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A. SEZA DOĞRUÖZ

SYNCHRONIC VARIATION AND
DIACHRONIC CHANGE IN DUTCH TURKISH:
A CORPUS BASED ANALYSIS



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Synchronic Variation and Diachronic Change in Dutch Turkish:
A Corpus Based Analysis

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit van Tilburg, op gezag van de rector magnificus, prof. dr. F. A. van der Duyn Schouten, in het openbaar te verdedigen ten overstaan van een door het college voor promoties aangewezen commissie in de aula van de Universiteit op woensdag 12 december 2007 om 14.15 uur door

Ayşe Seza Doğruöz

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To Robert and my family...

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Seza

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ABL:** Ablative
ACC: Accusative
AG: Agentive
AUX: Auxiliary
COM: Comitative
DAT: Dative
DM: Discourse marker
GEN: Genitive
GER: Gerund
IMP: Imperative
INF: Infinitive
LOC: Locative
NEG: Negation
NOM: Nominalization
NL-T: NL-Turkish
ORIG: Originative
PASS: Passive
PAST: Past tense
PERF: Perfective
PL: Plural
POSS: Possessive
PRES: Present tense
PROG: Progressive
QP: Question particle
SG: Singular
TR-T: TR-Turkish

1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Turkish speakers from Western Europe are easily identified when they speak Turkish in Turkey. Using an occasional borrowed word (e.g. from Dutch) is one of the reasons for this identification, but in general such words are avoided in conversations with monolingual Turks. Still, immigrants are identified, even when all words are in Turkish. This study investigates what it is that makes Dutch Turkish sound “different” to Turkish speakers in Turkey.

To illustrate this, let’s look at example 1.1, which was produced by a Dutch Turkish speaker:

- (1.1) *Dün Amsterdam tren-i-ni al-dı-m.*
Yesterday Amsterdam train-POSS.3SG.ACC. take-PAST-1SG.
“I took the Amsterdam train yesterday”

This utterance would sound strange to Turkish speakers in Turkey since it violates the conventional way of putting the concept “take a train” into words, which would be *tren-e binmek* “train-dat. get.on”. Although there is no violation of syntactic or morphosyntactic conventions, a producer of example 1.1 would be labeled as not speaking Turkish properly.

This dissertation will illustrate that violations of the way things are said, such as example 1.1, are typical of Dutch Turkish. This is how Turkish speakers in Turkey identify the immigrant Turkish, in our case Dutch Turkish. As far as we know, this research is the first of its kind to systematically investigate the differences in the spoken Turkish of immigrants and monolinguals based on comparative corpus data. It will conclude that NL-Turkish (Turkish as spoken in the Netherlands) differs from TR-Turkish (Turkish as spoken in Turkey) mainly due to idiomatic changes rather than to changes in the syntactic structure, at least in the three domains investigated: word order, clause-internal constructions, and subject pronoun use.

The organization of this thesis is as follows: The present chapter provides a general introduction to contact linguistics and more specifically to Dutch-Turkish contact, and explains the choice of Cognitive Linguistics as a theoretical framework. It also introduces the NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish data and discusses how they were collected.

Chapter 2 investigates possible word order change in NL-Turkish. Analyses revealed that (S)OV is the basic word order both in NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish. Due to Dutch influence, NL-Turkish was expected to increase the use of (S)VO word order. This was not observed, except for a few violations of the information structure characteristics of Turkish. Instead, some unconventionality was found in “constructions”, which are units in-between lexicon and syntax, with characteristics of both.

Following up the questions this case study raised, Chapter 3 investigates the changes in NL-Turkish constructions in detail. In a subcorpus of NL-Turkish data, all constructions that sounded unconventional to TR-Turkish speakers were identified. These unconventional constructions were classified according to the aspect of TR-Turkish convention that they violated. This classification led to three categories based on the fixed and open slots the affected construction was constituted by: the maximally specific units (where every element of the unit is fixed), the partially schematic units (where elements of the unit are collocationally fixed but some slots are open), and the maximally schematic units (where every slot in the unit is open). These categories will be discussed in Chapter 3 in detail. The results revealed that most unconventionality took place in maximally specific and partially schematic units. Roughly this means that there is more lexical change than syntactic change at the moment in NL-Turkish. Dutch influence was responsible for these changes in most cases, though some unconventionality was also found in TR-Turkish. However, these cases were of different types and much less frequent than the ones found in NL-Turkish.

Both Chapters 2 and 3 suggest that syntax is not undergoing change in NL-Turkish. By investigating a typical syntactic domain, subject pronoun use, Chapter 4 verifies the results found in Chapter 3 and 4. In traditional terms, Turkish is a pro-drop language whereas Dutch is not. Due to contact, NL-Turkish is expected to extend the use of subject pronouns into contexts where it is not normally used. However, building on the analyses in Chapter 3 and on ideas from Radical Construction Grammar (Croft 2001), this chapter proposes that subject pronouns are not used on their own but they are obligatory part of various partially schematic constructions. Similarly, null subjects are also obligatory parts of other constructions. One of the main claims of Chapter 4 is that overt and null subject pronouns

belong to different constructions and they are not just alternative realizations of the same content.

Chapter 4 will also illustrate that NL-Turkish does not differ from TR-Turkish in terms of the frequency of subject pronouns used, but that some NL-Turkish constructions with subject pronouns nevertheless show influence from Dutch through literal translation. These affected constructions are few in number and did not lead to any substantial changes at the abstract level of subject pronoun use. The TR-Turkish data, on the other hand, did not contain any unconventionality due to subject pronoun use.

Finally, Chapter 5 discusses the results of the Chapters 2,3 and 4 in terms of general consequences for Contact and Cognitive Linguistics as well as the possibilities for further research. In terms of contact linguistics, this study indicates that Turkish-Dutch contact has not been intense enough so far to lead to any substantial syntactic changes. What have been copied from Dutch are individual constructions, often through the mechanism of literal translation. These translations are the semantically transparent equivalents of their Dutch counterparts. Since TR-Turkish makes use of other constructions for the same meaning, NL-Turkish is identified as unconventional by TR-Turkish judges.

Table 1.1 summarizes the research questions, methodology, and main results of the analyses in Chapters 2, 3 and 4.

Table 1.1: Thesis Overview

Chapter	Research Questions	Methodology	Results
2.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Is there an increase in VO order in NL-Turkish due to Dutch influence? -Is there a change in the information structure characteristics of VO order in NL-Turkish ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Identification of different clause types in NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish data. -Identification of all unconventional postverbal elements (NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish) based on the violations of Turkish information structure. -Investigation of Dutch influence on the violations of information structure in NL-Turkish. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -SOV is the most frequent order (in simplex clauses) both in NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish. -There is no increase in the frequency of VO order in NL-Turkish. -There are a few violations of information structure (in VO order) and some unconventional constructions in NL-Turkish.
3.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -What kind of unconventional constructions are there in NL-Turkish? -Is there any Dutch influence? -Is there any unconventionality in TR-Turkish? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Identification of all unconventional constructions in NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish. -Classification of unconventional constructions according to their level of specificity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Unconventionality in NL-Turkish is mostly found at the specific or partially schematic regions and mostly due to Dutch influence. -Some unconventionality is detected in TR-Turkish as well.
4.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Is there an increase in subject pronouns in NL-Turkish due to Dutch influence? -Are there any specific or partially schematic constructions with subject pronouns in TR-Turkish? -Are there any unconventional subject pronoun constructions in NL-Turkish? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Identification of subject expressions in simplex clauses. -Comparison of NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish in terms of subject pronoun frequencies. -Identification and classification of subject pronoun constructions in TR-Turkish. -Identification of unconventional subject pronoun constructions in NL-Turkish. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -There is no increase in the frequency of subject pronouns in NL-Turkish. -Eight types of subject pronoun constructions are identified in the speech of a TR-Turkish speaker. -Few unconventional subject pronoun constructions are found in NL-Turkish. They are mostly due to unintended contrastive meaning.

1.2 The inevitability of change

What all languages share is changeability (Weinreich 1953, Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Croft 2000, 2006, Milroy 2003, Leino and Östman 2005). Contact with other languages is one of the reasons for change. Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 88) identify two main outcomes of language contact at the most global level: language maintenance, in which the community preserves its native language from generation to generation, and language shift, in which the community ceases to transmit its heritage language and adopts the contact language¹. Thomason (2001: 22) predicts that most migrant populations that suffer from subordinate status in their host communities will sooner or later shift to the dominant language. However, before the shift is completed, their language is likely to undergo changes.

This research investigates a “maintenance situation”, in the sense that we look at the Turkish of the Turkish immigrant population in the Netherlands (rather than at their Dutch). Though cross-linguistic borrowing is demonstrably not inevitable even in intense contact settings and in most cases language contact induces one of the languages to adopt elements from the other one. Against the background of the variety of contact settings that are found around the world, we will look at a straightforward case. First, Turkish-Dutch contact is a simple two-language setting, thus avoiding the complex interaction patterns typical of, for example, a Sprachbund. Second, there is a clear status asymmetry (Myers-Scotton 2002) between the two languages making sure the borrowing is in one direction (i.e. Dutch to Turkish) only. Finally, the languages are typologically very different, which makes it relatively easy to determine whether a particular characteristic is of Turkish or Dutch origin.

Before starting the discussion about why and how languages change, it is useful to introduce the terminology that will be used throughout the thesis. Following Weinreich (1953), Heine and Kuteva (2001, 2005) and Heine (2006), the language that is the source (or donor) of the change will be called “model language” whereas the language that is undergoing change through the contact with the model language will be called “replica language”. In this research, Dutch is the model language for possible contact-induced changes in Turkish, the replica language.

¹ They also mention a third outcome, creation, which only takes place in social circumstances that are very different from the ones that are investigated here (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:88).

There are various names for the process of importing elements of structures from one language to the other, notably borrowing and interference. These terms have been previously criticized by being misleading about the underlying process, and especially interference has acquired some negative associations (cf. Johanson 2002: 8). Therefore, this study will make use of a rather neutral term, “copying” (Johanson 2002) to describe the process of importing Dutch words and structures into Turkish.

1.3 Why and how do languages change?

Language change is a gradual process, with synchronic and diachronic aspects. The synchronic aspect refers to the producing of unconventional variants (i.e. innovations) at a given time in an utterance. The diachronic aspect, on the other hand, refers to the accumulation of these unconventional variants and their replacement of the conventional ones over a longer period of time.

Synchronically, in producing an utterance, there are two possibilities (Croft 2000: 29): either we comply with the conventions of the speech community we belong to, thus produce conventional forms, or we do not, and thus produce an unconventional form, which is an innovation. Change only starts when an unconventional form (“altered replication” in Croft 2000 and “differential replication” in Croft 2006) is adopted by other members of the speech community (“diffusion” Trudgill 1986, “propagation” Croft 2000, Backus 2005). In other words, not every unconventional form that is produced will replace an existing form and lead to change. Unconventionality is the synchronic sign that a change may be taking place. This thesis is about unconventionality in NL-Turkish, seen from the perspective of TR-Turkish speakers. It is also important to note that any unconventional form can be an innovation or an instance of the propagation of an innovative form. However, in both cases, the form sounds unconventional to non-contact variety speakers.

Explaining unconventional forms starts with finding their source. Generally, two main sources are distinguished: internal and external ones (Croft 2000, Thomason 2001, Winford 2003, Elvik and Matras 2006). In the internal case, the source of the unconventionality is found within the language; this is often associated with very

gradual changes (e.g. sound change and grammaticalization). In the case of an external source, the unconventional form is copied from another language².

In addition, it is probably not wrong to say that change is always induced by sources external to the speaker (cf. Croft 2000, Backus 2004, 2005). This is due to the fact that speakers do not live in isolation but continuously interact with each other, and with people outside their community. According to Pickering and Garrod (2004), while communicating we accommodate our speech to that of our interlocutors (cf. Trudgill 1986). As a result, we may adopt forms that are new (i.e. innovations) into our idiolects. To sum up, an innovation is always externally induced (to the speaker) although there may be some natural tendencies in the language that stimulate change in a particular direction (cf. Milroy 1992, Woods 2001). As Dorian (1993: 96) points out: “internal pressures may result in a lineup of potential shifts and these may combine with external influences to produce change”.

In language change, various aspects interact to shape the nature of change: the factors (social and linguistic) that prepare the circumstances for change, the elements that undergo the change and the mechanisms involved. The next section discusses the first aspect, namely, the social and linguistic factors.

1.4 What triggers change?

Social and linguistic factors act together in contact induced language change (Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968, Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Thomason 2001, Winford 2003). Social factors can be seen as the ultimate causes of change; linguistic factors as filters that determine **what** changes as soon as social factors have triggered a contact situation in which **something** will change (cf. Backus 2005).

Social factors (or external factors) is a cover term for various components that play a role in determining the outcomes of contact: e.g. the intensity of contact, its duration, the power or prestige relationships between the two language communities and patterns of interaction between them, the number of speakers each language has, and the attitudes of the speakers (cf. Thomason 2001, Johanson 2002, Winford 2003).

² Heine and Kuteva (2005:92-93) claim that speakers of contact languages may also copy the grammaticalization process (“replica grammaticalization”, *ibid*:92) not just the structures. There are certainly contact outcomes where the grammaticalization process in the model language is copied. However, it is hard to believe that the speakers are conscious about the grammaticalization process that has taken place in the model language in the past (cf. Ross 2007). In “structural copying”, the speaker is only concerned with the immediate translation of a structure from one language to the other.

These factors, particularly the intensity of contact, seem to more or less determine the quantitative dimension, i.e. the extent of cross-linguistic influence.

A change in the socio-political situation can have direct consequences for the speed and direction of language change. For example, the fate of Russian in Estonia shows how quickly social factors are able to change the direction of change (Verschik 2007). Russian was the prestige language during the Soviet era in Estonia. Although the majority of the country was ethnically Estonian, Russian served the instrumental needs of everyday life for the Russian minorities who did not have the need to speak Estonian. Therefore, they remained mostly monolingual. With the independence of Estonia in 1992, Estonian started to gain prestige (again). With this change in social dynamics, the Russian minorities living in Estonia started learning Estonian and today their Russian is on the way to become a new variety, influenced by Estonian (Verschik 2007). Similar effects of social factors have been discussed in several contact situations among others for Spanish-English contact in US (e.g. Silva-Corvalan 1994, Kalmeyer and Keim 2003, Toribio 2004, Smith 2006), and Turkish-German contact in Germany (Pfaff 1992, Boeschoten 1994, Rehbein 2001).

In terms of linguistic factors, it is still not well understood why certain changes take place at certain times and places but not in others (i.e. “actuation problem”, Weinreich et al. 1968, Trudgill 1986, Milroy 2003). It seems like an invisible hand directs the language change (Keller 1994). Johanson (2002) explains the principles of change through the pivotal notion of “attractiveness”, in the sense that some structures are more attractive for copying (and eventually for change) than others. Attractiveness works both ways, in the sense that both the model and the replica languages may have attractive structures. Attractive structures in the model language are copied relatively easily. Attractive structures in the replica language are, on the other hand, very stable and not easily influenced by another language. If a particular structure is not attractive in the replica language (e.g. because of low frequency), it is a relatively good candidate for replacement by a copied structure.

Thomason (2001: 76) reports on three linguistic factors that may exert an influence in the copying process:

a) Universal markedness of the particular linguistic structure in the model language: There is a tendency for languages to simplify their features in contact settings (e.g. Thomason 2001: 64, Elvik and Matras 2006). The replica language is not expected to

copy marked features from the model language³. On the contrary, the model language loses marked features and tends toward the less marked features. Trudgill (1986: 98) refers to the reduction of marked features as “leveling”.

Haspelmath (2006: 27), on the other hand, criticizes the term “markedness” for being vague since it is used with various meanings (e.g. representing difficulty, complexity, abnormality etc.). He proposes to replace it with more transparent terms, one of which is “frequency of use”, which acts as an attractiveness raising factor in change in general and in contact-induced change in particular. If we interpret markedness as the frequency of use, there are several claims in the literature about the effects of frequency in the model and replica languages. Bybee (2006: 715), for example, claims that highly frequent structures in a language are resistant to change in a grammaticalization process since such structures are well-entrenched. Similarly, in contact-induced change, it can be argued that high frequency structures in the replica language are resistant to possible invasions by copied forms from the model language, because of their high level of entrenchment. In Johanson’s (2002) terms, high frequency of a structure in the replica language makes it “unattractive” (or less attractive) for influence from the model language.

On the other side of the coin, Mithun (2007: 159) claims that highly frequent structures in the model language are more easily copied by the replica language than low frequency ones since they are more “salient”, yet another term associated with frequency of use. This implies that the frequency of structures in the model language should also be investigated.

Trudgill (1986) makes a similar point about salience in his work on dialect contact, where he claims that speakers of the recipient language are more likely to imitate salient features of the contact variety than non-salient ones in synchronic speech. Therefore, salient features are good candidates for copying (“adaptation” in his terminology). Since Trudgill (1986) focuses on dialect contact, most of the innovations reported in his work concern phonological features. He lists phonological contrast, degree of phonetic difference, and shared phonemes among the factors that promote salience.

³ However, Thomason (2001) notes that there are also counter examples which can be evidence for the copying of marked features in contact (e.g. copied clicks in Bantu languages, *ibid*:65, cf. Elvik and Matras 2006).

On the other hand, Nichols (2003: 305) suggests that salient features may not always be so easy to copy in contact situations. For example, she refers to verb-initial order as “recessive”⁴ since it has a low probability of inheritance and a low probability of being copied. Being recessive, this order has become a “salient” part of the grammars of the languages it occurs in and therefore it is not easily copied. This definition of salience comes closer to the unusual sense of “markedness”.

Yet another dimension of “salience” comes from Weinreich (1953: 36-37) who points out that words referring to concrete objects are more likely to be borrowed than words which refer to actions. This claim brings along the question whether this preference may be due to the “salience” of concrete objects.

It seems like linguistic feature with high frequency are in the model language more salient. Therefore, they are more (readily) available for copying (cf. Trudgill 1986 and Mithun 2007). In other cases, the low frequency makes a feature “salient” and prevents it from being copied. These different uses make the notion “salience” as slippery as “markedness” (cf. Haspelmath 2006). Therefore, the notion itself requires further research.

However, what seems to be common in all of the factors (“salience”, “markedness” or “attractiveness”) mentioned above is that the “frequency of use” in the model and replica languages plays an important role in the copying process. In their study of Spanish lexical borrowings in Bolivian Quechua, Van Hout and Muysken (1994: 52) attribute two roles to the frequency of use, which can be generalized to all copying contexts:

- *Frequency as a promoting factor*: Frequent features in the model language are better candidates for copying.
- *Frequency as an inhibiting or blocking factor*: Frequent features in the recipient language resist copying competitors from the model language.

We will return to this point in Sections 1.5 and 1.6 and in Chapters 3 and 5.

b) The degree to which features are integrated into the linguistic system: Features which are part of an elaborate system (e.g. inflectional morphology) are less likely to be copied and transferred (Thomason 2001: 69). Van Hout and Muysken (1994: 55) refer to this factor as “paradigmatic coherence” and they argue that features that are

⁴ Ergativity is also reported as recessive in Nichols (1992).

part of a tightly organized system (e.g. pronoun system) in the model language are not good candidates for copying.

c) Typological distance between the source and the recipient language determines which structures will change (cf. Weinreich 1953, Moravcsik 1978, Field 2002): Due to similarities in the structural organization of typologically similar languages, it is easier to copy structures and integrate them into the receiving system than is the case for typologically dissimilar languages (Thomason 2001: 71, see Chapter 5 for further research). This issue is also brought up in definitions of “convergence”. Toribio and Bullock (2004: 91), for example, claim that in order for two languages to become similar to each other (i.e. converge), they should have some inherent similarities to begin with.

An opposing view is that it is the structural differences rather than the similarities that motivate copying from one language to the other (Campbell 1993: 96-97). There is an example of this in our data: Left Detachment construction does not exist in Turkish, but due to Dutch influence, NL-Turkish speakers started making use of this construction (see Chapter 4).

Another factor that may play a role in copying is the speaker’s perception of equivalence between a structure in the model language and a structure in the recipient language (Weinreich 1953, Györi 2002, Heine and Kuteva 2005, Johanson 2002, Muysken 2000). Perception of equivalence is subjective and we only have recourse to this cognitive activity through the indirect evidence provided by the linguistic analysis of what speakers produce. We can strive for plausible interpretations but direct evidence is not available in a corpus study. We will come back to this point in Chapters 3 and 5.

Closely related to this argument is the role of transparency. Johanson (2002: 45) suggests, for instance, that the transparency of the form-meaning relationships in agglutinating languages makes agglutinative morphology more attractive for copying purposes than inflectional morphology. We will come back to the role of transparency in copying of Dutch structures in Chapter 3.

To sum up, social and linguistic factors play a role in triggering change in contact situations but they are not independent of each other (Johanson 2002: 49-51). Thomason (2001: 77) points out that social factors and speaker’s attitudes are more important than the linguistic factors in contact situations. This is due to the fact that

any linguistic feature can be copied as long as social factors and attitudes of speakers prepare the grounds for this copying. What we have not discussed yet is how copying proceeds. Section 1.5 discusses how the elements selected for innovation actually enter the language.

1.5 Copying: A mechanism of innovation

One of the mechanisms through which structural innovations are introduced is the use of foreign morphemes (Weinreich 1953, Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Myers-Scotton 2002). This is called “codeswitching” and it has been observed to be frequent in NL-Turkish (Boeschoten 1990, Backus 1996). Johanson (2002) calls this “global copying”, since the whole lexical item is copied with all its source language aspects.

Sometimes the meaning or function of a morpheme in the replica language is extended or reduced based on the meaning or function of a morpheme in the model language (Weinreich 1953, Johanson 2002, Ross 2001, 2007). This is generally called “calque” or “loan translation”.

Structural copying refers to copying of structures from one language to another (“selective copying” in Johanson 2002, “grammatical replication” in Heine and Kuteva 2005, “grammatical calque” in Ross 2007). What is copied is the grammatical relation (Weinreich 1953: 30). Weinreich refers to this type of copying as “interference in grammatical relations” (ibid: 37). Aikhenvald (2003) refers to the changes due to this type of copying as “system-altering changes”⁵.

According to Heine and Kuteva (2001, 2005), the establishment of semantic equivalence may trigger structural copying from one language to the other. Semantic schemas rather than the actual forms are copied from the model language and this causes changes in the usage of the morphemes and constructions involved in the replica language (Ross 2001, 2007, Heine and Kuteva 2001, 2005). Owens (1996) presents evidence for this view from Nigerian Arabic, which uses its native forms to copy semantic schemas from neighboring languages. Similarly, the NL-Turkish data also contain cases in which Dutch semantics is copied into Turkish. For example, the verb *yapmak* “do” has extended its meaning to “taking subjects at school” through

⁵ The opposite of “system-altering” changes are “system-preserving” changes, “which do not involve any new categories but they may involve adding a new term to an already existing category, or grammaticalization of a morpheme to preserve threatened functional categories” (Aikhenvald 2003:2). Backus (2004:180), on the other hand, points out that the difference between the two types of changes is usually not clear-cut.

combining with nouns denoting school subjects. We will come back to the link between semantic and structural copying in Chapters 3 and 5.

Sometimes, the change is not a matter of direct copying from the contact language, but merely an increase in the use of a certain structure or category that also exists in the contact language (cf. “frequent copying” in Johanson 2002). For example, Turkish has SOV as its basic word order. However, SVO is also allowed in certain contexts, although it is not as frequent as SOV. Dutch, on the other hand, is predominantly SVO. If Turkish increases its use of SVO due to contact with Dutch, it will not be an adoption of a new structure from Dutch but it will be an increase in the frequency of an already existing structure in Turkish. Similarly, Heine (2006) points out that what is usually observed as a change in contact situations is actually an increase in the frequency of an existing structure in the replica language, rather than an adoption of a completely new structure from the model language. This point will be further discussed in Chapter 2.

It is clear that various mechanisms may be involved in the innovation process, i.e. at the beginning of change. No matter what type of copying takes place, it is initially a creative process and the model form is rarely exactly reproduced. The result is a hybrid that combines elements from both languages (Johanson 2002, Heine and Kuteva 2005). What is left to discuss is whether there is a general pattern that the copying process follows in all contact situations.

In general, borrowing hierarchies (e.g. Moravcsik 1978, Field 2002) have been a preoccupation of contact linguistics. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) suggest that copying starts with lexical items and spreads to syntax as the intensity of contact between the groups increases. Similarly, Ross (2001, 2007) predicts that change follows the sequence of lexical calquing, grammatical calquing and, finally, metatypy⁶, “a diachronic process whereby the morphosyntactic constructions of one of the languages of a bilingual speech community are restructured on the model of the constructions of the speakers’ other language” (Ross 2007: 116). However, Ross (2007) is cautious enough to add that lexical and grammatical calquing do not always lead to metatypy, although metatypy is always preceded by lexical and grammatical calquing.

⁶ This is reminiscent of Gumperz and Wilson’s (1971) “isomorphism”.

Another hierarchy comes from Owens (1996). In his work on Nigerian-Arabic in contact with Lake Chad Area languages, Owens (1996) claims that the lexical items and idiomatic structure (e.g. the representation of the meaning “roof” by a phrase literally meaning “head of house”) gets copied from the model language before its syntax and morphosyntax.

In addition to general hierarchies, there are also claims about the ease of diffusion of more specific categories or features in contact situations. Among others, some of these claims include: linear alignment of the syntax starts from higher level clauses (syntax) and proceeds to lower level units (i.e. phrases and ultimately internal word structure, Haig 2001: 218-219), noun classes diffuse easily (Aikhenvald and Dixon 2001: 8), word order is easy to borrow (Thomason 2001: 69, Heine and Kuteva 2001: 395).

However, it is often not so clear what kind of evidence such claims are based on (cf. Nichols 2003, Haspelmath 2004, Backus 2005, Heine 2006). In the literature, a claim such as “X is easily copied” seems to be ambiguous, since it may be interpreted as:

1. “X” is copied more frequently than other features in the current contact situation.
2. There is evidence that “X” has been copied earlier than other features in the current contact situation.
3. Cross-linguistically, “X” is copied more frequently than other features.
4. Cross-linguistically, there is evidence that “X” has been copied previously in various contact situations.

In order to disambiguate such claims, what needs to be investigated is:

1. The relative status of the copied feature in comparison to its conventional counterpart, in the contact variety and in the non-contact variety (e.g. frequency of SVO in comparison to SOV in NL-Turkish and in TR-Turkish).
2. A longitudinal track of this status.
3. The relative status of the copied feature in comparison to other copied features in the contact variety (e.g. the copying of SVO in comparison to the copying of overt subject pronouns).

4. The relative status of the copied feature in comparison to other contact situations. (e.g. frequency of SVO in German-Turkish or other word order changes in other contact situations).

Currently, there is little information in the literature about the relative frequencies of copied elements in comparison to their stable⁷ counterparts (a notable exception is Nichols 1992). The present research fills this gap by documenting not only what is on its way to change but also what is not (at least for the time being), based on the frequencies of innovative forms and their conventional counterparts in NL-Turkish and in TR-Turkish. For example, it is usually claimed that word order is copied easily in contact situations (change from SOV to SVO in Finnish, Thomason 2001; 11, SOV to SVO in Western Greenlandic; Fortescue 1993, SVO to SOV in Takia, Ross 2001, 2007; see Heine 2006 for an extensive list of word order changes in contact situations). In Chapter 2, this claim will be tested for NL-Turkish. The expectation is that Turkish, an SOV language, will increase the frequency of its SVO due to contact with Dutch. In order to test this claim, the relative frequencies of different word orders will first be analyzed and compared for NL-Turkish and for TR-Turkish. If SVO in NL-Turkish is relatively more frequent than SVO in TR-Turkish, it will be possible to say that SVO has undergone in frequential copying. The next step is the comparison of the frequency of copied SVO with other copied features. For example, is the copying of SVO more frequent than the copying of overt subject pronouns? The last step is to investigate to what extent the results for NL-Turkish are comparable to other contact situations, for example in German-Turkish. Finding answers to each step⁸ described in this process requires a lot of comparative analyses. However, only after all these analyses will it be possible to reach the generalization that “feature X is (not) copied easily”. Otherwise, the claims about the ease of copying of a particular feature remain speculative.

⁷ It is important to note that “stability” does not mean “immutable” here. Following Nichols (2003), stability of a feature, in this context, means that it is “more resistant to change, loss or borrowing in comparison to other features in the language” (ibid:284).

⁸ This thesis mainly deals with the first step. However, we would like to note that the last two steps are partially taken care of in our study. First of all, it is not easy to compare the frequencies of changing features with each other in a contact variety. Measuring relative frequency of unconventional features in comparison to their stable counterparts is one way to start with. In that sense, in Chapters 2 and 4 we compare the frequency of the changing patterns in word order and subject pronoun use. The last step, a comparison with other contact situations, is also not possible at the moment due to a lack of comparable data.

Coming back to copying as an innovative mechanism, a single innovative form does not mean that a change is underway. The innovative form needs to get entrenched first in the idiolect of the speaker and then spread to the idiolects of others in the community. The ultimate result may then be the replacement of the conventional form (Trudgill 1986, Croft 2001). The next section discusses how innovative forms are propagated (or diffused) in a speech community.

1.6 Propagation

Innovative forms do not replace conventional forms immediately. In most cases, the conventional form and the innovative form co-exist for a certain period of time before the innovative form is propagated enough to have become the new convention (Heine and Kuteva 2005). When the propagated form becomes the convention, change has taken place (Weinreich et al. 1968, Györi 2002, Labov 2007).

However, there are some complications in this process. First of all, not all innovations are propagated (the “transition problem” in Weinreich, et al. 1968, Trudgill 1986, Milroy 2003, Croft 2000). Some innovations become conventionalized and get entrenched (by being propagated) and later lead to change, while others remain as nonce innovations. For individual innovations to turn into changes they need to increase in frequency (token frequency, Trudgill 1986, Croft 2000, 2006, Backus 2004, Rostila 2006). In the case of structural changes, the innovative structure should be found in various lexical environments (type frequency, Rostila 2006).

High frequency can only be achieved if the innovative form is approved by the speech community (Trudgill 1986: 20). Adoption from another language cannot be abrupt but should gradually comply with the norms of the community⁹. Speakers accommodate their language to other speakers who share the same community norms, but not to someone who speaks a completely different language (Trudgill 1986). Similarly, Croft (2006: 112) points out the social aspect of propagation in the sense that “innovations spread gradually through a speech community following social network and class patterns”. We will come back to this point in Chapter 5.

If the innovative form that is being propagated is contact-induced, the propagation process (which the mechanism of innovation) as well as the outcome

⁹ In that sense, Trudgill’s (1986) “accommodation” is similar to innovation (Milroy 2003, Croft 2000), and “diffusion” is similar to propagation (Milroy *ibid*, Croft *ibid*).

(that the changing language becomes more similar to the other one) are both called “convergence” in the literature (Toribio and Bullock 2004: 91, Myers-Scotton 2002: 101). Myers-Scotton explains this duality as follows:

- Convergence is an outcome since “it is a linguistic configuration with all surface forms from one language but its abstract lexical structure (...) from the other language”
- Convergence is a process since “it is a mechanism in the progressive outcomes of attrition, language shift, death and creole formation”.

However, by equating the mechanism and the result, other paths of change are ignored. That is to say, contact-induced change can also take place without one language becoming similar to the other language, simply because not all contact-induced changes are brought about by direct copying (Thomason 2001: 62). Backus (2004: 180) criticizes the dual use of the term for similar reasons. However, since the process can only be inferred from the outcome, it is understandable that the two phases are often seen as the same.

Ross (2007: 133) criticizes the definition of “convergence” since it is generally not true that both languages (that are involved in contact) become similar to each other; usually just one of them undergoes contact-induced change (cf. Myers-Scotton 2002: 172, for the “one-way” argument).

In any case, if a propagated form has replaced the conventional form, change has taken place. If this process goes on with many innovative forms, then we can start talking about a typological shift in the replica language towards the structure of the model language. However, there is not a clear consensus in the literature about when to decide that a particular change has been completed or when one can say that the language undergoing change has become a new variety.

Propagation of an innovative form takes place at the expense of the conventional form. In other words, while an innovative form spreads in the speech community, the level of entrenchment of the conventional form decreases due to infrequent use. The decrease in entrenchment is called “attrition” and “loss” as its logical endpoint with zero entrenchment (Backus 1996: 26). In that sense, attrition is the mirror image of the propagation of an innovative form on its way to become the new convention.

Although attrition is mostly associated with the individual speaker (Myers-Scotton 2002: 172) both copying and attrition can be situated in the idiolect of an individual speaker as well as of an entire community. The key element in both processes is the “entrenchment”. Speakers’ intentions in this process will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Most of the changes reported in the literature are diachronic changes which require hundreds if not thousands of years to be propagated. As Heine (2006) rightly points out, it is often quite hard to back up these changes with empirical evidence since there is often no or very little information about the status of the feature that is supposedly replaced in the language prior to contact. Historical linguistics bases its interpretations on evidence of completed changes, but it is often difficult to know what languages looked like before the “change” (cf. Curnow 2001: 423).

In contact linguistics, on the other hand, it is usually possible to make a comparison with other varieties of the same language or with closely related languages, which makes it an ideal testing ground for the claims of historical linguistics and a rich source of evidence for on-going changes. So, in a way, contact linguistics can help historical linguistics to infer the likely mechanisms that were responsible for the changes in the past. Aikhenvald (2003) and Owens (1996) make use of the methods of contact linguistics in order to explain changes that have already taken place (and some that are currently ongoing). In her analyses of changes in Tariana (an Arawak language) due to contact with East Tucanon languages, Aikhenvald (2003) compares the structures with those that appear in other Arawak languages (such as Bawina/Kurripako and Piapoco) and in other East Tucanoan languages (Tucano, Piratapuya, Wanano, Desano, Tuyca, Tatuyo, Barasana etc.). Similarly, in his investigation of copied features in Nigerian Arabic, Owens (1996) makes a comparison with Arabic spoken in Libya, Jordan and Syria since those varieties did not undergo contact-induced influence from Lake Chad languages. In the Dutch-Turkish contact situation, we will also investigate the non-contact Turkish variety spoken in Turkey for the same reasons.

Contact linguistics can also benefit from the large database of attested changes in historical linguistics, since they provide evidence of what kinds of innovations might lead to change (Weinreich 1953, Matras 1998, Thomason 2001, 2007 Aikhenvald and Dixon 2001, Heine and Kuteva 2005).

As mentioned earlier, frequency accounts are quite crucial for detecting on-going changes. However, it is not always easy to know what to count. The reason for this is that it is generally difficult to identify the unit of language that is targeted by a change. Typically different structural levels of language are simultaneously involved in the production of an utterance. If there is a case of unconventionality, it may be a matter of the unconventional use of a lexical item, or any of the larger constructions it is part of. “Cognitive Linguistics” provides a theoretical framework that helps to identify the structures that are involved in the change, mainly because it does not recognize the traditional boundary between lexicon and syntax. The next section will first briefly introduce the Cognitive Linguistics framework and will discuss how it has served our purposes in the analyses of contact-induced change.

1.7 Cognitive Linguistics as a Framework

One of the main difficulties in typological and cross-linguistic research is the difficulty of comparison since linguistic categories in one language hardly ever correspond exactly to categories in the other languages. In other words, universal categories that would apply to each and every language are hardly existent (Croft 2001). Moreover, within a language, it is very difficult to establish sharp, clear-cut boundaries between different linguistic categories (Weinreich 1953: 29, Croft 2007: 409). At the most abstract level, the distinction between two main categories is assumed to hold for all languages: the distinction between lexicon and syntax. Words make up the lexicon, whereas patterns are found in the syntax.

However, this view has a drawback too. In daily life, we neither speak in isolated words (e.g. [*bread*], [*eat*]), nor with highly schematic (abstract) patterns (e.g. [V O]). Instead, we build our utterances with highly fixed units (e.g. [*good morning*]) and partially schematic ones (e.g. [*eat NP*]) to produce full utterances (e.g. “good morning, let’s have a breakfast”). What we encounter in daily life is not abstract structures (as we are accustomed to as linguists), but rather specific instantiations of these structures. Based on our inventory of fixed and partially schematic units we make generalizations and produce new utterances. According to Bybee (2006: 711) “grammar is the cognitive organization of one’s experience with the language”. This is also how children acquire language (Tomasello 2003, Dabrowska and Lieven 2005). Therefore, we need to focus on these specific and partially schematic instantiations while analyzing language, as much as on the more abstract (maximally

schematic), which bring us closer to Cognitive Linguistics framework (Langacker 1987, Croft and Cruse 2004, Taylor 2002).

Partially schematic units make the distinction between lexicon and syntax problematic since (as the name implies) partially schematic units have both fixed lexical items and syntactic characteristics (e.g. its word order or particular categories that fill the not-fixed part of the construction, e.g. “NP”) at the same time. Language being an inventory of constructions (meaning-form pairs), instead of a combination of distinct categories (e.g. lexicon and syntax) is the basic assumption behind Cognitive Linguistics and usage-based views on language analyses. In terms of cross-linguistic comparison, Croft (2007: 418) suggests using the “function” (meaning) as a constant variable of comparison between different constructions in different languages since the form varies based on the language-specific constructions. (cf. the categorization of subject pronoun constructions in Chapter 4).

Utterances that are produced by actual speakers are the starting point for usage based models (Tomasello 2000, 2003, Dabrowska 2004, Croft 2001). In generative linguistics, on the other hand, a set of rules and a set of primitives (words, part of speech categories) on which these rules operate are assumed to be shared by a community of ideal speakers (cf. Weinreich et al. 1968). Adopting this approach, this study is based on actual spoken corpora of NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish, rather than on the intuitions of speakers or on performance tasks. We will get back to the uses of such data in Chapter 5.

This gradient view (Croft 2007) fits very well with the phenomenon of language change because languages change in small steps, as evidential by widespread synchronic variation. No two idiolects are exactly the same. This leads to differences between contact and non-contact varieties of a language and even among the idiolects of different speakers of a certain variety/language. As will be illustrated in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, the differences between NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish are mainly due to the unconventional use of fixed and partially schematic constructions rather than unconventional abstract syntax (i.e. ungrammatical speech).

Particularly relevant are, Croft’s (2001) Radical Construction Grammar and Bybee’s (2006) Exemplar Representation, which both claim in their own way that our novel utterances are mostly made up of partially schematic units. We use these templates in many different combinations, based on the requirements of the context (Bybee 2006). In other words, we rarely say exactly the same thing, but we use the

same templates all the time. This is also the reason that every time we open our mouths other people are able to understand what we say. This view will be relevant to all chapters. More constructs supporting this view will be introduced as they become relevant. However, it should be noted that this study is using Cognitive Linguistics broadly as a framework explaining language contact phenomena (of Dutch-Turkish contact in this case) but it is not a study of Cognitive Linguistics that uses data from language contact.

1.8 Turks in the Netherlands

Starting in the 1960's, Western European countries invited workers from various countries, including Turkey, to come and work in Europe. Central Anatolia has been the main area of emigration due to a high rate of unemployment in the 1960's. Today, almost everyone in this area has a relative or acquaintance who has emigrated to Europe. Although the initial intention of the first immigrants in Europe was to stay for a few years and earn enough money to improve the lives of their families in Turkey, plans soon changed. After family reunifications became common in the 1970's, full-fledged immigrant communities started to form. Currently, The Netherlands hosts some 358.000 people of Turkish background, forming one of the largest minority groups in the country (CBS 2006).

Although the first generation generally did not learn Dutch beyond a relatively basic level, second and third generation Turks who grew up in the Netherlands are fluent speakers of Dutch, as they have gone through the Dutch school system. Most surveys report that after age 8, Turks in Holland speak Dutch better than Turkish (that is, children report Dutch to be their stronger language, Extra, Yağmur and Van der Avoird 2004: 82). However, this does not lead to a language shift. On the contrary, language maintenance rates of Turkish in Holland are remarkably high. Some of the factors that may play a role in explaining the maintenance are summarized in Backus (2004: 695): (i) few exogamous marriages (i.e. marriage partners are frequently brought from Turkey, which strengthens the status of TR-Turkish in the community and makes it different than other contact settings), (ii) high commitment to maintenance of Turkish since there may always be a possibility of returning to Turkey, (iii) frequent summer-long holidays in Turkey, (iv) easy access to and much use of Turkish media through internet, TV and radio programs, (v) many opportunities for intra-group contact through Turkish organizations and social

networks (e.g. the mosque), (vi) relatively widespread exposure to standard Turkish in schools and some marginalization and physical segregation in the urban areas where most Turks live, though less so than in some surrounding countries (cf. Pfaff 1992, Akıncı and Backus 2005).

This high maintenance rate combined with extensive bilingualism makes this community an ideal testing ground for an investigation into on-going contact-induced language change.

According to Aikhenvald and Dixon (2001: 14), the changeability and stability of a language in a contact situation depend on social factors like the type and size of the community, relations within the community as well as with other communities, whether additional languages are spoken by people in the community, language attitudes and interaction between languages. Different combinations of these factors lead to different types of changes (cf. Thomason 2001). Turkish in the Netherlands is copying units from Dutch at the moment and but it is highly unlikely that this situation will reverse, as was discussed for Estonia in section 1.4.

With this general background of the Turkish community in the Netherlands in mind, the next section will discuss the backgrounds of the informants who provided the data for this study and the procedures used in data collection and analysis.

1.9 Methodology

1.9.1 Informants

Two corpora will be analyzed in this study: an NL-Turkish and a TR-Turkish one. Both are part of a corpus of Spoken Turkish collected in 2003 in Utrecht and Tilburg (The Netherlands) and in Kırşehir (Turkey). The NL-Turkish corpus consists of about 328.000 words and the TR-Turkish corpus measures about 170.000 words. Due to time limitations, we analyzed a subset of these data (see Chapters 2, 3 and 4 for more information on the data that were analyzed).

