

Information structure and particle choice:

Native and near-native speakers of Japanese and Korean

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Overview

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Background

Heritage speaker

- A speaker who grew up hearing (and possibly speaking) language L at home but who as an adult is more comfortable in the dominant language of the society
- Heritage speakers are a common phenomenon in the US, with about 30% American undergrads coming from non-English speaking homes

Heritage Korean / Japanese speakers in the US

- Listened to their parents speak Korean/Japanese at home and acquired it (including receptive acquisition) since childhood, as L1
- Conversational skills acquired by communication with other family members at home
- Currently use American English as primary language of communication
- Second generation decedents of Korean/Japanese immigrants in the US

Heritage Korean (HK)/Japanese (HJ)

- Many Korean/Japanese immigrant families promote communication in Korean/Japanese language at home, offering bilingual environment to their children who receive formal education in English.
- Other immigrant parents raise their children in a monolingual environment, so that they can “integrate” into the American society more easily (Jeon, 2008).
- Heritage language speakers oftentimes do not maintain their Korean/Japanese language skills to a fluent level.

Historical Population Change

HK

<u>1970</u>	69,130	+3940.3%
<u>1980</u>	354,593	+412.9%
<u>1990</u>	798,849	+125.3%
<u>2000</u>	1,076,872	+34.8%
<u>2010</u>	1,423,784	+32.2%

HJ

<u>1970</u>	591,290	+27.3%
<u>1980</u>	700,974	+18.5%
<u>1990</u>	847,562	+20.9%
<u>2000</u>	796,700	-6.0%
<u>2010</u>	763,325	-4.2%

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Korean_American

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_American

Corpus studies on HK & HJ

- Heritage Korean (written corpora)
 - Honorifics
 - Passives
 - Word order
- Heritage Japanese
 - N/A

Current study

How do HK&HJ speakers talk?



Videos: Dooly, Ppororo, and Tom & Jerry

How do HK&HJ speakers talk?

- What characterizes heritage Korean / heritage Japanese language?
What types of errors do heritage Korean / heritage Japanese speakers make?
- Polinsky Language Sciences Lab Dataverse
<http://dvn.iq.harvard.edu/dvn/dv/polinsky> (transcriptions available to public)

Participants

	Korean	Japanese
Native	10 (4M) 26 Y(20-33)	10 (4M) 26y (19~30)
Heritage*	14 (4M) 20 Y(17-25)	11 (5M) 25y (18~30)

*All the participants have one or more of their parents who speak Korean/Japanese as the native language.

NOMINAL DOMAIN

Nominatives

Missing nominatives (Kor.)

- 코끼리[가] 되게 화난 모습 보이면서
khokkili[-ka] *toykey* *hwana-n* *mosup* *po-i-myense*
elephant[-NOM] very angry-ADN image see-CAUS-LK
'the elephant seems to be very upset'

[HK_121016_16]

Missing nominatives with *-issta* (Kor.)

- <그> 방엔
 <ku> pang-eyn
 <that> room-LOC
 창문 하나[가] 있었고요
 changmwun hana[-ka] iss.ess-ko.yo
 window one[-NOM] exist-PST-CONJ-DECL
 ‘There was a window in the room,’

[HK_121013_03]

- 놀이공원 가서
 nol.i-kongwen ka-se
 amusement-park go-LK
 코끼리[가] 있는 걸 봐서
 khokkili[-ka] iss-nun ke-l pw-ase
 elephant[-NOM] exist-ADN thing-ACC see-LK
 ‘Because (Dooly) went to the amusement park and saw an elephant there,’

[HK_121016_16]

Allomorph substitution for nominatives (Kor.)

- 그래서 커튼가[%-이] 내려갔어요.
kulayse khethun-ka[%-i] nayly-e-ka-ss-e.yo.
so curtain-NOM go.down-LK-go-PST-DECL
'(as) the curtain went down,'
[HK_121126_18]
- 톰가[%-이] 구멍에 들어갔어요.
thom-ka[%-i] kwumeng-eytul.e-ka-ss-e.yo.
Tom-NOM hole-LOC step.into-LK-go-PST-DECL
'so, Tom stepped into the hole,'
[HK_121126_18]

Comitative in place of nominative (Kor.)

