

Topicalization and bound morphemes in Japanese/English code-switching⁽¹⁾

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要旨

コード・スイッチングとは、一人の話者が少なくとも二つのコード（言語または方言）を交互に切り替えながら話す行為であるが、日本語と英語の切り替えにおいては、英語の文や節に日本語の助詞のような拘束形態素のみが現れる形態素レベルのコード・スイッチングが散見される。このような発話の基盤言語は一見すると英語のように思われるが、この種のコード・スイッチングは三種に分類され、そのうちの一つにおいては文末に日本語の連結動詞が省略されており、それが主題陳述型の構文を生成し、日本語の拘束形態素を出現せしめているという点を論じる。

【キーワード】 code-switching, topicalization, morphemes, English, Japanese

1. Introduction

Morphemic code-switching is a phenomenon in which one language offers affix-like elements to attach to lexemes provided from another. The following sentences in (1) provide a few examples:

(1) a. She spent her own money *o*⁽²⁾.

ACC⁽³⁾ (Nishimura, 1997: 117)

b. Look at the things she buys for Sean *ni*.

DAT (Nishimura, 1997: 119)

c. She *wa* took her a month to come home *yo*.

TOP

DISC

‘As for her, (it) took her a month to come home, you know.’

(Nishimura, 1985: 77)

d. I don’t know the bus stop *no* name.

GEN

‘I don’t know the bus stop’s name.’

(Morimoto, 1999: 24)

All the examples in (1) show that one language (Japanese in this case) offers only morphemic elements to the lexical items provided from the other (i.e., English): In (1a), the English direct object ‘her own money’ is marked further with the Japanese accusative case particle ‘*o*.’ Similarly, in (1b), the English proper noun ‘Sean,’ the object of the preposition ‘for,’ is marked with the dative case particle ‘*ni*.’ In (1c), the pronoun ‘she’ is marked with the topic particle ‘*wa*,’ and the discourse particle ‘*yo*’ is attached to the sentence-final position. In (1d), the genitive particle ‘*no*’ is inserted between the two English lexical items ‘the bus stop’ and ‘name.’

Muto (2013) reviewed several major approaches to the structural properties of intrasentential code-switching and showed that none of them could explain the process of affixation in morphemic Japanese/English code-switching. The research question now arises:

- (2) In Japanese/English code-switching, where do affix-like elements come from?

As is seen in (1) above, Japanese nominal bound morphemes can be affixed to English lexemes even when there are no other Japanese constituents than those morphemes. The question in (2) above resolves itself into the following two points:

- (3) a. What assigns the morphemic element(s) provided from one language to the constituent(s) from the other?

- b. What determines the matrix and embedded languages in code-switching construction?

The question in (3a) inquires whether there is a morphosyntactic device of ‘morpheme assigner’ in this type of code-switching construction. If there is, what is it? And, how does it function? On the other hand, the question in (3b) is concerned with the distinction between the Matrix Language (ML) and the Embedded Language (EL) in code-switching construction, which is now widely accepted as Myers-Scotton’s (1993, 1995) Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model. Is this distinction germane to morphemic code-switching construction? If so, what implication(s) does it have?

It is possible to build up two hypotheses about these research questions, as is shown in (4) below:

- (4) a. Morphemic code-switching is morphosyntactically constructed.
b. Morphemic code-switching is lexically constructed.

The hypothesis in (4a) states that this phenomenon is morphosyntactically explicable. In other words, affix-like elements originate directly or indirectly from a morphosyntactic device that is deleted for some reason. Specifically, in this type of code-switching construction there exists an elliptical V, which plays a crucial role in combining nominal morphemes with lexemes. The hypothesis in (4b), on the other hand, intends that it be rendered a semantic account; morphemic code-switching construction depends on whether or not there is a semantic difference that needs to be expressed. In this case, morphemic elements are simply attached to lexical items.

2. Topicalization and bound morphemes

This section discusses the results of the data analysis, which suggest that morphemic code-switching construction in Japanese/English bilingual utterances be broadly differentiated into three types: topic-comment construction, portmanteau construction, and EL island construction. In what follows, we focus on topic-comment

construction.

