

Portmanteau Construction and Bound Morphemes in Japanese/English Code-Switching⁽¹⁾

Teruaki Muto

要旨

コード・スイッチングとは、一人の話者が場面や状況に応じて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を英語と見做すと、日本語の拘束形態素がどのように生成されるのか、その過程を説明するのは困難であるが、いわゆる「かばん構文」という対称的な文法構造を仮定し、文末に日本語の動詞が省略されているものと考えると簡明に説明し得る点を示す。

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

1. Introduction

Morphemic code-switching is a phenomenon in which one language offers affix-like elements to attach to lexical items 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. Muto (2014) then suggested that morphemic code-switching construction in Japanese/English bilingual utterances should be broadly differentiated into three types (i.e., topic-comment construction, portmanteau construction, and EL island construction) and focused on topic-comment construction, proposing that there should exist an elliptical Japanese V (copula), which plays a crucial role in affixing Japanese nominal bound morphemes to English lexical items. In what follows, we focus on the second type, portmanteau construction.

2. Portmanteau construction and bound morphemes

Again, let us take a look at the example in (1a) above, repeated as (2) below:

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

ACC

(Nishimura 1997: 117)

In (2), as we have seen at the outset, the English direct object ‘her own money’ is marked further with the Japanese accusative case particle ‘*o*.’ Nishimura (1997: 117) comments on (2) that an NP within a VP, whether English or Japanese, may or may not be marked by a Japanese accusative marker ‘*o*’ in bilingual utterances. This idea leads to non-syntactic morphemic code-switching construction, in which Japanese affix-like elements are free to attach to English lexical items. But why is the Japanese case particle optional in this construction despite the fact that the constituents other than it are all English? Where does it come from at all? She leaves out of account these aspects of the problem.

I propose that the sentence as in (2) should be syntactically constructed. The key to an understanding of this problem is ‘portmanteau sentences,’ which are often reported in studies of bilingual utterances (e.g., Nishimura 1985, 1997; Azuma 1993). ‘Portmanteau sentence’ is defined as ‘a sentence that has a hybrid structure from two sentences in different languages. In this type of sentence, a constituent in one language is shared as a constituent in another language (Azuma 1993: 199).’ The sentence in (3) below is a typical example:

(3) We bought about two pounds *gurai katte kita no*

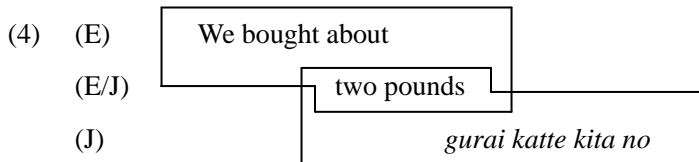
about buy.GER come.PST DISC

S V O V

‘We bought about two pounds’

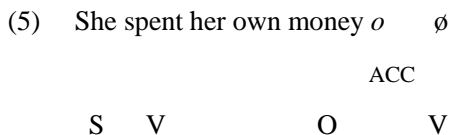
(Nishimura 1997: 103)

In (3), the English object ‘two pounds’ is shared as a constituent in both English and Japanese, resulting in the symmetrical configuration of (S)VOV. The schematic illustration of (3) is given in (4) below:

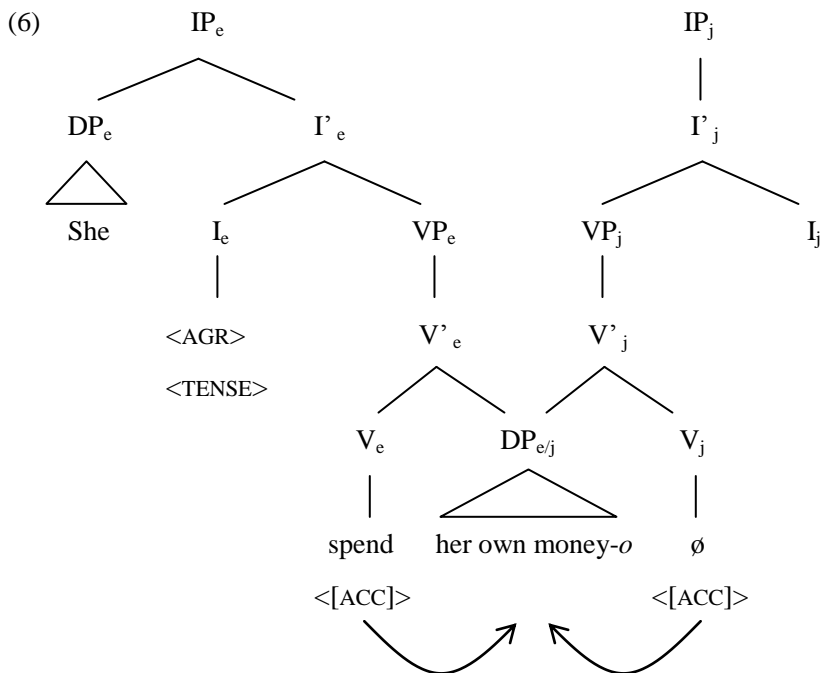


This structure is possible due to the opposite word order in both languages (i.e., English is an SVO language, while Japanese is an SOV language) as well as the ellipsis of subject in Japanese, which is very common in informal speech (c.f., Hinds 1982).

Let us now return to the sentence in (2) above. I propose that (2) should be, in fact, a portmanteau construction and that the nominal morpheme in question should be derived from a Japanese zero V anaphora (supposedly, *tsukau* ‘spend’ in this case), which semantically corresponds to the prior English V. In other words, an anaphoric Japanese V, which assigns the Japanese accusative case to the preceding English DP, is deleted at the sentence-final position, as is shown in (5) below:



Given that there exists a Japanese zero V anaphora at the sentence-final position, we can explain where the grammatical morpheme ‘*o*’ comes from. (5) above is schematically shown in (6) below⁽⁴⁾:



As is illustrated in (4), the DP constituent ‘her own money-*o*’ is shared between the two different VPs. In view of the fact that both the English V and the Japanese V govern it, both of them can case-mark their internal argument; they concurrently assign the accusative case to the shared DP constituent. As a result, it receives both the covert English abstract case and the overt Japanese accusative case.

The same observation applies to the example in (1b) above, repeated as (7) below:

(7) Look at the things she buys for Sean *ni*.

DAT (Nishimura 1997: 119)

In (7), the Japanese dative case particle ‘*ni*’ is attached to the proper noun ‘Sean,’ which is the object of the preposition ‘for.’ Nishimura (1985) is correct when she classifies (7) into ‘portmanteau sentences,’ but she is mistaken in assuming that portmanteau construction refers only to the adpositional phrase, as is shown in (8) below:

(8) Look at the things she buys for Sean *ni*.

P N P

As is shown in (8), according to her, the English PP is combined with the Japanese PP, sharing the English DP ‘Sean.’ Although Japanese case particles are sometimes morphologically indistinguishable from other postpositional particles (e.g., dative ‘*ni*’ vs. conjunctive ‘*ni*’), in this case the particle ‘*ni*’ should be considered to be the dative case marker. A piece of evidence comes from the fact that if the speaker builds a continuation of (7) as a portmanteau sentence, it goes on as follows:

(9) Look at the things she buys for Sean *ni kau mono o miro*.