- 돌리와 친구랑[%-가]

<i>twulli-wa</i>	<i>chinkwu-lang[%-ka]</i>
Dooly-with	friend-with[%-NOM]
<그> zoo에	걸어가는데
<ku> zoo-ey	<i>kel-e-ka-nuntey</i>
<that> zoo-LOC	walk-LK-go-CONN
코끼리를	봤어요
<i>khokkili-lul</i>	<i>pw-ass-e.yo</i>
elephant-ACC	see-PST-DECL

‘Dooly and his friend were walking to the zoo, and they saw an elephant.’

[HK_121115_24]

Nominative vs. Topic

Nominative

- encodes a purely syntactic category
- no interpretive constraints (can be non-specific, new, etc.)

Topic

- encodes the referent that the utterance is about (Reinhart 1981, inter alia)
- corresponds to the specifier of the Topic phrase above TP

Topic in place of nominative (Kor.)

- 그리고 &제리하 [//]
kuleko &ceyli-ha [//]
 then &Jerry-ha [//]
 제리는[%-가] 그 여자 고양이하고
ceyli-nun[%-ka] ku yeca ko.yangi-hako
 Jerry-NOM that girl cat-with
 춤을 # 추는 동안
chwum-ul # chwu-nun tongan
 dance-ACC do-ADN while
 ‘Then Jerry [//] while Jerry is dancing with that cat girl.’
 [HK_121011_09]

Nominative in place of topic marker (Kor.)

- I:** 그 여자 펭귄은
ku yeca pheynqkwin.un
 that female penguin-NOM
 ‘The female penguin,’
- 누구를 가장 좋아하는 것 같아요?
nwukwu-lul kacang coh.aha-nun kes kath-ayo?
 who-ACC best like-ADN thing similar-Q
 ‘who do you think (the female penguin) liked best?’
- S:** 그 여자 펭귄이[%-은] 어@fp
ku yeca pheynqkwin-i[%-un] e@fp
 that female penguin-NOM[%-TOP]
- 악어를 좋아하는 것 같아요[%-아요].
ak.e-lul coh.aha-nun kes kath-ayyo[%-a.yo].
 crocodile-ACC like-ADN thing similar-DECL
 ‘I think the female penguin likes the crocodile.’

[HK_121013_03]

Accusatives

Datives in place of accusatives (Kor.)

- **쪼끄만** <뭐> crumb 이 있어서
 ccokkuma-n <mwe> crumb -i iss-ese
 small-ADN well crumb-NOM have-so
그거한테 [%그거를] 코끼리한테
 kuke-hanthey [%kuke-lul] khokkili-hanthey
 that-to [%that-ACC] elephant-to
 &주 # 어@fp # 줬어요.
 &cwu # e@fp # cw-ess-eyo.
 &gi # e@fp # give-PAST-DECL
 ‘but well (he) had a small crumb so (he) gave to that to the elephant.

[HK_121011_09]

Comitative in place of accusative (Kor.)

- | | | | |
|---|--------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 그래서 | 손님하고[%손님을] | <그> | 커피하고 |
| kulayse | sonnim-hako | <ku> | khephi-hako |
| so | guest-and | <that> | coffee-and |
| ‘so the guest, coffee, and’ | | | |
| <막> | 쿠키 [//] | | 쿠키가 |
| <mak> | khwukhi [//] | | khwukh-i-n-ka |
| <recklessly> | | | cookie-be-ADN-Q |
| ‘cookie, ...was it a cookie?’ | | | |
| 비스킷인가 | xxx | 모르겠는데 | <그> |
| pisukhis-i-n-ka | xxx | mol-u-keyss-nuntey | <ku> |
| biscuit-be-ADN-Q | | NEG-know-PST-CONN | <that> |
| ‘maybe biscuit, I don’t know’ | | | |
| 그런걸로 | 대접을 | 하고 | 있었는데 |
| kulen-kel-lo | taycep-ul | ha-ko | i-ss.-e-ss-nuntey |
| such-thing-INS | serving-ACC | do-CONJ | exist-PST-LK-PST-CONN |
| ‘when (he) was serving with something like that,’ | | | |

[HK_121115_19]

-ni in place of -o (Jap.)

