

1. Introduction
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1. INTRODUCTION

- Pronouns exhibit curious behavior in code-switching (CS)
 - Bilingual Spanish/English speakers have clear intuitions that a personal pronoun in subject position cannot be code-switched with a finite verb (1a); however, when coordinated it can be code-switched (1b)

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|---|---|
| (1) a. * Él <i>has a lot of money.</i>
3SG.MASC
'He has a lot of money.' | b. Él y Juan <i>have a lot of money.</i>
3SG.MASC and
'He and Juan have a lot of money.' |
|---|---|

- Pronouns also exhibit very distinctive behavior in monolingual speech
 - Monolingual French speakers have a clear syntactic difference between two types of personal pronouns; some can be coordinated (2b) whereas some cannot (3b)

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|--|---|
| (2) a. Lui est beau.
3SG.MASC is pretty
'He is pretty.' | b. Lui et Jean sont beaux.
3SG.MASC and are pretty
'He and Jean are pretty.' |
| (3) a. Il est beau.
3SG.MASC is pretty
'He/It is pretty.' | b. * Il et Jean sont beaux.
3SG.MASC and are pretty
'He/It and Jean are pretty.' |

(modified from ex. 10, Cardinaletti and Starke 1999)

- Two separate, but related questions:
 - How do we account for the behavior of pronouns in CS?
 - How do we categorize pronouns in general?
- Although there have been influential approaches to CS (e.g. Di Sciullo, Muysken and Singh 1986, Belazi, Rubin and Toribio 1994, Mahootian and Santorini 1996, MacSwan 1999, González-Vilbazo and López 2012, among others), none have specifically looked at the categorization of pronouns

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2. CODE-SWITCHING DATA

- Standard subject pronouns are unacceptable

(4) a. * **Él** *has a lot of money.*
3SG.MASC
 'He has a lot of money.'

b. * **He** *tiene mucho dinero.*
has a-lot money
 'He has a lot of money.'

- Standard object pronouns are unacceptable

(5) a. * *William hugs* (a) **él** *todo el tiempo.*
DOM² 3SG.MASC all the time
 'William hugs him all the time.'

b. * *Guillermo abraza* (a) **him** *all the time.*
hugs DOM
 'Guillermo hugs him all the time.'

- Clitic object pronouns are also unacceptable

(6) * *William lo hugs* *todo el tiempo.*
3SG.MASC all the time
 'William hugs him all the time.'

- Some specific structures involving pronouns, though, can be accepted
 - Coordination

(7) a. **Él** *y Olivia* *have a lot of money.*
3SG.MASC and
 'He and Olivia have a lot of money.'

b. **He and Olivia** *tienen mucho dinero.*
have a-lot money
 'He and Olivia have a lot of money.'

- Hanging topics

(8) a. **Él,** *he has a lot of money.*
3SG.MASC
 'Him, he has a lot of money.'

b. **Him,** (él) *tiene mucho dinero.*
3SG.MASC has a-lot money
 'Him, he has a lot of money.'

- Clefting

(9) a. *Es él* *that has a lot of money.*
is 3SG.MASC
 'It's him that has a lot of money.'

b. *It's him* *que tiene mucho dinero.*
that has a-lot money
 'It's him that has a lot of money.'

- Modification

(10) a. **Él** *de la camisa roja* *has a lot of money.*
3SG.MASC of the shirt red
 'Him in the red shirt has a lot of money.'

b. **Him in the red shirt** *tiene mucho dinero.*
has a-lot money
 'Him in the red shirt has a lot of money.'

² DOM refers to Differential Object Marking, also commonly referred to as the Spanish *personal a*.

- o Prosodic stress

(11) a. **ÉL** *has a lot of money.*
 3SG.MASC
 'HE has a lot of money.'

b. ? **HE** *tiene mucho dinero.*
 has a-lot money
 'HE has a lot of money.'

3. THEORIES ON PRONOUNS AND CODE-SWITCHING

- Commonly understood that pronouns are unable to be code-switched; contrast sharply with lexical DPs, which can be (Timm 1975, Gumperz 1975, Lipski 1978, among others)

(12) a. * **Él** *has a lot of money.*
 3SG.MASC
 'He has a lot of money.'

b. * **He** *tiene mucho dinero.*
 has a-lot money
 'He has a lot of money.'