DAT buy thing ACC look.at.IMP

V₁ DO S V₂ IO V₂ DO V₁

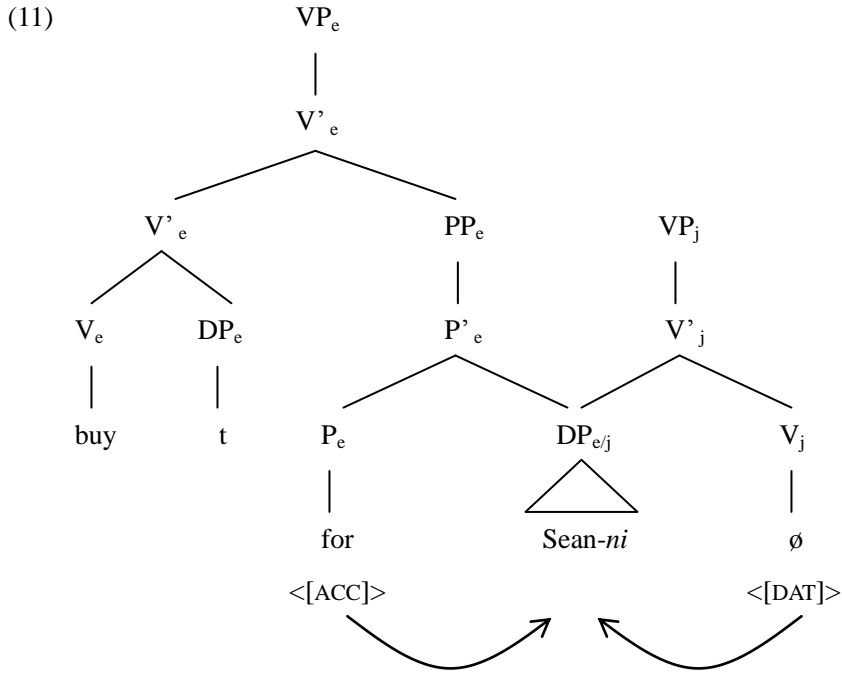
(9) is a full portmanteau sentence, which exhibits a symmetrical configuration except S. To put it another way, this sentence can be folded like a portmanteau, centering the indirect object ‘Sean.’ As is seen above, the nominal morpheme ‘*ni*’ can be assumed to derive from the following Japanese verb ‘*kau*,’ which is a ditransitive verb that can assign two different cases to its internal arguments: accusative and dative.

I, therefore, propose that the sentence in (7) also should contain a Japanese zero V anaphora, which assigns the Japanese dative case to the preceding English DP, as is shown in (10) below:

(10) Look at the things she buys for Sean *ni ø*

DO S V IO V

Assuming it to be true, (10) is schematically illustrated in (11) below:



As is demonstrated in (11), the DP constituent ‘Sean-*ni*’ is shared between the English PP and the Japanese VP. Given that both P_e and V_j govern and case-mark the shared $DP_{e/j}$, it is simultaneously given two different cases: the accusative case by the English P ‘for’ and the dative case by the Japanese zero V anaphora. Consequently, it obtains the covert English abstract case as well as the overt Japanese dative case.

These structural properties can also be applied to the following case:

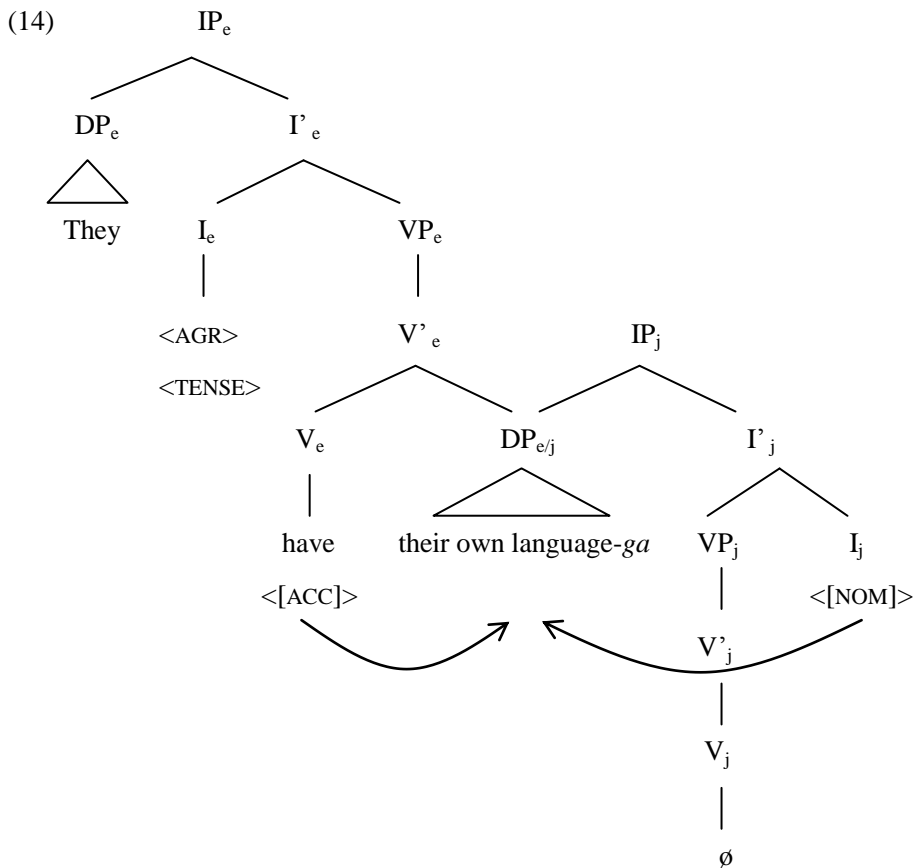
- (12) You know, *ano*, cooking and er, things they do have their own language *ga*.
 well NOM
 ‘You know, well, cooking and er, things they do have their own language.’
 (Nishimura 1997: 82)