2.1 Topic-comment construction

Before moving on to the main discussion, a few remarks should be made concerning informational structure in Japanese. Japanese is a topic-prominent language, in which the informational units of topic and comment are essential to the structure of sentences. Unlike English, which is a subject-prominent language, a sentence with topic-comment structure is a prototypical sentence in Japanese.

Accordingly, Japanese declarative sentences can be broadly distinguished into two types: ‘topic-comment’ and ‘topic-less’ sentences. In topic-comment sentences, the constituent that the speaker wants to topicalize is normally moved to the sentence-initial position and marked with the topic particle ‘*wa*.’ In topic-less sentences, such a process does not occur. To take a simple example:

(5) a. Topic-comment sentence

[pochi	wa]	[nigeta]	
(dog’ name)	TOP	flee.PST	‘(As for) Pochi(, he) fled.’

b. Topic-less sentence

[pochi	ga	nigeta]	
(dog’s name)	NOM	flee.PST	‘Pochi fled.’

(Iwasaki, 2002: 218)

In (5a), the subject NP ‘pochi’ is marked with the topic particle ‘*wa*,’ while the particle attached to that NP in (5b) remains the nominative particle ‘*ga*.’ As Iwasaki (2002: 218) points out, the two constituents in (5a), i.e., [pochi wa] (topic) and [nigeta] (comment), are independent of each other due to the ‘severance-adjoining force’ associated with the particle ‘*wa*,’ while in (5b) they are not.

The difference between (5a) and (5b) is ‘a reflection of different modes of judgment or cognitive processes of the speaker (Iwasaki, 2002: 217).’ In (5a), as Iwasaki (2002: 218) supposes, the speaker asserts or denies a relationship between an

entity (topic) and some state of affairs (comment); in (5b), by contrast, the speaker reports information by presenting it as an unanalyzed whole.

2.2 Topic-comment sentence

We shall discuss a category of topic-comment sentences in detail. Recall the sentence in (1c), repeated as (6) below:

(6) She *wa* took her a month to come home *yo*.

TOP

DISC

‘As for her, (it) took her a month to come home, you know.’

(Nishimura, 1985: 77)

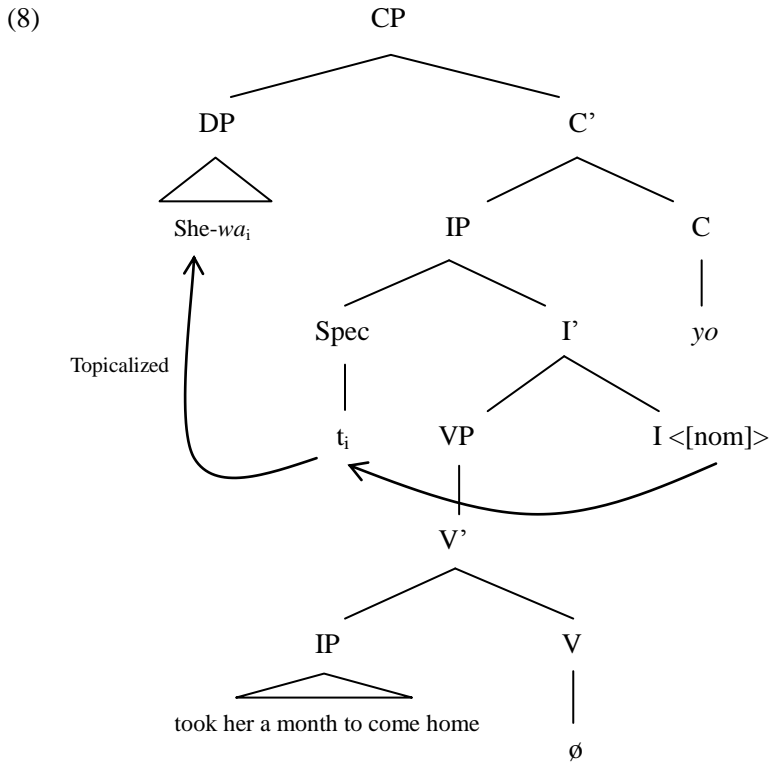
In (6), as was said before, the English pronoun ‘she’ is marked with the Japanese topic particle ‘*wa*,’ and the Japanese discourse particle ‘*yo*’ is also attached to the sentence-final position. Nishimura (1985: 80) sets the Matrix Language (ML) of (6) to Japanese due to the facts that topic-comment structure is more common in Japanese; some NPs marked by ‘*wa*’ would be more natural as Japanese topics; and Japanese possesses topic markers. She is correct in setting the ML to Japanese, but her grounds seem to carry little conviction.

