

Variation and clitic placement among Galician *neofalantes*

by

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B.A., University of Santiago de Compostela, 2010

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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This thesis examines variation in clitic placement among *neofalantes*—a speech community of urban, L2 speakers of Galician, in a bilingual region in Northwestern Spain (Dubert 2005; Freixeiro Mato 2014; O'Rourke & Ramallo 2011, 2013, 2014, 2015). Galician has a complex system of pronominal clitics that can be either proclitic or enclitic depending on a range of grammatical factors (e.g. finiteness, sentence type, triggering particles). Among *neofalantes*, clitic placement is variable, sometimes following the rules of traditional Galician, and sometimes not. Non-traditional clitic placement has been criticized as one of the most salient “errors” in *neofalante* speech, both by speakers and by linguists (Dubert 2005; González-González 2008). Due to language contact, the bilingual nature of the region and the genetic proximity of Galician and Spanish, most research has argued that non-traditional clitic use results from Spanish influence (e.g. Kabatek 1997; Dubert 2005). However, to date, no empirical research has targeted *neofalante* clitic usage to test this assertion. To probe possible contact effects, this thesis is based on accountable variationist analysis of pronominal clitics (N = 3,736) in the vernacular of 15 *neofalantes*. Overall results reveal that the vast majority of tokens follow traditional Galician grammar, suggesting that *neofalantes* are relatively good at mastering Galician clitic placement. However, variation is not evenly distributed. Where proclitic placement follows traditional grammar at a rate that approaches categoricity (98.6%, N = 2,036), nearly 40% of enclitic tokens conflict with traditional grammar (39.2%, N = 1,700). Logistic regression suggests that variation is largely isolated to those contexts where Galician and Spanish differ (e.g. finiteness (+/-), where finite verbs favour non-traditional placement), lending support to previous claims. However, social predictors are also relevant, with speakers who have Galician parents and who were born after the implementation of bilingual education favouring non-traditional placement as

well. These results suggest that other sociolinguistic factors, such as the need to assert one's Galician identity, can also impact clitic placement.

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Dedication

*“Unha lingua é máis que unha obra de arte;
é matriz inagotable de obras de arte.”*

— Alfonso Daniel Rodríguez
Castelao

Chapter 1. Introduction

At present, 7% of initially monolingual Spanish speakers in Galicia report a shift toward bilingualism; of these, 2% (roughly 70,000) claim to have abandoned Spanish altogether in favour of Galician (Ramallo 2011:251; O'Rourke & Ramallo 2014:60; O'Rourke & Ramallo 2015:149-50). Because the general tendency over the last hundred years had been to progressively shift towards Spanish and away from Galician (Freixeiro Mato 2014:15; O'Rourke & Ramallo 2015:150), these *neofalantes* (a speech community of urban L2 Galician speakers) have been considered an important vehicle for both the survival of the language and the reactivation of intergenerational transmission (Ramallo 2011:257; O'Rourke & Ramallo 2014:62; O'Rourke & Ramallo 2015:147). At the same time, because they are primarily an urban group (Ramallo 2011:251-252), *neofalantes* tend to have limited exposure to Galician, since other than in school and a few limited contexts (e.g., a subset of local media, official provincial administration and advertising, etc), Spanish is the dominant language in most public and private spheres (O'Rourke & Ramallo 2015b:150). As such, *neofalantes* are expected to exhibit the influence of their mother tongue (Spanish) in their Galician (Regueira 2012:36).

The variety of Galician spoken by *neofalantes*, *novo galego urbano* 'new urban Galician' or *neofala* (Dubert 2005; González González 2008; Regueira 2009; O'Rourke & Ramallo 2013b),¹ is different from traditional and standard Galician in its syntactic and

¹ Although previous literature has referred to the variety used by *neofalantes* as '*novo galego urbano*', I have opted to address it here as *neofala*. This decision is two-fold. First, I am trying to be consistent with recent trends in the literature that have addressed these speakers as *neofalantes* (Dubert 2005; Freixeiro Mato 2014; O'Rourke & Ramallo 2011, 2013, 2013b, 2014, 2015). Second, *neofalante* and *neofala* are more neutral. Some research on *urban Galician* has been rather critical and purist, alluding to the new variety as a corruption of Galician (González González 2008: 367; Freixeiro Mato 2014:17, 29). It is my goal to avoid any assumptions or predispositions, as the aim of this thesis is descriptive: What do

morphological details.² As such, it has been characterized as a *koiné* resulting from a process of language contact and levelling between the High and Low languages spoken in the region: Spanish (H) and Traditional/Standard Galician (L) (Kabatek 1997:185; Dubert 2005:278; Freixeiro Mato 2014:30-31).³

The reason for this characterization is that *neofala* includes syntactic, morphological and phonological structures that do not correspond with those found in either traditional Galician grammar or Standard Galician grammar (I will refer to these features as ‘non-traditional’).⁴ In terms of grammar, there seems to be a preference for ‘economy’ and speakers tend to choose the syntactic structures common to both

speakers actually do when speaking Galician in casual, informal conversation (i.e. in the contexts that are critical to its ongoing revitalization)?

² The distinction between standard Galician and traditional Galician has been widely discussed in the literature (Caccamo 1989, Monteagudo & Santamarina 1993, Dubert 2002, Regueira 2009, Freixeiro Mato 2014, among others). Whereas the traditional represents the vernacular (mostly found in small rural areas and medium sized villages of Galicia), standard Galician is a new variety that was created by combining different features from the different regional traditional varieties of Galician. Although the grammatical rules that apply to the standard are based on observations from vernacular, rural usage, standard Galician is seen as quite a distinct—sometimes artificial—variety. The standard, which is taught in the schools and used in the media and public speeches, is characterized for being formal and deprived of all influence from Spanish (all borrowings from Spanish have been replaced by either a new word in Galician or an archaic term dating back to the times of Galego-Portugês).

³ Different classifications for the Galician varieties have also been a topic of discussion in recent research. Some literature has focussed on the existence of two parallel language continuums. The first one places traditional—rural—Galician at one end and standard (urban, formal, mostly written) Galician at the other end. The second one places traditional (rural) Galician at one end and standard Spanish at the other end, and encompasses an array of in-between varieties that display different degrees of creolization depending on the end of the spectrum towards which they tend to the most (Caccamo 1989:284; Dubert 2002:19-23). Others have focused solely on the Galician system, usually displaying a three or four level continuum encompassing traditional rural Galician, [traditional urban Galician], urban Galician and the standard (Monteagudo & Santamarina 1993). Regardless of the model followed, there is widespread agreement that a new variety emerged, one that is exclusive to L2 speakers in urban settlements, *new urban Galician* or *neofala*. Following this premise, and a more simplistic classification, I will refer to the Galician varieties as traditional (L1 vernacular or rural Galician), standard and *neofala* (Regueira 2009). Because the rules used in traditional vernacular Galician are the ones applied to standard Galician, I consider both varieties as sharing a single grammar; I do not differentiate between them here.

⁴ I avoid using labels or terms that could imply any sort of hierarchy between varieties, as well as notions of authenticity or ownership of the language. However, I am aware that the terms traditional ~ non-traditional can be misleading. I use them here only to avoid any possible connotation of “grammatical” and “ungrammatical”. As such, *traditional* is used to describe the grammatical features found in the vernacular of L1, rural and standard varieties (since standard grammar is based on traditional vernacular rules). *Non-traditional*, on the other hand, is used to describe the grammatical features that do not follow the prescribed rules of traditional and standard Galician (e.g. Spanish, *neofalante* or other).

languages, thus opting for common core elements instead of more distinct traditional ones (Kabatek 1997:190). In those contexts where Galician presents more variation than Spanish, there is a tendency for new speakers to simplify their choices and opt for those sequences that are common to both languages. Additionally, the use of other common non-traditional features (e.g.: alveolar /n/ and de-palatalization of /ʃ/, a simplified vocalic system,⁵ alternative clitic pronoun placement, use of non-contracted forms; see González-González 2008; Regueira 2009) by *neofalantes* has been traditionally attributed to the influence of Spanish (Dubert 2005:272; González González 2008: 363; Freixeiro Mato 2014:16).

In order to probe this possibility, this thesis will conduct a close analysis of the use of Galician clitic pronouns by *neofalantes*. Clitic placement within this group is variable, sometimes following the rules of traditional Galician (1a-b), but sometimes not (1c-d).

- (1) a. Non *che* gustou nada? Por qué?
 Neg 2PS-Dat PAST-like nothing? For what
 ‘You didn’t like it at all? Why not?’ (Neof008f/1170)
- b. eu intento normalizalo non
 I try INF-normalize- 3PS-Acc Neg
 sei hasta onde podo
 PRES-know until where can
 ‘I am trying to make it normal, I don’t know, as much as I can’
 (Neof012f/2810)
- c. Mira *te* vou contar unha anécdota
 IMP-look 2PS-Acc go INF-tell one anecdote
 ‘Let me tell you a story’ (Neof008f/2023)

⁵ *Neofalantes* usually have a phonetic inventory resembling that of Spanish. Traditional Galician has a 7-vowel inventory (/i e ε a ɔ o u/) and has a front-back mid-vowel contrast, that is not found in the inventory of Spanish (/i e a o u/). *Neofalantes* have been reported to have difficulties in the production and perception of some Galician vowels (Tomé Lourido & Evans 2015).

d. Porque *gústame*
 Because like-1PS-Refl
 ‘Because I like it’ (Neof009f/2086)

Non-traditional placement of clitic pronouns in Galician is regarded as one of the most salient “errors” made by non-native speakers (Dubert 2005; Freixeiro Mato 2014; Kabatek 1997), and it has been criticized by both speakers and linguists (González González 2008:369). The complexity of the Galician clitic system and the parallelisms between both Galician and Spanish clitic paradigms has led to the argument that the differences in *neofala* arise from the influence of Spanish on Galician (Kabatek 1997; Dubert 2005; González-González 2008). However, non-traditional clitic placement has been shown to differ not only from traditional Galician grammar but from Spanish grammar as well (Kabatek 1997: 189-190; Dubert 2005:287). The emergence and persistence of these new uses seem to support the argument that the *neofala* may have a distinct (variable) grammar (González-González 2008:369). What is lacking is corroboration from empirical, quantitative analysis of speaker use. Such analysis is critical to uncovering details of clitic placement by *neofalantes*, as it enables the systematic assessment of the constraints on this grammatical system and the predictors, both linguistic and social, that drive use.

As such, the purpose of this thesis is two-fold. The first aim is to analyse and describe the rules and constraints (linguistic and extralinguistic) that operate on *neofalante* clitic placement. The second aim is to probe, on the basis of the evidence from the operation of the variable grammar, whether the variety spoken by Galician *neofalantes* follows an innovative and independent path, or whether it is the aftermath of

Spanish influence on Galician grammar. To set the scene for this work, Chapter 2 provides an introduction to the historical and political context of Galician. Chapter 3 provides a brief introduction to both the Galician and Spanish clitic systems, as well as an overview of the new uses of clitic pronouns observed among *neofalantes*. Chapter 4 presents the quantitative method adopted for the analysis of the *neofala* clitic system, as represented by a small corpus of speakers. The analysis is presented in Chapter 5, followed by a discussion and a conclusion.

Chapter 2. Galicia, History, and Language Ecology

For over six centuries, the Autonomous Community of Galicia (north-western Spain) has been home to two sister Romance languages: Spanish and Galician.⁶ The coexistence of these languages, however, cannot be described as balanced or harmonious. Since the early sixteenth century, Spanish has been regarded as the prestigious language and has grown both in status and number of speakers. Galician, on the other hand, has been progressively relegated to being the lower language, exponentially decreasing in number of speakers over time (O'Rourke & Ramallo 2014:149-150).

The origins of Galician can be traced to the eleventh century, when the language had evolved as a different variety of Vulgar Latin. Until the twelfth century, the regions encompassing Galicia (northwestern Spain) and northern Portugal were under the rule of the Galician Crown. As a consequence, both territories shared a common language, Galego-Português, that spread from the northernmost part of Galicia (Cabo Ortegal) to the city of Coimbra (Portugal) (Beswick 2005:42; Baliñas Perez 2014:43).

The early Middle Ages (eleventh to fifteenth centuries) marked the Golden Age of Galego-Português, a period when the language became the main vehicle for troubadour poetry on the Iberian Peninsula and gained recognition both internationally and in other regions of Spain (Kabatek 1997:186; Ramallo 2007:21-22). It was also during this period that Galego-Português grew strong amongst the inhabitants of the

⁶ Spain has been a decentralized unitary State since the late 1970s. This means that, although most sovereignty resides in the nation (represented by the central government), the country is politically and administratively divided into different Autonomous Communities. The degree of independence and self-governance exercised by each of the Autonomous Communities is regulated by their Statutes. In total, Spain consists of seventeen Autonomous Communities and two Autonomous Cities (Ceuta and Melilla), situated in northern Africa.

region and consolidated its position as the everyday language in both informal and formal registers (Monteagudo 1993:120). Although Latin was seldom used in written communication in the fourteenth century, Galego-Português was unanimously used in personal records and documentation produced by urban organizations such as councils and brotherhoods (Monteagudo 1993:120).

Galicia and Portugal maintained a linguistic and literary connection throughout the Middle Ages, but the twelfth century marked an important milestone in the history of Galego-Português. Starting in 1138, Portugal gained independence from Spain; it began to expand southwards, reconquering the territories under Islamic domain (Al-Andalus). Accordingly, Galego-Português gradually spread into the South (Teyssier 1982:8), and as a consequence, Galego-Português began to evolve in two different directions. On the one hand, there was a variety that spread southward, coming in contact with the Mozarabic dialects. This eventually became what is now present-day Portuguese. On the other hand, another variety stayed north of the border and slowly came into contact with Castilian Spanish. It was this variety that eventually became present-day Galician (Kabatek 1997:186).

From the fourteenth century onward, the Castilian Crown started to allocate Galician lands to the Spanish speaking nobility and clergy. This resulted in a slow but steady process of language assimilation whereby the non-indigenous language, Spanish, began to spread into the Galician upper classes (Monteagudo 1993:122). The beginning of the sixteenth century marked the period known as the “Dark Ages”, a time when Galician ceased to be cultivated and was only retained in its oral form.

During the two centuries that followed, Galician society became linguistically divided: the majority of the population, consisting of peasants, farmers and fishermen, continued to speak Galician on a daily basis, while the minority that occupied the higher classes spoke Spanish. Because of this division, Galician became relegated to informal and domestic domains, usually related to the fields of agriculture and fishery, whereas Spanish was left for formal and cultivated domains (Monteagudo 1993:121). Hence, Spanish quickly came to be associated with notions of power, prestige and social mobility, while Galician came to be considered a symbol of backwardness and stagnation (O'Rourke & Ramallo 2015:149). As a consequence, Galician ceased to be used in formal registers and the process of standardization became stagnant (Monteagudo 1993:122).

In the eighteenth century, however, Galician experienced a process of political and literary revival during the historical time period known as *Rexurdimento* ('Resurgence'), thanks to the many writers and intellectuals who worked to bring Galician language and literature back. Progress did not last long. The political, cultural and linguistic repression experienced during Franco's dictatorship (1936-1975) returned the language to a position of invisibility. Most writers and intellectuals of this time were either persecuted or forced to migrate to South America and for more than twenty years Galician literature was produced only in the diaspora (González González 1985:105). Franco's censorship of minority languages heightened the shame and stigmatization found at the very core of the Galician-speaking population (Lorenzo 2005:37). It was not until 1978, with the transition into a Constitutional Democracy, that Galician began to be reintroduced into society (Lorenzo 2005:52; Regueira 2009:195).

The general tendency since the early 1900s has been for those raised entirely as Galician monolinguals to come to rely on Spanish as a means of prosperity, social mobility and power, leading to almost complete abandonment of their native tongue (Freixeiro Mato 2014:15; O'Rourke & Ramallo 2015:150). This, in turn, has resulted in the disruption of intergenerational transmission and the rise of the first generation of Galicians who claim to have Spanish as their mother tongue (Dubert 2005:272). As a result, although several efforts have been made to raise the status of Galician (e.g. language policies introduced from 1983 on) and to bolster the number of speakers in the region, Galician society remains highly diglossic and the threat of complete language shift towards Spanish is large.⁷ The latest Census results (2013) highlight that Galician is primarily restricted to the home (Lorenzo 2005:54; O'Rourke & Ramallo 2015:150), facilitating the general tendency towards subtractive bilingualism, a form of bilingualism in which L1 skills are replaced by L2, usually when ethnic minorities are forced to assimilate their language to a national language (Lambert 1973:25; Cummins 1989:21).

2.1 Latest changes in the language policy

Language planning in Galicia is relatively recent. As I outline in this section, its development can be attributed to the political and legal changes affecting Spain during the transition from Franco's dictatorship to today's Constitutional Democracy. The steps taken towards the recognition of Spain's minority languages (Galician, Basque and Catalan) have been slow and moderate.

⁷ The first pro-Galician language policies were implemented in 1983. Most efforts have been directed to provide bilingual education, raise the status of the language and allow its use in those domains that were traditionally limited to Spanish (the media, public administration, education, economy, new technologies, etc.) (Lorenzo 2005:52; Regueira 2009:195; Ramallo 2014:97; Losada 2012:269).

The first signs of decentralization and linguistic empowerment took place in 1978, with the approval of Spain's current Constitution (O'Rourke & Ramallo 2011:146). This document grants all the Autonomous Communities the rights and freedoms revoked during Franco's dictatorship (e.g. Article 3 stipulates that all languages in Spain are considered official within the boundaries of the Autonomous Communities) (González González 1985:106). No other linguistic rights (e.g. language use in public administration, public naming, media and education) are attributed to the minority languages in this document. Moreover, Spanish continues to be superimposed as the primary language of the nation: it remains "the official language of Spain, and all citizens have the *right* and the *obligation* to use it" (González González 1985:106; emphasis my own). The document grants no minority languages this status.

In 1981, the Spanish Courts approved The Galician Statute of Autonomy, which contains the main regulations and rights to be applied by the Galician Parliament in matters of self-governance, politics, and law. This same document also contains important advances in the matter of language rights. The Statute emphasizes the need to promote Galician in both the public and the private spheres, and announces the commitment of the local Authorities to guarantee that the language is used in all domains (Losada 2012:269). Nonetheless, this document falls short of providing Galician with the same status given to Spanish in the Constitution. According to Article 5, Galician and Spanish are regarded as co-official languages and all citizens have the *right* (but not the *obligation*) to learn and use Galician within the Autonomous Community (González González 1985: 107; Lorenzo 2009: 194). This phrasing perpetuates the linguistic imbalance between Galician and Spanish, though the Statute does make a point to ensure

that no citizen is discriminated against (legally, not socially) based on the language they choose to speak (González González 1985:107).

