

The role of codeswitching, loan translation and interference in the emergence of an immigrant variety of Turkish

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Goals

1. Provide unified account of various types of contact effects
2. Embed contact linguistics in linguistics in general
3. Carefully separate out **synchronic** ('here and now') and **diachronic** aspects of change

Gaps in theory

- Most of linguistics strictly separates synchronic and diachronic issues ('theoretical linguistics' versus 'historical linguistics').
 - Also in contact linguistics ('codeswitch' versus 'borrowing');
 - But the two dimensions are not independent!
- Lexicon and syntax are strictly separated ("mainstream theoretical linguistics = syntax")
 - Also in contact linguistics: codeswitching versus contact-induced structural change
 - But the two form a continuum!

Unification

Why should these gaps be filled? Theory with wider scope possible:

- **Synchronic** behavior determines **diachronic** development
 - If I use the term ‘*Catch-22*’ all the time, it becomes part of my lexicon (and of those around me)
- It holds at **all levels of granularity**, from phonology to discourse pattern
 - Do I pronounce an English word the American way or adapted to Dutch?

Change

- My empirical focus is on change, but the intention is not so much a description of change but a description of language (reason: change is essential feature of language)
- Change consists of two stages:
 - **Innovation**: introduction of a new feature
 - **Propagation**: entrenchment as ‘part of the system’

(Simple) example of change: new word

Codeswitching produces new loanwords

- The change: a new word has entered the language, e.g. the English term *Catch-22* in (my) Dutch
 - **Innovation** stage: first time someone used that word
 - **Propagation** stage: more and more people start using the word
- This is a theory, a hypothesis, but can we actually show it?

Methodology of codeswitching studies

Format:

- one or more spontaneous conversations featuring bilingual speech are recorded,
- and transcribed,
- all codeswitches are extracted for analysis,
- these are divided into various types, and
- a quantitative analysis is provided.

Is this an ideal database for answering questions of change?

- No: it's all synchronic data
- But it does give useful insights

Contact Between Turkish and Dutch

- Dutch-Turkish contact has a contact history of 40 years. Started with immigration in 1960's.
- **1960's**: Work for a certain period of time and go back to Turkey.
- **1970's**: Family reunifications+full fledged immigrant community.
- **2005**: 358.000 Turks (**2% of the population**)

Turkish Community in the Netherlands

- Close ties within the community.
- Frequent visits to Turkey.
- Satellite dishes to watch Turkish channels.
- High value attached to speaking Turkish.
- In-group marriages.
- Spouses from Turkey.

- >> High level of language maintenance

DATA (Spoken Corpora)

- NL-Turkish: Turkish spoken in the Netherlands (Tilburg).
 - Free conversations (no subject, time limit).
 - Informants: All generations but mainly second generation (born and raised up in the Netherlands), at least high school graduates.
 - TR-Turkish: Turkish spoken in Turkey (Kırşehir).
 - Free conversations (no subject, time limit).
 - Informants: Between 18-30, monolingual, at least high school graduates.
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- Transcription of conversations using CHILDES program (<http://childes.psy.cmu.edu/>)
 - Coding of conversations according to research questions (e.g. word order, subject pronouns, constructions)

MAPS OF DATA COLLECTION



Netherlands



Turkey

Code-switching basics

- Definition: the use of overt material (from single morphemes to entire sentences) from Language B in Language A discourse.
- CS roughly comes in two types (cf. Muysken 2001):
 - a. Alternational CS: the alternation of material in two languages in bilingual discourse
 - b. Insertional CS: the use of material from one language, the Embedded Language (EL), in bilingual discourse. In this type, the foreign material is embedded in clauses that are clearly recognizable as in the Matrix Language (ML). Note that in this contact phenomenon both form and meaning are from the ML.

Alternation: example

Turkish-Dutch

sen de kalkma-n lazim onlar-la *en hoe moet je dan op de rest letten?*

You too get.up-POSS.2SG necessary them-with *and how you then on the rest keep an eye?*

“you must get up with them as well, *and then how can you keep an eye on the rest?*”

Insertion: example

(1) *Nachttrein-i* *orda* *Randstad-da* *dolaş-ıp*
dur-uyor
night.train-POSS there *R.-LOC* go.around-CONJ
keep-PROG.3sg

‘The *nichttrain* keeps going around there in the *randstad* [=metropolitan area in Western Holland].’

- Are *nachttrein* and *Randstad* loanwords in Immigrant Turkish?
 - Can’t tell on the basis of these data
 - But yes, presumably they are.
 - Why? Because they are semantically specific (especially the Proper Noun) *and* connected to Dutch culture, so probably no competition with Turkish equivalents.

Insertion: larger unit

Example:

<i>op kamers</i>	<i>wonen</i>	yap-acağ-ım
<i>on rooms</i>	<i>live</i>	do-FUT-1sg

'I'm going to *live on my own*.'

New word in Immigrant Turkish?

