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# Language Contact: The State of the Art

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# Keynotes

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## **Contact linguistics and usage-based linguistics: a marriage made in heaven**

In my talk, I aim to explore in what ways the study of contact-induced language change can benefit from adopting the usage-based approach to linguistic theory that underlies much of ‘Cognitive Linguistics’. From this perspective, language change is characterized as change in the inventory of form-meaning units that a given speaker masters as well as in the degree to which these units are entrenched in that speaker’s mental representation. Cumulatively, we speak of language change if similar such changes occur in the mental representations of many speakers in the same speech community. Furthermore, since mental representation is argued to be based on usage, it must be dynamic, so we should see change as a design feature of language. While the first part of my talk will reinterpret some ongoing discussions in contact linguistics from a usage-based perspective, the second part will report on several recent empirical studies on Turkish-Dutch contact in the large Turkish immigrant community in The Netherlands. Contact between the languages is very intense, and results in widespread codeswitching and all kinds of lexical and structural change. Together, these studies represent a range of topics and methods. The results show that the data from corpora, experimental tasks and judgment tasks largely yield converging evidence, allowing fairly robust conclusions about the principles behind change. The comparisons also show, however, that in contact settings the apparent non-use of older, inherited features does not mean that they are not entrenched anymore in the individual speaker’s mental representation. Lack of active usage, that is, does not automatically mean quick erosion of passive knowledge.



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## **Substrates in Finnic**

Finnic a.k.a. Fennic, Balto-Finnic, Balto-Fennic, Baltic Finnic, Baltic Fennic, etc. is a subgroup of the Uralic language family, including several relatively closely related languages, such as Finnish and Estonian. From a contact linguistic point of view, the Finnic languages are exceptionally well-researched as far as their Germanic, Baltic, and Slavic superstrates and/or adstrates are concerned. At the same time, however, their possible substrates have barely even been mentioned (apart from the Saami substrate in North Finnic), but there have only been few subtle references to unknown substrates. Thus, the present paper will examine the evidence both for and against such unknown substrates before reaching a startling conclusion that the substrate in Finnic was not so unknown after all.

### **Contact-Stimulated Grammatical Extension: From Syntax to Information Structure and Back**

Great progress has been made since early assumptions that only vocabulary can be copied in situations of language contact. It is now recognized that, given appropriate social circumstances, nearly any aspect of language can be affected, including abstract structure. Exciting work is now emerging on the kinds of processes that might shape grammar in contact situations (Heine and Kuteva 2003, 2005, 2010 on replica grammaticalization, Johanson 2008 on selective copying, Matras 2011 on pattern replication, etc.). Here a kind of contact-stimulated grammatical development is examined which involves the extension of dependent clause constructions to markers of information structure and on toward case marking.

The North American Southeast is a strong linguistic area. Languages at the core include all those of the Muskogean family and, to their west, isolates Atakapa and Chitimacha among others. Contact is longstanding and intimate, but the distribution of contact effects contrasts with frequently-cited borrowability hierarchies. Unrelated languages share little vocabulary but show extensive phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic parallelisms.

Central to the syntax of the Muskogean languages are switch-reference constructions. Verbs in dependent clauses carry markers which indicate whether their subjects are co-referential with that of the matrix or different. Intriguingly, the shapes of the same-subject markers match nominative case markers, and those of the different-subject markers match oblique (non-subject) case markers. Both systems can be reconstructed to Proto-Muskogean. It has often been assumed that the switch-reference system developed from case-marked dependent clauses, but Martin (2009) has suggested a more compelling scenario. He posits the starting point as the switch-reference system, noting that even in the modern languages not all lexical nominals are marked for case. He traces the origin of the case markers to focus constructions with an initial dependent clause: 'It being X, . . .' In most modern Muskogean languages, focus constructions also contain a suffix *-o:* before the case markers, which Martin traces to a Proto-Muskogean verb \**o:mi* 'be'.

A strikingly similar match across clausal and nominal constructions appears in the neighboring isolates Atakapa and Chitimacha, though the shapes of the markers are different. Dependent participial clauses and focused or topicalized lexical nominals are all marked with =*š*, also potentially traceable to verbs meaning 'be'. It thus appears that the Atakapa and Chitimacha speakers copied the grammaticalization of a verb 'be' to dependent clause markers, then copied the extension of the dependency construction to mark special information structure.

A final twist involves the late copying of substance. The westernmost Muskogean language Choctaw, closest to the isolates, has apparently recently recruited their marker =*š* as a replacement for its native =*t* in certain clausal and nominal constructions, to further specify simultaneity of associated events and special focus on referents.

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# Section papers

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### **Interrupted processes of mixed-language formation? Evidence from Romani**

The present study reports on language mixing in two Romani communities, with a century-long presence in Finland and in Greece. A quantitative analysis of free-speech data shows that verbs from the current contact languages, Finnish and Turkish, are systematically inserted into a dominant Romani speech with their respective Finnish and Turkish tense, mood, aspect, and person morphology. The insertion in language A of non-integrated single words from language B is atypical for classic code-switching and borrowing (Myers-Scotton 2002, Poplack and Dion 2012), but is a well-known mechanism in the creation of mixed languages. Unlike mixed languages, however, where no single dominant language can be identified, Romani is the main component in the corpora under study. We suggest that this type of Romani language mixing illustrates an early stage of mixed language formation (O'Shanessy 2012, 2013, Meakins 2012) that did not develop into an independent mixed language, owing to changes in the sociopolitical settings.

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## **Article-like markers in 16th century Finnish literature – how language contacts have affected their use**

Finnish is usually regarded as a language which lacks articles. Instead of a specialized linguistic unit, interpretation of the (in)definiteness of reference relies on various factors like case, word order, and, most importantly, context. However, this is the situation in the standard variety only. In modern spoken Finnish, use of the demonstrative *se* 'it, that' and the numeral *yks(i)* 'one' resembles the use of articles in the major European languages in many ways (Laury 1997; Juvonen 2005). This was also the situation in the old literary Finnish (from c. 1540 - beginning of 19th century) where *se*, *yksi* and even the indefinite *joku* 'some' were used to a large extent like articles in Swedish and German. Most texts from the period of old literary Finnish are translations and thus display a variety of features foreign to Finnish. Linguists of the 19th century, in a nationalistic spirit, wanted to purify Finnish of all foreign influence and regarded the use of article-like markers as such influence.

As language contacts have played a central role in the spread of articles in Europe (Heine & Kuteva 2006), it would not be unexpected if their grammaticalization occurred in Finnish as well. In the process of grammaticalization, indigenous and foreign are often intertwined and this seems to be the case in both old and modern Finnish: apparently there has been indigenous, specialized marker use in the vernacular, enabling further evolution (Laury 1997; Kolehmainen - Nordlund 2011). Foreign influence, for old Finnish mainly Swedish and German (and in case of modern Finnish, English) then has rapidly increased the number of possible contexts for article-like markers.

In my presentation I will discuss the use of markers of definiteness and indefiniteness in 16th century Finnish texts explained by both native and foreign factors. As the oldest written Finnish did not have firm standards yet, the way markers are used varies widely from text to text based on source language and the translation strategies and norms. I am going to show a couple of different texts and demonstrate my method which consists of comparing translations with source texts and analyzing the reference type (specific, general, unreferential) of each NP, both with and without a marker.

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### **Contact leading to a more complex tonal system: the case of Ikoma and Datooga in North-Wes Tanzania**

The eastern side of Lake Victoria in North-West Tanzania has been inhabited since the first centuries AC. The first population has most likely been Bantu-speaking, with contacts over the centuries with Cushitic and Nilotic groups expanding from the north (Nurse 1999). Today the area is the administrative unit of the United Republic of Tanzania called Mara region, and more than 20 Bantu languages are spoken in the region. These languages represent two branches, “Mara” (JE40 Bantu languages) and “Suguti” (JE25), under the East Nyanza branch of Great Lakes Bantu languages (Walker 2013). Ikoma is one of the Mara Bantu languages, spoken in the south-east corner of the Mara region, bordering Serengeti National Park.

The speakers of the Southern Nilotic language Datooga have been in Mara region for about a thousand years and lived in interdependent ecologies with the Bantu speakers (Shetler 2007). The Ikoma are specifically known as having close relations with the Datooga.

Ikoma shows several features that are not found in the other Bantu languages in the area. For example, Ikoma has a complicated vowel harmony system in which, among other peculiar processes, stem ATR-features induce height harmony in noun class prefixes and verbal prefixes (Higgins 2012). It has been suggested already by Nurse & Rottland (1991:175) that the vowel harmony systems of JE40 Bantu languages have been induced by a Southern Nilotic language. While Nurse & Rottland’s hypothesis remains to be tested, this paper discusses the Datooga influence on Ikoma nominal tone system.

Ikoma nominal tone system is more complex than in any other known JE40 language in the Mara region, and Ikoma has retained most of the Proto-Bantu lexical tonal contrasts. The nominal tone systems of the other Bantu languages in the area are rather reduced: there are systems in which there is only one lexically-defined syllable with the highest prominence per word, such as that of Nata (Angheliescu 2013), or systems in which all nominal stems are either H-toned or toneless, such as Isenye (Aunio 2013). In Ikoma, the monosyllabic and bisyllabic noun stems show the common Eastern Bantu distinction (i.e. stems are toneless or have a H tone on one of the stem syllables), but trisyllabic and longer nouns also have a tone pattern in which all the stem syllables are realized as H (called the “all H” pattern). (Aunio 2010)

This paper shows that the all H pattern has been introduced to Ikoma through Datooga loanwords. The tonal pattern matches Datooga Nominative case tone which is used in post-verbal subject position (Kiessling 2007). This new tonal pattern in Ikoma has been applied to noun stems of non-Datooga origin as well and it has affected the typology of Ikoma nominal tone system: Without this newly introduced tonal pattern Ikoma tone system could be defined as a reduced tonal system, where each morpheme can have at most one prominent syllable, but the introduced tonal pattern also introduced multiply linked H tones which are not allowed in other contexts in Ikoma.

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## **Valency-changing processes in a contact variety: the evidence from Cameroon Pidgin English**

Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE) is an expanded pidgin/creole spoken by some two million people, primarily in the Anglophone west regions, but also in urban centres throughout the country (Ayafor 2004). In a country with an estimated 280 living languages (Lewis 2009), CPE is therefore spoken in a setting of societal multilingualism: official languages are English and French, and indigenous languages are predominantly Niger-Congo (Bantoid).

This paper explores processes of valency change with a particular focus on (a) lexical and (b) constructional patterns. In the case of the former, verbs surface in CPE with different valency properties than in English, the lexifier language, but not as a consequence of participation in a productive syntactic construction. In the latter case, verbs undergo valency changes as a consequence of the serial verb constructions in which they participate, constructions that are built around a small set of frequently occurring verbs including ‘take’, ‘make’ and ‘give’.

### Research questions

- Does CPE show simplification/restriction in valency patterns compared to the corresponding patterns in the contributing languages?
- Does CPE retain valency patterns of the corresponding substrate languages, and if so, which verbs are mostly affected?
- To what extent does high/low transitivity (in the sense of Hopper and Thompson 1980) influence the availability of a verb to valency changes?

### Approach and method

In the absence of a full corpus of CPE, we explore data from a range of sources including transcribed spoken data (e.g. Ayisi and Longinotto 2005, Todd 1979) and elicited data. The approach is descriptive-typological. We also explore comparative data from West African ‘Standard’ Englishes (e.g. Davies 2013, Huber 2012), expecting some typological differences to surface.

### Preliminary findings

#### (a) Lexical patterns

- One-place verbs: intransitives becoming transitive, e.g. waka (< walk) ‘walk’, ‘travel’ but also ‘visit’; laf (< laugh) ‘laugh at’; luk (< look) ‘find’, shwim wata ‘swim water’.
- Two-place verbs: monotransitives becoming intransitives, e.g. ‘middles’ (dat haus bil (< build) las yea ‘That house was built last year’, mek ol dat chop i los (< lose) ‘Make all that food disappear’, as well as examples like dinai (< deny) ‘refuse’.
- Three-place verbs: these verbs are unlikely to lend themselves to change because of their transfer semantics (a cross-linguistic prototype), but we have some examples of these verbs in monotransitive frames, e.g. draif (< drive) ‘drive someone/something away’.
- Category change (A to V) is a well-known feature of creoles (CPE examples include hongri ‘be hungry’, veks ‘be angry’).
- Incorporation of phrasal verb particles: CPE has a number of verbs in which the English particle is incorporated into the verb, which can then take a prepositional (fo) complement, e.g., shidon (< sit down) ‘sit, stay, live’, shidon fo daun ‘sit down’.

## (b) Constructions

- Valency increasing: CPE has productive valency-increasing constructions, which are realised by means of serial verb constructions (e.g. 'make' causative, 'give' benefactive, 'take' instrumental).
- Valency reducing: CPE has no passive for valency reduction; in addition to the valency-reducing 'middle' verbs mentioned above, CPE also employs the impersonal ('pseudopassive') construction, with an impersonal pronoun subject (CPE lacks expletive constructions, with some acrolectal exceptions).
- We observe that the same set of frequent verbs occur in serial verb constructions and 'light verb constructions' (Wohlgemuth 2009) e.g. mek kompetishon 'make competition, compete', gi oda 'give order, order'.

In terms of areal features in the substrates, prototypical Bantu languages are well known for their productive valency-changing verb morphology, but some non-Bantu Bantoid languages of Cameroon (e.g. Kenyang) lack a morphological passive and causative, and also employ alternative constructions (impersonal pseudopassive, periphrastic causative) (Green & Tabe Oben, in prep.).

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### **Accounting for morphological and morphosyntactic variation in creoles – is it always possible or even feasible?**

The creoles under survey are the closely related English-lexifier creoles of San Andrés, Old Providence, and Nicaragua. The influence of the lexifier language on these creoles is nowadays relatively weak while they have come under increasing pressure from Spanish since the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The creoles present some cases of morphological and morphosyntactic variation which lend themselves to speculation about possible language change in progress. But should these cases of variation be considered as diagnostic of decreolization, a hypothesis offered by Creolists to account for variation in creoles since the 1960s, change due to the pressure from the prestige language Spanish, language-internal and thence supposedly “natural” change, or should they even be considered cases of code-switching, possibly due to linguistic insecurity?

In this paper, I concentrate on verbal morphosyntax and the allomorphy and collocation of personal pronouns. Firstly, basilectal creole TMA-marking patterns coexist with superstratal verb structures (for instance, copula constructions with *iz* and *woz*) even in the speech production of the same speakers. Likewise, the basic, presumably invariant verb form may present doublets which Holm (1978:249) calls “equivalent allomorphs”, cf. Nicaraguan CE *tel* ~ *tuol* ‘tell’. Personal pronouns, especially third person pronouns, present allomorphy which in some cases can be attributed to a relative position on the creole continuum and in others to morphological factors. But how is one supposed to give a functional explanation of the “third person singular subject pronoun alternation rule” found in the speech of at least some San Andresan speakers? Or the occurrence of null subject pronouns, potentially indicative of future typological change (cf., however, Bartens & Sippola 2014)? Cf. San Andrés CE for 3SG subject pronoun alternation and null subjects, respectively:

*Ihn no sii dem, an wen him gaan out, ihn sii dem op iina trii haat.*  
3SG NEG see 3PL and when 3SG go.ANT out 3SG see 3PL up in tree heart  
'He did not see them and when he went out, he saw them up on the top branch  
of the tree.'

*Ø Kyaan komplien.*  
Ø can.NEG complain  
'I have nothing to complain about.'

Based on my data which mostly consists of spontaneous oral speech, I argue that in the kind of contact situations I am studying, variation is not always diagnostic of language change, at least not judging from existing recent diachronic data (cf. Washabaugh 1974 and Holm 1978), and that code-switching as well as the constant reaffirmation of one’s identity pace LePage & Tabouret-Keller (1985) might constitute (more) valuable leads – presuming, of course, that attempting to account for variation is a worthwhile endeavor in the first place at a time when there are proposals to legitimize the heterogeneity of creole discourses to the extent of questioning whether it is worthwhile to write in a creole language or not (cf. Freeland 2004:124).

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## **Effects of Language Contacts with Neighbouring Languages on the Western Subgroup of the Estonian North Eastern Coastal Dialect**

The presentation studies the effects of language contacts on the western subgroup of the Estonian north eastern coastal dialect (NECD) stemming from in the new era all the way to the first decades of the 20th century. The presentation is based on a material consisting of 225 words, which occur in all three or only two of the parishes (Jõelähtme, Kuusalu, Haljala) of the western subgroup of the Estonian NECD east of Tallinn. The researched material is from the material collected for the dictionary of Estonian dialects. One half of the studied words are loanwords, the source languages being Finnish, Swedish, German, Russian and (possibly) Latvian. A remarkably considerable amount, about 38 % of the studied words are of Finnish origin.

Semantically, the lexical borrowings from other source languages (Swedish, German, Russian) concern almost exclusively maritime vocabulary, but Finnish loans vary thematically as widely as in the vocabulary of Estonian origin. Furthermore, there are Finnish loans in all the word classes and the borrowing of descriptive verbs, adjectives and adverbs demonstrates close relations. The loanwords from genetically distant languages are mainly nouns.

