

Los bilingües siempre
prefer non-raising:
Adverbs in Spanish-
English code-switching

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The University of Alabama

Hispanic Linguistics Symposium | October 24-26, 2019 | The University of Texas at El Paso



ADVERB POSITION

- Restrictions on adverb position can vary based on language
-

(1) * Hannah speaks always English.

(2) Hannah always speaks English.



ADVERB POSITION

- Spanish is generally more flexible

(3) Juana habla siempre español.
Juana speaks always Spanish

‘Juana always speaks Spanish.’

(4) Juana siempre habla español.
Juana always speaks Spanish

‘Juana always speaks Spanish.’



introduction

PROBLEM:

What about code-switching (CS)?

What are the restrictions on adverb position
for Spanish-English switches?

V-TO-T MOVEMENT

- Argued that verb (V) and tense (T) determine adverb position (Camacho & Sánchez, 2017; Pollock, 1989; Suñer, 1994; Zagana, 2002; among others)
 - V-to-T movement is one option for feature checking
 - Or if an agreement relationship occurs between V and T, there is no need for movement (i.e., affix lowering)



V-TO-T MOVEMENT

- Languages can be categorized as either verb-raising (e.g., French) or non-raising (e.g., English)
- Spanish is a so-called hybrid language (Ayoun, 2005)
 - There is always movement, but with a lower spell-out can occur (Camacho & Sánchez, 2017)



(NON-)RAISING IN ENGLISH AND FRENCH

(5) [TP Hannah [T' t_i [VP always speaks+T_i Spanish]]] non-raising



(6) [TP Jeanne [T' parle_i+T [VP toujours t_i français]]] verb-raising

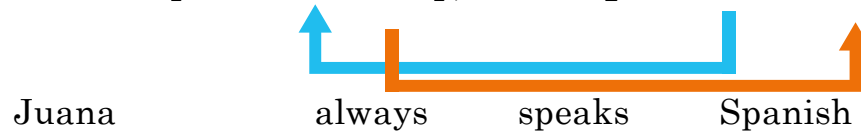
Jeanne speaks always French

‘Jeanne always speaks French.’



RAISING IN SPANISH

(7) [TP Juana [T' ~~habla~~+T_i [VP siempre habla+T_i español]]]



‘Juana always speaks Spanish.’

(8) [TP Juana [T' habla_i+T [VP siempre ~~habla~~_i español]]]



‘Juana always speaks Spanish.’



FRAMEWORK

- Adopting a Minimalist approach to CS (MacSwan, 1999), predictions about adverb switches can be made
 - Language of the finite verb (i.e., V+T) should dictate acceptability in both monolingual and CS contexts



RESEARCH QUESTION:

Does adverb position in
Spanish-English CS pattern with the verb?

PREDICTIONS:

Spanish adverb + English verb = preverbal
(i.e., English-like non-raising)

English adverb + Spanish verb = flexible
(i.e., Spanish-like non-raising *or* verb-raising)

PARTICIPANTS

- US Spanish-English early bilinguals ($n = 24$)
 - Learned both from a young age ($M = 1.8$ years) (i.e., 2L1 bilinguals)
 - 19-49 years old ($M = 23.2$)
 - English dominant ($M = 26.1$ out of ± 218) (BLP, Birdsong, Gertken & Amengual, 2012)
 - Advanced English proficiency (English cloze test, O'Neill, Cornelius & Washburn, 1981)
 - Intermediate/advanced Spanish proficiency (DELE, Montrul & Slabakova, 2003)



TASK

- Written acceptability judgment task (AJT)
 - 7-point Likert scale (1 = lowest)
 - Completed online via Qualtrics

