Contact-Induced Phenomena in Gernika Basque: The Case of Dative Over-Marking

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1. Introduction

The phenomenon of convergence is widely discussed in contact situations. In the southern part of the Basque Country in Spain, that is, the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC henceforth) since 1978, contact-induced phenomena are widely found and are attributed to the intense contact between Spanish and Basque. In the case of the BAC, a contact-induced phenomenon known as dative over-marking is found, which consists of the use of the verbal marker dative case instead of the absolutive case with animate and specific direct objects (Austin 2006, Fernández & Ortiz de Urbina 2008, Fernández & Rezac 2010). It has been argued that this pattern of use occurs due to the convergence (Matras 2010) between the feature matrix of the AGR functional category in spoken Basque and animated Spanish *leísmo*, which consists of the use of a dative clitic *le* instead of the singular accusative clitic *lo* for marking singular animate direct objects (Franco 1993, Landa 1995, Fernández-Ordóñez 1999, LaPesa 2000). Despite being rather common, innovative linguistic variations that emerge from situations of language contact are not necessarily fully accepted by the speakers of the language in question. The stigmatization of such innovations is usually related to the ideological aspects of language differentiation whose significance is embedded in the politics of the region (Irvine & Gal 2000). Following language planning efforts for Basque, we suspect that dative over-marking has become highly stigmatized in BAC, being considered 'polluted Basque' among young speakers of Gernika Basque.

Several studies have focused on the Spanish influence on Basque at phonological and lexical levels (Mitxelena 1961, 1995, Hualde 1993, Hammond 1996, Haddican 2005, 2007). Others have focused on child bilingual acquisition (Ezeizabarrena 1996, Ezeizabarrena & Larrañaga 1996, Austin 2001, Barreña & Almgren 2009), while more recent sociolinguistic research has focused on language use, language policies, and attitudes (Aizpurua et. al. 1995, Eusko Jaurlaritza 1997, 1999, Amorrortu 2000, 2003, Cenoz & Perales 2001, Echevarria 2005, Lagasabaster 2005). These studies have shown that many children started acquiring Basque from very early on, in contrast to adults who learned Basque as second language learners. Although the number of bilinguals in the Basque Country has increased considerably over the past 40 year, comparatively little linguistic research has focused on morphosyntactic contact between Basque and Spanish. In the attitudinal and ideological domains, most studies have focused on how the Basque language is perceived or viewed by speakers. However, little is known about attitudes Basque speakers have about specific morphosyntactic phenomena arisen from language contact.

This paper aims to investigate the linguistic awareness of dative over-marking among young adult speakers of Gernika Basque. The ideological representation of this contact-induced phenomenon will be able to provide insight as to the consequences of linguistic choices among users of the Basque language. The findings of this study shall invite further investigation of the linguistic awareness of contact induced phenomena, as well the social structure underlying speakers' language ideologies. To

this end, this paper argues that Irvine & Gal's (2000) model of *Semiotic Processes* provides a suitable approach toward understanding the bilingual situation in the BAC. This paper is structured as follows: section 2 provides a brief account of the socio-political situation in the BAC. In section 3, we briefly comment on the linguistic relationship between dative over-marking and Basque Spanish *animated leísmo*. Section 4 describes the methodologies behind three experiments used in this study, and section 5 discusses the results and offers conclusions.

2. Socio-political background

The Basque language has shared a co-official status with Spanish in the BAC for almost 35 years. Although the Basque language is spoken in different parts of Euskal Herria (Basque Country), there is no common administration unit. Instead, it is divided into 3 different territories: the BAC, comprised of the provinces of Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa, and Araba, the Autonomous Community of Navarre, where Basque has a more restricted official status, and additionally, the Western half of the Département des Pyrenées Atlantiques, comprised of the French provinces of Labourd, Low Navarre, and Zuberoa, in which Basque lacks status as an official language.

The diversification of the Basque Country is the result of a long historical and political struggle between Spain, France, and the Basque Country. Ethnic and anthropological studies (Urla 1987, Jaffe 1999) have shown that the co-living of two or multiple ethnic groups do not happen in "peaceful, harmonious, co-existing communities" (Nelde 1987:34). In the case of the Basque Country, the strong link between the Basque language and the Basque identity was favorably enforced in 1895 when Sabino Arana, the founder of the Basque Nationalist Party (Partido Nacionalista Vasco – PNV), began to spread nationalist ideas of separating the Basques from the new Spanish incomers (Coversi 1990). For Sabino Arana, *Basqueness* was defined in terms of members' racial ancestry, as it was race that was used to differentiate the Basques from other populations, in addition to an individual's knowledge of the Basque language. In 1899, Sabino Arana stated, "the Basque language is part of our nationality, bell of our unreached independence, the stamp of our race" ([author's translation] cited in Tejerina 1992:105-106, fn 47). Díaz (1999:2) views the invention of a nation as "an expression of modern collective identity, [whose] nature is symbolic". Accordingly, loyalty to collective symbols, such as the Basque language, played an integral role in Arana's beliefs, and resultant from his work on identity was the desire to purify the Basque language[2]. Following Bourdieu (1991), this citation suggests that Sabino Arana's followers felt a need for the unification of the Basque peoples as a race, perceiving the Basque language as their symbolic power and attaching this power to a strong ethnic origin (Barth 1969). Thus, symbolic value was mostly given to the purity of the Basque language, a tool for the reconstruction of an ancient world.

The significance of this linguistic differentiation is embedded in the politics of the BAC and its observers, and this differentiation entails different language ideologies. Irvine & Gal (2000:52) define *language ideology* as "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests". Language and ideology also entail identity work, and specifically ethnic identity, which is an important factor in social categorization. It is widely understood that the individual must order his or her social environment by logically grouping people. According to Giles (1976), *boundary distinctiveness* is the extent to which in-group and out-group members can be easily identified. However, these boundaries are not always clear-cut, as the symbolic ideas attributed to ethnic identity are often subjective. In the Basque Country, Basque people do not agree on what Basque ethnicity is. Some people base it off of values of history, culture, and language, while others stress geographical definition, and others simply suggest the criterion of "the wish to be Basque" (Azurmendi 1986: 383). In this paper, we will follow Edwards' (1994: 128) definition of ethnic identity: "Ethnic identity is allegiance to a group – large or small, socially dominant or subordinate – with which one has ancestral links. There is no necessity for continuation over generations of the same socialization or cultural patterns, but some sense of a group boundary must

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[2] Neologisms were created to replace words of Latin or Spanish origin and influence. For instance, *Deun* replaced *santu* 'Saint' and *abes-egin* (literally, 'song to do') 'to sing' replaced *kantatu* 'to sing' (from Lat. CANTATUM) (Pagola 2005, Hualde 2008:6).

persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (i.e. language, religion) or more subjective contributions to a sense of 'groupness', or by some combination of both. Symbolic or subjective attachments must relate (...) to an observably real past." This definition of ethnic identity and language ideology leads to the theorized concept or *ethnolinguistic vitality*. This concept was first introduced by Giles, Bourhis & Taylor (1977) and was used as a tool to analyze the socio-structural variables referring to "[what] makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity within the intergroup setting (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor 1977: 308). In this regard, it is believed that groups with high vitality positively perceive in-group speakers, whereas groups with low vitality perceive the out-group more favorably. As results will show, the assumption that people have more favorable attitudes towards speakers of high-vitality varieties (standardized forms) is problematic in the case of young speakers of Gernika Basque.