I propose that the ML of (6) be Japanese because it contains an elliptical Japanese V (copula) at the sentence-final position. See (7) below:

(7) She *wa* took her a month to come home \emptyset *yo*.

V

As is shown in (7), an elliptical Japanese V is located between the final English word ‘home’ and the Japanese discourse particle ‘*yo*.’ This elliptical V functions as projecting the ML onto the whole mixed constituents. As a result, Japanese is assigned to the ML, and the English constituents are treated as EL islands. See the tree diagram in (8) below, which gives the schematic structure of (7)⁽⁴⁾:



The diagram in (8) reveals where the nominal bound morpheme ‘*wa*’ comes from. After the covert Japanese copular V projects the ML and selects the English IP complement ‘took her a month to come home,’ the English DP ‘she’ is inserted first into the [Spec, IP] position, in which it receives the Japanese nominative particle ‘*ga*’ from INFL⁽⁵⁾. By topicalization, it is then moved to the [Spec, CP] position, in which the nominative particle ‘*ga*’ is replaced with the topic particle ‘*wa*.’ The discourse particle ‘*yo*’ is not solely attached to the English item ‘home.’ As is illustrated in (8), it is base-generated in the C-head. Viewed in this light, both ‘*wa*’ and ‘*yo*’ can be regarded as morphosyntactically constructed rather than lexically.

A piece of evidence comes from the fact that the Japanese copula ‘*da*’ is often deleted in (especially female) speech. It can be ellipted even when there is no prior occurrence of the verbal (cf., Martin, 1975; Hinds, 1982). The following is an illustration of copula ellipsis (elliptical copulas are bracketed off):

(9) ryokoo bakkari [da] yo! ...

trip only COP DISC

‘Nothing but trips! ...’

hutari de yattiau kara kantan [da] yo.

two.people INS do.completely since simple COP DISC

but two of us do it together, so it’s simple.’

(Martin, 1975: 1063)

There is another piece of evidence to support the ML projection of the covert Japanese copular V. In (6) above, as Nishimura (1985: 78) points out, the English pronoun ‘she’ cannot be the grammatical subject of the English predicate ‘took her a month to come home.’ This is simply because the expletive subject pronoun ‘it’ is also ellipted in (6). Myers-Scotton (1995: 253f) also observes that it is not possible to construe English as the ML in (6) because this English predicate part would have to be well-formed; but it is deficient in a sentential subject. The following instances in (10) give further evidence for this interpretation:

(10) a. Powell street *wa* we used to call it Little Tokyo.

TOP

‘As for Powell street, we used to call it Little Tokyo.’

(Nishimura, 1985: 71; 1997: 150)

b. May ’42 *ni wa*, we were in Alberta.

LOC TOP

‘On May ’42, we were in Alberta.’

(Nishimura, 1997: 102, 127)

The sentences in (10) above exhibit the English subject pronoun ‘we’ as well as the topicalized phrases marked with the topic particle ‘*wa*.’ Thus, we see that in the examples like (6) and (10) the Japanese topic-comment structure is built upon the

English subject-predicate structure⁽⁶⁾.

This analysis, however, may drive us to the question whether it is possible for the English constituent ‘took her a month to come home’ to be maximal to merge with the null Japanese copular VP. If we start by thinking it as a phrasal element, however, it helps to explain the above code-switched sentences. A piece of evidence that it can be a phrasal element comes from the following examples:

- (11) a. a floor of a birdcage taste
b. a pleasant to read book
c. over the fence gossip
d. an ate too much headache
e. God is dead theology
f. a who’s the boss wink

(Lieber, 1992: 11)

The items in (11) are phrasal compounds, consisting of a maximal phrase plus a lexical noun. As Lieber (1992: 12) points out, what can occur as the first element of a phrasal compound is any maximal phrase other than DP⁽⁷⁾. See (12) below:

- (12) a. [a [NP floor of a birdcage] [taste]]
b. [a [AP pleasant to read] [book]]
c. [[PP over the fence] [gossip]]
d. [an [IP ate too much] [headache]]
e. [[IP God is dead] [theology]]
f. [a [CP who’s the boss] [wink]]

(Lieber, 1992: 12)

As can be seen from (12), the left-hand constituents in the phrasal compounds work as a phrasal element whose categorial feature is ranging from NP to CP. If this analysis can apply to the above topic-comment construction, the English constituent in

question can be interpreted as a phrasal element selected by the null Japanese copula.

