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CONNECTED LANGUAGES

**EFFECTS OF INTENSIFYING CONTACT BETWEEN
TURKISH AND DUTCH**

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CONNECTED LANGUAGES

EFFECTS OF INTENSIFYING CONTACT BETWEEN TURKISH AND DUTCH

PROEFSCHRIFT

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

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door

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Prof. dr. A. Verschik
Dr. A. Quick

Dedicated to my grandmother Meliha "Monami" Belkaya
Anneannem Meliha "Monami" Belkaya'ya ithafen

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In today's globalized world movement of people, information and knowledge is made easier by each passing day. As a result, isolated, monolingual communities are becoming rare, especially in the modern world. While looking at the bilingual (and multilingual) worlds, one can notice that research on bilingualism uses many different descriptions of the term 'bilingual'. In applied linguistics and psycholinguistics, studies often describe a bilingual as any person learning or speaking another language other than their home language, while research on contact-induced language change adopts a narrower definition of bilinguals as people who have a different home language than the majority population and who are brought up in a community that uses two or more languages in their daily lives. As working in another country, travelling abroad, and settling in another part of the world than where you were born becomes easier than ever, languages get even more in contact with each other than they already were, resulting in multilingual communities and individuals. People speak languages that are affected by other languages, because as speakers of these languages they are in contact with other people who speak these other languages, and this changes the languages involved in ways and rates more diverse than before.

Language contact within immigrant varieties has garnered the attention from researchers on bilingualism and sociolinguistics. Language contact, especially its sub-types, social reasons and outcomes, has been studied within various language pairs. The one with the longest and most intense history of research is perhaps English-Spanish language contact as a result of the contact situation's long history as well as its accessibility for researchers in the USA (Otheguy & Zentella 2012, Silva-Corvalán 1994a). The studies within this language pair concentrate mostly on codeswitching and language change in Spanish as spoken in different parts of the US, as well as issues of language choice and language proficiency of bilinguals. However, a large body of research has also developed on many other language contact situations, including Spanish in contact with native languages in the Americas such as Quechua (e.g. Muysken 2000), Amazonian languages in contact (e.g. Aikhenvald 2010), immigrant languages in Australia (Clyne 1982, 2003, 2005) as well as North America and Western Europe. These studies often follow the same template as the research on Spanish-English contact.

The social aspects of language contact and language change have been studied by sociolinguists to gain a deeper understanding of things like the reasons for language choice patterns, the social functions of code-switching (Auer 1995, 2013), issues of identity related to language ideologies, and the ways these issues play a role in communities, bilingual families, and classrooms (Cooper et al. 2001, Bezcioglu-Göktolga & Yağmur 2017, Extra & Yağmur 2004, Schwartz & Verschik 2013). Many studies look into language acquisition of bilinguals, either as an inherent point of interest or with regards to (heritage) language maintenance and language shift (sociolinguistic interest) (Fishman 1966, Hornberger 2002) and attrition and incomplete acquisition (structural/linguistic interest) (Köpke & Schmid 2004, Montrul 2008, Polinsky 2006, Schmid 2002, Seliger & Vago 1991, Van Els 1986). Finally, there has been intense interest in the use and development of multi-ethnolects; the variety of a majority language that is born out of the way it is spoken by ethnic minorities (Clyne 2000, Freywald et al. 2011, Kern & Selting 2011, Quist 2000, Wiese 2009).

In the sixty or so years that researchers have been focusing on language contact they have wanted to know what happens when languages come into contact and how languages change when this happens. This has initially been studied by looking at data from bilinguals who use their languages daily and by describing how their home language differs compared to the same language as spoken by monolingual people (or how the grammar books of said language portray monolingual use) (Aarts & Verhoeven 1999, Akoğlu & Yağmur 2016, Backus & Yağmur 2017, Verhallen & Schoonen 1993). Most of this research adopts a structuralist framework, which has led researchers to theorize about the structural constraints that govern language mixing and language change (Johanson 2002, Poplack 1988, Sankoff & Poplack 1981, Thomason & Kaufmann 1988, Weinreich 1964). This has given the field a great start by paving the way to understanding how languages respond to contact and how contact-induced language change originates and propagates. However, much of the research has focused on structural reasons of language change and not on the psycholinguistic or cognitive mechanisms that underlie the change or the outcome of contact and bilingualism in general.

In the current work, a usage-based perspective is adopted rather than a structuralist one. The usage-based view on linguistic competence focuses on the ways in which actual usage of language by speakers is determined by and further determines the linguistic competence of those speakers (Bybee 2002, 2003, 2006, 2010, Croft 2000, Tomasello 2003). It sees a person's competence as being made up of an integrated single inventory of units, which differ in the degree of complexity and schematicity (or specificity, its opposite). This differs considerably from the structuralist view, which sees language as made up of clearly distinct areas of study such as lexicon, morphology, syntax and semantics (Croft & Cruse 2004, Langacker 1987, 1991,

2008). High usage of units makes them entrenched and easily activated in speakers' minds. Thus, usage-based views see frequency, and hence entrenchment, as an explanation of why certain units and constructions are used by speakers. The more frequent a unit is used by speakers, the more entrenched it will become in their minds. This, in turn, makes their activation easier in subsequent turns and future speech events. Recently, researchers have started to use this view to explain bilingual language use. The effects of frequency would be similar in people who use more than one language, making some parts (units, domains) of the language more entrenched than others. Usage-based research on language contact is still in its infancy, and only a few language pairs have been studied (Backus 2014a, 2014b, Hakimov 2016, Zenner 2013). This thesis aims to add to this line of research. The rest of this introduction gives a short summary of the studies carried out for this thesis. The introduction will be kept relatively short as the relevant literature and topics are discussed in detail within their corresponding chapters.

The data for this thesis were collected from second generation Turkish-Dutch bilinguals in the Netherlands who were all around 18 years old. Several related methodologies were employed, all designed to get conversational speech data. Nineteen participants recorded themselves in small group settings whenever and wherever they felt comfortable. This resulted in 7.5 hours of spontaneous speech which were then fully transcribed. As a follow up, these participants were invited to fill in a questionnaire about their language use and language proficiency. Fifteen people came in for this part of the data collection. These participants also had a one-on-one interview with the researcher in a monolingual Turkish mode which resulted in more than 20 hours of recording.

The first thing this thesis will look into is language mixing in the spontaneous conversational recordings (Chapter 2). We aim to demonstrate not only that these speakers make extensive use of both their languages but also that they mix them in such intricate ways that existing typologies of code-switching have difficulties explaining everything that is going on. The current understanding is that intricate language mixing of the type Muysken (2000) calls *congruent lexicalization* is to be found mainly in typologically similar languages, where pinpointing which language is used at any given point in the mixed utterance is difficult as the languages have overlapping structure and lexical and morphological items. However, we found that although Turkish and Dutch are typologically quite distant, the speakers mix them in ways that could be called 'congruent lexicalization'.

Chapter 3 focuses on a particular bilingual construction in the speech of Turkish-Dutch bilinguals, namely the use of Dutch infinitives combined with the Turkish inflected light verb *yap-*. This construction is zeroed in on first of all to see how bilinguals use it, and also to try and uncover why they are using this construction. We will try to explain why certain Dutch infinitives are used rather

than others by taking concepts important to usage-based approaches, such as frequency and semantic specificity, as our starting point.

Finally, in Chapter 4 the focus is on changes in the Turkish of Turkish-Dutch bilinguals. The usage of Turkish in the monolingual recordings is analyzed, and unconventional uses of lexical, morphological as well as multiword units are identified. This is a relatively exploratory analysis, since we aimed to find out what kinds of unconventionality would be in evidence. Wherever possible a connection to Dutch influence is made, but it is clear that in some cases this connection is not straight-forwardly available.

The thesis will end with Chapter 5, an overview of the findings and conclusions that can be derived from the studies mentioned in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. The conclusion and discussion will also point out shortcomings, what the findings might mean in the bigger scheme of language contact as well as future directions that could further our understanding of contact-induced language change.

CHAPTER 2

COMPLEX CODE-SWITCHING: CREATING EQUIVALENCE BETWEEN TURKISH AND DUTCH IN BILINGUAL SPEECH

2.1 Introduction

Bilingual code-switching is generally characterized as taking one of two forms. Insertion is the use of lone other-language items, mostly words or short phrases, into utterances grammatically framed by a base, or matrix, language. Alternation, the second kind, is the use of utterances in both languages side-by-side. Neat as this categorization might seem, it is not always easy when working with actual data to allocate all instances of code-switching to either category in a neat and unambiguous way. This even holds if a third type that is sometimes considered, congruent lexicalization (cf. Muysken 2000), is taken into account as well. In this chapter, I will report on data taken from Turkish-Dutch bilingual speech in which so many instances are hard to categorize that I feel compelled to suggest an alternative way of categorizing types of code-switching. Under certain circumstances, the seemingly clear distinction between insertion and alternation becomes blurred, and this brings up interesting descriptive and explanatory challenges. I aim to sketch a way in which existing models of code-switching could be amended in order to accommodate a larger share of data. A second goal is to develop an account of the psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic reasons why Turkish-Dutch code-switching seems to be moving away from the simple combination of insertion and alternation that described earlier data for this language pair in a fairly adequate way.

2.1.1 Code-switching typology

Language contact research has developed structural typologies that classify types of code-switching, usually in the service of formulating constraints or principles that may account for most attested cases of code-switching in bilingual speech (classic references include Muysken 2000, Myers-Scotton 1993, 2002, and Poplack 1980). Most of this work adopts a structuralist perspective, and I will argue that it is for that reason that it has trouble accommodating some of the data I will present.

Muysken (2000) summarized much of the 20th century work on the linguistic or structural characteristics of code-switching by differentiating between three types of code-switching. The first one is *insertion*: code-switched single words or constitu-

ents from language B inserted into a sentence that is otherwise in language A. I will illustrate this and other categories with examples from my Turkish-Dutch bilingual data (more information will be provided later on in this paper). In the example below, a Dutch word (in italics) “file” meaning traffic jam is inserted into a Turkish utterance.

- (1) M: Başka nerede *file* olabilir haha?
Where else would there be a *traffic jam*?

In her Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model, Myers-Scotton (2002) suggests a range of subtypes of insertional code-switching. Insertion presupposes a Matrix Language (ML), the language that the utterance is basically in, and an Embedded Language (EL), which provides the insertion. The dominant grammatical role of the matrix language is organized through the *morpheme order principle* and the *system morpheme principle*. The morpheme order principle dictates that the matrix language provides the order of morphemes in an utterance. According to the system morpheme principle, the *system morphemes* (i.e. grammatical morphemes such as function words and inflections) come from the matrix language while *content morphemes* can come from either the matrix language or the embedded language. Prototypically, insertion involves the use of an EL noun, verb or adjective stem into a fully conventional ML grammatical pattern. Essentially the same view, though embedded in different theoretical frameworks, has been central to much other work on code-switching involving single words from the other language (e.g. Poplack & Meechan 1995).

The second category is *alternation* in which a speaker prototypically follows up an utterance in language A with one in language B. This type of switch includes a complete switch from one language to the other. In the example below, the speaker first refers to a person in Turkish and then goes on to give information about this person in Dutch (in italics).

- (2) Melis: Carla var ya. *Als jij Carla eten geeft, zij zet jou niet op te laat.*
You know Carla. If you give Carla food she won't mark you as late.

Potential accounts of alternation have been part of the code-switching literature from very early on, as Poplack's (1980) Equivalence Constraint postulates that alternation is only possible when the word orders of the two languages overlap at the switch point. Where these structures do not overlap, for example if an adjectival phrase is formulated differently – say A+N in one of the languages and N+A in the other – code-switching between these two elements of the adjectival phrase would not be permitted. Utterance boundaries function as the prototypical switch point in this sense.

The distinction between insertion and alternation is a logical one as long as one adopts a structuralist perspective. In insertion, a foreign word or chunk is inserted into a structure prepared by the grammar of the other language. In alternation, on the other hand, a complete structure in one language is followed by a complete structure in the other. Below, I will criticize this structuralist perspective, to make room for a view in which insertion and alternation are not as strictly distinguished.

Muysken (2000:122) introduced a third type of code-switching labelled *congruent lexicalization*. This refers to mixed utterances in which an utterance involves grammatical and lexical elements from both language A and language B. The base language of the utterance is difficult to pinpoint. Since this is easier to imagine when languages already share a lot of their grammar, congruent lexicalization is assumed to be typical only for language pairs in which the two languages involved are very similar, i.e. when they are closely related. Such settings are found for example when there is mixing between a standard language and a dialect (e.g. Limburgian and Dutch, Giesbers 1989) or typologically related languages (such as English and Dutch). The following example (from Muysken 2000, originally from a thesis by Henk Wolf) involves Dutch (in italics) and Frisian, both West Germanic languages.

- (3) Witst noch wol wat se dan seine, wat waar, wat weer is het bewaarder?
Do you remember what they said then? What weather, what kind of weather is it, guard?

In this example, the underlined word could be Dutch or Frisian. Since these languages share many lexical elements and have very similar structure, it can be impossible to tell sometimes what is Frisian and what is Dutch. Important questions remain about this type of code-switching. It is not clear, for example, whether it is genuinely a third type or rather a combination of insertion and alternation. Similarly, there is no psycholinguistic model yet that explains how congruent lexicalization is produced, and why it is so typical for code-switching between closely related languages. Thirdly, it has not been investigated much whether this type of code-switching really doesn't occur in language pairs that are typologically more different.

Demirçay & Backus (2014) argued, on the basis of the mixed speech of second generation Turkish-Dutch bilinguals, that congruent lexicalization can also occur within a typologically distant language pair. The suggested explanation was that when a speaker has a high degree of mastery and intensive daily mixed usage of the two languages, utterances can become common that are hard to classify as insertions or alternations but rather resemble congruent lexicalization. The challenge is to provide a fuller description of this kind of code-switching in such an

unlikely language pair, and to sketch the account in theoretically more precise terms. This is the aim of this chapter.

2.1.2 Non-prototypical insertion and alternation

It is fairly well known that in any code-switching data, many instances do not present the clear insertional pattern of, say an EL noun stem inflected with ML plural or case marking, or an EL verb stem inflected with ML tense and aspect morphology. As we will see, many cases of alternation do not involve a clear break between two languages either, but this has not been the topic of research much. Deviations from prototypical insertion, on the other hand, have been discussed at length in the code-switching literature. Almost all studies of code-switching include examples of EL nouns that contain EL plural marking, inserted multiword EL combinations, and inserted EL constituents.

For most approaches to code-switching, non-prototypical insertion is simply taken as just another kind of code-switching, not as anything special. However, from a developmental perspective, several studies show that communities start off their code-switching behavior with prototypical insertion and only later on start showing more intricate mixing patterns. This suggests that non-prototypical insertion develops out of prototypical insertion, and that raises the question about how this process unfurls. This in turn requires insight into what kinds of non-prototypical insertion occur.

Categorization of such types of insertion has mainly been attempted in the framework of the MLF Model. Myers-Scotton (1993) identifies three strategies bilingual speakers use to insert EL content words in other ways than complete integration into the ML morphosyntactic system: *bare forms*, *double morphology* and *EL islands*. The second and third types are important for our purposes, because they match one important characteristic of virtually all instances of non-prototypical insertion we will describe: the inclusion of more EL material than just the content word. Double morphology occurs when integration into ML morphosyntax co-occurs with the use of an EL grammatical element that marks the same grammatical function as one or more of the ML morphemes do, for example when a foreign noun is pluralized with both ML and EL plural markers (Myers-Scotton 1993:61, 110, 132). EL islands are complete EL constituents, for example a prepositional phrase.

Many examples of complex insertional code-switching that do not fit these two templates can be found in the literature, however, though they are usually not discussed as cases of 'complex insertion'. They do not often feature double morphology and many do not form single syntactic constituents. Interestingly, the longer and the more complex these insertions get, the more they start to resemble

alternational code-switching. The following is an example from my data, analyzed earlier in Demirçay & Backus (2014).

- (4) *Of düdüklü-de yap-ıyo of gewoon pan.*
 Or pressure cooker-LOC do-PRES.3SG or regular pot
 She *either* does it in a pressure cooker *or a regular pot*.

Both parts of the compound conjunction are in Dutch. However, the rest of the first clause is in Turkish. However, the second clause, which is entirely in Dutch, is missing the preposition “in” which suggests that the spatial meaning is achieved through the locative suffix *-de* used in the Turkish part of the phrase. In this utterance it is hard to distinguish between a matrix language and an embedded language.

- (5) *Dus echt düğün yap-mı-yo-lar?*
 So real wedding do-NEG-PRES-3PL
 So they are not having a *real* wedding?

The example above starts in Dutch and ends in Turkish. The phrase ‘real wedding’ is made up of the Dutch adjective *echt* “real” and the Turkish noun *düğün* “wedding”. It is possible that the word *düğün* “wedding” is an insertion from Turkish and that the morphosyntactic frame of the first part of the utterance is in Dutch. However, the utterance continues and ends with the Turkish finite verb inflection probably triggered by the word *düğün*. This would make Turkish the matrix language. Aside from a possible pragmatic motivation to switch into Turkish, the fact that the noun phrase starts with a Dutch adjective that continues the language in which the clause got started and is followed by a finite verb that continues the language in which the object noun phrase ends points towards congruent lexicalization. It is even possible that the bilingual phrase *echt düğün* “real wedding” is a conventional lexical unit for these speakers. In any case, it does not seem to be a case of prototypical insertion or prototypical alternation.

With non-prototypical cases, it can be hard to determine what language actually functions as the Matrix Language. This obviously complicates the typology, since if there is no clear ML, maybe the code-switching is not a case of insertion at all. One response to this difficulty is to have precise criteria for determining the ML and stick to them. This is the road that most models have taken. Muysken (2000) summarizes the two most common ways: counting which language provides most morphemes, and identifying which language provides the finite verb. The quantitative method essentially has the same outcome as applying Myers-Scotton’s System Morpheme Principle, since there will usually be more system morphemes in an utterance than content morphemes. However, counting morphemes is a

criterion: it does not provide an explanation. It does not tell us anything about the reasons why one language tends to provide the grammatical morphemes, and hence it is not enough to help us understand the essence of insertion.

While in most cases of classical insertion it is relatively easy to determine the ML, there are also many attested cases where this identification is difficult or impossible. This includes the Dutch-Frisian example discussed above; in fact it includes most code-switching between closely related languages (e.g. Clyne 1987 on German-English code-switching in Australia). We have shown in a previous study (Demirçay & Backus 2014) that Turkish-Dutch bilingual speech also provides examples where determining the matrix language proves difficult. The following example from Demirçay & Backus (2014) starts with Turkish and switches into Dutch (in italics).

- (6) Allah korusun bi almassak *dan moeten we die sowieso herkansen toch?*
 God forbid if we cannot pass it *then we should take the re-sit anyway right?*

At first glance this seems a fairly prototypical alternation. However, notice that the utterance exhibits the conditional “if... then...” structure, which is realized partly in Turkish and partly in Dutch. It is possible that this mixture is made easier because the formation of the conditional clause overlaps in the two languages. The analysis as alternation can be accepted as long as we only look at the formal characteristics of the two individual clauses, but the two clauses are also integrated in a superordinate grammatical pattern that combines the grammatical structures of the two languages. In both languages, a conditional clause is followed by a main clause that is finite and starts with a conjunction that means ‘then’.

In the empirical sections of this chapter, many more cases of Turkish-Dutch code-switching that resist simple classification as either insertion or alternation will be examined. Following that, the commonly accepted typology of code-switching will be reassessed. First, however, we will see to what extent congruent lexicalization is a promising third category that might be able to accommodate all cases of non-prototypical insertion and alternation.

2.1.3 Competing motivations and the emergence of complex code-switching

As the discussion above indicates, most models of code-switching allow for some sort of cross-linguistic influence that whittles away at the strict distinction between two autonomous and relatively robust languages. This is necessary because the data clearly show that some of this goes on in language contact settings. The question is how to best account for it.

As we saw above, while the description of the insertional and alternational types of code-switching meets with some problems, there is reasonable consensus about

what patterns are common. When we move to possible explanations of these patterns, however, there is relatively little agreement. Various lines of explanation have been suggested, and possibly these could be combined in a single model. However, since these explanations have largely been framed in different linguistic theories and sub-disciplines, they rival as much as they complement each other. Explanations have focused, roughly, on speaker intentions, semantic need, syntactic constraints, and psycholinguistic mechanisms. I will argue that, basing myself on a usage-based approach, all of these are relevant at the same time.

Speaker intentions probably represent the most intensively studied cause of code-switching. They are associated primarily with what is often referred to as the 'pragmatic' or 'sociolinguistic' study of the phenomenon. Many studies have shown that bilinguals will switch between their languages in order to emphasize a point, to repeat a message, to contextualize a quotation or carry out any number of other pragmatic functions. Often, the switching is not random, as each of the languages indexes a certain set of norms and values; the most familiar division is between the 'we code' indexing solidarity (the 'native' language of the bilingual community) and the 'they code' indexing power (the language of the wider society). When code-switching is very dense, as is the case with the data we will be analyzing, it is often assumed that there are no special pragmatic reasons for the individual switches but rather that it is the overall bilingual nature of the communicative style that indexes a bilingual and bicultural, 'hybrid', identity. However, with this shift towards a higher degree of abstraction, we may be in danger of losing sight of the motivations behind individual utterances. Yet, that the overall conversation conveys some kind of social meaning (e.g. hybrid identity) does not entail that the individual utterances within the conversation lack any social meaning. It is just more likely that in contexts of intense code-switching, the social meaning conveyed by many individual instances of code-switching might be limited to just contributing to that overall picture. In that case, there should be some evidence for relatively unintentional code-switching. What we will explore is the idea that the code-switching indeed often reflects highly entrenched expressions and constructions, which happen to come from both languages. They are freely activated and produced because there are low social barriers to code-switching.

Lexical need is less popular as a research topic in the code-switching literature; on the other hand it is usually the first thing mentioned as the reason why speakers sometimes resort to the use of a foreign word. Sometimes a concept is only lexicalized in the other language, meaning it will fill a lexical gap in the borrowing language. At other times, though, the word from the other language simply voices the meaning in a more accurate, pleasing or efficient way. Diachronically, this is how loanwords enter languages. Perhaps the concept of lexical need in its expanded form could also be conceptualized in terms of ease of activation. Typical loanwords are only the most extreme examples, since they have no or only weak rivals in the

base language, but if we see ease of activation as the underlying dimension governing the selection of words and other linguistic elements, more factors start to play a role, primarily frequency. If an expression is particularly well entrenched in a language, for instance because it is used a lot, it is easily activated, and for that reason alone may surface in bilingual speech. The ultimate explanation for the selection then has to engage with the question what determines frequency.

The code-switching literature is perhaps best known for its search for universal syntactic constraints on the phenomenon, i.e. for principles that explain why speakers can switch between the languages at some point in an utterance but not at certain other points. Though these constraints were not originally formulated to explain *why* some patterns are more common than others, they could well be interpreted as doing just that. In that sense, the empirical generalizations that supported the formulation of constraints obviously still hold relevance even if the constraints themselves have lost credence. Poplack's *free morpheme constraint* captures the generalization that words tend to keep their integrity in bilingual speech, and we will make use of this insight below. Similarly, the Equivalence Constraint captures something also seen in my data, as will become clear below: generally speakers switch between languages at points where the structures of the languages are fairly similar. A major pattern in the data is that speakers combine chunks from their two languages, stringing them together loosely.

Backus (2014a, 2014b) argues theoretical accounts of code-switching are somewhat stuck due to their emphasis on syntax, and makes a plea for a usage-based approach to code-switching. The literature on linguistic characteristics of code-switching, which takes up a significant percentage of the volume of linguistic code-switching studies, tends to take a structuralist approach instead, and is therefore often not very concerned with questions of processing and cognition. The explanation for linguistic patterns is sought in the architecture of the linguistic system itself (also see especially Chapter 4). However, there are various reasons why cognitive questions should be high on the agenda. From a usage-based perspective, it is the cognitive characteristics of our minds, together with the functional reasons for why we use language at all, that regulate how we speak. This vantage point makes it important to ask the question what code-switching patterns can tell us about the workings of the mind, and to what degree these psycholinguistic mechanisms help account for the code-switching we find. The architecture of the linguistic system itself is in need of psycholinguistic explanation, rather than that it constitutes the explanation.

A usage-based perspective on descriptions of grammatical patterns would view them as simply descriptions of schematic levels, capturing what is common across instantiations. However, while in structuralist approaches the question whether those schematizations are cognitively real, i.e. whether speakers really have such structures in their heads, is not asked, it is a crucial question for usage-based

approaches. The fact that as linguists we can describe the schematic structure, and that we can extrapolate it from linguistic data, does not entail that speakers do. This means that we cannot just accept it on faith that if an EL word is found in an ML grammatical structure, that word was literally inserted into that pattern. The word might be used in that pattern so regularly that the whole expression is entrenched in the speaker's mind as a unit. The description of the insertion is a neat way for the describing linguist to capture the general pattern, but it is not necessarily a psycholinguistically accurate description of what went on in the speaker's mind when producing the utterance.

Code-switching data often give rise to a view on speech production that is not so much clause-based but rather chunk-based. This is not the place to see whether Levelt's (1989) model is sufficiently flexible to accommodate a chunk-based view, but for the purposes of building a model that matches what we see in code-switching data, it is necessary to go into some detail about why we need to look at chunks as the basic domain of processing rather than clauses.

One important feature of such an approach is that it attempts to account for utterance structure through the interaction of lexical ('specific') and structural ('schematic') units rather than through a modular approach, in which lexicon and syntax are strictly separated. What is most relevant for our purposes is the idea that 'lexical' units can be longer than a single word, and that many units that are entrenched in speakers' competences are constructions that include both a structural pattern and one or more fixed lexical elements. What determines unit status is whether or not a unit is committed to memory. Frequency of use is obviously an important determinant.

The use of multiword units from the other language implies that the same switch could be considered a case of alternation in the structuralist approach and as the insertion of a complex, and partially schematic, unit in a more psycholinguistically minded or usage-based approach. For example, in the following example, two semantically equivalent structures from Turkish and Dutch overlap. The intensification of 'making fun of someone' is done twice. The Turkish adverbial *nasıl* "how" precedes the verb to convey this meaning ("they made such fun of him"). The Dutch adverbial *zo* "so" does the same thing, except that it follows the verb. Both the Turkish and Dutch adverbials are really the specific part of two semantically equivalent partially schematic constructions. In addition to the adverbial they contain an inflected verb ("make fun") and the target of the teasing. The latter surfaces as a pre-verbal instrumental-marked object nominal in Turkish ('onun-la', literally "with him") and as a post-verbal prepositional phrase in Dutch. In the actual bilingual example, the finite verb is Turkish *dalga geçiyordur* and the target nominal is Dutch *over hem*. The result is an integrated construction in which the pivotal intensifying element is conveyed twice, and grammatical characteristics of both the Turkish and the Dutch constructions are combined. It seems impossible

to see the result as instantiating either Dutch insertion (of the adverbial and the prepositional phrase) into Turkish or alternation to Dutch before the adverbial.

- (7) Leyla: İnsanlar nasıl dalga geçiyordur *zo over hem*.
 The people must have been making *such* fun *of him*.
 TR-TUR: İnsanlar onunla nasıl dalga geçiyordur.
 NL-DUT: Mensen moeten zo over hem gelachen hebben. (lit.: people must have laughed so much over him)
- (8) Ülkü: *Gewoon altijd* hayat var.
 Just always lively there.is
 It's lively *like always*.
 TR-TUR: Yani her zaman hayat var. (lit.: just always lively there.is)
 NL-DUT: (Het is) gewoon altijd levendig. (lit.: it is just always lively)

Similarly, in the example above, the utterance starts in Dutch with a discourse marker *gewoon* which is hard to translate into English but is similar to English “just”. The speaker then continues her utterance with the Dutch adverb *altijd* “always” before switching into Turkish for the main message. At first glance this might seem a simple case of insertion, in this case of two adverbs. The grammar of the sentence is clearly in Turkish, with the existential copula *var* “there is” at the end, where Dutch would have the copula in verb second position. The position of the Dutch adverbs follows the Turkish pattern but not the Dutch one, in which the adverbs would follow the copula. On the other hand, in spoken informal Dutch it is possible to leave out the copula altogether and start with the adverbs (indicated by the parentheses in the Dutch translation above). The construction this results in actually does overlap with the Turkish one in the positioning of the adverbs. Thus, this mixed utterance could be regarded as a mixed utterance with two separate Dutch adverbial insertions replacing equivalent Turkish adverbs, or it could be seen as the blend of a Dutch construction (“It’s always just ...”) and the equivalent Turkish one.

