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# LCTG 4

## Fourth Conference on Language Contact in Times of Globalization

**KEYNOTES:**

AD BACKUS (Tilburg) ADAM JAWORSKI (Hong Kong) SUSANNE M. MICHAELIS (Leipzig)  
SALIKOKO MUFWENE (Chicago) SARAH G. THOMASON (Ann Arbor) GHIL'AD ZUCKERMANN (Adelaide)

**SECTIONS:**

- The dynamics of language contact: From language mixing to mixed languages
- Contact between typologically distinct languages and (grammatical) change
- Language politics, linguistic identity and language conflicts in multilingual areas
- The creative aspect of language contact

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## Abstracts

**Gisle Andersen (NHH Bergen, Norway), Cristiano Furiassi (University of Turin, Italy), Henrik Gottlieb (University of Copenhagen, Denmark) and Virginia Pulcini (University of Turin, Italy)**

### ***The Global Anglicism Database (GLAD): State of the Art, Aims and Prospects***

The *Global Anglicism Database (GLAD)*, [www.gladnetwork.org](http://www.gladnetwork.org), is motivated by the current and increasing interest of linguists and laypeople alike in the influence of English on other languages (Furiassi, Pulcini and Rodríguez González 2012; Furiassi and Gottlieb 2015). Both through face-to-face interaction and via distant contact situations, the English language has been affecting European (and non-European) languages at lexical, morphological, syntactic, phraseological, stylistic and pragmatic levels, thus turning English, a recipient language by tradition (Durkin 2014), into the donor language *par excellence* (Görlach 2001).

The *GLAD* network is intended to foster cooperation among scholars interested in linguistic and cultural Anglicization, involving the widest possible range of speech communities. The aims of *GLAD* are the following: building a network of researchers monitoring the “English element” (Filipović 1982) in the world’s languages; posting personal profiles of scholars studying the influence of English, with links to their publications; sharing bibliographies on Anglicism studies worldwide; spreading news about Anglicism-related events, including conferences and university courses; granting the visibility of tools and resources for the study and analysis of Anglicisms; compiling an online global database of Anglicisms (and their synonyms, if any) in various recipient languages. As far as the last aspect is concerned, which may be seen as the core of the *GLAD* project – and which certainly forms the basis of the acronym, it is worth noting that the data compilation for Görlach’s (2001) indispensable *Dictionary of European Anglicisms (DEA)* stopped more than twenty years ago, hence the need for an updated overview of the landscape of Anglicisms in Europe and beyond.

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### **Vladimir Arifulin (University of Greifswald, Germany)**

#### ***Language shift of Russian abroad: Pragmatic and morphological aspects of spoken Russian in Germany***

In social constructionism Ludwik Fleck’s idea of the existence of thought-collectives and their thought-styles is an important part of scientific linguistic research. The thought-style depends on the language that plays without a doubt a significant role for the development of the identity of a

thought-collective. According to Fleck's theory of *The Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact*, it is possible to describe Russian speaking diasporas abroad as thought-collectives in a foreign area.

Nowadays, there are many different Russian speaking thought-collectives in Germany in the context of the German thought-system. This way, language contact can be understood as a cause of the thought-style shift and therefore it is important to scrutinize the influence of the German language on Russian in Germany.

The focus of the following empirical study is based on Russian speaking diaspora members from different regions of Germany: a family thought-collective from Oldenburg (Lower Saxony), a student thought-collective from Greifswald (Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania) and a work thought-collective from Berlin. These diasporas are self-contained and all collective members prefer Russian as a heritage language among each other and use German only in their communication to the outside world. These diasporas can be seen as complete-thought-collectives. At the same time, there are Russian part-thought-collectives in Germany that consist of a few members. In this part-thought-collective members speak Russian to each other, but the whole thought-collective consists of mainly German speaking members. So Russian speaking collective members build a part of the whole thought-collective.

These two groups – complete-thought-collective and part-thought-collective – were compared to each other and to the control groups of Russian and German native speakers from pragmatic and morphological perspectives for describing important trends in the language shift of spoken Russian in Germany.

**Erika Asztalos (Research Institute for the Hungarian Academy of Sciences)**

***Trilingual contact situation: two SOV minority languages supporting each other under the dominance of SVO Russian***

Udmurt has traditionally been classified as a relatively consistent SOV language. In my talk, I present empirical data which suggest that under the influence of the (SVO) Russian language, Udmurt is undergoing a typological shift from the head-final to the head-initial type, but this change is proceeding more slowly in the areas where the (SOV) Tatar language is also spoken.

My claims rely on the results of a research that I conducted during a fieldwork by means of a questionnaire. The questionnaire aimed at examining the production and the grammaticality of the head-initial variants of Dryer's (1992) *correlation pairs*. It was filled out by 90 native speakers of Udmurt, selected on the basis of their age and residence.

Both generational and areal differences have shown up in the answers.

The percentage of the informants who produced the head-initial orders and judged them to be grammatical was consistently higher among the young speakers than the older ones. In an apparent time hypothesis-approach, such a difference might indicate that Udmurt is undergoing a change from the head-final to the head-initial type. A plausible reason for that can be the fact that while the older speakers are Udmurt-dominant bilinguals, the younger ones are Russian-dominant bilinguals (Salánki 2007: 59).

The informants living in Tatarstan have shown a stronger preference for the head-final orders than the ones from Udmurtia. This was especially striking in the case of the older informants, but at several test questions the young speakers from Tatarstan were also more stuck to the head-final orders than the young ones from Udmurtia. In my analysis, the influence of the typolo-

gically similar language Tatar language makes Udmurt more “resistent” to the influence of the (typologically distinct) Russian language.

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**Ad Backus (University of Tilburg, The Netherlands)**

### ***Special and mundane at the same time: Relevance of contact data for usage-based linguistics***

In much of my work I have been attempting to account for language contact data in a framework that is loosely based on the usage-based approach to linguistic theory formation that has been the cornerstone of much of what is often referred to as ‘Cognitive Linguistics’. That has culminated in three recent papers that explore the usefulness of the usage-based approach for language change, borrowing, and codeswitching, respectively (Backus 2014a, 2014b, 2015). Similarly, in various recent empirical projects on Turkish-Dutch contact in the Netherlands, a usage-based approach has informed the design of the study and the way in which results were interpreted. However, while the value of a usage-based account of contact data is reasonably well established, the traffic has rarely been the other way. There are various other efforts like mine, reported on in conferences and journals on contact linguistics, but this work seems to have barely made an impact on Cognitive Linguistics. In this presentation, I will identify some likely conceptual and methodological reasons for this, and explore some possibilities for better integration of contact data into the usage-based paradigm. Illustration will come from some of the recent studies I was involved in as a supervisor or co-researcher. Specifically, I will reinterpret their results against the background of the issue described above. Rather than just demonstrating how the results can be accounted for in a usage-based framework, I will suggest some take-home messages the results could have for usage-based linguistics, as well as point out some current limitations that make this bidirectional usefulness difficult to achieve.

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**Peter Bakker, Aarhus University and Françoise Rose, Dynamique Du Langage, CNRS/ Université Lyon, France**

***Mixed languages and genderlects: their connections from a language contact perspective***

In some societies, the speech of men differs systematically from the speech of women. The phenomenon is quite rare, and mostly known from the Americas. The most famous one is the historical case of the Island Caribs. We currently have knowledge of about 100 cases worldwide, almost half of them in South America (Rose 2015). In all cases, the sex-related differences affect only a limited part of the language. It appears that not all parts of the languages are affected, mostly phonology, lexicon, pronouns, discourse markers and/or morphology.

The emergence of genderlects is not a unitary phenomenon. It is neither areal nor genetic. A history of exogenous intermarriage seems to be one factor, and linguistic conservatism among one of the sexes (not always women!) another. Dialect differences between neighboring communities may have led to genderlects as well.

In our talk, we will discuss cases and suggest reasons for their nature and existence. We will argue that mixed languages may evolve into genderlects. Mixed languages like Michif (Algonquian Amerindian-French), Chindo (Malay-Javanese), and Island Carib (Arawak-Carib) emerged when men from one group and women from another intermarried. Some genderlects are argued to be remnants of such mixed languages. Many centuries later, a few gender-distinct words may be the only trace left of a former mixed language. The argumentation is based partly on diachronic information, and partly on the comparison of sociohistorical events of some types of genderlect

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**Lamia Benadla (Aboubakr Belkaid University, Tlemcen, Algeria)**

***Diglossic Switching in Algerian Arabic Classroom Settings: between Fluency and Attitudes***

*Diglossia* is a linguistic phenomenon that characterizes all *Arabic*-speaking countries. It represents the co-existence of two linguistic varieties derived from the same language origin. The High variety, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA hereafter) is specialized for formal domains such as the Administration and Education and is assigned an official status through *Language Planning* while Dialectal Arabic is the Low variety and is used in everyday speech interaction and thus for more relaxed settings like family and friends. MSA is the language of education and, according to most Arabic policies, is to be used in classroom settings as a language of instruction. However, this is not always the case in real classroom interaction. Teachers and learners often switch from H to L during their classroom talk. This shift becomes prominent, in the case of the Algerian Arabic classroom, as soon as the learners reach the middle school education.