The NL-Turkish group in this study consists of informants who will be described as second generation¹⁰ Turkish immigrants, since they are the first ones in the family who were either born in the Netherlands or came to Netherlands before the age of 6. Their parents or grandparents (who belong to first generation) came for work purposes or marriage after the age of 18. In the larger NL-Turkish corpus, there is also

¹⁰ According to this definition, the children of the second generation NL-Turkish speakers will belong to the third generation.

a group which can be described as 1.5 generation, who came to the Netherlands as children after the age of 6 (cf. Backus 1996). Members of this group are often the parents of the second generation, like the informants whose speech is investigated in this study.

The NL-Turkish informants whose speech is analyzed in chapters 2, 3 and 4 were all born in the Netherlands and stayed there all their lives, except for one informant who said that she was born in the Netherlands but her parents went back to Turkey for one year when she was four, but then they returned to the Netherlands. At the time of the recordings, all the informants were students at a Dutch university, and between the ages of 18-30.

They all described themselves as native speakers of Dutch, although they mainly speak Turkish in the family. As one informant acknowledged “it is quite common to speak Turkish with old people since they do not speak Dutch well. But with young people, we mostly speak Dutch or mix it with Turkish”. The informants were hesitant about evaluating themselves in Turkish especially when speaking with someone in/from Turkey since they cannot use Dutch words then. As one of them explains, they encounter problems mostly in formal registers (e.g. reading an article in the newspaper) in TR-Turkish. Despite their hesitations, the researcher did not encounter any major communication problems during the recordings, which proves that they probably underestimate their language abilities in Turkish.

In terms of the family structures, informants were quite similar to each other:

- All family members were Turkish.
- Their parents came from Kırşehir (a town in Central Anatolia/Turkey) and its surroundings.
- Turkish was the language spoken with older generations, while both languages were used for interaction with friends, siblings and second-generation relatives.
- They went to Turkey frequently for long summer holidays.
- They all had access to several Turkish TV channels at home.

The informants were accessed through the snowball sampling method. The first step was establishing some contacts with Turkish students at a Dutch university. Further contacts in the community were established through these students. Prior to every recording, there was an informal session, where the informant and the researcher

talked about the purpose of the study. Informants were provided as much information as they needed. This openness helped to keep access to the informants. They did not have any suspicions about being assessed on something they would not have expected. In case of doubt, they might have spoken differently especially with someone who speaks TR-Turkish. The informants were very aware of the fact that their Turkish is different than from that spoken in Turkey. This mostly refers to the Dutch words that they use when speaking in Turkish. We were interested in the structure of their Turkish and therefore induced a conversational setting in which monolingual Turkish would be the expected choice. Since the conversations were held in Turkish, the informants were careful not to use Dutch, but the expectation was that they would not be able to filter out influence of Dutch in their grammar (cf. Muysken 2007).

Although the larger NL-Turkish corpus also involves conversations with first generation and 1.5 generation Turkish community members, the current group (i.e. second generation) was chosen as the focus of this study for two reasons:

- They were fluent speakers of Dutch. This means structural influence may be expected in their Turkish. This would not be expected with first generation Turks, who generally do not speak Dutch as well as their children or grandchildren¹¹. (cf. Backus 1996, Broeder and Extra 1995).
- They have relatively little contact with Turkish (in comparison to their parents and grandparents), which again makes contact-induced variations in their Turkish likely.
- As they are all students with family origins in Kırşehir, there is a certain homogeneity to them as a group, which somewhat limits the complexity of the cluster of factors that is likely to figure in the explanation of our results.

The circumstance that the NL-Turkish speakers had to interact with a TR-Turkish speaker (the author) who did not know any Dutch at the time had some effects on the nature of the data. It is beyond doubt that in in-group interactions (cf. Backus 1996) bilinguals will often make use of Dutch, but our way of collecting data precluded them from codeswitching. It is possible that speaking only in Turkish might have

¹¹ The Turkish of the first and 1.5 generation still needs to be investigated systematically in terms of Dutch influence. However, it is the impression of the researcher (who also interviewed members of the first generation) that their Turkish is very close to TR-Turkish, except for rare occurrences of codeswitching for specific Dutch vocabulary with no have any equivalents in Turkish. Structural copies seemed hardly present.

increased the amount of interference, particularly in the domains in which the NL-Turkish speakers would normally switch to Dutch. For future research, the Turkish of the same speakers could be analyzed in the bilingual mode as well (cf. Toribio 2004). Normally, when an NL-Turkish speaker wishes to say something that is best expressed through a Dutch unit, three options are available. The speaker may switch to Dutch completely, s/he may produce an insertional codeswitch (i.e. a content morpheme from Dutch inserted into a Turkish morphosyntactic frame), or s/he may try to find an equivalent for the unit in Turkish. In our data, only the last option could be used. If the targeted unit is simplex, this means the unconventional use of a lexical item; if the unit is multi-morphemic, some type of loan translation is the result. We will discuss these issues in Chapters 3 and 5.

In language contact studies, data from the non-contact variety are crucial if such data are available (cf. Woods 2001: 997, Backus 2004, Dabrowska 2004, Bullock and Toribio 2004). It is often assumed that changes in a contact variety are due to the contact with the other language/s. However, it is theoretically possible that the non-contact variety is going through the same changes. In that sense, checking our TR-Turkish keeps us from attributing every single unconventional case in NL-Turkish to Dutch influence.

The conversations with TR-Turkish informants were recorded in Kırşehir and in slum areas in Ankara. The age and the educational level of the informants match those of the NL-Turkish group. Almost all the informants had family members in the Netherlands, since Kırşehir is known for its emigration. The informants were accessed through the snowball sampling method. In Kırşehir, all the informants were employees of an oil company and recordings were made during the breaks. The Ankara informants were originally from Kırşehir, and had come to Ankara to look for work. Recording procedures for TR-Turkish speakers were identical to those for NL-Turkish.

None of the conversations had any subject or time limitations imposed on them. Having said that, NL-Turkish conversations mostly involved educational topics such as courses, professors, etc., as well as topics relevant to the Turkish community. The TR-Turkish conversations were mostly about unemployment problems, local dishes, difficulties of raising children, Turkish soccer teams and the World Soccer Championship that was approaching. Most data were one-to-one conversations, since it was more convenient to make individual appointments. One of the conversations in

each data set involved two informants and the researcher. Keeping the number of informants small turned out to have some benefits for transcription purposes since there were almost no problems in deciphering what was said.

In addition to NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish informants, we also consulted TR-Turkish judges about the assessment of the unconventionality in NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish corpora, and Dutch judges about the possible contact effects in NL-Turkish utterances. TR-Turkish judges were between the ages of 18 and 30 and were at least high school graduates in Turkey. They were all speakers of the Istanbul dialect. In theory, this could have meant that they would label dialectal features as unconventional but in practice, this didn't happen. Circumstantial evidence for this is the low rate of unconventionality they identified in the speech of the TR-Turkish informants, as will become clear in later sections. We are also confident that the unconventional cases in NL-Turkish (that were assessed by TR-Turkish judges) are not Kırşehir dialectal features. The Dutch judges were between the ages of 18 and 30 and they were also at least high school graduates. They were familiar with the "Tilburg" dialect of Dutch, which the NL-Turkish speakers were exposed to.

1.9.2 Data analyses

For purposes of analyses, the data were transcribed and coded in CLAN (Computerized Language Analyses, 2007). Transcriptions were kept as close as possible to spoken Turkish. Only the turns of the informants in the NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish data were coded simultaneously for all the three studies reported in this thesis. For the word order study reported in Chapter 2, the data was coded for clause type (e.g. simplex and complex clauses), for word order pattern (e.g. SOV, SVO etc.), and also for the types of elements that appeared in the postverbal area (e.g. NP, adverbial etc.).

For Chapter 3, all utterances that sounded unconventional to TR-Turkish ears, were coded according to the origin of unconventionality, based on the comparison to their TR-Turkish conventional equivalents. The same analyses and coding was also done for the TR-Turkish data.

For Chapter 4, all subject pronouns were coded per clause type. Fixed expressions were coded separately so that they could be left out of the further accounts. Since the study investigates subject pronoun use from a cognitive linguistics view, the constructions which involved subject pronoun use were identified and

classified according to their meaning. In terms of unconventional uses of subject pronoun constructions, the NL-Turkish data was first coded for unconventionality. This was done in comparison to conventional counterparts in TR-Turkish. Finally, the unconventional subject pronoun constructions were classified according to their origin of unconventionality and compared to their Dutch counterparts for possible Dutch influence.

In all these cases, the researcher used her native speaker judgments for initial detection of unconventionality. However, panels of TR-Turkish (5) and NL-Turkish judges (5) were continuously consulted to confirm/disconfirm unconventionality and whether Dutch influence could be maintained as an explanation. In most cases, there was agreement about the unconventionality. In case of disagreements, these unconventional examples were not discarded but reported as uncertain cases (see Chapter 4 for unconventional subject pronoun constructions).

2 Word Order in Dutch Turkish[#]

2.1 Introduction

Word order is generally assumed to change easily in contact settings (Nichols 1992, Thomason 2001). According to Thomason (2001: 70, Heine 2006), a typical pattern will be the frequent use of a formerly rare word order if it happens to coincide with the normal order in the contact language. This may be accompanied by the attribution of new functions (meanings) to the word order in question (e.g. use as the default, unmarked, pragmatically neutral word order). As its frequency of use increases, the foreign word order gets more and more established into the native language. Fortescue (1993), for example, points out that in Eskimo, SVO order, which was originally considered marked, extended its functions and started to be favored at the expense of unmarked SOV due to contact with English. Similar changes have also been described by e.g. Bolonyai (1998), Csáto (1996), Flores Farfán (2004), Fortescue (1993), Hill and Hill (2004), Kirschner (1996), Kroskirty (1993), and Lestrade (2002), Ross (2001, 2007), Silva-Corvalán (1994). On the other hand, word order is also sometimes conspicuously absent from the list of changes in a particular contact setting (e.g. Dorian, 1981: 155, Makihara 2001: 192).

Such conflicting findings should perhaps be expected. Johanson (2002) predicts that any feature may be stable in some settings and vulnerable to change in others. It depends on the characteristics of the two languages. This chapter is an empirical investigation into the question whether word order changes easily in one particular contact situation. In Turkish-Dutch contact, Turkish OV encounters Dutch VO. Immigrant varieties of Turkish have been shown before to contain many lexical borrowings from the European contact languages. Backus (2004) contains an inventory of attested structural changes in immigrant varieties of Turkish; Rehbein (2001) is one of the few studies that analyze an example of structural

[#] This chapter is based on Doğruöz, A.S and Backus, A. (2007). "Postverbal Elements in Immigrant Turkish: Evidence of Change", *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 11 (2), 185-220. This study has been presented at the 5th *International Symposium on Bilingualism* in Barcelona, Spain (2005) and at the 2005 *Anela Studiedag* at University of Utrecht, the Netherlands.

borrowing (subordination, in this case) in detail. The available evidence suggests that the contact situation is relatively intense and that it can be found at Stage 2 of the Thomason & Kaufman scale (Thomason 2001: 70). Therefore, we should expect some structural changes. Since word order is hypothesized to be *attractive* in contact situations in general, it should not come as a surprise if we find Dutch influence in the word order of this variety. On the other hand, given the vagueness of the concept *intensity*, and Johanson's warnings, advancing the hypothesis that "Turkish will use more VO in the Netherlands" may be premature (cf. Section 2.3). As will be discussed, Turkish word order is determined by Information Structure (Lambrecht 1994) and this turns out to be an important factor mitigating against Dutch influence. Therefore, the next section focuses on Turkish Information Structure and its effects on word order.

2.1.1 Information structure and word order in Turkish

In addition to choosing the right words for what one wants to say (lexicon) and stringing them together in grammatical sentences (syntax), speakers make use of various options they have in their language to present the information in a certain way, for instance to provide clues as to what the most important part of the message is or to which aspect of the previous discourse the present sentence adds something. These aspects are governed by the "Information Structure" (henceforth: IS) conventions of the language in question. Though a system in its own right, it is not a module like syntax, since it makes use of syntactic, morphological or phonological means (Lambrecht 1994, Vallduvi and Engdahl 1996).

The most familiar elements of IS are Topic, Focus and (Back)Ground, though not everybody uses these terms¹². Focus refers to the informative part of a clause, while Topic and Ground allow the hearer to anchor the sentence to the previous discourse. Roughly, Focus is associated with new, and both Topic and Ground with old information.

Turkish has relatively free sentential word order. Though it is basically an OV language, other word orders are also possible. These have marked pragmatic interpretations, because Turkish uses word order to express Information Structure. According to Turkish Information Structure, focused elements are in preverbal position, the topic at the beginning of the sentence and backgrounded elements behind the verb (Erguvanlı-Taylan 1979, Erkü 1983, Erdal 1999, Göksel and Özsoy 2000, Göksel and Özsoy 2003, İşsever 2003). However,

¹² *Topic-comment, theme-rheme, given-new* are some of the other familiar terms used to make similar distinctions.

there are various motivated deviations from this basic pattern, which we will discuss below. Before we do that, we will elaborate some more on the basic Information Structure categories.

Topic and Background

Topic and Background are generally distinguished as two separate IS categories. Lambrecht (1994) defines topic as “the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence is about” (1994: 118). Most of the time, this will be the syntactic subject of the sentence. Backgrounding material includes all other parts of the sentence that refer to old information (Erguvanlı-Taylan 1979). In practice, Topic and Background are not always easy to distinguish in Turkish. A complicating factor is that, though topics tend to be found sentence-initially, they may also be placed after the verb, which is the default place for backgrounded material. However, we will ignore the differences between Topic and Background because this study focuses on areas where Dutch influence on word order is to be expected and this holds primarily for focused postverbal material (see below). Basically, whatever appears in postverbal position is either background material or a backgrounded Topic according to Turkish IS rules (Erguvanlı-Taylan 1979, İşsever 2003, Kılıçaslan 2004). Example 2.1 from our TR-Turkish data illustrates this backgrounding function of the postverbal area.

(2.1) *Seza: Yemek falan gelir mi elinizden?*

‘Can you cook or do that sort of things?’

Barış: [laughs=!] yo yo olmaz.

‘No, no that is not possible.’

Seza: Olmuyo mu burda?

‘Isn’t it possible here?’

Barış: Yap-a-mam ben öyle şey.

DO-AUX (CAN)-NEG.-1SG. I such thing.

‘I cannot do those things.’

In Barış’s last turn, two elements are placed in the postverbal position: *ben* ‘I’ and *öyle şey* ‘those things’. If we analyze this piece of conversation from the beginning, it will be clear that ‘those things’ refers to the cooking and household things that were mentioned earlier in the conversation; therefore, they are not new information. Unless it is contrastive (and it is not in this case), the first person singular pronoun is by default considered non-focus information. As a result, both of the items that were placed in the postverbal area are backgrounded elements.

Closely related to backgrounded elements are afterthoughts, which are found in the postverbal position by definition. They, too, provide supplementary information (Erguvanlı-Taylan 1979). Erkü (1983) differentiates them from backgrounded material, on the basis of two criteria: they generally follow a pause and they are more optional.

Focus

Lambrecht (1994: 207) defines focus as “that part of a proposition which cannot be taken for granted at the time of speech”. It is the unpredictable or pragmatically non-recoverable element in an utterance. The focus is what makes an utterance into an assertion. Similarly, Vallduvi and Engdahl (1996: 464) emphasize the *newness* aspect of the focus in relation to other elements in a given context. Furthermore, according to Lambrecht (1994: 261-262), new information is always in focus but not all focus is new information. Kılıçaslan (2004: 720) mentions a test to identify the focus in a sentence. According to this test, “given the appropriate question, the focus of a (declarative) sentence would be that part of it providing the answer”.

Languages use prosodic, morphological and syntactic means to mark focus. Prosodic marking is achieved by assigning nuclear stress to one element in the sentence. Morphological marking is relatively rare¹³. Syntactic marking is more common; it refers to the use of word order or special constructions (e.g. clefts) to indicate focus. In Hungarian, for example, the immediately preverbal position is the *focus position*. Languages may use more than one strategy, usually depending on the type of focus that is assigned. This holds for Turkish, too. Basically, syntactic marking operates just like in Hungarian: the preverbal position is the focus position, but prosodic marking frees up the focused element from occupying any fixed position as long as it is not behind the verb.

There is quite an extensive literature on Turkish IS (see the references above), with many disagreements and unresolved questions concerning particular details and interpretations, some of which we will return to in the final discussion. However, there is also widespread agreement about the basic facts. Turkish uses two strategies for focus marking:

- 1) Syntactic: Focused elements are often placed in the immediately preverbal position.
- 2) Prosodic: Turkish makes use of prosody to mark a single item when it is contrastively focused.

¹³ One language in which it occurs is Navajo, where a special focus morpheme is attached to the focused element (Vallduvi and Engdahl 1996:49).

One constraint on focused elements is of pivotal importance to us: they are not allowed in the postverbal position.

Types of focus

To make sense of the data that will be discussed, we need to go a little deeper into the characterization of focus. Lambrecht (1994) identifies three types of focus: argument, predicate and sentence focus. In argument focus a single item is given prominence, either because it is in contrast with something else, or because it is new to the discourse (Lambrecht 1994: 228-231). Example 2.2 illustrates contrastive argument focus in Turkish. *Babam*, ‘my father’ attracts focus since it is semantically contrastive to *annem* ‘my mother’ in the previous utterance¹⁴.

- (2.2) A: *Anne-n İstanbul-a git-miş.*
 Mother-POSS.2SG İstanbul-DAT. go-PAST.3SG
 ‘Your mother went to İstanbul.’
 B: *Hayır, BABA-M git-ti.*
 No, father-POSS.1SG go-PAST.3SG.
 ‘No, my father went.’

Example 2.3 illustrates the second type of argument focus, in which a single item is focused because it is the only new, unpredictable information. The object NP provides the answer to Seza’s question.

- (2.3) Seza: *Burda nerden mezunsunuz?*
 ‘Which school did you graduate from?’
 Barış: *Ben Kırşehir İmam Hatip Lise-si-ni bitir-di-m*
 I Kırşehir İmam Hatip high.school-POSS.3SG-ACC finish-PAST-1SG.
 ‘I graduated from Kırşehir İmam Hatip High School.’

The second type of focus is what Lambrecht (1994) calls *predicate focus*, since the focus includes the verb and, usually, some other part of the predicate (most likely the direct object). The focus domain is therefore larger than just a simple argument. Predicate focus is the most common type of focus, a joint result of the independent characteristics that objects are often new information, objects often coalesce with verbs into semantic units, and new

¹⁴ In terms of activation status, ‘my father’ is inferentially accessible (i.e. both speakers are aware of the fact that B has a father and a mother). However, its role in the utterance is what is important, not its activation status.

information takes focus. Turkish canonical structures with a direct object immediately preceding the verb can be seen as cases of predicate focus marked syntactically. The fact that objects often form a unit with the verb, and then may attract predicate focus together with that verb, is often overlooked or ignored. İşsever (2003: 1028), for example, assigns so-called *presentational focus* either to the immediately preverbal element or to the verb itself. Predicate focus is illustrated in the following example.

- (2.4) A: *Annen ne yapıyor?*
 ‘What is your mother doing?’
 B: *Televizyon seyrediyor. /*Televizyon.*
 Television watch-PROG.3SG.
 ‘(She) is watching television.’

In example 2.4, “watching TV” is the unit that names the activity the mother is engaged in. The focus is on this activity (OV), rather than on the verb or on the object separately. Note that *televizyon* cannot stand on its own, which is another indication that it does not have argument focus.

However, in a continuation of this hypothetical discourse (example 2.5), the focus is only on the immediately preverbal element since the answer (a Turkish film) can stand on its own, now that the verb is understood.

- (2.5) A: *Annen ne yapıyor?*
 ‘What is your mother doing?’
 B: *Televizyon seyrediyor.*
 ‘(She) is watching television.’
 A: *Ne seyrediyor?*
 what watch-PROG.3SG.
 ‘What is she watching?’
 B: *Türk film-i.*
 Turkish film-POSS.3SG
 ‘A Turkish film.’

The third type of focus is *sentence focus*. This type refers to propositions with a total lack of pragmatic presuppositions, i.e. sentences that are uttered out of the blue, without any relevant preceding context (Lambrecht 1994: 233). Such sentences are rare in natural discourse, but they do occur in certain contexts, e.g. as answers to the question ‘what

happened?'. In example 2.6, Sevgi's whole utterance is in focus since the whole utterance is the answer to Seza's question.

(2.6) *Seza: Mesela bi bayram gününde ne yapılır?*

'What is done on a holiday here for example?'

Sevgi: Bayram gününde # mesela biz # ramazan bayramında özellikle erkekler camiye gittikten sonra kahvaltı sofrası hazırlanır en güzel şekilde yani.

'On a holiday, # for example we # at Ramadan feast, after the guys have gone to the mosque, a great breakfast table is prepared, in a very nice way, I mean.'

To sum up, despite its canonization as a typical SOV language, Turkish allows elements after the verb but they cannot be in focus. This is different from the situation in Dutch, where the postverbal position is not associated with backgrounding; in fact, the focused information is often postverbal in Dutch. We consider this the biggest difference between Turkish and Dutch word orders, and the most likely source of possible change in Immigrant Turkish, where the association of the postverbal position with backgrounding may be weakened because of the appearance of focal material in this position.

2.2 Methodology

In order to investigate whether there is a change in the word order of NL-Turkish, two kinds of data were collected. The first group consists of Dutch Turkish (NL-Turkish) bilingual informants. We interviewed eight informants (24.200 words) between the ages of 18-25, who were born in the Netherlands.

For a study like ours it is important that the yardstick should not be standard Turkish, but rather the spoken vernaculars of the areas of emigration. Section 2.5 will show that exclusive reliance on the existing literature about Turkish word order, which is largely based on the written standard and the urban Istanbul variety, does not provide the full picture. It seems a methodological desideratum, not just for us but for all research on immigrant languages, to have such monolingual spoken control data from the region of emigration whenever possible¹⁵.

Therefore, in addition to data from bilinguals, monolingual (TR-Turkish) control data were analyzed from five informants (20.210 words) from Kırşehir, the city where many of the

¹⁵For instance, Rehbein (2001), who finds various deviations in the speech of Turkish-German bilinguals in Germany, would have benefited from the possibility to compare the data to what goes on in everyday speech in Turkey. It is highly possible that spoken monolingual Turkish may share the same tendencies.

families of the NL-Turkish informants came from, and from a slum area in Ankara in which most of the population had migrated from Kırşehir.

The background information about the NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish informants as well as the coding procedures have been discussed in Chapter 1. In the next section, we will operationalize language change as a difference in the speech used by the bilingual and the monolingual informants.

2.3 Research questions

Dutch has obligatory VO word order. Although Turkish generally has OV order, it may have VO in utterances with certain pragmatic characteristics. Due to contact with Dutch, we expected NL-Turkish word order to become more similar to Dutch word order, i.e. an increased use of VO. The consequence of this would be that the special pragmatic constraints on Turkish VO structures, to be explained in section 2.4, would be loosened.

Changes in word order will therefore be searched for in two steps; the frequency of VO structures and the pragmatic functions attached to them. We limit our analyses to main clauses because a) Dutch only has VO in main clauses and b) typological evidence suggests that word order is much more stable in subordinate clauses, therefore change should be expected first in main clauses. These analyses will provide answers to the following research questions.

1. Is there an increase in VO word order in NL-Turkish due to Dutch influence?
2. Is there a change in the information structure characteristics of VO word order in NL-Turkish (i.e. does VO become pragmatically neutral)?

Sections 2.4 and 2.5 provide the results of these analyses. If we do find a difference between NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish, the question is naturally raised whether these changes can be attributed to Dutch influence or not. If we do not find any differences, however, the question to ask is why word order is stable in this particular bilingual setting, despite the occurrence of all kinds of other contact-induced changes in this variety (see Backus 2004, Boeschoten 1990) and the widely held view that word order is easily changed in contact situations.

2.4 Results I: Frequency of OV vs. VO

We start the analysis by checking how frequent VO order is in our data. Recall that OV is generally assumed to be the basic and most frequent word order in Turkish. Slobin (1978 as reported in Erguvanlı-Taylan 1979), for instance, reports a figure of 48% for the main clauses in his adult data. Our analysis confirms this. Table 2.1 compares the numbers of main clauses

with the verb in final position¹⁶ for NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish data. The results indicate that verb final order is the most frequent word order in both NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish.

Table 2.1: Comparison of NL-Turkish vs. TR-Turkish in terms of basic word order

	NL-Turkish	TR-Turkish
Main Clauses	2109	1821
SOV+SV+OV	1180 (55%)	1076 (59%)

In our research, it is in the relative placement of verb and object that Dutch is expected to influence Turkish, and induce an increase in the use of VO word order. Therefore, we also compared NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish in transitive clauses only (see Table 2.2). Postverbal objects were used slightly more often by NL-Turkish than by TR-Turkish speakers (9.9% vs. 8.2%). However, this difference was not statistically significant ($t_{11}=-.721, p=.486$).

Table 2.2: Comparison of TR-Turkish vs. NL-Turkish in terms of postverbal objects

Types of Clauses	NL-Turkish	TR-Turkish
Transitive Clauses	964	853
(S)VO	96 (9.9%)	70 (8.2%)

To sum up, we did not find a significant difference between NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish in terms of the frequency of postverbal objects. In other words, NL-Turkish has not increased VO word order and there is no sign of Dutch influence in this respect. However, Dutch influence might still make itself felt in the qualitative characteristics of postverbal objects. In the next section, we will discuss some examples in the NL-Turkish data that violate Turkish information structure conventions regarding postverbal elements, and constitute some evidence for contact-induced change in NL-Turkish.

2.5 Results II: Information structure violations

2.5.1 Method

We first extracted all occurrences of postverbal elements in main clauses. Then we identified all the examples that sounded unconventional to the first author (a TR-Turkish speaker). Finally, we consulted a panel of five TR-Turkish speakers from Turkey and asked their judgments about these utterances. The results of these multiple judgments revealed that the

¹⁶Verb final position includes OV and SV orders, due to the fact that the overt use of subjects and objects is optional in Turkish when they are accessible from context.

examples to be discussed in section 2.5.3 below, are unconventional according to TR-Turkish spoken norms, particularly because of the positioning of focused elements in the postverbal area. Incidentally, we also observed some other examples in which new information is placed postverbally, but that were not judged *wrong* (section 2.5.4) as well as some examples of unconventional focus placement in the preverbal area (section 2.5.5). First, section 2.5.2 will provide an overview of the types of linguistic elements that occurred in the postverbal area and the frequency with which they occurred in our data¹⁷. These examples are all conventional.

2.5.2 What occurs in the postverbal area?

We found five types of linguistic elements in the postverbal area:

- a) **Arguments of the verb:** Direct objects, indirect objects and subjects occurred in the postverbal area in nominal and pronominal forms. In example 2.7, ‘that sort of series’ is a direct object NP. A pronominal subject form in the postverbal area is illustrated in example 2.8.

(2.7) *Ben hiç yani hiç de sev-mi-yo-m öyle dizi-ler-i.*
 I never I.mean never DM like-NEG-PROG-1SG that serie-PL-ACC.
 ‘I don’t like **that sort of series** at all.’

(2.8) *O-nu gör-me-di-m ben hiç.*
 he-ACC see-NEG-PAST-1SG I never
 ‘I never saw him.’

- b) **Adverbials:** As can be seen in example 2.9, adverbials (e.g. *one year*) also occurred in the postverbal area. Note that the postverbal element in this example is new information. This should mean that it is in focus, which should be prohibited behind the verb. Yet, examples like these are not identified as unproblematic. We will come back to this point in section 2.5.4 and discuss it further in section 2.6.

(2.9) *Orda da oyna-mış-tı-m bir sene.*
 There also play-PAST-PAST-1SG one year.
 ‘I also played there for a year.’

¹⁷All examples in this part happen to be from NL-Turkish speakers but the same holds for the TR-Turkish data as well.

c) **Discourse markers:** The postverbal area hosted discourse markers as well, e.g. *yani* in example 2.10.

(2.10) *Ciddi söylü-yor-um yani.*
 Serious say-PROG-1SG I.mean.
 ‘I am serious.’

d) **Conjunctions:** As can be seen in example 2.11, conjunctions (e.g. *çünkü*) were also used postverbally.

(2.11) *Çok zor# arkadaş-lar-la her gün konuş-ma-m çünkü.*
 very difficult# friends-PL.-WITH every day speak-NEG-1SG. because
 ‘It is very difficult # because I don’t speak with friends every day’.

e) **Interjections:** We have, finally, observed idiomatic interjections in the postverbal area, e.g. the originally Arabic phrase *inşallah*.

(2.12) *O gün-ler-i de gör-eceğ-iz inşallah.*
 That day-PL-ACC also see-FUT-1PL. hopefully.
 ‘We will see those (good) days in the future hopefully.’

The frequency of the various postverbal elements in the NL-Turkish data is presented in Table 2.3. While categorizing these elements, we detected only a few violations of the principles of information structure that were outlined above. Some objects and adverbials that were not supposed to occur in the postverbal area did occur here.

Table 2.3: What occurs in the postverbal area in NL-Turkish

Types of elements	Frequency
Arguments of the verb (indirect, direct object, subject)	164
Adverbs, discourse markers, conjunctions, idiomatic expressions	437
Total number of postverbal elements	601
Violations of Information Structure	8 (1%)

Considering the scarcity of these violations (1% of all the elements in the postverbal area), we cannot say that the information structure conventions of Turkish word order have changed. At most we can interpret this finding as the first sign of a possible change in the future. We will discuss the reasons for this relative absence of contact effects in section 2.6.

However, first we will discuss the deviations and see whether Dutch influence can explain at least these isolated examples.

2.5.3 Focus violations in NL-Turkish

As was mentioned, Turkish does not tolerate focus in the postverbal area. New information always attracts focus, so we could assume that placing new information behind the verb is problematic. However, as example 2.9 showed, sometimes, new information can perfectly well be placed in the postverbal area (see sections 2.5.4 and 2.6). First, we will discuss the few violations we found: first cases of argument focus, then of predicate focus and finally a case of sentence focus.

Violations of argument focus

Two subtypes of argument focus were distinguished, depending on whether the focused element contributes new or contrastive information (cf. section 2.1). We have found examples of postverbal argument focus for each type in the NL-Turkish data.

New information

In example 2.13, the postverbal element (*Bursa*) in Macit's last turn was identified as a violation of Turkish conventions by TR-Turkish speakers. In this part of the conversation, Macit was explaining to Sema which city his family was from.

(2.13) *Sema: Ha, Posof'ta oturmuyorlar artık.*

'Ok, they do not live in Posof anymore.'

Macit: Hayır kimse Posof'ta kalmadı.

'No, nobody is back in Posof.'

Macit: Burda-ki bütün Posof-lu-lar sor-sa-n ev-iniz

Here-NOM all Posof-ORIG-PL. ask-COND-2SG house-POSS.2PL.

nerde [hepsi de-r Bursa]. (SVO)

where [all say-PRES.3SG Bursa]

'If you ask all the people coming from Posof here where is your home they all say Bursa.'

TR-T¹⁸: *Burda-ki bütiün Posof-lu-lar-a sor-sa-n*
 Here-nom all Posof-ORIG-PL-DAT ask-COND-2SG
*ev-iniz nerde diye [hepsi **Bursa** der].(SOV)*
 house where saying [all Bursa say-PRES.3SG]

The reported speech clause (within the square brackets) has SVO word order while TR-Turkish speakers would have used SOV. The difference stems from the fact that the postverbal element *Bursa* is the only new piece of information. Semantically, the verb ‘ask’ implies that there will be an answer with a verb such as ‘say’. Therefore, we can assume that ‘say’ is presupposed by the verb of the previous clause. That means *Bursa* is the only unpredictable information and attracts argument focus. Its postverbal position is considered a violation by TR-Turkish judges.

The origins of this deviant word order seem to lie in Dutch influence. As can be seen in Table 2.4, the Dutch word order is the same as the NL-Turkish one in terms of sentence-final placement of the focused object.

Table 2.4: Comparison of Dutch and NL-Turkish structures for example 2.13

Dutch	<i>Als je aan de mensen vraagt die uit Posof</i> If you to the people ask.PRES.3SG. those out Posof <i>komen waar wonen jullie</i> come.PRES.3PL where live.PRES.3PL you [<i>zeggen ze allemaal Bursa</i>] (VSO) [say.PRES.3PL they all Bursa]
NL-Turkish	<i>Burda-ki bütiün Posof-lu-lar sor-sa-n</i> here-NOM all Posof-ORIG-PL ask-COND-2SG <i>ev-iniz nerde</i> house-POSS.2PL. where [<i>hepsi der Bursa</i>]. (SVO) [all say-PRES.3PL Bursa]

The similarity in the two word orders (NL-Turkish and Dutch) suggests influence from Dutch. However, the similarity between the two word orders is not strong enough to indicate that the whole expression is assembled using Dutch syntax. On the other hand, the

¹⁸ TR-T refers to conventional TR-Turkish.

claim of Dutch influence is strengthened by the fact that the utterance exhibits some other differences from TR-Turkish.

First of all, the object of the first clause, *Posof-lu-lar* (Posof-ORIG-PL), would be marked with dative *-a* in TR-Turkish since the verb *sor-* ‘ask’ takes a dative object. Dutch allows either an accusative or a dative object. Secondly, the particle *diye* ‘saying’ would accompany the verb in TR-Turkish, but it does not in the NL-Turkish utterance. The use of *diye* is common after reported speech clauses in TR-Turkish, but Dutch completely lacks such an element. The omission of dative and *diye* strengthens our point that the structure of the particular utterance is partially copied from Dutch, and as a result of this copying, the word order has also changed (OV→VO).

Contrastive information

When the element that bears argument focus (by being more prominent in the utterance) is also inherently contrastive to another piece of information, it is restricted to the preverbal area in Turkish (Göksel and Özsoy 2000, İşsever 2003, Kılıçaslan 2004). The following example from the TR-Turkish data illustrates argument focus of the contrastive subtype.

(2.14) *Seza: Paris # siz hiç gittiniz mi?*

‘Paris # have you ever been there?’

Bariş: Yok baba-m git-ti iki defa da ben git-me-di-m.

No father-POSS.1SG go-PAST.3SG two time but I go-NEG-PAST-1SG.

‘No, my father went two times but I never went.’

In Bariş’s turn, *babam* ‘my father’ and *ben* ‘I’ are contrastive foci in the given context because Bariş wanted to emphasize that he himself did not go to Paris but that his father did. Obeying the information structure principles, both units are placed right before the verb. In our NL-Turkish data, we came across a violation of this rule, which is given in example 2.15. In İlkin’s last turn, the postverbal element *Almanca kitapları* ‘German books’ is contrastive to *İngilizce kitapları* ‘English books’, which was mentioned earlier in the discourse. Because of this contrastive relationship, *Almanca kitapları* receives argument focus. Therefore, it should be in the preverbal area according to TR-Turkish norms.

(2.15) *Seza: Okulda bütün kitaplarınız hollandaca mı # başka dilde ingilizce de falan okuyor musunuz?*

‘Are all your books in Dutch at school? Do you have books in other languages like English or so?’

İlkin: *Ehm evet ya İngilizce derslerimizde okuyoruz evet.*

‘Yeah, we study in English classes yeah.’

Seza: *Var.*

‘ok.’

İlkin: *Evet bi de Almanca.*

‘also in German.’

İlkin: *Almanca dersimiz var.*

‘we do have German class.’

İlkin: *Orda da oku-yor-uz Almanca kitap-ları.*

There DM read-PROG-1PL. German book-POSS.3PL.

‘There we read German books.’

TR-T: *Orda da Almanca kitap-ları oku-yor-uz.*

There DM German book-POSS.3PL. read-PROG-1PL.

Placing the object in the postverbal area is judged to be a violation by the TR-Turkish judges. It is worth noting that this violation was rejected more strongly than example 2.13. This may suggest that the ban on postverbal positioning of contrastive focus is stronger than the one on placing mere new information behind the verb. We will come back to this point in section 2.6.

As with example 2.13, we see Dutch influence on the word order of this example, cf. Table 2.5. The speaker has copied the Dutch word order into Turkish.

Table 2.5: Comparison of Dutch and in NL-Turkish structures for example 2.15

Dutch	<i>Daar lezen we Duitse boek-en.</i> (V O)
	There read.PRES we German book-PL.
	‘There we read German books’
NL-Turkish	<i>Orda da oku-yor-uz Almanca kitap-lar-ı.</i> (V O)
	There DM read-PROG-1PL. German book-PL-POSS.3PL.
	‘There (however) we read German books’.

Violation of predicate focus

As was mentioned in section 2.1, *predicate focus* includes the verb and some other part of the predicate. Example 2.16 also contains a postverbal element that is part of the predicate focus. The utterance that causes the focus violation is the immediately postverbal element in Esin’s last turn (*haftada iki gün*).

(2.16) *Seza: Napıyordun?*

‘What were you doing?’

Esin: Haftada iki sefer yüzmeye gidiyorduk.

‘We were going for swimming two times a week.’

Seza: Nerde Rotterdamda?

‘Where in Rotterdam?’

Esin: Rotterdamdaydı o.

‘That was in Rotterdam.’

Esin: Bayanlara özel günler organize ediyorlardı.

‘They were organizing special days for women.’

Esin: İşte erkek çalışan falan olmuyordu.

‘I mean there were not any male workers or so.’

Esin: Bizim için o çok uygundu.

‘That was very suitable for us.’

Esin: [Gid-ıyo-du-k hafta-da iki gün]

Go-PROG.-PAST-1PL week-LOC two day

işte # iki akşam bi çarşamba akşamı bi pazar.

#I mean # two night one wednesday night-POSS.3SG. one Sunday.

‘We were **going two days a week** I mean two nights once on Wednesday once on Sunday.’

TR-T: [Hafta-da iki gün gid-ıyo-du-k]

Week-LOC two day go-PROG-PAST-1PL

işte # iki akşam bi çarşamba akşamı bi pazar.

#I mean # two night one Wednesday night-POSS.3SG. one Sunday.

The first time Esin mentioned that they used to go swimming twice a week (Esin’s first turn), the verb is placed in the sentence final position. This is in line with the principle that the word order in all-focus sentences tends to be SOV. However, when a similar version of the same sentence appears for the second time, the adverbial phrase is placed in the postverbal area¹⁹ (*V ADV*). This is where the NL-Turkish speaker differs from TR-Turkish speakers because TR-Turkish speakers would still put the adverbial phrase in the preverbal

¹⁹It is important to note here that there was no pause between the verb and the postverbal element. If there had been a pause, TR-Turkish speakers might not have considered this a violation. The role of the pauses in the postverbal area will be discussed in section 2.6.1.

area (*haftada iki gün gidiyoduk*→ADV V). This suggests that TR-Turkish speakers perceive the whole utterance as predicate focus, in which case the items in the utterance would have to follow V-final order. The essentially old information is perceived as predicate focus because there has been a change in topic. When we look at the whole fragment, we see that the topic changes from the frequency of going to the swimming pool to other details ('in Rotterdam', 'special days for women' etc.) and in order to re-establish the earlier topic, TR-Turkish speakers would use a predicate focus with a V-final word order.

The NL-Turkish speaker presumably had the same in mind but placed the adverbial phrase in the postverbal area just like she would in the Dutch translation²⁰ (see Table 2.6). This led TR-Turkish judges to interpret it as backgrounded. This perception creates a mismatch between the intended meaning of the NL-Turkish speaker (focus on "went twice a week") and the interpretation by the TR-Turkish speaker (focus on "went" only).

Table 2.6: Comparison of Dutch and NL-Turkish structures for example 2.16

Dutch	<i>We gingen daar twee dagen per week naartoe.</i>
	We go-PAST there two days per week to.
	'We went there two days a week.'
NL-Turkish	<i>Gid-iyo-du-k hafta-da iki gün.</i>
	Go-PROG-PAST-IPL week-LOC two day.
	'We went there two days a week.'

Violation of sentence focus

In Turkish, clauses with sentence focus tend to have a fixed SOV order (Kılıçaslan 2004). The last turn of Diren in example 2.17 illustrates a violation of this rule. In this part of the conversation Diren was talking about a dance class she took as a child.

(2.17) *Diren: Çok değişik bi şeydi.*

'It was very different.'

Seda: Hı hı.

'Right.'

Diren: Sonra bacak tut-ul-uyor-du hava-da sonra.

Then leg hold-PASS-PROG-PAST.3SG. air-LOC. then.

²⁰*Twee keer per week gingen we daarnaartoe* "two times per week go-past we there" is also possible in Dutch, but then the frequency is focused and the meaning becomes 'exactly/no fewer than two times a week we went there', which is not the meaning conveyed in the Turkish utterance.

‘You hold your legs in the air’ (*literally* ‘Then the legs were held in the air’)

TR-T: *Sonra bacak hava-da tut-ul-uyor-du.*

Then leg air-LOC. hold-PASS-PROG-PAST.3SG.

‘You hold your legs in the air’

The postverbal occurrence of the prepositional phrase (*havada*) is not tolerated by TR-Turkish judges. This is again due to the fact that the postverbal area is automatically associated with backgrounding. When the phrase is backgrounded, it suggests that both speaker and hearer share the information that something is held in the air. However, this is not the case since *Diren* describes this particular type of movement for the first time.

When we look at the Dutch translation of the NL-Turkish example, we can see clearly that Dutch word order, as far as the placement of the prepositional phrase is concerned, is copied into NL-Turkish²¹ (see Table 2.7).

