



Universitat
de les Illes Balears

DOCTORAL THESIS

2020

**BILINGUALISM AND LANGUAGE CHANGE: THE
PRODUCTION OF THE PRONOMINAL CLITICS AND
THE DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING IN MAJORCAN
CATALAN AND SPANISH**

Amelia Jiménez Gaspar



Universitat
de les Illes Balears

DOCTORAL THESIS

2020

**Doctoral Programme of *Philology and
Philosophy***

**BILINGUALISM AND LANGUAGE CHANGE: THE
PRODUCTION OF THE PRONOMINAL CLITICS AND
THE DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING IN MAJORCAN
CATALAN AND SPANISH**

Amelia Jiménez Gaspar

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Pedro Guijarro Fuentes

Thesis tutor: Dr. Pedro Guijarro Fuentes

Doctor by the Universitat de les Illes Balears

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Dicen que al final todo llega, y parece ser cierto. Después de cuatro intensos años, dos operaciones, y muchísimas horas frente al ordenador y a cientos de libros, este sueño (que en ocasiones se convirtió en pesadilla) se hace realidad.

En primer lugar, quisiera agradecerles a las 51 personas que, de forma desinteresada, han formado parte de esta tesis doctoral, participando no en una, ni en dos, sino en más de tres ocasiones. Sin vuestra ayuda y vuestro interés, esta investigación no habría sido posible. Este trabajo también os pertenece.

En segundo lugar, quisiera agradecerle a mi supervisor, Pedro Guijarro, su perseverancia e insistencia para que avanzara en este difícil camino encaminándome hacia el resultado final. Gracias a él, además, tuve la gran oportunidad de conocer y de trabajar con Acrisio Pires, Natascha Müller y Laia Arnaus, con quienes aprendí muchísimo. Thank you, dear Acrisio. Dankeschön liebe Natascha. Gràcies, Laia.

El mismo reconocimiento es para Conxa Socías, quien ha vivido de primera mano mis bajones y subidones en este arduo camino. Ella es quien ha conseguido que la pasión no se apoderara de la razón. También quiero darle un especial reconocimiento a Sebastià Roig por confiar en mí y apoyarme en todo momento.

Esta tesis doctoral empezó en Wuppertal (Alemania) donde viví momentos inolvidables en el *Büro* junto con Claudia Kubina y Abira Sivakumar. Vosotras también formáis parte de esta tesis doctoral.

No me puedo olvidar de mis amigos de siempre: Marta, Noemi, Marga, Sandra P., Eva, Thao, Gil, Catalina, Laura, Marina; y de aquellos con los que empecé este camino y compartí tantos momentos en bibliotecas y conferencias: Sergio y Emanuela. En especial, quiero agradecerle, Marta, que hayas estado al pie del cañón conmigo, ayudándome en todo momento, sobre todo desde un avión.

DEDICATION

*A s'illa de Mallorca, sa nostra roqueta
A voltros, Joan i Júlia, que ja no hi sou, però sempre estau molt present
a mis padres y hermanos
y a ti, Luismi, por tu incondicional apoyo.*

PUBLICATIONS

- Jiménez Gaspar, A., A. Pires & P. Guijarro-Fuentes. (2017a). Bilingualism and language change: The case of pronominal clitics in Catalan and Spanish. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. (published online) <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2017.1333487>.
- Jiménez-Gaspar, A., P. Guijarro-Fuentes & A. Pires (2017b). Clitic Doubling in Majorcan Spanish and Catalan. In C. Vargas-Sierra (ed.): *EPiC Series in Language and Linguistics*, 2, 148-158.
- Jiménez-Garpar, A., A. Pires & P. Guijarro-Fuentes (2018). Bilingüismo y variación: juicios de gramaticalidad como evidencia de la preferencia por el vernáculo *AESLA*, num. 4, 305-314.
- Jiménez-Gaspar, A., A. Pires, & P. Guijarro-Fuentes. (2020). Transfer and convergence between Catalan and Spanish in a bilingual setting. In L. A. Ortiz-López, R. E. Guzzardo Tamargo & M. González-Rivera (eds.): *Hispanic Contact Linguistics. Theoretical, methodological and empirical perspectives*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, p. 180-211 [10.1075/ihll.22.08jim](https://doi.org/10.1075/ihll.22.08jim).
- Jiménez-Gaspar, A., A., Pires & P. Guijarro-Fuentes. (in press [2020]). Simultaneous bilingualism as a trigger of language change: Clitic doubling and differential object marking in Majorcan Spanish, John Benjamins.

ABREVIATIONS

Acc.	Accusative
BC	Balearic Catalan
CC	Central Catalan
CICA	Corpus Informatitzat del Català Antic (Computerized Corpus of ancient Catalan)
CLD	Clitic Doubling
CLLD	Clitic Left Dislocation
CLRD	Clitic Right Dislocation
C+V	Consonant plus vowel
Dat.	Dative
DO	Direct object
DOM	Differential object marking
NP	Determiner Phrase
EGB	Educación General Básica (Basic General Education)
ELF	Enclitic long form
ESF	Enclitic short form
ESO	Educación Secundaria Obligatoria (Compulsory Secondary Education)
IBESTAT	Institut d'Estadística de les Illes Balears (Institute of Statistics of the Balearic Islands)
IEC	Institut d'Estudis Catalans (Institute of Catalan Studies)
IO	Indirect object
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
MC	Majorcan Catalan
MS	Majorcan Spanish
PLF	Proclitic long form
PS	Peninsular Spanish
PSF	Proclitic short form
Ref. System	Referential System
SC	Standard Catalan
Seq.	Sequential
Sim.	Simultaneous
V+C	Vowel plus consonant

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of figures	10
List of tables	14
Abstract	18
CHAPTER 1: Introduction	26
CHAPTER 2: Bilingualism, Language contact, and Language change in and out of Majorca.....	37
2.1 Majorca: Historical, sociopolitical, and linguistic context.....	37
2.2 Societal and individual (simultaneous and sequential) Bilingualism	44
2.3 Language contact and language change: The case of Majorcan Catalan	48
2.4 The possible effect of extra-linguistic variables.....	52
2.5 Linguistic preference	57
2.6 The present dissertation	59
CHAPTER 3: Spanish and Catalan pronominal clitics and Differential Object Marking	61
3.1 On the concept of pronominal clitic and the emergence of Spanish and Catalan pronominal clitics.....	61
3.2 Spanish and Catalan pronominal clitics	69
3.2.1 Spanish pronominal clitics	73
3.2.2 Catalan pronominal clitics	75
3.3 Clitic Doubling in Spanish and Catalan.....	85
3.4 Differential Object Marking in Spanish and Catalan	89
3.5 Research questions and hypotheses	103
CHAPTER 4: Empirical study.....	110
4.1 Data collection.....	110
4.1.1 Synchronic data	111
4.1.1.1 Participants	112
4.1.1.2 Spontaneous interviews	122
4.1.1.3 Ethnolinguistic questionnaire	123
4.1.1.4 Elicited data.....	124

4.1.2 Diachronic data _____	127
4.1.2.1 Old Catalan texts from the 13th to 16th centuries (<i>CICA</i>)_____	127
4.1.2.2 Old Spanish texts from the 18th century (<i>Corpus Mallorca</i>) _____	128
CHAPTER 5: Results.....	130
5.1 First- and second-person pronominal clitics in Majorcan Catalan and Spanish _____	132
5.1.1 Production of Majorcan Catalan first- and second-person pronominal clitics	133
5.1.2 Production of Majorcan Spanish first- and second-person pronominal clitics	143
5.1.3 Diachronic data from Catalan and Spanish _____	149
5.1.3.1 First- and second-person pronominal clitics in Old Catalan _____	150
5.1.3.2 First- and second-person pronominal clitics in Old Spanish _____	156
5.1.4 Synthesis of the findings on first- and second-person pronominal clitics____	159
5.2 Third-person pronominal clitics in Majorcan Catalan and Spanish _____	160
5.2.1 Production of Majorcan Catalan third-person pronominal clitics _____	160
5.2.2 Production of Majorcan Spanish third-person pronominal clitics _____	180
5.3 Elicited data questionnaire in Catalan pronominal clitics _____	184
5.3.1 Grammaticality judgments _____	188
5.3.2 Linguistic preferences (selection of peninsular and non-peninsular forms) _	213
5.4 Clitic Doubling and Differential Object Marking in Majorcan Spanish _____	229
5.4.1 Clitic doubling with [+animate] NPs in Majorcan Spanish _____	233
5.4.2 Production of DOM with non-dislocated objects in Majorcan Spanish_____	240
CHAPTER 6: Discussion and Conclusion	245
6.1 First- and second-person pronominal systems in MC and MS _____	250
6.2 Third-person pronominal systems in MC and MS _____	257
6.3 Differential Object Marking in Majorcan Spanish _____	260
6.4 Future directions _____	263
References	265
APPENDIX 1: Distribution of the participants of this dissertation across social variables	278
APPENDIX 2: Ethnolinguistic questionnaire.....	281

APPENDIX 3: Semi-guided interview.....	285
APPENDIX 4: Elicited data questionnaire	287

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Three binary parameters to explain the development of pronominal clitics (Klavans, 1985).....	63
Figure 2. Distribution of the <i>nos</i> variants along the Spanish areas in ALPI (Enrique-Arias, 2019: 49)	78
Figure 3. Distribution of the <i>a</i> -preposition and the <i>a</i> -marking	91
Figure 4. Number of participants across gender.....	115
Figure 5. Number of speakers across age	115
Figure 6. Number of speakers across their level of education	117
Figure 7. Speakers' area of residence	118
Figure 8. Speakers' distribution across the area of residence	119
Figure 9. Number of participants across the type of bilingualism.....	119
Figure 10. Number of speakers across linguistic preference	121
Figure 11. Production of first- and second-person pronominal clitics in Majorca	136
Figure 12. Production of first-person plural pronominal clitic in Catalan by bilinguals of Majorca.....	138
Figure 13. Distribution of CC and MC first- and second-person pronominal clitics across education level.....	142
Figure 14. Production of first- and second-person pronominal clitics in Majorca	142
Figure 15. Production of MC and CC pronominal clitics across speakers' linguistic preference	143
Figure 16. Production of first- and second-person pronominal clitics in MS.....	145
Figure 17. Production of first- and second-person pronominal clitics in.....	146
Figure 18. Syntactic position of first- and second-person pronominal clitics	148
Figure 19. Distribution of tokens across peninsular and non-peninsular forms.....	153

Figure 20. Frequency of the proclitic first-person pronominal clitic allomorphs in Old Catalan during the 13th-17th centuries	155
Figure 21. Frequency of the enclitic first-person pronominal clitic allomorphs in Old Catalan during the 13th-17th centuries	156
Figure 22. Frequency of the first- and second-person clitics in MS during.....	158
Figure 23. Production of IO third-person pronominal clitics in MC	164
Figure 24. Production of IO pronominal clitics in MC across	168
Figure 25. Production of DO third-person pronominal clitics in MC	169
Figure 26. Production of DO masculine plural forms in Majorca across	174
Figure 27. Production of DO masculine plural forms in Majorca across	175
Figure 28. Production of DO feminine plural forms in Majorca across	176
Figure 29. Production of DO feminine plural forms in Majorca across the speakers' linguistic preference	176
Figure 30. Production of DO neutral and masculine pronominal clitics in MC.....	178
Figure 31. Simultaneous bilinguals' grammaticality judgments of first- and second-person pronominal clitics	191
Figure 32. Sequential bilinguals' grammaticality judgments of first- and second-person pronominal clitics	192
Figure 33. Grammaticality judgments of first- and second-person pronominal clitics across age	193
Figure 34. Grammaticality judgments of peninsular uses across the area of residence	194
Figure 35. Grammaticality judgments of peninsular uses across linguistic preference	195
Figure 36. Grammaticality judgments about peninsular and non-peninsular	195
Figure 37. Grammaticality judgments about the non-peninsular first plural	197

Figure 38. Grammaticality judgments for non-peninsular first-person plural enclitic, <i>-mos</i> , across the type of bilingualism	198
Figure 39. Grammaticality judgments of non-peninsular third-person pronominal clitics across the type of bilingualism	201
Figure 40. Grammaticality judgments of peninsular third-person pronominal	202
Figure 41. Grammaticality judgments of the peninsular third-person pronominal clitics from simultaneous bilinguals.....	203
Figure 42. Grammaticality judgments of the non-peninsular third-person.....	204
Figure 43. Grammaticality judgments of peninsular third-person pronominal	206
Figure 44. Grammaticality judgments of the non-peninsular third-person.....	207
Figure 45. Grammaticality judgments of non-peninsular third-person.....	208
Figure 46. Grammaticality judgments of non-peninsular third-person.....	209
Figure 47. Grammaticality judgments of non-peninsular third-person.....	209
Figure 48. Grammaticality judgments of non-peninsular neutral clitic <i>ho</i> across the type of bilingualism	211
Figure 49. Grammaticality judgments of non-peninsular third-person.....	212
Figure 50. Selection of peninsular and non-peninsular first- and second-person pronominal clitics across the type of bilingualism	216
Figure 51. Selection of first-person plural pronominal clitics in Catalan	217
Figure 52. Selection of peninsular and non-peninsular first- and.....	218
Figure 53. Selection of peninsular and non-peninsular first- and second-person pronominal clitics across the area of residence.....	219
Figure 54. Selection of peninsular and non-peninsular first- and.....	219
Figure 55. Selection of peninsular and non-peninsular first- and.....	220
Figure 56. Selection of peninsular and non-peninsular third-person.....	222

Figure 57. Selection of peninsular and non-peninsular third-person.....	223
Figure 58. Selection of peninsular and non-peninsular third-person.....	224
Figure 59. Selection of the neutral or masculine accusative pronominal clitics across the type of bilingualism	226
Figure 60. Realization of DOM in clitic doubling constructions production.....	235
Figure 61. Effect of gender on the realization of DOM in clitic doubling.....	238
Figure 62. Effect of linguistic preference on the realization of DOM in clitic doubling constructions	239
Figure 63. The production of DOM in non-dislocated structures in MS across gender	242
Figure 64. Linguistic preference and use of DOM in non-dislocated structures	243

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Peninsular Spanish pronominal clitic system.....	27
Table 2. Peninsular Catalan pronominal clitics system.....	28
Table 3. Pronominal clitics in Peninsular Spanish and Catalan	32
Table 4. Spanish, Catalan, and Latin development in the Valencian, Catalan (from Catalonia), and Majorcan printing during the 15 th and 16 th centuries (adapted from Ferrando & Nicolás, 2011: 200-202)	39
Table 5. Groups of age examined in this dissertation.....	55
Table 6. Levels of education examined in this dissertation.....	56
Table 7. Linguistic preference values.....	58
Table 8. Linguistic preference values and three different scales depending on the educational level	59
Table 9. Latin pronoun evolution into Spanish and Catalan pronominal clitics (adapted from Penny, 2008: 150)	68
Table 10. Spanish first- and second-person pronominal clitics.....	73
Table 11. Etymological and Referential third-person pronominal system in Spanish...	74
Table 12. First -and second-person pronominal clitics in Central Catalan	76
Table 13. Possible first- and second-person proclitics and enclitics in Majorcan Catalan	78
Table 14. Third-person Barcelonan Catalan pronominal clitics (adapted from Bonet & Lloret, 2005: 40).....	81
Table 15. Possible third-person proclitics and enclitics in MC (adapted from Perea, 2012; Boeckx & Martín, 2013; Seguí-Trobat, 2014).	84
Table 16. Pronominal clitics in Spanish, Central and Majorcan Catalan.....	104
Table 17. Spanish and Catalan DOM features	105
Table 18. Distribution of the different synchronic and diachronic data.....	111

Table 19. Number of simultaneous/sequential speakers in each study	113
Table 20. Distribution of the 51 participants across social variables.....	114
Table 21. Distribution of speakers across the type of bilingualism.....	120
Table 22. Distribution of speakers who were born outside of Majorca.....	120
Table 23. number of participants across their linguistic preference depending on the set of questions answered in the ethnolinguistic questionnaire	124
Table 24. Distribution of participants across social variables.....	133
Table 25. Distribution of first- and second-person proclitics in MC	134
Table 26. Distribution of first -and second-person enclitics in MC	134
Table 27. Distribution of proclitic and enclitic forms in CC and MC.....	136
Table 28. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses between the production of MC/CC and social variables	140
Table 29. Distribution of first- and second-person proclitics in MS	144
Table 30. Distribution of first- and second-person enclitics in MS	144
Table 31. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses between the production of MC/CC and social variables	145
Table 32. Central and Balearic Catalan pronominal clitic tokens (13th-16th centuries)	152
Table 33. Majorcan and Peninsular Spanish pronominal clitic tokens (18th century)	157
Table 34. The use of the third-person pronominal clitics in Majorcan Catalan by bilingual speakers.....	161
Table 35. Distribution of MC third-person pronominal clitics (modified from Jiménez-Gaspar et al., 2020: 196).	163
Table 36. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses between the production of dative MC/CC pronominal clitics and social variables	167

Table 37. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses between the production of accusative masculine MC/CC pronominal clitics and social variables	170
Table 38. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses between the production of accusative and feminine MC/CC pronominal clitics and social variables	174
Table 39. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses between the production of accusative feminine MC/CC pronominal clitics and social variables.....	179
Table 40. The use of third-person pronominal clitics in Majorcan Spanish	181
Table 41. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses between the production of MS/PS third person pronominal clitics and social variables	183
Table 42. Distribution of speakers across the extra-linguistic variables who participated in the elicited data questionnaire.....	186
Table 43. Number of tokens depending on pronominal clitic form in the elicited data questionnaire	187
Table 44. Grammaticality judgments in task 1 of the elicited questionnaire.....	188
Table 45. Distribution of first- and second-person pronominal clitics in the grammaticality judgments task.....	189
Table 46. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses for grammaticality judgments of first- and second-person pronominal clitics across social variables	192
Table 47. Distribution of third-person pronominal clitics in the grammaticality judgments task.....	199
Table 48. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses between third-person pronominal clitic grammaticality judgments and social variables	207
Table 49. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses for the third-person neutral clitic, <i>ho</i> , across grammaticality judgments and social variables	212
Table 50. Forms analyzed in the preference task.....	214
Table 51. Number of items where first- and second-person pronominal clitics appear	215

Table 52. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses between the selection of first- and second-person pronominal clitics and social variables of speakers in the preference task	218
Table 53. Selection of third-person pronominal clitics in the second task of the elicited data questionnaire	221
Table 54. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses between the selection of third-person pronominal clitics and the social variables of speakers in the preference task	222
Table 55. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses on chi-squared analyses between the selection of third-person neutral pronominal clitic, <i>ho</i> , and social variables of speakers in the preference task	227
Table 56. Distribution of participants across the extra-linguistic variables (Jiménez-Gaspar et al., to appear)	231
Table 57. The production and omission of DOM in Clitic Doubling structures across syntactic positions and type of bilingualism	234
Table 58. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses across the external independent variables on the production of DOM in clitic doubling constructions	238
Table 59. Production of DOM with non-dislocated NPs across the type of bilingualism	240
Table 60. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses across the extralinguistic variables on the production of DOM in non-dislocated (clitic doubling) constructions.....	242
Table 61. Distribution of the different data analyzed across the phenomena.....	245
Table 62. The morphemic base for the third-person and each of the first- and second-person forms (Wheeler et al., 1999: 169).....	251
Table 63. First- and second-person pronominal clitics in MC and MS across the synchronic and diachronic analyses.....	254
Table 64. Distribution of MC third-person pronominal clitics (modified from Jiménez-Gaspar et al., to appear)	258
Table 65. Distribution of speakers across social variables	280

ABSTRACT

The present dissertation examines the Majorcan Catalan (MC) and Majorcan Spanish (MS) pronominal clitic systems, as well as the Spanish Differential Object Marking (DOM) with and without Clitic Doubling (CLD) structures produced by Catalan-Spanish bilingual adults of Majorca. More specifically, this investigation focuses on three phenomena that constitute a continuum between the use of the pronominal clitics and the use of DOM, namely: (i) the MC and MS pronominal clitic systems, (ii) the features of the CLD structures where DOM is expected to occur, and (iii) the features of the Spanish DOM-marker in argument object Noun Phrases (NP) without the co-occurrence of the corresponding clitics.

Concerning the pronominal clitic systems, their allomorphs (consonant + vowel and vowel + consonant) and their syntactic position (proclitics and enclitics) are examined in MC and MS. Besides, the MS third-person direct object (DO) clitics are analyzed in constructions, where DOM is expected to occur in the corresponding Noun Phrase (NP). This dissertation also explores the position of the NP in CLD constructions, that is, if the DO argument appears dislocated to the left, to the right, or in a canonical position. Finally, the a-marking production is studied in structures where the [+human] and [+animate] DO does not appear doubled by the corresponding clitic.

This investigation constitutes a comparative study with two different perspectives since the analyses focus on (i) the contrast between the Majorcan Spanish and Catalan varieties with the Central Peninsular ones (spoken in Barcelona), and (ii) the difference between MC and MS to determine whether there exists convergence between them.

The aims of this dissertation are threefold. First, it investigates whether there has produced language change and whether it is triggered by the cross-linguistic influence from Spanish on Catalan (or vice versa) due to the language contact in a bilingual setting or due to a natural development of language. Second, it analyzes whether the language change has been accelerated or inhibited due to the bilingual setting of Majorca. Finally, the three phenomena are examined with Pearson Chi-Squared correlations to verify whether extralinguistic variables (such as gender, age, educational level, area of residence, linguistic preference, and type of bilingualism) affect the production of the distinct variants in MC and MS.

Different synchronic and diachronic data are examined to follow the aims. On the one hand, the synchronic analysis involves (i) 96 spontaneous interviews (51 in Spanish and 45 in Catalan) with 51 Catalan-Spanish bilingual speakers who live in Majorca (in Palma,

the capital, and villages outside of Palma), and (ii) elicited data by a questionnaire composed of two different tasks (grammaticality judgments and preference tasks). Besides, the participants completed an ethnolinguistic questionnaire with which they were classified depending on their preferences regarding the use of Spanish and Catalan in different contexts. On the other hand, the diachronic analysis focuses on Old Catalan texts (13th-17th centuries) from the *Corpus Informatizat del Català Antic* (CICA, 2009; Torruella, 2009a, 2009b) and Old Spanish (18th century) from *Corpus Mallorca* (Enrique-Arias, 2012, 2020). The diachronic analysis aims at verifying whether the properties observed in the synchronic data were previously present in MC before Spanish arrived at the Balearic Islands (15th century).

The results confirm that there is no total convergence between the two languages that coexist in Majorca. There are occasional transfers that depend on the speakers' linguistic preference (Spanish or Catalan). Most of the bilingual speakers of Majorca produce and accept the Majorcan uses, independently of their social characteristics and their type of bilingualism (simultaneous or sequential). In contrast, the Spanish DOM-marker seems to be influenced by MC since its features follow the same patterns as DOM in Balearic Catalan (including MC). Specifically, the results show a pattern of variation that involves the optional omission of DOM in clitic left dislocations and non-dislocations of the DO (in situ) that does not match Peninsular Spanish (PS). In that regard, simultaneous bilingual women with a strong preference for Catalan are the speakers who show a high DOM-omission frequency in MS.

Furthermore, the inhibition of the language change is confirmed, given that the first- and second-person pronominal clitics that were already used centuries ago in MC are observed in both Central and Balearic dialects, especially in the period preceding the 17th century (when contact with Spanish would have become more extensive in the Balearic Islands). The variants used in MC, called non-peninsular forms, are produced to a great extent independently of the social variables. That means that the most archaic forms are highly rooted in MC, and the speakers of Majorca who speak Catalan use them.

Therefore, this dissertation contributes to the field of bilingualism and language contact since it is the first synchronic study with Spanish-Catalan bilinguals focused on (i) oral spontaneous and (ii) elicited data in the production of the pronominal clitics (in MC and MS) and the *a*-marking in MS. Moreover, this investigation provides a comparison between synchronic and diachronic data regarding the production of first-

and-second person pronominal clitics to conclude whether language change is inhibited or accelerated in the Majorcan varieties.

In conclusion, this dissertation focuses on language contact results on linguistic knowledge across bilinguals, considering the relationship between language acquisition, synchronic variation, and ongoing language change in Majorcan Spanish and Catalan. It investigates morphosyntactic variation in MC and MS to determine the extent to which there is evidence for language variation or change affected by bilingualism and language contact.

RESUMEN

La presente tesis doctoral analiza los clíticos pronominales del catalán y del español de Mallorca, así como la Marcación Diferenciada de Objeto (MDO) en el español de Mallorca. Esta investigación se centra en tres fenómenos que constituyen un continuo entre el uso de los clíticos pronominales y el uso de la MDO. En primer lugar, los clíticos pronominales se examinan teniendo en cuenta la aparición de alomorfos en contextos específicos en relación con el verbo (sobre todo en catalán), lo que depende también de la posición sintáctica que ocupan antes o después del verbo (como proclíticos o enclíticos). En segundo lugar, los clíticos pronominales de tercera persona que hacen referencia a objetos directos (OD) [+humano] y [+definido] son analizados en estructuras en las que son duplicados por la correspondiente frase nominal, en la que la presencia de la Marcación Diferenciada de Objeto aparece. De la misma forma, la MDO también se analiza en construcciones en las que el OD aparece en su posición canónica (o dislocado a la derecha) sin la correferencia del clítico.

Es relevante añadir que esta investigación constituye un estudio comparativo con dos perspectivas diferentes; es decir, se realizan dos comparaciones centradas, por una parte, en el contraste entre las variedades lingüísticas de Mallorca y las de la Península (habladas en Barcelona) y, por otra parte, en el contraste entre el catalán y el español de Mallorca, con el objetivo de verificar si existe una convergencia entre estas dos variedades que conviven en la isla de Mallorca.

Con respecto a los objetivos que se persiguen en esta tesis doctoral, el primero de ellos se centra, sobre todo, en si el contexto bilingüe de Mallorca puede originar cambios lingüísticos en los fenómenos explicados anteriormente o si el cambio lingüístico se ha podido producir debido al desarrollo natural de la lengua. En segundo objetivo, relacionado con el primero, se centra en si el cambio lingüístico puede haberse visto

acelerado o frenado debido al contacto entre el español y el catalán en Mallorca (siguiendo la propuesta de Enrique-Arias (2012), quien afirma que la presencia de estructuras paralelas puede favorecer la inhibición del cambio lingüístico). Finalmente, el tercer objetivo persigue concluir si las diferentes variables sociales de los participantes pueden influir en la producción de las diferentes variantes lingüísticas del español y del catalán de Mallorca. Las variables sociales analizadas son las de género, edad, nivel de instrucción, área de residencia, preferencia lingüística y tipo de bilingüismo (simultáneo o secuencial). Para este análisis, se realizan diferentes correlaciones con el análisis estadístico de *Pearson* (*Chi* cuadrado) a través del programa *SPSS* (Paquete Estadístico para Ciencias Sociales).

Para conseguir los diferentes objetivos, se presentan los resultados obtenidos no solo a través de diferentes estudios sincrónicos sino también a través de un análisis diacrónico de textos antiguos en catalán y en español.

Por un lado, el análisis sincrónico se compone de datos provenientes de noventa y seis entrevistas espontáneas (51 en español y 45 en catalán), así como datos de dos cuestionarios diferentes. El primer cuestionario es el que conocemos con el término de *etnolingüístico*, ya que es el que ha permitido que los participantes de esta tesis doctoral hayan sido clasificados dependiendo de su preferencia lingüística con respecto al español y al catalán. El segundo cuestionario se basa en datos estimulados centrados en los clíticos pronominales del catalán. De forma más concreta, este cuestionario presenta dos tareas distintas. Mientras que la primera se centra en juicios de gramaticalidad de estructuras con clíticos pronominales del catalán de Mallorca y del catalán central, la segunda tarea se basa en la producción de los mismos clíticos. Es decir, los hablantes debían escoger un alomorfo considerado peninsular (propio del catalán central) o no peninsular (propio del catalán insular). Por lo tanto, esta segunda tarea se basa en las preferencias lingüísticas de los hablantes.

Por otro lado, el análisis diacrónico se centra en textos antiguos de las dos variedades lingüísticas del catalán (balear y central) datados entre los siglos XIII y XVII, a través del corpus *CICA* (*Corpus Informatizat del Català Antic*, 2009; Torruella, 2009a, 2009b), así como en textos del español de Mallorca del siglo XVIII a través del *Corpus Mallorca* (Enrique-Arias, 2012, 2020).

Los resultados confirman que no existe una convergencia total entre las dos lenguas que coexisten en la isla de Mallorca, a pesar de que se encuentran transferencias esporádicas que ocurren de manera bidireccional, es decir, no solo del español al catalán, sino también en sentido contrario. Además, las transferencias dependen de la

preferencia lingüística de los hablantes, ya que los bilingües que prefieren el uso del catalán producen más transferencias en español, y lo mismo ocurre con los hablantes que prefieren el uso del español, quienes producen más transferencias en catalán. Por lo tanto, la mayoría de los bilingües de Mallorca no solo producen, sino que también aceptan las formas vernáculas (no peninsulares).

También se confirma la inhibición del cambio lingüístico, dado que se observa que los clíticos pronominales de primera y segunda personas que se usan actualmente son los mismos que se usaban hace siglos en el catalán de Mallorca, sobre todo en el período anterior al siglo XVII, cuando el español empezó a ser más intenso en las Islas Baleares. Asimismo, estas formas arcaicas no solo son encontradas en el catalán balear, sino también en el catalán central. Por lo tanto, el paralelismo en las formas del español y del catalán de Mallorca ha permitido que no se produzca un cambio lingüístico como sí parece haber ocurrido en el catalán central.

No obstante, la Marcación Diferenciada de Objeto en el español de Mallorca parece estar influenciada por los rasgos del catalán balear (explicado por Escandell-Vidal, 2009). Más específicamente, las estructuras en las que el OD [+humano] y [+definido] aparece dislocado a la izquierda o en su posición canónica presentan un uso opcional de la MDO. Sin embargo, los ODs que aparecen dislocados a la derecha siempre presentan esta marcación. El resultado más importante con respecto a estos descubrimientos es que son mujeres, bilingües simultáneas, las que omiten con mayor frecuencia la marcación del objeto.

Así pues, esta tesis doctoral contribuye en el ámbito del bilingüismo y del contacto lingüístico, ya que ofrece el primer estudio sincrónico con adultos bilingües en español y catalán, centrado en los clíticos pronominales y en la MDO propios de las variedades del español y del catalán de Mallorca.

En definitiva, esta investigación se basa en los resultados del contacto lingüístico, considerando la relación entre la adquisición de la lengua, la variación sincrónica y el cambio continuo de la lengua en el catalán y el español de Mallorca. Finalmente, cabe decir que esta tesis investiga la variación morfosintáctica en la producción de las variedades lingüísticas que se hablan en Mallorca para determinar en qué medida hay evidencia de variación o cambio en la lengua afectado por el bilingüismo y el contacto lingüístico.

RESUM

Aquesta tesi doctoral examina els clítics pronominals del català i de l'espanyol de Mallorca, així com el Marcatge Diferencial d'Objecte (MDO) en l'espanyol de Mallorca. Més específicament, aquesta recerca se centra en tres fenòmens que constitueixen un continu entre l'ús dels clítics pronominals i l'ús del MDO. En primer lloc, els clítics pronominals s'examinen tenint en compte l'aparició d'altres morfemes en contextos específics en relació amb el verb (sobretot en català), la qual cosa depèn també de la posició sintàctica que ocupen abans o després del verb (com a proclítics o enclítics). En segon lloc, els clítics pronominals de tercera persona que fan referència a objectes directes (OD) [+humà] i [+definit] són analitzats en estructures en les quals són duplicats per la corresponent frase nominal, en la que la presència del MDO apareix. De la mateixa forma, el MDO també s'analitza sense la presència de la duplicació del clíctic en la mateixa mena d'estructures.

És rellevant afegir que aquesta recerca constitueix un estudi comparatiu amb dues perspectives diferents; és a dir, es realitzen dues comparacions centrades, d'una banda, en el contrast entre les varietats lingüístiques de Mallorca i de la Península (parlades a Barcelona) i, d'altra banda, en el contrast entre el català i l'espanyol de Mallorca, amb l'objectiu de verificar si existeix convergència entre aquestes dues varietats que conviuen a l'illa de Mallorca.

Respecte als objectius que es persegueixen en aquesta tesi doctoral, el primer d'ells se centra en si el context bilingüe de Mallorca pot produir canvis lingüístics per la influència del contacte lingüístic o si el canvi lingüístic s'ha produït pel desenvolupament natural de la llengua en els fenòmens esmentats. El segon objectiu, relacionat amb el primer, se centra en si el canvi lingüístic pot haver-se vist accelerat o frenat a causa del contacte entre l'espanyol i el català a Mallorca seguint la proposta d'Enrique-Arias (2012), qui afirma que la presència d'estructures paral·leles pot afavorir la inhibició del canvi lingüístic. Finalment, el tercer objectiu persegueix concloure si les diferents variables socials dels participants poden influir en la producció de les diferents variants lingüístiques en l'espanyol i el català de Mallorca. Les variables socials analitzades són el gènere, l'edat, el nivell d'instrucció, l'àrea de residència, la preferència lingüística i el tipus de bilingüisme (simultani o seqüencial). Per a aquesta anàlisi, es realitzen diferents correlacions amb l'anàlisi estadística de *Pearson (Chiquadrat)* a través del programa de SPSS (Paquet Estadístic per a Ciències Socials).

Per aconseguir els diferents objectius, es presenten els resultats obtinguts no sols a través de diferents estudis sincrònics, sinó també a través d'una anàlisi diacrònica de textos antics en català i en espanyol.

D'una banda, l'anàlisi sincrònica es compon de dades provinents de noranta-sis entrevistes orals espontànies (51 en espanyol i 45 en català), així com dades de dos qüestionaris diferents. El primer qüestionari és el que coneixem amb el terme d'*etnolingüístic*, ja que és el que ha permès que els participants d'aquesta tesi doctoral hagin sigut classificats depenent de la seva preferència lingüística en situacions concretes respecte a l'espanyol i al català. El segon qüestionari es basa en dades estimulades relacionades amb els fenòmens analitzats en aquesta recerca. De forma més concreta, aquest qüestionari presenta dues tasques diferents. La primera se centra en judicis de gramaticalitat d'estructures amb clítics pronominals de primera i segona persona del català de Mallorca i del català central. La segona tasca es basa en la producció dels mateixos clítics, en la qual els parlants havien de triar un al·lomorfa considerat peninsular (propi del català central) o no peninsular (propi del català insular); és a dir, aquesta segona tasca té com a finalitat comprovar quina és la preferència lingüística dels parlants en construccions en les quals han d'escollir una forma peninsular (pròpia del català central) o una forma vernacular (no peninsular).

D'altra banda, l'anàlisi diacrònica se centra en textos antics de les dues varietats lingüístiques del català (balear i central) datats entre els segles XIII i XVII, a través del corpus CICA (Corpus Informatitzat del Català Antic, 2009), així com en textos de l'espanyol de Mallorca del segle XVIII del Corpus Mallorca (Enrique-Arias, 2012, 2020).

Els resultats confirmen que no existeix una convergència total entre les dues llengües que coexisteixen a l'illa de Mallorca, a pesar que es troben transferències esporàdiques que es produeixen en les dues direccions; és a dir, no sols de l'espanyol al català, sinó també en sentit contrari. A més a més, les transferències depenen de la preferència lingüística dels parlants, per la qual cosa aquells que prefereixen l'ús del català produeixen més transferències en espanyol, mentre que els qui prefereixen l'ús de l'espanyol produeixen més transferències en català. Per tant, la majoria dels bilingües de Mallorca no sols produeixen, sinó també accepten les formes no peninsular a gran escala.

També es confirma la inhibició del canvi lingüístic, atès que s'observa que els clítics pronominals de primera i segona persona que s'usen actualment són els mateixos que s'usaven fa segles en el català de Mallorca, sobretot en el període anterior al segle XVII, moment en el qual el contacte amb l'espanyol va començar a ser més intens a les Illes

Balears. Així mateix, aquestes formes arcaiques no sols són trobades en el català balear, sinó també en el català central.

Quant al MDO en l'espanyol de Mallorca, aquest fenomen sembla estar influenciat pels trets en l'ús d'aquest marcatge en el català balear (explicat per Escandell-Vidal, 2009). Més específicament, les estructures en les quals l'OD [+humà] i [+definit] apareix dislocat a l'esquerra o en la seva posició canònica presenten usos opcionals en l'emergència del MDO, però els ODs que apareixen dislocats a la dreta sempre presenten aquest marcatge. El resultat més important respecte a aquests descobriments és que són les dones, bilingües simultànies, les que ometen amb més freqüència el MDO.

Així doncs, aquesta tesi doctoral contribueix en l'àmbit del bilingüisme i del contacte lingüístic oferint el primer estudi sincrònic amb adults bilingües en espanyol i català, centrat en els clítics pronominals i en el MDO propis de les varietats de l'espanyol i del català de Mallorca, comparat, a més, amb dades diacròniques (respecte a l'ús dels clítics).

En definitiva, aquesta recerca es basa en els resultats del contacte lingüístic, considerant la relació entre l'adquisició de la llengua, la variació sincrònica i el canvi continu de la llengua en el català i l'espanyol de Mallorca. Finalment, cal dir que aquesta tesi investiga la variació morfosintàctica en la producció de les varietats lingüístiques que es parlen a Mallorca per a determinar en quina mesura hi ha evidència de variació o canvi en la llengua afectat pel bilingüisme i el contacte lingüístic.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The present dissertation considers the phenomena of pronominal clitics and Differential Object Marking in Majorcan Catalan and Spanish (henceforth MC and MS) compared to the Central Peninsular varieties spoken in Barcelona, Central Catalan¹, and Peninsular Spanish (henceforth CC and PS, respectively).

First, pronominal clitics are analyzed, taking into account their form and syntactic position (proclitics and enclitics). Second, the direct object third-person pronominal clitics are considered in Clitic Doubling (henceforth CLD) constructions, where Differential Object Marking occurs (henceforth DOM). Finally, the production of DOM in constructions without the co-appearance of the clitic (without CLD) is analyzed to compare its uses in the Noun Phrase (NP) with and without the co-appearance of the clitic.

Regarding the study of clitics, it has yielded much discussion in linguistics concerning not only their grammatical category and placement but also the restrictions on their realization (e.g., van Riemsdijk, 1999; Camacho, 1998, 2006). Given the full range of possibilities regarding the morphological properties of clitics, there is a strong motivation for them to be analyzed independently within each language (Klavans, 1985) in connection with the investigation of cross-linguistic generalizations.

There is extensive research on the clitic system of Spanish (e.g., Roca, 1992; Uriagereka, 1992, 1995, 2002; Zagana, 2002, among others). However, aside from some exceptions, there is much less research on clitics in Catalan and its different dialects (but see, e.g., Batllori et al., 2004; Perea, 2012; Martin, 2012) than there is in Spanish. More importantly, there is no previous detailed investigation of the clitic system in the context of adult Catalan-Spanish bilingualism (but see Perpiñán (2017) about adverbial clitics, and Burkard & Jiménez-Gaspar (2019) about Menorcan Catalan).

¹ Note that the identification of Peninsular Catalan as Standard Catalan is merely for descriptive terms. It may be the case that different Peninsular Catalan dialects show other properties regarding the phenomena considered in this dissertation. The objective is to use Central Peninsular Catalan as a baseline against which to compare Majorcan Catalan, given that Central Catalan is the Catalan dialect spoken in Barcelona (and other cities of Catalonia), and it is close to what is considered Standard Catalan (and the variety instructed at school). Therefore, this dissertation aims not to compare Majorcan Catalan with Standard Catalan, but Majorcan Catalan with the more extended Catalan variety, Central Catalan. Although this dissertation does not present a CC control group, the researcher analyzed spontaneous data from CC in Bergische Universität Wuppertal in a project directed by Natascha Müller and Laia Arnaus.

Considering the Spanish pronominal clitics, Table 1 shows the pronominal clitics of the two Spanish systems, explained in depth in chapter 3 (section 3.3), the etymological and the referential one. Specifically, the etymological system is based on two different sets: (i) the accusative and (ii) the dative cases. However, the referential system classifies the third-person pronominal clitics depending on gender but not Latin cases.

Proclitics and enclitics	Peninsular Spanish	
	Direct Object (DO)	Indirect Object (IO)
1 st sg.	me	me
1 st pl.	nos	nos
2 nd sg.	te	te
2 nd pl.	oOs	os
3 rd sg. masc.	lo/le	le/lo
3 rd sg. fem.	la/le	le/la
3 rd pl. masc.	los/les	les/los
3 rd pl. fem.	las/les	les /las
3 rd neutral	lo	

Table 1. Peninsular Spanish pronominal clitic system

As Table 1 shows, the Spanish pronominal clitics system only presents long forms, independently of their position as proclitics (proclitic long forms, henceforth PLF) or enclitics (enclitic long forms, henceforth ELF). That is, Spanish does not contain short (elided) forms. In terms of orthography, while Spanish PLF constitute an independent morpheme (1), ELF emerge after the verb constituting a single word (2):

(1) ¿**Me** traerás el libro? (PS)

me.cl bring.2p.sg. the book
‘Will you bring me the book?’

(2) ¿Quieres visitarme mañana? (PS)

want.2p.sg visit-me.cl tomorrow
‘Do you want to visit me tomorrow?’

Spanish only presents one form for each pronominal clitic-person (first, second and third in singular and plural), and it does not entail different allomorphs (as Catalan does). First- and second-person forms behave differently in comparison to third-person pronominal clitics, given that the former do not exhibit gender either Latin case distinctions.

In that regard, it is relevant to highlight that the form *lo* converges in two different uses: (i) the masculine singular (3), and (ii) the neutral referents (4). The fact that both

be divided into two general sets, short and long forms. Short forms² are those that are gathered in the verb, constituting a single phonological and syntactic word. If the pronominal clitic is used before the verb, as a proclitic, and the verb starts in a vowel, the used form is short (5). The same pattern occurs when the clitic appears after the verb, and it ends in a vowel (6).

(5) **M'**agrada llegir durant l'estiu (CC)
 me.cl-like reading during the-summer
 'I like reading during the summer.'

(6) **Avisa'm** si tornes prest (CC)
 tell-me.cl if return.2p.sg early
 'Let me know if you return early.'

Catalan long forms are the clitics which appear as an independent morpheme³ both before and after the verb starting or ending in a consonant. However, the orthographic conventions establish a difference between proclitics and enclitic long forms. While PLF constitute a morpheme that appears separately from the verb (7), ELF appear separated by a hyphen after the verb (8).

(7) **Em** duràs el llibre? (CC)
 me.cl bring.2p.sg. the book
 'Will you bring me the book?'

(8) **Vols** visitar-**me** demà? (CC)
 want.2p.sg visit-me.cl tomorrow
 'Do you want to visit me tomorrow?'

Like Spanish, Catalan first- and second-person forms function distinctively compared to third-person pronominal clitics, given that while the former does not contain gender either Latin case distinctions, the latter does.

² It is relevant to take into consideration that the short allomorphs, as in (5), which match MC and CC, are not analyzed in this dissertation.

³ However, note that pronominal clitics are considered bound morphemes since they cannot stand alone as an independent word.

Considering the accusative forms, Catalan contains two different forms to refer to the accusative masculine singular form, *el*, as proclitic (9), and *-lo* as enclitic, and the accusative neutral form, *ho*, both as proclitic (10) and enclitic form.

(9) Vaig comprar aquest cotxe / **el** vaig comprar (CC)
 bought.1p.sg that car / it.masc.sg.cl bought.1p.sg
 'I bought that car / I bought it.'

(10) Ella ha dit que no ve / Ella **ho** ha dit (PS)
 she has said that not come.3p.sg. / she it.neutral.sg.cl has said
 'She has said that she is not coming / She said it.'

In summary, since Catalan and Spanish are closely related Romance languages, their pronominal clitic systems present similarities. The most important similarity between PS and CC deals with the use of the same allomorph for the DO and IO first- and second-person pronominal clitics (11)-(12). These forms show number distinctions (13), but not gender.

(11) a. **Me** gusta comprar libros de segunda mano (PS)
 b. **M'**agrada comprar llibres de segona mà (CC)
 me.cl-like.PRES.1p.sg buying books of second-hand
 'I like to buy second-hand books.'

(12) a. Mis hermanos **te** visitan (PS)
 b. Els meus germans **et** visiten (CC)
 (the) my brothers you.cl visit.PRES.3p.pl
 'My brothers have visited me.'

(13) a. Mis hermanos **nos** han visitado (PS)
 b. Els meus germans **ens** han visitat (CC)
 (the) my brothers us.cl have visited.3p.pl
 'My brothers have visited us.'

Likewise, Spanish and Catalan present the same trend regarding the third-person pronominal clitics. As opposed to the convergence of the first and second person clitics, these two languages exhibit different forms to represent the third-person clitics. More specifically, this set of clitics differs depending on the accusative and dative cases in

both languages (14)-(15). Besides, while all third-person pronominal clitics present number distinctions (14), the accusative forms also present gender variation (15).

(14) Third-person dative plural form

- a. **Les** dijo que nuestra tía estaba enferma (a mis hermanos) (PS)
 - b. **Els** digué que la nostra tia estava malalta (als meus germans) (CC)
- them.cl said that our aunt was ill
 ‘(S)he told them that our aunt was ill.’

(15) The third-person accusative feminine singular form

- a. Mi hermano **la** visitó ayer (PS)
 - b. El meu germà **la** visità ahir (CC)
- (the) my brother her.cl visited1p.sg yesterday
 ‘My brother visited my mother yesterday.’

In contrast, Spanish and Catalan pronominal clitic systems differ significantly, especially in the number of forms that both languages present. While Spanish only presents one form for each pronominal clitic-person (first, second, and third in singular and plural), as Table 1 shows, Catalan offers almost four allomorphs (as seen in Table 2). The Catalan allomorphs depend on their syntactic position related to the verb (as proclitics or enclitics) and the form of the verb; that is, if the verb starts or ends in a vowel or a consonant (see chapter 3, section 3.2, for a detailed description).

Another difference between PS and CC is that while in Spanish there are only pronominal clitics, e.g. (16), Catalan also has so-called adverbial clitics (*en* and *hi*, (17-18)) and the (accusative) neutral pronoun *ho* (19).⁴

- (16) **Les** complicaban el trabajo (PS)
- them.cl hindered.3p.pl the work
 ‘They hindered them the work.’

- (17) No volen que **hi** vagi [a la escola] (CC)
- don’t want.3p.pl. that adv.cl go.1p.sg. [to the school]
 ‘They don’t want me to go to school.’

⁴ This dissertation does not analyze the Catalan adverbial clitics, given that Spanish does not present the counterparts.

(18) Avui no **en** sortim [de casa] (CC)
 today don't adv.cl leave.1p.pl. [from home]
 'We don't leave home today.'

(19) Volia això: **ho** volia (CC)
 wanted.1p.sg. this: it.cl wanted.1p.sg.
 'I wanted this: I wanted it.'

Table 3 summarizes the pronominal clitic forms considering the uses that match in PS and CC and the uses that are entirely different:

Pronominal clitics	Peninsular Spanish		Central Catalan	
	DO	IO	DO	IO
1 st sg	me	me	em/ me	em/ me
1 st pl	nos	nos	ens/ nos	ens/ nos
2 nd sg	te	te	et/ te	et/ te
2 nd pl	os	os	us/ vos	us/ vos
3 rd sg masc.	lo	le	el	li
3 rd sg fem.	la	le	la	li
3 rd pl masc.	los	les	els	el[zi]
3 rd pl fem.	las	les	les	el[zi]
3 rd neutral		lo		ho

Table 3. Pronominal clitics in Peninsular Spanish and Catalan

As observed in Table 3, first- and second-person pronominal clitics in Spanish (except *os*) match the Catalan enclitics.

After examining the Spanish and Catalan pronominal clitics systems, this dissertation considers whether convergence exists between the different pronominal clitic systems of the Majorcan varieties since the contact context between Spanish and Catalan was different in comparison to what happened in Barcelona (Blas Arroyo, 1993, 1995; Seib, 2001; Sancho, 2002). More specifically, Francés & Nicolás (2011) explain that the linguistic context related to the Spanish hegemony developed differently if Catalonia, Valencian Community, and the Balearic Islands are compared, due to mostly the geographic isolation of the Balearic community (see chapter 2, section 2.1 for more information).

This investigation examines which forms are currently used in MC and MS and compares them with the peninsular ones to fill in previous research gaps. The objective is to discuss the reason for the similarities and differences between the varieties of Majorca (MC and MS) and Barcelona (CC and PS) in terms of language contact,

bilingualism, and language change. Therefore, this dissertation also analyzes whether language change undergoes an inhibition or acceleration due to the similarities or differences, seen in Table 3.

Since this dissertation analyzes the production of pronominal clitics and the production of Clitic Doubling, Differential Object Marking plays an essential role in this investigation. This dissertation examines CLD constructions, where the pronominal clitic argument appears doubled with the corresponding NP. In that case, the syntactic place of the NP is also examined to verify whether DOM is produced or omitted depending on the NP position. More specifically, constructions, where the NP appears dislocated to the left (CLLD), to the right (CLRD), or in a canonical position (that is, immediately after the verb, without another complement between the verb and the DO NP), are examined.

Clitic Doubling is a construction where the clitic cooccurs with its argument noun phrase (20), and DOM is the *a-marking* used in constructions with and without the co-appearance of the clitic with [+human] and [+animate] Direct Object NPs (21):

(20) **La** visité **a** **ella** el año pasado (PS)
 acc.fem.cl visited.1p.sg DOM her the year last
 ‘I visited her last year.’

(21) He visto **a** mi hermano en el parque (PS)
 have seen.1p.sg DOM my brother in the park
 ‘I have seen my brother in the park.’

Although DOM features are examined in depth in chapter 3, it is essential to introduce an essential distinction between Spanish and Catalan since the Catalan DOM-marker presents more restrictions than the Spanish one.

Even though Spanish and Catalan have a structural accusative case, while Spanish presents DOM in constructions where an [+human] and [+definite] NP appears (with and without CLD), Catalan has not been considered a DOM language (Benito, 2017). Unlike Spanish, in Catalan, the *a-marking* does not appear with full NP direct objects, even when the object refers to a [+human] or [+animate] object (Escandell-Vidal, 2009), as the example (22) shows:

(22) a. Visità la meva germana la setmana pasada (CC)
 b. Visitó **a** mi hermana la semana pasada (PS)
 visited.3p.sg. (DOM) (the) my sister the last week
 ‘(S)he visited my sister last week.’

However, DOM emerges in Spanish and Catalan constructions, where the DO is constituted by a strong pronoun (23).

- (23) a. La visità a ella la setmana passada (CC)
 b. La visitó a ella la semana pasada (PS)
 her.cl visited.3p.sg. DOM her the week last
 ‘(S)he visited her last week.’

The Catalan DOM-marker also occurs in other specific contexts, for example, to avoid the confusion between subjects and objects (see sections 3.3 and 3.4 in chapter 3).

Therefore, in order to fill in the gaps in previous research, the main aims of this dissertation are threefold: (i) to examine the bilingual production of pronominal clitics and DOM in MC and MS, compared with the Peninsular varieties, to verify whether there exists convergence between the two languages of Majorca. This objective stems from the necessity to analyze whether bilingual speakers from Majorca present a variation due to the different contact scenarios between Spanish and Catalan in comparison to CC. Second, this study investigates whether the linguistic change is accelerated or inhibited by this long-term bilingual contact between Catalan and Spanish in Majorca, but shorter than in Barcelona (see chapter 2 about the bilingual context of Majorca). Finally, this investigation aims to examine whether the speakers’ social variables can affect the production of different variants. The different variants will be analyzed as peninsular forms if they match CC or PS uses and as non-peninsular uses if the forms are vernacular, characteristic only of MC.

The present investigation explores synchronic and diachronic data to consider the aims described before. The synchronic data involves not only spontaneous recordings with Spanish-Catalan bilinguals but also two different questionnaires. On the one hand, 96 spontaneous interviews have been carried out (51 in Spanish and 45 in Catalan) with 51 Catalan-Spanish bilingual speakers. On the other hand, the questionnaires are focused on (i) ethnolinguistic information and (ii) elicited data. The 51 participants fulfilled the first questionnaire, and it allowed us to classify them depending on their linguistic preference (Spanish, Catalan, or both languages). The second questionnaire is divided into two different tasks regarding the use of the first- and second-person pronominal clitics: (i) one based on grammaticality judgments of MC and CC items, and (ii) the other is based on the production of different allomorphs in MC and CC considering the linguistic preferences of Majorcan speakers.

The diachronic data is composed of Old Catalan texts (13th-17th centuries) from the *Corpus Informatitzat del Català Antic (CICA, 2009*; for more details, see Torruella, 2009a, 2009b) and Old Spanish (18th century) from *Corpus Mallorca* (Enrique-Arias, 2012, 2020). The analysis of Old texts aims at concluding whether the properties observed in the synchronic data were previously present in MC before Spanish arrived in the 15th century at the Balearic Islands (see chapter 2 for a historical account of bilingualism in Majorca). However, the diachronic analysis focuses only on first- and second-person pronominal clitics, given that these forms present more variation in MC compared to CC.

Moreover, internal and external factors have been considered. The internal factors relate to the similarities or differences in the grammatical properties of the structures between Spanish and Catalan (specifically the Peninsular and Majorcan varieties). Concerning the pronominal clitic systems, their allomorphs (C+V and V+C) and their syntactic position (proclitics and enclitics) are examined in MC and MS. Regarding DOM, this dissertation analyzes the properties of this phenomenon when it is produced or omitted in [+human] and [+definite] direct object NPs, in constructions where the clitic appears doubled or in constructions without the use of the clitic.

The external factors have to do with the social variables such as gender, age, level of education, area of residence, and participants' linguistic preference. In the study of the Spanish DOM-marker, the differences between simultaneous and sequential bilinguals are also considered.

Thus, this dissertation focuses on some of the effects of such language contact on linguistic knowledge across bilinguals, considering the relationship between language acquisition, synchronic variation, and ongoing language change in Majorcan Spanish and Catalan. It investigates morphosyntactic variation in the production of MC and MS by different types of bilinguals (simultaneous and sequential) who speak the two closely related languages to determine the extent to which there is evidence for language variation or change affected by bilingualism and language contact.

The structure of this dissertation is as follows. Chapter 2 introduces first an explanation of the Majorcan historical, political, and linguistic context. More specifically, the moment and manner in which the linguistic contact between Spanish and Catalan began on the island of Majorca are explained. Second, it presents a description of the theoretical framework followed, such as bilingualism and language contact. Regarding language change, different theories on language change and its possible internal and external factors causing the change are discussed. Finally, the concept of linguistic

preference is examined since this dissertation examines an ethnolinguistic questionnaire to gather the participants in different linguistic preference groups.

Chapter 3 focuses on the grammatical description of the pronominal clitic systems and the Differential Object Marking in Spanish and Catalan. The chapter is divided into different subsections. First, the concept of *clitic* is examined, and its historical evolution from Latin to the two Romance languages is presented. Second, the two different phenomena under study in this dissertation are discussed in both Spanish and Catalan, namely pronominal clitics and the Differential Object Marking (DOM). Moreover, important previous studies on these topics are discussed. Finally, the research questions and the hypotheses of this dissertation are postulated.

Chapter 4 provides information concerning the methodology carried out in this dissertation, such as the recruitment of participants and the data collection. Finally, the analysis procedures are described, namely which statistical program has been used and which type of correlations have been done (Pearson Chi-Squared analyses).

Chapter 5 first presents the results of both synchronic and diachronic studies are explained and compared from different scopes. To begin with, the relationship between Spanish and Catalan is the research focus. This comparison aims to examine whether there are transfer or integrations and which factors (internal or external) can explain the different uses and forms described. Finally, the correlations among the social variables are presented. The overall comparison between Spanish and Catalan is further discussed concerning the two phenomena under investigation, namely the production of pronominal clitics and DOM.

Chapter 6 contains an overall discussion of the findings of the present study, examining their implications for theories of bilingualism, language contact, and language change. The last section proposes potential future investigations.

CHAPTER 2

BILINGUALISM, LANGUAGE CONTACT, AND LANGUAGE CHANGE IN AND OUT OF MAJORCA

Chapter 2 focuses on the bilingual setting of the island of Majorca, where the investigation takes place. It presents first a brief description of the Majorcan historical, political, and linguistic context to understand the further development of Majorca's bilingual context compared to other Catalan territories, mostly Catalonia but also the Valencian Community. Second, the theoretical framework based on bilingualism and language contact is explained. More specifically, the difference between individual and societal bilingualism is examined, given that, although Majorcan speakers are bilinguals, it is relevant to consider the moment when speakers were exposed to the languages that coexist in Majorca. Different theories on and its possible internal and external factors causing the change are discussed. Although this dissertation focuses mostly on the possible language change, which emerges due to language contact, it also considers the possibility of change due to a natural language process (Fischer, 2003). Finally, the concept of linguistic preference is examined since this dissertation analyzes an ethnolinguistic questionnaire to gather the participants in different linguistic preference groups. Therefore, it is essential to differentiate the concepts of language competence and linguistic preference. Participants' different linguistic competencies were not examined since they all speak Spanish and Catalan in different contexts and, therefore, they are considered bilingual speakers. However, the different contexts where they were exposed to both languages entail different linguistic preferences.

2.1 Majorca: Historical, sociopolitical, and linguistic context

Majorca is the largest of the Balearic Islands, located in Eastern Spain, in the Mediterranean Sea, with 861.430 inhabitants (IBESTAT, 2016). The historical development of the languages currently spoken here started in the 13th century when King Jaume I invaded the Balearic Islands with inhabitants from Girona and Barcelona (in the North-East of the Iberian Peninsula) as part of the Christian Reconquest in this Muslim-occupied area.

From 1229 on, Catalan became the primary language of the islands with the coexistence of other languages such as Hebrew, Arabic, and Aragonese (Blas Arroyo, 2007b). As surprising as it may seem, Spanish did not arrive at the Balearic Islands until the 15th century, that is, two centuries later than Catalan, and after the union of Castile and Aragon crowns. Even though Catalan never ceased to be spoken in Majorca,

"Catalan-speaking territories fell under increasing cultural pressure and underwent a gradual process of linguistic castilianization" (Enrique-Arias, 2010: 103). Nevertheless, Ferrando & Nicolás (2011) explain that the Spanish hegemony produced differently if Catalonia, Valencian Community, and the Balearic Islands are compared, due to mostly the geographic isolation of the islands. More concretely, the Balearic Islands always received the linguistic changes occasioned in the other Catalan territories later. Besides, Valencian Community and Catalonia also suffered political, social, and linguistic changes differently. Therefore, a continuum was produced between the three Catalan communities; that is, changes happened first in the Valencian Community to continue in Catalonia and conclude in the Balearic Islands time later. For example, the need to convert Moriscos to Christianity accelerated the Spanish expansion, mostly in the Valencian Community, where the conversion began in the middle of the 16th century. In Catalonia, this occurrence started at the end of the century. Besides, some aristocracy segments, who received economic aids from the Government, decided to use Spanish as the vehicular language of prestige. Therefore, at the end of the 16th century, Spanish started to be the prestigious language of the Administration. However, as Ferrando & Nicolás (2011: 198) specify, "l'aïllament de les Balears feia quasi inviàble la castellanització de la seva noblesa més enlairada si hi residia habitualment."⁵ Likewise, the universities of Valencian and Barcelona and most of the intellectuals of these Catalan territories decided to start using Spanish and replace Catalan. Note that while Catalonia already had universities from the 13th century, the Valencian Community contained with the first in 1499, but Majorca did not have a university (University of the Balearic Islands, UIB) until 1691.

Another event demonstrates further development in the language contact between Spanish and Catalan on the islands, and it is the different percentage of Spanish books published. Table 4 (adapted from Ferrando & Nicolás, 2011: 200-202) compares the Spanish, Catalan, and Latin development in the Valencian, Catalan (from Catalonia), and Majorcan printing during the 15th and 16th centuries:

⁵ The isolation of the Balearic Islands made it almost unfeasible to make their higher nobility Spanish if they lived there habitually. [Translation made by the author.]

	Valencian			Catalonia			Majorca		
	Cat.	Sp.	Latin	Cat.	Sp.	Latin	Cat.	Sp.	Latin
1474-1489	33%	0	66%						
1490-1506	46%	4%	46%		2	2			
1510-1524	26%	45%	28%						
1526-1541	15%	51%	34%						
1542-1564	18%	36%	36%	27%	32%			1	
1583-1600				8%	76%		2	6	9

Table 4. Spanish, Catalan, and Latin development in the Valencian, Catalan (from Catalonia), and Majorcan printing during the 15th and 16th centuries (adapted from Ferrando & Nicolás, 2011: 200-202)

Table 4 shows the increase of the Spanish books printed in the three Catalan areas. As explained before, the Valencian Community heads the Spanish expansion, followed by Catalonia and Majorca. The first Spanish book appeared in 1490 in Valencian, ten years later (1500) in Catalonia, but it spent forty years more to be printed in Majorca. It is also important to highlight that the books that started to be written and published in Spanish were those with a profane topic. That means the religious texts continued being written in Catalan in most cases.

Although the three territories present Spanish books at the end of the 16th century, it is essential to keep in mind that the literary production in Majorca happened more slowly and late due to geographic isolation. Furthermore, Ferrando & Nicolás (2011: 208) argue that there are not Catalan-Spanish bilinguals authors living in the Balearic Islands until the end of the 16th century and, more importantly, no Spanish monolinguals are residing on the islands.

The Spanish expansion increases during the century 17th when Castilia pretends to establish a Spanish monarchy with an imperial hegemony thanks to the *Contrarreforma* (Counter-Reformation) and Baroque esthetics. This situation provoked the social, linguistic, and political decline in the Aragon Crown. While the Valencian Community and the Balearic Islands could not resist the centralist power from Castilia, Catalonia, with a better economic situation than the other Catalan territories, tried to oppose through the *Revolta Catalana* (Catalan Riot). Note that the Valencian Community suffered the Moriscos' expulsion that provoked an enfeeblement of some sectors of the Bourgeoisie, which favored the Aristocracy (who supported Felipe V).

From a linguistic point of view, note that the Moriscos' expulsion in the Valencian Community provoked a new repopulation that proceeded in that case from Murcia and,

therefore, expanded Spanish use. However, Catalan is still used in the Balearic Islands almost totally, and one example of that is the requirement of use Catalan in the Christian doctrine: “non Latina, sed vulgari lingua” (Ferrando & Nicolás, 2011: 242).

At the beginning of the 18th century, a dynastic conflict provoked the Succession War, given that Carlos II had died without a direct heir. Therefore, a conflict started between Felipe V de Borbón, grandson of Luis XIV of France, and Carlos III of Austria and their corresponding supporters. While Felipe V and the Borbón dynasty entailed a centralist and absolutist crown, Carlos III and the Austria dynasty entailed a decentralized regime with parliaments. That means Catalonia, the Valencian Community, and the Balearic Islands supported the Austrian regime. However, the troops of Felipe V occupied the Catalan territories between 1714 and 1715 and established the *Decretos de Nueva Planta*; that is, Catalan territories lost their sovereignty and started to follow the Castillian laws. Therefore, it was the most critical change in this language contact scenario. After establishing the *Decretos de Nueva Planta* (1715), Spanish became the prestigious language in all linguistic domains such as religious, educational, commercial, and administrative.

Consequently, Catalan remained in the most informal and familiar domains of use since “these absolutely centralist decrees were opposed to the maintenance of native languages or cultures in Spanish territories” (Blas Arroyo, 2007a: 83). Therefore, it can be said that the Balearic population was Catalan monolingual in small rural areas until the 1940s. Note that most of the inhabitants were illiterate, and the formal instruction was done only in Spanish for the middle and upper classes. Therefore, since the lower social classes could not access Spanish instruction, they remained illiterate with little or no Spanish contact. This situation provided a split contact situation that arguably allowed for archaic features of Catalan to be maintained (Montoya Abat, 2002) especially among monolinguals, in parallel to the possible development of innovative forms (Veny, 1978), arguably by new generations of bilingual speakers

With Franco’s dictatorship during the last century, the Catalan language and culture suffered from oppressive policies. Catalan was thus forced to step back again to family and private domains. In this regard, Blas Arroyo (2007: 81) specifies that this diglossic situation between Spanish and Catalan increased the view of Spanish as a language of prestige used by cultivated people. It was quite the opposite of the Catalan situation since it was not allowed in formal domains. As a result, Catalan was considered the language used by speakers with a low socioeconomic and possible low educational status. During Franco’s dictatorship, Spanish education was centralist and focused on

indoctrinating with the religious and political values of the dictatorship. More specifically, in the Balearic Islands, there were not any Balearic symbols, and Catalan was forbidden.

Even though Franco's dictatorship imposed Spanish officially, the use of Catalan continued being the language of social communication until a series of events changed this situation, namely, the mass tourism in the 1950s and the arrival of large numbers of Spanish-speaking immigrants. The latter changed the demographic and economic situation of the Balearic Islands. Likewise, the fact that speakers from the islands had a low level of knowledge of written Catalan, as well as the prolonged absence of Catalan from official and public use (except for Menorca), and the familiarity with Spanish, castilianisms in Catalan increased and more widespread bilingual language use in different contexts was produced (e.g., Ginard & Feron, 2008; Massot i Muntaner, 1985).

On this matter, Enrique-Arias (2014a, 2017, 2020) specifies that the influence of Spanish in Majorca was gradual and was settled following the next steps:

(i) In the 15th century, the dynastic change in the crown of Aragon and union with Castile with the marriage between Ferdinand V and Isabella of Castile (the catholic Monarchs). More specifically, this unification provoked the centralization of political power in Castile with the use, in that regard, of Spanish in this territory and its subsequent extension in the Catalan-speaking territories.

(ii) In the 16th century, the first Spanish books appeared in Majorca.

(iii) In the 17th century, the first sermons and poetic contests were produced.

(iv) In the 18th century, the dynasty of the Bourbons started their reign. They initiated legal processes to extend the Spanish linguistic domains. Consequently, a diglossic situation occurred, supporting the Spanish status as a language of prestige.

Moreover, according to Enrique-Arias (2017), Spanish in the 18th century was still unknown to most of the Majorcan population. Thus, knowledge of Spanish did not become generalized until the second half of the 20th century due to the following events:

- Immigration of Spanish speakers. More specifically, the Balearic Islands underwent a population change due to the different migratory movements of the population who, on the one hand, came to work temporarily on the islands, and, on the other hand, they were looking for new employment opportunities and were already staying on the islands, especially in Majorca.

- Spanish-language media and compulsory education in Spanish. In the 19th century, Catalan suffered a big marginalization, not only in the school but also in the media, and this situation culminated during the Franco dictatorship. Finally, the modern media generalization, especially radio and television, which excluded Catalan, provoked a situation of risk to Catalan.

All these societal changes, related to immigration of Spanish speakers, Spanish language-media and the Compulsory Education in Spanish, together with other influential events, such as the touristic boom (1960-1981), the growth of the economy based on construction, as well as the growth of the service sector, all produced a substantial increase in the total population on the islands. Besides, the situation of linguistic contact between Spanish and Catalan, as mentioned above, was diglossic until the 1990s. As Enrique-Arias (2017, 2020) specifies, Catalan was related to the rural and uneducated population. However, from the 1980s onwards, the linguistic normalization after Franco's death starts, and, for the speaker community born in the Balearic Islands, 94% of natives speak Catalan, while only 29% of foreigners from other areas of Spain or other countries do so. In 1986 and thanks to the Law of Linguistic Normalization (Llei 3/1986 de normalització lingüística), Catalan gained co-official status in the Balearic Islands. However, as Amengual (2011a: 216) argues, the situation of the Catalan language has been different in Majorca in comparison to other regions where Catalan is spoken. More specifically, he claims that the speaker's place of origin and place of residence are important variables to explain the use of Catalan in Majorca (also explained in Melià, 1998; Blas Arroyo, 2007b). Specifically, Catalan is used more on the bigger islands, Majorca and Minorca, and less on Ibiza. Focusing on Majorca, Catalan is used more in both inland and rural areas than in Palma, the capital.

According to the ELUIB⁶ 2014 (Melià & Vanrell, 2017), although the linguistic impact of immigration is likely to have been higher in Palma (Majorca), Ibiza, and other main tourist areas where immigration rates were in some cases as high as 40% of the current population, 97.2% of residents of Majorca can understand Catalan and 82.3% report that they can speak it. Melià & Vanrell (2017) also explain that, nowadays, four out of ten residents were born in Spanish-speaking areas of Spain, or they come from other

⁶ELUIB 2014 is a questionnaire of linguistic use organized by the Catalonia and Balearic Islands Governments and the University of the Balearic Islands, in which 1800 interviews have been completed. This questionnaire is a sociolinguistic study that allows us to know the reality of Catalan use in the Balearic Islands during 2014 and 2015. The social variables that have been taken into consideration are gender, age, area of residence (Majorca, Menorca, Ibiza, and Formentera), and the speakers' place of birth.

countries. The other sixty percent comes from Catalan-speaking areas, that is, not only from the Balearic Islands but also from Catalonia or the Valencian Community.

Despite that, other policies have supported Catalan in the Balearic Islands, such as an intermediate level of Catalan competence required to hold several public jobs in the education system or the Civil Service and the decree 49/2018 about the need to use Catalan in the Administration. Besides, Amengual (2011a: 216) explains that “Catalan has most markedly increased its presence in the education system, with the introduction of a required Catalan language class in addition to Catalan becoming the language of instruction.”

Note that Catalan started to be one of the subjects in the Balearic schools in 1979. This regulation followed the Spanish Constitution (1976) in general, and, later, the Autonomy Statute of the Balearic Islands (1984). Besides, other laws that regulate the official Catalan instruction are the so-called Law of Linguistic Normalization (1986) and the Decree of Minimums (1997). Although these laws have achieved a progressive implementation of Catalan in the formal instruction, the truth is that other opposed laws have tried to reduce the presence of Catalan and favor mostly the use of Spanish, but also of English.

On this matter, the Order of September 13th of 2004 allows children’s parents to decide whether they prefer their children’s education in Spanish or Catalan. In addition, Decree 52/2006, also called Trilingualism Decree, aimed to encourage foreign language use. This decree was incompatible with the Decree of Minimums since Catalan would not have the minimal hours established. Nevertheless, this decree did not have enough support. The Popular political Party during the 2011-2015 legislature, with Bauzà at the head, repealed the Decree of Minimums, which favored the Catalan normalization in all areas (such as administration, social media, and most formal instruction), and promoted the Order of September 13th of 2004 again. However, most parents choose Catalan in their children’s education. In 2013, Bauzà approved the so-called TIL (Comprehensive Treatment of Languages), Decree 15/2013, with which the Popular Party wanted to change the school’s linguistic situation of the Balearic Islands. More specifically, this decree reduced the instruction hours of Catalan, increased the use of Spanish, and introduced English as the language of instruction. The Balearic society strongly criticized the measure, and there were many strikes in the world of education. Finally, the Supreme Court of Law annulled TIL because the Balearic Government had not consulted this change in the linguistic situation with the University of the Balearic Islands following the Autonomy Decree (article 35).

Regarding the Catalan variety spoken in Majorca, it is essential to point out that this is an Eastern dialect that differs noticeably from the Catalan varieties spoken in the Peninsula (and the considered Standard Catalan). As Wheeler, Yates & Dols (1999), Seguí Trobat (2014), among others, explain, Majorcan Catalan is the most conservative variety of Catalan and includes a lot of archaic features from Old Catalan (Fisher, 2003, CICA, 2009). Moreover, Amengual (2011a: 216) specifies, concerning the current Majorcan variety, that “standard Catalan and Majorcan Catalan both emerge in different contexts of use in Majorca, with the formal registers of the Catalan media and the educational system representing Standard Catalan, and the vernacular of everyday life presenting Majorcan Catalan.” In that regard, what can be said is that spoken Catalan in Majorca differs to a greater extent from written Standard Catalan, given that while the spoken variety is acquired at home and in familiar contexts, the latter is learned at school or institutions (see Wheeler et al., 1999 about the divergence between oral and written Catalan in the use of the pronominal clitics, and Sancho (2002) about the Catalan DOM-marker)⁷.

2.2 Societal and individual (simultaneous and sequential) Bilingualism

Bilingualism entails different dimensional aspects and is a “highly complex social, psychological and linguistic phenomena” (Butler, 2008: 110). Thus, it is difficult to accurately describe which speakers can be considered bilingual (or multilingual) and what type of bilinguals they are.

Moreno Fernández (2009) exposes that the concept of *bilingualism* has suffered several alterations to delimit the definition throughout Linguistic History. He reveals that, for instance, Bloomfield (1933) assumes that bilingualism corresponds to the native domain of two languages. Some time afterward, Haugen (1970) specifies that bilinguals are those speakers who can produce complete constructions with meaning, and Weinreich & Mackey (1978) delimit the concept describing bilingualism as the practice by which speakers use two languages alternatively. Nevertheless, it seems that the definition is not enough, and it needs to be more specific. In this sense, Grosjean (2008: 4) states that “bilinguals are those who use two or more languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives.” Immediately, he specifies that fluency is not the most essential requisite,

⁷Despite this reality in the bilingual context of the Balearic Islands, more research is needed in the other islands since the situation is changing. For example, in Ibiza, a significant number of High School teachers come from Valencia and Mallorca. This seems to cause youngsters with L1 other than Catalan to develop a new variety of Catalan which differs from traditional Ibizan Catalan to different extents and that, importantly, includes phonological and morphological features from Valencian (Vanrell, PC).

but the regular use of two or more languages. Grosjean (2008: 13) also explains that a speaker who is considered a bilingual (because of using two or more languages regularly) is not a speaker with the “sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals.”