The present paper will attempt to shed light on the learners' linguistic behavior when interacting with their teachers. We will try to examine this linguistic behavior as a process trying to unveil some of the reasons standing behind it. Special focus is put on weaknesses in practice and thus lack of fluency in MSA, on the one hand, and negative attitudes towards the language on the other, hypothesizing that these two factors affect the learners' linguistic behavior in classroom set-

tings. A set of research instruments is used in a sample fieldwork in order to verify these hypotheses, mainly questionnaires addressed to the pupils, MSA fluency test and the matched guise technique to check the students' MSA attitudes.

**Tanmoy Bhattacharya (University of Delhi, India) and Tor A. Åfarli (Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Norway)**

*The structure of English in-mixing in Meiteilon and Norwegian: Different, but still the same*

In this talk we want to investigate structural similarities regarding the outcomes of language mixing of English (the guest language) into two very different host languages: Norwegian, a North Germanic language, and Meiteilon, a Tibeto-Burman language.

Examples with mixed English items in **bold**:

*Norwegian – English mixing, American Norwegian heritage language, from CANS:*

Så kan du **mow**-e litt **lawn**

then can you mow-INF some lawn-INDEF.SG

'Then you can mow some lawn.'

*Meiteilon – English mixing, from Haobam (2008):*

Atoppa **religion**-da tou-roi hai-na **stick** tou-raga lei-dana, adu-na **bone of contention** oi-ra-ba amuk.

other religion-DAT do-NEG say-INF stick do-CP due to, that-NOM bone of contention be-PERF-INF again

'She was so stuck to the idea that it [the marriage] won't be to another religion. As a result that became the bone of contention again.'

Both the socio-historic contact situations in question and the typological characteristics of the two host languages are very different. Still, we argue, the grammatical mixing outcomes are strikingly similar in the two mixing cases. Specifically, in the intra-sentential domain both cases include mixing of whole phrases, as well as intra-phrase and intra-word mixing.

We will show that the intra-word mixing outcomes follow naturally in an exoskeletal frame model (Grimstad et al. 2014) where the host language defines the overall syntactic frame, including inflections, whereas the guest language provides some lexical stems. Furthermore, we will show that phrase mixing and above-word-level intra-phrase mixing are outcomes of bigger phrasal chunks from the guest language being mixed into the overall grammatical frame of the host language.

We argue that the basic structure of mixing is universal, provided by the exoskeletal frame model, an assumption that explains why mixing in the two cases is similar, despite the socio-historic and typological differences.

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**Kristoffer Friis Bøegh and Peter Bakker (Aarhus University, Denmark)**

### *African feature pools and the Atlantic creole languages*

The influence of African languages on Atlantic creole languages is sufficiently proven for several linguistic properties. This so-called substrate influence has been detected in a.o. phonology and in a limited number of morphosyntactic areas like reduplication (Aboh 2015), verb serialization (McWhorter 1992), plural marking (Parkvall 2000) and more (see Lefebvre 2011). In addition, specialized lexicon has been detected from substrate languages (Bartens and Baker 2012).

Creolists have tried to link substrate features and lexical Africanisms with demographic data from the slave trade, with some success. But often the substrate features are not in line with demographic data, e.g. Akan/Kwa dominance in English creoles and Haitian Creole, despite only a modest demographic influence (Parkvall 2000: 154, Baker 1993).

Instead of focusing on individual features in individual languages, we take a more massive approach to assessing African influence on creoles. We used sets of dozens of typological features, including traits that have been argued to have influenced Atlantic creoles, and applied phylogenetic network analysis to different subsets of 110 African languages, e.g. coastal versus non-coastal languages, Macro-Sudan belt languages (Güldemann 2008, 2010) versus other groups. To these African languages are added subsets of 20 Atlantic creoles with Dutch, English, French, Portuguese and Spanish lexifiers. The results of the use of these feature pools show that generally creoles are grouped separately from non-creoles, as in Szmrecanyi and Kortmann (2009), Bakker et al (2013) and other studies. However, substrate influence is detectable from the coastal languages of Africa. Surprisingly, a number of Nigerian languages rather than Kwa or Bantu appear to be closer to the creole cluster.

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**Bernhard Brehmer (University of Greifswald, Germany)**

***Code-switching patterns in input and output of Heritage Speakers of Russian and Polish in Germany***

Previous research has shown that in language shift situations code-switching (CS) does not necessarily occur between all generations of bilingual speakers. Even within one immigrant community CS is thus speaker and context-specific (cf. Wei 1994). Furthermore, the effects of CS in parental input on general language proficiency of bilingual children have been discussed in a number of studies (cf. Mishina 1999; Nicoladis and Genesee 1997; Anstatt and Dieser 2007; Anstatt and Rubcov 2012). Little is still known, however, about how bilingual children and their parents employ CS as a tool in family interactions and in how far children replicate CS patterns of their parents. Our study looks at CS patterns in conversations between 20 Russian-German and 20 Polish-German bilingual children (aged 12–13) and one of their parents (mostly the mother). Data were taken from an experimental setting where first the child had to verbally explain a route on a map to his/her interlocutor (i.e. the parent), who had only a blind version of the map at her/his disposal. Later the roles were changed and another map was used for this second trial. The same task had to be fulfilled by using first the heritage language Russian/Polish as a language of instruction and later, in another trial (on another day), the majority language German. The study explores whether the same or different CS patterns according to Muysken's typology (2000) are manifested in the parents' and children's speech and how CS depends on the matrix language of interaction (as predetermined by the test setting). In particular, it examines whether there is measurable variation not only in the quantity of CS in the data of parents and children, but also with regard to functions and types of inserted elements in the family exchanges in both languages. The results will also be related to results of other experimental tasks which targeted general proficiency in the community and majority language of both children and parents. We expect major differences regarding patterns and frequency of CS between children and their parents and that there is a correlation between CS patterns and the level of proficiency in both languages.

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**Ulrich Busse (Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg, Germany)**

***What's in a word? Does the proliferation of pejorative terms such as Denglis(c)h and similar items in German attest to a national counter-reaction against the global spread of English?***

It has become a common place to associate the dominance of English in the world with the process of globalisation. In this respect Harald Haarmann argues that this link is fairly superficial but that, nonetheless, it contains so much truth that it is acceptable to regard English as the linguistic motor of globalisation (2002: 153). In contrast to earlier contact situations English affects the lives of almost all people, be it at home, at the work place, in leisure activities, or on holiday. Its presence needs to be acknowledged, whether we like it or not (152).

Not only do the attitudes towards the socio-economic effects of globalisation on the different national economies differ, but also the attitudes towards the linguistic impact of English on national languages and cultures.

While for a long time in- and outside academia *Anglizismus* (*Anglicism*) has been the default to denote lexical borrowings from English in German, more recently pejorative terms such as *Denglis(c)h* and similar blends express a negative stance towards borrowings from English and even bluntly express dismay against linguistic “hybridisation” in their morphological structure.

In the historical perspective it is interesting to note that at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century pejorative and chauvinistic terms such as *Engländerei* and *Entwelschung* arose when borrowings from English became fashionable. Peter Eisenberg (2011: 49) regards the growing influence of English on German and other European languages at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as part of the first wave of globalisation, when not only German but also other languages were vying for the status of **the** world language.

The paper sketches the discursive traditions out of which these terms originated, concluding that some of the resentment expressed in terms like *Engländerei* and *Denglis(c)h* can be attributed to the dominant position of English as an emergent and as an established global language.

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**Marie-Elaine van Egmond (University of Greifswald, Germany)**

***The contact languages of Australia***

In the last 220 years since colonization, the contact with English has had a devastating effect on the Aboriginal languages of Australia. Most Aboriginal languages have disappeared, while the remaining ones have either merged in some way with English, resulting in a variety of new languages – pidgins, creoles and mixed languages – or they have been significantly restructured under its influence (see Meakins 2014 for an excellent and comprehensive overview).

In this talk, I will first provide a brief overview of the various contact languages present in Australia, followed by a more detailed description of the effects that English has had on two Aboriginal languages: Tiwi and Enindhilyakwa. Both languages are polysynthetic, both are spoken on islands, and they are two of the very few ‘strong’ surviving languages in Australia that have over a 1,000 speakers. The restructuring of Tiwi has been described in the literature (Lee 1987, McConvell 2002), with Traditional Tiwi being polysynthetic and Modern Tiwi basically isolating. The influence of English on Enindhilyakwa, on the other hand, has so far not been described. It appears to be much less extensive than in Tiwi and to be mainly restricted to lexical borrowing. However, some loss of polysynthetic features can be observed: for example, noun incorporation has become obsolete, borrowed nouns are no longer overtly marked for noun class, and word order appears to become solidified.

The study of contact varieties in Australia raises the question of why mixed languages develop in some language communities, creoles in others, and various degrees of restructuring in yet others. The factors involved in contact-induced change are of course manifold, and it will be suggested that in the case of Enindhilyakwa, social and psychological factors play an important role in its comparative resistance to change.

