

The relationship between use and perception: the case of Catalan variants of a subject co-referential with an antecedent

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The relationship between use and perception: the case of Catalan variants of a subject co-referential with an antecedent

In this paper, we analyse the relationship between use and perception of five Catalan variants of the variable *subject co-referential with an antecedent*. This will be done by examining the results of a cloze test and three perception surveys answered in 1997 by 26 respondents. Two different correct constructions were then presented as correct answers in the exercise, which were also evaluated in terms of to what extent the subjects used them and how they felt about their grammaticality and their stylistic distribution. Three more variants were also evaluated in the same surveys. The result is that there is general agreement on the stylistic distribution of three variants, ranging from colloquial to formal situations, regardless to what extent the five variants are used.

keywords: Catalan relative pronouns; language use; use perception; stylistic distribution, error analysis

1 Introduction

As not all the readers can be expected to be familiar with the sociolinguistic situation of Catalan, a few words about it are offered in order to provide some context and to help understand the aim of this study (see Costa 2009b for more). Catalan is a Romance language spoken in the East of Spain (including Catalonia, the Valencian Country, Aragon and the Balearic Islands), as well as in the Department of Pyrénées Orientales (in France), in Andorra, and in the city of Alghero on Sardinia. Since the last third of the twentieth century, Spanish has become widely spoken in Catalonia besides Catalan. In Spain, Catalan had been excluded from the official, formal education system for more than 40 years (1939-1980). In 1980, after the arrival of democracy to Spain, the teaching of Catalan prescriptive grammar was reinstated at schools. In 1997, after more than fifteen years, an evaluation of the success of this teaching was deemed necessary. Tests performed at that time ultimately led to the DeLaDi-project¹ at Pompeu Fabra

University and the undertaking of the analysis partially presented in this paper.²

It is well known in sociolinguistics that very often speakers are not consistent when judging their own use and other people's use of language. This has to do with *attitudes*, which can be defined as "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor" (Eagly and Chaiken 1998: 269-270). This paper deals with the relationship between the variants of a subject co-referential with an antecedent in Catalan, and students' attitude towards them. This analysis entails that the concepts of *correctness*, *facility* and *style* are used.

For the purpose of this paper, a *correct* variant is one explicitly prescribed by the official Catalan grammar (Fabra 1933) and dictionary (*DIEC*); and conversely, an *incorrect* variant is one explicitly proscribed by these authorities. As for *facility* in assessment, the *Manual for Language Test Development and Examining* defines it as "the proportion of correct responses" (ALTE 2011: 77). Finally, the word *style* is used in this article only to refer to the level of formality (as can be seen below). Only three styles are taken into account in the surveys: (1) *colloquial* ('talking to friends or relatives, or in informal writings'), (2) *formal* ('talking to a teacher in class or in academic writings'), and (3) *general* ('both in informal and in formal situations'). This third category was established for respondents to assign to a variant which they considered to not have any stylistic connotation.

2Methodology, aims, and the variable with its five variants

As has been said earlier, this research stems from the need of assessing the success of the implementation of a normative grammar. So its aim is to identify the prescriptive features or constructions being difficult to learn and to use.

To carry out this analysis, a sample of 26 first-year university students took two grammatical exercises on relative clauses and answered three perception surveys about

the same relative clauses and other synonymous constructions. Our sample is one of what Herrera, Martínez & Amengual call a "convenience, haphazard or accidental sample", which entails that our research is just a "quasi-experiment, which allows to make remarks beyond the subjectivity. Although it does not allow generalizations, it can be a model and a reference for future works" (2011: 28).

In the present article, only one variable is presented: a subject co-referential with an antecedent. This variable can be implemented at least through five different variants, which are the following constructions, analysed in this paper:

- (1) Aquest assumpte requereix una gestió ben planificada, (LA QUAL)

This matter demands a management well planned, (THE WHICH)

gestió, per tant, no pot ser confiada a qualsevol persona.

management therefore not can be entrusted to any person.

[This matter demands a well-planned management, which management, therefore, cannot be entrusted to any person].

- (2) Aquest assumpte requereix una gestió ben planificada, I AQUESTA ('and this') gestió, per tant, no pot ser confiada a qualsevol persona.

- (3) Aquest assumpte requereix una gestió ben planificada, GESTIÓ QUE ('management that'), per tant, no pot ser confiada a qualsevol persona.

- (4) Aquest assumpte requereix una gestió ben planificada, QUE ('that'), per tant, no pot ser confiada a qualsevol persona.