- Yes, but not a word in the traditional sense
- It's a unit, though
- That it is used by one speaker once isn't proof for loanword status (i.e. it may be an innovation), but it's a defensible assumption/hypothesis

Lexical Borrowing

- The diachronic counterpart of insertional CS.
- The process whereby words from a lending language become entrenched as conventional words in the receiving lexicon. It distinguishes ‘new’ code-switches from ‘established’ loanwords in synchronic data. For example, because of their frequency, the words *uitgaan* ‘to go out’, *opleiding* ‘school’, *afstuderen* ‘to graduate’, and *Hemelvaart* ‘Ascension Day’ may very well have become established Dutch-origin loanwords in Dutch Turkish, rather than code-switches.
- They **appear** as codeswitches, but they **are** loans

Classic codeswitching: **recurrent** Dutch words

ben seninkisini *lenen* yapmak istedim, *toen had ik ze al*
'I wanted to *borrow* yours *but then I had them already.*'

- Several sources (informants, colleagues) tell me *lenen* is **frequent** in Immigrant Turkish; others deny it ...
- Frequency data of course hard to get: too expensive
- Questionnaires so far non-existent

Example

- Frustrating debate in the codeswitching literature, about the seemingly unsolvable question how to distinguish codeswitching from borrowing.
- Within the study of codeswitching, it has proven difficult to tell whether a given example was an instance of lexical borrowing or of codeswitching. The source of trouble was, in my mind, a failure to recognize that borrowing is a **diachronic phenomenon** (or a ‘process’), and codeswitching a **synchronic one** (or an ‘event’).

The (frustrating) debate

- CS (insertion) is subject to grammatical constraints (seventies!!), e.g. Free Morpheme Constraint: you can't have affixes from one language (say, Finnish) on stems from another language (say, English; example from Poplack, Wheeler & Westwood 1989):

*?) Misis K. oli *housekeeper*-ina
Mrs. K. was *housekeeper*-ESS
“Mrs. K. was the *housekeeper*”

The debate, ctd.

- Counterexamples abound
- Explanation: these are not codeswitches, but borrowings. So *housekeeper* is a borrowing
- But: no independent way of deciding whether something is a borrowing or not, so as a way of explaining violations of the constraint it is a cop-out, without further attempts at defining these ‘borrowings’
- Candidates:
 - 1) dictionaries (but that’s a problem for bilingual varieties) – do we find *housekeeper* in dictionary of American Finnish?)
 - 2) integration in the speech community – do most American Finns use *housekeeper* in their Finnish?

Debate, continued

- Solution chosen: 3) morphosyntactic integration
- You cannot codeswitch between stem and affix because if a stem is affixed with an affix from a different language, the stem isn't a codeswitch but a borrowing:
housekeeper must be a borrowing
- Problems:
 - This says that CS and borrowing are, thus, two different synchronic phenomena, but that clashes with the idea that borrowing comes from CS: the speaker is supposed to either use *housekeeper* as a codeswitch or as a borrowing
 - It also presupposes a very simplistic mechanism for borrowing: overnight the status of the foreign word changes from CS to loanword.

Debate, the end

- Diachronic borrowing results from synchronic CS, and borrowing should not be used as a synchronic category
- But *single-word switches* and *other types of CS* might still be different **synchronic** phenomena: insertion and alternation, for instance, and they are then likely to behave differently (“obey different constraints”)
 - Free Morpheme Constraint describes (an aspect of) insertion: single word get integrated in the morphosyntax;
 - Equivalence Constraint describes alternation (but not particularly well): alternation is easiest where word orders overlap.

Non-classic codeswitching: loan translation

suç-u	bana	ver-di
guilt-ACC	to.me	give-PAST.3sg

‘he accused me’

(cf. Dutch: *de schuld geven*; ‘give the guilt’;
Turkish *suçlamak* ‘accuse’: suç-la-mak ‘guilt-
VERBALIZER-INF’)

- Contact-induced lexical change not just in the form of loanwords, also
 - Contact-induced combinations
 - Contact-induced new meanings of native words (semantic extension), cf. Backus & Dorleijn (2009)

Summary of findings

1. Sheer occurrence as codeswitches/loan translations in the data **suggests** they are in general use
2. Semantic plausibility **suggests** they are indeed useful enough so as to assure usage
3. Frequency and/or acceptability data would be helpful, though
4. This holds for simple words and larger conventional units

Not codeswitching at all: grammatical 'interference'

yani kendimi ifade etmek istersem bile edemem
çünkü o sözcükleri bulamam

NB: 'o' is demonstrative pronoun ('that, those')

'so even if I want to express myself I can't because
I can not find **those** damn words'

(cf. Dutch *ik kan **die** woorden niet vinden* ('I can
those words not find'); Turkish *çünkü sözcükleri
bulamam*, i.e. without o)

- Note: the term 'interference' suggests
momentary lapse (i.e. synchronic and error)

Historical Linguistics/Convergence

- RQ: what changes have been observed in languages and to what degree are they due to foreign influence?
- Leading figures: Thomason, Dorian, Aikhenvald, Heine/Kuteva, Matras, Johanson, Toribio
- Diachronic in outlook
- **Increasing attention to on-going contact changes**, to look for clues to what processes may have played out in the past

What kind of structural influence?