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**Sabine Fiedler (Leipzig University, Germany)**

### ***Linguistic Transfers from English: The Case of Phraseology***

Due to its role as a lingua franca, English has come to exert significant influence on languages worldwide. This influence can be seen in the phrasicon, i.e. the inventory of phraseological units (idioms and phrases) in the lexicon of a language community (cf. Fiedler 2007). English phraseological units are used both in their original English forms (e.g. German *The sky is the limit* / Russian *Скай уз зе лимит*) and as loan translations (e.g. Spanish *techo de cristal* / French *le plafond de verre* [cf. *the glass ceiling*]). This study utilises a corpus-based approach that was introduced by Steyer (2004: 93) called “Konsultationsparadigma” (consultation paradigm), where data from a corpus is used to test hypotheses about phraseological units. It reveals that English is now making an important contribution in disseminating phraseological units, especially proverbs, clichés and catchphrases. Among the research questions that have not seen sufficient scholarly attention, and can only be tackled by close cooperation among linguists beyond individual languages are the following: (1) Which criteria decide on whether an item finds entry into a language and whether it does so as a direct loan (e.g. German *There’s no such thing as a free lunch*) or a loan translation (e.g. Polish *Nie istnieje coś takiego, jak darmowy obiad*)? (2) Do phraseological loans carry with them the full range of meanings they have in the donor language? and (3) what structural and semantic variation do they develop in the recipient language? A special focus of the paper will be the creative modification of phraseological loans, i.e. their playful use by employing techniques such as the context-related substitution of elements or literalization.

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### **Axel Fleisch (University of Helsinki, Finland)<sup>1</sup>**

#### ***Neither township, nor countryside: grasping peri-urban linguistic diversity in South Africa through language biographies***

This paper substantiates two central insights from contact linguistic work in South Africa – one methodological, one conceptual: (1) the usefulness of language biographies as a key to understanding sociolinguistic dynamics in highly diverse linguistic environments; and (2) the recognition of non-urban settings as most diverse in terms of both societal multilingualism and individual speakers' linguistic repertoires.

Most of our interlocutors are speakers of isiNdebele varieties and live in Pretoria, urban townships in Gauteng and several nearby towns in Mpumalanga. This specific scenario differs from the urban-rural divide characteristic of the related, yet bigger languages isiXhosa and isiZulu. Daily commuting and mid-scale mobility along the continuum from megacity to fairly rural dwellings are typical for our area of study. Here the places of highest linguistic diversity, measured both by presence of different varieties in a given place and by the degree of multilingualism among individuals, happen to be the smaller towns “in between”.

The degree of diversity is such that a straightforward collection of sociolinguistic data is challenging (cf. Busch 2016). Speakers do not easily relate to presupposed varieties such as isiZulu, Afrikaans, isiNdebele, English, or even “newly emerged” languages like Isicamtho (Slabbert and Myers-Scotton 1996), Tsotsitaal (Hurst 2008) or Sepitori (Ditsele and Mann 2014) as repertoires that are relevant to them. We have therefore relied on a different technique to grasp the richness of their linguistic repertoires and practices: the collection of language biographies by visualizing language use as an embodied experience (Busch 2012). These language biography interviews provide valuable insight into the rich texture of language attitudes and ideologies, as well as self-reported linguistic practices. Recurrent patterns among speakers of isiNdebele include many dissonant, often seemingly contradictory assessments, e.g. downplaying the language described as one's mother tongue while placing it centrally in one's body and expressing pride.

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is based on collaborative work that involves Lena Seppinen (University of Helsinki), Aino Pesonen (University of Helsinki), and Mimi Masango (Tshwane University of Technology, Soshanguve) who have contributed in the collection of linguistic biographies and their analysis.

**Cristiano Furiassi (University of Turin, Italy)**

***The Americanization of Barbadian English Vocabulary***

Barbados, the eastern-most sovereign island nation in the Lesser Antilles, covers an area of over 431 square kilometers and, according to the 2010 census, is inhabited by an estimated population of 277,821 (Browne 2013: i). Barbados, independent from the British Crown since 1966, is a speech community where Bajan, the English-based “intermediate Creole” (Winford 2003: 314) which is the mother tongue of most speakers, coexists with Barbadian English, the local variety of English (Fenigsen 2003: 461).

Despite the existing wealth of literature on Bajan (Winford 2000, Van Herk 2003, Blake 2004, Belgrave and Denny 2013), Barbadian English has not yet received adequate attention from scholars. The aim of this piece of research is to highlight how the vocabulary of Barbadian English, originally based on British English and Irish English, seems to have been recently moving towards American English, especially as far as younger generations are concerned, due to both the spread of global avenues of communication and the importation of American-made cultural products.

Data are drawn from field research, more specifically from a questionnaire submitted between November and December 2015 to 200 Barbadian-born students, namely 5% of all Barbadian undergraduates, attending various degree courses at the University of the West Indies at Cave Hill, Barbados. By analyzing the answers provided, despite the respondents claiming that they attained and are still receiving formal education in British English, their use of vocabulary seems to include an equal proportion of Britishisms and Americanisms, or at least a creative alternation between them. Findings are hoped to shed new light on recent lexical developments in Barbadian English and emphasize the discrepancy between the self-perception of Barbadian English, as resembling British English, and the actual use of Barbadian English vocabulary, closer to American English, thus also filling a gap in the linguistic literature on the topic.

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**Henrik Gottlieb (University of Copenhagen, Denmark)**

***Anglification South African style: The future of European languages?***

*It is a little disappointing to learn that the general cultural influence of English has so far been all but negligible. The English language itself is spreading because the English have colonized immense territories. But there is nothing to show that it is anywhere entering into the lexical heart of other languages as French has colored the English complexion or as Arabic has permeated Persian and Turkish. (Edward Sapir, USA 1921)*

Almost one hundred years ago, this downplaying of the influence of English was common, but today both linguists and lay people would agree that English is indeed “entering the lexical heart of other languages”. And in order to understand the potential scope of what English may accomplish, not just at a lexical level, South Africa is a great starting point.

While English in post-apartheid South Africa is merely one of eleven official languages, in reality it has for more than two hundred years exerted a tremendous influence on all other languages in the region. This presentation will focus on the English impact on its long-standing rival, Afrikaans, and the implications for the languages of Europe, using the past and present South African tug-of-war (and/or mutual fertilization) between English and Afrikaans as a backdrop for a diagnosis of, and some predictions for, the future impact of English in Europe.

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**Nikolay Hakimov (University of Innsbruck, Austria)**

***Degrees of morphosyntactic marking: Unintegrated verbs in Russian-German code-mixing***

Myers-Scotton and Jake (2014) indicate two possibilities for integrating embedded-language (EL) verbs into the matrix-language (ML) grammatical frame: the EL verb either receives ML morphology or it is inserted as a non-finite verb. The authors assert that EL finite verbs do not occur in bilingual sentences. This paper shows that the insertion of EL finite verbs, though being rare, is not impossible. The aim of the paper is to explore the indicated possibilities of morpho-syntactic integration for EL verbs in a contact situation between two fusional languages and to provide a uniform explanation for the scrutinised variation.

The study analyses Russian-German bilingual speech recorded amongst intermediate generation German expatriates from the former Soviet Union.

Following Myers-Scotton's (1993, 2002) MLF model, EL, here German, verbs regularly receive ML, i.e. Russian, suffixes to form mixed constituents. Also in line with Myers-Scotton and Jake (2014) is the case of EL, i.e. German, non-finite verbs that combine with Russian auxiliaries (cf. Treffers-Daller 2001). However, German past participles also occur in otherwise Russian sentences as bare forms functioning as predicates (cf. Verschik 2014). As the latter constructions cannot be attributed to any of the contact grammars and they all evoke past-tense readings, I argue that speakers re-analyse the participle morphology as past-tense marking. Finally, lone German inflected verbs may also appear in otherwise Russian sentences. I argue that the insertion of inflected EL verbs is possible because these verbs govern Russian nominal constituents which are all core arguments, i.e. they require one of the core cases, almost invariably the nominative.

In the context of the aforementioned phenomena, I claim that the degree of morphological marking, i.e. zero, core, or non-core marking, and not the status of the morpheme in terms of the MLF model is one of key factors influencing the structure of code-mixing.

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**Jaime W. Hunt (The University of Newcastle, Australia)**

***Lexical hybridization of English and German elements in spoken German***

With the increase of globalization comes an increase in the use of the English language worldwide. Consequently, many languages are becoming more and more influenced by English. Manifestations of this contact include not only the importation of English loanwords into German but also their hybridization with native elements. In German, the most common types of language hybrids, or loanblends, using Haugen's (1950) terminology, include *blended compounds* containing one element from the source language and another from the receptor language (e.g. *Businessbereich* 'business sector' and *Krafttraining* 'strength training'), and *blended derivations* where English derivational elements are replaced with German ones (e.g. *boomend* 'booming' and *rockig* 'rocky [of music]'). This hybridization in German demonstrates the productive word formation processes of that language; moreover, it reveals how straightforward the integration of foreign elements into German is. This paper will present the findings of a study into English-German hybrids appearing in a corpus of everyday spoken German comprising 42,429 types and 1,280,773 tokens. The speech samples in this corpus originate from 4,700 participants across Germany, obtained from the *Bayerisches Archiv für Sprachsignale* (Bavarian Archive for Speech Signals) and the *Institut für deutsche Sprache* (Institute for German Language). These findings will then be compared to previous studies analysing hybridization in written German. Through this analysis, this paper will shed light on the hybridization process of English and German elements in spoken German, and demonstrate to what extent English loans integrate into spoken German through this process.

