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Borrowing of Inflectional Morphemes in Language Contact

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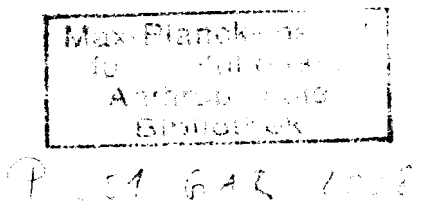

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To Stefan —
thank you

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Introduction

This monograph is the thoroughly revised version of my M.A. thesis which I have written under the instruction of Prof. Wolfgang Ulrich Dressler at Vienna University in 2002. It is about the borrowing of inflectional morphemes in language contact settings. The idea to carry on this work arose after a talk with my friend Giulia Gabrielli, who was telling me about an idiosyncrasy in the Northern Italian dialect of Denno, a small village in Trentino. Giulia's grandmother and other people at her age used to produce forms such as *ndo vast?* 'where are you going to?' and *che fast?* or *che jast?* 'what are you doing?' instead of the usual ones *ndo vas?*, *che fas?*, *che jas?* (cf. Standard Italian *dove vai?*, *cosa fai?*), which seem to display the German inflectional morpheme *–st* for the 2nd person singular indicative present. My informant assured me that these forms are still quite diffused in the speech of older people from the age of sixty on, whereas they have nearly disappeared from the more Italianised variety of the younger speakers. The occurrence of the German morpheme seems to be pragmatically constrained, limited to a few verbs, used in interrogative sentences, especially to signal the speaker's impatience. It is, thus, marked. Contact between Italian and German was due to the fact that Trentino was part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy until the end of World War One. German was taught at the primary school level until the age of twelve, thirteen. The degree of multilingual proficiency was likely to be quite low among the population, except for the educated people who used to attend the university in Innsbruck or Vienna. Resting on the typology of its occurrence, it is possible to conceive that the borrowing of the German inflectional suffix may have arisen in playful language. Otherwise, the ending *–st* may also be interpreted as the continuation of the Latin ending. As the solution of this question deserves a more detailed investigation the case of the Denno dialect will not be included in the case studies (cf. Ch. 4).

This information drew my attention to the overall phenomenon of language contact and, in particular, to the issue of borrowing of inflectional morphemes. When I approached this subject, I was amazed at the little attention that had been devoted to a comprehensive examination of it. As early as 1953 Weinreich complained that "the study of the phenomenon ["the transfer of morphemes which are as strongly bound as inflectional endings"] is unfortunately encumbered by the often unsatisfactory description of its few known instances" (ib. p. 31). Fifty years later Nancy Dorian still points to "the absence of actual instances of the transfer of expanding-language system morphemes into the shrinking language [...]" (personal communication, 5.11.2001).

The principal aim of this monograph is to overcome this striking gap in linguistic research, providing a monographic work on contact-induced inflectional

borrowing. Of course, the present paper does not lay any claim to comprehensiveness. Furthermore, it must be stressed that, unfortunately, only contact between sound-languages is accounted for. Much work is still to realise on contact-induced linguistic changes in sign-languages.

The paper is organised as follows. Chapter 1 will introduce the subject of contact-induced language change and offer an overview of the most significant approaches to the field found in the literature. Chapter 2 will tackle the issue of externally motivated morphological change. Both Chapter 1 and 2 put forward constraints to the field of investigation. Chapter 3 is concerned with the aims, the focus questions, and the predictions of the present monograph. Section 3.2 will provide examples of the cases ruled out by the limitations to the research subject. Chapter 4 will present twelve case studies in which borrowing of inflectional morphemes has occurred. Each borrowing occurrence will be explained and defined by the type of change that has taken place. Finally, Chapter 5 will summarise and classify the presented data, verify the predictions put forward in Chapter 3, and provide a possible explanation of the genesis of inflectional borrowing.

I Contact-induced language change

This chapter will offer an introduction into the field of contact-induced language change putting forward some overall theoretical principles and drawing basic methodological distinctions to be used throughout this study. A survey of the most significant approaches to the contact-induced language change will be presented as well.

1.1 Theory of language contact

Language contact occurs in nearly every country of the world and is manifest in the documented history of most languages. The term language contact does not point to any specific source or type of influence but covers a wide range of phenomena which all relate to the direct or indirect influence of languages on each other. The mutual interferences of two or more languages may occur on any or every linguistic level and may also extend to discourse and interaction.

Before Weinreich's definitive work *Languages in Contact*, first published in 1953, turned the topic of language contact into a well-established disciplinary concern, linguists had long looked at language contact as a peripheral subject since most attention had been devoted to the idealization of already standardised varieties within a prescriptivist paradigm. Both neogrammarians and generativists had failed to perceive the impact of other languages except in terms of proto-systems, thus neglecting historical and cultural differences.

However, linguists later made up for this lack and accounted more adequately for the nature and development of languages. Weinreich's epochal study in the fifties, later efforts in the following decades by Dorian, Dressler, Thomason and others, and the overall interest in the subject have been providing a multitude of attempts to put this field of research on both a theoretical and an empirical footing. Seeking to explain language change, recognising genetic relationships between languages, describing the varieties of second-language learners and the special contact-varieties in bi- or multilingual communities, whether immigrant or indigenous, and detecting pidgins and creoles, students of language have shed light on the mechanism of the interaction between languages and the different contexts in which language contact can occur. Now, the study of language contact surveys a wide range of phenomena such as areal linguistics, diglossia, interference, code switching, code mixing, borrowing, language convergence, language shift, pidginization and creolization.

After giving a brief definition of language contact, sections 1.2.1 and 1.2.2 will focus on the items multilingualism and Sprachbund, relevant to the present paper.

1.1.1 Language contact defined

Since languages and dialects do not normally exist in a vacuum but their speakers always have some contact with other languages or dialects, they may be affected by reciprocal influence in several ways. All transfer of linguistic features across language boundaries may be assumed to be the outcome of some measure of multilingual proficiency on the part of those who perform the conveying. The precise nature and extent of the linguistic exchange will depend upon the detailed circumstances of the social and cultural relations between the communities concerned.

It is not difficult to understand and recognise language contact intuitively whereas defining it precisely requires more effort. Indeed, one would not hesitate to define language contact as "the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time" (Sarah Thomason 2001:1). This is the simplest definition of the phenomenon and, although it is not wrong, it may give rise to some doubts:

First, the concept of language contact presupposes linguistic interaction and interchange. Consequently, the contact settings meant here rule out the simple closeness of two or more groups of people each of them using one different language, say in the kitchen of a youth hostel.

Second, what is a language as opposed to a dialect? Are there clear-cut boundaries between a language and one or more of its dialects or between two or more varieties of the same language (e.g. Arabic and Greek diglossia)? These questions will be given detailed answers in a discussion on discreteness of systems in section 2.2. This study is concerned exclusively with inflectional borrowing between discrete systems (see 3.2).

Eventually, it must be stressed that language contact need not occur if speakers of more than one language are in the same place. Languages of sacred texts such as Hebrew or Pāli, Latin or Classical Arabic have functioned as flourishing vehicles of language contact between different people sharing the same religious faith. The effects of the contact between these religion-languages and the native languages of the faithful are attested by the amount of, for example, Arabic loanwords in Persian, Turkish and Malay. Moreover, it cannot go without recalling the adstratum role of international languages such as English, nowadays functioning as lingua franca throughout the world due to the pervasive influence of media like music, television, cinema, and the internet.

The degree of contact may vary considerably: the most superficial kind of language contact is probably that which exists between the producers of some well known goods and their customers in other language areas in which the names

of international trade products such as *Coca Cola* or *spaghetti* soon come to be part of the consumers' language. Trade relations along with cultural contact (however limited) are the engine of lexical borrowing. Loanwords are a striking component of language contact for they are widespread even in casual contact situations. Nevertheless, under conditions of casual contact only non-basic vocabulary is borrowed (cf. Thomason 2001:69-73).

Introducing extensively vocabulary loans can imply that, in addition to new lexical entries, new sounds or new contexts for old sounds or even morphology may be imported. If phonological and grammatical rules come to be shared by the involved languages, then they are the result of different contact conditions: to be precise, through intensive contact in communities displaying high degrees of multilingualism. Not only is the degree of social multilingualism relevant to the amount of transfer that is taking place, but also the extent of community acceptance of, or resistance to, language contact exerts influence on contact phenomena.

As my research is concerned with grammatical transfer, it is advisable to lay aside casual contact settings and introduce what multilingualism consists in with particular emphasis on extensive multilingualism.

1.2 Multilingualism and Sprachbund

Contrary to the widespread opinion, most of the world's population is bilingual or multilingual. It is estimated that about 6,000 languages are spoken in the world whereby the number of the world's nations is around 160. The analysis of these figures reveals that few nations are monolingual and that each of the world's nations has groups of individuals living within its borders who use other languages in addition to the national language to function in their everyday lives.

1.2.1 Multilingualism defined

Most authors do not provide a clear-cut definition of the phenomenon multilingualism perhaps because everyone, including non-linguists, is supposed to be able to conceive of it intuitively. Thomason (2001:27-30), for example, does not give any definition of multilingualism. She presents numerous examples of multilingual nations and situations around the world, instead.

Although most scholars do make a distinction between the terms "bilingualism" and "multilingualism" they find it convenient to subsume multilingualism under the heading of bilingualism since what can be said about two languages "can be applied by extension to the use of three, four or more"

(Mackey 1987:699). This indirectly means that the term multilingualism covers the whole of the variable properties of bilingualism, trilingualism, quadrilingualism and so on, which are merely numerical extensions of the same variables. In the light of this, the term multilingualism is better than bilingualism since it offers an all-embracing applicability to any situation to be described. It will therefore be adopted as a general heading in this paper.

Multilingualism is the practise of alternately or simultaneously using more than two languages as means of communication and multilingual is the person involved. On the whole, many specific types of multilinguals exist which can be classified along a continuum. Some multilinguals have a very high command of all languages they know both in the oral and the written modes, others show varying proficiencies in comprehension and/or speaking according to the immediate area of experience in which they are called upon to use their languages. From a psycholinguistic point of view, individuals whose knowledge is confined solely to the written mode are also admitted into the company of multilinguals although one will tend to pin them down to one end of the continuum. These persons are said to have a receptive competence in non-native language(s) and, moreover, to be "more bilingual" than monolinguals are. At any rate, knowledge of the written language only might also qualify.

Summing up, the concept of multilingualism today is broad and also "includes non fluent interlanguage states varying in native approximation, as well as only passive knowledge of the written language" (Loveday 1996:17). Thus, the concept of perfect, native-like proficiency in more languages is viewed as an ideal rarely attained by most multilinguals. As Els Oksaar points out, "reality, as a matter of fact, does not demand of a multilingual that he uses his language in all kinds of situations. Multilingualism is not equilingualism. [...] The diversity is natural" (1998:6).

Multilingualism is the result of contact between people speaking different languages. The contact may have been brought about by the displacement of persons either by desire or by necessity, due to the social proximity of a group speaking another language, immigration and settlement, military occupation and colonisation, political affiliation, economic activity, travel and education (e.g. institutional support for a foreign language), or through a superposed religious medium, conversion and acculturation (cf. Mackey 1987:700 and Geerts 1987:601). A basic distinction can be made between "integrative" multilingualism if a citizen is willing to enter also another community, and "instrumental" multilingualism if the acquisition of another language moved from merely utilitarian reasons such as superior job opportunities, new knowledge and new techniques (Mackey 1987:703).

A further distinction can be drawn between "individual" and "societal" multilingualism. Individual multilingualism occurs when more than one language

is used by one person whereas societal bilingualism is the occurrence of two or more languages in a community.

At this point the question may arise whether multilingualism may be looked at as a community phenomenon or rather as an individual occurrence. Oksaar (1998) prefers an individual-centred approach to account for the dynamism and variability in the processes of language change and in the social structures. Although one can doubtlessly agree on the claim that the multilingual individuals themselves are "the bridge between languages, dialects, sociolects [...], being thus the mediator of language contact" (ib. p. 6) I cannot fully agree on the position that the multilingual represents the mediator of language change, as asserted by Oksaar. Oksaar does not specify what kind of language change she conceives - whether internal or contact induced change-, yet she is most likely to refer to contact induced change since she deals with multilingualism and interference phenomena.

A criticism should be levelled against Oksaar's position resting on the fact that contact induced language change may occur only if large or influential parts of the speech community (but not solely a few individuals thereof) are sharing the occurred linguistic changes. It is true that language change originates ultimately through individual innovations and that multilingual people are the first source of such innovations but both lexical and grammatical transfer is to be assumed to come about only if it overflows the boundaries of the single individual speech and comes to be used by a numerical or social prominent part of the linguistic networks (for a more detailed discussion see also 2.1 and 2.1.1).

A multilingual community, however, is not the sheer sum of many multilingual individuals. Most members of the multilingual community may be using only one of the languages present which are mainly distributed in a diverse and often unequal fashion. In many communities only a few become multilingual on the grounds that they belong to the elite of the minority or to one of the elites of the dominant culture of the area. This is to say that within the multilingual community normally either only the minority becomes multilingual or the majority. Nevertheless, there exist areas where the whole of the ethnic population does.

Leo Loveday (1996:15-25) suggests a synthesizing framework to provide a typology of contact settings. He distinguishes between six different contact settings, four of which account for societal multilingualism (moderate to extensive). These are the "bounded and/or subordinated community", the "equal bilingual setting", the "diglossic bilingual setting", and the "language-shifting community". Each of these community types shows a different degree of multilingual proficiency presented in an increasing hierarchy.

The key features of the bounded community are, firstly, the restricted degree of multilingualism in that it is neither fluent nor accurate nor native-like, and, secondly, the fairly neat ethno-linguistic boundary. The involved communities for the most part are socially distant from each other due to cultural displacement,

economic disadvantage and ethnic diversity. The recipient community is subordinate either through self-determined isolation or externally constructed seclusion on the part of the dominant community.

The equal bilingual (multilingual) setting is quite rare and occurs when employing more than one language in the same territory is characteristic of the entire ethnic population. In such a setting, neither of the languages is subordinate to the other but either language enables equal access in nearly all social domains. The most significant example of this type of setting is that of Kupwar, a 3,000 inhabitants village in the Indian state of Maharashtra, where four languages are spoken: Marathi (the official state language), Kannada, Urdu and Telugu. Though in intergroup relations Marathi seems to be largely favoured, the four languages coexist without either of them threatening the others (Hock & Joseph 1996:397). This situation is quite rare indeed since societal array and historical power-relations typically lean to promote one language at the expense of the other(s).

Most communities are diglossic bilingual (or triglossic trilingual and so on). "Diglossia", as an ideal construct, is defined as a socio-politically regulated linguistic situation which is characterised by the asymmetry of two coexisting (both fully functioning) linguistic systems. They are both asymmetrically distributed and used, and given different social status and prestige. Linguists usually differentiate between less prestigious low varieties and high varieties which are invested with a higher prestige and may be the only official languages of the country. Moreover, it is customary to distinguish between "language diglossia" and "dialect diglossia", depending on the linguistic relation of the systems involved: they may be two different languages (such as Italian and German in Northern Italy) or two dialects (or varieties) of the same language (such as Katharévousa and Dhimotikí in Greece). The low variety may be a local vernacular, sometimes without written tradition, while the high variety is used as media, scientific and cultural language and is very often linked to a valued cultural past; it may be even an international language. Furthermore, the high variety commonly functions as the official language of the state and may attract most of the people speaking a local vernacular. The high variety is accessible to most members of the community though the majority group is characterised through only partial multilingual proficiency. The motivation driving language contact in diglossic bilingual settings are most likely factors of prestige or social advancement by speakers who are seeking job enhancement and better placement within the community.

Within the diglossic setting, a stronger identification arising with the socially higher group and giving up the own linguistic distinctiveness may imply a shift toward the so-called donor language (language shifting community, cf. 1.3). On the sociological level this shift entails somewhat socio-cultural assimilation.

It may furthermore be noted that multilingual proficiency can vary considerably among the members of a community so that is seems impossible to

determine the exact extent of social multilingualism. It suffices to categorise a community as no, partially or fully multilingual since these levels obviously represent different points on a proficiency continuum. Moreover, it cannot be overridden that the degree of social multilingualism may increase, decrease or relapse over time in the same way as the amount of contact can.

Multilingual communities have a life cycle of their own which implies that they may undergo several evolutionary phases practicing "incipient, progressive, integral, regressive or residual" multilingualism (cf. Mackey 1987:705 and see also Geerts 1987:602). The time span of either phase many vary from a decade through centuries according to the nature, amount and intensity of the language contact. Incipient multilingualism is the first stage at which a few members of the community know new languages and use some formulaic and fixed expressions just for specific circumstances. During the next stage (progressive multilingualism), a great many people are familiar with the new language(s), though only few have a very good command of it. Most speakers have a foreign accent and interference from the native language. If integral multilingualism is acknowledged this implies that most people in the community are supposed to have competence skills in both languages. This phase lasts until the new language(s) have expanded at the expense of the older one, which is dwindling away (regressive bilingualism): only the elders maintain the competence in their native language and speak the new language(s) with foreign accent while the ensuing generations use a strongly reduced number of fixed phrases which have been handed down from parents to children and are now signs of the ethnic identity. Once these are forgotten, the ethic tongue is meant to be dead.

So far I have been examining multilingualism as an overall phenomenon covering bi-, three- or quadrilingualism. The next section focuses on a more detailed theoretical description of what linguists refer to as "Sprachbund".

1.2.2 Sprachbund defined

The German term Sprachbund, which can be literally translated as "language league", came to be used as a technical term in English after its introduction in 1928 by Nikolai S. Trubetzkoy:

> Gruppen, bestehend aus Sprachen, die eine große Ähnlichkeit in syntaktischer Hinsicht, eine Ähnlichkeit in den Grundsätzen des morphologischen Baus aufweisen, und eine große Anzahl gemeinsamer Kulturwörter bieten, manchmal auch äußere Ähnlichkeit im Bestande der Lautsysteme, - dabei aber keine gemeinsamen Elementarwörter besitzen, - *solche Sprachgruppen nennen wir Sprachbünde.* (Trubetzkoy 1928:17-18)

Other terms used in the English literature are "convergence area" (Hock & Joseph 1996) and "linguistic area" (Bynon 1977, Campbell 1985, Thomason 2001).

It is evident that Sprachbund can be viewed as a particular kind of multilingualism but the question of what is to be referred to as Sprachbund and how to delimit it has long and controversially been debated in historical linguistics (for more details see Campbell 1985). Among the several definitions proposed, the one by Thomason (2001:99) seems to be the most straightforward:

> A linguistic area is a geographical region containing a group of three or more languages that share some structural features as a result of contact rather than as a result of accident or inheritance from a common ancestor.

The key features of Thomason's definition are the following: first, geographical contiguity. Second, the number of the languages involved. While Bynon (1977:244) unfortunately fails to specify how many languages are to be involved for a Sprachbund to be acknowledged, both Campbell (1985:26) and Thomason emphasise that the coexistence of at least three languages is required for positing Sprachbund since two-language situations would cover all of the world's contact settings except long-distance contacts (through email, religious texts and so forth). Third, the fact that the features shared by the Sprachbund-languages are of structural nature whereas loanwords alone do not qualify. Fourth, the diffused features are neither accidental (such as the mere presence of the same phoneme /a/ or the lexical distinction between nouns and verbs which is found in many world's languages) nor of inherited nature since this concerns the internally motivated development of languages from a common ancestor.

One open question remains about how many features must be shared for a linguistically diverse region to be called Sprachbund. This is the most controversial issue: as opposed to Campbell (1985:29) I agree with Thomason's position that a single feature shared is not enough to define a Sprachbund because this would require an unrealistic historical scenario: given that the contact is intense enough to trigger diffusion, claiming that only one feature has spread around seems untenable. It is better to distinguish between weak and strong Sprachbünde depending on the number of features shared as a result of the contact.

I may conclude by noting that by no means cognate languages are ruled out from the above definition of Sprachbund and by stressing that for a Sprachbund to arise the language contact must have occurred over a vast time span and must have been widespread throughout the involved region.

What externally motivated language change exactly is and what it may result in will be illustrated next.

1.3 What is contact-induced language change?

Before proceeding it must once more be pointed out that this study is about the effects of a contact process on the societal language system and not on individual language use (see 1.2.1 and further 2.1.1).

The basic (and obvious) condition for contact-induced language change to occur is that two or more languages are in contact. A dichotomic terminological distinction, though simplifying, must be provided: the language which takes up the transferred features is named "receiving language" (German: *Nehmersprache* or *Replikasprache*). "Source language" or "donor language" (German *Gebersprache* or *Modellsprache*) refers to the language whose features undergo transfer into the receiving language or, in case the transferred language feature is not identical to the innovation in the receiving language, the language that provided the model from which the interference feature is derived (for the English terminology see Weinreich 1953:31; cf. also Geerts 1987:603).

Different kinds of language contact situations may give rise to different linguistic results and processes. In the light of the linguistic effects of language contact a threefold outline of language contact scenarios may be drawn (cf. Thomason 2001:60). The first scenario is "contact-induced language change". The second scenario is "extreme language mixture" featuring so-called "mixed languages" (or "contact languages") such as pidgins, creoles and bilingual mixed languages. The third scenario is "language death". Admittedly, this outline hardly covers the whole of such a complex phenomenon as language contact. Nevertheless, it may provide a straightforward and quite detailed framework to keep things in perspective.

A quite broad definition of contact-induced language change will be provided in section 1.3.1. Section 1.3.2 will be concerned with the essential distinction between contact-induced language change and both extreme language mixture and language decay. After that, section 1.4 will examine how linguists have been dealing with contact-induced language change, keeping a special focus on how the likelihood of morphemic transfer has been viewed.

1.3.1 Contact-induced language change defined

Contact-induced language change can be defined as "any linguistic change which would have been less likely to occur outside a particular contact situation" (Thomason 2001:62). This definition allows to account for any possible changes of language contact, both primary and secondary ones, where primary and secondary mean contiguous vs. non-contiguous. After a brief discussion on secondary

changes a more detailed description and explanation of transfer phenomena which are situated within the primary changes will be provided.

The secondary changes of contact-induced language change are of non-contiguous nature and can be classified into two categories. One kind encompasses attrition processes which may take place also in a dying language. They are not due to the interfering influence from the dominant language, i.e. they do not make the receiving language more similar to the donor language but would have been less likely to occur if there were no contact situation. Even in linguistic communities which are not doomed to die language contact may cause secondary changes. In the stable trilingual *Kven* communities (Saami, Norwegian, Finnish) in the north of Norway, Lindgren recognises that the complex Finnish inflectional system (comprising many inflectional forms and much allomorphic and morphonological alternation) is seeking some simplification through analogical changes. This natural tendency to merge, which is known in standard Finnish as well, has been accelerated in the *Kven* dialects by the multilingual situation. In her study Lindgren goes so far as to claim that "natural innovations are more easily established in dialects with language contact than in dialects in quite monolingual areas" (1998:154-156) (whereby "natural" means "internal" and dialect may stand for language). Lindgren refers to morphological changes in particular and seems to imply that multilingualism may per se bring about innovations, which would have been less likely to happen out of language contact situations, even in stable multilingual communities (cf. also Lindgren 1993:4-6). This view recalls Weinreich's statement that, given latent internal tendencies in a language, "the language contact [...] could have, at best, a trigger effect, releasing or accelerating developments which mature independently" (1953:25). The other kind of secondary changes are later changes. These are internal, secondary readjustments within a language, so to say by-products of shifts determined by transfer pressures: in other words, there are earlier, primary importations which trigger second changes which in turn trigger third ones and so forth. For example, loss of morphological cases in the nominal system of a language usually causes the development of a new syntactic organization where relations between the constituents are expressed by means of adpositions.

The primary changes of contact-induced language change are overall transfer occurrences both of direct and/or indirect nature. "Direct transfer" means that actual phonemes and/or morphemes (both lexical and grammatical) occur in a language A on the grounds that they have been introduced into A from another language B. Differently, "indirect transfer" implies that one language A rearranges its own inherited phonemic, syntactic and morphological material in such a way that, under the influence of the adjoining foreign model, it moves structurally closer to the neighbouring language and structural convergence results. In the literature indirect transfer is also referred to as "loan-syntax", "loan-formation", "loan-translation", "calques" (see also Clyne 1987:455 and Silva-Corvalán

1995:253-270); Heath (1978) calls it "indirect diffusion". A striking example of primary changes of indirect nature is offered by Maltese, a Semitic language which has been under strong Italian influence for many centuries (cf. 4.4). In the formation of the passive it has integrated an Italian pattern built for the auxiliary verb *ġie* 'to come' or *kien* 'to be' and the past participle: e.g. *ġie maqtul* 'he was killed' (literally 'he came' + 'killed') as a calque of Italian *venne ucciso* (Borg, personal communication, 9.11.01; cf. also Kontzi 1981:69, 1984:259; Tosco 1993:320). It must be stressed that direct and indirect transfer may both occur in the same contact language settings and that the imported features may or may not be modified during the process. Summing up, direct transfer involves transfer of actual morphemes, whereas indirect transfer involves transfer of patterns.

