies of *leísmo*, it is important to distinguish between the variation found in monolingual varieties of Spanish and in Spanish varieties in contact with other non-Indo-European languages, mainly because different tendencies arose within each sociolinguistic scenarios (Fernández-Ordóñez, 1999; Tuten, 2003).

¹³ Some uses with masculine plurals have also been found in monolingual speech of Burgos and Valladolid.

2.4.2.2.1 *Leísmo* in monolingual varieties

The *leísmo* used in monolingual varieties is characterized for its distinction between dative and accusative cases, also referred to *leísmo aparente* or *referential system*, in which other related phenomena such as *loísmo* (the use of *lo* with masculine indirect objects) and *laísmo* (the use of *la* with feminine indirect objects) interact with *leísmo*.¹⁴ In this section, we limit ourselves to the explanation of *leísmo aparente* for two reasons: first, the present dissertation only deals with *leísmo* as a possible influence of Basque DOM and second, because *leísmo aparente* is the most standardized form of *leísmo* in Peninsular Spanish.

The three most common characteristics of the *leísmo aparente* are: (1) use of *le* to mark masculine animate referents (19a-b), (2) alternate between *le* and *lo* (usually for semantic disambiguation) (20a-b) and (3) the use of *le* for respectful treatment with *usted* (formal ‘you’) (21a-b), also known as *leísmo of courtesy* (Lorenzo-Ramons, 1981):

(19a) Juan **le**_i vio [a él_i]
Juan 3sg.mas.CL 3sg.saw [DOM him]
‘Juan saw him’

(19b) Juan **la**_i vio [a ella_i]
Juan 3sg.fem.CL 3sg.saw [DOM her]
‘Juan saw her’

¹⁴ For an exhaustive analysis see Fernández-Ramírez (1987), Korkostegi (1992), Fernández-Ordóñez (1994, 1999).

(20a)¹⁵ Yo soy (...) su peor enemiga, (...) porque no **la** entiendo
 I am (...) her worst enemy, (...) because not 3sg.FEM.CL 1sg.understand
 ‘I am (...) her worst enemy, (...) because I do not understand her’

(DeMello, 2002: 267)

(20b) El padre vino de Francia y casi no hablaba español. Pero
 the father came from France and almost not spoke Spanish. But

le entendió en la confesión de Conchita.
 3sg.mas.CL 3sg.understood in the confession of Conchita

‘The priest came from France and he spoke almost no Spanish. But in the
 confession, he understood Conchita.’

(DeMello, 2002: 267)

(21a) Ayer lo_i vi en el parque [a él_i].

Yesterday 3sg.mas.CL 1sg.saw in the park [DOM him]

‘Yesterday, I saw him in the park’

(Fernández-Ordóñez, 1999:24)

(21b) Ayer le_i vi en el parque [a usted_i].

Yesterday 3sg.mas.CL 1sg.saw in the park [DOM you]

‘Yesterday, I saw you (formal) in the park’

(Fernández-Ordóñez, 1999:24)

¹⁵ The disambiguation between (17a) and (17b) has to do with the use of the clitic with the verb *entender* ‘to understand’; when used with *le* as in (17b) it makes reference to ‘understanding what was being said’ whereas when used with accusative *la* as in (17a) it refers to the actual ‘understanding of the person’ (Fernández-Ordóñez, 1999; DeMello, 2002). Other verbs with similar behavior have been reported to be: *aburrir* ‘to bore’, *afectar* ‘to affect’, *alegrar* ‘to make happy’, *angustiar* ‘to distress’, *asustar* ‘to scare’, *ayudar* ‘to help’, *consolar* ‘to console’, *decepcionar* ‘to disappoint’, *deprimir* ‘to depress’, *distracer* ‘to distract’, *divertir* ‘to amuse’, *emocionar* ‘excite’, *enseñar* ‘to teach’, *entretener* ‘to entertain’, *impresionar* ‘to impress’, *inquietar* ‘to worry’, *irritar* ‘to irritate’, *molestar* ‘to annoy’, *sorprender* ‘to surprise’.

Such uses of *leísmo aparente* have been notoriously used in various regions of Peninsular Spanish (Soria, La Rioja, Valladolid). For instance, Klein-Andrew (1979) studied the use of *leísmo* in Valladolid, the capital of Castile and Leon, and notes that the educated speech in this area is known for its “sistema estándar o de compromiso” (standard system or that of a compromise), which refers to the etymological use *but* with the possibility of using *leísmo* to mark human masculine singular referents. Similar results were obtained by Quilis et al., (1985), who studied the educated speech of Madrid Spanish. Their results showed that the use of *le* was mainly found when making reference to personal pronouns, but not beyond human masculine and singular referents. More recently, Paredes-García (2007) quantified the speech of 36 monolingual speakers of the Salamanca neighborhood in Madrid and found that the three most important factors accounting the variation were the continuity (countable vs. non-countable), the type of verb and the gender of the speaker. *Le* was mainly found in contexts to refer to countable NPs both in singular and plural (for instance, *mis abuelos* ‘my grandparents’). Verbs that favored *leísmo* were perceptual verbs (*ver* ‘to see’) or mental verbs (*conocer* ‘to know/meet’, *considerar* ‘to considerate’). Finally, women of the higher social strata showed higher rates of *leísmo*. The author concluded that the use of *leísmo* is quite common in Madrid (33%), with prestigious uses led by women.

Furthermore, the aspect of the verb as well as the position of the subject in the discourse have shown to be important factors in determining the use of *le* or *lo* in these type of verbs. The use of *lo* is more common in perfective sentences or when the subject precedes the verb¹⁶ whereas *le* is more extensive to find when the verb is in imperfect tense or the experiencer is preceding the verb, leading to a more stative reading (Fernández-Ordóñez, 1999).¹⁷ As such, certain alternating verbs that signal mental activities (*comprender*, *entender*, *sorprender*) may denote higher degrees of transitivity through the variable use of the pronominal clitic. Although this disambiguation strategy

¹⁶ An example would be *su jefe consiguió sorprenderla* ‘her boss got to surprise her’.

¹⁷ An example would be *A Jesús le sorprende María* ‘María surprises Jesus’.

is not found in all monolingual varieties of Spanish, it has been shown to be part of the educated speech of Latin American Spanish (DeMello 2002).

As far as *courtly leísmo* goes, the use of *le* is employed to mark the prominence of the formal referent (formal ‘you’) and disambiguate it from ‘real’ or non-formal third person objects (García, 1975; Moreno-Cabrera, 1991; Klein-Andreu, 1996). Such semantic distinction is shown in examples (21a-b). Research has also shown that the use of *le* is used more often when the formal referent (*usted*) is also masculine (Uruburu, 1993). Such uses of *leísmo aparente* have sparked debate as to whether they are ‘true’ instances of *leísmo* (DeMello, 2002) as they are usually restricted to very specific contexts denoting slightly different meanings. Furthermore, these examples of ‘leísmo’ are also known part of a clitic system that distinguishes the case system between direct objects and indirect objects, a case distinction that was already present in Latin. As it will be shown in the next section, the use of *leísmo* in Spanish varieties in contact with non-Indoeuropean languages varies dramatically.

2.4.2.2.2 *Leísmo* in contact with non-Indo-European languages

Most research on *leísmo* in Spanish contact varieties comes from language contact with Guaraní in Paraguay, Quechua/Quichua in Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia and Basque in Spain.¹⁸ In comparison with the Standard clitic system, the pronominal clitic system in these Spanish dialects has been characterized for its ‘simplified’ form or “partial system” or its extended use of *leísmo*. This ‘simplification’ is related to the notion that, in these contact varieties, speakers may have neutralized their use of the pronominal system according to gender, number or case. Such ‘simplification’ has been historically attributed to the process of second language acquisition in which variable use of *leísmo* has been explained in terms of degree of bilingualism or socio-economic status of the speakers. Studies have also shown that what once was a ‘marker’ of L2 Spanish, it is now

¹⁸ Other recurrent phenomena in these dialects include DO clitic omission in all three dialects: Landa (1995) for Basque-Spanish; Choi (1998) and Symeonidis (2005) for Guaraní-Spanish; Escobar (2000) for Andean Spanish. *Laísmo* and *loísmo* in Basque-Spanish (Fernández-Ordóñez, 1999; Urrutia-Cárdenas, 1995, 2003) and the archimorpheme *lo* in Quechua Spanish (Klee, 1996; Escobar, 2000) or *loísmo* in Peruvian Spanish (Mayer and Delicado-Cantero, 2015).

part of the speech norm of many monolingual varieties also belonging to the high socio-economic strata (Fernández-Ordóñez, 2012). It is important to mention that these dialects do not represent a homogenous *leísta* system and various competing systems may exist in each dialect or within each speaker. This is because the historical depth of contact as well as other sociolinguistic factors that explain the use of *leísmo* in these contact varieties varies significantly (Camacho and Sánchez, 2002; Sánchez, 2003).

The varieties of Spanish in contact with Quechua are mainly spoken in Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia, and even if they are in contact with the same language, the *leísmo* employed in different countries varies. For instance, Yépez (1986) showed that *leísmo* is very extended in Quito: *leísmo* occurs 98% of the times when the referent is animate and 27% of the times when the referent is non-animate. More recently, Palacios (2002, 2005) documented that 2 pronominal clitic systems co-exist in Ecuador, one in Quito and one in Otovalo. In her data from spontaneous speech, Palacios (2006) showed that the use of *leísmo* is very extended both in bilingual and monolingual speech in Quito and it is characterized for its case, gender (22a-b) and sometimes number (23a-c) neutralization in favor of *le* showing an invariant form of *le* in terms of plural agreement.

(22a) *Le_i voy a bañar a Gabriela_i*
 3sg.CL 1sg.go to bathe DOM Gabriela
 ‘I am going to bathe Gabriela’

(22b) *Le_i vi a Javier Ignacio_i hoy en la escuela*
 3sg.CL 1sg.saw DOM Javier Ignacio today in the school
 ‘I saw Javier Ignacio in school today’

(23a) *No hay aquí ese chorizo_i, ¿cómo le_i harán?*
 Not there.is here that chorizo, how 3sg.DAT.CL 3pl.make
 ‘There is no such chorizo here, how would they make it?’

(23b) Si vienen las italianas_i [...] o sea toca convencerle_i
 if 3pl.come the Italians.pl.fem [...] so have convince.3sg.DAT.CL
 ‘If the Italians come [...] (we) have to convince them’

(23c) Las casas_i les_i preparan de una especie de adobes
 The houses.pl.fem 3pl.DAT.CL 3pl.prepare of a sort of adobe
 ‘The houses they prepare them with some sort of adobe’

(Palacios 2002: 841, 842, 846)

The neutralization system in Otavalo, a largely indigenous (Quichua-speaking) urban center, happens with gender and not case; *le* is used for dative (indirect objects) and *lo* is used for all accusatives (direct objects). The opposite directionality on the uses of *le* (lack of *leísmo* in Otavalo and extended use of *leísmo* in Quito) is probably the first indication that different contact situations occurred during the colonization era. Such analysis still remains undetermined.

In Peru, *leísmo* has not been attested in the educated speech of Lima (DeMello, 2002) and although it is used much less than in Ecuador, it is also not specific of bilingual speech. Paredes (1996), Caravedo (1999) and Valdes-Salas (2002) found that *leísmo* in Perú was used between 15 % and 30 % of the times among monolingual and bilingual speakers, respectively. In these studies, the use of *leísmo* was mainly found in rural areas and it is considered typical of Andean Spanish. Furthermore, Paredes and Valdez (2008) compared Quechua-Spanish bilingual speakers in Lima with monolingual speakers in Chota and Cajamarca, a region of long-standing contact with Quechua. They found that monolinguals used *le* with animate, non-human, and inanimate objects, showing also gender neutralization but number neutralization was only found in the bilingual group. Interestingly, the use of *le* increased with level of education in the monolingual group of Chota, showing possible effects from overt prescriptivism notions from Peninsular Standard forms. Lastly, Klee and Caravedo (2005) compared native monolingual speakers from Lima (Limeños) with 1st and 2nd generation of Andean Spanish speakers in Lima. Although the overall rates of *leísmo* found in Lima was similar to those found in

Paredes (1996) and Paredes and Valdez (2008), it was shown that 1st generation migrants and their children used *leísmo* between 0 and 40% whereas local Limeños had an average of 4.4%.¹⁹ All groups used *leísmo* with male human direct objects but bilingual speakers also extended *leísmo* to female and inanimate objects. Within the bilingual group, 2nd generation migrants produced less *leísmo* (~11%) in these contexts compared to their parents (~22%). It was concluded that although *leísmo* is typical of Andean Spanish, migrants have brought it to Lima and it is being passed on to their children.

The Guaraní-Spanish contact in Paraguay with respect to *leísmo* has been less extensively studied. Granda (1988), Choi (1998) and Palacios (2000) have shown that *leísmo* is used in all territories of Paraguay and it is found in all socio economic groups or bilingual groups, with slight decrease in the mid and mid-high socioeconomic background (Symeonidis, 2013).²⁰ Similar to Ecuadorian Spanish, *le* seems to be the only referent to all animate objects regardless of number, gender and case. In contrast to the norm in Quito, the tendency in Paraguay is to omit pronominal clitics with inanimate referents. Such neutralization in the animate paradigm is attributed to contact with Guaraní, a non-Indo-European language that does not show morphological distinction for gender, number or case. Unlike the case of the Quechua-Spanish contact, it has been found substrate influence of *ichupe*, a form that functions as the 3rd direct and indirect object clitics in Guaraní (Granda, 1988; Choi, 1998).²¹

Often times, the presence of a specific clitic could be dictated by the presence of DOM (or lack thereof), which suggests that there is a syntactic relationship between both phenomena. In order to capture that possible relationship, we now turn to the explanation of clitic-doubling.

¹⁹ Animacy and information status of the referent show higher rates of *leísmo* in both groups (Paredes and Valdez, 2008).

²⁰ Symeonidis (2013) further argues that this generalization should be spoken in “absolute” terms because there is a minor tendency in the high social strata to use the pronominal clitic system of Standard Spanish.

²¹ See Choi (1998) for a multiple causation explanation.

2.4.3. Clitic-doubling

Clitic doubling refers to the co-presence of the pronominal clitic and the NP object that such clitic indexes. Spanish clitic-doubling is possible with NPs that index indirect objects and direct objects with some general commonalities across Spanish dialects. In most Spanish dialects, clitic doubling is obligatory with strong pronouns (Suñer, 1988) (24), with psych verbs of *gustar*-type ‘to like’ (25), and clitic left dislocation constructions (CLLD)(26) but not possible with negative quantifiers (27):

(24) *(le) vi a él
 3sg.CL 1sg.saw DOM him
 ‘I saw him’

(25) *(le) gusta el chocolate
 3sg.DAT.CL 3sg.like the chocolate
 ‘S/he likes chocolate’

(26) El libro *(lo) dejé en la mesa,
 The book 3sg.mas.acc.CL 1sg.left on the table
 ‘The book, I left it on the table’

(27) * Yo no lo_i ví ningún libro_i
 I not 3sg.mas.acc.CL 1sg.saw none book
 ‘I did not see any book’

Clitic doubling is optional and unrestricted in ditransitive constructions in which the dative *le* is indexing the PP indirect object (28):

(28) (le) di un regalo (a Juan)
 DAT.CL 1sg.gave a present (to Juan)
 ‘I gave Juan a present’

Although examples (24-28) largely apply to all dialects of Spanish, there are uses of clitic-doubling in other contexts, showing extensive variation especially with direct objects. For instance, in Buenos Aires Spanish, clitic-doubling is very common with accusative clitics and direct objects:

- (29) Lo vi a Roberto en el cine
 ACC.CL 1sg.saw DOM Roberto in the cinema
 ‘I saw Roberto at the cinema’ (Montrul 2004: 188)

Although clitic-doubling with direct objects has been widely studied in Rioplatense or Buenos Aires Spanish (Suñer, 1988; Estigarrabia 2006; Belloro, 2007; Di Tullio et al., 2013), it is also attested in other dialects in Argentina (Colantoni, 2002), Andean and Lima Spanish in Perú (Escobar, 1972; Luján, 1987; Sánchez, 2010), Basque-Spanish in Spain (Franco, 1993; Ormazábal and Romero, 2007, 2013), in Caracas, Venezuela (Bentivoglio, 1978), in Santiago, Chile (Silva-Corvalán, 1981), in México (Alarcón and Orozco, 2004) and in Los Angeles (Luján et al., 2001). The variation on the use of clitic-doubling in these dialects is probably conditioned not only by external factors (degree of bilingualism, socio-economic status), which have not been extensively studied, but also due to the different syntactic statuses of the clitics.

The syntactic status of clitics has been cross-linguistically and pan-hispanically studied generating a long-standing debate within formal linguistics. On the one hand, the *Movement Hypothesis* claims that clitics are base generated in argument positions, moving then to preverbal position (Kayne, 1975; Borer 1984). On the other hand, the *Base-Generated Hypothesis* claims that clitics are generated in an internal position of the vP and remain *in situ* (Aoun, 1981; Jaeggli, 1982). In its modern version, the latter hypothesis claims that Romance clitics are agreement markers constituting its own functional head. The *Movement Hypothesis* was initially proposed to account for the French data, in which the NP and the clitic are in complementary distribution (Kayne, 1975). The idea that clitic-movement may involve some sort of movement has enjoyed

NPs and show gender and number agreement patterns in Lima Spanish (31a-b), whereas agreement restrictions disappear in contact varieties such as Andean Spanish in which any NP allow clitic-doubling, including indefinites (32a) and bare plurals (32b):

(31a) La_i vi a Lucía_i
 3sg.fem.CL 1sg.saw DOM Lucía
 ‘I saw Lucia’
(Lima Spanish, Sánchez, 2010: 94)

(31b) *Lo_i buscan un libro_i
 3sg.mas.CL 3pl.look for mas.DET book
 ‘They look for a book’
(Lima Spanish, Sánchez, 2010: 94)

(32a) Se lo_i llevó caramelos_i
 3sg.CL 3sg.mas.CL 3sg.took pl.candy (masc)
 ‘S/he took candy with him/her’ (Andean Spanish, Luján, 1987: 115)

[illegible]

The high variability on optional clitic-doubling and the possible case agreement relations with NPs has sparked another debate within formal theories of clitic-doubling. The debate centers on *Kayne's Generalization*, according to which an NP object may be doubled by a clitic only if the NP is preceded by a preposition. In the same study, Sánchez and Zdrojewski (2013) showed that Buenos Aires Spanish conforms to this generalization whereas Lima and Andean Spanish do not. Evidence in support of Andean Spanish as a violation of *Kayne's Generalization* comes from (30b) in which *a*-marking

is not required. Furthermore, based on the gaping structure test, Zdrokewski and Sánchez (2013: 171) showed that Buenos Aires Spanish requires DOM for clitic-doubling to appear (*Juan la_i beso a María_i y Pedro a Ana_i* ‘Juan kissed María and Pedro [kissed] Ana’), whereas in Lima Spanish clitic-doubling is possible with unmarked objects (*Juan lo_i manejó el tren_i y Pedro el camión_i* ‘Juan drove the train and Pedro [drove] the truck’). These results suggest that the clitic-doubling in Buenos Aires is largely conditioned by the presence of DOM, whereas in Lima Spanish, such condition is not necessary for clitic-doubling to occur.

In short, clitic-doubling is obligatory in certain structures (strong pronouns, *gustar*-type verbs and left dislocation) but its optionality and syntactic realizations are abounding to cross-dialectal differences. Some dialects strictly obey *Kayne’s Generalization* (Buenos Aires) whereas others allow clitic doubling without *a*-marking (Lima Spanish). Whereas some sort of movement seems to be the desired analysis for Spanish clitic-doubling, some patterns in certain dialects show evidence against this view (use of archimorpheme *lo* in Andean Spanish). The case of Basque Spanish will show that clitic doubling conforms to *Kayne’s Generalization* as in Buenos Aires, but it will be used mainly with dative clitics (*le/les*), and animate referents, showing an agreement relationship with Case between *leísmo* and DOM.

2.5. Basque-Spanish DOM (*a*-marking, *leísmo* and clitic-doubling)

DOM in Basque-Spanish is expressed by means of *a*-marking, *leísmo* and clitic-doubling as shown in (33):

- (33) Le he visto a Mikel
 3sg.DAT.CL 1sg.have seen DOM Mikel
 ‘I have seen Mikel’

Literature on *a*-marking has not provided any evidence to claim that *a*-marking in Basque-Spanish is any different from peninsular varieties. However, the use of clitics as

well as the syntactic status of the pronominal clitic system in Basque-Spanish show some differences with Standard Peninsular Spanish, Peninsular *leísmo* (*leísmo aparente*) and other *leísta* dialects such as the contact varieties explored in section 2.4.2.2.2. The Basque-Spanish Leísta Dialect (BLD, henceforth) is characterized for its *animated leísmo*, in which the use of *le* or *lo/la* is dependent upon the animacy of the object. As such, animate *leísmo* refers to the use of *le* to index animate direct objects regardless of gender (34a-b), showing neutralization of gender (35a-b):

- (34a) sí, a mi aita **le** dejamos en casa
 Yes, DOM my dad 3sg.CL 1pl.left at home
 ‘Yes, my dad we left him at home’

female 22, Bilbao

- (34b) yo **le** dije que **le** cogía al mes (*le* = Soraya)
 I 3sg.DAT.CL(IO) 1sg.told that 3sg.DAT.CL(DO) 1sg.took once month
 ‘I told her that I would have her once a month’

female 26, Gernika

- (35a) porque **les** oigo y no sé.... (*les* = los hombres ‘men’)
 because 3pl.DAT.CL 1sg.hear and not 1sg.know
 ‘I because I hear them and I don’t know...’

female 38, Bilbao

- (35b) Yo **les**_i quiero mucho a mis amigas_i
 I 3pl.DAT.CL 1sg.love much DOM my friends (f)
 ‘I love my girlfriends very much’

female 27, Gernika

Clitics encoding inanimate objects are often omitted (36) but when they are phonologically realized, they are used in their accusative form and agree in number and gender (37a-d):

(36) Entonces coger el coche, dejar-Ø en Mungia

Then take the car, leave-Ø in Mungia

‘[We] then take the car and leave [it] in Mungia

female 22, Bilbao

(37a) el bar es el que lo compra (*lo* = el ron (masc) ‘rum’)

the bar is the what 3sg.masc.ACC.CL 3sg.buy

‘It is the bar who buys it’

male 25, Bilbao

(37b) tiempos verbales.... ¡que no los tienen!

tenses verbs ... that not 3pl.masc.ACC.CL 3pl.have

‘Verb tenses.... They do not have them!’

male 22, Getxo

(37c) yo la fonética y la fonología la odio desde siempre

I the phonetics and the phonology 3sg.fem.ACC.CL 1sg.hate since always

‘I have always hated phonetics and phonology’

male 27, Bilbao

(37d) Las clases las daba en castellano

the clases 3pl.fem.ACC.CL 3sg.give in Spanish

‘The classes, I used to teach them in Spanish’

female 22, Bilbao

The variation of the pronominal system in BLD has been shown to be contingent upon sociolinguistic factors such as socio-economic status and degree of bilingualism. In his quantitative study, Urrutia-Cárdenas (1995) studied the spontaneous speech of 8 Spanish speakers from Bilbao stratified by socio economic status (high and low). His results showed that *le* was used with masculine singular animate objects 100% of the times. Plural animate masculine objects followed next in its frequency, using *les* on an average of 73.5%. Female animate references were also used with *le*, but to a lower extent (average of 68% for singular and 52.5% for plural). It was suggested that these results may indicate some contact effects of Basque, a language that does not generally mark gender and grammatically distinguishes [+animate] from [-animate] in some postpositions.²² However, this hypothesis is partially challenged in the use of *le* with inanimate objects (38a-b) among speakers of low socio economic status and speakers with low proficiency in Spanish:

(38a) Yo le veo (*le* = la casa (f) ‘the house’)

I 3sg.DAT.CL 1sg.see

‘I see the house’

(Urrutia-Cárdenas, 1995: 254)

(38b) Les hay en el Corte Inglés (*les* = los ganchos (masc) ‘pins’)

3pl.DAT.CL there.are in the Corte Inglés

‘They have them at Corte Ingles’

(Urrutia-Cárdenas, 1995: 254)

These results have led researchers to postulate, that if contact with Basque is a motivator for the clitic system in Basque-Spanish, it is not the most important one (Tuten, 2003; Klee and Lynch, 2009).²³ Further evidence was found in Urrutia-Cárdenas and Fernández-Ulloa (1997) who studied the spontaneous speech of 20 Spanish speakers in Bermeo, a semi-urban town of widespread bilingualism with Basque. Results showed

²² etxe hon-e-tara vs. pertsona hon-e-n-gana
house this-v-ADL person this-v-GEN-ADL
‘towards this house’ vs. ‘towards this person’

²³ Although not primarily, the possibility that the contact of Basque was also a motivator for its development has never been abandoned. The emergence of BLD has also been claimed to be an example of ‘imperfect’ learning leading to a language-internal process of analogy (Fernández-Ordóñez, 1999) which also underwent a process of koineization (Tuten, 2003).

that Spanish speakers in Bermeo used *leísmo* 19% less than its Spanish-dominant counterpart in Bilbao. Furthermore, Paasch-Kaiser (2015) studied the speech of 20 Spanish speakers of Getxo, an urban area where Spanish predominates. The speakers had little to no knowledge of Basque. Results showed that the rates of *leísmo* were pretty high with animate objects (92,78%) as opposed to inanimate objects (6,19%) and the verbs predominating *leísmo* were those found for monolingual varieties (Peninsular Spanish) (*conocer* ‘to know/meet’, *entender* ‘to understand’, *llamar* ‘to call’ and *ver* ‘to see’). Although these data may suggest that contact is not the most important predictor to explain such variation, it may well be that contact may have played a role in earlier stages on the development of BLD and that this system has become the norm of a typical Basque-Spanish dialect (Fernández-Ordóñez, 2012).

Basque-Spanish is also characterized for its extensive use of clitic-doubling. Similar to Standard Spanish, clitic doubling is obligatory with clitic left dislocations and possible with arguments that double indirect objects. Contrary to Standard Spanish (as well as *apparent leísmo* constructions), clitic-doubling may appear with inanimate objects that are encoded with accusative *lo/la* (36a) as well as with *a*-marked animate objects that are encoded with *le* (39b) (Urrutia-Cárdenas, 2003; Urrutia-Cárdenas and Fernández-Ulloa, 1997). Furthermore, BLD clitic doubling is not restricted with negative quantifiers when it encodes animate objects (40a-40b):

- (39a) Yo lo_i veo el castellano_i igual
I 3sg.masc.ACC.CL 1sg.see the Spanish same
'I see Spanish as same' (Urrutia-Cárdenas 2003: 530)
- (39b) Le_i vi (al niño_i /a la niña_i)
3sg.DAT.CL 1sg.saw (DOM-the boy/DOM the girl)
'I saw him/her/the boy/the girl' (Ormazábal and Romero 2013: 316)

(40a) *Ningún libro_i lo_i han visto en la universidad
 None book 3sg.masc.ACC.CL 3pl.have seen in the university
 ‘They have not seen any book at the university’
 (Ormazábal and Romero 2013: 317)

(40b) A ningún estudiante_i le_i han visto en la universidad
 DOM none student 3sg.DAT.CL 3pl.have seen in the university
 ‘None of the students they saw at the university’
 (Ormazábal and Romero 2013: 317)

This characterization of clitic-doubling in BLD have led researchers to postulate two conclusions: First, the presence of clitic doubling is largely conditioned by the presence of DOM, conforming thus to *Kayne’s Generalization* (Urrutia-Cárdenas and Fernández-Ulloa, 1997). Second, the presence of clitic-doubling in BLD is a syntactic phenomenon. More specifically, it is claimed that the direct object *le/les* in BLD are no different from indirect object *le/les*, which follows the general assumption that that indirect object clitics (*le/les*) are agreement markers. As such, direct object *le/les* are also agreement markers in BLD: clitics are heads containing their own agreement projections and function as morphological agreement markers, in which they agree with Case, number, person and animacy (Franco, 1993; Sportiche, 1996; Ormazábal and Romero, 2013).

Thus, the picture that emerges for the clitic system of Standard Peninsular Spanish or *apparent leísmo* in monolingual Spain is quite different from BLD, not only morphologically but also syntactically. The clitic system of Standard Spanish is known for its absence of *leísmo* (etymological uses), in which *le/les* is strictly used for indirect objects and *lo/la* are used for masculine and feminine indirect objects, regardless of animacy (41a-c). In Peninsular *Leísmo*, *le* can be used to encode singular animate masculine objects (42) (*leísmo aparente*), whereas *leísmo* is extended to all animate objects in BLD (as shown in 32-33 above).

(41a) Lo he visto
3sg.masc.ACC.CL 1sg.have seen
'I have seen it/him'

(41b) La he visto
3sg.fem.ACC.CL 1sg.have seen
'I have seen it/her'

(41c) Juan le dio un libro a María
 Juan 3sg.DAT.CL 3sg.gave a book to María
 ‘Juan gave a book to María’

(42) Le vi
3sg.masc.DAT.CL 1sg.saw
'I saw him'

Syntactically, 3rd person direct objects clitics behave differently than indirect objects, in the sense that the former ones constitute determiners whereas the latter are agreement markers. Evidence in support of this claim comes from the fact that DO clitics show morphological gender in Standard Spanish (*lo(s)/la(s)*), which resemble Spanish determiners (*lo(s)/la(s)*), whereas IO do not (*le(s)*) (see tables 2.5, 2.6, 2.7 below). Further support is found in clitic-doubling constructions (among other phenomena that does not pertain to the present dissertation) (Ormazábal and Romero, 2007, 2013). In Standard Spanish dative clitic-doubling is only possible with indirect objects (41c) or clitic left dislocation constructions (26) repeated here as (42) whereas clitic-doubling is possible in contexts of *a*-marking in BLD. Interestingly, *apparent leísmo* in monolingual Spanish (42) does not allow clitic-doubling. This suggests that the *le* in *apparent leísmo* behaves like BLD morphologically, but behaves similar to Standard Spanish accusative clitics at the syntactic level.

- (43) El libro (*lo) dejé en la mesa,
 The book 3sg.mas.acc.CL 1sg.left on the table
 ‘The book, I left it on the table’

The main morphological and syntactic differences between Standard Spanish, Peninsular *leísmo* (*apparent leísmo*) and BLD (*animated leísmo*) are shown in 2.5, 2.6, 2.7, respectively.

Table 2.5. Properties of Standard Spanish (adapted from Ormazábal and Romero, 2013:314)

	Indirect Object Clitics		Direct Object Clitics	
	1 st / 2 nd	3 rd	1 st / 2 nd	3 rd
Singular	<i>me, te</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>me, te</i>	<i>lo (m) / la (f)</i>
Plural	<i>nos, os</i>	<i>les</i>	<i>nos, os</i>	<i>los (m) / las (f)</i>
Gender	NO	NO	NO	YES
Doubling	YES	YES	YES	NO (restricted)
Syntactic status	Agreement	Agreement	Agreement	Determiner

Table 2.6. Properties of Peninsular *leísmo*: *apparent leísmo*

	Indirect Object Clitics		Direct Object Clitics	
	1 st / 2 nd	3 rd	1 st / 2 nd	3 rd
Singular	<i>me, te</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>me, te</i>	<i>le~lo (m) / la (f)</i>
Plural	<i>nos, os</i>	<i>les</i>	<i>nos, os</i>	<i>les~los (m) / las (f)</i>
Gender	NO	NO	NO	YES
Doubling	YES	YES	YES	NO (restricted)
Syntactic status	Agreement	Agreement	Agreement	Determiner

Table 2.7. Properties of BLD (*animated leísmo*) (adapted from Ormazábal and Romero, 2013:319)

	Indirect Object Clitics		Direct Object Clitics		
	1 st / 2 nd	3 rd	1 st / 2 nd	3 rd animate	3 rd inanimate
Singular	<i>me, te</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>me, te</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>lo (m) / la (f)</i>
Plural	<i>nos, os</i>	<i>les</i>	<i>nos, os</i>	<i>les</i>	<i>los (m)/ las (f)</i>
Gender	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
Doubling	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO (restricted)
Syntactic status	Agreement	Agreement	Agreement	Agreement	Determiner

Comparatively, it can be said that BLD behaves similarly to Buenos Aires Spanish in the sense that both largely obey *Kayne's Generalization*. However, clitics in Buenos Aires Spanish undergo movement, whereas in BLD, they are considered agreement markers attached to their inflectional hosts. Morphologically, it can be said that *leísmo* in BLD is similar to those encountered in contact-varieties in Latin America, in the sense that gender systems are neutralized to a single form *le*. The difference between them lays in the number distinction that is maintained in BLD whereas in the Spanish in contact with Guaraní or Quechua this distinction is more neutralized both singular and plurals being indexed by *le*.

A note regarding the use of these systems is warranted for Basque-Spanish. As Urrutia-Cárdenas (1995: 255) noted ‘the use and the spread of *leísmo* do not undermine completely the Academy model’. Urrutia-Cárdenas (1995) surveyed 48 speakers from the Basque Country on the acceptances of *animate leísmo* and standard use of clitics (etymological uses) showing that *animated leísmo* was widely accepted. Although he did not show specific percentages for the acceptance rates of standard forms, he claims that “the system of etymological uses is also acceptable to a good number of educated and uneducated speakers (Urrutia-Cárdenas, 1995: 252). Still remains to determine whether those acceptance rates are also pertinent to context (formal vs. informal) or depends on other sociolinguistic factors such as age, degree of bilingualism, parental origin or social networks. Although the present dissertation will be exploring the use of *leísmo* in

Basque-Spanish, we will not be able to make any generalizations as to whether contact plays a role. Instead, we are interested in the influence of leísmo over Basque DOM.

2.6. DOM in Basque

Basque is a head-final language with ergative, absolutive and dative case markings, assigned to a syntactic function (Etxepare, 2003). Ergative is used to mark subjects of transitive and unergative verbs, absolutive for direct objects and subjects of unaccusative verbs, and the dative *-(r)i* is mainly used for indirect objects, benefactives or goals. Basque finite verbs are composed of a lexical verb that carries aspectual information and an auxiliary verb bearing tense, agreement and modal information. The choice of auxiliary verb typically depends on the valency of the predicate, that is, the three arguments (subject, direct object and indirect object) are morphologically encoded in the auxiliary verb. Although these morphemes have been traditionally referred to as agreement morphemes (Laka, 1993; Fernández and Albizu, 2000) I will follow Arregi and Nevins (2012) by referring them as *pronominal clitics* that double ergative, absolutive and dative arguments.²⁴

- (44) *Ni-k umi-e-ri_j erregalu-e emon d-o-ts-a_j-t*
 I-ERG child-the-DAT gift-the.ABS give L-PR.3sg-DF-3sg.DAT-1sg.ERG
 ‘I have given the child a gift.’

- (45) *Ni-k Mikel ikusi d-o-t*
 I-ERG Mikel.ABS see L-PR.3sg-1sg.ERG
 ‘I have seen Mikel’

²⁴ The reasoning for this claim is because cliticization involves multiple processes in which cliticization and agreement may target the same argument resulting in multiple morphemes referencing a single argument in the finite auxiliary (Arregi and Nevins, 2012). Both approaches agree that clitic doubling is obligatory for the arguments these clitics encode, resulting in agreement. However, an important difference between the two claims is that according to Arregi and Nevins (2012: 232) 3rd person absolutive morphemes are not clitics. These are L-morphemes instead in which Gernika Basque takes *d-* as a default morpheme.

As shown in (44), the dative marker *–ri* and the dative clitic *–a-* on the auxiliary verb obligatorily mark indirect objects, whereas absolutive generally Ø-mark direct objects (45). In Gernika Basque DOM, the dative marker *–ri* (and clitic *–a-* on the auxiliary) optionally mark animate direct objects (46a), but not inanimate objects as in (46b-c):

Gernika Basque

(46a) *Ni-k Mikel-e-ri_i ikusi d-o-ts-a_i-t*
 I-ERG Mikel-epenthesis-DAT see L-PR.3sg-DF-3sg.DAT-1sg.ERG
 ‘I have seen Mikel’

(46b) *Ni-k etxi-e_i ikusi d_i-o-t*
 I-ERG house-the.ABS see L-PR.3sg-1sg.ERG
 ‘I have seen the house’

(46c) **Ni-k etxi-e-ri_i ikusi d-o-ts-a_i-t*
 I-ERG house-the-DAT see L-PR.3sg-DF-3sg.DAT-1sg.ERG
 ‘I have seen the house’

As such, instances of Gernika Basque DOM resemble to ditransitive constructions in the sense that they contain the same case (dative *–ri*) and agreement in the auxiliary (*dotsat*). However, they are syntactically different from ditransitive constructions, as explained in turn.

2.6.1. The syntax of Basque DOM

The first syntactic account of Basque DOM was put forward by Fernández and Ortiz de Urbina (2012) and Fernández and Rezac (in press), who proposed two principles for the study of Basque DOM: (1) syntactically, DOM objects are direct objects because they share the same argumental relations as canonical objects and (2) morphologically, DOM objects have structural case-marking in which they agree with the clitic in the auxiliary

verb. A test to determine that DOM objects are *true* direct objects is using depictive predicates (McFadden, 2004). Oyharçabal (2010) used this test in Basque to show that depictive secondary predicates can only be controlled by direct objects and not indirect objects (Pylkkänen, 2002) as shown in (47) and (48).

- (47) Jon-e-k haragi-a_i gordinik_i jan z-ue-n
 Jon-vowel-ERG meat-the.ABS raw eat 3sg.ERG-PAST.3sg-CPAST
 ‘Jon ate the meat raw’

- (48) Jon-e-k_i Joana-ri_j berri-ak mozkor_{i/*j} eman
 Jon-vowel-ERG Joana-DAT news-ABS.pl drunk give

z-izki-o-n

3sg.ERG-3pl-3sg.DAT-CPAST

‘Jon gave the news to Joana drunk’

(Oyharçabal, 2010)

Fernández and Rezac (in press) extended this test to determine the syntax of DOM in Dima Basque, showing that Basque DOM objects are indeed direct objects (49). The same seems to hold for Gernika Basque as well (50).

- (49) Ni-k_i zu-ri_j mozkortuta_{i/j} ikusi d-i-zu-t
 I-ERG You-DAT drunk see L-PR.3sg-**2sg.DAT**-1sg.ERG
 ‘I saw you drunk’

(Fernández and Rezac, in press)

- (50) ba (polizíxe-k) pille-z-ku_i-e-n pare batzu-ri
 so (police.pl-ERG catch-DF-1pl.DAT-3pl.ERG-CPAST couple some-DAT

berbetan_i

talking

‘The police caught some of us talking’

(male 27, Gernika)

A subset of bivalent unergative Basque verbs may take arguments that are marked with dative or canonical absolutive. These verbs are referred to *alternating verbs* and include verbs such as *begiratu* ‘to look at’, *itxaron* ‘to wait’, *deitu* ‘call’, *lagundu* ‘accompany’. Such constructions may resemble DOM, they have been shown to behave syntactically different from *true* DOM instances: the internal dative arguments in alternating verbs behave like dative indirect object arguments in ditransitive constructions (51), whereas internal dative arguments in DOM constructions behave like direct objects (52). This is shown in the fact that the depictive predicate *pozik* ‘happy’ can only encode the subject (nik ‘I’) and not the direct object (Miren). (52) would on the other hand constitute an example of DOM, because the depictive predicate *zarataka* ‘yelling’ encodes the direct object *andra bateri* ‘a woman’.

- (51) Ni-ki_i Miren-i_j pozik_{i/*j} begiratu n-io-n
 I-ERG Miren-DAT happy look.at 1sg.ERG-3sg.DAT-CPAST
 ‘I looked at Miren happy’ (Fernández and Rezac, in press)

- (52) Andra bat-e-ri_i ikus-ten-tz-o-Ø zarataka_i
 woman one-vowel-DAT see-PRES-DF-3sg.DAT-3sg.ERG yelling
 ‘S/he sees a woman yelling’

(male 25, Gernika)

Another important difference between these alternating verbs and DOM verbs is that alternating verbs also allow dative marking with inanimate objects (53a), whereas DOM constructions do not (42c), repeated here as (53b):

- (53a) eta bera egon zan begire nota-ri
 and s/he be was looking grades-DAT
 ‘And s/he was looking at the grades’ (male 27, Gernika)

- (53b) **Ni-k etxi-e-ri_i ikusi d-o-ts-a_i-t*
 I-ERG house-the-DAT see L-PR.3sg-DF-3sg.DAT-1sg.ERG
 ‘I have seen the house’

These principles were corroborated by Odria (2014), who provided a syntactic account of the spoken variety of Elgoibar Basque, and further elaborated on the second principle of Basque DOM: DOM objects check dative case structurally in an Agree relation that surfaces through pronominal clitics in the auxiliary verb.

The argument that DOM dative objects bear structural case comes from the fact that Basque DOM can appear in Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) contexts. Under the minimalist program on Case Theory (Chomsky, 2000) structural case marking reflects the Agree/Case relationship between the locus of case (*v* for direct objects), and the argument. Exceptional Case Marking refers to the morphological case marking procedure of the embedded subject in an infinitival sentence. An example in English would entail that the embedded subject (*he*) becomes ACC (*him*) in ECM (*Tim thinks that he is smart* > *Tim thinks him to be smart*). In this regard, *him* is being assigned accusative case marking structurally within the *v* headed by inflected *thinks*.

In Basque, transitive structures with *eduki* ‘to have’ have been analyzed for ECM conditions (Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria, 2012; Fernández and Rezac, in press), in which *eduki* may take a small clause with subject-predicate relation as its complement (*Oier artzain* ‘Oier as a shepherd’):

- (54) [Oier artzain] d-eko-gu Nevada-n
 Oier shepherd L-root-1pl.ERG Nevada-IN
 ‘Oier is a shepherd in Nevada’
 (literally = we have Oier (working) as a shepherd in Nevada)

(Fernández and Rezac, in press)

In this case, the subject of the small clause *Oier* is not the main argument of the verb *eduki* but of the small predicate (*artzain Nevadan* ‘as a shepherd in Nevada’). As such *Oier* is structurally assign absolutive -Ø from the main verb (*dekogu*). The fact that DOM is available for these constructions, as has been shown for certain dialects of Basque (51), suggests that dative case is structurally assigned and fulfills an agreement relationship with the inflected verb.

(55) Zu-k beti eduki-ko d-i-da-zu [ne-ri zain]
you-ERG always have-FUT L-PR.3sg-1sg.DAT-2sg.ERG [I-DAT waiting]
'You will always have me waiting for you.'
(Odria 2014: 310)

In this regard, Basque DOM resembles BLD in two fundamental ways: First, both systems structurally assign dative to their direct objects (*a*-marking in Spanish; *-ri* in Basque). Second, clitic-doubling is allowed in both systems, in which clitics are heads containing their own agreement projections and function as morphological agreement markers both in Basque and BLD.

Although agreement seems to be an important factor in Basque DOM, it cannot be considered a principle, but *a tendency*. This is because Basque DOM is not restricted to finite clauses where Agree/Case are established. This is seen in the following example, in which objects the object *niri* (me-DAT) also takes dative but no agreement is established with the auxiliary verb (56):

(56) edo beran arrebie egon-go ba-zan ni-ri zain-tzen
or her/his sister be-FUT if-was I-DAT take care-PROG
'Or as if her/his sister were taking care of me' (male 22, Gernika)

Furthermore, there are a number set of linguistic factors that have determined the variation found in Basque DOM, that conform to universal tendencies (animacy and specificity) and language-specific ones (null objects). These are explored in turn.

2.6.2. Animacy and Specificity

Basque DOM is optional and behaves primarily according to the two semantic-pragmatic factors: animacy and specificity. Though Fernández and Rezac (2013) show that DOM is optional for third person humans, it is unavailable for non-humans (either animate or not). This restricted availability is also found in Gernika Basque (Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2016) (57a-f):²⁵

Human

(57a) *Ba Jon-e-ri_i* *atrapa-tz-o_i*
 So Jon-epenthesis-DAT catch-DF-3sg.DAT
 ‘So it caught Jon’

(57b) *Ba Jon* *atrapa* *d-e-u*
 So Jon.ABS catch 3sg.ABS-vowel-root
 ‘So it caught Jon’

(female, 54)

Non-human animate

(57c) *Katajineti-e_i* *ikusi-gu*
 common genet-the.ABS see-1pl.ERG
 ‘We have seen the common genet’

(57d) **Katajineti-e-ri_i* *ikusi-ts-a_i-gu*
 common genet-the-DAT see-DF-3sg.DAT-1pl.ERG
 ‘We have seen the common genet’

(male, 27)

²⁵ Examples 12a and 13a were actual spontaneous productions of the speakers. Because speakers do not produce what is not available to their grammatical system during spontaneous speech, these same speakers were contacted and asked to rate the grammaticality of 12b and 13b for illustrative purposes.

Non-human, non-animate

(57e) *Ni-k etxi-e_i ikusi d_i-o-t*
I-ERG house-the.ABS see 3sg.ABS-root-1sg.ERG
'I have seen the house'

(57f) **Ni-k etxi-e-ri_i ikusi d-o-ts-a_i-t*
I-ERG house-the-DAT see 3sg.ABS-root-DF-3sg.DAT-1sg.ERG
'I have seen the house'

2.6.3. Person

The person feature of the object has shown important dialectal differences in terms of the use of Basque DOM. For instance, in dialects such as Elgoibar Basque, DOM is obligatory with first and second person objects whereas optional with third person ones (Odria, 2014). Likewise, Dima and Ultzama DOM is also obligatory with first and second person but unavailable for third person objects (Monoule, 2012; Fernández and Rezac, in press). In Lekeitio Basque, DOM is optional with any person (Hualde et al., 1994). Whether Basque dialects take mark 3rd person animate objects with dative or not, all dialects seem to show higher rates of DOM with first and second person. This fact was quantitatively shown for Gernika Basque (Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2016) in which first and second objects almost categorically (up to 96%) select dative whereas only 6% of 3rd person objects were marked with dative.

The fact that first and second person objects favor DOM shows some resemblance with the clitic system of the morphological encodings of clitics in Spanish in which first and second person clitics for direct and indirect objects are syncretic. In Basque, this syncretism, if any, would be involved in the auxiliary verbal paradigms of transitive and ditransitive constructions. These are shown in table 2.8:

Table 2.8. Auxiliary verbal paradigms for transitive and ditransitive verbs in Gernika Basque

	Auxiliary paradigm		Auxiliary paradigm	
	Transitive		Ditransitive	
	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>First</i>	nabe	gaittu	dozte	dozku
<i>Second</i>	zaittu	zaitzue	dotzu	dotzue
<i>Third</i>	deu	deuz	dotzo	dotzie

In her quantitative study of 29 Spanish-Basque bilinguals in Gernika Basque, Rodríguez-Ordóñez (2016) showed that the verbal paradigms for transitive and ditransitive verbs overlapped for first and second person; first and second person forms from the transitive paradigm *nabe*, *gaittu*, *zaittu*, *zaitzue* were being replaced by the indirect object verbal paradigm *dozte*, *dozku*, *dotzu*, *dotzue*, respectively. It was also shown that some Basque-dominant speakers still maintained both paradigms although the tendency was to syncretism between both paradigms with respect to first and second objects.

2.6.4. Tense-Aspect-Mood

Previous accounts shows that Basque DOM is abound to some variation with respect to tense. For instance, in Yrizar's (1997: 716-750) descriptions of Gipuzkoan verbal paradigms shows that Basque DOM is restricted to the past tense. Others have shown that Basque DOM appears both in present and past tenses in dialects such as Hondarribia and Irun (Sagarzazu, 2005) or Lekeitio Basque (Hualde et al., 1994: 125-127). These results seem to suggest that Basque DOM first appears in the past tense and then may extend to the present tense.

2.6.5. Null objects

Although the parameter of *pro*(noun) drop has been given less scholarly attention as a factor governing DOM, it has been shown to be pertinent to its variation, at least in Portuguese (Schwenter and Silva, 2002; Schwenter, 2014) and Bantu languages (Morimoto, 2002). For instance, Schwenter (2014) showed that Portuguese favors the presence of an NP when the referent is animate and specific, whereas null objects were favored with inanimate specific ones. He attributed these findings to the notion of DOM, given that the presence of or absence was determined by same universal factors. Hence, it was concluded that Portuguese should also be considered a DOM language. On a similar note, Landa (1995) showed a similar mirror effect in Basque Spanish, in which specific inanimate objects tend to be omitted whereas animate specific objects are morphologically DOM-marked in Basque Spanish.