The language contacts in the studied area have had three main effects on the western subgroup of the Estonian NECD. They have 1) supported to preserve the original morphophonological structure of the dialect as the other Estonian dialects elsewhere have changed 2) left a lot of lexical borrowings in the dialect 3) produced a new morphophonological feature not typical for Finnic languages, namely consonant clusters in the beginning of words. The Finnish contact has been a preserving and a loan-giving one, whereas the genetically distant languages have given a moderate amount of loanwords but also created a new morphophonological feature.

The effects of the language contacts carry a lot of information about cultural history. On the basis of the distribution of the Finnish source words it is possible to find out the direction of the Estonian contacts. Almost all of the Finnish source words are known in Kymenlaakso and Southern Karelia in South Eastern Finland on the north coast of the Gulf of Finland; a fourth of them are known only in one or both of these areas. A part of the Swedish source words are known only in the dialects of Eastern Uusimaa and Kymenlaakso in Finland. Thus, the main direction of the Estonian contacts has been to Kymenlaakso and Southern Karelia.

Thus, there seems to be strong evidence that the contacts with Finns have been the most intense: there are mostly Finnish loanwords and in all the word classes, thematic variability of the Finnish loans is as wide as in the vocabulary of Estonian origin, as the Swedish, German, Russian and Latvian loanwords deal with a specific theme and are nouns. Nevertheless, one should take into consideration, how much the genetic difference of the languages in contact prevents the lexical borrowing process. The presentation discusses if the Estonians actually have had less contacts with the Swedish speaking Finns than with the Finnish speaking Finns.

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## **Corpus Evidence of the Triggering Effect of Cognates on Codeswitching from Welsh-English Bilinguals**

This paper provides evidence of the triggering effect of cognates on codeswitching from a large corpus of Welsh-English spontaneous bilingual speech. The triggering hypothesis was first put forth by Clyne (1967, 2003). The hypothesis proposes that cognates may facilitate codeswitching due to a shift in the activations of two languages in the mental lexicon (Broersma, 2009; Broersma & De Bot, 2006). Cognates are strongly connected in the mental lexicon and their conceptual representations are more closely connected than those of non-cognates. Therefore, the activation of a word that is shared by two languages may lead to a change in activation of both languages at the lexical level. This in turn may ‘boost’ the least active language to the extent that the next time a lemma is selected it may be one from the boosted language instead of the previously spoken language.

Prior evidence of the triggering hypothesis was found in small corpora of natural speech (Broersma, 2009; Broersma & De Bot, 2006); however, several questions were raised that could not be addressed due to the number of bilingual clauses available for analysis. Our study addresses these questions, among others. First, does the length of the cognate, the length of the clause or the number of cognates within a clause have any affect on codeswitching? Second, is there an effect of the proportion of cognates per speaker? Third, to what extent does the grammatical class of the cognate affect whether it can facilitate codeswitching? For example, do nouns have more of an effect than verbs or modifiers?

In order to answer these questions, our study utilized a corpus that is over fifty times larger than any of the previously used corpora. The corpus consists of informal conversations recorded from 151 Welsh-English balanced bilinguals who were primarily recruited from northern Wales. All of the participants are highly proficient in both Welsh and English and live in bilingual regions.

A combination of Innovative and automated methods and tools were used to prepare the data for analysis (Carter et al, in press). We used *logit* mixed models to analyze the 65 000 clauses of Welsh-English bilingual spontaneous speech.

We present strong evidence that cognates facilitate both internal and external codeswitching. Specifically, the findings showed that the presence and number of cognates in a clause had an effect on the occurrence of codeswitching. There was a relationship between the clause length and the effects of the cognates. We also found that the word class of the cognate affected internal and external codeswitching differently. Overall, codeswitching occurred most frequently when the cognate was a noun, leading us to question the specific properties of nouns that may cause this effect. We conclude our paper with a discussion of the implications of these findings.

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## **Language families and language contact: Latin, Sabellian and Greek**

Historical linguists have frequently been faced with the problem of assessing whether a certain change in language X comes about through contact with language Y or as an independent development. When languages X and Y are closely related, the question becomes even more difficult, since a common change may be the result of contact, or it may stem from an earlier period of genetic unity. Yet more possible scenarios emerge if there are more than two languages in play. In order to decide between competing explanations of this type, I will argue that the most promising approach is to construct relative (or if possible absolute) chronologies for linguistic developments. Once the chronologies of change have been established, it is then possible to ascertain whether a particular development is a candidate for a contact induced change.

In order to demonstrate this methodology, I will use examples drawn from the ancient languages of Italy. The Latin language and the languages of the Sabellian group (including Oscan and Umbrian, principally known through inscriptions) are now generally thought to stem from an Italic branch of Indo-European, and share certain innovations which came about during a period of common unity. Yet the languages also differ significantly, and several scholars have argued in the past that their similarities are the result of recent convergence, for example, Giacomo Devoto, who claimed that ‘le affinità fra latino e osco-umbro sono recenti, le diversità sono antiche’ (1940: 67). Since Devoto wrote many more texts in the Sabellian languages have been discovered, and it is now possible to have a better idea of both the absolute and relative chronologies of developments. Even so, many uncertainties remain, partly owing to the scanty and incomplete dataset for languages of the Sabellian group, and partly owing to long-standing difficulties in the interpretation of various textual remains.

In order to shed new light on these problems, I shall make use of a *tertium quid* in order to assess the dating of the similarities between Latin and Sabellian — Ancient Greek. Greek speakers migrated or colonised parts of the Italian peninsula from the 9th century BCE onwards; all of the indigenous languages of ancient Italy which were written down made use of adapted forms of the Greek alphabet (albeit sometimes at second or third hand). There is evidence for Greek contact from loanwords and possibly also in the development of some syntactic structures. Tracking the place of Greek loanwords within native phonologies, and the impact of possible Greek influences on the morphology and syntax, I will argue in this paper that it is possible to gain an insight into the time depth of innovations shared by Latin and Sabellian, and thereby gain insight into processes of prehistoric contact.

This paper will also serve as an illustration of some of the complex language contact situations in history and prehistory.

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## **Bilingual Constructions: Reassessing the typology of code-switching**

When languages come into contact, this results in phenomena such as code-switching, language change, language attrition, Creole formation etc. This paper deals with code-switching. Code-switching comes in three major sub-types: insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization (Muysken 2000). Turkish-Dutch code-switching is supposed to feature the first two types but not the third, because when the languages in contact are typologically distinct, there is not enough shared lexicon and structure to make the fine-grained integration of the two languages possible that is the basic requirement for congruent lexicalization. Recent data of third generation Dutch Turks, however, shows some instances of code-switching that do not rely so much on keeping the two languages separate. This empirical development lends support to theoretical approaches that make use of an expanded definition of the lexicon, such as usage-based linguistics (Langacker 2008), in which lexical units are defined as being entrenched as conventions in people's mental linguistic knowledge. They can be longer than words, including whole expressions. Similarly, they can contain open slots that host unspecified lexical material. Many of the complex instantiations of code-switching seem to involve such complex lexical units, and as a result qualify as both insertion and alternation, because the inserted unit is so large that it involves a complete switch to the other language at the same time. This casts doubt on the strict separation of lexicon and syntax in general, and between insertion and alternation in particular. In our conclusion we will assess how the existing typology should be adjusted to account for these data.

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## **Patterns of neighbor contacts across Daghestan**

More than 40 languages are spoken on the relatively small territory of mountainous Daghestan. People living in a traditional Daghestanian village normally speak 2-4 languages which are very distant genealogically or sometimes unrelated at all. The linguistic repertoire may be different in two neighboring villages. The villages are usually homogenous from the point of view of their L1, but villages with different first languages may be in a walking distance one from another, with intensive social and economic contacts between them.

Which language is chosen for communication between neighbor villages if the villages had different L1? Nowadays, most frequently it is Russian, but in the recent past local languages were used for this purpose. The paper aims at isolating typical patterns of contact and finding factors which are relevant for the choice of language of communication between neighbor languages. Following factors are considered: the relative size of the villages; the relative altitude of the villages (“verticality”); the economical status of the villages; how salient the language is in the region; how salient the language is in Daghestan as a whole; the existence of the writing system; and other.

The paper uses the results of a specific field method of investigating language contacts of the unwritten languages, tested in 5 groups of mountain villages of Daghestan in 2009 to 2011. The method is based on short interviews with the speakers comprising the questions about the languages spoken by the respondent or used by him/her for other purposes (e.g. Arabic for reading Koran). The respondent is asked to answer the same set of questions about all his or her elder relatives (s)he is able to recall, in case (s)he remembers them from his or her childhood. As a result, the researcher obtains information about the period which is otherwise inaccessible. The data shows the dynamics of the change of contact situation in Daghestan over more than 150 years.

The study of locations where adjacent villages speak different languages has shown that the main pattern of communication between villages was by speaking the neighbor’s language. It means that if neighbors with different native languages met, they usually talk one of these two languages, which is drastically different from the present situation when young people across all Daghestan choose Russian language to talk with members of any another ethnic group.

The most frequent case was asymmetric pattern of neighbor multilingualism, when the knowledge of the language of one village as an L2 is significantly more widespread than the language of the other. So far, a symmetric pattern of contact was attested only once: Avar people from the village Chittab communicated with their Lak neighbors from Shalib either in Lak or in Avar. There is also one case when neighbors presumably communicated in a *lingua franca* (the language which was not native to either of the two villages).

### Updating the Notion of Sprachbund: Perfects and Resultatives in the Circum-Baltic “Stratified Convergence Zone”

The languages of the Circum-Baltic area share a complex array of features not due to genetic relationship or typological similarity but to long-term, persistent language contact among contiguous languages. In earlier examinations of the dynamic areal relationships in the Circum-Baltic area, scholars such as Stolz (1991), Nau (1996), and Koptjevskaja-Tamm and Wälchli (2001) called into question the overly-simplistic application of the concept of “Sprachbund” to this area: they recognized that the centers of influence for these languages are constantly in flux, with continually-changing borders, and that these dynamic relations could best be characterized by a chronologically-stratified model of feature-bundling. As a synthesis of the insights of these scholars and others concerning the essential role of micro- as well as macro-level contact across the entire convergence zone and in recognition of the layered nature of that contact across time and space, I propose “Stratified Convergence Zone” as the most appropriate designation.

In this paper, the validity of this redefined, multi-layered notion of the Sprachbund is analyzed through an examination of the shared, stratified histories of the perfects and resultatives in contiguous varieties of Baltic, Slavic, and Finno-Ugric, sometimes in contact with other languages, as well. The following developments are analyzed in some detail:

- Resultatives in BE + *-(v)šī*, the so-called “new perfects,” apparently spread from Baltic to northern Russian dialects of Novgorod and Pskov, where they became a distinctive structural feature of the dialect of the “Old Believers”:

N. Russian            *v jego naga slamafšy*  
                              at him leg fracture.PAP  
                              ‘he has his leg fractured’

(Čekmonas 2001: 116)

- The BE perfect of Baltic Finnic is not ancient, but developed in contact with Baltic or Germanic languages (Laakso 2001: 191):

Latvian                *Te ilgi nav būs*  
                              here long be.PRES.NEG be.PPP.NOM.SG.M  
                              ‘One hasn’t been here for a long time’

Finnish                *On oltu huolimattomia*  
                              be.PRES.3SG be.PPA careless.PRTV.PL  
                              ‘One has been careless’

(Holvoet 2001: 370)

- These examples also illustrate the fact that both Latvian and Finnic have come to share exactly parallel impersonal constructions with non-referential indefinite zero subjects, which both Lithuanian and East Slavic lack (Holvoet 2001: 386).

- The possessive resultatives, using BE + (Finnic-like) oblique possessors, especially in Baltic or N. Russian, or using a (western-like) HAVE auxiliary, as in Lithuanian, may have been influenced, directly or indirectly, by western European languages:

Latvian            *esmu panēmuse vinu dziju*  
 be.1SG take.PAP his yarn  
 ‘I have taken his yarn’

Lithuanian        *Stalčiuje jis turi pasislėpęs butelį*  
 In\_drawer he have.3PS hide.PAP bottle  
 ‘In the drawer he has a bottle hidden’

(Wiemer and Giger 2005: 48-9)

Sociolinguistic pressures will foster the sharing of features during times of intense interaction, but centers of influence will shift when these pressures change. The two-dimensional image of a Sprachbund only succeeds in presenting the end product of these complex changes, in synchronic fashion, but does not account for the sources of these similarities. Only a three-dimensional, chronologically-stratified model can adequately represent such a development. It is this image of a dynamic Sprachbund, reformulated as a “stratified convergence zone”, which is proposed here.

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## **A Contact-induced Grammatical Model: Russian Nominal Compounds with Non-Agreed Premodifiers**

The paper gives a classification of Russian nominal compounds with a prepositive attributive element (such as *бизнес-центр*) and points out the subtype that serves as the basis for the formation and expansion of the new grammatical pattern in Russian. The analysis of the language data shows that these compounds copy the structure of English noun phrases with prepositive adjunct attributes. The active expansion of the pattern is determined by the high prestige of English as well as the tendency of linguistic economy on the speaker's/writer's part.

Typical examples of compounds under survey include *Интернет-технология, веб-решение, топ-менеджер, дизайн-бюро, арт-проект, бизнес-центр, USB-порт, Горбачев-фонд, онлайн-представительство* etc.

Such two-element compounds are characterized by the following features:

- First element is syntactically dependent and stands in attributive relation to the second element.
- Principal element equals in form to an autonomous noun.
- Subordinate element is equal to the dictionary form or the stem of a word used in modern Russian;
- Syntactic link lacks any morphemic expression.

To study such compounds, a special corpus of 500 compounds used in various contexts based on Sklyarevskaya 2008, Russian National Corpus and the results of a web search was compiled as well as an alternative corpus, containing NPs synonymous to the compounds under survey but formed using different models (nouns with agreed premodifying adjectives, and nouns with non-agreed postmodifying attributes).

Nominal compounds with non-agreed premodifying elements fall into the following subtypes:

1) compounds with a premodifying noun borrowed from English (*веб-решение, интернет-технология*);

2) compounds with a premodifying acronym, spelled using either in Cyrillic or in Latin script (*VIP-зал, USB-порт, HC-структура*);

3) compounds with premodifying prepositional phrases (originally used in an adverbial function) borrowed from English (*онлайн-коммерция, оффлайн-просмотр*);

4) compounds with attributive elements such as *интим-, элит-, эконом-, штрих-*, derived from adjectives with roots borrowed relatively long ago from various European languages (*эконом-класс, штрих-код*);

5) compounds with premodifying personal or corporate names, or Russian uninflected words (*Вивальди-оркестр, Низорал шампунь, КАК-типология*).

The general model is based on the streamline subtype (1), which is strongly influenced by the structure of English NPs with premodifying nouns in the attributive function. The self-sustained mechanism of formation of “purely Russian” compounds such as *арт-тусовка, веб-служба, веб-преступность, секс-товары, шоу-площадка, по-видимому*, таков:

- a word is borrowed from English both as an autonomous word and as part of one or more ready-made compounds, e.g. *шоу (n) ← show* and *шоу-бизнес ← show business*;

- Russian speakers perceive the compound as a decomposable combination, built according to a certain model which can be utilized to create more compounds using Russian material;
- the borrowed element (e.g. *шоу*) is entrenched in Russian not only as an autonomous word, but also as a premodifying part of compounds with practically any noun as a principal element which can be lexically combined with such attributive modifier.

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## **In the name of who? Possible syntactical borrowings of special impersonals in the Volga-Kama region**

The Finno-Ugric languages of the Volga-Kama region (Udmurt, Mari and Komi) have long been in contact with the neighboring Turkic and Slavic languages. Earlier studies on the linguistic interaction of the area have principally investigated the level of the lexicon (cf. Bereczki 2002) and morphosyntactic topics have only in recent years emerged (see Leinonen 2011) in research, since contact-induced syntactic changes can be evinced more difficultly than lexical borrowings.

Functional classification of impersonal constructions of the lesser-documented FU languages have hardly been the target of research (for an exception, see Kalinina et al. 2006). Since in these languages there are very rich verbal derivational and case marking systems (Bartens 2000) and morphological polyfunctionality is a common feature, one can find a broad variety of encoding strategies of the impersonal domain. This presentation aims to present two special impersonals; constructions marked with reflexive or causative derivational morphemes and non-canonical argument marking, with a special reference to possible language contacts.

Morphological causation is expressed by the derivational affix *-kt* and *-alt* in Mari, by *-tj* in Udmurt and *-t/-d* in Komi (id. 277–280, Bereczki 2002: 208). In Permic languages, the causer is marked with the nominative followed by a verb bearing the causative suffix, while the causee is marked with the accusative in Udmurt. In the corresponding Mari construction the causee is sometimes marked with the dative:

(1) Ud. mon so-je gožtet gožti-tj -ško (Winkler 2001: 56)  
I (s)he-acc letter[ACC] write-CAUS-PRS.1SG  
'I have the boy write the letter.'