Table 2.7: Comparison of Dutch and NL-Turkish structures for example 2.17

Dutch	<i>Dan hou je je benen in de lucht.</i>
	Then hold you your legs in the air.
	‘Then you hold you legs in the air.’
NL-Turkish	<i>Sonra bacak tut-ul-uyo-du hava-da.</i>
	Then leg hold-PASS-PROG-PAST.3SG air-LOC.
	‘Then legs were held in the air.’

2.5.4 Apparent deviations

As demonstrated above, postverbal elements are sometimes judged to be deviant by TR-Turkish speakers. However, there are some further examples (15 out of 601 postverbal elements) in the NL-Turkish data that also seem to violate the rules for positioning elements postverbally, but that are not identified as *unconventional* by TR-Turkish speakers.

In example 2.18, the postverbal element *haftada bi defa* conveys new information. According to the definition of focus, it is part of the focus domain, and therefore should occur in the preverbal area. However, TR-Turkish speakers do not consider this a violation. Apparently, the ban on postverbal focused elements is not as strict as we have maintained so far. This raises the expectation that these types of examples can also be found in TR-Turkish,

²¹Note that the verb is in the passive form in Turkish and in the active form in Dutch, so that ‘legs’ are the subject in Turkish and the object in Dutch. However, since we are interested in the placement of the postverbal element, this is not relevant for our purposes.

and indeed they are. We will come back to this in section 2.5, where we will explain how they differ from the examples discussed in the previous section.

(2.18) *Seza: Türkçeyi nerde öğrendin?*

‘Where did you learn Turkish?’

Seren: O da aile-m-den # sonra ilkokul-da hep
 That DM family-POSS.1SG-ABL # then primary.school-LOC always
Türk okul-u-na gid-il-di hafta-da bi defa.
 Turkish school-POSS.3SG-DAT go-PASS-PAST week-LOC one time.
 ‘That is also from family# then we went to Turkish school during primary
 school once a week.’

2.5.5 Misplaced focus in the preverbal area

In addition to misplaced *postverbal* elements, TR-Turkish judges also detected focus violations in the *preverbal* area. Since we concentrated on postverbal elements, we did not analyze the preverbal area systematically, but the following example illustrates why a full account of changes in NL-Turkish word order also needs to take preverbal elements into account.

(2.19) *İlkin: Ben küçükkene annemgil daha okula giderdi.*

‘When I was young, my mother still used to go to school.’

İlkin: Babaanne-m bana genellikle bak-ar-dı.
 grandmother-POSS.1SG me generally look-PRES-PAST.
 ‘Usually my grandmother took care of me’

TR-T: (1) Babaanne-m bak-ar-dı bana genellikle.
 Grandmother-POSS.1SG look-PRES-PAST.3SG. me generally.
 (2) Bana babaanne-m bak-ar-dı genellikle.
 Me grandmother-POSS.1SG look-PRES-PAST.3SG generally.

In the given context, *babaannem* ‘my grandmother’ and *annemgil* ‘my mother’ are contrastive to each other, so they are placed in the preverbal area in accordance with Turkish focus conventions. However, TR-Turkish speakers preferred to place the contrastive information (*my grandmother*) in the immediately preverbal position.

Whether the NL-Turkish rendition in example 2.19 is due to Dutch influence or not is an intriguing question. As can be seen in the Dutch version of the same sentence in Table 2.8,

both subject and object are placed in the postverbal area. Although this order does not match the Turkish version, it is worth noticing that the subject–object sequence is copied.

Table 2.8: Comparison of Dutch and NL-Turkish structures for example 2.19

Dutch	<i>Meestal</i>	<i>paste</i>	<i>mijn</i>	<i>oma</i>	<i>op</i>	<i>me</i>
	Often	take.care-PAST	my	grandmother	of	me.
	‘My grandmother often took care of me’					
NL-Turkish	<i>Babaanne-m</i>	<i>ban-a</i>	<i>genellikle</i>	<i>bak-ar-di.</i>		
	Grandmother-POSS.1SG	I-DAT	often	look-PRES-PAST		
	‘My grandmother usually took care of me.’					

Probably, for the NL-Turkish speaker, exact copying of the Dutch structure (by placing both subject and object in the postverbal area) would produce a totally unacceptable sentence. Keeping the verb in sentence final position may perhaps be seen as a *safe strategy* since it rarely results in ungrammaticality. This strategy explains the robustness of SOV in another way. In addition, as Johanson (2002: 9) suggests, copying is never exact.

2.6 Postverbal focus: A foot in the door?

The information structure of Turkish bans focused elements from the postverbal area (Erguvanlı-Taylan 1979, Göksel and Özsoy 2000, İşsever 2003, Kılıçaslan 2004). The constructed examples in Table (2.9) illustrate violations of this rule. We have attributed the few examples of such violations that we found to Dutch influence. Section 2.7 will go into the ramifications for theories of language contact. In this section, we will review Turkish information structure in the light of our data and show to what extent the seemingly unbridgeable gap between Dutch postverbal focus and Turkish postverbal backgrounding is permeable, thus allowing some inroads for contact-induced change.

Table 2.9: Types and examples of focus violations

Violation of predicate focus	* <i>Seyred-iyor televizyon.</i> watch-PROG.3SG TV 'She is watching TV.'
Violation of argument focus (contrastive information)	* <i>Seyred-iyor dizi (film değil)</i> watch-PROG.3SG serie film not 'She is watching the series, not a movie.'
Violation of argument focus (new information)	A: <i>Nerden mezun-sunuz?</i> Where graduate-2SG? 'Where did you graduate from?' B: * <i>Bitir-di-m lise-yi.</i> Finish-PAST-1SG lyceum-ACC. 'I finished high school.'
Violation of sentence focus	A: <i>Ne ol-muş?</i> What happen-PAST? 'What happened?' B: * <i>Öldür-ül-müş adam</i> Kill-PASS-PAST man 'A man got killed.'

Close analysis of the data revealed that the postverbal area is mostly reserved for backgrounded information, as expected. However, focused information is possible in the postverbal area under specific conditions. This has received little attention in the existing literature on information structure in Turkish (cf. Erdal 1999).

The two main conditions are:

1. When certain linguistic devices signal that part of the focus will appear in the postverbal area.
2. When new information in the postverbal area is less prominent than another piece of focused information in the preverbal area.

These two conditions will be explained below with examples from our TR-Turkish data.

2.6.1 Postverbal focus signaled through linguistic devices

The appearance of focused information in the postverbal area may be signaled through the following linguistic devices: the Right Detachment Construction, use of *şey*, use of *diye*, the Afterthought Construction, and use of discourse markers.

a) Right detachment construction

Right detachment is the placement of an item in the right margin of the clause but in a syntactically independent way. The detached part adds some extra information to a referent in the core clause or is coreferential with it (Lambrecht 1994).

In example 2.20, the right detached element *Petcom'da* provides additional information about the immediately preverbal element *burda*.

- (2.20) *Bariş: İşte enişte-m-in bir-i burda*
 That.is.to.say brother.in.law-POSS.1SG-GEN one-POSS.3SG. here
çalış-ıyo Petcom-da.
 work-PROG.3SG. Petcom-LOC.
 ‘That.is.to.say one of my brother-in-laws works here at Petcom.’

The postverbal element is syntactically independent from the sentence itself because the omission of the postverbal element does not lead to ungrammaticality as can be seen in example 2.21.

- (2.21) *İşte eniştemin biri burda çalışıyor.*
 That.is.to.say brother.in.law-POSS.1SG-GEN one-POSS.3SG here-LOC work-PROG.3SG
 ‘That.is.to.say one of brother-in-laws work here’.

In *Bariş*’s last turn in example 2.22, *Almancıların meşhur şeyi* is coreferential with an item (‘cigarettes’) in the preverbal area.

- (2.22) (*Bariş*’s sister and her husband are immigrant workers in France. Every year they bring presents for the family when they come for holidays. Shortly before this fragment, *Seza* had asked what kinds of things they brought for the family.)

Bariş: Herkese mutlaka getirir he.

‘Yeah they bring something for everyone for sure.’

Seza: Anneye babaya

‘For the mother and father?’

Bariş: Tabi babam anama da getirir.

‘Yeah, also for my mother and father.’

Bariş: İşte sigara getir-iyor-lar Alman-cı-lar-ın meşhur şey-i.
 That.is.to.say cigarette BRING-PROG-3PL German-AG-PL-GEN famous thing-
 POSS.3SG

‘That is to say, they bring cigarettes, the most famous thing of the people from Germany.’

The immediately preverbal element *sigara* conveys the answer to the question ‘what do they bring?’ and, therefore, attracts argument focus. The postverbal element *Almancıların meşhur şeyi* is coreferential with it, but also adds new information about it. That means, it

shares the focus with the item in the preverbal position. However, there is a clear asymmetry between the two elements. Note that the sentence will still be grammatical without the right detachment, but the detached phrase is highly dependent on the preverbal referent. Without it, the sentence would be infelicitous because the information presented would be brand new, and then it cannot appear behind the verb.

- *işte sigara getiriyorlar.*
That.is.to.say cigarette bring-PROG-3PL.
- **işte getiriyor-lar Alman-cı-lar-ın meşhur şey-i.*
That.is.to.say bring-PROG-3PL. German-AG-PL.-GEN. famous thing-
POSS.3SG

Right detachment can only be used if it extends the already available information. In this particular context, the referent in the right detachment is inferentially accessible. Bringing cigarettes as a present is a cultural tradition in Turkey. Turkish people who work in Germany bring presents to their families when they come back to Turkey for summer vacation. Barış reminds Seza of this well-known tradition. Therefore, although the postverbal element looks like new information at first sight, it really is accessible: information shared due to common knowledge (Lambrecht 1994: 100).

We have said earlier that focus, and therefore new information, is assumed to be disallowed in the postverbal area. In these cases of right detachment, however, we find postverbal elements that can be considered part of the focus domain. However, within this domain, it is still the case that the element that is most focused is preverbal and the postverbal element is, relatively, backgrounded. In the rest of this section, we will see that right detachment is just one of a family of constructions that share the characteristic that the focus domain is split up into a primary focus and a backgrounded portion. In all of the cases, with the principled exception of the *şey* construction, the backgrounded portion is postverbal.

b) The use of “şey”

Sometimes Turkish speakers use *şey* “thing” in the preverbal area when they cannot remember or formulate what they wanted to say. However, sometimes the word searched for appears right after the verb (Erguvanlı-Taylan 1979). In this part of the conversation, Umüt was complaining about his headaches.

(2.23) *Seza: Peki neden oluyo doktorla falan konuştuğunuz mu?*

‘But why does that happen then, did you talk to the doctor or something?’

Umut: *ya normal-de böyle düzenli bi şey-e*
 That.is.to.say normal-LOC such regular a thing-DAT
gir-e-me-di-k bakım-a.
 enter-ABLE-NEG-PAST-1PL. checkup-DAT
 ‘That is to say, normally in fact we could not go through a regular
 what is it called, a check-up.’

The words, *şey* “thing” and *bakım* “checkup” are coreferential in example 2.23. This particular dative object-verb combination (*bakım-a gir*) takes predicate focus (Lambrech 1994). The object *şey* takes the necessary dative case marker to maintain the morphosyntactic subcategorization requirements. We conclude that it acts as a placeholder element that takes focus due to its position but shares it with the postverbal element it is coreferential with. Note that *şey* is a special case in the family of constructions we discuss in this section. It cannot be attributed the primary focus because it does not have an informative meaning as a word.

c) Afterthought

Afterthoughts can present new information after the verb (Erguvanlı-Taylan 1979). Like right detachment, they are syntactically independent from the utterances they follow. However, afterthoughts occur after a slight pause. In example 2.24, the postverbal element *tavuklu* in Barış’s second turn, presents new information in an afterthought: it further specifies the preverbal element (*pilav*).

(2.24) *Seza: Özel yapılan yemek var mı düğün için?*
 ‘Is there a special dish made for weddings?’

Barış: Yemek # burda işte bulgur pilavı yaparlar.
 ‘Dish # here they make couscous.’

Barış: Pirinç pilav-ı yap-ar-lar # tavuk-lu.
 rice pilaf-ACC make-PRES-3PL # chicken-ADJ
 ‘They make rice pilaf # with chicken.’

Barış: Bütün düğünlerde olur yani.
 ‘They have them at all the weddings.’

d) The use of a discourse marker

If the verb is followed by the discourse markers *ya* ‘that is to say’ *yani* ‘I mean’ or *işte* ‘that is to say’, this acts as a signal that (more) new information is to come. “Service is provided to the shop through the diaphone system” is the predicate focus in example 2.25. However, part

of it is contained in the postverbal area. The discourse marker *işte* makes it possible for additional information to appear in the postverbal area, but note again that this position shares the focus with the elements preceding the verb, yet that it seems a less important contribution than the preverbal element. In this part of the conversation, Barış was explaining what they were doing in his brother's teahouse.

- (2.25) *Barış: Dükkan-lar-a servis yap-ıl-ıyor.*
shop-PL-DAT service make-PASS-PROG.3SG.
işte diafon şey-i-n-len # sistem-i-y-len.
that.is.to.say diafon thing-with # system-POSS.3SG-with
‘We provide service to the shops with, that is to say the diaphone thing # system’.

e) **The use of ‘diye’ in the postverbal area**

Diye is a postpositional element, originally the present participle of ‘say’ that is used for diverse purposes in Turkish (see Boeschoten 1990: 123). In example 2.26, *diye* is part of the postverbal element in Umut’s last turn. In this part of the conversation, Umut was explaining the meaning of his daughter’s name.

- (2.26) *Umut: uhm # bu Aden körfezi var.*
‘uhm # there is the Gulf of Aden.’
Umut: ona göre annesi istedi.
‘Her mother wanted it like that.’
Umut: Bi de kuranı kerim-de geç-iyo ya
also Quran-LOC mention-PROG.3SG. that.is.to.say
Aden cennet-i diye.
aden heaven-POSS.3SG as.
‘It is also mentioned in Quran as heaven of Aden’

In this example, *diye* has the function of naming something (called ‘the heaven of aden’). This name is, by definition, new information. By adding *diye* at the end of the phrase the speaker sort of compensates for the rather vague reference in the preverbal area.

Note that the discourse marker *ya* is also found right after the verb. In this particular example, the hearer was provided with two cues (discourse marker and *diye*) to help her to process the new information.

Table 2.10 illustrates the frequencies of occurrence of these various ways in which new information can occur in the postverbal area in the TR-Turkish and NL-Turkish data.

Table 2.10: Types and frequencies of linguistic cues for focus in the postverbal area

Linguistic cues	TR-Turkish	NL-Turkish
Right detachment	3	8
Use of “şey”	8	13
Use of “diye”	1	5
Pauses	5	3
Use of discourse markers	7	6
Total (Focus signaled by linguistic cues in the postverbal area)	24 (6.1%)	35 (6.8%)
Total number of simplex clauses with postverbal elements	391	514

As can be concluded from Table 2.10, the constructions that allow postverbal new information are used rather sparingly in both the NL-Turkish (6.8 %) and the TR-Turkish data (6.1%), which supports the claim that VO is mainly used for backgrounding, even by the immigrant community.

We propose that if one of these linguistic cues had been used with the focus violation examples in section 2.5.3, TR-Turkish judges would probably not have identified them as violations.

2.6.2 Grading of new information in the postverbal area

When two pieces of new information compete for focal status

Section 2.6.1 illustrated the cases where the postverbal elements are in focus. In these cases postverbal elements either share the focus with elements in the preverbal position, or are sufficiently detached from the clause. However, there are also cases where two or more separate pieces of new information are competing for focus status. It turns out in those cases that the *least important* of the two can be placed in the postverbal area. This postverbal new information may lack any of the signaling devices discussed in the previous section. The new information that is most crucial for the discourse is placed before the verb. By positioning the less crucial new information behind the verb, backgrounding is achieved *within the focus domain*. In example 2.27 below, there are two pieces of new information in Diren’s last turn: *su böreği* ‘water pastry’ and *bir gün önceden* ‘one day in advance’. *Su böreği* is the answer to Seza’s question and therefore it takes argument focus. The postverbal piece of new information ‘one day in advance’ is not as important.

(2.27) *Seza: Neler hazırlanır?*

‘What is prepared?’

Diren: Börek-ler yap-ıl-ır # su böreğ-i falan
pastry-PL make-PASS-PRES.3SG # water pastry-POSS.3SG etc.
yap-ıl-ır bir gün önce-den.
make-PASS-PRES.3SG one day early-ABL.
‘Pastries are made # water pastry is made one day in advance.’

This gradience of focality also explains some of the apparent deviations we discussed in section 2.5.4. In example 2.18 (repeated here as 2.28), the postverbal element in Seren’s turn was not identified as unconventional by TR-Turkish speakers, although it conveys new information. This is due to the fact that *Türk okuluna* is the more crucial new information, being the answer to Seza’s question while the postverbal element *haftada bi defa* merely conveys additional new information²².

(2.28) *Seza: Türkçe’yi nerde öğrendin?*

‘Where did you learn Turkish?’

Seren: O da aile-m-den # sonra ilkokul-da
that also family-POSS.1SG-ABL # then primary.school-LOC
hep Türk okul-u-na gid-il-di hafta-da bi defa.
always Turkish school-POSS.3SG-DAT go-PASS-PAST week-LOC one time.
‘That is also from family# then we went to Turkish school during primary school once a week.’

When contrastive and new information compete for focus status

What we did not find was any postverbal occurrence of contrastive information²³. When a sentence contained both contrastive and new information, the contrastive information was placed in the preverbal area, and the new information behind the verb. Apparently, contrastive information outranks new information when the two types compete for focus status. Example 2.29 below illustrates this type of competition.

²²We also see this in example 2.25.

²³The use of contrastive information in the postverbal area caused unconventionality for TR-Turkish speakers (cf. example 2.15).

(2.29) (Barış was telling Seza that he has a sister in Paris)

Seza: Paris # siz hiç gittiniz mi?

‘Paris # have you ever been there?’

Barış: Yok baba-m git-ti iki defa da ben git-me-di-m.

No father-POSS.1SG go-PAST.3SG two time but I go-NEG-PAST-1SG

‘No, my father went two times but I did not.’

In Barış’s turn, *babam* ‘my father’ and *ben* ‘I’ are semantically contrastive to each other. They both take argument focus and both are placed in the preverbal area. The postverbal element *iki defa da* ‘two times’ is new information but it is placed in the postverbal area since it is backgrounded relative to the contrastive *babam*.

2.6.3 Summary

In section 2.6.1, we have illustrated that part of the focus, also in TR-Turkish, may appear in the postverbal area. Apparently, it is signaled through one of several linguistic devices. In all of these cases, the information in the postverbal area forms a semantic unit with the preverbal part.

The findings in section 2.6.2 challenge the ban on postverbal focused information, since it concerns cases in which there is no semantic link between the postverbal element and the focus in the preverbal area. There are simply two pieces of new information competing for focus status. To solve this, we could claim that not all new information is in focus. In case of competition, only the most important candidate gets focus status and appears preverbally. Alternatively, we could maintain the definition of focus (i.e. all new information is in focus) and say that it can appear in the postverbal area if it is signaled through a linguistic device (see section 2.6.1) or if it is less important than a competing piece of focused information (see section 2.6.2).

This would mean that the focus domain can be decomposed into a primary focus (most important contribution of the present clause to the on-going discourse, placed in the preverbal area in Turkish) and a secondary focus (less important information may be placed anywhere, including in the postverbal area).

2.7 Discussion

Even though there are superficially similar structures in TR-Turkish and Dutch that could theoretically facilitate convergence, no actual convergence was found in NL-Turkish data. We will discuss the reasons for this *non-convergence* in this section.

The starting point for this study was to find out whether there was a change in NL-Turkish with respect to word order, due to contact with Dutch. The particular reason to look at word order was the fact that it is expected to be one of the first aspects to change in contact situations (Thomason 2001, Winford 2003). In Johanson's copying model (1994), some linguistic features are assumed to be more attractive (i.e. more prone to be copied) than others in language contact situations. However, it is important to realize that attractiveness works in both ways in Johanson's framework. In addition to being *attractive* in terms of borrowability (i.e. how easily it is borrowed), a feature can also be attractive in terms of stability (i.e. how impervious it is to foreign influence (Backus 2005: 319).

Two of the factors that determine the degree of attractiveness are: markedness (i.e. marked features are not easily borrowed), and the degree of similarity between the equivalent structures in the two languages (a somewhat similar structure is copied more easily than a radically different structure, see Heine (2006) for discussion).

In our case, VO should be attractive (in terms of borrowability) for NL-Turkish speakers, since this order exists both in Turkish and in Dutch and it is the unmarked order in the influencing language. In other words, VO would not constitute an entirely new way of constructing a clause. The only thing NL-Turkish speakers would have to do is increase the frequency of this word order. However, it is OV that turns out to be more attractive (in terms of stability). As we have shown in section 2.4.1, OV is clearly the unmarked and most frequent word order in both TR-Turkish (59%) and NL-Turkish (55%). VO, on the contrary, has not become more frequent, and continues to be used with its special pragmatic meaning.

This surprising finding supports the notion that attractiveness is relative (Johanson, 2002: 53-58, Backus 2004:181). That is to say, although VO may be attractive for NL-Turkish speakers in terms of *borrowability*, OV is more attractive in terms of *stability* (because it is unmarked and more frequent). Apparently, in the clash between these two dimensions of attractiveness, the stability of OV prevails. It may get this stability from the fact that it is part of a systematic paradigm of word orders that have pragmatic meanings, and this is also what gives VO, Turkish-style, its stability. For the Turkish speaker, VO does not merely represent just another way to order elements in a clause: it represents the construction you use if you want to background the object. This system of oppositions is attractive in itself by virtue of its structuredness.

If VO had lost its pragmatic function in NL-Turkish and had become as neutral as OV is in TR-Turkish, this would have been an example of convergence, which is defined as "the enhancement of inherent structural similarities found between two linguistic systems"

(Bullock and Gerfen 2004). Relaxing the ban on postverbal focused elements and of the association of postverbal material with backgrounding would have made Turkish VO and Dutch VO more similar. Though our data show that the seeds for this development may have been sown, they have certainly not flourished (yet). Interestingly, even the similarities between the languages offered by the structures illustrated in section 2.6, did not induce the NL-Turkish speakers to use more VO. In other words, Turkish word order proved to be very robust.

The extent of contact-induced change is determined by the intensity of contact (see section 2.1). According to Thomason and Kaufman’s (1988) five-stage borrowability scale, word order is expected to change in the second stage, where moderate structural borrowing starts. Since we did not find any significant changes at the word order level, does this mean that the intensity of contact is too low for Turkish in the Netherlands to change? In other words, if word order, assumed to be one of the first structural borrowings, has not changed, can we say that the structure of Turkish in the Netherlands is free of Dutch influence?

The answer is *no*, since we did find quite a few changes in *idiomatic structure* (Owens 1996, Ross 2001), rough translations of Dutch expressions. In example 2.30, word order in the noun phrase deviates from TR-Turkish norms, and this is due to the copying of the structure of its Dutch equivalent (see Table 2.11).

(2.30) *Derya: Mesela hogeschool Utrecht-in-ki başka*
 For.example vocational.school Utrecht-GEN-NOM different
hogeschool Amsterdam-in-ki başka.
 vocational.school Amsterdam-GEN-NOM different.
 ‘For example, [the civil engineering] of Utrecht vocational school is different from the one at Amsterdam vocational school.’

Table 2.11: Comparison of NP structure (example 2.30) in Dutch, NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish

Dutch	<i>Hogeschool van Utrecht</i> Hogeschool of Utrecht
NL-Turkish	<i>Hogeschool Utrecht-in-ki</i> Hogeschool Utrecht-GEN-NOM
TR-Turkish	<i>Utrecht Hogeschool-u-nun-ki</i> Utrecht Hogeschool-POSS.3SG-GEN-NOM

The NL-Turkish noun phrases are not acceptable in TR-Turkish, since a) the ordering of the constituents is different and b) the possessive marker on the head noun is omitted. The Dutch equivalent of the construction has the NL-Turkish order. This suggests that the NL-

Turkish speaker has copied the word order of the Dutch NP construction into Turkish. Note that the omission of the possessive may be caused by the lack of its equivalent in the Dutch translation. Similar kinds of NP-internal word order changes have also been reported for among others, Nahuatl in contact with Spanish (Hill&Hill 2004) and Russian in contact with Finnish (Leisiö 2000).

Another example comes from the domain of relative clauses. In example 2.31, Ersin ordered the constituents in the complex NP “someone that you are close to”, in the same way as would be done in Dutch (see Table 2.12).

(2.31) *Ersin: Her akraba [sen-in yakın biri-si ol-duğ-un]*
 every family.member [you-GEN close someone-POSS.3SG COP-REL-2SG]
diye bir şey yok.

as one thing not.exist.

‘There is nothing like that every relative is someone that you are close to.’

NL: *Er bestaat niets zoiets als dat elk familielid van je*
 There exist not something as that every family.member of you
[een dierbaar iemand is]

a close someone is.

Table 2.12: Comparison of relative clause structure (example 2.31) in Dutch, NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish

Dutch	<i>een dierbaar iemand is</i>
	A close someone is
NL-Turkish	<i>yakın biri-si ol-duğ-un</i>
	Close someone-POSS.3SG COP-REL-2SG
TR-Turkish	<i>yakın ol-duğ-un biri-si</i>
	Close COP-REL-2SG someone-POSS.3SG

In TR-Turkish, the relative clause (*yakın olduğun*) comes before the head (*birisi*). However, the head (*birisi*) is placed inside the relative clause in the NL-Turkish version, due to copying of the order of the Dutch equivalent subordinate clause.

These examples of word order change in individual constructions (investigated further in Doğruöz and Backus 2006), as well as the violations of TR-Turkish information structure discussed in section 2.5.3, seem to be examples of combinational copying (Johanson 2002: 15), in which Turkish elements are combined in such a way that they seem to be more or less faithful translations of Dutch constructions. Although we did not find significant word order changes in the overall syntax of main clauses, many less systematic changes in individual

constructions can be taken as evidence for the reality of copying from Dutch in NL-Turkish. This finding supports Owens (1996), who suggests, based on his study of Nigerian Arabic, that individual combinations (*idiomatic structure* in his terminology) are borrowed earlier than abstract syntactic structure. Borrowed syntax may, ultimately, just be a by-product of the borrowing of many individual expressions, as usage-based theories of language would predict (Croft 2001, Tomasello 2003). However, this is only possible if a new structure occurs with high type frequency, i.e. in many different lexical contexts (Rostila 2006).

It is possible that the borrowing of VO was hindered because the contact situation is not intensive enough. Perhaps the social factors are as yet too weak to promote more far-reaching changes. In other words, social factors need to be much more intense in order for OV to make way for VO. Recall that structural and social factors go hand in hand in language change (Johanson 2002, Thomason 2001, Winford 2003, Field 2005). Backus (2005: 320) defines social factors “as the ultimate causes which facilitate or obstruct change in a global sense”. If social factors prepare the suitable conditions for change, attractiveness, which acts like a filter (Backus, *ibid*), decides which linguistic structures are attractive enough to be borrowed. However, it remains to be seen which factors determine the level of attractiveness of any given element.

Recall that language maintenance is quite high in the Turkish community in the Netherlands (cf. Section 2.2). Although all the informants in this study were born and raised in Holland, they used Turkish extensively in their daily lives and had close contacts with Turkey through media and family members. This may well mean that for these speakers the contact situation is indeed not intense enough for them to borrow Dutch word order.

Evidence for this hypothesis comes from other Turkic languages that have been involved in more intense contact situations of longer duration, and that have indeed changed their word order. Gagauz is a Turkic language spoken in Moldova, in some parts of Bulgaria and in Ukraine (Menz 1999, 2001). The Gagauz speakers in Moldova and Ukraine are believed to have emigrated from Bulgaria as late as the 18th and early 19th century. In total, Gagauz contact with Slavic languages is estimated to be more than 500 years old. Due to this long-term contact, the way Gagauz encodes focus is different from contemporary TR-Turkish. Example 2.32 is taken from a conversation in Gagauz (Menz 1999: 214-230).

- (2.32) *Küçüklüğüüm orda geçti.*
'I had my childhood there.'

Var-dı büyük bir dut ağaç-ımız.
 exist-PAST big one mulberry tree-POSS.1PL.
 ‘We had a big mulberry tree.’

In the given context, the second clause deviates from TR-Turkish information structure. This is due to the fact that the whole sentence is in focus. The postverbal element in the second clause is clearly new information and part of the focus domain. This is not allowed in TR-Turkish, which is why this specific sentence would no doubt have been identified as unconventional by TR-Turkish speakers.

We have analyzed 92 sentences from this Gagauz conversation recorded in Moldova (Menz 1999: 214-203), in order to see whether there is a significant difference from TR-Turkish in terms of word order and information structure. Table (2.13) contains our findings.

Table 2.13: Analysis of Gagauz word order and information structure

Total number of Gagauz Simplex Sentences	92
Total number of postverbal elements that are part of focus	45

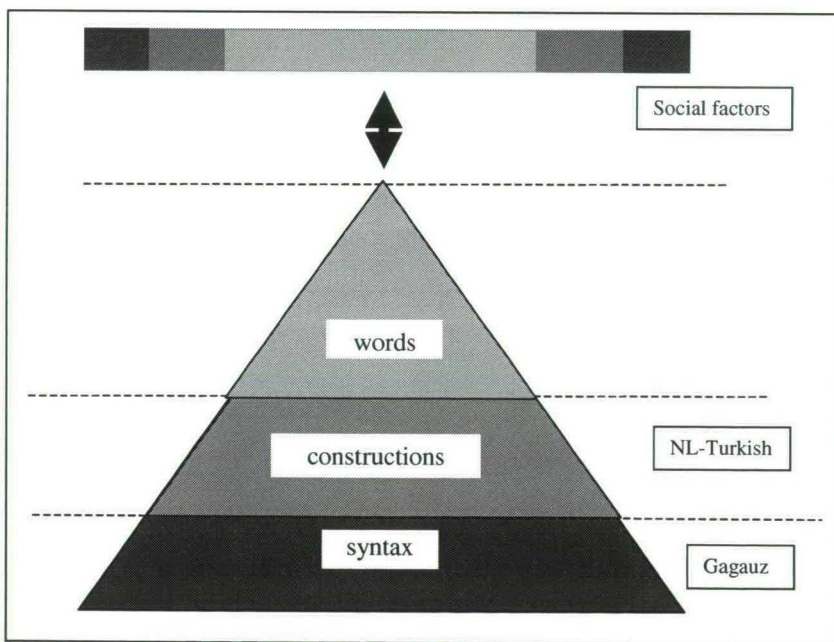
Of these sentences, 45% had a postverbal element that was part of the focus domain, a much higher percentage than what we found for NL-Turkish (1%, see section 2.5.2). The crucial factor must be that the Turkish-Dutch language contact situation, only four decades old, is much younger than the five centuries of Gagauz-Slavic contact. In line with this hypothesis, we would expect more changes in word order, and, therefore, IS in NL-Turkish as the duration and intensity of contact increase.

Gagauz and NL-Turkish are situated at different stages of structural borrowing. Gagauz word order has undergone changes, while NL-Turkish word order is highly maintained. While the linguistic factors mentioned above most likely play a role in constraining changes in the word order system of NL-Turkish (as opposed to other subsystems of the language), it is entirely likely that it is also constrained by social factors.

We suggest that word order (being an abstract syntactic feature) is not attractive enough to undergo a substantial change given the current social conditions in the Netherlands. This is illustrated in Figure 2.1, which presents social factors as providing a spotlight that illuminates more and more of the linguistic structure of the receiving language as the contact becomes more intense. Everything that is illuminated may undergo cross-linguistic influence. At the current level of influence, syntax is still relatively shielded from view, but words and constructions are feeling the pressure from Dutch.

Figure 2.1 illustrates the relationship between social factors and attractiveness. In the figure, the triangle represents the language and its different layers whereas the rectangle at the top represents the different degrees of intensity of social factors. When social factors exert little pressure, only words are attractive enough to be borrowed. As the pressure increases, constructions become attractive for borrowing. Our findings indicate that in the Turkish-Dutch contact situation, many individual constructions have proven to be attractive but not yet the abstract clausal syntax. Gagauz, on the other hand, has reached the stage of syntactic borrowing. This supports the assumption that when the social factors exert stronger pressure, more syntactic structures tend to get borrowed.

Figure 2.1: Interaction of social factors with linguistic factors in contact situations



2.8 Conclusion

Our goal in this study was to explore whether there is an increase in the use of VO word order in Turkish as spoken by immigrants in the Netherlands, due to influence of Dutch. To do this, we have compared Dutch-Turkish spoken data to spoken data from Turkey. The results indicated no significant difference between the two groups in terms of VO use. However, we did find a slight difference in information structure: occasionally Dutch-Turks placed focused elements behind the verb.

Focus has been held to be restricted to the preverbal area in Turkish. We have found evidence that focused information can sometimes legitimately appear in the postverbal area if certain linguistic cues signal that this information is coming or if there is competition between two focused elements. However, NL-Turkish speakers sometimes used focused elements in the postverbal area without these special circumstances applying. TR-Turkish speakers interpreted the resulting data as violations of Turkish grammar. Comparison of these utterances with Dutch equivalents revealed that the structure of the Dutch utterances was partially copied.

Due to the low number of violations, it is not possible to conclude that Turkish has changed its word order. The changes we found are not systemic, and are rather found at the idiosyncratic level of individual constructions. There is evidence, however, that Turkic languages (e.g. Gagauz) may change their word order if the contact situation is more intense. In the light of these facts, we outlined a model for language change in section 2.7. According to this model, the intensity of contact determines how much is borrowed linguistically in a contact situation, with linguistic factors determining ordered scales of borrowability and stability. In order for abstract syntactic patterns to be borrowed, abstracted away, that is from individual expressions, social factors need to be very intense. Our results indicate that the Turkish-Dutch contact situation is not yet intense enough (i.e., presumably it is too young) for systematic syntactic change to have occurred.

Previous studies have shown that changes in the Turkish lexicon, due to the borrowing of Dutch words, are numerous (Backus 1996). This type of change is already encountered at the very initial stages of language contact, when the intensity is low. Since we have also found some changes in individual constructions, it is likely that immigrant Turkish has moved up on the scale and is now undergoing changes in its idiomatic structure. Further research is needed to see to what extent the semantic organization (Ross 2001) is undergoing change in NL-Turkish and whether it is already having an effect on syntactic subsystems. Word order as such remains, for the moment, unaffected.

3 What sounds different in Dutch Turkish: Constructions?#

3.1 Introduction

In Turkey, when someone says “I took the train” instead of “I got on the train”, there is a good chance that the hearer will immediately infer that the speaker is either a foreigner or a Turk brought up abroad. It is generally believed that such people cannot speak Turkish “right”. There is nothing wrong grammatically with the utterance; what causes the foreigner treatment is simply the fact that you cannot “take” the train in Turkish but only “get on” it. “Getting on” a vehicle is the conventional way of relating how someone travels from one place to another. When part of that conventional wording is changed, as in this example, native speakers perceive it as unconventional. If such patterns stabilize in the speech community, the language has undergone change. This article is about such changes in Turkish as spoken by bilinguals in the Netherlands.

In example 3.1, there is reason to attribute the unconventionality to the influence from Dutch, the other language the bilinguals speak, if one compares the Turkish of the immigrants (NL-Turkish) with Turkish as spoken in Turkey (TR-Turkish), and with Dutch (NL).

- (3.1) *NL-T: Dün akşam 21.30 tren-i-ni al-dı-m.*
Yesterday evening 21.30 train-POSS.3SG-ACC. take-PAST-1SG.
“I took the train at 21.30 yesterday”
- NL: Ik nam gister-avond de trein om 21.30 uur.*
I take.past yesterday.evening the train at 21.30 hour.
- TR-T: Dün akşam 21.30 tren-i-ne bin-di-m.*
Yesterday evening 21.30 train-POSS.3SG-DAT get.on-PAST-1SG.

This chapter is based on Doğruöz, A. S. and Backus, A. (forthc.), “Innovative constructions in Dutch-Turkish: An assessment of on-going contact induced change”, *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*. This study has been presented at the 2007 *Symposium on Formulaic Language* held at University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, USA, 2006 *First Conference on Language Change in the Times of Globalization* held at University of Groningen, The Netherlands, 2006 *Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics* in Washington D.C., USA, 2006 *Cognitive Linguistics Dag* held at Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium.

The evidence suggests that NL-Turkish has borrowed the use of *take* with this meaning from Dutch, resulting in semantic extension of the verb *almak* “to take”. Note, however, that the Dutch expression is not copied completely (e.g. the Dutch definite marker has no equivalent in the NL-Turkish utterance). Word order and possessive marking are as in TR-Turkish. The change from dative to accusative marking, on the other hand, may have two sources: it is the regular case *almak* subcategorizes for, but it also mimics the direct object status of *trein* in the Dutch model phrase. In addition to providing an account of contact-induced changes, this study will also explore which elements change and which ones do not.

3.2 What changes?

As discussed in Chapter 1, anything can change in a language given that the necessary social conditions are in place and the contact situation lasts long enough (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Johanson 2002 etc.). Our general picture about what changes is somewhat hampered because the studies of synchronic data in contact situations tend to focus on lexical issues (i.e. insertional codeswitching, see Backus 2005), while syntactic changes have been studied primarily from a historical perspective (Haugen 1972, Dorian 1981, Haase 1992, Thomason, 2001). Earlier studies have shown that lexical borrowings from Dutch are very common in NL-Turkish (Backus 1996), but there are few systematic studies of structural borrowing in this community. Although incidental observations have been made in various studies (see Backus 2004: 715-716 for an overview) suggesting that the grammatical system is not completely stable, no quantitative comparison has been made to date of structural aspects of the language.

In Chapter 2, we have investigated whether there has been a word order change in NL-Turkish from inherited SOV to Dutch influenced SVO and found that a change towards SOV was not taking place (see Chapter 2, Dođruöz & Backus 2007). However, some individual expressions were changing their word order. This was interpreted as support for Owens’s (1996) suggestion that pervasive syntactic change (if it happens at all) will follow the borrowing of idiomatic structure, which surfaces as “loan translations”. Syntactic change might just be the automatic result of change in many individual expressions. In this chapter, we will try to situate NL-Turkish on this path. The main point we wish to make here is that in the early stages (at least) of contact, the general syntax (e.g. word order) does not undergo much change, but that the structure of “constructions” (i.e. complex lexical units) does.

3.2.1 The role of constructions in language change

Constructions have been described as conventional multi-word units with their own meaning, which entails that they have their own syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties that cannot be predicted from the general rules of syntax, semantics and pragmatics (Croft and Cruse 2004: 257-262, Goldberg 1995, 2006). If we assume that words make up the lexicon and patterns make up the syntax, constructions are somehow intermediate (see Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1: Where do constructions belong?

Word Lexicon	Construction ???	Patterns Syntax
-----------------	---------------------	--------------------

In addition to ‘construction’, several other names are given to the same phenomenon, names that often reflect a focus on different aspects. Wray (2002: 9), for example, talks about “formulaic sequences”, and defines them as “a sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other elements, which is, or appears to be, prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar”. This echoes Langacker’s (1991: 15-19) definition of units, except that he includes not only fully specific but also partially schematic units. Heine and Kuteva (2005: 44), prefer the term “use pattern”, claiming that this term entails reference to discourse features (e.g. frequency of use, context) rather than to morphosyntactic ones only, which they find typical of the way constructions are treated in Construction Grammar (Fillmore, Kay and O’Connor 1988, Goldberg and Jackendoff 2004).

Despite the differences in terminology, the following features seem to be shared among the various approaches (Fillmore, Kay and O’Connor 1988, Nunberg, Sag and Wasow 1994, Langacker 1987, 1991, 1995, Croft 2001, Wray 2002, Croft and Cruse 2004, Goldberg 2006), and will also be assumed in the present study:

- *Conventionality*: Constructions are perceived as a unit and used as such by most members of the speech community. As Croft (2001: 28) points out: “linguistic structures as embodied in utterances are not beads on a string”.
- *Fixedness in at least one aspect*: Within a construction, there is at least one aspect that is fixed. This fixed item can be one or more words or morphemes but it can also be the order of the items in the unit or the conventionalized meaning of the construction.

The theoretical implication of these assumptions is that the strict dividing line between lexicon and syntax is abolished (Croft and Cruse 2004: 255). Constructions represent

linguistic knowledge as a whole. We will use the term “construction” for all conventional units consisting of more than one morpheme, irrespective of whether the whole unit is lexically fixed (specific) or whether part of it is open and in need of lexical filling (schematic²⁴). Following basic Cognitive Linguistic assumptions, we see lexicon and syntax as regions on a continuum of specificity, on which all linguistic units can be placed. The lexical end of the continuum hosts fully specific constructions while at the syntactic end we find fully schematic ones. If a construction is partially schematic, it is in between lexicon and syntax.

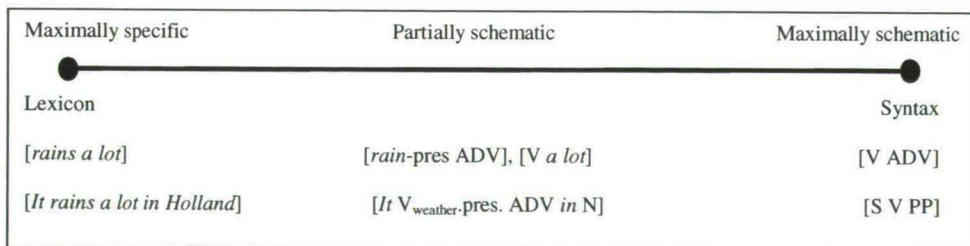
The enormous diversity of constructions can be illustrated with any random utterance, for example 3.2.