Muysken (1995) suggests a categorization of insertions and alternations. If a switch includes several constituents in a row that do not make up one constituent, alternation is likely. Or, he claims, it can be regarded as multiple contiguous insertions. This is precisely where the difficulties arise in the data in this study. For instance the first example (7) *zo* “such” and *over hem* “about him” occur at the end of the utterance without forming one constituent but rather occurring as a quantifier that has scope over the Turkish verb preceding it, and a prepositional phrase that functions as its object. However, one can look at multi-word constituents as multiword chunks (here a prepositional phrase) that goes together with the verb “to make fun” and the adverb *zo* “such” which also combines with the prepositional phrase. This makes it very difficult to categorize this switch as an

alternation or simply an insertion. Rather, this is a complex mix where the prepositional phrase that combines with the verb, the quantifier and the verb itself are not in the same language.

- (9) Gönül: Kendim-i *natuurlijk ontwikkel-en* yap-ar-ım.
 Myself-ACC of.course develop-INF do.AOR-1SG
 I will *of course* develop myself.
 NL-DUT: Ik zal mezelf *natuurlijk* ontwikkelen. (lit.: I will myself of.course develop)

Muysken also claims that if a switch occurs at the end of an utterance, it is likely to be a case of alternation, as opposed to when the switched element is preceded and followed by material in the other language, making it more likely that it is an insertion. In this sense, the example above could be regarded as involving insertion. The two words *natuurlijk* “of course” and *ontwikkelen* “to develop” do not form a whole constituent but seem to be two contiguous constituents, which should point to alternation. From a usage-based perspective, however, the adverb *natuurlijk* and the infinitive *ontwikkelen* could also be regarded as potentially part of a multiword unit in which the verb conventionally combines with a reflexive pronoun and the adverb expressing the self-evident nature of the process (‘of course’). As is typical in codeswitching data, the reflexive pronoun, a functional element, is not in the same language: it is in the ML. To complicate it further, this construction interlocks with another partially schematic construction in which the adverb *natuurlijk* “of course” combines with any verb to add the pragmatic nuance of inevitability (the English equivalent is an utterance in which ‘of course’ either starts off the utterance or ends it, so that it functions as a discourse marker, as in ‘of course I knew exactly what she was going to say to me’). Once again, just analyzing the example as a case of double insertion does not seem like it tells the whole story. While the sequence of *natuurlijk* and *ontwikkelen* does not represent a common multiword unit in Dutch, portraying the utterance as involving two independent insertions also seems to miss the point that they both belong to a partially schematic construction that is embedded into a Turkish matrix structure.

Given that initial introspection of my data uncovered quite a few such examples, I undertook a systematic analysis of the degree to which code-switching in the data can be classified as clear cases of insertion and alternation. Expecting to find a lot of cases that could not be so classified, the further goal was to explore in what ways Turkish and Dutch get combined in this advanced type of code-switching. The rest of this paper presents an analysis of a corpus of Turkish-Dutch code-switching data. Many of the examples will illustrate the need for a fresh look at the insertion-alternation dichotomy. Specifically, I will argue that many cases of code-switching in this language pair that exhibits such extreme typological dissimilarity seem to

suggest considerable grammatical integration. This does not necessarily take the form of grammatical convergence, in which for example Turkish grammar becomes more like Dutch, but rather what we see will be the easy combination of chunks from both languages, making them more integrated in actual use than was shown in previous data from this language pair.

2.2 Background, methodology and data

This section will provide information on the population from which the data were taken, and the method in which this was done.

2.2.1 Turkish immigration to the Netherlands

Before presenting the data analysis, a few words should be said about the community from which the data were taken. There has been Turkish immigration to Western Europe for more than five decades now. The general picture is that thanks to a variety of factors, most prominently perhaps continued immigration of adult monolingual speakers of Turkish past the initial wave of migrant workers and intensive contact with monolingual friends and family in Turkey, Turkish is well maintained, so far, as the main language of the home and the community (Backus 2013). Most children are brought up with Turkish as their main or only language used at home, providing them with a basis for their later bilingual life in which both languages are used. The extant research shows that the Turkish they speak shows the familiar effects of language contact, including lexical and grammatical change. Changes in phonology and discourse structure have not been studied as extensively, but presumably these levels also show the effects of language contact. Very salient in the everyday in-group discourse style is abundant code-switching (see for example Backus 2004, Dođruöz & Backus 2007, 2009, Backus & Onar Valk 2013, Extra & Yađmur 2010).

2.2.2 Methodology and data

The data consists of self-recorded conversations among 20 second generation Turkish-Dutch bilinguals who are friends or siblings. The mean age of the participants is 18 years and their conversations total up to 7,5 hours that were transcribed by me and a research assistant. Data was recorded by giving a voice recorder to the participants and have them record themselves whenever and wherever they felt comfortable to do so. The places where recordings took place range from the homes of participants to their cars. Participants were instructed to speak in whichever language they felt comfortable, and as they would do in their normal daily interactions.

There are 7 groups of friends/family members who participated in the data collection. The first group includes 3 young women who are friends. The second group is an all-male friend group consisting of 5 participants who recorded themselves in a car. Some of them participated in follow-up studies while others were only available for the recording of the data used in this chapter. The third group consists of a young woman and her younger brother in conversation in their home. The fourth group is made up of two young women whose recording shows that they talk mainly in Dutch with very little Turkish. The fifth and the sixth group are each made up of two young women. Finally, the seventh group consists of three young women who recorded themselves in a car, with the third one joining in a bit later in the recording. A detailed background questionnaire have been administered to the participants who came in for follow-up studies. Since some of the people in the recordings dropped out there is no detailed information on their background aside from the information given by their friends that they are all around 18 years of age and are second generation Turkish-Dutch bilinguals.

Table 2.1 Information on participants

Initials	Group	Age	Gender	Birthplace
E. M.	1	18	F	Netherlands
E-N. Ş.	1	17	F	Netherlands
S. M.	1	18	F	Netherlands
E. A.	2	20	M	Netherlands
B. B.	2	19	M	Netherlands
K. Y.	2	20	M	Netherlands
F. Ç.	3	18	M	Netherlands
N. Ç.	3	21	F	Netherlands
Ö. T.	4	17	F	Netherlands
M. P.	4	17	F	Netherlands
S. A.	5	18	F	Turkey
M. Ö.	5	19	F	Netherlands
Ş. I.	6	18	F	Netherlands
F. B.	6	17	F	Netherlands
Z. M.	7	19	F	Netherlands

Fifteen of the participants came for a follow-up study where they filled a language background questionnaire in which they answered questions on their language use, language perception and language abilities on a 5 point Likert scale (Extra & Yağmur 2010, Yağmur & Van de Vijver 2012). All but one of the participants were

born in the Netherlands; the other one moved there at the age of 4. Out of the 15 participants four rated their Dutch knowledge as high as their Turkish and thus could be considered balanced bilinguals. Ten participants rated themselves as dominant in Dutch, while only one of them is a Turkish dominant bilingual speaker. Looking at the amount of each language used by the speakers in these conversational events, self-rating seems to be a good representation of their language preferences. The only exception is that two of the four balanced bilinguals actually use much more Dutch than Turkish. It is likely that this is partially explained as accommodation to the language choice of their more Dutch-dominant conversational partners.

2.3 Data analysis

To allow systematic analysis of the data the transcriptions were divided into separate utterances. Utterances are the preferred unit of analysis in conversational and discourse studies but increasingly also in code-switching research (e.g. Myslín & Levi 2015). Every speech turn consists of one or more utterances; an utterance is loosely identified as a self-contained unit.

- (10) Leyla: Ow. Ga jij zorg doen? (Oh. Are you going to do healthcare?)
 Hatice: Ja. (Yes)
 Hatice: Zorg met bejaarden (Health care for the elderly)

In the above example *ja* “yes” is treated as a separate utterance as it is the answer to the question posed by the other speaker about what Hatice will study in college. However, in some instances the same *ja* is regarded as part of a bigger utterance, for instance because it is not a stand-alone answer to a question preceding the turn, as in the following example:

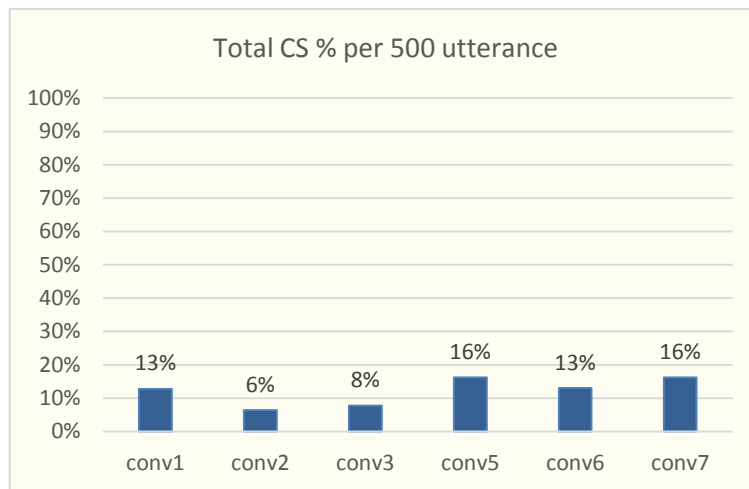
- (11) Hatice: Ik had al meteen intake gesprek gekregen he.
 I immediately got an intake interview huh.
 Leyla: Ja, en ik heb da nie gehad.
 Yeah and I did not get that.

We took the first 500 utterances from each conversation to more closely analyze the code-switches, for a total of 3500 utterances. This is about one third of the total number of utterances in the corpus. We first counted the number of code-switches found *within* these 3500 utterances: these are given in the column labelled ‘total CS’ (code-switches).

Table 2.2 Utterances and code-switches among conversations

Conversations	Total utterances	Total CS	Within turn switches between utterances
Conv1	500	64	49
Conv2	500	32	54
Conv3	500	39	54
Conv4	500	0	0
Conv5	500	81	64
Conv6	500	68	60
Conv7	500	81	57

The table first of all shows that the amount of utterance-internal code-switching varies between groups. As mentioned above, the two girls who are close friends and form the fourth group talk almost exclusively in Dutch. Their data will not be analyzed further. The final column gives the number of switches between utterances within a speaker’s turn. These switches are fairly typical cases of alternation, the speaker switching language from one utterance to the next.



Graph 2.1 Percentage of code-switches in conversations

Graph 2.1 above visualizes the density of utterance-internal code-switching, by plotting the number of utterances with code-switching as a percentage of the total number of utterances analyzed. This does not include the inter-utterance switches. Utterance-internal switches include insertions as well as discourse markers and many of the more complicated switches that will be the focus of most of this

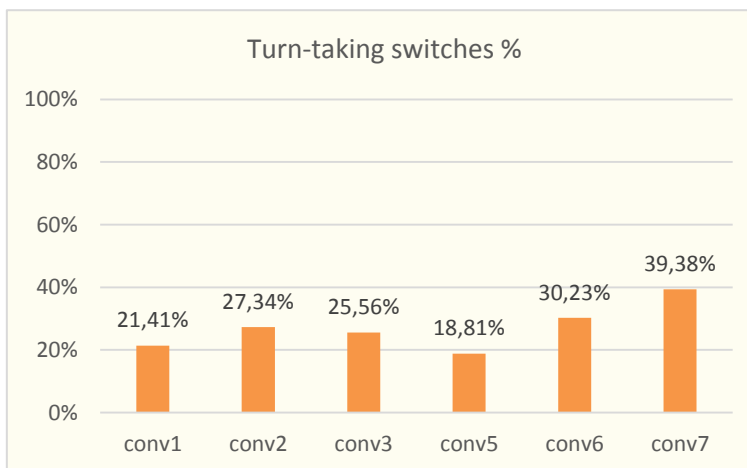
chapter. The percentages of code-switches vary from conversation to conversation. It is noteworthy that in the second and third conversations only 6-8% of the utterances involve code-switching while in the other conversations the percentage is between 13 and 16.

Aside from switches within and between utterances produced by the same speaker there are also switches across turn boundaries. This is when the next speaker starts his or her turn in a different language from the one in which the last turn by another speaker ended. Table 2.3 below gives the number of turns (for the 500 utterances that have been analyzed per conversation) and how many of them constituted a code-switch across turn boundaries.

Table 2.3 Turns and switches between turns

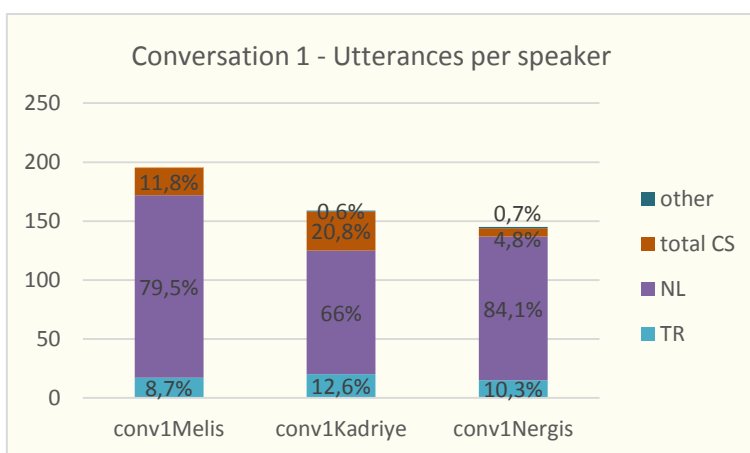
Conversations	Total turns	Between turn switches
Conv1	313	67
Conv2	289	79
Conv3	313	80
Conv5	202	38
Conv6	172	52
Conv7	320	126

As Graph 2.2 below shows, the percentages of these switches are higher than for code-switches within utterances, with figures mostly between a quarter and a third of all turns. Taking over a speech turn by switching language is clearly a communicative convention for these speakers.



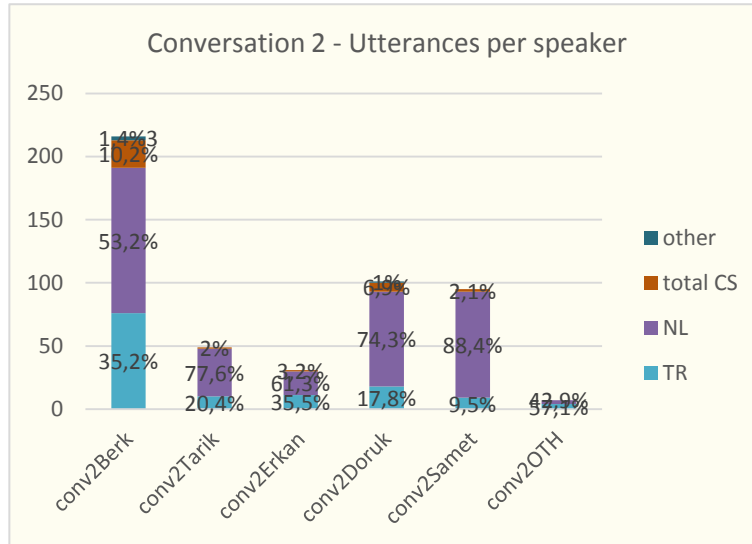
Graph 2.2 Percentages of turn taking code-switches

It is clear that the density of code-switching varies between the groups. In order to form an idea about why this is, we take a closer look at each conversation separately. In the following graphs the x axis represents the speakers involved in the conversation event as well as a bar for 'other' where the identity of the speaker was not clear or if it was uttered by an unknown person or a bystander. The y axis indicates the language of the utterances, categories including only Dutch, only Turkish, code-switched or 'other' (mainly to denote utterances which were not clear). Turn-boundary code-switching is not represented in these graphs.



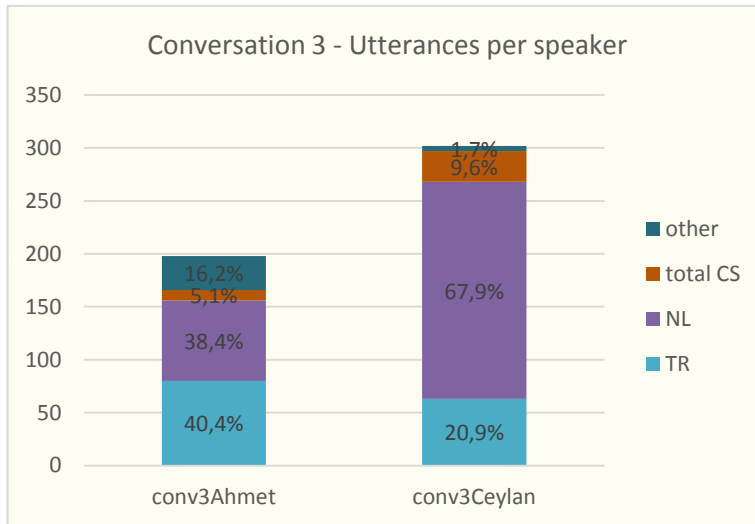
Graph 2.3 Conversation 1: Utterances and languages per speaker

In Graph 2.3 it can be observed that all three speakers use Dutch more than Turkish although the second speaker Kadriye seems to use it less than the other speakers. The reason for this becomes apparent when we look at the percentages of utterances containing code-switching: she switches within her utterances much more often than the other two speakers. The number of utterances only in Turkish is fairly low, around 10%, for all three speakers.



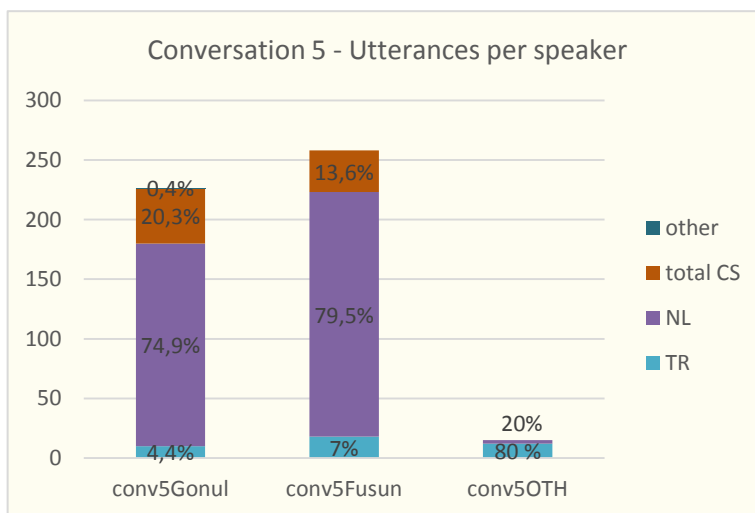
Graph 2.4 Conversation 2: Utterances and languages per speaker

In the language choice figures of Conversation 2, it is easily noticed that Berk spoke much more than the others. The percentage of utterances containing code-switching is also the highest for this speaker, with slightly more than 10% of his utterances containing code-switches. In contrast, the other speakers used code-switching sparingly, in around 2-3% of their utterances. The speakers vary in their use of Turkish. While of Berk's and Erkan's utterances, about 35% are completely in Turkish, Samet uses less Turkish, only 9.5% of the time. Because of his comparably frequent choice of Turkish, Berk makes relatively little use of Dutch, in about 53% of his utterances, while other speakers use Dutch for between 60 and 89% of their utterances. The recording illustrates that different speakers within the same conversational event may make very different use of their languages. It is significant, most likely, that there are five speakers involved in this conversation. The diversity of the language choice patterns might be a result of the dynamics of small group conversation, and that conversations between just two or three speakers might produce more homogeneous language choice patterns.



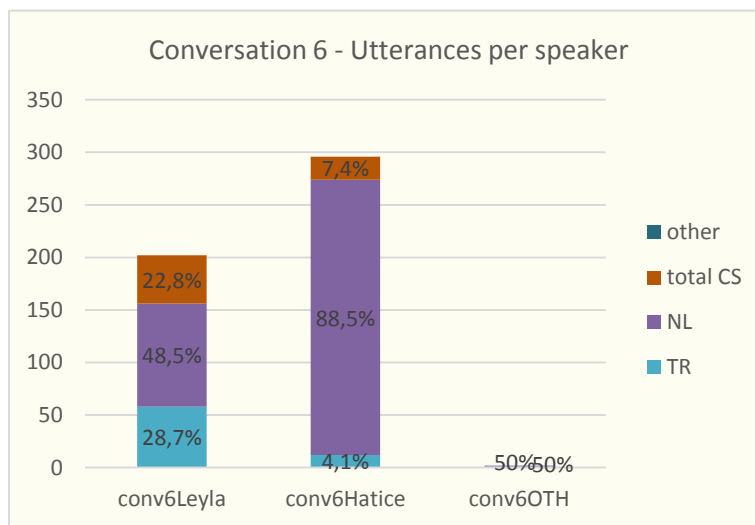
Graph 2.5 Conversation 3: Utterances and languages per speaker

In the third conversation we see that Ceylan speaks the most, meaning she takes longer turns. About 10% of her utterances include code-switching, twice as much as Ahmet, who, however, also produced many utterances which were unclear and therefore impossible to code. He produced similar numbers of utterances in Turkish and in Dutch. In Ceylan’s speech, on the other hand, almost 68% of the utterances were completely in Dutch, leaving only 21% of Turkish utterances.



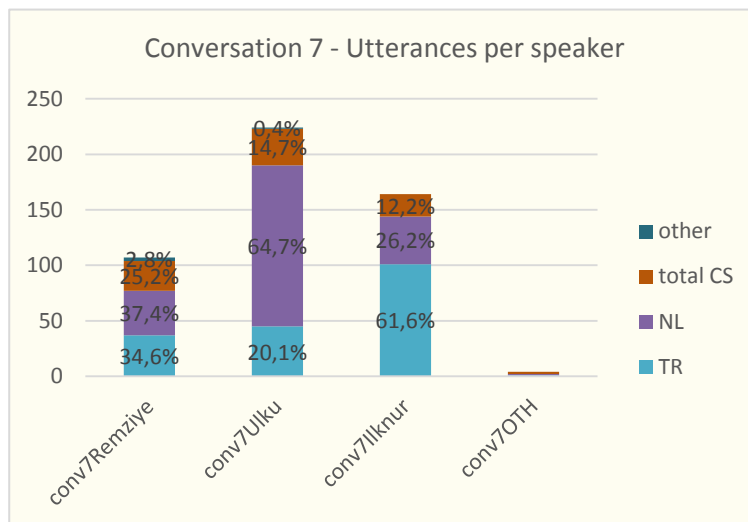
Graph 2.6 Conversation 5: Utterances and languages per speaker

The fifth conversation includes two speakers who had almost the same language choice pattern, with between 75 and 80% of their utterances in Dutch. Gönül produced more code-switched utterances than Füsün, who, therefore, used Turkish a bit more. Recall that Conversation 2 showed a lot of divergence between speakers, and this was tentatively linked to the larger number of speakers.



Graph 2.7 Conversation 6: Utterances and languages per speaker

In the sixth conversation one speaker, Hatice, talked more, and did this mainly in Dutch. Only 4% of her utterances were completely in Turkish. This contrasts with the other speaker Leyla, who used Dutch only in half of her utterances. That does not mean she used Turkish the rest of the time: she also produced a lot of utterances containing code-switches. In this case, a dialogue did not produce identical language choice patterns.



Graph 2.8 Conversation 7: Utterances and languages per speaker

In the final conversation, Remziye joins the recording a bit later and therefore has fewer utterances than the others. With a quarter of her utterances containing code-switching, she mixes the languages more than the other two speakers. The rest of her utterances are equally divided between Turkish and Dutch ones. The other speakers have quite different patterns, and also differ from each other. Ülku resembles the majority of the speakers in this study, and mostly used Dutch, with about 65% of her utterances completely in Dutch. İlknur, on the other hand, used Turkish much more than Dutch, with 62% of her utterances in Turkish. Both speakers produced mixed utterances between 12 and 15% of the time. Interestingly, İlknur was the only participant who rated her Turkish language skills higher than her Dutch skills.

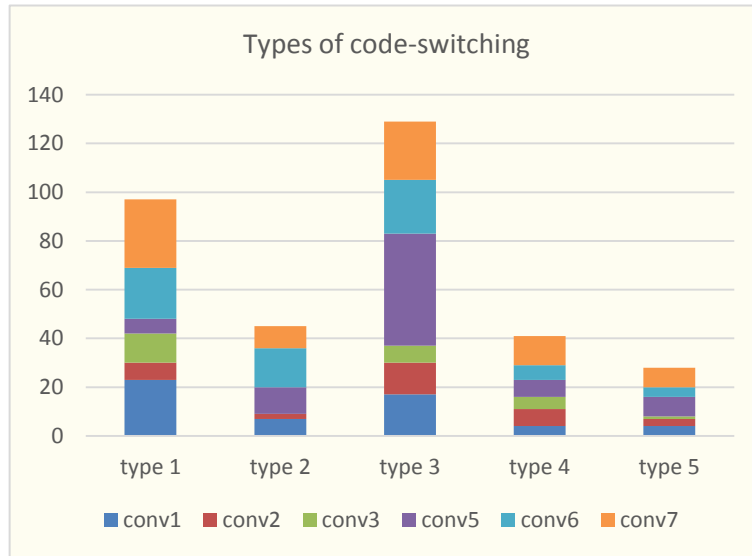
It is clear that most speakers use more Dutch than Turkish. Code-switching behavior seems to differ from speaker to speaker. As can be noticed speakers even within the same conversational event make use of different language strategies. It is important to take individual differences into account when doing research on code-switching rather than grouping all second generation bilinguals from a certain background into one category. However, the figures above only tell us something about the frequency with which they code-switch, not about how they code-switch.

In the following section we take a closer look at the types of code-switches. The focus will be on the degree to which the data support a simple distinction between insertion and alternation. We will see that many examples are problematic for this dichotomy. In the discussion section we will provide an updated typology of code-switching that can account for these data.

Analysis of the data

In the first sections the question was raised whether a typology of code-switching containing only insertion and alternation is sufficient, and a few examples were presented that do not neatly slot into either category. Technically, one can proceed taking either of two options: adapt the definitions of the two categories in order to accommodate the difficult data, or expand the typology. In the following, I will analyze my data following two guidelines. First, whenever possible, examples will be categorized as either insertion, alternation or discourse markers; the rest will be examined as 'complex' cases, which may or may not after closer inspection turn out to be acceptable as instantiations of insertion and alternation. The final section will review the efforts and draw implications for the typology of code-switching patterns. Second, in doing this, a usage-based view is adopted throughout rather than a structuralist one, which means I will take into account processing issues, and engage with the question how the instances of code-switching were most likely produced.

All code-switches in the investigated utterances were annotated as belonging to one of five categories. The first is the simple insertion of one word or one constituent (type 1), the second is clear cut alternation from one language into the other (type 2), and the third is the use of a discourse marker from the other language (type 3). This includes interjections such as the Dutch *ja* "yes", *jongen* "dude", *ik weet het niet* "I don't know", and the Turkish *hani* "like", *valla* "swear to God", *lan* "man" etc. For codeswitching involving these types of words and phrases, sometimes 'tag-switching', 'emblematic switching' or 'extra-sentential switching' are used (Milroy & Muysken 1995). The other two categories are complex insertion and complex alternation. The first occurs when more than one single word or constituent is inserted (type 4). Complex alternation denotes a more complex combination of languages where it is not easy to pinpoint which language is the base language (type 5). As we will see, the difference between the third and fourth types is sometimes difficult to make, and both resemble Muysken's (2000) congruent lexicalization.