- (5) Aquest assumpte requereix una gestió ben planificada, LA QUAL (*the + which*: 'that'), per tant, no pot ser confiada a qualsevol persona.

While most of them are easy to use, there is one of them which experience has shown to cause difficulties, namely the construction article + *qual* ('which') + noun. This construction is one of the prescribed constructions by Fabra (1933: §64.I) and DIEC (*qual*). It is illustrated in (1).

This sentence was part of a cloze exercise; the part in between parentheses represents the blank that was to be filled in. This cloze consisted of fourteen syntactic items, eight of which were about relative pronouns. Because of an oversight in the design of item (1), two unintended alternative variants were also possible as correct answers. One was sentence (2) and the other sentence (6).

- (6) Aquest assumpte requereix una gestió ben planificada, ILLA SEVA ('and its') gestió, per tant, no pot ser confiada a qualsevol persona.

It should be noted that the possessive construction in (6) did not appear in any of the three subsequent surveys. And it must be taken into account that, besides these three variants, this variable could be expressed by variants (3) to (5) (with some changes):

The 26 subjects were chosen because they stated to usually speak only Catalan and they were schooled entirely in Catalan. In addition, before taking the exercise and the surveys, they had attended a university course on Catalan normative grammar. There was no significant variation with respect to age, sex and level education since they were all first year students at the Faculty of Translation and Interpreting at Pompeu Fabra University, and most of them were women.

The participants also completed three short surveys about the eight variables on relative pronouns tested in the cloze. As for the variable analysed in this study, a subject co-referential with an antecedent, the surveys asked, among other, for attitudes to variants (1) to (5).

Thus, once the participants took the cloze test and answered the three surveys, we had, on the one hand, the results of how they were able to respond to a very restricted item, constructions (1), (2) and (6), and, on the other hand, how they felt about their own use, the grammaticality, and stylistic distribution of these five variants. This

paper presents the degree of consistency between what the participants did and what they felt.

The first survey was about the perception they had of their own use, with the following options:³

I: I use it only in **informal** contexts ("talking to friends or relatives, or in informal writings").

F: I use it only in **formal** situations ("talking to a teacher in class or in academic writings").

S: I **always** use it ("both in informal and in formal situations").

M: I **never** use it ("neither in informal nor in formal situations").

NC: I **don't know** when I use it.

The sentences with the variable under analysis on which answers had to be provided were the following:

- (7) La Generalitat fixa els preus dels serveis oferts pel Gremi d'Hostalers i Restauradors de Catalunya, els quals preus són molt competitius. [*Prices of services offered by the Hostelry Guild of Catalonia are fixed by the Government, WHICH PRICES are very competitive.*]
- (8) La Generalitat fixa els preus dels serveis oferts pel Gremi d'Hostalers i Restauradors de Catalunya, preus que són molt competitius. [*Prices of services offered by the Hostelry Guild of Catalonia are fixed by the Government, PRICES WHICH are very competitive.*]
- (9) La Generalitat fixa els preus dels serveis oferts pel Gremi d'Hostalers i Restauradors de Catalunya, que són molt competitius. [*Prices of services offered by the Hostelry Guild of Catalonia are fixed by the Government, WHICH are very competitive.*]

- (10) La Generalitat fixa els preus dels serveis oferts pel Gremi d'Hostalers i Restauradors de Catalunya, els quals són molt competitius. [*Prices of services offered by the Hostelry Guild of Catalonia are fixed by the Government, THE WHICH are very competitive.*]
- (11) La Generalitat fixa els preus dels serveis oferts pel Gremi d'Hostalers i Restauradors de Catalunya, i aquests preus són molt competitius. [*Prices of services offered by the Hostelry Guild of Catalonia are fixed by the Government, AND THESE PRICES are very competitive.*]

The second questionnaire was about the perception they had of the grammaticality of these constructions, with the following options:⁴

G: Genuine ("proper Catalan, independently of whether it is rather colloquial or rather formal").

A: Ungrammatical ("impossible in Catalan, even as a Castilianism").

C: Castilianism ("interference from Spanish into Catalan, independently of whether it is rather colloquial or rather formal").

NS: I don't know how to classify it."

The five sentences with the variable under analysis on which answers had to be provided in this questionnaire were different from the ones for the first survey, but including the same five variants of a subject co-referential with an antecedent.

