

ALBERT-LUDWIGS-
UNIVERSITÄT FREIBURG



FRIAS
FREIBURG INSTITUTE
FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

frequenz
effekte
graduierntenkolleg 1624

A decorative graphic consisting of a grid of small dots, with some dots in blue and others in grey, arranged in a pattern that tapers to the right.

FROM LANGUAGE MIXING TO FUSED LECTS

International Colloquium

January 25th – 27th, 2017

ABSTRACTS

KEYNOTES

1. Evangelia Adamou
How the study of language processing can shed light on fused lects
2. Carmel O'Shannessy
From code-switching to a mixed language: Mechanisms in the development of Light Warlpiri
3. Brigitte Pakendorf
From code-switching to fusion? Trying to reconstruct the copying of verbal paradigms in Lamukhin Even

PAPERS

1. Barbara Bullock & Jacqueline Toribio
Modeling and visualizing mixing via probabilistic language identification
2. Šime Demo
Artificial fusion: The curious case of macaronic Latin
3. Andrea Drocco & Orsola Risato
Hinglish: An example of strong code-mixing. An example of mixed language?
4. Eugenio Gorla
Incipient fusion in clause-peripheral code mixing: English and Spanish in Gibraltar
5. Nikolay Hakimov & Michael Rießler
Fusion outside the clause: the case of vernacular Kildin Saami
6. Katja Hannß
Possible origins of Kallawaya
7. Boglárka Janurik
Signs of partial fusion in the Erzya–Russian contact variety
8. Christian Mair
How language mixing in the global mediascape differs from language mixing in vernacular interaction
9. Felicity Meakins
Code-switching and the role of typology on emergent grammatical structures in mixed languages
10. Niko Partanen
Russian influence across Komi registers
11. Paulus van Sluis, Eric Hoekstra, Hans van de Velde
A linguistic and historical analysis of Bildts as a mixed language
12. Ghil'ad Zuckermann
Hybridization: An inevitable result of successful language reclamation

KEYNOTES

How the study of sentence processing can shed light on fused lects

Evangelia Adamou

French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS), Paris

Auer (1998) suggests that there is a continuum ranging from codeswitching to language mixing, which can then be grammaticalized as a fused lect, and eventually develop into a full-fledged mixed language (also see O'Shannessy 2012). In this paper I will show how the study of sentence processing can shed light on this process with data from Romani-Turkish mixing, dubbed "fused lect" in Adamou (2010) and "unevenly mixed language" in Adamou & Granqvist (2015). The Turkish-Romani variety is characterized by the conventionalized use of Turkish L2-verbs together with L2-morphology in an L1-Romani environment.

In collaboration with psycholinguist X. R. Shen, I conducted two on-line experiments with simultaneous Romani-Turkish bilinguals, i.e., a picture choice with sentence auditory stimuli (37 participants) and a word recognition task in sentence context (49 participants). Participants were presented with four types of sentences: (a) conventionalized Romani-Turkish mixing involving Turkish verbs with Turkish morphology, (b) all Turkish, (c) Romani-Turkish codeswitching, and (d) Romani with Turkish borrowings.

In line with a number of studies on language switch costs (e.g., Costa & Santesteban 2004; Proverbio et al. 2004; Alvarez et al. 2003), we predict that the mixed Romani-Turkish sentences should be associated to higher costs than unilingual speech. However, Adamou & Granqvist (2015) consider Romani-Turkish mixing to be stabilized and predictable. It should therefore be treated similar to unilingual speech or conventionalized codeswitching (e.g., Gullifer et al. 2013; Ibáñez et al. 2010).

Analysis of the results shows that in Experiment 1, participants responded significantly faster for all-Turkish sentences, followed by the Romani-Turkish mixed sentences, and the two types of ecologically non-valid sentences (c and d). However, processing costs were eliminated for the Romani-Turkish sentences with the use of Turkish verbs that are more frequently used in Turkish in the spontaneous conversations. In Experiment 2, reaction times were similar for Turkish verbs with Turkish morphology in a Romani or a Turkish environment.

Taken together these findings indicate that language switching costs in comprehension depend on the frequency of codeswitching in the bilingual community, as well as on exposure to specific lexical items. They also lend support to the approach according to which fused lects are in between codeswitching (admitting that these are associated to switch costs) and independent mixed languages (for which we predict no costs, similar to unilingual speech).

References

- Adamou, E. (2010). Bilingual Speech and Language Ecology in Greek Thrace: Romani and Pomak in Contact with Turkish. *Language in Society*, 39, 147–171.
- Adamou, E., & Granqvist, K. (2015). Unevenly mixed Romani languages. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 19, 525–547.
- Alvarez, R. P., Holcomb, P. J. & Grainger, J. (2003). Accessing word meaning in two languages: an event-related brain potential study of beginning bilinguals. *Brain and Language*, 87(2), 290–304.
- Auer, P. (1998). From code-switching via language mixing to fused lects: Toward a dynamic typology of bilingual speech. *Interaction and Linguistic Structures*, 6, 1–28.
- Costa, A., & Santesteban, M. (2004). Lexical access in bilingual speech production: Evidence from language switching in highly proficient bilinguals and L2 learners. *Journal of Memory and Language*, 50, 491-511.
- Gullifer, J., Kroll, J. F., & Dussias, P. E. (2013). When language switching has no apparent cost:

- Lexical access in sentence context. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 4, 1–13.
- Ibáñez, A., Macizo, P., & Bajo, M. T. (2010). Language access and language selection in professional translators. *Acta Psychologica*, 135, 257–266.
- O'Shanessy, C. (2012). The role of codeswitched input to children in the origin of a new mixed language. *Linguistics*, 50, 305–340.
- Proverbio, A. M., Leoni, G., & Zani, A. (2004). Language switching mechanisms in simultaneous interpreters: An ERP study. *Neuropsychologia*, 42(12), 1636–1656.

