



# On the Phonological Non-Integration of English-Origin Lexical Verbs in Louisiana French



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# Insertion of English-Origin (EO) Lexical Verbs

## Acadian French

1)	pis	ça	va	driv-er	
	then	PRO	go-PRES.3SG	drive-INF	
'then they are going to drive' (Péronnet 1989:238)					

- ‘En général, les emprunts [...] sont intégrés à la prononciation française régionale.’ (Péronnet 1989:239)
- ‘Les emprunts verbaux se conjuguent sur le modèle des verbes français du premier groupe...’ (*Ibid.*)

## Louisiana French (LouFr)

2)	je	vas	mnir	trop vieux pour	DRIVE	
	PRO	go-PRES.1SG	become-INF	too old	[for]	drive
'I'm going to get too old to drive' (Rottet 1993b)						

- ‘English-original lexical material [...], which generally does not undergo any phonological integration, is inserted into C[ajun] F[rench] discourse stripped of all inflection, be it English or CF’ (Klingler, Picone, Valdman 1997:174).
- ‘en français louisianais [...] l’époque où les verbes anglais sont adaptés à la morphologie et à la phonologie française est révolue’ (Rottet 2016:210).

## Insertion of English-Origin (EO) Lexical Verbs (cont.)

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- The phonological non-integration of English-Origin lexical items in LouFr and its opposition to Canadian varieties has been recognized since the 1930s:

Au Canada, j'ai remarqué qu'il existe une plus grande tendance à franciser les anglicismes adoptés. On tâche de changer leur nationalité et de les revêtir à la française. En Louisiane, malheureusement, nous ne prenons pas même la peine de franciser les mots empruntés à l'anglais. Pour la plupart, nous les acceptons tels quels sans souci du danger que nous courons. Le canadien va tâcher de prononcer les mots en anglais un peu selon les règles de prononciation de la langue française. Le louisianais, lui, quand il parle français, intercale le mot anglais prononcé tout simplement comme il l'est en anglais.

(Pellerin 1937:150)

# Lexical Insertion Strategies in LouFr

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Wichmann & Wohlgemuth (2008) recognize four insertion strategies, three of which are found in LouFr :

## I. Light Verb Constructions

- Incorporation of a foreign lexical verb by means of pairing it with an auxiliary or dummy verb, which then serves as a place-holder for all of the necessary verbal morphology otherwise expected.

## II. Direct Insertion

- A form of the foreign lexical verb is inserted and adapted to the morphosyntax of the recipient language, with the inserted element acting as a verbal base, which then permits complete morphological integration.

## III. Indirect Insertion

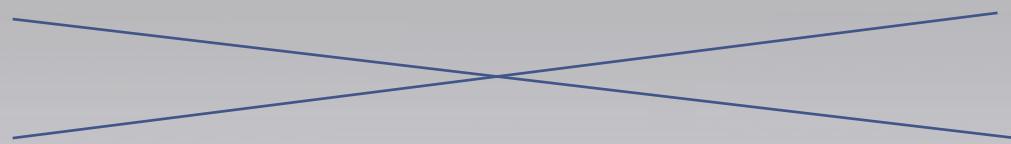
- A 2-step process involving suffixation (either verbalizing or nominalizing) of a foreign lexical verb, which is then morphologically integrated and treated as native verbs.

## IV. Pragmatic Transfer

- A foreign lexical verb is borrowed with its verbal morphology, which then maintains its function.

Alle faisait ça pour que ça pouvait MATCH.  
PRO do-IMP that so that PRO can-IMP match  
'She did that so that it would match.' (Rojas et al. 2003:krc02:12)

c'est comme ça qu' on RIDE-ait à l' école  
it be-PRES.3SG like this that we ride-IMP.3SG PREP DET-school  
'that's how we would ride to school' (Rottet 1993a)



ils auraient SETTLED l' affaire  
PRO have-COND.3PL settle-PP DET- affair  
'before they would have settled the affair.'  
(Rojas et al. 2003:drc03:13)

# Lexical Insertions Strategies in LouFr (cont.)

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- Although these **3** lexical insertion strategies can be found in any almost corpus of LouFr, recall that researchers have suggested that the majority of inserted lexical items are do not “not undergo any phonological integration” and are “stripped of all inflection” (Klingler, Picone, Valdman 1997:174).
- These resultant forms are known as **bare forms** and represent the 4<sup>th</sup> lexical insertion strategy in LouFr.
- A **Bare Form** (BF) is defined as a ‘foreign’ or ‘donor’ lexical item (e.g. a lexical verb) that is stripped of its native morphology and then inserted into the syntax of the recipient language, where it then remains morphologically unintegrated.

- 3) a. Oui, ça **DRIVE** ces tits chars-là. (Smith 1994) (present indicative)  
b. il faulait qu'on **RIDE** le seat (Rottet 1993a) (present subjunctive)  
b. il va **RIDE** son bicykèle. (Root 2018: JRD1) (infinitive)  
c. On a **RIDE** des BICYCLE. (Root 2018: JRD1) (past participle)  
d. +Est-ce que tu **RIDE** à l'ouvrage avec Jean la semaine passée ? (Root 2018: JRD10) (imperfect)  
e. +Ej **RIDE** dedans le vieux PICK UP si ej connais que ça  
WOULD //qu'il aurait fait le trip. (Root 2018: JRD5) (conditional)

# BFs and Direct Insertions in Bilingual Production Models



- How does the codeswitching (CS) literature treat BFs and Direct Insertions ?
- 4 Bilingual Production Models were considered:
  1. Poplack's Free Morpheme Constraint
  2. PF Interface Condition (PFIC)
  3. Functional Head Constraint (FHC)
  4. Matrix Language Frame (MFL) Model

# Poplack's Constraints

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- Poplack (1980) proposes the following constraint:
  - **Free Morpheme Constraint**
    - “*Codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme.*” (Poplack 1980:585-6)
    - Switching across a morpheme boundary is not permitted.
- Consider the following example:

c'est comme ça qu' on RIDE-ait à l' école  
it be-PRES.3SG like this that we ride-IMP.3SG PREP DET-school  
'that's how we would ride to school' (Rottet 1993a)
- If we consider that *ride* is material from English and *-ait* from French, then *RIDE-ait* would represent a switch at a morpheme boundary and thus **violates** the constraint.

# Phonological Form Interface Condition (PFIC)



- The PF Interface Condition (PFIC) states :
  - i. **Phonological** input is mapped to the output in one with no intermediate representations.
  - ii. Each set of internally ranked constraints is a constraint dominance hierarchy, and a language-particular phonology is a set of constraint dominance hierarchies.
  - iii. **Bilinguals have a separately encapsulated phonological system for each language** in their repertoire in order to avoid ranking paradoxes which result from the availability of distinct constraint-dominance hierarchies with conflicting priorities.
  - iv. Every syntactic head must be phonologically parsed at PF.
  - v. **Therefore, the boundary between heads represents the minimal opportunity for code-switching.**

(MacSwan 2013:342)

## PF Interface Condition (PFIC) (Cont.)

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- “[Word-internal CS] would involve the creation of a single lexical item in which phonological coding shifts suddenly at segmental or morphological boundaries word-internally...the evidence supporting word-internal CS appears to suggest that expressions of this form are not permitted” (Cantone & MacSwan 2009:257)
- Recall the following example:

c'est                comme   ça    qu'    on    RIDE-ait      à      l'      école  
it be-PRES.3SG like     this that we ride-IMP.3SG PREP DET-school  
'that's how we would ride to school' (Rottet 1993a)

- Since examples such as *RIDE-ait* are instances where a phonological shift at morphological boundaries occurs (*Cajun English [uaid]* and LF [e]), such forms should result in a crash F and would thus be ***impossible switches***.

# Functional Head Constraint (FHC)

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- The FHC states that:
  - “The language feature of the complement f-selected by a functional head, like all other relevant features, must match the corresponding feature of that functional head.” (Belazi, Rubin & Toribio 1994:228)
  - “if we assume inflectional affixes are functional categories, Belazi [et al] predict that switching is not possible under the word level...” (DiScullo 2014:78)
- Since forms such as **RIDE-ait** (repeated below) display a switch under the word level, the FHC thus predicts such forms to be ***unacceptable***.

c'est                comme   ça    qu'    on    **RIDE-ait**      à      l'      école  
it be-PRES.3SG like    this that we ride-IMP.3SG PREP DET-school  
'that's how we would ride to school' (Rottet 1993a)

# Matrix Language Frame (MFL) Model



- The Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model supposes two language roles:
  - Matrix Language (ML)
    - “[T]here is always an analyzable or resolvable frame structuring the morpho-syntax of any C[omplementizer] P[hrase]. This frame is called the Matrix Language.” (Myers-Scotton 2002:8)
    - “[T]he ML is the source structure for the entire morpho-syntactic frame for CS constituents.” (Myers-Scotton 2006:204)
  - Embedded Language (EL)
    - “[T]he other languages participating in [CS], but with a lesser role.” (Myers-Scotton 1993:3)
- In the context of LF, the ML in most utterances can be assumed to be LouFr, while the EL is Cajun English.

## Matrix Language Frame (MFL) Model (Cont.)

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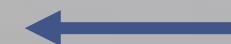
- Based on her observation of data, Myers-Scotton proposes 2 principles:
  - System Morpheme Principle (SMP)
    - “[L]ate outsider system morphemes (verbal morphology) must come from the ML in bilingual CPs.” (Myers-Scotton 2002:88)
    - For forms such as **RIDE-ait**, which the previous models have marked as unacceptable, since the system morpheme *-ait* is from LouFr (the ML), there is no violation of the SMP and such forms are thus *acceptable*.
  - Morpheme Order Principle (MOP)
    - “*Morpheme order must not violate ML morpheme order.*” (Myers-Scotton 1993:7)
    - **RIDE-ait** also does not pose a problem for the MOP, since all morphemes conform to the expected syntactic rules of the ML, LouFr.

# BFs and Direct Insertions in Bilingual Production Models

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- While BFs are acceptable in all models, Direct Insertions of the type **RIDE-ait** are deemed unacceptable in three of the four models discussed :

Model	BFs	Direct Insertions
Poplack's Constraints	acceptable	unacceptable
PF Interface Condition	acceptable	unacceptable
Functional Head Constraint	acceptable	unacceptable
Matrix Language Frame Model	acceptable	acceptable



- Despite the fact that forms such as **RIDE-ait** are deemed **unacceptable** by these models, it is important to note that these forms nevertheless exist in LouFr, as well as in other contact situations.
  - Bentahila & Davies (1983); Berk-Seligsohn (1986); Belazi, Rubin & Torobio (1994); Hankamer (1989); Legendre & Schindler (2010); Schindler, Legendre & Mbaye (2008); etc.



Root 2018

*Des fois ça dis des mots en anglais et en français mêlés :*

On the Variable Morphosyntactic Integration of English-Origin Lexical Verbs in  
Louisiana French

# Root 2018: Methodology

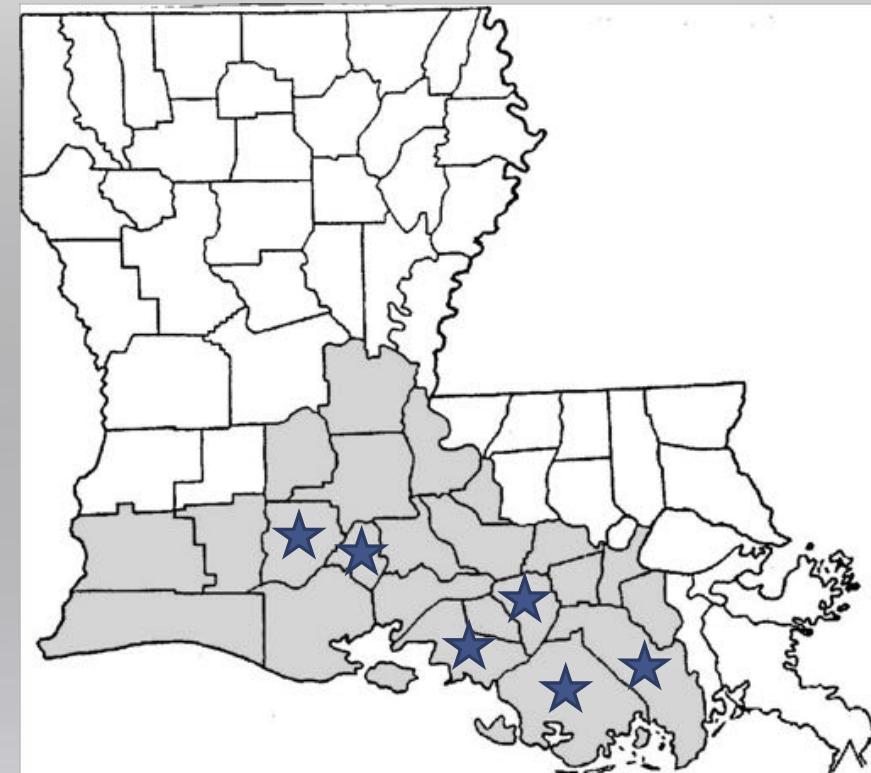
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## 4 Tasks

1. Semi-structured interview
2. Retell task
3. Translation task
4. Acceptability judgment task

## 20 speakers

- 11 women; 9 men
- Aged 45-93
- 6 Parishes



# Methodology: Translation Task

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- The Translation Task was designed to elicit both:
  - Verbal Morphology
    - Six Verb Forms
    - Seven EO verbs (4 listed, 3 unlisted)
  - Syntactic Integration
    - Verb-Object Pronoun order
    - Verb-Adverb Order
- 42 Test sentences; 12 control sentences

# Translation Task: Verbal Morphology

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- 6 Verb Forms were elicited:

- 3 Finite Contexts

1. Imperfect (V-ait /e, ε/)

Mon père **plantait** des cannes (Stäbler 1995)

2. Conditional (V-rait /re, rε/)

Est-ce que vous **aimerait** voir la chapelle (Smith 1994)

3. 3rd plural present (V-ont /ɔ̃/)

Ils **ramassont** ça avec les machineries (Stäbler 1995)

- 3 Non-Finite Contexts

1. Infinitive (V-er /e/)

ça connaissait pas **danser** (Smith 1995)

2. Past participle (V-é /e/)

le boug' s'avait **chauffé** un petit brin (Rojas et al. 2003)

3. Present participle (V-ant /ã/)

en **espérant** que tu vends ta récolte (Stäbler 1995)

## Translation Task: Verbal Morphology (cont.)

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- Listed Verbs

1. drive (Valdman et al. 2010:223)
2. ride (Valdman et al. 2010:557)
3. promote (Valdman et al. 2010:498)
4. enjoy (Valdman et al. 2010:250)

- Unlisted Verbs

1. volunteer
2. recycle
3. rate

## Translation Task: Verbal Morphology (cont.)

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- Data were coded and sorted into one of the following categories:
  - French Morphology
  - Bare Forms
- English Morphology
- Ambiguous
- Exclusions

# Translation Task: Verbal Morphology (cont.)

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- French Morphology
  - Targeted Morphology
    - '*If her brakes weren't worn out, Jessica would drive to work.*' (COND)  
+Si les BRAKES seraient pas usés, Jessica WOULD// **DRIVE-rais** à l'ouvrage. (Root 2018:JRD9)
  - Infinitival Periphrasis
    - '*I would recycle more often if the facility was closer.*' (COND)  
+Je voudrais de **recycler** plus souvent s'il y avait une place plus proche. (Root 2018:JRD3)
  - Non-Targeted Morphology
    - '*If there was more money, the manager would promote more employees.*' (COND)  
+S'il aurait plus d'argent à donner, le manageur **PROMOTE-ait** plus d'employee. (Root 2018:JRD2)

## Translation Task: Verbal Morphology (cont.)

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- Bare Forms
  - Targeted Bare
    - '*When he was the boss, Tom typically promoted one person every two months.*' (IMP)  
+Quand qu'il était le chef, Tom tout le temps **PROMOTE** [...] une personne tous les deux mois.  
(Root 2018:JRD5)
  - Infinitival Periphrasis
    - '*The judges usually rated the gumbo at the end of the competition.*' (IMP)  
+Les juges **HABITUDE DE RATE** les gombos à la fin de la [...] COMPETITION. (Root 2018:JRD2)
  - Non-Targeted Bare
    - '*When she was young, Katie often rode her bike to school.*' (COND)  
+Quand qu'elle était jeune, Katie **a RIDÉ** son bicyc' à l'école souvent. (Root 2018:JRD7)

# Distribution of EO Tokens by Verb Form (French Morpho. vs. Bare)

	French Morphology	Bare	Total
IMP	14 (46.67%) (32.56%)	16 (53.33%) (9.94%)	30 (14.71%)
COND	6 (60%) (13.95%)	4 (40%) (2.48%)	10 (4.9%)
3PR	-	-	-
Finite Total	20 (50%) (46.51%)	20 (50%) (12.42%)	40 (19.61%)
INF	14 (12.5%) (32.56%)	98 (87.5%) (60.87%)	112 (54.9%)
PASTP	8 (15.69%) (18.6%)	43 (84.31%) (26.71%)	51 (25%)
PRESP	1 (100%) (2.33%)	-	1 (0.49%)
Non-Finite Total	23 (14.02%) (53.49%)	141 (85.98%) (87.58%)	164 (80.39%)
Total	43 (21.08%)	161 (78.92%)	204

Table 1: Distribution of EO Tokens by Verb Form  
(French Morphology vs. Bare)

# Distribution of Phonological Status by Verb Form

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	LouFr Phonology	Eng. Phonology	Total
IMP	3 (21.43%) (11.54%)	11 (78.57%) (64.71%)	14 (32.56%)
COND	1 (16.67%) (3.85%)	5 (83.33%) (29.41%)	6 (13.95%)
3PR	-	-	-
Finite Total	4 (20%) (15.38%)	16 (80%) (94.12%)	20 (46.51%)
INF	14 (100%) (53.85%)	-	14 (32.56%)
PASTP	8 (100%) (30.77%)	-	8 (18.6%)
PRESP	-	1 (100%) (5.88%)	1 (2.33%)
Non-Finite Total	22 (95.65%) (84.62%)	1 (4.35%) (5.88%)	23 (53.49%)
Total	26 (60.47%)	17 (39.54%)	43

Table 2: Distribution of Phonological Status by Verb Form



# Distribution of Phonological Status by Verb Form (cont.)

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- Finite Contexts

Imparfait	
LouFr Phonology	Je <b>recyclais</b> plus souvent quand je restais au village. (Root 2018:JRP2) 
Eng. Phonology	Quand Kate était jeune, elle <b>RIDE-ait</b> son BIKE à l'école. (Root 2018:JRD8) 
Conditionnel	
LouFr Phonology	S'il a plus d'argent le manageur <b>promoterait</b> plus d'employée. (Root 2018:JRD10) 
Eng. Phonology	Si les BRAKES étaient pas cassés, Jessica <b>DRIVE-erait</b> à l'ouvrage. (Root 2018:JRD2) 

# Distribution of Phonological Status by Verb Form (cont.)

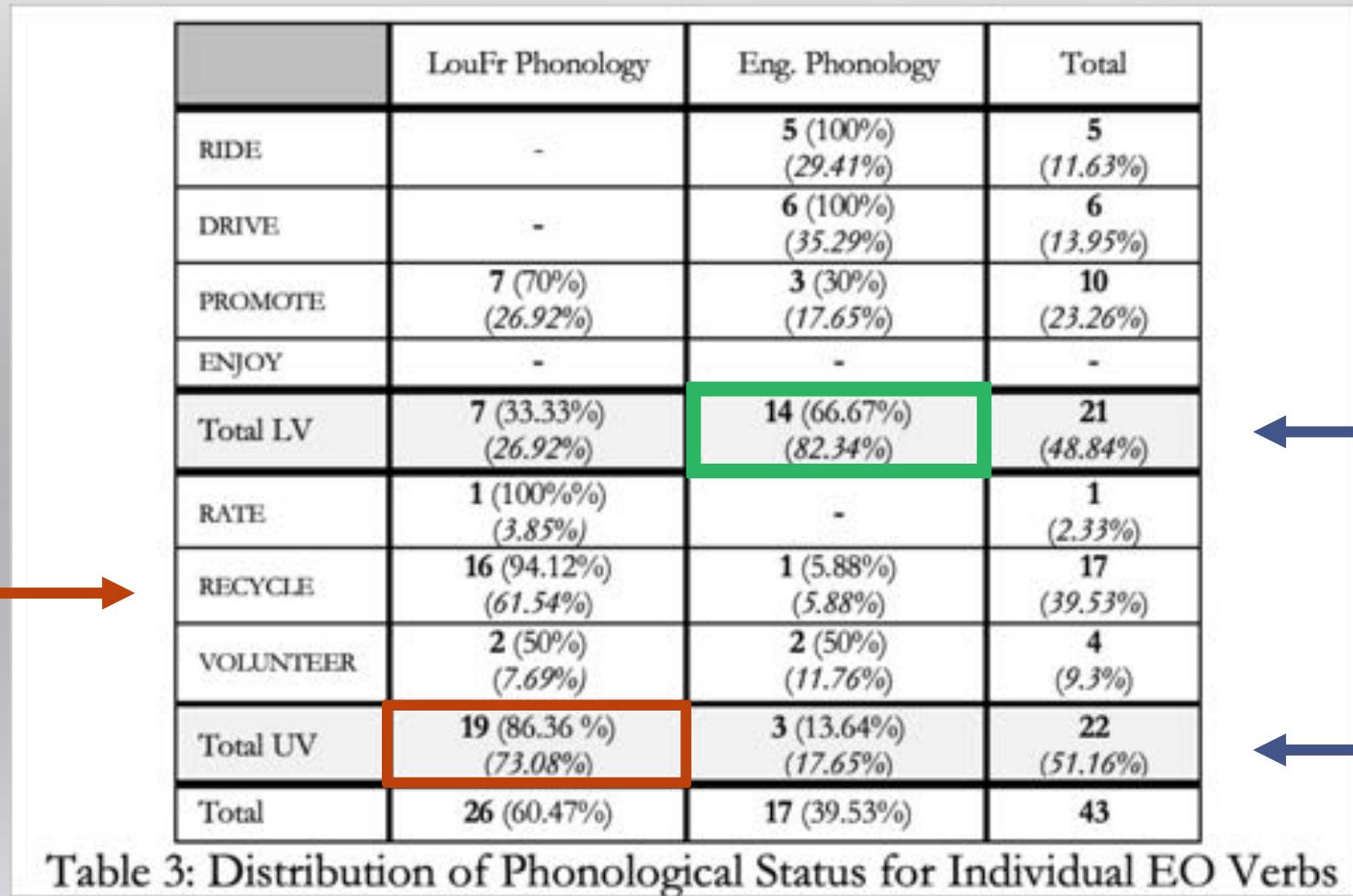
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- Non-Finite Contexts

Infinitif	
LouFr Phonology	Les BOSS va pr// <b>promoter</b> l'un qui déserve le mieux. (Root 2018:JRD19) 
Eng. Phonology	-
Present Participle	
LouFr Phonology	- 
Eng. Phonology	En <b>PROMOTE-ant</b> John, tu ferais un bon décision. (Root 2018:JRD16)
Past Participle	
LouFr Phonology	Est-ce que t'as attendu que le BOSS a <b>promoté</b> Jean hier ? (Root 2018:JRD10) 
Eng. Phonology	-

# Distribution of Phonological Status for Individual EO Verbs

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	LouFr Phonology	Eng. Phonology	Total
RIDE	-	5 (100%) (29.41%)	5 (11.63%)
DRIVE	-	6 (100%) (35.29%)	6 (13.95%)
PROMOTE	7 (70%) (26.92%)	3 (30%) (17.65%)	10 (23.26%)
ENJOY	-	-	-
Total LV	7 (33.33%) (26.92%)	14 (66.67%) (82.34%)	21 (48.84%)
RATE	1 (100%) (3.85%)	-	1 (2.33%)
RECYCLE	16 (94.12%) (61.54%)	1 (5.88%) (5.88%)	17 (39.53%)
VOLUNTEER	2 (50%) (7.69%)	2 (50%) (11.76%)	4 (9.3%)
Total UV	19 (86.36 %) (73.08%)	3 (13.64%) (17.65%)	22 (51.16%)
Total	26 (60.47%)	17 (39.53%)	43

Table 3: Distribution of Phonological Status for Individual EO Verbs

# Distribution of Phonological Status for Individual EO Verbs

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	LouFr Phonology	Eng. Phonology	Total
RIDE	-	5 (100%) (31.25%)	5 (19.23%)
DRIVE	-	6 (100%) (37.5%)	6 (23.08%)
PROMOTE	7 (70%) (70%)	3 (30%) (18.75%)	10 (38.46%)
ENJOY	-	-	-
Total LV	7 (33.33%) (70%)	14 (66.67%) (87.5%)	21 (80.77%)
RATE	1 (100%) (10%)	-	1 (3.85%)
VOLUNTEER	2 (50%) (20%)	2 (50%) (12.5%)	4 (15.38%)
Total UV	3 (60 %) (30%)	2 (40%) (12.5%)	5 (19.23%)
Total	10 (38.46%)	16 (61.54%)	26

Table 3b: Distribution of Phonological Status for Individual EO Verbs

# Distribution of Phonological Status by Verb Form (sans recycle)

	LouFr Phonology	Eng. Phonology	Total
IMP	2 (15.38%) (20%)	11 (84.62%) (68.75%)	13 (50%)
COND	1 (20%) (10%)	4 (80%) (25%)	5 (19.23%)
3PR	-	-	-
Finite Total	3 (16.67%) (30%)	15 (83.33%) (93.75%)	18 (69.23%)
INF	4 (100%) (40%)	-	4 (15.38%)
PASTP	3 (100%) (30%)	-	3 (11.54%)
PRESP	-	1 (100%) (6.25%)	1 (3.85%)
Non-Finite Total	7 (87.5%) (70%)	1 (12.5%) (6.25%)	8 (30.77%)
Total	10 (38.46%)	16 (61.54%)	26

Table 4: Distribution of Phonological Status by Verb Form (Sans recycle)

# Conclusions



- While the BF strategy is certainly the most frequently exploited of the insertion strategies, this study suggests a much higher level of variable morphological integration & thus variable lexical insertion strategy selection than the literature on LouFr would suggest.
- The distribution of tokens based on phonological realization and verb form reveal a preference for the phonological integration of EO verbs inserted into a LouFr non-finite slot over a finite slot.
- LVs undergo phonological integration less frequently than UVs, suggesting that relative frequency & listedness of an EO verb do not result in a higher likelihood of its phonological integration into LouFr.

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Questions?