(13) a. **Ese hombre** *has a lot of money.*
 that man
 'That guy has a lot of money.'

b. **That guy** *tiene mucho dinero.*
 has a-lot money
 'That guy has a lot of money.'

- Jake (1994)
 - o Grammatical pronouns: **Cannot** be code-switched (have to come from the matrix language)
 - o Lexical pronouns: **Can** be code-switched

(14) a. **moi** *dxlt*
 1SG went-in
 'I went in.'

b. **nta tu vas travailler**
 2SG 2SG go work
 'You, you go to work.'

(ex. originally from Bentahila and Davies 1983)

- o However, this proposal does not account for the distinction between pronouns that **are** or **are not** prosodically stressed

(4) a. * **Él** *has a lot of money.*
 3SG.MASC
 'He has a lot of money.'

b. * **He** *tiene mucho dinero.*
 has a-lot money
 'He has a lot of money.'

(11) a. **ÉL** *has a lot of money.*
 3SG.MASC
 'HE has a lot of money.'

b. ? **HE** *tiene mucho dinero.*
 has a-lot money
 'HE has a lot of money.'

- Van Gelderen and MacSwan (2008)
 - o Pronouns undergo D-to-T movement = **crash** at PF (due to a complex head)
 - o Lexical DPs check their features in [Spec, TP] = **no crash** (no complex head)

(15) a. * [TP **Yo**_i [Spec vP t_i [vP [VP *fight all the time*]]]].
 I
 'I fight all the time.'

b. [Spec TP **Mi novia**_i [TP [Spec vP t_i [vP [VP *fights all the time*]]]].
 my girlfriend
 'My girlfriend fights all the time.'

- Classification of pronouns in English
 - Strong: Pronouns that are hanging topics, clefted, coordinated, modified or stressed; also, maybe pronouns in standard position
 - Weak: Phonologically-reduced pronouns; maybe pronouns in standard position
 - Clitic: None

Table 1. Pronouns in English à la Cardinaletti and Starke (1999)

	TYPE	EXAMPLE	
		SUBJECT POSITION	OBJECT POSITION
Strong	Hanging topic	Him , he has a lot of money.	
Strong	Clefting	It's him that has a lot of money.	
Strong	Coordination	He and Olivia have a lot of money.	Oscar saw him and Olivia.
Strong	Modification	Him in the red shirt has a lot of money.	Oscar saw him in the red shirt.
Strong	Prosodic stress	HE has a lot of money.	Oscar saw HIM .
Strong/Weak (?)	Standard subject/object	He has a lot of money.	Oscar saw him .
Weak	Phonologically-reduced	Sh' sleeps all the time.	Oscar saw ' im /'er.

- Classification of pronouns in Spanish
 - Strong: Pronouns that are hanging topics, clefted, coordinated, modified or stressed; also, maybe pronouns in standard position
 - Weak: Maybe pronouns in standard position
 - Clitic: All object clitics

Table 2. Pronouns in Spanish à la Cardinaletti and Starke (1999)

	TYPE	EXAMPLE	
		SUBJECT POSITION	OBJECT POSITION
Strong	Hanging topic	Él , (él) tiene mucho dinero.	
Strong	Clefting	Es él que tiene mucho dinero.	
Strong	Coordination	Olivia y él tienen mucho dinero.	Oscar los vio a Olivia y él .
Strong	Modification	Él de la camisa roja tiene mucho dinero.	Oscar lo vio a él de la camisa roja.
Strong	Prosodic stress	ÉL tiene mucho dinero.	Oscar lo vio a ÉL .
Strong/Weak (?)	Standard subject/object	Él tiene mucho dinero.	Oscar lo vio a él .
Clitic	Object clitic		Oscar lo vio.

5. DISCUSSION

- Recall the types of pronouns that were considered acceptable in CS; examples (7) through (11)
 - All categorized as strong pronouns; therefore, they have a full DP
 - Consistent with the fact that lexical DPs are also easily code-switched

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