1. Word Order
2. Subject pronoun use
3. Constructions

(Work carried out with Seza Doğruöz)

No Change in NL-Turkish?

- Result: little syntactic change
- Despite the lack of changes in word order and subject pronoun use, NL-Turkish still sounds different to TR-Turkish speakers.
- Where is the change?

Dutch Influence on NL-Turkish constructions

NL-Turkish: ben okul-da bir sene Fransızca yap-tı-m.

I school-loc one year French do-past-1sg.

“I have studied French for a year at high school”.

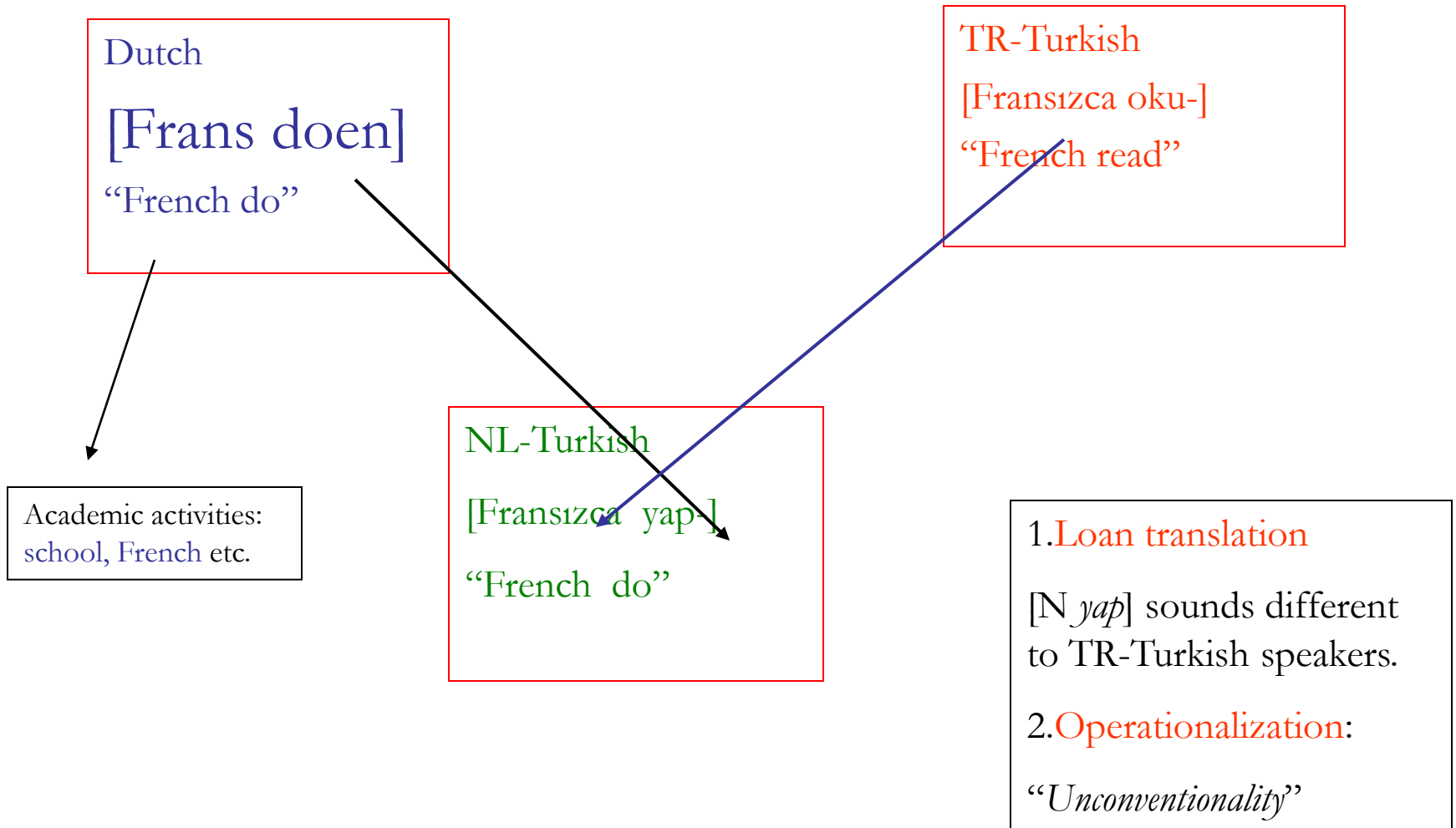
TR-Turkish: ben okul-da bir sene Fransızca oku-du-m.

I school-loc one year French read-past-1sg.

NL: Ik heb een jaar Frans gedaan op school.

I have a year French do-perf. at school.

Dutch influence on NL-Turkish specific constructions and the definition of unconventionality



Structural influence

NL-Turkish: Türk müziğ-i çok sev-iyor-um.