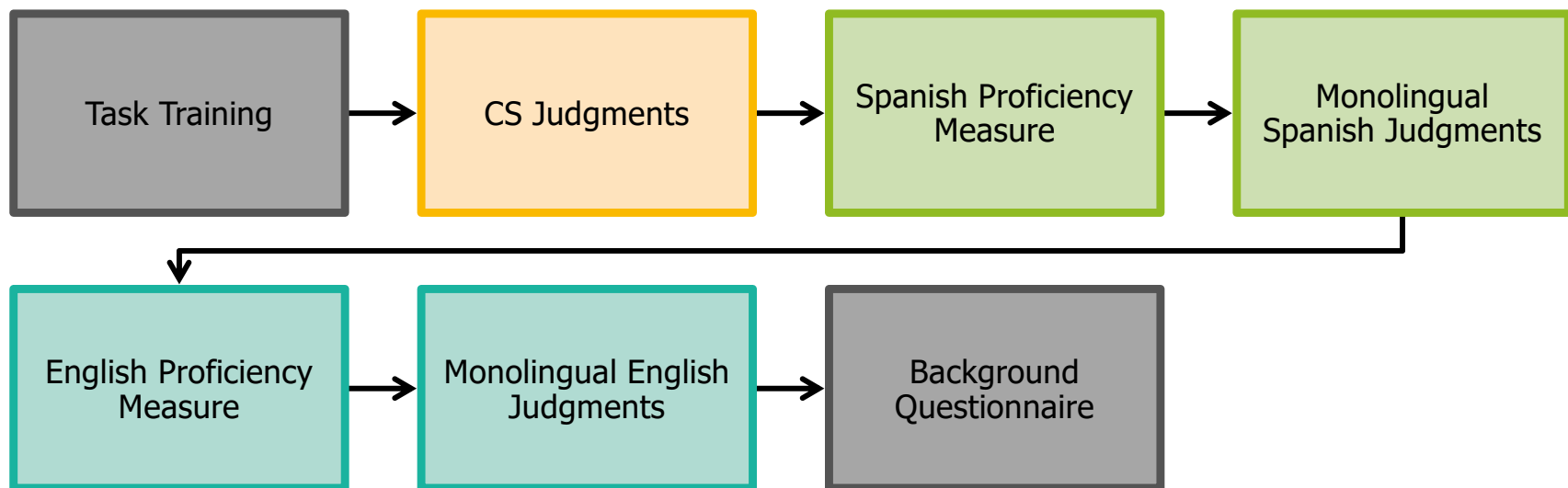
That guy pidió un vaso de agua.

	Completely unacceptable	Mostly unacceptable	Somewhat unacceptable	Unsure	Somewhat acceptable	Mostly acceptable	Completely acceptable
¿Qué le parece esta oración?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



methods

EXPERIMENTAL PROCEDURE



TARGET STIMULI

- Spanish-English sentences containing finite verbs switched with adverbs ($n = 16$)
 - Four conditions:
 - English V + Verb-Raising (i.e., *speaks siempre*)
 - English V + Non-Raising (i.e., *siempre speaks*)
 - Spanish V + Verb-Raising (i.e., *habla always*)
 - Spanish V + Non-Raising (i.e., *always habla*)



TARGET STIMULI

- Four different adverbs (Camacho & Sánchez, 2017):
 - *always/siempre; carefully/cuidadosamente; completely/completamente; frequently/frecuentemente*
- Subject always a proper name, and always with an explicit direct object
 - Always matched the language of the adjacent element



TARGET STIMULI

SUBJECT	VERB	ADVERB	DIRECT OBJECT	Hannah speaks siempre español.
SUBJECT	ADVERB	VERB	DIRECT OBJECT	Hannah always habla español.
SUBJECT	VERB	ADVERB	DIRECT OBJECT	Juana habla always English.
SUBJECT	ADVERB	VERB	DIRECT OBJECT	Juana siempre speaks English.