**Adam Jaworski (University of Hong Kong, China)**

***Multilingualism as multimodality: The visuality of writing in art, consumer culture and tourism***

In the global semiotic landscape of commerce and tourism, different scripts, spelling conventions, typographies and graphic elements are blended in ways that break conventional and establish new links between orthography and pronunciation. The emerging forms draw to some extent on recognizable ethno-national language codes, but, increasingly, these verbal-visual forms reduce, or even obliterate, connections with their 'source' languages creating a new register – 'globalese' – indexing spaces as 'global' (Jaworski 2015). In this talk, I will suggest that the origins of many contemporary practices found in globalese can be traced back to art (e.g. ancient inscriptions, modern and contemporary art), and that the meaning potential of these forms is located in their transmodal design, emplacement and materiality. For this reason, current theorising of language mixing under the headings of *translanguaging*, *metrolinguism*, *polylinguaging*, and so on (Pennycook, 2016) would benefit from a strong focus on multimodality (Jaworski 2014).

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**Sebastian Knospe (University of Greifswald, Germany) and Félix Rodríguez González (University of Alicante, Spain)**

***The variation of calques in European languages, with particular reference to Spanish and German: Main patterns and trends***

This study compares the use of calques which have been modelled on anglicisms in different European languages, especially Spanish and German. An important motivation for the comparative perspective chosen here is that the languages in question do not only show structural differences but also divergent attitudes towards English. Aspects covered range from the factors favoring the coinage of such replaceive forms over the reasons for the emergence of different types of calques to variations in their use and challenges concerning their identification. To illustrate our findings, we will draw on examples from written and oral language, i.e. items of different register affiliation, age, length and semantic transparency.

**Leena Kolehmainen (University of Eastern Finland, Finland)**

***Traces of past multilingualism: cemetery as a linguistic landscape***

In this paper I approach cemeteries as a linguistic landscape. They may be regarded as places where “time appears arrested” (O’Regan 2009) and as places in which traces of past multilingualism and language contact in a particular locality have been preserved. The central goal is to describe the nature of a cemetery as a linguistic landscape and its special features and to answer the question what do the texts on tombs, on the gravestones and burial crosses, tell us about the past multilingual situation of a society. Which aspects of individual and societal multilingualism come up, which aspects remain hidden and unknown?

The empirical data discussed in this paper consists of photographs that were taken at the three oldest cemeteries in Varkaus, an industrial small town located in the eastern part of Finland. These three cemeteries, which were founded in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, open a window into the initial stages of this multilingual society.

In Varkaus, multilingualism is the effect of industrialization which started in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the industrial plants of Varkaus, new experts and workers were constantly needed, and the population of Varkaus grew rapidly especially in the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Due to this work-related migration, Varkaus turned into a “reception village” of new migrants (Itkonen 2004) who were looking for jobs in the Varkaus mill and to a multilingual meeting point of speakers with varying linguistic resources (Finnish, Swedish, German, Russian and English).

Interestingly, the texts on the tombs open two different interpretations: the linguistic landscape of the cemeteries as experienced by the present citizens of Varkaus, which is not identical with the linguistic landscape as analyzed by the linguist.

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**Päivi Kuusi, Hanna Lantto, Lea Meriläinen and Helka Riionheimo (University of Eastern Finland, Finland)**

*At the crossroads of contact linguistics, second language acquisition research and translation studies: Loan translations as a language contact phenomenon*

This paper examines loan translations (i.e., “words or phrases that are reproduced as literal translations from one language into another”, Backus and Dorleijn 2009: 75) as a language contact phenomenon by combining viewpoints and observations from the fields of contact linguistics, second language acquisition research and translation studies. All these fields share an interest in language contact effects, but they generally examine them within their own disciplines, separately from one another. Loan translations are a case in point: they have been studied within all these three fields, but their findings and theoretical approaches have not been systematically brought together earlier. This paper aims to provide a cross-disciplinary account of loan translations, thus broadening the scope of language contact studies to cover related disciplines that examine similar phenomena (in line with Paulasto et al., eds. 2014, Riionheimo et al., eds. 2014).

This paper brings together evidence of loan translations from Ingrian Finnish immigrants in Estonia, Basque-Spanish bilinguals in the Basque country, Finnish-speaking second language learners of English and selected evidence from translated texts. It sets out to examine the boundaries of loan translations in the light of a continuum by Backus and Dorleijn (2009) and Backus (2010) covering lexical and structural elements, thereby addressing the question whether loan translations can be explained with similar bilingual mental processes that operate in bilinguals, L2 learners and translators alike. Differentiating factors between these three contexts of language contact will be discussed (e.g., the role of metalinguistic attention).

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**Tobias Leonhardt, Dominique Buerki and Sara Lynch (University of Bern, Switzerland)**

*Language Contact in Micronesia*

This study addresses the sociolinguistic situation of three islands in Micronesia, in the North Pacific Ocean – an area of the world that has a complex colonial past, but which now has English as an official language, alongside local languages. The independent Republic of Kiribati, Kosrae (in the Federated States of Micronesia), and Saipan (in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands) are examined. These exhibit multifarious dynamics of language contact because of their distinct colonial histories, indigenous substrate languages and external influences that shape emergent new Englishes.

Kiribati, although colonized by the British, neither has nor has had extensive contact with outsiders or other languages. Kosrae maintains an economic connection with the United States and is thus strongly influenced by American culture and variety. Yet still, in both Kiribati and Kosrae, the local language is preferred over English. Saipan alternatively, is not only influenced by American culture but also, to a high degree, by its own island culture diversities, where English serves as the lingua franca. Drawing on these distinctions, we look at language contact and the role of immigration, tourism, linguistic landscape, language policies, attitudes, and mobility.

The data for this discussion is based on a corpus of recordings of over 200 speakers of Micronesian English obtained through informal conversations collected in the summer of 2015. We provide qualitative and quantitative analyses of salient linguistic features of each variety which suitably exemplify how different contact settings stimulate linguistic behaviour and language variation and change. This paper disentangles the complex language contact situations in Micronesia while shedding new light on emergent varieties of Englishes.

**Tobias Leonhardt (University of Bern, Switzerland)**

### */t,d/-affrication in Kiribati as a manifestation of on-going cultural and linguistic globalization*

The 33 islands of Kiribati that are scattered across Micronesia are under serious threat: The rising sea levels already now take their toll on the low-lying islands and some villages have already been abandoned. It is thus very likely that many I-Kiribati will have to emigrate. And this shows in both cultural and linguistic changes.

Kiribati, until 1979 under British administration, has very limited contact with other cultures or languages: Of the 103'058 inhabitants, only 892 are from other countries (2010 Census), there is virtually no tourism (United Nations World Tourism Organization, 2015), and locals rarely travel abroad. However, in light of the looming climate change threats, there are more and more dialogues, programmes and contracts, primarily with Australia and New Zealand who provide support on and off Kiribati, so that their Englishes are clearly the best represented varieties besides the local vernacular. As a result of these environmental problems and growing contacts, /t,d/-affrication is now emerging in both Kiribati English and the local vernacular – especially in the speech of younger I-Kiribati, who are more likely not to be able to remain on their home islands for their whole lives. I aim to show that this feature is a manifestation of linguistic accommodation, to the varieties of Australia and New Zealand in both of which affrication occurs (Tollfree, 2001; Docherty et al., 2006), as well as of reorientation towards countries and cultures that play an important role for I-Kiribati already now and especially in their future.

The data for these discussions consist of 1-hour long sociolinguistic interviews with 33 I-Kiribati who differ in age, sex, and experience with the English language. Half of the informants were born during Britain's administration, while the younger half only knows Kiribati as an independent republic.

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**Friederike Lüpke (SOAS, University of London, UK)**

***Language, land and languaging: Language use and language ideologies in two multilingual settings of the Upper Guinea Coast***

This talk explores the links between practice and conceptualisation of language in Southern Senegal. Multilingualism there is centuries old and deeply engrained in rural societies, yet deeply connected to the first wave of globalisation, into which the area was drawn through the transatlantic slave trade. Multiple identities as indexed through the use of different languages are motivated by the need for flexible alliances of small groups. Inhabitants of Casamance speak between 4 and 10 named languages till today, adapting their multilingual repertoires according to their trajectories throughout their entire lives, as observable throughout Africa.

While languaging is widespread, languages as ideological constructs offer a connection to the land. The patrimonial language is the (remembered) language of the founding clan of a village, or to be more precise, in the mostly patrilineal and virilocal societies of the area, its male members. It is passed on from father to children. Claiming the patrimonial language (which not always entails speaking it), lends autochthone status and conveys land rights. Rather than linguistically assimilating strangers, landlords encourage the strangers they host to keep the linguistic identities of their villages of origin. Societies in the area are often (linguistically) exogynous. Since women move into their husbands' households upon marriage, their versatile repertoires contribute to weaving multilingualism deeply into the fabrics of society, especially through cross-cousin marriages (with daughters returning into their mothers' villages of origin). I illustrate the dualism manifest in the opposition between flexible language use and ideologically fixed language with corpus-based examples of attested multilingual patterns, ranging from more monolingual to thickly multilingual modes. Patrimonial languages constitute prototypes that are never fully instantiated in discourse. Yet, different contexts and genres can be described in relation to them, and I end the talk with a classification of contexts according to their distance from the prototype.