Turkish music-poss.3sg a.lot like-prog-1sg.

“I like Turkish music a lot”

NL: Ik hou van Turkse muziek.

I like of Turkish music.

“I like Turkish music”

TR-Turkish: Türk müziğ-i-ni çok sev-iyor-um.

Turkish music-poss.3sg-acc a.lot like-prog-1sg.

“I like Turkish music a lot”

Dutch

[Hou van OBJ]

TR-Turkish

[OBJ-acc sev-mek]

“Obj-acc like-inf.”

NL-Turkish

[OBJ sev-mek]

“Obj like-inf.”

Transitivity Scale: Hopper
&Thompson (1981)

Lexicon-Structure interaction

More typical case of structural ‘interference’:

Hiç fark-ı yok İngiliz-le
No difference-poss.3sg exist.not English-**with**.

“There is no difference with the English.”

Dutch: helemaal geen verschil met engels-en
absolutely no difference **with** English-pl

TR-Turkish:

hiç fark-ı yok İngiliz-den
No difference-poss.3sg exist.not English-**from**.

Caution: overestimating interference

NL-Turkish: *Türkçe iyi konuş-uyor-lar mı?*
Turkish good speak-prog-3pl Q
“Do they speak Turkish well?”

Dutch: *Sprek-en ze Turks goed?*
Speak-3pl. they Turkish good.
“Do they speak Turkish well?”

TR-Turkish: *Türkçe-yi iyi konuş-uyor-lar mı?*
Turkish-**acc** good speak-prog-3pl Q
“Do they speak Turkish well?”

BUT:

TR-Turkish (data): Ben Kırşehir yemek-leri bil-ir-im.

I Kırşehir dish-poss.3pl know-pres-1sg.

Supposed to be: Ben Kırşehir yemek-leri-ni bil-ir-im.

I Kırşehir dish-poss.3pl-**acc** know-pres-1sg.

Loan Translations

- Words or phrases that are reproduced as literal translations from one language into another
 - Also known as ‘calques’
- Standard example: *skyscraper*
- Not represented much in theory
 - It’s not codeswitching
 - It’s not structural borrowing

Research Questions

- 1. How does LT relate to other linguistic consequences of language contact (CS, interference, attrition, etc.)?**
2. How is LT best characterized?
3. What types of LT should we distinguish?
- 4. What is the mechanism that produces LT?**

Previous treatments

- Johanson (2002)
 - Code Copying Model: LT is one type of semantic copying (2 subtypes, called 'semantic copying' or 'combinational copying').
 - Weak point: only taxonomic, and too crude
 - >>> Conclusion: A good start
- Myers-Scotton (2002)
 - Matrix Language Frame Model: In 'composite CS', some 'lexical structure' can come from the EL
 - Weak point: too dichotomous
 - >>> Conclusion: Useful for some types of LT

Suggested best characterization

What has been uncovered so far (but no real classification):

- LT is copy of foreign lexical structure
- Copy can be more or less precise
- Original may be anything:
 - idiom/expression
 - collocation
 - shade of meaning/function of particular word

Types of Loan Translations

Classification needed for further theory building about relationship with other contact phenomena

- a. Loan translations involving content morphemes
- b. Loan translations involving function morphemes
- c. Loan translations involving grammatical markers
- d. Loan translations involving discourse patterns

Loan translations involving content morphemes

1. One-word loan translations: semantic extension

(1) çocuk-lar bugün çok ***kalabalık.***

child-PL today very ***crowded***

“The children are very crowded (> **noisy**) today”

(2) bugün çok ***kalabalığım.***

today very ***crowded.be.1sg***

“I am very crowded (> **busy**) today

Origin: Dutch *druk* ‘busy’, ‘crowded’; Tr-Tu: *kalabalık* ‘crowded’

Loan translations involving content morphemes

2. Two-word loan translations

suç-u bana ***ver-di***

guilt-ACC to.me ***give***PAST.3sg

“he accused me”

Origin: Dutch *de schuld geven* ‘give the guilt’

TR-Turkish: suç-la-mak ‘guilt-DERIV-INF’ (cf. “blame”)

Loan translations involving content morphemes

3. Multi-word loan translations

erken gel-ir-se-n ***ön-e doğru dur-ur-sun***, geç gelirsen,
arkaya doğru durursun.

early come-AOR-COND-2sg ***front-DAT toward stand-***
AOR-2sg, back-DAT toward stand-AOR-2sg

“if you come early, ***you stand toward the front***, if you
are late, ***you stand toward the back***”

Origin: Dutch naar voren/achteren staan ‘stand to the
front/back’

Tr-Turkish: ön-e/arka-ya doğru gid-er-sin (‘go to the
front/back’)

Loan translations involving functional elements

Adverbs, particles, conjunctions (i.e. with relatively much content)

- a. *belki* sen de farket-ti-n mi?
maybe you too notice-PAST-2sg Q
“Did you *happen to* notice that, too?”