The third survey was about the perception of the stylistic distribution of these constructions, with the following options:⁵

C: Colloquial ("talking to friends or relatives, or in informal writings").

F: Formal ("talking to a teacher in class or in academic writings").

G: General ("both in informal and in formal situations").

NS: I don't know how to classify it.

Again, the five sentences with the variable in this questionnaire were different from the ones of the first and the second survey, but included the same five variants of a subject co-referential with an antecedent.

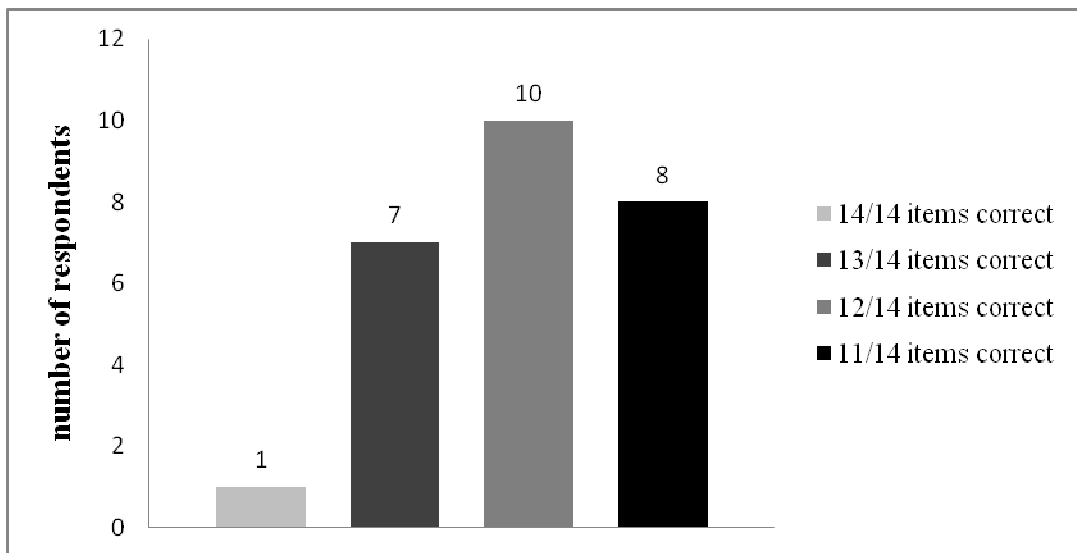
The results from both the cloze and the three surveys were extracted and quantified. These will be presented and commented on in the following sections.

3 The facility of the items of the exercise

In the field of language assessment, *facility* shows how many of the respondents give the correct answers. The relevant results about the eight items on relative pronouns are as follows: 3 out of 26 subjects (11.5 %) gave the intended correct answers in 8 out of 8 items; 17 out of 26 subjects (65.4 %) gave the intended correct answers in 7 out of 8 items; and 6 out of 26 subjects (23.1 %) gave the intended correct answers in 6 out of 8 items.

So, all 26 subjects reached at least a mark of six correct answers out of eight. Among the three responding correctly to all eight items, there was one of the respondents providing the expected correct answer in the item we are dealing with, the variant article + *qual*+ noun. Seventeen subjects had a mark of 7/8; among them, two gave the expected correct answer; the other fifteen failed to provide the correct answer. Five subjects gave a correct answer to this item; among them, three reached the highest mark and two reached 7/8 points.

With regard to all fourteen items of the exercise, all subjects reached at least a mark of 11 correct answers out of 14. The relevant results about the facility of the 14 items of the exercise are displayed in figure 1.



Fig

ure 1: Number of respondents providing correct answers to the 14 item cloze test.

Of the seven respondents that answered 13 out of 14 items correctly, two gave the correct answer to *la qual gestió* ('which management'); the other five subjects did not provide this answer.

The relevant results of the item *la qual gestió* are as follows: five out of 26 subjects gave an answer that was considered correct. Three of them gave the expected answer (*la qual gestió*) with a relative construction. The other two gave alternative correct constructions: *i aquesta gestió* ('and this management') and *i la seva gestió* ('and its management'). Twenty-one out of 26 subjects gave an ungrammatical answer: 16 wrote *aquesta* ('this'; without the conjunction) and 5 wrote *la* ('the').

Both the set of eight items on relative pronouns and the set of all 14 items can be considered relatively easy to pass: all subjects answered at least a 6 out of 8 items accurately in the first set, and at least 11 out of the 14 items in the second one. Both scores are around the minimum that is usually required to pass in these kinds of tests.

