Code-switching helps to maintain traditional language use

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Sociolinguistic background 1

• Code-switching was a major contributor to the development of Light Warlpiri, a mixed language in Australia
Community history: forced relocation

Cattle stations

Kriol-speaking area
Light Warlpiri

   Us today we-NFUT come car-WITH HERE-TO home-TO
   ‘Today we came in the car here, to your place.’ (LA21_58aux2014)

2. *Junga mayi nyuntu* **yu-m go** karnta-kurl?
   true QN you you-NFUT go woman-WITH
   ‘Is it true that you went with a woman?’ (LA53_54Fam2010)

3. *Botul-ing* **i-m panturn-um taya.**
   bottle-ERG it-NFUT pierce-TRANS tyre
   ‘A bottle pierced the tyre.’ (ERGstoryLC39_2010)

Verbs: mostly Aboriginal English / Kriol – not all

Noun suffixes: mostly Warlpiri

Variable word order; core argument elision

Innovative auxiliary system
Light Warlpiri

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Noun suffixes: mostly Warlpiri
Variable word order; core argument elision
Innovative auxiliary system
Light Warlpiri

1. *Ngalipa jalang* wi-*m* kam ka-*kurl* nyampu-kurra ngurra-kurra.
   Us today we-NFUT come car-WITH HERE-TO home-TO
   ‘Today we came in the car here, to your place.’ (LA21_58aux2014)

2. *Junga mayi nyuntu* yu-*m* go karnta-kurra?
   true QN you you-NFUT go woman-WITH
   ‘Is it true that you went with a woman?’ (LA53_54Fam2010)

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Noun suffixes: mostly Warlpiri
Variable word order; core argument elision
Innovative auxiliary system
Nyina-ja-lku-lpa-lu  warlu-ngka  jarntu-kurlu  palka-kurlu.

‘Then they were all sitting by the fire with the dog.’

Puta  wajili-pu-ngu  kurdu-ngku-ju  jarntu-ju  ngula  ka-ngu  kuuku-ngku.

‘The child tried to chase the dog that the monster had taken.’

Variable word order
Ergative-absolutive core argument marking
Core arguments can be elided (pro-drop)
Discontinuous constituents
‘Then they were all sitting by the fire with the dog.’

‘The child tried to chase the dog that the monster had taken.’

Variable word order
Ergative-absolutive core argument marking
Core arguments can be elided (pro-drop)
Discontinuous constituents
Sociolinguistic background 2

- multi-age interactions
  - Warlpiri in input
  - from older speakers and Light Warlpiri speakers
- this talk:
  - code-switching between Warlpiri and Light Warlpiri
  - use of Warlpiri verb-stems in Light Warlpiri
Definition of a code-switch

from Light Warlpiri to

use of Warlpiri verb and auxiliary
Verb and auxiliary structures

Focus: - change between Light Warlpiri and Warlpiri structures
- restructured Warlpiri verbs in Light Warlpiri
Data

• elicitation sessions - Light Warlpiri speakers spontaneously created scenarios, or recounted events, to illustrate their use of particular verbs – 2 speakers (2015)
  (verbs from Hale, Kenneth 1982)

• interactions of Light Warlpiri speakers telling a story from picture stimuli – 3 speakers (2010, 2015)
  (Carroll, Evans, Hoenigman, & San Roque, 2009; O’Shannessy 2004)
Two types

• Warlpiri verbs in code-switched Warlpiri clause

panti-rni   ka-rlipa
poke-NPST   PRES-1PL

• Warlpiri-derived verbs in Light Warlpiri

wi-m       pantirn-im
1PL-NFUT    poke-TRANS
Code-switching - Elicitation data

1. Iaik Deanne bin kuku-im kuyu sapa an Zalia-k-rla yirra-rnu
   like name PST cook-TR meat supper CONJ name-DAT-DAT put-PST
   ‘like Deanne cooked meat for supper and put it down for Zalia

   an jarntu-ng-rla marlaja-nqa-rnu ye
   CONJ dog-ERG-DAT assoc-EAT-PST DIS
   and the dog ate it on her

   an Topia mait shaut Wara! Deanne neba waj-im kuyu
   CONJj name might shout DIS name NEG watch-TR meat
   and Topia might shout” Oh no! Deanne didn’t watch the meat,

   marlaja-nqa-rnu-rla jarntu-ng
   assoc-eat-PST-DAT dog-ERG
   The dog ate it on her!”
Code-switching - Elicitation data

