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Transformation in Dutch Turkish subordination?

Onar Valk, P.

Publication date:
2015

Document Version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication in Tilburg University Research Portal](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Onar Valk, P. (2015). *Transformation in Dutch Turkish subordination? Converging evidence of change regarding finiteness and word order in complex clauses.* (NUR 616 ed.). LOT Netherlands Graduate School of Linguistics.

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Transformation in Dutch Turkish Subordination?

**Converging evidence of change regarding finiteness
and word order in complex clauses**

Published by:
LOT
Trans 10
3512 JK Utrecht
The Netherlands

phone: +31 30 253 6111
e-mail: lot@uu.nl
<http://www.lotschool.nl>

Cover illustration: created by Pelin ONAR VALK (on *Scrabble*)

ISBN 978-94-6093-176-5
NUR 616

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Transformation in Dutch Turkish Subordination?

**Converging evidence of change regarding finiteness
and word order in complex clauses**

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan Tilburg University
op gezag van de rector magnificus,
prof. dr. Ph. Eijlander,
in het openbaar te verdedigen ten overstaan van een
door het college voor promoties aangewezen commissie
in de aula van de Universiteit

op woensdag 27 mei 2015 om 14.15 uur

door

Pelin ONAR VALK,
geboren op 19 juli 1983 te Erzurum, Turkije

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prof. dr. Carol Pfaff
prof. dr. Jeanine Treffers-Daller
dr. Jeanette Sakel

♥ For my family, Lara'm and Edwin ♥

Contents

Acknowledgments	xi
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List of abbreviations	xxi
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Chapter 1

Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction	3
1.2 Contact-induced change as external but also internal change: Multiple causation	4
1.3 Model of change: Length of innovation (interference) phase.....	7
1.4 Approaches to <i>convergence</i> : Terminological confusion	9
1.4.1 The driving forces behind convergence	9
1.4.2 Matras: MAT, PAT and pivot-matching	11
1.4.3 Heine and Kuteva: ‘Grammaticalization’ as covering everything.....	13
1.4.4 Johanson: ‘Code-copying’ framework	18
1.4.5 Interim summary: Approaches	21
1.5 Convergence hierarchy: Where does the diffusion start? Is morphology or syntax changed first by contact?	22
1.6 Intentionality and consciousness or awareness.....	25
1.7 The role of <i>translation mechanism</i> in contact-induced changes.....	29
1.8 <i>Unidirectionality</i> in contact-induced changes	33
1.9 Defining ‘change’: Restricted versus broad perspectives.....	35
1.9.1 Restricted perspective	35
1.9.2 Broad perspective.....	39
1.9.3 Definition adopted in this study	41
1.10 Bilingual and monolingual speech modes	42
1.11 Linguistic competence: Competence and performance	46

1.12 Usage-based linguistics and change	49
1.13 Converging evidence	57
1.14 Linguistic complexity	59
1.15 Immigrant Turkish and Turks in the Netherlands.....	65

Chapter 2

Subordination and word order in Dutch and Turkish	71
2.1 Syntactic focus I: Subordination structures	72
2.1.1 Subordination in Turkish.....	73
2.1.2 Subordination in Dutch	82
2.2 Syntactic focus II: Reported speech structures	84
2.2.1 Reported speech in Turkish.....	84
2.2.2 Reported speech in Dutch	85
2.3 Syntactic focus III: Word order (matrix verb position in complex clause combinations)	86

Chapter 3

Methodology	91
3.1 Production tasks.....	92
3.1.1 Spontaneous bilingual speech (group) conversations.....	93
3.1.2 Spontaneous one-on-one speech	94
3.1.3 Elicited one-on-one conversations	95
3.1.4 Elicited imitation task.....	96
3.2 Perception tasks	105
3.2.1 Conventionality judgments through a rating and a forced- choice task.....	105

Chapter 4

Converging evidence from three different sources of speech data on syntactic change from non-finite to finite subordinate clauses in Dutch Turkish.....	113
4.1 Introduction	114
4.2 Subordination and contact-induced change	117
4.2.1 Subordinate clauses	117
4.2.1.1 Subordination in Turkish	117
4.2.1.2 Subordination in Dutch.....	120
4.2.2 Reported speech structures.....	121
4.2.2.1 Reported speech in Turkish	121

4.2.2.2	Reported speech in Dutch	122
4.3	Study 1: Conversational ‘production’ data	122
4.3.1	Methodology: Conversational ‘production’ data	123
4.3.2	Results: Conversational data	124
4.3.2.1	Results: Bilingual spontaneous group conversations	124
4.3.2.2	Results: Spontaneous one-on-one speech and elicited conversations	128
4.4	Conclusions and discussion	153

Chapter 5

	Dutch Turkish diverging from Turkey-Turkish: Two experimental studies on how Dutch Turkish employs subordination and reported speech structures	157
5.1	Contact-induced language change and immigrant Turkish in the Netherlands	158
5.2	Subordination and contact-induced change	160
5.2.1	Subordinate clauses	161
5.2.1.1	Subordination in Turkish	162
5.2.1.2	Subordination in Dutch	163
5.2.2	Reported Speech structures	163
5.2.2.1	Reported speech in Turkish	163
5.2.2.2	Reported speech in Dutch	164
5.3	Methods, data and results	165
5.3.1	Experimental performance data	166
5.3.1.1	Results: Experimental performance data (elicited imitation task)	167
5.3.2	Conventionality judgments (‘perception’ data)	174
5.3.2.1	Results: <i>Rating</i> task	176
5.3.2.2	Results: <i>Forced-choice</i> task	179
5.4	Conclusions and discussion	181

Chapter 6

	Convergent developments in Dutch Turkish word order - A comparative study using ‘production’ and judgment’ data: Converging evidence?	187
6.1	A brief overview of findings so far	188
6.2	Introduction	190

6.3	Word order and contact-induced change	196
6.3.1	Position of the matrix clause verb in Turkish and Dutch	200
6.3.2	Reporting verb position in reported speech constructions	203
6.3.3	Research questions	204
6.4	Studies 1 and 2: Production data	204
6.4.1	Study 1: Spontaneous group and one-on-one conversations	205
6.4.1.1	Method: Spontaneous group and one-on-one Conversations.....	205
6.4.1.2	Results of Study 1: Natural speech data	206
6.4.2	Study 2: Experimental performance data	224
6.4.2.1	Method: Elicited imitation	224
6.4.2.2	Results of Study 2: Elicited imitation data	226
6.5	Study 3: Conventinality judgments ('perception' data).....	233
6.5.1	Method: Conventinality judgments	233
6.5.2	Results: Perception (judgment) data.....	236
6.5.2.1	Results: <i>Rating</i> task	236
6.5.2.2	Results: <i>Forced-choice</i> task.....	239
6.6	Conclusions and discussion	240
Chapter 7		
Drawing the strands together: Conclusions and discussion.....		247
7.1	The study: Rationale and motivation.....	247
7.2	Overview of the results.....	248
7.3	Implications for theories of contact linguistics.....	252
7.3.1	Linguistic complexity.....	257
7.4	Speech modes	259
7.5	Linguistic competence: Competence and performance	261
7.6	Converging evidence	263
7.7	Usage-based linguistics on change	264
7.8	Concluding remarks and future outlook	266
References		271
Appendix 1 Samples of transcriptions.....		281
A.	Bilingual spontaneous group conversations	281
B.	Spontaneous one-on-one conversations (BM condition).....	283

C.	Spontaneous one-on-one conversations (MM condition)	286
D.	Spontaneous one-on-one conversations (TR-Turkish monolinguals)	288
E.	Elicited one-on-one speech (BM condition).....	289
F.	Elicited one-on-one speech (MM condition).....	291
G.	Elicited one-on-one speech (TR-Turkish monolinguals)	292
Appendix 2 Experimental tasks		295
A.	Elicited Imitation Task (BM condition)	295
B.	Elicited Imitation Task (MM condition & TR-Turkish monolinguals)	296
C.	Conventionality judgments	298
1.	Rating Task (BM condition).....	298
2.	Rating Task (MM condition & TR-Turkish monolinguals)	300
3.	Forced-Choice Task (BM condition).....	302
4.	Forced-Choice Task (MM condition & TR-Turkish monolinguals).....	305
5.	Comments – Feedback	307
Nederlandse samenvatting		309
CV		317
Tilburg Dissertations in Culture Studies		319

Acknowledgments

This dissertation has been produced with scrupulous work involving loads of brainstorming, discussions, debates, conference occasions, great ideas, which the rest of this book presents. But, more importantly, it is also the product of loads of feelings and passion for which many great people deserve to be acknowledged here.

This dissertation has been undoubtedly realized thanks to, first of all, Ad Backus, my main supervisor and promotor. Without him, it would not have been possible. I started this process not knowing much about language contact and change. He has patiently raised me into contact linguistics. I have always enjoyed our scientific discussions and conferences we attended together. He has been more than just a supervisor; he has been a colleague, a conference-company, a co-author, a co-presenter, a co-traveler to the conferences, a friend-like boss (Yes, that is possible!). All those conferences and traveling to the venues together were always quite fruitful and fun. While some other PhD students do not even receive e-mail replies from their supervisor, Ad was almost always available and helpful with his wide-open office door; and he continues to be. When coming to work, sometimes panicked and stressed, I could just run into his office for some discussions and I always left feeling relieved. He manages to de-stress his students with his calm nature. Besides all those helpful talks, he worked with me a great deal on this dissertation, and dealt with a lot of ‘Pelinism’ ☺. Thank you very much for everything so far! After many fun and intellectual discussions, my ‘generative’ background has not been completely refuted yet. So, we still need some more years to work together, Ad.

I also would like to thank my second promotor, Kutlay Yağmur and co-promotor Massimiliano Spotti for making time available for my dissertation. Kutlay *hocam* has always been encouraging, ever since we met in Ankara

when I was still a third year bachelor student looking for ways to be able to study in the Netherlands. He holds a special place as being the first academic I met from this country, and now he is involved in helping me finalize my PhD project.

Next, the ‘big bosses’ of the Department of Culture Studies at Tilburg University, Sjaak Kroon and Jan Blommaert, deserve special thanks in my work. Although Sjaak certainly scared me on my first working day at Tilburg University, saying, ‘we fire PhD students who do not progress sufficiently,’ he has always been helpful with his attentive attitude and also by making the required financial means available for my project. Jan Blommaert is an inspiring professor from whom I learnt (during our ‘progress’ meetings) to be more self-confident while presenting my PhD work. The lesson always to be remembered is: nobody else knows about it better than me. Thanks for this reminder, Jan.

The other two of the most important contributors to this work are Véronique Verhagen and Jeanne Kurvers. All those statistical analyses were only possible thanks to them. Jeanne always made her time available to brainstorm, discuss and find ways of analyzing my data. Her guidance has been invaluable. Hartelijk bedankt, Jeanne! In addition, Véronique made precious contributions to the data analyses of this study with her expertise in SPSS. Our two-hour appointments sometimes got extended even to nine hours. You are special for this work, so special thanks to you, Véronique! You are super kind.

My scientific committee members: Sjef Barbiers, Carol Pfaff, Jeanine Treffers-Daller and Janette Sakel. Thanks for taking part in the final phase of this project. Special thanks to Sjef for believing in me and supporting me ever since we met during my Utrecht years, and also for the nice scientific and non-scientific conversations at our lunch meetings. We still need to work on ‘doubling’ in Turkish together. Thank you, Carol, for organizing that panel on Turkish in UCLA and also for hosting us in LA. And Jeanine, our little conversation on Turkish subordination in Wuppertal was quite useful for this work. I have to thank you for that too.

I owe more than just ‘thanks’ to Carine and Karin who did such a meticulous job on the final layout of my book. Thank you very very much. You are the best!

One of the most indispensable people in my Tilburg life is my roomie, Paul Mutsaers. I was lucky to have him as my office mate as we could manage to have both fun and serious talks following in quick succession. Being a workaholic with the publishing record in his hands in DCU (I bet!), Paul has always been very inspiring with his enthusiasm for science. Watching him working hard, steam rising from his head and red cheeks, I made much progress on the days we were at the office together. You have been more than just a colleague, Paul! Thanks for all the nice times we had and for your support. I hope we keep in touch!

Zehra Işıksoy, the great research assistant I had for my project... Without her, it would have been difficult to get so many Turkish-Dutch participants for the long experimental tasks in this study. Thanks to her large network, her gift of persuasion, and hard work, we could conduct various experiments with the required participant profile resulting in very interesting and useful findings. Many thanks also go to Meryem Akgöl for helping me find bilingual participants for my *bilingual spontaneous group conversation* data collection.

I also would like to thank Cem Keskin. We would start this journey together on a slightly different project Cem! You as the post-doc and me as the PhD... Too bad that it did not work. But I still hope that we can one day work on the same project together. Cem has been a special figure in my Dutch journey, by being the first person I met in the Netherlands and the one who picked me up at Utrecht Central station. Besides being my teacher in Linguistics, especially for syntax, in my first years as a research master student at Utrecht University, he has also been a great friend. He was the ‘abi’ to whom I ran crying when I met a mouse in my house for the first time in my life in the Netherlands. He has been a great guide in many respects.

To my great ‘gang’ in Turkey... Very special and big thanks go to them for all their support and great friendship as well as for their participation in my experiments. They made a great contribution by also arranging many monolingual participants for me in Turkey. My lovely friends... bu kelime az kalıyor size. ‘Dost’ niteliğindeki arkadaşsınız siz: Mehmet Ali Yılık, Meryem & Serkan Moldur çifti, Hülya Kurugöllü, Yasemin Çakmak, Sema Turan ve İlknur Pamuk. Katkılarınız en başta arkadaş olarak sonra da profesyonel anlamda çok büyük. Her daim sizinle zaman geçirmeyi

özlediđimi çok iyi biliyorsunuz. Love you all! Also, thanks to their students for taking part in my experiments.

To my uncle, Salih Metinođlu, and especially his wife, Belgin. Their contribution in finding participants in Turkey with the appropriate profile and also their own participation in the experiments were of tremendous value. Thanks for gathering all those people at your place for me. Katkı ve katılımlarınızdan dolayı çok teşekkür ederim. Also, to Lütfü & Pınar Dođan: thanks for participating in my study.

When I present my work, it is always a great pleasure to have people in the audience who can understand what I am talking about and who can give me feedback. This was not quite possible in Tilburg University, but, luckily, there were some research fellows at MPI at Radboud University, Nijmegen, who could do that. First of all, I would like to thank Pablo Irizarri van Suchtelen for inviting me as a speaker at your LinC colloquium and for the time we spent at the conferences. Among these fellows, also thanks go to Hülya Şahin, Francesca Romana Moro, Suzanne Aalberse, Gerit Jan Kootstra and Pieter Muysken for their fruitful feedback on my work at my talk in Nijmegen.

To my ODTÜ world... where my inspiration for science began... Many thanks to my great instructors, *hocalarım* (Wolf König, Betil Eröz-Tuđa, Bilal Kırkıcı, Çiđdem Sađın Şimşek, Gülay Edibođlu Cedden and more) there at Middle East Technical University for always supporting me and listening to me with great interest. I am hoping to work there with you soon!

Daria Bahtina-Jantsikene, we met in Oslo, and I already knew the moment we clicked that we would keep in touch. The fun times we had at many conferences, our coffee meetings and a few other types of occasions together can never be forgotten from my PhD years. We could talk about all kinds of stuff accompanied by drinks. Thanks for all those nice memories! Marko Simonović, how can I forget you, when it is about conference joy! Thank you for your funny stories!

To refresh from all the work stress, the group I always like to meet and laugh a lot with is my ‘Canon’ gang: Annarita Di Palma, Avril McConnachie, Menno van Teeseling, Didem Yılmaz Cunningham, Bilal Sarıöz, Baran Sarı, Aytaç Eltez, Ersin Kaletaş, Esin Tanrıbilir, Melih Demir, Cem Bilir. Thanks for all the fun times we had before and during my PhD years.

I also want to thank some other friends who colored my life during this hard work. To my Greek friends: to Vasso Alex for all the great chats we had about everything and especially about PhD life, and to Androniki Pavlidou for hosting me and my family in Athens at a conference occasion, and to Oddie Sifou and Ismini Savvala for all the nice times we had in Greece and in the Netherlands.

I am grateful to my lovely paranympths: Melike Almaz and Megan Price. Melike'ciğim, you are the 'dost' type of friend to me in this country far from home. Having a lot in common also made us click from the first time we met. You are there whenever I need you, so paranympth-ness would not suit anybody else better than it would you. I am very happy to have found you, as this country would be even more boring and difficult without your friendship! My dear lovely Meggie... many thanks to ROC, actually, as we have gained each other thanks to our Dutch courses. It is always super fun spending time together. Being able to talk about various topics and enjoying some pleasant hours together as well as having hubbies from the same little village of Middelburg ☺ has brought us closer to each other. You are one of the few people vitalizing my NL life. Thank you, girls!

Oksana Brizmer, Utrecht would be more boring without you! Our constant language mixing and switching between English and Dutch makes our gatherings so funny although many serious topics are also involved. The triad of Oksana, Megan and Pelin is the one we should keep going! Despite the fact that you are getting too Dutch with your agenda, we excuse you and still want to see you very eagerly and badly ☺. Spasibo, Oxie for your friendship and all the fun you add to my NL life.

And thank you Fatma Selçuk for our healthy and biological food conversations in addition to some other fun topics, and also Derya Demirçay and Filiz Künüroğlu for joining my last phase of PhD life in Tilburg and for making it even more enjoyable.

To my family: My wonderful parents... canım annem, Hülya ve canım babam, Saim... hayatımın her aşamasında olduğu gibi bu yolda da beni hiçbir zaman yalnız bırakmayıp her zaman arkamda ve en büyük destekçim oldunuz. Her karşılaştığım zorlukta ilk aradığım dayanağımısınız. Bu kitabın basılmasında da, belki farketmeden, en büyük desteği olan yine sizsiniz. Sizsiz bu noktaya kesinlikle gelemezdim. Size ne kadar teşekkür etsem

azdır. Sağolun, varolun. Birlikte daha nice sağlıklı yıllarımız olsun. Sizi çok seviyorum.

My sister, Selin and my brother in-law, Kaan... First of all, thank you for your contribution to the cover picture of this book and for your great, unflagging support in life for everything. Her paniklediğim ve desteğe ihtiyacım olduğu anda yanımdasınız. Kardeşlerin en hası ve en özelsiniz. Rahatlığınız, eğlenceli doğanız, bilgenliğiniz ☺ ve tatlılığımızla hayatımın vazgeçilmez parçalarısınız. Çok seviliyorsunuz! Her an yanımda olduğunuz için sağolun.

Somebody I can never forget to thank here is my grandmother, who is always proud of me and is interested in my professional life and studies. Canım anneannem, her türlü desteğin ve sevgin için çok teşekkür ederim. Keşke büyükbabam da bu kitabı görebilseydi. Ama beni gururla seyrettiğinden eminim.

Next, very very special thanks go to my dear husband, Edwin, who always believes in me and provides all the possible support he can. You were always the one who had to deal with my stressful moments or the hectic times I had to work long hours to finish some work. Thanks, aşkım, for taking care of me, cooking for me ☺, supporting me and for always being there for me. Also, thanks for your love, support, understanding, and also for sweet and warm contribution to my life, not to mention your contribution to this work, in Dutch, whenever I needed. Teşekkürler aşkım! You complete me.

Also, many thanks go to my husband's parents: my mother-in-law, Eef, and father in-law, Jaap, for their supportive attitudes and warmth. It feels good to know that I am not all that lonely in this cold country.

The biggest gratitude is for the biggest wonder of my life; to the best thing which has ever happened to me in my life; to my cutiepie; to the one who felt and witnessed each and every word together with me along the entire thinking process of this dissertation when she was in my belly for nine months; to the biggest love of my life, to my lovely daughter... Lara'm. Prensesim, bitanem, canım kızım, bu tezde her bir kelimenin yazıldığı ve her bir satırını düşündüğüm anlara ortak olan tek kişisin. Sen karnımda tekmeler atarken bazen günün sekiz saatini çalışma masasından kalkmadan geçirdiğimiz günler oldu. Çalışırken masaya biraz fazla yaslandığımda o

tekmelerini, ‘Dikkat! ben burdayım’ der gibi, beni uyarmak için kullandı. Zekiliğın daha o zamandan belliydi. Bu tezi birlikte yazdık canımınıçi ve bu Dr. unvanı sadece benim değıl aynı zamanda senin de, Dr. Lara! Dokuz ay boyunca beni zorlamayıp bana kolay bir hamilelik geçirterek, ve daha da önemlisi, bana varlığının yaşattığı güzel duygularla motivasyon vererek bu tezin gerçekleşmesine en büyük katkıyı sen sağladın. Çok teşekkür ederim annem, canım bebeğim! Varlığınla hayatıma anlam kattın. Dünya tatlısısın. Hayatımın en özeli ve en güzelisin. Seninle gurur duyuyorum ve seni herşeyden çok seviyorum boncuğum, annesinin kuzusu...



List of abbreviations

ABL – Ablative	INT – interrogative
ACC – accusative	LOC – locative
ANom – Action nominalization	Nar.past – narrative past
AOR – Aorist	NEG – negative
CAN – abilitative	NMLZ – Nominalization
COM – comitative	ObjP – object participle
Cond – conditional	OPT – Optative
COP – Copula	PF – Perfect tense
CV – converb	Pl – plural
DAT – dative	POSS – possessive
DEF – definiteness marker	Pres – present tense
DIM – Diminutive	Pr.Prog – present progressive
EV – evidential	Prog – progressive
FNom – factive nominalization	PTCP – Participle
FUT – future	REL – Relativizer
GEN – genitive	Sg – singular
INF – Infinitive	SubjP – subject participle

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This chapter first introduces language change in general, distinguishing between an *innovation* phase and a *propagation* phase (Croft 2000). Section 1.1 then opens the discussion by examining the causes of change. Given that the current study uses data from a contact setting, the focus will be on externally rather than on internally induced changes. At this point, the possibility of internal forces working together with external factors in contact-induced change is examined, using the concept of *multiple causation*. This ties in with the current study's overall aim to explore the driving forces behind change or convergence. Three pioneering frameworks (Matras, Heine & Kuteva, and Johanson) probing the sources of contact-induced changes are presented in Section 1.4, ordered in reverse chronological order but considered from a comparative perspective. They appear to be talking about the same concepts and issues using different terminology. Matras provides the most recent comprehensive approach. Heine and Kuteva mainly focus on a sub-type of change called 'grammaticalization' which does not seem to help find answers to all the questions, while Johanson's account contributes to the field with a few other details not mentioned by the other approaches. Superficially, the three accounts overlap to a great extent, but each will be shown to provide some extra details the other two overlook or are not clear about. Having described the different types and outcomes of change, and having explored how and why a change might develop, we go into the process of change more in Sections 1.5 and 1.6. First, the present study is positioned in the debate about 'convergence hierarchy' (Stolz & Stolz 1996; Ross 2001; Matras 2009; Croft 2000; Heine 2005; Aikhenvald 2002), questioning where, in language, diffusion starts and whether it is morphology or syntax that is more vulnerable to contact. In addition, the three approaches are reviewed on this point, and mildly criticized about the vague implications on how aware or

conscious bilinguals are assumed to be about the change process and whether there is any intentionality involved. Next, Section 1.7 briefly discusses the role of a ‘translation mechanism’ in contact-induced changes because ‘translation’ seems to be the best possible candidate as a mechanism for the innovation stage of the change process, as also implicitly considered in the aforementioned frameworks. This is followed by the introduction of the concept of *unidirectionality*, in Section 1.8. To round off the discussion of theoretical frameworks that deal with language change, Section 1.9 defines how the present study describes contact-induced change or convergent development, and this is compared to another influential definition. The question of when a change gets recognized as ‘change’ is controversial, giving rise to ‘restricted’ and ‘broad’ perspectives. The rest of the chapter introduces four other topics that play an important role throughout the thesis. Section 1.10 portrays the differences between *bilingual* and *monolingual speech modes* of bilinguals and their relevance to the current study. Evidence of change is sometimes claimed to be found more in speech produced while in bilingual mode. Then, Section 1.11 will focus on how *linguistic competence* and especially the concepts of *competence* and *performance* are defined. The next sections introduce aspects of the theoretical framework that are independent of the fact that the empirical data for this study come from a contact setting. Key concepts from *usage-based linguistics* will be introduced in Section 1.12, and their relevance for the study will be explained. One important methodological principle, the search for *converging evidence* is touched upon in Section 1.13, as this study emphasizes its value and aims to obtain *converging evidence* for its claims. This section argues that converging evidence can strengthen a study by rendering the results more reliable. Section 1.14 then briefly introduces the notion of ‘complexity’, since contact-induced change is often portrayed as a kind of simplification. The question is how we should define *complexity* and whether what is more complex is indeed more vulnerable in language contact settings and therefore more easily subject to *change*. Finally, Section 1.15 briefly describes the Turkish immigrant community and its linguistic setting in the Netherlands on which the current study is based.

1.1 Introduction

Why do languages change? This is a very difficult question to answer (Croft 2000:1). Historical linguistics distinguishes between four causes of change: 1) drift, an internally induced change caused by pattern pressures, structural imbalances, etc., 2) dialect borrowing, 3) foreign interference, and 4) deliberate decision. The second and third causes could also be categorized together as both are interference related, or cases of externally induced change. Deliberate decision is a less common cause of linguistic change, mostly leading to lexical changes (Thomason 2008:47).

However, the aim of this study is not to answer the general and far reaching question why languages change, as that requires collaborative efforts from the entire field of contact linguistics, but, rather, to explore whether a specific type of language change, i.e. contact-induced change, emerges for a specific bilingual group, i.e. Turkish-Dutch bilinguals in the Netherlands, for specific constructions, i.e. *subordination* structures and *word order in complex clauses*. If the answer to this question is ‘yes’, the further question is how and why the change evolves the way it does.

Languages may resemble each other in their words and in their constructions, i.e. in the form-meaning combinations they use. Although many similarities arise from universal properties of languages (e.g. all languages have clausal negation, etc.), or from a shared origin (e.g. most Turkic languages share SOV word order because they have all inherited it from a common ancestor), many other similarities are caused by language contact (Aikhenvald 2002:1). *Language contact* phenomena occur when two or more languages are used in the same place at the same time and by the same people. Languages may also influence each other sometimes even without actual social contact but through literacy contact, such as the medium of book learning, literature, teachers, dictionaries, etc. (Winford 2003:2).

Language contact situations have three kinds of outcomes; a) language maintenance (the preservation of the native languages but usually accompanied by some changes through internally- and/or externally (contact)-induced developments), b) complete language shift, and c) creation of new contact (mixed) languages (Winford 2003:11). The current study focuses on the first type.

An example that can be used to illustrate how an externally-induced lexical change could emerge is the use of *almak* ‘take’ in the expression

otobüs almak ‘take the bus’ in NL-Turkish¹ instead of the TR-Turkish² version *otobüse binmek* ‘get on the bus’. In TR-Turkish one normally *gets on* a bus or any other vehicle while in NL-Turkish, under the influence of Dutch, one can ‘take’ a bus just like one does in Dutch. Example 1 is a possible case of lexical change, more specifically of *loan translation*.

- (1) NL-Turkish: Bugün hava yağmurlu. Otobüs-ü al-acağ-ım.
 Today weather rainy bus-ACC take-Fut-1sg
- Dutch: Het regent vandaag. Ik neem de bus.
 It rains today I take the bus
- TR-Turkish: Bugün hava yağmurlu. Otobüs-ü bin-eceğ-im.
 today weather rainy bus-DAT get.on-Fut-1sg
 ‘The weather is rainy today. I will take the bus.’

Contact-induced language change is usually presented as synonymous with externally-induced change. However, that suggests that all contact-induced change only involves borrowing from the other, ‘external’, language. But is that really true? At the very least, external and internal forces sometimes seem to operate together.

1.2 Contact-induced change as external but also internal change: Multiple causation

In the broadest perspective, language change comes in two types: internally induced and externally induced (in short: internal and external changes). Language contact constitutes the external cause for language change. As the process of language change must begin at some point, it requires a moment or act of *innovation* (or *actuation*: the creation of a specific novel form at a specific time and place; Croft 2000:4). For an innovation to reach the state of ‘completed change’, it needs to diffuse in the language through a propagation stage (i.e. diffusion; Croft 2000:4). That is, the process usually operates

¹ ‘NL-Turkish’, ‘Dutch Turkish’, ‘immigrant Turkish in the Netherlands’ and ‘Dutch-influenced immigrant Turkish’ are used interchangeably in this study and they all mean the same: Turkish spoken in the Netherlands.

² ‘TR-Turkish’ refers to Turkey-Turkish and they are also used interchangeably throughout the study.

through innovation as the starting point and propagation as the subsequent unfolding of a change.

If the source of the change is a structure or feature of the other language, the mechanism by which the innovation comes about is *interference* (Weinreich 1968, cited in Croft 2000:145). Speakers identify an element in one language as roughly equivalent to an element in the other language. Usually, this identification is fuelled by some degree of overlap between the languages. Weinreich (1968) refers to the search for this overlap or connection as *interlingual identification*, which relates to speakers' ability to match the system internal properties of two different languages based on their external features. Interlingual identification is basically the setup of a cognitive link between two distinct linguistic systems which triggers the transfer of linguistic elements or properties from one language to the other. (Croft 2000:146). The result of this identification process is *interference* or *transfer*, which ultimately may lead to established contact-induced changes. In actual fact, internal language change is suggested to operate with a similar mechanism, now called *intraference*, in which semantic relatedness of certain words or constructions is recognized in the speaker's mental representation (intralingual identification). Intraference is the outcome of this identification process. It is, in short, the result of identifying the meaning of one form with the overlapping meaning of another form, which is then followed by the use of the latter with the non-shared meaning of the former, and this produces internal language change (Croft 2000:150). Having described them separately, we should here underline that the intraference mechanism also functions in contact-induced (external) change, especially after the initial step of interlingual identification. While the innovated linguistic element or structure emerges through this mechanism at the innovation stage, the propagation period (during *conventionalization* or *grammaticalization*) will, most probably, witness intralingual processes and intraference too, until it reaches the status of 'completed change'.

Change does not stop at the moment of innovation; it also needs to be propagated or diffused. This process may be essentially internal only, but it may at the same time receive reinforcement from the same interlingual identification that made the innovation possible. This has given rise to the notion of *multiple causation* (Thomason 2001:62, 2008:47). A typical case of a change with multiple causation is contact-induced grammaticalization, simultaneously implying both types of process (Heine & Kuteva 2006:73). In this perspective, contact either triggers a grammatical change which might

also have developed without language contact, or contact motivates and speeds up an already ongoing grammatical change (Heine & Kuteva 2006:79). Thus, internal and external changes are not mutually exclusive. They, rather, complement each other in bringing about a grammatical change.

Thomason defines contact-induced change as any linguistic change that would have been *less likely* to emerge in the same way without a specific contact situation, or that has occurred ‘at least partly’ due to language contact (2001:62). This definition is broad enough to accommodate two different types of contact-related change. It, first of all, encompasses *direct* importations from the other language: morphemes, structures, or morpheme-structure combinations with or without structural modification of the model language features. Secondly, *indirect* contact effects are also included under this definition. There are two different sub-types: a) changes emerging in an attrition process which would not be likely to happen in the affected language if there had not been contact; these are changes which do not result from direct or indirect influence from the dominant language as the affected language does not necessarily become similar to the model (i.e. there are no interference features) but which typically cause speakers to stop using particular features of the base language, b) later changes triggered by an earlier direct importation; although this type may actually be driven by internal pressures, it would have been less likely to occur without the initial contact feature, and is, thus, still contact-induced change.

Table 1.1: Categories of contact-induced change (Thomason 2001)

Direct importations from the source language	Indirect Contact effects	
	Attrition processes	Later changes triggered by an earlier direct importations

A good example of this ‘late-stage’ contact-induced change is a process which starts with the borrowing of a subordinate conjunction into a language with non-finite subordination and later develops finite subordination, although the finite subordinate clause structure itself was not borrowed. It

still counts as a contact-induced change since it would have been less likely to happen if the earlier borrowing had not taken place. By framing her definition of ‘contact-induced change’ as any linguistic change ‘at least partly’ caused by contact, Thomason calls attention to the possibility of *multiple causation* (Thomason 2001:62, 2008:47). Furthermore, the fact that there are types of ‘change’ that could have occurred with or without contact, or in which language-contact was only the trigger, means that a strict demarcation between internal and external changes may be descriptively inaccurate.

In sum, contact-induced changes are changes motivated by an external force which is the influence of a model language on a replica language. Often, it involves, due to language contact, ‘externally’ induced processes that result in ‘internal’ developments. That is, contact-induced grammatical change is theorized to follow the same strategies of (internal) grammaticalization. That is why contact-induced changes are viewed as constrained and to a certain extent predictable (Heine & Kuteva 2006: 73-79).

1.3 Model of change: Length of innovation (interference) phase

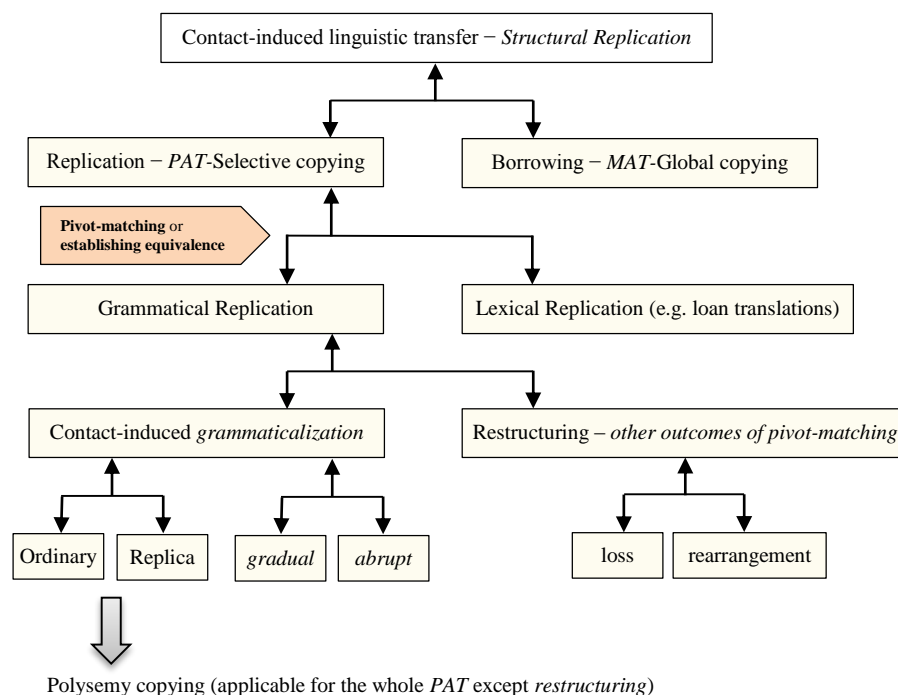
Contact-induced language change starts with an external push, with impact from another language as a result of contact. However, it can be debated for how long and how intensely the model structure keeps influencing the replica structure as the change unfolds through time. Or does the reinforcement from the model language stop after the pivot structure has been identified in the model and then matched with the one of the replica language?

In the grammaticalization process of *polysemy copying* (see below), the replica construction is suggested to be less grammaticalized than the corresponding model one. Especially, its use is found to be contextually restricted and optional in the early stages of grammaticalization. The new category may also be ambiguous between its literal and grammaticalized meaning. Therefore, an intermediate step of overlap between the earlier (non-grammaticalized) and the later (grammaticalized) meanings (causing the ambiguity) emerges. This proposes the presence of a gradual transition from model to replica category where both structures coexist (Heine & Kuteva 2003:558-559). This all implies that the replicated structure in the replica language still needs to be reinforced at the beginning and inter-

mediate stages of contact-induced grammaticalization until it reaches a certain entrenchment level, or a certain frequency of use. We can now get back to our question whether reinforcement stops after the pivot structure in the replica language has been identified. It makes sense that maybe interference does not stop right after the initial act of *pivot-matching*, but only after the structure becomes entrenched to a certain degree. It is also possible that every time a feature with a contact-induced origin is produced, it is the result of online interference. Whether this interference stops and the process turns into a code-internal development (internal change) or continues all the way through the process (more specifically until the new variant is the default choice) are key questions for a theory of change. Thus, *innovation* and *propagation* may not be as easily separable as it seems, and they may overlap for a while (Croft 2000:4). In the synchronic process of selection and the diachronic continuum of innovation-propagation, the same cognitive and social factors which created the innovation may also induce variation with the same innovation a number of times during the propagation stage. Disentangling innovation from propagation and selection becomes difficult (Hruschka et al. 2009:467).

The current work concerns externally induced change. However, in the discussion chapter I will return to the issue of the separation between externally and internally induced sub-types.

Many contact linguists have contributed different terms which, however, often seem to point out almost the same phenomena or concepts. Some of those distinctions are useful for clarification or for more detailed specifications. However, they have also led to some confusion. I will attempt to combine those different terminologies in an overview of the different categorizations of contact-induced effects or convergence by different scholars. Below is a common summarizing schema of different approaches. They will all be introduced in a comparative manner in the following sections.



1.4 Approaches to *convergence*: Terminological confusion

The term *convergence* is adopted to refer to the general outcome of shared structure between two languages in interaction, caused by unidirectional or, sometimes, bidirectional influence. *Convergence* is also regarded as the mechanism that leads to structural accommodation, with varying degrees of structural retention.

1.4.1 The driving forces behind convergence

The underlying and probably unconscious goal for bilinguals is to enrich the communicative capacity by making use of the full bilingual linguistic repertoire. This gives the speakers a strong motivation to avail themselves of constructions from both languages in their repertoire. However, *convergence* operates as a constraining factor which causes bilinguals to inhibit certain words or structures from both languages. It limits or reduces the size of the bilingual linguistic repertoire since a structure in, for instance, the replica language that used to be different from its equivalent in the model language may change under contact and eventually resemble the model construction.

This reduces the options in the bilingual linguistic repertoire for that structure from two to only one.

The driving forces behind convergence are usually presented as if they are *conscious* or *intentional goals* bilinguals aim to reach. The current study views those driving forces as *outcomes* rather than as *goals*. This section provides an overview of those driving forces, and criticizes the way they are often presented.

Convergence is the result of the choices bilinguals make during language use. If these choices involve replication of a foreign structure, this leads to *convergence* and/or *grammaticalization* as the *unintended* results of that replication. The question is what leads bilinguals to replicate a particular unit or structure in the first place.

Bilinguals need to carry out communicative interactions in two different linguistic systems. Although selection and inhibition mechanisms constrain language choice, the ‘aim’ of maximizing the communicative efficiency permits bilinguals to exercise a certain degree of freedom in recruiting patterns from their entire linguistic repertoire (Matras 2009:234). The use of word ‘aim’ has intentional associations. As the process does not seem to be intentional or conscious, maximizing communicative efficiency is unlikely to be an explicit aim, but perhaps just the outcome. It is not something people aim for but it emerges as a consequence of what they do.

A compromise strategy steps in: on the one hand, respect is shown for the coherence of the chosen language of interaction, but, at the same time, certain language features are allowed to converge. This process ultimately maximizes the efficiency of bilingual speech production (Matras 2009:235). The compromise helps the bilinguals reach an important step: ‘maximum syncretization’ of the two languages and their processing operations, which enables speakers to use similar mental organization procedures or processing operations for equivalent constructions of both languages in their linguistic repertoire. Syncretizing the two languages, through convergence, reduces the load on selection and inhibition mechanisms and on processing operations (Matras & Sakel 2007:835).

In short, Matras brings up ‘reducing the processing load’ as an aim of *convergence*. Proposing this as a goal, however, seems to imply an awareness or consciousness of the converging process in the mind of the bilingual. I would rather take it as an outcome of convergence. Syncretization or convergence of the two languages results in reducing the processing load which maximizes the communicative efficiency.

1.4.2 Matras: MAT, PAT and pivot-matching

Matras (2009) conceptualizes convergent developments as involving a mechanism of ‘(structural) replication’, and distinguishes two kinds: *MAT*, the replication of linguistic ‘matter’ and *PAT*, or pattern replication. This framework presents the most recent comprehensive account, with the important mechanism of *pivot-matching*. Although the current study focuses on ‘pattern replication’, a complete account of Matras’ framework should briefly discuss what he has to say about *MAT* as well.

MAT refers to the direct replication of linguistic material, i.e. actual morphemes with phonological shape from the model language, or ‘the other subset of the bilingual linguistic repertoire’ (Matras 2009:148). The ‘borrowing’ of single-word units from the other language is a form of ‘matter’ replication, such as the use of the words *computer*, *internet* and *download* by a German-English bilingual with slight phono- and morphological adaptation. In these particular cases, speakers have only these single-word forms to refer to the relevant concepts in their linguistic repertoire which means they do not select English when using that form. However, it may also be the case that bilingual speakers know a corresponding equivalent in the receiving language (Matras 2009:148). A relevant example is the use of the Dutch word *frietjes* ‘french fries’ by Turkish-Dutch bilinguals.

Both social and structural constraints play a role in determining the distribution of matter and pattern replication. Structural constraints are related to the availability of forms in the replica language that can match the new ones coming in from the model language. Some communities develop social constraints, for example in the form of banning matter replication. A case for this is the Vaupés region of Amazonia where even languages in close contact are kept strictly separate as language identity is regarded as the badge of ethnic identity. This has created a strong barrier against lexical loans or matter replication (Aikhenvald 2002:23). In this kind of cases, pattern replication may still proceed, and help the bilingual to minimize the pressure of organizing the two languages in the mind, without overt phonological similarity – without *MAT*.

Pattern replication, *PAT*, involves the re-shaping of replica language internal structures because of language contact. There is no importation of formal substance (i.e. matter) from the model language in this process, but the use of inherited ‘matter’ of the replica language is changed. The structural coherence of the replica language is maintained. *PAT* may be

defined, then, as the replication of patterns of distribution, of grammatical and semantic meaning, and of formal-syntactic arrangement from the model language in the replica language (Matras & Sakel 2007:830). One of the main theoretical questions is what the processing mechanism is that causes pattern replication. Although various suggestions have been made using different terminologies, explanations often suggest that *pivot-matching* (Matras & Sakel 2007:830) lies at the heart of the mechanism. This creative *convergence mechanism* suggests that bilinguals start with identifying a feature (such as a word, a morpheme, a meaning or a structural aspect) with a pivot role in the model construction, and then match this with a similar feature in a construction in the replica language, assigning the same role. The matching structure in the replica language is internally re-shaped, based on the model's functional scope and constraints, involving for example extensions of the structure's distributional context, the creation of a new category, or an increase in its frequency (Matras & Sakel 2007:858). As the new structure in the replica language is accommodated to the model language, it may develop features that differ from those of the equivalent construction in the model (source) language. The *pivot-matching* mechanism may result in grammaticalization in some cases and not in some others. Thus, *pivot-matching* happens earlier than grammaticalization in the process of contact induced change.

Matras distinguishes between 'gradual' and 'abrupt' contact-induced grammaticalization. Language change is suggested to be mostly a *gradual* process via transfer from one system to another and subsequent diffusion within the adopting system. Different linguistic features change at different times or stages and different variants co-occur and even sometimes in the same text or speech, which signals some gradualness. However, some changes are *abrupt*, spontaneous or momentary, and motivated by the requirements of the communicative situation (Matras & Sakel 2007:851). Thus, what seems to be a gradual process of language change is actually that old and new variants coexist for a long time (Croft 2000:49-50).

Because of developments after the initial *pivot-matching*, pattern replication does not necessarily end up as 'isomorphism', i.e. there is rarely a one-to-one match between the constructions cross-linguistically (Matras 2009:243). Johanson (2008:62-3) also emphasizes that copies are never true replicas of their models. That is also why he objects to the term 'borrowing' and uses 'copying' instead: copies are per definition not *identical* or

isomorphic to their sources. Dissimilarities between the copy and model often exist.

While planning an utterance, speakers seem to relax the need to separate the two linguistic systems in their repertoire to some extent. As a result, they begin using, say, word-order patterns of one language in the other one, without letting go of the situational constraints that dictate language choice. Hence, a conversational ‘choice of language use’³ is proposed to trigger the process of pattern replication and pivot-matching (Matras & Sakel 2007: 832).

Matter-borrowing takes place when actual morphemes with their phonological shapes from one language are replicated in another language. In PAT, on the other hand, only patterns of the model language are replicated. The organization, distribution and mapping of grammatical or semantic meaning of a foreign morpheme is borrowed, while the form itself is not. In some MAT cases, however, the function of the element is also borrowed, which combines MAT and PAT. This mainly happens with borrowed function words, which also suggests the difficulty of making a strict distinction between lexicon and syntax. Thus, matter and pattern replication are not always mutually exclusive, and Matras indeed finds convergence domains in which concrete morphemes are borrowed (Matras 2009:260). In some other instances of MAT and/or PAT borrowing, a considerable deviation from the model may be observed, in form or in function. In some cases, on the other hand, a distinction between MAT and PAT does not even make a lot of sense: word-order changes, for example, are always an instance of PAT.

1.4.3 Heine and Kuteva: ‘Grammaticalization’ as covering everything

Having gone through the most recent comprehensive account, we will now see how some earlier work framed the same concepts: sometimes more and sometimes less elaborately.

One of the major accounts of the fundamentals of contact-induced change, Heine and Kuteva (2003; 2006) study almost the same phenomena and concepts, but discuss them using different terminology and in a slightly more specific way (introducing various sub-categories). First of all, they

³ I prefer to use ‘choice of language use’ in this context as the word ‘strategy’ Matras uses implies *intentional* or *conscious* associations in the language change process which, I think, do not exist.

make one extra distinction between replication and borrowing, by excluding borrowing from the replication concept. That is, they restrict the reach of the term *replication* by limiting it to PAT, reserving the established term *borrowing* for MAT in Matras' terms. Then, they distinguish between *grammatical* and *lexical* replication. Loan translations and semantic extension fall into the 'lexical replication' category. Grammatical replication is further subdivided into contact-induced *grammaticalization* and *restructuring*, a distinction which will prove useful in the present study. Contact-induced *grammaticalization* is broken down even further into *ordinary* and *replica grammaticalization*. *Restructuring*, likewise has two sub-categories: *loss* and *rearrangement* whereas Matras (2009) only has the more general category 'other outcomes of pivot-matching' in addition to contact-induced grammaticalization.

Thus, Heine and Kuteva's term *borrowing* corresponds to MAT in Matras' framework. As for *replication* (PAT in Matras), though there is the distinction between lexical and grammatical replication, we will only discuss *grammatical replication* as this study focuses on the syntactic domain of subordination, i.e. language change at the clause level.

Contact-induced grammaticalization is a grammaticalization process that emerges or is triggered by the influence of one (model) language on another one (the replica language). Grammatical replication is described with respect to a set of four parameters or criteria: a) extension (or context generalization): use in new contexts leading to new meanings, b) desemanticization (or *semantic bleaching*): the loss of lexical meaning, c) decategorialization (or loss of morphosyntactic properties): a process in which a major category item (i.e. a noun or a verb) develops into a minor category one (such as a tense-aspect marker, a derivational element, an affix) by losing the properties of free forms; this can happen only to lexical or less grammaticalized forms, and d) erosion (or *phonetic reduction*): the loss of phonetic substance (Heine & Kuteva 2006:58-63). These parameters can all take place together in grammaticalization processes. They were taken into account in the present study; as we will see, the data were found not really to provide instances for these parameters. This issue will be addressed further in the discussion chapter.

Matras' general process of contact-induced grammaticalization – with *pivot-matching* – contains more or less the same dimensions. Heine and Kuteva (2003) provide a more elaborate account, however, with the distinction between *ordinary* and *replica* types of *grammaticalization*. The

mechanism for ‘ordinary’ grammaticalization is given below (Heine & Kuteva 2003:533):

Ordinary contact-induced grammaticalization

- a. Speakers of language R notice that in language M there is a grammatical category Mx.
- b. They develop an equivalent category Rx, using material available in their own language (R).
- c. To this end, they draw on universal strategies of grammaticalization, using construction Ry in order to develop Rx.
- d. They grammaticalize construction Ry to Rx.

Speakers replicate a grammatical concept by making use of universal strategies of grammaticalization (c). This is where ordinary grammaticalization differs from *replica grammaticalization*, in which bilinguals replicate the grammaticalization process (rather than a concept) they assume to have taken place in language M, using an analogical formula of the kind [My > Mx] = [Ry > Rx]. The question is how it can be proven that speakers assume an earlier grammaticalization process in M and how this assumption triggers a new grammaticalization in R, a process for which linguists need sophisticated analysis to detect it. How are speakers supposed to spot this process? It is hard to see how the replication of a grammaticalization process from the model language in the replica language can be empirically proven. Perhaps the diachronic processes are not copiable or replicable, while the grammaticalization processes in both languages can be similar (Johanson 2008:69) in contrast to what *replica grammaticalization* presupposes. In conclusion, it seems impossible to find out from a single study whether speakers have used universal strategies or have replicated a grammaticalization process that they assume has taken place in the model. Therefore, I suggest the distinction should be ignored, or even rejected.

Heine and Kuteva (2003:556) introduce an alternative analysis. *Polysemy copying* is not the replication of an actual grammaticalization process, though is similar to *ordinary contact-induced grammaticalization*. Polysemy copying is the replication of a polysemy pattern. For example, in Dutch Turkish the verb *almak* ‘to take’ is often used in the same context as its Dutch equivalent *nemen* is used in Dutch. The polysemy of *nemen* is copied onto the lexical structure of *almak*. However, although ‘polysemy copying’ is presented as an alternative to grammaticalization, I rather consider it a *triggering factor* for the grammaticalization process. In the following

example, Heine and Kuteva argue that the ‘promotion’ of the interrogative *ne* to the function of relativizer or subordinator in Macedonian Turkish, as in *adam ne geldi* ‘the man who [<what] came’ (Matras 1998, cited in Matras & Sakel 2007:838), follows grammaticalization principles. However, it is also presented as an example of polysemy copying. *Ne*, limited to interrogative meaning in Ottoman and Turkey-Turkish, replicated Macedonian *što* (which functions both as the interrogative ‘what’ and as a relativizer), and extended its function to become a relativizer as well. In Heine and Kuteva’s (2006:51-52) terms, a *minor use pattern* (already existing in the replica language, i.e. *ne* as an *interrogative* in Macedonian Turkish) turned into a *major use pattern* (*ne* has become associated with a new grammatical function, *relativizer*). Heine and Kuteva evaluate the ‘promotion’ of an interrogative to a relativizer as a universally available strategy of grammaticalization. Thus, copying the polysemy of Macedonian *što* functioned as the starting point, setting up the basis for the further grammaticalization of Turkish *ne*. A clear demarcation between contact-induced grammaticalization and polysemy copying seems to make little sense if polysemy copying functions only as the triggering factor in the grammaticalization process. That is to say, polysemy copying applies to cases in which speakers, rather than replicating the whole grammaticalization process, directly replicate only the initial stage of the process. Thus, it cannot really be considered as an alternative analysis: Macedonian Turkish *ne* initially copied the polysemy of *što* and subsequently underwent grammaticalization. This case involves copying of the concrete meaning of the pivot and then builds the abstract meaning by means of grammaticalization. Since grammaticalization by definition involves the adoption of more abstract meaning, the two phenomena naturally overlap to an extent. Polysemy copying, in conclusion, covers a subset of all contact-induced outcomes, namely the ones motivated by polysemy or polysemous linguistic elements.

Grammaticalization proceeds through the use of a number of ‘strategies’⁴ summarized in Heine (2006) for contact-induced *word-order* changes. The strategies are typical of grammatical replication: a) narrowing of options, b) shift from one construction to another, c) pragmatic unmarking, and d)

⁴ As mentioned above I would actually prefer to use the word ‘aspect’ or ‘outcome’ (as they are actually what come out of the change process) as opposed to Heine’s use of ‘strategy’ in this context, which, for me, implies *intentional* or *conscious* associations in the language change process. The four aspects discussed here are most probably not intentional or conscious ‘strategies’ of language users, but ‘outcomes’ or ‘aspects’ of the process of change.

functional extension and increased frequency (Heine 2006:4). The *narrowing* ‘strategy’ narrows down the available discourse options by choosing the pattern that corresponds most to the one in the model language. The second one induces a change in preference for one construction over another one, which results in one productive pattern losing its productivity in favor of another existing pattern that happens to match a pattern in the model language (Heine 2006:4-8). Pragmatic unmarking means that a pragmatically marked use pattern that exhibits features corresponding to the model language becomes the unmarked option. The last strategy involves the extension of an existing structure to new contexts, resulting in an increased frequency of use (Heine 2006:18-19).

Although Heine listed those strategies specifically for *word order*, I think that they can be considered as covering more types of contact-induced change. The ‘strategies’ will be discussed more elaborately in the chapter on *word order* as well as in the final chapter.

No matter what strategies are used, the *change* process is generally defined as ‘gradual’ in Heine and Kuteva’s work, while others also draw attention to ‘abrupt’ (or spontaneous) changes (Matras 2009:241), to ‘nonce-borrowing’ (Weinreich 1953:11) or to ‘momentary copying’ (Johanson 2008:65). Does this mean there are even more mechanisms operating in language contact? This is an issue not really addressed by Heine and Kuteva, and which they are criticized for by Matras (2009:240), and Matras and Sakel (2007:858). A grammaticalization process seems to be always gradual for Heine and Kuteva. They appear to miss or ignore that what looks like grammaticalized use may also be realized spontaneously and abruptly, at the moment when a speaker comes up with a new construction, a new meaning or a new usage context, based on the perceived similarity to the pivot’s semantic and morphosyntactic usage. There is no gradual transition towards the new uses of the structure in question. Matras and Sakel acknowledge that it is just very difficult to formulate predictions about the probability that abrupt cases of contact-induced grammaticalization in language use will, ultimately, result in diachronic changes. Nevertheless, spontaneous grammaticalization or spontaneous creativity of bilinguals (i.e. in other words, what happens at the *innovation* stage of change) should still be given some credit. Eventually the picture seems to be described best as: innovation is abrupt while propagation is gradual.

1.4.4 Johanson: ‘Code-copying’ framework

Johanson uses the term *copying* for what others call ‘borrowing’, ‘diffusion’, ‘transfer’, ‘interference’, ‘replication’, etc. The *code-copying* model operates with similar theoretical concepts but formulates the account using slightly different terminology. In this framework, the *model code* is the language that serves as the model, source or donor and the *basic code* is the replica language. Johanson distinguishes between three different types of copying: *global*, *selective* and *mixed* (i.e. combining global + selective types) copying. *Selective* copying, in its turn, is divided into *material* and *grammatical* copying. *Material* copying occurs when phonic properties of model code units, such as sound features, phonotactic patterns, accent patterns, etc. get copied onto the basic code units (Johanson 2002b:291-292). *Grammatical* copying, on the other hand, is comprised of three subtypes of copying: *semantic*, *combinational* and *frequential* copying.

Global copying is a process of transfer in which units – morphemes and morpheme sequences – of the model code are copied as a whole, *globally*, with their material shapes, meaning, combinability properties, and even their frequency of occurrence. In other words, the model code unit is copied as a whole with its form, meaning and functions. German *in puncto* ‘in respect of’ is an example of a global copy from Latin. *Global copying* corresponds to borrowing as defined by Heine and Kuteva or MAT (matter) replication in Matras’ framework. *Selective* copying targets only selected properties of elements from the model code, and these properties may be of a *structural*, *semantic*, *combinational* or *frequential* nature. *Selective* copying is similar to replication in Heine and Kuteva’s framework and PAT (pattern) replication in Matras’. The content of all these terms overlaps to a great extent. For example, the development of the interrogative *ne* to a relativizer in Macedonian Turkish, triggered by polysemy copying from Macedonian *što*, falls into a few types of selective copying: it is structural, semantic and combinational at the same time (Matras & Tufan 2007:223-224):

(2) a. Gostivar (Macedonian) Turkish:

O kışçe ne gel-di biz-de şimdi yaşa-r Stambul-da.
that girl.DIM **REL** come-PAST 1pl-LOC now live-Pres.3sg Istanbul-LOC

b. Macedonain:

Devoj-če-to što dojde kaj nas sega živee vo İstanbul.
girl-DIM-DEF **REL** came at us now live.3sg in Istanbul

c. Turkey-Turkish:

Biz-e gel-en kız şimdi İstanbul-da yaşı-yor.
 1pl-DAT **come-SubjP** girl now İstanbul-LOC live-Pr.Prog.3sg
 ‘The girl that came to (visit) us now lives in İstanbul.’

This example illustrates that relative clauses went through replication in Macedonian, more specifically, Gostivar Turkish. Macedonian Turkish has a relativizer *ne*, derived from the interrogative pronoun ‘what’, which connects the head noun and the finite, postposed relative clause. The use of this relativizer has replaced both the Turkish gerundial relative clause constructed with converbs and its finite equivalent with the conjunction *ki*. This formation matches that of the model language Macedonian in which the relativizer is equally derived from the interrogative ‘what’ (Matras & Tufan 2007:223). The new relative clause construction with *ne* as the relativizer is the result of semantic copying since the copy has become polysemous in the same way as its Macedonian model (i.e. the extended and new meaning *ne* has gained matches that of its Macedonian equivalent). The change is also syntactically visible as the functions of the grammatical element *ne* are clearly restructured (i.e. with an extended functional range). The new construction is, finally, also a result of combinational copying too, as the extended applicability of *ne* to new contexts means it is combined with similar elements as its Macedonian model.

In a nutshell, semantic copying induces a host language element or structure to have new or additional grammatical meanings, combinational copying influences its combinability, leading to extended or narrowed applicability, and the frequential subtype cause an increase or decrease in its frequency of occurrence (Johanson 2008:66).

Matras, Heine and Kuteva, and Johanson all appear to discuss similar concepts using different terminology. The cases of *grammatical replication* or PAT that do not involve grammaticalization are thrown into the general category of ‘other outcomes of pivot matching’ by Matras while they mostly seem to be categorized as *restructuring* by Heine and Kuteva (2006:64). Restructuring overlaps mostly with Johanson’s (2008:74) *frequential copying* although clear borders cannot really be drawn between these types of copying. What Johanson describes as *frequential copying* may co-occur with *semantic* or *combinational copying*. Restructuring is involved when language contact does not bring about new creations, but the rearrangement of an existing structure or its replacement with another structure that already

existed. It is manifested in two ways: *loss* and *rearrangement*. *Loss* occurs when a language or a structure loses its categorical distinctions. One example is when German-English bilinguals give up the use of German discourse markers or modal or focus particles, such as *ja*, *denn*, *doch*, *mal*, *schon*, etc., and replicate the English discourse pattern, which does not use clear equivalents of these particles (Heine & Kuteva 2006:65). *Rearrangement*, on the other hand, features changes in the ordering and/or in the syntactic relations of constituents. In restructuring, speakers usually employ an existing use pattern in the replica language that best corresponds to the one in the model language. Initially, the lower frequency pattern is relatively peripheral. As it gets activated and becomes the regular equivalent of the model structure, it receives a higher frequency of use, and eventually turns into a fully grammaticalized category (if applicable) which is then recognized as the equivalent to the model category. We will see that this process, except for the ‘grammaticalization’ aspect, describes the case central to this study rather well (see Chapters 4 to 7).

Contact-induced change in the word order is the most common type of *restructuring*, or more specifically of *rearrangement*, which can be observed for example in West Rumelian Turkish dialects, spoken in various regions of the Balkan. In Balkan Turkish possessive constructions, the genitive and its head are ordered in the reverse order compared to TR-Turkish, on the model of neighboring Indo-European languages such as Macedonian and Albanian;

- (3) Baba-sı Ali-nin.
 father-3sg.Poss Ali-GEN
 ‘The father of Ali.’

Heine and Kuteva (2006:66) point out that in Turkey-Turkish the construction would follow the opposite order (*Ali'nin babası*). The Balkan version would be very unconventional or even ungrammatical for TR-Turkish.

Frequential copying, on the other hand, implies that sometimes it is only the frequency of occurrence of a pattern (e.g. a relatively high frequency) in the source language that is copied onto the existing equivalent pattern in the replica language, which would then lead to increased use of that pattern. Contact-induced word-order changes, for example from SOV to SVO, are presented as instances of *frequential copying* for the cases in which both orders were already possible (Johanson 2008:75). This kind of copying does

not create a new pattern: what changes is the frequency of a particular structure. As this process tends to go hand in hand with narrowed or extended contextual occurrence (typically the latter in case of word order, as the common pattern is that a formerly pragmatically marked word order becomes unmarked), the term *frequential* copying alone cannot be seen as an independent case of restructuring, since it may additionally involve *combinational* or *semantic* copying. Thus, Johanson does not so much provide a categorization of contact-induced changes, but rather identifies different types of *selective* copying which may overlap in the copying process. These types are hard to demarcate: a word-order change with pragmatic impact, for instance, constitutes a change in meaning and in that sense it also involves *semantic copying*.

Although Heine and Kuteva (2006) claim that contact-induced grammaticalization is much more prevalent than restructuring, the current study, from Chapter 4 on, will focus on data that seem to be best explained as involving *restructuring* rather than contact-induced grammaticalization.

In line with Croft (2000), propagation for Johanson also corresponds to *habitualization* and *conventionalization*, which for him too are highly sensitive to the *frequency of use*. These processes denote the ‘integration’ of copied elements through their acceptance by the speech community (Johanson 2002b:299). The change may occur because of the *replacement* of the equivalent unit(s) in the basic code with the copy, or because of the creation and *addition* of a totally new element. Change may also be suspended because of the *retention* of the equivalent in the basic code, though potentially with modified functions (as in cases of restructuring). In all these cases, the higher the frequency of use, the more entrenched the copied element or structure in the mental representation of the individual speakers, and consequently in the speech community. *Entrenchment* refers to integration at the individual level whereas I will use *conventionalization* for integration at the community level (cf. Backus 2013a; see Section 1.12).

1.4.5 Interim summary: Approaches

To sum up all those differently labeled approaches to the process of contact-induced transfer or convergence, the mechanisms of *replication*, *grammaticalization* or *convergence* follow almost identical patterns based on *equivalence relations* (Heine & Kuteva 2005) or *pivot-matching* (Matras). The idea starts with the identification of parallel functions in two languages and the mechanisms for equating these identical or parallel functions. Matras

distinguishes between the processes of identifying the structure with a pivot role in the model language and its subsequent matching with a structure in the replica language (*pivot-matching*). However, this approach does not explain how these processes lead to *grammaticalization* or to other outcomes and what kinds of communicative strategies speakers use to bring about these effects. On the other hand, Heine and Kuteva (2005), in discussing *equivalence relations*, start out with speakers noticing a grammatical category in the model language and developing an equivalent category in the replica language with the inherited stock of materials. At this point, there are no major differences from the *pivot-matching* account. However, the framework is extended by focusing on possible strategies that lead to grammaticalization, and also to a more specified categorization of the outcomes of contact-induced transfer. This is done by stressing the dichotomy in their model between *universal strategies* and *replication of the same grammaticalization process*, in addition to their alternative *polysemy copying* analysis. Finally, Johanson seems to agree with the *equivalence relations* or *pivot-matching* bit of the story. He mentions that, following the establishment of the *equivalence relation* (i.e. *pivot-matching*), the copying takes place once the target of copying (the parallel function of the pivot structure in the replica language) is reanalyzed and remodeled with the relevant properties assigned to it. However, he does not provide further details about the process.

This chapter has, so far, covered the types, outcomes and possible reasons of contact-induced change as well as accounts explaining the mechanism by which change evolves. The following sections will shift the focus from the larger perspective to some controversial details in the process of change, all of them relevant for the present study. The first issue of debate is about where the diffusion starts and which elements are most vulnerable to change in a language contact situation, i.e. the principles that give rise to a *convergence hierarchy*.

1.5 Convergence hierarchy: Where does the diffusion start? Is morphology or syntax changed first by contact?

Having categorized the contact-induced change as involving both matter and pattern replication, we now turn to attempts to create a general model of convergence and its progression. Johanson (2002a:44) proposes the concept

of ‘attractive features’ as a determining factor in borrowing and convergent developments, with attractive foreign language elements being easily borrowed and attractive base language elements resistant to replacement. The question, at this point, becomes: what makes elements *vulnerable* or *attractive*? Specifically relevant for the current study is the question whether convergence starts at the discourse, phrase or morphology levels, i.e. which of those levels is more attractive.

There are two contradictory views concerning the level at which convergence tends to start. The first is represented by Stolz and Stolz (1996), Ross (2001), and Matras (2009), who all suggest that convergence in the bilingual repertoire begins with complex clauses (complement, relative and adverbial clauses; embeddings and coordination structures) and then proceeds to phrases and words (cf. Matras 2009:244).

Discourse > clause > phrase > word

This is also compatible with Aikhenvald (2002:60) who states that the clause is the main unit of speech processing and diffusion proceeds from *larger* units, and it is in line with Croft’s use of the *utterance* as the basic unit of replication. According to this approach, language is the population of actual (i.e. occurring) *utterances* in a speech community; *utterances* are seen as the real, existing entities produced and as the *basic* tokens of language. Thus, language change emerges through the replication of those entities (2000:2-4, 26). Heine (2005, cited in Matras 2009:244) also emphasizes the fact that syntax is quite vulnerable to contact.

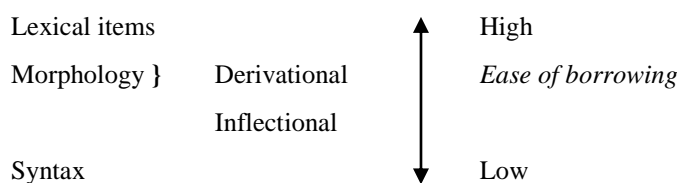
Moreover, paradigmatic morphology is claimed to be the most stable component of grammar and less likely to be affected by borrowing, whereas lexical and stylistic aspects of language are at the opposite end of the scale. The most common assumption and impression is that borrowing or convergence starts at the clause level and gradually proceeds to the phrase and finally to the morphological level (Matras 2009:155).

An illustration of these differences is that discourse markers have a higher propensity to get borrowed or to undergo convergence than, for example, definite articles (Matras 2009:157).

In contrast, Silva-Corvalán (1994, cited in Matras 2009:244) analyzes convergence from a ‘simplification’ perspective and suggests that simplification begins at the morphology level and continues to the lexicon and finally to syntax. In another study (Silva-Corvalán 1995:268), multiple-

word calques are seen as *opening the door* for syntactic changes in the replica language, which leads her to propose that the syntactic permeability of grammars seems to be a consequence of lexical permeability. Otherwise, the syntax of a language, in general, appears to be fairly impermeable to direct influence from another language. Doğruöz and Backus (2009:43, 56) agree and confirm the claim that core syntax is fairly immune to convergence and outside influence. In another study (Doğruöz & Backus 2007), they reached the conclusion that there is no *contact-induced change* regarding ‘word order’ in their Dutch-Turkish data. Likewise, Romaine (1995:64) states that syntax has often been considered to be the least easily diffused aspect of language, as shown in the hierarchy of borrowing below:

Hierarchy of borrowing



According to Romaine’s (1995) scale, the diffusion is first realized as MAT replication and much later moves down to PAT replication or borrowing. However, there usually is little overt (MAT) borrowing of syntactic elements, and the current study too will focus on covert replication or borrowing. The aim is to investigate whether there is any structural convergent development at all in complex clause constructions and we will see that this domain involves only PAT borrowing, at least for the Turkish-Dutch language pair.

Thus, where convergence starts is an unsolved issue. This study explores contact effects at the discourse/clause level and the results seem to support that at least there is some convergence at this level of clause combinations.

Johanson’s notion of ‘attractiveness’ has also been used in connection with the distinction between analytic and synthetic structures. There seems to be agreement that analytic constructions are psycholinguistically favored, and found more ‘attractive’ than synthetic ones, so the former are more easily copied. In contact settings under the right conditions, a language may replace a synthetic structure with an analytic structure borrowed from the other language (Johanson 2002a:44; Verschik 2008:151). The current study will investigate whether a more analytic (or syntactic) Dutch structure has

started to replace a more synthetic (or morphological) TR-Turkish structure in the domain of subordination. The constructed examples below display the analytic-synthetic dichotomy in TR-Turkish:

(4) a. Turkey-Turkish finite (analytic) – direct RS:

Selin “Yarın Ankara’ya **gid-iyor-um**” de-di.
 Selin tomorrow Ankara-DAT go-Pr.Prog-1sg say-Past.3sg
 ‘*Selin said “I am going to Ankara tomorrow”.*’

b. Turkey-Turkish non-finite (synthetic) – indirect RS:

Selin ban-a [dün sinema-ya **git-tiğ-i-ni**] söyle-di.
 Selin I-DAT yesterday cinema-DAT go-F.NMLZ-Poss-ACC say-Past.3sg
 ‘*Selin told me that she went to the cinema yesterday.*’

Sentence 4a presents analytic subordination, with a finite subordinate clause, in which the main verb is inflected for tense, person, etc. The structure is not that different from its English counterpart. Sentence 4b, on the other hand, demonstrates a synthetic subordination type with a non-finite subordinate verb (i.e. no tense, person, or aspect markers, but converbs and nominalizations, inflected with nominal morphology, such as possessives and case markers). A detailed account of subordination in Turkish (finite and non-finite) and Dutch (finite) will be given in Chapter 2.

In Turkic contact varieties, grammatical reduction phenomena are not rare, especially within the complex verbal morphology (Johanson 2002a:17). Turkish has a complex verb system. Highly synthetic structures are considered unattractive and it is argued that they are avoided, while smaller numbers of syllables in the morphological word are preferred (Johanson 2002a:44). In general, that means that analytic structures seem to be more attractive, and they may have replaced synthetic expressions in some foreign-influenced Turkic languages such as Slavic-influenced Karaim, and Persian-influenced Azerbaijani (Johanson 2002a:79). This study will explore whether the same development is seen in Dutch-influenced immigrant-Turkish subordination.

1.6 Intentionality and consciousness or awareness

A less studied aspect is the psycholinguistic conditions under which an ‘innovation’ arises and gets propagated. It was, till now, presented as a fairly

‘passive’ process of interference. The question is whether it may also involve agency, i.e. free will of the speaker. This is also a question of the degree to which aspects such as consciousness, intentionality or awareness are needed to explain language change. The following section is an attempt to illuminate this issue.

Awareness is highly relevant in explaining how speakers select words and sentence patterns, but this aspect has not been researched much. Actually, many accounts seem to assume a certain degree of intentionality on the part of speakers, but the notion is rarely addressed in a clear manner in the contact-induced change accounts discussed so far and none of those accounts explicitly take a position.

The extent to which speakers are *aware* or *conscious* of carrying out the *equating* or *pivot-matching* process, and later of following the strategies associated with contact-induced grammaticalization or more generally convergent developments, is virtually unknown. The approaches discussed so far imply some sort of awareness of the process. Heine and Kuteva (2003:533) appear to present contact-induced grammaticalization in that manner, especially at the second stage, when speakers ‘*develop an equivalent category...*’ (in the *ordinary* sub-type). Moreover, the phrase ‘drawing on universal strategies in order to develop a new category’ (2003:536) also seems to imply a sense of awareness. Speakers are said to *assume* that a grammaticalization process has taken place in the model language (this holds for *replica grammaticalization*), which alludes to awareness or consciousness as well. It is, however, a question how they are able to *assume* this and how they achieve getting it right. Similarly, when Heine and Kuteva (2003:556) account for a case of polysemy copying, they suggest the strategy of *being aware* of the polysemous use of a certain element in the model language and developing an equivalent category in the replica language, with an analogous *assumption of* a grammaticalization process having taken place in the model. It is of course possible that I am reading too much into these metaphors or rely on between-the-line-implications, but how much are speakers really aware of those strategies? Likewise, when Matras introduces the reasons behind replication he appears to suggest that speakers are conscious about the process. According to his account, the whole process starts because bilinguals aim to maximize the efficiency of speech production and to syncretize the processing and mental planning operations of the two languages. It would be natural to assume that they can only do so if they are aware of the whole replication process.

However, some of these motivations in the way they are stated seem to be *outcomes* of a conscious replication mechanism, rather than of unconsciously seeking the right way to achieve particular goals.

Johanson (2008:65, 67) refers to consciousness or awareness as well, when he says that “copying grammatical function units and patterns is certainly less conscious than copying content units which speakers tend to be more aware of.” It is worth mentioning here Michael Clyne’s related notions of *triggering*, *transversion*, and most recently *facilitation* (2003:80, 162, 183) which seem to be in agreement with Johanson. They all refer to *crossing over* from one language into another rather, than simply alternating between them. *Triggering* denotes a switch as the result of trigger words: words at the intersection of two language systems, to an extent belonging to both. Overlapping syntactic rules or convergence of previously divergent syntactic rules in the bilingual individual grammars make the transition between languages even easier (Clyne 2003:76, 80, 177). Thus, certain linguistic features or elements *trigger* or *facilitate* a switch from one language to another. Backus (1996) postulated a *Specificity* and an *Awareness Continuum* which suggests that nouns or verbs (with high entrenchment level), which are semantically more specific (i.e. less schematic), may be selected consciously. Semantically more schematic elements (e.g. a definite article) receive their entrenchment from *frequency of use*. Highly frequent elements tend to be selected *unconsciously*, and this can also lead to their being copied. Their use in another language is suggested to be triggered or facilitated because they are part of larger units (Backus 1996:125). MAT and PAT replication are also related to this issue of selection because patterns by definition have more general (i.e. schematic) meanings while MAT replication tends to involve semantically more *specific* material. As a result, patterns, more frequent but less specific, can be theorized to get selected *unconsciously* in bilingual speech. Thus, *triggering* or *facilitation* motivates and pushes the *copying, replication* or *grammaticalization* of *schematic* elements. On the other hand, collocations and idioms are evaluated as lexical units, equal to single words. Copying schematic elements is *triggered* by the selection of an idiom or collocation containing them, and is thus seen as a by-product. This in turn means it takes place at the *unconscious* end of the Awareness Continuum where non-lexical or grammatical changes (PAT replication) can be, then, assumed to emerge.

Content words, collocations and idioms are fully specific units. Backus claims that frequency of use and degree of specificity both add to the

entrenchment level of an element (1996:130). The more specific an element is, the less important frequency will be, while frequency is more important for more schematic elements, such as subordination and word order, to keep up the entrenchment level as they are the lowest on the specificity scale. In short, conscious selection is associated with specific elements. The reason is likely to be related to the relative *saliency* of the various elements of an utterance. The most *salient* elements are the ones which carry most content, and they are, by definition, more *specific*. People tend to pay more attention to what is conceptually more salient. The fact that they are more specific and salient reinforces their entrenchment. Producing a schematic unit or element is, on the other hand, hypothesized to be at the unconscious end of the Awareness Continuum. Selection of a foreign schematic element, e.g. a structural pattern, may well be facilitated by *triggering* (when their use is *triggered* by specific elements) (Backus 1996:127, 131-132). *Triggering* is viewed as a non-conscious process (Clyne 2003:183). Although the concept originated in studies of *codeswitching*, it can play a role in structural borrowing or change as well, especially when a bilingual is thinking in one language while speaking the other one. Being more consciously involved in one language at the lexical level can lead the bilingual also to *non-consciously* borrow the structure from the language s/he is mentally engaged in.