In this context, the fact that only three out of 26 subjects gave the expected answer (*la qual gestió*) with a relative construction, is therefore highly relevant. It

suggests that, although the 26 subjects generally mastered relative pronouns and other syntactic issues, they did not master this construction at all. It must be remembered that 3 respondents provided the expected correct answer (variant (1) in this paper: *la qual gestió*), whereas 2 respondents provided 2 unexpected correct answers: the variant (2) in this paper: *i aquesta gestió*, and the variant (6) in this paper: *i la seva gestió*, which had to be accepted as correct.

However, with respect to the 7 subjects with a score of 13/14, only 2 of them gave the expected correct answer; the other 5 failed to reproduce this answer. So, the correct answer to this item is not related to the highest scores in the 6 items about other syntactic features than relative pronouns.

4 Perception of own use of the five variants

The previous analysis has shown that most of the respondents do not use the article + *qual* + noun construction. In this section we give the results about this construction in the survey about the perception of their own use. In order to make the comparison with the other four variants easier, the results will all be presented together in figure 2.

Initially we thought that establishing two groups among the respondents in order to be more accurate in our analysis would be relevant. Following this classification, there would be, on the one hand, a 'no relative-group' consisting of the 23 subjects who, for one reason or another, did not use the relative *qual*: 17 subjects provided answers with a demonstrative adjective, five subjects provided an answer with the definite article *la*, and one subject gave an answer with a possessive (*i la seva gestió* = 'and its management').⁶ On the other hand, there would be a '*qual*-group' consisting of 3 subjects giving the expected correct answer (*la qual gestió*). However, given the quantitative disproportion between the two groups (23 vs. 3), this classification has been ruled out for systematic analysis.

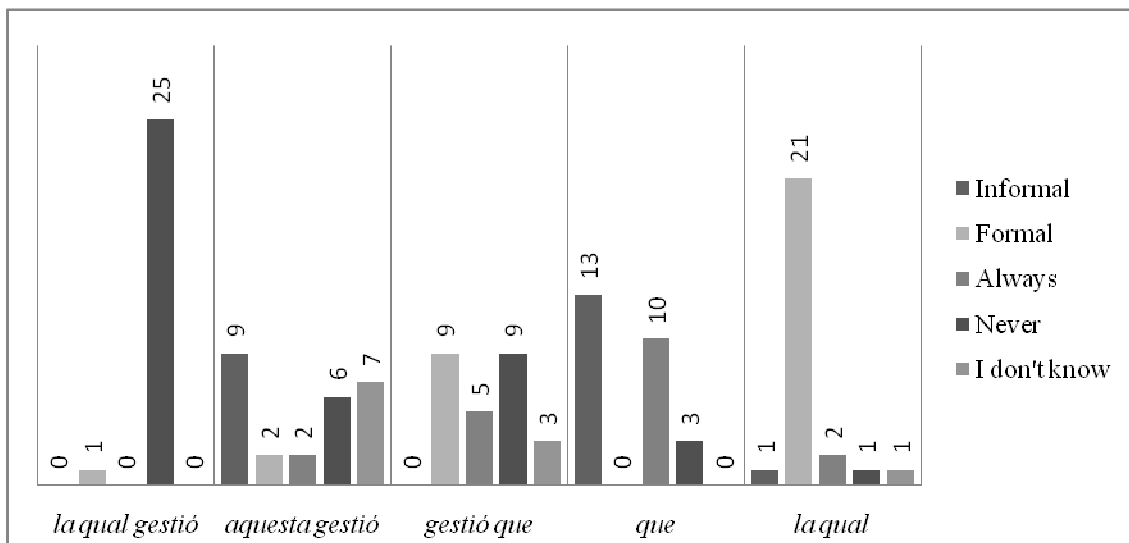


Figure 2: Perception of the own use of the five variants.

The most relevant facts in this case are the following: only one out of the 26 subjects stated that she habitually used article + *qual* + noun, and only in *formal* situations. The other 25 declared they *never* used this construction. The subject who stated using this construction was one of those who gave the correct answer *la qual gestió*.

In the cloze, one subject gave the non-expected correct variant *I* + demonstrative adjective + noun and 16 out of the 21 failing this item gave the incorrect variant \emptyset + demonstrative adjective + noun. This shows that 17 respondents felt the use of a demonstrative to be a correct answer, although 16 were not able to link properly their solution to the context in the item, which is why the solution without a conjunction was considered incorrect. The *I* + demonstrative adjective + noun variant was one of the constructions judged by the respondents in the 3 surveys, so we will analyse how the 26 respondents felt about this variant. The \emptyset + demonstrative adjective + noun variant was not included in the survey.