**Elżbieta Mańczak-Wohlfeld (Jagiellonian University Kraków, Poland)**

***Language policy in Poland: A case of the influence of English on Polish***

The purpose of the present paper is to show the change in the attitude towards the increasing impact of English on Polish. The influence of English became more prominent in Poland after the change in the political system in 1989. The impact has for the most part been in the area of lexical borrowings. However, the influence of English is not only restricted to the inflow of English loanwords but also extends to their relatively high frequency of usage, as most of them refer to a modern and capitalist style of life (Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2004). Besides, there is evidence of other types of influence, that is the non-lexical. However, the impact of English on Polish has not been as extensive as is claimed by some Polish linguists who since the early 1990s have lamented over the decline of the Polish language caused by the "flood" of British and American English borrowings. Besides, the status of English as a *lingua franca* was considered to be a threat to Polish, with even the possibility of the extinction of the tongue. This concern about language purity led to the creation of the Polish Language Council in 1996. Its aim has been to advise on and describe (rather than prescribe) linguistic behaviours among Polish language users. This legislative

body caused the Polish Language Act to be passed in 1999. Its purpose, however, has been to protect Polish rather than to purify it and to minimize the foreign influences (which mainly refer to English) rather than to eradicate them (Nettmann-Multanowska 2003). Since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the Polish linguists' attitude towards the "Anglicization" of the Polish language has changed dramatically. It is believed now that the influence of English makes Polish richer and more globalized (Kołodziejek 2008).

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## **Ann-Kathrin Mehrens (Universität Greifswald, Germany)**

### ***Hybrid signs in Urban Linguistic Landscapes***

In city centres, people of different social and linguistic backgrounds interact, which leads to dense situations of language contact (Thomason 2001). Thus, urban areas may reveal traces of linguistic transculturality.

Using the Linguistic Landscape Studies method for collecting signage from different cities, it can be shown that English is highly visible there. This is confirmed by Hult (2009) and by McArthur (2000). According to their findings, English works less as a *lingua franca*, but is primarily used to indicate trendiness and values of global consumer society. As English is understood by most consume-oriented city-dwellers, it is often used as a linguistic resource for creating names that have symbolic functions (Huebner 2009, Koll-Stobbe 2015).

This study, which is based on a linguistic landscape sample route of different city areas in England, Sweden and Germany, looks at hybridity in shop names. The owners of shops in German and Swedish cities tend to coin creative shop names by playing with the English lexicon, usually by incorporating loanwords, forming hybrid compounds or derivations. The latter can be seen as indexes of transculturality as they involve the respective national languages and English as a global language. What plays a role here is that German, English and Swedish all belong to the Germanic language family. This leaves much room for playing with linguistic features, because the closer the phonological and grammatical systems are, the more linguistic options exist, and the deeper the process of hybridisation can be.

This paper will focus on the following questions: How are hybrids in shop names formed, and what functions do they embody? Are there any quantitative differences in the use of hybrids exploiting English material in Germany and Sweden? What about hybridity in shop names in England? Are they rather monolingual, or do they also involve mixing with other languages?

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## **Lea Meriläinen and Heli Paulasto (University of Eastern Finland, Finland)**

### ***Shared features in global Englishes: Tracing the effects of transfer and universal processes***

Shared non-standard features across contact-induced varieties of English (commonly known as *angloversals*; e.g., Kortmann 2010) have received a great deal of attention among English linguists. These commonalities are varyingly explained with endogenous development, contact influence, or universals of vernacular English, cognitive processing or second language acquisition (e.g., Filppula et al. 2009). Recent studies have extended the study of angloversals into English produced by foreign language learners, thereby providing new insights into common processes of second language acquisition underlying contact-induced varieties and learner Englishes (Meriläinen and Paulasto, *forthc.*, Meriläinen et al. *forthc.*).

The present study is a contribution to the above discussion in terms of the roles of transfer and/or universal processes of second language acquisition. This paper examines evidence of three proposed angloversals in corpus data (e.g., ICE, ICLE) representing contact-induced varieties and learner Englishes: embedded inversion (1), extended uses of the progressive form (2) and omission of prepositions (3).

(1) *I don't know what time is it; She asked me do I know her name* (Kortmann and Lunkenheimer 2013)

(2) *English is being a universal language; Two or three of us were riding up to Llandeilo, every day* (Meriläinen et al. *forthc.*)

(3) *She went Ø town; It depend Ø what you are wearing* (Kortmann and Lunkenheimer 2013)

These features are analysed in terms of the emerging commonalities as well as variety-specific or L1-specific uses with the aim of creating a synthesis of linguistic processes operating behind angloversals. The findings show that while overgeneralization, simplification and analogy appear to give rise to similar features across all the examined Englishes, the higher frequency and distinctive nature of these features in Englishes with a trigger in the substrate/L1 points to simultaneous transfer effects. This demonstrates the intricate ways in which transfer and universal processes are often intertwined in non-native English use.

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**Susanne M. Michaelis (Leipzig University, Germany & Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History, Jena)**

### ***Explaining the features of Creole languages: Language shift and the division of labor between substrates and lexifiers***

In this talk I start out from the observation that creole languages differ from one another in a great number of grammatical features. Some creoles have obligatory subject pronouns, others do not; some creoles mark the possessor in noun phrases, others do not; some creoles have double-object constructions, others have indirect-object constructions, and so on. But when rigorously comparing a large number of these contact languages with each other (as in the *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures*, [apics-online.info](http://apics-online.info)), a striking picture emerges: the structural variation is far from random, instead we notice that when it comes to the inheritance of grammatical features, there is a clear division of labor between the contributing languages, the substrate languages and the lexifier languages. Lexifier languages pass on the main word order patterns (besides the bulk of the lexicon), whereas substrate languages pass on grammatical features relating to valency and tense, aspect, and mood (TAM) categories (and phonological patterns). I propose that this is because in the process of language shift, the creole creators systematically imitate valency patterns and TAM distinctions from their main languages into the nascent creoles, whereas they adopt major word order patterns from the lexifier languages. As creole languages arise in sociolinguistic contexts with many second-language speakers, extra clarity of the intended meaning becomes essential. Therefore, creoles show an extremely rich array of innovative refunctionalization and grammaticalization of erstwhile lexifier material to express the abstract

meanings of the substrate languages (e.g. English *one* > indefinite article *wan* in Sranan; French *avec* ‘with’ > dative marker *ek* in Mauritian Creole; Portuguese *já* ‘already’ > perfective marker *dja* in Batavia Creole).

**Salikoko Mufwene (University of Chicago, USA)**

***Colonization, globalization, and the emergence of Creoles and Pidgins from an evolutionary perspective***

Population movements have fostered contacts of hitherto separate populations and of their languages. Colonization has typically amplified both the size of the migrating populations and the extent of ensuing language contacts, though the outcomes of the encounters also vary depending on the colonization style. For instance, during the past half millennium, the European settlement colonies of the Americas, the Indian Ocean, and Australia produced language shifts and creoles; whereas their trade colonies of the Pacific produced several English pidgins.

Even the same colonization style was not implemented uniformly, as the specific economic regimes the colonists adopted and the population structures these generated influenced language evolution in different ways. Thus, for instance, the Portuguese and Spanish colonies of South and Central America have produced no varieties associated particularly with descendants of enslaved Africans (except for Palenquero); whereas the English, French, and Dutch coastal/insular plantation colonies have produced quite a few creoles. A geographic complementary distribution also obtains between European-lexifier creoles and pidgins. In addition, the pidgins that emerged in the hinterlands of Africa and the Americas are all lexified by indigenous languages.

There are other interesting cases of differential evolution, as the Europeans did not interact uniformly with the Native in their settlement and trade colonies. While contributing to the emergence of world-wide economic globalization, trade colonization relied on interpreters, all the way into the exploitation colonization of Africa and Asia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, the latter colonies perpetuated this practice till the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, whereas settlement colonies spread European languages as vernaculars. With Portuguese then acting as the (dominant) trade lingua franca along the African coast and all the way to China till the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, this restricted practice of the European languages to a few indigenous interpreters prevented the emergence of pidgins before the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

As a matter of fact, European-lexifier pidgins became an English specificity, as there is no evidence of pidgins lexified by other European languages on this trade route. Portuguese creoles did indeed emerge but on the offshore islands, where the Portuguese developed settlement colonies. Some Asian Portuguese varieties also emerged in India, Malaysia, and Macau in indigenous communities of Natives that cohabited with the Portuguese trade colonists. It is debatable whether they should be called creoles, but they probably did not start as pidgins. Also, Cameroon and Nigerian Pidgin Englishes appear to have emerged in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, as offshoots of Sierra Leone Krio, after the abolition of the slave trade, around the same time as their counterparts in the Pacific. *Le français tirailleur* appears to have been an invention of the French colonizers themselves, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and appears to have failed too, except in the French imagination of African recruits in their army.

Interpreters played an important role in the Pacific trade as well, with the emergence of English pidgins being associated with the later development of sugarcane plantations. The use of interpreters was actually pervasive in the trade between the Europeans and the indigenous popula-

tions, even in the Americas, along the trade routes, where pidgins lexified by indigenous languages emerged or spread.