Graph 2.9 Types of code-switching (type 1: simple insertion, type 2: simple alternation, type 3: discourse markers type 4: complex insertion, type 5: complex alternation)

Graph 2.9 is a stacked chart for all types of code-switches where the colors denote different conversations. As can be expected, the most common type of code-switches are discourse markers (type 3) followed by simple insertions. However, simple alternations, complex insertions and complex alternations are quite similar in number. The rest of this section will elaborate on the different categories.

Table 2.4 Types of code-switching (type 1: simple insertion, type 2: simple alternation, type 3: discourse markers type 4: complex insertion, type 5: complex alternation)

Switch type	Conv1	Conv2	Conv3	Conv5	Conv6	Conv7	Total
Type 1	23	7	12	6	21	28	97
Type 2	7	2	0	11	16	9	45
Type 3	17	13	7	46	22	24	129
Type 4	4	7	5	7	6	12	41
Type 5	4	3	1	8	4	8	28
Total							340

2.3.1 Classical code-switching

This section will first discuss the familiar types of code-switching.

2.3.1.1 Discourse markers

By far the most common type of code-switching encountered is the use of a discourse marker from the other language. This is categorized as a separate category, and in the past it often was as well ('emblematic codeswitching', 'extrasentential codeswitching'). It shares with insertion that it is a single element inserted into a clause from the other language, albeit without much syntactic integration, and it shares with prototypical alternation that it has a certain stand-alone quality. It is not part of the clause it co-occurs with, but 'marks' it, i.e. it adds information for the hearer on how to interpret the clause. Seeing how wide-spread it is used by speakers, we have categorized it separately. Typical examples can be seen in the following utterances (Turkish in italics).

(12) Leyla: Ow ik dacht *hani* welke opleiding.
Oh I thought *like* which study.

(13) Kadriye: Binnenkant is echt mooi *valla*.
The inside is really beautiful *I swear to God*.

Switched discourse markers such as *hani* "like", *valla* "you know", and stand-alone use of conjunctions such as *maar* "but" (Example 14), are wide-spread in the data. The predominant pattern is where a lone discourse marker accompanies a clause otherwise entirely or mostly in the other language. About 63.5% of these discourse markers are in Turkish while only 36.5% of them are in Dutch. Looking more closely into the discourse markers we see that conjunctions such as the Turkish *ama* and the Dutch *maar* "but", the Turkish *çünkü* and *ondan* "because" and the Dutch *ja* "yes" are used in a fashion that resembles filler items. Therefore, they have been categorized as discourse markers.

(14) Füsün: *Maar* niye yapmadım geçen sene?
But why have I not done it last year?

2.3.1.2 Classical alternation

Some code-switches are easily categorized as prototypical alternations, such as the following example (Turkish in italics).

(15) Gönül: Je moet het effe doen *o zaman* *insan* alışıyor.
You need to just do it *then* *you get used to it*.

In this example, the switch into Turkish is presumably triggered by the conjunction *o zaman* "then" and the language choice of the conjunction is continued until the

end of the utterance (also see Demirçay & Backus 2014). The only difference with the previous examples is that in this case the discourse marker (or conjunction) is followed by further Turkish material. It is possible that the transition from one clause to the next in connected discourse has become a conventional switch point.

Code-switches in which a quotative is combined with reported speech in the other language are traditionally analyzed as classical cases of alternation: the utterance is syntactically made up of two different clauses, and each is in a different language. With this in mind, one could argue, however, that the degree of integration is higher in such cases than with juxtaposed independent clauses. Various alternative analyses are possible: the reported speech clause is inserted into the clause set up by the ML quotative, the reported speech utterance is a unit in which quotative and quotation can be in either language (including monolingual combinations), and one could also interpret the quotative as a discourse marker, which would make the examples below instantiations of ‘discourse marker code-switches’. For the purposes of this analysis code-switches made up of reported speech were coded as alternations. They make up about 40% of the alternations in our analysis.

(16) Ceylan: *Dedim* laat het kind gewoon.
I said just let the kid be.

(17) Berk: Hij dacht, *arabama birşey olmasın, arabama birşey olmasın*.
He thought *don't let anything happen to my car, don't let anything happen to my car*.

2.3.1.3 Classical insertion

There are also clear cases of simple insertion which make up the second largest portion of the code-switches after discourse markers. This is not surprising as this kind of code-switching is generally seen as the most prototypical kind. The second generation bilinguals in this study also make use of this kind of code-switching, especially in words that relate to culturally-bound concepts. In the following example, the speaker is talking about *künefe*, a kind of Turkish pastry with sugar syrup.

(18) Kadriye: En dan met *künefe* ofzo.
And then with *künefe* or something.

Insertion of multiword unit

As long as the inserted part is clearly a multiword unit in the EL, code-switches made up of two words or a phrase were included as simple insertions. In the

following example, the speaker is talking about the official website of a restaurant chain. The adjective phrase is in Dutch:

- (19) Samet: Baksana *officiële website*.
 Look for the *official website*.

2.3.2 Complex insertion and complex alternation

As following generations of Turkish bilinguals emerge in immigrant communities in Netherlands and other Western European settings their fluency in the language of the settled country increases and this seems to be giving rise to more complex types of code-switching. In the data, everything that could not be classified as classical insertion, discourse marker switching or classical alternation was initially coded as ‘complex insertion’ or ‘complex alternation’. This division was used in the quantitative analysis above, but since distinguishing between the two types of complex codeswitching actually proved difficult I collapsed them into a category called ‘complex code-switching’ for the qualitative analysis below.

Until here, this chapter was based on only the first 500 utterances of each of the six conversations. These formed the basis for coding and quantification. However, the rest of the data also contained examples that are relevant for the point being developed in this chapter. Some of these examples will appear below, and some of them will also be looked at in Chapter 3, as they feature the specific construction that chapter focuses on.

All cases of insertion that did not clearly involve multiword units (see above) were coded as ‘complex’. Some are more insertional and others more alternational, but they all have in common that they depart from the prototypes so much that classifying them as either one or the other seems relatively unjustified. In this section, different types will be exemplified and discussed. The section headings indicate an initial sub-classification.

2.3.2.1 Parentheticals

A relatively simple kind of complex switch is when several discourse markers are switched together.

- (20) Gönül: En *bence var ya* als je een keer zoiets zou zien het is altijd even die stap zetten.
 And *I think you know* if you see something like that once it’s always about taking that step.

In this example the adverbial *bence* “I think”, “according to me” and the discourse marker *var ya* “you know” could be seen as two separate cases of code-switching, both discourse markers. However, they co-occur together in an otherwise Dutch utterance. They form a unit together.

The following example shows that it is not always easy to decide whether a switch should count as simply involving discourse marker or an intra-clausal alternation. This depends on the precise interpretation of the utterance, and sometimes this is not recoverable even with close attention for the conversational structure. Dutch has the discourse marker ‘ja maar’ as one conversational way of saying ‘but’ as an emphatic utterance opener (as in ‘but wait, ...’). This might be what the speaker here has used, then following the discourse marker with a Turkish clause. Alternatively, ‘maar’ might be the Dutch coordinating conjunction ‘maar’, the first element of a clause that is otherwise entirely in Turkish. The Turkish equivalent would use a conjunction as well, ‘ama’, which overlaps completely with its Dutch equivalent in meaning and syntax. In this case, the example was categorized as simply involving a Dutch discourse marker, but the ambiguity remains.

(21) Remziye: *Ja maar* annesi izin vermiyo işte.

Yes but her mother doesn't give permission you see.

The example below has a multi-word insertion of a conjunction *ondan sonra* “after that” as well as a single word insertion of another conjunction *da* “and”. These insertions are in Turkish while the rest of the utterance is in Dutch. The insertion of conjunctions (especially if they occur in the beginning of the utterance) is not uncommon in our data. The fact that there are two separate conjunctions inserted here gets them to be categorized as complex insertions.

(22) Ülkü: *O-ndan sonra da* kun-nen we ga-an ehm terras-sen.

It-ABL after and to-be-able-INF we go-INF uhm terrace-INF

And after that we can go sit at a terrace.

TR-TUR: *Ondan sonra da* gidip bir terasta oturabiliriz.

NL-DUT: En daarna kunnen we gaan terrassen.

2.3.2.2 Multiword combinations

Insertions often involve more than just a content word. In many cases this leads to a bilingual utterance that does not clearly have a matrix language. The examples discussed below are increasingly complex.

- (23) Hatice: En dan *seçim-ler* kijk-en haha.
 And then election-PL watch-INF
 And then (we will) watch the elections.
 TR-TUR: Sonra seçimleri izleyeceğiz.
 NL-DUT: En dan gaan we de verkiezingen kijken.

The example above includes what might at first glance seem like a one-word simple insertion of a Turkish word. However, note that the noun *seçimler* “elections” includes the plural suffix.

- (24) Hatice: *Hani* dat *genç-ler* geen oy gaan gev-en aan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.
 Well that youngster-PL none vote go-INF give-INF to Recep Tayyip Erdoğan
 Well, that young people are not going to give a vote to Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.
 TR-TUR: Hani gençler Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’a oy vermeyecekler.
 NL-DUT: Nou dat jongeren geen stem gaan geven aan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

The matrix language of the utterance in the example above can be regarded to be Dutch as the main inflected verb is Dutch. The sentence structure also is identical to the Dutch monolingual one. There are three different insertions: the Turkish conjunction that starts off the sentence, the Turkish plural-marked subject noun, and the inserted object noun *oy* “vote”. When there are multiple but separate single word insertions, this is counted as a case of complex insertion.

The following example includes a Dutch unit made up of two lexical elements that can be regarded as a chunk: *daden uitvoeren* literally means “to perform deeds” but combined with negation has the figurative meaning ‘not get anything done’. The unit combines with the Turkish auxiliary verb *yap-* “to do”, which carries tense and aspect inflections. This construction will be the focus of Chapter 3.

- (25) Füsün: *Dad-en uitvoer-en* yap-a-mı-yo di-yo.
 Deed-PL perform-INF do-ABIL-NEG-PROG.3sg say-PROG.3SG
 He says he cannot *get anything done*.

There are a few examples from the data where the usage-based view would claim that the two (or more) words that precede *yap-* “to do” are used together often enough to be entrenched as a conventional chunk. Another example of this is found below, where the speaker uses two Dutch lexical items *richting aangeven* “to signal the direction”.

(26) Ülkü: *Richtung aangev-en yap-sana kuzu-m.*
 Direction give-INF do-OPT dear-POSS
 Signal, won't you dear.

(27) Ülkü: *Napacanız dit jaar op vakantie?*
 What are you guys doing *this year on vacation?*

Similar to the examples above, this example also follows a Turkish sentence structure and has several Dutch adverbial phrases *dit jaar* “this year” and *op vakantie* “on vacation”. However, the sentence structure in Dutch would be the same as questions are formed in a similar way. Dutch too would start out with the question part meaning “what are you doing”. Thus, this overlap might provide the speaker the ease to switch and use both languages in a pattern that resembles congruent lexicalization.

(28) Ülkü: *Dat is een ehm soort van ehm zee gibi bişey. Strand.*
 That is a uhm kind of uhm see like one.thing. Beach.
 That's uhm, a kind of uhm, a thing like you have with the sea. A beach.

The first part of the clause is the familiar Dutch chunk *dat is een soort van X* “that's a kind of X”. The speaker then has trouble finding the word she's looking for, which turns out to be the word for ‘beach’. To convey the word-finding problem she resorts to a construction from Turkish designed for this kind of function *X gibi bişey* “something like X”. The integration of this Turkish construction into the matrix Dutch construction seems effortless, suggesting some degree of congruent lexicalization. The combination of constructions has produced a larger bilingual construction.

The following example includes a Dutch noun phrase (noun preceded by a demonstrative pronoun) inserted into an otherwise Turkish utterance. Insertions that were made up of more than one word, such as multiword phrases, adverbial phrases, prepositional phrases, and noun phrases were coded as complex insertions. Instead of inserting only the Dutch noun *tandarts* “dentist”, the entire dislocated subject noun phrase is Dutch. In terms of the MLF Model, this would count as a straightforward ‘EL Island’.

(29) Kadriye: *Die tandarts he iki dakika bir şey yap-ıyor-du.*
 That dentist eh two minute one thing do-PROG-3SG-PAST
 That dentist yea he was doing something every two minutes (here ‘thing’ refers to ‘examination’).
 TR-TUR: O diş hekimi, he iki dakika bir şey yapıyordu.
 NL-DUT: Die tandarts, die deed er een in twee minuten. (lit.: that dentist he did there one in two minutes)

- (30) Kadriye: *El-in-de met boort-je yürü-yo zo.*
 Hand-POSS-DAT with drill-DIM walk-PROG.3SG like
 She is walking like this with a drill in her hand.
 TR-TUR: Elinde matkapla yürüyor böyle.
 NL-DUT: Ze loopt met een boortje in haar hand zo.

In the example above, the word order and the placement of the verb signals that the matrix language of the utterance is Turkish. Dutch would require the verb to be in second position, coming before the two prepositional phrases. As such, the example could be analyzed as the insertion of a Dutch prepositional phrase as well as the discourse marker *zo*, “like”, “so”. There is more going on, however. The Dutch prepositional phrase lacks the indefinite article it would conventionally have in Dutch; since Turkish would not use an indefinite article here this presumably represents Turkish structural influence.

- (31) Füsün: *En daarna babamgil ehm gisteren ik zo tege mijn pa ik zo baba ehm oudergespreklar ehm.. hoeft niet perse mag.*
And afterwards my dad ehm yesterday I said to my dad like dad ehm teacher-parent meetings ehm you don't really have to.

This example illustrates how sometimes complete clauses may be conventional lexical items, i.e. fully specific but complex units. In Dutch, when someone's action or presence is appreciated in a given situation but one also wants to emphasize that there is no obligation, the conventional phrase *hoeft niet persé mag* is often added as a summation. It is an eclipsed version of a fuller phrase. Though its inclusion in the example may look like simple alternation, one could also analyze it as the insertion or addition at the end of the Turkish clause (itself an inserted reported speech clause) of this complex lexical item. It is unclear whether it was part of the original quote or an evaluative addition by the speaker for the benefit of the current addressee. If it is part of the quote, it is also unclear whether it is a verbatim rendition of something said in Dutch or a paraphrase of something originally said in Turkish, here rendered in the form of the succinct Dutch complex lexical item.

- (32) Ülkü: *Beetje nog voor de deur konuşuruz.*
 We will talk a bit more at the door.

In the example above the utterance seems to be starting in Dutch and the switch into Turkish for the finite verb could be seen as a case of intra-clausal alternation. However, if the verb is in Turkish this could also be taken to mean that the ML of the whole clause is Turkish. Similarly, since Turkish requires the verb to be at the end of the utterance while Dutch would have it in second place, the speaker seems

to have planned the utterance as a grammatically Turkish one. In this sense, the two adverbial phrases *beetje nog* “a bit more” and *voor de deur* “at the door” could be seen as two multiword insertions that are inserted into the otherwise Turkish utterance.

- (33) Ülkü: *Gewoon van Tilburg* buraya geliyordu *helemaal voor werk*?
 She came *all the way from Tilburg* to here *just for work*?
 TR-TUR: Ta Tilburg’dan buraya geliyordu sadece iş için?
 NL-DUT: Ze komt gewoon van Tilburg naar hier helemaal voor werk?

At first glance, in the example above, the structures of the utterance in Dutch and Turkish seem to overlap. However, the word order is slightly off for Dutch. Again, the speaker seems to be inserting the two multiword phrases *van Tilburg* “from Tilburg” and *helemaal voor werk* “just for work” plus the adverb *gewoon* “just” into a Turkish argument structure. Unlike some of the examples we will look at later, there is no sign of Dutch utterance planning competing or combining with the Turkish structure. For instance, the utterance does not start off with the subject pronoun and finite verb Dutch would require.

2.3.2.3 Switched finite verb plus complement

The following example starts with a Dutch predicate argument structure. There is a switch into Turkish for the indirect object (a dative-marked pronoun) and the finite verb. This could be regarded as an alternational switch. However, if we compare what the full utterance would have looked like in Dutch and Turkish, it becomes clear that the utterance structure is really a mix of the two languages. Because Turkish is a pro-drop language with subject marking on the verb, while Dutch has overt subject marking through pronouns, the Dutch overt subject is repeated in the form of verb inflection in the Turkish part. Also, the Dutch present perfect is formed with an inflected auxiliary ‘have’ or ‘be’ (here ‘have’) and a past participle. This participle may come later in the sentence, i.e. auxiliary and lexical verb do not have to be adjacent. The utterance has switched to Turkish before the speaker could come to the Dutch past participle *gegeven* “given”. Instead the Turkish past tense is used. Apparently, for this speaker the structures overlap enough for a switch to be possible with some of the grammatical aspects realized in either language, and other aspects in both. It suggests there is a certain equivalence, for the speaker, between the Dutch perfect (AUX + participle) and the Turkish past tense constructions.

- (34) Kadriye: Dan heb ik ook een stuk-je *o-na ver-di-m*.
 Then have.1SG I also a piece-DIM she-DAT give-PAST-1SG
 Then I also *gave* a piece *to her*.
 TR-TUR: Sonra bir parça da o-na ver-di-m
 Then a piece also she-DAT give-PAST-1SG
 NL-DUT: Dan heb ik ook een stuk-je aan haar ge-gev-en.
 Then have.1SG I also a piece-DIM to her PASTP-give-PASTP
 (or: dan heb ik haar ook een stukje gegeven)

In the following example, the structure parallels Dutch word-for-word.

- (35) Leyla: *Niet alleen Turkije yap-ıyo o-nu*.
 Not only Turkey do.PROG.3SG that-ACC
 [*It's*] *not just Turkey* which does dat.
 TR-TUR: Sadece Türkiye yap-mı-yor o-nu.
 Only Turkey do-NEG-PROG.3SG that-ACC
 NL-DUT: Niet alleen Turkije doet dat.
 Not only Turkey does that.

The Turkish finite verb is not marked for negation, presumably because it is already marked by the Dutch negative adverb. Other than that, the Dutch and Turkish structures overlap.

- (36) Gönül: Maar nou begin ik wel een beetje *tiksin-me-ye başl-ıyo-m*.
 But now start.PRES.SG I EMPH a little gross.out-INF-DAT start-PROG-1SG
 But now I'm starting to be a little, *I'm starting to be grossed out*.

The clause starts off with the Dutch construction that expresses 'I'm beginning to'. This features the adverbial 'but now', the inflected verb 'begin', the first person pronoun, the pragmatic emphazier 'wel' and the hedge 'a little'. All these parts, and the order in which they appear, are so conventional that the whole phrase may be a fixed chunk. However, the next word should be equally conventional. The Dutch construction is normally finished with an infinitive that is preceded by the particle *te* (cognate with English "to"). However, in the example the speaker didn't want to use the Dutch verb for 'to be grossed out', for example because she couldn't recall it or because the Turkish verb that she actually used got activated quicker. Interestingly, this did not result in the simple insertion of the Turkish infinitive into the Dutch construction with the particle *te*, but in the mid-clause alternation to Turkish syntax. The inserted Turkish infinitive is accompanied by the Turkish finite verb 'I'm starting', repeating what was already said in Dutch, and

marked with the dative case required by the finite verb *başlıyom*. The resulting utterance can be analyzed as a blend of the equivalent Dutch and Turkish partially schematic constructions for “I’m starting to X”.

- (37) Leyla: Maar f.. eh.. dinge zeynep die,die zat in de *oturma odasında oturuyordu*.
But, what’s her face, zeynep, she, *she was sitting in the living room*.

In this example, too, the insertion of a Turkish element triggers further Turkish material, presumably because what gets inserted is more than just the initial word. The clause starts with the construction *die zat in de X* “she was sitting in the X”, a common Dutch way of stating someone’s location at a given moment. The location gets filled in with the Turkish compound noun *oturma odası* “living room”. Grammatically speaking, the Dutch clause would have been finished here, but for some reason the compound noun triggers a full repetition of what had already been said in Dutch: the locative case marker doubles the preposition ‘in’, and the finite verb *oturuyordu* repeats the information contained in the combination of subject pronoun and inflected verb in *die zat* “she was sitting”. Most likely, the whole phrase *oturma odasında oturuyordu* “she was sitting in the living room” is a conventional and entrenched chunk, and it gets activated as soon as the speaker selects the Turkish lexeme for ‘living room’. This is not congruent lexicalization really, since we just get doubling of two equivalent constructions, but it seems like bilingual processing at the very least doesn’t block the doubling. Similar examples have been cited before in contact data from language pairs in which one language is verb-final and the other verb-medial, such as Japanese-English, and in earlier data on Turkish-Dutch (cf. Backus 1996).

2.3.2.4 Back-and-forth switching within single utterance

A prominent kind of ‘complex code-switching’ is when there is constant switching between the two languages and it is only possible to pinpoint the matrix language for very short stretches. The predominant impression is one of alternating chunks that, however, together form a coherent unit in speech. The following example is typical. Below it, I have constructed fully Turkish and fully Dutch equivalents, and inspection of the similarities and differences shows that the actually produced utterance neatly combines the structures of the two languages. The switch points make use of overlapping structures, reminiscent of the insights behind Poplack’s (1980) Equivalence Constraint, but they are not completely independent. The utterance as a whole is a conditional structure, starting with the “if” clause in Dutch. This conditional includes two coordinated clauses introduced by “and” and “or”. These are mostly in Turkish, but also contain Dutch material: a discourse marker, the coordinating conjunctions linking them to the main clause and to each

other, and a temporal adverb. Finally, the main clause ending the conditional structure is in Turkish. The back and forth switching between Turkish and Dutch may be made possible by the similarity in how conditional structures are formed in Turkish and Dutch. The first two Turkish finite clauses are coordinated with the Dutch introductory clause, but as required by Turkish grammar contain person marking. Note that the tense marking is different from what the TR-Turkish norm would expect, simple past instead of evidential past, reflecting a general weakening of the use of evidential past tense marking in Dutch Turkish. This may well be related to the use of Turkish stretches in this kind of intense code-switching, as the presence of so much Dutch triggers Dutch conceptualization patterns, in which evidential marking is absent except when communicatively focused (e.g. with adverbials such as ‘apparently’).

(38) Kadriye: Oke als je bij de stad bent en *erken gel-di-n* ofzo of nou *geç gel-di-n*, *çay iç-ıyo-lar*.

Okay if you at the city be.2SG and early come-PAST-2SG or something or now late come-PAST-2SG tea drink-PROG-3PL

Okay if you are in the city and *you arrived early* or something or like now *you arrived late*, *they are having tea*.

TR-TUR: Tamam eğer merkez-de-ysen ve erken gel-miş-sen filan veya geç kal-mış-san (onlar) çay iç-iyor-lar.

Okay if center-LOC-COND.2sg and early come-EVID-2SG and.so or late remain-EVID--2SG (they) tea drink-PROG-3PL

NL-DUT: Oke als je bij de stad bent en vroeg bent ofzo of zoals nou laat bent ofzo zijn ze thee aan het drink-en.

Okay if you at the city be.2SG and early be.2SG or.so or like now late be.2SG or something be.3pl they tea at the drink-INF

(39) Füsün: *Çünkü* over twee jaar *Allah izin ver-ir-se* wil ik ehm.. dinges do-en.

Because in two years Allah permission give-AOR-SUBJ want I uhm thingie do-INF

Because in two years, God willing, I want to do things.

TR-TUR: Çünkü iki sene sonra Allah izin verirse şey yapmak istiyorum.

NL-DUT: Want over twee jaar, als God het wil, wil ik dinges doen.

Because in two years if God it wants want I thingie do.

In the example above, the speaker starts the sentence with a Turkish conjunction, and also inserts a Turkish phrase *Allah izin ver-ir-se* “God willing”. The matrix language of the utterance could be said to be either language as the sentence structure fits both Turkish and Dutch. However, since the main verb is Dutch, it can also be claimed to be Dutch with two separate Turkish insertions.

- (40) Gönül: *Dus ik dacht van bu-nu bi netjes afmak-en yap-ıyım.*
 So I thought of this-ACC one nicely finish-INF do-OPT.1SG
So I thought like I will finish this nicely.

In the example above, the speaker switches from Dutch, for the main clause, to Turkish for the subordinate clause. However, the Turkish part, in which she is relating her own thought, there is another switch to Dutch, for the adverb *netjes* “nicely” and the infinitive *afmaken* “to finish”, used in the light verb construction with the Turkish auxiliary verb *yap-* “to do” (see Chapter 3 for the analysis of this construction). Adverb and verb form a conventional collocation in Dutch, so they have been inserted as a chunk. Subordinated clauses are conventionally non-finite and preverbal in Turkish, but in bilingual speech the option to have a finite subordinate clause follow the matrix verb is often used (see Onar Valk 2015). The Dutch and Turkish structures resemble each other in this case. The increased use of the Turkish option that resembles the Dutch one points to congruent lexicalization.

The utterance in the next example starts in Dutch, switches into Turkish, back into Dutch and then back again into Turkish. There are many ways to analyze this utterance. Since the finite verb is in Turkish and the object noun precedes the verb, the matrix language could be claimed to be Turkish. The Dutch conjunction in the beginning *en dan* “and then”, the multi-word adverbial phrase *door de weeks* “throughout the week”, and the infinitive *focusen* could then all be analyzed as insertions. The alternative analysis is that the utterance features a mid-utterance (‘intra-clausal’) alternational switch from Dutch to Turkish, the Turkish part containing a further Dutch insertion for the infinitive *focusen*). It is noteworthy that the beginning of the utterance would be formulated in the same way in Turkish, with the conjunction and adverbial phrase in initial position, which would make it easier for the speaker to activate both grammatical systems. Though the central argument structure of the clause is entirely in Turkish except for the inserted lexical verb, it is not obvious, from a planning point of view, that the whole utterance was planned to be in Turkish. The phrase *en dan door de weeks* “and then during the week” is common enough as a clause builder in Dutch to assume that the speaker may have simply started off planning a regular Dutch utterance, only to switch into Turkish for the phrase ‘focus on my school’. Interestingly, exactly at the point where the switch comes, the structures do not overlap anymore, as the object is pre-verbal in Turkish and post-verbal in Dutch. Recall that the insight behind the Equivalence Constraint would expect that a switch would be difficult at exactly this point. Whatever the reason is for the speaker to render “on school” in Turkish, it is clear that by that time at the latest she is using Turkish grammar, judging by the positioning of the object noun and its Turkish morphosyntax, i.e. the possessive and dative suffixes (note that the Dutch equivalent would not encode the possessive). The final position of the verb and its Turkish morphosyntax are then

unsurprising. This to and fro switching is made possible by the fact that the sentence structures of Dutch and Turkish are similar enough. However, once the object noun phrase *okulum* has been selected, the rest of the clause almost has to be finished using the Turkish schematic template it is part of, since Dutch would require the verb to come first. Therefore, the utterance could be analyzed as either Turkish throughout with lots of Dutch insertions, or as an intra-clausal alternation.

- (41) Leyla: En dan door de weeks *okul-um-a* focus-en *yap-ar-ım*.
 And then through the week school-POSS-DAT focus-INF do-AOR-1SG
 And then through the week *I will focus on my school*.
 TR-TUR: Sonra hafta içi-nde okul-um-a odaklan-ır-ım.
 Then during-the-week-LOC school-POSS-DAT focus-AOR-1SG
 NL-DUT: En dan door de weeks focus ik me op school.
 And then through the week focus.3SG I myself on School.

In another example the speaker switches back and forth first with the Turkish adverbial *artık* “anymore” and then again with the Dutch discourse marker *gewoon* “just”. Note that the construction of the sentence changes slightly when the speaker switches to Turkish as the Dutch adverbial *nergens* “nowhere” does not seem to make sense once she is finished uttering the sentence. In that sense, the speaker reformulates the utterance once she switches to Turkish with *artık* “anymore”.