The results shown in Figure 2 suggest a lack of agreement among the 26 subjects with regard to the *aquesta gestió* construction. They had all five different opinions about the use of the construction, which include opposite classifications: informal vs. formal, and never vs. always. It is notable that 27% of them (7 subjects) did not know when they used this variant. It can be observed that within the *qual*-group, two subjects stated that they used it in informal contexts (talking to friends or relatives, or in informal writings); one subject explicitly stated that she did not know if she used this structure or not.

Regarding the perception of the subjects about their own use of the noun + *que* construction, Figure 2 shows disagreement among the respondents –with even contradictory statements: always (5) vs. never (9). But it can be said that there is a general feeling of strangeness: 9 declared they only used it in formal settings and 9 more that they never used it.

Table 2 suggests that there is very important agreement on the fact that *que* is the usual variant, but with disagreement on its specific formality: 10 considered it general (always) and 13 informal. The evaluation of the construction *la qual* ('the + which') suggests general agreement on that it is an uncommon variant.

It can be observed that there are four variants about which the subjects felt sure in their judgments: at the most, only three respondents could not indicate when they used these four variants. In this context, it is very relevant that general agreements can also be stated. First, this is the case of the variants having in common the word *qual*: 25 respondents stated that they never used *la qual gestió*, and 21 that they only used *la qual* in formal settings. Second, it can be said that they are perceived as strange variants. Third, there is the *que* variant, of which it can be said that 23 respondents perceived it as a common construction: 13 used it informally and 10 indicated they always used this

construction. Fourth, there is the *gestió + que* variant: 18 of the respondents perceived it as strange, of which 9 stated they only used it in formal settings and 9 indicated that they never used it. And fifth, it must be highlighted, first, that 7 respondents were not sure when they used the demonstrative construction *aquesta gestió*; for the other variants this group has no more than 3 respondents. In addition, there is large disagreement among the 19 respondents.

5 Perception of the grammaticality of the five variants

In this section we give the results about perception of the grammaticality of the five variants. They are summarised in Figure 3.

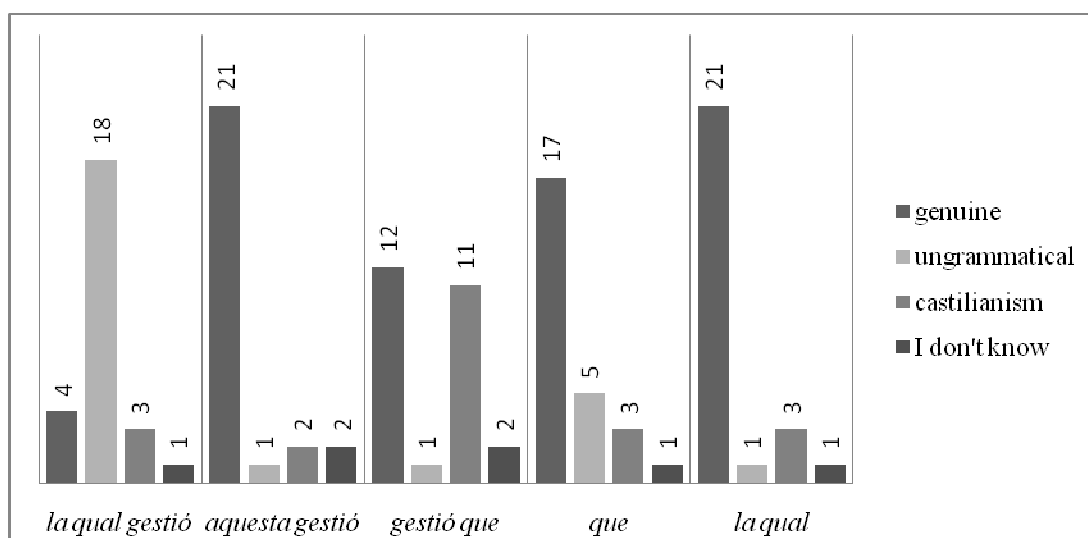


Figure 3: Respondents' perception of the grammaticality of the five variants

With regard to the article + *qual*+ noun construction, Figure 3 shows that four respondents considered this construction to be proper Catalan. On the contrary eighteen respondents considered this construction *ungrammatical*. Four perceived this construction as a *Castilianism*, i.e. they observed an interference of Spanish into Catalan. Only one subject did not know how to classify this construction. There is large

agreement on the ungrammaticality of the variant, which could be reinforced by the subjects considering it to be a Castilianism. It can be noted that the subjects of the *qual*-group considered this construction *genuine* (proper Catalan, independently of whether it is used, colloquial or formal).