1. laik Deanne bin kuk-im *kuyu* sapa an *Zalia-k-rla* *yirra-rnu*
   like name PST cook-TR meat supper CONJ name-DAT-DAT put-PST
   ‘like Deanne cooked meat for supper and put it down for Zalia

   an *jarntu-ng-rla* *marlaja-nga-rnu* *ye*
   CONJ dog-ERG-DAT assoc-EAT-PST DIS
   and the dog ate it on her

   an Topia mait shaut *Wara!* Deanne neba waj-im *kuyu*
   CONJj name might shout DIS name NEG watch-TR meat
   and Topia might shout” Oh no! Deanne didn’t watch the meat,

   *marlaja-nga-rnu-rla* *jarntu-ng*
   assoc-eat-PST-DAT dog-ERG
   The dog ate it on her!”
2. a-m tok “Keisha go shop- kirra”
   ‘I said “Keisha go to the shop”

an Keisha mait tok bo me
and Keisha might say to me

“Mam nyiya-jangka nyuntu yu warungka? nyurru a-m go shop.”
“Mum, why are you crazy? I already went to the shop.”

“ah! well ngayi-rna waparlku-wangkaja I didn nou yu-m go shop
“Ah! well I just talked without knowing, I didn't know you went to the shop

yeh yi-rna waparlku-wangkaja kula ngana lawa-juk, kala yaru
yeh I just talked without knowing, I wrongly thought you hadn’t gone, but you had gone

I didn nou yu bin go shop”
I didn’t know you went to the shop.””
2. a-m tok “Keisha go shop- kirra”
   ‘I said “Keisha go to the shop”

an Keisha mait tok bo me
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yeh I just talked without knowing, I wrongly thought you hadn’t gone, but you had gone

I didn nou yu bin go shop”
I didn’t know you went to the shop.”’
Code-switching  Elicitation data

3. Keisha mait tok
   name might say
   ‘Keisha might say

mam, *parda-rni-rlipa-rla* Nungarrayi-ki
mum, wait-NPST-1PL.INCL-DAT sub.sect-DAT
“Mum, we’ll wait for Nungarrayi

*wi* weit *waja* Nungarrayi-k
1PL wait EMPH sub.sect-DAT
we’ll wait for Nungarrayi

*parda-rni-rlipa-rla* Nungarrayi-ki
wait-NPST-1PL.INCL-DAT sub.sect-DAT
we’ll wait for Nungarrayi”
Code-switching  Elicitation data

3. Keisha    mait  tok
    name    might  say
‘Keisha might say

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mum, wait-NPST-1PL.INCL-DAT  sub.sect-DAT
“Mum, we’ll wait for Nungarrayi

wi  weit  waja  Nungarrayi-k
1PL wait  EMPH  sub.sect-DAT
we’ll wait for Nungarrayi

*parda-rni-rlipa-rla* Nungarrayi-ki
wait-NPST-1PL.INCL-DAT  sub.sect-DAT
we’ll wait for Nungarrayi””
Code-switching
Picture stimuli data

4.
A: *na* walku a-m gib-im *wumara* de *inya-ku-ju*

   NEG  NEG  1SG-NFUT  give-TR  money  DET  DEM-DAT-TOP

   ‘“no, it’s not true, I gave money to that one there”

B: *walku* yu trik-in *baga* *ka-rna-ng* *paka-rn*

   neg  2SG  trick-PROG  bugger  PRES-1SG-2SG  hit-[PRES]

   “no, you’re lying, I’ll hit you”

cf. classic Warlpiri: *ka-rna-ngku paka-rni*
Code-switching
Picture stimuli data

4.
A: na *walku* a-m *gib-im* *wumara* de *inya-ku-ju*
   NEG NEG 1SG-NFUT give-TR money DET DEM-DAT-TOP
   ‘“no, it’s not true, I gave money to that one there”

B: *walku* yu *trikin-baga* *ka-rna-ng* *paka-rn*
   neg 2SG trick-bugger PRES-1SG-2SG hit-[PRES]
   “no, you’re lying, I’ll hit you”

   cf. classic Warlpiri: *ka-rna-ngku paka-rni*
Motivations for code-switching

• discourse structures – repetition, emphasis
  Gumperz (1982)
  – e.g. ‘wait’ example in Light Warlpiri has *waja*
    ‘emphasis’
  • code-switch is in context of emphasis
  – e.g. ‘hit’ example: change from accusation to a threat
Motivations for code-switching

• ‘just right’ (Poplack 1980)
  *marlaja-ngarnu, wapalyku-wangkami, miyi-miyi-nyanyi*

• some Warlpiri phrases may have become conventionalised as ‘just right’, e.g.
  *kiji-ka-j*
  
  throw-IMP-1SGO

  ‘Throw it to me’.