(3.2) It rains a lot in Holland.

Apart from the individual morphemes, this sentence contains at least the following constructions: [*it* V.PRES.3SG], [*It* V-s], [*It* V_{weather}-3SG], [*rains*], [*rains a lot*], [*rains* TEMPORAL QUANTIFIER], [*a lot*], [*in Holland*], [*in* NP], [*Pro* V-INFL], [*S V* PP]. The speaker has put some of these together to form the utterance, but it is impossible to know whether s/he used only fixed specific units (e.g. “it rains a lot” and “in Holland”) or used partially schematic units.

On the continuum of specificity, these constructions are scattered between the two end points (see Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2: Specificity Continuum: Exemplification



What we are interested in is finding out at which points on this continuum constructions are likely to undergo change (and sound unconventional to TR-Turkish

²⁴The term “construction” could also be used for single morphemes, in which case it would stand for any conventional unit. Our use of the term seems more useful, since nothing is constructed in totally fixed units (e.g. morphemes). However, no theoretical stance is intended by our usage.

speakers) in case of language contact. In other words, is structural change really to be located at the syntactic end of the continuum, or does it target the intermediate range?

To the best of our knowledge, there have been few studies that investigate this question systematically. This is no doubt because the existence of constructions and their place between lexicon and syntax on a continuum is normally not assumed outside cognitive linguistics, and cognitive linguistics has rarely been applied to contact data (see however, Heine and Kuteva 2005 for a similar approach). Our study aims to show the usefulness of this perspective.

3.3 Methodology

The difference between NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish at any level of specificity is operationalized as unconventionality. Theoretically, Dutch influence could also be at work in constructions that adhere to convention, simply because Turkish and Dutch have the same structure to begin with. However, the influence may only become overtly visible where the languages differ in one or more structural aspects, as the examples in Sections 3.5-3.7 will illustrate. Therefore, we concentrated on NL-Turkish constructions that would sound unconventional to TR-Turkish speakers and looked for evidence for Dutch influence. Before describing our procedure for data analysis, we will first describe our NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish data.

3.3.1 Data

In order to carry out a systematic analysis of these issues, we analyzed an NL-Turkish spoken corpus of 23.061 words, consisting of informal conversations of seven NL-Turkish informants with a TR-Turkish speaker.

We also analyzed a sub corpus of TR-Turkish (27.057) words, which consisted of informal conversations with seven informants recorded in Kırşehir (Turkey).

This comparison also allows us to investigate the question whether given instances of unconventionality are really unconventional in the sense that they do not occur in Turkey. If they do, the change in question is likely to be an on-going internal change, though possibly reinforced by contact. We will see that monolingual data can sometimes be quite surprising in this respect. For information on the informants and the procedure of data collection, see Chapter 1.

3.3.2 Procedure

As explained in Chapter 1 briefly, we concentrated on unconventional constructions in NL-Turkish and looked for possible Dutch influence. Our analyses of unconventionality consisted of the following steps:

1. We identified the constructions that sound unconventional to TR-Turkish speakers.
2. We consulted a panel of five TR-Turkish judges to confirm/disconfirm the unconventionality and point out what caused unconventionality in the particular construction.
3. We established what the conventional version of the constructions would be in TR-Turkish.
4. We established the Dutch equivalents of the constructions, in cooperation with a panel of five Dutch judges, and assessed whether in each case the unconventionality could be the result of Dutch influence.
5. We checked the TR-Turkish data for the occurrence of possible unconventional constructions, and again consulted the same TR-Turkish judges.

Steps 3-5 involved the following methodology:

a) What is actually unconventional? (Step 3)

Constructions are part of a taxonomic network and instantiate different levels of specificity within this network. Identifying the level of specificity at which a construction is unconventional is not always easy, since each expression combines fully specific conventional units and fully or partially schematic templates (see section 3.2.1). Comparison with the TR-Turkish equivalent provides us with clues in finding out whether it was a lexical item, a functional element, part of a partially schematic unit, or a syntactic pattern that caused the unconventionality.

In order to find out whether diachronic structural change is the result of direct synchronic copying of syntax, or is a by-product of changes in constructions (cf. Winford 2003), we need to have an idea about the level of specificity at which unconventionality is generally found. If specific lexical combinations are targeted, direct syntactic borrowing is unlikely. However, if unconventionality is concentrated in the more schematic domain, direct syntactic borrowing seems a distinct possibility. In order to find out at which level/s of specificity unconventionality is found in NL-Turkish, we follow the procedure outlined below.

For example, the expression *take a train* (see example 3.1), is a maximally specific instantiation of the schematic pattern [V OBJ] (cf. Figure 3.2). When an NL-Turkish speaker says [*tren almak*], we cannot know for sure whether s/he has translated the maximally specific Dutch unit [*de trein nemen*] or the partially schematic form [N *nemen*]. If the speaker would also say things like [*araba almak*] “car take” and [*bisiklet almak*] “bicycle take”, we would have grounds to argue that the partially schematic unit [*take A VEHICLE*] is the source. In the absence of such evidence, we settle for the conservative option and assume that the NL-Turkish utterance is a loan translation of the specific unit [*de trein nemen*].

b) *Does the unconventionality stem from Dutch influence? (Step 4)*

The null hypothesis is to attribute all unconventionality in NL-Turkish to Dutch influence. However, to confirm this for any given instance, there has to be a clear resemblance between the NL-Turkish expression and the Dutch equivalent. As it turns out, not all unconventional constructions showed such influence.

c) *Unconventionality in TR-Turkish: Does it really not occur? (Step 5)*

One might expect that these cases only include speech errors but we also came across structures that may have somehow escaped the attention of Turkish grammarians, perhaps because they only occur in informal speech. In any case, this comparison acts as an important restraint on ascribing unconventionality in NL-Turkish to Dutch.

Implications of the data for contact linguistics and linguistic theory in a wider sense will be discussed in Section 3.9.1. In the following sections, we will assign all unconventional constructions to different levels of specificity and discuss their characteristics.

3.4 Formal characteristics of unconventional constructions

In presenting our analyses, we will first describe the formal characteristics of unconventional constructions and then discuss unconventionality at various regions of the specificity continuum (cf. Figure 3.2).

Irrespective of what level of specificity is involved there are four ways in which an utterance can be unconventional: replacement of an element by another element, addition of a new element, omission of an element, or creation of a new expression which did not yet exist in the language. Below, we discuss these four types with examples from our data.

- a) **Replacement**²⁵: A morpheme in a construction may be replaced with another morpheme.

- (3.3) *NL-T: İlkokul-u İstanbul-da yap-tı-m.*
 Primary.school-ACC İstanbul-LOC do-PAST-1SG.
 “I finished primary school in Istanbul”.
- NL: Ik heb de basisschool in İstanbul gedaan.*
 I have the primary.school in İstanbul do-PAST.
- TR-T: İlkokul-u İstanbul-da bitir-di-m.*
 Primary.school-ACC İstanbul-LOC finish-PAST-1SG.

In example 3.3, the verb *bitirmek* “finish” is replaced by *yapmak* “do” in the construction [do primary school]. This unconventional use seems to originate from copying the conceptual structure of the Dutch construction. This copying process does not affect the grammatical structure (e.g. accusative case is used on the direct object), and Turkish morphemes are used throughout. However, the semantics of *yapmak* causes unconventionality since one does not do a primary school in TR-Turkish.

- b) **Addition**: A morpheme may be added in the NL-Turkish construction where none exists in the TR-Turkish equivalent.

- (3.4) *NL-T: Bir sene acaip kötü sıcak-tı burası.*
 One year very bad warm-PAST here
 “One year, it was incredibly warm here”.
- NL: Er was een jaar toen was het heel erg warm.*
 There was one year then was it very bad warm.
- TR-T: Bir sene acaip sıcak-tı burası.*
 One year very warm-PAST here.

The concept [INCREDIBLY WARM] is lexicalized differently in TR-Turkish (“very warm”) and Dutch (“very bad warm”). The NL-Turkish speaker has faithfully relexicalized the Dutch construction using Turkish morphemes. The effect is that the Turkish word for “bad” is added. This causes unconventionality for TR-Turkish speakers, not just because of the unfamiliar collocation, but also because they have never seen *kötü* used as an intensifier.

²⁵ The terms ‘replacement’, ‘addition’ and ‘omission’ are used only as purely analytical terms, with no reference to conscious processes in language use.

- c) **Omission:** Sometimes a morpheme is omitted in the NL-Turkish constructions. In example 3.5, the unconventionality in NL-Turkish originates from the omission of the accusative morpheme in *dizi-ler-i* “serie-PL-ACC”. Dutch has no accusative marking but in TR-Turkish, it is used to mark the definiteness of the direct object (see section 3.6.2. for more detailed discussion).

(3.5) *NL-T: Öyle dizi-ler çok sev-iyor-um.*

That serie-PL a.lot like-PROG-1SG.

“I like those kinds of series”.

NL: Ik vind dat soort series leuk.

I find that sort series nice.

TR-T: Öyle dizi-ler-i çok sev-iyor-um.

That serie-PL-ACC a.lot like-PROG-1SG.

- d) **Semantic gaps:** The three types of change discussed above assume a conceptual equivalence between two constructions, one in each language. However, sometimes a culturally specific concept may not have a lexicalized equivalent in the other language (Backus 2001). If the Dutch expression is then used in Turkish guise, the result is a prototypical loan translation. For example, *yazıl-ma zaman-ı* “register-NOM. time-POSS.3SG.” sounds unconventional to TR-Turkish speakers since it is a loan translation of Dutch *inschrijf.tijd* “register.time”, which refers to the amount of time one has been registered with the municipal housing office while looking for housing. There is no concept like this in Turkey, so the expression does not exist in TR-Turkish either.

3.5 Unconventional constructions at maximally specific side

When the changes are found in individual content morphemes, whether or not they are part of a larger construction, the unconventionality is located at the most specific end of the continuum. A lexical item, usually the literal translation of a word that is used in the Dutch equivalent construction, may be added, or may replace a lexical item that would be used in TR-Turkish. Similarly, a word that is normally part of the construction in TR-Turkish may be left out because its equivalent is not used in the Dutch translation.

We first identified all unconventional constructions at maximally specific side and classified them according to the formal characteristics outlined in the previous section. As can be seen in Table 3.1, replacement was responsible for most of the cases (71.8%) at this level of specificity.

Table 3.1: Unconventionality at maximally specific level in NL-Turkish (classified according to formal characteristics)

Formal Characteristics	Frequency	Ratio
Replacement	115	71.8%
Omission	7	4.3%
Addition	30	18.7%
Semantic Gap	8	5%
Total	160	100%

One particular construction, [N *yapmak*] “N do”, was involved in 39% of these replacements (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Unconventional [N *yapmak*] constructions in the ‘replacement’ category in NL-Turkish

Unconventionality due to Replacement	Frequency
Total number of unconventional constructions	115
[N <i>yapmak</i>]	45 (39%)

The other cases involved replacement of nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives in a wide range of contexts, such as compound nouns and verb-adverb combinations. The variation is enormous and no pattern occurred more than two or three times. Based on the evidence, there is no generalization to a borrowed pattern; there are merely borrowed (and then translated) lexical elements. However, such generalization may be possible for [N *yapmak*]. We extracted all the occurrences of this verb in our NL-Turkish data and we computed the percentage of uses that were unconventional for each conversation. Table 3.3 summarizes the outcome of this exercise. In addition, it shows the average ratio of unconventionality across the conversations (22.6%).

Table 3.3: Frequency of unconventional [N *yapmak*] constructions in NL-Turkish

Informants	Number of words	Total number of [N <i>yapmak</i>]	Unconventional [N <i>yapmak</i>]	Percentage of unconventional occurrences of [N <i>yapmak</i>]
1.	1805	11	3	27.2%
2.	3547	29	6	20.6%
3.	3238	35	3	8.5%
4.	4355	49	17	34.6%
5.	4138	26	9	34.6%
6.	1906	27	4	14.8%
7.	1637	17	3	17.6%
Average ratio				22.6% *(9.0%)

(*standard deviation of the ratio)

However, the category of unconventional [N *yapmak*] constructions is not unitary: it consists of three unrelated constructions, to be discussed in turn.

3.5.1 Verb-Object collocations

The thirty examples in this category involve the use of *yapmak* “do” as a main verb, and often betray Dutch influence. Dutch makes use of [N *do*] constructions for many concepts, including a sub-group of educational expressions (e.g. “do school”, “do French class”, “do an exam”). Since education is a common topic of conversation in our data, we encountered such expressions quite often. In TR-Turkish, these expressions tend to have different verbs. Unconventionality in NL-Turkish is often caused by the application of this Dutch use of “do” in Turkish resulting in an extended use of the construction [N *yapmak*]²⁶.

A typical example is 3.6. TR-Turkish expresses the verbal element in this construction with the verb “read” (*Fransızca oku-mak* ‘French read-INF.’; “do French, as a subject”), while Dutch uses “do” (*Frans doen*), as does NL-Turkish.

(3.6) *NL-T: Ben okul-da bir sene Fransızca yap-ti-m.*

I school-loc one year French do-PAST-1SG.

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

²⁶Türker (2000) also observes some extension in the meaning of *yapmak* in her study of its co-occurrence with Norwegian verbs in Norwegian-Turkish codeswitching.

NL: *Ik heb een jaar Frans gedaan op school.*

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

TR-T: *Ben okul-da bir sene Fransızca oku-du-m.*

I school-LOC one year French read-PAST-1SG.

However, three of the unconventional verb-object combinations with *yapmak* could not be attributed to Dutch influence. For example, the combination “cook do” does not exist in Turkish or in Dutch; both languages use the copula construction “be a cook”. Therefore, it is unclear why the NL-Turkish speaker in example 3.7 used the verb *yapmak* in this expression.

(3.7) NL-T: *Düğün-de bir aşçı-yı çoğu zaman*

Wedding-LOC one cook-ACC often time

büyükanne-m yap-ar.

grandmother-POSS.1SG do-PRES.3SG.

“My grandmother is the cook in the weddings most of the time”.

NL: *Mijn oma is meestal de kok bij bruiloft-en.*

My grandmother is often the cook at wedding-PL.

TR-T: *Düğün-de çoğu zaman büyükanne-m aşçı ol-ur.*

Bruiloft-LOC often time grandmother-POSS.1SG cook COP-PRES.3SG.

3.5.2 Compound verbs

Yapmak is also used in compound verbs, usually with a noun or a verbal noun as the first element, e.g. *ütü yapmak* “to iron” (iron make), *yarış yapmak* “to race” (race make). In contrast to the transitive constructions discussed above, these constructions make little reference to the verb’s literal meaning. The composite expression is not transitive, because the putative object (the noun or verbal noun) is not affected by the verb. Since the literal meaning does not play a role, the transparent link with its translation equivalent *doen* does not come into play either. Compound verbs with *yapmak* are especially frequent in contact settings, because it tends to be used with foreign infinitives (cf. Backus 1996, Türker 2005). This is, in turn, probably due to the fact that it is often used with foreign verbal nouns in TR-Turkish, e.g. *jogging yapmak* “go for jogging” (jogging do/make) or *reklam yapmak* “advertise” (advertisement make/do). In these combinations, *yapmak* competes with another verb, *etmek* which historically also had the literal meaning of “do/make”, but is not used on its own anymore. It is always part of a compound verb, most of the time with an originally

Arabic verbal noun, e.g. *farz etmek* “imagine” (image do/make), *muhabbet etmek* “have a talk” (talk make/do).

In NL-Turkish, *yapmak* seems to be replacing *etmek* in many compounds that use *etmek* in TR-Turkish. Presumably, this has nothing to do with Dutch since the Dutch translations of these examples do not use the verbs *doen* or *maken*. In example 3.8, the unit [*hesap yapmak*] “calculation do” is unconventional for TR-Turkish speakers because they would have used *hesap etmek*. Note that Dutch does not use a compound at all.

- (3.8) NL-T: *Herşey-i Türkçe hesap yap-ar-im.*
Everything-ACC Turkish calculation do-PRES-1SG.
“I calculate everything in Turkish”
- NL: *Ik bereken alles in het Turks.*
I calculate everything in the Turkish.
- TR-T: *Herşey-i Türkçe hesap ed-er-im.*
Everything-ACC Turkish calculation do-PRES-1SG.

Though cases like these do not show Dutch influence, they are contact-induced just the same, for the simple reason that they do not occur in TR-Turkish. They are the result of a second mechanism of change, sometimes referred to as attrition or imperfect acquisition: certain elements are not well-entrenched in the grammars of immigrants due to less frequent exposure and/or opportunities for use, and are, therefore, vulnerable to replacement by more frequent forms. In addition, the frequent use in NL-Turkish of Dutch infinitives²⁷ with *yapmak*, as in *winkelen yapmak* “shopping do”, might have increased the entrenchment of its rival [N *yapmak*]. In any case, such examples show that not all contact-induced structural change is produced through the mechanism of borrowing (cf. Section 3.9.3).

3.5.3 *Yapmak* as a proform

A third construction involving *yapmak* is what could be called the “Proform Construction”, in which *yapmak* replaces another verb that was mentioned a little earlier in the discourse. This use of *yapmak* is often unconventional for TR-Turkish speakers, who would instead repeat the more specific verb. In example 3.9, the NL-Turkish informant was talking about a music course he had followed. He had tried playing a traditional Turkish instrument for a few months but found it very difficult and had stopped playing it. In Dutch, one uses “do” to refer

²⁷ Following Langacker (1991:97-99), we take infinitives to be nominal forms (cf. Backus 1996).

back to the previously mentioned action, but in TR-Turkish the lexical verb (i.e. “play”) is repeated.

(3.9) *NL-T: Bir kaç ay yap-tı-m ama sonra bırak-tı-m.*
 One pair month do-PAST-1SG. but then stop-PAST-1SG.

“I did it a couple of months but then I stopped.”

NL: Ik heb het een paar maand-en gedaan maar toen ben ik gestopt.
 I have it a few month-PL do.PERF but then AUX I stop.PERF

TR-T: Bir kaç ay çal-dı-m ama sonra bırak-tı-m.
 One pair month play-PAST-1SG. but then stop-PAST-1SG.

Table 3.4 summarizes the frequency of occurrence of unconventional [N *yapmak*] constructions in these three categories.

Table 3.4: Types of unconventional [N *yapmak*] constructions in NL-Turkish

Types	Dutch Influence	No Dutch Influence	Total
Verb-object collocations	30	3	33
Compound verbs	0	7	7
<i>Yapmak</i> as a Proform	5	0	5

In TR-Turkish, on the other hand, only three unconventional cases occurred at the maximally specific level. All three were due to replacement and none of them involved *yapmak*. Instead, they were the result of confusion between two phonologically similar verbs, for example the use of *anlamak* “understand” instead of *anlatmak* “tell”.

3.6 Unconventionality at partially schematic side

As described in Section 3.2.2, the maximally specific side of the specificity continuum involves constructions that are totally fixed. In the middle of the continuum, we find the partially schematic region, which hosts constructions containing both fixed or “specific” items (i.e. actual lexical items or morphemes) and open or “schematic” slots (i.e. positions that host any element). For example, in [*a* NP *ago*], the indefinite article and the word “ago” are fixed, while the NP slot, which is schematic, can be filled by any time expression. Therefore, [*a* NP_{time} *ago*] is a partially schematic unit. We have grouped unconventionality in this area into three categories.

3.6.1 Function words

We have placed content words on the maximally specific side of the specificity continuum because they tend to be selected on their own. Function words, on the other hand, are almost always selected by virtue of being part of a larger construction. We take dependence on other elements in a construction as our reference point in determining which level of specificity a morpheme belongs to, though it must be emphasized that autonomy and dependence are gradient notions (Langacker 1987: 298-310)²⁸.

In order to get a more sophisticated picture of unconventionality at this level, we identified all the unconventional constructions in the data in which function words caused the unconventionality, and classified them according to their formal characteristics first (see Table 3.5). It turned out that unconventionality was caused by the addition of an unexpected functional element in 57.9% of the cases. Recall that for content words, we found an accumulation of unconventionality in the category of replacement. This suggests that NL-Turkish speakers often feel the need to use a function word where TR-Turkish does not have it, possibly driven to do this by the use of its equivalent in the Dutch translation.

Table 3.5: Unconventionality in function words in NL-Turkish
(classified according to formal characteristics)

Formal Characteristics	Frequency	Ratio
Replacement	24	34.7%
Omission	5	7.2%
Addition	40	57.9%
Total	69	100%

The indefinite marker *bir* “one” was involved in no fewer than 65% of the cases in the category of addition and 75% in the category of replacement (see Table 3.6). We carried out an exhaustive analysis of this marker to see whether there was any evidence of a more general change in progress. The other cases of function words involved discourse markers, a complementizer, quantifiers and two adverbials with discourse marking functions, all used in violation of TR-Turkish conventions and all as relatively clear cases of translation (i.e. they were used in contexts in which Dutch uses their translation equivalents).

²⁸However, even content words are often selected as part of a larger construction. While we treat, e.g., *yapmak* in (3.9) as specific, it is still part of the Proform Construction that it appears in (cf. Croft 2001:53). The difference with the phenomena described in the present section is one of degree.

Table 3.6: Unconventional constructions in NL-Turkish

Formal Characteristics	Total number of unconventional constructions	Unconventional constructions involving <i>bir</i>
Replacement	24	18 (75%)
Addition	40	26 (65%)
Omission	5	0

In our NL-Turkish data, we first extracted all the uses of *bir* as an indefinite article²⁹, ignoring complex words that contain it, such as *birçok* “many” (one.many). Second, we calculated the ratio of unconventionality, which turned out to be 10.7 % (see Table 3.7).

Table 3.7: Frequency of unconventional [*bir* N] constructions in NL-Turkish

Informants	Number of words	Total number of constructions containing <i>bir</i>	Unconventional <i>bir</i> constructions	Ratio of unconventionality
1.	1805	37	2	5.4%
2.	3547	60	7	11.6%
3.	3238	42	10	23.8%
4.	4355	70	14	20.0%
5.	4138	99	10	10.0%
6.	1906	23	1	4.3%
7.	1637	15	0	0.0%
Average Ratio				10.7% *(8.6%)

(*standard deviation of the ratio)

However, possibilities for generalization are limited, since a number of different constructions are involved (as we saw for the *yapmak* constructions in section 3.5). Unconventional constructions with *bir* may be broken down into three categories:

a) *Unconventionality due to semantic extension of the [ADJ *bir* N] construction*

One difference between Dutch and Turkish is that the indefinite article is associated with non-specific referents in Turkish (Dede 1986, Tura 1986), while Dutch does not make a distinction between specific³⁰ and non-specific readings of indefinite noun phrases. In NL-Turkish, however, the indefinite marker was sometimes used with specific meaning. In the context of example 3.10, the speaker has mentioned that he had tried playing some

²⁹Turkish does not have a definite article, but the numeral *bir* “one” does function as an indefinite marker (e.g. *Bir adam gör-dü-m* “One man see-PAST-1SG”; “I saw a man”).

³⁰Here, the term ‘specificity’ is used in the referential or discourse-pragmatic sense, not in the semantic sense in which we employ it elsewhere in this article (cf. Backus 2001 for discussion).

instruments earlier in life but that he had quit. One of the things he had tried to play was the guitar, but he did not like it. The phrase [*akustik bir gitar*] suggests to a TR-Turkish speaker a nonspecific meaning for the guitar contrasting acoustic with, for example, electric guitars. However, that is not the intended interpretation here. The speaker is referring to a specific guitar that was in the possession of his friend. TR-Turkish speakers would have used the generic construction *akustik gitar* “acoustic guitar”, without *bir*.

(3.10) *NL-T: Akustik bir gitar var o-nda.*

Acoustic a guitar exist he-LOC

“He has an acoustic guitar”.

NL: Hij heeft een akoestische gitaar.

He have.PRES-3SG. an acoustic guitar.

TR-T: Akustik gitar var o-nda.

Acoustic guitar exist he-LOC.

b) *Unconventional placement in indefinite ADJ-N combination*

In an indefinite noun phrase containing an attributive adjective, the Dutch indefinite article *een* always precedes the adjective. However, in Turkish the indefinite article follows the adjective, as in the previous example. Unconventionality in NL-Turkish was sometimes caused by the copying of the Dutch order, as in example 3.11.

(3.11) *NL-T: Sen bu araştırma-yı bir başka profesör-le mi yap-ıyor-sun?*

You this research-ACC a different professor-COM. QP do-PROG-2SG.

“Are you doing this research with a different professor?”

NL: Doe je dit onderzoek met een andere professor?

Do you this research with a different professor.

TR-T: Sen bu araştırma-yı başka bir profesör-le mi yap-ıyor-sun?

You this research-ACC different a professor-COM QP do-PROG-2SG

c) *Unconventionality due to redundant use in a fixed construction*

Sometimes the unconventionality originated from the inclusion of *bir* in a partially schematic construction that happens not to contain it in TR-Turkish, while its Dutch equivalent does make use of the indefinite article. Two such constructions (as illustrated in examples 3.12 and 3.13) were found in the data.

The structure of the Dutch unit [*een stuk of N_{NUMBER} N.PL*] is partially copied onto its Turkish equivalent. The TR-Turkish convention combines the number and the classifier *tane*

“piece”, giving [NUMBER *tane* N]³¹. In NL-Turkish, this complex is preceded by *bir*; [*bir* NUMBER *tane*] “one NUMBER piece”. Possibly, [*bir tane*] is the equivalent of [*een stuk*] “one piece”. However, note that the copying is not perfect, not only because *bir* and *tane* are not adjacent, but also because the partitive preposition *of* is not translated.

(3.12) NL-T: *Bazen mesela burda bir on tane soru var-dir*
 Sometimes for.example here one ten piece question exist-PRES.

“Sometimes there are like ten questions here”.

NL: *Soms hebben ze hier wel*
 Sometimes have.pres they here no.less
een stuk of tien vragen.
 one piece of ten question.PL.

TR-T: *Bazen mesela burda on tane soru var-dir.*
 Sometimes for.example here ten piece question exist-PRES.

In example 3.13, the use of *bir* is also identified as redundant by TR-Turkish judges. However, in this case unconventionality does not seem to be related to Dutch influence, since the Dutch equivalent construction does not include an indefinite article either.

(3.13) NL-T: *Pek öyle bir tanı-dığ-ım başka kişi-ler yok.*
 much like one know-NOM-1SG other person-PL exist.PRES.not.

“There are not so many other people I know”

NL: *Ik ken niet zo veel andere mensen.*
 I know.PRES. not so many other people.

TR-T: *Pek öyle tanı-dığ-ım başka kimse yok.*
 much like know-NOM-1SG other person exist.not.

On the other hand, it is possible that *öyle bir* has become a fixed unit due to the association of *öyle* and *bir* in an apparent translation of *zo'n* (i.e. *zo een* “such a”, “such”). Due to this strong association between *öyle* and *bir*, the NL-Turkish speaker treats them as a fixed unit and always uses them together, even when the Dutch translation does not include the unit *zo'n*. This causes unconventionality for TR-Turkish speakers since a modifier between *bir* and *N* in the construction [*öyle bir* MODIFIER N] is unacceptable in TR-

³¹ [*bir* NUMBER N] construction, as in [*bir on soru*] “one ten question” is also conventional in TR-Turkish, implying vagueness as to the exact number. This could indeed have been the target in (3.12). In that case, the unconventional element in NL-Turkish [*bir* NUMBER *tane* N] construction would have been *tane* “piece”. However, TR-Turkish judges pointed at *bir* “one” as the unconventional element in the construction.

Turkish. The same construction would have been acceptable to TR-Turkish speakers if the modifier had been between *öyle* and *bir* (e.g. [*öyle* MODIFIER *bir* N] as in *pek öyle tanıdığım bir kimse* “much like know-NOM-1SG one person] or had not included *bir* in the construction at all (as in *pek öyle tanıdığım başka kimse* “much like know-NOM-1SG other person”). Note also the difference in the translation of “people”. Probably due to influence from the Dutch construction [*zo veel* N.PL] “so many N.PL”, NL-Turkish speaker uses the plural form *kişi-ler* “person-PL”, whereas the TR-Turkish version makes use of a different word in the singular form *kimse* “someone”.

Since we only have four cases of this type of unconventionality, all by the same speaker (with no conventional counterparts), it is possible that it merely reflects the idiolect of this one speaker rather than a convention established in NL-Turkish. Also note the occurrence of *bir* in example 3.7 (see section 3.5.1) in the NL-Turkish construction but not in the TR-Turkish equivalent.

Table 3.8 summarizes the quantitative analysis of these unconventional constructions. All cases of unconventionality due to “semantic extension of the [Adj *bir* N] construction” and “unconventional placement in indefinite Adj-N combinations” seem to be copied from Dutch. In the case of redundant uses of *bir* in fixed constructions, the majority of the unconventionality was due to Dutch influence, but some cases were not, which may suggest an internal change. However, since we did not observe any unconventionality concerning the use of function words in the TR-Turkish data, we consider all cases of unconventionality reviewed in this section as, if not outright borrowings, contact-induced.

Table 3.8: Types of unconventional “*bir* N” constructions in NL-Turkish

Types	Frequency
Unconventionality due to semantic extension of [Adj <i>bir</i> N] construction	Dutch Influence: 10
Unconventional placement in indefinite [Adj-N] combination	Dutch Influence: 18
Unconventionality due to redundant use in a fixed construction	Dutch influence: 2
	Not clear Dutch influence: 4
Total number of unconventional “ <i>bir</i> ” constructions	44

3.6.2 Morphosyntax

Bound grammatical markers tend to be even more dependent than function words, and, not coincidentally, have even more abstract meanings. They, too, are used in unconventional

ways in NL-Turkish. Again, we first classified the unconventional constructions at this level according to their formal characteristics (see Table 3.9). It turned out that omission was the most frequent formal category in this domain, but all three categories occurred quite regularly. This is in sharp contrast with the content and function words discussed in the previous sections.

Table 3.9: Unconventionality in morphosyntax in NL-Turkish (classified according to formal characteristics)

Formal categories	Frequency	Ratio
Replacement	42	31.1%
Omission	59	43.7%
Addition	34	25.1%
Total	135	100.0%

Within the omission category, the accusative and genitive case markers were omitted most frequently (see Table 3.10).

Table 3.10: Types of unconventionality within the ‘omission’ category in NL-Turkish

Types	Frequency	Ratio
Genitive	11	18.6%
Accusative	11	18.6%
Dative	8	13.5%
Locative	7	11.8%
Aorist	4	6.7%
Possessive	4	6.7%
Passive	2	3.3%
Plural	2	3.3%
Progressive	2	3.3%
Agreement	2	3.3%
Modality	1	1.6%
Reciprocal	1	1.6%
Complementizer	1	1.6%
Conditional	1	1.6%
Ablative	1	1.6%
Nominalization	1	1.6%
Total	59	100%

In order to explore the mechanisms of change at this level in some more detail, we will focus on accusative omission, as one of the relatively frequent types of

unconventionality. We first identified all combinations of transitive verbs and definite direct objects. Within this set, we identified those cases where accusative was expected, but lacking; Table 3.11 gives the results. Of all the combinations of a verb and a direct object in the corpus, only 2.5% had unconventional case omission. Below, we will discuss these cases, but will also broaden the analysis to include all cases of unconventionality in which the accusative played a role (i.e. including cases of replacement).

Table 3.11: Unconventionality in accusative marking in NL-Turkish

Informants	Number of words	Total number of transitive verb-object combinations	Unconventional omission of accusative marking	Ratio of unconventionality
1.	1805	89	0	0.0%
2.	3547	113	1	0.8%
3.	3238	100	0	0.0%
4.	4355	126	4	3.0%
5.	4138	87	0	0.0%
6.	1906	40	3	7.5%
7.	1637	48	3	6.2%
Average Ratio				2.5%
				*(3.2%)

(*standard deviation of the ratio)

a. *Omission of accusative marking*

Dutch does not mark direct objects morphologically³². Turkish, on the other hand, marks direct objects with accusative if they are definite. In example 3.14, the NL-Turkish speaker was making a comparison between Dutch and Turkish music and said that he had a preference for Turkish music. Since the referent of the direct object was already mentioned earlier, it is also specific³³ and requires accusative marking (Enç 1991). The non-use of accusative marking is then perceived as unconventional by TR-Turkish speakers:

³²Except in the case of pronouns, which have nominative and accusative forms.

³³See also Kılıçaslan (2006) for a more recent overview of specificity in Turkish, where he argues that it is not specificity that requires accusative marking in the immediately preverbal position but it is the extent the referent of the direct object is involved in the action that the verb denotes. However, since the direct object is not in immediately preverbal position in this example, we will not pursue this discussion further.

(3.14) NL-T: *Türk müziğ-i* çok sev-iyor-um.
Turkish music-POSS.3SG a.lot like-PROG-1SG.

“I like Turkish music a lot”

NL: *Ik hou van Turkse muziek.*

I like Turkish music.

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

Turkish music-POSS.3SG-ACC a.lot like-PROG-1SG.

An important point is that Dutch influence does not target transitive structures at random. Especially vulnerable are verbs with low transitivity (see Hopper and Thompson 1980). Unconventional accusative omission was observed with the following verbs in our data: *like, read, think, know, support (a team), eat (dinner)*. All but one of these are mental activity verbs, which are typically low in transitivity. According to Hopper and Thompson’s (1980: 252) transitivity scale, several semantic aspects of the verb and of the context together determine the degree of transitivity. The most relevant aspect for us here is the ‘affectedness’. If nothing happens to the participant (object) as a result of the action, Hopper and Thompson (ibid.) consider that verb to be low in transitivity. In our case, all of the verbs except *eat* fit this description. Since these verbs are low in transitivity, we claim that they are relatively attractive (Johanson 2002: 44-49) for accusative omission in case of contact with a language without case marking, such as Dutch. At the same time, the skewing in favor of contexts of low transitivity cannot itself be contact-induced. What this illustrates is that contact effects are often a combination of direct influence and language internal or universal factors. Recall that accusative marking is only used with definite direct objects; since there are many contexts in which the object is not definite, the accusative-less construction [N V] is relatively entrenched. The result is that accusative marking is relatively unstable (or ‘attractive’) in this context because of three conspiring reasons: discrepancy between Dutch and Turkish (a contact related factor), inherited variability in accusative marking (a language internal factor) and little cognitive support for direct object status in cases of low transitivity (a universal factor). However, note that the unconventionality rate for accusatives is indicated to be only 2.5% in Table 3.11. Whether this is a high or low figure in the domain of morphosyntax is hard to say given our present knowledge about quantitative aspects of attractiveness. This is an important issue, also raised by one of the anonymous reviewers, but we will let it rest for the time being.

b. *Accusative replacing other case markers*

Sometimes it was the presence rather than the absence of the accusative that caused unconventionality in NL-Turkish. Table 3.12 below indicates that the accusative sometimes replaces other case markers.

Table 3.12: The case markers replaced by the accusative in NL-Turkish

Case markers	Frequency
Dative	6
Locative	2
Ablative	1
Nominative	4
Total	13

Unconventional accusative marking usually means that the subcategorization pattern of a particular verb is “violated”. Four out of the six cases in which the dative was replaced involved the verb *bakmak* “to look”, in the context of watching programs on TV (see example 3.15).

- (3.15) *NL-T: Spor-um-u oda-m-da bak-iyor-um.*
 Sport-POSS.1SG-ACC room-POSS.1SG-LOC. look-PROG-1SG.
 “I look at my sports programs in my room.”
- NL: Ik kijk sport op mijn kamer.*
 I look sports in my room.
- TR-T: Spor-um-a oda-m-da bak-iyor-um.*
 Sport-POSS.1SG-DAT room-POSS.1SG-LOC look-PROG-1SG.

Although the Dutch verb *kijken* “to look” often takes the dative preposition *naar*, and is, therefore, similar to its TR-Turkish equivalent in its subcategorization pattern, in this particular context, it is quite natural to omit the preposition resulting in the partially schematic V-OBJ schema [*kijken* TV PROGRAMS] “to watch TV programs”. This may well have caused the object to be marked accusative rather than dative.

Since Dutch does not have a case marking system, attributing this type of unconventionality to Dutch influence does not seem plausible at first glance. However, the use of accusative may indicate copying from Dutch at a more abstract level. When the Dutch verb *kijken* “look” is used with the preposition *naar* “at”, the co-occurring noun is not perceived as a direct object. This is in line with Hopper and Thompson’s (1980) transitivity

scale, since this verb is assumed to be low in transitivity. However, in the construction [*kijken* TV PROGRAMS], without *naar*, the noun is perceived as a direct object and possibly construed with a stronger degree of affectedness. In order to convey this higher transitivity, the NL-Turkish speaker may have used the accusative rather than the dative.

To summarize, we found that the accusative marker is undergoing some changes in NL-Turkish but only in a tiny percentage of the relevant contexts. Dutch influence could be argued for in most but not all of these cases. More importantly, unconventionality at this level often seems to be the result of a combination of factors, Dutch influence being just one of them. Table 3.13 summarizes unconventionality involving the accusative marker in NL-Turkish.

Table 3.13: Types of unconventionality related to the accusative marker in NL-Turkish

Types	Frequency	Dutch influence
Omission of accusative	11	Yes
Case markers replaced by accusative	13	?

The analysis of the TR-Turkish data revealed that unconventionality at this level involves mostly additions in particular the redundant use of plural markers (see Table 3.14). This always involved combinations with quantifiers (e.g. in *bütün çaba-lar-ı göster* “all attempt-PL-ACC show”; “try your best/give it all you got”, the plural is redundant). Although accusative omission is also observed, it is rather rare. It always involved object-verb combinations in which the verb is low in transitivity (e.g. “know”). Although more research is needed, it seems that the degree of transitivity influences case assignment in TR-Turkish, too, a fact not discussed before in Turcology, as far as we know.

Table 3.14: Types of morphosyntactic unconventionality in TR-Turkish

Morphosyntactic elements	Addition	Omission	Replacement
Genitive	3	3	0
Accusative	1	4	0
Plural	6	0	0
Comitative	1	0	0
Ablative by accusative	0	0	1
Locative by dative	0	0	1
Locative by ablative	0	0	1
Past tense marker by present tense marker	0	0	1
Total	11	7	4

3.6.3 Clauses

Although clausal structure would be expected to be addressed at the most schematic region of the specificity continuum, we need to discuss one case in which the unconventionality occurred in a clausal construction that contains a fixed element. This involves a particular reported speech construction, with the verb *demek* “to say”³⁴. It seems to be the case that NL-Turkish speakers at times adopt the structure of a Dutch model for reported speech, consisting of a main clause with the quotative verb and a finite subordinate clause containing the quote. The subordinate clause follows the main clause. We came across 15 unconventional instances (against 55 conventional structures). A typical example is the following:

- (3.16) *NL-T: Baba-m bazen di-yor*
Father-GEN sometimes say-PROG.3SG
kız-ım yavaş konuş.
daughter-POSS.1SG slowly speak-IMP.2SG
“My father sometimes says ‘Speak slowly girl’”
- NL: Mijn vader zeg-t soms meisje praat langzaam*
My father say-PRES.3SG sometimes daughter speak slowly
- TR-T: Baba-m bazen kız-ım*
Father-GEN sometimes daughter.POSS.1SG
yavaş konuş di-yor.
slowly speak-IMP say-PROG.3SG

The unconventionality in this construction is due to the change in the order of the [Subordinate Clause+ Quotative Verb] combination. At first sight, this seems to make it an example of unconventionality at the maximally schematic end of the continuum. However, the unconventionality is limited to reported speech constructions with the verb *demek* “to say”. If there is a fixed item in a construction, the unit is only partially schematic. Only if this change had spread to other verbs of saying or even to all subordinate clause types, we would have placed this type of at the ‘maximally schematic’ side of the specificity continuum.

We did not encounter this type of unconventionality in TR-Turkish. Due to length limitations, we leave a more extensive analysis of this type of unconventionality for further research.

³⁴Most reported speech constructions are formed with a different quotative verb, *söylemek* “say”. However, we did not encounter any unconventionality with this verb.

3.7 Unconventionality at maximally schematic side

Analysis of the unconventional cases at this side gave us the findings in Table 3.15. Replacement and addition were the only forms of unconventionality in this category.

Table 3.15: Unconventionality at maximally schematic level in NL-Turkish (classified according to formal characteristics)

Formal characteristics	Frequency	Ratio
Replacement	20	52.6%
Omission	0	0.0%
Addition	18	47.3%
Total	38	100%

Replacement involved cases of word order change. In example 3.17, the NL-Turkish informant was explaining a move she used to make in the dance class. In the given context, this sentence receives sentence focus (Lambrecht 1994) since all the elements in the sentence are new information for the hearer. Sentence focused sentences have a strict (S)OV order in TR-Turkish (Kılıçaslan 2004). The placement of the prepositional phrase (*havada* ‘in the air’) in the postverbal area is copied from Dutch and causes unconventionality for TR-Turkish speakers (see Chapter 2, Doğruöz and Backus 2007).

(3.17) *NL-T: sonra bacak tut-ul-uyor-du hava-da .*

Then leg hold-PASS-PROG-PAST.3SG. air-LOC.

‘You hold your legs in the air’

(literally ‘Then the legs were held in the air’)

NL: Dan hou je je benen in de lucht.

Then hold you your legs in the air.

TR-T: sonra bacak hava-da tut-ul-uyor-du.

Then leg air-LOC. hold-PASS-PROG-PAST.3SG.

Table 3.16 shows the types of clauses in which unconventionality was found, and their frequency in the category of replacement. A case study of simplex clauses shows that the proportion of word order violations (10 out of 2109) is very small (cf. Chapter 2).