COMPARISON STIMULI

- Comparison monolingual equivalents in Spanish ($n = 8$) and English ($n = 8$)
 - Four conditions:
 - English Verb-Raising (i.e., *speaks always*)
 - English Non-Raising (i.e., *always speaks*)
 - Spanish Verb-Raising (i.e., *habla siempre*)
 - Spanish Non-Raising (i.e., *siempre habla*)



COMPARISON STIMULI



Hannah speaks always English.



Hannah always speaks English.



Juana habla siempre español.



Juana siempre habla español.



ENGLISH PREDICTIONS:

English Verb-Raising (i.e., *speaks always*) ✗

English Non-Raising (i.e., *always speaks*) ✓

SPANISH PREDICTIONS:

Spanish Verb-Raising (i.e., *habla siempre*) ✓

Spanish Non-Raising (i.e., *siempre habla*) ✓

CS PREDICTIONS:

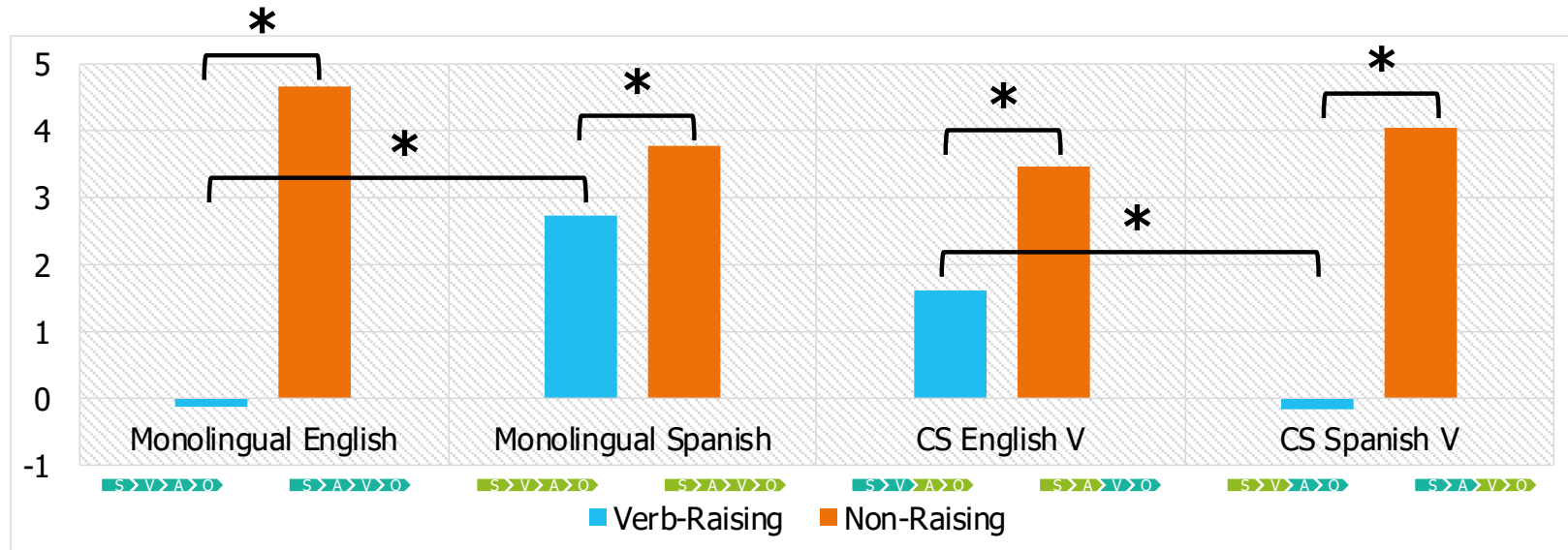
English V + Verb-Raising (i.e., *speaks siempre*) ✗