The most important progress in terms of linguistic rights occurred in 1983, with the approval of the *Lei de Normalización Lingüística* ‘Language Planning Law’ by Parliament. The main goal of this law is to turn Galician into “a normal and everyday language” in the Autonomous Community (Losada 2012:269-271). This document thus presents an important step forward on the path of linguistic parity, because it equates the rights of Galician to those of Spanish: Galician citizens have now both the *right* and the *obligation* to learn and use the indigenous language (González González 1985:107). The new law also presents a strategic plan to promote Galician in society, to raise its status and to put an end to the stigma and “self-hatred” residing at the very core of Galician society.⁸

The 1983 law is the first legal document to draft a complete plan of language revitalization. The main goal of the law is to promote and expand the use of Galician into the domains from which it had once been banned. As such, the main foci of this law are the education system, public sector employment and the media (O’Rourke & Ramallo 2011:146; Losada 2012:269). One of the most important measures deriving from this new law was the implementation of bilingual education in Galicia. With this law, Galician became both a compulsory subject and the vehicular language for the instruction of a

⁸ *Autoodio* ‘self-hatred’ is the term that has been used to describe Galicians’ relationship with their language and culture throughout history. This term is strictly connected to the historical events that shape Galician society today. Due to the linguistic division that started in the early 16th century, Galicians have always been referred to as ‘brutes, ignorant, savages and idiots’(González González 1985:102) Despite the social progress that Galician has experienced in the last century, the fact that Spanish has remained as the prestigious language has made it possible for those feelings of shame and inferiority to remain deeply rooted in society, thus making *autoodio* prevail to this day.

particular set of subjects.⁹ The goals of this new strategy were to improve attitudes towards the language, to show that Galician is suitable in all contexts and subjects and to make sure that all students attain the same level of linguistic competence in the two co-official languages (González González 1985:112; Losada 2012:270).

In June 2004, the Galician Parliament approved the *Plan de Normalización Lingüística do Galego* ('Language Acquisition and Status Plan', henceforth PXNL), which comprised a new list of goals and actions aimed at ongoing revitalization and strengthening of the language in all areas of communication and society. The PXNL was built upon the previous strategies of the 1983 law and likewise directed its focus on the fields of education, public administration and the media.

Despite these policies, neither Galician society nor Galicians themselves are fully bilingual. Most Galicians opt for monolingual practices (usually favouring Spanish), and tend to use Spanish in the workplace, as well as in social and domestic environments (O'Rourke & Ramallo 2015:150). Although the language policies of the past thirty years have elevated the official status of Galician, progress in language transmission and use has been slow. In fact, the percentage of Galician speakers continues to decline (O'Rourke & Ramallo 2011:148). Whereas 53.3% of Galicians aged 15-54 spoke the indigenous language in 1992, by 2004 the percentage of speakers had dropped to 38.4% (Regueira, Docampo & Wellings 2013:41). The latest Census results from 2013 show that less than 30% of Galicians in the younger cohorts (under 25 years of age) have acquired Galician as their first language, and despite increased institutional support,

⁹ The linguistic distribution in schools has changed through the years. At its implementation, the distribution was 50-50, with Galician being used in subjects such as Biology, Math, Philosophy, History and Geography. The current distribution has shifted towards a 70-30 distribution and Galician is no longer the language of instruction for science and math (Losada 2012:272, 284).

intergenerational transmission continues to decline as well (Lorenzo 2005:54; O'Rourke & Ramallo 2015:149). Recent literature on this matter has referred to the continuous loss of speakers as a consequence of the "low intensity language policies" implemented by the Galician Government, which have aimed at preserving the linguistic status quo and avoiding any conflicts with Spanish (Lorenzo 2005:40; Ramallo 2014:99).

With Spanish as the main language of the urban centers, and an increased rural exodus dating from the early 1900s, there seems to be a growing pressure to shift to Spanish (Regueira, Docampo & Wellings 2013:42). The continuous loss of "traditional environments" for the learning of the language (understood as both the home and the community) leaves most of the responsibility and hope for the continued transmission of the language in the hands of the education system (O'Rourke & Ramallo 2015: 148). As a consequence, despite attempts to spread and revitalize the language, if there is no substantial change in the current linguistic division in society, Galician runs the risk of becoming a ritualized language, relegated to particular niches or contexts, and eventually assimilated completely by Spanish.

2.2 Latest census results: Distribution of language use

Despite the ongoing decline in the raw number of Galician speakers, the Census reveals an increase in the abilities and competence of those who do speak it. This improvement in performance can be directly associated to the implementation of bilingual education policies of 1983.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Galician was the everyday language of more than 90% of the population (Regueira, Docampo & Wellings 2013:41).

Nevertheless, according to the data, this percentage has progressively decreased over the years: by the end of 2003 only 57% of the population claimed to speak Galician on a daily basis, and by 2013 these figures had plummeted to an alarming 31.2%. Among self-reported bilingual speakers, only 20.3% claim to speak more Galician than Spanish. Although monolingual Galician speakers and bilingual Galician-Spanish speakers account for more than half of the current population, a growing 26.3% claims to speak only Spanish and an additional 30% claims to speak more Spanish than Galician. As shown in Figure 1, these latter two groups are concentrated in the cohorts under the age of 50. This foreshadows a bleak future for Galician if the trends are not halted and reversed.

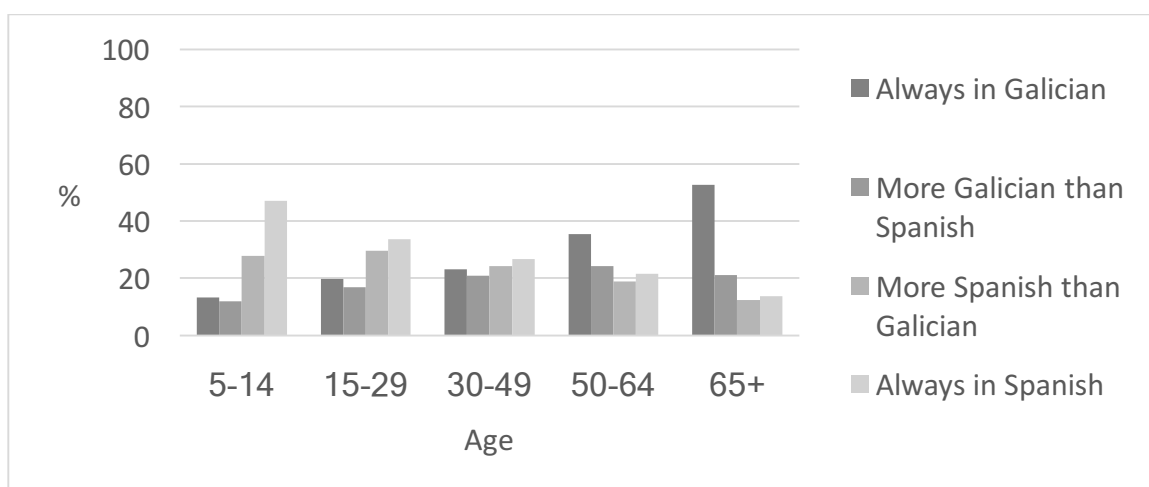


Figure 1. Distribution of language use according to age (IGE 2013)

However, concentrating on linguistic ability, there has been a robust increase in overall skills: 98% of the population claims to be able to understand Galician, 90% claims to be able to speak it, and 85% claims to have high levels of reading comprehension (though only 50% of the population claim to be able to write in Galician).

The highest levels of reading and writing skills are found in the youngest cohorts (IGE 2013).

With respect to oral competence, 57.3% of Galicians aged 5 and above claim to be able to speak Galician ‘well’, while 29.6% claim to speak Galician ‘quite well’ and 13% speak very little or no Galician at all. Looking closely at the age distribution in Figure 2 the percentage of speakers who speak little or no Galician reaches nearly 23% in the younger cohort (15 and younger), whereas this percentage does not even reach 9% in the oldest group (65 and older).

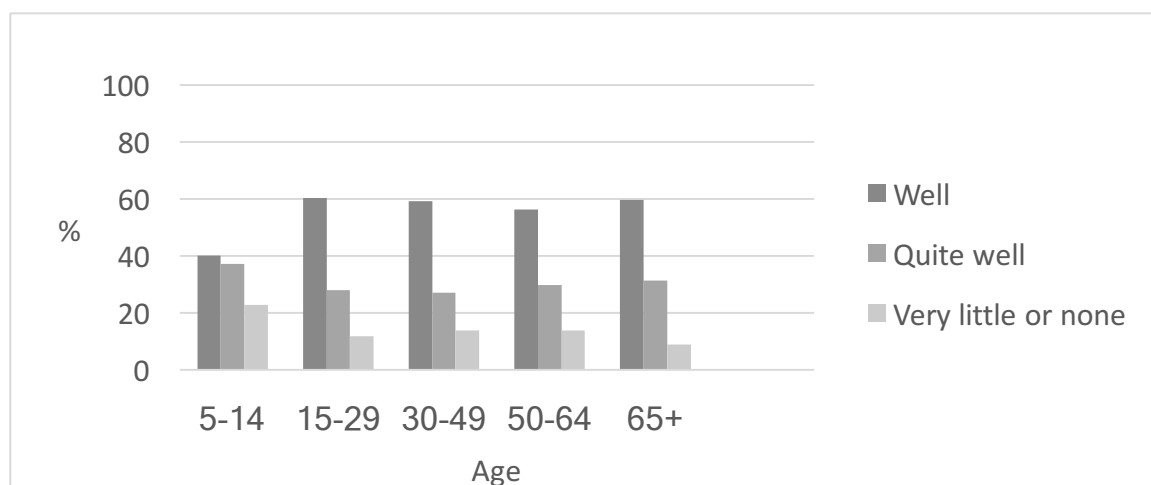


Figure 2. Ability to speak Galician according to age (IGE 2013)

As shown by the results in Figures 1 and 2, both linguistic distribution and oral competence correlate with age. The highest polarity, nonetheless, can be found between the youngest and oldest cohorts, where linguistic distribution is reversed: the youngest generations, who have been more exposed to the new language policies, more particularly to bilingual education, present a bigger gap and a growing preference towards Spanish monolingualism. The ongoing decline of Galician in the youngest cohort can easily

explain the sharp differences in oral competence shown in Figure 2. Whereas pre-adolescent and adult cohorts exhibit very homogenous and high percentages of oral competence, the youngest cohort presents a sharp decrease in their linguistic competence.

The results provided in Figures 1 and 2 seem to echo the patterns alluded to in previous literature (O'Rourke & Ramallo 2011, 2013, 2015, Freixeiro Mato 2014): a clear gap in the process of intergenerational transmission of Galician, and a growing preference for Spanish monolingualism in the youngest generations. The decrease in oral competence found in the youngest cohorts also points towards the possibility of the current system of bilingual education and other language policies being inefficient or weak.

Although bilingual education has allowed Galicians under the age of 35 to develop some degree of linguistic competence in both Galician and Spanish (Lorenzo 2005:50; O' Rourke & Ramallo 2011:149), there remains a clear division in terms of language use. Galician diglossia operates on two levels. First, there is a division between urban and rural nuclei. The tendency is for speakers to use Spanish almost exclusively in Galician cities, while speakers of Galician seem to be concentrated in rural areas (O' Rourke & Ramallo 2011:148). Second, there is a predisposition to use Galician in very specific domains or situations, primarily domestic and informal, and to use Spanish for any other public, formal, social or economic context (Lorenzo 2005:10).

Despite ongoing efforts to strengthen the use of Galician in education and the media, the overall presence and prestige of Spanish overrules all efforts. Thus, the younger generations, although immersed in bilingual education systems, are still choosing Spanish over Galician. This process of language loss has been clearly

accentuated by the fact that most households in the urban areas have transitioned to Spanish in the last two to three generations, making it even harder for younger speakers to find a connection to Galician.

However, although the generational gap is quite marked, there is hope set in a small proportion of the population (2% or roughly 70,000 speakers) who claim to have abandoned Spanish altogether and transitioned into Galician in their attempt to revitalize and keep Galician alive. These speakers, who constitute a bottom-up movement of language revitalization, are known as the *neofalantes*.

2.3 The *new speaker* phenomenon and Galician *neofalantes*

In recent years, *new speakers* have become a topic of growing interest in the field of minority language revitalization (e.g. O' Rourke & Ramallo 2011, 2013, 2014, 2015; Pujolar & Puidgevall 2015; Ortega et al. 2015; Costa 2015). In the context of majority language displacement, the term *new speaker* refers to a member of a particular speech community who 'relearns' the minority language, usually through bilingual education programs, revitalization projects or adult education, after language shift has already taken place in the community (O'Rourke, Pujolar & Ramallo 2015:1-2). This process of language learning (and shift) is usually motivated by cultural or political reasons. It is thus an active, voluntary and conscious change motivated by a desire to dignify and elevate the lower language (Ramallo 2011:252). Most recent research on new speakers of minority languages has been conducted in Europe, particularly with languages such as Galician (O' Rourke & Ramallo 2011, 2013), Basque (Ortega et al 2014), Catalan (Pujolar & González 2013; Pujolar & Puidgeval 2015), Irish (O'Rourke & Ramallo 2011), Breton, Francoprovençal (Kasstan in press), Occitan (Costa 2015), Manx (Ó

hIfearnáin 2015) and Corsican (Jaffe 2015). The label *new speaker* is thus an umbrella term that usually alludes to adult, non-native, L2 speakers of a given minority language (O'Rourke, Pujolar & Ramallo 2015:10). Crucially, the phenomenon of “new speakerness” is considered a direct consequence of language planning and revitalization. In particular, *new speakers* have been regarded as the by-product of newly implemented minority and/or bilingual education systems in diglossic communities (O'Rourke & Ramallo 2011:148; Ramallo 2011:247; O'Rourke & Ramallo 2015:149).

Speech communities with new speakers are embedded in very particular contexts of linguistic imbalance and usually embody cases of complete abandonment of and change in their mother tongue. The emergence of new speakers has prompted a division in society and has brought into relief, and thus debate, the disparities between first and second language speakers in matters of authenticity, ownership and legitimacy towards language rights (O'Rourke et al. 2015:14; O'Rourke & Pujolar 2015:145). According to the literature on *new speakerness*, whereas the general public tends to associate native speakers' speech with the notions of “authentic”, “pure” and “legitimate”, the speech of new or second language speakers is usually regarded as “artificial”, “hybrid” or “acquired” (O'Rourke & Ramallo 2011:139-140; Ramallo 2011:248). In the particular case of Galician, this dichotomy has led to the stigmatization of new speakers' linguistic competence and their particular varieties (see, for example, Lorenzo 2005 as an example of a ‘purist-based’ critique of the *neofalante* variety). The prescriptive critique to which some of these speech communities and their varieties are subjected is a possible motivation for innovative patterns in new speakers' usage. Specifically, it has been suggested that the existence of salient features reflects both the speakers' own mechanism

for ownership of their language, and their reaction to the critiques accusing them of corrupting and degrading Galician (Freixeiro Mato 2014:17, 29,31,33).¹⁰

In the case of Galician, *neofalantes* constitute a very defined and restricted community: a group of people who have learned Galician at school (or at work or with friends) and who have turned their back on their first language (Spanish) in favour of Galician (O'Rourke & Ramallo 2014:60). Galician *neofalantes*, therefore, present a particularly striking case study for language revitalization and reclamation. In addition to learning the indigenous language, these speakers opt to abandon (partially or entirely) their first language for a language that has less socioeconomic power and prestige (Ramallo 2011:252; O'Rourke & Ramallo 2014:60; O'Rourke & Ramallo 2015:150). Whereas first language Galician speakers who switch to Spanish do so because of its perceived instrumental value in society, first language Spanish speakers who switch to Galician do so for cultural, political and personal reasons (Ramallo 2013:252; O'Rourke & Ramallo 2015:150).

Nevertheless, Galician *neofalantes* are not a homogenous group. Although they are connected by their linguistic social practice (that is, their predisposition to use Galician in their interactions), they differ in their linguistic practices, level of linguistic competence, methods of learning, sociolinguistic backgrounds and reasons for language shift (Ramallo 2013:252). As such, *neofalantes* must be regarded as an amalgamation of different speakers, placed along a continuum that encompasses different varieties of Galician (e.g. regional vernacular varieties, standard varieties, hybridized varieties, etc.)

¹⁰ Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis, it would be interesting to see whether the innovative or diverging patterns that have been found in the speech of Galician *neofalantes* are (in part) prompted by their own sense of belonging. All participants in this study have self-identified themselves as *neofalantes* and have shown to be aware of the fact that clitic placement is one of the main traits that characterizes their own variety (through metalinguistic commentary).

as well as different profiles of speakers (Álvarez Caccamo 1989:284; Freixeiro Mato 2014:23; O'Rourke & Ramallo 2014:60).

In their research on Galician *neofalantes*, O'Rourke and Ramallo distinguish four types of new speaker profiles, as represented in Figure 3.

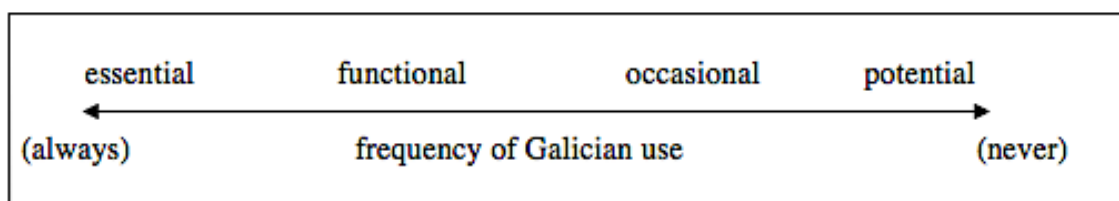


Figure 3. Continuum of *neofalante* speakers

O'Rourke and Ramallo's model shows a continuum with two defined poles. On one end of the continuum we find the *essential speakers*, those speakers who use Galician in all their interactions, even when interlocutors speak to them in Spanish. On the opposite end of the spectrum we find *potential speakers*, speakers under the age of 50 who meet all the requirements to become new speakers (i.e. bilingual and/or with high levels of linguistic competence in Galician), but who have not yet made the decision to switch entirely. The middle categories consist of *functional speakers* who tend to display well-defined contexts or domains for each language (i.e. they use Galician in informal situations or when it is the predominant language, but retain Spanish in other contexts of their daily life), and *occasional speakers* who use the Galician they have learnt in a limited basis, usually as a reaction to a stimulus or as a way to accommodate to the interlocutor's (O'Rourke & Ramallo 2014:60-61).

2.4 Galician *neofalantes*: Main hypotheses

Neofalante speakers share recurrent common features in their speech which are not idiosyncratic but rather are shared by several members of the speech community. The existence of these shared features within the speech community raises the question of whether there is an underlying grammar common to all *neofalante* speakers, whether such linguistic phenomena are the result of Spanish influence or whether these phenomena can be considered “errors” in the early stages of second language acquisition.