When referring to the current bilingual situation in the BAC, it is important to consider the standardization of the Basque language in 1968, and the co-official status it reached in 1979 (Hualde & Zuazo 2007). Although the attempts to standardize the language began centuries ago, the Basque Language Academy (*Euskaltzaindia*) was not formed until 1918. Moreover, no mutual agreement was reached until the linguist Koldo Mitxelena first proposed the criteria for creating a common unified Basque, *Euskara Batua* ('unified Basque'), which is the variety that has been approved for today's medium of instruction at schools and is used in the administration and media. Policy makers experienced difficulties reaching an agreement on what constitutes a Basque word. Maintaining purism was still a main concern among some members of the language academy, as certain Spanish and French borrowings were considered a threat to the language (Kintana & Salaburu 1984, Euskaltzaindia 1991, 2004, Iparragirre & Leon 2004). The following was stated in 1991 by the Basque Academy: "those [words] that a Basque speaker would not be able to understand without knowing Spanish or French are not Basque words at all" (Euskaltzaindia 1991). It is important to bear in mind that the ideological representation of these words may have consequences in the structure of the speakers' social relations (Irvine & Gal 2000, Bucholtz & Hall 2004). Understanding these social and linguistic relations is the main goal of the present study.

2.1. BAC and Gernika today

The official status of Basque, along with its unified code, brought new changes in the bilingual situation of the BAC. The Basque language was privileged for the first time to serve in domains that were exclusive to Spanish. Basque emerged in administrative jobs, as well as in schools as the medium of instruction. In this manner, the Basque language gradually experienced an incredible growth of bilingual speakers in the BAC. Sociolinguistic surveys carried out by the Basque Government (EJ: Eusko Jaurlaritza 1997, 1999, 2008) show that only 20% of the children were acquiring Basque in 1981 as opposed to 80% in 2006. However, the success of the *euskaldunization* process differs considerably amongst different parts of the three BAC provinces. Although Basque began to be used in the metropolitan areas of Bilbao and Gasteiz where it had previously been completely lost, Basque was still much more used in other urban towns and villages in the provinces of Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa, and considerably less so in the province of Araba.

For the purposes of the present study, we will concentrate on the Basque dialect spoken in Gernika, a Western dialect of Bizkaian Basque that differs considerably from Standard Basque. Gernika is a semi-urban town, located 34 km (21 miles) from Bilbao. EUSTAT, the Basque Statistic Office, shows that the active population doubled from 7,847 to 14,678 in the 1960s, due mostly to the arrival of Spanish monolinguals in Gernika. However, after this remarkable increase of immigration driven by the industrialization at the time, the population in Gernika has since remained steady (16,244, from which 14.41% of the population are from other parts of monolingual-speaking Spain.). Surveys carried out by the Basque Government show that Basque is currently used more (54.3%) than it was in the 1980s (34.8%). According to EUSTAT, 61.1% of the active population in Gernika showed competence in Basque in 1981, whereas nearly 70% of the population presently speaks the language natively. Moreover, 90% of the population has acquired a high competence of the language, placing Gernika as a linguistic zone of category 3 (out of a possible 4). According to linguistic surveys carried out by the City Council of Gernika (Gernikako Udala 2002), 30% of children were enrolled in a complete Basque emersion program at school in 1981, whereas 100% of Gernika children are instructed (entirely) in Basque today. Although Basque is present in a high percentage of the population, Spanish is also

remarkably used; 35% of the population use only Spanish at home as opposed to 41% who speak only Basque at home.

The present bilingual situation is useful for understanding the contact phenomena that the Basque language is experiencing. Although an exhaustive analysis of dative over-marking in Basque is still necessary, it is by no means the aim of this paper to provide such an analysis. Instead, the present paper shall draw attention to a possible case of convergence between Basque and Spanish proposed by Austin (2006), explore the diffusion of dative-over marking, and analyze the overt and covert toward this feature among speakers of Gernika Basque.

3. Case marking in Basque and Spanish

The typological systems of Basque and Spanish have remained distinct despite the long-term contact between both languages. Spanish is a nominative / accusative head initial language, whereas Basque a head final language that exhibits an ergative / absolutive / dative (oblique) case marking pattern (Dixon 1994).

3.1. Object agreement and animated leísmo in Basque Spanish

The only accusative / dative distinction the can be found in Spanish is the third person direct and indirect object pronouns: accusative (*lo/ la/ los/ las)* and dative (*le/ les*) clitics function as direct and indirect objects, respectively. These pronouns are known as pronominal "weak" clitics because they must be adjacent to the verb (Franco 1993, Landa 1995, Austin 2006). In all dialects of Spanish, accusative and dative clitics may double direct and indirect objects of animate character as in (1a) and (1b). In some Spanish dialects, such as Porteño Spanish (Suñer 1988), and Basque Spanish (Franco 1993, Landa 1995), clitic doubling may also occur if the direct object is a definite pronoun. The marker *a*, a phenomenon known as 'personal a', is obligatory if the direct object is animate and specific, as in (1c).

