Differentiation between strong and weak pronouns among bilinguals: Evidence from Spanish/English code-switching

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Introduction

- -Commonly accepted distinction: strong/weak pronouns
 -Unique syntactic structures that determine distribution
 (Cardinaletti & Starke, 1999)
- -Consider the US Spanish sentences in (1)
 - -Strong pronouns: Modification (1a); coordination (1b); and prosodic stress (1c)
 - -Weak pronouns: Unaltered (neither syntactically nor prosodically) (1d)
- (1) a. **Él** con el pelo negro duerme durante el día. 'He/Him with the black hair sleeps during the day.'
 - b. Él y Alberto duermen durante el día.'He/Him and Alberto sleep during the day.'
 - c. Ella duerme durante la noche, pero ÉL duerme durante el día.
 'She sleeps at night, but HE sleeps during the day.'
 - d. **Él** duerme durante el día. 'He sleeps during the day.'
- -However, note that the forms are homophonous -Is the pronoun in (1d) indeed weak?
- -Context where distinction is salient: code-switching (CS)
 - Consider the US Spanish/English sentences in (2)
 Judgments for highly proficient speakers who acquired both languages at a young age (Koronkiewicz, 2014)
- (2) a. **Él** con el pelo negro *sleeps during the day*. 'He/Him with the black hair sleeps during the day.'
 - b. **Él** y Alberto *sleep during the day*. 'He/Him and Alberto sleep during the day.'
 - c. Ella duerme durante la noche, pero **ÉL** sleeps during the day.
 - 'She sleeps at night, but HE sleeps during the day.'
 - d. * Él sleeps during the day.

 'He sleeps during the day.'
- -Clear division: Strong pronouns are acceptably switched with a finite verb (2a-c), but weak pronouns are not (2d)
- -Unique opportunity to investigate strong and weak pronouns in the grammars of different types of bilinguals
 - -Assuming a Minimalist approach to CS (MacSwan, 1997), acceptability ratings can be used to gain valuable insight into the mental grammars of bilinguals
- -Research question: Do different types of Spanish/English bilinguals differentiate between strong and weak Spanish pronouns when code-switching?
- -This project explores age of acquisition and proficiency -Second language (L2) learners and heritage speakers of Spanish at either high ('advanced/native-like') or
 - -Pronoun categorization yet to be fully investigated for either group

Methods

Participants

Table 1. Description of participant groups

	Heritage-High $(\mathcal{N}=13)$	Heritage-Intermediate $(\mathcal{N} = 11)$	L2-High $(\mathcal{N}=9)$	L2-Intermediate $(\mathcal{N}=10)$
Age of Acquisition	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,			
English	≤ 6 years	≤ 6 years	Since birth	Since birth
Spanish	≤ 6 years	≤ 6 years	> 10 years	> 10 years
Proficiency Score				
English* (out of 40)	> 30 (M = 36.8)	> 30 (M = 35.7)	> 30 (M = 38.9)	> 30 (M = 38.5)
Spanish† (out of 50)	> 37 (M = 42.5)	$\leq 37 \ (M = 29.3)$	> 37 (M = 44.3)	$\leq 37 \ (M = 26.7)$
Age				
Mean	21.3 years	21.4 years	29.1 years	22.7 years
Range	18 - 29 years	19 - 30 years	21 - 46 years	19 - 31 years

* English proficiency: Modified cloze test (O'Neill, Cornelius, & Washburn, 1981); † Spanish proficiency: Modified DELE (Diplomas de Español como Lengua Extranjera)

Experimental Stimuli

-Target stimuli:

- -Spoken sentences with code-switched Spanish pronouns in varied contexts, as in (2) ($\mathcal{N}=24$)
 - -Strong pronouns: Modification (2a); coordination (2b); prosodic stress (2c)
 - -Weak pronouns: Unaltered (2d)
- -Control stimuli:
 - -Following González-Vilbazo et al. (2013), monolingual equivalents, as in (1) ($\mathcal{N}=24$)
 - -Lexical Determiner Phrases (DPs) code-switched in same contexts ($\mathcal{N}=24$) (e.g., *ese hombre* 'that man')
 - -Commonly understood to be acceptably switched (Gumperz, 1977; Lipski 1978; Timm, 1975)

Experimental Procedure

-Completed entirely online (via Ibex)

- -Background questionnaire
- Task training and practice
- -Aural acceptability judgment
 - -7-point Likert scale
- -1 = 'unacceptable' and 7 = 'acceptable'
- -Stimuli randomized in various blocks
- -CS stimuli first
- -Then monolingual stimuli
- -Blocks of stimuli broken up by proficiency measures, as well as other non-linguistic tasks
- -On average participants completed the task in under an hour and a half