With regard to the demonstrative construction, *aquesta gestió*, the majority of the participants agreed that it is proper Catalan. Only one subject considered the construction ungrammatical. Two participants thought this construction to be a Castilianism. The last two subjects did not have any perception on the grammaticality of this item. As regards the *qual*-group, all 3 stated that is a *genuine* construction.

The data in Figure 3 for the noun + *que* construction suggest sharp polarization among the subjects: 46% thought that this variant was genuine and 42% that it is a Castilianism. Likewise, they also show strong agreement (66% of the answers) on the genuinity of variant using only *que*.

There is, however, a strong agreement among the subjects on the fact that the *la qual* construction is a genuine Catalan.

The subjects felt very confident in their judgments: for each of the five variants no more than two respondents gave the answer "I don't know". In this context it is very relevant, on the one hand, that there is large agreement on the genuineness of the demonstrative variant, of *la qual*, and of *que*. There is also large agreement on the ungrammaticality of the variant *la qual gestió*. Instead, it can be concluded that there is polarization about whether noun + *que* is genuine or not.

6 Perception of the stylistic distribution of the five variants

The results about perception of the stylistic distribution of the five variants are summarised in Figure 4:

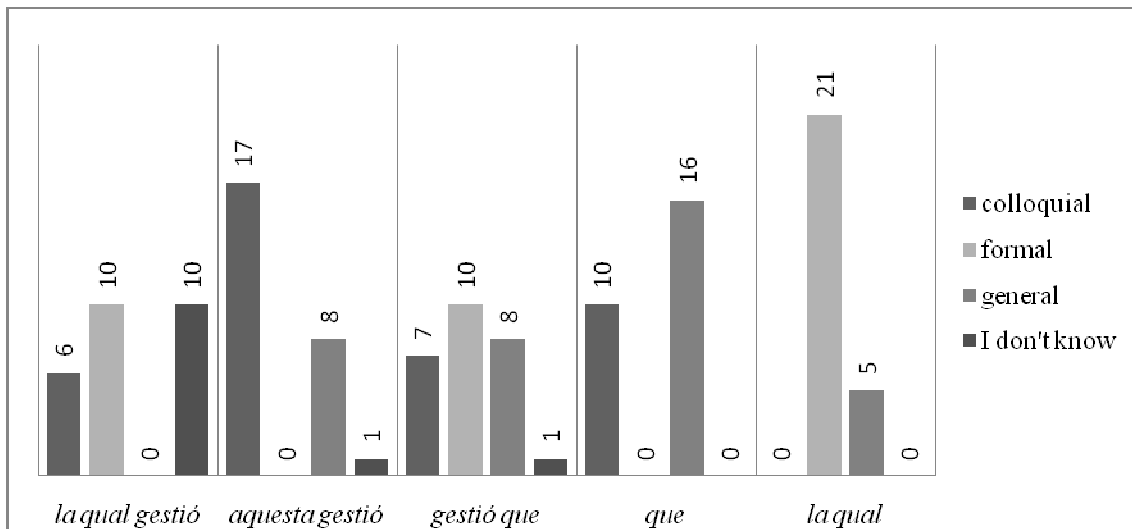


Figure 4: Participants' attitudes towards the stylistic distribution of the variants

With regard to the article + *qual* + noun construction, the first relevant information Figure 4 shows is that 38% (10 subjects) felt not sure about the stylistic distribution of this variant. This feeling of insecurity is supported by the sharp polarization between those (38%) who considered it formal and those (23%) who considered it colloquial.

The data in Figure 4 show strong differences in agreement across the different constructions. Almost 66 % of the subjects agreed on the fact that the demonstrative construction *aquesta gestió* is colloquial. The data also suggest that there is very strong disagreement on the stylistic distribution of the noun + *que* construction: 7 subjects considered it colloquial, 10 considered it formal, and 8 considered it general.

Regarding the construction with only *que*, sixteen subjects stated that it is general, and 10 that is colloquial; this suggests very strong agreement on the fact that it is a usual variant (but disagreement on its specific formality, colloquial or general). And about the *la qual* construction, 21 subjects stated that it is *formal*; which suggests general agreement on the fact that it is a non-usual variant.

