Codeswitching

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Bilingualism

- Many people are bilingual (or multilingual)
- They often use both languages together, in the same conversation
- We call this ‘codeswitching’
- Not all bilinguals codeswitch, certainly not all of the time
- Some situations call for ‘monolingual’ langauge choice

Types of bilingual contexts

- Immigration (e.g. Japanese in Canada, Turkish in Holland, Mexicans in US)
- Postcolonialism (e.g. English in East Africa, Spanish in South America)
- But also others, e.g. learning a foreign language

Who codeswitches?

- Codeswitching (mixing the languages) is typical for:
- Non-first generation immigrants
- In general: relatively fluent bilinguals
- Logical: you need to be able to speak both languages in order to be able to mix them
- But: bilinguals vary in their proficiency in the two languages

When do people codeswitch?

- Codeswitching is typically in-group phenomenon
- Typical of informal everyday conversation
- For formal contexts, using just one of the two languages is often the norm
- Example: Japanese-English bilinguals in Canada use only English when non-Japanese are present, e.g. at university

Codeswitching

- Leading Question: how and why do people codeswitch in bilingual discourse, and what are the common patterns?
- Leading figures: Poplack, Myers-Scotton, Auer, Muysken
- Study different aspects of the question
  - Myers-Scotton: processing (‘how?’)
  - Poplack, Muysken: description of corpus data (‘what?’)
  - Auer: communicative decisions (‘why?’)

Code-switching basics

- Definition: the use of overt material (from single morphemes to entire sentences) from Language B in Language A discourse.
- CS roughly comes in two types (cf. Muysken 2001):
  - a. Alternational CS: the alternation of sentences or clauses in two languages in bilingual discourse
  - b. Insertional CS: the use of words from one language, the Embedded Language (EL), in bilingual discourse. In this type, the foreign material is embedded in clauses that are clearly recognizable as in the Matrix Language (ML).

Alternation: example

Turkish-Dutch

sen de kalkma-n lazım onlar-la ***en hoe moet je dan op de rest letten?***

You too get.up-POSS.2SG necessary them-with ***and how you then on the rest keep an eye?***

“you must get up with them as well, ***and then how can you keep an eye on the rest?”***

Insertion: example

mesela okul-da iki tane kız da bana ***verkering*** sor-du

for.instance school-LOC two CLAS girl to.me.DAT ***engagement*** ask-PAST.3sg

“For instance, two girls at school have asked me out on a ***date***.”

Insertion: Characteristics

- There is a clear base language
- The words taken from the other language are often very specific
- They are often from semantic domains typically experienced in the other language
- They often ‘stick’, and become established loanwords
- It is hard to see in actual bilingual data whether a foreign word is an established loanword or not

Base language

- What does this mean?
- The base language sets the grammatical structure of the sentence
- It provides the word order
- It provides the grammatical elements, e.g. determiners, pronouns, verb inflection, articles, plural marking, etc.
- Morpheme Order Principle and System Morpheme Principle

Example

- If you use English computer terms in Japanese, you use just the words themselves: everything else is in Japanese.
- E.g.: *I have* ***downloaded*** *the* ***software*** *from the* ***Microsoft website***
- Maybe you want to use the four English content words
- But the subject pronoun, the past tense, the preposition, the article, etc., are rendered through their Japanese equivalents

Specificity

- The words taken from the other language tend to be very specific, not basic
- No ‘man’, ‘tree’, ‘go’, ‘big’, etc.
- But words that cannot be easily translated into the base language
- Examples: names for local animals (*kangaroo*), words typical for the other culture (*baseball*)
- Often they could be translated, but people don’t do it (in Dutch we use *U-turn*: we could have translated it, but we didn’t).
- Harder to do with non-transparent words, e.g. *computer*

Link with experience

- Often, the bilingual speaker prefers a word from the other language because his/her experience with the concept behind it is in that language
- E.g. Turks in Holland go through the Dutch education system, in Dutch:
- Most of the education terms they use in Turkish are from Dutch (names of classes, grades, school activities, etc.)
- Suggests: direct link between usage in life and representation in the brain

Loanwords

- Some codeswitches are never repeated again
- But many conventionalize: speakers use them all the time
- The result: they become part of the base language
- When that happens, they have been borrowed
- They remain in the language, even if knowledge of the original language disappears
- After many centuries, they are often indistinguishable from native words

Old loanwords

- Some old loanwords from Latin in Germanic languages:
  - cheese, kitchen, cellar, street, book, letter, write (in German and Dutch), wall, candle, pen, and many, many more
- These were all names for objects and activities unfamiliar to Germanic speakers until Roman times
- Presumably equally old Chinese loans in Japanese?