In light of all the above, it is not surprising that, contrary to the received doctrine, pidgins lexified by European languages appear to have evolved by basilectalization, like their creole counterparts. The indigenous interpreters spoke closer approximations of the European languages, which they had learned by immersion in Europe. Pidgins emerged later after the wider population targeted these L2 varieties, just like basilectal creoles emerged later, when population growth on the plantations depended more on importations than on births, while population replacement was rapid (owing largely to short life expectancy), and the Creole-to-Bozal ratio became lopsided in favor of the Bozals. In Africa, the earliest evidence cited by J. L. Dillard dates from the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The utterances appear to be L2 approximations of their non-standard lexifiers, showing little similarity to present-day pidgins, which are structurally quite different. We may assume that pidgins did not emerge before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, least of all, that they were not ancestors of creoles. The latter are the outcomes of different contact ecologies, in which the European languages have always functioned as vernaculars, causing the loss of the substrate languages.

**Natascha Müller (University of Wuppertal, Germany)**

***Trilingual first language acquisition: A case of acceleration***

Many studies have shown that the situation of multilingual children to handle competing language systems leads to cross-linguistic influence, i.e. a target-deviant linguistic form is chosen in language A due to the interference of the language B. In first language acquisition, one of the observed effects of cross-linguistic influence is delay. Rare are the studies which have demonstrated an acceleration effect. Although this effect has been observed for some grammatical domains in bilingual first language acquisition, it is understudied in trilingual first language acquisition. The present paper will focus on one of the grammatical domains which exhibit acceleration, finite verb placement in German root clauses. German is a V2-language, in other words the finite verb must raise into a position which immediately follows the first constituent of the clause. Monolingual German children have been shown to pass through an early stage during which the finite verb occurs clause-finally which is ungrammatical. During this stage, the children use other target-deviant constructions like root infinitives. Bilingual children in longitudinal studies who acquire German and a Romance language simultaneously have been observed to skip this so-called verb-final stage for German. Longitudinal data from three trilingual children who acquire German and two Romance languages from the age of 1;9 to 3;6 demonstrate the absence of a verb-final stage for German as well.

The paper will present the results of a cross-sectional study of 58 bilingual, trilingual and multilingual children. The test is a production task which elicits finite verbs in German. The children are categorized in groups, based on their results in a receptive vocabulary test. Interestingly, the children who are categorized as "extremely low" use root infinitives and other constructions which reveal a rather early developmental stage in the acquisition of German syntax (between the age of 2;0 and 2;6). Constructions with finite verbs placed at the end of the clause, as exhibited in monolingual children, are, however, completely absent. In other words, the bilingual, trilingual and multilingual children of the cross-sectional study can be compared with the bilinguals and trilinguals in the longitudinal study. They use many types of target-deviant forms, but finite verbs do not occur clause-finally. This observation can be interpreted as an effect of an accelerated development of finite verb placement in German. The tested children have all kinds of language



combinations, in other words, the effect is independent of the language combination. The paper will discuss the source of this acceleration effect with reference to grammatical theory.

**Kazuhiko Nakae (Kansai Gaidai University, Osaka, Japan)**

*Language contact between Arabic and Hebrew in Israel*

This paper deals with the language mixing situation of Arabic and Hebrew produced by Arabic-speaking people in Israel. This is asymmetrical bilingualism although both are official languages. There are very limited cases where Arabic is acquired by Hebrew-dominant speakers. Arabic-dominant speakers are mostly bilingual, using Hebrew for the communication outside the Arabic speaking community.

Although it is inevitable to consider this linguistic situation from the socio-historical perspective, the main framework for my analysis here is the integrated approach based upon Van Coetsem's (2000) cognitive theory of linguistic dominance, including structural, psycholinguistic and socio-linguistic approaches.

The topics raised for analysis are (1) morpho-syntactic phenomena, mainly gender / number agreement and (2) loan translation on L2 higher proficiency. (Here L1 is Arabic and L2 is Hebrew.) The discussing points for each topic are (1) whether the newly-established agreement pattern, which is grammatical neither in L1 nor in L2, can be considered 'restructuring' through the 'process of reduction in complexity' or 'minimizing grammatical processing costs' (Lucas 2012, 2014) and (2) whether this 'backward transfer' (Winford 2014) from L2 to L1 occurs through the attrition of speakers' L1. This latter discussion contributes to the relatively few studies on imposition by the higher proficiency of L2.

Rosenhouse and Brand (2016) first noticed the phenomenon (1) but without any discussion of 'how' and 'why'. Henkin (2011) points to the phenomenon (2) as 'loan translation', 'calquing' or 'semantic borrowing' without any discussion of its mechanism.

This research is part of a larger study that aims to elucidate the mechanism of language contact through cross-linguistic phenomena, especially involving Arabic, and through their outcomes to elaborate on Van Coetsem's unified theoretical framework for the analysis of language contact and contact-induced language change.

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**Rozen Neupane (University of Texas at Austin, USA)**

***Neighbors in Conflict: The Ongoing English Influence in Québécois French***

As a country that is officially bilingual in French and English, Canada provides a rich platform for the two languages to be in regular contact with each other. This is especially the case in Québec, a mainly French-speaking province surrounded by a much larger English-speaking North America. This proximity to the Anglo-Saxon culture has played a huge role in Québec's linguistic evolution and the overall linguistic experience of the Québécois people. Furthermore, in the globalized world of today, where Anglophone media is highly accessible and the English language dominates in the field of business and technology, English continues to be very present in Québec's everyday life. These factors together have led to an extensive English influence in spoken as well as written Québécois French (QF). This project identifies English lexical borrowings (here referred to as anglicisms) in two French language newspaper corpora from Québec that are a quarter of century apart (1989 and 2016). I use tools from computational linguistics to identify and compare anglicisms found in these corpora. Firstly, I compare the total number of anglicisms in the two corpora as a method to gauge the success of language laws that have been passed in the last 25 years. Subsequently, I analyze anglicisms that are present in both corpora so as to better predict the survival of a given lexical borrowing in QF. Finally, I also look at the distribution of new words that have been created due to this contact. This includes words like *jobber* and *groover* where the root word (*job* and *groove*), after being borrowed from English, have undergone a linguistic process to be Gallicized.

**Alexander Onysko (University of Klagenfurt, Austria)**

***Outlining a Language Contact Typology of World Englishes***

In the field of world Englishes and varieties of English, processes of language contact have continued to play a pivotal role ever since Braj Kachru's description of Englishes as functionally adapted varieties in often multilingual and multicultural settings (1992: 6). Despite the omnipresent relevance of language contact, models trying to map the diversity of Englishes (e.g. Kachru 1985, 1988; McArthur 1987; Görlach 1988; Modiano 1999; Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008) do not rely on language contact as a basic process for differentiating between varieties of English. Similarly, Schneider's Dynamic Model (2007), merely refers to some processes of language contact between indigenous languages and the settler dialects as postcolonial Englishes supposedly run through the same type of developmental stages. Dialect contact, on the other hand, is mentioned as a fundamental process characterizing postcolonial Englishes in Trudgill's work (2004).

This paper takes a new approach to modelling the diversity of Englishes in the world, which relies on essential features put forward in different models of language contact (cf. Mufwene 2001, 2008; Thomason 2001; Van Coetsem 2000). A language contact typology (LCT) of world Englishes is developed which attempts to capture the diversity of Englishes in the world in five prototypical categories: Global Englishes (GE), Learner Englishes (LE), Englishes in multilingual constellations (EMC), English-based Pidgins and Creoles (EPC), and Koiné Englishes (KE). These categories are grounded in certain contact scenarios, which allows a dynamic categorization of Englishes depending on co-existing and changing contact situations in speech communities involving forms of English. As a case in point, the Language Contact Typology is applied to the (re-)categorization of Englishes in eWAVE (Kortmann and Lunkenheimer 2013).

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**Tatiana Perevozchikova (University of Tübingen, Germany)**

### ***The effects of structural congruence on cross-linguistic influence: insights from language learning***

Many studies on language contact have concluded that structural congruence facilitates the adoption of features from one language into another (Besters-Dilger et al. 2014). In second language acquisition, however, it has been shown that the existence of congruent structural elements in the languages of a bilingual is not enough for cross-linguistic influence to occur because distributional characteristics of linguistic structures in L1 and L2 shape bilinguals' perception of the congruence of linguistic elements (Ellis et al. 2015). In this talk, we will report on a study showing that a carry-over of the similar features from L1 to L2 may not happen because the typological congruence may be overridden by frequency and perceptual salience of the linguistic feature in L2. The object of the study is the acquisition of case in German prepositional phrases by L2 learners with L1 Russian and L1 Bulgarian. Russian and German are similar to each other in that they require two different cases for nouns in prepositional phrases marking either location or direction. However, there are four prepositions after which this case distinction is neutralized in Russian. Bulgarian, on the other hand, is a Slavic language in which case marking on nouns has been lost altogether. An experimental fill-in-the-gaps task was designed to find out whether (1) learners with L1 Russian will apply the case differentiation in L2 German equally well in prepositional phrases whose L1 equivalents require a similar case differentiation versus those that do not, and (2) whether learners with L1 Bulgarian exhibit the same pattern in case usage as L1 Russian learners. The results show that L1 Russian learners perform more target-like than Bulgarian learners, especially with those prepositions in L2 whose L1 equivalents also require case differentiation. This finding confirms a facilitating effect of structural similarity between L1 and L2. At the same time, there have been similar types of case usage in both learner groups suggesting that frequency and perceptual salience of case marking patterns in L2 may exert a stronger influence on learner varieties than reliance on L1 knowledge.