As with the grammaticality judgement survey, the subjects felt very confident in their judgments, except for the stylistic distribution of *la qual gestió* (with 38% not

knowing how to classify it). For the other 4 variants the number of answers "I don't know" was not more than 1 respondent. In this context it is very relevant, on the one hand, the sharp polarization about the register of *la qual gestió* and "noun + *que*"; and, on the other hand, the large agreement about the habitualness of the demonstrative and *que* variants and the strangeness of *la qual*.

7 Discussion and conclusions

The analysis presented in this paper combined an error analysis instrument (cloze test) with three survey research tool (which could be classified as a folk linguistics tool). It has been carried out on only one variable, a subject co-referential with an antecedent, of the eight variables that the 26 subjects answered in the same cloze test. It could be relevant to take into account that the cloze and the three surveys were administered successively, each one after the previous was collected from the respondents. Thus, the answers of the last survey (about the stylistic distribution) could have been influenced by the previous ones. Table 1 gives a summary of the respondents' judgments.

Table 1: Summary of the results of the attitudes survey

Variants	Own use	Grammaticality	Stylistic distribution
<i>La qual gestió</i>	25 never used it.	Large agreement on its ungrammaticality.	Sharp polarization about the register with 38% not knowing how to classify it.
<i>I aquesta gestió</i>	Sharp disagreement with 7 not knowing when they used it.	Large agreement on its genuineness.	Large agreement about its habitualness.
<i>Gestió que</i>	18 perceived it as "strange".	Polarization on its genuineness.	Sharp polarization about the register.
<i>Que</i>	23 perceived it as usual.	Large agreement on its genuineness.	Large agreement about its habitualness.
<i>La qual</i>	21 only used it in formal settings.	Large agreement on its genuineness.	Large agreement about its strangeness.

The fact that only 3 out of 26 respondents provided *la qual gestió* in the cloze seems to be coherent with almost absolute lack of use of it and the very general feeling of its ungrammaticality.

As for *i aquesta gestió*, there is a contrast between, on the one hand, the fact that a variant with a demonstrative (with or without the conjunction) was provided by 17 respondents in the cloze and the agreement about its genuineness and habitualness, and, on the other hand, the insecurity about their own use.

Regarding *gestió que*, there is coherence between the perception of strangeness and the disagreements about its genuineness and habitualness. With respect to *que*, there is absolute coherence between the high degree of use and the large agreement on its genuineness and habitualness. And, as for *la qual*, there is absolute coherence between its use only in formal settings and the perception of strangeness.

Moving to general remarks about these constructions, first of all, it must be highlighted that the fact that the 26 subjects rarely used the "I don't know" label in their judgements: they appear in general to be very confident in them. The conclusions about the article + *qual* + noun construction and the (*i*/Ø +) demonstrative adjective + noun construction were that a sample of the normative grammar's highest level learners and users not only did not give as an answer the first construction but even declared they never used it. They felt it as 'non-Catalan' and they did not know what its degree of formality would be. In contrast to this situation, the demonstrative variant would be a more natural construction (even if the sentence's punctuation did not allow it) for almost all subjects, and it is perceived as usual, and genuine but also colloquial.

In addition to these conclusions, the results allow to present how the 26 subjects felt about the five variants analysed in the three surveys. The noun + *que* construction is

hardly used, and there is sharp polarization about its genuineness and strong important disagreement on its stylistic distribution. The *que* construction is genuine and usual. The *la qual* construction is hardly used, it is genuine but perceived as non-usual.

Hence, as a general conclusion, the results of the analysis of the perception of the use, the grammaticality and the stylistic distribution of the variants of the variable subject co-referential with an antecedent suggest that:

- The 26 subjects stated that they hardly used the constructions with the word *qual* (article + *qual*+ noun and *la qual*) and the noun + *que* construction, and that they used without restrictions the (*i/Ø* +) demonstrative adjective + noun and *que* constructions.
- They felt the article + *qual*+ noun construction as 'non-Catalan' and the (*i/Ø* +) demonstrative adjective + noun, the *la qual* and the *que* constructions as genuine; but there is sharp polarization about the genuineness of the noun + *que* construction.
- They did not know what the degree of formality of the article + *qual*+ noun and the noun + *que* constructions could be, and they felt the (*i/Ø* +) demonstrative adjective + noun construction as colloquial, the *que* construction as usual, and the *la qual* construction as non-usual.