Recognizing loanwords

- In actual bilingual speech, from a current bilingual setting, it is hard to know how established or widespread a certain foreign word is.
- Maybe this speaker used it for the first time, and had actually been looking for the right word: codeswitch
- Maybe this speaker and others use it all the time: loanword
- But simple speech data won’t tell you

Classic codeswitching: example

*(1) Nachttrein*i orda *Randstad*da dolaşıp duruyor
'The *nighttrain* keeps going around there in the *randstad* [=metropolitan area in Western Holland].'

- Are *nachttrein* and *Randstad* loanwords in Immigrant Turkish?
  - Can't tell on the basis of these data
  - But yes, presumably they are.
  - Why? Because they are semantically specific (especially the Proper Noun) *and* connected to Dutch culture, so probably no competition with Turkish equivalents.

Lexical Borrowing

- The diachronic counterpart of insertional CS.
- Diachrony = development in time
- Lexical borrowing = The process whereby foreign words become entrenched as conventional words in the receiving lexicon: loanwords
- Visible in synchronic data because they are used all the time
- Synchrony = language use at specific time and place.

Visible, really?

- Because of their frequency, the words *uitgaan* ‘to go out’, *opleiding* ‘school’, *afstuderen* ‘to graduate’, and *Hemelvaart* ‘Ascension Day’ may very well have become established Dutch-origin ***loanwords*** in Dutch Turkish, rather than code-switches.
- But in synchronic data, they appear to be ***codeswitches***

Who cares?

- Is it so important to distinguish codeswitches and loanwords?
- Yes, for proper linguistic theory
- Yes, unfortunately also because of a nasty debate in the codeswitching literature
- The debate: codeswitching is not possible between a free morpheme from Language A and a bound morpheme (an affix) from Language B (Free Morpheme Constraint)
- But if such a thing is found, it’s not a codeswitch: it’s a loanword

Other types of insertion

- Foreign units are not always just single content words
- Sometimes longer chunks
- Often, these are conventional multi-word combinations
- Shows that the lexicon is more than just a bunch of words, like in a dictionary

Example: larger unit

op kamers	*wonen*	yap-acağ-ım
on rooms	*live*	do-FUT-1sg

‘I'm going to *live on my own*.’

Is *op kamers wonen* a new word in Immigrant Turkish?

- Yes, but not a word in the traditional sense
- It’s a unit
- Dutch speakers confirm this if you ask them

Larger units

- We are used to divide language into grammar and lexicon
- Lexicon = words
- But an alternative is: lexical units can be of any size and complexity, as long as they are entrenched as a unit
- Examples: *heavy rain, long flight, it's a pleasure to be here, take a train, go for it, had dinner, don't feel so well, took an aspirine, waiting in the wings, I think*
- Not just: *good morning, thank you very much*, etc.

Largest units

- Taking this to its logical extreme: some (almost) full clauses and sentences are entrenched as units
  - *I better go now, would you like me to …?, could it be that?, I think, it was a lot of fun*
- These indeed are found as codeswitches
- They are not insertions, because they are not inserted into a grammatical frame of the other language. They are ***alternations***
- But they were selected in a similar way as entrenched foreign words

Alternation

- Alternation is normally analyzed for its pragmatic function: why does the speaker switch to the other language at this point in the conversation?
- This often has to do with pragmatics: giving extra emphasis, attracting attention, changing topic, etc.
- But sometimes just because of the entrenchment of the form.

Alternation for pragmatic reason

sen de kalkman lazım onlarla ***en hoe moet je dan op de rest letten?***

“you must get up with them as well, ***and then how can you keep an eye on the rest?”***

Why?