- (42) Gönül: *Maar nou, je kan nergens* artık var ya ayakkabı-lar tozlan-mı-yo *gewoon*.
 But now you can nowhere anymore there.is INT shoe-PL get.dusty-
 NEG.3SG just
But now, nowhere you can you know the shoes just don't get dusty
 anymore.

The following example has a main clause that centers around the Dutch noun for ‘discount’, but lacks a verb. Leaving out the main verb, especially if construed as a copula, is a convention of Turkish syntax but impossible in Dutch. It is possible, therefore, to analyze the main clause as instantiating a Turkish pattern, with a Dutch noun inserted and a Dutch discourse marker added. The clause is preceded by a Turkish non-finite subordinate clause. The pre-posed adverbial clause is in accordance with both Turkish and Dutch patterns. The clause is built around the converbial suffix *-(I)ncA* (Göksel & Kerslake 2004) that is added to the Turkish verb *yap-* “to do”, which in turn forms a compound verb with a Dutch infinitive. In addition, the Dutch adverb *blijkbaar* “apparently” is inserted. Its initial position is not incompatible with Turkish syntax, but also suggests the activation of a Dutch conversational template in which this word is put in initial position when surprise at

the reported state of affairs is to be foregrounded (rendered in English by heavy stress on the adverb).

- (43) ilknur: *Blijkbaar reserver-en yap-ınca bir lira korting ofzo.*
 Apparently reserve-INF do-CONV one lira discount or something
Apparently when you reserve (you get) one euro discount or something.
 NL-DUT: Blijkbaar wanneer je reserveert krijg je een lira korting.
- (44) Füsün: Nee maar ik heb, ik heb het gevoel dat.. dat Turkije me veel meer gaat bieden
 No but I have, I have the feeling that that Turkey me much more go.3SG offer
 omdat ehm *bana göre Türkiye'deki* technologie veel beter dan hier.
 Because ehm me.DAT according Turkey-LOC-NOM technology much better than here.
 TR-TUR: Hayır ama bana Türkiye'nin bana sunabileceği daha fazla şey gibi geliyor çünkü bana göre Türkiye'deki teknoloji burdakinden daha iyi.
 NL-DUT: Nee maar ik heb, ik heb het gevoel dat.. dat Turkije me veel meer gaat bieden omdat volgens mij technologie is in Turkije veel beter is dan hier.

The example above has Dutch as a matrix language and can be regarded to have two Turkish insertions, one being the multi-word expression *bana göre* “according to me” and the other the nominalized locative adjective *Türkiye'deki* “the one in Turkey” which acts as the attributive adjective in the noun phrase *Türkiye'deki technologie* “the technology in Turkey”, with the Dutch noun *technologie*. Another interesting thing to note here is that there is no overt copula in the Dutch stretch that follows the Turkish phrase. Dutch would require an overt copula, but in third person singular Turkish does not:

- (45) *Türkiye-de-ki teknoloji bur-da-ki-nden daha iyi-dir.*
 Turkey-LOC-NOM technology here-LOC-NOM-ABL more good-is.3SG
- (46) *Türkiye-de-ki teknoloji bur-da-ki-nden daha iyi.*
 Turkey-LOC-NOM technology here-LOC-NOM-ABL more good

Although the speaker seems to be using mainly Dutch to structure the grammar of the utterance, with two Turkish (multi-word) insertions, leaving out the Dutch copula seems to instantiate Turkish syntax. Once again, the distinction between insertion and alternation seems to break down, as the more accurate characterization would be that the languages are temporarily merged.

Some of the examples involve code-switching in an utterance that has a conditional clause, or the switches seem to be triggered by conjunctions and discourse makers. In the following example the speaker starts the first part of the conditional in Dutch, switches to Turkish for a chunk that explains what the Dutch idiom was referring to, and then again switches to Dutch for an infinitive that was foreshadowed by the placeholder word *şey* “thing”.

- (47) Melis: Tamam da *jongen als jij* ehm.. *Straks jouw met je examen klaar bent*, *şey yap-ar-sın* ehm.. *Full werk-en*.
 Okay but dude if you ehm soon you with your exam ready are thing do-AOR-2SG ehm full work-INF
 Okay but *dude if you ehm soon you will be done with your exam*, you will do thing ehm work *full-time*.

In the following example the speaker starts the utterance with a Turkish discourse marker, switches into Dutch for a conversational idiom (“even though it may seem so”) and switches again to Turkish with the same discourse marker that started the utterance, finally ending the utterance with another Dutch conjunction (Dutch in italics):

- (48) Füsün: Hanı *ook al lijkt het zo* hanı çok kendimi çok şey yapmış gibi *maar*..
 I mean *even though it may seem so*, like I’m doing something (flattering) myself, *but*..

In the final example, a few connected utterances form a larger conversational turn in which the speaker switches back and forth between Dutch and Turkish. The first utterance is built up according to Turkish sentence structure and has the existential copula *var* “there (is)” at the end. Continuing her turn she goes on with her story in Turkish but switches to Dutch when she cannot remember the name of the president, using a Dutch filler *dinges* “thingie” and a self-directed question about what the president is called, following a false start in Turkish of the next utterance with *ondan sonra* “and then”. She switches back into Turkish with her story about how the president was not allowed to build a mall, but when she gets to the point where she wants to explain where the mall was supposed to be built she switches back to Dutch. In the last part of her turn she switches into Turkish. This causes the Dutch copula verb *was* “was” to be repeated through the inflected *bir şey* “something”, marked with evidential past tense *-miş*. So, the example is made up of some overlapping structures where the speaker switches, and some structures where the languages do not entirely overlap and where the speaker repeats parts. However, overall, the whole turn runs pretty smoothly.

- (49) Füsün: *Ja zo 'n klein stuk-je bos var-mış ora-ya da ehm AVM mi ne kur-mak.*
 Yes so a little piece-DIM there.is-EVID there-DAT too mall or what set-
 INF
isti-yo-muş ehm dinges o-ndan sonra hoe heet hij.. President. Ona da
 want-PROG-EVID.3SG ehm thingie that-ABL after how name-3SG he
 president he-DAT too
şey yap-ma-mış-lar, izin ver-me-miş-ler. Maar da was zo 'n klein ehm
 thing do-NEG-EVID-3PL permission give-NEG-EVID-3PL but that was
 so e little ehm
rotonde gibi bir şey-miş.
 roundabout like something-EVID.3SG
Yes there was such a little piece of forest ehm he wanted to build a mall
hm or something and then what's his name President. They didn't do
thing to him, didn't allow him. But it was such a small ehm like a
roundabout.
- (50) Füsün: *Önce böyle değildim maar sinds ik ben blijven zitten ik zie steeds böyle*
nieuwe kansen gibi bişey.
 [...] I see all.the.time these new opportunities like something
 First I wasn't like this, *but since I failed the year I keep seeing* those
 things like *new opportunities.*

This example features back and forth switching between the languages. The grammatically most interesting part is found towards the end of the utterance. The final clause gets set up first as the Dutch construction *ik zie steeds N*, perhaps an entire conventionalized chunk *ik zie steeds nieuwe kansen* “I keep seeing new opportunities”, or else a blend of the overlapping constructions *ik zie* “I see”, *ik zie steeds* “I keep seeing”, and *zie nieuwe kansen* “see new opportunities”. However, the insertion of the demonstrative *böyle* “such”, “these” seems to activate Turkish grammar as well, specifically the partially schematic construction *böyle NP gibi bişey* “something like these NP”. It is difficult to say anything definitive about the processing mechanisms that brought about the bilingual utterance, but it seems as if the procedure that produces any utterance, i.e. the combination of overlapping words, chunks and constructions, does not presuppose that all constructions involved come from the same language. This must by necessity entail that adjustment of grammatical expectations takes place. Combining grammatical constructions from two languages into one new construction is the hallmark of congruent lexicalization.

2.4 Discussion and conclusion

The analysis has shown that current Turkish-Dutch code-switching exhibits features that complicate the clear typology of code-switching into insertional and alternational subtypes. Many of the instances of mixing are not clear-cut insertion or alternation. The most interesting result, perhaps, is that we find evidence for congruent lexicalization. Given the earlier definitions of this phenomenon, this should not happen, or not much, since congruent lexicalization requires formal similarity between the languages, both in grammar and in lexicon. The combination of Turkish and Dutch clearly does not fit that profile.

The fact that congruent lexicalization is found nevertheless casts doubt on the role of typological similarity in bringing it about. Below, I will develop an argument that basically claims that what brings about congruent lexicalization is the existence of many triggering relations. With increasing use of the L2 and concomitant decreasing use of the L1, a bilingual community, if not too much dominated by socio-political views that prescribe language use, shifts from separation of the languages to increasing integration. In the separation phase, the predominant types of code-switching are first insertion of L2 words and chunks into an L1 base, followed by the addition of extensive alternation. At this point, the languages are still clearly separated, but when alternation dominates, it is likely that the languages are not adequately labeled as 'L1' and 'L2' anymore, as the bilingual speakers will be very proficient in both languages, even if, as in the case of Turks in the Netherlands, most of them will have grown up with mostly Turkish in the home. The crucial step into the direction of the integrated kinds of code-switches we have analyzed in this paper is when alternation starts to be so common that in stringing together clauses in running discourse, speakers become used to switching back and forth between the languages constantly. Since clauses are only autonomous to a degree, this inevitably means that conventions start forming about how this clause sequencing takes place.

If this account is correct, the explanation of congruent lexicalization is not so much about structural/ grammatical proximity between the two languages in contact but rather about social factors that bring about intensive mixing, such as how much speakers use them in their daily life, with whom, in which domains etc.

In this alternative account, the psycholinguistic mechanisms that make congruent lexicalization possible, or even inescapable, are set in motion at the end of a causal chain of which the crucial element is intense mixing. The causal chain starts earlier, though, with community attitudes that allow virtually unlimited code-switching. This in itself, like all attitudes, has to be caused by something else. This is not the place to go into attitudes much further, firstly because we don't have data about it and second because all that needs concern us here is that the teenagers who contributed our data clearly feel like they can code-switch as much as they want. That is not to say that others in the Turkish immigrant community do not

frown upon it, but this criticism clearly does not take the form of intimidation, hostility and active efforts to keep them from speaking like this. A second necessary ingredient in the mix is high proficiency in both languages. Both languages must feel completely natural to the speakers; otherwise it is hard to see how (or why) they would engage in a speech style that keeps jumping back and forth between Turkish and Dutch. In support, speakers also told me in post-recording talk that they feel comfortable in both languages (though more so in Dutch, in most cases). The causal chain goes further, since high proficiency is a function of extensive use of the languages, which itself is determined by need and opportunity.

Ultimately, all this brings about the psycholinguistic conditions under which clausal patterns and partially schematic constructions of the two languages get interlocked to the point that the outward sign is a type of code-switching that does not look like classical insertion or alternation anymore, but rather like a more complex type of alternation that sometimes even seems to resemble congruent lexicalization.

We can illustrate this proposal with one of the examples discussed above. The basis of the mixed utterance *Niet alleen Turkije yapıyo onu* is the Dutch partially schematic construction *Niet alleen Subject V dat*, in which the subject can be any nominal that can function as the agent of the verb; the verb itself can be any verb but in most instances of the construction it is a form of 'say' or 'do'. The surface form of the verb agrees with the subject in person and number, and the tense inflection is whatever is appropriate for the given context. This partially schematic construction is entrenched in the mental representation of every speaker of Dutch, by virtue of its moderately frequent occurrence and the type frequency of the open slots for subject and verb. The actual example, of course, features a switch to Turkish after the subject noun. The syntactic pattern instantiated by the Turkish part of the utterance completely follows the specifications of what would be expected given the Dutch partially schematic construction: a finite verb that agrees with the third person subject, in the present tense as is required in this particular context (a generic statement), followed by an accusative demonstrative pronoun. The sequence *yapıyo onu* occurs frequently enough to make it likely that it is represented as a chunk in the speaker's mental representation. Crucially, in the overall combination a conflict is resolved between the Turkish and Dutch constructions that could in theory both contribute to the utterance. The Turkish equivalent marks the finite verb with the negative suffix and does not use a negative adverb. However, the Dutch construction dominates the mixture, and imposes its realization of negation, with an initial negative adverb and a positively inflected verb. As a result we get a partially schematic construction that is mostly inherited from Dutch but within which the open slots may be Turkish, including functional elements. While such configurations may result in simple insertion, when the open slot that is filled by other-language material is just a content word, in my data they often result in

something more complex than that. In the current example, this complexity results from the finite inflection of the verb and the Turkish realization of the functional morpheme that follows the verb, the accusative-marked pronoun.

So why do we get such examples in our current data? I suggest that the key lies in the constant back-and-forth code-switching these speakers are used to. They have presumably been talking like this for most of their lives, and the result is that the practice of using Dutch and Turkish words and constructions side-by-side is well entrenched. Because of this, the separation of languages needed for alternational code-switching is not as strong for them as it is for most speakers in Western countries in which public life puts a lot of emphasis on using the right language, in a more or less monolingual form, in the right circumstances. Constant alternation merges the languages in the mind, to a certain extent. This does not take the form of a new mixed language, however, because these speakers too will often stick to monolingual Dutch and, less often, monolingual Turkish.

The merge has the added effect that activation of partially schematic constructions and chunks is triggered by entrenchment levels of these units, regardless of their linguistic provenance. The outward sign of this is the continuation of constant back-and-forth switching. Since the nature of language processing is such that speech largely consists of overlapping and interlocking partially schematic units, it is no surprise that we also get interlocking constructional units from different languages. This, then, surfaces as congruent lexicalization. The reason why typological similarity more easily leads to congruent lexicalization is that the constructions can more easily interlock, partially because of inadvertent triggering and partially because the mechanism that keeps the languages separated will not function perfectly, since the languages resemble each other so much. Once we recognize it is these psycholinguistic mechanisms that produce congruent lexicalization, not typological similarity as such, we can understand why intense back-and-forth code-switching can also lead to congruent lexicalization.

One of my goals was to develop an account of the psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic reasons why Turkish-Dutch code-switching seems to be moving away from the simple combination of insertion and alteration. If I had adopted the structuralist perspective of much earlier work on code-switching, I would have focused only on attempting to categorize the cases of non-prototypical insertion and alternation as instantiations of these two categories. We would have missed, however, why so many of the data are hard to categorize structurally in the first place, in a language pair in which this should not be too hard, given the sharp typological differences between Turkish and Dutch. In fact, code-switching seems to be whittling away at these differences.

Despite the insights the analysis has hopefully generated, all I can do really is generate hypotheses, since the analysis is based only on conversational data. Future

work should concentrate on exploring methods that could lead to more substantial evidence.

CHAPTER 3

TURKISH-DUTCH LANGUAGE CONTACT A COMPLEX RELATIONSHIP: THE CASE OF DUTCH INFINITIVE + YAP-

3.1 Introduction

As is emphasized throughout this manuscript (also see Backus 2009), code-switching and contact-induced structural change should be regarded as potentially regulated by the same mechanisms, as both code-switching and language change result from the combination of the bilingual competence of individual speakers and the communicative demands of life in a bilingual community. One is a synchronic process, however, and the other a diachronic one, but both dimensions are needed for a full description of the effects of bilingualism. As such, this chapter acts as a bridge between the previous chapter that has focused on code-switching and the next chapter that will focus on contact-induced language change. The previous chapter has focused on code-switching in the spontaneous bilingual speech data from second generation Turkish-Dutch speakers, focusing on the types of code-switches that can be found and in general on how the two languages of these bilinguals interact. This chapter will use the same data, but focus on one specific construction used by the speakers, namely the combination of Dutch infinitives with the morphosyntactically inflected Turkish verb *yap-* “to do”. The Dutch infinitives could be seen as insertions, possibly already loanwords in the Turkish of Turkish-Dutch bilinguals or on the way to become one. We focus on the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction and look at which Dutch verbs are used in this construction and try to explain why these might be used from a usage-based perspective, for instance by looking at their frequencies, the semantic domains they come from as well as priming effects. The study is among the first to use such an approach to this kind of construction, rather a purely structural one. As part of the analysis, we will see whether this construction could have grammaticalized in Turkish-Dutch bilinguals’ speech. The chapter will first discuss some relevant background literature on code-switching and borrowing, focusing on aspects that will be important in the theoretical analysis, including frequency, specificity, entrenchment, priming and semantic domains.

3.1.1 Code-switching and borrowing

Any bilingual speaking two languages and living in a community where these languages are spoken will probably use both languages throughout life. The languages might be physically separated, for example one being spoken strictly at home and the other in more formal situations elsewhere, or they might be mixed in all settings by most of the members of the community. In most cases the two languages of the bilingual are in contact and will exhibit effects of that. Code-switching is a fairly common area of research in bilingualism. The typology of code-switching that is usually taken as a given in most studies identifies (mainly) three different kinds: insertions, alternations and congruent lexicalization (Muysken 2000). Chapter 2 has dealt with how this can work from a structuralist view but can pose problems if a bilingual society's languages are typologically distant yet the level of bilingualism is high. In the case of the Turkish community in the Netherlands, for example, insertion has been the main type found in the speech of first generation speakers. As the generations' knowledge of Dutch advanced, alternations and now also what could be called congruent lexicalization are prevalent in their daily language use (see Chapter 2 as well as Backus 2013 for an overview). The reason why now not all code-switching is insertional (e.g. simple insertion of the Dutch infinitives looked at in this chapter) is that their bilingualism is very advanced, and both Dutch and Turkish grammars are constantly activated, hence creating the conditions for congruent lexicalization.

In this section, we will briefly discuss loanwords because the Dutch infinitives that are combined with the Turkish verb *yap-* could be seen as such. Loanwords (and lexical borrowing) has been studied extensively by historical linguists and by researchers focusing on bilingual codeswitching. Both traditions have developed borrowability scales to formulate generalizations about what tends to get borrowed easily and what not. Borrowability scales tend to look only at single words (cf. Backus 2014, and Poplack 1980, Poplack & Meechan 1995 as examples). However, questions about borrowability also extend to aspects such as semantic extension, word combination (e.g. loan translations) and grammatical patterns (interference) (see for example Weinreich 1964, Johanson 2002, and Matras 2009 for overviews). Nevertheless, studies have yielded robust findings: some things are easier borrowed from another language than others. For example, content words are borrowed more easily than function words, nouns are borrowed more easily than other parts of speech including verbs, and bound morphemes are the least borrowable (see Matras 2009 for an overview).

Two things should be noted here, though. First, there are not a lot of studies that look at multi-word units or constructions in terms of borrowability. Second, most bilingual studies distinguish between code-switches and borrowings (or loanwords; see for example the work by Poplack and colleagues). This chapter will not make this distinction. Anything from another language in a bilingual's speech

captured in spontaneous speech data is an instance of a code-switch. In this sense, it represents a synchronic instantiation of the language contact phenomenon ‘lexical borrowing’. Of these code-switches, some lexical items, be it single words or multi-word constructions, could be so frequently used by the community itself that they have become loanwords. In this sense, code-switching data provide evidence of diachronic change in a language contact setting (also see Backus 2014). To understand this, we need to engage with usage-related concepts such as frequency, entrenchment and specificity. These are touched upon in the next section.

3.1.2 Frequency and entrenchment

The usage-based view on language focuses, as its name suggests, on the effect of usage on language structure (Langacker 1987, 1991, also see Chapter 4). As such, how frequent certain words or constructions are used and heard is important, and is assumed to have a direct impact on how easily they are activated in the minds of speakers during the act of speaking. Frequency itself is determined by the social and psychological factors that govern language use. This has important consequences for how we could account for language change. Language change will often involve a ‘mere’ difference in frequency of use rather than complete loss of forms or the adoption of completely new ones (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2005, Backus 2014). As the ‘founder’ of the usage-based view on language change, Croft (2000) suggests that there are three different ways of saying something. In *normal replication*, the words and constructions in the speaker’s utterance are considered ‘normal’ by the community of speakers within the conversation. In *altered replication* (also called *innovation*), the speaker utters a novel form not used before. Once such an innovation occurs, in the following speech events speakers can choose to use this novel form, which Croft (2000) calls *propagation*. The point at which a new form was uttered for the first time, i.e. the altered replication, can generally never be known, let alone recorded in research data. Even if it was, there would be no way of knowing this was the first time this element was uttered. Any form of replication might be intentional or nonintentional. However, propagation is claimed to happen non-intentionally most of the time, meaning that language change is largely something that happens to speakers and communities, not something they actively aim to bring about. Croft refers to the main mechanism that guides propagation as *entrenchment*. As a form is used and is propagated more and more by speakers, it becomes entrenched more, which in turns makes its future activation easier. This could happen so often that what was once regarded as a form that is unusual and new in speech can become so entrenched that it becomes *conventionalized*, instantiating normal replication for at least a certain part of the community. This usage-based view on language change paves the way for explaining how forms

which might initially be code-switches can turn into loanwords (also see Backus 2005).

3.1.3 Priming and social factors

If usage is important, especially when it comes to language change due to language contact, differences between individuals and their idiolects also become relevant. While entrenchment refers to the cognitive determinants of language use, there are also social determinants of language use. Even when two bilinguals have similar language proficiency levels they might still have different preferences or capabilities relating to their past language use. A bilingual whose parents speak the second language as well as them might be talking in that language much more and about more different topics than someone whose parents do not speak the second language well and thus only use the home language. Similarly, family language policies have an effect on the language preferences of bilinguals, especially the youth the data of this study come from. If the family language policy is to promote the home language at home, and with family and friends with the same background, this might lead to different results in the daily language use of such bilingual speakers than if they come from families who follow a different family language policy (see Eversteijn 2011, Extra & Yağmur 2010, Yağmur 2009, 2016 for more on language ideologies in Turkish immigrant families). On top of all these, personal preferences and ideas about what the conversational context requires also have an effect on language use. As will be seen in the data analysis below, certain forms may be used only by some speakers.

Finally, priming is also seen to play a role. As will be seen in the data analysis of this chapter, instantiations of cross-linguistic influence or of code-switching are sometimes primed by use of the same word or structure in previous utterances. The previous use may be by the same speaker or by someone else involved in the conversational event. While explanations in terms of storage and entrenchment draw attention to relatively stable aspects of linguistic representation, if priming turns out to play an important role in explaining language use this would point to considerable dynamism in the online planning of language use, with short-term memory affecting ease of activation in addition to long-term storage.

3.1.4 Semantic domains and semantic specificity

Semantic domain has been looked at mostly by historical linguists when trying to characterize the nature of past contact between two languages. Seeing to which domains loanwords belong helps illuminating past relations. Psycholinguistic studies often focus on one specific semantic domain, in order to carry out experiments in a controlled way. These studies often focus on relatively systematic

parts of the lexicon, such as action related vs. abstract verbs, or adpositional meanings in the spatial topological domain. These are selected because of the systematic analysis they allow, not because they are particularly sensitive to contact-induced change (cf. Ghio & Tettamanti 2010, Levinson & Meira 2003, Kamide et al. 2003). Contact linguistics has generally been more interested in syntax than in semantics, as the studies carried out in this field are mostly structuralist in nature. Some studies do mention semantic domain as part of a general description of the code-switching found in the data, but there is little systematic study. However, if entrenchment, frequency and specificity are important factors in the selection of lexical forms, differential activation of the languages according to semantic domain might be a promising avenue of research.

Backus (2001) is one of the few studies that look at semantic domains, as part of a general effort to investigate the role of semantic specificity in accounting for the selection of words from the other language in insertional codeswitching. His hypothesis was that the higher the semantic specificity of an element is, the more likely it is that the item will be code-switched. According to Backus (2001) a speaker will borrow words from another language if the meaning is very specific and not easily conveyed by equivalent words from the matrix language. A highly specific word is a word that cannot be replaced easily by another word and can only be conferred through paraphrase. However, it is important to note that specificity is gradient rather than strictly separable into categories of 'high specificity' and 'low specificity'. Backus draws parallels to the more familiar semantic notions of 'higher-level vocabulary' and 'basic-level vocabulary'. It is well known that basic-level vocabulary is rarely borrowed compared to higher-level vocabulary. By this logic, words with a more specific meaning, especially within semantic domains associated with the other language, would be more prone to borrowing or code-switching.

Aside from the semantic specificity of words, it is also important to take notice of their pragmatics, or whatever information is provided by the contextual embedding of their use. This includes things like priming since once used (in whichever language) words easily get re-used again shortly after it, presumably thanks to a temporary higher state of activation. As mentioned in the previous section, speakers prime each other as well as themselves in conversational events. Similarly, semantic domains are relevant, especially in relation to the bilingual data used in this chapter. For a particular topic, speakers may be more likely to express themselves in a certain language in their daily lives. In this sense, it is conceivable that a Turkish-Dutch bilingual who goes to school in the Netherlands would associate Dutch with the semantic domain of education. As speakers experience this part of their lives in Dutch, they hear, use and thus entrench the lexical elements and grammatical patterns typically used in this domain. The data analysis in this chapter will investigate how semantic domains can be used in gaining an understanding of the language use and the language preferences of bilinguals.

3.1.5 Verb borrowing

As the borrowability scales suggest, nouns are more easily borrowed than verbs. One of the reason for this is that verbs need to include much more information such as tense and person as opposed to nouns. However, verb borrowing is still an often occurring phenomenon in language contact. There are several lines of work that have looked at verb borrowing (e.g. Moravcsik 1975, Muysken 2000, Wohlgemuth 2009). Moravcsik (1975) claims that verbs cannot be borrowed as verbs. Instead, they are borrowed as nouns, which can then undergo verbalization in the borrowing language. Others, such as Wohlgemuth (2009) have showed that some (isolating) languages can borrow verbs and insert them without any morphological information added. Muysken (2000) categorizes the different ways in which verbs are borrowed. According to him, there are two main ways. One is inserting the verb in the borrowing language while the other is using the verb within a bilingual compound verb. Inserting a verb, according to Muysken, can be achieved in three different ways. In languages that do not have inflectional morphology, the verb can be borrowed as a bare verb. Hakka Chinese speaking people in the Netherlands borrow Dutch verbs this way (Tjon 1988:8 as cited in Muysken 2000; Dutch in italics):

- (1) Ngai yew *krampen in nga buik*
I have cramps in my stomach

In other cases the verb can be inserted as a stem and then inflected with native inflectional affixes, as in these examples of Spanish verbs in Quechua Muysken (2000:188) cites (Escobar & Escobar 1981:47; Spanish in italics):

- (2) *sabirankitaq* “if only you knew”
yacharankitaq “if only you knew”

In this example, the Spanish word *sabi-* “to know” is clearly used in the exact same way as the Quechua word *yacha-*.

The verb can also be adopted as a stem which receives an affix to verbalize or nativize it before being inflected. For example, French verbs that are borrowed in Dutch tend to get the affix *-er* before receiving any further inflection:

- (3) *offr-er-en* (from French *offrir*) “to offer”

In bilingual compound verbs, light verbs such as “make” or “do” are used. Light verbs are verbs which are semantically bleached and receive their meaning mainly from the compliments they occur with. The borrowed verb can be adjoined with the light verb which is then inflected. An example of this would be Panjabi/English

where speakers use the Panjabi light verbs *hona* “to be” or *kərna* “to do” after English verbs (Romaine 1995 as cited in Muysken 2000):

- (4) involve *hona*
pick up *kərna*

In other cases, the borrowed verb can be nominalized and then used with a light verb. For example, speakers of American Portuguese in the 1940s did this by adding an article (Pap 1949 as cited by Muysken 2000):

- (5) *fazer o telephone* “telephone”
fazer o save “save”
fazer o boda “bother”

This chapter looks at bilingual compound verbs that combine a Dutch infinitive and the Turkish light verb *yap-*. While Muysken’s categorization is useful in descriptive studies on such constructions, the main aim of this chapter is not to settle on the best syntactic analysis of this construction in Turkish-Dutch bilingual language use. This chapter will instead try to explain the use of the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction from a usage-based view by looking at specificity and frequency. We will consider what role these constructions take within the bilinguals’ speech and whether the particular use of this construction with Dutch infinitives can be regarded as a case of grammaticalization.