Previous literature has established that *neofala* varies from that of L1 Galician speakers.¹¹ It has also argued that due to close contact and mutual intelligibility, a certain degree of Spanish influence in both traditional and new varieties of Galician is expected (Dubert 2005; Freixeiro Mato 2014). Recent research on the *neofala*, however, has considered the emergence and spread of this new variety as highly problematic, since this new variety—referred to as a “deformation of the Galician language”—runs the risk of progressively becoming a new dialect of Spanish (Gonzalez Gonzalez 2008:370). However, the variation that has been observed in the variety spoken by the *neofalantes* seems to present two contrasting possibilities. Focusing on the clitic system, on the one hand there seems to be reason to posit that non-traditional clitic placement is an outcome of second language learning. Specifically, it is possible that linguistic proficiency is an important predictor of sociolinguistic practice. Under this interpretation, non-traditional clitic placement could be an example of what Selinker calls *fossilizable structures* in

¹¹ Research on Galician varieties usually makes a distinction between traditional and *neofalante* speakers (Ramallo 2008; O’Rourke & Ramallo 2011, 2013, 2013b, 2014). However, these terms may lead to an implicit comparison between “authentic” and “acquired” speech. As such, I have chosen to use the term L1 Galician speaker to refer to all speakers, whether urban or rural, who have Galician as their first language and who follow traditional grammar, in opposition to L2 new speakers who had Spanish as their first language.

language acquisition (Selinker 1972:215).¹² On the other hand, the emergence of new contexts of non-traditional clitic placement, such as the use of an enclitic where proclisis is prescribed both in Spanish and Galician (e.g. ‘Porque gústame (Neof009f)’ cf. traditional ‘porque *me* gusta’) points to the possibility that a new, innovative variety is emergent.

If we believe in the possibility that the use of *neofala* features such as alternative clitic placement is correlated with level of linguistic competence, two new possible hypotheses emerge. Because of the high degree of agency and commitment toward language revitalization that these speakers have (O’Rourke & Ramallo 2015:154), one hypothesis of this study is that those speakers who are more politically driven¹³ may exhibit a higher proportion of traditional clitic placement, as their personal stance may lead them to strive for the traditional model. Other speakers who may have decided to shift to Galician for different reasons (identity, work, linguistic ecology), may have more attenuated politicized linguistic attitudes, and thus place less emphasis in following traditional prescriptive grammar.

By the same token, another hypothesis that this study will probe concerns whether those speakers who have learnt Galician through socialization and who have a dense network of L1 Galician speakers will also evidence a more traditional use of clitic

¹² According to Selinker, fossilizable linguistic phenomena are linguistic items, rules and subsystems which speakers of a particular language tend to keep in their second language speech and which are highly influenced by the rules and items of their mother tongue. These phenomena, although they can be higher or lower in proportion depending on the speaker’s linguistic competences “tend to remain as potential performance, re-emerging in the productive performance of an interlanguage even when seemingly eradicated” (Selinker 1972:215).

¹³ For the purpose of this analysis a distinction between politically and culturally/identity motivated language change has been made. While most politically driven speakers consider their Galician identity and culture as a motivating factor for language change, not all speakers who undergo language change for cultural/identity reasons would also consider themselves to be politically driven. Because of this distinction, and since most politically driven individuals have also been known to favour ideas of independence and separation from Spain, the notions of politics and identity have been kept separate.

pronouns, alongside a higher proportion of other traditional features (regardless of their political affiliations), than those who are primarily surrounded by Spanish speakers or *neofalantes*.

In the next chapter I present a brief outline of the Galician and Spanish clitic systems, before presenting the corpus and methods I have operationalized in order to address my overarching research question: what are the constraints affecting clitic placement among Galician *neofalantes*? I adopt methods that allow me to probe my hypotheses concerning possible links between motivations for speaking Galician and Galician clitic placement.

Chapter 3. A Brief Introduction to Galician and Spanish Clitic Systems

Broadly speaking, clitics are grammatical elements that share the properties of independent words and inflectional affixes (Nevis et al 1992: vii; Zagona 2002:1). They are syntactically independent and can function as heads, arguments, or modifiers within a phrase. At the same time, clitics are phonologically dependent in that they also act like affixes adjoining adjacent constituents which bear stress (Nevis et al 1994:iiv; Zagona 2002:15). The placement of a clitic within a phrase can vary according to language and specific grammatical or morphological characteristics. Clitics that attach to the right edge of their host, like a suffix, are *enclitics*, while those that attach to the left edge of their host are *proclitics*.

According to their specific properties (verbal, nominal or clausal), clitics fill a range of functions: verbal, nominal or argument. In both Spanish and Galician, clitics function as arguments. That is, the clitic (in this case, a pronominal form) generally expresses person, number, gender and case features (Spencer & Luís 2012:14). In this function, clitics occur in complementary distribution with overt subjects and objects and they “satisfy the subcategorization properties of the verb they are semantically related to” (Spencer & Luís 2012:14). Galician and Spanish have complex systems of clitic pronouns that can be placed either before or after the main verb, in proclitic or enclitic position, depending on a range of grammatical factors. As exemplified in Table 1 and Table 2, both paradigms are very similar, with the exception that Galician has an additional second person singular dative pronoun (*che*), and a few extra allomorphs for the courtesy forms (*o/s, a/s, no/s, na/s*).

Table 1. Paradigm of Spanish clitic pronouns (from Zagona 2002:16)

		Non-Reflexive		Reflexive	
		Dative	Accusative		Nominative
			Masc	Fem	
Singular	1P	me			
	2P	te			
	Courtesy forms	le	lo	la	
	3P			se	
Plural	1P	nos			
	2P	os			
	Courtesy forms	les	los	las	
	3P			se	

Table 2. Paradigm of Galician clitic pronouns (from Álvarez, Regueria & Monteagudo 1983:163)

		Non-Reflexive		Reflexive	
		Dative	Accusative		Nominative
			Masc	Fem	
Singular	1P	me			
	2P	che	te		
	Courtesy forms	lle	o lo no	a la na	
	3P			se	
Plural	1P	nos			
	2P	vos			
	Courtesy forms	lles	os los nos	as las nas	
	3P			se	

Clitic pronouns in Romance languages usually appear adjacent to a verb form (lexical or auxiliary). Proclitics are typically prescribed before indicative and subjunctive verb forms and enclitics are prescribed after imperative, infinitive and gerund verb forms (Spencer & Luis 2012:28). Old Spanish and Galego-Português shared a clitic system

governed by the same rules and constraints, but after the thirteenth century the Spanish system changed, following a general Romance evolution toward preverbal positioning in main clauses (2), with negative imperatives (3) and with other finite verbs (4) (Kabatek 1997: 189; Zagona 2002:18; Nueva Gramática 2009:1207-1208).

[Examples in Spanish]

- (2) *Me* dijo que se llamaba Pepe
 2PS-Dat said that it called Pepe.
 ‘He told me his name was Pepe’ (Kabatek 1997:189)
- (3) No *lo* escriba ahora
 No 3PSM-Acc write now
 ‘Don’t write it now’
- (4) María *lo* escribió ayer
 María 3PSM-Acc wrote yesterday
 ‘María wrote it yesterday’ (Zagona 2002:18)

Despite the change toward proclitic placement in modern Spanish, some instances of traditional postverbal placement have been retained. Enclitic pronouns in modern Spanish are conditioned by specific grammatical contexts such as positive imperatives (5), infinitives (6) and gerunds (7), which require the use of the clitic in postverbal position:

[Examples in Spanish]

- (5) Haz*lo* ahora
 Do-3PS-Acc now
 ‘Do it now’

(6) Intentó mandármelo

Tried send-1PS-Dat-3PSM-Acc
'S/he tried to send it to me'

(7) Estaba cantándolo

Was singing-3PS-Acc
'I (s)he was singing it'

(Zagona 2002:17)

Whereas the transition from Old to Modern Spanish entailed a shift towards proclitic placement, except for the specific contexts in (5)-(6), Galician clitics have retained the more traditional system, allowing for variation in the placement of both enclitic and proclitic pronouns. Notwithstanding these facts, enclisis seems to be the default placement in Galician, and only specific contexts trigger proclitic placement. Some of these contexts include: negation, fronting, subordination, relative pronouns, indefinite pronouns and specific adverbs.^{14,15} Table 3 provides a schematic summary of the differences between Galician and Spanish clitic placement; more detail on the specific placement of Galician clitic pronouns is provided in Chapter 4.

¹⁴ The list of Galician indefinite pronouns includes *ninguén* ('nobody'), *nada* ('nothing'), *ningún* ('none'), *algo* ('something'), *alguén* ('somebody'), *ambos* ('both'), *bastante* ('bastante'), *calquera* ('anybody'), *entrambos* ('both'), *mesmo* ('same') and *todo* ('all') (Regueira, Álvarez & Monteagudo 1986:186).

¹⁵ The list of Galician adverbs includes *acaso* ('perhaps, maybe'), *ata* ('until'), *case* ('almost'), *disque* ('they say'), *eis* ('there'), *igual* ('same'), *incluso* ('even'), *mesmo* ('even'), *quizais* ('maybe'), *seica* ('perhaps'), *si* ('yes'), *velaquí* ('here') and *xa* ('now') (Regueira, Álvarez & Monteagudo 1986:190).

Table 3. Comparison of clitic placement in Galician and Spanish

		Spanish	Galician	
Finite	Simple & Coordinate	Proclisis	Enclisis or Proclisis when triggered by a particle	
	Subordinate	Proclisis	Proclisis	
Non-Finite	Imperatives	Enclisis	Enclisis	
	Infinitives	Enclisis	Enclisis	
	Gerunds	Enclisis	Enclisis	
	Bare Periphrasis	Aux + inf/ gerund	Enclitic to non-finite	Enclitic to either verb or proclitic to AUX iff triggered
		Aux+participle	Enclitic to AUX	Enclitic to AUX
	Complex Periphrasis	Aux + conjunction + non-finite verb	Proclitic to AUX or enclitic to non-finite verb	Variation
Aux + prep+ non-finite verb		Proclitic to AUX or enclitic to non-finite verb	Variation	

Neofalantes are reported to use an alternative and non-traditional placement of clitic pronouns in their Galician. Interference from Spanish has been singled out in the literature as the cause (Kabatek 1997:189; Dubert 2005:287, González-González 2008:369). For example, some speakers use proclisis in non-triggering and non-traditional contexts, as in (8), (9) and (10), which aligns with Spanish grammar, but they also exhibit non-traditional uses of the enclitic pronouns that do not have parallels in Spanish, as in (11). It is these alternative and non-traditional Galician patterns that I will examine in this thesis.

Chapter 4. Data and Methodology

4.1 The Corpus

The data on which the following analysis is based come from a total of 15 participants—8 women and 7 men—with similar socioeconomic backgrounds (educated, middle class urbanites). All participants were recruited through social media and the “friend of a friend” method (Milroy 1987) in the summer of 2016, and they were either born in Galicia or had resided in the region for more than 20 years at the time of recruitment. With the exception of one participant, all interviewees who were not born in Galicia had at least one Galician parent and had moved to Galicia in adolescence or early adulthood. All speakers were over 18 years of age at the time of recording.

As described in the previous chapter, *neofalantes* can be classified based on whether they have completely shifted to Galician or whether they retain situational bilingual practices. Since the major goal of this analysis is to study actual use of Galician by *neofalantes*, only speakers at the most advanced stages of the continuum were included in the corpus; *potential* and *occasional* speakers were excluded. Whether participants used Galician in all contexts and at all times, or only in specific situations, was not a recruitment issue, though this information was retrieved to help analyze and understand the data. Only two criteria were crucial for recruitment: (i) that participants had Spanish as their mother tongue and primary language of socialization growing up, and (ii) that they all self-identified as being part of the *neofalante community*. That is, that each one had to have intentionally made the decision to shift or prioritize Galician in most, if not all, their linguistic practices.

Most participants resided in the cities of Vigo (population ~293,000) and Santiago de Compostela (population ~96,000). Only two of the fifteen participants resided in smaller peri-urban nuclei, Cangas do Morrazo (population ~25,000) and Teo (~19,000), and only one participant lived in a small village (population ~4,000) in the province of A Coruña. With the exception of the smaller rural enclave in A Coruna, all cities display a tendency towards Spanish monolingualism, though Santiago, Cangas and Teo have a higher presence of Galician speakers than Vigo does.

Participants were born between the years 1992 and 1963 and they were subdivided into two generational cohorts (See Table 4). The younger speakers, between the ages of 23 and 36 at the time of recording, belong to the generation that was born and raised after the implementation of the current bilingual Language Policies. The older group, between the ages of 40 and 52 at the time of recording are part of the generation born at a time when Galician was not yet fully implemented in education or the media. This division was intended to provide a comparison of the two groups in terms of their linguistic competences and variety. It was assumed that the younger generation would exhibit a more standard and more fluent variety due to longer exposure to Galician at school, in the media and in other spheres of public life.

Table 4. Sample of *neofalante* speakers

	Younger (b.1981-1992)	Older (b.1963-1973)	Total
Female	4	4	8
Male	3	4	7
Total	7	8	15

The data were collected using traditional Labovian sociolinguistic interview methods (Labov 1972). All participants completed a background questionnaire and participated in a sociolinguistic interview. They were also asked to read two passages and to do a short dictation. Thus, interviews consisted of four parts: (i) a questionnaire focusing on basic demographic information (see Appendix 2); (ii) a structured interview (ranging from 50 to 65 minutes long); (iii) a reading passage and (iv) a listening passage.¹⁶ The questionnaire was expected to be of relevance for the measurement of different social parameters that may have an impact in the linguistic preferences of the speakers, while the interview was used to provide the raw data for quantitative analysis. The reading, writing and listening passages are not analyzed here because they focus more on the participants' competence in each of these tasks. Since the goal of this study is to analyze casual, vernacular practice, only the data from the interview is discussed in this thesis. In total, the *Neofalante Corpus* consists of 850 minutes of unscripted spoken data, amounting to approximately 110,000 words, 15 dictations and 50 minutes of reading materials.

The core component of the corpus, the individual interviews, was modelled after Labov's "unstructured interview". Labov's method consists of a casual and unscripted conversation between the participant and the researcher, aimed at achieving the most vernacular (i.e. casual and unmonitored) representation of speech as possible. In order to attain this, all interviews focused on basic topics in the participants' lives (e.g. childhood

¹⁶ The aim of the reading task was to capture their pronunciation and speech in a more controlled and formal context. The two texts used for this task followed two different versions of the Galician standard (dating from 1987 and 2006) to probe whether the orthographic changes affected their phonology in any way. The purpose of the dictation task was to analyze the written skills of the participants. The underlying goal was to see whether they followed the new standard, the older orthography or other alternative varieties such as *Galego Reintegrado*, a variety of written Galician that follows Portuguese orthographic conventions and is connected to specific political views. I live this data for future research.

memories, family, work, friendships, hobbies, etc). As the interview progressed, questions regarding language attitudes, linguistic competence and other issues were also asked. Both during the interviews and in the questionnaires, speakers were asked about their reasons for language change, methods of learning, linguistic practices and the proportion of Galician speakers in their social networks. All this information was intended to provide qualitative support for the analysis. It was expected that the answers to these questions would allow for different sub-classifications based on level of proficiency, main method of learning, motivations for language change, social network, language at home, language with family and language at work.

4.2 The Method

This study was conducted under the scope of quantitative variationist analysis. Following standard practice, all pronoun clitics in the corpus were extracted according to Labov's *Principle of Accountability*, which states that all possible variants and instances of a variable, not only the ones in which the analyst is interested, must be investigated in order to find patterns in the data (Labov 1972:72). This means that all clitic pronouns in the Galician inventory were searched for and extracted from the interviews, whether they were enclitic or proclitic. This approach enables a holistic view of the clitic system and assessment of the ways in which speakers use clitics in relatively unmonitored, vernacular use.

For this study, a search of the full Galician clitic inventory (n=32: 9 base forms, 4 allomorphs, 6 compounds and 13 plural realizations) was conducted.^{17,18} With the exception of the forms *mos*, *cha* and *vos*, 29 types were attested in the corpus, as outlined in Table 5, resulting in a dataset of 3,736 tokens.

Table 5. Complete list of clitic pronouns found in the *Neofalante Corpus*

Base forms	Plurals	Allomorphs	Plurals	Contractions with -o, -a	Plurals
me				mo – ma	mas
te					
che				cho	chos – chas
lle	lles			llo– lla	llos – llas
o	os	lo – no	los – nos		
a	as	la – na	las – nas		
nos					
se					

¹⁷ The allomorph forms *-lo, -la, -no, -na* and their plural forms can only occur in enclitic position and are motivated by the phonological characteristics of the verb they attach to: *-lo* occurs after verb forms ending in *-r* or *-s* and in cases of co-occurrence, after the pronouns *nos, vos, lles* or the adverb *u*; *-no* occurs after verb forms ending in a diphthong (i.e.: *saudeino* ('I greeted him'), *deixeina* ('I left her'), *viunos* ('s/he saw them')) (Álvarez, Regueira & Monteagudo 1986:163-4).

¹⁸ The pronoun compounds consist of the contraction of the dative pronouns *-me, -che, -lle* and the accusative pronouns *-o/s, -a/s*.

4.3 Linguistic predictors

All the data were coded for two kinds of linguistic predictors. The first group consists of those grammatical constraints that have been previously reported in the literature as affecting clitic placement: trigger particles, type of verb and type of sentence. The second group consists of grammatical factors aimed at probing the possible relation between clitic placement and language contact effects (i.e. code-switching). As such, all tokens were coded for type of clitic, type of grammar (i.e. whether the placement of the clitic answers to traditional Galician rules or to other rules), clitic form, trigger particles, type of verb, type of sentence, language used in the clitic phrase, language used in the preceding and following contexts, *y* insertion and formulaic contexts. These predictors have been sourced from the prescriptive literature in that each has been argued to affect the placement and the type of clitic pronouns used in traditional Galician grammar. The goal of this methodology is to see whether the same grammatical constraints affecting traditional Galician affect the variety of *neofalantes*, and if not, to discern what constraints condition variation.

4.3.1 Clitic placement

All tokens were coded based on their placement within the clause as either enclitic or proclitic. However, this is not a strictly binary distinction, since some clitics occurred in absolute initial position, as in (12), a pattern that is not part of standard traditional Galician grammar, whereas only enclisis is allowed (but proclisis is allowed by Spanish). It has been argued that calquing or interference from Spanish could have been the cause

for this particular placement (Kabatek 1997:189-190). Such tokens were coded separately from the other proclitic tokens.

(12) a. *Me* quedou moita pena
 1PS-Dat remained lot pain
 ‘I was left very sad’ (Neof012f/2638)

b. *Te* marchas fóra de Vigo y . xa non é así
 2PS-Acc leave outside of Vigo and then not is like that
 ‘Once you leave Vigo it is not like that anymore’ (Neof007m/1762)

In addition to the pronouns that were placed at the very beginning of a simple clause, as in (12), all those clitic pronouns placed at the beginning of a coordinate clause (13) (right after the conjunction), after a discourse maker (14) (i.e. *bueno, vale, mira, aver, en plan, non sei ...*), or following a long pause or false start (15), were considered to be in absolute initial position.

