

„Es ligt mir nit am opere, sed am
verbo.“

Grammatical morphemes in bilingual discourse

Agenda

1. Research question
2. Short glance at previous findings
3. Long-term borrowing vs. on-line processing
4. The Matrix Language Frame Model
5. Putting theory to practice: Empirical data
6. Conclusion

1. Research question

Are there systematic differences between older, written bilingual texts and modern recordings of bilingual conversations?

2. Short glance at previous findings

Stolt (1964): Purely descriptive but very detailed dissertation on language mixing in Luther's *Tischreden*.

McLelland (2004): Paper on Schottelius's *HauptSprache*, argues that the data contradict the MLF Model.

3. Long-term borrowing vs. on-line processing

Diachronic position (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:37)

“Structural features may be borrowed as well - phonological, phonetic and syntactic elements and even (though more rarely) features of the inflectional morphology.”

Synchronic position (Myers-Scotton 1997:83)

“In ML+EL constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent (...) will come from the ML.”

4. The Matrix Language Frame Model

(Myers-Scotton 1993 and following)

Asymmetrical distribution of languages:

- **Matrix Language (ML)** = syntactic frame
- **Embedded Language (EL)** = “content words”

The System Morpheme Principle: In ML+EL constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent (i.e. which participate in the sentence’s thematic role grid) will come from the ML

4. The 4-M-Model

1. Content morphemes
2. Early system morphemes
3. Late system morphemes (bridges)
4. Late system morphemes (outsider)

Jim like-s Sally's eyes.



5. Empirical Data

German & Latin

A: Luther, *Tischreden* (1530-ies, ed: Weimarer Ausgabe, 1912)

B: Schottelius, *Ausführliche Arbeit...* (1663, repr. 1995)

German & English

C: Recordings of informal conversations (1999-2004, from DFG project group *Codeswitching, Crossover&Co.*)

D: Collection of personal letters (1970ies, compiled by E. Lattey)

5. Excerpt from CS recordings

S1: *You know-äh, what I miss up here: In- in Florida I get BBC at five o' clock, from London. And at five-thirty Deutsche Welle, von Berlin. And then I hear everything what's going on here.* Die meiste *news* {is} von Amerika oder von von *Japan or/ you know.* Dann hör' ich auch wie viel Leute *abgelegt* werden, *you know, let go over there.*

S2: Ja-ja, die sin' wieder dabei.

(source file: T14, 669-677)

5. Excerpt from Schottel

Diodorus lib. 5. sag von den Celten in gemein / *Ἔσι δὲ τὴν πρόσωπον καὶ ἀπληκτικοὶ καὶ ταῖς φωναῖς βωρὶήχοι, καὶ πανταλῶς τραχύφωναί,* wie sie weren grausamlich anzusehen / einer grob narrenden Stimme und rauchlautenden Ausrede. Doch was alhie *Diodorus*, wie auch *Livius lib. 6.* sagt: *Species truces Gallorum, sonum q; vocis in oculis atq; auribus fore.* Item daß *Tacitus* *horridam vocem,* wie auch *Truces cantus lib. 2. hist. den Teutschen zu schreibet /* solches kan nach der Zeit / und auf gewisse masse wol verstanden werden: Ja / solche Epitheta sind denen Teutschen vielmehr rühmlich / denn wir nämen sie in solchem Verstande an / daß darin / wie *VVolffgangus Lazius lib. 8. de Suevis* davon redet / *Virilitas, magnanimitas, vehementia* und *emphasis* sey / und in dessen Gegenstande man andere Sprachen löppisch / mämmisch / und ein Gewäsch nennen kan.

5. Analysis of language mixing (spoken)

(1) LB: Ich sage: „Na, *let's* fahr- \emptyset nach England“

I say Alright let's go(inf) to England

1. The finite verb (containing a late outsider morpheme) is from English (ML)
2. The lexical base of the non-finite verb is from German (EL); the German infinitive marker *-en* (late outsider) is not realized and thus conforms to the ML norm.