As for Basque, Austin (2006) proposed that the heavy characterization of null objects in Basque opens a possibility to reanalyze the internal arguments of the verb leading to higher rates of DOM. Basque null objects are pronominal objects directly agreeing with the verbal complex (Ortiz de Urbina, 1989). Because verbal morphology is a licenser of null arguments (Rizzi, 1986) the rich verbal morphology of Basque allows up to the pro-drop of three arguments (58):

- (58) $\emptyset_i$ $\emptyset_j$ $\emptyset_k$ *konbalideu ei-tze-ztj-ie_i-z_k*
 pro pro pro transfer do-PRES-1sg.DAT-3pl.ERG-pl.ABS
 ‘[They] transfer [them] [to me]’ (female 24, Gernika)

More specifically, Austin (2006) argues that the lack of phonological realization of *pro* leads to a ‘confusion’ as to whether an argument functions as a direct or indirect object, favoring the use of dative with animate direct objects as in BLD. In order to confirm this hypothesis, Rodríguez-Ordóñez (2013) conducted a pilot study in which 19 participants rated the acceptability of Basque DOM both with null and overt animate objects. Statistical analyses showed that Basque-Spanish bilinguals from Gernika rated

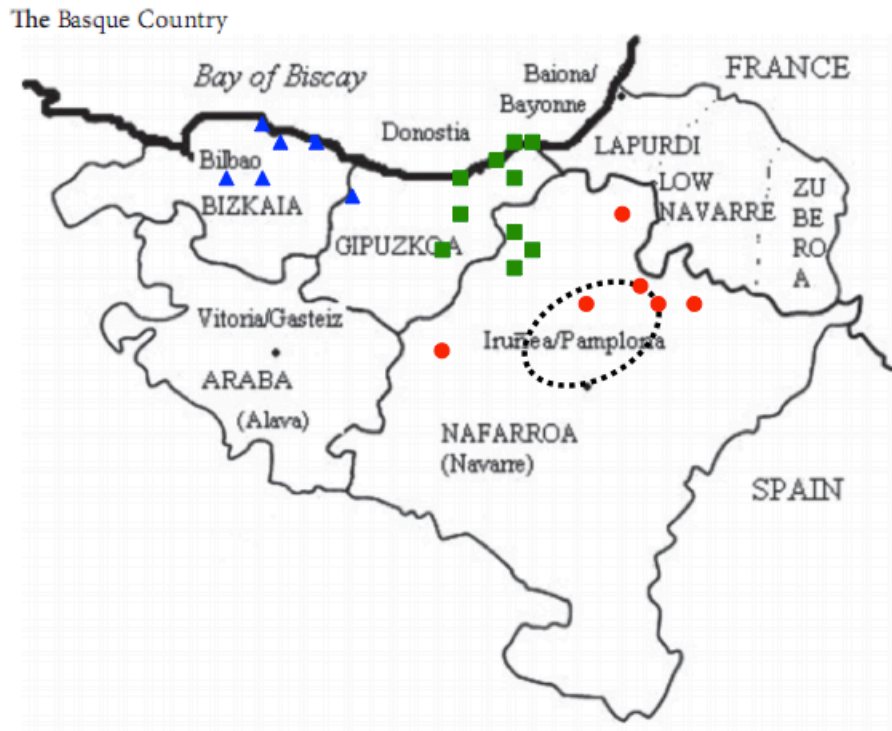
Basque DOM significantly more acceptable when the object was null. Furthermore, the role that null objects may have in oral production was also quantitatively tested in Rodríguez-Ordóñez (2016), who showed higher rates of DOM among Spanish-dominant speakers when the object was null in which DOM was recovered through dative pronominal clitics in the auxiliary verb. These results not only confirmed that null objects play a role on Basque DOM but put forward the hypothesis that its interaction with other factors could be an excellent determinant of contact effects with BLD. Such hypothesis is being tested in the present dissertation.

2.6.6. Basque DOM: contact hypothesis

The claim that Basque DOM is the result of intense contact with Spanish comes from a wide variety of sources. Studies on traditional dialectology report that Basque DOM is mainly found in those dialects that is in contact with Spanish. In the first dialectological study of Basque, Bonaparte (1869) already attested Basque DOM in the vast majority northeastern part of Navarre (dashed circle in north of Iruña in Map 2.1) (cf. Fernández and Rezac, in press). More modern dialectological work has shown that Basque DOM is widely used in Navarrese dialects²⁶, especially in towns such as Sakana, Ultzama, Esteribar, Erroibar, Aezkoa and Baztan (red dots). As far as Western Basque goes (blue triangles), DOM has been attested in towns such as Basauri, Bermeo, Igorre, Forua, Lekeitio and Elgoibar. Among the central dialects (green squares), towns such as Tolosa, Ordizia, Lasarte-Oria, Pasaia, Irun, Oiartzun, Hondarribia, Basaburua, Imotz and Larrau have been attested to have DOM. More recent research has also shown isolated instances of Basque DOM among adult speakers (aged 40-60) in the French-speaking Basque area. Very few tokens of Basque DOM were found, attributing such uses to migratory forces from the Spanish-speaking region in the French-Basque-speaking territories (Oyharzabal, Salaberria and Epelde, 2011).

²⁶ Note that it was around this area where DOM was first attested by Bonaparte (1869).

Map 2.1. Basque Country representing towns in which DOM has been previously attested.



In his exhaustive descriptions of Basque verbal morphology in different Basque dialects, Yrizar (1981, 1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1997, 1999) found that many dialects were showing neutralization patterns between first and second person in the transitive and ditransitive verbal paradigms in dialects such as Gernika Basque (Yrizar, 1992a: 248-249). He also noticed that some Navarrese dialects such as Eguesibar Basque have completely lost the traditional paradigms of transitive verbs for the first and second persons (Yrizar, 1992b: 20-21). This is shown in table 2.9.

Table 2.9. Transitive and ditransitive verbal paradigms for Gernika Basque and Eguesibar Basque (Yrizar 1992b).

Gernika Basque (Bizkaia)				Eguesibar Basque (Nafarroa)	
		<i>Transitive</i>	<i>Ditransitive</i>	<i>Transitive</i>	<i>Ditransitive</i>
First	(sg)	nau ~ dost(e)	dost(e)	dira	dira
	(pl)	gaittu ~ dosku	dosku	digu	digu
Second	(sg)	zaittu ~ dotzu	dotzu	dizu	dizu
	(pl)	zaittue ~ dotzue	dotzue	dize	dize
Third	(sg)	deu	dotzo	du	dio
	(pl)	dabie	dotzie	ditu	diote

Social evaluations of Basque DOM have not gone unnoticed within certain Basque populations. The first accounts of Basque DOM as an “incorrect” construction comes from prescriptivist grammar books (Zubiri, 1991). As noted in Ezeizaibarrena (1996) it is not uncommon for caregivers and teachers to correct children’s use of DOM:

(59) Child: Ikusi d-o-ts-e_i-t aita-ri_i
see L-PR.3sg-DF-3sg.DAT-1sg.ERG dad-DAT
'I have seen Dad'

Mother: Zer ikusi dotsek bada? Belarrixe, ala?
 what see AUX so? ear.the, or what?
 What did you see him? The ear, or what?

Evidence that the ungrammaticality of DOM is due to Spanish influence was studied in Rodríguez-Ordóñez (2013) who studied the covert and overt attitudes behind Basque DOM in Gernika. Using a matched-guise experiment, Rodríguez-Ordóñez (2013) showed that DOM in Gernika Basque is less appreciated in the younger generation than in the older one. Furthermore, the reasoning behind this stigmatization comes from oral

interviews conducted by the younger group who some referred to its ungrammaticality because “it is taken from Spanish” or because “that is an *erderakada*” (= Spanishism) (Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2013: 247). It was argued that the social significance of Basque DOM came about as the result of explicit instruction in Basque schools to avoid *erderakadak* ‘barbarisms’.

Within studies of theoretical linguistics, syntactic theorists make reference to the existence of some ‘striking’ similarities between Basque DOM and the Basque Leísta Dialect. The alleged similarities are (1) that both systems structurally assign dative to their animate direct objects (*a*-marking in Spanish; *-ri* in Basque) and (2) that their syntactic representation of clitic-doubling is characterized by their pronominal status as agreement markers in both systems. From a contact-linguistics point of view, these similarities are *not so striking* given the prolonged and intense contact between Spanish and Basque in the Basque Autonomous Community. As such, following a 4-step model that aids determining the likelihood of whether an innovation is the result of contact, Rodríguez-Ordóñez (2016) was able to empirically determine that Basque DOM is indeed the result of contact with BLD, and further proposed both internal and external factors work in interaction in such innovation.

Austin (2015) conducted a follow up study with the goal to determine possible cross-linguistic influence of bilingual children and adult-children comparison of DOM usage. In this study, 20 bilingual children (ages between 2:00 and 3:6) and 11 monolingually raised children were compared to the spontaneous speech of 4 adults from Austin (2006), whose proficiency was measured in terms of age of acquisition and the participant’s own perception of their proficiencies. Such measurements yielded the stratification of 2 simultaneous bilinguals, 1 early sequential bilingual and 1 L2 speaker of Basque. Results showed that adults who used more Spanish also used more DOM (average of 18%), whereas monolingually raised children used more DOM (43%) than their bilingual counterparts (33%). The author hypothesizes that this unexpected result could be due to children’s tendency to regularize inconsistent patterns or due to different input exposures of DOM input at school vs. home. It could possibly be that the parents of

monolingually raised children have more DOM in their speech given the old nature of this phenomenon. This would imply conducting a separate analysis between children being raised in areas where Basque was present before the standardization and children being raised in areas where only *Euskara Batua* is present. Another reason could be due to the high-stigmatization of the phenomenon (Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2013). It could be that children may be more of this stigmatization as there are studies showing that infants attach social evaluations in language from very young ages (Kinzler and DeJesus, 2013; Nardy et al., 2013; Paquette-Smith and Johnson, 2016).

An important implication from Austin's (2015) study is that the study of cross-linguistic influence both in adulthood and childhood is not by any means a simple task. As such, the study of Basque DOM as a contact-phenomenon, complex in its nature, warrants a unified study that is informed by different fields of linguistics so that we can fulfill two important goals: (1) to empirically determine the processes that different bilingual-types employ in their use of contact-phenomena such as Basque DOM and to (2) show how ideological representations of these contact-phenomena (such as DOM) affect the way different bilinguals use it and shape social identity.

More specifically, in order to make a stronger case of contact, it still remains to demonstrate that dialects in contact with a non-DOM language have not developed such system. That is, a comparison between Basque-Spanish bilinguals and Basque-French bilinguals is necessary. Furthermore, previous studies claiming a contact effect between Basque DOM and BLD have assumed that the clitic system in the Basque Country is uniform. If we want to make a case of contact, and more importantly, theorize about the processes that are involved in the use of contact-phenomena such as DOM, the speech of bilinguals' both linguistic systems (Basque and Spanish or French) need to be studied using same methodological tools. As Urrutia-Cárdenas (1995) put it, both the standard *leísmo* as well as the Basque-Spanish *leísmo* co-exist in the Basque region. It is a matter of studying what sociolinguistic factors lead to the use of each *leísmo* system in different Basque-Spanish bilinguals and how that usage plays a role in their development of Basque DOM. As such, comparisons between bilinguals' *leísmo* and Basque DOM need

to be compared according to their region, age of acquisition and language dominance of each language in order to tease apart the internal and external factors that contribute to such variability.

Furthermore, the drastic changes of the socio-political situation that the Basque Autonomous Community experienced in the late 60s, 70s and early 80s have lead to a large a large community of ‘new Basques’ or L2 speakers along with new sociolinguistic meanings attributed to different dialects, linguistic features and its users. These social meanings attached to this body of sociolinguistic phenomena are slowly taking ground in separate lines of linguistic inquiry (Amorrortu, 2000; Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2013; Ortega et al., 2014, 2015) but the usage patterns of this new population remain understudied as well as the sociolinguistic meanings attached to those speech patterns. Moreover, the role that linguistic attitudes play in contact-phenomena still warrants further study not only for a more unified theory of contact linguistics but also for its wider implications on theories of linguistic identity as well as its effects on the successful (or not so successful) revitalization efforts of the Basque language.

In order to fulfill these research goals, the present dissertation takes such interdisciplinary endeavor. On the basis for the methodology that is outlined in chapter 3, the present dissertation is guided by the following research questions:

RQ#1: If Basque DOM is the result of intense contact with Spanish *leísmo* (Austin, 2006; Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2016), *to what extent* is Basque DOM present in the dialects of modern Basque?

RQ#2: If Basque DOM is found in Spain, *what are the types of bilingual* speakers that use Basque DOM?

RQ#3: *What are the linguistic processes* that different bilinguals employ in their use of Basque DOM?

RQ#4: Given the purist linguistic policies, *how do linguistic ideologies affect* the social meaning and use of Basque DOM?

RQ#5: Given the strong relationship between linguistic ideologies and Basque identity, *how is the use of Basque and Basque DOM conditioned* by the notion of Basque ‘authentic identity’ and what are the consequences of those ideologies?

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the experimental tasks targeting oral production (elicited production task and sociolinguistic interviews) and perceptual data (matched-guise experiment and debriefing interview) as informed by variationist sociolinguistic, acquisition and attitudinal theories outlined in chapter 1. Section 3.1 begins with the social factors explored in the present dissertation. Section 3.2 discusses the test instruments and sampling procedures. In section 3.3, I provide an account of the experimental tasks used in the production data, followed by an account of the experimental tasks used in the perception one in section 3.4. The chapter ends with a short overview of the procedures with respect to experimental tasks.

3.1. Social factors

The four social factors that have been selected for this study are bilingual group, bilingual type, language dominance and age. These social factors were motivated by theories on contact linguistics (Thomason, 2001; Matras, 2009), language acquisition (Kusters, 2003; Miestamo, 2008) and variationist sociolinguistics (Labov, 2001; Bayley, 2004). The bilingual group (Basque-Spanish or Basque- French bilinguals) will provide evidence for any contact effects or the extent to which DOM is present in Basque (as a form of contact phenomenon). Following theories on variationist sociolinguistics, age will provide evidence for possible generational effects on the production and perception of Basque DOM. Finally, the type of bilingual will provide evidence for the mechanisms by which Basque DOM is used.

3.1.1. Contact-group

Since one of the objectives of the present dissertation is to determine the role that contact plays in Basque DOM (RQ#1, 2) the speech of both Basque-Spanish and Basque-French

bilinguals have been analyzed. Variationist sociolinguistics and acquisition studies require including a pre-contact variety or monolingual speakers of the replica language as control group. As mentioned in Thomason (2001), such requirement may be an idealization of certain contact situations. The Basque-Romance situation represents such unrealistic circumstance in which studying a pre-contact variety would result in reconstruction evidence. Moreover, given the socio-political situation outlined in chapter 1, monolingual Basque speakers are (relatively) non-existent in this community, since every speaker of Basque is also bilingual with its contact-romance language as required by their respective constitutions (Zuazo and Hualde, 2007). Therefore, the use of Basque DOM (or lack thereof) has been analyzed among Basque-Spanish bilinguals and compared to the speech in contact with a non-DOM language (French), using Basque-French bilinguals as a control group.

3.1.1.1. Basque-Spanish Bilinguals

A total of 84 Basque-Spanish bilinguals were recruited during the summers of 2012, 2013 and 2014. It is important to mention that all of these participants were interviewed orally, but not everybody participated in all tasks. Specific numbers for each task will be given in the correspondent sections.

Native speakers of Basque were mainly recruited from the semi-urban town of Gernika (N= 42), whereas early sequential bilinguals (those who started learning Basque at the age of 3) and second language learners (those who started learning Basque after puberty) (N= 42) were mainly recruited from Bilbao, the largest city in the Basque Country and the capital of the Bizkaian province, or the greater Bilbao area (i.e. Getxo, Las Arenas, Algorta, Barakaldo and Portugalete). Although these two areas (Gernika and the Greater Bilbao area) belong to the same province and experienced a similar influx of immigration from monolingual parts of Spain (late 19th century, early 20th century and the 1960s), they show important differences in terms of their linguistic atmosphere.

Gernika is a semi-urban town, located 34 km (21.2 miles) from the capital of the Bizkaian province of Bilbao, in the Western side of the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) in Spain. Located at the heart of the estuary of Urdaibai, hosts approximately 16,000 inhabitants and it is one of the largest towns that surround rural villages with long presence of agriculture. Gernika is also known for its industrial presence. Although the presence of industrialization in Gernika can be dated back to the early 20th century, it rapidly experienced an increase in the 60s. Companies that were established earlier (Cruz de Malta, Dalia) flourished at this time, converting Gernika in one of Europe's strongest tableware suppliers. EUSTAT, the Basque Statistic Office, shows that the population living in Gernika doubled from 7,847 to 14,678 in the 1960s due mostly to the arrival of Spanish monolinguals (Burgos, Zamora, León) in Gernika. Many families that came from these monolingual territories for working purposes established in the town and had children who were raised Spanish monolingual at home but learned Basque formally in Basque immersion programs in the public schools of the town. As opposed to the Great Bilbao area, where Basque had been lost (or almost) before the revitalization process, Basque was still spoken before the standardization in towns like Gernika, known as *Gernika Basque*. However, the presence of Basque increased after its standardization; 61.1% of the population in Gernika showed some sort of knowledge of Basque in 1981, whereas nearly 70 % of the population speaks the language natively today. In terms of education, only 30% of children were enrolled in a full Basque immersion program at school in 1981, whereas 100% of children are instructed entirely in Basque today (Gernikako Udala, 2002). It is also important to mention that although Basque is spoken by a high percentage of the population, Spanish is also remarkably used; 35% of the population use only Spanish at home as opposed to 41% who speak only Basque at home. 22.9 % of the population in Gernika reports speaking both languages at home.

Bilbao is the largest city in the Basque Country with a population of 353,187 within the city but the entire metropolitan area (including its suburbs) reaches up to 950,155 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE), 2015), which comprises the 43.5% of the entire Basque population (roughly 2.2 million). This annexation of nearby municipalities was promoted by the population explosion that derived from a powerful

industrialization process during the late 19th and early 20th centuries and again the 60s. Like in Gernika, many monolingual speakers of Spanish settled in the surroundings areas in Bilbao during the 1960s, at a time in which the iron industry was revitalized. It is estimated that the population in Bilbao increased from roughly 230,000 people to 411,000 between the 1950s and 1970s most of which came from Castilla-León (roughly 150,000 people), Extremadura and Andalucía (INE, 2015). Basque had already become (or nearly) extinct in the Greater Bilbao area long before the great influx of immigration due to the industrialization revolution. However, after Franco's death and the strong revitalization efforts during the 70s and 80s, the presence of Basque started to enjoy more visibility as hundreds of people began learning it. The form of Basque that would arouse in the Greater Bilbao would be Standard Basque which many children began learning it as a second language as early as 2 years of age. However, today's use of Basque in this area is much lower than what it is in Gernika; 91% of the people report to speak only Spanish at home as opposed to 2.9 % who use Basque at all times. Only 3.8% report to speak both Basque and Spanish at home and an additional 2.3% use another language other than Basque or Spanish. (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2013).

The three important differences between Gernika and Bilbao beyond population size are the presence or loss of a local dialect prior to the Standardization, majority of L1 speakers as opposed to the majority of L2 speakers and language use among the younger population (34 years old or below). These are summarized in table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Population and linguistic characteristics among younger speakers (34 years old and below) of the Greater Bilbao Area and Gernika in 2011 (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2013; Eustat, 2013).

	Greater Bilbao Area	Gernika
Population size	950,155	16,797
% that learned Basque natively	3,5 %	77.6 %
% with relatively high competence of Basque	52,1 %	92.3 %
% of L2 Basque speakers	24,1 %	14,3 %
% that use only Basque at home	0.5 %	41 %
% that use Basque and Spanish at home	2,6 %	22.9 %
% that use Spanish only at home	91 %	35 %

The present dissertation distinguishes between speakers of Gernika and speakers of Bilbao in its study of Basque DOM. The study of these differences will provide answers for the development of a theory of contact linguistics in which language use, learning mechanisms of different types of bilinguals, and the competing ideological representations of the region interact towards an explanation of the use of Basque DOM.

3.1.1.2. Basque-French Bilinguals

As highlighted in Rodríguez-Ordóñez (2016), speakers of Basque in contact with a non-DOM language are necessary in order to determine how contact plays a role in the emergence of Basque DOM. To this goal, the present study incorporates Basque speakers in intense contact with French (a non-DOM language). A total of 15 Basque-French

bilinguals were recruited from the city of Baiona and its surroundings (Itxassou, Ustaritz, Kambo, Angelu, Hazparne, Donibane Lohitzune, etc). Baiona is a city in southwestern France and it is the capital of the province of Lapurdi in the department of Pyrénées Atlantiques. Being the largest city of the French Basque Country, Baiona-Angelu-Biarritz (BAB) is home to approximately 90,000 inhabitants, of which only 13% report knowing Basque to a certain extent (Eusko Jaurlaritz, 1996). The surrounding areas to BAB are conformed by smaller towns that are semi-urban or rural in nature, whose population reaches 86,000 altogether. In these towns, although the percentage of Basque-French bilinguals is higher (43%), the presence of French is also strong (very few young people report to be Basque-dominant). This group will serve as a control and their use of Basque will be compared to those Basque-Spanish bilinguals.

3.1.2. Bilingual type

Relevant literature in contact linguistics has shown that the type of bilingual is of uttermost importance in determining the processes by which contact plays a role in the emergence of a contact induced-feature (Thomason, 2001; Dahl, 2004; Kusters, 2003, 2008; Trudgill, 2011; Seifart, 2012). In order to determine the process by which DOM is being used among Basque-Spanish bilinguals (RQ#3), the present dissertation differentiates three types of bilinguals: (a) native Basque-Spanish bilinguals (2L1), (b) early sequential bilinguals (adults that acquired Basque as an L2 during childhood, beginning at three years of age) and (c) L2 speakers (adult Basque L2 acquirers, who acquired the language after 12 years of age). This selection was based on studies on maturational effects or age effects on language acquisition (Johnson and Newport, 1989; White, 2003; Meisel, 2008; Montrul, 2008).

Basque-Spanish native bilinguals in the present study were raised in bilingual households learning both Basque and Spanish at the same time and belong to the region of Gernika (Basque-Spanish bilinguals), where Basque is spoken by 80% of the population. Basque-French bilinguals they belong to the interior part of Lapurdi (Basque-French bilinguals) where Basque is spoken by 43% of the population. In addition, these

speakers are mainly bi-dialectal in Basque, especially if they are under 40, in the sense that they acquired a regional dialect of Basque at home or the street, and Standard Basque at school. The early sequential bilingual speakers mainly come from the area of Bilbao (Spain) and Baiona-Angelu-Biarritz (France), and started learning Basque at the age of 3 through the Basque immersion program in Model D (Cenoz, 2009). Traditional second language speakers are considered in the present study if they started learning Basque after puberty or the age of 12. A common feature of these two last groups (early sequential and L2 bilinguals) is that these speakers do not have native speakers in their households, and therefore, their access to a regional dialect is rather difficult. Instead, this population is mainly mono-dialectal in Standard Basque and bilingual with Spanish.

3.1.3. Language dominance according to use

Language dominance, measured in terms of intensity of contact, is the most important factor to determine any effects of contact attributed to contact-induced phenomena, in this case, Basque DOM (Thomason, 2001; Mougéon et. al., 2005). This factor was measured extracting means values of self-reported answers from language used in different social domains (questions 16, 17 and 18 in the language background questionnaire) and self-ratings of how comfortable they were speaking Basque and Spanish (questions 19, 20 and 21 in the language background questionnaire) (Gollan et. al., 2012). Participants were asked to rate their use of both languages in different social contexts on a scale of 1-5 (1= Spanish use only, 5=Basque use only). Those whose average self-ratings were 3.5 or higher were considered Basque dominant. Those whose average self-rating was 3.4 or lower were considered Spanish dominant. Most of speakers in the Bilbao area considered themselves Spanish-dominant whereas speakers from Gernika considered themselves equally competent and fluent in both languages, being the factor of language use the most deterministic of all. In order to find a contact effect on Basque DOM, it was hypothesized that Spanish-dominant speakers will use Basque DOM significantly more than the Basque-dominant group.

3.1.4. Age

The factor of age is of relevant importance for the understanding of any generational change that have occurred within an *apparent-time construct* (Bailey, 2004; Chambers, 2004: 355-364; Bailey, Wikle, Tillery and Sand, 1991). This sociolinguistic technique allows us to assess possible changes by examining differences in language use by older and younger speakers. In order to determine possible generational changes, and following previous research on variationist sociolinguistics (Poplack and Levey, 2010), and studies in bilingualism in Spain (Simonet, 2008; Davidson, 2015), speakers were divided in two age groups; (1) those who were born during Franco's dictatorship (1975, or prior; + 40 years old) and (2) those born after his death, 1976 onwards (18-39). This date (as threshold) was chosen because it was not until 1978 that Basque became co-official and was formally introduced in the educational system of the Basque Autonomous Community in Spain. Therefore, the first generation to be taught in Basque involved those born after 1976, a time when the presence of Basque started in Bilbao.

In summary, a total of 99 subjects participated in the present study of which 42 were from Gernika, 42 from Bilbao and 15 from the Basque-French speaking territory. More specifically, the Gernika group was further subdivided into 2 age groups; 29 speakers from Gernika were young (18-40 years old) and 13 conformed to the older group (+40 years old). Furthermore, speakers from Gernika and the Baiona area were also divided according to language dominance; in the Gernika group, 15 of the younger speakers were considered Basque-dominant speakers and 14 were Spanish-dominant speakers. With respect to the older group in Gernika, 9 speakers were considered Basque-dominant and only 4 were considered Spanish-dominant. Within the Basque-French bilinguals, only data was collected for the younger group, of which 8 were Basque-dominant and 7 were French-dominant.

3.2. Test instruments and sampling procedures

In order to stratify participants into relevant groups according to the social factors involved, two test instruments were employed: a language background questionnaire and a proficiency test. Finally, sampling procedures for each social variable are outlined.

3.2.1. Language Background Questionnaire

The sociolinguistic background questionnaire contained 21 questions that were used in previous research (Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2013, 2015), and was proven to be suitable to gather information on their linguistic background. The questionnaire asked about their origins, their parents' origins and language knowledge of their parents, age at which they started learning Basque, education years learning Basque (or related matters), the use of Basque and Spanish in different social settings, and self-perception on their proficiency on Basque and Spanish (See Appendix A).

3.2.2. Proficiency test

It has been proven that often times, speakers under- or over-estimate their abilities to use a language forced by ideological reasons (Garrett, Coupland and Williams, 2003). For this reason, a 24- item multiple-choice test was used (See Appendix B) in order to measure their Basque proficiency, consisting of questions selected from multiple levels of the standardized Basque test, EGA (*Euskal Gaitasun Agiria*, 'Certificate of Basque Literacy'). This test has been successfully used in Rodríguez-Ordóñez (2015) and Siebecker (2015). Second language learners were further divided into advanced or intermediate learners depending on their language proficiency test results: those who scored between 12 and 16 in the 24 multiple choice test were considered intermediate learners, whereas those who scored between 17 and 21 were considered advanced.

3.2.3. Sampling

Following sociolinguistic trends, the present study employs a stratified random sampling for selecting participants (Tagliamonte, 2006; Schilling, 2013). This approach involves identifying social factors in advance and then obtaining a balanced number of speakers according to those factors. As mentioned in 3.1, the four social factors that have been selected for this study are bilingual group, bilingual type, language dominance and age. Data was collected through the social networks of the speakers (Milroy and Gordon, 2003:2) by using a “snowball” technique in which the researcher asks participants to introduce him/her to their friends or family members to establish new connections. This technique enables us to test possible distributions within the social factors that are relevant to the research questions sought in the present dissertation without having to obtain unnecessary large samples.

In the end, the spontaneous speech of 99 speakers was analyzed. Table 3.2 summarizes the speakers according to the social groups aforementioned. Figures 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5, show the detailed sociolinguistic information for each bilingual group and bilingual types.

Table 3.2. Speaker counts according to social groups

	Gernika		Bilbao			Baiona	
	(Native Bilinguals)		(Second Language Speakers)			(Native Bilinguals)	
	Basque- dominant	Spanish- dominant	ESB	Advanced	Intermediate	Basque- dominant	French- dominant
Older	9	4	NA	NA	NA		
Younger	15	14	15	15	12	8	7
TOTAL	42		42			15	

Table 3.3. Speaker counts according to social groups in Gernika (Basque-Spanish Native Bilinguals)

	Gernika Basque- dominant		Gernika Spanish- dominant		Total
Speakers	N=24		N=18		N=42
	Mean (sd)	range	Mean (sd)	range	
Age	40.7 (6.1)	18-65	37.3 (8.4)	18-65	
Use of Basque	4.4 (0.9)	1-5	3.7 (1.2)	1-5	
Proficiency Score	NA	NA	NA	NA	

Table 3.4. Speaker counts according to social groups in Bilbao (Second Language Speakers)

	Early Sequential Bilinguals		Late Advanced L2 learners		Late Intermediate L2 learners		Total
Speakers	N=15		N=15		N=10		N=42
	Mean (sd)	range	Mean (sd)	range	Mean (sd)	range	
Age	26.2 (3.7)	18-31	32.1 (4.1)	20-46	34.6 (5.2)	22-46	
Age of Acquisition	3.5 (0.2)	3-6	14.2 (3.1)	12-21	22.5 (4.9)	16-30	
Use of Basque	2.2 (0.8)	1-5	2.5 (0.7)	1-5	1.9 (0.9)	1-5	
Proficiency Score	23.1 (0.7)	22-24	20.4 (0.4)	17-21	13.8 (0.9)	12-16	

Table 3.5. Speaker counts according to social groups in Baiona (Basque-French native bilinguals)

	Baiona		Baiona		Total
	Basque- dominant		French- dominant		
Speakers	N=8		N=7		N=15
	Mean	range	Mean	range	
	(sd)		(sd)		
Age	33.2 (8.3)	18-42	29.3 (6.1)	19-42	
Use of Basque	1.4 (0.3)	1-5	2.7 (0.7)	1-5	
Proficiency Score	NA	NA	NA	NA	

3.3. Production data

3.3.1. Elicited production task

An Elicited Production task has been used to test whether language external effects (such as purist linguistic policies) affect the use of Basque DOM (RQ#4). This is because often times, elicited production tasks are used to tap into a more formal style of the language (Labov, 1972) and research has shown that differences are found when tasks differ in the degree of awareness of the feature or the mode at which it is performed (Grosjean, 2008; Montrul et. al., 2012). For instance, when a variable is associated with vernacular varieties or has social negative evaluations, speakers avoid using it when performing a more explicit metalinguistic task. Therefore, the use of Basque DOM in a controlled

elicited production task is compared to the use used in the spontaneous speech in order to determine whether its use is conditioned by possible negative social value adhered to Basque DOM.

3.3.1.1. Test instruments

Participants were presented with a series of pictures (one per slide) with a specific verb and object and were asked to produce a conjugated sentence using those materials. More specifically, for every picture they saw, participants were asked “¿*Qué hizo la madre?* (What did the mother do?) so that they were prompted to use a clitic (either accusative or dative). Often times, participants did not use the clitic, and instead used the NP. In those cases, they were instructed not to comment on the object so that they were forced to make sense of the reference through their use of clitics. Basque-Spanish bilinguals were asked to complete the task both in Basque and Spanish, and French-Basque bilinguals were asked to complete it in Basque and French. Participants were asked to produce a complete sentence using the given elements in their correspondent languages as shown in figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1. Sample target of ‘comprehend’ in Basque, Spanish and French used in the EPT



Expected outcomes for Basque:

Canonical: Amak **Markel- θ_i** (=ABS) altxatzen d-u_i

DOM: Amak **Markel- i_i** (= DAT) altxatzen d- i_i -o

‘The mother lifts Markel’

Figure 3.1. (cont.)

levantar

madre



Expected outcomes for Spanish:

Standard: La madre **lo** (=ACC) levanta
DOM: La madre **le** (= DAT) levanta
'The mother lifts him'

lever

mère



Expected outcomes for French:

Standard: La mère **le** (=ACC) lève
DOM: La mère **lui** (= DAT) lève
'The mother lifts him'

In Spanish and French, differences in case marking only occur in third person object pronouns. Therefore, speakers were forced to produce the corresponded clitic object in the third person only. In order to force elicitation of the direct object clitic and avoid possible priming effects in Spanish (*le/lo/la*) and French (*lui/le/la*), only the name

of the subject was given, as shown in figure 1. In Basque, both the name of the subject and the object were given in order to determine case marking of the direct object.

There are a total of 24 target tokens and 24 fillers and they are controlled according to three linguistic factors: (1) the semantic field of the verb (2) whether the verb governs animate objects or both animate and inanimate objects, and for the case of Basque, (3) whether the verb is a recent borrowing from Spanish or derived from Latin.²⁷

Regarding the first linguistic factor, target tokens are classified into four verb types according to the semantic field that they belong to (Etxepare, 2003; Levin, 1993):

- (1) **behavioral** (*zigortu* (Basque) / *castigar* (Spanish) / *punir* (French) ‘to punish’)
- (2) **physical** with direct contact (*altxatu* (Basque) / *levantar* (Spanish) / *lever* (French) ‘to lift’)
- (3) **perceptual** (*ikusi* (Basque) / *ver* (Spanish) / *voir* (French) ‘to see’)
- (4) **psychological** (*maitatu* (Basque) / *querer* (Spanish) / *aimer* (French) ‘to love’).

This factor was selected to determine whether Basque DOM is directly affected by Spanish *leísmo*.

As far as the second factor is concerned, there are certain verbs that govern mainly animate objects (*castigar* ‘to punish’, *comprender* ‘to comprehend’), and this has proven to affect the selection of case-marking in Spanish (Urrutia-Cárdenas, 2003; Montrul, 2004; Lizarraga-Navarro and Mora-Bustos, 2010). In order to test whether these verbs play a role in the selection of Basque DOM, verbs were also divided in two groups: (1) whether they only take animate direct objects (*zigortu* ‘to punish’) or (2) whether they take both animate (*norbait(i) ikusi* ‘to see someone’) or inanimate objects (*zerbait*(i) ikusi* ‘to see something’).

²⁷ All direct objects are singular specific. These factors are only being tested through non-controlled speech in the oral interviews.

Finally, because grammatical borrowing occurs at the semantic level (Heine and Kuteva, 2005, 2010), the hypothesis that Basque DOM is affected by verbs that Basque speakers borrow from their dominant language was put forward (Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2016). In order to test this hypothesis and answer the role of Basque Spanish *leísmo* on Basque DOM (RQ#1), verbs were also divided in two groups: (1) verbs that are originally Basque or where entered into language in the 1800s or before (*ulertu* ‘to comprehend’) or recent borrowings from the 1900s onwards (*konprenitu* ‘to comprehend’).²⁸ It is expected that those verbs borrowed directly from Spanish after 1900s will favor Basque DOM.

3.3.2. Sociolinguistic interviews

In order to elicit as much spontaneous speech as possible, sociolinguistic oral interviews were used (Labov, 2001). The researcher spent between 30 to 45 minutes (60 minutes at times) interacting with the participants, individually, and were encouraged (but not restricted) to talk about anecdotes from their childhood, how they felt they were affected by the economic crisis in Spain, important changes in their lives during the past year, and plans they may have for the rest of the summer. Participants were recorded speaking both in the register of Basque that they were most comfortable with (own dialect or standard Basque),²⁹ and Spanish or French. In order to avoid ‘language mode’ effects (Grosjean, 2008), data was collected in two sessions. In the first meeting, oral interviews and the elicited production task were performed in Basque, whereas the same tasks were performed in Spanish (or French) in the second meeting.

²⁸ The time in which these borrowings entered in Basque were determined by the dictionary *Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia* developed by *Euskaltzaindia* (Royal Basque Academy).

²⁹ In case of L2 learners of Basque, only elicitations of standard Basque was possible because a regional dialect was already lost in their region prior to the standardization.

3.3.2.1. Coding linguistic factors in Basque

Data (Basque, Spanish and French) was manually transcribed using the linguistic annotator ELAN³⁰ (Sloetjes and Wittenburg, 2008). Following Comrie's (2011) approach to argument alignment, prototypical two-place predicate verbs (or verbs that are used transitively) were annotated for the presence of a direct object that is either marked with canonical absolutive or dative (DOM). Many of the verbs extracted à la Comrie (2011) also included the so-called bivalent unergatives or alternating verbs (*deitu* 'to call') explored in section 3.6.1. Because these verbs have been shown to syntactically behave different to those *true* DOM instances (Fernández and Rezac, in press; Odria, 2014) alternating verbs were excluded from the present analysis and only instances of *true* DOM have been considered. Among the verbs excluded were *begiratu* 'to look at', *itxaron* 'to wait', *deitu* 'to call', *eskertu* 'to thank', *lagundu* 'to help'. For verbs that have not been categorized as alternating, or in order to determine whether certain constructions pertain to true DOM constructions, a test using secondary predicates (section 3.6.1) was performed on native speakers of Basque (McFadden, 2004; Ornazabal, 2007; Fernández and Rezac, in press; Odria, 2014). Certain verbs that were categorized as transitive were also excluded because they were conjugated as impersonal (*ikusten da* 'it is seen' or *defendidu ein bier da [euskerie]* 'Basque needs to be defended'. These constructions resemble Spanish *se le* constructions analyzed in Ormazabal and Romero (2007), and have been reported to behave as indirect objects in Basque (Fernández and Ortiz de Urbina, 2012). These were excluded because they are also subject to Person Case Constrain (PCC) effects not compatible with DOM. Those verbs that have ditransitive alternatives were also excluded. For instance, the ditransitive construction *gonbidapena bidalizkuen* 'they sent us the invitation' was excluded from analysis whereas its transitive counterpart *gonbidatu eizkuen* 'they invited us' was included. Finally, lexicalized expressions were also excluded because these constructions do not denote true DOM constructions, evidenced by the fact that lexicalized constructions are processed

³⁰ ELAN is a linguistic annotator developed by Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, The Language Archive, Nijmegen, The Netherlands. It is widely used to transcribe natural speech data and it allows multiple levels of annotation (phonetic, morphologic, discourse) even when multiple conversations are happening. URL: <http://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/>.

differently (Ball, 2007). Such expressions included *bilatzen bazu*, *ezu topaten* ‘if you look for it, you won’t find it’, *ikusiko dugu* ‘we will see’, *ikustenzu?* ‘you see?’.

After circumscribing these exclusions, I adopted the principle of accountability couched within the sociolinguistics tradition (Labov, 1972) and coded for the possible linguistic environments in which DOM could occur. Following von Heusinger and Kaiser (2005), the present study takes a multi-dimensional approach to DOM, taking into account both the Ambiguity Thesis (Aissen, 2003) and the Transitivity Thesis (Hopper and Thompson, 1980). As such, there are seven linguistic factors that were considered for the analysis of DOM, based on earlier studies as mentioned above. Such linguistic factors are: animacy, definiteness/specificity, person, number, object realization (null or overt), semantics of the verb and verb type.

Animacy, Specificity, Person and Number

Factors such as animacy, specificity, person and number have shown to be relevant factors crosslinguistically (Aissen, 2003) as well as in the variation of Basque DOM (Fernández and Rezac, in press). In order to avoid collinearity effects in the statistical analysis (Zurr et al., 2010; Starkweather, 2010), these factors have been collapsed into one major factor. This is because first and second person are always animate, and specificity has only been reported to be significant for third person objects for Basque DOM (Fernández and Rezac, in press). Because there were very few non-human animate objects (animals), these were excluded from the data and used human and non-animate objects. Also, second plural objects were not produced; therefore, they were not coded or included in data analysis. Hence, this factor yielded the following combinations:

- First person singular
- First person plural
- [+spec] second person singular
- [-spec] second person singular

- [+human][+ spec] third person singular
- [+human][+ spec] third person plural
- [+human][-spec] third person singular
- [+human][-spec] third person plural
- [-human][+ spec] third person singular
- [-human][+ spec] third person plural
- [-human][-spec] third person singular
- [-human][-spec] third person plural

Definiteness or specificity

Along with animacy, the literature has shown that definiteness is a relevant factor in the variation of Basque DOM. For instance, Monoule (2010) showed that Basque DOM is restricted to definite objects. Similarly Fernández and Rezac (in press) show that reflexives do not take DOM in Dima Basque. Finally, Odria (2012) reports that in Elgoibar Basque, quantifiers such as *asko* ‘a lot’ are barred from DOM, whereas definite pronouns such as *guztia* ‘all’ allow DOM. Therefore, the data has been coded based on the definiteness scale (Comrie, 1989) that can be seen in the following examples:

Personal pronoun > Proper name > Definite NP > Indef. Spec. NP > Non-specific NP

<i>Ni</i>	<i>Mikel</i>	<i>Neska hori</i>	<i>Persona batzuk</i>	<i>Jentie</i>
‘I’	‘Mikel’	‘that girl’	‘some people’	‘people’

Object type (null vs. overt)

The null object factor has been an important determinant for prominence markedness in the literature in terms of the recoverability of the encoded information (de Swart, 2007). In cases that the direct object is null, it might be harder to determine the information that this object encodes, for which the speaker at hand may make use of different strategies to recover the intended message. The use of case-marking of objects

(DOM) have been suggested to be one such strategy, but previous research has not been able to corroborate the role that null objects have on DOM with the exception of Schwenter (2014). As for Basque DOM, Austin (2006) hypothesized that null objects open a path for reanalysis and therefore would favor DOM. In order to test this hypothesis, data has been coded for the presence or absence of the object. Following de Swart (2007) and Austin (2006), it is hypothesized that lack of overt realization of the object (null objects) will favour DOM in verbal agreement.

Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM)

Regarding TAM, studies on Basque DOM (Fernández and Rezac, in press) and descriptive accounts of certain dialects (Hualde et. al., 1994; Yrizar, 1997; Sagarzazu, 2005) have shown that Basque DOM is more prone in past tense forms. In order to understand whether this trend holds true in Gernika Basque and Standard Basque, spontaneous data has been coded with respect to TAM according to the following subcategories: present tense (*ikusten zaittu ~ dotzut* ‘I see you’); present perfect (*ikusi zaittut~dotzut* ‘I have seen you’); past simple (*ikusi zaitteten ~ notzun* ‘I saw you’); past imperfect (*ikusten zaittuten ~ notzun* ‘I used to see you’); conditional (*ikusi(-ten) bazaaittuten~badotzuten* ‘if I see you’) and future (*ikusiko zaittut ~ dotzut* ‘I will see you’). If Gernika Basque and Standard Basque conform to the previous literature, it is expected that past tense forms will favor Basque DOM more so than present tense forms.

Semantics of the verb

Regarding the semantics of the verb, target tokens are classified into seven verb types according to the semantic field that they belong to (Etxepare, 2003; Levin, 1993):

- (1) **behavioral** (*zigortu* ‘to punish’; *hartu* ‘to hire’)
- (2) **physical** (*altxatu* ‘to lift’; *harrapatu* ‘to catch’)
- (3) **motion** (*eraman* ‘to take/carry’; *bidali* ‘to send’)
- (4) **perceptual** (*ikusi* ‘to see’; *entzun* ‘to hear’)
- (5) **psychological** (*maitatu* ‘to love’; *ezagutu* ‘to know’)

(6) **possession** (*eduki* ‘to have’; *berreskuratu* ‘to regain’)

(7) **causatives** (*eragin* ‘to make’ *behartu* ‘to force’)

It has been shown that verbs that animate objects accustom to favor DOM (Fernández-Ordóñez, 1999; Montrul, 2004). More specifically, Paredes-García (2007) that there were higher rates of leísmo in perceptual verbs (*ver* ‘to see’) and psychological verbs (*conocer* ‘to know/meet’, *considerar* ‘to considerate’). It is hypothesized that Basque DOM will also be favored by these verbs.

Verb type

The last linguistic factor that is considered is whether the verb in hand is a borrowing from Spanish or not. This factor was chosen following Heine and Kuteva (2010), who suggest that when a grammatical structure is borrowed from a language to another, it often times enters through the semantics of the verb. Therefore, it is hypothesized that when Basque bilinguals borrow a Spanish verb that encodes animate human direct objects with dative, this might favor the use of DOM in Basque. These verbs include: **Basque verbs:** *ikusi* ‘to see’, *atara* ‘to take out’, *ezagutu* ‘to know/meet’, *hartu* ‘to grab’, *entzun* ‘to hear/listen’. **Verbs borrowed from Spanish:** *atendidu* ‘assist’, *aburridu* ‘to bore’, *inbitatu* ‘to invite’, *amenazatu* ‘to threaten’, *obligatu* ‘to oblige’. In order to determine whether verbs were borrowed from Spanish or were considered Basque, the verbs produced by speakers were checked in the Basque etymological dictionary of Basque *Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia* composed by the Basque Academy. This dictionary gathers information about the first attested uses of each verb. If the verb at hand has been classified as proto typical Basque (such as *ikusi* ‘to see’), this verb was clasfied as Basque. On the contrary, if the verb at hand had romance etymology and has been attested prior to 1920s, it was considered a borrowed verb (*obligatu* = Spanish *obligar* ‘to oblige’).

3.3.2.2. Coding linguistic factors in Spanish and French

Variation as to whether clitics are used in the accusative or dative form in romance languages such as Spanish and French only pertains to third person direct objects. Thus, only transitive uses of clitics were extracted from the Spanish and French data. Clitics were coded as to whether they appear in accusative (*lo(s)/la(s)* in Spanish; *le(s)/la(s)* in French) or dative (*le(s)* in Spanish; *lui/leur* in French). The presence of either clitic was coded according to four linguistic factors: animacy, number, grammatical gender and verb semantics. With respect to animacy, clitics were coded as to whether it encoded a human ((1a) (2a)) or inanimate object ((1b) (2b)):

Spanish data

- (1a) así le_i visito a Jon_i
that.way CL.DAT.masc.sing visit DOM Jon
'That way I will visit Jon' Bilbao, male, 23
- (1b) sí, la_i van a vender [la casa_i]
yes, CL.ACC.fem.sing going to sell [the house.fem)
'Yes, they are going to sell it' (=the house) Gernika, female, 23

French data

- (2a) et je les_i considere euskaldun [ils_i]
and I ACC.CLmas.pl. consider euskaldun [they.masc]
'and I consider them euskaldun (Basque)' Baiona, female, 25
- (2b) ils vont les_i dire [les verbes_i]
they will ACC.CL.mas.pl say [the verbs]
'They will say them' (=the verbs) Baiona, male, 22

In terms of grammatical gender, whether the clitic encodes feminine objects (as in 1b) or masculine objects (1a) were coded. In terms of number, this factor was also

binary as the clitic was also coded for singular or plural. Finally, the semantic of the verb was coded following the same classification for Basque as explained above in section 3.3.2.1.

Because French is known for its etymological system, that is, for using accusative *le(s)/la* for direct objects and *lui/leur* for indirect objects, it is expected not to find any instances of *leísmo*. On the contrary, knowing that Spanish, and especially Basque-Spanish is a well-known DOM language with high rates of *leísmo*, it is expected that *le(s)* will be used to mark direct objects. Research has shown that Basque-Spanish is known for its *animated leísmo* (Urrutia-Cárdenas, 1995, 2003), which means that dative *le(s)* is being used to mark all animate objects regardless of gender. If this holds true, we will be able to expect same rates of *leísmo* both in feminine and masculine objects. In terms of number, the literature on *leísmo* has shown that singular objects are more likely to be marked with *leísmo* than plural ones.

3.4. Perception data

In order to investigate the social meaning behind Basque DOM and how the use of Basque DOM is determined by ideological representations of its meaning (RQ#4, 5), a matched guise and a post-matched guise debriefing interview were conducted.

3.4.1. Matched-Guise experiment

The matched-guise technique is an indirect method pioneered by Lambert and colleagues (1960, 1967) and widely used to uncover linguistic attitudes towards ethnic, geographical or social varieties (Bentahila, 1983; Papapavlou, 1998; Amorrortu, 2000; Andrews, 2003; Campbell-Kibler, 2006; Booth, 2009; Woolard 2009). This technique involves recording an individual speaker that produces a single set of speech that is being manipulated for the dialect or language varieties. The speech guises come from the same speaker, therefore, the different responses that participants give towards the guises is analyzed as

being an effect of the meanings attributed to that specific variety or linguistic feature. Thus, the advantage of using this method is that it allows the researcher to study participants' subconscious attitudes without having them realize that their attitudes are being prompted. It differs from more direct methods, such as overt questions towards a specific variety or feature, in the sense that it is more likely that participants' answers will reflect conscious 'stereotyping' about language in general. Although this technique has mainly been used to retrieve social meaning towards specific varieties, the present study pioneers its use by adapting it towards the study of possible social meanings that Basque DOM may have, as explained in the following section.