(2) Ma. Pet'a Lena-lan/Lena-m šür-əm šolt-əkt-en-Ø. (Kalinina et al. 2006: 446)  
Peter Helen-DAT/Helen-ACC soup-ACC boil-CAUS-PSTL-3SG.II  
'Peter made Helen cook (lit. boil) soup.'

In constructions (3–5), the causative verb has only one obligatory argument standing in the accusative:

(3) Ko. Menö kijn-t-e (L. P.)  
I.ACC freeze-CAUS-3SG  
'I am cold.'

(4) Ud. Ataj-ez berj k-t-e. (O. I.)

(5) Ma. Ač'a-m vakê -kt-a. (T. E.)  
father-ACC vomit-CAUS-3SG  
'The father is nauseous.'

According to functional considerations, these constructions present a slightly different usage of causatives, thus I, following Siewierska (2008: 116), consider these examples

impersonals, since they lack a subject bearing canonical properties. A canonical subject is determined here as an argument that is referential, topical, agentive, animate and definite (Malchukov–Ogawa 2011: 23). As the translations of the latter two examples show, the accusative-marked argument is the logical subject of the causative impersonal construction, that is, it is a Patient or an Experiencer of the event depicted by the verb.

A similar functional differentiation is presented in the usage of reflexive suffixes. The non-canonical argument of construction (6) and (7) displays functional properties similar to the causative type but can be considered less salient.

(6) Ud. (Mon) pinal-l̥j šot-išk-i-z (Y. S.)

(I) child-DAT give-REFL-PST-3SG

‘I gave (something) to the child unintentionally.’/‘I was forced to give (something) to the child.’

(7) Ko. Menam onmešši-ś-əm-a. (Bartens 2000: 285)

I.GEN fall\_asleep-REFL-PST.3SG

‘I am unable to sleep.’

The data examined in this study were elicited from native speakers using questionnaires focusing on pragmatic neutrality and acceptability factors. Examples were provided by three informants for each language and were double-checked. To outline the characteristics of the corresponding constructions in Russian and Tatar, I will present data of a corpus based survey. The corpus consists of the parallel translations of a Russian novel (PM 2010), which contains 12500 words and other texts, representing different genres, collected from reference grammars (Berezcki 1990; Csúcs 1990, Ponomarova forthcoming).

It is obvious that the reflexive impersonals can follow Russian patterns and the causative constructions have correspondences in the Turkic languages, but on the basis of preliminary data, it is not yet clear, are these impersonals instances of linguistic borrowing or not.

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## Morphological borrowing in Finnish Romani

In my paper, I will contribute to the discussion on morphological borrowing based on diachronic (since the late 18th century) and synchronic corpora of Finnish Romani (FR). My paper will consist of a brief introduction in the contact history of FR and in the corpora, and a sketch of the Finnish morphology that has entered the grammar of FR. In addition, I will discuss the extent of Finnish morphology borrowed alongside Finnish loanwords.

Universal constraints on morphological borrowing have been proposed in a number of typological studies (Moravcsik 1978; Thomason & Kaufmann 1988; Thomason 2001; Winford 2003). The existence of these constraints has been rejected some other scholars such as Campbell (1993). I will show that modern FR goes against the borrowing scales suggested in typological literature (e.g. Moravcsik 1978; Thomason & Kaufmann 1988; Thomason 2001).

I will show that morphological borrowing has increased throughout the documented history of FR. Nevertheless the language has undergone a gradual shift away from lexical borrowing to intensive code-switching as a compensation strategy along with progressing language obsolescence (Granqvist 2000; Pirttisaari 2004; Kovanen 2010). Extensive morphological but little lexical borrowing has been observed in other moribund languages, too (Seifart 2011). I will also provide counter-examples against the constraint that derivational morphemes and processes are more prone to transfer than inflectional ones (Weinreich 1953).

Keywords: morphology, contact linguistics, Romani

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## The Indo-Iranian loanwords in Saami

It is a known fact that the Uralic languages have Indo-Iranian loanwords, some of them dating to the Proto-Finno-Ugric period. Several Uralic branches such as Permic, Mari and Hungarian have later independently been in contact with the Iranian languages. Also the Saami languages possess some rather archaic Indo-Iranian loanwords which are not found elsewhere in Uralic. Although their number is quite small (Sammallahti [2001: 408] lists six such cases), Koivulehto (1999: 231–232) and Sammallahti (2001: 411–414) have suggested that these loanwords have been independently acquired by Saami after its separation from Proto-Uralic (or Proto-Finno-Saamic).

In my opinion it seems probable that the Indo-Iranian loanwords of Saami are relics of early loanwords from the Proto-Finno-Ugric period. First of all, they have been absorbed into a language that was phonologically practically identical to Proto-Finno-Ugric, and because there are only very few Indo-Iranian loanwords in Saami, it seems to be the most plausible explanation that these earlier loanwords have for some reason remained only in Saami. It also a heavy argument that Proto-Saami was probably spoken roughly in Southern Finland and Karelia (Aikio 2012b: 103), quite far from the areas where Indo-Iranian was spoken.

The view that Saami has acquired Indo-Iranian loanwords independently has been supported by some loanwords seemingly absorbed separately but roughly at the same period by Saami and related languages, such as Northern Saami *oadni*- 'to see' < Pre-Saamic \*wojna vs. Mordvin *vano*- 'to see, to watch; to take care of' < Pre-Mordvin \*wa(j)na, both from Proto-Indo-Iranian \*vaina- 'to see' (Koivulehto 1999: 230–231). But I don't find this argument particularly strong, as it is completely possible that the same word is borrowed to the dialects of the same language multiple times, and phonological irregularities are a common phenomenon in loanwords. And even if Pre-Proto-Saami had Indo-Iranian contacts of its own, they must have taken place right after the Proto-Finno-Ugric period and far from the historical seats of the Saami languages. It has to be also kept in mind that as Proto-Uralic and Proto-Indo-Iranian probably existed roughly at the same time, splitting up before 2000 BCE (Kallio 2006: 17), it is not reasonable to think that Proto-Saami and Proto-Indo-Iranian would have been concurrent.

In my presentation I aim to handle the following research problems: 1) Are these Indo-Iranian loanwords a result of separate borrowing or just relicts remained in the conservative, peripheral Saami branch? 2) Are the etymologies phonologically acceptable? 3) What is the stratification of this loanword layer: is there credible evidence of chronologically different Indo-Iranian borrowings?

I am going to critically re-evaluate the earlier research and compare the results to the newer research of Saami language history and ethnic history, such as Aikio 2012b. It is worthwhile to notice that while our view of the Saami prehistory has been greatly modified since the 1990s, also the historical phonology of the Uralic languages has taken new leaps (Aikio 2012a, Kallio 2012) which might help to reconsider some loan etymologies.

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## Using cross-linguistic knowledge for navigating in receptively multilingual interaction

This paper investigates how Finns and Estonians with no formal instruction in the cognate language navigate in conversations that are mostly conducted in Finnish and Estonian. It aims to shed light on the process of understanding a cognate language in receptively multilingual interaction. The data of the study consist of 12 hours of naturally occurring, multilingual multiparty conversations between Finns and Estonians (altogether 35 informants). The data are analyzed by using the tools of conversation analysis. The participants belong to a social network in which receptive multilingualism has a special status. Receptive multilingualism refers to a language constellation in which participants employ a language different from their interlocutor's and still understand each other mostly without the help of an additional lingua franca (Rehbein, ten Thije & Verschik 2012). In this kind of interaction mutual understanding can be based on the mutual intelligibility of the languages, on language acquisition, or on both.

As relatively closely related languages, Finnish and Estonian are mutually intelligible to some degree. However, the actual linguistic closeness does not guarantee recognizing and understanding linguistic elements in the cognate language; in interaction the participants operate with perceived similarity and metalinguistic awareness (see de Angelis 2007, Ringbom 2007). The participants do not necessarily have accurate knowledge about the cognate language, but they operate with a constantly reshaping working hypothesis about cross-linguistic equivalences, that I call *cross-linguistic knowledge*. This study focuses on the moments where the use of cross-linguistic knowledge becomes evident on the surface of the interaction; when the participants comment on their thinking process or when the knowledge is being jointly constructed by discussing and comparing the languages.

By analysing the interactional data the following categories of cross-linguistic knowledge arise: The participants assume that in addition to the dissimilar, mutually non-intelligible elements the languages have 1) similar elements that mean the same, 2) similar elements that mean almost the same, 3) elements that sound similar but differ by meaning, and 4) loanwords that can be understood via the donor language. They also assume that 5) an item in the cognate language can be intelligible through a dialect of one's mother tongue, and that 6) there are phonological correspondence rules that can be used for deriving an item in one language from an item in the other language. Furthermore, the analysis shows that crosslinguistic knowledge allows the participants to make creative inferences that often serve well in understanding the cognate language. Sometimes a wrong assumption causes problems in the interaction, but declaring one's hypothesis allows it to be tested, which in turn serves as a platform for teaching and learning. Often a participant who shares their hypothesis, position themselves as a learner, which can lead to a teaching activity.

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## Disintegration of Case Systems in Sanskrit and Old Tamil: an Instance of Contact Influence?

As summarized in Itkonen (2011), the case system of Old Tamil (100 BC – 400 AD) exhibits *prima facie* unique features. First, “ein Kasusuffix [kann] durchaus mit der Funktion eines anderen Kasus gebraucht werden” (Lehmann 1994: 42). Second, “das Vorkommen von Kasus- und Pluralsuffixen an einem Nomen [ist] fakultativ im Alttamil” (p. 29), with the consequence that “viele Sätze hauptsächlich aus unmarkierten Nominalstämmen bestehen” (p. 52). This state of affairs is fully corroborated not just by the extant texts (of the so-called *cankam* poetry) but also by explicit statements contained in the contemporary grammar *Tolkaappiyam* (cf. Itkonen 2000: 85–88). On reflection, however, the phenomenon at issue may not be unique, after all, insofar as a somewhat analogous situation existed, at a slightly earlier date, in Sanskrit (and may have occurred elsewhere as well):

“First, oblique case inflections varied with the declensional type as well as gender and number. The result was a blurred collection of endings rather than a system made up of clearly-marked distinctions ... Second, even if there were some distinctive endings amid the overlapping ones, the functions of the formal cases themselves also overlapped to a disturbing degree” (Masica 1991: 230).

Thus, there was wide-spread overlapping and/or confusion of the following kind: Patient = ACC/DAT/LOC, Recipient = GEN/DAT/LOC, Addressee = ACC/GEN/DAT/LOC, Place = LOC/INSTR, Time ~ Circumstance = ACC/LOC/INSTR; on the other hand, INSTR/ABL = Cause, Separation, Comparison: “These confusions are ... both the indication and the cause of the disorganization of the system” (Bloch 1965: 156). Interestingly, the amount of this “disorganization” could not be inferred from Panini’s grammar, where one basic meaning is assigned to each case-ending (cf. Itkonen 1991: 32–34, 44–49). The possibility of contact influence is raised in this talk.

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### **Areal perspective to evidentiality in Northern Samoyedic**

This paper discusses the development of modal/evidential markers in Northern Samoyedic languages (Nganasan, Enets and Nenets languages). I will argue that grammaticalization of certain modal/evidential suffixes has been influenced by earlier well-known contacts (Hajdú1979) with Northern Tungusic and Turkic languages spoken in North-West Siberia.

Northern Samoyedic languages use grammatical suffixes to encode evidential and modal functions such as reported or inferred information, perfect tense and speaker's epistemic evaluation of the proposition. Most other Uralic languages lack complex morphological categories of epistemic and evidential affixes, and they often use lexical elements to indicate these functions. In Samoyedic languages, many of the indirect evidential markers are result of relatively recent grammaticalization processes, and in most cases their origin lies in nonverbal predication of participles. It is well known that languages acquire evidentials through contact, and they borrow categories rather than forms (Aikhenvald 2004: 302). The most obvious candidates for contact languages are Northern Tungusic and also Turkic languages, where functions of some evidential suffixes as well as their relations to other grammatical categories in the languages, resemble remarkably those of certain evidential strategies in Northern Samoyedic.

In this paper I analyse two Northern Samoyedic verbal suffixes and their variation in syntax and function from the viewpoint of contact-induced grammaticalization and polysemy copying (Heine & Kuteva 2005). My examples derive from Tundra Nenets, where the representatives of the two suffixes under examination are the similative-evidential *-rəxa* and the indirective *-we*. In Tundra Nenets these suffixes belong to a rich paradigm of complex modal, evidential and temporal suffixes, traditionally categorized as mood. Tundra Nenets similative-evidential has a functional counterpart in Northern Tungusic languages (Malchukov 2000: 461). In both Northern Tungusic and Northern Samoyedic languages the suffix acts as similative marker 'like N, something that looks like N' affixed to nouns. When affixed to participial forms of verbs, it encodes inference based on visual observation. Furthermore, the development of the Samoyedic indirective (perfect) suffix, Tundra Nenets *-we*, from a past participle follows the evolution of resultatives into perfects and indirectives. This evolution is attested in speaking areas of Turkic languages and their neighbouring languages (Dahl 1985: 152, Johanson 2000). This development has taken place also in Northern Tungusic, where evidentials tend to grammaticalize as result of transition of the participial forms into the finite verbal syntax (Malchukov 2000: 457).

Considering the assumed contact-induced grammaticalization and borrowing of categories and functions, the typological syntactic structure of the languages in Ob-Yeniseic area in North-West Siberia need to be taken into account. I assume that certain typological structure of Samoyedic, Tungusic and Turkic languages enables the beginning of certain grammaticalization processes, such as the ones suggested here. All these languages are SOV languages with agglutinating morphology, and at least in the case of Samoyedic and Tungusic languages, the predication of participial forms seems to play an important role in grammaticalization of evidentiality.



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### Congruent lexicalization in a code-mixing variety of Erzya

This paper focuses on the spoken variety of Erzya which is characterized by code-mixing to Russian to varying degrees. The Erzya language is spoken in the Mordvin Republic and also in other parts of the Russian Federation. I study the grammatical structure of intrasentential code-mixes in Erzya–Russian bilingual discourse (on the basis of semistructured interviews, spontaneous conversations and radio interviews from 40 Erzya–Russian bilinguals).

The aim of this paper is to describe how code-mixing functions in this mixed Erzya variety which relies on a composite matrix (Myers-Scotton 2006). In Muysken’s (2000) theory this type of mixing is considered to be congruent lexicalization, which is the result of long lasting contact and congruence between these languages. Example (1) is a typical case of this congruence: plural, possessive and case suffixes and a limited number of lexemes are from Erzya (marked with bold face), other lexemes and grammatical markers are from Russian (marked with italics).

- (1) *końešno že sportivnoj napravl'eńija-so-ńt' šejčas pek lamo mesta-t*  
of course sports stream-INESS-DET now very many place-PL  
*zańima-l mińek turističeskoj kružok-onok*  
occupy-PST-M our tourism group-PL1POSS

‘The tourism group is of great importance in our sports stream.’

Another instance of congruent lexicalization is example (2) in which the use of the genitive suffix is required by the rules of the Russian language (in the case of existential negation), whereas nominative would be the norm in monolingual Erzya (Erzya is marked with bold face, Russian with italics).

- (2) *mezejak interesn-ogo araś*  
nothing interesting-GEN is.not

‘There is nothing interesting.’

Treffers-Daller (2009: 67) claims that in case of congruent lexicalization there is a minimum separation of the two languages and the speaker has minimum control over the switching. In my examples, however, the emergence of mixed structures is occasionally the result of self-repairs and false starts implying maximum control of switching by the speaker.

On the basis of these examples, we can claim that the Erzya variety under study shows signs of the language mixing phase in Auer’s (1999) continuum model. Auer differentiates between three main stages: code-switching, language mixing and fused lects. In the first phase code-switches have a pragmatic function. If the number of code-switches increases, this function is lost. In this phase speakers apply elements from the other language to different extents, i.e. variation is present. In the last stage variation is lost, the mixed structures are compulsory in given grammatical constructions.

The code-mixed Erzya variety is characterized by the use of Russian verbal phrases (entire paradigms are applied, e.g. the verb *ho'tet* 'to want'), numeral phrases, adverbial phrases, discourse particles, and utterance modifiers. In my presentation I analyze these examples in detail. I argue for the emergence of a mixed variety which involves, for instance, the use of gender agreement. (Gender is relevant only in the case of Russian, Erzya does not have this grammatical category.) Further research should focus on the explaining the sociolinguistic factors behind this variation.

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### **Translanguaging vs code-switching to account for multilingual language use among adolescents in superdiverse settings**

This paper explores some of the advantages of the concept *translanguaging* when accounting for multilingual language use among adolescents in superdiverse settings (see Vertovec 2007). The adolescents in the two studies attend bilingual and international schools in Sweden and lead highly transnational lives by, for instance, travelling abroad regularly to visit family, friends or relatives and by their extensive transnational contacts through internet, e.g. social media and Skype.