- Speaker was trying to get out of an invitation to be the witness at his best friend’s wedding
- He had given many reasons, and this was the last one
- Only the very last clause was in Dutch
- Extra emphasis

Theory: current status

- Types of codeswitching: Muysken (2000)
- Insertion: Matrix Language Frame Model (Myers-Scotton)
- Alternation: Pragmatic and Conversational Analysis (Auer)

Future developments (I think)

- Integration of insertion and alternation, because of the larger units (among other things)
- Psycholinguistic testing: to what degree do people really switch?
- Discourse analysis and cultural studies: to what degree is codeswitching just one of many signs of cultural hybridization?

Part 2: A Case Study

- Goal: show what else one can do with codeswitching data
- Focus on Turkish verb *yap-*
- Characteristic of Immigrant Turkish in Western Europe
- Compound verb in which a borrowed infinitive combines with the Turkish verb *yap-* ‘to do’
- Result: new Turkish verb that has exactly the same meaning as the borrowed word

Example

Iki gün önce işte *bioscoop*-a ***vrag-en*** **yap-tı-ydı-m**. (22, I)

two day before well cinema-DAT **ask-INF do-PLUPF-1sg**

“And only two days before, you see, I had *ask*ed [her] out to the *movies*”

Similar to Japanese ***suru***

Background

- Codeswitching: Insertion and Alternation
- Insertion:
  - Matrix Language (Turkish)
  - Embedded Language (Dutch/Norwegian/German, etc.)
- Insertion of verbs:
  - Compound Verb Construction
  - Morphology Pattern

Compound Verb Construction

Compound Verb Pattern: EL Verb + ML Auxiliary

Moo shaa-nai kara ***compromise*-shit-age-ta** wa (Hawaiian Japanese; Azuma 2001)

EMPH way-NEG because **compromise-do-give-PAST** EMPH

“Because there was no way, I *compromise*d with him”

Morphology Pattern

Morphology Pattern: EL Verb + ML Inflection

nikapata chakula nyingine iko *grey* ni-ka-i-***taste*** nikaona ina *taste lousy* sana (Swahili; Myers-Scotton 1997)

1sg-CONSEC-OBJ.9-taste

“And I got some other food [that] was *grey* and I ***tast***ed it and I thought it had a very *lousy taste*.”

Turkish as an immigrant language

- Labor migration and family reunification in Germany, Holland, Scandinavia
- Strong language maintenance:bilingualism
- Data:
  - Spontaneous recordings
  - Everyday speech
  - Codeswitching in both directions

The uses of *yapmak* (Dutch data)

Type of complement	1st gen	Int. gen	2nd gen	Total
No object	19	3	23	45
Pronoun	15	4	14	33
Schematic	7	1	15	23
Tu. Noun	16	2	6	24
Du. Noun	3	2	0	5
Tu. Verb	7	1	1	9
Du. Verb	**3**	**4**	**10**	**17**
Total:	70	17	69	156

1. Yap- as a pro-form

1.1 No Object

Para-mız ol-sa da, öyle iki üç defa-da **yap-sa-k**. (K, 332; 1st gen.)

money-our be-COND too such two three time-LOC **do-COND-1pl**

“if only we had money and stuff, if we could **do [it]** like that in two or three times”

1. Yap- as a pro-form

1.2 Pronominal object

O-nu ben **yap-ma-dı-m** (Ah, 92; 1st gen.)
it-ACC I **do-NEG-PAST-1sg**

“I didn’t **do that**”

1. Yap- as a pro-form

1.3 Schematic object

terwijl ze niks zijn. Onlar da gelip sana **şey yap-ıyor** (H, 143; 2nd gen.)

thing do-PROG.3sg

"*while they are nothing.* Still they come and **do this stuff** to you"

2. Transitive verb

1. Noun objects

kadınlar toplanıyorlar bir araya konuşuyorlar kahve içiyorlar, çay içiyorlar, **el iş-i yap-ıyor-lar** (Se, 251; 2nd gen.)

hand work-POSS do-PROG-3pl

“women get together, talk among each other, drink coffee, drink tea, **do** some **embroidering**”

2. Transitive verb

2. Verbal noun objects

biz bir kere böyle **bir konuşma yap-tı-k** Türk-ler-in arasında. (M, 96; 2nd gen.)

we one time such **one discussion do-PAST-1pl** Turk-pl-GEN between

“one time we **had a discussion** like this with Turks”

3. Compound Verb Pattern

Dutch/Norwegian infinitives

a. *ja, maar toch,* millet ***kijken*** **yapıyor** (Dutch)
people ***watch-INF*** **do-PROG-3sg**
"*yeah, but still,* everybody is ***watch***ing you"

b. Onlar-ı nasıl **behandl-e** ***yap-acak-sın***? (Norw.)
them-ACC how ***treat-INF*** **do-FUT-2sg**
"How are you going to ***treat*** them?'"