(13) eu teño un título de química pero *a* teño
 I have a degree of chemistry but 3PSG-Acc have
 muy muy esquecida
 very very forgotten
 ‘I have a bachelor’s in Chemistry but I have forgotten most of it’
 (Neof015f/3736)

(14) y en Roma gústame [pfff] non sei *me* gusta todo
 and in Rome like [pfff] not know 1PS-Dat like everything
 ‘And in Rome, I don’t know, I like everything’ (Neof009f/2128)

- (15) a tecnoloxía está máis relacionada así coas enxeñerías
 the technology is more related like+this with engineering
 co t-- y y eu m-- *me* gusta máis
 with t—and and I m-- 1PS-Dative like more

‘Technology is more related to engineering and I like it more’

(Neof0015f/3517)

All such instances have been coded as part of the absolute initial group, since this positioning of the pronoun is not allowed by traditional Galician grammar.

4.3.2 Clitic grammar

All clitic pronouns in the data were coded according to whether or not their placement (enclitic or proclitic) followed traditional Galician grammar. As such all constructions that displayed proclisis in an environment in which traditional grammar would prescribe enclisis, as in (16), were coded as non-traditional enclitics, and vice versa, as in (17).

- (16) logo *me* metín no baixo porque é o t-- o típico
 instrumento
 Then 1PS-Dat entered in base because it’s the t-- the typical
 instrument
 que é necesario nunha banda
 that it’s necessary in+a band
 ‘Then I started playing the base, because it is the typical instrument that
 is needed in a band’ (Neof007m/N/1536)

- (17) no . e . eu sempre sentin*me* un galego de Bilbao
 no and I always felt-1PS-Ref one Galician from Bilbao
 ‘No and I always felt like a Galician from Bilbao’ (Neof011m/T/2483)

4.3.3 Clitic form

Galician clitics can be classified according to their pronominal form as accusative, dative or reflexive (see Table 6).

Table 6. Galician clitic pronouns classified by pronominal form

		Accusative	Dative	Reflexive
SINGULAR	1P	me	me	me
	2P	te	che	te
	3P	o* ¹⁹ /a*	lle	lle
PLURAL	1P		nos	
	2P		vos	
	3P	os* / *as	lles	se

Following this classification, all tokens were coded according to their pronominal form as accusative (18), dative (19) or reflexive (20).

- (18) bueno polo menos que **me** leve de viaxe
 well by less that 1PS-Acc take of trip
 ‘well, let’s hope at least s/he takes me on a trip’ (Neof008f/1925)

¹⁹ In addition to having a set of allomorphs *-lo/s*, *-la/s*, *-no/s*, *-na/s*, all clitics accompanied by an asterisk can contract with the dative forms *me*, *che*, *lle*, thus creating a compound in which accusative and dative forms co-occur: *mo/s*, *ma/s*, *cho/s*, *cha/s*, *llo/s*, *lla/s*.

(19) ó gato bérrolle todo o día pero
 to cat scream-3PS-Dat all the day but
 xa non sei nin que idioma
 now not know neither what language
 ‘I scream at the cat all day long, but I don’t know what language
 I use anymore’ (Neof013f/3176)

(20) estuven nun bar en Rois despois funme para Ribeira
 was at+one bar in Rois after left-1PS-Refl to Ribeira
 ‘I was at a Bar in Rois and then I left for Ribeira’ (Neof006f/1353)

Within the dative group, two alternative types of constructions occur in Galician. These are described in the descriptive grammars as the ‘dative of solidarity’ and the ‘dative of interest’. The first type, which does not occur in Spanish, is used in instances of affective implicature, when the speaker wants to actively include the interlocutor in the action/event (21). The second group, the ‘dative of interest’ can also be found in Spanish grammar, and consists of those utterances where the speaker appeals to the person/interlocutor who is benefiting from or receiving the action (22).

[Examples in Galician]

(21) Meu pai vaiche a peor,
 My father goes- 2PS-Dat to worse
 que a vellez non che ten cura
 that the old age no 2PS-Dat has cure
 ‘My dad is getting worse, since there is no cure for aging’

- (22) Vós non **me** saiades aquí
 You no 1PS-Dat leave from here
 ‘Don’t you leave my sight’

(Álvarez, Regueira & Monteaudó 1996:174-5)

The solidarity constructions seem to be receding and are less common in modern, urban, standard Galician (Kabatek 1997: 191) yet, a few examples of the solidarity constructions can be found in the *neofalante* data (23).

- (23) a. Pero méte**che** unhas patadas ó dicionario que quedas parva non?
 but shove-2P-Dat ones kicks to dictionary that left stupid, no?
 ‘but s/he ignores the dictionary so much that you are left speechless,
 you know?’ (Neof001f/26)

- b. Caro está no Vilalaura e xa **me** vai para Hispanidá
 Of course it’s at Vilalaura and now 1PS-Dat goes to Hispanidá
 ‘Yes, he is now attending Vilalaura and he is going to Hispanidá next’
 (Neof008f/1905)

Because solidarity categories are infrequent (n = 6), they were included in the general dative category. No special distinction between ‘solidarity’ and other forms was made.

In the reflexive group, there is also a second type of construction that performs a function of reciprocity, as in (24). These constructions are generally considered a subset of reflexive clauses (Álvarez, Regueira & Monteagudo 1986:179). As such, they were also coded as part of the reflexive group.

- (24) ela é miña nai coñecémonos de toda a vida
 she is my mom know-3PPL-Refl of all the life
 ‘She is my mom, we’ve known each other all life’

(Neof003m/766)

As seen in descriptive grammars and in the examples from the *neofalante* corpus, each clitic pronoun has a specific and delimited function or set of functions. However, in practice, while accusative pronouns function as direct objects (DO) or predicative complement of the subject, and dative pronouns function as indirect objects (IO), there are several instances in the corpus in which a mismatch between pronoun and function takes place. In these instances what we find is that an accusative pronoun takes the place of the IO, yielding a sequence of two DO (25) or vice versa (26) when a dative pronoun functions as the DO.²⁰

- (25) a. estamos nesta etapa na que *te* mandan
 are this stage in which 2PS-Acc order
 beber dous litros ó día
 drink two litters at day

‘We are at the point at which they tell you to drink two litres a day’

(Neof0012f/2696)

- b. vamos como eu *te* digo Bilbao me podería ir . dá igual
 well like I . 2SG-Acc say Bilbao me could go . give same
 ‘well, I say I could go to Bilbao just like I could go . nevermind’

(Neof0011m/2528)

²⁰ Several works in dialectology have reported that in specific regions, there is a tendency for speakers to generalize and use *-te* or *-che* in all contexts. Even though some of the speakers in the corpus come from such regions, this analysis takes the standard as the baseline, since it is the version taught formally. All speakers in the corpus have primarily learned Galician through formal education. It is believed that they have therefore, learnt a non-regional specific variety, although they might have been passively exposed to these phenomena.

- (26) hai lugares en que soa tan artificial tan snob
 are places in which sounds so artificial so snob
 que que que non *che* atreves a dicilo
 that that that no 2PS-Dat dare to say
 ‘There are paces in which it sounds so artificial and so snobbish
 that you just don’t dare saying it’ (Neof004m/1013)

In cases such as (25) and (26), the token was coded based on the function the pronoun was taking, rather than the form. For example, if the dative form *che* was used to fulfill an accusative function (that is, acting as subject or object) it was coded as accusative. Conversely, if the accusative form *te* was used to fulfill a dative function (acting as indirect object), it was coded as dative.

The last type to be included in this group were those known in the literature as co-occurring clitic pronouns, as in (27).

- (27) a. pedín un una bolsa para face-lo doutoramento que en principio
 asked one one bursary for doing PhD that in principle
 non pensaba pedila . *déronma*
 no thought ask . give-1PS-Dat-3PSF-Acc
 ‘I applied for a funding package to do my PhD, I wasn’t going to apply
 for it innitially, but they gave it to me’ (Neof004m/929)
- b. cando *llo* conto á xente non dan crédiro
 when 1PS-Dat-3PSM-Acc tell to people not give credit
 ‘When I tell people about this nobody believes me’ (Neof010m/2330)

Table 7. List of triggering particles found in the *Neofalante Corpus*

Negative Particles		Interrogative & Relative Pronouns	
Enclisis	Proclisis	Enclisis	Proclisis
	nin, ninguén, ningún, ningunha, <i>no/non</i> * ²¹ , nunca, <i>sen/sin</i> ²²		<i>a donde</i> , cando, canto, como, <i>cual</i> , cando/ <i>cuando</i> , onde/ <i>donde</i> , quen, por qué, que
Indefinites		Adverbs	
Enclisis	Proclisis	Enclisis	Proclisis
menos	ninguén, nada, ningún, algo, alguén, calquera, menos*	Entón/ <i>entonces/toes</i> , ás veces*, antes, logo, daquela, ademáis/ <i>amais</i> , agora/ <i>ahora/ara</i> , mañá, despois, hoxe, mellor, peor, aí	aínda, aínda que, <i>ata/hasta</i> , en seguida, igual, incluso, inda, sempre, só/ <i>solo</i> , tamén, xa, seica, algún, mellor/millor*, peor*, arriba, alí, así, aí
Subordinate Conjunctions		Others Not Found in the Literature	
Enclisis	Proclisis	Enclisis	Proclisis ²³
pois, porque,	porque*, que ²⁴	n/a	tampouco, si* (affirmative), other subordinate conjunctions

²¹ All particles marked with an asterisk can accept enclitic placement if they are followed by a pause. That is, if there is a pause after the trigger particle the clitic placement can follow the verb, if there is no pause after the trigger, the clitic pronoun precedes the verb.

²² The words in italics represent lexical items used by the speakers that correspond to either the Spanish equivalent of the Galician word (e.g. *cual, donde, hasta*), or phonetically reduced words (e.g. *amais, ara, toes*).

²³ *Si* and *tampouco* have been included in a more recent grammar (Freixeiro Mato 2002) as actual triggers. The former one was classified as belonging to the negative particles and the latter one as an adverb. Because no consensus was found between both grammars, I decided to keep these as a separate category.

²⁴ *Que* can occasionally trigger enclisis in those contexts in which it introduces either a consecutive or a causal subordinate clause (Álvarez, Regueira & Monteagudo 1986:197-8. Additionally, when *que* is the conjunction connecting the two verbs of a periphrasis, the clitic pronoun can be placed either before or after any of the two verbs (see §4.3.5 for more).

4.3.5 Sentence type

As discussed in §4.3.1, according to descriptive literature, Galician clitic pronouns, in contrast with clitic pronouns in other Romance languages such as Spanish, can never be placed in absolute initial position (i.e. at the left edge of a main clause). Following this rule, clitic pronouns are enclitic in both simple and coordinated clauses—unless preceded by a proclitic trigger—and proclitic in subordinate clauses—albeit for the presence of an enclitic trigger—(Saco y Arce 1868:161; Álvarez, Regueira & Monteagudo 1986:183; Kabatek 1997:189-190, Freixeiro Mato 2000:166-168). However, exceptions in which subordinate clauses allow for enclisis can be found in the literature when the conjunction *que* introduces a causative or consecutive clause as in (28), or when *que* functions as a relative pronoun introducing an expletive clause (Álvarez, Regueira & Monteagudo 1986:194-195), as in (29).

[Examples in Galician]

(28) Iso é verdade, que eu crei^{me}me alí seino.

That is true, that I grew up-1SP-Dat there know
‘That is true, that I grew up there, that I know’

(29) Antes aquí facíanse cousas de liño, que hoxe moita xente

Before here made things of linen, that today lots people
dálles un aprecio bárbaro por aí adiante
give-3PPL one appreciation extreme for there forward

‘In the past people would make things of linen that today
a lot of people find extremely valuable elsewhere’

(Álvarez, Regueira & Monteagudo 1986:194-195)

Following this premise, all tokens were coded according to where they occurred in a simple, coordinate or subordinate clause. Those examples where the token happened to be in the main clause of a complex sentence were coded separately, as in (30), since they seem to align with coordinate and simple clauses in that they tend to favour enclitic placement, unless preceded by a proclitic trigger.

- (30) Xúro*che* que era . em . para chorar
 Swear-1PS-Dat that was .um. for cry
 ‘I swear, it was so bad you could cry’ (Neof001f/23)

4.3.6 Finiteness (+/- finite)

Descriptive literature has alluded to the important effect that finiteness has on clitic placement, stating that the rules motivating a specific placement in finite contexts do not always apply to non-finite contexts (Álvarez, Regueira & Monteagudo 1986:199; Freixeiro Mato 2000:170). As is the case in Spanish, non-finite verbs tend to require enclisis, however different types of non-finite constructions in Galician allow for variation. In particular, infinitives preceded by a preposition and periphrastic constructions accept all possible placements of the clitic (in the specific case of periphrastic constructions the pronoun can be placed proclitic to the auxiliary, enclitic to the auxiliary or enclitic to the non-finite form). Figure 4 provides a summary of the classification and types of placement according to finiteness (+/- finite) that have been reported in the literature.

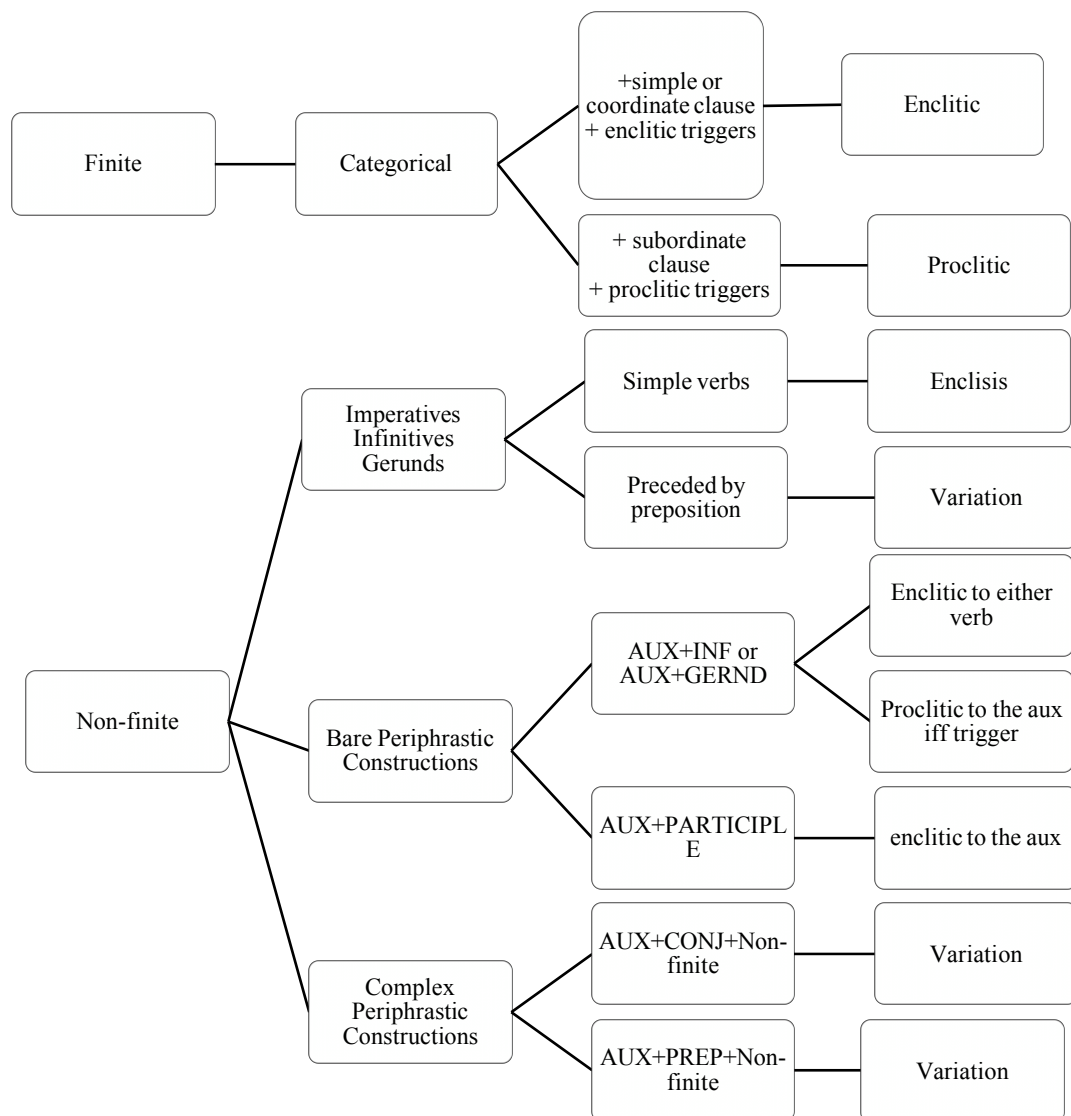


Figure 4. Clitic placement according to finiteness (+/- finite)

Drawing on these claims, all tokens were coded based on the putative effect of the verb on the clitic pronoun. As such, all groups were divided on the grounds of whether the verbs allowed for variation or whether they involved categorical placement of the clitic pronoun. Following this schema, verbs were classified as: finite (31), non-finite (encompassing imperatives, simple infinitives and simple gerunds) (32), bare periphrasis (either aux+inf or aux+gerund) (33), periphrastic with a preposition or with

the conjunction *que* (34), periphrastic with a participle (35) and non-finite preceded by a preposition (36) and (36).

(31) eu a playa téñoa a quince minutos
 I the beach have-3PSGF-Acc the fifteen minutes
 ‘I am fifteen minutes away from the beach’ (Neof005f/1132)

(32) É evidente que unha lingua é falala²⁵, lela y,
 It’s obvious that one language is speak-3PSF-Acc read-3PSF-Acc and
 y e scribila
 and and write-3PSF-Acc
 ‘It becomes obvious that you must be able to speak, read
 and write in a language’ (Neof001f/32)

(33) Non vivín en todas partes non eu vivín en Rois
 No lived in all places no I lived in Rois
 e funme movendo
 and went-1PS-Refl moving
 ‘I didn’t live everywhere no, I lived in Rois and then I moved to other
 places’ (Neof006f/1378)

(34) eso teríaslo que preguntar á miña parella
 that have-3PS-Dat-3PSM-Acc that ask at my partner
 que seguro que se acorda mellor que eu
 that sure that remembers better than I
 ‘That you should ask my partner, they probably remember better than I do’
 (Neof013f/3181)

²⁵ Note that because the infinitival forms end in -r the clitic pronoun -o, -a turns into the allomorph -lo, -la
 falar +a → falarla → falala.

(35) escoitar si que escoitaba galego pero eu non teño
conciencia

hear yes that heard Gaician but I don't have awaranness
de *teño* escoitado
of have-3PSM-Acc heard

'I did hear Galician, but I don't have any awareness of having heard it'

(Neof014m/3480)

(36) despois o mesmo produto pasou a chamarse igual iso
after he same product passed to name-3PS-Refl maybe that
te soa máis pasou a pasou a chamarse Galicia Hoxe
to you sounds more passed ti passed to named Galicia Hoxe

'Later that same product came to be known as Galicia Hoxe,

maybe that one sounds more familiar'

(Neof004m/1061)

4.3.7 Clitic phrase and surrounding context

Due to the bilingual nature of the participants of this study, and because interference from Spanish has been discussed in the literature, a second group of constraints aimed at identifying code-switching was added to the analysis. Previous research in code-switching has distinguished tags, clause switches and intrasentential switches as the three major types of code-switching (Poplack 2015:918). As such, in the present study, special attention was given to content of the clitic phrase itself and at the phrase level. The main goal was to identify whether the code-switch originated in the clitic phrase and stayed at the phrase level, whether it originated in the clitic phrase and transferred to the adjacent phrase or clause, or whether it originated elsewhere before the clitic phrase, thus motivating non-traditional clitic placement.