- スキーにしていた 話をしている、

Ski-ni shite-ita hanashi-o shite-ite

ski doing was talking was

“Was talking about skiing〜”

- ジェリーに追いかけて始めて、

Jerry-ni oikake hajimete

Jerry chase beginning to

“beginning to chase Jerry...”

- お父さんのほうに見て、

otoosan-no hoo-ni mite

father toward/at look(ing)

“Looking at the father 〜”

- ペンギンさんのことに考えてます。

penguin-san no koto-ni kangaete-imasu.

Penguin of thinking is

“(He) is thinking of the Penguin.” (thinking about〜) => then ni-tsuite)

Locatives

Locatives

- Korean
 - *-ey* (static)
 - *-eyse* (dynamic)
- Japanese
 - *-ni* (static)
 - *-de* (dynamic)

-ey in place of -eyse (Kor.)

- 자기가 어떤 산 위에[%-에서]
caki-ka *etten* *san* *wi-ey[%-eyse]*
self-NOM some mountain top-LOC
스키 타고 있는데
sukhi tha-ko *iss-nuntey*
ski ride-CONJ exist-CONN
'he was skiing on a mountain'

[HK_121013_03]

-eyse in place of -ey (Kor.)

- 둘이 뛰었는데
twul-i *ttwi-ess-nuntey*
two-NOM jump-PST-CONN
쇼파 위에서[%-에] 올라가고
syopha wi-eyse[%-ey] *ol-la-ka-ko*
sofa above-LOC climb.up-LK-go-CONJ
'The two jumped, went onto the sofa'

[HK_121016_16]

- Cf. Shin (2008)

-ni in place of -de (Jap.)

- ~所に (で)

tokoro-ni

place at

“at the place”

- 側に (で) ジェリーが笑ってるのをみて (それに怒って、追いかけるっていう、シーンです。)

soba-ni Jerry-ga waratte-ru no-o mite

the side at Jerry laughing look at

“Looking at Jerry who is laughing at the side”

- 近くに来たところに (で)、 (少しずつ、そのゴキブリ触りたくないから)

chikaku-ni kita-tokoro-ni

near-by came

“came nearby”

-de in place of -ni (Jap.)

- 家の中で (に) いて

ie-no naka-**de** (supposed to be **ni**) ite

house **inside** was

“was inside of the house”

Locatives

Locatives

- Korean
 - -ey (static, also goal)
 - -eyse (dynamic, also source)
- Japanese
 - -ni (static)
 - -de (dynamic)

Datives

- Korean
 - -eykey / -ey
Cf. -eykese (source)
 - -hantey
Cf. -hanteyse (source)
- Japanese
 - -ni

VERBAL DOMAIN

Passives/Causatives

Passive / Causative

Korean

- Passive: mek-**hi**-ess-ta
eat-PASS-PST-DECL
'was eaten'
- Causative: mek-**i**-ess-ta
eat-CAUS-PST-DECL
'made someone eat, fed'

Japanese

- Passive: tabe-**rare**-ta
eat-PASS-DECL
'was eaten'
- Causative: tabe-**sase**-ta
eat-CAUS-DECL
'made someone eat, fed'

Passives (Kor.)

- Affixal passives involve passive derivational morphemes.
- Lexical passive verbs do not have a passive morpheme
 - ttaylita ‘hit’ vs. macta ‘be hit’.
- Phrasal passives consist of a verb followed by –e/ -a and the inchoative verb cita ‘get to be, become’,
 - cwuta ‘give’ vs. cwu-e cita ‘be given’ (Sohn 1999).

Missing passives (Kor.)

- 밑에 있는 어항에
mith-ey iss-nun *ehang-ey*
bottom-LOC exist-ADN fish.bowl-LK
몇 번 담가 [//]
myech *pen* *tamk-a[/ /]*
several times soak-LK
담가다가[%담궜다가]
tamk-a-taka[%tamk-y-ess-taka]
soak-LK-CONN[%soak-PASS-PST-CONN]
'(Tom) was soaked into the fish bowl below for several times'

[HK_121013_05]

Causatives (Kor.)

- Short-form causatives involve causative derivational morphemes
 - direct causation
- Long-form causatives involve addition of –key ha(y) ‘cause to do/be’ after a predicate
 - indirect causation

Missing causatives (Kor.)