  – conventionalized in card playing
Emic perspective

• switching between languages fluidly is part of “Lajamanu Style” / “our language” / “pidgin Warlpiri” / “pidgin English”
Warlpiri verb stems in Light Warlpiri
Elicitation data

5. Gwinith i-m____ japird-ing bo yu nyuntu-k na
name 3SG-NFUT threaten-attack dat 2sg 2SG-DAT DIS
‘“Gwenneth he’s threatening you, you know

i-rра hit yu inya-ng
3SG-FUT hit 2SG DEM-ERG
he’ll hit you, he will”

cf. Warlpiri: japirdimi ka
Warlpiri verb stems in Light Warlpiri

Elicitation data

5. Gwinith  i-m____ japird-ing  bo  yu  nyuntu-k  na

name  3SG-NFUT  threaten-attack  dat  2sg  2SG-DAT  DIS

‘ “Gwenneth he’s threatening you, you know

i-rra  hit  yu  inya-ng

3SG-FUT  hit  2SG  DEM-ERG

he’ll hit you, he will’’

cf. Warlpiri:  japirdimi  ka
Warlpiri verb stems in Light Warlpiri
Elicitation data

6. “Keisha you sit down TV-LOC-still DIS
   name 2SG sit.down TV-LOC-still DIS
   "Keisha you just sit there watching TV

   yu caan kam aut-rlang”
2SG can.not come out-ALSO
you don’t come outside”

an Keisha “mam nyiya-janga wara-parnpi-m ngaju-k-juku?”
CONJ name mum what-ABL call.name 1SG-DAT-yet
‘and Keisha, “Mum why are you picking on me?”’

cf. Warlpiri: wara-parnpimi ka
Warlpiri verb stems in Light Warlpiri
Elicitation data

6. “Keisha yu sidan yartiwaji-rla-juk anis
   name 2SG sit.down TV-LOC-still DIS
   ”Keisha you just sit there watching TV

   yu caan kam aut-rlang”
2SG can.not come out-ALSO
you don’t come outside”

   an Keisha “mam nyiya-janga wara-parnpnpi-m ngaju-k-juku?”
CONJ name mum what-ABL call.name 1SG-DAT-yet
‘and Keisha, “Mum why are you picking on me?”’

cf. Warlpiri: wara-parnpimi ka
Warlpiri verb stems in Light Warlpiri

Elicitation data

7.
Lajamanu style, “ah a-m_______ kari-nyan ______ yu wiyarrpa”
Lajamanu style  DIS 1SG-NONFUT not.recognise 2SG dear.one
‘In Lajamanu Style, “ah, I didn’t recognise you, poor thing.”’

cf. Warlpiri:  kari-nyanyi ka
Warlpiri verb stems in Light Warlpiri

Elicitation data

7.
Lajamanu style, “ah a-m________ kari-nyan yu wiyarrpa”

Lajamanu style  DIS 1SG-NONFUT not.recognise 2SG dear.one

‘In Lajamanu Style, “ah, I didn’t recognise you, poor thing.”’

cf. Warlpiri: kari-nyanyi ka
Warlpiri verb stems in Light Warlpiri

Picture stimuli data

8. maja-wan  inya  i-m  kurnta-ngarrirn-im
mother-one  DEM  3SG-NFUT  shame-tell-TR

‘that mother there she told him off

“wel  nyuntu-ng  na  waja  yu-rra  shut-im
DIS  2SG-ERG  DIS  EMPH  2SG-FUT  shoot-TR

“well you, you should shoot

wurnturu-waja  puluku-k waja”
far-EMPH  bullock-DAT-EMPH

far away from the bullock ‘’
Warlpiri verb stems in Light Warlpiri
Picture stimuli data

8. maja-wan  inya   i-m   kurnta-ngarrirn-im
mother-one   DEM     3SG-NFUT  shame-tell-TR
‘that mother there she told him off

“wel  nyuntu-ng  na  waja  yu-rra  shut-im
DIS  2SG-ERG  DIS  EMPH  2SG-FUT  shoot-TR
“well you, you should shoot

wurnturu-waja  puluku-k waja”
far-EMPH  bullock-DAT-EMPH
far away from the bullock “ ’
Restructured Warlpiri verb stems

- why are some verbs reanalyzed and not others?
  - same kind of ‘just right’ motivation?
  - motivations and constraints not yet clear
  - way of speaking is still developing?
Code-switching, restructuring and language maintenance

• code-switching fluidly keeps Warlpiri verbs accessible (e.g. Dorian 1978, Whitney 1998)

• verbs are embedded in Warlpiri grammar

• earlier, code-switching → Light Warlpiri

• now, code-switching → maintenance of Warlpiri

• restructured verbs are not used with Warlpiri grammar, only integrated into Light Warlpiri
  – helps maintain lexical items, not grammatical structure

• analysis contributes to understandings of how linguistic styles can contribute to language maintenance
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