

Code-switching helps to maintain traditional language use

Carmel O'Shannessy

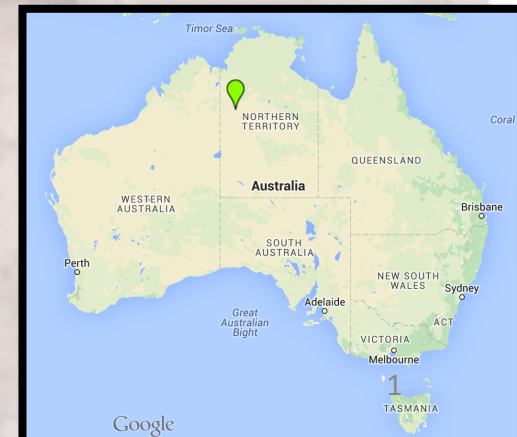
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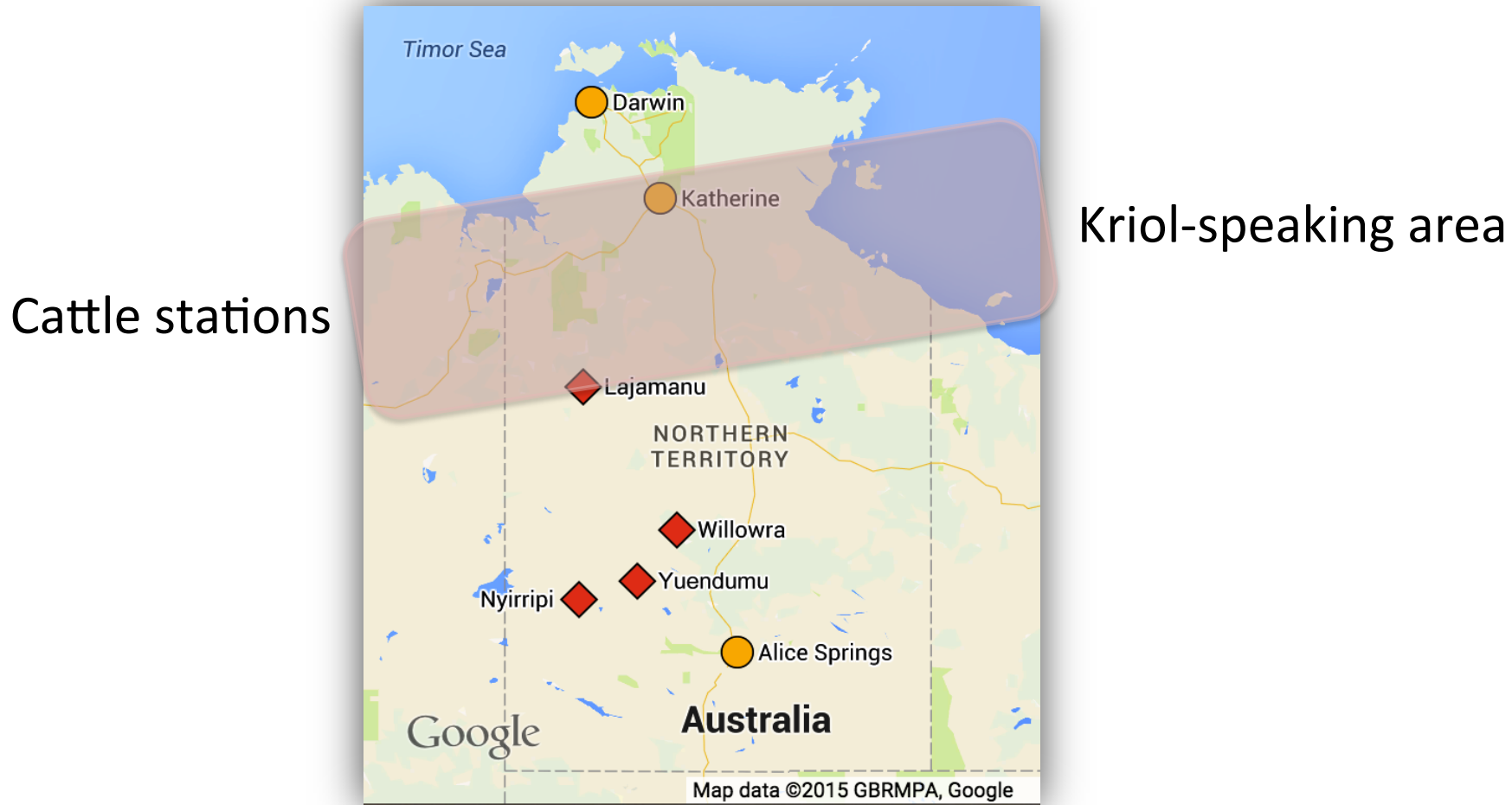
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Sociolinguistic background 1

- Code-switching was a major contributor to the development of Light Warlpiri, a mixed language in Australia