English V + Non-Raising (i.e., *siempre speaks*) ✓

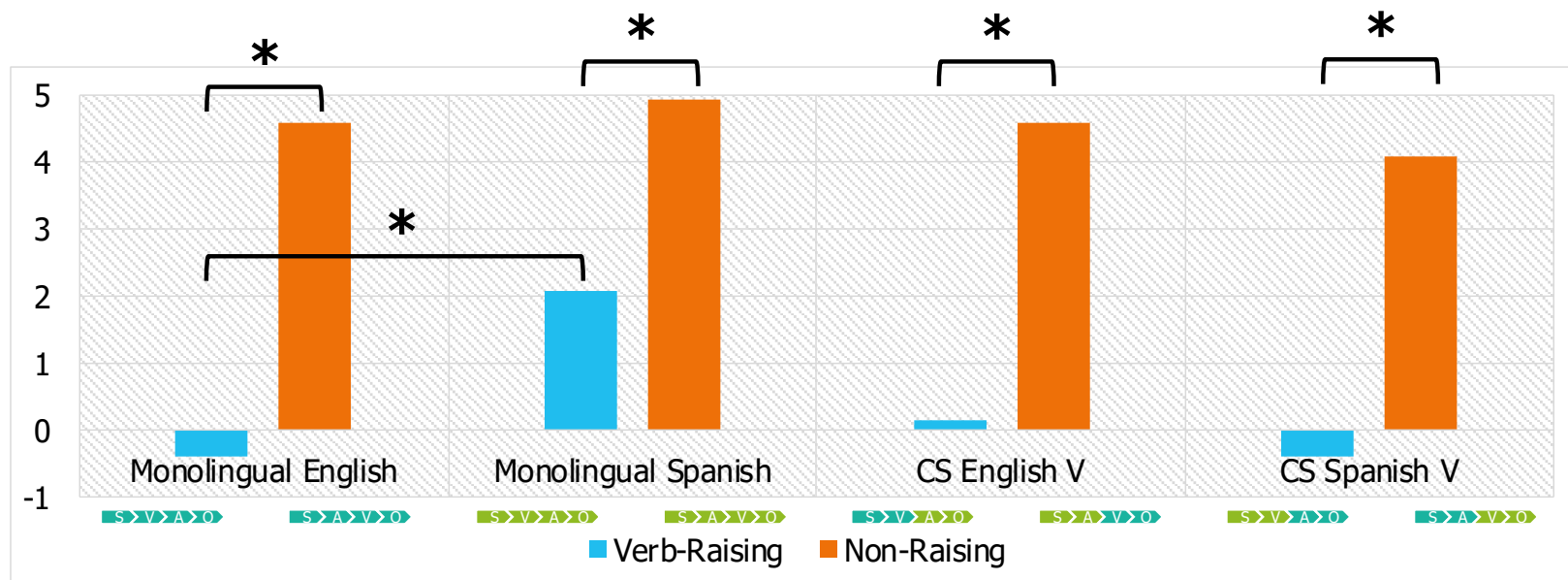
Spanish V + Verb-Raising (i.e., *habla always*) ✓