In order to find the origin of the code-switch and the direction of change –if any– all token segments were coded according to the language used in the clitic phrase (that is, the constituent containing the clitic pronoun and the verb) and in its surrounding contexts (following and preceding word and following and preceding phrase). As for the triggers, all segments were coded according to whether speakers used the Spanish conjunction *y* in any of the contexts surrounding the clitic phrase. Special attention was given to those constituents immediately preceding and following the clitic phrase to test whether *y*²⁶ preceded non-traditional clitic placement, thus encompassing an intersentential code-switch, or whether *y* was at the extrasentential level, acting as a tag switch, and thus not affecting the clitic phrase at all.

For all contexts preceding and following the clitic phrase, tokens were coded according to whether the word or sequence of words were Galician or not.²⁷ The rubric differed based on whether it was a single-word or a multiple-word context. Single words were coded as Galician, Spanish, ambiguous (i.e. terms that are spelled and pronounced the same in both languages), or hybrid (37)-(38) (i.e.: words in which the root is in a language and any attached suffixes, derivations or morphemes are in the other language).

²⁶ The choice of *-y* as a possible trigger was motivated upon observation of the data and its recurrent use by most participants, and the fact that previous literature has mentioned the tendency of new speakers to use the Spanish coordinating conjunction *-y* in lieu of the Galician one, *e* (González González 2008:365).

²⁷ More precisely, words were analyzed on the premise of whether they could be used in a Galician utterance, in any possible context. This decision was made because context can play a bias in terms of deciding whether an utterance can or cannot be Galician. If only analysed in context, a significant number of clitic phrases could be deemed not Galician due to non-traditional clitic placement. However, if taken outside of each particular context where different triggers may or may not be at play, the same utterances can then be considered Galician.

(37) do resto *me sento* muy cómoda me gusta vivir
 of rest 1PS-Refl feel very comfortable 1PS-Ref like to live
 aquí me gusta o rural me refiro²⁸
 her 1PS-Ref like the rural 1PS-Ref mean
 ‘I am very comfortable, I like living here, I mean, I like the rural’
 (Neof013f/2903)

(38) o que faría sería ensinarlle galego ó resto sabes?²⁹
 the what do would be teach-3PS-Dat Galician at rest know?
 ‘I teach everyone else Galician, you know?’ (Neof006m/1172)

An additional category, *neither* as in (39) was added for the very rare occasions in which the word was neither Galician nor Spanish, but a hypercorrection (*hiperenxebrismo* in Galician). These hypercorrections arise when speakers create new words in Galician, through analogical levelling of Galician morphology. These situations usually occur to those words that are identical in both Galician and Spanish and speakers think to be incorrect, or when speakers think that a Galician term is a borrowing from Spanish. Additionally, proper names and false starts were coded as null, due to the impossibility of actually determining what language was being used at that particular moment in time.

²⁸ *Sento* (‘I feel’) is not technically Galician (*sinto*) nor Spanish (*siento*), but a sort of hypercorrection in which the *-i* can be interpreted as a Spanish morpheme and thus levelled out.

²⁹ *Enseñarlle* is a hybrid between Spanish *enseñarle* and Galician *ensinarlle*, both meaning ‘to teach something to someone’.

- (39) a. todo o mundo fala castelá teus pais *te* falan castelá
 all the world speaks *castelá* your parents 2PS-Dat speak *castelá*
 pero entre eles falan galego
 but between they speak Galician
 ‘Everybody speakes *castelá*, your parents speak *castelá* to you
 but they speak Galician with eachother’ (Neof008f/2022)³⁰

The same criterion that was used to code the clitic phrase itself was applied at the phrase level. For these contexts, an additional category was created, to trace a language change within the phrase, moving from Galician to Spanish or Spanish to Galician, as in (40).

- (40) eu a **playa** téñoa a quince minutos
 I the beach have-3PSGF-Acc the fifteen minutes
 ‘I live fifteen minutes away from the beach’ (Neof005f/1132)³¹

4.3.8 *Y* insertion

In order to test for the possibility of code-switching being initiated outside of the clitic phrase, a last factor group was added to the analysis. This new factor group consists of the realization the Spanish conjunction *y* (‘and’), occurring in place of its Galician counterpart *e*, as previously noted in the literature (González González 2008:365).

All token segments were thus coded according to whether or not they contained the Spanish conjunction, and based on whether the conjunction immediately preceded or followed the clitic phrase, or both. This first classification at the phrase level tried to

³⁰ *Castelá* seems to be a hypercorrection of *castelán* (‘Castillian’) the Galician name given to the he variety of Spanish spoken in the Iberian Peninsula.

³¹ The Galician word for beach is *praia*.

probe if the use of *-y* as a code-switch triggered non-traditional clitic placement, or if code-switching was embodied in the clitic phrase and then transferred to the adjacent constraints. Those contexts in which *-y* occurred elsewhere in the utterance, or not at all, were also included in the analysis to test for the possibility of code-switching occurring at the extra-sentential or intersentential level.

4.3.9 Formulaic contexts

Due to the fact that a small subsample of tokens ($n = 62$) presented the same repetitive structure, an additional category, *formulaic contexts*, was added to the analysis. Although only 4 participants used these particular constructions, this last category was included in order to account for the patterns found in the sample.

This category, which functioned only at the speaker level, coded only those instances where the same clitic phrase was repeated with the same function or meaning (acting as a discourse marker or filler), by the same speaker or speakers in several tokens within the same interview. The formulaic constructions found in the data are:

(41) *me parece* ('it seems to me')

deixei a carreira totalmente durante catrou ou cinco anos *me* parece
 left the degree completely during four or five years 1PS-Refl seems
 cinco anos y ahora bueno volví a retomar
 five years and now well returned to resume
 'I left dropped out four or five years ago, it seems to me, five years,
 and now I came back to continue' (Neof014m/3282)

(42) *me refiro*³² ('I mean')

a. é dicir teño cousas cerca ás que podo chegar camiñando **me** refiro
 it's say have things close to that can arrive walking 1PS-Refl mean
 podo ir á piscina andando
 can go to swimminpool walking
 'I mean, there are things nearby to which I can just walk to, **I mean**, I can
 walk to the swimming pool' (Neof013f/3049)

b. é que é un pouco . as familias . **me** refiro
 its' that it's one bit the families 1PS-Refl mean
 a ver como cho explico
 to see how 1PS-Dat-3PSM-Acc . explain
 'It is a bit . families . I mean, let me see how I explain this to you'³³
 (Neof013f/3034)

4.4 Social predictors

All speakers were coded according to different social predictors that were obtained through the background questionnaires. In addition to the more common predictors (age and speaker sex), all speakers were coded according to whether they were raised in Galicia or elsewhere and whether both their parents were Galician or not, to get a better idea of their exposure to the language growing up.

Another set of predictors was created to test for the possibility of experience being an indicator of traditional clitic placement. As such, all participants were coded based on the length of time they had been speaking Galician (less than 10 years, more

³² *Me refiro* was the formulaic construction with most tokens out of the 3 (N=38/55). All the tokens in this category were produced by the same speaker, in total they accounted for 9% of her clitic pronouns (N=38/422).

³³ *Me refiro*, in both instance acts more like a connector or discourse marker between sentences, as such it follows a pause, and it is considered to be in absolute initial position, hence and non-traditional.

than 10 years or more than 20 years) and the period in their life in which they transitioned into Galician (as adolescents, young adults or mature adults).

Additionally, all speakers were asked about their social networks to test for the hypothesis of whether traditional clitic placement could be correlated with higher proportions of Galician networks. As such, all speakers were coded based on whether they socialized mainly with other Galician speakers (distinguishing between L1 Galician speakers and *neofalantes*), with Spanish speakers only, or with a mixture of different types of Galician speakers and Spanish speakers. In tandem with this predictor, all speakers were asked about their learning methods, to test for the possibility of traditional clitic placement being more prone to happen in those contexts where speakers learnt the vernacular through normal socialization, rather than through text books. Four categories were included in this predictor: at school, at home, with friends and self-taught.

Lastly, all speakers were asked to state their reasons for language change: political, identity, as a job requirement or because their friends/partner spoke the language, or any other possible reasons they had. This last predictor was aimed to test the hypothesis that more politicized speakers would exhibit higher rates of traditional clitic placement.

4.5 Circumscribing the variable context

According to descriptive grammars, the ordering and sequencing of clitic pronouns within a clause or sentence is never arbitrary in Galician. Descriptive literature points at finiteness, clause type and preceding triggering particles as the main grammatical constraints affecting the ordering of the verb and its accompanying clitic pronoun

(Álvarez, Regueira & Monteagudo 1986; Álvarez 1996; Freixeiro Mato 2000). However, as seen in the literature, a few environments seem to also allow for variation between enclitic and proclitic placement, making the Galician clitic system quite complex.

Although traditional and standard Galician grammar is supposed to follow these specific, rule governed patterns, it is generally argued in the literature that *neofalantes* present more non-traditional variation in their linguistic practices. In fact, as the data has shown, for *neofalante* speakers not all traditionally categorical contexts are categorical, and the alternation between enclisis and proclisis seems to be more common in their speech, particularly outside those contexts where variation is allowed by traditional grammar. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this study, all clitic pronoun tokens were extracted, regardless of their placement, function and underlying grammar. Thus, the variable context consists of the entire inventory of pronominal clitics in Galician as it has been previously outlined in Table 2, Chapter 3.

Chapter 5. Results

Following the methods outlined in Chapter 4, a total of 3,736 tokens were extracted from the corpus. I first present the overall distributions of traditional and non-traditional clitic placement, and discuss the implications arising from those. I then review the descriptive statistics for the linguistic and social predictors outlined in the previous chapter, before moving on to the inferential statistics and what they tell us about Galician clitics among *neofalantes*.

5.1 Distributional statistics

5.1.1 Overall distributions

Table 8 reports the overall distribution of clitic pronouns according to whether or not their placement (proclitic or enclitic) follows traditional Galician grammar or not, as outlined in Alvarez, Regueira & Monteagudo (1986) and Freixero Mato (2002).

Table 8. Overall distribution of clitic placement in the *Neofalante Corpus*

	Non-traditional		Traditional		Total
	%	n	%	n	
Proclitic	1.4	29	98.6	2,007	2,036
Enclitic	39.2	666	60.8	1,700	1,700
TOTAL	18.6	695	81.4	3,041	3,736

These results reveal that non-traditional clitic placement accounts for just under 19% of the data overall (n = 695), meaning that the vast majority of tokens follow

traditional Galician grammar. This suggests that *neofalantes* are in fact relatively competent with respect to Galician clitic placement. However, variation is not evenly distributed across the proclitic and enclitic groups. The majority of non-traditional placements occur within the enclitic group, where nearly 40% of all clitics do not follow traditional grammar (39.2%, N = 1,700). Proclitic placement, on the other hand, follows traditional grammar at a rate that approaches categoricity (98.6%, N = 2,036). Such results suggest that *neofalantes* have effectively mastered Galician proclisis (which aligns largely with Spanish). This is also the category that accounts for the majority of the data. Thus, where ‘challenges’ occur, they are largely isolated to enclisis, the less frequent mode of pronominal cliticization in the data, and the one that differs the most from the Spanish system.

Indeed, the proclitic/enclitic distinction is consistent across the *neofalante* sample. If we examine the usage of individual speakers (see Appendix 1, Table 25), we observe that where variation is attested, it is always trivial for proclitics and more robust for enclitics. In other words, whereas enclitic pronouns are generally variable across speakers, alternating between traditional and non-traditional positions, proclitic pronouns consistently follow traditional Galician grammar. Most speakers exhibit categorical or nearly categorical results (hovering between the 100 and 97% traditional placement), with only one speaker exhibiting a slightly reduced rate: 89% traditional (011m, N = 84).

A closer look at the enclitic inventory provides more insights into the distribution of such forms, as nearly half of the non-traditional enclitic tokens (n = 300) occur in absolute initial position. This placement, although common in Spanish and other Romance languages, is not possible in traditional Galician. As pointed out in prescriptive

grammars (Carballo Calero 1968:232; Alavarez, Regueira & Monteagudo 1986:183; Freixero Mato 2000:166), sentence initial contexts in Galician restrict pronouns to be in enclitic position. The only exception occurs when the pronoun is proclitic to the verb and follows a trigger particle.

The absolute initial tokens are part of the enclitic group (since they reflect contexts in which enclisis is prescribed), and so will be examined as part of that category. However, they are also a useful method for determining categoricity (or lack thereof) at the level of the individual.

Of the 15 *neofalantes* who participated in this research, 2 individuals (002m and 005f) never used clitic pronouns in non-traditional position during their interviews. That is, in the interview materials they categorically follow traditional Galician clitic placement. This suggests that they have mastered the Galician clitic system. Given the lack of positional variation in their speech, these two individuals have been removed from further analysis (total N = 234). Three other speakers (003m, 006f, 014m) present nearly categorical results, with high overall rates of traditional clitic placement of 97% (N = 292), 99% (N = 365) and 95% (N = 237) respectively. Following standard variationist practice, such speakers are usually removed from analysis (e.g. Guy 1980). However, only one of these three, speaker 006f, was removed (n = 365); the other two were retained. This is because speaker 006f never used absolute initial position, whereas the other two did. Because the absolute initial position is characteristic of *neofala* but is not a feature of traditional Galician, its use suggests a grammar that diverges from the traditional Galician clitic system. As such, their data is relevant to determining the variable grammar that constrains variation in this grammatical sector.

Three other categories, negators ($n = 544$) and interrogative pronouns ($n = 427$), in the trigger group, and preposition + infinitive ($n = 80$), in the finiteness group, also exhibited categorical traditional results. Since no variation occurred in these contexts, they were all excluded from further analysis. After excluding the proclitic tokens, the data from speakers 002m, 005f and 006f, and the three other categorical contexts, the total number of tokens remaining is 1,286. It is within this set of forms that variation operates. Indeed, once the categorical and nearly categorical contexts and speakers are removed, the overall distribution of non-traditional clitic placement rises dramatically, to account for 47.6% of the data overall. I now concentrate on how these tokens pattern relative to the linguistic and social predictors outlined in Chapter 4. However, although this figure seems quite high, it is worth noting that variation is not attested across the whole of the clitic system. Variability is restricted to 1,286 of the original set of 3,736—just 34% of the original data set. Moreover, a full third of speakers in the Corpus exhibit (near) categorical systems of traditional clitic placement. Thus, non-traditional placement is a less robust phenomenon than the purely distributional results suggests.

5.1.2 Factor-by-factor analyses: Linguistic predictors

The first linguistic predictor I consider is function. As outlined in Table 9, the reflexive category is robustly attested, accounting for half of the data overall. It also exhibits the highest proportion of non-traditional clitic placement. Co-occurring accusative/dative forms and datives, on the other hand, seem to pattern together, displaying rates of non-traditional placement slightly below the average of the data set as a whole, roughly 45% overall. The accusative tokens sit in between the reflexive and the co-occurring/dative

category. However, the basic pattern appears to be a binary split between reflexives, which exhibit elevated rates of non-traditional placement, and the other syntactic categories, which show more attenuated rates. As such, the non-reflexive categories are collapsed for the inferential statistics (§5.2).

Table 9. Distribution of tokens according to function

	Non-traditional		Traditional		Total
	%	N	%	n	
Reflexive	60.1	406	39.9	269	675
Co-occurring	51.9	14	48.1	13	27
Dative	47.6	138	52.4	152	290
Accusative	36.1	106	63.9	188	294
TOTAL	51.6	664	48.4	622	1,286

As discussed in the previous chapter, all clitic pronouns in the inventory, except for three (*vos*, *cha* and *-mos*), were found in the *Neofalante Corpus*. Looking closely at the distributional results in Table 10, we see that the data is clearly divided into two distinct groups. At one end of the spectrum we find a group of four clitic pronouns with non-traditional percentages ranging between 40-65%. At the other end, we find a group of four clitic tokens with non-traditional percentages hovering between 20 and 30%.

Table 10. Distribution of tokens according to clitic base form

	Non-traditional		Traditional		Total
	%	n	%	n	
me	65.0	364	35.0	196	560
te	64.6	82	35.4	45	127
nos	63.6	21	36.4	12	33
se	47.7	73	52.3	80	153
lle	30.9	38	69.1	85	123
o	32.0	66	68.4	140	206
a	23.9	11	76.1	35	42
che	23.7	9	76.3	29	38
TOTAL	51.6	664	48.4	622	1,286

This clear division in the data is far from coincidental. As discussed in Chapter 3, the Galician and Spanish clitic inventories are closely analogous. These similarities cannot be overlooked when analyzing the distributional results, since those pronouns with higher non-traditional percentages, *me* (65%)—including the contracted forms *mo* and *ma~te* (64.6%), *nos* (63.6%) and *se* (47.7%) are identical to the ones found in the Spanish inventory. Conversely, those pronouns—including all allomorphs and contracted forms—that display lower rates of non-traditional tokens, *lle* (30.9%), *o* (32%), *a* (23.9%) and *che* (23.7%) correspond to clitic pronouns that are either exclusive to Galician (*che*), or closely related to their Spanish counterparts, differing only in their orthographical representation (*lle~le*, *o~lo*, *a~la*). These results suggest that interference from Spanish is a factor in clitic placement in Galician. *Neofalantes* exhibit higher rates of non-traditional placement in those instances where both clitic forms are identical, that is, in those instances where the rules of Spanish and Galician may conflict

(e.g.(43),(44)).³⁴ On the other hand, where the clitic pronouns differ from their Spanish counterparts, rates of higher rates of traditional clitic placement are demonstrated.

- (43) o tribunal cando chegue alí *me* vai a poñer
 the committee when arrive there 1PS-Dative go to put
 un cero, pero bueno
 one zero, but well
 ‘The committee is going to give me a zero once I get there, but oh well’
 (Neof001/194)

- (44) entonces *nos* ofreceu clases voluntarias de Galego
 then 2PPL-Dat offered classes voluntary of Galician
 ‘then s/he offered to give us voluntary Galician classes’ (Neof012f/2710)

Table 11 presents the distributional results according to trigger word. This predictor was included because prescriptive grammars describe these triggers as key elements affecting clitic placement. Because this group is highly articulated, with multiple options, most groups contain few tokens, which makes quantitative analysis difficult. As would be expected in situations of language contact, particularly where genetic kinship is involved, most of these triggers have an exact or similar counterpart in Spanish. This can complicate things further for new speakers transitioning into the Galician system, since different sets of rules apply for each language (see Chapter 3). Although this factor group was not included in the final statistical analysis (because of the poorly distributed data), the distributional results shed some light into the way in

³⁴ Because the clitic pronouns *me* and *nos* are the same in Spanish and Galician, it seems that the grammatical rules applying to clitic placement may conflict in contexts such as these. Whereas Galician would normally place these pronouns after the verb—provided there is no proclitic trigger preceding it—(e.g. ‘*vaim*e poñer’, ‘ofreceu*nos*’), Spanish would normally place them before the verb. The fact that examples (42) and (43) present non-traditional proclitic placement thus suggest the possibility of an analogical extension of Spanish clitic placement rules into Galician contexts.

which trigger particles affect clitic placement. Moreover, these results provides information on the types of triggers (and their grammatical rules) that *neofalantes* have mastered and assimilated into their speech, and the ones that might still be applied following Spanish grammar.