5. Analysis of language mixing (spoken)

(2) LK: Da wollte=mer *sure* *make*, dass...

So wanted we sure make(inf) that ...

1. The finite verb (containing a late outsider morpheme) is from German (ML)
2. The lexical base of the non-finite verb is a relexified form of an English verb, so the finiteness marker is also from German.
3. The adjective carrying the semantic core of the verb is inserted in English (EL); the adjective does not contain a late outsider.

5. Analysis of language mixing (written)

7. Es ist das Wort/Letter/nach guter Andeutung/ein altes Teutisches/ und nicht eben ein lateinisches Stammwort: **Zwar/die Critici Latini wollen es deriviren,** einer von Lituris, einer von Lino, einer von Lineando, ein ander hinwieder von Lineis: item, quod quasi iter legentibus praestet. Item, quia leguntur & scribuntur. Und wieder ein ander lesset Legit-
ra, und wieder ein ander quod iteretur legendo, welches ja nichts anders als Windgriffe und Muhtmassungen seyn.

(3) die *Critici Latini* wollen es *deriv-ir-en*, ...

1. The late outsider morpheme on the finite verb is from German
2. The lexical base of the non-finite verb is Latin, but the late outsider morpheme is from German. (Note: The entire word is printed in the font used for Latin.)
3. Case/number/gender markers inside the NP are from Latin

5. More examples (written)

(4) *Sic medicus* ist unser Herr Gotts flicker *in corpore*.

Thus doctor is our Lord God's mender in body (Stolt, p. 98)

(5) Wil Gott, über ein iar *habebis filium*.

Will God after one year have(2SgFut.) son (Stolt, p. 85)

5. Results

1. In all datasets, the system morpheme principle holds true: Late outsiders come from the ML.
2. The principle governing the use of inflectional morphology on verbs in the written data is the same as in the oral data.
3. Differences with respect to language mixing are limited to system morphemes expressing grammatical categories of nouns (NP). In most cases they appear alongside ML-markers (DP heads).

6. Conclusion

Contrary to the opinion voiced in McLelland (2004), the results from the written data do not infringe on the fundamental mechanisms governing the behavior of bound morphemes in language contact situations.

The findings support the hypothesis implicit in the work of Seifart (2012) that even in cases of extended and extensive language contact the adoption of semantically opaque grammatical morphemes like verbal inflection is highly unlikely.

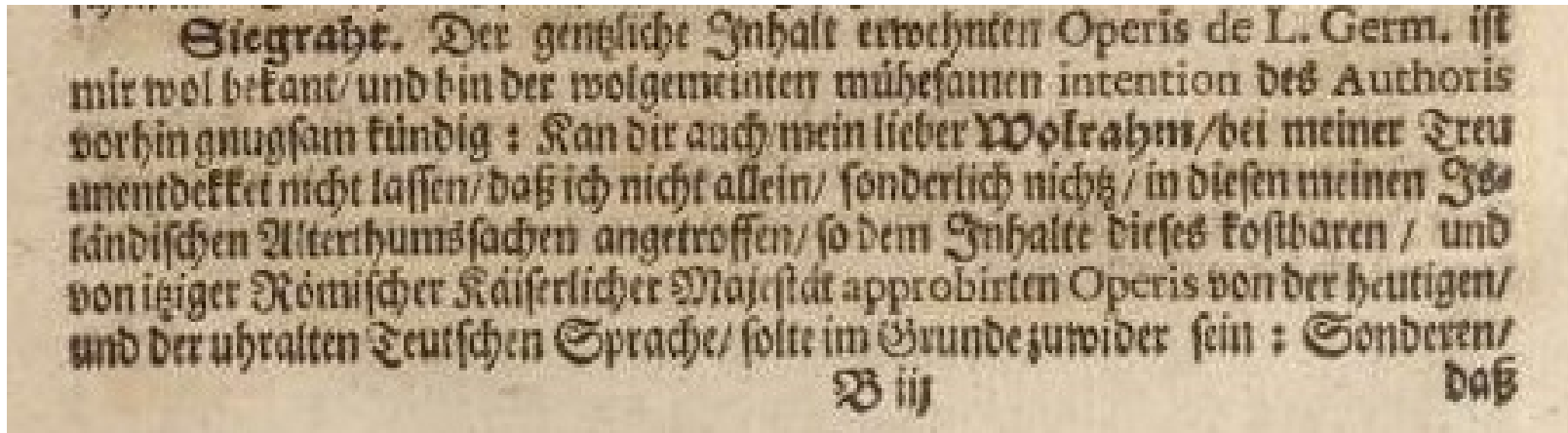
Research question revised:

How can (probabilistic) code-switching constraints explain borrowing patterns – and resistance to borrowing? And, by extension, what does this tell us about the most elementary units of language/grammar?

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Excerpt from Schottel, Horrendum Bellum (1673:3)



...und bin der wolgemeinten mühesamen *intention* des *Authoris* vorhin genugsam kundig...

1. lat. Intentio → intentio-n, but still in Latin font
2. Capital letter for Authoris, but still Latin font
3. Article (NP specifier or DP head) both times German
→ NPs are being adapted to German grammar and orthography

Written Data: the NP

item viel der Jünger *Christi* wichen von ihme, dem Herrn *Christo*.

Thus many of Christ's disciples deserted him, the Lord Christ. (Tischreden, S. 45)

Derhalben so ist nicht allen denen zu trauen, die sich Christen rühmen und die Lehre des *Evangelii* loben.

Therefore, not all are to be trusted who proclaim themselves Christians and praise the teachings of the Holy Gospel. (Tischreden, S. 45)

An einem *peccatore poenitente* ... sol man nit verzweiveln.

Of a remorseful sinner... one need not despair. (Stolt, p. 85)

Oral Data: the NP

(4) LK: Die sin ja strikter mit dem, mit dem-äh- äh-carry-on luggage...

They are more strict with the, with the-uh- uh-carry-on luggage

(5) LK: Mir warn einkaufe in Fairway für-äh für the bridal shower, right?

We were shopping in Fairway for-uh for the bridal shower, right?

(6) EL: Ja, aber hieraus geht nicht hervor wer-wer snowbirds is' und wer nicht.

Yes, but this does not tell you who-who is a snowbird and who is not.

Excerpts from personal letters

Heute abend habe ich *Pork Chops* - welche gefroren waren, mußte **defrosten**, das ich sie rausbekam & Kartoffel Erbsen & Caroten - Apfel & *Cranberry* Mus!

J., sagte es wäre ein grosses Haus, aber braucht viel zum **fixen**!

Jetzt hat grad fr. angerufen, Er **ist stuck** in Pittsburgh & kommt erst morgen früh an in N.Y.

durch das heisse Wetter, sind die Margariten schon am verblühen, trotzdem ich alle abende **wässere**! & I. kalte *Showers* **nehme**, das **fühlt gut**.

Tue etwas nähen – A. ***gave me*** - a *Panty Suit new* in braun - muß die Hose kürzer machen sonst passt's.

Excerpt from Luther

Etliche aber weiffagen von der kirchen vnd christenheit, was fur bofes oder guts der kirchen begeg¹⁸ werde bis an den jungsten tag, vnd diese betrifft nur das geistlich regiment. Eam habuerunt apostoli, Paulus, Petrus, Apocalypsis etc. Istam prophetiam et nos habemus, tametsi non ita clare ut apostoli, quia solum¹⁹ ex verbo eam habemus.²⁰ Sic ex verbo vaticinamur per Spiritum Sanctum, das das bapstum, die messe etc.²¹ fallen müssen²², item quod ecclesia premetur haeresibus, sed non opprimetur. De ista loquitur etiam Christus Ioh. 16.: Annuntiabit vobis ea, quae ventura sunt. Utraque autem Ioh. 16, 13 est donum Dei et Deo probatur.²³

Oben. 171^b; Bav. 1, 114; Math. L. (341).