By moving the focus from language to speakers, the notion of translanguaging has proven to be central to the understanding of the data in this study. In contrast, the term code-switching – by focusing on languages as separate entities – represents a more monolingually oriented theoretical perspective which has been found too restricting to fully account for the complexity of the adolescents’ language practices. Since the adolescents themselves do not always see their languages as separate entities it becomes difficult to employ an approach based on the assumption of different codes, i.e. languages. As I have written elsewhere,

the extensive use of translanguaging practices indicates that the adolescents do not necessarily separate and compartmentalize their linguistic repertoires into languages in their daily conversations with other bilinguals/ multilinguals. Instead the linguistic repertoire is categorized by fluidity and hybridity. The students in the study show an awareness of when they need to separate their languages (e.g. with some grown-ups, some eachers, with the principal and at job interviews) and when they can let their languages “flow” together – as if they were sliding along on a language continuum between for instance English and Swedish, or perhaps sliding along on several language continua, incorporating words they may know in different languages, according to the polylingual norm (Jonsson 2013: 105).

In the paper this idea of a continua, which in itself might be too static, will be discussed and contrasted to how the schools that the students attend traditionally compartmentalize languages. This discussion will illustrate the different starting points and the different ideologies that underlie the perspectives of the students and the dominant ideologies at their school.

This study is part of the transnational research project “Investigating Discourses of Inheritance and Identity in four Multilingual European Settings” (IDI4MES), funded by the European Science Foundation via HERA - Humanities in the European Research Area 2010-//2013, and the research project “Intercultural Pedagogy and Intercultural Learning in Language Education”, funded by The Swedish Research Council 2007-//2011.

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### **‘Muslim-y’ and ‘Katholik-en’: Explaining variation in plural marking of German noun insertions in Russian sentences**

As attested in numerous corpora of bilingual speech, lone code-mixed nouns combine with plural markers to form three possible patterns: noun with matrix language plural marking (1), noun with embedded language plural marking (2), and on rare occurrences noun with double plural marking (3):

- (1) *osobenno vot türk-i; oni že muslim-y*  
especially PTCL Turk-PL 3PL PTCL Muslim-PL  
‘Especially these Turks, they are Muslims.’
- (2) *naprimer poljak-i oni vse katholic-en=nä,*  
for.example Pole-PL 3PL all Catholic-PL PTCL  
‘For example, Poles, they are all Catholics.’
- (3) *sboku že (.) sto-it že drug-ije unfäll-i znaj-eš*  
alongside PTCL stand-PRS.3SG PTCL other-NOM.PL PL\accident-NOM.PL know-PRS.2SG  
‘And [the traffic] alongside is at a standstill, other accidents, you know.’

Although patterns of plural marking on code-mixed nouns are often discussed in the literature (e.g. Backus 1996; Boumans 1998; Muhamedowa 2006; Myers-Scotton 1993, 2002), the need to explain this variation remains.

The question addressed in this paper is whether the marking of plural German nouns retains the plural morphology of German, *i.e.* the embedded language, as in (2), or received plural markers from the Russian matrix language, as in (1). The paper examines the following factors as determinants of the choice of the plural marker on inserted German noun stems: their phonetic shape, the morphological case of the slot in which they are inserted, the frequency distribution of the plurals and singulars of the inserted German lexical items in German.

The data for the analysis were extracted from a bilingual Russian-German corpus that comprises naturally occurring conversations and informal group interviews of 20 Russian-speaking young adults living in Germany. The frequencies with which the realized German nouns are used as singulars and plurals in German were obtained from the German deWaC corpus (Baroni and Kilgariff 2006). The competition between these forms was calculated by the plural-singular ratio. The generalised linear mixed model (Baayen 2008) was utilized to investigate an interplay of the examined factors in determining the language of the plural marker. The final model had a high predictive power.

The investigation revealed three main findings: (1) The frequency with which a noun plural occurs in the embedded language (German) determines the language of the plural marker on code-mixed nouns. That is, lexical items commonly used as plurals tend to be selected as a whole and become inserted into the matrix clause retaining their German plural markers. (2) German lexical items with an accented vowel in the stem-final position cannot take Russian inflectional suffixes directly as the Russian declensional system depends on stems with consonants in the final position. If the inserted German noun has an accented vowel in the stem-final position, either a compromise strategy is employed, such as the use of

epenthetic consonants, or German plural forms are produced. (3) When the matrix structure projects an oblique case on the slot in which a German lexical item is inserted, the tendency is towards using Russian inflections, fusing plural and case. However, German nouns retain their German plural markers in slots requiring the nominative or accusative case, owing to a structural equivalence between German plural inflections and the Russian inflections of the nominative and accusative case *-i* (*-y*), which both express plural rather than case.

In sum, the paper provides compelling evidence for the frequency effect adumbrated earlier by Backus (1996, 1999, 2003) and demonstrates the relevance of phonetic and morpho-syntactic regularities for determining the language of the plural marker on code-mixed nouns.

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## The effects of language contact in Sardinian: towards a restructuring of the system

Sardinian is an endangered language (Moseley 2007) spoken in the island of Sardinia. It stands in a diglossic relation with Italian (Rindler-Schjerve 2000; Marongiu 2007), Sardinian being the low prestige language. Nowadays most families have interrupted parental transmission (Rindler-Schjerve 2000) and the domains of use of Sardinian are drastically restricted (Marongiu 2007).

During the Middle Ages, Sardinian had its golden age in terms of status, as it was chosen as the official language of the Sardinian kingdoms (Cf. Solmi 1917). Later, Sardinian lost its status in favor of the various dominant languages that succeeded one another since the 13th century: Tuscan (Pisan), Catalan, Spanish and recently Italian (Wagner 1950; Blasco Ferrer 1988). For centuries, the influence of the dominant languages was restricted to the lexicon, but more recently Sardinian is losing ground to Italian even in other linguistic components such as syntax and morphology. Phonology was considered to be the component most resistant to change (Rindler-Schjerve 1998), but there are reasons to believe that even in this area Sardinian is experiencing a gradual restructuring on the model of the Italian phonological system. Younger generations are losing some typically Sardinian patterns and substituting them with the correspondent Italian ones: emblematic is the case of the voiced obstruent system and the change in the syllabic status of some word-initial consonants.

Sardinian displays a lexical stratification with separate treatments of native vocabulary and foreign vocabulary (Cf. Ito & Mester 1999). This peculiar situation can be readily observed in voiced obstruents. In the native vocabulary, voiced obstruents respond to external sandhi lenition, while foreign vocabulary (e.g., Italian loans) is completely insensitive. As one can see from Table (1), native vocabulary is affected by lenition of the voiced obstruent in intervocalic contest, which for these consonants amounts to deletion. By contrast, in foreign vocabulary, lenition does not apply (Cf. Wagner (1941):

### (1) Voiced obstruents

	a. Native vocabulary	b. Foreign vocabulary
word-initial position	'bukka “mouth”	but'teya “shop” (from It. <i>bottega</i> )
intervocalic position	sa 'ukka “the mouth”	sa but'teya “the shop”

In the speech of younger generations, native vocabulary is increasingly treated according to the phonological system of foreign loans, i.e., even in native words like (1)a., the obstruent does not delete (i.e., sa 'bukka instead of sa 'ukka). The absence of an alternation of the kind shown in (1)a. follows from an Italian-like phonological system.

Another consequence of interference involves syllabification. Sardinian displays word-initial consonants that are syllabified as geminates, e.g., fricatives like /s/ or affricates like /tʃ/ (Cf. Bolognesi 1998). In Italian, the same consonants can only have a simplex syllabic status. Also in this case, the tendency of younger generations is to restructure the phonological system by adopting the Italian solution, substituting word-initial geminates for the correspondent simplex.

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## **A tale of a city and its two languages: a history of Basque-Spanish cohabitation in the city of Bilbao**

The language contact between Basque and Latin started two thousand years ago, during the first century AD to the north of the Pyrenees and in the south approximately a century earlier (Nuñez Astrain 2003: 30). The documented or written history of Basque has always been juxtaposed with Romance languages. What we know of Basque has been filtered and brought to the knowledge of the world through the contact with Romance. As in Basque Country as a whole, the languages of Bilbao, Basque and Castilian Spanish, have been cohabiting in the area since the city was founded in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The pillars of Bilbao's economy, the iron industry and the commercial port, have both attracted Spanish population to the originally Basque-speaking area along the centuries. The city has always served as a contact point of different forms and varieties of Basque and Spanish. Today, Bilbao is the economic motor of Basque Country, characterized by its high mobility and linguistic diversity. After the end of Spanish dictatorship, during which the use of Basque was severely repressed and in decline, new forms of speakers and language contact are emerging due to strong and mostly successful revitalization policies.

Code-switching and other forms of multilingual practice are often studied as a contemporary phenomenon emerging in new contexts of globalization. Nonlinguists also seem to perceive hybrid speech styles in this way: in a 12-hour interview data collected in the city of Bilbao, the informants use expressions such as *orain*, 'now' and *gaur egun*, 'nowadays', to describe bilingual talk. However, the human nature in multilingual settings seems to not have changed. Not only did the people of different language backgrounds mix in historical Bilbao, also the languages seem to have been mixed to a high degree. Writers of the past centuries were appalled by the language mixing habits of Bilbao populace. For instance, Juan Antonio Mogel, who lived in 18<sup>th</sup> century Biscay, did not '*even want to talk about the purity of the language*' and characterized the language situation of Bilbao as the following: '*it seems that people here are doing their best to achieve a tertiumquid of the Castilian language and the Basque language, like over there some Israelites with Hebrew and Babylonian.*' (Zuberogoitia and Zuberogoitia 2008: 19; translated by the author of the paper) In this paper, I will attempt to show how multilingual practices have always been present in the city of Bilbao and how the form of these practices has been affected by and changed according to the surrounding sociolinguistic reality. With the help of historical accounts combined with older and very recent speech data from Bilbao, we can examine the influence that changing language ideologies and linguistic power relations have had on the outcome of bilingual talk in a range of historical settings in one city area.

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## Loanwords in Kavalan

Kavalan is an endangered Formosan/Austronesian language spoken in the eastern coast of Taiwan. It has fewer than one hundred fluent speakers today, most of whom are aged in their fifties or over. Together with Basay (extinct), Siraya (extinct linguistically), and Amis, it belongs to the East Formosan subgroup (Blust 1999, cf. Li 2004).

Historically speaking, the Kavalan people had lived in Lan-yang Plain (I-Lan County today) for centuries with at least thirty-six villages before they encountered the waves of Chinese immigrants. As a result of losing their lands they were forced to migrate further south since the 1840s to present day settlements such as PatRungan, Kulis, and Kralut villages (Li 1996, Li and Tsuchida 2006).

Loanwords in Kavalan are worth investigating due to the people's long contact with the Filipinos (Austronesian) for trading (Li 1996: 11-17), the Spanish (Indo-European), who came to Taiwan in the 1620s, and the Southern Min Chinese (or Hokkien, Sino-Tibetan) in Lan-yang Plain for about two hundred years. Having migrated south they also encountered the Amis and the Truku Seediq in the Hualien areas and have long practiced mixed habitation and intermarriage with the Amis till today. The Kavalan language has also borrowed many loanwords from Japanese during the Japanese colonization, as well as Mandarin Chinese (or Taiwan Mandarin, following Her 2009), which is now the most dominant language spoken in Taiwan.

This paper provides a systematic study on loanwords in Kavalan based on the author's first-hand data and those listed in the *Kavalan Dictionary* (Li and Tsuchida 2006), the only scholarly dictionary on Kavalan so far. Being categorized by the donor languages, these loanwords are studied from two aspects: (1) phonological adaptation and contact-induced changes in Kavalan; and (2) the semantic domains of lexical borrowing from the donor languages, including Spanish, Southern Min Chinese, Amis, Japanese, and Mandarin Chinese.

Southern Min Chinese provides the most amount of loanwords into Kavalan, whose phonological adaptation is also most interesting than that of the other donor languages. This includes detonalisation, de-aspiration, de-affrication, consonantal substitution, gemination, and even consonantal epenthesis. Phonological adaptation of Japanese loanwords, on the contrary, mostly involves substitution, reduction, and deletion of vowels. Vowel substitution/reduction and syllable dropping are also seen in the loanwords borrowed from the Philippine languages, Spanish, and Amis. The fact that the loanwords from Mandarin Chinese show the least phonological adaptation reveals the effect of first language attrition.

The semantic domains of lexical borrowing in Kavalan are divided into the following categories: (1) animals; (2) plants; (3) ways of cooking; (4) dress and adornment; (5) other ethnic groups; (6) (modern) tools and machines; (7) religious buildings; (8) vehicles and transportation; (9) physical/social activities and consumption; (10) medicine and diseases, and (11) measurements. These loanwords provide vital clues to the acculturation of the Kavalan people, and shed light on the history of the ethnic groups in the eastern part of Taiwan.

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## **Contacts of Finnic and Saami languages in computational trees and networks**

Methods of computational language phylogeny, originating in the study of evolutionary connections, have seen ever wider use in historical linguistics in recent years (for Uralic languages, see Honkola et al. 2013; Syrjänen et al. 2013; Lehtinen et al. forthcoming). They are increasingly seen as more comprehensive and flexible than earlier quantitative methods in historical linguistics, e.g. glottochronology. Here it is shown how a more diverse use of different computational methods and linguistic data types can accurately model the connections of Finnic and Saami languages. This follows from efforts laid out here to discern the differing effects of shared retentions, common innovations and convergent development through contact.

Instead of aiming to replace the traditional historical-comparative method, the phylogenetic approach depends on traditional research and data produced within it. The computational methodology provides a straightforwardly data-driven and quantifiable way of analyzing linguistic material and assessing the results of the analyses, allowing further statistical accuracy and replicability of studies on language connections. The dependence of traditional study is true especially of analyses on lexical, phonological and morphological innovations, in which prior in-depth linguistic research is central.

An approach alternative to using linguistic innovations determined in traditional research is modeling structural variation between languages. This has been performed e.g. in languages of the Sahul region (Dunn et al. 2008; Reesink et al. 2009) whose largely unknown genealogical relations these aim to study with large structural datasets. In long-standing linguistic areas structural influence can bring the typological profiles of languages closer than their genealogical relatedness would entail (see e.g. Thomason 2001: 125–126), but the degree of systematic effect of this on structural types is unknown.

Here new insights into the study of Uralic language history are presented, concentrating on the connections and contacts of the Finnic and Saami subgroups. Results obtained with both phylogenetic tree (Bayesian MCMC analysis) and network (NeighborNet) methods are compared with analyses done with population clustering methods such as Structure. Using methods designed for the study of the development of both between-species (macroevolutionary; Bayesian MCMC and NeighborNet) and within-species variation (microevolutionary; Structure), it is determined how information from these different kinds of methods can be interpreted in terms of different factors on connections of these languages.

The phylogenetic tree methods aim to provide models about the process of divergence in successive stages from the common protolanguage of studied languages. The accuracy of these models is dependent on the actual historical connections between the analyzed languages and on the data used in the analyses, as well as on the employed algorithm and tree summary. Different rooting methods can be used to eliminate the effects of shared retentions, contrarily to claims by Häkkinen (2013). Distance matrix based network methods can be further employing in identifying factors like wavelike divergence and convergence through contact in unclear stages of the branching structure of the family trees (Heggarty et al. 2010).

The linguistic results from vocabulary data show the robustness of the layer of Proto-Finno-Saami lexical innovations. In modeling the divergence of both the Finnic and Saami ancestral dialect continua, the Bayesian tree inference algorithms are seen to be non-optimal. Different parts of lexicon, analysed in distance networks, show the effect of wavelike

divergence and language contacts on Finno-Saami divergence. This is compared with information from the clustering of “ancestral populations” of vocabulary items.

Finally, it is explored how data on structural types can be used in expanding the models of Uralic language connections. The influence of internal development and language contact on typological data are seen to be analyzable with computational methods. Furthermore, the use of more varied types of data in addition to vocabulary permits more diverse modeling of historical language connections, and enables study of the factors of different parts of the language systems in the diversification of languages.

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### **Borrowability of function and discourse words: the Komi case**

Various scales of borrowability have been suggested, with much the same principles. However, the Finno-Ugrian languages spoken in Russia are generally absent, although they present a wealth of material for contact studies. In this paper, I shall continue my earlier topic of Komi function words borrowed from Russian, where conjunctions only were treated.

Meanwhile, research has shown that discourse markers are found to be among the most common linguistic items susceptible to borrowing. Y. Matras (2007, 2009), who is especially interested in developing a borrowability hierarchy of grammatical function words, presents the following scale: 1) discourse markers and connectors, 2) phasal adverbs and focus particles, 3) indefinites and interrogatives, 4) expressions of temporal and local relations, 5) numerals, 6) place deixis, demonstratives, and personal pronouns, 7) negators, possessors and existentials. For each group, discourse pragmatic and semantic motivations are given; a specific group is utterance modifiers.