2.3 Topic-less sentence

What is true for (6) above is to a considerable extent true for the sentences in (13) below as well:

(13) a. Mrs. Kamata *ga*, she said she wore this.

NOM

(Nishimura, 1997: 124)

b. Evacuation *ga*, 1942 *made*.⁽⁸⁾

NOM ALL

‘(The) evacuation (was) until 1942.’ (Nishimura, 1997: 91)

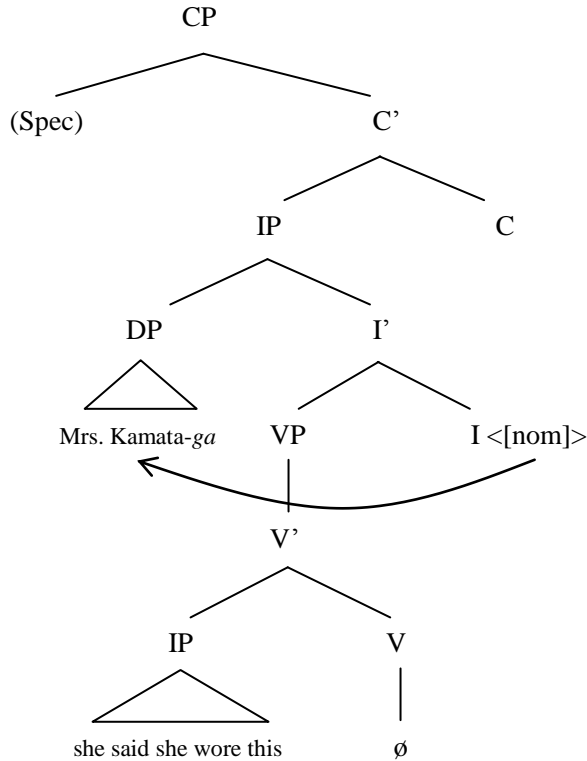
In (13), the sentence-initial English constituents are marked with the Japanese nominative particle ‘*ga*’ rather than with the topic particle ‘*wa*.’ As we have seen earlier in 2.1, these examples should be treated as topic-less sentences, whose syntactic structure bears a close resemblance to that of topic-comment sentences; they also contain an elliptical Japanese V (copula) at the sentence-final position. Take (13a) for example:

(14) Mrs. Kamata *ga*, she said she wore this \emptyset .

V

Parallel to (6) above, this elliptical V assigns Japanese to the ML of the whole constituents. The way in which the nominative particle ‘*ga*’ is assigned in (14) is schematically shown in (15) below:

(15)



In (15), the elliptical Japanese V projects the ML onto the whole constituents and selects the English IP complement ‘she said she wore this.’ The English DP ‘Mrs. Kamata’ is inserted into [Spec, IP] and given the Japanese nominative case by INFL. However, unlike topic-comment sentences, it does not go through topicalization; it remains in [Spec, IP] and keeps the nominative particle ‘*ga*.’ Hence, the [Spec, CP] position is unfilled in this construction.

2.4 Subject-less sentence

Let us now attempt to extend the observation developed in the previous subsections into the following examples:

(16) a. Easy to do *yo*!

DISC

‘(It’s) easy to do, you know!’

(Nishimura, 1997: 71)

b. Ninety *yo*.

DISC

‘(It’s) ninety, you know.’ (Nishimura, 1997: 76)

c. Big plus *yo*.

DISC

‘(It’s a) big plus, you know.’ (Nishimura, 1997: 91)

d. The way I guess Geoff and his generation were treated *ne*?

DISC

‘(It’s) the way I guess Geoff and his generation were treated, right?’
(Nishimura, 1997: 66f, 101)

e. Different *yo ne*?