3.4.1.1. Guises

The first concern regarding the design of a matched-guise test is to determine whether spontaneous speech of a specific guise will be recorded, or instead, whether controlled read passages of the same text will be used (Campbell-Kibler, 2006; Drager, 2013). In order to study specific attitudes towards different dialects of Basque, Amorrortu (2000) uses the first method that is ideal to avoid confounds of reading style, prosody, and unnatural pauses, among other things. Because the present study aims to uncover specific attitudes and social value attached to a specific linguistic feature (DOM or canonical case-marking), the latter option will be used, to allow for a greater control over the context in which DOM occurs. Moreover, we are able to manipulate the topic (neutral), length and word choice of the guise. Thus, the target guises will consist of 4 guises; two of them in Gernika Basque and the other two in Standard Basque. Each Basque dialect is presented either with DOM examples or canonical case-marking. Controlling for these variables, we will be able to uncover social meaning attached to DOM in each linguistic variety.

Each guise features a total of 5 instances of Basque DOM or canonical case-marking (Appendix D). The topic of the text has been kept as neutral as possible (routine day in the street), and it contains a total of 61 words (of which 10 words conform DOM instances – overt object + verb). The five instances of DOM that conform the text are

informed by previous research on the use of DOM (Austin, 2006; Odria, 2014). In order to ensure their saliency, examples of DOM have been used functioning as main clauses and placed at the beginning, middle and end of the paragraph. Lexical word choices have also been controlled and adapted for its dialect (i.e. *alkarregaz* ‘together’ in Gernika Basque corresponds to *elkarrekin* ‘together’ in Standard Basque). A 27 year-old female native speaker of Gernika Basque and Spanish read the guises that lasted between 27 ~ 30 seconds each. The guises were read up to 10 times each in order to ensure speech spontaneity. The researcher piloted the stimuli with 10 random speakers and asked them to rate the spontaneity of each passage. Based on these results, the researcher chose the most natural passages.

In order to avoid listeners discovering that the target guise is the same person, a total of 10 filler samples were designed that were controlled for gender, language and the use (or lack thereof) of another contact induced phenomena: ergative marking (*-k*). Although the present study only focuses on the social underpinnings of Basque DOM, the choice of using ergative (*-k*) as fillers was motivated for a future comparative study on attitudes towards case-marking in Basque. The filler guise samples were divided in two sets: 5 guises in which a common routine day on the beach is read and 5 guises in which a common hiking routine day is also read. Each filler guise contained the same length as the target guises (67 words, 29 ~ 32 seconds), and the same amount of ergative uses (N=5) (or lack thereof). In summary, there were a total of 10 filler guises (with 5 tokens of ergative use or lack thereof, in each) that were read by 10 different individuals (one each) (Appendix D).

3.4.1.2. Presentation of the stimuli

Following Stefanowitsch (2005:1), the target stimuli along with the guises was presented in a set order with the aim to decrease the risk that participants will remember the voice quality of the target guises. This set refers to blocking (Cowart, 1997). In total, there were three blocks, each block containing 2 (or 1) test items and 3 or 4 fillers, as shown in figure 3.2. Three different blocks are used separately as ‘different’ tasks and

was interchangeable with other tasks. This way, the amount of time between the guises increased and so did the likelihood that listeners will forget the voice of each target.

Figure 3.2. Presentation of Matched-guise stimuli.

BLOCK # 1: **Guise A** – filler – filler – filler – **Guise B**

BLOCK # 2: filler – filler – **Guise C** – filler – filler

BLOCK # 3: **Guise D** – filler – filler – filler – **Guise E**

3.4.1.3. Matched-Guise questionnaire

A semantic differential scale (SDS) is a type of questionnaire closely associated with a matched-guise experiment (Lambert, 1967; Campbell-Kliber, 2006; Drager, 2013). SDS is used to measure listeners' reactions towards a set of stimuli in a quantifiable manner. It involves using a set of contrasting adjectives that define certain traits that want to be measured according to the stimuli. Traditionally, two major dimensions have been used in order to study the social meanings of specific language varieties: solidarity and power. These two dimensions are usually defined by a set of contrasting adjectives (i.e. hard-working ~ lazy (power) and pleasant ~ unpleasant (solidarity) and participants are asked to rate the speech according to these polarized adjectives using a Liker-like scale. This method has been argued to be useful in the study of attitudes because it is a transparent measure of attitudes of linguistic varieties that may contain strong stereotypical alignments (Drager, 2013). Consequently, listeners may feel social repercussions if less transparent questions are used (i.e. open questions such as: "what do you think of this person". Therefore, this evaluative system is proven to be an ideal candidate to tap into subconscious attitudes of features with strong negative evaluations.

The present study does not attempt to evaluate the power relationship between two languages or two different varieties, but instead, it attempts to determine more specific social evaluation of DOM and its relationship to identity. For that matter, only

the solidarity dimension as traditionally defined is valid for the present study (Appendix E). For the purposes of this study, the dimension of solidarity is broken down into three different traits that I call: *Relatedness to the guise's language* (questions 1-3), *Use of Basque* (questions 7-9), and *Language Background* (questions 10-12). With regards to power, this trait will only be understood as the *status of Basque*, in terms of how listeners perceive the guise at hand (questions 4-6). The questions were polarized as in previous studies and participants had to rate the guises based on a 1-7 Likert scale.

Additionally, the questionnaire included categorical questions (or non-scaled questions) with the aim to gather the listener's perception of the guise, such as how the language had been learned (at home, in the street, at school, *question 14*), the guisee's possible occupation (*question 16*), the guisee's age (*question 13*), and the origin of the person speaking in the guise (*question 15*). Finally, three scaled questions were added in order to determine whether there is a correlation between the language identity and the social meaning of DOM (*questions 17-19*). This last set of scaled questions was motivated from a previous pilot study (Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2013), in which the relationship between language identity and ideology was overtly studied. Results in that pilot study showed that not everybody defined the notion of 'authentic Basqueness' equally; some speakers attributed 'authentic Basque identity' to the use of Basque (regardless of dialect and use of DOM) while others created more strict boundaries by only including native speakers who spoke 'pure Basque' as 'real Basques'. In the present study, participants will be asked to respond to this question according to what it means to be Basque for them. Later in the debriefing interview, the researcher will overtly ask to define 'authentic Basque identity' and the results obtained in both tasks will be compared in order to define 'authentic Basque identity' according to person.

This method has been used in previous ethnographic research (Mendoza-Denton, 2008) and served to address one of the limitations in Rodríguez-Ordóñez (2013): group distinctiveness was determined considering the attitudes of native speakers only. In the present study, we expand this knowledge by including other types of bilinguals that might provide further evidence on how ideologies play an important role on shaping attitudes

towards Basque DOM and the consequences of those ideologies. Therefore, the attitudes of all types of bilinguals (Spanish-Basque and French-Basque, L1, ESB, L2) will be gathered by means of a SDS questionnaire.

3.4.2. Debriefing interview

In order to examine how ideologies shape the attitudes towards DOM and the consequences of those ideologies, the researcher encouraged participants to overtly discuss their perceptions towards DOM in an informal manner. Language ideology also entails identity work (Irvine and Gal, 1998) because these ideologies shape the attitudes on how one is self-identified in accordance to the social and cultural expectations of the region as opposed to the ‘other’. Thus, this debriefing interview allowed the researcher to examine how this self-identification is socially constructed and individually experienced along with multi-layered, mobile, and socially inherited ideologies (Pietkainen and Dufva, 2006).

To this aim, a set of questions was prepared that can be structured in three different modules: (1) Basque Identity, (2) Basque language and (3) opinions about linguistic choices. In terms of the first set, questions such as “What does it mean to be Basque?” are posed. In terms of Basque language, specific questions involve: “What is good or proper Basque?” “Is Basque DOM a good example of Basque?”. Finally, the third set finalizes by getting involved on their own experiences and linguistic choices as Basques: “Do you use Basque DOM?” (Appendix F). These type of questions prompted speakers to produce a set of discourses that allows the researcher to investigate the ideological arena of the region and the consequences of those ideologies. Thus, studying those discourses in a comparative form from the data gathered in the matched-guise experiment will facilitate an answer as to how ideologies have strong implications for the use of Basque DOM and Basque at a larger scale (RQ#5).

3.5. Procedures

The researcher, born and raised in Gernika, recruited participants from her circle of friends first and then used a “snowball” technique in which the researcher asks participants to introduce him/her to their friends or family members to establish new connections. Learners of Basque were recruited from their respective Basque schools (*Lizardi Euskaltegia* in Bilbao; *Zornotzako Barnetegia* in Zornotza-Amorebieta, conversation groups called *Berba Lagun* in Bilbao, Getxo and Barakaldo and members of cultural associations such as *Gaztetxe* in Baiona. The researchers contacted the principles of these schools, organizers of conversations groups or members of *Gaztetxe* in Baiona and asked to distribute the information of the study along with the researchers’ contact information. Participants who wished to participate in the study provided their contact information and the researcher made an appointment at a place of their choice. Participants were recorded using a Zoom H4n Handy Recorder at participants’ homes, local bars or “hang out” areas of the school. Power point slides for the elicited production task were shown using a Mac OS X version 10.6.8. (MacBook Pro). Using the same computer, the stimuli for the matched-guise were played (in .mp3 format) from iTunes, using Sennheiser HD 202 II headphones.

The order of the tasks was the same for all participants who met twice with the researcher. One session was entirely in Basque whereas the other session was either in Spanish or French as summarized on table 3.6. In the first session, the researcher conducted oral interviews in Basque to get to know the participant. Then, the elicited production task in Basque was administered. Once the production of Basque was finalized, they completed the first block (5 samples) of the matched-guise following a debriefing interview about their experience with the final task. At the end, they completed a language background questionnaire. Session II took place between 1 to 3 days after the first meeting which started with a sociolinguistic interview in Spanish or French. It followed block 2 of the matched-guise (with 5 guises). After that, they completed the elicited production in Spanish or French. As follows, they finished completing the matched-guise experiment along with a debriefing interview about their

attitudes towards some guises. Finally, L2 speakers completed the Basque proficiency test.

Table 3.6. Experimental tasks according to session

Session I (Basque)	Session II (Romance)
1) Oral interviews (Basque)	1) Oral Interviews (Sp/Fr)
2) Elicited Production Task (Basque)	2) Matched Guise (Block 2)
3) Matched Guise (Block 1)	3) Elicited Production Task (Sp/Fr)
4) Debriefing Interview	4) Matched Guise (Block 3)
5) Language Background Questionnaire	5) Debriefing Interview
	6) Proficiency Test (Basque)

It is important to note that some participants refused to meet twice or to conduct the study in Spanish or French. There were speakers that refused to speak to me in Spanish or French for identity purposes. Some others cancelled their second meeting due to last minute schedule conflicts. In those cases, only the Basque oral production was collected and blocks 2 and 3 of the matched-guise experiment were completed in such session.

CHAPTER 4: PRODUCTION RESULTS

This chapter presents a number of descriptive and inferential statistics performed in the data obtained in the sociolinguistic interviews and elicited production tasks with respect to the variable use of third person pronoun clitics in French and Spanish as well as the use of DOM in Basque. More specifically, the present chapter is intended to present the results that will aid to respond the following research questions with respect to Basque DOM:

RQ#1: If Basque DOM is the result of intense contact with Spanish *leísmo* (Austin, 2006; Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2016), *to what extent* is Basque DOM present in the dialects of modern Basque?

RQ#2: If Basque DOM is found in Spain, *what are the types of bilingual* speakers that use Basque DOM?

RQ#3: *What are the linguistic processes* that different bilinguals employ in their use of Basque DOM?

4.1. French: Production of 3rd person object pronouns

4.1.1. Sociolinguistic interviews

In order to demonstrate that French lacks any form of *leísmo*, the choice of third personal object pronouns in transitive clauses have been analyzed in the spontaneous speech of French among 12 Basque-French bilinguals. The total number of third person object pronouns extracted from the French corpus was 98, which is distributed as follows:

Table 4.1. Third person object pronoun distribution in French

	Human (N)	Non-animate (N)
Masculine_SINGULAR	12	75
Masculine_PLURAL	2	3
Femenine_SINGULAR	1	3
Femenine_PLURAL	0	2
TOTAL	15	83

As it can be seen in table 4.1, masculine non-animate clitics constituted the majority of the produced tokens. The low rate of third person object pronouns as well as the unbalanced distribution of human and non-animate objects could be an artifact of the topic used in the conversations. Because the interviewer was trying to establish a rapport with the interviewees, the most prominent topic that emerged was that of the Basque language: *l'euskara*, *l'euskalki* 'regional dialects', *le Batua*, all in the masculine form. An example of such high reference to the Basque language using the third person object pronoun is shown in (1):

- (1) elle l' avait appris l'euskara
 she CL.ACC had learned the Basque
 'She had learned Basque'

Another reason for the low rates of overt third person object pronouns could be due to the fact that spoken French allows null NPs (Lambrecht and Lemoine, 1996, 2005; Larjavaara, 2000; Cummings and Roberge, 2005).³¹ Despite different accounts on the availability of modern French null NPs, the present data shows that null NPs can occur regardless of animacy (2-5):

³¹ Although it has been claim that the Modern French grammar does not allow referential null objects (Troberg, 2004), research shows that referential null objects are common in spoken French (Lambrecht and Lemoine, 2005; Cummings and Roberge, 2005;). The French data presented here seems to be consistent with the latter view, in which null NPs have been categorized in terms of *Definite null-instantiation* and *Free Null-instantiation* (Lambrecht and Lemoine, 2005:19-20), and is subject to morphosyntactic, semantic, pragmatic and stylistic factors (Cummings and Roberge, 2005).

Null NP with human objects:

(2) le professeur de... hizkuntzalaritza, j' Ø aime aussi.

The teacher of ... linguistics, I Ø love too.

The teacher of linguistics, I love [him] too.

(3) et au lycée j'avais mon mon prof d'euskara Antton Luku.

and in high.school I had my my teacher of Basque Antton Luku.

Tu Ø connais ?

You Ø know?

'and in high school I used to have my my teacher of Basque Antton Luku. Do you know [him]?

Null NP with non-animate objects

(4) le *Batua*, je Ø trouve,

the Standard, I Ø find,

'The Standard, I find [it],'

(5) je pense qu'il y a des Basques qui n' Ø aiment pas

I think that there are Basques who don't Ø love NEG

'I think there are a lot of Basques who don't love [it= Basque]'

Because the low rate of overt realization of third person object pronouns does not allow conducting any rigorous statistical analysis, the analysis for the spontaneous French data will heavily rely on descriptive statistics. Figure 4.1 shows the use of third person object pronouns according to case and gender:

Figure 4.1. Use of third person object pronouns according to case and gender in spontaneous speech of French

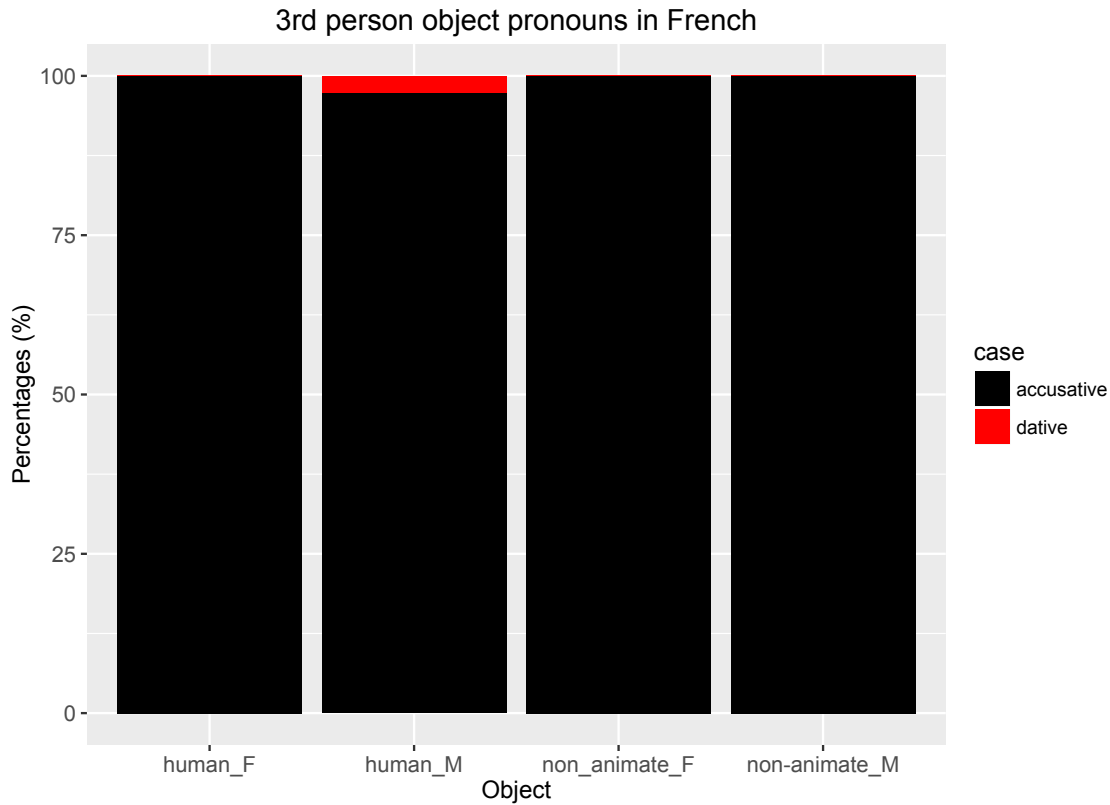


Figure 4.1 shows that the accusative forms *le(s)/la(s)* or *l'* are the preferred third person objects both when the objects are human and non-animate. There is a small percentage (2 out of 75 (2.6 %)) in which human masculine objects were marked with dative *lui*, and are exemplified in (6) and (7):

(6) si c'est baxe-nafartar qui dit ça mais normalement on va pas
 if it is low-navarrese who says that but normally we will neg CL.DAT

lui pardonner
 CL.DAT forgive

‘If it’s a Low-Navarrese who says that, as you would expect, we will not forgive him’

(7) je lui téléphone

I CL.DAT call

‘I call him’

One may think that the use of *lui* in (6) and (7) could be considered two exceptions to the overwhelming accusative clitic usage to mark direct objects in French. However, it is important to note that such usages conform to the grammatical norms of modern French, in the sense that these verbs have been lexicalized with the preposition *à* (*téléphoner à quelqu’un* ‘to call someone’; *pardoner à quelqu’un* ‘to forgive someone’). Interestingly, these types of verbs have been called “alternating verbs” in the literature Spanish (Fernández-Ordóñez, 1999; DeMello, 2002) and Basque (Fernández and Ortiz de Urbina, 2010; Fernández and Rezac, in press) because they can alternate between the dative and accusative. Within the French literature, there is a debate as to whether these verbs can alternate between dative *lui* and accusative *le/la* to denote “government” over the object (Huffman, 1983), that is, to show a degree of control over the participant of the event. No claims can be done with respect to these previous arguments because there are only 2 examples of this type in the present data. However, it can be concluded that based on the data obtained in the spontaneous speech of French, that accusative is rigorously used to mark direct objects with no robust evidence that *leísmo* exists in French.

4.1.2. Elicited production task

Given the low rates of overt production of French 3rd person object pronouns, a more controlled elicited production task has been administered with the goal of obtaining a more representative sample data that also targets possible stylistic effects. 15 Basque-French bilinguals were asked to produce 24 target sentences targeting the appropriate third person object clitic (either accusative or dative), stratified by grammatical gender

(accusative masculine *le/l'*, dative masculine *lui*, accusative feminine *la/l'* or dative feminine *lui*). Participants were presented with equal number of human and non-animate objects, totaling 360 target tokens. A logistic regression model was used using *glm()* in *R*, in which CLITIC (accusative or dative) was the dependent variable. Two social factors (LANGUAGE DOMINANCE and GENDER) and 3 linguistic factors (ANIMACY, GRAMMTICAL GENDER and VERB SEMANTICS) were included as fixed factors. Results are shown in figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2. Use of third person object pronouns according to case and gender in EPT of French

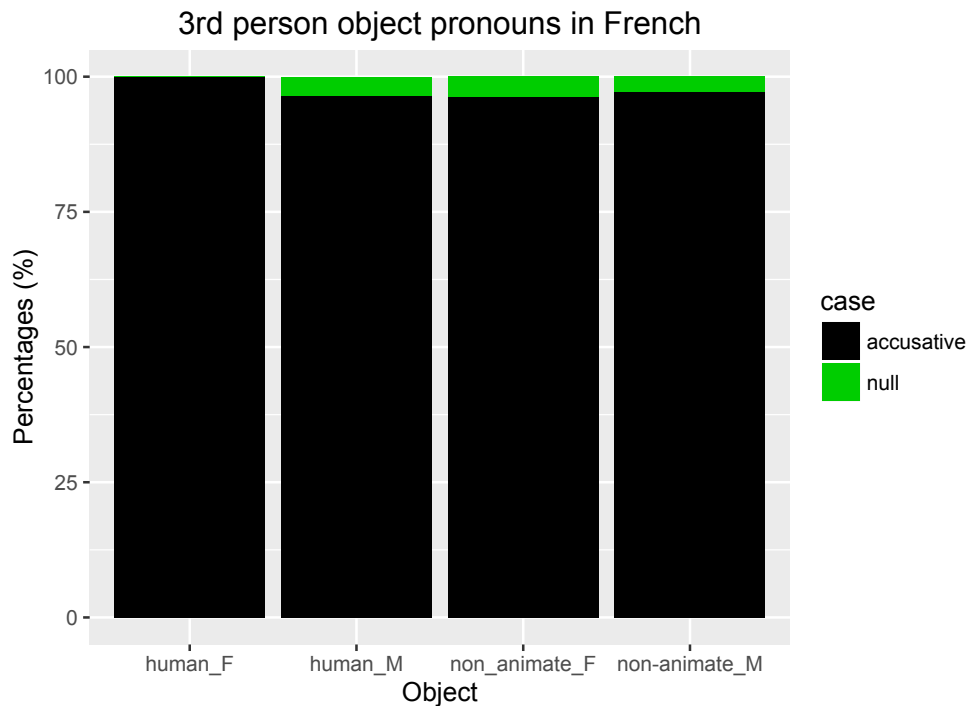


Figure 4.2 shows that French third person object clitics (at least in the four semantic categories *behavioral*, *perceptual*, *physical* and *psychological*) are exclusively marked with the accusative *le/la/l'* forms, regardless of animacy. Results also show that a total of 9 tokens (5 animate and 4 non-animate objects) were produced with null clitics (as shown in 8 and 9); 3.5 % of human masculine objects, 2.8% of non-animate

masculine objects and 3.7% of non-animate feminine objects. Figure 4.3. shows a visual illustration along with the production results in (8) and (9).

Figure 4.3. Examples from French EPT

recruter  Saïoa	voir  Aitor
(8) Saïoa $\emptyset$ recrute Saïoa $\emptyset$ recruits ‘Saïoa recruits him’	(9) Aitor $\emptyset$ voit Aitor $\emptyset$ sees ‘Aitor sees it’

The model showed that there were neither statistical difference between language dominance ($\beta = 1.14980$, $z = 1.524$, $p = 0.13$) nor between the gender of the speakers ($\beta = 0.05318$, $z = 0.074$, $p = 0.94$). Similarly, no statistical differences were found in terms of case with respect to animacy ($\beta = 0.80600$, $z = 1.120$, $p = 0.26$) or grammatical gender ($\beta = 0.97480$, $z = 1.292$, $p = 0.2$).

In summary, production French results confirm previous grammatical accounts of French third person object clitics, in the sense that they constitute a uniform paradigm with respect to animacy at least in formal contexts under the four semantic categories of verbs studied here. It is important to note that spoken French also allows null NPs; because these tokens were excluded from the analysis in the spontaneous data, it is not possible to estimate to what extent such null objects occur. Further research will be needed in order to determine to what extent NPs are allowed in spoken modern French, specifically to language contact situations such that of Basque, and what are the semantic, pragmatic and social factors that may determine such effects. As a conclusion, it is safe to claim that, in the absence of any stylistic effects, the use of accusative clitics to mark direct objects in French are the norm.

4.2. Basque-Spanish: Production of 3rd person object pronouns

The present section is devoted to the variation found in the production of 3rd person object pronouns in the Spanish spoken in the Basque Country. We begin reporting the results gathered in the sociolinguistic interviews.

4.2.1. Sociolinguistic interviews

A total of 41 Basque-Spanish bilinguals engaged in a sociolinguistic interview with the researcher. In total, 578 tokens of overt third person pronouns in transitive clauses were extracted from these interactions and they are distributed as follows:

Table 4.2. Distribution of 3rd person object pronouns in Spanish (sociolinguistic interviews)

	Non-animate 3 rd person clitics	Human 3 rd person clitics	TOTAL
Gernika	34	145	279
Bilbao	225	74	299
TOTAL	359	219	578

Table 4.2 shows that Spanish speakers from Gernika produced more human 3rd person clitics than those in Bilbao. By contrast, Spanish speakers in Bilbao produced more non-animate 3rd person than Spanish speakers from Gernika. This dichotomy can be attributed to the fact that Spanish speakers from Gernika produced more null objects than those in Bilbao. Because we are solely interested in whether Basque-Spanish speakers produced accusative or dative clitics, all null objects have been excluded from data analysis.

The use of *leísmo* in Peninsular Spanish has been attributed to the use of dative *le* to solely mark third person singular masculine objects, whereas in Basque-Spanish, the use of *leísmo* has been described to be extended to all animate forms (showing higher rates of singular objects over plural ones) and varies according to the degree of education and contact with Basque (Urrutia, 1995, 2003). Furthermore, it has been suggested that Basque-Spanish *leísmo* is also characterized for its relationship with *a*-marking, showing a clear pattern of clitic-doubling in terms of Kayne's Generalization. In this respect, the syntactic status of *le(s)* in Basque Spanish has been claimed to be an agreement marker as opposed to the syntactic status of determine-like clitic in monolingual regions (such as Madrid). In order to determine the relationship between DOM, *leísmo* and clitic doubling in Basque-Spanish in the present data, table 4.3. shows the extent to which *leísmo* appears with *a*-marking.

Table 4.3. Distribution of *leísmo* and clitic doubling in the Spanish of Bilbao and Gernika (sociolinguistic interviews)

	<i>Leísmo</i>	<i>Leísmo</i> + <i>a</i> -marking (clitic doubling)
Gernika	136/145 (93.79%)	25/136 (25.74%)
Bilbao	57/74 (77.03%)	14/57 (24.56%)
TOTAL	193/219 (88.13%)	39/193 (20.21%)

Table 4.3 was calculated as follows: first, the amount of animate direct object clitics were calculated for each group; the Gernika group produced 145 animate direct object clitics, whereas the Bilbao group produced only 74. Then, among the total animate clitics each group produced, it was calculated the extent to which they used the dative clitic *le*, that is, the extent to which *leísmo* was used; the Gernika group produced 136 (93.79%) whereas the Bilbao group produced 57 (77.03%). Finally, out of all uses of *leísmo*, it was

calculated how many appeared with clitic doubling (*le* + *a*-marking). This information is shown in the right column. Results in table 4.3 show that the use of *leísmo* is more extended in the Spanish spoken in Gernika (93.79%) than in Bilbao (77.03%), reaching an average of 88.13% in the Spanish spoken in the Basque Country. In terms of *leísmo* and clitic-doubling, both groups showed a quite similar percentage. (~25.1%) These results may suggest that the Spanish spoken in Gernika and Bilbao quantitatively differ in their use of *leísmo*, but shows a similar syntactic relation to clitic-doubling.

In order to locate differences in the use of *leísmo* within the Spanish spoken in the Basque Country, a mixed-effects logistic regression model was performed in *R* with all the 578 tokens. The dependent variable was the case used in the realization of the third person clitic (accusative vs. dative). A total of 4 social factors (LOCATION, AGE, GENDER and LANGUAGE DOMINANCE) as well as 4 linguistic factors (ANIMACY, NUMBER, GRAMMATICAL GENDER and VERB SEMANTICS) were introduced as fixed effects. Finally, SPEAKER was included as a random intercept. Results are visually shown in Figures 4.4 and 4.5, with the statistical differences in table 4.4.

Figure 4.4. Use of Basque Spanish Spanish *leísmo* in Gernika (sociolinguistic interviews)

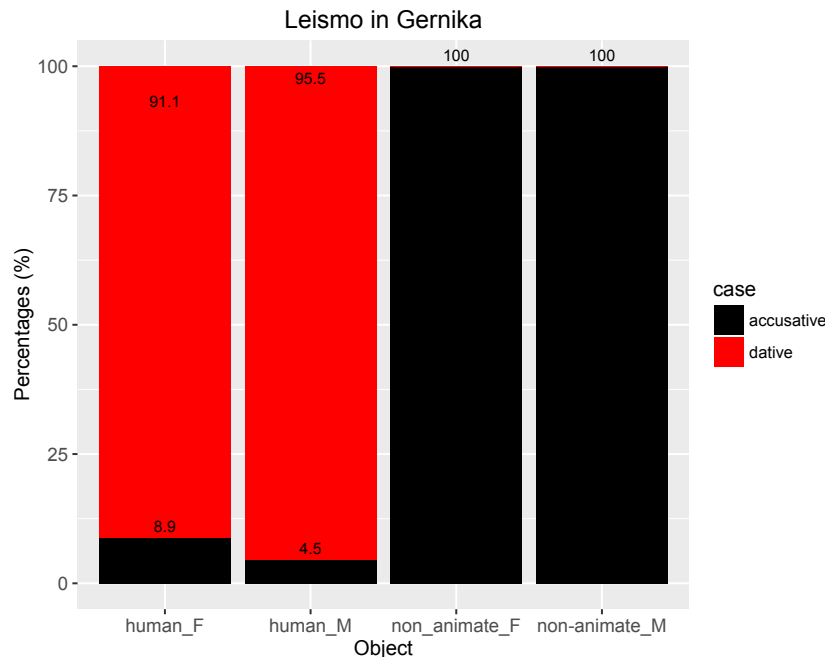
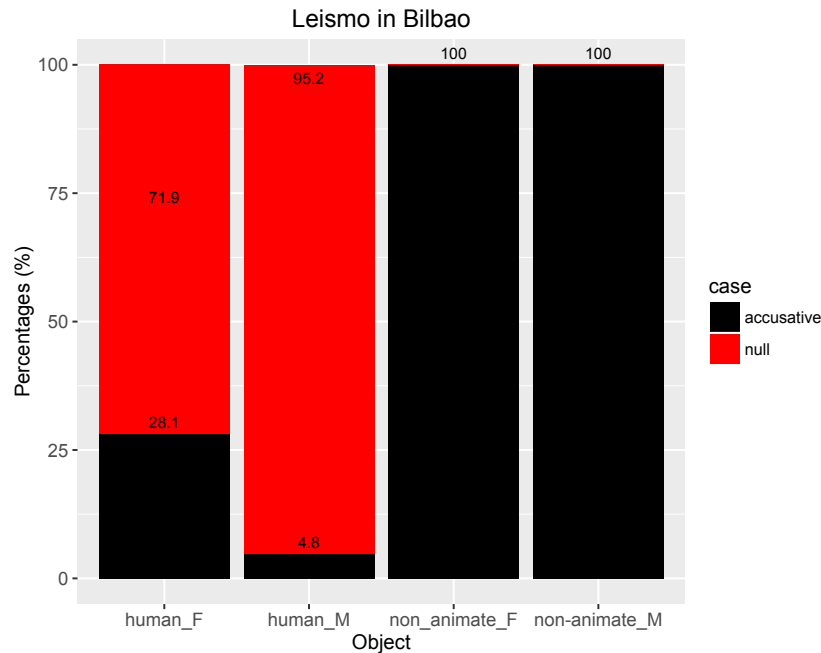


Figure 4.5. Use of Basque Spanish *leísmo* in Bilbao (sociolinguistic interviews)



Figures 4.4 and 4.5 show that the use of *leísmo* is more extended in the Spanish spoken in Gernika than in Bilbao, but only with respect to human feminine objects. The model showed that this difference was statistically significant ($\beta = -0.015$, $z = -2.561$, $p < 0.02$). *Leísmo* is restricted to animate objects in the present data, as no inanimate objects were marked with dative *le*. The lack of significance with respect to animacy is attributed to the fact that no variation was found within inanimates, as in both groups dative is restricted to animate objects. Another important quantitative difference between both groups was found with respect to grammatical gender and the use of *leísmo*; Spanish speakers in Gernika did not show any differences as to whether the object is masculine or feminine, whereas Spanish speakers in Bilbao showed higher rates of *leísmo* with masculine objects, a difference that was marginally significant in the Bilbao group ($\beta = 0.0961$, $z = 1.825$, $p = 0.06$).

Table 4.4. Results of mixed-effects model for Spanish *leísmo* in the Basque Country (sociolinguistic interviews)

	β	Z	p
Intercept	0.066	0.002	0.99
LOCATION (RL: Gernika)			
Bilbao	-0.015	- 2.561	< 0.02 *
ANIMACY (RL: animate)			
Non-animate	-0.036	-0.002	0.99
GRAMMATICAL GENDER (feminine)			
Masculine	0.096	1.825	0.06 .

The estimated variance of the random intercept of SPEAKER is 0.2667.

In terms of animacy and grammatical gender, these results are largely consistent with previous accounts of *leísmo* in the Basque Country (Urrutia, 1995; 2003). *Leísmo* is more extended in rural areas where Spanish has been in long-standing contact with Basque, reaching a categorical distinction between human and non-animate objects. As such, the Spanish spoken in Gernika is characterized for its exclusive use of *animated leísmo*. In Bilbao, more variation is found in the use of clitics for animate objects, as 19.1% of the human masculine objects are marked with accusative *lo(s)* and 28.1% of the human feminine objects are marked with accusative *la(s)* as shown in (10a-b) and (11a-b), respectively:

(10a) O sea, enjuiciar-los en cuanto a que este es gay o no gay
so, judge-CL.ACC.MAS.PL in terms of that this is gay or not gay
‘So judging them in terms of whether this is gay or not’

(10b) a mí, me gusta oír-los a los hombres, es como...
to me, CL.DAT like listen-ACC.ACC.MAS.PL DOM the men, is like....
‘I like hearing men, it is like...’

(11a) nos conocimos allí. Yo no la conocía
REF.1pl know there. I not CL.ACC.FEM.SING knew
‘We met each other there. I did not know her’

(11b) pero luego cuando la pille a ella creo...
but later when CL.ACC.FEM.SING catch DOM her think....
‘But then, when it catcher her, I think...’

Note that examples (10b) and 11b) appear with clitic doubling. The literature on Basque Spanish *leísmo* and clitic-doubling has shown that clitic-doubling is restricted to *le*, which constitutes an agreement marker, whereas *lo(s)* / *las (s)* have been claim to be “uniformly determiner-like clitics in this dialect, even in those restricted contexts where they refer to animate objects” (Ormazabal and Romero, 2013: 318), and therefore, will show no clitic-doubling. These two examples represent counterexamples of such claims and show further evidence to the claim that clitic-doubling should be understood as an agreement phenomenon at the abstract level (Zdrojweski and Sánchez, 2014). At this point, no generalizations can be made as to whether clitic-doubling with animate *lo(s)/la(s)* is a trend in Basque Spanish. But if that were the case, one may propose that *los* in examples (10b) and (11b) are instances of accusative morphological realization but agreement markers at the syntactic level.

Finally, the semantics of the verb was not a significant predictor for the use of *leísmo* in the Spanish spoken in the Basque Country. However, when examining the descriptive statistics some small differences emerge. Table 4.5 shows the frequency and percentages for the use of *leísmo* in animate objects according to the semantics of the verb.

Table 4.5. Use of Basque Spanish *leísmo* according to verb semantics (sociolinguistic interviews)

VERB SEMANTICS	Leísmo (n/N)	<i>Leísmo</i> (%)
Alternating (<i>llamar</i> ‘to call’)	25/25	100%
Behavioral (<i>coger</i> ‘to take’)	25/27	92.59 %
Physical (<i>agarrar</i> ‘to catch’)	37/40	92.5 %
Perceptual (<i>ver</i> ‘to see’)	41/45	91.11 %
Psychological (<i>conocer</i> ‘to know’)	40/48	83.33 %
Motion (<i>llevar</i> ‘to carry’)	19/25	76 %
Possession (<i>tener</i> ‘to have’)	2/8	75 %

Table 4.5 shows that all *llamar*-type verbs, also known as alternating, are used with *leísmo*. Behavioral, physical and perceptual verbs overwhelmingly take *leísmo* as well. Psychological verbs, which mostly take animate objects, also favor *leísmo* but to a lesser extent. Finally, motion verbs and possession verbs, are the ones that take the least *leísmo*, albeit its high percentage.

Recall that one of the limitations of naturalistic data is that not everybody produces the same verbs which gives rise to very unbalanced token distribution. As such, a comparative analysis on the significance of verb semantics can be rather challenging. With the objective to obtain a more unified sample data, a controlled elicited production task has also been administered that also targets possible stylistic effects.

4.2.2. Elicited production task

40 Basque-Spanish bilinguals (18 from Gernika and 22 from Bilbao) were asked to produce 24 target sentences with the intent to produce third person object clitics (either accusative or dative). Stimuli were stratified by grammatical gender (accusative

masculine *lo*’, dative masculine *le*, accusative feminine *la* or dative feminine *le*), animacy (human vs. non-animate) and semantics of the verb (behavioral, physical, perceptual and psychological). This task gathered a total of 960 target tokens, of which 37 tokens had to be excluded because participants either produced a different verb or a complete different sentence not relevant to the task. Additionally, 38 tokens were removed from the statistical analysis because the clitic was realized as null. However, given the importance of null objects in Basque Spanish, the rates of Spanish null objects in the EPT are presented in table 4.6:

Table 4.6 Null objects in the Spanish EPT:

Null Objects	Human objects	Non-animate objects
Gernika	6/273 (2.19%)	26/138 (18.84%)
Bilbao	0/367 (0 %)	6/182 (3.29%)
TOTAL	6/640 (0.9%)	32/320 (10%)

Table 4.6 shows that null objects are more common among Spanish speakers of Gernika than those from Bilbao. Interestingly, speakers from Gernika produced 6 tokens of null clitics with human objects, a rather unexpected result. For the remaining 895 tokens, a logistic regression model was used using *glm()* in *R*, in which CLITIC (accusative or dative) was the dependent variable. Three social factors (LOCATION, LANGUAGE DOMINANCE and GENDER) and three linguistic factors (ANIMACY, GENDER and VERB SEMANTICS) were included as fixed factors. Results are shown in table 4.7.

Table 4.7. Results of logistic regression model of Spanish EPT

	β	Z	p
Intercept	-4.22	-4.064	< 0.001 ***
ANIMACY (RL: non-animate)			
Animate	4.18	4.115	< 0.001 ***
GRAMMATICAL GENDER (RL: feminine)			
Masculine	2.31	2.210	0.02 *
VERB SEMANTICS (RL: perceptual)			
Behavioral	0.53	2.463	0.01 *
Psychological	0.46	2.090	0.03 *

Results from the linearized logistic regression model showed that there were no statistically significant differences between the Gernika and the Bilbao group with respect to the use of *leísmo* in the EPT ($\beta = -0.11067$, $z = -0.539$, $p = 0.56$). Neither language dominance nor gender was significant predictors for the realization of *le*. In terms of linguistic factors, human objects significantly favored *leísmo* ($\beta = 4.18444$, $z = 4.115$, $p < 0.001$), as well as masculine objects (2.31209 , $z = 2.210$, $p = 0.03$). Figures 4.6 and 4.7 show these differences; however, notice that the difference between human masculine objects and human feminine objects is more pronounced in the Bilbao group.

Figure 4.6. Use of third person object pronouns according to case and gender in Spanish EPT: Gernika Group

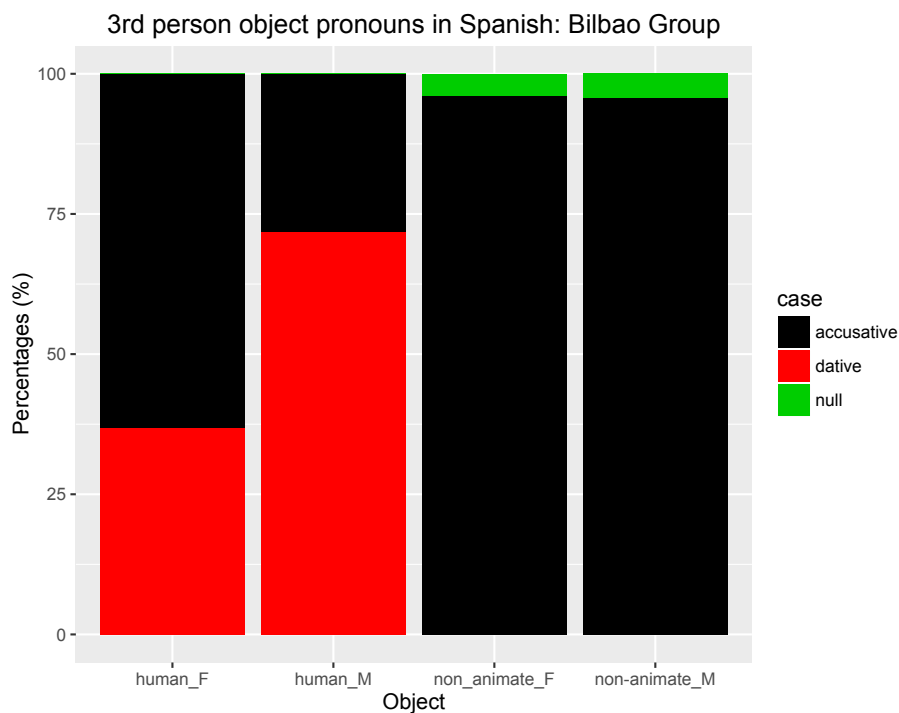
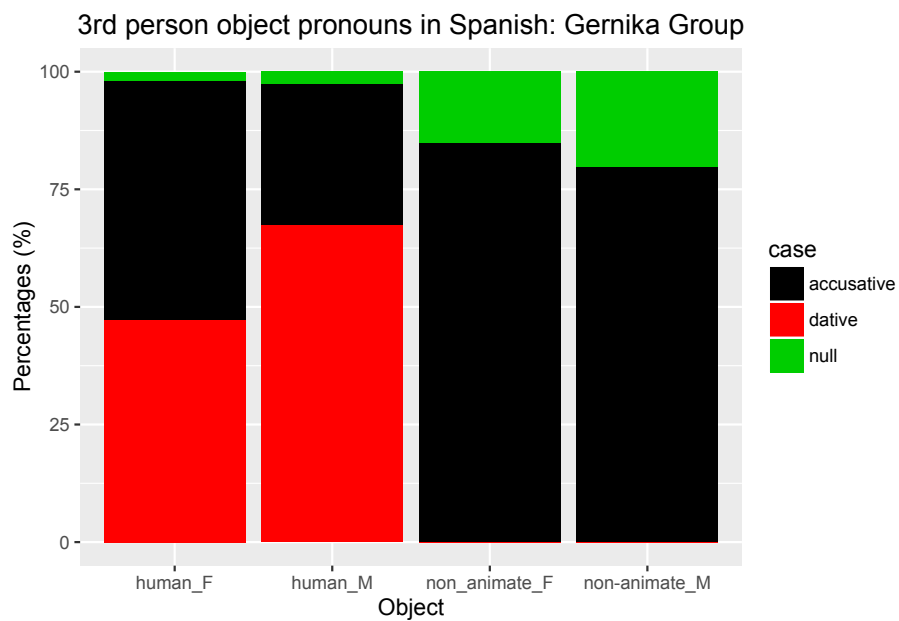


Figure 4.7. Use of third person object pronouns according to case and gender in Spanish EPT: Bilbao Group



In terms of verbs, figures 4.8 and 4.9 show that all verbs favored the use of *le*, but to varying degrees. The model showed that both behavioral verbs (*castigar* ‘to punish’, *contratar* ‘to hire’) and psychological verbs (*querer* ‘to love’, *conocer* ‘to meet/know’) significantly favored *leísmo* in comparison to the reference level, which was set at perceptual verbs. Results also show that this trend is consistent in both groups as no statistical differences were found between both groups. Although there was no interaction between animacy and verb semantics, it is important to recall that the two most favoring verbs types (psychological and behavioral verbs) usually select human (or animate) objects.

Figure 4.8 Rates of *leísmo* according to verb type in the Spanish EPT: Gernika group

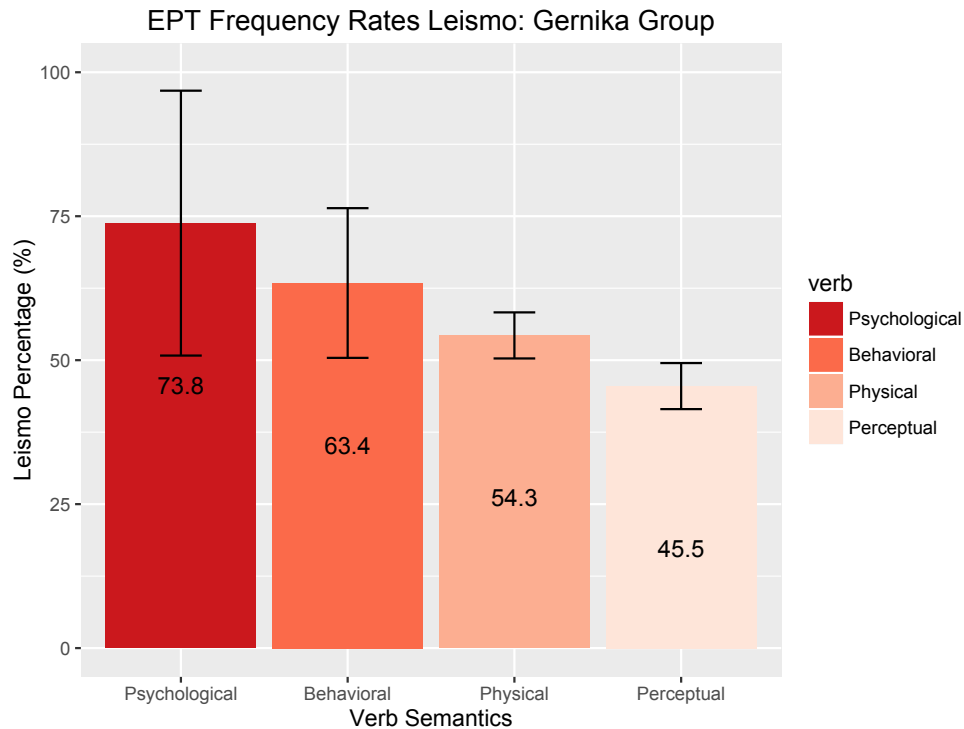
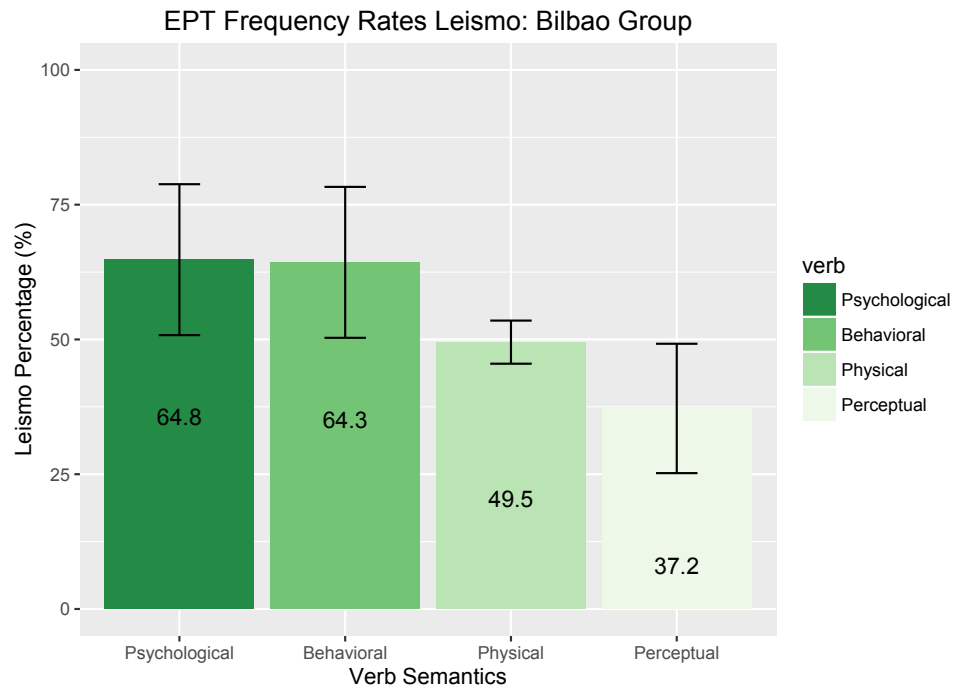


Figure 4.9 Rates of *leísmo* according to verb type in the Spanish EPT: Bilbao group



The results obtained for the *leísmo* spoken in the Basque Country are consistent with previous studies. The use of *leísmo* is more extended in areas where the presence of Basque is stronger to the point that there is almost full neutralization of gender at the expense of using dative *le/les* for both feminine and masculine. In the Bilbao Area, *leísmo* is more extended in the masculine form, and less so in the feminine form. As such, the morphological realization of clitics in Bilbao resembles that of Madrid Spanish. However, the high degree of *leísmo* and *a*-marking in both Gernika and Bilbao suggest that syntactically, the syntactic status of *leísmo* in Basque Spanish is that of an agreement marker, as previously claimed (Franco, 1993; Franco and Mejías-Bikandi, 1999, Landa, 1995; Ormazabal and Romero, 2007, 2013). The stylistic differences between the results obtained in the sociolinguistic interviews and the elicited production task with respect to the use of *leísmo* could be attributed to the coexistence of different patterns of use as already claimed by Urrutia (1995: 225): “in Bilbao and in the rest of the Basque Country, the use and spread of *leísmo* do not undermine completely the Academy model”. It is

important to note that this stylistic difference was more pronounced in Gernika than in Bilbao.