In (12), the Japanese nominative particle ‘*ga*’ is attached to the sentence-final position. Again, I propose that this nominal morpheme should be assigned by a Japanese zero V anaphora, which is located at the end of the sentence, as is shown in (13) below:

(13) ...they do have their own language *ga* \emptyset .

V

This drives us to the question why the elliptical V assigns neither the accusative case nor the dative case but the nominative case to the preceding DP. The reason for this is not difficult to grasp; it is that the Japanese V that semantically corresponds to the English V ‘have’ is considered to be ‘*aru*’ in this case. Because ‘*aru*’ is an intransitive V, it is incapable of assigning either the accusative case or the dative case to the prior constituent. Hence, it only assigns the nominative case through INFL. This is schematically drawn in (14) below:



As is illustrated in (14), the shared DP receives the Japanese nominative case from the following Japanese INFL element as well as the English abstract accusative case from the preceding English V.

The following sentence in (15) is structurally ambiguous; it can be presumed to be either a topic-less sentence or a portmanteau sentence:

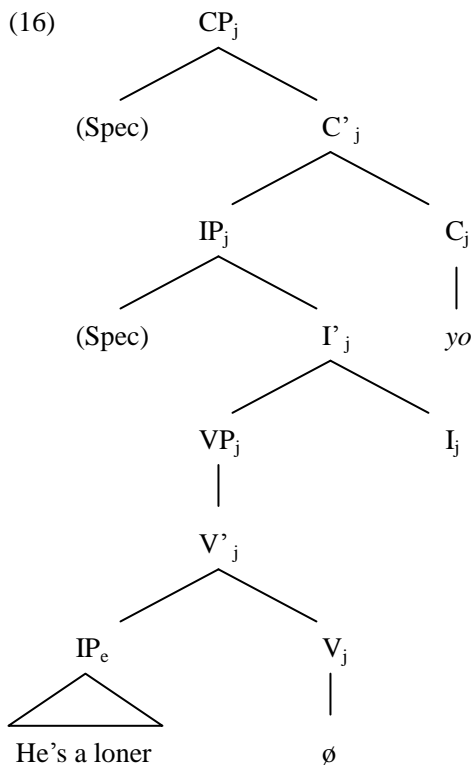
(15) He's a loner *yo*.

DISC

'He's a loner, you know.'

(Nishimura 1997: 101, 143)

This ambiguity is due to the fact that the Japanese V that is assumed to be obliterated in both cases happens to be the copula '*da*.' As a topic-less sentence, (15) is schematically drawn in (16) below:

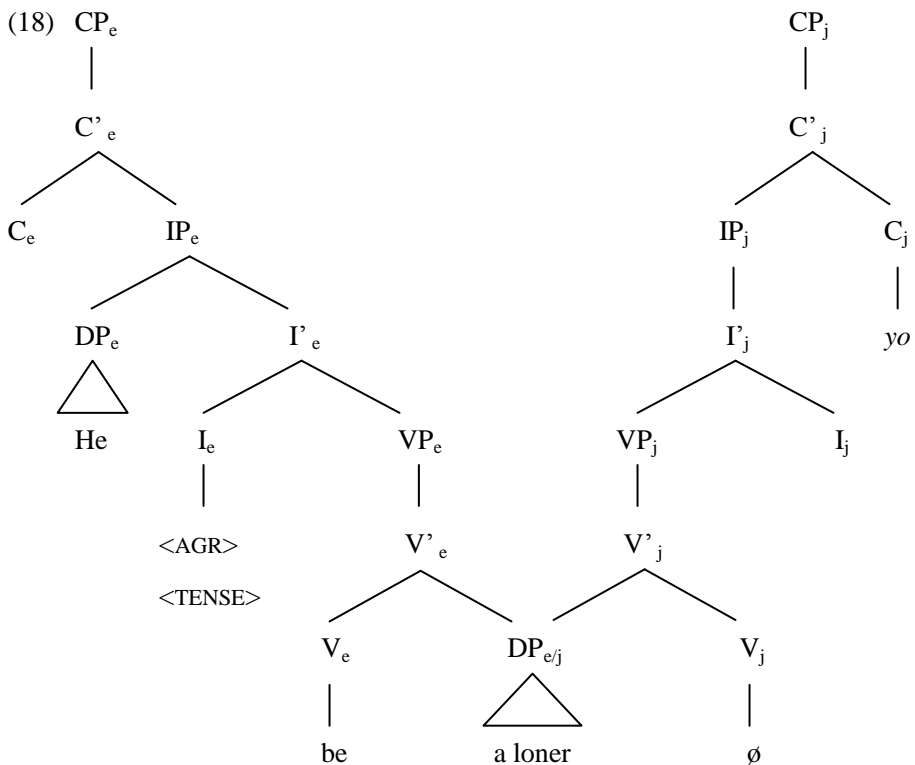


As is illustrated in (16), the elliptical copula V_j projects the ML (Matrix Language) onto the whole of the mixed constituents. Accordingly, IP_e is treated as an EL (Embedded Language) island. The positions of [Spec, CP] and [Spec, IP] are unfilled because the mixed utterance is subject-less as well as topic-less.

At the same time (15) can be regarded as a portmanteau sentence for the reason that an anaphoric Japanese V, which is semantically compatible with the prior English V, must be the copula. This fact results in the configuration of SVCV, as is shown in (17) below:

(17) He's a loner \emptyset yo.
 S V C V

The tree diagram of (17) is shown in (18) below:



In (18), the complement DP ‘a loner’ is shared between the two VPs. Each V tries to project its own ML onto the constituents.

As can be seen from (16) and (18), both structures are completely different from each other. In either event, however, it is fair to say that the sentence in (15) contains an elliptical Japanese copula V between the English lexical item ‘loner’ and the Japanese item ‘yo.’

3. Conclusion

The present paper has been written with the purpose of exploring further into the grammatical properties of intrasentential code-switching, especially the derivational process of affixation in Japanese/English morphemic code-switching. In this paper, I suggested that some Japanese/English bilingual utterances, in fact, assume the form of portmanteau construction, a hybrid structure in which a constituent in one language is shared as a constituent in another. I therefore proposed that at the sentence-final position of such utterances there should exist a Japanese zero V anaphora semantically corresponding to the preceding English V and that Japanese nominal bound morphemes observed in those utterances should be derived from this deleted anaphoric verb.

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	IP = inflectional phrase
AGR = agreement	NOM = nominative
C = complement(izer)	NP = noun phrase
CP = complementizer phrase	O = object

DAT = dative	P = preposition
DISC = discourse	PP = prepositional phrase
DO = direct object	PST = past tense
DP = determiner phrase	S = subject
GEN = genitive	Spec = specifier
GER = gerundive	TOP = topic
I(NFL) = inflection	V = verb
IMP = imperative	VP = verb phrase
IO = indirect object	

(4) The subscript 'e' stands for English, while the subscript 'j' stands for Japanese.

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(tmuto@kansaigaidai.ac.jp)