

Codeswitching data in *amerikanorsk* and the theoretical analysis of tense

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Introduction

- Intrasentential codeswitching: Inflectional affixes from host/matrix language & lexemes borrowed from guest/embedded language (Myers-Scotton 1993...) → hybrid forms
- Example of hybrid form in *amerikanorsk*: **kleim**_{ENG}-**a**_{NO} 'claimed' [past]
- Research question: Does this empirical states of affairs (the systematic existence of such hybrid forms) have any consequences for the analysis of tense in generative grammar?

Data (i)

- From Haugen (1953); from the alphabetical vocabulary list on pp. 556ff.
- Bother: "dæ **badr-ar** tåle my" [pres]
- Break: "dei **brek-te** opp prærien" [past]
- Care: "E tenkte ikkje du **kær-a** så mykje" [past]
- Change: "Han **kjeinj-a** main sin" [past]
- Feed: "Dei kan du **fid-a** upp sjøl" [inf]
- Feel: "...je **fil-er** likså gått såm da je var to å tjugu år" [pres]
- Fine: "So **fain-a** eg dai ain dalar kvar" [past]

Data (ii)

- Harvest: "sådde å ikkje **harvist-a**" [past]
- Keep: "De er mange såm **kipp-er** Decorah-Posten" [pres]
- Leave: "...frå dei **liv-a** heimen å te dei kām te kjerka" [past]
- Make: "Vi **mæk-ar** goe peing" [pres]
- Play: "så **plei-de** dom geimer" [past]
- Reap: "så **ripp-a** dai de" [past]
- Run: "såm **rønn-er** farmen" [pres]
- Settle: "her **sætl-a** e ne å her he e vore"
- Teach: "han **titsj-a** ve Luther [College]" [past]
- Travel: "han måtte **travl-e** omtrent to å tredve mil" [inf]

Data (iii)

- From Hjelde (1992) (from "Alfabetisk liste over lån i amerikatrøndsk", pp. 99ff.)
- Beg: "**begg-a**" [past]
- Break: "...de **brækk-a** stavanj..." [past]
- Call: "...vess du **kall-a** op-en fekk du svar..." [past]
- Cause: "kjøtt som **kås-e** kænser" [pres]
- Claim: "**kleim-e**" [pres]; "**kleim-a**" [past]
- Collect: "dæm kollækt-a skatt" [past]
- Dust: "(ho) **døst-a** støv" [past]
- Hunt: "de e moro å **hønt-e**" [inf]
- Keep: "ein som **kip-e** boksa si på" [pres]
- Move: "vi **mov-a** frå minesota" [past]

Theoretical preliminaries

- T is generated as an independent node c-commanding V
- The verb acquires tense by an association between T and V
- What is the nature of this association?

- There is no special mechanism for the analysis of tense in codeswitching data, so such data give clues for the analysis of tense in UG and therefore in language generally
- There is only one mechanism available in UG for the association of T and V

Functional frames

- In intrasentential codeswitching, the host/matrix language by and large provides the functional morphemes & the guest/embedded language provides (some) lexemes (nonce borrowing)
- Functional frames & neoconstructionism...
(Borer 2005; Brøseth 2007; Åfarli 2007; Nygård in progress)
- In *amerikanorsk* tensed verbs: $T_{NO} \dots V_{ENG}$

T and V association

- Chomsky (1995: 195): "The main verb typically "picks up" the features T and Agr [...], adjoining to an inflectional element to form [V I]. There are two ways to interpret the process, for a lexical element α . **One is to take α to be a bare, uninflected form; PF rules are then designed to interpret the abstract complex [α I] as a single inflected phonological word."**

V-to-T movement (i)

- A bare V moves to T to "pick up" tense before Spell-Out; the complex [V T] is spelled out as the correct inflected form at PF
- Problems, given a derivational model:
 - English...
 - Embedded clauses in MSc...

V-to-T movement (ii)

- *He T always claimed these things*
- The main verb doesn't move to T before Spell-Out, so the bare verb cannot acquire its tense affix by V-to-T movement

Affix Hopping in syntax?