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### **Vincent Renner (University of Lyon, France)**

#### ***Schematic constructional borrowing in a weak language contact setting: The case of French X slash Y***

The contact of Hexagonal French with English has intensified in the current era of globalization of communications and, remarkably, linguistic borrowing is no longer limited to lexical units. This paper deals with a novel case of structural borrowing, i.e. the incipient productivity of the partially schematic construction *X slash Y* in early twenty-first century French (e.g. *chanteuse slash actrice* ‘singer slash actress’, *consoles de jeu slash porte clés* ‘game consoles slash key rings’). Its occurrences are still exceedingly rare, but they can however be found repeatedly in e.g. online journalistic prose. On the basis of data collected semi-automatically in several electronic corpora and search engines, it is advanced that the French schema was borrowed from an equivalent English construction associated with the concept of ‘concurrent multiple careers’ which was first popularized in the US by the journalist Marci Alboher in 2007, and that it has rapidly acclimatized to the point that it is now also used with different semantics than those of the original schema (e.g. *gros chat-slash-lynx* ‘big cat-slash-lynx’) and appears in a variety of structures, including adjectival constructs (e.g. *extravagantes slash audacieuses slash farfelues* ‘extravagant slash audacious slash outlandish’) and a remarkably high number of recursive constructs (e.g. *militante du girl power slash chanteuse de tubes torrides slash actrice de film d'horreur slash femme politique* ‘girl power activist slash singer of steamy hits slash horror movie actress slash politician’). From this latter fact, it is claimed that *slash* has been partially functionalized into a marker of immediate constituent structure that audibly signals internal boundaries within polylexemic constructs.

### **Thera Crane Ringhofer and Axel Fleisch (University of Helsinki, Finland)**

#### ***The impact of contact on conceptual structure: Bantu change-of-state verbs***

While analyses of lexical aspect have traditionally relied on Vendler’s (1957) typology and expansions thereof (e.g. Smith 1997, Croft 2012), more recent work has shown Vendler’s classes to be insufficient for characterising event types in many languages (see Bar-el 2015 for an overview). This is particularly true for Bantu languages, which typically have large classes of “change-of-state” (COS) verbs (or verbal predicates), and which are underrepresented in cross-linguistic studies of lexical aspect. In general, COS verbs are interpreted as present states when paired with past or perfect aspectual morphology, as seen in the contrast between the isiNdebele examples in (1) and (2).

- (1) Ngi-ya-kwat-a  
1SG-PRS-get.angry-FV  
‘I am getting angry’

- (2) Ngi-kwat-ile  
1SG-get.angry-PERF  
'I am angry'

The class of COS verbs is not monolithic, and COS verbs may vary in whether they highlight primarily the state change or the resultant state, in the nature of their onset phase, and along other parameters (see e.g. Botne 2003, Seidel 2008 for examples and further discussion). Furthermore, which verbs are construed as COS—as opposed to, e.g., property concepts or temporary states—varies from language to language. For example, Oshikwanyama *-hala* 'want' behaves of a COS verb, but isiNdebele *-funa* 'want' does not. Because of such variation, and the possibility of subtle differences in COS event structure construals, lexical aspectual classes are an important, yet underexplored, area of investigation in contact linguistics.

We have developed a battery of tests aimed at teasing out event type construals in isiNdebele (Nguni, South Africa), and are adapting the tests to a related but different variety, Northern Transvaal Ndebele. Both varieties are minority languages within the highly multilingual environment of South Africa, and both exist in heavy contact situations. The study highlights potential effects of language contact and language change on linguistic possibilities for event construal.

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**Caroline Schilling (Berlin / University of Greifswald, Germany)**

### ***A heteroglossic approach to language contact in the CLIL classroom***

The study serves as a heteroglossic analysis displaying situations of language contact in the CLIL classroom. It aims at examining how the students in a German secondary school draw on their entire repertoire of local and translocal semiotic resources (rather than fixed and countable languages) to produce multimodal and polyphonic written output and to fulfill particular communicative as well as education-related aims. Those resources are part of the students' semiotic repertoire which is characterized as partial, *truncated* and *unbalanced*. Based on the assumption that *systematicity* and *normativity* are conceptualized as the result of sociohistorical developments of the resources' semiotic potential creating the idea of some features as *belonging more closely together* than others, standard English serves as what Bloommaert (2010) termed a *high mobility resource* as well as the norm-providing learner target in this institutionalized context. However, the students acquire relevant subject-related concepts idiosyncratically by drawing on the entire repertoire of resources available and accessible to them to develop competences connected to the required subject-matter literacy (*Sachfachliteratät*). In doing so, they *relocalize* and *reaccentuate* the meaning potential of mobile resources in concrete interactions to create and recreate

meaningfulness from a local perspective. This includes the combination of standardized varieties of English as well as de-nationalized resources and nativized transfer phenomena.

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**Britta Schneider (Freie Universität Berlin, Germany)**

### ***Language Policies in an Age of Language Contact, Globalization and Sociolinguistic Hierarchies – Learning from the 'Periphery'***

In this presentation, I want to introduce language policy discourse from a postcolonial context in which language contact has an established tradition. Many postcolonial nations show a long history of linguistic diversity and of sometimes very complex forms of multilingual language use. My analysis is based on a study of language ideologies in the multilingual and inter-ethnically complex nation of Belize, Central America, where language use and ethnicity have never matched in a straightforward manner. The official language (English) is used in formal and written domains and is thus in opposition not only to an English-lexified Creole – the dominant oral *lingua franca* – but also to a large number of other languages (Spanish (which is demographically dominant), Garifuna, Q'eqchi', Yucatec, Mopan, German, Hindi, Mandarin, and others – and mixes of these).

For the purposes of this presentation, I give access to the sociolinguistic setting of my study and then focus on the reactions to the intricate linguistic complexity by actors in the language policy sector. Data include official governmental documents, school curricula and interview data with staff from the Ministry of Education and with local teachers. The analysis shows stark ideological differences in official and in local realms, where the prestige of the official language continues to work as a strong educational gatekeeper, despite the Ministry's intentions to include the pupils' interactional codes in the curriculum. Additionally, we see the difficulties of developing national school curricula in contexts where diversity is beyond bilingualism and dependent on very local conditions. The overall observations are in an interesting relationship to current problems in education in Western urban areas, which show similar patterns of locally different diversities in a setting of dominant language ideological debate in civil society.

**Eeva Sippola (University of Bremen, Germany)**

***Traces of contact in varieties of Spanish***

This paper examines the classifications and comparison of Spanish varieties, with special focus on new varieties influenced by language contact in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. The aim is to investigate to what extent language contact with typologically distinct languages influences the classification of Spanish varieties around the globe. To date, there have been no large-scale studies comparing standard varieties and restructured varieties of Spanish, as earlier comparative studies mainly focus on (subsets of) features, languages or dialects.

The analysis focuses on selected regional dialects of Spanish, Spanish-lexified creoles, and Afro-Hispanic varieties from four continents. Based on extensive data from fieldwork corpora, typological and comparative dialectal studies (e.g. Dryer and Haspelmath 2013, Lipski 1996, Michaelis et al. 2013), I demonstrate how phylogenetic methods can be applied to statistically model the relationships between varieties of Spanish and applied to their classification. The results of the analysis show groupings of the varieties in traditional varieties, restructured varieties, and creoles. The feature sets responsible for these groupings are also identified. The paper will also discuss the motivations of the classification by examining the relevance of the variety type, areal signal, and language contact for different subgroups (for similar studies for English varieties see e.g. Kortmann 2013). Overall, the findings of the study contribute to the study of varieties of Spanish from a global perspective.

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**Olga Steriopolo (Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Berlin, Germany)**

***Diminutive and gender morphemes in Kolyma Yukaghir, Itelmen, and Russian***

This is a comparative study of diminutive suffixes in Kolyma Yukaghir, Itelmen, and Russian. All these languages are spoken in the Russian Federation, but they are genetically unrelated. The languages Kolyma Yukaghir and Itelmen are currently on the verge of extinction and considered moribund. Kolyma Yukaghir is spoken by less than 50 people in the settlements of Nelemnoye and Zaryanka, Yakutia Republic (the data are from Maslova 2003). Itelmen (or Kamchadal) is spoken on the Kamchatka Peninsula (the data are from Georg and Volodin 1999 and Bobaljik 2005).

The study shows that diminutive suffixes in Kolyma Yukaghir and Itelmen have a similar distribution, which is distinct from a distribution of diminutive suffixes in Russian. However, in these two languages there are many borrowings from Russian, including Russian diminutive suffixes that are very productively used. The question arises: what happens when a Russian diminutive

suffix attaches to a word of Kolyma Yukaghir or Itelmen origin? Which distribution wins? For example, in both Kolyma Yukaghir and Itelmen, a diminutive morpheme can be combined with a plural morpheme, in which case the diminutive always follows plural, as in (1).