The final hedge of the definition of contact-induced language change given above, "at least in part", is needed for the likelihood of multiple causation. Many linguistic changes have more than one cause, both of internal and external nature.

In the next section an outline of the differences between contact-induced language change and respectively extreme language mixture and language decay will be given, in order to restrict and make better explainable the field of analysis this study focuses on and to clarify which subject-matter is addressed.

1.3.2 Contact-induced language change vs. extreme language mixture vs. language decay

One crucial point has been underestimated in the literature: the proper differentiation between 1) phenomena of normal language contact and outcomes of "extreme language mixture", and 2) phenomena of normal language contact and those of distorted speech in the phase of "language decay", which is the crucial moment in attrition, the most frequent linguistic route to language death (the other two routes to language death display either grammatical replacement or no change at all. For more details see Thomason 2001:222-239).

Extreme language mixture refers to the circumstances and processes that give rise to pidgins and creoles on the one hand and bilingual mixed languages on the other hand. Pidgins, creoles and bilingual mixed languages are also labelled "contact languages" (Thomason 2001:157) and "mixed languages" (ib. p. 271). All of them are new languages which arise in particular contact situations. Pidgins and creoles arise in a contact situation of no full multilingualism involving at least three languages; they derive their lexicon from one source language (therefore they are called English-, Spanish-, Portuguese-based, etc.) and their grammar is a compromise among many creators' languages. Furthermore, imperfect learning plays a substantial part in the genesis of pidgins and creoles. In contrast to pidgins

and creoles, bilingual mixed languages arise in a contact situation where, as a rule, only two languages are involved and bilingualism is widespread; they derive one or more subsystems (including their lexicon) from one language and the other subsystem(s) from the other source. Imperfect learning plays no role in their genesis.

The difference between contact-induced language change phenomena and contact languages lies in their different genesis. Contact-induced language change phenomena can be grouped under normal historical development, i.e. they can be envisaged as the outcome of normal transmission (which comprises also foreign interference) and are genetically related. By contrast, mixed languages did not arise primarily through normal transmission (in other words, through descent with modification) from a single ancestor. Mixed languages belong, by definition, in no genetically defined language family, though they may have descendants (cf. Thomason & Kaufman 1988:9-12).

A much more difficult task is distinguishing between contact-induced language change phenomena (short, transfer) and the process of language extinction (decay). Campbell and Muntzel (1989:195) claim that in some cases it is hardly possible to distinguish the two kinds of occurrence. Undoubtedly, there are similarities which, in principle, make it difficult to keep them apart, but it has been shown that transfer and decay are different things and that they can and must be treated separately. A word of warning must be added here: one must not infer language decay from contact-induced language change phenomena. There are many languages which have undergone heavy readjustments and yet still live, whereupon there are languages which are endangered though their structure has remained intact (cf. Rindler Schjerve 2002:23).

The most exhaustive explanation of the difference between transfer and decay has been provided by Sasse (1992b, 1992a). He identifies two different types of speaker which are supposed to be the locus of the phenomena: the bilingual speaker as the locus of language contact (cf. above 1.1.2.1) and the "semi-speaker" as the locus of language decay. The semi-speaker proper has grown up in a multilingual community where the regular transmission of one language has been interrupted. Their command of the language is, thus, "from the outset imperfect to a pathological degree" (Sasse 1992b:61). Semi-speakers mostly lack the phonological distinctions of the abandoned language and their pronunciation thereof is deviant; furthermore, they display a strongly defective morphology and a pidgin-like simplified syntax.

The main reason why transfer and decay have often not been kept apart lies in the fact that occurrences of attrition may affect both transfer and decay. Two terms, "simplification" and "reduction", have both long been viewed as being linked with the phenomenon of language death. As a matter of fact, things are not necessarily so simple. Sasse (1992:15-16) points out that simplification does not amount to recessive situations (cf. also Dressler & De Cillia 2006:§2.5 and

Rindler Schjerve 2002:25). Simplification is the loss of structural complexity through attrition, nonetheless it involves compensation through rearrangements in the structure. This is to say that simplification triggers a chain-reaction which balances out the language system. Thus, simplifications occurring as a result of language contact do not lead to a heavy expression deficit at all. On the contrary, reduction refers to the pathological functional defectivity resulting from the process of loss of essentials. Once essentials are lost and no compensation at all takes place, the language has entered the phase of language decay. Language death is supposed to occur when the language can no longer carry on its regular communicative functions (Rindler Schjerve 2002:23).

The present research will investigate neither occurrences of grammatical intermingling in mixed languages nor cases of morphological replacement in language decay, i.e. in the individual speech of semi-speakers. The focus will be on grammatical and, more specifically, morphological transfer in language contact, instead. The next section will provide a concise survey of the most significant contributions to the theoretical framework of contact-induced language change.

1.4 Survey of the most significant approaches to contact-induced language change

Intense language contact and, particularly, extended multilingualism can be the cause of an increase of structural similarities. Nonetheless, though people are prepared to accept the existence of lexical borrowings, since these presumably "go hand in hand with the borrowing of the objects, ideas, or concepts expressed by the words" (Hock & Joseph 1996:14), the idea that structural substance may be transferred from one language into another often meets with incredulity, even among linguists.

As early as 1875 Max Müller claimed that languages are never mixed in grammar. This view reflected the widespread belief at that time that all language change arises through intrasystemic causes. This prejudice originated from the firm faith in the powerful comparative method and in the *Stammbaumtheorie* of linguistic genetic relationship whose integrity would have been somehow threatened by the existence of mixed languages.

Nevertheless, some scholars rejected Müller's judgement. In 1882 Whitney counterclaimed that grammatical transfer occurs just as lexical transference does, though he held the view that two languages never mingle their grammar on equal terms (cf. Clyne 1987:455).

The undoubtedly strongest counterclaim to Müller's assessment came from Hugo Schuchardt who, in 1884, asserted that "es gibt keine völlig ungemischte Sprache" (p.5). Schuchardt's interest ranged from pidgins and creoles to all

forms of contact-induced language change. He urged the linguistic community to undertake much work in this field in that he wrote "dass unter allen Fragen mit welchen die heutige Sprachwissenschaft zu thun hat, keine von grösserer Wichtigkeit ist als die der Sprachmischung" (p. 3). Schuchardt was, of course, far ahead of his time. Indeed, the turning point was to come later on in 1953.

Since then, most scholars have been proposing some more or less dogmatic constraints on which linguistic features are transferable and which are not. By and large one can pick out two schools of thought: a retentionist and a diffusionist one. The first were convinced that some subsystems of a language are not likely to be transferred. Especially the possibility of transfer of bound morphemes, in particular of inflectional morphemes, and of an entire set of inflectional classes has met with vast scepticism. Many scholars were of the opinion that the more organised and structurally integrated the subsystems of a language are, the more unlikely it is that they are transferred. The inference should look as follows: inflectional morphology is highly structured, thus it is very resistant to external pressure. This means that free-standing grammatical forms are more easily transferred than bound morphemes.

Sapir held the view that some superficial elements of grammar may diffuse from language to language whereas there would exist a deeper kernel, morphology, which could only be inherited. Sapir thus followed the retentionist explanations. To endorse his thesis he asserted that "no really convincing examples of morphological influence by diffusion" (1921:206) had been found. Of course, Sapir was aware of the fact that transfer of derivational morphemes such as English *-able* and *-ise* had occurred (ib. p. 204). Nonetheless, he was claiming that morphemic diffusion is typically confined to derivational concrete categories of marginal account carrying out agentivity and diminutiveness.

One of the most prominent supporters of the retentionist explanation was the French structuralist Antoine Meillet. In his 1921 book Meillet defended the axiom of the impenetrability of grammatical systems (p. 82) and wrote that "il n'y a pas d'exemple qu'une flexion comme celle de *j'aimais, nous aimions* ait passé d'une langue à une autre" (p. 87). He believed grammatical loans to be possible only between very similar systems, chiefly dialects of one single language (ib.). In sum, Meillet argued for a structural-compatibility requirement.

A related proposal was made by Jakobson. His suggestion was that foreign structural elements could enter one language on the understanding that they comply with the own developmental tendencies of the language (1938:54). This means that, for linguistic features to be transferred, fit with innovation possibilities of the receiving language is needed.

The turning point in the field was the work of Weinreich in 1953. He criticised Meillet's extreme retentionist explanations on the one hand and equally rejected Schuchardt's position that transfer is unconstrained on the other hand. Weinreich provided an analytical framework accounting for semantic, structural,

cultural and socio-demographic factors and devoted substantial attention to the psycholinguistic dimension of bilingualism. As for the transfer of bound morphemes, Weinreich admitted the possibility that "cultural reasons may be at play" (p. 33) though he ultimately focussed on the structural factors involved. Weinreich claimed that derivational affixes are more easily transferable than highly bound inflectional affixes but attested also some instances of transfer of highly bound morphemes (pp. 31-33). Also Weinreich put forward some universal principles. First, typological closeness ("highly congruent structures", 1953:33) is meant to facilitate transfer for a highly bound morpheme is "useless in an alien system unless there is a ready function for it" (ib. p. 33). Second, the adoption of a full set of morphemes "has apparently never been recorded" (ib. p. 44). Third, "the transfer of individual morphemes of all types is definitely possible under certain favourable structural conditions, such as a pre-existing similarity in patterns or the relatively unbound and invariant form of the morpheme" (ib.).

Despite Weinreich's new paradigm, Jakobson's constraint had found great echo among many European structural linguists over many years. Weinreich himself quoted it with agreement (1953:25). Josef Vachek fitted into this outline. Dealing with both phonological and morphosyntactic transfer in English, Vachek asserted that the influence of external factors upon English was admitted to the extent that it "was in harmony with the needs and wants of the structure exposed to that influence" (1962:447), though he warned that this conclusion was to be proved before "general validity can be attributed to it" (ib.). However, his conclusion has to be rejected: if this were true it would mean that a language can never change its typology as a result of foreign influence. This does not hold true since many examples of languages shifting in typology have been attested (cf. Thomason & Kaufman 1988:75, 91-95; Thomason 2001:63-64).

Alf Sommerfelt believed the causal factors of linguistic change through language contact to lie "outside the linguistic system" (1960a:296) since "the nature of the linguistic system and the psycho-physiological process are conditions determining the character of the change but they are not its cause" (ib. p. 297). Studying the contact setting between English and Welsh Sommerfelt had noted that Welsh dialects had borrowed the English plural ending *-s*. His explanation for this borrowing is at least debatable: in his view, the transfer of the English plural ending *-s* "was possible because Welsh had so many different plural endings that one more or less was of no importance" (1960b:324; cf. also 1925:8).

Even in more recent years linguists have looked with scepticism at the likelihood of transfer of bound morphemes, unless it occurs between discrete systems. Oksaar argues that there are "no clear cases that would permit the generalisation of statements that grammatical paradigms, bound morphemes, word order etc. can be subject to interference" (1972:492). Andersen (1980:12) insists that morphemic transfer is likely to occur only between close systems

while he admits the possibility of morphological calques between non-related languages.

So far, the survey of the constraints posited against the free transfer of grammatical and particularly of inflectional morphemes. All constraints rest on the premise that the structure of a language alone determines what can happen to it as a result of outside influence. In spite of the fact that languages are primarily products and vehicles for communication, social factors have often been underestimated in most literature. A different view was taken by Coteanu. He stressed the importance of the external factors for the extent of morphosyntactic transference: "selon nous, cette question ne dépend pas du caractère de la structure grammaticale des langues en contact, mais d'une série de facteurs de nature sociale" (1957:147, as cited by Heath 1978:71). The most influential and authoritative claim in this direction has been made by Thomason & Kaufman (1988). The authors qualify the importance of purely linguistic factors in so far as they "are easily overridden when social factors push in another direction" (ib. p. 4). Furthermore, Thomason & Kaufman reason that, though some linguistic features are more easily transferred than others, "social factors can and very often do overcome structural resistance at all levels" (ib. p. 15).

The crucial point to be made here is that anything can be transferred, also between discrete systems. As early as 1939 Trubetzkoy had claimed that "alle Elemente der menschlichen Sprache entlehnbar sind, und [...] besonders auf niedrigen Entwicklungsstufen ganz rudimentäre Wörter und Morpheme von Sprache zu Sprache wandern" (ib. p. 82). In this connection, Thomason & Kaufman (1988) have done groundbreaking work. Their framework has set fertile and solid ground for further, far-reaching researches: not only did they stress the weight of social factors for whatever transfer to come up, they also gathered unquestionable evidence that "as far as the strictly linguistic possibilities go, any linguistic feature can be transferred from any language to any other language" (ib. p. 14). Many recent studies support this view: Campbell claims that "today is absolutely certain that 'grammar' can be borrowed, that all levels of syntactic structure are subject to foreign influence and borrowing" (1985:46). Thomason stresses that, given the right mix of social and linguistic circumstances, anything in this domain is possible (2001:11, 63, 68). The counterclaims to the retentionist positions provided by Thomason & Kaufman (1988) and Thomason (2001) are supported by numerous convincing instances.

Concluding, it is sensible to think of the proposed constraints on transferability rather as general tendencies and by no means as absolute principles to be firmly held.

II Contact-induced morphological change

This chapter is concerned with the concept of contact-motivated morphological change. It will provide a definition of the phenomenon and examine which kind of changes are expected to occur. Furthermore, it will put forward constraints to the area of investigation of the present study.

2.1 Scenario of morphological instability

As far as linguistic innovations are concerned, one distinguishes between their origin and their spread. However, the individual origin of a diachronic change is less important since most innovations are not persistent, nor is its spread ascertainable on a single step. In order to overcome this oversimplificatory view Dressler (1997:111-112) suggests that at least five chronologically ordered stages may be assumed to encompass a scenario of diachronic change: 1) origin with one or several individuals (independently); 2) adoption of the innovation on the part of some other individuals as a result of interaction; 3) diffusion to one social group, thus establishing a new lect defined by this isogloss accepted and imitated by its speakers; 4) coexistence and competition with one or more older variants, their judgement by the speakers, and the chances that the innovation asserts itself over its competitor(s); 5) possible further sociolectal and dialectal spread, whereby Dressler stresses that this fifth phase lasts longest and may be subdivided into and modelled by other scenarios of their own.

Thus, in cases of long-term collective multilingualism the transfer phenomena "cease to be spontaneous, individual, ad hoc and begin to be transmitted from one generation to the next" (Sasse 1992b:61). Terminologically, this development corresponds to the demarcation between code switching and transfer which are both indicators of (morphological) instability. This issue will be taken onto closer inspection in the next section.

2.1.1 Code switching vs. transfer

"Code switching" is the use of material from more than one language by a single speaker in the same conversation, i.e. within the same discourse, sentence or constituent; in Heath's words, it is "a pattern of textual production in which a speaker alternates between continuous utterance segments in one language Lx and another language Ly with abrupt and clear-cut switching points, often at phrasal or clausal

boundaries" (1989:23). Code switching has at least three different main conversational functions (cf. Thomason 2001:132): first, to fill a lexical gap in one language (or one speaker's competence) through a lexical item of another language; second, to soften the effect of something unpleasant when used as a sort of euphemism; third, to signalise linguistic identity when referring in the discourse to someone who speaks the language of the switches.

The boundaries between code switching and transfer are undoubtedly fuzzy so that distinguishing them has become a much-debated issue. In order to simplify the terminological distinction, students of language have taken pains to develop some discriminating criteria.

The most widely accepted criterion has been integration. According to it one distinguishes between unassimilated items, which are by and large referred to as code switching, and more normatively (phonologically, morphologically and syntactically) integrated types of transfer usually treated under the label "borrowing" (for this terminology, cf. Heath 1989:3-25; Hill & Hill 1986:346-356; Loveday 1996:15; Myers-Scotton & Jake 2001:92-93; Sarhimaa 1999:126-130). A third category can be identified: the so-called "nonce borrowings". These differ from the common borrowings as they do not comply with the diffusion requirement, i.e. they are not necessarily recurrent and widespread in the linguistic community. For grounds that will become clear in section 2.1.3, I shall hereafter avoid the term borrowing and use transfer, instead.

Along with the degree of integration there is also the participants' consciousness of language contact: transfer is thought of as a more conscious process than code switching because the latter rarely entails phonological adaptions.

In addition to these criteria, a wealth of constraints on code switching have been proposed. They are for the most part based on the phonological and morphosyntactic integration (nativization), on the length, and on the setting of occurrence (i.e. at which breaks switches must occur to be accounted for as such) of the switches: among others there are the Free Morpheme, Equivalence, Subject-Predicate, Noun-Complement, Verb-Verb Complement, and Conjoined Phrases constraints, as reported in Hill & Hill (1986:348-356). Considerations such as frequency of use, the role of metalinguistic markers (such as hesitation, false starts, translation-repetition), of discourse organising signals (such as *like, I mean, you know* and the like) or judgement of nativeness by native speakers have also been debated in the literature. On the whole, items that are less phonologically and morphosyntactically integrated, longer, less frequently used by the entire linguistic community and that make greater use of discourse signals and of metalinguistic markers have often been understood as switches (for a more detailed discussion cf. Sarhimaa 1999:127-130).

The whole of the above mentioned parameters is more or less problematic and a body of evidence has been presented against all these approaches (cf. ib. pp. 127-135). To adduce an example, one might take into closer inspection the criterion of integration: Sarhimaa (ib. p. 126) claims that transfers unlike switches display the phonology, the morphology and obey the syntax of the recipient language. This assessment is not cogent, since it does not heed the cases of heavy structural transfer where, for instance, systemic morphemes may be transferred as well: parts of the established morphology of a language A may very well have come from a donor language B. For the same reason, Myers-Scotton's assumption (2001:92) that transfers and switches differ only phonologically, whereas they both show the morphology and follow the syntax of the receiving language is to be discounted.

Each new study of language pairs has tended to invalidate previous constraints, and the efforts to draw a clear-cut border between the two phenomena have failed since the two categories are anything but discrete. Linguists should look at these principles rather as tendencies than as incontestable laws for they do not always match the actual data. The very question to be faced up is that, although transfer and code switching are two different phenomena, they are related; after all, code switching is one of the mechanisms which lead to transfer, in that lexical items, which have first entered a language as spontaneous switches by bilinguals, come then gradually to be part of the vocabulary of speakers who are unskilled at the source language (cf. Thomason 2001:131-136). From a diachronic perspective, it is thus difficult to provide a straightforward division between the two phenomena.

Just as with the constraints on linguistic diffusion linguists have failed to recognise that the distinction between transfer and code switching is not to be sought in merely linguistic dimensions but rather in factors of both external and social nature such as time and settling down of usage (collectiveness). Indeed, it appears fairly safe to account for a transfer as an item which is very common and used even by monolingual speakers of the recipient language. Of course, this does not hold true in contact situations where everyone is multilingual. In conclusion, on the one hand transfer can be thought of as a permanent, well-established and collective phenomenon; on the other hand code switching is an ephemeral, temporary and rather individual occurrence: once an element has occurred in the idiolect of a speaker, it will turn into a transfer if it becomes frequent and comes to be used by other speakers.

As already mentioned in 1.3 the present study is only concerned with changes which have come to be stable part of the morphological machinery of the receiving language. Therefore, it will rule out occurrences of code switching and focus on transfer.

The next section will explore in more details the dimension of externally induced morphological change.

2.1.2 Externally-motivated morphological change

Morphological changes are of two sorts: internally- and externally-motivated changes are recorded. They resemble each other as for the structural effects they bring about. The significant difference lies in the source of the change: while in internally-motivated change the trigger is to be found in the structural imbalances within a single linguistic system, in externally-motivated change the trigger consists in the external influence exerted by one or more other languages.

As introduced in 1.3.1, language contact may result in primary and/or secondary grammatical changes. Within these categories one may record three main types of effect on the recipient language structure: loss, addition, and replacement.

The first type of effect is feature loss (negative transfer). In the lexicon, words are prototypically lost when the concepts they express become culturally obsolete; nevertheless, on close inspection, it cannot be excluded to find out also stances of contact-induced lexical loss. On the other hand, phonological, morphological, and syntactic loss of features is very frequent (cf. Brenzinger 1992; Dorian 1978, 1981, 1989; Dressler 1972, 1991). As for morphology, scholars mainly refer to the loss of morphological complexity. Typical losses are the breakdown of the case system resulting in the simplification of the inflectional paradigms (cf. Breu 1996:27-29; Campbell 1993:94; Campbell & Muntzel 1989:191-192; van Marle & Smits 1995:179-206; Rindler Schjerve 2002:24).

The second type of effect is addition of features (positive transfer), which is found in each grammatical subsystem, including the lexicon: new linguistic elements from the source language are added to the already existing ones.

Cumulative effects may occur when both loss and addition are involved. It must be reminded that, as opposed to language decay, in normal transfer phenomena loss is always balanced out by equivalent means of expression: for each loss of features there are new elements which are added. The functionality of the language is, thus, not jeopardised and the language does not become defective (cf. Sasse 1992a:16). Furthermore, though not recorded in the literature, it must be supposed that also addition may entail balancing phenomena within the language: for example, ensuing reduction of features which have become redundant, once new ones have entered the receiving language.

The third type of effect is replacement of native features by new ones (substitutive transfer). Again, this type appears everywhere in the language subsystems. Nonetheless, in morphology and syntax replacement is more common than simple losses or additions.

A more accurate scheme, which accounts for six different types of effect on the structure of the recipient language, has been suggested by Breu (1996). According to him, contact-induced language change involves the increase and decrease of oppositions in the linguistic system. In the light of that, increase and

decrease of the opposition systems along with the presence or absence of direct transfer of language structure are envisaged as the distinguishing criteria. According to the combination possibilities which are given, Breu proposes the following classification which I will reproduce in a different and revised order, filled with my personal remarks, and compared to the more traditional threefold subdivision presented above. *Abbautyp*, *Aufbautyp* and *Nulltyp* may be found within both primary and secondary changes, whereas *Aufbautyp mit Formenentlehnung*, *Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung* and *Umbautyp* are recorded only within primary changes. No explanation will be provided of the first three types of effect as secondary changes since the occurrences of transfer investigated by the present study are ascribable to the primary changes alone.

The *Abbautyp* roughly corresponds to loss and implies negative reproduction, i.e. the lack of whatever grammatical opposition found in the source language is transferred into the receiving language. This entails lessening of the system of oppositions of the recipient language.

The *Aufbautyp* encompasses phenomena of indirect addition, i.e. structural patterns present in the source language are added to the receiving language where they were not present (thus new oppositions are loaned) and are rendered by means of indigenous material.

Inversely, in the *Aufbautyp mit Formenentlehnung* direct addition occurs: features and structures (thus new oppositions) of the source language are directly introduced into the receiving language.

By *Nulltyp* Breu means indirect replacement: neither increase nor decrease of the structural oppositions occurs, no actual feature is transferred from the donor language, but new patterns replace the different native ones and are rendered by native means. An example is found in Molise Croatian. Slavic languages traditionally form the comparative in a synthetic way such as Standard Croatian *ljepši* 'more beautiful'. On the model of Italian *più bello* Molise Croatian builds the comparative analytically which results in *veče lip* (cf. Breu 1996:26).

Contrariwise, the *Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung* consists of the direct replacement of language structures, that is the oppositions are maintained but they are now expressed through actual features stemming from the source language. Also cases of features which do not replace old ones but are just added to them belong to this type: consequently, in these cases the grammatical category is marked twice.

Eventually, the *Umbautyp* can be conceived of as a "category transfer" of a native feature (*Umkategorisierung*), which arises when a loss leads to an addition (or vice versa). The morpheme formerly used to signal a given category becomes obsolete in this use (loss) but simultaneously turns to be used as marker of a new category (addition) in the receiving language on the model of the contact language. Breu illustrates this point using the following example: in Russian, the markers of the *u*-declensional class, which had faded out, turned into markers of

the two new cases, partitive and locative, in the masculine. This occurred on the model of the Finno-Ugric substratum whose preference for strong case differentiations was transferred into Russian (ib. p. 31).

This study will provide and analyse stances of *Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung* and *Aufbautyp mit Formenentlehnung*.

After this survey on the types of effect of language contact on the recipient language the ensuing section will take into inspection a dichotomy concerning the way the external interference on the recipient language comes about.

2.1.3 Borrowing vs. interference through shift

Two fundamentally different mechanisms of contact-induced language change may occur: "borrowing" vs. "interference through shift" (or "substratum interference") (Geerts 1987:603 uses "borrowing" vs. "imposition", instead). This terminological distinction has been proposed by Thomason & Kaufman (1988:37), who define the phenomena as follows:

> Borrowing is the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features. (ib.)
> Substratum interference is a subtype of interference that results from imperfect group learning during a process of language shift. (ib. p. 38)

Though Thomason & Kaufman do not explicitly mention it, the definition of borrowing does account not only for positive but also for negative and substitutive transfer. "Incorporated features" include, therefore, loss, addition, and replacement.