3.2 *Yap-* “to do”

This chapter is about the borrowing of Dutch verbs, and as will become abundantly clear this involves a combination with the Turkish verb *yap-*. This verb means “to do” and is used as a light verb as well as a main verb in Turkish. This section will first briefly look at its uses and the compliments with which it occurs. It will briefly outline a semantic analysis of *yap-* “to do”. We will also look at some research on the use of this verb by bilinguals in combination with other languages, and of equivalents of *yap-* “to do” in other language pairs, such as Spanish and English.

3.2.1 Uses of *yap-* and compliments it occurs with

Looking closely at the verb *yap-*, we can see that it can occur either without an object, with a pronominal object, a schematic object, a nominal object (including Dutch nominal objects) and a verbal noun object (again also with Dutch verbal noun objects, i.e. infinitives). In the various combinations its meaning is generally

somewhere on a continuum from active “make” or “carry out” to more general “do”. Below is an overview of how these compliments.

Yap- as a preform – No object:

In some utterances the object of what the verb *yap-* refers to is clear from the context. In these cases there is no object to be talked about in the utterance.

- (6) a: Seçimini yaptın mı?
Did you make a decision?
b: Evet yaptım.
Yes, I've made (it).

Yap- as a preform – Pronominal object:

In some utterances the object of the verb *yap-* is a pronoun such as the accusative demonstratives *bunu* “this” and *şunu* “that” or the interrogative *ne* “what”. What these pronouns refer to can be understood from the context.

Schematic object:

In some cases, speakers combine *yap-* with the word *şey* “(some)thing”. This is a prevalent strategy when one cannot remember the verb one wants to use.

Nominal objects in both Turkish and Dutch:

There are many combinations or fixed expressions which involve *yap-* along with a nominal object, such as *elişi yap-* “to do handicrafts” and *aktiviteiten yap-* “to do activities”

Verbal noun objects in both Turkish and Dutch:

There are also many combinations where *yap-* is preceded by a verbal noun object. In Turkish these include nouns ending with *-ış*, *-mA* and *-mAk* like *alışveriş yap-* “to shop”, *konuşma yap-* “to give a speech” and *yemek yap-* “to cook”. Dutch verbal nouns (i.e. verbs in their infinitival forms) preceding *yap-* are the focus of this chapter and will also be referred to as bilingual compound verbs.

3.2.2 A semantic analysis of *yap-*

After having looked at a classification of the compliments *yap-* occurs with based on formal characteristics, we turn to semantics. The verb *yap-* functions either as a transitive main verb or as part of a compound verb.

- 1 Transitive main verb with (pro)nominal objects
- 2 Compound verb with verbal and infinitival objects such as the Dutch infinitive and some Turkish verbal nouns

When *yap-* combines with nouns it often contributes the meaning of “make” and when it combines with verbal nouns it contributes “carry out” or “do”. That is, it contributes less and less concrete meaning, leaving more of it to the co-occurring element. That could be interpreted as increasing grammaticalization, a point to be introduced in the next section and to which we will get back in the discussion.

Transitive main verb:

- 1 Concrete noun: when *yap-* combines with objects denoting concrete nouns such as *elişi yap-* “to do handicrafts”
- 2 Activity noun: when *yap-* combines with nouns relating to events and has the meaning to organize such as *Türk gecesi yap-* “to do/organize a Turkish night”.
- 3 Action noun: Different from activity nouns in that they denote one single process as opposed to the various processes involved in activity nouns, compare for example *Türk gecesi yap-* “to do/organize a Turkish night” with *dedikodu yap-* “to gossip” or *ayrımcılık yap-* “to discriminate”. In this sense, while *Türk gecesi yap-* “to do/organize a Turkish night” refers to various processes *dedikodu yap-* “to gossip” refers to a single action.

Compound verbs:

- 1 Verbal nouns: Similar to action nouns verbal nouns also denote a single process and need a verbalizing element such as *yap-* to refer to it with the verbal noun ending with *-Iş*, *-mA* and *-mAk* as mentioned above. Examples would be *oylama yap-* “to have a vote” or *kutlama yap-* “to hold a celebration”.
- 2 Dutch infinitives: In abovementioned combinations *yap-* has at least a slight verbal profile. However, when used with a Dutch infinitive the semantic contribution of *yap-* completely disappears such as *lenen yap-* (to borrow) where the semantic meaning of *yap-* is “absorbed” (Langacker 1987:335).

There is a sort of continuum from *yap-* as a transitive main verb towards *yap-* used in compound verbs concerning the meaning it contributes. As one moves down the continuum from transitive main verb to compound verb the meaning of *yap-* gets more and more semantically bleached where it acts as a helping verb and the semantic meaning is carried by the co-occurring element. With the Dutch infinitival verbs this continuum reaches its endpoint, since *yap-* does not seem to mean anything anymore in this function other than a very generalized “do”.

3.2.3 Grammaticalization of *yapmak*

Grammaticalization typically involves the parameters put forward by Heine & Kuteva (2002, 2006): extension (or context generalization: use in new contexts

suggest new meanings), desemantization (or bleaching), decategorialization (loss of lexicality), erosion (phonetic). For the bilingual compound verbs grammaticalization would include at least some of the features listed on the left in Table 3.1 (cf. Ariel 1990 and others):

Table 3.1 Features of grammaticalization

Grammaticalization features	Reflexes in compound verb construction
a origin is lexical item	<i>yap-</i> means ‘make’ originally
b meaning has been bleached	<i>yap-</i> adds no lexical meaning
c obligatory occurrence	all inserted infinitives co-occur with <i>yap-</i>
d fixed position	<i>yap-</i> always directly follows the infinitive
e used in more and more domains	any Dutch verb can be used
f phonological reduction	<i>not attested</i>

The features on the left hand side of the table together shape a kind of continuum by the end of which the item (here the verb *yap-* when it combines with a Dutch infinitive) reaches the end of its grammaticalization process. As can be seen, when a lexical verb grammaticalizes it might lose much of its semantics, not adding much lexical significance. The verb *yap-* is observed to be the only verb co-occurring with Dutch infinitives and it has a fixed position in the construction. For example, no other element is expected to come in between it and the Dutch infinitive. In addition, the verb *yap-* seems to be able to co-occur with virtually any Dutch infinitive. Together, these features point to a status of grammatical marker rather than lexical verb. However, *yap-* does not seem to lose any of its phonological properties. This has not been attested in previous research in any case. In the discussion section we will briefly return to this table to survey whether the characteristics of the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction in our data confirm this picture.

3.2.4 Bilingual studies on *yap-* in Turkish as an immigrant language

Turkish-Dutch bilinguals use their languages in a complex choice pattern and sometimes combine them in a complex manner, resulting in various contact effects, visible in everyday language use. In this chapter we focus on a specific construction found in Turkish-Dutch bilingual data, namely the use of Dutch infinitives combined with the Turkish light verb *yap-*. The usage of Turkish *yap-* “to do” in Turkish-Dutch bilingual speech was the focus of Backus (2009). Similarly, a study by Treffers-Daller et al. (2016) looked at the use of *yap-* “to do” and its synonym *et-* (also “to do”) in Turkish-German bilinguals’ speech. Earlier, in work by Backus (1996), Türker (2000) and Pfaff (2000), there had also been attention for this

construction. This section will briefly look at studies that focus on *yap-* in bilingual speech, followed by a section on other language pairs that involve equivalent verbs.

We will analyze the examples from the data set, trying to uncover both specific points about the construction and more general ones about how bilinguals make use of their languages.

The case of *yap-* “to do” has been studied by several researchers in the field (especially Backus 2009, but also Backus 2001, Doğruöz & Backus 2009, Treffers-Daller et al. 2016, and Demirçay 2012). Backus (2009) gives the following example (Dutch in italics):

- (7) Ben seninki-si-ni *len-en* yapmak iste-di-m *toen had ik ze al*.
 I yours-POSS-ACC *borrow*-INF do-INF want-PAST-1SG then I had them already
 I wanted to borrow yours but then I had them already.

The question for many is whether these kind of infinitives should be seen as established loanwords or ‘nonce-loans’ (Poplack et al. 1988, Sankoff et al. 1990). What matters, Backus (2009) argues, is that in this example the Dutch verb *lenen* “to borrow” could be regarded a loanword since it is inserted into the grammatical frame of the borrowing language, here Turkish. When a word such as *lenen* is used frequently in the community it could be regarded as an established loan. This would entail that Turkish-Dutch speakers would see the bilingual compound verb construction *lenen yap-* as a conventional choice when the concept it names has to be conveyed, and one that is perhaps more entrenched than the Turkish equivalent *ödünc al-* “to borrow”. This would make the use of this combination not a code-switch in the literal sense where speakers switch intentionally between languages but rather a monolingual phenomenon (in the European Turkish variety) where the speaker chooses the newish variant that has elements from both Turkish and Dutch as opposed to the original base language variant. In this sense, the use of this construction could be seen as embodying change in progress.

Backus (2009) underscores that studies on language contact aim to find out why some aspects of language change when in contact with another one and why it happens when it happens. In this sense, *entrenchment* may play an important role as what is used more frequently (be it a lexical item, syntactic structure or construction) will become more entrenched which makes its selection more likely in another future speech event (e.g. Croft 2000 etc.). The construction VerbDutch + *yap-* has clearly become the preferred structure for incorporating Dutch verbs into Turkish discourse. The question is why. What makes this construction so ‘attractive’ (Johanson 2002) for speakers to choose in speech events. There are a few possible explanations (Backus 2009).

We have mentioned in Section 3.2.2 that the verb *yap-* also occurs commonly in *light verb constructions* such as *yemek yap-* “to cook”, *sürpriz yap-* “to surprise” or

doğum yap- “to give birth”. Turkish-Dutch bilinguals productively use the light verb construction forming new noun-verb collocations (Noun + *yap-*) with Dutch or Turkish nouns, such as *Bouwkunde yap-* “to study engineering” or *Fransızca yap-* “to study French” (from Backus 2009). In these examples, the verb *yap-* is used with nouns relating to academic study programs. The construction could sometimes be regarded as the result of loan translation, a direct translation of how semantics relating to education is constructed in Dutch. The monolingual Turkish collocation is *Fransızca oku-* literally “to read French” while the Dutch equivalent is *Frans doen* literally “to do French” (also see Chapter 4). Aside from these productive uses of *yap-*, Backus (2009) also mentions that the light verb sometimes replaces another, semantically similar, light verb *et-*, also meaning “to do”, or “to make”, in compound verbs in bilingual speakers’ speech. This has been supported by data from Doğruöz & Backus (2009) and by Treffers-Daller et al. (2016). Doğruöz & Backus (2009) cite the example of *hesap yap-* being used instead of the monolingual convention *hesap et-* “to calculate”. Similar examples can be found in Pfaff’s (2000) work on Turkish-German bilingual children’s use of the two verbs *yap-* and *et-*. She finds that children use the verb *yap-* in compound verb constructions where the other light verb is the conventional choice, e.g. *fotoğraf yap-* “to photograph” instead of *fotoğraf çek-*. Pfaff shows that one child who used the conventional variant of a compound verb with *et-* at the age of four switches to using the “diaspora variety of her peers” with *yap-* as she grows older:

- (8) Kavga ed-iyo. (Ilknur 4;04)
 Fight do-PROG-Ø
 He is fighting.
- (9) Kavga yap-ıyor-lar. (Ilknur 6;04)
 Fight do-PROG-3PL
 They are fighting.

Treffers-Daller and colleagues (2016) compared the use of *yap-* and *et-* in collocations in the speech of Turkish-German bilingual speakers in Germany, returnees to Turkey, and Turkish monolinguals. They find that the bilingual speakers use *yap-* in a variety of constructions and this verb seems to be the conventional choice in the noun + verb collocations they studied.

Since both *yap-* and *et-* verbs can be used in noun + verb collocations in Turkish, when bilinguals use a bare Dutch verb they could in theory choose which light verb to use. In the following example from Kallmeyer & Keim (2003:33, cited by Treffers-Daller et al. 2016) the speaker uses both *et-* and *yap-* in combination with the same German infinitive in the same utterance:

- (10) Ben feiern yap-mı-yca-m ki – ama feiern et-mi-yor-um ki.
 I celebrate-INF do-NEG-FUT-1SG INT – but celebrate-NEG-PROG-1SG INT
 I will not celebrate my birthday – but I do not celebrate.

However, it should be noted that such examples are rare and the abovementioned studies also emphasize that *yap-* is the more common choice in such constructions in bilingual speech.

Similar uses of a Dutch verb used in combination with *yap-* is found in Turkish in contact with other languages such as Norwegian (Türker 2000).

3.2.5 Similar constructions in other language pairs

We now turn to see how equivalents of the construction with *yap-* have been studied in other language pairs. As mentioned before, this construction is often referred to as a bilingual compound verb (BCV, see Moravcsik 1975) in which a light or ‘operator’ or ‘helping’ verb that means “to do” or “to make” co-occurs with a main lexical verb that gives the semantic content of the construction (see for example Muysken 2000, Edwards & Gardner-Chloros 2007, Wohlgemuth 2009). Many language pairs, including Tamil-English (Annamalai 1989), Panjabi-English (Romaine 1995 as cited in Muysken 2000), Arabic-Persian (Kieffer 2000 as cited in Muysken 2016), Arabic-Turkish (Procházka 1995 as cited in Muysken 2016), Greek-English (Seaman 1972, Gardner-Chloros 1995), French-German (Gardner-Chloros 1991), Spanish-English (Wilson 2013, Wilson & Dumont 2015), have such constructions (for an overview see Muysken 2000, 2016). Most of these studies are either descriptive way or try to account for the construction from a structuralist perspective. Usage-based accounts, taking interest in usage, frequency, entrenchment and semantic domains, are rare (although see Backus 2009 and Doğruöz & Backus 2009)

As a well-studied language pair English-Spanish bilingualism offers some insight into how research has looked into bilingual compound verbs. Wilson & Dumont (2015) study the use of *hacer* “to do” with English infinitives in the New Mexico Spanish-English Bilingual Corpus (NMSEB). A proposed reason for why English verbs in constructions with *hacer* + VerbEng occur is the low frequency of the Spanish equivalent of the English verb (see for example Jenkins 2003, Fuller Medina 2005 as cited in Wilson & Dumont 2015). On the other hand, Wilson (2013) writes that some speakers used both the Spanish equivalent and the *hacer* + VerbEng construction, especially with common concepts, as these give rise to high-frequency verbs in both languages. Thus, speakers use both *hacer cook* and *cocinar* “to cook”.

Wilson & Dumont (2015) find that lexical gaps or indications of cognitive load, such as pauses, backtracking and truncating, do not explain why speakers use this construction. The construction was used in both intonation units that included

pauses and those which did not. It was used in IU's that were preceded by a truncation as well as in those that were not. In this sense, the *hacer* + VerbEng construction was not a result of pressures imposed by cognitive load, as these are usually marked by pauses and truncation. Furthermore, they find that the construction is very productive and highly schematic in that the type-token ratio is high. Some examples of the construction are very wide-spread and therefore could be said to be conventionalizing. For example, the construction *hacer retire* was used by four different speakers six times; the Spanish equivalent *jubilarse* occurs only once while the English "retire" and the English-based *retirar* occurs 52 times. It is also important to note that they find the speakers who often combine two languages in one intonation unit are also the ones who are most likely to use the bilingual compound verb construction. This means that the grammatical pattern seems to be a typical and conventional aspect of bilingual speech.

Like Backus (2009) does for Turkish *yap-*, Wilson (2013) looks at the *hacer* + VerbEng construction to try and determine what kind of a bilingual phenomenon it is, whether it is convergence, code-switching or borrowing. The construction is not convergence in the traditional sense in that it is not a form patterned after English. If anything, the structure moves away from both languages involved. For this very reason, he goes on to argue that this construction is not code-switching either, since then it should agree with the rules of the contributing languages. This argument is based on the definition of code-switching in the Juxtapositional Model by Poplack (1993). Jenkins (2003) makes a similar argument. Wilson (2013) also claims the English verb in the *hacer* + VerbEng construction is not a borrowing since the morphosyntax of both elements in the construction do not follow either language's patterns. He proposes that this construction is a hybrid innovation resulting not from lexical deficiency but from the emergence of particular discourse practices of the New Mexican bilinguals (cf. *bilingual mode*, Grosjean 2001).

These studies on the Spanish-English compound verb with *hacer* have looked at the kinds of circumstances it occurs in and what kind of language contact phenomenon it is. However, like many of the studies of equivalent constructions in other language pairs, these studies do not address the causes and mechanisms of language change that may be responsible for the emergence and success of this construction. This chapter aims to provide new insights into this by looking at the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction in the data from Turkish-Dutch second generation bilinguals from a usage-based perspective.

3.3 Data, methodology and analysis

The data come from 19 Turkish-Dutch bilinguals with a mean age of 18,2. They were given a tape-recorder and were asked to record themselves in a friend group. There are a total of seven friend group conversations of 450 minutes. They could record

themselves whenever and wherever they wanted. Two of the recordings took place in a car; the others in homes or public places. The participants were free to speak whichever language they preferred. In some cases (such as the five boys in a car), one can gather that the speakers are aware of the tape recorder as they warn each other not to use swearwords. Other than that, there is no clear sign that the speakers intentionally alter their language use. It is notable that while some friend groups use both languages, some of them use predominantly Dutch or Turkish. One group even used almost exclusively Dutch during their interaction. The data from this particular group is not included in the analysis of this chapter. The speech data were transcribed for the purposes of this paper.

After data collection some of the speakers participated in a follow-up session in which they filled in a questionnaire about their language attitudes and rated their own Turkish and Dutch skills (based on Extra & Yağmur 2010 and Yağmur & Van de Vijver 2012; for the questionnaire see the Appendix). Based on these ratings the speakers were divided into Dutch dominant ('DD'), Turkish dominant ('TD') and equally dominant in both Turkish and Dutch (labelled 'BB' for 'balanced bilingual' in the table below). Based on these ratings, one speaker rated herself as Turkish dominant, four think their skills are equally good in both languages, and ten of the speakers claim to be Dutch dominant. Two of these are the ones who spoke exclusively in Dutch and whose data is not included in the analysis in this chapter.

Table 3.2 Self rating for Turkish and Dutch by participants

Participant	Erkan	Doruk	Ceylan	Berk	Ahmet	Gönül	Füsun
Turkish skills overall	3,8	3,475	3,7	3,725	4,25	4,475	3,45
Dutch skills overall	3,7	5	4,425	4,6	4,325	4,925	4,15
		DD	DD	DD		DD	DD
	BB			BB			

Participant	Leyla	Kadriye	İlknur	Hatice	Melis	Nergis	Öznur	Pelin
Turkish skills overall	4,6	3,975	4,775	4	4	4,175	3,65	3,825
Dutch skills overall	4,775	4,975	3,6	4,775	4,775	4,5	4,9	4,55
		DD	TD	DD	DD		DD	DD
	BB			BB				

In addition to loanwords and basic insertions, the data include various more complex types of code-switches, including alternations (Muysken 2000). This chapter focuses on one kind of code-switching, namely the combination of a Dutch verb in its infinitival form and a following grammatically conjugated Turkish main verb *yap*- “to do” as seen in the following example (Dutch in italics):

- (11) S: hani *voorbereiden* yapıyım kendimi dedi.
 Like prepare-INF do-IMP-1SG myself-ACC say-PAST-3SG
 (S)he said let me prepare myself, you know.

3.4 The uses of *yapmak*

Following Backus (1996) and Türker (2000), the dataset has been analyzed in detail to gain an understanding of how the speakers use the verb *yap-*, not only in combination with the Dutch infinitive but also in general.

Table 3.3 CU of all occurrences of *yap-* in the data

Type of complement	Number of occurrence
No object	64
Pronoun	45
Schematic	30
Turkish noun	43
Dutch noun	23
Turkish verb	0
Dutch verb	68
Total	273

There are various ways in which the verb *yap-* is used in speech. Examples will be provided from the dataset. Firstly it is used as a proform where *yap-* stands in for a more specific meaning that can be understood from the context. This can happen where the speaker drops the object or uses a pronoun instead but the object can be recovered from a previous or following utterance.

No object:

Cases when the object of what the verb *yap-* refers to is in the previous utterance or can be understood from the context. As Turkish allows for object dropping this is the most common way of using the verb *yap-* in the data. An example from the dataset is the following:

- (12) Melis: Annem yapsın sana.
 My mother will do (it) for you.

Pronominal object:

In other cases, the object that the verb *yap-* refers to is conveyed through a pronoun, such as the accusative demonstratives *bunu* (this) and *şunu* (that) or the

interrogative *ne* (what). What these pronouns refer to can be understood from the context.

- (13) Hatice: *Hij zei zelf* ben yapmadım onu.
He said himself I didn't do it.

Another example is when the speaker uses a pronominal expression marked with the suffix *-ki*. This suffix is used to form attributive adjectives. However, it has a pronominal function when used without a following noun phrase such as in the following example:

- (14) Ceylan: Sen kendininkileri yaparsın ben de anneninkileri
 You do yours and I do mine.

Here both *kendininkileri* and *anneninkileri* are counted as pronominal objects. In this case the object referred to is laundry, which is recoverable from the context of the conversation.

Schematic object:

When the construction with *yap-* involves the word *şey* “something” this is regarded as a schematic object. This usage occurs when the speaker cannot remember the actual verb or refers to something (or nothing) being done in general. This will be discussed in detail later in Section 3.5.

- (15) Füsün: *Vorig jaar* beni *dom* diye şey yaptılar.
Last year they did thing to me that I'm *stupid*.
- (16) Ahmet: Bir şeyler yapıyorum. Sen nâpıyon?
 I'm doing something. What are you doing?
- (17) Ceylan: Yap o zaman, hiçbir şey yapmıyorsun.
 Do (it) then, you're not doing anything.

Nominal objects in both Turkish and Dutch:

These categories refer to combinations or fixed expressions where the verb *yap-* is combined with a Turkish or Dutch noun such as *elişi yap-* “do handcrafts” and *activiteiten yap-* “do activities” (taken from Backus 1996). The following are examples of this category from our dataset:

- (18) Berk: Anası mantı yapmış.
 His mother made mantı (Turkish ravioli).

- (19) Ceylan: Gerisini siz yaparsınız yarın.
You will do the rest later.
- (20) Nergis: En Melis sen *HBO* yapmak istiyon mu?
And Melis, do you want to do *HBO* (university of applied sciences).
- (21) Kadriye: *Domme grap* yapıyor bazan *dan is niet grappig*.
Sometimes he makes *stupid jokes* then *it's not funny*.

Verbal noun objects in both Turkish and Dutch:

In Turkish *yap-* may be preceded by verbal nouns like *alışveriş yap-* “to shop” and *yemek yap-* “to cook”. There are various verbal noun endings, such as *-İş*, *-mA* and *-mAk*. The Dutch verbs that precede *yap-* in their infinitival forms and that are the focus of this chapter, form similar compound verbs, though they form the special case of bilingual compound verbs. Interestingly, no Turkish verbal nouns were found to be used by the speakers in combination with the verb *yap-*. On the other hand, Dutch infinitives were the most frequently used category, with no object being used with the verb *yap-* almost as often.

- (22) Füsün: *Daden uitvoeren* yapamıyo diyo.
He says he cannot *get anything done*.

What *yap-* does not co-occur with is verb stems in either language.

Surveying all the usages of *yap-* it is obvious that the bilingual speakers make use of all of the conventional complements except Turkish verbal nouns. Other than this category, the complements are distributed fairly evenly across the categories. It is important to note that we cannot compare the frequency of complement types with that of monolingual speakers, as we do not know the distribution in monolingual Turkish.

Some studies report that bilingual speakers sometimes use *yap-* in constructions where *et-* (also meaning “to do”) should be used (Backus 2009, Doğruöz & Backus 2009, Türker 2005). There does not seem to be such extended use of *yap-* by the speakers in this study. Related, Treffers-Daller et al. (2016) showed that constructions normally formed with *yap-* by bilingual speakers are being replaced by *et-* in the speech of bilingual returnees from Germany (mean age around 16) while bilinguals in Germany are found to avoid *et-*. The use of the light verbs *yap-* and *et-* in noun-verb collocations in the speech of older returnees (mean age around 21) was similar to that of monolinguals.

I now look at certain uses in closer detail. First up is the schematic use with *şey* “thing” since it may indicate word finding troubles, a phenomenon that might tell us something about the mental lexicon of bilingual speakers.

3.5 The schematic construction *şey yap-*

This section will include the inspection of the schematic construction within the data collected from Turkish-Dutch bilinguals as well as a section where a comparison will be made with a small data collected from monolingual Turkish speakers.

3.5.1 The schematic construction *şey yap-* in the Turkish-Dutch bilingual data

This section examines the use of the Turkish word *şey* “thing” combining with the Turkish verb *yap-* “to do” by Turkish-Dutch bilingual speakers in the data. In general, when the word *şey* “thing” combines with the verb *yap-* “to do” it signals a momentary gap in the lexicon as the speaker cannot think of the correct verb to use and therefore produces the construction “to do thing” instead, with *şey* acting as a filler (see for example Verhoeven 1988, Özbek 2000, Furman & Özyürek 2007 on the use of *şey* as filler and discourse marker in adults and children). This is important to look into in the dataset to see how widespread the use of *şey yap-* “to do something” by the speakers. This might signal a lexical gap which in turn might result in the use of Dutch infinitives in combination with the verb *yap-*. The expression *şey yap-* “to do something” can either signify its actual lexical meaning, i.e. referring to doing something in general, or it can signal a problem with word knowledge. In the latter case it is important to note what kinds of word retrieval problems are apparent.

Şey could be expected to be used extensively because it might be the outcome of lexical searches and those searches could be a sign of contact-induced change, namely vocabulary impoverishment.

Total N of occurrence of <i>şey yap-</i>	17
N of <i>şey yap-</i> as a filler – repeated	7
N of <i>şey yap-</i> as a filler – not repeated	10

The dataset involves around 420 minutes of recording with around 67,000 words. Within this dataset 17 instances were found where the word *şey* is combined with the verb *yap-*. In 7 of these instances the combination *şey yap-* is used as filler material, when the proper verb could not be remembered by the speaker in the first instance. The proper verb was subsequently remembered and uttered in the following instance by the speaker. In one instance, however, the proper verb was not recalled and instead the equivalent Dutch infinitive was used, in the *yap-* construction. This is one of the few times in the data where one could suggest that the Dutch verb is easier activated than its Turkish equivalent, i.e. where they seem to be in direct competition.

- (23) Kadriye: *Die tandarts he iki dakika bir şey yapıyordu.*
 Melis: *Met die bril?*
 Kadriye: *Controleren yapıyordu.*
- Kadriye: *That dentist huh he was doing one thing in two minutes.*
 Melis: *With the glasses?*
 Kadriye: He was *checking*.

In another example, the speaker cannot find the Turkish verb and then switches to Dutch.

- (24) Melis: *Tamam da jongen als jij ehm.. Straks jouw met je examen klaar bent, şey yaparsın ehm.. Full werken.*
 Okay but *dude if you ehm soon you will be done with your exam, you will do thing ehm work full-time.*

The fact that the Dutch verb seems to be an infinitive points to the fact that this example is similar to the previous one. Here, however, the *yap-* in the *şey yap-* construction is not repeated when the Dutch infinitive is retrieved.

In the rest of the instances, 10 in total, the *şey yap-* construction is not elaborated by using the proper Turkish verb or its Dutch equivalent. In most of the cases, the context makes clear what the speaker is trying to convey in the utterance.