Komi, representing originally a situation of isolated contact (a population of relatively mobile men and sedentary monolingual women), has developed a situation of unidirectional bilingualism with diglossia. It is comparable in this respect to the languages researched by Matras, which are minority languages in colonial settings (and, specifically, various Romani vernaculars). The difference is that Komi has a status of a written official language, codified in grammars and dictionaries, used in literature and mass media.

During several centuries of contact, the language has borrowed a wealth of Russian items from groups 1-2 (*da* 'yes', *vot*; conjunctions *da*, *i*, *köt'a*, *bytt'ö*; particles *öd*, *eššö*, *tol kö...*), from group 3 (indefinites; *myj-l'ibo*), from 4 (peripheral local relation *bokyn* 'by the side of'). Numerals (group 5) are taken from Russian in dates and other institutional environments. In group 7 Komi shows negatives (*n'e sömyn*, *n'e* + infinitive). Perhaps more cases will be found (group 6?), when spoken language and dialect corpora are included. My aim is to check and complement the grouping suggested by Matras with material taken from dictionaries and dialect material.

In addition, I shall give a list of the 24 implicational scales (the above included) suggested by Matras (2007) and show how they stand in relation to Komi.

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## **Interfaces of contact and change: Gothic evidence on Greek pronunciation in the 4th century AD**

Contact between Gothic and Greek revolves around the Bible translation of bishop Wulfila completed in the 4th century AD. Only about half of the New Testament and some pages of the Old Testament have been preserved in manuscript copies up to present day, but the text is still the longest surviving monument of the Gothic language. Not only did Wulfila translate the text into Gothic, but he also devised a very own script for the language: most of the letter forms were adopted directly from the Greek alphabet, but Latin and runic influence is also present, not to mention a few genuine innovations. This unique contact situation has been extremely beneficial from the point of view of Gothic studies: starting from the 19th century, philologists and linguists have successfully interpreted Gothic on the basis of Greek material (for classical interpretations, see Braune 2004 and Streitberg 1920).

In this paper I will turn the traditional situation upside down and use Gothic material as evidence in Greek language history. The aim of the paper is to show how Greek loanwords in Gothic, the transliteration of biblical proper names, and the Gothic script itself can be used as evidence in reconstructing the 4th century AD Greek pronunciation. My method is based on textual interpretation and comparison. I will also point out some methodological issues that may arise during the process (e.g. avoiding a potential ‘vicious circle’). Some of the material has already been discussed elsewhere to some degree (see Schwyzer 1953: 162–163, and the references there), but not in a systematical or statistical way.

I will arrive at a conclusion that is basically in line with previous research on Greek historical phonology. My paper will thus confirm the dating of several sound changes by showing that they must have taken place before the translation effort of Wulfila or that there was an ongoing change at that time. From a methodological point of view I will conclude that contact situations provide important, possibly even crucial information on dating sound changes and that most methodological problems are avoidable, provided that contact evidence is not used in isolation, but as a complementary element of language history.

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## **An analysis of tag questions in a longitudinal corpus of child bilingual language**

In this paper I show how corpus linguistics methodology can make an original contribution to the study of discourse features, such as tag questions, in the speech of bilinguals. By combining quantitative analyses of the corpus data with subsequent qualitative examination, much is revealed about the use (and changes in use) of tag questions by two bilingual siblings.

Due to the relative structural complexity of tag questions in English, much of the research published on these discourse features involves studies carried out exclusively on speakers of English: Tottie and Hoffman (2006) compared tag questions used by British and American English speakers; Stenstrom et al (2002) and Torgersen and Costas (2009) reported on the use of invariant tags (such as ‘innit’, ‘okay’, ‘right’ and ‘you get me’) by adolescents in London; and Moore and Podesva (2009) investigated canonical tag questions used by high school girls in the Northwest of England. But what of speakers who regularly use another language in addition to English? With access to two systems of tag questions, it is logical to suppose that bilinguals might make more use of those tags which are less complex to use, especially when both languages are simultaneously activated, such as when code-switching.

The present study goes beyond purely monolingual English discourse, examining the speech of two bilingual children (Brazilian/British) and analysing their use of tag questions, whether in monolingual Portuguese, monolingual English or mixed (code-switched) utterances. Unlike Mills’ study of her bilingual German/English son (1981), which involved the manual analysis of data (notes and tape recordings), the methodology used in the current study draws on Corpus Linguistics and involves the automated retrieval and analysis of tag questions using the CLAN tools (MacWhinney, 2010b).

Transcribed according to the CHAT system (MacWhinney, 2010a), the corpus contains over 150 recordings (approximately 30 hours) of naturalistic interactions taking place between the two main informants, a girl ‘M’ and her brother ‘J’ (aged 5 and 3 years at the beginning of data collection in 2001), and their monolingual and bilingual family relatives. Longitudinal in nature, the recordings were collected over four years, primarily in Brazil where the siblings were born and where they lived until moving to England in 2004. In addition to standard CHAT conventions, special codes were designed and inserted throughout the corpus to allow for the automatic analysis of various linguistic phenomena such as insertional code-switching, mixed forms, meta-linguistic comments, errors and tag questions, the particular focus of this paper.

My presentation will begin with a detailed look at the methodological aspects of the study including the coding system and the use of CLAN commands (FREQ, COOCCUR and KWAL) to carry out the analyses. Following this, I will discuss the results and show what they reveal about the bilingual children’s use of tag questions over the three year period of the study. Such discussion will include a consideration of how developmental factors and changes in the siblings’ sociolinguistic environment are seen to affect their use of this discourse feature.

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### **Language contact in virtual spaces: The use of kin terms *bli* and *bro* in Balinese online discourse**

Studies on the effects of computer-mediated communication in language contact have emerged as key components in further understanding the various forces which bring about contact-induced phenomena such as code-switching and language shift (Paolillo 1999; Paolillo et al. 2005; Tsai 2007). At this point, many of these studies have focused on phenomena such as the influence of loanwords and/or loaned expressions from a single dominant language among users of minority language communities (Androntsopoulos 2007; Durham 2007). However, more complex situations can arise if these virtual communities use different languages within different interactional strata, e.g., a language used predominantly in printed or audible communicative media may not be used as prominently in some virtual domains. This appears to be the case among many Balinese (Austronesian, Malayo-Sumbawan subbranch) speakers, as they primarily use both Balinese and Indonesian in their written and spoken media, while using a mixture of Balinese, Indonesian, and English in their virtual interactions.

However, these users tend to use broadly semantically-overlapping kin terms from only two of the languages listed above: *bli*, an indigenous Balinese term meaning ‘older brother’ but used for any older male (Covarrubias 1946:131); and *bro*, a loanword derived from the informal form of English ‘brother’. Examples of both are shown in (1)-(4):

(1)

Mksdne	napi	<b>bli...?</b>
meaning-DEF	what	<b>older.brother</b>

“What do you mean, *bli*?” (KASKUS: othey777; 4/7/2011)

(2)

wayanris:					
be	sepi	jani	mulih <sup>2</sup>		
PFV	quiet	now	go.home-REDUP		
mr_bego:					
be	di	jumlah	ne	<b>bli</b>	
PFV	LOC	LOC:house	POSS	<b>older.brother</b>	

wayanris: “[It’s] already quiet, now [everyone’s] gone home.”

mr\_bego: “[I’m] already in my house, *bli*.” (KASKUS: 9/2/12)

(3)

ten	kenapi	<b>bro</b>
NEG	why	<b>&lt;brother&gt;</b>

“No reason, bro.” (KASKUS: DagangArak; 6/11/2010)

(4)

mai	abe	cendol	e	<b>bro</b>
VENI	bring	t.o.drink	DEF	<b>&lt;brother&gt;</b>

“Come bring the *cendol* drink, bro.” (KASKUS: wayanris; 9/2/12)

Examples (1) and (2) illustrate the use of *bli*, which indexes a certain degree of accorded respect from the speakers to their addressees as the kin term implies that there is a perceived difference in social status between the interactants. In contrast, examples (3) and (4) show the use of *bro*, where there is no perceived need to index any difference in status, as in (3); or where the speaker is assuming a higher status role, as user [wayanris] is referred to as *bli* in the interaction in (2). Thus, it appears that *bli* tends to index interactants who occupy some higher position or status in any given interaction, while *bro* is used where no such indexing is deemed necessary. Furthermore, the noticeable absence of analogous Indonesian kin terms suggests that Balinese users prefer to refer to each other by either an indigenous Balinese term (by default) or a term from English, presumably the most widespread dominant language on the internet (Korpela 1995), rather than a term from the more official yet socially distant dominant language, Indonesian.

This study will show that the alternation of even a miniscule instance of codeswitching – the alternation of kin terms – can help to illustrate the functional and interactional niches such alternations serve. Ultimately, Balinese speakers use both kin terms in to not only index the status of the participants in any given virtual interaction, but also to assert their identities as Balinese internet users.

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## Phonological–phonetic borrowing between two closely related Finnic languages

The aim of the present paper is to examine how the Karelian-speaking immigrants from Border Karelia have adopted phonological and phonetic features of the Eastern Finnish dialects into their speech. Border Karelia was a part of Eastern Finland until the World War II. It was mainly Karelian-speaking, while its neighbouring areas in the west were Finnish-speaking. Karelian and Finnish are closely related Finnic languages, which made it easy for the two groups to have contacts for centuries before the WW II. The paper intends to produce new knowledge about the dialect of Border Karelia as well as about the effect that the contact between closely related languages has on the phonological system of the languages.

The data of the research consists of interviews made with elderly people in the 1960's and 70's. The informants are from the Karelian-speaking parts of Ilomantsi in Western Border Karelia. The whole Border Karelia was passed to the USSR after the WW II, and the inhabitants had to move into the present-day Finland. At this stage of research, data from seven informants was used. It is not clear how much the Eastern Finnish dialects had affected the idiolects already before the war. The general assumption is that the dominant language of the informants has been Karelian, but at the time of the interview that might have changed. The theoretic background of the study is a combination of the language contact (e.g. Heine & Kuteva 2005; Matras 2009; Siegel 2010) and speech accommodation (e.g. Giles & Coupland 1991; Hinskens *et al.* 2005) theories.

The contact between the Border Karelian and the Eastern Finnish dialects is approached through examining how and to what extent the Eastern Finnish gemination phenomena have spread to the speech of originally Karelian-speaking people. The phenomena in focus are the primary gemination (*En ossoo sannoo.* cf. Standard Finnish: *En osaa sanoa.* 'I cannot say. '), and the secondary gemination (*Lähettäi kaupunkkii.* cf. Standard Finnish: *Lähdetään kaupunkiin.* 'Let's go to the town. '), which are characteristic to the Eastern Finnish dialects but not to the Border Karelian dialect spoken in the Karelian-speaking parts of Ilomantsi. In addition to the gemination, the survival of Karelian features in the idiolects is examined.

In the data, there is great variation in the occurrence of the gemination phenomena between the individuals. That can be seen as individual cross-linguistic influence, and the usage of gemination can often be interpreted as temporary loaning. The accommodation to the Eastern Finnish dialect is incomplete and varies between the individuals as well as within idiolects. That kind of variation is common to such long-term accommodation situations (Kerswill 2002: 682–684). The level of Karelianness is high in all the idiolects, so the Border Karelian dialect seems to have remained the dominant language of the speakers.

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## **Reconstructing Language Contact from a Fragmentary Corpus: Oscan and Greek in Italy**

The study of language contact in the ancient world has been an area of huge growth over the past ten years. Ancient bilingualism is now understood through the lens of modern language contact - ancient multilinguals are now seen as managing their languages creatively and independently, often playing on the associations of each language to display a mixed or complex identity. From Cicero's letters, to Egyptian papyri, to Roman funerary epitaphs, the bilingual speakers of Latin and Greek have been explored in greater and greater detail. Landmark works in this field are the seminal volumes by Adams (2003 and 2007), but the proliferation of collected volumes – including Papconstantinou (2010), Ruiz Darasse and Luján Martínez (2011), Tribulato (2012), and Mullen and James (2012) – also reflect the depth and breadth of the interdisciplinary work which has been done on language contact in all corners of the ancient Mediterranean.

However, in areas where sources are more limited, scholars have understandably been more hesitant to make sweeping claims about the nature of language contact in an ancient community, even where societal bilingualism is likely to have existed for many centuries. Languages only attested in fragmentary epigraphic corpora have therefore not always received a great deal of attention in historical sociolinguistics, despite these texts representing our best evidence of many of the communities across the ancient Mediterranean. In response to this problem, scholars studying a range of different small epigraphic corpora across the ancient world have started to build up frameworks for interpreting ancient language contact from small or fragmentary corpora of texts.

This paper contributes to this growing methodological framework, adding perspectives from language contact in Southern Italy, with Greek/Oscan contact as a particular case study. Based on research on South Oscan and on-going work tied to the AHRC-funded “Greek in Italy” project, I suggest several refinements for interpreting fragmentary evidence of language contact from an interdisciplinary point of view. Alongside careful consideration of modern linguistic theory and archaeological context, this paper stresses the importance of considering domain and text-type. For example, funerary inscriptions are likely to include bi-version or code-switching texts in areas of intense language contact, but this is much less likely to occur in dedicatory or official texts. The epigraphic habit of areas such as Southern Italy – where funerary texts are rare – should therefore be taken into account in assessing the nature and intensity of language contact. With this in mind, this paper proposes models for the interpretation of language contact and bilingualism in fragmentary ancient corpora, as well as describing the societal and individual bilingualism that existed in ancient Lucania and Bruttium.

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**Loan valency patterns in creoles: Evidence from the *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures (APiCS)***

Creole languages show lexical material which goes back to a very large extent to the European (or other) lexifier languages. For instance, verbs in Seychelles Creole overwhelmingly stem from (dialectal) 18<sup>th</sup> century French: *manze* ‘eat’ (< French *manger*), *koze* ‘speak’ (< French *causer*), *gete* ‘watch’ (< French *guetter*) etc. But, as I will demonstrate and illustrate in this talk, creole languages consistently show valency patterns that cannot be traced back to their lexifier languages, but derive from their substrate languages. Some characteristic patterns of Atlantic and Indian Ocean creoles, which have mainly African languages as their substrates, are sketched schematically in the following table, where they are contrasted with patterns of their European lexifiers.

CONSTRUCTION	CREOLE	AFRICAN SUBSTRATE(S)	EUROPEAN LEXIFIER(S)
ditransitive	double-object 'Peter gives Marcel a mango'	double-object 'Peter gives Marcel a mango'	indirect-object 'Peter gives a mango to Marcel'
experiencer	body part is subject 'My head is aching (me)'	body part is subject 'My head is aching (me)'	experiencer is subject 'I have a headache'
raining	rain is subject 'Rain falls'	rain is subject 'Rain falls'	expletive subject 'It is raining'
motion-to/-from	identical marking 'I go/come from Leipzig'	identical marking 'I go/come from Leipzig'	different marking 'I go to/come from Leipzig'

South Asian, Southeast Asian, Australian and Pacific creoles partly show different patterns which can analogously be traced back to the relevant sub- or adstrate languages of these world regions.

Interestingly, this phenomenon has not been systematically described in creole studies, where most of these phenomena have been discussed in isolation (see e.g. Lefebvre 2011). The present paper argues, on the basis of large-scale cross-creole evidence (see the *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures*, OUP 2013), that in the process of creolization creoles have to a large extent preserved the valency patterns of their respective substrates. The process through which this could have happened must be due to universal tendencies of second language use where speakers transfer entrenched abstract valency patterns from their native language(s) into the new developing creole. The amount of transferred "loan" patterns is certainly different from other less dramatic contact situations, but the qualitative outcomes as such seem to be very similar to what we find in other contact situations, e.g. in languages which have been in longstanding bilingual contact.



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## **Cross-linguistic influence in heritage languages in the Netherlands**

This paper builds on results of the research project ‘Multilingual Netherlands’ (subproject of ERC Advanced Grant #230310, ‘Traces of Contact’), investigating cross-linguistic influence in a specific contact setting: heritage languages in the Netherlands.

The linguistic context of heritage language speakers can generally be characterized by early bilingualism (either sequential or simultaneous), limited access to the heritage language (HL) especially after starting school; use of the HL restricted to informal family settings; limited or absent literacy in the HL; and dominance in the language of the surrounding society (here: Dutch) (Aalberse and Muysken 2013).

Central to the study of language contact and bilingualism is the extent to which a language system is susceptible to influence from the other language, and how the mechanisms of cross-linguistic influence or *transfer* are to be characterized. Our project investigated these questions with respect to transfer from Dutch, the dominant language, into different heritage languages, including Chilean Spanish, Ambon Malay and Chinese. We did so by using the same elicitation material, containing video-retelling tasks and sociolinguistic interviews (part of the material was selected from the *Manual for the field season 2001*, Levinson & Enfield 2001) and focusing on the same morpho-syntactic areas, principally argument realization and TAM.