Origin: Dutch *misschien* ‘maybe’ used as politeness marker

Loan translations involving grammatical elements

a. anne-m sor-du arkadaşları-*ni*
mother-POSS-1sg ask-PAST.3sg friends-**ACC**

“my mother asked her friends (something)”

Origin: Dutch construes indirect object of ‘ask’ as direct object, if the ‘real’ direct object is left out: mijn moeder vraagt haar vrienden (SVO).

TR-Turkish uses dative for this ‘indirect object’: annem sordu arkadaşları-na (mother asked friends-DAT).

Still LT? Or interference? Categorical or gradual difference?

Loan translations involving discourse patterns

(A1) -Ilke, sen daha çok yani Hollandaca konuş-uyo-sun değil mi günlük hayat-ın-da sadece aile içerisinde Türkçe konuş-uyo-sun?
-"Ilke, you speak more Dutch, isn't it, in daily life, only in the family you speak Turkish?"

(B1) -evet sadece aile içerisinde.
-"yes, only in the family"

(A2) -***ve arkadaş-lar-ın-la Türkçe*** (sic)
and friend-PL-POSS2SG-with Turkish
-"and with your friends Turkish" (sic - Dutch is meant)

(B2) -***ja, arkadaş-lar-ım-la Türkçe*** (sic).
-"yes, with my friends Turkish"

Origin: Dutch pattern "en met je vrienden Turks?" ('and with your friends Turkish?')

TR-Turkish: no 'and' and repetition of the verb

Summary of contact phenomena

- Can we lump all these phenomena together?
- Yes, we can (I think)

Contact Phenomena (first set)

1. Code-switching

a. Alternational CS

sen de kalkma-n lazım onlar-la ***en hoe moet je dan op de rest letten?***

“you must get up with them as well, ***and then how can you keep an eye on the rest?***”

b. Insertional CS

mesela okul-da iki tane kız da bana ***verkering*** sor-du
for.instance school-LOC two CLAS girl to.me.DAT
engagement ask-PAST.3sg

“For instance, two girls at school have asked me out on a ***date.***”

Contact Phenomena (first set)

2. Lexical Borrowing

Ex.: Established Dutch loanwords in Immigrant Turkish:

uitgaan (to go out)

Hemelvaart (Ascension Day)

Literature in Historical Linguistics and Contact Linguistics is full of examples

- a. **cultural loanwords** (*moose, skunk, tomahawk*)
- b. **prestige borrowing** (Latin and French words in European languages; English and Spanish words in postcolonial settings)

Contact Phenomena (second set)

3. Loan Translation

piano oynamak

piano play; 'to play piano'

Cf. Standard Turkish: piano çalmak (piano to.sound)

Cf. Dutch piano spelen (piano to.play)

4. Lexical Change (not 'borrowing', per definition)

Established collocation; foreign origin only known by linguists

Hypothesis (not to be tested here): Most languages have more of these than we think

Contact Phenomena (third set)

5. Interference / Transference

hiç Türkçe kitap-**lar** oku-ya-m-ıyor-um

no Turkish book-**PL** read-ABIL-NEG-PROG-1sg

“I can’t read Turkish books”

Cf. Standard Turkish: *hiç Türkçe kitap okuyamıyorum*, with singular noun *kitap*

Cf. Dutch: *ik kan geen Turkse boeken lezen*, with plural noun *boek-en* (book-pl; ‘books’)

6. Structural Borrowing

If Dutch Turkish would always have plural after quantifier

Best source of data: completed changes documented by historical linguistics

1. Contact Phenomena: Review

Distinctions on three dimensions

- Dimension 1: overt foreign material
 - CS and Lexical Borrowing vs. the rest
- Dimension 2: lexical (foreign) model
 - Loan translation and Lexical Change vs. Interference / Transference and Structural Change
- Dimension 3: Synchronic vs. Diachronic
 - CS, LT and Interference vs. the rest

1. Contact Phenomena: Review

Linguistic Source	Synchronic	Diachronic
Foreign words	Insertional code-switching	Lexical borrowing
Foreign meaning / combinations	Loan translation	Lexical change
Foreign structure	Interference / Transference	Structural change / Borrowing

Provisional conclusions

- 1) Making language change a central issue to be explained by any theory of language, has provided an extra boost to its study.
- 2) It helps solving the CS-borrowing debate, and to elucidate the parallelisms between CS/ lexical borrowing and interference/structural borrowing (the first terms being synchronic, and the last diachronic)

Provisional conclusions, continued

- 3) Doing away with the syntax-lexicon division has made it possible to work towards a unified theory of contact-induced change, unifying lexical and structural borrowing.
- 4) It allows seeing the similarities between lexical and structural borrowing. Both are instantiations of contact-induced change, and they follow the same chain of events: the same social factors, the same causal mechanism.

Provisional conclusions, continued

- 5) But there's also a difference: degree of consciousness:
- semantic specificity (salience?) plays a role in lexical phenomena;
 - entrenchment (frequency?) plays a role in structural phenomena.