Indeed it seems easier to replicate matter (which is a more superficial element) than a pattern (which requires a deeper analysis of the structure). On the other hand, when Johanson addresses the question of what operational procedures enable *selective grammatical copying*, the first step is claimed to be as follows: “users of a Basic code become *aware* of a certain grammatical element in a Model code” (2008:67). The question raised by this quote is again how speakers obtain this awareness, especially in grammatical copying. Presumably, based on some conceptual similarity, speakers establish an equivalence relation. Whether they do this consciously or intuitively is not really clear, and it seems this is a question which cannot be answered easily, although it makes sense to assume that copying or replicating *patterns* involves a low degree of awareness, as suggested by Johanson. Moreover, Croft adds to this by stating the following comment (2000:66):

“The difference between intentional and nonintentional mechanisms for language change is whether or not the innovation is a means towards the

intended goal. In intentional mechanisms, the innovation is a means towards the intended goal; in nonintentional mechanisms, it is not.”

Croft (2000:66) suggests that intentional and unintentional processes can probably not even always be differentiated at the grammatical level and should not be seen as mutually exclusive, at least not in the very beginning.

Contact-induced language transfer or linguistic innovations may also develop as unintended side effects of actions taken intentionally (Croft 2000:65). Intentionality and awareness are more likely to exist at the initial steps of a change, during the innovation phase when pivot-matching takes place, but less so at the later steps especially when it comes to grammatical changes. The issue of awareness and intentionality is further discussed in relation to the results of this study in upcoming chapters, especially in Chapter 7.

This study attempts to tap into metalinguistic awareness by employing a judgment task in which bilinguals were asked to judge samples of language that were actually produced in recorded spontaneous conversations. The results of the judgment task will be compared to production data in order to establish whether bilinguals are conscious of how they speak.

1.7 The role of *translation mechanism* in contact-induced changes

Innovation, whether intentional or not, requires a mechanism. The best possible candidate for this might be some *translation mechanism*. One may wonder whether translation should be seen as a *mechanism* in the early steps or as an *outcome* of the contact-induced change process. It is commonly, though not always explicitly, referred to in all the aforementioned frameworks.

Translation may play a role as a mechanism in initiating a replication process and it may also be seen as the end result of this process, as the new variant in the replica language is the translated version of a model structure. The replica language speaker starts the process by noticing a grammatical category in the model language and then develops the same category in the replica language using its own materials (Heine & Kuteva 2005). While establishing this equivalence relation, translation may be the first likely mechanism at work as speakers check whether the model structure is already available in the base language.

Matras (2009) presents the translation mechanism as involving an act of pivot-matching which begins by identifying parallel items as *translation equivalents*. This entails that the process starts with the search for a lexeme in the replica language that matches a lexeme from the model language. If the *model* word is characterized by polysemy, meaning it has a concrete and one or more figurative meanings, speakers will consider the concrete meaning while searching for the equivalent in the replica language, but also transfer the figurative meanings onto that equivalent, which will ultimately result in the emergence of a more abstract meaning for the lexeme in question (Matras 2009:238, quoted from Haase 1991). The potential for finding translation equivalents in the replica language is greater for less grammaticalized (or more lexical) elements than for more grammaticalized ones (Matras & Sakel, 2007:833); it might be easier to find a translation equivalent if the meaning is clearer. Relatively grammatical words and morphemes receive their meanings from the neighboring (and mostly lexical) elements in context. This would entail that the translation mechanism works more successfully for MAT replication (Matras) or lexical replication (Heine & Kuteva 2003). As mentioned previously, most of the time *change* is a gradual process. However, sometimes there is no evidence of gradual development, especially when the emergence of a new variant is the instantaneous result of a literal translation from the model into the replica language (Matras & Sakel 2007:838). If the translational mechanism functions all the way till the end of the process, increased isomorphism between the codes could be predicted to emerge, and highly isomorphic structures would render the codes more compatible and intertranslatable. However, languages often adopt a foreign structure partially, adapting them to their own structure. If there is a high degree of structural adaptation, a lower degree of isomorphism will arise.

Isomorphism can, therefore, be the ultimate and extreme end result if *translation* is rampant. For instance, Basque varieties influenced by Gascon and French, possess a certain degree of translational equivalence with these languages resulting from an ongoing wide range of semantic and morpho-syntactic equivalence relations (Heine & Kuteva 2003:549). As a result of contact-induced grammaticalization, a pair of genetically unrelated languages from Papua New Guinea (i.e. a Papuan language, Waskia, as the model language and Takia, a Western Oceanic language, as the replica language) has become extensively *intertranslatable* semantically and syntactically while each language managed to keep its own lexical material

(Ross 2001, cited in Heine & Kuteva 2003:535). Also Ross (2013:10, citing work by François) calls attention to seventeen Oceanic Austronesian languages of the Banks and Torres Islands of northern Vanuatu that are very similar in their grammatical structures, phraseology and stock of idioms, and lexical polysemy patterns, which often makes it possible to translate word-for-word from one to the other, and even morpheme-for-morpheme. This structural isomorphism is perhaps to be expected as these languages are genealogically closely related to each other. They are viewed as ‘one grammar, seventeen lexicons’ (François 2011, cited in Ross 2013:10). Thus, one-on-one translation of morphemes (or lexical and grammatical calquing) is acknowledged as one of the routes to isomorphic constructions and syntactic restructuring (or *metatypy*; Ross 2013:23-24). That is, there are indications that contact-induced change can also take place at the *phrasal* or *word* levels.

It is not immediately obvious how all this relates to this study of finite and non-finite subordinate clauses in immigrant Turkish in the Netherlands. If bilinguals turn out to have a preference for the finite over the non-finite type, does the result look like a *translation* from Dutch? And how can we best account for it? A thorough analysis of the data is required before we can comment on these issues. This will be done in the final chapter of this thesis.

To illustrate this with a constructed example central to this study, the frequent use of Dutch finite subordinate clauses might push bilinguals to increasingly select the finite option in Immigrant Turkish as well, as opposed to the non-finite option that is more pervasive in Turkey (TR)-Turkish. In addition, while TR-Turkish, with its relatively free word order, canonically uses a head-final word order, NL-Turkish may increasingly select the verb-medial order which is also possible in Turkish and which it shares with Dutch. Whether or not this indeed happens we will see later, but for now it is important to emphasize that if this would happen, Dutch Turkish would look, to a certain extent, isomorphic to Dutch in this respect. However, the question we are currently engaged with is whether this would be the result of a translation mechanism, or whether we get translation as an *outcome*. The following constructed examples illustrate the issue:

(5) a. Possible Dutch Turkish finite based on *translation* (mechanism) – direct RS:

Selin de-di “Yarın Ankara-ya gid-iyor-um.”
 Selin say-Past.3sg tomorrow Ankara-DAT go-Pr.Prog-1sg
 ‘Selin said “I am going to Ankara tomorrow”.’

b. Dutch finite – direct RS:

Selin zei “ik ga naar Ankara morgen”.
 Selin said I go to Ankara tomorrow

c. Dutch finite – indirect RS:

Selin zei dat zij naar Ankara zou gaan de volgende dag.
 Selin said that she to Ankara would go the following day

d. Turkey-Turkish finite (analytic) – direct RS:

Selin “Yarın Ankara’ya **gid-iyor-um** de-di.
 Selin tomorrow Ankara-DAT go-Pr.Prog-1sg say-Past.3sg
 ‘Selin said “I am going to Ankara tomorrow”.’

e. Turkey-Turkish non-finite (analytic) – direct RS:

Selin ban-a [dün sinema-ya **git-tiğ-i-ni**] söyle-di.
 Selin I-DAT yesterday cinema-DAT go-F.NMLZ-Poss-ACC say-Past.3sg
 ‘Selin told me that she went to the cinema yesterday.’

The Dutch Turkish sentence in Example 5 would be a conventional instance of subordination if the complementizer *ki* were inserted after the verb (see Chapter 2). Dutch and Dutch Turkish (in Examples 5a and 5b) seem to be isomorphic in their clause order and in the word order of the main clause, but not in the word order within the subordinate clause and also not in other characteristics related to the synthetic nature of Turkish and the analytic essence of Dutch. Though Dutch influence can be anticipated in general, total isomorphism seems unlikely. Instead, we can expect *partial isomorphism*. This entails that we should not expect hundred percent use of translation. Yet, it is likely that translation played some role if examples like Example 5 occur (and we will see that they do). The surface level similarity in word order seems to confirm at least a *triggering* role of *translation* at the level of the matrix clause.

An important finding regarding the translation mechanism in bringing about change is that the translation is often imprecise. While some types of *selective grammatical* copying do lead to isomorphism, at other times there is some or considerable combinational and/or semantic reorganization, i.e. the process often requires restructuring in the syntactic constructions (Johanson 2008:76-77). Thus, translation for some cases of contact-induced change may be characterized as a strategy (in finding the *equivalent category* in the replica language) at the beginning of the replication process, but the replicated elements or structures (the ones undergoing change) may end up

as *literal translations* of the model. In the latter case, translation was active as a mechanism throughout the change continuum and seems to be the *outcome* of the process as well. This also relates to the length or duration of the innovation phase, i.e. whether speakers suffer from the interference only at the very beginning or for quite a lengthy period, or even throughout the process until the change is complete. The point here is that the fact that there can be a lot of translations or innovations does not necessarily mean that they will all lead to change. All in all, translation may exist at the beginning of the innovation stage, somewhat longer than the innovation phase, or constantly throughout propagation, in which case it also becomes the outcome.

A change, which begins its life with an act of innovation, propagates and proceeds to completion in particular ways, often involving grammaticalization and, hence, *unidirectionality*. The following section addresses *unidirectionality* based on the accounts by mainly Matras, and Heine and Kuteva, and highlights unclear or incompatible issues among them.

1.8 *Unidirectionality in contact-induced changes*

The majority of grammatical changes seem to follow the principles of grammaticalization. Grammaticalization has been found to be essentially unidirectional, though the existence of some exceptions is also acknowledged (Heine & Kuteva 2003:560; Matras 2009:240). What this suggests is that, while establishing *equivalence relations* or carrying out pivot-matching, speakers tend to match a category in the replica language with a more grammaticalized category in the model language. Next, the less grammaticalized category of the replica possibly changes to a more grammaticalized version. Thus, the common *direction* of the changes involves a transition from *less grammaticalized* (more *lexical*) to *more grammaticalized*.

The *unidirectionality* constraint involves the four parameters of grammaticalization: *extension*, *desemanticization*, *deategorialization* and *erosion of phonetic substance* (Heine & Kuteva 2006:58). Together they describe how a more lexical element turns into a more grammaticalized one. *Polysemy copying* also accords with these developments, extending from a more concrete to a more abstract meaning after being copied, accompanied by extension of context and higher frequency (Matras & Sakel 2007:838).

The *directionality* constraint may be violated by taking unexpected directions when bilinguals find a translation equivalent in their replica language that is more grammaticalized than the source element (Heine & Kuteva 2003:561). One example given by Matras and Sakel (2007:851-852) is a German tourist with only basic knowledge of English saying, while in England, *It was to* meaning 'It was closed'. The German model is *es war zu*, literally *it was to*. During pivot matching, the translation mechanism is active all the way, due, in this case, to low level of proficiency and control in the replica language (English). The speaker ends up using the literally translated sentence in her speech. The translation mechanism erroneously zeroes in on the polysemy of German *zu* 'to'. The result is that replication produces a *less grammaticalized, or more lexical*, meaning 'closed' for the form that normally has a *more grammaticalized, or more abstract, meaning* 'to'. This could be analyzed as a violation of the *unidirectionality* principle and a case of de-grammaticalization. It is also a case of spontaneous and abrupt creativity. This seems to confirm Heine and Kuteva's presentation of polysemy copying as an alternative analysis to gradual grammaticalization process. However, this example may be irrelevant for this issue because it is about second language acquisition. The speaker has a very basic knowledge of English and is looking for a translation equivalent in her weaker language and clearly does not have enough control of the language to reanalyze, adapt or restructure the replica language. Thus, the type of bilinguals talked about in mainstream contact linguistics is not quite comparable to this specific one. It is even possible that what we observe in this example may not be replication or grammaticalization, but simply one-on-one translation on the surface level, which is a typical kind of interference or transfer in early second language acquisition. The speaker is led astray by the chance resemblance of 'to' and 'zu', or it is just a speech error.

Matras sums up two main problems for the grammaticalization account which Heine and Kuteva (2003, 2005, 2006) do not really address: exceptions to unidirectionality as well as abrupt changes (Matras & Sakel 2007:840-1; Matras 2009:240).

A related issue is that change is assumed to often involve moving from synthetic to analytic structures. Heine and Kuteva (2006:76-79) mention cases of comparatives as an example of a *synthetic* structure being gradually replaced by an *analytic* type in, for example, Balkan languages such as Bulgarian, Albanian, Modern Greek and Rumanian. However, there seems to be a controversy here since analytic constructions are supposed to be less

grammaticalized (more lexical), e.g. bound morphemes, than synthetic ones, which are more grammaticalized, e.g. inflectional morphemes.

As will be seen later, it is not immediately clear that the data collected for this study will be germane to the unidirectionality issue. Unidirectionality is a principle of the grammaticalization process. Are we dealing with cases of *grammaticalization* or *restructuring*? The change I am going to investigate, if it exists, seems to be a case of *restructuring* since it is not clear whether a change from *non-finite* to *finite* subordination should be seen as a change to a more or to a less grammaticalized structure.

1.9 Defining ‘change’: Restricted versus broad perspectives

Having discussed the various controversial points, the next section will attempt to define ‘change’, shedding light on the question of when a putative change qualifies as a real instance of ‘change’. My position is that I think all the examples cited are examples of ‘change’. However, not everyone would agree with that. This section introduces different views on what can actually be considered evidence of ‘change’, and outlines the position taken in this study. First, a restrictive and a broad view are introduced, which is followed by the definition adopted in this study.

1.9.1 Restricted perspective

A prominent advocate of a much more restricted view on what constitutes change than the one adopted in this study is Shana Poplack. She and her associates are critical about the labeling of any difference or innovation as ‘contact-induced change’. Their claim is that much of the evidence that has been introduced to prove that a contact-induced change is taking place either fails to indicate that a change has emerged at all, or contributes the change to the influence of contact too easily. The analytical guideline they propose is that before concluding that contact-induced change has occurred, the *internal variability* of spoken language should be investigated (Poplack & Levey 2010:391). To determine whether a change is contact-induced or not, they propose a number of guidelines.

First of all, the supposed foreign feature might simply reflect inherent variability, different ways of saying the same thing, which is not regarded as *change* because the variability itself may be stable. In this respect, frequential copying or restructuring (i.e. change in frequency of use or loss

of one variant) are not considered cases of *change* since the ‘new’ feature already existed in the language. That is to say, variability is assumed to be a requirement for change, but it is not change itself. Variant use over time should be evaluated as well as the fine conditioning that determines which variant is selected at any given point in discourse. The central tenet is that the selection of variants is sensitive to constraints from the phonological environment, the syntactic contexts, the discursive function of the utterance, the topic of discussion, the style that is suitable for the communicative setting, and personal and sociodemographic features of the speakers or the listeners (Sankoff 1988:151, cited in Poplack & Levey 2010:398). Only if this conditioning of the variability is changing, can we talk of change. Some extra-linguistic factors are typically important in contact settings, such as the intensity and length of contact, the status of the languages, and the size of the community. In general, variationists stress the importance of the *accountability* principle (Labov 1972:72, cited in Poplack & Levey 2010:400) according to which not only the occurrences of a feature but also the contexts where it could have occurred but did not should be integrated into the analyses.

Secondly, a diachronic comparison is necessary to establish the existence of change. An earlier stage should not have had the feature in question. Because of the scarcity of relevant diachronic data for many contact situations, lack of a diachronic baseline seems to be a real pitfall in contact studies and prevents one from unambiguously establishing a change (Poplack & Levey 2010:394). To take care of this point as much as possible, the current study uses baseline data from Turkey-Turkish, i.e. the non-contact variety, as this may reflect, to a certain extent, what the pre-contact variety looked like (see Chapter 3). That is the best solution in our case as we cannot go back in time to collect pre-contact data.

What is also crucial, and related to the first two points, is the reference point for comparison. Earlier comparisons have been criticized because they involve the standard variety of a language and obviously standard and non-standard varieties of a language are not the same. Nonstandard features may then erroneously be interpreted as changes. This can be avoided if the reference point is chosen appropriately and also involves a variety that is comparable to the one that is allegedly changing. Therefore, a pre-contact variety should also act as the baseline (Poplack & Levey 2010:395). Ideally, evidence of contact-induced change should be based on at least *a vertical comparison* (with a pre-contact or an earlier stage) and *a horizontal*

comparison (with a non-contact variety), as well as a comparison with the structure of the model language to make sure that the feature indeed could have come from that language (Poplack & Levey 2010:406). Those embracing the restricted perspective suggest that if these guidelines would be followed, many candidates for change would turn out to be not changes at all but simply cases of *inherent variability*.

Another prominent feature of the restricted view is the emphasis on ‘propagation’ rather than on innovation. In this perspective, a *change* should be observable. However, at the innovation stage, the *change* is still unobservable as there is no diffusion yet, which draws the attention to the relationship between the individual and the community. In this perspective, it should diffuse across the whole community before it can be called a ‘change’. Thus, an innovation is not regarded as a *change yet*. There is some evidence that the bulk of innovations does not persist and spread (Poplack & Levey 2010:396). This is actually not incompatible with Croft’s notion of ‘innovation’ discussed previously. Croft does not state that ‘innovation’ is a change. However, in his perspective, change is a process that starts with innovation. Saying innovation is not ‘change’, Poplack and Levey do not seem to regard ‘change’ as a ‘process’, but to focus on and evaluate the steps or stages in this process independently. An innovation is, no wonder, not a ‘change’ yet, but the first stage of a change if it spreads and goes to completion.

That is to say, innovation and the outcome of the process (change or not) are two different concepts, mainly because innovations (especially when they are of a lexical nature) do not reflect systematic change: they do not always lead to novel categories or structures (Toribio 2004:166). Some of them may be motivated by the need to express unfamiliar notions, objects or cultural practices. Those constitute communicative convergence, and this does not have to bring along grammatical convergence (Otheguy 1995:215, cited in Toribio 2004:166). Poplack and her associates seem to agree with this argument too.

With respect to ‘propagation’ of the newly-innovated structure, the linguistic embedding of the new structure and its occurrence in the relevant synchronic and diachronic linguistic contexts are also of great importance. The current role of the structure, whether it introduced a new function or replaced an existing equivalent, and to what extent it is entrenched are all questions that should be explored by establishing the *structure* of the variability. Answers will come from studying the linguistic constraints that

condition the variant selection (Poplack & Levey 2010:397). Cases of *change in progress* (synchronically) continue to display ‘variability’, and the *structure* of this variability (i.e. regularity of innovation, its frequency of use and entrenchment level) can indicate whether a change is likely to reach *completion*.

For linguists who take the inherent variability into account, a hierarchy emerges for types of changes with growing importance, and according to the restricted view only the last of these should really be called ‘change’: *change in frequency of competing forms*, *change in the statistical significance of one or more of the factors* that contribute to variant choice, and *change in linguistic structure* (Poplack & Levey 2010:397).

Having established that an observed feature is indeed the manifestation of change, in order to prove that the change is contact-induced rather than internally-induced, three criteria need to be fulfilled. First, not surprisingly, it should be shown that the candidate feature exists in the presumed model variety. Second, this feature should be absent in the pre-contact or non-contact variety. If it is present, this might be simply due to coincidence or, more likely, because it is a general feature shared by many languages. In that case, the feature should be conditioned differently than that of the model. Finally, the candidate feature should be shown to significantly parallel the behavior of its model language counterpart. In a nutshell, a contact-induced change can only be established after systematic quantitative comparisons of a *diagnostic* linguistic feature with an earlier or pre-contact stage, with a non-contact variety, and most important, with the presumed model or source variety. Poplack and Levey (2010:398) claim that many current contact studies lack some of those steps.

For general contact linguists like Matras and Johanson, and usage-based ones such as Backus and Bybee (see Section 1.12), ‘frequency’ is an important aspect of analysis as well, but the framework is different in that they operate with a *broad* view of what constitutes change (see Section 1.9.2). Frequency is said to influence ‘entrenchment’ and ‘entrenchment’ determines ‘ease of activation’, and this has as much influence on the selection of variants as those synchronic social and linguistic factors. On the other hand, proponents of the restricted view on *change* criticize some contact studies by stating that many are based on ‘frequency’, thereby disfavoring the notion that *frequential* copying is a case of change. They emphasize that frequency differences must be handled with caution when used to infer that change has occurred. Linguistic constraint hierarchies and

environmental factors are important determiners of variant selection. Another point is that some surface similarities between the contact and source varieties may not originate from borrowing or transfer at all, but may be due to coincidence or linguistic universals. The solution is to rely on *conflict sites* which reflect the functional, structural and/or quantitative differences typically displayed as a conflict in constraint hierarchies (Poplack & Meechan 1998:132, cited in Poplack & Levey 2010:400). If the constraint hierarchy⁵ in a contact variety patterns the same as that of pre-contact variety while differing from that of the source/model one, no change has occurred. If it is different from the pre-contact and the source one, then a change has occurred, but it is not contact-induced. Only if the constraint hierarchy differs from that of the pre-contact variety and is parallel to that of the source one, we can infer a ‘contact-induced change’ (Poplack & Levey 2010:401). Thus, a combination of *pre-contact*, *non-contact* and *contact* variety comparisons is essential to prove the existence of ‘contact-induced’ change under this restricted view. Contrary to the general assumption of contact linguistics, the restricted view approaches the question whether contact triggers change very skeptically. They claim that we cannot determine whether contact accelerates change as it is not possible to know what the rate of change would have been without contact.

1.9.2 Broad perspective

How change and its mechanisms are viewed and analyzed under the *broad* view was sketched in all previous sections of this chapter. Some differences with the restricted perspective can now be encapsulated.

While some innovations do lead to propagation, an innovation in a speaker’s output does not necessarily lead to diffusion or propagation in the mental representation of that speaker, let alone in the language of the

⁵ *Constraint hierarchy*: the relative order of values in one factor group or different factors, which are not equally effective and important, playing a role in shaping a linguistic context. Tagliamonte (2006:237) defines *constraint hierarchy* as the ranking of the categories within a factor group which shows a detailed model of the type of relationship between the variant and the linguistic context. For instance (Tagliamonte 2006:238), in a study of *-ing* use, *grammatical category* being a factor, *participle*, *gerund*, *adjective* and *noun* (with the descending factor weight, i.e. from more to less occurrence) form the *constraints in hierarchy*. Here is a hypothetical example: if the place of residence is a factor or variant in another study, then the names of the places, say Tilburg and Ankara, can form *the constraint hierarchy* for, say, *finite* subordination use in Turkish.

community, as the innovation may be ephemeral. One may easily agree with the *restricted* point of view that this would not constitute change. However, any change must start as an innovation at some point (Backus 2005:316), so innovation constitutes an important part of the change process. Innovation and propagation are distinct, but both are essential in an account of change. There are synchronic and diachronic dimensions to change. An innovation is a synchronic event while propagation is a diachronic process (Croft 2000:5). Innovations become conventionalized through repeated usage in the sense that high frequency stimulates high degrees of entrenchment in idiolects (*propagation* within idiolects) and this makes it easier for the new variant to spread across the community (*propagation* as community-based conventionalization; Backus 2010:239).

Grammatical changes are categorized as *discontinuous* (innovations or deviations of individual speakers that do not propagate at the community level), *on-going* (i.e. *continuous*) or *completed* (Aikhenvald 2002:5, following Tsitsipis 1998:34). However, under the *restricted* view, *on-going* changes are seen as contentious as they can merely be the synchronic outcomes of language contact. The skepticism is due to the view that an apparent on-going change may reflect mere *variability* at this stage: although it is considered as a precursor for change, variability may be stable and thus not instantiate a propagating change on its way to ‘completion’. Without diachronic evidence, cases of variability cannot be demonstrated to be ‘changes’, in the restricted view. *Frequency* is another notion which separates the traditions. While frequency differences between cohorts in the use of a variant leads to the suspicion of ‘change’, the restricted perspective suggests frequency differences can be misleading as they may be epiphenomena determined by other differences (e.g. regional differences, etc.). Poplack et al. (2012:251-252) claim that the analysis of the conditioning factors is very revealing while frequency counts are the least explanatory.

One solution that combines both approaches could be the following taxonomy of change, which comprises five types of change. It is proposed by Backus (2005:329), based on Aikhenvald’s (2002) *system preserving* and *system altering* changes and on Thomason’s (2001) division of change as involving either *addition*, *loss* or *replacement*. The first group is ‘calques’, translations of actual word combinations in the other language (e.g. loan translations). *System-altering* changes (addition or loss in the *inventory* of grammatical morphemes and/or categories) form the second type of change. The third group is *system-preserving* changes in the distribution of

grammatical categories (e.g. word-order changes including changes in the pragmatics of the two types of word order). The last two types are *changes in frequency*, and, finally, *stability*, in which case there is no innovation or ‘newly created element’ at all. The rationale behind the last category is that there are also cases that are the result of resistance to change in contact situations.

1.9.3 Definition adopted in this study

Heedful of the ‘conditioning’ factors that are stressed by the *restricted* perspective, the current study looks at a few ‘conditioning factors’ including contact with Dutch, bilinguality of the speech mode, the special status of reported speech, and the complexity that characterizes types of subordination. Special importance is accorded to *frequency* of use. Frequency is assumed to play a crucial role in determining whether or not change has occurred. The present study looks at synchronic data only, but seeks converging evidence through the use of various methods. Although diachronic data simply do not exist, using various sources (*corpus* and *experimental* data, in this case) increases the validity and reliability of the study and its conclusions. The overarching assumption, inspired by usage-based linguistics, is that synchronic behavior determines diachronic development (Backus 2010:226), also hinted at by Bybee (2010:166) when she says that synchronic characterization must be compatible with both earlier and future changes .

Two groups, i.e. monolinguals and bilinguals, are compared using the various methods. If statistically significant differences are found among groups concerning the *frequency* with which they make use of particular structures, this will be accepted as suggesting contact-induced change has occurred.

In corpus data, unconventional and ungrammatical structures are first identified by the researcher and then further investigated considering the replica and source counterparts. Any language use contradicting the conventions of the non-contact variety is regarded as unconventional. A linguistic convention can be described as regularity in the form and meaning of a linguistic construction or behavior and used as a coordination device in communication (based on Clark 1996:71, cited in Croft 2000:97). Convention is at the heart of language change because innovation is essentially unconventional language use, and propagation is essentially the establishment of a new convention (Croft 2000:95). Hence, unconventionalities in a

contact environment are likely to be the consequences of language contact (i.e. reflecting contact-induced change), though that is not a necessary implication.

1.10 Bilingual and monolingual speech modes

It is important to emphasize that language contact and change take place in the bilingual's linguistic competence. However, there is no real consensus on how do we should see the bilingual mind: as two monolinguals in one, or more holistically with a composite linguistic system? How does variation in the degree of bilinguality of the speech mode relate to this? The present section discusses this latter topic, since this study attempts to experimentally control for speech mode.

There exist two opposite perspectives on how bilingual competence is viewed: a monolingual view and a bilingual view. The first perspective regards bilinguals as having two separate linguistic competences which are similar to a lesser or larger degree to those of the corresponding monolingual speakers. Monolinguals are the baseline, the model of what a 'normal' speaker is like. Thus, this view takes the bilingual as collecting two monolinguals in one person. It has induced some unfavorable consequences for bilinguals. First of all, this view compares the abilities of bilinguals with the fluency or proficiency of their monolingual counterparts in both languages, but it is very rare that bilinguals have equal or complete proficiency levels in the two languages. Inevitably, some domains will be underdeveloped in one of the languages. A consequence is that under this view some bilinguals are labeled as 'true', and some as 'non-', 'semi-', or 'unbalanced' bilinguals, and, thus, as *less* bilingual than others. The second negative consequence is that bilinguals are tested and evaluated with reference to a monolingual yardstick, based on monolingual standards despite the fact that bilinguals have differential needs for the two languages and those languages serve different social functions. Crucially, based on this fractional view, overt and covert contact effects are interpreted as anomalous, as those languages are thought to be autonomous in this view. Contact effects are then easily taken as the products of careless language use, as failed attempts to keep interference at bay. Finally, Grosjean mentions that bilingualism research is, to a great extent, carried out on the basis of the bilingual's individual languages, and the overall bilingual's language competence has not been of

much interest, as bilinguals can never be ‘ideal speaker-hearers’ like monolinguals (1989:5). According to Grosjean, a real compromise does not appear to exist among linguists regarding the fact that bilingual grammar or language competence can indeed be very different from the corresponding monolingual one, and that it can in fact change or get restructured when in contact with another language. Following all those negative consequences of a fractional view of bilinguals, a general negative effect is that bilinguals often appraise their own language competencies as inadequate. They tend to orient themselves to the monolingual norms and try hard to reach them despite the often insurmountable difficulties (Grosjean 1989:4-5; 2008: 10-13).

As an alternative, the bilingual (or holistic) view of bilingual competence has been developed by Grosjean (2008); also see Toribio (2004:172) who describes the bilingual as having a ‘composite’ language system. A central concept in this view is ‘language mode’. This is defined as the state and level of activation of the bilinguals’ two or more languages at any particular time. Activation is a continuous variable with levels ranging from full to no activation concerning the two languages involved (Grosjean 2008:39).

The bilingual view suggests that a bilingual possesses a unified language competence which cannot easily be separated. This means that a bilingual is not a sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals, but a unique and specific linguistic configuration. This holistic view regards the bilingual as a fully competent speaker-hearer with a complete language system formed by the coexistence and/or interaction of the two languages. The bilingual builds her/his linguistic competence in two separate languages and most probably also in a third system which consists of the combination of the two languages. That is, depending upon communicative purposes and needs, interlocutors, topic and environment, bilinguals can use the two languages separately or together. The bilingual’s communicative competence cannot be measured via just one language, because in everyday linguistic practice the bilingual exploits her/his total linguistic repertoire. The holistic view supports a more precise comparison of bilinguals and monolinguals. This will allow the identification of some specific characteristics of the bilingual such as *the structure of the bilingual’s mixed language competencies and language processing mechanisms*. The input and output are monolingual while communicating to a monolingual, but the other language is never completely inactive (Grosjean 2008:13-15, 1989:6-8). Grosjean’s *complementarity principle* finds its source in this holistic (bilingual) view. The

reasons which bring two or more languages together (e.g. education, intermarriage, migration, etc.) cause people to have various linguistic needs. As a result, people master those languages at various proficiency levels (Grosjean 2008:22-26, 2010:29-38). Bilinguals usually make use of their languages for different purposes and in different domains of life. Even though there are domains in which both languages can be used, some domains may turn out to be language specific. Each of the languages of a bilingual has 'strong' domains (in which the language is used) and 'weak' domains (in which it is not used). However, it is very uncommon that all domains of a bilingual life are covered by both available languages. The complementarity principle has a number of implications. The first pertains to language fluency. In principle, the more domains a language covers, the more it develops. If reading and writing are not needed in a language, those skills will not be developed. As a result, even though these bilinguals may well develop some reading and writing skills in both languages, the competence levels for those skills in each language will never be the same. Language dominance emerges as the second consequence of the complementarity principle. Bilinguals may be dominant in language X or in language Y, or they may be 'balanced'. There may be global dominance of one of the languages, but also dominance in a certain domain. The third consequence relates to translation. Bilinguals, most of the time, appear not to be suitable translators as they often seem not to know translation equivalents (e.g. words, phrases, expressions and syntactic structures) and have difficulties in domain-specific texts in the other language. That bilinguals are often unable to translate fluently from one of their languages to the other can be explained by the complementarity principle. This, however, does not make them incomplete or less bilingual. On the contrary, it displays the dispersing nature of the languages of the bilingual across different life domains. Thus, the languages of a bilingual are mostly complementary to each other (Grosjean 2008:23-25, 2010:31-37).

A final consequence of *complementarity* is *language restructuring*, in other words (contact-induced) language change. New linguistic needs entailed by new situations, new interlocutors and new language functions will reshape the bilingual's linguistic configuration. At this moment, language restructuring kicks in and the weaker, less dominant language in which the bilingual has less fluency is influenced by the stronger one (Grosjean 2008:24). Thus, the complementarity principle is relevant to the issue of contact-induced change. It manifests itself in all the linguistic

choices and decisions of bilingual speakers, i.e. which language to speak with whom, as it determines the language mode the bilinguals will operate in.

Bilinguals may go in and out of bilingualism (shifting completely from one language to another), but they also travel along a language mode continuum in order to meet their linguistic needs and manage their communicative competence (Grosjean 1989:7). This creates a speech mode continuum, with the monolingual mode on one end and the bilingual mode on the other. That is, one end of this continuum constitutes the monolingual speech mode in which the bilinguals are supposed to speak only one language, either X or Y as they are communicating to the monolingual speakers of language X or Y. The other end forms the bilingual speech mode in which they make use of both languages in communication with their bilingual peers (Soares & Grosjean 1984:380; Grosjean 1989:8-9, 2008:39-40). This continuum could be argued to result in the wax and wane of bilingual linguistic competence.

The bilingual speech mode is typical of settings in which a bilingual speaks to fellow bilinguals and can make use of the full bilingual linguistic repertoire by mixing the languages (codeswitching). It should be noted, though, that bilinguals differ in the extent to which they move along the speech mode continuum; some employ a 'one language at a time' policy while others, mostly those who live most of their life within the bilingual community, regard language mixing as the norm and exploit both languages in bilingual environments.

A monolingual speech mode occurs when bilinguals have to communicate with a monolingual interlocutor of one of the two languages. In such settings, bilinguals deactivate the other language as much as they can, although complete deactivation is probably rare. Interference in the form of deviations from the language being spoken, the base language, is a sign of this incomplete deactivation. The interferences of the 'deactivated' language may emerge at all levels of the language, i.e. syntactic, semantic, phonological, lexical, etc. Interference comes in two types: a) a static type which is defined as permanent traces of one language in the other one (e.g. a foreign accent), and b) dynamic interferences, which are ephemeral and include momentary incursions from the other language (e.g. momentary use of a syntactic pattern taken from the unused language or an accidental slip in the stress pattern).

In the bilingual speech mode, however, both languages are active. Speakers may select a base language and then sprinkle it with elements of the other language through codeswitching, in the form of insertions and alternations (Grosjean 1989:9). That is, once the base language has been selected, the other language is also activated at a certain comparative level. These are independent of each other as the bilinguals can change the base language, as in alternation, but keep the levels of activation of both languages at a high level. They can also change the comparative level of activation of the two languages without changing the base language, which happens when bilinguals shift from a more bilingual to a more monolingual mode.

A Turkish-Dutch bilingual for instance can be considered to be in a ‘Turkish monolingual mode’ when speaking Turkish with a Turkish monolingual and in a ‘Dutch monolingual mode’ when interacting with a Dutch monolingual. When communicating with a Turkish-Dutch bilingual, the very same bilingual normally enters a ‘Turkish-Dutch bilingual mode’. The speech mode of Turkish-Dutch bilinguals was manipulated experimentally in the current study (see Chapter 3 for the methodological details).

The degree of activation of the two languages is determined by a number of factors. These include the participant(s) in the conversation, the situation (the location, formality, intimacy, etc.), the form and content of the communication, and the function of the communicative act (i.e. the purpose of the message).

The guiding hypothesis is that being in a bilingual mode, and thus experiencing the simultaneous presence or activation of both languages, stimulates bilinguals to search for parallels between the languages and to strive for convergence (Toribio 2004:172). Whether or not a bilingual mode results in more indications of contact-induced language change than a monolingual mode is one of the questions that this study aims to deal with.

1.11 Linguistic competence: Competence and performance

The characterization of competence and the common properties of innate human linguistic abilities seem to form the bedrock of generative linguistics, and could be said to continue as leading questions in usage-based linguistics as well. However, the two accounts hold different views on the notions of *competence* and *performance*.

Two of the fundamental problems in the study of language are to determine for each person, the properties of the ‘steady’ state (mature linguistic competence) that one’s language faculty reaches, and the properties of the initial state that is a common human endowment. Generative linguistics assumes a fundamental distinction between competence and performance. Radford (2004:7) defines competence as the native speaker’s tacit knowledge and understanding of her/his language while performance is what that speaker does with that knowledge and understanding. The steady state is one’s mature linguistic competence (Chomsky 1995:14). In this framework, performance is seen as the imperfect reflection of competence due to the constant possibility of production errors and misinterpretations attributable to a variety of performance factors. Performance errors do not indicate that you don’t know the language or that you don’t have competence in it (Radford 2004:7). In short, competence describes ‘the speaker-hearer’s knowledge of her/his language whereas performance is the actual use of language in concrete and authentic situations (Chomsky 1965:4, cited in Radford 2004:7). Although the importance of studying performance is not denied (e.g. for the related but separate discipline of psycholinguistics), generative grammar has been interested in competence rather than in performance (Radford 2004:7).

The Chomskyan distinction between competence and performance has been criticized as unclear and problematic in usage-based linguistics (Langacker 1991:262). First of all, this account does not recognize competence as ‘steady’; instead it is seen as ‘dynamic’ since there is no steady end state of acquisition that is the same for every native speaker. Usage, or linguistic experience, keeps reshaping one’s competence. In addition, it does not make much sense according to this model to make a sharp distinction because it sees performance as influencing a speaker’s competence. ‘Performance errors’ are not ignored, but included as elements of overall performance. All linguistic productions are considered as basically in conformance or non-conformance with established linguistic forms to differing degrees. The moment that the performance does not conform to those forms does not always reliably point to the absence of the right forms in competence. In order to achieve the ‘true’ picture of linguistic competence, comprehension and production are, therefore, taken as integral, rather than peripheral, to the linguistic system (Barlow & Kemmer 2000:xi).

The distinction between competence and performance is also commented on occasionally in the language contact literature. Myers-Scottton (2002)

emphasizes the link between abstract level competence and surface level performance. She does not seem to endorse the demarcation between competence and performance and asserts that many researchers or models focus either on performance or on competence, but not on both. On the other hand, her Matrix Language Framework seeks explanations in the interaction of competence and performance, also making a clear connection between competence and performance data. Different statuses of constructions in competence influence their status in production, which implies the intertwined state of competence and performance (Myers-Scotton 2002:27-28). She also argues that the outcomes of contact phenomena constitute the empirical windows on the structures of the language in general. That the languages are in contact implies that they are adjacent in the speakers' mental lexicon and influence each other in production. She approaches language contact in terms of models of language competence and production. According to her, language contact evidence hints at 'how parts of mental lexicon may be organized and how different types of elements may be salient and accessed at different stages of production' (Myers-Scotton 2002:5). All this indicates that she is clearly not in favor of dealing with competence and performance as distinct entities and that the distinction seems difficult to work with if the data are naturalistic or actual speech.

Croft (2000:234), on the other hand, follows the general usage-based approach in defining competence as a particular speaker's knowledge about the linguistic conventions of the communities to which she belongs. Different members of the speech community may have different understanding of conventions, and therefore competence is not the same across individuals (Croft 2000:115).

Although I agree with the importance of defining competence and performance separately, this does not imply that they are independent of each other. Language usage or performance makes use of only a subset of competence. However, competence encompasses performance. Thus, what we produce does not always reflect competence as a whole and all that our linguistic competence *can* produce. Figure 1.1 shows how the current study views linguistic competence.

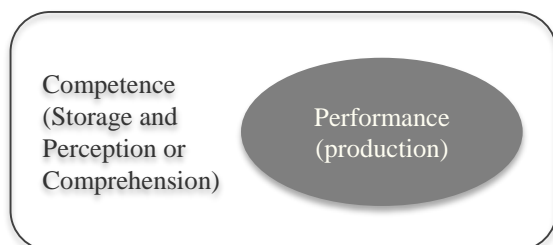


Figure 1.1: Linguistic competence

To sum up, while agreeing with Chomsky on the fact that at some level of abstraction competence is the more or less steady state one's language faculty reaches, I place performance or production in the same picture since performance is a rather direct outcome of competence and in turn influences it (although there is more than production to competence).

I assume that competence should be equated with mental representation and stored knowledge. Comprehension or perception can be seen as its outcomes since they are informed by competence. Performance, on the other hand, is seen as just production and usage. The activation of linguistic knowledge that is needed for both processes seems to be different for production and non-production activities. It may be the case that production simply requires more activation since doing something actively (production) is harder than doing something passively (competence).

Moreover, the more entrenched and frequent structures will be used (i.e. produced) more often than less entrenched ones, which could be said to be lying dormant much of the time. As researchers, we need to try and tap into the whole of linguistic competence by bringing performance and competence together. That will help us explore how linguistic structures are organized or positioned in our linguistic competence. That is one reason for favoring a methodological approach that seeks *converging evidence* (see Section 1.13 below) from various sources.

1.12 Usage-based linguistics and change

The intention for this section is not to present an overview of usage-based linguistics (as much more space would be needed), but rather to introduce the relevant key concepts that this study will make use of. The concepts to be introduced here are: the *usage-based* nature of language, the importance of *language use* and linguistic experience, the notions of *entrenchment* and

frequency and, finally, the theory of *exemplar representation*. This section describes those concepts only briefly; how and why they are relevant to the current study will be explained in more detail in the subsequent chapters and discussed again in the final chapter.

As the name suggests, *usage-based* linguistics underlines the importance of language use, revolving around one's linguistic experiences. The usage-based account has a number of characteristic assumptions (Barlow & Kemmer 2000:viii). One of the core assumptions is that there is an intimate relation between linguistic knowledge (also referred to as 'competence' or 'mental representation') and instances of language use. All instances, i.e. when a speaker produces or comprehends language, form the basis on which that speaker's linguistic competence develops. Therefore, a much more direct relation than is usually assumed is claimed to exist between the more abstract representations in grammar and linguistic experience (i.e. 'usage events'). Any linguistic experience is fully specific, i.e. it contains fully formed words and morphemes. Such lexically specific instances create the linguistic system of the user. With high frequency of use and repetition of similar instances, the system gradually undergoes the effects of abstraction, and schematic representations such as morphological and syntactic constructions emerge. This process reflects the above-mentioned direct relation. A consequence is that the units of language are not fixed but dynamic in the *usage-based* view, as they can be reshaped through use. Language production thus provides further input for the system, which means that usage both comes from and also (re-)shapes the linguistic system itself (Barlow & Kemmer 2000:viii-ix). In short, language is driven by linguistic experiences (i.e. it has a 'dynamic' character). Unless kept entrenched through usage events, aspects of language may *change* or atrophy and even finally be lost from a speaker's linguistic system (Taylor 2002:28). Nobody is born with a specific language or with innate linguistic representations, but usage events build up the linguistic system. More abstract patterns emerge with gradually growing linguistic experiences as all abstract patterns of grammar are induced from usage (Behrens 2009:385, 405).

The usage-based view describes 'grammar' as the cognitive organization of language experiences (Bybee 2006:730). The following statement by Bybee (2006:730) clearly shows how usage and grammar are tied to each other in this view and that usage cannot be ignored in the study of grammar: "*Usage feeds into the creation of grammar just as much as grammar defines the shape of usage.*"

This statement also echoes Tomasello's (2005:5, 327) statement that grammar is derivative, meaning language structure (i.e. grammar) emerges from language use or speakers' linguistic experiences.

This view contrasts with how generative linguistics pictures 'grammar' (Chomsky 1995:20; Hornstein, Nunes & Grohmann 2005:15). In the generative view, grammar is constituted by a number of separate components. Lexicon and syntax are compartmentalized in grammar. As Radford (2004) explains, one component of grammar is the lexicon, which is the dictionary containing all the lexical items or words together with their linguistic properties in a language. After selecting the lexical items from our lexicon, we combine them through various syntactic computations in the syntax, or the syntactic or computational component of the grammar. That is, the computational system (i.e. syntax) generates the structural descriptions or syntactic computations and the lexicon provides the lexical items taking place in those computations (Chomsky 1995:20). This way a syntactic structure is formed. The computational system does not have direct access to the lexicon, but only to a group of lexical items that should form the starting point of a derivation (Hornstein, Nunes & Grohmann 2005:69, 332). Thus, they only interact at the interface level (see below). This syntactic structure provides input for the other components of the grammar, the semantic component (turning the syntactic structure into a semantic representation) and the PF (Phonetic Form) component (converting the syntactic structure to a phonological representation, telling us how it is pronounced). The semantic representation interfaces with systems of thought while the PF representation interfaces with systems of speech. Later, the process concludes as these semantic and PF representations are handed over to the thought and speech interface systems, as shown below (Radford 2004:9-10):

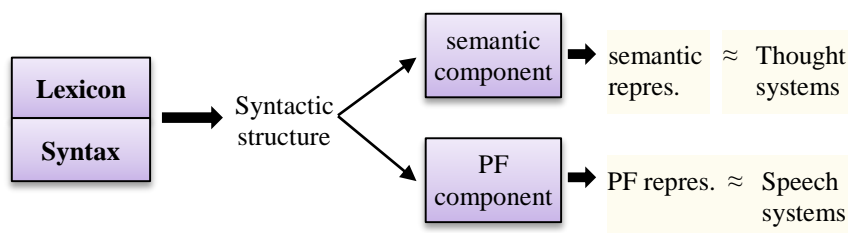


Figure 1.2: Grammar in the generative view, based on Radford (2004:9)

In contrast to this, the usage-based account takes grammar and lexicon not as dichotomous and separate domains, but as connected aspects of language. In

contrast to the componential structure of grammar (comprising lexicon and syntax), this view posits a lexicon-syntax continuum, called the Specificity Continuum (see below). This indicates a more *integrated* account.

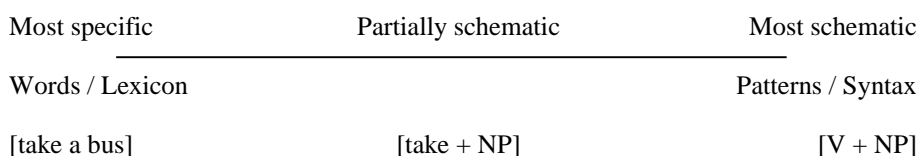


Figure 1.3: Specificity continuum (Doğruöz & Backus 2009:44)

Removing the strict division of grammar, this view presents lexicon and syntax as regions on a continuum which hosts all linguistic units, as Figure 1.3 indicates. Fully specific expressions [e.g. ‘take a bus’] are lexical and take their place at the specific end. A construction, such as [take + NP], instantiated by the more specific [take a bus], belongs to a place in between lexicon and syntax. The syntactic end of the continuum, on the other hand, accommodates schematic or syntactic constructions such as [V + NP] (Doğruöz & Backus 2009:43-44).

The elements that make up language, in this account, are units combining a form and a meaning (Backus, 2013a:25, 32). Crucially, the focus is not on only form or only meaning, but on the integration of the two.

Following the ‘usage’ path, studies adopting the usage-based approach to language are based on empirical research which is data-driven, relying either on *observational* or *experimental* data (Zenner 2013:50). Moreover, searching for converging evidence (see Section 1.13) by exploiting both of those data types provides more reliable results, and allows investigating the degree to which the ‘integrated’ nature of the usage-based account makes sense.

Another important characteristic of the usage-based account is that comprehension and production, or competence and performance, are intimately combined: the regularities of the mental processing of language (i.e. comprehension) creates the linguistic ability or production. Performance and usage are assumed to be synonymous and to directly feed into competence (Backus 2013a:23-26). ‘Performance errors’ are not set apart from the total picture, as all production is hypothesized to either be compatible or incompatible with current linguistic conventions to various degrees (Barlow & Kemmer 2000:xi).

The usage-based framework is generally said to have three main properties: it is *maximalist*, *non-reductive* and *bottom-up*. Grammar is considered to be highly redundant rather than economical and free of inessentials. The grammar contains both specific (content and concrete) items and schematic (grammatical and abstract) patterns, which are mutually connected by usage. The bottom-up nature entails that the specific items or units are directly acquired from experience whereas the schematic items stem from the cognitive processing of the specific ones (Barlow & Kemmer 2000:ix-x). For instance, as in the example given in Figure 1.3, the VP [take a shower] is a concrete or specific unit which gets stored in our mental representation. This VP instantiates a *partially schematic* construction [take + NP], less specific than [take a shower]. After [take NP] is stored, it creates the template for [V + NP], which is even more abstract and general. The schematic [V + NP] is acquired and represented through the use of the first two stored representations. Thus, knowledge of a language grows out of knowledge of actual usage and generalizations over usage events, which implies that language acquisition is a bottom-up process developing with linguistic experience (Taylor 2002:27)

The concepts *innovation* and *propagation* (Croft 2000:4; see Section 1.2, 1.3, and 1.4.4), describing the stages of change, fit well with usage-based linguistics. In order for a change to develop, through stages of innovation and propagation it needs to be strengthened with linguistic experience. Increasing frequency of use brings about a gradually increasing degree of entrenchment. The argument behind the usage-based account is that there is a positive correlation between *frequency of use* and *entrenchment* in the linguistic competence of the bilingual. As a result, what happens is that cognitive structures can survive, become more *entrenched*, or decay and become extinct. Croft says: “The shift in proportions of the variants of a linguistic variable in usage results from the shifts in degrees of entrenchment of those variants in the grammars of speakers...” (2000:32). The underlying assumption is that a linguistic unit (any element of a language) becomes more entrenched (i.e. ‘established’ or ‘strengthened’) each time it is used (Taylor 2002:275). Hence, another key notion which merits special attention is *cognitive entrenchment* of linguistic units. High frequency of a unit (both in production and comprehension) leads to a high degree of entrenchment, because of *cognitive routinization* directly affecting the linguistic processing of the specific construction or unit (Barlow & Kemmer 2000:x) while lack of use causes ‘decay’ (Croft 2000:73). *Entrenchment* is an individual-based

concept (framed as *person-based entrenchment* in Backus 2013a:25) which tells us about the degree to which a particular bilingual knows and uses the pattern or lexical element. At the community level, on the other hand, we could talk about *conventionalization* (*community-based conventionalization* in Backus 2013a:25) as the degree to which the construction or lexical element has become entrenched for most members of the speech community. This is likely to be the case if the element has become the conventional option for the majority of speakers.

In the process leading to high entrenchment, *frequency* is crucial. It is indispensable in order for a linguistic unit to reach a certain level of entrenchment. The higher the frequency of use, the stronger the entrenchment level a unit acquires, which implies a direct correlation. Entrenchment relies on a process of cognitive routinization, automaticization or habituation. Despite the interplay between them, *type* and *token frequency* lead to different outcomes, related to the difference between specific and schematic elements mentioned earlier. High *token frequency* leads to entrenchment of specific units by leaving strong memory traces while high *type* frequency results in the entrenchment of schematic units by virtue of the process of abstraction (Behrens 2009:399). What needs to be underlined about frequency is that each time a linguistic unit is processed, its mental representation gets more entrenched (Bybee 2010:9). This renders the unit more readily available for future use (Taylor 2012:217). The relationship between frequency and entrenchment will be further discussed in the concluding chapter, in the light of the data. The postulation of varying entrenchment levels depending on different degrees of frequency of use points to ‘gradience’ regarding the strength of storage in mental representation as an important feature of linguistic knowledge.

The usage-based approach naturally draws attention to individual differences in language use as well as to ‘variation’ and ‘change’ in general. In contact studies based on this approach, the status of a change is determined by measuring the degree of entrenchment in the linguistic competence of speakers and extrapolating from this the degree of conventionality in the speech community (Backus 2013a:23, 25).

This still leaves open the question of what the mechanism is for language change according to a *usage-based* account. Backus (2013a:23, 25) portrays ‘change’ as the increase or decrease of the level of entrenchment of a linguistic unit. That is, this framework basically proposes that the use of words and constructions from a second language with high frequency

increases their entrenchment levels in the individual bilingual mental representation. This entrenchment ultimately reaches such a high level that it causes ‘interference’: the use of this feature in the base language. If this happens often enough, ultimately ‘change’ starts to be clearly noticeable. When the native equivalent, on the other hand, is not used anymore or used less, its cognitive entrenchment level decreases.

Bybee’s *exemplar representation* accounts quite transparently for the mechanism that operates in *language change*, and the *process* it involves in *bilingual* mental representation:

“Exemplar representations are rich memory representations; they contain, at least potentially, all the information a language user can perceive in a linguistic experience. This information consists of phonetic detail, including redundant and variable features, the lexical items and constructions used, the meaning, inferences made from this meaning and from the context, and properties of the social physical and linguistic context.” (Bybee 2010:14)

In line with *usage-based* linguistics, the concept of *exemplar representation* is based on a matching process which is active in our organizational network of cognitive representations. Every token of experience, in our case a linguistic one, is of crucial importance in exemplar theory. The matching process – in which new tokens of linguistic experiences are matched with existing ones – influences the memory representations. What happens in the case of new linguistic tokens is that the new token which is identical to an existing linguistic type is mapped onto that existing type in the mental representation. However, tokens which are not entirely the same but only similar to a certain extent are viewed as different exemplars and get stored near similar or otherwise related exemplars. The related types eventually constitute clusters or categories.

Frequency of use, thus, plays a determining role in the survival of those exemplars. Repeated experiences, i.e. a higher frequency of use, contribute to building up the strength of the exemplars. In the case of language change in progress, repeated linguistic experiences cause the exemplars to undergo significant reorganization. The matched meaning may activate either of the two constructions or both, for example Turkish *otobüse binmek* ‘get on the bus’ and Dutch *de bus nemen* ‘take the bus’ (see Example 1 in Section 1.1). The competition between the constructions begins with this activation. The higher frequency of use or input in one language increases the entrenchment

of the structure type in that language relative to that of the structure type of the other one. The different degrees of *frequency* and its consequences provide a general picture of how a contact-induced change evolves. The more frequent structure is claimed to be more autonomous and accessible. Exemplars with high frequency end up dominating ones with lower frequency, which can, in the end, lead to loss of the latter, i.e. language change. All this means that Turkish-Dutch bilinguals may end up using *otobüsü almak* ‘take the bus’ instead of *otobüse binmek* ‘get on the bus’ in their Turkish, as a result of higher entrenchment of the Dutch exemplar ‘de bus nemen’. This may in the end result in the loss of the ‘get on the bus’ exemplar, i.e. in contact-induced change.

As mentioned above, the assumption is that exemplars of constructions are stored in cognitive representation together with their pragmatic implications and contexts of use. However, the more frequent the exemplar, the more autonomous it gets, and slowly but surely it may drift apart from its original source contexts (Bybee 2006:720). Those exemplars ultimately become a category on their own. Autonomy is realized by losing the association with the original exemplar and by getting generalized and used with other instances in different contexts (e.g. once again, the exemplar of *otobüsü almak* ‘take the bus’ may generalize to ‘take a vehicle’, thus can also motivate *tren almak* ‘take the train’, *feribot almak* ‘take the ferry’, etc.). High frequency exemplars (e.g. *de bus nemen* ‘take the bus’ in NL-Turkish) dominate the cluster. Following that, the low frequency exemplars (e.g. *otobüse binmek* ‘get on the bus’) may be lost which gradually leads to ‘change’ (e.g. *otobüsü almak* ‘take the bus’).

A cluster of exemplars, on the other hand, may undergo reorganization with the more frequent exemplar taking over and becoming the fixed pattern. Although this was studied extensively for phonetic exemplars in Bybee (2006:725), this study will look for confirmation in the domain of syntactic constructions.

A prominent correlation was demonstrated between *frequency* and *resistance to change* (Bybee 2006:728). Frequently used exemplars are more resistant to change than ones with low frequency. The reason for this direct correlation is that, after exemplars of certain constructions have been grouped together in the mental representation of bilinguals, the more frequent construction type gets entrenched more strongly and more autonomously than the less frequent type. Changes that affect underlying structure do not affect that structure as easily in high frequency exemplars,

simply because that structure is not accessed in processing (thanks to the autonomy). Therefore, the strength and autonomy of the exemplar in general is associated with frequency. Ultimately, this concerns ‘change’ as well, since autonomous and highly frequent exemplars are better at resisting change.

To sum up, *exemplar representation*, as one of the manifestations of usage-based linguistics, values usage and linguistic experience to a great extent. The actual language use should also be taken into consideration in the study of grammar. Namely, no strict separation of grammar and usage is feasible because, as Bybee says, “*usage feeds into the creation of grammar just as much as grammar determines the shape of usage.*” She describes grammar as building from specific instances of use that conjugate lexicon with constructions which get routinized and entrenched by repetition and later schematized by the categorization of exemplars. High levels of frequency do not only lead to entrenchment or establishment of a system within the individual but also to the creation of grammar, its change (i.e. *language change*) and its maintenance within a language community (Bybee 2006:730).

1.13 Converging evidence

Most contact linguistic studies rely on recordings of spontaneous speech. However, the field is running up against the limits of what you can do with spontaneous speech data. More specifically, to be able to judge the degree to which the changes attested in those recordings are entrenched in bilinguals’ linguistic competence (rather than reflecting superficial effects of momentary interference at the moment of speaking), this study follows the entrenchment perspective of the usage-based approach, and aims to search for *converging evidence* (Schönefeld 2011:1), by triangulating several data sources, including experimental techniques (see Chapter 3), to find answers to the research questions.

Methodological combinations are indeed an indispensable tool to obtain robust and reliable evidence (Gries, Hampe & Schönefeld 2005:666). It has been argued that the constructs employed by linguists need to be validated on independent grounds (independent, that is, of the analyst’s own intuitions). Typically, an analysis of naturalistic usage data (e.g. in corpora) is combined with the exploitation of data elicited in experimental settings.

This way, hypotheses and constructs will be backed up by converging evidence from multiple sources (Gries, Hampe & Schönefeld 2005:636).

Like any other method, corpora or natural usage data are not perfect when used in isolation. To reduce the chance of misinterpreting the evidence, it is best to combine methodologies. Including experiments in language contact research has some specific advantages. First of all, experiments enable the study of some phenomena that are too infrequent or not available at all in corpora of natural usage. They also permit the systematic control of variables. Finally, some kinds of experiment allow insight into online processing. By making use of more than one methodology, it may be possible to solve problems encountered in individual types of data. Moreover, phenomena can be approached from a multiplicity of perspectives (Gilquin & Gries 2009:9).

Thus, natural usage data can be fruitfully combined with experiments. The results obtained through these different methods will either converge or diverge (Gilquin & Gries 2009:17). In either case, this will lead to more reliable accounts and conclusions.

Converging evidence is not necessarily the default expectation. The nature of the data may also cause *diverging evidence*. In that case, it should be considered that usage data may reflect the language more as a product whereas experiments tap into online language processing more, i.e. reflect language more as a process. (Schönefeld 2011:2).

In contrast to usage-based approaches, generative linguistics has not usually been interested in performance data. Generative research tends to be based on introspection and grammaticality judgments, as performance data are assumed to reflect competence only imperfectly due to ‘flawed’ performance phenomena such as slips of the tongue, false starts, restarts, incomplete utterances, etc. and psychological factors such as tiredness or boredom (Schönefeld 2011:7). While the objective of the current study is not to compare the linguistic theories, it is obvious, regardless of theories, that *introspective, corpus* (natural usage) and *experimentally elicited data* types are all employed in linguistic research. The need for converging evidence kicks in when conclusions are attributed to factors assumed to be tested but may just as well result from other factors not included in the experimental task. If the results of some other experiment support the same conclusion, the results will have a higher explanatory power. In this way, converging evidence helps researchers avoid reaching unjustified generalizations or conclusions (Schönefeld 2011:21-22).

All in all, if the interest of a study lies partially in language processing, usage or corpus data should ideally not be used as the only source of evidence, though they are valuable in constructing hypotheses. Natural usage data do not reflect very directly what actually goes on during the formulation process of written or spoken text. Hence, converging evidence (based on natural usage and experimentation) is needed in order to tap the procedures going on in language production and comprehension (Schönefeld 2011:24). As this study is concerned with investigating linguistic competence, comparing production (i.e. performance) with comprehension (i.e. competence), a data set of *natural usage*, *introspection*, *experimentally elicited* and *judgment task data* will be used; whether the evidence from these sources converges or not will be detailed in the following chapters.

1.14 Linguistic complexity

The final concept to be addressed is linguistic complexity, because contact-induced change is often assumed to be a kind of simplification. In general, some types of subordination and word-order organization are considered to be more complex than others. The goal here is *not* to provide a full sketch of linguistic ‘complexity’, but *only* to briefly discuss why it might be relevant to the current study and whether it may help to account for some of the results. This section first presents some definitions of complexity used in the literature, and then relates the issue to the expected findings of the present study. It ends with a usage-based perspective on complexity.

The most widely accepted claim is that all languages are equally complex, known as the ‘linguistic equi-complexity dogma’ (Kusters 2003:5). There are supposedly no ‘simple’ or ‘complex’ languages. However, there is a trade-off in the complexities of linguistic sub-systems (Szmrecsanyi & Kortmann 2012:7). Dixon (1997:65) addresses this in the following quotation (quoted from Kusters 2003:5):

“...it is a fact that all the languages presently spoken in the world are about equal in complexity. There is nothing that could be called ‘primitive language’. When a pidgin develops into a creole within just a couple of generations it becomes a linguistic system comparable in complexity to any well-established language, in terms of size of vocabulary and richness in grammatical resources.”

Still, one component in language A can be more complex than the same component in language B while domains compensate for each other to maintain a certain overall complexity. As Aitchison (1991:214) argues (again quoted from Kusters 2008:10):

“A language which is simple and regular in one respect is likely to be complex and confusing in others. There seems to be a trading relationship between the different parts of the grammar which we do not fully understand.”

Based on this consensus, the first crucial distinction to be mentioned is between *global* and *local* complexity. *Global* or overall complexity refers to the grammar of the whole language whereas local complexity holds for a specific domain of a language, such as verbal morphology or a more general sub-domain such as morphological complexity, syntactic complexity, etc. (Miestamo 2009:82). Evaluating local complexity is considered as a more feasible task (Szmrecsanyi & Kortmann 2012:8).

While this seems clear, what is usually lacking from the literature is a specification of what is actually meant by *complexity*. Complexity is not clearly defined, or defined differently from different perspectives. We should be *specific* about according to *what* and *whom* a language is or is not complex. Where do the criteria come from? With complexity, we define a relation between a language and *someone* or *some descriptions* evaluating the language (Kusters 2003:6). In addition to global and local types of complexity, the literature contains another complexity dichotomy: ‘absolute’ and ‘relative’ complexity. *Absolute* complexity does not address any experiences of any language user, but rather takes complexity of a language or a component as an autonomous characteristic. Absolute complexity is determined by descriptions or theories of language(s), i.e. they are theory-oriented and thus render complexity as ‘objective’ (Szmrecsanyi & Kortmann 2012:10). In short, this type of complexity is ascribed to the language or language components depending on the theories and grammar descriptions. For instance, in generative grammar, each parameter is suggested to have a default or unmarked value and a more marked option which is more complex. SVO (Subject, Verb, Object) word order is claimed to be less marked than any other order, as it is supposed to preserve an unmarked, default or simple parameter setting (cf. Kusters 2008:5). An expected finding of this study is that Dutch Turkish will show an increase of verb-medial order in complex clauses, in other words, an increased use of

SVO. Being a property of underlying competence, absolute complexity of grammar is not automatically an indicator of possible complexities in language use (Kusters 2008:5). The language-user perspective is not really taken into consideration in this view on complexity.

If complexity in empirical data is evaluated from the perspective of the language user or learner, the notion is claimed to reflect the *real* or *relative complexity*. Taking the perspective of the learner entails that complexity is associated with ‘processing costs and being difficult to learn (Kusters 2008:4, 8; Szmrecsanyi & Kortmann 2012:10; Miestamo 2009:81). Siegel proposes a slightly different classification of complexity: *componential* and *structural* complexity. *Componentially complex* parts of grammar contain many elements or components while *structurally complex* ones have an internal structure which is difficult to understand or analyze (Siegel 2012:35).

This study focuses on two interrelated syntactic domains, *subordination* and *word order* (i.e. matrix verb position in complex clauses), and we expect Dutch Turkish to use more finite subordination and verb-medial order than Turkey-Turkish. As we will see, both features tend to be seen as the least complex option. It appears that much of contact-induced change in these domains involves a reduction in ‘complexity’. The frequency with which subordinate clauses are used is generally regarded as one measure of *complexity*, more subordination being regarded as more complex. This is because ‘subordination is considered a complex use of language as it represents the embedding of one clause within another in a hierarchical relationship’ (Schlepperegell 1992:117). There are two main questions that force us to consider ‘complexity’ in this connection. The first is whether ‘finite’ (or analytic) subordinate constructions are less complex than non-finite (synthetic or agglutinative) ones. The example below illustrates the differences (see Chapter 2 for a more elaborate presentation of subordination in Turkish, but note here that the subordinate verb in a ‘ara-yacağ-ım’ is finite, just like a matrix verb, with tense and person markers while ‘ara-yacağ-ım-ı’ in Example 6b is a non-finite subordinate verb which has a nominalizer, a possessive and a case marker attached to it).

(6) a. Finite subordination:

San-a sen-i ara-yacağ-ım de-di-m.
 you-DAT you-ACC phone-Fut-1sg say-Past-1sg

'I said to you: "I will phone you".'

b. Non-finite subordination:

San-a seni ara-yacağ-ım-ı söyle-di-m.
 you-DAT you-ACC phone-F.NMLZ-1sg.Poss-ACC tell-Past-1sg

'I told you that I would phone you.'

The second question involving complexity is this: are non-finite structures that contain nominalizations marked with possessive, case, person, etc. more complex than converbs and gerunds which bear no marker at all? The example below (see again Chapter 2 for further details) illustrates the different non-finite structures: which non-finite structure is more complex (7a or 7b)?

(7) a. Without markers:

İstanbul-a gel-ince, sen-i ara-yacağ-ım.
 Istanbul-DAT come-CV you-ACC phone-Fut-1sg

b. With markers:

İstanbul-a gel-diğ-im-de, sen-i ara-yacağ-ım.
 Istanbul-DAT come-F.NMLZ-1sg-LOC you-ACC phone-Fut-1sg

'I will phone you when I come to Istanbul.'

The most commonly supported assumption is that predominantly analytic languages are grammatically less complex than predominantly synthetic ones (Siegel 2012:42 also referring to Gil 2008 and McWhorter 2007, 2008). Siegel's argument suggests that analytic morphemes are less complex because of their *perceptual saliency*. This view relates linguistic complexity to the ease or difficulty in acquiring a second language which implies that the parts with higher perceptual saliency are learned earlier and more easily (Siegel 2012:39). Analytical features are supposed to be semantically more transparent, which renders them easier to acquire. A change from synthetic to analytic structure is claimed to be the result of *simplification*, i.e. reduction of complexity.

Another controversial issue is whether complexity should be seen in qualitative or in quantitative terms. Proponents of the 'more is more', i.e.

quantitative, motto (Steger & Schneider 2012:156) imply that the higher the number of structures or morphemes in a construction, the more complex it is (e.g. counting the number of suffixes (person, tense, aspect, etc.) that get attached to a verb). According to this argument, in Example 6, the non-finite subordinate verb is more complex as it contains three suffixes (converb, possessive and accusative markers) while the finite verb has only two (tense and person) markers. The non-finite subordinate verb of Example 7b, on the other hand, is more complex than Example 7a: three suffixes against one.

It seems essential to know from which perspective we investigate *complexity*. Kusters (2003, 2008), for instance, adopts the perspective of the language learner, meaning a ‘learner’ of a second or foreign language, which he refers to as a ‘generalized outsider’. This outsider is not a native speaker, does not have common background knowledge with the native speech community and, finally, is guided by the main purpose of communication and clear transmission of information, rather than, for example, identity marking (Kusters 2008:6-7).

The present study, on the other hand, looks at *complexity* from the perspective of the language *user*. This seems to be more applicable as the study deals with adult bilinguals, who are not *learners* anymore.

Departing from the general claim that all languages are equally complex, increase in complexity of one language component will result in decrease in complexity of another component due to the trading relationship mentioned in the quote from Aitchison above. Using this argument, Kusters (2003:10) conjectures that each language user possesses and makes use of a maximum amount of the *complexity space*. Monolinguals use their entire complexity space in their mother tongue. The acquisition of foreign or second languages then requires either that the native language becomes less complex or that the second language takes up a different ‘complexity space’. The last option would put bilingual mode interactions such as *codeswitching* in an unexplainable state as two languages would entail two different complexity spaces (Kusters 2003:10, 2008:11). One argument is that the grammars are always equally complex but, as for lexicon, a large lexicon may be more complex than a smaller lexicon. If that is the case, a learner will have fewer difficulties in acquiring or using a smaller lexicon. Another argument Kusters (2008:11) puts forward is that the trade-off is situated in the language use. Language maintains the same level of complexity, which implies that new complexities arise when one domain of a language loses complexity, i.e. *complexity leveling*.

A relevant question, here, would be: How does the *complexity space* operate for bilinguals? It is quite plausible to assume that what is complex in a language for monolinguals may and will, most probably, extensively differ from what bilinguals find complex. Monolinguals will use the *complexity space* in only one language whereas bilinguals have two languages to tackle and fit into the space. Thus, different components of different languages will occupy the bilingual's *complexity space*, which is limited in an absolute way. A hypothesis that could be entertained for the current study is that because non-finite subordination appears to be used more often in Turkey-Turkish than the finite type, monolinguals may perceive it as less complex than finite subordination. However, the case may be different for bilinguals. The finite type may count as less complex for them. According to Kusters' theory, the *complexity space* is not the same for both groups in terms of how components fill up the space, but it is the same concerning only the *space* size. A language contact effect, in this process, comes from the fact that their Dutch interferes at this point and the finite structure turns out to be easier for bilinguals to process due to its being the common feature between the languages as well as its feature of analyticity.

Kusters (2003:5) notes the discussion question "who borrows from who?" from Dixon (1997:23) and quotes him as saying "If language X is more complex than language Y, then speakers of X will find it easier to learn and speak Y, as a second language, than the other way around." This quote becomes relevant in terms of language contact and bilinguals as it implies that the more complex properties of language A will be influenced by the simpler properties of language B, which still requires the mechanism of pivot-matching, though, to start the change process. The change will be contact-induced, but driven by *complexity*.

One may wonder whether usage-based linguistics would have any role for *complexity* in the explanation of *contact-induced language change*. A possible perspective might be the following.

The more frequently used structure gets more entrenched. Once the higher frequency of use increases the level of entrenchment of a certain structure, that structure becomes less complex for the bilingual speakers. The reason why that happens is that speakers stop analyzing a complex construction once it is entrenched as a whole. From that moment on, it may be complex for the analyzing linguist, but not for the user anymore who leaves the complex unit unanalyzed. As Bybee (2010:47, 146) explains, each time a complex unit is used, its autonomy increases, making access more

efficient and direct (see the previous subsection). Each instance of direct access to the complex unit strengthens that path of access but weakens the access through component parts. This way the relations with these parts get weaker, too. This process, through increasing entrenchment of the complex unit, causes gradual loss of analyzability. Thus, frequency reduces complexity. The less complex and more entrenched structures ultimately get more *conventionalized* with high frequency of use in the bilingual speech community, too. Miestamo (2009:96) also highlights the relation between frequency and complexity stating: "...linguistic phenomena that are cross-linguistically frequent are relatively easy for all language users (speakers, hearers, learners). As to cross-linguistically less common phenomena, the question is more complicated, since a given category or structure may be rare because it is costly or difficult for a particular class of language users while being easy for other classes."

The concept of *complexity* will be taken on board in the discussion of results in the following chapters.

1.15 Immigrant Turkish and Turks in the Netherlands

This final subsection will present some background information on the community in which the participants of this study live, the immigrant Turkish community in Europe, more specifically in the Netherlands. It will also present a linguistic profile of Turkish-Dutch bilinguals.

Turkic languages are spoken in a large area. We encounter them in a zone stretching from Bosnia to China and from southern Persia to the Arctic Ocean. Thanks to large-scale immigration, Western Europe has also been host to Turkish for some decades (Johanson 2002a:3). The Turkish immigrant wave to Western Europe (mostly to Germany but sizeable groups to other countries, including the Netherlands, as well) started in the 1960's and early 1970's in the form of labor migration. Workers were invited by the European countries when the economy needed a larger labor force. The Dutch government signed an agreement with Turkey in 1964 to compensate for labor shortage and to initiate the recruitment of labor migrants or 'guest workers' (Arends-Tóth 2003:16).

In the beginning, almost all the immigrants were male migrant 'guest workers' most of whom came from the rural areas of Central and South-western Anatolia and the Black Sea regions in Turkey. There was also some

migration drift from the big cities. Most of the migrants had very low or no education at all, and they ended up working in very low profile jobs. Initially, most migrants intended to go back to Turkey after earning some money for a few years in the Netherlands in order to increase their quality of life in Turkey. Hence, they did not really set up a normal life in the Netherlands. They had poor living conditions with poor accommodations, learned hardly any Dutch and usually worked overtime (Arends-Tóth 2003:17). The number of Turkish immigrants to Western Europe, more specifically to the Netherlands, increased over time through informal channels such as family reunification, marriage, etc.

The labor recruitment agreement was terminated in 1974. However, a large number of Turks eventually settled down in Europe with their families, which turned a *migrant* into an *immigrant* community. By now, this Turkish community is well into its third generation, and it has grown into a regular immigrant community (Backus 2010:227, 2013b:771).

The Netherlands officially has 395,302 residents of Turkish descendants according to the statistics from January 1, 2013 (see Table 1.2). Turks in the Netherlands form a very large foreign-origin community (i.e. *allochtonen* in Dutch), comparable to those of Moroccan and Surinamese, origin, with respectively 368,838 and 347,631 residents (CBS 2013). The following table displays the growth of the Turkish-Dutch community over the years and compares them to the other large foreign-origin groups:

Table 1.2: CBS Population Statistics: number of native and immigrant population (from 1 January 2013)

Population of:	1980	1996	2005	2013
Dutch natives	12,473,795	12,995,174	13,182,809	13,236,494
Foreign descendant (total):	1,617,219	2,498,715	3,122,717	3,543,081
Turkish	112,774	271,514	358,846	395,302
Moroccan	69,464	225,088	315,821	368,838
Surinamese	157,081	280,615	329,430	347,631
Antilleans	40,726	86,824	130,538	145,499
Total population	14,091,014	15,493,889	16,305,526	16,779,575

The CBS (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek) figures above are based on the first and second generations. For the currently developing third generation

group there are no data available. Of the total number of Turkish descendants (see Table 1.2), 196,203 are first generation. Of all the second generation people (i.e. 199,099), 40,976 have one parent born outside the Netherlands while for 158,123 people in the second generation both parents were born outside the Netherlands (CBS, Den Haag/Heerlen, 28-11-2013).

The participants in this study were mostly from the second generation, with both parents born in Turkey. Some of the parents may have come to the Netherlands as children, but in most cases they had gone to elementary school in Turkey. However, apart from birthplace, this was not asked about systematically in the interviews.

Most of the first generation Turkish-Dutch immigrants never really acquired a high level of Dutch proficiency (Doğruöz 2007:21). What the term 'first generation' refers to is the migrant workers of the 1960's and 1970's as the picture may not hold for the newer immigrants in the 1990's, who technically are also first generation. The second and the third generations, however, grew up in the Netherlands and got their schooling in Dutch. Hence, they can be assumed to be truly bilingual. In the current study, participants were selected from this group.