Table 3.16: Types of unconventionality within the ‘replacement’ category in NL-Turkish (maximally schematic side)

Types	Frequency
In simplex clauses	10
In copula clauses	4
In non-finite clauses	6
Total	20

Addition of elements, on the other hand, involved redundant overt pronominal subjects (N=12) and objects (N=6). Note that Turkish is a pro-drop language, and often prefers not to use overt pronouns in subject and object functions, while Dutch normally does use them. In example 3.18, the NL-Turkish speaker was explaining that they do not have any family members left back in Turkey and the same is true for her husband’s family. The subject pronoun is redundant in this context since both the subject NP (my husband’s family) and the subject pronoun (*o* ‘it’) have the same referent. Note that the pronoun is used in a Left Detachment Construction (Lambrecht 1994), which is used quite frequently in Dutch for the purposes of topicalization. It appears that the copying of this construction has caused redundant subject pronoun use, violating TR-Turkish conventions. The ratio of redundant subject pronouns (12 out of 448) remains only 2% in the NL-Turkish data.

(3.18) *NL-T: Beyim-in aile-si hep o da burda.*

Husband-GEN family-POSS.3SG all it also here.

‘My husband’s family, they are also all here.’

NL: De familie van mijn man, die zijn ook allemaal hier.

The family of my husband, those are also all here.

TR-T: Beyim-in aile-si de hep burda.

Husband-GEN family-POSS.3SG also all here.

Overall these findings confirm the earlier conclusion in Chapter 2 that NL-Turkish has changed little, so far, in its basic syntax. This, in turn, confirms the claim, voiced by many, that core syntax is relatively immune to outside influence (e.g. Toribio 2004, Montrul 2004).

In TR-Turkish, unconventionality at the schematic level was detected only for the word order in two non-finite clauses and for one redundant subject pronoun.

3.8 Summary of the results

People in Turkey often recognize “Almanci’s”, immigrants in Europe, by their speech. This might suggest that their Turkish is riddled with contact phenomena. On the other hand, it is conceivable that a mere handful of salient deviations can be enough to judge someone’s speech as different. In order to build an accurate sociolinguistic theory regarding these issues, we first need to know how pervasive contact effects are, objectively speaking, and whether they target particular structures of the language. That is why we identified all unconventional constructions and classified them on the basis of two criteria: formal characteristics and position on the specificity continuum (Section 3.4). Table 3.17 summarizes the distribution of these characteristics in our NL-Turkish data.

Table 3.17: Unconventional Constructions in NL-Turkish based on formal characteristics and placement on the specificity continuum

Formal Characteristics	Maximally Specific Level	Partially Schematic Level I (Function words)	Partially Schematic Level II (Morphosyntax)	Partially Schematic Level III (Clause)	Maximally Schematic Level
Replacement	115	24	42	15	20
Omission	7	5	59	0	0
Addition	30	40	34	0	18
Semantic Gap	8	0	0	0	0
Total	160	69	135	15	38
Ratio	38.3%	16.5%	32.3%	3.6%	9.1%

Our main empirical finding is this: There are unconventional constructions in NL-Turkish, quite a few in fact, but they generally do not violate Turkish grammar. The origins of unconventionality lie in particular combinations of lexical and morphosyntactic items, not in the syntax. Generally, the NL-Turkish speaker will adjust the structural characteristics of a Dutch-style construction to the rules of Turkish, although we also encountered unconventional cases where Dutch influence is not very obvious.

The second general finding is that unconventional constructions turned out to be scattered along the continuum of specificity, but with relatively dense clustering at the specific (i.e. lexical) end (38.3%). In those cases, the origin of unconventionality tends to be the literal translation of a Dutch word that is part of a Dutch construction. Since TR-Turkish uses a different word in the equivalent construction, the NL-Turkish construction sounds unconventional to TR-Turkish speakers. This is the type of contact effect known as “loan translation” (Weinreich 1953, Otheguy 1993, Grzegala 2003).

Third, we also observed much unconventionality in various types of partially schematic constructions (16.5% for function words, 32.3% for morphosyntax, 3.6% for the reported speech construction discussed in Section 3.6.3), and occasionally in maximally schematic constructions (9.1%). Except for a few recurrent cases (e.g. *bir*, accusative marking), there are no generalized cases of unconventionality that could be said to indicate an advanced structural change. We can conclude that even structural changes, or, more precisely, cases of interference in synchronic speech that may reflect on-going diachronic change, are for the most part lexical in nature and could be seen as a sub-category, along with loan-words, of the pervasive mechanism of lexical copying. In the absence of comparative data from other contact situations, we cannot say whether this division of lexical and structural influence is typical of all contact settings, or whether it is typical for contact settings similar to current Turkish-Dutch contact in the Netherlands, combining the features of shallow time depth, intense contact, and typological distance.

Finally, we also looked for “unconventionality” in the TR-Turkish data. The analyses revealed that, perhaps surprisingly, there are also unconventional constructions in these data. In comparison to NL-Turkish, however, unconventionality is not frequent and there are qualitative differences (cf. Table 3.18 for a summary of results).

Table 3.18: Unconventional constructions in TR-Turkish based on formal characteristics and placement on the specificity continuum

Formal Characteristics	Maximally Specific Level	Partially Schematic Level I (Function words)	Partially Schematic Level II (Morphosyntax)	Partially Schematic Level III (Clause)	Maximally Schematic Level
Replacement	2	0	4	0	2
Omission	0	0	7	0	0
Addition	1	0	11	0	1
Total	3	0	22	0	3
Ratio	10.7%	0%	78.5%	0%	10.7%

Unconventional TR-Turkish constructions occurred mostly with morphosyntactic elements. Addition of elements (i.e. elements perceived as redundant), rather than omission and replacement, was by far the most frequent source of unconventionality in these constructions.

3.9 Discussion

3.9.1 General remarks on language change

Our data indicate that in current Turkish-Dutch contact, copying does not take place at the maximally schematic level, that is, in what is traditionally called syntax.

Owens (1996) reports something similar for Nigerian-Arabic. Most of the contact-induced changes in this language were in the idiomatic structure rather than in the syntax. Most current authors in contact linguistics agree that syntax changes rather late in contact situations (see e.g. Thomason 2001, Winford 2003, Sanchez 2004 and Toribio 2004) if it ever changes. This echoes claims made in the earlier literature on structural influence in contact settings. Previous analyses of NL-Turkish also revealed that the typical syntactic feature of word order is only undergoing a very slight change (at a rate of only 1% of basic transitive clauses, cf. Chapter 2). Considering the duration of contact, it seems that the Dutch-Turkish contact situation is too young to allow changes to have spread from individual constructions to a range of related constructions (which would mean that they could be situated at the maximally schematic end of the specificity continuum), but it is intense enough to see influence in individual expressions, occasionally permitting generalizations (cf. our discussion of *yapmak* in section 3.5 and of accusative case in section 3.6.2). According to Rostila (2006), a change at the maximally schematic level should be expected only if several different expressions instantiating the same construction undergo similar changes and do so frequently. That is, there should be high token frequency (some fully specific unconventional units should be frequent) and high type frequency (the unconventional construction should occur in a fair amount of lexical contexts, as with the [N *yapmak*] construction). This is in general not the case yet in NL-Turkish but as a result of continuing contact, such spreading may take place. Further monitoring of this particular contact situation will allow further insights into this.

3.9.2 Mechanism of change: semantic transparency

Though there is not, on the whole, much contact induced change in NL-Turkish, our study has uncovered enough individual cases to allow us to explore further which mechanisms lead to the outcomes we observe. We claim that the perceived degree of semantic equivalence plays a crucial role in the process of copying, in particular whether there is a transparent link between translation equivalents.

Semantic transparency has been investigated in the contexts of morphologically complex words (such as compound nouns, see Libben 1998, Roelofs and Baayen 2002,

Libben et al. 2003, and idioms, see Nunberg et al. 1994) in order to identify to what degree meaning is compositional. If the meaning of the whole can be derived from the meanings of the parts (e.g. *happiness* is the combination of *happy* and the nominalizer *-ness*, Roelofs and Baayen 2002: 132), it is identified as “semantically transparent”. In a bilingual context, US Spanish tends to lose the opposition between the copular *ser* and *estar* (both translated as “to be”), which are traditionally associated with different adjectives depending on factors like circumstantiality, aspect, concrete evidence, etc., when the choice between the copulas is not semantically transparent. Presumably, this on-going change is favored by contact with English (Silva-Corvalán 1994: 111-112).

In cross-linguistic cases, we are dealing with three forms of transparency: between form A and meaning P in language X, between form B and meaning Q in language Y, and between P and Q. The latter relation must be perceived as one of equivalence for further transfer to take place.

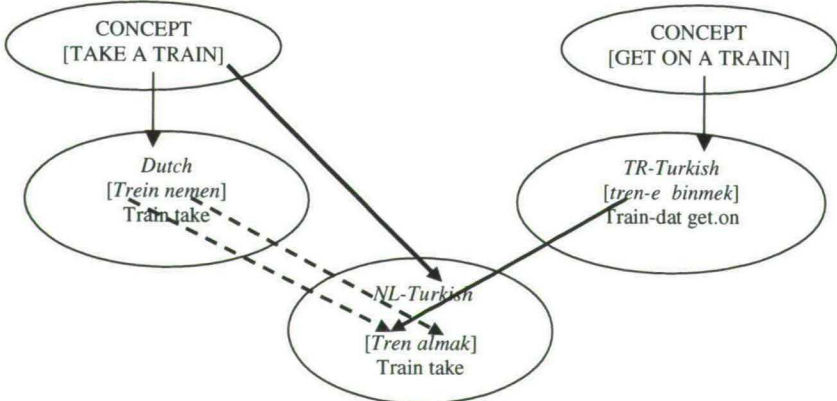
We take semantic equivalence to hold if there is a clear literal Turkish translation of a Dutch element. Literal translation only starts to produce unconventionality if there is a difference between Dutch and TR-Turkish. Often, this seems to happen if the Dutch morpheme is used with a figurative meaning, and its Turkish equivalent happens not to share this characteristic. This turned out to be the reason for most unconventionality at the specific level in NL-Turkish (see Section 3.5).

Consider example 3.1 (in Section 3.1), where we claimed that the translation of the Dutch unit *de trein nemen* “train take” into NL-Turkish as *tren almak* “train take” was the origin of unconventionality. However, this is not all that can be said about it. The verb *almak* seems to have come from Dutch, conceptually speaking, since it is the transparent translation of *nemen* “to take”, while TR-Turkish uses the verb *binmek* “to get.on”. The noun *tren*, on the other hand, comes from Turkish, certainly phonologically. Conceptually, there is unlikely to be a difference between Turkish and Dutch regarding trains. The NL-Turkish construction is thus partially the result of a translation, made possible by the transparent link between the translation equivalents *nemen* and *almak*. What causes unconventionality for TR-Turkish speakers is the fact that the phrase *take a train* suggests getting hold of something (either getting something with your hands like *taking a glass of water*, or buying something like in *ev almak* “house get” in TR-Turkish) so that it becomes one’s possession. While TR-Turkish speakers access the literal meaning of *almak*, NL-Turkish speakers have extended this meaning to a figurative one, due to the translation of the Dutch verb *nemen*.

Figure 3.3 illustrates in detail to what extent the NL-Turkish construction is a hybrid, with characteristics from both TR-Turkish and Dutch. The concept [TAKE A TRAIN] is represented through slightly different conceptualizations in the two languages. In TR-Turkish, the use of the dative highlights the directional movement involved in boarding the train. In Dutch, the concept uses a metaphor in which the traveler takes the train into his possession for the duration of the journey. Although for both languages the ultimate meaning entails being on a train and traveling on it, the conceptualizations are different, and this is reflected in different lexicalizations.

Both the Dutch and the TR-Turkish conventions contribute to the NL-Turkish construction, although reference to all components in the construction is with Turkish morphemes. *Almak* “take” comes semantically from Dutch (i.e. *nemen*) and phonologically from Turkish. This partial inheritance is indicated with a dotted line. The other referent, *tren* “train” comes from both TR-Turkish and Dutch semantically, but from TR-Turkish phonologically, which is illustrated with a straight black line. The relationship of *almaz* with the Dutch lexical item *nemen* is illustrated with a dotted line, since its source is Dutch only semantically but not phonologically. As in Dutch, there is no reference to a ‘direction’ in NL-Turkish: the scene is portrayed through a transitive construction rather than through one involving motion. This relationship is indicated with a solid line emanating from the Dutch concept. Since this ‘direction’ does not figure in the TR-Turkish expression, there is no line emanating from the TR-Turkish concept.

Figure 3.3: Semantic Transparency and Copying



This mixing of source material from two languages suggests that loan translation, and, by extension, all structural borrowing should receive theoretical treatment together with codeswitching. As in codeswitching, both languages are available to the NL-Turkish speaker at the time of speaking. In order to form a construction in NL-Turkish, s/he copies selected aspects of Dutch lexical units. Since the end result is a hybrid, it may be represented as copying conventions from both languages. However, copying from Turkish and copying from Dutch are not the same thing, since copying from Dutch involves the extra step of translating morphemes into their Turkish equivalents. The use of the semantically transparent equivalent of the Dutch verb *nemen* suggests that the conventional TR-Turkish item (*-e binmek*) was not readily available to the speaker at the moment of speaking. It is hard to establish the causal chain, though: whether it was the non-availability of *-e binmek* that triggered the search that ended in the selection of *almak* (which gives primacy to attrition or imperfect acquisition as the ultimate explanation), or whether the intrusion of *nemen* pushed out *-e binmek* (which gives primacy to borrowing as the explanatory factor) is impossible to say on the basis of our corpus data.

We have used a collocation between two content words to illustrate the translation process. In case of function words and morphosyntactic structures, translation is not a very straightforward mechanism, due to the more abstract meaning, but we expect that these cases follow essentially the same path. With the more abstract meanings of grammatical morphemes and structures, transparent equivalence with a Dutch morpheme or structure is perhaps harder to establish. However, as we have illustrated in example 3.15 for the use of redundant accusative markers, NL-Turkish speakers do seem to establish semantic equivalence between a maximally schematic Dutch meaning-form unit ('transitive object-verb' construction) and a partially schematic Turkish morphosyntactic construction [N-ACC. V].

3.9.3 Limitations and future research

Generally, the tendency is to attribute unconventionality to the influence from the contact language (Thomason 2001, Myers-Scotton 2002). Our default hypothesis was, therefore, that all unconventionality could be attributed to borrowing from Dutch. However, we came across unconventional NL-Turkish examples which did not suggest overt influence from Dutch (e.g. the replacement of *etmek* by *yapmak* in Section 3.5.2). These examples are still due to contact since they would not have occurred if there had been no contact, and we did not find them in TR-Turkish. In some other cases, borrowing was only part of the explanation, since it worked

in conjunction with other mechanisms in a process of multiple causation (see Section 3.6.2). As has been discussed for some other contact situations, contact may accelerate inclinations for a change already going on in a language (cf. Dorian 1981, Silva-Corvalán 1994, Romaine 1989), and it may also involve processes not directly attributable to the other language (i.e. attrition and incomplete acquisition). For example, if two forms are in competition, the more frequent form is more likely to survive in the contact variety. In general, unconventional cases which do not reflect overt influence of the contact language are in need of further research (cf. Bolonyai 2000).

We did not identify any constructions that had completely replaced the conventional TR-Turkish construction. This indicates that the unconventional constructions have fluctuating degrees of entrenchment, a situation referred to as the “incubation period” of a change (Heine and Kuteva 2005). Whether the unconventional counterpart will eventually take over from the conventional one or not is not predictable at this moment.

The unconventional cases of individual constructions suggest that NL-Turkish is on its way to becoming a new and distinct variety of Turkish. Such remarks are often made about contact varieties. However, we would like to make a methodological point regarding such claims. Corpus evidence provides some, but limited, information about the degree to which changes are entrenched in speakers’ grammars. We should seek further proof from experimental settings (e.g. grammaticality judgment tests, various psycholinguistic tests measuring the reactions of TR-Turkish and NL-Turkish speakers to sample sentences from our corpus), in which factors involved in variation are controlled. However, this exercise would have to find ways to overcome ‘purist’ reactions and avoid increasing sensitivity to the pivotal constructions. Such evidence could confirm whether these unconventional cases have already become conventions for the NL-Turkish community in the Netherlands. If that is the case, NL-Turkish speakers should not be able to recognize constructions as unconventional, whereas the opposite would be true for TR-Turkish speakers.

Furthermore, unconventionality in the contact variety of a language is generally identified on the assumption that the structures involved do not exist in the non-contact variety. However, we found some counter-evidence to this assumption. The analyses of our TR-Turkish data indicated that there is some surprising variability in TR-Turkish. Some unconventional cases were merely speech errors, but for some others we do not know whether they may be new or hitherto unreported conventions in the TR-Turkish speech community. The fact that some unconventional constructions also exist in TR-Turkish makes it difficult to attribute these constructions unequivocally to Dutch influence in NL-Turkish.

However, unconventionality in TR-Turkish was not frequent, and, more importantly, most types of NL-Turkish unconventional constructions did not occur in TR-Turkish (e.g. the unconventional use of *bir*, the reported speech construction with the verb *demek*, or the extended uses of the verb *yapmak*).

Finally, it must be kept in mind that the spoken data in this study do not reflect NL-Turkish faithfully, because codeswitching to Dutch was not an option, without doubt a frequent phenomenon in NL-Turkish. Some of the unconventional constructions that we detected are probably not established conventions in NL-Turkish, but were created on the spot because outright codeswitching was not possible.

Our findings have an interesting parallel in acquisition data. The course of change seems to be from individual fixed constructions to low-level schemas or patterns, and from there, possibly, to maximally schematic constructions. This course is also found in children's acquisition of constructions. It has been suggested independently that children start learning a language on the basis of specific item-based constructions, and build these to establish the more schematic templates that ultimately show mastery of the syntax (Wilson 2003, Tomasello 2003, Dabrowska and Lieven 2005). Both acquisition and change seem to start from highly specific expressions. Note that we do not claim that language change and acquisition are the same. We only indicate that they proceed through similar processes³⁵.

These findings may also have implications for second language learning and teaching. Nesselhauf (2003: 236) shows that German learners of English experience more difficulty with English collocations that do not have semantically transparent translations in German (e.g. *make a decision* and *eine Entscheidung treffen*). Learners apparently find it easier to produce a conventional utterance if the translation equivalent of the construction is semantically transparent. According to her, more attention should be paid to teaching semantically non-transparent constructions in language teaching situations.

3.10 Conclusion

We started this study with the very basic question of what it is that makes Turkish speakers in Turkey label Turkish as spoken in the Netherlands as different but not necessarily ungrammatical. Our analyses of spoken data revealed that NL-Turkish violates some conventions of TR-Turkish, and TR-Turkish speakers perceive these violations as

³⁵Slobin (1977) has also mentioned that language acquisition and change share some similarities in some aspects of language (e.g. tendency for analytic structures, tendency for semantic transparency, the fact that salient items are first to be acquired and last to be lost).

unconventional. Exhaustive identification of these violations in a representative corpus was the first step in our analysis.

Secondly, we classified these unconventional cases on a specificity continuum, depending on the convention they violated. This helped us to see whether unconventionality was mostly lexical or structural in nature. It turned out that most of the violations accumulated at the maximally specific and partially schematic regions of the continuum, with very little representation at the maximally schematic level. The impact of Dutch, therefore, is mostly lexical. The violations, especially at the maximally specific level, were shown to be due to translation of transparently equivalent Dutch constructions into Turkish.

To guard against unwarranted claims of contact-induced change, we also analyzed TR-Turkish spoken data. The non-contact variety is usually assumed to be the yardstick for the contact variety, so by definition it should not contain unconventionality. Our analyses of TR-Turkish falsified this assumption in the sense that we found unconventional cases also in TR-Turkish. Although they are rather infrequent in number and somewhat different in type in comparison to NL-Turkish, apparently TR-Turkish speakers also “violate” conventions from time to time. Further studies are needed to explain whether these unconventional uses by TR-Turkish speakers would actually be judged as unconventional by these same speakers. If not, the construction in question may be reflecting an on-going internal change in TR-Turkish.

4 Subject pronoun constructions in Dutch Turkish[#]

4.1 Introduction

When you ask a Turkish speaker in Turkey to imitate how foreigners speak Turkish, s/he may use a subject pronoun in every sentence, something the pro-drop language Turkish normally does not do. Example 4.1 illustrates a context, where the second subject pronoun is perceived as redundant since it sounds contrastive while not intended that way. This article investigates whether Turkish as it is spoken in the Netherlands indeed makes use of these redundant subject pronouns, as could be expected because of Dutch influence.

- (4.1) A: *Çalış-ıyor-lar mı onlar?*
Work-PROG-3PL QP they
“Do they work?”
- B: *Onlar çalış-ıyor-lar.*
They WORK-PROG-3PL.
“They work”

Traditionally, Turkish is described as a pro-drop language (Enç 1986, Erguvanlı-Taylan 1986, Özsoy 1987, Kerslake 1987, Turan 1996, Öztürk 2002, Gürel 2006) which means it may have clauses without overt subject pronouns, though there is always person agreement on the verb³⁶. This characteristic has some consequences for what may be expected to happen in contact situations with a language that does not have pro-drop.

Such contact has drawn considerable attention in the literature (e.g. Montrul 2004, Silva-Corvalán 1994, Sorace and Filiaci 2006, Tsimpli, Sorace, Heycock and Filiaci 2004, Polinsky 1995, Pease-Alvarez, Hakuta and Bayley 1996). The prediction is generally that the non pro-drop language will influence the pro-drop language in such a way that overt subject

[#] Parts of this chapter have been presented at the “2005 Hispanic Linguistics Symposium” held at Penn State University, USA.

³⁶ In third person singular, it is zero.

(O) *dün konser-e git-ti.* “He/she/it yesterday concert-DAT go-PAST.”
“He/she/it went to a concert yesterday”.

pronouns will spread to those contexts where monolinguals would not use them, and will perceive them as redundant (as in example 4.1). This cross-linguistic influence is assumed to be especially prevalent if the pro-drop language is the sociolinguistically weaker language. US Spanish, for example, is often expected to undergo changes of this kind due to English influence.

Dutch-Turkish contact offers another good test case for this prediction. Since overt subject expression is obligatory in most Dutch clauses one may expect that the use of subject pronouns in Turkish as it is spoken in the Netherlands (i.e. NL-Turkish) will be extended to contexts where they are perceived to be redundant by Turkish speakers in Turkey (TR-Turkish).

4.2 Language contact and change in “pro-drop”ness

As a result of contact, languages tend to change, mostly through copying from each other (Weinreich 1953, Thomason 2001, Winford 2003). Generally, there is a sociolinguistic asymmetry between the languages, which results in unidirectional copying in the sense that the dominated language adopts things from the dominant language, but not vice versa. According to Thomason and Kaufman (1988), the intensity of social contact has an influence on how much gets copied (cf. Chapter 1). At the initial stages of contact, only the lexicon is influenced. However, as the intensity increases, the influence spreads to other areas. In case of very intense contact, the syntax may change (Thomason and Kaufman 1988).

There is also a counterclaim voiced especially in generative contributions that syntax is immune to changes no matter how intense the contact is (Montrul 2004, Toribio 2004, Sanchez 2004). What is often claimed to be syntactic change is interpreted as changes in the syntax-semantics or syntax-pragmatics interfaces. In the case of pro-drop, for example, there is no change in the syntactically determined use of null subjects but there is in the pragmatically conditioned use of overt subject pronouns. Studies of contact situations report contradictory results about the increase of overt subject pronouns, but there is widespread agreement that null subject use is never lost in contact situations.

By far the best-studied case is that of Spanish in the US. Silva-Corvalán (1994), Flores-Ferrán (2004), Pease-Alvarez, Hakuta and Bayley (1996), Bayley and Pease-Alvarez (1996) and others did not find an increase in the use of overt subject pronouns in the Spanish of Spanish-English bilinguals in the US. However, most report some loosening of the pragmatic constraints (Silva-Corvalan 1994, Flores and Toro 2000, Lapidus and Otheguy

2005). Montrul (2004) looked at the use of overt subject pronouns by Spanish heritage³⁷ speakers of different proficiency levels residing in the US. Proficient speakers did not differ from monolinguals in their use of overt and null subjects, while speakers with an intermediate proficiency level used fewer null subjects and more overt subjects than monolinguals.

Bilingual and monolingual language acquisition received some attention in terms of subject pronoun use. Paradis and Navarro (2003) compared the subject realizations of a Spanish-English bilingual child with two monolingual Spanish children. The bilingual child was able to use null subjects from the very beginning although her subject realizations were somewhat higher in frequency compared to monolinguals. Although this difference got smaller during the later stages of acquisition, the bilingual subject continued to use some redundant subject pronouns.

In a similar study, Tsimpili, et al. (2004) compared the use of overt subjects by Greek and Italian bilinguals with native-like proficiency in English with that by monolingual counterparts. According to the results of grammaticality judgment tests, the Greek bilinguals preferred overt preverbal subjects more than monolinguals. For the Italian group, the differences with the monolinguals lay in the pragmatic interpretation of overt subjects. In the same vein, Sorace and Filiaci (2006) found that non-native speakers of Italian, of English origin, were more tolerant of overt subject pronouns in complex clauses, which was linked to relaxation of the pragmatic constraints governing subject pronoun use.

In general, there is a tendency in the literature to relate the redundant use of subject pronouns by bilinguals to the relaxation or loosening of the discourse/ pragmatic constraints. The assumption is that these constraints have previously been learned but, due to contact with the other language, they have undergone attrition although we may not have direct evidence proving that the speakers have indeed lost something. They may have never acquired the particular constraint in the first place. We interpret attrition as a kind of change in Chapter 5, however we will first look at the findings of attrition studies on subject pronoun use.

Polinsky (1995), on the other hand reports the loss of null subject expression in Kabardian, Tamil and Polish speakers who were long-time residents in the US. Her data involved translation tasks and grammaticality judgment tests. She has found that in cases of serious attrition, speakers of pro-drop language have a tendency to accept subject pronouns in contexts where they are regarded as redundant by non-contact speakers.

³⁷ A term mostly associated with bilinguals who are quite far along the path to shift (Polinsky 1995, in press).

Similarly, Schmitt (2000) and Bolonyai (2000) report on the increased use of subject pronouns in Russian and Hungarian speakers who are residents in US respectively. In her longitudinal study, Schmitt (2000) analyzed the Russian of adolescents who moved to the US with their parents. In two years time, the redundant subject pronoun use in their speech has increased (69.5% to 82%), which is attributed to English influence. Bolonyai (2000) reports that 12.8% of all non-target-like forms in her data (which are roughly equivalent to our “unconventional cases” presented in section 4.9) were due to the use of redundant subject pronouns.

Complicating the picture is the fact that loss of pro-drop is not limited to contact situations. In other words, loss of pro-drop may also be an on-going “internal” change. Brazilian Portuguese has almost lost the optionality in the use of overt subject pronouns that characterizes European Portuguese (Duarte 2000). Apparently, a pro-drop system can be unstable enough to change even without the pressure from a sociolinguistically dominant non pro-drop language. To date, there are no reports of any changes of this kind going on in Turkish.

In sum, all these studies, be they grounded in contact linguistics, SLA or attrition, confirm the fact that syntactic pro-dropness is not easily lost in contact situations except in the most impoverished speakers. Bilingual speakers are able to form sentences without subject pronouns. However, in clauses in which they use subject pronouns, the pragmatic meaning attached to that particular form sometimes does not conform to the conventions of the monolingual variety.

4.2.1 Turkish as a pro-drop language

Table 4.1 illustrates the use of Turkish subject pronouns and agreement markers in simplex clauses.

Table 4.1: Subject pronouns and agreement markers in Turkish

Subject pronouns	Examples	Agreement Markers
Ben (I)-	<i>Ben okul-a git-ti-m.</i> I school-dat go-past-1sg. “I went to school”	-Im
Sen (you-sg)	<i>Sen okul-a git-ti-n.</i> You school-dat go-past-2sg. “You went to school”	-In
O (s/he)	<i>O okul-a git-ti.</i> S/he school-dat go-past. “S/he went to school”	0
Biz (we)	<i>Biz okul-a git-ti-k.</i> We school-dat go-past-1pl. “We went to school”.	-Ik
Siz (you-pl)	<i>Siz okul-a git-ti-niz.</i> You school-dat go-past-2pl. “You went to school.”	-Iz
Onlar (they)	<i>Onlar okul-a git-ti/git-ti-ler.</i> They school-dat go-past/go-past-3pl. “They went to school.”	0/-ler.

Enç (1986) is the primary source for the pragmatic functions of subject pronouns in Turkish. The main point behind her classification is that subject pronouns are more marked than their null subject counterparts because they convey extra pragmatic information. According to this assumption, all subject pronouns are syntactically redundant and all their uses can be reduced to two discourse-pragmatic purposes: topic shift and contrast (similar analyses can be found in the literature on Spanish, see Silva-Corvalan 1994, Flores-Ferrán 2004, Davidson 1996, Stewart 2003 and others).

One of the functions of overt subject pronouns is to signal “Topic Shift” (Enç 1986). Example 4.2b below illustrates this function. According to Enç, though *annem* “my mother” and *o* “she” are coreferential, they are part of propositions about two different discourse topics. The switch in topic stimulates the subject pronoun use in the second example.

(4.2a) *Anne-m_a dün uzun uzun yürü-müş.*

Mother-1SG. yesterday long long walk-PAST.3SG.

“My mother had a long walk yesterday”.

(4.2b) *O_a zaten deniz kenar-ı-nı çok sev-er.*

She anyway sea side-POSS.3SG-ACC very.much like-PRES.3SG.

“She likes the seaside very much anyway”.

If the proposition (4.2b) had maintained the topic and had the mother also had as the subject, as in utterance (4.2c), no overt subject pronoun would have been used.

(4.2c) *Çok yorul-muş.*

Very get.tired-PAST.3SG.

“She got very tired/She is very tired”

The use of the null subject in this context signals a natural addition to the existing discourse topic (i.e. you get tired if you walk a long distance). An overt subject pronoun would have signaled that the utterance somehow constitutes an abrupt shift from the existing discourse-topic to a new one.

The second function Enç (1986) associates with subject pronoun use is to indicate “contrast” between two referents or propositions. In example 4.3, *ben* “I” and *Ahmet* are two contrastive referents.

(4.3) *Ben okul-a git-me-di-m Ahmet git-ti.*

I school-DAT go-NEG-PAST-1SG. Ahmet go-PAST.3SG.

“I did not go to school (but) Ahmet did”.

Although this seems to give us a straightforward idea about the functions of subject pronouns, there are some problems which have to do with the level of abstraction at which the facts are described. This issue will be the subject of the next section.

Subject pronouns in contact situations have been studied before. Özcan, Keçik, Topbaş and Konrot (2000) looked at subject pronoun use by Danish-Turkish speaking bilingual children and compared it to monolingual Turkish children, using data collected while the children were engaged in an experimental problem solving task. The results indicate no significant differences in the use of subject pronouns between the two groups. In terms of pragmatic functions, bilingual children used subject pronouns to express the same functions as monolingual children did. For Turkish spoken in Germany, there are some reports of a tendency to use redundant subject pronouns (Rehbein 2001, Pfaff 1992). However, there are no systematic accounts.

For the Dutch-Turkish contact setting, there are two relevant studies. Schaufeli (1991) reports a slight increase of subject pronoun use in the narrative stories of bilingual (Dutch-Turkish) children. However, the difference between the bilingual and a monolingual control group was not statistically significant. Similarly, Aarssen (1994) did not find any significant

differences between bilingual and monolingual children in terms of the use of subject expressions.

In case of Turkish as a second language, Gürel (2006) carried out a series of experiments with native speakers of English, who had been residents of Istanbul for more than ten years. The results indicated that learners of Turkish (whom she defined as end-state learners due to their high proficiency) were able to use null and overt subject pronouns with their subtle pragmatic differences, except for the third person subject pronoun (*O* “s/he”) which they treat as similar to its English equivalent.

4.3 Analysis of pro-drop from cognitive linguistics perspective

In the literature on pro-drop, two otherwise identical utterances with and without an overt subject pronoun are assumed to be syntactically the same: differences are assumed to reside in the discourse-pragmatic area (i.e. in the “interface”, Hulk and Müller 2000). This is due to the fact that the components of the language are seen as separate modules (e.g. lexicon, syntax, pragmatics etc.). The result is a duality in the sense that syntactically the subject pronoun is free and optional; but at the same time there are pragmatic contexts in which the subject pronoun is required or prohibited. In contrast to this view, this study argues that:

- a) Utterances with and without an overt subject pronoun make use of different constructions and that is why they have separate meanings. The two utterances are not in free variation.
- b) Overt subject pronouns are not copied from the contact language by themselves in random utterances. Subject pronouns are parts of larger constructions (themselves form-meaning units) and they are only copied from the model language through the constructions they are part of.

This view can only be put forward in a theoretical framework that attributes meaning to syntactic constructions, as in Cognitive Linguistics (Langacker 1987, Croft 2000, Croft and Cruse 2004 etc.) in general, and Radical Construction Grammar (Croft 2001, Croft 2007) in particular, since:

1. The usage-based models of language (Langacker 1987, 1991, Bybee 2006, Tomasello 2003) that underlie Cognitive Linguistics, and especially Radical Construction Grammar (Croft 2001, Croft 2007) and Exemplar Representation (Bybee 2006) break down the syntax of a language into numerous specific constructions that together make up the abstract syntactic system. According to this view, syntax does not exist on its own as a separate module. It is rather the

collection of many specific constructions. The frequency of a construction determines its level of entrenchment for an individual speaker. (cf. Croft 2001: 28). If we apply this view to our analyses of subject pronoun use, we should concentrate on the identification and analysis of various constructions that happen to contain overt subject pronouns, rather than on all occurrences of overt subject pronouns as such.

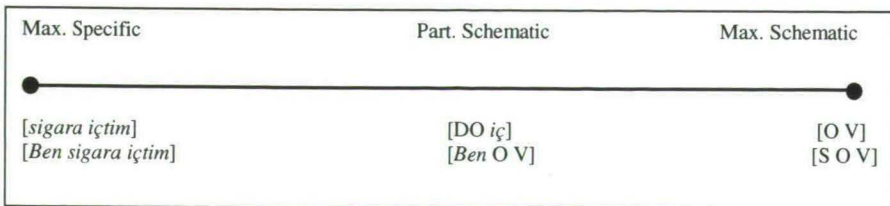
2. Since syntactic structures have meanings, it is possible that the constructions with overt subject pronouns collectively share certain semantic-pragmatic characteristics with the discourse-pragmatic functions Enç (1986) attributes to overt subject pronouns.

Constructions are defined as internally complex form-meaning units (Goldberg 1995, 2006), in which at least one element is not filled in lexically; if every element is lexically fixed, then the larger units will be called multi-word units or expressions. Thus, each construction has a specific form with an inherent specific meaning. The pro-drop character of a language is merely the result of having many constructions that fall into two classes: those with a subject pronoun and those without one.

Multi-word units instantiate constructions and occupy one end of a specificity continuum. The more open slots a construction has, the less specific and the more schematic it is. If all slots are open, the construction is located at the schematic end of the continuum. Lexicon and syntax are not seen as separate categories but rather as regions on this continuum (see Chapter 3). Every utterance contains several instantiated constructions at the different regions of the Specificity Continuum (see Figure 4.1). Example 4.4 illustrates this.

- (4.4) *Ben sigara iç-ti-m.*
 Ben cigarette drink-PAST-1SG.
 “I smoked”

Figure 4.1: Specificity Continuum of [*sigara iç-*]



The left hand side of the continuum hosts maximally specific units, where every slot in the construction is fixed (e.g. the conventional unit [*sigara iç*]). On the right hand side, the maximally schematic version of the same unit is found. The slots in the SV unit are instantiated by *ben* ‘I’ and *sigara iç-ti-m* ‘cigarette drink-past-1sg’ in example 4.4. In the middle of the continuum, partially schematic units combine specificity (fixed lexical items) and schematicity (syntactic functions or open slots to be filled with specific lexical items).

This study focuses on partially schematic and maximally schematic constructions (e.g. [*Ben DO V*] ‘I DO V’ versus [*S DO V*]) rather than maximally specific units in the analyses of subject pronouns. It is rather unlikely that maximally specific units play a major role in determining the use of subject pronouns. If that were the case, most uses of such pronouns would involve fixed expressions.

Traditionally, subject pronoun studies focus only on maximally schematic constructions but if we do that, important facts about specific contexts in which they appear might be missed. Therefore, this study will investigate:

- a) Whether there are any particular partially schematic constructions with specific subject pronouns (e.g. [*Ben DO V*] ‘I DO V’) or a schematic pronoun (e.g. *S.PRO DO V*) and what these constructions mean.
- b) Whether any generalizations can be made in terms of schematic constructions (e.g. [*S O V*]) that align this inventory with the discourse-pragmatic functions that are identified as governing pro-drop.

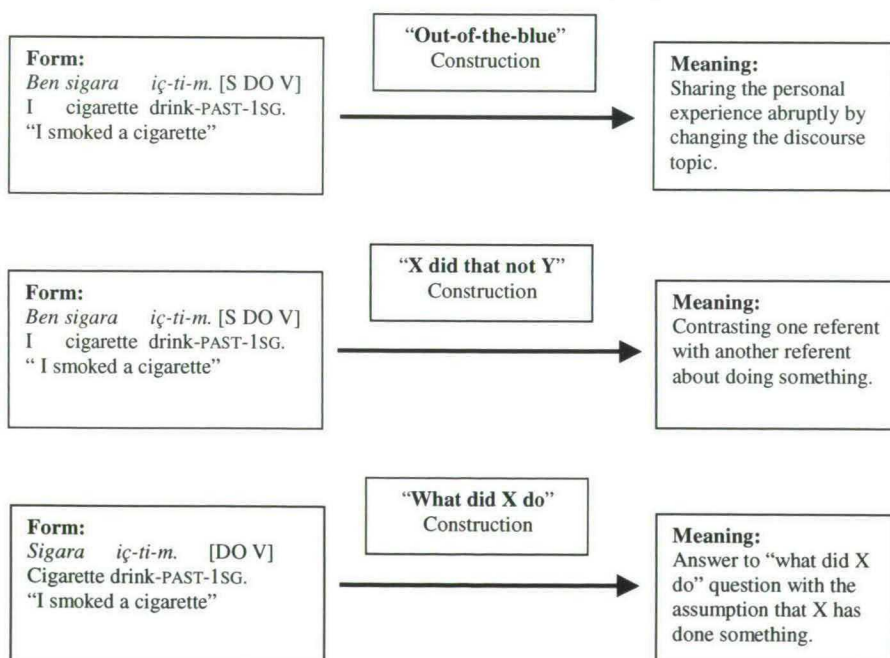
To start with the first point, it is perfectly legitimate to represent the utterance as an instantiation of the schematic pattern [*S O V*] in example 4.4. In terms of meaning, however this does not help much if one wants to elucidate the ambiguity of this utterance. First, it can be uttered ‘out-of-the-blue’ (Sentence Focus, in Lambrecht 1994), such as when two speakers are talking about something else and suddenly one of them confesses that s/he smoked a cigarette. Second, it can be uttered in a contrastive context where the speaker contrasts herself/himself to someone else who did not smoke (i.e. ‘I smoked, not someone else’). According to the principles of Turkish Information Structure, the first option is an out-of-the-blue sentence and typically has an overt subject (an NP or a pronoun) and follows SOV word order (Kılıçaslan 2004). In the second possibility, the utterance is an example of Contrastive Argument Focus, where one of the arguments of the verb is contrasted with another entity (Lambrecht 1994).

The counterpart of this utterance without an overt subject pronoun (*sigara iç-ti-m* ‘cigarettes drink-past-1sg’, [*DO V*]) would be a natural reply to the question ‘what did you

do?”, in a context when someone has disappeared from the room for a couple of minutes and then came back. In terms of information structure, this construction represents Predicate Focus, since it is the predicate rather than the subject that receives the focus of the utterance (Lambrecht 1994).

This analysis in turn casts doubt on the syntactic optionality of subject pronoun use (see also Öztürk 2002). The optionality should be interpreted as the choice a speaker has between various constructions. If the construction that is the unmarked choice in a given context contains an overt subject pronoun, that pronoun is not optional anymore. Figure 4.2 illustrates this link between form and meaning.

Figure 4.2: Constructions underlying overt and null subject pronoun utterances



As an answer to the first point of investigation, Figure 4.2 illustrates that the two utterances which differ only in the presence or absence of the overt subject pronoun instantiate different constructions with their own meanings and the utterance with the pronoun is ambiguous because without contextual information we cannot know which one of the two possible constructions it instantiates. Only the analysis of specific instantiations captures the differences in meaning between the constructions with and without subject pronouns. However, it will be seen that adding Information Structure characteristics to the

meaning is not enough. There are many more constructions that contain a subject pronoun, and most of them have an even more specific meaning. This brings us to the second point of investigation: problems with the maximally schematic side.

4.4 Generalizations at maximally schematic side

Example 4.5 is from the TR-Turkish data and appears to represent the discourse-pragmatic function of “Topic Shift”. In this piece of conversation, B is talking about her children. One of them is still very young and one of her relatives is taking care of him in Mucur (a small town close to Kırşehir). At that moment, she realizes that the other speaker may not know that she lives in Mucur but works in Kırşehir. Therefore, she abruptly changes the topic by adding the information that she lives in Mucur.

- (4.5) A: *Çok küçük, kim bak-ıyor peki şimdi?*
 “He is very young, who takes care of him now?”
- B: *Dayı-m-ın hanım-ı bak-ıyor Mucur-da.*
 Uncle-POSS.1SG-GEN wife-POSS.3SG take.care-PROG.3SG Mucur-LOC.
 “My uncle’s wife is taking care of him in Mucur.”
- B: *Ben Mucur-da otur-uyorum.*
 I Mucur-LOC sit-PROG.1SG
 “I live in Mucur.”

