SWITCHING IN A ROMANIAN-HUNGARIAN BILINGUAL CONTEXT

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Corpora

- 2 longitudinal corpora: Toma 1;7-3;10, Petru 1;10-2;8,
- Matei 4;8-7;1 + Matei Diary 2;6-3;0
- Romanian-Hungarian simultaneous bilinguals
- Hungarian – the weak language
- no intra-sentential code-switching in (adult) input
- 427 switched utterances
Switching

- requirements of the mixed grammars that constrain switched utterances
- computational system is invariant across languages
- lexical items are drawn from either lexicon, and their features will be checked for convergence just like in monolingual utterances
- union of the two lexicons
- switching is not possible below the X0 boundary
- borrowing
Borrowing

• infrequent:

4a. asta keres-eam (Matei Diary 3;0)
   that seek-1sg.imperf.
   ‘That’s what I was looking for.’

b. mandarin, mandarin, o să mănânc mandarin-u(l). (Toma 3;8)
   tangerine tangerine I’ll eat tangerine-the

• humorous:

c. hai să zărbești (monolingual Adult)
   cf.Hu. zárd be ‘lock’

d. kicsikimu(l) (ibid.)
   cf.Hu. kicsikém ‘my little one’

e. mere-t (Petru 3;11)
   apple-Acc

Note: Hu. words: italics
Borrowing?

• Romanian/Hungarian pronunciation

5a. naptár-ele (Matei 9;0)

*calendar*-pl.def.D

b. bubu’ruz-ák. (Toma 2;0)

ladybug-*pl.*
Classification of mixed utterances in the corpora
• bare Hungarian nouns: 265 (62%)

7. să uităm la *maci* cu ochelari
   let’s look at *bear* with glasses (Toma 2;2)
• affixed Hungarian nouns (case, postpositions) : 8

8a. da’ să mănânci comb-oṭ așa... (Matei 5;5)
   but to eat-2sg  leg-Acc  so
   ‘This is the way to eat the drumstick...’

b. nu vreau kolbássz-al (Petru 2;3)
   not want.1sg. sausage-with
   ‘I don’t want any with sausages.’
• Hungarian A : 38 in 33 utterances

9a. nu, și al meu e ezüstös (Matei 4;8)
   no also mine is *silvery*

b. ăla e și  zöld și piros. (Matei 5;2)
   that is both *green and red*
• Hungarian V stem : 26

10a. ceva care n~ am olvas. (Matei 4;8) something which not have-1pl. read
• Hungarian V + inflection: 20

11. de ce *fúrnak*? (Matei Diary 3;0)
  why *drill.3pl*.
  ‘Why are they drilling?’
• Romanian nouns (Toma 4, Petru 3)
  12a. hol van (me)trou(l)? (Petru 2;0) 
  where is subway-the

b. az pește (Toma 2;1) 
  that fish (null copula)

• other Romanian words

• other Hungarian words
Hu sentences with 1 switched Ro word

Ro sentences with 1 switched Hu word
14a. avionu(l) \textit{nincs}. (Toma 2;1)
plane-the \textit{is-not}
b. place \textit{dupla} (Petru 1;10)
like \textit{double}
Intended: ‘I like the twin plums’
15a. dacă leesik undeva eltörik és jön a bácsi
if down-falls somewhere breaks and comes the man
‘If it falls, it will break and the neighbour will come to complain.’ (Toma 2;6)

b. pun kalapács aici ca să nu mai zajt csap
‘I’ll put the hammer here so as not to make any more noise.’
(Toma 2;9)

58 (14%)
Switched nouns
Romanian Determiners

- Romanian definite article: clitic -> borrowing
- Romanian indefinite articles with Hungarian nouns

17a. Toma ai un kalóz deja. (Matei 4;8)
   Toma have.2sg. a pirate already

b. uite sap o gödröt foarte lungă. (Toma 3;6)
   look dig Det.sg.fem hole-Acc very long-fem.