Although the official attitude towards the maintenance of immigrant languages has usually been negative and hostile, as it has been regarded as an obstacle to full integration (Backus 2013b:772), the community has managed to have a high rate of Turkish language maintenance thanks to a few factors. First, retention of the heritage language is of a higher probability if the ethnic community is large (Yağmur & Van de Vijver 2012:1111). As seen from the table above, the Turkish-Dutch community is quite sizable. Second, there has been a trend of marrying spouses from Turkey rather than from the Turkish-Dutch immigrant community (let alone from the Dutch community). Only recently have members of the community started to marry among themselves as well. In the case that one of the parents does not speak the majority language, the home language automatically remains almost at all times solely Turkish. Another important factor is that it has proved relatively easy to keep strong ties with Turkey and the Turkish language through frequent long holidays in Turkey, especially in summer (approximately 4 to 6 weeks). A possible move back is also a topic of discussion in many families, which is another motivation to keep strong ties with Turkey and the language. Another factor which keeps the language alive is the exposure to Turkish media (TV, internet, etc.). Most of the immigrant houses have satellite dishes installed which connects them to the TV channels

broadcasting from Turkey. Especially first-generation immigrants almost always prefer these channels, presumably due to their lack of Dutch language proficiency as well as their cultural orientation. The second generation is more aware of Dutch affairs and can follow better what is happening in the Netherlands thanks to their higher, maybe even native-like, language proficiency. Furthermore, it should be noted that Turkish-Dutch people often form very close knit communities living in the same districts. Growing up in such an area limits the need for the majority language as a *lingua franca*. This brings along large Turkish social networks and many organizations, which provides lots of ‘intra-group’ opportunities for using Turkish (Backus 2013b:774). Last but not least, the strong bond between language and religion plays a role as well in the retention of Turkish. Mosques constitute one of the domains where Turkish is used exclusively according to language surveys (Backus 2013b:774). Partially this is because the Turkish government sends out imams to serve the European Turks, and these often do not speak the majority language.

In addition to all this, speaking or being able to speak Turkish is considered very important as a ‘commitment’, and is interpreted as ‘the core value’ for Turkish identity among Turkish youngsters (Extra & Yağmur 2010:131; Backus 2013b:773). Extra and Yağmur (2010:131) argue that cultural self-awareness seems to go hand in hand with linguistic self-awareness in the Turkish-Dutch community. That is to say, Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands identify themselves also culturally with their language to a great extent. With this ‘commitment’ in mind, Turks seem to be highly loyal to their language.

All these factors enable the continuity of Turkish language transmission. On the other hand, unidirectional contact influence is also inevitable as Dutch is the dominant language in society. Speakers are subjected to mostly negative comments and criticisms in both countries implying that their Turkish seems to be different from Turkey-Turkish and not standard-like, and, as commonly remarked in Dutch public discourse, they usually make mistakes in their Dutch as well possibly due to the high degree of Turkish language maintenance. There is no conclusive proof for either of those claims, though. Being stereotyped as ‘European Turks’ does, nevertheless, not wipe out their ‘commitment’ and ‘loyalty’ to the Turkish language. Thus, while the Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands try hard to adapt to the norms of Standard Turkish, their Turkish is also constantly being influenced by the Dutch they also speak. As a result of language contact, slowly but

surely, their Turkish seems to be changing, on the one hand through the loss of features, and on the other hand through the influx of words and structures taken from Dutch. This study will investigate how Dutch Turkish differs from Turkey Turkish, despite the fact that Turks in the Netherlands identify themselves with their ethnic background and try to maintain their Turkish as close as possible to the variety they inherited.

The following chapter will introduce *subordination* and *word order* in Turkish and in Dutch, the syntactic domains focused on in this study.

CHAPTER 2

Subordination and word order in Dutch and Turkish

Turkish clausal subordination is claimed to be unstable (Johanson 2002a:119). Both for production and for perception, it has been argued to be difficult and, thus, prone to foreign influence in contact situations. Dutch, on the other hand, has a simpler structure in the domain of subordination. While Dutch makes use of more syntactic (i.e. analytic) structure, Turkish prefers the use of morphological (i.e. synthetic) constructions. There seems to be agreement in the literature that ‘analytic’ constructions are favored, and found more ‘attractive’ than ‘synthetic’ ones, so the former are easily copied. In contact settings with the right conditions, then, a language may replace a synthetic structure with an analytic structure borrowed from the other language (Johanson 2002a:44). For Dutch Turkish, this hypothesis was first explored in acquisition studies (Verhoeven & Boeschoten 1986; Schaufeli 1991). Bilingual children were shown to prefer analytical types of subordination (using finite subordinate clauses) and to make limited use of non-finite, synthetic, subordinate clauses compared to monolingual children in Turkey. However, the fate of Turkish subordination has not been investigated much in a systematic way, and this is what motivated the present study. It will also investigate whether the *complexity* of constructions helps determine the contact outcomes in the Turkish and Dutch language constellation.

In addition to finiteness and the synthetic or analytic nature of subordination, Turkish and Dutch also differ in *word order*, more specifically in the *position of the matrix verb in complex clauses*. In the Dutch immigration context, Turkish word order was investigated for main clauses, by Schaufeli (1991) and Dođruöz and Backus (2007), and briefly in an MA thesis by Sevinç (2012). The first two studies did not find any significant differences

in terms of word order between TR- and NL-Turkish based on their frequency data. Sevinç, comparing three generations of bilinguals, attested some unconventional word-order patterns in the Turkish of a third generation bilingual, suggesting there is ongoing change, but the low number of participants and absence of a comparison between bilinguals and their monolingual peers from Turkey don't allow for strong conclusions.

This section will first introduce the main characteristics of subordination and its most frequently used sub-type, *reported speech*, in Turkish and Dutch. Secondly, word order, more specifically, the position of the matrix verb in complex clause combinations will be described both for Turkish and Dutch. The two languages differ considerably from each other in these syntactic domains, which is useful for determining whether we are indeed dealing with contact-induced change when we find differences between NL- and TR-Turkish.

The descriptive grammar sections for Turkish related to the syntactic focuses of this study (subordination, as well as its subtype reported speech and with special reference to the position of the matrix verb) will be presented in a more extensive manner than the sections for Dutch since Dutch is mostly like English and therefore considered familiar to the reader.

2.1 Syntactic focus I: Subordination structures

Subordination is the main syntactic focus in this dissertation. It is felt useful to first provide an overview of subordinate constructions in Turkish and Dutch, as they display different characteristics. Most importantly, Turkish employs both finite and non-finite subordinate clauses while Dutch subordinate clauses only use the finite option, at least for the specific corresponding structures under investigation here. The Turkish section will show that Turkish has a rich system that includes both finite and non-finite subordination structures, and that there is a large variety of non-finite subtypes. However, the core message is that the majority of subordinate clauses in Turkey-Turkish are non-finite, and that these are used more commonly. Finite subordination is also grammatical, but has a more restricted range of use and is less frequent. The corresponding Dutch subordination structure, on the other hand, is exclusively finite.

The following sub-sections will provide an introductory overview of Turkish and Dutch subordination; for more, the reader is advised to dip into

descriptive grammar books, e.g. Donaldson (1981) for Dutch and Göksel and Kerslake (2005) or Kornfilt (1997) for Turkish.

2.1.1 Subordination in Turkish

It is possible to form clause combinations with the use of both finite and non-finite subordinating constructions in Turkish. Thus, the same meaning can be conveyed by using either subordination type.

Finite subordination means that the predicate of the subordinate clause is finite, i.e. identical in form to a main clause.

A finite subordinate clause does not need to have a subordinator as it may also be juxtaposed to the main clause. However, it is also possible to link it to the main clause with the use of a subordinator. The words that function as subordinators in Turkish are *diye* ‘that’ (literally ‘saying’), *ki* ‘that’, *mi* (question particle), clitic *da* (discourse connective meaning ‘also’, ‘too’, ‘as for’, ‘but’ and ‘both ... and’), *gibi* ‘like’ and a few other forms compounded with *ki* such as *ne zaman ki* ‘whenever’, *ola ki* ‘if’, *kim ki* ‘whoever’, *nasıl ki* ‘just as’, etc.

- (1) [Bugün okul-a gel-ecek-sin] *diye* düşün-üyor-du-k.
today school-DAT come-Fut-2.sg *diye* think-Pr.Past-1pl
‘We thought that you would come to school today.’
- (2) Gör-üyor-um *ki* [bugün ders çalış-mı-yor-sun].
see-Pr.Prog-1sg *ki* today lesson study-NEG-Pr.Prog-2sg
‘I see that you are not studying today.’

Ki, originally from Persian, and the subordinators formed with it take their place at the beginning of the subordinate clause, just like in Indo-European languages.

If the matrix verb is a verb of belief, however, a finite subordinate clause may sometimes precede the main clause, like in the following examples.

- (3) Selin [sen dün sinema-ya git-ti-n] san-ıyor.
Selin you yesterday cinema-DAT go-Past-2sg believe-Pr.Prog.3sg
‘Selin believes that you went to the cinema yesterday.’

- (4) [Bugün ev-e kaç-ta gel-ir] bil-mi-yor-um.
 today house-DAT what.time-LOC come-Pres.3sg know-NEG-Pr.Prog-1sg
 ‘I don’t know what time he comes home today.’

The use of overt subordinators such as *ki* and *diye* also makes finite adverbial clauses possible, though their use is very limited (Kornfilt 1997:46). The result, as in the following example, looks structurally quite similar to the type of adverbial clause common in many European languages.

- (5) Çok çalış-mış ki bütün sınav-lar-ı geç-miş.
 very study-Past.3sg ki all exam-pl-ACC pass-Past.3sg
 ‘She studied a lot so that she passed all the exams.’

Finally, *coordinated* finite clauses are common, with or without conjunctions. This is not subordination, of course, but arguably their presence in the language does help entrench the template for finite structures in complex clauses. The devices used for finite *coordinating* clauses are (i) juxtaposition of two or more clauses (see Example 6), and (ii) conjunctions and connectives that link the clauses, such as *ve* ‘and’, *fakat* ‘but’, *ya da / veya* ‘or’, *da ... da / hem ... hem de* ‘both ... and’, *ya ... ya da* ‘either ... or’, *ne ... ne de* ‘neither ... nor’, etc. (see Examples 7-9).

- (6) Müdür bir zarf-la ofis-im-e ge-ldi, zarf-ı
 manager one envelope-COM office-poss-DAT come-Past.3sg envelop-ACC
 ban-a ver-di, kapı-yı kapat-tı, kendi ofis-i-ne
 me-DAT give-Past.3sg door-ACC close-Past.3sg his own office-Poss-DAT
 git-ti.
 go-Past.3sg
 ‘The manager came to my office with an envelope in his hand, gave it to me, closed the door and went to his own office.’
- (7) Bu akşam sinema-ya gid-ebil-ir-iz ve ya ev-de bir film
 this night cinema-DAT go-CAN-Pres-1pl or home-LOC one movie
 seyred-ebil-ir-iz.
 watch-CAN-Pres-1pl
 ‘Tonight, we can go to the cinema or we can watch a movie at home.’

- (8) Herkes haftasonu parti-ye git-ti, ama ben sınav-a
 everybody weekend party-DAT go-Past but I exam-DAT
 çalış-tı-m.
 study-Past-1sg
 ‘Everybody went to the party in the weekend, but I studied for the exam.’
- (9) Yarın pazar-a gid-eceğ-im ve 2 kilo balık al-acağ-ım.
 tomorrow market-DAT go-Fut-1sg and 2 kilos fish buy-Fut-1sg
 ‘I will go to the market tomorrow and buy 2 kilos of fish.’

Non-finite subordination means that a subordinate clause contains a non-finite verbal predicate marked with one of the many subordinate suffixes.

According to Göksel and Kerslake (2005:135), the majority of Turkish subordinate clauses are non-finite. However, this generalization is based on evaluations of the available grammatical literature on standard Turkish and the authors’ observational inferences (Göksel 2012, pc). Kornfilt (1997:54) seems to agree with this generalization as she also expresses that the most typical subordination type involves non-finite clauses. However, to my knowledge, there has not been a thorough empirical examination of this claim for spoken Turkish. Partly for this reason, this study contains an analysis of monolingual TR-Turkish data to see whether this generalization holds.

Non-finite structures are found for all three types of subordinate clauses: *complement*, *relative* and *adverbial* clauses.

Complement or *noun clauses* function as subjects or objects of the main clause. Kornfilt (1997:45) states that the most prominent types use one of several nominalization suffixes that are attached to verbal stems as subordination markers.

(10) Factive nominal as object clause:

- [Melis’in Ankara’ya gel-diğ-i-ni / gel-eceğ-i-ni duy-du-m.
 Melis-GEN Ankara-DAT come-FNom-3sg-ACC hear-Past-1sg
 ‘I heard that Melis came to Ankara.’

(11) Action nominal as subject clause:

[Melis'in ev-e geç gel-**me**-si] anne-si-ni
 Melis-Poss home-DAT late come-ANom-3sg mother-Poss-ACC
 kızdır-dı.
 make.angry-Past
 'That Melis came home late made her mother angry.'

The various nominalization markers form noun clauses with specific morphological, syntactic and semantic properties: a) 'factive nominalization' with non-future *-DİK*⁶ or future *-AcAk*, exemplified in the first example above, where they form otherwise identical object clauses, b) 'action nominalization' or the 'short infinitive' marker *-mA*, exemplified in Example 11, where it forms a subject clause, c) 'manner nominalization' with *-(y)İş* not discussed here as it is more restricted in its functions, i.e. always referring to an action but not the factual status of a proposition, having a more noun-like status than any other verbal nouns (Göksel & Kerslake 2005:427-428), and finally d) infinitival clauses with *-mAK* which could be considered a variant of the action nominal, see Example 12.

(12) Infinitive – a variant of action nominalization:

Tatil-e git-**mek** ist-iyor-um.
 holiday-DAT go-Inf want-Pr.Prog-1sg
 'I want to go on holiday.'

Thus, two categories of nominalization can be distinguished: they can be constructed through a) action, and b) factive markers. The semantics of the matrix verb often determines the selection of the nominalization type. However, some verbs may be inflected with either type of suffix. As also seen in Example 10, the whole subordinate clause is marked with an accusative case marker if it functions as the direct object (Treffers-Daller, Özsoy & Van Hout 2007:254).

Relative or *adjectival clauses* function as adjectival noun modifiers, and, like simple adjectives, are positioned before the noun. Even though the most prevalent type of relative clause in Turkish is non-finite, finite relative clauses with the *ki* subordinator (a borrowed pattern from Persian) may also occur (as in Example 13), but they are very rare (Kornfilt 1997:60, 65).

⁶ The capitals in morpheme indicators stand for the vowels and consonants that change due to the vowel and consonant harmony rules of Turkish.

- (13) Öyle bir adam-la tanış-tı-m ki akşam onun-la yemeğ-e
 such a man-COM meet-Past-1sg ki tonight him-COM dinner-DAT
 gid-iyor-um.
 go-Prog-1sg
 ‘I met this guy with whom I am going out for dinner tonight.’

A final detail to add about relative clauses in Turkish is that according to Kornfilt (1997:61) there is no formal distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses in Turkish. Non-finite relative clauses can encode either type. The finite variant with the *ki* subordinator (see Example 13), on the other hand, is used more in a non-restrictive sense, as it tends to function like a parenthetical remark.

Non-finite relative clauses use one of the participial suffixes, *-(y)An* (for subject relatives, see Example 14), and the factive nominalizers *-DİK* or *-(y)AcAK* for direct object, indirect object or oblique relatives (Examples 15-23). These suffixes often correspond to the relative pronouns ‘who’, ‘which’, ‘that’, ‘whom’, ‘whose’, ‘where’, etc. in English, and are followed by agreement morphology in the case of non-subject relatives, the agreement marking the subject of the relative clause. The three participial suffixes are illustrated below, with constructed examples of the five relativization strategies distinguished in Göksel and Kerslake (2005:438-446).

a) Subject relativization: *-(y)An*:

- (14) [Şu konuş-an adam] sen-i beğen-iyor.
 that talk-SubjP man you-ACC like-Pr.Prog.3sg
 ‘That man who is talking likes you.’

b) Direct object relativization: *-DİK* / *-(y)AcAk*:

- (15) [Dün seyret-tiğ-im film-]i beğen-me-di-m.
 yesterday watch-ObjP-1sg film-ACC like-NEG-Past-1sg
 ‘I did not like the movie I watched yesterday.’

- (16) [Bu akşam buluş-acağ-ım arkadaş-ım-]ı çok sev-er-im.
tonight meet-ObjP-1sg friend-1sg-ACC very love-Pres-1sg
'I really like my friend whom I am meeting tonight.'

c) Oblique object relativization: *-DIK* / *-(y)AcAk*:

- (17) [Pelin'in banyo-yu temizle-yeceğ-i] fırça-yı Selin al-mış.
Pelin-GEN bathroom-ACC clean-ObjP.3sg.Poss brush-ACC Selin take-Past
'Selin took the brush with which Pelin would clean the bathroom.'

d) Adverbial relativization: *-(y)An*, *-DIK* / *-(y)AcAk*:

- (18) İç-in-den nehir ak-an köy-e gid-eceğ-iz.
in-3sg.Poss-ABL river flow-Part village-DAT go-Fut-1pl
'We are going to the village through which a river flows.'

- (19) Üstünde çiçek-ler-in dur-duğ-u masa-yı dün
on flower-pl-GEN stand-Part-Poss.3pl table-ACC yesterday
al-dı-k.
buy-Past-1pl
'We bought the table on which the plants are standing yesterday.'

- (20) Sınav-da yanında otur-acağ-ım arkadaş-ım çok tembel.
exam-LOC next.to sit-ObjP-1sg.Poss friend-1sg.Poss very lazy
'My friend next to whom I will sit at the exam is very lazy.'

e) Possessor & possessed constituent relativization – subjects: *-(y)An*, non-subjects: *-DIK*, *-(y)AcAk*:

- (21) Kız-ı doktor ol-an arkadaş-ım bugün biz-e
daughter-3.sg.Poss doctor be-SubjP friend-1sg.Poss today we-DAT
gel-ecek.
come-Fut
'My friend whose daughter is a doctor is coming to see us today.'

- (22) Kitab-ı-nı ödünç al-dığ-ım arkadaş-ım-ı
book-3sg.Poss-ACC borrow-ObjP-1sg.Poss friend-1sg.Poss-ACC
dün okul-da gör-dü-m.
yesterday school-LOC see-Past-1sg.Poss
'I saw my friend whose book I borrowed at school yesterday.'

- (23) Pelin'in yap-acağ-ın doğum günü pasta-sı çikolata-lı
 Pelin-GEN make-Part-2sg.Poss birthday cake-3sg.Poss chocolate-with
 ol-acak.
 be-Fut
 'Pelin's birthday cake which you will make will be one with chocolate.'

Adverbial clauses, finally, are subordinate clauses which function as adverbials within a main clause. Adverbial clauses are also predominantly non-finite in Turkish. Just like the other non-finite clauses, they are characterized by subordinating suffixes that are attached to the verb stem. The suffix may be followed by a postposition, case marker or noun phrase that further specifies its meaning.

Since there are many adverbial categories, there are a great number of markers for adverbial subordination. Semantically speaking, adverbial clauses can describe time, manner, purpose and result, cause, condition, degree, place and concession. Below, one example is given for each (semantically classified) category.

Adverbial clauses – converbial markers:

- i) Time: *-DİK* (zaman, gece, etc.), *-DİK-Pers.-dA*, *-IncA*, *-IncA-ya kadar*, *-An-A kadar*, *-mA-dan*, *-mA-dan önce / evvel*, *-DİK-tan sonra / önce*, *-DİK-pers.-dAn beri*, *-(y)AlI*, *-(y)AlI beri*, *-(y)ken (iken)*, *-Ip*, *-DİKçA*, *-Ar*, *-mAz*, etc.:

- (24) Ben akşam ev-e gel-diğ-im-de Pelin uyu-yor-du.
 I evening home-DAT come-*DİK*-1sg.Poss-LOC Pelin sleep-Prog-Past.3sg
 'When I came home in the evening, Pelin was sleeping.'

Note that this example combines the factive nominalization marker *-DİK* with a possessive and the locative case marker, to yield 'when' ('at the time of coming home').

- ii) Manner: *-(y)ArAk*, *-cA*, *-cAsInA*, *-mAdAn*, *-DİK.poss. gibi / göre*, *-(y)a ...*, *-(y)a*, etc.:

- (25) Dün Pelin ev-e ağla-ya ağla-ya gel-di.
 yesterday Pelin home-DAT cry-CV cry-CV come-Past.3sg
 'Pelin came home **crying** yesterday.'

iii) Purpose and result: *-mA için, -mA (k) için, -mA-yA* (gitmek, alışmak, etc.), etc.:

- (26) Aile-m-i gör-mek için İzmir'e gid-iyor-um.
 family-1sg.Poss-ACC see-CV İzmir-DAT go-Pr.Prog-1sg
'I am going to İzmir to see my family.'

iv) Cause: *-DIK-Pers. için, -DIK-poss.-Dan, -mAsIndAn / -DIK-poss.-DAn dolayı*, etc.:

- (27) Meltem çok konuş-masından dolayı hiç sır
 Meltem a.lot talk-CV ever secret
 tut-a-mı-yor.
 keep-CAN-NEG-Pr.Prog.3sg
'As Meltem talks a lot, she can never keep secrets.'

v) Condition: *-DIK-poss. takdirde, eğer... -sA*, etc.:

- (28) Eğer Pelin'i gör-ür-se-n, bu not-u o-na ver-ir
 if Pelin-ACC see-Pres-Cond-2sg this note-ACC she-DAT give-Pres
 mi-sin?
 INT-2sg
'If you see Pelin, can you give this note to her?'

vi) Degree: *-mAk-tAn-sA* (comparative), *-DIK kadar* (equative), etc.:

- (29) Televizyon seyret-mek-ten-se, sinema-ya git-me-yi iste-r-im.
 TV watch-CV cinema-DAT go-ANom-ACC want-Pres-1sg
'I would like to go to the cinema rather than watch TV.'

vii) Place: *-nere-ye verb-sA, -DIK-poss. yer-de*:

- (30) Nere-ye git-se-m, ban-a sen-i sor-uyor-lar.
 where-DAT go-Cond-1sg I-DAT you-ACC ask-Pres.Prog-3pl
'Wherever I go, they ask me about you.'

viii) Concession: *verb-Cond. sA + DA* (and/even) ('iste-se-m de'), *-mAsInA rağmen, -DIĞI / -(y)AcAĞI halde*:

- (31) Esma söz ver-diği halde toplantı-ya gel-me-di.
 Esma promise give-CV meeting-DAT come-NEG-Past.3sg
'Although Esma promised, she did not come to the meeting.'

Treffers-Daller, Özsoy and Van Hout (2007:255) make a distinction between postpositional clauses (e.g. *-DIK-poss.-DAn dolayı* ‘because of’ in (iv) above), and gerunds. Gerunds split into two groups, too: gerunds whose verbs are marked for *agreement* (e.g. *-DIK-Pers.-dA* ‘when’ in (i) above) and gerunds whose verbs are not marked for agreement (e.g. *-ArAk* ‘by doing something’ in (ii) above).

A sub-class consists of converbs, which are marked by special suffixes directly attached to the subordinate verb stem. Those converbs often correspond to ‘when’, ‘while’, ‘because’, ‘as soon as’, ‘before’, or ‘after’. The converbial suffixes, *-ArAk*, *-InçA*, and *-rken*, which are directly attached to the verb, are illustrated in the following examples.

- (32) [Ev-e *gid-er-ken*] tatlı al-dı-m.
house-DAT *go-AOR-CV* (while) dessert buy-Past-1sg
‘I bought dessert while (I was) going home.’
- (33) [Ev-e *gid-ince*] sen-i ara-yacağ-ım.
house-DAT *go-CV* (when) you-ACC call-FUT-1sg
‘I will call you when I go home.’
- (34) Sınav-ı [çok *çalış-arak*] geç-ti.
exam-ACC much *study-CV* (MAAdv) pass-Past.3sg
‘S/he passed the exam [by studying] hard.’

Note that none of these converbs are marked for person or tense. The only converbs which can be person-marked are the ones formed with *-DIK*, *-(y)AcAk* and *-mA*, except *-DIKçA* and *-DiktAn sonra*.

As for complement and relative subordinate clauses, finite adverbial clauses are possible, too, although they are said to be used very rarely. Such clauses tend to be connected to the main clause by conjunctions, such as *ki* ‘(so) that’, *diye* ‘as’ or ‘because’, *-mİş / -(y)mİş gibi* ‘as if’, *-DI ml* ‘as soon as’, and *nasıl ki* ‘just as’. The result, exemplified below, looks structurally quite like the Indo-European style adverbial clause.

- (35) Çok çalış-mış ki bütün sınav-lar-ı geç-miş.
very study-Past.3sg *ki* all exam-pl-ACC pass-Past.3sg
‘She studied a lot so that she passed all the exams.’

- (36) Doğum günü parti-m-e gel-mi-yor diye
 birth day party-1sg.Poss-DAT come-NEG-Pr.Prog.3sg diye
 hediye-m-i dün ver-di.
 gift-1sg-ACC yesterday give-Past
 ‘She gave me my present yesterday because she is not coming to my birthday party.’
- (37) Yarın sınav-a gir-me-yecek-miş gibi bütün uyu-du-n.
 tomorrow exam-DAT take-NEG-Fut-EV like all day sleep-Past-2sg
 ‘You slept all day as if you didn’t have to take an exam tomorrow.’
- (38) Nasıl ki arkadaş-ın kendi para-sı-nı kazan-ıyor, sen
Just as friend-2sg.Poss own money-3sg.Poss-ACC earn-Pr.Prog you
 de öyle yap-malı-sın.
 too like.that do-should-2sg
 ‘Just as your friend is earning her own money, you should do that too.’
- (39) Ankara’ya gel-di-n mi, ben-i ara.
 Ankara-DAT come-Past-2sg INT I-ACC phone-2sg
 ‘As soon as you come to Ankara, phone me.’

2.1.2 Subordination in Dutch

While Turkish uses both finite and non-finite subordinate clauses, sometimes to convey the same meaning, things are a little less complicated in Dutch. Like in English, mostly finite subordination is used for the structures that correspond to the Turkish ones under investigation here. Therefore, the predicate of a Dutch subordinate clause is finite.

Dutch subordinate clauses are connected to the main clause with a subordinating conjunction, such as *dat* ‘that’, *omdat* ‘because’, *waar* ‘where’, *hoe* ‘how’, *nadat* ‘after’, *voordat* ‘before’, *hoewel* ‘although’, *als* ‘if’, *tenzij* ‘unless’, etc. as illustrated below.

- (40) *Gaan* jullie naar de bioscoop *of* *kijken* jullie thuis naar een
 go.2pl you.pl to the cinema or watch.2pl you.pl home to a
 filmpje?
 movie
 ‘Are you going to the cinema or are you watching a movie at home?’

- (41) Ik denk [dat mijn moeder lekker brood heeft
I think.1sg that my mother delicious bread have.Pres.3sg
gebakken].
bake.Past.Participle
'I think that **my mother baked delicious bread.**'
- (42) Ik kom niet met jullie mee naar Brussel [omdat ik
I come.1sg NEG with you.2pl along to Brussels because I
moet werken].
have.to.Pres.1sg work.Inf
'I am not coming with you to Brussels because **I have to work.**'
- (43) [De man die ik gisteren in de kantine zag] belde
the man who I yesterday in the canteen see.Past.1sg phone.Past.1sg
me vandaag.
me today
'The man **who I saw in the canteen yesterday** phoned me today.'

Note that all examples are finite. However, Dutch also has non-finite subordinate clauses, of the *infinitival* type. The embedded clause follows one of a few conjunctions, including *om* 'in order to', *zonder* 'without', and *na* 'after' (Donaldson 1981:201), as in the following constructed examples.

- (44) Ik ga naar huis om te slapen.
I go to house in.order to sleep
'I am going home to sleep.'
- (45) Vanmorgen ging ik naar mijn werk zonder te ontbijten.
this.morning went I to my work without to have.breakfast
'This morning I went to work without having breakfast.'
- (46) Na een goed ontbijt gehad te hebben, ben ik naar mijn werk
After a good breakfast had to have am I to my work
gegaan.
gone
'After having had a good breakfast, I went to work.'

In addition to these three examples, four of the examples presented for Turkish above (i.e. Examples 25, 26, 29 and 32) also have Dutch non-finite counterparts which would involve the uses of *om te* 'in order to', or a gerund

(present participle). The Dutch counterparts of Examples 25 and 26 are shown as:

(47) Gisteren kwam Pelin *huilend* thuis.
 yesterday came Pelin *crying (gerund)* home
 ‘*Pelin came home crying yesterday.*’

(48) Ik ga naar İzmir *om mijn familie te zien*.
 I go to İzmir *in.order my family to see*
 ‘*I am going to İzmir to see my family.*’

Except for these cases, the Dutch counterparts of the Turkish structures under investigation are finite.

2.2 Syntactic focus II: Reported speech structures

Reported speech is a subcategory of subordinate structures. It is a separate focus of attention in the current study because it occurs very frequently in our data, and an initial look at the data of spontaneous bilingual group speech (see Chapter 3) suggested some interesting developments. The sections below provide an overview of reported speech constructions in Turkish and in Dutch, as the languages display different characteristics. Most importantly, Turkish makes use of finite subordination for *direct reported speech* and non-finite nominalized clauses for *indirect reported speech* while Dutch, once more, only has the finite option for both types.

2.2.1 Reported speech in Turkish

As Turkish has two types of subordination and as reported speech involves subordination, reported speech can be expressed in non-finite and finite ways in Turkish. Indirect reported speech is constructed through non-finite subordination, with subordinating suffixes on the verbal predicate and is often introduced with one of the following verbs: *söyle-* ‘say’, *anlat-* ‘tell’, *haber ver-* or *bildir-* ‘notify’, etc. as the conventional use.

(49) Selin [ban-a dün sinema-ya *git-tiğ-i-ni*] söyle-di.
 Selin I-DAT yesterday cinema-DAT *go-FNom-3sg-ACC* say-Past.3sg
 ‘*Selin told me that she went to the cinema yesterday.*’

In Example 49, the subordinate clause expressing indirect speech is non-finite: the embedded verb displays a subject agreement marker, and the whole embedded clause is inflected with accusative case as it functions as the direct object of the main clause.

Direct speech, on the other hand, is expressed through finite subordination, exhibiting all the properties of a main clause with a subject in the nominative case and a subordinate verb inflected with tense, Aspect and person markers. Direct speech mostly uses the verb *de-* ‘say’ as the matrix verb.

- (50) Selin ‘Yarın Ankara’ya gid-iyor-um’ de-di.
 Selin tomorrow Ankara-DAT go-Pr.Prog-1sg say-Past.3sg
 ‘Selin said “I am going to Ankara tomorrow”.’

Direct speech can also be introduced via the conjunction *ki*, (or also *diye* in which case the (finite-) subordinate clause follows the matrix verb.

- (51) Sen biz-e de-din ki ‘bu hafta tatil-e gid-eceğ-iz’.
 you we-DAT say-Past.2sg ki this week holiday-DAT go-Fut-1pl
 ‘You said to us: “we are going on holiday this week”.’

The final example illustrates the unconventionality of using a finite structure in reporting indirect speech in Turkish. Recall that direct speech is usually expressed by finite subordination in Turkish. Although the sentence seems to build up to direct speech because of the presence of the verb *de-mek* ‘to say’ and *ki*, it continues with a verb inflected by 3rd person while direct speech verb would be marked for 1st person.

- (52) ? Cem biz-e de-di ki [bu hafta tatil-e
 Cem we-DAT say-Past.3sg ki this week holiday-DAT
 çık-acak-mış].
 go-FUT-Nar.Past.3sg
 ‘Cem said that he would go on holiday this week.’

2.2.2 Reported speech in Dutch

Dutch does not have a non-finite option, so both direct and indirect speech is reported with finite subordinate clauses, as shown in the following examples.

(53) Direct speech:

Hij zegt “Ik werk 20 uur per week.”

‘He says “I work 20 hours per week”.’

(54) Indirect speech:

Hij zei **dat** hij 20 uur per week heeft gewerkt.

‘He said that he worked 20 hours per week.’

2.3 Syntactic focus III: Word order (matrix verb position in complex clause combinations)

Turkish is considered to be a verb-final language. Although it can also be claimed to have a relatively free word order, it is canonically verb-final. Dutch, on the other hand, is a verb-medial language, more specifically verb-second, at least in main clauses.

In standard Turkish, main verbs ordinarily come at the end of the clause or sentence, although this rule is by no means obeyed rigidly, especially in emphatic and other marked contexts (Friedman 1982:33). Verb-final order dominates in both main and subordinate clauses. However, variation from this order is much more possible in matrix clauses, especially in the spoken language and colloquial style, than in embedded clauses, which adhere more rigidly to verb-final order in the sense that no subordinate element can be placed after the nominalized subordinate verb (Kornfilt 1997:47-48). Thus, SOV order applies to both finite and non-finite clauses but appears especially to be more strictly followed in non-finite ones (Stapert 2013:242, citing Johanson 1998:57).

As mentioned, Turkish does allow variation, usually triggered by particular discourse pragmatic functions (Stapert 2013:241). Sentences with different orders are equally grammatical. The three main pragmatic contexts favoring non-SOV order are: 1) emphasizing a particular constituent (*focusing*), 2) de-emphasizing a particular constituent or constituents (*backgrounding*), and 3) making a particular element the pivot of the information in a sentence (*topicalization*). *Focused* constituents are located in the area preceding the predicate while *topics* appear at the beginning of a sentence. *Backgrounded* information follows the predicate (Göksel & Kerslake 2005:395-396). The following constructed example has the default and unmarked SOV (head-final) pattern; it is pragmatically unmarked.

(55) Unmarked order:

Edip ne zaman geri gel-eceğ-im-i sor-du.
 Edip when back come-F.NMLZ-1sg.Poss-ACC ask-Past
 ‘Edip asked when I would come back.’

O and V can refer to any kind of object and predicate rather than only to direct objects (i.e. also indirect objects) and lexical verbs (i.e. also subject complements or nominal verbs, Stapert 2013:242-243).

In Example 56, the subordinate clause *ne zaman geri geleceğimi* ‘when I could come back’ forms the *focused* constituent preceding the predicate. *Focused* constituents tend to bear heavy stress in Turkish. *Edip*, on the other hand, becomes a *backgrounded* element.

(56) Focusing, emphasis and topicalization:

Ne zaman geri geleceğimi sordu Edip.
 ‘When I would come back, asked Edip.’

The subordinate clause is *backgrounded* in Example 57.

(57) Backgrounded constituent:

Edip sordu *ne zaman geri geleceğimi*.
 ‘Edip asked when I would come back.’

To sum up, the pre-verbal position is the focus position in Turkish sentences (Kornfilt 1997:29) while the post-verbal position is defined as the position for background information (Göksel & Kerslake 2005:398). Hence, although the unmarked order is verb-final (SOV), word order is variable, i.e. the order of the constituents can be changed to distinguish new information from background information and to render a certain constituent prominent in the discourse.

Therefore, before claiming too hastily that an occurrence of SVO in Dutch Turkish data is caused by foreign influence, i.e. that it represents a copied word order pattern, the fact that some language-internal variation already exists in Turkish should be taken into consideration. In the colloquial language, there are many deviations from the default verb-final order. However, at the same time, the availability of language-internal variation does not dismiss the possibility of contact-induced outcomes, as some degree

of overlap can rather stimulate a change caused by foreign influence (Johanson 2002a:111-112).

To conclude, just like most other Turkic languages, Turkish is canonically verb-final, but ‘leakage’ of constituents to the right side of the verb is allowed to convey the abovementioned pragmatic meanings (Johanson 2002a:x).

Dutch, on the other hand, has verb-medial word order in matrix clauses, just like English does, while most subordinate clauses are verb-final. Verb position is rather fixed in Dutch.

The following examples contrast word order in Turkish and Dutch. All the matrix clause verbs are printed in **bold**.

(58) TR-Turkish (finite and verb-final):

Ne zaman gel-ebil-ir-ler diye **düşün-üyor-du.**
 when come-CAN-Pres-3rd pl diye **think-Prog-Past**

(59) TR-Turkish (non-finite and verb-final):

[Ne zaman gel-ebil-ecek-leri-ni] **düşün-üyor-du.**
 when come-CAN-Fut.NOM-3rd.pl.Poss-ACC

(60) Dutch (finite and verb-medial):

Zij **dacht** wanneer ze konden komen.
 she **thought** when they could come
 ‘She was thinking about when they could come.’

Dutch has compulsory SVO or verb-medial word order. Chapter 6 will investigate matrix verb position in complex clauses in Dutch Turkish, using TR-Turkish data as a reference point.

Like any other types of subordination, reported speech structures in standard Turkish, whether they are finite (as with direct speech) or non-finite (as with indirect speech), have verb-final order. Their Dutch equivalents always have verb-medial order.

In TR-Turkish reported speech contexts, therefore, the matrix verb occurs after the reported speech. The main clause (reporting) verbs are printed **bold** in the following examples.

(61) Turkish

Direct reported speech (finite and verb-final):Ban-a ‘hasta-yım’ **de-di.**I-DAT sick-Pres.1sg **say-PAST.3sg***‘She said: “I am sick”.’*Indirect reported speech (non-finite and verb-final):Ban-a [hasta ol-duğ-u-nu] **söyle-di.**sick be-FNom-3sg.Poss-ACC **say-PAST.3sg***‘She said that she was sick.’*

(62) Dutch

Direct reported speech (finite and verb-medial):Hij **zei**: “Ik ben ziek”*‘He said: “I am sick”.’*Indirect reported speech (finite and verb-medial):Hij **zei** dat hij ziek was.*‘He said that he was sick.’*

The aim of the current study is not to study word order in Dutch Turkish as such, but to investigate whether and how Dutch Turkish differs from TR-Turkish in the position of the matrix verb in complex clauses, and if there is a difference, how it can be accounted for, specifically whether it may be due to language contact.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

As introduced in Chapter I, corpora or natural usage data, or any single method in isolation, may not be sufficient for fully answering one's research questions, but most contact studies have so far been based only on spontaneous speech recordings. What these data can tell us is limited. Most importantly, they cannot show how entrenched the attested structures are in the linguistic competence of the speakers. The current study aims to look for *converging evidence*, which is a fairly recent notion in linguistics (Schönefeld 2011:1), by employing two or more experimental techniques to explore a single issue: Dutch influence on the subordinate structures and the word order of complex clauses in immigrant Turkish in the Netherlands. It employs 'production' (natural usage and experimental) data – from recordings of *spontaneous bilingual speech*, *spontaneous one-on-one speech*, *elicited speech* – and an *elicited imitation task*, and compares the findings with those of a *conventionality judgment task* ('comprehension' or 'perception' data) elicited through a *rating* task and a *forced-choice* task. By tapping into 'perception' and 'production' aspects, the aim is to attain a more complete picture of linguistic competence.

In the end, by approaching the same research questions from different perspectives with this battery of methods, the outcome will be either convergence or divergence of evidence (Gilquin & Gries 2009:17). In either case, the more robust results will lead to more reliable accounts and conclusions.

The tasks were executed by bilinguals both in *bilingual mode* and in *monolingual mode*, for reasons discussed in Section 1.10, and by monolinguals in Turkey.

Generally, a new group of participants was recruited for every task, and participants took part in either the bilingual mode or monolingual mode version. However, there are two kinds of overlap. First, some took part in

more than one production task. Second, a number of participants did both ‘production’ and ‘judgment’ (‘perception’) tasks.

The following sections will introduce the various methods, participants and procedures in detail. This will serve to present the study as a whole, but the individual chapters will not use data from all tasks, except Chapter 6 employing data from all tasks. Per chapter, only the relevant data will be discussed. First, Section 3.1 describes the ‘production’ data and this is followed by information on the ‘perception’ tasks in Section 3.2.

3.1 Production tasks

This subsection introduces the four different methods employed to elicit ‘production’ data. However, before that, the following two tables give the distribution of participants in the different production tasks. Although things will be explained for each production task separately, it is useful to see the distribution of all the participants across the tasks and the degree to which individual participants took part in various tasks.

Table 3.1: Overview of bilinguals across the production tasks (BM = bilingual mode, MM = monolingual mode)

Spontaneous group convversations	Production Data					
	Spont. 1-on-1 speech		Elicited conversations		Elicited imitation	
Only in BM	MM	BM	MM	BM	MM	BM
14	25*	25**	25*	24**	20***	20****
Entirely different group/ no overlap with any other task	18 overlap between MM and BM of this task		18 overlap between MM and BM of this task		No overlap between MM and BM of this task	

* The same 25 MM participants carried out these two tasks.

** 24 BM participants in those two tasks were all the same.

*** 5 of the 20 in this group took part in the MM versions of spont. 1-on-1 and elicited conversations while the other 15 only did MM elicited imitation.

**** The 20 BM participants were included among the 25 BM in spont. 1-1 and. 24 BM participants in elicited conversations.

Table 3.2: Overview of TR-monolinguals across the production tasks

Production data from TR-monolinguals		
Spont. 1-on-1 speech	Elicited conversations	Elicited imitation
27	17*	21**

* These 17 participants also took part in spont. 1-on-1 conversations.

** 17 out of 21 also participated in spont. 1-on-1 speech while only 7 of them also did the elicited conversation task.

3.1.1 Spontaneous bilingual speech (group) conversations

Our first study followed the familiar methodology of contact linguistic research, and consisted of the analysis of a small corpus of recorded conversations. The goal was to record speech that was as close as possible to everyday spoken communication in the immigrant community, since that is the register in which contact linguistics seems to be primarily interested. The reason for that could be the nature of formal registers. In formal registers, more metalinguistic awareness is involved as we take greater care of filtering out non-standard features including any foreign influence. For instance, if the aim is to study codeswitching, the data need mostly to be obtained only from informal registers since bilinguals do not really codeswitch in their formal registers (e.g. at school, work, etc.).

To ensure naturalness, the conversations were collected through the help of a Turkish-Dutch bilingual research assistant who was hired for the data collection and also for some of the transcriptions. She was also an intermediate for us in reaching suitable participants who satisfied certain conditions (see below). The assistant was trained in how to collect the data and was also made aware of the goals of our research. She made use of her circle of friends, family members and classmates, since they trust her and would not object to being recorded. Above all, a natural and authentic atmosphere could be created this way. In addition, familiar settings were chosen for the gatherings, such as a school cafe, the family dining room, and friends visiting each other. As a result, we obtained conversational data in a heavily bilingual mode, containing a lot of codeswitching. The assistant was advised to trigger a bilingual mode by steering the participants into it if the talk turned into monolingual Dutch or Turkish. She would deliberately use codeswitching whenever it felt natural to do so. Note that the goal was not to measure how much codeswitching there is in their speech, but rather to obtain as much bilingual mode speech as possible to investigate the types of

contact effect that occur in that kind of spoken communication. The motive for that was the initial hypothesis that the bilingual mode speech would trigger contact effects, or bring them to the surface more easily than the monolingual mode speech. If the aim of the task had been to find out how much codeswitching the participants' speech contains, this data collection method, with deliberate promotion of bilingual mode, would not have been natural.

Six bilingual group conversations of different lengths (13, 17, 28, 37, 40 and 44 minutes) were recorded. The 17-minute conversation was excluded from the current analysis as it was completely in Dutch; these data may be interesting for other purposes, but the current study does not investigate the Dutch of Turkish-Dutch bilinguals. Our database, therefore, contains five spontaneous group conversations in which Dutch and Turkish were mixed.

The participants were 14 Turkish-Dutch bilingual adults in the age range of 18 to 35. They all grew up and received their entire education in the Netherlands, and have Turkish ethnic backgrounds. The assistant gave them the following reason for why their conversation was being recorded: "The purpose is not to test your language skills. They are just interested in how we talk and how we mix the two languages in our daily lives." All the participants agreed to being recorded. I was not present during the conversations. Listening to the conversations, one gets the impression that, perhaps thanks to the fact that they were so close to each other, the participants more or less forgot about the presence of the recorder once they started talking.

3.1.2 Spontaneous one-on-one speech

Spontaneous one-on-one speech sessions were conducted before elicited conversation and elicited imitation (or sentence repetition, see below), in a single session. Participants were asked to introduce themselves by talking about their past, their families, their friends, the school they went to or the work they did, their ambitions and future plans. To keep them talking for a longer time, they were also asked to compare life in the Netherlands and in Turkey, and Turkish people in the two countries. Additional speech could be entirely free, i.e. on any topic.

This method was executed both in bilingual and monolingual modes. The session in bilingual mode was led by the bilingual research assistant who deliberately and constantly codeswitched to keep the participants in the required mode. In order to enable her to produce natural codeswitches, she was allowed to decide freely when and how to switch. The monolingual

mode session and the TR-Turkish monolingual sessions were carried out by the author. The sessions lasted between 2 and 15 minutes, depending on the participant.

Participants: This task was carried out by 18 bilinguals who each performed in both bilingual and monolingual mode sessions. Seven additional bilinguals did the task in the bilingual mode condition and another seven bilinguals performed the task only in the monolingual mode condition. Therefore, there were in total 25 participants for the bilingual mode and 25 for the monolingual mode sessions.

Just like the elicited conversations (see below), this task was used as a warm-up activity for *the elicited imitation (sentence repetition) task* which was also designed both in bilingual and monolingual mode conditions. There were actually two elicited imitation tasks those 18 participants had to carry out in the two separate modes, but one of them tested a different syntactic phenomenon and will not be reported on here. That other study, however, included exactly the same methods, i.e. spontaneous one-on-one speech and elicited conversations with the same topics, as it aimed to check for a language mode effect as well. Thus, those participants were recorded both in bilingual and monolingual mode as a warm-up (i.e. chatting) activity (for spontaneous one-on-one speech and elicited conversations), and knew that, as a following task, they would execute a second elicited imitation test (with different items and content) in the other mode. In the bilingual mode condition, participants were spoken to in a mixed code while it was obvious that they had to use only Turkish in the monolingual mode as the author pretended not to be able to understand any Dutch.

In Turkey, 27 TR-Turkish monolinguals performed this task, obviously in monolingual mode.

3.1.3 Elicited one-on-one conversations

As in the previous task, these sessions also took the form of one-on-one talks with the research assistant or the author. The difference with ‘spontaneous speech’ was that elicited conversations were more controlled.

Participants were given three topics to choose from: talking about one of the funniest, the most interesting or the most exciting experiences in their lives. They were asked to talk freely about it in an informal atmosphere. The instruction was conveyed as “Could you please tell me about one of your funniest OR most interesting OR most exciting experiences in your life?” They were sometimes asked probing questions to stimulate the narration and

to motivate the participant to talk more. This way the sessions were conducted as interactively as possible. This method was employed right before the elicited imitation task (see the next subsection).

Participants: Eighteen participants took part in both bilingual mode and monolingual mode versions of the task, using the same topic for both versions. Sixteen participants did the task first in bilingual mode, the other two first in monolingual mode, due to practical reasons, like that the bilingual assistant was late. A further 11 bilinguals conducted the task only in one mode, giving a total of 24 participants for the task in bilingual mode and 25 for the one in the monolingual mode condition. Those 25 monolingual mode participants and 24 bilingual mode participants overlap with the 25 monolingual mode and 25 bilingual mode participants who took part in the spontaneous one-on-one task. In the control group, 17 monolinguals in Turkey carried out this task. They all took part in the spontaneous one-on-one speech as well. The sessions in the bilingual mode condition were led by the bilingual research assistant while the monolingual mode and monolingual sessions were done by the author.

Before starting the experiment, participants were briefly informed about the research. They were given a few minutes to choose one of the three topics and to think of an experience to talk about. This way excessive silence and time loss during the recording was avoided.

3.1.4 Elicited imitation task

Spontaneous speech, as suggested in Chapter 1, shows only what occurs, but not whether what does not occur is impossible or whether it is absent from the speakers' mental representations. If we do not come across certain constructions in usage, this does not automatically mean that speakers do not have them in their competence at all (Gullberg et al. 2009). By means of an elicited imitation task, using some of the actual instances of finite subordination and verb-medial structures attested in the previously collected bilingual spontaneous conversations, I aimed to see if the participants would replace any cases of finite subordination with non-finite structures and verb-medial order with verb-final order, or vice versa, when asked to repeat these sentences. The intention was also to find out to what degree the findings from the previous three methods could be replicated. To balance the stimulus items, I also constructed TR-Turkish-like verb-final sentences with non-finite subordination to check whether these would be repeated in that form;

priming of the construction could be expected to trigger them, and lower a possible effect of contact with Dutch.

On the other hand, the Dutch elements in the bilingual mode task and the Dutch-like Turkish constructions in both mode conditions (all of them originally attested in the bilingual group conversations), could be expected to activate Dutch in the linguistic competence of the bilingual speakers.

The task is based on what is usually called a *sentence recall* or *repetition* task (Gullberg et al. 2009:34-35), though this may not be the most accurate name for it. The test items were actually sequences of sentences (usually three or four). The idea was to make the imitation relatively difficult to do, and so prevent the participants from just parroting the sentences. They were supposed to listen to each short connected sequence and remember it. The assumption was that this would induce them to consult their own linguistic competence and grammatical knowledge in creating their repetitions. Therefore, the task is perhaps better named an *elicited imitation task* (Gullberg et al. 2009:34).

As much as possible, the test items were extracted from the spontaneous bilingual group conversations and thus they contained codeswitching. However, since spoken data usually contain a lot of performance features such as hesitations, interruptions, unfinished clauses, and self-corrections, and these are usually specific to the unique circumstances of a specific utterance, we removed these in order to end up with more conventional sounding stimulus items. The following two examples illustrate how I selected parts from the attested spontaneous group conversations, and re-shaped them into test items for this task.

In these examples, the underlined sections were preserved in the test items and the italic parts are Dutch.

The original spontaneous bilingual group conversations contained the following sequence of utterances:

- (1) Y: Git-ti-k. Onlar-ı şey-e koy-du-k... Powerpoint'e.
 go-Past-1pl they-ACC stuff-DAT put-Past-1pl powerpoint-DAT
 Ondan sonra da şey yap-tı-k... işte biraz da *aktief*
 later stuff do-Past-1pl well a.bit active
 yap-ma-mız gerek-iyö şey-i... eehmm *presentatie*'yi.
 do-NMLZ-1pl. Poss require-Prog stuff-ACC eehmm presentation-ACC
Sınıf-a önce şey-i göster-di-k... dağınık hali-ni.
 Class-DAT first stuff-ACC show-Past-1pl messy condition-ACC

sonra adam-in derli toplu hal-i-ni, weet je? Sonra
later man-GEN tidy status-3sg.Poss-ACC you know later

de-di-k: "Hangisi-ni daha çabuk aannemen yap-ar-sınız?"
say-Past-1pl which-ACC more quickly hire do-Pres-2pl

Tabii sınıf-in hep-si şey yap-tı işte, derli
of.course class-GEN all-poss stuff do-Past well tidy

toplu hal-i-ni...
status-3sg.Poss-ACC

'We went and put them in mmm (stuff)... in PowerPoint. Then we did mmm (stuff)... We also had to make the thing a bit active (i.e. interactive)... mmm the presentation. We first showed the stuff to the class... the messy state. Later, we showed the man in a tidy state, you know? After that, we said 'which one would you hire immediately?' Of course, the whole class did ...well, the tidy status...'

Z: Tabii ki...
Of course...

Y: Sonra işte eehhm...
Later, well, eehhm...

Z: *Wat dacht ie?*
What did he think?

Y: Ja, haha sonra işte ne-ydi o-nun ad-ı? Bir kadın
yes haha later well what-past it-GEN name-3sg.Poss one woman
göster-di-k, hoofdoek var kafa-sı-nda. Bir de aynı
show-Past-1pl headscarf exist head-3sg.Poss-LOC also same
kadın-in böyle saç-ı-nı bırak-mış hal-i-ni
woman-GEN like.this hair-3sg.Poss-ACC leave-past status-3sg.Poss-ACC
göster-di-k. Tabii herkes şey de-di: "Bu-nun
show-Past-1pl of.course everybody stuff say-Past this-GEN
saç-ı-nı bırak-mış ol-an-ı al-ır-ız".
hair-3sg.Poss-ACC leave-Past be-SubjP-ACC take-Pres-1pl

'Yes, haha, later, well, what was the name for it? We showed a woman with a headscarf. We also showed the same woman with her hair left free. Of course, everybody said "we pick the one who left her hair free".'

Test item in the task:

Okulda bir *aktief presentatie* yapmamız gerekiyordu. Sınıfa bir kadın gösterdik *hoofddoek* var kafasında. Bir de aynı kadının böyle saçını açık halini gösterdik. Tabii herkes dedi “bunu, saçını açık olanı alırız”.

‘We had to do an active (i.e. interactive) presentation in class. We showed a woman with a headscarf. We also showed the same woman with an open hair style (i.e. non-head scarfed). Of course everybody said “we pick the one in the (non-head scarfed) open style”.’

A second example is provided by the following piece of dialogue from one of the spontaneous bilingual group conversations:

(2) Y: Dur bi... Ben bu kız-ı işte bir kaç hafta ol-uyor dışar-da
wait I this girl-ACC stuff a few week be-Prog outside-LOC
gör-müş-üm met vriend. wandelen yap-ıyor-lar-dı. Kilo
see-Past-1sg with friend walk do-Prog-3pl-Past weight
al-dığ-ı-nı farket-ti-m ama karn-ı-nı. yani.
gain-ObjP-ACC notice-Past-1sg but belly-3sg.Poss-ACC namely
gör- me-di-m. Yani çık-ma-mış-tı o ay-lar...
see-NEG-Past-1sg namely come.out-NEG-Past-3sg those month-pl
o zaman...
then

‘Wait a moment... ‘It has been a few weeks since I saw this girl... well... outside with her boyfriend. They were walking around. I noticed that she had gained weight but hadn’t seen the belly. That is, her belly hadn’t come out then in those months.’

P: Ban-a de-di: “Hamile-yim”.
me-DAT say-Past.3sg pregnant-1sg
‘She told me: “I’m pregnant”.’

Y: Ja.
Yes.

P: O-na de-di-m: “wat ga je doen? Ga je gewoon
she-DAT say-Past-1sg what will you do will you just
doorstudereren?”
continue studying

‘Then I said to her: “what are you going to do? Are you just going to continue studying?”’

This sequence yielded two test items:

Item 1:

O kızı ben *vorige week* dışarda gördüydüm. *Met de vriend wandelen* yapıyorlardı. Sonra kilo aldığını farkettim ama karnını görmedim. Bana dedi “Hamileyim”.

‘I saw that girl outside last week, taking a walk with her friend. Then, I noticed that she had gained weight but did not see her belly. She told me: “I am pregnant”.’

Item 2:

Kız hamileymiş. 5 ayı varmış. Okulda gördüm. Ona dedim “wat ga je doen? Ga je gewoon doorstuderen?”

‘The girl was pregnant. She had 5 months to go. I saw her at school. I said to her “what are you going to do? Are you just going to continue studying?”’

I mostly chose sentences that could have also easily been used in their TR-Turkish-like or monolingual form, but that were frequently encountered with Dutch-like features (such as finite subordination or verb-medial order) or produced bilingually, i.e. containing Dutch words. This created the base for the bilingual mode version of the task. In addition, I constructed some test items with TR-Turkish-like constructions, i.e. with non-finite subordination and with verb-final order. The initial battery of test items was then worked on by the author and four bilingual research assistants, and this led to some of the sequences being shortened. Some natural sounding codeswitches were added to the constructed TR-Turkish-like items in order to complete the bilingual mode test materials. The monolingual mode version of the task was also prepared and checked by the author and the assistants to ensure that the Turkish translations would be possible productions in Dutch Turkish, or at least in accordance with how the research assistants would say them. Hence, the monolingual mode task was the translation of the bilingual mode task into Turkish. In the TR-Turkish version, on the other hand, a few test items and fillers had to be modified to make them more suitable to the context of Turkey; an example is the following:

- (3) BM: Semra de-di ki ki “*ik heb de taaltoets gehaald*”.
Semra say-Past.3sg *ki* I have the language exam taken
- MM: Semra de-di ki “ben dil sınav-ı-nı al-dı-m”.
Semra say-Past.3sg *ki* I language exam take-Past-1sg
- TR-Turkish: Semra de-di ki “ben dil sınav-ı-nı geç-ti-m”.
Semra say-Past.3sg *ki* I language exam pass-Past-1sg
‘Semra said “I passed the language exam”.’

The bilingual mode sentence in this example was taken from the attested data verbatim. As confirmed by the spontaneous data and by the assistants, Turkish-Dutch bilinguals use the verb *sınav al-mak* ‘exam (to) take’ to convey ‘to pass an exam’, while TR-Turkish makes use of *sınav-ı geç-mek* ‘exam-ACC (to) pass’. Presumably, the Dutch Turkish version is a loan translation, as Dutch employs the verb *halen* ‘to take’. Thus, a few such lexical adaptations were made to comply with the conventions of the language used by the speech communities in either the Netherlands or in Turkey.

These test items were used to investigate the three related syntactic issues central to this study: finiteness of the subordinate clause, word order in complex clauses, and Reported Speech (RS) structures. As the examples above show, the items were given in context, so they contained more than just the one test sentence. The sentences that form the context around the test sentence in an item, as well as the other test items that tested other phenomena not reported on in this thesis acted as ‘fillers’. Having fillers was necessary so that the participants did not face the same type of construction all the time, but with intervals. This way we also hoped to avoid or minimize priming effects as much as possible.

Participants: Three groups of participants performed the task. The first consisted of 20 Turkish-Dutch bilingual participants (age range 18-30, raised and educated in the Netherlands). Those 20 bilingual mode participants also carried out the spontaneous one-on-one speech and elicited conversation tasks. The session was led by the main bilingual research assistant under the author’s supervision. This first session was carried out in a bilingual mode, so the test items contained codeswitching. A second set of 20 Turkish-Dutch bilinguals, comparable to the first group regarding basic characteristics such as age and education, carried out the same task in monolingual mode. There is no overlap of bilingual participants between the modes within this task. Among the monolingual mode group, 5 participants took part in the

monolingual mode versions of spontaneous one-on-one and elicited conversations as well, while the other 15 only did monolingual mode elicited imitation. This task was led by the TR-Turkish speaking author. Finally, a control group of 21 monolinguals in Turkey was tested with the same items, except that all items were completely in Turkish and were in accordance with the conventions of TR-Turkish. Seventeen out of these 21 participants also took part in spontaneous one-on-one speech while only seven also did the elicited conversation task. This task too was conducted by the author.

Procedure: The test items were read to the participants by the assistant in the bilingual mode task and by the author in the monolingual mode version. They were allowed to hear the items a maximum of three times if they had difficulties remembering. They received the following instruction: “You are expected to reflect the message back, sort of like a repetition, but you don’t have to parrot it. You can use your own words and you can repeat it in the way you like. You can make changes in parts that do not sound nice or good to you.”

In total, the participants received 50 sequences to listen to and repeat. It is crucial to keep in mind that items contained more than one sentence and were presented in a context, including one or two test sentences, so as to stimulate that participants had to consult their linguistic competence in their production. Regarding subordination, the task contained 33 finite and 43 non-finite subordinate clauses. Regarding word order, the participants were presented with 24 verb-medial and 39 verb-final constructions.

Table 3.3: Overview of test items across finiteness and verb position

Test items			
Finiteness		Verb position	
Finite	Non-finite	Verb-final	Verb-medial
33	43	39	24

The reason why the total number of items testing finiteness (i.e. 76) is different from the total number of test items on verb position (i.e. 63) is due to the existence of 13 (11 non-finite and 2 finite) test items in which word order was not tested and analyzed. These 13 items include juxtaposition structures in which there is no real matrix verb (see Example 4) as well as certain non-finite verb-final stimulus items that are very unlikely to yield verb-medial responses as the subordinate verb functions as an adverbial that must precede its matrix verb according to Turkish grammar (see Example 5).

- (4) El-in-de bir zarf vardı. **Ver-di** zarf-ı,
 hand-Poss-LOC an envelope there.was give-Past.3sg envelope-ACC
git-ti. **Çıkart-tı-m** **bak-tı-m:** 250 Lira Yeni Yıl
 leave-Past.3sg take.out-Past.3sg look-Past.3sg 250 Lira New Year
 hediye-si.
 present-Poss
‘There was an envelope in her hand. She gave (it to me) (and) left. I took (it) out and looked (at it): New Year’s present of 250 Lira.’
- (5) Şimdi biraz kitap **oku-yarak** uyuyakal-abil-ir-im.
 now a.bit book read-CV fall.asleep-CAN-Pres-1sg
‘Now I can fall asleep (by) reading a bit.’

Table 3.4 shows the distribution of matrix verb position across the finiteness dimension. There were no verb-medial non-finite items because they were self-constructed according to TR-Turkish conventions and it would be unconventional to create those items as verb-medial. All finite verb-medial items, on the other hand, were taken from the attested conversational data.

Table 3.4: Distribution of test items across finiteness and verb position

Test items			
Finite		Non-finite	
V-final	V-medial	V-final	V-medial
7	24	32	0

Some of the stimuli were reported speech constructions: 18 verb-medial and 17 verb-final ones (see Table 3.5). Thus, the task included 35 items testing

reported speech structures; the following table shows their distribution across the two possibilities for matrix verb position.

Table 3.5: Overview of direct and indirect reported speech test items across verb position

Test items			
Direct RS-finite(21)		Indirect RS-indirect (14)	
V-final	V-medial	V-final	V-medial
3	18	14	0

The task included finite and non-finite stimuli, and both types occurred in reported speech contexts. Table 3.6 displays the number of reported speech and non-reported speech items with finite and non-finite means of subordination.

Table 3.6: Overview of finite and non-finite test items across RS-ness

Test items			
Finite (33)		Non-finite (42)	
RS	non-RS	RS	non-RS
21	12	14	28

The task took about an hour per participant. The bilingual mode condition took somewhat longer to complete than the monolingual mode condition. A few participants said that understanding and remembering bilingual mode sentences was not a very straightforward task, despite the fact that they constantly appear to speak that way, i.e. using a lot of codeswitching. However, the specific way in which the languages were mixed in the stimulus items may have been unnatural to them at times, even though all possible efforts were made to avoid this. To keep the authenticity as high as possible, test items had been selected from the attested data, evaluated before inclusion by two of the bilingual assistants, and (re-)shaped or modified using their judgments.

Bilingual mode responses were transcribed with the help of the four bilingual assistants while the transcriptions for the monolingual mode and the monolingual control group were done mostly by the author (assistants

were also of help in transcribing some of the monolingual mode responses of the bilinguals). All the coding and analyses were done only by the author.

3.2 Perception tasks

Although it is crucial to investigate language production, specifically every-day speech, we also need to investigate what does not occur in speech by looking into whether such language use would indeed be impossible. After all, non-occurrence in our production data could simply be due to low frequency or coincidence. Similarly, production data alone cannot tell us much about the degree to which forms are conventionalized in the community or entrenched in speakers' linguistic competence, and this holds for forms that occur as well as for those that don't. Thus, there is the need to tap into the entire linguistic competence. In addition, data on metalinguistic awareness may also provide valuable information on language change. To compensate for these gaps that 'production' data cannot fill, I also carried out investigations using 'comprehension' or 'perception' data, based on judgment tasks. This section will introduce these data.

3.2.1 Conventuality judgments through a rating and a forced-choice task

The judgment task was constructed using the computer program *LimeSurvey* and had to be performed on the computer. The bilingual participants in the Netherlands were invited in groups in different numbers based on their availability (ranging from 5 to 20 people at a time) to the computer lab of Tilburg University and some of the participants in Turkey used the author's laptop. However, many of the participants in Turkey were university students, and these were instructed by their teachers in class. They then carried out the task outside class hours. To stimulate a serious attitude, they were told that participation as well as the answers in the test would replace a quiz grade. It is assumed that these slightly different conditions did not influence the results. All groups received exactly the same instructions.

Participants: The monolingual and bilingual mode versions of the task were carried out by 39 Turkish-Dutch participants each. Thus, a total of 78 bilingual individuals were tested. The control group in Turkey consisted of 52 monolinguals. Most of the participants had not taken part in the elicited imitation task. For those participants who had (9 bilingual mode bilinguals, 7

monolingual mode bilinguals and 1 TR-Turkish monolingual), it was unlikely that they recalled the items (which, however, were similar, see below), as there was at least a three to five month interval between the tasks. Therefore, no priming effect was assumed.

Table 3.7: Overview of participants across the judgment data

Judgment ('perception') Data		
Rating task + Forced-choice task		
MM*	BM**	TR-monolinguals***
39	39	
No overlap between MM and BM groups		52

* 5 of them did both MM and BM spont. 1-on-1 and elicited conversations as well as the BM elicited imitation tasks while another 1 carried out only BM elicited imitation and another 1 took part only in BM spont. 1-on-1 and elicited conversations. In total, 7 out of 39 had a production task experience.

** 3 of the participants took part in both MM and BM spont. 1-on-1 and elicited conversations as well as the BM elicited imitation tasks while another set of 3 did only MM elicited imitation and another 2 who carried out the whole set of MM production tasks. There was also 1 who took part only in BM spont. 1-on-1 and elicited conversations. Hence, 9 out of 39 participated in one or more production tasks.

*** 3 of them also did spont. 1-on-1 and elicited conversation among the production tasks while 1 participant carried out the whole set of production tasks and another 1 only took part in the elicited imitation task. In sum, 5 out of 52 had a production task experience.

The judgment task consisted of a rating task, using a Likert scale, and a forced-choice task. Almost all test items, especially the ones in the rating task, were identical to the ones used in the elicited imitation task.

Thus, most of the test items were once again taken from the attested data, i.e. previously recorded group conversations, which were conducted in a bilingual mode and contained a lot of codeswitching. Almost all the test items with finite subordination and verb-medial order came from these data, but some non-finite and verb-final sentences had to be constructed since the speech data did not contain enough of them. More construction effort went into the forced-choice part of the task because alternative options containing crucial structures had to be included. Like the elicited imitation task, the judgment task was prepared in two conditions: a bilingual and a monolingual

mode. For the monolingual mode, the codeswitched parts were translated into Turkish; the resulting task was carried out by monolinguals in Turkey and by a group of bilingual participants in the Netherlands that was entirely composed of different people than the group that carried out the task in the bilingual mode. In the end, there were two different sets of judgment task items: one for Turkish-Dutch bilinguals in bilingual mode, and one for monolinguals as well as for bilinguals in monolingual mode.

In the bilingual mode, items included codeswitching. These were either taken verbatim from the recorded conversations or loosely based on them. Therefore, they contained naturally occurring codeswitches. Two bilingual research assistants provided further input and helped create natural ‘code-switched’ parts in the constructed test items, i.e. in some of the items that included TR-Turkish default (non-finite subordination and verb-final) structures. The following two test items may serve as examples.

- (6) Sabah *verslapen* yap-tı-m. İş yeri-nden beni ara-yıp iş-e
 morning oversleep do-past-1sg work.ABL me phone-CV work-DAT
 gel-ip gel-me-yeceğ-im-i sor-du-lar. Ben de çok
 come-CV come-NEG-ObjP-1sg.Poss-ACC ask-Past-3pl I too much
 özür dile-yerek *binnen een half uur* orada ol-acağ-ım-ı
 sorry say-CV within a half hour there be-SubjP-1sg.Poss-ACC
 söyle-di-m.
 say-Past-1sg
 ‘I overslept this morning. Phoning me from work, they asked me whether I would come to work or not. Apologizing, I said that I would be there in half an hour.’
- (7) *Mijn vriendin is vorige week bevallen.* Dün bebeğ-i
 My friend is last week gave.birth yesterday baby-ACC
 gör-me-ye git-ti-m. Doğum-u-nun çok zor
 see-A.NMLZ-DAT go-past-1sg delivery-3sg.Poss-GEN very difficult
 ol-duğ-u-nu söyle-di. Zaten hala yorgun
 be-F.NMLZ-3sg.Poss-ACC say-Past already still tired
 görün-üyor-du.
 seem-Prog-Past 3sg
 ‘My friend gave birth last week. I went to see the baby yesterday. My friend said that her delivery was very difficult. She still looked tired.’

The words in italics are Dutch, inserted by the bilingual research assistants when they were asked how they might use codeswitching in these sentences.

Procedure: One of the bilingual assistants managed the bilingual mode sessions by welcoming, instructing and guiding the participants, using a bilingual mode of conversation, before they actually started doing the task. They were asked, in the written instruction and also orally, not to concentrate on whether the mixing of languages sounded fine or whether they would rather hear a monolingual version. Furthermore, their attention was explicitly directed to the grammatical structure of the sentences. The exact instruction they were given for the *Rating task* was as follows (translated from Turkish):

“Please read the sentences below and rate them between 1 and 7 based on the Turkish spoken in the NL among young Turkish-Dutch people around you. Treat codeswitching as ‘natural’. Language mixing is accepted as ‘normal’ in bilingual communities such as ours. While grading, ask yourself this question: ‘How often do I hear this type of sentence around me?’ Focus on the language use and grammar, not on the meaning and vocabulary during the task. ‘1’ means *never used this way* and ‘7’ *always used by everybody this way*.”

They read the instruction together with the researcher or the bilingual assistant at the beginning of the session, to ensure that everything was understood by everyone, and otherwise they could ask questions. This instruction procedure was used in the same way for all three groups of participants. The bilingual research assistant used codeswitching while answering questions and giving the necessary clarifications, so as to retain the bilingual mode.

The participants saw the stimulus sentences one after the other and were asked to judge them by selecting the appropriate number on the scale and then clicking the ‘next’ button on the screen to proceed to the next item. They were not allowed to skip any items. The same instruction was placed under each test item as a reminder, just in case they felt confused about what they were supposed to be doing.

In the monolingual mode condition, the task consisted of the same items except that the Dutch parts were turned into Turkish. The author, who presented herself as a monolingual Turkish speaker, induced a monolingual mode by using only Turkish from the first moment she and the participants

met. The procedure was the same as in the bilingual mode condition. The instruction was also the same except that the comment on codeswitching was left out.

The same monolingual mode test items were used for the monolingual control group in Turkey, with a slightly different instruction, as the reference to the Netherlands wouldn't make any sense:

“Please read the sentences below and rate them between 1 and 7 based on the Turkish spoken around you. While grading, ask yourself this question: ‘How often do I hear this type of sentence around me?’ Focus on the language use and grammar, not on the meaning and vocabulary during the task. ‘1’ means *never used this way* and ‘7’ *always used by everybody this way*.”

Apart from the critical modifications reviewed above, the tests used for the three groups of participants were identical. One more modification was made, however: in a few items, proper names were changed to adapt the item to the context of the participants. Except a few small modifications, the type of the constructions in the sentences was the same. In the following test item, a filler item, the name of the country to which one goes to improve (Turkish) language skills is Turkey for bilinguals while it is England for TR-monolinguals (to improve their English). ‘Going to Turkey to improve their Turkish’ is a frequent topic of conversation for bilinguals while many Turks in Turkey would like to go and improve their English in England.

(8) MM & BM: Karar senin. **Türkiye**'ye gidersen, **Türkçe**'n gelişir ve oradaki sistemi öğrenirsin.

TR-Turkish: Karar senin. **İngiltere**'ye gidersen, **İngilizce**'n gelişir ve oradaki sistemi öğrenirsin.

‘The decision is yours. If you go to Turkey/England, your Turkish/English improves and you learn the system there.’

Forced-choice items formed the second part of the judgment task. The three groups of participants all got the same instruction:

“Which sentence type below do you hear more around you? Select the type you hear most.”

As Turkish allows both finite and non-finite subordination and also both verb-final and verb-medial orders, the same proposition can very well be conveyed through either structure (although specific word orders may carry

specific pragmatic meanings). In this part of the task, two to four different ways were constructed to convey the same meaning, varying with finiteness, position of the verb, direct or indirect reported speech, and use of the complementizer *ki* (see Chapter 2 for information on this word). The alternatives were presented to the participants as multiple choice items, and participants had to choose the type they thought they heard most often around them. Once they grasped the instruction and knew what to do, it was a rather easy task to implement and carry out.

In total, the participants were given 72 sentences in the rating task and 46 forced-choice items, with varying numbers of alternatives to choose from. The forced-choice task contained 28 items with two options, 9 items with three alternatives, and another 9 items with four options to choose from. The reason why the number of options is not the same throughout the test is that it depended on what the item was testing, on the structure of the item itself, and on what options were naturally available or possible to convey the same meaning. For instance, to test word order in complex clauses, the following four possible options were given.

- (9) a. Ban-a dedi “Hamileyim”.
to-me said “I’m pregnant”.
- b. Bana dedi ki “hamileyim”.
- c. Bana [hamile ol-duğ-u-nu] söyledi.
pregnant be-F.NMLZ-3.sgPoss.-ACC say.Past
- d. Bana “hamileyim” dedi.
‘She said to me: “I am pregnant”.’ or ‘She told me that she was pregnant.’

Option (a) was the one that got extracted from the conversational data: it is verb-medial, uses finite subordination in the reported speech clause, and makes no use of the complementizer *ki*. To check whether there was a preference for finite or non-finite subordination, option (c) was included. Option (d) was added to check for the word-order preference (verb-final vs. verb-medial). Finally, option (b) was added to see whether participants would prefer the use of the complementizer ‘ki’ in case of verb-medial and finite subordination. This example shows us that at least four options seem to be available to convey this meaning. The option with ‘ki’ cannot be used in every item, though. I occasionally included it (in 6 forced choice items, all of which featured environments in which ‘ki’ seemed a natural option).

The following example (with three options) illustrates an item which tests the preferences for matrix verb position, finiteness and juxtaposition.

(10) Finite and verb-final:

a. Bugünü nasıl geçireceğim hiç bilmiyorum.

Finite and verb-medial:

b. Hiç bilmiyorum bugünü nasıl geçireceğim.

Non-finite and verb-final:

c. Bugün-ü nasıl geçir-eceğ-im-i hiç bil-mi-yor-um.
 today-ACC how spend-Fut.CV-1sg.Poss-ACC at.all know-NEG-Pres-1sg
 ‘I don’t know how I am going to spend today at all.’

As for subordination, the judgement task contained 30 relevant Likert scale items and 20 forced-choice items. Of the 30 rating task items, 16 contained finite and 14 non-finite stimuli. Concerning verb position, the rating task tested 15 verb-medial (11 of them reported speech constructions) and 14 verb-final structures (5 of them reported speech). In the forced-choice task, 10 stimuli out of 16 testing word order were in the form of reported speech constructions. Finite-ness was manipulated in each of the 20 forced-choice items. As the test was designed to investigate a few other syntactic phenomena as well, which will not be discussed in this thesis, fillers were also automatically included, as items focusing on different phenomena functioned as fillers for each other. There were 43 filler items in the *Rating task* and 36 in the forced-choice task. The order of the test items was randomized manually. This randomization was done basically by looking at what the items test and by distributing them evenly so that no two items testing the same phenomenon followed each other. The judgment task took around 45 minutes in total to complete.

The judgment task data could be automatically pulled into SPSS for the results to be analyzed. Based on what the research questions are, different tests were used, such as *Post Hoc Tests* (multiple comparisons), *Tukey HSD*, *Chi-Square tests*, *Crosstabs*, *ANOVA*, *Kruskal-Wallis* and *Jonckheere-Terpstra* test, etc. Further information on which test was used for which research question will be presented in the *results* sections of the chapters below.