Table 11. Distribution of tokens according to trigger

	Non-traditional		Traditional		Total
	%	n	%	n	
No trigger	54.2	555	45.8	469	1,024
Affirmative <i>Si</i>	100.0	1	0	0	1
<i>Pois</i>	81.4	35	18.6	8	43
Enclitic Adverbs	74.5	38	25.5	13	51
Proclitic Adverbs	52.9	9	47.1	8	17
Enclitic Indefinites	50.0	1	50.0	1	2
Doubling	50.0	1	50.0	1	2
<i>Tampouo</i>	50.0	1	50.0	1	2
Subordinate Conjunctions	46.2	6	53.8	7	13
Other	37.5	3	62.5	5	8
<i>Que</i> (Periphrasis)	9.8	5	90.2	46	51
Preposition	12.5	9	87.5	63	72
TOTAL	51.6	664	48.4	622	1,286

Contexts in which no trigger precedes the clitic pronoun account for almost the totality of the data overall (n = 1,024), where nearly 55% of tokens have non-traditional clitic placement. Of all triggers in Table 11, only four other categories present an average of 30 tokens (the usual baseline for statistical analysis; see Guy 1980). Of these, the

lexical trigger *pois* highly favours non-traditional clitic placement at 81.4%, closely followed by enclitic adverbs at 74.5%. These two contexts thus diverge robustly from prescriptive Galician grammar, in favour of Spanish. The other two categories, periphrastic *que* and prepositions, highly disfavour non-traditional clitic placement, at rates of 9.8% and 12.5% respectively. A closer look at the data shows that these non-traditional tokens were in absolute initial position.

As shown in Table 12 we see high rates of variation according to finiteness (+/-). While the finite category has the highest rates of non-traditional tokens within the group (63.8%, n= 597), two other categories, non-finite and periphrasis + *que*, sit at the other end of the spectrum, with little non-traditional clitic placement (i.e. the vast majority are enclitic, as stipulated by traditional Galician grammar). This latter result was hypothesized, since—as outlined in the methodology chapter—the grammatical rules that interact with the categories in these groups (imperatives, infinitives and gerunds) are the same in both Galician and Spanish. Due to its near categoricity, the non-finite group was excluded from the inferential analyses.

Table 12. Distribution of tokens according to finiteness (+/-)

	Non-traditional		Traditional		Total
	%	n	%	N	
Finite	63.8	597	36.2	339	936
Bare Periphrasis	39.3	44	60.7	68	112
Periphrasis + Participle	33.3	2	66.7	4	6
Periphrasis + que	13.2	14	86.8	92	106
Non-finite	5.6	7	94.4	119	126
TOTAL	51.6	664	48.4	622	1,286

The remaining mood categories exhibit greater amounts of variability in clitic placement. Of these, the periphrastic groups are set apart from the finite group, with rates of non-traditional placement that are well under 40% of all instances. As seen in previous chapters, clitic pronouns in periphrastic constructions can be placed after both the auxiliary or the non-finite verb. While it seems that the tendency is to opt for enclitic placement, proclisis in the auxiliary verb might also be allowed. These contexts, however, are very restricted, since they can occur when prompted by the relevant triggers.

A closer look at the data shows that all non-traditional bare periphrasis tokens were either placed in absolute initial position or in contexts where no proclitic trigger occurred before the auxiliary form. The same holds for the periphrasis + *que* category. This suggests that speakers may have not fully mastered the grammatical rules affecting periphrastic constructions, and that the effect of Spanish grammar in this group is considerable.

The next predictor is sentence type. As seen in Table 13, 32.7% (N = 421) of the tokens belong to the *subordinate* category. The rest of the data were fairly equally distributed among the remaining three groups: simple 26% (n = 335), coordinate 25.2% (n = 324) and matrix 16% (n = 206).

The simple, coordinate and matrix contexts all appear to favour non-traditional clitic placement at similar rates, hovering in the mid to high 50% range, while the syntactically distinct category of subordinate clauses exhibits a much lower proportion, just 39.4% overall (n= 166). Because of this, and since prescriptive grammars describe simple and coordinate contexts as subject to the same grammatical constraints and

patterning (i.e. always enclitic unless preceded by a proclitic trigger), the regression analysis will treat sentence type as a binary predictor, contrasting subordinate contexts with all others.

Table 13. Token distribution according to sentence type

	Non-traditional		Traditional		Total
	%	n	%	N	
Simple	59.1	198	40.9	137	335
Coordinate	56.8	184	43.2	140	324
Matrix	56.3	116	43.7	90	206
Subordinate	39.4	166	60.6	255	421
TOTAL	51.6	664	48.4	622	1,286

5.1.3 Factor-by-factor analyses: Code-switching

As discussed in the methodology, I have operationalized code-switching as a predictor in the analysis in order to probe whether or not a code-switch within the immediate linguistic context has an effect on clitic placement. The analysis was conducted at multiple levels: the clitic phrase itself, the preceding and following phrase, *y* insertion and formulaic phrases. Table 14 shows the results for *y* insertion in the environments preceding and following the clitic phrase. As the distributional results show, *y* is a minority option: most tokens do not have the conjunction in their immediate linguistic context. No *y* accounts for slightly under 80% of the overall data ($n = 1,007$). This means that some of the other categories are not well represented (e.g., before and after ($n = 6$), other ($n = 12$), and following word ($n = 14$)), making it hard to generalize from the results.

Table 14. Distribution of tokens according to *y* insertion.

	Non-traditional		Traditional		Total
	%	n	%	n	
Other	66.7	8	33.3	4	12
Before and after	66.7	4	33.3	2	6
Preceding word	63.5	47	36.5	27	74
Following clause	53.5	23	46.5	20	43
No <i>y</i>	47.2	519	52.8	581	1,007
Preceding clause	44.6	58	55.4	72	130
Following word	35.7	5	64.3	9	14
TOTAL	51.6	664	48.4	622	1,286

Nonetheless, clear patterns are evident. Within the groups that are more robustly represented, it seems that if *y* is placed immediately before the clitic phrase (i.e. *y* constitutes the preceding word), the use of non-traditional clitics rises considerably: 63.5% overall (n = 47). If *y* is placed elsewhere in the sentence (i.e. preceding clause or following clause), or is absent from the utterance, rates of non-traditional clitic placement decrease. Preceding clause accounts for 44.6% and following clause accounts for 53.5%. Both results align closely with the ones found in those instances where there is no *y* in the utterance (47.2%). Such results support the hypothesis that non-traditional clitic placement can be motivated and triggered by the insertion of a Spanish conjunction, possibly because it interferes with the implementation of traditional Galician grammatical rules. However, the effect is rather specific and it does not scope far within the clause. Specifically, it seems that the conjunction must immediately precede the clitic phrase in

order to have an effect on clitic placement. As such, this predictor was reconfigured for the regression analysis, contrasting *y* as the preceding word and all other contexts.

Table 15 shows the results for clitic placement in formulaic contexts. What this factor group accounted for was the use of expressions with non-compositional meaning (i.e. they do not hold the meaning that their constituent expressions have, rather they act like a discourse marker, a filler, or idiomatic expression). This means that all tokens coded as formulaic ($n = 48$) consist of a clitic pronoun that was part of an idiomatic expression. As the distributional results illustrate, the vast majority of these constructions exhibited non-traditional placement (97.9%), while all other contexts showed a much lower rate of occurrence (49.8%). If we accept the hypothesis that these expressions are somehow discourse chunks, then they appear to follow both the Free Morpheme Constraint, which states that switches may occur at any point of the discourse where it is possible to make a surface constituent cut and still retain a free morpheme (where ‘chunks’ are treated as single units), and the Equivalence constraint, by which a code switch will occur at those points where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 will not violate the syntactic rule of each language (Poplack 1980:586; Poplack 1981:175). Although, the positioning of the clitic pronoun does violate Galician grammatical rules, the phrase as a whole is not ungrammatical in neither Galician nor Spanish when considered out of context. That is, these formulaic expressions (*me parece, me refiro*) can and do occur in Galician when preceded by the right trigger; otherwise, they are always enclitic (i.e. *paréceme, refirome*). However, these expressions retain their full grammatical meaning when they follow enclitic order in Galician. They only seem to act as pragmatic hedges when they show proclisis (i.e. when they are borrowed or inserted from Spanish).

Nevertheless, due to the fact that only 4 speakers produced these particular constructions, and that more than 30 of these belonged to a single speaker, this factor group was not included in the final analysis.

Table 15. Distributional results for formulaic/non-formulaic contexts

	Non-traditional		Traditional		Total
	%	n	%	N	
Formulaic	97.9	47	2.1	1	48
Non-formulaic	49.8	617	50.2	621	1,238
TOTAL	51.6	664	48.4	622	1,286

Tables 16-18 focus on the clitic phrase and the contexts surrounding it. These predictors were selected to monitor whether code-switching was generated before the clitic phrase, thus affecting non-traditional clitic placement, or whether the code-switch was generated in the clitic phrase and spread to following contexts.

Table 16 provides a closer look at the token distribution according to the language used in the phrase immediately preceding the clitic phrase. The category neither ($n = 3$) was excluded from further analysis due to paucity of data. A second category, not applicable—which encompasses false starts or proper names— was also excluded from the analysis, despite its robust number of cells ($n = 303$), because of its inability to provide relevant information as to whether the language used was Galician, Spanish or both.³⁵ As for the remaining categories, as hypothesized, Spanish seems to be the category that favours non-traditional clitic placement the most (58.1%), while those

³⁵ All groups tracking code-switching except for the y insertion group followed the same procedure. Thus, after calculating the overall distribution, all groups were reduced to a three-way classification (Galician, Spanish or Ambiguous) instead of the four or five-way classification used in the methodology.

contexts that are ambiguous (i.e. they are identical in both languages) exhibit a lower frequency of non-traditional clitic placement (42.8%). Galician in the preceding phrase sits in the middle with 49.5% of non-traditional placement (i.e. a rate that mirrors the overall distribution of non-traditional placement as a whole). These results are quite intriguing, since it might be expected that the ambiguous group would pattern like Galician or like Spanish, yet this is not the case. The reason why such contexts should stand on their own with the lowest rates of non-traditional placement remains to be determined.

Table 16. Token distribution according to the language used in the phrase preceding the Clitic Phrase.

	Non-traditional		Traditional		Total
	%	n	%	n	
Neither	66.7	2	33.3	1	3
Not applicable	60.4	183	39.6	120	303
Spanish	58.1	93	41.9	67	160
Galician	49.5	255	50.5	260	515
Ambiguous/both	42.8	130	57.2	174	304
TOTAL	51.6	664	48.4	622	1,286

Table 17 shows the distributional results according to the language used in the clitic phrase itself. As with the preceding contexts (Table 16) the data was classified in several groups. Most of the data is distributed between two groups: Galician accounts for more than three-quarters of the overall data (78.1%) while the *ambiguous* category accounts for a further 18.3%. The hybrid category will again be set aside due to its inability to actually isolate the language used.

Table 17. Distribution of tokens according to language used in the clitic phrase

	Non-traditional		Traditional		Total
	%	n	%	N	
Ambiguous/both	89.1	221	10.9	27	248
Spanish	82.6	19	17.4	4	23
Hybrid	45.8	11	54.2	13	24
Galician	41.7	413	58.3	578	991
TOTAL	51.6	664	48.4	622	1,286

Of the three remaining groups, clitic phrases classified as Galician exhibit the lowest distribution of non-traditional tokens (41.7%). At the other end of the spectrum sit those clitic phrases classified as either Spanish (82.6%) or ambiguous (89.1%). Since Spanish clitic phrases account for less than 2% of the overall data (n = 23) and because they pattern identically with the ambiguous phrases, these two categories were recoded as one for the statistical analysis, setting up a binary contrast between the categories Ambiguous/Spanish and Galician.

Table 18 presents the results for the contexts following the clitic phrase. As with the results in Table 16 (i.e. preceding phrase), the categories hybrid, neither and not applicable were excluded from further analysis due to the reduced number of tokens they represent (hybrid, neither) and their inability to provide information regarding the actual language used (not applicable). This leaves the predictor with only three categories, Spanish, Galician, ambiguous. They all appear to pattern in parallel, with rates of non-traditional clitic placement in the 50% range. In contrast with the results reported for preceding phrase (Table 16) and clitic phrase (Table 17) then, the language(s) in the following context do not appear to affect clitic placement.

Table 18. Distribution of tokens according to the language used in the phrase following the clitic phrase

	Non-traditional		Traditional		Total
	%	n	%	n	
Hybrid	100	1	0.0	1	1
Neither	66.7	2	33.3	1	3
Not applicable	58.9	123	41.1	86	209
Spanish	55.8	29	44.2	23	52
Galician	50.3	324	49.7	320	644
Ambiguous/Both	49.1	185	50.9	192	377
TOTAL	51.6	664	48.4	622	1,286

5.4.1 Factor-by-factor analyses: Social predictors

Speaker sex (Table 19) is a known predictor of sociolinguistic variability. Generally, women tend to avoid stigmatized forms, they tend to be more standard than men, and they usually lead change in contexts of innovation. Men, on the other hand, can find covert prestige in the non-standard and usually lag behind in the assimilation of new forms (e.g. Labov 1990, Eckert 1990). In these materials, however, it seems that it is the women who use more non-traditional clitic placement than the men. In fact, their overall rate is almost double that of men: 62.2% (n = 722) versus 38.1% (n = 564).

Table 19. Distribution of tokens according to participant's sex

	Non-traditional		Traditional		Total
	%	n	%	n	
Female	62.2	449	37.8	273	722
Male	38.1	215	61.9	349	564
TOTAL	51.6	664	48.4	622	1,286

Moreover, as outlined in Table 20, use of traditional Galician grammar does not appear to correlate in a linear fashion with accumulated years of experience. It is the group of speakers with intermediate years of practice who exhibit the lowest frequency of non-traditional clitic placement. Speakers with the least amount of experience exhibit higher rates, as might be expected, yet it is those speakers with the most experience of all who have the highest frequency of non-traditional clitic placement.

Table 20. Token distribution according to number of years speaking Galician

	Non-traditional		Traditional		Total
	%	n	%	N	
≥10	57.9	169	42.1	123	292
11-20	37.9	259	62.1	425	684
≥21	76.1	236	23.9	74	310
TOTAL	51.6	664	48.4	622	1,286

The fact that those speakers who have been using the language for the longest period of time display the highest rates of non-traditional tokens is perplexing. However, only those participants aged 36 or more belong to this group. All of these participants grew up in a period where Galician was stigmatized, not allowed in public use and barely present in education. This lack of a strong initial foundation could perhaps explain this specific result, but it also suggests that length of exposure is confounded by the effect of age.

Indeed, if we consider age alone, as in Table 21, the distribution of non-traditional tokens corroborates one of the initial hypotheses concerning generational differences. The youngest group (participants born in the last 36 years, after Galician

became co-official with Spanish and was re-introduced in education, the media and society in general), has a lower rate of non-traditional tokens than the older group: 41.6% overall (n = 598), versus 60.3% overall (n = 688). From this point forward then, I set aside length of experience and concentrate on the effect of age, as heuristic of language policy changes that took place in the late twentieth century.

Table 21. Token distribution according to age group

	Non-traditional		Traditional		Total
	%	n	%	n	
over age 36	60.3	415	39.7	273	688
under age 36	41.6	249	58.4	349	598
TOTAL	51.6	664	48.4	622	1,286

The effect of region (Table 22) reveals another intriguing result. Speakers who were raised outside of Galicia have markedly lower rates of non-traditional clitic placement than do those who were raised in the region. For those who were not raised locally, however, use of traditional Galician grammar may reflect the need of speakers to re-connect with or emphasize their Galician roots.

Table 22. Token distribution according to whether speakers were raised or not in Galicia

	Non-traditional		Traditional		Total
	%	n	%	n	
Raised in Galicia	55.9	576	44.1	455	1,031
Raised elsewhere	34.5	88	65.5	167	255
TOTAL	51.6	664	48.4	622	1,286

In fact, this interpretation gains support when we look at the results for parental origin, shown in Table 23. Those speakers with only one or no Galician parents rarely use non-traditional clitic placement (i.e. they nearly categorically use enclisis where it is prescribed by traditional grammar): the overall rate of non-traditional use in this group is just 7.4% overall (n = 188). Conversely, those participants whose parents were both Galician have an overall rate of non-traditional tokens of nearly 60% (n = 1,098). This dichotomy could be due to the first group's need to assert their Galician identity. Further explanation of these results will be provided in the discussion section.

Table 23. Token distribution according to parental origin

	Non-traditional		Traditional		Total
	%	n	%	n	
Both Galician	59.2	650	40.8	448	1,098
Other	7.4	14	92.6	174	188
TOTAL	51.6	664	48.4	622	1,286

5.2 Inferential statistics

In order to assess the simultaneous effects of these predictors and determine which exert a significant effect on clitic placement, the data were subjected to multivariate analysis using Goldvarb X (Sankoff, Tagliamonte & Smith 2005). Table 24 reports the findings of multivariate analysis of the factor groups contributing to the probability of non-traditional enclitic tokens in the *neofalante* corpus (i.e. clitic pronouns that speakers placed proclitic

to the verb in contexts where traditional Galician grammar would require enclitic placement).

The results show that the overall probability of a non-traditional clitic placement in the overall set of tokens ($N = 1,286$) is 0.502 (the input or corrected mean). Of the 11 predictors in the model, 7 are selected as significant: finiteness, clitic phrase, preceding phrase, age group, parental origin, raised in Galician and speaker sex. The remaining 4 were not selected: sentence type, clitic form, *y* insertion and following phrase. To interpret these results, I will look at three main lines of evidence in the data (Tagliamonte 2012:122-123): statistical significance (i.e. which predictors are statistically significant, assessed at the level of the model as a whole, at the 0.05 level, and which are not), effect magnitude (i.e. the strength of a predictor based on its range value), and constraint hierarchy (i.e. the order of factors within a group). To measure these results, two main values will be contrasted: (i) the factor weights, which vary between 0 and 1, with weights around 0.50 neither favouring or disfavouring a specific factor, and (ii) the range values, which are a non-statistical measure obtained by deducting the lowest factor weight from the largest factor weight within a predictor. The higher the range value, the stronger the predictor.