As seen, there exist many types of definitions to explain the concept of *bilingualism*. All of them could be divided into different sets depending on their specific requirements to be considered bilingual speakers. However, what is important to highlight in this dissertation is the difference between individual and societal bilingualism.

Moreno Fernández (2009: 208-213) establishes an extended description related to the difference between individual and societal bilingualism. On the one hand, he explains that individual bilingualism is a phenomenon that directly affects the individual. He follows the bases exposed by Siguán & Mackey (1986). They explain that a bilingual speaker is an individual who has an L1 and another language with similar competence. Moreover, a bilingual speaker can use both languages in similar situations and with the same effectiveness. On the other hand, societal bilingualism is explained as a phenomenon that affects a community of individuals. Specifically, Moreno Fernández (2009: 211) clarifies that both individual and societal bilingualism are closely linked, given that the bilingual community is considered a subsidiary of individual bilingualism.

However, there exist several types or grades of bilingualism that depend on the onset of acquisition of the different languages and language dominance. Researchers such as Butler & Hakuta (2008), in this respect, show that it is often difficult to find speakers with two or more languages with a native balanced competence in each of them.

Therefore, another important issue related to individual bilingualism deals with the difference between balanced and unbalanced bilinguals. The former are those bilinguals who speak two languages with similar proficiency. Nonetheless, if a speaker is labeled as a “balanced bilingual,” this does not mean that (s)he has the same competence as those monolinguals who speak one of the two languages. De Groot (2011) specifies that a balanced bilingual could be a speaker who presents a small difference between the two languages (s)he speaks. To put it differently, the balanced bilingual can show a difference in his/her proficiency between 40% (in language A) and 60% (in language B), or vice versa. In contrast, an unbalanced bilingual would be a bilingual speaker who presents an imbalance between the two languages (s)he acquired. Thus, the unbalanced bilingual has a different competence in the two languages (more than 40-60%, as seen in the balanced bilingual). Typically, unbalanced bilingualism is produced by a diglossic situation in a bilingual setting. One of the primary examples in Majorca is the fact that Catalan has not been the vehicular language in the Educational context either in the

Administration for many years. As explained before, Catalan became the vehicular language in the Majorcan society progressively from 1986. Thus, determined sequential speakers exposed exclusively to Spanish at home and only received a small amount of Catalan input during their childhood or adulthood, namely at school and in social interactions, can be considered unbalanced bilinguals with a higher Spanish percentage than Catalan competence.

This investigation focuses on the bilingual setting of Majorca, where Spanish and Catalan coexist. This dissertation considers two different types of adult bilinguals in Majorca, namely simultaneous and sequential bilingual speakers. More concretely, as Perpiñán (2016) compares, simultaneous bilinguals are those speakers who were exposed to both languages, Spanish and Catalan, simultaneously from birth in a bilingual society. In that case, both languages were spoken at home or daycare. In contrast, sequential bilinguals were exposed to both languages after three and six years of age. That is, sequential speakers were exposed later to their second early language, Catalan. Therefore, sequential bilinguals are expected to be dominant Spanish speakers (see Perpiñán, 2016: 2).

The participants of this investigation are considered bilingual speakers since they can use both languages equally. The present dissertation uses a distinction between two types of bilinguals, language competence not being one of them, given that all of them can use Spanish and Catalan in different situations and with different interlocutors. Note that the onset of acquisition depends on the context of each participant. More specifically, speakers' actual age and the vehicular language used at school when participants were between 3 and 12 years old are important factors that provide us with linguistic information, given that Catalan became the vehicular language in Early Childhood Education, Primary and High Schools progressively. For example, speakers who are between 40 and 67 years old attended school exclusively in Spanish. That means some of them acquired Catalan at home but were instructed only in Spanish. However, the younger participants (who are less than 40 years) were instructed in Spanish and Catalan. They started to be instructed gradually in Catalan in Primary school and more intensively in High School. Another relevant factor is the area where they live, given that although several speakers acquired only Spanish at home, they were also exposed to Majorcan Catalan due to societal bilingualism. For example, this is the case of sequential speakers who live in villages like Lluçmajor or Capdepera (in this dissertation).

This dissertation presents data from 51 bilingual speakers in Spanish and Catalan (see chapter 4 for more detailed information on the methodology). As explained before,

this study analyzes the speech of simultaneous and sequential bilinguals (Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2016; Perpiñán, 2017, 2018). This distribution of the bilinguals corresponds to the moment when they were exposed to both languages. More specifically, simultaneous bilinguals of this dissertation are speakers who acquired Catalan and Spanish from birth or before they were 3 years old. However, sequential bilinguals are speakers who acquired Catalan at 6 years of age or later. Note that there is a middle stage between simultaneous and sequential bilinguals, from 3 to 6 years. However, the participants of this dissertation were exposed to both languages from birth, and sequential bilinguals were exposed to Spanish from birth, and later, after the age of six, acquired Catalan.

Since there exists a relation between the type of bilingualism and the age when a speaker acquires his/her L1s (simultaneous bilinguals) or his L1 and subsequent L2 (sequential bilinguals), it is relevant to keep in mind the theoretical framework of Chomsky (1995, 2001, 2004, 2005). From a formal point of view, a Universal Grammar (UG) must be considered, given that it is present innately in the child. More specifically, UG is an unconscious knowledge of grammar which involves a set of principles. These principles can be divided into universal and parameterized. Therefore, there exist principles and parameters which depend on the exposure of the child to a particular linguistic environment. This system of principles and parameters is the basis for language acquisition.

On this matter, Hulk & Müller (2000) clarify that the bilingual child develops two languages largely in an autonomous way. However, there could be the possibility of influence from one of these languages on the other, including cross-linguistic effects such as facilitation or acceleration, transfer, or delay (see also Paradis & Genesee, 1996; Toribio, 2001).

Meisel (2011) explains, regarding the potential relationship between (individual) bilingualism and language change, that simultaneous bilinguals acquire their first languages as monolinguals do, unlike what happens with sequential learners. The latter are those who tend to produce the morphosyntactic change over the following generations because of the grammatical reanalysis they carry out in the L2/Ln. In that regard, Meisel (2011) predicts that while simultaneous bilinguals have access to the entirety UG, sequential bilinguals' acquisition process "would be guided by general problem-solving faculties and not by a language-specific ability. He further hypothesizes that L2 learners would not be able to fix the value of a parameter not instantiated in the L1." (Perpiñán, 2017: 3).

As explained before, bilingualism and bilinguals can be examined depending on the focus of the societal or individual dimensions. On this matter, this dissertation pays attention to societal and individual bilingualism, considering the age of acquisition of speakers (simultaneous or sequential) and their linguistic preference (and not competence). This investigation focuses on the island of Majorca, where the community started to be bilingual in Spanish and Catalan in the 18th century (Radatz, 2007; Enrique-Arias, 2010).

As known, one of the outcomes of language contact is a language change. Since this dissertation takes place in a bilingual community, Majorca, it is relevant to consider the possibility of language change in the phenomena examined. Language change is analyzed mostly as a possible consequence of language contact, but natural language development is also considered.

2.3 Language contact and language change: The case of Majorcan Catalan

Language change occurs naturally in different levels of linguistic structure, namely “the sound level (phonetics and phonology), the word level (morphology), the sentence level (syntax) and the meaning levels (semantics and pragmatics)” (Burridge & Bergs, 2016: 5). However, it is important to consider the connection between the different levels; that is, language change can be triggered on one level due to the change produced on other levels. As Burridge & Bergs (2016: 5) explain:

When, for example, phonetic erosion leads to the loss of final syllables, this often has consequences for both morphology and syntax, as (in the case of Germanic languages) final syllables are the place for inflectional suffixes (which signal grammatical functions and relations).

This dissertation considers the possibility of constant and unavoidable language change due to natural language development, but mostly due to language contact between Spanish and Catalan in the bilingual setting of Majorca.

Bilingual communities, just as the presence of linguistic minorities, exist in almost every country. This scenario is also the case of Spain, in Catalonia, Galicia, the Basque Country, the Valencian Community, and in the region where the present study takes place, namely the Balearic Islands. As it happens in such communities, the linguistic diversity situation prevails, and the most predominant question that comes to mind is to which extent the languages spoken by bilinguals change in ways that can be affected by the bilingual setting itself. This question is relevant, given that it is necessary to

investigate the extent to which the historical and social development in such bilingual communities exists since it can be the root of linguistic outcomes that are different from others found in monolingual settings.

Several studies (Labov, 1969, 1972, 2001; Payrató, 1985; Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; Poplack, 1993; Silva-Corvalán, 1994; Thomason, 2001; Blas Arroyo, 1995, 1998, 2011; Seib, 2001; Penny, 2004; Siemund, 2008; Sinner & Wesch, 2008; Poplack & Leavy, 2010, among others), focused on bilingualism and language contact, argue that the primary consequences of language contact have to do with the presence of transfers or convergence (integration) between the two (or more languages) which coexist in a bilingual scenery.

Transfers are understood as individual features that are transmitted unidirectionally from one language to another sporadically. Nonetheless, the presence of convergence corresponds to uses that become innovative forms and more similar in both languages (see, e.g., Blas Arroyo 1998, 2011, Thomason 2001). Mackey (1976: 310-312) differentiates transfer from integration as follows:

By interference, I mean the use of elements of one language or dialect while speaking or writing another; it is characteristic of the message. By integration I mean the incorporation into one language or dialect of elements from another; it is characteristic of code.

In that regard, Sinner & Wesch (2008: 20) argue that it is essential to differentiate these terms, given that it is well-documented that there exist Catalan uses in the production of Spanish speakers who were never in contact with Catalan, even in children already monolingual. That is, integrations from Catalan are documented in Spanish.

Bilingualism can also produce different outcomes of contact-induced language change, such as the presence of innovative linguistic features in one or both languages. Another more extreme outcome could be code changes or loans between the two languages, language attrition, or even loss of the minority language⁸.

Labov (1969) states that variability is inherent, and speakers use different forms to say the same thing. However, linguists sometimes accept alternations among distinct variants due to linguistic change, although these linguistic alternations persist for several centuries. Poplack & Levey (2010: 394) specify that:

⁸ For a more detailed discussion about the connection between language acquisition and language change over time, see e.g. Pires & Thomason (2008) and references therein.

Variability is a necessary condition for change but is not, in and of itself, conterminous with it. In many areas of grammar, alternations among variant forms may persist for centuries, but linguists who believe that language is invariant often interpret them as signs of change. This inference is particularly prevalent when the forms in question are detected among speakers or groups considered vulnerable to external influence (e.g., bilinguals, residents of minority-language communities in intense contact with a majority language, etc.).

Concerning the linguistic phenomena of this dissertation, namely pronominal clitics, and Differential Object Marking, it is crucial to consider that language contact is typically responsible for a morpho-syntactic change in languages that exist in a geographical contact situation. Such a contact scenario often leads to competition between an innovative and previously existing form or structure. This contest between the languages seems to be primarily responsible either for free variation, or for a new functional distinction between the “new” and the “old” form, or the abandonment of the “old” form. From a comparative or functionalist perspective, all three of these potential outcomes may be called language change.

In this regard, there are controversial explanations in the literature involving language change. First, linguists, like Stolz (2006), affirm that language change is produced “when an innovative form or structure appears or already exists.” Second, another group of researchers, including Croft (2000:185), explains that linguistic change involves innovation, propagation, or diffusion. Finally, other linguists such as Aikhenvald (2006) and Croft (2000) argue that not only propagation of the “new form” is needed, but that system stability also matters. In other words, and following Jiménez-Gaspar et al. (in press), hanging on their time-frame and stability, contact-induced changes may be regarded as completed if “some aspects of the grammatical system of a language do not show any synchronic variation and speakers are hardly aware of these as ‘foreign,’” and “the contact is now in the past” (Aikhenvald 2006: 21). On the other hand, contact-induced changes may be seen as “in progress,” “ongoing,” or “continuous” (Tsitsipis 1998) when “the degree of influence of the other language depends on the speaker’s competence and [...] proficiency” (Aikhenvald 2006: 22).

Finally, it is relevant to consider that this view “differs as to whether they take the development of new structures by some, but not all individuals in the community as representing change” (Jiménez-Gaspar et al., to appear: 2). This is the reason for analyzing in this dissertation a ‘change in progress.’ Some individuals may have introduced a new feature or structure into their grammar, while, in fact, others have not. Therefore, it can be assumed that variation across speakers exists.

Nonetheless, in the recent literature, it is less explained how contact-induced linguistic change still shows the maintenance of archaic forms, as Enrique-Arias points out (2010, 2012, 2014). He specifies that it is essential to consider both external (social variables) and internal (such as typology and language structure) factors to understand how transfer occurs in such cases (and bringing language change). Furthermore, he argues that language change becomes unavoidable when a diglossic situation⁹ exists in a bilingual community.

Regarding the studies that Enrique-Arias (2014a) has carried out on the Majorcan Spanish situation, he concludes that language change can be inhibited due to two possible situations. One of these situations would be the maintenance of the recessive variant (in MS, differently in other Spanish dialects) because both languages in contact, Spanish and Catalan, have the same equivalent structure. The other possibility would be the absence of the same structural parallel in Catalan (the contact language), and the consequence would be the block of the new structure in MS (following the Enrique-Arias approach related to MS).

Enrique-Arias (2010: 99) also asserts that many of the currently used features in MS already existed in the texts of the eighteenth century. He shows that these features can also be seen in Spanish varieties that do not coexist with another language in a bilingual context, as it occurs in Majorca. For this reason, Enrique-Arias suggests that many Spanish structures have not changed by contact with Catalan; that is, these Spanish structures have been maintained thanks to the existence of similar linguistic structures in Catalan. Therefore, new structures have not been introduced from Catalan to Spanish due to linguistic contact because they already existed.

Amengual (2011a: 216) claims that “Majorca is an ideal case of bilingualism with a stable language contact situation.”, given that the variety of Catalan in Majorca has achieved a higher prestige “in contexts of use with a stronger presence in the linguistic landscape.” However, the pronominal clitic system has raised almost no interest in the Catalan-Spanish bilingual context, neither in the Peninsula (but see Perpiñán, 2016) nor in the case of Majorcan or Balearic varieties (but see Jiménez-Gaspar et al., 2017a, 2017b, 2018, and 2020). The lack of linguistic research in this respect is opposed to the extensive literature that analyzes the morphophonological features, the grammatical

⁹Note that a diglossic situation is a bilingual context where one of the two languages is the prestige language and, therefore, it is used in formal contexts such as politics, administration, school, among others. However, the other language is relegated to a familiar (informal) context. Majorca has been a bilingual community with a diglossic situation for many years.

nature, and the syntactic behavior of the pronominal clitics in different Spanish varieties without Catalan contact (e.g., Uriagereka, 1992, 1995, 2002; Fernández-Ordóñez, 2001; Zagona, 2002; Larrañaga & Guijarro Fuentes, 2012, among others).

Thus, this dissertation analyzes synchronic data (to investigate possible signs of convergence between Majorcan Spanish and Catalan) and diachronic data. The goal of comparing both types of linguistic data is to examine the same features in the current and former linguistic stages of Spanish and Catalan to determine whether language change has been produced in these two languages spoken on the island of Majorca. In a nutshell, if the current pronominal clitic system of MC is the result of language change, the Catalan diachronic data previous to substantial contact between Spanish and Catalan on the island of Majorca (texts of 13th-17th Old Catalan, both Majorcan and Central varieties) should not present similar properties for the pronominal system. If the diachronic data do show parallelisms to the synchronic pronominal system of MC, the hypothesis on the recent linguistic change as the result of linguistic contact and (societal or individual) bilingualism, according to Enrique-Arias' proposal (see also Thomason 2001, for a preliminary report) must be rejected.

Since variation and language change can be produced by external factors related to the speaker's social variables, this investigation considers the possible effect of the extra-linguistic variables of gender, age, instruction level, area of residence, and linguistic preference.

2.4 The possible effect of extra-linguistic variables

Tagliamonte (2012, following Chambers, 2003) explains that one of the main tasks of Variationist Sociolinguistics is to consider both dependent and independent variables. In other words, what sociolinguistics analyzes is the interplay between society, culture, and language. More specifically, Tagliamonte (2012: 7) argues that "the dependent variables are the features of the linguistic system that vary (e.g., the varying pronunciations of the same phoneme, the choice of a relative pronoun, the selection of an intensifying adverb)," while the independent variables have to do with the characteristics correlated with the variation, which can be internal or external to the grammar.

Regarding the focus of this dissertation (the Majorcan pronominal clitics and DOM), the dependent variable relates to the uses of the MC and MS pronominal clitics and the production of DOM taking into account their possible variants in Majorca. Both internal and external factors have been analyzed as independent variables.

According to the independent internal variables, this study analyzes the syntactic position of clitics, as proclitics and enclitics, as well as the dislocation of the DO NP argument (left and right dislocations) where DOM is expected to occur. These independent internal variables are examined as the internal grammatical features of these two phenomena in Majorcan Spanish and Catalan in order to compare them with the dependent variables.

The external independent variables are the speakers' social features such as gender, age, education level, and the area of residence (i.e., a village of the Majorcan island, or the capital, Palma). Besides, participants' type of bilingualism and their linguistic preference (if any) are correlated with the area of residence.

Concerning the extralinguistic variables, it is necessary to consider the possible variation across gender, age, and the educational level of speakers:

- **Gender**

"Gender is the socially constructed counterpart of biological sex." (Cheshire 2002: 427, in Tagliamonte 2012: 32). In that regard, what is important is to verify whether women or men produce different variants, given that several studies affirm that "females show a greater sensitivity to evaluative linguistic forms than males do" (Wolfram 1969: 78, in Tagliamonte, 2012: 32). Back to Labov (1972: 243), he describes women's careful speech as a prestigious discourse, without stigmatized features. In this sense, several linguists (e.g., Wolfram & Fasold, 1974; Cameron & Coates, 1988) coincide in that women tend to present a more careful production and closer to the prestige forms of the standard variety. Nevertheless, Trudgill (1983) declares that it is also essential to keep in mind other social variables such as age, education, and social class. Other researchers such as Cheshire (2002), Milroy et al. (1994), and Watt (2002) consider that "women adopt linguistic features with a relatively wide geographical distribution, the supra-local or national norms" (Tagliamonte, 2012: 32).

To sum up, it could be said that women usually avoid the production of stigmatized and less valued features. Moreover, they are more inclined towards forms that have more prestige and closer to the standard variety. Besides, it is believed that women have better linguistic skills than men (Chambers, 2003: 149-153). This would be strictly linked to what Labov explains (2001a: 283) about women who are more likely to initiate linguistic change using innovative forms that have more prestige or are close to the standard variety. Only later (i.e., in the next generation) men adopt these innovative forms that have changed. However, Krock (1978), Trudgill (1972), among others, refer to what they

call "male retreat from female-dominated change" (Tagliamonte 2012:32). To put it differently, men direct their speech in the opposite direction; namely, they tend to produce a more careless speech. Finally, it should be added that, according to Trudgill (1972: 182-183), while men give an undercover prestige ("covert prestige") to the characteristics of the working class, women do not. Therefore, even though women tend to use the best regarded forms, at the same time, they are the speakers who can produce language change more rapidly, for the reason that they are known to be the individuals who use the more prestigious variants.

In the data collected for this investigation, it is essential first to analyze whether women produce different variants compared to men, and second if women have started to use or preserve these features.

- **Age**

Concerning the factor of the speakers' age, it can be said that there are often several changes in the linguistic forms throughout the lifespan of individuals. These changes depend on the moment of their lives in which they are. In other words, young people do not speak like adults. On this matter, Tagliamonte (2012: 43) specifies that:

sometimes speakers change the way they speak at different ages. Sometimes the whole community is changing the way they speak. Sometimes both types of change happen at the same time. The only way to tell is to uncover the patterns and interpret them.

In this sense, Labov (1994: 84) coins the expression "age grading" to explain that speakers use their language differently because they are positioned in different stages of their life with distinct ages, and, for this reason, they adapt their speech to their age group. In that way, "if individuals change their linguistic behavior throughout their lifetimes, but the community as a whole does not change, the pattern can be characterized as one of age grading" (Tagliamonte, 2012: 37).

This dissertation considers the age of speakers, who are classified into different groups (see Table 5), to observe whether this social variable can affect the production of specific variants in the phenomena analyzed in this investigation. More concretely, the participants of this dissertation have been divided into three different equitable groups (17 speakers in each age group) based on their societal context.

Groups of age	Description adapted from Tagliamonte's proposal (2012)
16 ¹⁰ -29 years	It could be the case that speakers of this group of age have already been inserted into working life. Therefore, it is expected that they pay attention to the use of more specific vocabulary and more formal speech.
30-40 years	It is expected that speakers of this group of age present more accurate structures and vocabulary, given that it is thought that speakers in this age range have more societal pressure than the other age groups.
41-67 years	In the group of age between 41 to 50 years of age (n=11) and 51 – 60 years old (n=2), a transition between maturity and old age is expected. However, it could be the case that speakers aged between 61 and 67 years produce a more careless and simple language since they are retired or are poised to be retired. On this matter, it is expected that these speakers use simple language because they "are no longer under societal pressure."

Table 5. Groups of age examined in this dissertation

However, as Moreno Fernández (2009: 48) points out, regarding the linguistic development of speakers, the essential stage is the moment when they acquire the language of the social group to which they belong. Thus, this investigation considers mostly the moment when the participants of this dissertation were exposed to Catalan in Majorca; that is, whether they are simultaneous or sequential bilinguals. Likewise, their exact age is crucial, given that it is essential information that allows us to know the linguistic background of the society during their childhood.

- **Education level**

Moreno Fernández (2009: 61) specifies that speakers can produce different variants in the same language depending on the level of education. In that way, Sociolinguistics has verified that speakers who have higher education produce the variants that are more well-regarded and, consequently, speakers who are not well-informed are expected to produce other (less prestigious) variants. Moreover, there exists a relationship between

¹⁰Since this dissertation only presents data from one speaker who is 16 years old, the linguistic characteristics of adolescents are not considered. The rest of the speakers of this group of age is 20 or more years old.

the level of education and other social variables such as profession and status since those speakers who are more well-instructed have the possibility of obtaining a more skilled job and, after that, a better status with more power.

One of the problems analyzing this social variable entails the disparity in the different official levels of education considered in the different studies for each community. Researchers such as López Morales (1983) distinguished up to eight in Puerto Rico, while Samper (1990) only took six of them into consideration. Contrastingly, this dissertation analyzes the difference between four groups of speakers who have been exposed to four different levels of education. Table 6 specifies these levels of education, which are based on the specific circumstances of the participants of this study:

Level of education	Correlation with (un)official studies
Elementary studies	Speakers are literate; that is, they can write and read. However, they did not attend school, or they attended school until pre-school or primary school.
High School	Speakers attended school, but only the Mandatory Secondary Education (<i>ESO</i> in Spanish). ¹¹
Community College	Speakers completed not only <i>ESO</i> but also other studies to be instructed for a specific profession. These studies would be less skilled than the following.
Undergraduate Degree	Speakers have at least one college degree. However, they may also have a master's degree. None of the participants in this study has higher studies than a master's degree; that is, none have a doctorate.

Table 6. Levels of education examined in this dissertation

The following section 2.5 examines the concept of linguistic preference and the methodology carried out in this investigation to gather the participants in the three possible groups of preference: (i) preference for both languages, Spanish and Catalan, (ii) preference for Spanish, or (iii) preference for Catalan.

¹¹Note in this respect that Spain has undergone different Educational Laws throughout Spanish democracy. Therefore, High school is also linked to the Basic General Education (*EGB* in Spanish).

2.5 Linguistic preference

Although different linguistic tools allow the measurement of the speakers' competence in their different languages and at different stages of linguistic development (Birdsong, Gertken & Amengual, 2012; Schmeisser, Hager, Arnaus Gil, Jansen, Geveler, Eichler, Patuto & Müller, 2015, among others), this dissertation considers the speakers' linguistic preference with the answers obtained from an ethnolinguistic questionnaire (see Appendix 2). The reason why an assessment (as those carried out by Birdsong et al. (2012)) has not been accomplished (to evaluate which linguistic competence the participants have in each language they speak) deals with the fact that the participants of this dissertation are bilingual speakers with competence in both languages, Spanish and Catalan. The aim of establishing their linguistic preference is to examine their attitudes and preferences in different situations regarding the daily use of Spanish and Catalan in Majorca. Thus, this investigation aims to trigger a classification into different groups depending on speakers' linguistic preference and their frequency of use and exposition of Spanish and Catalan, with the resulting information from the ethnolinguistic questionnaire.

The speakers of this dissertation were divided into three different sets based on their linguistic preferences. More specifically, this dissertation considers the type of input (societal and familiar) and the accumulative input across the educational level that participants have received throughout their linguistic development in both languages (Carroll, 2015; Unsworth, 2017).

The questionnaire contains eighteen questions based on different information, such as where participants were born, when they started living in Mallorca (if they were born in another place of Spain), where their parents were born, and which L1 they have (or had). However, most of the questions deal with the participants' linguistic preferences. Nine out of eighteen questions relate to the speakers' linguistic preference in daily situations like which language they prefer to use while shopping, when they spend time with friends, among other similar questions. Therefore, the responses to these questions allow us to establish three major groups related to the different linguistic preference examined in this dissertation, that is, (i) the preference for using both languages under study, Catalan and Spanish, (ii) the preference for using Spanish, or (iii) the preference for using Catalan. Each of the thirteen questions presents the same possible responses, that is:

- a) Spanish
- b) Catalan

- c) Both languages
- d) Another language¹² (in this case, participants had to specify which language is)

The analysis of these responses is as follows. Each response (and, therefore, each linguistic preference) has a value (following Perpiñán (2018) and Arnaus (2020)), and the final amount of the total responses related to the linguistic preference allow us to classify speakers into a determinate group of preference:

Linguistic preference	Values
Both languages	0 points
Spanish	0.5 points
Catalan	1 point

Table 7. Linguistic preference values

However, it is relevant to highlight that it has been necessary to create different scales depending on the number of questions answered by participants. Note that there are four questions associated with the vehicular language used during different educational stages, that is, pre-school (question 3), primary school (question 4), secondary school (question 5), or subsequent educational courses¹³ (question 5). Therefore, it has been crucial to consider which educational level participants have to classify them depending on a specific scale. More specifically, if participants have elementary studies, they responded to seven questions about their linguistic preference. In contrast, speakers who have secondary studies responded to eight questions. Finally, speakers with a community college or undergraduate degree responded to the whole set of questions (nine) about their linguistic preference.

Table 8 summarizes the three different scales depending on which studies the participants have:

¹²Since none of the participants indicated the use of another different language, the fourth response has not been analyzed.

¹³It could be the case that speakers took professional training or a degree.

Linguistic preference	Values	Scale 1: Elementary studies (7 questions)	Scale 2: Secondary studies (8 questions)	Scale 3: subsequent studies (9 questions)
Both	0 points	0-2.3	0-2.6	0-2.9
Spanish	0.5 points	2.4-4.7	2.7-5.3	3-5.9
Catalan	1 point	4.8-7	5.4-8	6-9

Table 8. Linguistic preference values and three different scales depending on the educational level

In a nutshell, the number of questions has been divided into three different groups based on the three possibilities related to a linguistic preference (both languages, Spanish, and Catalan). Scale 1 presents seven questions, scale 2 contains eight questions, and scale 3 includes the whole set of questions based on the linguistic preference (9 questions). The number of responses in each scale (depending on the participants' educational level) allows us to establish which linguistic preference prevails in every individual questionnaire. In that way, speakers who obtain between 0 and 2.3 (scale 1), 2.6 (scale 2) 2.9 points (scale 2) are gathered in the group with a preference for both languages. In contrast, participants are considered speakers with a preference for using Spanish if they obtain between 2.4-4.7 (scale 1), 2.7-5.3 (scale 2), or 3-5.9 points (scale 3). Finally, speakers with high punctuation are assembled in the group with Catalan preference, that is, with punctuations between 4.8-7 (scale 1), 5.4-8 (scale 2), and 6-9 points (scale 3).

Section 2.6 presents the basis of this dissertation, considering the focus and the innovative investigation that fills in the gaps from previous studies.

2.6 The present dissertation

The most extensive study devoted to the situation of Spanish in Majorca is from Moll (1961), who proposes a first classification of the characteristics of Spanish in a Catalan-speaking region. Likewise, Moll (1962) alludes to the fact that catalanisms¹⁴ (Blas Arroyo, 1993, 1995, 1998, 2007; Amengual, 2011b) carried out by Catalan-speaking speakers are not signs of being a member of uneducated classes. The reason for this claim resides in the fact that these traits are acquired simultaneously with the mother tongue. This is why this dissertation takes into consideration the concept of *transfer* (Mackey, 1976;

¹⁴Blas Arroyo (2007: 85) describes "catalanisms" as Catalan words used in Spanish.

Weinreich et al., 1978; Haugen, 1970; Payrató, 1985; Blas Arroyo, 1998) and *integration* (Sinner & Wesch, 2008), whose meanings seem to be controversial in the literature.

Therefore, to fill in the gaps from previous studies, this dissertation examines the production of pronominal clitics and DOM by bilingual speakers of Spanish and Catalan spoken in Majorca. This language contact situation is very interesting from a linguistic perspective since it represents one instance of bilingualism in two closely related Romance languages. Therefore, this dissertation presents a theoretical and empirical study on the use of clitics and the production of DOM in Majorcan Spanish and Catalan. Besides, it offers new perspectives on how the inter-speaker bilingual variation and the possible diachronic change can be integrated into formal grammatical theory, considering that Weinreich et al. (1968) provide evidence for the fact that language variation is the norm rather than the exception in the domain of bilingual language contact.

More specifically, this dissertation focuses on several results of such language contact between bilingual speakers in a situation of societal bilingualism. For this reason, this investigation considers the connection between the possible synchronic variations in language acquisition and ongoing language change. Jiménez-Gaspar et al. (in press [2020]) claim that:

Change occurs, for instance, when learners do not acquire a grammatical feature represented in the grammar of the previous generation or when they introduce a new feature when developing their individual grammar. This and other changes can occur when a language develops new linguistic properties as a result of contact with another language.

Given that language change usually occurs due to either natural processes of language acquisition or contact with another language, especially in bilingual contexts, it is essential to find an answer to the following questions: how does linguistic contact act in individual development, and how does it generally interrelate with language change?

Chapter 3 examines the pronominal clitic systems and the use of the *a*-marking (Differential Object Marking, DOM) in Spanish and Catalan. The chapter is divided into different sections related to the emergence of the concept of *clitic* and the historical evolution from Latin to the two Romance languages. Likewise, the description of the two different phenomena under study in this dissertation is presented, both Spanish and Catalan, namely, pronominal clitics and the use of the Differential Object Marking (DOM). Moreover, important previous studies are discussed on these topics. Finally, the research questions and the hypotheses of this dissertation are postulated.

CHAPTER 3

SPANISH AND CATALAN PRONOMINAL CLITICS AND DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING

3.1 On the concept of pronominal clitic and the emergence of Spanish and Catalan pronominal clitics

It is challenging to find theories that agree regarding the nature of pronominal clitics in Romance languages due to their syntactic, phonetic, and morphological behavior.

The study of Romance pronominal clitics began in the middle of the 19th century when Diez (1844) notices Spanish and Old Portuguese clitics tend to occupy a position close to the verb. Wackernagel (1892) analyzes the classical Greek clitics' behavior and establishes a principle based on the order of words and the enclitic elements. On this matter, he asserts that clitics should always appear in the second position of the sentence. This observation was essential, given that it entailed a new perspective in the study of clitics. From that moment, clitics were considered a category that depends on general principles of grammar (Camacho, 2006).

Meyer-Lübke (1897) applies the principle explained by Wackernagel in Old Portuguese and concludes that, indeed, pronominal clitics occupy the second position of the sentence as much as of late Latin Romance systems. He also notes a significant change in the ancient works concerning the greater use of the proclitic pattern (Camacho, 2006).

In 1898, Mussafia explained that proclisis is the unmarked position of clitics after checking the analysis from Tobler (1878) in Old Italian; therefore, he claims that the subsequent studies should focus on enclisis. The Tobler-Mussafia law summarizes the studies carried out not only by Tobler (1878) and Mussafia (1898) but also by Sorrento (1951), Ulleland (1960), Ramsden (1963), and Wanner (1987) (more details in Enrique-Arias, 1997: 76, and Camacho, 2006: 24) regarding the analysis of clitics position:

1. Enclisis is found when the verb occupies the initial position in the clause or the coordinated clauses.
2. Enclisis is (almost) constant in main clauses coordinated with the Latin conjunctions *e* and *ma*.
3. Enclisis and proclisis are possible when a subordinate clause precedes the main verb.

4. There is the same probability that enclisis or proclisis appears in major clauses that do not meet I, II, and III requirements.
5. Proclisis is constant in subordinate clauses.

Besides, the Tobler-Mussafia law specifies that clitics have no purely phonological identity neither in a proclitic nor enclitic position; that is, they do not have stress.

In the 20th century, Sapir (1930) explained that enclisis consists of the suffixing of certain particles to a word, thus forming a phonetic unit. This phonetic unit would include a word and a segmented element which cannot appear independently. The most relevant contribution of Sapir to this study is his assertion that clitics behave as verbal affixes in Romance languages. Therefore, they are not considered independent words from the phonological point of view.

In the same line of argumentation, Nida (1946) argues that the morphological nature of pronominal clitics does not correspond to what is considered a word, nor to what is understood as an affix. That is why Wells (1947) alludes to the importance of revising the pre-established classical concept of the word in the 1940s.

Zwicky (1977) performs a classification of clitics according to three interrelated modules that cannot be separated: the syntactic, morphological, and phonological modules. More specifically, Zwicky calls the Romance languages' pronominal clitics "special clitics" since they present a phonological reduction and show a special syntax. They are considered to have a special syntax, given that clitics do not occupy the position that could occupy the corresponding NP argument.¹⁵

In addition to these characteristics, Zwicky specifies that these clitics cannot be emphasized since this function supposedly corresponds to the full, nor can they be omitted under identity. In summary, Zwicky defines the (special) clitics of the Romance Languages as phonological elements linked to a host which need a special syntax.

¹⁵Zwicky differentiates between three different types of clitics: (i) the simple clitic (which does not correspond to Romance pronominal clitic), and a phonological reduction characterizes it. For this reason, the simple clitic needs to be attached to the closest word to which it is subordinated. However, this kind of clitics always appears in the same position as the corresponding full forms. One example would be the reduced forms of English auxiliary verbs such as the verb "to have" in "He's had one brother"; (ii) the special clitic explained above, and (iii) the linked words. These are defined as phonologically dependent units with some syntactic freedom; that is, they can be attached to a wide variety of categories (not only verbs). Although the linked words are attached phonologically to a word, they are related to a complete phrasal or clausal unit from the syntactic and semantic point of view.

Klavans (1985) tries to explain why pronominal clitics should be attached to a host, the verb. She proposes three binary parameters for the optimal analysis of the different types of clitics of the linguistic system to which they belong (Camacho, 2006: 33):

- A. Structural parameters
 - 1. Dominance: initial/final
 - 2. Precedence: before/after
- B. Phonological parameters:
 - 3. Liaison: Proclitic/Enclitic

Figure 1. Three binary parameters to explain the development of pronominal clitics (Klavans, 1985)

Dominance and precedence are two syntactic structural parameters that explain how clitics behave in a generative syntax tree. Clitics are considered by Klavans (1985) phrasal affixes that belong to the phrase or clause level. However, Romance clitics only can be hosted by a verb, so according to Klavans, they are not phrasal but verbal affixes. On the one hand, dominance is a parameter that establishes a single relation between the nodes.¹⁶ More specifically, dominance is based on relations represented graphically in terms of top-to-bottom order; therefore, in cliticization, dominance controls the constituent where clitics belong. In that regard, clitics can be attached to the corresponding dominant constituent's initial or final position. On the other hand, precedence entails a relation represented graphically in terms of left-to-right order.

Camacho (2006) argues that Romance pronominal clitics are characterized by having a final dominance (since they always depend on a verb), before or after precedence, given that clitics can appear before or after the verb (24), and a proclitic or enclitic *liaison*.

(24) Quiero dártelo / Te lo quiero dar
 want.PRES.1p.sg. give.INF.you.cl-it.cl. / you.cl it.cl want.PRES.1p.sg give.INF
 'I want to give it to you.'

[Example from Camacho: 2006: 36]

Notice that in Spanish and Catalan, precedence (before or after the verb) and *liaison* (proclitic or enclitic) are connected, although precedence is syntactic, and liaison is phonological criteria.

Although the proposal of Klavans (1985) obtained a high degree of acceptance (since she argues that clitics are elements attached structurally to phrases or clauses, whereas

¹⁶A syntactic structure is represented by nodes, and nodes are connected by branches.

affixes are joined at the level of the word), this statement does not match Romance pronominal clitics due to their connecting domain being the verb. Therefore, Klavans (1985) specifies that it could be the case that Romance pronominal clitics are not phrasal affixes but verbal affixes. Thus, clitics are analyzed as morphological units with special syntactic and phonological characteristics that constitute cliticization parameters.

Kayne (1991) was one of the main contributors to a generative theory for clitics, establishing specific criteria (explained in van Riemsdijk, 1999: 2-5):

- i. **Special position:** Clitics appear in a position where the corresponding full phrase does not occur. Direct object clitics, for example, occur to the left of the finite verb (25), while full direct objects are on the right (26).

(25) **Las** compro en el mercado (PS)
 them.cl buy.1p.sg. in the market
 'I buy them in the market.'

(26) Compro **las naranjas** en el mercado (PS)
 buy.1p.sg. the oranges in the market
 'I buy the oranges in the market.'

- ii. **Obligatoriness**, that is, the appearance of the clitic in the special position is obligatory, as shown in (27-29), as opposed to the behavior of certain quantifiers.

(27) Leyó todo *lo (PS)
 read.PAST.3p.sg everything acc.it.cl
 'He read everything.'

(28) **Todo** lo leyó (PS)
 everything acc.it.cl read.3p.PAST.sg
 'He read everything.'

(29) **Lo** leyó **todo** (PS)
 acc.it.cl read.PAST.3p.sg everything
 'He read everything.'

- iii. **Adjacency of the verb**, that is, the clitic must appear adjacent to the verb, since the verb acts as its host. More specifically, the clitic can appear in some cases in both syntactic positions, before the verb, as a proclitic (30), or after the verb, as an enclitic (31).

(30) **Lo** quiero comprar (PS)
 acc-it.cl want.1p.sg buy
 'I want to buy it.'

(31) Quiero comprar**lo** (PS)
 want.1p.sg buy- acc-it.cl
 'I want to buy it.'

- iv. **The requirement of the verb**, given that clitics cannot appear without the presence of the verb; therefore, clitics cannot be used as an answer (32):

(32) ¿Qué quieres comprar? -- ***Lo** (PS)
 what want.2p.sg buy -- *it.cl
 'What do you want to buy?'

- v. **Non-modification**. Clitics can never be modified:

(33) Cojo el abrigo de papá / ***[Lo]** [de papá] cojo (PS)
 take.1p.sg the coat of daddy / *[it.cl] [of daddy] take.1p.sg
 'I take daddy's coat.'

[Example from Larrañaga & Guijarro-Fuentes, 2012: 2]

- vi. **Non-tonicity** since clitics cannot be stressed:

(34) ***LA** quiero comprar (PS)
 IT.cl want.1p.sg buy
 'I want to buy it.'

- vii. **Non-coordination**, given that clitics cannot be conjoined:

(35) ***Los y las** vi en el parque (PS)
 them.cl and acc.them.cl saw.1p.sg in the park
 'I saw them in the park.'

viii. **Fixed and special order**, that is, clitics occur in a fixed order, and very often, this order deviates from the order in which the corresponding full phrases would occur. This restriction refers mostly to clitic clusters, as examples (36a)-(36b) shows:

- (36) a. Él entregará el libro a su profesor (PS)
 he deliver.fut the book DOM his teacher
 'He will deliver the book to his teacher.'
- b. Él **se** **lo** entregará
 he dative.him.cl acc.it.cl deliver.fut
 'He will deliver it to him.'

Camacho (2006) specifies that clitics do not constitute a regular class of elements since they are a hybrid category. They present characteristic traits of a word and features of an affix, and they are part of the pronominal referential system. More concretely, clitics behave as words because they are generated in a canonical position, and immediately after they are moved in syntax. Besides, they occupy a verbal valence. At the same time, they behave as affixes since they are morphological units with a specific marking and syntactic and phonological characteristics.

Thus, clitics are characterized by being multimodular, given that they belong to phonological, morphological, and syntactic modules, and they present the difficulty of being analyzed from each of these modules separately. Zwicky (1977) explains at the time that clitics contain a "special syntax and opaque phonology." However, this multimodular feature of the pronominal clitics presents several problems because it is essential to use information from the different modules. In this sense, Camacho (2006:15) argues that this problem can be resolved, assuming that the syntactic constituent has the look-back or look-ahead capability. More specifically, concerning the Romance pronominal clitics, she explains that categorical pronominal clitics select a specific lexical category as a host, that is, a morphological property.

To sum up, clitics have always been considered particles characterized by their lack of tonicity, rigid syntactic behavior, and, therefore, their syntactic dependence; that is, clitics need a host to appear (in the case of Romance languages, the host is a verb). Thus, clitics would be halfway between what has traditionally been well-thought-out free forms or words and linked forms or affixes (Zwicky, 1977; Klavans, 1985; Kayne, 1991; Bosque & Demonte, 1999; van Riemsdijk, 1999).

Nevertheless, Badia (1981:293) explains that the best term to refer to *clitics* is not as "unaccented forms," but as "fully-reinforced forms." Because those elements, called clitics, are sometimes not unaccented, but instead they acquire the tonicity of the verb to which they are attached in the same word, he considered that in Balearic Catalan, clitics cannot always be regarded as clitics (for more information see Torres-Tamarit, 2017). On this matter, Muller (1998: 117) specifies that it is better to say that clitics have no accent of their own than refer to them as unstressed forms, given that this is the reason why they need to be placed immediately before or after a verb (their host) with which they create a phonological word.

Likewise, Kayne (1975) and Todolí (1998; 2002) put forward that the essential feature of clitics is not only the quality of being unaccented but also their halfway position between the considered nominal and functional categories. Following generative Morphosyntax, clitics would be part of the so-called functional categories. As explained in Escandell & Leonetti (2000: 364), those elements constitute closed paradigms and present many combinatorial restrictions. As known, they are weak or dependent on the phonological or morphological point of view, and they lack descriptive content.

Another aspect is that functional categories, differently from lexical ones, vary more from one language to another. More specifically, functional categories have linguistic properties that allow us to derive differences between languages since they are the ones that activate the syntactic processes. Stiasny (2006) specifies that clitics are particles that depend on a host, whose requirements depend on the linguistic system of the language to which they belong (see also Klavans, 1985).

Frías-Conde (2003) argues that pronominal clitics should be analyzed as hybrid forms that can lose their nominal property due to their strong connection with the verb. Therefore, they should be treated as almost-verbal elements which can constitute a functional nucleus.

Therefore, this dissertation considers clitics as hybrid functional independent categories between what an independent syntactic and phonological word is considered and an affix (a verbal affix, as Klavans (1985) specifies). Clitics cannot be examined as independent words because they always depend on the verb (Spanish and Catalan). However, they are not simple affixes due to their syntactic movements and the possibility of covering a verbal valence, so they are considered hybrid elements between a word and an affix.

After examining the different theories regarding what a clitic is, it is relevant to glance throughout Historical Linguistics to establish when pronominal clitics appeared in Spanish and Catalan.

Pronominal clitics did not exist in Classical Latin. There were only strong personal pronouns, and they were syntactically independent and full forms. However, as Gargallo Gil & Bastardas (2007) explain, a parallel series of pronominal clitics emerged during the evolution of Vulgar Latin to Romance languages.

In Latin, pronouns possessed morphemes that constituted endings with information about the case, gender, and number, as it is the case with nouns and adjectives. It is possible to observe in Table 9 (adapted from Penny, 2008: 150) a diachronic vision of the evolution of personal pronouns from Classical Latin to Spanish and Catalan pronominal clitics.

	Direct Object (DO)			Indirect Object (IO)		
	Latin	Spanish	Catalan	Latin	Spanish	Catalan
1sg	ME>	me	me/em	ME>	me	me/em
2sg	TE>	te	te/et	TE>	te	te/et
3sg	ILLUM>	lo	el	ILLI>	le	li
(masc)	ILLAM>	la	la	ILLI>	le	li
3sg (fem)	NOS>	nos	ens	NOS>	nos	ens
1pl	VOS>	(v)os	us/vos	VOS>	(v)os	us/vos
2pl	ILLOS>	los	els	ILLIS>	les	els/los
3pl (masc)	ILLAS>	las	les	ILLIS>	les	les/los
3pl (fem)	ILLUD>	lo	lo			
Neutral						

Table 9. Latin pronoun evolution into Spanish and Catalan pronominal clitics (adapted from Penny, 2008: 150)

As observed in Table 9, there were only first and second grammatical person pronouns in Latin. For the third person, it was necessary to use the demonstratives (IS, HIC, ISTE, ILLE), and, finally, ILLE was the one employed exclusively.

In the process from Vulgar Latin to the Romance languages (of Spanish and Catalan), a pronominal clitic (unaccented forms) system was constituted in parallel to the strong pronouns paradigm. This development was possible because some pronouns lost their accent on the positions in which they did not function as a subject or as a prepositional complement. After this process, they became clitics and began to be used before or after the verb (which would become its host, a tonic word, with which they began to form a single phonological word).

Regarding the unaccented pronouns, which function as direct objects, they come from the accusative case. These became enclitic forms, developing a single word next to the verb from the phonological point of view. About its evolution, it is essential to mention that, after the loss of tonicity, these forms were reduced from –LL- to //, and no palatalization originated in other cases regularly.

In contrast, IO forms come from the dative case (ILLI/ILLIS), but it is relevant to notice the substitution that occurs between the dative forms MIHI, TIBI, SIBI, NOBIS, VOBIS by the accusative ME, TE, SE, US, VOS, which provoked an inescapable concomitance with the direct object in Vulgar Latin. Therefore, although the pronoun *me* can be dative at present, this was not the case in Latin, unlike what happens to the pronoun *mí*, oblique currently, which does come from a Latin dative.

Thus, the origin of the clitics relates to the absence of the tonicity of individual particles that needed to be attached to another type of (accented) words. However, their syntactic rules were not as strict as those that suffer at present, which obliges to consider them as hybrid particles, between what is regarded as a word and an affix, which could be either verbal (Klavans, 1985) or phrasal (Camacho, 2006).

In medieval Spanish and Catalan, clitics could appear before the verb (proclisis), in the middle of a verbal form (mesocclisis), and after the verb (enclisis), but the mesoclitic position was lost, differently from what happened with French and Portuguese.

Section 3.2 presents the relevant information about Spanish and Catalan pronominal clitics, considering the similar traits. More specifically, section 3.2.1 and 3.2.2 focus on the particularities of Spanish and Catalan clitics, respectively.

3.2 Spanish and Catalan pronominal clitics

Spanish and Catalan pronominal clitics represent the grammatical (direct or indirect) object of the verb and appear next to the verb, as proclitics (before the verb) or as enclitics (after the verb). Unless otherwise specified, the general analysis presented in this section is shared between Spanish and Catalan¹⁷ pronominal clitics.

The pronominal clitics of these two Romance languages (Spanish and Catalan) present restrictions on their position concerning the verb, depending on its typology. As

¹⁷Note that Spanish and Catalan refer to the varieties closer to what is considered Standard and do not apply to different varieties.

Eisenclas (2003) explains, if the verb is finite (inflected), the clitic must appear as proclitic (before the verb), as shown in (37) and (38) for Spanish and Catalan.

- (37) Quiero el coche = **lo** quiero / *quiero lo (PS)
 Vull el cotxe = **el** vull / *vull lo (CC)
 want-1p.sing. the car = it.cl want-1p.sing
 'I want the car = I want it.'

- (38) **Lo** voy a comprar (el coche) (PS)
El vaig a comprar (el cotxe) (CC)
 It.cl go-1p.sg to buy
 'I am going to buy it.'

Contrastingly, if the verb that hosts the clitic is an infinitive, a gerund, or an affirmative imperative, the clitic appears typically linked to the same verbal form, as enclitic (39)-(40).

- (39) Voy a comprar**lo** (el coche) (PS)
 Vaig a comprar-**lo** (el cotxe) (CC)
 go-1p.sg to buy-it.cl
 'I am going to buy it.'

- (40) Compra el coche = cómpralo / *lo compra (PS)
 Compra el cotxe = compra'l / *el compra (CC)
 buy-2p.sing the car = buy-2p.sing-it.cl
 'Buy the car = buy it'

As explained in Jiménez-Gaspar et al. (to appear: 5), "in the case of uninflected verbs the clitic may raise to a proclitic position to a higher verb in the clause, in cases of restructuring."

Furthermore, as Wheeler et al. (1999) and Bosque & Demonte (1999) explain, because of these characterizations presented by pronominal clitics, they cannot appear alone in an utterance (41), as explained before with Kayne's criteria for clitic status:

- (41) **Lo** quiero / *Lo (PS)
EI vull /*EI (CC)
 it.cl see-1p.sg / it-cl
 'I want it.'

Note that pronominal clitics need a host to appear. Therefore, they need to appear linked to a verb in the case of Spanish and Catalan. Likewise, clitics cannot be focused or topicalized (42) since they are unstressed forms; they neither can be coordinated (43) or modified (44):

- (42) ***ME** vieron (PS)
 ***EM** varen veure (CC)
 me.cl saw.PAST.3p.pl
 'They saw me.'

- (43) ***me** y **te** vieron (PS)
 ***em** i **et** van veure (CC)
 me.cl and you.cl saw.PAST.3p.pl
 'They saw us.'

- (44) ***Los** vieron a él (PS)
 ***Els** varen veure a ell (CC)
 them.cl saw.PAST.3p.pl to him
 'They saw them/ they saw him.'

Regarding the inability to modify each of the pronominal clitics, this criterion corresponds to the fact that each of the forms relates to a specific person or gender characteristics; therefore, there is an exclusive form for every person with a specific gender and number properties.

Spanish and Catalan pronominal clitics can be divided into two distinct sets of forms, which depend on their corresponding person (first, second, or third, singular or plural). On the one hand, first- and second-person pronominal clitics (e.g., *me* 'me,' *te* 'you') represent both masculine and feminine gender; that is, they lack the morphological gender distinctions. These two kinds of clitics neither possess a case distinction between accusative and dative forms. On the other hand, first, second, and third-person pronominal clitics can be divided into reflexive and non-reflexive forms. However, the form of the pronominal clitic only changes with the third-person pronominal clitics

(reflexive (45) and non-reflexive (46))¹⁸.

(45) Se	peina	por las mañanas	(PS)
Es	pentina	els matins	(CC)
	cl.reflexive comb.3p.sg.	in the morning	
	'She combs her hair in the morning.'		

(46) La	vi	ayer	(PS)
La	vaig veure.1p.sg	ahir	(CC)
	her.cl saw.1p.sg	yesterday	
	'I saw her yesterday.'		

Furthermore, third-person pronominal clitics present distinct forms for the accusative (47) and dative (48) Latin cases. However, regarding gender differences in the third-person pronominal clitics, only the accusative ones show distinct morphological gender forms (compare examples 47a-47d); but all of them present, as the first- and second-person pronominal clitics, morphological number distinctions with (*los, las, les*) and without (*nos, os*) the presence of the plural ending -s.

(47) a. Mañana	lo	traeré	(tu regalo)	(PS)
b. Demà	el	duré	(el teu regal)	(CC)
	tomorrow	acc.masc.cl	brought (your present)	
c. Mañana	la	traeré	(la tarta)	(PS)
d. Demà	la	duré	(la tarta)	(CC)
	tomorrow	acc.fem.cl	brought (the cake)	
	'I will bring it tomorrow.'			

(48) a. Le	compró	un regalo a él	(PS)
b. Li	comprà	un regal a ell	(CC)
	him.dat.cl	bought.1p.sg	a gift to him.
	'(S)he bought a present to him.'		

The following sections, 3.2.1 and 3.2.2, describe the Spanish and Catalan pronominal clitic systems, respectively, taking into account previous studies. Besides, section 3.3 explains Clitic Doubling constructions where the clitic coappears with the corresponding

¹⁸ This dissertation does not consider the distinction between reflexive and non-reflexive forms, but between person, gender, number features, as well as between accusative and dative cases.

Noun Phrase argument, and section 3.4 examines the development of the Differential Object Marking in structures without the appearance of the clitics.

3.2.1 Spanish pronominal clitics

Spanish pronominal clitics have several properties in common with Catalan. As explained before, the two pronominal clitic systems can be divided into two different sets of clitics: (i) first- and second-person, and (ii) third-person pronominal clitics. Note that the former clitics do not present gender distinctions, but only number differences between singular and plural forms. However, third-person clitics present specific distinctions between the accusative and dative cases (with the DO and IO forms, respectively). Likewise, DO clitics can be classified by gender and number features. Despite these similar characteristics between the two systems, the Spanish system only yields four distinct pronominal clitics regarding first- and second-person pronominal clitics, as shown in Table 10:

	Accusative case		Dative case	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
First-person	me	nos	me	nos
Second-person	te	os	te	os

Table 10. Spanish first- and second-person pronominal clitics

As observed in Table 10, first- and second-person pronominal clitics do not present different forms to represent the accusative and dative cases. Besides, this set of clitics does not exhibit gender features, and the most crucial distinction between them relates to the person and the number.

Concerning the third-person pronominal clitics, there exist two different pronominal clitic systems, a so-called etymological system and a so-called referential system (Table 11). The etymological system presents Latin case differentiation between accusative and dative. However, the referential system shows a distinction of gender (masculine and feminine) but does not present the Latin case distinction in the pronoun.

	Accusative case				Dative case		
	Singular		Plural		Neutral	Singular	Plural
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.			
Etymological system	lo	la	los	las	lo	le	les
Referential system	le/lo	le/la	les/los	les/las	lo/le	le/lo/la	les/los/las

Table 11. Etymological and Referential third-person pronominal system in Spanish¹⁹

The first system, the etymological one, is used in almost the whole country, Spain, and the Balearic Islands, except in the dialectal isogloss expanded from the south of the Cantabrian Mountains to La Mancha, where the referential system is produced (Fernández-Ordóñez, 2001).

The Spanish referential system presents the well-known phenomena *leísmo*, *laísmo*, and *loísmo*. *Leísmo* is the phenomenon that refers to the production of the direct object with the pronominal clitics *le/les* instead of *lo/los* or *la/las*. Besides, there are two different phenomena of *leísmo*, which involve either animate reference (49) or inanimate reference (50). The reverse processes are *laísmo* and *loísmo*, which entail the use of the pronominal clitics *la/las* (if the referent is feminine, as shown in (51) or *lo/los* (if the referent is masculine, even though this change is less usual (52)) instead of using *le/les* to refer to the indirect object²⁰.

(49) **Le** ayudo siempre que puedo (PS)
 3p.sg.dat.cl help.1p.sg always that can.1p.sg
 'I help him whenever I can.'

(50) *El coche, siempre **le** aparca en el garaje (PS)
 the car, always 3p.sg.dat.cl. park.3p.sg in the garage
 'The car, (s)he always parks it in the garage.'

[From Jiménez-Gaspar et al., 2017b]

(51) *Yo **la** digo qué pasa (PS)
 I 3p.sg.acc.cl-fem tell.1p.sg what happen.3p.sg
 'I tell her what happens.'

¹⁹ Table 11 is adapted from Fernández-Ordóñez (2001: 10-12).

²⁰ These are examples produced by different speakers, and not all of them are from the bilingual speakers who have participated in this dissertation.

		Proclitics (before the verb)		Enclitics (after the verb)	
		long form	short form	long form	short form
First pers.	singular	em	m'	-me	'm
	plural	ens	ens	-nos	'ns
Second pers.	singular	et	t'	-te	't
	plural	us	us	-vos	-vos

Table 12. First -and second-person pronominal clitics in Central Catalan

If the verb starts with a vowel, the used form is reduced (henceforth PSF, proclitic short form as in (54)), and it also occurs when the verb ends with a vowel, whose enclitic is reduced (henceforth ESF, enclitic short form as in (55)). In these cases, the short form of the clitic is used with an apostrophe in its spelling, creating a unique morphophonological word. Nevertheless, if the verb starts or ends on a consonant, the used form is a long form.

(54) **M'**agrada la truita (PSF) (CC)
me.cl-like the omelet
 'I like omelet.'

(55) Posa'**t** les sabates (ESF) (CC)
 put-you.cl the shoes
 'Put your shoes on'

The traditional grammar in Catalan uses the term “reinforced form” to refer to the long form as proclitic that is constituted by a vowel followed by a consonant (henceforth PLF, proclitic long form as in (56-58)).

(56) **Em** dutxo tots els dematins (PLF) (CC)
 me.cl shower.1p.sg every the mornings
 'I take a shower (myself) every morning.'

(57) **Et** compraré aquest cotxe (PLF) (CC)
 to.you.cl buy.FUT.1p.sg this car
 'I will buy you this car.'

(58) **Es** pentina ara (PLF) (CC)
 self.cl brush-3p.sing.pres now
 'He now brushes (himself).'

		Proclitics		Enclitics	
		long form	short form	long form	short form
First pers.	sing.	me	m'	-me	'm
	pl.	mos	mos	-mos	
Second pers.	sing.	te	t'	-te	't
	pl.	vos	vos	-vos	

Table 13. Possible first- and second-person proclitics and enclitics in Majorcan Catalan

Regarding the form *mos*, for the first person in the plural, Wheeler et al. (1999) argue that this allomorph has undergone a process of analogy with the clitic *me*, for the singular person. This use differs from the CC ELF *nos* used in Central Catalan. More specifically, Wheeler et al. (1999: 169) explain that “the first-person singular morpheme *m* is extended to the plural form by many dialects which have *mos* for *ens/nos*.” In the same line of argumentation, Seguí Trobat (2014: 93) claims that, in MC, the form *nos* is also used in rural areas because it is a conservative form (as shown in chapter 5 about diachronic data), without the Spanish influence.

A current study carried out by Enrique-Arias (2019) could clarify the use of *mos* in MC, after analyzing diachronic data from the ALPI and regional atlas focused mostly in (Peninsular and Insular) Spanish from rural areas. He describes data of the 20th century (from 1930). Figure 2 (Enrique-Arias, 2019: 49) shows the different variants of *nos* in the different areas of Spain during the 20th century:

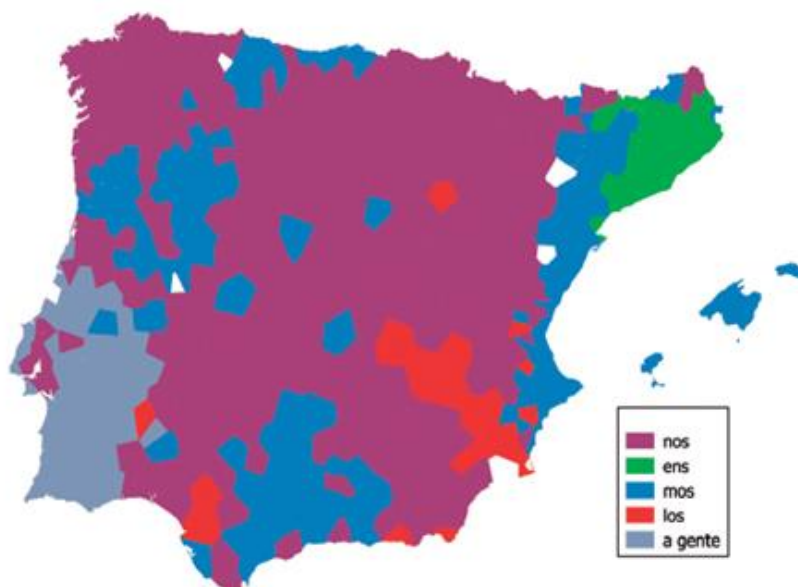


Figure 2. Distribution of the *nos* variants along the Spanish areas in ALPI (Enrique-Arias, 2019: 49)

He observes that the form *mos* was extended in Balearic Spanish. More specifically, Enrique-Arias argues that *mos* appeared in peripheral areas, such as the inland of Cantabria, the east of Asturias, and an Andalusian area. Besides, the form *mos* encompassed the whole area of Occidental Catalan, including the Balearic Islands and the northeastern region of Aragon.

In this regard, Enrique-Arias (2019: 26) argues that the forms *mos* and *vos* are not vulgar uses, characteristic of speakers who have low sociocultural status, as Llorente Maldonado de Guevara (1947: 132) and Baz (1967: 54) explain; but these forms are the most archaic forms used for the first-person plural form. *Mos* is the pronominal clitic which appeared as a result of an analogy with the first-person singular form *me* and the verbal ending “-mos” of the first-person plural form, like a tendency to equalize the first-person indicators (Wheeler, 2009; Seguí Trobat, 2014; Enrique-Arias; 2019).

The form *mos* could be a form of verification of the two processes: (i) the influence of Spanish and (ii) the analogy of *me*. It is important to highlight that not many speakers had received formal education before the twentieth century, so the rural, archaic form, *mos*, was the one that was extended orally, and the formal form, *nos*, was mostly found in the written texts.

Despite the existence of studies on Catalan clitics, it should be added that it was not until the 1920s and 30s when medieval Catalan clitics were analyzed to determine what the normative forms should be. Fabra (1913) was the grammarian who established that the old variety was the language that more closely resembled their current variety and that the forms to be selected as normative were those used daily in CC.

When comparing literature on Spanish and Catalan, there is further research on the Spanish clitic system (e.g., Uriagereka, 1995; Zagona 2002, among others) than on the Catalan clitic system, and it concentrates mostly on its distinct linguistic varieties (but see, e.g., Gavarró 1991, Wexler, Gavarró & Torrens, 2003; Batllori et al., 2004; Varlokosta et al. 2015, Perea, 2012;). To a better understanding, there are no previous studies of the clitic system in the context of adult Catalan-Spanish bilinguals in Majorca. There are some linguists which describe the possible prevailing clitics in MC from a descriptive point of view, such as Alcover (1916), Fischer (2003), Perea (2012), Martin (2012), and Perpiñán (2016, 2018), and a normative point of view, as seen in Wheeler et al. (1999), Seguí Trobat (2014), among others. However, none of the above provides an overview of the clitic system from a bilingual standpoint.

Wheeler et al. (1999: 169) explain that the PLF are used frequently in the Balearic Islands and some parts of Valencia as proclitics and other positions (not only in sentence-initial position) where the more general tendency is to favor the ‘reinforced’ [long] form, that is, the pattern formed by V+C.

Maré i Soler (2012) associates this use of the full forms (V+C PLF) in the Catalan variety spoken in Girona with the same forms produced in clitic clusters, such as in (62):

(62) Vull aquesta llibreta, **me** **la** compres?
want-1p-sing. this notebook, to.me-cl. it-cl. buy-2p-sing.
'I want this notebook, do you buy it for me?'

[From Jiménez-Gaspar et al., 2017a]

However, if the first-person clitic is used with a verb that starts in a consonant, the allomorph *em* is used in CC, instead of *me*:

(63) **Em** compres aquesta llibreta?
to.me-cl. buy-2p-sing this notebook
'Do you buy it for me?'

In this investigation, it is defended that the long forms (used as enclitics in CC) are the most archaic forms that were used in both Balearic Catalan and other Catalan varieties from the 13th century. Therefore, it could be asserted that there is no recent change other than the spread of these full form clitics in MC, given that they have been used in this variety for centuries. There is one exception since, although the full enclitic forms occurred in Catalan centuries ago, as supported by the examination of Old Majorcan Catalan texts, there are no examples in these historical data with the use of *mos* instead of *nos*.

Concerning the third-person pronominal clitics in Catalan, Roca (1992) indicates that there is considerable interest in this set of pronominal clitics, given that they vary regarding various features not only including gender and number but also the Latin case. Unlike Spanish, Catalan only presents an etymological system, distinguishing between accusative and dative pronominal clitics (see, e.g., Todolí 1998, Montolla Abat 2002).

Table 14 shows the different CC clitic forms, adapted from Bonet & Lloret, (2005). It is important to emphasize the presence of alternative forms for each clitic, which constitutes distinct patterns of syllabication in the language (Bonet, 2002; Bonet & Lloret, 2005):

Clitic type	Label	Phonetic alternations	Citation form
CC(i)-clitics	3 rd dat. Pl.	[elzi], [lzi]	elzi
V-clitics	Neuter	[u]	ho
CV(z)-clitics	3 rd dat. sing.	[li]	li
	3 rd acc. fem. Sing.	[lə], [l]	la
	3 rd acc. fem. Pl.	[ləz]	les
3 rd masc. acc.	3 rd acc. masc. sing.	[əl], [lu], [l]	el
Clitics	3 rd acc. masc. pl.	[əlz], [luz], [lz]	els

Table 14. Third-person Barcelonan Catalan pronominal clitics (adapted from Bonet & Lloret, 2005: 40)

Bonet & Lloret (2005: 40) clarify that *CC(i)-clitics* are clitics with two adjacent consonants and variable appearance of schwa plus variable consonant deletion.” *V-clitics* are the allomorphs that present only one vowel, such as *ho* ([u], neuter), or *hi* ([i], locative). *CV(z)-clitics* are those which are constituted by one consonant plus a vowel that represents a morpheme, plus an optional plural morph. In the end, the forms which represent the third-person masculine accusative clitics allow two types of allomorphy, following the structure *CC(i)-clitics* or *CV(z)-clitics* (gender allomorphy).

Perea (2012) proposes an analysis of clitic clusters considering different Catalan varieties, including MC (as well as other Balearic dialects) and CC. Nonetheless, she describes data previously collected and analyzed by Alcover (1916) and other data from the same period. Then, although her paper brings light to the topic, it lacks details regarding the properties of different Catalan varieties that are currently spoken. Concerning the properties, she recognizes in MC that *les* (third-person DO feminine plural pronominal clitic) is frequently used for both accusative and dative cases. So, as Jiménez-Gaspar, Pires and Guijarro-Fuentes (2017b: 9) state, ‘speakers use the feminine accusative pronominal clitic *les* instead of the dative *els* to refer to the indirect object, representing a counterpart to *Spanish laísmo*’, as seen in example (64) (adapted from Perea (2012: 139)).

- (64) **Les** ne duràs dues (a elles, dues pomes)
3p.pl.acc.cl 3p.sg.partitive give.FUT.2p.sg two (to them, two apples)
Els ne duràs dues (CC)
‘You will bring them two apples’

Perea (2012) observes another variation pattern: the production of the third-person dative with an epenthetic vowel [ə] in several Peninsular Catalan dialects. She takes this pattern to involve an epenthetic vowel after the plural form when it constitutes a clitic cluster, that is, in structures where this dative clitic [elze] /əlzə/ appears combined with

another one, such as the accusative clitic /la/ (65):

- (65) **əlzə** **la** vull donar
3p.pl.dat.masc.cl 3p.sing.acc.fem.cl want give
'I want to give it to them'

[From Perea, 2012: 133]

Bonet (1991, 1995, 2002) and Bonet & Lloret (2005) also try to describe in depth the third-person pronominal clitics in different dialects of Catalan. More concretely, Bonet (1991) proposes that the dative singular clitic /li/ takes the form /i/ when it is combined with an accusative clitic (*els* [əlz]), as indicated in (66-67) (Bonet (1995: 641)):

- (66) Ses pomes, a s'al·lot **[əlzi]** donaré més tard
The apples, to the child 3p.acc.cl-3p.dat.cl give.fut later
'The apples, I will give them to the child later.'

- (67) Els llibres, a en Quim **[əlzi]** donaré
The books, to the Quim 3p.acc.cl-3p.dat.cl give.fut
'The books, to Quim I will give.'

About that, Bonet (1995: 603) specifies that:

Even though the output clitic form looks like the third person plural dative clitic in isolation, /lzi/ (the schwa being epenthetic), the antecedent of the dative clitic is singular, not plural (*a en Quim*). [...] the plural marker /z/ in the output form has to come from the accusative (plural) source (the antecedent being plural: *els llibres* 'the books').

Besides, Bonet (1995: 603) adds that the third-person accusative clitic may not show feminine agreement in the plural in clitic-cluster structures, as shown in the examples above (66-67). However, it is expected that a feminine marker is present when this clitic appears in isolation, and the antecedent is feminine.

Other researchers adopt the proposal of the epenthetic vowel (in the plural dative form) in connection with the singular one /li/. Wheeler et al. (1999) claim that the production of [əlzi] has to do with a reanalysis of the singular IO clitic /li/. In the same line of argumentation, Boeckx & Martín (2013: 13) state that:

Speakers do not use the normative *els* as the third person plural dative clitic. Rather, speakers add a vowel [i] to the normative form, perhaps by analogy with the dative singular *l*-clitic that ends in [i]. Thus, the dative plural *l*-clitic ends up pronounced as [əlzi].

Seguí Trobat (2014) also maintains that using the epenthetic vowel [i] in /əlzi/ is a reanalysis in analogy to the singular form *li*.

Bonet (1991: 603) also finds another particularity of Catalan clitics regarding the neuter /o/ (or /u/). She argues that, in Catalan, it is an independent clitic with a specific morphological process, whereby the third-person accusative clitic becomes a neutral clitic, such as in (68):

- (68) Ses pomes, a els al·lots [əlzo] donaré més tard
the apples, to the children [them] give-fut-1p.pl later
'The apples, I will give them to the children.'

[From Bonet, 1991: 603]

Moreover, this dissertation examines the possible evidence concerning the occurrence of the forms *elze/elzi*. Specifically, this investigation analyzes whether the use of each epenthetic vowel constitutes a specific semantic parameter. Likewise, it also addresses the properties of the neutral clitic, *ho*, in the results because its development seems to be difficult to explain in MC. Its production in MC follows a specific pattern since it is used not only with neutral but masculine referents.

Concerning the possibility of producing clitic clusters, the truth is that Catalan is more flexible than Spanish. As explained before, while Spanish only allows the combination of a dative clitic plus an accusative one, Catalan presents many more possibilities, as in the next examples taken from Todolí (1998: 105):

- (69) **me'l** poso (CC)
me.cl+acc.cl.masc.sing. put. 1p.sing.pres.
'I put it on.'

- (70) **posa-te-me'l** (CC)
put-you.cl+me.cl+acc.cl.masc.sing.
'Put it on.'

Table 15 summarizes MC third-person pronominal clitics taking into account previous studies. However, notice that most of the forms are considered in constructions where clitic clusters appear:

Peninsular (Central) Catalan				
	Short forms		Long forms	
	proclitics	enclitics	proclitics	enclitics
3 rd acc. sg. masc.	l'	'l	el	-lo
3 rd acc. sg. fem.	l'	'l	la	-la
3 rd acc. pl. masc.	els	'ls	els/les	los
3 rd acc. pl. fem.	les	'ls	les	-les
3 rd acc. neutral	ho	-ho	ho	-ho
3 rd dative sg.	li	-li	li	-li
3 rd dative pl.	els	-hi	elz[i/e]/lis/les	-hi

Table 15. Possible third-person proclitics and enclitics in MC (adapted from Perea, 2012; Boeckx & Martín, 2013; Seguí-Trobat, 2014).

An essential difference between MC and CC is produced with the dative plural clitic. It seems that an epenthetic vowel ([i] or [e]) is added in clitic clusters. The accusative feminine form is used with feminine dative and accusative masculine plural arguments. However, there are no studies focused on the rest of the forms, so that this dissertation will provide more information related to the current forms used in MC.

To conclude, it is necessary to consider the similarities and differences between the pronominal systems of Spanish and Catalan (including the differences between CC and MC). The most important issue related to the three pronominal clitic systems analyzed is that all three, Peninsular Spanish, Central, and Majorcan Catalan, present several long clitic forms which converge in these varieties (among which are *me*, *te*, and *nos*). However, while both PS and MC present them in any position (proclitic or enclitic), CC only exhibits them after the verb (when this ends in a consonant). Therefore, the difference between the production of the long forms relates to their position next to the verb. CC shares two sets of PLF, which depend on the nature of the verb (as explained in section 3.2.2), unlike MC and PS:

- Set 1, as proclitic forms: *em*, *et*, *ens*, and *us*, before the verb, when it starts with a consonant. The structure is (V+C) proclitic form + a verb.
- Set 2, as enclitic forms: *me*, *te*, *nos*, and *vos*, after the verb, when it ends in a consonant. The structure is a verb + (C+V) enclitic form.

However, PS and MC only present the second set of clitics both before and after the verb with specific distinctions in the plural forms. Although PS shows the first-person plural clitic, *nos*, MC presents *mos* (as a reanalysis of *me* or the reduced form *m'/'m*). The inverse occurs with the second-person plural form, *vos*, which pertains to the MC system but not in PS, in which case the form is *os*.

Thus, this dissertation analyzes the extent to which Catalan-Spanish bilingual speakers use forms that match CC and PS pronominal clitic systems. These clitics are interesting due to their position next to the verb, as proclitic or enclitic forms, and due to their morpho-phonological nature.

In some constructions, pronominal clitics co-appear with their corresponding NP in the so-called CLD constructions. Likewise, these constructions contain a Differential Object Marking (DOM) with DO arguments. The following sections (3.3 and 3.4) describe the Clitic Doubling structures and the use of the Differential Object Marking (without the co-appearance of the pronominal clitics).