CHAPTER 4

Converging evidence from three different sources of speech data on syntactic change from non-finite to finite subordinate clauses in Dutch Turkish⁷

Abstract

While Turkish immigrants in Western Europe orient themselves to the norms of Standard Turkish, their Turkish is constantly being influenced by the European language they also speak. As a result of language contact, slowly but surely, new varieties of Turkish seem to be evolving, exhibiting loss of certain features and/or borrowing of words and structures taken from European languages. In this chapter, the focus is on Immigrant Turkish in the Netherlands, particularly on how it forms subordinate clauses. I compare data from the Netherlands and Turkey, with data from three production sources: *bilingual spontaneous group conversations*, *spontaneous one-on-one speech* and *elicited one-on-one conversations*. The main finding is that all data converge and indicate that Dutch Turkish speakers clearly prefer to use finite subordinate clauses, a clear case of influence from Dutch. In Turkey, subordination is predominantly non-finite. The findings are interpreted from a usage-based perspective on contact-induced change.

⁷ This chapter is partially based on Onar Valk, Pelin & Ad Backus (2013). 'Syntactic change in an immigrant language: From non-finite to finite subordinate clauses in Turkish.' *Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics*, 4(2), 7-29; Special Issue: Areal linguistics, grammar and contacts.

4.1 Introduction

Contact linguistics is often about language change, specifically about change induced by contact (Thomason 2001; Winford 2003; Heine & Kuteva 2005; Myers-Scotton 2006; Matras 2009). This is a natural focus, given that one of the main effects of language contact is that the languages involved influence each other, though usually only in one direction. Often, one of the languages is socially subordinate, and as a result it borrows material from the other language. The borrowed material can be anything, from phonological properties to discourse styles, but most familiar, and perhaps most frequent, are lexical and structural borrowing. Lexical borrowing shows up as loanwords and as changes in the way native words are used on the basis of how their equivalents in the other language are used. This leads to semantic extensions and loan translations. Structural borrowing, on the other hand, refers to changes in the syntax of the borrowing language, as it takes over structural properties from the other language. This chapter is about convergent developments in the domain of subordinate clauses.

While lexical change is relatively easy to demonstrate, since the new word or the new usage of a familiar word did not exist before the language contact situation got underway, it is notoriously hard to prove that a structural property was borrowed from the other language. The reason is that it is rarely the case that the structure that is claimed to be new is really new in the sense that it did not exist in the language before contact. This has led some to claim that languages do not borrow structural features at all (e.g. Silva-Corvalán 2008). Unfortunately, arguments in favor of or against this position are hard to evaluate because they are generally made from within particular theoretical positions about what counts as syntax, and about what counts as change. There are two extreme positions (see Section 1.9 in Chapter 1). One adopts a *restricted perspective* (see Section 1.9.1 in Chapter 1) and is associated with formal syntactic theories. It claims that most alleged contact-induced structural changes are really just changes in preference: a particular structure is used more often by bilinguals, and frequency of use is not a syntactic characteristic. Let's say a language changes its basic word order from SOV to SVO, but SVO was already grammatical before contact; this is then analyzed as a change in preference in which SVO becomes the more unmarked order. Perhaps a further change in pragmatic meaning is associated with the change, as the pragmatic impact

that SVO had will be weakened as the order becomes the more unmarked one.

The other view, associated with usage-based linguistics adopts a *broad perspective* (see Section 1.9.2 in Chapter 1) and asserts that a change in frequency of use is also structural change, because frequency of use is claimed to affect mental representation (e.g. Doğruöz & Backus 2009). If a speaker shifts from predominantly using SVO to predominant SOV use, he/she exhibits structural change, and if many other speakers of the same language undergo the same process, there is evidence for contact-induced language change. As long as it's purely frequency that is involved, probably not much hinges on this debate, but if pragmatics plays a role, too, things become more intricate. In the usage-based approach, pragmatics counts as meaning, and hence structures are not just forms: they have meaning, too, just like a lexical item. If the *word order* changes its pragmatic impact from marked to unmarked, it is qualitatively similar to when a *word* changes its meaning on the basis of its foreign equivalent: in both cases we have an instance of contact-induced semantic extension. This study mostly adopts this approach, inspired by usage-based linguistics (see Section 1.9.3 in Chapter 1).

A complicating factor is that it is sometimes not so clear whether we are dealing with a lexical or a structural change, or whether the difference can even be maintained. The difference is clear as long as we look at prototypical cases, such as loanwords (lexical) and word order (structural). The difference between Matter loans (overt lexical material) and Pattern loans (structural 'covert' material; cf. Matras & Sakel 2007) is a related difference. However, what to do with borrowed function words such as prepositions? Or with the changed usage of a native adposition on the basis of the way its equivalent in the other language is used? For usage-based approaches, these cases are especially interesting because the difference between syntax and lexicon is criticized on theoretical grounds anyway.

One way in which the discussion can be elevated to a more secure footing is by striving for methodological pluralism. Contact studies are generally based on just one type of data, usually the analysis of a relatively small corpus of naturally produced speech by a few representative speakers. This sometimes casts doubt on the degree to which the findings can be generalized to the larger community. In this chapter, I will present the results of an attempt to widen the methodological basis, by combining different types of conversational data. The idea behind this methodological step was

that if I would find *converging evidence*⁸ (see Chapter 1, Section 1.13), i.e. presence or absence of signs of the same change in both types of data, the evidence for or against change would be stronger.

In this chapter, the focus is on the use of *finite* and *non-finite* subordination in the elicited and spontaneous interactional use of Turkish by members of the large Turkish immigrant community in the Netherlands. As explained in Chapter 1 (see Section 1.15), this community came into being through labor migration in the 1960's; by now a third generation is growing up. Most members of the community are bilingual, and use both languages on an everyday basis (cf. Backus 2013b for a general survey of linguistic and sociolinguistic work done on this community). Subordination is a fruitful domain for our goals for several reasons. First, it is solidly syntactic. That is, it avoids to an extent the discussion about whether or not any changes we might uncover are lexical or structural. Second, there have been other studies, in other multilingual contexts, that have shown this to be a domain that is vulnerable to contact effects (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2005). Some of these studies have been on Turkish immigrant varieties, especially in Germany (e.g. Rehbein et al. 2009), and have shown enough indications that I may expect to find some degree of change in my data. Other Turkic languages have been influenced for a long time by Slavic languages (especially Gagauz, Karaim and Macedonian Turkish, e.g. Friedman 2003). Finally, Turkish and Dutch differ considerably in how they form subordinate clauses, as was seen in Chapter 2, so potentially I should be able to find relatively clear evidence for whether or not Dutch has influenced Turkish in how it forms such clauses.

The rest of this chapter is built up as follows. The next section introduces the relevant subordination structures of Turkish and Dutch, focusing on the similarities and differences. Section 4.3 presents the methods and results of the study, first *for bilingual group conversations* in bilingual mode and then from data of *spontaneous* and *elicited* one-on-one conversations by three groups of participants: bilinguals in bilingual mode, bilinguals in mono-

⁸ The aim of converging evidence for contact-induced change in subordination will only be reached at the end of Chapter 5. The current chapter only presents results from three different sources of production data; the picture will only be complete once we compare them with data from experimental production (in an elicited imitation task) and conventionality judgment tasks in Chapter 5. The present chapter also aims at *converging evidence* in itself, though, by working with three different types of production data.

lingual mode and Turkish monolinguals. This is followed by a concluding section that comes back to the points raised above.

4.2 Subordination and contact-induced change

Our research question is whether or not we find evidence for contact-induced change in the domain of subordination in our data from Dutch Turkish, also referred to as ‘NL-Turkish’. To do this, I will compare NL-Turkish data with Turkish as spoken in Turkey (‘TR-Turkish’). If the answer to the question is ‘yes’, as I expect, the next question is which particular constructions are affected. We used three kinds of conversational data: spontaneous group conversations among bilinguals, conducted in bilingual mode, spontaneous one-on-one conversations both in bilingual mode and in monolingual mode, and, lastly, free speech on a given topic (elicited conversations), again in bilingual mode and monolingual mode. The methods and results will be discussed in Section 4.3. This section will remind the reader of the most important characteristics of subordination and of its most frequently used sub-type, reported speech, in Turkish and, briefly, in Dutch. The two languages differ considerably in this syntactic domain, which will help us in identifying whether or not we can talk of contact-induced change if we find a difference between NL- and TR-Turkish.

4.2.1 Subordinate clauses

Turkish and Dutch display different types of subordination. Most importantly, Turkish has both finite and non-finite subordinate clauses while Dutch only has the finite option, at least for the specific structures under investigation here. This section on subordination in Turkish and Dutch will be kept brief; see Chapter 2 for more elaborate information.

4.2.1.1 Subordination in Turkish

Though the typological and grammatical literature presents Turkish as spoken in Turkey, to a large extent, as a language exhibiting nominalized, i.e. non-finite, subordinate clauses (Göksel & Kerslake 2005:135; Kornfilt 1997:45, 54), it is in fact also possible to use finite subordinating constructions. As Chapter 2 has pointed out, the same meaning can often be conveyed by using either type, though as far as we know there are no studies

that have investigated the distribution of these types in the everyday spoken discourse, nor in different dialects.

A finite subordinate clause, in which the predicate of the subordinate clause bears finite inflection, just like the verb in a main clause, can be juxtaposed (see Example 2) to the main clause or linked to it with the use of a subordinator, like *diye* (see Example 1) and *ki* (see Example 3) in the following constructed examples (as the glosses indicate, *diye* is originally a quotative, and *ki* is the closest equivalent in Turkish to the basic complementizer ‘that’).

- (1) [Dün parti-ye git-me-yecek-sin] **diye** düşün-üyor-du-k.
 yesterday party-DAT go-NEG-Fut-2sg **saying** think-Prog-Past-1pl
 ‘We thought that you would not go to the party yesterday.’
- (2) [Bugün okul-a kaç-ta **gid-er**] bil-mi-yor-um.
 today school-DAT what.time-LOC **go-Pres.3sg** know-NEG-Prog-1sg
 ‘I don’t know what time he goes to school today.’

Use of these subordinators also enables having finite adverbial clauses, as illustrated in Example 3. This has, however, a very limited use in Turkish (Kornfilt 1997:46), but note its similarity to the common structure of adverbial clauses in many European languages.

- (3) O kadar yorul-muş **ki** hemen uyu-muş.
 that much get.tired-Past.3sg **that** immediately sleep-Past.3sg
 ‘She got so tired that she slept immediately.’

Finally, *coordinated* finite clauses are common. They are either simply juxtaposed, as in Example 4 below, or linked by a conjunction or connective, such as *ama* ‘but’ in Example 5.

- (4) Dün şehir merkezi-ne git-ti-m, alışveriş yap-tı-m, yemek
 yesterday city center-DAT go-Past-1sg shopping do-Past-1sg food
 ye-di-m, geri dön-dü-m.
 eat-Past-1sg back return-Past-1sg
 ‘Yesterday I went to the city center, did shopping, ate something, (and) came back.’

- (5) Dün pazar-a git-ti-m **ama** alışveriş yap-ma-dı-m.
 yesterday market-DAT go-Past-1sg **but** shopping do-NEG-Past-1sg
'I went to the market yesterday but didn't do any shopping.'

As mentioned in Chapter 2 with reference to the grammars by Kornfilt, and Göksel and Kerslake, Turkish has predominantly non-finite subordination despite the existence of these finite options. However, as far as I am aware there has not been a thorough examination of this claim for spoken Turkish.

Non-finite structures are found for all three types of subordinate clauses: *complement*, *relative* (adjectival) and *adverbial* clauses. As for *complement* clauses, Kornfilt (1997:45) states that the most prominent subordinators are the three nominalization markers that are attached to verbal stems. There are two 'factive' nominalization suffixes, non-future *-DİK*⁹ and future *-AcAK*, both exemplified in Example 6 below, and an 'action nominalization', the 'short infinitive marker' *-mA* exemplified in Example 7. As the first example also illustrates, the whole subordinate clause is marked with a case marker if it functions as the direct object.

- (6) Factive nominal as objective clause:

[Meryem-in İstanbul'a git-tiğ-i-ni / gid-eceğ-i-ni] duy-du-m.
 Meryem-GEN İstanbul-DAT go-F.NMLZ-3sg-ACC hear-Past-1sg
'I heard that Meryem went/will go to İstanbul.'

- (7) Action nominal as subject clause:

[Tülin-in İstanbul'a git-me-si] anne-si-ni
 Tülin-GEN İstanbul-DAT go-A.NMLZ-Poss.3sg mother-Poss.3sg-ACC
 üz-dü.
 upset-Past.3sg
'That Tülin went to İstanbul made her mother upset.'

The most prevalent type of relative clause in Turkish is non-finite, using one of the participial suffixes *-(y)An*, *-DİK* or *-(y)AcAK* and is followed by agreement morphology in the case of non-subject relatives.

⁹ The capitals in morpheme indicators stand for the vowels and consonants that change due to the vowel and consonant harmony rules of Turkish.

- (8) [Karşıda otur-an kadın] sen-i bekl-iyor.
 at.the.other.side sit-SubjP woman you-ACC wait-Prog.3sg
 ‘The woman who is sitting at the other side is waiting for you.’

Adverbial clauses, finally, are also mostly non-finite in Turkish. A sub-class consists of converbs, which are marked by special suffixes directly attached to the subordinate verb stem. They often correspond to English ‘when’ or ‘while’. The converbial suffix *-Inca* is illustrated in the following example.

- (9) [İzmir-e var-inca] sen-i ara-yacağ-ım.
 İzmir-DAT arrive-when you-ACC call-Fut-1sg
 ‘I will call you **when** I arrive in İzmir.’

Adverbial subordination takes a wide variety of subordinating suffixes, as there are many semantic nuances that need to be expressed. Below are two examples illustrating the variation of morphosyntactic templates (see Chapter 2 for more details).

- (10) Time adverbial:

Dün okul-a git-tiğ-im-de Meryem ders
 yesterday home-DAT come-F.NMLZ-Poss.1sg-LOC Meryem lesson
 çalış-ıyor-du.
 study-Prog-Past.3sg
 ‘**When** I went to school yesterday, Meryem was studying.’

- (11) Purpose adverbial:

Tez-im-i bitir-mek için çok çalış-ıyor-um.
 dissertation-Poss.1sg-ACC finish-INF for a.lot work-Prog-1sg
 ‘I am working a lot **to finish** my dissertation.’

4.2.1.2 Subordination in Dutch

As explained in Chapter 2, Dutch mostly uses finite subordinate clauses in the structures that correspond to the complement, relative, and adverbial clauses discussed above for Turkish. Dutch subordinate clauses are connected to the main clause with subordinators or conjunctions such as *dat* ‘that’, *omdat* ‘because’, etc. Three constructed examples of finite subordinate clauses are given below.

(12) Complement clause:

Ik denk [dat Utrecht een mooie stad is].
 I think.1sg that Utrecht a nice city is
 ‘I think **that Utrecht is a nice city.**’

(13) Adverbial clause:

Ik wil slapen [omdat ik moe ben].
 I want sleep.Inf because I tired am
 ‘I would like to sleep **because I am tired.**’

(14) Relative clause:

Dat meisje [dat blond haar heeft] is mijn beste vriendin.
 that girl who blond hair has is my best friend
 ‘That girl **who has blond hair is my best friend.**’

4.2.2 Reported speech structures

As mentioned in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2), reported speech is a subcategory of subordination and an initial look at the instantiations in my data suggested some interesting developments. Reported speech constructions in Turkish and Dutch differ, but not in the same way as the cases of subordination discussed in the previous sub-section. Most importantly, Turkish makes use of *finite* subordination for *direct reported speech* and *non-finite* subordination for *indirect reported speech* (Kornfilt 1997:3). Dutch, once more, only has finite options for both types.

4.2.2.1 Reported speech in Turkish

Like subordination in general, reported speech can be expressed through non-finite and finite constructions in Turkish. Indirect reported speech employs non-finite subordination, with subordinating suffixes on the predicate of the subordinate clause and the reporting verb mostly being *söyle-* ‘to tell’.

- (15) Cem ban-a [geçen ay Hindistan’a **git-tiğ-i-ni**]
 cem I-DAT last month India-DAT go-F.NMLZ-Poss.3sg-ACC
 söyle-di.
 say-Past.3sg
 ‘Cem told me **that he went to India last month.**’

Direct speech, on the other hand, uses finite subordination, see Example 16 below. It can also be marked with the subordinators *ki* and *diye* (recall that the latter is originally a quotative), while the matrix verb is generally *de-‘say’*. When used to introduce reported speech, *ki* causes the main verb to precede the reported speech as in the second example below.

- (16) Cem “iş için Hindistan’a gid-iyor-um” de-di.
cem work for India-DAT go-Prog-1sg say-Past.3sg
‘Cem said “I am going to India for work”.’
- (17) Cem ban-a de-di ki “iş için Hindistan’a gid-iyor-um”.
cem I-DAT say-Past.3sg ki work for India-DAT go-Prog-1sg
‘Cem said to me: “I am going to India for work”.’

4.2.2.2 Reported speech in Dutch

In Dutch, both direct and indirect reported speech are encoded through finite subordination, as in the following (constructed) examples.

- (18) Direct speech:
Zij zegt “Ik ben moe”
‘She says “I am tired”.’
- (19) Indirect speech:
Zij zei **dat** zij moe was.
‘She said that she was tired.’

4.3 Study 1: Conversational ‘production’ data

As mentioned in the introduction, in the interest of finding converging evidence we conducted two types of study to find answers to the same research question, approaching it from different perspectives. Language contact studies generally do not do this, and rely mostly on recordings of spontaneous conversation. I used recordings as well, but added variation to the database by combining bilingual spontaneous group conversations in a bilingual mode with spontaneous-one-on-one speech and elicited one-on-one conversations (which contain free speech on a given topic), both in bilingual and monolingual modes. In addition, *spontaneous* and *elicited* one-on-one

conversations were also collected from monolinguals in Turkey (i.e. a control group). This chapter will present the results that came out of analyzing these recordings.

The first section will elaborate on the methodology (see Chapter 3 for information on how these data fit into the methodological plan of the larger project).

4.3.1 Methodology: Conversational ‘production’ data

This chapter deals with the part of the database collected for this project that is common in contact linguistic research, and reports on the analysis of a small corpus of recorded conversations, which came in three types. The goal for the first type, *bilingual spontaneous group conversations in bilingual mode*, was to record speech that was as close as possible to everyday conversation in the immigrant community, since that is the register in which contact linguistics is primarily concerned. Therefore, the *bilingual spontaneous group conversations in bilingual mode* were collected with the help of a Turkish-Dutch bilingual research assistant who was first trained in the techniques of data collection. She was also an intermediate for us in reaching suitable participants (see below). To create a natural and authentic atmosphere, she enlisted her circle of friends, family members and classmates as participants, since they trust her and would not object to being recorded. In addition, we chose familiar settings for the gatherings, such as a school cafe, the family dining room, and friends visiting each other. As a result of this, conversational data in a heavily bilingual mode, containing a lot of code-switching could be collected. Our data base contains five bilingual spontaneous group conversations. The informants were 14 Turkish-Dutch bilingual adults in the age range of 18 to 35. They all grew up in the Netherlands, and have a Turkish ethnic background. The following reason was given to them for why their conversation was being recorded: “The purpose is not to test your language skills. They are just interested in how we talk and how we mix the two languages in our daily lives.”

The second source of data consists of *spontaneous one-on-one conversations*. The participants could talk freely on any topic: starting with introducing themselves, comparing life in Turkey and in the Netherlands, giving their opinions on life in Turkey, etc. The researcher or assistant acted as the stimulator of the conversation by asking questions when necessary. The participants were 25 bilinguals in bilingual mode, 25 bilinguals in

monolingual mode and 27 monolinguals in Turkey. Eighteen bilingual participants carried out the task both in bilingual and monolingual mode.

The final source of productive conversational data to be reported on in this chapter is *elicited one-on-one conversations*, i.e. *free speech on a given topic*. This involved a more controlled condition than the previous method because the participants were given a selection of three topics to choose from. The topics were presented to them as: “Could you please tell me about one of the funniest OR most interesting OR most exciting experiences in your life?” Depending on the speech mode or the participant group, the task was executed in a conversational mode with the assistant or the researcher asking questions every now and then during the conversation. Twenty-four bilinguals participated in the bilingual mode and 25 in the monolingual mode condition (again 18 participants did both). Seventeen monolinguals in Turkey carried out this task. See Chapter 3 for a more detailed presentation of these methods.

4.3.2 Results: Conversational data

The following subsection will address the results from the data of *bilingual group conversations*.

4.3.2.1 Results: Bilingual spontaneous group conversations

At the most basic level, the results from these *group* data do not point to the clear preference for non-finite subordination that the literature on Turkish syntax would lead us to expect (cf. Section 4.2). Table 4.1 shows that there is actually more use of finite subordinate clauses (in 57% of all subordination) than of the non-finite type (with 43%; i.e. 379 non-finite versus 504 finite uses).

Table 4.1: Distribution of subordination in spontaneous bilingual group conversations in bilingual mode (% (N))

Subordination	
Non-finite	Finite
43 (379)	57 (504)

It is obvious from Table 4.1 that there is more finite than non-finite subordination in the Turkish parts of the bilingual group conversations. However, it does not tell us what types of clauses are produced, or anything

about the distribution of finiteness across these types. Table 4.2 presents such broken-down data and shows that the 43% non-finite structures is accounted for mostly by adverbial clauses, with 19% of the total. This is followed by non-finite *conditional* (11%), *relative* (9%) and lastly *complement* clauses (4%). The distribution is different for finite subordinate clauses. The total of 57% is contributed to mostly by *complement* clauses (40%), and further only by *adverbials* (17%). A *conditional* clause cannot be finite because the subordinate *conditional* suffix is always needed. A *relative* clause, on the other hand, could be formed using a *finite* verb. This is very rare, however, as Table 4.2 illustrates.

Table 4.2: Distribution of finite and non-finite subordination across different clause types in bilingual group conversations (% (N))

	Complement clauses	Adverbial clauses	Relative clauses	Conditional clauses
Non-finite	4 (39)	19 (164)	9 (81)	11 (95)
Finite	40 (354)	17 (147)	0.3 (3)	N/A

The following examples present *complement* clauses in the bilingual group conversations (obviously in bilingual mode) in which a finite option was selected; the non-finite equivalent that, allegedly, would be the preferred option in TR-Turkish is given as well.

- (20) [Ja hangi *vak-lar-ı* **al-acak-sınız**] bil-iyor mu-sun?
 yes which specialization-pl-ACC **take-Fut-2pl** know-Prog INT-2sg
 ‘Yes, do you know which *specializations* you will choose?’

Non-finite:

Ja [hangi *vak-lar-ı* **al-acağ-ımız-ı**] biliyor mu-sun?
take-F.NMLZ-2pl-ACC

- (21) Bak, duy-du-n mu [anne-n ne de-di]?
 look hear-Past-2sg INT.3sg mother-Poss.2sg what say-Past.3sg
 ‘Look, did you hear what your mother said?’

Non-finite:

Bak, [anne-n-in ne de-diğ-i-ni] duydun mu?
mother-Poss.2sg-GEN what say-F.NMLZ-Poss.2sg-ACC

- (22) Bak-mış-lar *administratie*'de [ne kadar **ver-ebil-ir-ler**].
 look-Past-3pl administration-LOC how much give-can-Pres-3pl
 'They looked in the register (to see) how much they can give.'

Non-finite:

Administratie'de [ne kadar **ver-ebil-ecek-ler-i-ne**]
 how much **give-can-F.NMLZ-3pl-Poss.3sg-DAT**
 bak-mış-lar.

- (23) Bil-iy-o-sun de mi [Cem-in de *tatoeage*-si var].
 know-Prog-Pres.2sg INT-tag Cem-GEN also tattoo-Poss.3sg there.is
 'You know that Cem also has a tattoo, don't you?'

Non-finite:

[Cem-in de *tatoeage*-si **ol-duğ-u-nu**]
 Cem-GEN also *tattoo*-Poss.3sg **be-F.NMLZ-Poss.3sg-ACC**
 bil-iyor-sun, değil mi?

The following examples are adverbial clauses which could also have been used in non-finite form.

- (24) ...bi arkadaş-ı o-na **kız-mış-tı** [sınav-da
 a friend-Poss.3sg she-DAT get.angry-Evid.Past-Past.3sg exam-LOC
yardım et-me-di *diye*].
help do-NEG-Past *saying*
 'A friend of hers got angry with her because she did not help him during the exam.'

Non-finite:

... bi arkadaş-ı [sınav-da **yardım et-me-diğ-i** **için**]
 exam-LOC **help do-NEG-F.NMLZ-Poss.3sg for**
 o-na **kız-mış-tı**.

The following three (25-27) are examples of commonly used adverbial subordinate clauses. Though these examples involve *coordination* rather than *subordination*, their non-finite equivalents would have been subordinate clauses, as seen in the last line of the examples. Example 25 is a case of a *coordinate* adverbial clause that is *juxtaposed*. However, in its non-finite form this sentence would make use of a converb that turns it into an adverbial subordinate clause. Example 26 makes use of the conjunction

sonra ‘later/then’ as well as *juxtaposition*¹⁰ while Example 27 only uses the conjunction *çünkü* ‘because’, introducing a finite subordinate clause.

- (25) ...bayram gün-ü gel-ir-im, sabahleyin vedalaş-ır-ım,
 feast day-Poss.3sg come-Pres-1sg in.the.morning say.goodbye-Pres-1sg
gel-ir-im.
come-Pres-1sg

‘I come back on the feast day, say goodbye in the morning (and) come.’

Non-finite:

- ...bayram günü gelirim, sabahleyin vedalaş-ıp gelirim.
say.goodbye-CV (-ıp)

- (26) ...Ben-i öğretmen-ler oda-sı-na çağır-dı. **Sonra**
 I-DAT teacher-pl room-Poss.3sg.-DAT call-Past.3sg **then**
cadeaubon ver-di. Teşekkür et-ti.
gift.card give-Past.3sg thank-Past.3sg

‘She called me to the teachers’ room. Then she gave me a gift card and thanked me.’

Non-finite:

- ...cadeaubon **ver-ıp / ver-erek** teşekkür etti.
give-CV (-ıp / -ArAk)

- (27) ...Yarın gel-iy-o-lar, çünkü Pazartesi gün-ü Mete
 tomorrow come-Pres-3pl because Monday day-Poss.sg Mete
çalış-acak.
work-Fut.3sg

‘They are coming tomorrow as Mete will work on Monday.’

Non-finite:

- ...Mete Pazartesi günü çalış-acağ-ı için yarın geliyolar.
work-CV-Poss.3sg for

The following two examples were interpreted on the basis of their functioning in the sentence (evaluated semantically) as finite relative clauses (the non-finite equivalents are provided along with each example).

¹⁰ What we mean with ‘juxtaposition’ in this study is that the matrix and subordinate clauses follow each other without a conjunction or something else.

- (28) ...bir kadın göster-di-k, *hoofddoek* var kafa-sı-nda.
 a woman show-Past-1pl headscarf there.is head-Poss.3sg.-LOC
 ‘We showed (them) a woman who had a headscarf on her head.’
 (lit.: We showed (them) a woman. There was a headscarf on her head.)

Non-finite:

...kafasında hoofddoek **ol-an** bir kadın gösterdik.
be / have-SubjP (-An)

- (29) ...[eşya-lar-ım-ı araba-dan indir-i-yim] his-si
 stuff-pl-Poss.1sg.-ACC car-ABL offload-OPT-1sg feeling-Poss.3sg
 sen-de.
 there-is you-DAT

‘In you, there is the feeling saying ‘let me offload my stuff from the car.’

Non-finite:

eşya-lar-ım-ı araba-dan **indir-me / -ecek** his-si var sen-de.
offload-CV

The bracketed part in Example 29 semantically functions like a *relative* clause as it specifies the word ‘feeling’ in the sentence with a finite subordinate clause. If it is turned into a non-finite form with the converb *-mA* or the relative clause suffix *-AcAk*, that function does not change.

The following subsection will report on the results from the data of *spontaneous one-on-one* and *elicited* speech.

4.3.2.2 Results: Spontaneous one-on-one speech and elicited conversations

Table 4.3 displays the distribution of finite and non-finite subordinate clause types in both *spontaneous one-on-one* and *elicited one-on-one* conversations, separately for the three groups of participants: monolinguals, monolingual mode bilinguals, and bilingual mode bilinguals. The general picture is similar for both types of conversation. The monolingual data seem to confirm the general preference for non-finite subordination claimed in descriptive grammars of Turkish, with scores of 75% and 73%. In the monolingual mode condition, bilinguals had more or less equal proportions of finite and non-finite clauses. In the bilingual mode condition, surprisingly perhaps, bilinguals used the non-finite type more often than the finite one in the spontaneous conversations (60% against 40%), while they produced more finite than non-finite structures (57% against 43%) during the elicited

conversations. Overall, the distribution of finite and non-finite forms does not drastically differ across the two speech modes. In contrast, the differences between bilingual and monolingual speakers are quite remarkable.

Table 4.3: Finite and non-finite use by three groups of participants in two different methods a) spontaneous one-on-one conversations, and b) elicited conversations of free speech on a given topic (% (N))

	Spontaneous / natural conversations		Elicited conversations	
	Finite	Non-finite	Finite	Non-finite
Monolinguals	25 (51)	75 (156)	27 (152)	73 (410)
MM bilinguals	45 (616)	55 (741)	50 (431)	50 (437)
BM bilinguals	40 (379)	60 (557)	57 (461)	43 (342)

Table 4.4 zooms in on the selection of non-finite subordination by the three groups of participants in the *spontaneous one-on-one conversations*. Especially responsible for the 75% non-finite clauses are *adverbial* clauses (38%; i.e. about half of the cases). While we saw that in the *bilingual group conversations* most complement clauses were finite (40% of the total while complement clauses overall accounted for 44%), monolinguals produce quite a few non-finite *complement* clauses (18%) in these *one-on-one* conversations. While bilinguals produce comparatively more finite subordinate clauses, their use of the different types of non-finite structure shows roughly similar patterns to those of monolinguals. With a total production of 55% non-finite subordination, bilinguals in the monolingual mode condition produced mostly *adverbial* clauses (26%) and quite a few *complement* clauses (13%). The pattern for the figures in the bilingual mode condition is also fairly similar. Although we encounter remarkable differences between bilinguals and monolinguals in the overall frequency of non-finite subordinate clauses (as seen in Table 4.3), the general distribution of non-finite clause types follows the same pattern in all groups of participants.

Table 4.4: Non-finite use by three groups of participants across different clause types in spontaneous one-on-one conversations (% (N))

	Complement clauses	Adverbial clauses	Relative clauses	If clauses
Monolinguals	18 (37)	38 (79)	14 (28)	6 (12)
MM bilinguals	13 (183)	26 (358)	7 (99)	7 (101)
BM bilinguals	14 (132)	28 (259)	9 (82)	9 (84)

The following table summarizes the ‘production’ results for non-finite subordination in the *elicited conversations*. Again, although we see big differences between bilinguals and monolinguals in terms of the extent of their overall selection of non-finite structures in their ‘production’ (see Table 4.3), the distribution across the different types of clauses seems to be similar across the three groups. Adverbial clauses were the most frequent type of non-finite subordinate clause, followed by complement clauses. Non-finite *relative* and *conditional* clauses had lower rates of usage. Thus, spontaneous one-on-one and elicited conversations showed largely the same patterns, with the following distribution (in descending order of frequency):

Adverbial > Complement > Relative > Conditional clauses

Table 4.5: Non-finite use by three groups of participants across different clause types in elicited conversations of free speech on a given topic (% (N))

	Complement clauses	Adverbial clauses	Relative clauses	If clauses
Monolinguals	22 (122)	29 (165)	16 (90)	6 (33)
MM bilinguals	15 (126)	22 (191)	7 (60)	7 (60)
BM bilinguals	11 (86)	21 (170)	6 (46)	5 (40)

We now turn to the use of finite subordination in these data. Table 4.6 indicates how finite subordination was distributed across the clause types in the spontaneous one-on-one conversations in all groups of participants. The *conditional clause*-category is not applicable as it requires the use of a non-finite structure. Table 4.3 already showed that there are considerable differences between monolingual and bilingual speakers in their overall use of finite subordination. We see in Table 4.6 that all groups produced more

adverbial finite clauses than complement finite clauses. Although finite relative clauses are grammatically possible, none were spotted in any group's production. Recall that this type was very rare in the *bilingual group conversations* (only 3 tokens in total, two of which were given in Examples 28 and 29).

Table 4.6: Finite use by three groups of participants across different clause types in spontaneous one-on-one conversations (% (N))

	Complement clauses	Adverbial clauses	Relative clauses
Monolinguals	9 (19)	15 (32)	0 (0)
MM bilinguals	13 (182)	32 (434)	0 (0)
BM bilinguals	18 (164)	23 (215)	0 (0)

The following examples¹¹ are taken from the bilinguals' *spontaneous one-on-one conversations* (in both speech modes) and illustrate the various finite subordinate clause types (except for the elusive finite *relative* clause). The non-finite equivalent is provided along with each example. The first five examples (30-34) were attested in the monolingual speech mode. The first two of these examples (30 and 31) contain finite *complement* clauses. In Example 30, the subordinator *ki* connects the matrix verb *iste-* 'want', in verb-medial position, with the finite subordinate clause. In (31), on the other hand, the finite subordinate clause is *juxtaposed*, right after the matrix verb (in a verb-medial¹² construction again).

¹¹ As this Chapter focuses on the fact that there is higher use of the finite type by Turkish-Dutch bilinguals, as opposed to TR-Turkish, the examples provided in this section are from finite productions in bilingual speech. Since influence from Dutch could explain these forms, such examples are seen as of greater interest to the reader than examples from monolinguals. Monolingual speech, most of the time, followed the TR-Turkish conventions explained in Chapter 2.

¹² Positioning the matrix verb in clause-medial position is very common in NL-Turkish although TR-Turkish is by default a verb-final language. The position of the matrix verb is studied in detail in Chapter 6.

(30) MM bilinguals – complement clause:

...iste-r-di-m ki okul-um bit-sin.
 want-Aor-Past-1sg ki school-Poss.1sg finish-Opt.3sg
 ‘I would like that my school would finish / had finished.’

Non-finite:

[Okul-um-un **bit-me-si-ni** iste-r-di-m.
 school-Poss.1sg-GEN **finish-NMLZ-Poss.3sg-ACC**

(31) MM bilinguals – complement clause:

...karar ver-di-k abla-m-la biz bur-da kal-ıca-z.
 decision give-Past-1pl sister-Poss.1sg-COM we here-LOC stay-Fut-1pl
 ‘We decided with my sister that we will stay here.’

Non-finite:

Biz ablaml [bura-da **kal-ma-ya** karar verdik.
 here-LOC **stay-NMLZ-DAT**

Examples 32, 33, and 34 illustrate finite adverbial clauses, again produced by bilinguals in the monolingual mode condition. Just like Examples 25-27, these also involve *coordination* rather than *subordination*. Their non-finite equivalents do involve subordination, though. In Example 32, the main and subordinate clauses are connected by the *conjunction sonra* ‘then’, while Examples 33 and 34 were produced by *juxtaposition*.

(32) MM bilinguals – adverbial clause:

Türkiye’de bi süre yaşa-r-ım **sonra** farklı bi ülke-ye
 Turkey-LOC some time ive-Pres-1sg **then** different a country.DAT
 gid-er-im.
 go-Pres-1sg
 ‘I will live in Turkey for some time, then I will go to another country.’

Non-finite:

[Türkiye’de bir süre **yaşa-yıp / yaşa-dıktan sonra**
 ...**live-CV (-ıp) / live-CV (-DıktAn) after**
 başka bir ülkeye giderim.

(33) MM bilinguals – adverbial clause:

Eş-i de bur-da **doğ-du**, **büyü-dü**.
 husband-Poss.3sg also here-LOC **be.born-Past-3sg** **grow.up-Past-3sg**
 ‘Her husband was also born (and) grew up here.’

Non-finite:

Eşi de burda **doğ-up** büyüdü.
be.born-CV (-Ip)

(34) MM bilinguals – adverbial clause:

...anne-m bir defa **gel-di**, **git-ti**.
 mother-Poss.1sg one time **come-Past.3sg** **go-Past.3sg**
 ‘My mother came one time, (and) left.’

Non-finite:

...Annem bir defa **gel-ip** gitti.
come-CV (-Ip)

The final four examples (35-38) were selected from *spontaneous one-on-one speech* in the bilingual mode condition. Examples 35 and 36 demonstrate finite complement clauses that are linked to the main clause by means of juxtaposition (the matrix verb being in final position in Example 35 and in medial position in Example 36).

(35) BM bilinguals – complement clause:

Bütün akraba or-da **çalış-mış di-yebil-ir-im**.
 all relative there-LOC **work-Past** **say-CAN-Pres-1sg**
 ‘I can say that all (my) relatives worked there.’

Non-finite:

Bütün akraba-**lar-ım-in** orda **çalış-tığ-ı-nı**
 relative-**pl-Poss.1sg-GEN** there work-**F.NMLZ-Poss.3pl-ACC**
söyle¹³-yebil-ir-im.
say-CAN-Pres-1sg

¹³ The verb *söyle-* is more conventional and grammatical than the verb *de-* ‘to say’ in such cases of indirect reported speech. The verb *de-* is more typically used in direct speech. See Chapter 2 for more details.

(36) BM bilinguals – complement clause:

Duy-du-m bebeğ-i **ol-acak-mış.**
hear-Past-1sg baby-Poss.3sg be-Fut-Evid

‘I heard that she would have a baby.’

Non-finite:

[Bebeğ-i-nin **ol-acağ-ı-nı**] duydum.
[baby-Poss.3sg-GEN be-F.NMLZ-Poss.3sg-ACC]

Examples 37 and 38 display finite adverbial clauses produced by bilingual mode bilinguals. Example 37 contains the *conjunction çünkü* ‘because’, and Example 38 is again an example of the *juxtaposition* of a finite subordinate (adverbial) clause.

(37) BM bilinguals – adverbial clause:

İstanbul’a gid-iyor-uz, **çünkü** dayı-lar-ım or-da
Ist-DAT go-Pres.Prog-1pl **because** uncle-pl-1sg there-LOC

kal-ıyor.
stay-Pres.Prog-3sg

‘We are going to Istanbul since / because my uncles live there.’

Non-finite:

Dayılarım orada **kal¹⁴-dığ-ı için** İstanbul’a gidiyoruz.
live-F.NMLZ-Poss.3sg for

(38) BM bilinguals – adverbial clause:

...Son hafta **gid-ece-n, gez-ece-n** çocuk-lar-ın-la.
last week **go-Fut-2sg travel-Fut-2sg** child-pl-2sg-COM

‘You will go (and) travel with your children in the last week.’

Non-finite:

Son hafta çocuklarıyla **gid-ip** gezeceksin.
go-CV (-Ip)

It was obvious from Table 4.3 that in the *elicited conversations*, in both speech modes, bilinguals produced finite subordination about twice as often as monolinguals (27% against 50% in monolingual mode and 57% in

¹⁴ In this context, the verbs *otur-* or *yaşa-* (in the meaning ‘to live’) would be more conventional to use in TR-Turkish: bilinguals seem to loan-translate the Dutch verb *blijven* ‘to stay’ into their Turkish here.

(40) MM bilinguals – complement clause:

...daha çok zevk al-mış-tır diye düşün-üyor-um.
 more much pleasure get-Past.PF-3sg diye think-Pres.Prog-1sg
 ‘I think that she enjoyed (it) much more.’

Non-finite:

Daha çok **zevk al-dıĝ-ı-nı** düşünüyorum.
enjoy-F.NMLZ-Poss.3sg-ACC

(41) MM bilinguals – complement clause:

...insan or-da hırsızlık ol-ma-z san-ıyo.
 man there-LOC theft be-NEG-Pres.3sg suppose-Pres.Prog
 ‘One supposes that there would not be any theft there.’

Non-finite:

İnsan orada hırsızlıĝ-ın ol-ma-yacaĝ-ı-nı san-ıyor.
-GEN be-NEG-F.NMLZ-Poss.3sg-ACC

(42) MM bilinguals – complement clause:

Gist Türkçe’de ne, bil-mi-yor-um
 yeast Turkish-LOC what know-NEG-Pres.Prog-1sg
 ‘I don’t know what yeast in Turkish is.’

Non-finite:

Gist-**in** Türkçe’de ne **ol-duĝ-u-nu** bil-mi-yor-um.
-GEN Turkish-LOC what be-F.NMLZ-Poss.3sg-ACC

The next three examples show cases of finite adverbial clauses from elicited conversations in the monolingual mode condition. Example 43 illustrates *juxtaposition* of predicates in finite form instead of connecting them with converbs, in non-finite form. In (44) and (45), finite clauses are connected to matrix clauses by means of the *conjunctions* *ondan sonra* ‘after that’ and *ama* ‘but’.

(43) MM bilinguals – adverbial clause:

Sabah kalk-tı-k, tüp-ü çıkar-dı-k menemen
 morning get.up-Past-1pl gas.tube-ACC take.out-Past-1pl menemen
 yap-tı-k.
 make-Past-1pl

‘We got up in the morning, took the gas tube out, (and) made menemen¹⁵ on it.’

Non-finite:

Sabah **kalk-ıp** tüpü **çıkart-ıp** menemen yaptık.
get.up-CV (-Ip) [...] **take.out-CV (-Ip)**

(44) MM bilinguals – adverbial clause:

...bak-tı-lar **ondan sonra** kapat-tı-lar.
 look-Past-3pl **that-ABL after** close-Past-3pl

‘They looked (at it), after that they closed (it).’

Non-finite:

Bak-ıp kapattılar.
look-CV (-Ip)

(45) MM bilinguals – adverbial clause:

...bur-da da Türk-ler var ama gene de Türkiye’de-ki gibi
 here-LOC also Turk-pl exist but still Turkey-LOC-NMLZ like
 değil.
 not

‘There are also Turks here, but still not like the ones in Turkey.’

Non-finite:

Burda da Türkler **ol-masına rağmen** Türkiye’deki gibi değil.
be-CV (-mAsInA rağmen ‘although’)

Example 46 is the one and only finite relative clause used by bilinguals in these data. It was produced in the monolingual speech mode.

¹⁵ *Menemen* is a Turkish dish which includes egg, onion, tomato, green peppers, and spices such as ground black pepper, ground red pepper, salt, oregano, and mint.

(46) MM bilinguals – relative clause:

Hangisi çok problem yap-ıyo, o-nu çek-ece-n.
 whichever many problem make-Pres.Prog s/he-ACC pull.out-Fut-2sg

‘You should take out the one who makes problems the most.’

Non-finite:

Çok problem **yap-an kişi-yi** çekeceksin.
 make-CV person-ACC

Finally, the next four examples are from elicited speech in the bilingual mode condition. Example 47 features a finite *complement* clause linked to the main clause through *juxtaposition*.

(47) BM bilinguals – complement clause:

...kaybol-uca-m san-ıyo-du-m.
 get.lost-Fut-1sg think-Prog-Past-1sg

‘I thought that I would get lost.’

Non-finite:

Kaybol-**acağ-ım-ı** sanıyordum.
 get.lost-F.NMLZ-Poss.1sg-ACC

Examples 48, 49 and 50 contain finite adverbial clauses: (48) is again linked through *juxtaposition*, with the two predicates just following each other. In the other two examples the conjunctions *çünkü* ‘because, since’ and *ama* ‘but’ connect the matrix and subordinate clauses.

(48) BM bilinguals – adverbial clause:

...anne-m her zaman ekmeğ-im-i *hazırla-r*, ben-i
 mother-Poss.1sg every time bread-Poss.1sg-ACC *prepare-Pres* I-ACC

uyandır-ır-di.

wake.up-Aor-Past.3sg

‘My mother would always prepare my bread, (and) wake me up.’

Non-finite:

...annem her zaman ekmeğimi **hazırla-yıp** beni uyandırırđı.
 prepare-CV (-Ip)

(49) BM bilinguals – adverbial clause:

...sınıf-ta kal-dı-m çünkü hiçbir şey yap-ma-dı-m.
 class-LOC stay-Past-1sg because nothing do-NEG-Past-1sg

'I failed the class because I did not do anything (for it).'

Non-finite:

Hiçbir şey yap-ma-dığ-ım için sınıfta kaldım.
 do-NEG-CV-Poss.1sg for

(50) BM bilinguals – adverbial clause:

...Çok ufak-tı-m ama hatırl-ıyor-um.
 very little-Past-1sg but remember-Pres.Prog-1sg

'I was very young but I (still) remember (it).'

Non-finite:

Çok ufak ol-ma-m-a rağmen hatırlıyorum.
 be-CV (-mAsInA rağmen 'although')

The examples reviewed in this chapter so far illustrate that there are different ways of connecting the subordinate clause to its matrix clause. Non-finite subordinate clauses contain a subordinating suffix on the non-finite verb that heads the clause. If the clause is finite, two of the ways¹⁶ in which linkage is achieved are: *the use of a conjunction* (see Examples 32, 37, 45, 49 or 50), and *juxtaposition*. Table 4.8 summarizes conjunction use by the three groups in the two conversational one-on-one settings (*spontaneous* and *elicited*) as well as in *the bilingual spontaneous group conversations*. Three aspects stand out. First, monolinguals and bilinguals in the monolingual mode condition show almost identical rates of conjunction use. In the bilingual mode condition, conjunctions are used less often. Second, for all groups there is a difference across the two conversational settings, with markedly more conjunction use in the *spontaneous* conversations than in the *elicited* speech; note, for example, the drop from conjunction use with 75% of all finite subordinate clauses in spontaneous speech of monolinguals to 53% in their *elicited* conversation. Finally, given these rates, the use of conjunctions with finite subordinate clauses in the *bilingual group conversations* was strikingly low, at 7%.

¹⁶ The use of the complementizers *ki* and *diye* provide other ways in which linkage in finite subordinate clauses is achieved. Their use is much rarer is, therefore, not thoroughly analyzed here.

Table 4.8: Conjunction use in finite subordinate clauses by three groups of participants across different clause types in elicited conversations of free speech on a given topic (% (N))

	Spontaneous / natural conversations	Elicited conversations
Monolinguals	75 (38)	53 (81)
MM bilinguals	70 (432)	54 (231)
BM bilinguals	60 (227)	41 (191)
Bilingual group	7 (43)	N / A

After an initial look at the predominant finite structures (with 57%) in the *bilingual group conversations*, the high frequency of juxtaposition use attracted attention. In addition, given that in *bilingual spontaneous group conversations* relatively few finite subordinate clauses are linked to their main clause by conjunctions, the frequency of juxtaposition can automatically be expected to be high (note Examples 31, 33, 34, 38, 41, 42, 43, and 47). As Table 4.9 shows, it indeed was involved in 65% of all relevant cases. As Table 4.9 also shows, in *spontaneous* one-on-one speech and *elicited* one-on-one conversations, bilinguals in bilingual mode used juxtaposition most often, which is to be expected given the lower rate of conjunction usage in this mode. Monolinguals did not differ much in their use of juxtaposed finite structures from bilinguals in monolingual mode. Monolinguals, nevertheless, used juxtaposition *the least* among the groups. The fact that bilinguals use it more could be a sign of *contact effect* from Dutch as spoken Dutch perhaps uses a lot more juxtaposition. However, we will not pursue this further since, to the best of my knowledge, not much is known about the use of simple juxtaposition in spoken Dutch. There are two more interesting and surprising facts: First, the monolingual mode results are close to monolingual ones. Second, one could have expected perhaps that conjunctions would be used more rather than less often by bilinguals, especially in bilingual mode, since Dutch uses conjunctions or complementizers as the standard means of linkage between matrix and subordinate clauses. However, this expectation was not borne out. The reason could be that Dutch conjunctions or complementizers, especially for complement clauses, are too different from their Turkish equivalents (*diye* and *ki*), not triggering interference easily. We will come back to these issues in the discussion section.

Table 4.9: Juxtaposition use in finite subordinate clauses by three groups of participants across different clause types in elicited conversations of free speech on a given topic (% (N))

	Spontaneous / natural conversations	Elicited conversations
Monolinguals	29 (15)	39 (59)
MM bilinguals	32 (197)	42 (181)
BM bilinguals	45 (169)	49 (227)
Bilingual group	65 (329)	N / A

Interim conclusion: All in all, the results so far suggest that Dutch Turkish uses finite subordination in many places where non-finite options would also have been possible. Bilinguals might prefer using the finite option in those cases, or they might be avoiding the use of the non-finite option.

Subordinate clauses are often instances of reported speech, a specific type of *complement* clause. Recall from Section 4.2 (as well as the more elaborate details in Chapter 2) that Turkish has both finite and non-finite reported speech constructions, with indirect reported speech only making use of the non-finite option. Table 4.10 clearly shows that the participants in the bilingual spontaneous group conversations preferred to use direct reported speech which is virtually always constructed with finite subordination. *Only* 3% of the cases featured non-finite indirect reported speech.

Table 4.10: Distribution of reported speech constructions in spontaneous bilingual group conversations in bilingual mode (% (N))

Reported speech	
Indirect reported speech (non-finite subordination)	Direct reported speech (finite subordination)
3 (7)	97 (214)

The first example below is a case where finite direct speech is used in NL-Turkish *spontaneous group conversations*, but where the non-finite indirect option would be the preference for TR-Turkish.

The second example is one of the few occurrences of indirect finite reported speech, which is not a conventional and grammatical way of reporting indirectly in Turkish. That is why it is not even coded as a reported

speech instance in the data. Therefore, this example is not accounted for in Table 4.10, nor in Table 4.11 below; see Chapter 2 and Section 4.2 in this chapter.

- (51) Ban-a de-di “hamile-yim”.
I-DAT say-Past.3sg pregnant-Pres.1sg
‘She said to me “I am pregnant”.’

Non-finite:

Bana [hamile ol-duğ-u-nu] söyle-di.
pregnant be-F.NMLZ-Poss.3sg-ACC

- (52) *... şey de-di ban-a [çocuk-lar-ı-nı okul-dan al-mak
stuff say-Past.3sg I-DAT child-pl-Poss-ACC school-ABL take-Inf
isti-yor-muş]
want-Prog-Evid.Past
‘She said to me: “she wanted to take her children away from that school”.’

Example 52 is assumed to have resulted from interference as Dutch only uses finite forms for both direct and indirect reported speech structures. The conventional way of reporting this sentence indirectly would be to use the reporting verb *söyle-* ‘to say’ and the non-finite subordinate verb.

- (53) Ban-a [çocuk-lar-ı-nı okul-dan al-mak
I-DAT child-pl-Poss-ACC school-ABL take-Inf
iste-diğ-i-ni]
want-F.NMLZ-Poss.3sg-ACC
‘She told me that she wanted to take her children away from that school.’

Given the huge gap between direct and indirect reported speech in the group conversations, it seemed interesting to also analyze reported speech separately in the other production data. The results in Table 4.11 clearly confirmed that bilingual speakers have a strong preference for direct reported speech: in both monolingual and bilingual mode conditions and in both types of conversation more than 95% of their reported speech was direct type. When monolingual spontaneous speech percentage is considered, it initially looks like what would be expected from them with 100% indirect speech. However, this conclusion is obviously premature as there is only one instance of reported speech. In elicited conversations,

monolinguals produced more reported speech instances, though still approximately four times fewer than bilinguals (in both conditions). Among the 32 instances, however, 94% contained direct speech, a figure that is similar to those for bilinguals.

Table 4.11: Direct and indirect reported speech use by three groups of participants in two different methods a) spontaneous one-on-one conversations, and b) elicited conversations of free speech on a given topic (% (N))

	Spontaneous / natural conversations		Elicited conversations	
	Direct RS	Indirect RS	Direct RS	Indirect RS
Monolinguals	0 (0)	100 (1)	94 (30)	6 (2)
MM bilinguals	98 (117)	2 (2)	95 (143)	5 (8)
BM bilinguals	98 (103)	2 (2)	99 (178)	1 (1)

Considering that non-finite subordination is assumed to be more common in Standard Turkish, the expectation was to see a difference between reported speech in NL-Turkish and in TR-Turkish. This is not the case for the only data that yield enough grounds for comparison, the elicited conversations. In any case, the monolingual data did not give very convincing results at this stage. The low percentage of indirect reported speech in the monolingual elicited conversations may be due to the content of conversations in that they apparently did not trigger much use for reported speech. In the following two chapters I will investigate how reported speech was handled in more *experimental* types of data. However, the Dutch Turkish data, in general, may still be claimed to show an overwhelming preference for the structure that resembles Dutch grammar more, with a high amount of finite direct reported speech.

The bilingual reported speech patterns encountered in *both conversational settings* and in *both speech modes* were: a) direct reported speech with verb-medial or -final order using *juxtaposition*, b) direct reported speech with the subordinator *ki* and with verb-medial order,¹⁷ c) direct

¹⁷ The reporting (matrix) verb position is mentioned in this chapter only to fully illustrate the types of reported speech structures that occurred in the production data. Chapter 6 will specifically study matrix verb position (or word order, in more general terms) in complex clause combinations, including in reported speech contexts.

reported speech with the subordinator *diye*¹⁸ both with verb-medial and -final order, d) double use of the reporting verb, usually in direct reported speech contexts and with or without the subordinator *ki*, e) combination of one clause (matrix or subordinate) in Dutch and one in Turkish, mostly in direct reported speech with verb-medial order, and lastly, f) indirect reported speech structures (not frequent though as seen previously). The examples below illustrate these patterns. Directly below each direct reported speech example, the indirect non-finite reported speech equivalent is provided. The first eleven examples (54-64) were taken from the *spontaneous* and *elicited* speech of bilinguals in the monolingual mode condition. The first four examples (54-57) exemplify type (a) above: direct reported speech with the matrix verb in medial position in (54) and (55) and in final position in (56) and (57), and all four examples using *juxtaposition*.

(54) MM bilinguals – spontaneous conversation:

...ban-a **sor-uyo**¹⁹ “ben nasıl zayıfla-yaca-m?”
 I-DAT ask-Pres.Prog.3sg I how thin-Fut-1sg
 ‘She is asking me: “How am I going to lose weight?”’

Indirect RS:

Bana nasıl zayıfla-yacağ-ı-m sor-uyo-r.
 thin-F.NMLZ-Poss.3sg-ACC

¹⁸ *Ki* and *diye* uses are not the direct focus of this study as this book concentrates more on the distinctions of finite vs. non-finite, direct vs. indirect reported speech, and verb-medial vs. verb-final orders. However, the observation is that *diye* is used more often than *ki* in speech, relatively more by monolinguals than by bilinguals, as bilinguals use juxtaposition more often. In addition to being beyond the scope of the study, the percentages of use were also too low to be reported (even lower than 7% for bilinguals).

¹⁹ The reporting (i.e. matrix) verbs are written in **bold** in this section to render the differences between examples clearly visible.

(55) MM bilinguals – elicited conversation:

Ben **de-di-m** “Amsterdam’a git-me-m”.
 I say-Past-1sg Amsterdam-DAT go-NEG-Pres.1sg
 ‘I said (to him/her): “I am not going to Amsterdam”.’

Indirect RS:

Ben o-na Amsterdam’a git-me-yeceğ-im-i söyle²⁰-di-m.
 go-NEG-F.NMLZ-Poss.1sg-ACC tell-Past-1sg

(56) MM bilinguals – spontaneous conversation:

“...kendi-niz karar ver-in” **di-yor-lar**.
 self-Poss.2pl decision give-2pl say-Pres.Prog-3pl
 ‘They say: “You make a decision yourselves”.’

Indirect RS:

...kendi-miz karar ver-me-miz-i söyle-di-ler.
 self-Poss.1pl [...] give-A.NMLZ-Poss.1pl-ACC

(57) MM bilinguals – elicited conversation:

“...öyle şey-ler düşün-me” **de-di-ler**.
 such thing-pl think-NEG say-Past-3pl
 ‘They said: “Don’t think about things like that”.’

Indirect RS:

öyle şeyler düşün-me-me-m-i söyle-di-ler.
 think-NEG-NMLZ-Poss.1sg-ACC

Examples 58 and 59 represent cases of type (b) and (c), respectively: direct reported speech with the subordinator *ki* and direct reported speech with the subordinator *diye*. In both cases, the order is verb-medial.

²⁰ Recall that indirect reported speech makes use of the verb *söyle-* to mean ‘to say / tell’ while direct reported speech uses the verb *-de*.

(58) MM bilinguals – spontaneous conversation:

Di-cek-sin *ki* “ben böyle ist-iyor-um...”
 say-Fut-2sg *ki* I such want-Pres.Prog-1sg

‘You will say: “I want (it) like this”.’

Indirect RS:

Ban-a böyle iste-yeceğ-im-*I / me-m-i* söyle-di.
 want-F.NMLZ-Poss.1sg-ACC tell-Past-3sg

(59) MM bilinguals – spontaneous conversation:

Anne-m hala **söyl-üyo** “gel-in siz de...” *diye.*
 mother-Poss.1sg still say-Pres.Prog.3sg come-2pl you too *diye*

‘My mother still says: “you come, too”.’

Indirect RS:

Annem hala *biz-e* gel-me-miz-i söyle-üyo-r.
 we-DAT come-NMLZ-Poss.1pl-ACC tell-Pres.Prog-3sg

The last two examples of direct reported speech in the monolingual mode data illustrate the pattern in which the reporting verb was used twice,²¹ once with verb-medial and once with verb-final order. The participant in Example 60 juxtaposed the subordinate clause (reported speech) and the main clause, while Example 61 involves the use of *ki* after the first reporting (matrix) verb, in medial position.

(60) MM bilinguals – spontaneous conversation:

De-di-m “en iyisi bi ara ver-mek...” **de-di-m.**
 say-Past-1sg most good a break give-Inf say-Past-1sg

‘I said: “The best is to give a break”.’

Indirect RS:

En iyisi-*nin* bir ara vermek *ol-duğ-u-nu* söyle-di-m.
 -GEN [...] be-F.NMLZ-Poss.3sg-ACC tell-Past-1sg

²¹ Although using the same matrix verb twice is a pattern type encountered in the data, it is very rare: almost non-existent in monolinguals’ and usually lower than 3% of all the use in bilinguals’ data.

(61) MM bilinguals – elicited conversation:

Ben **de-di-m** ki “hiç sor-ma-dı-m...” **de-di-m.**
 I **say-Past-1sg** *ki* never ask-NEG-Past-1sg **say-Past-1sg**

‘I said: “I never asked”.’

Indirect RS:

Ben hiç sor-ma-dı-ğ-ım-ı söyle-di-m.
 ask-NEG-F.NMLZ-Poss.1sg-ACC tell-Past-1sg

Although type (f), i.e. indirect reported speech structures with non-finite subordination, was not frequently produced, (62), (63) and (64) are some examples of it. Examples 62 and 64 were uttered with the canonical (verb-final) order of TR-Turkish while (63) was produced with verb-medial order.

(62) MM bilinguals – elicited conversation:

Teyze-m-e duy-duğ-um-u da
 aunt-Poss.1sg-DAT hear-F.NMLZ-Poss.1sg-ACC also

söyle-me-miş-ti-m.
 tell-NEG-Evid.Past-Past-1sg

‘I also didn’t tell my aunt that I had heard (it).’

(63) MM bilinguals – elicited conversation:

...de-mi-yo mu-ydu Erkan böyle yap-acağ-ı-nı.
 say-NEG-Prog INT-Past.3sg Erkan such do-F.NMLZ-Poss.3sg-ACC

‘Wasn’t Erkan saying that he would do (it) like this?’

(64) MM bilinguals – spontaneous conversation:

...çalış-ma-nın zor ol-duğ-u-nu söylü-yo-lar.
 work-NMLZ-GEN difficult be-F.NMLZ-Poss.3sg-ACC tell-Pres.Prog-3pl

‘They say that working is difficult.’

The final set of eighteen examples (from 65 to 82) was taken from the speech of bilinguals in the bilingual mode condition. Most structures are similar to what we saw above, except that in the bilingual mode speech included a lot of codeswitching. The first six direct reported speech examples (65 to 70) were produced using juxtaposition of matrix and subordinate clauses; some of them with verb-final (65 and 66) and the rest with verb-medial order. Note that Examples 66 and 68 had the quote (i.e. the subordinate clause) in Dutch, while in Examples 69 and 70 the matrix

clauses were uttered in Dutch. In addition to these examples of *alternational* codeswitching, Example 65 features the *insertion* of one Dutch word, *cursus* ‘class’, in the subordinate clause (i.e. the reported speech). Example 67, on the other hand, was produced only in Turkish.

(65) BM bilinguals – spontaneous conversation:

“...*cursus* yap-ıca-m” **de-di-n.**
 course do-Fut-1sg say-Past-2sg
 ‘You said: “I will do a class”.’

Indirect RS:

Cursus yap-**acağ-ın-ı** **söyle-di-n.**
 do-F.NMLZ-Poss.2sg-ACC tell-Past-2sg

(66) BM bilinguals – spontaneous conversation:

“Kijk *dadelijk* *plas ik in mijn Broek*”²² **di-yo.**
 look right now pee I in my pants say-Pres.Prog.3sg
 ‘She says: “Look, I am going to pee in my pants”.’

(67) BM bilinguals – spontaneous conversation:

Ben zaten **de-di-m** “Bu-nlar birbiri-ne benz-iyö”.
 I already say-Past-1sg this-pl each.other-DAT look.alike-Pres.Prog.3sg
 ‘I already said: “These look alike”.’

Indirect RS:

Ben zaten bunlar-*ın* birbirine benze-**diğ-i-ni** **söyle-di-m.**
 these-GEN [...] look.alike-F.NMLZ-Poss.3sg-ACC tell-Past-1sg

(68) BM bilinguals – elicited conversation:

...**de-di** ban-a öğretmen-im “het gaat niet goed met jou”.
say-Past.3sg I-DAT teacher-Poss.1sg *it goes not good with you*
 ‘My teacher told me: “It does not go well with you”.’

²² As the reported speech (subordinate clause) is entirely in Dutch, the indirect reported speech version is not given, since it is difficult to use indirect reported speech as non-finite in Turkish as long as the speaker keeps the subordinate clause (reported speech part) in Dutch.

(69) BM bilinguals – spontaneous conversation:

...hij **schreeuwde** naar die vrouwen “sus-un artık”.
 he **screamed** to the ladies shut.up-2pl no.more
 ‘He screamed at the ladies: “Shut up from now on”.’

Indirect RS:

Bayan-lar-a (or naar die vrouwen) sus-**ma-ları-nı**
 lady-pl-DAT [...] shut.up-NMLZ-Poss.3pl-ACC
söyle-di.
tell-Past-3sg

(70) BM bilinguals – elicited conversation:

Je **kunt** niet **zeggen**: “ben doktor ol-mak ist-iyor-um”.
 you **can** not **say** I doctor be-Inf. want-Pres.Prog.1sg
 ‘You cannot say: “I would like to be a doctor”.’

Indirect RS:

Doktor olmak iste-**diğ-in-i** **söyle-ye-mez-sin**
 want-F.NMLZ-Poss.2sg-ACC tell-CAN-NEG-2sg

The next seven examples demonstrate the use of categories (b) and (c), i.e. direct reported speech with *ki* (Examples 76 and 77) and *diye* (Examples 71-75). In Example 71, the order is verb-final while all other examples have the matrix verb in medial position. Examples 75 and 77 involve reported questions; the expected matrix (i.e. reporting) verb would be *sor-* ‘to ask’ which would be semantically more conventional and correct in these cases, as in (71) and (74), rather than the more general quotative verbs *de-* or *söyle-* ‘to say’ that are used here. Bilinguals seem to generalize these verbs, i.e. to extend their semantics.

(71) BM bilinguals – spontaneous conversation:

“Sen kim-ler-den-sin” *diye* **sor-uca-m.**
 you who-pl-ABL-2sg *diye* ask-Fut-1sg
 ‘I will ask: “From whom (which family) are you?”’

Indirect RS:

Sen-**in** kimlerden **ol-duğ-un-u** soracağım.
 -GEN... be-F.NMLZ-Poss.2sg-ACC

(72) BM bilinguals – spontaneous conversation:

Önce-den **di-yo-du-m** “*Ik wil heel graag terug naar Turkije*” diye.
 before-ABL say-Prog-Past-1sg *I want very gladly back to Turkey diye*
 ‘*I was previously saying: “I would like to go back to Turkey totally with pleasure”.*’

Indirect RS:

Önceden Türkiye’ye geri dön-mek iste-**diğ-in-i**
 Turkey-DAT back return-Inf want-F.NMLZ-Poss.2sg-ACC
söyl-üyor-du-n.
tell-Prog-Past-2sg

(73) BM bilinguals – spontaneous conversation:

De-di-k “Cumartesi sabah-ı gid-e-lim” diye.
 say-Past-1pl Saturday morning-Poss.3sg go-Opt-1pl diye
 ‘*We said: “We (will) go Saturday morning”.*’

Indirect RS:

Cumartesi sabahı gid-**eceğ-imiz-i** **söyle-di-k.**
 go-F.NMLZ-Poss.1pl-ACC tell-Past-1pl

(74) BM bilinguals – elicited conversation:

...**sor-du-m** “niye ağl-ıyor-sun” diye.
 ask-Past-1sg why cry-Pres.Prog-2sg diye
 ‘*I asked (her/him): “Why are you crying?”*’

Indirect RS:

Neden ağla-**dığ-ı-nı** sor-du-m.
 cry-F.NMLZ-Poss.3sg-ACC

(75) BM bilinguals – elicited conversation:

...**söyle-di-m** “baba-m san-a ne al-acak” diye.
 tell-Past-1sg father-Poss.1sg you-DAT what buy-Fut.3sg diye
 ‘*I said: “What is my father going to buy for you?”*’

Indirect RS:

Babam-ın sana ne al-**acağ-ı-nı** **sor-du-m.**
 buy-F.NMLZ-Poss.3sg-ACC ask-Past-1sg

(76) BM bilinguals – elicited conversation:

De-di *ki* “misafir gel-ecek.
say-Past.3sg *ki* guest come-Fut.3sg
‘S/he said: “We will have a guest coming”.’

Indirect RS:

Misafir gel-**eceğ-i-ni** **söyle-di.**
 come-F.NMLZ-Poss.3sg-ACC tell-Past-3sg

(77) BM bilinguals – elicited conversation:

De-miş *ki* arkadaş-ım-a “Bu-nu al-abil-ir
say-Evid.Past.3sg *ki* friend-Poss.1sg-DAT this-ACC take-CAN-Pres
mi-yim?”
INT-1sg

‘S/he asked my friend: “May I take this?”’

Indirect RS:

Arkadaşıma bunu al-**ıp** **al-a-ma-yacağ-ı-nı**
 take-CV take-CAN-NEG-F.NMLZ-ACC
sor-muş.
ask-Evid.Past.3sg

Examples 78, 79 and 80 present cases of the double use of a reporting verb, (type (d) above) with and without *ki*. The first two were produced using juxtaposition while Example 80 used the subordinator *ki* to connect the matrix verb to the subordinate clause (RS). Interestingly, in Example 78 one of the reporting verbs (i.e. the medial one) is in Dutch.

(78) BM bilinguals – spontaneous conversation:

Ze **zeggen** “bezuiniging yap-1yo-z”, **di-yor-lar.**
They say saving do-Pres.Prog-1pl say-Pres.Prog.3pl
‘They say: “We are doing budget cut”.’

Indirect RS:

Bezuiniging yap-**tık-ları-nı** **söyl-üyor-lar.**
 do-F.NMLZ-Poss.3pl-ACC tell-Pres.Prog-3pl

(79) BM bilinguals – elicited conversation:

De-di-m “*nee, u mag niet door. Ga maar lopen*”, **de-di-m.**
 say-Past-1sg *no you may not through go just walk* say-Past-1sg
 ‘*I said: “No, you may not pass through. Just go walking”.*’

(80) BM bilinguals – elicited conversation:

De-di *ki* “*in-ebil-ir-siniz...*” **de-di.**
 say-Past-3sg *ki get.off-CAN-Pres-2pl* say-Past-3sg
 ‘*He said: “You may get off”.*’

Indirect RS:

İnebil-eceğ-imiz-i **söyle-di.**
 get.off-F.NMLZ-Poss.1pl-ACC say-Past-3sg

The final two examples (81 and 82) illustrate indirect reported speech, the least common type in bilingual mode bilinguals’ speech. Both comply with TR-Turkish conventions except that the word *teyze* ‘aunt’ in Example 82 lacks the genitive case marker *-nIn* to agree with the possessive marker on the subordinate verb (*çık-tığ-ım*).

(81) BM bilinguals – spontaneous conversation:

...[*hala özle-dik-leri-ni*] **söyl-üyo-lar.**
 still miss-F.NMLZ-Poss.3pl.ACC say-Pres.Prog-3pl
 ‘*They say that they still miss (it).*’

(82) BM bilinguals – elicited conversation:

...[*teyze sadece Türk-ler için dışarı çık-tığ-ı-nı*]
 aunt only Turk-pl for outside come.out-FNMLZ-Poss.3sg-ACC
söyle-di-ler.
 tell-Past-3pl
 ‘*They said that the auntie came out only for Turks.*’

To sum up, there are remarkable differences in productive language use of monolinguals and bilinguals regarding especially the prominent use by bilinguals of finite subordinate clauses. Although we have observed that bilinguals in the monolingual mode condition are sometimes closer to monolinguals in their performance than in the bilingual mode condition, the speech mode often seems to make little difference. The evidence from the three types of conversational (i.e. ‘production’) settings, i.e. *bilingual*

spontaneous group conversations, *spontaneous one-on-one* speech and *elicited one-on-one* conversations, converged to a great extent. The only hypothesis which was not confirmed was that the monolingual participants would, more frequently, prefer to use indirect reported speech, as it involves non-finite subordination. Instead, they didn't really use much reported speech, and when they did it was mostly direct reported speech. Perhaps it happened to be that way due to lack of enough reported speech instances. Before drawing premature conclusions, however, in Chapter 5 *experimental* results (from both 'production' and 'perception' (i.e. conventionality judgment) data) will be examined to further see whether there are any systematic differences between the participant groups regarding finiteness and reported speech structures. Furthermore, the fact that bilinguals used juxtaposition more than monolinguals could be due to the contact effects from Dutch as spoken Dutch perhaps uses a lot more juxtaposition. Lastly, regarding conjunction use, the bilinguals in the monolingual mode were similar to monolingual participants. Contrary to expectations, bilinguals in the bilingual mode produced even fewer conjunctions than the other two groups. That could be an indication of limited interference from Dutch, which in turn may be due to conjunctions being too different between the two languages. The concluding section will attempt to interpret these results.

4.4 Conclusions and discussion

This chapter has followed the methodological tradition in contact linguistics of collecting natural production data, with the exception that three types of data were gathered, aiming for *converging evidence*, even in conversational data. The findings from these three types (i.e. bilingual spontaneous group conversations, spontaneous one-on-one speech and elicited one-on-one conversations) indicate that a certain degree of contact-induced change is in evidence, as subordination in immigrant Turkish is clearly different from subordination in TR-Turkish. A consistent pattern was observed in which the bilinguals showed more extensive use than monolinguals for finite subordinate clauses, probably not coincidentally the type that resembles Dutch structure most. TR-Turkish is claimed to prefer non-finite structures, and indeed the data from Turkish monolinguals in Turkey, lend support to this. Bilinguals preferred finite subordination, and they did so in both monolingual and bilingual speech modes, and across all types of subordination. In

the most frequently used sub-type, reported speech, bilinguals tended to avoid the canonical TR-Turkish non-finite construction, instead favoring direct reported speech, with a finite subordinate clause containing the ‘quotation’ that co-occurs with a verb of saying. Whether monolinguals do prefer the canonical non-finite structure could not be confirmed because they hardly used any reported speech in their conversations. The experimental studies reported on in the following chapter will provide further information, however. The rest of this concluding section will now explore what may be the reasons for the observed contact-induced changes in bilingual speech.

In the literature on contact-induced language change, there is some discussion about whether findings such as these really represent syntactic change (Muntendam 2013). Partially in response to this debate we endeavored to collect converging evidence from three different sources in this chapter, and from two additional *experimental* sources in Chapter 5. The fact that the production data from three sources converge suggests that the apparent Dutch influence visible in speech is not just the result of momentary interference. TR-Turkish and NL-Turkish speakers differ in subordination, with NL-Turkish speakers producing the *finite* pattern markedly more often. In other words, the NL-Turkish structure is normal for them. The experimental data (both from ‘production’ and ‘perception’ perspective) to be discussed in the next chapter will allow further conclusions about the degree to which the finite pattern is not just used extensively but has also been entrenched in speakers’ linguistic knowledge.

Yet, it is also clear that if it is change we are dealing with here, it is a change that is still in progress. NL-Turkish speakers do use non-finite subordination structures. Their competence contains both kinds of structures, and it remains to be seen to what extent they are in competition with one another.

It is probably significant that finite subordination is not at all impossible in TR-Turkish, and it is, in fact, probably preferred in particular lexical environments. In addition, it liberally employs finite coordinated clauses (see Section 2.1.1 and Chapter 2). The Dutch-style structure is not new to the language. In formalist theoretical accounts, this would be reason to claim that there is no syntactic change at all, since the ‘new’ structure was already part of the speakers’ competence. I favor the view, however, in which diffusion across new lexical environments, and perhaps a shift in what is considered the default way of constructing subordinate clauses, does count as change, and in fact constitutes the canonical case.

It is not immediately clear from what perspective we should interpret the increased use of *finite* subordination and consequently the decreased use of *non-finite* structure in the speech of the bilinguals. Is it more accurately portrayed in a 'positive' way as the reflection of higher entrenchment levels of the finite structures in the mental representations of NL-Turkish speakers, or in a 'negative' way as the *avoidance* of non-finite structures, or are these two sides of the same coin? In the absence of clear data that point to greater accuracy for either of these interpretations, I suggest that they are likely indeed to be two sides of the same coin: initial interference from Dutch has caused the entrenchment levels of the finite options to rise, causing further use of them, which in turn causes lower rates of use of the non-finite structures, in turn causing lower entrenchment levels for them (cf. Croft 2000:73). Lower entrenchment likely causes speakers to have doubts about whether or not one actually can form the requisite structures correctly, causing both further avoidance of the non-finite structure and selection of its finite alternative instead, which, at other times, also gets selected on the strength of its own ever-growing entrenchment level. If there is anything to this scenario, it should be measurable diachronically, as it presupposes an unstable dynamic system in the individual speaker. Stability in the selection patterns of the same speaker over time would be counterevidence. However, even if this scenario makes sense, the question still needs to be answered as to why there was the initial interference that got the process started. Subordination may be particularly vulnerable in this specific case, because it is generally more frequent in relatively formal varieties, such as the academic register. Growing up in the Turkish immigrant community, there's little exposure to the academic register in Turkish, as most of it occurs in school, where Dutch is the ambient language.

Among the non-finite subordinate clauses bilinguals produced, *adverbials* were used more often than the other types. While adverbial clauses are also the most frequent type among monolinguals, a factor that may also play a role is that the category includes the relatively simple constructions with converbs, which do not take any case or person markers, such as *-ArAk* and *-Ip*. These may be just less complex or simpler than the nominalizations (containing converbs inflected for person and case) typically used in *complement* clauses. The frequency pattern (*Adverbial* > *Complement* > *Relative* > *Conditional* clauses) was the same for all groups of participants suggesting that nominalizations (complement clauses) might be more complex and, thus, were produced less often than adverbials. This needs

further and more thorough investigation, though, which is beyond this study. Nevertheless, in Chapter 7 we will briefly return to the issue of *linguistic complexity*.