The conceptual and terminological differentiation between borrowing and interference through shift will be adopted in the present paper by virtue of its methodological usefulness. The term transfer will, thus, henceforth be the general heading for both phenomena.

Borrowing comes about as a result of an interference process where no effects of imperfect learning occur. In a situation of linguistic contact, features are borrowed (in the strict sense) when they are introduced into the receiving language by people who speak it fluently. They need not be native speakers of the receiving language (Thomason 2001:68).

Differently, interference through shift occurs as a result of imperfect group learning during a process of language shift. It comes about when there is a group of speakers which, for socio-economical, political or prestige reasons, aims at becoming skilled at the language of another group. The language which is learned is called "target language" (henceforth TL). The interference may be the result of

language shift towards the TL, but it need not be (for examples see Thomason 2001:74). In the light of that, the subdivision into maintenance on the one hand and shift on the other hand, as proposed by Thomason & Kaufman (1988), is not reasonable. More convincing is the distinction made by Thomason (2001) between interference processes where imperfect learning plays a part and processes where it does not.

The process of interference where imperfect learning plays a role develops at a couple of stages. First, a group of learners transfer some features of their own language into their version of the target language (henceforth TL^2). This is the way the use of diminutives in Mexican Spanish has developed; it seems to have been influenced by the present Mexicano substratum (cf. Hill & Hill 1986:196). Second, this group may fail to get some features of the TL learned, so that these errors come to be part of the TL^2. Two scenarios are, then, possible: either the TL^2 crystallises and becomes the group's final version of the TL (if the learners' group is not integrated into the TL community) or a new language TL^3 emerges as a result of the mixing of TL and TL^2 (if the TL and TL^2 speakers form one speech community). In the latter case, the errors of the TL learners will spread throughout the TL speech community. TL speakers and TL^2 speakers will negotiate a final version of the TL which will come to be used and accepted as the community's language.

Not only do borrowing and interference through shift come about in a dissimilar way, they also show some more differences: (a) the order of occurrence of the transferred features; (b) the initiators of the changes; moreover, factors of intensity of contact such as (c) time and (d) degree of multilingualism.

(a) In borrowing, words (with exclusion of non-basic vocabulary) are transferred first. Transfer of structure comes later on. By contrast, in interference through shift, the transfer concerns primarily more stable domains (structure). It starts with sounds and syntax and also morphology may be carried over into the TL (cf. Thomason & Kaufman 1988:21, 37, 39, 68; Thomason 2001:64, 69; Clyne 1987:456; Geerts 1987:603-604).

(b) In interference through shift, the agents of the changes are the learners of the TL, whereas in borrowing the innovations are introduced by the speakers of the receiving language (cf. Thomason & Kaufman 1988:43).

(c) A striking difference between the two phenomena lies in the amount of time necessary for structural modifications to originate. Cases of borrowing normally mature over hundred years of intimate contact, whereas interference due to imperfect learning (especially in case of language shift) may need as little as a generation time to rise (ib. p. 41).

(d) Whilst borrowing mostly involves full multilingual proficiency among most or even all members of the receiving language community, a great many changes through shift occur in the absence of perfect multilingualism. In fact, TL

speakers may be monolingual or only few of them are skilled at the languages of the other groups (cf. ib. pp. 41, 52).

Thomason (1980:364-365) stresses that in both borrowing and shift-induced interference morphological (especially inflectional) interference occurs less frequently than lexical, phonological, and syntactic one, though contact-induced morphological changes appear even in elaborated inflectional systems (cf. also Thomason & Kaufman 1988:38).

Borrowing and interference through shift are sometimes likely to take place at once. That is, TL speakers are borrowing features from a language whose speakers are simultaneously learning the TL and imposing their errors on it. Thomason (2001:75) recalls the case of Norman French speakers shifting to English in England; at the same time, English speakers were borrowing words from French.

This study will investigate cases of borrowing proper. The investigation of borrowing may provide an analysis of the likelihood of morphological transfer, on the way it comes along, and of the factors supporting it which is more reliable than that of interference through shift.

2.2 Discreteness of systems

A further restriction is to be made at that point. It concerns the discreteness of linguistic systems involved in a language contact context and its tolerability with the concept of borrowing. Famous cases such as the Arabic and Greek diglossia turn out not to be suitable for an analysis of borrowing. In answer to my inquiry about the likelihood of structural borrowing in Arabic, Jonathan Owens writes:

> A fundamental problem here is what the status of the two systems, Standard Arabic and "dialect" are. It's an old problem. As far as spoken Arabic goes, Standard, to the extent that it exists (as an entity defined by linguists, or defined by users), it encompasses a wide range of forms, interpretations, which presents a methodological problem for the notion of transfer. Transfer, I assume, presumes the existence of discrete systems. In the case of spoken Arabic such discreteness doesn't exist. (personal communication 01.01.02)

I can not fully share Owens' assumption that transfer (i.e. borrowing) presupposes discreteness of systems since it may no doubt affect whatever linguistic systems are at stake, including dialects, the only condition for borrowing to occur being that at least two linguistic systems are in contact. Moreover, one should define more precisely what is and what is not to be considered discrete. For discreteness to be postulated, it needs there to be recognisable linguistic differences on all levels of the language system. However, discreteness of systems is certainly a matter of degree.

Clearly, borrowing is easier to accomplish between dialects because here the differences are far smaller than between languages. Dialect interference may occur "both between stable, strongly differentiated dialects and between weakly differentiated dialects through the differential spread (in waves) of particular changes" (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:9). Nonetheless, borrowing is individuated in the most straightforward and the least misleading way when it occurs between discrete systems.

Evidently, the issue of systemic discreteness recalls the differentiation between language and dialect as well as the topic of dialect diglossia.

Technically, the notion of dialect is made up of two main components: variability and geographical diversity (cf. Telmon 1996). That is, dialects of a common language are told to be speech varieties which are relatively similar to each other and show minor divergences. They may be standard or vernacular, urban or rural, regional or supraregional. Moreover, dialects vary geographically. A language is the collection of such dialects. Varieties which display major divergences and more notably differ from each other are meant to be different languages.

Overall, the ideal distinction between language and dialect rests on the concept of "mutual intelligibility" (cf. Ammon 1987:324; Crystal 1997^2:25; Hock & Joseph 1996:324): when two people speak differently, they can either understand each other or they cannot. In the former case, they speak different dialects of the same language; in the latter case, they speak different languages. Of course, things are not always so simple as they look at first glance. Indeed, dialects which belong to the same language, are not always mutually intelligible but their speakers share the written language. The situation appears much more problematic when a "dialect continuum" (or "chain of dialects") exists, which is a quite common occurrence. Well known examples are the West Romance continuum (Italian, French, Catalan, Spanish, Portuguese) and the West Germanic one (with the varieties of German spoken in Austria, Swiss and Germany, Dutch, and Flemish). The whole territory is a single dialect continuum. Thus, speakers of neighbouring dialects usually understand each other, whereas speakers of dialects, used in areas removed from each other, will have more problems. It is difficult to determine at which point of the dialect chain a language ends and a new one begins. At the local level, a clear cut of the varieties on grounds of linguistic criteria is hardly possible. As opposed, Italian, French, Spanish are viewed as completely separate and different tongues because, as standard languages, they are not directly neighbouring variants (therefore, no mutually intelligible variants) within the Romance continuum.

Beyond these merely linguistic considerations it seems obvious that the game is played to a large extent at the sociocultural level. Languages like Norwegian and Swedish (of the Scandinavian continuum) are said to be mutually quite intelligible, yet they are envisaged as different languages. The grounds for con-

sidering them different tongues lie, of course, in the fact that they have different standard dialects and literary traditions but, mainly, in considerations of cultural, social, political and historical nature; one may remind the playful definition of language as "a dialect with an army and a navy".

In sum, the terms language and dialect define the extreme points of a continuum since "linguistic similarity or difference is a matter not of yes or no, but of more or less" (Hock & Joseph 1996:327); moreover, their demarcation rests to a significant extent on social and cultural factors.

Considerations of sociological, political and historical nature are to be faced up also in cases of dialect diglossia, such as the Arabic and Greek ones (for the definition of diglossia see 1.2.1). Nonetheless, it must be borne in mind that discreteness is a matter of mere linguistic distance and has hardly to do with sociocultural issues.

It can be claimed with confidence that in both the Arabic and Greek diglossic situations, transfer of bound morphemes between the varieties has taken place. In his article on Arabic sociolinguistics, Owens (2001) summarises some earlier studies on similarities and differences between Modern Standard Arabic (MSA, the high variety) and Native Arabic dialects (NA, the low varieties). Speakers having access to both varieties turn out to "rarely use purely one or the other variant" (ib. p. 425). Furthermore, defining MSA and NA as structurally discrete is problematic because the system is open to variation and discrete correlations may emerge with some parameters and may not with others. The variation is favoured by the striking similarity of the basic phonological and morphological structure of MSA and NA (ib. p. 449). So, hybrid forms can arise like *bi-yu-qāl* 'it is said', whereby Egyptian Arabic modal prefix *bi-* is prefixed to MSA preformative vowel + passive verbal stem (ib. p. 430). Overall, "the degree of influence of [M]SA on spoken Arabic in modern Arabic countries can hardly be understated. Its influence is, however, largely of an additive rather than replacive nature" (ib. p. 450).

In Greece, diglossia has been officially decreed dead in 1976 (cf. Kazazis 1992, 1993). Modern Standard Greek, which is primarily based on Dhimotikí vocabulary, phonology, morphology and syntax, "displays a significant influence from *Katharevousa*" (Holton & Mackridge & Philippaki-Warburton 1997:xv). For example, some alternative forms of the genitive singular, ending in -ος, derive from Katharévousa: αντρός instead of άντρα or μηνός instead of μήνα (ib. p. 49).

A fairly complex state of affairs emerges. What comes closer to systemic discreteness is the idea of *Abstandsprache* ('distance language'), as developed by Kloss (cf. 1987:302-304). *Abstandsprachen* may be all idioms which in their substance ("in [...] ihrem Sprachkörper") are so much different from all other languages that they should be defined as languages, even though no books or texts have been written in it. An *Abstandsprache* is cognate with any other language to such a narrow extent that it cannot be confused with it or thought of to be part of

its diasystem. Thereto belong not only isolated languages such as Bask or Albanian but also some daughter languages of one big Indo-European family such as Sardinian and Breton. Measuring linguistic distance requires a wide range of parameters; polythetical classifications are necessary, which are made by means of many structural features.

In modern linguistics, criteria of *Abstand* revolve around all grammatical ranks of language. Vocabulary, chiefly basic vocabulary, is meant to be an important indicator of distance: some scholars have gone so far as to arbitrarily claim that two languages which share at least 81% of basic vocabulary, are to be envisaged dialects of a single language. Sometimes, two languages (like Hindi and Urdu), which share the whole of the basic vocabulary, diverge vastly in the more specific terminology (science, religion, administration). Furthermore, linguistic distance is measured by means of semantic, phonetic, morphological and syntactic correspondence (for a more comprehensive discussion see Ammon 1987:322-324).

The crucial point must be made that the degree of discreteness varies. MSA and NA display a little degree of discreteness, Spanish and Catalan a bigger one, and Hebrew and Japanese are fully discrete systems. This study will concentrate on systems which are discrete beyond any doubt. Occurrences of inflectional borrowing between (strongly) discrete systems are the rarest and the least likely to occur, thus, the most interesting to investigate.

2.3 Typologically favoured borrowing

As underlined in the previous section, borrowing between dialects is easier to accomplish than between discrete languages. This is also a matter of typological distance. Thomason & Kaufman (1988:72) define typological distance as "a measure of structural similarity that applies to linguistic categories and their combinations, including ordering relations". The likelihood of a language matching closely the categories and combinations of another language is inversely proportional to the amount of internal structuredness the grammatical subsystems of the language display. Since categories of language may match in some aspects but not in others, typological distance can hardly be measured precisely.

Many linguists, above all Meillet, believed typological closeness to be the indispensable requirement for grammatical transfer to take place (cf. 1.4). In contrast to that, in this paper I hold the position that the absence of typological closeness is by no means an obstacle to grammatical transfer. Nevertheless, it holds true that typological congruence favours the introduction of structural elements into the receiving language. The classical testimony to this is found in dialect borrowing, where typological closeness regards all grammatical subsys-

tems. Inversely, for structure to be borrowed into typologically less close systems, greater intensity of contact is necessary.

Typological proximity between source and receiving language is significant only when structural interference is light, whereas in heavy interference (where language contact is very strong and pressing) it is negligible. Solid evidence has been gathered that, in moderate and heavy structural borrowing, features are moved regardless of the typological congruence between source and receiving language (cf. Thomason & Kaufman 1988:53).

2.4 Moderate to heavy structural borrowing

As seen in the previous section, typological proximity may favour the introduction of hardly transferable features into the receiving language even in situations where language contact is not very strong. This is to be considered an exception since borrowing tightly structured elements commonly requires intense contact.

Thomason (2001:70-71) proposes a hierarchical "borrowing scale" (based upon the one in Thomason & Kaufman 1988:74-76) which rests on two main determinants: the degree of structuredness of the linguistic subsystems and the intensity of language contact. The more tightly interconnected the structures of a subsystem are, the more intense the contact is supposed to be for resulting in structural borrowing. The scale accounts only for cases of borrowing proper.

The preliminary prediction is made that (non-basic) vocabulary is borrowed before structure. Within the lexicon nouns are expected to be borrowed more easily than verbs (cf. Campbell 1993:102 and Mackey 1987:709). Weinreich (1953:37) reminds that "in the usual lists of loanwords nouns are predominant" and recognises that "the problem probably lies in the adjective 'usual', i.e. Indo-European languages are meant". That can be put down to lexical-semantic reasons rather than to grammatical and structural ones, Weinreich argues (ib.):

> For example, in the contact of a European language, where many concrete "things" are generally indicated by nouns, with a language in which verbs fulfil some of the same functions (e.g. Nootka), the ratio of nouns among the loanwords would probably be lower than usual. Further, in a cultural setting where the emphasis in borrowing is on things spiritual and abstract, loanwords other than nouns may again occupy a larger place, even in a European language. In this way one may account, for example, for the relatively large proportion of such classes as verbs, adverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions among the loanwords from Hebrew into Yiddish (although here, too, nouns predominate).

Rising the intensity of language contact, the extent and types of borrowing increase according to the linguistic ease of transferability: phonological rules are borrowed before syntactic structures, which in turn are borrowed before morphology. Dressler (1992:133) stresses that the ease of transferability of structural features from the source language depends on their complexity, i.e. on which position they assume within the specific organization of the source language. The central position of morphology within grammar results into a highest density of organizing connections both within morphology itself and in its relationships with the other linguistic submodules, phonology, syntax and lexicon (ib. p. 134). Inflectional morphology is hardest to borrow as "its component parts fit into a whole that is (relatively) small, self-contained, and highly organized" (Thomason 2001:69).

From this state of affairs a scale with four hierarchical levels follows, distinguished according to the intensity of contact with corresponding degree of borrowing to await: 1) casual contact (only non-basic vocabulary); 2) slightly more intense contact (function words as conjunctions and adverbial particles; slight structural borrowing); 3) more intense contact (non-basic and basic vocabulary, moderate structural borrowing); 4) intense contact (heavy lexical borrowing, heavy structural borrowing).

The interest of this monograph revolves around morphological borrowings which are expected to appear on the levels 3 and 4 of the borrowing scale. Thomason summarises the following occurrences (ib. pp. 70-71):

At level 3 borrowing concerns both non-basic and basic vocabulary, low numerals, function words belonging to closed classes such as pronouns and adpositions. Loss and addition of new phonemes even in native vocabulary show up; prosodic features such as stress placement are borrowed; syllable structure constraints are lost or added; morphonological rules are borrowed. In syntax, a new word order begins to replace the old one in form of switching (so that, for instance, postpositions are borrowed into a previously prepositional language); the old paratactic and hypotactic rules are affected and begin being unsteady. In morphology, derivational as well as inflectional affixes and categories (e.g. new cases) may be added to native words (especially if there is typological fitting with the patterns of the receiving language).

At level 4 the receiving language undergoes more dramatic changes: massive borrowing of vocabulary occurs. Phonemes are added or lost; phonological and all kinds of morphonological rules (e.g. vowel harmony) are borrowed. Syntax is remodelled through extensive changes in the word order, relative clauses, negation, parataxis, hypotaxis, comparison, quantification. In morphology, morphological categories and agreement patterns are lost or added.

Substitutive changes may occur both on levels 3 and 4. They may cause substantial typological disruption, for example, if prefixes are added in a previously suffixing language and morphology changes from inflectional towards agglutinative.

Case studies of moderate and heavy borrowing will be presented and illustrated in Chapter 4. Since the present research applies exclusively to borrowing of

inflectional morphemes, section 2.5 will be concerned with the concept of inflection and provide a framework within which similarities and differences between inflection and derivation are clarified.

2.5 Inflection and derivation

Morphology is an area of language and a field of linguistics where sharp demarcations are hardly possible. Morphology is conventionally supposed to consist of two parts: inflection and word formation. Word formation, in turn, includes derivation and compounding. Derivation differs from compounding in that compounding involves at least two lexemes which are combined in a complex word, whereas derivation arises from a single lexeme.

Although speakers of languages as well as linguists intuitively recognise a separation between inflection and derivation, a suitable model to distinguish them neatly and sharply and to hold for all possible instances in the world's languages has not yet been found (see, for new discussions, Dressler *et al.* (in press)).

The aim of this section is to find a principled way of dealing with inflection and derivation. In order to do that I shall mainly follow the argumentation by Booij (2000) who proposes a tripartition into "contextual inflection", "inherent inflection" and "derivation" (for a discussion of dichotomy approach vs. continuum approach vs. tripartition approach, see Haspelmath 2002:77-82).

The main distinction between inflection and derivation may be drawn on a functional level: inflection serves to create different forms of the same lexeme which are not considered to be new words of the language, whereas derivation serves to produce new words. The main task of derivation is the so-called *enrichissement verbal*: it creates words for new concepts.

On a formal level, inflection and derivation use very often similar and even identical procedures: processes of affixation, vowel change, reduplication. For example many Indo-European languages express inflection by means of suffixation, which is a very frequently opted morphological operation in derivation.

In sum, though the functions of inflectional morphology and derivation diverge to a quite considerable extent, their formal procedures are very similar and differ only in degree. Therefore, it is reasonable to conceive of them as rather "prototypical inflection" and "prototypical derivation" as opposite poles on a morphological scale (Dressler *et al.* 1987:5, cf. also Dressler 1989). A different view is promoted by the model of "split morphology" which claims a strict separation of inflection and derivation (cf. Bybee 1985). The model based on prototypicality will be followed in the present argumentation since it conforms better to the richness and varied nature of language phenomena that can hardly be comprised by rigid metalinguistic buildings. As far as it is concerned, the following distinctive criteria are met:

(a) semantics: On a semantic-conceptual level, a distinction is made between concrete meanings as conveyed by derivation and formal meanings as conveyed by inflection. However, this does not always hold true, for the same content may be expressed by both inflection and derivation: consider, for instance the case of German *Ast - Äste* (plural) and *Geäst* (collective noun) where both convey plurality and/or multiplicity, but the former is typically inflectional and the latter typically derivational (cf. Dalton-Puffer 1996:33). Nevertheless, this does not invalidate the observation that languages tend to prefer expressing certain meanings through inflection rather than derivation: these are gender, number, and case on nouns; person, number, tense, mood, and aspect on verbs. The fact that derivation prototypically conveys less abstract meanings implies that it may often change the meaning of a word. As opposed to that, inflection does not entail any change in the basic lexical meaning of the word it applies to.

(b) change of word class: Derivation, unlike inflection, tends to change the word class of the input word which undergoes "transposition". This is one way lexical enrichment produced by derivation comes along. Nevertheless, derivation does not necessarily imply change of the syntactic category: e.g., German *Wissenschaft* 'science' and *Wissenschafter* 'scientist' are both NPs. Thus, a morphological process which does not give rise to word class change must not compulsorily be supposed to be an inflectional one. Furthermore, also inflection may change the word class of the input word: this is the case with infinitives and participles. Prototypically, it holds true that "inflection [...] is category-constant, whereas derivation is [...] category-changing" (Dressler *et al.* 1987:6).

(c) obligatoriness: Inflection is obligatory, that is, its appearance is compulsory. In an inflecting language like Latin, nouns are inflected for number and case and must therefore have morphological markers for these two categories. Booij (2000:362) claims that this criterion is not always helpful, for it may depend on the analysis done upon a single language: if English *book* is analysed as lacking a specification for number, this contradicts the obligatoriness of inflection. As English is a very weak inflecting language (thus not prototypically inflecting) it is not the most fitting example to account for an analysis based on prototypicality. This would be the case for Latin, instead.

(d) paradigmatic organisation: "Derivational morphologies do not form such tight systems as inflectional morphologies do in the respective languages" (Dressler *et al.* 1987:123). Inflection is often organised in terms of paradigms with an array of inflectional classes for both nouns and verbs. Typical of inflectional classes is cumulative exponence, i.e. a single affix performs several different functions: e.g. the Latin ending *-as* carries out more meanings at the same time namely feminine, accusative, and plural. This type of inflectional morphology is also known as "flexional morphology" as opposed to inflectional agglutinative morphology (cf. Thomason 2001:256, 264). Another characteristic of inflectional paradigms is stem allomorphy: the formation of the inflected forms

may involve more than one stem: e.g. Italian *ved-o* (indicative present), *vid-i* (indicative past perfect), *vist-o* (past participle). Furthermore, analogical levelling affects much more frequently inflectional paradigms than derivationally related words because of the tightly interwoven structure of inflectional classes (Dressler *et al.* 1987:5).

(e) generality and productivity: As a consequence of the claim that inflection is compulsory, inflectional rules tend to be general, i.e. they apply to all relevant words, and they are productive in the sense that new word forms may be created in accordance with the rules. Also for this criterion exceptions may be found in the form of "paradigmatic gaps". There are languages in which, for example, not all verb forms are available (e.g. French *frire* 'to fry' has no plural forms for the indicative present), or some nouns do not display the singular ("pluralia tantum" such as German *Alpen* 'Alps') or vice versa the plural (e.g. English *food*).

(f) semantic transparency: Inflection is semantically more transparent than derivation since "the semantic difference between base and derived forms is usually fully predictable in inflection" (Dressler *et al.* 1987:5). In derivation it is only partially predictable for often the meaning of the derived forms is not merely a compositional function of the meanings of each morphological constituent. For instance, the meaning of German *er kratz-t* 'he scratches' is evidently a composite of the meaning of the lexeme and 3rd p. sg. indicative present, whereas the meaning of *Kratzer* 'scratch' is not identical with the composite meaning of an agent who scratches. As a consequence, derived words tend towards idiomaticity to a much larger extent than inflectional word forms (ib.).

(g) recursivity: In accordance with the functional differences between inflection and derivation, derivational morphemes, unlike inflectional ones, may be applied recursively in order to produce new words. Either derivational step may provide additional semantic information: consider German *Ururgroßmutter* 'great-great-great-grandmother' where the derivative prefix *ur-* occurs three times.

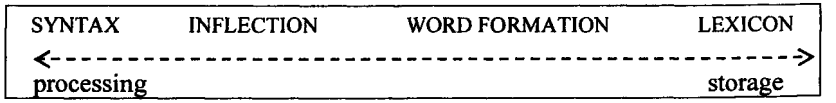
(h) syntactic relevance: It is a commonplace in the literature that inflection is relevant to syntax since it produces the word forms which reflect the grammatical functions within sentences, such as case, number, or tense. In this regard a distinction is at stake between "contextual inflection" occurring when particular forms of a word are required by the syntactic context (N, V, A: agreement categories, e.g. a plural subject noun needs agreement with the verb; N: structural cases) and "inherent inflection" which depends on the free speech intention of the speaker (N: number, inherent cases; V: tense, aspect, mood). In this relationship, inherent inflection is more similar to derivation than contextual inflection. Unfortunately, this criterion does not always happen to succeed. In some cases also derivation is important for syntax insofar as it very often determines the syntactic

category and the syntactic valency of the words it generates. For example, the German prefix *be-* is used to build transitive verbs out of verbs and nouns.

(i) order of morphemes: Inflectional formatives generally occupy a more peripheral position in the word form than derivational ones. Given a concatenative morphological formation where both inflection and derivation precede or follow the root/stem/base, the derivation is always between the root/stem/base and the inflection. Morphologists (eminently, Greenberg 1968[2], Bybee 1985; cf. also Booij 2000:366) have also tried to individuate the tendencies in the order of appearance of morphemes in a word form with respect to the root/stem/base. The scheme looks as follows: "stem – aspect – tense – mood – number/person". The order of the affixes is determined by their semantic relevance. It reflects the tendency that the more semantically relevant morphemes are the closer to the root/stem/base they appear. As opposed to derivation, inflectional markers do not contribute to the meaning of a complex word form itself, but show its relation to situation and context: for instance, case enlightens the relation of a noun with other components of the sentence.