3.3 Clitic Doubling in Spanish and Catalan

Clitic Doubling (henceforth CLD) structures are those where a pronominal clitic co-occurs with the argument noun phrase (NP henceforth) that the clitic refers to (e.g., Jaeggli, 1986; Anagnostopoulou; 2006, Camacho, 2018), as the example (71) shows:

- (71) a. **Le** dio la bicicleta **a él** (Spanish)
 b. **Li** donà la bicicleta **a ell** (Catalan)
 3p.dat.cl gave.3p.sg the bicycle DOM him
 '(S)he gave him the notebook.'

Following Kayne's proposal (1975), the fact that the argument appears doubled indicates that the Noun Phrase (NP henceforth) must be marked (see next section 3.4 for the Differential Object Marking explanation). Kayne's generalization (Jaeggli, 1982) claims that a NP can be doubled by a clitic if the NP appears preceded by an *a*-preposition or *a*-marking. More specifically, Camacho (2018: 241), following Kayne's approach, argues that:

Si el verbo solo puede licenciar un único argumento interno, y el clítico representa a ese argumento, entonces para que pueda aparecer la frase determinante, debe haber otra categoría que la licencie, en este caso la "preposición" (o la marca correspondiente).²²

²² If the verb can only license a single internal argument, and the clitic represents that argument, then for the determining phrase to appear, there must be another category that permits it, in this case, the "preposition" (or the corresponding mark). [Translation made by the author.]

Kayne's CLD analysis about the clitic movement would present the *a*-preposition or the *a*-marking as the licenser to allow the co-appearance between the IO or DO NP argument and its corresponding pronominal clitic.

It has been explained (Döhla, 2016; Assman, 2017) that CLD (and DOM) originated from dislocation structures that allow us to introduce or change topics. What Assman (2017:2) proposes is that both Spanish and Catalan have grammaticalized the dislocation devices, but each one in different degrees.

Before analyzing the different degrees, it is essential to highlight the different development that DO and IO clitics follow in these constructions. While dative clitics (and, then, IO arguments) always allow the co-appearance between the NP and the clitic (72), DO clitics (73) present more restrictions (Roca, 1992)²³:

- (72) a. Juan le dio una libreta a Amelia (PS)
 b. El Joan li donà una llibreta a l'Amèlia (CC)
 (the) John 3p.dat.cl gave a notebook to (the)Amelia
 'John gave Amelia a notebook.'

- (73) a. *Juan la vio a Amelia (PS)
 b. *El Joan la va veure a l'Amèlia (CC)
 (the) John 3p.acc-fem.cl saw DOM (the)Amelia
 'John saw Amelia.'

The following examples display a restriction that DO clitics present, that applies to *wh*-phrase (A-bar dislocated objects) as shown by the contrast between the following examples (74)-(78).

- (74) a. ¿A quién le diste la libreta? (PS)
 b. A qui li donares la llibreta? (CC)
 to whom 3p.dat.cl gave.2p.sg the notebook
 'To whom did you give the notebook?'

²³All these instances appear in Jiménez-Gaspar et al. (to appear).

- (75) a. Esta es la chica a la que le di la libreta (PS)
 b. Aquesta és l'al·lota a la qual li vaig donar la llibreta (CC)
 this is the girl to the that 3p.dat.cl gave.1p.sg the notebook
 'This is the girl to whom I gave the notebook.'
- (76) a. A Amelia le di un beso (PS)
 b. A l'Amèlia li vaig donar un petó (CC)
 to Amelia 3p.dat.cl gave.1p.sg a kiss
 'It is Amelia that I kissed.'
- (77) a. *¿A quién la llamaste ayer? (PS)
 b. *A qui la cridades ahir? (CC)
 DOM whom him.acc.cl called.2p.sg yesterday
 'Who you did call her yesterday?'
- (78) a. *Esta es la libreta que se la di a Amelia (PS)
 this is the notebook that 3p.dat.cl her.acc.cl gave.1p.sg to Amelia
 b. *Aquesta és la llibreta que l'hi doní a l'Amèlia (CC)
 this is the notebook that 3p.acc.cl'3p.dat.cl gave.1p.sg to Amelia
 'This is the notebook that I gave it ti her to Amelia.'

Nevertheless, dative and accusative clitics must co-exist in structures where either the IO or DO NP is a strong pronoun. This restriction applies in any right²⁴ (81) or left (82)-(83) dislocation, and in the canonical position (79)-(80):

- (79) a. **La** llamé **a ella** (PS)
 b. **La** vaig cridar **a ella** (CC)
 3p.acc-fem.cl called.1p.sg DOM her
 'I called her.'
- (80) a. *llamé **a ella** (PS)
 b. *vaig cridar **a ella** (CC)
 called.1p.sg DOM her
 'I called her.'

²⁴Note that right dislocation refers to the DO that appears after another NP; therefore, the NP is dislocated to the right since it does not appear just after the verb.

- (81) ***(le)** di la libreta **a él** (PS)
***(li)** doní la llibreta **a ell** (CC)
 (3p.cl-dat) gave.1p.sg the notebook to him
 'I gave him the notebook.'

This requirement for clitic doubling with strong pronouns also applies to cases of clitic left dislocation, with both direct and indirect objects, as in (82) and (83):

- (82) a. **A ella *(la)** veo todos los días (PS)
 b. **A ella *(la)** veig tots els dies (CC)
 DOM her her.acc.cl see-1p.sg everyday
 'I see her everyday.'

- (83) a. **A él siempre *(le)** ha gustado ir a la montaña (PS)
 b. **A ell sempre *(li)** ha agradat anar a la muntanya (CC)
 DOM him always him.dat.cl has pleased-3p.sg go-inf to the mountain
 'He always liked to go to the mountains.'

Likewise, structures where the [+human] or [+animate] DO NP appears dislocated to the left also require the presence of the clitic:

- (84) **A la hermana de Juan la** vi en el cine (PS)
 DOM the sister of John her.acc.cl see-PAST.1p.sg in the cinema
 'I saw Johns' sister in the cinema.'

- (85) **A la gata siempre la** llevamos con nosotros (PS)
 DOM the cat always her.acc.cl bring.1p.sg with us
 'We always bring the cat with us.'

Besides, in Spanish and Catalan CLD structures, clitics are mandatory when the NP is composed of a quantifier as *todos* (everybody):

- (86) **Les** haré un regalo a todos (PS)
Els faré un regal a tots (CC)
 3p.pl.dat.cl make.FUT.1p.sg a present to everyone
 'I am going to give a present to everyone.'

- (87) **Las** saludé a todas (PS)
Les saludí a totes (CC)
 acc.cl greet.1p.sg to them(fem.)
 'I greeted them all.'

Overall, this section has described the similarities and differences between Spanish and Catalan regarding CLD constructions in which not only third-person pronominal clitics but also the DOM-marker appear (more frequently in Spanish than in Catalan). However, it is necessary to analyze the semantic interpretation of the NP marked by DOM (explained in the following section, 3.4) to compare the features and restrictions in both languages.

3.4 Differential Object Marking in Spanish and Catalan

Differential Object Marking (DOM) is a morphological marker that distinguishes DOs with specific features such as animacy, specificity, definiteness, and topicality (Torrego, 1998, 2002; von Heusinger and Kaiser, 2007; López, 2012, Fábregas, 2013; Camacho, 2018, among others). Even though the production of DOM is closely related to its appearance with CLD constructions (as seen in section 3.3), the *a*-marking is also used to avoid ambiguity between the subject and the object (Richards, 2010). Despite Spanish and Catalan (as well as other Romance languages) present DOM represented by the *a*-marking, this morphological device can act as another different form, such as *pe* in Romanian (Benito, 2017). Benito (2017: 3) specifies that Romanian and Spanish insert the DOM-marker with [+definite] and [+animate] objects (88):

- (88) a. He visto **a** tu hermana. (Spanish)
 'I have seen your sister.'
 b. Îl caut **pe** profesor. (Romanian)
 'I am looking for the professor.'

[From Mišeka, 2006: 285]

However, these two features are not enough to characterize the contexts in which DOM appears in Spanish and Catalan. Although Spanish and Catalan have a structural accusative case, there are specific differences in the constructions where the DOM-marker appears.

DOM must appear in Spanish and Catalan preceding a DO constituted by a strong pronoun. However, if a proper name constitutes the NP, the *a*-marking only is obligatory in Spanish, as shown in (89) and (90):

- (89) a. Ayer visitamos **a** **María** (PS)
 b. Ahir vàrem visitar (*a) **na** **Maria** (CC)
 yesterday visited.1p.pl (DOM) (the) Maria
 'Yesterday, we visited Maria.'

- (90) a. Ayer **la** visitamos **a** **ella** (PS)
 b. Ahir **la** vàrem visitar **a** **ella** (CC)
 yesterday her-cl visited.1p.pl DOM her
 'Yesterday, we visited her.'

In contrast, unlike Spanish, in Catalan, the *a*-marking does not appear with full NP direct objects, with verbs like *avisar* 'to warn,' *citar* 'to quote,' *elegir / escollir* 'to choose,' *escoltar* 'to listen,' *estimar* 'to love,' *obligar* 'to force,' *veure* 'to see,' *visitar* 'to visit,' or *saludar* 'to greet' (91), even when the DO refers to a [+human] or [+animate] object:

- (91) a. Juan saludó **a** **su** **hermana** (PS)
 b. En Joan va saludar (*a) **la** **seva** **germana** (CC)
 (the) John greeted DOM (the) his sister
 'John greeted her sister.'

The following sections, 3.4.1 and 3.4.2, provide more information about the DOM-features in Spanish and Catalan, respectively.

3.4.1 The Spanish DOM-marker

Considering the case of Spanish, the *a*-preposition can function as a pure "preposition" or as a case marking, namely DOM. That is, the same form converges with two different functions. DOM is an *a*-marking that distinguishes a [+definite] and [+human] DO NP. As Camacho (2018: 210) argues, while the *a*-preposition is obligatory and must appear with specific verbs (92), the presence of DOM relates to the semantic conditions of the NP (93):

(92) Voy a las tres (PS)
 go.1p.sg. to the three
 'I am going at three.'

[From Camacho, 2018: 209]

(93) Encontraron a los culpables (PS)
 found.3p.pl to the culprits
 'They found the culprits.'

[From Camacho, 2018: 210]

If the NP is [-animate] and [-definite], DOM does not appear, as shown in (94):

(94) Encontraron la respuesta (PS)
 found.3p.pl the answer
 'They found the answer.'

[From Camacho, 2018: 210]

Camacho (2018: 212) presents an *a*-preposition/marking chart which summarizes the obligatory or optional use of this morpheme in Spanish:

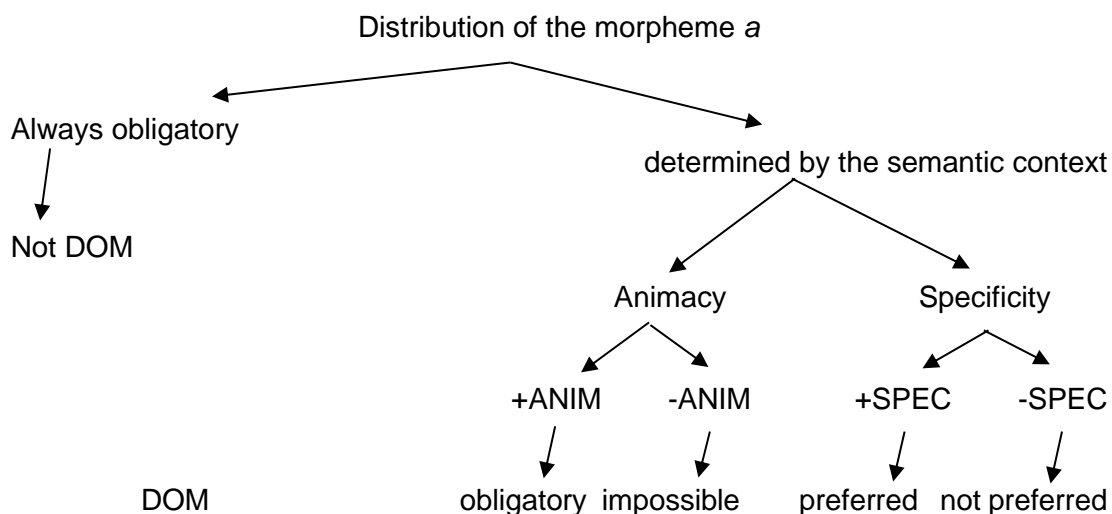


Figure 3. Distribution of the *a*-preposition and the *a*-marking

Figure 3 shows the difference between the use of the *a*-preposition (always mandatory) and the morpheme *a* as DOM only in Spanish. Concerning the different semantic conditions in the DOM production, it is relevant to differentiate the animacy and the specificity. The animacy has to do with the feature $[\pm\text{human}]$ as in (95) and (96):

(95) a. Ella vio a esa mujer (PS)
she saw DOM that woman

b. *Ella vio esa mujer
she saw that woman
'She saw to that woman.'

(96) a. Ella vio la bicicleta (PS)
she saw the bicycle

b. *Ella vio a la bicicleta
she saw DOM the bicycle
'She saw the bicycle.'

The use of DOM is considered as a strategy that differentiates subjects and objects (Silverstein, 1976). Note that subjects tend to be [+human], while objects are [+animate]. Therefore, in constructions where objects are [+definite] or [+animate], the DOM-marker allows them to differentiate from subjects.

Silverstein (1976) argues that subjects and objects must be marked with a morphological Case to avoid a wrong identification of the subject for an object or vice versa. He proposes the Person/Animacy Hierarchy (97) based on person and animacy features:

(97) 1pl>1sg>2pl>2sg>3hum.pl>2hum.sg>3anim.pl>2anim.sg>3inan.pl>3inan.sg
[From Silverstein, 1976: 122]

Aissen (2003: 437) delimits Silverstein's hierarchy and proposes the scales of Animacy and Definiteness (98)-(99):

(98) Animacy hierarchy: Human > Animate > Inanimate

(99) Definiteness hierarchy: Personal Pronoun > Proper Name > Definite > Specific indefinite > Non-specific indefinite.

She suggests that DOM emerges, given that non-typical²⁵ direct objects must be marked. DOM should appear when the DO argument is animate and definite, whereas if

²⁵Note that Aissen considers these objects as atypical DO, given that these are the ones that are more like what is deemed to be typical subjects. However, this classification is not decisive for the analyses of this dissertation.

the NP is inanimate, the presence of DOM sounds strange, as Camacho (2018: 210) shows in the examples (100)-(101):

(100) *Encontraron los culpables (PS)
found.3p.pl the culprits
'They found the culprits.'

(101) *Finalmente les devolvieron a sus pertenencias (PS)
*Finally dative.cl. gave.3p.pl. to their belongings
'Finally, they returned to their belongings.'

[From Camacho, 2018: 210]

Concerning Spanish, it is necessary to verify semantic and pragmatic conditions (as Escandell-Vidal (2007) explains) since they rule the presence of the *a*-marking.

However, [+animate] but [-specific] DOs are generally not marked, as shown by the distinction in (102) and (103) (from Jiménez-Gaspar et al., to appear).

(102) Necesito a un pintor
need.1p.sg DOM a painter
'I need a [specific] painter.'

(103) Necesito un pintor
need.1p.sg a painter
'I need a [non-specific] painter.'

The specificity considers a [\pm specific] referent in a NP. If the NP is concrete or recognizable, DOM is preferred (but not obligatory) as shown in (104); if not, the production of DOM is rare (105) and, consequently, not preferred (as Camacho (2018: 212, 209 respectively) shows in the following examples):

(104) Vimos a un niño conocido
saw DOM a child known
'We saw a known child.'

(105) Los arrestaron a todos
Acc.cl. arrested.3p.pl. DOM everyone
'They arrested everyone.'

[Examples from Camacho, 2018: 212, 209]

If the last instances (104) and (105) are compared, it could be said that the production of DOM has to do with the pragmatic property, which allows speakers to know that the referent is specific, as shown in (106).

(106) Estamos buscando una profesora con dos titulaciones
Estamos buscando a una profesora con dos titulaciones
are.1p.pl. looking for (DOM) a teacher with two degrees
'We are looking for a teacher with two degrees.'

Example (106) shows the pragmatic difference between the specific referent with the DOM use and the unknown referent without DOM.

Torrego (1998, 2002) also argues that agentive speakers favor the production of DOM in [+animate] but non-specific direct objects (107):

(107) El herido exigía (a) un médico
the injured demanded DOM a doctor
'The injured man demanded a doctor.'

[From Torrego 1998: 29]

Other pragmatic and semantic conditions have been claimed to explain the influence of several verbs on the realization of Spanish DOM. Torrego (1999) argues that [+animate] but [-specific] objects can be *a*-marked if they are affected. The verb features can be relevant for the appearance of the *a*-marking; if the verb causes an effect on the animate object, the DOM-marker can be mandatory (see also López, 2016; Benito, 2017). In Benito's words (2017: 7), "if the verb meaning affects the physical or psychological state of the DO or its localization, a DOM-marker becomes obligatory if the DO is animate," as shown in (108):

(108) a. Golpearon **a/∅ un fugitivo**. (Spanish)
'A fugitive was kicked.'
b. Vieron **a/∅ un fugitivo**.
'A fugitive was seen.'

[From Benito, 2017: 8]

Besides, Torrego (1999) asserts that the aspectual feature of the verb that involves DOM production is telicity when the DO is [+animate] but non-specific. On this matter, von Heusinger & Kaiser (2007: 90) claims that "telicity functions as a strong parameter for DOM in Spanish, for *a*-marked direct objects are obligatory with telic verbs, such as *insultar* ('insult')," as shown in (109):

(109) Marta insultó *(a) un compañero.
Marta insulted-3SG to a colleague
'Marta insulted a colleague.'

[From von Heusinger & Kaiser (2007: 90)]

Another important feature that controls the DOM-marker is topicality. Topicality refers to the information that the construction is about. Von Heusinger & Kaiser (2007) explain that topics can be marked not only syntactically but also intonationally (in that latter case, it would be necessary to analyze oral corpora). However, they argue that while left dislocated DOs are topical, an indefinite DO that appears in a canonical position, after the verb, can be or not topical, as in (110):

(110) (a) Ya conocía (a) muchos estudiantes.
 already knew-1SG to many students
 'I already knew many students.'
 (b) *(A) muchos estudiantes, ya los conocía.
 (to) many students, already them knew-1SG
 'Many students I already knew.'

[From Leonetti, 2004: 86]

Besides, Fábregas (2013) claims that DOM is obligatory in constructions, where an animate DO refers to a part of an information piece. He specifies that a construction where the larger group is mentioned and DOM does not appear with part of the information can sound odd, as shown in (111):

(111) De los parientes que quería visitar, solo vi (a) tres.
 out.of the relatives that I.wanted to visit, only I.saw to three
 'Out of the relatives I wanted to visit, I only saw three.'

[From Fábregas, 2013: 20]

The development of DOM in Catalan differs to a greater extent from Spanish. While Spanish presents DOM with NPs that function as DOs and are [+animate] and [+human], Catalan does not follow this pattern. The following lines offer a description of the uses of DOM in Catalan (Badia, 1994), in general, and in Balearic Catalan²⁶ (Escandell-Vidal, 2009), in particular.

²⁶There are no previous investigations about DOM in MC either in MS, but in BC from Escandell-Vidal (2007).

Examples (113) and (114) also show that the co-appearance of the clitic and the corresponding NP makes the presence of DOM obligatory. However, Badia (1994) argues that the requirement of the DOM-marker does not depend on the presence of clitic doubling but does depend on the presence of the strong pronoun.

There exist other constructions where DOM is optional, namely, when the DO is composed of a pronominal quantifier that refers to a person (*tothom* ‘everybody,’ *cadascú* ‘each,’ *qualsevol* ‘any,’ *ningú* ‘nobody,’ *algú* ‘someone’ (Benito, 2017), as shown in (116):

(116) Ajudaré (a) qualsevol dels companys de classe.

‘I will help any of the classmates.’

[From Benito, 2017: 14]

However, if the DO is a quantitative quantifier in the plural, the *a*-marking becomes mandatory:

(117) Això afectarà a molts.

‘This will affect many people.’

[From Benito, 2017: 14]

As explained in section 3.4.1 about the Spanish DOM-marker, this morphological device is also triggered to disambiguate subjects and objects in the same construction in Catalan. More specifically, the contexts in which DOM emerges relate to the fact that the subject appears after the verb (118) or the subject is [-animate], while the object is [+animate], since they do not have their prototypical properties (Benito, 2017), as shown in (119):

(118) Visitarà a la Laia la Berta
visit.FUT.3p.sg DOM the Laia the Berta
‘Berta will visit Laia.’

(119) És preocupant veure com ha enfonsat
[a l’assas] [el teu testimoni]
be.PRES.3p.sg disturbing see.INF how has-wrecked.3p.sg
[to the murderer] [the your statement]

‘It is disturbing to see how your statement has wrecked the murderer.’

[From Benito, 2017: 15]

Sancho (2002) claims that DOM-marker is produced in oral conversations in different Catalan-speaking areas. A difference between oral and written discourse is expected,

but the important aim is to verify the contexts in which DOM is used in Catalan. On this matter, Hualde (1992) claims that speakers produce DOM with all [+human] and [+definite] DOs in Catalan spoken language, even some [-human] and [+animate] objects (Escandell-Vidal, 2009: 839-40). Moll (1991) and Badia (1994) argue that the use of DOM in Catalan has to do with the Spanish influence, given that Old Catalan did not exhibit it. Therefore, the DOM-marker is considered to be syntactic attrition due to the contact with Spanish. As Benito (2017: 16) argues:

[G]iven that Catalan and Spanish are closely related languages, one can consider that DOM in Substandard Catalan is an attrition phenomenon with Spanish, a well-known DOM-language. In fact, DOM has been widely labeled as a *castellanisme*, which appears under Spanish's influence (Moll 1991; Badia 1994). Moll (1991), for instance, claims that DOM must be due to Spanish's influence, since (according to him) DOM was not frequent in old Catalan.

Contrastingly, as Escandell-Vidal points out (in Benito, 2017: 18), diachronic data show the emergence of DOM from the 14th century (120):

(120) Així sa prove si ames a Jesucrist [St. Vicent Ferrer S.XIV]

This is how you prove that you love Jesus.'

Escandell-Vidal (2009: 843-50) takes into consideration BC data from an extensive corpus. She explains that the *a*-marking appears in a wider set of contexts in the Balearic varieties. More specifically, she argues that, unlike in other Catalan varieties, in BC DOM is required not only with strong pronouns (121) but also with universal quantifiers (122), relative pronouns (123), reciprocals, and with all right-dislocated [+human] NPs that are pronouns (124), proper names and [+definite].

(121) Balearic (COD: Manacor CAR: Minorca)

A voltros no vos deim forasters, us deim
catalans

to you.PL not you.OBJ. call.PRS.1PL outsiders, you.OBJ.PL call.PRS.1PL

Catalans

'You, we don't call outsiders, we call you Catalans.'

(122) Balearic (Arxiu, Sant Joan, Ibiza)

Es va calar vora s'al·lota i sa vella va agafar
un mantó gros i els va emmantonar a tots dos

CL have.PST3SG put near the girl and the old.FEM have.PST.3SG take
a shawl large and them have.PST3SG shawl to all two

'He placed himself near the girl and the old lady took a large shawl and covered
the two of them with it.'

(123) (COD Eivissa ERM, Ibiza)

... coneix a qui sigui [...]

... know.PRS.3SG to who be.SBJV.3SG

'S/he knows whoever.'

(124) Balearic (Arxiu, Sant Joan, Ibiza)

Ja no el vaig deixar més i ell tampoc a jo

already not him.OBJ have.PST.1SG leave more and he neither to I

'I had not left him ever since and neither had he.'

[Examples from Escandell-Vidal (2009: 843)]

Escandell-Vidal (2009) also provides evidence regarding the optionality of DOM in BC with left-dislocated definite NPs. However, one of her findings is that the *a*-marking is mandatory with right-dislocated NPs. On this matter, Villalba (2011: 1946) points out that "right dislocation is a highly productive backgrounding strategy in Catalan." A syntactic distinction exists based on the information of the different structures that present left or right dislocations. If Spanish and Catalan are compared, Catalan exhibits "the availability of RD to the richer pronominal clitic system in the language" (Jiménez-Gaspar et al., in press [2020]).

Regarding CLRD with [+definite] NPs, she (2009: 863) proposes that these objects "indicate the storage address of a hearer-known, active entity, either already mentioned in the previous discourse or easily accessible via world knowledge, to which a new piece of information, presented as contrasting or unexpected, has to be added."

However, Escandell-Vidal (2009) asserts that DOM is rejected in contexts where the DOs occur in their canonical positions (except if the DO is a strong pronoun, proper name, or [+human and +definite] NP). Specifically, she argues that "the split between marked and unmarked objects has to do with the position in the sentence, not with definiteness or animacy." (2009: 848).

Concerning the [-definite] NPs, Escandell-Vidal claims that DOM is disallowed in non-dislocated constructions. Likewise, the same occurs with proper names and [+definite] NPs that appear in their canonical position. Besides, the *a*-marking becomes optional in left-dislocated structures, although DOM is more common in that case.

Even though Escandell-Vidal considers different types of dislocated NPs to explain the emergence of the DOM-marker, for her, the feature that seems to trigger the use of DOM is topicality. That is, the most important factor that governs the split between *a*-marked and unmarked objects in BC is the information structure or topicality leading to syntactic dislocation.

Escandell-Vidal explains that a hanging topic (HT henceforth) is a construction that introduces a new topic or changes the attention to a previous topic (Givón, 1983). Escandell-Vidal (2009: 862) argues that in left-detached (LD) constructions with a HT there are different possibilities regarding the use of DOM: 1) absence of DOM (case-marking of the left-dislocated NP), “2) the co-referential, case-marked element in the core of the clause is not necessarily a clitic, and 3) the detached expressions and the co-referential element do not necessarily match in case features. An HT is thus a sort of non-agreeing LD topic” (125).

(125) Balearic Catalan (Arxiu, Maó, Minorca)

a. Noltros ses finestres mos donen a sa planada.

We.NOM the windows us.OBL give.PRS.3pl to the plain

‘We, our windows look towards the plain.’

b. En Gabaldon, som molt amic des fill, també

the Gabaldon, be.PRS.1SG very friend of.the son as well

‘Gabaldon, I am a very close friend of his son as well.’

[From Escandell-Vidal, 2009: 67]

Escandell-Vidal (2009: 863) also argues that “clitic-left dislocation (CLLD) is consistently constructed with the preposition [DOM], while HT is systematically non case-marked.” In contrast, she presents examples of CLLD that do not meet the criteria to be treated as HT other than lacking DOM, as in (126).

(126) ...i aquell el pagaven de banda i ningú es dava compte de res.

...and this (one) him.cl paid quietly and no one noticed of thing

[...]and this guy they would pay quietly and no one would notice anything.’

[see the whole example in Escandell-Vidal, 2009: 861]

However, Escandell-Vidal (2009: 851) provides examples that show the differences between SC and BC. While SC presents the DO, *els gavinets*, in the same way independently of whether this object is the focus or the topic (127-128), BC presents a difference in the emergence of DOM when the DO is the focus or the topic (129-131).

(127) Focus (Standard/Central Catalan)

- a. Els gavinets vaig ficar al calaix
the knives have.PST.1SG put to.the drawer
- b. Al calaix, vaig ficar-hi els gavinets
to.the drawer, have.PST.1SG put there the knives
- c. Vaig ficar-hi els gavinets, al calaix
have.PST.1SG put-there the knives, to.the drawer
'I put the knives in the drawer.'

(128) Topic (Standard/Central Catalan)

- a. **Els ganivets_i els_i** vaig ficar al CALAIX
the knives, them.OBJ have.PST.1SG put to.the drawer
'(As for) the knives, I put them in the drawer.'
- b. **Els_i** vaig ficar al CALAIX, **els ganivets_i**
them.OBJ have.PST.1SG put to.the drawer, the knives
'The knives I put (them) in the drawer.'

Examples (129) and (130) exhibit that DOM is not required to mark the DO either when it is the focus or the topic.

(129) Balearic (Unmarked)

Vaig ficar es²⁷ gavinets an es CALAIX
have.PST.1SG put the knives in the drawer
'I put the knives in the DRAWER.'

(130) Balearic (Contrastive Focus)

Els gavinets vaig ficar an es calaix
the knives have.PST.1SG put to the drawer
'I put the KNIVES in the drawer.'

Contrastingly, even though BC also rejects the use of DOM in the focal domain, the *a*-marking is introduced in the same objects when they are topics:

²⁷Note that BC presents different definite determiners (*es, sa, es/sos, ses*) in comparison to CC (*el, la, els, les*)

(131) Balearic (Clitic Dislocation)

- a. An es ganivets_i, els_i vaig ficar an es CALAIX
to the knives, them.OBJ have.PST.1SG put to the drawer
'(As for) the knives, I put them in the DRAWER'
- b. Els_i vaig ficar an es CALAIX an es ganivets_i
them.OBJ have.PST.1SG put to the drawer, to the knives
'The knives I put in the DRAWER.'

[Examples from Escandell-Vidal, 2009: 854-855]

In summary, the study of Escandell-Vidal suggests that BC presents optionality (which can depend on topicality factors) in CLLD constructions, whereas DOM is required in all right-dislocated structures.

The BC properties explained will be relevant to compare the results of this dissertation about the features of the DOM-marker in MS as produced by Catalan-Spanish bilinguals of Majorca. It will be relevant to determine whether there is any overlap between the MS and BC features.

The analyses of DOM are relevant to fill in the gaps regarding the continuum between the production of the pronominal clitics, the use of the third-person clitics in CLD constructions where DOM is expected to occur, and the use of the DOM-marker in constructions where the clitic does not appear. More specifically, as explained in this chapter, the distinct sets of clitics (first and second, and third-person forms) present many different features that encourage investigations across different parameters. While first- and second-person pronominal clitics are interesting with regard to their possible allomorphs and their syntactic position, third-person clitics offer the possibility to analyze the emergence of DOM when the pronoun is doubled²⁸. Likewise, after analyzing DOM in CLD structures, it is relevant to compare the use of this morphological device in direct object NPs in constructions without the doubled clitic.

After describing the different phenomena that will be investigated in this dissertation, the next section presents the research questions and the hypotheses that will guide the different studies.

²⁸ Note that while first and second persons are more typical for subjects, third person is more typical for objects (Silverstein, 1976).

3.5 Research questions and hypotheses

This dissertation aims to provide the first description and analysis of Majorcan Catalan and Spanish pronominal clitic systems and the features of the Spanish DOM-marker with and without Clitic Doubling structures as produced by Catalan-Spanish bilinguals. The phenomena to be examined are: (i) the use of pronominal clitics, (ii) the use of third-person pronominal clitics in Clitic Doubling structures (with [+human] and [+animate] objects), and (iii) the use of the *a*-marking in constructions where the corresponding clitic does not double the DO.

Since Spanish and Catalan are closely related Romance languages, it is relevant to verify whether there is a convergence between the two systems and whether language change undergoes an inhibition or acceleration due to their similarities or differences.

Note that the phenomena examined in this dissertation present different analyses. Specifically, pronominal clitic systems are divided into two different sets: (i) first- and second-person clitics and (ii) third-person clitics.

As explained before (in sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2), these two sets of clitics involve different features. For this reason, this dissertation focuses on different analyzes depending on the set of clitics. On the one hand, the first- and second-person pronominal clitics analysis is interesting concerning the allomorphs they present, mostly in the different Catalan varieties. Likewise, it will be relevant to examine the restrictions of the different forms in relation to their syntactic positions (proclitics and enclitics). On the other hand, even though third-person clitics also are interesting for their different allomorphs, their production in Clitic Doubling constructions where DOM is expected to occur concerns this dissertation. Third-person clitics present more different features (such as gender and Latin cases) than first- and second-person ones. In that regard, the differences between accusative and dative cases will be essential to analyze the production of DOM. Finally, the *a*-marking features in MS will be compared in constructions where the NP does not appear doubled by the pronominal clitic.

Table 16 summarizes the pronominal clitics considering the uses that match Peninsular Spanish, CC and MC forms, and the uses that are completely different:

Pronominal clitics	Spanish ²⁹		Majorcan Catalan ³⁰		Central Catalan	
	DO	IO	DO	IO	DO	IO
1 st sg	me	me	me	me	em/me	em/me
1 st pl	nos	nos	mos	mos	ens/nos	ens/nos
2 nd sg	te	te	te	te	et/te	et/te
2 nd pl	os	os	vos	vos	us/vos	us/vos
3 rd sg masc.	lo	le	el	li	el	li
3 rd sg fem.	la	le	la	li	la	li
3 rd pl masc.	los	les	els	el[zi]	els	el[zi]/hi
3 rd pl fem.	las	les	les	les	les	el[zi]/hi
3 rd neutral		lo		ho		ho

Table 16. Pronominal clitics in Spanish, Central and Majorcan Catalan

Table 16 exhibits the current uses of the pronominal clitics in Spanish (Fernández Ordóñez, 2001; Montrul, 2012; Camacho, 2017), Central Catalan (Wheeler et al. 1999), and Majorcan Catalan (Wheeler et al., 1999; Seguí Trobat, 2014). The forms that match the three linguistic varieties are the long forms composed of a consonant plus a vowel (henceforth C+V). Specifically, these pronominal clitics are *me*, *te*, and *nos*. However, these forms are not used in the same way; while speakers use them in both syntactic positions (as proclitics or enclitics) in Spanish, there is a big difference between CC and MC. In CC, the long forms (*me*, *te*, *nos*) are destined to the enclitic position. In contrast, these same forms are used as proclitics and as enclitics in MC, like in PS. One specific difference between PS and MC is that *mos* (for the first-person plural pronominal clitic) and *vos* (second-person plural pronominal clitic) are used in MC instead of using *nos* and *os* (as in Spanish) or *ens* and *us* (as in CC).

The three varieties share the differences between the accusative (DO forms) and dative (IO forms) Latin cases concerning the third-person pronominal clitics. That is, DO shows gender and number differences (*lo*, *la*, *los*, *las*, for Spanish). Besides, IO only exhibits number distinctions. However, there does not seem to be evidence of parallelism between Spanish and Catalan varieties. Regarding Catalan, both MC and CC present an epenthetic vowel in the use of the plural dative form, *e/s* (Boeckx & Martín, 2013).

As explained in the last sections (3.3 and 3.4), finding theories that agree in the emergence of the DOM-marker is challenging, mostly across the different varieties.

²⁹ The pronominal clitics described in this table for Spanish do not consider the variety of the referential system (see 3.2.1 for more detailed information) used in some Peninsula cities.

³⁰ The adverbial pronominal clitics are analyzed neither in Majorcan Catalan nor in Central Catalan in the current study.

However, it is noticeable that, while Spanish is a DOM-language, Catalan (including MC and CC) presents more restrictions.

Table 17 summarizes the different features explained in the previous studies regarding Spanish and Catalan *a*-marking. The differences between BC and CC are specified to consider them in the following study about MS (see chapter 5).

The features of the DOM-marker	Spanish (Torrego, 1998; Camacho, 2018)	Balearic Catalan (Escandell-Vidal, 2007, 2009)	Standard Catalan (Sancho, 2002; Fábregas, 2013; Benito, 2017)
[+human]	*	*only if the DO is [+specific] and [+definite], such as strong pronouns, but also DOM appears with universal quantifiers and relative pronouns that refer to +human DO NPs.	only with strong pronouns
[+animate]	* even if the DO is [-specific], but it is affected.	*only if the DO is [+specific].	*in specific constructions where the subject is [-animate] but the object is [+animate].
[-animate]	It is optional.		
[+definite]	*	*only if the DO is [+specific] and [+definite], such as strong pronouns, universal quantifiers, and relative pronouns.	only with strong pronouns and proper names
CLLD	*	*	*
CLRD	*	*all right-dislocated [+human] NPs.	
Topicality		Hanging Topics are not marked.	
subjects ≠ objects	*	*	*
Telicity of the verb	*		

Table 17. Spanish and Catalan DOM features

Overall, Spanish exhibits the *a*-marking in all [+human] and [+definite] DOs. However, DOM depends on telicity or specificity in constructions where the NP is [-definite]. Contrastingly, the Catalan varieties present more constraints, given that DOM does not occur in DOs that appear in situ even when it is [+human] or [+definite] (except for strong pronouns). Likewise, DOM appears to be used to distinguish subjects from objects, as

well as in CLLD and CLRD, since dislocation is an indication of topicality (Escandell-Vidal, 2009).

However, regarding the constructions where the NP is dislocated, different trends can be explained if BC and CC are compared. BC always exhibits DOM in the right-dislocated DO, with and without the coreference of the clitic, but the left-dislocated DOs present optionality that depends on topicality. That is, DOM emerges to mark topics but not DOs that constitute the focus. In contrast, Sancho (2002) claims that CC presents DOM in spoken language in more contexts than the ones explained as restrictions, even when the NP appears in situ.

Since the participants of this dissertation are (simultaneous and sequential) bilinguals in Spanish and Catalan, and they live in a language contact context on the island of Majorca, it is necessary to consider whether there exists convergence between MC and MS regarding the production of the pronominal clitic systems and the emergence of the DOM-marker.

Previous studies on bilingualism and language contact (e.g., Blas Arroyo, 1998, 2004; Poplack, 1993; Silva-Corvalán, 1994; Thomason, 2001; Sinner & Wesch, 2008) address the possibility of transfer and convergence between two languages in a bilingual setting. Therefore, the first research question explored is:

I. Is language change triggered by the cross-linguistic influence from Spanish on Catalan (or vice versa) in Majorca, regarding the properties of pronominal clitics and DOM considered in this study?

This dissertation hypothesizes that, despite the existence of transfer (Blas Arroyo, 1998), it is not expected to find productions of pronominal clitics fully incorporated from one language to the other. It is not expected that transfers have become integrations (a concept explained by Sinnes & Wesch, 2008). This investigation follows Aikhenvald's (2006) proposal regarding the need for stability in the production of a new variant. Thus, this dissertation does not consider sporadic uses as a reflection of the maintenance of a new structure.

To a better understanding, there exist no studies that analyze the possible presence of transfer or integrations (convergence) between Majorcan Catalan and Spanish, especially in the case of the pronominal system and the production of DOM.

If there is evidence of transfer or convergence, it is expected that these appear not only in morphology and syntax but may also involve semantic features. Nevertheless,

the hypothesis defended is that there are no total integrations in the pronominal system of the two Romance languages analyzed, given that previous studies (Wheeler et al., 1999; Perea, 2012; Seguí Trobat, 2014) do not provide results related to possible convergence between Spanish and Catalan. Furthermore, these studies argue that MC presents the most conservative and archaic forms than other Catalan varieties. Therefore, it is not expected to find out Spanish forms as integration in MC. The expectation of continuous production of Spanish and Catalan forms (instead of a total integration) is that they have not entirely replaced the original forms of the target language. However, concerning the emergence of the DOM-marker, it is expected that the BC features (Escandell-Vidal, 2009) influence the production of the *a*-marking in MS due to the Catalan cross-linguistic influence, mostly in the case of speakers who prefer using Catalan to using Spanish. More specifically, it is expected that the optionality of the BC *a*-marking (explained by Escandell-Vidal, 2009) has been extended to MS.

After analyzing the existence of transfer or integration (convergence) between MS and MC, the next question is related to language change development:

II. Has the linguistic change been accelerated or inhibited due to the bilingual context of Majorca?

If MC pronominal clitics are the most archaic ones (Seguí Trobat, 2014; Wheeler et al., 1999) across the different Catalan varieties, this investigation defends that contact with Spanish allowed the maintenance of these forms and not the normative ones used in CC (see Fabra, 1913).

More specifically, considering Enrique Arias' approach (regarding his studies about Majorcan Spanish in contact with MC (2010, 2012, 2014)), this dissertation considers that specific linguistic changes can slow down in the context of contact. For this reason, it is essential to explore whether the presence of the same clitic forms in both MS and MC relates to the inhibition of language change in Majorca. As explained in section 3.2.2 (chapter 3), the diachronic analysis demonstrates the overlap between pronominal clitics in Spanish and Catalan varieties in Majorca and, mainly, the conservative (i.e., among the oldest attested) forms in MC.

Regarding the production of DOM, the Balearic Catalan properties, explained by Escandell-Vidal (2009), are relevant in the present analysis of DOM in MS as produced by Majorcan Catalan-Spanish bilinguals. The aim is to determine whether there is any overlap between the features found in the bilinguals' production and features observed in Balearic (including Majorcan) Catalan. The output of clauses with [+animate] objects,

the leading property required for DOM to occur in Spanish, and other grammatical features that would favor the realization of the DOM-marker are analyzed (see section 5.4. in chapter 5). More specifically, this study about *a*-marking assumes a further development in comparison to the production of pronominal clitics since, in this case, it is expected that language change, mostly in the omission of DOM, as Escandell-Vidal claims, is in progress in MS due to Catalan influence.

Following Meisel's approach (2011), it would be expected that simultaneous bilingual speakers acquire their L1s as their monolingual peers. Contrastingly, sequential bilinguals would be expected to promote a morphosyntactic change as a reanalysis of the grammar between different generations. Given that this study directly investigates and compares the linguistic production of sequential and simultaneous bilinguals, it allows direct consideration of Meisel's proposal.

Thus, the Spanish DOM-marker production is compared between simultaneous and sequential bilinguals, given that it is expected to find variation in the bilingual setting of Majorca. However, this dissertation follows the proposal of Escandell-Vidal (2009) regarding the BC *a*-marking features. As said before, it is expected to find a crosslinguistic influence from BC (including MC) on MS, mostly in the production of speakers who prefer using Catalan on a daily basis. Note that speakers from Majorca who reported the use of Catalan or both languages (with Spanish) are those who are simultaneous bilinguals.

Besides, following Amengual (2011a, 2011b, 2016), the use of Catalan in Majorca depends on speakers' linguistic dominance and the place of residence; namely, Catalan is the most used language in the villages outside of Palma, the capital of Majorca, where Spanish prevails. Therefore, this dissertation also raises the following research question:

III. If such distinctions or variation in the use of pronominal clitics and DOM arise, do extralinguistic variables affect the production of pronominal clitics and DOM by these bilingual speakers?

This dissertation tests whether factors such as linguistic preference, area of residence, gender, age, or education level can play a role by either inhibiting or enhancing the emergence of transfer in the bilingual context. Specifically, this dissertation examines whether the external factors can influence the production of peninsular (CC and PS) and non-peninsular (MC and MS) uses.

If there is evidence of such transfer (in Spanish from Catalan or vice versa), it is expected that these uses depend on the speakers' linguistic preference, that is, on

whether participants prefer using Spanish or Catalan (Amengual, 2011a, 2016). Besides, participants from Palma may produce more transfers in Catalan due to the more widespread use of Spanish in the capital. In contrast, speakers from the Majorcan villages (such as Lluçmajor and Capdepera) produce more transfers from Catalan to Spanish. However, following Blas Arroyo (1998), it is expected that there is a higher presence of transfers in Catalan (minority language) than in Spanish (majority language).

Therefore, regarding the possible influence of these external variables, the hypothesis considered is that both language preference and speakers' area of residence can affect the production of the different forms (yielding evidence of transfer between MC and MS). Nevertheless, even though the rest of the social variables mentioned are examined, it is not expected that these external factors influence the production of pronominal clitics or DOM, given that there is no previous evidence regarding the possible variation.

To conclude, this dissertation focuses on the results of such language contact; namely, it considers the connection between language acquisition, synchronic variation, and ongoing language change in the two languages that coexist on the island of Majorca. More specifically, this investigation examines morphosyntactic variation in the production of the MC and MS pronominal clitic systems and the features of the DOM-marker in MS from simultaneous and sequential bilinguals. The main aim is to determine whether there is evidence for language variation or change affected by bilingualism and language contact.

CHAPTER 4

EMPIRICAL STUDY

4.1 Data collection

The data collection for the present dissertation considers synchronic and diachronic data from various sources. The synchronic data consist of two different sources: (i) spontaneous interviews and (ii) two linguistic questionnaires. Although 51 speakers participated in the Spanish interviews, 45 speakers only participated in Catalan. All participants completed the first questionnaire related to ethnolinguistic data. This information aimed to trigger a classification into different groups depending on speakers' linguistic preference (closely linked to their competence and linguistic attitudes towards the two languages taken into consideration) and their frequency of use of Spanish and Catalan. The second questionnaire, focused on elicited data, was filled by 43 out of 51 speakers where MC and CC³¹ pronominal clitics were considered. Specifically, speakers completed two different tasks: (i) one focused on grammaticality judgments of peninsular and non-peninsular items, and (ii) another focused on production data of peninsular and non-peninsular items where speakers should select the forms they would use.

Since the current uses of first- and second-person pronominal clitics show different forms depending on the variety used in Catalan, diachronic data are analyzed from a corpus of Old Catalan called *Corpus Informatizat del Català Antic* (CICA, 2009). Besides, Old Spanish texts are analyzed from *Corpus Mallorca* (Enrique-Arias, 2012, 2020) to conclude whether language change has been produced (and accelerated) or inhibited due to Spanish contact.

The reason for comparing synchronic and diachronic data entails two objectives: (i) to verify whether the pronominal clitics used in Majorca currently are the most archaic ones (Seguí Trobat, 2014; Wheeler et al., 1999), and (ii) to characterize (if so) the moment when the current forms of the MC and CC converge and compete until some of these forms (from CC) become the norms.

Table 18 presents the distribution of the data analyzed in this dissertation. In the following sections, each data set is explained in depth to highlight relevant details and provide information necessary to understand better some findings examined in chapter 5.

³¹Given that spontaneous data show relevant differences between MC and CC, the elicited data questionnaire is only focused on Catalan with MC and CC items. As will be explained in chapter 5, MS does not present significant results if Peninsular uses and Majorcan uses are compared.

Synchronic data		Diachronic data		
Spontaneous interviews	Ethnolinguistic survey	Elicited data	from <i>CICA</i> (2009)	from <i>Corpus Mallorca</i> (Enrique-Arias, 2012, 2020)
Spanish and Catalan	About the use and preference of using Spanish and Catalan	Catalan	Catalan	Spanish

Table 18. Distribution of the different synchronic and diachronic data

The following sections (4.1.1 and 4.1.2) describe the methodology in the collected synchronic and diachronic data.

4.1.1 Synchronic data

Spanish and Catalan are two closely related Romance languages; for this reason, this dissertation aims to determine whether there is a convergence between them and whether language change has been inhibited or accelerated due to this language contact³². Furthermore, this dissertation also aims at comparing the Majorcan (MC and MS) and Peninsular (CC and PS) varieties to verify which pronominal clitics and DOM features are shared and which features are different.

Besides, this dissertation examines whether external factors (gender, age, educational level, area of residence, linguistic preference, and type of bilingualism) can play a role in the production of transfers and the difference between peninsular and non-peninsular uses. Note that peninsular uses relate to the forms from CC and PS, while non-peninsular uses connect to MC and MS forms.

The synchronic data is analyzed across different studies. In order to define the current state of MC pronominal clitics and the uses of the Spanish DOM-marker in the bilingual setting of Majorca, a total of 51 speakers were recorded twice, one in Catalan and one in Spanish. Each recording lasted 15-20 minutes, respectively. More specifically, these data are divided into three different studies based on the production of:

- (i) the first- and second-person pronominal clitics in MC and MS,
- (ii) the third-person pronominal clitics in MC and MS, and

³² The analysis of the diachronic data (in section 4.1.2) is essential to confirm whether the language change has been accelerated or inhibited in the bilingual setting of Majorca, regarding the production of the pronominal clitics.

(iii) DOM and Clitic Doubling in MS.

Moreover, each participant filled in an ethnolinguistic questionnaire where they were asked for their Catalan and Spanish uses and daily-use preferences (see section 2.5 for more information about linguistic preference).

Finally, speakers completed another questionnaire based on elicited data divided into two different tasks. On the one hand, speakers had to judge whether they would use some items with MC and CC pronominal clitics in the first task (grammaticality judgments). On the other hand, they had to choose the clitic they would use in every item presented in the second task (the preference task).

The next subsection specifies the number of speakers who have been taken into consideration in each synchronic study. Besides, the participants are classified into different groups depending on the extra-linguistic variables.

4.1.1.1 Participants

51 Catalan-Spanish bilingual adults have participated in this dissertation. More concretely, this investigation presents data from 27 women and 24 men, aged between 16 and 67 years of age (Mean (37.58); SD (12.78); range (53)). The age of exposure to both languages differs among participants. 34 of them are simultaneous bilinguals, and only 17 are sequential bilinguals. 4 out of these 17 sequential speakers were born outside of Majorca. Participants are residents in different geographic areas of Majorca: the capital, Palma, and the villages of Lluçmajor and Capdepera³³.

The data collection for this dissertation started in 2015, based on spontaneous interviews in Spanish with a small number of participants (n = 11). After this first research period, many more speakers (n = 40) were recruited and participated in natural conversations in both languages: Spanish and Catalan. Besides, 5 out of 11 first participants also participated in Catalan in the second period of collecting spontaneous data.

Appendix 1 shows the distribution of the most relevant information about the 51 participants by different extra-linguistic variables, including gender, age, area of residence,³⁴ educational level, linguistic preference, and type of bilingualism of each

³³There is a small number of participants from other Majorcan areas such as Sóller, Llubí, Alcúdia and Lloseta.

participant. This information was collected using the ethnolinguistic questionnaire (see Appendix 2) and the elicited data questionnaire (see Appendix 4).

Even though 51 speakers participated in this dissertation, not every participant provided data for each study. Table 19 clarifies the number of speakers that are considered in the analysis of each phenomenon considering the type of bilingualism:

Studies	Number of total speakers	Type of bilingualism	
		Simultaneous	Sequential
1 st and 2 nd person pronominal clitics	45/51	34/45	11/45
3 rd person pronominal clitics	45/51	34/45	11/45
Clitic Doubling	34/51	17/34	17/34
DOM	34/51	17/34	17/34
Elicited data about pronominal clitics	43/51	28/43	15/43

Table 19. Number of simultaneous/sequential speakers in each study

As observed, the number of participants is fluctuating in each study. While 45 out of 51 speakers have participated in the study of first, second, and third-person pronominal clitics, 34 participated in the investigation regarding DOM and CLD³⁵. Likewise, 43 out of 51 speakers completed the elicited data questionnaire.

The reasons for analyzing data from different numbers of speakers relate to specific issues. Since 45 out of 51 speakers were recorded in both languages, Spanish and Catalan, the data from these participants were considered in the studies about the pronominal clitics. Note that the main aim of these studies is to describe the current uses of MC and MS and compare possible convergence and transfer in the bilingual context of Majorca. However, the studies focusing on DOM and CLD comprise data from 34³⁶ speakers (recorded in Spanish) who were divided into two different groups: 17 simultaneous bilinguals and 17 sequential bilinguals. On this matter, differences were expected between the two types of bilinguals (Escandell-Vidal, 2009). Finally, the data of the elicited data questionnaire were more challenging to obtain, given that participants had already been recorded twice (for 45 of them), and they did not have enough time to

³⁵ As explained, 45 participants were recorded in Spanish and Catalan, but 6 only in Spanish. These latter speakers are sequential bilinguals who also speak Catalan but participated in the first phase when the objective was obtaining Spanish data. However, these 6 participants and the other 11 sequential bilinguals participated in the study about DOM, since one of the most important aims was comparing simultaneous and sequential bilinguals in Spanish.

³⁶ Note that it was expected to find differences in the production of DOM across the type of bilingualism. Therefore, spontaneous data from 34 out of 51 speakers (who were recorded in Spanish) were analyzed in this study. Participants' selection had to do with the number of sequential bilinguals since there were less sequential than simultaneous bilinguals. Likewise, the researcher tried to obtain homogeneous groups considering the external variables.

complete another linguistic questionnaire³⁷. For this reason, this dissertation only presents elicited data from 43 speakers.

The different external variables of the speakers are specified in Table 20 and described in depth below.

Area of residence	Bilingualism	Gender	Age	Educational level	Linguistic preference
Palma (n=26)	simultaneous (n=12, 23.53%)	M: 9 W: 3	21-30: 4 31-40: 6 41-50: 1 51-60: 1	high school: 4 community college: 3 undergraduate degree: 5	Cat: 1 Sp: 4 Both: 7
	sequential (n=14, 27.45%)	M: 7 W: 7	21-30: 6 31-40: 5 41-50: 3	Elementary: 3 high school: 6 community college: 1 undergraduate degree: 4	Sp: 14
Llucmajor (n=10)	simultaneous (n=9, 17.65%)	M: 5 W: 4	21-30: 2 41-50: 5 +60: 2	Elementary: 6 community college: 3	Cat: 9
	sequential (n=1, 1.96%)	M: 1	41-50: 1	community college: 1	Both: 1
Capdepera (n=8)	simultaneous (n=6, 11.76%)	M: 2 W: 4	15-20: 1 21-30: 2 41-50: 2 +60: 1	Elementary: 3 high school: 3	Cat: 6
	sequential (n=2, 3.92%)	W: 2	21-30: 1 51-60: 1	Elementary: 2	Sp: 2
Alcudia (n=3)	simultaneous (n=3, 5.88%)	M: 2 W: 1	31-40: 1 +60: 2	undergraduate degree: 3	Cat: 3
Soller (n=2)	simultaneous (n=2, 3.92%)	W: 2	21-30: 1 31-40: 1	community college: 2	Cat: 2
Llubí (n=1)	simultaneous (n=1, 1.96%)	M: 1	31-40: 1	undergraduate degree: 1	Cat: 1
Lloseta (n=1)	simultaneous (n=1, 1.96%)	M: 1	31-40: 1	community college: 1	Cat: 1

Table 20. Distribution of the 51 participants across social variables

³⁷ Note that the 51 participants had already fulfilled an ethnolinguistic questionnaire.

27 women and 24 men have participated in different studies presented in this dissertation. Although it has been challenging to obtain homogeneous groups concerning gender, the result is almost equitable, as Figure 4 shows:

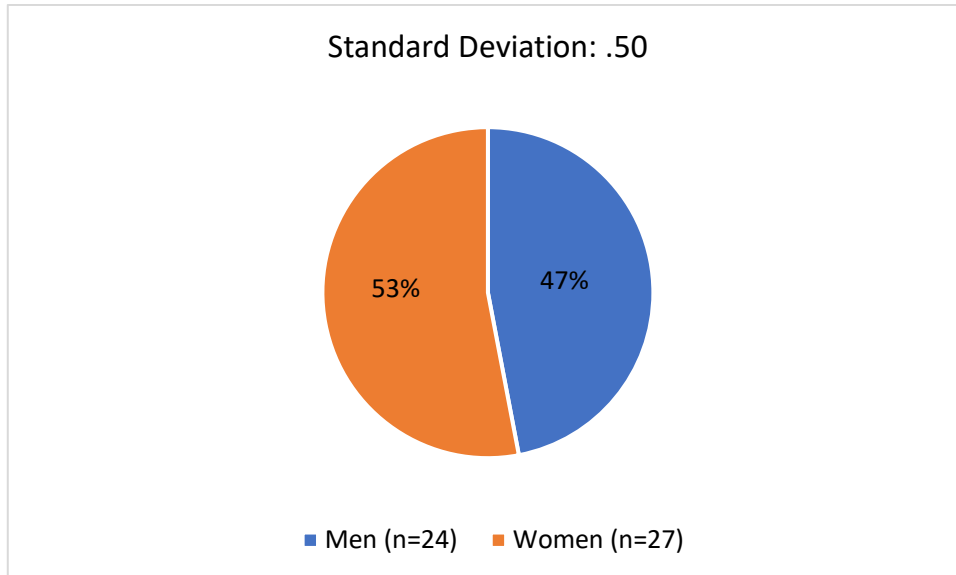


Figure 4. Number of participants across gender

Concerning speakers' age, Figure 5 shows the different groups into which participants have been divided:

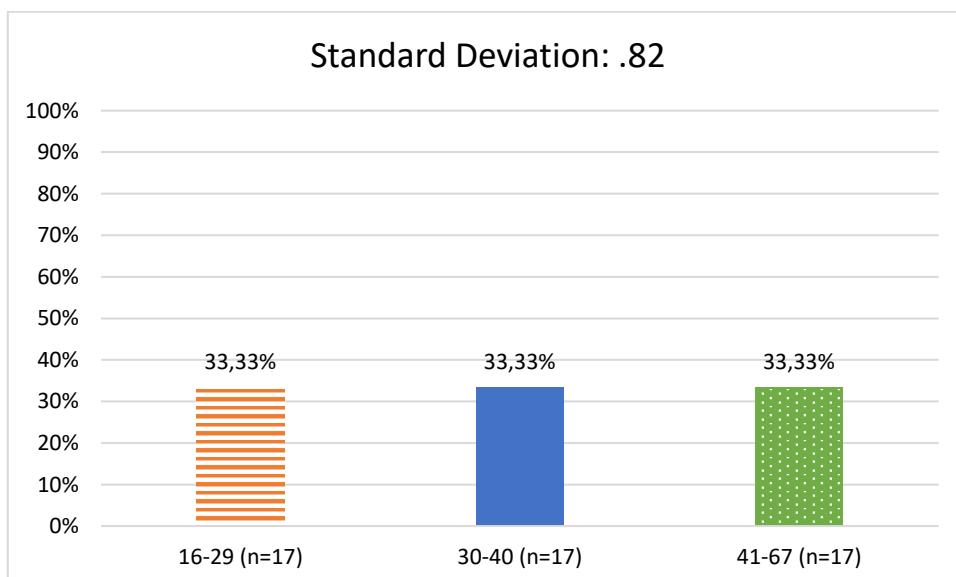


Figure 5. Number of speakers across age

The participants of this dissertation have been divided into three different equitable groups (17 speakers in each age group) that are related to their societal context. More specifically, the first age group contains speakers between 16 and 29 years of age. It could be the case that speakers of this age group present a change in their speech since they have already been inserted into work life. Therefore, it is predictable that they pay attention to the use of more specific vocabulary and a more formal speech (Tagliamonte, 2012).

Likewise, 17 speakers, aged between 30-40 years, participated in this dissertation, and they are expected to produce more accurate structures and vocabulary, given that it is thought that speakers in this age range have more societal pressure (Tagliamonte, 2012).

In the age group, from 41 to 67, two different trends are expected. First, from speakers aged between 41-50 years of age ($n = 11$) and 51-60 years of age ($n = 2$), a transition between maturity and old age could be observed. Second, it is probable to perceive a more careless and simple language in speakers aged between 61 and 67 years, given that they are retired or are poised to be retired. On this matter, it could be the case that these speakers use simple language because they do not have any societal pressure yet. However, since equal groups are necessary, speakers aged between 41 to 67 years are analyzed in the same age group. However, if differences between them are found, they will be examined in depth separately³⁸.

Concerning the educational level of each participant, it has been difficult to find speakers of different graduate levels, so this social variable fluctuates in the different sectors (although they are almost equitable), as is reflected in Figure 6:

³⁸Although speakers were classified into different age groups, the researcher asked them for their exact age before starting the first interview.

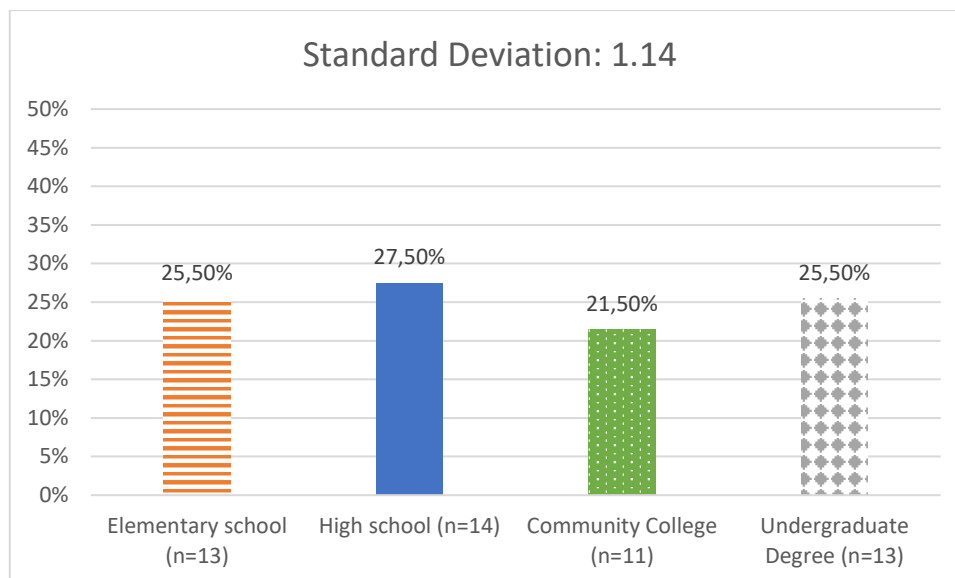


Figure 6. Number of speakers across their level of education

According to their level of education, speakers were separated into four different groups: the group "Elementary school" refers to participants with a lower level of education than the stipulated as the Compulsory Secondary Education (*ESO*). It is probable that in these cases, participants have completed studies of *EGB* (Basic General Education),³⁹ ending in what is currently the second course of *ESO* (i.e., two fewer courses than necessary to obtain the complete *ESO* diploma). Nevertheless, it is also possible that some participants have not obtained the level of Basic General Education because of the historical context⁴⁰ in which they lived (especially this can occur in speakers over 50 to more than 60 years). In this sense, this investigation considers them as individuals with minimal studies because they have been alphabetized; that is, they can read and write.

Speakers who completed high school studies and those who also completed some community college or vocational training were placed into another group. Those participants have completed the four-course *ESO* curriculum; that is, they graduated with the corresponding diploma.

Participants with "Community College" studies completed not only *ESO* but also another vocational course, for example, the professional training courses to become a hairdresser, mechanic, auxiliary administrative, among others.

³⁹ Basic General Education was a General Educative Law that ceased to be in force in 1997 after the educational change produced by the political party that began to govern. Since that academic year, what is now known as *ESO* came into force.

⁴⁰ As explained in chapter 2, the context during Franco's dictatorship was challenging, and many speakers could not complete high school.

Finally, participants who reported that they had obtained an undergraduate degree from an accredited university, a master's degree, or a Ph.D. were placed in a fourth group. Any speaker who had completed a three-, four-, or five-year program fell into the undergraduate degree classification.

Regarding the area of residence, this dissertation obtained data from speakers of Palma, or the villages of Lluçmajor, Capdepera, Soller, Alcúdia, Lloseta, and Llubí (Figure 7 is a map where each area is indicated):



Figure 7. Speakers' area of residence

The main aim of analyzing the speakers' area of residence is not to describe different patterns of pronominal clitics in the distinct areas of Majorca. The reason for analyzing data from different areas of Majorca relates to the need to observe whether the use of Spanish and Catalan varies depending on speakers' area of residence, namely, Palma, the capital of Majorca, or the villages outside of Palma. According to Amengual (2011a), Catalan is less used in Palma, the capital, than in any other Majorcan region. Following Amengual (2011a), it could be the case that speakers living in Palma produce different variants from speakers who live in villages. Figure 8 represents the distribution of speakers' areas of residence:

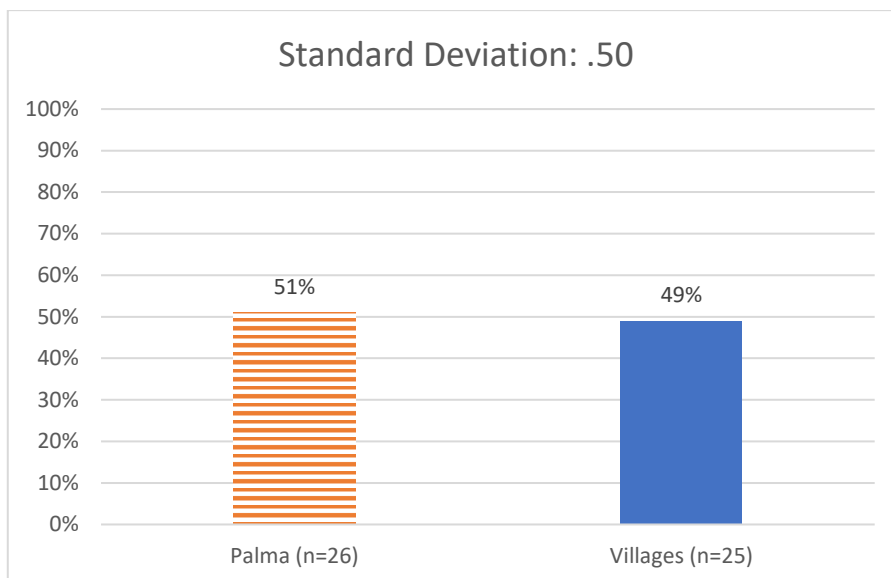


Figure 8. Speakers' distribution across the area of residence

Even though there is a balanced distribution between the participants who reside in Palma or the villages, it is relevant to thoroughly analyze speakers' social characteristics, especially their type of bilingualism and their linguistic preference.

Concerning the type of bilingualism and linguistic preference of participants, most of the speakers (34) are simultaneous bilinguals, while 17 are sequential. That is, the former bilinguals were exposed to both languages, Spanish and Catalan, from birth. In contrast, sequential bilinguals were exposed to Spanish from birth but acquired Catalan at the age of six or later (starting in primary school), as Figure 9 shows:

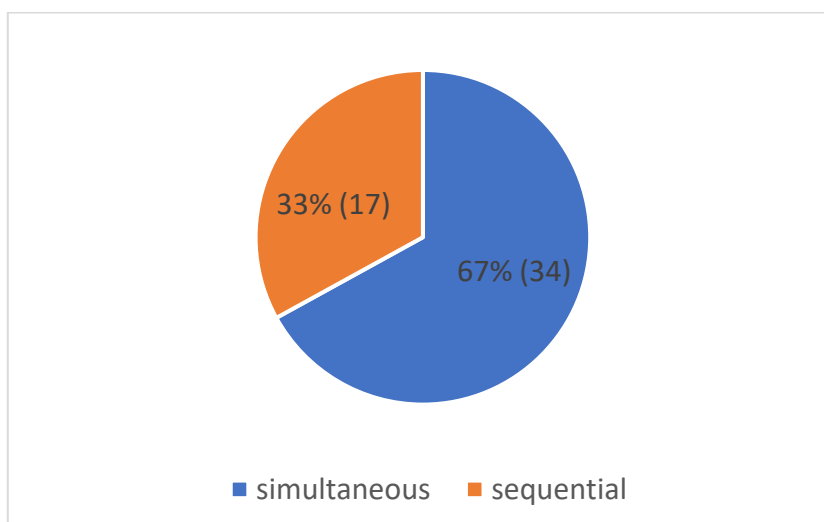


Figure 9. Number of participants across the type of bilingualism

Table 21 presents the information related to the area where simultaneous and sequential bilinguals were born (in or outside of Majorca):

Simultaneous	Sequential	
from Majorca	from Majorca	from other areas of Spain
34	13	4

Table 21. Distribution of speakers across the type of bilingualism

34 simultaneous speakers were born in Majorca, and 4 out of 17 sequential participants were born outside of Majorca but in other Spanish regions. Table 22 offers specific information about the place of birth of these four speakers:

Gender	Age	Area of residence	Place of birth
female	55	Capdepera	Extremadura
female	40	Palma	Andalusia
female	27	Palma	Catalonia
male	45	Llucmajor	Madrid

Table 22. Distribution of speakers who were born outside of Majorca.

It is important to consider that most of the new immigrants have settled in the capital of Majorca, Palma. This recent situation explains why this dissertation takes into consideration the data from 14 sequential bilinguals who reside in Palma and only three in the villages of Capdepera and Llucmajor. Thus, the area of residence is the only distribution that presents an unbalance among sequential bilinguals only.⁴¹

Finally, regarding speakers' linguistic preference, participants were asked to indicate whether they favored using Spanish over Catalan, vice versa, or whether they were equally comfortable using both languages. More precisely, participants were asked which language they preferred to use with their family, their friends, at work, while shopping or when they talked to a doctor (see Appendix 2 for the ethnolinguistic questionnaire).

Regarding the participants' language preference⁴², three variants have been established: Spanish, Catalan, and both (i.e., they have no preference for one or the

⁴¹Note that it was difficult to obtain data from a balanced group of speakers across the area where they lived, given that the most important variable was the type of bilingualism. Sequential bilinguals tend to reside in the capital, Palma.

⁴²Note that participants fulfilled an ethnolinguistic questionnaire to provide information about their linguistic preference in different linguistic situations.

other). If the speakers express that they have no preference, they claim to use the two languages indistinctly. Usually, those speakers that claim to not favor one language over the other live in Palma and have grown up in a completely bilingual environment due to academic, family, and administrative circumstances (for example, in public offices and a doctor's office).

23 out of the 51 speakers consider that their L1 and their most used language is Catalan, whereas the other twenty expressed they prefer using Spanish. However, a lower number of speakers (8 in total) consider using both languages, depending on their interlocutors and communicative situations.

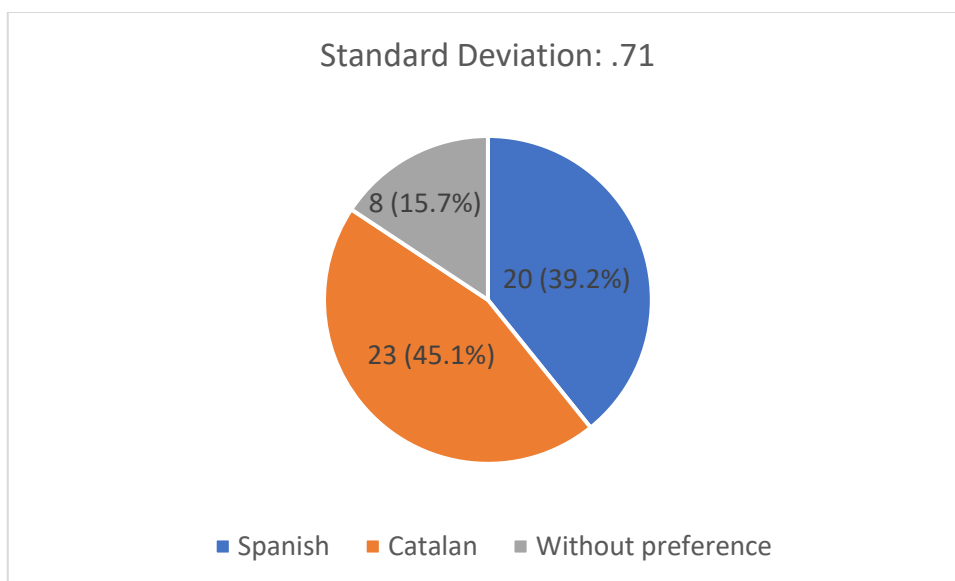


Figure 10. Number of speakers across linguistic preference

Following Payrató (1996), it is essential to consider that the same language acquired from birth or after differs. More specifically, while some speakers are natives from a particular place and produce regional forms, others have learned this language (Catalan in this case) later and, therefore, it is closer to what is considered a Standard variety without the regional structures or forms⁴³. Thus, it will be essential to consider which language is used daily and the age at which sequential bilinguals started to learn or receive Catalan input.

⁴³The variety of MC presents distinct characteristics such as the use of the “salat” article, the use of inchoative verbs in gerund as in the case of “dormiguent” or “visquent” instead of “dormint” or “vivint” of the corresponding verbs “dormir” (sleep) and “vivre” (live). Likewise, another peculiarity is the omission of verbal ending -o of the first-person singular form, as in the case of “ball” instead of “ballo” (I dance), as well as the object of study for this dissertation, the use of pronominal clitics, the uses of which differ from other varieties of Catalan (as explained in chapter 3).

Subsections 4.1.1.2 and 4.1.1.3 describe the methodology used to obtain the synchronic data from the different sources, namely, the spontaneous interviews, the ethnolinguistic questionnaire, and the elicited data questionnaire.

4.1.1.2 Spontaneous interviews

The natural data were collected by recording spontaneous interviews in both languages spoken on the island of Majorca, Spanish and Catalan. As said before, each recording lasted between 15 and 20 minutes. Additionally, this investigation also presents data from other group recordings (with the same participants) that lasted 30-40 minutes. Various topics were used to elicit conversations, such as family, work, individual experiences, and hobbies. The interviews were conducted in the homes of the participants in a very spontaneous and relaxing atmosphere.

The recordings started in 2015 with a small number of participants (11) and only in Spanish. At that moment, the method used with some of them was a semi-guided interview, composed of three different parts: (i) one dedicated to academic and labor experience, (ii) another related to the free time, and (iii) the last part about current political issues (without mentioning one's point of view). For example, one question from the semi-guided interview was related to their linguistic preference for their children's education, or others such as: "if you were the president of the Balearic Islands, what three things would you change first? (see Appendix 3 to view all questions related to this semi-guided interview). Nevertheless, this semi-guided interview has only been set out with 7 speakers who exhibited shyness and needed a topic to start the recording⁴⁴.

Concerning the order of the interviews, it is important to mention that the first recording depended on the speakers' preference, Spanish or Catalan. That is, there has not been the same pattern for each participant. However, if they expressed any preference, the interviewer (who was the researcher of this dissertation) used the language with which the participant and the interviewer met the first time. Furthermore, it is also important to highlight that the two interviews with each participant were recorded in different moments to obtain the most natural speech in both languages.

⁴⁴The researcher had prepared a semi-guided interview with three specific topics in the case that participants could not start speaking spontaneously during the first recording.

4.1.1.3 Ethnolinguistic questionnaire

Each speaker completed an ethnolinguistic questionnaire before starting the first interview. They were asked about which language they preferred to use with their family, friends, shopping, or when they talked to a doctor. Besides, there are four questions focused on the vehicular language during the different educational stages.