DISC DISC

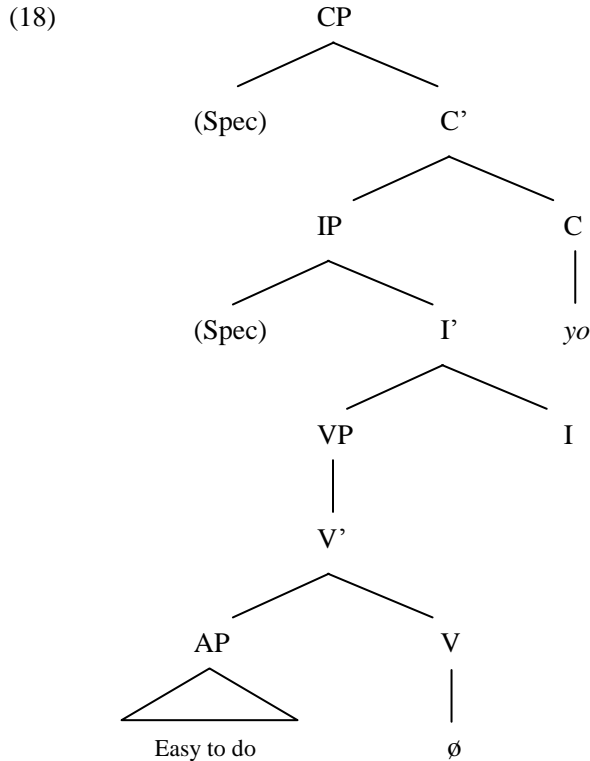
‘(It’s) different, right?’ (Nishimura, 1997: 67)

All the instances in (16) are English NP or AP constituents marked with the Japanese discourse particle ‘*yo*,’ ‘*ne*,’ or the combination of ‘*yo*’ and ‘*ne*.’ At first sight, these morphemes seem to be directly attached to the English lexical item immediately preceding them. However, enlarging the idea developed in 2.2 and 2.3, we are now in a position to say that the examples like (16) also hold an elliptical Japanese copular V. For instance, (16a) is shown as below:

(17) Easy to do \emptyset *yo*!

V

The tree diagram of (17) can be drawn as in (18) below:



In (18) above, we see that the whole sentence has the ML projection of the elliptical Japanese V in the same manner as topic-comment and topic-less sentences. This V then selects the English AP complement ‘easy to do.’ The discourse particle ‘yo’ is dominated by the C-head, not directly attached to the English lexical item immediately preceding it. What has to be noticed is that both [Spec, IP] and [Spec, CP] are empty because this is a subject-less sentence. That is, no lexeme is inserted or base-generated in [Spec, IP]; subsequently, no item is moved to [Spec, CP].

A piece of evidence for this comes from the facts that Japanese has reliance upon an abundance of ellipsis (Hinds, 1986: 106) and that subject ellipsis is the most common type. See (19) below, in which the subject in Japanese can be deleted:

- (19) A: anoo, ø supootsu nanka yaru?
 uh sports something.like do
 ‘Uh, do [you] play any sports?’

B: mm, amari yaranai.

mm very do.NEG

‘No, [I] don’t do [them] very much.’

(Hinds, 1986: 107)

Most of the other examples can be explained on similar lines. The examples in (20) below exhibit the English constituents marked with the Japanese interrogative particle ‘*ka*’ (in affiliation with the discourse particle ‘*ne*’). These, too, can be conceived of as subject-less sentences. In this case, the functional head C is realized as the interrogative marker ‘*ka:*’

(20) a. Courtney *ka ne*?

Q DISC

‘(Is it) Courtney?’

(Nishimura, 1997:73)

b. Seashell *ka ne*?

Q DISC

‘(Is it) seashell?’

(Nishimura, 1997:73, 140)

c. Week before *ka*?

Q

‘(Is it a) week before?’

(Nishimura, 1997:76, 155)

d. Conch *ka ne*?

Q DISC

‘(Is it) conch?’

(Nishimura, 1997: 140)

The concept of subject-less sentence is also likely to hold in the examples in (21) below, in which the Japanese discourse particles are attached to the English IP constituents:

(21) a. The idea is bound to change *ne*.