- only one fem.: overgeneralization of masculine (Muller 1994, Avram 2001)

17c. un vacă (Toma 2;3)
    D.masc cow.fem

d. eu desenez un frunză (Petru 2;2)
    I draw D.masc leaf.fem
Hungarian Determiners

- Carstens (2010): gender is not deactivated by Agree, it is an uninterpretable feature that functions as an iterative goal for DP-internal concord; uninterpretable features need not be deleted, they are recognizable as such and ignored

18a. nem mert nem szereti a bilă. (Toma 2;3)
   no because not likes the ball
   ‘No, because the ball does not like it.’

b. a prăjitură cu mere. (Toma 2;4)
   the cake with apples
Romanian adjectives with Hungarian nouns

19a. sap o gödröt foarte lungă. (Toma 3;6)
   dig a hole.Acc very long.fem.sg.

b. csillag albastru (Toma 2;9)
   star blue.masc.sg. Rom: stea.fem.

c. şi  olló  roşu. (Petru 2;3)
   and scissors red.masc.sg. Rom: foarfecă.fem.

d. e galbenă  tűz (Toma 3;9)
   is yellow.fem.sg. fire Rom: foc.neut.-.sg.: masc.

e. sunt un  murok tăiată. (Petru 2;1)
   am a masc. carrot sliced.fem. Rom: morcov.masc.

f. uite~l pe ruca uriaş. (Toma 3;10)
   look Acc-3sg-masc Acc duck huge-masc.
Gender – vulnerable overall

- adjectives, determiners, quantifiers, clitics
- error persists (with functional categories)
  a. intră (ma)șină mic. (Petru 2;0)
      enters car-fem. small-masc.
  b. unde'i guma în cealaltă papuc? (Toma 2;4)
      where is gum in other.fem. slipper.masc.
  c. astea sunt ale tale doi (Toma 2;9)
      this.fem.pl. are yours.fem.pl. two.masc.
  d. mama face cu a lui (Toma 5;2)
      mother takes with his (intended: hers)
  e. o acoperă (pe soldat) (Petru 3;7)
      Acc.fem.sg. covers (soldier.masc.) (intended: covers him)
  f. ți-l dau pe mama (Matei 8;9)
      you Acc.masc.sg.pass Acc mother.fem.
- gender errors also present with other Romanian-Hungarian bilinguals (Avram & Tomescu 2013): elicited clitic production: 12.10% gender errors (compared to 2.34% similar monolingual study)
22a. tren-u(l) roșie (Toma 1;11)  
e. ăla roșu (Petru 2;0)  
    train.neut.-the red.fem.  
    that.masc. red.masc.  
b. roșu tren-u(l) (Toma 1;11)  
    f. (va)gonu(l) ăla roșie (P 2;0)  
    red.masc. train.neut.-the.  
    carriage.m. that.m. red.fem.  
c. două mașini galben. (Toma 1;11)  
    two.fem. car.fem.pl. yellow.masc.sg.  
d. am făcut pe McQueen vechi nouă. (Petru 2;3)  
    have made Acc M.(masc.) old.masc. new.fem.  
    ‘I have made the old McQueen new.’
Switched verbs
Hungarian Switched Verbs

• Hungarian stem with Romanian functional material

24a. ceva care n~ am olvas. (Matei 4;8)
   something which not have-1pl. read
b. vreau să o tép. (Toma 2;3)
   want-1sg to Acc-3sg.fem. tear
c. pot să meg-forgat. (Matei 5;2)
   can-1sg to P- spin
   ‘I can spin it.’
d. nu, în ăla alb care l- am ki-pukkaszt
   no in that white which cl.Acc-3sg have-1sg P-puncture
   ‘No, in the white one (balloon) which I popped.’ (Matei 6;0)
Hungarian Switched Verbs