Our findings allowed us to formulate four generalizations. We observe that dominant language structural transfer in heritage languages:

- I. is likely to be induced by conceptual and lexical properties of the source language (cf. *The Conceptual Transfer Hypothesis* in Bylund and Jarvis 2011).
- II. is likely to work in interaction with other forces, namely reductive optimization and universal principles (cf. Polinsky & Kagan 2007:382).
- III. draws first and foremost on available structures, i.e. it causes shifts in usage preferences between already available structures within the HL (cf. *The Alternation Hypothesis* in Jansen, Lalleman, & Muysken. 1981; Backus 2004).
- IV. is ‘system-preserving’, meaning that it is strongly constrained by the structure of the receiving language (cf. Backus 2004; Silva-Corvalán 2008).

We illustrate these four generalizations with evidence from case studies.

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### ‘Give’-constructions in heritage Malay in the Netherlands

The domains where languages show variable syntax are often vulnerable for incomplete acquisition and cross-language influence, as has been shown, for example, for Turkish (Onar Valk & Backus 2013), Moroccan Arabic (Boumans 2006) and Cantonese (Yip and Matthews 2007). In many languages, the expression of ‘give’-events constitutes such a variable domain. ‘Give’-events involve a verb with a meaning of ‘transfer’ or ‘caused possession’, and three arguments: an Agent-like argument (A), a Recipient-like argument (R), and a displaced Theme argument (T). The R and T in a ‘give’-construction may be ordered in various ways, and receive different encodings. The variability of argument encoding found in ‘give’-constructions makes it an interesting domain of inquiry from a language contact perspective: what happens when two patterns of variation are combined in the same, bilingual speaker.

This paper investigates the variable encoding of ‘give’-events in Ambon Malay spoken by heritage speakers in the Netherlands, who are all Dutch-dominant Dutch-Malay bilinguals. We compared ‘give’- constructions provided by heritage speakers to those of homeland speakers in order to detect signs of divergence, and to those of Dutch speakers in order to find out possible transfer effects. We will show that the expression of ‘give’-events in heritage Ambon Malay shows significant differences from the ‘homeland’ variety. For instance, heritage speakers of Ambon Malay use fewer two-predicate constructions than baseline speakers to express a ‘give’ event, compare (1a) and (1b) – they gravitate towards using single-predicate constructions more often.

(1) a. (‘homeland speaker’)

[*satu pegang tas rangstel*] [*dia mau kasi untuk nyong yang lain*]  
one hold bag backpack he want give to man REL other  
‘One (of them) holds a backpack, he wants to give (it) to the other man.’

(1) b. (‘heritage speaker’)

*seorang laki-laki kasi tas untuk laki lain*  
person male give bag to male other  
‘A man gave a bag to another man.’

In the domain of dative alternation, when Double Object constructions (*John gave Mary a book*) alternate with Prepositional Object constructions (*John gave a book to Mary*), heritage speakers use Double Object constructions significantly more often (11,4%) than ‘homeland’ speaker (1,6%).

We propose that the divergence between the two varieties is the outcome of, on the one hand, a different path of acquisition in heritage speakers -- which characteristically involves arrested development and insufficient input--; and, on the other hand, transfer from Dutch as dominant language (Aalberse and Muysken 2013).

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## **The switching-borrowing continuum: Methodological problems in research on historical multilingualism**

During the past couple of decades, multilingualism has become an important topic in historical linguistics. Of all the topics covered by the studies in this area, code-switching and other multilingual practices such as lexical borrowing have been approached especially often. Whether the research has centred round the pragmatic functions, sociolinguistic aspects, frequency, or syntactic features of these practices, anyone working with these topics has had to face the problems in defining the object of study itself. More specifically, researchers interested in code-switching must be able to distinguish between switching and borrowing in their materials.

The distinction between code-switching and lexical borrowing has been touched upon by researchers working with both contemporary and historical data. Several different criteria for distinguishing between the two have been proposed, but there seems to be agreement over the fact that both phenomena are situated on a continuum. In a diachronic study the distinction may be less problematic since it is possible to discern which items first appear as switches and later become established loanwords (e.g. Myers-Scotton 1993: 168-176). However, in a synchronic study we must be able to explain how we have chosen the linguistic items to be analysed. Several different criteria for distinguishing between switching and borrowing have been proposed, including for example phonological and morphosyntactic criteria, psycholinguistic criteria (Myers-Scotton 1993: 163), and frequency counts (Myers-Scotton 1993: 194). The first two types are especially problematic for historical materials, which are by definition written texts. Frequency counts have also been criticised in general (e.g. Winford 2010: 182) and their application in historical studies in particular (e.g. Schendl 2000: 89-91). In fact, some researchers (e.g. Gardner-Chloros 2010: 195) have doubted the possibility of making a clear distinction between borrowing and switching in a synchronic study.

The present paper discusses the switching-borrowing continuum and the related methodological problems with examples from Early Modern English texts. The study is part of my on-going PhD project, the main aim of which is to analyse the pragmatic functions of code-switching and other multilingual practices in a set of synchronic data. In the paper it will be argued that even in synchronic material we find both clear cases of switching and borrowing (at the opposite ends of the continuum) and unclear cases (situated in the middle of the continuum). The paper provides an evaluation of the different types of criteria discussed above, using as examples some items situated in the 'grey area' such as *imprimis* and *item*. It will be argued that even within a single text the status of an item may change depending on the context. Furthermore, it will be shown that there are indeed cases where the distinction between borrowing and switching becomes irrelevant as far as the pragmatic functions of these items are concerned. In other words, a pragmatic analysis is not made impossible by the fact that we are dealing with unclear cases.

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## **Historical code-switching research: advances and advantages**

Historical linguistics has recently witnessed an increase in studies of multilingualism. This has been especially pronounced within English historical linguistics, a field with an established tradition in researching medieval and early modern code-switching and other multilingual practices (see e.g. Trotter 2000; Schendl & Wright 2011). While the field has numerous challenges to overcome – many of them common to all fields of inquiry into language history – it promises to offer valuable new perspectives into historical and contact linguistics. This applies to both emerging diachronic Big Data approaches to historical code-switching and more focused pragmaphilological investigations into smaller sets of multilingual texts. Based on recent advances made by separate but collaborating research projects, the proposed paper will examine some of these advantages.

A well-known challenge in studies of contact-induced change on the word level is how to distinguish between code-switches and lexical borrowings. The two are clearly linked, and it is widely agreed that they exist on a cline (Treffers-Daller 2009), which we posit to be not only conceptual but also chronological: the continuum can be regarded as a timeline on which words travel left to right, from occasional code-switches to more or less fully adapted borrowings, but not backwards. The beginning of the process can be observed even in small quantities of data, whereas diffusion within and across larger communities of speakers/writers and assimilation into the recipient language is best observed and explained by taking the long view and using large diachronic corpora.

In addition to contact-induced change, historical multilingualism research can also provide a view on stability over time: we can trace practices that have remained unchanged for centuries. For example, while it is perhaps not surprising that faraway people and places, the names of traded commodities, currencies, weights and measures are often referred to by their original foreign names, it is noteworthy that this practice seems to be a constant in texts from different periods. This stability, however, does not become visible within a narrow temporal frame, providing another reason for compiling large corpora of multilingual material.

Context is a crucially important factor guiding multilingual practices (Gardner-Chloros 2009). An important but under-researched motivation for code-switching is social mobility, indicated for example by the use of expressions copied from a prestige language: a foreign word may evoke the superiority of the embedded language and the culture it hails from and confer some of that prestige on the code-switcher. Small, carefully contextualized datasets allow us glimpses into writers' aspirations and the local meanings of code-switching ; however, large corpora annotated with metadata on age, sex, occupation and social rank as well as social relationships and aspirations can provide an overview of the socially motivated patterns of usage.

This paper will elaborate on recent advances in historical multilingualism research, focusing on the usefulness of combining large-scale corpus linguistic research with detailed



case studies. The common thread to the investigations to be discussed is the need to bring contextual metadata into the equation in a systematic fashion.

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### On borrowing compounds in Asia Minor Greek

In this presentation, I propose to deal with the lexical and structural aspects of borrowing compounds, in a language-contact situation involving three Greek-based Asia Minor dialects, Cappadocian (Dawkins 1916, Janse forthcoming), Aivaliot (Sakkaris 1940) and Pontic (Tobaidis 2007).

The data show the following properties: (a) the dialects display varying degrees of productivity in forming compounds, depending on the extent of socio-cultural contact with Turkish; (b) several compounds exhibit mixing of Turkish and Greek morphemes, although their formation-patterns are Greek; in some rare cases, both constituents share Turkish, but compounds contain a Greek compound marker (CM) between the basic constituents, and are always followed by Greek inflectional endings (1); (c) most Turkish constituents have undergone phonological and morphological changes according to Greek morpho-phonological requirements; some items have acquired a stem allomorphy for their inflection, as in (1b), where the Aivaliot *-δ-* formative is inserted between the Turkish item *kadife* ‘velvet’ and the Greek ending:

(1)

a. Pontic *dzavtaropsómin* < Tr *çavdar* Gr *-o-* Gr *psomi-* Gr *-n*  
‘rye bread’ ‘rye’ CM ‘bread’ NOM.SG

b. Aivaliot *ayrijukadifédīs* < Gr *ayri-* Gr *-u-* Tr *kadife-* Gr *-is*  
‘wild yellow flowers’ ‘wild’ CM ‘velvet’ NOM.PL

c. Cappadocian *yaun-ú-spor-us* < Tr *kavun* Gr *-o-* Gr *spor-* Gr *-us*  
‘melon seed’ ‘melon’ CM ‘seed’ NOM.SG

(d) Compound structures resist change, even in Cappadocian where compounding is less productive than in Pontic and Aivaliot, i.e. there is use of Greek-based patterns, which are unknown in Turkish (2):

(2)

a. Pontic *selodavéno* < Tr *sel* Gr *-o-* Gr *δ(i)avéno*  
‘flood/inundate’ ‘flood’ CM ‘walk through’

b. Aivaliot *vruduluwó* < Tr *vurdulu* Gr *-u-* Gr *-lwó*  
‘make noise’ ‘hit with big noise’ CM ‘be in the position of...’

(e) In the rare case where entire Turkish compounds are adopted, their structure is lexicalized; the vowel /I/ of the Turkish CM *-(s)I(n)* is reanalyzed as part of the loan stem, and a Greek ending is added at the right-hand edge:

(3) Turkish *yüzbaşı* -> Aivaliot *júzbasi-s*  
‘officer of Turkish army’ ‘officer-NOM.SG’

I argue that in a contact situation involving Greek and Turkish the structure of compounding is the least affected compared to structures of other word-formation processes (e.g. derivation), since Greek compounding is entirely different from Turkish.

As asserted in Ralli (2013a,b), Greek compounds are morphological objects, displaying phonological and morphological unity: they combine stems, have one single stress and a compulsory CM relating the two constituents. As such, they are created in morphology. On the contrary, Turkish compounds are phrasal objects: they involve the combination of words, their stress does not differ from that of common noun phrases and their compound marker appears at the end, being identical to the possessive marker *-sI(n)*. Thus, they are built in syntax. Assuming that morphological congruence is a prerequisite for the borrowing of morphological structure (Myers-Scotton 2002), Greek compounding resists change. This is not the case for derivation though, which seems to be more affected by Turkish, because in both Greek and Turkish, derivation relies on the morphological process of affixation.

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## Finnish and Karelian passives in contact

The present paper addresses crosslinguistic morphosyntactic influence in a contact between two very closely related varieties: the Eastern Finnish dialects of North Karelia and the Border Karelian dialects. North Karelia and Border Karelia, situated on the border of Finland and Russia, share a long common history with the coexistence of Finnish and Karelian. The dialects of Border Karelia have been contained ingredients from both Finnish and Karelian and Karelian has gradually been merging into Finnish. The process was radically accelerated after World War II when Border Karelia was incorporated into the Soviet Union and the Karelian inhabitants were resettled into other parts of Finland. The assimilation process resulted in various mixtures with both Finnish and Karelian elements.

The paper focuses on the use of passive verb forms (e.g. Fi *männään*, Ka *männäh* go-PASS) and their relationship to personal verb forms. The term “passive” is firmly rooted in the Finnish grammatical tradition (cf. Helasvuo & Vilkuna 2008) although some regard it as a misnomer. The Finnish passive is an impersonal verbal category that leaves the agent/subject argument unspecified, implies the involvement of a human agent/subject in the situation, and allows both (semantically) plural and singular and speaker/hearer exclusive and inclusive interpretations of the agent/subject. In Finnish dialects, especially in the eastern ones, the passive form is nowadays routinely used also as the PL1 verb form with a subject pronoun (*myö männään ulos* we go-PASS out ‘we will go out’). This usage has largely replaced the former use of PL1 verb forms (e.g. *myö mänemmä ulos* we go-PL1 out ‘we will go out’). In Karelian, however, the use of the passive form has developed to a different direction: in addition to impersonal use, the passive forms are regularly used as PL3 forms, e.g. *hyö eletti* they live-PAST-PASS ‘they lived’ (e.g. Zaikov 2013). The Finnish use of passive as the PL1 form is a language-internal phenomenon, whereas the Karelian use of passive as the PL3 form is related to Russian influence.

The informants used in this study had been born in the Border Karelia region and evacuated during World War II to North Karelia, where they had lived for a couple of decades before the time of data recording. The audio recordings were conducted in the 1960s and are now stored in the Audio Archive of Finnish dialects; a sample of the recordings has been transcribed at the University of Eastern Finland. The data exhibit a wide range of idiolectal mixtures of Karelian and Finnish, offering a unique opportunity to examine the process of language assimilation. The aim of the presentation is to give a first look at the variation resulting from the collision of Finnish and Karelian passive forms and their use as part of the personal inflection.

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## Contact-induced complexification and simplification: evidence from Basque

As to whether language contact leads to *simplification* or *complexification* has been a matter a debate regarding the processes of contact-induced outcomes (Trudgill, 1983, 2011; Dahl, 2004; Heine & Kuteva, 2005; Comrie, 2008). Often, this conundrum has been linked to different social structures, suggesting that different outcomes of contact-induced phenomena are determinant of the social factors of specific contact situations (Nichols, 1992; Thomason, 2001; Aikhenvald, 2003). Thus, Trudgill (2011) suggests that *simplification* is specific of adult learning contact situations whereas *complexification* is typical of long-standing contact involving childbilingualism, supported in numerous studies (Seifart, 2012; Clackson & Horrocks, 2007). Studies where both adult bilingualism and long standing child bilingualism are present within the same community, however, remain unexplored. Therefore, the main goal of the present study is to examine the processes of two contact-induced phenomena within the Basque Autonomous Community in Spain, where Basque has been in long-standing contact with Spanish and where the recent revitalization efforts (80s) have given emergence to a large L2 learner community.

The two contact-phenomena of interest are the emergence of Basque DOM (1b) attributed to contact with Basque-Spanish *leísmo*, and the underuse of the ergative marker in transitive and unergative subjects (3) (4). Building upon methodologies in SLA and sociolinguistics, a total of 40 different Basque-Spanish bilinguals (native-bilinguals, early sequential bilinguals and L2) participated in

a) an acceptability judgment task (AJT) containing balanced number of canonical and DOM examples and ‘correct’ and ‘incorrect’ uses of ergative, b) an elicited production task (EPT), containing 30 target verbs, and c) oral interviews (Labov, 2001). An analysis of variance and multiple mixed effects models (with random effects) were performed in R.

Preliminary results show that Spanish-dominant native bilingual speakers favor Basque DOM, which is affected by typological tendencies (animacy, specificity), factors in Basque-Spanish *leísmo* (number, person), and Basque-specific parameters (null objects). In terms of Basque ergative underuse, ample variation is found depending on the type of speaker: nativebilinguals are only vulnerable to phonological constraints, whereas L2 speakers present a ‘problem’ in unergative verbs. Early sequential bilinguals fall in an intermediate stage in which they are both sensitive to the semantics of the verb and phonological constraints of the language.

Based on these results, it is argued that the emergence of Basque DOM among highly bilingual (Spanish-dominant) speakers is the process of *replica gramaticalization* (Heine & Kuteva, 2010) from Spanish, leading to a *complexification* of the use of dative case marker in Basque. Here, *complexification* does not necessarily refer to additive forms, as more commonly assumed, but to the product of *additive use patterns* (and functions) in already existing forms. Finally, consistent with SLA theories who suggest that morphological inflection is a challenging aspect of a language to be mastered by L2 speakers, I argue that underuse of ergative is the result of a *simplification* process in paradigmatic redundancy (i.e. case) in L2 populations, who go through a “sub-optimal transmission effect” (Dahl, 2004) subject to transfer effects from the caseless Spanish language.