From code-switching to a mixed language: Mechanisms in the development of Light Warlpiri

Carmel O'Shannessy

University of Michigan

Details of the mechanisms by which a mixed linguistic system can develop from code-switching practices are not well understood, largely because of lack of documentation at the time of emergence of a new system, and of the characteristics of bilingual interactions preceding it. Questions include how types of source language relate to those of code-switching practices and in turn to the patterns of language combination in the new system. Others ask about the relative structural contributions of the source languages, and the sociolinguistic context at the time. There has been less attention to the type of structural contribution made by speakers in specific life stages at different times during the emergence of the new system. Observations of Light Warlpiri from soon after its emergence help to provide this detail, using apparent time analyses to show the differential contributions of three generations to the still-unfolding system.

The sources of Light Warlpiri are Warlpiri (Australian, Pama-Nyungan) and English-lexified language varieties (English and Kriol (an English-lexified creole)). Defining features of Light Warlpiri are a composite verbal structure, derived from English, Kriol and Warlpiri, with innovations, combined with Warlpiri nominal case morphology. Lexical items are from both types of source, although most verbs are from English and Kriol. The system emerged about 40 years ago, allowing us the opportunity to track the sociolinguistic context at its time of origin and its subsequent path of development.

This paper will illustrate that Light Warlpiri was formed in a two-stage process, where consistent adult code-switching practices in a child-directed speech register were processed by the children as a single linguistic system. Language typology played a role in the type of code-switching practiced. Using processes of reanalysis commonly found in child first language acquisition, the children reanalyzed elements of the verbal input, creating an innovative structure. The result is a composite of the typologically different source languages, with an innovative verbal auxiliary element, yet with one source, Warlpiri, grammatically dominant. The current cohort of child speakers largely maintain the single system, but regularize variable structures, and in doing so, increase the system's autonomy from its sources.

From code-switching to fusion?

Trying to reconstruct the copying of verbal paradigms in Lamunxhin Even

Brigitte Pakendorf

French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS), Lyon

Mixed languages (or “fused lects”, Auer 2015) come in different shapes and sizes: some, such as Media Lengua, combine a lexicon of one origin and a grammar of another, while others, most notably Michif, show a split in the origin of the verbal vs nominal domains. Given that most known mixed languages have developed in the absence of any documentation, the processes that led to their emergence are still heavily debated. It is here that case studies of languages that are still in the process of fusion can be enlightening, since they might show up the possible pathways that led to the development of mixed languages.

A good candidate for such a “fusing language” is Lamunxhin Even, which has copied several verbal paradigms comprising mood and subject agreement markers from the sociolinguistically dominant Turkic language Sakha (Yakut). Two paradigms, namely the Necessitative and Assertive, appear to be established copies in this lect, while the Present Indicative and Hypothetical appear to be in the process of being copied (Pakendorf 2009, 2014). With this copying of verbal inflectional paradigms Lamunxhin Even strongly resembles the mixed language Copper Island Aleut, in which the entire verbal inflection was of Russian origin (Sekerina 1994, Golovko 1996). An understanding of how Lamunxhin Even came to copy verbal paradigms from Sakha might thus allow us to shed some light on the processes that led to the birth of Copper Island Aleut. It is with this aim in mind that I will attempt to elucidate the trajectory of contact between Lamunxhin Even and Sakha, drawing not only on linguistic, but also on sociolinguistic and molecular anthropological data.

PAPERS

Modeling and visualizing mixing via probabilistic language identification

Barbara Bullock and Jaqueline Toribio

University of Texas, Austin

If bi- or multilingual speech forms fall along a unidirectional continuum from code-switching → language mixing → fused lect (Auer 1999, Myers-Scotton 1988) then it should be the case that it becomes more difficult for speakers/listeners to confidently assign a language label to a word token as they move along this continuum. For instance, in an English-language corpus, the word “bat” would have a high probability of being classified as English, but this probability should decrease with increased observations of the word used in a Spanish-language context: “el bat”, “su bat”, etc. In order to model mixed data, it would be helpful to find a way to classify languages more fluidly than permitted by categorical labels (English vs. Spanish vs. Tagalog), especially as such labels have no place in fused lects.

We present a computational method to model and visualize language identification probabilistically. Doing so allows us to test the effect of switching on language identification. It also enables us to represent the frequency of switching in a corpus or subcorpus of mixed language data, nuancing the M-metric of the LIPES Group (2000) that measures the balance of languages across a corpus given a categorical language classification. As mixed language corpora are in short supply, we exemplify our machine-learning approach by probabilistically annotating the text of a Spanish-English bilingual work of creative fiction, *Killer Crónicas* by Susanna Chávez Silverman, excerpted here:

So different from when I lived in Spain, en la secundaria. De teenager, me regocijaba when my foreignness was apparent. Angry at my parents for uprooting me en la cúspide of what would be, alas, una short-lived y sólo semi-popularidad, I turned upon the foreign country toda la rabia y el veneno de mi terca (in)diferencia.

This short novel has a .997 M-metric value, indicating that it is nearly equally mixed. Our model classifies the languages in the text with 97% accuracy as measured against a hand-annotated gold standard, and it also outputs the probability that a token is classified as Spanish and as English at the word-internal (n-gram model) and the word sequence (Hidden Markov Model) stages. From this output, we scale the language identification data by subtracting the probability that a word is English from the probability that it is Spanish, situating each token on a scale from 1 (likely Spanish) to -1 (likely English). This allows us to visualize the corpus with language probability plotted on the y-axis and word tokens on the x-axis, as in the figure below, which represents the plotted probabilities of the excerpt above. We see that some tokens fall toward the extremes, as would be the case in clear-cut language alternation but many trend toward the 0 point, where “language” identification is not so clear. We argue that our approach allows linguists to model the dynamic nature of the bilingual typology; fused lects, unlike the CS or mixing shown here, should show a greater tendency for tokens to cluster toward the 0 point.