Additionally, in response to the ethnolinguistic questionnaire, participants provided information about their linguistic preference and their profession, the place where they were born, the place of birth of their parents, the L1 of their parents, and other questions. These questions were worded as follows (either in Catalan or in Spanish): If you were not born in Majorca, how long have you lived on the island? What language do you use at home, with your friends, with the doctor, or while shopping? Which language was used at Pre-school, Primary School, and Secondary School? (See Appendix 2 to view the whole questionnaire).

As explained in chapter 2 (section 2.5), this dissertation followed three different scales to determine which linguistic preference group to include each speaker depending on their educational level. Recall that the ethnolinguistic questionnaire contains 18 questions, and nine are related to linguistic preference. Likewise, questions 3, 4, 5, and 6 refer to the language used during Pre-school, Primary School, Secondary School, or subsequent courses (such as a community college or an undergraduate degree), respectively. While speakers with elementary studies completed seven questions about their linguistic preference, speakers with secondary studies filled in eight questions, and only speakers with subsequent studies responded to the whole set of preference questions, that is, nine questions.

Table 23 summarizes the number of speakers with a preference for both languages (Spanish and Catalan), for Spanish, or Catalan, depending on their educational level. Note that the educational level allows us to know how many questions they answered about their linguistic preference:

Educational level	Linguistic preference		
	Both	Spanish	Catalan
Elementary studies (7 questions)	0-2,3 points 0/14 (0%)	2,4-,4,7 points 5/14 (35.7%)	4,8-7 points 9/14 64.3%
Secondary Studies (8 questions)	0-2,6 points 3/13 (23.1%)	2,7-5,3 points 7/13 (53.8%)	5,4-8 points 3/13 (23.1%)
Community college or undergraduate degree (9 questions)	0-2,9 5/24 (20.8%)	3-,5,9 8/24 (33.4%)	6-9 11/24 (45.8%)
Total	8/51 (15.7%)	20/51 (39.2%)	23/51 (45.1%)

Table 23. number of participants across their linguistic preference depending on the set of questions answered in the ethnolinguistic questionnaire

In summary, while fourteen speakers with elementary studies responded to seven out of nine questions related to linguistic preference, thirteen of them (with secondary studies) responded to eight items. Twenty-four speakers (with subsequent studies) responded to nine questions. After counting the points of the whole linguistic preference set, eight speakers were gathered in the group of preference for both languages; twenty were considered to have a Spanish preference, and twenty-three were gathered in the Catalan preference group.

After analyzing the participants' spontaneous production, this dissertation focused on speakers' attitudes and preferences expressed in the elicited data questionnaire to know whether they are conscious of the differences between oral and written production. Likewise, the elicited data questionnaire also aimed at verifying whether bilingual speakers of Majorca accept the non-peninsular pronominal clitics to a greater extent than they accept the peninsular pronominal clitics. Therefore, oral production is compared to an elicited data questionnaire described in the following section 4.1.1.4.

4.1.1.4 Elicited data

In the data collection, the last synchronic study constitutes an elicited data questionnaire focused on the production of pronominal clitics with examples from MC (non-peninsular uses) and CC (peninsular uses). The questionnaire is divided into two different tasks: (i) grammaticality judgments and (ii) the linguistic preference tasks. The focus of this questionnaire is the production of the non-peninsular (MC) pronominal clitics. Specifically, the purpose of this questionnaire is to know the preferences towards the

difference between the peninsular (CC) and non-peninsular (MC) uses from the same Spanish-Catalan bilinguals of Majorca who were recorded in both languages.

The elicited data questionnaire was created mostly with items obtained in the spontaneous data. The reason for considering these utterances is to compare the spontaneous data to the elicited data with the same constructions from the same participants. Likewise, this study aims to determine whether the type of bilingualism and linguistic preference affect the preferences and production of the peninsular or non-peninsular pronominal clitics.

The reason for providing an elicited questionnaire in Catalan (but not in Spanish) relates to the need to obtain more data around MC since the uses of this Catalan variety differ significantly from the CC uses. At the same time, MS only presents sporadic transfer from MC, which means that the MS pronominal clitics match PS⁴⁵.

The whole questionnaire presents 90 structures, 60 in the first task, focused on the grammaticality judgments, and 30 in the second task, focused on selecting specific pronominal clitics in each item presented. 60 out of 90 items come from the bilingual speakers' real speech produced in the oral interviews. More specifically, the first task about grammaticality judgments presents 17 peninsular and 29 non-peninsular items. Notice that this study aims to discover which peninsular and non-peninsular items are acceptable or unacceptable and to which extent the MC forms analyzed in the spontaneous data are accepted as the same participants' forms.

Besides, 20 out of the 90 items are distractors characterized by the following trends: (i) they have a DO clitic which is not considered in this dissertation, *en*⁴⁶ (132), (ii) they have a clitic cluster (133), they are a short clitic (134), or (iii) they have no pronominal clitic (135):

(132) No **en** tenc (paracetamol) (CC)
no indeterminate.cl have.1p.sg (paracetamol)
'I don't have it (paracetamol).'

⁴⁵ Note that these conclusions were drawn from the analysis of the spontaneous production data.

⁴⁶ The pronominal clitic, *en*, can function as partitive clitic (1), which substitutes a part of the referent or a DO clitic which refers to an indeterminate referent (2):

1. En duré quatre (llibres)
partitive.cl bring.FUT.1p.sg four (books)
'I will bring them four (books).'
2. No en tenc (paracetamol)
no indeterminate.cl have.1p.sg (paracetamol)
'I don't have it (paracetamol).'

4.1.2 Diachronic data

As Thomason (2001) and Enrique-Arias (2010, 2012, 2014) explain, it is essential to compare diachronic to synchronic data to verify whether a change over time has been produced. If so, the analysis must focus on when the change occurred and the reason for this new form or structure to continue instead of the old one.

This dissertation aims to analyze the current forms concerning the pronominal clitics (and the production of DOM) in Majorcan Spanish and Catalan. It is known that MC clitics are different in comparison to CC but match most of the MS forms (Jiménez-Gaspar et al., 2017a). Therefore, the diachronic data analysis aims at explaining, on the one hand, when the forms from MC and CC changed and, on the other hand, why this change occurred, and if the contact with Spanish in Majorca is the cause of the different trends in the different Catalan varieties.

Note that, although Spanish coexists with MC and CC, contact happened in different historical moments. As explained in Chapter 2, Spanish entered Majorca in the 15th century, but it was not until the 18th century when the population started to become bilingual in Spanish and Catalan. However, even though contact between PS and CC also started in the 15th century, this contact was more profound due to the proximity between the different Spanish reigns (Blas Arroyo, 2007).

The next subsections describe the diachronic data taken into consideration in Catalan (4.1.2.1) and Spanish (4.1.2.2).

4.1.2.1 Old Catalan texts from the 13th to 16th centuries (*CICA*)

The diachronic data came from the Corpus Informatizat del Català Antic⁴⁷ (*CICA*, 2009). The analysis of these data, presented in this dissertation, addresses the historical development of the pronominal clitics in Central and Balearic (including Majorcan) Catalan varieties. The data are composed of texts written between the 13th and 16th centuries (as discussed in detail in section 5.1.3.1). The most important aim of the diachronic analysis is to determine whether the pronominal clitic forms found in the synchronic data (from the bilingual participants) match clitic forms used either in CC or in Balearic Catalan⁴⁸ before and after the arrival of Spanish in Majorca. The genres of

⁴⁷ The following link allows us to find more information about the *CICA* corpus: <http://cica.cat>.

⁴⁸ Balearic Catalan refers to Catalan spoken in the Balearic Islands, which is composed of the islands Majorca, Menorca, Ibiza, and Formentera, as well as smaller islands that are protected lands.

these texts include fictional prose (chivalric romance, from earlier periods), administrative, judicial, and scientific documents, letters, poetry, grammar, religious prose, and chronicles.

Furthermore, as explained in chapter 3, the fact that there exist signs in the synchronic data of the possible convergence between Spanish and Catalan in the production of first- and second-person pronominal clitics, this dissertation examines the same forms diachronically to conclude whether language change has played a role in this convergence. Thus, it is essential to know whether the forms which could be taken to result from change are also found in the diachronic data preceding substantial contact between the two languages. If so, this study must dismiss the hypothesis of recent linguistic change as the result of contact between Spanish and Catalan, and the bilingualism of speakers, according to Enrique-Arias' proposal (see also Thomason 2001, for antecedents of this methodology).

4.1.2.2 Old Spanish texts from the 18th century (*Corpus Mallorca*)

The diachronic data examined in Spanish come from *Corpus Mallorca*⁴⁹ (Enrique-Arias, 2012, 2020). The documents were written in the 18th century, and they have different genres, such as testaments, inventories, certificates, statements, and private letters.

The reason for the analysis of texts written in the 18th century relates to the need (i) to verify that the current uses of the clitics in MS have not changed, and (ii) to examine if the first-person plural form *mos* was already used in MS as Enrique-Arias (2019) explained. Note that the 18th century was when contact between Spanish and Catalan was more intense, and speakers of Majorca became bilinguals. Therefore, it could be the case that bilingual speakers started to use *mos* in MC due to the Spanish contact or vice versa; that is, they could have started to use *mos* in MS due to the Catalan contact⁵⁰.

Although *Corpus Mallorca* contains a small amount of PS documents (from Barcelona), the analysis and comparison to both Spanish varieties have been possible.

The following section, 4.3, describes the analyses carried out in chapter 5 with the different linguistic phenomena.

⁴⁹ The following link allows us to find more information about this corpus: <http://corpusmallorca.es/>.

⁵⁰ It has been no easy to find an earlier MS corpus.

4.3 Analyses

The results presented in chapter 5 are analyzed with SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) across non-parametric tests. In particular, this statistical program compares the dependent and independent variables through Pearson Chi-Squared analyses. The dependent variable relates to the MC and MS pronominal clitics' uses and the production (or omission) of DOM. Concerning the pronominal clitics, their morphophonological features are considered; that is, the difference between the use of C+V or V+C syllables (in the case of Catalan). More specifically, the production of proclitic long forms composed of C+V are labeled as non-peninsular uses (MC forms), while the PLF composed of V+C are the peninsular ones (CC forms). Regarding the Spanish DOM-marker, the omission of DOM is considered as a “non-peninsular” (Majorcan) form, while the production of DOM is labeled as a “peninsular” form in constructions where DOM was expected to occur.

The independent variables can be divided into two different sets. The first set corresponds to internal factors. For example, the pronominal clitics have been analyzed considering their syntactic position (as proclitics or enclitics) to compare the extent to which MC and MS present different proclitics and enclitics rates. Likewise, regarding DOM, their production or omission in structures with and without CLD, and their dislocations have been considered. The second set of independent variables corresponds to external variables, namely gender, age, educational level, area of residence, linguistic preference, and the speakers' type of bilingualism (simultaneous or sequential).

In conclusion, this investigation considers (i) whether the effects identified in one clitic form can be extended to other clitics in the same paradigm⁵¹, (ii) whether there are effects on MC from MS in the bilingual setting, or vice versa, and (iii) whether external or internal variables cause linguistic change.

⁵¹This assertion has to do with the possibility that MC first- and second-person pronominal clitics follow the same pattern. This pattern is the clitic construction with a consonant plus a vowel, that is, open syllables in the singular forms (*me*, *te*) instead of using the CC forms constituted by a vowel plus a consonant (closed syllables: *em*, *et*, and *us*). Likewise, MC forms also follow the use of plural forms that start and end in a consonant (*nos/mos* and *vos*) instead of using the CC plural form *ens*.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

This dissertation explores the results regarding the synchronic features of Majorcan Catalan and Spanish pronominal clitics and the uses of the DOM-marker in MS in the context of bilingualism. First, this dissertation focuses on the analysis of synchronic data involving, on the one hand, oral production by Catalan-Spanish bilingual speakers, and, on the other hand, elicited data⁵². Second, diachronic data is examined to determine if the properties observed in the synchronic data related to the pronominal clitics were previously present in the language independently of bilingualism⁵³. It examines whether the presence of Spanish on the island affected the production of MC pronominal clitics. In this sense, if the diachronic data analysis confirms the existence of the current pronominal clitics, then language change has been inhibited throughout the centuries. The results are classified into two different sections related to the synchronic and diachronic data. The production of first- and second-person pronominal clitics are examined from both synchronic and diachronic sources in MC and MS. However, the production of the third person is examined only from the spontaneous oral data in both MC and MS, given that it is not expected to find different forms in the Majorcan varieties compared to the Central Peninsular ones. Likewise, both first- and second, and third-person pronominal clitics are examined in an elicited data questionnaire to compare the oral production data results. Finally, the production of DOM is only examined in the synchronic oral data in MS since DOM presents more restrictions in the Catalan varieties, and the use of DOM is not compulsory in the same conditions where Spanish DOM does. Furthermore, there are previous synchronic and diachronic studies about DOM in Balearic Catalan (Escandell-Vidal. 2009), but there are no synchronic analyses considering DOM in MS.

The reason for analyzing different phenomena with distinct synchronic and diachronic data has to do with the necessity to follow specific goals. The main goal was to provide the first description of the pronominal clitics in MC and MS in the bilingual context of Majorca. Even though previous studies (Seguí Trobat, 2014; Wheeler et al., 1999) argue that the MC first- and second-person pronominal clitics are the most conservative among the Catalan varieties, these studies do not present results from synchronic and

⁵²This second part of the synchronic analysis focuses only on the production of pronominal clitics in Catalan, intending to compare the different variants which match the CC or MC uses.

⁵³The focus of this study is the production of first- and second-person pronominal clitics in Catalan since these forms are those that present more variation in the Catalan dialects.

diachronic data to conclude that. For this reason, the only study of this dissertation that offers different synchronic and diachronic data relates to this set of pronominal clitics. Contrastingly, the study of the third-person pronominal clitics only exhibits synchronic data because it was not expected to find out differences throughout the centuries and between MC and CC. Finally, regarding the production of DOM, oral synchronic data is examined following the proposal of Escandell-Vidal (2007), who claims that the Catalan DOM-marker was already used in the 14th century. The *a*-marking is analyzed in MS to verify whether the features of DOM in Balearic Catalan are observed as a cross-linguistic influence.

Thus, the next sections focus on the analysis of the results taking different studies into account. These investigations are divided into the production of (i) first- and second-person pronominal clitics, (ii) third-person pronominal clitics, and (iii) the Spanish DOM-marker in two different constructions, namely, with and without the coreference of the clitic. Besides, after analyzing the oral production data of the pronominal clitics, section 5.3 focuses on the same participants' answers in an elicited data questionnaire with two different tasks: (a) grammaticality judgments and (b) preference tasks. The two tasks are based on items where MC or CC pronominal clitics are involved.

Note that the number of participants is variable depending on the study. While 45 out of 51 speakers have participated in the study of first-, second- and third-person pronominal clitics, 43 out of 51 speakers completed the elicited data questionnaire regarding the same pronominal clitics. Finally, 34 out of 51 speakers participated in the investigation regarding DOM and CLD⁵⁴.

The following subsections 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4, present the results of the different synchronic studies. Likewise, given that section 5.1 focuses on the first- and second-person pronominal clitics, the diachronic analyses of the same clitics are presented in subsection 5.1.3, after analyzing first- and second-person pronominal clitics in MC (subsection 5.1.1) and MS (subsection 5.1.2).

⁵⁴45 participants were recorded in Spanish and Catalan, but 6 only in Spanish. These latter speakers are sequential bilinguals who also speak Catalan but participated in the first phase when obtaining Spanish data. However, these 6 participants and the other 11 sequential bilinguals participated in the study about DOM since one of the most important aims was comparing simultaneous and sequential bilinguals in Spanish.

5.1 First- and second-person pronominal clitics in Majorcan Catalan and Spanish

The first study⁵⁵ of this dissertation examines the production of first- and second-person pronominal clitics in Spanish and Catalan by bilingual speakers of Majorca. More precisely, this study focuses on (i) the morphology of the different forms, considering the allomorphs that coexist for each form (e.g., *em/me* in Catalan), and (ii) their syntactic placement (proclitic or enclitic).

A total of 45 out of 51 Catalan-Spanish bilingual adults participated in this study, 25 women and 20 men aged between 16 and 67 years old ($SD = 7,1235$; range: 46.3). 91% were born in Majorca, and 9% ($n = 4$) were born in other Spain areas.⁵⁶ However, they moved to the island more than 20 years before they participated in the study. Most of the participants ($n = 34$) are simultaneous, while 11 are sequential bilinguals⁵⁷. The speakers are residents of three major geographic areas of Majorca: the capital, Palma, and the areas corresponding to the villages of Llucmajor and Capdepera. Besides, three of them are from the villages of Sóller and Llubí. This division is essential because the speakers' linguistic preference, i.e., Majorcan Catalan or Spanish, varies depending on where they reside. More specifically, if speakers live in Palma, linguistic preference tends to be Spanish instead of what happens in the different villages where Catalan is the vehicular language. For this reason, the tokens are classified into two different areas, Palma and the villages.

⁵⁵In this first stage, this dissertation could recruit 11 sequential speakers of Catalan and Spanish. This group was expanded later with 17 sequential speakers who were also able to participate in other studies (about DOM and CLD). The reason for this difference has to do with data collection taking place in different phases.

⁵⁶More specifically, they are from Barcelona, Madrid, Sevilla, and Badajoz.

⁵⁷Sequential speakers are bilinguals who have been exposed to Catalan at 6 years of age or later. These speakers and simultaneous bilinguals have been exposed to the language (and variety) during childhood and adulthood. Although several of them have been exposed to Catalan at school, it is essential to note that teachers also use MC pronominal clitics. In fact, there is a sharp contrast between instructed Catalan as a second language or learning Catalan at school (as part of the schooling system). To put it differently, speakers who came to Majorca years after their birth and intended to learn Catalan formally did not acquire the non-peninsular forms from MC. However, speakers born in or outside of Majorca but received much more input from the Majorcan school system and later in a naturalistic environment used the vernacular MC forms.

Table 24 includes the most relevant information regarding social variables such as gender, age, area of residence, education level, and linguistic preference of each participant. This information was collected via an ethnolinguistic questionnaire (see Appendix 2) and via the elicited data questionnaire (Appendix 4):

Gender SD: .50	Male 20		Female 25	
Age SD: .83	16-29 15	30-40 15	41-67 15	
Area of residence SD: .51	Palma 23		Villages 22	
Educational level SD: 1.16	Elementary school 9	High school 14	Community College 9	Undergraduate degree 13
Linguistic preference SD: .69	Spanish 14	Catalan 23	Both languages 8	
Type of bilingualism SD: .51	Simultaneous 34		Sequential 11	

Table 24. Distribution of participants across social variables

The data analyzed here comes from spontaneous production data. Each participant was recorded twice, once in Spanish and once in Catalan. Many of the recordings lasted approximately 15 to 20 minutes⁵⁸. The atmosphere of each recording was relaxing⁵⁹ in the homes of the speakers. The interviews involved a variety of topics, mainly related to family, hobbies, work, and individual experiences such as trips and anecdotes.

1204 tokens compose these data with first- and second-person pronominal clitics. More concretely, 634 tokens are examined in Catalan and 579 in Spanish (SD: .47, Mean: .32).

5.1.1 Production of Majorcan Catalan first- and second-person pronominal clitics

Concerning the production of Catalan pronominal clitics, 501 out of 634 correspond to first person (*em/me* and *ens/mos/nos*) as shown in (137), and 133 to second person (*et/te* and *us/vos*), as in the example (138):

⁵⁸Besides, the majority of participants were recorded in other spontaneous conversations in groups. These recordings lasted between 30 and 40 minutes.

⁵⁹The relaxing atmosphere aimed to trigger a more spontaneous and natural production of the respective languages.

(137) **Em** duràs el llibre? (CC)
Me duràs el llibre? (MC)
¿**Me** traeràs el libro? (PS)
to.me.cl give.FUT.2p.sg the book
'Will you bring me the book?'

(138) Pots especialitzar-te (MC & CC)
Puedes especializarte (PS)
can.2p.sig. specialize.2p.sing.
'You can specialize.'

[Male from villages, 29, simultaneous]

Tables 25 and 26 exhibit the distribution of tokens depending on the Catalan variety (CC and MC) and the corresponding person of the proclitics and enclitics (first- and second-person pronominal clitics).

First -and second- person pronominal clitics		(CC) peninsular uses	(MC) non-peninsular uses
First-person (n= 415)	sg. em	7/415 1.7%	me 321/415 77.3%
	pl. ens	4/415 1%	mos/nos 83/415 20%
Second-person (n= 94)	sg. et	3/94 3.2%	te 59/94 62.8%
	pl. us	0/94 0%	vos 32/94 34%

Table 25. Distribution of first- and second-person proclitics in MC

First- and second- person pronominal clitics		(CC) peninsular and (MC) non-peninsular uses	exclusive of (MC) non- peninsular uses
First-person (n= 86)	sg. me	44/86 51.16%	
	pl. nos	2/86 2.32%	mos 40/86 46.52%
Second-person (n= 39)	sg. te	30/39 76.92%	
	pl. vos	9/39 23.08%	

Table 26. Distribution of first -and second-person enclitics in MC

The data results show a disagreement between CC and MC proclitic forms, given that these Catalan dialects do not match the production of proclitic forms. More specifically, 43 out of 45 speakers produce MC pronominal clitics independently of their social features; that is, gender, age, educational level, area of residence, and type of bilingualism do not matter. The only two participants who use CC forms are speakers

who, in addition to having been born outside of Majorca (in Barcelona and Sevilla), they have learned Catalan at 6 years of age or later. Specifically, the speaker from Sevilla learned Catalan in adulthood in the Official School of Languages, while the speaker from Barcelona learned Catalan at school (in Barcelona) and, therefore, learned the CC forms.

To put it differently, the pattern used in CC and MC differs in the syllable composition. While CC presents the use of PLF with V+C (139), MC exhibits the opposite pattern with C+V (140-141).

- (139) **Em** donava vergonya [...] (CC)
 me.cl gave.1p.sig embarrassment [...]
 'I was embarrassed [...].'

[Female from Palma, 27, sequential]

- (140) a. Esper que això **te** servesqui^x (MC)
 b. Espero que això **et** serveixi (CC)

wish.1p.sg. that this you.cl. work.3p.sing.

'I hope that this works for you.'

[Female from Palma, 30, simultaneous]

- (141) a. Jo **vos** xerraré de sa meva experiència (MC)
 b. Jo **us** xerraré de la meva experiència (CC)

I you.cl. talk.FUT.1p.sg of the my experience

'I will talk to you about my experience.'

[Female from Palma, 30, simultaneous]

Nevertheless, there is an agreement between CC and MC regarding enclitic production since the MC proclitic forms are also used in the enclitic position in both varieties (142), except the form *mos*, which is exclusive of MC (143).

- (142) a. [...] per donar-**vos** ses claus (MC)
 b. [...] per donar-**vos** les claus (CC)

[...] to give.INF-you.cl. the keys

'[...] to give you the keys.'

[Female from villages, 52, simultaneous]

- (143) a. *Vàrem estar un poquet més en decidir-mos* (MC)
 b. *Estiguérem un poquet més en decidir-nos* (CC)
 were-1p.pl. a little more in decide-us-cl.
 'We spent a little more time deciding.'

[Female from Soller, 29, simultaneous]

Table 27 summarizes the difference between the two Catalan dialects (CC and MC) regarding the production of proclitics and enclitics:

Proclitics		Enclitics	
Central Catalan	Majorcan Catalan	Central Catalan	Majorcan Catalan
V+C: <i>em, et, ens, us</i>	C+V: <i>me, te, mos, vos</i>	C+V <i>me, te, nos, vos</i>	C+V <i>me, te, mos, vos</i>
Disagreement		Agreement, (except for <i>nos</i> > <i>mos</i> in MC)	

Table 27. Distribution of proclitic and enclitic forms in CC and MC

Figure 11 shows that most speakers who participated in this study produce MC proclitics and enclitics. Only 14 CC tokens before the verb (as proclitics) came from these two speakers above described.

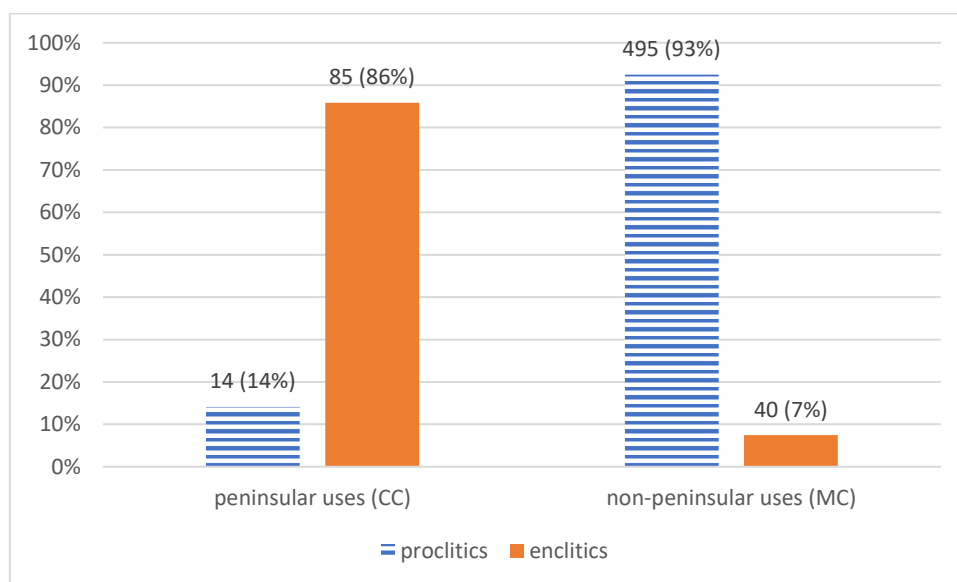


Figure 11. Production of first- and second-person pronominal clitics in Majorca

Notice that MC forms used as proclitics and enclitics match CC enclitic forms and, therefore, these enclitic forms have only been counted as CC uses, even if it was also the same form indicated for MC. The pronominal clitic forms that have been looked at in Figure 11 as corresponding to vernacular (MC) forms were only the ones that did not

match the CC forms (e.g., *mos*, in any position, which is exclusive to MC, and *me*, *te*, and *vos*, which are also exclusive to MC when used as proclitics). Most of the tokens of proclitic forms (481 out of 495) were MC forms that did not match the corresponding CC forms. However, there are only two participants from Palma who produced 14 pronominal clitics that match Central Catalan as a consistent pattern.⁶⁰

These results broadly show that simultaneous bilinguals and the majority (9 out of 11) of the sequential speakers have a strong preference for the Majorcan Catalan PLF (*me*, *te*, *se*, *mos*, and *vos*) instead of using forms that match the CC forms (*em*, *et*, *es*, *ens* and *us*). Furthermore, these same clitic forms are also used as full enclitic forms in both CC and MC (although *mos* is exclusive to MC). Thus, there is no statistically significant result between the production of MC or CC pronominal clitics ($p: >.005$), given that MC forms prevail in 97.8% of cases (compared to 2.2% of CC proclitic forms).

As will be shown in section 5.1.3 about the diachronic data, this extension of the full MC forms in both proclitic and enclitic positions is the maintenance of archaic forms in MC (Enrique-Arias, 2010, 2012, 2014). Moreover, these C+V forms were used not only in Majorcan and in the other Balearic Catalan varieties but also in CC dialects (CICA, 2009). This pattern has been maintained partially by the effect of bilingualism between Majorcan Catalan and Spanish⁶¹, given that Catalan and Spanish, for the most part, shared these full clitics forms (144) at least for *me*, *te* and *se*.

- (144) a. **Me** varen proposar fer un curs (MC)
 b. **Em** proposaren fer un curs (CC)
 c. **Me** propusieron hacer un curso (PS)
 me.cl proposed.1p.pl do.INF. a course
 'They proposed that I did a course.'

[Male from villages, 29, simultaneous]

More precisely, regarding the use of *nos* or *mos*, this dissertation proposes that there exist different patterns depending on different factors (mostly type of bilingualism and linguistic preference). The use of *nos* or *mos* could be represented in a continuum, as Figure 12 shows:

⁶⁰Another sequential participant produced two CC proclitics, but he mostly used the MC ones before the verb. As he did not produce a MC enclitic, it is not possible to know if he uses the unique MC form, *mos*.

⁶¹The development of bilingualism in Majorca was different from Catalonia, given that Majorca remained monolingual for almost three centuries more. However, Spanish arrived at Majorca in the 15th century (see chapter 2 for a detailed explanation).

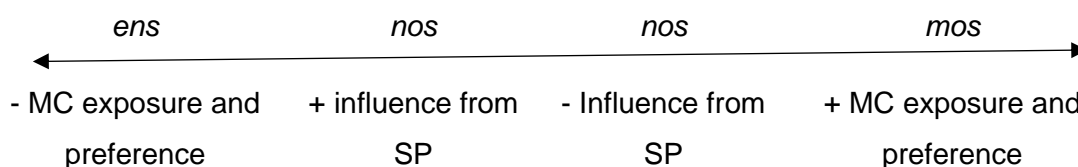


Figure 12. Production of first-person plural pronominal clitic in Catalan by bilinguals of Majorca

Following Figure 12, the use of *ens* (145) appeared in 2 tokens from two sequential bilinguals born outside Majorca, and so they did not have the same exposure to Catalan as the other bilinguals. More specifically, as explained before, one was born in Sevilla and learned Catalan in adulthood. The other speaker was born in a Catalan-speaking city (Barcelona) and moved to Majorca when she was an adolescent.

(145) **Ens** havien oblidat completament
 us.cl have.1p.pl forgotten completely
 'They had forgotten us completely.'

[Female from Palma, 40, sequential]

Sequential bilingual participants who prefer Spanish as their daily-use language seem to produce the proclitic *nos* (instead of *mos* or *ens*) as a transfer from Spanish to MC. Note that Majorcan speakers who use MC as (one of) their L1 use *mos* instead of *ens* or *nos*. However, the use of *nos* does not entail that speakers do not use Catalan, but they prefer using Spanish. The production of *nos* as a Spanish transfer only presents 8 tokens, as the example (146) shows; therefore, it is necessary to get more data to conclude that this use has to do with a Spanish transfer from sequential bilinguals.

(146) Transfer from Spanish

a. Noltros	nos	ficam	fins el poble	(MC)
b. Nosotros	nos	metimos	hasta el pueblo	(PS)
c. Nosaltres	ens	ficam	fins el poble	(CC)
we	us.cl	get.1p.pl	into the village	
'We got into the village.'				

[Male from Palma, 45, sequential]

The other pattern in the use of *nos* (147) is produced by two simultaneous bilingual women from Majorca who live in a rural area of Lluçmajor. Besides, they prefer using Catalan daily and produced *nos* as proclitic instead of using *mos* or *ens*.

(147) Non-transfer from Spanish

- a. Ells no **nos** entenen a noltros (MC)
b. Ellos no nos entienen a nosotros (PS)
c. Ells no **ens** entenen a nosaltres (CC)
they no to-us understand us-cl.
'They do not understand us.'

[Female from villages, 45, simultaneous]

Following Seguí Trobat (2014), it would be the case that speakers from rural areas, where Catalan is the predominant language of use, produce the archaic form, *nos*. Therefore, in this case, this form would not be a transfer from Spanish. Following Seguí Trobat (2014), the use of *nos* is the conservative Catalan form commonly used in rural areas. In addition, the two speakers who used *nos* are females with elementary school education and work in the ranching and agriculture field. These data can then tentatively show that these uses could correspond to the variant explained by Seguí Trobat (2014) regarding the use of *nos* in rural form as a conservative form. However, more research must be done in order to determine whether education and job opportunities are directly related to the uses of *nos* in a proclitic position.

Finally, the most widespread pattern corresponds to the use of *mos* (148) instead of *nos* or *ens* for the first-person plural form in both syntactic positions by simultaneous and sequential bilingual speakers, independently of their language preference.

- (148) a. **Mos** vàrem anar a un campus d'intercanvi d'anglès (MC)
b. **Ens** anàrem a un campus d'intercanvi d'anglès (CC)
us-cl. went-1p.pl. to a campus of'Exchange of'English
'We went to a campus of English Exchange.'

[Female from Palma, 31, simultaneous]

The statistical analysis evaluates the role of the external factors on the production of the first- and second-person pronominal clitics. The dependent variable that has been examined is the first- and second-person pronominal clitics, considering two different variants: (i) the use of the V+C reinforced form, labeled as "peninsular uses," and (ii) the production of C+V full form, labeled as "non-peninsular uses." It is relevant to take into consideration that the short allomorphs, as in (149), which match MC and CC, are not analyzed in this dissertation.

(149) **M**'ha tornat el llibre

me.cl have returned the book

'(S)he has returned the book to me.'

Regarding the use of enclitics, notice that CC enclitics match in both Catalan dialects, except for *mos*. Thus, the CC forms which match MC forms have been counted only as “peninsular uses.”

Pearson Chi-Squared analyses have been carried out to correlate the dependent variable (the morphology of clitics, CC (V+C) and MC (C+V) and their syntactic position (before and after the verb)) and the independent variables, related to the social characteristics of speakers, such as gender, age, education level and area of residence (cf. Table 28).

As Table 28 shows, statistically significant results deal with the participants' gender, educational level, area of residence, and linguistic preference.

	Value	Sig	df
Gender	13.00	.005	3
Age	12.98	.043	6
Education level	58.21	.000	9
Area of residence	21.31	.000	3
Linguistic preference	68.42	.000	6

Table 28. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses between the production of MC/CC and social variables

Despite several significant results, it is essential to further discuss these results, given that only 2 out of 45 speakers (a 27-year-old woman from Barcelona and a 40-year-old woman from Sevilla) use CC forms and lived in Palma. More precisely, the woman from Barcelona is familiarized with CC forms, even though her family only used Spanish since her birth. The other woman from Sevilla received instructed Catalan as a second language when she arrived at Majorca, ten years ago, when she was 30 years old. This explanation means that social variables such as gender, age, education, and area of residence do not actively and strongly contribute to our understanding of the research question; namely, the extent to which there exists a more frequent use of non-peninsular (MC) or peninsular (CC) variants in the MC variety. Both simultaneous and sequential speakers use the MC pronominal clitics. Therefore, this phenomenon related to the production of first- and second-person pronominal clitics does not seem to be affected by the external variables. The differences between the two speakers who produce CC

proclitics and the rest of the participants could be explained because these two sequential bilinguals did not have an early (Majorcan) Catalan exposure from birth.

Therefore, the most important result has to do with two different uses: (i) the majority of speakers (43 out of 45) use the non-peninsular forms as proclitics (before the verb) and the same forms as enclitics, which match the CC enclitic ones, except for *mos*. More specifically, these 43 speakers do not produce *nos* as enclitic; (ii) the CC forms present in these data correspond to the production of two sequential bilinguals.

Regarding the age of speakers, there are no statistically significant results. Overall, speakers from different age groups produced more proclitic than enclitic forms. Nonetheless, the group in which speakers are between 30 and 40 years of age produced more enclitics than other age groups.

On this matter, an extra variable factor that could play an essential role in the different outputs across age here is the amount of exposure younger adults would have had to CC through other means, such as education. To put it differently, one possible important factor that may influence the production of CC and MC clitics is not the fact of having been born in or outside of Majorca, but the exposure of a specific variety in the input, not only in the familiar context but also in the community.

Even though the speakers' level of education shows a statistically significant result in MC and CC (see Table 28 above), what is observable is that 9 out of the 14 proclitics came from a sequential bilingual woman who only attended elementary school. Another sequential speaker, who had an undergraduate degree, produced the rest of the tokens (3). The rest of the participants with different education levels (see Figure 13) and independently of their type of bilingualism (simultaneous or sequential) produced MC forms.

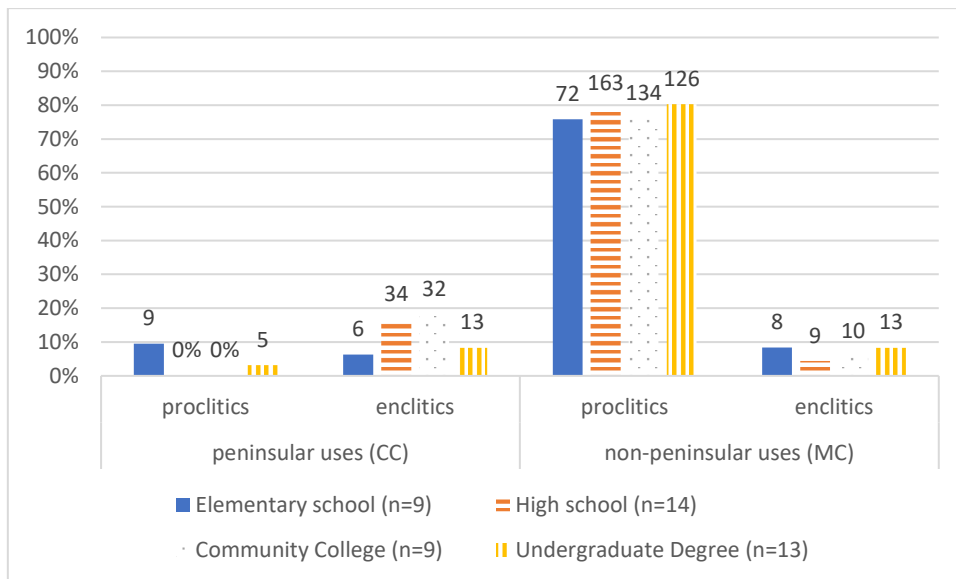


Figure 13. Distribution of CC and MC first- and second-person pronominal clitics across education level

Figure 14 displays the uses of first- and second-person clitics considering the geographical area (identified by the city or village) in which the simultaneous and sequential bilingual speakers live.

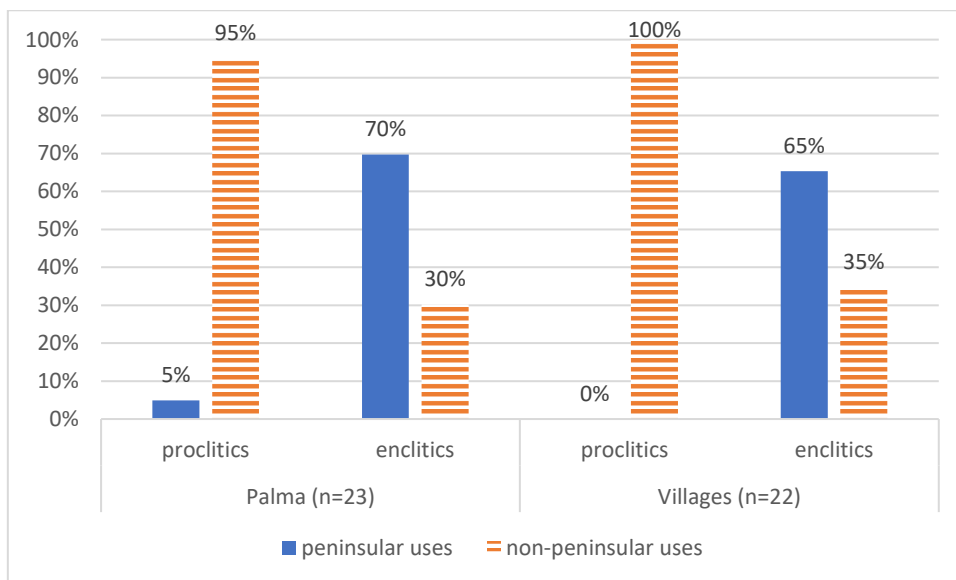


Figure 14. Production of first- and second-person pronominal clitics in Majorca

Overall, speakers used the MC proclitic forms, independently of the area where they live⁶². That is, they produced mostly the PLF composed of C+V⁶³. Remember that enclitics match in both varieties because these are the same forms used as proclitics in MC, except *mos*.

Figure 15 exhibits the number of MC or CC tokens across the speakers' linguistic preference. As observed, speakers produced mostly the MC proclitics in spite of their preference for using Spanish or Catalan.

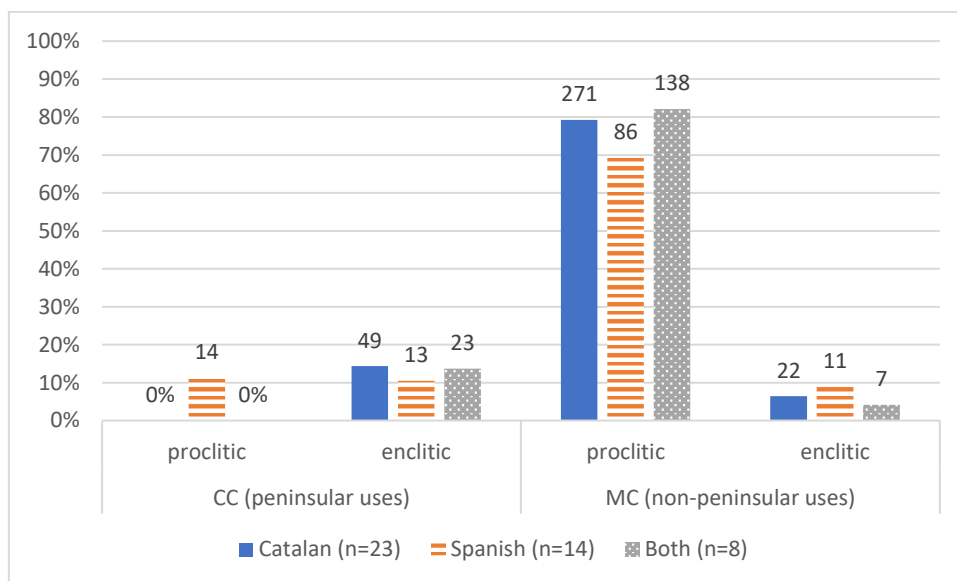


Figure 15. Production of MC and CC pronominal clitics across speakers' linguistic preference

To sum up, bilingual speakers of Majorca present widespread use of MC full forms independently of their linguistic preference. However, as will be shown in the following section (5.1.2), MS does not present widespread use of non-peninsular forms, but some sporadic transfers from MC.

5.1.2 Production of Majorcan Spanish first- and second-person pronominal clitics

As described in section 3.2.1, the Spanish pronominal clitics system does not present different allomorphs depending on their syntactic position concerning their host (the

⁶²The classification between the capital, Palma, and the villages aims to verify if the production of CC and MC forms depends on the area of residence. Note that Spanish is the dominant language in Palma due to the increase in foreign population, not only from mainland Spain but also from other countries (Amengual, 2011a) such as Germany, Russia, and China.

⁶³ They correspond to the forms *me*, *te*, composed by C+V (like in Spanish) and *mos*, which is the exclusive form from MC (as a reanalysis with *me*) and, finally, they also use *vos* instead of the Peninsular form *us*.

verb), as Catalan shows.⁶⁴

Overall, MS first- and second-person pronominal clitics do not present any variation in their production by Spanish-Catalan bilinguals. However, some transfers are found in the spontaneous data, but the few tokens where this variation is attested cannot empirically confirm that language change has taken place or convergence with the transferred forms.

A total of 456 of out 579 tokens corresponds to first-person (*me* and *nos*) as in (150), and 123 to second-person (*te* and *os*), as in the example (151):

(150) **Me** llamó la policía
 me.cl called.3p.sg the police
 'The police called me.'

[Male from Palma, 45, sequential]

(151) No **te** puedo decir que algunos no lo hagan mal
 no you.cl can.1p.sg tell.INF that somebody no it.cl. do.3p.pl. bad
 'I cannot tell you that some don't it wrong.'

[Male from villages, 45, sequential]

Tables 29 and 30 offer a distribution of first- and second-person proclitics and enclitics in MS (respectively). The tokens are divided into first and second persons and across their number.

		peninsular and non-peninsular uses		
First person (n=426)	singular	me	307/426	72.1%
	plural	nos	119/426	27.9%
Second person (n=113)	singular	te	78/113	69%
	plural	os	35/113	31%

Table 29. Distribution of first- and second-person proclitics in MS

		peninsular and non-peninsular uses		
First person (n=30)	singular	me	17/30	57%
	plural	nos	13/30	43%
Second person (n=10)	singular	te	8/10	80%
	plural	os	2/10	20%

Table 30. Distribution of first- and second-person enclitics in MS

⁶⁴ Note that Catalan presents almost four different variants. The use of different allomorphs depends on the clitic position related to the verb, as proclitics and enclitics. It also depends on the verbal phonology, that is, if the verb starts or ends in a vowel or a consonant (see chapter 3).

Since MS first- and second-person pronominal clitics do not present any variation regarding the form, a comparison between the syntactic position has been carried out. This distribution entails an analysis of the production of proclitics and enclitics, depending on the different social variables.

	Value	Sig	df
Gender	.02	.507	1
Age	16.64	.000	1
Education level	2.94	.401	3
Area of residence	.40	.320	1
Linguistic preference	5.90	.052	2

Table 31. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses between the production of MC/CC and social variables

Pearson Chi-Squared analyses indicate that there is only one statistically significant result across age in comparing the production of proclitics and enclitics in MS. Further analysis shows a significant difference between the different groups of age related to the production of enclitics. Figure 16 exhibits the differences in the production of enclitics across the three sets of age:

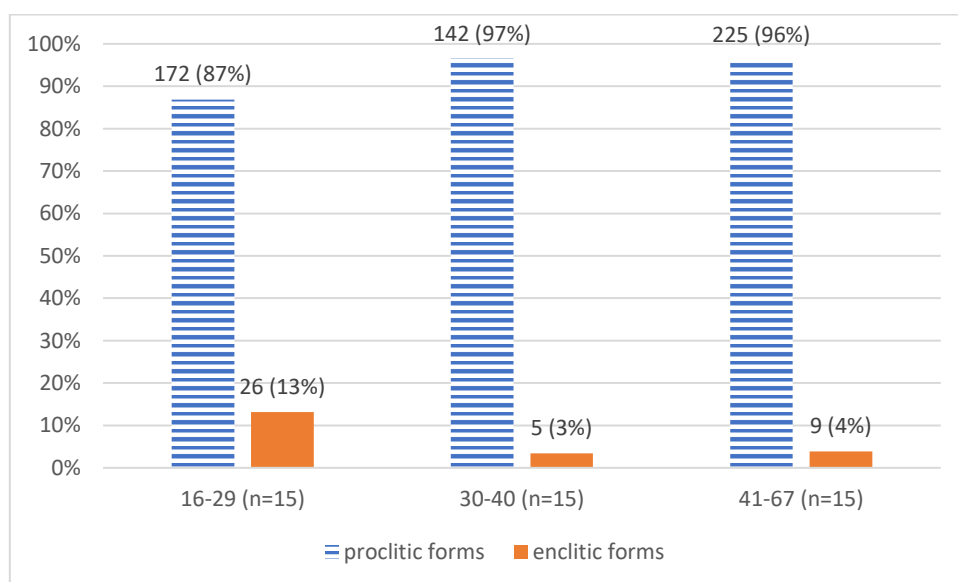


Figure 16. Production of first- and second-person pronominal clitics in MS across age

Speakers who are between 16 and 29 years of age produced 13% of enclitics of their total number of tokens (26 out of 198). Speakers who produce more enclitic forms do

that in constructions where the clitic could be produced in both syntactic positions, before and after the verb⁶⁵. However, the rest of the speakers, aged between 30 and 67 years, only presented 3-4% of enclitics while produced 96-97% of proclitics.

Figure 17 exhibits the differences of tokens regarding the production of proclitic and enclitic forms depending on the speakers' linguistic preference.

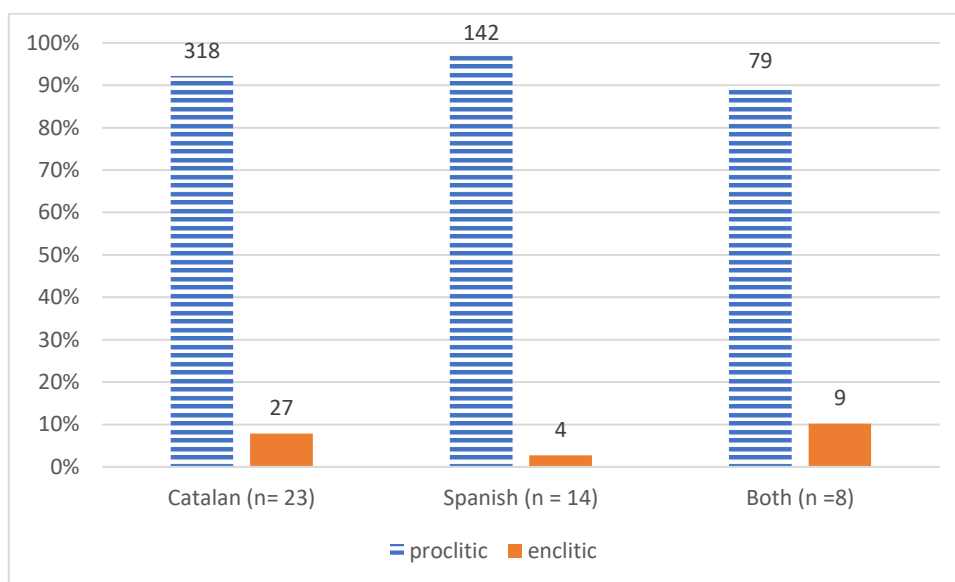


Figure 17. Production of first- and second-person pronominal clitics in MS across linguistic preference

Speakers with Catalan as their preferred language and speakers who do not prefer any language between Spanish and Catalan (since they use both daily) produce more enclitic forms than speakers who prefer using Spanish.

Even though the speakers' area of residence does not suggest a significant result, transfers from Catalan to Spanish depend on the linguistic preference and the area of Majorca where they live. That is, speakers who live outside of Palma, in villages, and have Catalan as their linguistic preference produced some transfers. Nevertheless, there is a lower amount of transfers (3 tokens), and they have to do with the production of *mos*

⁶⁵Remember the examples provided in section 3.2 (chapter 3) about Spanish and Catalan pronominal clitics where the clitic can appear before a finite verb or after an infinitive, gerund, or imperative:

- (1) Lo voy a comprar (el coche) (PS)
'I am going to buy it.'
- (2) Voy a comprarlo (el coche) (PS)
'I am going to buy it.'

(152-153) instead of *nos* in MS. Thus, the statistical analysis carried out to compare the speaker's linguistic preference, and the production of transfers is not significant (value (4.452) = Sig. (0.12)).

(152) **Mos** hemos discutido (MS)
us-cl. have.1p.pl discussed
'We have argued with each other.'
[Female from villages, 63, simultaneous]

(153) **Mos** hemos llevado bien (MS)
us-cl. Have got-along.1p.pl. well
'We have gotten along well.'
[Female from villages, 63, simultaneous]

An internal (syntactic) factor determines the production of proclitic or enclitic forms (as explained in section 3.2). Spanish and Catalan follow the same pattern. That is, the finiteness of the verb influences the occurrence of the clitics before or after *de* verb. For this reason, it is expected that structures show more proclitic forms than enclitics since finite verbs are more used than infinitives, gerunds, or imperatives.

If comparing the overall frequency of the syntactic positions of Spanish and Catalan pronominal clitics, it is observed that enclitic uses appear twice as much in Catalan (20%) as they do in Spanish (7%). However, the number of enclitic tokens is still low in each language (see Figure 18), and there is not a statistically significant result in the comparison between the production of proclitic and enclitic forms in Spanish and Catalan ($p: >.005$). To put it differently, although there were more proclitic forms in both languages, there is a slightly higher (non-significant) tendency in MC to produce enclitics if the two Romance languages are compared. Therefore, the important result in this comparison between MC and MS enclitics relates to the fact that MC presents more enclitic forms in constructions where proclitics are also allowed:

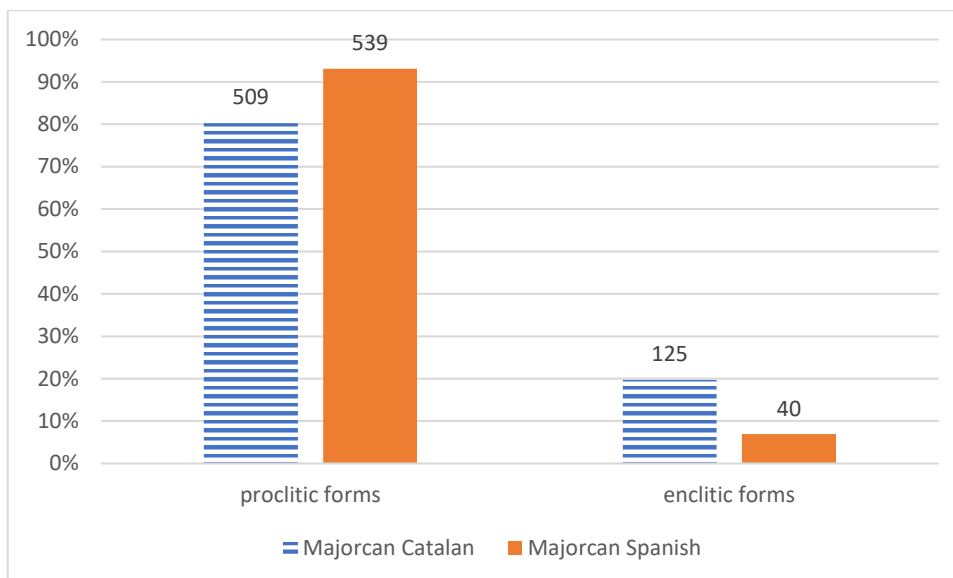


Figure 18. Syntactic position of first- and second-person pronominal clitics in Majorcan bilinguals' production

Following examples show the production of enclitic forms in contexts where they can appear before the verb, as proclitics:

(154) Quiero centrarme en un personaje⁶⁶ (MS)
 want.1p.sg focus.INF-me.cl in a character
 'I want to focus me in a character.'

[Male from villages, 32, simultaneous]

(155) No sé què més he de dir-te⁶⁷ (MC)
 no know-1p.sig what more have-1p.sig to tell.INF-you.cl
 'I don't know what more to tell you.'

[Female from Palma, 33, simultaneous]

To summarize this section, there is minimal evidence of any effect distinguishing Majorcan Spanish from Peninsular Spanish concerning the pronominal clitic system. There are no different allomorphic variants on the production of these pronominal clitics in Spanish, but there exist three transfers from MC on MS, which depend on the speakers' linguistic preference. In contrast, what is also observed in the comparison between CC and MC is that there exist specific patterns which differ to a great extent. These differences deal with the production of PLF characterized using V+C (*em, et, es, ens, and us*) or C+V (*me, te, se, mos, and vos*).

⁶⁶Note that this structure could be also: 'Me quiero centrar en un personaje.'

⁶⁷Note that this structure could also be: 'No sé què més t'he de dir.'

The following section examines the results from the diachronic data in Spanish and Catalan. The diachronic data from Catalan present an analysis that takes into consideration the two Catalan varieties (CC and MC, included in Balearic Catalan). In contrast, the Spanish data focus mostly on an analysis from the MS variety since there are no many documents from PS.

The diachronic findings will be compared with the synchronic results to verify whether the forms currently used in MC were the most conservative ones and, therefore, if the language change has been inhibited due to the contact with Spanish.

5.1.3 Diachronic data from Catalan and Spanish

This study considers the analysis of diachronic data from two different corpora in Spanish and Catalan. This investigation aims at verifying whether the non-peninsular first- and second-person pronominal clitics found in the spontaneous oral MC data are the same used in MC between the 13th and 16th centuries before the presence of Spanish on the island of Majorca.⁶⁸ Likewise, this dissertation also examines diachronic data in Old Spanish to verify that current forms match the forms used during the 17th century.

This dissertation hypothesizes that if the non-peninsular forms are more archaic pronominal clitics in MC (Seguí Trobat, 2014; Wheeler et al., 2009) than the ones produced in the rest of Catalan dialects that match Spanish forms, the contact between Spanish and Catalan supports the inhibition of language change.

Regarding Old Catalan, the *Corpus Informatizat del Català Antic* (CICA, 2007; Torruella, 2009a, 2009b) is examined to analyze first- and second-person pronominal clitics in Central and Balearic Catalan dialects (including MC). However, concerning Majorcan and Peninsular Spanish (spoken in Barcelona), the same pronominal clitics (first- and second-person) are examined throughout *Corpus Mallorca* (Enrique-Arias, 2012).

The following sections (5.1.3.1 and 5.1.3.2) present the findings considering the Balearic and Central Catalan varieties and Majorcan and Peninsular Spanish varieties, respectively.

⁶⁸Note that, although Spanish arrived at Majorca in the 15th century, speakers from the island did not start to become Spanish-Catalan bilingual speakers until the 18th century (Enrique-Arias, 2010).

5.1.3.1 First- and second-person pronominal clitics in Old Catalan (CICA)⁶⁹

This part of the diachronic analysis aims to address the historical development of the pronominal clitics in Balearic Catalan (BC) varieties and compare them with CC. More specifically, this part of the investigation aims at verifying if the BC (which includes MC) forms matched or not the pronominal clitics used in CC between the 13th and 16th centuries before Spanish started being spoken extensively in Majorca. Contrastingly, the CICA corpus has no data from subsequent centuries.

The following data came from Old texts in Catalan written between the 13th and 16th centuries. However, the CICA corpus contains some Old documents in CC which belong to the 17th century.

As explained in section 4.1.2.1 (chapter 4), these texts have different genres, such as prose (chivalric romance, from older periods), administrative, judicial, and scientific documents, letters, poetry, grammar, religious prose, and chronicles.

Considering the Enrique-Arias approach to Spanish in Majorca (2010), this dissertation follows the hypothesis that linguistic changes can slow down in the context of contact between Spanish and Catalan on the island of Majorca. Therefore, this study examines whether the presence of the same clitic forms in both Spanish and Catalan has inhibited language change in MC, unlike what happened in CC. Note that there is evidence that specific uses of pronominal clitics in MC are the most conservative (oldest attested) forms in MC. More precisely, the MC enclitics (*me*, *te*, *mos*, *vos*), which seem to have been extended to the proclitic use, are precisely the forms used as proclitics not only in MC (illustrated by examples (156)-(157) from Batllori et al. (2004: 2), but also in CC (158)-(159) before the arrival of Spanish:

(156) A maravellar **te** cové hon és caritat e devoció anada
to delight you.cl convene.3p.sg where is charity and devotion go.3p.pl
'You should marvel where charity and devotion are.'

[MC, 13th century. Ramon Llull, Felix: pt. I, c. 2; DCVB, s.v. 'et']

⁶⁹The research leading to these results has received funding from "la Caixa" Banking Foundation.

(157) per açò, senyer, **vos** prech que vós me digats de la santa trinitat de Déu ço que-n sabets
 for this.reason lord you.cl beg that you me.cl tell.2p.pl of the Holy Trinity of God that it know.2p.pl
 'For this reason, Lord, I beg you that you tell me of the Holy Trinity of God, which you know.'
 [MC, 13th century. Ramon Llull, Meravelles: 55, 18; Fischer (2003: 33, 29)]

These examples (156-157) show that the pronominal clitics currently used only as enclitics in CC were being used as proclitic in MC since the 13th century. Another example (158) from Old CC (Fischer 2003: 32) demonstrates that the same long form clitic *vos* was used in the two syntactic positions, as proclitic and enclitic, matching what would be expected in contemporary MC but not the current CC proclitic form (*us*):

(158) Aquesta vegada **vos** perdó, e jur-**vos**⁷⁰ per Nostre Senyor Déu
 This time to.you.cl pardon-1p.sg and swear-1p.sg-to.you.cl for our Lord God
 'I forgive you this time, and I swear by Our God.'
 [*Lo Somni*, Bernat Metge 1399]

Considering the use of PLF constituted by a C+V or a V+C, Fischer (2003: 80) explains that:

From the 13th century onwards clitics appear in different shapes depending on whether they occurred before or after the verb and whether they occur before or after a consonant or before or after a vowel. A change has been attested concerning this conditioned allomorphy. In the 13th century each clitic occurs with three different morphological forms of which one is exclusively used in a preverbal position, one exclusively before or after a vowel, and one form occurs preverbally as well as postverbally in the environment of vowels or consonants. According to my corpus this optionality does not change until the 20th century. In Modern Catalan, we find a complementary distribution, i.e., every form is connected to one environment, occurring either preverbally or postverbally or next to a vowel or consonant.

⁷⁰ This is an occurrence of an enclitic form linked to a verb in a finite form, which is expected to be found mostly in earlier diachronic stages in both Spanish and Catalan.

In contrast, if the examples from Batllori et al. (2004) and Fischer (2003) are compared, it is noticeable that the former present a PLF (proclitic long form) after a word that ends in a consonant. However, the latter presents a PLF after a word that ends in a vowel. That is, although it could be argued that the use of PLF constituted by a C+V depends on the word they follow, it is verified that it did not always occur in that way. Note that the host of the pronominal clitics were any grammatical form in Old Catalan, not only the verb, as currently the norm is.

Regarding the first- and second-person pronominal clitics from the *CICA* corpus, the different forms are distributed into different sets, depending on the Catalan variety (CC and BC) and the person of the pronominal clitics. Besides, the pronominal object clitics are classified into two different groups, first and second person, considering the number (singular and plural).

In Table 32, the number of forms found is shown, depending on the variety of Catalan (Central or Balearic). BC includes MC data⁷¹ primarily. Note that the *CICA* corpus considers the Balearic variety, but not the Majorcan dialect isolated.

		Balearic Catalan				Central Catalan				
		Proclitic		Enclitic		Proclitic		Enclitic		
1st	sig.	me	107	98.2%	55	100%	939	98.5%	476	100%
		em	2	1.8%	0	0%	14	1.5%	0	0%
	pl.	nos	123	100%	42	100%	452	99.3%	189	100%
		ens	0	0%	0	0%	3	0.6%	0	0%
2nd	sig.	te	294	---	31	---	371	---	239	---
	pl.	vos	322	40%	123	83%	1123	48%	722	88%
		us	491	60%	25	17%	1233	52%	98	12%

Table 32. Central and Balearic Catalan pronominal clitic tokens (13th-16th centuries)

Table 32 does not present frequency data for the non-peninsular form *te* because it was not possible to calculate the distribution of the competing reinforced form *et* in the historical data. The peninsular form *et* was not analyzed due to the high frequency of its use (13645 in CC and 2016 in BC). The reason for not analyzing this form is that most of the tokens of *et* relate to the conjunction ‘and,’ which is homonymous with the second-person pronominal clitic. Likewise, this dissertation does not analyze the elided proclitic and enclitic forms since a pattern of change for them concerning the other allomorphs is not noticed.

⁷¹The number of MC forms within BC were not separated. Therefore, there are uses that correspond to other varieties (from Ibiza, Menorca, Formentera, as part of the large Balearic variety).

Two different patterns are observed that involve (i) non-peninsular and (ii) peninsular forms. If the first- and second-person clitics are examined in detail, it is found that most of the tokens have to do with the non-peninsular forms currently used in MC, in both Balearic and Central Catalan, not only in proclitic but also in enclitic position. However, there is only one difference that involves the second plural form. This form presents two different variants (the peninsular form, *us*, and the non-peninsular, *vos*), which seem to have competition throughout the centuries.

Figure 19 exhibits the distribution of the tokens throughout the centuries analyzed (13th-16th)⁷² and considering the Catalan varieties:

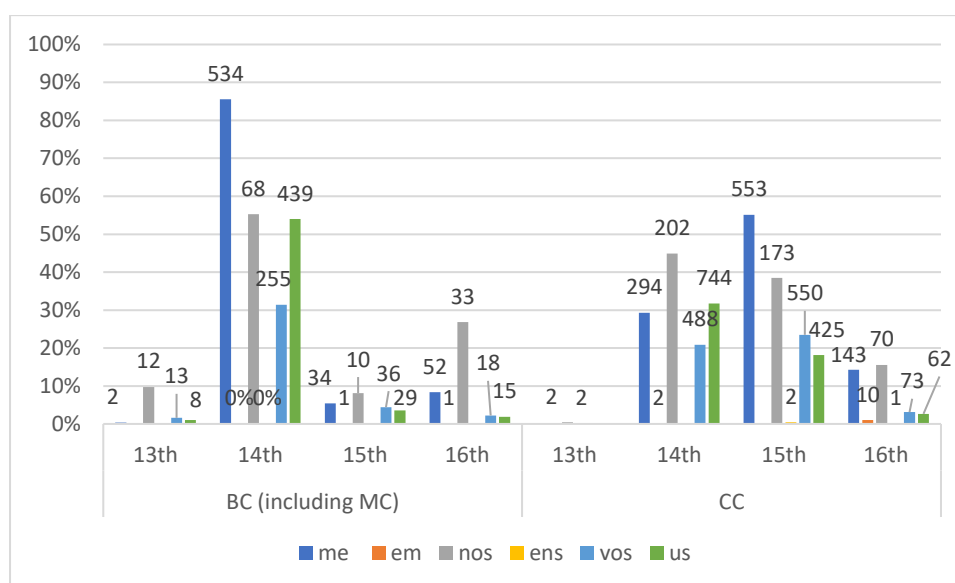


Figure 19. Distribution of tokens across peninsular and non-peninsular forms in BC and CC between the 13th and 16th centuries

The non-peninsular forms that were expected to be the most conservative ones are *me*, *nos*, and *vos*, instead of the peninsular counterparts *em*, *ens*, and *us*. Figure 19 presents the results from each Catalan variety and offers the number of tokens for each form. Each form constitutes 100% of the uses throughout the 13th-17th centuries.

Overall, the non-peninsular uses were those that are more used than the peninsular uses. Specifically, it could be said that the peninsular forms *em* and *ens* did not exist. The first-person singular form *em* represents only 2 tokens in BC and 14 tokens in CC,

⁷²The CC tokens from Old texts of the 17th century are not presented in Figure 19, given that there are not data in BC from the 17th century.

while the plural form *ens* presents 2 tokens in CC, but no token in BC⁷³.

Concerning *mos*, the non-peninsular first-person plural form, the only use found with this form is a possessive adjective (159), but it is not found as a pronominal clitic:

(159) *Dos anniversaris per la mia ànima e en remisió de mos pecats*
two anniversaries for my soul and in reference of my sins
'Two anniversaries for my soul and in reference of my sins.'
[Testament of the merchant Pere Ses Oliveres, page 305, line: 10, 16th century]

Finally, regarding the second plural person forms (*us* and *vos*), a different pattern is seen compared to the other forms. It can be said that there exists a continuum between the use of *us* (peninsular use) and *vos* (non-peninsular proclitic form). However, there is a reduction in the use of the form *us* between the 14th and 16th centuries in both dialects.

The forms *us* and *vos* were used as a proclitic simultaneously from the 13th to 17th centuries. While *us* presents a distribution of 52% to 60%, *vos* presents a frequency of 40% to 48%.

In sum, these results suggest that the non-peninsular forms (except for *vos*) were consistently produced in both syntactic positions in BC and CC during the period between the 13th and 17th centuries. In contrast, the corresponding peninsular forms were productive only regarding the form *us*.

The first normative grammar of Catalan done by Pompeu Fabra (1913) and adopted by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (IEC) shows the variation between the peninsular and non-peninsular forms. It is explained that the PLF constituted by a V+C (*em*, *et*, *es*, *ens*, and *us*) could be interchangeable with the counterpart forms represented by a C+V before the verb, as in (160).

(160) *Mai et/te veia*
never 2p.sg.cl saw
'I never saw you.'

In view of the results of this dissertation from the historical data above, the productive use of the peninsular forms could have been an innovation in CC after the 16th century, regarding the *em* and *ens* forms, since they were not attested productively until then, as

⁷³Note that the data from the 13th century are sparser than the data from the subsequent centuries.

indicated in Table 32.

On this matter, Fischer (2003) argues that the use of the proclitic forms constituted by a vowel + a consonant contains a vowel, which is epenthetic. This vowel could have appeared for phonological, morphological, and syntactic motivations. If that is the case, the epenthetic vowel would presumably have applied to the short clitic forms. Both PSF (proclitic short forms) and ESF (enclitic short forms) were relatively productive in both Old Catalan dialects.

Although the frequency of the PSF and ESF is not analyzed in this dissertation, the number of tokens of the first-person singular form is presented in Figures 20 and 21 to compare the use of long and short forms throughout the 13th to 17th centuries:

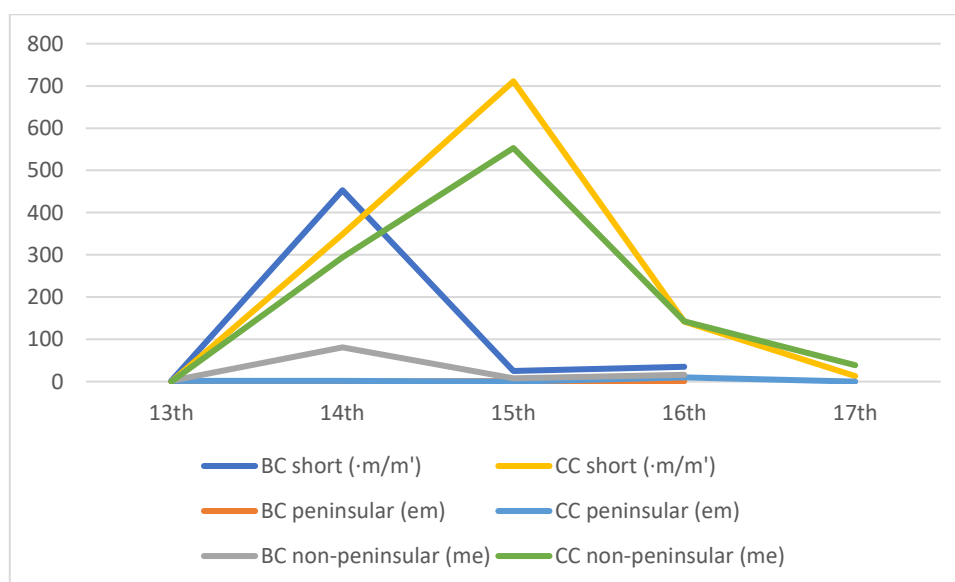


Figure 20. Frequency of the proclitic first-person pronominal clitic allomorphs in Old Catalan during the 13th-17th centuries

As observed, despite the fact that PSF are the most frequent forms, the non-peninsular form, *me*, also presents a high frequency, mostly in CC. However, the peninsular form, *em*, shows a lower rate, as explained above. The difference between the PLF, *me*, and the PSF (*.m/m'*) is more noticeable in BC than in CC.

Regarding the enclitic forms (ELF and ESF), the number of tokens of the long form, *me*, is higher than the short forms in both Catalan varieties (see Figure 21):

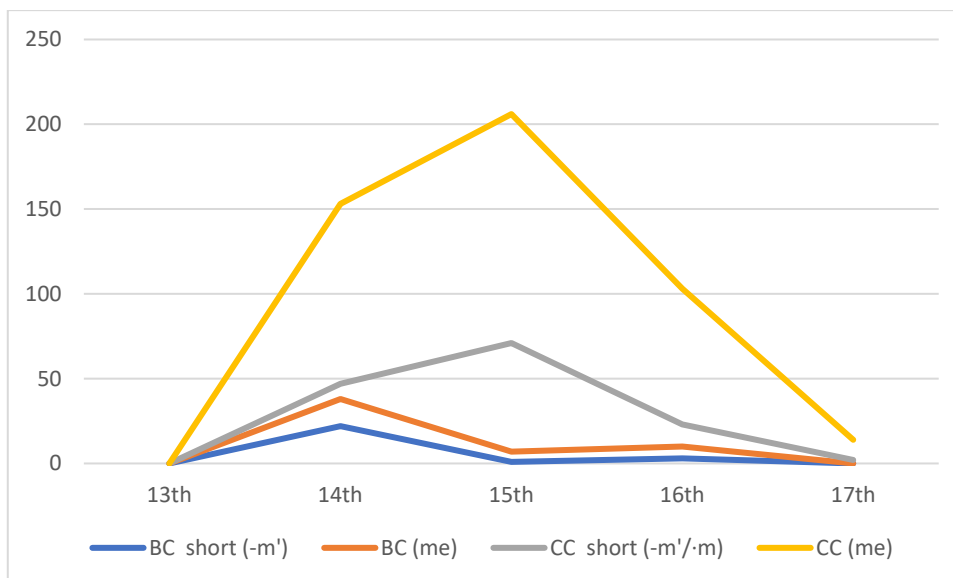


Figure 21. Frequency of the enclitic first-person pronominal clitic allomorphs in Old Catalan during the 13th-17th centuries

If the frequency of the long and short forms is compared in both Catalan varieties, the difference is higher in CC than in BC.

The hypothesis suggesting that peninsular forms never became widespread in MC is confirmed. The peninsular forms *em* and *ens* did not exist in the historical data (except for *us*), and neither were produced in the synchronic oral data (section 5.1.1). Thus, the epenthesis of the vowel proposed by Fischer to yield the peninsular proclitic forms would never have developed in MC, unlike CC.

In summary, the historical data analysis indicates that the peninsular enclitic forms (*me*, *nos*, *te*, and *vos*) prevailed in both syntactic positions, before and after the verb. Likewise, these long forms were used as proclitics in BC and in CC between the 13th and 17th centuries.

The following section (5.1.3.2) includes an analysis of diachronic data in Majorcan Spanish related to first- and second-person pronominal clitics.

5.1.3.2 First- and second-person pronominal clitics in Old Spanish (*Corpus Mallorca*)

This diachronic analysis aims to address the historical development of the pronominal clitics in MS and compare them with the synchronic data and the MC diachronic data.

The following data came from old texts in Spanish of *Corpus Mallorca* (Enrique-Arias, 2012, 2020). The documents were written in the 18th century, and, as explained in section 4.1.2.2 (chapter 4), these texts have different genres, such as testaments, inventories, certificates, statements, and private letters.