Juxtaposition and *conjunction* use also yielded interesting results. Surprisingly, bilinguals in the bilingual mode condition ended up using conjunctions the least among the groups. We had expected conjunctions to be used the most often by this group because Dutch is assumed to be more active in the bilingual mode and Dutch uses conjunctions or complementizers as the normal means of linkage between matrix and subordinate clauses. However, the data turned out the opposite. The reason might lie in the considerable differences between Turkish and Dutch conjunctions, which might complicate the transparency of the translation link (generally rendering pivot-matching easy) in the change process. Hence, there is little interference from Dutch. On the other hand, the fact that bilinguals used juxtaposition more than monolinguals may be related to the fact that spoken Turkish allows juxtaposition in a pattern more or less similar to Dutch, and it is possible that spoken Dutch uses juxtaposition extensively.

I have so far refrained from considering the bigger picture of NL-Turkish as a variety. A comprehensive view of the immigrant variety as a whole would look at a range of aspects to see whether Dutch influence can be detected across that whole range. That exercise is beyond the scope of a single study such as this one, but the body of evidence provided by a number of studies (see Backus 2013b for a summary) certainly suggests that the influence on Turkish subordination strategies that we have demonstrated in this chapter is not limited to this domain.

At the end of Chapter 5 we will be able to formulate more extensive and reliable conclusions regarding the differences between subordination in TR-Turkish and NL-Turkish, i.e. about contact-induced language change in this domain.

CHAPTER 5

Dutch Turkish diverging from Turkey-Turkish²³: Two experimental studies on how Dutch Turkish employs subordination and reported speech structures

Abstract

Languages in contact often start resembling each other if a considerable number of speakers of one language have competence in the other one as well, leading to what is called ‘convergence’ (Aikhenvald 2010:1). Thus, while Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands adapt themselves to the Standard Turkish norms, their Turkish is also constantly being influenced by the Dutch they also speak. This study will investigate structural change (one of the linguistic outcomes of language contact), particularly focusing on *subordination*, in Dutch Turkish, a minority language in the Netherlands. There seems to be agreement in the literature that ‘analytic’ (Dutch-like) constructions are favored, and found more ‘attractive’ than ‘synthetic’ ones (Turkish-like), so the former are easily copied. To investigate this, the studies in this chapter use ‘production’ data (an ‘elicited imitation’ task) and ‘conventionality judgment’, i.e. ‘perception’ data, (a Rating and a Forced-Choice task) in order to get a more complete and coherent picture of language contact effects in the domain of ‘subordination’ in the minority language of Dutch Turkish. Three different groups of participants took part

²³ This chapter is partially based on Onar Valk, Pelin (2013), ‘Dutch Turkish diverging from Turkey-Turkish: A judgment task study on how Dutch Turkish employs subordination and word order.’ *Working Papers of the Linguistics Circle of the University of Victoria*, 23(1), 158-176.

in the studies: bilinguals in bilingual mode, bilinguals in monolingual mode, and monolinguals in Turkey. The results of this chapter are compared to the other production data presented in Chapter 4, which also looked at *subordination* but only based on natural conversational data. The results establish that there is change going on in Dutch Turkish. Bilinguals rate the canonical TR-Turkish as high as monolinguals do; but they differ from monolinguals in giving much more positive judgments for Dutch-like constructions in Turkish. While ‘elicited imitation’ data in this chapter as well as the ‘natural’ production data in Chapter 4 and both types of data in Onar Valk and Backus (2013), show that in actual use bilinguals prefer to use the Dutch-like constructions, their positive judgments of the conventional constructions show that these have not been lost. TR-Turkish constructions are still available in the linguistic competence of the speakers and judged to be widely used, but are not actually used as frequently as the Dutch-like alternatives.

5.1 Contact-induced language change and immigrant Turkish in the Netherlands

Whenever speakers of different languages come into contact, they unconsciously tend to arrive at a compromise between their forms of speech. During every day communication, speakers borrow linguistic properties of another language when they have some knowledge of that other language. These synchronic decisions, when repeated often enough, lead to diachronic, long-term effects on the language. Bilingualism, therefore, often results in a compromise between the two languages. This compromise is usually unidirectional because of status differences of the languages involved (Winford 2003:2). Thus, languages in contact often start resembling each other if a considerable number of speakers of one language have some competence in the other one as well, leading to ‘convergence’ (Aikhenvald 2010:1).

Language contact may involve different types of linguistic outcomes, which can be referred to synchronically as codeswitching, loan-translation, lexical and structural borrowing, and diachronically as lexical and structural change (Winford 2003:2).

Like the rest of the dissertation, this chapter focuses also on structural change. Structural changes are classified based on their stability. Based on

Aikhenvald (2010:5), one may construct a continuum of three levels of change, starting with ‘momentary cases of interference’, ‘on-going (continuous) changes’ and ‘completed changes’. The first step, interference, encompasses momentary divergences and is characteristic of individuals. In case of a ‘completed’ change there is no synchronic variation anymore (the inherited structure is no longer in use), whereas with an ‘on-going’ change, such variation is still visible.

Both language external (social) and language internal (linguistic) factors play a role in contact-induced language change. Social factors include the intensity of contact and interaction, prestige relationships, and attitudes towards the two languages, which largely determine the degree of influence those languages have on each other cross-linguistically. This can be called the quantitative dimension of convergence. Language internal/linguistic factors influence the qualitative aspects: they determine what changes may occur (e.g. borrowing of lexical content words, function words or structures) given a certain intensity of contact and frequency of use of the two languages and specific forms (Doğruöz & Backus 2007:186). Some elements or structures are thought to be more ‘attractive’ than others: attractive structures are more easily borrowed (Johanson 2002a:41).

The Turkish-Dutch language pair united in the repertoire of the immigrant Turkish community in the Netherlands (NL-Turkish) is a relatively young contact setting involving typologically different languages with a status asymmetry between them.

As described in Chapter 1 (Section 1.15), Western Europe has been host to Turkish for decades thanks to large-scale immigration that started in the 1960’s in the form of labor migration (Johanson 2002a:3). Presently, this Turkish migrant community has grown into a regular immigrant community (Backus 2010) with a high rate of Turkish language maintenance. Unidirectional contact influence is, however, inevitable as Dutch is the dominant language in society. Thus, the migrants’ Turkish is constantly being influenced by the Dutch they also speak. As a result of language contact, slowly but surely, their Turkish seems to be changing.

The *elicited imitation* data to be discussed in this chapter will confirm the bilingual preference for finite subordination in usage that was shown in the previous chapter. This chapter will also show that bilinguals rate Dutch-like structures in Turkish significantly higher than monolinguals do, but also that this does not imply the loss of inherited Turkey-Turkish structures.

5.2 Subordination and contact-induced change

Turkish clausal subordination is claimed to be unstable (Johanson 2002a:119). Both for production and for perception,²⁴ it is also argued to be difficult and, thus, prone to influence in contact situations. As discussed in Chapter 1 (Section 1.5), there seems to be agreement in the literature that ‘analytic’ constructions are favored, and found more ‘attractive’ than ‘synthetic’ ones, so the former are easily copied. In contact settings with the right conditions, then, a language may replace a synthetic structure with an analytic structure borrowed from the other language (Johanson, 2002a:44). In the domain of subordination, Dutch has a more syntactic (i.e. analytic) structure than Turkish which makes more use of morphological (i.e. synthetic) constructions.

In Chapter 1 (Section 1.14), linguistic complexity was considered as a possible factor of importance in explaining such changes. As for the syntactic domain central to the present study, “...subordination is considered a complex use of language as it represents the embedding of one clause within another in a hierarchical relationship” (Schleppegrell 1992:117). Also considering Johanson’s ‘attractiveness’, the question is whether ‘finite’ (or analytic) subordinate constructions are less complex than non-finite (synthetic or agglutinative) ones. The most commonly supported assumption is that predominantly analytic languages are grammatically less complex than predominantly synthetic ones (Siegel 2012:42, also referring to Gil 2008, and McWhorter 2007, 2008). Siegel’s argument suggests that analytic morphemes are less complex because of their *perceptual salience* (Siegel 2012:39). That means analytical features are assumed to be semantically more transparent and easier to acquire. As a result, a change from synthetic to analytic structure is claimed to be the result of *simplification*, i.e. reduction of complexity.

The hypothesis that ‘analytic’ structures are more ‘attractive’ was first explored in acquisition studies (Verhoeven & Boeschoten 1986; Schaufeli 1991). Bilingual children were shown to prefer analytical types of subordination (using finite subordinate clauses) and to make limited use of non-finite, synthetic, subordinate clauses compared to monolingual children in Turkey. Possibly, they acquire these structures later, rather than not at all. In older bilingual children and adults, however, the fate of Turkish

²⁴ I use the words ‘comprehension’ and ‘perception’ interchangeably.

subordination has not been investigated yet in a systematic way, and this is what motivated the present study.

The previous chapter as well as Onar Valk and Backus (2013) found differences between Turkish monolinguals and Turkish-Dutch bilinguals in their use of subordinate structures in conversational ‘production’ data. In addition, Onar Valk (2013) also showed, through conventionality judgments, that subordination in TR- and NL-Turkish does not behave the same. This chapter will build on those results by bringing in additional data from ‘production’ and ‘perception’ experiments. The main research question in the current chapter is whether or not the same patterns are found in both types of data, i.e. whether we find *converging evidence* (see Chapter 1, Section 1.13). If so, this would constitute more robust evidence that contact-induced language change is taking place regarding *subordination* and *reported speech* structures in Dutch (NL-)Turkish. In comparison to ‘production’, with perception data we will also be able to test whether what does not occur has been lost from linguistic competence.

Participants carried out an elicited imitation task (‘production’) and a judgment task (‘perception’), the latter containing a *rating* task and a *forced-choice* task. Methods, results and conclusions will be discussed in Sections 5.3 and 5.4 respectively. First, Section 5.2.1 below will briefly remind us of the main characteristics of subordination and its most frequently used subtype, reported speech, in Turkish and in Dutch. The two languages differ considerably from each other in this syntactic domain, which is useful for determining whether we are indeed dealing with contact-induced change when we find differences between NL- and TR-Turkish.

5.2.1 Subordinate clauses

As explained in Chapter 2, Turkish and Dutch are different in terms of subordination. Specifically, Turkish employs both finite and non-finite subordinate clauses while Dutch subordinate clauses are finite, at least for the specific corresponding structures under investigation here. As a reminder, a short overview of Turkish and Dutch subordination will be given in this section with a few examples from the data, but for a more detailed description on subordination, see Chapter 2, Onar Valk and Backus (2013), and for even more background on Turkish subordination, the reader is advised to dip into descriptive grammar books, e.g. Göksel and Kerslake (2005).

5.2.1.1 Subordination in Turkish

Although Turkish subordination is claimed to be mostly non-finite (Göksel & Kerslake 2005:135), the same meaning can often be conveyed with both finite and non-finite constructions. *Finite* subordination may be juxtaposed to the main clause, or linked to it with the use of a subordinator, like *diye* and *ki* (*diye* is originally a quotative, and *ki* is the closest equivalent in Turkish to the basic complementizer ‘that’). A *non-finite* subordinate clause contains a non-finite verbal predicate marked with one of the many subordination markers that form nominalizations or converbs. Turkish is generally presented as a language with non-finite subordination, because the non-finite structures are argued to be much more frequent.

Chapter 4 has shown that bilingual participants prefer finite subordination and use it more frequently than Turkish monolinguals who showed the opposite pattern. Thus, it seems that subordination is changing under Dutch influence. The following two finite examples were produced in our bilingual spontaneous group conversations (non-finite equivalents are provided under each example).

- (1) Bak-mış-lar *administratie*’de [ne kadar **ver-ebil-ir-ler**].²⁵
 look-Past-3pl administration-LOC how much give-can-Pres-3pl
 ‘They looked in the register (to see) how much they can give.’

Non-finite:

Administratie’de [ne kadar **ver-ebil-ecek-ler-i-ne**]
 how much **give-can-F.NMLZ-3pl-Poss.3sg-DAT**
 bak-mış-lar.

- (2) Ben zannet-ti-m [yeni al-mış-sın].
 I think-Past-1sg just buy-Evid.Past-2sg
 ‘I thought you just bought it.’

Non-finite:

Ben [yeni al-**dığ-m-ı**] zannettim.
 just buy-F.NMLZ-Poss.3sg-ACC

²⁵ Example 1 was used also in Onar Valk and Backus (2013), and Onar Valk (2013) as well as in Chapters 4 and 6.

5.2.1.2 Subordination in Dutch

Dutch only uses finite subordination in the structures that correspond to Turkish complement, relative, and adverbial clauses. The following constructed example illustrates that Dutch subordinate clauses are connected to the main clause by subordinators or conjunctions such as *dat* ‘that’, *omdat* ‘because’, etc.

- (3) Ik denk [dat mijn moeder een lekker brood heeft
I think.1sg that my mother a delicious bread have.Pres.3sg
gebakken].
bake.Past.Ptcp
‘I think that my mother baked delicious bread.’

5.2.2 Reported speech structures

Reported speech is a subcategory of subordination. It deserves special attention as it was observed to be extremely different from TR-Turkish in my data and in the early reports on these data in Onar Valk and Backus (2013) and Onar Valk (2013). As a subcategory of subordination, reported speech constructions differ between Turkish and Dutch in the sense that Turkish makes use of finite subordination for *direct reported speech* and non-finite subordination for *indirect reported speech* (Kornfilt 1997:3). Dutch, once more, only has finite options for both types.

5.2.2.1 Reported speech in Turkish

Turkish indirect reported speech is constructed with non-finite subordination using the verb *söyle-* ‘to tell/say’ as the matrix verb, but direct speech is expressed through finite subordinate clauses: the quoted speech is presented as a full clause, including a finite verb. The matrix verb is generally *de-* ‘say’. The following direct speech examples were taken from my own corpus of ‘production’ data (i.e. bilingual spontaneous group conversations). The indirect reported speech equivalents were the TR-Turkish monolingual preferences. They are used significantly less frequently by bilinguals (Onar Valk & Backus 2013).

- (4) Ban-a de-di “hamile-yim”.²⁶
I-DAT say-Past.3sg pregnant-Pres.1sg
‘She said to me “I am pregnant”.’

Indirect RS:

Bana [hamile ol-**duğ**-u-nu] söyle-di.
pregnant be-F.NMLZ-Poss.3sg-ACC tell-Past.3sg

- (5) Geçenlerde Semra’ya sor-du-m: “Manolya iş bul-du mu?”
lately Semra-DAT ask-Past-1sg Manolya work find-Past INT
‘I asked Semra the other day: “Did Manolya find a job?”’

Indirect RS:

Geçenlerde Semra’ya
[Manolya’nın iş bul-up bul-ma-dığ-ı-nı] sordum.
Manolya-GEN work find-CV find,NEG- F.NMLZ-3sg.Poss.-ACC
‘I asked Semra whether Manolya found a job or not.’

As seen in Examples 4 and 5, the embedded clause expressing indirect reported speech is nominal which is shown by its possessive agreement and accusative case marker. The embedded clause functions as the direct object in the main clause.

5.2.2.2 Reported speech in Dutch

In Dutch, both direct and indirect reported speech are expressed through finite subordination, as in the following (constructed) examples used also in Chapter 4 (Section 4.2.2.2).

- (6) Direct RS:
Zij zegt “Ik ben moe”
‘She says “I am tired”.’

- (7) Indirect RS:
Zij zei dat zij moe was.
‘She said that she was tired.’

²⁶ Example 4 was used also in Onar Valk & Backus (2013), and Onar Valk (2013) as well as in Chapters 4 and 6.

The present study reports on the results of an elicited imitation and a conventionality judgment task which were carried out to see whether we could reproduce the contact effects observed in more natural speech in Chapter 4 in *experimental* data as well. If receptive and productive data converge, this would constitute more robust evidence that there is indeed ongoing language change. Specifically, my aim is to get a fuller answer to the question whether Dutch Turkish has really begun adopting Dutch subordination, both in use and judgments, with both a higher preference and higher cognitive entrenchment for the finite structures.

5.3 Methods, data and results

As mentioned in Chapter 1 (Section 1.13), most of the studies in contact linguistics so far were based on spontaneous speech data. Although it is crucial to investigate language production, specifically everyday speech, such data cannot tell us everything. They display what occurs and what is possible in language use, but do not demonstrate what does not occur or whether what does not occur is impossible. Moreover, spontaneous data do not give much information on how entrenched and conventionalized the encountered constructions really are in speakers' linguistic competence. Experimental investigations on 'production' and 'perception' could help answering such questions, and this chapter reports on attempts to do so.

Experimentally controlled 'production' data were obtained through an *elicited imitation* task and 'perception' or 'judgment' data from a *rating* and a *forced-choice* task. Together, and in combination with the spontaneous and elicited conversational data reported on in Chapter 4, they are expected to give a more complete picture of language contact effects in the domain of 'subordination' or 'complex clause combinations' in the minority language Dutch Turkish, spoken in the Turkish immigrant community in the Netherlands. Both *elicited imitation* and *judgment* tasks are argued to force the participant to exploit his/her whole linguistic knowledge, or competence, rather than *only* practicing or eliciting their metalinguistic awareness. The *elicited imitation* task in addition requires the participant to produce language, while the *judgment* tasks do not.

The following two subsections (Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.1.1) will present the method, data and results from the experimental production study, i.e. the *elicited imitation task*.

5.3.1 Experimental performance data

As mentioned in Section 3.1.4 of Chapter 3, this task was based on a *sentence recall* or *repetition* task (Gullberg et al. 2009:34-35), but is perhaps better labeled an *elicited imitation task* (Gullberg et al. 2009:34). Thanks to the fact that the test items are actually successions of sentences, usually three or four, we assumed this would induce participants to consult their grammatical knowledge in creating their sentences while recalling the stimulus items (see Chapter 3, Section 3.1.4 once more for more details).

As much as possible, test items with finite subordination were extracted from the bilingual spontaneous group conversations (analyzed in Chapter 4), though I also constructed some of the sentences with non-finite subordination. I mostly chose sentences which could easily have been used in their non-finite form, but were consistently and frequently produced as finite in the conversational data. The initial battery of bilingual test items was worked on by the author and four bilingual research assistants.

As Chapter 3 explains more elaborately (Section 3.1.4), three groups of participants carried out the task. The first group consisted of 20 Turkish-Dutch bilingual participants (with an age range between 18 and 30, raised and educated in the Netherlands) who did the task in bilingual mode. A second group had the same bilingual profile but did the task in monolingual mode. The final group was a control group, consisting of 21 monolinguals from Turkey. The bilingual mode sessions were led by the main bilingual research assistant under the author's supervision. The monolinguals in Turkey were tested with the same items, except that all items were completely in Turkish and followed the TR-Turkish conventions (see Chapter 3 for details and examples). The sessions with monolinguals and with bilinguals in the monolingual mode condition were conducted by the author, a native speaker of TR-Turkish.

The participants were allowed to hear the items a maximum of three times if they had difficulties recalling. They received the following instruction: "You are expected to reflect the message back, sort of like a repetition, but you don't have to parrot it. You can use your own words and you can repeat it in the way you like. You can make changes in parts that do not sound nice or good to you."

As Chapter 3 and later Chapter 6 also describe, bilingual mode sessions were recorded and transcribed with the help of the bilingual assistants while the monolingual mode and monolingual responses were transcribed mostly by the author (assistants also helped transcribing some of the monolingual

mode task). All the coding and analyses, on the other hand, were done only by the author.

In total, the participants were presented with 33 finite and 43 non-finite clause combinations to repeat and the task lasted around an hour per participant. Of these, 35 items tested reported speech structures: 21 direct and 14 indirect reported speech types.

5.3.1.1 Results: Experimental performance data (elicited imitation task)

I will report on the results for the two aspects of subordination that seemed to be undergoing change, judging by the conversational data in Chapter 4 and Onar Valk and Backus (2013): a) *extensive use* of finite and/or *avoidance* of non-finite subordination, and b) an abundance of Dutch-style reported speech structures. That is, the results will be reported first from the more general perspective of finite versus non-finite subordination, and then I will zoom in on reported speech structures, as they seem to be where changes in Dutch Turkish subordination are most pervasive.

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 display the mean scores for the elicited imitation task, separately for finite and non-finite stimulus items, and for the three groups: monolinguals, bilinguals in monolingual mode, and bilinguals in bilingual mode.

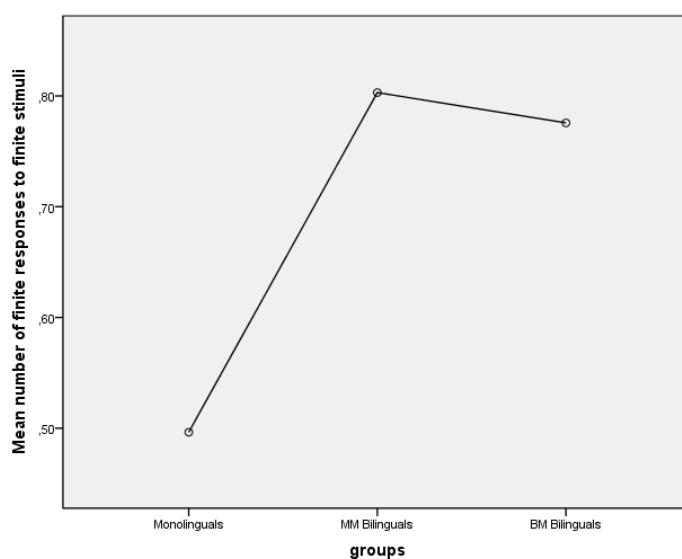
Table 5.1 reports the mean scores on the elicited imitation task for the finite stimuli. The lower the score, the more frequently the participants changed the finite stimuli into non-finite sentences. Based on One-Way ANOVA results, there was a significant effect of group type on performance, $F(2, 35.44) = 28.74, p < .001$.²⁷ Post hoc pair-wise comparison shows that the monolinguals changed the finite stimuli significantly more often into a non-finite formulation than the two groups of bilinguals (p 's $< .001$). The bilingual groups did not differ significantly from each other ($p = .58$). In other words, speech mode (*monolingual mode* versus *bilingual mode*) did not have a significant effect on the way the bilinguals repeated the sentences. Thus, bilinguals repeated the finite stimuli as finite much more often than monolinguals, and it did not matter which speech mode (monolingual or bilingual mode) they were in.

²⁷ Since Levene's test for homogeneity of variances indicates that the variances of the groups are significantly different, I report the Welch F , in accordance with recommendations given in Field (2005:350).

Table 5.1: Mean scores (95% confidence intervals between parentheses) and standard deviations for the finite stimuli in the elicited imitation task

	Mean	SD
Monolinguals	0.50 (.42 – .57)	.17
MM bilinguals	0.80 (.77 – .83)	.07
BM bilinguals	0.78 (.73 – .82)	.10

The similarities and differences are graphically represented in Graph 5.1. We clearly see huge differences between bilinguals and monolinguals when repeating stimulus items with finite subordinate clauses. Whether the bilinguals are in bilingual or monolingual mode seems to make little difference.



Graph 5.1: Group differences with finite stimuli

For non-finite stimuli, the results are similar. Table 5.2 displays the mean scores on the elicited imitation task for the non-finite stimuli. Again, there was a significant effect of group type on performance, $F(2, 34.49) = 34.27$, $p < .001$.²⁸ Post hoc pair-wise comparison indicates that the monolinguals

²⁸ Since Levene's test for homogeneity of variances indicates that the variances of the groups are significantly different, I report the Welch F , in accordance with recommendations given in Field (2005:350).

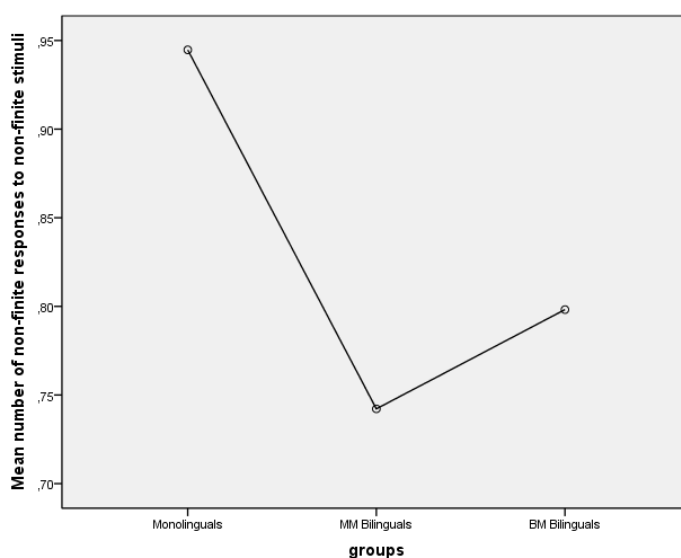
repeated the non-finite stimuli significantly more often in non-finite manner than the two groups of bilingual participants (p 's < .001). Again the two groups of bilinguals did not differ significantly from each other ($p = .28$).

Table 5.2: Mean scores (95% confidence intervals between parentheses) and standard deviations for the non-finite stimuli in the elicited imitation task

	Mean	SD
Monolinguals	0.94 (.92 – .97)	.06
MM bilinguals	0.74 (.70 – .79)	.10
BM bilinguals	0.80 (.74 – .86)	.13

The differences between bilinguals and monolinguals are smaller with non-finite stimuli performances, though, than for items with finite subordinate clauses.

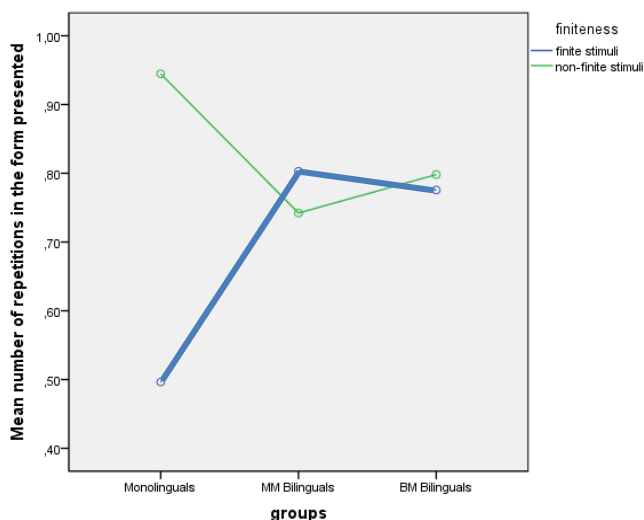
The similarities and differences for non-finite stimuli are graphically represented in Graph 5.2.



Graph 5.2: Group differences with non-finite stimuli

Graph 5.3 schematically represents these results and provides us with a visual overview of the general subordination data. The bold line shows what happens when the participants receive finite (Dutch-like) stimuli to recall

and repeat. Around 50% of the responses by monolinguals change the provided subordination to non-finite, i.e. to the prevalent TR-Turkish type. Approximately 79% of the responses by bilinguals, on the other hand, and regardless of language mode, keep a finite stimulus finite in the repetition. Thus, the acceptance and use of finite subordination by monolinguals is quite low. The thinner and lighter line in Graph 5.3 represents the responses to non-finite stimuli, which very heavily (with 94%) elicit non-finite responses by monolingual participants, while in around 23% of their responses, bilinguals resort to finite subordination when repeating non-finite stimuli. It is interesting that the differences in mean scores between bilinguals and monolinguals are bigger for finite stimuli (a gap of around 29%) than for non-finite stimuli (a gap of around 17%). In general, the acceptance and use of finite subordination by monolinguals is much lower considering the fact that in half of the monolingual responses to finite stimuli, these were turned into non-finite structures during the elicitation task.



Graph 5.3: Group differences with finite and non-finite stimuli

With the following results, we will zoom in on subordinate clauses in the more specific environment of reported speech constructions. As mentioned in Section 5.2.2 and in Chapter 2 more elaborately, speech can be reported indirectly by making use of non-finite subordination or directly through finite subordination in Turkish. Both options are perfectly fine and

grammatical. However, in the Turkish-Dutch contact setting, the second option could be seen as a more Dutch-like reported speech style, while the first one is presumably the preferred option in TR-Turkish.

Table 5.3 reports the mean scores on the elicited imitation task for the direct reported speech stimuli. The lower the score, the more frequently the participants changed the direct reported speech stimuli into indirect reported speech sentences. The groups differed significantly from each other in their ratings, $H(2) = 37.39$, $p < .001$.²⁹ Pairwise comparisons with adjusted p -values showed there is a significant difference between the monolinguals and both the bilinguals in the Monolingual Mode ($p < .001$, $r = -.84$) and the bilinguals in the Bilingual Mode ($p < .001$, $r = -.83$). There is no significant difference between the bilinguals in different speech modes in terms of responses to items containing direct reported speech ($p = 1.00$, $r = .01$). In other words, speech mode (monolingual mode versus bilingual mode) did not have any significant effect on the way the bilinguals repeated these stimulus items. Bilinguals repeated the direct speech stimuli as direct reported speech much more often than monolinguals, and it didn't matter whether they were in bilingual or monolingual mode.

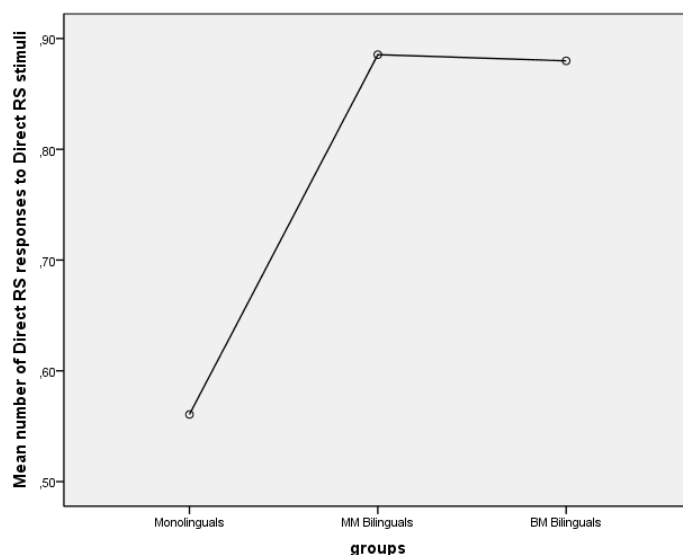
Table 5.3: Mean scores (95% confidence intervals between parentheses) and standard deviations for the direct reported speech stimuli in the elicited imitation task

	Mean	SD
Monolinguals	0.56 (.48 – .64)	.18
MM bilinguals	0.89 (.85 – .92)	.07
BM bilinguals	0.88 (.84 – .92)	.09

The results are notably similar to what we saw above for subordination in general. Again, monolinguals and bilinguals react in significantly different ways to direct reported speech structures whereas the modes (bilingual or monolingual mode) in which the bilinguals did the task did not matter. The Dutch-like direct reported speech structures, in general, have a much lower usage rate for monolinguals (56%) while Turkish-Dutch bilinguals seem to have no problem with that structure: approximately 88% of bilingual responses retain the direct reported speech construction. The following graph

²⁹ Since the data were not normally distributed, I used the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test instead of ANOVA, in accordance with recommendations given in Field (2005:96, 542).

visually summarizes all these results on direct reported speech stimuli of the elicited imitation task.



Graph 5.4: Group differences with direct reported speech stimuli

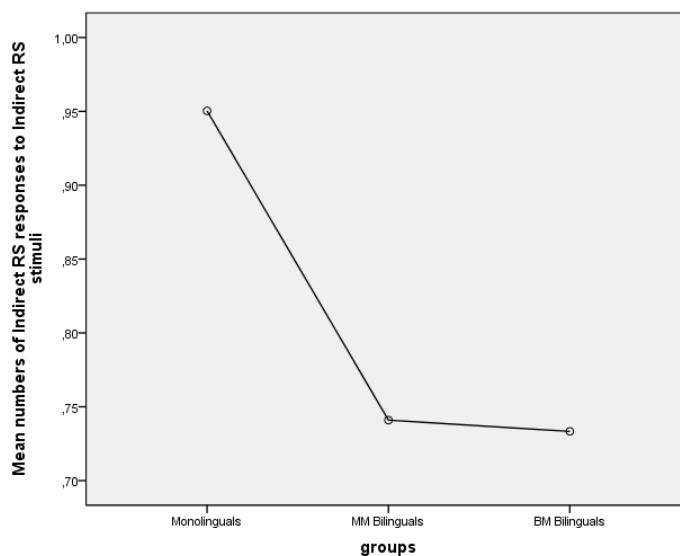
For indirect reported speech stimuli, the results are similar. Table 5.4 displays the mean scores on the elicited imitation task for the indirect reported speech stimuli. The lower the score, the more frequently the participants changed the *indirect reported speech* stimuli into *direct reported speech* sentences. The groups differed significantly from each other in their ratings, $H(2) = 21.67$, $p < .001$.³⁰ Pairwise comparisons with adjusted p -values showed there is a significant difference between the monolinguals and both the bilinguals in the Monolingual Mode ($p < .001$, $r = .64$) and bilinguals in the Bilingual Mode ($p < .001$, $r = .63$). Yet again, there is no significant difference between the bilinguals in different speech modes ($p = 1.00$, $r = -.004$). In other words, speech mode (monolingual and bilingual mode) did not have a significant effect on the way the bilinguals repeated the stimulus items containing indirect reported speech. Thus, bilinguals repeated the indirect reported speech stimuli as indirect reported speech much less often than monolinguals, and it did not matter whether they were in bilingual or monolingual mode.

³⁰ Since the data were not normally distributed, I used the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test instead of ANOVA, in accordance with recommendations given in Field (2005:96, 542).

Table 5.4: Mean scores (95% confidence intervals between parentheses) and standard deviations for the indirect reported speech stimuli in the elicited imitation task

	Mean	SD
Monolinguals	0.95 (.92 – .99)	.08
MM bilinguals	0.74 (.66 – .82)	.18
BM bilinguals	0.73 (.64 – .83)	.20

Almost all monolinguals (95% of all responses) repeated indirect reported speech stimuli as presented to them (i.e. using indirect reported speech) whereas the percentage of bilingual responses using indirect reported speech structure is approximately 73, in both bilingual and monolingual modes. Hence, the performance of bilinguals in the two modes is once more identical. The following graph nicely visualizes those results for indirect reported speech.



Graph 5.5: Group differences with indirect reported speech stimuli

It is once again remarkable that the differences in mean scores between bilinguals and monolinguals are higher for direct reported speech stimuli (a gap of approx. 32%) than for indirect reported speech stimuli (a gap of approx. 21%). In general, the acceptance and use of direct reported speech

by monolinguals is low considering that in 44% of all the monolingual responses direct reported speech stimuli were changed to indirect reported speech during repetition.

In short, what the results indicate is that monolinguals and bilinguals react to the *finiteness* of subordination and to the directness of reported speech in significantly different ways whereas the modes (bilingual or monolingual mode) in which the bilinguals did the task did not matter at all.

5.3.2 Conventinality judgments ('perception' data)

Considering the possibility that bilingual speakers may have trouble producing TR-Turkish-like subordination but still maintain considerable passive competence with such structures, I designed a second study in which participants did not have to produce any linguistic output, but merely had to judge the degree to which stimulus items seemed conventional to them. The aim was to build a more complete picture of language contact effects in the domain of subordination in Dutch Turkish.

The judgment task included two parts: a *rating* task using a Likert-scale and a *forced-choice* task, again conducted in bilingual and monolingual modes. As explained more elaborately in Chapter 3, the conventionality judgment task was constructed on a computer program called *LimeSurvey* and also had to be carried out on the computer. The bilingual participants in the Netherlands were invited to the computer lab of Tilburg University, whereas the monolinguals in Turkey did the task anywhere where they had an individual computer at their disposal, e.g. in class, at the university, at home, etc.

Just like the *elicited imitation* task items, almost all the judgment task items with finite subordination came from these 'real speech' data, but some non-finite test items (e.g. indirect reported speech) had to be constructed, since the speech data contained too few examples. The judgment task too was prepared in a bilingual and in a monolingual mode condition, using the same 'attested' data as a basis. In the end, there were two different sets of judgment task items: one for Turkish-Dutch bilinguals in bilingual mode, and one for monolinguals and bilinguals in monolingual mode. In the bilingual mode, items were taken more or less straight from the 'attested' data (see Chapter 3 for details about item construction). Therefore, they contained natural codeswitches. Two bilingual research assistants were of help in assuring naturalness and in creating natural 'codeswitched' parts,

which was especially needed for some of the test items that featured non-finite subordination.

As usual, the bilingual mode sessions were led by one of the bilingual assistants intentionally using a bilingual mode of conversation with the participants. The following instruction was given in writing and also orally by the assistant in bilingual mode or by the author in monolingual sessions. The aim of the instruction was to try and explicitly direct participants' attention to the syntactic constructions. The instruction they were given for the *rating* task (containing *Likert scale*) items was as follows (translated from Turkish):

“Please read the sentences below and rate them between 1 and 7 based on the Turkish spoken in the NL among young Turkish-Dutch people around you. Treat codeswitching as ‘natural’. Language mixing is accepted as ‘normal’ in bilingual communities, such as ours. While grading, ask yourself this question: ‘How often do I hear this type of sentence around me?’ Focus on the language use and grammar, not on the meaning and vocabulary during the task. ‘1’ means *never used this way* and ‘7’ *always used by everybody this way*.”

Participants saw the stimulus sentences one by one and were asked to judge them by selecting the appropriate number on the scale and clicking the ‘next’ button on the screen to proceed. They were not allowed to skip items. The monolingual mode task had the same items except that the codeswitched parts were turned into Turkish. The author, a monolingual Turkish speaker, put them in the monolingual mode by using only Turkish from the moment they met. The test items and procedure were the same as in the bilingual mode except that the comment on codeswitching in the instruction was left out.

The second part of the judgment task contained *forced-choice* items. The three groups of participants got the same instruction:

“Which of the sentence types below do you hear more around you? Select the type you hear most.”

As we have seen in Chapters 2 and 4, Turkish allows for both finite and non-finite subordination, so the same message can often be communicated through either structure. In this part of the task, two, three or four different ways were constructed to convey the same meaning, varying in the choices

for finite or non-finite subordination, and, where applicable, direct or indirect reported speech. Items were presented to the participants in a multiple choice format. They had to choose the option they thought they heard the most around them or the one which seemed the most conventional option to them.

In total, participants were given 30 *Likert scale* (i.e. *rating* task) sentences to judge and 20 *forced-choice* test items, with varying numbers of alternatives to choose from. The *rating* task included 16 finite and 14 non-finite test items. Sixteen of the 30 items also tested reported speech structures (11 direct reported speech and 5 indirect reported speech stimuli). The forced-choice task contained 20 items testing finiteness and 10 items testing reported speech structures. Also included were 43 fillers in the rating task and 36 in the forced-choice task, scattered randomly throughout the task. The whole judgment task lasted around 45 minutes in total. The monolingual and bilingual mode tasks were completed by 39 Turkish-Dutch participants each (i.e. 78 bilinguals in total). The control group in Turkey consisted of 52 monolinguals. See Chapter 3 for further details about the tests and methods as well as samples of test items.

5.3.2.1 Results: *Rating* task

The results of the judgment task confirm the findings from the elicited imitation task to a great extent. The following two subsections will just present the *judgment* data results; how they compare to the *elicited imitation* data will be discussed in the final section of this chapter.

Tables 5.5 and 5.6 give an overview of the mean ratings for finite and non-finite test items, for Turkish-Dutch bilinguals in the Netherlands both in bilingual and monolingual modes, and for Turkish monolinguals in Turkey. The results are presented separately for items with finite and non-finite subordinate constructions.

Table 5.5 reports the mean scores on the *rating* task for the finite stimuli. A One-Way ANOVA indicated that the groups differed significantly from each other in their ratings, $F(2, 83.21) = 52.42$, $p < .001$.³¹ Post hoc pairwise comparisons show that monolinguals rated the finite stimuli significantly lower than both groups of bilinguals (p 's $< .001$). In addition to that, there was a significant difference between the monolingual-mode and

³¹ Since Levene's test for homogeneity of variances indicates that the variances of the groups are significantly different, I report the Welch F , in accordance with recommendations given in Field (2005:350).

bilingual-mode bilinguals' ratings. In the bilingual mode condition, bilinguals assigned higher ratings to finite stimuli than bilinguals in the monolingual mode condition (p 's < .001).

Table 5.5: Mean scores (95% confidence intervals between parentheses) and standard deviations for the finite stimuli in the rating task (7-point Likert scale, 7 being the highest rating)

	Mean	SD
Monolinguals	3.25 (2.90 – 3.60)	1.24
MM bilinguals	4.59 (4.30 – 4.88)	0.90
BM bilinguals	5.40 (5.16 – 5.64)	0.74

Table 5.6 shows the mean scores on the rating task for the non-finite stimuli. Contrary to the finite stimuli, there were no significant differences between the three groups, $F(2, 126) = 2.54, p = .08$.

Table 5.6: Mean scores (95% confidence intervals between parentheses) and standard deviations for the non-finite stimuli in the rating task (7-point Likert scale, 7 being the highest rating)

	Mean	SD
Monolinguals	5.46 (5.22 – 5.70)	0.85
MM bilinguals	5.04 (4.75 – 5.33)	0.91
BM bilinguals	5.26 (4.98 – 5.54)	0.86

As the stimulus items included 16 sentences with *reported speech*, the data also allow us to look at the responses to reported speech constructions separately. Tables 5.7 and 5.8 summarize the findings, and they show that the reported speech data almost completely parallel the patterns found for *subordination* in general.

Table 5.7 displays the mean scores for the *direct reported speech* stimuli in the *rating* task. The groups differed significantly from each other in their ratings, $H(2) = 54.61, p < .001$.³² *Jonckheere's* test revealed a significant trend in the data: regarding the direct reported speech stimuli, bilinguals

³² Since the data were not normally distributed, I used the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test instead of ANOVA, in accordance with recommendations given in Field (2005:96, 542).

assigned higher ratings in the monolingual mode condition than the monolingual participants, and bilinguals in the bilingual mode condition assigned even higher scores ($J = 4,491.00$, $z = 7.56$, $p < .001$, $r = .67$). The speech mode of the bilinguals actually did matter for the direct reported speech items in the *rating* task, as significant differences were observed between monolingual- and bilingual-mode bilingual participants.

Table 5.7: Mean scores (95% confidence intervals between parentheses) and standard deviations for the direct reported speech stimuli in the rating task (7-point Likert scale, 7 being the highest rating)

	Mean	SD
Monolinguals	3.00 (2.59 – 3.41)	1.45
MM bilinguals	4.70 (4.38 – 5.02)	0.98
BM bilinguals	5.36 (5.11 – 5.61)	0.77

Table 5.8 reports the mean scores for the *indirect reported speech* stimuli in the *rating* task. Contrary to the *direct reported speech* stimuli, there were no significant differences between the ratings of the three groups, $H(2) = 1.23$, $p = .54$.³³

Table 5.8: Mean scores (95% confidence intervals between parentheses) and standard deviations for the indirect reported speech stimuli in the rating task (7-point Likert scale, 7 being the highest rating)

	Mean	SD
Monolinguals	5.45 (5.13 – 5.78)	1.14
MM bilinguals	5.23 (4.87 – 5.58)	1.09
BM bilinguals	5.28 (4.91 – 5.64)	1.13

The differences turned out to be significant between bilinguals and monolinguals and within the bilingual group between the two modes as long as it concerned items containing *direct reported speech*. The *mean* scores of bilingual participants in the monolingual mode condition were closer to those of monolinguals than those of bilingual participants in the bilingual

³³ Since the data were not normally distributed, I used the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test instead of ANOVA, in accordance with recommendations given in Field (2005:96, 542).

mode condition regarding those Dutch-like *direct reported speech* test items. *Indirect reported speech* items, on the other hand, triggered no significant differences among the groups. Turkish monolinguals gave slightly higher scores to indirect reported speech, while monolingual mode and bilingual mode bilinguals' means were almost identical.

To sum up, the differences between NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish subordination uncovered with the *elicited imitation* task were confirmed to a great extent, but not completely. In the bilingual mode, bilinguals judged the *finite* and *direct reported speech* patterns as the most conventional, whereas monolinguals gave them the lowest score, implying a lower acceptance rate for finite and direct reported speech types of subordination. In the monolingual mode, bilinguals' judgments were closer to those of monolinguals for those types of subordination. On the other hand, bilinguals gave *non-finite* and *indirect reported speech* constructions almost the same high scores as monolinguals. This finding is in contrast with the lower usage rates we found for *non-finite* and *indirect reported speech* stimulus items in the *elicited imitation* task.

5.3.2.2 Results: *Forced-choice* task

As mentioned before, the test items in this part of the task asked the participants to choose the most conventional or the most common option from a set of alternatives. Table 5.9 shows the extent to which the groups preferred a finite option regarding subordination. It is confirmed again that the Turkish monolingual group prefers the canonical TR-Turkish non-finite subordinate type, with only 28.8% finite selection, whereas bilinguals (in both modes) selected the Dutch-like finite option about twice as often. Based on One-Way ANOVA results, there was a significant effect of group type on the performance, $F(2, 82.5) = 45.07$, $p < .001$. Post hoc pair-wise comparison shows that the monolinguals chose the finite stimuli significantly less often than the two groups of bilinguals (p 's $< .001$). The bilingual groups differed significantly from each other as well (p 's $< .001$). In other words, speech mode (monolingual mode versus bilingual mode) this time did have a significant effect on the way the bilinguals selected their preferred subordination types among the stimulus items. That is, bilinguals chose finite sentences much more often than monolinguals, and monolingual mode performance of bilinguals was significantly closer than bilingual mode performance to the data obtained from monolinguals.

Table 5.9: Total finite choices in the forced-choice task % (95% confidence intervals between parentheses) and standard deviations

	Mean	SD
Monolinguals	28.8 (23.3 – 43.3)	19.7
MM bilinguals	53.7 (47.8 – 59.6)	18.2
BM bilinguals	61.6 (57.3 – 66.0)	13.4

Finally, Table 5.10 displays how often there was a preference for the direct reported speech structures. Only 30.57% of the monolingual choices reflected direct reported speech preferences whereas the rates were 73.08 and 59.49% for the bilingual mode and monolingual mode bilingual responses, respectively. Bilinguals favor the direct reported speech structure around twice as often as monolinguals. Again based on One-Way ANOVA results, there was a significant effect of group type on performance, $F(2, 81.30) = 42.22, p < .001$. Post hoc pair-wise comparison shows that all three groups again significantly differed from each other (p 's $< .05$). In other words, speech mode (monolingual mode versus bilingual mode) resulted in a significant effect on the way the bilinguals selected their preferences among the stimulus items.

Table 5.10: Total direct reported speech choices in the forced-choice task % (95% confidence intervals between parentheses) and standard deviations

	Mean	SD
Monolinguals	30.57 (22.91 – 38.24)	27.54
MM bilinguals	59.49 (51.48 – 67.50)	24.70
BM bilinguals	73.08 (67.86 – 78.29)	16.08

To sum up, there are clear and remarkable differences between monolinguals and bilinguals for *finite* versus *non-finite* and *direct* versus *indirect reported speech* preferences, just like in the *rating* task data. Thus, the scores do give us reasons to claim there are differences between the monolingual and bilinguals and between both bilingual modes. The mode, apparently, also played a determining role in choosing among the options in the *forced-choice* task.

In general, conventionality judgment data for cases of finite subordination and direct reported speech confirmed the results from the *elicited*

imitation (*experimental* production) data, while bilingual acceptance for non-finite subordination and indirect reported speech, i.e. for the canonical TR-Turkish constructions, was higher than expected given the results from production data (with significant differences between bilingual and monolingual groups) discussed in Section 5.3.1. The following section will discuss the results of this chapter more extensively. In addition, it will also compare the results from these two *experimental* studies to the ones from *natural speech* studies discussed in Chapter 4.

5.4 Conclusions and discussion

The results show beyond doubt that there is some kind of change going on in Dutch Turkish. At the very least, this is a change in preferences; whether or not this should also be interpreted as a change in the syntax of Turkish depends on how syntactic change is defined. In any case, it is clear that subordination in NL-Turkish is done differently from subordination in TR-Turkish. As defined in Section 1.9.3 in Chapter 1, changes in preferences or frequency are accepted as instances of language change in the current study and are not less of a change than a total innovation.

Turkish monolinguals and Turkish-Dutch bilinguals differ from each other in how they employ subordination, both in production, as was seen in Chapter 4 for natural speech (see also Onar-Valk & Backus, 2013) and for a task that elicited production in Section 5.3.1 of this chapter, and in judgment tasks as experimentally shown in Section 5.3.2 of the current chapter. Given these similarities, we may conclude that the evidence for ‘production’ and ‘comprehension’, or ‘perception’, converges. The judgment data also contain another layer of *converging evidence* since two methods, a *rating* task and *forced-choice* judgments, yield similar results.

However, not all evidence converges. The data indicated that bilinguals rate the canonical TR-Turkish constructions (*non-finite* subordination and *indirect reported speech* structures) the same way as monolinguals. They differ from monolinguals in their much more positive judgments of Dutch-like constructions in Turkish (*finite* subordination and *direct reported speech* structures). Thus, while bilingual participants rate canonical structures as ‘normal’, they tend to avoid those constructions in actual speech, or at least use them much less often than monolinguals, as seen in the results from all production data: the *bilingual spontaneous group* conversations, and the

spontaneous and *elicited one-on-one speech* in Chapter 4 as well as in the *experimental elicited imitation task* data in the current chapter. On the other hand, the speech mode the bilinguals are in resulted in significant differences only for the Dutch-like (*finite* and *direct reported speech*) structures in the judgment task. There was no significant difference between the monolingual mode and bilingual mode conditions in any of the production data (i.e. neither in natural nor in experimental type).

The *elicited imitation* task results largely overlap with the results from the analyses of the conversational production data in Chapter 4. Thus, we can say that the evidence from all production data substantially converges. *Bilingual spontaneous group conversations* in Chapter 4 made it clear that bilinguals prefer to use *finite* and *direct reported speech* structures more than the TR-Turkish *non-finite* and *indirect reported speech* types. *Spontaneous* and *elicited one-on-one* speech data results showed that bilinguals use *finite* subordination remarkably more often than monolinguals. It was obvious that bilinguals used *direct reported speech* as almost their only reported speech type, more or less avoiding *indirect reported speech*. However, recall that the differences between bilinguals and monolinguals were not as expected since monolinguals surprisingly ended up also using direct reported speech more than the indirect type. As a possible explanation it was suggested that maybe there were simply not enough instances of reported speech in the monolingual speech data. Therefore, the final conclusion was postponed till Chapter 5, i.e. till the analyses of the *experimental* ('production' and 'perception') data were available. In addition to confirming all the results about finite subordination in general, the experimental results also confirmed our expectations for the monolinguals' use of reported speech structures. As *indirect reported speech* employs *non-finite* subordination in Turkish and monolinguals have a clear preference for *non-finite* use, it would make sense that they would also go for the *indirect reported speech* type more. The data from the elicited imitation task indeed showed experimentally that monolinguals produce *non-finite* and *indirect reported speech* structures significantly more often than bilinguals do, and their use of *finite* and *direct reported speech* use was significantly lower than that of bilinguals. The only task yielding significant differences between the monolingual mode and bilingual mode conditions was the judgment task (both in the *rating* and the *forced-choice* tests), but those significant results held only for the *finite* and *direct reported speech* structures. All in all, we can conclude that evidence from the different types of data largely converges, which adds to the

reliability of the conclusions. That gives us a strong basis for our claims in this chapter and for the discussion to be undertaken in Chapter 7.

While the production data of the previous and the current chapter show that, in actual use, bilinguals prefer to use the Dutch-like constructions, their positive judgments of the TR-Turkish-like constructions indicate that these have not been lost for them. They are still available in their linguistic competence, but not used as frequently as the Dutch-like alternatives. This difference between the ‘production’ and ‘perception’ data brings us back to the discussion of ‘competence’ and ‘performance’ in Section 1.11 of Chapter 1. The *subordination* data seem to confirm the assumptions on ‘competence’ and ‘performance’ explicated there. Although they are not independent of each other, performance does not entirely or directly reflect linguistic competence. Thus, there is more to ‘competence’ than ‘performance’, or usage. When we analyze our production data, it looks like Turkish-Dutch bilinguals are slowly switching to finite and direct reported speech, abandoning the non-finite and indirect structures. However, once we look at the ‘perception’ data, which are supposed to tap into ‘competence’ more directly, we see clearly that the TR-Turkish default types (non-finite and indirect reported speech) still exist in the bilingual ‘competence’. This discussion will be taken up again in Chapters 6 and 7.

The final difference between production and perception data is that while there are few differences between bilingual and monolingual modes in the production data, there is a clear mode effect in the judgment tasks (*rating* and *forced-choice*) regarding the Dutch-like (finite and direct reported speech) structures. It makes sense to think that monolingual mode performance of bilinguals would be closer to that of monolinguals as the bilingual mode activates both languages, and thus increases the chance of interference. The results exhibit a picture that could be expected for the Dutch-like structures (the less frequent ones in TR-Turkish), but there were no significant differences between the modes for the default TR-Turkish structures. Whatever the mode, it seems, bilinguals can recognize canonical TR-Turkish patterns as readily as monolinguals do. On the other hand, when the bilinguals had to rate Dutch-like structures, their performance in monolingual mode is closer to that of monolinguals and significantly different from their performance in bilingual mode. All this suggests that bilinguals suppress the Dutch-like structures more when they are in monolingual mode, and perhaps activate them more when in bilingual mode,

but that they have no similar differential activation for TR-Turkish structures.

So far, I have focused on demonstrating that the immigrant variety has conventionalized some Dutch-like structures, but little has been said about how those differences between TR-Turkish and Dutch Turkish emerged and how the change has propagated.

It is unknown for how long these structures have already been a prominent part of the immigrant variety, since few studies have focused on complex clauses. However, in an earlier study of the acquisition of Turkish by monolingual and bilingual children, Schaufeli (1991:155) showed that Turkish-Dutch bilingual children seemed to prefer analytical subordination (i.e. Dutch-like, finite constructions) to the synthetic subordinate structures, in which they differed from a monolingual control group. This suggests that the data reported on in the present study reflect on-going or synchronic changes that began decades ago and perhaps find their origin in bilingual acquisition. It is not possible to say whether the change has progressed much since Schaufeli's study, but the data do suggest that the Dutch-like alternatives have stabilized and the results could be interpreted as straightforward Dutch influence.

The results we obtained may have something to do with *register* variation. Subordination may be more typical of academic registers, and Turkish-Dutch bilinguals do not normally acquire this register in Turkish, as they go to school in the Netherlands, where the entire curriculum is in Dutch. However, given the scarcity of sociolinguistic register studies on Turkish, this suggestion will not be further developed here.

A possible scenario for the change is suggested by usage-based linguistics (cf. Bybee's (2006) 'exemplar representation'). In this perspective, 'language change' is characterized as changes in the entrenchment levels of particular structures. For many Turkish-Dutch bilinguals, Dutch usage and exposure starts especially after the age of four when they start school, assuming they mostly speak Turkish at home. Thus, they receive a lot of Dutch subordination input after the age of four, and perhaps very little Turkish subordination. The frequency of Dutch use and exposure only increases with time, and the entrenchment of Dutch subordination structures will go up accordingly. The separately stored Dutch and Turkish subordinate constructions start competing in the mental representation of the bilingual as matched meaning activates both. Once the entrenchment of the Dutch subordination is higher than the Turkish one, it starts to impose itself in

Turkish discourse, which surfaces as ‘cross-linguistic influence’ or ‘interference’. This raises the entrenchment of the Dutch schema even further, but also causes further ‘disuse’ of Turkish subordination, which ultimately leads to decreased entrenchment of the canonical Turkish schema. That is, the entrenchment of the earlier inherited variant (non-finite subordination in this case) goes down and that of a new variant (a borrowed Dutch preference for the finite option) goes up. However, the judgment data suggest that decreased frequency does not necessarily lead to decreased entrenchment, at least not very quickly, since the canonical Turkish structures were judged equally high by the bilingual participants as by the monolingual ones.

The results of this chapter are also compatible with the idea that analytic structures are favored and found more ‘attractive’ in contact situations (Johanson 2002a:44). As discussed in Section 1.14 of Chapter 1, analytic languages are grammatically less complex and perceptually more salient (Siegel 2012:42 also referring to Gil 2008 and McWhorter 2007, 2008). In addition, analytic features are also assumed to be semantically more transparent and easier to learn (Siegel 2012:44). A change from synthetic (e.g. *non-finite* and *indirect reported speech*) to analytic structure (e.g. *finite* and *direct reported speech*) is claimed to be the result of *simplification* (Siegel 2012:42). Our data support the claim that language change often goes from a more to a less complex structure, leading to *reduction in complexity*. In short, the factors of ‘linguistic complexity’ and ‘attractive’ features seem to play a role in this study. These points, too, will be further discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

So, should we really call this shift in preferences of use and in judgments an instance of ‘language change’? If change is defined as the introduction of a completely new structure into a language, then the answer is clearly ‘no’. None of the Dutch-like structures are ungrammatical in TR-Turkish. However, if the frequency of a construction is considered part of linguistic knowledge (as most contact linguists, such as Johanson 2002a and Heine & Kuteva 2005, do), then, clearly, Dutch Turkish is undergoing change. According to the definition of *change* adopted in this study (see Section 1.9.3 in Chapter 1), a mere ‘change in preferences’ is treated as a subtype of contact-induced change. In that case, the answer is ‘Yes’, this shift is as an instance of ‘language change’.

Heine (2006) furthermore lists various ‘strategies’ of change, and the more of them apply, the more pervasive is the change: a) narrowing of

options, b) shift from one construction to another, c) pragmatic unmarking, and d) extension and frequency. The data presented so far show that there is definitely *increased frequency of Dutch-like structures* under investigation in this study and also *shift from canonical TR-Turkish to Dutch-like patterns*.

Like Chapter 4, this chapter has argued that there is evidence for an ‘on-going structural change’ in Dutch Turkish. This change is characterized as ‘a change in preference’. The question is how Dutch Turkish subordination patterns will develop in the years to come, as contact with Dutch is likely to continue and perhaps increase in intensity with further integration of the immigrant community into Dutch society.

CHAPTER 6

Convergent developments in Dutch Turkish word order³⁴ – A comparative study using ‘production’ and ‘judgment’ data: Converging evidence?

Abstract

Language is a very dynamic entity, so language change is inevitable, especially in contact settings. Most contact studies are based on recordings of spontaneous speech. Useful as this has been, such data cannot tell us everything: for one thing, they do not tell us much about the degree to which the attested changes are entrenched in bilinguals’ linguistic competence, and whether the changes are manifested mostly in bilingual speech, i.e. when the speakers are codeswitching at the same time. This chapter aims to look for *converging evidence*, a fairly recent notion (Schönefeld 2011:1), by employing speech data as well as two experimental techniques (‘elicited imitation task’ and ‘acceptability judgments’) to explore a single issue: Dutch influence on the word order of immigrant Turkish in the Netherlands. More specifically, the focus is on the position of the matrix verb in complex clauses. Dutch and Turkish differ in their word orders, specifically in the position of the verb. Although Turkish can be claimed to have a relatively free word order, it is canonically verb-final. Dutch, on the other hand, is a verb-medial language, at least in main clauses. This chapter discusses findings as to whether immigrant Turkish verb positioning differs from TR-Turkish practice, and whether the differences are more pronounced when

³⁴ This chapter is based on Onar Valk, Pelin (2014), ‘Convergent developments on Dutch Turkish word order: A comparative study using ‘elicited production’ and ‘judgment’ data: Converging evidence?’ *Applied Linguistics Review*, 5(2), 351-372.

speakers are in a bilingual mode. It studies data from three groups of participants: 1) bilinguals in bilingual mode, 2) bilinguals in monolingual mode, and 3) monolinguals. One method employs ‘production’ data (containing *bilingual spontaneous group* conversations, *spontaneous* and *elicited one-on-one* speech and an elicited imitation task) reflecting bilingual ‘performance’ and the other one ‘judgments’ (through a *rating* task and a *forced-choice* task) reflecting ‘comprehension’ or ‘linguistic knowledge’. Together, these data can potentially provide *converging evidence*. *Unconventionalities*, *changes in preferences* and *frequency differences* are interpreted as subtypes of contact-induced change. Interestingly, although in general the evidence converges, the data from the two different experimental sources did not converge completely: for the structures caught up in change, the ‘judgment’ data showed full acceptability of both the changed and the non-changed structures, while the ‘production’ data showed a clear preference for the former. The chapter finally focuses on the questions what kind of *change mechanism* may be responsible for the changes and whether complexity plays any role in them. The findings point to *restructuring* (Heine & Kuteva), which overlaps with Johanson’s *frequential copying* and Matras’ ‘*other outcomes of pivot matching*’. In conclusion, the results show that word order in Dutch Turkish complex clauses is changing.

6.1 A brief overview of findings so far

The findings of the previous chapters show beyond doubt that a certain degree of contact-induced change in immigrant Turkish is in evidence, as subordination is clearly different from subordination in TR-Turkish.

A consistent pattern was observed in which the bilinguals showed a preference for finite subordination, the type that resembles Dutch structure most. The data from the elicited imitation experiment as executed by Turkish monolinguals from Turkey lends further support to the claim that TR-Turkish has a preference for non-finite structures. The differences were particularly striking in the case of reported speech, with an almost complete avoidance of the TR-Turkish structures by bilinguals, who instead favor the Dutch-like use of direct reported speech with a finite subordinate clause.

Turkish monolinguals and Turkish-Dutch bilinguals differ from each other in how they make use of subordination, both in production (see Chapter 4 and Onar Valk & Backus 2013) and in judgment tasks (Chapter 5

and Onar Valk 2013). Given these similarities, I concluded that the evidence for production and comprehension³⁵ converges. The judgment data also showed another type of converging evidence in itself since two methods, rating and forced-choice judgments, yielded similar results.

Converging evidence suggests that the apparent Dutch influence visible in speech is not just the result of momentary interference. NL-Turkish speakers ‘accept’ the NL-Turkish structure as normal when they are explicitly asked to ‘improve’ sentences with an allegedly typical feature of NL-Turkish, which was not the case for TR-Turkish speakers. However, it is also clear that what we are dealing with here is a change that is still in progress. NL-Turkish speakers do use non-finite subordination structures, and they do sometimes ‘correct’ a finite structure to a non-finite one in the sentence imitation task. Their competence seems to contain both kinds of structures. On the other hand, not all evidence converges. The data displayed that bilinguals rate the canonical TR-Turkish constructions (non-finite subordination, indirect reported speech) the same way as monolinguals do. While Chapter 4 indicated that, in actual use, bilinguals prefer to use the Dutch-like constructions, their positive judgments of these constructions shows that they have not lost them. They are still available in their linguistic competence, but not used as frequently as the Dutch-like alternatives.

Also investigated was whether there was an effect of the speech mode, i.e. whether participants were in monolingual or in bilingual mode, but the only clear mode effect was found in the judgment task: only for the items with the Dutch-like structures (the less frequent ones in TR-Turkish) of the *rating* task in addition to the forced-choice task items. The bilinguality of the mode did not make any difference for the default TR-Turkish structures in the *rating* task.

The results were accounted for mostly from a usage-based perspective (see the last sections of the Chapters 4 and 5). It was argued that there is evidence for ‘on-going structural change’ or ‘structural change in progress’ in Dutch Turkish; that this change is mostly ‘a change in preferences’, and that it is not near completion.

I have so far looked at *finiteness*, but to round out the analysis, it makes sense to also investigate *word order*, more specifically the position of the matrix verb in complex clauses in the same data. To illustrate, consider the following example. It is a test item which was constructed on the basis of the

³⁵ The words ‘comprehension’ and ‘perception’ are used interchangeably to distinguish the data types in this study.

attested spontaneous speech data and was used in the forced choice task. This item tests: finite versus non-finite and direct versus indirect reported speech, but also verb-final versus verb-medial order.

- (1)³⁶ a. Bana dedi “Hamileyim”. (finite, direct speech and verb-medial)
 b. Bana dedi ki “hamileyim”. (finite, direct speech, verb-medial, and ‘ki’ complementizer)
 c. Bana hamile olduğunu söyledi. (non-finite, indirect speech and verb-final)
 d. Bana “hamileyim” dedi. (finite, direct speech and verb-final)
 ‘She said to me: “I am pregnant”.’ or ‘She told me that she was pregnant.’

Contact induced-change in Dutch Turkish word order was touched on in Onar Valk (2014) and briefly in Onar Valk (2013). The current chapter is exclusively concerned with word order, i.e. the position of the matrix verb in complex clauses, again considering *natural speech* data, *elicited imitation* data, and *conventionality judgment* data.

This chapter will also consider the concept of ‘complexity’ again, now in relation to word order. SVO structures (‘Dutch-like’, here) are sometimes claimed to be less complex or less marked than other orders (cf. Kusters 2008:5; see Section 1.14 of Chapter 1). What this chapter aims to investigate is whether SVO, i.e. verb-medial, is favored and found more ‘attractive’ and ‘less complex’ in contact situations, and whether a shift to SVO can be accounted for in terms of simplification.

6.2 Introduction

Language is a very dynamic entity, so language change is inevitable, especially in contact settings. Most contact studies are based on recordings of spontaneous speech. Useful as this has been, such data cannot tell us everything. This chapter aims to look for converging evidence by employing four experimental techniques to explore a single issue: Dutch influence on the word order of immigrant Turkish in the Netherlands. More specifically, the focus is on the position of the matrix verb in complex clauses. Again, data from three groups of participants will be studied: 1) bilinguals in bilingual mode, 2) bilinguals in monolingual mode, and 3) monolinguals. Three methods elicit ‘production’ data: spontaneous or natural speech,

³⁶ The same example (except 1b) was used below as Example 4.

somewhat controlled conversation, and experimentally controlled elicited sentences (i.e. the elicited imitation task); a fourth method elicits ‘judgments’ regarding the conventionality of particular structures. The results suggest that, at least in complex clauses, word order in Dutch Turkish (also referred as *NL-Turkish*) is changing.

As mentioned in Chapter 1 (Sections 1.1 and 1.2), language change is usually categorized as one of two types: externally or internally induced. Being a study of contact-induced change, this study naturally focuses on the externally induced subtype. Whether internally or externally induced, language change requires a mechanism of *innovation* (the creation of a novel form, Croft 2000:4), also called *interference* (Weinreich 1968, cited in Croft 2000:145) in the case of contact-induced change. *Interference* takes place when speakers identify an element in one language as roughly equivalent to an element in the other language (i.e. *interlingual identification* in Weinreich’s terms; Croft 2000:146) which ultimately leads to overlap between the languages. Interference, or transfer, the outcome of this identification process, may prompt long-term contact-induced change if it is propagated. Internally induced changes are claimed to involve a similar mechanism, *intraference* or *intralingual identification*, in which the semantic relatedness of certain words or constructions within a speaker’s mental representation is identified (*intralingual identification*). This identification process may induce an internal language change (Croft 2000:150).

Although external and internal changes are commonly distinguished, it is not always possible to put a neat borderline between them. An example is contact-induced grammaticalization in which a grammaticalization process that has occurred in the model language is replicated in the borrowing language. This by definition implies that both process types occur simultaneously (Heine & Kuteva 2006:73). Hence, internal and external changes may complement each other in shaping a grammatical change. In this perspective, contact either triggers a grammatical change which might also have developed without it, or contact motivates and speeds up an already ongoing grammatical change (Heine & Kuteva 2006:79) – a notion referred to as *multiple causation* (Thomason 2001:62, 2008:47).

As discussed in Chapter 1, regarding language contact and contact-induced change different terms have been used that often point to almost the same phenomena. Although some distinctions are useful, others may lead to terminological confusion. I will provide a very brief overview of those terms to the extent that they are relevant to our current concerns, but see

Section 1.4 in Chapter 1 for a more detailed presentation. Most importantly, as in the previous chapters, I use the terms *convergence* and *convergent developments* to refer to the general outcome of structure being shared by the two languages in contact, while recognizing that the influence is mostly unidirectional. *Convergence* is regarded as a mechanism leading to structural accommodation with varying degrees of structural retention (as introduced in Section 1.4 of Chapter 1).

A first set of relevant terms comes from Matras (2009), who refers to the overall process of convergent development as ‘(structural) replication’. Matras, first, distinguishes between two general types of replication: *MAT*, i.e. the replication of linguistic ‘matter’ and *PAT*, i.e. pattern replication (see Matras 2009 and Chapter 1 for details). He introduces *pivot-matching* as the core language processing mechanism that leads to pattern replication. Pivot-matching suggests that bilinguals identify a structure or a morpheme with a pivotal role in the model construction, and then match it with a structure or morpheme in the replica language to which a new similar role is assigned in a new replica construction (Matras & Sakel 2007:830). The matched structure of the replica language is internally re-shaped, based on the model construction’s functional scope and constraints. This will usually involve extensions of the structure’s distributional context, the creation of a new category, or an increase in the frequency of an existing one (Matras & Sakel 2007:858). In some cases, this *pivot-matching* process may result in *grammaticalization*, as when a pivot morpheme in the replica language ends up being used in a more grammatical way than before contact. This phenomenon is the cornerstone of Heine and Kuteva’s framework (2003, 2006), which otherwise employs almost the same notions. Their categorizations are a bit more specific, however. They analyze grammatical replication as involving either contact-induced *grammaticalization* or *restructuring*, a distinction that will become useful in the present chapter. They further divide contact-induced *grammaticalization* into the categories of *ordinary* and *replica grammaticalization*. Their other sub-category, *restructuring*, falls under what Matras refers to as ‘*other outcomes of pivot-matching*’, and is further subdivided into *loss* and *rearrangement* (see Heine & Kuteva 2003, 2006 for detailed exemplification). Johanson (2002a), finally, uses the term ‘copying’ as a cover term for what others refer to as ‘borrowing’, ‘convergent developments’, ‘diffusion’ ‘transfer’, ‘interference’, ‘replication’, etc. In this framework, elements from the *model code* are copied into the *basic code*, i.e. the replica language. His *Code Copying*

model distinguishes between three types of copying: *global*, *selective* and *mixed copying*, and four different subtypes of selective copying (Johanson 2002a:291, and also 2008 for further details). It is not always easy to draw clear borders between these types of copying since one and the same change may involve several subtypes. *Global* copies correspond to MAT replication and *selective* copies to PAT. Contact-induced *grammaticalization* always involves PAT replication.

What should be emphasized in particular is that cases of *convergence* may be labeled differently in the different frameworks, but is accounted for in similar ways. The structures focused on here are simply *other outcomes of pivot matching* for Matras, *restructuring* for Heine & Kuteva (2006:64), and *frequential copying* for Johanson (2008:74).

All in all, however, these approaches have been on more or less the same wavelength explaining convergent developments. Contrasting to this is the *restricted view* (as I call it; see Section 1.9 in Chapter 1 for a more fine-grained description) to language change and convergence supported by, e.g. Poplack et al. (2010, 2012), who are critical about labeling every difference or innovative-looking elements or structures ‘a contact-induced change’, and draw attention to *internal variability* instead. They claim that, before we attribute a difference to contact-induced change, it should be checked whether it might just be a reflection of *internal variability* (Poplack & Levey 2010:391). A change only has occurred if language use differs from a baseline. First of all, inherent variability itself cannot be considered change, but rather a requirement for change. Second, diachronic comparison is essential to establish the existence of change. If the variety with the putative change is a contact variety, then the baseline should be a pre-contact variety which, furthermore, as a reference point should be fairly comparable to the variety that contains the change. The ‘standard’ variety may of course be very different from the most relevant spoken variety of the language (Poplack & Levey 2010:395). Furthermore, evidence of contact-induced change should at least contain *a vertical comparison* (with a pre-contact or an earlier stage) and *a horizontal comparison* (with a non-contact variety, as well as a comparison with the structure of the model language, Poplack & Levey 2010:406). They suggest that those efforts are necessary as many potential changes end up being cases of *inherent variability*. Similarly, Toribio (2004:172) claims that although performance sometimes varies, bilinguals’ competence does not change.

In short, the definition of contact-induced change is a matter of debate. Here, we adopt the usage-based assumption that synchronic behavior determines diachronic development (Backus 2010:226), so that any shift in usage represents change. *Unconventionalities*, *changes in preferences* and *frequency differences* are all treated as subtypes of contact-induced change, which is more in line with the *broad perspective* on when change really qualifies as a ‘change’ (see Chapter 1, Section 1.9 for details).

Most contact studies so far have been based on recordings of spontaneous speech, which tell us much but not everything. This chapter aims to look for *converging evidence*, a fairly recent methodological notion (Schönefeld 2011:1; see Section 1.13) that refers to the use of two or more sources. The present chapter explores Dutch contact effects through both various types of ‘production’ data and ‘judgment’, i.e. ‘perception’ data. This way, I hope to investigate linguistic competence (equated with mental representation and storage) from two different angles. Comprehension, i.e. perception or reception, is seen as determined by linguistic competence. Production, i.e. usage, meanwhile, is also seen as determined by linguistic competence, but in addition also by factors related to performance. This makes it important to make clear how this study views the theoretical notions of *competence* and *performance*. Although it does accept that they are separate notions, this is not taken to imply that they are independent of each other. Language usage or performance makes use of only a subset of competence. Thus, what we produce does not always reflect all that our linguistic competence *can* produce. Figure 6.1, (from Chapter 1) shows how linguistic competence is viewed:

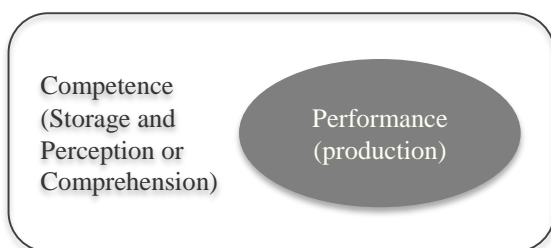


Figure 6.1: Linguistic competence

This chapter also attempts to tap into the whole of linguistic competence by looking at both production (i.e. performance) and perception (i.e. competence) data by comparing the results from both types.

Following the usage-based approach, furthermore, the more entrenched and frequent structures will be used more often in production than the less entrenched ones and recognized better in comprehension or competence. Based on the results of this chapter, we will see whether this usage-based account will account for my data. As briefly mentioned in the summary section in the beginning of this chapter, complexity is another notion which feeds into this study while accounting for the data and reasoning why the language change goes in a certain direction. The claim in generative grammar is that verb-medial (i.e. SVO) structures are the default parameter setting, providing the unmarked order. Thus, it is suggested that verb-final order (i.e. SOV) is more complex and more marked than any other order (cf. Kusters 2008:5; see Chapter 1, Section 1.14). If that claim is true, Turkish-Dutch bilinguals should find Dutch verb-medial order more attractive than the TR-Turkish default verb-final order. If this is the case, what happens in the process of change will be basically ‘simplification’.