Within inflection contextual inflection, for example case, which is relevant to syntactic relations, occupies a more peripheral position than an inherent inflectional category such as number. In other words, on the one hand, contextual inflection tends to be more peripheral than inherent inflection and, on the other hand, inherent inflection tends to be more peripheral than derivation. Unfortunately, this scheme does not convincingly apply to languages with non-concatenative morphology such as the Semitic ones.

(j) psycholinguistic differences: Dressler *et al.* (1987:7) claim that "the peripheral position of inflectional formatives facilitates their processing through the effects of psycholinguistic primacy and recency and better outward indexicality towards the other parts of the sentence". In other words, syntactically relevant information tends to occur at the periphery of the word form in order to be visible for the syntax. This view falls into a psycholinguistic model which accounts for the gradual differences between inflection and derivation and for other components of grammar in accordance with the psycholinguistic procedures of processing and storage. Within this framework a scale is tackled with the two opposite poles of "processing" and "storage", as follows (cf. Dressler *et al.* 1987:6):



The products of derivation are more likely to be stored whilst inflectional forms typically result from processing, which implies that inflection is more grammaticalised and derivation more lexicalised. Even this criterion must be regarded prudently since there may be exceptions. Irregular inflectional forms may plausibly be regarded as stored and very productive and regular derivational categories may be governed by rules.

III Aims of this study: problems and predictions

This chapter will illustrate the aims pursued by the present study and put forward predictions on inflectional borrowing to verify with the data presented in Chapter 4. Examples of cases ruled out by the constraints to the investigation area will be presented as well.

3.1 Aims of this study

The principle aim of this study is to fill a striking gap in the linguistic research. As pointed out in the introduction, there are no books or scientific articles available that are entirely devoted to the borrowing of inflectional morphemes in language contact settings. Although the publication of Thomason & Kaufman (1988) constitutes a great source of inspiration and still stands as the best documented and most authoritative study on the subject, it does not provide a monographic and complete picture of it.

In order to fill this gap in the scientific research, the present monograph pursues two goals:

1) to provide a conspicuous collection of case studies to such an extent which has not being undertaken so far;

2) on the basis of the presented cases studies, to provide a new definition of borrowing of inflectional morphemes and an analysis of the factors which seem to support and improve it, including an explanation of the possible path(s) this phenomenon may go through to come about.

Obviously, this research lays no claim to comprehensiveness, since still plenty of work is to be done. The scarce presence of data should stimulate other researchers to undertake new field work and provide new instances of transfer occurrences.

It is important to stress that one branch of this field has been completely neglected in the literature as well as in the present study and must not be overlooked in forthcoming papers: contact phenomena between sign languages. People, even linguists, too often forget about sign languages. They are fully functioning linguistic systems, completely equivalent to sound languages, display own grammatical systems and subsystems, including morphology. Obviously, it may come to contact between them too. Clearly, contact between sign languages may work in a different way than between sound languages, therefore new and interesting outcomes are to be expected from its investigation.

In section 3.2 the subject-matter of this study will be precisely presented. On the basis of it, in 3.3 some research issues will be identified and predictions proposed to be verified with the data illustrated in Chapter 4.

3.2 Focus of interest

In the previous chapters, preliminary selection criteria have been chosen in order to outline the area of interest the present monograph deals with. According to these criteria, the following cases will be ruled out from the analysis: cases of extreme language mixture (cf. 1.3.2); cases of borrowing found in the speech of semi-speakers which are the result of disturbed transmission (cf. 1.3.2); cases of borrowing in code switching (cf. 2.1.1) as well as individual borrowing occurrences (cf. 1.2.1).

More exactly, the focus of this study is turned towards the direct borrowing of inflectional morphemes (in the form of replacement or addition) between discrete linguistic systems. The investigated borrowed morphemes are ascribable to primary changes (cf. 1.3.1) and result either in direct addition or in direct replacement (cf. 2.1.2). Moreover, they are selected according to the following two criteria: a) they must have been added to native words of the receiving language; b) they must have maintained the (at least partially) identical meaning (and function) they carried out in the source language, once they have entered the receiving language.

Morphemes are defined as prototypically inflectional as opposed to prototypically derivational according to the delimiting criteria formulated in 2.5.

Borrowing is used in the strict sense of a transfer occurrence that does not involve the process of imperfect learning, as opposed to interference through shift (cf. 2.1.3).

Direct borrowing means that a language A has imported actual morphemes directly from a language B and not structural patterns which have been realised by native means (cf. 1.3.1).

Morphemic replacement is the substitution of foreign morphemes for old ones (*Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung*); morphemic addition means either that the receiving language is given foreign morphemes which bear an opposition previously unknown in that language (*Aufbautyp mit Formenentlehnung*) or that the receiving language is given foreign morphemes in addition to the previous ones which remain so that the involved grammatical category is marked twice (which is also accounted for by the *Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung*) (cf. 2.1.2).

Systems are meant to be discrete when they diverge at all levels of the linguistic system, including vocabulary, to such an extent that they are recognised to be different languages (cf. 2.2). Since discreteness is a matter of degree, the point must be made that this study will not account for weakly discrete systems.

Furthermore, the present monograph takes into consideration only those cases which meet the above mentioned criteria (a) and (b).

According to (a), the investigated borrowed morphemes must have spread, even in a non productive way, to native words of the receiving language. This constraint rules out cases of morphemes that have remained attached to words which also have been imported from the donor language. Some examples of the excluded cases will be given in what follows. A first example is found in a Tūrōyo dialect (New Aramaic) spoken in the village Mīdin (in the Turkish province of Mardin) by 920 speakers (census for 1965) (Jastrow 1985:xv). The Kurdish adjectival feminine ending *-e* has been borrowed from Tūrōyo but has remained confined to just one adjective *rāṣt* 'right', as in *ʔídi ʔí-rāṣte* 'my right hand' (ib. p. 238). Analogous cases are recorded by Hill & Hill (1986) in Mexicano. Mexicano is an indigenous American language, spoken by thousands of peasants and workers in the Malinche Volcano region (Central Mexico) under strong cultural and linguistic pressure from Spanish. Mexicano was spoken by the ancient Toltecs and also by the Aztecs, the Tlaxcalans and many other peoples of Mexico and Central America. It is also referred to as Aztec or Nahuatl (ib. p. 1). Hill & Hill record that "while this Spanish suffix [the plural suffix *-s/-es*] is so common that it should be considered an addition to the repertoire of Mexicano plural suffixes, it is restricted to appearing on Spanish nouns, or on Hispanicised forms of Mexicano nouns" (ib. p. 164). In Mexicano, which is considered a "syncretic language" (ib. p. 1), forms are found like: *chiquihuite-s* 'baskets' (Mexicano pl. *chiquihuitl*), *chinamite-s* 'corn stalks' (Mexicano pl. *china:mitl*); some words seem to display double morphology in the plural: *soldádo-s-tin* 'soldier PL PL', *camion-es-tin* 'bus PL PL' (all examples are taken from Hill & Hill 1986:165).

Further examples that do not fit criterion (a) are found in the Romani dialects spoken in the Balkans. Both Comrie (1981:157) and Boretzky & Igla (1999:725) record that these dialects have borrowed, among others, the inflectional plural suffixes *-uri, -urja, -ura* from Romanian *-uri*: e.g. in the Kalderaš dialect *čobánurja* is plural of *čobános* 'shepherd'. These endings are not included into the present study for they apply only to European loans (*čobán* is a Slavic word) which undergo a different morphological treatment than the Indian inherited words (*Erbwörter*) and the pre-European loanwords (cf. Boretzky & Igla 1999:724).

Criterion (a) rules out also the borrowing of Sicilian (and more recently Italian) past participles endings into Maltese. Words of Romance origin which came into Maltese through Sicilian Italian are given a past participle ending *-at* for the verbs in *-a*, and the ending *-it* (for the more recent Italian loans) or *-ut* (for the Sicilian loans) for the verbs in *-i* (all given endings are masculine; feminine ends in *-at-a* and in the plural in *-at-i*): e.g. *ittrattat* 'treated' (from Italian *trattare*), *obdut* 'obeyed', *inkoraġġit* 'encouraged' (Italian *incoraggiare*). This is a

particular interesting case of borrowing for the Sicilian (Italian) past participle morphemes are added to English loans as well: e.g. *karrozza (ig)garaxxjata* 'garaged car' or *koppja involuta* 'involved pair' (both feminine) (all examples stem from Tosco 1993:322, 327). The morphemes mentioned have not been extended to native Semitic words.

According to (b), the investigated borrowed morphemes must maintain the meaning (and function) they had in the source language. That is, they are borrowed into the receiving language in order to either add new information (addition) or substitute indigenous means which carried out the same function (replacement). This condition rules out cases in which morphemes have been adopted and reanalysed, so as they have a meaning and function different from that of the source language. A clear example is found in Arvanítika, a variety of Tosk Albanian spoken in Greece for more than four centuries, which has been involved in an intense language contact with Greek, the socially dominant language (Tsitsipis 1998:1). When Greek nouns ending in -[a] enter Arvanítika, this ending is automatically replaced by -[ə]. Since -[a] is perceived by the Arvanítika speakers as the postposed Albanian definite feminine article, it is reintroduced as a definitization marker: e.g. *velónë* 'a needle', *velóna* 'the needle' (Tsitsipis 1998:22). I would like to point out that the instances taken from Arvanítika are used only to exemplify what it means that morphemes, once adopted, exert another function than they did before. Even possible occurrences of morphemic borrowing from Greek into Arvanítika would have been excluded from the investigated cases for they are individual phenomena and, moreover, produced by terminal speakers (cf. Tsitsipis 1998:61-62).

A result of reanalysis is also found in a Romani dialect spoken in Sliven, Bulgaria. This dialect has borrowed from Bulgarian the /l/ of the l-participle and reinterpreted it as a particle *li* marking the evidential category: e.g ... *ti kanatu nakhinas-li manuša opre phrucjatar, šunejlas-li racjasa: "Pavljo, Pavljo!"* '... and as people passed over the bridge, through the night was heard: *Pavljo, Pavljo!*' (Friedman 1999:533).

Cases in which the adopted morpheme is reanalysed as an "integration stem" (or integration element) are also ruled out by criterion (b). Occurrences of this kind are cited by Breu (1991a, 1991b). In Arbrësht, the Albanian dialect spoken near to Cosenza (Calabria, Southern Italy), the infinitive stem of Italian loans is used as "Integrationsstamm" to build the Aorist form: e.g. [sopravi'vir + ti] 'he survived' from Italian infinitive *sopravviv + ere* 'survive' with substitution of the very productive suffix *-ire* for *-ere*. Also German forms like *servier + en* 'to serve' from French *servir* belongs hereto. Sometimes the infinitive stem is bound with an auxiliary verb to carry out an infinitive: French *sténographier* 'to do shorthand' becomes in Turkish *stenograf(i)ye etmek*, where *etmek* means 'to do' (Breu 1991a:40-41). Choosing the infinitive form as integration stem implies that infinitive markers of the source language show up in finite forms of the receiving

language: e.g. Greek αριβάρω 'I arrive' has derived from Italian *arrivare* 'to arrive' (Breu 1991b:16).

Not only infinitives function as integration stems. For example, the integration of Greek loans into Arvanítika occurs through the conjunctive aorist stem: e.g. given the Greek verb αγαπώ 'I love' and the conjunctive aorist form να αγαπήσω, the stem [aγa'pis-] forms Arvanítika [aγa'pis] 'I love' and [aγa'pisa] 'I loved'. The present stem of Greek loan words (e.g αγαπ-) does not show up in Arvanítika (Breu 1991b:16). By contrast, the Greek aorist marker *-s-* has become very productive as "Kennzeichen für die Entlehnung" (Breu 1991b:18), not only when Greek words are borrowed into Arvanítika but "das ehemals griechische *-s-* ist auf diese Weise zum gemeinbalkanischen Integrationssuffix geworden" (Breu 1991a.45). For example, when Turkish verbs are borrowed into Serbo-Croatian, they are integrated through the addition of *-s-* to the Turkish preterit form in *-di-*: e.g. Turkish *sevmek* 'to love', preterit *sevdi-* becomes in Serbo-Croatian *sev+di+s+ati* 'to love' (cf. Breu 1991b:18-19).

Beyond all mentioned selection criteria also those cases are excluded for which no satisfactory or no explication at all can be provided. This is the case for Latin *-eta* in the Bask plural, French *-s* in the German plural, Caucasian *-k'* in the Armenian plural, Armenian *-iw* in the Georgian instrumental. All this is mentioned by Schuchardt (1928^2:195) in footnote 1 without any further explanation and needs to be studied more accurately. In an article on the similarity of New Indo-Aryan and Dravidian Andronov (1964:124) mentions the transfer of the objective case suffixes *-ku* and *-ke* from Dravidian into Oriya and Bengali, of plural suffixes *-rā* (human) and *-gulō/-guli* (non-human) from Dravidian into Bengali, of the infinitive suffix *-nā* from Hindi into Gondi and Kurukh, of another infinitive suffix *-le* from Eastern Marathi into Gondi, and of the future tense suffix *-b-* (from *-v-*) from Dravidian into the eastern group of Indo-Aryan. Andronov himself admits that these cases of transfer have been viewed as borrowings in absence of a better explanation, so that a doubt is left whether these occurrences are due to borrowing proper or rather due to imperfect learning in a shift process accomplished within the Indian Sprachbund (cf. the discussion in Thomason & Kaufman 1988:139-144).

3.3 Focus questions

As pointed out in section 1.4, students of language have gathered supporting evidence that borrowing of high bound morphemes is possible. This acknowledgement is the starting point of this study. According to the goals of the present monograph, eight research questions are tackled according to four main analysis categories:

Types and extent of inflectional borrowing:

1) What morphological categories are borrowed?
2) What morphological categories are borrowed more frequently?
3) To what extent may borrowing of inflectional morphemes occur? Are there, for instance, cases of borrowing of a whole paradigm of inflectional forms recorded?

Effects of inflectional borrowing on the receiving language:

4) What types of effect on the structure of the recipient language does borrowing of inflectional morphemes result into? Does borrowing of inflectional morphemes bring about new distinctions, i.e. new opposition systems within the recipient language?
5) If yes, is replacement or addition (i.e. the emergence of new systemic oppositions) the more frequent result?

Factors supporting inflectional borrowing:

6) Are there factors which may influence and support borrowing of inflectional morphemes?
7) Are factors influencing and supporting borrowing of inflectional morphemes of language-internal or rather language-external nature?

Direction of inflectional borrowing:

8) Which direction does borrowing take?

3.3.1 Factors favouring inflectional borrowing

In order to provide a comprehensive analysis of which factors may favour inflectional borrowing a holistic, combined approach is required which views the phenomenon from different angles and considers the interplay between sociological factors and mere structural-linguistic ones.

> A full account of interference in a language-contact situation, including the diffusion, persistence, and evanescence of a particular interference phenomenon, is possible only if the extra-linguistic factors are considered. (Weinreich 1953:3)
> It is thus in a broad psychological and socio-cultural setting that language contact can be best understood. (ib. p. 4)

In accordance with this framework, two interacting levels of analysis are to be covered: the external setting on the one hand, and the structural-linguistic actuality of the languages involved in a contact situation on the other hand (a similar, though not identical, approach is applied to the investigation of language death phenomena by Sasse 1992a:9-11). Further factors such as the attitudes of the receiving language's speakers toward the source language may also play an important role (cf. Weinreich 1953:3-4; Thomason 2001:77-85). Unfortunately, these factors are very difficult to be detected in a diachronic study and will, thus, be not accounted for in the ensuing analysis.

3.3.1.1 Extra-linguistic factors

The external setting encompasses a wide range of extra-linguistic factors of social, cultural, economic, and ethno-historical nature. In a multilingual setting they may cause a situation of pressure upon one linguistic group and its language with possible consequences on the internal structure of that language.

Of course, long-term contact with diffused multilingualism is the necessary prerequisite for extensive structural borrowing (cf. Thomason & Kaufman 1988:67). Geerts (1987:600) states that

> the degree of intensity of the cultural contacts and their duration are also important factors. The influence of casual individual travellers, businessmen, tourists or missionaries certainly differs from that of permanent settlements, conquests, invasions, deportations and mass immigration.

The extra-linguistic setting primarily concerns the intensity of contact. This involves factors of level of multilingual proficiency and duration of the contact:

(a) *Degree of multilingualism.* Thomason & Kaufman (1988:67) claim that "all cases of moderate to heavy structural borrowing [...] involve a group of active bilinguals who speak the source language fluently and use it regularly for at least some ordinary communicative purposes". The more intensive a contact situation is, the higher is the level of multilingual proficiency supposed to be. The higher the level of multilingual proficiency is, the more likely it is that not only vocabulary but also structure is borrowed. It must be stressed that for linguistic structure to be borrowed a high level of multilingual proficiency is necessary, i.e. the borrowing group must have a good command of the source language's structure. Clearly, it is not possible to borrow what is not known. On the other hand, the fact that a change has not occurred does not imply that it could not have occurred.

(b) *Duration of the contact*. If extensive multilingualism persists over a long period of time the probability that structure is moved is given (cf. Weinreich 1953:103).

Within the external setting additional factors may be pinned down as they may be of relevance in favouring morphemic borrowing. I have envisaged them in what follows:

(c) *Socio-economic dominance* on the part of one group upon the other(s). Dominant groups may impose their language upon the subordinate population(s) living within their sphere of dominance. Nevertheless, it is important to stress that the "degree of cultural diffusion will [not necessarily] correlate with degree of linguistic diffusion" (Thomason 2001:126).

(d) *Prestige and status of the involved languages*. A language which is invested with a higher prestige may exert its influence on other languages it is in contact with and be less subject to foreign influence. Inversely, a language with low social prestige hardly exerts its influence upon other linguistic communities and is more open to foreign influence. The matter of need, i.e. the function of a high-status language in social advancement, is related to that of prestige. Becoming skilled at a second language may be a means to social advance and for securing social status (cf. Weinreich 1953:78-79).

(e) *Language loyalty*. Weinreich (1953:99) designates it as

> the state of mind in which the language (like the nationality), as an intact entity, and in contrast to other languages, assumes a high position in a scale of values, a position in need of being 'defended'.

Language loyalty shows up, thus, in the attitude of the speaker's community to explicitly resist changes in either the functions or in the linguistic subsystems of its language.

(f) *Size of the groups involved in the contact*. Demographic facts may play an important role in occurrences of borrowing in that, if demographic asymmetry obtains between communities in contact, the smaller group is more likely to acquire features from the more numerous one than if the two communities are equal in size (cf. Thomason 2001:66). It may also occur that the multilingual community is split into several subgroups which use one or the other language as their mother tongue. In some cases only one sub-group, for example that of the men in Arnhem Land (Australia), is multilingual (cf. Heath 1978:19). Sometimes there is no predominance of one group over the other, nor large discrepancies in population sizes.

(g) *Intermarriage* (or *exogamy*). Interlinguistic marriage is a very frequent occurrence in multilingual settings. Intermingling favours intimate social contact among the groups and the development of joint communities. The bilingual family may be envisaged as the primary source of multilinguistic transmission.

3.3.1.2 Intra-linguistic factors

The second set of data relevant to the analysis of morphological borrowing stems from the intra-linguistic actuality of the languages involved in a contact situation. The intra-linguistic setting comprises structural (h, i, j), functional (k), and semantic (l, m) factors. As outlined in 2.3, typological closeness may be an important linguistic factor in supporting structural borrowing. Some other structural predictors can be identified:

(h) *Reinforcement*, i.e. *replacement of zero-morphemes, shorter and phonetically weaker forms through non-zero-morphemes, longer or phonetically stronger forms*. The presence of the same grammatical categories in a language A and a language B that are in contact may turn into replacement of a native (actual) morpheme M^1 through a new source language's morpheme M^2. Given a contact setting involving a language A and a language B, the presence of a zero-morpheme or a very short morpheme M^1 in A may facilitate the borrowing of the corresponding non-zero morpheme or longer form M^2 from B. Weinreich (ib.) asserts that

> [t]he bilingual speaker apparently feels a need to express some categories of one system no less strongly than in the other, and transfers morphemes accordingly for purposes of reinforcement.

This claim revolves around the notion of formal renewal, as argued by Weinreich (1953:33):

> "significantly, the transferred morphemes in several of the cited examples are introduced to replace zeros or phonemically less bulky forms".

That is, according to Weinreich there is a tendency to renew pre-existing morphological categories rather than to create a new morphological category filled by a borrowed morpheme.

This tendency corresponds to an increase of iconicity. The encoding of a category Cj is said to be iconic if and only if "a semantically more marked Cj is encoded as 'more' featured than a less marked category Ci" (Dressler *et al.* 1987:48-49).

(i) *Sharpness of boundaries* may favour borrowing. As Heath (1978:106) argues, the concept of sharpness of boundaries chiefly rests on the contrast with zero.

> That is, if a stem X can occur in isolation, and can also occur in a combination X-Y (or Y-X) with some bound morpheme Y, then the morpheme boundary between X and Y is sharp. [...] In cases where X cannot occur in the isolation form, but only occurs in a series

> of combination x-y[1], x-y[2], etc., the morpheme boundary between X and the suffixes is not as sharp as it would be if there were an unmarked form X. (ib.)

According to this principle, morphological processes involving umlaut or paradigmatic inflexional forms are less sharply and unmistakably segmentable, thus rather impeding factors of borrowing. As it requires a clear morphological contour between the morphological exponents, sharpness of boundaries is an example of morphotactic transparency. Morphotactic transparency is given if the "perceptual, morphological segmentation into base and suffix is undisturbed" (Dressler *et al.* 1987:102; cf. also ib. pp. 116-117).

(j) *Categorical clarity* refers to the parameters of transparency (both morphosemantic and morphotactic) and biuniqueness (cf. Dressler *et al.* 1987:48-50). Weinreich (1953:34) claims that

> other things being equal, and cultural considerations apart, morphemes with complex grammatical functions seem to be less likely to be transferred by the bilingual than those with simpler functions.

Categorical clarity does not mean portmanteau status but functional embeddedness, i.e. the grammatical function of a morpheme can be understood without considering the context of its broader morphosyntactic environment. In the Australian language Nunggubuyu inflectional suffixes marking 'PAST' can be further specified as past continuous, past negative, past potential, or past negative potential only by accounting for the entire verb complex and by referring to prefixes and particles (cf. Heath 1978:107). Thus, in this case the suffixes are to be viewed as categorically opaque.

(k) *Filling of functional gaps*. The lack of shared structural similarity may trigger and stimulate borrowing. The idea is that borrowing may exercise a therapeutic function in that it fills functional gaps. When a language A lacking some oppositions or devices comes in contact with a language B which possesses them, the speakers of A may perceive these gaps and, when they become more familiar with B, take B as a model to fill them. Borrowing may, thus, create or renew oppositions and, in this way, establish a more symmetrical system.

(l) *Monofunctionality*. Monofunctionality is the result of a universal tendency towards biuniqueness, i.e. relational invariance between signatum and signans (Dressler *et al.* 1987:111-116). Referring to unifunctionality, Heath (1978:106) claims that unifunctional morphemes carry out only a single function. As a result, cumulative exponence (portmanteau status), which is typical of inflectional classes (cf. 2.5), would rather be an impeding factor of borrowing. Heath stresses that unifunctionality does not mean that a morpheme has no secondary function in a specialised environment. Rather, it chiefly refers to the morpheme's predominant function in its most salient uses.

(m) *Semantic fullness*. Semantically weak or redundant morphemes may be less likely to borrow, as stated by Campbell (1993:103). Within inflection, morphemes bearing a rather clear semantic content such as aspect, tense, gender, number in nouns, and genitive (all belonging to inherent inflection, cf. 2.5) may be more easily borrowable than others bearing more abstract contents.

3.4 Predictions

Moving from the main analysis categories formulated in 3.3, in this section I will tackle the principal research questions of this monograph and put forward five predictions on the nature, the extent, and the outcomes of inflectional borrowings.

As touched upon in 2.5, inflection is relevant to syntax since it produces the word forms which reflect the grammatical functions within sentences, such as case, number, or tense. Inflection may be further subdivided into contextual inflection occurring when particular forms of a word are required by the syntactic context and inherent inflection which depends on the free speech intention of the speaker. Inherent inflection is more similar to derivation than contextual inflection under at least four aspects (cf. Haspelmath 2002:82): first, it may not apply universally (many English nouns display no plural form, e.g. **informations*); second, an inflected form may occasionally bear an unpredictable meaning (Dutch *ouder* means 'parent', although one would expect 'older'); third, inherent inflection is more likely to bring about base allomorphy than contextual inflection (English *sing/sings* (agreement) vs. *sing/sang* (tense)); fourth, the rare cases where an inflectional affix is closer to the base/stem/root than a derivational affix (German *Kind-er-chen*, 'child-PL-DIM'), or where an inflectional affix occurs on the first member of a compound (English *publications list*), involve morphemes which commonly belong to inherent inflection.