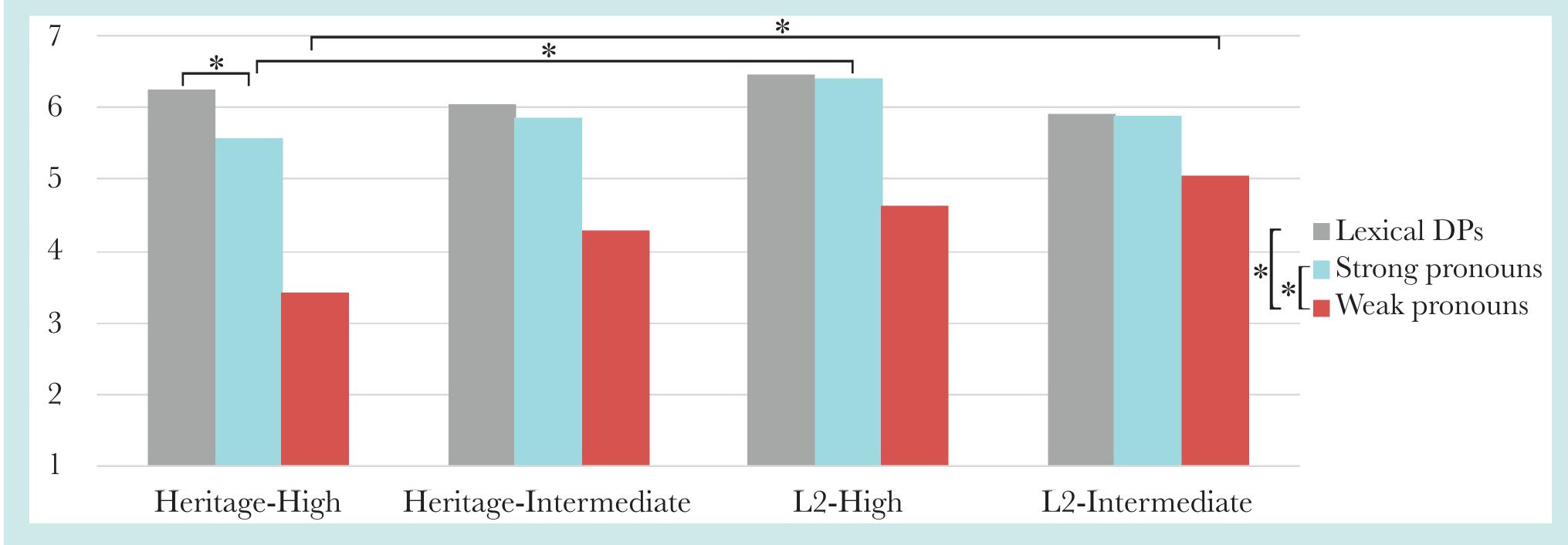
Results

- All groups: Weak pronouns less acceptable than both lexical DPs and strong pronouns (p values < .05)
 Heritage-High: Lexical DPs more acceptable than strong pronouns (p < .001)
- -Weak pronouns: Heritage-High group rated them less acceptable than L2-Intermediate (p < .001)
 -Strong pronouns: Heritage-High group rated them less
- -Strong pronouns: Heritage-High group rated them less acceptable than L2-High group (p < .001)

Table 2. Mean average ratings by group and stimulus type

	Heritage- $High$ M (SD)	M (SD) M (SD)	L2-Intermediate M (SD)
CS stimuli			
Lexical DPs	6.25 (1.49)	$6.03 (1.52) \qquad \qquad 6.46 (1.15)$	5.92 (1.84)
Strong pronouns	5.56 (2.15)	5.85 (1.77) 6.40 (1.13)	5.89 (1.84)
Weak pronouns	3.42 (2.55)	4.28 (2.55) 4.61 (2.41)	5.05 (2.43)

Figure 1. Mean average ratings by group and stimulus type



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intermediate proficiency

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Conclusions

- -All Spanish/English bilingual groups do seem to differentiate between strong and weak pronouns when code-switching
- -However, the extent to which they do so varies
- -Heritage speakers of Spanish with high proficiency make a stronger distinction between the two forms than L2 speakers of Spanish with an intermediate proficiency
- -The other two groups fall in the middle
- -Suggests that none of these groups' grammars completely lack weak pronouns
- -For now, though, it is unclear why there seems to be a gradation of acceptability for weak pronoun switches, from unacceptable to marginally acceptable
- -More broadly, this study exemplifies an innovative approach to investigating the grammars of various types of bilinguals
 - -Such data is unobservable with monolingual data

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