- (1) *Diminutive and plural morphemes in Kolyma-Yukaghir and Itelmen*  
Base–plural–diminutive

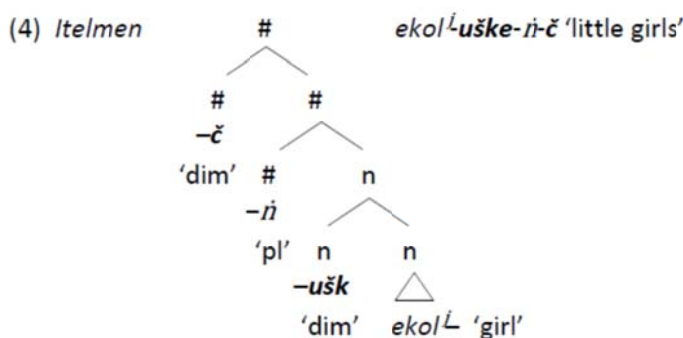
In Russian, however, there is a reverse order: the diminutive always precedes plural, as in (2).

- (2) *Diminutive and plural morphemes in Russian*  
Base–diminutive–plural

In (3), there is an example from Itelmen that involves a Russian borrowing—a fused Russian diminutive suffix *-ušċ*—which is used on a root of Itelmen origin. As Russian diminutive suffixes always precede a plural marker and Itelmen suffixes follow a plural marker, this word uses two different orders from two different languages producing a new distribution of diminutive markers.

- (3) *ekoli-ušċe-ŋ-č*  
*girl-Russian.DIM-PL-Itelmen.DIM*  
'little girls' (Bobaljik 2005: 318)

This study is done in the framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993, Halle 1997, Marantz 1997) that assumes that words are built by the same principles as phrases and sentences—by syntactic principles. I argue that diminutive suffixes in all three languages share the same manner of attachment, namely, they all attach as syntactic modifiers. However, they have distinct places of attachment. For example, in the structure (4) proposed for the example (3), the Russian borrowed diminutive suffix attaches below Number and the original Itelmen diminutive suffix attaches above Number, with the plural morpheme merging between these two diminutives.



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**Sarah G. Thomason (University of Michigan, USA)**

***Speakers' creativity and contact-induced change***

Motives for introducing deliberate changes in one's language fall into several (non-mutually-exclusive) categories. People make such changes to increase the linguistic distance between their language and nearby closely-related languages or dialects; to keep their speech secret from unfriendly outsiders; to avoid ridicule or censure; as a means of identity formation; and – the most creative changes – just for fun, because they can. This talk will examine examples in all these categories, among them distancing changes in languages of Papua New Guinea, secret languages in Taiwan and Pakistan, identity-constructing urban youth languages in Africa, and adaptations from German in the standardization of Estonian. The talk concludes with consideration of the implications of such changes for theories of language change.

**Stanislav Tomčík (Leipzig University, Germany)**

***Emergence of a new language in Lusatia? Revitalization of Lower Sorbian and its possible outcomes***

There are no exact or official statistics concerning the number of Lower Sorbian speakers, but there seem to be several dozens of native speakers up to a hundred, most of whom are 80 years and older, and few hundred second language speakers whose first language is usually German and who are able to read, write and communicate in the language with different levels of proficiency (Bartels & Thorquindt-Stumpf 2013; Spiess 2000). In this situation practically no direct language transmission between native speakers and younger generations exists.

The core revitalization efforts are based on an immersion and bilingual education programme which started in 1998. However, this programme has not brought any clearly satisfactory results so far (Schulz 2015) and its future has been questioned. The gap between the language spoken by native speakers and the one spoken by young learners nowadays is vast and does not represent a natural process of language change as most of the learners acquire Lower Sorbian as a second/foreign language through school instruction where neither the teachers are native speakers and have different language competence.

Although following terms have not been used in Sorbian studies, learners of Lower Sorbian might be called “new speakers” and their language “New Lower Sorbian”. The relation to native Lower Sorbian is obvious. Nevertheless, the differences in phonology, morphology and syntax are significant. With the loss of the native speakers' authority the new speakers' community might adapt the norm of Lower Sorbian to suit their own use of the language. Possible further changes of the language norm have been rarely discussed (Nowak, 2012), but they seem to be inevitable.

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**Hein van der Voort (Museu Goeldi, Belém, Brazil) and Peter Bakker (Aarhus University, Denmark)**

### ***Polysynthetic languages in contact in the Americas: simplification, pidginization and creolization***

Pidgins and creoles tend to be analytic, and always more analytic than their lexifiers. Some scholars attribute this to the presence of an analytic language in the ecology of the sociohistory of contact, e.g. Aboh (2015).

In our paper we look at the fate of polysynthetic languages in contact situations. Polysynthetic languages are loosely defined as languages with complex verb morphology (Mithun 1988), and a considerable degree of fusion between morphemes, and either head-marking or double-marking (Nichols 1986). They often display multiple verb agreement, and verbs may have tense, mood, aspect, number, gender, evidentiality, voice, valence, negation and more expressed in their verb complex. We will deal with the fate of polysynthetic structures when they are modified through language contact.

Polysynthetic languages can be pidginized: there are examples of pidginized versions of polysynthetic languages involve of the Algonquian, Athapaskan, Cariban, Chinookan, Chukotko-Kamchatkan, Eskimoan, Tupian and Wakashan families in the Americas. The pidginized versions are typically either completely analytic, or in some case some tense or person inflection is still used. To the best of our knowledge, only two of these pidgins creolized, Chinook Wawa into Grand Ronde Chinook Wawa, and Tupi-based Lingua Geral Amazônica into Nheengatu, but only for Chinook there is a reasonable amount of documentation of all three types: the polysynthetic language, the pidgin and the creole.

In our paper, we will discuss the developments of these polysynthetic languages into pidgins: what, if anything, is preserved and what is lost from the lexifier? Which grammatical categories are developed, and how? We also speculate about the possibility of a creolized version of a polysynthetic language without an intermediate pidgin, as several current creolization theorists deny the existence of a pidgin stage.

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**Rachel Watson (SOAS, University of London, UK)**

***Language prototypes and linguistic practice in the Casamance***

For generations, society in the Casamance, southern Senegal, has been characterised by social forces considered hallmarks of modern globalization. Waves of migration, a mobile population, and wide-reaching social networks have resulted in extensive societal and individual multilingualism, which is striking in that inhabitants maintain many minority languages despite intense language contact, and daily discourse involving heavy code-mixing.

There exists a tension between linguistic practice, which is characterised by a high level of multilingualism, and language ideologies, which are conservative and indexed to patrimonial identity, with most villages, or small groups of villages, associated at an ideological level with a language. At the level of linguistic knowledge, speakers maintain an idealized conceptualization, or prototype, of languages in their repertoire, and, importantly, the similarities and differences between them. At the level of linguistic practice, a large proportion of discourse involves mixing two or more of these codes, which necessarily results in divergence from the prototypes thereof.

This paper examines interaction between prototypes of language, and actual language use, focusing on three languages: Joola Banjal, Joola Kujireray, and Bainounk Gubëeher. The Joola varieties are genetically related, while Joola Kujireray and Bainounk Gubëeher exist in an intense contact situation. Accordingly, complex patterns of convergence and divergence are observed in their respective lexica. For this study, lexical items were selected that were divergent (i.e. neither cognate nor borrowed) in all three languages, as representing a portion of the lexica where the prototypes of the three languages are maximally distinct. These items were then searched in a corpus of natural multilingual data and the results correlated with linguistic and social biographies of speakers to investigate sites and potential motivations for variation from the prototypes.

**Laura Zieseler (Universität Greifswald, Germany)**

***Hey nørðar! A Case Study on Faroese-English Language Contact in Computer-Mediated Communication.***

Almost 20 years ago, Jóansson (1997: 217) observed that “some of the most recent not-naturalised loanwords do not comply with the [...] conventions [of Faroese spelling and grammar] so far; therefore they are in most cases avoided in the written language”. In 2008, Simonsen and Sandøy (60) assumed that this was caused by the language users’ reluctance to implement morphological modifications when the orthographic form of the loanword contained certain features. In my case study, I test this and similar hypotheses in the context of computer-mediated communication (CMC) with its conceptually oral nature and its extensive use of multilingual resources, especially English as a World Language. Due to its small number of native speakers and their close and long-standing relationship to the Danish and more recently the Anglophone speech community, the Faroese language represents a particularly interesting object to study in contact linguistic terms.

The data was sampled from one of the biggest Faroese online forums, *Kjak.org*. Here, self-proclaimed “nerds” (or *nørðar*) discuss different products of popular culture in mass media entertainment, one of the central domains of EWL. Their language use is marked by a high density of English borrowings and code-switches as well as a high degree of creative solutions to various conflicts occurring at the morphological and orthographic interface between Faroese and English.

Using a corpus comprised of 942 tokens and 131, I study aspects of both morphological and orthographic integration of English nouns, such as inflectional patterns (number, case and gender assignment), the use of unconventional morphological boundary markers (e.g. “intrusive <ð>” in *demoðina*), consonantic and vocalic adaptation etc.

Overall, the inhibition to combine native and non-native language material in one lexeme is considerably lower in CMC than in the linguistic contexts researched in previous studies.

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## Ghil'ad Zuckermann (University of Adelaide, Australia)

### *The genesis of Israeli: Language reclamation and cross-fertilization*

Language reclamation (e.g. Hebrew, Barngarla, Kaurna 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 keynote address 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 keynote 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 hybridic.

If time allows, the keynote will provide evidence not only from Israeli but also from the revival of Barnjarla, Kurna, Ngarrindjeri (all Aboriginal Australian), Hawai'i and Māori.