(1a) Lo   he   visto   (a él).
    Him-ACC.clitic   have.1sg   see-PART   (to him)
    'I have seen him'

(1b) Le   he   dado   un helado   a Mikel.
    Him-DAT.clitic   have.1sg   give-PART   an ice-cream   to Mikel
    'I have given Mikel an ice-cream

(1c) Lo   he   visto   a Mikel.
    Him.ACC.clitic   have.1sg   see-PART   to Mikel
    'I have seen him / Mikel'

Dialectal variation in the use of clitic pronouns is found among different dialects of Spanish, which complicates the aforementioned simplified distribution of clitics. The Spanish dialect spoken in the Basque Country is *leísta* (Franco 1993, Landa 1995, Fernández-Ordóñez 1999, LaPesa 2000, Romero 2008), which is characterized by the use of the indirect object pronoun *le* (DAT) in place of the direct object pronoun *la/lo* (ACC) in order to mark direct objects of specific and animate[3] character, as in (1d). In contrast with other *leísta* dialects in the Iberian Peninsula, it is common in Basque Spanish to use *le* to mark animate specific direct objects regardless of gender, as in (1e) (Urrutia 1995, 2003).

(1d) Le   he   visto   a Mikel
    Him.DAT.clitic   have.1sg   see-PART   to Mikel
    'I have seen him / Mikel'

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[3] Following Silverstein (1976), the term 'animate' in this paper will refer to the [+animate, +human] feature to distinguish it from [+animate, -human].

(1e) Le   he   visto   a María
   Her.DAT.clitic have.1sg see-PART to María
   'I have seen her / María'

(1f) Le   he   puesto en la mesa
   It.DAT.clitic have.1sg put-PART on the table
   'I have put it [the book] on the table'

It is interesting to note that *leísmo* in the BAC can also occur and mark direct objects of [-animate] nature, as in (1f). This is regarded as the most extended form of *leísmo* (Urrutia 1995), which it is shown to be unique among those Basque Spanish speakers of low social class and the least illiterate elderly speakers[4].

3.2. Object agreement and dative over-marking in Gernika Basque

Basque is a head final language that exhibits an ergative / absolutive / dative (oblique) case marking pattern. Most Basque finite verbs are composed of a lexical verb that carries aspectual information and an auxiliary verb bearing tense, agreement, and modal information. The choice of auxiliary verb typically depends on the valency of the predicate, that is, the three morphological arguments (subject, direct object, and indirect object) are marked in the auxiliary verb, in addition to person and number (Etxepare 2003: 363).

For instance, subjects are marked with ergative case *–(e)k*, whereas singular direct objects are marked with the absolutive case marker *–ø* in transitive predicates. Indirect objects are marked with the dative *-(e)ri*, as illustrated in (2a-b):

(2a) Ni-k   Mikel-ø   ikusi do-t
   I-ERG   Mikel-ABS see   ABS.3sg-ERG.1sg
   'I have seen Mikel'

(2b) Ni-k   umi-e-ri   erregalu-e- ø emon do-tsa-t
   I-ERG   child-the-DAT gift-the-ABS give ABS.3sg-DAT.3sg-ERG.1sg
   'I have given the child a gift'

It has been found that in certain dialects in contact with Spanish, such as the Basque spoken in Gernika, Markina, Ondarru, Lekeitio, Arrigorriaga, and Basauri (Yrizar 1992, Hualde, Elordieta & Elordieta 1994, Fernández & Rezac (2010), Arregi & Nevins 2012), among others, the dative case marker *–(e)ri* is used to mark specific animate direct objects, a phenomenon known as dative over-marking (Austin 2006) or differential object marking (Bossong 1991, Fernández & Rezac 2010), illustrated in (2c).

(2c) Ni-k   Mikel-e-**ri** ikusi do-**tsa**-t
   I-ERG   Mikel-E-**DAT** see   ABS.3sg-**DAT.3sg**-ERG.1sg
   'I have seen Mikel'

Following Austin (2006), we shall consider sentences such as (2c) instances of dative over-marking, in which dative *–(e)ri*, nominal, and verbal auxiliary are in agreement and refer to animate specific direct objects (Mikel), contrasting with the canonical absolutive *–ø*. Some studies have hypothesized that the occurrence of dative over-marking has been triggered by the phenomenon of *animated leísmo* spoken in the Basque Country (Austin 2006, Fernández & Ortiz de Urbina 2008, Fernández & Rezac 2010). More specifically, the outcome of this contact situation has been suggested to be a convergence (Matras 2010) between the feature matrix in the AGR functional category in Spanish and Basque. This convergence is presented in table 1, which shows that the matrix features that agree in the AGR functional category in Spanish are case, person, number, and animacy, whereas in

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[4] For a more detailed description of *leísmo* in Basque Spanish and other spoken dialects of Iberian Spanish see Klein-Andreu (1999), Fernández-Ordóñez (1994, 1999) and Urrutia (1995, 2003).

Basque, it is case, person, and number that agree in the AGR functional category (Etxepare 2003). In cases of dative over-marking, Austin (2006) hypothesizes that [+animate] is being added to the AGR functional category.

Basque Agreement	Spanish Agreement
+ case	+ case
+ person	+ person
+ number	+ number
+ *animate?* ←	+ animate
	+ gender

Table 1. Features of Agreement in Basque and Spanish
(Modified from Austin 2006: 142)

The aforementioned studies found that the classes of verbs that trigger dative over-marking are perceptual and physical, although they occur in different frequencies. For instance, Ezeizabarrena (1996) and Austin (2001) found that physical verbs such as *lotu* 'to tie', *harrapatu* 'to catch'*, jarri* 'to put', and *entzun* 'to hear' show higher frequencies of dative over-marking than other verbs such as *utzi* 'to allow'*, jo* 'to hit' and *molestatu* 'to bother'. However, natural speech corpora of these studies seem to also show instances of dative over-marking in verbs such as *ikusi* 'to see', though no statistical analysis is provided. Austin (2006) suggests 3 possible causes that may trigger dative over-marking in conjunction with interference from Spanish into Basque. For the purpose of this paper, we shall be focusing on the first two: (a) gradual tendency to substitute absolutive with dative agreement and (b) agreement confusion due to allowance of indirect / direct object dropping (null objects) in Basque. As far as social factors are concerned, she hypothesizes that this contact-induced phenomenon may be resultant from the drastic socio-demographic change in the last few decades, that is, the remarkable increase in number of L2 learners of Basque. Note though, that her results must be interpreted cautiously, as her study reports on data collected from a subject pool of merely 4 participants.

In order to continue exploring dative over-marking in Basque, it is necessary to ask how widespread dative over-marking is among native speakers of Basque. With the aim of confirming the hypothesis proposed by Austin (2006) the following study aims to evaluate this contact phenomenon, explore the diffusion of dative-over marking, and analyze the overt and covert toward this feature among speakers of Gernika Basque. More specifically, the present paper aims to answer the following research questions:

(1) Is DOM being accepted by speakers of Gernika Basque?
(2) If so, which verbs are being affected?
(3) Do null objects favor dative over-marking equally in these verbs?
(4) What are the covert and overt attitudes toward Gernika Basque DOM?