Summary re: Synchrony and diachrony

- **Both** important for theory of change
 - Synchrony: how it comes about. Languages are practices
 - Diachrony: how it plays out. Languages are traditions
- They are both at the same time
- Since speaking is goal-directed, creative and volitional, always adapted to changing communicative circumstances, competence always changes (Andersen 2005: 83)

Cognitive Linguistics

- *Cognitive Grammar* (Langacker), *Construction Grammar* (Croft), *Emergent Grammar* (Bybee)
- Two characteristics that are important in this light:
 - 1) the strict division between lexicon and syntax is given up;
 - 2) diachronic issues (as well as synchronic variation) are put back in the center of linguistic theory.

Historical linguistics and sociolinguistics not seen as separate disciplines anymore

Implications for language contact

- 1) Borrowing words and borrowing structure might not be so different

They differ merely in the specificity of the meaning of the borrowed element

- 2) But the mechanism of borrowing may be the same

Note: most, but not all, contact-induced change is borrowing

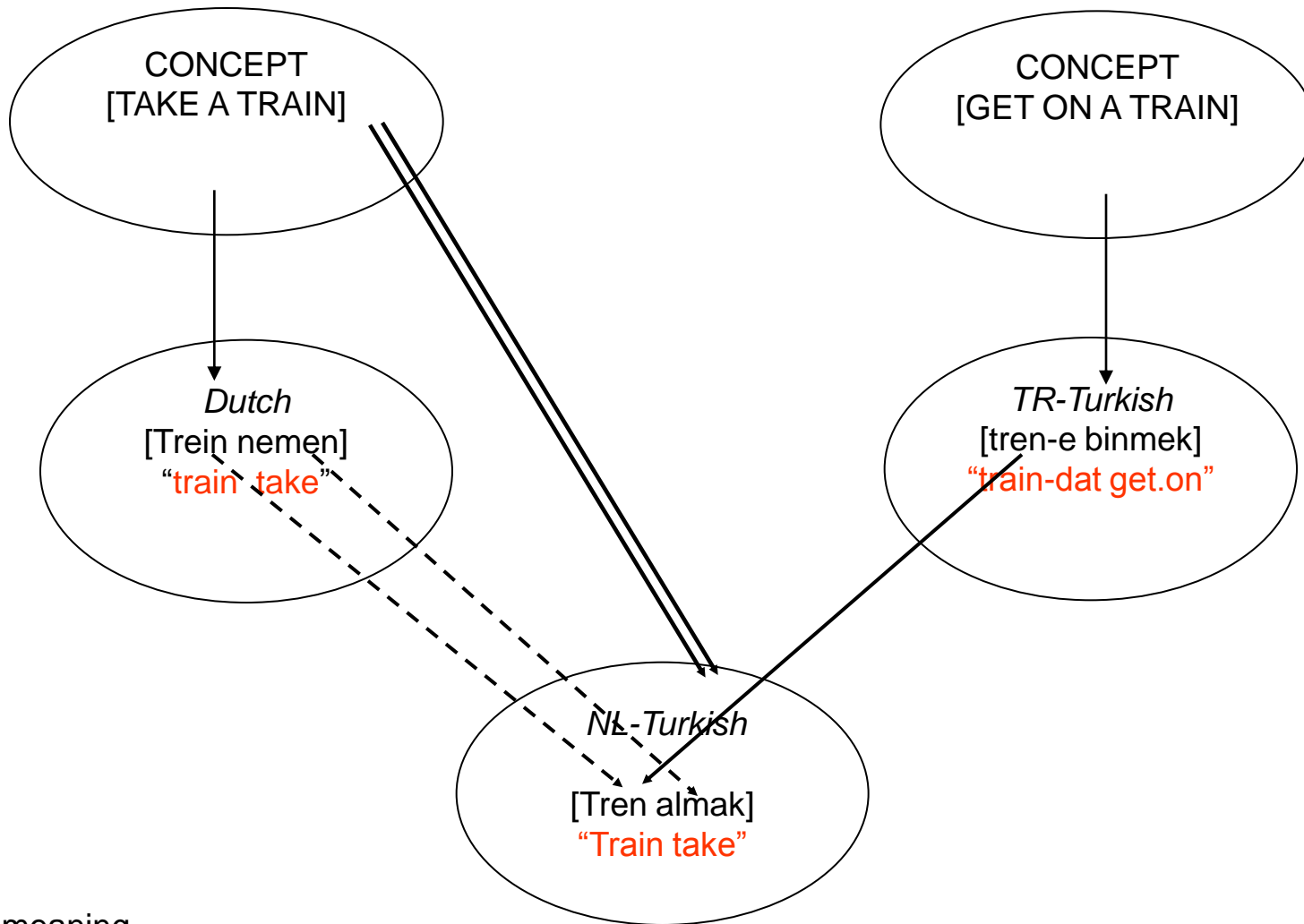
Mechanism: The translation process

- Origin: The wish to say something in the base language the way it is said in the other language (non-intentionally)
- **Necessary condition 1:** Transparent link between Form A in foreign language and Form B in base language, so that equivalence (congruence) between A and B can be established
- **Necessary condition 2:** Form B must be entrenched.
- On-line (synchronic) process: conscious selection (of Form A or Form B) or unconscious 'interference'

Mechanism : Translation

- Dutch form presents itself.
- Dutch form requires a clear translation.
 - Literal translation only produces unconventionality if there is a difference in meaning between Dutch and TR-Turkish equivalents. (e.g. *Fransızca yapmak* vs. *Frans doen*)
 - Usually, translation of the Dutch morpheme with a **figurative** meaning creates unconventionality.
 - Because its Turkish equivalent does not have that particular **figurative** meaning.