Trying to answer the question what morphological categories are borrowed more frequently, two matters of fact are to be considered. First, inherent inflection is more similar to derivation than contextual inflection. Second, derivation is more easily borrowable than inflexion. Moving from this observation, the following prediction is made:

1) The morphological categories belonging to inherent inflection are borrowed more easily, hence more frequently, than categories pertinent to contextual inflection.

Languages in contact may be typologically very divergent. The contact of typologically different languages may thus lead to the shift of new structures. As far as the present study is concerned, I have focussed on cases involving typologically distant languages only. Therefore it cannot be excluded that oppositions present in the system of the source language are introduced into the receiving language which had ignored them hitherto. Thus the following prediction is made:

2) Borrowing of inflectional morphemes may bring about new system oppositions within the recipient language.

As for the types of effect on the structure of the recipient language into which borrowing of inflectional morphemes may result, the distinguishing criterion is [± emergence of new systemic oppositions] along with the presence or absence of direct transfer (cf. 2.1.2). The question arising is, thus, what is the more frequent type of effect: addition (i.e. + emergence of new systemic oppositions) or replacement (i.e. – emergence of new systemic oppositions)? On the one hand the increase of system oppositions, i.e. the introduction of oppositions which were previously unknown to the receiving language, should represent a rather difficult obstacle to overcome. On the other hand, the speakers involved in the contact settings analysed display a high degree of multilingual proficiency. Thus, the introduction of new opposition systems is supposed to be quite facilitated as it means transferring oppositions which are already present in the mental systems of the speakers. Nevertheless, the difficulty for a language system to develop new oppositions may still build a burden quite hard to overcome. Thus the following prediction is made:

3) The *Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung* as a type of effect/result of borrowing of inflectional morphemes on the structure of the recipient language may come along more frequently than the *Aufbautyp mit Formenentlehnung*.

Factors influencing and favouring borrowing of inflectional morphemes may be of both language external and language internal nature. Thomason & Kaufman (1988:19) claim that it is the social context, not the structure of the languages involved in a contact setting, which determines the degree of interference. Similarly, I acknowledge that extra-linguistic factors may play a more substantial role in the dynamics of heavy structural.

Nevertheless, I claim that also intra-linguistic factors, in particular those which respond to requirements of naturalness (in the sense of Dressler 2000) such as iconicity (h), morphotactic and morphosemantic transparency (i, j), and biuniqueness (j, l) may influence inflectional borrowing as they may facilitate the shift of structural elements from the source language to the receiving one. Overall semantic factors may also favour the occurrence of inflectional borrowing because semantics has directly to do with the psychological and psycholinguistic reality of the speakers (cf. Metzeltin 2004). Moving from the issue outlined above, the following prediction is made:

4) Factors which respond to requirements of naturalness may display a relevant influence rating in favouring inflectional borrowings. Overall semantic factors may favour borrowing of inflectional morphemes to a large extent too. Differently, functional factors may play no substantial role in the process.

The last question arises whether borrowing occurs asymmetrically or in a roughly even way. Geerts (1987:600) warns that

> it is [...] important not to lose sight of the degree of (a)symmetry in cultural relationships. Military, economic or religious imperialism may, but need to be, bound up with linguistic imperialism.

The directionality problem is of interest in the field of contact-induced linguistic transfer for it reveals how strongly cultural pressure may influence the process of borrowing. Rindler Schjerve (2000:433) claims that in situations of unstable diglossia "also borrowings are very often asymmetric and generally affect the socially subordinate language much more than the dominant one".

In this context the notion of "dominance configuration", as proposed by Weinreich (1953:79), can be brought into exam. He states that there is

> a multiplicity of factors [...] by each of which one of a bilingual's two languages may be termed "dominant" [and that] the dominance of a language for a bilingual individual can only be interpreted as a specific configuration or syndrome of characteristics on which the language is rated.

Among the dominance factors mentioned by Weinreich those which seem to comply with the analysis of inflectional borrowing are "usefulness in communication", "function in social advance", and "literary-cultural value" (cf. ib. pp. 74-79). Hereto belong also demographic superiority and socio-political dominance. Resting on them it is possible to establish the dominance profile of a language over the other(s) it is in contact with. This language may serve as the source of interference. On the grounds of these observations, the following prediction is made:

5) Status of the language and socio-linguistic circumstances, such as socio-economic or demographic dominance of one group over the other(s), tend to play a striking role in the direction of borrowing. Morphemes will usually be borrowed from the language which is invested with a higher prestige into a less prestigious language.

IV Case studies

This chapter will present several case studies of contact situations in which borrowing of inflectional morphemes has occurred. It is organised as follows. Each section will provide an overview of the overall sociolinguistic situation of the contact setting. This will comprise, whenever available, information about the multilingual society, the number of speakers, the degree of the societal multilingual competence, intermarriage, status as well as prestige of the involved languages. This will be followed by the presentation of the actual data on inflectional borrowing.

It is not sensible to present the case studies following merely linguistic criteria (such as replacement vs. addition, moderate vs. heavy borrowing, or productive vs. non productive morphemes) since this would mean repeating the information about the sociolinguistic context. Nonetheless, the presence or absence of productivity may approximately be recognised by the order of presentation of the case studies: the cases presented first show a greater degree of productivity than the following ones.

Three of the case studies presented concern borrowings that have developed in the Arnhem Land Sprachbund, further five cases have developed in the Balkan Sprachbund. Therefore, sections 4.1 and 4.3 will be devoted to a brief outline of the Arnhem Land and Balkan linguistic areas respectively. Eventually, 4.6 will be aimed at the case of some Arabic dialects spoken in Uzbekistan. No description of the sociolinguistic context will be presented since no data is available for this particular setting. The case of the dialect of Denno illustrated in the introduction will not be included because a more detailed field work on it should be undertaken.

4.1 Arnhem Land

Arnhem Land is a region of Northern Australia where linguistic diffusion has occurred to a particularly large extent. This is described in a monographic study by Heath (1978) who provides both numerous instances of direct as well as indirect borrowing, and a comprehensive analysis of the occurred phenomena.

The data collected refers to four Aboriginal languages spoken in Eastern Arnhem Land: Ritharngu, Ngandi, Nunggubuyu, and Warndarang. They belong to two different language families. Ritharngu belongs to the Yuulngu [ju:lŋu] family (whose name is based on the word for 'human, man, Aboriginal') which comprises also Nhaangu, Dhaangu, Djaangu, Dhuwal, Dhuwala, and Dhay?yi (all named after the form of the demonstrative 'this'). Ngandi, Nunggubuyu, and

Warndarang belong, among others, to the prefixing languages, a term applied to the non-Yuulngu languages as a genetic label (cf. ib. pp. 2, 3). When the two groups came together by migrations, after having evolved in different parts of the continent, they had diverged structurally and lexically from the supposed Common Australian to such an overwhelming extent that only fewest cognate affixes and lexical items could be found (ib. p. 12).

The prefixing languages are much less homogeneous than the Yuulngu languages, so that further three subgroups may be identified within them. For the aims of this monograph it suffices to stress that Ngandi and Nunggubuyu form one subgroup to the north with a common ancestor Proto-Ngandi-Nunggubuyu (ib. p. 5), while another subgroup to the south consists of Warndarang along with Mara and Alawa, arisen from a common ancestor Proto-Warndarang-Mara-Alawa (ib. p. 7). The genetic connection between the two divisions is quite remote but assured (ib. p. 10). Ngandi and Nunggubuyu are closer to each other than to Warndarang. Nonetheless, they are not mere dialects of each other because substantial development has occurred since the Proto-period, so that now "mutual intelligibility is completely impossible" (ib. p. 5). No doubt they are, thus, discrete systems.

The description of the sociolinguistic context will account only for the languages involved in the process of borrowing. These are Ritharngu, Ngandi, Nunggubuyu, and Warndarang. A turning point in the history of these Aboriginal communities was the contact with European settlements and missions in the 1920s, which altered the original situation (ib. p. 20). Before this date, these linguistic communities had geographical and social contact except for Ritharngu with Warndarang. Aborigines used to distinguish between top (inland) people and bottom (coastal) people: Ritharngu and Ngandi were top people, whereas Nunggubuyu and Warndarang were considered bottom people. Important social contact usually occurred between communities of the same range (ib. p. 14).

Heath stresses the close connection between Ritharngu and Ngandi and their social interaction. Multilingualism is an aspect of their social relationship since they equate language with clan identity. The population of Ritharngu is a quite larger group than all others and amounted by Heath's writing to 300 or 400 members. The pre-contact Ngandi group probably consisted of 60 or 70 persons subdivided into three small clans (ib. pp. 15, 17).

Before 1920 the Nunggubuyu had their most important contacts with the Warndarang. The latter were seen by the Nunggubuyu as the upper group, they were the bosses for the circumcision ceremony and their men were often invited to officiate at ceremonies. As opposed, the Warndarang had not much of dependence on the Nunggubuyu. The pre-contact relationships between the two groups are described by Heath's informants as friendly and close. By 1978 the Nunggubuyu population numbered 300 which also included some former and later absorbed Warndarang clans. The Nunggubuyu had never been object of deportation, or victims of massacres and epidemics. Before some Warndarang joined them after and because of European contact the Nunggubuyu were likely to amount to 150-200 members. On the contrary, the Warndarang people were scattered in the 1920s by the establishment of missions. Originally they were probably about 150-200 people (ib. pp. 16, 17).

A less narrow relationship existed between the Nunggubuyu clans and the Ritharngu ones since they were traditional enemies. Nevertheless, contact of both trading and social nature occurred. They conducted commercial exchange, attended ceremonies jointly, and there was some intermarriage. As for the contact between the Nunggubuyu and the Ngandi hardly anything has been recorded (ib. p. 16).

On the whole, all of the linguistic groups here consist of four or five patriclans which in turn are made up by round 40 persons. The basic marriage rules are essentially the same for all clans. The Ritharngu, the Ngandi and the Nunggubuyu have named strictly exogamous patrimoieties: most commonly with classificatory matrilateral second cousin. The Warndarang have named patrilineal semimoieties. Endogamy is quite rare owing to moiety intermarriage and several genealogical constraints, especially in a small language group as the Ngandi. Interlinguistic marriage has always been common in this area and has become institutionalised within the Yuulngu family (ib. pp. 17, 18).

Each group of patriclans lived apart from the others but reassembled annually at the end of the dry season to collect vegetable food and to hold major ceremonies, where men of other groups were also invited. On these occasions considerable social interaction was accomplished, which might turn into the arranging of interlinguistic marriages. It was common practise for the bride to join her husbands group after the marriage. Children born thereafter were exposed to and raised in the native languages of both parents. Each child was introduced to the mothers tongue first and the fathers tongue next. Only as a fully grown member of the fathers group the primary language used by the child would be the fathers tongue. This was a pattern common to all groups in Arnhem Land and displayed an especially strong normative character within the Yuulngu family. Although the language of the fathers' was predominant within the community, each child retained the use of their mother's language in virtue of secondary identification with the mothers original group. The relationship between a man and his mothers clan went beyond the sphere of ritual obligations and included also important rights and duties: in order to make important political decisions the clan of the mother would consult her son, even though he belonged to another group. Since this relationship was a lasting one it offered many occasions for the son to use his mother's native language. By all means, (male) individuals born in an interlinguistic marriage might always be assumed to be bilingual (ib. pp. 18-19). They acquired a "reasonable competence in one or two languages other than

[their] native one [and were] likely to use them only in certain situations" (ib. p. 142). This information chiefly refers to the pre-contact period.

The situation today looks quite different, since is has been altered through the establishment of missions and settlements from the 1920s onwards. Warndarag has died out in 1974, Ngandi is now spoken by a small number of old and middle-aged speakers while Nunggubuyu has become the standard language at Numbulwar Mission. In cases of intermarriage, English or Pidgin English is used as the medium of communication (ib. p. 20). It is important to stress that the data collected by Heath stems from old, fluent speakers. It is, thus, reliable and by no means altered by post-contact influences (ib.).

Inflectional borrowing has occurred between 1) Ritharngu and Ngandi, 2) Ngandi and Nunggubuyu, 3) Nunggubuyu and Warndarang. These relationships will be reflected in the order of presentation of the borrowing instances. All borrowed morphemes are applied to native words and have become productive (Heath, p.c. 04.03.2002).

4.1.1 Ritharngu into Ngandi and vice versa

As far as the first group is concerned, it should be recalled that the two languages are "separated in genetic terms by a tremendous gulf" (Heath 1978:14). Ngandi has borrowed the case marker *-du* for ergative-instrumental from Ritharngu where *-du* is the predominant ergative-instrumental allomorph (ib. pp. 74-77). Cf. the following example:

(1) *na-diŋ?-du* 'the woman ERG'

Since prior to this borrowing Ngandi lacked the ergative-instrumental case, a new opposition has been brought into the system of Ngandi (cf. ib. pp. 115-116) Thus, this borrowing accounts for the *Aufbautyp mit Formenentlehnung*.

Ngandi has borrowed from Ritharngu also the genitive-dative-purposive suffix (ib. p. 86):

(2) *-gu*

No example of this suffix added to lexemes is provided. It is not clear to which kind of change this borrowing belongs since no information is available about whether or not there were genitive, dative, or purposive suffixes in Ngandi prior to the borrowing (ib. p. 84).

On the other hand, Ritharngu has borrowed from Ngandi the suffix *-ka?* (corresponding to Ngandi *-ko?*) marking the dyadic dual for kin-terms (ib. p. 92).

It approximately means 'a pair of relatives, one of whom calls the other K'. An example follows (ib. p. 116):

(3) *ba:pa-ka?* 'father and son/daughter' from *ba:pa* 'father'

Since other Yuulngu languages distinguish between simple dual and reciprocal-dyad dual (ib. p. 116), it is likely that also Ritharngu displayed a form for this category. Thus, this borrowing may account for the *Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung* as replacement.

4.1.2 Nunggubuyu into Ngandi

Within the second contact group, Ngandi has borrowed from Nunggubuyu a relative suffix meaning 'about, concerning' but also genitive. This suffix is sporadically used (ib. p. 86):

(4) *-yiñuŋ*

No actual example of the suffix added to lexemes is provided. Furthermore, it is not possible to pin down which kind of change this borrowing accounts for since no information is given about the pre-borrowing state of affairs (ib. p. 84).

4.1.3 Nunggubuyu into Warndarang

The third contact setting concerns Warndarang and Nunggubuyu. Warndarang has borrowed the ablative suffix from Nunggubuyu (cf. ib. p. 81):

(5) *-wala*

No concrete example of realization is provided. As for the type of change, it seems to be a case of replacement (*Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung*), since *-wala* has probably replaced a suffix akin to *-yani* or *-yunu*, which are found in the related Mara and Alawa, respectively.

Furthermore, Warndarang has borrowed from Pre-Nunggubuyu the following noun-class prefixes marking the third, fourth and fifth class for non-human beings (ib. p. 91):

(6) III class: *(r)a-*, e.g. *ŋa-gu-ra* 'III 1st sg.' (a pronominal combination)
IV class: *wu-*
V class: *ma-*

For the IV and V classes no examples are reported. Warndarang uses noun-class markers to link adjectives to the correct nouns, and with independent pronouns and demonstratives. This change is to be accounted for as *Aufbautyp mit Formenentlehnung* since neither Mara nor Alawa (which build with Warndarang a genetic subgroup within the prefixing languages) displays these forms (cf. ib. p. 90). However, the adaptation of this system has not turned out to be useful in so far as the language "has not taken advantage of all the functional possibilities for noun-class prefix systems" (ib. p. 116).

4.2 Turkish into Asia Minor Greek

The Asia Minor Greek case is discussed in detail in Dawkins' 1916 impressive study. It is a case of very strong cultural pressure that gave rise to heavy structural borrowing. Dawkins deals with dialects of Greek-speaking populations that were apparently native to Asia or had at least been settled there since pre-Turkish times (ib. p. 5). His study does not account for those Greek-speaking areas along the western fringe of Asia Minor where not much time before the elicitation of the data Greek schools had been planted and communities settled. The investigated dialects were spoken in the regions of Cappadocia, Sílli, and Pharasa.

The Greek dialects spoken in these regions stood in a subordinated position to the surrounding Turkish. They were only preserved orally and threatened by a superimposed language of completely different type. Dawkins records that the disappearance of Greek in the face of Turkish began very early and cites a document of 1437, which is testimony to the fact that Greek was being dismissed as the language of the Church in some parts of Asia Minor as early as in the middle of the fifteenth century (ib. p. 1, note 1). Relatively recent figures show that the shift which Dawkins refers to was still going on after World War One: the census for 1927 numbered 119,822 Greek speakers in Turkey while in 1955 only 81,799 lived there (cf. Thomason & Kaufman 1988:215). The decrease in the Greek element was also due to the fact that after World War One some Asia Minor Greeks were forced to move to Greece. The remaining Greek speakers were subject to such a strong pressure that they were incorporating more and more Turkish features into their native tongue. As for bilingual proficiency among the Greek communities Dawkins seems to imply that it was widespread (Dawkins 1916:2) although it did not affect the whole of them in equal terms (cf. ib. p. 209).

As far as the linguistic state of the Greek dialects studied by Dawkins is concerned, they have all undergone heavy lexical borrowing including content and function words and many verbs (ib. p. 197) As for syntax, Dawkins records that the Turkish influence on the Greek dialects had been so strong that "the Turkish has replaced the Greek spirit; the body has remained Greek, but the soul has become Turkish" (ib. p. 198). Also phonology and morphology have been affected to a large extent (cf. ib. p. 203) The most striking contact-induced structural change was the shift from flexional to partly agglutinative morphological patterns of nominal and verbal inflection in several Cappadocian villages (cf. ib. p. 114).

Only the Cappadocian dialect of Semenderé and the dialect of Sílli are integral to this monograph. I will first introduce the sociolinguistic setting of these dialects and then present and analyse the cases of inflectional borrowings which have taken place.

Dawkins mentions a group of twenty villages which he refers to as Cappadocian. All but Arabisón lie inside a lozenge-shaped area, at four angles of which Tyana is to the south, Develi-Kara-Hissar to the east, Ürgüp to the north, and Nazianzos (Nenizt) to the west. They are: Demesó, Freték, Araván, Ghúrzono, Ulaghátsh, Semenderé, Mistí with its colonies Díla, Tsharaklý, and Jeklék, Axó, Trokhó, Malakopí, Phloïtá, Sílata, Anakú, Sinasós, Zaléla, Potámia, and Arabisón (ib. p. 10).

Among these villages, Semenderé counted 1800 Christians and 400 Moslems between 1895 and 1899, and 1300 Christians and 700 Moslems around 1905. Dawkins states that in this village Greek was rapidly dying out when he was studying it. This disappearance was supported by the increase in the Turkish-speaking population (ib. p. 18).

The dialect of Sílli is slightly less affected from Turkish than the Cappadocian dialects are (ib. p. 204). Sílli is a large village that lies in a valley near Konia and is partly inhabited by Greeks. It was first mentioned in 1766 when all people living there were Greek Christians (this village was called *gâvur köy* 'village of the infidels' by the Turks) who spoke a dialect of Greek hardly understood by other Greeks. The common people spoke no further language. There were roughly 3,500 Christians around 1900 and just as many Moslems; the statistics of 1905 gave 3,000 Christians and 4,000 Moslems; at the time of Dawkins' writing there were 2,250 Christians and 5,750 Moslems. These figures betray an incessant increase in the Turkish element which is to be traced back to economic reasons and, since the Constitutional Reform in Turkey, to the additional hardships inflicted upon the Christians, such as the liability to serve in the army. Sílli was surrounded by Turkish villages and no other Greek communities had ever been in the neighbourhood. Dawkins envisages the increase in the number of Turks, in the good schools and in the facilities which the railway offered for getting away a potential threat for the maintenance of the Greek dialect in the time to ensue. A

countertendency was supported by the newly established carpet industry and by the increasing importance of Konia as a centre which could somehow check the bleeding of the Greek communities through emigration (cf. ib. pp. 35-36).

Dawkins reports that the dialect spoken in Semenderé has borrowed the ending *-k* for the 1st person plural past and the ending *-iniz* for general 2nd person plural from Turkish (ib. p. 144). He makes the example of κέτουνμιστικ, κέτουνστινιζ. These borrowings, as analysed by Dawkins, are likely to have become productive since he refers to the "the 1st and 2nd pl. *at* Semenderé" (Dawkins 1916:144, my emphasis). Furthermore, Dawkins claims that the dialect of Sílli has borrowed from Turkish the endings for the 1st and 2nd person plural in the present deponent. Dawkins exemplifies this with the verbs έρχουμου (or έρχουμι) 'I come', κοιμούμου (or κοιμούμι) 'I sleep', and φρηκούμου (or φρηκούμι) 'I listen' (ib. pp. 58-59). Dawkins' analysis is not fully convincing as I will show hereunder. I will distinguish two types of inflectional borrowing according to the borrowed morphological categories.

As far as κέτουνμιστικ, κέτουνστινιζ is concerned, Dawkins does not add any information about the meaning of this verb. The Greek verb, which seems to come closest to it, is κάθομαι 'to sit (down)' (Eleni Gara, p.c. 13.06.02).

Starting with the borrowing case of the category 1st plural past, as in:

(7) κέτουνμιστι-κ

I propose the following analysis: κέτ-ουνμι corresponds to κάθ-ομαι. κέτ-ουνμιστι-κ corresponds to the standard *paratatikos* form of the present stem κάθ-ομασταν (1st plural past). The variations θ:τ and ε:ι are plausible in this dialect. This analysis is licit if we consider the dialect form καθομεστε bearing double accent on κα and με. The -κ is the 1st person plural past from Turkish. In this way, the given example would mean 'we sat'. As for the type of change, it does not bring any new opposition into the Greek system so that *Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung* (of an additive kind) is accounted for.

A further case of inflectional borrowing in the contact setting Turkish-Asia Minor Greek concerns both the dialect of Semendré and the dialect of Sílli. As touched on above, Dawkins claims that the dialect of Semendré has borrowed the ending *-iniz* for general 2nd person plural from Turkish. Moreover, according to Dawkins the dialect of Sílli has borrowed from Turkish the endings for the 1st and 2nd person plural in the present deponent and these endings have been added to the Greek morphemes (ib. p. 59). Dawkins exemplifies this with the verbs έρχουμου (or έρχουμι) 'I come', κοιμούμου (or κοιμούμι) 'I sleep', and φρηκούμου (or φρηκούμι) 'I listen' (ib. pp. 58-59) but he does not provide any information about the corresponding forms in Standard Modern Greek. In what follows I will show that Dawkins' analysis is not correct and put forward a different hypothesis.

The forms where inflectional borrowing from Turkish show up are the following:

(8) a) 1) έρχουμιστινιζ (or έρχουμιστι);
2) κοιμούμιστινιζ;
3) φρηκούμιστινιζ;
b) 1) έρσιστινιζ (or έρσιστι)
2) κοιμάστινιζ
3) φρηκάστινιζ
c) 4) κέτουνστινιζ 'you sat'

The verbs in (8a) are 1st plural forms, those in (8b) and (8c) are 2nd plural forms. All these forms stem from Sílli but the one accounted for in (8c) which is a Semendré form (cf. (7) above). According to my investigation, all three Sílli forms stem from genuine Greek verbs: έρχομαι, κοιμάμαι, and probably (α)γρικώ or αφουγκράζομαι. Dawkins postulates the borrowing of the Turkish morphemes *-iz* for the 1st person plural and *-siniz* for the 2nd plural. If this postulate were correct then we had to assume that the 1st person plural forms are παρατάτικος whereas the 2nd person plural forms would be ενέστοτας forms with lapse of the -[s]-. In this case the morphological analysis would look as follows:

1st plural	2nd plural
έρχ-ουμιστιν-ιζ	έρχ-ουσιστ-ινιζ
κοιμ-ούμιστιν-ιζ	κοιμ-άστ-ινιζ
φρηκ-ούμιστιν-ιζ	φρηκ-άστ-ινιζ

table 1

Compare the Modern Greek conjugation for the deponent verbs from the present stem in the plural:

	ενέστοτας	*παρατάτικος*
1st	-ομαστε	-ομασταν
2nd	-εστε	-οσασταν

table 2

Dawkins' assumption cannot be correct because the paradigmatic forms presented by him for the singular are doubtless ενέστοτας forms (cf. table 3):

	Dawkins	*ενέστοτας*	*παρατάτικος*
1st	έρχουμου - κοιμούμου - φρηκούμου	-ομαι	-ομουν
2nd	έρσισι(ς) - κοιμάσι(ς) - φρηκέσι(ς)	-εσαι	-οσουν
3rd	έρσιτι - κοιμάτι - φρηκέτι	-εται	-οταν

table3

It is to exclude that Dawkins mingles present and past forms within one paradigm. Of course, the forms presented by Dawkins for the present are in ενέστοτας, therefore all plural forms must be in ενέστοτας too.