- Affix Hopping (Pollock 1989)?
 - No downgrading movements in core syntax
 - Uniform tense – verb association in UG

PF Affix Hopping and LF V-to-T movement?

- Affix Hopping in PF and V-to-T movement in LF?
 - Too complex; not up to minimalist standards...

Ready-made tensed forms (i)

- Chomsky (1995: 195): "The main verb typically "picks up" the features T and Agr [...], adjoining to an inflectional element to form [V I]. There are two ways to interpret the process, for a lexical element α . [...] **The other approach is to take α to have inflectional features in the lexicon as an intrinsic property (in the spirit of lexicalist phonology); these features are then checked against the inflectional element I in the complex [α I]."**

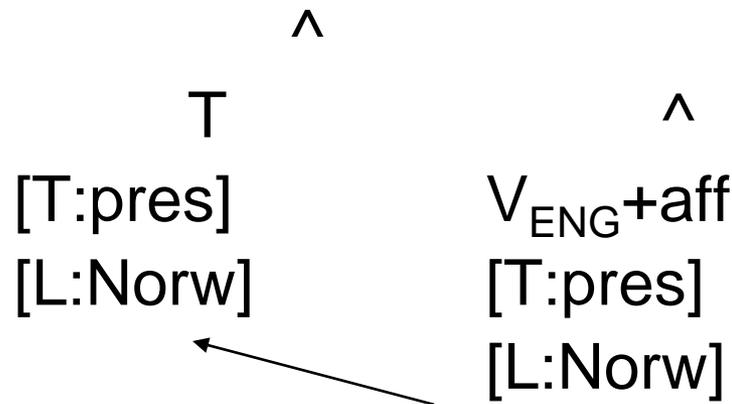
Ready-made tensed forms (ii)

- Chomsky & ready-made tensed forms that are checked later in the derivation, e.g. by LF-movement and Agree...
- The tense affix is part of the verb at Spell-Out

^
T ^
[T:pres] V+aff
 [T:pres]

LF-movement and Agree?

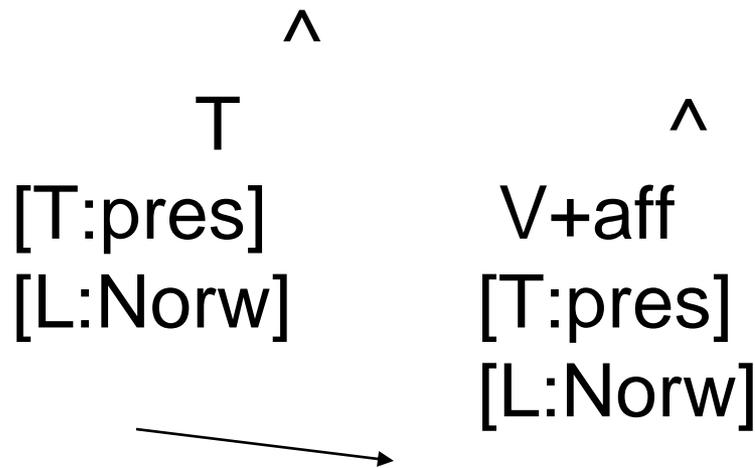
- Problem: hybrid forms in *amerikanorsk*
- A language feature?



- LF verb movement and Agree; the derivation converges only if all features match

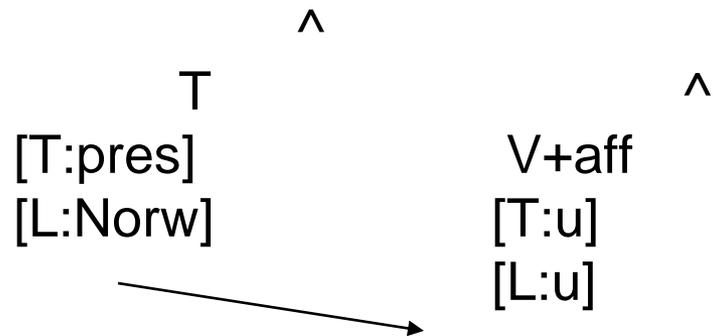
Probe – goal and Agree?