## EXAMPLES: DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING (DOM) IN BASQUE AND SPANISH

### Standard Basque (canonical – non-DOM)

(1a)	Ni-k	Mikel- $\emptyset$	ikusi	d-u-t
	I-ERG.1sg	Mikel-ABS.3sg	see	ABS.3sg-have-ERG.1sg
	‘I have seen Mikel’			

### Standard Basque (innovative DOM)

(1b)	Ni-k	Mikel-eri	ikusi	d-i-o-t
	I-ERG.1sg	Mikel-DAT	see	ABS.3sg-have-DAT.3sg-ERG.1sg
	‘I have seen Mikel’			

### Standard Spanish

(2a)	<i>lo</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>visto (a Mikel)</i>
	ACC.3sg	have-I.sg	to see-PART-(to Mikel)
	‘I have seen Mikel’		

### Basque-Spanish *leísmo*:

(2b)	<i>le</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>visto (a Mikel)</i>
	DAT.3sg	have-I.sg	to see-PART-(to Mikel)
	‘I have seen Mikel’		

## EXAMPLES: ERGATIVE CASE-MARKING IN BASQUE

### *Transitive*

(3)	Ni-k / *- $\emptyset$	ogia-a- $\emptyset$	erosi	d-u-t
	I-ERG/ABS	bread-the-ABS	buy	ABS.3g-have-ERG.1sg
	‘I have brought sweets’			

### *Unergative*

(4)	Ni-k / *- $\emptyset$	eskiatu	d-u-t
	I-ERG/ABS	ski	ABS.3g-have-ERG.1sg
	‘I have skied’		

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## The Case of Ngoreme: Distinguishing contact from genetic inheritance in Mara Bantu

Ngoreme (JE.401), a Bantu language spoken in northwest Tanzania, presents an interesting case study in differentiating contact from genetic inheritance. Schoenbrun (1997) posits a united Mara macro-clade comprised of North Mara (e.g. Kuria, Simbiti) and South Mara (e.g. Ikoma, Nata and *Ngoreme*) meso-clades. However, Schoenbrun's hypothesis is based mainly on lexical studies and is not definitive (Nurse 1999: 9). The general unity of a Mara macro-clade comprised of most of the JE.40 languages is supported by Nurse and Philippson (2003). Walker (2013) finds that the evidence from tense/aspect morphology does support a split between the North and South Mara meso-clades (although the data corpus does not include Ngoreme). Regardless, we can assume a general division between at least Kuria/Simbiti on the one hand and Ikoma/Nata on the other, while accepting a provisional proto-Mara.

Ngoreme shares the vowel inventory /i e ε a ɔ o u/ with the majority of the Mara languages. In terms of vowel harmony, however, Kuria and Simbiti are characterized by total height harmony (Cammenga 2004; Chacha and Odden 1998; Parkinson 1996), while Ikoma and Nata have more mixed [ATR] harmony patterns (Higgins 2012). Ngoreme has aspects of both vowel harmony systems. Ngoreme shares a stem vowel lowering process with the applicative and inversive extensions with Kuria and Simbiti. Ngoreme also shares an asymmetrical vowel distribution across lexical category (7V phonemic contrast in nouns, while only 5V in verbs) with Simbiti. Ngoreme shares height dissimilating noun class prefixes triggered by the feature [-ATR] with Ikoma and Nata.

[ATR] vowel harmony can be seen as resulting from contact: "one could equally well conclude that languages may easily develop ATR-harmony through areal diffusion" (Dimmendaal 2011: 369). Though, [ATR] vowel harmony can also be seen as the inevitable consequence of an innovation in the vowel inventory ( $*i, \sigma > e, o$ ) which then leads to even more changes (Stewart (2000: 50). The asymmetrical vowel distribution (7V>5V in verbs) Ngoreme shares with Simbiti is almost certainly a result of contact, with the closest parallel of Bila (D.32), a Bantu language in the DRC which has acquired two additional vowels in the verbal system (but not the nominal system) as a result of contact (Kutsch Lojenga 2003). Evidence from lexicalization (i.e. fossilization, lexical doublets) in regard to applicative/inversive forms possibly points toward contact with North Mara and/or Ikizu/Zanaki to the west of Ngoreme.

Ngoreme shares a number of other distinctive phonological and morphological features with both South Mara (e.g. intervocalic affricate devoicing ( $*dʒ > t// V\_V$ ) and causative verb forms without final *-a*) and North Mara languages (e.g. /ai/ diphthongization, and an alveolar trill [r] resulting from vowel elision). Although such features are certainly brought into the discussion, the focus of this paper concerns the vowel system of Ngoreme and its neighbors. In sum, Ngoreme offers competing possibilities for contact-induced language change that beg to be untangled.

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## Independent Partitive (Genitive) as an isogloss of the Eastern Circum-Baltic area

### 1. Introduction

The syntactically dependent partitive case in Finnic and the partitive genitive case in East Slavic and Baltic area have been extensively discussed in the literature. It constitutes a firmly established feature of the Eastern part of the Circum-Baltic language area (cf. Larsson 1983; Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001; Koptjevskaja-Tamm/Wälchli 2001: 649-669). The partitive genitive in East Slavic and Baltic exhibits functional correlations with the partitive case in the Finnic languages that "...are typologically too infrequent to be explained by a coincident parallel development." (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001:540f). However, much less attention has been paid to the syntactically independent correlate. The latter is however remarkable with respect to both its typologically specific functions and a certain consistency across the languages of the eastern part of the Circum-Baltic area.

From the typological point of view, the typical semantics of Case is to encode "the type of the relationships the dependent nouns bear to their heads" (Blake 1994:1-2). Differently from the "regular" cases, the function of the IP(g) pertains to such domains as aspect and quantification, referentiality and discursive prominence in East Slavic, Baltic and Finnic.

In the present paper I will discuss some specific properties of the independent partitive genitive in Baltic, East Slavic and the partitive case in Finnic that pertain to the domain of quantification and aspect.

### 2. Quantificational properties

One of the common innovations of Baltic, East Slavic and Finnic is that the implicit quantifier invoked by the IP(g) extended its domain of application from originally an NP-internal quantifier (*D(eterminer)-quantifier*) into an *A(dverb)-quantifier* that applies on the clause level. It becomes sensitive to the quantificational adverbs, incorporated verbal quantifiers and verbal aspect. While acknowledging language-specific differences in the quantificational value of the implicit quantifier in every particular language, I claim that there is, nevertheless, a semantic core that is common to all three language branches, and certain differences may be explained as motivated by the differences in, e.g., the aspectual organization of every language of concern. The discrepancy between the syntactic position (NP-internally) of the implicit quantifier and its domain of application (clause-level) is typologically rare, cf. the overview in Corbett (1994:202; 2000:251) where such a quantifier is said to be unattested. This makes this correlation particularly telling with regard to language contact.

To give an example, consider the *temporal-transfer-reading* induced by the implicit quantifier of the IP(g) (that overrides the accusative case-marking here):

(1) *Duok man peiliuko*

(Eastern Lithuanian)

give me knife:GEN.SG

'Give me a/the knife for a while!'

(2) *Daj lošadi*

(North Russian)

give horse:GEN.SG

'Give a/the horse for a while!'

- (3) *Anna-han tänne kirvestä-ni*  
 (Finnish)  
 give:IMPV-PRT here ax:PART.SG-POSS.1SG  
 ‘Give here my ax (for a while)!’ (from Larsson 1983:87)

The regular, canonical accusative case-marking of the objects in (1)-(3) would not induce the implication ‘for a while’. The implicit indeterminate quantifier induced by the IP(g) quantifies here the phase after the transfer event has taken place, inducing the meaning ‘the result will last a specific period of time’. This is so, because the transfer verbs (achievements) do not presuppose a (preparational) phase that could be measured by the quantifier which has to resort to the after-phase.

Another example represents the delimitative aspect (= cessative<sup>1</sup>). The delimitatives entail that the process had been running for a while and was stopped for whatsoever reason without reaching a natural end (if such an end (*telos*) is presupposed by the lexical semantics of the verb at all). The typical implication here is that the action could have lasted longer and was not fully exhausted (cf. Sasse 2002:206). The delimitatives require the IP(g) marking of the direct object (instead of the structural accusative). It is only Standard Russian that allows accusative here too.

### 3. Conclusions

One finds a number of typologically striking correspondences across the languages of concern. Even though the IPg is an inherited category in Baltic and Slavic, most of its synchronic properties are not attested in the ancient IE languages and are thus likely to be recent innovations of Baltic and Slavic. Even more, the IPg shows a greater functional correspondence with the IP in the Finnic languages than with its etymological counterparts in the ancient IE languages. Interestingly, most of the properties not inherited from Proto-IE in Baltic and Slavic – as far as I can judge from the data available – are not inherited in Finnic either. This means that these properties were created relatively recently, and that the major part of these properties is the result of common developments in Baltic, Finnic and East Slavic.

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## Effects of adult second language acquisition on inflectional synthesis

In recent years there has been a growing interest in exploring whether cultural and social factors might affect linguistic patterns across languages (Kusters 2003; Trudgill 2011; Lupyan and Dale 2010). The main hypothesis in this paradigm is that the complexity of linguistic patterns is adapted to cognitive biases manifest in particular types of social contexts, especially to the degree a community's language is acquired extensively by outside adult learners. For instance, the more adult learners there are in the speech community learning its language as a second language, the greater the likelihood is for the community's language to become easier, more transparent and more regular. On the other hand, communities in which fewer adults learn its language as a second language may favor the maintenance and even the development of linguistic structures that are difficult for adult learners, such as irregularity and morphological complexity. Recent cross-linguistic research on the complexity of case systems provides ample evidence for these hypotheses (Bentz and Winter 2013).

One of the parameters of interest in recent discussions has been the morphological complexity of verbs. For instance, case studies have shown that the number of morphological categories expressed on the verb, better known as the degree of synthesis, tends to decrease as a result of the language being learned by a large group of adult second language learners (Kusters 2003). Evidence from second language research supports these findings, showing that verbal inflections pose problems for adult learners but less so in child acquisition (see Parodi et al. and references there). My aim in this paper is to explore whether typological distributions of morphological complexity may have also been affected by such learning biases.

For the measure of synthesis I focus particularly on inflectional synthesis of the verb using the data in the World Atlas of Language Structures (Bickel and Nichols 2013). This sample consists of 145 languages. To estimate the effect of outside adult learners, I assess the proportion of adult learners in the total speaker population following Bentz and Winter (2013). As a working hypothesis I assume that the greater the proportion of outside adult learners is, the greater their possible effect on linguistic patterns is as well. The data for the proportion of second language learners come primarily from the Ethnologue (Lewis et al. 2013).

A pilot correlational study based on a small 20-language subset of the sample showed no evidence for a relationship between the proportion of L2 learners in the community and the degree of inflectional synthesis in the community's language. Data from a larger sample of 50 languages will be reported on, using linear mixed modeling in the statistical analysis. The problem of chance correlations is also discussed (Roberts and Winters 2013).

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### **Palatalisation in L2 Irish – influence, imperfection or something else?**

According to the Constitution of Ireland, Irish is regarded as the country's first official language; nowadays, however, the majority of population prefers English both in daily life and official communication. Moreover, it has been repeatedly pointed out that “there are virtually no monoglots of Irish left, except perhaps for very few rural speakers of traditional dialect” in Gaeltacht areas (Hickey 2010: 163). Yet even those speakers are generally good bilinguals and are perfectly capable to use English.

As for the Irish language, it is mostly studied by school pupils and university students rather than acquired in a natural way. In most cases, however, learners never speak Irish outside educational institutions, English being the general (and most natural) means of communication in their everyday life. Other speakers, whose command of Irish becomes confident enough, are labelled in linguistics as L2 speakers with English as their first language, or L1. The latter are supposed to be able to use the language when necessary without any hindrance (in Gaeltacht areas, on radio and TV etc), though unlikely on a daily or weekly basis.

This non-native variety of Irish is characterised by the same phonetic inventory as the dialects (i.e. distinction between palatalised and non-palatalised consonants, long and short vowels as well as the vibrant [r] sound), however, particular sounds do not appear to be distributed in speech in a proper, dialect-like way. This subject has been largely neglected by linguists so far, yet it might present an interesting case of study, especially when the possible reasons for the existing phonetic deviations are concerned.

Language contact seems to be the most natural and plausible explanation, given the continual contact between the two languages since the late 12<sup>th</sup> century and the gradual shift in favour of English, accelerated by the Great Famine in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Hickey 1999: 42). This has led to the present-day situation in Ireland, when, as scholars tend to agree, “the Irish language has no influence on English but the reverse is very much the case. (Hickey 2010: 163).

Yet, the existing phonetic deviations cannot be fully explained by the speakers' direct L1 influence. Thus, there seem to exist both instances with absent and excessive palatalisation in fluent L2 Irish. Even though the former cases undoubtedly prevail, in certain words informants have chosen to add palatalisation, as opposed to native Irish speakers. Here the question is bound to arise – which positions become prone to palatalisation absence in fluent, yet non-native, Irish and whether the recurring deviations could be explained by indirect English influence, the position these sounds take, or both. It is this question the present paper will be predominantly devoted to.

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## **Borrowing Arabic Elatives (Comparatives): Root-and-Pattern Morphology in Language Contact**

While individual instances of template borrowing have been observed, the borrowing of templatic morphology has not yet been studied in a cross-linguistic comparative perspective. Such a study is facilitated by the high productivity of such morphology in a regionally influential language: Arabic. One of the most typologically unusual traits of Arabic is its very extensive use of productive root and-pattern morphology. A wide variety of morphologically complex stems are formed not by adding concatenative morphemes but by substituting consonants / length units from the input “root” sequentially into “slots” in a template, other elements of which are fixed.

Many languages whose speakers use Arabic as a lingua franca show extensive influence from Arabic, including lexical and morphological borrowing. Taken together, such languages allow us to form an account both of how the borrowing of templates takes place and of the preconditions for it. Such cross-linguistic comparison is most fruitful for Arabic’s so-called elative, a template used to form the comparative and superlative of triliteral adjectives. The Arabic elative shows both phonological and semantic innovations relative to proto-Semitic (Speiser 1952), allowing us to be certain that any reflexes found of it elsewhere reflect borrowing rather than the shared Afroasiatic heritage.

Reflexes of the elative are found to varying degrees within Berber (Souag 2009), Neo-Aramaic (Arnold 2007), Modern South Arabian (Rubin 2010), and Domari (Matras 2007). In most cases, these reflexes are suppletive, although the number of adjectives for which they are available ranges from just a couple to practically all. In a few, however – notably Siwi, Western Neo-Aramaic, and Omani Mehri – the template is productively applied even to inherited adjectives. In all such cases, however, the application of the template differs in some significant respects from the (dialectal) Arabic source, notably for doubled roots, indicating that its extension to inherited adjectives took place primarily among monolingual speakers by analogy based on loans rather than among fluent bilinguals by direct transfer.

The distribution of elative borrowing is far from arbitrary: all languages to have borrowed productive elatives share some common factors. Sociolinguistically, they are all spoken by communities with, historically, a high degree of bilingualism in Arabic alone, and extensive borrowing of Arabic adjectives. Yet many other languages satisfying those conditions, even ones in such intense contact as Domari, did not make the elative productive. Taking structural factors into account accounts for the distribution much better: all the languages in question already had both root-and-pattern morphology of their own and a predilection for triliteral roots, producing a large number of inherited adjectives to which this template could be applied without adjustment. A pair of structural features shared through common inheritance from well over five millennia earlier – triliteral roots and root-and-pattern morphology – has thus continued to facilitate the transfer of a particularly rarely borrowed feature between distantly related languages up to the present, confirming that genetic relationship may facilitate the formation of linguistic areas (Grace 1996).

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## **Egyptian-Greek Language Contact and Case Interchange in Greek Papyri from Egypt**

In recent years more and more interest has been generated for the sociolinguistic background of the Greek language on papyri and ostraca found in Egypt. From the Hellenistic period until the Arab invasion (323 B.C. - 641 A.D.) Greek has been the dominant writing language in this area of which the majority of the inhabitants had Egyptian as their native language (L1). As the structure of the Egyptian language is very different from Greek, it has no case system for example, it is no wonder that bilingual writers with Egyptian as L1 struggle with the case endings in the Greek target language (TL). This assumption has led many scholars to explain various case interchanges in papyri from the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine periods as a feature of Egyptians writing Greek (Vierros 2012: 139-175; Evans 2012: 109; Fewster 2002: 235; Leiwo 2003: 4-7; Clackson 2010: 82).

On the other hand, the loss of the dative case is considered to be one of the main characteristics of the developments in the case system in post-Classical and Medieval Greek by traditional grammars and studies in Greek historical linguistics (e.g. Humbert 1930, Browning 1983, Horrocks 2010). The functions of the dative case are taken over by the genitive and accusative cases and prepositional phrases and examples of case interchange in the papyri are usually taken to show the variation and alternation of case forms that is often found before a merger of cases.

So how should we interpret the examples of dative-genitive or dative-accusative case interchange in the language of the papyri? As evidence for the imperfect learning of a second language by the native Egyptians or as signs of the loss of the dative case in Greek?

Phonological changes in Egyptian Greek can sometimes be explained as both language internal developments and possible transfer features from Egyptian (Gignac 1976). The heterogeneous population in the Hellenistic territories might have resulted in the acceleration of historical changes in the Greek language (Bubeník 1989: 287). Imperfect second-language learning can be an important factor in the process of language change in the TL. Language internal motivations often combine with external motivations to produce a change and the possibility of multiple causation should not be ignored (Thomason 2001). I will consider a combination of those two motivations for case interchange by combining a quantitative diachronic approach to the case interchanges in personal pronouns in the papyri with a qualitative analysis of the social and linguistic context of the examples.