My hypothesis is that no two different morphemes have been borrowed but just one, namely *-iniz* for the 1st as well as for the 2nd person plural. The morpheme *-iniz* marks in Turkish the 2nd person plural possessive. Here we may have to do with a borrowed morpheme which marks only the plural without distinction of person. On the other hand the suffix *-inis* has by no means been generalised as the 3rd person plural forms show: έρχουντι, κοιμούντι, φρηκούντι.

Since no new opposition has been brought into the system the borrowings account for the *Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung* (of an additive kind).

4.3 The Balkans

In the Balkan Sprachbund four distinct subgroups and many varieties of Indo-European languages coexist: (i) Greek, (ii) Albanian, (iii) Romanian (Romance), (iv) Bulgarian, Macedonian, part of Serbo-Croatian (Slavic). It is much more debated whether to include in this area the Balkan dialects of Romani (which, as an Indic language, would represent the fifth member of the Indo-European family) and the Turkish dialects spoken in South Eastern Europe (not those, including Standard Turkish, spoken in Asia Minor). Both of these Romani and Turkish dialects share a few areal features (cf. Thomason 2001:105-107).

The Balkans have a turbulent history which is characterised through socio-political circumstances leading to complex movements and, during some periods, to ethnic intermingling. There have been three significant immigration waves that

have left their marks on the culture and the languages of the peninsula (cf. Hinrichs 1999b:619):

a) The Roman conquest, which began in the third century B.C., led to the replacement of the previous occupants of the peninsula (among others the Illyrians), to the institution of Roman provinces (Dacia), to the subdivision of the realm into Eastern Rome and Western Rome, and to the split of the area into a Greek-speaking part and a Latin-speaking part, the so-called "Jireček Line".

b) The Slavic conquest began in the sixth century A.D. and led to a temporal Slavicization of the whole Balkans, to a hundreds of years lasting symbiosis with Romanians, Albanians, and Greeks, and, as a result, to an intensive bilingualism.

c) The Turkish conquest from the fourteenth century changed the administrative structure of large parts of South Eastern Europe, isolated them from the development of Western Europe and left its mark on the vocabulary of their languages.

Parallel to that, Greek played a very important role in the Balkans, since the Greek culture, both material and spiritual, radiated on all Balkan countries and left its traces in their languages. In particular, the Byzantine civilisation, as represented by the Greek Orthodox Church, exerted a unifying force on the area.

South East Europe is thus characterised by a high degree of long-standing multilingualism which established itself over centuries of physical proximity and social contact between neighbouring communities. As a consequence, the languages of the Balkan Sprachbund share a rich stock of common vocabulary, syntactic devices, and features of the morphological machinery (cf. Hock & Joseph 1996:401; Thomason 2001:108-109).

Despite the cultural preponderance of Greece and the political Turkish dominance, the lack of a one-way large-scale dominance hardly makes it possible to identify one single borrowing source: Greek lacks some of the most characteristic areal features (thus can not be assumed to be a core member of the group), nor do the Balkan dialects of Turkish display such features.

4.3.1 Slavic into Romanian

Certainly, the strongest and most significant linguistic influence in South-Eastern Europe was exerted by Slavic on Romanian (Hinrichs 1999b:622).

Limba română is the general name used to define the language spoken by all Romanians. Nevertheless, four varieties of Romanian are distinguished: a western group with Daco-Romanian and Istro-Romanian, and an eastern group with Aromunian and Meglenite Romanian. The last three are spoken south the Danube. The big difference between Daco-Romanian and the other varieties lies in the vocabulary: the Aromunians stood under strong Greek pressure, the Me-

glenite under Bulgarian pressure, and the Istro-Romanian under Croatian pressure (Puşcariu 1943:262). The Romanians, in particular the Daco-Romanians, call themselves *Român*, (pl. *Români*, from Latin RŌMĀNUS) whereas they are called by their neighbours *Vlah* (pl. *Vlahi*). The census for 1983 numbered 22,553,074 inhabitants of Romania, 89% of whom are native speakers of Romanian (cf. Cariagiu Marioţeanu 1989:405, 406).

As early as the fifth century some Slavic stems had settled down in the territory of today's Romania. Regular invasions on the part of the Slavs began in 527 but a flood of the Balkans, Dalmatia, and Greece through South Slavic stems (the old lexical influence of the Slavic on Romanian is chiefly of a South-Eastern Slavic, Bulgarian type) occurred in the second half of the sixth century when the Byzantine Empire was getting weakened through the advance of the Arabs. Around 650 the whole Balkan peninsula was in Slavic hands (cf. Hinrichs 1999b:621). In the seventh century so-called Slavinias or Knezships were constituted. These were communities of peasants who lived in a rather democratically organised way. As a rule, the Romance communities lived in mountainous areas, whereas the Slavs dwelled in the planes alongside the rivers. Nevertheless, these ethnic groups were narrowly intermingled, as attested by the old Romanian expression for 'to marry (being a man)': *mi-am luat o nevastă* from Protoslavic **nevěd-ta* 'bride', literally 'who is not yet known [in the family]'. In Wallachia there were *cnezate de vale* 'valley principalities' with Romance-Slavic mixed population and, in the ninth century, Romanian-Slavic *Vojvode* 'army commanders'. Since the formation of the early Romanian states (*Ţara Românească* and *Moldova*) in the fourteenth century Old Church Slavic was used as the language of the culture, the Orthodox Church, and the administration. The royal chancelleries also used Latin. Slavonian, which had already asserted itself in the tenth century, (Arvinte 1989:289-290) was gradually replaced by Romanian during the sixteenth century in official documents until Romanian became the language of the church in the seventeenth century (ib. p. 295). The Slavic influence on Romanian lasted, thus, until the sixteenth century (Hinrichs 1999b:623).

Puşcariu (1943:242) claims that a high degree of bilingualism between Romanians and Slavs was very likely (ib. p. 242). According to him, the Romanians of the towns became bilingual as early as in the first centuries of the Slavic occupation (ib. p. 356). This situation certainly increased when the Slavs, as conquerors, formed the ruling Boyar class and imposed their language upon the subjugated population as medium of the Church, administration, and of the privileged Romanian classes (ib. p. 377).

The strong Slavic influence on Romanian entailed not only lexical but also structural interference. Romanian has borrowed from Bulgarian the vocative feminine singular ending *-o* which is added to some native Romance words (cf. Puşcariu 1943:203, 435):

(9) *soro* for *soră* 'sister!';
mamo for *mamă* 'mum!';
cumnato for *cumnată* 'sister in law!';
Ano for *Ană* 'Anna!'

It may be stressed that the vocative forms in *-o* are optional and confined to a few nouns (thus non productive) since they coexist with those in *-ă*. Furthermore, it is notable that all involved nouns (apart the proper name) belong to the basic vocabulary which may be an additional proof of a high degree of bilingual proficiency. This borrowing accounts for the *Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung*. It is also attested in Aromunian and Meglenite Romanian (Puşcariu 1943:435).

4.3.2 Greek and Albanian into Aromunian

Aromunian is an eastern dialect of Romanian. The name Aromunian goes back to the endonym *Arămînu, Armănu, Arumînu* which in turn stems from Latin RŌMĀNUS. The traditional name goes back to Germanic **walhos*: cf. Albanian *Vlleh*, Greek Βλάχοι, South Slavic Власи. It is used by the Aromunians' neighbours when referring to the Aromunians themselves.

In the Middle Ages the Aromunians had two kernel settlements: one to the south around Pindus and the other to the north around the Gramos mountains. In the seventeenth century some Aromunian urban centres grew in Southern Albania (e.g. Frashër, Nikolicë, Linotopë, Voskopojë). When they were shattered by Albanian and Turkish plunderers the Aromunians flew due north and east and established new villages. These villages rested partly in areas next to already existing Aromunian settlements and partly in territories dwelled by Greeks and Slavs. Since then the Aromunian settlements have remained quite unchanged. Today, the most compact settlement of the Aromunians is round the Pindus, the mountainous area which separates Epir from Thessalia. The second largest Aromunian area is placed in Southern Albania around the estuary of Devoll and Vjosë. Other linguistic enclaves are found in the upper reaches of the Osum and Devoll rivers in Albania; between Ohrida and Bitolia in Southern Macedonia around Pelister; in Greece on the Thessalic plain to the west of Larisa, in the western slope of Olympus, in Vermion and Vernon, in the Pieria hills, along the coastal area of Volos to the south-eastern, near Kavala in the north-eastern and round the Igumenitsa harbour.

Today Aromunian is spoken by approximately 150,000 speakers (for this and further sociological and sociolinguistic information cf. Kramer 1989:423, 425-428). All Aromunians are bilingual in their native language and in the official language of the state where they live. Until World War Two the women were

monolingual and, thus, the guarantors against the penetration of other tongues into the domestic sphere (cf. Puşcariu 1943:442) but this situation has changed quite quickly. Today women are those who enhance the diffusion of the official language for their children to have an easier social advancement. As a consequence, the proficiency in Aromunian among the younger generations today is generally of passive nature, especially if their village is removed from much used roads. Notably, many families who live in bigger towns and spend their holidays in the traditional Aromunian villages retain knowledge of Aromunian better than others. In these cases the native language is a social distinctive mark which signals affiliation with the village community. An age-specific difference is noted as well. The pre-1945 generations chiefly use Aromunian even if they are fluent in the state language, which remains confined to external contacts, whereas the post-war generations are not necessarily skilled at Aromunian. In the event the family still uses Aromunian it is kept in less esteem than the state language. In the 1980s, the village children round Metsovo held a quite good command of the Aromunian language despite the forced ban on speaking it (Hans-Jürgen Sasse, p. c., 25.02.2002).

Most Aromunians lack a linguistic consciousness. Some intellectuals look at Aromunian as a Greek dialect with Dorian and Homeric features. A speaker awareness of speaking a Romanian dialect does not necessarily enhance linguistic loyalty because of the scarce prestige of Romania and the loyalty to Greece. Notably, there are no proper cultural centres, so that foreign centres function as focal points for cultural activities: this role was once played by Bucharest and, since World War Two, by exile circles in Paris, Princeton, and Freiburg. Since the early 1980s these circles have attempted to promote the standardization of Aromunian through the foundation of magazines such as "Zborlu a nostru" in 1984. Although this magazine has quite a large circulation in the Aromunian villages, Aromunian is used in the written mode only for announcements and recording oral texts. There is an overall sceptic attitude towards cultural activities of the Aromunians living abroad, and, in case of a loyalty conflict between their (native) language and the nation they live in, the great many Aromunians would decide in favour of the nation. The situation of the Aromunians living in Romania is, of course, different.

As far as contact phenomena are concerned, borrowing of inflectional morphemes from Greek may be observed. Puşcariu (1943:269) claims that Aromunian has borrowed the plural suffix *-adz* from Greek -δες and that it applies to masculine nouns of Greek origin with final stress: e.g. *k'irâĝi - k'irâĝadz* 'carter' (cf. Daco-romanian *chirigiu - chirigii*). Puşcariu's assumption is not exact. The borrowed suffix is not -['adz] but -[Vdz] with variable vowel. It applies (a) to all feminine nouns of Greek origin ending in -['iðə] with plural -['idz], (b) to all feminine nouns of Greek origin ending in -[aðə] with plural -['adz], (c) to all masculine nouns of Greek origin ending in -['o] with plural -['adz], (d) to nouns

ending in the singular in -['Vu] (e.g. *vasilieu*, pl. *vasiliadz*, a Greek loan), and (e) to Turkish loans, many of which have entered Romanian in the 18th century, such as the example given by Puşcariu. Many of these Turkish loans are present also in Daco-Romanian, which may be a proof of the fact that they are felt as native words of Romanian (Michael Metzeltin, p.c. 05.05.2002). In this way, the suffix [-Vdz] would have been added to native words of the receiving language and would, thus, meet criterion (a) (cf. 3.2). This presents a problem since most of the Turkish lexical borrowings are likely to have entered Aromunian indirectly through Greek having already displayed the Greek suffix.

Nonetheless, the claim that Aromunian has borrowed a plural ending from Greek fitting the selection criteria set up in 3.2 can be made. One noun is found which is unquestionably of Romance origin:

(10) *dumnidzádz* from sg. *dumnidză'(ŭ)* 'God'

This borrowing accounts for the *Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung*. The Standard Romanian forms are sg. *<dumnezeu>*, pl. *<dumnezei>*.

The second largest Aromunian area is found in Albania. The contact with Albanian has likewise led to occurrences of structural borrowing. The Frashëriote (Fărşăloţ) Aromunian dialect of the village of Gorna Belica (Beala di Suprâ) northwest of Struga in South-Western Macedonia (on the border with Albania) has borrowed from Albanian the 3rd person singular admirative suffix *-ka*, as reported by Friedman (1999:532):

(11) [...] *abe toratini fuska avut om!* 'hey, you are a rich man, now!'

In Aromunian *-ka* is a productive invariable particle which is suffixed to the past participial base and functions exactly like the Albanian admirative. Admirative is a mood in Albanian (cf. Lloshi 1999:288). It does not inflect for person but can enter into oppositions of other verbal categories. This borrowing is additive in nature, since Romance languages do not exhibit an admirative mood. Thus, it accounts for the *Aufbautyp mit Formenentlehnung*.

4.3.3 Bulgarian into Meglenite Romanian

The second eastern variety of Romanian is Meglenite Romanian. The endonym of the Meglenite is *vla*, plural *vlaş*, a form which is to be traced back to Germanic **walhos*. This is the way the Meglenite, as well as the Aromunians, used to be called by their Slavic neighbours. Self designation after the name of the own village is very common: e.g. *łumniĉán, ţumniĉán* 'inhabitant of Łumniţă' (officially

Σκρᾶ), *uşinéţ* 'inhabitant of Oşiñ' (official name 'Αρχάγγελος). The designation Meglenite has been introduced by Gustav Weigand to describe the people inhabitant the territory of Meglen (Măglen) (Slavic for 'fog'). The previous name Vlaški was too vague.

The area of the Meglenite is more compact than that of the Aromunians: it comprises the fertile plain Meglen and the adjacent regions. Through the creation of a state border at the end of World War One some Meglenite villages fell to Yugoslavia (Χυμα - Umă and some neighbouring small communities), other went to Greece (Σκρᾶ - Łumniţă; Κούπα - Cupă; Κάρπη - Ţărnareca; 'Αρχάγγελος - Oşiñ; Περίκλεα - Birislăv; Λαγκαδιά - Lunḑiñ; Νότια - Nǫnti). In the first half of the twentieth century Νότια was the most populated village. Since its inhabitants had earlier converted to Islam, after the end of the Greek-Turkish war they were subjected to an agreement about the exchange of population. According to it, all families of Νότια but one had to move to Turkey, probably to the city Çorlu in the European part of Turkey or near Brussa in Asia Minor. Furthermore, at the time intervening between World War One and World War Two the thumping Romanian propaganda (which regarded the Aromunians as well) led to a migration to the Romanian Dobrudja. Their descendants now live in Tulcea province. An additional displacement of the Meglenite population took place as a consequence of the Greek civil war (1946-1948). Some Meglenite moved then to Eastern European countries but many of them came back to Greece or Yugoslavia in the eighties. After World War Two many young people abandoned their villages on economic grounds and moved to bigger cities such as Saloniki or Skopje or to the West. Nowadays, the most populated Meglenite village is Гевгелија (Gevgelija) on the border with Greece, although they are the minority there.

In 1939 Puşcariu estimated the number of the Meglenite at 12,000-14,000 (cf. 1943:272). Today there are about 5,000-6,000. All Meglenite are fully bilingual (Meglenite-Bulgarian/Macedonian or Meglenite-Greek, respectively) and have less national consciousness, so that they declare themselves Greeks or Macedon on the census. The awareness of speaking a variety of Romanian is left among those Meglenite who attended a Romanian school or still have relatives in Romania. The use of Meglenite is limited to the family sphere, where the youth only exhibit passive skills. The Romanian schools (where, indeed, only Daco-Romanian was taught) were closed at the end of World War Two. Romanian did not gain foothold in the churches either, nor are there any cultural centres aimed at maintaining the mother tongue. The Meglenite possess a rich oral literature although most publications are rather old. The respective influence of Bulgarian/Macedonian and Greek shows itself particularly in the neologisms of technical innovations: e.g. the verb 'to call' is *tilifuniríri* (Bulgarian/Macedonian телефонира) in the Yugoslavian villages and *tilifunisíri* (Greek τηλέφωνησε) in Greece (for all data cf. Dahmen 1989a:436-439, 444).

Also Meglenite has been affected by the borrowing of the Greek plural ending [-Vdz] in nouns such as *căsăbadz* 'villages' (Daco-Romanian *casabale*) and *buiaĝadz* 'dyer' (Daco-Romanian *boiangii*) (Puşcariu 1943:275). These nouns are of Turkish origin and entered Romanian in the eighteenth century. I have not found any nouns of Romance origin displaying this Greek suffix. Thus, this borrowing does not comply with selecting criterion (a), unlike the Aromunian case.

On the level of inflectional borrowing, the ending for the 1st person singular indicative present has been borrowed from Bulgarian. This has already been recorded by Sandfeld (1938:59), Capidan (1940:91) and Puşcariu (1943:274):

(12) *aflu-m* instead of Daco-Romanian *afl-u* from *a afla* 'to find' (cf. Bulgarian намира-м);
antru-m from *a antra* 'to enter' (Daco-Romanian *intru*)

The morpheme involved is *-m* (Bulgarian -м) for the 1st person singular as belonging to the third and most productive conjugation of Bulgarian (cf. Andrejčin *et al.* 1983). Note, however, that also Macedonian and Serbian display this ending.

Also the borrowing of ending for the 2nd person singular indicative present from Bulgarian has taken place, as recorded by Sandfeld (ib.), Capidan (ib.) and Puşcariu (ib.):

(13) *afli-ş* instead of Daco-Romanian *afl-i* (cf. Bulgarian/Macedonian на намира-ш);
antri-ş (Daco-Romanian *intri*)

The morpheme involved is *-ş* [S] (Bulgarian -ш) for the 2nd person singular. Here too the Macedonian and Serbian form is the same.

In both case (12) and (13), the morphemes involved have been added to the corresponding Romanian morphemes *-u* and *-i*, but are not productive since they apply only to certain verbs (cf. Sandfeld 1938:59, Capidan 1940:91 and Puşcariu 1943:274). Both *a afla* and *a antra* are of Romance origin from Latin AFFLĀRE and INTRĀRE respectively (cf. Spanish *hallar*; Italian *entrare*). Since no new oppositions have been brought into Meglenite these borrowings account for the *Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung*, whereby the grammatical categories are now marked twice (additive effect). These changes show up chiefly in the dialects spoken in 'Αρχάγγελος and Λαγκαδιά.

4.3.4 Croatian into Istro-Romanian

Istro-Romanian is a western variety of Romanian. The Istro-Romanians call themselves *Rumuni* or *Rumunjevi*. The old form *Rumeri*, which is recorded in a chronicle by the Venetian father Ireneo della Croce Carmelitano Scalzo in 1698, is no longer known. The forms *Vlåh*, plural *Vlåş* (for the etymology see 4.3.3) are now found only in the southern villages around *Šušnjevica*. Just as the Meglenite, the Istro-Romanians frequently call themselves with the name of their villages: e.g. *Žejanţi* 'inhabitant of Žejane'. The exonym used by their neighbours is *Ciribiri*, a probably onomatopoeic form.

At the beginning of the Modern Age the ancestors of the contemporary Istro-Romanians settled down in the Northern Dalmatian area. They are assumed to have been living in almost the whole of Istria and on the Krk and Rab islands. Nowadays a reduced community remains west and southwest of Rijeka which is twofold. To the north there is a small Romanian island surrounded by Croatian villages whose name is Žejane - Jeiăn. The neighbouring Mune gave up Istro-Romanian completely in the nineteenth century. South of Učka Gora, in Raša valley, there are many Istro-Romanian villages: Šušnjevica (Şuşnieviţa), Nova Vas (Noselo, Nosolo), Kostrčan (Costărcean), Jasenovik (Sucodru), Letaj (Letai), and Brdo (Bărdo) along with the hamlets of Dolonšćina (Dolinşcina), Brig, Perasi, and Zankovci (Zancovţi).

Today 1250-1500 speakers of Istro-Romanian are counted, of whom 450-500 live in Jeiăn and 800-1000 in the southern villages (for this and the following data see Dahmen 1989b:448-453). Many Istro-Romanians who have migrated to Rijeka, Western Europe or North America are not included into this count. All Istro-Romanians are fully bilingual in Istro-Romanian and Croatian, whereby those to the south speak the Čakavian dialect of Croatian and those living in Jeiăn use either the standard language or Čakavian. The bilingualism among these populations has a long tradition as it had been recorded as early as 1698 by Ireneo della Croce. Puşcariu (1943:363) records that Istro-Romanian is the dialect of Romanian which has been most strongly influenced by Slavic and that even the women speak Croatian. Jeiăn is the only village where children grow up speaking Istro-Romanian. During the first school years the children are taught in their mother tongue within the confines of their own village. It is only later when they attend school in Mune that they come into contact with Croatian children. This factor is favourable for the maintenance of the language. It is aided by the fact that the employed people speak Croatian at work but use Istro-Romanian within the family when they come home. On the other hand, in the southern villages Istro-Romanian is spoken almost exclusively by older people, whereas the youth use Croatian which is invested with a higher prestige. The pre-school aged children also master Croatian there. Unlike the Aromunians and Meglenite, the Istro-Romanians are aware of speaking a Romance language, which they heard from

linguists who have being recording their language since the nineteenth century. Their attitude towards the native tongue is rather positive in so far as they are not ashamed of speaking it. Nonetheless, they have no national consciousness at all and regard themselves as Croatians. There are no institutions focussed on maintaining the viability of the language therein. Oral literature hardly exists and songs are usually sung in Croatian.

As for the influence of Croatian on Istro-Romanian, there are two occurrences of inflectional borrowing. Puşcariu (1943:280) records the use of a Slavic inflectional ending in the following construction:

(14) *za ţiru* 'at dinner' (cf. Latin CĒNA)

-u is the case marker for accusative feminine singular which has substituted the corresponding Romanian suffix *-ă*. It has not become productive since it remains confined to the previous and the following phrases: *lasåt-a poloviţu* 'he has left the half'. The use in this second construction is to be discounted because *poloviţa* is of Slavic origin. The borrowing of the case suffix *-u* accounts for the *Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung*.

A further morphological development has occurred through the contact with Croatian (and more generally Slavic). Istro-Romanian has borrowed the aspect distinction between perfective and imperfective. The most common way to express aspect in Istro-Romanian is due to prefixation: in order to do that Slavic prefixes may be added even to Romance nouns, as follows (Dahmen 1989b:455):

(15) *durmí* 'to sleep' (imperf.) - *zedurmí* (perf.) from Latin DORMĪRE;
viså 'to dream' (imperf.) - *ănviså* (perf.) from Latin VISĀRE

Certainly, this borrowing accounts for the *Aufbautyp mit Formenentlehnung* because Romance languages do not distinguish the aspectual category systematically. Dahmen warns that the introduction of the aspectual distinction in Istro-Romanian has not yet been concluded and many Romance verbs do not display such different forms (ib.). For this reason the prefixes mentioned above may not yet be seen as productive.

4.3.5 Turkish into Albanian

Today Albanian is spoken by more than seven million people. Of them three and a half million live in the Republic of Albania, more than two million live in Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro and the rest are scattered among other countries, chiefly Greece, Turkey, Italy, Germany, the USA, and Switzerland (Lloshi 1999:278).

The exonym Albanian (Italian *Albanese*, Greek Αλβανός, etc.) stems from the name *Albanoi* from an Illyrian tribe and their centre *Albanopolis*, noted by the astronomer of Alexandria, Ptolemy in the second century. This name passed over the boundaries of that Illyrian tribe in Central Asia and was, then, extended to all the Albanians. They used to call themselves *arbënesh/arbëresh*, their country *Arbëni/Arbëri*, and their language *arbëneshe/arbëreshe*. Today the Albanians call themselves *shqiptarë* and their language *shqipe*, terms which came to be used towards the end of the seventeenth century. They goes back to the adverb *shqip* 'clearly, intelligibly'. After the Ottoman conquest this word spread from the north to the south. The Albanians used it in order to distinguish themselves as an ethnic and linguistic community of men (*shqiptarë*), who are able to understand each other clearly, from the occupying foreigners and their alien Oriental world (Lloshi 1999:277-278).