4.3. DOM in Basque

4.3.1. Token distributions

After demonstrating that the use of *animated leísmo* is widespread in Basque Spanish and not in French, the present section provides an overview of the distribution of Basque DOM in terms of its use in regions that are in contact with Spanish (Gernika area and Bilbao Greater area) and French (Baiona and its surroundings).

The total number of transitive clauses extracted from the 99 Basque speakers was 3,101, distributed as shown in table 4.8.

Table 4.8. Token distribution of Basque DOM according to groups (sociolinguistic interviews)

	Gernika	Bilbao	Baiona	TOTAL
Number of transitive clauses	1,368	1,021	595	2,984
Excluded alternating verbs	50	38	29	117
TOTAL	1,418	1,059	624	3,101

The unbalanced token distribution is attributed to the amount of speakers that each group contains. The 42 speakers in Gernika produced a total of 1,418 transitive clauses, of which 50 were excluded from the analysis for being alternating verbs. Similarly, Bilbao speakers produced 1,059 transitive clauses, with a total of 38

alternating verbs tokens removed. Lastly, the Baiona group contains 15 speakers, who produced 624 transitive clauses, of which 595 were kept for the remaining of the analysis. The exclusion of these alternating verbs is grounded in the Basque syntactic theory literature, which has argued for a different syntactic representation from ‘true’ DOM structures (Fernández and Ortiz de Urbina, 2012; Odria, 2014; Fernández and Rezac, in press). Thus, the remaining of the analysis will solely rely on the 2,984 transitive structures.

4.3.1.1. Basque DOM in *Inflected* vs. *non-inflected* forms

Syntactic accounts of Basque DOM have also demonstrated that DOM objects check dative case structurally in an Agree relation that surfaces through pronominal clitics in the auxiliary verb (Fernández and Rezac, in press; Odria, 2014). As shown in chapter 2, agreement seems to be an important factor in Basque DOM. However, it cannot be considered a principle, but *a tendency*. This is because Basque DOM is not restricted to finite clauses where Agree/Case are established (as shown in example 52). Therefore, the data has been divided as to whether the transitive verb was in an inflected for or a non-inflected for, and to what extent DOM appears in each structure, a distribution that is shown in table 4.9.

Table 4.9. Distribution of Basque DOM: inflected and non-inflected transitive structures (sociolinguistic interviews)

Transitive structures	Total	DOM
Inflected	2,547 / 2,984 (85.36 %)	258 / 2,547 (10.1%)
Non-Inflected	437 / 2,984 (14.64 %)	34 / 437 (7.8%)
TOTAL	2,984	292 / 2,984 (9.79%)

Table 4.9 shows that inflected forms were the vast majority of all transitive verbs (85.36 % vs. 14.64%). It also seems that DOM is mainly found in inflected verbs, as 10.1% of the transitive inflected verbs were marked with dative. However, a 7.8 % of NPs were marked with dative in non-inflected forms. The table also shows that among all transitive verbs (including inflected and non-inflected verbs), DOM constitutes almost 8% of the entire data. The low realization of Basque DOM in the present corpus may be misleading at this point, as these data encompass both human and non-animate objects.

4.3.1.2. Animacy

The relevant literature on DOM has shown that animacy is one of the most important factors favoring DOM. However, results in Sinnemäki's (2014) recent study showed that most of the DOM languages studied did not show a preference for traditional semantic properties such as animacy or specificity, but instead, these languages showed an effect of *economy*. That is, languages showed overt marking in less common structures. As for Spanish, DOM (both *a*-marking and *leísmo*) mainly occurs with animate objects, and similar qualitative results have been reported for Basque (Fernández and Rezac, in press). In order to test these findings quantitatively, we first show the distribution of human and non-animate objects in the present data:

Table 4.10. Token distribution of Basque DOM: human and non-animate objects (sociolinguistic interviews)

	Non-animate objects	Human objects	TOTAL
Gernika	760 (55.6 %)	608 (44.4 %)	1,368
Bilbao	723 (70.8 %)	298 (29.2%)	1,021
Baiona	348 (58.7 %)	247 (41.3 %)	595
TOTAL	1,831 (61.4 %)	1,153 (38.6 %)	2,984

As shown in table 4.10, transitive clauses with non-animate objects were more common in all groups, although to different extents; both speakers from Gernika and Baiona seem to produce slightly more than half of the transitive sentences with non-animate objects. On the contrary, speakers in Bilbao show a higher prevalence of transitive sentences with non-animate objects as opposed to transitive sentences with human objects. It is well possible that this unbalanced distribution of human and non-animate objects will play a role in the analysis of Basque DOM in the Bilbao group. As what follows, table 4.11. shows the distribution of DOM across groups in non-animate and human objects.

Table 4.11. Token distribution of Basque DOM according to animacy and dialect (sociolinguistic interviews)

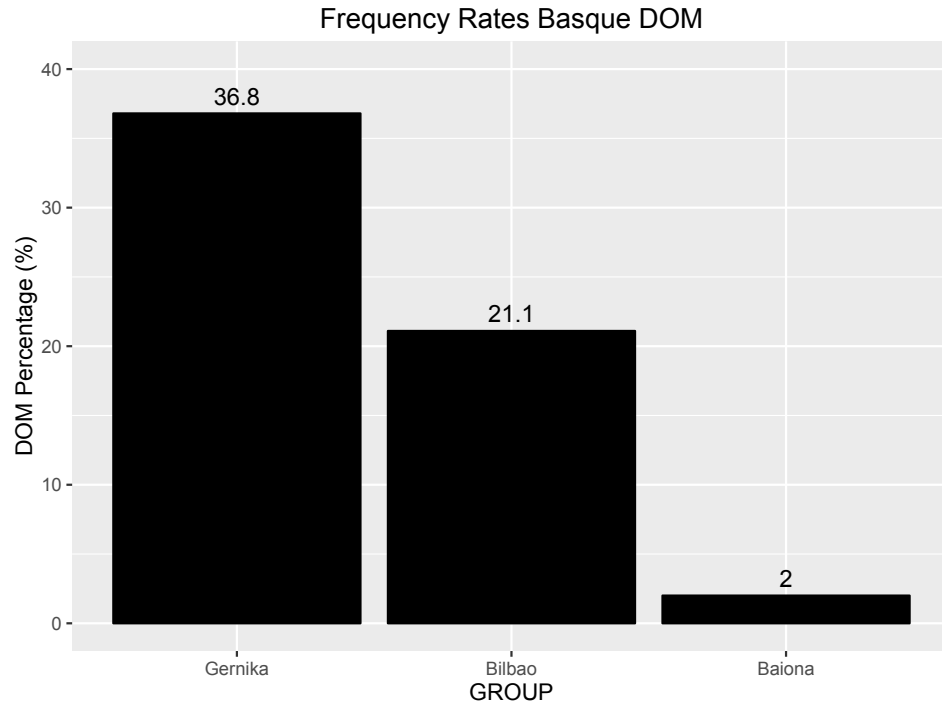
	DOM	
	Non-animate objects	Human objects
Gernika	0 / 760 (0 %)	224 / 608 (36.8 %)
Bilbao	0 / 723 (0 %)	63 / 298 (21.1 %)
Baiona	0 / 348 (0 %)	5 / 247 (2 %)
TOTAL		292 / 1,153 (25.33 %)

A preliminary analysis of the distribution DOM both in transitive clauses with non-animate objects and human objects show that none of the non-animate objects were marked with the dative case marker (either in the nominal inflection or auxiliary verb) whereas only 292 tokens of DOM were found in the data set, constituting 25.3 % of all human objects produced. Taking into consideration the raw data in tables 4.10 and 4.11, it can be said that transitive sentences with animate objects are less common than

transitive objects with non-animate objects and that DOM occurs in less common structures. However, it cannot be argued that DOM is found in such structures due to an economy effect, as the relevance of animacy seems to be overwhelmingly important factor in Basque DOM.

In order to locate Basque DOM rate differences across the three dialects of Basque in the present dissertation, a preliminary analysis of the 2,984 tokens was performed. With the goal to also investigate the main linguistic factors that contribute to the realization of Basque DOM as a whole, a mixed-effects logistic regression model of DOM was developed using the *glmer* function in the *lme4* package in *R* (Bates et al., 2015). In this preliminary model, SPEAKER and VERB were included as a random effects in order to neutralize the possibility of undue influence (i.e. extreme outliers) of particular individual speakers and verb items on the overall data set. The dependent variable of every analysis was the presence or absence of Basque DOM and 6 linguistic factors (ANIMACY-SPECIFICITY-PERSON & NUMBER, DEFINITENESS, VERB SEMANTICS, VERB TYPE, NULL OBJECT and TAM) and a single social factor (GROUP) were introduced as fixed factor.

Figure 4.10. Frequency rates for the production of Basque DOM according to dialectal groups (sociolinguistic interviews)



The estimated variance of the random intercept of SPEAKER is 1.248.

The estimated variance of the random intercept of VERB is 1.957.

As figure 4.10 shows, Basque DOM is mainly used among Basque-Spanish bilinguals and it is almost none-existent among Basque-French bilinguals. Basque-Spanish bilinguals from the Gernika area produced DOM 36.8% of the times whereas Basque speakers from the Greater Bilbao area only produce DOM 21.1% of the times. The mixed effects model showed that this difference was statistically significant ($\beta = -0.01557$, $z = -4.371$, $p < 0.001$). Results also showed that speakers in Baiona rarely produce DOM; out of the 247 animate objects, only 5 were produced with the dative, a total of 2%. The difference between speakers in Baiona was statistically significant with the Bilbao group ($\beta = 0.02733$, $z = 4.115$, $p < 0.001$), as well as with the Gernika group ($\beta = -0.04283$, $z = -6.547$, $p < 0.001$).

With respect to linguistic factors, this preliminary model shows that ANIMACY-SPECIFICITY-PERSON & NUMBER was a significant predictor in Basque DOM. Having set the reference level as First_SINGULAR objects, results show that both First_SINGULAR and First_PLURAL objects favor Basque DOM, and these are not statistically significant from each other ($\beta = -0.3309$, $z = 0.7370$, $p > 0.05$). After computing a Tukey post-hoc significance comparison between levels, results show that Second_SINGULAR objects did not differ neither from first singular nor first plural ones.³² Interestingly, specific second singular objects did not differ statistically from non-specific second singular objects ($\beta = 0.34123$, $z = 0.441$, $p = 1$), suggesting that DOM can occur both with specific and non-specific second objects. Results also show that DOM can occur with specific third person singular objects but to a much lesser extent and this difference was statistically significant from First_SINGULAR ($\beta = -3.11906$, $z = -6.944$, $p < 0.001$), First_PLURAL, ($\beta = -2.72609$, $z = -3.847$, $p < 0.001$) as well as specific Second_SINGULAR ($\beta = -2.14410$, $z = -5.170$, $p < 0.001$). Similarly, specific third person objects were not statistically different from non-specific third person objects ($\beta = 1.44894$, $z = 1.255$, $p = 0.9668$) and neither were third person singular objects from third person plural ones ($\beta = 0.72382$, $z = 1.866$, $p = 0.6684$). Summarizing results pertaining to ANIMACY-SPECIFICITY-PERSON & NUMBER, this preliminary model shows that first and second objects favor Basque DOM over third person object ones, regardless of specificity and number.

With respect to verbs, both VERB SEMANTICS and VERB TYPE were significant predictors for Basque DOM. In terms of VERB SEMANTICS and using causal verbs as reference level, this model shows that Basque DOM is favored in psychological verbs such as *ezagutu* ‘to know’ and *ulertu* ‘to understand’ ($\beta = -1.1943$, $z = -2.053$, $p = 0.04$) and motion verbs such as *eraman* ‘to take’ and *bota* ‘to throw’ ($\beta = -1.4540$, $z = -2.193$, $p = 0.0283$). In terms of verb type, this model show that Basque DOM is favored when Spanish verbs are borrowed (such as *mogidu* ‘to move’ and *kontratatu* ‘to hire’) as opposed to Basque verbs ($\beta = 1.1524$, $z = 3.709$, $p < 0.001$).

³² No Second_PLURAL direct objects were produced in the present corpus.

In summary, a first inspection of the results show that Basque DOM is mainly found among Basque-Spanish bilinguals, and most importantly, among speakers of Gernika Basque. In terms of linguistic factors, an overall analysis of the data shows that Basque DOM is mainly found in first and second person objects and among third person objects to a lesser extent. Specificity does not seem to play a significant role as at least in second person objects. In terms of verbs, both psychological and motion verbs show a favoring pattern as well as verbs that have been borrowed from Spanish. It is important to mention that this analysis is based on the overall data and such effects may not be specific of each dialect or bilingual group. In order to better understand possible different processes behind Basque DOM, it is important to perform a constraint hierarchy comparison (Meyerhoff, 2009) by locating significant linguistic factors according to bilingual group. Such comparisons will be dealt in section 4.3.3.

4.3.1.3. *Animacy, null objects and Agree: overall*

Based on the literature that suggests that the dative pronominal clitics agree with dative direct object NPs (Odria, 2014; Fernández and Rezac, in press) as well as the role that null objects may pose in the realization of Basque DOM (Austin, 2006), the presence of DOM has been also analyzed according to such type of structure. Table 4.12 shows the types of structure (both NP and auxiliary marking in inflected or non-inflected forms) that were most common in the present corpus as well as to what extent Basque DOM occurs in such NP and auxiliary combinations. Recall that DOM refers to the use of dative in the NP, in the auxiliary verb or in both in inflected forms (shaded areas).

Table 4.12. Overall distribution of Basque DOM according to type of transitive structure (sociolinguistic interviews)

	Type of structure	Raw	DOM
INFLECTED	NP _{ABS} AUXILIARY _{ABS}	1,608 / 2,547 (63.13 %)	
	NP _{NULL} AUXILIARY _{ABS}	681 / 2,547 (26.74 %)	
	NP _{DAT} AUXILIARY _{DAT}	76 / 2,547 2.99 %	76 / 292 (26.03 %)
	NP _{NULL} AUXILIARY _{DAT}	179 / 2,547 7.03 %	179 / 292 (61.3 %)
	NP _{DAT} AUXILIARY _{ABS}	3 / 2,547 0.12 %	3 / 292 (1.03 %)
	NP _{ABS} AUXILIARY _{DAT}	0 / 2,547 0 %	0 / 292 0 %
TOTAL INFLECTED		2,547	258 / 2,547 (10.13 %)
NON-INFLECTED	NP _{ABS}	403 / 437 (92.22 %)	
	NP _{DAT}	34 / 437 7.78 %	34 / 292 11.63 %
TOTAL NON-INFLECTED		437	34 / 437 (7.78%)

As it can be seen in table 4.12, the vast majority of the data constitutes instances of non-DOM as an inflected form. 63.13 % of the transitive structures were produced with overt absolutive NP and 26.74 % were inflected non-DOM structures in which the

NP appears null. Therefore, a total of 89.87 % of the data was produced as an inflected form of canonical non-DOM. The table also shows that DOM is more common in structures in which the NP is null and DOM is recovered through agreement in the auxiliary (7.03 % out of all inflected forms). It follows structures in which the NP overtly appears in the dative case and agrees with the auxiliary verb (2.99%). There were only 3 tokens in which such agreement relationship was not hold, constituting only 0.12 % of all inflected transitive forms. DOM can also appear in non-inflected verbs in which the only way to determine that DOM has occurred is through the overt realization of the dative marker in the NP. Such examples only constituted 7.78% of all non-inflected forms. At a first glance, it seems that a mirror effect is found in the inflected forms, in the sense that canonical non-DOM mainly occur when the NP is overt and marked in the absolutive, whereas innovative DOM is more common when the NP is null. The importance of such pattern will be dealt more in detail in the analysis for each bilingual type (4.3.3) as well as in the discussion section (4.4).

With respect to DOM rate production, the right-most column (in table 4.12) has been calculated in terms of how many tokens of DOM were found in each structure combinations out of all possible DOM realizations. There were a total 292 tokens of DOM (taking into account both inflected and non-inflected forms). Among those 292 examples of DOM, the vast majority of them occurred in inflected forms and when the NP was null (61.3%) and overt dative form in the auxiliary. It then follows inflected forms with overt dative in the NP and auxiliary (a total of 26.03% of all produced DOM structures). Finally, DOM was marked 11.63% of the times in non-inflected forms, and few instances of non-agreement DOM were also found, constituting a 1.03% of all DOM occurrences.

In summary, these results show that agreement could be regarded as tendency in Basque DOM as evidenced through inflection forms as well as through a quite high realization of DOM in non-inflected forms. Furthermore, it can be said that agreement and null objects may also be related factors, evidenced by the fact that it is more common to find DOM when the object is null with the pronominal dative clitic in the auxiliary.

4.3.1.3.1. Animacy, null objects and Agree: according to bilingual type

Within the literature in bilingualism, it has been suggested that bilinguals whose proficiency is not balanced across languages tend to produce more overt realizations of NPs when their L2 allows null NPs (Sorace, 2011). In order to locate possible different DOM realizations in terms of null objects and agree, the distribution of DOM according to structure type and bilingual type has been analyzed. Table 4.13 shows the raw amount of tokens of inflected and non-inflected structures that each bilingual group within each Basque dialect produced and as well as the percentage of all inflected and non-inflected structures produced.

Table 4.13. Overall distribution of Basque DOM according to type of transitive structure and bilingual type (sociolinguistic interviews)

		Gernika		Bilbao		Baiona
Type of structure		Native	ESB	L2-Adv	L2-Interm	Native
INFLECTED	NP _{ABS} - AUX _{ABS}	674 (57.9%)	288 (65.32%)	167 (65.75%)	102 (71.33%)	377 (69.05%)
	NP _{NULL} -AUX _{ABS}	292 (25.1%)	129 (29.25%)	72 (28.35%)	30 (20.98%)	164 (30.04%)
	NP _{DAT} - AUX _{DAT}	62 (5.33 %)	9 (2.02 %)	1 (0.39%)	0 (0%)	2 (0.37%)
	NP _{NULL} -AUX _{DAT}	136 (11.68%)	15 (3.41 %)	14 (5.51%)	8 (5.59%)	3 (0.55%)

Table 4.13. (cont.)

		Gernika		Bilbao		Baiona
Type of structure		Native	ESB	L2-Adv	L2-Interm	Native
	NP _{DAT} - AUX _{ABS}	0	0	0	3	0
		(0 %)	(0 %)	(0 %)	(2.1%)	(0 %)
	NP _{ABS} - AUX _{DAT}	0	0	0	0	0
		(0 %)	(0 %)	(0 %)	(0 %)	(0 %)
TOTAL		1,164	441	254	143	546
INFLECTED						
NON-	NP _{ABS}	178	99	56	19	49
INFLECTED		(87.25%)	(96.12%)	(100%)	(79.17%)	(100%)
	NP _{DAT}	26	4	0	5	0
		(12.75%)	(3.88 %)	(0 %)	(20.83%)	(0%)
TOTAL		204	103	56	24	49
NON-						
INFLECTED						
TOTAL		1,368	544	310	167	595
TOKENS						

As a first inspection of the data, table 4.13 shows that the use of overt NP in inflected forms (NP_{ABS}-AUX_{ABS}) increases as proficiency decreases. The data also shows a ‘mirroring pattern’ with respect to overt or null realization of case in the NP in inflected forms and such pattern was consistent across groups: Participants produced more overt NP in canonical non-DOM structures (NP_{ABS}-AUX_{ABS}), whereas the reverse is true in DOM structures. As such, NP_{ABS} is more common whereas DOM is more common in NP_{NLL}-AUX_{L_{DAT}} constructions.

These results seem to suggest that null objects and agreement are important factors in the realization of Basque DOM: overall, it can be said that if DOM is produced, the auxiliary agrees with the NP. There were only 3 tokens in which this tendency was not true, and were produced by a single L2 Basque intermediate speaker. Finally, it suffices to say, that DOM is also found in non-inflected forms but to a much lesser extent.

Beyond calculating the most common structures in each group, the rates for type of DOM structure were calculated with respect to all produced DOM sentences. Thus, excluding non-DOM forms, table 4.14 shows which form of DOM was most common across groups.

Table 4.14. Distribution of Basque DOM according to type of structure across dialects (sociolinguistic interviews)

		Gernika	Bilbao		Baiona	
Type of structure			ESB	L2-Adv	L2-Interm	
INFLECTED	NP _{DAT} - AUX _{DAT}	62 (27.68 %)	9 (32.14%)	1 (6.7%)	0 (0%)	2 (40 %)
	NP _{NULL} -AUX _{DAT}	136 (61.61%)	15 (53.57%)	14 (93.3%)	8 (50%)	3 (60 %)
	NP _{DAT} - AUX _{ABS}	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)	3 (18.75%)	0 (0 %)
	NP _{ABS} - AUX _{DAT}	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)
NON-INFLECTED	NP _{DAT}	26 (11.61%)	4 (14.29%)	0 (0 %)	5 (31.25%)	0 (0%)
TOTAL		224	28	15	16	5
DOM						

Overall, results shows that the type of DOM most common in all groups is that of when the NP is null and the dative is encoded in the auxiliary (NP_{NULL}-AUX_{DAT}) as shown in (12). With respect to inflected forms, the following tendency seems to emerge; both native speakers and early sequential bilinguals produced the highest rates of DOM with overt NPs (NP_{DAT}-AUX_{DAT}) whereas those with lowest proficiency produce the least DOM in such structure. An example of this structure is shown in (13). In terms of inflected forms, an opposite direction seems to emerge: those with the lowest proficiency of Basque produced more NPs in the dative forms, whereas those with the highest proficiency, produced the least DOM within the non-inflected verbs (as shown in 14). Although agreement seems crucial for the realization of Basque DOM in inflected-forms, there were 3 tokens that such agreement was violated. Those 3 examples were produced by a single speaker in the intermediate group as shown in (15).

NP_{NULL} AUXILIARY_{DAT}

- (12) inoiz Ø Ø ikusi-**z**-te beragaz zozer hartzeko...
 sometime pro pro see-**1sg.DAT**-3sg.ERG with.her something to.take
 ‘[She] has seen [me] before having some [drink] with him’

NP_{DAT} AUXILIARY_{DAT}

- (13) Ø obrerue-ri ikus-ten-tz-e-zu-e horregaz
 pro workers-DAT see-PR-DF-**3.DAT**-2sg.ERG-**pl** with.that
 ‘[You] see workers with that’

NON-INFLECTED NP_{DAT}

- (14) Ø ba akorde-tan naz, han Xabi-ri plake-tan,
 pro so remember-PR be.1sg, there Xabi-DAT tackle-PROG,

Ø goce ei-tzen n-a-be-n, tio
 pro enjoy do-PROG 1sg.ERG-root-3sg.ABS-PAST, dude
 ‘[I] remember, there tackling Xabi, [I] used to enjoy it, dude’

NP_{DAT} AUXILIARY_{ABS}

- (15) Ø han ez n-u-e-n ezagutu bera-ri eh!
 pro there no 1sg.ERG-root-3sg.ABS-PAST know she-DAT eh!
 ‘I did not get to know her there, eh!’

It is important to note that these tendencies are only suggestive, given the low production of DOM within different groups of Basque speakers in Bilbao. However, if these tendencies hold true, one may suggest that Basque DOM could be the result of different processes within bilinguals. This question will be dealt in more detail in section 4.4.

4.3.2. Individual Results

Given the high rates of speaker variability found in the first model, the average of production of DOM has been computed for each speaker in order to give a more nuanced perspective on the distribution of high and low rates of DOM production. These individual results are categorized in terms of dialect group and bilingual type in figures 4.11, 4.12, 4.13, 4.14 and 4.15, respectively.

Figure 4.11. Individual production rates of DOM in Basque-Spanish native bilinguals from Gernika (sociolinguistic interviews)

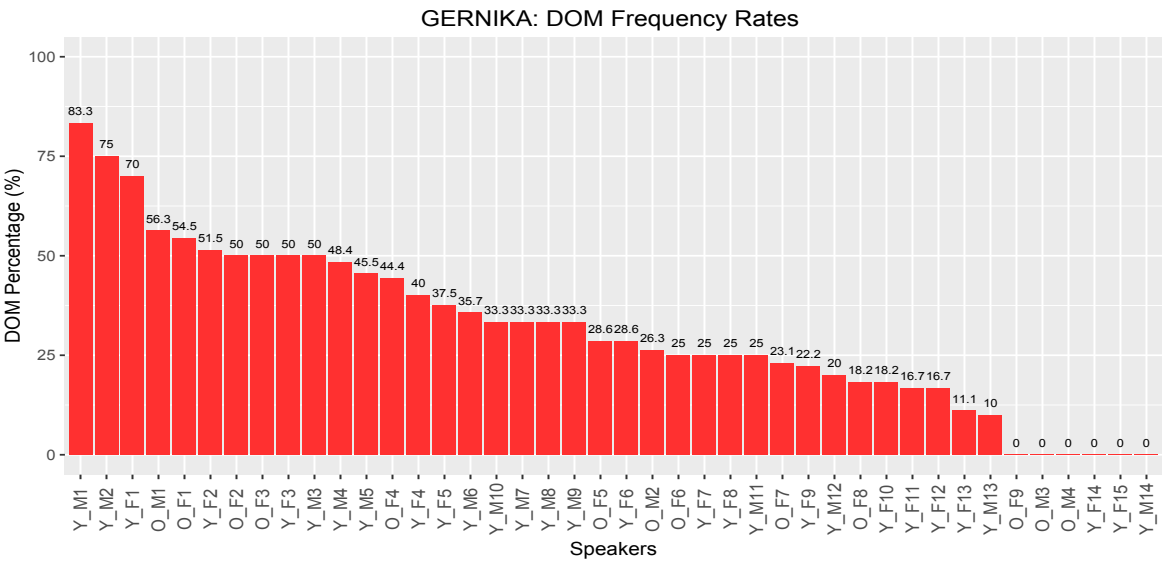


Figure 4.12. Individual production rates of DOM in early sequential bilinguals from Bilbao (sociolinguistic interviews)

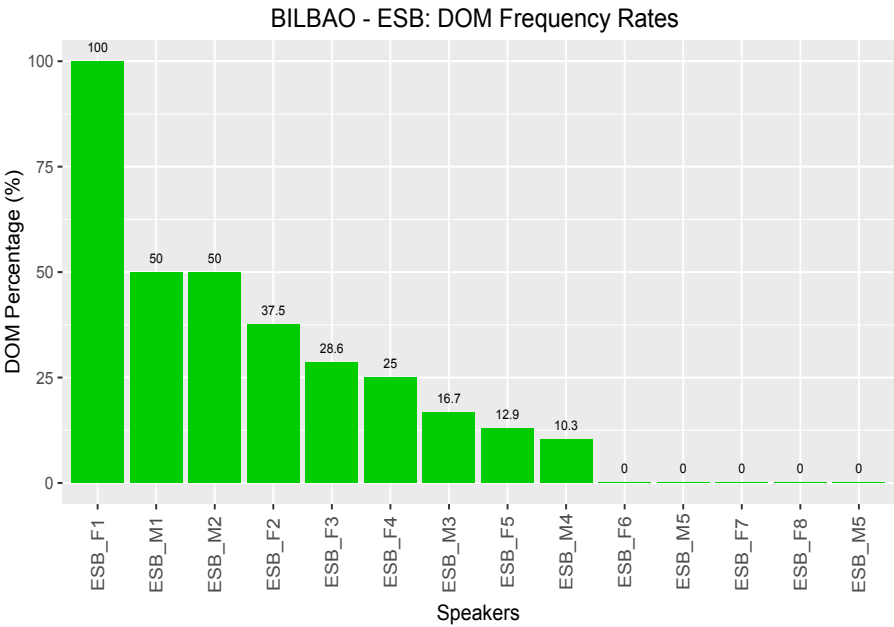


Figure 4.13. Individual production rates of DOM in L2 advanced Basque speakers from Bilbao (sociolinguistic interviews)

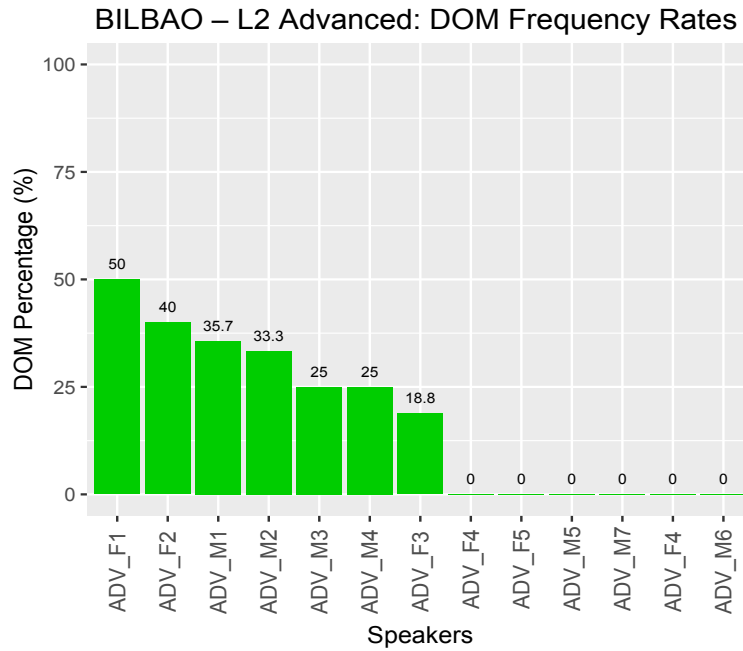


Figure 4.14. Individual production rates of DOM in L2 intermediate Basque speakers from Bilbao (sociolinguistic interviews)

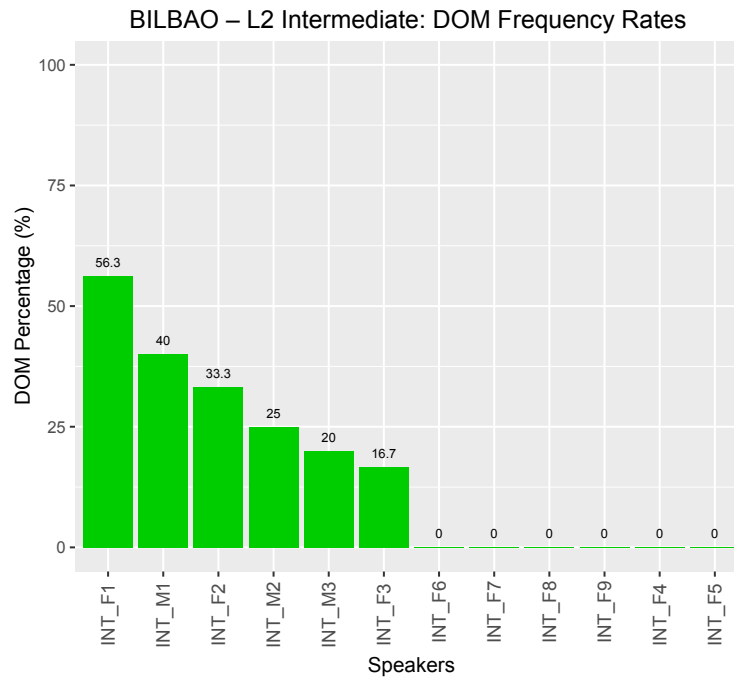
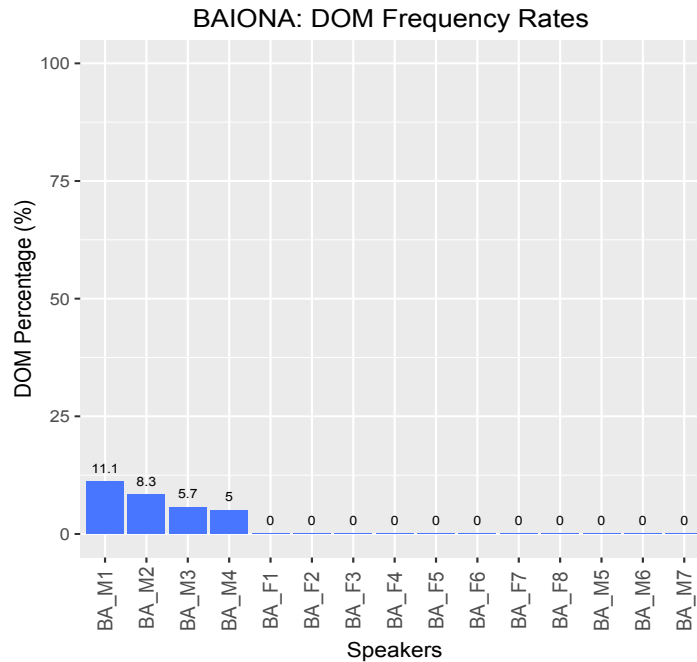


Figure 4.15. Individual production rates of DOM in Basque-French native bilinguals from Baiona (sociolinguistic interviews)



A comparative inspection of the individual results from tables 4.10 through 4.14, show that Basque DOM is mainly found among Spanish-Basque bilinguals, consistent with the speculation of Basque DOM deemed a contact-induced innovation. Furthermore, Basque DOM seems to be more present among older dialects in contact with Spanish, as in Gernika Basque. Although it is hard to establish a definite trend within this group, results may suggest that Basque DOM is found more among young male individuals whereas young females individuals show the lowest rates of Basque DOM in Gernika. These results serve as a preliminary observation that age and gender play a significant role in the realization of Basque DOM and it is also consistent with the view that Basque DOM is a stigmatized non-standard variant.

With respect to Basque speakers in Bilbao, who represent different types of L2 speakers, Basque DOM is much spread-out across speakers, ranging from speakers who produce it 100 % of the times (speaker ESB_F1) to 0 %. Although these results may suggest that Basque DOM in this dialect is a more recent phenomenon given the recent

implementation of the Standard variety within the BAC, a cautionary note needs to be addressed with respect to these data. The fact that some speakers show 100% of DOM and others 0% may be the results of insufficient amount of tokens produced by those speakers. For instance, speaker ESB_F1 in the early sequential group from Bilbao produced a single transitive verb with animate objects, and that token was realized with dative, explaining her high rate of DOM. Similarly, speakers such as ADV_F6, ESB_F7, ESB_F8, INT_F4, INT_F5, INT_F6, INT_F7, INT_F8, INT_F9, produced extremely low tokens of animate objects (ranging from 1 to 4) of which none were marked with the dative. As such, these results further suggest that structures in which DOM is expected to occur are not common and therefore, the results reported for these speakers cannot be considered representative of their actual system of the Basque grammar with respect to DOM.

Another individual case also deserves further exploration. Such case is found in speaker INT_F1, who shows the largest rates of DOM within the intermediate group. This speaker reported to begin learning Basque through schooling in Bilbao, and therefore, was mainly exposed to *Batua*. However, she also reported to speak Basque with her partner, who is a native speaker of Ondarru Basque, a regional variety of Basque in contact with Spanish in which DOM has been attested (Arregi and Nevins, 2012: 37). Therefore, her productive use of Basque DOM could be also attributed to dialect contact, evidenced by the fact that she also used other lexical and phonological features common in Ondarru Basque (*txiki-txikixak* [tʃikitʃikifak] ‘very little’; *argixa* [aryiʃa] ‘light’; *morun* [morun] ‘like’).³³

Finally, the unexpected findings of the few occurrences of Basque DOM in Baiona also deserve special mention. As shown in table 4.6 there were a total of 4 speakers that produced either 1 or 2 tokens of Basque DOM and are exemplified in (16a-e):

³³ None of the other speakers showed any signs of dialect contact in their speech and they did not report to be part of social networks in which the use of a regional Basque dialect was spoken.

(16a) ongi da (...) baina ni-k ez d-i-zu-e-t bultzatu-ko...
 good is (...) but I-ERG not L-3sg.PR-2sg.DAT-pl-1sg.ERG push-FUT
 ‘Its ok, but I will not push you’

(16b) ni-ri minu z-i-da-n pixka bat eitb-en...
 I-DAT hurt L-3sg.PAST-1sg.DAT-PAST little one eitb-INESSIVE
 ‘but it hurt me a little in EITB

(16c) 8:30-tan uz-ten z-i-da-n kasik
 8:30-INESSIVE leave-PRGO L-3sg.PAST-1sg.DAT-PAST almost

8-ak eta 10 lizeo-an
 8-o’clock and 10 high.school-INESSIVE
 ‘She used to drop me at 8:30 almost 8:10 in high school’

(16d) ta hizkuntza-ren alde-tik horr-ek hainitz eragi-ten d-i-t-Ø
 and language-GEN part-ABL that-ERG lots affect-PROG L-3sg.PR-1sg.DAT-ERG
 ‘and in terms of language that used to affect me a lot’

(16e) gu-ri et-z-i-gu-te-n uler-tzen,
 we-DAT no-L-3sg.PAST-1pl.DAT-3pl.ERG-PAST understand-PROG
 baina bera-ri
 but her-DAT
 ‘They did not understand us, but her’

These speakers reported to either speak Spanish fluently (such as BA_M3) or have Basque parents from the southern part of the Basque Country, that is, in the

Spanish-speaking territories (BA_M1, BA_M2 and BA_M4). Speaker BA_M2, especially, is aware of his “mixed” dialect of Basque as he notes:

*Amak mintzatzen du... Zuga[r]amu[r]diko euskara, nafa[r]oako
euskara, eta nik ttipitan, hola nahasketa bat mintzatzen nun, eta
adibidez, e[r]eak han bezela egiten gintuen*

“My mum talks.... Zuga[r]amu[r]di Basque, Nafa[r]oan Basque,
and as a kid, I used to speak a kind of a mixture, and for instance,
[my mum] used to pronounce the [r]s to us like there (=Spanish-
speaking territory)”

Speaker BA_M2 is clearly aware of his mixture at least at the phonological level. Note how his use of rhotics conforms to the pronunciation of rhotis in the Spanish-speaking territories of Basque.³⁴ His awareness of dialectal mixing at the phonological level may also suggest that he also acquired certain morphosyntactic features from his mother’s dialect of Basque, which is in contact with Spanish, suggesting that his use of DOM may be attributed to dialect contact. Evidence that Basque DOM is also present in the French-speaking territories, although to a very limited extent, was attested in Oyharzabal et al., (2011:30), who found 10 out 164 (~6%) dative occurrences with transitive objects. Those examples were limited to speakers between 40 and 60 years old. Contrary to the verbs found in the present data, uses of DOM in Oyharzabal et al., (2011) were mainly found in verbs such as *ikusi* ‘to see’, *ezagutu* ‘to know’ and *konbidatu* ‘invite’, attributing the use of DOM to the influence of southern dialects (Spanish-speaking territories) onto northern ones (French-speaking territories).³⁵

³⁴ Rhotics are pronounced as [r] in the Spanish-speaking Basque Country, rhotics are most common pronounced as fricative uvular in the French-speaking Basque Country.

³⁵ However, almost all DOM examples found in northern dialects (both in the present data and in Oyharzabal, et al., 2011) were with first or second person objects, a neutralization that is also found in direct and indirect object personal pronouns in French. As such, the potential influence from French cannot be overridden. If French influence in the use of Basque DOM in Baiona is to be proven, a further conundrum would be to determine why such changes did not occur earlier in northern dialects of Basque.

In summary, the first inspection of the data shows that Basque DOM is mainly found among Basque-Spanish bilinguals with extremely low rates of DOM among Basque-French bilinguals. As proposed in Mougeon et al. (2005), the first step in determining that Basque DOM is the result of contact, is to show that the innovative feature exists in the source language. Similarly, Poplack and Levey (2010) argue that in order to determine contact, it is necessary to compare modern uses of Basque DOM to a pre-contact variety. Because a pre-contact variety is not a viable option in Basque, a variety of Basque that is not in contact with the source language (Spanish) has been chosen (Basque-French bilinguals). Having demonstrated that Basque-Spanish is a variety of Spanish with high productivity of DOM and *leísmo*, at the expense that French spoken in the Basque country is not, it can be claimed that the distribution of Basque DOM, being almost exclusive of Basque-Spanish bilinguals, is evidence towards the claim that Basque DOM is the result of contact with Spanish. Results have also shown that Basque DOM is mainly present in Gernika Basque and as well as in *Batua*, the main dialect of early sequential bilinguals and L2 speakers. Albeit similar tendencies, results have also shown that Basque DOM is more or less productive in different types of structures such with respect to NP-marking, auxiliary marking and agreement, which may suggest that Basque DOM is the result of different processes. In order to address this question, we resort to variationist sociolinguistics in providing an analysis of constraint comparisons within group (Poplack, 2000; Poplack and Tagliamonte, 2001; Meyerhoff, 2009).

4.3.3. Production of Basque DOM according to bilingual type

Once we have determined that Basque DOM is mainly present in those modern dialects of Basque in contact with Spanish, we move on to exploring the process by which Basque DOM has been possibly influenced by contact with Spanish. In order to address this question, it is important to understand whether the use of Basque DOM is equally conditioned in each dialect and within each type of bilingual. Leaving the Basque-French bilingual group of Baiona aside, we first explore overall tendencies between different groups of Basque-Spanish bilinguals; native bilinguals from Gernika and early sequential

bilinguals, advanced L2 learners of Basque and intermediate L2 learners of Basque from the Bilbao area, as shown in Figure 4.16.

Figure 4.16. Frequency rates for the production of Basque DOM according to bilingual group and bilingual type (sociolinguistic interviews)

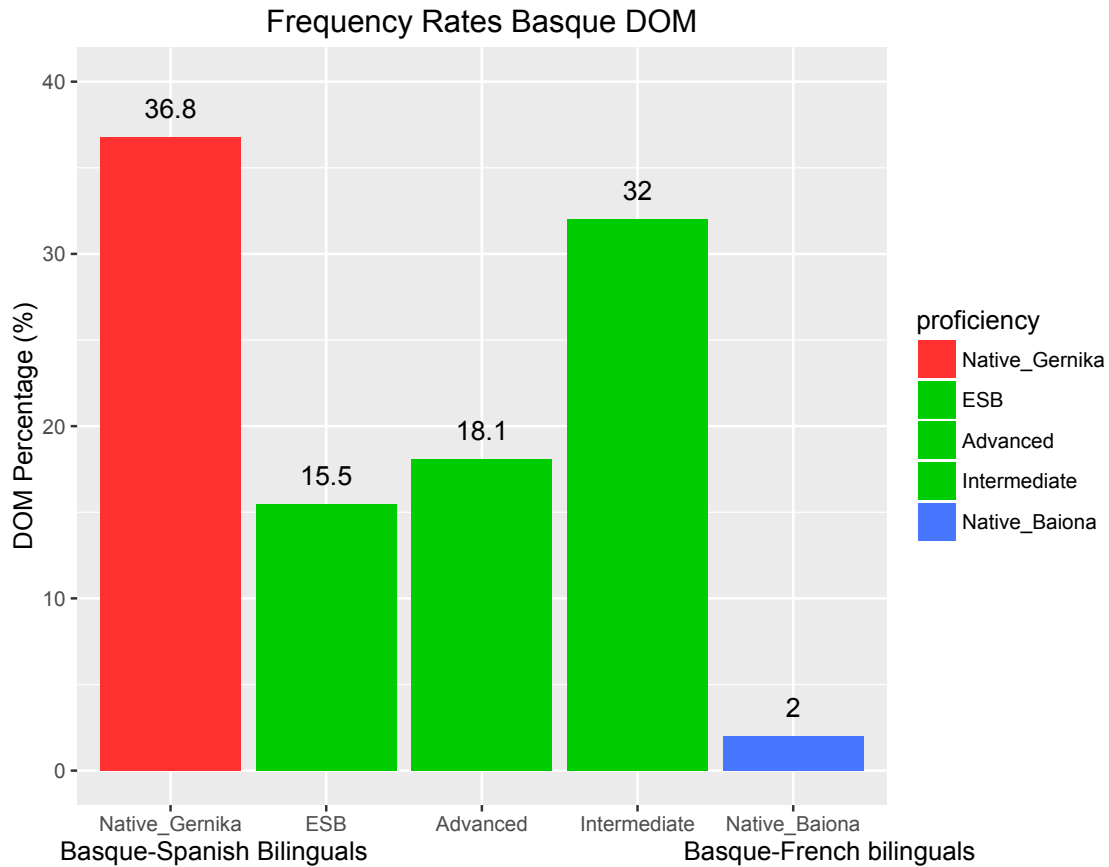


Figure 4.16 shows that the L2 speakers (green bars) from Bilbao do not constitute an homogenous group; among this group, early sequential bilinguals produced the lowest rates of DOM (15.5 %) followed by advanced L2 speakers (19.1%) and intermediate L2 speakers, who show the largest rates of DOM in this group (32%). In order to determine statistical significances among all groups, the Tukey post-hoc test was used with the *glht* function under *multcomp* package in *R*. These comparisons are showed in table 4.15.

Table 4.15. Tukey post-hoc significance comparisons between groups

	β	z -value	p -value
Native_GERNIKA - ESB	-1.78	-4.061	< 0.001 ***
Native_GERNIKA – Advanced	-1.90	-3.522	< 0.01 **
Native_GERNIKA - Intermediate	-0.55	-0.925	0.88
Native_GERNIKA – Native_BAIONA	-4.26	-6.751	< 0.001 ***
ESB – Advanced	0.11	0.188	0.99
ESB – Intermediate	1.23	1.822	0.35
ESB – Native_BAIONA	-2.48	-3.580	< 0.01 **
Advanced - Intermediate	1.35	1.814	0.35
Advanced – Native_BAIONA	-2.36	-3.123	0.01 *
Intermediate – Native_BAIONA	-3.71	-4.613	< 0.001 ***

Tukey post-hoc significance comparisons shows that all Basque-Spanish bilinguals (Native_GERNIKA, ESB, L2-Advanced and L2-Intermediate are statistically different from Basque-French bilinguals (Native_BAIONA). On the other side of the spectrum, Basque-Spanish native bilinguals from Gernika are also statistically different from all groups except with intermediate L2-speakers of Basque ($\beta = -0.5496$, $z = -0.925$, $p = 0.88$). Although different L2 speakers within the Bilbao area show different DOM rates, post-hoc test for comparisons shows that these differences are not statistically significant. At first glance, it seems that Basque-Spanish native bilinguals from Gernika are not different from intermediate L2 speakers of Basque and the all L2 groups in Bilbao are not very different from each other. Statistically speaking, those differences (or lack thereof) may not be conclusive indicator of the actual distribution of Basque DOM across different types of bilinguals. Recall that Mougeon and colleagues (2005) distinguished between two types of transfer-induced innovations, namely *overt-induced*, in which a qualitative difference is perceived in the replica language; and *covert-induced* a type of transfer that only shows quantitative differences, that is, the increase of a linguistic feature at the expense of its alternative competitor. In order to determine whether the

statistical differences found so far are just quantitative in nature, or are representative of further qualitative differences, it is necessary to resort to carefully examine the distribution of the linguistic and further social factors that favor Basque DOM within each group.

In order to locate significant linguistic and relevant social factors for the production of DOM among different types of bilinguals, a total of 4 data sets were created (one per group: Native_GERNIKA, Early Sequential Bilingual, L2-advanced and L2-intermediate). Subsequently, each data set was analyzed separately in order to pinpoint differences between constraint hierarchies for each bilingual type. Because the token count was too low for the advanced and intermediate groups, a total of 2 mixed-effects logistic regressions models were performed (one for the native bilinguals from Gernika and one for the early sequential bilinguals in Bilbao). In each model, SPEAKER and VERB were included as a random effects in order to neutralize the possibility of undue influence (i.e. extreme outliers) of particular individual speakers or particular verbs on the overall data-set. The binary dependent variable of every model was the presence or absence of DOM, regardless of the structure type that was explored in section 4.1.