The reason for the analysis of texts written in the 18th century relates to the need (i) to verify that the current uses of the clitics in MS have not changed, and (ii) to examine if the first-person plural form *mos* was already used. Note that the 18th century was the moment when contact between Spanish and Catalan was more intense, and speakers of Majorca became bilinguals.

Although *Corpus Mallorca* contains not many PS documents (from Barcelona), the analysis and comparison of both Spanish varieties have been possible. Table 33 shows the frequency of the first- and second-person pronominal clitics in MS and PS:

			Majorcan Spanish				Peninsular Spanish			
			Proclitic		Enclitic		Proclitic		Enclitic	
1st	sig.	me	203	77%	61	23%	10	77%	3	23%
	pl.	nos	28	90%	3	10%	1	100%	0	0%
2nd	sig.	te	16	94%	1	6%	4	100%	0	0%
	pl.	vos	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		os	8	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%

Table 33. Majorcan and Peninsular Spanish pronominal clitic tokens (18th century)

As observed, there was no variation between these forms, which are currently used in both Spanish varieties. The only form which presents one variant is the second-person plural form. However, while the form *os* (161) presents 8 tokens, the form *vos* (162) has only one.

(161) **Os** mando que en todas las licencias que diéredes vós
y vuestros sucesores [...]
you.cl order.1p.sg that in all the licences that gave.2p.pl you
and your successors [...]
'I order you that all the licenses where you and your successors gave [...].'
[Corpus Mallorca, AA01, 1702, Palma]

(162) Por amor de Dios decau este hombre que no vos pide de
nuevas
for love of God decline.3p.sg this man who doesn't you.cl demand.3p.sg of
news

'For the love of God, this man declines who does not demand you news.'

[Corpus Mallorca, AA005, 1769, Pollença]

Regarding the first-person plural form, *mos* is not found either as a pronominal clitic or as a possessive (like in MC), and the only form counted is *nos* (163):

(163) En un tiempo en que por todas partes nos vienen avisos
de contravandos
in a time in which for everywhere us.cl come.3p.pl warnings
of contraband

'In a time when warnings of contraband come to us from everywhere.'

[AA01, 1773, Palma, Corpus Mallorca]

Figure 22 summarizes the number of tokens in both Spanish varieties taking into account the syntactic position of the pronominal clitics:

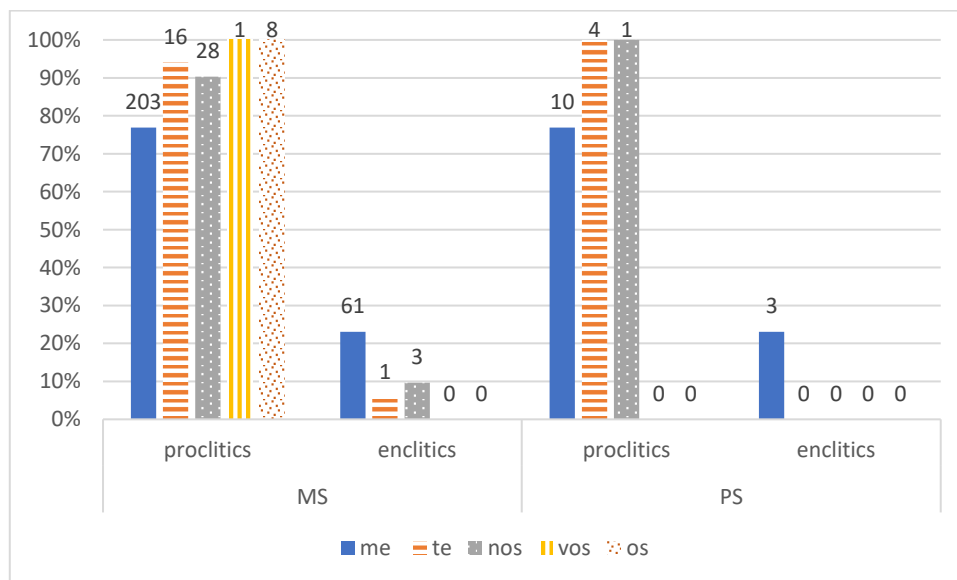


Figure 22. Frequency of the first- and second-person clitics in MS during the 18th century

The proclitic forms present a higher frequency than the enclitic forms. Likewise, the most frequent form is the first-person singular form, *me*. Note that the documents examined that prevail are letters, testimonies, and statements. For this reason, it was expected that

me (first-person singular clitic) was the pronominal clitic with a higher frequency than the rest of the forms.

To sum up the diachronic data analyses in the Majorcan varieties, it can be said that the more intense contact with Spanish in the 18th century could have contributed to the maintenance of the PLF used currently in MC since both languages share most of these forms. This preservation would have been possible as the result of bilingualism between Spanish and Catalan.

Contrastingly, questions remain about the reason for this maintenance of the non-peninsular forms, which would not have taken place in CC as well, so that the peninsular PLF (*em, ens, et, us, es*) would not have become productive in CC, unlike what happened in MC.

5.1.4 Synthesis of the findings on first- and second-person pronominal clitics

These first studies show different results if Majorcan varieties are compared to Peninsular ones. While MS does not exhibit different pronominal clitic forms compared to Peninsular varieties, MC presents a widespread distribution regarding the production of proclitic and enclitic long forms composed of C+V. These forms (*me, te, and vos*) are used only in Peninsular Catalan as enclitic forms, but they (including *mos*) appear both before and after the verb in MC. The use of the C+V long forms in MC can be explained with the same shared forms in Spanish, which have allowed the maintenance of archaic forms, unlike what happens in CC. Note that the contact between Spanish and Catalan developed in a different way if Majorca and Barcelona are compared. It could be the case that the difference between the arrival of Spanish at these two Catalan territories in distinct moments underwent two processes. In Majorca, C+V long proclitics and enclitics were produced to a greater extent in MC texts independently of using short forms, which show a lower rate of use than the long forms. However, in CC, there was a moment when the short forms were used more frequently than the long forms and, as Fischer (2003) explains, speakers started to add an epenthetic vowel in specific constructions for phonological, morphological, and syntactic reasons. Besides, it is essential to consider the normative grammar of Pompeu Fabra (1913), where it is explained that, although there exist two variants in the production of the pronominal clitics, the V+C long forms are the normative ones. Since the results do not show the use of V+C forms during the 13th to 16th centuries neither in BC nor in CC, it is necessary a further investigation to clarify whether it could be the case that the epenthetic vowel was added after elided forms (*me, te, nos, vos*).

The following section, 5.2, focuses on the third-person pronominal clitics. More specifically, sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 present the results of MC and MS, respectively.

5.2 Third-person pronominal clitics in Majorcan Catalan and Spanish

This study constitutes the second phase of the oral synchronic data, which examines the production of third-person pronominal clitics in Spanish and Catalan spoken by bilingual speakers on the island of Majorca.

The interest in the production of third-person pronominal clitics relates to their morpho-phonological and semantic features, mainly in MC.

The same procedures, as in the first study, are carried out. That is, the data come from the same two interviews which were conducted for the first phase, one in Spanish and the other one in Catalan, with the same 45 participants (see Table 24 in section 5.1 to observe the distribution of these speakers across the different social variables, such as gender, age, educational level, area of residence and linguistic preference).

This investigation aims at determining (i) whether the varieties which coexist in Majorca are characterized by using the etymological or referential pronominal clitic systems (see sections 3.2 and 3.3), and (ii) whether these speakers produced forms that could result from the transfer (or possible integrations) between the two languages in the context of bilingualism (Blas Arroyo, 1998, 2005, 2011; Thomason, 2001). Moreover, if these bilinguals produce transfers, it will be essential to specify the direction of the effects, from MC to MS or vice versa. Finally, the linguistic data has been correlated with the speakers' extra-linguistic (social) variables to verify whether any effect can be described as depending on a social variable.

The following sections describe the third-person pronominal clitics results in detail depending on the MC or MS production data, respectively.

5.2.1 Production of Majorcan Catalan third-person pronominal clitics

This section describes the production of 719 MC tokens where third-person pronominal clitics appear. More precisely, these data are divided into different sets, which depend on the Latin cases, dative (262 tokens), and accusative (457). Since the DO present distinct variants according to gender, the 457 accusative pronominal clitics are classified into three groups: (i) masculine (142 tokens), (ii) feminine (128 tokens), and (iii) neutral

(187 tokens). Regarding the variants observed in their production, 202 (28%) out of them can be considered “non-peninsular” and, then, specific of MC. Nevertheless, the data presents 72% (517 tokens) of the clitic uses that match peninsular forms.

Table 34 summarizes the distribution of tokens regarding the third-person clitics produced, dative or accusative (taking into account the gender in the last case), and their distribution across the use of peninsular (CC) or non-peninsular uses (MC).

		(CC) peninsular uses			(MC) non-peninsular uses		
Dative (n= 262)	sg.	li	188/262	72%	-		
	pl.	els	14/262	5%	elzi/lis	60/262	23%
Accusative feminine (n= 128)	sg.	la	80/128	60.6%	*∅	1/128	3.1%
	pl.	les	35/128	27.4%	leze	12/128	9.4%
Accusative masculine (n= 142)	sg.	el	86/142	60.6%	*∅	2/142	1.4%
	pl.	els	14/142	9.9%	elze	40/142	28.1%
Neutral (n= 187)		ho	100/187	53.48%	ho = el	87/187	46.52%

Table 34. The use of the third-person pronominal clitics in Majorcan Catalan by bilingual speakers⁷⁴

The first important result has to do with the number of singular and plural tokens. Note that while speakers produced 188 dative singular clitics, they only presented 74 plural ones. The same occurs with the accusative pronominal clitics since 169 out of 266 are singular.

After analyzing the whole dataset, what can be explained is that speakers produced more singular than plural pronominal clitics, given that it is easier to connect the singular pronominal clitics with its corresponding referent. That is, speakers prefer using the extensive referent with a [+plural] NP, as the following examples (164-167) show:

⁷⁴A part of these data results has been presented in Jiménez-Gaspar et al. (2020). Nonetheless, some updates have been carried out since group recordings with some of the same participants have been included. Likewise, the social variables of age and area of residence are analyzed differently: the social variable of age has been grouped into three different sets (16-29, 30-40, and 41-67) to achieve a normal sample. Like this, each age group has 15 speakers.

Considering the speakers' area of residence, they have been classified into two different areas: (i) the capital of Majorca, Palma, and (ii) the villages outside Palma. This new classification also allows us to achieve a normal sample with 22 speakers in Palma and 23 in the villages outside Palma.

(164) Dative singular

Li varen comprar un diesel (a ell) (MC)

him.cl bought.3p.pl. a diesel (to him)

'They bought him a diesel car.'

[Male from villages, 22, simultaneous]

(165) Dative plural

Si **els** haguessin interesat el programa, haguessin [...] (MC)

if them.cl had.2p.pl. interested the program, had.2p.pl. [...]

'If they had been interested in the program, they would have [...].'

[Male from Palma, 67, simultaneous]

(166) Accusative singular

Per què no **el** vares veure? (a ell) (MC)

why no him.cl saw.2p.sg.? (to him)

'Why didn't you see him?'

[Female from Palma, 65, simultaneous]

(167) Accusative plural

No **els** ensenyen molt bé (els nins) (MC)

no them.cl. teach.3p.pl. very good (to children)

'They do not teach them very well.'

[Female from villages, 65, simultaneous]

Considering the set of non-peninsular forms that appeared in the MC production data, the distribution of third-person pronominal clitics is the following (see Table 35). The forms that are in bold correspond to the MC uses that do not match the peninsular ones:

		Proclitics	Enclitics		Latin cases	
sing.	masc./fem.	li	-li		dative	
	Masculine	el/ ho	l'	-lo	'l	accusative
	Feminine	la	l'/la	-la		
pl.	masc./fem.	əls/əlzi ⁷⁵ / lis	-los		'ls	dative
	Masculine	əls// əlzə	-los/les		'ls	accusative
	Feminine	les/ ləzə/elzə	-les			
	Neutral	ho/(lo)	-ho			

Table 35. Distribution of MC third-person pronominal clitics (modified from Jiménez-Gaspar et al., 2020: 196).

Starting with the dative clitics, all the non-peninsular uses correspond to the production of the plural form, *els*, since this clitic presents the epenthetic vowel [i] (/əlz[i]/). Even though the majority of Catalan dialects present this epenthetic vowel in the IO plural form, the relevant result of this dissertation deals with the presence of another epenthetic vowel [ə] (/əlzə/). The differences between the use of [i] and [ə] allow a pattern to differentiate the two Latin cases with the same form, *els*: (i) elz[i] with the plural dative form, and (ii) elz[ə] with the plural accusative masculine form.

Figure 23 shows the distribution of the indirect object pronominal clitics focusing on the differences between the Catalan dialects, CC and MC, and the distinction across the number, singular or plural. This last distinction is relevant since there is a variation in MC with the addition of the epenthetic vowel [i].

⁷⁵Note that, although previous studies (Perea, 2012; Boeckx & Martín, 2013; Seguí-Trobat, 2014) argue the production of the epenthetic vowel [i], they do not specify in which contexts it is produced. However, this dissertation explains the difference between [elzi] for dative and [elze] for accusative plural forms.

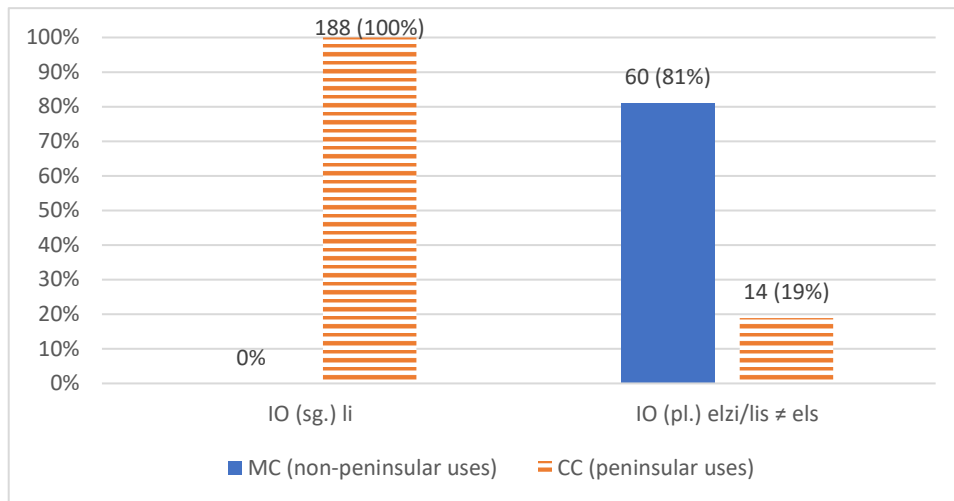


Figure 23. Production of IO third-person pronominal clitics in MC

5 out of the 74 MC IO plural forms have to do with the form *lis*. The rest (55 tokens) presents the addition of the epenthetic vowel [i] constituting the form /əlzɪ/.

In Chapter 3, several proposals that take into consideration the presence of the epenthetic vowel have been reviewed. Note that Seguí Trobat (2014) and Boeckx & Martín (2013: 13) claim that the addition of [i] responds to a reanalysis of the plural dative form (*els*) in analogy with the singular one (*li*). More specifically, and importantly, this dissertation argues that the different use of [i] and [ə] allow speakers to distinguish the DO (using *elzə*) from the IO (using *elzi*). This distinction is supported by the data analyzed and presented in this dissertation, as examples (168)-(169) show:

(168) Els xots, [əlzə] va Øgafar (MC)
 the lambs, 3p.pl.**acc**.cl catch.past
 'He caught them.'

[Male from villages, 67 years old]

(169) a ells, [əlzɪ] pagues 20 euros (MC)
 to them, 3p.pl.**dat**.cl pay.2p.sg. 20 euros
 '(You) pay them 20 euros.'

[Female from Sóller, 30 years old]

As seen in these examples, not only is the epenthetic vowel [i] added to the dative form *els* (169) but also [ə] can be appended to the accusative form (168). The different uses have to do with a different semantic extension. That is, while the addition of [i] corresponds to the dative IO reference, the vowel [ə] refers to the DO reference. Therefore, the use of the epenthetic vowel [i] functions not only as an analogous use with

the dative singular *li*, as different authors explain (Seguí Trobat, 2014; Boeckx & Martín (2013)). The examples (170)-(175) exhibits the use of [i] as a dative case marker:

(170) **əlzi** vaig demanar uns auriculars (MC)
3p.pl.dat.cl asked.1p.sg a earphones
'I asked them for earphones.'

[Female from villages, 41, simultaneous]

(171) No s'enteraven de lo que jo **əlzi** demanava (MC)
didn't know of what I 3p.pl.dat.cl asked.1p.sg
'They didn't know what I was asking them.'

[Female from villages, 41, simultaneous]

(172) Han d'ensenyar lo que **əlzi** diuen a la Conselleria (MC)
have to teach.3p.pl. what 3p.pl.dat.cl say.3p.pl in the ministry
'They have to teach what the ministry tells them.'

[Female from villages, 63, simultaneous]

(173) Jo **əlzi** vaig dir que no era tant (a ells, l'excursió) (MC)
I 3p.pl.dat.cl told that not were so much (to them, the excursion)
'I told them that it was not so much.'

[Male from villages, 21, simultaneous]

(174) Jo **əlzi** vaig donar el DNI (MC)
I 3p.pl.dat.cl gave.1p.sg the ID card
'I gave them the ID card.'

[Female from Palma, 29, sequential]

(175) **əlzi** vaig dir que volia cridar a sa policia (MC)
3p.pl.dat.cl told that wanted.1p.sing. call DOM the police
'I told them that I wanted to call the police.'

[Female from Palma, 29, sequential]

Examples (170)-(175) came from Majorcan bilingual speakers, both simultaneous (170)-(173) and sequential (174)-(175). These constructions show the pattern described before regarding the addition of the epenthetic vowel, [i] on the dative plural form, *els*.

As seen, if these instances are analyzed in depth, the presence of a DO can be examined, that is, an argument constituted by a NP (170) or a subordinate sentence (173) so that the DO is not the argument substituted by the pronominal clitic [elzi].

Concerning the fact that the epenthetic vowel appended is [i], but not [ə], as in the accusative form, *els* [əlzə], this form can be the reanalysis based on the dative singular pronominal clitic, *li*. Therefore, if this pattern is confirmed, the production of /əlzi/ in constructions where this pronominal clitic refers to an accusative DO could be an instance of *leísmo* in Catalan, as in (176):

- (176) A nels nins no **elzi** pots tocar (MC)
to the children no 3p.pl.dat.cl can touch
'You cannot touch the children.'

[Female from villages, 29, simultaneous]

Besides, a possible reanalysis in the agreement of the dative singular form *li* should be *lis* in the plural. However, the spontaneous data in Majorcan Catalan only present five structures with *lis* (177)-(181):

- (177) Perquè **lis** donguis coses gratis (MC)
so that 3p.pl.dat.cl give things free
'So that you give them free things.'

[Male from villages, 42, simultaneous]

- (178) Quan són petits... fer-**lis** cosetes (MC)
when are-3p.pl. small... make-3p.pl.dat.cl things
'When they are young... making them things.'⁷⁶

[Female from villages, 41, simultaneous]

- (179) Si **lis** casen com a Madrid (MC)
if 3p.pl.dat.cl marry-3p.pl.pres. like in Madrid
'If they marry them like in Madrid.'

[Female from Palma, 29, sequential]

⁷⁶The context of this utterance was talking about paying attention to young children, playing with them through flatteries.

(180) No **lis** confirmaven si a l'hora de casar-se [...]

No 3p.pl.dat.cl confirmed-3p.pl. whether at the time of marrying-reflexive.cl

'They didn't confirm whether at the time of marrying....'

[Female from Palma, 29, sequential]

(181) **Lis** vaig dir: els podeu anar a cercar? (MC)

3p.pl.dat.cl told-1p.sing.: 3p.pl.acc.cl can go look for

'I told them: Can you go look for them?'

[Female from Palma, 30, sequential]

Pronoun *lis* appears in a smaller amount of tokens, produced mostly by sequential speakers (3 out of 5). There are only two tokens produced by simultaneous speakers, who also produced the form /əlzɪ/.

The production of the dative plural forms has been analyzed, taking into account the social variables of speakers. Table 36 presents the statistical results across the Pearson Chi-Squared analyses⁷⁷:

	Dative plural forms		
	Value	Sig	df
Gender	5.02	.025	1
Age	8.15	.017	2
Education level	3.74	.291	3
Area of residence	.83	.502	1
Linguistic preference	20.61	.000*	2

Table 36. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses between the production of dative MC/CC pronominal clitics and social variables

The analyses between the production of the dative plural forms, considering the different social variables, show that only linguistic preference plays an important role. Most of the participants used [əlzɪ] instead of [e/s], but there is a difference between a lower number of speakers who have Spanish as their linguistic preference. Figure 24 exhibits the production of the different forms for the dative plural clitic across the speaker's linguistic preference:

⁷⁷Since there are no differences in the production of the dative singular form, *li*, the statistical analyses have only been carried out with the plural dative forms.

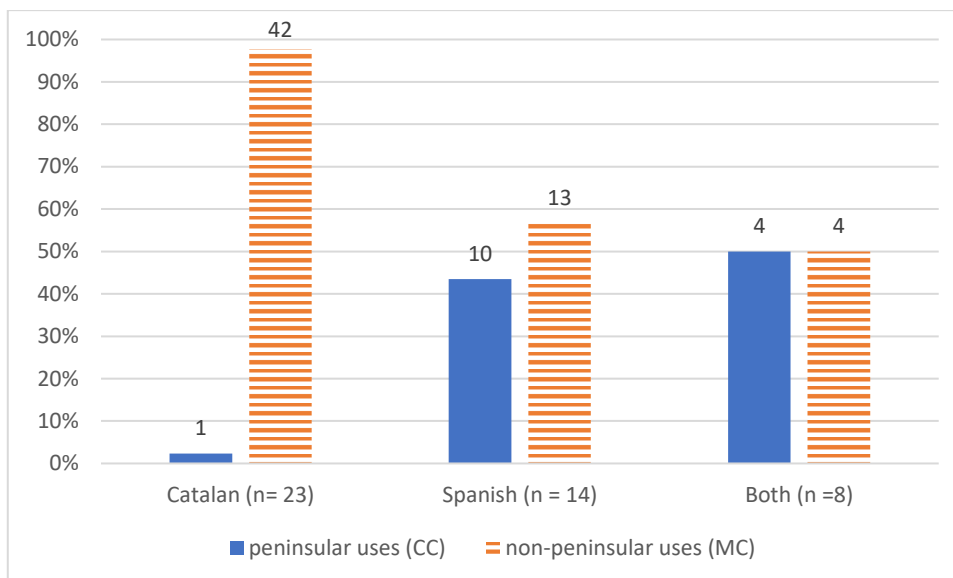


Figure 24. Production of IO pronominal clitics in MC across linguistic preference

A continuum across the linguistic preference of the speakers can be observed. While speakers who prefer using Catalan produced only 1 CC out of their 42 tokens, speakers who prefer using Spanish produced 10 CC out of their 23 tokens. However, speakers who do not present any preference produced 4 CC out of their eight tokens. Therefore, it is clear that there is an influence of linguistic preference over the results, mostly in Catalan, less in speakers without preference, and to a lower extent in Spanish. Nevertheless, it is essential to highlight that the majority of speakers independently of their social variables produced the MC form, [əlzi].

Regarding the production of DO third-person pronominal clitics, a difference between the singular and the plural forms is also observed, as Figure 25 shows:

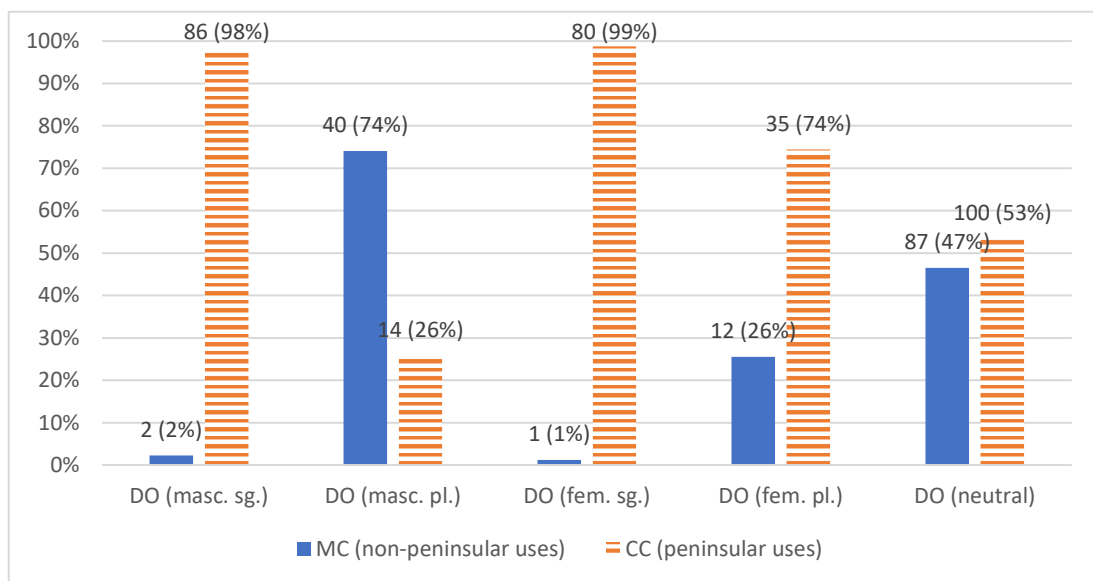


Figure 25. Production of DO third-person pronominal clitics in MC

The results of the production of DO pronominal clitics are classified into three different analyses: (i) the production of DO singular, (ii) DO plural, and (iii) DO neutral forms. The reason for this classification relates to the need to compare similar results of these forms, which depend on the number, on the one hand, and the neutral feature, on the other hand.

The singular forms, *e/* and *la*, only present 2% and 1% of MC variants, which have to do with the omission of these forms⁷⁸, respectively, as the following examples show (182 without *la*)-(183 and 184 without *e/*, from Jiménez-Gaspar et al., 2020):

(182) No sol	utilitzar \emptyset (la llengua catalana)	(MC)
No sol	utilitzar-la	(CC)
not tend.3p.sg use.INF \emptyset	(Catalan)	
'He does not tend to use it.'		

[Male from Palma, 32, sequential]

⁷⁸Due to the fact that the omission of accusative singular forms has not been verified in other Catalan varieties as a specific pattern, this dissertation considers that as vernacular use of MC, although there are only a few tokens.

(183) Mos Ø du en la caseta (el porc) (MC)
 Ens el du a la caseta (el porc) (CC)
 to.us Ø bring in the hut (the pig)
 'They bring (it) to us in the hut'

[Male from villages, 42, simultaneous]

(184) Jo Ø Ø explicava (a sa gent que m'havia equivocat d' avió) (MC)
 Jo els ho explicava (CC)
 I Ø Ø explained (to the people that me-cl.have confused of plane)
 'I explained (it) (to them) (to the people that I was wrong about the plane)'

[Female from Palma, 29, sequential]

If the production of the DO singular forms is analyzed with the social variables, the statistical results are as follows:

	Acc. masculine singular			Acc. feminine singular		
	Value	Sig	df	Value	Sig	df
Gender	.02	.896	1	1.20	.273	1
Age	3.58	.167	2	1.63	.442	2
Education level	6.14	.105	3	2.72	.438	2
Area of residence	1.96	.162	1	1.63	.201	1
Linguistic preference	.64	.76	2	1.82	.403	2

Table 37. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses between the production of accusative masculine MC/CC pronominal clitics and social variables

Table 37 shows the statistical analyses between the omission of DO third-person pronominal clitics in the singular (both masculine and feminine) across the different social variables of participants. Note that spontaneous data only present three tokens where the clitic is omitted, so that there are not enough structures with clitic omissions to obtain statistically significant differences between speakers. It could be said that these three tokens are spontaneous productions that do not reflect a specific pattern in MC.

Regarding the DO plural forms, there is a particular feature related to the epenthetic vowel [ə]. However, although this trend is generalized in Majorcan oral production with the masculine form, *e/s*: [elzə], the same does not happen with the feminine form, *les*, which does not present this vowel so often as *e/s* does.

The following instances (185)-(187) exhibit the pattern used with the DO third-person pronominal clitic in the plural and masculine form, *els*, with the epenthetic vowel [ə]:

(185) **Elz[ə]** mata (els coloms) (MC)
 them.cl kill.3p.sg. (pigeons)
 'He kills them.'
 [Male from villages, 67, simultaneous]

(186) **Elz[ə]** vares treure tots tú (els cotxes) (MC)
 them.cl removed.3p.sg. all you
 'You removed all the cars.'
 [Male from villages, 45, sequential]

(187) Des de petits, en els al·lots **elz[ə]** duus en el dentista (MC)
 from a young age, DOM the kids them.acc.cl are taken to the dentist
 'Kids are taken to the dentist since they are young.'
 [Female from villages, 42, simultaneous]

As said above, the addition of [ə] with DO third-person feminine pronominal clitics does not seem to be a pattern (*les* (35 tokens) ≠ *leze* (12 tokens)) since there are considerably fewer clitics with this epenthetic vowel than what is observed with the masculine pronominal clitic, *els* ($p: >.005$):

(188) Els dematins quan m'aixec **leze** guard (MC)
 (les ovelles)
 the mornings when me.cl'get-up.1p.sg. them.cl.acc.fem. put1p.sg. away
 (the sheeps)
 'When I get up, I put them away.'
 [Male from villages, 43, simultaneous]

(189) No **leze** havia guardades (les fotos) (MC)
 not them.cl.acc.fem. had.3p.sg. put-fem. away (the pictures)
 'She had not put them away.'
 [Male from villages, 45, sequential]

Another pattern observed in the Majorcan data has to do with using the feminine third-person clitic, *les*, (190) with a masculine referent instead of the masculine clitic and vice

(193) M'enrecord quan **e[*zə*]** feiem (les rondalles) (MC)
 me.cl-remember.1p.sg when them.masc.cl did.1p.pl. (the fables)
 'I remember when we did them.'

[Male form Palma, 67, simultaneous]

(194) **e[*l*zə** havia g[o]rdades (les fotos) (MC)
 them.masc.cl had kept.1p.sing. (the pictures)
 'I had kept them.'

[Male form Lluçmajor, 45, sequential]

(195) m'e[*l*zə enviava per correu (les fotos) (MC)
 me.cl.-them.cl. sent.3p.sing. through mail (the pictures)
 '(S)he sent me them through mail.'

[Male form Lluçmajor, 45, sequential]

(196) **Elze** necessita (doscentes mil pessetes) (MC)
 them.masc.cl need.3p.pl (two.hundred thousand pesetas.fem)
 'He needs them' (two hundred thousand pesetas).'

[Female from Palma, 61, simultaneous]

Therefore, what can be explained again is that there exists a preference for open syllables in MC, as shown in the first- and-second pronominal clitics study. This pattern is achieved with the use of the epenthetic vowels [i] or [ə], or, as in example (196: *e[*l*zə*) with the production of the masculine form *e[*l*s[ə]* instead of *les* (to allude to a feminine reference) as a strategy to obtain syllabic forms.

Pearson Chi-Squared analyses have been carried out to verify whether the social variables influence the production of these MC uses in the production of the third-person accusative plural pronominal clitics:

	Acc. feminine plural			Acc. masculine plural		
	Value	Sig	df	Value	Sig	df
Gender	.04	.840	1	.61	.434	3
Age	2.16	.340	2	.24	.866	2
Education level	11.30	.010	3	11.10	.011	3
Area of residence	9.94	.002*	1	7.79	.005*	1
Linguistic preference	18.12	.000*	2	3.66	.160	2

Table 38. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses between the production of accusative and feminine MC/CC pronominal clitics and social variables

Overall, the effect of social variables in the production of the DO plural forms is minimal with the masculine [ə/zə]. More specifically, most speakers produce the epenthetic vowel [ə] independently of their social features. However, a significant difference occurs, considering the area where speakers live, as discussed below.

Regarding the production of the MC feminine plural form, [ləzə], it seems that there exist more restrictions that depend on the social variables of the area of residence and linguistic preference.

The area of residence is divided into two different main areas, Palma, the capital of Majorca, and “villages,” which refer to the different towns outside of Palma. Figure 26 exhibits the number of tokens between these two areas:

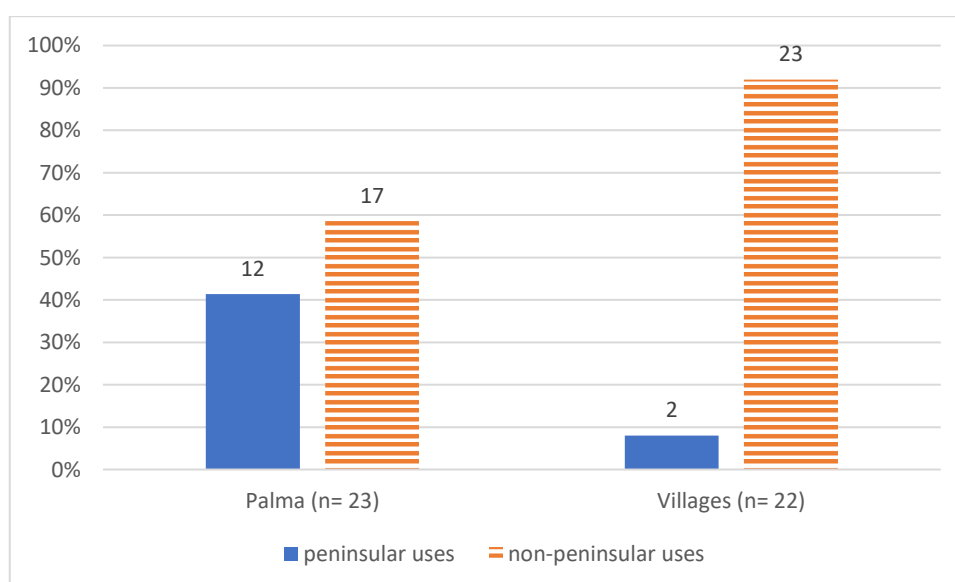


Figure 26. Production of DO masculine plural forms in Majorca across the speakers' area of residence

Note that while the preferred language in Palma is Spanish, in the villages, the preferred language is Catalan. The absence of any statistically significant result has to do with the production in Palma of peninsular uses by speakers who prefer not only Spanish but also Catalan:

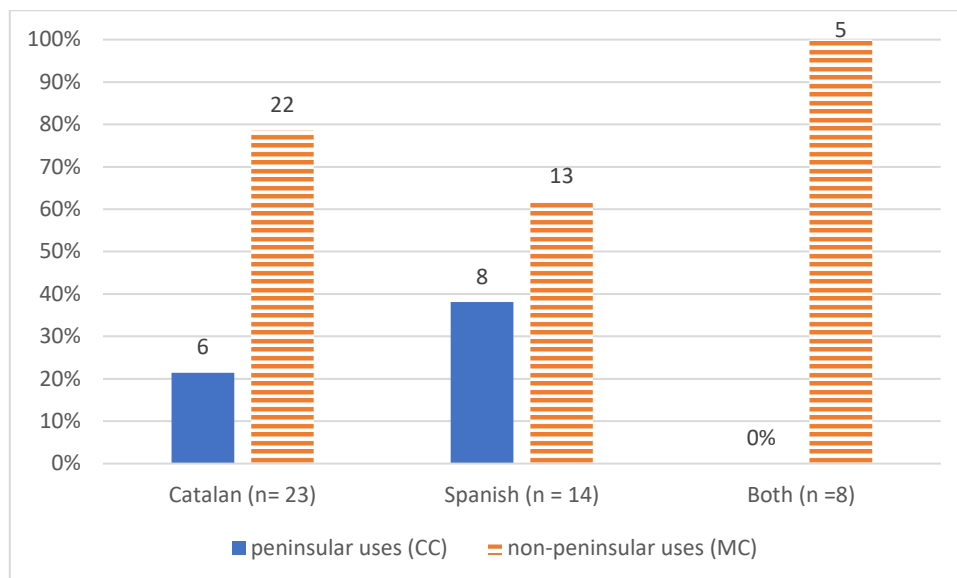


Figure 27. Production of DO masculine plural forms in Majorca across the speakers' linguistic preference

Regarding DO feminine plural form, [ləzə], it seems that it is affected by two social variables, namely, the area of residence and linguistic preference.

In this case, the speakers' area of residence and linguistic preference are related. Speakers who live in villages outside of Palma and have Catalan as their linguistic preference produce the MC DO feminine plural form with the epenthetic vowel, [ə].

Concerning the area of residence, speakers who live in Palma only produced 3 MC forms out of their 28 tokens, but speakers who live in villages produced 10 MC forms out of their 19 tokens, as Figure 28 shows:

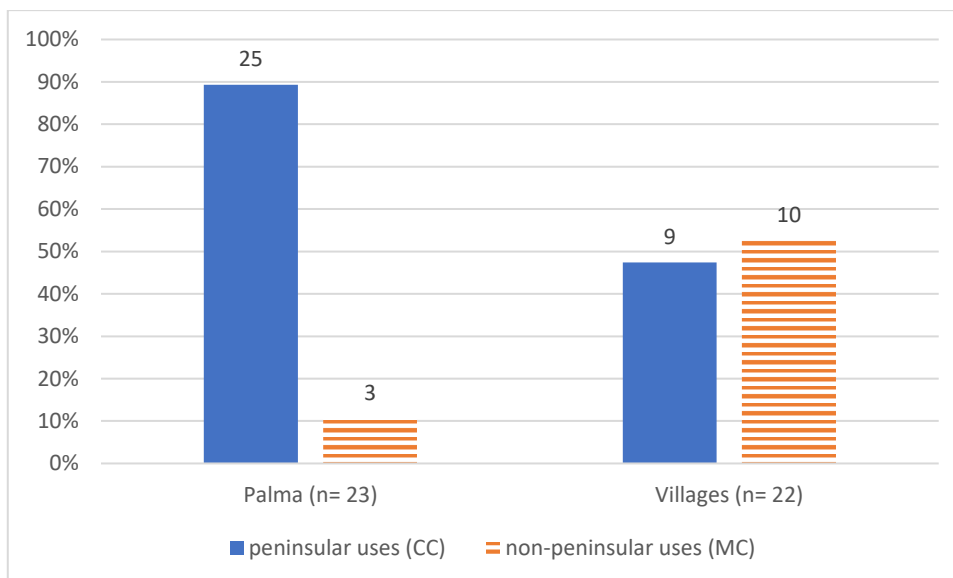


Figure 28. Production of DO feminine plural forms in Majorca across the speakers' area of residence

Likewise, speakers who have Catalan as their linguistic preference produced 11 MC forms out of their 18 DO feminine plural tokens. Besides, speakers who have no linguistic preference produced only 2 MC instead of 6 CC forms. However, speakers who prefer using Spanish did not produce any MC form, but 21 CC forms.

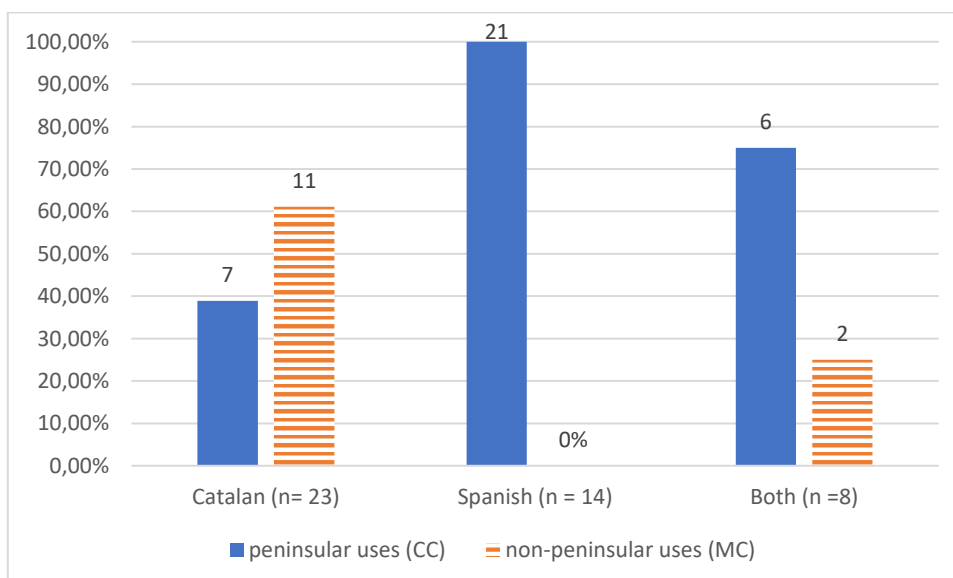


Figure 29. Production of DO feminine plural forms in Majorca across the speakers' linguistic preference

Considering the production of the DO neutral form, *ho*, a specific trend is found. Note that this form is different from the masculine one (*el/els*), compared to Spanish, where

the form *lo* converges with both genders. The MC neutral clitic, *ho*, shows the same semantic extension as the Spanish clitic (*lo*), but in the opposite direction; that is, the pronoun *ho* refers to both neutral and masculine referents (197)-(198).

(197) **Ho** hem trobat a temps (l'alcohol) (MC)
 neutral.cl have found-1p.pl. on time (the alcohol)
 'We have found it on time.'

[Male from villages, 29, simultaneous]

(198) Después ja és penjar-**ho** (el porc) (MC)
 then already is hang-acc.neutral.cl (the pig)
 'Then, it is already hanging it.'

[Female from villages, 43, simultaneous]

Nevertheless, even though it could be expected to observe the form *lo* in both cases, as a Spanish transfer, there are a few examples in which the Spanish clitic *lo* is used instead of *ho* in MC. The transfer of *lo* from Spanish to MC appears in two tokens and comes from both types of bilinguals, simultaneous (199) and sequential (200):

(199) **Lo** vaig saber (això) (MC)
 3p.sg.acc.neutral.cl knew.1p.sg (this)
 'I knew it.'

[Male from villages, 43, simultaneous]

(200) **Lo** va dur fins a França (el cotxe) (MC)
 3p.sg.acc.neutral.cl took.3p.sg. until to France (the car)
 'He took it all the way to France.'

[Male from Palma, 47, sequential]

This result confirms that transfer from Spanish to MC deals with the semantic extension but not with the corresponding form. That is, the Spanish form, *lo*, is not used in MC as a direct transfer. However, what is transferred is the semantic extension of one form, *ho* in this case, to refer to two different referents (i) the masculine (197-198), and (ii) the neutral one (201):

(201) Mos **ho** ha dit a noltros (això) (MC)
 us.cl it.cl has said to us (this)
 '(S)he has said this to us.'

[Female from villages, 26, simultaneous]

The analysis presents a statistically significant result ($p: <.001$) in the comparison of the use of *ho* with the two different semantic extensions, referring to (i) a masculine referent or (ii) a neutral referent. Figure 30 shows the differences in the use of the DO neutral form, *ho*, the masculine singular clitic, *el*, the Spanish transfer, *lo*, and the omission of any of these forms when it is expected to occur.

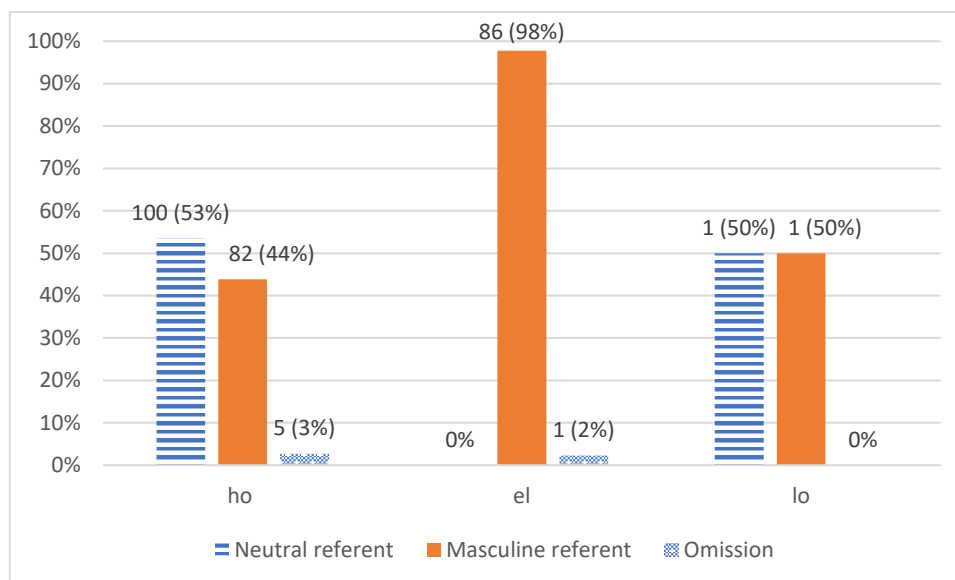


Figure 30. Production of DO neutral and masculine pronominal clitics in MC

Figure 30 presents the distribution of the DO neutral (*ho*) and masculine-singular (*el*) pronominal clitics with their different uses, with neutral or masculine referents, and regarding their omissions. Besides, this figure also exhibits the form, *lo*, which comes from Spanish as a transfer.

The main result observed in Figure 30 relates to the use of the MC neutral clitic, *ho*, to refer to both neutral (53%) and masculine (44%) referents almost in equal parts. Considering the omission of this form, *ho*, speakers produced 5 tokens in which *ho* was expected to occur with the quantifier pronoun *tot* (everything), as in the following example:

(202) Tot Ø hem de dir (MC)
 everything Ø have.1p.pl. to say
 'We have to say everything.'

[Female from Palma, 30, simultaneous]

Regarding the production of the DO third-person masculine-singular form, *el*, the variation relates to the omission of 1 (2%) token compared to the production of this form in the MC data. The rest of the uses (86 tokens, 98%) matches the CC form.

The Pearson Chi-Squared analysis does not report statistically significant results between the production of MC direct object neutral form, *ho*, and the social variables of speakers:

	Accusative neutral		
	Value	Sig	df
Gender	2.04	.153	1
Age	1.12	.571	2
Education level	.39	.942	3
Area of residence	1.48	.223	4
Linguistic preference	5.05	.352	2

Table 39. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses between the production of accusative feminine MC/CC pronominal clitics and social variables

That means speakers from Majorca use the neutral pronominal clitic, *ho*, to indicate both masculine and neutral referents independently of their social features, regardless of their gender, age, level of education, area of residence, or linguistic preference.

As a result, the findings of this dissertation indicate different trends in MC regarding the production of the third-person pronominal clitics. One of the two more noteworthy results has to do with using two different epenthetic vowels with the plural form, *e/s*. As explained before, this clitic is used in CC as a dative plural form and as an accusative masculine plural form. However, speakers from Majorca tend to differentiate this form when it refers to the dative or the accusative cases with the epenthetic vowels [i] and [ə]. Thus, /əlzə/ and /əlzi/ allow reference to both accusative and dative cases, respectively.

Nevertheless, the epenthetic vowels are not common with the accusative feminine plural form, *es*. Besides, the use of /lezə/ depends on the area where speakers live and their linguistic preference. Speakers who live outside of Palma, in the villages, and have Catalan as their linguistic preference use this form to a certain extent.

Note that Majorcan speakers show a preference for the use of full forms (C+V), that is, open syllables that in that case are constituted by the epenthetic vowel [ə] or [i], especially considering evidence from proclitic plural forms (but also for enclitic forms in general). This trend is especially true for the IO plural pronominal clitic on the production of the peninsular and non-peninsular dative plural forms (*e/s/elzi*), which corresponds to the preference for Catalan (MC in this case). Note that 60 out of 74 tokens are labeled as “non-peninsular” because they present the dative plural form, *elzi*, with the epenthetic

vowel [i]. There exist only 14 tokens in the MC data which match the CC form without the addition of [i]. Moreover, 5 dative plural pronominal clitics correspond to the form *lis*, as analogous with *li* (the singular form). However, although there is a significant result regarding linguistic preference, most participants use [ə/zi] instead of [e/s]. There is only a difference between a lower number of speakers who have Spanish as their linguistic preference. Therefore, it seems that the preference for using Spanish is not an essential factor that affects the production of *e/s* instead of *elzi*. The factor that could affect the pronoun production is the moment when the speaker started to be exposed to Catalan. That is, sequential bilinguals who formally learned Catalan at school or in an Official School of Languages after six years of age and did not acquire the non-peninsular forms from MC produce *e/s* instead of *elzi*. Differently, the speakers who have acquired Catalan from birth or young ages, despite preferring Spanish, produce non-peninsular forms, used daily in Majorca.

The addition of the epenthetic vowel in the accusative plural form, *e/s*, presents an effect of area of residence, given that speakers who live in the villages outside of Palma produced the form [əlzə] more (40 out of 54 tokens), compared to speakers who live in Palma (14 tokens). However, the linguistic preference does not play an important role since most speakers, independently of the language they prefer to use and the other social variables, produced mostly the non-peninsular form (74% of tokens).

The second important finding deals with the accusative neutral form, *ho*, which is used to replace not only neutral referents but also masculine singular ones. This trend is produced in 82 out of 187 tokens. Besides, its use does not depend on social variables.

The following section exhibits the results of the production of the third-person pronominal clitics in Majorcan Spanish. Opposed to what has been shown in this section (5.2.1) regarding the differences between the CC and MC forms, the next section does not show significant differences between MS and PS. There are only 22 tokens that can be considered MS forms. Likewise, these few tokens do not present influence across the social variables analyzed (gender, age, educational level, area of residence, and linguistic preference).

5.2.2 Production of Majorcan Spanish third-person pronominal clitics

This section describes the production of 547 tokens where third-person pronominal clitics appear in the Spanish of Majorca. More precisely, these data are divided into different sets, which depend on the Latin cases: (i) dative (173 tokens) and accusative (374

tokens). The same procedure is followed in this section (as in 5.2.1) regarding the gender differences in the DO forms. Therefore, the 374 accusative pronominal clitics are classified into three groups: (i) masculine (129 tokens), (ii) feminine (100 tokens), and (iii) neutral (145 tokens). Regarding the variants found in the production of the third-person pronominal clitics, there exist only 22 non-peninsular tokens, that is, 4% of the whole database. Thus, the data present 96% (525 tokens) of the clitic uses that match peninsular forms. It is observable that 20 out of the MS tokens have to do with the phenomena called *leísmo*, *laísmo*, and *loísmo*, while the 2 MS tokens remaining are related to the omission of the corresponding clitic.

Table 40 summarizes the MS data into the different groups related to Latin cases (dative and accusative) and across gender in the case of the accusative uses:

Third-person pronominal clitics		(PS) peninsular uses			(MS) non-peninsular uses ⁸⁰		
Dative (n= 173)	sg.	le	98/173	56%	leísmo	9/173	5%
	pl.	les	62/173	37%	leísmo	4/173	2%
Accusative feminine (n= 100)	sg.	la	58/100	58%	laísmo	3/100	3%
	pl.	las	36/100	36%	laísmo	3/97	3%
Accusative masculine (n= 129)	sg.	lo	86/129	66.6%	loísmo/ Ø	1/129	0.8%
	pl.	los	42/129	32.6%	Ø	0/129	0%
Neutral (n= 145)		lo	143/145	98.6%	Ø	2/145	1.4%

Table 40. The use of third-person pronominal clitics in Majorcan Spanish

The following examples present peninsular tokens which prevail in the data analyzed from Spanish-Catalan bilinguals from Majorca:

(203) No **lo** podía ver, pero me casé con él (MS)
 not it.cl could.3p.sg, see.INF but me.cl married with him
 'I disliked him, but I got married to him.'

[Female from villages, 65, simultaneous]

⁸⁰This dissertation considers the peninsular Spanish and Catalan varieties spoken in Barcelona as a baseline to compare the Majorcan varieties. The phenomena of *leísmo*, *laísmo*, and *loísmo* are attested in Madrid and Castile. However, these phenomena are not characteristic of varieties in Barcelona. Therefore, if cases of *leísmo*, *laísmo*, and *loísmo* are found in MC or MS, these forms are counted as non-peninsular (vernacular) forms, given that they are not attested in other Spanish varieties with Catalan contact.

(204) Y obligarla a casar para tapar el bulto (MS)
 and force.INF-her.cl to get-married for cover the scandal
 '[...] and to force her to get married to cover up a scandal.'

[Female from villages, 65, simultaneous]

(205) Mi madre lo aceptó (esto) (MS)
 my mother him.cl accepted.3p.sg (that)
 'My mother accepted that.'

[Female from villages, 65, simultaneous]

Nonetheless, 22 out of 547 tokens are considered non-peninsular forms, given that two of them present the omission of the DO pronominal clitics, and 20 tokens present the phenomena of *leísmo* (13 tokens), *laísmo* (6 tokens), and *loísmo* (1 token). Note that these phenomena are characterized by using an IO clitic when a DO was expected (*leísmo*) or vice versa, that is, the production of a DO clitic when an IO was expected (*laísmo* and *loísmo*).

Following examples show cases of *leísmo*⁸¹ (206), *laísmo* (207) and *loísmo* (208):

(206) La nevera, siempre le tenía llena (MS, Referential system)
 the fridge always IO-cl. had full
 La nevera, siempre la tenía llena (PS, Etymological system)
 the fridge always DO-cl.fem had full
 'He always had the fridge full.'

[Female from villages, 63, simultaneous]

(207) La pedí para casar (MS, Referential system)
 DO-cl.fem asked for marry
 Le pedí para casar (PS, Etymological system)
 IO-cl. asked for marry
 'I asked her for getting married.'

[Male from villages, 67, simultaneous]

⁸¹This example contains a case of *leísmo* referring to a thing (the fridge). However, the rest of the cases of *leísmo* refer to a person, such as "Le vi" (I saw him), instead of "Lo vi."

(208) **Lo** hizo repetir Segundo de la ESO (a Bernat) (MS, Ref. system)
 DO-cl.masc made repeat Second of the ESO (to Bernat)
Le hizo repetir Segundo de la ESO (PS, Etymological system)
 'She made him repeat the second course of the Compulsory Secondary
 Education.'

[Female from villages, 63, simultaneous]

The same correlations between the production of third-person pronominal clitics and the social variables have been carried out in MS, as in MC. However, there are no statistically significant results across gender, age, area of residence, nor linguistic preference. Note that, as explained in previous sections, there are not many MS tokens.

	Value	Sig	df
Gender	3.3	.653	5
Age	9.14	.519	10
Education level	24.52	.057	15
Area of residence	6.50	.260	5
Linguistic preference	9.11	.522	10

Table 41. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses between the production of MS/PS third person pronominal clitics and social variables

Although statistically significant results have not been found, it is essential to highlight that those simultaneous speakers who prefer the use of Catalan produce most of the MS third-person pronominal clitics. More precisely, these participants omit not only these forms but also present the phenomena called *leísmo* and *laísmo*.

Notwithstanding, these results reinforce the statement that MS third-person pronominal clitics match the etymological system and not the referential one (the system which based the uses on gender distinctions, that is, *leísmo*, *laísmo*, and *loísmo*, as explained in chapter 3). In other words, the phenomena of *leísmo* and *laísmo* do not reflect the development of the MS third-person pronominal clitics since they constitute sporadic uses.

In a nutshell, there are fewer effects of language contact and bilingualism in producing third-person pronominal clitics in MS than in MC. Nevertheless, it does not seem that the majority language (Spanish) influences the minority language (Catalan), given that the non-peninsular uses in MC are neither transfers nor influences from Spanish (see chapter 2 to get more information about the differences between the minority language

(MC) and the majority language (MS). However, in MC, the neutral clitic, *ho*, is used with neutral and masculine referents like the Spanish form *lo*. This result could be a significant unique influence from MS to MC.

More specifically, in MC, there exists a language change in progress produced by internal factors of the language, such as (i) the reanalysis of the dative singular form, *li*, with the addition of the epenthetic vowel [i] in the dative plural form, *elzi*, as well as (ii) the addition of the epenthetic vowel [ə] with the accusative masculine plural form, *els*, (iii) the convergence between the neutral and masculine DO pronouns, *ho* and *el*, and in a lesser extent (iv) the different uses of *les* or *els* which refer to different gender referents (masculine and feminine). However, MS only presents a few cases of *leísmo* and *laísmo* (and one case of *loísmo*), as well as two DO omissions.

Overall, the results found in these first studies related to pronominal clitics show that MS does not present new pronominal clitic forms compared to Peninsular varieties, but MC presents a widespread distribution of one subset of first- and second-person pronominal clitic forms (full forms: C+V). These full forms (proclitic long forms (PLF) and enclitic long forms (ELF) are used in Peninsular Catalan as enclitic forms, whereas they appear in both syntactic positions (before and after the verb) in MC. In other words, the enclitic full forms used not only in MC but also in CC show a wider distribution in MC by appearing as proclitic forms as well. The most frequent use of the full forms in MC can be explained as involving maintenance of archaic forms, unlike what happens in CC. This pattern is similar in the production of the third-person pronominal clitics in MC since speakers make use of different strategies to obtain open syllables (for instance, the use of *el[zi]* and *el[ze]* instead of *els*). Nonetheless, MS only introduces several transfers from MC in the production of DO third-person pronominal clitics. Besides, speakers make use of sporadic uses of *leísmo* and *laísmo*, and pronominal clitic omission.

Section 5.3 shows the elicited data questionnaire findings, which is analyzed in two different tasks: (i) grammaticality judgments and (ii) linguistic preference tasks.

5.3 Elicited data questionnaire in Catalan pronominal clitics

This study is based on an elicited data questionnaire where the same bilingual speakers of this dissertation answered questions classified into two different tasks: (i) grammaticality judgments and (ii) production data about linguistic preferences in Catalan. While the first task considers speakers' grammaticality judgments, the second task encourages participants to select the linguistic form they would use in specific structures.

After analyzing the production of pronominal clitics from the spontaneous interviews, the next research question considered is: Does the linguistic preference, as well as the type of bilingualism of the speakers, influence the acceptability and identification of the peninsular or non-peninsular pronominal clitics in MC?

Since the spontaneous oral data results show that bilinguals of Majorca produce non-peninsular forms, it is expected that they accept more of these variants than the variants from CC (peninsular forms). However, a difference between simultaneous and sequential bilinguals and their linguistic preference could influence the acceptability of peninsular or non-peninsular clitics. The reason for this expectation relates to the difference between acquiring MC naturally or learning Standard Catalan in a formal institution. Therefore, what is expected is that a speaker of Majorca who was exposed to MC from birth at home values more positively the non-peninsular forms than a speaker who was exposed or learned Catalan at 6 years of age or later⁸².

On this matter, note the difference between oral and written production in MC, given that the use of non-peninsular forms in spontaneous speech does not have to do with the speakers' levels of education. More specifically, bilingual speakers from Majorca use non-peninsular forms in oral speech but peninsular forms in written formal discourse. That is, non-peninsular forms are considered as non-standard forms. What depends on the educational level is the use of the pronominal clitics in written formal discourse. However, if a bilingual speaker acquired MC from birth, it is expected that this speaker produces non-peninsular forms in oral discourse.

It could be that speakers would prefer peninsular forms in the elicited written tasks depending on their educational level. For this reason, the researcher wanted to be present in many of the responses to verify that speakers understood that these structures pretend to reflect the oral but not written speech. More specifically, the researcher administered the task orally in most responses; that is, the researcher produced each item orally, above all, in the first task related to the grammaticality judgments.

Thus, this research aims at (i) comparing the results from oral production with the elicited data of the same speakers, and (ii) determining whether the type of bilingualism in conjunction with the speakers' linguistic preference affect the grammaticality judgments and production of the peninsular or non-peninsular pronominal clitics.

⁸²In this regard, it is important to note that throughout the years, the educational system of the Balearic Islands has undergone different changes, which might have affected the type of instruction that different participants in this dissertation might have received in Catalan (MC or CC) at school (see section 2.1 in chapter 2 to obtain more information).

Likewise, the social variables of gender, age, educational level, and area of residence are correlated with the responses of the different items to know whether there exist any effects. As said before, regarding the social variables, the only one expected to present an effect is the educational level of speakers.

Although 51 bilingual speakers participated in the different studies based on oral interviews, 43 speakers have answered the elicited questionnaire (23 women and 20 men, aged between 16 to 67 years)⁸³. Besides, participants have been classified as simultaneous (28) and sequential (15) bilinguals and the different social variables of gender, age, area of residence, educational level, and linguistic preference. 4 out of the 15 sequential bilinguals were born outside of Majorca but arrived at the island (3 in Palma and 1 out of Palma, in the village of Lluçmajor) more than 10 years ago. Table 42 shows the distribution of the participants who have fulfilled the elicited data questionnaire regarding their social characteristics:

Gender	Male		Female	
	20		23	
Age	16-29	30-40	41-67	
	11	15	17	
Area of residence	Palma		Villages	
	23		20	
Educational level	Elementary school	High school	Community college	Undergraduate degree
	12	13	7	11
Linguistic preference	Spanish	Catalan	Both languages	
	15	20	8	
Type of bilingualism	Simultaneous		Sequentials	
	28		15	

Table 42. Distribution of speakers across the extra-linguistic variables who participated in the elicited data questionnaire

Although the groups are not completely balanced, the analysis is focused on specific trends that can be influenced by a social variable; namely, type of bilingualism, linguistic preference, and educational level.

The fact that more simultaneous than sequential bilinguals have participated in this study explains the higher amount of responses obtained from the former group. However, the results have been analyzed separately for each type of bilingual. Each

⁸³Unfortunately, not all participants were able to finish it. Note that the speakers of this dissertation participated in different phases: (i) spontaneous interviews, one in Spanish and another in Catalan, (ii) an ethnolinguistic questionnaire, and (iii) elicited data questionnaire. The researcher had to meet twice or even three times to obtain the data from different sources.

group of bilinguals presents 100% of responses (from 28 simultaneous and 15 sequential bilinguals), and the different responses are classified with an independent percentage in each bilingual group.

This dissertation examines the results of 69 items, based on the grammaticality judgments and preference of the pronominal clitics analyzed in sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2. More specifically, 45 out of the 69 structures are examined in the first task regarding speakers' grammaticality judgments, and 24 structures are analyzed in the second task, focused on the production of the speaker's linguistic preferences.

Table 43 specifies the number of items⁸⁴ analyzed in the elicited data questionnaire for each specific peninsular (CC) and non-peninsular (MC) form:

			Grammaticality judgments task		Linguistic preference task
			peninsular uses	non-peninsular uses	Selection of peninsular or non-peninsular uses
1 st	sg.	em/me	2	2	3
	pl.	ens/mos/nos	3	7	4
2 nd	sg.	et/te	2	2	2
	pl.	us/vos	1	1	3
3 rd dative	sg.	li		1	
	pl.	els/elzi/ lis/lezi	1	6	5
3 rd accusative	masc.	el/	1	1	
	sg.				
	masc.	els/elze	1	4	1
	pl.				
	fem.	la/	1		1
	sg.				
	fem.	les/leze	1	1	1
	pl.				
	neutral	ho*	3	4	4

Table 43. Number of tokens depending on pronominal clitic form in the elicited data questionnaire

The analyses of the different items are classified into different sets of pronominal clitics: (i) first- and second-person pronominal clitics (20 structures in the first task and 12 in the second task), (ii) third-person pronominal clitics (18 structures in the first task

⁸⁴Although the number of items is unbalanced, this questionnaire aims to analyze the grammaticality judgments and the preference of speakers, comparing the difference between the pronominal clitics in MC and CC. Therefore, after examining the spontaneous data, the researcher wanted to analyze in depth the forms that differ mostly between MC and CC to know whether speakers from Majorca accept and differentiate these uses.

and 8 in the second task), and (iii) the neutral clitic, *ho*, (7 structures in the first task and 4 in the second task).

The following sections (5.3.1 and 5.3.2) show the results from the answers in the two tasks of the elicited questionnaire: (i) grammaticality judgments and (ii) preferences data (selection of specific forms). The data have been analyzed with the same statistical program as the other oral data (*SPSS*). Pearson Chi-Squared analyses have been carried out with the social variables to verify whether they influence the grammaticality judgments and the selection (production) of specific forms.

5.3.1 Grammaticality judgments

This task consists of 60 items. 45 out of 60 items have been analyzed, while 15 are distractors. More precisely, 20 structures are linked to the first- and second-person pronominal clitics, 18 are linked to the third-person pronominal clitics, and 7 are linked to the neutral clitic, *ho*.

Participants had to choose one of the following options, depending on their grammaticality judgments of the item where a peninsular or non-peninsular form appears:

I would use this form	1	more acceptable
I wouldn't say that, but it is fine for me	2	
It is odd, but I can understand	3	less acceptable
It sounds very bad to me	4	

Table 44. Grammaticality judgments in task 1 of the elicited questionnaire

The four grammaticality judgments show a progression from (i) the form that is closer to what the speaker would produce to (iv) the farthest form from what the participant would produce. Examples from this questionnaire are (209)-(210) (see the whole questionnaire in Appendix 4):

(209) **Ens** ha dit que no vindrà (CC)
 to.us has said that no came.FUT.3p.sg.
 '(S)he has said us that (s)he won't come.'

(210) **Mos** ha dit sa veritat (MC)
 to.us has told the truth
 '(S)he has told us the truth.'

The analysis of the results presents the same labels used in the last studies, that is, the results are classified in peninsular (if they match CC) and non-peninsular uses (if they match MC). Following subsections examine the findings related to the different sets of pronominal clitics:

- **First- and second-person pronominal clitics**

Concerning the syntactic position of the clitics, this task considers 18 proclitic and 2 enclitic forms. The proclitics are divided into 8 peninsular and 10 non-peninsular items, while the 2 enclitics correspond to the non-peninsular form, *mos* (exclusive from MC), as shown in Table 45:

	Peninsular uses		non-peninsular uses			
1 st sg.	<i>em</i>	2	<i>me</i>	2		
1 st pl.	<i>ens</i>	3	<i>mos</i>	3	<i>-mos</i>	2
			<i>nos</i>	2		
2 nd sg.	<i>et</i>	2	<i>te</i>	2		
2 nd pl.	<i>us</i>	1	<i>vos</i>	1		

Table 45. Distribution of first- and second-person pronominal clitics in the grammaticality judgments task

The reason for this classification relates to the need to know if speakers prefer peninsular or non-peninsular forms. Since the enclitic forms match in both Catalan dialects, except *mos*, two structures are only examined with the MC enclitic form, *mos*.

Regarding the proclitic forms, the focus of the analysis deals with the comparison between the forms of the peninsular (V+C) and the non-peninsular (C+V) pronominal clitics. However, considering the first-person plural forms, it is relevant to compare not only the difference in the acceptability of *ens* and *mos* but also about the form *nos*. Note that this form can follow two different patterns: (i) as a conservative form used in rural areas (Seguí Trobat, 2014), or (ii) as a transfer from Spanish (Jiménez-Gaspar et al., 2017).

Since the form *us* is not produced in the spontaneous data, this form is less analyzed, in conjunction with *vos*, in this first task of the elicited questionnaire. Nevertheless, speakers could choose these two variants in the second task of the questionnaire focused on the speakers' production.

The different items are analyzed and classified into three distinct sets: (i) first- and second-person pronominal clitics (except the proclitic *nos* and the enclitic *-mos*), (ii) the first plural proclitic *nos*, and (iii) the first plural enclitic *-mos*. Regarding the use of *mos*,

this proclitic form was produced in the oral interviews more than the counterpart enclitic form, *-mos*. For this reason, while the proclitic form is analyzed together with the rest of the non-peninsular forms, the enclitic form is examined separately. Note that the rest of the non-peninsular proclitics are used as enclitics in both Catalan dialects, but the most important difference deals with the use of *-mos* (in MC) instead of using *-nos* (in CC).

Altogether, 688 responses are examined since each participant valued 16 items (8 peninsular and 8 non-peninsular)⁸⁵. If the responses are divided by type of bilingualism, 28 simultaneous bilinguals presented 448 responses, while sequential bilinguals presented 240 responses.

The first correlation relates to the comparison between bilinguals, given that it has been verified in the last studies that the moment when speakers started to be exposed to Catalan is an important factor that influences their production of MC or CC variants.

The results show that all bilingual speakers of Majorca feel more identified with the non-peninsular forms. However, the difference between simultaneous and sequential bilinguals is significant (p : <.001 in both results regarding the grammaticality judgments of peninsular and non-peninsular items). Nevertheless, since more simultaneous (28) than sequential (15) bilinguals completed the questionnaire, the results are analyzed considering the responses of simultaneous, on the one hand, and sequential bilinguals, on the other hand (see Figures 31 and 32).

28 simultaneous bilinguals valued 8 peninsular and 8 non-peninsular items related to the first- and second-person pronominal clitics. However, the MC first plural proclitic, *nos*, as well as the MC first plural enclitic, *mos*, are examined separately (explained below). Figure 31 shows the distribution of the responses classified into peninsular and non-peninsular forms from simultaneous bilinguals:

⁸⁵This first analysis excludes the proclitic form, *nos*, and the enclitic form, *mos*, given that these forms will be examined with independent analysis.

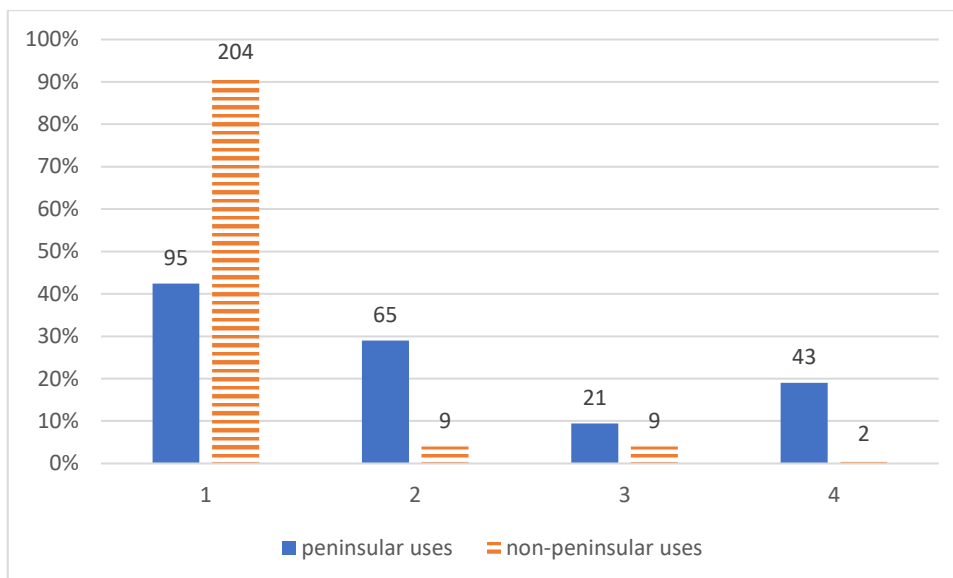


Figure 31. Simultaneous bilinguals' grammaticality judgments of first- and second-person pronominal clitics

Simultaneous bilinguals answered 90% (204 out of 224) of the non-peninsular (MC) items as the form that they would use (response 1), and they only valued 20 items as forms that they would not use. However, simultaneous bilinguals consider 9 out of these 20 structures more acceptable (response 2: 'I would not say that, but it is fine to me.')

The values are more variable regarding the use of peninsular than non-peninsular clitics. While simultaneous bilinguals would use 95 out of 224 CC items, they would not use 129 items. More specifically, 65 out of these 129 structures would be more acceptable, but 21 are considered less acceptable (response 3: 'It is odd, but I can understand'), 43 of them are not acceptable. The form which is mostly rejected is the CC second-person plural form, *us*:

(211) **Us** comprareu aquest cotxe? (CC)
 you.cl. buy.FUT.2p.pl. this car
 'Will you buy this car?'

In fact, not only do simultaneous bilinguals reject the form *us*, but sequential bilinguals also do. The MC form, *vos*, as proclitic has a higher acceptance rate, as in:

(212) **Vos** contaré sa veritat (MC)
 us.cl tell.FUT.1p.sg the truth
 'I will tell you the truth.'

Figure 32 shows the distribution of the responses classified into peninsular and non-peninsular forms from sequential bilinguals:

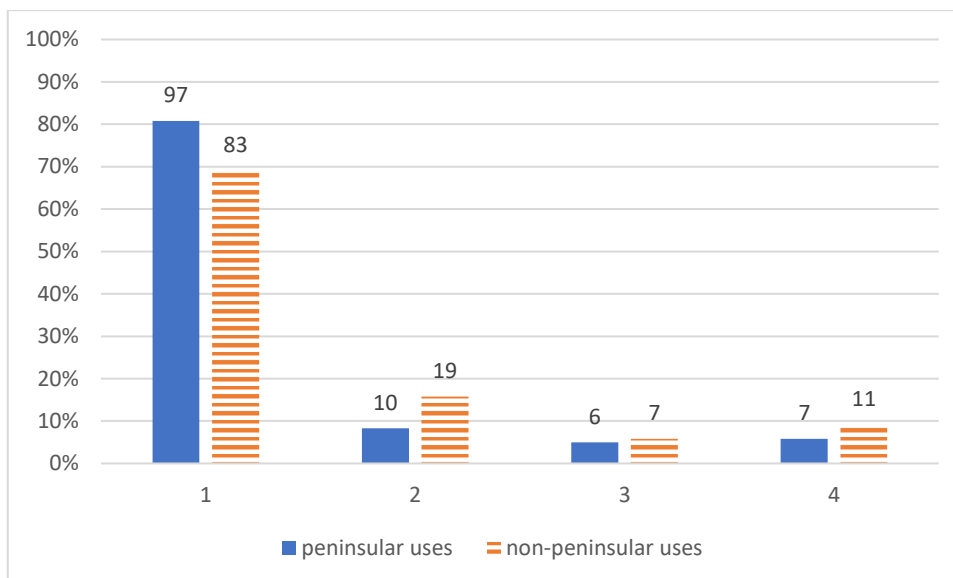


Figure 32. Sequential bilinguals' grammaticality judgments of first- and second-person pronominal clitics

The results from sequential bilinguals are based on 120 responses (8 items times 15 speakers).

