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

Bryan Koronkiewicz | bjkoronkiewicz@ua.edu
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

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>Juana</td>
<td>habla</td>
<td>siempre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Juana speaks always Spanish</td>
<td>'Juana always speaks Spanish.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>Juana</td>
<td>siempre</td>
<td>habla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Juana always speaks Spanish</td>
<td>'Juana always speaks Spanish.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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; Zagona, 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) \[\text{TP} \text{Hannah} [\text{T'} t_i [\text{VP} \text{always speaks} + T_i \text{Spanish}]]] \quad \text{non-raising}

(6) \[\text{TP} \text{Jeanne} [\text{T'} \text{parle}_i + T [\text{VP} \text{toujours t}_i \text{français}]]] \quad \text{verb-raising}

Jeanne speaks always French

‘Jeanne always speaks French.’
RAISING IN SPANISH

(7) \[ TP \text{Juana} \quad [ T' \text{habla}_1 + T_i \quad [ VP \text{siempre habla}_1 + T_i \text{español }]] \]

Juana always speaks Spanish.

(8) \[ TP \text{Juana} \quad [ T' \text{habla}_1 + T \quad [ VP \text{siempre habla}_1 \text{español }]] \]

Juana speaks always Spanish.

‘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 \((M = 1.8 \text{ years})\) (i.e., 2L1 bilinguals)
  • 19-49 years old \((M = 23.2)\)
  • English dominant \((M = 26.1 \text{ out of } \pm 218)\) (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
EXPERIMENTAL PROCEDURE

Task Training → CS Judgments → Spanish Proficiency Measure → Monolingual Spanish Judgments

English Proficiency Measure → Monolingual English Judgments → Background Questionnaire

methods
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*)

methods
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**

- Hannah speaks **siempre español**.
- Hannah always habla español.
- Juana habla always English.
- 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

![Graph showing average z-scores by stimulus type]

- **Monolingual English**
- **Monolingual Spanish**
- **CS English V**
- **CS Spanish V**

**Legend:**
- Verb-Raising
- Non-Raising

* indicates significant difference.
ALWAYS / SIEMPRE
FREQUENTLY / FRECUENTEMENTE

- Monolingual English
- Monolingual Spanish
- CS English V
- CS Spanish V

* Verb-Raising
* Non-Raising

results
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!

REFERENCES


bjkoronkiewicz@ua.edu