

Language mixing and left peripheries

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This paper will focus on code-switches within the left peripheries of nominal phrases in the heritage language American Norwegian based on the new Corpus of Spoken American Norwegian (CANS). This includes cases where the determiner is from Norwegian and the noun itself from English (based on Riksem 2016). Examples illustrating this phenomenon are in (1). The three different indefinite determiners correspond directly to the three gender-marked indefinite determiners in Norwegian. English stems are boldfaced.

- (1)
- | | | |
|----|--------------------|-----------------------|
| a. | en chainsaw | (blair_WI_07gm) |
| | a.M chainsaw | |
| b. | ei nurse | (coon_valley_WI_02gm) |
| | a.F nurse | |
| c. | et shed | (coon-valley_WI_02gm) |
| | a.N shed | |

We also find English stems with a Norwegian suffix (2) and English stems embedded in a Norwegian word order (3).

- (2)
- | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------------------|
| a. | field -a | (coon_valley_WI_02gm) |
| | field-DEF.F | |
| b. | shed -et | (westby_WI_06gm) |
| | shed-DEF.N | |
- (3)
- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| a. | birthday -en hennes | (coon_valley_WI_06gm) |
| | birthday-DEF.M her | |
| b. | deck -en hans | (westby_WI_01gm) |
| | deck-DEF.M his | |

There are also cases with an English determiner and a Norwegian noun, as shown in (4).

- (4)
- | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| the gård | (vancouver_WA_01gm) |
| the farm | |

We will look at a range of examples of this phenomenon, and also compare gender assigned to English words to the gender assigned to Norwegian words by the same speakers (Lohndal & Westergaard 2016).

Theoretically, the paper will argue in favor of a late-insertion exoskeletal model to code-switching (cf. Grimstad, Lohndal & Åfarli 2014). This model combines the main empirical insight of the Matrix Language Frame Model (Myers-Scotton 1993, 2002) with a null-theory of the linguistic competence of mono- and multilinguals. It relies on abstract syntactic structures which are generated independently of the semantic properties of lexical items. Rather, vocabulary items realize syntactic feature bundles, which make up the syntactic structures, much like in Distributed Morphology (Embick & Noyer 2007). This enables the syntactic structure and its inflectional morphophonological realization to come from one language, whereas the lexical content items may come from another. As such, the model is perfectly suited to capture systematic code-switching patterns.