Community history: forced relocation



Light Warlpiri

1. *Ngalipa jalang wi-m kam ka-kurl nyampu-kurra ngurra-kurra.*
Us today we-NFUT come car-WITH HERE-TO home-TO
'Today we came in the car here, to your place.' (LA21_58aux2014)

2. *Junga mayi nyuntu yu-m go karnta-kurl?*
true QN you you-NFUT go woman-WITH
'Is it true that you went with a woman?' (LA53_54Fam2010)

3. *Botul-ing i-m panturn-um taya.*
bottle-ERG it-NFUT pierce-TRANS tyre
'A bottle pierced the tyre.' (ERGstoryLC39_2010)

Verbs: mostly Aboriginal English / Kriol – not all

Noun suffixes: mostly Warlpiri

Variable word order; core argument elision

Innovative auxiliary system

Light Warlpiri



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Warlpiri

Nyina-ja-lku-lpa-lu

sit-PAST-then-PAST.IMPF-THEY

warlu-ngka

fire-at

jarntu-kurlu

dog-with

palka-kurlu.

present-with

‘Then they were all sitting by the fire with the dog.’

Putu wajili-pu-ngu kurdu-ngku-ju jarntu-ju ngula ka-ngu kuuku-ngku.

try

fast-get-PAST

child-ERG-FOC

dog-FOC

who

take-PAST

monster-ERG

‘The child tried to chase the dog that the monster had taken.’

Variable word order

Ergative-absolutive core argument marking

Core arguments can be elided (pro-drop)

Discontinuous constituents

Warlpiri



Nyina-ja-lku-lpa-lu

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try fast-get-PAST child-ERG-FOC dog-FOC who take-PAST monster-ERG

‘The child tried to chase the dog that the monster had taken.’



Variable word order

Ergative-absolutive core argument marking

Core arguments can be elided (pro-drop)

Discontinuous constituents

Sociolinguistic background 2

- multi-age interactions
 - Warlpiri in input
 - from older speakers and Light Warlpiri speakers
- this talk:
 - code-switching between Warlpiri and Light Warlpiri
 - use of Warlpiri verb-stems in Light Warlpiri

Definition of a code-switch

from Light Warlpiri to



use of Warlpiri verb and auxiliary

Verb and auxiliary structures

Warlpiri

panti-rni ka-rlipa
poke-NPST PRES-1PL

paka-rni ka-rlipa
hit-NPST PRES-1PL

Light Warlpiri

Kriol-derived
(aux restructure)

wi-m **puk-im**
1PL-NFUT poke-TRANS

wi-m **hit-im**
1PL-NFUT hit-TRANS

Warlpiri-derived
(verb restructure)

wi-m **pantirn-im**
1PL-NFUT poke-TRANS

wi-m **pakarn-im**
1PL-NFUT hit-TRANS

- Focus:
- change between Light Warlpiri and Warlpiri structures
 - restructured Warlpiri verbs in Light Warlpiri

Data

- elicitation sessions - Light Warlpiri speakers spontaneously created scenarios, or recounted events, to illustrate their use of particular verbs – 2 speakers (2015)
(verbs from Hale, Kenneth 1982)
- interactions of Light Warlpiri speakers telling a story from picture stimuli – 3 speakers (2010, 2015)
(Carroll, Evans, Hoenigman, & San Roque, 2009; O'Shannessy 2004)

Two types

- Warlpiri verbs in code-switched Warlpiri clause

panti-rni ka-rlipa

poke-NPST PRES-1PL

- Warlpiri-derived verbs in Light Warlpiri

wi-m pantirn-im

1PL-NFUT poke-TRANS

Code-switching - Elicitation data

1. laik Deanne bin kuk-im *kuyu* sapa an *Zalia-k-rla* *yirra-rnu*

like name PST cook-TR meat supper CONJ name-DAT-DAT put-PST

‘like Deanne cooked meat for supper and put it down for Zalia

an *jarntu-ng-rla* *marlaja-nga-rnu* ye

CONJ dog-ERG-DAT assoc-EAT-PST DIS

and the dog ate it on her

an Topia mait shout *Wara!* Deanne neba waj-im *kuyu*

CONJ name might shout DIS name NEG watch-TR meat

and Topia might shout” Oh no! Deanne didn’t watch the meat,

marlaja-nga-rnu-rla *jarntu-ng*

assoc-eat-PST-DAT dog-ERG

The dog ate it on her!”

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The dog ate it on her!”



2. a-m tok “Keisha go shop-*kirra*”

‘I said “Keisha go to the shop”

an Keisha mait tok bo me

and Keisha might say to me

“*Mam nyiya-jangka nyuntu yu warungka? nyurru* a-m go shop.”

“Mum, why are you crazy? I already went to the shop.”

“ah! well *ngayi-rna waparlku-wangkaja* I didn nou yu-m go shop

“Ah! well I just talked without knowing, I didn't know you went to the shop

yeh yi-rna waparlku-wangkaja kula ngana lawa-juk, kala yanu

yeh I just talked without knowing, I wrongly thought you hadn't gone, but you had gone

I didn nou yu bin go shop”

I didn't know you went to the shop.””

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I didn't know you went to the shop.””



Code-switching Elicitation data

3. Keisha mait tok
name might say
'Keisha might say

mam, parda-rni-rlipa-rla Nungarrayi-ki
mum, wait-NPST-1PL.INCL-DAT sub.sect-DAT
"Mum, we'll wait for Nungarrayi

wi weit waja Nungarrayi-k
1PL wait EMPH sub.sect-DAT
we'll wait for Nungarrayi

parda-rni-rlipa-rla Nungarrayi-ki
wait-NPST-1PL.INCL-DAT sub.sect-DAT
we'll wait for Nungarrayi"

Code-switching Elicitation data

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Code-switching

Picture stimuli data

4.

A: *na walku a-m gib-im wumara de inya-ku-ju*
NEG NEG 1SG-NFUT give-TR money DET DEM-DAT-TOP
‘ “no, it’s not true, I gave money to that one there”

B: *walku yu trik-in baga ka-rna-ng paka-rn*
neg 2SG trick-PROG bugger PRES-1SG-2SG hit-[PRES]
“no, you’re lying, I’ll hit you”

cf. classic Warlpiri: *ka-rna-ngku paka-rni*

Code-switching

Picture stimuli data

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Motivations for code-switching

- discourse structures – repetition, emphasis
Gumperz (1982)
 - e.g. ‘wait’ example in Light Warlpiri has *waja* ‘emphasis’
 - code-switch is in context of emphasis
 - e.g. ‘hit’ example: change from accusation to a threat

Motivations for code-switching

- ‘just right’ (Poplack 1980)

marlaja-ngarnu, wapalyku-wangkami, miyi-miyi-nyanyi

- some Warlpiri phrases may have become conventionalised as ‘just right’, e.g.

kiji-ka-j

throw-IMP-1SGO

‘Throw it to me’.

– conventionalized in card playing

Emic perspective

- switching between languages fluidly is part of “Lajamanu Style” / “our language” / “pidgin Warlpiri” / “pidgin English”

Warlpiri verb stems in Light Warlpiri

Elicitation data

5. Gwinith i-m japird-ing bo yu nyuntu-k na
name 3SG-NFUT threaten-attack dat 2sg 2SG-DAT DIS

‘ “Gwenneth he’s threatening you, you know

i-rra hit yu inya-ng
3SG-FUT hit 2SG DEM-ERG
he’ll hit you, he will”’

cf. Warlpiri: *japirdimi ka*

Warlpiri verb stems in Light Warlpiri

Elicitation data

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Warlpiri verb stems in Light Warlpiri

Elicitation data

6. “Keisha yu sidan *yartiwaji-rla-juk* anis
name 2SG sit.down TV-LOC-still DIS

“Keisha you just sit there watching TV

yu caan kam *aut-rlang*
2SG can.not come out-ALSO

you don’t come outside”

an Keisha “mam *nyiya-janga* *wara-parnpi-m* *ngaju-k-juku?*”
CONJ name mum what-ABL call.name 1SG-DAT-yet

‘and Keisha, “Mum why are you picking on me?”’

cf. Warlpiri: *wara-parnrimi ka*

Warlpiri verb stems in Light Warlpiri

Elicitation data

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Warlpiri verb stems in Light Warlpiri

Elicitation data

7.

Lajamanu stail, “ah a-m kari-nyan yu wiyarrpa”

Lajamanu style DIS 1SG-NONFUT not.recognise 2SG dear.one

‘In Lajamanu Style, “ah, I didn’t recognise you, poor thing.”’

cf. Warlpiri: *kari-nyanyi ka*

Warlpiri verb stems in Light Warlpiri

Elicitation data

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cf. Warlpiri: *kari-nyanyi ka*

Warlpiri verb stems in Light Warlpiri

Picture stimuli data

8. *maja-wan* *inya* *i-m* *kurnta-ngarrirn-im*
mother-one DEM 3SG-NFUT shame-tell-TR
'that mother there she told him off

“*wel* *nyuntu-ng* *na* *waja* *yu-rra* *shut-im*
DIS 2SG-ERG DIS EMPH 2SG-FUT shoot-TR
“well you, you should shoot

wurnturu-waja *puluku-k waja*”
far-EMPH bullock-DAT-EMPH
far away from the bullock “ ’

Warlpiri verb stems in Light Warlpiri

Picture stimuli data

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Restructured Warlpiri verb stems

- why are some verbs reanalyzed and not others?
 - same kind of ‘just right’ motivation?
 - motivations and constraints not yet clear
 - way of speaking is still developing?

Code-switching, restructuring and language maintenance

- code-switching fluidly keeps Warlpiri verbs accessible (e.g. Dorian 1978, Whitney 1998)
- verbs are embedded in Warlpiri grammar
- earlier, code-switching → Light Warlpiri
- now, code-switching → maintenance of Warlpiri
- restructured verbs are not used with Warlpiri grammar, only integrated into Light Warlpiri
 - helps maintain lexical items, not grammatical structure
- analysis contributes to understandings of how linguistic styles can contribute to language maintenance



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David Nash

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