A final concept that informs the current chapter is the bilinguality of the mode. It has been suggested that being in a bilingual mode (i.e. the simultaneous presence or activation of both languages, as in *codeswitching*), supports further searching for parallels between them, and leads to convergence (Toribio 2004:172). The language mode is described as the state and level of activation of the bilinguals’ languages and their processing mechanisms at a given point in time. The activation is a continuous variable with levels ranging from full activation to no activation for each language (Grosjean 2008:39). Bilinguals may also travel along a language mode continuum to meet their linguistic needs and exploit their communicative competence. The speech mode continuum lies between the monolingual mode on one end and the bilingual mode on the other. In our case, a Turkish-Dutch bilingual is in a ‘Turkish monolingual mode’ while speaking Turkish with a Turkish monolingual and in a ‘Dutch monolingual mode’ when talking to a Dutch monolingual. When communicating with a Turkish-Dutch bilingual, the very same bilingual may enter a ‘Turkish-Dutch bilingual mode’ (see Chapter 1, Section 1.10 for more on speech modes).

Bringing these strands together, this study is an experimental investigation of word order in immigrant Turkish in the Netherlands, focusing on complex clauses, using two different experimental tasks in addition to natural speech data, and eliciting data in monolingual and bilingual conditions. The Turkish-Dutch language pair is a relatively young contact setting involving typologically different languages with a status asymmetry

between them. Turkish-Dutch bilinguals, who are descendants of the Turkish immigration wave that started in the 1960s and have become a regular immigrant community growing well into its third generation now (Backus 2010), have so far achieved a high rate of language maintenance thanks to factors such as a trend of marrying spouses from Turkey; the ease of keeping strong ties with Turkey through consumption of Turkish media and long holidays in Turkey; and being a very close knit community. Despite all this, contact-induced influence is also inevitable as Dutch is the dominant societal language (see Section 1.15 of Chapter 1 for details about the Turkish-Dutch community and Dutch Turkish).

6.3 Word order and contact-induced change

As pointed out by a number of linguists (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:88; Thomason 2001; Winford 2003), word order is often claimed to diffuse very easily under contact (Heine 2006:1-2):

“Thomason (2001:69-71) observed that ignoring vocabulary borrowing, word order is among ‘the next easiest things to borrow’, and Dryer (1992:83) sees the effects of linguistic diffusion to be particularly pervasive in the area of word order (see also Nettle 1999:138; Zeevaert 2006:2-3) ... overwhelmingly, there can be little doubt that word order syntax is fairly vulnerable in situations of language contact.”

Examples of contact-induced word order change in many different languages lend further support to this claim. Also in Turkic language contact situations, word order patterns are claimed to have been copied often (Johanson 2002a:111). Friedman (2006:40) lists word order as one of the syntactic features that have changed in West-Rumelian Turkish (WRT), stating that word orders which would be pragmatically marked in TR-Turkish are unmarked in WRT as a result of the influence from Indo-European contact languages with SVO as their unmarked order. Due to contact, the verb in WRT is placed at the beginning of the sentence or in some other non-final position far more often than in TR-Turkish (Friedman 1982:33). A clear tendency to use SVO word order in Gagauz (a Turkic language spoken in the southern region of Moldova) is seen as a sign of influence from Slavic languages. In comparison to Turkish, verb-final constructions are rare in Gagauz (Menz 2006:139-141). Last but not least, Gostivar Turkish (GT), a variety spoken in Macedonia, shows an extension of pragmatically restricted

word order variants to more neutral contexts due to increasing harmony between GT and its contact languages in the organization of sentence structures. Thus, although GT is still described as a verb-final language, deviation from the verb-final order is pragmatically much less marked and much more frequent than in TR-Turkish (Matras & Tufan 2007:215, 219, 221).

These developments are in line with Heine's (2006) generalization that contact-induced word order change often involves increased use and pragmatic neutralization of a word order that is similar to that of the contact language and that was previously less frequent, and often restricted to particular pragmatic meanings.

More specifically, Heine (2006) summarizes the various 'aspects'³⁷ or 'outcomes' that are involved in contact-induced word order changes. The more of them apply, the more pervasive the change is claimed to be. Being typical of mostly grammatical replication, they are: a) narrowing of options, b) shift from one construction to another, c) pragmatic unmarking, and d) extension and frequency (Heine 2006:4).

a) Narrowing

This aspect narrows down the range of discourse options available by selecting among the use patterns which exist in the replica language the one that best corresponds to the one in the model language and rendering it the regular, dominant and more frequent one. Thus, language contact may cause the narrowing of syntactic options, e.g. adjustment of word order from variation between SOV (formerly dominant version which just narrowed in use) and SVO (currently more frequent one which was already available before) to only using SVO (Heine 2006:4-5).

b) Shift from one construction to another

This *shift* aspect refers to the employment of a construction that matches the common word order arrangement of the model language, even if it serves a function in the replica language which is different from that of the model

³⁷ As mentioned in the introduction chapter, here I prefer to use the word 'aspect' or 'outcome' (as they are actually what come out of the change process) as opposed to Heine's use of 'strategy' in this context, which, for me, implies *intentional* or *conscious* associations in the language change process. The four aspects discussed here are most probably not intentional or conscious 'strategies' of language users, but 'outcomes' or 'aspects' of the process of change.

language (Heine 2006:6). A case in point is South Tyrol German in Northern Italy where the official language is Italian. Noun-noun compounding is a fairly productive construction in Germanic languages whereas Italian lacks it. German speakers from South Tyrol tend to use their possessive pattern as a major pattern of forming compound nouns. Germans in northern Italy say *das Bündel von Trauben* 'the bunch of grapes' modeling Italian on German, while Standard German uses *Traubenbündel* 'the grape bunch' (Riehl 2001 cited in Heine 2006:6). This strategy does not induce a change from one form of categorization to another, but a gradual change in preference of one construction over another one (2006:7). What happens is that a productive pattern loses its productivity in favor of another already existing pattern, one that matches the common construction in the model language, and increases its productivity (2006:8).

c) Pragmatic unmarking

Word order change often involves a formerly pragmatically marked use pattern that exhibits features corresponding to an equivalent pattern in the source language becoming a pragmatically neutral pattern. Such a development is quite a common grammaticalization process (Givón 1979, 1995 cited in Heine 2006:8). Pragmatic unmarking can influence both phrase structure (i.e. from prepositions to postpositions, noun-modifier order reversing, genitive word order alignment with reversing the order between possessor and possessee.) and sentence order (e.g. from SOV to SVO in West-Rumelian Turkish under the influence of Balkan languages) (Heine 2006:8-18). This process is also labeled as *shared grammaticalization* and leads to a typological change from pragmatic to syntactic marking (Heine 2006:18).

d) Extension and frequency

As a possible concomitant result of the other aspects mentioned above, structures may be extended to new contexts, and increase their frequency of use (Heine 2006:18). Bilinguals often draw on a minor use pattern, i.e. a pattern with a more marginal status that is used relatively rarely and perhaps only in specific contexts, and develop it into a major use pattern by increasing its frequency of use and extending the range of contexts in which it may occur (Heine 2006:18). This can also be seen as equivalent to narrowing, as some other form necessarily gets narrower as a result of this extension. Frequency of use serves as the primary factor. Real grammati-

calization, in the sense of moving from a less grammatical meaning to a more grammatical one, seems not to be involved (Heine 2006:19). In short, the main aspects of contact-induced word order change are the following:

- a. Selecting among the existing alternatives the one matching the one in the model language.
- b. Assigning a new function to this existing construction.
- c. Turning a pragmatically marked construction into a pragmatically unmarked one.
- d. Extending an existing use pattern to new contexts.
- e. Using an existing use pattern more frequently.

These ‘strategies’, as Heine calls them, describe different aspects of contact-induced word order change and are not mutually exclusive. Thus, more than one ‘aspect’ will usually be involved in a specific case of contact-induced word order change.

Interestingly, studies of Dutch Turkish have so far failed to find the same effects documented above for Balkan varieties. Word order in Dutch Turkish was the central focus of Doğruöz and Backus (2007). Although some unconventional uses were found that could be linked to Dutch influence, the conclusion was that the basic syntax of Dutch Turkish had only changed a little, with word order undergoing a very slight change at the rate of merely 1% (Doğruöz & Backus 2009:56, 58; Doğruöz & Backus 2007:212-213). Verb-final structure clearly remained the unmarked and most frequent word order in NL-Turkish (at 55%; compared to 59% in TR-Turkish control data), which implied that there was little Dutch influence in this domain. Verb-medial structures had not become more frequent and continued to be used with their special pragmatic meanings involving focusing of the subject referent and/or backgrounding of the object (see Section 6.3.1 and 6.3.2 for details on word order in Turkish). The current study differs from this predecessor in two ways. First, it deals with word order in complex rather than in simplex clauses, focusing specifically on the position of the matrix verb before or after the subordinate clause. Second, it reports on a more varied empirical base, using experimental production and judgment data in addition to spontaneous and elicited conversational data.

As the discussion so far indicates, Turkish word order is sensitive to pragmatics and information structure. The spontaneous and elicited conversational data were evaluated and checked to see whether NL-Turkish seems to differ from TR-Turkish in this respect (see Section 6.4.1). In order

to be able to interpret the experimental data to be analyzed subsequently, these determinants were controlled for in the experimental ‘production’ data, where all groups of participants were given the same sentences (with the same pragmatic meanings) to recall or repeat. The judgment task, likewise, presented the same stimuli (again with the same pragmatic meanings) to all groups.

The rest of this section will provide an overview of word order in Turkish and Dutch.

6.3.1 Position of the matrix clause verb in Turkish and Dutch

Turkish is canonically verb-final, though it allows for other orders. Dutch, on the other hand, is a verb-medial language, more specifically verb-second, at least in main clauses. The position of the verb is rather fixed.

As more elaborately described in Chapter 2, the default verb-final order holds for main and subordinate clauses, but there is more freedom in matrix clauses, especially in the colloquial spoken language. Embedded clauses are more rigidly verb-final which means that no subordinate constituent can be placed after the subordinate verb (Kornfilt 1997:47-48). The major constituents of a sentence (S, O, and V) can be arranged in any order and all combinations are equally grammatical. Word order variation or *scrambling* serves three main purposes: 1) to emphasize a particular constituent (*focusing*), 2) to de-emphasize a particular constituent or constituents (*backgrounding*), and 3) to make a particular element the pivot of the information in a sentence (*topicalization*) (Göksel & Kerslake 2005:395-396). The pre-verbal position is the focus position in a Turkish sentence (Kornfilt 1997:29) while the post-verbal position is defined as the position for background information (Göksel & Kerslake 2005:398). Constituents can be placed in the pre-verbal position for emphasis and in the sentence initial position for topicalization purposes (Kornfilt 1997:202, 206). I will focus on *focusing* and *backgrounding* while analyzing natural speech data. The TR-Turkish convention is that pre-verbal subordinate clauses are focused and post-verbal ones are backgrounded.

It is important to realize that although the unmarked order is verb-final (SOV), word order is variable in Turkish. What is more, the prior existence in the language of the structure that is unmarked in the other language may actually stimulate change (Johanson 2002a:111-112). Consequently, before we can conclude that an instance of SVO order in Dutch Turkish is the result of foreign influence, we need to make sure that post-verbal subordinate

clauses are not pragmatically backgrounded (i.e. a reflection of language internal variation). This holds only for the conversational data: pragmatic intentions cannot play a role in the elicited imitation and judgment tasks since all participants were given the same input.

Dutch, in contrast, has verb-medial word order in matrix clauses, so most subordinate clauses follow the matrix verb. In addition, the verb position is rather fixed in Dutch.

The following examples illustrate some cases from Dutch-Turkish in which the word order does not seem to obey the default verb-final pattern, and instead has the more Dutch-like verb-medial order. Constructed Turkey (TR)-Turkish and Dutch equivalents are provided below the attested Dutch-Turkish example. The TR-Turkish finite version includes the subordinator *diye*, the *-(y)A* converbial form of the verb *de-* ‘say’ (Göksel & Kerslake 2005:408). In the TR-Turkish versions, it is equally possible to construct the sentences with non-finite subordination as well as with finite clauses, but both versions would employ verb-final word order. The NL-Turkish Example 2a is taken from Onar Valk and Backus (2013). It was attested in one of the spontaneous group conversations, and used as a stimulus item in the elicited imitation and judgment tasks. All the matrix clause verbs are printed **bold** in examples below.

(2) a. NL-Turkish:

Bak-mış-lar *administratie*’de [ne kadar ver-ebil-ir-ler].³⁸
 look-Past-3pl administration-LOC how much give-CAN-Pres-3pl
 ‘They looked in the register (to see) how much they could give.’

b. TR-Turkish with finite subordination:

Administratie’de ne kadar ver-ebil-ir-ler diye **bak-mış-lar**.

OR

TR-Turkish with non-finite subordination:

Administratie’de [ne kadar ver-ebil-ecek-leri-ne] **bak-mış-lar**.
 how much give-CAN-F.NMLZ-3pl.poss-DAT

c. Dutch:

Ze **keken** in de administratie [hoeveel ze konden geven].

‘They looked in the register (to see) how much they could give.’

³⁸ Example 2a was used also in Onar Valk and Backus (2013), and Onar Valk (2013).

Example 3 contains reported speech and was also attested in the bilingual spontaneous group conversations, and the word order is verb-medial. That is, it is an example of reported speech used with Dutch-style word order. The TR-Turkish version can again be produced with finite (as direct speech) or non-finite (as indirect speech) subordination, but both would use verb-final order, as exemplified below. The Dutch version, on the other hand, whether it uses direct or indirect speech, would always have verb-medial order.

(3) a. NL-Turkish:

İnsanlar **düşün-üyor** “ne lazım ban-a?”
 people think-Pr.Prog.3pl what needed I-DAT
 ‘People think: “What do I need?”’

b. TR-Turkish – direct speech type:

İnsanlar “ban-a ne lazım?” diye **düşün-üyor**.

OR

TR-Turkish with non-finite subordination – as indirect speech type:

İnsanlar [kendi-leri-ne ne-yin lazım ol-duğ-u-nu]
 people self-3pl.poss-DAT what-GEN needed be-F.NMLZ-3sg.Poss-ACC
düşün-üyor.
 think-Pr.Prog.3pl

c. Dutch – direct speech type:

Mensen **denken**: “wat heb ik nodig?”

‘People think: “What do I need?”’

Dutch – indirect speech type:

Mensen **denken** over wat ze nodig hebben.

‘People think about what they need.’

To summarize, Dutch has compulsory verb-medial word order (also referred to as ‘verb second’) whereas TR-Turkish has verb-final order by default.

Onar Valk and Backus (2013) showed that Turkish-Dutch bilinguals use Dutch-style reported speech structures extensively. For this reason, we also pay specific attention to the word order in reported speech constructions.

Doğruöz and Backus (2007:200, 212-218) also observed some differences in reported speech use between Turkish monolinguals and Turkish-Dutch bilinguals. Although Dutch Turkish reported speech structures involves partial word order copying from Dutch, in the end their quantitative

evidence was interpreted as too weak to conclude that a contact-induced change in Dutch Turkish word order was really going on.

6.3.2 Reporting verb position in reported speech constructions

In TR-Turkish complex clause combinations containing reported speech, the matrix verb occurs after the quotation, while in Dutch the matrix verb is in medial position, right before the reported speech clause. The verb-medial order in Example 4a, produced by a Turkish-Dutch bilingual in a recorded spontaneous group conversation violates this rule. As seen below, the Dutch equivalent has verb-medial order in both direct and indirect reported speech.

(4) a. NL-Turkish – direct RS and finite:

Ban-a **de-di** “hamile-yim”.³⁹
 I-DAT **say-PAST.3sg** pregnant-Pres.1sg
 ‘She said to me “I am pregnant”.’

b. Turkish – direct RS and finite:

Ban-a “hamile-yim” **de-di.**
 I-DAT pregnant-Pres.1sg **say-PAST.3sg**
 ‘She said: “I am pregnant”.’

Turkish – indirect RS and non-finite:

Ban-a [hamile ol-duğ-u-nu] **söyle-di.**
 pregnant be-F.NMLZ-3sg.Poss-ACC **say-PAST.3sg**
 ‘She said that she was pregnant.’

c. Dutch – direct speech:

Zij **zei**: “Ik ben zwanger”.
 ‘She says “I am pregnant”.’

Dutch – indirect speech:

Zij **zei** dat zij zwanger was.
 ‘She said that she was pregnant.’

To summarize, as exemplified above, TR-Turkish complex clauses with reported speech use verb-final order while Dutch employs a verb-medial order in the same type of clause.

³⁹ Example 4a was used also in Onar Valk and Backus (2013), and Onar Valk (2013) as well as in Chapters 4 and 5.

6.3.3 Research questions

This chapter aims to answer the following research questions:

- a. What evidence is there of contact-induced language change in Immigrant Turkish in the Netherlands regarding word order in complex clauses?
- b. Do we see the same pattern in ‘production’ and ‘perception’ data?

In order to answer these questions, four types of method were employed, including ‘spontaneous one-on-one conversations’, ‘elicited one-on-one conversations’, ‘experimental production’ data from an elicited imitation task, and ‘conventionality judgment’ (‘perception’) data. Together, they should provide a complete picture of language contact effects in the domain of word order within complex clauses in the minority language Dutch Turkish. As mentioned before, the interest was also to see whether we would obtain converging evidence, since language contact studies generally rely only on spontaneous speech recordings. The methods, data and results are presented in the next two sections.

6.4 Studies 1 and 2: Production data

As mentioned in the introduction, I carried out three types of study to shed light on a single research question. The aim was also to see whether we would find converging evidence by approaching the question from different perspectives. Language contact studies generally rely mostly on spontaneous speech recordings and don’t really use other types of data much, let alone look for converging evidence. In addition to non-systematic spontaneous speech and controlled one-on-one conversational data (Study 1 below), the study also employs experimental production data from an elicited imitation task (Study 2) and compares its findings to those of a judgment task (Study 3). Studies 1, 2 and 3 can be said to deal with language production and processing while the judgment task taps into metalinguistic awareness (e.g. how aware the bilinguals are of their language production). The judgment data may also be claimed to tap into perception or comprehension, and thus into competence. This section will present production or performance data; the judgment data are discussed in Section 6.5. Both sections will start with a sub-section that explains the methods used.

6.4.1 Study 1: Spontaneous group and one-on-one conversations

Spontaneous speech, especially in *groups*, is usually non-systematic as it involves many uncontrollable factors: the topics shift easily, the relationship between the participants differs across conversations, the setting and conditions are not equal each time. On the other hand, data collected through one-on-one conversations allow for more control in the sense that they resemble an interview; in the present study this aspect was further enhanced by conducting the conversations in a university office, and having each participant talk about the same topics, follow the same procedure, and receive the same guidance and questions. The bilingual and monolingual mode one-on-one sessions were carried out always by the same person (i.e. by the bilingual research assistant for bilingual mode and by the author for monolingual mode). The presentation in this chapter will adopt an order going from non-controlled to controlled data types. First of all, we will take a look at bilingual spontaneous group conversations to display a general picture of matrix verb position in Dutch Turkish. We then move on to one-on-one conversations in which we will look at the pragmatic structure of a randomly selected sample of complex clause combinations from each of the three groups of participants, i.e. bilinguals in bilingual mode, bilinguals in monolingual mode and TR-Turkish monolinguals from Turkey. This analysis will show whether there is reason to claim that NL-Turkish is changing the traditional TR-Turkish association of particular word orders with the pragmatic notions of *backgrounding* and *focusing*. If there is reason to suspect that such changes are going on, this is likely to be due to Dutch influence, considering Dutch doesn't associate verb position with those pragmatic notions. If not, what we encounter as a 'change' could also be due to internal variation in Turkish.

6.4.1.1 Method: Spontaneous group and one-on-one conversations

Six group conversations were recorded by a bilingual research assistant in spontaneous bilingual mode in an authentic atmosphere. Friends met at a school café, and family members were at the dinner table together or visiting each other. One of the six conversations was excluded from the current analysis as it turned out to be only in Dutch. In total, 14 Turkish- Dutch bilinguals were recorded and the motivation they were given for why they were recorded was conveyed as follows: "The purpose is not to test your language skills. They are just interested in how we talk and how we mix the

two languages in our daily lives.” All participants agreed on being recorded; see Chapter 3 for a more detailed description.

One-on-one conversations, on the other hand, were collected in both spontaneous and elicited ways. They are analyzed together in this chapter and referred to as ‘one-on-one speech’.

Spontaneous conversations were held first and directly followed by the elicited speech. Each participant was welcomed and taken to an office room at Tilburg University by the research assistant for bilingual mode data and by the author for monolingual mode data. To start off the conversations, the participants were asked to introduce themselves, to talk for example about their past, their families, their friends, the school they went to or the work they did, their ambitions and their future plans. To motivate them to talk further, they were also asked to compare life in the Netherlands and in Turkey, and Turkish people in the two countries. This is where we slowly started to go into the direction of elicited speech. Additional talk, however, was entirely free, i.e. speakers could talk about any topic. Data were obtained from 18 bilinguals who each performed in both bilingual mode and monolingual mode sessions. Seven additional bilinguals did the task in the bilingual mode condition only and another seven bilinguals performed the task only in the monolingual mode condition. Therefore, there were in total 25 participants for the bilingual mode and 25 for the monolingual mode sessions. In Turkey, 27 TR-Turkish monolinguals carried out this task.

The *elicited* one-on-one speech began with the following question: “Could you please tell me about one of the funniest OR most interesting OR most exciting experiences in your life?” Eighteen participants took part in both the bilingual mode and monolingual mode versions of the task, using the same topic for both versions. Sixteen participants performed the task first in bilingual mode, the other two first in monolingual mode due to some practical reasons, e.g. because the assistant was late. A further eleven bilinguals conducted the task only in one mode, giving us in total 24 participants for the task in bilingual mode and 25 in monolingual mode. In the control group, 17 monolinguals in Turkey did the task. Chapter 3 contains a more elaborate explanation of these tasks.

6.4.1.2 Results of Study 1: Natural speech data

This section will report the results from the three types of conversational data that were collected: a) *spontaneous one-on-one natural speech*, b) *elicited conversations* obtained from *free speech on a given topic*, and c)

bilingual spontaneous group conversations in bilingual mode. Methods (a) and (b) were carried out by monolinguals from Turkey, by bilinguals in a monolingual mode setting, and by bilinguals in a bilingual mode setting. The spontaneous bilingual group conversations, as the name suggests, were recorded when participants were in their natural bilingual environment chatting away on random topics as a group; as a result, these conversations also took place in a bilingual mode. These data differ from the spontaneous one-on-one conversations only in the number of people present; there is no bilingual group equivalent of the *elicited* conversations, which is why ‘bilingual group’ is marked with N/A (not applicable) for that type of data in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 shows the use of verb-medial and verb-final word order as percentages per group and per conversation type, with the actual number of occurrences in parentheses. As for spontaneous one-on-one conversations, it is obvious from the percentages that bilinguals use verb-medial order much more often than monolinguals (20% in monolingual mode and 21% in bilingual mode, against 5% use by monolinguals). In the elicited conversations, the proportions of verb-medial order in the speech of bilinguals is even a little higher whereas monolingual usage stays around the same level, about four times less often. In the bilingual *group* conversations, we see an even higher percentage of verb-medial use (i.e. 34%). Thus, bilinguals, regardless of the speech mode, show more extensive use than monolinguals of verb-medial order in all three types of conversation. However, the figures also show that verb-final order is still dominant, although there are remarkable differences between the bilingual and monolingual groups for verb-final use as well.

Table 6.1: Verb-medial (VM) and verb-final (VF) use by three groups of participants from two different methods a) spontaneous one-on-one conversations, and b) elicited conversations of free speech on a given topic as well as the data of bilingual spontaneous group conversations in bilingual mode (% (N))

	Spontaneous / natural conversations		Elicited conversations	
	VM	VF	VM	Non-finite
Monolinguals	5 (13)	95 (223)	7 (38)	93 (513)
MM bilinguals	20 (217)	80 (856)	26 (190)	74 (536)
BM bilinguals	21 (176)	79 (660)	28 (204)	72 (516)
Bilingual group	34 (301)	66 (582)	N/A	N/A

In the remainder of this section, we will look at some of these complex clauses as uttered by bilinguals, and compare them with monolingual usage. Doing so will make it possible to see whether the verb-medial utterances carry the pragmatic meaning that is typically associated with verb-medial word order in the grammatical literature on Turkish.

Thirty verb-medial occurrences were evaluated randomly across the data and 25 of them are reported below to avoid unnecessary repetition of the same type of examples. In the presentation, I attempted to pick sentences which are short, interestingly clear and the most understandable without context when taken out. The general results from those analyses suggest quite clearly that the verb-medial use happens due to contact. More specifically, verb-medial use in complement clauses, especially in finite ones, seems to result from language contact effects. Dutch and TR-Turkish equivalents will be given after each example.⁴⁰ Note that Dutch equivalents place the matrix verbs always at the medial position and NL-Turkish is similar to Dutch in terms of matrix verb position, but TR-Turkish equivalents (with both finite and non-finite subordinate clauses) are in verb-final order (matrix verbs are written **bold** in the examples). Examples 5 (taken from spontaneous one-on-one monolingual mode data) and 6 (from

⁴⁰ When the NL-Turkish example has finite subordination with a matrix verb in a medial position, its verb-final equivalent in TR-Turkish is provided *both* in finite and non-finite form since non-finite is the expectedly predominant version from TR-Turkish. However, when the NL-Turkish example is already in its non-finite form with a (matrix) verb-medial order, then *only* the non-finite form with a verb-final equivalent is presented as non-finite is the more frequently expected form in TR-Turkish.

monolingual mode elicited conversations) illustrate finite and non-finite complement clauses with their bold-printed matrix verbs in medial position. In neither context is there a pragmatic or semantic motivation for verb-medial order. Both complement clauses are examples of reported speech. The fact that they use direct speech and verb-medial order without clear pragmatic motivation strongly suggests that the verb-medial structure is *contact-induced*.

- (5) **De-di-m** “ben kendi-m-i hiç iyi hisset-mi-yor-um”.
 say-Past-1sg [I self-Poss.1sg-ACC not.at.all good feel-NEG-Pr.Prog-1sg]
 ‘I said: [“I don’t feel (myself) good at all”].’
 :Dutch equivalent – VM:
 Ik **zei**: “Ik voel me helemaal niet goed”.
 I said I feel myself at.all not good
 TR-Turkish equivalents – VF:
Finite: “Ben kendimi hiç iyi hissetmiyorum” **dedim**.
Non-finite: Kendimi hiç iyi *hisset-me-diğ-im-i* **söyle-di-m**.
feel-NEG-F.NMLZ-1sg.Poss-ACC tell-Past-1sg
- (6) **Di-yo-du-m** yani “bu uçak in-mi-cek.⁴¹ Biz düş-ece-z.”
 say-Prog-Past-1sg well [this plane land-NEG-Fut we fall-Fut-1.pl]
 ‘I was saying: [“This plane will not land and we will fall”].’
 Dutch equivalent – VM:
 Ik **zei**: “Dit vliegtuig gaat niet landen maar stort neer”.
 I said this plane will not land but falls down
 TR-Turkish equivalents – VF:
Finite: “Bu uçak inmiçcek. Biz düşecez” **diyordum**.
Non-finite: Bu *uçak-in in-me-yeceğ-i-ni* *biz-im*
 this plane-GEN.2sg land-NEG-F.NMLZ-Poss.3sg-ACC we-GEN
düş-eceğ-imiz-i **söyl-üyor-du-m**.
 fall-F.NMLZ-1sg.Poss-ACC tell-Prog-Past-1sg

The following example, taken from spontaneous one-on-one bilingual mode speech, contains another postverbal complement clause for which the positioning is probably due to contact-induced change. The speaker is the

⁴¹ The words ‘inmiçcek’ and ‘düşecez’ were written in the way the participant produced the word. In the correct written form, they are respectively ‘inmeyecek’ and ‘düşeceğiz’.

bilingual research assistant conducting the conversation. As she was trying to start a new topic with this sentence, the new information (i.e. that the person they are talking about became an uncle) is the focus and not backgrounded, as would be the interpretation if TR-Turkish pragmatic rules applied. Therefore, it seems to be a clear illustration of contact having caused verb-medial order to lose the pragmatic association with backgrounding of the postverbal argument.

- (7) Ja. **Duy-du-m** [dayı ol-muş-sun]?
 yes hear-Past-1sg uncle be-Past-2sg
 ‘Yes. I heard [that you became an uncle].’

Dutch equivalent – VM:

Ja. Ik **heb gehoord** [dat jij oom bent geworden].
 yes I have heard that you uncle are become

TR-Turkish equivalents – VF:

Finite: Ja. [Dayı olmuşsun] **duydum.**

Non-finite: Ja. [Dayı *ol-duğ-un-nu*] **duydum.**
 uncle *become-F.NMLZ-2sg.Poss-ACC*

In Example 8, from the one-on-one interviews in the monolingual mode condition, the non-finite complement clause is the focus element as it provides the new information in the sentence. Canonical would be verb-final order, with the subordinate clause in the focus position. Thus, from the perspective of TR-Turkish, there is no reason for the verb-medial order that we actually observe. The verb-medial use seems to result from *contact*.

- (8) Kız kardeş-im bu yıl sınav-a gir-cek, buradaki baya önemli
 sister-poss.1sg this year exam-DAT enter-Fut here very important
 ol-an bi sınav-a. O artık **belirli-cek**⁴² [hangi... devam
 be-SubjP a exam-DAT that from.now determine-Fut which continue
 nereye ed-iceğ-i-ni].
 where do-F.NMLZ-3sg.Poss-ACC

‘My sister is going to take an exam this year, a very important one here. That will determine which... [where she will continue (her education)].’

⁴² The words ‘gircek’, ‘ediceğini’ and ‘belirlicek’ were again phonetically written in the way they were produced by the participant. In the correct written form, they are, respectively, ‘girecek’, ‘edeceğini’ and ‘belirleyecek’.

Dutch equivalent – VM:

Mijn zus gaat dit jaar examen doen, een hele belangrijke. Dat **gaat**
That's going to

bepalen [waar zij verder gaat studeren].
determine where she further is going to study

TR-Turkish equivalent – VF:

Non-finite: ... [hangi... devam nereye ed-eceğ-i-ni] artık o **belirleyecek**.

Example 9, taken from a bilingual mode elicited conversation, presents another case of verb-medial use without obvious pragmatic or contextual reasons. Almost at the beginning of the discussion of this topic, the participant used the verb-medial order while talking about a happy event. He reports what he told the officials in an organization, using direct speech. The matrix verb is placed before the subordinate clause. As there is no backgrounding involved, contact with Dutch is likely to be responsible for the verb-medial order.

- (9) Onlar-a **de-di-m** “ben Barcelona Real Madrid maç-ı-na
they-DAT say-Past-1sg I Barcelona Real Madrid match-Poss.3sg-DAT
git-mek ist-iyor-um”.
go-Inf want-Pr.Prog-1sg

‘I told them: “I would like to go to a Barcelona-Real Madrid match”.’

Dutch equivalent – VM:

Ik **zei** tegen hen: “Ik wil want naar een Barcelona Real Madrid
I said towards them I want please to a Barcelona Real Madrid
wedstrijd”.
match

TR-Turkish equivalents – VF:

Finite: Onlara “ben Barcelona Real Madrid maçına gitmek istiyorum”
dedim

Non-finite: Onlara Barcelona Real Madrid maçına gitmek

iste-diğ-im-i **söyle-di-m.**
want-F.NMLZ-1sg.Poss-ACC

The following example, from one-on-one monolingual mode speech, exhibits another verb-medial case with a finite complement clause where there seems to be no pragmatic motivation reason for positioning the verb in

the medial position. Note that the entire subordinate clause conveys new information.

- (10) **İste-r-di-m** ki daha bi vakit geç-sin, okul-um
 want-Pres-Past-1sg that [more one time pass-OPT school-1sg.Poss
 bit-sin.
 finish-OPT]

'I would like it if [some more time had passed and that my school had finished].'

Dutch equivalent – VM:

Ik **zou graag willen** [dat meer tijd was verstreken en dat mijn
 I would please like that more time was passed and that my
 school was afgelopen].
 school was finished

TR-Turkish equivalents – VF:

Finite: [daha bi vakit geçsin, okulum bit-sin] **isterdim.**

Non-finite: [daha bi vakit *geç-me-si-ni*,
pass-F.NMLZ-3sg.Poss-ACC

okul-um-un *bit-me-si-ni* **isterdim.**
 school-1sg.Poss-GEN *finish-NMLZ-3sg.Poss-ACC*

The next sentence, attested in spontaneous one-on-one bilingual mode speech, likewise, involved verb-medial order without any indication that the postverbal clause should be interpreted as backgrounded. The participant produced this sentence while he was talking about where he felt at home more, in Turkey or the Netherlands. He said that he was a Turk, but that when he went to Turkey it became noticeable that he was a foreigner. That information is contained in the postverbal clause and, if anything, it's the focus of the sentence, rather than background. Hence, verb-medial order seems to be the result of language contact.

- (11) belli **ol-uyo** biraz [yabancı ol-duğ-um].
 perceptible be-Pr.Prog some foreign be-F.NMLZ-1sg.Poss

'[That I am foreign] becomes perceptible / noticeable (when I go to Turkey).'

Dutch equivalent – VM:

Het **wordt** duidelijk [dat ik buitenlands ben] (zodra ik naar Turkije ga).
 it becomes noticeable that I foreign am when I to Turkey go

TR-Turkish equivalent – VF:

Non-finite: [yabancı olduğum] biraz **belli oluyor.**

In Example 12, from spontaneous monolingual mode speech, the participant expressed his annoyance about a friend kissing a girl right in front of him. He went on saying that he saw that they loved each other, but that he felt bothered seeing them kissing in public. The subordinate clause is not backgrounded, as it actually conveys the new information that is in focus. From a TR-Turkish perspective, the context does not motivate verb-medial order. The verb position in this complement clause may well be caused by contact with Dutch.

- (12) **Gör-üyo-m**⁴³ [siz birbiriniz-i çok sev-iyo-nuz]...
 see-Pr.Prog-1sg you each.other-ACC very love-Pr.Prog-2pl

'I see [that you love each other a lot]...'

Dutch equivalent – VM:

Ik **zie** [dat jullie veel van elkaar houden].
 I see that you a lot from each other love

TR-Turkish equivalents – VF:

Finite: [siz birbirinizi çok seviyorsunuz] **görüyorum**...

Non-finite: [siz-in birbirinizi çok sev-diğ-iniz-i]
 you-2pl.Poss love-F.NMLZ-2pl.Poss-ACC

görüyorum...

The next example taken from monolingual mode elicited conversations, on the other hand, presents an interesting case of verb-medial use brought on by the flow of the context. The interviewer asked the participant how her parents had reacted when she decided to pursue a study in fashion. First, she briefly talked about her deep interest in fashion. Then she wanted to underline that her parents *had known* and she does this by placing the old information ('that I would choose (studying) fashion') behind the verb. This puts the focus on the parents' reaction and backgrounds the rest. This is one of the rare cases in the data from bilinguals of verb-medial order following the pragmatic conventions of TR-Turkish.

⁴³ In Examples 12 and 13, the words 'görüyom', 'seviyonuz' and 'biliyoldı' would be respectively 'görüyorum', 'seviyorsunuz' and 'biliyoldı' in the correct written form, but they were written as they were pronounced in the spoken data.

- (13) **bil-iyo-lar-dı** [ben-im moda seç-eceğ-im-i].
know-Pr.Prog-3pl-Past I-1sg.Poss fashion choose-F.NMLZ-1sg.Poss-ACC

‘They knew [that I would choose (studying) fashion].’

Dutch equivalent – VM:

Ze **wisten** [dat ik de studie mode zou kiezen].
they knew that I the study fashion would choose

TR-Turkish equivalent – VF by default in the absence of a pragmatic purpose:

Non-finite: [benim moda seçeceğimi] **biliyorlardı.**

So far, all subordinate clauses examined were complement clauses. I also looked at other types of clauses used in verb-medial contexts to see to what extent their positioning could be explained as pragmatically motivated or not. It seems adverbial clauses are more likely to trigger verb-medial use for pragmatic reasons. The next example, from spontaneous one-on-one monolingual mode speech, is a case in which pragmatic reasons seem to be the motivating factor for the postverbal placement of an adverbial clause. The speaker mentioned that she started playing football because she wanted to lose weight. The interviewer asked her whether it helped. She then said that it indeed helped but that she started gaining weight again after she stopped playing. This fact seems to be intended as the focus information while ‘after quitting football’ is backgrounded information.

- (14) ama kilo-lar-ı geri al-ma-ya **başla-dı-m**
but kilo-pl-ACC back gain-NMLZ-DAT start-Past-1sg

[bırak-tık-tan sonra].

[stop-F.NMLZ-ABL after]

‘But I started gaining the weights back [after I stopped it (i.e. playing football)].’

Dutch equivalent – VM:

Maar ik **begon** aan te komen [nadat ik gestopt was met voetbal].
but I began to gain weight after I stopped was with football

TR-Turkish equivalent – VF by default in the absence of a pragmatic purpose:

Non-finite: ama [bıraktıktan sonra] kilolaları geri almaya **başladım.**

The following example, taken from spontaneous one-on-one bilingual mode speech, contains the answer a participant gave when she was asked how it felt being an aunt. The fact that she cried when she heard the news was naturally placed in the focus position as it was an answer to the question.

Therefore, the adverbial subordinate clause ('when I heard') was backgrounded, i.e. placed after the verb. Dutch influence cannot be ruled out, as Dutch would also place the subordinate clause behind the verb, but it can at most be reinforcement of a TR-Turkish convention.

- (15) Çok süper. **Ağla-dı-m** [duy-duğ-um-da]. Ben hiç
 very super cry-Past-1sg hear-F.NMLZ-1sg.Poss-DAT I never
 ağla-ma-m.
 cry-NEG-1sg

'Super. I cried when I heard it (the news). Normally, I never cry.'

Dutch equivalent – VM:

Geweldig. Ik **hilde** [toen ik het nieuws hoorde]. Normal huil ik nooit.
 Super. I cried when I the news heard normal cry I never

TR-Turkish equivalent – VF by default in the absence of a pragmatic purpose:

Non-finite: Çok süper. [Duyduğumda] **ağladım**.

On the other hand, Example 16, from spontaneous monolingual mode speech, most likely presents a case of contact-related verb-medial use as according to TR-Turkish conventions it would not be suitable to place the verb before the subordinate clause, given that this sentence was uttered at the start of the conversation and contained all new information. The interviewer had asked the participant to compare Turkey and the Netherlands in any way he could think of. The participant started with saying that he loved Turkey as it is his homeland, with the matrix verb before the subordinate clause. According to TR-Turkish conventions, the subordinate clause sounds like an afterthought which would probably be realized as a new separate sentence, rather than as a subordinate clause, so contact appears to be motivating the verb position in this complex clause.

- (16) Türkiye'yi çok **sev-er-im** yani [vatan-ım
 Turkey-ACC very.much love-Pres-1sg well land-1sg.Poss
 ol-duğ-u için].
 be-F.NMLZ-3sg.Poss for

'Well, I love Turkey very much as it is my homeland.'

Dutch equivalent – VM:

Ik **hou** erg van Turkije [omdat mijn eigen land is].

TR-Turkish equivalent – VF:

Non-finite: [Vatanım olduğu için] Türkiye'yi çok **severim**.

The following example, from monolingual mode elicited conversations, features verb-medial order probably caused by pragmatics. The participant was talking about her first flying experience and said that she was very scared and that her sister-in-law was trying to calm her down, until a moment of strong turbulence. At that moment, they flipped roles: ‘she (her sister-in-law) herself now started getting extremely scared, as she was pregnant.’ To emphasize that their respective roles now had changed, the main clause part containing this information was placed before the subordinate clause (yielding verb-medial order). The subordinate clause elaborates on the reason for this reversal (i.e. it was because she was pregnant) and was, appropriately according to TR-Turkish convention, backgrounded.

- (17) Kendi-si çok fazla kork-ma-ya **başla-dı** [hamile
self-Poss.3sg very much fear-NMLZ-DAT start-Past.3sg pregnant
ol-duğ-u için].
be-F.NMLZ-3sg for

‘She, herself, started getting extremely scared [as she was pregnant].’

Dutch equivalent – VM:

Zij zelf **begon** extreem bang te worden [omdat ze zwanger was].
she self began extremely scared to become because she pregnant was

TR-Turkish equivalent – VF by default in the absence of a pragmatic purpose:

Non-finite: [Hamile olduğu için] kendisi çok fazla korkmaya **başladı**.

Example 18, from the bilingual mode elicited conversations, provides another illustration of contact-related verb-medial use. The participant was saying that her father had been arrested in Turkey and that they had had a very close and nice relationship before he was gone. She also said that nothing was the same after he came back, although she was still only ten. The flow of the conversation does not require her age to be in focus, which is how the utterance would be interpreted given TR-Turkish conventions. This makes it likely that the verb-medial order was inspired by language contact.

- (18) Hala on **yaşında-ydı-m** [geri gel-diğ-in-de].
still ten years.old-Past-1sg back come-F.NMLZ-3sg.Poss-LOC

'I was still ten years old when he (my father) came back.'

Dutch equivalent – VM:

Ik **was** nog steeds tien jaar [toen mijn vader terug kwam].
I was still ten year when my father back came

TR-Turkish equivalent – VF:

Non-finite: [Geri geldiğinde] hala on **yaşımdaydım**.

The verb-medial use in the following example, from bilingual mode elicited one-on-one conversations, seems to result from placing the verb in the focus position due to the specific pragmatic meaning the speaker wishes to convey. The participant was asked how she got on with her grandparents who were living in the same apartment building. To emphasize that she had very good relations with them, she placed the matrix clause information (i.e. that she stayed with them every day) in the focus position as that would more or less answer the question. She backgrounded the detail of their living in the same apartment building as that provided extra information not directly crucial to the main point she wanted to make.

- (19) Süper. Ben her gün onlar-da **kal-ıyor-um** [aynı flat-te
super I every day they-LOC stay-Pr.Prog-1sg same building-LOC
otur-duğ-umuz için].
live-F.NMLZ-1pl.Poss for

'Super! I stay at their place every day [as we live in the same building].'

Dutch equivalent – VM:

Geweldig! Ik **verblijf** bij hen elke dag [omdat we in hetzelfde
super I stay by them every day because we in the same
gebouw wonen].
building live

TR-Turkish equivalent – VF by default in the absence of a pragmatic purpose:

Non-finite: Süper. [Aynı flat'te oturduğumuz için] ben her gün onlarda
kalıyorum.

Based on the contextual clues, Example 20, from monolingual mode elicited conversations, seems to illustrate verb-medial use⁴⁴ that is unconventional from the perspective of TR-Turkish, and thus possibly caused by contact. The participant was talking about her great-grandfather. She said how nice he was and that she was upset when he became paralyzed. She concludes by saying that they were in the Netherlands when he died and that therefore she was not able to see him. After saying that she was sad when he became paralyzed, she went on with ‘we were here when he died’ with a verb-medial order. The verb-medial order would suggest to a TR-Turkish hearer that what seems to be the new and more important information (i.e. ‘*when he died*’) is actually backgrounded although the correct interpretation is most likely that this information is the focus. Thus, verb-medial use here seems to result from contact, rather than the intention to convey any specific pragmatic meaning.

- (20) Biz **burda-ydı-k** [vefat et-tiğ-i-nde].
 we here-Past-1pl death do-F.NMLZ-3sg.Poss-LOC

‘*We were here when he died.*’

Dutch equivalent – VM:

We **waren** hier [toen hij overleed].
 we were here when he died

TR-Turkish equivalent – VF:

Non-finite: [Vefat ettiğinde] biz **burdaydık**.

In the following example, another instance of contact-related verb-medial use, from spontaneous monolingual mode speech, the participant was talking about his eating habits, and said that yoghurt contained a lot of protein and that he ate it before going to bed. There seems to be no pragmatic reason to background the subordinate clause (i.e. ‘before I go to bed’) and make the main clause (i.e. ‘I eat yoghurt’) the focus of the sentence. The verb-medial order looks like it may well stem from cross-linguistic influence, as the context does not provide any pragmatic basis for it.

⁴⁴ Note that this is a nominal verb, but that does not make any difference for the focus of this chapter.

- (21) Yoğurd-u **al-ır-ım** [yat-madan önce].
yoghurt-ACC take-Pres-1sg go.to.bed-CV before

'I eat yoghurt before I go to bed.'

Dutch equivalent – VM:

Ik **eet** yoghurt [voordat ik naar bed ga].

TR-Turkish equivalent – VF:

Non-finite: [Yatmadan önce] yoğurdu **yerim**.⁴⁵

We have so far reviewed examples from bilingual mode and monolingual mode spontaneous and elicited one-on-one conversations. However, spontaneous *group* conversations contained even a higher proportion of verb-medial order (see Table 6.1). The following four randomly selected examples illustrate cases of verb-medial use in these data.

In Example 22, in which verb-medial use (with a complement clause) seems to originate from 'contact', a group of three bilinguals had talked about having tattoos, and had been looking at a few tattoo patterns. Then one of them, partly off topic, started talking about her brother and asked the other two whether they knew that he also had a tattoo. Although the context does not pragmatically require it, if judging from the perspective of TR-Turkish conventions, she formed the question with verb-medial order, seemingly backgrounding the part that most likely is actually in focus.

- (22) **bil-iy-o-sun**⁴⁶ de mi [Cem'in de *tatoeage*'si var]?
know-Pr.Prog-2sg INT Cem-GEN also tattoo-3sg.Poss there.is

'You know that Cem also has a tattoo, don't you?'

Dutch equivalent – VM:

Jij **weet** [dat Cem ook een *tatoeage* heeft], toch?
you know that Cem also a tattoo has right

TR-Turkish equivalents – VF:

Finite: [Cem'in de *tatoeage*'si var] **biliyorsun**, değil mi?

Non-finite: Cem'in de *tatoeage*'si *ol-duğ-u-nu*
be-F.NMLZ-3sg.Poss-ACC

biliyorsun, değil mi?

⁴⁵ TR-Turkish would use the verb *-ye* 'eat' in this context instead of the verb *-al* 'take' according to its conventions.

⁴⁶ The correct written form of 'biliyosun' and 'de mi' are respectively 'biliyorsun' and 'değil mi'. The italic word *tatoeage* is a Dutch insertion.

Example 23 presents a fragment from a conversation between four bilinguals who were cooking together. It contains subordination with a complement clause. Talk up to this point had been about a different topic than food but suddenly the speaker blurted out this utterance relating to the dish they were preparing. She used verb-medial order while TR-Turkish conventions would require verb-final order, considering all the information is new. Thus, verb-medial seems to be caused by contact only.

- (23) **bil-mi-yo-m**⁴⁷ [yağ-ı-nı çok mu koy-du-m].
 know-NEG-Pr.Prog-1sg oil-3sg.Poss-ACC very INT put-Past-1sg
 ‘I don’t know [whether I added a lot of oil (to the meal or not)].’

Dutch equivalent – VM:

Ik **weet** niet [of ik veel olie heb toegevoegd aan het eten].
 I know not whether I a lot of oil have added to the food

TR-Turkish equivalents – VF:

Finite: [Yağın çok mu koydum] **bilmiyorum.**

Non-finite: [Yağın çok mu koy-up koy-ma-dığ-ım-ı]
 add-CV add-NEG-F.NMLZ-1sg.Poss-ACC

bilmiyorum.

The next example is another illustration of the large number of complement clauses with a verb-medial order seemingly triggered by contact. One of the participants was talking about an appointment she thought she had made for a particular day, but then she was called by the other person asking where she had been. Through the direct reported speech, she conveyed her answer to that person: ‘I am studying today’. From a TR-Turkish perspective, there seems to be no pragmatic motivation for placing the matrix verb in the medial position and to background the subordinate clause (RS), as it is actually the focus of the sentence.

⁴⁷ The correct written form of ‘bilmiyom’ is ‘bilmiyorum’.

- (24) Ben de o-na **de-di-m** ki ‘bugün ders çalış-ıyor-um’.
 I also she-DAT say-Past-1sg that today lesson work-Pr.Prog-1sg
 ‘I also told her: ‘I am studying today.’

Dutch equivalent – VM:

Ik **zei** ook tegen haar: ‘Ik ben aan het studeren vandaag’.
 I said also to her I am at the studying today

TR-Turkish equivalents – VF:

Finite: Ben de ona ‘bugün ders çalışıyorum’ **dedim**.

Non-finite: Ben de ona [bugün ders çalış-tığ-ım-ı] **söyledim**.
study-F.NMLZ-1sg.Poss-ACC

The following example also illustrates verb-medial order with a complement clause following the matrix verb. The female participant was complaining that her son and husband did not like the ‘baldo’ type of rice, while she did. The other participant gave her the advice that she should not specify the type, and just say ‘rice’. From a TR-Turkish perspective, the canonical verb-final order would perfectly convey the intended message, but the bilingual uses verb-medial order, quite possibly again because of Dutch influence.

- (25) **Söyle-me** [baldo ol-duğ-u-nu]. “Pirinç” de sadece.
 say-NEG.Imp baldo be-F.NMLZ-3sg.Poss-ACC rice say only
 ‘Don’t say that it is the baldo type. Just say “rice”.’

Dutch equivalent – VM:

Zeg niet [dat het de baldo type is]. Zeg alleen rijst.
 say not that it the baldo type is say only rice

TR-Turkish equivalent – VF:

Non-finite: [Baldo olduğunu] **söyleme**.

The following two examples, still from the group conversations, involve adverbial clauses.

The context of the next example is that the participants were talking about their grandfathers who used to Scotch-tape the broken parts of their glasses in order to still be able to use them. Then, one of the participants mentioned her own grandfather who did not even tape his glasses, but wore them broken as they were. The verb-medial use in this adverbial clause does not seem to have any pragmatic motivation as the subordinate clause actually provides the focus information. Thus, the verb-medial order appears to be produced because of language contact.

- (26) Bu bantla-ma-mış. Gene **tak-mış** [ol-duğ-u gibi].
 this tape-NEG-Past.3sg again wear-Past.3sg be-F.NMLZ-3sg.Poss like
 ‘This one (her grandfather) didn’t tape it. He wore it again as they were.’

Dutch equivalent – VM:

Hij (haar opa) heeft het niet geplakt. Hij **droeg** het [zoals het was].
 he (her grandfather) has it not taped he wore it as it was

TR-Turkish equivalent – VF:

Non-finite: Gene [olduğu gibi] **takmış**.

Example 27 displays another case of verb-medial with an adverbial clause, and again the positioning seems contact-related. In fact, I did not come across any clear examples of verb-medial use caused by pragmatic factors in the bilingual group conversations. As the participants complimented one of their group on her hair color, this participant wanted to explain that it had been a long time since she had dyed it (although this timing of coloring was irrelevant to the conversation). The context does not call for verb-medial use pragmatically.

- (27) Çok uzun zaman **ol-du** [boya-yalı].
 very long time be-Past.3sg color-CV
 ‘It has been a very long time [since I colored my hair].’

Dutch equivalent – VM:

Het **is** lang geleden [dat ik mijn haar geverfd heb].
 It is long ago that I my hair colored have

TR-Turkish equivalent – VF:

Non-finite: [Boyayalı] çok uzun zaman **oldu**.

In stark contrast, when the following examples from the spontaneous and elicited one-on-one conversations with TR-monolinguals were analyzed, it was clear verb-medial uses in both examples were driven by pragmatic meanings. Recall that verb-medial use, in general, was much rarer in monolingual than in bilingual speech (see Table 6.1).

The following example, taken from spontaneous one-on-one TR-monolingual conversations, is a case of verb-medial with an adverbial clause following the TR-Turkish pragmatic principle of encoding the matrix clause as the focus information of the sentence by backgrounding the subordinate clause. The participant was talking about moving to another city and then was asked how she felt about that. After listing a few things, she then

directly answered the question saying she was not happy about it. As the matrix clause was the focus of the conversation and the relevant answer to the question, it triggered the use of verb-medial order.

- (28) Ben çok **mutlu değil-im** [bunlar-ı düşün-düğ-üm zaman].
 I very happy not-1sg these-ACC thing-F.NMLZ-1sg.Poss time
 ‘I am not really happy when I think about these (things).’

Dutch equivalent – VM:

Ik **ben** niet echt blij [wanneer ik aan deze dingen denk].
 I am not really happy when I about these things think

TR-Turkish equivalent – VF by default in the absence of a pragmatic purpose:

Non-finite: Ben [bunları düşündüğüm zaman] çok **mutlu değilim**.

The final example (29), from elicited one-on-one TR-monolingual conversations, shows a case of verb-medial order with a complement clause. This verb-medial use is also pragmatically motivated: a father was talking about the first moments of his newly-born son saying that he did not cry even at his first moments in this world. He added that it was obvious from that moment that the son would never upset them. As the focus was the timing of this realization at these first minutes with the baby, he placed the matrix clause in the focus position, pushing the elaboration of the topic to the postverbal position.

- (29) O zaman-dan **belli-ymiş** [biz-i üz-me-yeceğ-i].
 that time-ABL obvious-Past.3sg we-ACC upset-NEG-F.NMLZ-3sg.Poss
 ‘It was already obvious back then that he would not upset us.’

Dutch equivalent – VM:

Het **was** toen al duidelijk [dat hij ons niet
 It was back then already obvious that he us not
 van streek zou brengen].
 would upset

TR-Turkish equivalent – VF by default in the absence of a pragmatic purpose:

Non-finite: [Bizi üzmeyeceği] o zamandan **belliymiş**.

To conclude, as clearly shown first quantitatively and then by a qualitative analysis of a sample of relevant examples, there is a big difference between bilinguals and monolinguals in where the matrix verb is placed in complex

clauses. There seems to be no difference between the different speech modes (monolingual and bilingual mode), however.

6.4.2 Study 2: Experimental performance data

As mentioned in the introduction, language contact studies generally rely on spontaneous speech recordings. Study 2 employs experimental production data from an *elicited imitation* task. Both elicited imitation and the judgment tasks, to be discussed in the next section, are argued to force the participant to make use of his/her linguistic knowledge, or competence, as well as perhaps their metalinguistic awareness. The elicited imitation task in addition requires the participant to actually produce language, while the judgment task does not.

The following two subsections will present the method and results from the elicited imitation task.

6.4.2.1 Method: Elicited imitation

Spontaneous speech can show what occurs, but not whether what does not occur is impossible, or is absent from the speaker's mental representation. If we don't come across certain constructions in usage, it does not automatically mean that the speakers do not have them at all in their competence (Gullberg et al. 2009). By means of an elicited imitation task, using some of the actual instances of verb-medial expressions attested in the previously collected spontaneous bilingual conversations (see Onar Valk & Backus 2013), I aimed to see if the participants would replace any verb-medial items with verb-final structures, or vice versa, when asked to repeat the sentences. I also constructed additional TR-Turkish-like verb-final sentences to see whether these would be correctly repeated in verb-final form; priming of the construction could be expected to trigger them, lowering the effect of contact with Dutch.

The test items were sequences of sentences (usually three or four). The idea was to make the imitation relatively difficult to do, and keep the participants away from just parroting the sentences. They were supposed to listen to the short connected sequence and then remember it. The assumption was that this would induce them to consult their grammatical knowledge in creating their sentences while recalling.

As most of the verb-medial sentences were extracted from bilingual conversations, they contained codeswitching.⁴⁸ I mostly chose sentences which could easily have been used in their verb-final form, but were frequently produced as verb-medial. The initial battery of test items was worked on by the author and four bilingual research assistants, and this led to some of the sequences getting shortened.

Three groups of participants performed the task. The first consisted of 20 Turkish-Dutch bilingual participants (age range 18-30, raised and educated in the Netherlands). The session was led by the main bilingual research assistant under the author's supervision. This first session was carried out in a bilingual mode, so the test items contained codeswitching. Second, another set of 20 Turkish-Dutch bilinguals, comparable to the first groups for the basic characteristics such as age and education, carried out the same task in monolingual mode. This task was conducted by the TR-Turkish speaking author. The monolingual mode task was the translation of the bilingual mode task into Dutch Turkish with the help of bilingual assistants. Finally, a control group of 21 monolinguals in Turkey was tested with the same items, except that all items were completely in Turkish and were in accordance with the conventions of TR-Turkish. The task was conducted by the author.

The participants were allowed to listen to the items a maximum of three times if they had difficulties remembering. They received the following instruction: "You are expected to reflect the message back, sort of like a repetition, but you don't have to parrot it. You can use your own words and you can repeat it in the way you like. You can make changes in parts that do not sound nice or good to you."

In total, the participants were presented with 24 verb-medial and 39 verb-final constructions and the task took about an hour per participant to

⁴⁸ A stimulus item testing word order is illustrated below for the three groups:

Semra **dedi** ki "*ik heb de taaltoets gehaald*". – (BM)

Semra **dedi** ki "ben dil sınavını aldım". – (MM)

Semra **dedi** ki "ben dil sınavını geçtim". – (TR-Turkish)

'Semra said "I passed the language course".'

The bilingual mode sentence in this example was literally taken from the attested data and the bold-printed verb was kept in verb-medial position for all three versions. As confirmed by the spontaneous data and by the assistants, Turkish-Dutch bilinguals use the verb *sınav almak* 'exam (to) take' to convey 'to pass an exam' while TR-Turkish makes use of *geçmek* 'to pass'. Presumably, the Dutch Turkish version is a loan translation, as Dutch employs the verb *halen* 'to take'. A few such adaptations were made in the versions to comply with the conventions of the language used by the speech community in the NL or in Turkey.

complete. Some of the stimulus items contained reported speech. There were 18 verb-medial reported speech constructions and 17 verb-final ones. Bilingual mode responses were recorded and transcribed with the help of the four bilingual assistants while the monolingual mode and monolingual responses were transcribed mostly by the author (assistants also helped transcribing some of these monolingual mode data). All the coding and analyses, on the other hand, were done only by the author.

6.4.2.2 Results of Study 2: Elicited imitation data

The results will be reported first from a general perspective. Secondly, I will zoom in on word order in reported speech structures, as this seems to be where changes in Dutch Turkish word order are very profound.

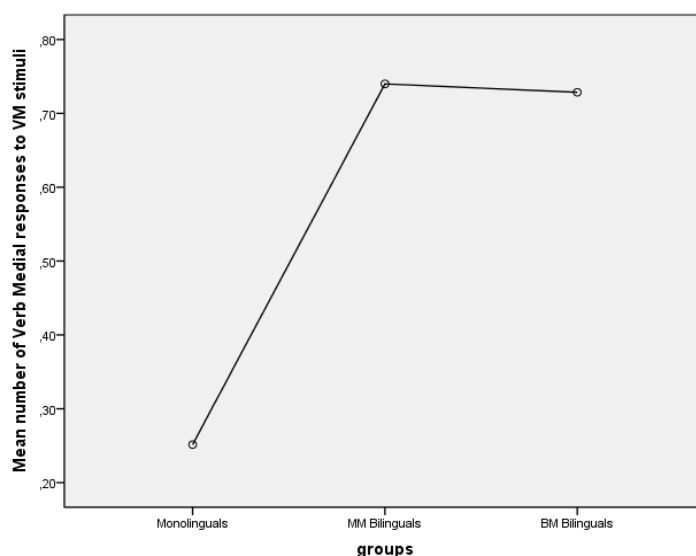
Tables 6.2 and 6.3 show the mean scores for the elicited imitation task, separately for verb-medial and verb-final stimulus items, and for the three groups: monolinguals, bilinguals in monolingual mode, and bilinguals in bilingual mode.

Table 6.2 reports the mean scores for the verb-medial stimuli. The lower the score, the more frequently the participants changed the stimuli into verb-final sentences. Based on one-way ANOVA results, there was a significant effect of group type on performance, $F(2, 58) = 64.48$, $p < .001$, $\omega = 0.87$. Post hoc pair-wise comparison shows that the monolinguals changed the verb-medial stimuli significantly more often into a verb-final formulation than the two groups of bilinguals (p 's $< .001$). The bilingual groups did not differ significantly from each other ($p = .97$). In other words, speech mode (monolingual mode versus bilingual mode) did not have a significant effect on the way the bilinguals repeated the sentences. Thus, bilinguals repeated the verb-medial stimuli much more often than monolinguals as verb-medial, and it didn't matter whether they were in bilingual or monolingual mode.

Table 6.2: Mean scores (95% confidence intervals between parentheses) and standard deviations for the verb-medial stimuli in the elicited imitation task

	Mean	SD
Monolinguals	0.25 (.17 – .33)	.17
MM bilinguals	0.74 (.68 – .80)	.14
BM bilinguals	0.73 (.65 – .80)	.16

The similarities and differences are graphically represented in Graph 6.1. Clearly, we see huge differences between bilinguals and monolinguals when repeating stimulus items with verb-medial word order. Whether the bilinguals are in bilingual or monolingual mode seems to make little difference.



Graph 6.1: Group differences with verb-medial stimuli

For verb-final stimuli, the results are similar. Table 6.3 displays the mean scores for the verb-final stimuli. Again, there was a significant effect of group type on performance. The lower the score, the more frequently the participants changed the stimuli into verb-medial sentences. The groups differed significantly from each other in their ratings, $H(2) = 26.53$, $p < .001$.⁴⁹ Pairwise comparisons with adjusted p -values showed there is a significant difference between the monolinguals and both the bilinguals in the Monolingual Mode ($p < .001$, $r = .76$) and bilinguals in the Bilingual Mode ($p < .001$, $r = .63$). There is no significant difference between the bilinguals in the two speech modes ($p = 1.00$, $r = -.13$). Thus, bilinguals repeated the verb-final sentences much less often than monolinguals as verb-final, and it did not matter whether they were in bilingual or monolingual mode.

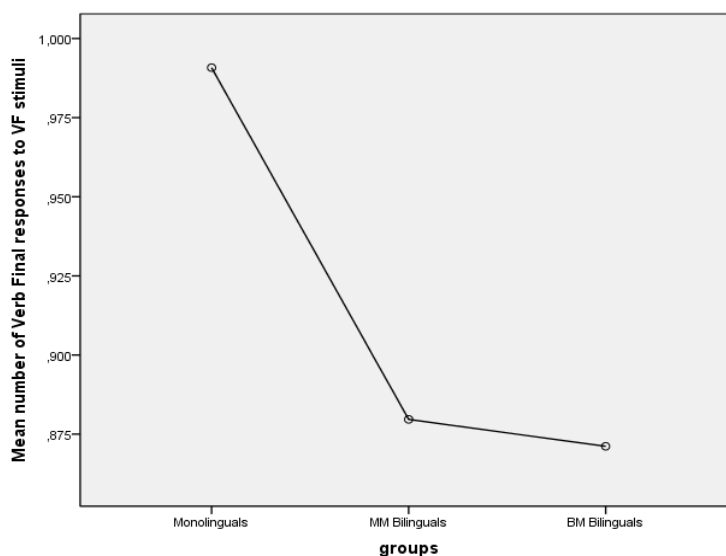
⁴⁹ Since the data were not normally distributed, I used the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test instead of ANOVA, in accordance with recommendations given in Field (2005:96, 542).

Table 6.3: Mean scores (95% confidence intervals between parentheses) and standard deviations for the verb-final stimuli in the elicited imitation task

	Mean	SD
Monolinguals	0.99 (.98 – 1.00)	.01
MM bilinguals	0.88 (.84 – .92)	.08
BM bilinguals	0.87 (.79 – .95)	.17

It is interesting that the differences in mean scores between bilinguals and monolinguals are much bigger for verb-medial stimuli (a gap of 48%) than for verb-final stimuli (a gap of 12%). In general, the acceptance and use of verb-medial order by monolinguals is quite low, while the acceptance and use of verb-final order by bilinguals is relatively high.

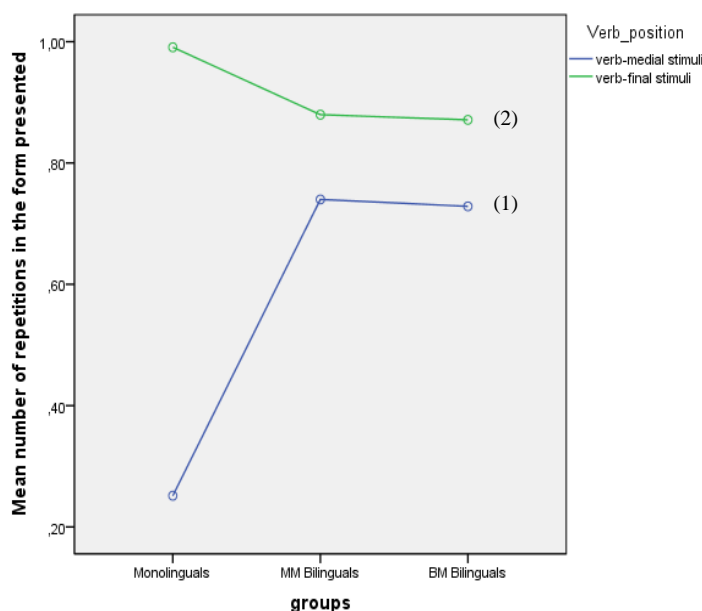
The similarities and differences for verb-final stimuli are graphically represented in Graph 6.2.



Graph 6.2: Group differences with verb-final stimuli

Graph 6.3 schematically represents these results and provides us with a visual overview of the general word order data. Verb position (1) shows what happens when the participants receive verb-medial (Dutch-like) stimuli to recall and repeat. Around 75% of the responses by monolinguals ignore the provided word order and change them to verb-final, i.e. to the TR-

Turkish default order. Approximately 73% of the responses by bilinguals – regardless of language mode –, on the other hand, keep the verb-medial word order in their repetitions. Thus, the acceptance and use of verb-medial order by monolinguals is quite low. Verb position (2) represents verb-final position, which is almost the only option used by monolingual participants while repeating verb-final stimuli, while in around 13% of the responses, bilinguals resort to verb-medial order when repeating these verb-final stimuli. The differences between bilinguals and monolinguals are smaller with verb-final stimuli, though.



Graph 6.3: Group differences based on matrix verb-position

Finally, we zoom in on what happens to word order in the more specific environment of reported speech constructions. As mentioned in Section 6.3.2, in reported speech constructions the position of the reporting verb may be final (after the reported speech subordinate clause) or medial (before the reported speech). The second option represents a more Dutch-style word order while the first one is the TR-Turkish default word order.

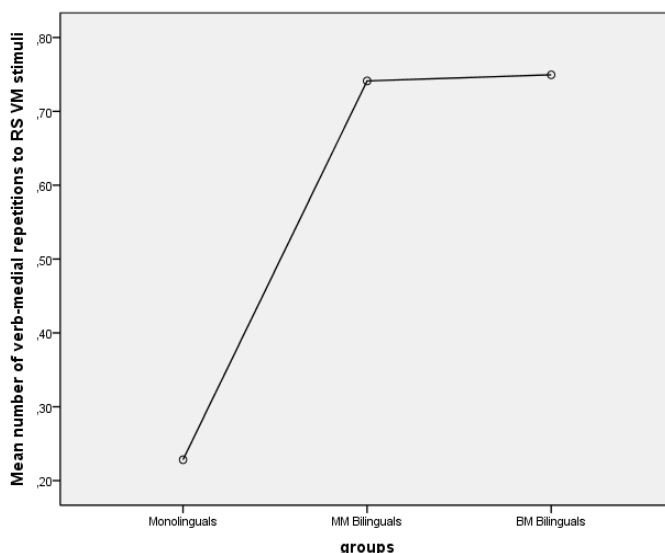
Table 6.4 reports the mean scores on the elicited imitation task for the reported speech verb-medial stimuli. The lower the score, the more frequently the participants changed the verb-medial reported speech stimuli

into verb-final reported speech sentences. Based on one-way ANOVA results, there was a significant effect of group type on performance, $F(2, 58) = 67.08$, $p < .001$, $\omega = 0.88$. Post hoc pair-wise comparison shows that the monolinguals changed the verb-medial stimuli significantly more often into a verb-final formulation than the two groups of bilinguals (p 's $< .001$). The bilingual groups did not differ significantly from each other ($p = .99$). Thus, bilinguals repeated the reported speech verb-medial sentences much more often than monolinguals as verb-medial, and it didn't matter whether they were in bilingual or monolingual mode.

Table 6.4: Mean scores (95% confidence intervals between parentheses) and standard deviations for the reported speech verb-medial stimuli in the elicited imitation task

	Mean	SD
Monolinguals	0.23 (.15 – .31)	.18
MM bilinguals	0.74 (.67 – .81)	.16
BM bilinguals	0.75 (.67 – .83)	.16

The results are strikingly similar to what we saw above for word order in general. Again, monolinguals and bilinguals react differently from each other to verb-medial word order whereas the modes (bilingual mode or monolingual mode) in which the bilinguals did the task did not matter. The Dutch-like verb-medial structures, in general, have a very low usage rate for monolinguals (around 23%) while Turkish-Dutch bilinguals seem to have no problem with that structure: approximately 75% of bilingual responses retain the verb-medial word order. The following graph visually summarizes all these results on reported speech verb-medial stimuli in this task:



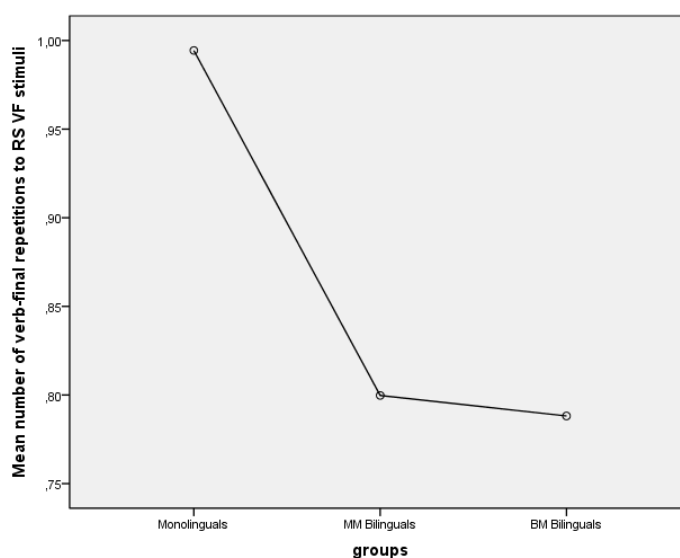
Graph 6.4: Group differences with reported speech verb-medial stimuli

For reported speech verb-final stimuli, the results are similar. Table 6.5 displays the mean scores for the reported speech verb-final stimuli. The lower the score, the more frequently the participants changed the reported speech verb-final stimuli into reported speech verb-medial sentences. The groups differed significantly from each other in their ratings, $H(2) = 28.44$, $p < .001$.⁵⁰ Thus, there was a significant effect of group type on performance. Pairwise comparisons with adjusted p -values showed there is a significant difference between the monolinguals and both the bilinguals in the Monolingual Mode ($p < .001$, $r = .75$) and bilinguals in the Bilingual Mode ($p < .001$, $r = .70$). The monolinguals repeated the reported speech verb-final stimuli significantly more often in a reported speech verb-final manner than the two groups of bilinguals. There is no significant difference between the bilinguals in different speech modes ($p = 1.00$, $r = -.06$). Thus, bilinguals repeated the reported speech verb-final sentences much less often than monolinguals as reported speech verb-final, and it did not matter whether they were in bilingual or monolingual mode.

⁵⁰ Since the data were not normally distributed, I used the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test instead of ANOVA, in accordance with recommendations given in Field (2005:96, 542).

Table 6.5: Mean scores (95% confidence intervals between parentheses) and standard deviations for the reported speech verb-final stimuli in the elicited imitation task

	Mean	SD
Monolinguals	0.99 (.99 – 1.00)	.02
MM bilinguals	0.80 (.72 – .88)	.16
BM bilinguals	0.79 (.67 – .90)	.24



Graph 6.5: Group differences with reported speech verb-final stimuli

Almost all monolinguals (99% of all responses) repeated verb-final reported speech stimuli with verb-final order whereas the percentage of bilingual responses using verb-final order for the reported speech verb-final stimuli is approximately 79, in both bilingual and monolingual modes. The differences between the bilingual mode and monolingual mode bilingual performance are again negligible, with only a 1% gap.

It is once again remarkable that the differences in mean scores between bilinguals and monolinguals are much bigger for verb-medial stimuli (a gap of 51%) than for verb-final stimuli (a gap of 19%). In general, the acceptance and use of verb-medial order by monolinguals is quite low.

In short, what the results indicate is that monolinguals and bilinguals reacted differently to verb-medial and verb-final word orders whereas the

modes (bilingual mode or monolingual mode) in which the bilinguals did the task did not matter, whatsoever.

6.5 Study 3: Conventionality judgments ('perception' data)

It is possible that what people produce does not tell us all there is to know about the linguistic knowledge that speakers possess. It might be that Dutch Turkish speakers have trouble producing TR-Turkish-like complex clauses but still retain considerable passive competence with such structures. In order to build a more complete picture of language contact effects in the word order of Dutch Turkish complex clauses, Study 3 elicited participants' judgments of the degree to which stimulus items seemed conventional to them.

6.5.1 Method: Conventionality judgments

The judgment task consisted of two parts, a *rating* task using a Likert-scale and a *forced-choice* task, again administered in bilingual and monolingual modes. Almost all the test items, especially in the *rating* task, were the same as the ones used in the production task of Study 2, but carried out by mostly different participants. The monolingual and bilingual mode tasks were carried out by 39 Turkish-Dutch participants each. Thus, 78 different bilinguals completed the task. The control group in Turkey consisted of 52 monolinguals, so a total of 130 participants took part. Twenty of these had also performed the elicited imitation task, but it was unlikely that they recalled the items, as at least 3 to 5 months had passed between the tasks. Therefore, no priming effect was assumed.

Most of the test items were once again taken from the attested speech of the previously recorded group conversations, which were conducted in a bilingual mode and contained a lot of codeswitching. Almost all the test items with a verb-medial structure came from these data, but some verb-final sentences were constructed for the task. More construction went into the forced-choice part of the task because alternative options containing crucial structures (i.e. the alternative word order) had to be included. Like the elicited imitation task, the judgment task was prepared in two conditions: in a bilingual and in a monolingual mode, using the same 'attested' data as a basis. In the bilingual mode, items included codeswitching. These were either taken verbatim from the recorded conversation or based on them. Two

bilingual research assistants provided further input and helped creating natural ‘codeswitched’ parts, which was especially needed for some of the test items that included TR-Turkish default structures. For the monolingual mode, the codeswitched parts were translated into Turkish; the resulting task was carried out by monolinguals in Turkey and by a group of bilingual participants in the Netherlands that was composed of different people than the group that carried out the task in the bilingual mode. In the end, there were two different sets of judgment task items: one for Turkish-Dutch bilinguals in bilingual mode, and one for monolinguals and bilinguals in monolingual mode.

The judgment task was created on a computer program called *LimeSurvey* and also had to be performed on the computer. The bilingual participants in the Netherlands were gathered in the computer lab of Tilburg University whereas the monolinguals in Turkey carried out the task anywhere where they had an individual computer at their disposal, e.g. in class, at the university, at home, etc.

One of the bilingual assistants managed the bilingual mode sessions by welcoming, instructing and guiding the participants, using a bilingual mode of conversation, before they actually started doing the task. They were warned, in the written instruction and also orally, not to concentrate on whether the mixing of languages sounded fine or whether a monolingual version would be preferred, but rather to focus on the language use. In that way, their attention was explicitly steered to the constructions. The instruction they were given for the *rating* task items was as follows (translated from Turkish):

“Please read the sentences below and rate them between 1 and 7 based on the Turkish spoken in the NL among young Turkish-Dutch people around you. Treat codeswitching as ‘natural’. Language mixing is accepted as ‘normal’ in bilingual communities, such as ours. While grading, ask yourself this question: ‘How often do I hear this type of sentence around me?’ Focus on the language use and grammar, not on the meaning and vocabulary during the task. ‘1’ means *never used this way* and ‘7’ *always used by everybody this way*.”