4.3.3.1. Native bilinguals (Gernika)

The mixed-effects model for the native Basque-Spanish bilinguals included 3 social factors (AGE, LANGUAGE_DOMINANCE and GENDER) and 6 linguistic factors (ANIMACY_SPEC_PERSON_NUMBER; DEFINITENESS; NULL_OBJECT; VERB_SEMANTICS; VERB_TYPE and TAM) as fixed factors. SPEAKER and VERB were included as random factors. Note that the negative beta (β) coefficients indicate more use of Basque DOM compared to the reference level, which has been included in Table 4.16 as RL.

Table 4.16. Mixed effects model of the factors contributing to the use of DOM among native bilinguals (sociolinguistic interviews)

	β	Z	p
Intercept	-0.059	-3.995	< .001 ***
ANIMACY_SPEC_PERSON_NUMBER (RL: first_sing)			
First_PLURAL	0.024	1.202	0.23
[+spec] Second_SINGULAR	0.012	0.871	0.38
[+ spec] Third_SINGULAR	0.064	5.420	< .001 ***
[+ spec] Third_PLURAL	0.080	5.863	< .001 ***
[-spec] Second_SINGULAR	0.031	1.643	0.10
[-spec] Third_SINGULAR	0.087	5.223	< .001 ***
[-spec] Third_PLURAL	0.087	4.549	< .001 ***
NULL OBJECT (RL: overt)			
NP_NULL	0.011	1.967	< .05 *
VERB SEMANTICS (RL: causative)			
Behavioral (<i>inbitatu</i> ‘to invite’; <i>kontratatu</i> ‘to hire’)	0.068	2.240	< .03 *
Physical (<i>hartu</i> ‘to take’; <i>jo</i> ‘to hit’, <i>tiratu</i> ‘to pull’)	0.063	2.044	< .05 *
TAM (RL:Present_conditional)			
Present_simple	0.067	2.820	< 0.01 **
Present_perfect	0.056	2.319	< .03 *
Past_simple	0.063	2.747	< 0.01 **
VERB TYPE (RL: Basque)			
Spanish borrowing	-0.021	-1.984	< .05 *

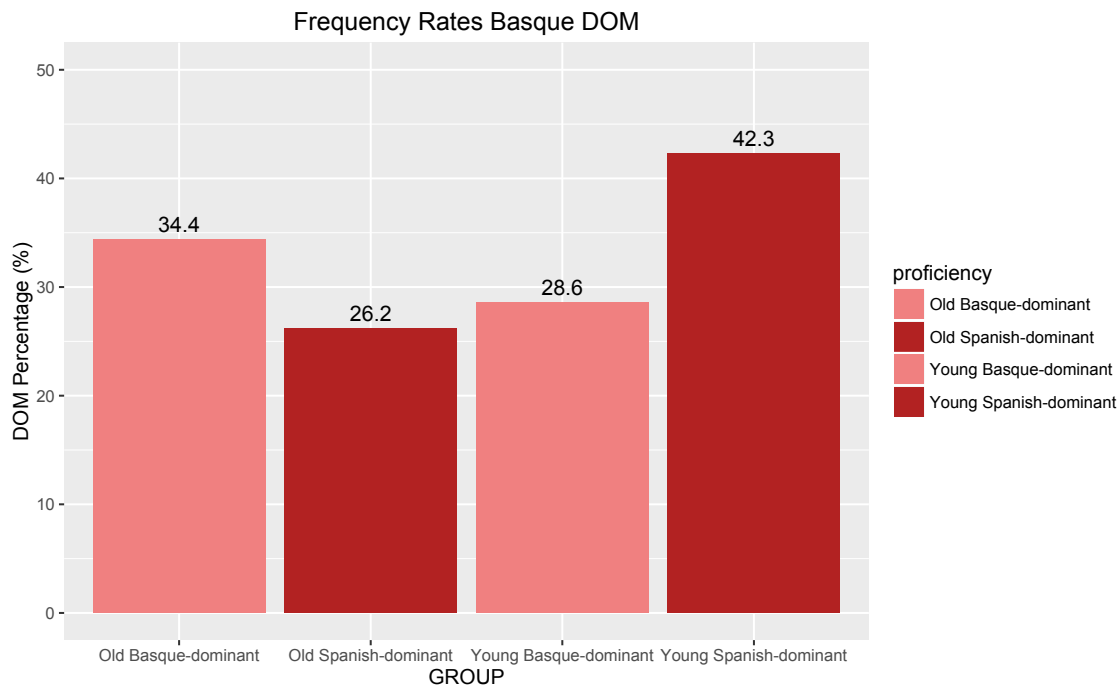
The estimated variance of the random intercept of SPEAKER is 0.8086.

The estimated variance of the random intercept of VERB is 4.6541.

Results for this model showed that age was not a statistically significant predictor in the sense that older and younger speakers in Gernika do not show statistically significant differences with respect to the use of Basque DOM. Similarly, the model did

not show any statistical differences with respect to language dominance. However, when crossing these two social factors, descriptive statistics shows that Basque DOM is more common within Spanish-dominant younger speakers of Gernika Basque. As it is shown in figure 4.17, young Spanish-dominant speakers produced nearly twice as many instances of DOM compared to their Basque-dominant counterparts.

Figure 4.17. Gernika Basque DOM according to age and language dominance



In terms of linguistics factors, ANIMACY-SPECIFICITY-PERSON & NUMBER, NULL OBJECT, VERB SEMANTICS and VERB TYPE and TAM were significant predictors for Basque DOM among Gernika Basque speakers.

With respect to ANIMACY-SPECIFICITY-PERSON & NUMBER, results show that both First_SINGULAR (reference level) and First_PLURAL objects favor Basque DOM and these were not statistically significant ($\beta = 0.024$, $z = 1.202$, $p = 0.23$). Second singular objects did not reach statistical difference with respect to first person objects, suggesting that

second singular objects also favor Gernika Basque DOM, regardless of specificity. An example of such lack effect on specificity is shown with in examples (17a-b), in which the same speaker used DOM with specific second person singular object (17a) and with non-specific second singular object (17b):

DOM with second person [+specific]

(17a) es que ni-k uste d-o-t ikusi n-o-tz-u-la....
 is that I-ERG think L-3sg.PR-1sg.ERG see 1sg.ERG-3sg.PAST-DF-2sg.DAT-REL
 ‘so I think that I saw you....’

DOM with second person [-specific]

(17b) ta gero a parte pilo bat afekte-tan d-o-tz-u-Ø
 and then on.top.of lots one affect-PRES L-3sg.PR-DF-2sg.DAT-3sg.ERG
 ‘A then, on top of that, it affects you a lot’

The fact that specificity did not show statistical significance was rather surprising, as it has been shown to be an important predictor of Basque DOM (Fernández and Rezac, in press). Although results show that third person (regardless of number and specificity) are statistically different from first person and second objects, Tukey post-hoc analysis shows that third person specific human objects are not statistically different from third person non-specific human ones ($\beta = -2.31$, $z = -1.720$, $p = 0.6$). However, a closer examination of the raw data (as displayed in table 5.8) shows that there are a handful third person specific objects with DOM (21.1% for singular, 8.6 % for plural) whereas none of the non-specific third person objects appear with DOM. Such lack of significance can be attributed to the nearly categorical use of DOM with first and second person objects (ranging between 85.7% to 97.5 %) as well as to the low use of DOM with third person objects.

Table 4.17. Native bilinguals (sociolinguistic interviews): Descriptive statistics for Basque DOM usage according to ANIMACY, SPEC, PERSON AND NUMBER.

ANIMACY_SPEC_PERSON AND NUMBER	DOM (n/N)	DOM (%)
First_SINGULAR	77/79	97.5 %
First_PLURAL	12/13	92.3 %
[+spec] Second_SINGULAR	39/43	90.7 %
[+ spec] Third_SINGULAR	46/219	21.1 %
[+ spec] Third_PLURAL	6/70	8.6 %
[-spec] Second_SINGULAR	12/14	85.7 %
[-spec] Third_SINGULAR	0/69	0 %
[-spec] Third_PLURAL	0/30	0%

With respect to person, it can be said that DOM in Gernika Basque conforms to what has been reported for other dialects of Basque, such as Dima Basque, Arratia and Ultzama (Monoule, 2010; Fernández and Rezac, in press).

In terms of verbs statistical difference were found in terms of (1) the semantics of the verb, (2) whether the verb was borrowed from Spanish and (3) the tense-aspect-mood characterization of verbs Basque DOM among Gernika speakers. The model showed that both behavioral ($\beta=0.068$, $z=2.240$, $p<0.03$) and physical verbs ($\beta=0.063$, $z=2.044$, $p<0.05$) significantly favor Basque DOM with respect to the reference level. Verbs that were borrowed from Spanish also showed to significantly favor Basque DOM ($\beta=0.022$, $z=1.984$, $p<0.05$) as opposed to Basque verbs. Although the other semantic verbs did not show any significance, it does not mean that DOM was restricted to behavioral (*inbitatu* ‘to invite’; *kontratatu* ‘to hire’) or physical verbs (*hartu* ‘to take’; *jo* ‘to hit’, *tiratu* ‘to pull’) since other verbs (such as motion, and psychological ones) showed relatively high instances of DOM as well. In this respect, it could be that the use of DOM in certain verbs could be interacting with other factors, especially with whether these verbs are being borrowed from Spanish. Although the model did not show any

interactions between VERB SEMANTICS and VERB TYPE, the raw data and descriptive statistics in table 4.18 show clear interactional trends.

Table 4.18. Native bilinguals (sociolinguistic interviews): Descriptive statistics for DOM usage according to VERB SEMANTICS and VERB TYPE.

VERB SEMANTICS	VERB TYPE	DOM (n/N)	DOM (%)
Behavioral	Basque	19/28	67.85 %
	Spanish	30/35	85.71 %
Physical	Basque	26/52	50 %
	Spanish	12/26	46.15 %
Psychological	Basque	36/95	37.89 %
	Spanish	19/23	82.61 %
Perceptual	Basque	29/125	23.2 %
	Spanish	0/1	0 %
Motion	Basque	14/52	26.92 %
	Spanish	4/7	57.14 %
Possession	Basque	4/60	6.67 %
	Spanish	0/0	0 %
Causatives	Basque	1/7	14.29 %
	Spanish	0/0	0 %
Non-inflected	Basque	19/177	12 %
	Spanish	9/18	33.3

Table 4.18 shows that behavioral verbs favored Basque DOM, these were higher in borrowed verbs from Spanish. Such verbs included (*inbitatu* ‘to invite’, *kontratatu* ‘to hire’). Similarly, psychological verbs favored Basque DOM quite abundantly when those verbs were borrowed from Spanish, which included *motibatu* (from Spanish *motivar* ‘to motivate’), *manipulatu* (from Spanish *manipular* ‘to manipulate’), *matxakatu* (from Spanish *machacar* ‘to bully’), *txokeu* (from Spanish *chocar* ‘to shock’), *emozionatu* (from Spanish *emocionar* ‘to excite’), *jodidu* (from Spanish *joder* ‘to annoy’) or

aburridu (from Spanish *aburrir* ‘to bore’). Furthermore, motion verbs that were borrowed from Spanish showed higher rates of Basque DOM as well. Motion verbs that were borrowed from Spanish included *zedidu* (from Spanish *ceder* ‘to cede’), *mobidu* (from Spanish *mover* ‘to move’) and *pasatu* (from Spanish *pasar* ‘to pass’). It suffices to note that most of the verbs within behavioral and psychological group (especially those that have been borrowed from Spanish) also govern animate objects, especially human. Thus, the likelihood that these verbs would be marked with dative could be further enforced by two facts: (1) that Basque DOM is also restricted to animate (in this case, human) objects and (2) the verbs that most favored *leísmo* are also psychological. Moreover, if these borrowed verbs are select first or second objects, the likelihood that they will be marked with dative could be predicted to be nearly categorical, as Spanish direct and indirect first and second pronouns are neutralized in favor of the dative. Such prediction holds true in the descriptive statistics shown in table 4.19.

Table 4.19. Native bilinguals (sociolinguistic interviews): Descriptive statistics for DOM usage according to VERB TYPE and PERSON

	Spanish borrowed verbs	Basque verbs
First	26/26 (100%)	63/66 (95.45%)
Second	20/20 (100%)	31/37 (83.78%)
[+spec] Third	19/35 (54.29%)	33/254 (12.99%)

As it can be seen in table 4.19, first and second objects are categorically marked with dative in Spanish borrowed verbs, and nearly categorically marked with dative in Basque verbs. In terms of the specific third person objects, more than half of these objects are being marked with the dative if the verb is borrowed from Spanish, whereas a small amount of them get marked with dative if the verb is Basque. The fact that DOM is more common in third person objects when the verb is borrowed from Spanish provides further evidence towards that claim that Basque DOM is the result of contact with *animated leísmo* and which could have been introduced through verbal borrowing.

With respect to TENSE-ASPECT-MOOD, results show that this factor was a significant predictor for the realization of Basque DOM in Gernika Basque. More specifically, verbs that were in present simple tense significantly were more likely to be marked with DOM ($\beta = 0.067$, $z = 2.820$, $p < 0.01$). The same holds true for verbs that were produced in the simple past ($\beta = 0.063$, $z = 2.747$, $p < 0.01$) as well as in the present perfect ($\beta = 0.056$, $z = 2.319$, $p < 0.03$). These results are consistent with other reported cases of Basque DOM. For instance, in Azpilkueta Basque, Basque DOM is restricted to past tenses (Yrizar, 1997). Similarly, Basque DOM seems to be obligatory in Araitz-Betelu Basque and optional in the present (Fernández and Rezac, in press). Gernika Basque seems to pattern more closely to Lekeitio Basque, in which Basque DOM can be found both in the present and in the past, albeit obligatorily with first and second person, optionally with the third person. Examples (18a) and (18b) show the case in point with respect to third person singular objects and when the verb is inflected in the past tense:

(18b) horre-ri beste entrebista bat-en ikusi n-o-tzo-n
 that-DAT other interview one-in see 1sg.ERG-3sg.PAST-DF-3sg.DAT-PAST
 ‘I saw him in a different interview’

Table 4.20. Native bilinguals (sociolinguistic interviews): Basque DOM according to null objects and verb type

	Spanish borrowed verbs	Basque verbs
Null	43 / 52 (82.69%)	92 / 185 (49.79%)
Overt	22 / 40 (55 %)	38 / 260 (14.62 %)

Table 4.20 shows that Spanish borrowed verbs largely favor Basque DOM. However, when the object is null in these verbs, the likelihood that Basque DOM will occur overwhelmingly increases to 82.69 %. These results seem to confirm Austin's (2006) hypothesis with respect to the role that null objects may have in Basque DOM. More specifically, she argues that null objects open a window for the human direct object to be reanalyzed as indirect objects. These results not only confirm such hypothesis but further explain that such reanalysis occurs at the expense of borrowing verbs from Spanish. The role that these two factors play in the realization of Basque DOM will be argued to contribute to a replica grammaticalization process, a discussion that is discussed in detail in section 4.4.

4.3.3.2. Early sequential bilinguals (Bilbao)

The mixed-effects model for the early sequential bilinguals also included 6 fixed factors (ANIMACY_SPEC_PERSON_NUMBER; DEFINETNESS; NULL_OBJECT; VERB_SEMANTICS; VERB_TYPE, TAM) and 2 random effects (SPEAKER and VERB). This group constituted a homogenous one regarding the social factors of age and language dominance and such factors were not included in the model. Because the only significant factor in this model was ANIMACY_SPEC_PERSN_NUMBER, table 4.21 reports the results for this factor only. Note that the negative beta (β) coefficients indicate more use of Basque DOM compared to the reference level, which was set for 1st person singular. As it can be seen in table 4.21, only specific 3rd person singular and plural forms significantly differed from the reference level suggesting that these two forms show lower rates of DOM.

Table 4.21. Early Sequential bilinguals (sociolinguistic interviews): Mixed-effects model of the factors contributing to the use of DOM

	β	Z	p
Intercept	0.004	0.009	0.99
ANIMACY_SPEC_PERSON_NUMBER (RL: first_sing)			
[+spec] second_SINGULAR	0.012	1.413	0.16
[+ spec] Third_SINGULAR	0.026	3.492	< .001 ***
[+ spec] Third_PLURAL	0.017	1.941	0.02 .
[-spec] Second_SINGULAR	0.002	0.002	0.99
[-spec] Third_SINGULAR	0.002	0.009	0.99
[-spec] Third_PLURAL	0.006	0.011	0.99

The estimated variance of the random intercept of SPEAKER is 0.1438.

The estimated variance of the random intercept of VERB is 1.9174.

Having a closer examination to the raw data, results showed that 53,84 % of the first person singular objects were marked with the dative. It then follows specific second person singular at a rate of 30,77 %, a difference that was not statistically significant in the model. A total of 22.22 % of third person specific plural objects were marked with dative, a result that was marginally significant from the reference level (First_SINGULAR). Finally, third person specific singular objects were marked with the dative only 7.14 % of the times. None of the non-specific forms or non-animate objects were marked with the dative.

Table 4.22 Early Sequential bilinguals (sociolinguistic interviews): DOM according to ANIMACY_SPEC_PERSON and NUMBER

ANIMACY_SPEC_PERSON AND NUMBER	DOM (n/N)	DOM (%)
First_SINGULAR	12/14	53.84 %
First_PLURAL	N/A	N/A
[+spec] Second_SINGULAR	4/13	30.77 %
[+ spec] Third_SINGULAR	6/84	7.14 %
[+ spec] Third_PLURAL	4/18	22.22 %
[-spec] Second_SINGULAR	0/1	0 %
[-spec] Third_SINGULAR	0/21	0 %
[-spec] Third_PLURAL	0/7	0 %

These results partially confirm the results obtained from Basque-Spanish native bilinguals from Gernika in the sense that first person objects are the ones that most favor Basque DOM. Even if that is the case, the rate at which DOM happens in the first person in the early sequential group from Bilbao is much lower than in the Gernika group. Similar results are obtained with respect to specific and non-specific forms. Although the Tukey post-hoc comparisons did not show any statistical difference between third person specific and non-specific forms ($\beta = -0.015$, $z = -0.008$, $p = 1$) the frequency data show that none of the non-specific forms were marked with dative, possibly confirming that Basque DOM is also restricted (beyond first and second person) to specific third person forms.

Although the model did not show any other statistically significant results, probably due to the small amount of data within this group, it is worth noting that, when considering the raw data and descriptive statistics, some important differences and similarities with respect to VERB_SEMANTICS, VERB_TYPE, NULL OBJECTS and TAM arise. With respect to VERB_TYPE, Table 5.22 shows that early sequential bilinguals borrow less verbs than native bilinguals from Gernika. As a consequence, their use of DOM is distributed quite equally according to verb type. This is probably an artifact of this

population speaking *Batua*, a standardized variety of Basque with less “tolerated” Romance influence.

Table 4.23. Early Sequential bilinguals (sociolinguistic interviews): Basque DOM according to verb type

	DOM (n/N)	DOM (%)
Spanish borrowed verbs	4/20	20 %
Basque verbs	24 / 150	16 %

Table 4.23 shows that among the 20 verbs that were borrowed, 10 tokens (50 %) were psychological ones such as *kabreatu* (sp=cabrear) ‘to make someone angry’, *sorprenditu* (sp=sorprender) ‘to surprise’, *inpaktatu* (sp=impactar), *flipatu* (sp=fliptar) ‘to flip, shock’. Among these verbs 3 (30 %) were produced with DOM, the highest among Spanish borrowed verbs. These results are consistent with those obtained for Gernika Basque as well as with Spanish *leísmo*; Gernika Basque speakers showed a quite high rate of borrowings of psychological verbs with overwhelming high rate of DOM within this type of verbs. A total of 6 tokens (but 1 type) of physical verbs (*topatu* ‘to find’) were borrowed from Spanish but none of these were produced with DOM. Finally, only 3 behavioral verbs such as *kontratatu* (sp=contratar) ‘to hire’, *formatu* (sp=formar) ‘to train’ and *defendatu* (sp=defender) ‘to defend’ and one motion verb, *bisitatu* (sp=visitor) ‘to visit’, were borrowed of which only one behavioral and none of the motion ones were produced with DOM.

Table 4.24 Early Sequential bilinguals (sociolinguistic interviews): Basque DOM according to verb semantics in the ESB group

VERB SEMANTICS	VERB TYPE	DOM (n/N)	DOM (%)
Behavioral	Basque	4/15	26.67 %
	Spanish	1/3	33.33 %
Physical	Basque	2/9	22.22 %
	Spanish	0/6	0 %
Psychological	Basque	6/48	12.5 %
	Spanish	3/10	30 %
Perceptual	Basque	4/33	12.12 %
	Spanish	N/A	
Motion	Basque	4/17	23.53 %
	Spanish	0/1	0 %
Possession	Basque	3/24	12.5 %
	Spanish	N/A	
Causatives	Basque	1/3	33.33 %
	Spanish	N/A	

Note that there only 4 tokens of DOM produced with Spanish verbs and all of them were first person singular ones. As such, it is impossible to determine any interactions between the factors ANIMACY SPEC PERSON NUMBER and VERB TYPE.

With respect to TENSE-ASPECT-MOOD, there are some similarities and differences with Gernika Basque speakers. As shown in table 4.25, most of the tense that shows DOM is the past imperfect (50%), however, these results could be interpreted as chance. Similar to Gernika Basque speakers, DOM was mainly found in present perfect, past simple and present simple forms. Finally, there was only a single token with DOM in the present conditional form and none of the future forms occurred with DOM.

Table 4.25. Early Sequential bilinguals (sociolinguistic interviews): Basque DOM according to TAM

TAM	DOM (n/N)	DOM (%)
Past_imperfect	5/10	50 %
Present_perfect	5/20	25 %
Past_simple	4/28	14.29
Present_simple	10/76	13.16 %
Conditional	1/4	25 %
Future	0/5	0 %
Non-inflected	3/22	13.64 %

Finally, null objects also seem to favor Basque DOM among early sequential bilinguals as shown in table 4.25. DOM occurred 25 % of times in which the object was null, whereas only 11.32 % when the object was overt. Because there were very few tokens of Spanish borrowed verbs with DOM, it is hard to determine a possible interaction between these two factors.

Table 4.26 Early Sequential bilinguals (sociolinguistic interviews): Basque DOM according to null objects and verb type

	Spanish borrowed verbs	Basque verbs
Null	2 / 8 (25 %)	14 / 56 (25%)
Overt	2 / 12 (16.67 %)	10 / 94 (10.64 %)

In summary, the oral data for the early sequential bilinguals shows that ANIMACY_SPEC_NUMBER_PERSON is the best predictor of Basque DOM within this group, in the sense that first person objects show the highest rates of Basque DOM. Although not significant, there were a handful specific forms that were marked with dative but none of the non-specific forms appeared with DOM. ESBs show much lower rates of verb borrowings from Spanish and it does not seem to play a significant role in their production of Basque DOM. However, psychological verbs are more prone to be borrowed and consequently, their objects are more likely to be marked with dative. Similar to Gernika Basque speakers, present perfect, present simple and past simple tenses are the ones that most favor Basque DOM in this group. Finally, null objects seem to also play a role in the realization of Basque DOM but no trend in terms of an interaction with verb type seems to be found.

4.3.3.3. L2 Advanced speakers (Bilbao)

The total amount of produced transitive clauses in the L2 advanced speakers was 310 of which only 73 contained animate objects, which constitutes a 23,5% of the data set for this group. Out of the 73 expected tokens, only 14 tokens were produced as DOM (19.1%). Given the low rate of animate objects the analysis for the present group will heavily rely on descriptive statistics and will solely discuss the trends. Table 4.27 shows the raw data as well as the % of DOM produced for each linguistic factor.

Table 4.27. L2 advanced (sociolinguistic interviews): Basque DOM according to linguistic factors

LINGUISTIC FACTORS	n/N	% DOM
ANIMACY_SPEC_PERSON_NUMBER		
First_SINGULAR	4/10	40%
[+spec] Second_SINGULAR	7/10	70%
[-spec] Second_SINGULAR	2/2	100%
[+spec] Third_SINGULAR	1/24	4.2%
[+spec] Third_PLURAL	0/12	0%
NULL OBJECT		
NP _{NULL}	13/29	44.8%
NP _{OVERT}	1/44	2.3%
VERB SEMANTICS		
Psychological (<i>ulertu</i> ‘to understand’, <i>ezagutu</i> ‘to know’, <i>tratatu</i> ‘to treat’)	7/20	35%
Behavioral (<i>kontratatu</i> ‘to hire’)	3/6	50%
Physical (<i>hartu</i> ‘to take’)	1/13	7.7%
Motion (<i>jarri</i> ‘to put’, <i>aldatu</i> ‘to change’)	2/5	40%
Perceptual (<i>ikusi</i> ‘to see’)	1/11	9.1%
VERB TYPE		
Basque	12/66	18.2%
Spanish borrowing (<i>kontratatu</i> ‘to hire’, <i>tratatu</i> ‘to treat’)	2/7	28.6%
TAM		
Present simple	6/29	20.7 %
Present Perfect	2/9	22.2%
Past simple	3/12	25 %
Past imperfect	0/3	0%
Conditional	2/3	66.7%
Future	1/5	20 %
Non-inflected	0/12	0 %

As it can be seen in table 4.27, among the 14 DOM instances produced by advanced L2 speakers of Basque, 13 were with first or second person objects (92.9%). There was a single third person object marked with dative and not surprisingly, it was in the specific form. In terms of VERB SEMANTICS, behavioral verbs and motion verbs seem to favor DOM followed by psychological verbs. Similar to the results found among early sequential bilinguals, very few verbs were borrowed from Spanish, and only 2 of those were produced with DOM (*kontratatu* (sp=contratar) ‘to hire’, *tratatu* (sp=tartar) ‘to treat’). Percentagewise, it seems that Spanish verbs favor Basque DOM more so than Basque verbs. In terms of TAM, similar findings appear with the exception of present conditionals. Although L2 Advanced speakers seem to produce more DOM in the present conditionals, these results should be taken with a grain of salt, given the low tokens produced in such condition. On the contrary, L2 advanced speakers produced more present simple, present perfect and past simple forms, of which at least 20.7 % were produced with DOM. Finally, null objects also show high rates of Basque DOM, consistent with the results from for the other two groups.

4.3.3.4. L2 Intermediate speakers (Bilbao)

Similar to the advanced group, Basque L2 intermediate speakers also produced very low tokens of DOM; a total of 167 transitive sentences were extracted from the corpora obtained the intermediate group. The low rate of extracted tokens is attributed to the low speech rate of the speakers in this group, a possible reflection of their fluency. Out of this 167 transitive sentences, a total of 50 transitive tokens with animate objects were produced, constituting 34.7% of the data set for this group. Out of the 50 possible tokens for *dative*-marking, only 16 tokens were produced as DOM (32%). Given the low rate of animate objects the analysis for the present group will heavily rely on descriptive statistics and will solely discuss the trends. Table 4.28 shows the raw data as well as the % of DOM produced for each linguistic factor.

Table 4.28. L2 advanced (sociolinguistic interviews): Basque DOM according to linguistic factors

LINGUISTIC FACTORS	n/N	% of DOM
ANIMACY_SPEC_PERSON_NUMBER		
First_SINGULAR	5/9	55.5 %
Second_SINGULAR	1/1	100 %
[-spec] Second_SINGULAR	1/1	100 %
[+human] Third_SINGULAR	4/21	19 %
[+human] Third_PLURAL	3/6	50 %
NULL OBJECT		
NP _{NULL}	8/17	47.1 %
NP _{OVERT}	8/33	24.2 %
VERB SEMANTICS		
Psychological (<i>ulertu</i> ‘to understand’, <i>ezagutu</i> ‘to know’, <i>barneratu</i> ‘to attract’)	4/14	28.6 %
Behavioral (<i>hartu</i> ‘to hire’, <i>margotu</i> ‘to paint’)	5/8	62.5 %
Physical (<i>harrapatu</i> ‘to catch’, <i>lagatu</i> ‘to leave’, <i>bota</i> ‘to throw’)	3/9	33.3 %
Motion (<i>eraman</i> ‘to carry’, <i>bidali</i> ‘to send’)	2/6	33.3 %
Perceptual (<i>ikusi</i> ‘to see’)	2/8	25 %
VERB TYPE		
Basque	16/50	32 %
Spanish borrowing	0/0	0 %
TAM		
Past simple	8/17	47.1 %
Present simple	3/20	15 %
Present Perfect	0/1	0 %
Non-inflected	5/8	62.5%

Table 4.28 shows that similarly to other groups, first and second overwhelmingly favor Basque DOM. Interestingly, L2 intermediate speakers show higher rate of Basque DOM with third person human objects. In terms of VERB SEMANTICS, behavioral verbs show the highest rates of Basque DOM, followed by physical and motion verbs. At least a quarter of the psychological and perceptual verbs produced in this group show DOM. With respect to TAM, most of the inflected verbs were produced in the past or present simple forms, and these show to favor DOM. Among the 8 non-inflected forms that were produced, more than half marked its overt NP with dative. The Basque L2 intermediate group also showed the lowest rates of null objects, however, the pattern is consistent with respect to DOM since null objects also favor DOM in this group. Finally, it is important to note that among the 50 transitive structures with human objects that were produced by Basque L2 intermediate speakers, none of them were borrowed from Spanish. Despite the similar overall rates of DOM among the Gernika group and Basque L2 intermediate group from Bilbao, these results suggest that the mechanisms behind DOM in these two groups are different. Such comparative analysis is presented in the following discussion section.

4.4. Discussion

Previous sections have presented oral production results (gathered by means of sociolinguistic interviews and an elicited production task) pertaining to the use of third person direct object clitics in French and Spanish as well as a more detailed analysis of DOM among 3 dialects of Basque. In order to better synthesize these results, the following section situates the major findings by exploring each research question.

4.4.1. Basque DOM in modern dialects of Basque

The first research question was targeted with the aim to uncover whether Basque DOM is the result of intense contact with Spanish *leísmo*, and therefore, it was asked the extent to which Basque DOM was present in modern dialects of Basque.

In order to determine whether Basque DOM is the result of intense contact with Spanish, the present dissertation took a variationist approach to language, which seeks to investigate language variation as a product of a linguistically and socially constrained system. According to Poplack and Levey (2010), it is important to determine whether the linguistic variation at hand is involved in change so that later it can be established that the *change* is actually determined by contact. Within this framework, change is studied from an apparent time construct or by studying generational changes in a specific time (Bailey, 2004; Chambers, 2004). In the present study, age was the factor employed to determine possible generational changes. Although the results did not show age as a significant predictor for linguistic variation in the use of Basque DOM, descriptive statistics shows an apparent increase of Basque DOM among young speakers, especially among Spanish-dominant speakers (42.3 % among young Spanish-dominant speakers as opposed to an average of 30 % within the older population). These results are compatible with Austin's (2006) findings in terms of attributing its increase to recent sociopolitical changes. However, Basque DOM is not a recent phenomenon in Gernika Basque, a finding that is also evidenced in traditional Basque dialectology (Zuazo, 2003) and descriptive accounts of auxiliary systems (Yrizar, 1992b).

Failure in determining a 'recent' linguistic change of Basque DOM is not necessarily failure to make a case of contact. An understanding of linguistic contact effects in the Basque-Spanish contact scenario can prove fruitful when comparing the use of Basque DOM in different dialects of Basque. Results showed that French third person object clitics are quite uniform in their realization with respect to case. Albeit the use of null objects, French speakers used accusative forms to mark third person clitic objects regardless of animacy and no stylistic differences were found. On the contrary, the Spanish spoken in the Basque Country showed that *leísmo* is a quite extended phenomenon, especially within the Gernika group who categorically marks animate objects with dative *le* regardless of gender. In the Bilbao group, *leísmo* was shown to be quite extended as well, but more so in masculine objects than in the feminine ones. Results in the elicited production task showed that the use of *leísmo* reduces in more formal contexts and when used, masculine objects are the favoring ones. In terms of

Basque, results showed that Basque DOM is almost exclusive of Basque-Spanish bilinguals. Interestingly, the highest rates of Basque DOM were found in Gernika, where *leísmo* is nearly extended to all human objects. Therefore, the absence of Basque DOM among Basque-French bilinguals (with the exception of some tokens) and the relatively high use of Basque DOM in Gernika could be suggestive that Basque DOM is indeed the result of contact with Spanish.

Evidence that Basque DOM is the result of contact with Basque-Spanish *leísmo* comes from comparing linguistic constraints within each group. Results show that first and second direct objects are largely marked with the dative case marker across all groups. Recall that Spanish first and second pronouns are syncretic in the direct object and indirect object paradigms and such syncretism is almost complete among speakers in Gernika. With respect to third person objects, results showed that these are marked less than first and second objects and specific third object humans are more likely to be marked than non-specific ones. This fact is a further reinforcement of the argument that Basque DOM is influenced by Basque-Spanish *leísmo* in the sense that *leísmo* is mainly found in third person human specific objects. Finally, and most importantly, the role that verbal borrowing from Spanish plays in the use of Basque DOM is crucial. Results showed that Basque DOM is more likely to occur when Basque speakers borrow verbs. The use of Basque DOM is shown to be 100 % among verbs that are borrowed from Spanish with first and second objects. More importantly, native bilinguals use Basque DOM with third person animate objects of borrowed Spanish verbs 54.29 % of the times as opposed to a 12.99% of third person animate objects with Basque verbs. Given that *leísmo* is specific of third person objects, these results suggest that when Basque speakers borrow Spanish verbs, they borrow their entire argument structure in terms of clitic case-marking, providing further evidence for the claim that Basque DOM is indeed influenced by Basque-Spanish *leísmo*.

4.4.2. Basque DOM in Basque-Spanish bilinguals

The second research question was aimed to understand how Basque DOM is distributed across different types of Basque-Spanish bilinguals. If a clear-cut case of contact is warranted, language-contact models, especially Mougeon et al.'s (2005) model predicts a continuum in Basque DOM usage according to language dominance. Therefore, it was expected that those with higher contact with Spanish will exhibit more rates of DOM whereas those with less contact with Spanish will show lower rates of Basque DOM. Results in the present data do not conform to such idealized accounts of contact. This is because those who used Basque the most (Basque-Spanish native bilinguals) and the least (L2 Basque intermediate group) actually exhibit the highest rates of Basque DOM.

Such dichotomy is still consistent with a contact-account but it deserves to specify that the reasons behind such polarized rates of DOM. The first reason concerns the historical depth in which different dialects of current Basque have been in contact with Spanish. Gernika Basque is a regional variety of Basque that has been in contact with romance languages (first Latin, then Spanish) for over 2,000 years whereas Basque speakers mainly speak the recently standardized *Batua*. The fact that Gernika Basque speakers use more Basque DOM is probably because Basque DOM is an 'old' regional feature in which its prolonged contact with Spanish instantiated a contact-induced process that is still in process. Given the fact that morphosyntactic change occurs at a much slower pace than lexical or phonological one (Mithun, 1984), and the unpredictability of contact-induced change, it remains a challenge to determine the "how old" Gernika Basque DOM is. An exception to this challenge is presented by Monoule (2012), who showed that Basque DOM was present in one of the first texts of Basque, published by Lazarraga in the Southern Basque province of Araba as early as 1564. However, whether Basque DOM was present in other dialects of Gernika as early as the sixteenth century is a matter of resorting to a diachronic analysis of philological texts written in this dialect.

The second reason for the higher use of Basque DOM among native bilinguals could be explained through the linguistic input different L2 speakers received in their development of Basque. Having established that Basque DOM is an “old” phenomenon that appears in regional dialects, prescriptive accounts of Standard Basque have shown that Basque DOM is not part of such a standardized grammar. The L2 speakers studied in the present dissertation have been mainly exposed to Standard Basque, which allegedly does not have Basque DOM. Therefore, it can be suggested that their lack of input to Basque DOM is a viable explanation for their low rates of Basque DOM. However, such analysis does not explain the higher rates of Basque DOM among L2-intermediate speakers, who are also exposed to Standard Basque but exhibit similar rates of Basque DOM to those found among native bilinguals. The fact that L2 intermediate speakers show such rates of Basque DOM is evidence towards models of L2 acquisition such as the Full Transfer Hypothesis (Schwartz and Sprouse, 1994, 1996), which suggest that the final L1 stage is the beginning of the initial L2 stage. On the contrary, the Full Access Hypothesis, which constitutes part of the same model, claims that failing to assign input representations will consequently lead to restructuring at the expense of UG, does not necessarily hold. This is because as proficiency increases, the use of DOM decreases. These results suggest that L2 speakers, although instantiate their L2 development through L1 transfer, they are able to create input representations (assuming that Standard Basque is fully DOM-free) at more advanced levels.

4.4.3. Different bilinguals, different processes of Basque DOM

The third research question was targeted to the understanding of the linguistic processes that different bilinguals employ in their use of Basque DOM. With this in mind, a factor constraint analysis was developed for each type of bilingual. Comparing the results in terms of the linguistic factors favoring Basque DOM in each group will allow us to make the proposal that different bilinguals employ different mechanisms to produce Basque DOM. More specifically, I put forward the proposal that Basque DOM among native bilinguals is an instance of a *replica grammaticalization* process (Matras,

2010; Heine & Kuteva, 2010) whereas Basque DOM in the L2 intermediate group is better explained in terms of polysemy-copying.

4.4.3.1. Basque DOM as a process of replica grammaticalization through reanalysis

Replica grammaticalization refers to the process whereby “speakers create a new use pattern [...] that is equivalent to a corresponding category in the model language” which involves using materials from the recipient language (Heine & Kuteva, 2005, 2010: 89). One of the biggest challenges of contact-induced phenomena is to determine the difference between what constitutes contact versus system-internal processes that lead to grammaticalization, as it is often the case that this distinction largely disappears in structurally embedded phenomena (such as Basque DOM). In these cases, the ‘trigger’ of a propelling force that gradually allows the system to more closely pattern with the recipient grammar needs to be identified. As for Gernika Basque DOM, I argue that Spanish borrowed verbs and the null object category of the Basque are responsible for this ‘trigger’, and thus Basque DOM is characterized as a reanalysis process, providing support for Austin’s (2006) hypothesis.

Reanalysis is defined as “a mechanism which changes the underlying structure of a syntactic pattern and which does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation” (Harris & Campbell 1995:61). Some researchers view reanalysis and grammaticalization as two independent processes (Kortmann & König, 1992; Haspelmath, 1998) whereas Hopper & Traugott (2003:32) argue that reanalysis is the most important mechanism of grammaticalization.³⁶ As for Basque DOM, I argue that reanalysis and grammaticalization, although different processes, are part of the model of ‘replica grammaticalization’ proposed by Heine & Kuteva (2005). Below, I present the gradual evolution of Basque DOM via replica grammaticalization:

³⁶ For a debate on this issue see Campbell (2001).

1. An item serves to activate language M (Spanish verbs that govern animate objects)
2. Thus, [+animacy] is inserted as an agreement encoder between argument and clitic
3. Reanalysis: null objects in Basque open a window to ‘confuse’ direct or indirect objects of those verbs, and [+animate][+specificity] is recovered through AGR in the auxiliary verb
4. Dative marker starts to be introduced in the most neutralized contexts (first and second person clitics, always animate)
5. Dative case marker extends to third person
6. Dative case marker may begin to be used with Basque verbs with similar lexical/semantic content and argument structure

In the first stage, the semantics of borrowed verbs from Spanish³⁷ get transferred into Basque, which ‘activates’ the insertion of semantic features such as [+animacy] [+specificity] as agreement licensers. When the language allows pro drop, the speaker finds more difficulties in establishing the syntactic function of the dropped object, especially if the object is animate. This is because direct and indirect animate clitics in BLD are syncretic (as shown in Chapter 2). Because this syncretism is absolute for first and second person objects, which are always animate, Basque DOM is first introduced in the most neutralized contexts. As shown in Table 4.17, these two contexts reach 100% when the verb has been borrowed from Spanish and nearly categorical among Basque verbs, making DOM nearly obligatory with first and second person objects in Gernika Basque. Basque DOM then extends to third person objects, which are also transferred through Spanish verbal borrowing. Finally, Basque DOM may start being used with Basque verbs with similar lexical/semantic content and the same argument structure (*eraman* ‘to take/carry’ and *mobidu* = Spanish *mover* ‘to take/move’).

³⁷ Some of these verbs are: *kontrateu* (Spanish = *contratar* ‘to hire’), *amenazeu* (Spanish = *amenazar* ‘to threaten’), *inbiteu* (Spanish = *invitar* ‘to invite’). These verbs usually take animate direct objects.

This process may explain the different dialectal tendencies of Basque DOM in terms of person. Some dialects (Dima Basque) obligatorily use DOM with first and second objects, and optionally with third person objects. Others (Arratia Basque) only use DOM with first and second person but disallow third person marking. Finally, other dialects (Lekeitio Basque) optionally use DOM with all persons (Fernández and Rezac, to appear). These dialectal differences pertain to different stages in the grammaticalization process, as there are no attested Basque dialects that obligatorily use DOM with third person objects but not first or second. This conforms to a theory of grammaticalization which suggests that “if a language has reached a given stage then it has also passed through the preceding stages” (Heine and Kuteva, 2010: 92) and providing further support to the claim that grammaticalization is a gradual process (Bybee, 1985; 2011; Traugott and Trousdale, 2010; Haspelmath, 2011).

4.4.3.2. Basque DOM as a process of polysemy copying

Polysemy copying refers to the process by which “a word expands its sphere of reference to take additional readings” (Campbell, 2006: 266). Polysemy copying is usually discussed as *calquing* and *loan translation* and it is more common to find it in lexical replication than in grammatical replication. In situations of grammatical replication, polysemy copying tends to interact with other syntactic factors in which a more complex process tends to be involved (Heine and Kuteva, 2010). It is proposed that such process is the one that pertains to explain the use of DOM among L2 Basque intermediate speakers.

In order to better explain this process, we take example (19) that was produced by a 28 year-old male L2 Basque intermediate speaker:

(19) kontratu-a hilabete bat (...) har-tzen ... berriro...
 contract-the month one (...) take-PRES again

har-tzen Ø_i d-i-zu_i-te
 take-PRES pro L-3sg.PR-DAT.2sg-ERG

‘The contract [is] a month (...) take.... again... [they] hire [you]’

Example (19) shows that the speaker used the Basque verb *hartu*, which has the generic reading of ‘to grab’. Such verbs govern both animate and non-animate objects both in Basque and in Spanish. In Peninsular Spanish, the verb denoting ‘to grab’ is *coger*, which is often used to refer to *coger a alguien para trabajar* ‘to take someone for a job’. The less generic reading to denote ‘to hire someone’ in Spanish is *contratar* and, given its semantic content, it can only take animate predicates. This is summarized in table 4.29:

Table 4.29. Semantic content of *hartu*, *coger* and *contratar*.

	Animate	Non-animate
<i>Hartu</i> ‘to grab’	✓	✓
<i>Coger</i> ‘to grab’	✓	✓
<i>Contratar</i> ‘to hire’	✓	✗

Notice that the example (19) is using the Basque verb *hartu* with the semantic content governed by the narrower Spanish reading *contratar* ‘to hire’. As such, it is proposed that this speaker, in his production of (19), he avoided using the Spanish borrowing *kontratatu*. Instead, he borrowed the narrow semantic content of *contratar*, and applied it to the generic reading of ‘grab’ in Basque, leading to the selection of *hartu*. In his selection of such verb, he not only transferred the semantic content of the verb

itself, but also the syntactic structure that comes with *contratar*. This behavioral verb that always takes human objects, triggers the transfer of dative case-marking in Basque, because as it was shown in the Spanish data, such verbs nearly always mark their direct objects with *leísmo*. This is evidenced by the fact that L2 Basque intermediate speakers are the ones with the highest rates of DOM in the third person objects. As such, these results conform to universal tendencies, and more specifically, to the *Extended Animacy Hierarchy* (Croft, 2002: 130), which suggests that first and second person objects outrank third person objects in the hierarchy, and therefore, predicts that DOM will not occur in third person objects unless it is also marked in first and second objects. In this respect, intermediate Basque speakers not only resort to such typological resources to mark DOM, but also extend DOM to third person objects facilitated by *leísmo*.

It is important to clarify that the type of process proposed for Basque L2 intermediate speakers cannot be categorized as grammaticalization. This is because in order for grammaticalization to occur, some time depth is necessary, that in the shortest of the cases can be measured in terms of generational transmission (Brinton and Traugott, 2005; Heine and Kuteva, 2005) as evidenced in the literature on the formation of creoles (Bruyn, 1996, 2008; Hopper and Traugott, 2003). This does not mean that polysemy copying cannot lead to grammaticalization. In the case of L2 Basque, a claim of grammaticalization through polysemy copying cannot be made at this point because, as the literature in L2 acquisition shows, L2 grammars are still in development until some sort of stability is evidenced (Ellis, 1994; Kanno, 1998). While the contingency for a grammaticalization process through polysemy copying cannot be completely ruled out, the evidence suggests the opposite. Results showed that as proficiency increases within Standard Basque speakers, the use of DOM decreases, in then sense DOM marking in third person objects reduces from 50% to 4.2%. As mentioned earlier, it could be that the input they receive in their L2 allows L2 speakers to make generalizations towards the understanding that Standard Basque does not allow DOM, and therefore, they use DOM less. Another possibility could be that, beyond the input they receive instigated through prescriptive rules imposed by the Basque academy, social evaluations towards DOM may impel its potential to grammaticalization. This possibility is explored in the next chapter.

In summary, the process that instigates intermediate speakers to use DOM is triggered by the semantics of the verb, more specifically, in the expansion of the verb semantics to take additional readings that simultaneously, transfer the syntactic content of the verb from which additional readings are taken from and expanded to syntactic contexts compatible to that of Basque-Spanish *leísmo*.

In light of the results and analyses presented in this chapter, the present chapter concludes by providing three major generalizations: first, it has argued that Basque DOM is the result of contact with Spanish *leísmo*. Second, it was presented that the presence of Basque DOM in different dialect is due to different historical depths of contact with Spanish. Finally, it was proposed that the processes by which Basque DOM is produced differs depending on bilinguals: whereas Basque DOM among native-bilinguals is a process of replica grammaticalization, L2 intermediate resort to polysemy-copying in their realization of Basque DOM.

CHAPTER 5: PERCEPTION RESULTS

This chapter presents results with respect to the perception of Basque DOM. First, we present the results obtained in the elicited production task in order to evaluate possible stylistic effects on the use of Basque DOM. In order to understand whether such stylistic effects are due to social evaluations of Basque DOM, sections 5.2 and 5.3 present results on the covert and overt attitudes towards Basque DOM, respectively. As such, the present chapter is intended to present the results that will aid to respond the following research questions with respect to the perception of Basque DOM:

RQ#4: Given the purist linguistic policies, *how do linguistic ideologies affect* the social meaning and use of Basque DOM?

RQ#5: Given the strong relationship between linguistic ideologies and Basque identity, *how is the use of Basque and Basque DOM conditioned* by the notion of Basque ‘authentic identity’ and what are the consequences of those ideologies?

5.1. Elicited Production Task in Basque

The purpose of the Elicited Production Task in Basque was to test whether language external effects (such as purist linguistic policies) affect the use of Basque DOM (RQ#4). In order to answer this question, 38 Basque-Spanish bilinguals and 15 Basque-French bilinguals were asked to produce 24 target sentences intending to elicit the case-marking for third person objects (either absolutive or dative). Participants were presented with equal number of human and non-animate objects, all in the third person singular form. Tokens were stratified by verb semantics (perceptual, psychological, physical and behavioral). For the Basque-Spanish bilinguals, an additional set of verbs were included that were stratified by verb type (Basque vs. borrowed verbs from Spanish), yielding 36 tokens per person in this group.

Before presenting the results for the EPT, table 5.1 presents the amount of tokens that each group produced as well as the amount of tokens that were excluded because participants produced a different verb or object from the one that they were given.