Let’s now look at the form of this construction in its maximally schematic shape. If we take the last two lines of the conversation, the two constructions can be represented schematically as follows:

- A: [NP_a V_{a-prog-3sg} AP_a]
 B: [S.Prob AP_a V_{b-prog-1sg}]

Since the subject NP (*dayımın hanımı* “my uncle’s wife”) in the first utterance of speaker B has a different referent than the referent of the subject pronoun in the second utterance, they get different indexes; NP_a and S.Prob. The referents of the adverbial phrases (*mucurda*) are the same, so they are co-indexed (i.e. AP_a). What differs in the two utterances is the position of the adverbial phrases. In the first utterance, the adverbial phrase is in the postverbal area, which is associated with backgrounded information in Turkish (Erguvanlı-Taylan 1979). In the second utterance, it is moved to the preverbal area, which is associated

with focus (Erguvanlı-Taylan 1979, Göksel and Özsoy 2003). The verbs also differ in both utterances, so they are not co-indexed (i.e. V_a and V_b).

If every unit is symbolic (i.e. a pairing of form and meaning), it could be hypothesized that whenever these templates are used, the same background and focus effects will be found. However, after examining just a few examples, it will soon be noticed that the same form does not always have the same meaning. Example 4.6 illustrates a maximally schematic construction pair that is identical to the one in example 4.5. However, the meaning conveyed with the construction that underlies the second utterance is entirely different from example 4.5.

- (4.6) A: *Anne-m temiz-lik yap-ıyor mutfak-ta.*
 Mother-POSS.1SG clean-NOM make-PROG.3SG kitchen-LOC.
 “My mother is cleaning in the kitchen”
- A: *Ben mutfak-ta çalış-ıyor-um*
 I kitchen-LOC study-PROG-1SG.
 “I study in the kitchen”

The construction pair can be represented with the following schematic constructions exactly similar in form to the one in example 4.5.

[$NP_a V_a AP_a$]

[$S.Prob AP_a V_b$]

However, in this example, the form encodes the contrast between the two subject referents in terms of the activities they carry out, as in [X is V_{a-ing} while Y is V_{b-ing}]. In example 4.5, the same form signaled a change in the topic of conversation. Therefore, the maximally schematic form is not precise enough for an accurate description.

Example 4.7 involves Enç’s category of contrast, in which *herkes* “everyone” and *ben* “I” are contrastive subject referents. The informant was complaining that though there are a lot of Turkish channels available due to satellite dishes, he did not like watching them. However, everyone else in his family was watching these channels.

- (4.7) A: *Herkes izli-yor ama ben izle-mi-yor-um yani.*
 Everyone watch-PROG.3SG. but I watch-NEG-PROG-1SG I.mean.
 “I mean, everyone watches but I don’t.”

The construction that is instantiated here contains a subject pronoun, and can be represented at the maximally schematic side (i.e. of the specificity continuum) as:

[NP_a V_a CONJ S.Pro_b V_{a-neg} DM]³⁸

In example 4.8, we also get a contrastive flavor, but there is no similarity whatsoever to the form in example 4.7. N was complaining that Turkish children were not usually very successful at school since they cannot speak Dutch properly. However, he differentiated himself from those unsuccessful kids because he spoke Dutch well when he was at school. Therefore, there is an implicit referent (those who cannot speak Dutch properly) that the speaker contrasts himself with. According to Davidson (1996: 554), this way of using overt subject pronouns signals that the speaker does not share the beliefs of the other speaker or says something that goes against general knowledge within the shared experiential world.

- (4.8) N: *Öğretmen her zaman derdi Ahmet kadar konuşun.*
 “The teacher used to tell (to everyone) speak like Ahmet”.
- N: *Onun gibi olun.*
 “Be like him”.
- N: *Onunla konuşun.*
 “Speak with him”.
- N: *Çünkü ben Hollandaca konuş-ur-du-m yani*
 Because I Dutch speak-PRES-PAST-1SG. I.mean
Hollandalı arkadaş-lar-la iyi geçin-ir-di-m.
 Dutch friend-PL-COM good get.along-PRES-PAST-1SG.
 “Because I was speaking Dutch and I was getting along very well with the Dutch friends.”

This section can be concluded by saying that it is certainly possible to place utterances containing subject pronouns into two general categories (i.e. contexts of contrast and topic shift) but that doing so misses an important generalization (cf. the criticism of this “lumper” approach in Croft 2001). First, identical sequences may have different meanings because more is involved (i.e. contextual meaning) than just the clausal structure. Second, similar meanings, may be conveyed by different constructions, which enable speakers to emphasize different nuances of “Topic Shift” or “Contrast”.

³⁸ Note that the subject expressions in both utterances can be switched. That is to say, the first subject expression may be a subject pronoun and the second subject expression may be an NP.

When the focus is only on maximally schematic representations, these differences do not come out. There must be some more subtle functional and formal differences that serve as signals to TR-Turkish speakers to decide which construction is being used. In order to differentiate among the various constructions with overt subject pronouns, we need to build an inventory, on the basis of the specific instantiations that we encounter. This way, it will be possible to arrive at a group of schematic and partially schematic constructions rather than just the two maximally schematic ones.

The “splitter” approach (cf. Croft 2001) provides us with a number of overt-subject pronoun constructions, each with its own meaning. Generalizing over all of these will likely give a general understanding close to the one voiced by Enç (1986), and a general opinion about when native speakers use constructions that contain overt subject pronouns.

What native speakers know about their own language is a compilation of partially schematic constructions, and a large partially idiosyncratic set of specific expressions (cf. Bybee 2006). If it were possible to analyze every specific instantiation in a sizeable corpus, it would be possible to come up with the inventory of all constructions containing overt subject pronouns. Section 4.8 will provide an approximation of this goal. However, first the NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish data used for this study will be described.

4.5 Methodology

Two spoken corpora, an NL-Turkish and a TR-Turkish one, were analyzed for this study. The NL-Turkish data (18.461 words) are a collection of six informal conversations. The TR-Turkish data consisted of five informal conversations (20.772 words) collected in Kırşehir, Turkey.

Similar to the studies reported in Chapter 2 and 3, all the informants in this study were between the ages of 18-30. NL-Turkish informants were born and raised in the Netherlands. TR-Turkish informants were all from Kırşehir and its surroundings. All the informants had similar educational backgrounds (cf. Chapter 1).

In addition, a group of TR-Turkish (five) and Dutch (five) speakers were consulted to judge the unconventionality in NL-Turkish and to translate NL-Turkish utterances into Dutch respectively. All judges were of similar ages as the informants and had similar backgrounds (cf. Chapter 1).

4.6 Research questions

In line with traditional accounts, this section begins with an investigation of possible differences between TR-Turkish and NL-Turkish in terms of the frequency of subject pronouns. Although this analysis will not indicate how pronouns behave in constructions, it will provide an opportunity to compare this study to the earlier studies in the literature and indicate whether any changes in NL-Turkish are substantial.

Secondly, there will be an investigation of TR-Turkish subject pronoun constructions following up on the thoughts voiced in Section 4.4. This investigation will provide the basis for the analysis of unconventional NL-Turkish constructions in section 4.9.

For all unconventional constructions, the source of unconventionality will be determined. Finally, evidence for possible Dutch influence in these unconventional NL-Turkish constructions will be investigated.

4.7 Frequency of subject pronouns in NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish

4.7.1 Procedure

This section compares the frequencies of subject pronouns and null subjects in the NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish data.

A comparison based on raw figures of subject pronouns would not provide a good picture of any differences between the two groups, since they are not based on equal lengths of conversations, the constraints on subject pronoun use differs per clause type, and the discourse pragmatics conditions that govern pronoun use will not appear in equal proportions in different conversations. As a first step, all the utterances were coded according to the clause types they exhibited. Secondly, the frequency of each clause type was calculated. The results revealed that simplex clauses were the most frequently used type in both data sets (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Frequency of different types of clauses in NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish

Types of Clauses	NL-Turkish		TR-Turkish	
Simplex Clauses	1805	(52 %)	1849	(49%)
Copula Clauses	1104	(32%)	1136	(30%)
Complex Clauses	473	(14%)	652	(17%)
Reported Speech Clauses	76	(2 %)	153	(4%)
Total	3458		3790	

Section 4.2.1 has already illustrated the use of subject pronouns in simplex clauses. In complex clauses, subject pronoun use is rather restricted. Often, the subject expression must be null, for example when the subject of a subordinate clause is co-referential with the subject of the main clause (Turan 1996), as illustrated in example 4.9.

- (4.9) *Anne-m gel-ince hemen yemek yap-tı.*
 Mother-POSS.1SG come-GER immediately food make-PAST.3SG.
 “My mother prepared some food as soon as she came.”
 * *Anne-m gel-ince hemen o yemek yap-tı.*
 Mother-POSS.1SG come-GER immediately she food make-PAST.3SG.
 “My mother prepared some food as soon as she came.”

Similar restrictions hold for reported speech clauses. Subject expressions are expressed with null subjects if the subject of the reported verb is the same as the one of the reporting verb, cf. example 4.10:

- (4.10) *Ben baba-ma ev-e gid-iyor-um de-di-m.*
 I father-DAT house-DAT go-PROG-1SG say-PAST-1SG.
 “I told my father that I am going home”.
 */? *Ben baba-ma ben ev-e gid-iyor-um de-di-m.*
 I father-DAT I house-DAT go-PROG-1G say-PAST-1SG.
 “I told my father that I am going home”.

There are two types of copula clauses in Turkish: adjectival/nominal and existential copula clauses. In adjectival or nominal copula clauses, the copula is only expressed as person inflection on the noun or adjective, and there may be a subject pronoun as well (see example 4.11).

- (4.11) *Ben çok yorgun-um.*
 I very tired-1SG.
 “I am very tired”

In existential constructions, genitive pronouns are used instead of nominative subject pronouns, creating possessive third person subject NPs (see example 4.12).

- (4.12) *Ben-im yeni bir araba-m var.*
 I-POSS.1SG new one car-POSS.1SG exis.PRES
 “I have a new car” (literally “my new car exists”)

Among these four categories, the ratio of subject pronouns in comparison to other subject expressions (within the same clause type) was the highest for reported speech constructions, both in NL-Turkish and in TR-Turkish (18.2% vs. 19.6%, see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Subject Pronoun use in different clause types

	NL-Turkish		TR-Turkish	
	With Overt Subject Pronouns	Total number of Clauses	With Overt Subject Pronouns	Total number of Clauses
Simplex Clauses	224 (12.4%)	1805	235 (12.7%)	1849
Copula Clauses	103 (9.3%)	1104	103 (9.0%)	1136
Complex Clauses	77 (16.2%)	473	88 (13.5%)	652
Reported Speech Clauses	14 (18.2%)	76	30 (19.6%)	153
Total	418	3458	456	3790

However, the focus in this study will only be on simplex clauses, since more than half of the subject pronouns occurred in simplex clauses in both data sets (224 out of 418 in NL-Turkish and 235 out of 456 in TR-Turkish). This allows for better chances of reliable statistical comparison. Moreover, recall that the use of subject pronouns is rather restricted in complex and reported speech clauses. Copula clauses are a complex category in terms of subject pronouns since they behave differently in existential and possessive copula clauses. Furthermore, they often have third person subject referents and these tend to be lexical rather than pronominal. Consequently, the use of subject pronouns in copula clauses is also left for future research.

4.7.2 Subject pronoun use in NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish simplex clauses

The domain of inquiry for this analysis is simplex clauses, defined here as those that contain a finite verb, of which the subject could be a personal pronoun (cf. Flores and Toro, 2000). The following clause types and units were excluded from the analyses:

- a) Imperatives, since they do not make use of subject pronouns.
- b) Totally fixed units or units that behave like discourse markers, since the use or non-use of subject pronouns is already part of the fixed form. (see Appendix A and B).

To get a global picture, simplex clauses in the NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish data were analyzed in terms of the three different elements that can fill the subject role. The analyses

revealed that null subjects are used much more frequently than pronominal or nominal subjects, in both data sets (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4: What appears in the subject area in NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish simplex clauses?

Data	NP	NULL	PRO	Total number of simplex clauses ³⁹
NL-Turkish	221 (15%)	1025 (70%)	215 (15%)	1461 (100%)
TR-Turkish	252 (16%)	1130 (70%)	229 (14%)	1611 (100%)

The differences between NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish in terms of the use of null, pronominal and nominal subjects are statistically not significant (for NPs: $t_9 = -1.116$, $p = 293$; for null subjects: $t_9 = -1.382$, $p = 200$, for subject pronouns: $t_9 = -1.192$, $p = 264$, $p > .005$).

Null subjects⁴⁰ were also reported as the most frequent subject expressions in a study comparing Danish-Turkish bilingual children (63%) to monolingual Turkish children (65%) (Özcan et al. 2000). However, it is not clear how they analyzed the rest of the subject expressions. The ratios of subject pronoun usage seem to be similar to those in Spanish (20%, Davidson 1996) and in Italian (17%, Oliveira 2000).

These analyses do not reveal any differences between NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish in terms of subject pronoun use. However, this does not mean that there are no NL-Turkish subject pronoun constructions that sound unconventional to TR-Turkish speakers. A qualitative analysis revealed that there were indeed unconventional constructions in NL-Turkish. However, before discussing these unconventional constructions, we will first discuss the conventional subject pronoun constructions of a TR-Turkish speaker (see section 4.4 for the motivation for this step).

4.8 A TR-Turkish speaker's repertoire of subject pronoun constructions

This section presents an analysis of constructions in which subject pronouns are used in the speech of one TR-Turkish speaker and only in simplex clauses. The result is an inventory of eight different constructions.

³⁹ The total number excludes the imperatives and fixed units.

⁴⁰ However, it is not clear how they analyzed the rest of the subject expressions.

a. “Personal Initial Response” construction

Recall that the spoken data of TR-Turkish come from conversations between an interviewer and a TR-Turkish speaker, who did not know each other in advance. Due to this nature, the interviewer often asked questions for which the informant provided answers. Since the interviewer and the informant met for the first time, the interviewer addressed the TR-Turkish informant with the second person plural subject pronoun *siz*, which is the polite form to use when addressing strangers.

In these question and answer pairs, when the interviewer asked a question beginning with *siz*, the initial response of the TR-Turkish speaker always started with *ben* “I” or *biz* “we” (the plural form often refers to 1sg in Turkish). Subsequent utterances in the same turn would generally not have overt pronouns, unless other factors called for them. Example 4.13 illustrates the use of this construction. In this particular context, the informant was talking about the food guests were served during her son’s circumcision festivities.

- (4.13) A: *Siz ne yap-tı-nız?*
You what make-PAST-2SG?
“What did you do (serve?)”
B: *Biz çorba yap-tık.*
We soup make-PAST-1PL.
“We served soup”.

The representation of this construction that is probably close to what speakers use in producing such examples is:

- A: [*Siz X V misiniz?*] “YOU_{POLITE} X V QP_{2sg}”
B: [*Ben/Biz X V*] “I/we X V”

b. “Inclusion in the Group” construction

This construction is used when the speaker puts herself/himself in a hypothetical group of referents who share an activity, a state, a belief etc. Example 4.14 illustrates this construction in a typical context. First, the interviewer announces that she does not know how milky bread (a traditional bread type from the Kırşehir region) is made and asks the informant to describe it. The informant, in return, admits that s/he does not know the exact procedure either. By using the construction [*Ben de V-neg*] “I also V-neg”, the informant sides with the interviewer and includes herself in the group of people who do not know how milky bread is made. The construction marks solidarity.

- (4.14) A: *Nasıl bir şey sütlü pide?*
 How a thing milky bread.
 “What is that milky bread?”
- B: *Ben de tam bil-mi-yor-um.*
 I also precise know-NEG-PROG-1SG.
 “I also don’t know precisely”

All the constructions that had this meaning included the particle *da* following the subject pronoun. Therefore, the partially schematic template for this construction is: [*Ben/Biz de X V*] “I/we X V”.

c) “Sharing Personal Information” construction

When the speaker wants to give some personal information that is not directly relevant to the immediate topic of the conversation, s/he uses a construction with the first person singular or plural subject pronoun, SOV order, and sometimes a discourse marker in sentence initial position. Example 4.5, repeated here as 4.15, illustrates the use of this construction. Recall that the speaker was talking about the fact that someone else was taking care of her sons in the nearby town Mucur and then realizes that the interviewer might be missing the information that she works in Kırşehir but lives in Mucur. The pragmatic effect is that the speaker shares some relevant personal information needed to keep the conversation coherent.

- (4.15) A: *Dayım-ın hanım-ı bak-ıyor oğl-um-a Mucur-da*
 Uncle-GEN wife-POSS.3SG take.care-PROG.3S son-poss.3sg-dat Mucur-in
 “My uncle’s wife is taking care of my son in Mucur”
- A: *Ben Mucurda otur-uyor-um.*
 I Mucur-LOC sit-PROG-1SG.
 “I live in Mucur”

The construction was recurrent and occurred in the following partially schematic templates:

[*İşte Biz V*] “that.is.to say we V”, [*Bir de ben V*] “Also I V”, [*Yani ben V*] “I mean I V”, [*Biz mesela V*] “We for.example V”, [*Biz çok V*] “We a.lot V”, [*Ben AP V*] “I AP V”, [*Biz hep DO V*] “We always DO V”.

All these partially schematic templates serve the purpose of clarifying or providing additional information about an unclear aspect of the conversation.

d) “Contrastive” constructions

In the data, there were five constructions which conveyed a contrastive meaning centered on the subject referent, though there are slight differences in meaning, which will be illustrated below.

i. “X didn’t do A but Y did” construction

In this particular contrastive construction, the speaker contrasts himself/herself with another referent in the sense that s/he did not do a certain activity but someone else did. In example 4.16, the speaker has just said that her husband is from another region, where they have different dishes. Instead of learning how to make those dishes that he is used to eating, she kept making her own dishes and he got used to eating them.

- (4.16) A: *Ben o-nun yemek-ler-i-ni öğren-me-di-m.*
I s/he-GEN dish-PL-POSS.3SG-ACC learn-NEG-PAST-1SG.
“I did not learn (how to make) his dishes.”
- A: *O ben-im yemek-ler-i-mi öğren-di.*
He I-POSS.1SG dish-PL-POSS.3SG-ACC learn-PAST.3SG.
“He learned (how to eat) my dishes”.

The template for this partially schematic construction is:

- [*Ben DO V_a-NEG.*] “I DO V_a-NEG”
[*O DO V_a*] “S/he DO V_a”

Note that the same verb root is used in both parts of the construction, and one of them is negated.

ii. “X did A but Y did B” construction

In this construction both the subject referents and the activities named by the verb are contrastive to each other. In example 4.17, the speaker was explaining that there is always a competition among women at tea parties about making different cookies.

- (4.17) A: *O bunu yap-tı ben şunu yap-tı-m.*
S/he this do-PAST.3SG I hat do-PAST-1SG.
“S/he did this, I did that”.

The partially schematic templates for this construction in the data are: [*O DO_bV_a*] “S/he DO_b V_a” [*Ben DO_c V_a*] “I DO_c V_a”. In both parts of the construction, the same verb is usually used.

iii. “You say this we say that” construction

This construction is actually a more specific instantiation of construction type (ii). It is used when the speaker contrasts herself to others about what to call something. In example 4.18, the speaker was comparing her regional dishes to those of the interviewer’s.

- (4.18) A: *Siz makarna di-yor-sunuz biz manti⁴¹ di-yor-uz.*
You macaroni say-PROG-2SG we manti say-PROG-1PL.
“You name this macaroni and we name it manti”.

The construction has in fact exactly the same template as type (ii), only more specific, in the sense that the subject pronouns and the verbs are fixed, whereas the direct objects differ:

[Siz DO_a Di-yor-sunuz] “You DO say-prog-2sg”

[Biz DO_b Di-yor-uz] “We DO say-prog-1pl”

iv. “Claiming Outsider Status” construction

In this construction, the speaker puts herself/himself outside of a group because s/he does not share an experience or a certain belief. In example 4.19, the speaker was complaining that she always missed the latest news in her neighborhood because she worked during the day.

- (4.19) A: *Apartman-da bir sürü şey ol-uyor-muş.*
Apartment-LOC a.lot.of thing happen-PROG-PAST.3SG.
“Apparently, a lot of things happen in our apartment building”
A: *Ben hep sonradan duy-uyor-um.*
I always later hear-PROG-1SG.
“I always hear afterwards”.

In the data, the construction occurred in the following partially schematic templates: [Ben yeni V] “I only.now V”, [Ben çok V-neg] “I a.lot V-neg”, [Ben sonradan V] “I later V”.

Note that the subject pronoun is always used in the sentence initial position and five of the six verbs in this construction were perception verbs (*see* and *hear*) except one, which is, however, also a cognition verb (*know*).

⁴¹ Home made pasta, similar to ravioli.

v. “*Emphasis on One Referent*” construction

Finally, there is the prototypical “Argument Focus” construction in which the speaker puts the most prominent argument in the immediately preverbal position, which is associated with focus in Turkish. If this argument is the subject, subject pronouns may appear here. In the data, this was the first person pronoun 8 out of 11 time. This suggests that the more specific unit “Emphasis on Self” may be the relevant construction in many of these utterances. Example 4.20 illustrates the use of this construction. The informant was describing the tasks that go with her function at work. She was responsible for checking and paying the extra expenditures of the personnel. By putting the subject pronoun *ben* in the immediately preverbal position, she puts emphasis on herself, meaning that it is her who checks these expenditures for the factory, and not anyone else.

- (4.20) A: *Yani şöyle anlatayım.*
“Let me tell you in this way.”
A: *Personelin bütün özel kesintileri bana.*
“All the special expenditures come to me.”
A: *Telefondu fırındı, kişisel görüşmeleri”.*
“Telephones, bakery, personal calls,.”
A: *Harcama-lar falan onlar-a ben bak-ıyor-um işte.*
Expenditure-PL etc they-DAT I check-PROG-1SG DM.
“Expenditures etc I check those, that is to say”.

The following partially schematic templates were observed for this construction: [IO *Ben* V] “IO I V”, [PP *Biz* V] “PP we V”, [AP *Ben* V] “AP I V”, [AP *Ben* V IO] “AP I V IO”, [*işte onlar* V] “that.is.to say they V”, [O V AP] “S/he V AP”, [O V DO] “S/he V DO”.

Summary

Table 4.5 is an inventory of the subject pronoun constructions of one TR-Turkish speaker. Eight different constructions, five of them exhibiting some type of contrastive meaning, all share the fact that they include an overt subject pronoun. Each is instantiated at least once in the speech of this speaker.

Table 4.5: Subject Pronoun Constructions in TR-Turkish

Type of the Construction	Frequency
<i>“Personal Initial Response” Construction</i>	4
<i>“Inclusion in the Group” Construction</i>	10
<i>“Sharing Personal Information” Construction</i>	11
<i>“Contrastive” Constructions</i>	
“X didn’t do A but Y did” Construction	1
“X did A but Y did B” Construction	4
“You Say This We Say That” Construction	6
“Claiming Outsider Status” Construction	6
“Emphasis on one Referent” Construction	11
Total	53

It is possible that the analyses of other speakers’ speech may uncover additional partially schematic constructions and these may have different frequencies for different speakers.

The subject pronoun constructions reported in this section serve as the basis for investigating unconventionality in NL-Turkish. Although there are no significant differences between NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish in terms of the frequency of use of individual subject pronouns (see section 4.7), there were some subject pronoun constructions in NL-Turkish that sounded unconventional to TR-Turkish speakers. Section 4.9 investigates these constructions.

4.9 Unconventional subject pronoun constructions in NL-Turkish

Unconventionality refers to constructions which sound different to TR-Turkish ears, due to subject pronoun use in this case. Some of the unconventional constructions in NL-Turkish betrayed Dutch influence. The translations are often clearly recognizable as such, although there is rarely a perfect one to one correspondence between a Dutch original and the Turkish rendition.

The analysis procedure started with the identification of all unconventional constructions in the NL-Turkish data. As a second step, a panel of TR-Turkish speakers was consulted for the confirmation/disconfirmation of the unconventionality. In case of confirmed unconventionality, the judges also provided the conventional equivalent of the construction in TR-Turkish. Cases for which there was disagreement about the unconventionality were grouped as “uncertain”. Finally, the Dutch equivalents were established with the help of five Dutch speakers, for the investigation of possible Dutch influence.

As a result of this analysis, three types of unconventional constructions were observed:

- a) *Unconventional use of subject pronoun constructions*: The unconventionality in these cases is due to the use of constructions with overt subject pronouns where TR-Turkish would use constructions with a null subject (the subject pronouns in these constructions are usually regarded as “redundant”, both by TR-Turkish speakers and in traditional pro-drop analyses).
- b) *Unconventional placement of subject pronouns*: This type of unconventionality concerns constructions with an overt subject pronoun in the immediately preverbal area, where TR-Turkish would use constructions with the pronoun in a different position to avoid the focus interpretation associated with the immediately preverbal position.
- c) *Addition of a new construction*: NL-Turkish also made use of a new syntactic pattern, probably borrowed from Dutch (which could be regarded as filling a systemic gap in Turkish, cf. Campbell 1993).

These constructions will now be discussed in detail.

4.9.1 Unconventional use of subject pronoun constructions

This section includes five unconventional constructions, where TR-Turkish would have used a null subject construction to convey the same meaning. These cases are traditionally analyzed as “redundant” subject pronouns.

i. [I don't know] construction

In example 4.21a, the use of the subject pronoun in the construction [*ben ne bil-eyim*] “I don't know” is identified as redundant by TR-Turkish speakers. This is probably because it implies a strong contrast for them, although the NL-Turkish speaker did not intend it here. In this context, TR-Turkish speakers would have used the null subject construction.

- (4.21a) A: *Annem çok kötü babam biraz daha iyi ama onunki de süper değil #*
 “My mother is really bad my father is a bit better but his is also not that super
yani kendini anlatacak kadar biliyo ama çok zor durumları tabi anlatamaz
kendi yani.
 “I mean he knows as much as to tell things about himself but he cannot talk
 about difficult situations himself I mean”.
- A: *Teknik şey-ler mesela [ben ne bil-eyim]*
 Technical thing-PL for.example. I what know-OPT. #
bil-iyor ama o kadar fazla bil-mi-yor.

know-PROG.3SG but that much know-NEG-PROG.3SG.

“Technical things, for example, **I don’t know** # he knows a bit but not that much.”

Both Turkish and Dutch have a fixed construction for “I don’t know”, with the function of a discourse filler that helps the speaker win time while thinking. Dutch makes use of the following expression:

(4.21b) *Ik weet het niet*⁴².
I know.PRES it not.

Turkish, on the other hand, has three translation equivalents:

(4.21c) *Ne bil-e-yim*.
what know-OPT-1SG.

(4.21d) *Ne bileyim ben*.
what know-OPT-1SG I.

(4.21e) *Ben ne bil-e-yim*.
I what know-OPT-1SG.

The first Turkish form (4.21c) corresponds to the Dutch filler described above. The difference between 4.21c and 4.21d is not very clear to TR-Turkish judges. However, when they were detecting unconventionality in example 4.21a, all of them pointed out the presence of the subject pronoun rather than its position. Therefore, we take the null subject form 4.21c as the conventional form in this context.

Construction 4.21e, on the other hand, conveys a completely different meaning. It is used as a rhetorical question (example 4.22). Since the NL-Turkish speaker did not intend this meaning in the context above, the use of [*ben ne bileyim*] sounds unconventional to TR-Turkish speakers.

(4.22) A: Where are my socks?

B: How can I know? (*with a bit of annoyance*)

The difference among the three Turkish constructions becomes more obvious in a Google search since there is a marked difference in frequency. The form *ne bileyim* has many

⁴² In spoken Dutch, the subject is reduced to “k” and the object to “t” in most cases, which reflects the unit status of the expression.

more hits (i.e. is used more frequently) than *ne bileyim ben* (405.000 vs. 42.500). The third form has the least hits (9.830), which confirms that it is quite marked.

The use of the subject pronoun construction may be due to the fact that the Dutch equivalent (4.21b) also makes use of an overt subject pronoun. However, to what extent this reflects a propagating change (cf. Chapter 1) in Dutch Turkish is unclear: the use of this unconventional expression was observed only three times in the speech of only one NL-Turkish speaker. It is possible that this construction is entrenched for this particular speaker but not for other speakers in the community.

ii. [As far as I know] construction

The unconventionality in example 4.23a is due the use of the subject pronoun construction which conveys an unintended contrastive meaning for TR-Turkish speakers. The NL-Turkish speaker was explaining why a local product in Çorum is popular all over Turkey.

(4.23a) A: *Sonuçta Türkiyede öyle bir kültür var.*

“As a matter of fact there is such a culture in Turkey.

Her vilayetin kendine göre has bir ürünü olur falan. Yani Çoruma da leblebiyi yakıştırmışlar.

“Every city has a product of its own. They have assigned to Çorum the leblebi⁴³”.

A: *Ama ben-im bil-diğ-im kadar-ı-yla Çorum-dan*
 But I-POSS.1SG know-NOM-1SG amount-POSS.3SG-COM. Çorum-ABL.
daha iyi daha fazla üret-il-en yer-ler var.
 More better more more produce-PASS-NOM place-PL exist.PRES.
 “But as far as I know there are other places that produce leblebi more than Çorum”.

The fixed construction “as far as I know” has two forms in TR-Turkish, one with and one without a subject pronoun (cf. example 4.21c, 4.21d, 4.21e).

(4.23b) TR-T 1: *Ben-im bil-diğ-im kadar-ı-yla*
 I-POSS.1SG know-NOM-POSS.1SG amount-POSS.3SG-COM

(4.23c) TR-T 2: *Bil-diğ-im kadar-ı-yla*
 know-NOM-POSS.1SG amount-POSS.3SG-COM.

⁴³ *Leblebi* is roasted chickpeas, mostly produced in the city of Çorum

A Google search for the two Turkish constructions revealed that the one without the pronoun (4.23c) is much more frequent (684.000 hits) than the one with the pronoun (4.23b, 77.700 hits). TR-Turkish speakers cannot easily identify a semantic difference between the two constructions, but similar to example 4.21a, all the TR-Turkish judges assigned unconventionality to the use of the subject pronoun. As one judge explains, the construction [*benim bildiğim kadarıyla*], with the subject pronoun sounds like the speaker has bigger doubts about the truth value of what s/he will say next, indicating that there might be some counterevidence. This suggests that the use of the first person pronoun adds a contrastive connotation to the expression, which can be rendered in English through “as far as I can tell”, with stress on the pronoun. However, since there is no intention like this in the given context, the subject pronoun construction sounds unconventional to TR-Turkish speakers.

It seems to be the case that the NL-Turkish speaker has partially copied the form of the Dutch expression into Turkish, by producing the form with the pronoun. In Dutch there is only one form [*voor zo ver ik weet*] “for so far I know”, which includes the subject pronoun.

(4.23d) *voor zo ver ik weet.*
 for so far I know.

Similar to example 4.21a, this unconventional construction was observed for only one NL-Turkish speaker in the data (who used it twice). It is tempting to say that the speaker copied the Dutch construction since it resembles the Dutch equivalent (4.23d) literally. However, since it is used only two times by the same speaker, more information is needed before we can safely attribute this unconventionality to Dutch influence.

iii. Extension of “*Emphasis on One Referent*” construction

The unconventionality in example 4.24a is due to the fact that the NL-Turkish speaker makes use of a subject pronoun construction where TR-Turkish speakers would have used a null subject construction. In this particular context, the speaker was complaining about Turkish TV channels. He did not want to watch them because of all the aggression they broadcast.

(4.24a) A: *Ben bak-tığ-ım zaman moral-im bozul-uyor.*
 I look-NOM-1SG time spirit-POSS.1SG damage-PROG-3SG.
 “When I look at (those TV shows), I get depressed”.

This construction conveys contrastiveness (as in the “*Emphasis on One Referent*” Construction) to TR-Turkish speakers (e.g. “I get depressed when I look at those programs

but others do not”) but this is not the intention of the NL-Turkish speaker. In the same context, TR-Turkish speakers would use the null subject construction (example 4.24b), to convey a “Topic Maintenance” meaning:

- (4.24b) *Bak-tığ-ım zaman moral-im bozul-uyor.*
 Look-NOM-1SG time spirit-POSS.1SG damage-PROG-3SG.
 “When I look at (those TV shows), I get depressed”.

It seems to be the case that NL-Turkish speakers have extended the meaning of the “Emphasis on One Referent” construction. The mismatch between its inherited meaning (see section 4.8) and its meaning in the present example (of “Topic maintenance” or absence of emphasis) is a type of semantic bleaching. We will come back to this point in section 4.10 and further in Chapter 5.

In terms of contact effects, it is possible to argue that the subject pronoun in the equivalent Dutch construction (4.24c) might have triggered the unconventional subject pronoun use in NL-Turkish. However, once more such a claim must remain as a hypothesis at this stage of our knowledge.

- (4.24c) *Als ik ernaar kijk, word ik depressief*
 When I there look.PRES, become.PRES I depressive.
 “If I look at it, I become depressive”.

The second example in this category also illustrates a case of unconventionality due to a meaning not normally conveyed by the “Emphasis on One Referent” construction. In example 4.25a, the speaker was talking about the difficulties of living in Amsterdam.

- (4.25a) A: *Ora-nın bir şey-i var, o-nu ben sev-me-m.*
 There-GEN one thing-POSS.3SG exist, that-ACC I like-NEG-1SG.
 “There is something there that I do not like”

What causes the unconventionality for TR-Turkish speakers is not only the use of the overt subject pronoun (which conveys an, unintended, contrastive meaning) but also the use of two finite clauses instead of a relative clause construction. In the same context, a TR-Turkish speaker would have used a relative clause construction without a subject pronoun:

- (4.25b) *Ora-nın sev-me-diğ-im bir şey-i var.*
 There-GEN like-NEG-REL-1SG one thing-POSS.3SG exist.
 “There is something about that place that I don’t like.”

The Dutch equivalent (4.25c), on the other hand, makes use of two finite clauses and a subject pronoun, which looks similar to the NL-Turkish version (4.25a).

- (4.25c) *Er is daar iets wat ik niet leuk vind.*
There is there something that I not nice find.PRES.
“There is something there that I don’t like”.

Due to Dutch influence, the NL-Turkish speaker may have opted for the two finite clauses, and this may have triggered the unconventional pronoun use as a consequence.

iv. “Yes/No question” construction

When answering simple “Yes/No questions” (a typical Topic Maintenance situation), subject pronoun constructions are not normally used in TR-Turkish unless there is something contrastive in the context. In example 4.26a, this convention is violated through the use of a subject pronoun construction. In this part of the conversation, the speaker was describing what his uncles were doing for a living.

- (4.26a) A: *Çalış-ıyor mu onlar?*
Work-PROG QP They
“Do they work?”
B: *Onlar çalış-ıyor.*
They work-PROG.3PL.
“They work”.

In this context, a TR-Turkish speaker would have used a null subject construction to convey the “Topic Maintenance” aspect (example 4.26b):

- (4.26b) *Evet/çalış-ıyor.*
Yes/work-PROG.3SG.

In Dutch, of course, a pronoun is used in such contexts.

- (4.26c) *Ja /Ze werk-en.*
Yes/They work.PRES-3PL.

For that reason, it is again possible to argue for Dutch influence, but note that it is hard to see what would be positive evidence for the claim. Also, due to the very low frequency in the data it is not possible to claim an on-going change in NL-Turkish at the moment.

v. **[Do you mean X ?] construction: An uncertain case of unconventionality**

Finally, there was a construction for which it was hard to decide whether it is unconventional or not. One NL-Turkish speaker in our sample used many second person singular subject pronouns in question forms, as in example 4.27a.

(The NL-Turkish speaker was describing where his parents come from in Turkey)

- (4.27a) A: *Yani babaannem-in falan mi di-yo-sun sen?*
That.is.to.say grandmother-GEN etc. QP say-PROG-2SG you?
“You mean like (the place) of my grandmother’s or what?”

When asked their judgments, TR-Turkish speakers identified this form as unconventional since they would prefer to say the following:

- (4.27b) *Yani babaannem-in falan mi di-yor-sun?*
That.is.to.say grandmother-GEN etc. QP say-PROG-2SG ?

This is probably due to the fact that the use of this subject pronoun construction is associated with a high degree of implied criticism, suggesting disapproval on the part of the speaker as in example 4.28⁴⁴:

- (4.28) *Bu-na çorba mu di-yor-sun sen?*
This-DAT soup QP say-PROG-2SG you?
“Do you call this soup?”

In terms of Dutch influence, the same caveat as for examples 4.26a, 4.25a, 4.24a and 4.23a holds for this example as well. It was only observed five times in the data and all of them were used by the same speaker. On the one hand, it is rather tempting to assume Dutch influence since Dutch makes use of a subject pronoun in this context, cf. 4.27c:

- (4.27c) *Bedoel je die van mijn oma of zo?*
Mean you one of my grandmother or what?

However, not all TR-Turkish judges agreed on the unconventionality. One judge explained his doubts as “it is not completely wrong to use a subject pronoun, but there is still something that does not sound right to me”. Perhaps, it is just the personal style of the speaker to address the other speaker with a subject pronoun and create intimacy. It may be

⁴⁴ If this construction had occurred in the speech of the TR-Turkish speaker investigated in section 4.8, it would have been included in the inventory.

relevant to know that this informant is a politician in the Turkish community, where he often uses informal terms of address to establish intimacy with his voters.

4.9.2 Unconventional placement of subject pronouns

In the previous section, the unconventionality was due to the use of constructions with subject pronouns in NL-Turkish instead of the null subject ones that TR-Turkish speakers would use. The result can be described as a change in the semantics of the construction involved.

The examples in this section present the unconventionality due to the position of the subject pronoun rather than to its presence. That is, TR-Turkish speakers would use a different subject pronoun construction in the given context.

Since the constructions that are used already existed in TR-Turkish, what caused unconventionality is again the use of these constructions with a new meaning in NL-Turkish.

i. Use of “Emphasis on One Referent” construction’s Template with the Meaning of “Sharing Personal Information” construction

In example 4.29a, the interviewer has asked the NL-Turkish speaker whether she has been to Istanbul. Instead of answering this question directly, the informant said that she could not bear the heat, meaning that this was the reason why she did not like going to Istanbul in summer.

- (4.29a) A: *Zaten sıcağ-a ben dayan-a-mı-yor-um.*
Anyway heat-DAT I bear-ABLE-NEG-PROG-1SG.
“I cannot bear the heat anyway”

In this way, she changed the topic of the conversation by sharing a piece of relevant personal information with the interviewer. Conventionally (i.e. in TR-Turkish), this construction has SOV order, in which the subject is in initial position (4.29b) or it is preceded by the adverb (4.29c, cf. see “Sharing Personal Information” construction in Section 4.8):

- (4.29b) *Ben zaten sıcağ-a dayan-a-mı-yor-um.* ([S.Pro *zaten* IO V])
I anyway heat-DAT bear-ABLE-NEG-PROG-1SG.
“I cannot bear the heat”
- (4.29c) *Zaten ben sıcağ-a dayan-a-mı-yor-um.* ([*Zaten* S.Pro IO V])
Anyway I heat-DAT bear-ABLE-NEG-PROG-1SG.
“I cannot bear the heat”

The unconventionality stems from the fact that the NL-Turkish speaker uses the template associated with the “Emphasis on One Referent” construction to convey the meaning of the “Sharing Personal Information” construction.

Dutch influence is not as obvious as it is in lexical examples (cf. Chapter 3) or in some of the other examples in this chapter. However, it is possible that due to contact with Dutch, the association of the immediately preverbal position with focus is weakened in NL-Turkish. In Dutch, the subject pronoun is routinely found in the immediately preverbal position without attracting focus (see example 4.29d):

- (4.29d) *Ik kan eigenlijk niet tegen de warmte*⁴⁵.
I can anyway not against the warmth.
“I cannot stand the heat, anyway”

Since there is only one case of this type of unconventionality, it is too early to speak of a change by any stretch of the imagination.

ii. [Only You] Construction

There is one expression in which the unconventionality is due to the placement of the subject pronoun rather than its mere presence. This is the [Only You] construction.

In example 4.30a, the NL-Turkish speaker was complaining that he could not invite Dutch friends home because nobody else in the family spoke Dutch.

- (4.30a) A: *Hollandalı-lar-la sen tek iyi iletişim kur-abil-iyor-sun.*
Dutch-PL-COM. you only good communication establish-ABLE-PROG-2SG.
“Only you are able to communicate with the Dutch”.

The construction [*sen tek*] “you only” sounds unconventional to TR-Turkish speakers because the conventional version has the reverse order:

- (4.30b) *Hollandalı-lar-la tek sen iyi iletişim kur-abil-iyor-sun.*
Dutch-PL-COM only you good communication establish-ABLE-PROG-2SG.

At first sight, the unconventionality seems attributable to Dutch influence since Dutch allows the order found in the NL-Turkish example.

⁴⁵ It is also possible to translate the Turkish example as *Eigenlijk kan ik niet tegen de warmte* “Anyway can I not against the warmth”, in which the position of the subject changes due to the V2 rule of Dutch. However, this change in word order does not imply a change in meaning. The whole sentence still conveys new information (i.e. it instantiates the “Sharing Personal Information” Construction).

- (4.30c) *Met Nederlander-s kun jij alleen goed communiceren.*
 With Dutch-PL can you only good communicate-PRES.

However, this order is only used when the prepositional phrase is topicalized. Otherwise the word order is the same as in Turkish.

- (4.30d) *Alleen jij kunt goed communiceren met de Nederlanders.*
 Only you can good communicate with the Dutch-PL.