They read the instruction together with the researcher (the author) at the beginning of the session, to ensure that everything was understood by everyone, and otherwise they could ask questions. The bilingual research assistant answered the questions, and made all the clarifications using

codeswitching, so as to retain the participants in a bilingual mode. Participants saw the stimulus sentences one after the other and were asked to judge them by selecting the appropriate number on the scale and then clicking the 'next' button on the screen to go to the next item. They were not allowed to skip any items. The same instruction was placed under each test item as a reminder, just in case they felt confused about what they were supposed to be doing.

The monolingual mode task consisted of the same items except that the codeswitched parts were changed into purely Turkish. The author, who presented herself as a monolingual Turkish speaker, put them in a monolingual mode by using only Turkish from the first moment they met. The procedure was the same as in the bilingual mode. The instruction was also the same except that the comment on codeswitching was taken out.

The monolingual mode task was administered by the author, who presented herself as a monolingual Turkish speaker, and created a monolingual mode by using only Turkish from the first moment they met. The procedure was the same as in the bilingual mode. The instruction was also the same except that the comment on codeswitching was taken out. The same monolingual mode test items were also used for the monolingual control group in Turkey, with a slightly different instruction, to avoid the bilingual focus of the instruction given to the bilinguals in the Netherlands:

“Please read the sentences below and rate them between 1 and 7 based on the Turkish spoken around you. While grading, ask yourself this question: ‘How often do I hear this type of sentence around me?’ Focus on the language use and grammar, not on the meaning and vocabulary during the task. ‘1’ means *never used this way* and ‘7’ *always used by everybody this way*.”

Forced-choice items formed the second part of the judgment task. The three groups of participants all got the same instruction:

“Which sentence type below do you hear more around you? Select the type you hear most.”

As Turkish allows both verb-medial and verb-final word order, the same proposition can very well be conveyed through either structure (although they may be manipulated for pragmatic purposes in TR-Turkish, see Section 6.3). In this part of the task, two to four different ways were constructed to convey the same meaning (e.g. finite and verb-final, finite and verb-medial,

non-finite and verb-final, etc.). They were presented to the participants as multiple choice items. The participants had to choose the type they thought they heard most around them. Once they comprehended the instruction and knew what to do, it was not a difficult task to implement and carry out.

In total, the participants were given 72 sentences to rate and 46 forced-choice test items, with varying numbers of alternatives to choose from. The Rating task tested 15 verb-medial (11 of them reported speech constructions) and 14 verb-final structures (5 of them reported speech). In the forced-choice portion, 10 stimuli out of 16 testing word order were in the form of reported speech constructions. As the test was used to investigate other phenomena at the same time (see Onar Valk & Backus 2013), fillers were also automatically included, since items focusing on different phenomena functioned as fillers for each other. The critical test items were scattered randomly throughout the task. The judgment task took around 45 minutes to complete.

6.5.2 Results: Perception (judgment) data

The results of the judgment task confirm the findings from experimental ‘production’ (elicited imitation) data to a great extent. The following two subsections will present the judgment data results; how they compare to those of Study 1 and Study 2 will be discussed in Section 6.6.

6.5.2.1 Results: Rating task

Tables 6.6 and 6.7 give an overview of the mean rates of verb-medial and verb-final test items, for Turkish-Dutch bilinguals in the Netherlands both in bilingual and monolingual modes, and for Turkish monolinguals in Turkey. The results are presented separately for items with verb-medial and verb-final word order constructions.

Table 6.6 reports the mean scores for the verb-medial stimuli. The groups differed significantly from each other in their ratings, $H(2) = 60.12$, $p < .001$.⁵¹ Jonckheere’s test revealed a significant trend in the data: bilinguals in Monolingual Mode assigned higher ratings to verb-medial stimuli than the monolingual participants, and the bilinguals in Bilingual Mode assigned even higher scores ($J = 4,606.50$, $z = 8.06$, $p < .001$, $r = .71$).

⁵¹ Since the data were not normally distributed, I used the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test instead of ANOVA, in accordance with recommendations given in Field (2005:96, 542).

Table 6.6: Mean scores (95% confidence intervals between parentheses) and standard deviations for the verb-medial stimuli in the *rating* task (7-point Likert scale, 7 being the highest rating)

	Mean	SD
Monolinguals	3.18 (2.82 – 3.54)	1.28
MM bilinguals	4.62 (4.33 – 4.91)	0.89
BM bilinguals	5.41 (5.18 – 5.65)	0.73

Table 6.7 shows the mean scores for the verb-final stimuli.⁵² Contrary to the verb-medial stimuli, there was no significant difference between the three groups, $F(2, 126) = 2.54, p = .08$.

Table 6.7: Mean scores (95% confidence intervals between parentheses) and standard deviations for the verb-final stimuli in the *rating* task (7-point Likert scale, 7 being the highest rating)

	Mean	SD
Monolinguals	5.46 (5.22 – 5.70)	.85
MM bilinguals	5.04 (4.75 – 5.33)	.91
BM bilinguals	5.26 (4.98 – 5.54)	0.86

As the stimulus items included 16 sentences with reported speech, the data also allow us to look separately at the position of the reporting verb in reported speech constructions. Tables 6.8 and 6.9 summarize the findings, and they show that the reported speech data almost completely parallel the patterns found for word order in general.

Table 6.8 reports the mean scores for the reported speech verb-medial stimuli.⁵³ The groups differed significantly from each other in their ratings, $H(2) = 41.25, p < .001$.⁵⁴ Jonckheere's test revealed a significant trend in the data: bilinguals in Monolingual Mode assigned higher ratings than the

⁵² Note that these scores are identical to the ones of non-finite rating task reported in Chapter 5. This is because every non-finite *rating* task test item was also in verb-final form.

⁵³ Note that these scores are identical to the ones of direct reported speech rating task reported in Chapter 5. This is because every reported speech verb-medial Likert scale test item was also in direct reported speech form.

⁵⁴ Since the data were not normally distributed, I used the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test instead of ANOVA, in accordance with recommendations given in Field (2005:96, 542).

monolingual participants, and the bilinguals in Bilingual Mode assigned even higher scores ($J = 4,491.000$, $z = 7.56$, $p < .001$, $r = .67$).

Table 6.8: Mean scores (95% confidence intervals between parentheses) and standard deviations for the reported speech verb-medial stimuli in the *rating* task (7-point Likert scale, 7 being the highest rating)

	Mean	SD
Monolinguals	3.00 (2.59 – 3.41)	1.45
MM bilinguals	4.70 (4.38 – 5.02)	0.98
BM bilinguals	5.36 (5.11 – 5.61)	0.77

Table 6.9 shows the mean scores for the reported speech verb-final stimuli.⁵⁵ There was no significant difference between the three groups in ratings, $H(2) = 1.23$, $p = .54$.⁵⁶

Table 6.9: Mean scores (95% confidence intervals between parentheses) and standard deviations for the reported speech verb-final stimuli in the rating task (7-point Likert scale, 7 being the highest rating)

	Mean	SD
Monolinguals	5.45 (5.13 – 5.78)	1.14
MM bilinguals	5.23 (4.87 – 5.58)	1.09
BM bilinguals	5.28 (4.91 – 5.64)	1.13

To sum up, the differences between NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish word order found in Studies 1 and 2 were confirmed. In the bilingual mode, bilinguals judged the verb-medial word order as best, whereas monolinguals gave them the lowest score, implying a lower acceptance rate for verb-medial word order. In the monolingual mode, bilinguals' judgments were closer to those of monolinguals. On the other hand, bilinguals gave verb-final constructions almost the same high scores as monolinguals. This finding is in contrast with

⁵⁵ Note that these scores are identical to the ones of Indirect reported speech rating task reported in Chapter 5. This is because every reported speech verb-final *rating* task test item was also in indirect reported speech form.

⁵⁶ Since the data were not normally distributed, I used the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test instead of ANOVA, in accordance with recommendations given in Field (2005:96, 542).

what we found for the production of verb-final stimulus items in Study 2. In addition, for reported speech constructions, the same pattern applied.

In summary, the differences turned out to be significant between bilinguals and monolinguals and within the bilingual group between the two modes as long as it concerned items containing verb-medial structures. The *mean* scores of bilingual participants in the monolingual mode were closer to those of monolinguals than those of bilingual participants in the bilingual mode for these Dutch-like test items.

6.5.2.2 Results: *Forced-choice* task

The test items of this task forced the participants to select the most conventional or the most common option from a set of alternatives. Table 6.10 shows the extent to which the groups preferred a verb-medial option. It is confirmed again that the Turkish monolingual group prefers the canonical TR-Turkish verb-final word order, with only 13.1% verb-medial selection, whereas bilinguals (in both modes) selected the Dutch-like verb-medial option more than twice as often. Based on one-way ANOVA results, there was a significant effect of group type on performance, $F(2, 127) = 77.09$, $p = .001$. Post hoc pair-wise comparison shows that the monolinguals chose the verb-medial stimuli significantly less often than the two groups of bilinguals (p 's $< .001$). The bilingual groups differed significantly from each other as well (p 's $< .001$). In other words, this time speech mode (monolingual mode versus bilingual mode) did have a significant effect on the way the bilinguals selected their preferences among the stimulus items. Thus, bilinguals chose the verb-medial sentences much more often than monolinguals, and they did so especially in the bilingual mode condition.

Table 6.10: Total V-medial choices % (95% confidence intervals between parentheses) and standard deviations

	Mean	SD
Monolinguals	13.1 (9.27 – 16.93)	13.74
MM bilinguals	32.2 (26.72 – 37.70)	16.94
BM bilinguals	49.7 (46.23 – 53.12)	10.62

Finally, Table 6.11 displays how often there was a preference for the verb-medial option in reported speech structures. Only 8.2% of the monolingual choices pointed to a verb-medial preference whereas the rates are 28.2% and

41.5% for the monolingual mode and bilingual mode bilingual responses respectively. Bilinguals favor the verb-medial position around three to four times more often than monolinguals. Again based on one-way ANOVA results, there was a significant effect of group type on performance, $F(2, 127) = 46.31, p < .001$. Post hoc pair-wise comparison shows that all three groups again significantly differed from each other (p 's $< .01$). In other words, speech mode (monolingual mode versus bilingual mode) caused a significant effect on the way the bilinguals selected their preferences among the stimulus items.

Table 6.11: Reported speech V-medial choices in the *forced-choice* task % (95% confidence intervals between parentheses) and standard deviations

	Mean	SD
Monolinguals	8.26 (4.58 – 11.96)	13.24
MM bilinguals	28.2 (21.08 – 35.33)	21.99
BM bilinguals	41.5 (36.92 – 46.16)	14.24

To sum up, there are remarkable differences between monolinguals and bilinguals for *verb-medial vs verb-final* preferences just like for the rating task judgments. Thus, the scores give us reasons to claim there are systematic differences between monolinguals and bilinguals. The bilinguality of the speech mode also played a determining role in choosing options in the forced-choice condition.

Regarding the diffusion of the verb-medial order into NL-Turkish, Study 3 confirmed for judgment or perception data what had been found in Studies 1 and 2 for production data.

6.6 Conclusions and discussion

This chapter has discussed the results from two related studies of word order change in the variety of Turkish spoken by the Turkish Dutch immigrant population in the Netherlands. The first and the second study were based on natural and experimentally elicited 'production' data, and the third one on 'acceptability judgments'. Both data sources tap into linguistic 'competence', but since one is productive and the other receptive, the question was whether they would give similar results. The evidence largely

converges. Dutch-Turkish speakers seemed to prefer verb-medial (Dutch-like) constructions significantly more often in their repetitions than monolinguals, and also judged them as significantly more acceptable than the monolingual control group. Turkish monolinguals, on the other hand, had a much stronger preference for the verb-final option. However, the data did not converge for verb-final structures: the groups did not significantly differ from each other in their judgments (in the *rating* task), unanimously giving them high ratings, which contrasts with the 'elicited imitation' data, in which bilinguals used these structures significantly less often than monolinguals.

We can conclude that 'change' is going on in Dutch-Turkish regarding matrix verb positioning. The findings can be summarized as follows. In both spontaneous and elicited conversations, monolinguals and bilinguals make different choices, and it makes no difference whether bilinguals are in monolingual or bilingual mode. The analyses of randomly selected examples of verb-medial order showed that while in some cases, often featuring adverbial subordinate clauses, the pragmatic contexts the TR-Turkish conventions indeed call for verb-medial order, in most of the examples, including almost all of the analyzed complement clauses, such pragmatic motivations were absent. Therefore, the use of this order was most likely triggered by language contact most of the time. Furthermore, in the elicited imitation task, Turkish-Dutch bilinguals placed the verb in a medial position, a possible but rather Dutch-like order, significantly more often than monolinguals did. This was shown for complex clauses in general as well as for the more specific sub-type of reported speech constructions. Data from the judgment task confirmed this picture partially. The Dutch-like verb-medial constructions, produced significantly more often by bilinguals than by monolinguals, were also judged significantly more acceptable by bilinguals. However, the productive and receptive data do not entirely converge for the TR-Turkish default verb-final order: bilinguals rated and selected the verb-final options as high as monolinguals did. Hence, there is a discrepancy between the usage data and the judgment data of the bilingual participants. While the production data indicate that they prefer to use the Dutch-like verb-medial order, their high judgments of verb-final order show that they have not lost the default canonical order and that it is still as strongly entrenched in the mental representation of the bilinguals as it is for the monolinguals. They just make significantly less use of it. This is not really in line with the operational definition of entrenchment, which is generally tied to frequency of use.

Theoretical frameworks differ on whether all this should be interpreted as actually reflecting change. What has been presented is basically differences in frequency of occurrence and changes in preferences. The difference between TR-Turkish and Dutch Turkish is the outcome of unidirectional convergence between Turkish and Dutch. However, since this does not involve the introduction of a totally new structure, in this case for instance a word order that was impossible or ungrammatical before contact (as mentioned before, Turkish has relatively free word order determined by pragmatic motivations), for formalist frameworks this means there is no change: no new structures are added to the language and none are lost. However, *changes in preference* or *frequency* are seen as real change in other frameworks, most notably in usage-based linguistics. Note that the differences between bilinguals and monolinguals cannot be due to differences between them in the degree to which they need verb-medial structures to convey particular pragmatic categories as the same stimuli were presented to all groups. This suggests there is a real difference in speech by bilinguals and monolinguals. A contact explanation is furthermore strengthened by the fact that the choices used more by bilinguals are the ones that resemble Dutch structures most. I accept these phenomena as instantiations of language change, in accordance with the *broad* view of change adopted in this study (cf. Chapter 1). That is, change in preference or frequency is not taken to be less of a change than an actual structural novelty.

However, we still need to account for the type of change we have just documented: by what mechanism has it come about? The change does not seem to involve grammaticalization. Instead, it is a clear example of what has been referred to as *restructuring* (Heine & Kuteva 2005), *frequential copying* (Johanson 2002a) and *other outcomes of pivot matching* (Matras), mechanisms mentioned in Section 6.2 as overlapping to a considerable degree.

Restructuring in this case involves *rearrangement* of a word order pattern. The restructuring mechanism implies that bilinguals employ an existing minor use pattern (verb-medial structure to encode backgrounding of the object) in the replica language (Turkish) and establish its equivalence to the model (Dutch) verb-medial structure (which encodes neutral pragmatics and information structure). Until contact, the verb-medial pattern was used only for certain pragmatic purposes, and therefore had much lower frequency (i.e. it was more peripheral). Our data for bilinguals show that this

verb-medial pattern seems to have become a neutral option, like its equivalent in Dutch, achieving a higher frequency of use than before and losing its pragmatic connotations. How does this fit in with Heine's (2006) list of aspects involved in contact-induced word order change (cf. Section 6.3): a) narrowing of options, b) shift from one construction to another, c) pragmatic unmarking, and d) extension and frequency? The particular mechanisms adopted by the Turkish-Dutch bilinguals in this domain appear to be extending the frequency of use of verb-medial order and pragmatic unmarking. In our production data, the verb-final pattern is used significantly less often than the verb-medial one, which suggests that narrowing down the use of the verb-final pattern is also at work. However, the judgment data clearly showed that there is no narrowing of the verb-final pattern in the bilingual linguistic competence as no significant difference between bilinguals and monolinguals was observed for this task. The data presented in this study, therefore, show that 'production' does not always tell us *all* about 'linguistic competence'. It seems that our linguistic competence contains more than what 'production' displays. This strengthens the need to look for converging evidence where possible, obtaining both natural and experimental types of data from both production and perception tasks. The results here also relate to the distinction between *competence* and *performance*. *Performance* and production must be interpreted in the larger frame of *competence* (see Figure 6.1 in Section 6.2 in this chapter, plus Section 1.11). There is more to competence than performance. Observing a structure being used in production or performance data tells us a lot about the existence of it in competence. However, its non-availability in performance does not necessarily mean that it is absent from competence. Furthermore, competence encompasses performance or production while performance does not reflect all of competence. Recall that the production data reviewed in this chapter showed that bilinguals utter verb-final structures significantly less often than monolinguals. However, while our evidence from the *rating* task converged completely with production data results for verb-medial patterns, for verb-final order it showed no differences between monolingual and bilinguals. The results from *forced-choice* task gave significant differences among all the three groups. Hence, encountering the verb-final order less often in performance does not necessarily mean that the structure is less entrenched in bilingual competence or mental representation. We can conclude from all this that employing different methods that tap into different aspects of linguistic knowledge is useful.

A surprising finding was that the mono- or bilinguality of the mode made little difference with respect to the word order change. There were no significant differences at all between the modes in the elicited imitation data. However, there was a mode effect in the judgment data. As expected, the monolingual mode performance of bilinguals was closer to that of monolinguals than the scores in the bilingual mode. The bilingual mode is hypothesized to activate both languages more, and thus increases the chance of interference. However, it is puzzling that this effect was not found in the ‘production’ data, where we see an equally high diffusion of the Dutch-style word order in Dutch Turkish in both modes. In addition, the mode effect was found for only the verb-medial stimuli, not for the default TR-Turkish verb-final structures in the rating task. This suggests that bilinguals suppress the Dutch-like structures more when they are in monolingual mode than when they are in bilingual mode, but that they have no similar differential activation for TR-Turkish verb-final order. Whatever the mode, bilinguals seem to be able to recognize the canonical TR-Turkish verb-final pattern as easily as monolinguals do.

The logical next question is how this type of convergence develops. A likely scenario is proposed in usage-based linguistics (cf. Bybee 2006; Backus 2010:226; Onar Valk 2013, for a more elaborate version of the argument). In this perspective, ‘language change’ is defined as changes in the entrenchment levels of a particular structure. Language choice surveys suggest that Turks in the Netherlands speak mostly Turkish at home (Extra & Yağmur 2010:125), so exposure to and use of Dutch start in earnest only after the age of four, with the onset of schooling. Thus, children receive a lot of Dutch ‘verb-medial’ input after the age of four and perhaps increasingly less TR-Turkish ‘verb-final’ input. The frequency of Dutch use and exposure will continue to increase, and the entrenchment of the Dutch verb-medial order will go up accordingly. The separately stored Dutch verb-medial and Turkish verb-final patterns start competing in the mental representation of the bilingual as matched meaning activates both. Once the entrenchment of the Dutch order is higher than the Turkish one, it begins imposing itself in Turkish discourse, i.e. it causes ‘cross-linguistic influence’ or ‘interference’. Since a verb-medial order is not ungrammatical in Turkish, it will already have some entrenchment to begin with. This raises the entrenchment of the Dutch schema even further, but also causes further ‘disuse’ of the Turkish verb-final pattern, which ultimately leads to decreased entrenchment of the canonical or default Turkish verb position. That is, the entrenchment of the

earlier inherited variant (verb-final) drops off and that of a new variant (a borrowed Dutch preference for the verb-medial option) goes up. However, the judgment data suggest that decreased frequency of use (in ‘production’ data) does not necessarily lead to decreased entrenchment, at least not that quickly, since the canonical Turkish verb-final patterns were rated as highly by the bilingual participants as by the monolingual ones.

Finally, the answer to another question which this study was interested in, posited in Section 6.2, is that complexity seems to play a role in the direction of the change. If, at least, verb-medial order is accepted as more unmarked and less complex than verb-final order, Turkish-Dutch bilinguals appear to bring about ‘simplification’ by extending the use of the less complex structure. That is, the results of this chapter seem to confirm this underlying assumption claiming that verb-medial order is less complex, so in theory the Dutch influence could be reinforced by internal simplification pressures. However, it remains a point of debate whether verb-final order can really be claimed to be more complex on independent grounds, and obviously the contact explanation is strengthened by the fact that no shift towards verb-medial use is seen in the TR-Turkish data.

To conclude, word order is vulnerable to language contact (Johanson 2002a:x-xi). This chapter has shown once again that there is evidence for an ‘on-going structural change’ in Dutch Turkish, that this change is best characterized as ‘a change in preference or frequency’, and that it is not near completion yet. It will be interesting to see how Dutch Turkish word order patterns will develop in the future, as contact with Dutch is likely to continue and to increase further in intensity.

CHAPTER 7

Drawing the strands together: Conclusions and discussion

7.1 The study: Rationale and motivation

This study was inspired by the obvious fact that languages in contact affect each other, resulting in the phenomenon of *contact-induced* language change. The general research question was whether or not we would find evidence for contact-induced change in our data from Dutch Turkish, which was also referred as ‘NL-Turkish’ or ‘immigrant Turkish spoken in the Netherlands’. NL-Turkish bilingual data were compared with TR (Turkey)-Turkish monolingual data to answer this general question. More specifically, the research questions behind this study were the following:

- a. What evidence is there of contact-induced language change in Immigrant Turkish in the Netherlands in the domain of *subordination*, including its prominent sub-domain of *reported speech* structures, and particularly in its characteristics of *finiteness* of the subordinate clause and of the *word order* of *matrix verb* and subordinate clause?
- b. Do we see the same pattern in ‘production’ and ‘perception’ (i.e. ‘comprehension’ or ‘judgment’) data?
- c. Is the same pattern observed in *natural* and *experimental (controlled)* ‘production’ data?
- d. Taking questions (b) and (c) together: do we find *converging evidence* in those different types of data?
- e. Does the *speech mode* of the bilinguals (i.e. being in *bilingual* or *monolingual mode*) make any difference in the degree to which *convergent developments* or contact effects appear?
- f. How do these *changes* come about? How can we explain the mechanisms involved and do they agree with theoretical approaches to *convergence*?

Questions (a) and (f) are, of course, questions that the literature of *contact linguistics* has been interested in for a long time. The other questions have not often been the subject of systematic study. Empirically, the main inspiration to carry out this research originated from two interlocking facts. First, the fate of Turkish clause combinations under contact had not been systematically studied in the Netherlands before. Second, having Dutch and Turkish as the language constellation under investigation allows for clear hypotheses as Turkish and Dutch differ considerably regarding *non-finite* vs. *finite* subordinate clauses, *verb-medial* vs. *verb-final* orders in complex clauses, and they also differ how they employ reported speech structures, i.e. in how they use *indirect* vs. *direct reported speech* structures. The typological differences in the syntactic domains investigated help in identifying whether or not a difference we find between NL- and TR-Turkish is likely to be a contact-induced change. As outlined in Chapter 3, six types of data were used to shed light on the (above) research questions. The reason for this plurality of methods was that one aim was to find *converging evidence* by approaching the issue from different perspectives, which would constitute more robust and reliable evidence for our conclusions.

This chapter will first present an overview of the main results in Section 7.2. Sections 7.3 to 7.7 discuss some currently debated issues in contact linguistics (all introduced in Chapter 1) that are relevant given the type of data analyzed and the results obtained in this dissertation. The chapter closes with some concluding remarks, an indication of some limitations, and implications for future research in Section 7.8.

7.2 Overview of the results

The main and most general conclusion reached on the basis of the data presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 was that a certain degree of contact-induced change was in evidence.

Chapter 4 investigated contact-induced change in the three different types of relatively traditional ‘production’ data, focusing on the dimension of *finiteness* and on *reported speech* structures. While all three data sources involved recorded conversations, they differed in the degree to which they were ‘controlled’. Many studies rely on just one kind of natural speech data, often data that are as unconstrained as possible. For all three types of

production data, i.e. *bilingual spontaneous group conversations*, *spontaneous one-on-one speech* and *elicited conversations* (the former being the least controlled and the latter the most controlled type of conversation), the consistent pattern was that bilinguals used finite subordination more than monolinguals did. The group conversations were performed by bilinguals in their bilingual mode and gave us an insight into the characteristics of Dutch Turkish and also a first chance to spot notable differences and unconventional uses compared to TR-Turkish. The other two data types were also gathered from a monolingual control group in Turkey, and from bilingual participants in two different conditions: *bilingual mode* and *monolingual mode*, in a mostly between-subjects design. The comparisons confirmed the preliminary findings from the group conversations: finite subordinate clauses are favored by bilinguals more than by monolinguals. Monolinguals, on the other hand, have a clear preference for non-finite subordinate clauses, which makes sense since Turkish subordination is claimed to be predominantly non-finite in the descriptive grammar literature.

In addition to finiteness in subordination, *reported speech* was studied in some detail in this chapter. The bilingual results came out as expected, with almost universal choice for direct reported speech. The monolinguals were hypothesized to favor indirect reported speech as it uses non-finite subordination. However, monolinguals used very little reported speech overall in their conversations, and the rare times they did use it, they tended to use direct reported speech. Given this data scarcity, any conclusions about this group were delayed until after the experimental data were discussed in Chapter 5. In brief, Chapter 4 showed that finite subordination and direct reported speech are preferred by bilinguals more often than non-finite subordination and indirect reported speech in all three data sources we have from them. Non-finite subordination is the preferred option for monolinguals, though for reported speech no reliable conclusions were possible. Thus, the structures resembling Dutch (finite subordinate clause and direct reported speech) are produced way more often in Dutch Turkish, which can be interpreted as suggesting ongoing contact-induced structural change.

Chapter 5 looked at the same syntactic phenomena, i.e. *finiteness* and *reported speech*, but through controlled experimental methods, comparing ‘production’ and ‘perception’ (or ‘comprehension’) data. Once again it was clear that subordination in Dutch Turkish is different from subordination in TR-Turkish. However, not all evidence converged. As for finite subordination and direct reported speech, bilinguals and monolinguals again differed

significantly from each other, both in the *elicited imitation task*, an experimentally controlled ‘production’ method, and in the data from a *conventionality judgment task* (containing *rating* and *forced-choice* sub-tasks). In the elicited imitation task, there was a significant bilingual preference for the use of Dutch-like structures (finite subordinate clause and direct reported speech) while monolinguals favored non-finite subordinate clauses and indirect reported speech significantly more often. Recall that the conversational data in Chapter 4 had not allowed any conclusions regarding reported speech for the monolinguals. The speech mode the bilinguals were in did not matter at all in any of the ‘production’ data. However, judgment data did yield significant differences between the bilingual mode and monolingual mode conditions, but only for the Dutch-like structures (finite and direct reported speech): the TR-Turkish default structures (non-finite subordinate clauses and indirect reported speech) did not trigger significant differences between the groups. Bilinguals rated and selected these canonical TR-Turkish structures as high as the monolinguals did. This was interpreted as evidence that bilinguals still have the TR-Turkish options in their *linguistic competence*. Except for this difference, the evidence from elicited imitation and judgment tasks in Chapter 5 largely converges. When we compare these results to those of the more naturalistic conversational data from Chapter 4, it is clear that bilinguals prefer finite subordination and that monolinguals prefer the non-finite type. As for the methodological aim of finding converging evidence, it is interesting that much but not all of the evidence converged, the high judgments for TR-Turkish structures by bilinguals being the most interesting finding. The implications of this will be discussed in Section 7.6.

Finally, Chapter 6 addressed the second syntactic aspect of subordination and reported speech: *word order*, more specifically, the *position* of the *matrix verb in complex clause combinations*, using the same data introduced in the previous chapters. The general results followed the by now familiar pattern in the sense that Dutch Turkish displays different characteristics than TR-Turkish. In general, it favors Dutch-like verb-medial order. The evidence from the six tasks largely converges, but again not totally. All the spontaneous and elicited conversations showed clearly that bilinguals used verb-medial order much more than monolinguals did. The speech mode in which the task was carried out did not seem to matter at all. As explained in Chapters 2 and 6, Turkish is canonically verb-final, but uses the verb-medial option if particular pragmatic conditions apply. That is why it was checked

whether the use of verb-medial order involved any special pragmatic meaning. If it did not, the case for Dutch influence would be stronger. Although some of the verb-medial use with adverbial subordinate clauses indeed featured the pragmatics associated with verb-medial order, most of the verb-medial use in the randomly selected set of examples that were analyzed, especially when complement clauses were involved, seemed to lack pragmatic motivation, and thus were argued to be triggered by language contact. The results from the elicited imitation task further confirmed this finding, given the differences between bilinguals and monolinguals. Turkish-Dutch bilinguals placed the verb in the medial position significantly more often than monolinguals did, no matter what type of stimulus (verb-medial or verb-final) they received. The speech mode did not make any difference. As for reported speech, the reporting verb was also placed in the verb-medial position significantly more often by bilinguals than by monolinguals. The *rating* task results from the conventionality judgment data confirmed the ‘production’ data concerning the Dutch-like verb-medial items, but not for the TR-Turkish-like verb-final items. Recall that the same result was found regarding finiteness in Chapter 5. In the rating task, the verb-medial items were judged significantly more acceptable by bilinguals than by monolinguals, but in addition there was an effect of speech mode, the bilingual mode condition triggering the highest scores for verb-medial items. In the monolingual mode condition, bilingual performance was closer to that of the monolinguals. The TR-Turkish-like verb-final structures, on the other hand, did not yield significant differences between the groups, showing that the bilinguals have not lost the TR-Turkish default options. That is, those structures are apparently still strongly represented in their linguistic competence although they are encountered less frequently in their performance compared to that of monolinguals. This indicates that bilinguals suppress the Dutch-like patterns more when they are in monolingual mode, but they do not have any comparable differential activation for TR-Turkish default structures. Finally, the *forced-choice* task indicated that bilinguals preferred verb-medial order significantly more often (around four times as often) than monolinguals. There were once again significant differences between the monolingual mode and bilingual-mode conditions, too: in comparison to bilingual mode, in the monolingual mode bilinguals’ performance was closer to that of monolinguals. Thus, speech mode made a difference in both judgment tasks. The conclusions will be further discussed in the following sections, each subsection focusing on a different issue.

The issues to be raised were introduced in Chapter 1 and discussed to some extent in the final sections of Chapters 4, 5 and 6. With all the results in place, they will now be taken up one more time to explore how our results and conclusions could be accounted for from the perspectives of those concepts and how they contribute to the further development of contact linguistics.

7.3 Implications for theories of contact linguistics

The first crucial issue to take a perspective on is whether all the differences between the bilinguals and monolinguals should really be seen as ‘change’ or not. As described in Section 1.9 of Chapter 1, what counts as contact-induced change is a hotly debated topic. A preliminary definition of ‘change’ for the purposes of the current study was given in Section 1.9.3. Differences in *frequency* of use of particular features between bilingual and monolingual speakers were suggested as the most crucial sign of change. Given that there are no relevant diachronic data, using several methods with a systematic comparison between monolinguals and bilinguals and between bilinguals in two speech modes (bilingual and monolingual mode) was assumed to increase the validity and reliability of the conclusions. As the overview of the results in Section 7.2 showed, what we found in our data was ‘changes in preferences’ or ‘changes in frequency’. *Finite* subordination, *direct* reported speech and *verb-medial* order were already grammatically possible alternatives in Turkish, but their frequency of use is much higher in the speech of bilinguals. This study acknowledges such changes as a regular subtype of contact-induced change and does not treat it as less a change than a syntactic innovation.

Within the definition of change adopted for this study, it is clear that we are dealing with convergent developments in Dutch Turkish in the domains investigated. The next step is to account for it, specifically looking into the question by what mechanism this change may have come about. As discussed in Section 1.4 of Chapter 1, many contact linguists, including Yaron Matras, Bernd Heine & Tania Kuteva, and Lars Johanson, have contributed to this issue with theoretical frameworks and terminology which overlap content-wise to a great extent. The changes spotted in this study do not obviously seem to involve *grammaticalization*: finite subordination is not any more grammatical than non-finite subordination, nor do different

word orders differ in their degree of being ‘grammatical’. The case under consideration here is, on the other hand, a clear case of *restructuring* (Heine & Kuteva), of *frequential copying* (Johanson) and of what Matras subsumes under *other outcomes of pivot-matching*. Through these mechanisms, Turkish-Dutch bilinguals have ended up employing existing minor use patterns in Turkish (i.e. finite subordination, direct reported speech and verb-medial order) with increased frequency, presumably after having established equivalence to similar structures in Dutch. In non-contact situations, those minor patterns are more peripheral, with much lower frequency, and pragmatically constrained, and this state of affairs has changed under contact. *Restructuring* in this case took place through the *rearrangement* of available patterns. Our results from bilinguals indicate that those previously peripheral structures seem to have become the neutral options, with higher frequency than before, like their equivalents in Dutch.

With their central concepts of *pivot-matching*, *establishing equivalence relations*, and *copying*, the approaches by Heine and Kuteva, Matras, and Johanson all focus on change at a synchronic level, i.e. on what happens during innovation. Except for Heine and Kuteva, who define the stages of the *grammaticalization* process, they do not really seem to deal with the diachronic process of how the change propagates. Compared to contact-induced grammaticalization, cases of *restructuring* are relatively understudied in contact linguistics, which hopefully makes the current study a welcome contribution to the field, basically filling a research gap.

Related to this and an issue that was still a question mark in Chapter 1 is that the data collected for this study are not really germane to the unidirectionality issue. As explained in Section 1.8, *unidirectionality* is a principle of the grammaticalization process. However, since the change investigated here is a case of *restructuring*, directionality seems irrelevant. First of all, it is not clear whether a change from non-finite to finite subordination should be seen as a change towards a *more* or *less* grammaticalized structure; second, the empirical question that cannot be answered at this point is whether the reverse change, from finite to non-finite in a hypothetical Turkish-influenced variety of Dutch, would be equally possible. That is, *unidirectionality* is hard to test in our case since that would entail testing the hypothesis that the reverse changes, i.e. from finite to non-finite and from verb-final to verb-medial, will not happen.

As also introduced in Chapter 1, contact-induced change often comes about through *multiple causation*, as external and internal causes combine.

The question now is whether the change documented in this study supports this perspective. The change obviously had to start at some point. The resemblance of finite subordination, direct reported speech and verb-medial forms to the Dutch default equivalents, the change in preferences towards these types for Turkish-Dutch bilinguals, the social reality of intense contact between Turkish and Dutch, and the absence of this change in the TR-Turkish of monolingual speakers all constitute support for the claim that the change at least started out as a contact-induced one, i.e. at the synchronic level of the initial innovation. However, that does not necessarily mean that only external forces were involved in the whole process. It seems likely that language internal factors, such as *entrenchment* and *linguistic complexity* (see Sections 7.3.1 and 7.7 below) played important roles in the further propagation of this change. Thus, while the change is obviously a *contact-driven* one, it is, at least to some extent, internally shaped during the propagation phase. After innovation, the Dutch-like structures slowly became more entrenched with incrementally increasing frequency of use, perhaps caused by continuing synchronic interference at the moment of speaking, i.e. the contact push. The degree of *entrenchment* of those Dutch-like structures may have overtaken that of their TR-Turkish equivalents with their ever higher frequency of use. That is, initial interference probably led to rising entrenchment levels of the Dutch-like structures, causing further use of them, which in turn caused lower rates of use of the TR-Turkish default types. This push from increasing entrenchment levels is essentially an internal factor that has further shaped the fate of subordination, reported speech and word order in NL-Turkish. *Linguistic complexity* (see Section 7.3.1 for further discussion of this notion) is another possible internal force. A common claim in the literature is that analytic and verb-medial structures, such as the Dutch-like finite and post-verbal subordinate clauses are less complex and more attractive than the TR-Turkish default counterparts, and that language change is often the result of a simplification process. Following this line of thought, the NL-Turkish data can be interpreted as reflecting the tendency to employ the less complex option among what was available in Turkish. Although the change found here is externally induced, the internal forces of entrenchment and linguistic complexity should not be ignored. To conclude, the notion of *multiple causation* (Thomason 2001:62, 2008:47) clearly seems to be relevant in the explanation of the changes found in this study.

Even if interference is clearly implicated at least at the early stages of the change, it is not so obvious how exactly it happens. Section 1.7 of Chapter 1 explored the potential role of translation as the psycholinguistic mechanism that might give a contact-induced change its initial push: a role which is essentially hard to prove. The question is now whether our results allow us to conclude anything more specific. As mentioned in Chapter 1, translation may only be a mechanism that initiates the replication process, but it may also keep taking place throughout the propagation phase.

The fact that finite subordinate clauses and having the matrix verb in medial position in a complex clause was favored by bilinguals over the non-finite and verb-final pattern, and that features of these surface structures resemble the Dutch counterparts suggest that a translation mechanism may have indeed played a role. The extensive use of the following type of combinations (example taken from Chapter 6) supports this suggestion:

- (1) "...**Gör-üyo-m**⁵⁷ [siz birbiriniz-i çok sev-iyo-nuz]..."
 see-Pres.Cont.-1sg you each other-ACC very love-Pr.Prog.-2pl
 'I see [that you love each other a lot]...'

Note that the **bold**-printed matrix verb outside the parentheses is in a verb-medial position and the subordinate verb is finite. Likewise, the Dutch equivalent of this example also uses finite subordination with a matrix verb in the medial order (see below). Although the realization of morphological features, i.e. person, tense and case markers, is still induced language-internally, some surface features are similar in both languages: both have *finite* subordination with a matrix verb in the *medial* position. This surface similarity suggests that a *translation mechanism* played a role, though it did not result in *total* isomorphism).

Dutch equivalent:

Ik zie [dat jullie veel van elkaar **houden**].
 I see that you a lot each other love
 'I see [that you love each other a lot].'

⁵⁷ In Example 1, the words 'görüyom' and 'seviyonuz' would be respectively 'görüyorum' and 'seviyorsunuz' in the correct written form, but they were written how they were pronounced in the spoken data.

The likely scenario seems to be as follows: Dutch interference causes increased entrenchment of the abstract schema of a *finite* and *verb-medial* structure (Subj. + Matrix V + Finite Subordinate Clause) in the bilingual mental representation. This Dutch-like schema might be activated first whenever a relevant conversational context comes up, and speakers may still lexicalize this abstract schema with Turkish morphemes (i.e. use translation). The fact that the same schema is not ungrammatical in TR-Turkish (though it may be unconventional in some cases) probably helps to keep the resulting utterance from being blocked. In this case, translation can be said to play a role in a process of syntactic transfer, at the *schematic* level. The results seem to back this up. However, this option does not rule out the rival explanation of active translation at the more *specific lexical* level: the utterances we witness in Turkish may also be the translations of particular, perhaps highly entrenched, Dutch expressions. At this point, exploring this suggestion is beyond the scope of the study, as in the bilingual data we did not analyze all Dutch-like instances to check how entrenched their Dutch equivalents are in the Dutch speech of bilinguals, or in Dutch in general. Either way, translation may well be a mechanism for the syntactic transfer of Dutch-like structures. As Example 1 illustrated, the translation is never 100%, though: probably due to the considerable typological distance between Dutch and Turkish, in addition to the contact setting being relatively young. We did not encounter anything resembling *total isomorphism*, which would be the ultimate result of translation. However, *partial isomorphism* seems to be in evidence, as we see similarities in surface structures between NL-Turkish and Dutch.

Implicated in this discussion is the question how long the innovation phase (interference from the other language) phase lasts. This point was raised in Section 1.3 of Chapter 1. How long the model structure keeps influencing the replica structure as the change develops is a topic of debate, and it will be discussed in Section 7.4 in relation to the monolingual and bilingual speech modes.

A final topic debated in the contact linguistic literature and for which the results of the present work may have implications is the question raised in Section 1.5 of Chapter 1: at which level does *convergence* start: discourse, syntax, phrase structure or morphology? Since this study explored contact effects only at the syntactic level of clause combinations, it doesn't allow overly ambitious conclusions for other levels, but the results do seem to support that convergence or contact-induced change happens easily at this

level even in a relatively young contact setting like ours. Quantitatively, in the current study more convergence was observed at the *clause* level than at phrasal and morphological levels central to a few other recent studies (Doğruöz & Backus 2009). The argument that convergence starts at the *clause* level, therefore, seems to receive support from this study. My results seemingly contradict the conclusion of Doğruöz and Backus (2009) that core syntax is immune to convergence. They did not find much evidence of contact-induced change at the level of clausal syntax but found more evidence of convergence at the morphosyntactic level, and especially at the *specific* (lexical) end of the *specificity* continuum, i.e. Dutch-influenced collocations (2009:56-57). Their results, however, were based on only spontaneous speech data while the current study is based on six different methods and allows for more robust conclusions. Although the conversational data can be investigated for *convergence* at the morphological and phrasal levels as well, I leave this comparison for future research.

7.3.1 Linguistic complexity

One of the most commonly accepted claims in linguistics is that all languages are equally complex (Kusters 2003:5). Many argue, however, that there is a trade-off in the complexities of linguistic sub-systems within a language (Szmrecsanyi & Kortmann 2012:7). This means that one component in language A can be more complex than the same component in language B, but the overall complexity is maintained at the same level across languages. The complexity is relevant for the current study because it is sometimes claimed that verb-medial (SVO order) reflects an unmarked and simple parameter setting (cf. Kusters 2008:5), and that *finite* (or analytic) subordinate clauses are less complex and therefore more *attractive* than *non-finite* ones (especially when they are morphologically synthetic or agglutinative). The expectation in this study was that Dutch Turkish would use more *finite* subordination and *verb-medial* order than TR-Turkish and that they would do so because they represent the less complex options. This expectation is in turn based on the claim that contact-induced change often involves *simplification* (i.e. reduction of complexity), as in the change from synthetic to analytic structures in our case.

As is clear by now, the results are in line with this expectation: NL-Turkish has changed from having predominantly *non-finite* to having mostly *finite* subordination, and *verb-final* order is giving way to *verb-medial* order and *indirect* to *direct* reported speech structures. A possible scenario

(suggested in Section 1.14 of Chapter 1) that accommodates the role of *complexity* in contact-induced change comes from the perspective of usage-based linguistics and its claim that multiword sequences are holistically processed: once contact induces *finite*, *verb-medial* and *direct reported speech* forms to be more frequently used, they get more entrenched as a whole, and as a result speakers stop analyzing them. Each time this complex unit is used, its autonomy increases. Thus, increasing entrenchment leads to the gradual loss of analyzability, and thus *increase in frequency* reduces *complexity*. Under this perspective, the results could be interpreted as supporting the claim that language change happens from a more to a less complex structure. The whole process must be triggered by language contact as it is not taking place with monolinguals in Turkey. This takes us back to the discussion of *complexity space* and *complexity leveling*. *Complexity space* refers to the assumption that all language users use a maximum amount of the complexity space (Kusters 2003:10) while *leveling* means that all languages maintain the same overall level of complexity implying that new complexities arise when one domain of a language loses complexity (Kusters 2008:11). Considering these terms, then, how do bilinguals and monolinguals differ from each other? For bilinguals, in the contact situation, the more complex properties of Turkish (*non-finite subordination*, *verb-final order* and *indirect reported speech* structures) are losing out to the simpler properties of Dutch (*finite*, *verb-medial* and *direct reported speech* types) which already existed in Turkish as well. This contact-induced influence starting the change process through the mechanism of pivot-matching, is, thus, partly guided by complexity as well. What seems to happen in our results is that monolinguals use their entire complexity space in Turkish whereas bilinguals have both Turkish and Dutch to deal with in this space. Monolinguals do not perceive *non-finite subordination*, *verb-final order* and *indirect reported speech* type as more complex as they use them more often. However, the Dutch-like structures were less complex for bilinguals probably also due to their being common between the two languages. Thus, Kusters' theory that the complexity space is not the same for mono- and bilinguals in terms of how the components fill up that space sounds very plausible. Relying on the limits of their complexity space, bilinguals reduce their cognitive load by optimizing their bilingual resources (Matras & Sakel 2007:835).

Another relevant point should be mentioned in relation to a finding from Chapter 4. We saw that among all non-finite subordinate clauses *adverbial*

clauses were used the most. A possible reason is that many adverbial clauses include a converb as the non-finite verb. Since these converbs do not take any agreement and case markers, they may be less complex than the person- and case-marked nominalizations found in most types of non-finite subordinate clause. This issue needs further research and is beyond the scope of this study.

7.4 Speech modes

One of the things the current study was designed to investigate empirically was the impact of ‘language mode’, the central concept in the *bilingual* (or holistic) view of bilingual competence developed by Grosjean (2008). This view suggests that a bilingual possesses a unified language competence which cannot be easily separated into sub-competences. Since the functional motivations for using two or more languages tend to differ per language depending on the linguistic needs, bilinguals master their languages at various proficiency levels, according to a *complementarity principle*. The reason is that they use those languages for different purposes in different domains of life. For the explanation of contact-induced change this principle is relevant because it shows itself in all the linguistic choices and decisions of bilingual speakers, i.e. which language to speak with whom. In the end, these choices help determine the chance that a language will undergo change. Specifically interesting for our concerns is that language choice is likely to determine the speech modes bilinguals operate in. With a speech mode, we place the language choice on a continuum, with the *monolingual mode* on one end and the *bilingual mode* on the other. Turkish-Dutch bilinguals are considered to be in a ‘Turkish monolingual mode’ when they speak Turkish with a Turkish monolingual and in a ‘Dutch monolingual mode’ during an interaction with a Dutch monolingual. The very same bilingual, however, may well enter a ‘Turkish-Dutch bilingual mode’ when engaging in a conversation with a fellow Turkish-Dutch bilingual. In the *bilingual speech mode*, both languages are suggested to be fully active although bilinguals may select a base language, sprinkling it with elements from the other language in the form of insertions and alternations. In a *monolingual speech mode*, on the other hand, bilinguals are claimed to deactivate the other language as much as they can. Complete deactivation probably never happens; *interference*, observed as deviations from the way

the base language is commonly spoken, is a sign of this incomplete deactivation (see Section 1.10 for a more detailed introduction of speech modes). The speech mode of Turkish-Dutch bilinguals was manipulated in this study (see Chapter 3 for the methodological details). The hypothesis was that more ‘interference’ from Dutch to Turkish would take place in a *bilingual speech mode* with both languages in the active state than in a context in which they speak Turkish in a Turkish *monolingual mode*. As a result, compared to bilingual performance in the bilingual mode condition, bilingual performance in the monolingual mode was expected to be closer to monolingual performance.

Although our change most likely started with *interference* from Dutch, we cannot infer from our results how long this interference phase lasted, whether or not Dutch has kept interfering with bilingual Turkish throughout the process. The hypothesis was that Dutch interference would keep influencing NL-Turkish speech, and this should produce more interference when the bilingual participants were in a bilingual speech mode. As we saw, however, the mode generally made no difference in the ‘production’ data, but did for the ‘perception’ data. Thus, being in bilingual mode did not induce more interference from Dutch during the production of Turkish, but it did seem to do so in the *rating* and *forced-choice* tasks. Interestingly, an impact from the mode was only found for the Dutch-like test items, while responses to the TR-Turkish default structures did not differ between the speech modes. When they were presented with Dutch- and Turkish-like versions of the same proposition in the forced-choice task, though, participants went for the Dutch-like one. In all cases where there was a difference, the responses in the monolingual mode were closer to those of monolinguals. As a result, it can be said that during the ‘perception’ of linguistic stimuli that are Dutch-like, there was more interference when bilinguals processed the structures in the bilingual mode. When ‘producing’ such elements speakers did not seem to be undergoing more Dutch interference when in bilingual mode. The relevant difference between the perception and production data is that in perception, participants use their *competence* and *metalinguistic awareness*. This means they are using language passively and have more time to think about it whereas for the active production of language, actual activation of linguistic knowledge is needed, without much time for processing. Perhaps, doing something actively in a ‘production’ task giving you less time for planning and processing than in a passive ‘perception’ task requires more activation of

linguistic knowledge. When you awaken the metalinguistic awareness of participants during a judgment task, the *speech mode* effect may manifest itself more clearly. Based on our results, it does not seem like we can go much further than these speculations at this point and the results cannot directly answer the question of how long the *interference* phase lasted in the particular change focused on in this study. It is not even completely obvious that a difference between bilingual and monolingual mode does indeed allow us to say anything about on-going interference. This issue remains a very interesting topic for future research.

7.5 Linguistic competence: Competence and performance

While the study was essentially a case study of one particular syntactic change in one particular immigrant language, it was designed in such a way that its results would allow saying something about larger issues. Above, several issues in contact linguistics were discussed in the light of the results, but there are also issues that go beyond language contact. *Linguistic competence* is viewed rather differently by *usage-based* and *generative* approaches, including how and to what extent the components of ‘competence’ and ‘performance’ are seen as separate. In Section 1.11 of Chapter 1, I argued that ‘competence’ and ‘performance’ should not be seen as independent from each other although they should be regarded separately. Specifically, performance makes use of only a subset of competence, and is the outcome of the application of competence to a communicative task.

In the light of this description, one of the goals in this study was to tap into the whole of linguistic competence by bringing ‘performance’ and ‘competence’ together, coupled with the independent methodological aim to find *converging evidence* (see Section 7.6 below). The same language contact effects were studied from the perspectives of ‘competence’ and ‘performance’ separately. ‘Performance’ was tested through four different production methods (*bilingual spontaneous group conversations*, *spontaneous one-on-one speech*, *elicited conversations* and an *elicited imitation* task). The conventionality judgment task, on the other hand, aimed to access ‘competence’ more directly in the whole *linguistic competence* of a speaker. The studies in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 seemed to confirm our stance on ‘competence’ and ‘performance’: there was overlap between performance and competence measures but it was not complete. The results from all four

'production' methods (measuring performance) supported one another while the judgment tasks yielded slightly different results (as summarized in Section 7.2). To recap, while bilinguals did not produce TR-Turkish structures as often as monolinguals, they rated those patterns in the same way as monolinguals. That is, bilinguals have not lost these structures and still have them in their linguistic competence even though they were not seen to produce them as frequently anymore. Performance did not reflect all they have in their linguistic competence. The reason for this could be that the required activation level of linguistic knowledge might be different across 'competence' and 'performance' activities. 'Performance' (i.e. production) needs more activation since doing something actively is harder than doing something passively. As a result, the more entrenched and frequent Dutch-like structures are produced or performed more often than the less entrenched TR-Turkish default ones. To conclude, since performance does not reflect total linguistic knowledge or what is present in competence, using methods investigating both competence and performance is useful as it allows tapping into linguistic knowledge more completely, and therefore providing more reliable conclusions. Having a structure in 'production' or 'performance' data can tell us a lot about its existence in competence, but the non-use of a certain structure does not automatically point at its absence from 'competence'. That is, there is more to 'competence' than 'performance'.

One may wonder, though, to what extent judgment tasks really tap into competence, since it does raise speakers' degree of *consciousness* or *awareness*, contrasting with the lack of intentionality commonly assumed to be involved in making syntactic choices while speaking.

The question is how aware or conscious bilinguals were of their linguistic choices regarding subordinate clauses. This is surely not an easy question to answer, but we can find some clues in the different tasks we used, more specifically with the comparison of the judgment task data to the production data. It stands to reason that there is more *intentionality* or *awareness* involved in the conventionality judgment and maybe in the experimental methods in general. A judgment task essentially relies on *metalinguistic awareness*. Compared with the elicited imitation task, participants had more time to do a quick evaluation in the conventionality judgment task. The participants will have been more aware of what they were doing during the 'perception' tasks (measuring 'competence') as they could see the test items in front of them, and may have provided a *metalinguistic* judgment in a more

intentional or conscious way compared to the natural ‘production’ data (measuring ‘performance’). Furthermore, it is also quite possible that the elicited imitation task induced more *intentionality* or *awareness* than the conversational data as the participants first heard the items and had some time to process them before repeating them. Such mental rehearsal is virtually impossible in the conversational data. It would be an interesting challenge for a future study to see whether it is possible at all to design a study that allows an unequivocal answer to the question how much awareness, intentionality or consciousness is involved when a structure is changing.

7.6 Converging evidence

Although usage and corpus data are obviously valuable in constructing and testing hypotheses, ideally they should not be used as the only source of evidence. Like any other method, they are not perfect when used in isolation. The ideal suggested in this study is to have an analysis of naturalistic usage data (e.g. corpora) that is combined with the exploitation of data elicited in experimental settings. Using more than one methodology may help solve problems encountered in individual types of data although the result may also end up giving us *diverging evidence* (Gilquin & Gries 2009:9; see Section 1.13 of Chapter 1 for detailed discussion). Conclusions may be backed up by *converging evidence* from multiple sources (Gries, Hampe & Schönefeld 2005:636). Adding experimental studies enables the study of phenomena that are too infrequent or not available at all in usage data.

Like most contact linguistic research, this study also started out with recordings of spontaneous speech. To be able to back up the analyses of those recordings and to increase their reliability, I first wanted to reach converging evidence in natural ‘production’ data alone, by pooling group and one-on-one speech as well as *spontaneous* and *elicited* conversation. Furthermore, as this study adopts a usage-based approach and its emphasis on the importance of entrenchment as a measure of competence, experimental techniques were also necessary to be able to test the degree to which the changes spotted in natural speech are entrenched in bilinguals’ linguistic competence. The best way to judge that would be to triangulate several methods including experimental ones. Therefore, an *elicited imitation* task (as one option for an experimentally controlled method) was

added to the battery of methods investigating ‘production’. Furthermore, I attempted to find converging evidence across the two aspects of linguistic knowledge: competence and performance. *Converging evidence* was also aimed for in the ‘perception’ part alone by including two types of judgment methods: a *rating* task and a *forced-choice* task. To sum up, the general aim was to see whether we got converging evidence in the various ‘production’ data, in the two types of ‘perception’ data, and in the comparison of the two types of data. The most interesting question is of course how much of this evidence actually converged or diverged. As mentioned in the summary of the results in Section 7.2, most of the results converged to a great extent, which inspires trust in the empirical validity of the outcomes. Regardless of the syntactic focus (*subordination*, *reported speech* or *word order*) all data converged, except that the TR-Turkish default structures (*non-finite subordination*, *indirect reported speech* and *verb-final order*) were shown to be available in bilinguals’ linguistic competence as much as they are in monolinguals (they got more or less the same judgments in the *rating* task), perhaps indicating those structures are equally entrenched for both groups, despite not being used much in active production by the bilingual participants. All other methods produced *converging evidence* which enabled us to conclude more confidently that Dutch Turkish is undergoing a contact-induced change and is different from TR-Turkish regarding the structures under investigation. The largely converging evidence also gave us a stronger basis for making claims about the linguistic competence of bilinguals. To conclude, by adopting a relatively recent methodological perspective in linguistics, i.e. aiming for *converging evidence*, this study has contributed to methodological innovation in the field of contact linguistics.

7.7 Usage-based linguistics on change

The relevant key concepts related to usage-based linguistics brought up in Section 1.12 of Chapter 1 were the importance of language use and linguistic experience, the notions of *entrenchment* and *frequency* and Bybee’s (2010) suggestion that linguistic competence is built on *exemplar representation*. These notions have also featured prominently in the analyses of results in the preceding chapters. Usage-based linguistics highlights the importance of language use as the core assumption is that there is an intimate relation between instances of language use and the linguistic competence of

speakers. Usage is both informed by competence and (re-)shapes it continuously. Rather than suggesting a modular structure, the *usage-based* view sees the different aspects of language as connected. Furthermore, this account argues that there is a positive correlation between *frequency of use* and degree of *entrenchment* in memory, i.e. in linguistic competence. This means that increasing frequency of use leads to a gradually increasing degree of *entrenchment*, and thus that ‘gradience’, based on varying entrenchment levels, is an important feature of linguistic competence. As for language change, the usage-based perspective leads to a view of *change* as oscillations in the degree of entrenchment in the linguistic competence of a speaker and in the degree of conventionality in the cumulative competence of a speech community (Backus 2013a:28). Bybee’s exemplar representation outlines a mechanism for how *bilingual* mental representation is affected during language change. Following Backus (2013a:23, 25), the current study also views ‘change’ as the increase or decrease of the level of *entrenchment* of a linguistic unit. The question is whether our results actually support this view and *exemplar representation*.

For most Turkish-Dutch bilingual speakers, exposure to and use of Dutch starts in earnest only after the age of four, with the onset of schooling, as Turks in the Netherlands reportedly speak mostly Turkish at home (Extra & Yağmur 2010:125). Thus, our participants most probably started to receive a lot of input containing ‘*finite* subordination, *direct reported speech* and *verb-medial order*’ only after the age of four and probably increasingly less input of the default TR-Turkish structures (*non-finite subordination*, *indirect reported speech* and *verb-final order*). With continuously increasing frequency of Dutch use and exposure, the entrenchment of Dutch structures went up accordingly. Based on the exemplar representation account, the separately stored Dutch *finite* and *verb-medial* and Turkish *non-finite* and *verb-final* patterns started to compete in the mental representation of the bilingual as their matched meanings stimulate activation of both schemas whenever content is produced that calls for either structure. Once the *entrenchment* of the Dutch structure was higher than that of the Turkish one, it also started imposing itself in Turkish discourse, which results in ‘interference’ or ‘cross-linguistic influence’. Since the Dutch-like structures are not ungrammatical in Turkish, they already had some entrenchment level to begin with. This ‘interference’ raised the *entrenchment* of the Dutch schema even further, causing further ‘disuse’ of the TR-Turkish default patterns. This ultimately leads to decreased *entrenchment* of the TR-Turkish

structures, is the idea. So far so good, and if we only had analyzed production data, this is where our account would stop. However, the results from the ‘perception’ (i.e. *judgment*) tasks, more specifically the *rating* task, pointed out that decreased frequency of use does not necessarily lead to decreased entrenchment, at least not that quickly, because TR-Turkish default patterns were rated as highly by the bilingual participants as by the monolingual ones. Why that could be was addressed in Section 7.5 in relation to differences between ‘competence’ and ‘performance’. Apparently, the *rating* task results for TR-Turkish default structures suggest that the frequently asserted positive correlation between *frequency* and *entrenchment* and also between *frequency* and *resistance to change*, not confirmed in this study, is more complicated than it seems. Finally, given the large differences between bilinguals and monolinguals, this study suggests for the domain of syntactic constructions that three exemplars (non-finite subordinate clauses, indirect reported speech and verb-final word order) may have undergone reorganization in the Turkish of bilingual speakers, giving way to three new dominant clusters, based on increasingly frequent exemplars instantiating those patterns: *finite subordination*, *direct reported speech* and *verb-medial order*. This was studied extensively before for phonetic exemplars in Bybee’s work (2006:725).

7.8 Concluding remarks and future outlook

This study has shown that *subordination*, *reported speech* and the *matrix verb position in complex clauses* in Dutch Turkish are clearly different from the conventions of Turkey-Turkish. Therefore, the overall conclusion is that Dutch Turkish has undergone some contact-induced change, in the form of a ‘change in preferences’ or a ‘change in frequency’, at least regarding these structures. The change could take place because complex clause combinations may be particularly vulnerable. First, they involve the nexus between syntax and discourse structure, an area often claimed to be vulnerable to foreign influence. Second, complex clauses are generally more frequent in relatively formal varieties, such as the academic register, which is not really acquired in Turkish by Turkish-Dutch bilinguals growing up in the Turkish immigrant community in the Netherlands. Most exposure to academic language occurs in school, where Dutch is spoken.

I refrain from calling Dutch Turkish a separate variety since there is no comprehensive view yet of language use in this immigrant community variety. That is needed to ascertain how widespread contact effects are and whether there is an abundance of them. That exercise is beyond the scope of a single study such as this one. The body of evidence provided by a number of studies (see Backus, 2013 for a summary) certainly suggests that the influence demonstrated in this study is not limited only to the domain of complex clause combinations. However, to qualify as a variety, Dutch Turkish, born recently in a still relatively young contact setting, definitely needs more systematic studies in different linguistic domains involving evidence from several different methodological sources.

The study has of course not only provided answers, but has also generated new questions, some of which have been discussed in the previous sections. At the end of this thesis, I will now list a few additional issues for future research that have been mentioned briefly throughout this dissertation but could not be investigated due to time limitations and concluded to be beyond its scope.

A question I have often received after presentations is whether there were any data or information on how the parents of the bilingual participants spoke and what type of input the bilinguals received in Turkish from their parents. This is a very valid point, of course. To know this is important if one wants to be able to say whether the contact effects are due to synchronic influence from Dutch on the Turkish of the participants or on that of their parents in the past. In the latter case, the data reflect the input bilinguals received. Since the parents of my participants mostly came from Turkey, the input to their children is assumed to be close to Turkey-Turkish. However, as second generation migrants are raising families now, the issue will become more important in the near future.

I have not focused on the few non-finite subordinate forms in Dutch, most prominently structures with *om...te* ‘in order to’. It is imaginable that their superficial similarity to non-finite Turkish equivalents (mostly non-finite infinitive structures, too) could strengthen the entrenchment of those Turkish structures. This would essentially be the reverse contact effect of the one studied here: it would constitute reinforcement of a TR-Turkish convention because of its similarity to the structure of the Dutch equivalent.

As mentioned in Section 7.3.1, it is possible that the sub-types of subordination that are based on nominalizations taking case and person markers are more complex than those based on converbs that do not receive

any markers at all, as in some of the adverbial subordinate clauses documented in Chapter 4. This should mean they are more resistant to foreign influence or loss. The possibility of nominalizations being more complex was briefly discussed in connection to the *non-experimental* speech data and reported in Chapter 4. However, this should be investigated further and more thoroughly in all types of data collected for this study, and would be a useful follow-up research issue.

Despite being hard to investigate experimentally and beyond our scope, two issues which came up repeatedly in the discussion of the results were how long the interference phase (from Dutch) lasts and whether it is possible at all to find out how much *awareness*, *intentionality* or *consciousness* is involved in language change. Our study cannot provide direct answers to these questions, but contact linguists should try to develop the methodology to deal with these issues effectively.

Furthermore, we could very easily conclude from this study that an obvious (syntactic) convergence at the *clause* level was proven to exist in Dutch-Turkish based on our highly *converging evidence*. However, despite the availability of data that allow investigating *convergence* at the morphological level as well, the question of whether the convergence or diffusion starts first at the clause level or at the morphological level could not be addressed comparatively in this study, which was left for a future research.

Finally, as mentioned in Section 7.3 in relation to the role of *translation*, our results appear to support the conclusion that we have documented a *syntactic* transfer process at the *schematic* level, but the analysis still leaves open the option of an active translation mechanism at a more specific lexical level: maybe the instances of Dutch structure are just the results of literal *translation* of highly entrenched Dutch expressions. However, investigating the degree to which this might explain at least some of the data was beyond the scope of this study, as we would first have to devise a methodology for deciding whether in any given case the translation was schematic or specific, before we would be able to look at the Dutch-like instances one by one. We would also need to assess how entrenched the Dutch equivalent expressions are in the Dutch of the bilingual participants, a task well beyond the scope of this study.

These suggestions provide a handful of ways in which this study could be further elaborated, and hereby help expand the field of contact linguistics.

Many more useful research questions, based on this dissertation, can undoubtedly be generated.

To conclude, despite all the interesting findings and hopefully challenging conclusions this dissertation has contributed, the fact that we can still add many more new components or aspects to be investigated indicates clearly that there is still much more to be done in this language contact setting. Although there are quite a number of studies on Turkish-Dutch contact, the language pair is typical in not having been the subject of much systematic study. Meanwhile, as one of the pioneers as a systematic study (with a *syntactic* focus) in the relatively young contact setting (of Turkish and Dutch pair), I hope this research can establish itself as a pioneer of such systematic study, most prominently by accumulating evidence from different methods to try and find *converging evidence*.

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APPENDIX 1

Samples of transcriptions¹

A. Bilingual spontaneous group conversations

- M: Bu bayram bizi şey yaptı biraz, çelişkiye düşürdü. Bu yüzden 6 hafta oluyor yani. Ayırıyetten zaten ben bekliyordum bunu, herşeyi bitireyim bi defa da gideyim. Aziz de diyor bana ‘ik heb geen moeite mee. OK.’
- Z: Ok, iyi.
- S: Nee, ama sabahleyin yani bayram günü.
- M: Sonra biz, Pazartesi işte sabah bayram, ben Salı günü gelicem. Bi gün sonra.
(Some facial expressions probably)
- M: Ee yeter.
- S: Bayramda kalsana orda. Het is toch leuk.
- M: Ama o zaman Eylül’ün dördünde beşinde gelmem lazım.
- S: Eee ama bayram hani. Bilmiyom.
- M: İyi de yani bayram da ...
- S: Başkalarını da görürsün, sadece. Iedereen komt bij elkaar.
- M: Üç gün dört gün sürüyo. Ama saçmalık. Yani birinci gün sabah uyan, nene dedeye git. Anne baba. Sabahleyin birlikte bir kahvaltı. Bu kadar. Şimdi Kurban bayramı olsa, kurban kesiliyor, işte namaz oluyor.
- S: Ik ben helemaal in de war. Kurban bayramı var.
- M: Kurban olsa,
- S: Jaaa.
- M: Namazdır, işte yok efendim yemeklerdir. Aile toplanıyor
- S: Jaa. Dat dat
- Z: Şeker bayramı.
- S: Ja, daar dacht ik ook aan. (?)
- M: Kurba. ... ama şeker bayramında sadece uyanıyorsun güzel bir kahvaltı ediyorsun. Artık oruç yok ya.
- S: Jaa.
- M: Herkes kahvaltı ediyor ve bu kadar. Başka bişey yok. Bu yüzden ertesi gün rahat rahat gelebilirim. Bi de ben biliyorum, gidersem, annelere söylersem “bayramdan önce gidecem”, annemler bana kesin kes şey yapacaklar, baskı yapacaklar, falan “Niye kalmadın, kal bayrama”, weet je? O yüzden.

¹ Due to huge amount of data, only small sample pieces of transcriptions are included here per type, speech mode and task. However, the full instrument can be made available upon request.

- S: Dan ga je niet met een goed gevoel weg.
- M: Ama söylemicem, hoor, herkese 30'unda döndüğümü. Diycem eind Augustus. Voor alle ... (?) Çünkü ona ne zaman söylesem oturup berekenen yapıyor.
- S: Aaaaa
- M: Yemin ederim. Bana diyo "ohh dus je gaat zeven weken, ohh dus je gaat vier weken". Böyle yapıyo. Ben de diyorum ki "ja je hoeft niet te benadrukken".
- Z: Ok jullie.
- S: Zeg dan dingen. Zeg dan "Ik kom zo om half augustus".
- M: Zaten öyle diycem.
- S: En daarna zeg je ja ik heb mijn ticket uitgesteld.
- M: Ja aynen. Aziz'le de böyle konuştum. Aziz'e de dedim verklappen yapma. Çünkü mensen denken niet ... yani insanlar bizim düşündüğümüz gibi düşünmüyorlar. Bizim Aziz'le bir nasıl diyim ... dat is een soort omgang bij ons.
- S: Hmmm.
- M: Ben gidiyorum. O gidiyor. Wij vinden het goed. Hij heeft geen moeite mee. Ik ook niet. Ama insanlara direk dersem "Ik ga voor veertig dagen, vijfenveertig dagen". Dan hebben ze zo van "wooww, niye bu kadar uzun gidiyorsun?" Nee, Ben diycem "Ağustos'un yarısında geliyorum".
- S: Ja.
- M: Sonra diycem ki "bayrama denk geldi, uzattım". Olsun beyaz yalanlar bunlar.
- Z: Peki tezin nolacak? Okul?
- M: Zaten şöyle anlaştık: 22 Haziran'a kadar şuan yapabileceğimi yapıcım. Ama yapabileceğimi yapıcım derken, elimden gelenin en iyisini yapıcım. 22 Haziran'da bana son anlamda yanlışlarımı söyleyecek ve 22 Haziran'dan 5 Temmuz'a kadar o küçük yanlışları düzelticem. 5 Temmuz'da definitief beordelen yapmak için teslim edicem. Yani artık niet meer te verbeteren. Gewoon al bana, puanımı ver. Ama bu çok çok güzel bişey. Çünkü insanlar sadece bir defa feedback aldılar. Concept verenler bir defa feedback aldılar. Ama ben bu 22 Haziran'la 5 Temmuz'la bi de geçenle birlikte üç defa feedback almış oluyorum. Zonder, yani şeyle, nasıl diyim, notsuz üç defa bakmış oluyor tezime. Üç defa bunu düzelt bunu düzelt bunu düzelt demiş oluyor. Bu çok çok iyi bişey, yani, benim.
- S: Jaa. İyi. Puanın daha yükselir.
- M: İnşallah, bilmiyorum. Sonra zaten şöyle birşey varmış. Dün mentor'umla görüşmem vardı. Definitief verdikten sonra, begeleider'ını üç hafta görmem yasak. Kontakt da yasak.
- Z: Neden?
- M: (?) ... notunu etkilemesin diye.
- S: Hadi ya?
- M: Yaa, gerçekten.
- M: Ben de çok şaşırdım. Ben kendi kendime dedim ki ok o zaman veririm çeker giderim ... (?) ... dat beïnvloedt de indicatie op de puntensysteem of zo, of zo iets.
- S: Ohhh?

- M: Ja, Ik dacht oké. Haha, kadın benim herşeyimi biliyo, bilmem neyimi etkileyecek.
 Z: O zaman şey. Eylül'de presentatie yapıcan?
 M: Ja ja ja.
 M: 29 Eylül diploma uitreiking. İnşallah.
 Z: Negenentwintig September?

B. Spontaneous one-on-one conversations (BM condition)

- Z: Nasılsın? Nasılsın?
 Ç: İyiyim. Sağol. Sen Nassın?
 Z: Ben de iyiyim. Allah'a şükür. Ne yapak? İşte gördüğün gibi.
 Ç: Hee son seneni okuyosun de mi sen şimdi? Bitiriyosun?
 Z: Ja. Laatste jaar.
 Ç: Ik hoop dat je lukt.
 Z: Wat ... wat studeer je? Biraz kendini tanıt. Sen kimsin? Ne örüyon? Ne ediyon?
 Ç: Ne örüyon? Ne ediyon? Dat mag toch net niet. Ne örüyim? Eindhoven'da okula gidiyorum. Ama Minor yapıyorum simdi. Volg ik zes maanden lang.
 Z: Minor? Wat voor minor doe je?
 Ç: Kunst en cultuur.
 Z: Wat studeer je dan?
 Ç: Ik doe eigenlijk commerciële economie in Eindhoven, ama nu doe ik minor.
 Z: Kunst en cultuur?
 Ç: Ja het is heel iets anders van elkaar. Ik weet het.
 Z: Ook Hbo toch?
 Ç: Ja ook Hbo. Het is gewoon zes maanden, baska bi sey okuyorsun aslında. Hani ps ... Ik kon ook Psychologie kiezen of zo. Als ik wou. Ben de kunst en cultuur sectim. Conservatorium'a gidiyorum burda. Bij stad daar. Bij Schouwburg.
 Z: Ha, iyi, güzelmiş ya.
 Ç: Ja.
 Z: En heeft dat een bepaalde doel? Waarom jullie zo een minor moeten volgen? Vanwege?
 Ç: Het is gewoon verplicht. In elke opleiding ... Hbo opleiding moet jij gewoon zes maanden minor doen. Of je doet een lintminor. Dan doe je zeg maar stage ge...gemixt met minor.
 Z: Ok. O zaman vertraging olmuyo mu?
 Ç: Nee. Want het is een onderdeel van jouw vier jaar. Die half jaar zitten sowieso in de vier jaar. Die minor moet jij sowieso doen. Net als stage.
 Z: Kac yaşındasın? Neyle uğraşıyosun okul dışında?
 Ç: 20 yaşındayım. Okulun dışında da biliyosun, bacınla sürünüyo, konusuyo. (*Lachen*) Baska da Acelya'yla falan dolaşırıız arada ... Öyle.

- Z: Evet. Çalışıyo musun?
 Ç: Çalışıyorum. Şeye ...
 Z: Nerde?
 Ç: Bosch magazijn var noord'ta.
 Z: Ne ... ne tür? Wat voor werkzaamheden?
 Ç: Hmm gewoon magazijn medewerker. Dan ben je, zeg maar, bezig aan een paktafel. Krijg jij orders binnen. Dan moet jij die in kartonnen dozen inpakken. In de computer verwerken en sturen ... versturen zeg maar. TNT ile yolluyon ya da hani ... is heel lastig. Eerste dag, toen ik daar aankwam, moest ik echt van alles onthouden in een keer. Ja.
 Z: Ok. Ja. Vind het wel leuk of niet zo?
 Ç: Ja, het is wel zo dat sfeer leuk is. Voor de rest is s ... heel saai werk.
 Z: Arkadaşın var mı peki? Arkadaşlarıyla beraber mi çalışıyorsunuz?
 Ç: Nee. Ik ben daar gewoon. Kumru beni oraya aldı. O eskiden orda şey yapıyodu, beveiliging yapıyodu ya.
 Z: Ailenden biraz bahset? Ailen? Kac kardeşiniz? Annen baban ne iş yapıyor?
 Ç: Hmmm. Bi ablam var. O da evli. Çocuğu var.
 Z: Hmm. Teyzesin yani?
 Ç: Tezzeyim.
 Z: Nasıl bir duygu?
 Ç: Çok super. Ağladım duyduğumda. Ben hiç ağlamam, hé. Toen ik hoorde, ging ik gewoon huilen. Ja. Het is wel leuk. Heel apart gevoel.
 Z: Ablanla bağın nasıl? İyi midir? Hoe?
 Ç: Heel goed. Yani daha iyi bi abla bulamazsin. Yani yoktur diye düşünüyorum. Gerçekten.
 Z: Kaç yaşında?
 Ç: Yirmidört.
 Z: Ok. Benle yaşıt.
 Ç: Ja.
 Z: Ok.
 Ç: Ja.
 Z: Peki. Ga je vaak op vakantie? Türkiye'ye felan gidiyo musun?
 Ç: Sürekli gitmeye çalışıyoz yani yazın. Her sene gitmeye çalışıyoruz.
 Z: Yazın gidiyosun. Yada onun disinda da gidiyo musun hani böyle arkadaşlarla?
 Ç: Onun dışında ... Jaa ... onun disinda da geçen sene gittim İstanbul gezisine arkadaşlarla okuldan falan.
 Z: Ik zag jouw foto's op facebook.
 Ç: Ja.
 Z: Nasıldı?
 Ç: Çok güzeldi. Het was heel leuk.
 Z: Nerelere gittiniz? Nereleri gezdiniz? Neler yaptınız?
 Ç: Echt gewoon ... bijna overal denk ik. Ik weet het niet. Sürekli şey yane ... gezme, alışveriş yapma, ondan sonra da akşamları yemeğe çıkıyoduk. Ondan sonra da eğlenceye giderdik sürekli her akşam. Böyle diyim.
 Z: Ok. Want ik heb wel gezien. Volgens mij Beyaz Show'a felan mi gitmişsiniz?