Table 24. Logistic regression of the factors conditioning non-traditional clitic placement

Input	0.502	Total N	1,286	Significance	0.004	
				FW	%	N
Finiteness (+/-)						
Finite				0.66	63.8	936
Periphrasis				0.14	19.1	350
<i>Range</i>				52		
Sentence type						
Other				[0.50]	57.6	865
Subordinate				[0.50]	39.4	421
Clitic Form						
Reflexive				[0.52]	60.1	675
Co-occurring/Dative				[0.48]	42.2	611
Clitic Phrase						
Ambiguous/Spanish				0.86	88.6	991
Galician				0.38	41.7	271
<i>Range</i>				48		
Preceding Phrase						
Spanish				0.56	58.1	160
Galician				0.54	49.5	515
Ambiguous/Both				0.40	42.8	304
<i>Range</i>				16		
Y Insertion						
Preceding				[0.65]	63.5	74
Other				[0.49]	50.9	1,212
Following Phrase						
Spanish				[0.58]	55.8	52
Ambiguous/Both				[0.51]	49.1	377
Galician				[0.49]	50.3	644
Age Group						
Over 36				0.71	60.3	688
Under 36				0.26	41.6	598
<i>Range</i>				45		
Parental Origin						
Both				0.56	59.2	1,098
Other				0.17	7.4	188
<i>Range</i>				39		
Raised in Galicia						
Yes				0.56	55.9	1,031
No				0.18	34.5	255
<i>Range</i>				38		
Sex						
Female				0.62	62.2	722
Male				0.34	38.1	564
<i>Range</i>				28		

The only linguistic predictor selected as significant is finiteness. As predicted, finite verbs favour non-traditional clitic placement with a probability of 0.66, while non-finite contexts (including all kinds of periphrasis) highly disfavour it at 0.14. These results align with the expected outcome, since non-finite verbs follow a very similar pattern in both Galician and Spanish, usually requiring the pronoun to be enclitic to the verb. As such, the extremely low probability of non-traditional enclitic placement in contexts involving non-finite verbs likely reflects the grammatical parallelism between Spanish and Galician within this context. Finites, on the other hand, are subject to other elements, primarily triggering particles, which differ significantly between Galician and Spanish.

The two remaining linguistic predictors, clitic form and sentence type, were not selected as significant. However, the probabilistic results in these groups can nonetheless shed some light on the factors affecting *neofalante*'s use non-traditional clitic placement. Reflexive clitic pronouns are more prone to favour non-traditional clitic placement over all other functions, with a probability of 0.52 versus 0.48. As for sentence type, the inferential results display no hierarchy or direction, meaning that subordinates and all other sentences (simples, coordinate and matrix) have the same effect, statistically, on non-traditional clitic placement (0.50). This result is intriguing, since in the distributional results, subordinate clauses exhibit a markedly higher rate of non-traditional clitic placement the most (57% versus 36.8%). As seen in Figure 5, however, there is an interaction with the predictor finiteness (+/-). The effect of subordinate versus other is not a main effect in the data; it obtains only in the periphrastic category, where it is

significant (Fisher's Exact, two-tailed, $p = 0.03$). Within the finite category, there is no observable effect of sentence type (Fisher's Exact, two-tailed, $p = 0.63$).

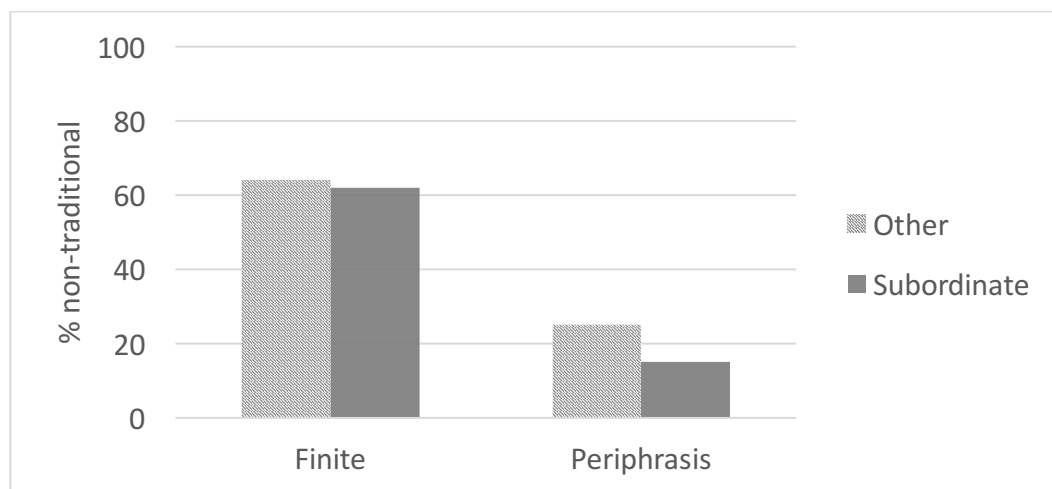


Figure 5. Results for the cross-tabulation between sentence type and finiteness (+/-)

Within those predictors operationalized to probe the effects of code-switching, only clitic phrase and preceding phrase were selected as significant. Clitic phrase is the stronger of the two, with a range value of 48 (vs. the 16 of preceding phrase). As with the distributional result for y , this seems to suggest a locality effect, such that the more proximate Spanish is to the clitic phrase, the more likely the clitic is to be non-traditionally placed. Further, the hierarchy reveals that contexts in which the clitic phrase is distinctly Spanish or the language is ambiguous highly favour non-traditional clitic placement, at a probability of 0.86. On the other hand, if the clitic phrase is distinctly and entirely Galician, the probability of the pronoun to follow non-traditional placement decreases substantially, to 0.38.

Within the preceding phrase, use of Spanish marginally favours non-traditional tokens, with a probability of 0.56. Those contexts in which the clitic pronoun is preceded

by a Galician phrase also weakly favour non-traditional placement, at 0.54. In this case, it is ambiguous utterances that disfavour non-traditional placement: 0.40. These results are unexpected, since one would predict that the ambiguous contexts would pattern either like Galician or Spanish, and not independently. The fact that Galician and Spanish preceding phrases equally favour non-traditional clitic placement could indicate that the grammatical rules affecting clitic placement in the *neofala* mirror those of Spanish. That is, *neofalantes* have acquired a different set of rules from traditional Galician.

At the same time, these results seem to conflict with the ones found for the clitic phrase. Whereas preceding phrases in Spanish and Galician slightly favour non-traditional clitic placement, clitic phrases in Galician disfavour non-traditional placement. This could suggest that the clitic phrase is independent of all previous contexts. Regardless of the language that precedes it, if the clitic phrase is in Galician, there is a higher probability that the clitic pronoun will follow traditional Galician grammar. However, if it is either in Spanish or it is a clear cognate in both languages, there is a higher probability that speakers will not apply traditional Galician rules and place the pronoun according to other rules (presumably Spanish grammatical rules).

The two other code-switching predictors, *y* insertion and following phrase, were not selected as significant. Looking at the hierarchy of effects, the results nonetheless corroborate the distributional evidence: there is a higher probability for non-traditional clitic placement when the clitic pronoun is immediately preceded by *y* (0.65). All those contexts where the Spanish conjunction is placed elsewhere, or is not present at all, neither favour nor disfavour non-traditional clitic placement (0.49). It is likely that this

group failed to be significant because the data is badly skewed (largely sitting in the ‘other’ category, while only 74 tokens were immediately preceded by *y*).

Directionality in following phrase shows a slight progression, with Spanish favouring non-traditional clitic placement (0.58), while ambiguous contexts and Galician sit on the median (0.51 and 0.49 respectively). The reduced number of tokens found in the Spanish group ($n = 52$) could have contributed to the predictor not being selected as a main effect. However, this directionality seems to point at a relation between clitic phrase and following phrase in that, if the clitic phrase is in Galician there is a higher likelihood for the following phrase to also be in Galician and, consequently, for the clitic pronoun to favour traditional grammar. The opposite behaviour could be found if the clitic phrase were Spanish. However, this potential correlation is a broad generalization only, since a cross-tabulation of both groups does not seem to indicate a direct cause-effect relation between the two. Rather, it seems that each constituent acts independently from each other, overlapping only at times (only 27% of the overall tokens belonged to contexts where both the clitic phrase and the following phrase were in Galician, and under 1% of the non-traditional tokens corresponded to sequences in which a Spanish clitic phrase was followed by an ambiguous or Spanish phrase).

Looking at the social factors conditioning non-traditional clitic placement, all four are significant and strong. Age group exerts the strongest effect, with a range value of 45. Those speakers over the age of 36 years, that is, those speakers born before the implementation of bilingual education (and the officialdom of Galician within the region), highly favour non-traditional clitic placement, with a probability of 0.71. The younger generations, born after the official recognition of Galician and the spread of

bilingual education and Galician media, highly disfavour non-traditional clitic placement: the probability is just 0.26. This corroborates the distributional results, and suggests that societal linguistic acceptance is a key factor in conditioning variation. While the older generation grew up at a time when Galician had been removed from almost all contexts in life (restricted to domestic and rural use during Franco's repression), the younger generation witnessed the rebirth of Galician in all areas of public and private life. Although still modest in the implementation and reach of the language policies, it is undeniable that the possibility to access Galician in domains such as education, the media and popular culture has benefited the acquisition of some traditional grammatical features.

The distributional results are also confirmed with respect to parental origin and regional association. Speakers for whom both parents are Galician or who were raised in Galicia are favoured to use non-traditional clitic placement (0.57 and 0.58 respectively). Conversely, speakers who do not share these backgrounds are highly disfavoured to use these forms (0.18 and 0.21 respectively). In other words, there is a strong avoidance of non-traditional clitic placement among *neofalantes* who have weaker personal ties to Galicia.

Such results suggest that other (non-linguistic) factors influence speakers' tendency to aim for traditional clitic placement. One such factor could be identity. While speakers whose parents are Galician do not need to prove, or highlight, their being Galician, those speakers who either have only one Galician parent or none might feel the need to reinforce and strengthen their Galician identity. One of the ways in which they might choose to do this could be through language. This same interpretation can be

applied to whether or not the speakers were raised in Galicia, since being raised away from the region may increase the need to claim Galician identity through other means—in this case, linguistic ones. Speakers who were raised elsewhere and were likely more exposed to Spanish on a daily basis—with no access to Galician media, literature or a Galician subject in school—are significantly less likely to use non-traditional placement. This suggests again that these speakers may try to compensate for that initial disconnection with Galician. It is also possible that their lack of access to Galician shaped their own approach to language. While those speakers raised in Galicia may have never felt the need to learn a language that was, in a way, surrounding them, those speakers who were completely de-rooted may have felt the need to reach out. In addition, the passive exposure to Galician experienced by those who were raised in Galicia may have also blocked the need to ‘study’ it, while those speakers who were only exposed to Spanish (or other languages) could have felt a more overt pressing need to master Galician.

Finally, speakers’ sex is also relevant. This is expected based on sociolinguistic literature. However, contrary to the predicted direction of effect, in this case it is female speakers who favour non-traditional clitic placement, 0.62, while male speakers disfavour it, 0.34. It is hard to speculate about the reasons why this dichotomy may arise, since women generally favour standard and prestige forms. It is possible, however, that prestige is in fact relevant. Galician has always been linked with the lower socioeconomic classes (i.e. primary sector, fishing and farming) and rural settings. Spanish, on the other hand, has consistently been seen as the language of progress and prestige (Gonzalez Gonzalez 2003:93). If Spanish prestige remains entrenched in *neofalantes*, despite their

decision to adopt Galician (they exist in a culture of Spanish dominance), it is possible that speaking Spanish or speaking a more ‘Spanish-flavoured’ Galician could ultimately add prestige to the speaker. That is, it renders their Galician more “Spanish sounding”, allowing them to bridge two linguistic cultures and worlds. This interpretation seems to be supported by the results obtained in a study conducted by González González in 2003, in which most participants described speakers with strong traditional and rural accents as ‘coarse’, ‘uncouth’ and ‘less prone to succeed socially’. Conversely, those speakers with less Galician marked accents (i.e. speakers displaying a phonological system more similar to Spanish) were deemed ‘innovative and socially competent’ (González González et al 2003:88, 185-186).

Knowing that female speakers strive for the standard and that there is presumably a social connection between Spanish and ‘Spanish-flavoured’ Galician with progress and prestige, this interpretation does not seem completely far-fetched. Cross-tabulation between speaker sex and age provided more support for current results. Results from the cross-tabulation in Figure 6 show that age is not a relevant factor affecting clitic placement within the female group: older women present a slightly bigger proportion of non-traditional tokens (66% over 56% in the younger group).

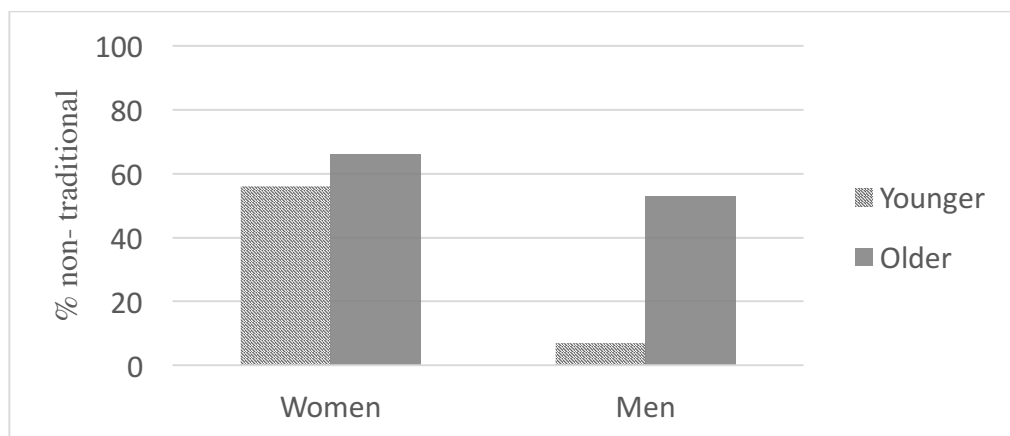


Figure 6. Results for the cross-tabulation between speaker sex and age group

Speaker sex and age is however relevant among the male group, where the younger group only displays 7% of non-traditional tokens (over the 53% found in the older group). This result, again, can be interpreted as the result of the implementation of bilingual education in the 80s. These results seem to reinforce the possibility of other social factors, such as prestige, affecting non-traditional clitic placement among female speakers, especially when compared to the dichotomous results obtained in male speakers.

However, based on the metalinguistic commentary on language use and linguistic varieties extracted from the *Neofalante Corpus*, the increased use of certain non-traditional features among *neofalantes* can perhaps be viewed as an in-group marker, an act of linguistic insecurity, or a way to accommodate to the interlocutors' linguistic expectations. As seen in example (46), participants were aware of their own performative characteristics and self-identified as *neofalantes*. Some of them, as in (46), even deemed it inappropriate (and artificial) to attempt to sound like L1 Galician speakers.

(45) *teño o rexistro de ningún sitio tes rexistro galego falante galego falante neofalante non? e y terei moito que aprender aínda seguro si eso está claro pero bueno fago fago o que podo* ('I don't speak a specific variety, you speak a Galician variety, a *neofalante* Galician variety, you know? And and I still have a lot to learn, yes, that is for sure but I am doing as much as I can). (Neof015f)

(46) *entón de certo modo notas que . que che falta unha parte da riqueza lingüística do galego que ademais se a tiveses sería unha impostura . eu coñezo neofalantes que intentan falar con gheada e paréceme terrorífico porque é completamente artificial vese artificial (...) queiras ou non ti es unha persoa que non falou galego nos primeiros anos da su-- da súa vida . que chegou máis tarde (...) non pasa nada pero non podes finxir que es o que non es . terás que ace-- aceptar que o teu modelo de lingua é un que é o que lle vas pasar ós teus fillos se os tes.* ('in a way, you feel like there is a part of the linguistic richness of Galician that is missing from you. In fact, if you had it, it would be a fraud. I know *neofalantes* who try to speak with *gheada* and I find that disturbing, because it is completely artificial. It looks artificial (...) whether you like it or not, you are someone who did not grow up speaking Galician, that came in later (...) there is nothing wrong with that but you cannot pretend to be something you are not. You have to accept that your variety is what it is and that you will pass it on to your children, if you have them'.)³⁶ (Neof003m)

³⁶ *Gheada* is a phonetic phenomenon found in some western varieties of Galician that is slowly receding. *Gheada* consists on the realization of the voiced velar stop [g] (usually occurring in initial position or after a pause), and the spirant approximant [ɣ] (occurring in medial position, between vowels) as [x], as represented in example (a) /g/ > [x].

(a) gato [xáto] 'cat'
gaita [xáita] 'bagpipe'
guerra [xéra] 'war'

pega [péxa] 'magpie'
folga [fó'lxá] 'strike'
agro [áxro] 'field (Martínez-Gil 2004:300-1)

Additionally, some other participants mentioned their tendency to avoid very Galician terms in favour of Spanish borrowings to avoid sounding too posh or too snob, or simply for fear of not being understood by their interlocutors, as in (47)-(49).

(47) *seguramente na na xente que . que é galego falante de . de sempre os vellos os que se criaron nas aldeas que son obviamente os que mellor galego falan pero pero ca particularidade de que falan con moitos castelanismos tamén entón están tan introducidos que i e que por una por una banda pois non es consciente de que de que son castelanismos pero é que por outra cando es consciente y queres non dicilo y queres dicir a palabra galega ás veces hai contextos hai situacións hai lugares en que soa tan artificial tan snob que que que non che atreves a dicilo (' it is possible that people who are traditional Galician speakers, the elders, the ones who were brought up in the village, those who obviously better at speaking Galician speak with a lot of peculiarities, they use a lot of borrowings from Spanish too. On the one hand, because of that, sometimes you don't realize those are Spanish borrowings. On the other hand, sometimes you know they are, but when you are trying to use the Galician word you sometimes find yourself in contexts and in situations where it sounds so artificial, so snob that you just don't dare to do it'. (Neof004m)*

(48) *non non é fácil . ti vas a unha tenda xa-- t-- y queres mercar non sei unha saia y a chica te mira como dicindo:*

- *Como?*

- *Unha falda*

- *Ah unha falda*

E mui difícil eh? non no no . aquí galego nada

(‘No, it is not easy. You go to a store and you want to buy, I don’t know, a *saia* (‘skirt’ in Galician) and the girl looks at you like:

- Pardon me?

- I would like a *falda* (‘skirt’ in Spanish)

- Ah, a *falda*

It is really difficult you know? No, no. No one speaks Galician here’.)

(Neof008f)

(49) *No porque si d-- digo:*

- *Si mira si para aquí para o nocello*

- *Que?*

Y pa evitar esa situación pois digo directamente en castelá porque non te van a entender y s-- y s-- obviamente te van te miran como dicindo pero esta tía.

(‘No because, if I say :

- Yes, something for, something for the *nocello* (‘knee’ in Galician)?

- Pardon me?