Artificial fusion: The curious case of macaronic Latin

Šime Demo

University of Zagreb

Macaronic Latin has been one of the most peculiar linguistic experiments in the history of European literature. Having originated in Renaissance Italy at the end of the 15th century, in the period of linguistic transition from Latin to modern European languages in higher domains of use, it soon spread across the whole continent and engaged at least 130 authors, the last one of them writing in the 1960s. Its most regular appearance is presented by the following Latin-German example from 1593 (Anon., *Flohia*, in: Blümlein 1900: 101):

Angl-a *Floch*-os=que can-am, qu-i *wachs*-unt
sting- PL.ACC flea-PL.ACC=and sing- FUT.1SG REL.- PL.NOM.M grow-PRS.IND.1SG
I shall sing of stings and fleas, which grow from black dust

pulver-e *schwarz*-o | E *Waßr*-o=que simul *fließ*-ent-e
dust-SG. ABL black- SG.ABL.M | from water- SG.ABL=and at.once flow-PTCP.PRS- SG.ABL
and at the same time from streaming water

et *Schweiß*-id-e *warm*-o.
and sweat-{Greek.suffix}- SG.ABL warm- SG.ABL.M
and warm sweat.

Latin, giving all grammatical words, all endings and some lexical material, acts as the matrix language, while German is embedded by providing the rest of the stems (Paoli 1959). This linguistic form appears in eleven language pairs, each one involving Latin and a modern language.

The authors were highly proficient bilinguals that received thorough humanist education and were involved in the criticism of linguistically incompetent administrative, ecclesiastical and scholarly use of Latin, inherited from the Middle Ages. They conveyed their satirical message by excessive insertions of vernacular material, thus basing their literary project on parodying classical linguistic usage (Bernardi Perini 2001).

This kind of artificial linguistic form, unlike mixtures occurring in natural settings, has received relatively little scholarly attention in language mixing research. In its canonical form, it looks like a fused lect of an insertional type (see Auer 2014), but, as it will be argued in the paper, the transition from the code-mixing stage to a fused lect seems to be far from straightforward. In author's mind the two partner languages were consistently separated and employed according to the prosodic and poetical needs. This is especially demonstrated by frequent violations of the basic macaronic rules: the presence of unaltered vernacular islands, locally marked switching, and occasional longer stretches – comprising dozens of verses – of pure Latin. Furthermore, linguistic strategies aiming at humorous effects include insertions of substandard Latin expressions, deliberately irregular inflexion, morphological ambiguity, attaching Greek or Latin derivative suffixes, and calquing.

References

- Auer, Peter. 2014. Language mixing and language fusion: When bilingual talk becomes monolingual. In: Besters-Dilger, Juliane, et al. (eds.), *Congruence in Contact-Induced Language Change: Language Families, Typological Resemblance, and Perceived Similarity*, 294–334. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter.
- Bernardi Perini, Giorgio, 2001. Macaronica verba. Il divenire di una trasgressione linguistica nel seno dell'Umanesimo. In: Urso, Gianpaolo (ed.), *Integrazione, mescolanza, rifiuto*, 327-336. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Blümlein, Karl. 1900. *Floia und andere deutsche maccaronische Gesdichte*. Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel.
- Paoli, Ugo Enrico. 1959. *Il latino maccheronico*. Florence: Le Monnier.

HINGLISH. An example of strong code-mixing. An example of mixed language?

Andrea Drocco, University of Turin

Orsola Risato, Ca' Foscari University, Venice

Even if Hinglish is now known to the majority of people, thus not only academic scholars, it is not always clear the many nuances of meaning that this particular term can assume. In this paper we will focus our attention on that particular type of Hinglish where Hindi, in its standard but also non-standard varieties, shows a strong presence of English via a high number of lexical borrowing or code-mixing. The main aim of this talk is thus to explore that particular Hindi variety characterized by what is called in literature by the concept of 'Englishization of Hindi'. This variety is particularly interesting because, despite the long presence of English in India, since the 17th century, it was only in the last 70/80 years that the English pressure on Hindi become very strong. Moreover, this pressure grew enormously in the last twenty years, thanks, also, to the economic development of India and its opening to a globalized World. Therefore Hindi characterized by Englishization, thanks also to its strong presence in the digital media, offers us a unique opportunity to explore the issue of how a fused lect can emerge from language mixing. In this paper we will analyse the results of the analysis of Hindi movies, newspapers articles, advertisements, but especially of Hindi interviews with politicians, actors, writers, etc. The focus will be directed surely towards the sociolinguistic factors involved in the use of Hindi mixed with English, but attention will be paid, especially, to find, and in case of a positive research to examine, traces of the fusion of these two languages. In fact even if there are many scholarly works devoted to the study of Hindī-English code-mixing, it is rather surprising that no significant research has been conducted to investigate the emergence of a mixed language from Hindi-English mixing.

Incipient fusion in clause-peripheral code mixing: English and Spanish in Gibraltar

Eugenio Gorla

University of Bologna

This contribution provides data from an English-Spanish bilingual corpus collected in Gibraltar (Gorla 2015), and is meant to support the view held in Auer (1999, 2014), according to which the process of fusion, intended as the non-separation between two languages in some segments of the grammar (see also Matras 2000) has its roots in regular patterns emerging in code mixing.

I will concentrate more specifically on the case of extra-clausal code mixing, involving elements occurring at clause boundaries and corresponding to Dik's (1997) *extra-clausal constituents* (ECC's henceforth. See also Gorla, in press). Fusion at this level is regarded in Auer (2014) as possibly the weakest form of fusion, and is related to the divide between sentence grammar and discourse grammar (or *thetical grammar* in Kaltenböck et al.'s 2011 terms). In the case of Gibraltar, the data clearly show the signs of incipient fusion in that switching of ECC's is clearly unidirectional and is possible only in the case of Spanish ECC's in English clauses, and never the other way around (see ex. 1-3).