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## On Word-internal Code-switching and Nonce Borrowings: Evidence from Chinese-English Code-switching

It has long been a heated debate as to whether word-internal code-switching (CS henceforth) is possible. The classic Free Morpheme Principle (FMP henceforth) in Poplack (1980) dictates that CS at the word-internal level is banned. This claim is questioned by many subsequent works based on different CS language pairs, such as Berk-Seligson (1986), Bokamba (1989), Myers-Scotton (1993), Halmari (1993), Redouane (2005), and Schindler et al. (2009). On the FMP approach, apparent word-internal CS can be accounted for under the nonce borrowing hypothesis advanced by Sankoff, Poplack & Vanniarajan (1990), according to which lone other-language items can be borrowed from the donor language into the recipient language independently of frequency. The existence of nonce borrowings has also raised extensive discussion: While supported by Budzhak-Jones (1998), Eze (1998), Samar & Meechan (1998), among others, it is challenged by Stammers & Deuchar (2012) (cf. MacSwan 1999, 2000). In this paper, based on Chinese-English CS data, I argue that the FMP only holds for words generated in the lexicon, but not for those derived at other components such as the syntax proper or PF. I first show that a three-way distinction should be made among established borrowing, nonce borrowing, and code-switching. The existence of nonce borrowing is confirmed by CS sentences like (1), whose word order patterns like the recipient language rather than the donor language. Assuming that CS “requires access to the syntactic apparatus of both languages” (Sankoff, Poplack, & Vanniarajan, 1990, 72) (cf. the subcategorization requirements for CS in Betahila & Davies 1983) and that “nonce borrowings pattern exactly like their native counterparts in the (unmixed) recipient language” (Poplack & Meechan 1998, 137), I move on to argue for the true CS instances, exemplified by (2), where the lone other-language item retains the syntactic properties of the donor language and no counterpart can be found in the recipient language. Then, I argue that the other-language item in (2) forms a word with the aspect marker, thus posing a serious challenge for the FMP. By showing that code-switches in (2) are formed at PF but those in (3), in the lexicon, I argue that the FMP still holds for the latter cases.

(1)

Yizhi zhizhu yijing qiaoqiao-de zai wo-de beihou, dang wo zhuan-shen-de  
one.CL spider already quietly-DE at I-de back when I turn.around-DE  
shihou, chadian he ta **kiss**.

time almost with he kiss. (Liu 2008)

‘A spider stayed quietly behind me. When I turned around, I almost kissed it.’

(2)

a. Wo **email**-le yixie hospital-de **nursing sector**.

I email-ASP some hospital-DE nursing sector

‘I emailed some hospitals’ nursing sectors.’ (Liu 2008)

b. Wo **call**-le yixie **nursing homes**.

I call-ASP some nursing homes

‘I called some nursing homes.’ (Liu 2008)

(3)

- a. \***read**-zhe (cf. du-zhe)  
read-ZHE read-ZHE  
'reader'
- b. \***modern**-hua (cf. xiandai-hua)  
modern-HUA modern-HUA  
'modernize'

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**Dynamics of linguistic contact**  
**Ancient Greek *-ízein* and Latin *-izāre/-issāre/-idiāre***

This paper proposes a re-examination of the contact phenomena in Ancient Greek and Latin through a description of AG verbs in *-ízein* and the Latin loans in *-izāre/-issāre/-idiāre* (e.g. AG *attikízein* and Lat. *atticissāre* ‘to speak Attic dialect’, AG *kitharízein* / Lat. *citharizāre* ‘to play a guitare’). This subject has been much debated, especially from the point of view of the recipient language, the donor language having not yet been adequately taken into consideration (for a list of AG verb forms, see Schmoll 1955). The main topics hitherto investigated by scholars have been (a) the morpho-phonetic adaptation of loan verbs in Latin, concerning both the suffixes (AG *-íz-* and Latin *-iss-*, *-iz-* and *-idj-*) and the inflectional classes (cf. Mignot 1969: 330ss., Biville 1990: 99ss), (b) the Latin verbs created on the model of AG loan verbs, such as calques, e.g. Lat. *graecissare* and AG *hellenízein* ‘to speak Greek’, and pseudo-calques, e.g. Lat. *moechissare* ‘to commit adultery’ (cf. Funck 1886, Arena 1965, Dardano 2008), and (c) the semantic classification of Latin verbs in *-izāre/-issāre/-idiāre* (cf. Leumann 1948, Cockburn 2012). These studies can actually account for many facts, but seem to be unable to describe the cultural and textual contexts of the linguistic borrowing, especially as regards their Greek counterpart: no mention is made, for instance, of the polysemy of ethnonymic Greek verbs such as *hellenízein*, *barbarízein* ‘to behave or speak like a barbarian’ (Lat. *graecissāre*, *barbarizāre*), whose semantic values depend on the cultural, historical and textual contexts. Moreover, the Latin verbs show neither the same lexical productivity nor the same textual frequency as their AG corresponding verbs: Lat. *graecissāre* and *barbarizāre*, for instance, have each one attestation only, while AG *hellenízein* and *barbarízein* are frequently attested at different stages of the history of the language.

This paper intends to fill the gap, by describing the occurrences of Greek verbs which penetrated as loans into Latin and comparing them with the occurrences of the Latin loan verbs. In order to understand the mechanisms of interference between the two languages, it is necessary to analyze the AG verbs in their textual and cultural significance, and to investigate the pathways followed by AG verbs in *-ízein* to penetrate into Latin. The cultural and textual domains involved in these borrowing processes have been, on the one hand, the so-called “technical” languages, which range from that of Christian religion (e.g. *baptizāre* from *baptízein* ‘to baptize’) to that of the treatises on medicine, architecture, agriculture, grammar, and, on the other hand, the language spoken by the Greeks who inhabited the Magna Graecia and, after the Roman occupation, transmitted, as slaves and preceptors, their language and culture to the Roman society. A deeper knowledge of AG words within their textual and cultural meanings may shed light on the modes of their penetration into Latin as loanwords and, in a broader diachronic perspective, on their permanence and productivity in the Romance languages.

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- Mixed copying in blogs: evidence from Estonian-Russian language contacts

### Mixed copying in blogs: evidence from Estonian-Russian language contacts

The paper applies the Code Copying Framework (CCF, Johanson 1992, 2008) to Estonian-Russian language contacts in Live Journal blogs. This blog platform is favoured by many Russian-speakers throughout the world. The main language blogs in questions is Russian. The nature of blogs (asynchronous, more written-like genre) allows us to look into individual multilingual practices. It is safe to claim that since the restoration of Estonia's independence in 1991 a certain segment of Russian-speakers has not only become bilingual but internalized Estonian and is using it in highly personalized text types such as blogs (Verschik 2014). CCF distinguishes between global copying (akin to code-switching/borrowing in other frameworks), selective copying (phenomena in morphosyntax, semantics, and combinability of elements) and mixed copying. The latter means that one component of a complex item is a global copy and the other a selective one and occurs in multi-word items (compounds, constructions, analytic forms, idioms), for instance, Estonian *kirs-i-tomati-d* (cherry-GEN-tomato-PL) 'cherry tomatos' > Estonian-Russian *kirsi-pomidory* (Estonian cherry + Russian tomatos). Six types of mixed copies are identified. There are more and less prototypical cases. Instances that include common (but not identical) internationalisms are borderline cases between global copy and mixed copy. The border is rather fuzzy and the same item is subject to variation across bloggers, cf. Estonian *isik-u-kood* (person-GEN-code) 'personal code' > *исикукод* (Russian *код* 'code') and another rendition *исикукоод*, where the original long vowel is preserved in Russian transliteration, making the item more like global copy. Constructions and multi-word items can also yield mixed copies. This tends to be overlooked in contact linguistic models: the influential PAT and MAT replication model (Matras and Sakel 2007) is somewhat similar to CCF but does not consider anything akin to mixed copies. It is argued that mixed copying requires closer attention because 1) it demonstrates what is perceived as a collocation or multiword unit by a multilingual user; 2) it contributes to the understanding of meaning (semantically specific components are likely to be copied globally; 3) it is in accordance with notions in cognitive linguistics (compositionality, blending, see Barlow 2000).

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## **Tense, Modality and Aspect in Surinamese Javanese: Contact-induced changes in an immigrant language**

In the highly multilingual country of Suriname, there are many contact-induced changes in the different languages spoken. In this paper, the topic of investigation will be the marking of Tense, Modality and Aspect (henceforth TMA) in Surinamese Javanese, one of the most widely-spoken immigrant languages in Suriname, and possible changes this system has undergone due to contact with Dutch and Sranan Tongo.

Surinamese Javanese is spoken by a community which covers around 16% of the total Surinamese population. Between 1890 and 1939, a total of 30,000 Javanese contract laborers were shipped to Suriname after the abolishment of slavery (Charry et al. 1983). At the end of their five-year contract, these laborers were encouraged to stay in Suriname, and many of them did. For a long time, this community had been quite closed and conservative, which is one of the reasons why it has been able to preserve much of its cultural traditions, including the Javanese language.

Earlier research on Javanese in Suriname has focused mostly on the lexical level (Vruggink, 2001) and the pragmatic level, notably speech styles and politeness registers (Wolfowitz, 1991). As expected, the lexicon has incorporated many loans from Dutch and Sranan. As for the speech styles, according to Wolfowitz, these have become less differentiated in Suriname compared to Indonesian Javanese. However, not much is yet known about the changes occurring in the morphology, syntax, and semantics, the topic of the present paper.

The goal of this paper is to provide an explorative overview of the TMA-marking of Surinamese Javanese, and to identify structural as well as semantic changes in this system as compared to Indonesian Javanese. The focus will be on two questions: (1) What is the relative order of stability for TMA-structures? and (2) Can the observed changes be ascribed directly to contact with Dutch and/or Sranan Tongo? By combining the grammaticalization hierarchy of Hengeveld (2011), with the borrowability hierarchy of Matras (2007), I come to a new hypothesis on the relative stability of TMA-structures, used to answer question (1). For question (2), the observed changes are compared to similar structures in Dutch and Sranan, to find out whether they could be the result of convergence.

Changes were investigated by comparing recordings of Surinamese Javanese material with material from Indonesian Javanese speakers, and identifying the relevant structural and semantic differences between the two TMA-systems. It was found that interesting differences indeed exist between the two variants, e.g. overgeneralization of prospective aspect, incorporation of the Sranan marker of conative modality (*proberi*) and use of a Dutch progressive marker ( *bezig*). As for question (1): the domains in which the changes are found indeed support the hypothesized hierarchy. Finally, question (2) can be answered positively, since quite a number of these changes, such as the overgeneralization of prospective aspect and lexical integrations, can be explained as convergence towards Dutch or Sranan.

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## Double Marking of Possession in the Balkans—The Effect of Functionally Defined Features on the Analysis of Linguistic Areas

The typological consequences of language contact have received increasing attention recently (see e.g. Trudgill 2011). A key question is, whether sprachbund phenomena constitute a special case among other types language contact. In the **Balkan Linguistic Area** (BLA; Balkan sprachbund), functional convergence between the languages is often characterized also by similarity in the morphosyntax: Not only do the Balkan languages have a grammaticalized marking of definiteness, but the marker appears most often as a post-posed clitic. Potential linguistic areas, however, are not studied anymore by traditional contact linguistics only, as **quantitative typology**, too, has emerged as a field that produces observations about areally significant distribution of linguistic features, not explained by known genealogical language families (Bickel 2007, 243–245). One characteristics of these large, cross-linguistic analyses is that they require functional terminology to overcome language specific idiosyncracies. Yet, It has been urged recently that concentrating in similarities in function, not only in form, should be in the focus of also the study of BLA (Aronson 2007, 16).

In this paper, I examine the consequences of semantic–functional level analysis on the observed areal distribution of one feature of nominal syntax, common to the BLA and therefore perhaps a candidate for a "balkanism". In all BLA languages there is an adnominal possessive construction that employs a clitic, expressing the possessor, that attaches to the possessed, together with an explicit possessor marked with the genitive/dative case or analytically with a preposition:

### Macedonian dialect of Kičevo (Labroska 2008, 162)

sin	mu	Stojan-u	pošol	vojnĳik	
son	he.CL.DAT.M.SG	Stojan-DAT.M.SG	started.out.as		soldier

'Stojan's son became a soldier'

While the construction distributed differently in the individual languages, being most frequent in Bulgarian and most marginal in Greek, it is typically used to express kinship relations. This alignment of the possessive construction can be called **double marking of possession**, since it involves both head marking and dependent marking. On the other hand, the construction can be analyzed as a part of a semantically motivated **split in possession marking** because it is mostly limited to family relations.

Split possession in Europe has been recently given more attention (see e.g. Stolz et al. 2008), whereas it has not been addressed to any greater extent within the Balkan context (with the exception of Liljana Mitkovska, see e.g. 2001). Head marking and double marking of adnominal possession, on the other hand, is rare in Europe. Yet, the neighboring languages Turkish and Hungarian, too, display a double marking strategy. They seem to form together with BLA languages a contiguous area of double marked possessive constructions. I will argue, however, that, morphosyntactically and semantically, BLA constructions differ from those of Hungarian and Turkish in a significant way. This raises the question, whether the semantic–functional criteria used in large scale cross-linguistic analyses are sensitive enough to detect the particular kind of convergence, typical of sprachbund phenomena.

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## **Vowel reduction in Sabellic languages: long-term effects of language contact in Ancient Italy**

Prolonged contact among the languages of Ancient Italy in the 1st millennium BC is demonstrated by various linguistic effects, including lexical borrowing between Etruscan, Latin and the Sabellic languages, convergence effects in the past tense systems of Latin and the Sabellic languages, evidence of L1 interference from Sabellic languages in Latin inscriptions etc. One of the most widespread effects of this contact was the development of an initial stress accent in Etruscan, Latin and the Sabellic languages, leading to syncope and vowel reduction (e.g. in Latin *facio* ~ *reficio*, *caput* ~ *capitis*; in Etruscan *avile*, *avule*, *avale*, *avele*). In Latin, vowel reduction was an ongoing process, lasting between c. 500 and the third century BC. Vowel reduction in the Sabellic languages has not been much studied, but when discussed it has been assumed to be a unitary process which took place at a fairly early stage, when these languages were not much distinguished: Nishimura (2012: 381-6) argues for a reduction of vowels in weak positions to a rounded centralised vowel [4] or [6] before c.550 BC.

I demonstrate that vowel reduction in the Sabellic languages Oscan, Umbrian and Paelignian can be shown to have taken place individually in the (pre-) history of these languages. This is demonstrated by differing phonetic environments for the reduction, and differing realisations, of the reduced vowel: short vowels in non-initial syllables are reduced to [u] in Oscan before or after a labial consonant (e.g. *raefucus* ‘prefect’ < \**prayfacus*), while in Umbrian they become [o], and a labial environment is not required (e.g. *prestota*, the name of a goddess, < \**praystata*). In Paelignian, the result of the reduction is [u], as in Oscan, but does not require a neighbouring labial, as in Umbrian (*hanustu* ‘honoured’ < \**hanesta*). It is also demonstrated by relative chronology: the purely Oscan rule whereby \*-u- became [ju] after a dental was not fed by vowel reduction, which must therefore have taken place subsequently; since \*-u- probably became [ju] around 350 BC, this gives us a terminus post quem for vowel reduction in Oscan.

The realisation that vowel reduction was a separate process in the individual Sabellic languages provides further evidence of these languages forming part of an Ancient Italian language area; although most of the evidence suggests an early date for many of the contact-based developments in languages of Ancient Italy, they can be shown to have had long term effects in the individual Sabellic languages parallel to those in Latin and Etruscan.

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## Conditionals in Hittite and Akkadian

Hittite conditionals exhibit a variety of syntactic patterns which are not yet fully understood. Variations in these patterns include the presence or absence of the conjunction *nu* 'and' in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, unexpected alternations between the preterite and the present tense in present contrary-to-fact conditionals, and the occasional use of the irrealis particle *man* in hypothetical, potential, and contrary-to-fact conditionals. These variations are usually labeled as 'inconsistencies'. However, a closer look into the syntax and semantics of conditional sentences in the peripheral dialects of Akkadian reveals that they may actually be contact-induced changes and that Hittite conditionals were strongly influenced by their Semitic counterparts. West Semitic and some peripheral dialects of Akkadian used the same pattern for connecting the apodosis to the protasis that Hittite did, and Akkadian signaled that a condition and the state following from it are potential or unfulfillable by the selection of tense or the Akkadian irrealis particle *man*. Since expressing unreal, potential, and even optative modal meanings with the modal particle (-)*man* and the indicative form of the verb is a shared feature of Hittite and Akkadian, we can conclude that language contact with Akkadian could have led to formal and semantic convergence in the modal spheres of Hittite and Akkadian. A consequence is that Hittite should be left out of consideration in future discussions of the Indo-European moods. These observations have important implications for our understanding of the Indo-European verb.