4. Experiments
4.1. Grammaticality judgment task
4.1.1. Methodology

A grammaticality judgement task (GJT henceforth) was implemented in order to measure to what degree DOM sentences are accepted among speakers of Gernika Basque. This type of task facilitates the understanding of what participants think about language, that is, it better taps the semantic-syntactic interface, serving as a complement to Austin's (2006) findings. As it is well known, the fact that participants do not produce a given morphosyntactic variant does not mean that it is not part of their internal grammar. Hence, it is thought that a GJT would serve the purpose of obtaining data on implicit knowledge without depending on naturalistic data.

Following Austin (2006), the GJT was comprised of perceptual verbs (*ikusi* 'to see', and *entzun* 'to hear') and physical-contact activity verbs (*ikutu* 'to touch', *jarri* 'to put', and *jo* 'to hit'). Four examples of each of these 5 verbs were presented in written form, creating a total of 20 items, 10 of which appeared with DOM. Among these 10 sentences, half had a null animate direct object., In summary, the linguistic variables considered in this experiment were: verb type (perceptual vs. physical), sentence type (DOM vs. non-DOM), and object type ([+null] vs. [-null]). Another twenty fillers were included

that were controlled for (un)grammaticality, lexical choice, length, and word order. In total, 19 speakers of Gernika Basque, ages 18-27, responded to the *acceptability* of the sentences based on a 1-4 Likert scale. Three participants were excluded from the data analysis because two of them were not native speakers of Basque, while the third was a PhD student in linguistics who was directly biased by the prescriptive grammar of the language. The 16 participants (5 Spanish dominant and 11 Basque dominant; all native bilinguals) that were included for data analysis responded to the questionnaire through the internet-based software Survey Gizmo.

4.1.2. Results

In order to respond to research question 1, that is, whether Gernika Basque speakers implicitly accept DOM sentences or not, a two-way mixed ANOVA was used for the statistical analysis. Results revealed a main effect of sentence type, $F(1,14)=7.17$, $p<0.02$, such that participants rated non-DOM sentences as more acceptable than DOM sentences. There was no main effect of language dominance $(F(1,14)=0.38$ $p>0.05)$ and no interaction between the two factors was found. Despite the fact that non-DOM sentences were rated significantly higher than DOM sentences, DOM sentences were nonetheless acceptable to some degree, as their mean acceptability score for both dominance groups was greater than 2.0. This suggests that DOM sentences are not completely unnatural to Gernika Basque speakers. Although it did not reach statistical significance, we may observe in table 2 that DOM sentences elicited slightly higher acceptability scores from Spanish dominant speakers than Basque dominant speakers. This trend may be suggestive of cross-linguistic interference affecting the decision of whether a sentence sounds more acceptable or not (Alberdi 2009, 2011).
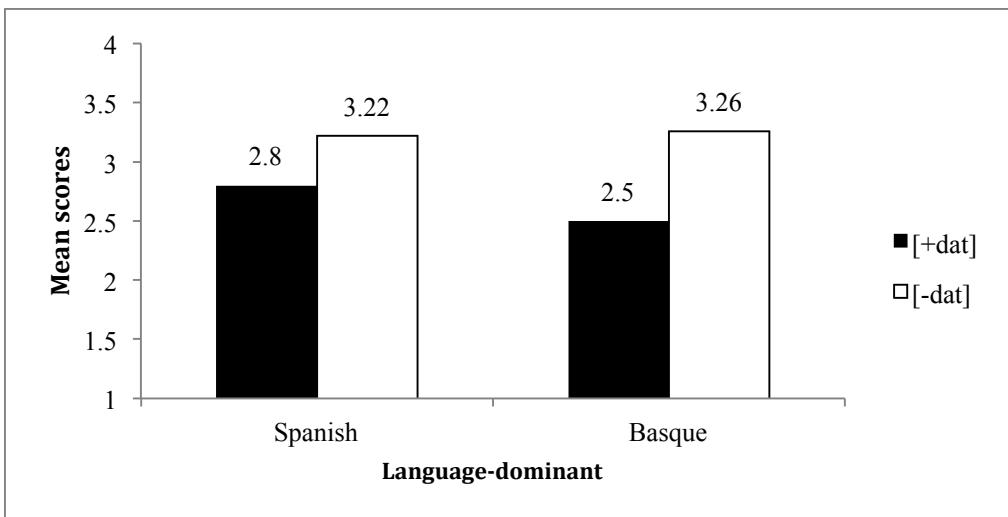

Table 2. Mean scores of dative over-marking ([+dat]) and non-dative over-marking ([-dat]) between Basque and Spanish dominant speakers of Gernika Basque.

In order to reveal whether the phenomenon of dative over-marking is occurring as a gradual process as referenced in research question 2, we performed a by-items analysis using a two-way mixed ANOVA, crossing individual verb type with sentence type. A significant main effect of verb type was found, $(F(2.7, 37.7)=5.21$, $p<0.005)$, such that the verb *ikutu* 'to touch' outscored other verbs in sentences with dative over-marking. Additionally, a significant interaction between verb type and sentence type was observed $(F(14, 48.8)=4.06$, $p<0.01)$. Pairwise comparisons revealed that the verb *ikutu* 'to touch' was rated significantly higher when the specific direct object was animate. These results suggest that the verb *ikutu* 'to touch' might be more advanced in the grammaticalization process, suggesting that dative over-marking is occurring as a gradual process, which confirms Austin's (2006) first hypothesis. Given that the Basque verb *ikutu* 'to touch' was treated the same as the transitive verb

tocar in Spanish, it could be that this verb is behaving as the result of contact-induced phenomena via *leismo.*

In order to evaluate Austin's (2006) hypothesis that null dative objects facilitate dative over-marking, a two-way repeated measures ANOVA was used, crossing the factors of object type and sentence type. Significant main effects of bot sentence type ($F(1, 14)=8.66$, $p<0.02$) and object type ($F(1,14)=10.4$, $p<0.01$)*,* were observed, such that DOM sentences were rated significantly lower than non-DOM sentences, and null dative objects were rated significantly higher than overt objects. These results are in line with Austin's (2006) claim that null objects may generate agreement confusion between the direct and indirect objects and case, facilitating a convergence of Basque Spanish animated *leísmo* and dative over-marking in Basque.