TAKE OR GET ON A TRAIN?



Form-meaning

Meaning

Pervasiveness of loan translations

- LT probably more frequent than is generally thought: it's just much less visible (but cross-linguistic comparison is needed).
- It may be responsible for the impression that a new variety is born (where such impressions exist)
- Some LTs catch the attention, but most are just entrenched collocations that the 'immigrant variety' has and the non-contact variety doesn't.
- But no systematic empirical quantitative study yet

Conclusions

- LT needs more study
- LT comes in different types
- LT shades off into grammatical interference/change
- LT has synchronic (on-line interference/selection) and diachronic sides (lexical and constructional change)
- LT is very similar to CS: studies needed to find out when which phenomenon is employed.

(Contact-induced) Change: intermediate summary

- The change: new word, meaning, word combination, or structural 'feature'
 - **Innovation**: first time it is used
 - **Propagation**: more and more people use it
- Any data that show how this process unfolds?
 - No; we just see 'signs' that it is taking place, in the synchronic data

Literature on 'codeswitching'

- Synchronic speech is studied intensively in CS research, but:
- CS literature is bound to disappoint as far as information on change is concerned:
 - only attention for lexicon; and
 - no diachronic perspective whatsoever

Usage-based approach

- Cognitive Linguistics is a loose collection of linguistic theories
- What they share (among other things): usage-based approach:
- Knowledge representation is based on usage (as opposed to innately given)
- If this is true (it's a hypothesis), then:
 - Everybody's linguistic competence is different (because no two people lead exactly the same life); and:
 - Everybody's competence is constantly changing

Usage-based model

- Usage-based perspective means:
- Competence, or knowledge is derived from usage, so, for language:
- Everything we say (synchrony) has implications for how our knowledge develops (diachrony).
- The basic unit: Synchronic Event
- Definition: a unit of produced language, of any size and complexity

Synchrony and diachrony

- Lexical:
 - Synchronic (Mechanism): the use of individual words from the other language. (codeswitching)
 - Diachronic (Result): borrowed word
- Structural:
 - Synchronic (Mechanism): the use of structures (e.g. word order, case marking) from the other language (interference).
 - Diachronic (Result): borrowed structure

Synchronic choices

Combining synchrony and diachrony (Croft 2000)

- Faced with having to say something, one can:
 - say the conventional thing: normal replication
 - say something new/innovative: altered replication
 - say something ‘newish’: propagation (of an on-going change)
- All choices can be intentional or non-intentional

Applied to everyday choices

Monolinguals

Bilinguals

Lexicon

- Normal replication: the old word
- Altered replication: a new word
- Propagation: choose the newer variant

Word from L1

Codeswitch

Codeswitch

Structure

- Normal replication: the old structure
- Altered replication: a new structure
- Propagation: choose the newer variant

L1 Structure

Interference

Interference

Synchronic Event: Granularity

- Every utterance contains numerous Synchronic Events, each of which can be analyzed (depends on RQ)
 - The utterance itself (*I love Japan*)
 - One or more syntactic constructions in it (SVO)
 - Various word combinations in it (*I love, love Japan*)
 - Various morphological constructions in it (*love-0*)
 - The separate words (*I, love, Japan*)
 - Numerous pronunciation details (cliticization of *I* to *love*)
 - Conversational routine/Discourse pattern (an act of expressing admiration, irony, accusation, etc.)

Link with diachrony

What made the Synchronic Event possible?

- Competence, knowledge, memory, experience
 - Person may have produced the same unit before, in previous Synchronic Events:
 - Synchronic Event *n*
 - Unit was already in knowledge store (thanks to its diachronic basis): **specific unit**
 - Person may produce the unit for the first time:
 - Synchronic Event *1*
 - Unit was *not* already in knowledge store, but the means for making it were: **schematic unit** (e.g. SOV, *I love X*)

Synchronic Event **1**: Innovation

- For most types of units, largely a theoretical notion: hard to catch in the act.
- Exceptions:
 - Coining a new word (Joseph Heller coined *Catch-22*)
 - Contextual aspects of the particular context in which the Synchronic Event is produced
- Yet, we want to know what **caused** the original innovation
 - Otherwise, we can't **explain** the change

Synchronic Event *n*: Propagation

- If originally an innovation, in competition with older variant (but there need not be such competition)
 - Typical in bilingual settings: the codeswitch and the native equivalent
- Change in progress
 - Inherently dynamic: change may go to completion, may reverse, may go on indefinitely
- Mechanism: synchronic event reinforces ***entrenchment (storage in memory)***; entrenchment encourages new synchronic events

Explaining change

- Both innovation and propagation need to be explained: what makes the innovation or newish form (e.g. *op kamers wonen*) so attractive?
 - Linguistic factors: nameworthiness, expressivity, transparency, economy of expression, aesthetic quality, ...
 - Social factors: prestige, accommodation, conversational ‘competition’
- Deliberate choices? The closer we are to the innovation stage, the more the causal factors are intentional; the further we get into the propagation stage, the more the causal factor is blind entrenchment (‘normalization’, ‘automatization’, etc.).