Spanish V + Non-Raising (i.e., *always habla*) ✓

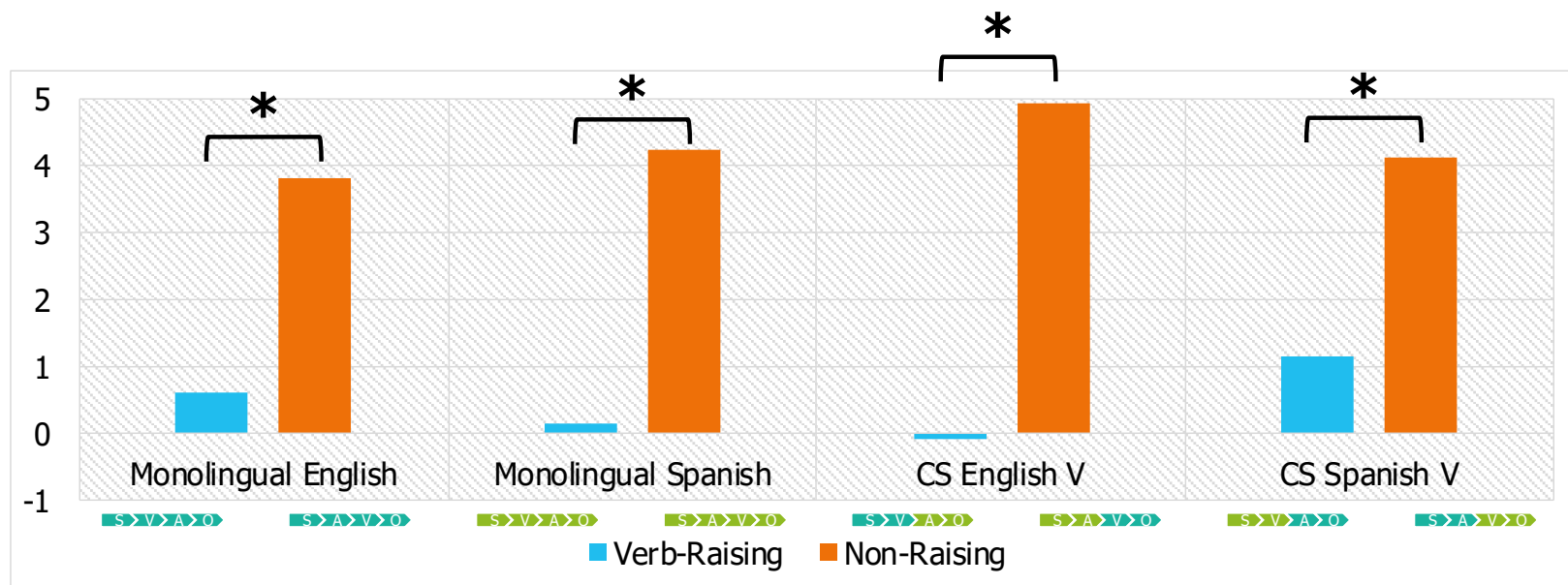
AVERAGE Z-SCORE BY STIMULUS TYPE



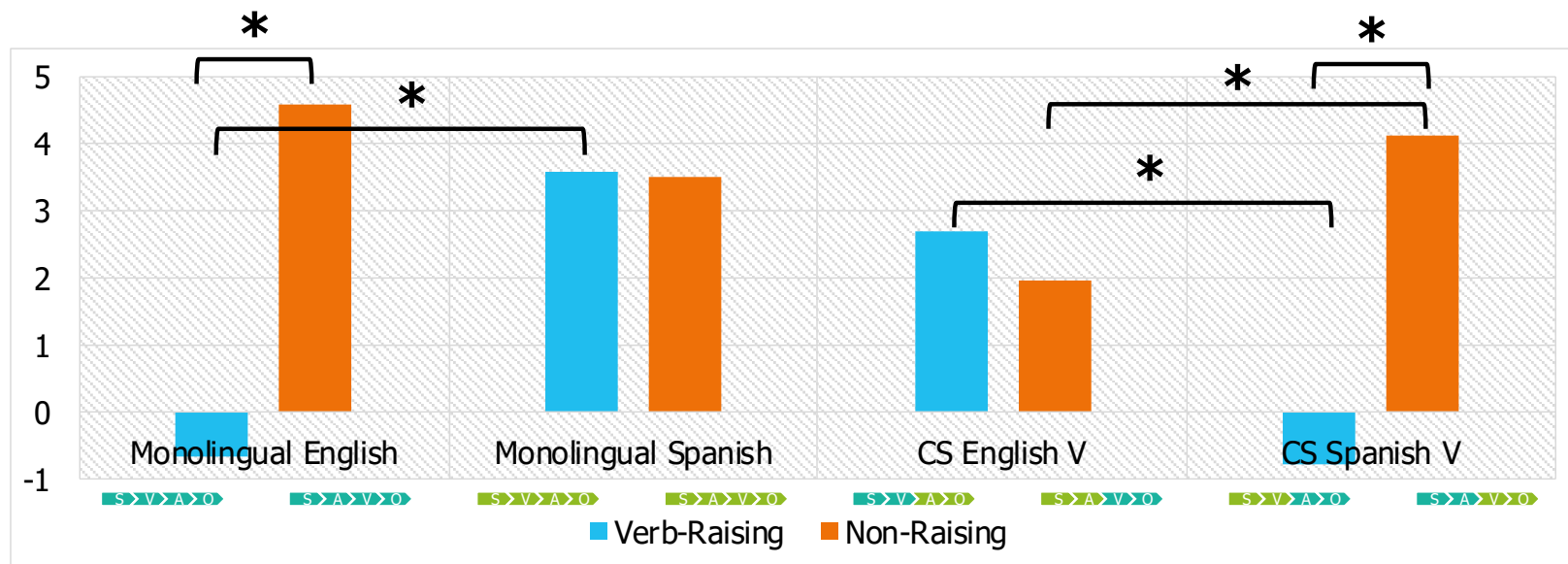