To synthesize the aforementioned results, we have found that DOM sentences are somewhat acceptable (i.e., more acceptable than not) for Gernika Basque speakers, though still less acceptable than non-DOM sentences, in line with our claim of a stigmatization of Basque DOM. Additionally, the verb *ikutu* 'to touch' was rated higher with DOM than all other verbs. Lastly, sentences with null dative objects were more accepted than sentences with overt objects. Though no significant interaction between sentences type and object type was found, we observed that the presence of a null object appeared to greatly increase the acceptability of DOM sentences. This trend is in line with Austin's second hypothesis.

4.2. Matched-guise experiment
4.2.1. Methodology

The last research question deals with the covert and overt attitudes towards DOM, which is suggested to be a contact-induced phenomenon (Austin 2006, Fernández & Rezac 2008). Accordingly, a matched-guise experiment was conducted, which is detailed below. This task was followed by a free interaction between the researcher and participants, in which ethno-nationalistic and linguistic topics such as language purism and identity (that results in an ideological practice) were overtly discussed.

The matched-guised technique is widely used in order to measure covert attitudes towards language and dialects. In this experiment, it was designed to examine the solidarity that participants associated with speakers whose Basque speech exhibits DOM. Forty-three bilingual speakers (14 of ages 18-25, 14 of ages 30-45, and 15 of ages 50-65) participated in a matched-guise experiment in which they rated (using a 1-5 scale) five speech samples of a 27 year-old Gernika Basque female speaker. This female speaker, who was a native speaker of both Gernika Basque and Spanish, and highly proficient in Standard Basque, served as the guise. The five speech samples recorded from her were identical, except for the language being used and the presence of DOM. Among the five speech examples, two of them (one in Gernika Basque and the other one in Standard Basque) contained five examples of DOM with the two perceptual verbs and three physical-activity verbs that were used in the grammaticality judgment task. A total of eight filler guises were included that were recorded with different proficiency levels of participants speaking Gernika Basque, Standard Basque, and Spanish. The fillers guises were recorded from 2 females (ages 18 and 52) and two males (ages 25 and 29), and each of them read the same passage as the target guise and another passage on a related in topic (what they do on a typical Saturday or Sunday morning) and of a comparable length (~1 minute), but which did not exhibit any instances of DOM.

Participants were given a semantic referential scale, a technique that goes in hand with the matched-guise, which designates opposite extremes of traits (Lambert 1960, 1967, Amorrortu 2000). Each speech sample contained 24 questions, of which 8 adjectives measured solidarity and 8 examined the power[5]. For the purpose of this study, we will only discuss the results pertaining to solidarity, divided into two major traits, which we label *likeability* and *Basqueness*[6].

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[5] The remaining 8 adjectives served as fillers and were not considered in the data analysis. As expected, these adjectives elicited mostly neutral responses from the participants.

[6] The adjectives that were used in order to define each trait type were the following: *Likeability:* like/dislike; friendly/annoying; close/distant; my friend/outsider. *Basqueness:* Basque/non-Basque; raised in a Basque environment/raised in a non-Basque environment; born of Basque parents/born of non-Basque parents; speaks good Basque/speaks bad Basque.

4.2.2. Results
4.2.2.1. Likeability and Age

A two way-mixed ANOVA revealed a significant effect of language type ($F_{(6,34)}=24.44$, $p<0.001$). Pairwise comparisons with Bonferroni correction revealed that Gernika Basque (DOM and non-DOM, which were not significantly different) elicited significantly higher likeability ratings than the other 3 varieties, whose ratings did not significantly differ. As table 3 shows, there is a considerable decay trend (although the interaction between age and language type did not reach significance) in the *likeability* of dative over-marking in Gernika Basque varieties and Standard Basque varieties from the older speakers to the younger speakers. This trend suggests that among the youngest generation, it is the purest form of the dialect that is most liked, and although DOM is not fully disliked, young speakers of Gernika Basque do notice a difference, consistent with a claim of a stigmatization of Basque DOM. This trend could be attributed to literacy in school (particularly relevant for the younger speakers), a hegemonic institution where the "correct" use of Basque is promoted.
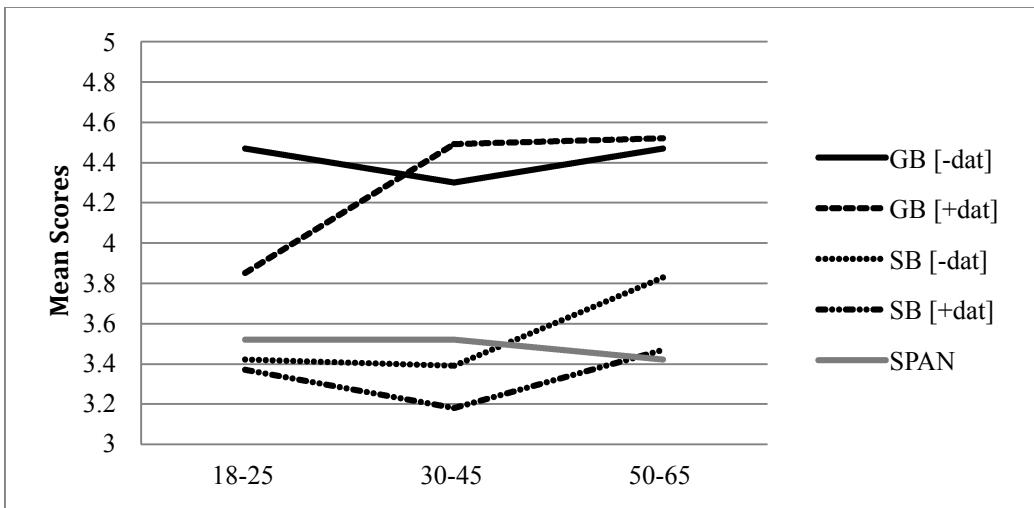

Table 3. Mean scores for the *Likeability* trait across age groups.
(GB [-dat] = non-DOM Gernika Basque, GB [+dat] = DOM Gernika Basque; SB [-dat] = non-DOM Standard Basque; SB [+dat] = DOM Standard Basque; SPAN = Spanish).

4.2.2.2. Basqueness and Age

In order to uncover what language type is identified as *more Basque*, a two-way ANOVA was carried out. Results revealed that there was a significant main effect of language type ($F_{(2,8)}=40.75$, $p<0.001$). Pairwise comparisons with Bonferroni correction revealed that Gernika Basque (DOM and non-DOM, which were not significantly different) elicited significantly higher *Basqueness* ratings than non-DOM Standard Basque, which in turn elicited significantly higher *Basqueness* ratings than the remaining two varieties, whose ratings did not significantly differ. As table 4 shows, there is a considerable decay trend (although the interaction between age and language type did not reach significance) in the *Basqueness* of non-dative over-marking in Standard Basque from the older speakers to the younger speakers.