- 1) In these days you can find anything online *no// ymira //* there are a few people working // you know D// ... *isn't it. and look...* [discourse markers]
- 2) i went no i went like two or three times // *pero* that's where everything starts today ... *but...* [conjunction]
- 3) you will always find the quickest way // *el andalú //* perfect example of that ... *Andalusian Spanish...* [Theme]

In the main part of this contribution, I analyse bilingual data from both a qualitative and a quantitative perspective. Qualitatively, applying a distinction between sentence grammar and discourse grammar allows to identify more clearly the nature of the regular patterns where fusion takes place. Alongside with the case of discourse markers, other entities are thus taken into account, such as pseudo-clefts, left dislocations, and conjunctions. I will also show that the same pattern clearly applies also to clause-internal but still peripheral elements such as subordinating conjunctions. Quantitative analysis, on the other hand, allows to analyse finer-grained distinctions occurring in complex constructions: even though on a functional perspective complex structures have the same chance of being switched, switching is more likely to take place with lexically filled constructions with a higher degree of unitisation (Backus 2003) than with their lexically open counterparts.

Finally, I will also discuss the social conditions under which fusion takes place: I argue in particular that factors such as language shift and matrix language turnover (Myers-Scotton 1998) must have had a key-role in the formation and diffusion of regular patterns, and I try to put this hypothesis to the test through a comparison of three different age-groups.

References

- Auer, Peter. 1999. "From Code-switching via Language Mixing to Fused Lects: Toward a Dynamic Typology of Bilingual Speech". In: *International Journal of Bilingualism* 3 (4): 309-332.
- Auer, Peter. 2014. "Language mixing and language fusion: when bilingual talk becomes monolingual". In: Juliane Besters-Dilger, Cynthia Dermarkar, Stefan Pfänder, Achim Rabus (eds.), *Congruence in Contact- Induced Language Change*. Berlin: de Gruyter: 294-336.
- Backus, Ad. 2003. "Units in codeswitching: evidence for multimorphemic elements in the lexicon". In: *Linguistics*, 41 (1): 83-132.
- Dik, Simon. 1997. *The theory of Functional Grammar. Vol 2, Complex and derived constructions*. Dordrecht, Foris.
- Gorla, Eugenio. 2015. *Il discorso bilingue a Gibilterra. L'emergere di schemi regolari nella commutazione di codice*. PhD dissertation. Università di Pavia.
- Gorla, Eugenio. In press. "The role of extra-clausal constituents in bilingual speech. The emerging of regular patterns in a bilingual corpus". In: Gunther Kaltenböck, Evelien Keizer, Arne

- Lohmann (eds.) *Outside the clause*. Amsterdam, Benjamins.
- Kaltenböck, Gunther, Bernd Heine, Tanja Kuteva. 2011. "On thetical grammar". In: *Studies in language* 35: 852-897.
- Matras, Yaron. 2000. "Fusion and the cognitive basis for bilingual discourse markers". In: *International Journal of Bilingualism* 4(4): 505-528.
- Myers-Scotton, Carol. 1998. A way to dusty death: the Matrix Language turnover hypothesis. In: Lenore A. Grenoble and Lindsay J. Whaley (eds.), *Endangered Languages: Language Loss and Community Response*, Cambridge, University Press: 289–316.

Fusion outside the clause: the case of vernacular Kildin Saami

Nikolay Hakimov, University of Innsbruck

Michael Rießler, University of Freiburg

Kildin Saami is a severely endangered and under-described Uralic language spoken actively by no more than a few hundred speakers on the Kola Peninsula in North-West Russia. Changes induced by the ongoing language shift to Russian have been documented on different levels of linguistic structure in spoken Kildin Saami (Blokland and Rießler 2011; Kotcheva and Rießler 2016; Rießler 2007, 2009) and patterns of code-mixing and code-switching have been described by Pineda (2008, 2009).

In this paper, we analyse an hour-long interaction involving several Kildin Saami speakers. The speakers appear to be in the Saami monolingual mode (Grosjean 1982), which is signalled not only by their metalinguistic comments (“we speak Saami here”) but also by instances of self-repair and other repair strategies evidenced in our data. Although they avoid switching from Saami to Russian, their speech is infiltrated by numerous Russian items from the realm of clause-peripheral grammar, including the discourse grammar.

The corpus data for our investigation are taken from annotated speech recordings done by the Kola Saami Documentation Project (<http://dobes.mpi.nl/projects/sami/>), specifically a two hours long free conversation between three female speakers while cooking and eating. The three female speakers (born 1932, 1933, 1940), who learned Kildin Saami as L1, are acquaintances (distant relatives).

Following Pineda (2009), we claim that in a situation of intense language contact, vernacular Kildin Saami has evolved to a fused lect. Our analysis, based on a larger data set involving a greater number of speakers than in Pineda’s study, shows that the locus of fusion is the clause-peripheral domain of vernacular Kildin Saami grammar, including the discourse grammar. However, in the domain of sentence grammar vernacular Kildin Saami exhibits few or no traces of fusion with Russian. Our findings include the following structural patterns at the textual level of grammar:

1. The discourse is separated in language from the system of discourse organisation framing it. The system of discourse organisation includes discourse markers of Russian origin.
2. However, the separation between the discourse and the system of discourse organisation is gradual (cf. Maschler 1998, 2000, who observes a stricter division) because the discourse also contains other Russian elements, all of which are clause-peripheral elements, comprising conjunctions, particles as well as deictic and modal adverbs.

References

- Blokland, Rogier and Michael Rießler. 2011. Saami-Russian-Komi contacts on the Kola Peninsula. In Hasselblatt, Cornelius et al. (eds.), *Language contact in times of globalization*. 5–26. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Grosjean, Francois. 1982. *Life with Two Languages: An Introduction to Bilingualism*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Kotcheva, Kristina and Michael Rießler. 2016. Clausal complementation in Kildin, North and Skolt Saami. In Boye, Kaspar et al. (eds.), *Semantic functions of complementizers in European languages*. 499–528. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.
- Maschler, Yael. 1998. On the transition from codeswitching to a mixed code. In Auer, Peter (ed.), *Codeswitching in conversation*. 125–149. London and New York: Routledge.
- Maschler, Yael. 2000. Toward fused lects: Discourse markers in Hebrew-English bilingual conversation twelve years later. *The International Journal of Bilingualism*, 4/4. 529–561.
- Pineda, David. 2008. «Kuess’ ne polučaetsja sāmas, rūšas polegče» – Codeswitching on the Kola Peninsula. *Poljarnyj vestnik* 11. 47–62.
- Pineda, David. 2009. Pereključenie kodov ili «smešanyj lekt»? *Poljarnyj Vestnik* 12. 26–42.
- Rießler, Michael. 2007. Kildin Saami. In Matras, Yaron et al. (eds.), *Grammatical borrowing in cross-linguistic perspective*. 229–244. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Rießler, Michael. 2009. Loanwords in Kildin Saami, a Uralic language of northern Europe. In Haspelmath, Martin et al. (eds.), *Loanwords in the world’s languages*. 384–413. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.