• inflected verb with additional Romanian functional elements: reflexive clitics, negation, să, auxiliaries – doubling – hypercorrectness

25a. nu că uneori se be-ragad așa tare ...(Matei 4;8)
   no because sometimes refl.3sg P-stick-3sg. so hard
   ‘No, because sometimes it gets stuck so…’

b. aici nu făj (Petru 2;3)
here not hurt-3sg
   ‘It does not hurt here.’

c. hai să nu mai vusalni (Matei Diary 3;0)
   let’s not more iron.inf.

d. ca aia care ai főzted când am dormit
   like that which have-2sg cook-past-defAgrO-2sg when have-1sg slept
   ‘Like the one you baked when I slept.’ (Toma 2;10)
Hungarian Switched Verbs

• Hu verb + functional elements

26a. colo sus \textit{nincs} vulpea? (Petru 2;2)
   there up not-is fox-the
   ‘There is no fox up there?’

26b. \textit{nu}~\textit{mi} place dacă \textit{le-húzod} că ...
   not cl-Dat-1sg like-3sg if off-pull-defAgrO-2sg because...
   ‘I don’t like it if you take it off because...’ (Matei 4;8)
• Romanian verb with Hungarian functional elements:
• only negation – fewer free functional morphemes in Hungarian

27. Toma *nem* face prostii. (Toma 2;0)
   Toma not make-3sg mischief
   ‘Toma does not make mischief.’
Pronoun subjects

• Romanian pronoun subject with Hungarian verb
• cf. van Gelderen & MacSwan 2007: ban on pronoun subjects (pronouns: heads D - check features by D-to-T movement/phrases DP)
• Romanian pro-drop language: here Su focalized: DP

28a. eu vasal. (Petru 2;4)
   I iron
   ‘I’LL iron.’

b. eu kavar (Toma 3;4)
   I stir
   ‘Let ME stir.’
Clitics

• Romanian clitics with Hungarian verbs:
  
  29a.  și  acolo l~  am  tép asta.
    also  there  Acc-3sg-masc  have  tear  this.fem.
    ‘I have torn it there too.’ (Toma 2;3)

• + Hungarian AgrO (corresponding to clitic)
  
  b.  vreau  să le  hordja  doar pe astea
    want-1sg  to  Acc-3pl  wear-defAgrO-3sg  only  Acc  these
    ‘I want him to wear only these.’ (Toma 2;10)

• Romanian clitics – Hungarian noun
  
  c.  haide  s~o  lǎsǎm  pe  lány  .  (Toma 2;4)
    let’s  to  Acc-3sg-fem  leave-1pl  Acc  girl
    ‘Let’s leave the girl.’
Double functional elements

30a. hol van a másik pár-ja lui ...? (Toma 3;0)

where is the other pair-Gen Gen

‘Where is the other pair belonging to...’

b. ia nici una nu e szenesvagon-ja aicea (Matei 5;1)

Dat none one not is tender-Gen here

cf. egyiknek sincs
none.Dat. is-not

‘None of them has its tender here.’

c. Eu sunt cel mai ügyesebb gyerek din lume (Matei3;0)

I am superl. comp. clever-comp. child from world

‘I am the cleverest child in the world’
Double pre-/postpositions

31a. cu  *kiskanál-lal*. (Toma 2;1)
   with *teaspoon-with*

b. am  pus~o pe *háztető-re*. (Toma 2;6)
   have-1sg put it on *roof-on*
   ‘I have put it on the roof.’

c. cu  *tatá-nak*. (Toma 1;11)
   with father-Dat -> lexical error: wrong choice of affix

•  hypercorrectness
Portmanteau sentences

32. mama mi~ e szomjas vagyok. (Toma 3;1)
   mother Dat-1sg is thirsty  am
Intended: ‘Mother I am thirsty.’

cf. Ro. mi- e sete
   Dat.1sg. is thirsty

Hu. szomjas vagyok
   thirsty  am
References

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Thank you!