These results show that speaking Gernika Basque, regardless of DOM presence, in contrast to Standard Basque or Spanish, is the most attributive marker of *Basqueness*, a shift that has been noticeable in the course of approximately two generations. Interestingly, although DOM elicited lower ratings of *likeability* for younger speakers, it still constitutes part of the Basque identity. In other words, while DOM is not particularly "liked" amongst the younger speakers, it seems that it does not signify that the speaker using DOM is somehow less Basque. In sum, these results suggest that DOM may carry a degree of covert prestige, embodying ideological and identity grounds of these speakers, an issue that will be discussed in section 5.
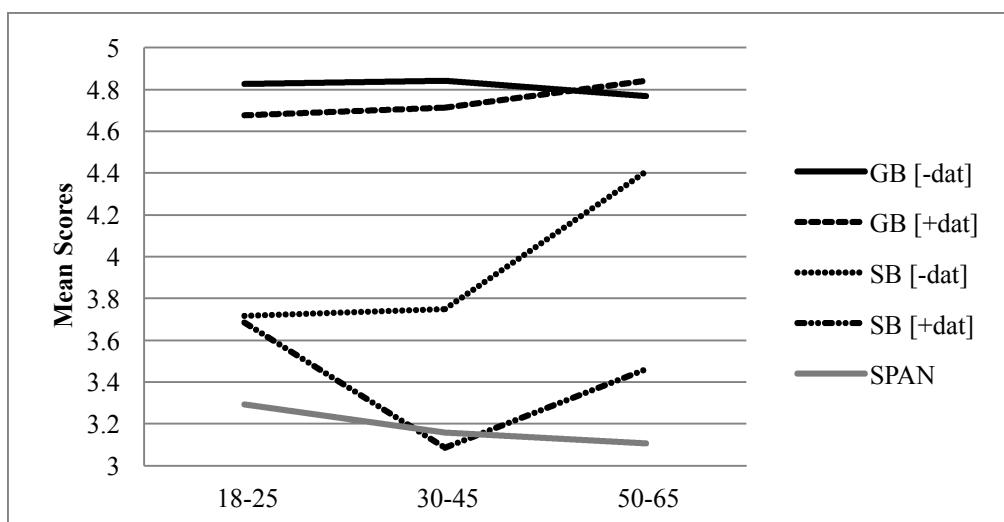
Table 4. Mean scores for the *Basqueness* trait across age groups.

4.3. Overt attitudes
4.3.1. Methodology

In order to examine overt attitudes towards DOM and understand whether these attitudes are consistent with the results obtained in the matched guise task, a conversation of 8 native speakers of Gernika Basque on dative over-marking was recorded. In this regard, their overt opinions serve as a tool to study individual aspects of language and identity. The conversation was carried out in a private *txoko*, a typical Basque place where people gather to have meals and discuss current events intimately. As it will be seen, the *txoko* serves as a place in which self-identification is socially constructed and individually experienced along with multi-layered, mobile, and socially inherited ideologies (Pietkainen & Dufva. 2006).

Topics were divided in two modules, which included Basque identity and DOM. Questions that participants discussed were *What does it mean to be Basque? Who is Basque? What are erderakadak* (= calques from Spanish)? *Why are they wrong? What is good Basque?* A total of three Spanish dominant and five Basque dominant speakers participated in the conversation, led by the researcher. All participants were between the ages of 22 and 27 at the time of recording, were native speakers of Gernika Basque, and had attended college for a minimum of 4 years. They had been close friends since elementary and/or high school, and had received all pre-university education in Standard Basque.

4.3.2. Results

The results discussed in the present section were obtained from a conversation held among the 8 native young speakers of Gernika Basque. In the first dialogue, the interviewer posed the questions *What does it mean to be Basque?* In this discussion, 4 terms are being discussed: *euskaldun, vasco, euskaldunberri*, and *maqueto*, and some slightly different values are given to them.

Interviewer: eta zer da *euskaldune* izetie?
         And what does it mean to be *Basque* [an *euskaldun*]?
Ziortza[7]: *euskaldune* da, euskeraz eitzen dabena.
       Basque [an *euskaldun*] is someone who speaks Basque.
Udane: *euskalduna*, euskara duena.
       Basque, he who owns the Basque language.
Interviewer: nire aitxitxe ez daki euskeraz eta *euskaldune* da.
         My grandfather doesn't know Basque, but he is an *euskaldun*.

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[7] All names are pseudonyms.

Udane: ezta *euskaldune*, ezteko euskerie. Da euskal herrikoa.

       He is not an *euskaldun,* he has no Basque. He IS [emphasis] from the Basque Country.

Ziortza: pues es *vasco*, pero no *euskaldun*. [in Spanish]

       So he is *vasco,* but not an *euskaldun.*

Markel: ulertzen deu?

       Does he understand [Basque]?

Interviewer: ulertu bai.

         understand, yes.

Markel: orduen *euskaldune* da.

       Then he is an *euskaldun.*

Gorka: euskerien alde lehenengo gauzie, euskerie ikestie da. Bera hasi bida ikesten.

       The first thing one needs to do to defend Basque is to learn it. He needs to start learning it.

                         ***

Interviewer: ta zer da *maketoa* izetie?

        And what does it mean to be a *maqueto?*

Ziortza: ia, *maketoa* deitzu jako beti kanpotarrari.

       Let's see, *maketo* has always been used for outsiders.

Ziortza: baia euskeraz jakinye, erderaz eitzen dauenari be bai.

       But, someone who knows Basque, and only speaks Spanish, that's also a [*maqueto*].

Naiara: eta kanpotarrak orduen?

      So, [what happends with] the outsiders, then?

Ziortza: a ver, klaru dau, euskeraz ikesi dabena, kanpotarra dala.

        Well, it is clear that, he who has learned Basque is from the outside.

Ziortza: baia horreri ez jako deitzen *maketoa,* horreri deitzen jako *euskaldunbarrixe*.

       But that is not called a *maqueto*, that's an *euskaldunberri* [new acquirer of Basque].

Ziortza: ez dizelako euskaldun-euskaldunek.

       Because they are not fully Basque.