Although sequential bilinguals accept peninsular forms more than non-peninsular forms, the difference is minimal, as seen in response 1. They accept 81% of peninsular and 69% of non-peninsular structures, so the difference relates to 12% of the acceptability of these forms. Likewise, the number of less acceptable (3 and 4) grammaticality judgments are lower than what simultaneous bilinguals answered, 13 peninsular, and 18 non-peninsular forms.

If the grammaticality judgments from different bilinguals are correlated with the social variables, different results are found. Table 46 presents the results from simultaneous bilinguals:

	peninsular forms			non-peninsular forms		
	Value	Sig.	df	Value	Sig.	df
Gender	9.23	.026	3	3.59	.309	3
Age	23.57	.001*	6	47.13	.000*	6
Education level	95.39	.000*	9	12.64	.180	9
Area of residence	30.48	.000*	3	17.20	.001*	3
Linguistic preference	76.90	.000*	6	40.71	.000*	6

Table 46. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses for grammaticality judgments of first- and second-person pronominal clitics across social variables

It is noticeable that different social variables could affect the grammaticality judgments of bilinguals from Majorca; namely, the speaker's linguistic preference, area of residence, and age affect the judgments of peninsular and non-peninsular items. However, concerning the peninsular items, the educational level of bilinguals also produces an effect.

Therefore, it is essential to analyze these influences in depth. See Figure 33 about the analyses of grammaticality judgments across age:

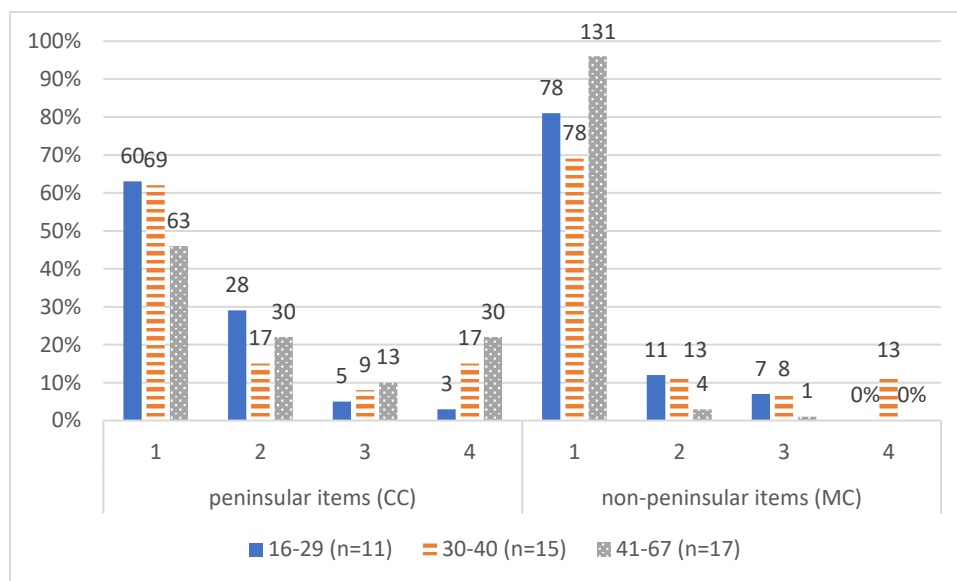


Figure 33. Grammaticality judgments of first- and second-person pronominal clitics across age

Figure 33 shows that bilingual speakers of Majorca accept both peninsular items (in 60-85% for values 1 and 2) and non-peninsular items (in more than 90% for values 1 and 2), independently of their age. However, they accept, to a greater extent, the non-peninsular forms. While they accepted 267 out of 344 peninsular items, they accepted 315 out of 344 non-peninsular items.

A thorough comparison of the three age groups shows that speakers between 41-67 years old accept 93 out of 136 peninsular items, but they accept 135 out of 136 non-peninsular items (values 1 and 2). Likewise, these older speakers reject 30 peninsular items completely, as opposed to the values from the rest of the bilinguals.

According to the difference between speakers' area of residence and linguistic preference, the results are as expected. That is, speakers who live in villages and prefer using Catalan or both languages accept the non-peninsular items more often than speakers who live in the capital, Palma, and prefer using Spanish. Figure 34 offers the

distribution of the grammaticality judgments in comparison to the area where speakers live in Majorca (the capital, Palma, or a village outside Palma):

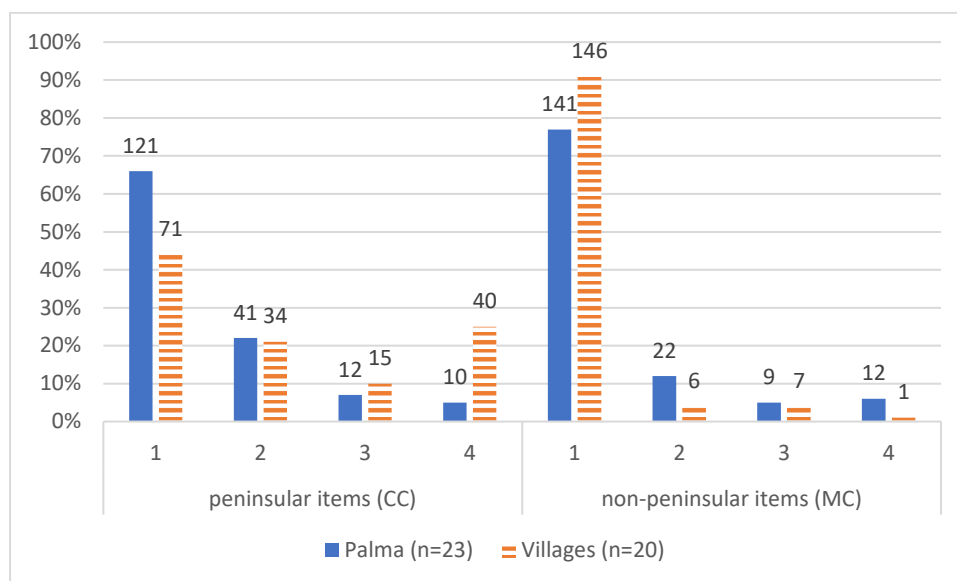


Figure 34. Grammaticality judgments of peninsular uses across the area of residence

It is relevant to take into consideration that speakers from Palma present 368 responses, and speakers from villages present 320 responses to understand Figure 34. More specifically, speakers from Palma present 184 peninsular and 184 non-peninsular grammaticality judgments, while speakers from villages present 160 peninsular and 160 non-peninsular grammaticality judgments. The difference relates to the number of speakers in each area, 23 in Palma and 20 in villages.

Overall, even though all speakers accept both peninsular and non-peninsular items, it is noticeable that speakers from villages reject more peninsular items than speakers who live in Palma. Specifically, the former group rejects the peninsular items in 55 out of their 160 values (3 and 4). However, these speakers from villages only reject 8 non-peninsular items (values 3 and 4). Speakers from Palma show a similar trend in their values of both peninsular and non-peninsular items. They accept peninsular items in 162 out of their 184 responses and 163 out of their 184 responses about non-peninsular items. Therefore, they reject the same percentage of peninsular (22 responses) and non-peninsular (21 responses) items in their values 3 and 4.

The results are similar regarding the linguistic preference of speakers. All of them accept both peninsular and non-peninsular items, but speakers who have a preference

for using Catalan reject many more peninsular items than the rest of the speakers. More precisely, bilinguals who prefer using Catalan present 320 values (16 items times 20 speakers). These 320 values have to be divided into two groups: (i) 160 peninsular, and (ii) 160 non-peninsular items. These speakers accept 104 out of 160 peninsular items and reject 56 peninsular items. However, they accept 152 out of their 160 non-peninsular items and only reject 8 non-peninsular items (see Figure 35):

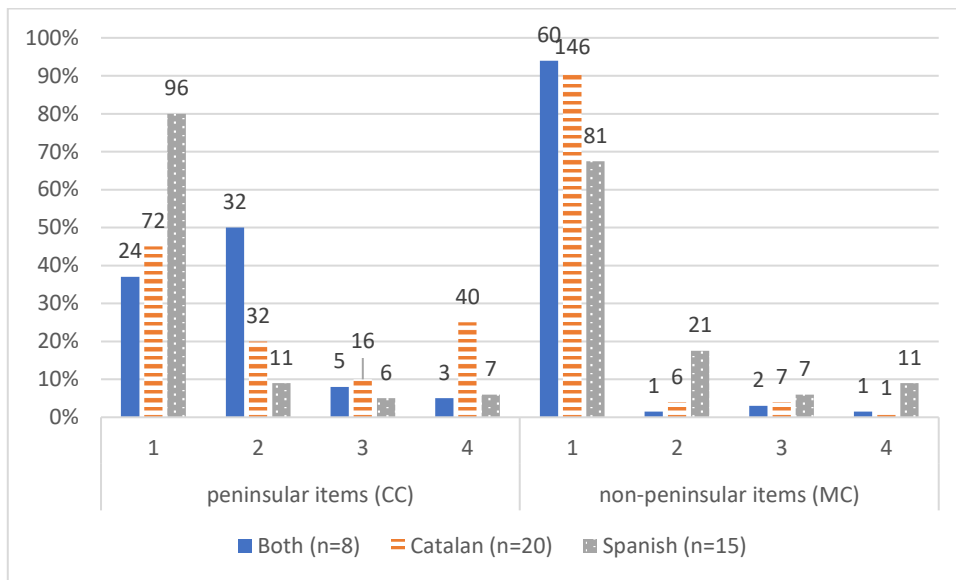


Figure 35. Grammaticality judgments of peninsular uses across linguistic preference

Finally, the educational level is another social variable that influences the results in the acceptability or rejection of the peninsular and non-peninsular items (see Figure 36):

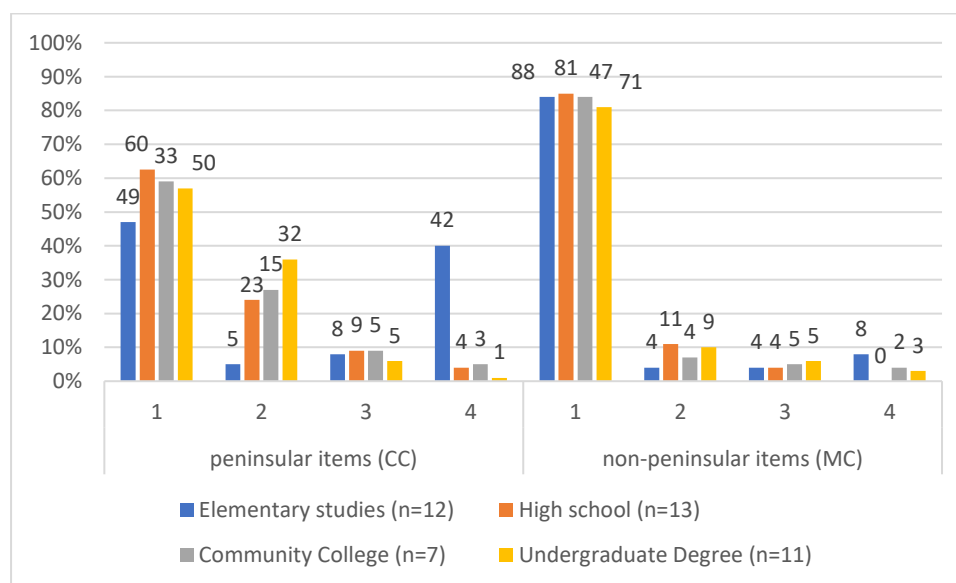


Figure 36. Grammaticality judgments about peninsular and non-peninsular first- and second-person proclitics across the educational level

Although the non-peninsular items do not present statistically significant results, it is relevant to compare the results of the two types of items across the educational level. While there does not exist an essential difference between the different educational level groups in their values of non-peninsular items, a significant difference is noticeable in the values of the peninsular items. Speakers who have elementary studies reject a higher number of peninsular items than speakers who have high school or advanced studies; that is, the former accept 62 out of their 104 grammaticality judgments of peninsular items and reject 42 of them. That does not mean that the rest of the speakers reject the non-peninsular items more often due to their educational level, as seen in Figure 37. Note that all speakers, independently of their educational level, accept the non-peninsular items in more than 90% of their responses (values 1 and 2).

Concerning the form *nos* (213)-(214), which is analyzed in this study as a non-peninsular proclitic, two different trends are considered. Since this variant of the first-person plural clitic could be considered as (i) a conservative form (213) or (ii) a transfer from Spanish 214), it is counted separately from the rest of non-peninsular proclitics.

(213) Ells **nos** entenen a noltros (MC)
 they us.cl. understood.3p.pl. to us
 'They understand us

[Female from villages, 40, simultaneous]

(214) **Nos** han dit que no hi ha espai (MC)
 us-cl. have told.3p.pl. that not there is place
 'They told us that there is no place

[Male from Palma, 30, sequential]

Note that this part of the questionnaire presents two items with the form *nos* as a proclitic. Therefore, 56 responses have been analyzed from simultaneous bilinguals (two times 28), while 30 responses are from sequential bilinguals (two times 15). Figure 37 presents the different responses from simultaneous and sequential bilinguals:

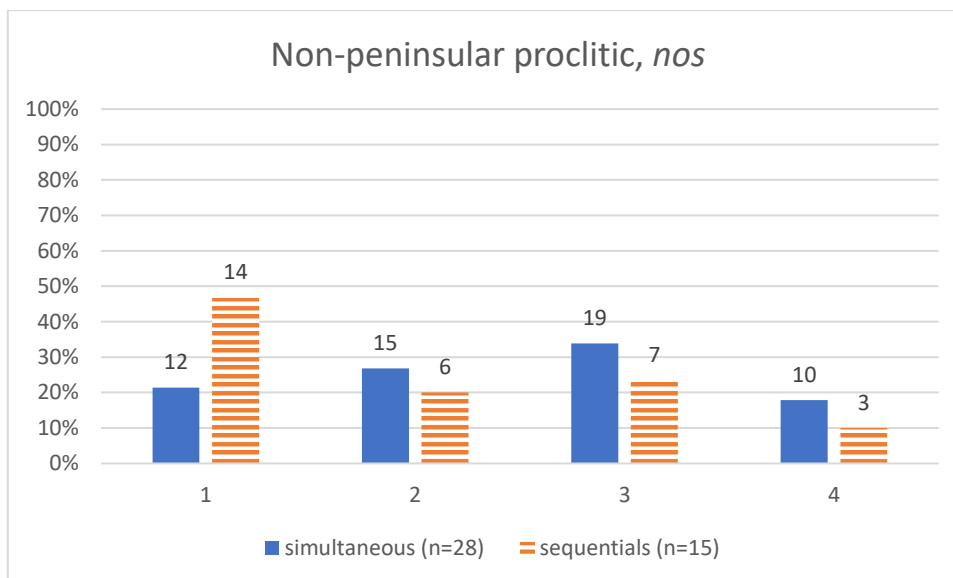


Figure 37. Grammaticality judgments about the non-peninsular first plural proclitic, *nos*, across bilingualism

If the results are examined in depth, there is a little difference between the acceptability of *nos* depending on the responses from simultaneous and sequential bilinguals. The former accepted almost 50% (27/56) of the structures (responses 1 and 2), while sequential bilinguals did 66.7% (20/30). More specifically, simultaneous bilinguals expressed in 12 responses that it is the form they would use, and in 15 out of 54, they accepted this variant, although they would not use it. However, sequential bilinguals would use 16 out of the 20 accepted structures and only expressed that they would not use 6 of them, although these structures are fine for them.

Concerning the structures which were rejected, simultaneous bilinguals rejected 29 out of their 56 items, while sequential bilinguals rejected 10 items (responses 3 and 4). However, there is no statistically significant result if responses from different bilinguals are correlated ($p.: >.005$, df 3).

The two simultaneous bilingual women who produced *nos* in their spontaneous oral speech were also the participants who accepted this form.

The same analysis is carried out with the first-person enclitic, *mos*, exclusive of MC. The proclitic, *mos*, is counted as a non-peninsular form of this section. However, given that there exists a difference between the use of *nos* (as CC enclitic) and *mos* (proclitic and enclitic in MC), the MC form, *mos*, is examined separately in two different structures in which it occurs after the verb, as enclitic (215-216):

(215) Mos va venir a cercar per endur-**mos**⁸⁶ [...] (MC)
 us.cl. came to pick-up to bring.us
 ‘(S)he came to pick up us to bring us.’

[Female from villages, 29, simultaneous]

(216) Va ser un viatge per descansar i relaxar-**mos** (MC)
 was a trip to rest and relax-us.cl
 ‘The trip was to rest and relax.’

[Female from villages, 29, simultaneous]

Figure 38 presents the classification of the responses according to the use of *mos* as enclitic from simultaneous and sequential bilinguals:

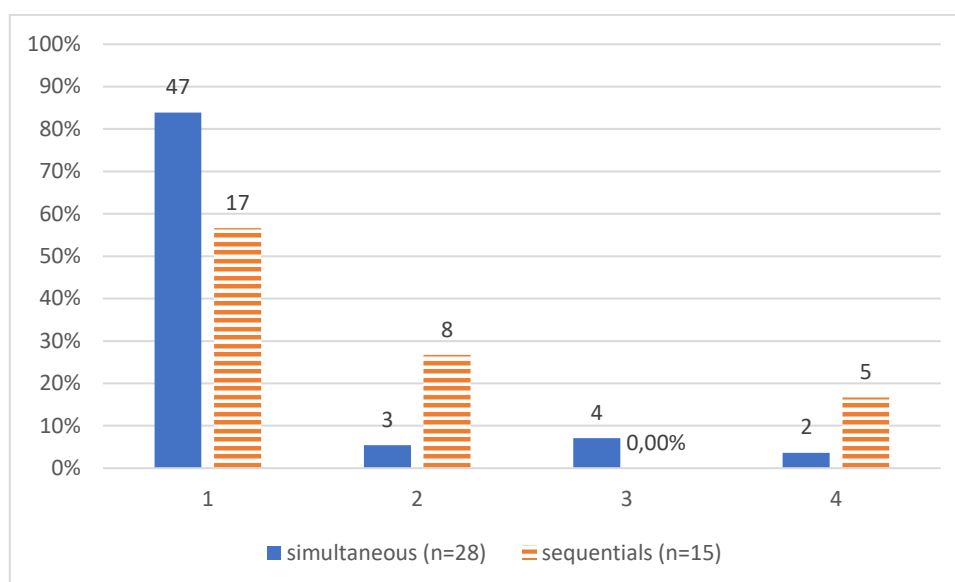


Figure 38. Grammaticality judgments for non-peninsular first-person plural enclitic, *-mos*, across the type of bilingualism

Note that each participant valued two different structures with the enclitic, *mos*. Therefore, while simultaneous bilinguals present 56 responses (2 structures times 28 speakers), sequential bilinguals present 30 responses (2 structures times 15 speakers).

Considering simultaneous bilinguals' responses, they answered 50 out of 56 items (84%) as the form that they would use and accepted 3 more (response 2). However, they only rejected this form in 2 items completely, while they consider 4 items to be odd

⁸⁶Although this structure could be considered odd due to the presence of the same form, *mos*, in both syntactic positions, the truth is that it is a sporadic production of one speaker of Sóller. Besides, in MC, this type of construction is habitual, and it is not strange for a Majorcan native speaker.

(response 3). In the case of sequential bilinguals, they also accepted this form to a lesser extent, in 57% of their responses (17/30 structures), and rejected 5 out of the 30 items (19%). However, they also accepted this form in 8 responses, although they would not use it (response 3).

As opposed to the results related to the proclitic form, *nos*, the use of *mos* as enclitic presents a statistically significant result if the type of bilinguals is compared ($p: <.005$, $df 3$). As seen in Figure 38, although all bilinguals accept this form to a greater or lesser extent, simultaneous bilinguals present a higher percentage of acceptability (84%, compared to 57% by sequential bilinguals) and a lower percentage of rejection (3,6% compared to 17% by sequential bilinguals). Thus, bilingual speakers from Majorca accept the non-peninsular first- and second-person pronominal clitics, with a higher acceptance rate amongst simultaneous bilinguals.

The next subsection analyzes the responses based on the third-person pronominal clitics items (except the neutral form, which is analyzed separately).

- **Third-person pronominal clitics**

The first task of the elicited data questionnaire based on grammaticality judgments presents 18 items with third-person pronominal clitics. More specifically, since the spontaneous data do not present widespread use of the peninsular forms, as it occurs with the first- and second-person clitics, the most analyzed forms are the non-peninsular clitics, namely, the dative plural with the epenthetic vowel, *elzi*, and the accusative masculine plural form, *elzə*, with the epenthetic vowel [ə]. Table 47 presents the distribution of the 18 items taking into account the pronominal clitic analyzed regarding Latin case, dative and accusative, as well as gender and number of the accusative forms:

Third-person pronominal clitics	Peninsular uses		Non-peninsular uses	
dative singular	li	0	li*	1
dative plural	els	1	elzi	3
			lis	2
			lezi	1
accusative masculine sg.	el	1	el*	1
accusative masculine pl.	els	1	los	1
			elze	3
accusative feminine sg.	la	1		
accusative feminine pl.	les	1	les*	1

Table 47. Distribution of third-person pronominal clitics in the grammaticality judgments task

Regarding the forms *li* (217) and *el* (218), counted as non-peninsular forms, these present a difference in the verb, but not in the clitic. That is, the two items where these forms appear present the omission of the vowel with which the verb should start. It is important to highlight that these structures came from the spontaneous data of the two participants. Note that speakers of Majorca prefer the production of open syllables and, in this case, they achieve them without the first vowel of the verb:

(217) **Li** Øgrada sopar defora (MC)
 him.cl like.3p.sg have-dinner outside
 '(S)he likes to have dinner outside.'

[Female from villages, 42, simultaneous]

(218) **EI** Øgafa (el ca) (MC)
 it.cl take.3p.sg (the dog)
 '(S)he takes it.'

[Male from villages, 67, simultaneous]

However, the form *les* is presented in a structure where the clitic mentions a masculine referent:

(219) **Les** matem (els porcs) (MC)
 them.fem.cl kill.1p.pl (the pigs, masc.)
 'We kill them' (the pigs).'

[Male from villages, 42, simultaneous]

If the responses are compared to the type of bilingualism (see Figure 39), it is observable that, in general, all bilinguals of Majorca accept the non-peninsular forms. Note that the 28 bilinguals have provided grammaticality judgments for 13 non-peninsular items with a total of 364 responses, while 15 sequential bilinguals have provided grammaticality judgments for the same 13 items with a total of 195 responses.

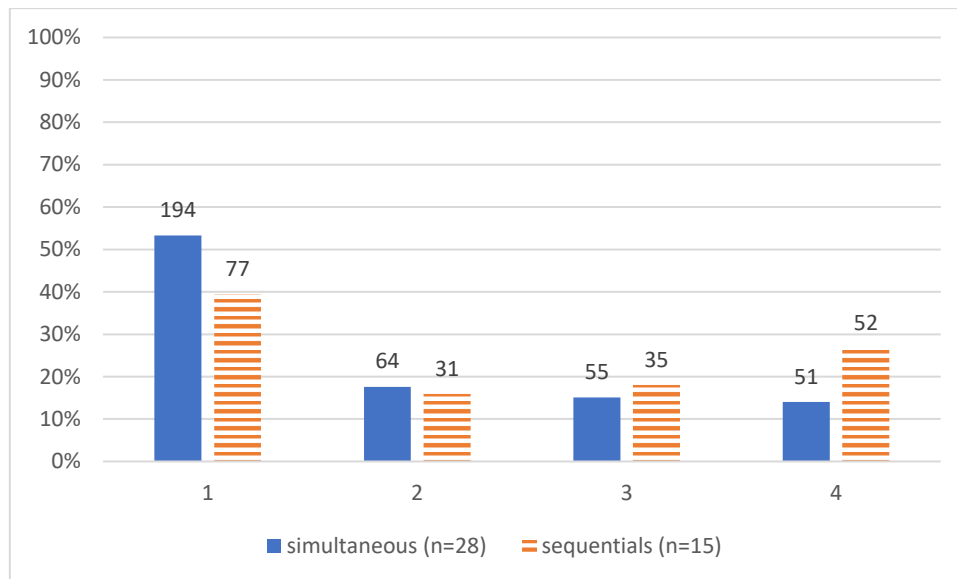


Figure 39. Grammaticality judgments of non-peninsular third-person pronominal clitics across the type of bilingualism

Although the non-peninsular items are accepted (values 1 and 2) to a large extent (70% of simultaneous bilinguals' responses and 55% of sequential bilinguals' responses), the difference between bilinguals is present in the rejection of these forms. While simultaneous bilinguals reject these structures in 30% (103/364) of their responses (values 3 and 4), sequential bilinguals reject them in 45% of their answers (90/195). The difference between simultaneous and sequential bilinguals presents a statistically significant result ($p < .001$, $df 3$).

Regarding the peninsular forms, the acceptability is higher for these forms than for the non-peninsular structures by the different bilinguals. Likewise, the percentages are similar in the four different grammaticality judgments from simultaneous and sequential bilinguals.

Note that simultaneous bilinguals' database of peninsular items is constituted by 140 responses (5 items times 28 speakers), while sequential bilinguals present 75 responses (5 items times 15 speakers). Therefore, the difference between the type of bilingualism in the values of peninsular items is not significant. Figure 40 shows the distribution of the grammaticality judgments of peninsular items by the different bilinguals:

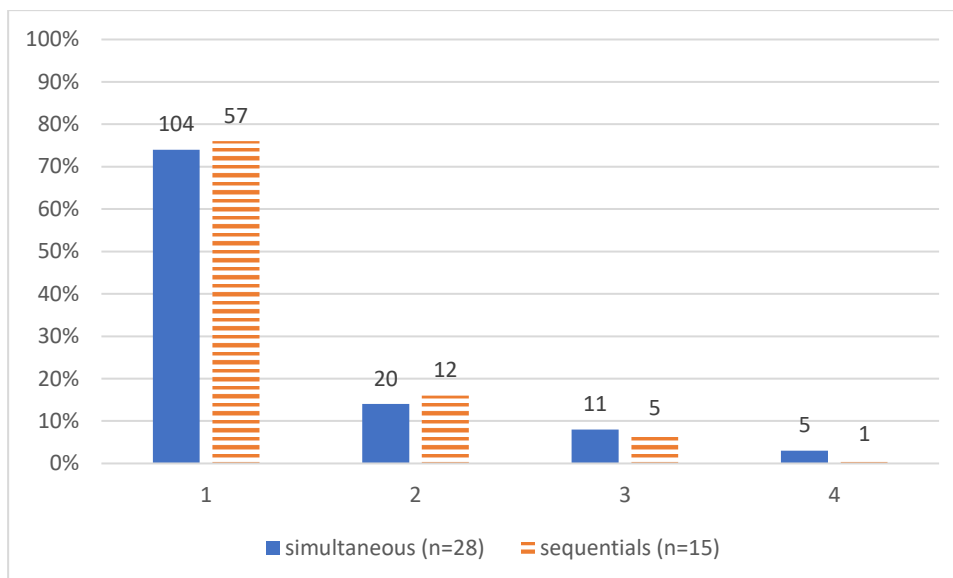


Figure 40. Grammaticality judgments of peninsular third-person pronominal clitics across the type of bilingualism

The results are analyzed in depth to verify which peninsular and non-peninsular forms are more accepted and which ones are more rejected. The analyses of the items have been carried out separately regarding two different variables, one independent and the other one dependent, respectively: (i) type of bilingualism (simultaneous vs. bilingual) and (ii) type of form (peninsular vs. non-peninsular).

Regarding simultaneous bilinguals' responses, there exists a difference between their grammaticality judgments related to the peninsular and non-peninsular forms. This difference refers to the dative and accusative plural forms, which present an epenthetic vowel in MC. More specifically, it is important to highlight that while simultaneous bilinguals accept most of the peninsular forms in almost 90% of their responses, they accept the dative plural form, *e/s* (220), and the accusative masculine plural form, *e/s* (221), without the epenthetic vowels [i] and [ə] respectively to a lesser extent (see Figure 41):

(220) **Els** diré que no v[e]nguin (CC)
 them.dat.cl tell.FUT.1p.sg that not come.3p.pl
 'I will tell them not to come.'

(221) **Els** enduré d'excursió (CC)
 them.acc.cl take.FUT.1p.sg on trip
 'I will take them on a trip.'

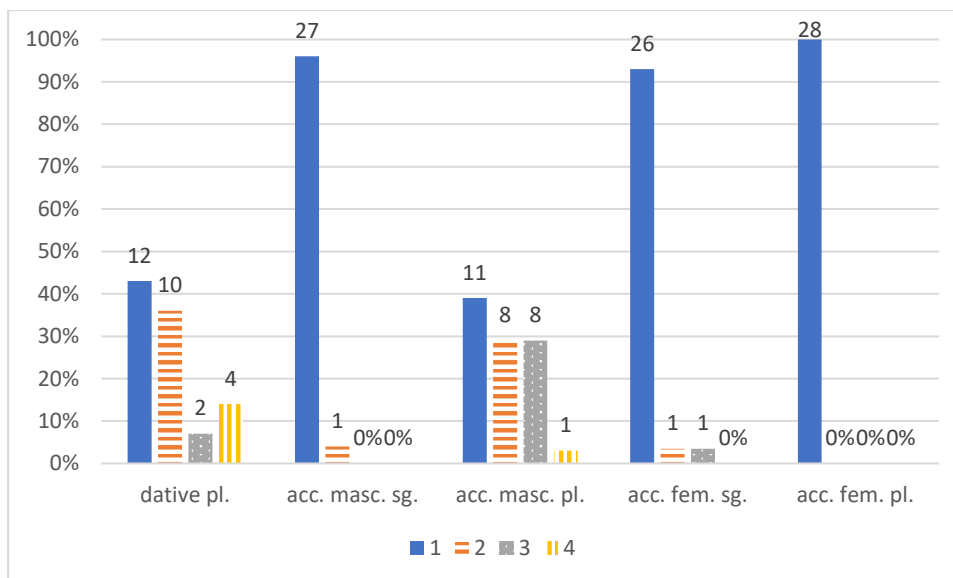


Figure 41. Grammaticality judgments of the peninsular third-person pronominal clitics from simultaneous bilinguals

As seen in Figure 41, simultaneous bilinguals accept the dative plural (220) and accusative masculine (221) plural peninsular forms in less than 50% of their responses (12/28 and 11/28, respectively) as the forms that they would use (response 1).

Concerning the second value, they accept these forms in almost 35% of their responses even though they would not use them. Besides, simultaneous bilinguals reject these forms in 15-30% of the cases. The variation in the responses of the dative and accusative plural forms (the form *e/s* without [i] and [ə], respectively) is statistically significant ($p.: <.001$, df 12).

Regarding the non-peninsular forms, simultaneous bilinguals accept them to a greater extent, although their responses show more variation than the answers about the peninsular forms. On this matter, not only do the dative and the accusative plural, *e/s*, present variation but also the accusative masculine singular form, *e/* (see Figure 42).

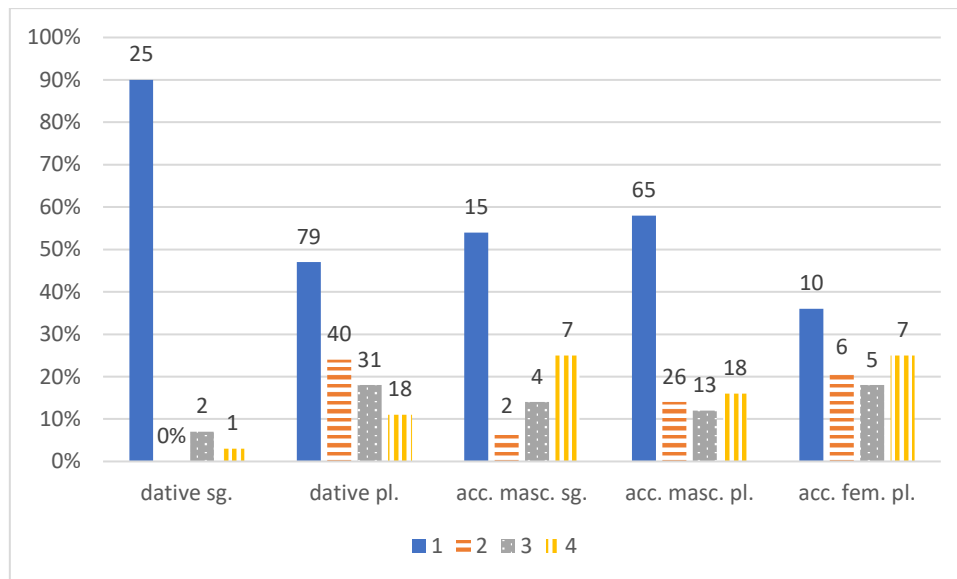


Figure 42. Grammaticality judgments of the non-peninsular third-person pronominal clitics from simultaneous bilinguals

The most accepted form is the dative singular form, *li*, which follows a verb without the initial vowel (222). This form presents 90% of acceptability (25/28 responses):

(222) **Li** Øgrada sopar defora (MC)
 him.cl like.3p.sg have-dinner outside
 'He likes to have dinner outside.'

The accusative masculine singular form, *el*, is also accepted with a verb without the vowel, but to a lesser extent, in 53.5% (15/28 responses). However, the dative plural form, *elzi*, and the accusative masculine plural form, *elze*, present variation. Regarding the dative plural form, *els*, note that different forms were present (223)-(226):

(223) **Els hi** visitaré (a ells) (MC)
 them.dative.cl visit.FUT.1p.sg (to them)
 'I will visit them.'

(224) **Elzi** paga per hores (els treballadors) (MC)
 them.dative.cl pay.3p.sg for hours (the workers)
 '(S)he pays them per hour.'

(225) **Lis** agrada la coca de trampó (MC)
 them.dative.cl like.3p.pl the *trampó* cake
 'They like the *trampó* cake.'

(226) **Les hi** compraré ses camisetes (MC)
 them.dative.fem.cl buy.FUT.1p.sg the t-shirts
 'I will buy them the t-shirts.'

The examples (223) and (224) refer to the same form, *els*, with the epenthetic vowel [i]. That is, *els hi*, and *elzi* are allomorphs of the dative plural pronominal clitic. The analyses of these forms aimed at verifying whether speakers of Majorca accept these allomorphs in written⁸⁷ form as they do in oral form.

Example 225 exhibits another allomorph of the dative plural form, *lis*, which refers to the form that is considered a reanalysis of the singular form, *li*.

Finally, example 226 relates to what could be considered as *laísmo* in Catalan, given that the accusative feminine form, *les*, is used with the epenthetic vowel [i], and this vowel is used with the dative plural form, *els*. Note that the dative plural form, *els*, is used for both genders, masculine and feminine since there are not distinctions across gender in the dative case.

The most accepted form is the form with the epenthetic vowel [i], *elzi*, followed by the allomorph *els hi*, which refers to the same pronominal clitic. The form *lis* is accepted in 50% of the responses, but the form *les hi* is more rejected than accepted.

The accusative masculine plural form, *els*, with the epenthetic vowel [ə] (227) is accepted in almost 83% of the responses (1 and 2). This form is accepted in 91 out of 112 answers; 65 responses refer to the form they would use, and only 26 are accepted, but they would not use them.

(227) Tu **elze** duus en es dentista? (MC)
 you them.acc.cl take.2p.sg to the dentist
 Do you take them to the dentist?

[Female from villages, 42, simultaneous]

⁸⁷There exists a difference between the pronominal clitic that speakers of Majorca use in oral and written discourse. However, since the objective of the elicited data questionnaire was to verify if bilinguals of Majorca accept non-peninsular forms, it was essential to represent them in written discourse with the possible ways that they could recognize and take them.

Finally, the form *les* with a masculine referent is less accepted than *elzi* and *elze*. However, there are more responses where the form is accepted (16/28) than responses where this item is rejected (12/28).

The responses from sequential bilinguals reflect the difference between them and simultaneous bilinguals, given that the former accept the peninsular forms more than the non-peninsular forms, as observed in Figures (43-44):

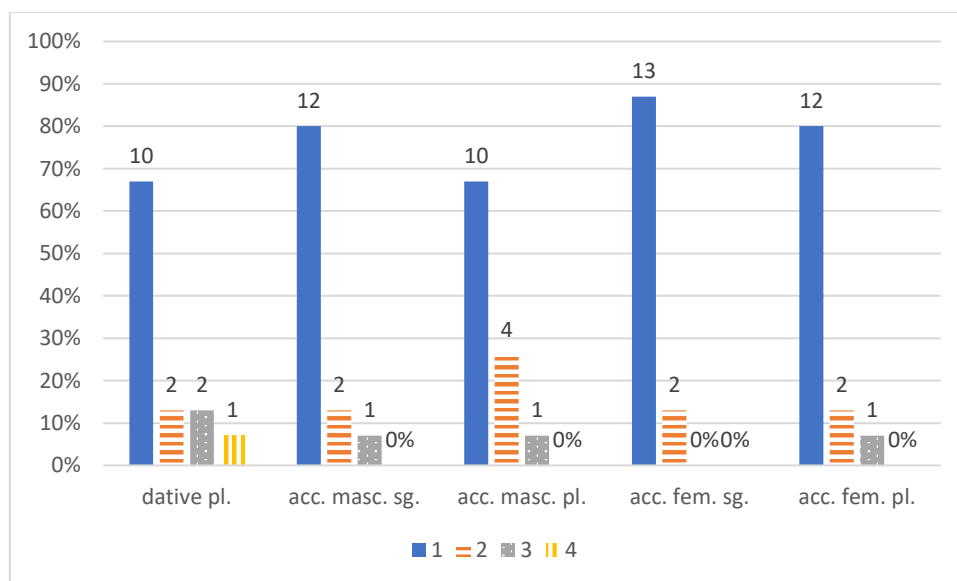


Figure 43. Grammaticality judgments of peninsular third-person pronominal clitics from sequential bilinguals

The responses of sequential bilinguals regarding the peninsular form are clear. They accept these forms in almost 70-90% of their responses (values 1 and 2). Besides, they only reject one item (the dative plural form) totally (value 4).

However, the responses of sequential bilinguals present more variation in relation to the non-peninsular items. The use of the dative singular form, *li*, and the accusative singular form, *el*, are accepted (in 60% and 40%, respectively) with verbs without the initial vowel (*gradar* instead of *agradar* ‘to like’, and *gafar* instead of *agafar* ‘to take’). Besides, the dative plural form is also accepted in 52% of the responses. However, there are two items which are rejected: the accusative plural accusative, *elze*, and the feminine form, *les*, with a masculine referent (see Figure 44)⁸⁸:

⁸⁸However, note that speakers produced this form in the spontaneous data.

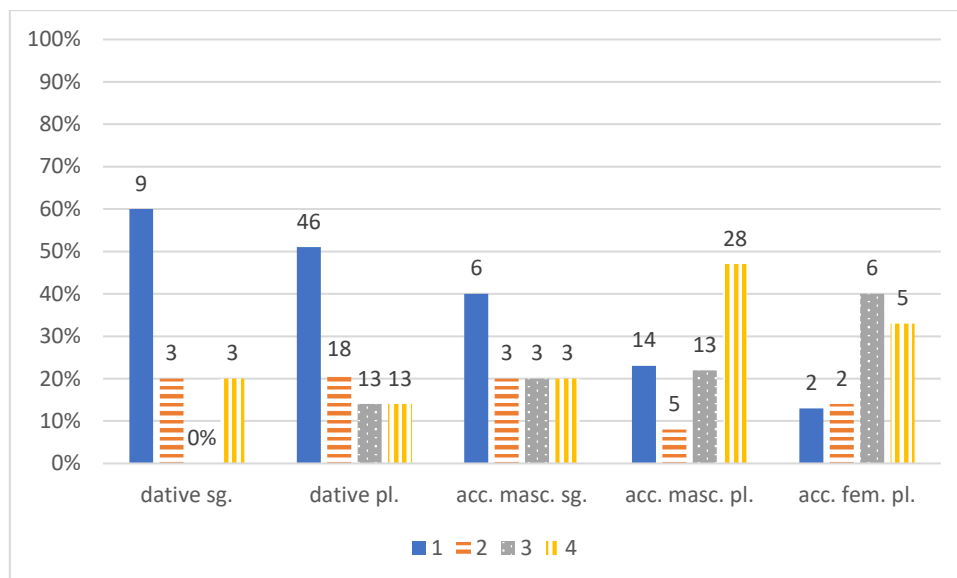


Figure 44. Grammaticality judgments of the non-peninsular third-person pronominal clitics from sequential bilinguals

More specifically, the form, *e/ze*, is rejected due to the presence of the epenthetic vowel [ə]. Note that the same form, *e/s*, without this vowel, is accepted in the peninsular analysis above. However, speakers produced the form [e/ze] in the spontaneous data. It could be the case that they are not aware of the use of the epenthetic vowel and, therefore, they judge better the use of *e/s* without the final vowel. As explained before, speakers of Majorca differentiate the forms they use and the forms they write.

Likewise, the form *les* is also rejected, but without the vowel. The rejection has to do with the presence of this feminine clitic in an item that refers to a masculine referent.

Regarding social variables, including the two types of bilinguals, the Pearson Chi-Squared analyses present significant results in the correlations between the non-peninsular forms and the speakers' educational level, area of residence, and linguistic preference:

	peninsular forms			non-peninsular forms		
	Value	Sig.	df	Value	Sig.	df
Gender	1.44	.696	3	1.42	.700	3
Age	12.71	.048	6	15.11	.019	6
Education level	12.01	.213	9	34.00	.000*	9
Area of residence	3.85	.278	3	13.59	.004*	3
Linguistic preference	3.91	.688	6	27.19	.000*	6

Table 48. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses between third-person pronominal clitic grammaticality judgments and social variables

According to the educational level, the most relevant difference between bilingual speakers relates to the undergraduate degree speakers, given that they reject mostly the non-peninsular forms compared to the rest of bilinguals. While they accept 73 out of 130 of their responses (56%), they reject 57 items (44%). However, the rest of the speakers accept the non-peninsular items in almost 70% of their responses (1 and 2), and they only reject them in almost 30% of the items (see Figure 45).

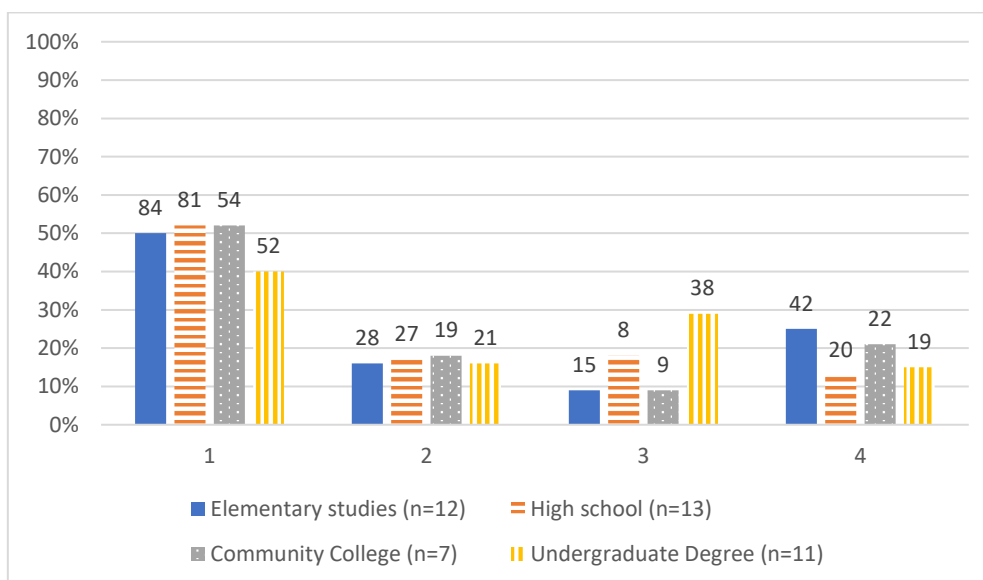


Figure 45. Grammaticality judgments of non-peninsular third-person pronominal clitics from sequential bilinguals across educational levels

Regarding the area of residence, note that sequential bilinguals reside in Palma, except for one of them who lives in a village (Llucmajor). Therefore, although most speakers accept non-peninsular forms, a few speakers who live in Palma are sequential bilinguals and, consequently, prefer the use of peninsular forms, as Figure 46 exhibits:

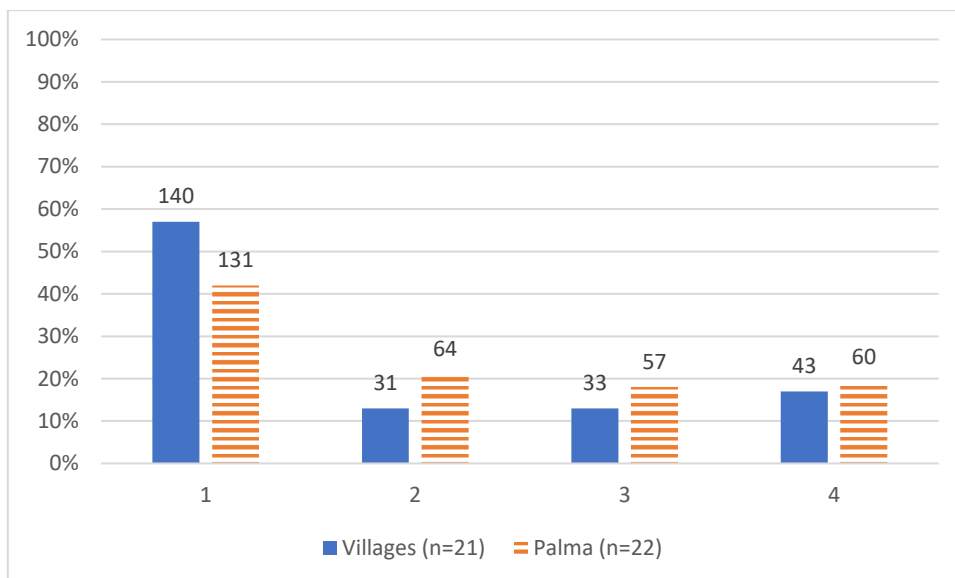


Figure 46. Grammaticality judgments of non-peninsular third-person pronominal clitics from sequential bilinguals across the area of residence

Although most of the speakers accept the non-peninsular forms, sequential bilinguals who live in Palma reject them more than speakers from the villages. More specifically, while speakers from the villages would use them in 60% (and accept them in other 20% of their responses), speakers from Palma would only use them in 41% (and accept them in 21% of their responses). Likewise, bilinguals from the villages reject them by 20%, but bilinguals from Palma reject them by almost 40% (responses 3 and 4). Nevertheless, the differences observed between the areas of residence do not provide enough clarity to the results. For this reason, it seems necessary to further analyze the linguistic preference of speakers (see Figure 47):

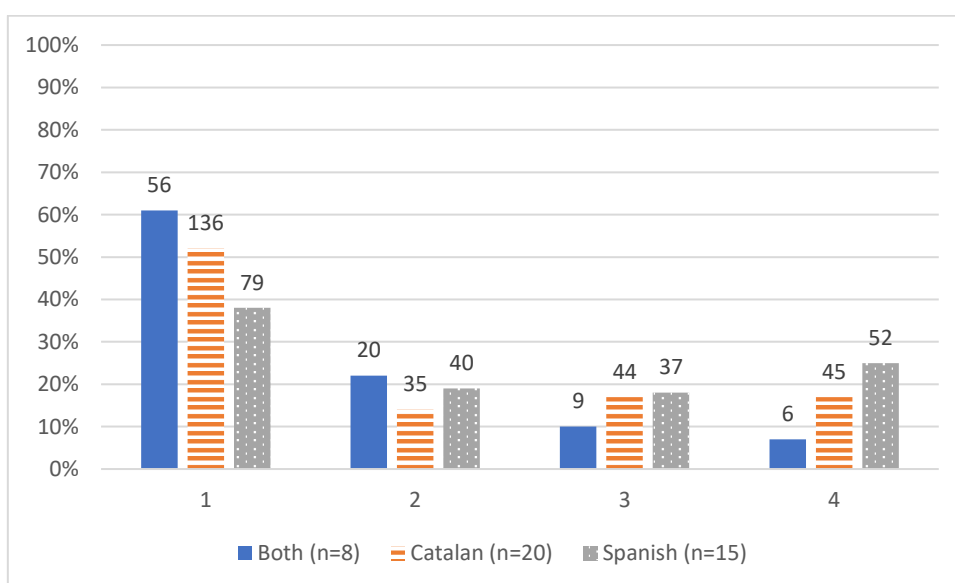


Figure 47. Grammaticality judgments of non-peninsular third-person pronominal clitics from sequential bilinguals across linguistic preference

What can be seen in Figure 47 is that there exists a continuum through different linguistic preferences. Speakers who prefer any language (since they use both) accept the non-peninsular forms in 83,5% of their responses (values 1 and 2). Besides, speakers who prefer using Catalan accept these items by 66%, and speakers who prefer Spanish accept them in 57% of their responses. However, the former only reject 16,5% of non-peninsular items, while bilinguals who prefer Catalan reject 34%, and speakers who prefer Spanish reject 43% of them.

Nonetheless, despite this difference between the three groups of linguistic preferences, most speakers accept to a greater or lesser extent the non-peninsular forms, almost by 60% of the total of responses.

After analyzing these third-person pronominal clitics, it is relevant to examine the third-person neutral clitic, *ho*, in depth, which presents a variation in its use with neutral and masculine referents⁸⁹.

- **Third-person neutral pronominal clitic (*ho*)**

This part of section 5.3.1 analyzes the results of 7 items valued by the same 43 bilinguals who participated in the last analyses. The fact that the neutral form, *ho*, is the only one examined in this task separately has to do with the need to verify whether bilinguals of Majorca accept the use of this form with not only neutral (228) but with masculine (229) referents. The results of oral data show that half of the production of this form refers to neutral referents and the other half to masculine referents.

(228) **Ho** durà tot a sa platja (CC)
 acc.neutral.cl. bring.fut.3p.sg. everything to the beach
 ‘(S)he will bring everything to the beach.’

(229) **M’ho** tornaràs (el llibre) (MC)
 me.cl acc.masc.cl. return.fut.2p.sg. (the book)
 ‘Will you return the book to me?’

The items with the neutral clitic, *ho*, can be divided into peninsular (3 items) and non-peninsular uses (4 items). The same form appears in the different examples, but its

⁸⁹It does not present different allomorphs in MC, although spontaneous data show one structure where the neutral clitic used is *lo* instead of *ho*.

reference changes depending on the semantic extension about a neutral referent (peninsular use) or a masculine referent (non-peninsular use).

Figure 48 presents the distribution of the responses across the different bilinguals (simultaneous or sequential) related to their acceptability or rejection of the non-peninsular neutral clitic, *ho*, in the specific contexts described before:

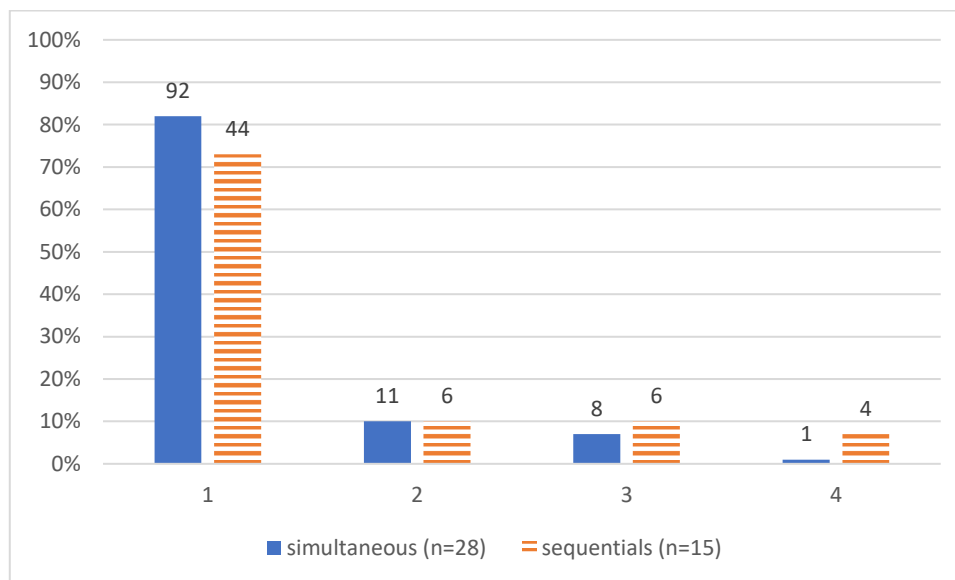


Figure 48. Grammaticality judgments of non-peninsular neutral clitic *ho* across the type of bilingualism

It is confirmed that bilingual speakers of Majorca accept the production of the neutral pronominal clitic, *ho*, with masculine referents. Simultaneous and sequential bilinguals accept between 80-90% of the items (values 1 and 2), and they only reject 10-20% of them (values 3 and 4). Therefore, the difference between the responses from simultaneous and sequential bilinguals is not significant ($p.: >.005$, $df 2$).

If the social variables are taken into consideration, the only influence is the educational level of the speakers. Table 49 shows the statistical results of the Pearson Chi-Squared analyses:

	peninsular forms			non-peninsular forms		
	Value	Sig.	df	Value	Sig.	df
Gender	2.78	.249	2	3.05	.84	3
Age	8.70	.069	4	12.45	.053	6
Education level	9.91	.179	6	41.63	.000*	9
Area of residence	1.59	.452	2	11.27	.010	3
Linguistic preference	5.72	.221	4	10.36	.110	6
Type of bilingualism	3.06	.217	2	5.26	.154	3

Table 49. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses for the third-person neutral clitic, *ho*, across grammaticality judgments and social variables

The analysis across educational level shows a difference between the acceptability of *ho* with both referents, neutral (peninsular use) and masculine (non-peninsular use). Figure 49 exhibits the number of responses across speakers' level of education:

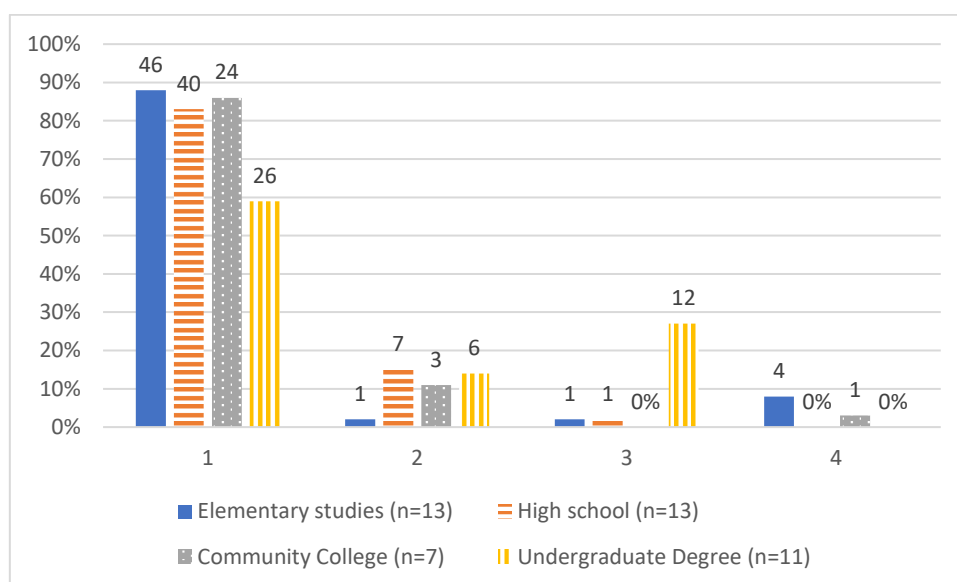


Figure 49. Grammaticality judgments of non-peninsular third-person neutral clitic, *ho*, across the educational level

What is noticeable is that speakers with an undergraduate degree reject more items where the neutral clitic, *ho*, is used with a masculine referent than the rest of the speakers. While most of the speakers accept the use of *ho* as a non-peninsular form (with a masculine referent) in more than 90% of their responses (1 and 2), speakers with an undergraduate degree accept it to a lesser extent, in 70% of their answers. At the same time, while these latter speakers reject this form in 30% of their responses, the rest of the speakers only reject it in less than 10% of their responses.

The same pronominal clitic forms are examined in the second part of the questionnaire (the preference task), where the participants had to choose the specific form (peninsular or non-peninsular) that they would use in specific structures.

5.3.2 Linguistic preferences (selection of peninsular and non-peninsular forms⁹⁰)

In the second task of the elicited data questionnaire, participants had to choose the pronominal clitic that they considered more appropriate in that context. 24 items were presented and divided into three different analyses: the selection of (i) the first- and second-person pronominal clitics (12 items), (ii) the third-person pronominal clitics, except the neutral form (8 items), and (iii) the neutral pronominal clitic, *ho* (4 items). As explained in the last section (5.3.1) about the grammaticality judgments, most of these structures correspond to the utterances that the speakers produced in the spontaneous oral interviews. One of the examples is (230):

- (230) _____ vàrem conéixer fa 20 anys
_____ met 20 years ago
(i) *ens*
(ii) *mos*
(iii) *nos*

[Female from Palma, 41, simultaneous]

The proclitic forms which appear in (230) correspond, respectively, to (i) the peninsular form, *ens*, (ii) the non-peninsular form, *mos*, and (iii) another non-peninsular form, *nos*. The non-peninsular form *nos* is considered a transfer of Spanish or a conservative form as observed in the oral production of two women from a rural area of Lluçmajor.⁹¹

⁹⁰ The questionnaire specified that the form which the participant had to choose was the one they would most likely use in oral discourse.

⁹¹ Note that peninsular uses are the forms constituted by a vowel plus a consonant (*em, et, ens, us*) concerning the first- and second-person pronominal clitics. Non-peninsular uses have to do with the forms constituted by a consonant plus a vowel (*me, te, mos/nos, vos*).

Table 50 presents the number of items where each pronominal clitic appears:

	Proclitics (n=22)		Enclitics (n=2)	
	peninsular	non-peninsular	peninsular	non-peninsular
1 st and 2 nd	em	me	2	
	et	te	2	
	ens	mos/nos	4	nos/mos 1
	us	vos	3	
3r	la	l'/li	2	
	els	les hi/elzi/lezi/lis	4	-los -lis 1
	les	elze/leze	1	
3r neutral	ho (neutral)	ho (masculine)	4	

Table 50. Forms analyzed in the preference task

The same procedure is followed in the second task of the elicited data questionnaire (linguistic preferences task) as in the first task (about the grammaticality judgments). The results have been classified depending on the peninsular (CC) and non-peninsular (MC) forms. Likewise, correlations have been carried out related to the social variables of speakers.

The different responses are divided into the same three analyses: (i) first and second person, (ii) third person, and (iii) third-person neutral pronominal clitic, *ho*.

- **First- and second-person pronominal clitics**

The analysis of the production of first- and second-person pronominal clitics takes into consideration 12 items, 11 with proclitics and 1 with an enclitic form.

As explained before, speakers could choose a peninsular or non-peninsular form in each item. The fact that more proclitic than enclitic forms are analyzed relates to the need to verify whether bilinguals of Majorca produce more forms constituted by C+V (matching MC) or V+C (matching CC). Besides, note that enclitic forms are the same in both Catalan dialects, except the form, *mos*, and this is the only enclitic form examined as a non-peninsular form, in conjunction with *nos* (peninsular form). Table 51 summarizes the number of items analyzed in this first part of the second task:

		Proclitics (n=11)		Enclitics (n=1)	
		peninsular	non-peninsular	peninsular	non-peninsular
1 st and	em	me	2		
2 nd	et	te	2		
	ens	mos/nos	4	nos/mos	1
	us	vos	3		

Table 51. Number of items where first- and second-person pronominal clitics appear

Although the different pronominal clitics are taken into account, the most examined clitic is the first-person plural form since it is the form that presents more variation (see chapter 3, section 3.2).

Therefore, 516 responses are examined, given that each speaker chose 12 forms in 12 different items. More specifically, 28 simultaneous bilinguals presented 336 responses, while 15 sequential bilinguals presented 180 responses.

Unlike the analyses in task 1, this second task considers the total number of responses divided into peninsular and non-peninsular forms. A substantial difference exists between task 1 and task 2: whereas speakers judged peninsular and non-peninsular items in the first task, they chose peninsular and non-peninsular forms in the second task. In other words, in this second task, the responses are not analyzed separately regarding the difference between the peninsular and non-peninsular forms.

The difference between the type of bilingualism is evident in the production of peninsular and non-peninsular first- and second-person pronominal clitics (see Figure 50).

Figure 50 exhibits the number of responses classified into the type of bilingualism. Specifically, each answer refers to the item in which speakers chose a peninsular or non-peninsular pronominal clitic.

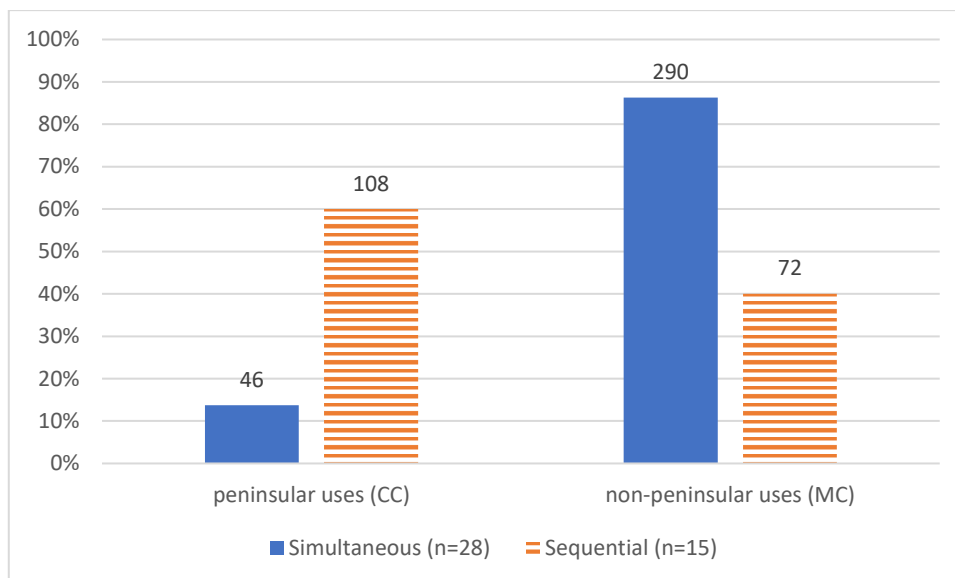


Figure 50. Selection of peninsular and non-peninsular first- and second-person pronominal clitics across the type of bilingualism

While simultaneous bilinguals selected almost 90% (290 out of 336) non-peninsular forms (*me, te, mos, vos*), sequential bilinguals only chose 40% (84 out of 210 items). The opposite occurs in the production of peninsular variants (*em, et, ens, us*) since simultaneous bilinguals only selected 13% of their total responses (43 out of 336). Still, sequential bilinguals chose 60% of peninsular forms (108 out of 180 responses). Therefore, this difference is statistically significant ($p.: <.001$, $df\ 1$).

The production of the first-person plural pronominal clitic is analyzed in depth. Note that the peninsular form, *mos*, is exclusive of MC (as seen in the spontaneous data) as proclitic and enclitic instead of using *ens* and *nos* in CC, respectively. Figure 51 exhibits a distribution considering the (i) non-peninsular proclitics, *mos*, and *nos*, (ii) the peninsular proclitic, *ens*, and (ii) the enclitics *-mos* (non-peninsular) and *-nos* (peninsular):

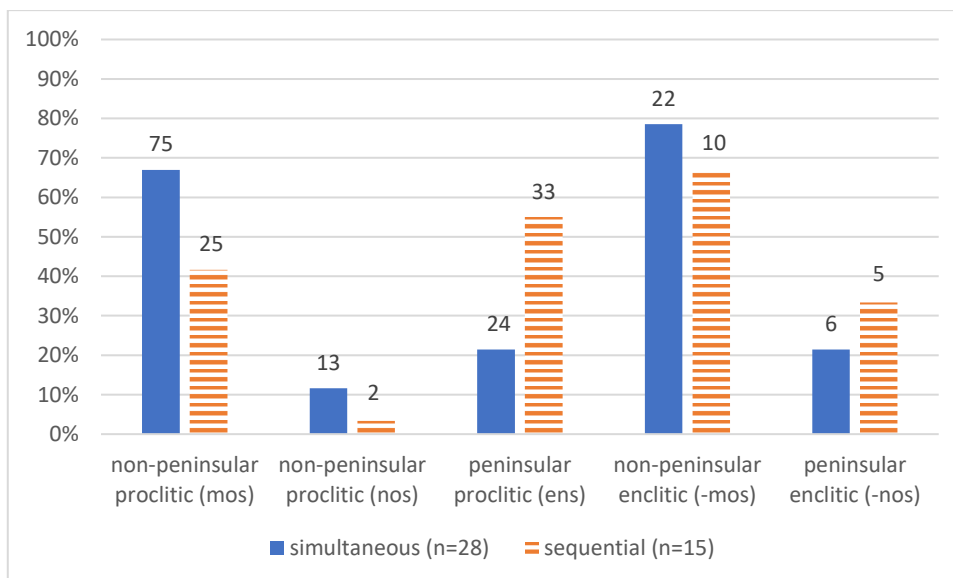


Figure 51. Selection of first-person plural pronominal clitics in Catalan

These results confirm that simultaneous bilinguals use and accept mostly the form *mos* (70%) instead of using the form *nos* (9%) or *ens* (21%). The opposite occurs with sequential bilinguals, who prefer the use of *ens* (58%) over *mos* (37%) or *nos* (5%), as a proclitic. The difference between the responses from simultaneous and sequential bilinguals is statistically significant ($p.: <.001$, $df\ 2$).

Regarding the enclitic variants, the pattern is different for the proclitic uses since most of the speakers produce the non-peninsular form, *-mos*. More specifically, simultaneous bilinguals selected the non-peninsular form, *-mos*, 22 out of 28 times, while choosing the form *-nos* (peninsular use) in 6 items. Furthermore, sequential bilinguals also selected mostly the enclitic form *-mos* (10 out of 15 responses, 67%), compared to the form *-nos* (5 responses, 34%). The difference here is not significant ($p.: >.005$, $df\ 1$).

Regarding the differences across social variables, there exist some significant results, namely the speakers' age, educational level, area of residence, and linguistic preference, in the production of first- and second-person pronominal clitics, as Table 52 shows:

	Value	Sig.	df
Gender	.71	.339	1
Age	30.19	.000*	2
Education level	27.71	.000*	3
Area of residence	47.23	.000*	1
Linguistic preference	143.22	.000*	2

Table 52. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses between the selection of first- and second-person pronominal clitics and social variables of speakers in the preference task

Considering age, speakers who are aged between 41-67 years selected the peninsular forms fewer times than speakers aged between 16 and 40 years:

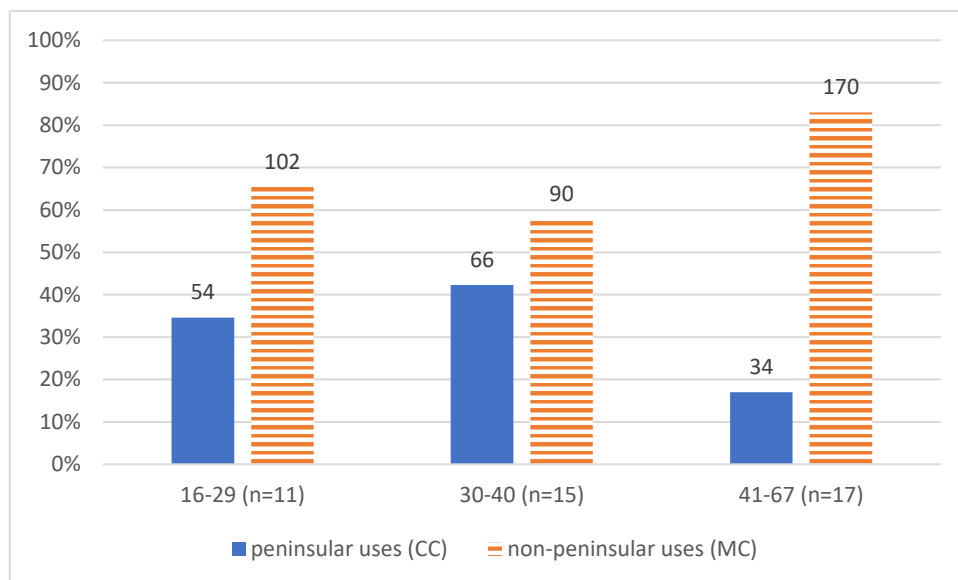


Figure 52. Selection of peninsular and non-peninsular first- and second-person pronominal clitics across age

As seen in Figure 52, speakers who are between 16 and 40 years of age produced between 58% and 65% of non-peninsular forms and selected between 35% and 42% of peninsular forms. However, speakers who are between 41 and 67 years of age selected 83% of non-peninsular forms but only produced almost 17% of peninsular forms.

Concerning the area of residence, speakers who live in a village outside of Palma provided non-peninsular forms to a greater extent (see Figure 53).

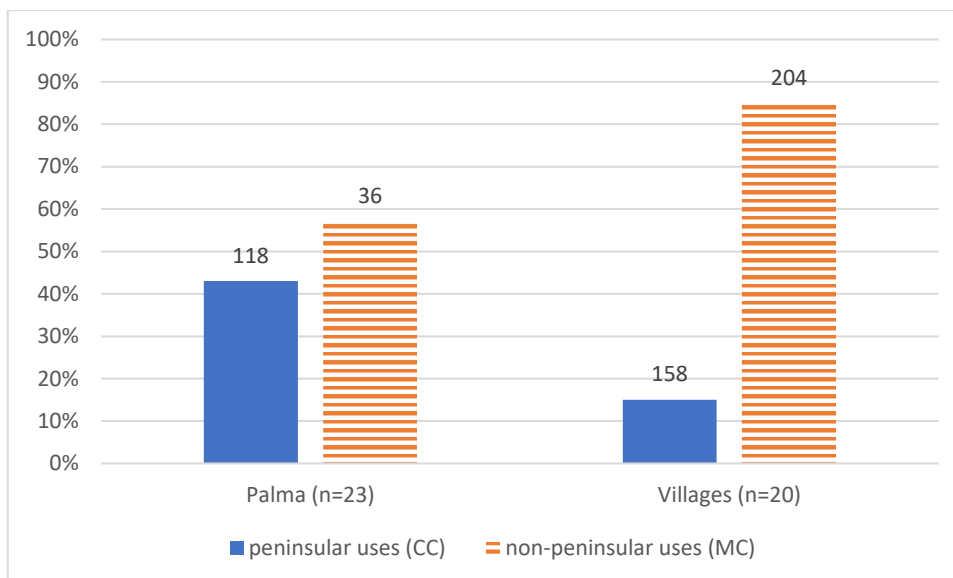


Figure 53. Selection of peninsular and non-peninsular first- and second-person pronominal clitics across the area of residence

More specifically, speakers who live in villages produced 85% of non-peninsular forms and only produced 15% of peninsular forms. Contrastingly, speakers of Palma present more variation between the two groups of allomorphs. Independently of that, they selected more non-peninsular (57%) than peninsular (43%) forms.

Consequently, speakers who prefer using Catalan or who do not present a preference between Spanish and Catalan produced more non-peninsular forms than peninsular forms, instead of what is observed for speakers who prefer Spanish as their daily language:

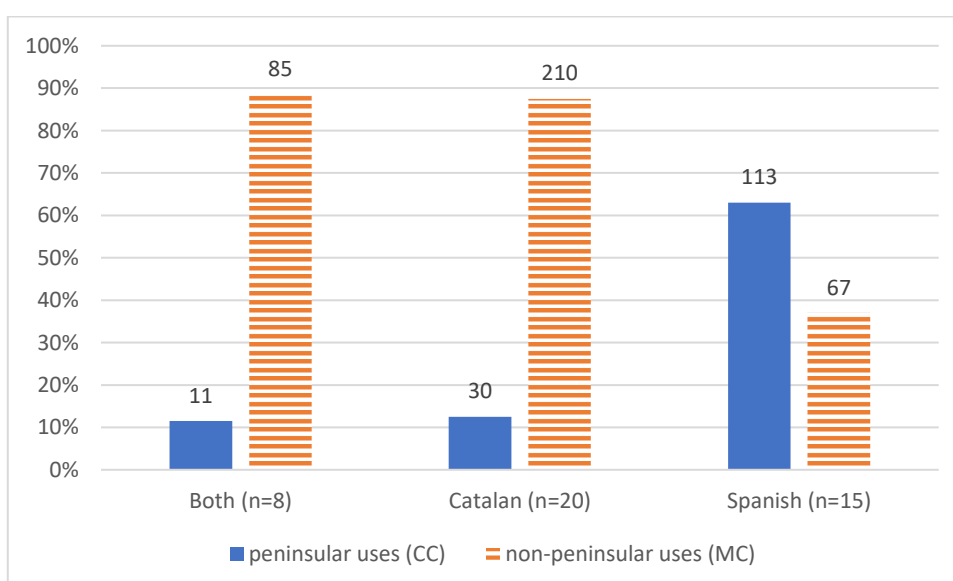


Figure 54. Selection of peninsular and non-peninsular first- and second-person pronominal clitics across linguistic preference

More concretely, while speakers who prefer using Catalan or both languages produced almost 90% of non-peninsular forms, speakers who prefer using Spanish only produced 37% of non-peninsular forms.