The Turks began the conquest of Albania in 1391 in Skopje. Taking advantage of the internal fragmentation in the Balkans and, in particular, among the Albanian nobility, they put it forth with the subjugation of Vlora and Berat (both in 1417), of Janina (1430), and of Arta (1449). At that point Southern Albanian and Epir were under Turkish rule. In 1431 an administrative district was founded (*Sancak-i Arvanid*) which comprised the entire western part of what is now Southern and Middle Albania, from Corfu to the estuary of the Ishmi north of Durrës. With the Turkish conquest of Kruja in 1478 and the occupation of Shkoda in 1479 all Venetian properties in Albania except Durrës were lost (cf. Bartl 1995:40-43, 48).

The Turkish rule lasted almost five centuries. Although the Albanian historiography usually judges it as a negative time, this period entailed some advantages: Before the Turks came no documents had been written in Albanian, for in the Middle Ages Albania had been exposed to the Greek, Roman, and Slavic cultural influence. Furthermore, due to the massive conversion to Islam that occurred during the centuries under the Osmanic rule, Albanians were overrepresented in the leading classes (ib. p. 49). The process of Islamization was chiefly triggered by the Albanian nobility (ib. p. 51). At the beginning of the twentieth century 70% of the Albanian population professed their faith in Islam. Massive conversions had occurred in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Islamization was carried out at different times and on different grounds. During the second half of the seventeenth century it occurred in the northern plains and cities, as against the mountainous regions where the influence of the Turkish authorities was less tight. In Middle Albania the Islamization was fast and almost complete except for the removed mountainous regions. Islam took root in southern part of Albania later than in the rest of the country. This late rooting in the south was due to the Greek-Orthodox Church being supported by the population. This favoured position of the church was held up to the second half of the eighteenth century within the Ottoman Empire, due to its leadership and headquarters

being positioned in Constantinople. Besides cases of conversions which had been induced by force during and after the Turks Wars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Islamization was accomplished voluntarily, not for religious conviction but because it entailed economic advantages: 1) in order to avoid the poll tax (*cizya*) and other burdens, and 2) to have better chances in career enhancement. Each Muslim was entitled to whatever posts in the army and in the administration within the Ottoman Empire. An additionally supporting factor was that Christian priests were missing, especially in North Albania (ib. pp. 51-53).

Not much is known about multilingualism in South-Eastern Europe in the past. In particular, the contact between Albanian and Turkish is not well investigated. Certainly, the relationship of Turkish to the Balkan Sprachbund is an adstratal one. Under the Ottoman rule Turkish enjoyed great prestige as the language of the administration so that it was learned by all ethnic groups in the Balkans to a more or less great extent. This is attested by the numerous loans in all Balkan languages in all parts of the vocabulary, especially in the common language besides the terminology of the administration, of the trade, and of the military. The Turkish servants must have had some knowledge of the native languages of the occupied populations, the villages were probably monolingual but certainly at the markets many languages were spoken (cf. Hill 1999:152-153). Also the conversion to the Islam entailed a certain degree of bilingualism since the Balkan people never gave up their native languages (Hazai & Kappler 1999:654). A further support to the spread of bilingualism was intermarriage between Christians and Muslims which was particularly diffused in the mountainous areas of Northern Albania (cf. Bartl 1995:54).

Hazai & Kappler (1999:653) refer to linguistically mixed communities. These circumstances may have promoted an increase in bi- and multilingualism. Albanian has around 1,700 Turkish loans, most of which are nouns (both concrete and abstract), but also adjectives, verbs and some conjunctions (Schaller 1999:479).

The influence of Turkish on Albanian can be identified not only in the vocabulary but also in the morphological process of plural formation. Albanian displays a complex array of plural nominal endings which encompasses 19 different suffixes (e.g. *-e, -ë, -a, -ër, -nj*) and several combinations of these suffixes (e.g. *-ër+a, -ër+e*), 30 umlaut types, 15 consonant alternations, invariability. Altogether, all possible combinations of these means amount to 250 possible morphological types of plural formation (cf. Fiedler 1977:125). Among the suffixes there are two loan suffixes *-llarë* and *-lerë* from Turkish *-lar/-ler* with addition of a second plural marker *-ë* (which may be accounted for as double suffixation): e.g. *babá* (sg.) / *baballárë* 'fathers', *subash* (sg.) / *subashllarë* 'inspectors'. All the mentioned nouns are of Turkish or (at least) Oriental origin (ib. p. 142).

Interesting to the present study are cases, found in Albanian dialects, where the Turkish suffix (with and, in one case, without <ë>) is added to a few non Turkish nouns (it is, thus, non productive). These are listed below (ib. p. 143):

(16) *mbret* 'emperor', pl. *mbretlerë*;
prift 'priest', pl. *priftlerë*;
gjysh 'grandfather', pl. *gjyshllar*

Mbret stems from Latin IMPERĀTOR, *prift* from Latin PRESBYTER or PRAEBYTER (cf. Guillaume 1998:38, 44 and Orel 1998:345). Certainly, they have not entered Albanian through contact with the Turks. Standard Albanian plurals are *mbretër* and *priftër*, respectively. *Gjysh* stems from Protoalbanian **sūsa*. The Standard plural form is *gjyshë* (or *gjyshër*). *Mbretlerë* occurs in both Eastern Gheg and Middle Tosk, thus at two removed geographic points, *priftlerë* occurs in Eastern Gheg. Moreover, the Turkish suffixes are used to form the plural of surnames: e.g. *Katroshllarë* 'the Katroshs''. Different from the use of the plural suffix in Turkish, *-llarë* and *-lerë* are semantically constrained and used only for masculine persons with a further restriction to members of a family and dignitaries (Fiedler 1977:144). This borrowing accounts for the *Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung*.

4.4 Sicilian (Italian) into Maltese

The Maltese archipelago, consisting of the islands Malta and Gozo, is situated at the very centre of the Mediterranean between Sicily, Tunisia, and Libya.

Maltese (locally known as il-*Malti*) is considered to derive from the Maghrebine Arabic introduced into Malta and Gozo by the Arabs. Maltese may be defined as originally an Arabic dialect that became an independent language whose idiosyncratic character has been determined through the contact with Sicilian, Italian, and English. Moreover, among the Arabic tongues, Maltese is the language that has diverged most from the output language (Kontzi 1982:321). Essential factors for that are its removal from the Arabic-Islamic cultural world and the isolated position of Malta as an island. In order to understand the mixed nature of Maltese (it must be stressed that Maltese is by no means a mixed language in the sense formulated in 1.3.2), it may be useful to look at its vocabulary. The lexical stratification of Maltese is connected with the principal stages of the political history of the islands, which may be outlined in the following way (cf. Hull 1993:300-301):

(i) A pre-Arabic substrate (before 870) may be identified consisting of assimilated Latin elements from the Roman period and any surviving pre-Punic forms.

(ii) Maghrebine Arabic (870-1243), originally Tunisian with possible Neo-Punic and Berber elements. Malta was under Arabic rule from 870 until 1090, yet large sections of the Muslim population still remained after the Catholic Church had been re-established in 1090. The last Moslems were expelled between 1224 and 1249. During that time the islanders must have thoroughly learned Arabic. After its reintegration in the western world (1090), Malta stood under Italian influence for centuries. The few linguistic monuments of pre-nineteenth century Maltese and the striking presence of Romance loans document two principal phases of the diglossic setting Maltese-Italian.

(iii) During the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was Neo-Sicilian that exerted some influence, though superficial, on the Arabic spoken in Malta. From the Magistral period on up to 1800 many Sicilian elements flooded into the Semitic dialect.

(iv) Tuscan Italian began influencing Maltese around 1450. From the sixteenth century onwards, its influence on the tongue of the Maltese increased considerably. Italian was the official language of Malta under the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem (1530-1798), and co-official language under the French (1798-1800) and the British (1800-1936).

(v) During the Magistral and Republic periods (1530-1800) both French and Provençal were current languages in the archipelago.

(vi) On 5th September 1800 the British took control of the archipelago in the name of King Ferdinand IV of Naples and occupied it until 1964. English became the official language. Although Malta had politically become British, the ongoing anglicise project on the island proved to be almost impossible to implement in the first decades of British rule. "At that time, Malta was universally considered to be an integral part of the 'geographical expression' known as Italy" (Hull 1993:6). Tuscan Italian, which had replaced Standard Sicilian as the cultural language, was still maintaining its role as the tongue of the educated classes and did not stop influencing Maltese linguistically. It retained its status as the first-class language for long time: in 1871 Malta and Gozo numbered approximately 142,000 inhabitants, 80% of them were illiterate and thus monoglot in Maltese, between 14,768 and 15,591 individuals were able to speak, read and write Italian, only between 7,045 and 9,690 were skilled at English (besides their knowledge of Italian). The knowledge of English was more diffused in the harbour-side cities than in the country areas or in Gozo (ib. p. 32). A long lasting linguistic dispute was triggered by the Keenan Report in 1880 and culminated in Italian losing its official position when it ceased to be the language of the law courts in 1932 (cf. Kontzi 1982:322). Since 1934 English and Maltese have been the official languages of Malta. Although Malta became independent in 1964, English has prevailed as the cultural language of the archipelago since 1945.

As for the more recent linguistic history, Maltese is spoken by around 300.000 people (Krier 1980:179). The erosion of Maltese continues apace aided

by the apostasy of part of the upper class. It is still perceived as a private, domestic dialect and relegated to the less "advanced" layers of the society. By contrast, English is now the language of power; it is considered an indispensable prestige factor and reigns supreme in Malta. Around 1980 it was spoken by 70% of the population (ib. p. 182). Moreover, English is (along with Maltese) obligatory schooling language and medium of instruction for almost all lectures at the university. All law, theology, medicine, mathematics, economy, natural sciences and technical subjects are taught in English. Specialist books are also written in English (Kontzi 1982:329). Krier (1980:179) argues that during her field work in Malta parents of the (broad) low class used to address their children in Maltese while parents of the upper class used English, even when they spoke Maltese among each other. The psychological pressure deriving from having to master English well seems to be very strong. Krier (ib. p. 182) claims that speakers avoid integrating English lexemes morphologically (for example, in the plural formation) lest their command of English could be considered faulty. Moreover, speaking English has a snob-value and is, thus, seen as particularly chic in some areas of the island, Sliema for example (Kontzi 1982:335). The role of Italian is strongly reduced insofar as it may be learned as an optional subject at secondary school. Nevertheless, a reapprochement with Italy is in progress. Thanks to the extension of RAI broadcasting to Malta and Gozo in 1958 (Hull 1993:109) children start picking up Italian through television in primary school age. Undoubtedly, though the proficiency level of speakers of Italian has lowered compared to the situation at the beginning of the twentieth century, the number of its speakers is remarkably increasing, so that Italian can be considered the third language of Malta (ib. p. 114). Another language, Arabic, has become of some importance since 1980. It is learned as a compulsory subject from the age of eleven onwards (cf. Kontzi 1982:335).

Against the background of these historical developments and considering, first, the diglossic situation of the Semitic Maltese with forms of Italian and, later, the multilingual setting comprising Maltese, Italian, and English, it is not astonishing that Maltese has a host of non Semitic elements. The presence of Romance loans is overwhelming. According to Krier (1980:179, 181) it amounts to 25.5-28.5% of Maltese vocabulary (Sicilian brought for the most part common items whereas Standard Italian was rather the source for educated vocabulary) while English covers 1.5-2.5% thereof. When the discussion revolves around modern and abstract technological issues and, especially in a parliamentary speech or legal peroration, the proportion of Romance terminology (as well as of English) may match and, at times, even exceed the 80% threshold (cf. Hull 1993:301).

The first revealing source of the intermingling of the Arabic and Italian populations is the huge number of Italian surnames to be found among the Maltese. The most accredited hypothesis claims that Sicilian men arrived on the archipelago islands in the latter Middle Ages and intermarried with local women,

passed on their surnames to their mixed progeny. The replacement of the Arabic word *(a)bu* 'father' by the Sicilian *misseri* alongside with the maintenance of native *omm* 'mother' is very revealing. The disappearance of such a basic lexeme from Maltese vocabulary, supported by additive linguistic evidence, suggests that at that time many Maltese had Sicilian fathers and native mothers and, furthermore, that Arabic was the language of the women rather than of the men (cf. Hull 1993:317-330).

It is impossible to conceive of Maltese without the Italian elements since beyond the vocabulary Italian has penetrated also the semantic structures and the phonological, syntactic, and morphological system of Maltese.

> Das Arabische und das Italienische zusammen machen erst das Maltesische aus. Sie sind konstitutive Elemente des Maltesischen. [...] Aus dem jahrhundertelangen engen Kontakt von Menschen, die zunächst Arabisch bzw. Italienisch sprachen, ist das Maltesische entstanden als schönes Beispiel dafür, wie aus languages in contact etwas Neues werden kann (Kontzi 1981:71).

The long term contact between Italian and Maltese has resulted in a very natural perception of the Italian lexicon by the Maltese speakers. Linguistically, English lexemes are treated as foreign elements, instead. Notably, some Italian loanwords (*Lehnwörter*) are used to explain English ones (perceived as *Fremdwörter*): e.g. in Krier's corpus *impjegat* (Italian *impiegato*) is used to clarify *employee* (Krier 1980:183).

The core of Maltese morphology is essentially Arabic. Foreign influence on it has not been extensive. Nevertheless, borrowing of Sicilian inflectional morphemes into Maltese has taken place: the masculine singular suffix *-u* is found in the following nouns:

(17) *du:du* 'worm',
fu:lu 'bean',
wiżżu 'goose'

Borg claims that final *-u* probably originated in nursery talk, as it is very common in Maltese playful language (Borg 1994:57). The suffix has not become productive. Although Maltese does not display any cases (thus, including nominative), no new opposition has been introduced into Maltese because *-u* is most likely to have replaced the suffix *-a* for the *nomina unitatis*. *Wiżż* (Arabic *ważż*), *du:d*, and *fu:l* are collective nouns that take a singulative meaning when they are given the ending *-a*: *wiżża, du:da, fu:la*. The borrowing accounts, thus, for the *Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung*.

4.5 English into Welsh

Welsh is a Celtic language. Before the Saxon incursions into the western parts of mainland Britain it (or its ancestor British) was used from the Fifth of Forth in the north to today's West of England. In the seventh century the Saxons were still confined to the eastern part of today's England. It is, thus, ascertained that there was land contact between all those areas where British was the dominant language. The expansion of the Saxons to the west took place during the sixth and the seventh centuries and caused the severing between what is now Wales and the British territories north and south of it. At that point Cornish and Welsh began developing independently from each other.

Until the subjugation in 1288 of the last indigenous prince of Wales, Llywelyn, through the Normans Welsh was uniformly distributed among the population. It held status in administration and government and displayed a terminology for professional functions and legal as well as administrative procedures.

In the Middle Ages through the establishment of walled and fortified towns along the border with England, the Welsh population was excluded from the townships, thus, from the commercial services, and remained confined to rural activities. This unfavourable situation was checked when the Tudors ascended to the throne of England: many ambitious and skilled Welsh aristocrats moved to London. In this way these influential strata in the Welsh society were largely anglicised. This was the first step along the process of anglicisation that was decisively supported by the exclusion of Welsh from the use in the princely courts and governmental and administrative functions after the Acts of Union of 1536 and 1542. The language would not have survived it but for the translation of the Bible into Welsh in 1588. This endowed prestige to Welsh and created a model for standard written and public oratorical usage which was to persist until the second half of the twentieth century.

Until the second half of the twentieth century, the most substantial means of language maintenance in Wales was by the Sunday Schools which were prompted by non-conformist chapels that taught the language and produced a literate working class. On the other hand, the educational system represented a big obstacle to the maintenance and diffusion of Welsh. It diminished its value by propagating the idea that Welsh was a hindrance to the moral progress and economic prosperity of its speakers. The Welsh assented to such disparaging views without rebelling lest the use of Welsh would become a hindrance to English acquisition for the children. With the Education Act in 1870, which made education available for all children of Wales, English became the language of instructions and in the 1890s, when secondary education became generally available, no big efforts were made to support the teaching of Welsh. The industrial revolution produced a diastratic change in the use of Welsh in the sense of a linguistic division between managers and workers which recalled the former one between landowners and tenant farmers. Nonetheless, Welsh was understood and spoken by more than 60% of the adult population of Wales. By 1951 the proportion of Welsh speakers rose in the western enclaves (which have always been the strongest) to over 74% in Gwynedd, and over 63% in Dyfed. Since then, a gradual, constant but not dramatic decline in numeral terms has been recorded.

Today, Welsh is spoken by approximately half a million speakers, the density of its speakers varies strongly (from 61% in Gwynedd against to 2.5% in Gwent). The census for 1981 gives the western districts of Wales with over 50% of their population to be able to speak Welsh. The general trend for the language to be more diffused among speakers of older age groups is changing. The 1981 census reveals that the percentage of Welsh speakers is higher among children of school age (five to fourteen) than among their immediate seniors. In 1967, support for the status of Welsh came from the *Hughes Parry Report on the Legal Status of the Welsh Language* which granted the language equal validity with English in legal proceedings in the courts of Wales. Furthermore, a conspicuous number of government forms are now available in Welsh and the major banks accept cheques written in Welsh. The introduction of bilingual primary and secondary schools in the second half of the twentieth century has also provided some validity to the Welsh case. Provision for study at tertiary level is still rare, instead. Most of all, the expansion of Welsh is due to its use in the broadcasting media such as radio and television. Factors of sociological nature threaten the traditional agencies of language reproduction: the decline of religious observance has removed an institution of prestigious association as well as an instrument of instruction, and interlinguistic marriage hinders the family to be the primary source of linguistic transmission (for all data, cf. Thomas 1992:251-260).

The pressure exerted by English on Welsh has led to contact-induced changes in the structure of Welsh. A clear case of inflectional borrowing from English is shown by the use of the plural suffix *-s* in the Welsh dialects of Bangor and Caernarfon. It is quite frequent in loan words from English such as *sgelet-s* 'skillets', *sgemer-s* (alongside the native pl. *sgimyr*) 'schemers' or *siasp-s* 'sharps', and in loans of long standing such as *ffarmwrs* (alongside *ffermwyr*) 'farmers'. Sommerfelt (1925:7-10) and Thomas (1982:210, 214) record the use of the English plural morpheme *-s*, as applied to native Welsh nouns, as follows:

(18) a) *heyrns* (alongside *heyrn*) 'irons', pl. of *haearn*
b) *sêrs* 'stars' (also the form *serau* is recorded)
c) *milgwns* (more used than *milgwn* pl. of *milgi*) 'greyhounds'
d) *bwytawrs* (pl. of *bwytawr*) 'eaters';
chwyrnwrs (pl. of *chwyrnwr*) 'snorers';
pregethwrs (alongside *pregethwyr*) 'preachers';
pysgotwrs (alongside *pysgotwyr*, pl. of *pysgotwr*) 'fishermen'

The use of the English plural morpheme applied to native Welsh nouns has not become productive. In a) the umlaut in *heyrn* was probably felt as a too weak plural marking. As for b) *sêrs* is used instead of the collective form *sêr* (or *sŷr*). The addition of the English plural suffix *-s* has probably occurred once the speakers failed to perceive the plural meaning of *sêr*. In c) double marking of the plural is recorded. As for the nouns in d), it is possible to conceive that the plural in -[ur] had become identical to the singular form and, then, the English morpheme has been added. Since no new opposition has been brought into Welsh this borrowing accounts for the *Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung* (of an additive nature, cf. the discussion in 5.2/h).

4.6 Persian-Tajik into Arabic

The language of the Arabic population in Uzbekistan is described by Fischer (1961). There are two main dialect groups: the Buchara dialect, spoken in Ǧōgarī, Čardarī, Šahan-Bag, 'Arabhāne, and the Qašqa-Darja dialect, spoken in Qamašī and Ǧeinau. The grammatical outline rests chiefly on the dialect of Ǧōgarī. These languages have developed under strongest Persian-Tajik (Indo-European) and Turkish influence (ib. pp. 232-233).

Unfortunately, Fischer does not provide any description of the sociolinguistic context, nor does the whole of the (most Russian) literature on the issue (Otto Jastrow, p.c. 24.05.2002). Despite this lack of information about the sociolinguistic context linguistic I will present data on the Arabic dialects in Uzbekistan. This will fit one goal of the present study by providing as much as possible a conspicuous collection of material on inflectional borrowing. Of course, the linguistic data about this case study will only partly contribute to the analysis in Chapter 5.

Arabic has borrowed from Persian the plural suffix *-an* which has not become productive (cf. p. 243):

(19) *waladān* from *walad* 'boy' instead of the regular broken plural form *awlād*

Walad appears as the only noun which has undergone this replacement procedure (*Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung*). *Walad* is a native noun of Arabic from the root *w-l-d* with the meaning 'to bear'.

Verbal morphology is interesting as well in so far as the Persian-Tajik prefix *mi-* has been borrowed into Arabic to carry out the imperfective aspect (as imperfect tence). See the following example (cf. p. 247):

(20) *minšid* 'he asks, he will ask' instead of Classical Arabic *ya-nšudu* meaning 'he searches' (infinitive *našd* or *našda* from the root *n-š-d*), cf. Persian *mī-pursad*

It is safe to assume that this borrowing has become productive. Since no new opposition has been introduced into the Arabic linguistic system this borrowing may account for the *Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung* as replacement.

V Analysis

This chapter will provide an analysis of the borrowing occurrences presented in Chapter 4 in accordance with the goals of this study formulated in 3.1, and 3.3. Section 5.1 will summarise the categories which have undergone the process of borrowing. 5.2 will provide an analysis of the inflectional borrowings as for their typology and extension (5.2.1) and as for their effects (5.2.2). Predictions 1, 2, and 3 will be verified. 5.3 will provide an analysis of the extra-linguistic (5.3.1) and intra-linguistic (5.3.2) factors and verify prediction 4 while prediction 5 will be proven in 5.4. Section 5.5 will approach the issue of the genesis of inflectional borrowing. Eventually, in 5.6 a new definition of inflectional borrowing will be proposed.

5.1 Survey of the borrowed inflectional morphemes

In the previous chapter twelve case studies have been presented. As stressed in 4.6, no information about the extra-linguistic setting Persian-Tajik into Arabic has been provided. Nevertheless, this borrowing case will be taken into account for the following analysis as it is important to the analysis of the intra-linguistic factors.

On the basis of the material presented in the case studies an outline of the borrowed inflectional morphemes is provided in table 4 below. It shows which types of change have occurred and which inflectional categories have been borrowed. The categories in the table approximately reflect the tendency in the prototypical order of appearance of morphemes in a word form with respect to the root/stem/base, as proposed in Booij (2000:366) (cf. 2.5). Cumulative exponence includes the categories of person, number, tense, and mood with respect to the cases presented in Chapter 4. The numbers in brackets, reported on the left side of each category, correspond to the numbers of the borrowing occurrences presented in Chapter 4. The right side of each column indicates the exact type of the borrowed category.

Abbreviations:
NFr: *Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung* as replacement (cf. 3.2)
NFa: *Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung* as addition (cf. 3.2)
AF: *Aufbautyp mit Formenentlehnung* (addition, cf. 3.2)
U: uncertain cases that cannot be ascribed to NFr, NFa, or AF

	aspect		mood		number		case		cumulative exponence	
NFr	(20)	Imperfective			(3)	dyadic dual	(5)	ablative	(9)	vocative F sg.
					(10) (16) (19)	plural			(14)	accusative F sg.
									(17)	M sg.
NFa					(18)	plural			(7)	1st pl.
									(8)	*(1st-2nd) pl.
									(12)	1st sg. present indicative
									(13)	2nd sg. present indicative
AF	(15)	perfective vs. imperfective	(11)	admirative			(1)	ergative-instrumental		
							(6)	noun-class agreement		
U							(2)	genitive-dative-purposive		
							(4)	relative-genitive		

table 4

Notes:
* See the discussion in 4.2.

It must be stressed that (1), (2), and (4) do not belong to the category labelled as cumulative exponence for the different functions of each suffix are syntactically distinguishable (Heath 1978:110).

5.2 Analysis of the inflectional borrowings

5.2.1 Types and extent

Among the borrowed categories the percentage looks as follows:
- aspect 10%,
- mood 5%,
- number 25%,
- case 25%,
- cumulative exponence (including case, gender, number, mood, and tense) 35%.

Dismantling the categories carried out by cumulative exponence one obtains the following list:
- tense: present in (12) and (13),
- mood: indicative in (12) and (13),
- gender: feminine in (9) and (14) and masculine in (17),
- number: singular in (9), (14) and (17),
- person: 1st sg. in (12), 1st pl. in (7), *(1st-2nd) pl. in (8) and 2nd pl. in (13),
- case: vocative in (9) and accusative in (14).