- Ready-made tensed forms that are checked later in the derivation, e.g. by the probe – goal mechanism and Agree...
- The tense affix is part of the verb at Spell-Out



Probe – goal and Valuing?

- Valuing must take place before Spell-Out
- Not ready-made tensed form, but a kind of tense feature assignment



- Still, a language feature seems to be needed to get the right hybrid form

A language feature?

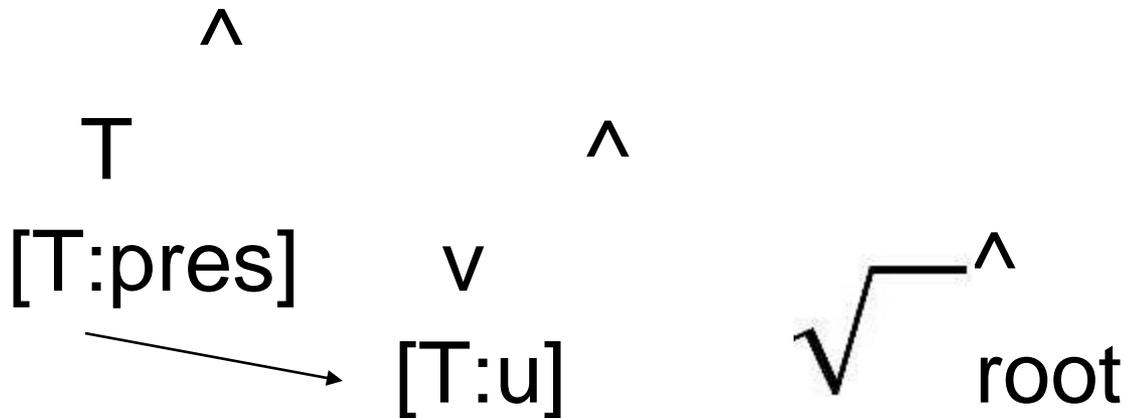
- Are there really language features that are part of the morphological matrixes of lexical and functional items?

A possible analysis (i)

- How to get rid of language features...
- Functional scaffolding & lexemes as "roots", see e.g. Marantz (1997), Pylkkänen (2008)
- Pylkkänen (2008: 103): "I will assume that what enters the syntax are category-neutral roots and category-defining functional heads, v (deriving verbs), n (deriving nouns), a (deriving adjectives), and so forth"

A possible analysis (ii)

- In hybrid forms: Small *v* has features that are related to *T*, which all belong to the host/matrix language. The guest/embedded form is inserted as a root in its borrowed form



A possible analysis (iii)

- How does this get rid of language features?
- The functional frame (scaffolding) always belongs to the host/matrix language, so T and v are Norwegian.
- However, roots may be borrowed, e.g. from English and such roots enter the derivation as English forms
- No language features on individual items are needed, since the language is defined for the frame as a whole, or for the lexical list that roots are borrowed from.
- Roots can come from anywhere... or be made-up
- Roots do not have any morphological features at all

Conclusion (i)

- Intuitively, if tensed forms are generated in the lexicon, there is no reason at all to expect that the tense affix on a verb should belong to a language that is different from the language that the root/stem belongs to
- In other words, the existence of hybrid forms is *not* expected if tensed forms are ready-made in the lexicon

Conclusion (ii)

- Therefore, I take the existence of hybrid forms like in *amerikanorsk*, as evidence that:
 - (a) it is *not* the case that ready-made tensed forms of verbs are generated in the lexicon and then checked in the syntax, but rather...
 - (b) it is the case that tense is *syntactically assigned* to the verb root or stem, possibly in a way similar to that sketched in picture 21-22

Conclusion (iii)

- Technically, it is possible to assume ready-made tensed forms and standard checking mechanisms in order to analyse hybrid forms, if language features are allowed in the theoretical tool box
- In my analysis, I have tried to avoid having to adopt such features
- Work in progress → Comments are most welcome!

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