Possible origins of Kallawayá

Katja Hannß

University of Cologne

In this paper, I will discuss possible scenarios of origin of the mixed Kallawayá language, suggesting that Kallawayá was deliberately created by Quechua speakers.

Kallawayá is a symbiotic mixed language (Smith 1995) spoken at the Bolivian shores of Lake Titicaca, whose grammar is provided by a southern Quechua variety. The lexicon of Kallawayá is said to be based mainly on extinct Pukina, while other major lexifiers are Quechua and Aymara (Stark 1972: 206). Kallawayá is used only by male herbalists during curing ceremonies; in this sense, Kallawayá is also a secret language. The native language of the herbalists' is Quechua, while Kallawayá is acquired only as a second language (Muysken 2009).

Muysken (1994: 201) suggests two scenarios of origin for Kallawayá that can be roughly sketched as follows: in the first, native speakers of Quechua invented Kallawayá by picking up Pukina words and inserting them into their native Quechua, thereby necessarily retaining the Quechua grammar. In the second scenario, Kallawayá arose from a situation of language shift and maintenance where a former Pukina speaking community preserved parts of the lexicon of its original language, but had otherwise already shifted to Quechua.

I will argue that it is the first scenario that is more plausible with respect to the origin of Kallawayá. Evidence for this is provided by the lexicon, but also by grammatical features of Kallawayá. First, the Kallawayá lexicon is not, as put by Stark (1972: 200) "predominantly Pukina" with 70% of its lexical items coming from this language (Stark 1972: 206). Instead, only about 5% of the Kallawayá lexicon can be attributed to Pukina, while the overwhelming majority, i.e. 53%, remains etymologically opaque (Hannß, to appear). Second, there are a number of affixes in Kallawayá that do not originate in Quechua, which, according to Adelaar and Muysken (2004: 357) "suggests that not all pre-Quechuan morphology has been replaced". Furthermore, non-Quechua affixes attached to lexical bases of Pukina origin could be expected to come from Pukina as well. However, none of these affixes can be related to Pukina (or any other language). Instead, they are, etymologically speaking, obscure and may have been consciously created by the Kallawayá speakers. Compare Examples (1a) through (1c) where agentive marking in Pukina (1a), Quechua (1b) and Kallawayá (1c) is demonstrated (agentive marking in bold).

- (1a) *hall(a)-**eno***
die-AG
'the dead' (Adelaar and van de Kerke 2009: 133, 136)
- (1b) *puri-**q***
walk-AG
'walker, one who walks' (Hoggarth 2004: 66)
- (1c) *isna-**ñito***
go-AG
'traveller' (Oblitas Poblete 1968: 146)

Taking into consideration that the role of Pukina as a lexifier of Kallawayá is actually less significant than proposed so far, while non-Quechua affixes in Kallawayá cannot be attributed to Pukina, but instead appear to have been consciously created, I suggest that Kallawayá does not result from the shift of a formerly Pukina-speaking community to Quechua. Rather, it was deliberately invented by Quechua speakers, a process frequently observed with mixed and secret languages (e.g. Matras 2000: 81).

References

- Adelaar, Willem and Pieter Muysken. 2004. *The Languages of the Andes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Adelaar, Willem and Simon van de Kerke. 2009. Puquina. In Mily Crevels and Pieter Muysken

- (eds.), *Lenguas de Bolivia. Ámbito Andino*, vol. I, 125–146. La Paz, Bolivia: Embajada de Reino de los Países Bajos/MUSEF/Plural Editores.
- Hannß, Katja. to appear. The etymology of Kallawayá. *Journal of Language Contact*.
- Hoggarth, Leslie. 2004. *Contributions to Cuzco Quechua Grammar*. Aachen: Shaker.
- Matras, Yaron. 2000. Mixed languages: a functional-communicative approach. *Bilingualism* 3 (2): 79–99.
- Muysken, Pieter. 1994. Callahuaya. In Peter Bakker and Maarten Mous (eds.), *Mixed Languages. 15 Case Studies in Language Intertwining*, 207–211. Amsterdam: IFOTT.
- Muysken, Pieter. 2009. Kallawayá. In Mily Crevels and Pieter Muysken (eds.), *Lenguas de Bolivia. Ámbito Andino*, vol. I, 147–167. La Paz, Bolivia: Embajada de Reino de los Países Bajos/MUSEF/Plural Editores.
- Oblitas Poblete, Enrique. 1968. *El Idioma Secreto de los Incas* (Vocabulario Castellano-Callahuaya). La Paz, Bolivia: Editorial “Los Amigos del Libro”.
- Smith, Norval. 1995. An annotated list of creoles, pidgins, and mixed languages. In Jaques Arends, Pieter Muysken and Norval Smith (eds.), *Pidgins and Creoles: An Introduction*, 331–374. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Stark, Louisa R. 1972. Machaj-Juyay: secret language of the Callahuayas. *Papers in Andean Linguistics* 1: 199–218.

Signs of partial fusion in the Erzya–Russian contact variety

Boglárka Janurik

University of Hamburg

In my paper I discuss mixing phenomena of a contact situation between a Finno-Ugric minority language, Erzya and Russian. The Erzya–Russian contact variety is characterized by a variation of mixing patterns, variation is present even in one speaker’s language use. However, there are prototypical mixed constructions that are used the same way by all speakers, for instance, gender agreement between Erzya subjects and Russian past tense predicates, while other constructions are switched in different ways (e.g. possessive constructions which have a different constituent order in Russian and Erzya). These mixed constructions are instances of congruent lexicalization (Muysken 2000), and arise mainly in cases where there is no congruence between the two languages.