Some conceptual problems

- So far, so good, but there are some thorny issues:
 - The backdrop of change: stability, continuity, stasis. How much changes and how much stays the same?
 - Continuity in the individual idiolect: Using the same thing as before. But when is something ‘the same’? Issues of **contextualization** and **creativity**
 - Continuity in the social group: Using the same things others use. But which others count? Issues of **Community** and **Granularity**

Creativity

- Aristotle: “Variation from what is usual makes the language appear more stately ... It is therefore well to give to everyday speech an unfamiliar air” (i.e. innovative, not necessarily figurative)
- Poetics of everyday conversation? (North 2007: 538)

Issues and questions

- Is representation an all-or-nothing affair? Degrees of entrenchment
- How much variation?
- Where is the variation? What linguistic elements? At what levels of abstraction?
- If there is unbridled variation, then how come there are norms and patterns?

Entrenchment

- Old-style linguistics: something is an existing word or not, grammatical or not: it is part of someone's representation or not
 - E.g.: “is it a loanword or not?”
- Cognitive Linguistics: a piece of knowledge is more or less **entrenched**
- Example: For me, the term *community of practice* is well entrenched now, but it isn't for
 - Non-sociolinguists, Non-academics, Me a few years ago
- Usage (production and exposure) determines degree of entrenchment

Variation

- If usage determines competence, then our competences all vary, but to what degree?
- Dutch people all speak Dutch, and they understand each other, so variation is constrained.
- Probably because of accommodation
- Linguistic evidence: dialect chains, dialect isoglosses (often correlate with natural boundary – limiting contact), convergence in bilingual situations, priming effects in conversation ('triggering', 'alignment'), perhaps also: varieties unique to communities of practice
- Note: abstraction 'language' is equally problematic (when focus is on details, it's better to talk about constellations of features) and unproblematic (when focus is on global level, cf. language surveys)
- Not all Dutch Turkish speakers talk to each other, so it's unclear whether this variety "exists"

Granularity: Sociolinguistic variation

- Native speakers of the same language do not share the same competence: we have different things entrenched, so focus on ‘Dutch Turkish’ may not be justified
- Some disparate sources of evidence:
 - Acceptability rates for register-sensitive units tend to differ across subsections of the population, e.g. philology students versus science students (Barddal 2006: 85)
 - Communities of practice partially recognizable because they share the same units (the same norms, if you will), e.g. us academics
 - “How you talk depends on who you talk to” (Croft)

Levels of abstraction

- Competence includes both specific and schematic units
- That is: Dutch Turkish contains both ***Dutch-origin words*** and ***Dutch-origin constructions***
- Specific units: 1) *Midterm Review Committee, SWOT analysis, management team*; 2) *give a verdict, hear the evidence, see through the rhetoric*
- Schematic units: 1) Noun-Noun; 2) Verb-Object
 - But do these exist, psycholinguistically speaking? Or do we just have fixed instantiations, and units that are *partially* schematic (e.g. *X analysis, give a X*)?
- Producing language = Combining schematic and specific units (but not as simple as ‘inserting words into grammatical patterns’)
- We basically don’t know with which levels people operate in producing language, so what is cognitively real
 - It can’t be all specific, because we construct new utterances all the time
 - It can’t be all schematic, because there are many long fixed expressions

Norms

- Variation is constrained because, for reasons of effective communication, we orient to *norms*
- Implicit and explicit norms: someone's knowledge representation = someone's implicit norms
- Elements that are in virtually everyone's knowledge representation are part of the 'norm'
- Elements that people, in addition, have metalinguistic (or metacultural) knowledge about are part of the explicit norm
- Elites normally have little difference between their implicit norms and their community's explicit norms (because they set them), cf. the DASH project on 'academic language'
- Groups whose implicit norms differ considerably from those of the majority and/or from explicit norms have a problem: they are considered 'abnormal' (Foucault)
- The difference between implicit norms and explicit norms is the difference between social science/linguistics and political science.

Example of this tension

- Early programmatic article on variation and change by Weinreich, Labov & Herzog (1968: 187):
- “Linguistic change is not to be identified with random drift proceeding from inherent variation in speech. Linguistic change begins when particular alternation in a given subgroup of the speech community assumes direction and takes on the category of **orderly differentiation**” (my emphasis)