- (25) Nergis: *Volgens mij wel jonge. Hep seni şey yapıyorlar maar je krijgt.*
According to me yes dude. They always do you thing but you get.
- (26) Kadriye: *Ja. En wat, wa ik heb gedaan is. Ik liet de debrej, koppeling te snel los.*
Toen ging auto zo puuugh.
 Nergis: *O zaman araba şey yapıyor.*
 Melis: *Haha sukkel. (...)*
 Nergis: *Ook als je niet goed koppelt, goed schakelt o zaman da olmuyor.*
- Kadriye: *Yes. And what what I have is I let the clutch the clutch to fast. Then the car went puuugh*
 Nergis: *Then the car does thing.*
 Melis: *Haha loser.*
 Nergis: *Even if you don't clutch well, switch well, then it doesn't happen.*

It seems that speakers do sometimes make use of the schematic construction with *şey* combining with *yap-* to fill a lexical gap which they either fill in Turkish or with the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* afterwards. However, the number of times this happens is not high. The Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction occurs much more often than the schematic construction. This suggests that the Dutch infinitives are not only

inserted when speakers cannot come up with the Turkish verb, but instead is simply a productive schema in the repertoire of bilingual speakers, reflecting the truly bilingual nature of the speakers' Turkish lexicon.

3.5.2 The schematic construction *şey yap-* in the data from Turkish from Turkey

A very small dataset of recordings of Turkish speakers from Turkey was looked into in order to compare the use of *şey yap-* as found in our dataset to monolingual speech in Turkey. The TR-Turkish data come from two conversations. One is a friend group involving the researcher, who didn't speak but asked the 27 year old participant to retell a movie and/or a book she had recently saw or read. The second recording was of a family conversation involving four speakers including the researcher; again, her input was minimal. The participants (mean age 49) responded to the same questions and prompted each other further during the conversation. The total length of the two conversations is 24 minutes (compared to 450 minutes of Turkish-Dutch bilingual data studied). In one, *şey yap-* is used as a filler to help the speaker recall the proper verb, which is then uttered immediately after.

- (27) Sinem: Hatta biz Songülle şey yaptık böyle gözümü kapatıp falan izledik.
Me and Songül even did thing, covered our eyes like, and watched like that.

In the second case the construction is understood from the context to mean “we will help you out/we will prompt you”.

- (28) Binnur: Sorularla seni şey yaparız. Açtın mı?
We'll do you thing with questions. Have you turned it on?

In the third case, the speaker might be using the *şey yap-* construction as a filler while he is trying to remember the actual verb but is interrupted by another speaker.

- (29) Besim: Çok az rastlaniyo ya onu zaten kestirip-
You see it very rarely and then that you cut it-
Binnur: Amma titredik ya.
Well we have vibrated a lot.
Besim: O tarafa bile şey yapar o kadar, o çok-
It does thing to that side, it's very-
Binnur: Yarım saatte geldik bu arada Besim.
We have made it in half an hour by the way Besim.

The findings from this small dataset compared with the data from Turkish-Dutch bilinguals show that the use of *şey yap-* in the small monolingual sample is actually higher, relatively speaking, as they use this construction three times within 24 minutes while the Turkish-Dutch bilinguals use it a total of 17 times in 420 minutes. As the two datasets are not easily comparable not much should be made of this, but it does support the notion that the Turkish-Dutch bilinguals do not use this construction excessively. Even if bilinguals have permanent or momentary gaps in their verb lexicon, *şey yap-* is not the coping mechanism they overwhelmingly resort to.

3.6 Dutch infinitive + *yap-*

This chapter mainly focuses on the construction in which a Dutch infinitive is combined with the Turkish verb *yap-* “to do”. It will do so by first focusing on the question whether the Turkish equivalents of the Dutch infinitives can be found in the dataset. If they are used, this means they exist in the lexicon of the bilinguals and the use of the Dutch infinitive cannot be explained by lack of knowledge of the Turkish word. Second, we will see whether the Dutch verbs are also used in the Dutch portions of the data, as finite or non-finite verbs in Dutch utterances. The frequencies of both the Dutch verbs and their Turkish equivalents in representative corpora of the respective languages will be looked at in order to see whether either the Dutch or the Turkish verb is particularly frequent or rare in monolingual speech, as this could help explain their selection in bilingual speech. Finally, we will look at other Dutch verbs that are used in alternational code-switches in the data, to see whether it is plausible that alternation sometimes results from the selection of an entrenched Dutch verb. We found 49 types and 68 tokens of Dutch infinitives in the *yap-* construction. Eight of these verbs are used only once in the bilingual compound verb construction (16% of the 49 types); twelve out of the 49 types (25%) are used more than once, but never more than 4 times per item (see Table 3.4). An exhaustive analysis of this construction will be undertaken in Section 3.6 and 3.7.

Table 3.4 Dutch infinitive + *yap-*

Dutch infinitive + <i>yap-</i>	How many times in conversations	Translation of the Dutch infinitive
afschermen yap-	1	to block/to partition
controleren yap-	3	to control
uitschrijven yap-	2	to deregister/unsubscribe
uitleggen yap-	1	to explain
verdieneen yap-	1	to earn
reserveren yap-	2	to reserve
kijken yap-	1	to look
solliciteren yap-	3	to apply (for a job)
verzetten yap-	1	to move/to shift/to reschedule
schoonmaken yap-	1	to clean
beslissen yap-	1	to decide
trakteren yap-	1	to treat (someone for a drink/dinner)
laden yap-	1	to load
inhalen yap-	1	to overtake
toevoegen yap-	1	to add
ontbijten yap-	1	to have breakfast
chillen yap-	1	to chill
afmaken yap-	1	to finish
ontwikkelen yap-	1	to develop
opvoeden yap-	1	to raise (a child)
omgaan yap-	1	to get along with
voorbereiden yap-	1	to prepare
lachen yap-	1	to laugh/smile
stemmen yap-	3	to vote
vertellen yap-	1	to tell/say
vergroten yap-	1	to enlarge/magnify
uitvoeren yap-	2	to perform
inleveren yap-	2	to hand in
indelen yap-	1	to classify
focusen yap-	3	to focus
verklaren yap-	1	to explain
oefenen yap-	3	to practice
uitvallen yap-	2	to drop (a class)
aannemen yap-	1	to be hired/accepted
slagen yap-	1	to pass (a class/exam)
zakken yap-	1	to fail (a class/exam)

Dutch infinitive + <i>yap-</i>	How many times in conversations	Translation of the Dutch infinitive
trainen <i>yap-</i>	1	to train
inbreken <i>yap-</i>	1	to break in
weg wijzen <i>yap-</i>	1	to guide/direct
leren <i>yap-</i>	1	to learn/teach/study
bowlen <i>yap-</i>	1	to bowl
omkeren <i>yap-</i>	1	to turn around
keren <i>yap-</i>	4	to turn
opnemen <i>yap-</i>	2	to record
aangeven <i>yap-</i>	1	to indicate/signal (in the car)
insmeren <i>yap-</i>	1	to spread
missen <i>yap-</i>	1	to miss
volgen <i>yap-</i>	1	to follow
remmen <i>yap-</i>	1	to break

3.6.1 Turkish equivalents

I have first looked whether the Turkish equivalents of the Dutch verb used in the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* “to do” constructions could be found in the data. The research question is whether there is any evidence that the Turkish equivalents exist at all in the speakers’ competence, or in Dutch Turkish in general. The reason for asking this question is that language contact leads to vocabulary change. New words (in this case Dutch words) may push out old words (in this case Turkish words), but they may also simply be grafted onto the language. With Dutch dominating for most of the speakers, the frequency of use and thus the strength of psycholinguistic entrenchment of many Dutch words may be expected to be higher than that of their Turkish equivalents, which in turn may have decreased in entrenchment as they do not get activated as much. That does not mean their entrenchment is down to zero, but in conversational data they may not show up unless triggered somehow, for instance by long Turkish stretches of conversation immediately prior to activation of the word. Therefore, seeing whether the Turkish equivalents of the Dutch verbs used in the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* “to do” constructions are used at all allows us to see whether the use of Dutch infinitives may result from a gap in the lexicon of the bilingual speakers. However, if the Turkish equivalent is absent in the data, of course that does not necessarily mean that it does not exist in the mental lexicon of the speakers, as the data set is limited in size.

Table 3.5 Verbs found in the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction, their Turkish equivalents, and their frequency of occurrence

Dutch infinitive + <i>yap-</i>	Turkish equivalents of Dutch infinitive + <i>yap-</i>	Occurrence of TR equivalent in data
afschermen yap-	engelle-	0
controleren yap-	kontrol et-	1
uitschrijven yap-	ikametgahtan çık-/ikametgah değiştir-	0
uitleggen yap-	açıkla-	0
verdienen yap-	para kazan-	1
reserveren yap-	rezerve et-/rezervasyon yap-	0
kijken yap-	izle-/seyret-/bak-	114
solliciteren yap-	iş görüşmesine git-&iş görüşmesi yap-	0
verzetten yap-	yeniden planla-/değiştir-	5
schoonmaken yap-	temizle-	2
beslissen yap-	karar ver-	0
trakteren yap-	ısmarla-	0
laden yap-	yükle-	0
inhalen yap-	yakala-/geç-	2
toevoegen yap-	ekle-	3
ontbijten yap-	kahvaltı et-/kahvaltı yap-	0
chillen yap-	keyif yap-/dinlen-	0
afmaken yap-	bitir-	22
ontwikkelen yap-	geliştir-	1
opvoeden yap-	yetiştir-/büyüt-	1
omgaan yap-	anlaş-	0
voorbereiden yap-	hazırla-/hazırlan-/hazırlık yap-	2
lachen yap-	gül-	7
stemmen yap-	oy ver-/oy kullan-	0
vertellen yap-	söyle-/de-/ anlat-	227
vergroten yap-	büyüt-	0
uitvoeren yap-	gerçekleştir-/uygula-	0
inleveren yap-	teslim et-	0
indelen yap-	ayır-/böl-	0
focusen yap-	odaklan-	0
verklaren yap-	açıkla-	1
oefenen yap-	alıştırma yap-/pratik yap/uygulama yap-	0
uitvallen yap-	düş-	0
aannemen yap-	alın-	0
slagen yap-	geç-	0

Dutch infinitive + <i>yap-</i>	Turkish equivalents of Dutch infinitive + <i>yap-</i>	Occurrence of TR equivalent in data
zakken <i>yap-</i>	kal-	0
trainen <i>yap-</i>	egzersiz <i>yap-/antreman yap-</i>	0
inbreken <i>yap-</i>	(eve) hırsız gir-	0
wegwijzen <i>yap-</i>	yol tarif et- (yol söyle-)	1
leren <i>yap-</i>	ders çalış-/öğren-/öğret-	6
bowlen <i>yap-</i>	bowling oyna-	0
omkeren <i>yap-</i>	u dönüşü <i>yap-</i>	0
keren <i>yap-</i>	dön-/dönüş <i>yap-</i>	12
opnemen <i>yap-</i>	kayıt <i>yap-</i>	0
aangeven <i>yap-</i>	sinyal ver-	1
insmeren <i>yap-</i>	sür-	2
missen <i>yap-</i>	özle-/kaçır-	6
volgen <i>yap-</i>	takip et-	1
remmen <i>yap-</i>	fren <i>yap-</i>	1

It can be seen in the data that the Turkish equivalents of 27 of the 49 Dutch infinitive types (55%) are never used in the data. This is what one would expect, since if a Dutch verb is inserted into Turkish, it stands to reason that it is more easily activated than its Turkish equivalent. In addition, most of the Dutch verbs occur only once as insertions, suggesting that the concept they name does not need to be verbalized often in the conversations. This is a natural consequence of the type of data used: a fairly limited sample of spontaneous conversation. The relevant concept only comes up once during the conversations, and its lexicalization happens to be carried out with the Dutch verb. However, as we will see, some of the inserted verbs also occur within Dutch stretches of the conversations, sometimes with considerable frequency (see the next subsection). Only verbs with very general meaning occur often; others only when their concept needs to be referred to, and that is not going to be often in data sets such as the one collected here. Having said that, nine of the Turkish equivalents of the Dutch verbs are used once in the bilingual data (18% of the 49 types). Of these, only *kontrol et-* “to check” is the equivalent of an inserted Dutch verb that occurs more than once (*controleren* is inserted three times). We may tentatively conclude that these verbs are relatively well entrenched in both languages. The other 13 types (26%) are used as a separate token between 2 and 227 times. The Turkish equivalents of two verbs, *vertellen* “to tell, to say” and *kijken* “to watch”, show an extremely high frequency, each being used more than a hundred times (also see Section 3.6.3). Clearly, these are verbs with general meaning; the use of their Dutch equivalent as an insertin is unexpected and will have to be explained somehow (see Section 3.7 on semantic analysis). The remaining 11 verbs (22% of the 49 types of Dutch infinitives) occur between 2 and

22 times. These verbs are interesting because they can be assumed to be relatively well entrenched in Turkish, and yet their Dutch equivalent managed to get activated easily enough to surface as an insertion in Turkish speech at least once. The verb pairs this concerns are the following: *yeniden planla-/değiştir-* and *verzetten* “to shift/to reschedule”, *temizle-* and *schoonmaken* “to clean”, *yakala-/geç-* and *inhalen* “to catch up/to pass”, *ekle-* and *toevoegen* “to add”, *bitir-* and *afmaken* “to finish”, *hazırla-/hazırlan-/hazırlık yap-* and *voorbereiden* “to prepare”, *gül-* and *lachen* “to laugh/to smile”, *ders çalış-/öğren-/öğret-* and *leren* “to learn/to teach/to study”, *dön-/dönüş yap-* and *keren* “to turn”, *sür-* and *insmeren* “to spread”, and *özle-* and *missen* “to miss”. Apart from *keren* “to turn around”, which occurred 4 times as an insertion, all these verbs were inserted in their Dutch form only once. For example, the combination of the Dutch infinitive *lachen* “to smile/laugh” and the Turkish *yap-* is found to occur once in the data:

- (30) S: Herkes *lachen* yapınca da...
 Everyone laugh-INF do-TEMPORAL? then.
 Then when everyone laughed...

On the other hand, the Turkish equivalent of this verb occurs 7 times in the data:

- (31) E: Biz hep gülüyoduk.
 We always laugh-PROG-PAST-1PL
 We were always laughing.

For most of these verbs, a logical explanation would be that the verbs concerned convey a relatively general meaning, which would help explain why the Turkish forms are relatively well entrenched for the speakers, and thus relatively easy to activate. A fuller discussion of this will have to wait until the semantic analysis in Section 3.7.

Some of the Dutch verbs have several translation equivalents in Turkish (as some of the English translations provided indicate). This is because some of the Dutch verbs have multiple meanings that are expressed in different ways in Turkish or could be expressed in a variety of manners. In these cases, the Dutch verbs may be preferred in one semantic specialization, which would help explain why both the Dutch and Turkish verbs are used.

The fact that in 55% of the cases, the Turkish equivalents of Dutch infinitives in the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* “to do” constructions were not found to be used by the Turkish-Dutch bilinguals could be taken to suggest that most of these Turkish equivalents might be lacking from at least the active lexicon of the speakers, or at least are not as entrenched for these speakers as the Dutch equivalents. However, there could be several explanations as to why the Turkish equivalents are absent in

the data. One reason could be that the semantic characteristics of the verbs affect language choice. For example, some of the Dutch infinitives clearly belong to a semantic category which can safely be assumed to be dominated by Dutch, for example the domain related to work and school. Possibly, whenever this topic is discussed, Dutch speech is triggered more generally, optimizing the selection of Dutch verbs and limiting the activation of their Turkish equivalents. This will be analyzed further in Sections 3.6.2, 3.6.3 and 3.6.4. Another reason could be that the concepts for which the verbs stand are somehow less frequently talked about in Turkish. This is looked into in Section 3.7.

This section looked into the occurrence of the Turkish equivalents of the Dutch verbs that were inserted in the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction, and it has found that while some of these equivalents are indeed used as well, most of them are not. There might be several explanations for this, which will be further discussed in the final section.

3.6.2 The use of Dutch verbs outside the *yap-* construction

Having looked at the degree to which the Turkish equivalents of the Dutch infinitives used in the Turkish *yap-* construction occur in the data, we now check whether the inserted verbs also appear in Dutch clauses, as conjugated main verbs, participles or non-finite forms. One reason why Dutch verbs get inserted into Turkish clauses might be that they are highly entrenched for the speakers, and therefore are easily activated whenever the concept needs to be lexicalized in discourse. If they get used a lot outside of Turkish stretches, that would be further evidence for their entrenchment in the minds of these speakers. Therefore the research question is whether there is evidence that the inserted Dutch verbs are in wide use.

Table 3.6 Frequency of the Dutch verb in the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* as finite verb

Dutch infinitive + <i>yap-</i>	Occurrence as Dutch finite	Dutch infinitive + <i>yap-</i>	Occurrence as Dutch finite
afschermen yap-	0	vergroten yap-	1
controleren yap-	7	uitvoeren yap-	0
uitschrijven yap-	0	inleveren yap-	4
uitleggen yap-	6	indelen yap-	2
verdienen yap-	22	focusen yap-	0
reserveren yap-	4	verklaren yap-	7
kijken yap-	187	oefenen yap-	5
solliciteren yap-	11	uitvallen yap-	0
verzetten yap-	0	aannemen yap-	20

Dutch infinitive + <i>yap-</i>	Occurrence as Dutch finite	Dutch infinitive + <i>yap-</i>	Occurrence as Dutch finite
schoonmaken <i>yap-</i>	3	slagen <i>yap-</i>	9
beslissen <i>yap-</i>	4	zakken <i>yap-</i>	20
trakteren <i>yap-</i>	2	trainen <i>yap-</i>	7
laden <i>yap-</i>	0	inbreken <i>yap-</i>	1
inhalen <i>yap-</i>	1	(weg) wijzen <i>yap-</i>	0
toevoegen <i>yap-</i>	2	leren <i>yap-</i>	66
ontbijten <i>yap-</i>	1	bowlen <i>yap-</i>	11
chillen <i>yap-</i>	7	omkeren <i>yap-</i>	0
afmaken <i>yap-</i>	1	keren <i>yap-</i>	6
ontwikkelen <i>yap-</i>	1	opnemen <i>yap-</i>	3
opvoeden <i>yap-</i>	0	aangeven <i>yap-</i>	3
omgaan <i>yap-</i>	2	insmeren <i>yap-</i>	2
voorbereiden <i>yap-</i>	1	missen <i>yap-</i>	8
lachen <i>yap-</i>	23	volgen <i>yap-</i>	7
stemmen <i>yap-</i>	10	remmen <i>yap-</i>	5
vertellen <i>yap-</i>	21		

As can be seen, 10 (20%) of the 49 inserted Dutch infinitives were not used at all in the Dutch portions of the data. Unsurprisingly, these are all infinitives that have few tokens (maximally three) in the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* “to do” construction. Eight further verbs (16%) were used once as a Dutch verb in a Dutch utterance. These two can be considered to be verbs of modest frequency in language use in general, lending support to the general hypothesis (see Backus 2001) that verbs used as insertions in codeswitching tend to have relatively specific meaning and therefore be relatively infrequent in general usage. Most of the others (29 of the 49 types; 59%) were used as Dutch verbs in Dutch utterances between 2-23 times. An example is the verb *solliciteren* “to apply (for a job)” which was used 11 times within a Dutch utterance.

(32) S: *Ik had daar gesolliciteerd als afwasser.*
I had applied there as a dishwasher.

The higher the frequency, the less the example can be explained as caused by semantic specificity of the verb, assuming that high frequency correlates with more general meaning. As can be seen in Table 3.6), two verbs (4%) occur quite often elsewhere in the data: *leren* “to learn/teach/study” and *kijken* “to watch/to look”. The reason presumably lies in their semantics. *Leren* is arguably the most basic verb in the school domain, which is a common topic for these speakers. Similarly, *kijken*

is used a lot when talking about leisure time activities such as watching TV, series, movies etc. The verb *leren* “to learn/teach/study” occurs 66 times:

- (33) Ö: *Donderdag had ik ook geleerd.*
Thursday I had also studied.

Even more frequently, *kijken* “to look/to watch” is used 187 times in the Dutch portion of the data. The thing to be explained is not so much their high frequency in Dutch portions of the data but their selection (once) as insertion in a Turkish clause. This will be further analyzed in Section 3.6.4.

Comparing the use of Dutch verbs and their Turkish equivalents, some patterns emerge. Of many of the Dutch inserted verbs, the Turkish equivalents were not used at all (63%). On the other hand, only 20% of the Dutch inserted verbs do not recur elsewhere in the data in Dutch clauses. These figures are flipped around if we look at verbs that are inserted more than once, however. As mentioned in the section above, 18% of the Turkish equivalents occur more than once in the Turkish portions of the data, while 63% of the inserted Dutch verbs used were also used more than once in the Dutch portions of the data. For example, the Dutch verb *oefenen* “to practice” whose Turkish equivalent is *alıştırma yap-/pratik yap-/uygulama yap-* is used 5 times as a Dutch verb in Dutch stretches of the data while its Turkish equivalents are not found to be used at all in the data.

What these figures suggest is that Turkish-Dutch bilinguals use Turkish verbs where they can and either use the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction or switch to Dutch completely if the Turkish verbs are not readily available to them, either because they are not readily available in their active vocabulary or because the Dutch equivalents are easier activated, for example because they are better entrenched.

In a separate analysis (see Chapter 2), the first 500 utterances of all conversations were checked for codeswitching, and we find that speakers used completely Dutch utterances about 62% of the time and completely Turkish ones 26% of the time. The remaining 12% involved both languages. These numbers mirror the findings above quite closely. It is clear that speakers use more Dutch than Turkish in the conversations and this might be why some Dutch verbs have a higher chance to be used in Turkish, surfacing as Dutch insertions, than their Turkish equivalents. This in turn propels the use of Dutch verbs even more, and further increases their entrenchment.

This section has looked at the use of the inserted Dutch verbs as finite verbs in the Dutch stretches of the data and has found that most of them are used more often than only as an insertion. A preliminary conclusion is that these verbs are well entrenched for the speakers. A follow-up question is whether their use as insertion is primed by their use in preceding Dutch stretches as finite verbs. If they are

primed, the theory could be that Dutch words are entrenched, and they get further entrenched because they are used all the time in the daily conversations, and this is because of language choice. Their activation level could then be assumed to still be high enough to trigger their use even when the speaker has switched to Turkish. Priming in this sense can, of course, also come from speech by the other speaker. This was mentioned in Section 3.1.3 and will also be considered in Sections 3.7 and 3.8. The next section will first look at the overall frequencies of the Dutch verbs and their Turkish counterparts in bigger corpora.

3.6.3 Frequency of the Dutch and Turkish verbs in corpora

Frequency plays an important role in entrenching words and collocations. It might be the case that those Dutch and Turkish verbs that are used in the data are supported by high frequencies of use in the languages in general. If the Dutch verbs that get inserted are supported by general high frequency in Dutch, that would suggest high entrenchment for these verbs in individual speakers as a reason for borrowing. Similarly, if the Turkish equivalent has, for some reason, a much lower frequency in Turkish, relatively speaking, that would be a reason why the Dutch verb is pushing out the Turkish one. There might be cultural differences responsible for Dutch speakers talking about particular things more often than Turkish speakers do, and vice versa. This would predict that for some concepts the Dutch word is easier activated for Dutch speakers (and the bilinguals are Dutch speakers, of course) than the Turkish word is activated for Turkish speakers (naturally, the bilinguals are also Turkish speakers).

To have a closer look at this, one corpus each for Dutch and Turkish, namely OpenSoNaR and Turkish National Corpus (TNC), were consulted. OpenSoNaR is the online application for exploring the SoNaR corpus which is about 500 million words. It is composed of written texts of both conventionalized media (like newspapers) as well as new media (such as Twitter). It can be reached on the website <http://portal.clarin.nl/node/4195>. It is accessible for people affiliated with one of a large list of universities. Turkish National Corpus (TNC) is about 50 million words made up of written texts from 1990-2009. It is accessible on the website after registration, via <http://www.tnc.org.tr/>. The table below contains the frequencies of the Dutch verbs that were used with *yap-* and of their Turkish equivalents in the respective corpora. The Turkish equivalents chosen are the most obvious translations of the Dutch verbs. In some cases, several translation options are possible, while in others the Dutch verb has several meanings which are expressed through different verbs in Turkish. In yet other cases the equivalents are longer phrases because an actual translation does not really exist in the Turkish context, such as *uitschrijven* “to deregister/to unsubscribe”: a Turkish equivalent was found

based on the context but it is a whole phrase instead of a verb. The frequencies are reported per million for easy comparison.

Table 3.7 Corpus frequencies of verbs

Dutch infinitive + <i>yap-</i>	SoNaR hits per million	Turkish equivalents of Dutch infinitive + <i>yap-</i>	TNC per million
afschermen yap-	4	engelle-	230,2
controleren yap-	75	kontrol et-	22,9
uitschrijven yap-	7	ikametgahtan çık-/ikametgah değiştir-	–
uitleggen yap-	36	açıkla-	791
verdienen yap-	139	para kazan-	5,05
reserveren yap-	18	rezerve et-/rezervasyon yap-	1,5
kijken yap-	525	izle-/seyret-/bak-	668,5/154,6/1946,6
solliciteren yap-	7,1	iş görüşmesine git-/iş görüşmesi yap-	0,18
verzetten yap-	22,7	yeniden planla-/değiştir-	360,2
schoonmaken yap-	8	temizle-	101
beslissen yap-	136	karar ver-	34,6
trakteren yap-	10,2	ısmarla-	14,8
laden yap-	27,8	yükle-	194,4
inhalen yap-	9,1	yakala-/geç-	248/3068
toevoegen yap-	50,1	ekle-	261,1
ontbijten yap-	6	kahvaltı et-/kahvaltı yap-	4,1/3,4
chillen yap-	1	keyif yap-/dinlen-	0,6/93,6
afmaken yap-	13,8	bitir-	192,4
ontwikkelen yap-	88,7	keşfet-	389,28
opvoeden yap-	14	yetiştir-.büyüt-	217,5
omgaan yap-	28,6	anlaş-	268/52,9
voorbereiden yap-	39	hazırla-/hazırlan-/hazırlık yap-	643,6
lachen yap-	82,2	gül-	555,5
stemmen yap-	83,7	oy ver-/oy kullan-	11,85/7,97
vertellen yap-	315,6	söyle-/de-/ anlat-	2158/3768/1046
vergroten yap-	23,4	büyüt-	56
uitvoeren yap-	102,5	gerçekleştir-/uygula-	404,9/1001,3
inleveren yap-	13,6	teslim et-	27,83
indelen yap-	9,3	ayır-/böl-	235,8/126
focusen yap-	0,01	odaklan-	30,52
verklaren yap-	121,4	açıkla-	791
oefenen yap-	30	alıştırma/pratik/uygulama yap-	0,31/0,8/1,4
uitvallen yap-	16,2	düş-	487,3

Dutch infinitive + <i>yap-</i>	SoNaR hits per million	Turkish equivalents of Dutch infinitive + <i>yap-</i>	TNC per million
aannemen <i>yap-</i>	48,8	alın-	1034,8
slagen <i>yap-</i>	152	geç-	3068
zakken <i>yap-</i>	51	kal-	908,9
trainen <i>yap-</i>	61,3	egzersiz <i>yap-</i> /antreman <i>yap-</i>	3/0,1
inbreken <i>yap-</i>	16,8	(eve) hırsız gir-	0,92
(weg) wijzen <i>yap-</i>	1	yol tarif et-	0,65
leren <i>yap-</i>	240	ders çalış-/öğren-/öğret-	10,11
bowlen <i>yap-</i>	0,9	bowling oyna-	0,1
omkeren <i>yap-</i>	30,4	u dönüşü <i>yap-</i>	0,25
keren <i>yap-</i>	80,2	dön-/dönüş <i>yap-</i>	2076,3/6,3
opnemen <i>yap-</i>	110	kayıt <i>yap-</i> /kaydet-	8,98/195,6
aangeven <i>yap-</i>	43,1	sinyal ver-	8,98
insmeren <i>yap-</i>	2	sür-	2260,7
missen <i>yap-</i>	116,1	özle-/kaçır-	153,6
volgen <i>yap-</i>	505,2	takip et-	48
remmen <i>yap-</i>	12,3	fren <i>yap-</i>	1

As can be seen from this list, several patterns emerge. Out of the 49 verbs used in the *yap-* construction 15 have a high corpus frequency in Dutch compared to their Turkish counterparts. For only four verbs the Dutch and Turkish frequencies are similar to each other. For the other 30 verbs, the frequency in Turkish seems higher. For the Dutch verbs that are more frequent than their Turkish counterparts, this high frequency could be the source of their attractiveness for being activated in a Turkish clause, as high frequency makes it likely they are well entrenched for individual speakers (for more on these verbs see Section 3.7 on semantic analysis). The verbs that are more frequent in Turkish present counterexamples to this argumentation, so the appearance of their Dutch equivalents has to be explained in some other way. So why is it that these thirty verbs are inserted into the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction in the bilinguals' speech? One reason might be that they might be somehow culturally sensitive, so that their Turkish equivalents do not represent exactly what the Dutch verbs denote, making the frequency comparison meaningless. These Dutch verbs would be semantically specific, and thus more attractive for semantic reasons. Section 3.7 provides a detailed analysis of this issue. Another reason could be differences between the corpora used. While the Dutch corpus includes examples of social media and thus informal text, the Turkish corpus relies heavily on more conventional writing, such as newspaper articles. The Dutch corpus is also ten times bigger than its Turkish counterpart. It is important to note here that most of the verbs we are interested in, i.e. the Dutch insertions and

their Turkish translation equivalents, are not that frequent, compared to very frequent and semantically general verbs. For example, Turkish *ver-* “to give” has a frequency of around 4500 per million words and its Dutch counterpart *geven* has a frequency of about 1000 per million words. A few Turkish verbs have surprisingly high frequencies considering their Dutch equivalent was used as a code-switch. This concerns verbs like *söyle-/de-/anlat-* “to tell”, *uygula-* “to apply”, *dön-* “to turn, to revolve, to come back, to return”, and *sür-* “to drive, to ride, to smear”. Presumably, their high frequency stems from the fact that these verbs have many meanings and are used in many noun + verb combinations. For example, the verb *sür-* “to spread” has been looked into as an equivalent to the Dutch verb *smeren*. However, the same verb in Turkish also means, in combination with different nouns, “to ride” and “to drive”. When it receives the passive inflectional morpheme *-(I)l* and becomes *sürül-*, literally meaning “to be put/pushed forward”, it also has meanings such as “to be relegated”, “to be put forward” and “to be released”. These forms all increase its frequency in the Turkish corpus. Similarly, the Dutch verb *zakken* “to fail a class/exam” also means “to lower/to decrease”. Its Turkish equivalent is *kal-* which is used in combination with the noun *ders* “class” or *sınav* “exam”. Used alone it means “to stay” or “to remain”. Thanks to these general meanings, its frequency is much higher than that of the semantically more restricted Dutch *zakken*.