My data confirms the idea (Auer 2014) that there is a continuum ranging from borrowing to heavy mixing. The differentiation between borrowing and code-switching is impossible in the Erzya–Russian contact situation for many reasons. First, there are no monolingual Erzya speakers. Second, phonological adaptation is also not a reliable criterion, because younger speakers tend to pronounce even long established Russian loanwords with Russian pronunciation, while elderly speakers insert even longer Russian sequences in their Erzya utterances by adapting them to the Erzya phonetic system. Third, morphological adaption cannot be used in case of one-word insertions.

The Erzya–Russian bilingual discourse shows characteristics of both the code-switching and the language mixing phase on Auer’s continuum (1999). To which phase a particular piece of discourse can be assigned to depends on a variety of factors. I have not analyzed the reasons behind the choice of mixing strategies yet, as the first phase of my study focuses on all occurring code-mixing types collected from fieldwork data (semi-structured and unstructured interviews) and radio broadcasts. The qualitative research of these two data sets is aimed to provide a basis for a future quantitative study concerning the choice of mixing patterns. At the moment, I focus on the variety of mixed constructions which show partial fusion and might become grammaticalized in the future if the sociolinguistic situation of the Erzya community allows for the emergence of a fused lect and the contact situation will not end with the Matrix Language turnover (Myers-Scotton 1998), and the linguistic assimilation of the Erzya speech community.

References

- Auer, Peter. 1999. From codeswitching via language mixing to fused lects: Toward a dynamic typology of bilingual speech. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 3–4: 309–332.
- Auer, Peter. 2014. Language mixing and language fusion: When bilingual talk becomes monolingual. In: Besters-Dilger, Juliane, Cynthia Dermarkar, Stefan Pfänder, and Achim Rabus (eds.), *Congruence in Contact-Induced Language Change: Language Families, Typological Resemblance, and Perceived Similarity*, 294–334. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter.
- Muysken, Pieter. 2000. *Bilingual Speech: A Typology of Code-Mixing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Myers-Scotton, Carol. 1998. A way to dusty death: The Matrix Language turnover hypothesis. In: Grenoble, Lenore A. and Lindsay J. Whaley (eds.), *Endangered Languages: Language Loss and Community Response*, 289–316. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

How language mixing in the global mediascape differs from language mixing in vernacular interaction

Christian Mair

University of Freiburg

Technological innovation, migration and cultural globalisation have created transnational “mediascapes” (Appadurai 1996) which have become sites for new forms of language contact and mixing, sometimes involving constellations of languages which are not in contact in real-life face-to-face interaction. To make this point, I will draw on data illustrating (1) English-German language mixing in German hip hop lyrics and (2) the use of urban African American street talk in Francophone Cameroonian web forums. From a purely formal and structural point of view, expressions such as “Falls diese Feds watchen ...” (produced by Austrian rapper Money Boy) or “Joyeux anniversaire [E]tame! Where the party at homie?” can relatively easily be accommodated in existing analytical frameworks such as Peter Auer’s (1999) continuum linking code-switching, language mixing and fused lects. Nor are there significant contrasts in the overall degree of complexity of the bi/multilingual practices observed in the two linguistic ecologies.

When analysed in context, however, these two bilingual performances show a drastically different relation to the sociolinguistic reality of their respective communities. The versatile language mixing displayed by the Austrian rapper ultimately turns out as nothing more than a highly routinized and commodified verbal act, which is largely disconnected from local community norms. In the Cameroonian case, by contrast, the use of US race talk rests on and enriches locally embedded multilingual vernacular practices, as it directly connects to hybrid urban youth languages such as Camfranglais which have developed as authentic linguistic expressions of contemporary urban African modernity. In my conclusion, I will argue that our existing conceptual tools (such as the notions of “crossing” or “translanguaging”) are not fully capable of capturing this important functional distinction.

References

- Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Auer, Peter. 1999. “From codeswitching via language mixing to fused lects: toward a dynamic typology of bilingual speech.” *International Journal of Bilingualism* 3: 309-332.

Code-switching and the role of typology on emergent grammatical structures in mixed languages

Felicity Meakins

University of Queensland

The extent to which code-switching is a factor in the formation and resultant structures of mixed languages has been debated extensively. Bakker (2003) originally claimed that code-switching played no role in mixed language genesis, however McConvell and Meakins (2005) present empirical evidence demonstrating that code-switching contributed to the formation of at least one such language, Gurindji Kriol, which is spoken in northern Australia and combines lexical and structural elements from Gurindji (Pama-Nyungan), and Kriol (English-lexifier). A growing body of work supports the contribution of code-switching to mixed languages (Auer, 1999; Backus, 2003; Gardner-Chloros, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 1993a; O'Shannessy, 2012).

One of the more striking features of the grammar of Gurindji Kriol is the presence of the Gurindji case paradigm within a Kriol verbal frame:

- (1) Dat gel-*tu* i bin tok-in *nyanuny* kapuku-*yu* wartan-*ta*
the girl-ERG 3SG.SPST talk-CONT 3SG.DAT sister-DAT hand-LOC
The girl is talking to her sister behind her hand. (Meakins, 2011: 59)

Given the rarity of inflectional transfer in other borrowing and code-switching situations (Gardani, Arkadiev, & Amiridze, 2014; Matras & Sakel, 2007; Myers-Scotton, 1993a; Thomason & Kaufman, 1988), particularly contextual inflections such as structural case markers (Gardani, 2008), this situation bears closer scrutiny.

McConvell (1988) observes that code-switching between Kriol and Gurindji was the dominant language practice of Gurindji people in the 1970s. McConvell and Meakins (2005) show that 60% of mixed utterances used Kriol as the matrix language, i.e. the language of verb inflections. Indeed, Kriol subsequently became the basis of the verbal architecture of the mixed language. Yet even where Kriol provided the verbal frame for code-switching, Gurindji case morphology was not blocked, as would be predicted by code-switching constraints and borrowability hierarchies, and this case morphology was absorbed into the mixed language.