Table 5.1. Basque EPT: Token distribution across groups

Group	Tokens	Exclusions	Total target tokens
Gernika N= 16	576	27	549
Bilbao N= 22	792	31	761
Baiona N= 15	360	0	360
TOTAL	1728	58	1670

After having removed 58 tokens from the data set, a logistic regression model was used using *glm()* in *R*, in which CASE (absolute or dative) was the dependent variable. Three social factors (GROUP, LANGUAGE DOMINANCE and GENDER) and three linguistic factors (ANIMACY, VERB TYPE and VERB SEMANTICS) were included as fixed factors. Results are shown in figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1. Basque EPT results for Gernika, Bilbao and Baiona

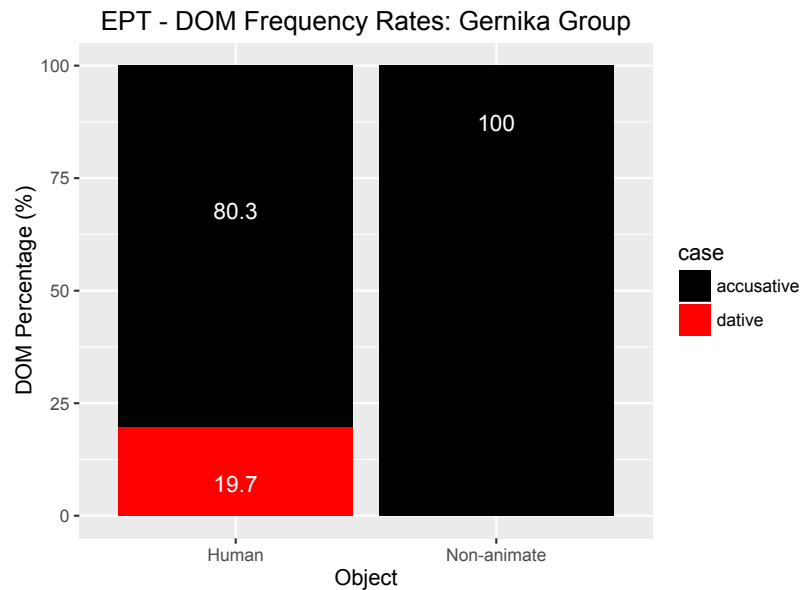


Figure 5.1. (continued)

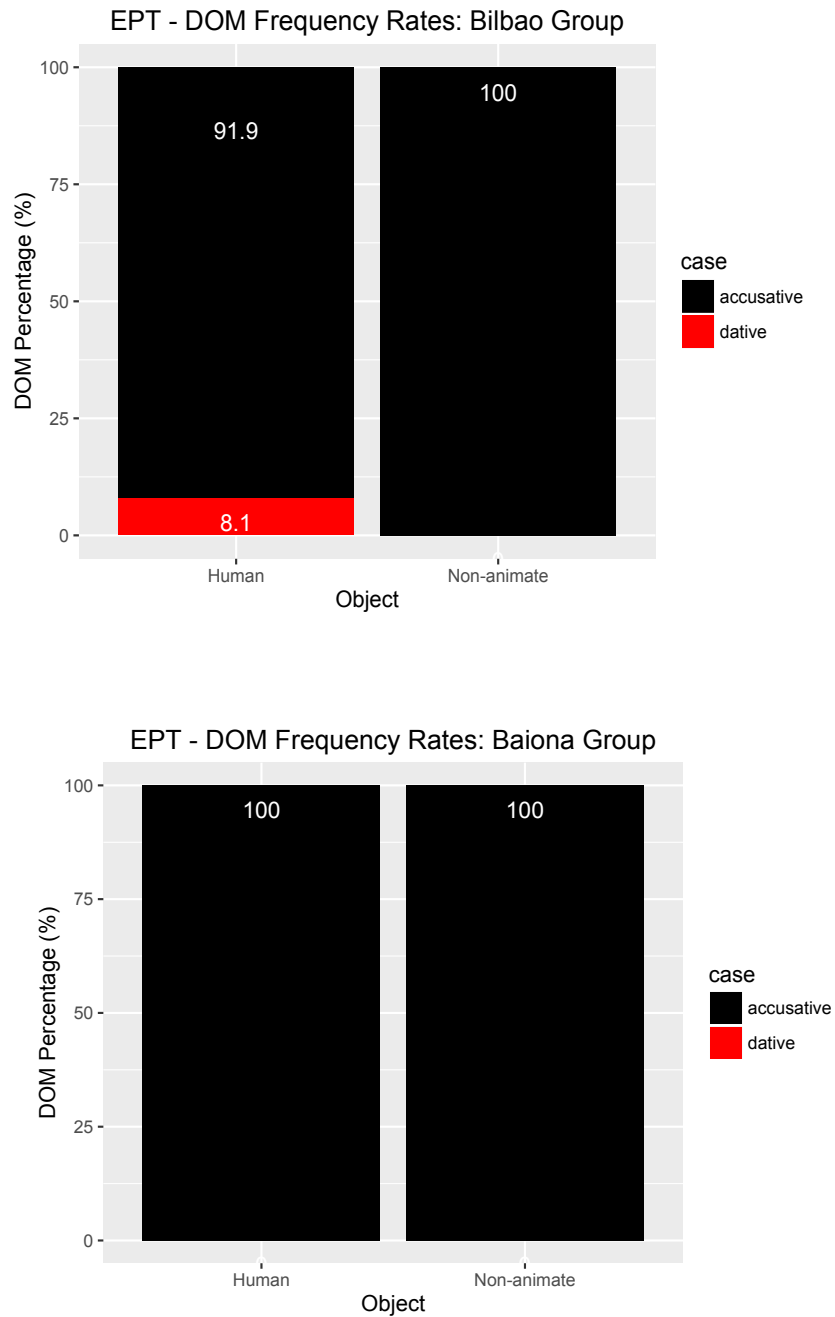
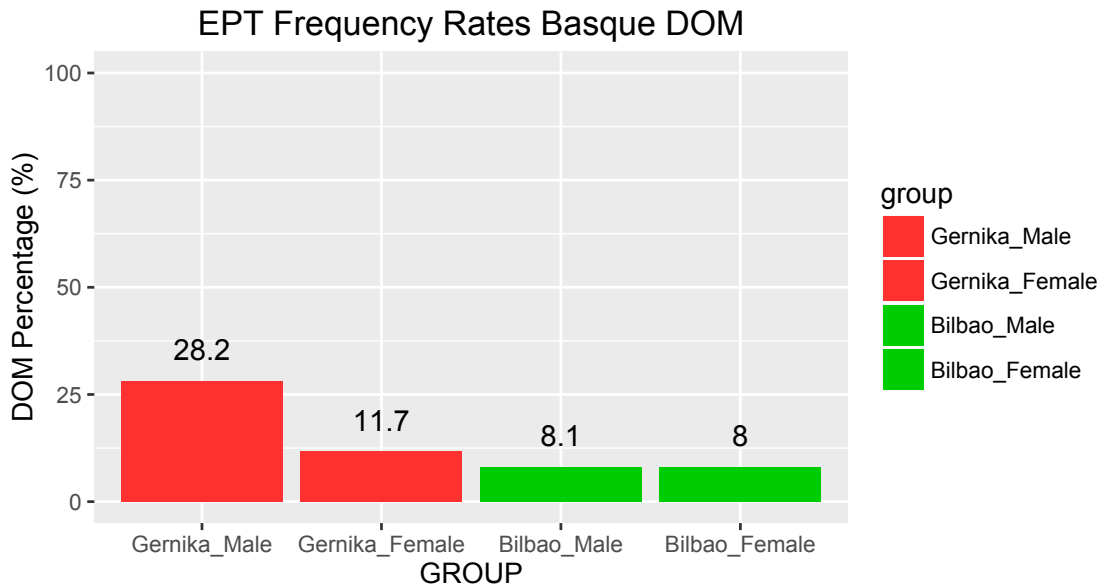


Figure 5.1 shows that Basque-French bilinguals did not produce a single token of Basque DOM in the EPT whereas Bilbao speakers produced a very low rate of Basque DOM (8.1%). The model showed that this was a statistically significant difference ($\beta = 2.21$, $z = 2.078$, $p < 0.04$). Gernika speakers produced the highest rates of DOM in the EPT

(19.7%). Tukey post hoc analysis showed that the difference between Gernika speakers and Baiona speakers was statistically significant ($\beta = 3.33$, $z = 3.227$, $p < 0.05$) as well as with Bilbao speakers ($\beta = 1.12$, $z = 4.382$, $p < 0.05$). For the Basque-Spanish bilinguals, the model showed that males favored Basque DOM in the EPT over female speakers, and this difference was statistically significant ($\beta = 0.70$, $z = 3.141$, $p < 0.02$) but only for the Gernika group. Such difference is visually represented in figure 5.2 below:

Figure 5.2. Basque EPT results according to gender among Basque-Spanish bilinguals



The gender effect found for the Gernika speakers suggests that Basque DOM in Gernika Basque conforms to possible stylistic effects that are socially significant. Taking into account Labov's principle of *Gender Paradox*, these results may suggest that Basque DOM does not hold a prestigious status (Trudgill, 1983; Cameron and Coates, 1988; Tagliamonte, 2012). More specifically, Labov (2001: 367) suggested: "women deviate less than men from linguistic norms when the deviations are overtly proscribed, but more than men when the deviations are not proscribed". In terms of Gernika Basque, these results conform to what it has been previously found, that is, that Basque DOM is a stigmatized feature among young speakers of Gernika Basque (Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2013).

With respect to linguistic factors, the model showed that there was a statistically significant difference between human objects and non-animate objects ($\beta = -4.18$, $z = -4.105$, $p < 0.01$), in the sense that only animate objects are being marked with the dative (shown in Figure 5.1). Furthermore, the model showed that there were no statistical differences between verb types ($\beta = -0.32$, $z = -1.285$, $p = 0.2$) or verb semantics ($\beta = 0.76$, $z = 1.602$, $p = 0.11$).

In summary, results on the EPT of Basque show that Basque DOM is produced to a much lesser extent albeit finding similar trends in which Gernika speakers use it more than Bilbao speakers. Interestingly, male speakers from Gernika produced more Basque DOM. Such gender effects may serve as a preliminary confirmation that Basque DOM is a stigmatized variant. The details with respect to the social significance of Basque DOM are presented in the following sections.

5.2. Covert attitudes towards Basque DOM

The goal of the matched guise experiment was to retrieve covert attitudes towards Basque DOM in two dialects of Basque: Gernika Basque and Standard Basque. This section presents the results pertaining to *relatedness* towards the variant, what they thought about the guise's use of Basque as well as what they thought about linguistic background of the guise. Because the specific items that correspond to each component showed varied results, the analysis will be based on item or specific questions in the semantic differential scales. In order to facilitate a better understanding of the social status of Basque DOM as a marker of identity, the most representative items will be analyzed. This is because, often times, some items correlated either positively or negatively with each other. Such correlations will be presented at the end of this section. As such, we shall present a by-item analysis with respect to reported results for Basque DOM (or non-DOM) for Gernika Basque and Standard Basque. The items explored in the present section are:

- (a) *I identify with this person* (item # 1)
- (b) *Listening to this person is pleasant / unpleasant* (item # 2)
- (c) *This person speaks natural / artificial Basque* (item # 9)
- (d) *This person sounds L1 / L2 speaker of Basque* (item # 11)
- (e) *This person is Basque* (item # 17)
- (f) *This person uses erderakadak ('Bad' Basque)* (item # 18)

Scaled responses provided in the items above were transformed into z-scores in order to normalize them across speakers. For the statistical analyses, z-scores were used whereas raw data will be presented for an easier visual interpretation of the results. For every item above, a mixed ANOVA³⁸ was run in R, using *rating* (normalized to z-score) as dependent variable. In order to test main effects, factors such GUISE (DOM_GernikaBasque; nonDOM_GernikaBasque, DOM_Standard Basque, nonDOM_Standard Basque), BILINGUAL TYPE (Native, ESB, Advanced, Intermediate, Native_Baiona), BILINGUAL GROUP (Basque-Spanish, Basque-French) and LANGUAGE DOMINANCE (French/Spanish vs. Basque) were included as fixed factors. Then, pairwise comparisons were generated using *TukeyHSD*.

5.2.1. Results item # 1: I identify with this person

ANOVA results to the question whether participants identified with the guise they listened (item # 1) are shown in table 5.2.

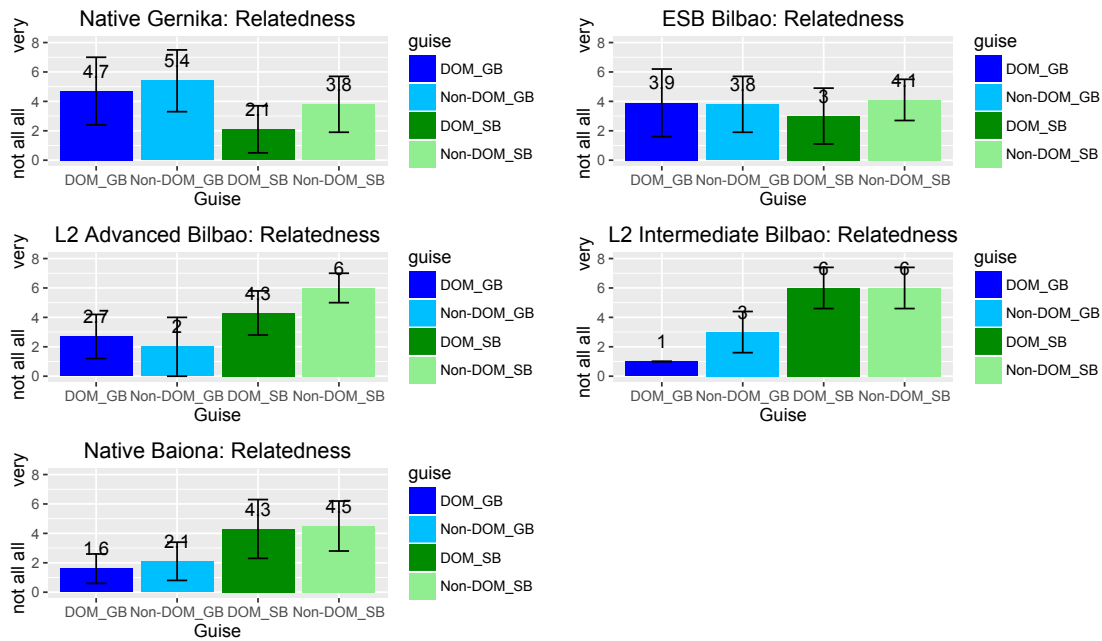
³⁸ The r-code used was *lme()* and then *glht()* for TukeyHSD correction.

Table 5.2. Matched Guise: Summary of ANOVA results for *Relatedness* scores

	df	F	p-value
Guise	3	3.504	0.02 *
Bilingual Group	1	6.940	<0.01 **
Bilingual Type	3	0.114	0.95
Language dominance	2	5.544	<0.01 **
Guise: Bilingual Type	12	6.815	< 0.001 ***
Guise: Lang dominance	6	2.925	<0.01 **

The 4-way ANOVA results for the perception of *relatedness* shows that there was a main effect of GUISE ($F[3,190] = 3.504$, $p=0.01649$), which suggests that not all guises were equally perceived. Furthermore, there was a main effect of BILINGUAL GROUP ($F[1,190] = 6.940$, $p=0.00912$), as well as LANGUAGE DOMINANCE ($F[2,190] = 5.544$, $p=0.00457$), suggesting that different bilingual groups perceive the guises differently. Although there was no main effect of BILINGUAL TYPE ($F[3,190] = 0.114$, $p=0.95184$), there was an interaction between GUISE and BILINGUAL TYPE ($F[12,190] = 6.815$, $p<0.001$), which suggests that some guises were equally perceived among bilingual types, whereas others were not. Finally, there was an interaction between GUISE and LANGUAGE DOMINANCE ($F[6,190] = 2.925$, $p=0.00943$). In order to better locate these interactions, Figure 5.3 visually represents these interactions.

Figure. 5.3. Matched Guise: Relatedness ratings across bilingual types



Post-hoc pairwise comparisons reveal that the only statistically significant differences were found within both native bilingual groups: Gernika and Baiona. As it can be seen in Figure 5.3, there was a mirror effect as to how Gernika Basque speakers and Baiona speakers identified with the two local guises and the two standard guises; Baiona speakers did not identify with the Gernika Basque guises, but identified more with both DOM and non-DOM Standard Basque, differences that were statistically significant (Gernika Basque_DOM vs. Standard Basque_DOM, $p = 0.0045$; Gernika Basque non-DOM vs. Standard Basque non-DOM, $p = 0.03$). The fact that Baiona speakers identified as much with Standard Basque DOM as with Standard Basque non-DOM was surprising, given the fact that Baiona speakers did show extremely low rates of Basque DOM production. As for the Gernika group, results show that Gernika Basque speakers identify with their own dialect, regardless of DOM. It is also revealed that Gernika Basque speakers identify less with Standard Basque and less so with Standard Basque DOM. However, this difference did not reach statistical difference ($p = 0.6442813$). Not surprisingly, Gernika Basque speakers identified with DOM in their own dialect but not in Standard Basque, a difference that was statistically significant ($p = 0.0051$). Although no statistical differences were found within the speakers in Bilbao

with respect to the guises they heard, an important trend emerges in their perception of Standard Basque DOM: as proficiency increases, Bilbao speakers report to identify less with Standard Basque DOM. These findings represent their production results, which is suggestive that Basque DOM (at least in the Standard) is subject to social awareness that affects their self-identification with respect to Basque DOM.

5.2.2. Results item # 2: *Listening to this person is pleasant / unpleasant* (item # 2)

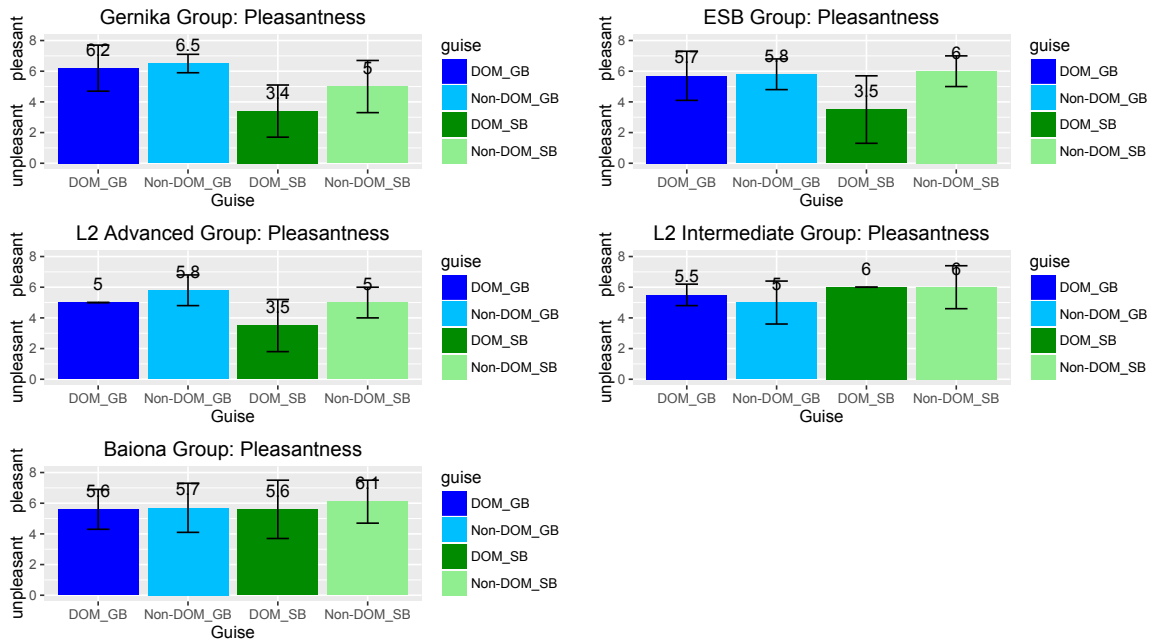
ANOVA results to the question whether participants found the guise they listened pleasant or unpleasant (item # 2) are shown in table 5.3.

Table 5.3. Matched Guise: Summary of ANOVA results for *Pleasant / Unpleasant* scores

	df	F	p-value
Guise	3	16.962	< 0.001 ***
Bilingual Group	1	5.671	0.02 *
Bilingual Type	3	0.553	0.65
Language dominance	2	1.287	0.28
Guise: Bilingual Type	12	2.797	<0.01 **
Guise: Lang dominance	6	0.707	0.64

The 4 way ANOVA results for the perception of *pleasantness* shows that there was a main effect of GUISE ($F[3,191] = 16.962$, $p < 0.001$), which suggests that not all guises were equally perceived with respect of *pleasantness*. There was also a main effect of BILINGUAL GROUP ($F[1,191] = 5.671$, $p < 0.01$). Although there was no main effect of BILINGUAL TYPE ($F[3,191] = 0.553$, $p = 0.65$), there was a statistically significant interaction between GUISE and BILINGUAL TYPE ($F[12,191] = 2.797$, $p < 0.001$). In order to better locate these interactions, Figure 5.4 visually represents these interactions.

Figure 5.4. Matched Guise: Pleasant / Unpleasant ratings across bilingual types



Post-hoc pairwise comparisons reveal that the only statistical differences between guises with respect to pleasantness were found within the Gernika group and ESB group. These two groups showed a similar trend in the sense that they perceived Standard Basque DOM the most unpleasant guise of all. Within the ESB group, these results were statistically significant in comparison with Gernika Basque DOM ($p < 0.01$), Gernika Basque non-DOM ($p < 0.01$) and Standard Basque non-DOM ($p < 0.01$). Within the Gernika group, Standard Basque DOM was rated as less pleasant compared to Gernika Basque DOM ($p < 0.001$) and Gernika Basque non DOM, but no statistical differences were found between their perception of Standard Basque DOM compared to Standard Basque non-DOM ($p = 0.2$). Although no statistical differences were found with respect to the pleasantness of the guises in the other groups, another important trend emerges: as proficiency decreases in the L2 group, the rates for pleasantness towards Standard Basque DOM also decrease. These results suggest that as L2 speakers are more exposed to Standard Basque norms, they also acquire negative attributes towards Standard Basque DOM. The fact that these differences are not found among Basque-French bilinguals suggests that the social significance of Basque DOM is specific to the ideologies

surrounding the type of contact at hand. This will be addressed more in detail in section 5.4.

5.2.3. Results item # 9: Natural / Artificial

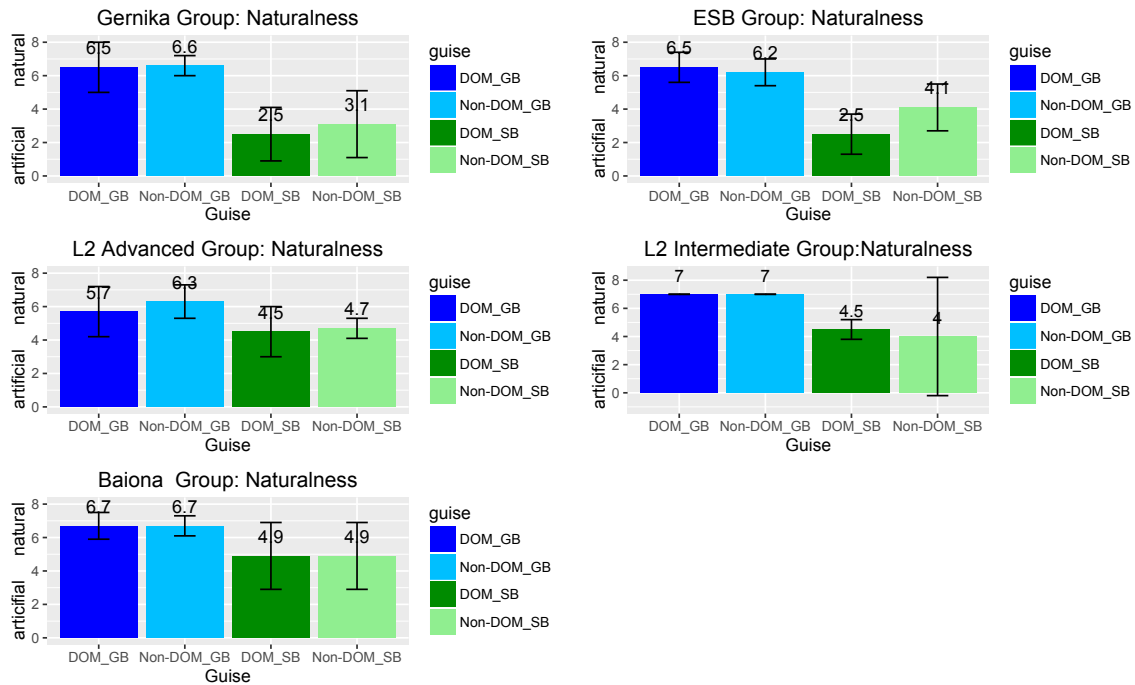
ANOVA results to the question whether participants found the guise they listened natural or artificial (item # 9) are shown in table 5.4.

Table 5.4. Matched-Guise: Summary of ANOVA results for *Natural / Artificial* scores

	df	F	p-value
Guise	3	78.479	< 0.001 ***
Bilingual Group	1	22.726	< 0.001 ***
Bilingual Type	3	1.618	0.19
Language dominance	2	3.805	0.02 *
Guise: Bilingual Type	12	2.318	<0.01 **
Guise: Lang dominance	6	1.658	0.13

The 4 way ANOVA results for the perception of *pleasantness* shows that there was a main effect of GUISE ($F[3,190] = 78.470$, $p < 0.001$), which suggests that not all guises were equally perceived with respect of *naturalness*. Results showed that there was also a main effect of BILINGUAL GROUP ($F[1,190] = 22.726$, $p < 0.001$) and LANGUAGE DOMINANCE ($F[2,190] = 3.805$, $p < 0.03$). Although there was no main effects of BILINGUAL TYPE ($F[3,190] = 1.618$, $p = 0.19$), there was an interaction between GUISE and BILINGUAL TYPE ($F[13,190] = 2.318$, $p < 0.01$). Finally, there was no interaction between GUISE and LANGUAGE DOMINANCE ($F[3,190] = 1.658$, $p = 0.13$). In order to better locate these interactions, Figure 5.5 visually represents these interactions.

Figure 5.5. Natural / Artificial ratings across bilingual types



Post-hoc pairwise comparisons reveal that the only statistical differences between guises with respect to *naturalness* were found within the Gernika group, ESB group and Baiona group. All groups showed a similar trend, in the sense that they perceived Standard Basque more artificial than the local variety of Gernika Basque, regardless of DOM; that is, no statistical differences were found neither between Gernika Basque DOM and non-DOM nor Standard Basque DOM and non-DOM, with the exception of a marginally significant results between Standard Basque DOM and non-DOM within the ESB group ($p = 0.06$). Within the Gernika group, ESB group and Baiona group, Standard Basque DOM was rated significantly much lower than Gernika DOM (all at $p < 0.001$), suggesting that Standard Basque is perceived as more artificial than Gernika Basque DOM. Although no differences between DOM and non-DOM pairwise comparisons were perceived note that the standard deviations for Standard Basque DOM are much larger than for the Gernika Basque standard deviations. These results suggest that the variation as to how natural Standard Basque DOM is perceived is quite large as some speakers rated Standard Basque DOM as low as 1 (on a 1-7 Likert Scale) in terms of naturalness. In sum, overall results (with the exception of the ESB group) reveal that the naturalness

or artificiality of Basque is not usually defined in terms of DOM but according to dialect, that is, Gernika Basque vis-à-vis Standard Basque.

5.2.4. Results item # 17: This person is Basque

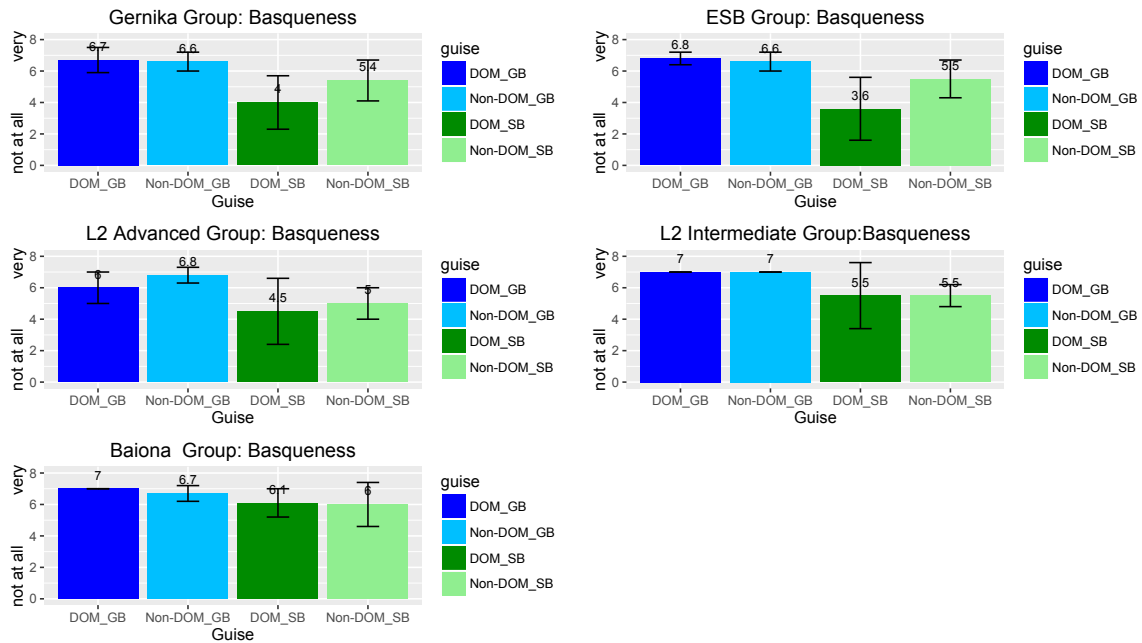
ANOVA results with respect to guise's Basqueness (item # 11) are shown in table 5.5.

Table 5.5. Matched-Guise: Summary of ANOVA results for Basqueness

	df	F	p-value
Guise	3	47.324	< 0.001 ***
Bilingual Group	1	21.066	< 0.001 ***
Bilingual Type	3	0.773	0.51
Language dominance	2	1.652	0.19
Guise: Bilingual Type	12	2.489	<0.01 **
Guise: Lang dominance	6	0.586	0.74

The 4 way ANOVA results for the perception of *Basqueness* shows that there was a main effect of GUISE ($F[3,190] = 47.324, p < 0.001$), which suggests that not all guises were equally perceived with respect of *Basqueness*. Results showed that there was also a main effect of BILINGUAL GROUP ($F[1,190] = 21.066, p < 0.001$) but no main effect LANGUAGE DOMINANCE was found ($F[2,190] = 1.652, p = 0.19$). Although there was no main effects of BILINGUAL TYPE ($F[3,190] = 1.618, p = 0.19$), there was an interaction between GUISE and BILINGUAL TYPE ($F[12,190] = 2.489, p < 0.01$). Finally, there was no interaction between GUISE and LANGUAGE DOMINANCE ($F[3,190] = 0.586, p = 0.74$). In order to better locate these interactions, Figure 5.6 visually represents these interactions.

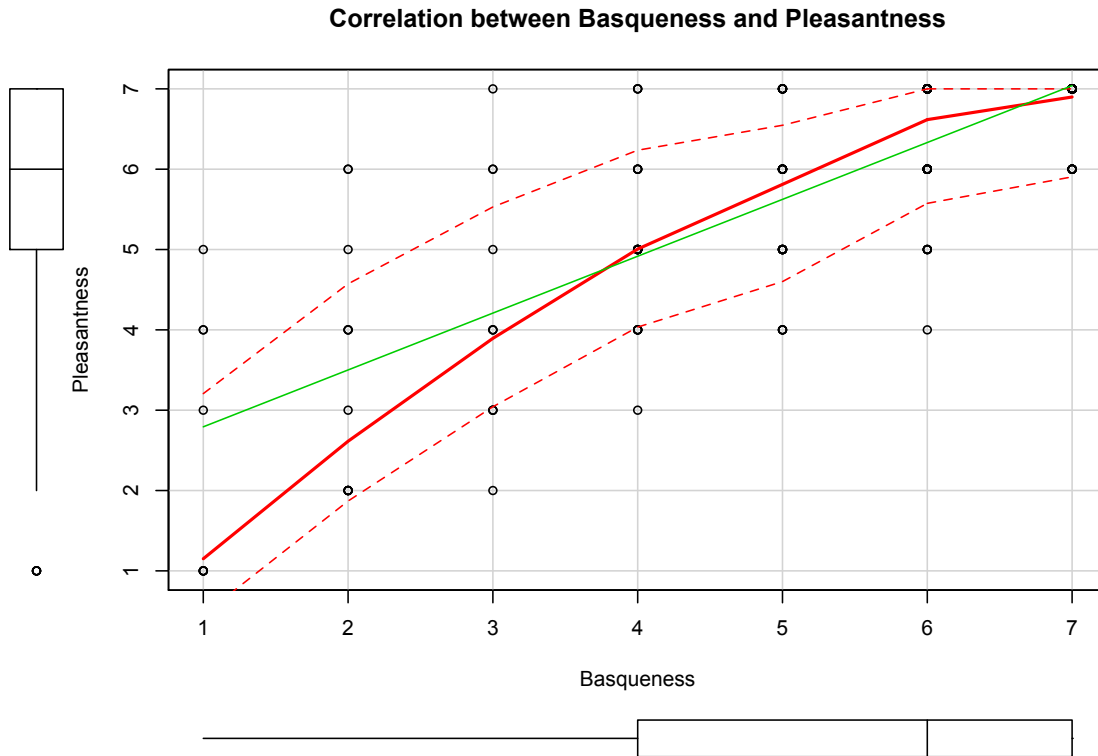
Figure 5.6. Matched-Guise: Basqueness ratings across bilingual types



Post-hoc pairwise comparisons reveal that the only statistical differences between guises with respect to pleasantness were found within the Gernika group and ESB group. These two groups showed a similar trend in the sense that they perceived Standard Basque DOM the least Basque guise of all. Within the ESB group, these results were statistically significant in comparison with Gernika Basque DOM ($p < 0.001$), Gernika Basque non-DOM ($p < 0.001$) and Standard Basque non-DOM ($p < 0.001$). Within the Gernika group, Standard Basque DOM was also rated as less Basque compared to Gernika Basque DOM ($p < 0.001$) and Gernika Basque non-DOM ($p < 0.001$), but there was a marginal statistically significant difference between their perception of Standard Basque DOM compared to Standard Basque non-DOM ($p = 0.06$). It is interesting to note that the other L2 groups (both advanced and intermediate speakers) also perceive the local variety of Gernika Basque as the “most Basque” and Standard Basque as “less Basque” but no differences were found as to whether the guise used DOM or not. These results resemble those found in the pleasantness ratings. In order to understand whether there is a relationship between these two items, a correlation test was performed. Pearson's product-moment correlation showed that there was a liner positive correlation between

both items ($r(216) = .80, p < 0.001$), as visualized in figure 5.7. These results suggest that if a speaker is perceived as “more Basque” it is also perceived as “more pleasant”.

Figure 5.7. Matched-Guise: Correlations between Basqueness and Pleasantness



Finally, the fact that no differences whatsoever were found with respect to *Basqueness* in different guises within the Basque-French bilinguals suggests that the social significance of Basque DOM is specific to the ideologies surrounding the type of contact at hand. This will be addressed more in detail in section 5.4.

5.2.5 Results item # 11: This person sounds L1 / L2

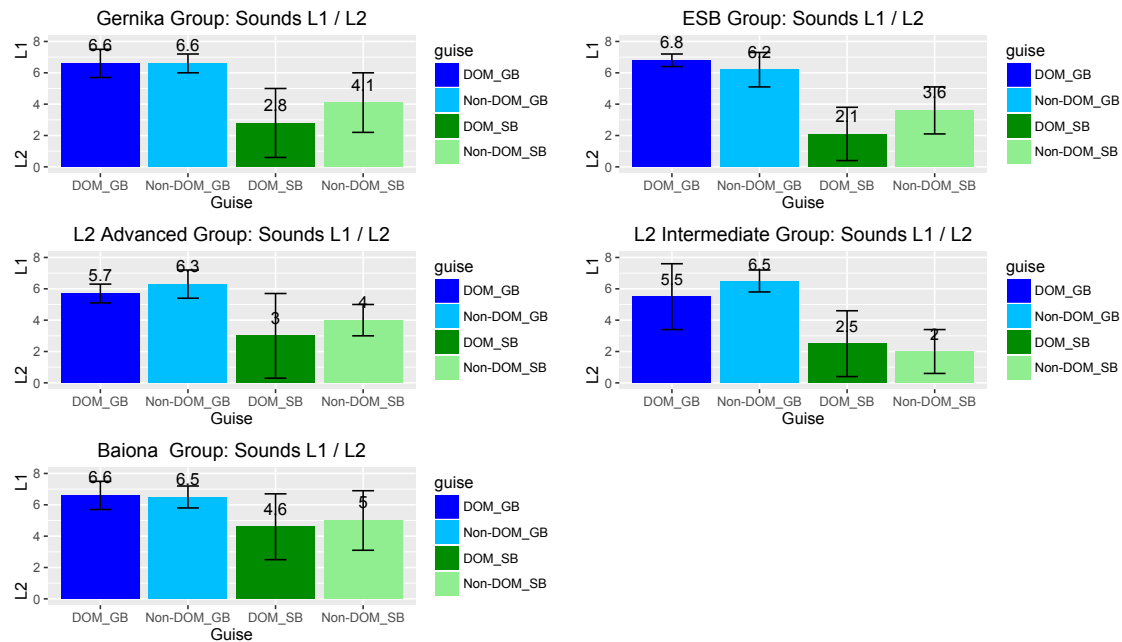
ANOVA results to the question whether participants perceived the guise they listened as a native speaker or second language learner (item # 11) are shown in table 5.6.

Table 5.6. Matched-Guise: Summary of ANOVA results for “this person sounds L1 / L2”

	df	F	p-value
Guise	3	78.735	< 0.001 ***
Bilingual Group	1	18.462	< 0.001 ***
Bilingual Type	3	1.459	0.23
Language dominance	2	5.470	<0.01 **
Guise: Bilingual Type	12	2.489	0.04 *
Guise: Lang dominance	6	1.845	0.22

The 4 way ANOVA results for the perception of whether the guise was perceived as L1 or L2 speaker shows that there was a main effect of GUISE ($F[3,190] = 78.735$, $p < 0.001$), which suggests that not all guises were equally perceived with respect of *L1*. Results showed that there was also a main effect of BILINGUAL GROUP ($F[1,190] = 18.462$, $p < 0.001$) and LANGUAGE DOMINANCE ($F[2,190] = 5.470$, $p < 0.03$). Although there was no main effects of BILINGUAL TYPE ($F[3,190] = 1.459$, $p = 0.23$), there was an interaction between GUISE and BILINGUAL TYPE ($F[12,190] = 2.489$, $p < 0.05$). Finally, there was no interaction between GUISE and LANGUAGE DOMINANCE ($F[3,190] = 1.845$, $p = 0.22$). In order to better locate these interactions, Figure 5.5 visually represents these interactions.

Figure 5.8. Matched-Guise: “This person sounds L1/L2” ratings across bilingual types



Post-hoc pairwise comparisons reveal that the only statistical differences between guises with respect to *nativeness* were found within the Gernika group, ESB group and Baiona group. All groups showed a similar trend, in the sense that they perceived Standard Basque more as a variation of L2 speakers whereas Gernika Basque, regardless of DOM was perceived as the L1 variety. These differences were statistically significant for the Gernika group, ESB group and Baiona group (all at < 0.05). Although no differences between Standard Basque DOM and Standard Basque non-DOM pairwise comparisons were perceived note that the standard deviations for Standard Basque DOM are much larger than for the Gernika Basque DOM standard deviations. These results suggests that the variation as to how native-like Standard Basque DOM is perceived is quite large, as some speakers rated Standard Basque DOM as low as 1 (on a 1-7 Likert Scale) in terms of *nativeness*. In sum, overall results reveal that the native-like perception towards Basque is not defined in terms of DOM, but dialect, in the sense that Gernika Basque (regardless of DOM) is perceived more like native than Standard Basque.

5.2.6 Results item # 18: This person speaks erderakadak ('Bad Basque')

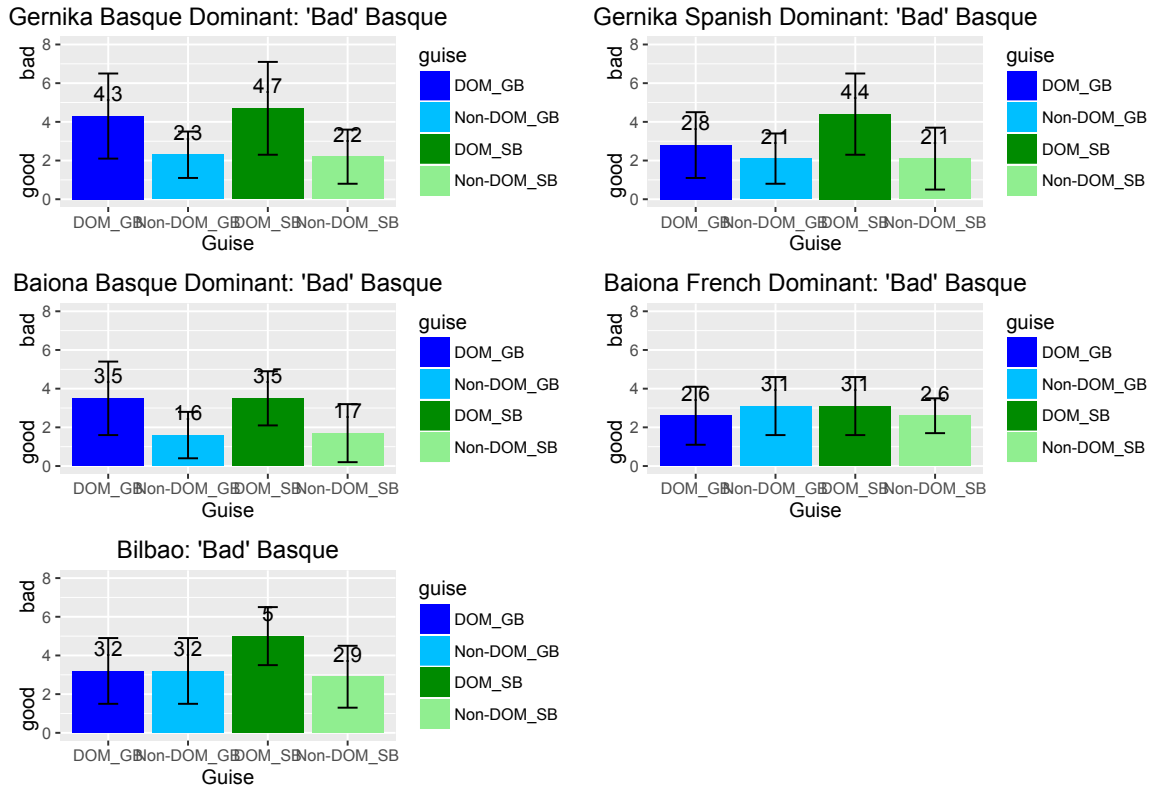
ANOVA results to the question whether participants perceived the guise they listened as using *erderakadak*, or speaking 'badly' (item # 18) are shown in table 5.7.

Table 5.7. Matched-Guise: Summary of ANOVA results for erderakadak ('Bad Basque')

	df	F	p-value
Guise	3	12.309	< 0.001 ***
Bilingual Group	1	5.855	0.02 *
Bilingual Type	3	1.278	0.28
Language dominance	2	0.279	0.76
Guise: Bilingual Type	12	1.376	0.18
Guise: Lang dominance	6	1.120	0.35

The 4 way ANOVA results for the perception of whether the guise was perceived as using 'bad' Basque shows that there was a main effect of GUISE ($F[3,184] = 78.735$, $p < 0.001$), which suggests that not all guises were equally perceived with respect of 'bad' Basque. Results showed that there was also a main effect of BILINGUAL GROUP ($F[1,184] = 5.855$, $p < 0.02$) suggesting that speakers in Gernika, Bilbao and Baiona rated the guises differently. There was no main effect of BILINGUAL TYPE ($F[3,184] = 1.278$, $p = 0.28$) or LANGUAGE DOMINANCE ($F[3,184] = 0.279$, $p = 0.76$). Due to this lack of interactions and main effect of bilingual group, figure 5.9 visually represents ratings with respect to guises using 'Bad' Basque. Because some small differences were found in terms of language dominance (albeit its lack of significance), the figure also shows these small differences within the Gernika and Baiona groups.

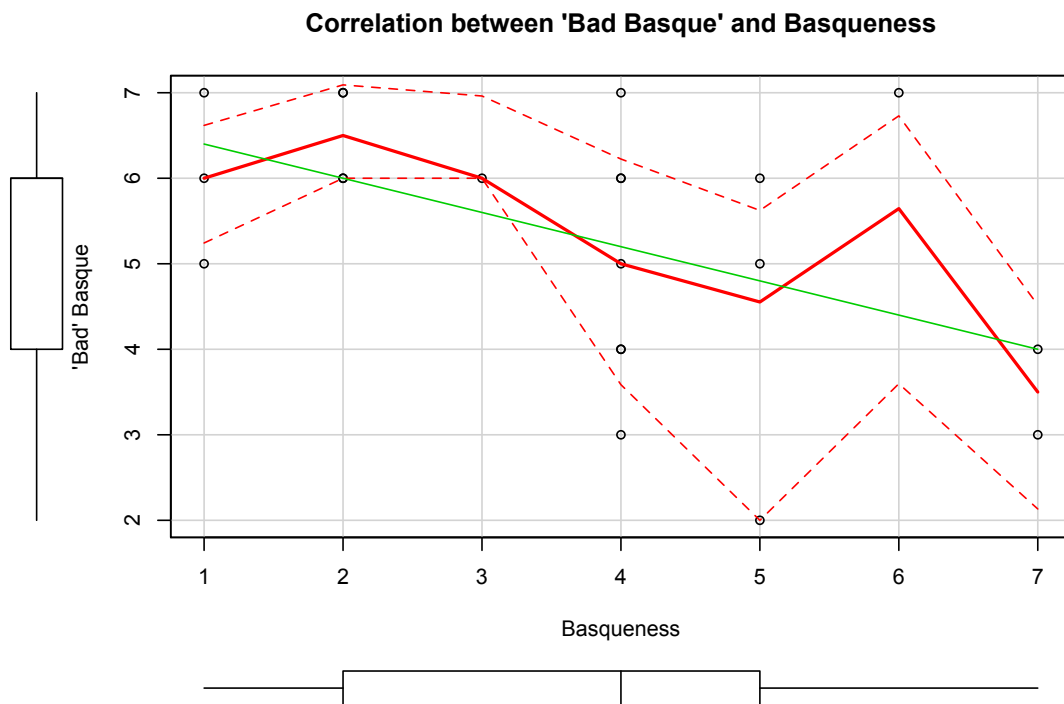
Figure 5.9. Matched-Guise: Erderakadak ('Bad Basque') ratings across bilingual groups and language dominance



Post-hoc pairwise comparisons reveal that the only statistical differences between guises with respect to 'bad' Basque were found within the Gernika group and ESB group. These two groups showed a similar trend in the sense that they rated Standard Basque DOM significantly worse than non-DOM Standard Basque (both at $p < 0.01$). Interestingly only the ESB group perceived Standard Basque DOM significantly worse than Gernika Basque DOM ($p < 0.04$) whereas Gernika speakers found Standard Basque DOM and Gernika Basque DOM as equally 'bad' ($p = 0.99$). Within the Gernika group, Basque dominant speakers perceived their own DOM significantly worse than Gernika Basque non-DOM ($p < 0.05$) whereas such difference was not hold among Spanish-dominant speakers of Gernika Basque ($p = 0.95$). It is interesting to note that although none of the guises showed any statistical difference within the Baiona group, note that a similar trend that was found between Basque-dominant speakers of Gernika and Basque-dominant speakers from Baiona; both groups rated DOM as 'worse' Basque than its counter non-

DOM guises. The results obtained for Standard Basque DOM in terms of ‘bad’ Basque resemble those found with respect to ‘Basqueness’. In order to understand whether there is a relationship between these two items, a correlation test was performed. Pearson's product-moment correlation showed that there was a liner negative correlation between both items ($r(215) = -.51, p < 0.001$), as visualized in figure 5.10. These results suggest that if a speaker is perceived as using ‘bad’ Basque it is also perceived as ‘less Basque’.

Figure 5.10. Matched-Guise: Correlations between Basqueness and ‘Good Basque’



5.3. Overt attitudes towards Basque DOM

The main goal of the debriefing interview was to elicit overt attitudes towards Basque DOM and its relationship to an ‘authentic’ Basque identity. In this section, we briefly discuss the social status of Basque DOM as it pertains to Basque identity, both in its use of in the regional dialect of Gernika as well as its status within the standardized

variety. We then discuss the similarities and differences of the status of Basque DOM between the Basque-Spanish and Basque-French contact situations.