Finally, regarding educational level, most speakers, independently of this social variable, provided more non-peninsular forms than peninsular forms. The difference is present in the group of speakers who have a high school degree since they produce the peninsular forms to a greater extent than the rest of the speakers. However, they still produce more non-peninsular than peninsular forms:

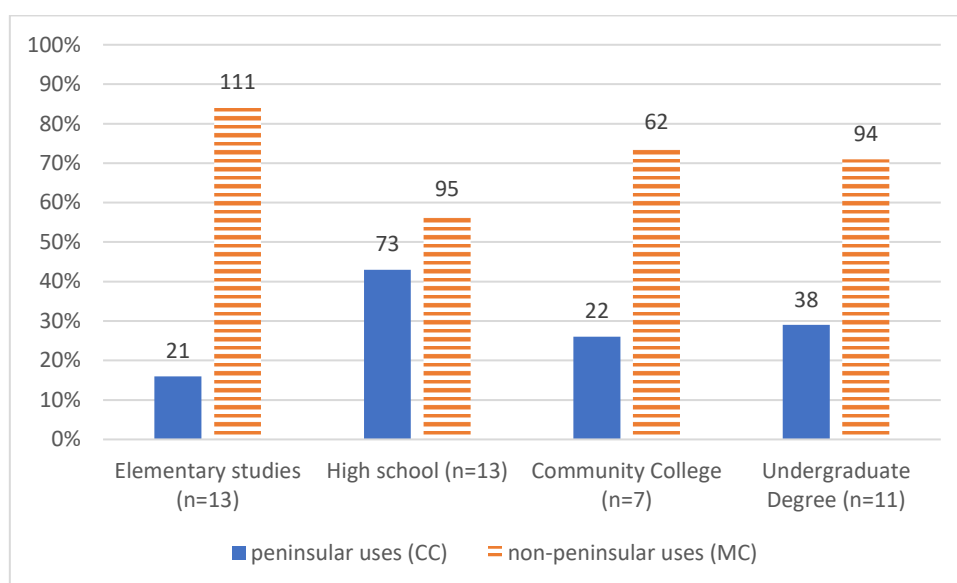


Figure 55. Selection of peninsular and non-peninsular first- and second-person pronominal clitics across the educational level

The next section examines the results of the production of third-person pronominal clitics. Remember that the forms that present more variation between MC and CC are the dative plural form, *e/s*, and the accusative plural masculine form, *e/s*. The variation relates to the presence or absence of the epenthetic vowels [i] and [ə], respectively.

- **Third-person pronominal clitics (except the neutral form, *ho*)**

This second analysis presents 8 items with third-person pronominal clitics. More specifically, speakers could choose different variants (peninsular and non-peninsular forms). Table 53 summarizes the number of third-person pronominal clitics that appear in the 8 items:

Proclitics		Enclitics		
peninsular uses	non-peninsular uses	peninsular uses	non-peninsular uses	
la	l'/li	2		
els	les hi/elzi/lezi/lis	4	-los	-lis 1
les	elze/leze	1		

Table 53. Selection of third-person pronominal clitics in the second task of the elicited data questionnaire

7 out of 8 items correspond to proclitic forms, while one of them includes an enclitic form. The reason for this classification relates to the need to verify whether bilingual speakers of Majorca select the plural forms with an epenthetic vowel. However, the enclitic forms did not show variation in the spontaneous data, and the only form which is interesting is the difference between *-los* and *-lis*. These two forms refer to the dative plural form. Because speakers sometimes used *lis* instead of *los* as a reanalysis of the singular form, *li*, it is important to confirm whether this form is accepted and, therefore, produced in this second task.

Regarding the accusative feminine singular form, *la*, this form is considered as a peninsular form (CC) in the item presented in (231). However, in this item, the non-peninsular form deals with the use of the dative singular form, *li*, as a case of *leísmo* in MC:

- (231) Jo __ vaig infectar tota (a ella)
 I __ infect.PAST.1p.sg entire (to her)
 (i) li
 (ii) la

[Female from villages, 65, simultaneous]

Overall, as seen in the last analysis related to first- and second-person clitics, simultaneous bilinguals produced more non-peninsular forms than sequential bilinguals:

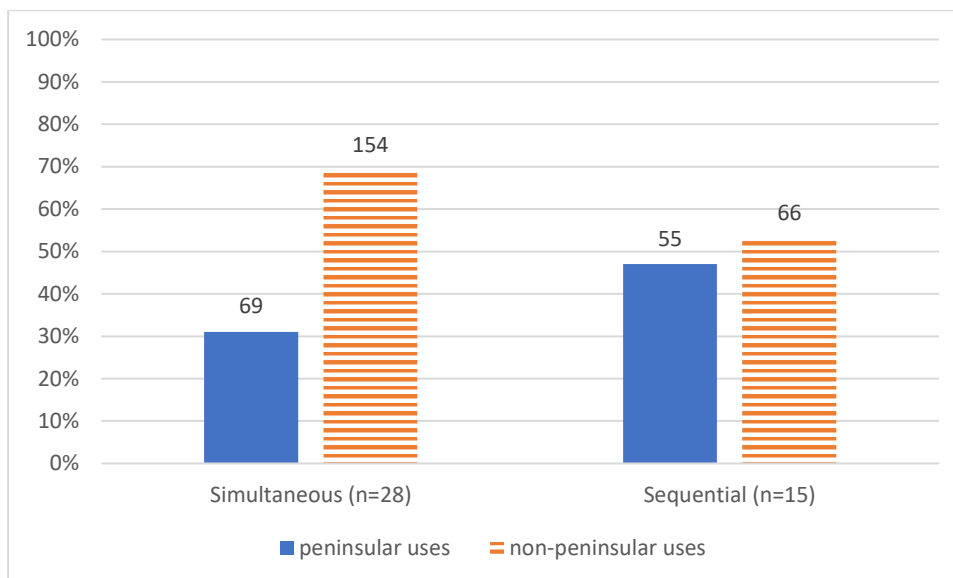


Figure 56. Selection of peninsular and non-peninsular third-person pronominal clitics from simultaneous and sequential bilinguals

Again, the difference between simultaneous and sequential bilinguals is significant in the selection of third-person pronominal forms (p : <.001, df 1). However, the important finding is that both types of bilinguals select more non-peninsular than peninsular forms.

If the rest of the social variables are analyzed, the linguistic preference is also essential to understand the production of the different bilinguals (see Table 54):

	Value	Sig.	df
Gender	.69	.408	1
Age	8.28	.016	2
Education level	3.28	.351	3
Area of residence	3.51	.061	1
Linguistic preference	14.46	.001*	2

Table 54. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses between the selection of third-person pronominal clitics and the social variables of speakers in the preference task

Figure 57 clearly shows the difference related to linguistic preference:

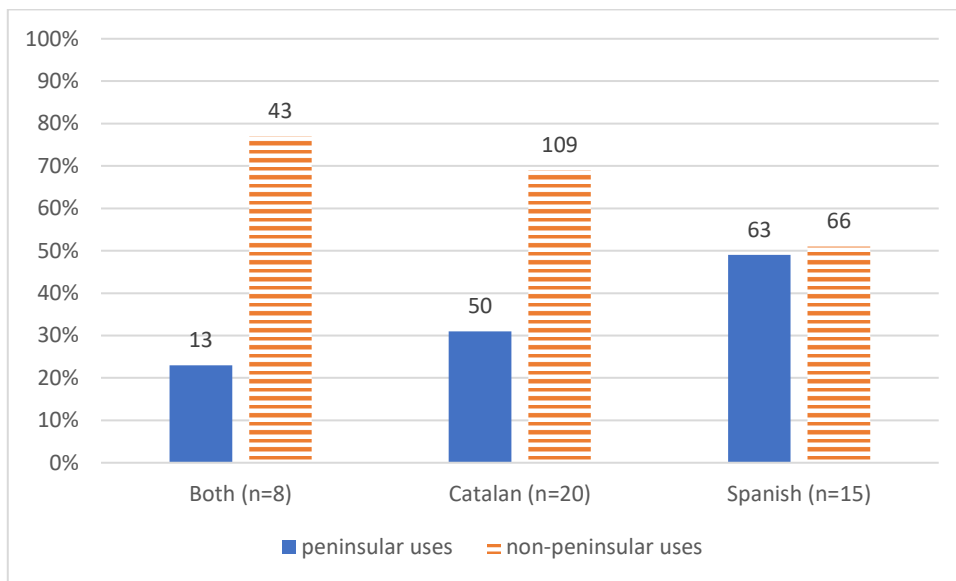


Figure 57. Selection of peninsular and non-peninsular third-person pronominal clitics across linguistic preference

As described in the analyses related to the first- and second-person pronominal clitics, speakers who prefer using Spanish produce less non-peninsular than peninsular forms. Nevertheless, bilinguals who use both languages equally or prefer using Catalan produce more non-peninsular forms, and all of them only produce peninsular forms in 23-30% of their responses.

If the different items are analyzed in depth, the most frequent non-peninsular forms refer to the dative singular and plural forms, as well as the accusative plural feminine form:

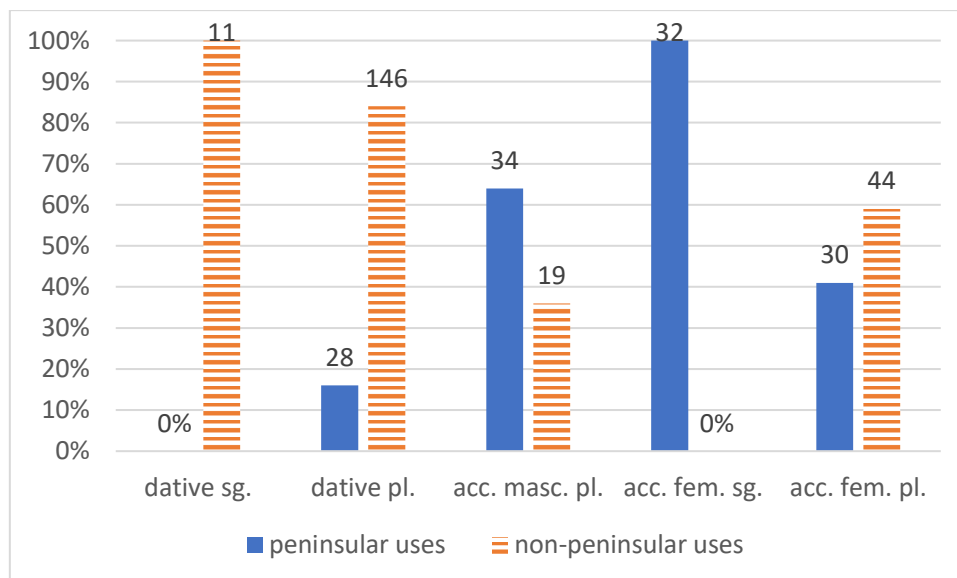


Figure 58. Selection of peninsular and non-peninsular third-person pronominal clitics across Latin cases, number, and gender

It is relevant to observe what occurs between the non-peninsular form, *li*, and the accusative feminine singular form, *la*. The use of the dative singular form is considered a non-peninsular form instead of using the accusative feminine singular form in the same item. Therefore, in this item, 26% of responses relate to the non-peninsular form, *li*, which deals with the phenomenon called *leísmo* in Spanish, given that the dative form is used to replace the accusative one. However, the most produced form is *la*, with 74% of use in the responses.

Concerning the dative plural form, the non-peninsular form, *elzi*, is the most frequently produced clitic, followed by *lis*, and the two non-peninsular forms constitute 84% of the responses. In contrast, the peninsular form, *els*, without the epenthetic vowel, is only produced in 16% of the answers.

A different pattern is noticeable with the accusative plural form since the masculine form [əlzə] is less produced (36%) than the feminine form, *les*, with the same epenthetic vowel (59%).

Thus, it is confirmed that the epenthetic vowel [i] with the dative plural form is not only accepted but also produced. Likewise, it is confirmed that the epenthetic vowel [ə] presents a variation in both the first and the second task. However, the use of the accusative feminine plural form, *les*, was not accepted in the grammaticality judgments task, but it is produced in the second task. However, this form presents variation, with 60% of the non-peninsular form and 40% of the peninsular form.

The following subsection analyzes the results for the third person neutral form, *ho*.

- **Third-person neutral pronominal clitic (*ho*)**

Regarding the production of the third-person neutral clitic, *ho*, four items were presented. Specifically, the four items presented the possibility to select the accusative neutral form, *ho*, the accusative masculine form, *el*, and the short form *l'*, as shown in the examples (232)-(235). Besides, the omission of the clitic is also permitted, as in (232):

(232) Això (\emptyset / *ho* / *l'*) has de rentar primer

That (acc.neutral.cl.) has to clean first

'First, you have to clean that.'

[Female from villages, 65, simultaneous]

(233) Així com (*ho* / *l'* / *el*) adomen (es/el parc)

Just like (acc.masc.cl.) decorate (the park)

'Just like they decorate the park.'

[Female from Palma, 33, simultaneous]

(234) (*ho* / *el* / *lo*) vaig comprar fa quatre anys (el cotxe)

(acc.masc.cl.) bought.1p.sg. ago four years (the car)

'I bought the car four years ago.'

[Male from Palma, 25, sequential]

(235) (*ho* / *el*) vaig comprar fa quatre anys (aquest llibre)

(acc.masc.cl.) bought.1p.sg. ago four years (this book)

'I bought the car four years ago.'

[Male from villages, 30, simultaneous]

However, the production of one of these forms implies the use of a peninsular or non-peninsular variant. More concretely, in (232), the selection of the neutral clitic, *ho*, was expected since the referent is "això" (which corresponds to the neutral pronoun *that*). However, in the rest of the items (233-235), the selection of a masculine form was expected because the referent is masculine ([+determinate]). The form *el* was expected in (234 and 235), given that the PLF (proclitic long form) is needed when the verb starts in a consonant. However, the elided form *l'* was expected in (233) since the verb begins in a vowel.

Note that 4 items were presented in this second task where the production of the accusative masculine singular form, *el*, and the neutral, *ho*, could be selected. Thus, the

forms *el* and *ho* are examined as peninsular and non-peninsular forms. The use of the peninsular uses relates to the production of these when they are expected to occur. That is, the form *el* is used with a masculine referent and *ho* with a neutral referent. Nevertheless, the production of non-peninsular forms has to do with the selection of *el* with neutral referents and the form *ho* with masculine referents.

Both types of bilinguals selected more peninsular than non-peninsular forms. Remember that peninsular forms relate to the production of *ho* with a neutral referent and *el* with a masculine referent. However, the non-peninsular forms deal with the production of *ho* with a masculine referent and *el* with a neutral referent. Figure 59 presents the distribution of all these forms described:

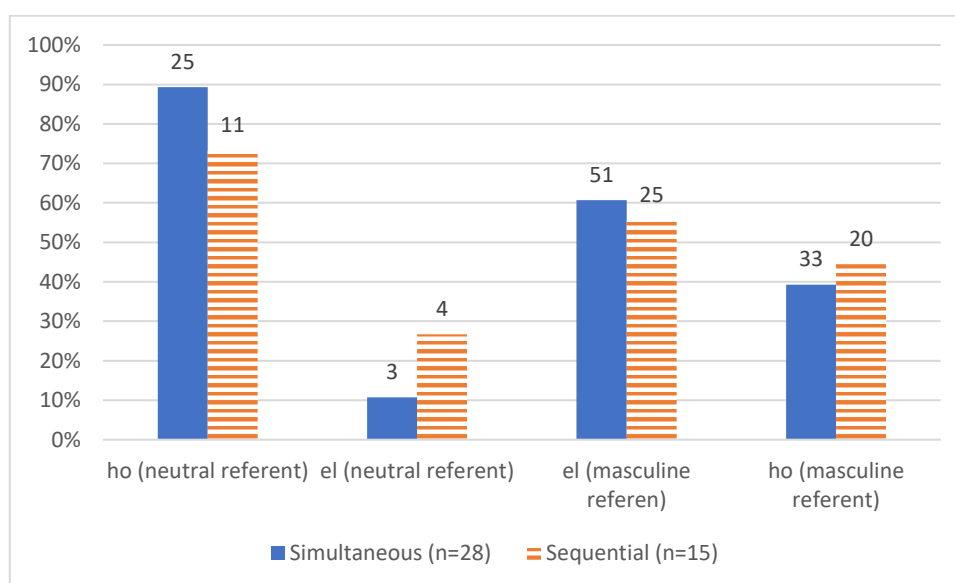


Figure 59. Selection of the neutral or masculine accusative pronominal clitics across the type of bilingualism

More specifically, it is essential to take into consideration that 3 out of the 4 items have a masculine referent, but only one item refers to a neutral referent (“això,” which is “that”). Therefore, 172 responses are analyzed, 112 are from simultaneous bilinguals (4 items x 28 speakers), and 60 answers came from sequential bilinguals (4 items x 15 speakers).

Both simultaneous and sequential bilinguals selected the peninsular form *ho* with a neutral referent more frequently (89% and 73%, respectively). However, sequential bilinguals selected the form *el* with a neutral referent more frequently (27% of their responses) than simultaneous bilinguals (11% of their answers).

The results about the production of these two forms with a masculine referent show that simultaneous bilinguals produced *el* in 60% of responses and *ho* in 40%. Sequential

bilinguals produced more non-peninsular forms (*ho* with a masculine referent) than simultaneous bilinguals. More specifically, sequential bilinguals produced *ho* in 46% of their responses, almost half of their answers.

Therefore, it could be the case that sequential bilinguals are the speakers who are accelerating the linguistic change concerning the production of *ho* in MC. On this matter, they would be doing a reanalysis (Meisel, 2011) of the semantic extension of the accusative singular form, *lo*, from MS. Note that this form, *lo*, is used for both masculine and neutral referents in all Spanish varieties.

If the social variables are taken into account, there are no significant results, as Table 55 exhibits:

	Peninsular forms		
	Value	Sig.	df
Gender	.03	.869	1
Age	.78	.676	2
Education level	9.32	.025	3
Area of residence	.23	.632	1
Linguistic preference	.40	.818	2
Type of bilingualism	1.06	.303	1

Table 55. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses on chi-squared analyses between the selection of third-person neutral pronominal clitic, *ho*, and social variables of speakers in the preference task

Therefore, it can be said that the production of *ho* with masculine referents does not depend on social features nor the type of bilingualism. Most speakers are replacing the production of *el* with masculine referents by the form *ho* to a greater or lesser extent.

Unlike what was found in the first task about the grammaticality judgments, bilingual speakers chose the form *ho* with masculine referents in 39% of cases (simultaneous bilinguals) and 44% of cases (sequential bilinguals) in this second task. Note that simultaneous bilinguals accepted this form with masculine referents in almost 90% of responses and sequential bilinguals in 80% of their grammaticality judgments. Thus, bilingual speakers were more aware of the difference between the neutral and masculine referents in this second task.

To sum up, this part of the dissertation related to the elicited data questionnaire confirms that all bilingual speakers of Majorca accepted and produced, to a greater

extent, the non-peninsular pronominal clitics. However, there are significant differences between simultaneous and sequential bilinguals and across the different pronominal clitics.

While simultaneous bilinguals accepted (in task 1) more than 90% and produced (in task 2) almost 90% of non-peninsular first- and second-person pronominal clitics, sequential bilinguals accepted 70% and produced 40% of non-peninsular forms. Besides, the MC enclitic form, *-mos*, is taken (in task 1) in almost 90% by simultaneous and nearly 70% by sequential bilinguals. In the second task, simultaneous bilinguals produced *-mos* in practically 80% of responses and sequential bilinguals, in almost 70%. Thus, this form can be considered a part of the pronominal system of MC.

Nevertheless, the situation is different regarding third-person pronominal clitics, given that while simultaneous bilinguals accepted (in task 1) almost 70% of non-peninsular forms, sequential bilinguals accepted them in 52% of the cases. Although non-peninsular third-person clitics are accepted, these forms present more variation through the four values from both types of bilinguals. However, sequential bilinguals rejected, to a greater extent, the accusative plural masculine, [ə/zə], and the feminine form, *les*, with masculine referents.

In the second task, both simultaneous and sequential bilinguals produced more non-peninsular than peninsular forms. Nonetheless, the most produced form is the dative plural form with the epenthetic vowel [i]. Besides, the forms less used are the accusative plural forms, masculine and feminine, with the epenthetic vowel [ə] in both cases.

More specifically, concerning the accusative neutral form, *ho*, most bilinguals accepted this form with a masculine referent in 80-90% of their responses (in task 1). However, they produced them in 39-44% of their responses (in task 2).

Finally, it is important to explain that some social variables influence the acceptability and the production of the peninsular or non-peninsular forms, namely linguistic preference and area of residence. Therefore, speakers with Catalan as their linguistic preference, or without a specific preference, accepted and produced more non-peninsular forms than speakers who prefer using Spanish. A similar pattern was observed with the responses from speakers who live in the villages or the capital, Palma. That is, speakers who live in a village accept and produce more non-peninsular items than the speakers who live in Palma.

The following section, 5.4, considers the production of the DOM-marker in Majorcan Spanish in [+animate] and [+human] direct objects. The use of DOM is examined in two

different types of constructions, (i) in Clitic Doubling structures with the coreference of the third-person clitics, and (ii) constructions without the co-appearance of the corresponding clitic.

5.4 Clitic Doubling and Differential Object Marking in Majorcan Spanish

This dissertation also examines the uses of the Differential Object Marking (DOM)⁹² in Majorcan Spanish produced by Catalan-Spanish bilinguals in spontaneous oral interviews. Specifically, two different constructions are analyzed: (i) the use of DOM in Clitic Doubling structures (236), and (ii) the use of DOM in structures where the coreference of the clitic does not appear (237).

(236) **La** conozco desde pequeña **a Ángela** (MS)
her.cl know.1p.sg since little DOM Ángela
'I know her since I was little.'

[Male from Palma, 45, sequential]

(237) Queríamos ver **a los jugadores** del Real Madrid (MS)
want.1p.pl. see DOM the players of Real Madrid
'We wanted to see the Real Madrid's players.'

[Female from villages, 55, sequential]

This investigation aims at examining whether not only variation but change occur in a bilingual setting, namely in Majorca. It investigates syntactic variation in the Spanish naturalistic production by two different types of bilinguals (simultaneous and sequential)⁹³. Although the participants speak the two closely related languages, Spanish and Catalan, this study only presents the results from MS⁹⁴. Therefore, this dissertation focus on determining the extent to which there is evidence for language variation or change affected by bilingualism.

More specifically, this research aims to verify whether the Spanish structures in Majorca match the Peninsular ones, or there are significant distinctions due to the Catalan contact on the island of Majorca. The corresponding labels used to distinguish

⁹²Remember that DOM is the personal *a* used in [+human] and [+animate] direct object NPs.

⁹³It is relevant to remember that simultaneous bilinguals are participants who acquired both MS and MC from birth. Nevertheless, sequential bilinguals have only acquired Spanish from birth and were exposed to Catalan at age 6 or later, starting in school.

⁹⁴Note that 6 out of 51 participants of this dissertation did not complete the Catalan recordings. These six speakers are sequential bilinguals who produced Spanish data analyzed in this study about DOM.

the different structures are “peninsular” and “non-peninsular” to refer to Peninsular Spanish (PS) and Majorcan Spanish (MS), respectively.

Furthermore, this dissertation considers both internal and external factors as independent variables. On the one hand, the internal factors relate to the type of NPs dislocations, namely, in situ (the canonical position), to the left or right, only in CLD structures. The analysis of CLD constructions deals with the necessity to verify whether the dislocation plays an essential role in the production of the DOM-marker in constructions where it was expected to occur (as in PS). On the other hand, the external factors deal with the same social variables that have been considered during the whole dissertation (gender, age, educational level, area of residence, and linguistic preference) to determine whether they affect the use of DOM. Besides, the difference between the moment when participants were exposed to Catalan is analyzed, distinguishing between simultaneous and sequential bilinguals.

Thirty-four Catalan-Spanish bilinguals participated in this study and were divided into two groups depending on their type of bilingualism: (i) simultaneous bilinguals (10 women and 7 men, age 21 to 68), and (ii) sequential bilinguals (8 women and 9 men, age 23 to 45). These speakers are residents of Palma, Capdepera, Lluçmajor, Soller, and Llubí. Nevertheless, the data have been classified into two different areas (i) Palma, the capital of Majorca, and (ii) villages (other areas of Majorca where Catalan is the most language used). The reason why only data from 34 speakers have been analyzed has to do with the need to compare the production from simultaneous and sequential speakers, given that the analyses about third-person pronominal clitics (see section 5.2) showed variation between these two types of bilinguals.⁹⁵

Unlike the last distribution of speakers based on the data of 34 simultaneous and 17 sequential bilingual speakers, this study attempts to make a fair comparison between the speakers across their type of bilingualism (simultaneous or sequential). Therefore, 17 simultaneous and 17 sequential bilinguals participated, given that the type of bilingualism plays an essential role in the results.⁹⁶ Only 6 out of the 17 sequential speakers did not

⁹⁵Think of the number of participants of this dissertation. 51 speakers have participated in this dissertation, but only 45 of them were recorded in both languages examined, Spanish and Catalan. More specifically, 34 out of 51 participants are simultaneous bilinguals, and 17 are sequential bilinguals. However, 6 out of the 17 sequential bilinguals were not recorded in Catalan, and this is the reason why this section focuses on DOM considering 17 simultaneous and 17 sequential bilinguals.

⁹⁶As explained in chapter 3 (in section 3.5), regarding the theoretical framework, it is important to remember that DOM does not exist in Catalan as in Spanish. Put it differently, DOM in Catalan only must appear in left dislocated structures, as well as in NPs with strong pronouns, and to avoid ambiguity between subjects and objects (Escandell-Vidal, 2009; Fábregas, 2013; Benito, 2017, among others).

participate in the two studies related to first, second-and third-person pronominal clitics. These participants are the speakers who participated in the first phase of collecting data focused on Majorcan Spanish.

The participants are also divided into different extra-linguistic variables (gender, age, area of residence, level of education, and linguistic preference) following the same analyses as the last studies related to first, second, and third-person pronominal clitic. There is a balanced distribution among speakers across the type of bilingual development (simultaneous vs. sequential). In contrast, the classification across the rest of the social variables (gender, age, level of education, and linguistic preference) is more variable (see Table 56).

Gender		Male		Female	
	Simultaneous	7		10	
	Sequential	9		8	
Age		16-29	30-40	41-67	
	Simultaneous	6	5	6	
	Sequential	7	5	5	
Area of residence		Palma		Villages	
	Simultaneous	9		8	
	Sequential	14		3	
Educational level		Elementary school	High school	Community college	Undergraduate degree
	Simultaneous	4	4	4	5
	Sequential	5	6	2	4
Linguistic preference		Spanish	Catalan	Both languages	
	Simultaneous	1	11	5	
	Sequential	16 ⁹⁷		1	

Table 56. Distribution of participants across the extra-linguistic variables (Jiménez-Gaspar et al., to appear)

The distribution of participants based on their linguistic preference is somewhat balanced due to this distribution taking into consideration the type of bilingualism. Specifically, the ethnolinguistic questionnaire (see Appendix 2) shows that 16 out of the 17 sequential bilinguals present Spanish as their first L1. Only one participant does not display any Spanish or Catalan preference, and he said that he uses both. This speaker was born in Madrid and came to Majorca when he was 10 years old. As soon as he arrived, he started learning Catalan. Besides, he has lived all this time (35 years) in a village, Lluçmajor, where the majority language is Catalan.

⁹⁷Notice that speakers who prefer the use of Spanish are sequential bilinguals.

Since most of the recent immigrant population has settled in the capital, Palma, where the majority language is Spanish, it is expectable that 14 out of the 17 sequential bilinguals of this study live in this area. Therefore, this overlap about speakers' backgrounds can play an essential role in the discussion of comparisons concerning linguistic preference and type of bilingualism.

Regarding the dataset, 145 tokens are analyzed in MS from the same oral interviews examined in the previous studies about the pronominal clitics (see sections 5.1 and 5.2). All the tokens involve Direct Objects characterized by being [+animate] and mostly [+human] since DOM appears in this context. As explained before, the tokens are divided into two different sets: (i) the use of the DOM-marker in Clitic Doubling utterances (61 tokens), and (ii) the production of DOM in constructions without the CLD constructions and, therefore, in non-dislocated structures (84 tokens).

More precisely, the comparison between these different contexts exhibits different patterns in the production of the Majorcan Spanish DOM-marker depending mostly on the type of bilingualism. Simultaneous bilinguals omit DOM in Clitic Doubling constructions more often than sequential bilinguals. Besides, the linguistic preference of these speakers plays an essential role since simultaneous bilinguals prefer above all the use of Catalan (or do not have a specific preference between Spanish and Catalan). However, sequential bilinguals show a preference for Spanish, and they do not present a pattern of DOM omission. Another important influence relates to the simultaneous bilinguals' gender since only women omitted DOM in clitic left-dislocated structures (238)-(239):

(238) \emptyset **los niños los** tenéis una vez cada semana ¿no? (MS)
 \emptyset the children them.cl have.2p.pl one time every week, right?
 'You have children one time every week, right?'

[Female from villages, 29, simultaneous]

(239) \emptyset **mis hijos los** tengo más mayores (MS)
 \emptyset my children them.cl have.1p.sg more old
 'I have my children older.'

[Female from villages, 45, simultaneous]

Another significant feature corresponds to the omission of DOM in structures without CLD and, therefore, without dislocation, which presents almost the same difference between simultaneous and sequential bilinguals and their corresponding linguistic

preference. The most crucial difference is that sequential bilinguals only omit DOM without the coreference of the clitic, but less often than simultaneous bilinguals.

Finally, it is noteworthy that most of the constructions where DOM is omitted present a [+definite] NP, and there is only one token, which is composed of an indefinite noun phrase, as explained in the following sections.

The following sections (5.4.1 and 5.4.2) focus on the production of the Spanish DOM-marker in Clitic Doubling structures and other contexts without the coreference of the clitic, respectively.

5.4.1 Clitic doubling with [+animate] NPs in Majorcan Spanish

This section presents the analysis of 61 tokens (SD: .42) that involve the production of Clitic Doubling with [+animate] and [+human] Direct Objects in the Majorcan Spanish bilingual data, where DOM was expected to occur (as in PS).

The MS data have been divided into the commission of DOM from simultaneous and sequential speakers. Besides, the position of the NPs is also analyzed considering the structures in canonical position (in situ) as in (240), dislocated to the left (CLLD) as in (241) or dislocated to the right (CLRD) as in (242):

(240) **La** he disfrutado **a la pequeña** (MS)
her.cl have-1p.sg enjoyed DOM the young
'I have enjoyed the young one.'

[Male from Palma, 41, simultaneous]

(241) **A Rafa lo** trajiste el día de la comunión de mis hijos (MS)
DOM Rafa him.cl brought the day of the communion of my children
'Rafa, You brought him on the day of my children's communion.'

[Female from villages, 65, simultaneous]

(242) **La** llevaba a la escuela **a mi sobrina** (MS)
her.cl took to the school DOM my niece
'I used to take my niece to school.'

[Female from villages, 26, sequential]

As observed, speakers produced different constructions in which DOM must occur with CLD structures. They produced structures where the *a*-marking emerges (as in PS) independently of the (non)-dislocation, as seen in (240) without dislocation, in (241) with clitic left dislocation, or in (242) with clitic right dislocation.

Table 57 reveals the number of tokens regarding the production of Clitic Doubling structures with and without the production of DOM. The data distribution shows a division between simultaneous and sequential bilinguals and the syntactic position of the direct object. In each group appears the number and percentage of CLD constructions with (peninsular use) or without (non-peninsular use) DOM.

	Simultaneous			Sequential		
	In situ	left- dislocation	right- dislocation	In situ	left- dislocation	right- dislocation
Peninsular use (DOM realization)	9/9 100%	5/19 26%	6/36 100%	13/13 100%	10/10 100%	4/4 100%
Non- peninsular use (DOM omission)	0/9 0%	14/19 74%	0/6 0%	0/13 0%	0/10 0%	0/4 0%
Total	9	19	6	13	10	4

Table 57. The production and omission of DOM in Clitic Doubling structures across syntactic positions and type of bilingualism

Besides, the Spanish DOM-marker is produced with different kinds of NPs that appear in CLLD or in situ constructions, including proper names (243), full definite NPs (244), and strong pronouns (245):

(243) **A Marison la** vimos por primera vez en Madrid (MS)

DOM Marison acc.cl. saw.1p.pl. for first time in Madrid

‘We see Marison for the first time in Madrid.’

[Male from Palma, 45, sequential]

(244) **A la profesora no la** queríamos ni ver (MS)

DOM the teacher not acc.cl. wanted.1p.pl. even see.INF

‘We didn’t even want to see the teacher.’

[Male from Palma, 22, sequential]

(245) Cuando **lo** licenciaron **a** **él** (MS)
 when him.cl graduated DOM him
 ‘When they awarded him a degree.’

[Female from villages, 65, simultaneous]

Likewise, CLRD presents the *a*-marking with quantifiers as in (246):

(246) Tardas más días o más semanas en verlos **a** **algunos** (MS)
 take-2p.sg more days or more weeks in see-them.cl DOM someone
 ‘You will take more days or more weeks to see some of them.’

[Male from Palma, 32, sequential]

Considering the DOM omissions, simultaneous bilinguals omitted 14 out of their 34 tokens, unlike sequential bilinguals produced (27 DOM productions and no omission of DOM). That means simultaneous bilinguals produced all the *a*-marking omissions (41.2%) where it was expected to occur. In contrast, sequential bilinguals did not produce any clitic doubling structure without the DOM-marker (see Figure 60). The Pearson Chi-Squared test shows that the difference between the omission of DOM and the type of bilingualism is statistically significant ($p < .001$; $df 1$).

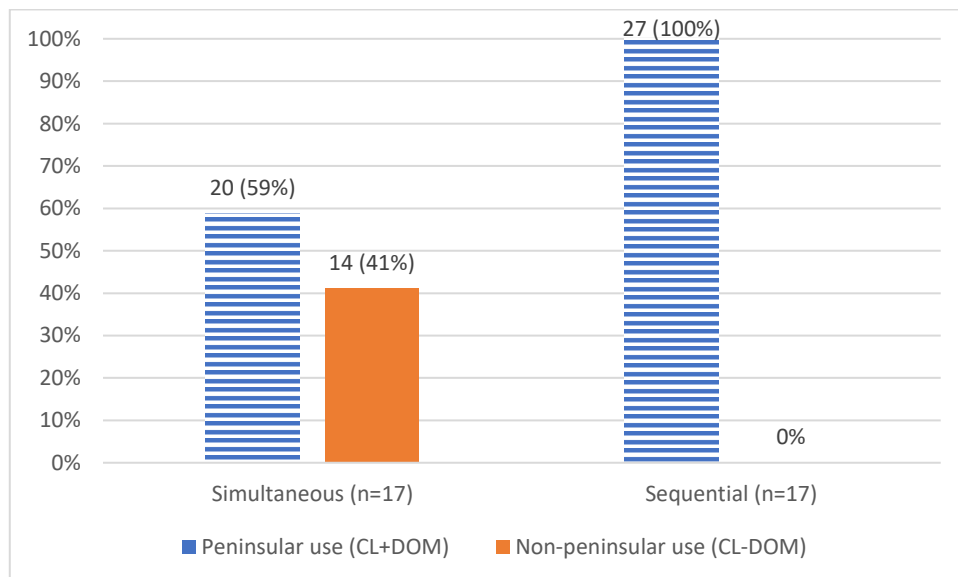


Figure 60. Realization of DOM in clitic doubling constructions production across the type of bilingualism

If the structures are analyzed in depth, simultaneous bilinguals omitted DOM in specific structures where the DO appeared dislocated to the left. This correlation is also

statistically significant ($p: <.001$), given that no speaker omitted DOM in constructions in which the NP appeared in situ or dislocated to the right.

The instances (247)-(250) show the omission of DOM in structures that involve Clitic Doubling with clitic left dislocation. These omissions would not be expected in PS; therefore, they are counted as non-peninsular uses.

(247) Ø **Ella la** obligan a casarse (MS)
Ø her her.cl force-3p.pl to marry-self
'She is forced to get married.'
[Female from villages, 65, simultaneous]

(248) Ø **Mis abuelos los** visito cada semana (MS)
Ø my granNParents them.cl visit-1p.sg every week
'I visit my granNParents every week.'
[Female from Palma, 21, simultaneous]

(249) Ø **Ella no la** saludo (MS)
Ø her no her.cl greet-1p.sg
'I don't greet her.'
[Female from villages, 65, simultaneous]

(250) Ø **Algunos los** conservo del instituto (MS)
Ø someone.pl them-cl keep of.the high school
'I keep some friends from high school.'
[Female from Palma, 33, simultaneous]

Notice that in Balearic Catalan (including MC), DOM is only optional in cases of clitic left dislocation (Escandell-Vidal, 2007), as discussed in section 3.5 (chapter 3), and this optionality in Catalan may lead to the corresponding DOM omission in Spanish as produced by simultaneous bilinguals. Therefore, this dissertation proposes that this optionality in Catalan can play an important role in the corresponding DOM omission in MS by simultaneous bilinguals.

As discussed in section 3.5, Escandell-Vidal (2009: 848) points out that DOM is optional with left dislocated definite NPs "but obligatory with right-dislocated ones" in

Balearic Catalan. This specific trend matches with the production of the simultaneous⁹⁸ bilinguals in MS. Since only simultaneous bilinguals omitted DOM in CLLD structures where it was expected to occur, it could be the case that the acquisition of Catalan from birth (in simultaneous bilinguals) influences the omission of DOM in CLD structures in Majorcan Spanish.

Following Escandell-Vidal (2009), all the constructions of CLD, in which the object arguably occurred in situ (251)-(252) or in clitic right dislocation (253)-(254) present the realization of DOM:

(251) Me sacó de la cuna y la metieron a ella (MS)
 me-cl. pulled.3p.sg. of the crib and acc.fem.cl. put-in DOM her
 ‘She pulled me out of the crib, and they put her in.’

[Female from villages, 65, simultaneous]

(252) Lo creyó a él (MS)
 acc.masc.cl. believed.3p.sg. DOM him
 ‘She believed him.’

[Female from Palma, 27, sequential]

(253) Lo vi muy grande a él (MS)
 acc.masc.cl. saw.1p.sg. so big DOM him
 ‘I saw him so big.’

[Female from villages, 55, sequential]

(254) Los tenían allí a todos los niños (MS)
 acc.masc.cl. had.3p.pl. there DOM all the children
 ‘They had all the children there.’

[Male from Palma, 33, simultaneous]

Concerning the external factors, speakers’ gender and linguistic preference play an essential role in the production of DOM in CLD structures (see Table 58). The rest of the social variables did not yield statistically significant results on the realization of DOM in Clitic Doubling constructions.

⁹⁸Remember that this type of bilinguals has been exposed to Catalan from birth instead of sequential bilinguals who were exposed or learned Catalan later in childhood or adulthood.

(Extra) linguistic variables	Value	Sig.	df
Gender	7.02	.008**	1
Age	3.01	.221	2
Level education	7.27	.064	3
Area of residence	4.77	.029	1
Linguistic preference	20.35	.000***	2

Table 58. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses across the external independent variables on the production of DOM in clitic doubling constructions

The gender of the participants is important, given that women produced all the DOM omissions with Clitic Doubling. Specifically, while (simultaneous bilinguals) women omitted very often DOM (14/28 tokens), men did not produce any omission of their 16 CLD utterances (see Figure 61).

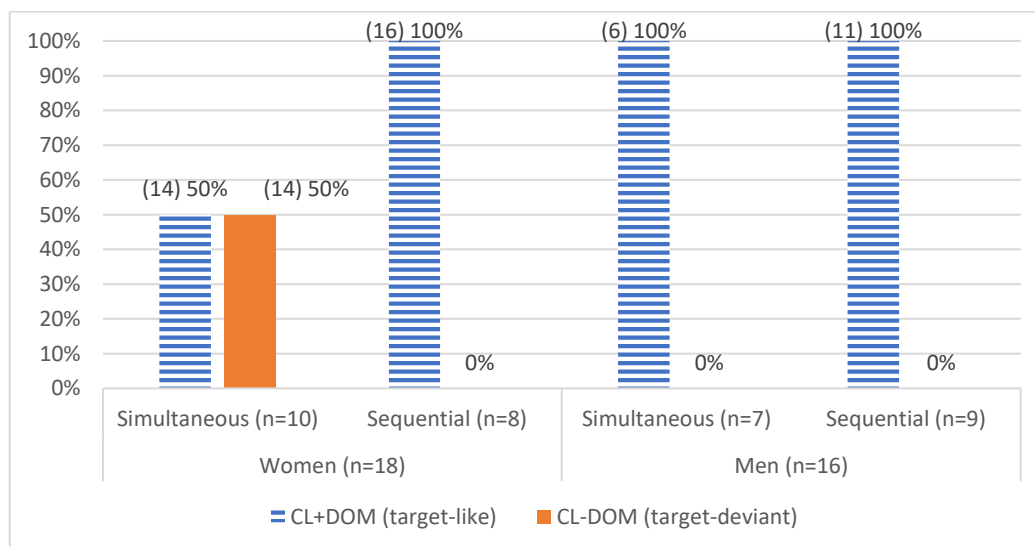


Figure 61. Effect of gender on the realization of DOM in clitic doubling constructions

As explained before, linguistic preference is more closely to the type of bilingualism, and, therefore, it is an important factor in the production and omission of DOM. Note that simultaneous speakers prefer using Catalan or do not present a Spanish or Catalan preference, while sequential bilinguals prefer using Spanish. Therefore, it is observable that speakers who prefer using Spanish did not produce any DOM omission in CLD structures, whereas bilinguals who prefer Catalan show a rate of 55% (12 of the 14) of DOM omissions, which do not match what would be expected in PS.

Considering bilingual speakers who had no preference for either language, they showed different results; on the one hand, simultaneous bilinguals without a linguistic

preference (n=5) omitted 16.7% of DOM tokens (2 of 12), whereas the only sequential bilingual without a linguistic preference did not produce any DOM omission.

Overall, simultaneous bilinguals who have Catalan as their linguistic preference omitted mostly DOM (12 out of their 22 CLD tokens):

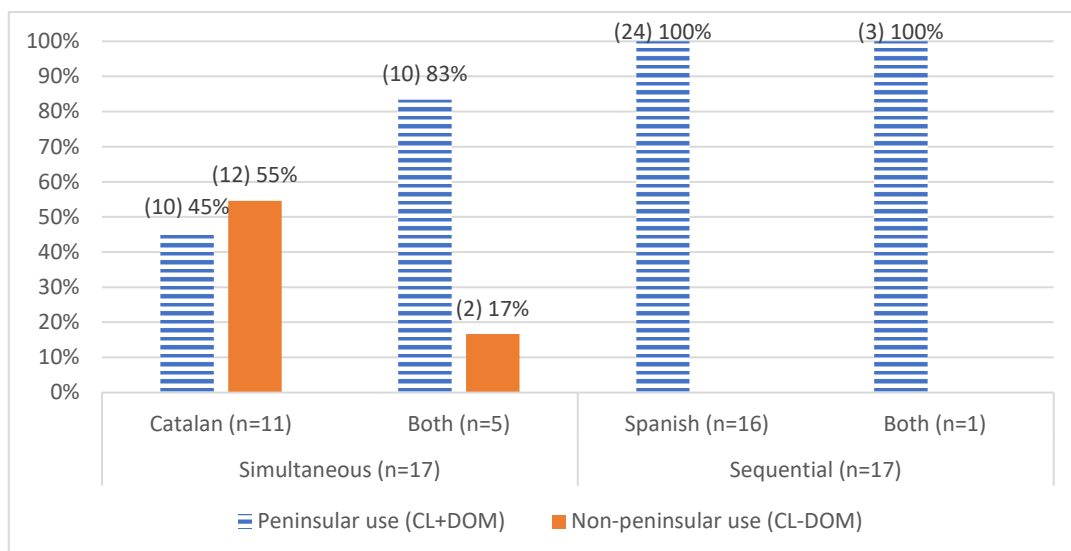


Figure 62. Effect of linguistic preference on the realization of DOM in clitic doubling constructions

In sum, DOM-omissions structures were all produced by women who were simultaneous bilinguals and who indicated that Catalan⁹⁹ was their linguistic preference.

Overall, these results conclude that the type of bilingualism affects the production of CLD in MS, given that simultaneous bilinguals with a strong preference for Catalan omitted DOM in 74% of left-dislocation structures, instead of what is expected in PS. More specifically, these bilinguals omitted DOM in constructions with clitic left dislocation as a possible transfer from Catalan since DOM omissions occur in the same Balearic Catalan context (Escandell-Vidal, 2009).

Consequently, the fact that the omission of DOM in MS is restricted to the same left-dislocation structures as in Balearic (including Majorcan) Catalan supports the argument that there is an essential effect of Spanish-Catalan bilingualism in this domain.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ There were also two (2 out of 14) tokens with DOM-omission from women who indicated that they had not any preference for using Spanish or Catalan. They affirmed to use both languages daily.

¹⁰⁰ Escandell-Vidal (2009: 863-4) claims that the *a*-marking in BC presents optionality in CLLD constructions that depend on topicality. More specifically, DOM omission tends to occur with Hanging Topic (HTs). However, the study of Escandell-Vidal does not offer a quantitative analysis of her corpus data to support this approach. This dissertation neither provides evidence of a split between two types of CLLD structures regarding the omission and realization of DOM.

5.4.2 Production of DOM with non-dislocated objects in Majorcan Spanish

This section presents the analysis of 84 tokens in which DOM is involved in non-dislocated [+human] and [+animate] Direct Object constructions without the coreference of the clitic. The data have been classified across the type of bilingualism and the production (+DOM) or omission (-DOM) of the Differential Object Marking (see Table 59):

	Simultaneous	Sequential
Peninsular use: +DOM (realization)	32/44 72.73%	35/40 87.5%
Non-peninsular use: -DOM (omission)	12/44 27,27%	5/40 12.53%

Table 59. Production of DOM with non-dislocated NPs across the type of bilingualism

The labels [+DOM] and [-DOM] correspond to the production and omission of DOM in structures where it was expected to occur. In Table 59, a difference between simultaneous and sequential bilinguals is observed. While simultaneous bilinguals omitted 27,27% of DOM, sequential ones only omitted 13%¹⁰¹. However, this difference between simultaneous and sequential bilinguals is not significant ($p: >.005$; $df\ 1$) in comparison to the results obtained in the CLD analysis (see section 5.4.1). This result could point out that Catalan-Spanish simultaneous bilinguals from Majorca omitted DOM more frequently in constructions where pronominal clitics are doubled.

Speakers produced most of the utterances (67 out of 84, $SD: .40$) with the DOM-marker matching what would be expected in PS, as shown in (255)-(257):

(255) Luego conoció **a** una persona
 after met-3p.sg DOM a person
 '(S)he met a person.'

[Female from Palma, 21, simultaneous]

(256) Quedamos para sacar **a** los niños
 stay-3p.pl to take DOM the children
 'We stay to take the children.'

[Female from Palma, 33, simultaneous]

¹⁰¹Even though there are few tokens, notice that these constructions follow a specific pattern, that is, the production of [+human] and [+animate] Direct Objects. That means that all the NPs which constitute an Indirect Object are not counted in this analysis.

(257) Encontramos a su mejor amiga
found-3p.pl DOM her/his best friend
'We found her/his best friend.'

[Female from Palma, 22, simultaneous]

Bilingual speakers omitted DOM in constructions in which a non-dislocated full definite NP (thematic position) occurred after the verb and without clitic doubling, as in (258)-(260):

(258) La Marieta para no pelearse, cuando tuvo Ø Juanito... (MS)
the Marieta, to not fight, when had3p.sg Ø Juanito...
'Marieta, to avoid fighting, when she had Juanito.'

[Female from villages, 63, simultaneous]

(259) Yo llevaré Ø tu hermana a casa (MS)
I bring.FUT Ø your sister to home
'I will bring your sister home.'

[Male from villages, 67, simultaneous]

(260) [...] cuidar Ø los nietos (MS)
[...] take care Ø the grandchildren
'[...] take care (of) the grandchildren.'

[Female from Palma, 60, simultaneous]

Given that these results differ in comparison to the CLD constructions, the correlations with the different extra-linguistic variables are carried out to verify whether DOM omissions relate to the influence of any external factor. However, the Pearson Chi-Squared analysis between the dependent variable (the production or omission of DOM) with the social variables does not present any significant result (see Table 60).

(Extra) linguistic variables	Value	Sig.	df
Gender	3.39	.065	1
Age	3.48	.176	2
Level education	3.93	.269	3
Area of residence	.66	.415	1
Linguistic preference	2.28	.320	2
Type of bilingualism	2.83	0.92	1

Table 60. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses across the extralinguistic variables on the production of DOM in non-dislocated (clitic doubling) constructions

The type of bilingualism seems to be the main factor that affects the production or omission of DOM, as observed in the last section based on Clitic doubling structures. However, the statistical results show that this correlation is not significant. Despite this result, simultaneous bilinguals omitted double the number of tokens than the sequential bilinguals.

There is also a minimal effect of gender (but it is not statistically significant: $p > 0.05$; df 1) since women were the speakers who showed most DOM omissions (12/17) as occurred on the CLD constructions, while men only omitted DOM in 5 tokens (Figure 63).

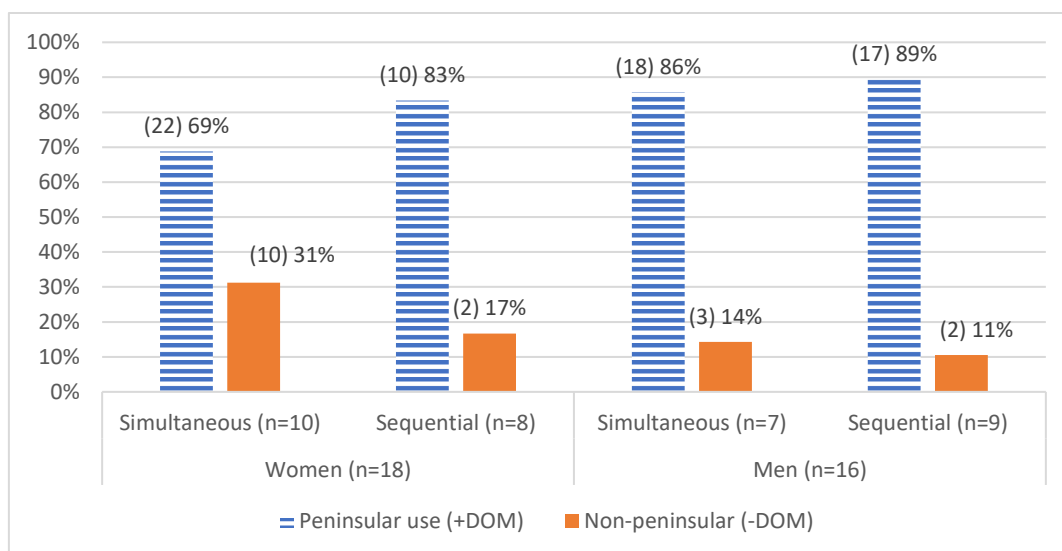


Figure 63. The production of DOM in non-dislocated structures in MS across gender

If the data is distributed counting the number of DOM omissions as a total (17 tokens), what is observed is that women omitted 76% of the total DOM omissions (including the data from sequential bilinguals), while men only omitted 24%.

Concerning the linguistic preference, this social variable does not a statistically significant result. However, there exist differences depending on the language that speakers said to prefer daily. As explained before, linguistic preference has a close correlation with the type of bilingualism. Therefore, simultaneous bilinguals with a preference for using Catalan showed 25.7% of DOM omissions, and simultaneous speakers who did not indicate any preference between Spanish or Catalan produced 33.3% of omissions. Nonetheless, sequential bilinguals with a preference for using Spanish only omitted 12.2% of DOM tokens, as Figure 64 shows:

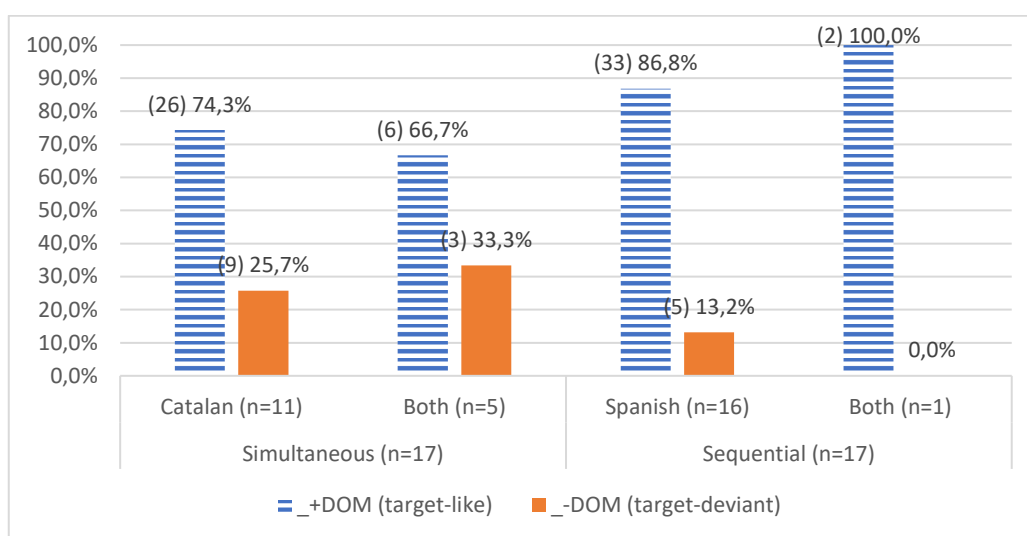


Figure 64. Linguistic preference and use of DOM in non-dislocated structures

Another factor that must be analyzed further in detail is the distribution of DOM omissions considering different types of object NPs, given that the results show that the omissions occurred across a varied set of structures, but especially with definite NPs composed of a strong pronoun, a definite determiner with a noun, or a proper name (12 tokens).

In sum, even though any extralinguistic variable yields evidence of variation, the type of bilingualism shows an essential influence, given that simultaneous bilinguals were the speakers who showed the most widespread omission of DOM in constructions without CLD. Besides, the type of bilingualism is closely connected with linguistic preference. Simultaneous speakers, who prefer using mostly Catalan or did not present any preference, present the majority of DOM omissions.

Due to the fact simultaneous bilinguals with a strong preference for Catalan produced most of the DOM omissions with non-dislocated direct objects in MS, these results support the hypothesis that the type of bilingualism plays an essential role in the

phenomenon of DOM as a possible case of language change. The properties of DOM in Catalan seem to affect the production of DOM in MS.

Thus, both uses of DOM in clitic dislocation structures and non-dislocation structures yield a clear pattern of variation among bilinguals. More concretely, these results are in line with the proposal of Escandell-Vidal (2007) related to the argument that, in Balearic Catalan, the omission of DOM frequently occurs with non-dislocated DOs constituted by proper names and human or definite NPs. Therefore, the earlier and arguably widespread exposure to Catalan supports the argument that Catalan influences the production of DOM in MS.

Chapter 6 offers the conclusions and the discussion related to the different studies carried out in this dissertation.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This dissertation has presented the first description and analysis of Majorcan Catalan and Spanish pronominal clitic systems and the features of DOM with and without Clitic Doubling structures as produced in Spanish Catalan-Spanish bilinguals in Majorca. The phenomena examined are: (i) the use of pronominal clitics, and (ii) the presence or absence of DOM (with [+human] and [+animate] objects) in Clitic Doubling structures, and (iii) the use of DOM in direct object NPs without the co-occurrence of the corresponding clitics.

Language acquisition, synchronic and diachronic variation (see Table 61), and ongoing language change in MC and MS have been considered for the corresponding analyses. Pearson Chi-Squared analyses have been carried out related to the different phenomena to verify whether internal or external factors could contribute to the production of different variants in each study.

Different data sources, both synchronic and diachronic, have been taken into consideration to provide the results presented. Spontaneous oral interviews and different (ethnolinguistic and elicited data) questionnaires have been conducted considering the synchronic data. However, not all the phenomena have been analyzed from all these sources, as Table 61 shows below.

	Synchronic data		Diachronic data	
Spontaneous interviews	Ethnolinguistic questionnaire	Elicited data	from CICA and Corpus Mallorca	
In Catalan and Spanish	About the use and preferences of	In Catalan	In Catalan and Spanish	
First, second, and third-person pronominal clitics DOM	Spanish and Catalan	First- second- and third-person pronominal clitics	First- and second-person pronominal clitics	

Table 61. Distribution of the different data analyzed across the phenomena

Likewise, the diachronic data have presented the results for the first- and second-person pronominal clitics, given that these clitics are the forms which presented more variation between CC and MC dialects. However, MS diachronic data have also been examined since one of the research questions of this dissertation is whether language change has been inhibited or accelerated due to language contact between Spanish and Catalan in Majorca.

Note that this dissertation has presented different studies focused on MC and MS. As said before, these studies entail three phenomena:

(i) The pronominal clitics are examined considering their allomorphs in MC and CC (C+V or V+C) and their syntactic position regarding the verb (proclitics and enclitics).

(ii) The production of clitic doubling in constructions where the third-person pronominal clitic co-appears with the corresponding NP preceded by DOM in MS.

(iii) The production of DOM in constructions where the clitic does not co-occur in MS.

That is, a continuum of three phenomena is analyzed, from the use of the pronominal clitics, continuing with the use of third-person pronominal clitics in Clitic Doubling constructions where the use of DOM is expected to occur (with [+human] and [+animate] objects) and, finally, the analysis of DOM without the co-appearance of the pronominal clitic.

The distribution of these studies is indispensable in explaining the research questions and the hypotheses and, finally, the corresponding results since they are different.

The reason for analyzing different phenomena with distinct synchronic and diachronic data relates to the need to follow specific goals. The main goal was to provide the first description of the pronominal clitics in MC in the bilingual setting with Spanish. Note that several pronominal clitics are different if CC and MC are compared. Although previous approaches (Seguí Trobat, 2014; Wheeler et al., 1999) argue that the MC first- and second-person pronominal clitics are the most conservative among Catalan varieties, these studies do not present results from synchronic and diachronic data to conclude that. For this reason, the only study of this dissertation that has offered different synchronic and diachronic data has to do with these pronominal clitics. In contrast, the study of the third-person pronominal clitics only has exhibited synchronic data because it was not expected to find differences throughout the centuries and between MC and CC. Finally, regarding the production of DOM, oral synchronic data have been examined following the proposal of Escandell-Vidal (2007).

The research questions of this project were threefold. Firstly, it examined whether language change is triggered by the cross-linguistic influence from Spanish on Catalan or vice versa. Secondly, it has been verified whether linguistic change has been accelerated or inhibited due to the linguistic contact situation of Majorca. Finally, the

different linguistic phenomena have been correlated with social variables to know whether extralinguistic variables affect the production of different variants in MC and MS.

Several studies focused on bilingualism and language contact (such as Poplack 1993; Silva-Corvalán, 1994; Blas Arroyo, 1998, 2011; Thomason 2001, Sinner & Wesch, 2008, among others) argue that the primary consequences relate to the presence of transfer or convergence between the two (or more languages) which coexist in a bilingual scenery. For this reason, the first research question of this dissertation was whether there exists a convergence among Spanish and Catalan, the two languages spoken in Majorca, and, consequently, if language change is triggered by this cross-linguistic influence from Spanish on Catalan.

This dissertation has hypothesized that the contact situation between Spanish and Catalan in Majorca involves the presence of transfer (Blas Arroyo, 1998) from one of these languages on the other and vice versa. However, it was not expected to observe the full incorporation of transfer from one language to the other. That is, in terms of Sinner & Wesch (2008), these features are not integrations. More specifically, this investigation follows Aikhenvald's proposal (2006), which asserts that the stability in the production of a new variant is necessary to consider a language change. Thus, this dissertation does not examine occasional use as the preservation of a new form.

After analyzing the production of the phenomena of this investigation, it is confirmed that there is no total convergence between the two languages that coexist in Majorca. Furthermore, it is possible to confirm that sporadic transfers from Spanish on Catalan and vice versa are produced, as examples (261) and (262) show:

(261) **Mos** hemos discutido (MS)
Nos hemos discutido (PS)
 us-cl. have discuss-perfect-1p.pl.
 'We have argued with each other.'
 [Female from villages, 63, simultaneous]

(262) Jo **los** veig jugar a ells (MC)
 Jo **els** veig jugar a ells (CC)
 I them.cl see.1p.sg play.INF DOM them
 'I see them play,'
 [Male from villages, 67, simultaneous]

Example (261) presents a sporadic transfer from MC on MS. The form switched is *mos*, the first-person plural form used currently in MC. In contrast, example (262) exhibits an occasional transfer, the DO third-person plural masculine, *los*, from MS on MC.

As was expected, the production of sporadic transfer seems to have an effect across the linguistic preference of speakers; that is, bilingual speakers who prefer using Catalan in their daily use are those who transfer MC forms to MS, while bilingual speakers who prefer Spanish produced more transfers in MC. Most of the transfers have to do with the use of the first-person plural form, the MC form *mos* in MS (3 tokens), and the MS form *nos* in MC (8 tokens). However, the presence of transfer is minimal to conclude that bilingual speakers of Majorca produce sporadic transfers that depend on their linguistic preference. Contrastingly, most of the participants of this dissertation (except for two sequential bilinguals from Barcelona and Extremadura) produce the MC and MS forms without the presence of transfers regarding the pronominal clitics.

However, the production of DOM in MS is influenced by MC, given that DOM is not used in Catalan varieties in specific constructions (see chapter 3, sections 3.3 and 3.4 for more information). Specifically, Catalan structures in which the NP is a DO [+human] and [+animate] do not present DOM, except for DO arguments dislocated to the left (263) and composed by a strong pronoun (264).

(263) **A** **la teva germana la** vaig veure fa tres dies
 DOM your sister her.cl saw.1p.sg ago three days
 ‘I saw your sister three days ago.’

(264) **A** **ella la** vaig veure ahir / la vaig veure a ella ahir
 DOM she her.cl saw.1p.sg yesterday /her.cl saw.1p.sg DOM she yesterday
 ‘I saw her yesterday.’

The results show that bilingual speakers with a preference for Catalan omit DOM in left-dislocated constructions. Likewise, the arguments present a DO with a proper name, a strong pronoun, or a determinate structure (a determiner plus a noun).

After explaining whether there exists a convergence between MS and MC, the second question is related to the language change development, namely, whether the linguistic change has been accelerated or inhibited considering the pronominal clitics in MC due to contact with Spanish on the island. The hypothesis considered at the beginning of this dissertation (following Enrique-Arias (2010, 2012, 2012 and 2018)) was that contact with Spanish in Majorca from the 15th century (but more intensely in the 18th) allowed the

maintenance of the most conservative forms in MC (Seguí Trobal, 2014; Wheeler et al., 1999) due to the parallelism with the Spanish pronominal clitics (consonant plus vowel).

The hypothesis about the inhibition of language change has been confirmed for the first- and second-person pronominal clitics. After analyzing the diachronic data (*CICA* and *Corpus Mallorca*) from the 13th to 16th centuries (in Catalan) and from the 18th century (in Spanish), it is verified that the MC clitics are the most archaic forms (as Seguí Trobat (2014) and Wheeler et al. (1999) explained). Likewise, these forms have been found not only in the BC data but also in CC. Therefore, one of the conclusions of this dissertation is that contact of the Spanish forms (*me*, *te*, and *nos/mos*) allowed the preservation of the MC forms and not the CC ones (except for *vos*).

Since this dissertation aimed at determining the first synchronic study related to the pronominal clitics and DOM with data from Spanish-Catalan bilingual speakers, not all phenomena presented were analyzed with diachronic data (as explained before). More specifically, the only forms that were analyzed with both synchronic and diachronic data were first- and second-person pronominal clitics. The reason for both analyses is that these forms were expected to be different regarding the PLF constituted with C+V (matching MC) or V+C (matching CC). Thus, neither third-person pronominal clitics nor production of DOM have been analyzed in the diachronic data.

The last and third research question was if the extra-linguistic variables (gender, age, educational level, area of residence, and linguistic preference) influence the uses of the different pronominal clitics, the CLD structures, and DOM. Because there is not literature focused on these phenomena in the Balearic Islands, the hypothesis considered was that language preference, and speakers' area of residence could affect the production of the different forms. Following Amengual (2011a, 2011b), the output could show variation depending on the Majorcan area where speakers live (the capital, Palma, or the villages). Moreover, the area of residence is closely related to the linguistic preference since, in Palma, speakers use mostly Spanish than Catalan, unlike what happens around the villages of Majorca (outside of Palma), where Catalan is the most spoken language. Nevertheless, it was not predictable that other external variables (gender, age, or speakers' level of education) influence the production of clitics and DOM. Note that no previous studies could address the effect of the rest of the social variables (gender, age, educational level) in the phenomena observed in this dissertation.

The type of bilingualism has been examined in the study of DOM since variation was expected in the bilingual setting of Majorca. Escandell-Vidal (2009) argues that BC

shows a specific pattern that differs in comparison to the rest of the Catalan varieties. For this reason, crosslinguistic influence from MC on MS was expected, mostly in the production of speakers who prefer using Catalan on a daily basis. Note that speakers from Majorca who reported using Catalan or both languages (Catalan and Spanish) are those who are simultaneous bilinguals.

Given that pronominal clitics and DOM belong to different morphosyntactic domains, variation was expected in the production of DOM compared to the production of pronominal clitics (especially for the first- and second-person clitics, neither in MC nor MS). Note that while the form of the pronominal clitics has been considered as the most conservative in relation to the Catalan varieties, the production of DOM presents a variation in previous studies (Escandell-Vidal, 2009).

The following sections offer a specific discussion regarding the different studies carried out in this dissertation. First, the study of the first- and second-person pronominal clitics from the synchronic and diachronic data is discussed in 6.1. Second, the discussion of the spontaneous and elicited production of the third-person clitics appears in 6.2. Finally, the production of DOM in Clitic Doubling constructions and structures without the co-appearance of the clitics is discussed in 6.3. The final section presents future directions in 6.4.

6.1 First- and second-person pronominal systems in MC and MS

Bilingual speakers of Majorca produce non-peninsular forms in MC characterized by the composition of a consonant plus a vowel (*me, te, mos, vos*). These forms are different from the pronominal clitics used in CC, composed of a vowel plus a consonant (*em, et, ens, us*).

Specifically, the same non-peninsular forms are used as both proclitics and enclitics. Note that the enclitic forms match CC, except for the first-person plural form, *mos*. Besides, there are no differences in Majorca between the speakers across the extralinguistic variables, namely, gender, age, educational level, area of residence, linguistic preference, and type of bilingualism; that is, the majority of the bilinguals of Majorca use the non-peninsular forms.

Note that forty-five speakers participated in this study, 34 simultaneous and 11 sequential bilinguals, and only two sequential bilinguals produced CC forms. Therefore, the only external variable that can have influenced the production of MC or CC forms is the time of exposure to one of these Catalan varieties. These two sequential bilinguals

were not the only ones who were born outside of Majorca, but also two speakers more did. That is, the fact that a person is from a different area of Spain does not respond to the difference between MC and CC forms in that case. However, the participants who produced CC forms were exposed to Catalan in different ways. While one of them was born in Barcelona and, therefore, was exposed to CC from birth, the other was born in Sevilla and learned Catalan in an official school of languages in Palma. The former arrived at Majorca when she was fifteen years old, and the latter arrived at Majorca when she was thirteen years old; that is, both started to live in Majorca fifteen years ago.

This dissertation presents an analysis showing the non-peninsular forms (*me*, *te*, *nos*, and *vos*) currently used as proclitics and enclitics in BC (but only as enclitics in CC) attested in both BC and CC in data from the 13th to the 17th century. Thus, it is clear that these long forms (C+V) are not a result of a recent borrowing from Spanish on Catalan of Majorca.

Previous studies, such as Alcover (1916), Wheeler et al. (1999), Fischer (2003), Perea (2012), and Seguí Trobat (2014), allude to the use of PLF constituted by C+V in BC (including MC), and in other Valencian Catalan varieties. However, these studies offer different explanations to explain the reason for the different uses in these Catalan varieties.

Wheeler et al. (1999) explain that, for instance, there is an extension of the morpheme *m* from the first-person singular clitic, *me*, to the plural form, *mos*, instead of using *ens* or *nos*:

		morphemic base	pronoun forms
first person	singular	/m/	em, me, m
	plural	/n/ + /s/	ens, nos, ns
second person	singular	/t/	et, te, t
	plural	/u/v/ + /s/	us, vos

Table 62. The morphemic base for the third-person and each of the first- and second-person forms (Wheeler et al., 1999: 169)

Furthermore, Enrique-Arias (2019), after analyzing diachronic data from the ALPI and regional atlas focused mostly in (Peninsular and insular) Spanish from rural areas, explained that the form *mos* was extended in Balearic Spanish during the 20th century.

On this matter, Enrique-Arias (2019: 26) argues that this form is the most archaic form in Balearic Spanish and appeared as a result of an analogy with the first-person singular form *me* and the verbal ending *-mos* of the first-person plural person form.

Thus, the presence of *mos* in the MC pronominal clitic system could be a form of verification of the two processes: (i) the influence of Spanish and (ii) the analogy of *me*. It is important to note that formal education was not widespread before the 20th century, so the archaic rural form, *mos*, was the one extended orally, and the formal form, *nos*, was produced in the written texts.

Maré i Soler (2010, 2012) argues that the production of the non-peninsular forms responds to a reanalysis in Catalan from Girona with the pronominal clitics used in clitic clusters (265). In contrast, this dissertation does not follow this proposal, given that the diachronic data showed these forms without clitic clusters throughout BC history (from the 13th to 16th centuries). Besides, Maré i Soler (2012) also argues that the non-peninsular forms are replaced for the CC proclitics if these are used with a verb that starts with a consonant (266):

(265) **Me** **la** vull comprar (aquesta casa) (CC and MC)
 me.cl. acc.fem.cl. want.1p.sg. buy.inf. (this house)
 'I want to buy this house.'

(266) **Em** compraré aquesta casa (CC)
 me.cl buy.FUT.1p.sg this house
 'I will buy this house.'

On this matter, Fischer (2003) claims that from the 13th century, Catalan presents different allomorphs that depend on the syntactic position of the verb and its form, namely, whether the verb starts or ends with a vowel or a consonant. Furthermore, she asserts that the different morphological forms are exclusive to the preverbal or postverbal positions.

Contrastingly, the diachronic analysis from the 13th to 16th centuries has allowed verifying that the non-peninsular forms were used in BC, and in CC, in constructions without clitic clusters and with verbs that started with a consonant:

(267) *él me donà a conèxer que la fe dels saraïns és falsa*
he cl.me gave.1p.sg to know that the faith of the Saracen is false
'He told me that the Saracen's faith is false.'

[CICA, 14th century, Disputació dels cinc savis]

(268) *Per assò vos deim e us manam que vós, vistes les presens [...]*
for this you.cl say and you.cl ask that you, sawn the news [...]
'For this reason, we tell you and ask for, sawn the news [...].'

[CICA, 14th century, La reintegració de la Corona de Mallorca a la Corona d'Aragó]

Example (268) offers much information. First, the indistinct use between the two allomorphs for the second-person plural clitic, *vos*, and *us* stands out. Second, speakers differentiated the use of the pronominal clitic *vos* from the strong pronoun *vós* with an accent mark. It could be the case that speakers needed to differentiate these two homonymous words with the use of another clitic allomorph *us*.

Fischer (2003) also proposes that the reduction of the elided forms with the consequent emergence of the PLF relates to the addition of an epenthetic vowel, which appears not only for phonological but also morphological and syntactic reasons. Besides, the epenthetic vowel would have been added before the elided form with the resulting proclitic peninsular forms (*em, et, ens, us*). However, since the results do not exhibit the peninsular forms during the 13th to 16th centuries neither in BC nor in CC, it could be the case that the epenthetic vowel was added after elided forms (*me, te, nos, vos*).

Therefore, this dissertation suggests that there is no recent change leading to the rise of the clitic non-pronominal clitics in MC, as they have been acquired as part of Balearic Catalan for centuries. There is only one exception about the first-person plural form, *mos*. As discussed before, although the enclitic long forms occurred in Catalan centuries ago, as supported by the examination of Old Balearic Catalan texts, there are no examples in this historical data with the use of *mos* instead of *nos*.

Thus, the diachronic study conducted from the 13th century to the 17th century shows that the forms constituted by vowel + consonant, current clitics in CC, did not compete in the whole pronominal clitic system. To put it differently, the MC forms (C+V) were the most prominent ones, not only in Balearic Catalan but also in Central Peninsular Catalan.

The maintenance of the non-peninsular forms could have been favored by the coexistence between MC and Spanish and the consequent bilingualism of the Majorcan

speakers from the 18th century¹⁰². MC pronominal clitics match the Spanish ones entirely or partially:

	Majorcan Catalan		Majorcan Spanish	
	diachronic data (13th-17th)	synchronic oral data	diachronic data (18th and 20th)	synchronic oral data
1 st sg.	me	me	me	me
2 nd sg.	te	te	te	te
1 st pl.	nos	mos	nos (18th century)	nos
			mos (20th century)	
2 nd pl.	vos	vos/us	vos/os	os

Table 63. First- and second-person pronominal clitics in MC and MS across the synchronic and diachronic analyses

Note that neither the spontaneous data nor the diachronic analysis exhibit variation in the production of first- and second-person pronominal clitics in MS.