- 제리가 불을 났어요[%냈어요]
ceyli-ka pwul-ul *na-ass-e.yo*[^o*na-y-ss-e.yo*]
Jerry-NOM fire-ACC break.out-PST-DECL[^o*break.out-CAUS-PST-DECL*]
'Jerry started a fire'

[HK_121126_18]

Overuse of causatives (Kor.)

- 발이 태우는[%타는] 것을
pal-i *thay-wu-nun[%tha-nun]* *kes-ul*
foot-NOM burn-CAUS-ADN[%burn-ADN] thing-ACC
느껴요.
nukky-e.yo.
feel-DECL
'He feels his foot burning.'

[HK_121013_03]

Passive & Causative: No errors (Jap.)

Heritage

Passive: 46

(-rareru: 32; -reru: 14)

Causative: 6

Total: 52

Japanese

Passive: 38

(-rareru: 23; -reru 15)

Causative: 10

Total: 48

- Most examples were from “Tom & Jerry” and “Dooly2” in both groups.
- Heritage group: mostly high proficiency speakers

Evidentials

mitai- in place of mitai-na (Jap.)

- can soften the impact of statement as well as allowing a speaker to distance him or herself from the truth of a statement
- reflects the speaker's judgment (as opposed to a third party's judgment) and the confidence level is reasonably high. The judgment is often based on observed evidence.
- ~MITAI is quite common in informal speech. In contrast to expressions softened with something like DAROO, **an expression with ~ MITAI is always more than a simple guess.**
- It also occurs in the following patterns where similar differences in degrees of confidence are reflected.

e.g.,

イギリス人みたいな日本人。

igirisu-jin mitai-na nihonjin

English/British seems Japanese

“A Japanese person who seems English.”

mitai-→mitai-na (Jap.)

- フラッシュバック **みたい(な)** のが ある
flashback mitai-(na)-no-ga aru
flashback seems like there is
“it seems like a flashback~”
- 水槽 **みたい(な)** のに
suisoo mitai-(na)-no-ni
fish tank seems like
“it seems like a fish tank~”
- 掃除機 **みたい(な)** の で
soojiki mitai-(na)- no -de
vacuum cleaner seems like things by
“by the things which seems like a vacuum cleaner...”
- 恐竜 **みたい(な)** 緑色のキャラクターを
kyooryuu mitai-(na) midoriiro-no-kyarakutaa-o
dinosaur seems like green of character
“it’s a green character like a dinosaur..”

Concluding remarks

Types of particle errors

- Wrong/missing particles
 - Nominative
 - Accusative
 - Locative
 - Passive/causative
 - Evidentials

Comparison

	Korean	Japanese
Nominative	Errors	Possible errors?
Accusative	Errors	Errors
Locative	More errors	Less errors
Passive/Causative	Errors	
Evidentials		Errors

Discussion

Why are the errors in the nominal domain more numerous than in the verbal domain?