5.3.1. Overt attitudes of Basque DOM among Basque-Spanish bilinguals

5.3.1.1. Basque DOM as a ‘wrong’ feature: Dialect vs. Standard Basque

With respect to overt attitudes towards Basque DOM, many speakers in Gernika and Bilbao immediately provided comments on the variant, suggesting that it is a ‘faulty’ way of speaking Basque, both in Gernika Basque and in Standard Basque. However, a distinction between using Basque DOM in the dialect and Standard Basque was very noticeable; although both variants were considered wrong, Gernika Basque DOM was attributed to a ‘faulty’ way of speaking because ‘that is the way *we* have learned it’ whereas Standard Basque DOM was attributed to L2 speakers of Basque who were probably in their early stages of learning, and therefore, should be corrected. Examples (1) and (2) express ideologies towards Gernika Basque DOM among Gernika speakers whereas examples (3) express ideologies towards Standard Basque DOM among Standard Basque speakers:

(1) *eta beste adibide bat niretzako, ba ez dakit "baloiegaz jo dotzo", "jotzo" txarto esanda dau, "jo deu" da. Hori erderien erentzixe da, bai.*

“and another example for me, I don’t know, “he hit to her with a ball [=DOM]”, “to hit to her|” is wrong, it is “to hit her|” . That is Spanish heritage, yes.”

Gernika, native, female, 27

(2) *Ez da “ikusi dotzaten”, da “ikusi neban”. Eso está mal. Aquí se usa mogollón, pero está mal dicho. Nosotros hemos nacido diciendo eso, mal, y no se por qué.*

“It is not “I saw to him [=DOM]”, it is “I saw him”. That’s wrong. Here [=in Gernika] people use it big time, but it is wrong. We were born saying that, wrong, and I don’t know why”

Gernika, native, female, 28

(3) Interviewer: *Eta ba al dago baten bat gehiago gustatu zaizuna?*

Naroa: *Ez dakit, o sea, azkena adibidez egiten zituen akatsak*

Interviewer: *Akatsak igerri dizkiozu honi. Zeintzuk?*

Naroa: *Ba “ikusi zion” eta horrelakoak.*

Interviewer: *And is there any [of the guises] that you liked?*

Naroa: *I don’t know, so, the last one, for instance, made mistakes*

Interviewer: *So you noticed some errors to this one. Which ones?*

Naroa: *So “ikusi zion” [=DOM] and stuff.*

Bilbao, early sequential bilingual, female 22

These over commentaries are consistent with the results obtained in the matched guise experiment, as Basque DOM was rated significantly higher as ‘bad’ Basque both in Gernika Basque (for Gernika Basque speakers) and Standard Basque, for all Basque-Spanish bilinguals. Interestingly, none of Standard Basque speakers were able to refer to Gernika Basque DOM. A potential reason behind this lack of commentary has to do with their lack of experience with a regional dialect like Gernika Basque. That being said, it is possible that participants from Bilbao were not aware that the Standard DOM form of *ikusi diot* is expressed as *ikusi dotsat* in Gernika Basque.

The attribution of Basque DOM being ‘wrong’ can be an influence of the education system, enforcer of the symbolic value of all rules. Although the enforcement of the rules of ‘good’ Basque has been applied by the Royal Academy of Basque onto Standard Basque only, such notions of correctness have also affected the way dialect speakers view their own dialect with respect to Basque DOM. Such notions of correctness and the

enforcement of the education system onto “speaking right” is more clearly seen in examples (4), (5) and (6):

(4) Interviewer: *Eta uste duzu hori zuzendu egin behar dela?*

Narora: *Bai, bai.*

Interviewer: And you think that it [=SB_DOM] has to be corrected?

Narora: Yeah, yeah.

Bilbao, early sequential bilingual female 22

(5) *Eso está mal. Me lo han repetido vamos.... (...) Me lo han recalcau tanto que yo creo que no lo uso.*

That [=GB_DOM] is wrong. They have told me that over and over again, come on... (...) They have told that some many times that I think that I don't use it.

Gernika, native, female, 28

(6) *muchas veces decíamos e... ¿cómo es? “Maria ikusi diot”. “Zer ikusi diozu? burua?” “Ez, Maria ikusi dut, vale”. (...) y pues supongo que entendíamos que estaba mal porque la profesora que era un poco la autoridad nos decía que eso estaba mal y que eso no se decía y que así hablaban los que no sabían.*

times we used to say... mm... what is it? “Maria ikusi diot = [DOM]”. “What did you see her? The head?” “No, Maria ikusi dut, alright”. (...) and so I suppose that we understood that THAT was wrong because the teacher, who was the authority a little bit, used to tell us that THAT was wrong, and not to say that, that people who do not know [Basque] say it.

Bilbao, early sequential bilingual, female, 25

Despite Basque DOM being perceived as an error that should be corrected, speakers also demonstrate that DOM in the Standard Basque is an aberration typical of L2 speakers. This is shown in (7) and (8).

(7) *A holan mamalonga batelez ein dabena berba? Ba seguru zure lagunen bat izengo zala, baina bueno ya lo siento por ella.*

Ah, this one who speaks like a complete idiot, I'm pretty sure she is one of your friends, but well, I feel sorry for her.

Gernika, native, female, 28

(8) *Azkenengo hori zen nahiko txirria... "maitemindu dio [=DOM]" edo ez dakit zer esaten zuen. Hori zan pixka bat arraro. (...) Baina entzuten badut holan da euskaldun berria fijo ze "maite dio" bueno "maite dio" esan ahal dozu baina ez dakit.*

That last one [SB_DOM] was like a squeal "to fall in love to her [=DOM]" or I don't know what she said. That was a little weird. (...) But if I hear it like that, it is euskaldunberri (L2) for sure because 'to love to her' [=DOM]... well, 'to love to her' [=DOM] you can say it, but I don't know.

Bilbao, early sequential bilingual, male, 21

These negative overt commentaries towards Basque DOM, and especially towards the Standard form, can be registered as declaration of conformity towards the 'correct' way of speaking Basque, which results in an overtly stigmatized variant of Basque in the Basque Autonomous Community.

5.3.1.2. The pressure of speaking ‘correct’ Basque and authenticity

The second goal of the debriefing interview was to understand the link between “correctness” and “authenticity” as it pertains to Basque DOM and Basque identity. Overt commentaries show that the social stigma of Basque DOM is dependent upon the type of speaker that uses it. Importantly, Basque DOM is not the only contact feature to contribute to the illegitimazation of an authentic Basque identity in Standard Basque. As it is shown in example (10), code-switching between Standard Basque and Spanish is also registered as a faulty way of speaking Basque, whereas those who are considered L1 (*euskaldunzaharrak*), consider it the norm.

- (9) *Entre nosotros... si, yo creo que no eran mis amigas, amigas pero un grupo de chicas con el que salíamos a veces hablaban euskera entre ellas y yo creo que cometian ese error. Y hablaban euskera en la calle, en casa y en el cole y de ikastola, ikastola y yo creo que si que cometian ese mismo error y tan anchas claro, ellas eran las verdaderas hablantes del idioma, no? si al final...*

Among us... yeah, I think they were not my friends, friends but [there was] a group of girls that used to hang out with us and among them and I think they used to make that mistake. And they used speak Basque in the street, at home, in school, and used to go to Ikastola (Basque school) I think that they used to make that same mistake, with no care in the world, of course, they were the *true* speakers of the language, right? At the end of the day...

Bilbao, early sequential bilingual, female, 25

- (10) *Euskara batutik gatozenok daukagu joera hori, guztia euskaraz esateko nahiz eta artifiziala izan. Baina adibidiez, euskaldunzaharrek, ez bazaiete ateratzen euskara, esaten dute gaztelaniaz, oso natural, eta gero berriz pasatzen*

dira euskarara, sin inmutarse. Baina Batutik gatozenok, egiten duzu hori eta:
“hay ze txarto hitz egiten duen!”

Those who are Standard speakers, we have that habit, to say it all in Basque, even if it is artificial. But for instance, euskaldunzaharrak (L1 speakers), if Basque does not come to them they say in Spanish, very natural, and then they go back to Basque, without realizing about it. But those who speak Standard, you do that and: “ay! But you speak so badly!”

Bilbao, L2-advanced, male, 26

Notions between authenticity and correctness transcend beyond the use of contact features to how people feel when they are corrected. Some speakers find it positive that members of the Basque society correct them as long as they are not overwhelming whereas others feel affected or even offended somehow. As such, their awareness of not speaking “properly” is elevated, which creates further insecurities in their abilities of not only speaking Basque but also into their ways of ‘being’ Basque.

(11) *eta adibidez, noizean behin.... Saiatu nintzen eta inig... eta ni ... NIK eee*
ta bera “tetete” esaldi bat, es que ba.... eta gero, zozer esa... azkenean, zuzendu!
Bai e eh eh eh ni ikasi nahi dut eta mesedez zuzendu baina

And for instance, sometimes, I used to try and Inig... eta I, I eee and him “tetete” one sentence, so... and then say something, and finally, correct me! Yeah, mmm mmmm I want to learn, and please correct me but....

Bilbao, L2-intermediate, 40

(12) Interviewer: *nonok igual zuzendutzu nonoz?*
Sara: *Bai... halan de mala manera ez. Baten bat que no tiene inteligencia emocional ta "euskeraz apur bat txarto eitzenzu"*

Interviewer: *eta hori zuri lehen te afectaba?*

Sara: *Bai. lehen txikitxuten...*

Interviewer: and has somebody ever corrected you?

Sara: Yeah, like not in a bad way. Somebody who has no emotional intelligence and “you speak Basque a little badly”

Interviewer: and that used to affect you?

Sara: Yeah, before, as a kid....

Gernika, native, male, 19

(13) *ni orain txarto hitz egiten dut.(...) Nire senarra euskalduna da, no te lo pierdas, eta berarekin, inoiz. Es que a ver, ni ingleasez hitz egiten dut....Seinu hizkuntza hitz egiten dut....eta ondo. Baina adibidez, italiera, italiano, txarto hitz egiten dut. Baina trankil eta hitz egiten dut. Baina euskera desberdina da. Ni sentitzen dut presioa haundia.*

Now I speak [Basque] badly. (...) my husband is *euskaldun*, you better believe it, and with him, never. So, I speak English.... I speak Sign Language, and well. But for instance, Italian, Italian, I speak it badly. But [I’m] calm, and I speak it. But Basque is different. I feel a lot of pressure.

Bilbao, female (intermediate speaker), 40

(14) *Zihara: (...) me ven mis apellidos *Caballero y ya es como (...) bueno hau castellana pura y dura a tomar por culo. Ta (...) Bilbokoa naiz, ikasi dut, ez naiz euskalduna ondino. Maketoa naiz nolabait esanda, ondino ez daukat nire odola euskalduna, euskalduna.*

Interviewer: *Eta zuk sentitzen duzu hor como presioa?*

Zihara: *Joe a tope. (...) Pena ematen dit bai eta horrela nago horregatik*

ze...((starts crying)) estoy como en un Buf!” ((continues crying))

Ziahara: (...) they see my last names *Caballero and then it is like(...) well, this total Spaniard, fuck her! And I am from Bilbao, I learned [Basque], I am not fully *euskaldun* yet. I am a *maketa* somehow, my blood is not fully Basque.

Interviewer: And do you feel like, some pressure?

Zihara: Hell, a lot. (...) I makes me sad, and I am like this because of that because...((starts crying)) I feel like... Buf!” ((continues crying))

Bilbao, early sequential bilingual, 24

The insecurities brought along contact features such as Basque DOM (although not unique to this feature) undoubtedly brings negative consequences for the use of Basque as a whole in the Basque Autonomous Communities. The evidence supports the view that one of the main reasons for not using Basque is due to the awareness that speaking Basque ‘incorrectly’, especially Standard Basque, is a way to illegitimize an ‘authentic’ Basque speaker. Such awareness is common among Standard speakers. Interestingly, Gernika Basque speakers report to also be aware of such non-authenticity notions. Some of these people reported to switch into Spanish when talking to speakers of the Standard variety as exemplified in (15), (16) and (17).

(15) “*Ez dut egingo euskera ze egiten dut txarto*”

I am not going to talk in Basque because I speak it badly

Bilbao, male, L2-advanced, 23

(16) Interviewer: *Eta inoiz gertatu zaizu igual hara joatea eta euskaraz egiterakoan eurek, ez dakit, hango jenteak e....*

Beatriz: *Erdaraz pasatu. Ez dakit, nik batzutan pentsaten dot, jo hainbeste nabaritzen da nire euskara ez dela haien euskara?*

Interviewer: and has it ever happened you going there (=Gernika) and in speaking

in Basque, they, I don't know, people from there m....

Beatriz: Switch into Spanish. I don't know, I sometimes think “damn, is it so noticeable that my Basque is not their Basque?”

Bilbao, L2-advanced, female, 41

- (17) *Baina errespetu faltie ez eukitziarren dalako nire ustez, ba ze xxx noa Bilbora eta badakit Bilbon gehixen batek erderaz eitxen dabela baina gure barik igual euskeraz daki eta esatezu “j,o ta zegaitzik ez dotzat emon aukerie”, baina lehenengo berbie erderara. Zegaitzik? errespetue ez faltetiarren.*

But it is a matter of not disrespecting [the other], I think, because xxx when I go to Bilbao I know that the majority speaks Spanish but maybe, somebody speaks Basque and you tell to yourself “damn it, why didn't I give [him/her] the opportunity?” but the first word [comes] in Spanish. Why? Not to disrespect [them].

Gernika, native, female, 27

These overt commentaries on the use of Basque show that many speakers (especially those who speak the Standard variety) feel some sort of pressure in speaking Basque in a way that has been claimed to be “the correct” way. In failing to do so, their status as authentic members of the Basque society feels questioned. A mechanism to avoid to such illegitimacy is to switch (deliberately or unconsciously) into Spanish, a common tongue for all speakers in the Basque Autonomous Community. Interestingly, the reality behind *Iparralde*, or the Basque-French speaking territories is quite different in terms of social evaluations towards Basque DOM as it is explained in the next section.

5.3.2. Overt attitudes of Basque DOM among Basque-French bilinguals

With respect to attitudes towards Basque DOM in the French speaking territory, most Basque-French speakers recognized that Basque DOM is a feature used in the Basque-

Spanish speaking area. Some speakers reported to find such feature an ‘error’ whereas others referred to it as a feature of ‘Southern Basque’, Spanish-speaking Basque territory, even in the Standard variety. Interestingly, everybody who participated in this study showed positive attitudes towards Basque DOM regardless of its status as an ‘error’. By positive attitude, it is understood that the guise who used Basque DOM (even in the Standard) was perceived as pleasant and a legitimate Basque speaker. Such commentaries are summarized in examples (18), (19) and (20):

(18) Interviewer: *Inoiz entzun duzu “ikusi dizut? [=SB_DOM]”*

Patxi: *Hemen Baiona ez... baina hegoaldean bai*

Interviewer: *Eta belarrira txarto?*

Patxi: *Ez ez, entzuna dut, ulertzen dut*

Interviewer: Have you ever heard “ikusi dizut? [=SB_DOM]”

Patxi: Not here in Baiona, but in the South, yes

Interviewer: And does it squeal your ear?

Patxi: No, no. I have heard it, I understand it.

Baiona, male, native 25

(19) Interviewer: *nabaritu dituzu ... eztait, zerbait nabarmena edo baten batena?*

Ainhoa: *hutsak bazirela, hutsak bazirela.*

Interviewer: *Zerekin?*

Ainhoa: *ergatiboarekin bai, berba batean edo. baina nori askotan erabiltzen zen, nori eta... eta gaizki iruditzen zait. Ulertzen dut, bai, “ezagutzen diot [=DOM]” bainan...*

Interviewer: *eta hemen entzun duzu, Baionan?*

Ainhoa: *ez, hegoaldean. Baina hori espainoletik ... nere ustez espainolaren eragina da.*

Interviewer: did you notice, I dunno, something noticeable in any of them?

Ainhoa: that there were errors, that there were errors.

Interviewer: With what?

Ainhoa: with the ergative yeah, in a word or so. But the dative was used a lot, the dative and... and I find it a mistake. I understand it, yeah, “to know to her = DOM]” but...

Interviewer: and have you heard it here in Baiona?

Ainhoa: No, in the South. But that’s from Spanish.... I think it is influence from Spanish.

Hazparne, native, female 24

(20) Interviewer: *Eta entzun dizkiozu holan akatsik edo?*

Endika: *A bai bai, batzuk baziren bai.*

Interviewer: *etaaa eztakit, belarrira min edo egiten dizu edo?*

Endika: *oh, ez ez ni jarri dut e... atsegina, beti 7. Eta zure laguna izango litzateke... euskaraz baldin bada, behintzat, beti lagun. Bo, hemen desertu hontan euskaraz norbait entzutea nahiz ta ongi edo gaizki edo, beti lagun.*

Interviewer: And have you heard any mistakes?

Endika: Oh yeah, yeah, there were some, yeah.

Interviewer: and I don’t know, did it hurt your ear or something?

Endika: oh, no no, I put mmm... pleasant, always 7. And would it be your friend... if it is in Basque at least, [we] will always [be] friends. Well, in this desert, to listen somebody speaking in Basque, whether it is right or wrong, always friends.

Baiona, male, native, 26

Furthermore, Basque-French bilinguals are also aware of the French influence into their Basque, but they attribute such influence as ‘normal’ in contact situations such as theirs. This is seen in the following examples when the interviewer asked participants whether they could point out any French influences onto their Basque and what their opinions towards such influence was:

(21) *Frantsesaren eragina badago baina ez daukate pisurik sozialki*

There is French influence, but they don't have any weight socially = they are not stigmatized

Kanbo, native, male, 26

(22) *norbaitek nahiz ta frantsesez edo sartu edo akatsak egin, aurrera aurrera!*

if somebody even if they introduce French words or make mistakes, continue, continue!

Baiona, male, native, 26

(23) *au pays basque il y a trois langues, sinon il y a le français l'espagnol et l'euskara, ouais et c'est normal de de l'arranger parce que euh (...), c'est normal qu'il seeee nahasketa (...) du coup je dis.*

In the Basque Country there are three languages, right, there is French, Spanish and Basque, yes, and it is normal to mix them, because mmm... it is normal that they... mix, so I think.

Baiona, female, native, 26

Despite the positive attitudes towards language mixing between Romance languages and Basque, tolerance for certain mistakes do not go unnoticed or under-evaluated either. Notice that in example (2), Ainhoa made a comment about making 'mistakes' in Basque with the ergative case marker. This commentary was common among French-Basque speakers in the sense they attributed the omission of the ergative case marker *-k* to *euskaldunberriak*, or L2 speakers of Basque. Attitudes towards this feature were varied. There were some speakers that did not provide any overtly negative commentaries towards this feature. Interestingly, others mentioned that the severity of such mistake depends on *who* uses it; whereas *euskaldunberriak* (L2 speakers) could be excused from

such mistake, *euskaldunzaharrak* not using the ergative case marker is considered a more severe mistake:

(24) Gorka: *dans les classes on peut écouter bah il y avait le ni et le nik, Nor-Nork, voilà ça ça me ça me choque un peu mais, en euskaldunberri beh ça peut se pardonner. Par contre voilà quand c'est euskaldunzahar qui fait ça bon ça passé, plus ou moins bien.*

Interviewer: *c'est plus grave, n'est pas?*

Gorka: *voilà.*

Gorka: in classes you can hear, well, there is ni (absolutive) and nik (ergative) Absolutive-Ergative, right, and that upsets me a little, but you can excuse a euskaldunberri (L2) with that. On the other hand, right, when it is a euskaldunzahara (L1) who says that, well, that can pass, more or less.

Interviewer: it is more severe, isn't it?

Gorka: right.

Itxassou, native, male 26

In summary, results from the debriefing interview with Basque-French bilinguals show that some of them are aware of Basque DOM as a variant common in the Spanish-speaking territories. However, no evidence was found towards the status of Basque DOM as a stigmatized variant even among those who perceived it as a mistake. Beyond Basque DOM, not using the ergative case system appropriately was perceived as a mistake most common among L2 speakers but such mistake is not necessarily condemnable. In the Spanish-Basque contact situation, instead, not speaking 'correctly' was condemnable. These results somehow suggest that the efforts of learning Basque in the French speaking territory are quite praised whereas those who are perceived as speaking 'wrong' in the Spanish Basque Country are considered 'less Basque'. Finally, it was shown that whereas French influence in Basque was not completely stigmatized and regarded a normal consequence of language contact, not using the ergative case marker among L1 speakers

is a condemnable mistake.

5.4. Discussion

Previous sections have presented oral production results of Basque DOM (gathered by means of elicited production task) as well as the cover and overt attitudes towards Basque DOM among Basque-Spanish and Basque-French bilinguals. In order to better synthesize these results, the following section situates the major findings by exploring each research question.

5.4.1. Basque DOM and the *tactic of intersubjectivity*

The fourth research question pursued in the present dissertation was targeted with the aim to understand how linguistic ideologies affect the social meaning and use of Basque DOM. Results from the covert and overt attitudes have shown that the meaning of Basque DOM is contingent upon the dialect in which Basque DOM is produced; Gernika speakers perceived Gernika Basque DOM as a ‘faulty’ way of speaking their own dialect. However, other speaker did not perceive Gernika Basque DOM as an ‘error’ but a legitimate feature of a regional dialect. On the other hand, all Basque-Spanish speakers perceived Standard Basque DOM as ‘wrong’. Interestingly, although both features are regarded as ‘mistakes’ by their own speakers, Gernika Basque DOM did show any signs of being a non-authentic marker of Basque identity, whereas Standard Basque DOM was regarded unpleasant to hear, and held a very stigmatized status which is defined by its lack of an ‘authentic’ feature of Basque identity. As such, the social meaning behind Basque DOM is also a clear representation of the social meaning of its speakers that represents the ideologies behind the nature of an ‘authentic’ Basque identity.

In order to better capture the mechanisms behind its social status as either an authentic or non-authentic Basque identity marker, the data was analyzed using Bucholtz and Hall’s (2004) model of *Tactics of Intersubjectivity*. Recall from chapter 1 that the goal of such model is to understand *how* and *why* identities are formed as it pertains to

language. The model conforms to three tactics, which are subdivided in polarized terms: *adequation and distinction*, *authentication and denaturalization* and *authorization and illegitimation*.

The first pair of tactics, *adequation and distinction* is the first component of the model in which *adequation* involved “in the pursuit of socially recognized sameness” (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004: 383) whereas *distinction* is seen as the process by which differences are underscored. *Adequation* as such, recognizes the relation that establishes commensurable sameness between groups. In the case of the Basque Country, the establishment of a unified language that represents an imaginary nationhood may represent the process of *adequation*. As such, the creation and incorporation of a Standardized variety of Basque could be regarded as the socially recognizable basis of an identity organization which represents what the famous Basque poet Joxean Artze established as an important pillar of a Basque identity: *euskara da euskaldun egiten gaituena* ‘it is Basque what makes us Basque’. *Distinction*, understood as the converse of *adequation*, is the mechanism by which differences are reproduced. Whether distinction involves domination or a way to resist such domination, *distinction* within the Basque community could be regarded as the notorious dichotomy between a *euskaldunzahar*, understood as native speaker or a *euskaldunberri*, deemed to refer to somebody who is a ‘new Basque’ or second language speaker of Basque (Eusko Jaurkitza, 2008).

The second pair of tactics, *authentication and denaturalization*, involves in creating an identity that is valued either as credible or not genuine. In this respect, one of the important aspects of *authentication* is that it focuses on the agentive process to assert a genuine existence. As shown in Chapter 1, the process of *authentication* has been mainly studied as the insertion of a national language within a nation-state, because it involves in recreating and rewriting the history of language that is attached to its culture. In such cases, the variety of the language that gets institutionalized is asserted as the most authentic, generally also attaching such notions of ‘authentication’ to its speakers. As for the case of Basque, it can be suggested that the creation of a *unified Basque* could be regarded as a process of *authentication* at the institutional level, but *authentication* at the

societal level seems varied. This is because Standard Basque enjoys a great of visibility at the education level as well as in media broadcasting. However, results in the match-guise show that Standard Basque, is considered a rather artificial variety vis-à-vis the regional variety of Gernika Basque, especially among Gernika Basque speakers and early sequential bilinguals. On the contrary, Gernika Basque enjoyed a more authentic status. This authenticity has been previously argued to be a recontextualization of Arana's ideology that understood an authentic Basque identity in terms of its racial ancestry (Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2013). Today, the value lays not in racial ancestry but in the language itself, more specifically, the regional variety, or 'the variety of the home' which serves as a way to differentiate 'authentic' Basques from the 'enforced governmentality' of the Basque Academy (Urla, 2012).

It is important to mention that the status of the Standard variety as being a more artificial than regional dialects is also speaker specific, as previous research has shown that even speakers who find it artificial, it has its validity as a tool for mutual understanding as well as nation-building process (Amorrortu, 2000; Hualde and Zuazo, 2007; Urla, 2012; Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2013). However, the status of Standard Basque DOM is certainly a case of *denaturalization*, understood as the process whereby the 'artificiality' and 'non-realness' of an 'authentic' identity is highlighted. As it was shown in the results obtained in the match-guise experiment, not only was Standard Basque DOM rated as an 'error' across all speakers, but also as a non-authentic feature of Standard Basque. Even if Standard Basque was rated lower than Gernika Basque overall, the results for Standard DOM were significantly lower than non-DOM Standard Basque. Results obtained in the debriefing interview also showed that the negative commentaries towards Standard Basque DOM were attributed to a prototypical "L2 feature" with that holds a 'non-authentic' Basque identity status. The 'unrealness' of Basque DOM in Standard Basque comes as an artifact of its status as a contact-feature, which according to purist ideologies, becomes devaluated in this process of recreating an 'authentic' Basque identity that is recognized as a nationhood. As such, it can be affirmed that the lack of social stigma in terms of authenticity of Gernika Basque DOM is because this feature is linked to an 'authentic' Basque identity that has links with a Basque ancestry. However, at the expense of not having a regional dialect at their disposal, Standard Basque speakers

may be aware that their legitimacy as ‘true’ Basque speakers is contingent upon their linguistic choices, which distancing from the establishes norm, could be severely excoriated.

The third pair of tactics, *authorization and illegitimation*, involves the legitimation or conversely, the illegitimation of an identity through institutional authority. Often times, authorization has been discussed in terms of the allowance of a particular language to serve as the official language of the state. In the case of Basque, *authorization* can be regarded as the act of implementing Standard Basque as the co-official language of the Basque Autonomous Community, which will serve as an imaginary legitimate authenticity of the Basque nationhood. However, these imagined identities that emerge through standardization process have often been contested (Silverstein, 2000; Gal, 2006). This is certainly the case of Basque; as it was shown in the matched guise results, the standardization of Basque has been contested as the legitimate way of speaking with respect to an authentic Basque identity, consequently converting Standard Basque as a ‘lower’ linguistic variety in that respect. When it comes to Standard Basque speakers, they find themselves at the myriad of either conforming linguistic forms created by the institutional power, or achieve greater Basque legitimacy by adopting a regional dialect. When it comes to contact features, the legitimacy of Standard Basque speakers automatically obtains severe social evaluation for their already lack of authenticity status, whereas regional dialects speakers such as Gernika speakers, are allowed to use contact features (such as DOM) at the expense that their legitimacy as ‘true’ members of the Basque society is not being questioned.

5.4.2. Consequences of the ideologies behind Basque DOM

The fifth research question pursued in this dissertation aimed to understand how such ideologies affect the use of Basque DOM. With respect to the use of Basque DOM, production results showed that there was a task effect; the use of Basque DOM was much lower in the elicited production task than in the sociolinguistic interviews. For instance Gernika Basque speakers produced 36.8 % of Basque DOM in the sociolinguistic

interviews whereas they showed an overall rate of 16.3 % in the elicited production task. Similarly, Bilbao speakers produced 21.1 % of Basque DOM in the sociolinguistic interviews but an overall rate of 8 % was found in the elicited production task. Interestingly, there was a gender effect in the Gernika group, with male speakers producing a high rate of 28.2 % and females producing a low rate of 11.7 % of DOM. These results are consistent with Labov's notion of *Gender Paradox*, which states that to "women deviate less than men from linguistic norms when the deviations are overtly proscribed, but more than men when the deviations are not proscribed" (Labov, 2001: 367). Consistently, Basque DOM has shown to be regarded a 'faulty' way of speaking, both in Gernika Basque (among their speakers) and in Standard Basque among the respective speakers of its dialect. This effect is possibly due to the proscribed nature of the variation as an ungrammatical variant of the Basque grammar (Zubiri, 1991). The overall lower rates of Basque DOM in the elicited production task as well as the gender effect in the elicited production task (but not in the sociolinguistic interviews) could be regarded as evidence towards the claim that the use of Basque DOM is conditioned by its social stigmatization.

With respect to the use of Basque DOM in the spontaneous speech of Basque, results showed that Basque DOM is produced among those with the highest and lowest proficiency of Basque, that is, among speakers of the regional dialect of Gernika and among L2-intermediate speakers of Standard Basque. At first glance, these results may be contradictory according to models of contact linguistics (Mougeon et al., 2005; Poplack and Levy, 2010) which predicts that if a contact case is there to be made, the variant at hand should be widespread among those with the highest degree of contact. As such, the high rates of Basque DOM among L2-intermediate speakers confirm the possibility of Basque DOM being a contact feature, but the high rates of Basque DOM in Gernika Basque may not. It suffices to reiterate that, as it was shown in chapter 4, the mechanisms behind the use of DOM in these two populations was different and it has been postulated that the use of DOM in Gernika Basque is a quite rather 'older' phenomenon. Interestingly, as the proficiency of Basque increases among Standard Basque speakers,

the use of DOM decreases. Here, we explain two possibilities that are not necessarily mutually exclusive as to why this could be.

The first possibility as to why the use of Basque DOM is much lower among L2-advanced and early sequential bilinguals has probably to do with the input that *Batua* speakers receive. Basque DOM is not a variant of the system of Standard Basque, which may predict that at their lack of exposure to this variant, standard Basque speakers should not be acquiring this feature. This could partially explain the very low rates of Basque DOM that was found among L2-advanced and early sequential bilinguals. However, intermediate L2 speakers showed as high rates of DOM as native bilinguals from Gernika. Their use of Basque DOM could be attributed to transfer from Spanish *leísmo*, which is evidence that intermediate speakers of Basque rely on their L1 (Spanish) to acquire Basque supporting thus the Full Transfer Hypothesis (Schwartz and Sprouse, 1994, 1996). As Standard Basque speakers are more exposed to the target language, results show that their use of DOM diminishes significantly, suggesting that proficient speakers assign input representations into their linguistic development.

The second possibility is reasoned in terms of Backus's (2012: 26) claim that "metalinguistic awareness has real influence on mental representations". Results on the attitudes towards Standard Basque DOM have shown that speakers are not only aware of the "ungrammaticality" of DOM but also of the social stigma that DOM carries with it. Research on L2 instruction has shown that L2 speakers acquire sociolinguistic competence in their development of the target language (Dewaele, 2007; Geeslin and Long, 2014). Sociolinguistic competence has been understood as the skill of using the appropriate form, dialect or register in different sociolinguistic contexts. Within the Basque case, the low rates of Basque DOM in their variety of Basque could be evidence that such speakers have acquired the notion that Basque DOM is not "an appropriate" within the Standard variety. However, sociolinguistic competence also refers to the acquisition of the *social meaning* of specific dialects and variants of such dialects. In this case, overt social stigma behind Standard Basque DOM is crucial to understand the use of Basque DOM within the Basque population in Bilbao; as their proficiency increases,

L2 speakers are successfully learning that the production of Basque DOM is potentially damaging for the integration and enactment of their 'authentic' Basque identity. At the expense of avoiding such social stigma, L2 speakers use their sociolinguistic competence in their production of Basque. This results in the structuring of their linguistic mental representation of reducing their use of Basque DOM to the minimum.

CHAPTER 6:

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This last chapter reviews the major findings in the present dissertation with respect to the use and perception of Basque DOM and situates those findings within the larger scope of the literature in contact linguistics. First, it shows major findings pertaining the use of Basque DOM and argues the patterns of use with respect to different bilinguals are the result of different processes. It then situates these data within wider theoretical discussions as to whether syntax can be borrowed. Then, it explores the role that language attitudes play in the patterns of use with respect of Basque DOM, especially among L2 speakers. Last but not least, it proposes another possibility as to why the use of Basque remains low despite a rapid increase of bilingual population in the BAC of Spain. The chapter concludes by discussing the limitations of the study and offers suggestions for future research avenues.

6.1. Basque DOM: replica grammaticalization and polysemy-copying

The major goal of this dissertation was to determine the processes by which Basque-Spanish bilinguals employ in their use of Basque DOM as a contact feature from Spanish. Results on the production of Basque DOM shows that Basque DOM is almost exclusively used among Basque-Spanish bilinguals. Similarly, the use of *leísmo* is restricted to Spanish, as little to no evidence has been found that French speakers use the dative clitic to mark animate direct objects. The few Basque DOM examples found among Basque-French bilinguals were attributed to the possibility of their parental input who are Basque-Spanish bilinguals and who possibly exhibit some patterns of Basque DOM. As such, these results are consistent with the hypothesis put forward by Oyharzabal et al., (2011:30); that the use of Basque DOM in the French-speaking Basque territories could be attributed to migratory forces from the Spanish-speaking Basque Country.

Results further showed that Basque DOM is mostly found among Basque-Spanish native bilinguals from Gernika and intermediate L2 Basque speakers from Bilbao. Although quantitative results show similar rates of Basque DOM in these two groups, the qualitative analysis showed that the linguistic factors that govern the variation behind the two groups are slightly different. Similarly, early sequential bilinguals and advanced Basque L2 speakers exhibit similar rates of Basque DOM and the linguistic factors that condition their use are not different. For a better illustration of these results, table 6.1 presents a synthesis of the major findings pertaining the use of Basque DOM in each bilingual group. On similar grounds, table 6.2 shows the major findings with respect to Basque-Spanish *leísmo*. Note that the table shows either the main effects found in each group or those factors that showed high percentages as favoring Basque DOM. That being said, the factors that are not listed in the tables are not meant to state that they these factors do not contribute to the use of Basque DOM, but they are of less importance and therefore are not being included for the sake of clarity, synthesis and comparisons.

Table 6.1. Summary of the major findings on the use of Basque DOM (in the oral interviews) across bilinguals

Native (Gernika)	ESB (Bilbao)	L2 -Advanced (Bilbao)	L2 –Intermedi. (Bilbao)
Animate (36,1 %)	Animate (15,5 %)	Animate (18,1 %)	Animate (32 %)
1 st _{sing/pl} (92,3 %) ***	1 st _{sing} (53,8%) **	1 st _{sing} (40 %)	1 st _{sing} (55,5 %)
2 nd _{sing} (95,2 %) ***	2 nd _{sing} (30,77%) **	2 nd _{sing} (75 %)	2 nd _{sing} (100 %)
3 rd _[+spec, sg] (21,1%)	3 rd _[+spec, sg] (15,3%)	3 rd _[+spec, sg] (4,2%)	3 rd _[+spec, sg] (19%)
3 rd _[+spec, pl] (8,6%)	3 rd _[+spec, pl] (22.2%)	3 rd _[+spec, pl] (0%)	3 rd _[+spec, pl] (50%)
Behavioral (77.8%) *	Behavioral (33.3%)	Behavioral (50 %)	Behavioral (62.5%)
Physical (48.7%) *	Physical (22.2%)	Motion (40 %)	Physical (33.3%)
	Causatives (33.3%)	Psychological (35%)	Motion (33.3 %)

Table 6.1. (cont.)

Native (Gernika)	ESB (Bilbao)	L2 -Advanced (Bilbao)	L2 –Intermedi. (Bilbao)
Past simple (51.8%) **	Past imperfect (50%)	Past Simple (25%)	Non-inflected
Pres_Simple (51.4%) **	Present Perfect (25%)	Present Perfect	(62.5%)
Pres_Perfect (38.5%) *	Past Perfect (14.4%)	(22.2%)	Past simple (47.1%)
		Present simple (20.7%)	Present simple (15%)
Null objects (57%) *	Null objects (25%)	Null objects (44.8%)	Null objects (47.1%)
Spanish verbs. (70.7%) *	Spanish verbs. (20%)	Spanish verbs. (28.6%)	Spanish verbs. (0%)
Null objects + Spanish verb (82.7%)	Null objects + Spanish verb (25%)	Null objects + Spanish verb (13%)	

Table 6.2. Summary of the major findings on the use of Spanish *leísmo* (in the oral interviews) across bilinguals

	Gernika	Bilbao
Rates <i>Leísmo</i> %	93.79 %	77.03 %
Animacy	3 rd person [+human] [+spec]	3 rd person [+human] [+spec]
Gender	Masculine (95.5%) Feminine (91.9%)	Masculine (95.2%) * Feminine (71.7%)
Number	Singular (93.4%) Plural (95.8%)	Singular (71.7%) Plural (90.5%)
Verb semantics	Behavioral (100%) Physical (100%) Perceptual (94.1%) Psychological (89.7%) Motion (87.5%) Possession (66.7%)	Behavioral (80%) Physical (81.3%) Perceptual (81.8%) Psychological (73.7%) Motion (71.4%) Possession (100%) ³⁹
Syntax (clitic doubling)	<i>Leísmo</i> + <i>a</i> -marking (25.7%)	<i>Leísmo</i> + <i>a</i> -marking (24.5%)

³⁹ This percentage corresponds to 2 uses of *leísmo* out of the total of 2 possession verbs produced.

With respect to ANIMACY, SPEC, PERSON AND NUMBER, Basque DOM results show that all bilingual speakers overwhelmingly used Basque DOM with first and second person. With respect to the third person, there is a continuum within bilingual groups; native bilinguals from Gernika and early sequential bilinguals from Bilbao show a similar pattern in the sense that they use Basque DOM with third person singular human specific objects. Intermediate speakers on the other hand, extend their use of Basque DOM to plural third person specific objects as well. Such results are consistent with the results obtained for the *leísmo* spoken in the Basque Country with respect to number; results showed that *leísmo* is relatively equally extended in singular and plural objects. The factor of ANIMACY, SPEC, PERSON and NUMBER exhibit the highest rates of neutralization, results showing that Basque DOM is used with all persons among L2-intermediate, providing further support for the claim that Basque DOM is the result of intense contact with Spanish *leísmo*.

With respect to VERB SEMANTICS, results show that all groups favored Basque DOM with behavioral verbs. Similarly, all but L2 advanced speakers favored Basque DOM with physical verbs. It is interesting to note that the group of verbs that most favored Basque DOM among Gernika speakers were also among those verbs that showed the highest rates in their use of *leísmo*, that is, behavioral and physical verbs. On similar grounds, L2 speakers from Bilbao showed higher rates of Basque DOM with verbs that also show higher rates of their use with respect to *leísmo*: behavioral and psychological. These results suggest that Basque-Spanish bilinguals largely (although not entirely) conform to their use of Basque DOM following their own trends in their respective patterns of use of Basque-Spanish *leísmo*, at least, as it pertains to VERB SEMANTICS. Not surprisingly, these verbs are also verbs that govern animate objects. However, the fact speakers show similar patterns in their Spanish *leísmo* and Basque DOM with respect to verb semantics suggests reinforces the claim that Basque DOM is the result of intense contact with Basque-Spanish *leísmo*.

With respect to OBJECT TYPE, results show that null objects overwhelmingly favor Basque DOM in all groups, with the exception to early sequential bilinguals from Bilbao. These results do not suggest that early sequential bilinguals do not favor Basque DOM when the object is null, but they did not show significant differences between null objects and overt objects. Taking early sequential bilinguals aside, these results are broadly consistent with Austin's (2006) proposal with respect to this factor. More specifically, Austin (2006) argues that the lack of phonological realization of an NP leads to a 'confusion' as to whether an argument functions as a direct or indirect object. The rationale behind this argument was that, in their silencing of the direct object, speakers would need further processing costs to retrieve the canonical case-marking patterns with respect to the argument structure of Basque, at the expense of having an extended neutralization between direct and indirect objects in Spanish, they mark animate direct objects with dative that surface as a pronominal agreement clitic in the auxiliary verb.

With respect to VERB TYPE, major differences were found: while native bilinguals and L2 advanced speakers overwhelmingly favor Basque DOM with Spanish verbs, L2 intermediate speakers did not show evidence that they use Basque DOM with Spanish borrowed verbs. Furthermore, it was shown that native bilinguals produce overwhelmingly more Basque DOM with third person objects when they borrow Spanish verbs, whereas L2 intermediate produce Basque DOM with third person objects with Basque verbs. Furthermore, another important interaction was found; most of the Basque-Spanish bilinguals (with the exception of intermediate speakers), showed much higher rates of Basque DOM when they borrowed Spanish verbs and when the object was null. These findings not only provide support for Austin's (2006) hypothesis that null objects open an opportunity for reanalysis, but that such reanalysis is further enforced by mechanisms of verbal borrowing.

In light of these findings, it was argued that different bilinguals show different contact-induced mechanism in terms of their use of Basque DOM. As for Basque-Spanish native bilinguals from Gernika, it was argued that their use of Basque DOM is a process of replica grammaticalization through reanalysis (Heine and Kuteva, 2010), also

arguing that these two processes are part of the same process with respect to Basque DOM in Gernika Basque; first, it was shown that the semantics of borrowed verbs from Spanish get transferred into Basque, which ‘activates’ a reanalysis of feature agreement through null objects. Second, once the activation is produced, DOM gradually grammaticalizes conforming to the rules of *leísmo* (Bybee et. al. 1994; Hopper & Traugott, 2003). As such, the dative case marker starts to be introduced in the most neutralized contexts, first and second person clitics, which are always animate. It then extends to third person specific objects. Finally, the dative case marker may begin to be used with Basque verbs with similar lexical/semantic content and argument structure.

As for L2 Basque intermediate speakers from Bilbao, it was shown that their use of Basque DOM is not necessarily the result of grammaticalization but polysemy-copying. More specifically, the process that instigates intermediate speakers to use of DOM is triggered by the semantics of the verb, that is, in the expansion of the verb semantics to take additional readings (as shown in their use of *hartu* ‘to take’ to refer to ‘hire’, as in Spanish *coger* ~ *contratar* ‘to take~to hire’). In their expansion of these semantic readings, L2 speakers transfer the syntactic content of the verb, which allows them to mark any animate direct objects with dative (as in Basque-Spanish *leísmo*). It was further argued that this type of process can not be categorized as grammaticalization. In order for grammaticalization to occur, at least a generational transmission pattern needs to occur (Bruyn, 1996, 2008; Hopper and Traugott, 2003; Brinton and Traugott, 2005). These results don’t tend to argue that polysemy copying cannot lead to grammaticalization, but a case for grammaticalization cannot be made with Basque L2 intermediate speakers due to their ‘short’ time span in their development of their L2 grammar. These results also show that the patterns of use of Basque DOM among these different groups pertains to two different historical depths of contact with Spanish; while Basque DOM is an ‘old’ phenomenon in Gernika Basque, the use of Basque DOM among intermediate speakers is a recent one.

6.2. Can syntax be borrowed?

The prospect of studying the processes that lead to different patterns of use of Basque DOM in different bilinguals could shed some light in the debate as to whether syntax can be borrowed or not. For instance, some scholars have argued that syntax or grammar cannot be borrowed (cf. Sankoff, 2002; Silva-Corvalán, 1998, 2008), whereas others take the view that *anything* can be borrowed (Campbell, 1993; Harris and Campbell, 1995; Thomason and Kaufman, 1988; Thomason, 2007). The different point of views with respect to syntactic borrowing come from the fact that it is always not clear-cut what constitutes syntactic borrowing or more importantly, how to conceptualize syntax. On the one hand, those who take a narrow definition of syntactic borrowing refer to syntactic borrowing as the transportation of a “pure form” (Prince, 1995 as cited in Silva-Corvalán, 1998). By “pure form”, Prince refers to the exact replication of the feature at hand. As such, syntax is understood in its formal form, which assumes that the lexical items that are being borrowed will also borrow the formal features associated with those lexical forms, and therefore, syntactic borrowing will be triggered from those features. On the other hand, those who take a broader sense of syntax define syntax as “the crystallization of use. In this use, linguistic forms that are appropriate to the message that the speaker wants to convey are “put together, juxtaposed, collated” (García, 1995: 53). This latter view suggests that grammar can be borrowed or/and replicated, depending on the communicative needs of the bilinguals (Ramisch, 1989; Matras, 2010). This latter view thus suggests that borrowing and replication are not necessarily the same concept; borrowing refers to the import of some linguistic material from the model language on to the replica language (Matras, 2010: 146), whereas replication refers to the ‘borrowing’ of some material from the donor language and adapting it (not necessarily as exactly) to the replica language using material from the replica language itself (Heine and Kuteva, 2005, 2006, 2010). As such, borrowing could be regarded as ‘direct’ import of some material onto another language whereas replication focuses more on the ‘adaptive’ nature of such borrowing.

As for the case of Basque DOM, the present dissertation makes the argument that

Basque DOM constitutes an example of grammatical borrowing at the expense of replicating material from Basque-Spanish *leísmo*. More specifically it is argued that Basque has created an innovative structure by replicating the functions of such structure. Thus, Basque DOM is the result of the incorporation an additive use pattern of already existing forms; the already existing Basque dative case marker *-ri* has developed a ‘new’ function that imitates that of its donor, Basque-Spanish dative clitic *le(s)*. It is important to recall that the incorporation of such new ‘use pattern’ is facilitated by verbal borrowings from Spanish (as it has been the case of Basque-Spanish native bilinguals, early sequential bilinguals and L2 advanced speakers) and further enforced by the fact that Basque allows null objects. Even in cases that Spanish verbs were not borrowed, as it was the case of Basque L2 intermediate speakers, the semantic content of the Spanish verbs are being transported through polysemy-copying. These results provide further evidence towards the claim that semantic and lexical borrowing contribute to the mechanisms of syntactic borrowing (Silva-Corvalán, 1995; Heine and Kuteva, 2010; Winford, 2010) and also to the fact that grammaticalization and contact are mutually exclusive, but work in interaction with each other (Heine and Kuteva, 2005, 2010).

On similar grounds, another discussion within contact linguistics is the role that structural similarity plays in grammatical borrowing. Some scholars have argued that typological distance could be a deterrent to cross-linguistic grammatical influence (Dewaele, 1998; Thomason, & Kaufman, 1988; De Angelis & Selinker, 2001) or that typological similarity may promote grammatical borrowing (Thomason, 2001; Winford, 2005). Others have postulated that it is the congruency between the structures that allow grammatical borrowing (Silva-Corvalán, 1997; Field, 2002; Loebell and Bock, 2003). The present dissertation provides some evidence towards the claim that structural overlap between languages may facilitate grammatical borrowing. The evidence comes from the fact that the third person pronoun *le(s)* in Basque Spanish is an agreement marker (Franco, 1993; Ormazabal and Romero, 2007, 2013). Results in the present dissertation mostly confirm to these results with respect to the presence of *leísmo* and *a*-marking showing that Basque-Spanish speakers produced *leísmo* in its clitic-doubling form about 25% of the times. Similarly, the auxiliary verb in Basque is formed by pronominal clitics that double ergative, absolutive and dative arguments via *cliticization* and *agree* (Arregi

and Nevins, 2012). Results for the Basque data showed that although Basque DOM was more common when the NP was null, when it appeared overt, the auxiliary also encoded the appropriate dative pronominal clitic suggesting that agreement is an important aspect of Basque DOM. Interestingly, the use of *leísmo* was more extended in the Spanish of the Gernika speakers and so was Basque DOM. These results could be regarded as evidence towards the view that grammatical compatibility may facilitate grammatical borrowing.

However, a cautionary note with respect to such compatibility between both systems deserves further attention. With respect Basque-Spanish *leísmo*, there is some scholarly controversy as to whether this system emerged as a result of its contact with Basque (Landa, 1995; Fernández-Ordóñez, 1999, 2012; Tuten, 2003). More specifically, Fernández-Ordóñez (2012) proposes that the third person clitic paradigm of Basque Spanish possibly emerged in an interference context (p. 84) in which a large number of L2 Spanish speakers (L1 Basque) restructured the system in favor of gender neutralization. The fact that Basque-Spanish *leísmo* shows nearly categorical uses of *le* with all human objects, especially in semi-rural areas such as Gernika is suggestive that such gender neutralization is the result of long-standing contact with Basque. However, it still remains to be empirically determined how the use of *le(s)* as a form of *leísmo* became an agreement marker in Basque Spanish and further determine the possible mutual influence between Basque-Spanish *leísmo* and Basque DOM.