ALWAYS / SIEMPRE



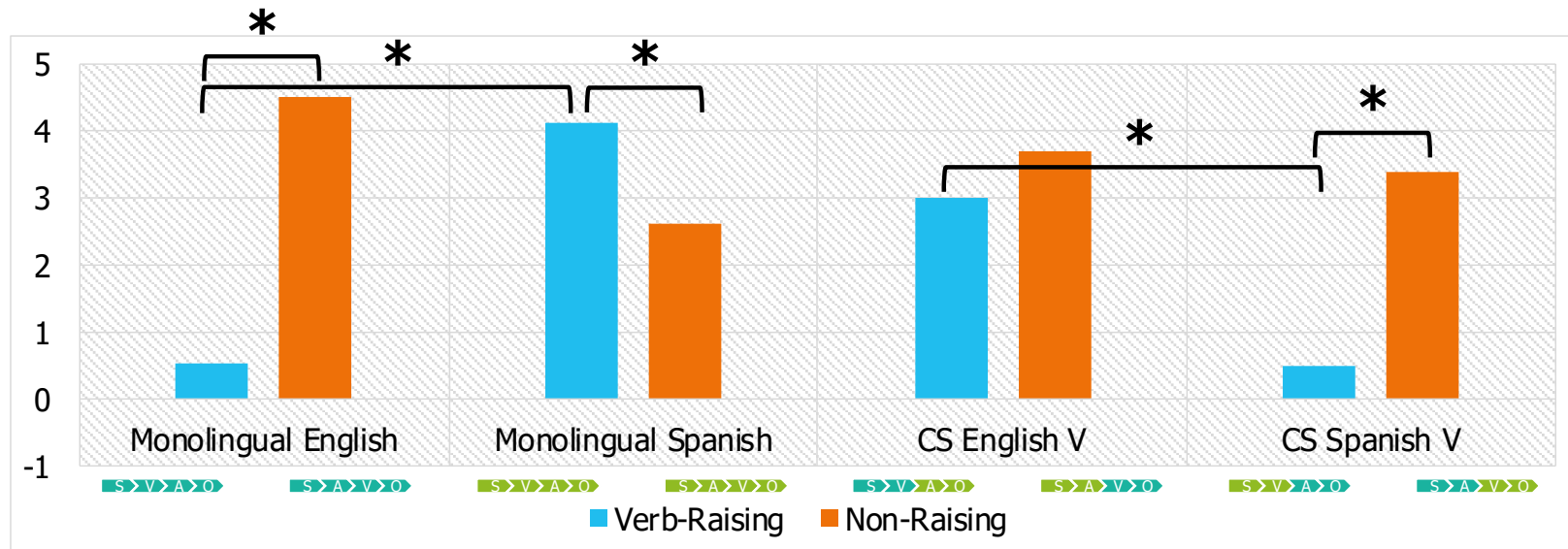
FREQUENTLY / FRECUENTEMENTE



CAREFULLY / CUIDADOSAMENTE



COMPLETELY / COMPLETAMENTE



ENGLISH RESULTS:

English Verb-Raising (i.e., *speaks always*) ✗ ***confirmed***

English Non-Raising (i.e., *always speaks*) ✓ ***confirmed***

SPANISH RESULTS :

Spanish Verb-Raising (i.e., *habla siempre*) ✓ ***mostly***

- *cuidadosamente / completamente* > ? *siempre* > * *frecuentemente*

Spanish Non-Raising (i.e., *siempre habla*) ✓ ***confirmed***

CS RESULTS:

English V + Verb-Raising (i.e., *speaks siempre*) ✗ **not confirmed**

- *cuidadosamente* / *completamente* > * *siempre* / *frecuentemente*

English V + Non-Raising (i.e., *siempre speaks*) ✓ **confirmed**

Spanish V + Verb-Raising (i.e., *habla always*) ✓ **not confirmed**

- * *cuidadosamente* / *completamente* / *siempre* / *frecuentemente*

Spanish V + Non-Raising (i.e., *always habla*) ✓ **confirmed**

NON-RAISING SUMMARY

- General availability of non-raising follows from the syntactic literature
 - Available in Spanish or English monolingually
 - *Hannah always speaks English. / Juana siempre habla español.*
- Minimalist predictions for CS confirmed
 - Available with Spanish or English verbs
 - *Juana siempre speaks English. / Hannah always habla español.*
- Non-raising is always available



VERB-RAISING SUMMARY

- Verb-raising partially follows from the literature, in that it is allowed in Spanish and not English
 - However, availability varies lexically in participants' Spanish
 - *cuidadosamente* / *completamente* > ? *siempre* > * *frecuentemente*
- Minimalist predictions for CS not confirmed
 - Spanish verb-raising was the least favored
 - If anything, predicted by the language of the adverb, not the verb
 - Available only with *cuidadosamente* and *completamente*



WHY?

- Task?
 - Control stimuli ratings (e.g., pronoun switches, complex-sentence switches, etc.) (Koronkiewicz, 2019) suggest participants completed the task appropriately
- Theoretical framework?
 - Matrix Language Frame (Myers-Scotton, 1993, 2002) model would similarly depend on the language of the finite verb (i.e., the matrix language)



WHY?

- No V-to-T movement?
 - Could argue that these bilinguals have English-like non-movement of V-to-T as the preferred default for both English and Spanish, contra the monolingual Spanish speakers of Camacho and Sánchez (2017)
 - Would still need to explain why it is possible (but not preferred) in Spanish



WHY?

- Some other syntactic reason?
 - Verb adjacency to the direct object likely playing a role
 - Stadthagen-González, López, Parafita Couto and Párraga (2018) have compatible findings with post-verbal adverbs in Spanish-English CS
 - *Olivia preparó rápidamente* the food > Olivia prepared quickly *la comida*
> Olivia prepared *rápidamente la comida* > *Olivia preparó* quickly the food
 - “All the constituents within the domain of the [verb-complement] dependency contribute to the perceived (un)acceptability of the construction” (p. 88)
 - That is to say, not just V+T, but the language of the adverb *and* the direct object as well



FUTURE DIRECTIONS

- Continued look into adjacency constraints
- Further examination of the lexical differences
 - Frequency adverbs (*siempre/frecuentemente*) seem to constrain verb raising in US bilingual Spanish, as opposed to qualitative adverbs (*completamente/cuidadosamente*)
- Currently collecting data from French-English bilinguals
 - Can compare current data to a “true” verb-raising language paired with non-raising English



¡GRACIAS!

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