Interim summary

- Seems simple: Use with Dutch verbs in codeswitching; all kinds of other uses as in non-mixed Turkish
- But: some of the uses with nouns are unconventional
- Two types:
  - Loan translations from Dutch
  - Replacement of other Turkish verb for ‘do’

Noun + yap-

- ‘Many’ unconventional Noun + *yap*- combinations (about one third of all cases; total analyzed so far about 100)
- Many of those are loan translations (almost all, as far as this can be proven), cf. Ex. (8-10)

Example

İlkokulu İstanbul'da **yap-tı-m**.

'I **did primary school** in Istanbul.'

Dutch: Ik heb de basisschool in Istanbul **gedaan**.

('I did the primary school in Istanbul)'

Turkey-Turkish: **İlkokulu** İstanbul'da **bitirdim**.

('I finished primary school in Istanbul')

Educational nouns, synchronically

- No exceptions in the data: such nouns always co-occur with *yap-*
- Low token frequency, but not too many types either
- Suggests productive construction, nevertheless:
- Whenever you use an educational noun, the verb you use with it is *yap-*, no matter what it is in Turkey

Educational nouns, diachronically

- Why was this schema formed? Why was it attractive?
  1. **Light Verb Hypothesis**: *yap-* is a light verb, and therefore easily attracts new nominal objects
  2. **Loan Translation Hypothesis**: the new Turkish combinations are inspired by Dutch models

Educational nouns, diachronically

- Support for **Loan Translation Hypothesis**:
  - Obvious Dutch models with *doen 'do'*
  - Original Turkish combinations with 'read' find no reinforcement in Dutch
  - *Yap*-, as a Light verb, allows great semantic variability for its object nouns (it's 'underspecified')
  - The original combinations (e.g. 'read Law/Economics' are not semantically transparent
- Unclear, though, how big a role each factor has played

Unified analysis possible?

[X + *yap*-] X + ‘do’

- Examples: see handout
- Three/Four different constructions (i.e. ‘lower-level’)
  - Dutch infinitive + *yap*- (Ex. 6a) derivational marker
  - Noun + *yap*- (Ex. 8, 9) transitive verb
  - Verbal noun + *yap*- (Ex. 12, 13) transitive verb?
  - Pronoun + *yap*- (Ex. 7) general verb
- What is the right level of generalization here?

Attempt: semantic analysis

- If yap- can be shown to make the same kind of semantic contribution all the time, then we are probably dealing with the same *yap*- in all instances.
- This would help explaining the ultimate question: why was *yap*- chosen (and *suru* in Japanese)

Meaning 1: Transitive main verb

1. With concrete nouns: ‘carry out an activity’

   kadınlar toplanıyorlar bir araya konuşuyorlar kahve içiyorlar, çay içiyorlar, **el iş-i yap-ıyor-lar** (Se, 251; 2nd gen.)

   “women get together, talk among each other, drink coffee, drink tea, **do** some **embroidering**”

Meaning 1: Transitive main verb

2. With Activity nouns: ‘carry out’

hergün **Türk gece-si yap-ıyor-uz** da. (K, 252; 1st gen.)

“and we **do a Turkish culture night** every day”

Meaning 1: Transitive main verb

3. With Action nouns: ‘do’

a. niye, hemen **ayrımcılık mı yap-ıyo-lar**? (O, 165; 1st gen.)

“why, do they immediately [start] **discriminate[ing]**?”

b. **dedikodu** yap-ma-yın abi-m.

“don’t **gossip** brother”

Meaning 2: ‘do’

1. With Verbal Nouns: ‘do’

   biz bir kere böyle **bir konuş-ma yap-tı-k** Türk-ler-in ara-sı-nda. (M, 96; 2nd gen.)

   “one time we **had a discussion** like this among Turks”

Meaning 3: Empty

With (Dutch/Norwegian) infinitives: no contribution

ben seninki-si-ni ***len-en*** **yap-mak** iste-di-m *toen had ik ze al* (Şe, 188)

I yours-POSS-ACC **borrow-INF do-INF** want-PRET-1sg

“I wanted to ***borrow*** yours *but then I had them already*”

Morphosyntactic characteristics

All uses related?