On a side note, results on the production of *leísmo* in Bilbao showed that some speakers conformed either to the *leísmo* patterns found in Madrid (the use of *le* with human masculine objects) or to the use of etymological patterns of Standard Spanish patterns (the strict use of *lo* and *la* with masculine and feminine direct objects, respectively) common in many parts of Spain. The use of these patterns in the Spanish spoken in the Basque Country could be due to two reasons: first, it could be that speakers are aware of the prescriptive norms imposed by the Royal Spanish Academy which bans the use of any deviations from the Standard (except the Madrid-based masculine *leísmo*) (Fernández-Ordóñez, 2012). Second, their lack of use of *animated leísmo* could also be attributed to dialect contact in Bilbao. Recall that the Greater Bilbao Area became an

industrial epicenter that attracted many Spanish monolingual speakers from other parts of Spain. It could be that some of the Bilbao speakers that participated in this study, having noted to have such ancestry, have adopted and maintained their parents' or grandparents' norms through intergenerational transmission. Again, future research will be able to test these hypotheses.

6.3. The role of attitudes in Basque DOM as a contact-induced phenomenon

The second goal of the present dissertation was to understand how ideological representations of contact-phenomena (such as DOM) affect the way different bilinguals use Basque DOM, shape social identity, and how this social categorization or grouping can affect the use of Basque at a larger scale. In order to answer this question, participants were administered an elicited production task (EPT) and a matched-guise experiment with subsequent questions that resulted in a debriefing interview. Results in the Basque EPT showed similar trends from their use of Basque DOM that was gathered by means of sociolinguistic interviews: Gernika Basque speakers showed the highest rates of Basque DOM (19.7%) as compared to Bilbao speakers (8.1%) and Baiona speakers (0%). However, the rates found in the EPT were much lower than those found in the sociolinguistic interviews. Such rate disparity is attributed to possible stylistic effects that are not only influenced by the prescriptive norms of Basque DOM being 'bad' Basque but also by the social evaluations of 'unauthentic' Basque that speakers attach to it.

The first indication that Basque DOM is bound to social stigma comes from the fact that female speakers from Gernika produced significantly lower rates (11.7%) of Basque DOM than males (28.2%) in the EPT. These results are consistent with Labov's notion of *Gender Paradox* which states "women deviate less than men from linguistic norms when the deviations are overtly proscribed, but more than men when the deviations are not proscribed" (Labov, 2001: 367). More robust evidence towards the claim that the use of Basque DOM deviates from prescriptive norms comes from participants' covert and overt attitudes. Results in the matched guise experiment showed

that Basque-dominant speakers from Gernika perceive Gernika Basque DOM as ‘bad’ Basque. Similarly, everybody considers Standard Basque DOM as ‘bad’, and unpleasant to hear. However, Basque DOM in Gernika was not regarded as a sign of ‘unauthentic’ feature, quite the contrary. This is possible because Gernika Basque is regarded as an authentic dialect altogether. Interestingly, Standard Basque showed lower rates of authenticity as compared to Gernika Basque, but Standard Basque DOM was considered a marker that not ‘an authentic’ Basque speaks. Furthermore, the correlation between *Basqueness* and ‘bad’ Basque showed that the authenticity of Standard Basque speakers depends upon whether one is also perceived as speaking it ‘right’ or not; if somebody is perceived using ‘bad’ Basque this person is also perceived ‘unauthentic’. As such, it is argued that Standard Basque speakers, who are considered less authentic speakers of Basque, may possibly find themselves with the pressure to show their ‘authentic’ Basque identity. Given the negative social evaluations against Standard Basque DOM, it was proposed that Standard Basque speakers avoid using Basque DOM so that their authentic identity is not fully questioned.

The social evaluations attached to Basque DOM, especially Standard Basque DOM may be interacting with the learning mechanisms of L2 speakers of Basque. Results showed that among the L2 speakers, those with the lowest proficiency showed the highest rates of Basque DOM. In this respect, as proficiency of Basque increases among L2 speakers, the use of Basque DOM decreases significantly. The lower rates of Basque DOM among Standard Basque speakers were attributed to the input they receive; a DOM-free Standardized variety. However, the higher rates of intermediate speakers could not be solely attributed to input, as these speakers are also mainly exposed to a DOM-free variety. In this respect, it was argued that in their “early” exposure to Basque, intermediate L2 speakers of Basque rely on their L1 (Spanish *leísmo*) to acquire Basque. This argument is consistent with generativist accounts of language acquisition such as the Full Transfer hypothesis (Schwartz and Sprouse, 1994, 1996), which suggests that the early stages of an L2 grammar are instantiated through L1. On the other hand, there was no evidence with respect to the Full Access hypothesis, an aspect of the same model, which claims that failing to assign input representations will consequently lead to restructuring at the expense of UG. Such lack of corroboration comes from the fact that

advanced speakers show significantly lower rates of Basque DOM suggests that L2 Basque speakers, assuming that the input they receive in Standard Basque is DOM-free, successfully assign input representations to their development of language.

Although the early stages of L2 grammar among the Basque-Spanish bilinguals in the present dissertation could be explained through generativist approaches to language acquisition, their behavioral changes in their development of their L2 Basque grammar could be better explained through functionalist approaches to language acquisition. More specifically, the sharp drop in the use of Basque DOM among L2 speakers was reasoned in terms of Backus's (2012: 26) claim that "metalinguistic awareness has real influence on mental representations". Having this claim in mind, it was argued that L2 speakers are not only aware of the "ungrammaticality" of DOM in the Standard form, but also of the social stigma of being a very 'unauthentic' marker of a Basque identity. In line with the research that shows that sociolinguistic competence as well as sociolinguistic meaning of linguistic variation increases with instruction (Dewaele, 2007; Geesling and Yong, 2014), it was argued that L2 speakers could be consciously restructuring their mental representations of the Basque grammar, at least, when it comes to Basque DOM. These findings are in line with a communication-based approach to language variation, one in which language is not only seen as a 'human faculty' but also as a social activity and goal-driven communication (Matras 2009: 3). At the expense of not having their identity questioned, it was proposed that L2 speakers apply their communicative and social competence in an effort not to use Basque DOM (or at least, to reduce its use).

With respect to functionalist approaches to language acquisition, results obtained in the present dissertation partially confirm these theories. Functionalist approaches to language claim that language structure emerges from language use (Bybee, 1985, 2001, 2006; Langacker, 2000; Tomasello, 2008). In the case of Basque DOM, it can be argued that the appearance of this structure is due to transfer from Spanish, especially among the intermediate group, not through language use. However, the lower rates found within the other Standard Basque speakers could be attributed to their exposure to the language as well as to their experience with language in society. Thus, Bybee's argument on grammatical knowledge could be applicable to explain the changes on the use of Basque

DOM among L2 speakers. More specifically, Bybee views the concept of grammar knowledge as an “‘automatized behavior’ whose resulting cognitive mechanisms are abstractions over one’s cumulative experience with language” (Bybee, 2008: 218). As Basque L2 speakers develop in their proficiency through use, they encounter overt negative commentaries regarding their ‘mistakes’ in Basque, being Basque DOM one such feature that speakers get “‘picked on’”. As such, speakers not only become aware that such feature is ‘ungrammatical’ but also that their use could put them at risk of being ‘judged’ as non-authentic members of the Basque-speaking society. Along with their experience of being Basque speakers, they are also negotiating their Basque identity in which certain contact features (such as DOM) play a significant role in their ‘authenticity’ identity enactment; not using Basque DOM is a metalinguistic effort that L2 speakers need to make, which on a daily basis, allows them to possibly automatize their linguistic behavior onto lowering their rates of Basque DOM usage.

6.4. The use of Basque remains low due to ‘linguistic insecurities’

With respect to the use of Basque in general, the social evaluations gathered towards Standard Basque DOM have important implications for the understanding of the low rates of Basque (as compared to Spanish and the rapid growth of Basque-Spanish bilinguals), especially in the Bilbao area. The gap between knowledge and usage has been a matter of concern within the language planning bodies for which some research has been devoted. For instance, Martínez de Luna (2013) showed that the key for the use of Basque was the form of transmission; people who acquired the language at home were more likely to use the language in other social domains than those who acquired it through schooling. Azkarate (2012) claims that the reason behind the low uses of Basque among the large L2 populations is because these speakers do not necessarily feel ‘comfortable’ enough in their competence to speak in Basque. Although it may be true that some speakers may feel that their Spanish is stronger, another way to interpret the idea of ‘comfort’ is through identity work, that is, ‘comfort’ may be socially mediated through the linguistic ideologies of BAC; *Standard Basque*-only speakers do not feel comfortable speaking in Basque because they do not feel comfortable having their

identity as an ‘authentic’ Basque speaker questioned. This is because ‘authenticity’ is the key element for self-categorization (Ortega et al., 2015) contributing to the generalized perception that those who only had access to *Standard Basque* are not ‘fully Basque’ (Rodríguez-Ordóñez 2013). More importantly, Basque DOM has been a key element in understanding notions of authenticity in the identities of those from the BAC. It has been shown that although Standard Basque is rated lower than regional dialects in terms of authenticity, contact features such as DOM has the overt social stigma of being ‘bad’ Basque and unpleasant to hear. The negative correlation between ‘bad’ Standard Basque and *Basqueness* shows that in order to achieve greater legitimacy, Standard Basque speakers are condemned not to use contact features such as DOM. In their possible belief that Standard Basque DOM is part of their linguistic repertoire, it is proposed that Standard Basque speakers, in fear of producing ‘unauthentic’ contact features such as Basque DOM and having their legitimacy as members of the Basque society questioned, avoid using Basque altogether.

6.5. Contributions, limitations and future directions

The present dissertation builds upon theoretical and methodological implications. From a contact-linguistics perspective, it was shown that Basque DOM is the product of a complex and intertwined relationship between universal factors, language specific factors and learning mechanisms of different bilinguals providing further support to the argument that grammaticalization and contact are not mutually exclusive, but work in interaction (Heinke and Kuteva, 2010). Ever since its emergence, the field of contact linguistics has been concerned in describing and theorizing different contact-induced phenomena that pertain to different contact situations (Weinreich, 1953; Thomason and Kaufmann, 1988; Thomason, 2001). A recurring theme in contact linguistics today is to propose empirical criteria for identifying contact-induced innovations or change (Thomason, 2001; Mougeon, et al., 2005; Poplack and Levey, 2010), which have proven fruitful to categorize and formalize trends that occur in different contact scenarios. Using those models as a theoretical basis, the present dissertation has been able to demonstrate that a single feature cannot be categorized as single mechanism. More specifically, the

present dissertation has been able to demonstrate that a single grammatical structure (such as Basque DOM), may seem equal in the surface, and has also prove that it could be the product of different mechanisms that pertain to different types of bilinguals. This means that the *processes* behind the production of a contact-induced innovation could be different within the same contact-scenario. As such, contact-innovations are not only contact-scenario specific but also bilingual-type specific. The incorporation of different types of bilinguals within the same contact-scenario is of uttermost importance if we want to advance our theory in understanding cross-linguistic and cross-speaker processes of contact-phenomena.

The study of contact linguistics has always intended to demonstrate that language attitudes towards the languages at hand could also shed light (not predict!) on the direction in which a possible change may occur. However, the study of language attitudes has mainly remained in the periphery of language contact as an exploration to demonstrate exceptions of previous tendencies (Thomason, 2001; Matras, 2009:58). More specifically, Matras (2009:60) claims that “the societal conditions of multilingualism and language attitudes will act as external constraints that will either allow innovative and creative use of language to spread within the community and become acceptable, leading to language change, or else they will block their propagation and so limit them to occasional occurrences in the discourse of individuals”. This same claim is echoed in Poplack and Levey (2010:399) who state, “individual attitudes toward (...) each of the languages *could* also affect the direction of change”. However, this dissertation has demonstrated that the overall attitudes towards each of the languages is not enough to explain the linguistic behavior of certain speakers as it pertains of Basque DOM as a contact-induced phenomenon. More specifically, the *key* is to study the individual attitudes towards the individual linguistic features under scrutiny, and situate them within the ideologies of the larger socio-political space, in order to locate how these specific attitudes interact within the processes of contact-induced phenomena.

Methodologically speaking, the present dissertation brings together a wide-array of tools that help understand contact-induced phenomena such as Basque DOM

holistically. For instance, the use of sociolinguistic interviews, specific of variationist sociolinguistic tradition, allows us to capture the most spontaneous aspect of speakers' speech. The elicited production task, common in second language studies, allows us to capture a more formal style of the language. The matched-guise experiment, common in social psychology, captures the unconscious beliefs of the speakers. Finally, the debriefing interview was used to compare those results to more overt attitudes towards linguistic phenomena. All these tasks have been proven fruitful in their respective linguistic fields, but it is in the combination of different methodologies that we are able to better understand the essence of contact-induced phenomena (Backus, 2014) as it pertains to the core question of *how* and *why* contact phenomena occur. This is because the study of contact phenomena cannot divorce that importance of “purely structural considerations (...) [from neither] the psychological reasons (...) [nor] the socio-cultural factors” (Weinreich, 1953: 44). As such, the present dissertation tries to humbly approximate towards the incorporation of a multi-disciplinary study of contact-phenomena that advances our theory on the interplay of language as ‘human faculty’ and ‘social competence’ that takes into account bilinguals’ learning mechanisms and the ability to implement societal norms (Matras, 2010).

Despite the intended contributions, the present dissertation also presents certain shortcomings that deserve special mention. One of the major limitations found in the present dissertation has to do with data collection procedures, which lead to a very unbalanced token distribution of Basque DOM across groups. One of the reasons why the data is so unbalanced is because the researcher has little control over what the participant is saying in the semi-directed interviews. An attempt to avoid such constraint, the researcher tried to bring up topics that would elicit human objects especially among people that the researcher already know. That was done by instigating them to talk about other acquaintances that they have in common such as “*Do you remember X from high school? I heard he has a new girlfriend!*”. This technique proved to be successful in Gernika, where the researcher is local and known to many of the participants. However, because the researcher also interviewed people that she never met before, such technique was not possible with all participants. Instead, they were invited to talk about a place or a

country that they have visited recently. Over the course of the conversation, the researcher asked questions such as “did you get to meet any local?” in order to prompt human objects. For some, this question instigated them to talk about their stories regarding their trips and people they have met but it was not the case for everybody.

Another reason behind the unbalanced data obtained in the present dissertation has to do with the amount of speakers that participated, as they were also not equally distributed. The group of participants that showed the biggest challenge was the older group in Gernika. Following the “snowball” technique through the social networks of the speakers, the researchers was introduced to older participants through family members. However, many of them did not want to participate because they reported that, in their absence of knowing Standard Basque, did not speak ‘good Basque’. The stigmatization behind their own dialects is the result of the implementation of the Standard variety, as has been reported in previous research (Urla, 2012). Similarly, some of the older people that participated in the study refused to take the matched-guise experiment because instigated insecurities in their abilities to read Basque when they were given the questionnaire. Most of the recruited people from the older group had little or no experience with Standard Basque and were illiterate in the language. Some agreed to participate and subsequently asked to be recorded as they elicited their responses orally. Although this was a quick solution at that time, it is not ideal to test their covert-attitudes because they could easily be tapping onto more overt attitudes. Hence, the results obtained from the matched guise in this population were not included in the present dissertation.

A possible way to address these limitations is to employ a more rigorous ethnographic data collection technique (Genzuk, 1999; Whitehead, 2005; Marshall and Rossman, 2006), one in which the researcher begins fieldwork by building rapport with older speakers. Some of the tasks would involve participating in culturally driven activities such as joining the local choir, dancing group or spending time in the café or helping them with agricultural work. As for the matched-guise experiment, a more

fruitful avenue to gauge into their cover attitudes would be to use Spanish in the questionnaire or develop minority language illiteracy-friendly experiments.

Despite the limitations, the present dissertation invites future research avenues. First, the present dissertation has focused on the use of Basque DOM as defined in Fernández and Rezac (in press) and has excluded dative-marking patterns in bivalent unergative verbs (such as *deitu* ‘to call’, *lagundu* ‘to help’ or *itxaron* ‘to wait’). As shown in chapter 2, these verbs have also been referred to ‘alternating verbs’ because the direct objects they govern can be marked with either absolutive or dative, regardless of animacy, and have been shown to behave differently in terms of syntax. Interestingly, alternating patterns seem to also correlate with the contact situation at hand: whereas Spanish-speaking Basque territories favor dative, French-Spanish territories favor absolutive (Euskaltzaindia, 1995: 212). Such alternation is attested as early as the 16th century (Monoule, 2011:266-267). However, it still remains to understand, albeit its syntactic differences, the relationship it has with Basque DOM in its development as a contact phenomenon. The hypothesis that the favoring of dative among Spanish-Basque bilinguals will open the possibility of grammaticalization of Basque DOM warrants further study. Interestingly, the so-called alternating verbs in Basque are also found to show many alternating patterns in the Spanish-speaking world for disambiguation purposes (Fernández-Ordóñez, 1999; DeMello, 2002) and historically, they were described as the first type of verbs of being used with *leísmo* (LaPesa, 2000). Whether such disambiguation holds true in Basque-Spanish remains to be studied as well as. Furthermore, a rigorous diachronic study of the development of *leísmo* patterns in Basque-Spanish is still warranted. Such study, along with the incorporation of an analysis of alternating into the study of Basque DOM will be able to shed some light on the hypothesis that *leísmo* developed as a contact-feature in the Spanish of the Basque Country.

Second, the present dissertation has solely focused on a single contact feature, Basque DOM, and future research would benefit from incorporating other contact-phenomena (Thomason, 2001: 93) in order to understand whether the same (or similar)

mechanisms apply to other morphosyntactic phenomena or those pertaining to the phonetics and phonology interface. The study of patterns of use as well as the attitudes behind those contact features will allow us to make wider generalizations about the mechanisms behind contact-induced phenomena and gauge a better understanding of the contact features that have (or are becoming) part of the norm within the Basque-speaking population.

Finally, it is important to mention that the role that attitudes play in the mechanisms of contact-induced phenomena is certainly not unique to the Basque-Spanish contact scenario. The increased scholarly attention pertaining to the Spanish-English situation in the United States has shown that by the third generation, the use of Spanish is taken over the majority language, English (Silva-Corvalán, 2001; Brown and Patten, 2014; Hurtado and Vega, 2004; Kim, 2016). Research on this population has also shown that the possibility of language shift could be attributed to several reasons, such as incomplete acquisition (Montrul, 2008, 2009, 2011; Montrul and Bowles, 2009), low literacy skills in the heritage language (Krashen, 2000; Anderson-Mejías, 2002; Cohen and Wickens, 2015) or identity purposes (Knight et al., 2009; Gonzales et al., 2009; Almeida, 2012). Whether the approach to language contact is a cognitive one (Montrul, 2010, 2016) or a social one (Otheguy and Zentella, 2012; Otheguy, 2016), applying notions of linguistic attitudes into the study of contact-phenomena in the case of Spanish in the US will facilitate a better understanding on the interplay between the cognitive processes that constraints language variation as well as the speakers' ability to implement societal norms that are ideologically mediated. It is hoped that the interdisciplinary approach to contact linguistics that is presented in this dissertation will prove fruitful in the application of similar research to other contact situations.

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APPENDIX A - LANGUAGE BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE

Number: _____

1. Age: _____

2. Gender: Female Male

3. Where do you live?

4. How long have you been living here?

5. Where is your **mother** from? _____. Grandmother: _____ Grandfather: _____

6. Where is your **father** from? _____. Grandmother: _____ Grandfather: _____

7. Where do they live? _____ For how long?

8. Do your parents speak Basque? YES / NO

9. Which dialect?:

Mother _____

Father _____

10. Where did you learn Basque?

- ☐ At home with parents.
- ☐ At school. Which model? A B D
- ☐ Euskaltegi / Workshops
- ☐ Street
- ☐ Others: _____

11. What age did you start learning Basque?

- ☐ Before 4
- ☐ Between 4 and 7
- ☐ After 7
- ☐ As an adult

12. What age did you start learning Spanish?

- ☐ Before 4
- ☐ Between 4 and 7
- ☐ After 7
- ☐ As an adult

13. What other language(s) do you speak?

14. Indicate the year(s) during which you took formal Basque language classes: _____

15. How long has it been that you have not taken any formal classes in Basque? _____

16. Rate how often you speak Gernika Basque on the following situations:

	Always				Never
Mother	5	4	3	2	1
Father	5	4	3	2	1
Sisters / Brothers	5	4	3	2	1
Partner (if applicable)	5	4	3	2	1
Grand-parents	5	4	3	2	1
Uncles-aunts	5	4	3	2	1
Cousins	5	4	3	2	1
School / University	5	4	3	2	1
Work	5	4	3	2	1
Friends	5	4	3	2	1

17. Rate how often you speak Standard Basque on the following situations:

	Always				Never
Mother	5	4	3	2	1
Father	5	4	3	2	1
Sisters / Brothers	5	4	3	2	1
Partner (if applicable)	5	4	3	2	1
Grand-parents	5	4	3	2	1
Uncles-aunts	5	4	3	2	1
Cousins	5	4	3	2	1
School / University	5	4	3	2	1
Work	5	4	3	2	1
Friends	5	4	3	2	1

18. Rate how often you speak Spanish on the following situations:

	Always				Never
Mother	5	4	3	2	1
Father	5	4	3	2	1
Sisters / Brothers	5	4	3	2	1
Partner (if applicable)	5	4	3	2	1
Grand-parents	5	4	3	2	1
Uncles-aunts	5	4	3	2	1
Cousins	5	4	3	2	1
School / University	5	4	3	2	1
Work	5	4	3	2	1
Friends	5	4	3	2	1

19. How do you rate your knowledge of Gernika Basque using the following criteria?

	Very comfortable			Not comfortable at all	
Spoken	5	4	3	2	1
Written	5	4	3	2	1
Comprehension	5	4	3	2	1
Read	5	4	3	2	1

20. How do you rate your knowledge of Standard Basque using the following criteria?

	Very comfortable			Not comfortable at all	
Spoken	5	4	3	2	1
Written	5	4	3	2	1
Comprehension	5	4	3	2	1
Read	5	4	3	2	1

21. How do you rate your knowledge of Spanish using the following criteria?

	Very comfortable			Not comfortable at all	
Spoken	5	4	3	2	1
Written	5	4	3	2	1
Comprehension	5	4	3	2	1
Read	5	4	3	2	1

APPENDIX B - PROFICIENCY TEST

PARTICIPANT: _____

SCORE: _____ / 24

1. Jaiki ohetik, seme, bazkaltzeko ordua da!

- a) Itxaron, ama, oso berandu sartu naiz ohean.
- b) Itxaron, ama, oso berandu sartuko naiz ohean.
- c) Itxaron, ama, oso berandu sartzen naiz ohean.

2. Egia al da Gorbea mendia erre dela?

- a) Bai, ezer entzun dut.
- b) Bai, zer entzun dut.
- c) Bai, zerbait entzun dut.

3. Zer esan dizu medikuak?

- a) Kirola egitea.
- b) Kirola egiteko.
- c) Kirola egiten.

4. Bai, ni lehenengo etxebizitzan bizi naiz, eta anaia goiko etxebizitzan.

- a) Beraz, zure anaia bian bizi da.
- b) Beraz, zure anaia bigarren bizi da.
- c) Beraz, zure anaia bigarrenengan bizi da.

5. Zein multzotan dago hitz bat tokiz kanpo?

- a) gaur, atzo, bihar, etzi, etzidamu.
- b) gona, galtzerdiak, soinekoa, izterra.
- c) kopeta, belarria, lepoa, sudurra, begia.

6. Gustatu zait Menchu Gal artistaren erakusketa.

- a) Nolako koloreak erabiltzen ditu!
- b) Nolako koloreak erabiltzen dituela!
- c) Nolako koloreak erabiltzen dituen!

7. Ados nago

- a) bileran esandakoa.
- b) bileran esandakoak.
- c) bileran esandakoarekin.

8. guraso eta seme-alaben artean ondo moldatzea!

- a) Hau zaila
- b) Zein zaila da
- c) Zein zaila den

9. Zein multzotan dago hitz bat tokiz kanpo?

- a) Altua, isila, jatorra, eskuzabala.
- b) Irakaslea, erizaina, arotza, ostalaria.
- c) Izeba, amaginarreba, koinatua, ahizpa.

10. Bihar ezin dut, baina

- a) beste egun batean gera gaitezke.
- b) beste eguna gera gaitezke.
- c) beste egunean gera gaitezke.

11. Ba, nire andregaiari ez asko gustatu pelikula hori.

- a) zait
- b) zion
- c) zitzaion

12. Gidabaimena ateratzea hain erraza , ez hainbeste lagunek huts egingo.

- a) bada / du
- b) balitz / luke
- c) balitz / zen

13. Interes zientifikoa , interes publikoa ere badute ikerketa-lanek.

- a) baino
- b) ez ezik
- c) ezik

14. Eraman fotokopia hauek Andoniri, zain dago eta!

- a) diezazkiozun
- b) iezazkiozu
- c) itzazu

15. Gazteek ez diote euren buruari baino begiratzen. Oso dira.

- a) berekoiak
- b) burutsuak
- c) lotsatiak

16. Euri-zaparraden ondorioz, ... izan dira Levante aldean, eta herri asko argirik gabe geratu dira.

- a) lehortiak
- b) uholdeak
- c) urtegiak

17. Ziri galanta sartu digu denoi! Hots:

- a) Animuak eman dizkigula.
- b) Damutu egin zaigula.
- c) Engainatu egin gaituela.

18. Lankideekin al zoaz oporretara? Aukeratu erantzun egokia.

- a) Lankideekin? Ezta ametsetan.
- b) Lankideekin? Ezta pentsatu ere.
- c) Lankideekin? Zoratuta nagoela.

19. Emango pozik, zuk zeureak utziko

- a) nizun / bazenizkidan
- b) dizkizut / bazenizkit
- c) nizekizuke / bazenizkit

20.Horrek ez du batere zentzurik. Esanahia:

- a) ez du ez hankarik ez bururik.
- b) buruan haizea baino ez du.
- c) ez da ez ur ez ardo

21.Zein dago gaizki? Harrigaria badirudi ere, horixe gertatu da.

- a) Ez da izango!
- b) Ez ezezu esan!
- c) Esatea ere!

22.Pozarren gindoazen Miren bisitatzera. Nik izugarrizko ilusioa nuen.

- a) gutxienez
- b) bidenabar
- c) aitzitik

23.”Zergatik ez diozu itzuli bere dirua?”

- a) Ezergatik
- b) Zergatik ez!
- c) Horratik!

24.Ba Daki horrek zer esaten duen!

- a) ahal
- b) ote
- c) omen

APPENDIX C - ELICITED PRODUCTION TASKS

Full target token set

Gernika Basque

N = 36

	Basque verb	Spanish verb	<i>English Translation</i>
[+ human]	Zigortu (1880) ⁴⁰ Bota (1700s) Ulertu (1500) Hartu (?)	Kastigeu (-) Expulseu (-) Konprendidu (1950) Kontrateu (-)	<i>Punish</i> <i>Expel</i> <i>Understand</i> <i>Hire</i>
[+human]	Ezagutu (1500) Itzi (1500) Zainyu (1850) Gure (1600)		<i>Meet</i> <i>Leave</i> <i>Look after</i> <i>Love</i>
Takes human and non-human			
[+human]	Eruan (1700) Aurkitxu (1550) Aukeratu (1700) Altxeu (1800)	Detenidu (1980) Topeu (1900) Elejidu (-) Aupeu (1920)	<i>Arrest</i> <i>Find</i> <i>Choose</i> <i>Lift</i>
[-human]	Gelditxu Aurkitxu (1550) Aukeratu (1700) Altxeu (1800)	Pareu (1900) Topeu (1900) Elejidu (-) Aupeu (1920)	<i>Stop (arrest)</i> <i>Find</i> <i>Choose</i> <i>Lift</i>
[+human]	Ikusi (1500) Entzun (1550) Laztandu (1800) Harrapeu (1550)		<i>See</i> <i>Hear</i> <i>Touch</i> <i>Catch</i>
[-human]	Ikusi (1500) Entzun (1550) Laztandu (1800) Harrapeu (1550)		<i>See</i> <i>Hear</i> <i>Touch</i> <i>Catch</i>

⁴⁰ An estimation of when it was borrowed (Taken from *Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia*) Note: (-) means that this lexical items are not attested in the dictionary but in the speech of native speakers in Gernika (Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2013).

Standard Basque

Full target token set

N = 36

	Basque verb	Spanish verb	<i>English Translation</i>
[+ human]	Zigortu Bota Ulertu Hartu	Kastigatu Expulsatu Konprendidu Kontratatu	<i>Punish</i> <i>Expel</i> <i>Understand</i> <i>Hire</i>
[+human]	Ezagutu (psychological) Utzi (psychological) Zaindu (psychological) Maite (psychological)		<i>Meet</i> <i>Leave</i> <i>Look after</i> <i>Love</i>
Takes human and non- human			
[+human]	Atxilotu Aurkitu Aukeratu Altxatu	Detenidu Topatu Elejidu Aupatu	<i>Arrest</i> <i>Find</i> <i>Choose</i> <i>Lift</i>
[-human]	Eraman Aurkitu Aukeratu Altxatu	Paratu Topatu Elejidu Aupatu	<i>Stop (arrest)</i> <i>Find</i> <i>Choose</i> <i>Lift</i>
[+human]	Ikusi (perceptual) Entzun (perceptual) Laztandu (physical) Harrapatu (physical)		<i>See</i> <i>Hear</i> <i>Touch</i> <i>Catch</i>
[-human]	Ikusi (perceptual) Entzun (perceptual) Laztandu (physical) Harrapatu (physical)		<i>See</i> <i>Hear</i> <i>Touch</i> <i>Catch</i>

Lapurdi Basque (Bayonne)

Full target token set

N = 24

	Basque verb	<i>English Translation</i>
[+ human]	Zigortu Kanporatu Ulertu Hartu	<i>Punish</i> <i>Expel</i> <i>Understand</i> <i>Hire</i>
[+human]	Ezagutu Utzi Sendatu Maite	<i>Meet</i> <i>Leave</i> <i>Look after</i> <i>Love</i>
Takes human and non-human		
[+human]	Gelditu Atxeman Aukeratu Altxatu	<i>Arrest</i> <i>Find</i> <i>Choose</i> <i>Lift</i>
[-human]	Atxilotu Atxeman Aukeratu Altxatu	<i>Stop (arrest)</i> <i>Find</i> <i>Choose</i> <i>Lift</i>
[+human]	Ikusi Entzun Hunkitu Harrapatu	<i>See</i> <i>Hear</i> <i>Touch</i> <i>Catch</i>
[-human]	Ikusi Entzun Hunkitu Harrapatu	<i>See</i> <i>Hear</i> <i>Touch</i> <i>Catch</i>

Full target token set

Spanish and French

N = 24

	Spanish Verbs	French Verbs	<i>English Translation</i>
[+ human]	Castigar Echar Comprender Contratar	Punir Expulser Comprendre Recruiter	<i>Punish</i> <i>Expel</i> <i>Understand</i> <i>Hire</i>
[+human]	Conocer Dejar Cuidar Querer	Connaître Quitter Soigner Aimer	<i>Meet</i> <i>Leave</i> <i>Look after</i> <i>Love</i>
Takes human and non-human			
[+human]	Detener Encontrar Elegir Levantar	Arrêter Rencontrer Choisir Lever	<i>Arrest</i> <i>Find</i> <i>Choose</i> <i>Lift</i>
[-human]	Parar Encontrar Elegir Levantar	Arrêter Trouver Choisir Lever	<i>Stop (arrest)</i> <i>Find</i> <i>Choose</i> <i>Lift</i>
[+human]	Ver Oír Tocar Atrapar	Voir Écouter Toucher Attraper	<i>See</i> <i>Hear</i> <i>Pet</i> <i>Catch</i>
[-human]	Ver Oír Tocar Agarrar	Regarder Écouter Toucher Attraper	<i>See</i> <i>Hear</i> <i>Touch</i> <i>Catch</i>

Full filler token set*Gernika Basque*

N = 24

Unergatives N = 8	Unaccusatives N = 8	Ditransitives N = 4	Psych verbs N = 4
Jolastu 'to play' Dantzatu 'to dance' Salteu 'to jump' Eskieu 'to skii' Korrika ein 'to run' barre ein 'to laugh' laban ein 'to slip' Hegaz ein 'to fly'	Jeusi 'to fall' Jazarri 'to sit' Harritxu 'to get surprised' Ibili 'to walk' Gelditxu 'to stop' Etzan 'to lay down' Altxeu 'to wake up' Jun 'to go'	Emon 'to give' Bidali 'to send'	Gusteu 'to like' Bururatu 'to occur' Adoreu 'to adore' Molesteu 'to bother'
		Deitxu 'to call' Jarraitxu 'to follow'	

Full filler token set*Standard Basque*

N = 24

Unergatives N = 8	Unaccusatives N = 8	Ditransitives N = 4	Psych verbs N = 4
Jolastu Dantzatu Saltatu Eskiatu Korrika egin Irri egin Irrist egin Hegaz egin	Erori Eseri Harritu Ibili Gelditu Etzan Jaiki Joan	Eman 'to give' Bidali 'to send'	Gustatu Bururatu Adoratu Molestatu
		Deitu 'to call' Jarraitu 'to follow'	

Full filler token set*Lapurdi Basque*

N = 24

Unergatives N = 8	Unaccusatives N = 8	Ditransitives N = 4	Psych verbs N = 4
Jolastu Dantzatu Salto egin Eskiatu Lasterka ein Irribarre ein Lerratu Hegan ein	Erori Eseri Harritu Ibili Geldituu Etzan Altxatu Joan	Eman Bidali	Atsegin Bururatu Maitatu Aspertu
		Deitu Segitu	

Full filler token set*Spanish*

N = 24

Unergatives N = 8	Unaccusatives N = 8	Ditransitives N = 4	Psych verbs N = 4
Jugar Bailar Saltar Esquiar Correr (Reír Resbalar Volar	Caerse Sentarse Sorprenderse Andar Pararse Tumbarse Levantarse Irse	Dar Enviar Llamar Seguir	Gustar Ocurrir Adorar Molestar

Full filler token set*French*

N = 24

Unergatives N = 8	Unaccusatives N = 8	Ditransitives N = 4	Psych verbs N = 4
Jouer Danser Sauter Skier Courir Rire Glisser Voler	tomber s'asseoir s'étonner marcher arrêter s'allonger s'élever s'en aller	Donner Envoyer téléphoner suivit	Aimer Venir à l'esprit Adorer Ennuyer

APPENDIX D - MATCHED-GUISE TASK

Stimuli: Target guises

Example 1: Stimuli Gernika Basque (DOM)

Beste egunien nire amak kalera urten banien **Aneri ikusitzon** pasioan beran aitxegaz. **Txakurreri ataratzon** ta hau be oso pozik egon zan, azkenien eguzkixek urten ban ta. Anek esantzon **Mikeleri ezagututzola** eta beragaz hasi dala urtetan. Mutile ingenierue da eta nahiz ta hile batzuk urtetan egon **asko guretzo nobixo barrixeri**. Eztakit nik alkarregaz amaitzuko badabien ala ez, baia oso pozik **ikusitzon Aneri**.

Example 2: Stimuli Gernika Basque (non-DOM)

Beste egunien nire amak kalera urten banien **Ane ikusi ban** pasioan beran aitxegaz. **Txakurre atara ban** ta hau be oso pozik egon zan, azkenien eguzkixek urten ban ta. Anek esantzon **Mikel ezagutu dabela** eta beragaz hasi dala urtetan. Mutile ingenierue da eta nahiz ta hile batzuk urtetan egon **asko gure deu nobixo barrixe**. Eztakit nik alkarregaz amaitzuko badabien ala ez, baia oso pozik **ikusiban Ane**.

Example 3: Stimuli Standard Basque (DOM)

Aurreko egunean, kalera irtetzerakoan, nire amak **Aneri ikusi zion** paseatzen bere aitarekin. **Txakurrari atera zion** eta oso pozik zegoen, azkenean eguzkiak irten zuen eta. Anek esan zion **Mikeleri ezagutu ziola** eta berarekin harremanetan hasi dela. Mutila ingenieroa da eta nahiz eta hile batzuk elkarrekin egon, asko **maite dio mutil-lagun berriari berriari**. Ez dakit nik elkarrekin bukatuko duten edo ez, baina oso pozik **ikusi zion Aneri**.

Example 4: Stimuli Standard Basque (non-DOM)

Aurreko egunean, kalera irtetzerakoan, nire amak **Ane ikusi zuen** paseatzen bere aitarekin. **Txakurra atera zuen** eta oso pozik zegoen, azkenean eguzkiak irten zuen eta. Anek esan zion **Mikel ezagutu zuela** eta berarekin harremanetan hasi dela. Mutila ingenieroa da eta nahiz eta hile batzuk elkarrekin egon, asko **maite du mutil-lagun berria**. Ez dakit nik elkarrekin bukatuko duten edo ez, baina oso pozik **ikusi zuen Ane**.

Example 5: Basque Spanish (DOM)

El otro día, cuando mi madre salió a la calle, **le vio a Ana** paseando con su padre. **Le sacó al perro** y estaba muy contento ya que había salido el sol. Ana me dijo que **le había cononido a Miguel** y que había empezado a salir con él. El chico es ingeniero y aunque lleven saliendo unos pocos meses, **le quiere mucho al nuevo novio**. No sé si acabarán juntos o no, pero **le vio** que estaba muy contenta.

Example: English translation

The other day I my mother went out and **I saw Ane** strolling with her dad. She also **took her dog** out and he was happy, finally the sun came out. Ane told her that **she met Mikel** and that they started dating. He is an engineer and although they have been dating for few months **she loves him a lot**. I do not know if they will end up together but **I saw her** very happy.

Stimuli: Filler guises (ergative)

Example 6: Stimuli Gernika Basque (canonical use of ergative - transitives)

Zapatuen egun ona eitzen ban eta **Naiak** eta **nik** mendire jutie pentse gendun. Egun osoa kanpoan emongo gendulez **bakotzak** zozer ekarri biher ban jateko. **Nik** entsaladie ekarri neban eta **Naiak** okela frijidute. Lau ordu ibiltzen ibili eta gero mahai bat tope gendun eta jaten hasi ginen. Baserri ondoko **andriek** urten ban eta esazkun laster etxera juteko, eurixe hasiko zala. Ordun dana batu gendun eta etxera jun ginen.

Example 7: Stimuli Gernika Basque (underuse of ergative - transitives)

Zapatuen egun ona eitzen ban eta **Naia** eta **ni** pentse gendun mendire jutie. Egun osoa kanpoan emongo gendulez **bakotza** zozer ekarri biher ban jateko. **Ni** entsaladie ekarri neban eta **Naia** okela frijidute. Lau ordu ibiltzen ibili eta gero mahai bat tope gendun eta jaten hasi ginen. Baserri ondoko **andrie** urten ban eta esazkun laster etxera juteko, eurixe hasiko zala. Ordun dana batu gendun eta etxera jun ginen.

Example 8: Stimuli Standard Basque (canonical use of ergative - transitives)

Larunbatean egun ona egiten zuen eta **Naiak** eta **nik** pentsatu genuen mendira joatea. Egun osoa kanpoan emango genuenez, **bakoitzak** zerbait ekarri behar zuen jateko. **Nik** entsalada ekarri nuen eta **Naiak** okela frijitua. Lau ordu ibili eta gero mahai bat aurkitu genuen eta jaten asi ginen. Baserri ondoko **andreak** irten zuen eta esan zigun laister etxera joateako, euria hasiko zela. Orduan, dena batu genuen eta etxera joan ginen.

Example 9: Stimuli Standard Basque (underuse of ergative - transitives)

Larunbatean egun ona egiten zuen eta **Naia** eta **ni** pentsatu genuen mendira joatea. Egun osoa kanpoan emango genuenez, **bakoitza** zerbait ekarri behar zuen jateko. **Ni** entsalada ekarri nuen eta **Naia** okela frijitua. Lau ordu ibili eta gero mahai bat aurkitu genuen eta jaten asi ginen. Baserri ondoko **andrea** irten zuen eta esan zigun laister etxera joateako, euria hasiko zela. Orduan, dena batu genuen eta etxera joan ginen.

Example 10: Stimuli Spanish

El sábado hacía bueno así que Naia y yo decidimos ir al monte. Ibamos a pasar todo el día fuera entonces cada una tenía que traer algo de comer. Yo traje una ensalada y Naia trajo carne. Después de pasar cuatro horas caminando encontramos una mesa y empezamos a comer. La señora del caserío de al lado salió y nos dijo que nos fuéramos pronto a casa porque iba a llover. Entonces, recogimos todo y nos fuimos a casa.

Example: English Translation (transitives)

It was sunny on Saturday so **Naia and I** decided to go hiking. Because we were gonna spend the entire day out, **each of us** had to bring something to eat. **I** brought salad and **Naia** brought steak. After walking for four hours we found a table and we started to eat. **The lady** from the next house came and told us to go home soon because it was going to start raining. Then, we packed and left home.

Example 11: Stimuli Gernika Basque (canonical use of ergative - unergatives)

Arinaukoan, nire nebie hondartzara jun zan eta aintzineko lagun bategaz tope zan beran bi umiekaz. Harritxute geratu zan; 4 urtegaz ya **Andonik** uger eitzen ban. Seme txikixe, Mikel, ibiltzen baino ezta hasi. Halan da be, **Mikelek** korrika arin eitzen ban. Uretan apur baten jolastu bien **umiek** ta mantekaue jaten jun zien. Gero, **Mikelek** lo ein ban apur baten eta **Andonik** barriro ein ban uger potzuen. Azkenien danak kantzeute, etxerantz jun zien.

Example 12: Stimuli Gernika Basque (underuse of ergative - unergatives)

Arinaukoan, nire anaixe hondartzara jun zan eta aintzineko lagun bategaz tope zan beran bi umiekaz. Harritxute geratu zan; 4 urtegaz ya **Andoni** uger eitzen ban. Seme txikixe, Mikel, ibiltzen baino ezta hasi. Halan da be, **Mikel** korrika arin eitzen ban. Uretan apur baten jolastu bien **umie** ta mantekaue jaten jun zien. Gero, **Mikel** lo ein ban apur baten eta **Andoni** barriro ein ban uger potzuen. Azkenien danak kantzeute, etxerantza jun zien.

Example 13: Stimuli Standard Basque (canonical use of ergative - unergatives)

Aurreko egunean, nire anaia hondartzara joan zen eta iraganeko lagun batekin aurkitu zen, bere bi umeekin. Harrituta geratu zen; lau urterekin **Andonik** igeri egiten zuen jada. Seme txikia, Mikel, ibiltzen baino ez da hasi. Hala ere, **Mikelek** korrika azkar egiten zuen. Uretan jolastu zuten **umeek** eta izozkia jatera joan ziren. Gero, **Mikelek** lo egin zuen pixkat eta **Andonik** berriro igeri egin zuen, potzuan. Azkenean denak zeunden nekatuta, eta etxera joan ziren.

Example 14: Stimuli Standard Basque (underuse of ergative - unergatives)

Aurreko egunean, nire anaia hondartzara joan zen eta iraganeko lagun batekin aurkitu zen, bere bi umeekin. Harrituta geratu zen; lau urterekin **Andoni** igeri egiten zuen jada. Seme txikia, Mikel, ibiltzen baino ez da hasi. Hala ere, **Mikel** korrika azkar egiten zuen. Uretan jolastu zuten **umea** eta izozkia jatera joan ziren. Gero, **Mikel** lo egin zuen pixkat eta **Andoni** berriro igeri egin zuen, potzuan. Azkenean denak zeunden nekatuta, eta etxera joan ziren.

Example 15: Stimuli Spanish

El otro día, mi hermano fue a la playa y se encontró con un antiguo amigo y sus dos hijos. Se quedó sorprendido; Alvaro ya nadaba con cuatro años. El hijo pequeño, Miguel, acaba de empezar a andar pero aún así, corre muy rápido. Los niños jugaron en el agua y luego fueron a comer un helado. Después Miguel se durmió un poco y Alvaro se fue a nadar otra vez en el pozo. Al final todos estaban cansados así que se fueron a casa.

Example: English Translation

The other day, my brother went to the beach and he saw an old friend and his two kids. He was surprised: Alvaro could swim at the age of 4. The smallest, Miguel, he just started walking but he also runs fast. Kids played in the water and then they went to eat an ice-cream. After that, Miguel left for a little and Alvaro went back to swim in the puddle. At the end, everybody was happy so they went home.

APPENDIX E - MATCHED-GUISE QUESTIONNAIRE

Uste dut...

'I think....'

1) *pertsona honen euskararekin identifikatzen naiz*

'I identify with this person's language'

Bat ere ez

Guztiz

'not at all'

'totally'

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2) *pertsona hau entzuteko...*

'hearing this person is.....'

ez-atsegina

atsegina

'not pleasant'

'pleasant'

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3) *Pertsona honen laguna errez izan naiteke*

'I can easily be friends with this person'

Bat ere ez

Guztiz

'not at all'

'totally'

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4) *ikasketa-gabea*

ikasduna

'non-educated'

'educated'

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5) *bere lanean irabazten duena....*

'Has a low-paying job' 'has a good-paying job'

Oso gutxi

asko

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6) *EGA du*

'has EGA (Certificate of Basque Proficiency)'

Ezta pentsatu ere

Ziur

'of course not'

'absolutely'

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7) *bere euskara*

‘this person’s Basque is....’

<i>kutsatua</i>						<i>garbia</i>
‘contaminated’						‘pure’
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8) *Akatsak egiten ditu*

‘This person makes mistakes’

<i>Bat ere ez</i>						<i>Guztiz</i>
‘not at all’						‘totally’
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

9) *bere euskara*

<i>artifiziala</i>						<i>naturala</i>
‘artificial’						‘natural’
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10) *hirikoa*

‘from the city’						<i>baserrikoa</i>
						‘from a farm’
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

11) *Euskaldunberria*

‘L2 speaker’						<i>euskaldunzaharra</i>
						‘L1 speaker’
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

12) *giro erdaldunean*

‘lives in a Spanish						<i>euskaldunean bizi da</i>
Basque environment’						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

13) *Zenbat urte dituela uste duzu?*

‘How old do you think is this person?’

☐ 12-18 ☐ 18-25 ☐ 25-40 ☐ 40+

14) *Euskara non ikasi duela uste duzu?*

‘Where do you think has learned Basque?’

☐ Etxean ☐ Eskolan ☐ Kalean
‘at home’ ‘in school’ ‘in the street’

15) *Nongoa dela uste duzu? (herria, probintzia, euskalkia?)* _____

‘Where do you think is this person from? (town, province, dialect?)’

Ziur al zaude?						<i>Bat ere ez</i>				<i>Oso ziur</i>
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7			

16) Zein izan daiteke pertsona honen lanpostua? Biribildu aplikatzen diren guztiak.
 ‘What job do you think this person might have? Circle all that apply’

medikua ‘doctor’	abokatua ‘lawyer’	politikaria ‘politician’
irakaslea ‘teacher’	kutxazaina ‘banquer’	dendaria ‘shoopkeeper’
baserritarra ‘farmer’	kajera ‘cashier’	garbitzailea ‘cleaning person’

17) Pertsona hau euskalduna da
 ‘This person is Basque’

Bat ere ez ‘not at all’	Guztiz ‘totally’
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	

18) Pertsona honek euskara asko erabiltzen du
 ‘This person speaks Basque on a daily basis’

Bat ere ez ‘not at all’	Guztiz ‘totally’
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	

19) Pertsona honek erderakadak esaten ditu
 ‘This person uses barbarisms’

Bat ere ez ‘not at all’	Guztiz ‘totally’
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	

20) Orokorrean, pertsona honen hizkera gustoko dut
 ‘In general, I like this person’s language’

Bat ere ez ‘not at all’	Guztiz ‘totally’
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	

APPENDIX F - POST-MATCHED GUISE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

MODULE I: BASQUE IDENTITY

- What does it mean to be Basque?
- Is it important to speak Basque to be Basque?
- Can someone who was born in the BAC but does not speak Basque be Basque?
- What is the difference between *euskaldun* and *vasco*?
- What is a *maqueto*? and why?

MODULE II: BASQUE LANGUAGE

- What constitutes a *erderakada*?
- Why are they wrong?
- What is an example of *erderakada*?
- Who determines what is right or wrong?
- Has anybody corrected you?
- Who uses *erderakadak*?
- What is good or proper Basque?
- Do you think they should be corrected?

MODULE III: OPINIONS ABOUT LINGUISTIC CHOICES

- What do you think about Standard Basque?
- What do you think about people who speak Standard Basque or *erderakadak*?
- Do you think it is going to affect vernacular varieties somehow?
- Do you think there is a tendency for purism? What is your opinion on that?