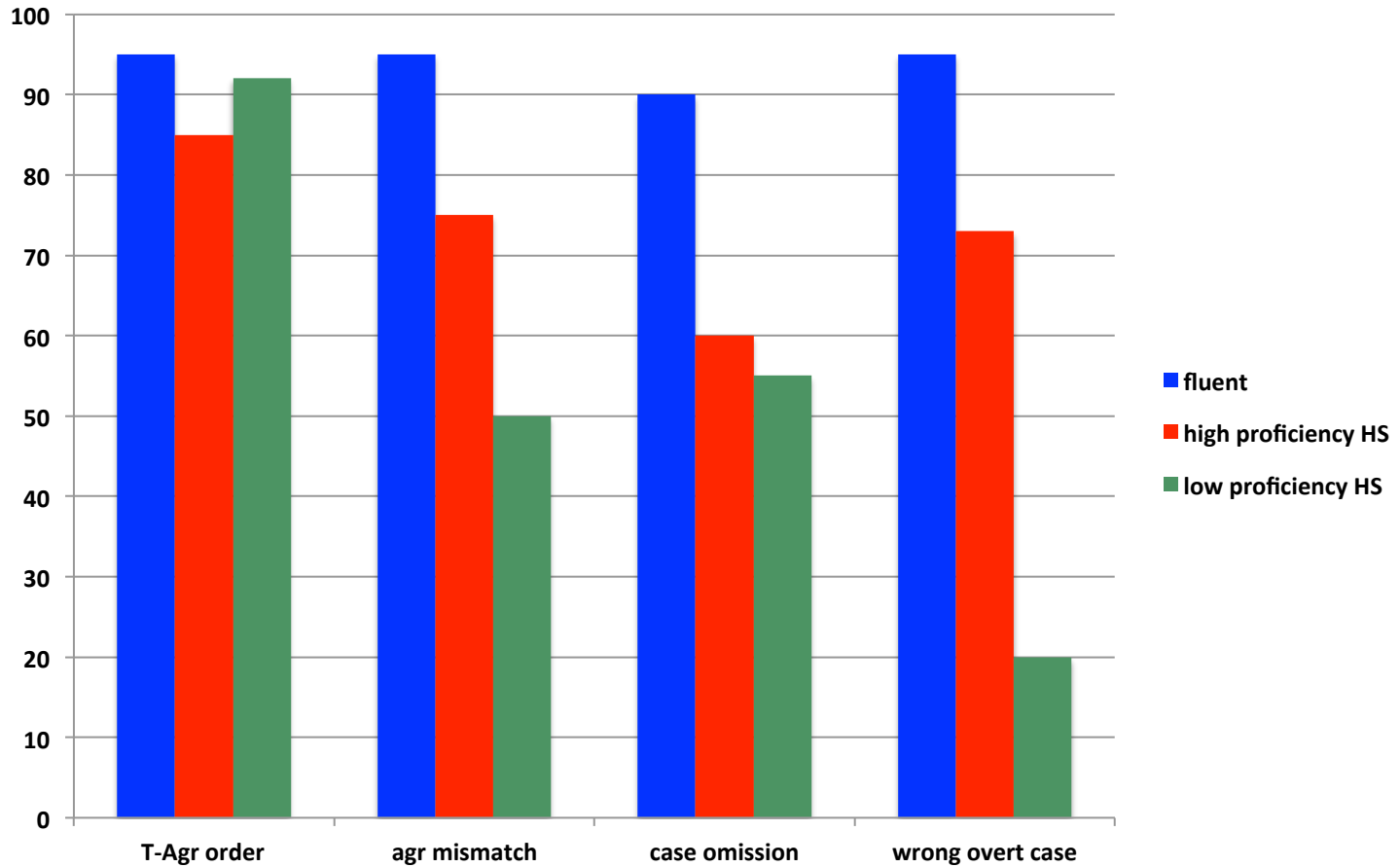
Beyond Japanese and Korean: stronger nominal vulnerabilities in Inuktittut and Circassian despite simple nominal morphology and complex verbal morphology

Heritage Inuktitut (polysynthetic, ergative)

- High and low proficiency heritage speakers were asked to judge structures with
 - tense-agreement reversal,
 - agreement mismatches,
 - omission of the instrumental case,
 - the use of the instrumental case instead of the nominative (overt marked case instead of unmarked)

(Sherkina-Lieber et al. 2011)

Heritage Inuktitut



(Sherkina-Lieber et al. 2011)

Heritage Inuktitut

- Nominal morphology is more strongly affected than verbal morphology
 - In nouns, case is most vulnerable
 - In verbs, agreement is more affected than tense

Circassian, Northwest Caucasus (polysynthetic, ergative)

- two cases (ABS and ERG), both marked

ABS: noun-*r* (lə-r 'dog')

ERG: noun-*m* (lə-m 'dog')

the ergative form is also licensed by postpositions

- very complex verb forms

agreement with subject, object, and multiple applied objects licensed by applicative heads (all prefixal)

Heritage Circassian: DP errors

ERG in place of ABS	ABS in place of ERG	ERG omitted	ABS omitted
28/115 (24%)	0	0	3/115 (2%)

N=199 DPs; case is not overtly marked on 1 and 2 pronouns, names, or kinship terms