As can be observed from the discussion, different participants use different terms to define different degrees of *Basqueness*. As summarized in table 5, *euskaldun* is the Basque word for "Basque," whereas *vasco* is the Spanish word for "Basque". According to Udane, Ainhoa, Ziortza, and Gorka, who are Basque dominant, these two concepts need to be distinguished. Markel, a Spanish dominant speaker of Spanish-born parents, does not make a distinction between different types of Basque. Moreover, there is a further distinction between *euskaldunberri* and *maqueto,* both terms used to denote outsiders. However, the distinction between these two concepts lies in the use of the language. A *euskaldunberri* is someone who has acquired Basque as an L2, whereas a *maqueto* is someone who does not speak Basque at all.

Terms[8]	Born in BAC	Knows Basque[9]	Speaks Basque
Euskaldun	✓	✓	✓
Vasco	✓		
Euskaldunberri		✓	✓
Maqueto	(✓)	(✓)	

Table 5. Hierarchy for labeling *Basqueness* young speakers of Gernika Basque.

Table 5 shows that the Basque language is still the main marker of Basque identity, but the incorporation of a Standard variety has made native speakers of Basque create a new boundary between the natives, who speak the vernacular variety, and those who learn the language as L2. The creation of these boundaries is still rooted in the ideology of young speakers of Gernika Basque, which resembles

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[8] These terms only reflect the societal boundaries depending on the ideology of Gernika young-adult speakers. It can likely be generalized to the ideology of other young Basque speakers in whose towns the dialect has been kept.

[9] In much of the literature in Basque sociolinguistics there is a distinction between types of bilinguals, based on whether the speakers are passive or active second language learners (Cenoz & Perales 2001, EJ: 2008). It is desirable not to make that distinction here. Hence, "knows Basque" includes both passive learners (only comprehension skills) and literate learners.

the nationalistic ideological view of Sabino Arana and his followers, who stated that race and language are the determinants of Basque identity. Being an *euskaldun* suggests that learning the language in a native manner, that is, acquiring the language at home, is the highest marker of the Basque identity, as opposed to an *euskaldunberri*, who is somebody who learned Basque as a second language and therefore is not fully Basque because the Basque language was not transmitted at home. Along the same line of thought, young speakers of Gernika Basque defined *vasco* as somebody born in the Basque Country who does not speak Basque. Finally, *maqueto* is somebody that was not born in the Basque Country who has no knowledge of Basque, or in other words, a Spaniard.

The following section pertains to the second module in which participants discussed why DOM is wrong.

Interviewer: Eta orduen zegaitzik dau txarto esatie ***ikusi dotsat*** eta ez i***kusi dot***, o sea...
       And, why is it that it is wrong to say ***ikusi dotsat***[10] and not ***ikusi dot***, *so...?*
Ainhoa: erderatik hartunde dauelako.
    Because it is taken from Spanish.
Interviewer: nik bizi osoan esan dot ***ikusi dotsat***...
    I have said ***ikusi dotsat*** all my life...
Ziortza: baia hori *erderakada* bat da!
    Well, that's an *erderakada!*[11]
Udane: baia guk beti esatengu ***ikusi (do)tsat*** eta beste askok ***ikusi dot***
    But we always say ***ikusi dotsat*** and others say ***ikusi dot.***
Interviewer: eta zuri ez jatzu paseu zuzendu eitzen dotzuela?
    And it doesn't happen that they always correct you?
Udane: bai, ta oin dala urtiek, askotan, baia zuri ez dotzue horrenbeste zuzendu.
    Yes, many years ago, often, but they didn't seem to correct you that often.
Miriam: badakitz teorikamente ez dauela ondo esanda, baia gerniken halanik esaten da.
    I know that, theoretically, it is not properly said, but that's the way we say it in Gernika.
 Miriam: nik betidanik esan dot ***ikusi dotsut***.
    I always said ***ikusi dotsut***
Ziortza: Ta txiki-txikitxutatik txarto ikesigulako! Ta da... [como tener un tic!] [in Spanish]
    And since we were little-little, we learned it wrong! And that's.... [like having a tick!]
Gorka: ta hori zuzendu ein bi da.
    And that needs to be corrected.
Gaizka: baia zegaitzik dau txarto danak erabiltzen badogun?
    But why is it wrong if we all use it?
Gorka: a ver, baia hori txarto dau, danok dakigu txarto dauela!
    Let's see, but that's wrong, and we all know that it's wrong!

Participants in this discussion are highly aware that DOM is a phenomenon that occurs due to the transfer from Spanish, considering it an *erderakada*. For that matter, Basque dominants (Ainhoa, Ziortzat, Udane, and Gorka) emphasize that DOM needs to be corrected; whereas the two Spanish dominant speakers (Miriam and Gorka) claim that everyone uses it and therefore question the reasoning behind its correction. This opposition to the majority of the participants suggests DOM's acceptance as part of their Basque language, and therefore, part of their identity.

5. Discussion and conclusions

The results of the present study suggest that DOM is a contact-induced phenomenon that results from contact with the *animated leísmo* spoken in the BAC. Following language-planning efforts for Basque purism, dative over-marking has become highly stigmatized in BAC, being considered bad Basque or an *erderakada*, which results in the need to correct the phenomenon, according to young speakers of Gernika Basque.

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[10] *Ikusi dotsat* is the dative over-marking form of *ikusi dot.*
[11] *Erderakada* is a pejorative term that refers to Basque lexical items that are clear calques from Spanish.

The grammaticality judgment task has shown that DOM, as well as the canonical use of the absolute to mark direct objects of animate character, are part of the internal grammar of young speakers of Gernika Basque. Results have shown that although the canonical form was more accepted, Spanish dominant speakers expressed greater DOM acceptability than did Basque dominant speakers. These results suggest that Basque DOM is influenced by Spanish *leísmo,* particularly instances of DOM in contexts in which animated direct objects clitics are marked with the dative in Spanish. We have also reported evidence that the extension of Basque DOM throughout the core Basque grammar is gradual, affecting perceptual and verbs of physical activity in distinct manners (Bybee 2003). It has been shown that the verb *ikutu* 'to touch' elicited the highest degree of acceptability when the animate direct object is marked with the dative. It can be suggested that this verb in particular is changing the most rapidly and is most advanced in the grammaticalization process. Moreover, as stated in Austin (2006), a possible factor that is inducing this change is the Basque (in)direct object drop; our results showed that DOM is rated as significantly more acceptable when the animate direct object is null than when it is overt. This pattern could potentially facilitate a reanalysis for feature agreement in the AGR functional category. Because this paper's aim was not to provide a detailed account of the possible convergence between dative over-marking in Basque and *leísmo* in Spanish, we limit our interpretation of the results to strictly discuss Basque DOM as a part of the internal grammar of young speakers of Gernika Basque. A more exhaustive analysis of this phenomenon would benefit by examining the spontaneous speech of Gernika Basque speakers of varying ages and language dominance. Also, future work would benefit from the inclusion of linguistic factors such as person, number, and direct object animacy, and should additionally incorporate other verbs that are subject to *leísmo* in Spanish. Should both phenomena show sensitvity to the same set of linguistic factors, this would consitute stronger evidence in favor of the claim that Basque DOM is resultant from convergence with Spanish *leísmo*.