Extrapolating from cumulative exponence into single morphological categories and summing up these with the categories singularly borrowed (see above), we virtually obtain 29 cases of inflectional borrowings subdivided into:
- aspect: 2 (6.9%),
- tense: 2 (6.9%),
- mood: 3 (10.3%),
- gender: 3 (10.3%),
- number in nouns: 8 (27.6%),
- person in verbs: 4 (13.8%),
- case: 7 (24.1%), further subdivided (considering the first, thus the predominant function, in case that more than one function is carried out by the single morpheme) into:
  - structural cases in (1), (2), (6), (14): 4 (13.8%),
  - inherent cases in (4), (5), (9): 3 (10.3%).

The percentage reveals that inherent inflection, i.e. the inflectional categories which are more similar to derivation, such as aspect, tense, mood, gender, number and inherent cases (72.3%), is borrowed far more frequently than contextual inflection, i.e. person and structural cases (27.6%). Thus, prediction 1 has proven right.

Furthermore, the analysis of the table reveals that no case of borrowing of an entire inflectional paradigm has occurred. Although most claims regarding the unlikelihood of transfer of bound morphemes have been proven wrong, one point has been left unresolved: it is the transfer of entire inflectional paradigms, which has always been regarded as the last insurmountable frontier. Thomason (2001:65) argues that even this has turned out to be possible referring to the case of Mednyi Aleut, spoken on Copper Island off the east coast of Russia and today almost extinct. Mednyi Aleut certainly displays the entire Russian finite verbal morphology. Nonetheless, this occurrence must not be accounted for as the result of a borrowing process in view of the fact that Mednyi Aleut is a mixed language, thus a new language, which arose from the contact between the Inuit language Aleut and Russian. Its lexicon and structure are primarily Aleut while the whole inflectional verbal morphology is Russian (the detailed case study is presented in Thomason 1997).

In my opinion the processes of extreme language mixture rule out the concept of borrowing which holds exclusively for languages with a normal historical development, i.e. languages which have maintained themselves though they may have developed certain traits through foreign influence. To my knowledge no cases of genuine borrowing of entire inflectional paradigms have been attested. Naturally, this does not suggest that such cases have not occurred or are unlikely to occur.

5.2.2 Effects

The *Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung* covers 70% (NFr 45% and NFa 25%) and the *Aufbautyp mit Formenentlehnung* amounts to 20% of the borrowings. As a consequence, both replacement and addition cover 45% of all cases. The remaining uncertain cases account for 10% of the total number of borrowings.

The analysis of table 4 shows that the *Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung* as replacement is as frequent as the sum of the *Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung* as addition with the *Aufbautyp mit Formenentlehnung*. Moreover, it must be kept in mind that NFa may occur in cases in which the speakers fail to perceive the function of the morpheme already existing in the receiving language before they replace it with the corresponding one of the source language (cf. the Welsh case in 4.5). If this were the reason of the additional mechanism the occurred borrowing actually would have to be considered a case of replacement. In this way it

could be stated that replacement is the most frequent type of effect occurring in inflectional borrowing. Nonetheless, since there is no evidence to support this, this factor is to be observed as neutral, i.e. not favouring borrowing of inflection.

As far as predictions 2 and 3 are concerned, the emergence of new system oppositions in the receiving language due to the contact with one or more source languages has been recorded. Thus, prediction 2 has proven right.

Moreover, the *Aufbautyp mit Formenentlehnung*, occurs in 20% of the borrowing cases, whereas the *Nulltyp mit Formenentlehnung* (both as replacement and as addition) occurs in 70% of the cases, so that also prediction 3 has proven right.

5.3 Analysis of the extra-linguistic factors and intra-linguistic factors

In Chapter 3, I have introduced an array of extra- and intra-linguistic factors which may favour inflectional borrowing in language contact settings. In the following sections I will apply them to the case studies presented in Chapter 4.

5.3.1 Analysis of the extra-linguistic factors

(a) *Degree of multilingualism*: Information about the proficiency level of the multilingual borrowing groups is very scarce. It is explicitly acknowledged only in the Arnhem Land, Italian-Maltese, and English-Welsh cases. More information is available about the diffusion of multilingualism. In Arnhem Land widespread proficiency was diffused especially among the men (cf. 4.1). Diffused bilingualism is found also within the contact setting Turkish-Greek in Asia Minor on the part of the Greeks, though it did not affect all Greek-speaking communities in equal terms (cf. 4.2). As for the Balkan Sprachbund, the point can be made that all involved contact settings display an intensive multilingualism on the part of the subjugated groups. The case of Albanian represents an exception in so far as proficiency in Turkish was not widespread among the whole population (cf. 4.3-4.3.5). In the Maltese archipelago bilingualism in Maltese and Italian was widespread especially among the upper classes. In 1871 approximately 20% of the Maltese population was able to speak, read, and write Italian fluently (cf. 4.4). As far as the contact setting Welsh-English is concerned, bilingualism was widespread among the Welsh who were substantially anglicised (cf. 4.5). Since no sufficient information is available about this factor, no judgement on its validity can be stated.

(b) *Duration of contact*: No precise information is available about the time depth of the contact in Arnhem Land but the contact is supposed to have lasted over centuries since some language has been influenced by the proto-language of another language group or family (Heath 1978:91, 95). The depth of the contact between Turkish and Greek in Asia Minor amounts to at least five centuries (cf. 4.2). The contact with the Slavs in the Balkans has lasted since the sixth century A.D.. The contact of the Romanians with Greeks and Albanians goes back to the Middle Ages. The relation of the Albanian with the Turks began in the fourteenth century and lasted almost five centuries (cf. 4.3-4.3.5). Contact of Maltese with Italian began in the thirteenth century and still lasts (cf. 4.4). The extensive contact between the Welsh and the English (whose ancestors were the Saxons) began in the sixth century (cf. 4.5). This factor may, thus, favour inflectional borrowing.

(c) *Socio-economic dominance*: This factor seems to be of less importance in Arnhem Land since the top people did not intermingle with the bottom people. Nevertheless, borrowing from Nunggubuyu (spoken by bottom people) into Ngandi (spoken by top people) has occurred. Unfortunately, no information about the social contact of these groups is available. Furthermore, within the bottom people, the Warndarang have borrowed morphology from the Nunggubuyu though the former are considered the upper group by the latter (cf. 4.1). In the case of the Greek-speaking communities in Asia Minor the socio-economic pressure exerted by the Turk was very strong (cf. 4.2). Also the socio-economic dominance of Slavs, Greek, and Turks over the other groups in the Balkans is assured (cf. 4.3-4.3.5). In the case of the Maltese archipelago socio-economic dominance can not be taken into account as a factor since the Italians did not administrate the islands. The predominance of the English over the Welsh is acknowledged (cf. 4.5). Overall, this factor may be considered as favouring inflectional borrowing.

(d) *Prestige and status*: As for Arnhem Land, this factor is not relevant since there "language was of little importance on defining one's social identity" (Heath 1978:142). Even among the Ritharngu and other Yuulngu groups, where each clan was associated and partially defined by a certain dialect, "multilingualism is considered to be not a chance by-product of interaction, but rather an aspect of social relationships" (ib. p. 15). No information is provided by Dawkins (1916) about the status and prestige of the Greek dialects spoken in Asia Minor. Nonetheless, the fact that Greek was preserved only orally and began to be replaced by Turkish as the language of the Church as early as in the fifteenth century may be proof of its little prestige (cf. 4.2). In the Balkan Sprachbund, first Slavic and then Turkish were used as the language of the administration, the culture, and the Church. Turkish was also the language of the trade and of the military. Also Greek played a prestigious role in the cultural life of the Balkans (cf. 4.3-4.3.5). In Malta and Gozo Italian was invested with a very high status. It was the language of the culture and of the educated classes. It kept its function as language of

the law courts until 1932 (cf. 4.4). Welsh had a very low status since it was excluded from the use in administration in the first half of the sixteenth century and its speakers were discriminated on the part of the (dominant) English. Nevertheless, the translation of the Bible in 1588 provided it with prestige and made it possible for it to survive (cf. 4.5). In the light of the evidence gathered also this factor may be considered as favouring inflectional borrowing.

(e) *Language loyalty*: As far as Arnhem Land is concerned, the women who joined the clan of their husbands did not give up their native tongues. Rather, their children grew up with both languages and especially the men retained narrow contacts with the original clan of their mothers (cf. 4.1). No information is available about language loyalty in the Asia Minor case. Within the Balkan linguistic area, among the Romanian populations women preserved the domestic tongue from external intrusions. It is acknowledged that today the Meglenite and the Aromunians completely lack language loyalty. It is not known how it exactly looked for them and the other Balkan peoples in the past (cf. 4.3-4.3.5). As for language loyalty to Maltese, it is known that the upper classes considered it the language of the lower social strata (cf. 4.4). Language loyalty to Welsh was guaranteed exclusively by the Sunday Schools. The Welsh reacted with resignation to the disparaging propaganda of the English administration against their language (cf. 4.5). On the whole, the information about loyalty to the borrowing language is so scarce that no judgment on the validity of this factor can be made.

(f) *Size of the groups involved in the contact*: In Arnhem Land this factor seems not to have played a great part: borrowing has occurred between Ritharngu (300-400 speakers) and Ngandi (60-70 speakers) in both directions and from Nunggubuyu into Warndarang, both spoken by 150-200 people (cf. 4.1). As for the Asia Minor case, Dawkins (1916) refers to a constant increase in the Turkish population of the villages involved in the borrowing process and, partly, to its demographic prevalence over the Greek element (as in Sílli). Furthermore, all Greek villages were surrounded by Turkish communities (4.2). As far as the Balkan populations are concerned, a distinction must be made. Whereas the Aromunians, Meglenite, and Istro-Romanians were (and still are) linguistic and demographic minorities, there were approximately as many Romans as Slavs. In Albania the Turks were certainly less numerous than the Albanians (cf. 4.3-4.3.5). In Malta and Gozo Italian was spoken in 1871 by round 20% of the population (cf. 4.4). The Welsh communities became during the time overwhelmingly smaller than the English ones (cf. 4.5). Overall, this factor may favour inflectional borrowing.

(g) *Intermarriage*: This factor is of great value in Arnhem Land (cf. 4.1). No data is available about interlinguistic marriage in Asia Minor. As for the Balkans, exogamy affected the Slavic-Romance settings (cf. 4.3.1) as well as the Turkish Albanian one (cf. 4.3.5) It is acknowledged that Maltese women intermarried with Sicilian men as early as in the latter Middle Ages (cf. 4.4). It is

assured that intermarriage has occurred in the Welsh-English contact setting (4.5). This factor may play a supporting part in the process of inflectional borrowing.

5.3.2 Analysis of the intra-linguistic factors

(h) *Reinforcement*: The replacement of a shorter form through a longer one has occurred in:

(7) where the Turkish morpheme for 1st person plural past has been added to the Cappadocian Greek form,

(8) where the Turkish morpheme for the 2nd person plural has been borrowed and extended to the 1st person singular too,

(9) where the morpheme for VOC-FEM-SG -[o] has replaced the phonetically weaker form -*ă* [ə],

(10) where the morpheme for PL -[Vdz] has replaced the shorter form -*ęi*,

(12) where the morpheme for 1st-SG -*m*, and the morpheme for 2nd-SG -*ş* have been added to the forms *afl-u, afl-i* and *a/intr-u, a/intr-i*,

(14) where the morpheme for ACC-FEM-SG -[u] has replaced the phonetically weaker form -*ă* [ə],

(16) where *mbretlerë* and *priftlerë* are found instead of *mbretër* and *priftër*,

(18) where all plural forms are longer than the original ones, and in

(19) where the longer plural form *waladān* is recorded instead of the regular broken plural form *awlād*.

Contrariwise, (5), (17), and (20) show no replacement through longer forms. (3) cannot be taken into account for the corresponding previous form is not known. All further cases cannot be taken into account as no replacement because these are cases of addition in the sense of *Aufbautyp mit Formenentlehnung*. On the basis of this evidence this factor seems to favour inflectional borrowing as it displays a percentage of 45%.

(i) *Sharpness of boundaries*: This factor seems to favour inflectional borrowing since it occurs in (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (6), (10), (11), (15), (16), (17), (18), (19), (20) which corresponds to an occurrence of 70%.

(j) *Categorical clarity*: This factor displays a full percentage (100%), thus certainly favours inflectional borrowing since none of the borrowed morphemes can be viewed as categorically opaque.

(k) *Filling of functional gaps*: This factor does not seem to be of much importance in favouring inflectional borrowing since the *Aufbautyp mit Formenentlehnung* only accounts for (1), (6), (11), and (15), thus for 20% of the cases.

(l) *Monofunctionality*: This factor is found in all cases but in (7), (8), (9), (12), (14), and (17), i.e. it amounts to 70% of all cases. Thus, it seems to be a strongly favouring factor of inflectional borrowing.

(m) *Semantic fullness*: This factor is involved in 18, i.e. 90% of the cases. Keeping apart the several meanings borne in portmanteau morphemes (cumulative exponence) the following semantically fuller categories have been borrowed: tense in (12) and (13); mood in (11), (12) and (13); gender in (9), (14), (17); aspect in (15), (20); tense in (12); number in (3), (9), (10), (14), (16), (17), (18), (19); person in (12), (7), (8), (13); genitive in (2) and (4). Semantic fullness may, thus, be envisaged as a favouring factor of inflectional borrowing.

5.3.3 Results of the analysis

The results of the analysis of all factors are summarised in table 5 below.

	Arnhem Land								the Balkans											
	Ri <> Ng			N > Ng	N > Wa		T > G		S > R	G, A > Arom		Ma > Mr		C > Ir	T > A		SI > M	E > W	P-T > Ar	
(a)	+			+	+		n.a.		n.a	n.a.		n.a.		n.a.	n.a.		+	+	n.a.	
(b)	+			+	+		+		+	+		+		+	+		+	+	n.a.	
(c)	−			−	−		+		+	+		+		+	+		Ø	+	n.a.	
(d)	−			−	−		n.a.		+	+		+		+	+		+	+	n.a.	
(e)	−			−	−		n.a.		n.a	n.a.		n.a.		n.a.	n.a.		+	+	n.a.	
(f)	+, −			+	−		+		−	+		+		+	−		−	+	n.a.	
(g)	+			+	+		n.a.		+	n.a.		n.a.		n.a.	+		+	+	n.a.	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)
(h)	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	−	Ø	+	+	+	+	Ø	+	+	+	Ø	+	−	+	+	−
(i)	+	+	+	+	+	+	Ø	Ø	−	+	+	Ø	Ø	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
(j)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(k)	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
(l)	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
(m)	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

table 5

List of the abbreviations used:

A: Albanian
Ar: Arabic
Arom: Aromunian
C: Croatian
E: English
G: Greek
Ir: Istro-Romanian
M: Maltese
Ma: Macedonian
N: Nunggubuyu
Ng: Ngandi
P-T: Persian-Tajik
R: Romanian
Ri: Ritharngu
S: Slavic
SI: Sicilian Italian
T: Turkish
W: Welsh
Wa: Warndarang

List of the symbols used:

+: positive rating of a factor
n.a.: not attested
Ø: the factor cannot be taken into account

Factors (a), (b), (d), (e), and (f) are to be understood as follows:

(a): high degree of multilingualism;
(b): long contact;
(d): high prestige and status of the source language;
(e): scarce loyalty to the receiving language;
(f): demographic superiority of the source language group.

As far as the extra-linguistic factors are concerned, no judgment can be made on the validity of factors (a) and (e) for the information about the degree of multilingual proficiency and about language loyalty is too scarce. With this exception, all extra-linguistic factors may be viewed as favouring inflectional borrowing. Extra-linguistic factors seem to play a relevant role in this phenomenon.

As far as the intra-linguistic factors are concerned, a scale of influence of the intra-linguistic factors on inflectional borrowing can be drafted as follows:

- *Categorial clarity* (100%) → morphotactic and morphosemantic transparency and biuniqueness
- *Semantic fullness* (90%)
- *Sharpness of boundaries* (70%) → morphotactic transparency
- *Monofunctionality* (70%) → biuniqueness
- *Reinforcement* (45%) → increase of iconicity
- *Filling of functional gaps* (20%)

Evidently, requirements of naturalness (and the related factors) seem to be a source of influence within the phenomenon of inflectional borrowing. Especially issues of morphotactic and morphosemantic transparency as well as biuniqueness seem to be a driving force. Semantic fullness plays a significant role as well probably because semantics is tightly related to cognition and cognitive abilities (cf. Metzeltin & Gardani, in press) and is, thus, more salient to the psycholinguistic reality of the speakers. Also reinforcement as the result of the tension to the increase of iconicity exhibits a considerable rating. Differently, matters of functionality seem not to contribute to inflectional borrowing to a large extent. Accordingly, prediction 4 is confirmed.

In conclusion, it must be borne in mind that all the above analysed factors are likely to facilitate structural borrowing but their presence does by no means compulsorily imply that structural borrowing will occur.

5.4 Direction of borrowing

When borrowing of inflectional morphemes occurs the question arises as to which of the languages involved in the contact exerts its influence upon the other(s). The answer to it is closely linked to prestige and power. Cases of moderate and heavy structural borrowing are often characterised by uneven dominance proportions.

In all contact settings presented in Chapter 4 the higher status and prestige of one language, that is, the language of the culture, administration, Church, military, or trade, has played a decisive part in the direction of the borrowing process. The only exception are the languages of Arnhem Land where, as pointed out above, status is of hardly any relevance. In this specific case, demographic dominance does not determine the direction of borrowing either. This may be exemplified with the case of contact between Ritharngu and Ngandi where Ritharngu has borrowed the suffix for the dyadic dual from Ngandi, though the former was used by 300-400 speakers as against 60-70 of the latter. Considerations of socio-economic or cultural prevalence do not play a role either. Considerations of social predominance may hold for the case of mutual inflectional borrowing between Nunggubuyu and Warndarang, instead. They are used in equal demographic terms (150-200) but the Nunggubuyu display some degree of dependence on the Warndarang, who are envisaged as the upper class (cf. 4.1).

Resting on the evidence gathered it can be claimed that it is the social context, not the structure of the languages involved in a contact setting, which determines the direction of interference. Asymmetrical dominance may be exerted by the demographically more numerous and politically dominant group. As a consequence, the subordinate population rather than the more dominant is likely to be bilingual. In such a socio-cultural context a one-way influence may occur in so far as the language of the dominant group may affect the language of the subjected population. The inverse situation is hardly found. Thus, prediction 5 has proven right.

5.5 Genesis of inflectional borrowing

This section will approach the question of how exactly morphological borrowing occurs. Certainly, it will not try to track the full course of this type of linguistic change but rather give possible explanations how borrowing of inflectional morphemes comes about as an initial innovation which appears just in one single speaker's speech.

Of course, in the language contact literature there is a tendency to pay insufficient attention to the borrowing process itself so that "the whole topic of mechanism of interference is far from adequately understood" (Thomason 2001:153). However, some attempts have been made to give an answer to this complex inquiry. They substantially pursue the idea that inflectional borrowing completely depends on lexical borrowing.

This view revolves around the supposition that inflectional morphemes are not borrowed "directly" but through the intercession of lexicon. That is, vocabulary items, which are borrowed first, may be borrowed as complex inflected forms which are then reanalysed and applied to native items of the receiving language by way of analogy. It is true that morphological expansion is accompanied by massive lexical borrowing, since words are borrowed prior to actual morphological structures.

Campbell (1993:102) asserts that he has not found counter-examples to this claim although he believes that "in principle there is no reason why a lan-

guage could not borrow some very semantically salient affix without concomitant borrowing of some particular word containing the affix". Furthermore, he recognises in the rare occurrence of borrowing of verbs the possibility that aspect markers and noun-classifier systems could be borrowed "in relative absence of their host verbs or nouns in the donor language" (ib.).

Ruth King (2000) strongly supports the principle that grammatical borrowing rests on a lexical basis. She believes that phenomena of structural borrowing are of lexical nature in so far as open category words with affixes are borrowed, and the affixes may then be reanalysed as part of the system of the borrowing language (cf. ib. pp. 82-84). According to this view, any plural suffix M of a language A borrowed from a language B has entered A attached to lexemes of B.

An almost identical, though less radical, view was held by Schuchardt (1884:9). He made the following statement:

> Bezeichnen wir die beiden Sprachen mit *A* und *B* und die der ersteren angehörige Wortform welche ein Flexions- oder Ableitungssuffix aus der letzteren hat, mit a^b, so frägt es sich: ist das aufzufassen als a^b? [...] Möglich ist die Entlehnung isolirter Suffixe, aber unwahrscheinlich. Es wird meistens die Entlehnung ganzer Wörter zu Grunde liegen in denen sie enthalten sind, und dabei sind wiederum zwei Fälle denkbar: es kann die Verbindung der verschiedensprachigen Elemente entweder in *A* oder in *B* vor sich gehen. Also entweder a^b nach Analogie von $b^b = b^b$ oder $a^b = a^b$ nach Analogie von b^b.

The same point is also raised by Weinreich (1953:31). He points out that what, sometimes, at first glance seems to be "a transfer of high bound morpheme turns out, upon a fuller analysis, to be something else". Weinreich believes that the borrowing of free forms into a language in pairs, with and without an affix, may enable the speaker to reanalyse the two-morphemes-construction into a base and an affix, and further to extend this affix to native bases. The example of the Yiddish plural ending *-im* (such as in *doktójrim* 'doctors') is made. According to Weinreich it entered Yiddish not as an isolated suffix from Hebrew, but was rather the result of an analogical extension of the plural suffix identified in couples as *min-mínim* 'sort-sorts' borrowed in pairs from Hebrew. According to him, such cases do not account for "outright transfer of a highly bound morphemes" (ib. p. 32) and, thus, are to be discounted. Nonetheless, he is convinced that there are cases where isolated morphemes have entered the receiving language without lexical support and provides a few examples thereof (ib. pp. 32-33).

This position is worth discussing. It is not advisable to think of borrowing in Weinreich's terms, distinguishing between genuine and non-genuine types of inflectional borrowing. What counts for establishing if borrowing has occurred is the effect, which may strongly affect the grammatical system of the receiving language, and not the way the change has been accomplished.

Nevertheless, it is safe to assume that borrowing of inflectional morphemes may develop along at least two different paths.

One is *analogical extension*, which has been sufficiently discussed above. It accounts, for example, for cases of borrowing of plural suffixes in nouns, when it is likely that a noun has entered the receiving language with both the singular and the plural form.

A furher path is of a more direct nature. I shall call it *direct import*. It can be enlightened within an approach which considers the psycholinguistic aspects of multilingual proficiency according to principles of dynamics and variation. All cases of inflectional borrowing presented in the present monograph involve very high, partly full (perfect), bilingualism among some or all receiving language speakers. In communities where multilingual proficiency is widespread and high in degree phenomena of code switching, code-alternation, interference are frequent, though not to the same extent in each setting. In individuals belonging to such groups one mental linguistic system may fuse with another. The proficient multilingual speaker has two or more sets of rule complexes at their disposal, can choose between various linguistic entities, and fully masters each of them. This may be thought of as if code-intermingling would happen not only at the actual linguistic performance level but also at the mind level. Furthermore, it must be kept in mind that multilingual individuals are able, though often unconsciously, to individuate the different functions within the morphological machineries at their disposal. This closeness between different linguistic systems may, thus, be responsible for the multilingual's overflowing the borders of one language's grammar and intermingling it with another. Borrowing of inflectional morphemes may be seen as a result of this process.

Direct import accounts rather for borrowing of morphemes with no sharp boundaries (cf. intra-linguistic factor (j) in 3.3.1.2) involving, for example, cumulative exponence. This is because cumulative exponence makes it less simple to distinguish between and recognise the different morphological categories carried out by the inflectional form. I consider very unlikely that words enter a language in pairs where one form displays cumulative exponence and the other not. Overall, direct import accounts for all types of morphemes which are unlikely to enter the receiving language by way of pairs which make them more psycholinguistically salient and recognisable to the speaker (e.g. aspect, mood, case).

5.6 Definition of inflectional borrowing

In conclusion, a definition of inflectional borrowing is to be proposed since none is provided in the literature. It rests on the constraints outlined in 3.2. and on the typologies of genesis of inflectional borrowing individuated in 5.5.

Inflectional borrowing is acknowledged as the shift of inflectional morphemes from a source language B into a receiving language A on the part of a bilingual speaker of A, whereby they are added *only* to native words of the receiv-

ing language and have maintained the (at least partially) identical meaning (and function) they carried out in the source language, once they entered the receiving language.

5.7 Conclusion

The present paper has investigated the subject of contact-induced borrowing of inflectional morphemes. Specific issues have been studied from both a theoretical and methodological point of view. Twelve case studies have been illustrated. Resting on both the sociolinguistic situation and the structure of the languages involved in twelve contact cases, a detailed analysis of the borrowing occurrences has been carried out. The predictions made in Chapter 3 have proven right. Possible scenarios of the genesis as well as a definition of inflectional borrowing have been provided.

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