Directionality: ERG wins over, possibly a frequency effect

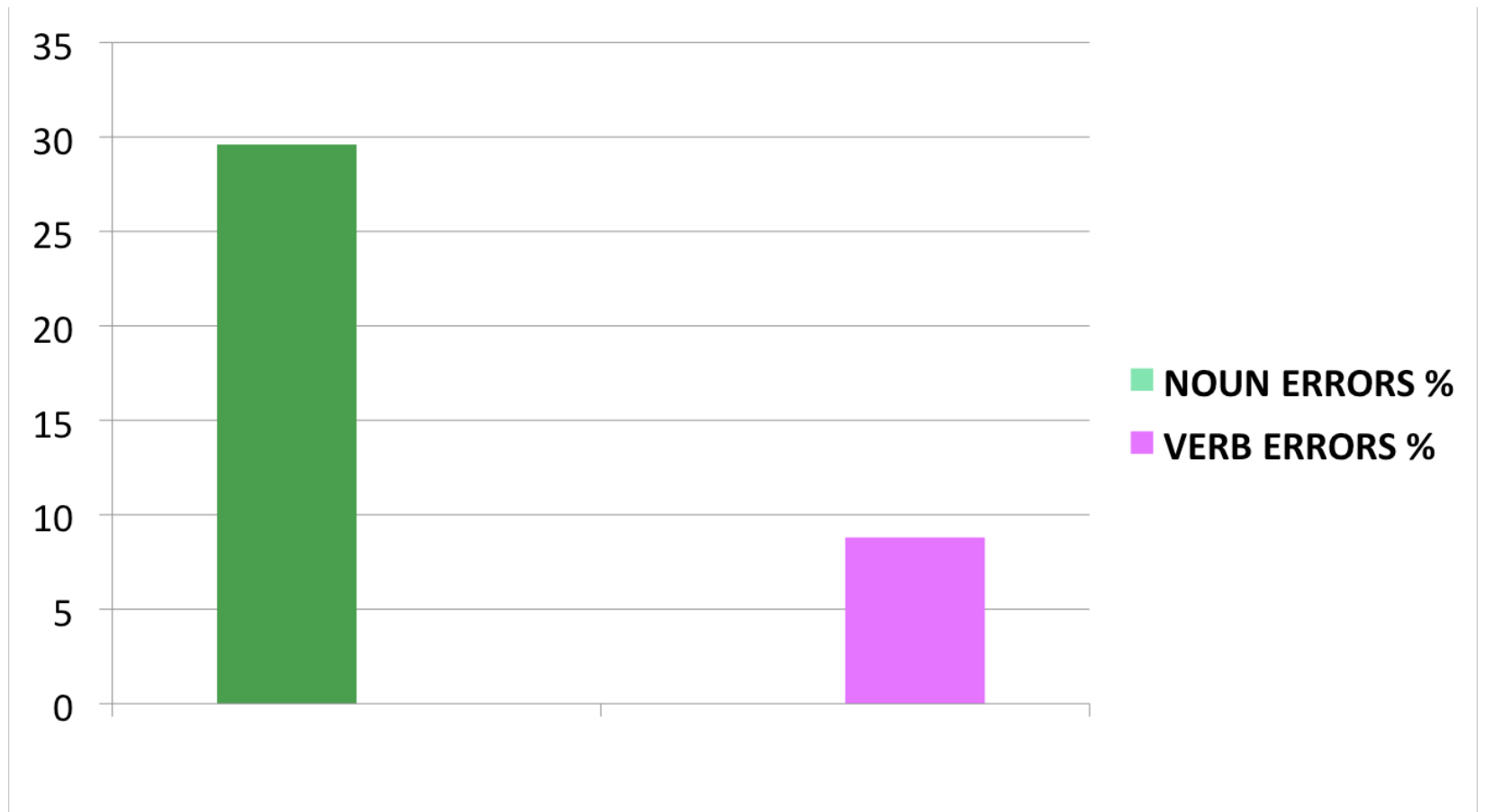
ABS is replaced by ERG both in the subject and object position, therefore, not a simple subject effect

Heritage Circassian : Verb errors

586 forms transcribed; 52 errors (8.8%)

- Embedded instead of matrix negation
- Omission of interrogative form (same as in Korean)
- Over-marking of the causative
- Agreement errors (use of overt marking instead of null marking)

Heritage Circassian (Polinsky in prep.)



Thank you!