With respect to the data collected concerning attitudes toward Basque DOM, results are to be interpreted cautiously, as must only be taken to be representative of a small population of the Basque Country, that is, young adults speakers that were born and raised in Gernika and speak the vernacular variety of Gernika Basque. These attitudes that result from the ideology of the region may be representative of those speakers that have maintained a vernacular variety and may not be what second learners of Basque, who have had no access to the vernacular variety, identify with. In order to obtain a more fine-grained description of the attitudes of the heterogeneous population of the BAC, it is important that future research incorporates L2 Basque learners of varying age groups, in addition to Spanish speakers without any knowledge of Basque that were born in the Basque Country, alongside Spanish speakers that have moved to the Basque Country as adults and have no knowledge of Basque.

Results from the matched-guise task and overt interviews with Gernika Basque speakers suggest that Basque DOM is a stigmatized phenomenon, yet nonetheless comprises a part of their Basque identity when used while speaking a vernacular Basque variety. This covert-prestige toward DOM can be considered to be embedded in the politics of the BAC (Irvine & Gal 2000). The main aim of this study was to understand the covert prestige of a stigmatized Basque feature in terms of the identity and the ideology of the speakers, paying special attention to the structure and consequences of these ideologies. Irvine and Gal's (2000) model of the three *Semiotic Processes* seems quite capable of accounting for these ideologies. According to this model, there are three ways of creating indexical relations; first, a process of *erasure* occurs, a process characterized by the creation and maintenance of distinctions. Erasure generally determines what can be iconized and what can become recursive, and therefore a "self-conscious social and cultural unity is created within established political boundaries, in distinction to others outside the boundaries" (Woolard 1989: 10). Second, the *iconization* process begins, which analyses the varieties of a language and the social images to which they are linked, that is, inherent connections are made by a group and language practice. A consequence of this process is what Irvine and Gal (2000) term *fractal recursivity*, the model's third semiotic process, which consists of the creation of differences within the group.

Taking into account the three aforementioned processes, our results suggest that the act of purifying the Basque language is a process in which *erasure* will take place. By creating a boundary, or a clear distinction between what differentiates Basque from Spanish, populations of the Basque Country can be grouped according to language use. As mentioned in section 2, this erasure process was strongly established in late 19th century when the nationalist party PNV formed under Sabino Arana. At that time, one was regarded as Basque if he or she belonged to the Basque race and spoke the Basque language, which was regarded as the stamp of Basque identity. The fact Basque DOM needs to be

corrected, in the eyes of young speakers of Gernika Basque, suggests that this nationalist ideology is still present in the politics of the BAC. Moreover, another layer of *erasure* present in the modern BAC is the distinctions between the variety of Basque a speaker uses. In this sense, the *iconization* of Basque identity emerges when a speaker decides to use the vernacular variety of Gernika over Standard Basque.

Results showed that DOM does not affect the *iconization* of Basque identity, whereas the use of the vernacular variety of Gernika Basque does. As a consequence of this *iconization*, a total of 4 terms have been established to create differences within the Basque community in which the third process takes place, namely *fractal recursivity*. First, and most important, is the identity of the *euskaldun,* a person who was born in the BAC, acquired the vernacular variety, and uses it. Second is the identity of the *vasco*, a person who was born in the BAC but did not acquire the language. Third is the identity of the *euskaldunberri*, an outsider who did not acquire Basque natively, and instead learned it and as a second language. Fourth is the *maqueto*, someone who immigrated to the Basque Country and did not learn (or will not produce) the Basque language, that is, a true outside, or Spaniard. The parenthesis on table 5 suggests that a *maqueto* might have been born in the Basque Country, may or may not know the Basque language but certainly does not use it. This idea of acquiring the language in a natural environment, which is currently understood to be the home, is the consequence of the racial idea that Sabino Arana and his followers once established in the late 19th century. In Arana's times, racial ancestry constituted the Basque identity, stamped with the Basque language, whereas currently it is the vernacular variety of Basque (Gernika Basque in this case), the variety of the home, that constitutes the racial stamp of Basque identity.

In summary, although racial ancestry is still not the most important tool with which to identify somebody as Basque in the modern BAC, we argue that Sabino Arana's ideas continue to influence the understanding of the ethnic identity of Basque. Recall that in the late 19th century, Sabino Arana and his followers defined *Basqueness* in terms of members' racial ancestry, as it was race that differentiated the Basques from other populations (in addition to their knowledge of the Basque language). Presently, race as such is not an essential element in order to identify one's self as Basque. Nevertheless, we argue that ethnic-linguistic identity is being *racialized*, as it is important what variety of Basque an individual speaks: the vernacular, which is acquired at home, or Standard Basque, which is traditionally acquired in school.[12]

Finally, bearing in mind the ideological structure and consequences of linguistic choices in the BAC, we may query as to the present status of Basque DOM. The complex nature of this phenomenon, which on the one hand is stigmatized, while on the other hand marks Basque identity, may suggest that the convergence between Basque DOM and Spanish *leísmo* will gradually develop in future. Once more, future research on this topic would benefit from examining linguistic factors such as object animacy, person, object specificity, and verb type, as well as social factors including age, gender, language dominance, proficiency, and identity affiliation. Moreover, the present study only examined ideologies maintained by young native speakers of Gernika Basque. In order to more fully understand the consequences of the ideologies presented in this paper, future investigations should incorporate both L2 learners of Basque and non-speakers of Basque in the Basque Country, facilitating the comparison of ideologies amongst a greater portion of the Basque Country population.

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[12] It is important to mention that there are many native speakers of Basque that learned the language at school but still can speak a vernacular variety. Accordingly, the ideology discussed in this paper refer to these individuals would also be considered *euskaldun* because they can speak the vernacular variety. On the other hand, there are also many Basque-born speakers that do not speak the language and therefore would be considered *vascos*.

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