3.6.4 Dutch verbs in alternational code-switches

As a final check, we will now see whether the Dutch infinitives used in the *yap-* construction also occur in other utterances in which both Dutch and Turkish are used, i.e. whether they are part of utterances that instantiate alternational CS. If that is the case often, that could be an additional sign that they are very entrenched and easily activated. Possibly, the switch could be the result of activation of the Dutch verb. This would be further evidence that it is more easily activated than its Turkish equivalent. This section, therefore, focuses on Dutch verbs occurring in alternational code-switches. This is a more specific analysis than the earlier one in which we looked at whether the Dutch inserted verbs also occurred in Dutch stretches in the data.

The first one hundred utterances of each of the recorded six conversations were carefully coded (for more information see Chapter 2). Out of these 600 utterances, the ones that have code-switching aside from simple insertions were analyzed further.

Table 3.8 Dutch verbs that occur in alternational TR-NL code-switched utterances

Dutch verbs in NL-TR alternational utterances			
begrijpen (to understand)	1	worden (to become)	1
liggen (to lie)	1	staan (to stand)	1
meerijden (to ride along)	1	snappen (to understand)	1
terassen (to sit at a terrace)	1	kijken (to watch/look)	2
zitten (to sit)	1	zouden (would)	2
rijden (to ride)	1	bowlen (to bowl)	2
opletten (to pay attention)	1	geven (to give)	2
aanmelden (to subscribe)	1	wonen (to live/reside)	3
wachten (to wait)	1	komen (to come)	3
krijgen (to receive)	1	zien (to see)	3
schoonmaken (to clean)	1	zeggen (to say)	4
laten (to let)	1	kunnen (can/to be able to)	5
beginnen (to begin)	1	willen (to want)	6
werken (to work)	1	lijken (to seem)	6
zetten (to set)	1	denken (to think)	7
nemen (to take)	1	moeten (have to/must)	7
protesteren (to protest)	1	hebben (to have)	8
vinden (to find)	1	weten (to know)	10
verdiene(n) (to earn)	1	doen (to do)	10
twijfelen (to doubt)	2	gaan (to go)	11
studeren (to study)	1	zijn (to be)	15
bieden (to offer)	1		

Forty three different Dutch verbs were used in utterances. That constituted alternational code-switching. A little more than half of these (24; 55%) were used only once, 15 (34%) were used between 2-9 times, and four verbs out of the 43 were used 10 times or more. Interestingly, aside from three verbs *schoonmaken* “to clean”, *kijken* “to watch/to look”, and *bowlen* “to bowl”; the rest of these verbs do not occur as insertions, there is very little overlap between Table 3.4 and Table 3.8. As Table 3.8 shows, the Dutch verbs in these code-switched utterances are mostly taken from the stock of basic vocabulary, including verbs such as *zijn* “to be”, *gaan* “to go” and *geven* “to give”, modal verbs such as *willen* “to want” and *kunnen* “can/to be able to”, and general activity words such as *zitten* “to sit”, *vinden* “to find” and *nemen* “to take”.

- (34) M: Ben okulda varya *geven ze voorbeeld* onlardan bile daralyom *soms*.
At school you know *they give examples*, I even get bored from those *sometimes*.

Some of the verbs that occur only once can be regarded as more ‘specific’ such as *twijfelen* ‘to doubt’, *protesteren* ‘to protest’ and *terassen* ‘to sit at a café terrace’. In the following examples, the switch takes place long before the verb is used.

- (35) S: Şey orda şey varmış.. ehm.. *zo van die mensen die allemaal gingen protestere enzo*.

Well there was this thing there *people who were all protesting and such*.

M: Ondan sonrada *kunnen we gaan ehm terrassen*.

And after that *we can go ehm sit at a terrace*.

With the verb *twijfelen* ‘to doubt’ speakers insert a Turkish conjunction or a noun into an otherwise Dutch utterance.

- (36) S: *Ja ik ben echt aan het twijfelen ama..*
Yes I’m really doubting but...

M: *Eerlijk he tot de çek.. is çekimler? Seçimler twijfelde ik ook nog steeds.*

Honestly until the record... is it recordings? Elections I was still doubting.

The fact that these did not appear among the list of inserted verbs is probably a coincidence, and due to the smallness of the dataset. In general, we can tentatively conclude that it looks like a specific Dutch verb that gets activated leads to insertion while a general Dutch verb leads to alternation.

3.7 Semantic analysis of the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction

In this section the semantics of the inserted Dutch infinitives are examined. The assumption is that examining their meaning will lead to a better understanding of why bilingual speakers borrow verbs. In the case studied here, we aim to find out why speakers might have used these verbs rather than their Turkish equivalents. Following the abovementioned assumption, we expect that the Dutch inserted verbs will have been used because of their specific semantics and because they are well entrenched. Backus (2001) claims that the most likely candidates for lexical borrowing are words that lexicalize a concept that is specific and that is somehow more associated with the culture represented by the other language. Each word’s meaning has an inherent degree of specificity, which falls somewhere on the continuum between general and specific meaning. The more general the meaning,

the likelier it is that the borrowing language already has a well entrenched word that has the same meaning. Replacement by a foreign verb is then not likely. If the word has a very specific meaning, on the other hand, chances are that there is no perfect equivalent in the borrowing language. However, no matter how specific its meaning, a word is unlikely to be borrowed if the speaker doesn't know it very well. Therefore, the second dimension that is expected to govern a word's borrowability is its frequency of use in the past language use of the speaker. In a bilingual community, this means that words from semantic domains that are associated with use of the majority language stand a much better chance of getting borrowed than words from other semantic domains. Thus, the expectation is that Dutch verbs used in the *yap-* construction will be from semantic domains typically associated with the use of Dutch, and within those domains the verbs will have relatively specific meaning.

We first grouped the verbs into discrete semantic domains. Sometimes, the verbs do not obviously seem to belong to the semantic categories they are assigned to. However, the verbs are assigned to different semantic categories depending on the context in which they were used. Therefore, while verbs relating to education are fairly straightforward in being categorized into the school and education domain, categorizing verbs relating to life in the Dutch or Turkish society can be a bit tricky. In this sense, for example, the verb *vergroten* "to enlarge" was categorized as belonging to life in Turkish society category as the speaker used it while discussing events that happened in Turkey. On the other hand, the verb *stemmen* "to vote" was categorized as relating to life in Dutch society because the speaker was talking about local Dutch elections. Our expectation was that most inserted Dutch verbs are from semantic domains in which Dutch lexical influence could be expected, and that, within those domains, the attested Dutch verbs are semantically specific rather than general. As we will see, in some cases, other explanations may be better (e.g. priming or problems in vocabulary retrieval), but we did expect semantic specificity to play a major role.

The results are given in Table 3.9. Overall, the Dutch infinitives can be grouped into six semantic domains.

Table 3.9 Semantic categories of Dutch infinitives in the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction

School/education/learning related	17	<i>uitleggen</i> “to explain” <i>afmaken</i> “to finish” <i>ontwikkelen</i> “to develop” <i>voorbereiden</i> “to prepare” <i>inleveren</i> “to hand in” <i>lachen</i> “to laugh” <i>focusen</i> “to focus” <i>verklaren</i> “to explain” <i>oefenen</i> “to practice” <i>uitvallen</i> “to drop (a class)” <i>zakken</i> “to fail” <i>slagen</i> “to pass (a class/exam)” <i>aannemen</i> “to be hired” <i>trainen</i> “to train” <i>inbreken</i> “to break in” <i>weg wijzen</i> “to guide” <i>leren</i> “to learn/teach/study”
Work related	7	<i>afschermen</i> “to block/partition” <i>kijken</i> “to look/watch” <i>verdienen</i> “to earn” <i>controleren</i> “to control” <i>solliciteren</i> “to apply (for a job)” <i>verzetten</i> “to move/shift” <i>indelen</i> “to classify”
Life in the Dutch society – informal aspects (including social life, technology, cars)	16	<i>toevoegen</i> “to add” <i>chillen</i> “to chill” <i>bowlen</i> “to bowl” <i>trakteren</i> “to treat/buy” <i>reserveren</i> “to reserve” <i>laden</i> “to load” <i>omkeren</i> “to turn around” <i>keren</i> “to turn” <i>aangeven</i> “to indicate/signal” <i>volgen</i> “to follow” <i>remmen</i> “to break” <i>inhalen</i> “to overtake” <i>opnemen</i> “to record” <i>insmeren</i> “to spread” <i>schoonmaken</i> “to clean” <i>beslissen</i> “to decide”
Life in the Dutch society – formal aspects	2	<i>uitschrijven</i> “to deregister” <i>stemmen</i> “to vote”
Life in the Turkish society	3	<i>vertellen</i> “to tell/say” <i>vergroten</i> “to enlarge” <i>uitvoeren</i> “to perform”
Personality, personal life	3	<i>opvoeden</i> “to raise” <i>omgaan</i> “to get along with” <i>missen</i> “to miss”

3.7.1 Semantic domain relating to school/education/learning

Many verbs fall straightforwardly in the semantic domain relating to school and education. There are also many inserted Dutch nouns, as will become obvious from the examples below. Although not the focus of this chapter, it is important to note, as it shows how the vocabulary from this domain has seeped into the everyday language of the bilinguals. Taking into consideration the fact that the participants are actively involved in the educational setting, being students with a mean age of 18 years, it is not surprising that the speakers talk about things relating to school and education. It is not trivial, though, that so many of the verbs they use while

speaking Turkish are Dutch. It suggests that the Dutch equivalents really are better entrenched than their Turkish counterparts. Some of these verbs are also used in contexts of more general learning, i.e. they are not always directly related to school.

As we will see, most of the Dutch inserted infinitives have fairly specific meaning, but the most general verb of learning, *leren* “to learn, to study”, is also inserted once. It is used in fully Dutch utterances 66 times in the dataset, illustrating how often the participants talk about school-related topics. Interestingly, its Turkish equivalent was used only five times, which suggests that the domain triggers the use of Dutch. While the verb’s meaning is extremely general, its specific meaning in the actual utterance in which it is inserted is not so much general ‘learning’ but ‘studying’.

- (37) Leyla: *Heerlijk. Aslında varya bahçede leren yapacan.*
Lovely. You know you should study in the garden.

The rest of this subsection presents the Dutch inserted infinitives from this domain.

- (38) Gönül: (...) *Maar niye yapmadım geçen sene? Ha! Omdat ik al ik wou eerst effe wat afmaken omdat ik geen diploma had weet je. Çünkü ik vind havo diploma.. En stel ik ga naar de uni met mijn P. Stel ik kan het niet aan weet je? Dan zit ik daar. Dus ik dacht van bunu bi netjes afmaken yapıyım.*
 (...) *But why have I not done it last year? Ha! Because I already I wanted to first finish because I had no diploma you know. Because I think HAVO diploma.. And imagine I go to the uni with my P. Imagine I cannot do anything you know? Then I'm sitting there. So I thought let me finish this properly.*

The word *afmaken* is a typical educational verb, though only when combined with object nouns that denote school types, courses, tasks, etc. The Turkish equivalent is *bitir-* which is used 22 times in total in the dataset, and eight of these instances involve the sense of finishing school or a study program. More specific alternatives, for example *mezun ol-* or *diploma al-* “to graduate” or “to obtain a diploma”, were never used. On the other hand, the Dutch *afmaken* also has various meanings, but was not used in any other sense in the data. Note that the actual example presents a case of self-priming, as the speaker first uses the Dutch verb in a Dutch utterance and shortly thereafter embeds it as an infinitive in the *yap-* construction. In the following example, one can see that the speaker uses *diploma halen* “to obtain a diploma”. This might suggest that the Dutch vocabulary of the speakers is richer, with a larger diversity of semantically related verbs and collocations.

- (39) Gönül: Orda bakarım napacağımı. *Je moet ook beetje doel voor jezelf hebben he. Mesela ik wil nou hier mijn diploma halen. Kendimi natuurlijk ontwikkelen yaparım.*
 I will see what I will do there. *You need to also have a goal for yourself.*
 For example *I want to now obtain my diploma here. I will naturally develop myself.*

The verb *ontwikkelen* “to develop” is a typical educational term, as it describes one of the primary goals of education to begin with, and the process of developing yourself is often explicitly emphasized in Dutch education. This Dutch verb was used only once more, a few turns before this one and by the same speaker, in an all Dutch utterance. Therefore, this is another case of self-priming. Its Turkish equivalent was also used once, in a previous utterance by the other speaker in the conversation. Table 3.7 in Section 3.6.3 shows that the frequencies of the two words in the Dutch SoNar corpus and the Turkish TNC corpus were not comparable, the Turkish one is more frequent. This might be because TNC is only made up of written newspaper articles and this verb relates to a more formal background. Considering also that the speaker here had already switched to Turkish and then still used the Dutch word, there are reasons to assume that it is better entrenched for this speaker than its Turkish equivalent.

- (40) Füsün: *En daarna babamgil ehm gisteren ik zo tege mijn pa ik zo baba ehm oudergespreklar ehm.. Hoeft niet perse mag. Gitmek istiyosan söyleyim mentoruma dedim. Hij zo ja ik wil wel dedi maar hoe is jouw rapport nu dedi hanı voorbereiden yapıyım kendimi dedi.*
And afterwards my dad ehm yesterday I said to my dad like dad ehm teacher-parent meetings ehm you don't really have to. I said if you want to go I will tell my mentor. He was like yes I want to he said but how is your report card now (he said). He said you know I will prepare myself.

The Dutch infinitive in this *yap-* construction is not just limited to the educational domain, but it is often used in talking about school, e.g. when one needs to refer to preparing a presentation. The verb is used once more in the dataset, by another speaker, as a finite verb in a Dutch utterance, in which it refers to getting prepared for an exam at school. As such both uses are in the context of school. The Turkish equivalents *hazırla-/hazırlan-/hazırlık yap-* were used twice in the data as well, though, interestingly, not in an educational context. One occurrence refers to the preparations for a circumcision celebration and the other is about preparing food. Possibly, the Dutch verb is triggered more easily in the context of school.

(41) Leyla: *Meeloop dag* a gitmiş çok hoşuna gitmiş. Bide ben varya, noldu biliyon mu Hatice bak ben üç yada dört hafta oluyo *overdrachtdossier inleveren* yaptım.

She went to the *participation day* and really liked it, And I, you know what happened Hatice look I've *handed in the transfer file*, it's been three or four weeks.

Leyla: (...) *Hallo maar* o zaman niye bu kadar bekletiyonuz. *ledereen* benden daha geç *inleveren* yapanlar oldu.

(...) *Hello but* then why are you making me wait so long. *Everyone-* there were people who *handed (it) in* later than me.

The verb *inleveren* “to hand in” represents another clear example. It is intimately connected to the educational domain, with its regime of handing in papers and assignments, and it denotes a relatively specific action compared to general verbs such as “learn” and “make”. In addition to its two occurrences in the Turkish *yap-* construction (by the same speaker in subsequent turns, though, suggesting the second occurrence is self-primed) it also occurs four times as a finite verb in Dutch utterances, by different speakers in different conversations, and each time while the participants were engaged in talking about school related topics. Its Turkish equivalent does not occur at all. This suggests that at least while talking about school this verb is more easily activated than its Turkish counterpart.

(42) Leyla: Mesela *elk, elke zaterdag en zondag*. Zou wel fijn zijn. *En dan door de weeks* okuluma *focusen* yaparım.

For example *every, every Saturday and Sunday*. *That would be nice*. *And then through the week* I will *focus* on my school.

The example includes the only use of the Dutch verb *focusen* “to focus” in the data; its Turkish equivalent *odaklan-* is not used at all. Though one could argue that this verb does not particularly belong to the semantic domain of school and education, it is typically used in school contexts, as in the example here. The word is typically used to refer to activities that require mental effort, and the prime context in which that is asked of people is education. The example also exemplifies the smooth complexity that is typical of much of the codeswitching in these data, as the speaker switches from Dutch to Turkish in mid-utterance. In Dutch, the utterance-initial adverbial phrase would trigger the finite verb (‘focus’) to follow, but the switch to Turkish blocks that order. The speaker produces the indirect object first and then finishes with the finite verb, which is the compound verb that retains the Dutch inserted infinitive. The utterance could be categorized as what Muysken (2000) calls congruent lexicalization as it combines Dutch and Turkish grammatical patterns.

- (43) Leyla: *Ja juist wij ook. Biz sadece bişey yapmıyoz. Çok derslerde çok uitvallen yapıyor zaten en we hebben nog maar zeven of zes ehm dagen Nederlands. Yes exactly, we too. We only don't do anything. Many classes are dropped anyway and we have only seven or six days Dutch.*

Leyla: *Dus hele week uitvallen yapıyo Nederlands. So the whole week Dutch is dropped.*

The Dutch verb *uitvallen* “having a class cancelled” is, in this meaning at least, clearly an educational term. It is used twice in the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction, but again by the same speaker in subsequent turns. The utterance containing its second use combines the two grammars in an interesting way. There is a mid-utterance switch to Turkish, and the Turkish nature of the syntax towards the end of the clause is underlined by the postpositioned object noun (the name of the class: ‘Nederlands’), a position not really possible in Dutch except if the phrase is clearly an afterthought. Once again, the grammars seem to be combined in something that looks like congruent lexicalization.

- (44) Leyla: *Ik zat hele tijd in de auto Nederlandse en Engelse ehm tekst verklaren yaptım. I sat the whole time in the car explaining texts ehm in Dutch and English.*

The verb *tekstverklaren* “to analyze a text” is a Dutch educational jargon term. It refers to a language-related task in which pupils have to read a text and answer questions designed to test whether they have understood its meaning. The verb is used as a finite verb in a Dutch utterance seven times, by different speakers in different conversations. Note that in this particular example the whole utterance is in Dutch aside from the finite Turkish verb *yap-* that accompanies the Dutch infinitive.

There are several more verbs which fairly straightforwardly belong in the semantic domain of school and education that were both used in their infinitive form combined with the Turkish *yap-*, and as a finite Dutch verb in a Dutch utterance, while their Turkish equivalents were not used in the data at all. These verbs are *oefenen* “to practice” (inserted twice, and used 5 times in a Dutch utterance), *zakken* “to fail a class/exam” (used 20 times in a Dutch utterance), *slagen* “to pass a class/exam” (used 9 further), *aannemen* “to be hired/accepted” (used 20 times), *trainen* “to train” (used 7 times as a finite verb), and *inbreken* “to break in” (used once more). The utterances in which they occurred in the *yap-* construction are given below. It is important to note that these examples are all from the same speaker. Sometimes she primes herself, and uses this construction, even when the other speaker in the conversation was using only Dutch. It illustrates that there are individual language use profiles: certain speakers might use both their

languages a lot in a single conversation while others prefer to stick to one language at a time for longer stretches. However, this is never a topic of conversation, as the flow of the conversations is never broken up by metalinguistic talk about language choice.

(45) Leyla: *Maar nu.. Oefenen yapıyorum alleen maar oefenen. Çünkü ben taal'larla çok slecht'im.*

But now.. I practice only practice. Because I'm really bad in languages.

Leyla: *Şey sollicitatiede ben hep oefenen yapıyorum zo ablamla. Solliciteren yapıyoruz zogenaamd solliciteren yapıyoruz.*

Well at the interview I always practice with my sister. We apply for a job, we're so-called applying for a job.

(46) Leyla: *Aait vet man* vallah. Keşke beni de *aannemen* yapsalar.

Woow man cool really. I wish they *accepted* me as well [to this school].

(47) Leyla: Hep böyle konuşmaz pek adam, pekte böyle ne biliyim hiç böyle *steun* değil yani. Sen *slagen* yaparsın falan demiyo.

He's always like this, the man doesn't talk so much. Also he's like I don't know not *supportive* you know. He doesn't say you will *pass* or anything.

(48) Leyla: Ya da sen *zakken* yapacan, senle ilgilenmiyo pek. Pek öyle bir *ervaring*'i de yok herhalde.

Or you're going to *fail*, he doesn't pay attention to you. He also doesn't have much *experience* either, I guess.

(49) Leyla: Adam yetiştiremedi, naptı biliyon mu? *Toets*'a baktı ehm *toets*'a bakarak da böyle ona benzer bir *vraag*lar uydurdu. Bize öyle, bizi öyle *trainen* yaptı.

He was not able to finish it on time, do you know what he did? He looked at *the exam*, ehm he made up some questions by looking at *the exam*. He *trained* us like, us like that.

(50) Leyla: *En* ehm benim evime *inbreken* yapmışlar. *Dat moest ik vertellen*. (while talking about an English exam)

And ehm they *broke into* my house. *I need to tell this*.

The last example is one where the Dutch verb does not obviously belong to the semantic domain of education. However, the topic of discussion here is an exam the speakers had taken and what tasks they had to do during the exam. Hence, the verb was categorized as belonging to the semantic domain of education.

Further support for the idea that educational Dutch vocabulary easily makes it into Turkish, especially if semantically specific, comes from the many nouns related to this same field that are inserted as well. In the above examples, we see several such nouns, such as *meeloopdag* “participation day”, *oudergesprek* “parent consultation”, *mentor* “tutor”, *taal* “language”, *ervaring* “experience”, *toets* “exam”, *vraag* “question”. Interestingly, some of these nouns cannot be seen as very specific, so even general educational nouns get borrowed. We do not see this phenomenon with verbs.

The verbs discussed so far all clearly belong to the educational domain and are all relatively specific, except for *leren* “to learn”. We will finally discuss three other verbs that for various reasons we have included in this domain.

- (51) Füsün: *Dan stel je een vraag haha valla heel serieus enzo begint heel de klas te ehm lachen terwijl het echt een serieuze vraag is. Herkes lachen yapınca da..*
Then you ask a question haha really very seriously and so on the whole class begins to ehm laugh while it's really a serious question. And when everyone laughs..

This example presents an interesting case that highlights the limitations of a purely semantic analysis. Of course, the word ‘to laugh’ is neither an educational term, nor high in specificity. Therefore, there are few reasons to expect it to appear as a Dutch insertion in a Turkish clause, and yet that is what we find in Example (51). Note, first of all, that the speaker primes herself, as the previous utterance is in Dutch and contains the same Dutch verb. Therefore, it is already active in her lexicon. However, why she switches from a Dutch utterance to a Turkish one with the Dutch infinitive inserted into it is not something that can be easily explained. Most likely, for bilinguals as highly accustomed to mixing languages as these speakers are, both Turkish and Dutch are activated constantly, explaining both the easy switch back to Turkish and the activation of the Dutch verb during the Turkish stretch. A second aspect of this example that deserves consideration is that while ‘to laugh’ is not an educational term, the topic of the utterance is what went on in the classroom. While there is no obvious semantic reason to use the Dutch rather than the Turkish verb in the Turkish utterance (the Dutch verb *lachen* “to laugh” is used 23 times in the data and its Turkish equivalence *gül-* 7 times, so both are presumably well entrenched for the speaker), the utterance seems completely natural. This naturalness stems from the wider context of the connected discourse: the topic is education, the predominant language for that domain is Dutch, the utterance in question was preceded by a Dutch utterance containing the very same verb, and that verb is in focus, as the most important information in the utterance.

- (52) Nergis: *Mijn.. Mijn broer had mij paar keer laten rijden. Die man ging aan mij ehm.. Ging mij allemaal uitleggen, maar ik wist al hoe da moest. Boşuna uitleggen yaptı.*
My.. My brother had let me drive a couple of times. The man went ehm.. went and explained everything to me but I already knew how to do it. He explained to me unnecessarily.

Though this verb comes from the semantic domain of school and learning, in this case it is used in the context of learning how to drive. The Turkish equivalent was not used in the data. It is worthy to note that the previous utterances in the same turn by the same speaker were entirely in Dutch. In addition, in these Dutch utterances the same verb was used, so this is also a case of self-priming.

- (53) Leyla: *Oh, da's wel vet. Da was vorig jaar ook, maar dit jaar is da niet gebeurd. Politie ondan sonra wegwijzen yapıyon zo falan. (while talking about an English exam)*
Oh that's really cool. That was also last year but it didn't happen this year. After that police and you are guiding the way and so forth.

Wegwijzen "to show the way" is, finally, a more doubtful case. It is inserted once in the *yap-* construction when the speaker is talking about an English exam she took at school and the tasks involved included showing someone the way. The context is educational, but the verb itself is not typical of the domain. The verb was used only once. Its Turkish equivalent is normally *yol tarif et-* but in the data one speaker uses *yol söyle-* in the same sense. This may be a loan translation of *de weg vertellen* "to tell the way", a synonym of *de weg wijzen*.

To summarize, the pervasive use of Dutch verbs from the school domain in the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction is a clear indication of the Dutch dominance in this particular semantic domain. Being in school still, the bilingual participants use these verbs often in everyday life. As a result, we see them used in the data both as the infinitive in the Dutch + *yap-* construction and in Dutch stretches of conversation, and all are used more often than their Turkish equivalents. While the difference in frequency across the languages may simply be an effect of the overall preference for Dutch these speakers display when talking about education-related topics, the fact that these Dutch verbs get inserted into Turkish clauses suggests they are also more easily activated than their Turkish counterparts. Therefore, they are likely to be better entrenched, presumably as a result of having been used more in the participants' lives. Many of the insertions followed use of the same verb in a Dutch stretch by the same speaker in one of the previous utterances, suggesting that the easy activation was often facilitated by priming.