Although this dissertation aimed at verifying when the use of *mos* started to be used in MS, following the Enrique-Arias analysis (2019), it has not been possible to conclude that in this investigation.

As explained before, the form *vos*, the only different form in MC in comparison to Spanish, could have been replaced by the form *us* to differentiate the homonymous strong pronoun *vos*. However, speakers could have regularized the pattern C+V with the production of *vos* instead of using *us* (after the 17th century). Therefore, the forms *vos* and *mos* are those that need further analyses not only in MC but also in MS with diachronic data.

In conclusion, the most important result is that language change is not accelerated in the bilingual setting of Majorca regarding the production of first- and second-person pronominal clitics, given that these clitic forms currently used by Spanish-Catalan bilinguals seem to have been converged purely as the result of this context.

More specifically, language change has been inhibited since there are not new clitic forms introduced from one language (MS or MC) to the other (MS or MC) as the result of the transfer. Therefore, this dissertation claims that the Spanish context in MC contributed to the maintenance of the archaic forms (*me*, *te*, *mos*, and *vos*) in MC. This

¹⁰²Remember that although Spanish arrived at the Balearic Islands during the 15th century, the population did not start to become bilingual until the 18th century, which means that the archaic forms in MC were used as the only ones since Catalan suffered many restrictions and it only was spoken in familiar scopes (see chapter 2 for more information about the historical and political development of Catalan).

affirmation strengthens since these forms are attested as proclitics and enclitics during the 13th-17th centuries in Catalan (both in BC and CC).

Primary, the analysis of the results done in this dissertation exhibited that neither MC nor CC showed significant uses of the proclitic peninsular forms between the 13-17th centuries (except for the form *us*). Besides, CC forms do not appear in the synchronic bilingual data from speakers of Majorca. If the distribution of CC has been changed as shown by the diachronic data (CICA), this dissertation also shows evidence of language change in CC, instead of what Poplack & Levey (2010: 394) predicted about alterations in the distribution of forms not being signs of change:

Variability is a necessary condition for change, but is not, in and of itself, conterminous with it. In many areas of the grammar, alterations among variant forms may persist for centuries, but linguists who believe that language is invariant often interpret them as signs of change. This inference is particularly prevalent when the forms in questions are detected among speakers or groups considered vulnerable to external influence (e.g., bilinguals, residents of minority-language communities in intense contact with a majority language, etc.).

Even though the historical data exhibits a continuing variability between the forms *us* and *vos*, in CC and MC, the total replacement of *us* by *vos* in MC would constitute evidence of language change.

Contrastingly, it is unexpected that the bilingual context between Spanish and Catalan presents a different result in MC and CC. Likewise, contact with Spanish in Barcelona could have been more intense due to the geographical situation (Blas Arroyo, 2007); therefore, a similar scenery had to have produced in both areas, Majorca and Barcelona. Nevertheless, the CICA corpus has no data from subsequent centuries; thus, this dissertation cannot determine when the proclitics constituted by C+V (*me, te, mos, vos*) would have stopped being used in CC and when these PLF replaced the forms constituted by V+C (*em, et, ens, us*).

Therefore, results showed that bilingual speakers from Majorca acquired and produced the MC pronominal clitics, both proclitics and enclitics, which are considered the eldest ones in the different Catalan dialects. This study presents a significant result, given that there is an evident effect of bilingualism with Spanish in Majorca. It seems that Spanish has contributed to the maintenance of the archaic forms in MC since both pronominal clitic system match almost entirely.

In addition, the analysis of the elicited data has allowed verifying that, even in written discourse, bilingual speakers of Majorca accept, to a greater extent, the non-peninsular forms¹⁰³. Note that 43 speakers completed the elicited data questionnaire compared to the 45 speakers who were recorded spontaneously. Besides, 15 sequential bilinguals participated in the elicited data questionnaire, while 11 sequential bilinguals were recorded to obtain oral data. However, it is essential to consider that the oral data analyses do not present significant results across the type of bilingualism since 43 out of 45 participants produce non-peninsular forms.

Specifically, while simultaneous bilinguals accepted 90% of the non-peninsular items in the first task about the grammaticality judgments of Mc and CC items, sequential bilinguals accepted almost 70% of them.

The results show that both types of bilinguals reject the CC second-person plural form, *us*, and prefer the use of *vos*. However, there is a difference between simultaneous and sequential bilinguals regarding the acceptability and rejection of the first-person plural forms. Simultaneous bilinguals accepted 84% of the items with the MC form, *mos*, and sequential bilinguals accepted 57% of the same items. Likewise, the proclitic *nos*, considered a Spanish transfer or a conservative form in rural areas, was accepted by 67% of sequential bilinguals and 50% of simultaneous bilinguals.

Concerning the social variables, the speakers' linguistic preference and the area of residence affect the acceptability of peninsular or non-peninsular forms; that is, speakers who live in a village and have a strong preference for using Catalan accept the MC forms to a greater extent.

In the second task, the difference is more noticeable between the type of bilingualism since sequential bilinguals only produced 40% of non-peninsular forms, while simultaneous bilinguals produced 90% of non-peninsular forms. However, most of the bilinguals produced the form *mos* (70%) instead of using *ens* or *nos*. Again, speakers who prefer to use Catalan daily and live outside of Palma, in a village, produced more non-peninsular forms than peninsular ones. Furthermore, speakers who are aged between 41 and 67 years rejected (in task 1) the peninsular forms and produced (in task 2) the non-peninsular forms to a greater extent in comparison to the rest of the speakers.

¹⁰³Note that the elicited data questionnaire is divided into two tasks: (i) grammaticality judgment and (ii) preference tasks.

Finally, whereas these results provide evidence of predominant use of the MC non-peninsular pronominal clitic system (instead of CC) by Catalan-Spanish bilinguals in Majorca, there is no substantial evidence of change in the object pronominal clitics considered here of Majorcan Spanish as spoken by these bilinguals, in comparison to the forms from Peninsular Spanish. The results only exhibit sporadic transfers of a lower amount of clitic forms that are distinct in Catalan. There is no productive use by the simultaneous bilinguals of new object clitic forms in MS compared to PS.

The following section 6.2 focuses on the discussion about the production of third-person pronominal clitics in MC and MS, taking into account the results of the synchronic analyses with oral and elicited data.

6.2 Third-person pronominal systems in MC and MS

In this dissertation, the first description and analysis of third-person pronominal clitics of MC and MS have been presented as produced by adult Catalan-Spanish bilinguals in Majorca.

This section presents the discussion related to the production of third-person pronominal clitics by Spanish-Catalan bilinguals of Majorca. Two synchronic data are presented and compared: (i) the oral data from spontaneous interviews and (ii) the elicited data questionnaire with two different tasks.

The study of the third-person pronominal clitics was focused on their morphological and semantic features, mostly in MC. Specifically, the objectives were twofold: (i) to verify whether MC and MS follow the etymological or referential pronominal clitic systems, and (ii) to conclude whether speakers of Majorca produce forms that would be transfer or integration as a result of crosslinguistic influence in a bilingual setting (Blas Arroyo, 1998, 2005, 2011; Thomason, 2001).

Instead of what was discussed in the last section (6.1) about the first- and second-person pronominal clitics, the relationship between MC and MS third-person clitics is different since there is no parallelism between them. That is, the MC forms do not match the MS clitics. Therefore, a different explanation is needed to discuss the development of the third-person pronominal clitics. Note that this difference between the two clitic sets was expected due to their distinct nature (Roca, 1992). Specifically, third-person clitics present variation across gender, number, and Latin cases (dative and accusative), instead of the first- and second person forms that only present number features. In contrast, there is a development that Majorcan bilinguals follow in the production of the

different sets of clitics, namely the production of open syllables. In third-person clitic production, bilingual speakers separate closed syllables (*e/s*) into two syllables with the subsequent last open syllable (*elzi/elze*).

Overall, the results of this investigation indicate different trends in MC as opposed to what is observed in MS. Before discussing the different findings, it is necessary to take into consideration the distribution of MC and MS pronominal clitics. Note that the forms that are in bold correspond to the non-peninsular uses that do not match the peninsular ones:

		Proclitics			Enclitics			
		MC/CC		MS/PS	MC/CC	MS/PS	Latin cases	
sing.	masc./fem.	li		le	-li	le	dat.	
	masc.	el/ho	l'	lo	-lo/- ho	l'	acc.	
	fem.	la	l'/la	la	-la	la		
pl.	masc./fem.	əls/əlzi		les	-los	l's	les	dat.
	masc.	əls// əlze		los	-los	l's	los	acc.
	fem.	les/ ləzə/elzə		las	-les	las		
neutral		ho		lo	-ho	lo		

Table 64. Distribution of MC third-person pronominal clitics (modified from Jiménez-Gaspar et al., to appear)

The two characteristic trends of the MC third-person pronominal clitics are very different. First, even though the two pronominal clitic systems (of MC and MS) do not present a complete convergence, there is a form in the MC data that could start a convergence, namely the neutral form, *ho*. This form exhibits a similar pattern to the Spanish form, *lo*. That is, the forms *ho* and *lo* converge from a semantic point of view since the MC clitic has acquired the semantic properties of the Spanish clitic, *lo*, which is used to refer to not only neutral but also singular masculine referents. Second, the open syllables of the plural forms are obtained with an epenthetic vowel.

More precisely, speakers follow two specific processes to distinguish the plural form, *e/s*, when it refers to the direct and indirect objects. If speakers refer to the accusative masculine plural form, *e/s*, they add [ə] to produce an open syllable, while if they refer to the dative plural form, *e/s*, they add [i]. Besides, the addition of [e] and [i] is converging with the accusative feminine plural form, *les*. Indeed, the feminine form presents the addition of an epenthetic vowel much less, but the elicited data confirm that speakers of Majorca accept it and produce it. Note that if further analysis corroborates that the two epenthetic vowels start to be used with *les*, it could be the case that the

phenomenon of *laísmo* could be starting in MC. In other words, the epenthetic vowel [i] is used with the plural dative form not only in MC but also CC (Boeckx & Martín, 2013), but if it is confirmed that the epenthetic vowel [i] is used with the accusative plural form, *les*, this use would be a case of *laísmo* in Catalan since the dative case does not present gender distinctions¹⁰⁴. Nevertheless, the clitics with the epenthetic vowels [ə] (as an accusative form) and [i] (as a dative form) do not prevail with the accusative feminine plural form, *les*.

Likewise, while the first trend related to the neutral form presents any effect of the social variables, the addition of the vowel in the accusative forms *e/s* and *les* seems to be affected by the linguistic preference¹⁰⁵ and the area of speakers; that is, speakers that prefer using Catalan and live in a village, outside of Majorca, produce the accusative plural forms with the epenthetic vowel [ə] more often. In contrast, the masculine form *e/s* is more often produced and accepted than the feminine form *les* with the epenthetic vowel [ə]. However, the dative plural form, *e/zi*, is used independently of the social variables. Most of the bilinguals of Majorca produce the forms *e/s* with the epenthetic vowel [i].

A comparison between elicited data and oral data displays a difference between simultaneous and sequential bilinguals. Simultaneous bilinguals accepted 70% of non-peninsular forms in the first task, while sequential bilinguals accepted 55%. Even though there is a difference between the two types of bilinguals, most of them accepted non-peninsular forms. Likewise, the majority of them accepted 90% of peninsular clitics.

It is relevant to point out that the most rejected form is the dative plural form *e/s* without the epenthetic vowel [i]. Contrastingly, while simultaneous bilinguals accepted 83% of *e/ze*, sequential bilinguals accepted this form to a lesser extent (32%). A similar trend is observable with the accusative plural feminine form, *les*, since simultaneous bilinguals accepted it with the epenthetic vowel [ə] in 57% of the items, but sequential bilinguals accepted this form in 27% of the cases.

The form *ho* was accepted by most of the bilinguals in 80-90% of items with masculine referents. However, a significant difference is observable from speakers who have an

¹⁰⁴The data of this dissertation show a few cases of *les* with the epenthetic vowel [i]. However, it would be a beginning of variation between the so-called referential and etymological pronominal systems in Catalan, as studied in Spanish (Fernández-Ordóñez, 2001).

¹⁰⁵Note that even though there is no statistically significant result regarding the production of *e/ze* across the speakers' linguistic preference, the area of residence is closely linked to this variable.

undergraduate degree, given that they reject this form more than the rest of the bilinguals of Majorca.

Some differences are noticeable if the results from the first and the second tasks are compared. Note that speakers had to choose specific MC or CC forms in each item. The results show that simultaneous bilinguals produced 70% of non-peninsular forms, while sequential bilinguals produced 51%. Anew, most of the bilinguals produced non-peninsular forms.

More concretely, the two trends explained above exhibit similar results. The social variable that presents a significant result is the linguistic preference in the production of *els* with the two epenthetic vowels, [i] and [e]. That is, speakers who prefer the use of Catalan or both languages produce mostly the form *elzi* and *elze*. However, the form *elzi* is more accepted than *elze* and much more than *leze*. Finally, the use of *ho* with a masculine referent is produced in 40% of the items by simultaneous bilinguals and in 46% of the items by sequential bilinguals. Therefore, it could be the case that the language change is starting in the production of the epenthetic vowel [ə] and the neutral form *ho* with masculine referents.

To conclude, regarding the use of the third-person clitics in MS, their uses do not vary significantly from the uses that are considered peninsular. However, almost all MS tokens deal with the presence of *leísmo* or *laísmo*, and even one case of *loísmo*, but the few MC tokens cannot be considered as a result of this Spanish variety.

Next section presents the conclusions and discussion regarding the production of DOM in Direct Object NPs with or without the coexistence of the corresponding pronominal clitic in MS.

6.3 Differential Object Marking in Majorcan Spanish

This dissertation also has focused on the production of Differential Object Marking (DOM) in MS, both in clitic doubling structures and in structures without the co-appearance of the clitic by the same Spanish-Catalan bilingual speakers.

This study aimed at verifying if DOM features show evidence of language change between MS and PS. Specifically, this investigation analyzes whether the omission of DOM relates to the cross-linguistic influence from MC on MS or purely internal factors in MS. Likewise, this study aimed to confirm if the language change could have been

avored by combining internal and external factors and whether any of these factors could have accelerated the language change process.

Note that the internal factors examined are the dislocations of the NPs preceded by DOM, and the structure of the NP (with a strong pronoun, a definite or indefinite referent). The external factors are the social variables of gender, age, educational level, area of residence, linguistic preference, and type of bilingualism.

As opposed to the last studies regarding pronominal clitics, 34 speakers participated in this investigation about DOM, equally divided by type of bilingualism (simultaneous vs. sequential).

The results showed evident patterns of DOM omission in both sets of structures involving DOM. The omission of DOM is produced in CLD structures with the NP dislocated to the left (CLLD), but not when the NP is dislocated to the right (CLRD). The most important finding is that the DOM omission occurred mostly in the production of simultaneous bilinguals, who acquired Catalan from birth, instead of the production of sequential speakers (who learned or were exposed to Catalan after being six years old). More specifically, the simultaneous speakers, who omitted DOM frequently, showed a preference for Catalan as their daily-use language. The speakers who showed a lack of preference also produced a similar frequency of omission.

Another external variable that seems to bear an effect on use is gender since women displayed most DOM omissions. These women were simultaneous bilinguals who had a lower level of education. Therefore, the education level also showed an effect. It is essential to highlight that these bilinguals had less exposure to Spanish in formal, literate settings.

Finally, if the internal factors are examined in depth, the only structure that could have accelerated the language change is the CLLD. These constructions are more prominent to be produced without the expected DOM. However, the structures which present a clitic doubling dislocated to the right never present omission of DOM. Therefore, it could be the case that the optional production of DOM in MC in CLLD (Escandell-Vidal, 2009) is a factor that influences the rise of the same optionality of DOM in the same dislocated structures in MS.

Regarding the realization of DOM in constructions without CLD, the results exhibit that the omissions involve non-dislocated objects constituted by full definite NPs in MS as opposed to PS. More specifically, the omission of DOM is produced mostly when the

DO is composed of a definite NP (a strong pronoun, a definite determiner with a noun, or a proper name).

Considering the possible effects that produced these omissions, a similar pattern of the DOM omissions in CLD structures is found since the simultaneous bilinguals are the speakers who provided most of the widespread omission of DOM in non-clitic doubling constructions in MS. Besides, these simultaneous bilinguals indicated that their linguistic preference was Catalan, or they did not have any preference between Spanish and Catalan. Therefore, this similar pattern related to DOM omission with or without CLD structures supports the argument, which defends that bilingualism plays a meaningful role in this phenomenon. More concretely, the effect of bilingualism could provoke a possible case of language change, given that the use of DOM in Catalan could have a partial impact on the production of DOM in MS.

Notice that the results of this dissertation are in line with what Escandell-Vidal (2009) argued about the rate of DOM omission in Balearic Catalan dialects with non-dislocated NPs composed by proper names or definite arguments. Therefore, since these results show that simultaneous bilinguals who were more substantially exposed to Catalan from birth are the speakers who produced more DOM omissions in MS, the conclusion could be that the exposure to Catalan triggered the influence of its properties of DOM in the speakers' production of Majorcan Spanish. Besides, the bilingualism effect could be further supported by the speakers' level of education since the simultaneous bilinguals who omitted DOM more frequently were those who presented the lowest educational level. The reason why this could be supporting the range of omission is the fact that bilinguals with a higher level of education would have a higher exposure to Peninsular (Standard) Spanish.

To sum up, the variation observed regarding the production of DOM (with or without CLD constructions) in MS in comparison to PS represents a difference in the underlying linguistic knowledge of bilinguals (simultaneous versus sequential). What could be affirmed is that an ongoing language change is creating in the simultaneous speakers' production of MS. However, a discussion is needed to talk appropriately about change. While some linguists, such as Stolz (2006), consider that a change is produced when an innovative form or structure appears in the production of a speaker, other researchers, such as Croft (2000), consider that a change is produced when this innovative form or structure has been propagated.

Given that the variation observed in MS by simultaneous bilinguals represents differences in mental grammar, this dissertation considers the first approach since it assumes that the MS linguistic system is undergoing a change. However, the differences in the production of DOM are not found in the production of sequential bilinguals (almost in CLD structures), so that this variation has not yet been propagated. Therefore, although this study considers that the Majorcan Spanish DOM-marker presents a change, this change is in progress or ongoing (see Tsitsipis, 1998, Aikhenvald, 2006) “representing a scenario of variation in which some individuals (in this case, sequential bilinguals) may or may not produce or accept the innovations introduced by another group of individuals (in this case, simultaneous bilinguals)” (Jiménez-Gaspar et al., to appear). Thus, bilingualism and language contact (with MC) act as evidence of ongoing language change in the production of DOM in MS.

Besides, aspects related to the bilingual acquisition are relevant, given that early exposure to Catalan and a preference for using Catalan act as an essential variable in the production of simultaneous speakers since they are introducing changes in the properties of MS. In other words, the acquisition of two languages by the simultaneous speakers plays a vital role as a trigger that provokes the variation and consequent change in their linguistic knowledge and production of Majorcan Spanish.

In a nutshell, simultaneous bilinguals were the speakers who could accelerate the language change. If so, the approach considered by Meisel (2011) could be modified about bilingual contexts since these speakers would be the primary locus for possible language change, opposed to what was expected related to sequential speakers as a trigger of language changes across generations. Thus, the early and more extensive exposure to Catalan has a more significant effect on the emergence of variation in the production of DOM in MS.

6.4 Future directions

The production data analyzed here involved mostly simultaneous Catalan-Spanish bilinguals who grew up exposed to both languages from birth. If the speaker’s linguistic preference for speaking either Catalan or Spanish can be an indirect indicator of language dominance, this is a factor that would not have yielded a significant difference in the production of either MC or MS. However, further research is necessary to determine whether there would be differences compared to sequential bilinguals who did not acquire both languages in childhood and were not represented sufficiently among the speakers considered in this investigation.

The results from simultaneous bilinguals in Majorca presented in this dissertation indicate no evidence of change resulting from bilingualism among these speakers in most of the phenomena described and analyzed in this study. However, there exists a clear difference between the results from the first- and second-, and third-person pronominal clitics, on the one hand, and the production of DOM, on the other hand. While bilingual speakers of Majorca produced the non-peninsular forms in the two first studies independently of their type of bilingualism (simultaneous or sequential bilinguals), there is a clear pattern in the production (and omission) of DOM between the different bilinguals. Simultaneous bilinguals were the speakers who showed variation in the production of Spanish *a*-marking due to the MC influence, as explained before.

Consequently, it is still necessary to analyze more synchronic data to obtain a more frequent distribution of different uses across groups, which will allow more trustworthy conclusions. Although there are some significant results between the use of non-peninsular and peninsular forms of Catalan and Spanish, the analysis shows that social variables are not a substantially determining factor beyond a few isolated cases, at least considering the population sample that participated in this study.

Moreover, further research is also needed to investigate old texts not only in MC but also in MS, to determine when forms such as *mos* started being used instead of *nos*. Specifically, it is necessary to verify whether the development of the first-person plural pronominal clitic in MC, *mos*, was a reanalysis for the influence of the first-person singular form, *me*. Besides, it is relevant to conclude if the rural form, *mos*, in MS could favor the maintenance of this archaic form in MC (as Enrique-Arias, 2019 explains).

Likewise, given that the uses of the pronominal clitics that have been reduced throughout the centuries are the elided forms (*m'/'m, t'/'t, l'/'l*), both as proclitic and enclitic forms, further diachronic analyses are needed to conclude if the epenthetic vowel (Fischer, 2003) is added in the word beginning or ending (*em/me*). Consider that the host of the pronominal clitics was not always the verb, but any categorial form (nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and so on, almost during the centuries 13th-17th).

Finally, it will be essential to verify when the peninsular forms began to be used in CC and what the reason was for this dialect change of its forms to match the currently used in MC, (*me, te, nos>mos* and *vos*) and the ones used in both Catalan dialects (BC, including MC, and CC) throughout the 13th-17th centuries.

References

- Aikhenvald, A. (2006). Grammars in Contact: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective. In A. Aikhenvald & R.M.W. Dixon (eds): *Grammars in Contact: A Cross-Linguistic Typology*, 1-66. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aissen, J. (2003). Differential object marking: Iconicity vs. economy. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 21(3), 435-483.
- Alcover, A. M. (1916). Estudis de Sintaxi dialectal catalana. In A. M. Alcover (ed.): *Bolletí del diccionari de la llengua catalana*, vol. IX, 11-37 i 49-63.
- Amengual, M. (2011a). Spanish and Catalan in Majorca: Are there contact-induced changes in the Majorcan Catalan vowel system? In L. Ortiz (ed.): *Selected Proceedings of the 13th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*, 214-223, Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Amengual, M. (2011b). Verbal morphology and identity in Majorca: the manifestation of attitudes in writing. In J. Michnowicz & R. Dodsworth (eds.): *Selected Proceedings of 5th Workshop on Spanish Sociolinguistics*, 26-39, Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Amengual, M. (2016). The perception and production of language-specific mid-vowel contrasts: shifting the focus to the bilingual individual in early language input conditions. *Int. J. Bilingualism* 20, 133-152. 10.1177/1367006914544988.
- Anagnostopoulou, E. (2006). Clitic doubling. *M. Everaert & H. van Riemsdijk (eds.). The Blackwell companion to syntax*, vol. 1, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 519-580.
- Appel, R. & P. Muyaken (1986). *Bilingüismo y contacto de lenguas*, Barcelona, Ariel.
- Arnaus Gil, L. (2020). Age of Onset, Language Proficiency and dialectal Variation: Catalan copula Selection in locative Contexts with (non-)eventive Subjects. *International Journal of Multilingualism*. To appear.
- Badia i Margarit, A. M. (1981): *Gramàtica històrica catalana*, vol. 4, Valencia, Editorial Tres i quatre.
- Batllori, M., Iglesias, N., & A. M. Martins (2004): «L'ordre de clítics en català antic: morfologia i sintaxi dels clítics pronominals en català medieval». *Caplletra*, nº 38.
- Benito, R. (2017). Differential Object Marking in Catalan: Contexts of Appearance and Analysis. Master thesis, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

- Birdsong, D., Gertken, L., & M. Amengual (2012). *Bilingual Language Profile: An Easy To-Use Instrument to Assess Bilingualism*, Austin, TX: COERLL, University of Texas at Austin.
- Blas Arroyo, J.L. (1993): *La interferencia lingüística en Valencia (dirección: catalán – castellano), estudio sociolingüístico*, Valencia, Universitat de Jaume I.
- Blas Arroyo, J.L. (1995). A propósito de un caso de convergencia gramatical por causación múltiple en el área de influencia lingüística catalana: Análisis sociolingüístico. *Cuadernos de investigación filológica*, 21, 175-200.
- Blas Arroyo, J.L. (1998): *Las comunidades de habla bilingües: temas de sociolingüística española*, Zaragoza, Libros Pórtico.
- Blas Arroyo, J.L. (2004): El español actual en las comunidades del ámbito lingüístico catalán. In R. Cano Aguilar (ed.): *Historia de la lengua española*, Barcelona, Ariel, 1065-1086.
- Blas Arroyo, J. L. (2007a). El contacto de lenguas como factor de retención en procesos de variación y cambio lingüístico: Datos sobre el español en una comunidad bilingüe peninsular. *Spanish in Context*, 4(2), 263-291.
- Blas Arroyo, J. L. (2007b). Spanish and Catalan in the Balearic Islands. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, (184), 79-93.
- Bloomfield, L. (1933). *Language*, H. Holt & Co., New York.
- Boeckx, C., & T. Martín (2013). *The dative clitic is more than a clitic*, vol. 1, Universitat de Lleida.
- Bonet, E. (1991). *Morphology after syntax: Pronominal clitics in Romance*. (dissertation), MIT.
- Bonet, E. (1995). Feature structure of Romance clitics. *Natural language & linguistic theory*, 13(4), 607-647.
- Bonet, E. (2002). 'Cliticització.' In J. Solà, M.R. Lloret, J. Mascaró & M. Pérez Saldanya (eds.): *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, vol. 1, Barcelona, Empúries, 933-989.
- Bonet, E., & M. R. Lloret (2005). More on alignment as an alternative to domains: the syllabification of Catalan clitics. *Probus*, 17(1), 37-78.

- Bosque, I. & V. Demonte (1999): *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, Madrid, Espasa-Calpe.
- Burkard, M. & A. Jiménez-Gaspar (2019). L'ús dels clítics pronominals a la varietat balear: síntesi d'un estudi multidimensional. In *Jornades de la lingüística Catalana a Viena*, Universitat Wien.
- Burridge, K. & A. Bergs (2016). *Understanding Language Change*, Taylor & Francis Group, ProQuest Ebook Central:
<http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/balears/detail.action?docID=4732486>
 [11/20/2020].
- Butler, Y. & K. Hakuta (2008). Bilingualism and Second Language Acquisition. In T. K. Bhatia & W. C Ritchie (eds.): *The Handbook of Bilingualism*, John Willey and Sons, 114-144.
- Camacho, J. (2018). *Introducci3n a la sintaxis del espaol*. New Jersey: Cambridge University Press.
- Camacho, M. V. (1998): El concepto de cltico en la teora gramatical. *Interlingüística*, vol. 9, 81-84.
- Camacho, M. V. (2006): *La arquitectura de la gramtica: los clticos pronominales romnicos y eslavos*, vol. 27, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla.
- Cameron, D. & J. Croates (1988). Some problems in the sociolinguistic explanation of sex differences. *Women in their Speech Communities: New Perspectives on Language and Sex*. London, Longman, 13-26.
- Chambers, J. K. (2003). *Sociolinguistic Theory: Linguistic Variation and Its Social Significance*, Malden and Oxford, Blackwell.
- Cheshire, J. (2002). Sex and gender in variationist research. In J. K. Chambers, P. Trudgill, & N. Schilling (eds.): *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. Malden and Oxford: Blackwell, 423-443.
- Chomsky, N. (1995). Language and nature. *Mind*, 104 (413), 1-61.
- Chomsky, N. (2001). Derivation by Phase. In M. Kenstowicz (ed.): *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press, 1-52.

- Chomsky, N. (2004) Beyond Explanatory Adequacy. In A. Belletti (ed.): *Structures and Beyond*. Oxford: OUP, 104-131.
- Chomsky, N. (2005). Three Factors in Language Design. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36, 1-22.
- Corpus Informatitzat del Català Antic (CICA)*. (2009) J. Torruelli, M. Pérez Saldanya & J. Martines (dirs.) <http://lexicon.uab.cat/cica>. 2009.
- Croft, W. (2000). *Explaining Language Change*. Harlow: Longman Linguistics Library.
- De Groot, A. M. (2011). *Language and cognition in bilinguals and multilinguals: An introduction*. Psychology Press.
- Diez, F. (1844). *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, Bonn, Weber.
- Eisenchlas, S. (2003). Clitics in Child Spanish. *First Language*, 23(2), 193-211. doi:10.1177/01427237030232003.
- Enrique-Arias, A. (1997). *The grammaticalization of object agreement in Spanish* (dissertation), University of Southern California.
- Enrique-Arias, A. (2010). On language contact as an inhibitor of language change. *Continuity and change in grammar*, 159, 97.
- Enrique-Arias, A. (dir.) (2012). *Corpus Mallorca*. En línea en <corpusmallorca.es>.
- Enrique-Arias, A. (2012). Retos del estudio sociolingüístico del contacto de lenguas a través de un corpus documental. El caso del español en contacto con el catalán en Mallorca. *Revista de Investigación Lingüística*, nº15, 23-46.
- Enrique-Arias, A. (2014a). Efectos del contacto de lenguas en el español de Mallorca: una perspectiva histórica. *Perspectives in the study of Spanish language variation*, 266-293.
- Enrique-Arias, A. (2014b). Lengua y escritura en la Mallorca del XVIII: el archivo epistolar de Cecilia Zaforteza. In A. Castillo Gómez y V. Sierra Blas (eds.): *Cinco siglos de cartas. Historia y prácticas epistolares en las épocas moderna y contemporánea*, Huelva, Universidad de Huelva, 313-328.
- Enrique-Arias, A. (2017). Procesos de sustitución lingüística en Mallorca durante los siglos XVIII y XIX. *IV Jornadas de Lingüística Hispánica: Variación e identidad*, Lisboa, Universidad de Lisboa, 3-5 de abril.

- Enrique-Arias, A. (2019). Los clíticos de primera y segunda persona del plural en las variedades rurales del español y romances vecinos. *Revue de Linguistique Romane*, vol. 83, 23-75.
- Enrique-Arias, A. (en prensa [2020]). El *idioma nacional* frente al *dialecto provincial*. Actitudes hacia el castellano y el catalán en Mallorca en los siglos XVIII y XIX. In M. Rivas Zancarrón y V. Gaviño Rodríguez (eds.): *Creencias y actitudes ante la lengua en la España y América de los siglos XVIII y XIX*, Madrid, Iberoamericana Vervuert, 45-66.
- Escandell-Vidal, M.V. & M. Leonetti (2000). Categorías funcionales y semántica procedimental. *Cien años de investigación semántica: de Michel Bréal a la actualidad*, tomo I, Madrid, Ediciones Clásicas, 363-378.
- Escandell-Vidal, V. (2007). Acusatiu preposicional i dislocació amb clíctic, *Caplletra*, vol. 42 1-24.
- Escandell-Vidal, V. (2009). Differential Object Marking and topicality. The case of Balearic Catalan. *Studies in Language*, vol. 33, 832-885.
- Fabra, P. (1913). *Normes Ortogràfiques*, Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans.
- Fábregas, A. (2013). Differential object marking in Spanish: State of the art. *Borealis - An International Journal of Hispanic Linguistics*, 2.2, 1-80.
- Fernández-Ordóñez, I. (2001). Hacia una dialectología histórica. Reflexiones sobre la historia del leísmo, el laísmo y el loísmo. *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, 81(284), 389-464.
- Ferrando, A. & Nicolás, M. (2011). *Història de la llengua catalana*, Barcelona, UOC.
- Fischer, S. (2003). *The Catalan Clitic System: a diachronic perspective on its syntax and phonology*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter.
- Frías-Conde, X. (2003). O comportamento sintáctico dos clíticos nas linguas románicas. *Interlingüística*, vol. 14, 383-398.
- Gargallo Gil, J. E. & M. R. Bastardas (eds.) (2007). *Manual de Lingüística Románica*, Barcelona, Ariel.
- Gavarró, A. (1991). A Note on Catalan Clitics. *Catalan Working Papers in Linguistics*, vol. 1, 065-073.

- Ginard i Féron, D. (2008). Historiografía española reciente sobre la oposición antifranquista y el exilio (1939-1977), *Iberoamericana* (2001-), 8(30), 199-210.
- Grosjean, F. (2008). *Studying bilinguals*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Givón, T. (1983). Topic Continuity in Discourse. A quantitative cross-language study. *Typological Studies in Language*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins, vol. 3.
- Haugen, E. (1970). Linguistics and dialinguistics. *Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics*, vol. 23, 1-12.
- Hagen, E. (1978). Bilingualism, language contact, and immigrant languages in the united states: a research report. In J. A. Fishman (ed.): *Advances in the Study of Societal Multilingualism*, vol. 9(1), 1-111.
- von Heusinger, K. & G. Kaiser. (2007). Differential Object Marking and the lexical semantics of verbs in Spanish. In G. Kaiser & M. Leonetti (eds.): *Proceedings of the Workshop "Definiteness, Specificity and Animacy in Ibero-Romance Languages"*, Universität Konstanz, Fachbereich Sprachwissenschaft, 85-110.
- Hualde, J. I. (1992). *Catalan: Descriptive Grammar*, London and New York : Routledge
- Hulk, A, & N. Müller (2000). Bilingual first language acquisition at the interface between syntax and pragmatics. *Bilingualism: Language and cognition*, 3(03), 227-244.
- IBESTAT, Institut d'Estadística de les Illes Balears. (2016). Població [en línea] <<http://ibestat.caib.es/ibestat/estadistiques/poblacio>> [Consulta: 1 juny 2020].
- Jaeggli, O. (1986). Three Issues in the Theory of Clitics: Case, Doubled NPs and Extraction. In H. Borer (ed.): *Syntax and Semantics*, Academic Press, Orlando, Florida.
- Jiménez Gaspar, A., A. Pires & P. Guijarro-Fuentes. (2017a). Bilingualism and language change: The case of pronominal clitics in Catalan and Spanish. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. (published online) <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2017.1333487>.
- Jiménez-Gaspar, A., P. Guijarro-Fuentes & A. Pires (2017b). Clitic Doubling in Majorcan Spanish and Catalan. In C. Vargas-Sierra (ed.): *EPiC Series in Language and Linguistics*, 2, 148-158.

- Jiménez-Garpar, A., A. Pires & P. Guijarro-Fuentes (2018). Bilingüismo y variación: juicios de gramaticalidad como evidencia de la preferencia por el vernáculo *AESLA*, num. 4, 305-314.
- Jiménez-Gaspar, A., A. Pires, & P. Guijarro-Fuentes. (2020). Transfer and convergence between Catalan and Spanish in a bilingual setting. In L. A. Ortiz-López, R. E. Guzzardo Tamargo & M. González-Rivera (eds.): *Hispanic Contact Linguistics. Theoretical, methodological and empirical perspectives*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, p. 180-211, 10.1075/ihll.22.08jim.
- Jiménez-Gaspar, A., A., Pires & P. Guijarro-Fuentes. (in press [2020]). Simultaneous bilingualism as a trigger of language change: Clitic doubling and differential object marking in Majorcan Spanish, John Benjamins.
- Kayne, R. (1975). *French Syntax: The Transformational Cycle*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Klavans, J. (1985). The Independence of Syntax and Phonology in Cliticization. *Source: Language*, vol. 61(1), 95-120.
- Kroch, A. S. (1978). Toward a theory of social dialect variation. *Language in Society*, 7(1), 17-36.
- Labov, W. (1969). Contraction, deletion and inherent variability of the English copula. *Language*, 45(4), 715-762.
- Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Labov, W. (2001). *Principles of Linguistic Change: External Factors*. Philadelphia, Blackwell Publishing Co.
- Larranaga, P., & P. Guijarro-Fuentes (eds.) (2012). *Pronouns and clitics in early language*, vol. 108, Walter de Gruyter.
- Leonetti, M. (2004). Specificity and differential object marking in Spanish. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, vol. 3, 75-114.
- López, L. (2012). *Indefinite objects: Scrambling, choice functions, and differential marking*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- López Morales, H. (coord.) (1983). *Introducción a la Lingüística actual*, Madrid, Playor.

- Maré i Soler, P. (2010). Tranferència de la L1 en l'adquisició dels clítics pronominals del català (L2). *Revista Philologica Romanica*, vol. 10, 73-92.
- Maré i Soler, P. (2012). *L'ús dels clítics pronominals del català i la seva adquisició per parlants de romanès i de tagal*. (dissertation), Universitat de Girona.
- Massot i Muntaner, J. (1985). *Els mallorquins i la llengua autòctona*. Barcelona: Curial.
- Meisel, J. M. (2011). Bilingual language acquisition and theories of diachronic change: Bilingualism as cause and effect of grammatical change. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 14(2), 121-145.
- Martin, F. J. (2012). *Deconstructing Catalan object clitics*. (dissertation), New York University.
- Melià, J. (1998). Palma i pobles: Les dues cares de la situació lingüística a Mallorca. *Actes de la cinquena Trobada de Sociolingüistes Catalans*, Barcelona, 24 i 25 d'abril de 1997, 114–131.
- Melià, J. & MM. Vanrell (eds.) (2017). *Enquesta d'usos lingüístics a les Illes Balears 2014. Anàlisi*. Palma: Conselleria de Cultura, Participació i Esports del Govern de les Illes Balears, Departament de Cultura de la Generalitat de Catalunya i Universitat de les Illes Balears.
- Metge, B. [1399] (1925). Lo Somni. *Els Nostres Clàssics: Obres Completes dels Escriptors Catalans Medievals*, Barcelona, Barcino Edition.
- Meyer-Lübke, W. (1897). Zur Stellung der tonlosen Objektspronomina. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, vol. 21(313), 34.
- Montolla Abat, B. (2002). La llengua catalana: presentació general. In J. Solà et al. (eds.): *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, vol. 2, 3-33, Barcelona, Empúries.
- Montrul, S. A. (2012). *El bilingüismo en el mundo hispanohablante*, John Wiley & Sons.
- Moreno Fernández, F. (2009). *Principios de sociolingüística y sociología del lenguaje*. Barcelona, Ariel.
- Mussafia, A. (1898). Enclisi o proclisi del pronome personale atono quale oggetto. *Romania*, vol. 27, 145-6.
- Nida, E. A. (1946). *Morphology: The Descriptive Analysis of Words*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

- Paradis, J. & F. Genesee (1997). Syntactic acquisition in bilingual children: Autonomous or independent? *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 18, 1-25.
- Payrató, Ll. (1985). *La interferència lingüística: Comentaris i exemples català-castellà*, Barcelona, Curial Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.
- Payrató, Ll. (1996). *Català col·loquial. Aspectes de l'ús corrent de la llengua catalana*, vol. 5, València, Universitat de València.
- Penny, R. J. (2004): *Variation and change in Spanish*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Penny, R. J. (2008). *Gramática histórica del español*, 3ª ed., Barcelona, Ariel.
- Perea, M. P. (2012). Les combinacions de clítics pronominals en els dialectes catalans. In *Estudis Romànics*, vol. 34, 99-143.
- Perpiñán, S. (2017). Catalan-Spanish bilingualism continuum: The expression of adverbial clitics in different types of early bilinguals. *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism*, vol. 7(5), 477-513. <https://doi.org/10.1075/lab.15004.per>.
- Perpiñán, S. (2018). On convergence, ongoing language change, and crosslinguistic influence in direct object expression in Catalan-Spanish bilingualism. *Languages*, vol. 3(2), 14.
- Poplack, S. (1993). Variation theory and language contact. *American dialect research*, 251-286.
- Poplack, S., & S. Levey. (2010). Contact-Induced Grammatical Change. Language and Space. In P. Auer & J. E. Schmidt (eds.): *An International Handbook of Linguistic Variation*, vol. 1 Theories and Methods, 391-419, Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter.
- Pires, A., & S. G. Thomason. (2008). How much syntactic reconstruction is possible? In G. Ferraresi & M. Goldbach (eds.): *Principles of Syntactic Reconstruction*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins, 27-72.
- Radatz, H-I. (2007). De la Mallorca preturística a la moderna: La desdialectització del català de Mallorca. *Els Marges, revista de llengua i literatura*, vol. 81, 29-41.
- Richards, N. (2010). *Uttering trees*, vol. 56, Cambridge, MIT Press.
- Roca, F. (1992). Object clitics in Spanish and Catalan. *Catalan Working Papers in Linguistics*, vol. 2, 245-280.

- Rodríguez-Ordóñez, I. (2016). *Differential Object Marking in Basque: Grammaticalization, attitudes and ideological representations*. (Dissertation), Urbana-Champaign, UIUC.
- Samper, J. A. (1990). *Estudio sociolingüístico del español de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria*, Las Palmas, La Caja de Canarias.
- Sancho, P. (2002). La preposició i el sintagma preposicional. In J. Solà, M.R. Lloret, J. Mascaró & M. Pérez Saldanya (eds.): *Gramàtica del català contemporani*. Barcelona, Empúries, 1698-1796.
- Sapir, E. (1930). The Southern Paiute, a Shoshonean language. *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, vol. 65(1), 1-296.
- Schmeißer, A., Hager, M., Arnaus Gil, L., Jansen, V., Geveler, J., Eichler, N., Patuto, M., & Müller, N. (2016). Related but different: The two concepts of language dominance and language proficiency. In C. Silva-Corvalán & J. Treffers-Daller (eds.): *Language dominance in bilinguals: Issues of operationalization and measurement*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 36-65.
- Seib, J. (2001). *La variedad bilingüe del español hablado en Cataluña caracterizada por interferencias y convergencias con el catalán*, Mannheim, Universität Mannheim.
- Seguí Trobat, G. (2014): *La llengua pròpia de les Balears: Morfosintaxi catalana*. Mallorca, Edicions Documenta Balear.
- Siemund, P. (2008). Language contact: Constraints and common paths of contact induced-change language change. In P. Siemund & N. Kintana (eds.): *Language Contact and Contact Languages*, vol. 7, Hamburg Studies on Multilingualism, Amsterdam, John Benjamins, 3-11.
- Siguán, M & W. F. Mackey (1986). *Educación y bilingüismo*, Madrid, Santillana/UNESCO.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. (1994). *Language Contact and Change: Spanish in Los Angeles*: ERIC.
- Silva-Corvalán, C., & A. Enrique-Arias (2017). *Sociolingüística y pragmática del español: segunda edición*. Georgetown University Press.
- Sinner C. & A. Wesch (eds.) (2008). *El castellano en las tierras de habla catalana*. Madrid, Iberoamericana.

- Schmid, M. (2011). Attrition and the structure of language. In *Language Attrition (Key Topics in Sociolinguistics)*, pp. 47-68). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511852046.006
- Solà, J. (1994). *Sintaxi normativa; estat de la qüestió*, 2^a ed., Barcelona, Empúries.
- Stiasny, A. (2006). *The acquisition of clitics in Croatian and Spanish and its implications for syntactic theory*. Dissertation, University of Michigan.
- Stolz, T. (2006). Contact-induced typological change. In D. Stern & S. Voss (eds.): *Marginal Linguistic Identities. Studies in Slavic Contact and Borderland Varieties*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 14-30.
- Tagliamonte, S. (2012). *Variationist Sociolinguistics: Change, Observation, Interpretation*. Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell Publishers.
- Thomason, S. G., & T. Kaufman (1988). *Language contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Thomason, S. G. (2001). *Language Contact: An Introduction*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.
- Todolí, J. (1998): *Els pronoms personals*, vol. 23, València, Universitat de València.
- Todolí, J. (2002). Els pronoms. In J. Solà, M.R. Lloret, J. Mascaró & M. Pérez Saldanya (dirs.): *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, vol. 3, Barcelona, Empúries, 1341-1433.
- Toribio, A. J. (2001). On the emergence of bilingual code-switching competence. *Bilingualism: language and cognition*, vol. 4 (03), 203-231.
- Torrego, E. (1998). *The dependencies of objects*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Torrego, E. (2002). Aspect in the prepositional system of Romance. In T. Satterfield, C. Tortora & D. Cresti (eds.): *Current Issues in Romance Languages*. Amsterdam, John Benjamins, 337-357.
- Torruella, J. (2009a). Bases científicas en la investigación a partir de corpus: el caso del Corpus Informatitzat del Català Antic. In A. Enrique-Arias (ed.): *Diacronía de las lenguas iberorrománicas: nuevas aportaciones desde la lingüística de corpus*. Madrid/Frankfurt, Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 95-115.

- Torruella, J. (2009b). Los ejes principales en el diseño de un corpus diacrónico: el caso del CICA. In P. Cantos Gómez & A. Sánchez Pérez (eds.): *A Survey on Corpus based Research / Panorama de investigaciones basadas en corpus*, Asociación Española de Lingüística del Corpus. En línea: <http://www.um.es/lacell/aelinco/contenido/pdf/2.pdf> [última consulta: 27/12/2018].
- Trudgill, P. J. (1972). Sex, covert prestige, and linguistic change in urban British English. *Language in Society* 1(2), 179-195.
- Trudgill, P. J. (1983). *On Dialect: Social and Geographical Perspectives*. Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
- Tsitsipis, L. D. (1998). *A linguistic anthropology of praxis and language shift: Arvani'tika (Albanian) and Greek in contact*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Uriagereka, J. (1992). *Some Issues on Clitic Placement in Western Romance*. University of Maryland.
- Uriagereka, J. (1995). Aspects of the syntax of clitic placement in Western Romance. *Linguistic inquiry*, 26(1), 79-123.
- Uriagereka, J. (2002). *Derivations: Exploring the Dynamics of Syntax*. London, Routledge.
- van Riemsdijk, H. (1999). Clitics in the Languages of Europe. In H. van Riemsdijk (ed.): *Clitics: A State-of-the Art Report*. New York, Mouton de Gruyter, 1–30.
- Varlokosta, S., A. Belletti, J. Costa, N. Friedmann, A. Gavarró, K. K. Grohmann, N. Argemí, et al. (2016). A Cross-linguistic Study of the Acquisition of Clitic and Pronoun Production. *Language Acquisition*, vol. 23(1), 1-26.
- Veny, J. (1978). *Els parlars Catalans. Síntesi de dialectologia catalana*. Palma, Moll.
- Villalba, X. (2011). A quantitative comparative study of right-dislocation in Catalan and Spanish. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(7), 1946-61.
- Wackernagel, J. (1892). Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung. *Indogermanische Forschungen*, vol. 1, 333-436.

- Weinreich, U. I., Labov, W. & M. Herzog. (1968). Empirical foundations for a theory of language change. In W.P. Lehmann & Y. Malkiel (eds): *Directions for Historical Linguistics*, Austin, University of Texas Press, 95-185.
- Wells, R. S. (1947). Immediate constituents. *Language*, vol. 23(2), 81-117.
- Wexler, K., Gavarro, A., & V., Torrens (2003). Object clitic omission in child Catalan and child Spanish. *Reports de recerca*.
- Wheeler, M., Yates, A. & N. Dols (1999). *Catalan a comprehensive grammar*. New York, Psychology Press.
- Wolfram, W. (1969). *A Sociolinguistic Description of Detroit Negro Speech*. Washington, DC, Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Wolfram, W. & R. Fasold (1974). *The Study of Social Dialects in American English*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Zagona, K. (2002). *The syntax of Spanish*. Cambridge University Press.
- Zwicky, A. M. (1977). *On clitics*. Bloomington, Indiana University Linguistics Club.

APPENDIX 1

Distribution of the participants of this dissertation across social variables

Participants	AGE	GENDER	EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	AREA OF RESIDENCE	L1	TYPE OF BILINGUAL
Participant 1	67	Male	Elementary studies	Llucmajor	Catalan	simultaneous
Participant 2	63	Female	Elementary studies	Llucmajor	Catalan	simultaneous
Participant 3	42	Male	Elementary studies	Llucmajor	Catalan	simultaneous
Participant 4	42	Female	Undergraduate degree	Llucmajor	Catalan	simultaneous
Participant 5	40	Female	Elementary studies	Llucmajor	Catalan	simultaneous
Participant 6	42	Male	Elementary studies	Llucmajor	Catalan	simultaneous
Participant 7	41	Female	Elementary studies	Llucmajor	Catalan	simultaneous
Participant 8	29	Female	Community college	Soller	Catalan	simultaneous
Participant 9	29	Male	Undergraduate degree	Llubí	Catalan	simultaneous
Participant 10	26	Female	High school	Capdepera	Catalan	simultaneous
Participant 11	29	Male	High school	Capdepera	Catalan	simultaneous
Participant 12	50	Male	High school	Capdepera	Catalan	simultaneous
Participant 13	45	Female	Elementary studies	Capdepera	Catalan	simultaneous
Participant 14	16	Female	Elementary studies	Capdepera	Catalan	simultaneous
Participant 15	65	Female	Elementary studies	Capdepera	Catalan	simultaneous
Participant 16	25	Female	Elementary studies	Capdepera	Spanish	sequential
Participant 17	55	Female	Elementary studies	Capdepera	Spanish	sequential
Participant 18	60	Female	High school	Palma	Both	simultaneous
Participant 19	41	Male	High school	Palma	Both	simultaneous
Participant 20	40	Female	High school	Palma	Both	simultaneous
Participant 21	29	Female	Undergraduate degree	Palma	Both	simultaneous
Participant 22	33	Female	Undergraduate degree	Palma	Both	simultaneous
Participant 23	32	Male	High school	Palma	Spanish	sequential

Participant 24	30	Female	Community college	Palma	Both	simultaneous
Participant 25	30	Male	Undergraduate degree	Palma	Spanish	sequential
Participant 26	40	Female	Undergraduate degree	Palma	Spanish	sequential
Participant 27	25	Female	Undergraduate degree	Palma	Spanish	simultaneous
Participant 28	21	Male	High school	Palma	Spanish	simultaneous
Participant 29	23	Male	Elementary studies	Palma	Spanish	sequential
Participant 30	29	Female	Undergraduate degree	Palma	Spanish	sequential
Participant 31	27	Female	Elementary studies	Palma	Spanish	sequential
Participant 32	32	Female	Community college	Palma	Spanish	simultaneous
Participant 33	36	Male	Community college	Palma	Catalan	simultaneous
Participant 34	33	Male	Community college	Llucmajor	Both	simultaneous
Participant 35	22	Male	Community college	Llucmajor	Catalan	simultaneous
Participant 36	45	Male	Community college	Llucmajor	Both	sequential
Participant 37	30	Female	High school	Palma	Spanish	sequential
Participant 38	22	Male	Community college	Llucmajor	Spanish	simultaneous
Participant 39	45	Male	High school	Palma	Spanish	sequential
Participant 40	37	Female	Undergraduate degree	Palma	Both	simultaneous
Participant 41	67	Female	Undergraduate degree	Alcudia	Catalan	simultaneous
Participant 42	37	Male	Undergraduate degree	Alcudia	Catalan	simultaneous
Participant 43	67	Male	Undergraduate degree	Alcudia	Catalan	simultaneous
Participant 44	32	Female	Community college	Sóller	Catalan	simultaneous
Participant 45	32	Male	Undergraduate degree	Palma	Catalan	simultaneous
Participant 46	41	Male	High school	Palma	Spanish	sequential
Participant 47	32	Male	High school	Palma	Spanish	sequential
Participant 48	41	Male	Community college	Palma	Spanish	sequential

Participant 49	29	Male	Elementary studies	Palma	Spanish	sequential
Participant 50	35	Female	High school	Palma	Spanish	sequential
Participant 51	31	Female	Undergraduate degree	Palma	Spanish	sequential

Table 65. Distribution of speakers across social variables

APPENDIX 2

Ethnolinguistic questionnaire

A continuació, pots respondre a una sèrie de preguntes sobre aspectes relacionats amb informació personal teva, sobretot en relació amb la teva preferència lingüística. / A continuación, podrás responder a una serie de cuestiones sobre aspectos relacionados con tu información personal, sobre todo en relación con tu preferencia lingüística.

1. On vares néixer? / ¿Cuál es tu lugar de nacimiento?

- a. a Mallorca. / en Mallorca
- b. a una altra zona d'Espanya: / Otra zona de España:

2. Si no has nascut a Mallorca, quant de temps fa que vius a Mallorca? / Si no has nacido en Mallorca, ¿cuánto tiempo llevas en Mallorca?

- a. més de 5 anys / más de 5 años.
- b. més de 10 anys / más de 10 años.
- c. més de 15 anys / más de 15 años.
- d. més de 20 anys / más de 20 años.

3. En quina llengua vares estudiar durant l'Educació Infantil? / ¿En qué lengua estudiaste durante tu Educación Infantil?

- a. Espanyol / Español.
- b. Català / Catalán.
- c. Ambdues llengües / Las dos lenguas.
- d. Una altra llengua / Otra lengua:

4. En quina llengua vares estudiar durant l'Educació Primària? / ¿En qué lengua estudiaste durante tu Educación Primaria?

- a. Espanyol / Español.
- b. Català / Catalán.
- c. Ambdues llengües / Las dos lenguas.
- d. Una altra llengua / Otra lengua:

- 5. En quina llengua vares estudiar durant l'Educació Secundària? / ¿En qué lengua estudiaste durante tu Educación Secundaria?**
- Espanyol / Español.
 - Català / Catalán.
 - Ambdues llengües / Las dos lenguas.
 - Una altra llengua / Otra lengua:
- 6. Si has finalitzat estudis posteriors, en quina llengua els vares cursar? / Si has realizado más estudios posteriores, ¿en qué lengua los realizaste?**
- Espanyol / Español.
 - Català / Catalán.
 - Ambdues llengües / Las dos lenguas.
 - Una altra llengua / Otra lengua:
- 7. Quina llengua prefereixes utilitzar diàriament? / ¿Qué lengua prefieres utilizar en tu vida diaria?**
- Espanyol / Español.
 - Català / Catalán.
 - Ambdues llengües / Las dos lenguas.
 - Una altra llengua / Otra lengua:
- 8. Quina llengua utilitzes a ca teva? / ¿Qué lengua utilizas en casa?**
- Espanyol / Español.
 - Català / Catalán.
 - Ambdues llengües / Las dos lenguas.
 - Una altra llengua / Otra lengua:
- 9. Quina llengua utilitzes o prefereixes utilitzar amb els teus amics? / ¿Qué lengua utilizas o prefieres utilizar con tus amigos?**
- Espanyol / Español.
 - Català / Catalán.
 - Ambdues llengües / Las dos lenguas.
 - Una altra llengua / Otra lengua:

10. Quina llengua utilitzes o prefereixes utilitzar a la consulta del metge? /

¿Qué lengua utilizas o prefieres utilizar en la consulta del médico?

- a. Espanyol / Español.
- b. Català / Catalán.
- c. Ambdues llengües / Las dos lenguas.
- d. Una altra lengua / Otra lengua:

11. Quina llengua utilitzes o prefereixes utilitzar quan compres? / ¿Qué

lengua utilizas o prefieres utilizar cuando vas a comprar?

- a. Espanyol / Español.
- b. Català / Catalán.
- c. Ambdues llengües / Las dos lenguas.
- d. Una altra lengua / Otra lengua:

12. On va néixer la teva mare? / ¿Dónde nació tu madre?

- a. a Mallorca.
- b. a una altra zona d'Espanya: _____ / Otra zona de España:

13. On va néixer el teu pare? / ¿Dónde nació tu padre?

- a. a Mallorca.
- b. a una altra zona d'Espanya: _____ / Otra zona de España:

14. Quina és la llengua materna de la teva mare? / ¿Cuál es la lengua materna de tu madre?

- a. Espanyol / Español.
- b. Català / Catalán.
- c. Ambdues llengües / Las dos lenguas.
- d. Una altra lengua / Otra lengua:

15. Quina és la llengua materna del teu pare? / ¿Cuál es la lengua materna de tu padre?

- a. Espanyol / Español.
- b. Català / Catalán.
- c. Ambdues llengües / Las dos lenguas.
- d. Una altra lengua / Otra lengua:

16. Quins estudis va fer la teva mare? / ¿Qué estudios realizó tu madre?

- a. Estudis mínims / Estudios mínimos.
- b. Estudis secundaris (EGB o semblants) / Estudios secundarios (EGB o semejantes).
- c. Estudis medis (formación professional o semblant) / Estudios medios (formación profesional o semejantes).
- d. Estudis superiors (diplomatura, llicenciatura, màster o doctorat) / Estudios superiores (diplomatura, licenciatura, máster o doctorado).

17. Quins estudis va fer el teu pare? / ¿Qué estudios realizó tu padre?

- a. Estudis mínims / Estudios mínimos.
- b. Estudis secundaris (EGB o semblants) / Estudios secundarios (EGB o semejantes).
- c. Estudis medis (formación professional o semblant) / Estudios medios (formación profesional o semejantes).
- d. Estudis superiors (diplomatura, llicenciatura, màster o doctorat) / Estudios superiores (diplomatura, licenciatura, máster o doctorado).

18. A què et dediques? / ¿A qué te dedicas?

Resposta: / **Respuesta:**

- a. Poc qualificat / Poco cualificado.
- b. Qualificat / Cualificado.
- c. Molt qualificat / Muy cualificado.

APPENDIX 3

Semi-guided interview

A. Primer apartado: preguntas relacionadas con el trabajo y la formación.

1. ¿A qué te dedicas? ¿Cuál es tu trabajo?
2. ¿Has necesitado formarte para ello?
3. ¿Te gustó tu periodo de formación? ¿Guardas buenos recuerdos?
4. ¿Eres de las personas que viven para trabajar o de los que trabajan para vivir? ¿ha sido siempre así?
5. ¿Qué grado de estrés te supone tu trabajo? ¿Cómo lo sobrellevas?
6. ¿Cómo es un día cualquiera en tu vida?

B. Segundo apartado: cuestiones sobre el ocio cotidiano y vacacional.

7. ¿Tienes tiempo para practicar algún deporte o *hobbie*? ¿Cuál?
8. ¿Qué harías si tuvieras más tiempo libre?
9. Y viajar, ¿te gusta viajar?
10. (sí) ¿Qué tipo de viajes sueles realizar? (nacionales, internacionales, mochila, relax, culturales, playa, etc.), (no) ¿qué sueles hacer cuando estás de vacaciones?
11. ¿Qué es lo que más te cuesta cuando vuelves de vacaciones?
12. ¿Qué has hecho estas navidades?
13. ¿Qué harás o qué has hecho durante tus vacaciones de verano?
14. ¿Qué sueles hacer los fines de semana? ¿quedas con tus amigos? Si es así, ¿qué haces con ellos?
15. ¿Tus amigos son de tu entorno laboral, de tu juventud o son familiares?
16. ¿Qué tipo de actividades sueles hacer con ellos cuando quedáis?

C. Tercer apartado: preguntas referentes a la política

17. Después de las navidades y tras empezar un año nuevo, ¿has notado el aumento de los precios en los productos básicos? ¿En cuáles te ha afectado más?
18. ¿Qué es lo que más te ha sorprendido de las últimas reformas políticas?
19. ¿Crees que tenemos un problema de exceso de coches en Palma?
20. ¿Cuál crees que es la mejor solución a este problema? Si lo hubiera.
21. Si fueras presidente/a del Govern Balear cuáles serían las tres primeras cosas que harías.
22. ¿Cuál sería tu política lingüística para las Islas Baleares?

23. Sobre la educación de tus hijos, ¿en qué lengua o lenguas quieres que estudien?
24. Durante este último año hemos tenido una gran huelga de profesores por la nueva ley sobre el TIL. ¿Qué opinas? ¿Estás de acuerdo con los profesores?
25. ¿Qué solución aportarías como padre/madre para que tus hijos siguieran una educación trilingüe?

APPENDIX 4
Elicited data questionnaire

Información personal / Informació personal

Responda a las siguientes cuestiones de forma anónima / Respongui a les següents preguntes de forma anònima

* Required

1. Sexo / sexe *

Mark only one oval.

Mujer

Hombre

Other: _____

2. Edad / edat *

Mark only one oval.

16-29 años / anys

30-40 años / anys

41-67 años / anys

3. Formación / formació *

Mark only one oval.

Estudios mínimos / estudis mínims

Estudios secundarios / estudis secundaris

Estudios medios / estudis mitjans

Estudios universitarios / estudis universitaris

4. Zona de residencia / zone de residència *

Mark only one oval.

- Palma
- Lluçmajor
- Capdepera
- Sóller
- Llubí
- Alcúdia
- Lloseta

5. Preferencia lingüística / preferència lingüística *

Mark only one oval.

- Castellano / castellà
- Catalán / català
- Ambas / amdues

6. ¿Cuándo aprendió catalán? / Quan va aprendre el català? *

Mark only one oval.

- De nacimiento / de naixement
- En la escuela infantil / a l'escola infantil
- En la escuela primaria / a la escola primària
- En Secundaria / a Secundària
- En la Universidad / a la Universitat

7. ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva en Mallorca? / Quant de temps duu a Mallorca? *

Mark only one oval.

- Nací en Mallorca / vaig néixer a Mallorca
- De 0 a 5 años / anys
- De 5 a 10 años / anys
- De 10 a 15 años / anys
- De 15 a 20 años / anys
- Más de 20 años / més de 20 anys

**Cuestionario
de juicios de
gramaticalidad**

A continuación, se le presentan una serie de frases en catalán. Tenga en cuenta que debe considerar el uso de estas frases en la lengua hablada. Valore las siguientes estructuras según su preferencia. / A continuació, se li presenten una sèrie de frases en català. Tingui en compte que ha de considerar l'ús d'aquestes frases en la llengua parlada. Valori les següents estructures segons la seva preferència.

8. Ens ha dit que no vindrà *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

9. Mos ho ha dit (això, a noltros) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

10. Els hi visitaré (a ells) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

11. Vos contaré sa/la veritat *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

12. ho he sembrat (el grà) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

13. ho he sembrat (el grà) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

14. Elze va pagar (doscentos mil pesetes) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

15. Vull veurer-TE *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

16. Jo vull ajudar-te *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

17. Jo te vull ajudar *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

18. Els els compraré (els cotxes, a ells) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

19. les matem (els porcs) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

20. Ells nos entenen a noltros/nosaltres *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

21. Nos han dit que no hi ha espai *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

22. Et durà amb el seu cotxe *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

23. Lis agrada la coca de trampó *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

24. Ho ha comprat avui (el compressor) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

25. Jo vull comprar-vos aquesta camiseta *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

26. Els diré que no venguin *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

27. Les duré demà (ses/les notes) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

28. En tenc colesterol *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

29. No en tenc (paracetamol) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

30. El gafa (el ca) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

31. Elzi paga per hores (els treballadors) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

32. Mai mos diuen què passa *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

33. Et contaré el que m'ha passat *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

34. Sempre em criden quan faig siesta *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

35. Me duràs es carnet? *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

36. Me preocupa que arribi tard *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

37. En el poble es comenta que ell no t'estima *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

38. Se suposa que ja tenen aquesta còpia *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

39. Li grada sopar defora *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

40. Lis han deixat fumar aquí *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

41. Elze vols? (aquestes camisetes) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

42. Els hi varen fer un dibuix *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

43. Mos n'anem? *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

44. Ens n'anem? *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

45. Monanem? *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

46. Ho durà tot a sa/la platja *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

47. Ho sap (que estàs embarassada) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

48. El duràs? (es/el llibre) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

49. M'ho tornaràs? (es/el llibre) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

50. No em coneixes bé

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

51. M'agrada anar a sa/la platja s'horabaixa *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

52. Això la posarà més depressiva *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

53. Mos va venir a cercar per endur-mos *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

54. Lo únic que fan és embullar-los *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

55. Els enduré d'excursió *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

56. Tu elze duus en es dentista? (els nins) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

57. Va ser un viatge per descansar i relaxar-mos *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

58. Us comprareu aquest cotxe? *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

59. Es compraran sa/la televisió? *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

60. En duré quatre llibres *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

61. En compres una? (barra de pa) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

62. En duràs tres? (llibres) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

63. Jo los veig jugar (a ells) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

64. Les hi compraré ses/les camisetes *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

65. Tenc moltes ganes d'utilitzar-lo (l'objectiu de la cámara) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

66. Ho hem trobat a temps (l'alcohol) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

67. Jo explicava a sa/la gent que això no és fàcil *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

68. Això ho va montar es/el padri *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

¿Qué cree que utiliza con mayor frecuencia? / esculli l'opció que creu que empraria a cada enunciat

Escoja la opción que cree que emplearía en cada enunciado en la lengua hablada / esculli l'opció que creu que empraria a cada enunciat a la llengua parlada

69. ___ varen proposar fer un curs per formar-me *

Mark only one oval.

Me

Em

Other: _____

70. __ compres una barra de pa? *

Mark only one oval.

En

71. No ___ deixàven pujar a s'avió *

Mark only one oval.

nos

mos

ens

72. ___ vàreu conéixer fa poc? *

Mark only one oval.

Us

Vos

73. ___ han baixada a planta *

Mark only one oval.

L'

La

74. Creus que ___ morirà? *

Mark only one oval.

se

es

75. ___ donaré doblers (a ells) *

Mark only one oval.

Els hi

Els

76. Volen que ___ donguin coses gratis *

Mark only one oval.

els

lis

elzi/elze

77. Lo únic que fan és embullar- ___ (a ells) *

Mark only one oval.

los

lis

78. ___ enduré d'exursió (a ells) *

Mark only one oval.

Els

Los

79. ___ sembla tot familiar? *

Mark only one oval.

Et

Te

80. ___ vaig comprar fa quatre anys (el cotxe) *

Mark only one oval.

Ho

El

Lo

81. ___ diré que no puc anar (a elles) *

Mark only one oval.

Les hi

Les

Elzi

Lezi/Leze

82. ___ van donar cursos per formar-me *

Mark only one oval.

Me

Em

83. Els dentistes no ___ fan mal, t'ajuden *

Mark only one oval.

Et

Te

84. Jo ___ xerraré de la meva experiència *

Mark only one oval.

Us

Vos

85. ___ van invitar a una festa *

Mark only one oval.

Nos

Mos

Ens

86. Jo ___ vaig infectar tota (a ella) *

Mark only one oval.

Li

La

87. ___ diré que no puc anar (a elles)

Mark only one oval.

- Les hi
- Les
- Elze/elzi
- Leze/lezi

88. Així com ___ adornen (es/el parc) *

Mark only one oval.

- Ho
- L'
- El

89. Tens moltes assignatures que ___ veus per damunt *

Mark only one oval.

- Elze
- Les
- Leze

90. ___ comprar aquesta casa? *

Mark only one oval.

- Se
- Es

91. ___ vàrem conèixer fa 20 anys *

Mark only one oval.

Ens

Mos

Nos

92. Digue-___ què ha passat *

Mark only one oval.

nos

mos

93. ___ quedau a sopar? *

Mark only one oval.

Vos

Us

94. Ells no ___ juntaven tant *

Mark only one oval.

es

se

95. ___ havíem oblidat completament *

Mark only one oval.

Mos

Ens

Nos

96. ___ vaig comprar fa quatre anys (aquest llibre) *

Mark only one oval.

Ho

El

97. ___ tornaré es/els llibres (a elles) *

Mark only one oval.

Les hi

Elzi

Els hi

Els

98. Això ___ has de rentar primer *

Mark only one oval.

ho

l'

Cuestionario de juicios de gramaticalidad

Indique para cada enunciado lo que considere oportuno de las opciones que se le ofrecen

99. Ens ha dit que no vindrà *

Mark only one oval.

Es la forma que utilizaría

No lo diría, pero me suena bien

Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender

Me suena fatal

100. Mos ho ha dit (això, a noltros) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

101. Els hi visitaré (a ells) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

102. Vos contaré sa/la veritat *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

103. ho he sembrat (el grà) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

104. ho he sembrat (el grà) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

105. Elze va pagar (doscentes mil pesetes) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

106. Vull veurer-TE *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

107. Jo vull ajudar-te *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

108. Jo te vull ajudar *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

109. Els els compraré (els cotxes, a ells) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

110. les matem (els porcs) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

111. Ells nos entenen a noltros/nosaltres *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

112. Nos han dit que no hi ha espai *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

113. Et durà amb el seu cotxe *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

114. Lis agrada la coca de trampó *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

115. Ho ha comprat avui (el compressor) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

116. Jo vull comprar-vos aquesta camiseta *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

117. Els diré que no venguin *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

118. Les duré demà (ses/les notes) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

119. En tenc colesterol *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

120. No en tenc (paracetamol) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

121. El gafa (el ca) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

122. Elzi paga per hores (els treballadors) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

123. Mai mos diuen què passa *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

124. Et contaré el que m'ha passat *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

125. Sempre em criden quan faig siesta *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

126. Me duràs es carnet? *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

127. Me preocupa que arribi tard *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

128. En el poble es comenta que ell no t'estima *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

129. Se suposa que ja tenen aquesta còpia *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

130. Li grada sopar defora *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

131. Lis han deixat fumar aquí *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

132. Elze vols? (aquestes camisetes) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

133. Els hi varen fer un dibuix *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

134. Mos n'anem? *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

135. Ens n'anem? *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

136. Monanem? *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

137. Ho durà tot a sa/la platja *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

138. Ho sap (que estàs embarassada) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

139. El duràs? (es/el llibre) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

140. M'ho tornarás? (es/el llibre) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

141. No em coneixes bé

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

142. M'agrada anar a sa/la platja s'horabaixa *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

143. Això la posarà més depressiva *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

144. Mos va venir a cercar per endur-mos *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

145. Lo únic que fan és embullar-los *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

146. Els enduré d'excursió *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

147. Tu elze duus en es/al dentista? (els nins) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

148. Va ser un viatge per descansar i relaxar-mos *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

149. Us comprareu aquest cotxe? *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

150. Es compraran sa/la televisió? *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

151. En duré quatre llibres *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

152. En compres una? (barra de pa) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

153. En duràs tres? (llibres) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

154. Jo los veig jugar (a ells) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

155. Les hi compraré ses/les camisetes *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

156. Tenc moltes ganes d'utilitzar-lo (l'objectiu de la càmera) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

157. Ho hem trobat a temps (l'alcohol) *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

158. Jo explicava a sa/la gent que això no és fàcil *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

159. Això ho va montar es/el padri *

Mark only one oval.

- Es la forma que utilizaría
- No lo diría, pero me suena bien
- Me suena extraño, pero se puede entender
- Me suena fatal

¿Qué cree que utiliza con mayor frecuencia? / esculli l'opció que creu que empraria a cada enunciat

Escoja la opción que cree que emplearía en cada enunciado / esculli l'opció que creu que empraria a cada enunciat

160. ___ varen proposar fer un curs per formar-me *

Mark only one oval.

Me

Em

Other: _____

161. __ compres una barra de pa? *

Mark only one oval.

En

162. No ___ deixàven pujar a s'avió *

Mark only one oval.

nos

mos

ens

163. ___ vàreu conéixer fa poc? *

Mark only one oval.

Us

Vos

164. ___ han baixada a planta *

Mark only one oval.

L'

La

165. Creus que ___ morirà? *

Mark only one oval.

se

es

166. ___ donaré doblers (a ells) *

Mark only one oval.

Els hi

Els

167. Volen que ___ donguin coses gratis *

Mark only one oval.

els

lis

elzi/elze

168. Lo únic que fan és embullar- ___ (a ells) *

Mark only one oval.

los

lis

169. ___ enduré d'exursió (a ells) *

Mark only one oval.

Els

Los

170. ___ sembla tot familiar? *

Mark only one oval.

Et

Te

171. ___ vaig comprar fa quatre anys (el cotxe) *

Mark only one oval.

Ho

El

Lo

172. ___ diré que no puc anar (a elles) *

Mark only one oval.

Les hi

Les

Elzi

Lezi/Leze

173. ___ van donar cursos per formar-me *

Mark only one oval.

Me

Em

174. Els dentistes no ___ fan mal, t'ajuden *

Mark only one oval.

Et

Te

175. Jo ___ xerraré de la meva experiència *

Mark only one oval.

Us

Vos

176. ___ van invitar a una festa *

Mark only one oval.

Nos

Mos

Ens

177. Jo ___ vaig infectar tota (a ella) *

Mark only one oval.

Li

La

178. ___ diré que no puc anar (a elles)

Mark only one oval.

- Les hi
- Les
- Elze/elzi
- Leze/lezi

179. Així com ___ adornen (es/el parc) *

Mark only one oval.

- Ho
- L'
- El

180. Tens moltes assignatures que ___ veus per damunt *

Mark only one oval.

- Elze
- Les
- Leze

181. ___ comprar aquesta casa? *

Mark only one oval.

- Se
- Es

182. ___ vàrem conèixer fa 20 anys *

Mark only one oval.

Ens

Mos

Nos

183. Digue-___ què ha passat *

Mark only one oval.

nos

mos

184. ___ quedau a sopar? *

Mark only one oval.

Vos

Us

185. Ells no ___ juntaven tant *

Mark only one oval.

es

se

186. ___ havíem oblidat completament *

Mark only one oval.

Mos

Ens

Nos

187. ___ vaig comprar fa quatre anys (aquest llibre) *

Mark only one oval.

Ho

El

188. ___ tornaré es/els llibres (a elles) *

Mark only one oval.

Les hi

Elzi

Els hi

Els

189. Això ___ has de rentar primer *

Mark only one oval.

ho

l'

This content is neither created nor endorsed by Google.

Google Forms