In short, the variant constructions for a subject coreferential with an antecedent have the following stylistic distribution, according to the subjects' perceptions:

- In colloquial communicative situations: (*i/Ø* +) demonstrative adjective + noun.
- In general communicative situations: the *que* construction.
- In formal communicative situations: the *la qual* construction.
- There is no agreement on the stylistic distribution of the article + *qual* + noun and the noun + *que* constructions.

The results of the study raise several new questions. The first is why the prescribed construction article + *qual*+ noun is not used by the native speakers tested? As an answer, it must be said that to know why 23 respondents did not provide *la qual gestió* in the cloze is impossible, since they were not asked directly. The only thing that can be done is to recall the following facts: the 26 subjects were compelled to fill in a blank in a cloze; in these conditions only 3 provided the expected correct answer. It should not be ruled out that some of the 17 giving the demonstrative construction maybe knew the expected correct answer but preferred rather to use the demonstrative one. These 26 subjects, at the time they took the cloze, could be considered students having the best knowledge about Catalan normative grammar.

Following from the previous question we could ask whether the prescribed construction is a relevant construction in the present-day usage of (young) Catalan speakers. It must be said that this construction is a very marked one, in the sense that it is a strategy to make sure the antecedent is identified by repeating this antecedent, as can be seen in its English translation. So it is not the most usual way to refer to an antecedent and it is only likely to be used in a very well planned discourse, which is not the most habitual in young speakers. This would be coherent with the general claim of lack of use and strangeness.

A majority (16/26) used the construction Ø + demonstrative + noun, which is a proscribed, 'incorrect' construction. Why would a proscribed construction be used by a majority of respondents? First of all let's see how the sentence would be in English with this variant (number 2): *This matter demands a management well planned, Ø THIS management, therefore not can be entrusted to any person.* Without the conjunction *and*, this construction was considered not acceptable because it was not connected properly in terms of cohesion. Why these 16 respondents did not used the conjunction

is, again, just a matter of hypothesis: maybe they did not pay enough attention to the context.

A separate and specific survey should be carried out to find out what these results say about the respondents' attitudes to the prescribed construction, and whether this has implications for their attitudes towards Catalan prescriptivism more generally. Our personal intention is to analyse the other seven relative variables so we have a broader insight in this matter.

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Notes

- ¹ This research was carried out as part of the project *Dependencias gramaticales de larga distancia: Aproximaciones teóricas i descriptivas (DeLaDi)* [Long grammatical dependencies: theoretical and descriptive approaches], which formed part of the Formal Linguistic Group of the Department of Translation and Philology of the Pompeu Fabra University. This project was sponsored by the Spanish Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia (HUM2007-61916/FILO). For more details, see Costa (2009a, 2013).
- ² The reason for presenting these results now is that it has not been possible to do so before. As for the age of the data, it should be viewed as pertaining to research on a very recent historical sociolinguistic situation.
- ³ The respondents were given the following instructions: "This questionnaire aims to collect your impressions on how you use some constructions. Therefore, answer, please, as sincerely as

you can. Mark each sentence with the letter which best expresses when you use the underlined constructions. If you think that you use 2 or more constructions in the same communicative setting, mark them with the same letter. If you do not know how to classify a construction, mark it with the letters NC".

⁴ The respondents were given the following instructions: "In this questionnaire you have to decide whether the underlined constructions are **Catalan or not**. If you consider that they are not Catalan, you have to decide whether they are **impossible** in Catalan or they are possible but they are Castilianisms. Mark each sentence with the appropriate letter if you think the underlined constructions are genuine (G), ungrammatical (A) or Castilianisms (C). If 2 or more constructions give the same impression to you, mark them with the same letter. If you do not know how to classify a construction, mark it with the letters NS".

⁵ The respondents were given the following instructions: "This questionnaire aims to collect your impression of formality in the following underlined constructions. It does not aim to collect your own use, but the impression you have when hearing or reading them, **regardless of your use of the structure**. Mark each sentence with the appropriate letter, if you think the underlined constructions are rather colloquial (C), rather formal (F), or both colloquial and formal (G). If 2 or more constructions give the same impression to you, mark them with the same letter. If you do not know how to classify a construction, mark it with the letters NS".

⁶One was correct, with the conjunction *i* ('and'); the other 16, without the conjunction, were ungrammatical in the context of this sentence.