This paper argues that case-marked nominals were incorporated into code-switched clauses using an adjunct structure which closely mimics the structure of Gurindji. Nominals in non-configurational languages such as Gurindji are argued to have the status of adjuncts or secondary predicates rather than arguments (Baker, 1996, 2000; Jelinek, 1984; Pensalfini, 2004). Indeed Myers-Scotton (1993b) observes that well-formed structures from a language can enter into a mixed clause via what she terms 'embedded language islands'. These structural islands are peripheral to the morpho-syntactic frame provided by the matrix language. In the case of Gurindji-Kriol code-switching and the subsequent mixed language, Gurindji case-marked nominals do not participate in the predicate argument structure of the mixed clause. In this respect they may be thought of as *added* structures (e.g. adjuncts) rather than arguments which are *inserted* into the Kriol matrix clause. This paper proposes that it is these structures which were responsible for 'smuggling' case marking into the mixed language.

References

- Auer, P. (1999). From codeswitching via language mixing to fused lects: Toward a dynamic typology of bilingual speech. *Journal of Bilingualism*, 3(4), 309-332.
- Backus, A. (2003). Can a mixed language be conventionalized alternational codeswitching? In Y. Matras & P. Bakker (Eds.), *The mixed language debate: Theoretical and empirical advances* (pp. 237-270). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Baker, M. (1996). *The Polysynthesis Parameter*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Baker, M. (2000). The natures of nonconfigurationality. In M. Baker & C. Collins (Eds.), *The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory* (pp. 407-438). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Bakker, P. (2003). Mixed languages as autonomous systems. In Y. Matras & P. Bakker (Eds.), *The*

- mixed language debate: Theoretical and empirical advances* (pp. 107-150). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Gardani, F. (2008). *Borrowing of inflectional morphemes in language contact*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Gardani, F., Arkadiev, P., & Amiridze, N. (Eds.). (2014). *Borrowed Morphology*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Gardner-Chloros, P. (2000). The tortoise and the hare: Distinguishing processes and end-products in language contact. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 3(2), 112-114.
- Jelinek, E. (1984). Empty categories, case and configurationality. *Natural language and linguistic theory*, 2, 39-76.
- Matras, Y., & Sakel, J. (2007). *Grammatical borrowing in cross-linguistic perspective*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- McConvell, P. (1988). Mix-im-up: Aboriginal codeswitching old and new. In M. Heller (Ed.), *Codeswitching: Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives* (pp. 97-124). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- McConvell, P., & Meakins, F. (2005). Gurindji Kriol: A mixed language emerges from code-switching. *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, 25(1), 9-30.
- Meakins, F. (2011). Borrowing contextual inflection: Evidence from northern Australia. *Morphology*, 21(1), 57-87.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1993a). *Duelling languages: Grammatical structure in codeswitching*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1993b). *Social motivations for codeswitching: Evidence from Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- O'Shannessy, C. (2012). The role of code-switched input to children in the origin of a new mixed language. *Linguistics*, 50(2), 305-340.
- Pensalfini, R. (2004). Towards a typology of configurationality. *Natural language and linguistic theory*, 22, 359-408.
- Thomason, S. G., & Kaufman, T. (1988). *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Russian influence across Komi registers

Niko Partanen

University of Hamburg

The Russian influence on the Ižva Komi variety has already received attention in an overview by Leinonen (2009) and recently by Dobrodyeyeva (2016). I continue on this topic with a larger corpus containing different spoken and written Komi varieties. The connection of Russian elements to specific topics, genres and registers in Komi is often suggested (Cypanov 2009, 200). I explore this, especially from the point of view of mixed grammatical structures and their classification. At one end Russian loanwords can be identified only through an etymological investigation, whereas in the most relaxed spoken registers the style used could be described as a strongly mixed lect, with majority of tokens being of Russian origin and regularly displaying Russian morphology. There is also a community-wide norm of mixing, which aligns between these extremes. The appearance of different Russian borrowed elements is compared to the framework of Matras' borrowing hierarchies (2007), while with more mixed elements, I compare the overall situation to Auer's concepts of language mixing and fused lects (1999; 2014).

Below is an example from the variety containing most Russian elements (Vym dialect, Kotus archive item 291:1a):

odnazdi odlin-ot	muzik refi-l-sja	obmanutʲ	tajə	tsarskəj	semja-tə.
once one-DEF	man decide-PST-REFL	cheat.INF	this	czar.ADJ	family-ACC

Once the man decided to cheat the Tsar family

Here, Komi is hardly present, although many parts marked as Russian can be understood as bivalent (Woolard 1998). This differs sharply from the rest of the Komi data, as there are, for example, Russian finite verbs, which are normally rare. In casual speech there are numerous ways to adapt Russian into Komi morphology, including marking adjectives with the Komi ending *-əj*, or appending Komi infinitive marker *-ni* to Russian verb stems. This adaptation does not involve much further phonological or morphological adaptation to the Komi system, as Russian phonology and features such as verb prefixes are kept intact. The adaptation also appears to exhibit some constraints: the forms containing Russian prefixes are very simple in terms of agglutinative Komi verbal morphology and are not derived further.

In the most puristic registers, the majority of Russian elements are international terminology. A particularity of these registers is that they display the use of the native Komi discourse particle system, which is often replaced at least partly by Russian. However, the relatively strongly Russian-influenced register often seems to have acquired an unmarked status. This variety goes beyond regular code-switching as the motives governing mixing are not merely pragmatic (Auer 1999). Similar developments have also been mentioned elsewhere with the somehow mixed variety becoming the most prevalent or systematically occurring type of speech (McConvell and Meakins 2005; O'Shannessy 2005). Probably due to relatively strong language maintenance in many larger Komi communities, including widespread Komi fluency among children, there does not seem to be strong age-related variation in the community investigated. Instead the mixed variety seems stable and is used by all age groups. Also, due to peculiar sociolinguistic conditions the mixed variety is positively valorized in some of the studied speech communities.