General Hypothesis: use with foreign infinitives related to other uses

Specific Hypothesis: use with foreign infinitives grew out of the other uses

Best interpretation: accelerated grammaticalization

Grammaticalization

Grammaticalization features	**Reflexes in Compound Verb Construction**
a. Origin is lexical item	*Yap*- means ‘make’
b. Meaning has been bleached	*Yap*- adds no lexical meaning
c. Obligatory occurence	All inserted infinitives co-occur with *yap*-
d. Fixed position	*Yap*- always directly follows infinitive
e. Used in more and more domains	Any foreign verb can be used
f. Phonological reduction	*Not attested*

Grammaticalization: Obligatory occurence

a. *Ali bana *kijk*-ti (Ali me.DAT look-PAST.3sg) ‘Ali looked at me’

b. *Ali bana *kijk-en*-di.(Ali me.DAT look-INF-PAST.3sg)

c. *Ali bana *keek/keek yap-tı* (Ali me.DAT look.PAST.3sg)

d. *Ali bana *kijk*-le-di (Ali me.DAT look-DER-PAST.3sg)

e. ?Ali bana *kijk-en* et-ti. (Ali me.DAT look-INF do-PAST.3sg)

Grammaticalization: Fixed position

Apparently, nothing possible between infinitive and *yap-*

a. *benim-ki-ni *lenen* **mi** yapmak istiyorsun?
mine-NOM-ACC borrow-INF **Q** do-INF want-PROG-2sg
(Intended meaning: “Do you want to BORROW mine?”)

b. *şimdi *lenen*-**i** yapmak istiyorum.
now borrow-INF-**ACC** do-INF want-PROG-1sg
(Intended meaning: “I want to do the borrowing now”)

Grammaticalization: Greater domain of applicability

No volitionality presumed (any foreign verb is OK):

wennen yap- (“get used to”)

inwerken yap- (“operate on”, with hair conditioner as the semantic agent)

vergeten yap- (“forget”)

voorstellen yap- (“mean”, as in ‘what does this mean?’)

draaien yap- (“turn”, with a tape recorder as the semantic agent)

Grammaticalization: Phonological reduction

- No phonological reduction of *yap-*
- No phonological coalescence infinitive ending and *yap-*

  >> No development towards affix

Conclusion: Synchronic Status

- *yap-* basically a derivational marker in the Compound Verbs

Alternatives fail:

- Light Verb/Complex Predicate: *Yap-* has ***no*** meaning, rather than ***light*** meaning
- Noun Incorporation: No semantic relationship between *yap-* and the infinitive (its putative incorporated object)
- Adjunction: Compound Verb behaves like single lexical item

Diachronic status

If grammaticalization account is correct, then:

1. What is it about the older uses of *yap-* that motivated its use with foreign infinitives?
2. And what was wrong with alternatives?

Diachronic status: motivation

- Early contexts: Second Language Acquisition
- Accessible forms of foreign verbs: infinitives
- Congruence: infinitives – verbal nouns
- Result: Bilingual Compound Verb

- Weakness of this analysis: no proof

Diachronic status: Conclusion

Hypothesized development:

1. Step 1: SLA-induced choice of more transitive *yap-*
2. Step 2: propagation of schema with high type frequency, because of high frequency of codeswitching: Foreign Verb + *yap-*

One more complication

Turkey: combinations with et-

- *dans etmek* “to dance”
- *yemin etmek* “to swear/to take an oath”
- *yolcu etmek* “to see someone off”
- *ispat etmek* “to prove”

Holland: these become combinations with yap-

- *yemek yapmak* “to prepare/make food; to cook”
- *ekmek yapmak* “to make/bake a bread”
- *ev yapmak* “to build a house”
- *tren yapmak* “to make/construct/build a train”

Final question: one schema?

- Easy to posit one general schema: [X + *yap*-]
- But does it have any cognitive reality?
- Probably not; some evidence for reality of lower-level schemas.
- Consequence for linguistic theory: there is more than just lexicon and syntax
- Instead there are a great many constructions

Moral of the story

- You can study codeswitching just for its own characteristics
- But you can also point out lessons it may have for the study of language in general

Thank you very much!!!