So, in order to avoid that situation, I just say everything in Spanish, because they just won’t understand you and . and they are obviously going to look at you weird.’)³⁷

(Neof008f)

³⁷ The Galician term for knee is *nocello*, although the Spanish term *rodilla* is widely spread across all regional varieties of Galician.

Although most commentary referred to phonological or lexical features, the existence of these underlying shared beliefs could also explain the higher proportion of non-traditional clitic placement among *neofalantes* and, particularly, among female *neofalantes*.

Chapter 6. Discussion and Conclusion

The analysis of the *Neofalante Corpus* has provided two robust conclusions. First, contrary to prescriptivist belief, *neofalante* speakers are not doing it entirely wrong (Dubert 2005; Freixeiro Mato 2014; Kabatek 1997). As the data has shown, acquisition of traditional Galician grammar is well on its way among the participants of this study. The distributional results show that non-traditional clitic placement accounts for under 18.6% of the clitic usage overall, and that variation does not affect the entire clitic system. Proclitic contexts are nearly categorical, with non-traditional tokens in this category accounting for under 2% of instances. This means that variation is mostly restricted to enclitic contexts (39.2%). Additionally, a closer look at the data shows that variation is not found in all speakers. Two of the fifteen participants displayed categorical results, and three others presented nearly categorical results for traditional clitic placement (99%, 95% and 97%). Thus, for a non-trivial proportion of *neofalantes* considered here, variation is trivial, if not entirely lacking. This result cannot be overstated, since it highlights a high level of competence in traditional/standard Galician. Even where variation does exist, most speakers display traditional rates in the range of 70 and 90%. These results, again, provide quite an optimistic view on the *neofalante* community who largely appear to follow traditional Galician grammar when using their clitic pronouns.

It is also important to note that half of the non-traditional tokens in the enclitic category (n = 300) consisted of absolute initial placement. This usage appears to be a clear case of transfer from Spanish, since prescriptive grammars of Galician outlaw this

practice and L1 Galician speakers do not exhibit this feature. The two speakers who categorically exhibited traditional Galician clitic placement likewise categorically failed to produce absolute initial clitics. The remainder of speakers in the sample, who exhibit varying degrees of variation in clitic usage, retain absolute initial clitics, one of the most distinct features of Spanish clitic placement. This strongly suggests that one of the constraints affecting non-traditional clitic placement in Galician is the effect of underlying Spanish grammar.

The second conclusion arising from this analysis is that non-traditional clitic placement in Galician is neither arbitrary nor coincidental, but linguistically motivated. Moreover, as suggested by absolute initial use, conflict between Galician and Spanish grammar appears to be the root of much (but not all) variation. It is in those contexts where Galician and Spanish grammar differ that variation is heightened. A clear example of this is found when analyzing the category finiteness (+/-). The factor weights affecting this group have shown that *neofalantes* highly favour non-traditional clitic placement in finite contexts (0.68 versus 0.14), meaning that, in those contexts where traditional Galician grammar would prescribe enclisis, speakers favour proclisis. As it has been previously mentioned in the methodology chapter, while Galician's unmarked placement is enclitic, only altered by the interaction of proclitic triggers, Spanish unmarked placement is proclitic, and only non-finite contexts allow for enclitic placement. The fact that *neofalante* speakers strongly disfavour non-traditional clitic placement in non-finite context thus seems to corroborate the hypothesis that variation is higher when Spanish and Galician differ the most. In those instances where both grammars align, non-traditional placement either does not occur (as in the groups that were excluded due to

their categoricity) or it is much lower. Most importantly, all instances of non-traditional clitic placement in non-finite contexts seem to correspond with absolute initial position. Again, this reinforces the idea that Spanish grammar is applied and generalized to those contexts where it most differs from Galician.

Another example of how both Galician and Spanish grammar are at conflict in the linguistic repertoire of *neofalantes* can be seen in two additional factor groups: clitic phrase and *y* insertion. For clitic phrase, statistical results showed that Galician disfavoured non-traditional clitic placement, whereas those cases where the phrase was considered ambiguous (i.e. written and pronounced equally in Galician and Spanish) non-traditional clitic placement was highly favoured. The fact that ambiguous contexts favour non-traditional enclitic tokens (that is, favour the use of the pronominal clitic in proclitic position) could, again, point to the possibility of speakers considering these instances as Spanish, rather than Galician. In the case of *y* insertion, although this factor group was not selected as significant due to the small cell size for *y*, the probability of non-traditional clitic placement following the Spanish conjunction was high. In addition, distributional results seemed to indicate that the clitic phrase was only affected when preceded by *y*, since all other possibilities (no *y* or *y* placed elsewhere) patterned in the exact same way.

As with *y* insertion, the existence of formulaic contexts seems to be an indicator of direct code-switching to and from Spanish as a trigger for non-traditional clitic placement. However, small token numbers in both categories makes it difficult to consider this predictor a robust indicator. Perhaps a bigger data sample would allow for better interpretations of these phenomena.

These results seem to provide enough evidence to address and refute previous commentary accusing the *neofala* of being a dialect of Spanish and describing clitic placement as “completely random” and affected by Spanish (Dubert 2005:272; González González 2008: 363-70; Freixeiro Mato 2014:16). Although there is indeed evidence that Spanish has an effect on non-traditional clitic placement, it is nonetheless important to highlight that Spanish interference is circumscribed to specific contexts and uses. Indeed, this is a key result in the context of language revitalization, since one of the biggest claims against *neofalantes* is that their variety poses a threat to the survival of Galician due to high interference with Spanish. Knowing the specific environments and contexts in which L1 Spanish speakers encounter problems in learning Galician can help improve the curricula and teaching materials in schools and adult language courses. What is more, these results can help improve teaching materials for all Galicians, regardless of whether they intend to become *neofalantes* or not.

In addition to the linguistic results, a few conclusions can also be drawn from the interpretation of social factors. The three most significant social predictors affecting the *Neofalante* Corpus were age, parental origin and regional origin. These three predictors provided quite robust results that pointed at two major conclusions. Because of the recent implementation of language policies in Galicia, the data has corroborated the initial hypothesis that age can act as a predictor for traditional clitic placement. Those speakers from the younger generations, who had more access to education and other resources in Galician highly disfavoured non-traditional clitic placement over those speakers who were born and raised during Franco’s dictatorship. Additionally, those speakers who were raised outside of Galicia and who had only one or no Galician parents at all, also

disfavour non-traditional clitic placement. As it has been mentioned in the previous chapter, these results could indicate the speakers' need to assert and highlight their identity as Galician. Due to the small sample size, it is hard to provide strong support for this hypothesis, however it is important to note that the group whose parents were not both Galician present nearly categorical results (97%).

A closer look at the information provided by each of these three speakers on the questionnaire gives a better insight into interpreting these results. While the two categorical speakers considered themselves to be only Galician or mostly Galician, the nearly categorical speakers considered themselves as being both Spanish and Galician. However, when looking at the interaction between personal motivation and parental origin, all speakers whose parents were not Galician (or at least only one) chose *identity and culture* as their sole motivation for language change. Seeing the strong contrast in non-traditional clitic distribution between both groups of speakers, this could indicate that speakers with one or no Galician parents at all have a stronger need to reassert their identity as Galician and that, perhaps, they use grammar and language as a tool to do so.

Finally, a few additional observations can be added on the basis of the information provided by each speaker in the background questionnaires.³⁸ Looking at learning method, results show that the three speakers with nearly categorical results chose 'self-taught' as their learning method.³⁹ The two categorical speakers chose 'education'

³⁸ The groups pertaining to identity, network, motivation and learning method were excluded from quantitative analysis due to a lack of data from 2 participants, amounting to a total of 656 tokens (17.5% of the total data). This information, however, was kept for the qualitative interpretation of the results.

³⁹ This category encompasses the following options: reading grammars or literature and/or taking language courses.

and ‘a combination of all options’ as their learning methods.⁴⁰ In contrast, those speakers with the lowest rates of traditional clitic placement are distributed across less formal learning methods. Two of the speakers chose ‘socializing with friends’ as their primary method (72% and 68%), the other two chose the home as theirs (70% and 71%). What these results seem to indicate is that those speakers who have mastered clitic placement seem to have done it through formal education, grammars or other language courses, rather than by strict social use with others in Galician. Although there is much to be improved in the field of Galician language planning—particularly in terms of status planning—these results seem to indicate that the implementation of bilingual education, and even more so, the existence of Galician courses and workshops for adult learners, has been crucial in the acquisition and strengthening of Galician grammar across most—if not all—of the participants in this sample. Notwithstanding, it is important to note that these positive effects have been found within a specific subsample of speakers: *neofalantes* tend to exhibit active interest in learning and improving their knowledge of Galician. Whether the same positive results could be found among other monolingual or bilingual speakers outside the *neofalante* community at study remains to be tested.

I had initially hypothesized that those speakers who chose ‘political motivations’ as their main reason to switch to Galician would have the highest rates of traditional clitic placement. While two of the four speakers who chose this option showed nearly categorical results, most of the categorical and nearly categorical speakers actually selected the option ‘identity & culture’. This suggests that the motivations to switch to

⁴⁰ The options given to each participant were: at home, in school/high school, socializing with friends and self-taught (grammars, readings, additional courses).

Galician are complex and that a simple questionnaire is insufficient for assessing this measure.

The second hypothesis that this study wanted to test was that of social network as a predictor for the use of traditional Galician grammar. The initial expectation was that speakers who surrounded themselves by L1 Galician speakers or other *neofalantes* would have higher rates of traditional clitic placement compared to those speakers who were surrounded by Spanish speakers or a combination of Galician and Spanish speakers. The results from the questionnaires, however, do not seem to provide any clear answer to this either—not a single grouping stands out and no clear pattern emerges between the distribution of Galician only networks and mixed networks. Only 3 of the 15 participants claimed to socialize primarily with Galician speakers (i.e. L1 Galician speakers and/or *neofalantes*). Of these three speakers, two had categorical and nearly categorical results. All other participants, including the three remaining categorical and nearly categorical speakers, displayed mixed networks with different combinations of Galician and Spanish speakers.⁴¹ Again this points to identity, rather than network, as a critical sociolinguistic determinant.

Lastly, two other hypotheses were raised in previous sections (Chapter 1 and §2.4) based on the observations provided in previous research. These hypotheses concerned the possibility of Galician *neofalantes* innovating away from both Spanish and Galician, and that non-traditional occurrences in this group of speakers were the result of linguistic fossilization. The first hypothesis does not appear to relate to clitic placement, as few tokens did not correspond to either Spanish or Galician grammar. The second

⁴¹ The options given in the ‘mixed network group’ were: mostly Spanish speakers, mostly L1 Galician speakers and Spanish speakers, mostly *neofalantes* and Spanish speakers.

hypothesis also proved difficult to examine in these materials. A bigger sample of speakers and a longitudinal study would be required to fully discern whether these apparent “errors” constitute a stage of a language learning or actual fossilized features in the speech of fluent L2 Galician speakers. Possible test cases include all uses that reflect Spanish rather than Galician rules (e.g. absolute initial position. If the rate of categorical or nearly categorical speakers increases over time, and the overall percentage of non-traditional tokens decreases, then we could perhaps say that non-traditional clitic placement is, indeed, a stage in the process of language learning. If no changes or very little changes arise, we could perhaps argue that these features are fossilized interferences from the substratum language. However, it is important to note that the current data sample did not find any correlation between number of years speaking the language and rate of non-traditional tokens, suggesting either that clitic placement is ideolectal, varying according to speaker, or that mastery is better measured via alternative methods or indicators.

Additionally, although linguistic attitudes were not the main issue at study in this thesis, two crucial findings arose from the interpretation of metalinguistic commentary. First, that the generalized dichotomy between “authentic” first language speakers and “artificial” or “acquired” second language speakers is also spread among the *neofalante* community and embedded in their own self-portrayal as Galician speakers. Second, that *neofalantes* are aware of their own linguistic performance, the characteristics of their variety and the features that they use and do not use. What is more, it seems that *neofalantes*’ feelings of inadequacy can sometimes prompt their use of ambiguous, non-traditional or Spanish features (phonological, syntactic or lexical) to avoid being ridiculed

or commented upon. These results suggest a need to change social attitudes towards Galician varieties and, particularly, to readdress the discussion on *neofalantes* who seem to be criticized for either attempting to sound too Galician, or for sounding too Spanish. In a context of language revitalization and language loss such as the one in Galicia, it is important to focus on the bigger goal and to promote linguistic acceptance and language use rather than to hinder or ridicule any attempt to learn, use and transmit Galician.

To conclude, this study has provided a description of clitic placement within a small corpus of Galician *neofalantes*. As the results have shown, the speakers followed traditional Galician clitic placement in over 81.4% of contexts, and only 18.6% of the tokens overall displayed non-traditional clitic placement. A closer analysis of the data has shown that variation was reduced to an even smaller subset of the data, the enclitic inventory, meaning that *neofalante* speakers have mastered the traditional rules of proclitic placement.

As it has been exemplified, variation seems to be highly correlated with a series of linguistic and social factors. On the linguistic side, competition and interference from Spanish seems to motivate non-traditional clitic placement in finite verb contexts and in preceding phrases. On the social side, age, parental origin and region where participants' grew up seem to act in favour traditional clitic placement. Younger generations, who have been exposed to a bilingual education system, seem to favour traditional-clitic placement slightly over the older generation. In addition, regardless of the speakers' age and generation, traditional clitic placement seems to also be favoured amongst those speakers with only one (or no) Galician parent who were raised outside of Galicia. This result has been connected with the speakers' need to assert their Galician identity.

The limited size of the sample, and the lack of any previous research in this particular area of study which would allow comparison of results, must be taken into account. As such, these results be taken as an approximation and a model for future work.

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Appendix 1

Table 25. Distribution by speaker of traditional and non-traditional clitic pronouns in enclitic, proclitic and absolute initial position

		Traditional		Non-traditional		Total N
		n	%	n	%	n
Neof001f	Proclitic	216	100	0	0	216
	Absolute Initial	0	0	35	100	35
	Enclitic	100	70	43	30	143
Neof002m	Proclitic	109	100	0	0	109
	Absolute Initial	0	0	0	0	0
	Enclitic	64	100	0	0	64
Neof003m	Proclitic	184	98	3	2	187
	Absolute Initial	0	0	1	100	1
	Enclitic	100	96	4	4	104
Neof004m	Proclitic	95	94	6	6	101
	Absolute Initial	0	0	4	100	4
	Enclitic	92	95	5	5	97
Neof005f	Proclitic	31	100	0	0	31
	Absolute Initial	0	0	0	0	0
	Enclitic	30	100	0	0	30
Neof006f	Proclitic	150	98	3	2	153
	Absolute Initial	0	0	0	0	0
	Enclitic	209	99	2	1	211
Neof007m	Proclitic	155	99	1	1	156
	Absolute Initial	0	0	28	100	28
	Enclitic	37	42	1	3	88
Neof008f	Proclitic	171	100	0	0	171
	Absolute Initial	0	0	42	100	42
	Enclitic	35	42	49	58	84
Neof009f	Proclitic	76	99	1	1	77
	Absolute Initial	0	0	7	100	7
	Enclitic	28	64	76	99	44
Neof010m	Proclitic	141	100	0	0	141
	Absolute Initial	0	0	36	100	36
	Enclitic	27	39	43	61	70
Neof011m	Proclitic	75	89	9	11	84
	Absolute Initial	0	0	16	100	16
	Enclitic	38	68	18	32	56
Neof012f	Proclitic	146	100	0	0	146
	Absolute Initial	0	0	30	100	30
	Enclitic	34	41	48	59	82
Neof013f	Proclitic	207	100	1	0	208
	Absolute Initial	0	0	80	100	80
	Enclitic	79	59	55	41	134
Neof014m	Proclitic	123	97	4	3	127
	Absolute Initial	0	0	4	100	4
	Enclitic	102	96	4	4	106
Neof015f	Proclitic	128	99	1	1	129
	Absolute Initial	0	0	17	100	17
	Enclitic	59	68	28	32	87

Appendix 2

Sample of background questionnaires given to participants.

Questionnaire # 1

Date of Interview:

Your age:

Your birthdate (day/month/year):

Your gender:

Your ethnicity:

Your birthplace:

Your current neighborhood/residential area:

Where you grew up:

Where your spouse/partner grew up:

Your occupation*:

Your highest educational qualification:

How did you learn Galician:

When did you change to Galician:

Why did you change to Galician:

Questionnaire #2

Name of participant: _____

1. What language did you speak growing up? _____
2. What language did your parents use when talking to each other?

3. What language did your parents use when talking to you and your siblings?

4. What language do your parents use now when talking to you? _____
5. Do you always speak Galician?
 - Yes
 - No

Please provide any additional comments (i.e. in which situations do you use one language or the other, with whom, etc):

6. What language do you use on your day-to-day interactions?
 - With friends _____
 - With new acquaintances or strangers _____
 - At a store / at the doctor's / clerk _____

7. Your group of friends or close relationships consists of:

- Mostly L1 Galician speakers
- Mostly Spanish speakers
- Mostly other neofalantes
- All of the above
- Both L1 Galician speakers and Spanish speakers
- Both L1 Galician speakers and neofalantes
- Both Spanish speakers and neofalantes

If you would like to provide more information on the actual distribution of speakers and languages please do it here:

8. If applicable, your partner/ spouse is:

- A L1 Galician speaker
- A Spanish speaker
- A neofalante

9. At home, with your spouse and/or children you speak:

- Galician
 - Spanish
 - I don't have any children, but if/when I have them I'll speak
-

10. What language do you use with your family (parents, grandparents, cousins, siblings...) or with any friends or acquaintances that you made during your Spanish-speaking period.

- Galician
- Spanish

11. Does your job require you to use any specific language, if so which one(s)?

12. How did you learn to speak Galician?

- At school / high school
- At home (with family)
- Interacting with friends
- On my own (reading, EOI, courses, etc)
- OTHER : _____

13. When speaking Galician, do you try to emulate any particular variety or speaker (i.e.: traditional Galician, the standard, the regional vernacular, etc)

- No
- Yes : _____

14. As a new speaker, what aspects of the language do you place more emphasis on?

- Pronunciation
 - Lexicon (i.e.: avoiding Spanish words and borrowings)
 - Grammar (i.e.: clitic placement, appropriate use of the inflected infinitive, etc)
 - OTHER :
-

15. As a speaker of Galician, what is more important to you?

- To speak Galician fluently, no matter how
- To speak Galician following standard grammar
- To speak the same variety as L1 Galician speakers in your region
- OTHER: _____

16. Is there anything you would like to change about your variety of Galician?

17. What does Galician, as a language, mean to you?

18. What does Spanish, as a language, mean to you?

19. Do you identify yourself as:

- More Spanish than Galician
- More Galician than Spanish
- Both Spanish and Galician
- OTHER :

20. Which of the following **best** reflects your motivations for language change (please choose only one)

- Political beliefs
- Identity and culture
- Linguistic preservation
- Other (friends and or partner spoke Galician, job requirement)
- If none of these apply, please state your motivation here:
