

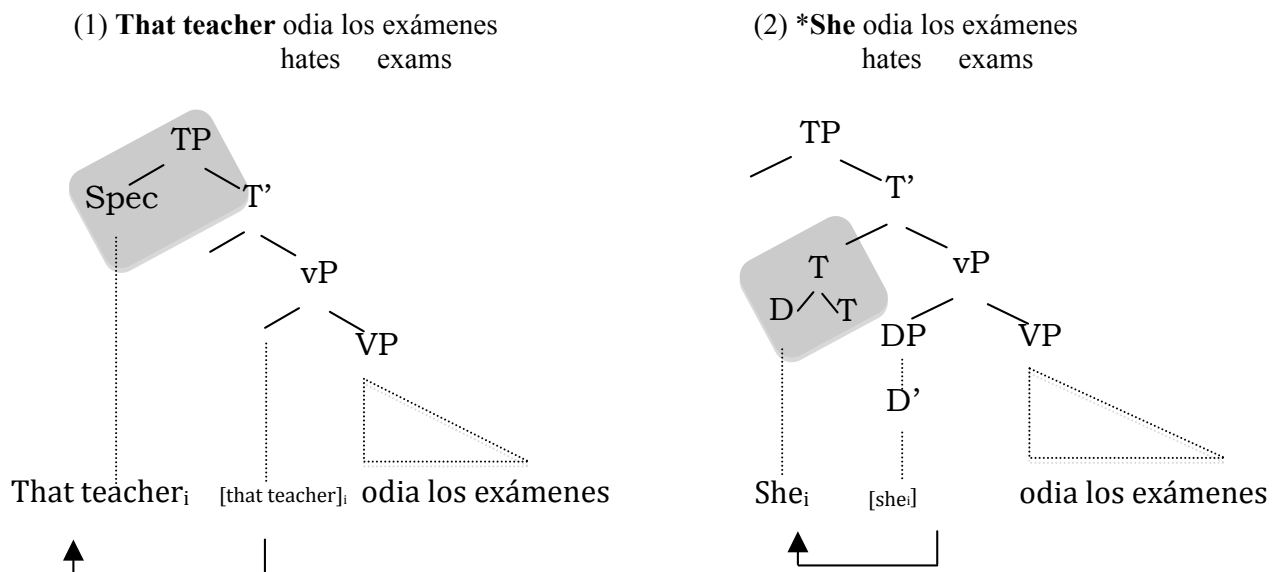
## Beyond the Subject DP versus the Subject Pronoun Divide in Agreement Switches

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More than three decades ago, as noted by Koronkiewicz (2012), it was stated that pronouns are unable to be code-switched while DPs do code-switch (Gumperz 1975, Lipski 1978, among others). Jake (1994) differentiated ‘grammatical’ (English-like) subject pronouns from ‘lexical’ (French or Arabic) strong pronouns showing that it is only the former that cannot code-switch. More recently, Van Gelderen & MacSwan (2008) have provided a Minimalist account of how the categorial nature of the subject determines the viability of subject/verb switches by bilingual speakers so that switching between the DP subject and the verb in (1) is a grammatical option while switching between the subject pronoun and the verb as in (2) is ungrammatical.



Van Gerderen & MacSwan (2008) consider the switch in (2) to be ungrammatical because it violates the P(honological) F(orm) Disjunction Theorem which rules out code-switching below X<sup>0</sup>. As shown in (1), lexical DPs check features in [Spec TP] while pronouns in (2) undergo D-to-T movement. In the latter case, the mixed-language complex head crashes at PF. However, in the case of strong pronouns (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999) such as the French or Moroccan Arabic strong pronouns in (3) and (4), Van Gerderen & MacSwan (2008) argue that the PF Disjunction Theorem would not be violated because they behave as DPs.

- (3) **Moi** dxlt  
[I<sub>French</sub> [went-in]<sub>Arabic</sub> ] (French/Moroccan Arabic)
- (4)a. **Nta** tu vas travailler  
[you<sub>Arabic</sub> [you go work]<sub>French</sub> ] (French/Moroccan Arabic)
- (4)b. **Humaya** vergelijken de mentaliteit met de islam  
[they<sub>Arabic</sub> [compare the mentality with the islam]<sub>Dutch</sub> ] (Dutch/Moroccan Arabic)

As for Spanish subject pronouns, and even though they have been considered to be strong (e.g. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1988; Kato 1999), English-Spanish bilinguals do not seem to code-switch freely between a Spanish subject pronoun and an English verb as in (5).

(5) **??Ella** hates exams

Koronkiewicz (2012), based on the different code-switching behavior attributed to standard, as in (5), versus non-standard subject position pronouns (prosodically stressed, coordinated or modified) as in (6), calls for a further refinement and expansion of Cardinaletti & Starke's (1999) strong, weak and clitic pronominal systems.

- (6) a. **ELLA** hates exams
- (6) b. **Ella** y Marsias hate exams
- (6) c. **La** de sintaxis hates exams

According to this distinction, we would expect the same code-switching differences between standard and non-standard position Spanish and English pronouns. Furthermore, since none of the proposals make any prediction with respect to potential differences between first, second and third person pronouns, we would also expect the same code-switching behavior for the three. In this paper, we discuss code-switching acceptability judgment data elicited from a group of twelve child 2L1 (simultaneous English-Spanish) bilinguals, a group of eighteen child L2 (subsequent Spanish L1-English L2) bilinguals and a group of adult L2 (subsequent Spanish L1-English L2) bilinguals. We show that: (i) there are significant differences between subject DPs and subject pronouns both in English and Spanish, (ii) there are significant differences between both English and Spanish third person standard position pronouns and first and second standard position pronouns; (iii) Spanish third person standard position pronouns significantly differ from their English counterparts with respect to code-switching; and (iv) Spanish third person standard position pronouns are closer to DPs than to their first and second person counterparts.

In order to account for those differences, we propose an agreement version of the so-called “analogical criterion” that has been shown to underlie code-switching preferences (Liceras et al. 2008) in the case of concord structures such as those in (7) and (8).

- (7) **la** house  
fem. [*casa*, fem.]
- (8) **la** book  
fem. [*libro*, masc.]

Liceras et al. (2008) have shown that simultaneous English-Spanish bilinguals and Spanish dominant bilinguals systematically reject clear-cut violations of the “analogical criterion” as in (8) where the Spanish feminine determiner occurs with an English noun whose corresponding Spanish translation is a masculine noun.

Thus, following Liceras et al.'s (2008), we argue that, as it is the case with concord structures, with third person standard position pronouns, Pesetsky & Torrego's (2001) double feature valuation hypothesis leads native Spanish speakers and Spanish dominant bilinguals' intuitions when judging code-switching structures. Namely, both English and Spanish third person standard position pronouns require the valuation of their agreement feature on the verb and the verb requires to value the nominative feature on the pronoun. However, while the Spanish pronoun can value its agreement feature on the English verb (it is morphologically marked with an *-s*), the English pronoun cannot value its nominative feature because the Spanish third person verb lacks any morphological marking, as shown in (9) and (10) respectively.

- (9) **Ella** talk-**S** about syntax
- (10) **She** habla-**Ø** de sintaxis

This implies that the need to value the agreement feature born by the Spanish pronoun (to abide by this version of the “analogical criterion”) supersedes the PF Disjunction Theorem.