Therefore, it is unclear whether this has anything to do with Dutch influence. Since there were only two cases in the data, produced by only one informant, it cannot be claimed that the unconventionality is widespread in NL-Turkish.

4.9.3 Addition of a new construction: Left detachment

Left detachment is the placement of an item in the left margin of the clause, in a syntactically independent way. The detached part normally introduces the topic of the following clause and its referent then surfaces as the subject of that clause (Lambrecht 1994). Although this construction is quite common in Dutch, it is not allowed in Turkish. The copying of this construction from Dutch to NL-Turkish creates unconventionality for TR-Turkish speakers. Contrary to all previous examples, it is due to the use of a previously unknown template in TR-Turkish.

In example 4.31a, both the NP (the left detachment) and the subject pronoun have the same subject referent.

- (4.31a) *Gazeteci-ler onlar sadece Türkçe konuş-mak isti-yor-lar.*
 Journalist-pl. they only Türkçe speak-nom want-prog-3pl.
 “The journalists, they only want to speak in Turkish.”

In TR-Turkish, there are two possibilities for rendering this meaning.

- a) A regular finite clause could be used with the topic surfacing as a nominal subject:

- (4.31b) *Gazeteci-ler sadece Türkçe konuş-mak isti-yor-lar.*
 Journalist-PL. only Turkish speak-NOM want-PROG-3PL.
 “Journalists only want to speak Turkish”

- b) Two finite clauses could be used:

- (4.31c) *Gazeteci-ler-i bil-iyor-sun,*
 Journalist-PL-ACC know-PROG-2SG

sadece Türkçe konuş-mak isti-yor-lar.

only Turkish speak-NOM want-PROG-3PL.

“You know the journalists, they only want to speak Turkish”.

The first finite clause is a partially schematic unit typically used for topicalization purposes [N-ACC *bil-iyor-sun*] “N-ACC know-PROG-2SG.”, “you know the journalists”. This clause functions as a discourse marker in the sense that it prepares the hearer for the second informative sentence.

The unconventionality can be attributed to Dutch influence, since the NL-Turkish construction closely follows the Dutch pattern.

- (4.31d) *Journalist-en, die willen alleen maar in het Turks praten.*
Journalist-PL they want-3PL only but in the Turkish talk.INF.
“The journalists, they only want to speak in Turkish”

This construction occurred only three times in the NL-Turkish data. Therefore, it is hard to tell whether this is enough to claim that NL-Turkish has adopted the “Left Detachment” Construction from Dutch.

4.9.4 Summary of unconventionality in NL-Turkish

Unconventionality in NL-Turkish was not only due to the mere presence or absence of subject pronouns but rather to the changes in the meaning of the constructions they appeared in. Recasting this in terms of Cognitive Linguistics, this is just a special case of the familiar phenomenon of semantic extension, or calquing of meaning, often shown to be a very pervasive phenomenon in contact situations. Constructions, like words, have meaning. Sometimes, the meaning of the TR-Turkish constructions is extended in NL-Turkish usage, and the hypothesis is that this is done on the basis of the meaning of the equivalent Dutch form. In these cases, NL-Turkish speakers made use of an existing construction, but used it with unconventional semantics. Often, this concerned “Argument Focus Constructions”, particularly, the “Emphasis on Self” construction, used in TR-Turkish to assign contrastive focus to the immediately preverbal subject pronoun. If this focus was not intended by the NL-Turkish speaker, unconventionality was the result. Note that in the word order study reported in Chapter 2, NL-Turkish focus placement also created unconventionality for TR-Turkish speakers. The fact that Dutch often has the [S.PRO V] sequence may be responsible for at least some of these occurrences. In addition to these unconventionally used templates, there was also one new construction, adopted from Dutch.

Table 4.6 illustrates the types and the frequencies of the unconventional subject pronoun constructions in NL-Turkish.

Table 4.6: Unconventional Subject Pronoun Constructions in NL-Turkish

Types of Unconventionality	Frequency
A. Unconventionality due to addition of subject Pronoun	
i. [<i>I don't know</i>] Construction	3
ii. [<i>As far as I know</i>] Construction	2
iii. Extension of "Emphasis on One Referent" Construction	2
iv. "Yes/No question" Construction	1
v. [<i>Do you mean X</i>] Construction (Uncertain Cases)	5
Total	13
B. Unconventionality due to Placement of Subject Pronoun	
i. Use of "Emphasis on One Referent" Construction's Template with the meaning of "Sharing Personal Information" Construction	1
ii. [<i>Only You</i>] Construction	2
Total	3
C. Addition of a new Construction: Left Detachment	
Total	3
Total number of Unconventional constructions with subject Pronouns in NL-Turkish	19
Total Number of Subject Pronoun Constructions in NL-Turkish	418

In sum, 19 unconventional cases of subject pronoun use were found in NL-Turkish data, and 5 of those were uncertain cases. Excluding these cases, the unconventionality is found only in 3% of the subject pronoun constructions in simplex clauses in NL-Turkish. In other words, NL-Turkish speakers used conventional subject pronoun constructions in most cases (97%).

To illustrate this, let's have a brief look the "Emphasis on one Referent" construction. In example 4.32, the NL-Turkish speaker was saying that he used to play soccer with his friends, but now they do not do it anymore, since they got older and busier. He immediately corrects himself, however, and adds that at least he himself does not play soccer anymore. To convey this, he uses the "Emphasis on One Referent" Construction, just like a TR-Turkish speaker would.

- (4.32) A: *Sonra bırak-tı-k*
 Later quit-PAST-1PL.
yani en azından ben oyna-mı-yor-um artık.
 I.mean at least I play-NEG-PROG-1SG anymore.
 “Then we quit, at least I don’t play anymore”

A case study of this construction in the NL-Turkish data revealed that it was used 32 times in simplex clauses in the NL-Turkish data; of these only three 3 cases were unconventional.

Similarly, NL-Turkish speakers made use of many null subject constructions. Example 4.33 is from a fragment in which the NL-Turkish speaker was talking about a Turkish literature class he took at university. Several utterances about his activities had preceded this clause, and in accordance with TR-Turkish conventions in ordinary topic maintenance contexts, he did not use a subject pronoun construction when he described an assignment he had to do for this class.

- (4.33) A: *Hollandaca bir hikaye-yi Türkçe-ye çevir-di-k.*
 Dutch one story-ACC Turkish-DAT translate-PAST-1PL.
 “We translated a Dutch story into Turkish”

TR-Turkish data, on the other hand, did not reveal any unconventional uses of subject pronoun construction.

4.10 Discussion and conclusion

The starting point of this article was to investigate whether NL-Turkish has increased its use of subject pronouns due to Dutch influence, which was expected to happen as a natural consequence of the contact between a pro-drop and a non pro-drop language.

Traditionally, the method of investigation is to check whether the subject pronouns have increased in number in comparison to the non-contact variety. No significant differences between the two varieties were found in terms of the total number of subject pronouns.

However, this does not necessarily mean that there is no on-going change in the use of subject pronouns in NL-Turkish. Change may be found in qualitative aspects of the use of subject pronouns, an aspect often discussed in terms of the syntax-pragmatics interface. According to this view, subject pronouns mainly fulfill a pragmatic role in the utterance; they signal contrast and topic change in Turkish (Enç 1986). Syntactically, their presence or

absence does not make a difference. Such analyses presuppose the strict division between syntax and pragmatics, typical of mainstream linguistics.

The present study, on the other hand, has adopted Cognitive Linguistics (especially Radical Construction Grammar) as its theoretical framework. This entails that, language is seen as an inventory of constructions, symbolic pairs of form and meaning, just like lexical items. They come in specific, partially schematic and schematic guises.

Based on this view, an utterance that contains an overt subject pronoun makes use of a different construction than the otherwise identical utterance with a null subject: the two are not in free variation.

Mainstream linguistics generally focuses on the maximally schematic level in discussions of pro-drop (e.g. Montrul 2004, Toribio 2004). This is the most abstract level of generalization. It has its uses, of course, but it does not make it easy to capture the subtle differences in meaning conveyed by different specific or partially schematic constructions. In line with the claim formulated above, the present study targeted the maximally specific and partially schematic constructions, with two objectives in mind:

1. To reveal the specific constructions that contribute to the family of subject pronoun constructions in Turkish.
2. To investigate whether there are differences between NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish speakers in terms of the use of these constructions.

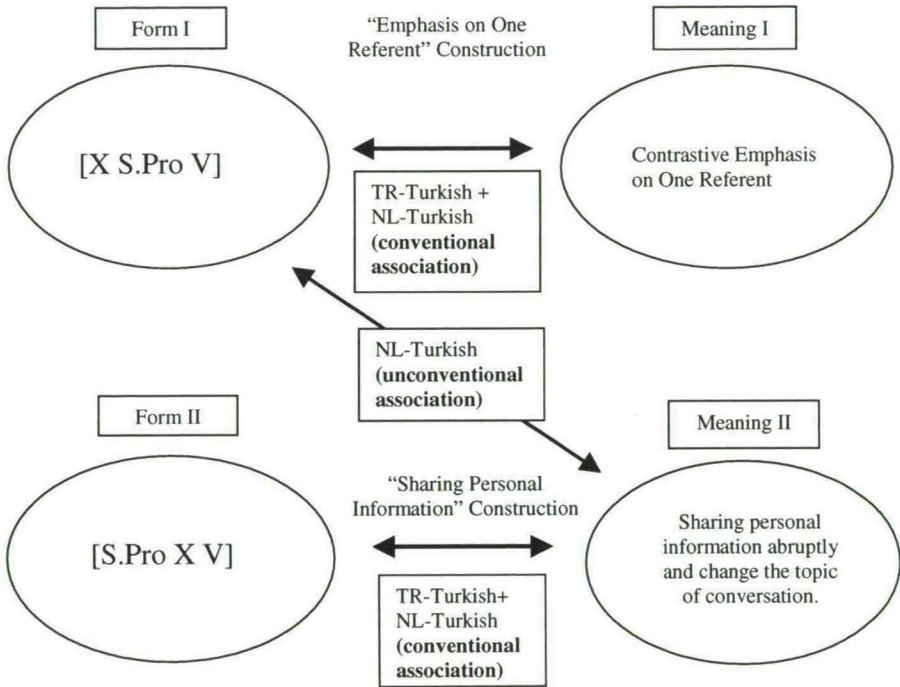
To tackle the first objective, all subject pronoun constructions in the speech of one TR-Turkish speaker were analyzed, though this analysis was limited to simplex sentences. It turns out that there are a number of constructions that involved the use of subject pronouns. Though these all have their own meaning, they can roughly be grouped under the more abstract headings of “Topic Shift” or “Contrast”, confirming the generalizations Enç (1986) arrived at.

As for the second objective, it was found that there are some subject pronoun constructions that are used in an unconventional way in NL-Turkish. Some of these were used where TR-Turkish speakers would have used a null subject construction, yielding what are often called “redundant pronouns”.

In other cases, a mismatch between form and meaning was the source of unconventionality for TR-Turkish judges. As illustrated in Figure 4.3, the template of the “Emphasis on One Referent” Construction (Form I) was used with the meaning that is associated with “Sharing Personal Information” Construction (Meaning II). The two constructions exist in both TR-Turkish and NL-Turkish, with their conventional forms and

meanings (Form I-Meaning I and Form II-Meaning II). When, however, NL-Turkish makes use of the template of the “Emphasis on One Referent” Construction (Form I) with the meaning of “Sharing Personal Information” construction (Meaning II), the former construction (“Emphasis on One Referent”) encroaches on the territory of the latter (“Sharing Personal Information”).

Figure 4.3: Unconventionality in NL-Turkish subject pronoun construction



This is similar to how [N *almak*] “N take” construction was analyzed in Chapter 3. This construction has extended its meaning to cover the meaning of “travel from one place to another by a vehicle” in NL-Turkish thereby encroaching on the territory of [N-DAT *binmek*] “N-DAT get.on” construction. We attributed this extension to Dutch influence since Dutch makes use of a similar template ([N *nemen*] “N take”) to convey the same meaning. We will come back to this parallellism in Chapter 5.

Only a few cases of unconventionality were found in NL-Turkish, so it is too early to say that subject pronoun constructions are undergoing change. First of all, in most cases, the specific type of unconventionality was unique to only one of the NL-Turkish speakers. Secondly, the type and token frequency was very low. As Rostila (2006) has pointed out, in order to be able talk about change in syntax, there must be a wide range of constructions that

adopt the new form (i.e. type frequency: for a change to take place in NL-Turkish subject pronouns, there should be a whole range of constructions that have Dutch-like subject pronoun use in many of their instantiations) and these new forms should be frequent in number in comparison to the conventional forms they are replacing (i.e. the proportion of Dutch-like unconventional subject pronoun constructions per type should be high). Unconventional subject pronoun constructions meet none of these conditions in NL-Turkish at the moment.

In line with previous findings (Chapter 2 and 3), this study showed that at the maximally schematic side, NL-Turkish is not undergoing significant structural change at the moment. However, individual specific and partially schematic units are sometimes used in ways that seem to reflect some copying from Dutch.

4.11 Limitations and directions for future research

Spontaneous conversations from two corpora were analyzed in this study. It is hard to make generalizations beyond the types of informants represented in these corpora. Considering that the informants represent only a small sample, replication of the present study with a larger data set may confirm or disconfirm these findings. In addition, the group of NL-Turkish speakers in this study was rather homogenous. NL-Turkish informants from different generations and backgrounds should be included in a replication study. It is possible that other NL-Turkish speakers, particularly people outside university circles, may show more Dutch influence.

Furthermore, this study focused on constructions with overt subject pronouns. Future research should also investigate null subject constructions and NP constructions to see whether there are any differences between the groups in their usage.

All the conversations were between an interviewer and an informant who did not know each other very well. This may have had an effect on the types of subject pronoun constructions that were used. It is possible that different types of subject pronoun constructions would be observed in less formal settings and in different contexts. In the case of unconventional constructions, direct evidence for Dutch influence is often hard to come by. Resemblance to the Dutch equivalent is only circumstantial evidence. It is not clear how this situation could be improved using corpus data, a larger data set with more diverse group of informants, could lead to firmer conclusions.

There is also a need for experimental evidence to see to what extent unconventional NL-Turkish subject pronoun constructions have been conventionalized in the community. At

the moment, we do not know whether the unconventional cases sound conventional to most of the NL-Turkish speakers or not? Information on this would shed some light on how far the putative changes have gone on their propagation path. We will come back to this point in Chapter 5.

In the same vein, there were sometimes disagreements about the conventionality of subject pronouns among the TR-Turkish judges. This reveals that there might be differences among TR-Turkish speakers in terms of the use of subject pronouns as well. Experimental evidence can reveal to what extent different subject pronoun constructions are conventional in TR-Turkish.

Finally, more cross-linguistic comparison (e.g. Spanish-English contact) is needed in the Radical Construction Framework, in order to outline the inventories of subject pronoun constructions in different languages and see which ones are apparently attractive in contact settings. It would be interesting to observe what happens to subject pronoun constructions when two languages that make use of null subject constructions enter into contact with each other. For example, contact among Turkic languages may be studied fruitfully in this respect.

5 Conclusions and Future Research

What makes NL-Turkish sound different than TR-Turkish? We started this research with the assumption that there must be something in NL-Turkish that makes it noticeably different from TR-Turkish. This in itself is not unexpected since in contact situations, languages influence each other and this influence manifests itself as changes in the language. The challenging part was finding out exactly which parts of the language made NL-Turkish sound “different” to TR-Turkish speakers. Dutch structural influence was initially expected in the syntactic subsystems that are different in Dutch and Turkish (e.g. word order and subject pronoun use). However, we found the on-going change primarily in less abstract levels, what we call “partially schematic units” in this study.

In this chapter, we will first provide an overview of the findings in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. Secondly, we will argue that all on-going change (lexical and structural) has its basis in semantic copying from Dutch. Thirdly, we will discuss the roles of conceptual space and semantic specificity in the copying process. These discussions will bring us back to the process of language change, introduced in Chapter 1. In section 5.4, we will provide a revised version of the change process in contact situations based on our findings. Finally, we will discuss some future research possibilities based both on our findings and in contact situations in general.

5.1 Empirical Results

Assuming that structural differences may lead to change in contact situations, the study reported in Chapter 2 investigated whether NL-Turkish adopted Dutch VO order. In order to investigate this, we analyzed all simplex clauses in our NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish data quantitatively (in terms of frequency) and qualitatively (in terms of information structure). The results revealed that OV order is highly dominant in both varieties. In terms of information structure analyses, there were a few violations of TR-Turkish conventions in the NL-Turkish data. In these cases, the association between the postverbal area and backgrounded information in Turkish was violated. Focused information cannot appear in the

postverbal area in Turkish, but since this is a common feature of Dutch, one might expect it to occur in NL-Turkish. Indeed, exhaustive analysis of all main clauses with VO order in the NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish data revealed that there were some “violations” of information structure in NL-Turkish, but only in 1% of all clauses. Most of these instances could be analyzed as the result of Dutch influence. Therefore, Chapter 2 concludes that there is no evidence for substantial change in NL-Turkish towards VO order, but that there are some constructions that sound unconventional to TR-Turkish speakers. Based on this finding, Chapter 3 focused on the analyses of unconventional constructions.

In Chapter 3, we made an attempt to identify and classify the features (in the NL-Turkish data) that sounded “different” to TR-Turkish speakers, without limiting ourselves to the traditional boundary between lexicon and syntax. These differences were not necessarily “ungrammatical” utterances in the sense that they violated Turkish grammar but they still sounded strange to TR-Turkish speakers. Therefore, they were classified as “unconventional”.

The first step was the identification of what exactly caused the unconventionality in the given unit, by comparing it closely to its TR-Turkish conventional counterpart. The challenge was the categorization of these units. Cognitive Linguistics provided the theoretical background for this categorization.

In the second step, all the unconventional cases were placed on a continuum based on the level of specificity of the violating elements. However, this could not always be done with absolute certainty. By definition, every utterance is produced at different levels of representation, from very specific to very schematic. At the very specific level we find actual words and morphemes; at the very schematic level, we find abstract templates. When we hear a conventional utterance we can never be sure which level of representation the speaker used in producing the various elements and constructions that s/he combined to form the utterance (cf. Bybee 2006). The source of unconventionality was used to determine the level of specificity per category of unconventional constructions.

In the third step, the unconventional utterances were compared to their Dutch equivalents to check for possible Dutch influence.

The results indicate that most of the unconventional cases are at the specific and partially schematic levels, rather than at the maximally schematic level, confirming the results of the first study. However, it must be emphasized that we used a conservative identification procedure that favors the more specific levels. In other words, when a particular type of unconventionality was found with only one lexical item, it was assumed to have

something to do with that word, rather than with the wider constructional environment (e.g. the partially schematic unit) or the more abstract syntactic structure. We will come back to this point in Section 5.2, where we discuss how specific instantiations of a construction may represent maximally and partially schematic units.

Most of the unconventionality seems to have its origin in Dutch influence, though there are also some unconventional cases that do not convey direct influence. However, since these unconventional constructions do not occur in the TR-Turkish data, they could be attributed to contact effects (cf. Thomason 2001: 62).

Analyses of the TR-Turkish data revealed some unconventionality as well. However, they were very few in number and different in terms of the types of unconventionality concerned. This strongly suggests that the on-going changes in the contact variety should be attributed to language contact and often to direct influence from the model language.

Finally, Chapter 4 reports on a study that verifies the conclusions of Chapters 2 and 3. It is an in-depth study of pro-drop, a feature of language that is widely assumed to be part of the core syntax (“maximally schematic” in our terminology), which entails that there are no specific lexical environments that accompany its use (no “selectional restrictions”, cf. Croft 2001: 180). In traditional grammatical theories, there is a separation between form and meaning. Based on this assumption, there is no difference between an overt and null subject pronoun syntactically. The difference lies in the discourse-pragmatic factors, which are assumed to have nothing to do with abstract syntax. In contact settings, there is often the expectation that the use of overt subject pronouns in a dominated pro-drop language (e.g. NL-Turkish) will increase if the dominant language (e.g. Dutch) has obligatory subject expression.

Inspired by Cognitive Linguistics, and in particular Radical Construction Grammar (Croft 2001) and Exemplar Representation (Bybee 2006), this chapter proposed an alternative analysis of the pro-drop phenomenon. Our starting point was the two features shared by these theories:

- a) *Grammar is usage based*: The grammar of a language is based on the compilation of specific instantiations that lead to schemata, rather than the opposite.
- b) *All linguistic units are symbolic*: There are units of form and meaning at every region of the specificity continuum.

In other words, the syntactic representation of a construction is not separate from its discourse-pragmatic meaning. Each construction with or without overt subject pronouns is

accepted as a unit with its own form and meaning. Since there is a unity in form and meaning, a subject pronoun is never redundant: there is just the choice between different constructions.

To establish a base line, we first identified and categorized the conventional subject pronoun constructions based on their meanings in one TR-Turkish speaker's speech. Next, we identified and classified NL-Turkish subject pronoun constructions in terms of unconventionality. Confirming the previous results, unconventionality in subject pronoun use was rather infrequent. In other words, NL-Turkish speakers were able to use subject pronoun constructions conventionally in most of the cases. The qualitative analyses revealed that unconventionality was mainly due to unintended contrastive meaning. In other words, the use of the subject pronoun constructions conveyed a contrastive meaning for TR-Turkish judges, while no such contrast was intended by NL-Turkish speakers. The rarity of unconventionality in subject pronoun use is very similar to what was found in Chapter 2 concerning unconventional word order.

In sum, all these studies conclude that the different character of NL-Turkish was not due to unconventional syntactic structure, but to the unconventional use of specific and partially schematic constructions. In the next section, we will argue that semantic equivalence is the basis of copying in most of the NL-Turkish unconventional constructions, and that this is achieved through the translation of specific and partially schematic Dutch constructions.

5.2 Semantic equivalence as the basis of copying

In Chapter 1 (section 1.5), it was suggested that semantic equivalence triggers structural copying (Owens 1996, Heine and Kuteva 2001, 2005; Johanson 2002 and Ross 2001, 2007). Semantic schemas are copied from the model language into the replica language through translation. During this copying process, the replica language makes use of its own morphemes and constructions in different combinations to convey the targeted meaning (semantics). In addition, Chapter 3 has illustrated that semantic transparency plays a role in the translation process. For example, in the case of *tren almak* "train take", the unconventionality was due to the literal translation of a Dutch construction, in which a pivotal morpheme (*nemen* "take") had a figurative meaning that was not shared by its Turkish equivalent *almak* "take". In this section, we will pursue this idea further and illustrate that translation is the mechanism for achieving semantic equivalence in the copying of Dutch structures into NL-Turkish.

It is clear that languages sometimes construe concepts differently and, as a result, express the same concept in different ways. For instance, Turks "get on" the train while

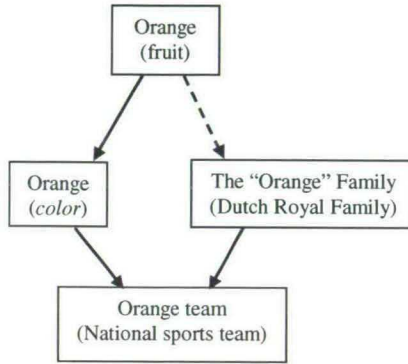
Dutch speakers “take” it (see Chapter 3). When a bilingual speaker uses a conceptualization from the second language while speaking the first, s/he will express that “foreign” conceptualization using the “native” equivalent morphemes and constructions⁴⁶, the so-called translation equivalents.

How does this translation process⁴⁷ work? First of all, the semantic equivalents of the foreign morphemes are searched for. The use of literal translation equivalents produces unconventionality and possibly causes communication problems. As was indicated in Chapter 3, what causes the misunderstanding is not the use of a completely new structure but rather the use of existing structures (e.g. [N *almak*] “N *take*” in Chapter 3) in new combinations, producing new meanings (e.g. denoting traveling via a certain vehicle). According to Györi (2002: 159), it is quite logical that speakers use existing structures in new ways and assign them new meanings, since doing so is more economical than creating completely new ways of expression. In the literature, this phenomenon is usually described as the semantic extension of individual words (Johanson 2002, Heine and Kuteva 2005). This can be modeled using Langacker’s (1991: 263) network model for polysemous lexical items. The node in the center of the network represents the global prototype as a basic meaning. The other nodes are extensions of this prototypical node. For example, if the lexical item “orange” prototypically denotes a type of fruit, the color “orange” is an extension used for denoting objects that have the color of the “orange” fruit (see Figure 5.1). A further node, even, is “The Orange Family” referring to the Dutch royal family, whose ancestors came from a town called Oranges in France. Whether this name has anything to do with the fruit is unknown (hence, it is indicated with dashed lines). The association between this family (as a symbol of national identity) and the color their name refers to, has produced a further node, the “Orange Team”, referring to national sports teams, which often wear orange outfits.

⁴⁶ Particularly when codeswitching is not possible, as in the present data. Particularly when codeswitching is not possible, as in the present data.

⁴⁷ This process refers to the innovation stage of the change.

Figure 5.1: Polysemy of words



However, there is no reason to limit this network model to lexical items: it can also be suggested for constructions. A partially schematic unit has a prototypical meaning, from which different extensions may emerge. For example, the basic meaning of the construction [N *almak*] is to take or receive a concrete object in one's hands, as in example (5.1):

- (5.1) *Askı-dan ceket-i-ni al-di.*
Hanger-abl. jacket-poss.3sg-acc take-past.3sg.
“(S/he) took his/her jacket from the hanger”

This basic meaning functions as the global prototype and is the central node in the network. Bybee (2006) calls the nodes of a network “exemplars” and suggests that the most frequent exemplar becomes the center (i.e. prototype) of the network.

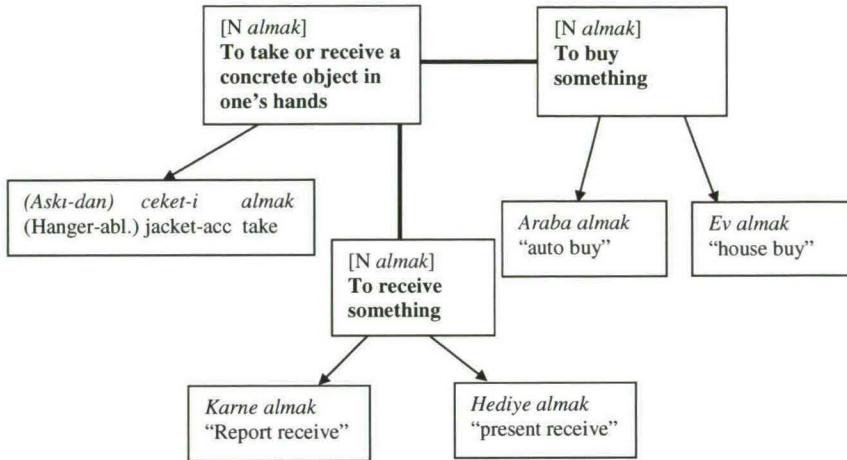
In the network of [N *almak*], we take the basic meaning (taking or receiving a concrete object in one's hands) as the prototype. All specific instantiations of the partially schematic unit [N *almak*] will be assumed as extensions (creating new nodes) of this prototypical meaning. Conventional extensions in TR-Turkish are [*ev almak*] “house buy”, [*karne almak*] “report get” (for students), [*soğuk almak*] “cold get”.

In this network, the prototype is very high in transitivity (cf. Chapter 3, Hopper and Thompson 1980), since the object (i.e. “the jacket” in example 5.1) is highly affected by the verb. The extensions are lower in transitivity since they do not involve physical grabbing (as in “house take”), agency (as in *karne almak* “report take”), or a concrete object (as in *soğuk almak* “cold take”).

Although the concrete meaning of the prototypical construction gradually disappears as one gets further away from the center, the form of the partially schematic unit [N *almak*] ensures that there is a link between the prototypical example and the extensions, as in Figure

5.2. The solid black lines represent the extensions from the prototype, and arrows represent the specific instantiations of these extensions.

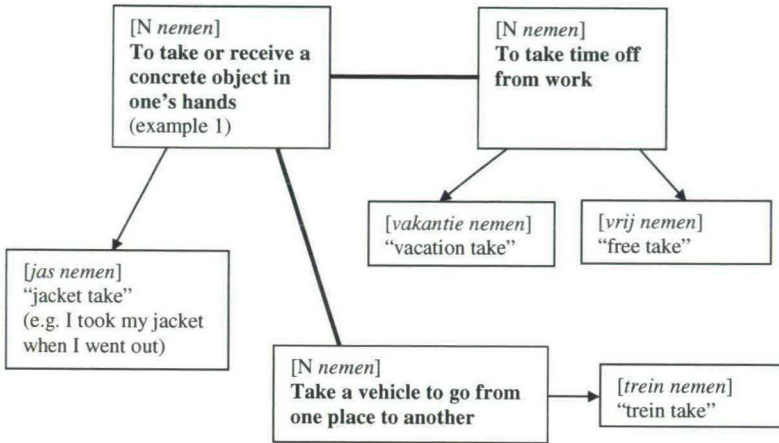
Figure 5.2: Network for Turkish [N almak]



In the case of contact-induced change, the bilingual speaker transfers a node of the equivalent model language network into the replica language, through the mechanism of literal translation. The construction [take N] has the same basic meaning (taking or receiving a concrete object in one's hands) in both Dutch and Turkish. Therefore, a literal translation of this prototypical meaning would not cause unconventionality. In fact, it would be invisible to the analyst, since it would qualify as a conventional utterance in Turkish, a normal instantiation of an extension node.

What causes unconventionality, instead, is the transfer of extension nodes that only exist in the other language. Some of the extension nodes of [N nemen] "N take" in Dutch are illustrated in Figure 5.3. The template [N nemen] "N take" is used in specific instantiations such as [vrij nemen] "free take", [vakantie nemen] "vacation take", [trein nemen] "train take", [besluiten nemen] "decision take".

Figure 5.3: Dutch network for [N *nemen*]

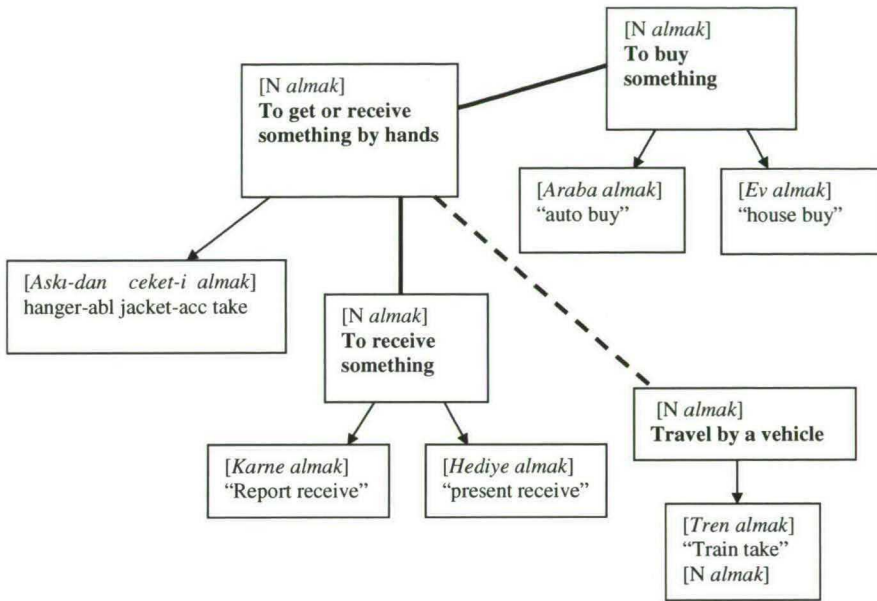


When one of the specific instantiations, for instance “take the train”, is copied into Turkish through literal translation, it creates unconventionality since the relevant extension node is not present in either its specific form [*tren almak*] or its partially schematic form [VEHICLE *almak*]⁴⁸.

In the [N *almak*] network, the existence of low transitive extensions has probably opened the gate for the incorporation of the construction [VEHICLE *almak*] “vehicle take” in NL-Turkish. Contact with Dutch provided the necessary conditions for this extension in the first place. In Figure 5.4, the link between the prototype and the new node is indicated with dashed lines because it is on its way toward conventionalization.

⁴⁸ Note that in the TR-Turkish network, there is already the unit [*araba almak*] “car take” with a vehicle designation in the object noun slot, but it has a different meaning (i.e. ‘buy a car’).

Figure 5.4: NL-Turkish network for [N almak]



As claimed by Heine and Kuteva (2005) and by Johanson (2002), copied units in contact situations are always hybrid in nature. This study illustrates more specifically the nature of this hybridity by showing what comes from which language, based on the network model in Cognitive Linguistics. In other words, innovations in a language (whether based on contact or not) will generally not bring in something completely new, but rather extend a new node (which will be an innovation) in an existing network of constructions.

Frequency plays a major role in order for a new node to be conventionalized (or entrenched) in the network. High frequency strengthens the status of specific instantiations (“exemplars”, in Bybee 2006), but at least one more specific instantiation is needed to form a node (“clusters”, in Bybee 2006). In fact, Rostila (2006) predicts that type and token frequency of the innovative pattern should be high in order for a construction to become conventionalized. To be more specific, in order for the construction [VEHICLE almak] to become an extension in the NL-Turkish network (see Figure 5.4), there needs to be high entrenchment for one or more specific instantiations (e.g. [tren almak]) as well as lower levels for some other instantiations (e.g. [otobüs almak] “bus take” or [taxi almak] “taxi take”). If the latter condition does not apply, a new specific construction (e.g. [tren almak]) has been added, but without a new partially schematic construction (e.g. [N almak]). This is why we illustrate this node with a dashed line.

Future studies could look into the networks of [N *almak*] in TR-Turkish, [N *nemen*] in Dutch and [N *almak*] in NL-Turkish (or similar constructions) corpora in more detail and investigate the frequencies of specific instantiations and nodes. Langacker (1991: 264) observes, “the specific array of instantiations having the status of units, doubtless, varies from speaker to speaker (and changes with experience for an individual speaker)”. In other words, [*tren almak*] can be the common prototype instantiation for the “vehicular transportation from one place to another” node in the network, but [*taxi almak*] “taxi take” may well be the prototype for other speakers, while other speakers yet might not have the node in their network at all. The prediction is that [*tren almak*] “train take” was the prototype for our informants in the NL-Turkish group, since the train is the most common mode of transportation in The Netherlands, especially among the student population. Therefore, the level of entrenchment for [*tren almak*] is probably higher than for other instantiations of the same category in this specific speech community. In other places, though, for instance among Turks in the US, other forms, such as [*taxi almak*] “taxi take”, may be much more entrenched. Presumably, the most salient constructions in the model language are selected as the targets for translation, at least at the innovation stage.

However, corpora analyses have some limitations for this type of investigation. First of all, there is a shortage of instances of individual content words. Secondly, there is a shortage of background information about the idiolects of the individuals whose speech is being analyzed. For a further study, experiments can be designed to investigate which specific instantiations of constructions, such as [N *almak*], are conventionalized (i.e. entrenched) in NL-Turkish. It is expected that [VEHICLE *almak*] will be conventionalized among the second generation NL-Turkish speakers, whereas [VEHICLE-DAT *binmek*] “vehicle-DAT get.on” will be the conventional form for first generation speakers. We will come back to this point in Section 5.5.

A very similar case of the entrenchment of a propagating node in the [N *almak*] network is taking place in TR-Turkish⁴⁹ at the moment. Foreign words (verbs, verbal nouns, action words) are usually integrated with the auxiliary verb *yapmak* “do” in TR-Turkish. *Duş* “shower” is a borrowed word and takes *yapmak* “make/do” as its verb. However, it is becoming more conventional to say *duş almak* “shower take”, which is a literal translation from English. If frequency is a way to measure conventionality (i.e. what is frequent is

⁴⁹ Stenson (1993:111) reports a similar case from Irish in contact with English. Irish phrases formed with the verb *fáil* “get” have extended their meanings to passive and inchoative contexts due to English influence. The triggers were translations of phrases such as “get married”.

conventional), a Google search is one way to begin. According to this search, [*duş almak*] “shower take” has 790.000 hits whereas [*duş yapmak*] “shower do” has 840.000 hits. It seems like [*duş almak*] is almost as conventionalized as [*duş yapmak*] at the moment. Moreover, it seems like this use is spreading to other related expressions like [*banyo almak*] “bath take” (690.000 hits) vs. [*banyo yapmak*] “bath do” (879.000 hits). In sum, we can say that the copying of specific instantiations has led to a new subnode (with the meaning of “cleaning yourself with water in the bathroom”) in the network of the [N *almak*] construction in TR-Turkish. It seems logical to expect that other copied constructions go through a similar process.

The influence of semantics from the model language is easiest to illustrate through the lexical unconventionality found in specific constructions involving transparent translation of content words from one language to the other (e.g. *trein nemen* vs. *tren almak*). It is somewhat more difficult to prove that structural influence, which denotes grammatical relations between different linguistic features, also has its roots in semantics. However, we will illustrate that this is not impossible.

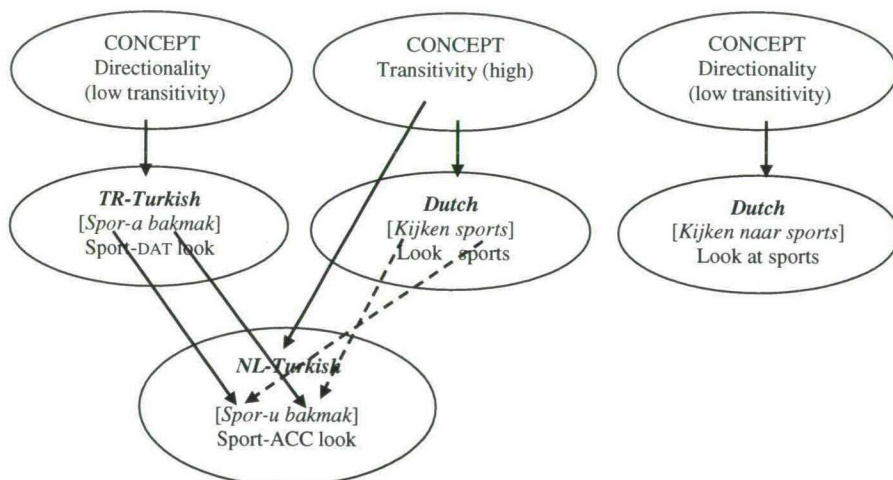
Example 3.15 in Chapter 3 (repeated here as example 5.2) reveals how structural elements can also be “translated” from Dutch into NL-Turkish, at the expense of sounding unconventional to TR-Turkish speakers. The unconventionality in the NL-Turkish utterance was due to the use of an accusative marker in [N-ACC *bakmak*] “N-ACC look”, instead of the conventional TR-Turkish [N-DAT *bakmak*] “N-DAT look”.

- (5.2) *NL-T: Spor-um-u oda-m-da bak-ıyor-um.*
 Sport-POSS.1SG-ACC room-POSS.1SG-LOC. look-PROG-1SG.
 “I look at my sports programs in my room.”
- TR-T: Spor-um-a oda-m-da bak-ıyor-um.*
 Sport-POSS.1SG-DAT room-POSS.1SG-LOC look-PROG-1SG.
 “I look at my sports programs in my room.”
- NL: Ik kijk sport op mijn kamer.*
 I look sports in my room.
 “I look at my sports programs in my room.”

In Dutch, there are two constructions to convey the concept of watching something on TV: [*kijk naar* N] “look at N” and [*kijk* N] “look N”. The first construction conveys a directional meaning with the preposition *naar*, with a low degree of transitivity. In the second construction, the transitivity increases since the noun is construed as a direct object, without

the directional aspect. As can be seen in Figure 5.5, the NL-Turkish speaker has copied the transitive [*kijken sport*] construction by assigning an accusative marker to the direct object, a sign of transitivity in Turkish. This indicates that the origin of structural unconventionality in NL-Turkish has its basis in Dutch semantics (indicated with a solid black line coming from the Dutch concept), more specifically in the relationship between the verb and the object (i.e. transitivity), despite the fact that Dutch does not have an accusative marker. The dashed lines indicate the Dutch translations. By adopting the transitive meaning, the meanings of directionality conveyed by [*spor-a bakmak*] “spor-DAT look” and [*kijken naar sport*] “look at sport” are omitted.

Figure 5.5: Semantic influence on structure I



If all structural copying has its origins in semantics, copied schematic constructions, such as the subject pronoun construction discussed in Chapter 4, should have their basis in semantics as well. As explained in Chapter 4, there are various constructions with their own meanings, both with and without use of subject pronouns. In unconventional cases, NL-Turkish has copied a Dutch pattern by using a construction with a subject pronoun, whereas TR-Turkish would use a construction without a subject pronoun. One of these cases is example 4.24a in Chapter 4, repeated here as example 5.3.

(5.3) *NL-T: Ben bak-tığ-im zaman moral-im bozul-uyor.*

I look-nom-1sg time spirit-poss.1sg damage-prog-3sg.

“When I look at (those TV shows), I get depressed”.

TR-T: Bak-tıĝ-ım zaman moral-im bozul-uyor.

Look-nom-1sg time spirit-poss.1sg damage-prog-3sg.

“When I look at (those TV shows), I get depressed”.

NL: Als ik ernaar kijk, word ik depressief.

When I there look become I depressed.