References

- Auer, Peter. 1999. "From Code-Switching via Language Mixing to Fused Lects: Toward a Dynamic Typology of Bilingual Speech." *International Journal of Bilingualism* 3 (4): 309–32.
- . 2014. "Language Mixing and Language Fusion: When Bilingual Talk Becomes Monolingual." In *Congruence in Contact-Induced Language Change: Language Families, Typological Resemblance, and Perceived Similarity*, edited by Juliane Besters-Dilger, Cynthia Dermarkar, Stefan Pfänder, and Achim Rabus. De Gruyter.

- Cypanov, Jölg'in. 2009. "Perym kyvjaslön talunja šerpas." *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia = Mémoires de La Société Finno-Ougrienne* 258: 191–206.
- Dobrodyeyeva, Nadiia. 2016. "Discourse Particles in Language Contact: The Case of the Barents Region." Master's thesis, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg i. Br.
- Leinonen, Marja. 2009. "Russian Influence on the Ižma Komi Dialect." *International Journal of Bilingualism* 13 (2): 309–29.
- Matras, Yaron. 2007. "The Borrowability of Structural Categories: Matter and Pattern." In *Grammatical Borrowing in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, edited by Yaron Matras and Jeanette Sakel, 31–73. *Empirical Approaches to Language Typology* 38. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- McConvell, Patrick, and Felicity Meakins. 2005. "Gurindji Kriol: A Mixed Language Emerges from Code-Switching." *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 25 (1): 9–30.
- O'Shannessy, Carmel. 2005. "Light Warlpiri: A New Language." *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 25 (1): 31–57.
- Woolard, Kathryn A. 1998. "Simultaneity and Bivalency as Strategies in Bilingualism." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 8: 3–29.

A linguistic and historical analysis of Bildts as a mixed language

Paulus van Sluis, University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh & Celtic Studies, Aberystwyth
Eric Hoekstra, Fryske Akademy, Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, Leeuwarden
Hans van de Velde, Fryske Akademy, Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences,
Leeuwarden.

Bildts is a speech variety spoken by around 10,000 persons as a first or second language in the province Fryslân, in the north of the Netherlands. It is part of a larger area in which Frisian is spoken by almost half a million speakers, alongside Dutch. Bildts is commonly claimed to be a dialect of Dutch containing some Frisian loan words. Basing ourselves in part on Hoekstra & Van Koppen (2001), we will provide a linguistic factorisation of Bildts by comparing it with its source languages: Frisian on the one hand and specific Dutch dialects of the province of South Holland on the other hand. It is argued that Bildts combines a core lexicon mainly derived from Hollandic dialects with a grammar mainly derived from Frisian. However, the core lexicon also contains some Frisian words and the grammar has to some extent been levelled. It is in particular syntagmatic phenomena (word order, contextual flexion) which are Frisian, as we will show, building on insights into mixed languages proposed by Mous (2003), Matras (2003), and others. Following the linguistic analysis, a socio-historical analysis is conducted. It is shown by applying criteria formulated in Thomason (1997) that the population of Het Bildt maintained a strong desire to uphold their identity, even though there was steady pressure from Frisian, due to widespread bilingualism, both among Frisian immigrant and among the speakers of Bildts themselves. This explains why, despite pressure from Frisian, Bildts tends to reveal South Hollandic elements especially in domains of language which are easily learned, consciously applied and characteristically used for the expression of identity: frequent vocabulary items, use of diminutives. More abstract properties of language such as word order and contextual flexion could not be maintained in the face of the pressure from Frisian. Thus our approach combines sociological-historical information with linguistic factorisation in order to arrive at a plausible view of how Bildts came into existence. What makes Bildts interesting, compared to better known cases of mixed languages, is that in the case of Bildts the source languages are genetically very close, providing us with an example of an example of micro-mixing.

References

- Hoekstra, E. & Van Koppen, M. 2001a. Het Bildts als resultaat van Fries-Hollands taalcontact. In: D. Boutkan and A. Quak (eds) *Language contact. Substratum, superstratum, adstratum in Germanic languages. Amsterdamer Beiträge zur Alteren Germanistik* 54, 89-106. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Matras, Y. 2003. Mixed languages: re-examining the structural prototype. In: Bakker, P. & Y. Matras, (eds) *The Mixed Language debate*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 151-175.
- Mous, M. 2003. *The Making of a Mixed Language*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Thomason, S. G. 1997. A typology of contact languages. In A. Spears & D. Winford (eds.), *The Structure and Status of Pidgins and Creoles*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 71-88.

Hybridization: An inevitable result of successful language reclamation

Ghil'ad Zuckermann

University of Adelaide

Language reclamation (e.g. Hebrew, Barnjarla, Kurna and Sanskrit), revitalization (e.g. Hawai'i and Māori) and reinvigoration (e.g. Welsh) are becoming increasingly relevant as more and more people seek to reconnect with their ancestors, recover their cultural autonomy, empower their spiritual and intellectual sovereignty, and improve their wellbeing and mental health. There is an urgent need to offer perspicacious comparative insights, for example from the Hebrew revival, which is so far the most successful known linguistic reclamation. This paper will demonstrate that – due to the ubiquitous multiple causation and horizontal gene/feature transfer – linguistic reclamation (the revival of a no-longer spoken language) is unlikely without cross-fertilization from the revivalists' mother tongues. Given universal constraints, one should expect reclamation efforts to result in a language with a hybridic genetic and typological character. The lecture will highlight salient grammatical constructions and categories, illustrating the difficulty in determining a single source for the grammar of Israeli, the emerging fused language resulting from the Hebrew revival. The European, e.g. Yiddish, impact in these features is apparent inter alia in structure, semantics or productivity. Multiple causation is manifested in the Congruence Principle, according to which the more contributing languages a linguistic feature exists in, the more likely it is to persist in the emerging language. Consequently, the reality of linguistic genesis (as opposed to organic evolution) is statistical rather than binary, and far more complex than a Stammbaum model allows. Successful reclaimed languages are fused. The lecture will provide evidence not only from Israeli but also from the revival of Barnjarla, Kurna, Ngarrindjeri (all Aboriginal Australian), Hawai'i and Māori.