DISC

‘The idea is bound to change, isn’t it?’ (Nishimura, 1985: 68)

b. He’s in Japan *yo*.

DISC

‘He’s in Japan, you know.’ (Nishimura, 1985: 68)

c. Still, within one generation, one prejudice remains *ne*?

DISC

‘Still, within one generation, one prejudice remains, right?’

(Nishimura, 1997:67)

d. It cooled down *ne*.

DISC

‘It cooled down, right?’ (Nishimura, 1997:76, 155)

e. I guess it’s good *yo ne*?

DISC DISC

‘I guess it’s good, right?’ (Nishimura, 1997: 143)

f. I go out for sports *ne*.

DISC

(Morimoto, 1999: 30)

Although the English subject is explicitly stated in each utterance, it should not be regarded as the subject of the ML. In light of the discussion developed so far, it is reasonable to treat the English IP constituent as an EL island.⁽⁹⁾

3. Conclusion

The present paper has been written with the aim of exploring further into the structural properties of intrasentential code-switching, focusing on the derivational process of affixation in Japanese/English morphemic code-switching. In this paper, I proposed that morphemic code-switching be morphosyntactically constructed rather than lexically constructed. Focusing on topic-comment construction in Japanese/English bilingual utterances, I specifically proposed that there exist an elliptical Japanese V

(copula), which plays a crucial role in affixing Japanese nominal bound morphemes to English lexical items.

As space is limited, we have concentrated on topic-comment construction and paid scant attention to portmanteau construction and EL island construction. Fuller discussion about them would be presented in another paper.

Notes

(1) I am grateful to Prof. Rakesh Bhatt and Prof. James Yoon for their useful comments on earlier versions of this paper. All errors are mine.

(2) Following academic conventions, the italicized items in the examples indicate “switched” elements.

(3) The following abbreviations are used to annotate the examples:

ACC = accusative	LOC = locative
ALL = allative	NEG = negative
COP = copula	NOM = nominative
DAT = dative	PST = past tense
DISC = discourse	Q = question (interrogative)
GEN = genitive	TOP = topic
INS = instrumental	

(4) In this paper, I assume that the topicalized phrase is base-generated in [Spec, IP] and then moved to [Spec, CP]. I also assume Japanese sentence particles such as ‘yo,’ ‘ne,’ and ‘ka’ to be in C.

(5) Fukui (1995: 143) supposes that ‘ga’-marking in Japanese is independent of INFL; it is structurally assigned by V. But, in view of consistency between English and Japanese structural properties, in this paper I assume the Japanese nominative case to be assigned by INFL.

(6) Another piece of evidence comes from the fact that Japanese EFL students are often found to use the Japanese particles ‘*wa*’ and ‘*ga*’ and form a topic-comment construction as a learning strategy as well (Fotos, 2001). See below:

(i) Sentence one *wa*, I think correct.

TOP

‘As for Sentence one, I think (it is) correct.’ (Fotos, 2001: 339)

(ii) Correct *wa*, correct is ‘indirect’.

TOP

‘As for (the) correct (one), correct is ‘indirect.’ (Fotos, 2001: 344)

(iii) Rule One *ga*, not understand.

NOM

‘Rule one, (I do) not understand (it).’ (Fotos, 2001: 344)

(7) Although Lieber (1992) is right in assuming that DPs cannot occur in the nonhead position of a phrasal compound, they can occur in the complement position of the Japanese null copula, as is shown in (16d) above, repeated here:

(i) The way I guess Geoff and his generation were treated *ne*?

DISC

‘(It’s) the way I guess Geoff and his generation were treated, right?’

(Nishimura, 1997: 66f, 101)

(8) The sentence in (13b) also contains adpositional construction such as ‘1942 *made*.’

(9) The following is worth a mention in passing. The example in (i) below may be called ‘comment-less’ sentence for the reason that it lacks the comment part:

(i) What do you call this statue *wa*?

TOP

(Morimoto, 1999: 23)

The syntactic structure of (i) can be assumed as in (ii) below:

(ii) [_{CP} [What do you call this statue]-*wa*_i [_C [_{IP} t_i [_I [_{VP} [_V [_V ∅]]] [_I <[nom]>]]]]]]

⋈ _____ ⋈ _____

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