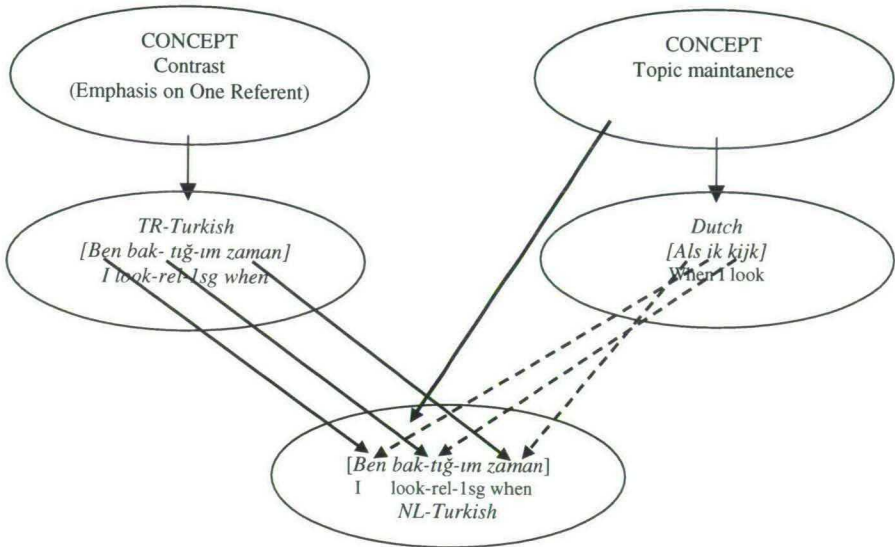
“When I look at (those TV shows), I get depressed”.

The NL-Turkish utterance sounds unconventional to TR-Turkish speakers, since they associate the form of this particular subject pronoun construction with a contrastive meaning (i.e. “Emphasis on One Referent” construction, cf. Chapter 4). The NL-Turkish speaker, on the other hand, does not intend the contrastive meaning but the topic maintenance meaning conveyed through null subject constructions in TR-Turkish. The mismatch between the form and the meaning causes unconventionality for TR-Turkish speakers.

The origin of unconventionality lies in the copying of Dutch semantics into NL-Turkish; the use of a subject pronoun in a Dutch subordinate clause does not imply a contrastive meaning. Figure 5.6 illustrates how NL-Turkish copies the meaning (“Topic Maintenance”, or the absence of emphatic meaning) from the equivalent construction in Dutch, to a form (e.g. [S.PRO V]) that has a different meaning in TR-Turkish (namely “Emphasis on One Referent Construction”). This host construction conveys a contrastive meaning for TR-Turkish speakers in this context, and is interpreted as an instance of the “Emphasis on One Referent” construction. By using the [S.PRO V] template, the NL-Turkish speaker has extended the meaning of the contrastive “Emphasis on One Referent” construction to non-contrastive meanings (i.e. “Topic Maintenance”).

The solid black lines Figure 5.6 indicate that the individual elements of the subject pronoun constructions are inherited from TR-Turkish. Dashed black lines indicate that they could be translations of Dutch equivalents as well. However, the meaning, “Topic Maintenance”, (indicated with a solid black line), is more likely to have been copied from Dutch.

Figure 5.6: Semantic influence on structure II



Although the copying in this example involves a subject pronoun construction and its Dutch meaning, it is debatable whether copying took place at the maximally schematic level. First of all, as mentioned in Chapter 4, unconventional subject pronoun constructions in NL-Turkish are rather rare. In other words, there are no sweeping changes that influence a whole sub-system (e.g. all subordinate clauses). If this is the case, it is highly possible that the NL-Turkish speaker literally translated a specific instantiation of the Dutch subject pronoun construction into NL-Turkish in order to convey the Dutch “Topic Maintenance” meaning. At the moment, type and token frequency of unconventional NL-Turkish subject pronoun constructions are not high enough for us to claim that there is on-going change at a more abstract level.

Structural copying from the model language probably begins with specific instantiations (through literal translation). Once many specific instantiations (i.e. effecting an increase in type and frequency, cf. Rostila 2006) have led to entrenchment of the pattern, only then can this lead to changes at the maximally schematic level (i.e. subject pronoun constructions). This change will be contact-induced, though; not every specific instantiation will be a literal translation from an expression in the model language.

We have seen the same pattern for word order in Chapter 1. There were very few violations of information structure in NL-Turkish VO order, and the violations we did see were mainly due to literal translations of Dutch units. This strengthens the argument that copying starts with literal translations of specific instances from the model language.

Similarly, Nichols (2003: 283) points out that what is reported as broad typological borrowing in the literature is not usually an abstract pattern (e.g. ergativity in Basque) but rather a particular pattern with specific markers (e.g. ergative inflection of nouns with the Basque ergative case suffix *-ek*). Similarly, Myers-Scotton (2002: 231) points out that the lexical conceptual structure (roughly corresponding to our “maximally specific level”, despite her overall modular view) is the easiest (or most attractive) part of language to undergo change, whereas the late system morphemes (roughly corresponding to our “maximally schematic level”) are much harder to change.

There is need for more corpus analyses and experimental evidence in different contact situations in order to support the claims above. In the next section, we will go on to discuss why some constructions are translated from the model language but not others.

5.3 The role of conceptual space and semantic specificity

Although the examples presented in the previous section may have demonstrated that semantics is the basis for copying, the question of why certain structures, but not others, are targeted for copying remains unanswered. What makes some constructions in the model language more attractive for translation? One plausible answer is that greater semantic specificity makes a unit in the model language a better candidate for getting copied by the replica language.

A basic tenet of Cognitive Linguistics and Usage Based Models is that semantic structure shapes grammatical structure. Semantic structure is language specific and this is reflected in cross-linguistic variation in syntactic structure (Langacker 1987). Similarly, Croft (2001: 110) argues that “[S]yntactic structure represents the corresponding semantic structure [...] Semantic structure represents a construal of conceptual structure, that is, one of several ways to construe the experience being communicated”. Croft (2001: 130) further argues that within the universal conceptual space, what differs across languages is the structure of the semantic map that is used to talk about the conceptual space visible through the different constructions a language uses. In other words, human beings experience the same reality but conceptualize it differently, which leads to semantic differences across languages, expressed through language-specific constructions.

Let’s look at one example from the Dutch-Turkish contact situation. The meanings of some of the unconventional constructions in NL-Turkish are unique to Dutch and The Netherlands. According to Györi (2002: 134), “all individuals sharing a particular language will also be able to share the same model of reality”. However, when speakers of two

varieties (e.g. NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish) do not share the same reality, due to geographic distance, it is possible that subtle differences between two cultures make themselves felt in language usage, especially in the use of literal translations from Dutch in NL-Turkish, replacing the conventional TR-Turkish forms. To continue the discussion about [*take a train*], since traveling by train is quite rare in Turkey, it is possible that NL-Turkish speakers associate traveling by train with the Netherlands, and therefore the Dutch concept of “traveling by train in the Netherlands” dominates the use of the translated construction from Dutch. Similarly, though one can argue that “taking a class” is a universal concept, NL-Turkish speakers prefer to say it in the Dutch way (i.e. [N *doen*] “N do”) rather than using the conventional Turkish [N *okumak*] “N read” (cf. Chapter 3). This may well be due to the fact that in the Dutch system, students are able to elect different courses that they need to pass in order to advance to the next stage in their education. In Turkey, the system is different: except at the university level, students do not have the right to choose classes, so there is hardly ever a need to say that one does this or that course since everyone in a given grade does the same curriculum.

Therefore, equivalence probably starts at the conceptual level in the sense that the speaker, consciously or not, decides whether the concept from the other language should be expressed. If the answer is yes, the speaker transfers the semantics from one language to the other. As a final step, the speaker establishes equivalence between a foreign construction and an available native form, and literally translates the model language structure into the replica language.

According to Croft (2001: 128), grammatical change in a language takes place when a new conceptualization of the same reality (what he calls “experience”) replaces an old one (“reconstruction of experience”). If this view is applied to contact situations, it is possible to argue that different construals (i.e. “to get on the train” vs. “take the train”) reflect differences in semantics. The question is whether the bilingual speakers copy structures so that they can convey the specific semantic map they have adopted from the other language, or whether the inadvertently copied form forces a new construal of reality on them, as a neo-Whorfian position would argue (cf. Levinson 1996). A third possibility is that the copying of the form has no effect at all (at this early stage) on semantics. This question needs more investigation than can be provided here.

The discussions of semantics as the basis of copying, the role of semantic specificity, and entrenchment in the copying and propagations stages, bring us back to the change process in contact situations. In the next section, we will provide a revised version of the

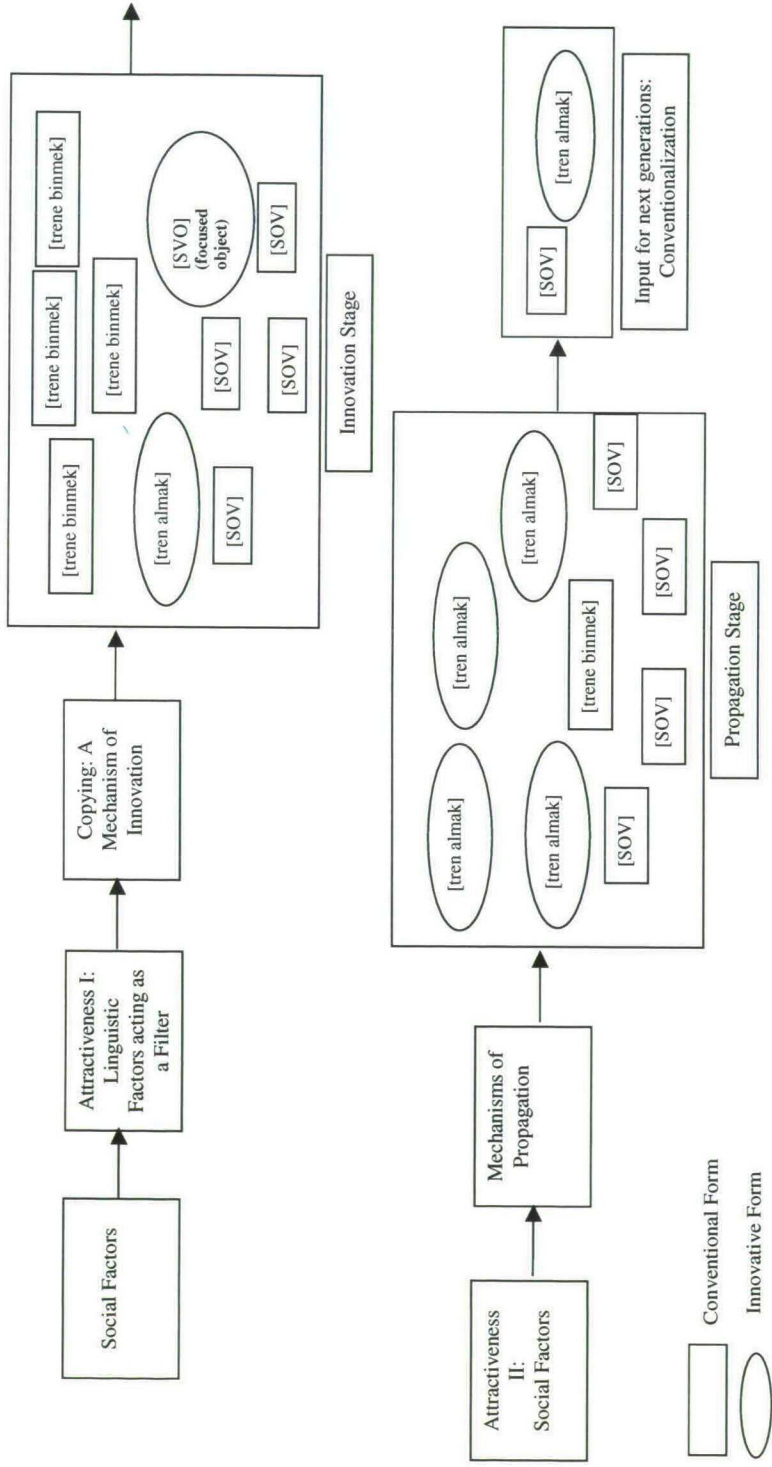
contact-induced change process, based on our findings in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 and what we have discussed so far in this chapter.

5.4 The chain of language change in contact situations

Chapter 1 discussed why and how languages change in contact situations. In this section, we extend the discussion based on some of the examples of on-going change in NL-Turkish described in the previous chapters. Special attention will be paid to the “roles” of attractiveness in this process. The process of contact-induced change is schematically represented in Figure 5.7, with examples from the Turkish-Dutch contact situation.

If language change is pictured as a chain with several links, the starting point is the social factors that bring two languages (actually speakers of the languages) together and determine their relationship to each other. In our case, there is a prototypical, asymmetrical contact situation, with a sociolinguistically dominated minority language (e.g. Turkish) ready to adopt material from a dominant majority language (e.g. Dutch).

Figure 5.7: Chain of Language Change



In the next stage, **Attractiveness** (Type I) acts as a linguistic filter that determines which units (words and structures) from the model language may enter the replica language as “innovations” and which units in the replica language may successfully resist foreign intrusion. In addition to the factors we have discussed in Chapter 1, the semantic specificity of a construction (see section 5.3) may be added to the list of attractiveness-raising factors.

Units that “pass through” the attractiveness filter enter the language through “innovation mechanisms” (e.g. codeswitching, structural copying through translation). We illustrate this with two constructions from NL-Turkish that seem to be in competition with their TR-Turkish counterparts. The first one is the NL-Turkish [*tren almak*] “train take” construction which replaces the conventional [*tren-e binmek*] “tren-DAT get.on”. The second construction is the more schematic unconventional NL-Turkish [SVO] construction with focused information in the postverbal position, described in Chapter 2. Note that TR-Turkish speakers would use [SOV] in a similar context.

Through these mechanisms, innovative forms ([*tren almak*], [SVO]) first enter the replica language (NL-Turkish) in the “innovation stage”, as indicated at the top of Figure 5.7. Presumably, innovative forms have to be “introduced” (as altered replications) more than once, certainly in different idiolects, but perhaps also within a single speaker’s speech. These forms ([*tren almak*] and [SVO]) co-exist with the conventional counterparts (here [*trene binmek*] and [SOV]) initially. In Figure 5.7, innovative forms are indicated with elliptical shapes, and conventional forms with rectangular forms. At this stage, conventional counterparts will be more frequent in number than the innovations.

Assuming that there is enough entrenchment of the innovative form for it to have become an alternative convention in one’s idiolect, the next stage is the propagation of the idiolect in the individual speaker’s speech and in the speech community.

When attractiveness acts as a filter that determines which linguistic elements will undergo innovation, it must also determine which of these innovations will become entrenched at the community level so that we can speak of a new convention. Whether the same factors that stimulate attractiveness in innovation are responsible for attractiveness in propagation remains an open question, but presumably the sets of factors are not completely overlapping.

“Accommodation” to other speakers plays a central role in the propagation process (Trudgill 1986, Croft 2000). However, as Croft (2000: 73-74) points out, we do not always accommodate all the people in our immediate surroundings. It is clear from decades of sociolinguistic research that social factors such as prestige or group identity determine, to a large extent, whom we accommodate (cf. Trudgill 1986, Milroy 1992, Croft 2000, Thomason 2001, Heine and Kuteva 2005, Johanson 2002, Labov 2007).

Assuming that propagation depends more on social factors than innovation (cf. Croft 2006), this study proposes that there is a separate **Attractiveness Filter** (Type II) that determines which innovative forms will be propagated. This second **Attractiveness Filter** includes social factors.

The extent of propagation is best measured through frequency of use, but it is also clear that increasing frequency increases entrenchment (cf. Bybee 2006, Bybee and Eddington 2006) in the speech community, which in turn acts as a mechanism for further propagation. With increasing frequency of use, innovative forms (e.g. [*tren almak*]) may strengthen their status (i.e. get more entrenched) and consequently decrease the usage of the conventional variant ([*trene binmek*]). On the other hand, other innovative forms (e.g. [SVO]) that do not pass through the attractiveness filter and do not get propagated, which means that their conventional counterpart ([SOV]) prevails.

As can be seen in Figure 5.7, at the propagation stage of NL-Turkish, [*tren almak*] has passed the second **Attractiveness Filter** and has become quite entrenched in the NL-Turkish community (at least in the second generation). It has increased its frequency in comparison to [*trene binmek*]. [SVO] (with focused postverbal information), on the other hand, has not increased its frequency. In other words, it has not spread to contexts where conventionally [SOV] is used. Therefore, attractiveness plays a dual role in the change process: first it determines which structures from the model language will be copied and become innovative forms in the replica language, and second it affects which of the innovative forms get propagated in the speech community.

When a propagating form becomes the conventional form, a (completed) change has taken place. In Figure 5.7, the once-innovative form [*tren almak*] has (hypothetically) conventionalized and replaced the conventional form. The construction [SVO], on the other hand, has not been able to replace its conventional

counterpart [SOV]. Conventionalization implies that a once-innovative form is becoming the input form for children acquiring the language; they do not witness any variation anymore, so they only learn the variant that has survived (Weinreich et al., 1968, Györi 2002, Labov 2007). On the basis of our evidence, this suggests that [*tren almak*] “train take”, will be the new convention in NL-Turkish, while SVO with focused postverbal information will not be.

A final relevant issue in language change research is “intentionality”⁵⁰. According to Croft (2000: 64), innovations may be intentional in the sense that the speaker tries to achieve a goal in language use. Croft (2000: 76) reports expressive freedom (creativity), avoidance of misunderstanding, and economy as intentional mechanisms. These are all synchronic notions: intention does not usually imply a deliberate attempt to stimulate a future change in the system, even if that may be the result in the long run. Sometimes people have such intentions, though. Thomason (2007: 58) provides examples of deliberate attempts to bring about change, and concludes that these changes are not usually accepted⁵¹. Most innovations, however, are not intentional at all⁵². Speech errors, for example, are clearly brought about by unintentional mechanisms. Achieving semantic equivalence (cf. Heine and Kuteva 2005), the center of discussion in this study, and discussed in detail in Section 5.2 and 5.3, should also be seen as an unintentional process.

At the propagation stage, the speaker is faced with a choice, between the innovative form that has passed the **Attractiveness Filter II** and the old conventional form. At this stage, choosing one form at the expense of the other may very well be intentional (e.g. because of prestige associated with the model language). However, when the new form starts replacing the other one (through frequent use), it becomes increasingly entrenched. According to Croft (2000: 73), entrenchment brings along automaticization. If a form is produced due to entrenchment as an automatic process this is “non-intentional” (Croft 2000: 73). Similarly, Backus (1996) argues that when speakers make an unmarked choice (i.e. choose the conventional form),

⁵⁰ It seems like the terms “intentionality” (Croft 2000), “awareness” (Backus 1996), and “consciousness” (Ross 2007), are all used interchangeably. There is some overlap in the definitions but they are also not completely synonymous. We will only discuss intentionality for the time being and leave the discussion of other terms for a future study.

⁵¹ Exceptions are small speech communities, where it is easier to get a deliberate innovation accepted (Thomason 2007).

⁵² Muysken (2007:329) claims that lexical innovations are conscious since speakers are aware of the manipulation mechanisms whereas the innovations of grammatical patterns are not conscious.

accommodation is automatic, in the sense that they conform to the conventions of the community. Usually, they will not be aware of this.

It should be noted that it is hardly possible to document the whole chain of change, even for a single construction, in one's lifetime, let alone for a whole language. Figure 5.7 illustrates the change with just two items, which are still on their way to change in NL-Turkish. Language change in general is much more complex. What we have reported so far in this thesis was an attempt to shed light on the on-going change process in NL-Turkish. The final section will discuss a few possibilities for future research in the current Dutch-Turkish contact situation and in other contact situations.

5.5 Directions for future research

This study has provided us with insights about the differences between NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish, through the analysis of synchronic corpus data. It yielded an inventory of possible on-going changes in NL-Turkish, most of them due to Dutch influence. Given the low rates at which unconventionality occurred, it is probably safe to say that none of these changes are near completion. In order for a complete change to take place, new forms should be conventionalized in the community, and this takes time.

There are several questions that cannot be answered on the basis of our corpus data. We now discuss how future research could address each of these questions under three main rubrics:

a) Need for the measurement of conventionality

The current study describes characteristics of NL-Turkish by analyzing samples of speech from the NL-Turkish speech community. However, it would be quite naive to assume that everyone in the community speaks in the same way (Romaine 1982, Dorian 1982, Croft *forthc.*). Individuals belong to sub-groups within the speech community, and subgroups have their own linguistic conventions. Some of these conventions are shared widely within the whole community whereas others are not. According to Croft (*forthc.*), a speech community is a melting pot since all the speakers that make up the speech community bring their own experiences and linguistic conventions. Based on the type of data analyzed in this study, it is not possible to say to what extent the unconventional examples detected in the speech of

individual NL-Turkish informants have been conventionalized within sub groups or within the whole speech community.

A future study could test the degree of conventionalization for certain innovative constructions in NL-Turkish through experiments (e.g. judgment tests, reaction time experiments, etc.) with informants from different generations. The prediction is that unconventional constructions that are attested in NL-Turkish are more conventionalized (or entrenched) in the varieties of young generations, who were born in the Netherlands and have a high command of Dutch, than in the older generations who came to Netherlands as adults and have a more limited command of Dutch.

The Turkish of the NL-Turkish speakers who came to the Netherlands through marriage also deserves attention since they are the ones who bring TR-Turkish to the Netherlands. This continuous exposure to TR-Turkish explains why NL-Turkish is not so different from TR-Turkish at the moment. In an experimental setting, it can be observed to what extent the Turkish of these immigrants is undergoing change through Dutch and NL-Turkish influence.

Another experiment could investigate the degree to which speakers are aware of the NL-Turkish innovative forms. It is rather hard to say whether a given unconventional construction in a corpus is a result of intentional selection or not. The fact that a speaker did not produce the conventional construction at the synchronic point in the recorded conversation does not mean that s/he is unaware of that construction at all. Maybe s/he uses the conventional equivalent all the time. Repetition tasks or recognition tests can reveal whether the innovations are already conventionalized in the community (thus representing propagated forms) or whether they were probably coined on the spot (therefore representing an innovation).

In a similar vein, an experimental set-up is needed in order to measure the tolerance levels of TR-Turkish speakers for the innovative forms in NL-Turkish. Do they treat all unconventional forms as similarly equally unconventional? Is there a gradation in their judgments in the sense that some innovative forms sound more unconventional than others? This is another important limitation of the present data.

b) Broadening of empirical coverage

This study has only focused on structural change, ignoring the fact that codeswitching is a natural part of NL-Turkish speech in the Netherlands. Therefore, it is possible that

some of the innovative constructions uncovered in this study will in fact never be propagated in the community, since their Dutch counterparts are already established as the convention. They were not used in the data simply because the speakers had to stick to Turkish.

There is also a need for more research in order to uncover the relationship between codeswitching and structural change. In that sense, additional conversational data that include codeswitching need to be collected in order to investigate whether the use of codeswitching correlates with the use of unconventional constructions in one's speech (cf. Smith 2006, Field 2005, Muysken 2000, 2007). That is to say, if an NL-Turkish speaker codeswitches between Turkish and Dutch a lot, does that also mean that s/he will make use of a lot of unconventional constructions?

The role of typology is also still relatively elusive. According to Johanson (2002), attractiveness is a relative notion in the sense that what can be attractive in a particular contact situation may not be attractive in another contact situation. In this study, the contact was between typologically different languages. Further research is needed to investigate the possible consequences of contact between Turkish and typologically similar languages (e.g. Tatar) or almost identical ones (e.g. Azerbaijani). Although there has been research on historical contact situations (Johanson 2002), synchronic studies are rare. The relationship between Turkey and Turkic ex-Soviet states improved rapidly after their independence in the 1990's. Due to educational exchanges and business relations, quite a number of students and businessmen came to Turkey and learned Turkish. Synchronic research on their use of Turkish can provide insights into contact between typologically similar languages. According to Sorace and Filiaci (2006), for example, subject pronoun use may increase in a contact setting even if both languages allow null subjects. This kind of research will provide the opportunity to observe whether the same predictions also hold true for contact among Turkic languages.

Chapter 3 reported that unconventionality occurred in TR-Turkish as well. Variation in spoken TR-Turkish has not been analyzed in great detail. Based on the data collected for this study, it is also possible to investigate whether there are any hitherto undetected on-going changes in TR-Turkish.

It has been mentioned in Chapter 1 that the frequent structures in the model language are probably more salient which makes them better candidates for copying (Van Hout and Muysken 1994, Mithun 2007). This analysis of NL-Turkish has

provided some clues about what is undergoing change and which unconventional cases (which reflect on-going change) can be attributed to Dutch influence. In those cases where Dutch influence is likely, the frequency of these constructions in a Dutch corpus (e.g. *Corpus Gesproken Nederlands* “The Spoken Dutch Corpus”) could be investigated to confirm or disconfirm whether the most frequent Dutch constructions are prime candidates for copying by replica languages (e.g. Turkish).

Similarly, Turkish is just one of the minority languages in the Netherlands. It would be interesting to compare the on-going changes due to Dutch influence with data from the other minority languages (e.g. Moroccan Arabic) as well.

c) *Practical Applications*

As discussed in Chapter 3, language acquisition and language change are similar to each other in terms of the specific path they follow. In both cases, the process starts with specific instantiations and makes its way to more schematic units based on the increase of type and token frequency. If this is the case, it may have some consequences for language teaching. In usage-based models especially, “...all linguistic knowledge-however abstract it may ultimately become-derives in the first instance from the comprehension and production of specific utterances on specific occasions of use” (Achard and Niemeier 2004:5). Therefore, it may be more relevant for language learners to start learning the language from the specific and partially schematic instantiations that are prototypical of their subcategories (see Achard and Niemeier 2004 for some applications of Cognitive Linguistic Theory in language teaching and learning situations).

This study was an investigation of synchronic variation in NL-Turkish. It would be desirable to follow whether these innovations are propagated in the community in real time. This would allow us to track the footprints of diachronic change, which is actually “synchronic variation in a particular direction for some length of time” (Croft 2006: 124-125).

Appendix A: Discourse-marker like elements (for Chapter 4)

Discourse-Marker like Elements	Example from data
<i>Bil-mi-yor-um</i> “know-neg-prog-1sg”	<i>Bilmiyorum# sen nasıl buluyorsun?</i> “I don’t know# how do you find it”?
<i>Bil-iyo mu-sun</i> Know-prog qp-2sg.	<i>Sanki ulusal bi şey biliyo musun.</i> “It is like something national you know.”
<i>Bak-a-lım</i> look-opt-1pl.	<i>Bakalım</i> artık öğretmenlere sığmıyoruz. “We will see we ask for the gratitude of teachers”
<i>Bak-iy-im</i> Look-opt-1sg.	<i>Ehm bakiyim</i> beş yaşında galiba. “Ehm let me see, she is five years old I guess”.
<i>Yani nasıl anlat-ay-ım</i> I.mean how tell-opt-1sg.	<i>Yani nasıl anlatayım</i> çok karışık iş. “I mean how can I tell, it is very complicated.”
<i>Anla-dı-n mı</i> Understand-past-2sg qp	<i>Mesela biz burdayız anladın mı ama onlar orda.</i> “For example we are here you see but they are there”
<i>Ne bil-e-yim</i> What know-opt-1sg	<i>Ne bileyim</i> mesela bir eurovision var. “I don’t know for example there is the Eurovision song contest”

Appendix B: Fixed Units (for Chapter 4)

<i>Allah koru-sun</i> God protect-imp.3sg.	“May God Forbid”
<i>Allah kismet eder-se</i> God possible make-cond.3sg.	“May God permit”
<i>Allah-a şükür-ler ol-sun</i> God-dat thank-pl cop-imp.3sg.	“ We thank Allah”
<i>Ben teşekkür eder-im</i> I thank make-1sg.	“I thank you” (as a reply to thank you)
<i>Ne yalan söyli-y-im</i> why lie say-opt-1sg.	“To tell the truth”
<i>Dur bak-al-ım</i> Stop look-opt-1sg.	“Lets see”
<i>Ben-den geç-ti artık</i> I-abl pass-past anyway.	“I am too old for these things”
<i>Zaman göster-ecek</i> Time show-fut.3sg.	“Time will show”
<i>Ne yap-al-ım</i> What do-opt-1pl.	“We cant do anything else”
<i>Hayırlısı ol-sun</i> Good become.imp.3sg	“Hopefully good will happen”
<i>Gerisini sen hesap et</i> Rest you calculate do.	“Imagine the rest”
<i>Ben bil-d-i-m bil-eli</i> I know-past-1sg know-ger.	“Since the times I know/am aware”
<i>O da ayrı mesele</i> That also separate issue.	“That is another story”
<i>Rica ed-er-im</i> Please do-pres-1sg.	“You are welcome”
<i>Hiç alakam yok</i> Any attention-poss.1sg exist-not.	“I don’t have anything to do with that”

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Nederlandse Samenvatting (Dutch Summary)

Alle levende talen veranderen, maar verandering treedt vooral op in situaties van taalcontact. Dit proefschrift richt zich op contactsituaties tussen het Nederlands en het Turks in Nederland. Sprekers van het Turks in West-Europa zijn in Turkije gemakkelijk te herkennen aan hun taalgebruik. Dit komt onder andere door het gebruik van leenwoorden, bijvoorbeeld uit het Nederlands. Toch worden immigranten ook herkend, wanneer zij alleen Turkse woorden gebruiken. In deze studie wordt onderzocht hoe het komt dat voor Turken in Turkije het Nederlands-Turks 'anders' klinkt.

In contactsituaties kan invloed verwacht worden van de dominante groepstaal ten opzichte van minderheidstalen. Het onderhavige geval betreft de invloed van het Nederlands op het Turks. Eerder is aangetoond dat sprekers van het Nederlands-Turks lexicale elementen uit het Nederlands gebruiken wanneer zij Turks spreken. Er is echter nog weinig bekend over de structurele invloed van het Nederlands op het Nederlands-Turks. Deze studie is één van de eerste die dit aspect onderzocht heeft, waarbij zij zich baseert op gesproken Turkse corpora (getranscribeerde opnames) met gesprekken die verzameld zijn in Nederland en Turkije. Woordvolgorde, constructies en het gebruik van persoonlijke voornaamwoorden als onderwerp van een zin worden geanalyseerd in het Turks wat betreft een mogelijke invloed van het Nederlands.

Het contact tussen het Nederlands en het Turks stamt uit de arbeidsmigratie van de jaren '60. Alhoewel deze zogenaamde gastarbeiders aanvankelijk tijdelijk of 'voor korte tijd' of 'voor een beperkte tijd' naar Nederland kwamen met de intentie om later weer terug te keren naar Turkije, hebben zij zich uiteindelijk definitief gevestigd in Nederland en heeft gezinshereniging plaatsgevonden. Volgens een rapport van het CBS (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek) vormden Turken in 2005 één van de grootste minderheidsgroepen in Nederland. De Turkse gemeenschap houdt het gebruik van het Turks in stand door regelmatige bezoeken aan Turkije, endogamie, sterke banden tussen de leden van de gemeenschap en het gebruik van Turkse media (bijv. TV, kranten, internet).

In deze studie wordt gebruik gemaakt van twee typen gesproken Turkse corpora: een Nederlands-Turks (NL-Turks) corpus dat verzameld is onder de Turkse gemeenschap in Tilburg (Nederland), en een ééntalig Turks (TR-Turks) corpus dat verzameld is in Kırşehir (Turkije). De oorspronkelijke immigranten in Tilburg kwamen vooral uit deze stad in Centraal-Anatolië. Belangrijk is te vermelden dat de opnames uit het NL-Turkse corpus met name in het Turks zijn, met slechts enkele Nederlandse woorden. Alhoewel de aandacht met name uitgaat naar het NL-Turks, dient het TR-Turks als vergelijkingspunt om te verifiëren dat de verschillen in het NL-Turks uniek zijn voor deze taalvariëteit.

Hoofdstuk 2 richt zich op woordvolgorde, waarvan over het algemeen aangenomen wordt dat deze gemakkelijk verandert in contactsituaties. Het Turks is hoofdzakelijk een (S)OV-taal, alhoewel andere woordvolgordes ook mogelijk zijn, afhankelijk van de vereisten van de omringende informatiestructuur. Het Nederlands, daarentegen, is hoofdzakelijk een SVO-taal. Uitgaande van dit feit wordt verwacht dat, vanwege de invloed van het Nederlands, de (S)VO-volgorde in het NL-Turks zal toenemen.

De analyses van het NL-Turkse en TR-Turkse corpus laten zien dat (S)OV de meest frequente woordvolgorde is voor beide variëteiten. Ondanks de verwachtingen van een invloed van het Nederlands, nam in het NL-Turks de frequentie van (S)VO-volgorde niet toe. Echter, de Turkse informatiestructuur werd wel een (beperkt) aantal

keer geschonden. Informatiestructuur kan omschreven worden als de manier waarop sprekers informatie presenteren in een bepaalde context, bijvoorbeeld door aanwijzingen te geven over het belangrijkste deel van de boodschap, of aan welk aspect van het voorgaande gesprek de huidige boodschap iets toevoegt. Focus, Topic en Achtergrondinformatie zijn de bouwstenen van de informatiestructuur. Kort gezegd worden Topic en Achtergrond geassocieerd met oude informatie en Focus met nieuwe informatie.

Volgens de Turkse informatiestructuur komt nieuwe informatie nooit na het werkwoord, maar in de NL-Turkse data wordt dit principe enkele keren geschonden. Meestal was dit het gevolg van letterlijke vertalingen vanuit het Nederlands. Deze schendingen komen echter slechts zelden voor. Er zijn daarnaast andere aspecten van het NL-Turks die ervoor zorgen dat het 'anders' klinkt voor sprekers van TR-Turks. Deze NL-Turkse 'constructies', vaak letterlijke vertalingen vanuit het Nederlands, worden onderzocht in Hoofdstuk 3.

De constructies die in Hoofdstuk 3 besproken worden, liggen tussen lexicon en syntaxis in. Lexicon verwijst naar woorden en syntaxis verwijst naar de opbouw van de zinnen (bijv. woordvolgorde). Constructies hebben echter kenmerken van zowel lexicon als syntaxis. Een voorbeeld van zo'n constructie is [*de trein nemen*]. Deze constructie heeft lexicale kenmerken omdat zij gedeeltelijk een vaste vorm heeft (de woorden *trein* en *nemen*), maar ook syntactische kenmerken omdat het een Lijdend voorwerp-werkwoord Constructie is.

Wat voor sprekers van het TR-Turks onconventioneel klinkt is het gebruik van letterlijke vertalingen van Nederlandse uitdrukkingen door sprekers van het NL-Turks. Om dit systematisch te onderzoeken, zijn alle NL-Turkse constructies die 'anders' klonken voor sprekers van het TR-Turks gemarkeerd als 'onconventioneel' en verder geanalyseerd. Terugkomend op bovenstaand voorbeeld: sprekers van het NL-Turks gebruiken vaak de constructie [*tren almak*], wat de letterlijke vertaling is van de Nederlandse constructie [*de trein nemen*]. Deze constructie klinkt onconventioneel voor sprekers van het TR-Turks, die in dezelfde context [*trene binmek*] "in de trein stappen" zouden zeggen.

Uit de analyses blijkt dat er momenteel meer lexicale dan syntactische variatie is in het NL-Turks. De sprekers construeerden Turkse vertalingen van Nederlandse uitdrukkingen aan de hand van semantische equivalenten van de Nederlandse woorden in het Turks. Omdat deze constructies in het TR-Turks niet gebruikt worden, ervaren sprekers van het TR-Turks ze vaak als onconventioneel.

In studies over taalcontact wordt vaak aangenomen dat onconventionaliteit in de contactvariëteit het gevolg is van contact. De vraag of diezelfde onconventionaliteit ook in de niet-contactvariëteit voorkomt, wordt echter vaak niet onderzocht (en is soms ook niet mogelijk omdat die variëteit niet altijd bestaat). Analyses van het TR-Turkse corpus boden de mogelijkheid te onderzoeken of deze veronderstelling klopt. In tegenstelling tot wat vaak wordt aangenomen, blijken er ook in het TR-Turks enkele onconventionele constructies voor te komen. Deze constructies zijn echter van een ander soort en komen veel minder vaak voor dan onconventionele constructies in het NL-Turks.

Zowel Hoofdstuk 2 als 3 suggereren dat syntaxis niet aan verandering onderhevig is in het NL-Turks. De bestudering van een typisch syntactisch domein, het gebruik van persoonlijke voornaamwoorden als onderwerp van de zin, bevestigt dit idee. In traditionele termen is het Turks een zogenaamde pro-drop taal. Dit betekent dat in het Turks zinnen toegestaan zijn zonder een expliciet onderwerp, alhoewel het onderwerp wel altijd wordt aangegeven in het werkwoord. In het

Nederlands is pro-drop van het onderwerp niet toegestaan. Het is te verwachten dat door contact met het Nederlands het gebruik van expliciete zinsonderwerpen in het NL-Turks toeneemt in contexten waar ze normaliter niet gebruikt worden in het TR-Turks. Voortbouwend op de analyses in Hoofdstuk 3, wordt in dit hoofdstuk voorgesteld dat persoonlijke voornaamwoorden als zinsonderwerpen niet geselecteerd worden als aparte eenheden, maar dat ze een verplicht onderdeel vormen van verschillende constructies. Hetzelfde geldt voor pro-drop van zinsonderwerpen. Als deze aanname juist is, dan zijn pro-drop en expliciete zinsonderwerpen niet slechts alternatieve realisaties van dezelfde inhoud, maar betreft het verschillende constructies.

Net als in traditionele beschrijvingen zijn eerst de frequenties van persoonlijke voornaamwoorden als onderwerp van de zin in beide corpora onderzocht. Er werden geen significante verschillen gevonden tussen de twee variëteiten, maar opnieuw laten enkele NL-Turkse constructies met expliciete zinsonderwerpen tekenen zien van letterlijke vertalingen vanuit het Nederlands. Het gaat hierbij slechts om enkele onconventionele constructies die geen substantiële verandering inhouden in het gebruik van expliciete zinsonderwerpen in het algemeen. De TR-Turkse data bevatten geen onconventionaliteit in dit domein.

In termen van contactlinguïstiek laat deze studie zien dat het contact tussen het Turks en het Nederlands vooralsnog niet intens genoeg is om te leiden tot substantiële syntactische veranderingen in het NL-Turks. Wat gekopieerd wordt vanuit het Nederlands zijn individuele constructies, vaak door middel van letterlijke vertalingen.

De Turks-Nederlandse contactsituatie is relatief jong. Door innovaties in het NL-Turks (onconventionele constructies volgens de sprekers van TR-Turks) in een vroeg stadium te onderzoeken, laat dit onderzoek zien dat taalverandering begint bij het kopiëren van individuele constructies vanuit de contacttaal, en niet op het abstracte niveau van de syntaxis. Een opeenhoping van innovaties kan uiteindelijk leiden tot een verandering in de syntaxis, maar daar is geen bewijs voor in het aanvangsstadium. Echter, elke linguïstische verandering hangt uiteindelijk af van sociale factoren. Er kunnen geen grote veranderingen in de taal verwacht worden wanneer er nog steeds intensief contact is met de brontaal, het TR-Turkish. Alhoewel sprekers van het NL-Turks gemakkelijk herkend worden in Turkije door de manier waarop ze spreken, leidt dit niet tot grote problemen in de communicatie. Dit komt waarschijnlijk omdat het streven is om TR-Turks te spreken. De standaardtaal wordt hoog gewaardeerd en blootstelling eraan is verzekerd door frequente bezoeken aan Turkije, toegang tot Turkse media (via satelliettelevisie en internet) en sterke banden binnen de gemeenschap. De tweede generatie, geboren en getogen in Nederland, spreekt vloeiend Nederlands. Zij zijn zich bewust van het feit dat hun variëteit van het Turks tot op zekere hoogte anders is. Zij schrijven deze verschillen echter toe aan de invoeging van Nederlandse woorden terwijl ze Turks spreken. De structurele verschillen die waargenomen zijn in dit proefschrift worden niet algemeen herkend. Dit geeft aan dat de dingen die onconventioneel klinken voor sprekers van het TR-Turks eigenlijk op weg zijn nieuwe conventies te worden van een opkomende NL-Turkse variëteit.

Samenvattend laat het Turks in Nederland enkele tekenen van verandering zien als gevolg van invloed van het Nederlands. Deze verandering lijkt zich te beperken tot de manier waarop dingen gezegd worden in het Turks, in plaats van de abstracte zinsstructuur. Afhankelijk van de intensiteit van het voortdurende contact kunnen zulke veranderingen in de toekomst echter wel worden verwacht.

INVITATION

A. SEZA DOĞRUÖZ

has the pleasure of
inviting you to the
public defence of her
Ph.D. thesis:

Synchronic Variation

and Diachronic Change
in Dutch Turkish:

A Corpus Based Analysis

on Wednesday,

12 December,

at 14.00

in the Aula of

Tilburg University.

You are cordially

invited to the reception

after the ceremony.

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A. Seza Dođruöz obtained her B.A. and M.A. degrees in English Language Teaching from Bođaziçi University (Istanbul). Between 2003 and 2007, she was a Ph.D. student in the Department of Language and Culture Studies at Tilburg University. Her research focuses on language contact and change, sociolinguistics, cognitive linguistics, and corpus linguistics.



Why does Turkish as it is spoken in the Netherlands (Dutch Turkish) sound different to Turkish speakers in Turkey? Dutch Turkish speakers are easily identified even when they do not use Dutch words or phrases while speaking in Turkish. Through analyses of spoken corpora, the three essays in this thesis reveal what it is that makes Dutch Turkish sound different for Turkish speakers in Turkey. The first essay focuses on the possible changes in Turkish word order (OV) due to Dutch (VO) influence. The second essay focuses on general influence of Dutch on Turkish idiomatic constructions and expressions. The third essay investigates the use of subject pronouns which is expected to increase due to Dutch influence. Using Cognitive Linguistics as a framework, the three essays in this dissertation describe the influence of Dutch on Turkish structures and shed light on the changes in a contact language at a fairly early stage of contact.

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