- Ç: Nee. Bizim grup gitmedi oraya.
 Z: Gitmedi mi? Jammer.
 Ç: Nee. Had ze niet kunnen regelen of zo. Zijn wij niet gegaan, nee. Eerste jaars hadden ze ook kunnen niet regelen. Zogenaamd. Gidemedik iki senedir Beyaz'a.
 Z: Ok. Jammer. Peki senin memleket nereydi?
 Ç: Konya.
 Z: Konya. Konya'ya her sene gider misiniz yaz tatilinde?
 Ç: Ja. Altijd. Langste periode daar blijven. Yani 6 hafta gidiyosak, 4 haftası Ereğli'deyiz. Konya, Ereğli'de.
 Z: Ok. Wwar heb je meer familieleden hier in Nederland of daar?
 Ç: Hmm. Mijn moederskant woont hier. En mijn vaders kant: alleen zijn tante. En de rest allemaal in Turkije.
 Z: Hepsi Turkiye'deler?
 Ç: Ja.
 Z: Peki onlarla bağın nasıl? Gittiğinde hani böyle sıcak karşılıyorla mı?
 Ç: Tabii çok. Yani sanki hergün berabermişiz gibiyiz yani. Je voelt wel echte liefde van de mensen.
 Z: Ja.
 Ç: Ja.
 Z: En ...Wat denk je later? Wat zijn je toekomst plannen? Ben je van plan om naar Turkije te verhuizen of yoksa diyosun: "Ben burda büyüdüm, doğdum. Burda kalmak istiyorum. Burda hayat daha güzel ya da ...?" Bi tart bakalım. Bi ... Ne düşünüyosun?
 Ç: Ya ben planlamaya inanmam. Şimdi ben bunu derim. Yarın baska bisey diyceğimi biliyorum. O yuzden simdiden öyle şeyler ... bilmiyorum. Benim işim belli olmaz. Hani baktım duruma. Türkiye'ye gidesim geldi. Türkiye'ye giderim. Yani hersey için açığım ben. Hiçbi şeyi böyle planlamam.
 Z: Peki öyle bi kişi misin? Ok. Peki böyle kafana estiğince hareket eden biri misin?
 Ç: Hmm. O yuzden zaten planlamayı sevmiyorum. Çünkü kafama eseni yapıyorum en sonunda yani.
 Z: Ok. Stel: gitmen gerekiyo ya da gitmeyi düşünüyosun. Hani zou je dan Nederland missen? Of wat?
 Ç: Tuurlijk. Tuurlijk. Ik heb iedereen hier. Hani ... Ik kan een week niet zonder mijn moeder. Ik wet het niet hoe ik een leven zonder mijn moeder moet hebben. Ik kan helemaal niet denk ik. Ik weet het niet.
 Z: Ok. Ja.
 Ç: Het zou heel lastig zijn.
 Z: Wat zou haar reactie zijn? Als je zou zeggen: "Anne ben yarin Türkiye'ye gidiyom". Ya da "ömür boyu orda yaşıycam".
 Ç: Als het beter is voor mij, zou ze heel blij zijn. Mutlu olurdu yani benim için. Bi şey içinse hani. Maar ze zou toch erg vinden. Ja wel. Annemi özlerdim hani.
 Z: Ben je moeders kindje of?
 Ç: Ja, heel erg.

- Z: Okulunu da bitireceksin.
- Ç: Onu diyecektim ben de. işte okulu bitireyim. Hani bi ... bıkmamış olsam, master okumayı düşünüyorum. Ama büyük ihtimalle bıkarım iki seneye. Hmm başka da? Ik wil gewoon een goede baan. Gelukkige leven. Dat is alles wat ik wil. Ik heb niet echt specifieke dingen waar ik van, "oww dit wil ik in mijn leven doen". Natuurlijk ik ben echt iemand die risico's wil nemen. Zeg maar: Ik wil wel enge dingen doen in mijn leven. Ik heb wel zo iets van, ik wil wel een keer bungyjumping dat ga ik doen, voordat ik dood ga. Dat wil ik wel doen. Başka da öyle hiç aklımda bişey yok dat ik moet moet doen in mijn leven. Nee.
- Z: Peki hmm ... Evlenmeyi felan düşünüyö musun? Ya da na ... nasıl bakıyosun evlenmeye? Alien nasıl karşılar mesela? Simdi çıksan karşılarna "annecim ben evlenmek istiyorum". "Böyle böyle biri var dediğinde" nasıl karşılarlar?
- Ç: Hmm. Normal karşılarlar. Çünkü ablam da benim yasımdaydı aşık olduğunda, hani evlenmeye karar verdiğinde falan. 20 yaşındaydı. Yani aynı ... hiç bi sorun çıkarmadan.
- Z: Peki okulun bitmedi felan derler miydi?
- Ç: O durum ... doğru ya, o durum başka ... Ablam okulu bitirmişti. Onu bilmiyorum. Hiç konuşmadım. Ama je hebt wel een punt. Want ... volgens mij zouden ze wel zeggen: eerst school. Volgens mij ... volgens mij wel. Nu je het zegt.
- Z: Senin aile böyle geleneksel midir? Yoksa daha çok böyle ... vrij, je mag doen waar je zin in hebt. Of? Wat voor? Aile yapınız nasıl?
- Ç: Nee. Echt een mixje.
- Z: Mix.
- Ç: Het is heel mix ja. Soms, ja ligt er aan. Ik mag wel heel veel dingen. Meestal ook dingen die ... We hebben ook veel regels, zeg maar. Je mag niet zomaar met een vriendje aankomen of zo. Yani oyle bi sey degil. Zo vrij zijn ze niet. Maar hani arkadaşlarımla bi şey yapmak istesem, kimse beni tutmaz. Zeg niet: Ja je gaat niet of zo.
- Z: Ja.
- Ç: Wel op die manier. Maar niet dat je kunt zeggen "oww het is echt vrij" hoor. We hebben een wel echt discipline in huis. Hayruş anlatmistir belki dat mijn moeder ... hoe mijn moeder is met haar regels en zo.
- Z: Peki, arkadaş çevren genis mi? Nasıl? Ne tür arkadaşların var? Met wie ga je allemaal om?
- Ç: Çok değişik. Ik ga met alle soorten mensen om.

C. Spontaneous one-on-one conversations (MM condition)

- P: Hoşgeldin Derya.
- D: Hoşbuldum.

- P: Biraz kendini tanıtır mısın bana? Kimsin, neler yaparsın, nerde okuyosun, çalışıyo musun? Aklın, yani ailen, nerelisin, kendinle alakalı aklına gelebilecek her şey anlata bilirsin.
- D: Peki. Tabi ki. Ehh yirmitüç yaşındayım. Eh yirmisekiz şubat bindokuzyüzseksensekiz doğumluyum. Ehm Hollanda'da doğdum. Tilburg'e yakın bi köyde aslında Goirle'da. Ehm liseyi yine Tilburg'de okudum Odulphus Lyceum adlı bi lisede. Daha sonra ehh Utrecht'te ehh Utrecht Üniversitesi'nde ehh veterinerliğe başladım. Orda bi buçuk sene kadar okuduktan sonra bazı sağlık sorunlarından dolayı o bölümü bırakmak zorunda kaldım. Daha sonra Tilburg'e gelip ehh Tilburg Üniversitesi'nde Hukuk fakültesinde başladım. Eh şuan üçüncü sınıftayım. Ehm ailem aslen Konyalı de Konyalı. Ama işte otuz yıl önce kadar Hollanda'ya gelmişler. Dönüş yapmışlar. Ehm onun dışında başka ne anlatabilirim. Hobbilerim mesela tenis oynuyorum on onbir senedir. Çok sevdiğim bi spordur. Ehmm onun dışında eh tiyatroyu çok seviyorum. Tiyatroyla ilgilenirim. Gerçi son bir iki senedir çok fazla ilgilenemiyorum. Ondan önce çok ilgileniyodum.
- P: Kendin oynuyo musun yoksa?
- D: Evet kendim hı hı. Eh onun dışında ehm aslında ehm bir iki sene sonra Türkiye'ye gitmeyi düşünüyorum.
- P: Öyle mi?
- D: Orda yaşamayı düşünüyorum. Evet. Daha tam net bişeyler yok ama öyle bi niyetim var.
- P: Tek başına mı?
- D: Evet tek başına hı hı. Yok ailem çünkü hani artık buraya alıştılar bi de emekli oluyo oldu nerdeyse. Annem oldu ama babam nerdeyse emekli oluyo artık. Hani onlar buraya alıştılar burda daha rahat oldukları için onlar burda kalmayı tercih ediyolar. Ve ya işte bi süre Türkiye bi süre Hollanda. Ama ben net bi Türkiye'ye eh dönüş yapma eh ya benim için dönüş olmicak işte ben burda doğduğum için ama yani ailemin geldiği ülkeye dönmek istiyorum.
- P: Peki nasıl böyle bi karar verdin? Ne etkili oldu?
- D: Ehmm ya zaten ben aslında değişikliği seven bi insanım. Eh ben burda doğup büyüdüğüm için bi de Hollanda hani bana artık çok dar ve sıkıcı gelmeye başladı. Çok fazla eh bana bi ehh olanak sunuyo demiyecem ama çok fazla bi ehh ehh nasıl denir onu Türkçede ...
- P: Çekici gelmiyo mu yoksa?
- D: Ehhh yani ehmm ben biraz daha böyle farklı alanlara yönelmeyi severim. Böyle daha böyle ehh ehh beni zorliycak diyebilirim. Biraz daha farklı. Hani çok bilindik şeyler değil. Burda yapabilecen şey nedir? Bi işte çalışırsın, hani orda yükselirsin. O kadar. Ama ben biraz daha ehh biraz maceracıyım galiba o yönde. Farklı şeyler denemek istiyorum. Ha Türkiye'de olur olmaz bilmiyorum. Belki de Türkiye'de bi süre yaşarım sonra farklı bi ülkeye giderim. Ama bu Hollanda olmaz kesinlikle. Bi daha Hollanda'ya dönmem yani.
- P: Öyle mi?
- D: Evet.

- P: Niye Hollanda'dan seni bu kadar soğutan ne oldu? Belli...
- D: Soğutan aslında olay olmadı. Ha hatta burda çok güzel dönemlerim geçti ama özellikle lise döneminden sonra artık bu ülke birazcık sıkılmaya başladı beni. Ehm insanları artık böyle çok robotlaşmış gibi geliyo bana. Gerçi tabi bu dünyanın her yerinde böyle ama Hollanda'da daha bi bunu fark ediyorum. İnsanlar hani ehmm ne bilim çok fazla hani eh kabulleniyorlar bazı şeyleri. Hani bürokrasinin onlara dağıttığı şeylere çok fazla uyuyorlar bence. Biraz daha özgür bi ülke'de biraz daha hani ehmm ehhi yani yeteneklerini daha iyi bi şekilde sergileyebileceğim bi ülke'de yaşamak isterdim. Ha belkide başka bi ülkede yaşarım yine çok monoton bi iş yapabilirim. O belli olmaz ama o zaman mesela eh özel hayatımda biraz daha farklılıklar yaşayabilirim.

D. Spontaneous one-on-one conversations (TR-Turkish monolinguals)

- P: Hoşgeldin Hülya.
- H: Hoşbulduk.
- P: Öncelikle bize kendini tanıtabilir misin?
- H: Eee ismim Hülya. Yirmi sekiz yaşındayım. Kırşehir doğumluyum. Fakat babamın mesleğinden dolayı Türkiye'de ve yurt dışında bir kaç farklı yerde bulundum. Bi çok okul değiştirdim ama benim için hayatımda önemli yer kapsayan şeylerden biri liseyi yurt dışında okumam ve ODTÜ mezunu olmam. İngilizce öğretmenliği mezunuyum 2005 yılı. Ve 2005'ten beri de Bilkent'te öğretim görevlisi olarak görev yapmaktayım.
- P: Hı-hı. Peki kaç kardeşsin?
- H: Kardeşim yok, tek çocuğum.
- P: Peki ne hissediyorsun bu konuda?
- H: Eee ...
- P: İster miydin kardeşin olmasını?
- H: Bazen, ee aslında daha küçükken çok aramıyordum ama sanırım yaşım ilerledikçe ve etrafımdaki insanlar özellikle de teyze, hala falan olmaya başladıkça daha çok istemeye başladım ya da eksikliğini hissediyorum diyebilirim. Özellikle de aile içersinde de bir takım kayıplar ya da zor günler geçirme durumu arttıkça da aslında bir kardeşin daha farklı bir destek olabileceğini fark ettim. Ama tabi ki yine de tamamen ney- nasıl hissettirdiğini bilmediğim için çok da şey yapamıyorum hani hissedemiyorum diye düşünüyorum. Ama yine de bi kardeş olması daha farklı olurdu diye düşünüyorum. Destek açısından özellikle.

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- P: Hoşgeldin Serkan.
- S: Hoşbulduk Pelincim.
- P: Kendini tanıtarak başlayalım çalışmaya.

- S: Başlayalım tamam. Ben Serkan. 1982 Artvin doğumluyum. Bilgisayar mühendisiyim. Evliyim. O kadar. Başka ne diyim, Vakıflar Bankası'nda çalışıyorum.
- P: Hı-hı.
- S: Bankacılık kazanımları yapıyorum.
- P: Eşin?
- S: Ee eşim? Eşim Meryem, o da İngilizce öğretmeni. Çankaya Üniversitesi'nde çalışıyor, üç yıl, üç yıldır.
- P: Hı-hı.
- S: O da evli. (*both laugh*). Çocuğumuz yok. Mutluyuz. Mesuduz. Bu kadar. Baska?
- P: Ne güzel. Kaç kardeşiniz?
- S: Ben iki kardeşim. Bir erkek kardeşim var, İstanbul'da gemi makine işletme mühendisliği okuyor.
- P: Hı-hı.
- S: İlk senesi. Hazırlığı geçicek inşallah.
- P: İnşallah.
- S: Keyfi yerinde.
- P: Hı-hı.
- S: İstanbul'da hayatını sürüyor. Annem babam Artvin'de. İkisi de emekli.
- P: Hı-hı.
- S: Babam bankacıydı, annem maliyeciydi. Onun haricinde başka ne söyleyeyim?
- P: Ankara'da yaşıyorsunuz.
- S: Hah. Ankara'da yaşıyoruz.
- P: Memnun musunuz Ankara'dan?
- S: Ha çok.
- P: Çok? (*both laugh*)
- S: Çok memnunuz, Ankara çok güzel bir şehir. İnşallah gitmeyiz de kalırız burda. (*laughs*)

E. Elicited one-on-one speech (BM condition)

- F: Mutlu ehm ... Ya insan aklında her zaman hüznü anlar kaldığı için, mutluluğu hani ... ehm ... baya bi derine inmem gerekiyo herhalde. Ehm ... Hüznü bi anı anlatabilirim. Ehmm ... Toen ik ehm ... Even kijken ... Toen ik in groep zes zat. Ehmm ... Ya benim babam sey ... Ehm bi kaza geçirmisti in Turkije. Bi araba kazasi. Hij was toen achttien ofzo maar hij woonde zeg maar ook in Nederland maar hij was op vakantie en ehm ... Araba kazası geçirmişti rmisti ama o kazayı bi çok kötü bi köyde geçirmişti. Echt een heel gevaarlijk dorp. Dus ehm ... Hij had ehm ... een ehm ... Hij reed tegen een meisje aan en da meisje was dood en ehm ... Mijn vader en mijn oom die zaten in de auto en die reden weg omdat het een gevaarlijk dorp was.
- Z: Oke.

- F: Hani ... En o cocukta kimsesiz bi çocukmuş. Ehm ... Sonradan öğrendi babam. Ondan sonra babam geri Hollanda'ya geldi. Hij wist niet wat hij moet doen hani ... O dorp'a da geri gidip hani ehm ... bakamıyodu çünkü het was echt een heel gevaarlijke dorp. Eeh Aksaray'da zaten o dorp. Ehm sonra işte moest hij daarvoor ehm ... Een bepaald bedrag betalen ofzo maar niemand had in de familie dat bet ... ja dat bedrag betaald. Dus hij kon zeg maar niet naar Turkije. Als hij naar Turkije zou gaan, zou hij ehm ... Opgaf ... Opgevangen worden. Ehm ... Biz böyle beş altı sene gitmemiştik o zaman ... Türkiye'ye. Toen zat ik in groep zes iste. Ik was dus rond tien, elf jaar. O zaman Türkiye'ye gitcektik maar kinderen die zijn altijd, die weten altijd wat er gaande is. Dus hani ik wist wel, wij gaan nu naar Turkije. Mijn vader ging ook mee dus mijn vader kan opgepakt worden. Dat wist ik gewoon. Dus ehm ... Toen ehm ... İşte mijn vader had wel wat geregeld dat ehm ... Gecommuniceerd met mensen op het ehm vliegveld en ehm die hadden gezegd van dat ehm hij wel toegang had. Dus ehm ... Neyse uçağa ... uçaktan indik. En ehm ... gümrükte gidiyoduk ve işte o zaman babama sıra geldiğinde hani, ik had echt zoiets van nolcak şimdi? Sonra werd mijn vader opgepakt, van iste boyle boyle je hebt een openstaand ehm bedrag en ehm ... Dat is nog niet betaald en dus wij pakken jou op. Dus ehm polisler felan gelmişti. Babamı almıştı. Babam da hani ehm para yüzünden hani tutuklandığını bilmiyodu hani ... Hij dacht echt hani kız öldüğü için tutuklanıyo. Para içinmiş hani. Hij moest iets betalen. Sonra iste ehm... Babamı yakaladılar o zaman. İşte ehm ... Benim zeg maar benim de babamla aramdaki bağ baya kuvvetliydi çünkü ben o zaman ilk kızdım. Hani babalar da kızlara daha çok düşkün olduğu için. Bi de ben böyle babamı hani çok seven birisiydim. Böyle ehm hani ... ehm ... ne biliyim, işe gittiği zaman ben ona ... ben o ... onu öpmeden yani gitmezdi. Hep öperdim felan. Hani baya böyle bi bağlıydım. Hani ondan sonra işte, tutuklandığı zaman işte ehm ... Hapise girmek zorunda kaldı. Yani biz tatile tek annem, işte, kardeşlerimle geçirdik. Köydeydik o zaman ve ehm ... O zaman işte hapse felan gitmemiştik. Tam geri dönerken Hollanda'ya hapse gitmistik bi bakmak için. İşte babam hapse işte şeylerin arasında. Achter de tralies zeg maar. En ehm ... Toen had ik echt zoiets van ja, "babam bi daha gelmiycek. Babam gitti. Yok babam artık benim." Hani öyle ağlıyodum ben hani ... Abimle kardeşimin de hiç umrunda değil. Hahaha. Hiç ağlamıyolar, sızlamıyolar. Ben bütün tatil boyunca "babam nerde? Gelmiycek babam" felan. Sonra Hollanda'ya geldik en ik zat toen iste groep zes en groep zes is best wel een belangrijke jaar yani. Hani ehm ... Neyse okul başladı ben her gün ağlıyorum. Bilmiyorum sen o ... sen o zamanlar var mıydın? Of ehm ...
- Z: Ya ben senin coook ufaklık halini tanıyorum. Böyle heel vaag. Flat'te felan oynadığımızı hatırlıyorum. Daar beneden zo.

F. Elicited one-on-one speech (MM condition)

C: Hmm tamam. Ehmm okuldan bi hikaye anlatayım. Geçen hafta yeni oldu çünkü. Eh bizim bi proje verilmesi gerekiyordu. Saat dokuzdan onikiye kadar verme hakkın vardı. Ve ehh hani vermezsen başka bi eh başka mesela bi ay ya da iki ay sonra verilecek ama toplam iki tane iki kez verme hakkın var. Eğer mesela ilk kez verirsen eh yine değiştirme hakkın oluyo. İkinci kez verince hani düzeltme hakkın oluyo. O yüzden her zaman birinci kezde vermeyi çaba gösteriyorum. Ehm ama okula geldim. Projeyi hazırlamıştım. Okula geldim projeyi eh çıkartmam gerekiyo, çünkü gecici daha bi kaç değişiklik yaptığım için sabah okulda çıkartırım ozaman hani belki bi bişey daha değiştiririm gibisinden. Onu beklemeye almıştım. Sonra okula gittim projeyi çıkartmak için, ama o kadar çok aksilik oldu ki. Ehm okula gidince ilk önce otobüsümü kaçırdım. Ardından eh okula geldim şeyim eh kartımı unutmuşum. Hani kart... kartsız da çıkartılmıyo kopie yapılmıyo. Ardından bilgisayarın başına oturdum eh lazım olan eh o çıkartma makinesi o hani o ayarlı değilmiş bilgisayarda. Yani yine çıkartma deyince bi aksilik oldu. Saat 10'da da dersim başlıyordu. Nerdeyse saat 10'a geldi. Ardından işte bi arkadaşşıma mesaj attım "ben yarım saat gecikecem derse diye öğretmene hani söyleyebilir misin?" diye. O yüzden bi yandan o derse geç kaldım stresi diğer yandan projeyi çıkartamıyorum stressi. Herşey böyle aksilikler üst üste geldi. Baya bi stres olmuşum. Oo o vardı olay olarak. Bi de iki hafta önce bi olay daha o da yine böyle okulla alakalı. Eh benim daha önce verdiğim bi projeyi sunum olarak hem staj yaptığım yerdeki müdüre ardın aynı zamanda da okuldan öğretmenim gelecekti. Onlara sunum yapacaktım yaptığım projeyle alakalı. Böyle zaten o sunumu yapcağım için gayet heyecanlıydım. Ondan sonra sabah tren yine otobüsümü kaçırdım. Ama okulum normal aynı ... kaldığım yerde olduğu için hani on dakika otobüsle gidiyosun hemen varıyosun zaten. O o kadar sorun değil de. Stajımı giderkene otobüs kaçırınca eh aynı zamanda trenimi de kaçırmış oluyorum. Trenimi kaçırınca diğer yandaki otobüsümü de kaçırmış oluyorum. Ve hani çok geçikmiş oluyorum staja. İlk önce otobüsümü kaçırdım. O yüzden zaten yarım saat geç kalmıştım. Ardından istasyona geldim ve trenim yirmi dakika gecikmeli olduğunu hani gördüm. O yüzden tam bi saat geç geldim. Saat dokuz değil onda anca geldim oraya. Ondan sonra böyle stre aşırı streslendim. Ve eh bizim şirkete girmek için bi kartımız var. O kartı ehh duvarı ya ... kapıyı gösteriyosun, kapı öyle açılıyo yoksa kapı hiç bi şekilde açılmıyo. Ondan sonra geldim tam böyle kapının yanına. Çantamda o kartı arıyorum, kartım yok çantamda. Onu da kaybetmişim. O yüzden ay neyse başka arkadaşşıma aradım o getirdi kartı, açiverdi kapıyı. Önce yeni bi kart eh aal eh yaptırmam gerekiyordu. O yüzden gittim sekretere dedim "kartım hani kaybettim acaba yeni kart var mı şuan" diye. Hemen yeni bi kart çıkardı. Ardından bilgisayarımda böyle artık bişeyler yapmaya çalışıyorum hani çalışmaya çalışıyorum. Ardından bilgisayarım kapandı bi anda hiç bişey yok yani ortada. Bilgisayarım kapandı. Yani herşey bütün aksilikler üst üste geldi.

Ondan sonra dedim artık hani “böyle aksil aksi doluyla bi gün başlarsa eğer kesin devamı da böyle gelir” diye çok korktum. Çünkü hani sunum olmasa o kadar önemli değil de. Sunum olduğu için daha da çok stress oldum. Hani eğer mesela sunum kötü giderse puan alamıcam ve tekrardan yapmak zorunda kalacam sunumu diye baya bi korkmuştum. Böyle baya stresli geçmişti o günde. Öyle bi olay olmuştu.

P: Sunum nasıl geçti?

C: Sunum çok iyi geçti Allah’a şükür. Öğretmen çok böyle ehh yaa seni böyle hani görmek çok farklı dedi. Hani böyle baya positif şeyler anlatmıştı. Hani normalde okulda öğrenci olarak görüyo. “Seni şimdi burda böyle hani şirket sunumunu yaparken de görmek hani çok eh farklı bişeymiş” falan dedi. Yani gayet böyle güzel şeyler söyledi Allah’a şükür. Sunum çok iyidi. Ama sunumu gelene kadar herşey kötü gitmişti. O yüzden baya heyecanlanmışım.

P: Stressli bi gün geçirdin yani sonunda.

C: Evet stressli bi gün geçirdim evet.

P: Evet. Teşekkür ederim anlattıkların için.

G. Elicited one-on-one speech (TR-Turkish monolinguals)

P: Anladım tamam. Şimdi bize başından geçmiş olan en ilginç ya da sana en heyecan vermiş olan ya da en komik deneyimini anlatabilir misin?

M: Tamam tabi ki de. Başından geçen ilginç bir olay eee yalnız çok heyecan, evet, verici bir o kadar da korkutucu bir olaydı. Şöyle anlatıyım geçen yaz tatilinde Amsterdam’a gittik. Dönmemize bir gün kala, Cumartesi günü dönecektik, uçağımız saat 9’daydı. Cuma akşamı saat 4 sularında bisikletle Amsterdam’da turlamaya karar verdik. Bisikletlerimizi kiraladık. Bisikletimizi kiraladık daha doğrusu, tek bir bisiklet ikili koltuklar vardı. Kiraladık, bisikletlere bindik. Eşim öndeydi ben arkada oturdum, arka koltuğa oturdum. İki bacağım yan yana şekilde oturdum. Bacaklarımı ayırmadan oturdum. Üç metre yaklaşık üç metre gibi ilerledik, çok kalabalık bi yerdeydi, Dam square’deydi tam olarak. İlerledik yalnız orda cadde üzerinde bi engebeli bi yer vardı, orayı geçerken düşmemek için ben bacaklarımı geriye topladım. Topladığım anda böyle bi acı hissettim ama ne olduğunu anlamadım. Daha sonra eşimi uyardım durması için. Bacaklarıma baktığımda sıcak bir şeyler hissettim, sonra kan olduğunu gördüm onun. Gene çok önemli bir şey olduğunu düşünmedim. Daha sonra bakınca çok yarayı göremedim ama bayağı kan aktığını gördüm ayakkabımın içerisi dolmuştu kanla. Bi an panikledim, eşim yarayı gördü o daha çok panikledi. Etraftan yardım istemek için gitti. Daha sonra insanlar toplandı, bir sürü insanlar toplandı. Yakın bir kafeden su getirdiler içmem için, sakinleşmem için. Yarayı göstermediler. Ee başka bi otelin güvenlik görevlisi geldi. Ee yalnız çok enteresan olan olay, işte deneyimi enteresanlaştıran şeylerden bir tanesi de hemen cebinden bir bez pardon eldiven çıkardı eldivenini taktı, hijyenik bir şekilde yaraya baktı. Daha sonra ambulansı

aradılar hemen anında. Önemli bir şey olduğunu söylediler. O sırada bir sandalye, birileri sandalye getirdi, sandalyeye oturdum. O sırada titremeye başladım, o zaman işte korkmaya başladım. Korkmaya başladığım anda oldu orda çünkü ee yara sol tarafımdaydı, sağ tarafımdaydı, sağ tarafım titremeye başladı. Kolumu, yani istemsiz bir şekilde hareket etmeye başladı. Daha sonra ee ambulans geldi, ambulansa aldılar bizi, bilgilendirdiler. Sizi hastaneye götürücez, ücreti konusunda bilgilendirdiler, sigortamızı sordular. O anda orda bi hemen müdahale ettiler, pansuman yaptılar. Daha sonra biz şartları kabul ettik ve hastaneye gittik. Hastaneye gidiş sürecimizde çok ilgilendiler, çok yardımcı oldular, çok empatik davrandılar. Özellikle eşime karşı çok ee iyi ilgilendiler, onu sakinleştirmeye çalıştılar. Ben zaten kendimden geçmiş bi haldeydim. Oraya gittiğimizde de bir doktor hanım geldi. O doktor hanım ilgilendi benimle. Uyuşturucu iğne yaptı. Daha sonra süreçle ilgili çok detaylı bir şekilde benimle konuşmaya başladı işte şunu yapıcım, bunu yapıcım diye. Burada da işte iki (??) Türkiye'deki hastanelerle ordaki hastaneler arasındaki farkları görmüş oldum. Eee çok sıcakkanlıydı, kendi üniversite yıllarından bahsetmeye başladı. Burada okudum, böyle yaptım. Benim mesleğimi sordu, işte ben de öğretmen olmak isterdim dedi. Bu şekilde yani çok olayı hafif bi şekilde atlattım. Hem psikolojik olarak destek olmuş oldu hem de fizyolojik olarak bir şeyler yapmış oldu. Ee dikişleri attılar daha sonra hastaneden ayrıldık. Yalnız alçıya aldılar ayağımı çünkü tam topukta olduğu için, topuk bölgesi olduğu için hareket etmemesi gerektiğini söylediler. Hastaneden alçımınla beraber tekerlekli sandalye eşliğinde çıktım ordan bi taksiye bindik otel odamıza döndük. (*laughs*). Otelde odamız 4. Kattaydı ve asansör yoktu. Ve sevgili eşim sağolsun kendisi dört kat boyunca beni taşıdı. Merdivenler küçük ve daracıktı. Ve o merdivenlerden çıkarken çok büyük bir eziyetle çıktık. Daha sonra 2 tane ağrı kesici vermişlerdi, ağrı kesicilerimi içtim. Yalnız gece saat 2 sularında tekrar ağrılarım başladı. Kötüydü saat gece 2 ve bilmediğimiz bi yer, ne yapacağımızı bilemedik. Eşim dışarıya çıktı, bir bakkal bulmuş, Türk bakkalı bulmuş, oradan ağrı kesici aldı geldi. Ağrı kesicilerimi aldım. Ertesi gün de uçağımıza atlayıp geldik ama değişik bir deneyimdi benim için.

P: Ay çok mu acı çektin?

M: Çok acı çektim.

P: Hay allahım ya!

M: Öyle.

P: Gerçekten teşekkür ederiz Meryem.

M: Rica ederim.

APPENDIX 2

Experimental tasks¹

A. Elicited Imitation Task (BM condition)

1. Dün saat ikide, benim begeleidster'ımla Haagse Hoogschool'a gittik. Ama ben biliyordum voldoende alacam. Sonra okulda cijfer'ımı verdiler ve yardımlarım için teşekkür ettiler.
2. Normalde çok konuşkanımdır. Evde biraz az konuşsam, hemen neden bu kadar sessiz olduğumu sorarlar. Herkes bıdır bıdır konuşmama çok alışmış.
3. Gisteren Bünyaminle okula gittik. Bünyamin okulda problem yaptı. Aslında çocuk "ben mbo yapmak istemiyorum. Ben havo yapacam" diyor. Çocuk ne istediğini bilmiyor.
4. Uçuşumun geannuleerd (iptal) olduğunu söyleyen bir mail aldım. Hemen reisbureau'yu arayıp neden geannuleerd olduğunu sordum. Bir cevap alamayınca çok sinirlendim.
5. Meryem iş bulsa, ev alacaktı. Ama iş bulamıyor. Geçenlerde Semra'ya sordum: "Meryem iş buldu mu?" Semra bana dedi: "Kız iş aramıyor".
6. De bussen rijden niet ama hasta olduğunu duyunca hemen bi taksiye binip geldim. Şimdi ambulans çağırıyorum, hastaneye gidiyoruz.
7. Ceyda vergeet de laatste tijd veel. Dün 1 saat kadar sohbet ettikten sonra, annesinin hastalığından dolayı bu kadar değiştiğini anladım. Anlayışla karşılamak lazım.
8. Sınavımın iyi geçtiğini düşünüyordum. Puanımın düşük olduğunu görünce leraar'a gidip neden bu kadar düşük aldığımı sordum. Antwoord'larımı görünce hatalarımı farkettim.
9. Staj yeri buldum als Maatschappelijke werk voor stichting Mooi. Çok şey öğretecekler. Zaten bana dediler "eigenlijk nemen we alleen mensen aan voor twee jaar. (De eerste jaar en eerste periodes ga je leren en dan ga je echt stage lopen)".
10. Vanwege mijn werk acilen Rotterdam'a gitmem gerekti. Eşime telefon etmeye bile vakit olmadığı için eve bir not bırakarak hemen trene bindim.
11. Doğumgününde kardeşime nasıl bir sürpriz yapacağımı düşünüyordum. Ik heb een bos bloemen naar haar werk gestuurd. Görünce çok mutlu olmuş ve hemen beni aradı.

¹ Due to long test items, only a small number of sample task items are included here per type, speech mode and task. However, the full instrument can be made available upon request.

12. O kızı ben vorige week dışarda gördüydüm. Met de vriend wandelen yapıyorlardı. Sonra kilo aldığını farkettim ama karnını görmedim. Bana dedi “Hamileyim”.
13. Ik ga naar mijn familie. Ama bayramın ilk günü buraya geri geleceğim. Bayram sabahı ailemle kahvaltı ederim, vedalaşırım gelirim.
14. Herkesi verjaardag’ına davet edersen herkes hediyeyle gelir. Çünkü önceden sana diyecekler “ne istersin? Ne alalım?” Hollanda’da verjaardag’lar böyle vieren yapılır.
15. Morgen krijg ik mijn cijfers. Heyecandan bugünü nasıl geçireceğimi hiç bilmiyorum. Winkelen yapalım mı?
16. Vorig jaar Mersin’de bi t-shirt beğendim. Adama dedim ki “bunun maat’ları var mı?” Adam anlamadı. Ama ben maat’ı Türkçe gibi kullanmışım. Sonradan farkettim.
17. Het gaat slecht met ons bedrijf. Ama dün yaptığımız toplantıda iyi kararlar aldığımızı düşünüyorum. Önemli olan bunları uygulamak.
18. Okulda bazen groeps-opdracht’ları yapıyoruz. O kadar tuhaf tipler gördüm ki bazen düşünüyorum “Allah’ım bunları kim dördüncü sınıfa getirdi”.
19. Selma’yı da feest’e uitnodigen yaptık. Ama o ailesiyle planları olduğu için gelemeceğini söyledi. Zaten her sene yılbaşında ailesiyle olmak ister.
20. Hollanda’da doğum günleri değişik olur. Doğum günü yaptıklarında, insanlar kado için düşünüyor “ne lazım bana? Ne sorayım? Ne istiyorum?”

B. Elicited Imitation Task (MM condition & TR-Turkish monolinguals)

1. Dün saat ikide, benim rehber öğretmenimle okula gittik. Ama ben biliyordum dersten geçer not alacam. Sonra okulda notumu söylediler ve yardımlarım için teşekkür ettiler.
2. Normalde çok konuşkanımdır. Evde bir gün biraz az konuşsam, hemen neden bu kadar sessiz olduğumu sorarlar. Herkes bıdır bıdır konuşmama çok alışmış.
3. Bünyaminle beraber dün okula gittik. Bünyamin okulda problem yaptı. (Yani) aslında çocuk “ben fen bölümü okumak istemiyorum. Ben dil okuyacam” diyor. Çocuk ne istediğini bilmiyor.
4. Uçuşumun iptal edildiğini belirten bir e-mail aldım. Hemen havayollarını arayıp neden iptal edildiğini sordum. Bir cevap alamayınca çok sinirlendim.
5. Meryem iş bulsa, o evi satın alacakmış. Ama iş bulamıyor. Geçenlerde Semra’ya sordum: “Meryem iş buldu mu?” Semra bana dedi: “Kız iş aramıyor”.
6. Otobüsler grevde ama hasta olduğumu duyunca hemen bi taksiye binip geldim. Hemen ambulans çağırıyorum, doktora gidiyoruz.
7. Ceyda bu aralar çok unutkanlaştı. Dün 1 saat kadar sohbet ettikten sonra, annesinin hastalığından dolayı bu kadar değiştiğini anladım. Anlayışla karşılama lazım.

8. Sınavımın iyi geçtiğini düşünüyordum. Notumun düşük olduğunu görünce hocaya gidip neden bu kadar düşük aldığımı sordum. Sınav kağıdımı görünce hatalarımı farkettim.
9. Staj yeri buldum İş Bankası'nda muhasebeci olarak. Çok şey öğretecekler. Zaten bana dediler "Biz herkesi her zaman iki sene için alıyoruz."
10. İş için acilen Ankara'ya gitmem gerekti. Eşime telefon etmeye bile vakit olmadığı için eve bir not bırakarak hemen uçağa bindim.
11. Doğum gününde kardeşime nasıl bir sürpriz yapacağımı düşünüyordum. İş yerine bi buket çiçek gönderdim. Görünce çok mutlu olmuş ve hemen beni aradı.
12. O kızı ben birkaç hafta önce dışarda görmüştüm arkadaşıyla gezerken. Sonra kilo aldığını farkettim ama karnını görmedim. Bana dedi "Hamileyim".
13. Ailemi ziyarete gidiyorum. Ama bayramın ilk günü buraya dönüyorum. Bayramın ilk günü ailemle kahvaltı ederim, vedalaşırım gelirim.
14. Herkesi doğum gününe davet edersen herkes hediyeyle gelir. Çünkü önceden sana diyecekler "ne istersin? Ne alalım?" Hollanda'da doğum günü kültürü böyle.
15. Yarın sınav sonuçlarım belli oluyor. Heyecandan bugünü nasıl geçireceğimi hiç bilmiyorum. Alışverişe gidelim mi?
16. Geçen sene Mersin'de bi t-shirt beğendim. Adama dedim ki "bunun bedenleri var mı?" Adam anlamadı. Sonradan farkettim, adam Arap'mış ve Türkçe bilmiyormuş.
17. Şirket zor bir finansal süreçten geçiyor. Fakat dün yaptığımız toplantıda verimli (yada önemli) kararlar aldığımızı düşünüyorum. Önemli olan bu kararları uygulamak.
18. Okulda bazen grup çalışmaları da yapıyoruz. O kadar tuhaf tipler gördüm ki bazen düşünüyorum "Allah'ım bunları kim dördüncü sınıfa getirdi".
19. Selma'yı da yeni yıl partisine davet ettik. Ama o ailesiyle planları olduğu için gelemeyeceğini söyledi. Zaten her sene yeni yıla ailesiyle girmeyi tercih ediyor.
20. Hollanda'da doğum günü hediyesi kültürü biraz farklı. Doğum günü yaptıklarında, insanlar düşünüyor "ne lazım bana? Ne sorayım? Ne istiyorum?"

C. Conventuality judgments²

1. Rating Task (BM condition)

Hoşgeldiniz!

Bu bilimsel çalışmaya katkılarınızdan dolayı teşekkür ediyor ve size yöneltilen soruları büyük bir dikkatle cevaplandırmanızı rica ediyoruz.

Lütfen aşağıdaki Türkçe ve Hollandaca karışık olan cümleleri okuyunuz. İki dilin birarada ve karışık kullanılmasını iki dilli bir ortam olduğu için Hollanda’da normal kabul ediyoruz. Bu yüzden karışık kullanım bir yanlışlık değildir. Hollanda’da etrafınızda ve iki dili karıştıran kişiler tarafından konuşulan Türkçe’yi temel alarak cümleleri 1 ila 7 arasında değerlendiriniz. Değerlendirme yaparken, her cümle için kendinize şu soruyu sorunuz “Bu tür bir cümleyi etrafımda ne kadar ve ne sıklıkta duyuyorum? Etrafımdaki insanlar bu tür cümleleri ne sıklıkta kullanıyor?” Değerlendirmeyi cümlelerin diline ve gramerine (yani dil bilgisine) dikkat ederek yapınız; anlam ve kelimeleri düşünerek değil.

Değerlendirmede 1 “hiç kullanılmıyor” ve 7 ise “çok sık ve hemen herkes tarafından kullanılıyor” anlamına gelmektedir.

1. Ben biliyordum *toets*’tan *voldoende* alacağım.

Lütfen her bir öge için uygun yanıtı seçin:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Hiç kullanılmıyor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Çok kullanılıyor

2. Geçenlerde Semra’ya sordum “Meryem iş buldu mu?”

Lütfen her bir öge için uygun yanıtı seçin:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Hiç kullanılmıyor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Çok kullanılıyor

3. Zaten bana dediler “*eigenlijk nemen we alleen mensen aan voor twee jaar*”.

Lütfen her bir öge için uygun yanıtı seçin:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Hiç kullanılmıyor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Çok kullanılıyor

² The participants received the test items one by one on the computer screen. The instruction was placed under each test item in the real task in the computer program in order to avoid confusion and remind them what they were doing with every item.

9. Şimdi biraz kitap okuyarak dinleneceğim.

Lütfen her bir öge için uygun yanıtı seçin:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Hiç kullanılmıyor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Çok kullanılıyor

10. Semra dedi ki “ben dil sınavını aldım³”.

Lütfen her bir öge için uygun yanıtı seçin:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Hiç kullanılmıyor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Çok kullanılıyor

3. Forced-Choice Task (BM condition)

Aşağıdakilerden hangi cümle türünün etrafınızda daha çok kullanıldığını duyuyorsunuz?
Daha fazla ve sık duyduğunuz türü seçiniz.

1. a. Aslında çocuk “ben *mbo* yapmak istemiyorum” diyor.
b. Aslında çocuk diyor “ben *mbo* yapmak istemiyorum”.
c. Aslında çocuk *mbo* yapmak istemediğini söylüyor.

Lütfen aşağıdakilerden yalnız birini seçin:

- a
- b
- c

2. a. Puanımın düşük olduğunu görünce *leraar*’a gidip neden bu kadar düşük aldığımı sordum.
b. Puanımın düşük olduğunu görünce *leraar*’a gidip sordum “neden bu kadar düşük not aldım?”
c. Puanımın düşük olduğunu görünce *leraar*’a gidip “neden bu kadar düşük not aldım?” diye sordum.

Lütfen aşağıdakilerden yalnız birini seçin:

- a
- b
- c

³ The verb *aldım* ‘took’ was changed to *geçtim* ‘passed’ in the version for the TR-Turkish monolinguals according to the TR-Turkish conventions.

3. a. Bugünü nasıl geçireceğim hiç bilmiyorum.
b. Bugünü nasıl geçireceğimi hiç bilmiyorum.
c. Hiç bilmiyorum bugünü nasıl geçireceğim.

Lütfen aşağıdakilerden yalnız birini seçin:

- a
- b
- c

4. a. Patronum zannederek telefonu heyecanla açtım. Ama arayan annemmiş.
b. Patronum zannederek telefonu heyecanla açtım. Ama annem arıyormuş.

Lütfen aşağıdakilerden yalnız birini seçin:

- a
- b

5. a. Bayram sabahı ailemle kahvaltı ederim, vedalaşırım, gelirim.
b. Bayram sabahı ailemle kahvaltı edip, vedalaşıp gelirim.

Lütfen aşağıdakilerden yalnız birini seçin:

- a
- b

6. a. İş yerinden beni arayıp işe gelip gelmeyeceğimi sordular.
b. İş yerinden beni arayıp sordular “işe geliyor musun?”
c. İş yerinden beni arayıp sordular “işe geliyor musun?” diye.
d. İş yerinden beni arayıp “işe geliyor musun?” diye sordular.

Lütfen aşağıdakilerden yalnız birini seçin:

- a
- b
- c
- d

7. a. Bana dedi “Hamileyim”.
b. Bana dedi ki “hamileyim”.
c. Bana hamile olduğunu söyledi.
d. Bana “hamileyim” dedi.

Lütfen aşağıdakilerden yalnız birini seçin:

- a
- b
- c
- d

8. a. Dün *huiswerk*'ini "niye yapmıyorsunuz" diye sordum.
 b. Dün *huiswerk*'ini neden yapmadığınızı sordum.
 c. Dün sordum "*huiswerk*'ini neden yapmıyorsunuz?"
 d. Dün sordum "*huiswerk*'ini neden yapmıyorsunuz?" diye.

Lütfen aşağıdakilerden yalnız birini seçin:

- a
- b
- c
- d

9. a. *Bioscoop*'a gitmek istiyorsun. Ama duydun mu annen ne dedi?
 b. *Bioscoop*'a gitmek istiyorsun. Ama annenin ne dediğini duydun mu?
 c. *Bioscoop*'a gitmek istiyorsun. Ama duydun mu annenin ne dediğini?

Lütfen aşağıdakilerden yalnız birini seçin:

- a
- b
- c

10. a. Bazen düşünüyorum "Allah'ım bunları kim dördüncü sınıfa getirdi".
 b. Bazen bunları kimin dördüncü sınıfa getirdiğini düşünüyorum.
 c. Bazen "Allah'ım bunları kim dördüncü sınıfa getirdi" diye düşünüyorum.

Lütfen aşağıdakilerden yalnız birini seçin:

- a
- b
- c

11. a. Tabii herkes dedi "saçı açık olanı alırız."
 b. Tabii herkes saçı açık olanı alacağını söyledi.
 c. Tabii herkes "saçı açık olanı alırız" dedi.

Lütfen aşağıdakilerden yalnız birini seçin:

- a
- b
- c

12. a. Sadece *taaltoets*'u almış duydum.
 b. Duydum sadece *taaltoets*'u almış.
 c. Sadece *taaltoets*'u aldığımı duydum.
 d. Duydum ki sadece *taaltoets*'u almış.

Lütfen aşağıdakilerden yalnız birini seçin:

- a
- b
- c
- d

4. Forced-Choice Task (MM condition & TR-Turkish monolinguals)

1. a. Aslında çocuk “ben fen bölümü okumak istemiyorum” diyor.
b. Aslında çocuk diyor “ben fen bölümü okumak istemiyorum”.
c. Aslında çocuk fen bölümü okumak istemediğini söylüyor.
 - a
 - b
 - c
2. a. Notumun düşük olduğunu görünce hocaya gidip sordum “neden bu kadar düşük not aldım?”
b. Notumun düşük olduğunu görünce hocaya gidip neden bu kadar düşük aldığımı sordum.
c. Notumun düşük olduğunu görünce hocaya gidip “neden bu kadar düşük not aldım?” diye sordum.
 - a
 - b
 - c
3. a. Bugünü nasıl geçireceğim hiç bilmiyorum.
b. Hiç bilmiyorum bugünü nasıl geçireceğim.
c. Bugünü nasıl geçireceğimi hiç bilmiyorum.
 - a
 - b
 - c
4. a. Patronum zannederek telefonu heyecanla açtım. Ama arayan annemmiş.
b. Patronum zannederek telefonu heyecanla açtım. Ama annem arıyormuş.
 - a
 - b
5. a. Bayram sabahı ailemle kahvaltı ederim, vedalaşırım, gelirim.
b. Bayram sabahı ailemle kahvaltı edip, vedalaşıp gelirim.
 - a
 - b

6. a. Patron sabah beni arayıp bugün işe gelip gelmeyeceğimi sordu.
b. Patron sabah beni arayıp sordu “bugün işe geliyor musun?”
c. Patron sabah beni arayıp sordu “bugün işe geliyor musun?” diye.
d. Patron sabah beni arayıp “bugün işe geliyor musun?” diye sordu.
- a
• b
• c
• d
7. a. Bana dedi “Hamileyim”.
b. Bana dedi ki “hamileyim”.
c. Bana hamile olduğunu söyledi.
d. Bana “hamileyim” dedi.
- a
• b
• c
• d
8. a. Dün “ödevini neden yapmıyorsun” diye sordum.
b. Dün sordum “ödevini neden yapmıyorsun?”
c. Dün ödevini neden yapmadığımı sordum.
d. Dün sordum “ödevini neden yapmıyorsun?” diye.
- a
• b
• c
• d
9. a. Bu akşam sinemaya gitmek istiyorsun. Ama duydun mu annen ne dedi?
b. Bu akşam sinemaya gitmek istiyorsun. Ama duydun mu annenin ne dediğini?
c. Bu akşam sinemaya gitmek istiyorsun. Ama annenin ne dediğini duydun mu?
- a
• b
• c
10. a. Bazen düşünüyorum “Allah’ım bunları kim dördüncü sınıfa getirdi?”
b. Bazen düşünüyorum “Allah’ım bunları kim dördüncü sınıfa getirdi?” diye.
c. Bazen bunları kimin dördüncü sınıfa getirdiğini düşünüyorum.
d. Bazen “Allah’ım bunları kim dördüncü sınıfa getirdi?” diye düşünüyorum.
- a
• b
• c
• d

11. a. Tabii herkes dedi “saçı açık olanı alırsız”.
b. Tabii herkes saçı açık olanı alacağını söyledi.
c. Tabii herkes “saçı açık olanı alırsız” dedi.
- a
• b
• c
12. a. Sadece dil sınavını almış duydum.
b. Duydum sadece dil sınavını almış.
c. Sadece dil sınavını aldığını duydum.
d. Duydum ki sadece dil sınavını almış.
- a
• b
• c
• d
13. a. Farzedelim yarın Selin gelmeyecek.
b. Yarın Selin’in gelmeyeceğini farzedelim.
c. Farzedelim ki yarın Selin gelmeyecek.
- a
• b
• c

5. Comments – Feedback

1. Testinizin nasıl gittiğini ve cümleler ile ilgili yorumlarınızı yazınız. Aklınızda kalan veya size tuhaf gelen cümleler var mıydı? Yoksa cümleler çevrenizdeki Türklerin konuştuğu gibi miydi? Görüşlerinizi belirtiniz.

Lütfen yanıtınızı buraya yazın:

Personal information

Lütfen adınızı soyadınızı, yaşınızı, eğitim durumunuzu ve bu araştıma için daha önce bizimle çalışıp çalışmadığınızı belirtiniz.

2. Adınız ve soyadınız:

Lütfen yanıtınızı buraya yazın:

3. Yaşınız:

Lütfen yanıtınızı buraya yazın:

4. Eğitim durumunuz:

Lütfen yanıtınızı buraya yazın:

5. Türkiye’de nerelisiniz:

Lütfen yanıtınızı buraya yazın:

6. Daha önce bu araştırmaya katkıda bulunmak için Tilburg Üniversitesi’ne geldiniz mi?

Lütfen aşağıdakilerden yalnız birini seçin:

- Evet
- Hayır

Anketi doldurduğunuz için teşekkür ederiz.

Nederlandse samenvatting

Taal is een dynamische entiteit en daarom is taalverandering onvermijdelijk. In contactsituaties resulteert dit in het fenomeen van beïnvloeding door de andere taal. Wanneer een spreker vaak op hetzelfde moment twee of meer talen gebruikt, beïnvloeden de talen elkaar op allerlei manieren (bv. syntactisch, semantisch, fonetisch of morfologisch). In dit proefschrift wordt Nederlandse beïnvloeding op het Turks zoals het door immigranten in Nederland wordt gesproken onderzocht in het domein van onderschikkende bijzinnen, met een specifieke focus op de vervoeging van het werkwoord in de bijzin en op de plaats van het hoofdwerkwoord van de samengestelde zin. Het onderzoek benadrukt het methodologische principe triangulatie: het zoeken naar bewijs vanuit verschillende methoden.

De onderzoeksvraag was of er bewijs te vinden was voor structurele Nederlandse invloed in onze data van het 'Nederlands-Turks', ook wel 'NL-Turks' of 'immigranten-Turks zoals gesproken in Nederland' genoemd. NL-Turks tweetalige data werden vergeleken met eentalige data van het 'TR (Turkije)-Turks'. De hoofdvraag is onderverdeeld in een aantal specifiekere sub-vragen:

- a. Welk bewijs is er voor structurele invloed in het immigranten Turks in Nederland in ondergeschikte bijzinnen, inclusief het sub-domein van directe of indirecte rede, en vooral wat betreft de vervoeging van het werkwoord in de bijzin en volgorde van hoofdwerkwoord en bijzin?
- b. Zien we hetzelfde patroon in productie- en perceptie- (of 'begrips-') data?
- c. Zien we hetzelfde patroon in natuurlijke en in experimentele (gecontroleerde) productiedata?
- d. De vragen b en c samennemend: wijst het bewijs dezelfde kant op in die verschillende type data?
- e. Maakt het wat uit of de tweetaligen in een tweetalige of een eentalige modus zitten wat betreft de mate waarin contacteffecten zich voordoen?

- f. Hoe komen deze veranderingen tot stand? Hoe kunnen wij de mechanismen verklaren en komen die overeen met eerdere theoretische benaderingen van convergentie (of ‘structurele invloed’)?

In de vragen a en f is de contactlinguïstiek al sinds lange tijd geïnteresseerd. De andere vragen zijn voorheen geen voorwerp geweest van systematisch onderzoek. Empirisch gezien komt de belangrijkste aanleiding voor dit onderzoek voort uit twee in elkaar grijpende feiten. Ten eerste is het lot van Turkse bijzinconstructies in het NL-Turks nog niet eerder systematisch bestudeerd. Ten tweede maakt het feit dat het juist het Nederlands en het Turks zijn die in contact staan een heldere hypothese mogelijk doordat beide talen aanzienlijk van elkaar verschillen met betrekking tot de werkwoordsvervoeging in bijzinnen, de onderlinge volgorde van hoofdwerkwoord en bijzin en hoe zij gebruik maken van indirecte versus directe rede. Deze typologische verschillen maken het gemakkelijker om te bepalen of een gevonden verschil tussen NL- en TR-Turks waarschijnlijk het gevolg is van structurele invloed.

In het algemeen geven de productiedata in dit boek weer dat tweetaligen de voorkeur geven aan ondergeschikte bijzinnen met Nederlands-achtige karakteristieken: het werkwoord wordt vaak vervoegd en de bijzin komt na het hoofdwerkwoord. Wanneer zij echter de mate van acceptatie moeten beoordelen van de verschillende soorten bijzinnen, verschillen zij niet van mensen in Turkije en geven ze de conventionele Turkse patronen hogere scores. De conclusie is dat deze conventionele structuren dus nog steeds een sterke positie innemen in de mentale grammatica’s van deze sprekers, maar dat zij deze structuren niet vaak gebruiken in dagelijkse spraak. Verrassenderwijs maakte het niet uit of de deelnemers in de eentalige of tweetalige modus waren, uitgezonderd de scores van de Nederlands-achtige structuren in de acceptatie-beoordelingen. Inachtnemend de tegenstrijdige standpunten in de contactlinguïstiek over de juistheid van een ‘breed’ of ‘smal’ perspectief op wat ‘verandering’ is, en met de zogenaamde ‘usage-based’ benadering als uitgangspunt, toont dit onderzoek aan dat er continu taalverandering gaande is in Nederlands Turks met betrekking tot de onderzochte structuren: de data wijken duidelijk af van die voor het Turkije-Turks. Welke mechanismen hierbij betrokken zijn staat nog ter discussie. Als één van de eerste systematische syntactisch georiënteerde studies in deze relatief jonge contactsetting, laat dit proefschrift ten slotte zien dat het verkrijgen van ‘convergerend bewijs’ door middel van methodologisch pluralisme nuttig is.

Hoofdstuk 1 introduceert taalverandering in zijn algemeenheid, en begint met een discussie van onderzoek naar de oorzaken van verandering. Alhoewel voorliggende studie gebruikt maakt van data uit een contactsetting, wordt ook besproken hoe aannemelijk het is dat er tegelijkertijd invloed is van interne krachten en externe factoren, in een patroon dat wordt aangeduid met ‘meervoudige causaliteit’. Dit sluit aan bij het overkoepelende doel van de studie om de drijvende krachten achter verandering of convergentie te onderzoeken. Het hoofdstuk presenteert in enig detail drie baanbrekende kaders (Matras, Heine & Kuteva en Johanson) die de oorzaken van structurele invloed vanuit een vergelijkend perspectief proberen te verklaren. Na het beschrijven van verschillende soorten taalverandering en hun vermoedelijke oorzaken gaat het hoofdstuk verder in op het proces van verandering. Eerst wordt de huidige studie gepositioneerd in een debat over een ‘convergentie hiërarchie’ (Stolz & Stolz 1996; Ross 2001; Matras 2009; Croft 2000; Heine 2005; Aikhenvald 2002), waarin de vraag centraal staat waar structurele invloed begint: is bijvoorbeeld morfologie of syntax gevoeliger voor structurele invloed? Vervolgens worden de drie eerder genoemde kaders bekritiseerd op hun wat vage behandeling van de vraag hoe bewust tweetaligen worden verondersteld te zijn over het veranderingsproces, en of taalverandering ook het gevolg kan zijn van opzettelijke handelingen van sprekers.

Vervolgens worden nog de rol van een ‘vertalingsmechanisme’ en de zogenaamde unidirectionaliteitshypothese bij taalverandering besproken om te komen tot een definitie van structurele invloed. De rest van het hoofdstuk introduceert vijf andere onderwerpen die een belangrijke rol spelen in het proefschrift: 1) de verschillen tussen eentalige en tweetalige gespreksmodi en de relevantie hiervan voor de studie van Turks-Nederlands contact; 2) hoe taalkundige competentie en de relatie tussen competentie en taalgebruik gezien moeten worden; 3) de relevantie van kernbegrippen uit de ‘usage-based’ benadering voor de huidige studie; 4) het methodologische principe van ‘converging evidence’; en 5) de relevantie van het begrip ‘talige complexiteit’. Ten slotte wordt de Turkse immigranten gemeenschap in Nederland beschreven, met vooral aandacht voor talige aspecten

Hoofdstuk 2 geeft achtergrondinformatie over de syntactische domeinen onderschikking en woordvolgorde. Het Turks wordt beschreven als gebruikmakend van voornamelijk onvervoegde (‘non-finite’) werkwoorden in de ondergeschikte bijzin terwijl de meeste overeenkomstige structuren in het

Nederlands een vervoegd werkwoord gebruiken. Wat betreft woordvolgorde staat in het Turks over het algemeen gesproken het werkwoord achteraan. In het Nederlands staat het werkwoord meer vooraan in de zin, meestal net na het onderwerp.

Hoofdstuk 3 presenteert de methodologie. Zes soorten data zijn gebruikt om licht te werpen op de onderzoeksvragen. De reden voor deze pluraliteit aan methodes is dat het een onderzoeksdoel was om te zien of er convergerend bewijs kon worden gevonden. Het benaderen van het probleem vanuit verschillende perspectieven zou moeten leiden tot meer robuust en betrouwbaar bewijs. Experimentele en productie data worden vergeleken met data uit Turkije, verzameld met dezelfde methodes en onder identieke omstandigheden. Productiedata werden verzameld met behulp van vier verschillende methodes: opnames van spontane groeps- en één-op-één gesprekken, uitgelokte spraak, en experimenteel uitgelokte imitatie. De resultaten hiervan werden vergeleken met die van perceptie data, verkregen aan de hand van twee ‘conventionality judgment’ taken: een ‘rating’ taak en een ‘forced-choice’ taak. Met tweetalige participanten werden deze zes methodes uitgevoerd in twee verschillende omstandigheden, voor het merendeel in een ‘between-subjects’ design: data werden verzameld in een tweetalige modus en in een eentalige modus. Een tweetalige modus wordt gekarakteriseerd door het veelvuldig gebruiken van ‘codeswitching’.

Hoofdstuk 4 onderzoekt structurele invloed in drie verschillende soorten, relatief traditionele, conversatiedata, met een focus op de vervoeging van het werkwoord in de bijzin, en met specifieke aandacht voor zinnen waarin sprake is van directe en indirecte rede. Hoewel alle drie de soorten data gebaseerd zijn op opgenomen gesprekken, verschillen zij in de mate van spontaniteit. Veel studies baseren zich op slechts één type natuurlijke spraak, veelal spraak die zo spontaan mogelijk is. De drie bronnen, dat wil zeggen tweetalig spontane groeps gesprekken, spontane één-op-één gesprekken met de onderzoeker en aan de onderzoeker gerichte monologen, kunnen worden gerangschikt op een schaal van spontaniteit, waarbij de eerste het meest en de laatste het minst spontaan is. Het patroon was steeds dat tweetaligen vaker een vervoegd werkwoord gebruiken in de bijzin dan de eentaligen. Tweetaligen voerden de groeps gesprekken ook in de eentalige modus en dit verschaft inzicht in de karakteristieken van het Nederlands Turks en ook een eerste blik op opmerkelijke verschillen met het TR-Turks.

Zoals te verwachten op basis van deze uitkomsten, kozen tweetaligen bijna altijd voor de directe rede als ze spraak of gedachten van zichzelf of anderen citeerden. De hypothese voor eentaligen was dat zij een voorkeur zouden hebben voor indirecte rede, omdat die gebruik maakt van niet-vervoegde werkwoorden in de bijzin. De eentalige participanten gebruikten echter over het algemeen erg weinig geciteerde spraak in hun data, en die keren dat het wel werd gebruikt werd dit door middel van directe rede gedaan. Aangezien deze kleine hoeveelheid relevante data weinig conclusies toelaat, werden conclusies inzake deze groep uitgesteld tot nadat de experimentele data waren geanalyseerd, in Hoofdstuk 5. Kortom, Hoofdstuk 4 laat zien dat tweetaligen een voorkeur hebben voor vervoegde bijzinnen en voor de directe rede en dat dit duidelijk bleek uit alle drie de soorten conversationele data. De structuren die overeenkomen met de Nederlandse grammatica lijken dus in frequentie toe te nemen ten koste van de structuren die enorm afwijken van hun Nederlandse equivalenten. Dit kunnen we interpreteren als een sterke aanwijzing dat de verandering door structurele invloed van het Nederlands wordt veroorzaakt.

Hoofdstuk 5 kijkt naar dezelfde syntactische fenomenen, dat wil zeggen of het werkwoord vervoegd wordt en of er directe of indirecte rede wordt gebruikt, maar nu door middel van onder meer gecontroleerde omstandigheden verkregen experimentele data. Zowel ‘productie’ als ‘perceptie’ data werden geanalyseerd. Wederom wordt duidelijk dat bijzinnen in het Nederlands Turks afwijken van bijzinnen in het TR-Turks. Tweetaligen en eentaligen verschillen wederom significant van elkaar, zowel bij de zinsimitatietaak als bij de acceptabiliteitsoordelen (in beide varianten). In de imitatietaak is er een significante voorkeur voor het gebruik van de Nederlands-achtige structuren, terwijl de eentaligen een duidelijke voorkeur hebben voor de niet-vervoegde werkwoorden en voor de indirecte rede. De gespreksdata uit Hoofdstuk 4 hadden voor de eentaligen geen conclusie toegelaten wat dit laatste aspect betreft, maar de experimentele data bevestigden het algemene patroon. De spraakmodus bleek wederom niets uit te maken in de productie data. Niet alle data lieten echter hetzelfde zien. De oordelen leverden significante verschillen op tussen de tweetalige modus en de eentalige modus, maar alleen voor de Nederlands-achtige structuren (vervoegde werkwoorden, directe rede). De TR-Turkse structuren (onvervoegd werkwoord en indirecte rede) leidden niet tot significante verschillen tussen de groepen.

Tweetaligen waarderen en kiezen deze canonieke TR-Turkse structuren in dezelfde mate als eentaligen. Dit suggereert dat tweetaligen nog steeds de TR-Turkse optie hebben in hun talige competentie hoewel zij deze niet zo vaak gebruiken. Met uitzondering van dit verschil komt het bewijs verkregen met de verschillende experimentele taken grotendeels overeen. Wanneer we vervolgens deze resultaten vergelijken met die van de gespreksdata uit Hoofdstuk 4 wordt duidelijk dat tweetaligen de voorkeur geven aan vervoegde werkwoorden in de bijzin en eentaligen aan onvervoegde werkwoorden. Voor wat betreft het methodologische doel om te zien of we convergerende resultaten zouden vinden met verschillende methodes, is het interessant te zien dat het meeste bewijs overeenkomt, doch niet alle bewijs. De hoge oordelen van tweetalige participanten voor TR-Turkse structuren is wat dat betreft een interessante uitzondering.

Hoewel ze niet onafhankelijk van elkaar zijn, reflecteert taalgebruik blijkbaar niet geheel of direct talige competentie. De productiedata suggereren dat de competentie van Turks-Nederlandse tweetaligen langzaam maar zeker verandert, en dat ze bepaalde Turkse structuren loslaten. Perceptiedata daarentegen, waarvan vaak wordt verondersteld dat ze meer direct competentie reflecteren, laten zien dat de TR-Turkse vormen nog steeds een prominente plaats hebben in de tweetalige competentie.

Ten slotte wordt in dit hoofdstuk nagegaan of ‘talige complexiteit’ een rol speelt en of de Nederlands-achtige structuren op de een of andere manier meer ‘aantrekkelijk’ zijn. Als vervoegde werkwoorden en directe rede worden geanalyseerd als zijnde minder complex en meer aantrekkelijk, dan onderschrijven de resultaten de vaak gedane bewering dat taalverandering vaak een verschuiving inhoudt van meer naar minder complexe structuren, leidend naar een algehele vermindering in complexiteit. Het blijkt echter niet goed mogelijk om tot onafhankelijke definities te komen van deze concepten. Wat wel met zekerheid gezegd kan worden is dat de gedocumenteerde verandering een door contact met het Nederlands veroorzaakte verandering in voorkeur is, en niet bijvoorbeeld de introductie van een nieuwe structuur.

Ten slotte staat in *Hoofdstuk 6* de woordvolgorde centraal, het tweede syntactische aspect dat bij onderschikking van belang is. Meer specifiek wordt de positie van het hoofdwerkwoord in samengestelde zinnen geanalyseerd, gebruikmakend van dezelfde data als in de voorgaande twee hoofdstukken. De algemene resultaten bevestigen het eerder gevonden patroon in de zin dat het Nederlands Turks afwijkt van het TR-Turks. In het algemeen

is er een voorkeur voor de Nederlands-achtige volgorde waarin de bijzin volgt op het hoofdwerkwoord. Alle gespreksdata laten duidelijk zien dat tweetaligen deze woordvolgorde veel vaker gebruiken dan eentaligen. De modus waarin het gesprek plaatsvindt (eentalig of tweetalig) lijkt wederom helemaal niets uit te maken. Hoewel het Turks over het algemeen het werkwoord achteraan plaatst, maakt het wel gebruik van de optie waarbij de bijzin achter het hoofdwerkwoord komt, maar alleen als er sprake is van bijzondere pragmatische condities. Op een willekeurige set van voorbeelden is een pragmatische analyse uitgevoerd om te zien of de gevallen waarin deze woordvolgorde is gebruikt aan die speciale pragmatische condities gehoorzamen. Waar dit niet het geval is, is Nederlandse invloed aannemelijk. Hoewel in sommige gevallen, met name als de bijzin een bijwoordelijke bepaling is, de volgorde inderdaad pragmatisch bepaald leek, was die pragmatische motivatie meestal afwezig, vooral wanneer de bijzin een zogenaamde ‘complement clause’ was, dat wil zeggen als object of subject in de hoofdzin fungeerde. In dit grammaticale domein is Nederlandse invloed dus zeer aannemelijk.

De resultaten van de zinsimitatietaak bevestigden deze bevindingen, want er waren wederom flinke verschillen tussen tweetalige en eentalige participanten. Turks-Nederlandse tweetaligen plaatsten significant vaker dan eentaligen het werkwoord vóór de bijzin, ongeacht of het stimulusitem zelf die volgorde had. Zelfs items met het werkwoord achter de bijzin werden soms herhaald in de Nederlands-aandoende volgorde. Of de modus eentalig of tweetalig was maakte wederom geen verschil uit. Dezelfde resultaten golden voor de items waarin sprake was van directe of indirecte rede. Ook de resultaten van de twee beoordelingstaken wezen dezelfde kant op, maar weer niet helemaal. Ook nu was er een discrepantie tussen de productiedata en de receptiedata wat betreft de TR-Turks-achtige volgorde, dat wil zeggen met het werkwoord achter de bijzin. Hetzelfde was al gevonden met betrekking tot het vervoegde of onvervoegde werkwoord in Hoofdstuk 5. De items met een Nederlands-aandoende woordvolgorde werden significant beter gewaardeerd door tweetaligen dan door eentaligen, maar daarnaast was er ook een effect van de modus: in de tweetalige modus is er een relatief hogere score voor de Nederlands-achtige volgorde. In de eentalige modus daarentegen liggen de scores van de tweetaligen veel dichterbij die van de eentaligen. De items met de TR-Turks-achtige volgorde leverde geen significante verschillen op tussen de groepen. Dit laat wederom zien dat tweetaligen de TR-Turkse optie weliswaar minder gebruiken, maar de structuur nog niet

hebben verloren. Die structuren zijn blijkbaar nog steeds sterk aanwezig in hun talige kennis. Dit wijst erop dat tweetaligen hun Nederlands-achtige patronen wellicht meer onderdrukken wanneer zij zich in een eentalige modus bevinden, maar geen vergelijkbare verschillen in activering hebben voor de TR-Turkse structuren.

Concluderend kunnen we constateren dat er een verandering aan de gang is in het Nederlands Turks wat betreft onderschikkende bijzinnen. Terwijl de productiedata aangeven dat tweetaligen een duidelijke voorkeur hebben in het gebruik voor Nederlands-achtige kenmerken, geeft hun hoge waardering voor Turks-achtige kenmerken aan dat deze kenmerken bij hen nog even sterk zijn geworteld als bij eentaligen. Zij maken er echter significant minder vaak gebruik van. Dit is niet geheel in lijn met de operationele definitie van ‘entrenchement’, welke normaal gesproken in verband wordt gebracht met de frequentie van gebruik. Hoofdstuk 6 eindigt met een beschouwing van het soort verandering waar we hier mee te maken hebben. Het is geen geval van grammaticalisering; wel is het een duidelijk voorbeeld van wat is aangeduid als ‘restructuring’ (Heine & Kuteva), ‘frequential copying’ (Johanson) en ‘pivot-matching’ (Matras), mechanismen die elkaar tot op zekere hoogte overlappen. In het algemeen levert deze studie bewijs voor de stelling dat woordvolgorde kwetsbaar is in geval van contact met een taal die een andere woordvolgorde hanteert.

Hoofdstuk 7 vat de gehele studie nog eens samen en evalueert de kwesties die in Hoofdstuk 1 aan de orde zijn gebracht, voortbordurend op de discussies aan het eind van de Hoofdstukken 4, 5 en 6. De verschillende discussiepunten worden nog eens bekeken vanuit het perspectief hoe de resultaten en conclusies van dit onderzoek kunnen bijdragen aan de verdere ontwikkeling van de contactlinguïstiek.

CV

Pelin Onar Valk, from İzmir, Turkey, was born on July 19, 1983. She received her BA degree (as an ‘honor’ student) in English Language Teaching at Middle East Technical University in 2005. With the support of Utrecht Excellence Scholarship in addition to an extra stipend from the department, she obtained her MA degree in Linguistics from Utrecht University in 2008. In 2011, she received funding for carrying out her individual PhD research project and started working at Tilburg University. This dissertation has been written as a result of this project.

Tilburg Dissertations in Culture Studies

This list includes the doctoral dissertations that through their authors and/or supervisors are related to the Department of Culture Studies at the Tilburg University School of Humanities. The dissertations cover the broad field of contemporary sociocultural change in domains such as language and communication, performing arts, social and spiritual ritualization, media and politics.

- 1 Sander Bax. *De taak van de schrijver. Het poëtische debat in de Nederlandse literatuur (1968-1985)*. Supervisors: Jaap Goedegebuure and Odile Heynders, 23 May 2007.
- 2 Tamara van Schilt-Mol. *Differential item functioning en itembias in de cito-eindtoets basisonderwijs. Oorzaken van onbedoelde moeilijkheden in toetsopgaven voor leerlingen van Turkse en Marokkaanse afkomst*. Supervisors: Ton Vallen and Henny Uiterwijk, 20 June 2007.
- 3 Mustafa Güleç. *Differences in Similarities: A Comparative Study on Turkish Language Achievement and Proficiency in a Dutch Migration Context*. Supervisors: Guus Extra and Kutlay Yağmur, 25 June 2007.
- 4 Massimiliano Spotti. *Developing Identities: Identity Construction in Multicultural Primary Classrooms in The Netherlands and Flanders*. Supervisors: Sjaak Kroon and Guus Extra, 23 November 2007.
- 5 A. Seza Doğruöz. *Synchronic Variation and Diachronic Change in Dutch Turkish: A Corpus Based Analysis*. Supervisors: Guus Extra and Ad Backus, 12 December 2007.
- 6 Daan van Bel. *Het verklaren van leesgedrag met een impliciete attitudemeting*. Supervisors: Hugo Verdaasdonk, Helma van Lierop and Mia Stokmans, 28 March 2008.
- 7 Sharda Roelsma-Somer. *De kwaliteit van Hindoescholen*. Supervisors: Ruben Gowricharn and Sjaak Braster, 17 September 2008.

- 8 Yonas Mesfun Asfaha. *Literacy Acquisition in Multilingual Eritrea: A Comparative Study of Reading across Languages and Scripts*. Supervisors: Sjaak Kroon and Jeanne Kurvers, 4 November 2009.
- 9 Dong Jie. *The Making of Migrant Identities in Beijing: Scale, Discourse, and Diversity*. Supervisors: Jan Blommaert and Sjaak Kroon, 4 November 2009.
- 10 Elma Nap-Kolhoff. *Second Language Acquisition in Early Childhood: A Longitudinal Multiple Case Study of Turkish-Dutch Children*. Supervisors: Guus Extra and Kutlay Yağmur, 12 May 2010.
- 11 Maria Mos. *Complex Lexical Items*. Supervisors: Antal van den Bosch, Ad Backus and Anne Vermeer, 12 May 2010.
- 12 António da Graça. *Etnische zelforganisaties in het integratieproces. Een case study in de Kaapverdise gemeenschap in Rotterdam*. Supervisor: Ruben Gowricharn, 8 October 2010.
- 13 Kasper Juffermans. *Local Linguaging: Literacy Products and Practices in Gambian Society*. Supervisors: Jan Blommaert and Sjaak Kroon, 13 October 2010.
- 14 Marja van Knippenberg. *Nederlands in het Middelbaar Beroepsonderwijs. Een casestudy in de opleiding Helpende Zorg*. Supervisors: Sjaak Kroon, Ton Vallen and Jeanne Kurvers, 14 December 2010.
- 15 Coosje van der Pol. *Prentenboeken lezen als literatuur. Een structuralistische benadering van het concept 'literaire competentie' voor kleuters*. Supervisor: Helma van Lierop, 17 December 2010.
- 16 Nadia Eversteijn-Kluijtmans. *"All at Once" – Language Choice and Code-switching by Turkish-Dutch Teenagers*. Supervisors: Guus Extra and Ad Backus, 14 January 2011.
- 17 Mohammadi Laghzaoui. *Emergent Academic Language at Home and at School. A Longitudinal Study of 3- to 6-Year-Old Moroccan Berber Children in the Netherlands*. Supervisors: Sjaak Kroon, Ton Vallen, Abderrahman El Aissati and Jeanne Kurvers, 9 September 2011.
- 18 Sinan Çankaya. *Buiten veiliger dan binnen: in- en uitsluiting van etnische minderheden binnen de politieorganisatie*. Supervisors: Ruben Gowricharn and Frank Bovenkerk, 24 October 2011.
- 19 Femke Nijland. *Mirroring Interaction. An Exploratory Study into Student Interaction in Independent Working*. Supervisors: Sjaak Kroon, Sanneke Bolhuis, Piet-Hein van de Ven and Olav Severijnen, 20 December 2011.
- 20 Youssef Boutachekourt. *Exploring Cultural Diversity. Concurrentievoorstellen uit multiculturele strategieën*. Supervisors: Ruben Gowricharn and Slawek Magala, 14 March 2012.

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