3.7.2 Semantic domain relating to work

The participants also talk a lot about what they want to do after school or what they are doing for work placements and internships during their education. The Dutch vocabulary associated with this field is another domain that frequently leads to code-switching.

- (54) Nergis: *Ik heb daar ook gesolliciteerd. Ik heb overal gesolliciteerd man. Tüm Tilburg solliciteren yaptım. I have also applied for a job there. I have applied for jobs everywhere man. I have applied to jobs all over Tilburg.*

Leyla: *Şey sollicitatiede ben hep oefenen yapıyorum zo ablamla. Solliciteren yapıyorsunuz genaamd solliciteren yapıyorsunuz. We're doing practice for applying for jobs so, with my sister. We apply for jobs, we apply for so-called jobs.*

One of the most prominent verbs in this domain is *solliciteren* “to apply to a job”, which was used twice as an insertion and eleven times in a Dutch clause, whereas its Turkish equivalent *iş başvurusu yap-* was not used at all. The instances of insertion are self-primed. In the first example the speaker uses the verb in two consecutive Dutch clauses first and then follows it with a Turkish utterance in which it is inserted into the infinitive + *yap-* construction. In the second example the speaker used the noun *sollicitatie* “job application” as an insertion before the utterance where she used the inserted infinitive.

- (55) Kadriye: *Ortada cami var. Etrafında iki tane bakkal var. İki, üç tane. In the middle there's a mosque. Around are two grocery stores. Two, three of them.*
 Melis: *Zo vet. So cool.*
 Kadriye: *In dezelfde plaats. Eeh nasıl verdienen yapacaklar üç tane aynı yer? In the same place. Eh how will they earn money three of the same store?*
 Nergis: *Maar Kırşehir is wel dinget he? Gelişmiş, je hebt daar Burger King enzo. But Kırşehir is pretty stuff he? Developed, there's a Burger King and so on.*

A verb typically belonging to this semantic domain is *verdiene* “to earn (money)” It was found 22 times in the data in Dutch clauses, once inserted into the infinitive + *yap-* construction. Its Turkish equivalent was used once.

In the following four cases, verbs that belong to this domain are classified as such by virtue of the context in which they are used.

- (56) Kadriye: *Nee da's anders bij besterdri.. Nee besterdring değil lan bijna. Bij Goirkestraat bij hoekje. İçini acayip modern yapmışlar. Binnenkant is echt mooi valla. Als je langsloopt zie je niet meer wie d'r in de kamer gebit moet doen. Dan hoeft je niet die vieze dingetjes te zien. Afschermen yapmışlar zo.*
No that's another one on Besterdri- No it's not Besterdring man almost. On Goirkestraat at the corner. They made the interior really modern. Inside is really very beautiful. If you walk by you don't see anymore who is inside doing dental stuff. Then you don't have to see all those nasty things. They blocked it like so.

Aside from this occurrence in the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction, the verb *afschermen* “to block/to partition” was not used in the data, and neither was its Turkish equivalent. *Afschermen* is classified here in the semantic domain of work because the speakers are talking about an internship in a dentist’s office and the specific topic here is the lay-out of the examination room. In addition, the concept is semantically specific.

- (57) Kadriye: *Die tandarts he. İki dakika bir şey yapıyordu.*
That dentist huh. He was doing (some)thing in two minutes.
 Melis: *Met die bril?*
One with the glasses?
 Kadriye: *Controleren yapıyordu. Ik had Patrick.*
He was doing a check-up. I had Patrick.
 Melis: *Heee Ik ook. Die Belg.*
Ahh me too. The Belgian.
 Kadriye: *Valla de? Jaaa. Ik had hem. İki dakika controleren yapıyodu klaar. Hij had toen al vijfenveertig euro ofzo verdiend. Zo verschil.*
Really? Yes. I had him. He was doing the check-up in two minutes, done. Then he was already earning forty-five euros or something. Such difference.

The verb *controleren* “to check” can be used in many different contexts. Among those are work-related contexts; it is classified in this domain in the present case because of the particular context in which it was found in the data: talk about work in a dental practice, where *controleren* refers to the periodical check-up of one’s teeth that is customary practice. The verb was used seven times in Dutch clauses; its Turkish equivalent also appeared once.

This example was also looked at earlier in Section 3.5.1, where the schematic construction of *şey yap-* “to do thing” was analyzed. Clearly, the speaker was at first not able to remember the verb. There is also self-priming as *controleren yap-* was

used twice by the speaker in successive turns.

- (58) Kadriye: *En kijk als ze mij gaan inplannen voor kassa en ik moet proefexamen en als ik ga zeggen ik kan niet, beetje lullig weet je.* Bari önceden söyleselerdi işi *verzetten* yapardım.
And look if they are going to schedule me for the cash register and I have to do a mock exam and if I say no I cannot do it, it would be a bit stupid you know. If they had told me earlier then I could have *moved/shifted/rescheduled* work.

Another typical work term, particularly used in office contexts, is *verzetten* “to reschedule, to move the date”. The concept comes up only once in the entire data set, so there are no further uses of either the Dutch verb or its Turkish equivalent *tarihi değiştir-* “to change the date”. The more general verb *değiştir-* “change” does occur five times.

- (59) Leyla: *Seni indelen yapmadılar mı?*
 Did they not *allocate* you?

Leyla: *Ama jij moet daar zelf naar toe gaan.* Onlara söylicen; beni daha niye *indelen* yapmadınız?
 But *you need to go there yourself.* You need to tell them: why have you not *allocate* me yet?

Leyla: *Bak Elif üç, dört kere gitti oraya. Şimdi onu hergün indelen yapmıyorlar.*
 Look Elif went there three four times. Now they do not *allocate* her for every day.

The verb *indelen* “to allocate” is part of the vocabulary of work management. It is, for example, used to describe how allocation of workers to particular divisions takes place. This is a verb that is hard to translate into Turkish. There are different ways of saying it: *vardiya al-* or *vardiya ver-* is one way of saying you are getting allocated a shift. However, these kinds of verbs belong to the lexicon of Turkish work life, which these speakers are not really part of, similar to what we saw for the semantic domain of education. Besides its three uses as an insertion, all by the same speaker, the verb is used two further times in all-Dutch contexts (once more by this same speaker and once by the other speaker in the same conversation), while its Turkish equivalents were not used at all. The reference is to various kinds of allocation: in this case being allocated a particular shift at a job in a supermarket, and in one case the quality category into which a vocational school’s tourism department has been classified.

- (60) Kadriye: Bazan, bazan *klant* gelmiyor zo *omheen* *kijken* yapıyon.
 Sometimes sometimes *the customer* doesn't come and then you *like*
look around.

Somewhat surprisingly at first sight, the verb *kijken* “to watch/to look” was used, once, as an insertion in the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction. The example comes from the conversation about the internship in a dentist’s office; the participant talks about what she does when there are no patients to attend to. The adverb *omheen* “around” that accompanies it makes it more specific: the insertion is not so much the basic verb “to look”, but the collocation ‘look around’. However, the Dutch collocation is *om je heen kijken*; the inserted phrase seems like a curtailed version of this. Of course, this verb has very general semantics. Dutch *kijken* is used 187 times in Dutch clauses, and its Turkish equivalent is equally frequent in Turkish clauses. Interestingly, only one of the Turkish translation equivalents was used. The words *izle-* and *seyret-* “to watch” are not used at all in the data, while *bak-* “to look” occurs 114 times. The meaning of the verb *bak-* has been extended by the Turkish-Dutch community to also mean “to watch” as can be seen in the following example:

- (61) Kadriye: *Ik kijk niet zo veel Turkse* diziler *ofzo weet je*, ben çoğu yabancı dizilere bakarım.
I don't watch a lot of Turkish series or something you know, I mostly watch foreign series.

The semantic extension of the verb *bak-* has been studied before and is found to be prevalent in the everyday simultaneous speech of second generation Turkish-Dutch bilinguals (Demirçay 2012). In this previous study, such usage was also related to loan translation of collocations including the Dutch verb *kijken* into Turkish as well as semantic extension (or ‘underdifferentiation’) of the Turkish verb due to language contact (Johanson 2002). However, it has also been shown that the standard Turkish equivalents of ‘watch’ in the sense of watching television, the verbs *seyret-* and *izle-*, still exist in the lexicon of these speakers as they were found to use these verbs and also reported hearing them as often as *bak-* (Demirçay 2012). It is, therefore, quite interesting that they were not used at all in the current data. It is another cue that the Turkish lexicon of the bilinguals is shrinking, or more precisely, that the portion of their bilingual lexicon that consists of Turkish-origin words is shrinking.

3.7.3 Semantic domain relating to life in the Dutch society – informal aspects

For the same reasons why Dutch words from the education and work domains easily make it into the Turkish lexicon, Turkish-Dutch bilinguals also use Dutch

words in their Turkish that relate to life in Dutch society. This domain is further divided into two, informal and formal domains. Insertions related to the informal aspect of life in the Netherlands include verbs relating to social life and friends, social media and technology, and cars. As with the other domains, of course the verbs are accompanied by many inserted Dutch nouns as well.

Social life and friends

Since the participants live in the Netherlands they go through many experiences in which communication is in Dutch. It stands to reason that when they talk about these domains of life, Dutch words get activated easily. Verbs relating to activities performed in social circles, such as bowling and hanging out with friends, are clear examples to this category. None of these words in this subcategory are used in their Turkish equivalents aside from *sür-* the Turkish equivalent of *insmeren* “to spread”.

(62) Ülkü: Yedikten sonra da ehm.. *Bij Dolfijn bowlen* yapmaya gidelim.
And after we eat ehm let's go *bowling at Dolfijn*.

(63) Gönül: *Ik had een heel leuke klas, heel veel mensen.* Hepsinyen *chillen* yapıyodum. (also talking about classmates)
I had a veery nice class, a lot of people. I was *chilling* with all of them.

Bowlen “to bowl” was used eleven times in a Dutch clause. The context was always the planning of social activities with friends. Going bowling is very popular among the youth in the Netherlands and hence can be expected to be an easily activated word for the bilingual speakers. The same holds for the all-purpose word for relaxing, *chillen* “to chill”, used as an insertion as well as in Dutch clauses (seven times). This verb also relates to social life in the Netherlands and how friends and classmates conceptualize their time spent with each other, be it in their spare time or in a more formal setting such as the school.

(64) Kadriye: *Daar is echt zo druk he, biz Allah'tan reserveren* yaptık.
It's really busy there, huh, we thankfully have reserved.
İlknur: Evet. *Blijkbaar reserveren* yapınca bir lira *korting* ofzo.
Yes. Apparently when you reserve you get one euro discount or something.

(65) Tarık: O zaman Samet bize *trakteren* yapıyor.
Then Samet is *treating* us

- (66) Ceylan: *Ik hoop niet. ontbijten bile yapamadık.*
I hope not. We haven't even had breakfast.

Reserveren “to reserve”, *ontbijten* “to have breakfast”, and *trakteren* “to treat” in the sense of offering to buy a meal for someone, all relate to food and entertainment, so they too could be seen as part of the domain of ‘living in Dutch society’. However, treating someone to a meal or dinner could also be seen as part of Turkish culture, in which it is not unusual to see friends arguing over wanting to pay for a friendly dinner. The example with *ontbijten* “to have breakfast” is noteworthy from a syntactic point of view, as in no other case another word occurred between the Dutch infinitive and the Turkish *yap-*. Here, the speaker inserts the word *bile* “even” in between. This phenomenon has not been reported before (see Backus 2009).

Similar to verbs relating to food and entertainment, speakers use the combination of *beslissen yap-* “to decide” while they are discussing to which restaurant they should go for dinner.

- (67) Berk: *Wat? Wel of niet? Beslissen yapak.*
What? Yes or no? Let's decide.

The following verbs are used in the data both as a finite Dutch and as Turkish verbs and are categorized to belong to the informal aspect of life in the Netherlands as they are uttered when friends are talking about their plans with, and their actions towards each other as they are hanging out together.

- (68) Ülkü: *Nee goed insmeren yaparsın. Goeie crème voor jou speciaal aliriz.*
No you will spread it well. We will get a good cream especially for you.

- (69) Dropout: (?) *schoonmaken yaptık lan.*
 (?) *We have cleaned man.*

The first verb *insmeren* “to spread” is used when friends are talking about getting a tan and then making sure to hydrate their skin afterwards. The second verb *schoonmaken* “to clean” was used when speakers were talking about cleaning the car they are sitting in at the moment of the recording. Like we saw for other examples, the verb *insmeren* “to spread” is not inserted by itself, but together with, in this case, the Dutch adverb *goed* “well”, preserving a chunk that means ‘use enough body cream’.

Social media and technology

A second aspect within the semantic category of informal life in the Netherlands relates to social media and technology.

- (70) N: O beni eklemişti senenin başında (...)
 He had added me in the beginning of the year (...)
 Ceylan: O zaman *toevoegen* yap onu.
 Then *add* him.

The verb *toevoegen* “to add” refers, in this case, to adding someone as a friend on Facebook. Given that the verb can be used in many contexts, this is another example showing that a semantic analysis of loanwords really needs to take the contexts in which the words are used into account. On the basis of the current data, we could say that the verb *toevoegen* “add on Facebook”, with this specific meaning, has been added to the Turkish lexicon, not the general verb *toevoegen* ‘to add’. We include this verb in the domain of social life in the Netherlands because using social media like Facebook is a part of their reality as young people living in the Netherlands. This verb is used in a Dutch clause twice in the data, but its Turkish equivalent is also used three times. Speakers seem to first use *toevoegen* in a totally Dutch utterance or the Turkish equivalent *ekle-* in a Turkish utterance and then, in the next turn, insert the Dutch infinitive in an otherwise Turkish utterance. This shows that both the Dutch and the Turkish equivalents are easily activated by the speakers. It is hard to account for why the speakers switch languages in separate turns, at least on the basis of these few examples.

- (71) Erkan: *Ik heb jou getagd. Opnieuw laden* yap orayı.
I have tagged you. Load that again/reload that.

In this example, the speaker used the Dutch infinitive *laden* “to load” when talking about a social media webpage or app. Note that in the example the preceding Dutch word *opnieuw* “again” forms a chunk with the Dutch infinitive, conveying the meaning ‘reload (a webpage)’.

- (72) Ceylan: İyi yarın oynıyım seni *inhalen* yapıcım.
 Good I will play tomorrow and *overtake* you.

Yet another verb related to social life in Dutch society and specifically to technology is the infinitive *inhalen* “to pass”, “to overtake”. Here, as the speaker’s preceding utterance makes clear, she is talking about a game they play on the Ipad, together with the other speaker, and she defies the other speaker and claims she will play the game and will beat her score. The Turkish equivalent of this verb *geç-* has multiple meanings such as “to pass”, “to happen”, “to transfer”, “to elapse” etc. The verb with the meaning of overtake does occur in the data twice, in rapid succession, by the same speaker when talking about cars.

(73) Remziye: Bensiz *opneme* yapmayın ha!

Don't *record* without me!

İlknur: Haha. Bensiz *opnemen* yapmayın.

Haha don't *record* without me.

The infinitive *opnemen* “to record” was used when the speaker consciously referred to the recording device with which the data were collected. The two examples are from turns that are in close proximity. In the first example the speaker is moving away for a while and warns the others to not record the conversation while she is gone. After she left, the recording kept going and the other speakers made some comments, one of which was to repeat what the first speaker had said before she left.

Cars

Two of the seven conversations were recorded in a car. Especially in one of these the friends make a lot of side comments about driving and where they are going etc. Driving is an activity learnt in the Netherlands and it involves interaction, as people need to take lessons and pass their driver's license tests. Even if the Turkish-Dutch bilinguals took their driving lessons in Turkish (about which we have no information) they would still need to study for a theoretical exam and take the practical exam in Dutch. This would make driving a context associated with the Dutch language, and help accounting for the Dutch infinitives they insert. So, in this case, even the semantic domain of ‘informal aspects of life in Dutch society’ might be too large a group which can actually be further reduced down to usage contexts associated with the Dutch language, such as in this case driving and cars.

(74) İlknur: *Keren* yapma da şurdan gir *ofzo*.

Don't *turn* but go in from here *or something*.

Remziye: *Keren* yapabiliyon mu burda?

Can you *turn* here?

The verb *keren* “to turn” is used twice in the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction and six times as a Dutch finite verb. However, its Turkish equivalents are used twelve times as well. It is important to note that the Turkish equivalent *dön-* “to turn” also means “to turn back/to return”, another equivalent *dönüş yap-* “to make a turn” is a bit more appropriate but both meanings have been counted.

(75) Ülkü: Şu *straatte omkeren* yapıyım.

Let me *turn around* on this *street*.

This is the only instance where the verb *omkeren* “to turn around” is used both in Dutch and in Turkish. It is a very specific verb, distinguished from *keren* “to turn” in the same way as ‘turn’ and ‘turn around’ are in English. Notably, the speaker even inserts the Dutch word *straat* “street” into the Turkish utterance, showing that even the most basic traffic word can be Dutch. Apparently, at least in this instance its activation was easier than that of its Turkish equivalent.

(76) Ülkü: *Richting aangeve yapsana kuzum.*
Signal won't you dear.

(77) Ülkü: *Üf ya, neyse şunu volgen yapalım.*
Pff whatever let's follow this one.

(78) Ülkü: *Beetje te hard remmen yaptım oke.*
I braked a little too hard okay.

The verbs *aangeven* “to signal/to indicate”, *volgen* “to follow” and *remmen* “to brake” were all used once as an inserted infinitive, and a number of times in Dutch utterances (3, 7, and 5 times, respectively). Their Turkish counterparts were all used once. In the example above, *richting aangeven* “to signal” is a typical v-obj collocation from the traffic domain. Although its English translation is a single word, the Turkish equivalent is also an obj-v collocation. Its other uses in Dutch utterances, however, do not relate to the semantic domain of driving. The same can be said about the verb *volgen* “to follow” where only one of the seven uses of this in Dutch instances can be related to the semantic domain of driving. Other meanings include social media (to follow someone on Instagram), and education (to follow a course). The verb *remmen* “to brake” and its uses within Dutch utterances, however, do relate to the semantic domain of cars.

3.7.4 Semantic domain relating to life in the Dutch society – formal aspects

There were also some inserted verbs that refer to activities and actions relating to formal life in the Netherlands.

(79) Kadriye: *Çoğu kişi napyo biliyon mu? Uitschrijven yapıyo.*
You know what most people do? They *deregister*.

Kadriye: *Hun laten spullen achter bijvoorbeeld diyelim. Sen uitschrijven yapican evinden.*
They leave their stuff behind for example let's say. You deregister from your house.

A clear example is the verb *uitschrijven* with the specific meaning “to deregister from town hall”. *Uitschrijven* refers to the very specific action regarding officially relocating and becoming an inhabitant of a city. It was used twice, by the same speaker, while its Turkish equivalent was never used.

- (80) Füsün: Neyse annem çıkmış babam sormuş. Eee kime *stemmen* yaptın? *Ja, nummer twaalf*. Ben sana *nummer twaalf* demedim ki. *Jaa* kismet onunmuş. Ona *st-* ona *stemmen* yaptım.
 Anyway my mother came out my father asked, so who did you *vote* for? *Yeah, number twelve*. I didn't say *number twelve* to you. *Yeah* it was his destiny/kismet. I *vote-* I *voted* for him.

Here, the verb *stemmen* “to vote” is used in the context of local Dutch elections. Presumably, Dutch words are active in the speakers' lexicon when they are talking about news about and experiences with Dutch elections. *Stemmen* was used ten times in a Dutch clause. Given its general nature, as the most basic verb in the sub-domain of elections, it is surprising that its Turkish equivalent was never used.

3.7.5 Dutch verbs used in contexts relating to Turkish society

While it is to be expected that living in the Netherlands produces the need to use Dutch words while speaking Turkish, Dutch words also come up sometimes when the topic of conversation is life in Turkey or in the Turkish-Dutch community. Obviously, the participants also belong to this community. It could be expected that this semantic domain would not produce any inserted Dutch verbs, and indeed it doesn't. All three cases involve verbs with relatively general meaning (‘carry out’, ‘magnify’, ‘tell’), so the verbs do not have a meaning that can be regarded as typically linked to Turkish culture.

- (81) Füsün: MHP, *me pa zegt* MHP *praat alleen maar*. *Daden uitvoeren* yapamıyo diyo. *Iets uitvoeren* yapamıyo diyo.
 MHP, *my dad says that* MHP *only talks*. He says they cannot *do anything*. He says they cannot *get anything done*.

The verb *uitvoeren* “to perform” is used in combination with the object nouns *daden* “deeds” and *iets* “something”. Neither the Dutch verb nor its Turkish equivalent is used elsewhere in the data. Interestingly, these combinations seem to be used as inserted chunks, but the chunk interacts with Turkish syntax. This can be seen in the how *iets uitvoeren* “perform something” is used. Here, the sentences structure is clearly Turkish as the negative meaning is provided by the verbal inflection. In Dutch

this would be conveyed through a negative indefinite pronoun: *niets uitvoeren* “perform nothing”.

- (82) Gönül: *Snap je? Da hebben ze ook in Turkije gedaan. Daarom wij dachten er zijn miljoenen mensen die tegen Akparti zijn. Maar dat is helemaal niet. Het is een hele kleine groep ama onu iyicene vergroten yapıyolar.*
Do you get it? They have done it also in Turkey. That's why we thought there are millions of people against Akparti. But that's not the case at all. It's only a small group but they are really magnifying it.

The verb *vergroten* “to enlarge/to magnify” is used here, instead of the conventional Dutch *uitvergroten* “to magnify”. We cannot explain why this verb was used in the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction. The same speaker in her following turn uses the ‘correct’ verb *uitvergroten* in a completely Dutch utterance:

- (83) Gönül: (...) *Die moet je nooit vergeten in Turkije vergroten ze alles uit.*
 (...) You should not forget that they magnify everything in Turkey.

The following example is where the Dutch verb *vertellen* “to say/to tell” is used in the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction.

- (84) Füsün: (...) *En die journalist üstü kapalı hep ehm dingen vertellen yapmış over Erdoğan dat hij Samanyolu en andere TV programma's omkocht zodat ze.. zeg maar propaganda gibi birşey.*
 (...) *And that journalist has implicitly ehm told things about Erdoğan that he has bought off Samanyolu and other TV programs so that how do you call it, something like propaganda.*

This verb is used in its finite form 21 times in Dutch and its Turkish counterparts *söyle-/de-/anlat-* “to say/to tell” 227 times. Note, though, that ‘vertellen’ is a relatively specific verb of saying; Dutch uses mostly the word *zeggen* ‘to say’. The Turkish verbs *söyle-/de-/anlat-* are especially frequent because they are used with reported speech a lot. Out of these verbs, *de-* is the most common used one by bilinguals with an occurrence of 160 times in the data. The verb *söyle-* follows with being used 59 times and then lastly comes the verb *anlat-* which is used 8 times. The reported part might be either in Dutch or Turkish, while the main verb most often is Turkish. The example above includes many switches between Turkish and Dutch, which reflects the mixed nature of the language use of the speaker. It can be regarded as a case of complex alternation (or congruent lexicalization in Muysken’s (2000) terminology. For more on this see Chapter 2).

3.7.6 Personal life and personality

As these conversations are recorded among friend groups, sometimes the topics discussed have to do with personal issues or personality related topics. In such contexts a few Dutch infinitives were inserted:

- (85) Gönül: *Jij niet dan? Haha. Jij bent diegene die Halil Ibrahim opvoeden yaptın büyüttün çocuğu.*
You not then? Haha. You are the one who raised Halil Ibrahim you raised the kid.

This example is the only time this verb is used in the Dutch infinitive + *yap*-construction, with its Turkish equivalent being used immediately after. As such, the speaker primes herself by using the Dutch infinitive + *yap*- construction first and then also repeats what she just told in Dutch in Turkish which shows that both verbs exist and are easily activated in her lexicon.

In the following turns of the same conversation, the verb *omgaan* “to get along” is inserted. The speakers keep on talking about personality traits and what they are good and bad at with respect to future career and hence education choices. The general topic in this part of their conversation was the possibilities for continuing studies in higher education, and this could be a reason why Dutch was activated. However, the inserted verbs have to do with personal issues.

- (86) Füsün: *Ja oke maar da's anders. Şimdi hala onunla omgaan yapamıyorum.*
Yes okay but that's different. Still now I cannot get along with him.

In the example above, the preposition that would go with the object of the verb is the same in both language. The object that *omgaan* “to get along with” refers to would be preceded with *met* “with”. The Turkish equivalent *anlaş-* also takes an object and marks it with the instrumental suffix to yield *onunla* “with him”.

- (87) Ülkü: *Missen yapınca daha iyi, sevgi daha (...?)*
When you miss it's better, the love is more (?)

The verb *missen* “to miss”, in the sense of missing someone, was inserted into Turkish once. It never occurred as a finite Dutch verb in the data, whereas its Turkish equivalent was used six times. Especially in this conversation the topic is highly personal, as the speaker is talking about her fiancé. We could expect personal topics to be discussed in Turkish because the home language for these speakers is mostly Turkish, and indeed the six times the equivalent Turkish verb was used seems to confirm that. However, a more thorough investigation is needed of the

degree to which second generation Turkish Dutch use Dutch in personal conversations.

To summarize, the Dutch infinitives in the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction can be categorized into several semantic domains which gives us an idea of the domains in which Dutch words might be considered to be pretty well entrenched, so much so that these infinitives are used while the speaker is speaking Turkish. In some domains, the dominance of Dutch is especially noticeable, especially if we take into account the many Dutch nouns relating to the semantic domain in question that also appear in the bilingual utterances.

3.8 Discussion, conclusions and implications

3.8.1 Discussion and conclusions

This section will summarize the main findings and discuss the implications of what was found. We have looked in detail at the combination of Dutch infinitives with the Turkish verb *yap-* “to do”. The analysis was based on a corpus of spontaneous spoken data which was subjected to a detailed, in-depth qualitative analysis. By examining each and every example, the ambition was to uncover interesting details about especially semantic specificity and degrees of entrenchment of individual words, and whether evidence could be found that these are among the underlying factors that help explain why particular Dutch infinitives are used with *yap-*.

We started off with an analysis of the use of *yap-* in general in the data, looking at the complements it occurs with. This showed that apart from verbal compliments, it is used with all kinds of compliments by the Turkish-Dutch bilingual speakers. One is *şey-* “thing”, giving rise to what could be called the ‘schematic construction’. This construction means ‘to do something’ and is used by speakers most prominently as a lexical filler when the actual verb is not activated, either because the speaker cannot remember it or because it does not exist in the lexicon. Often, it is subsequently remembered by the speaker and uttered in the following utterance, or the intended meaning is understood by participants in the conversation from the context. The question was whether the bilingual speakers overused this construction, which could be the case if they had lost active control of some Turkish verbs or exhibited low entrenchment of these verbs and thus patchy activation during speech events. It was found, though, that the bilingual speakers did not use this construction more than monolingual speakers who participated in a small parallel study of spoken conversation in Turkey. The only noteworthy thing is that the bilinguals were not found to use any verbal nouns combined with *yap-*, such as *konuşma yap-* “to make a speech” or *görüşme yap-* “to hold a meeting”. This might already be an indication that the active Turkish lexicon of these speakers is relatively small, consisting predominantly of general verbs.

The bulk of the chapter was devoted to an analysis of the Dutch verbs that appeared as insertions in Turkish clauses, in the Dutch infinitive + *yap*-construction. A first question was whether the bilingual speakers also used the Turkish equivalents of these Dutch verbs. The data were presented in Section 3.6.1 and are for convenience also included in Table 3.10 below (third column). In more than half of the cases, the Turkish equivalents were not used at all by the speakers. This shows that some of the Turkish equivalents were not easily activated at the time of the speech events, which might be the reason why the speakers selected the Dutch verbs. The remainder of the Turkish verbs was used between once and 22 times. Only of two Dutch verbs *kijken* and *vertellen* meaning “to watch/to look” and “to tell/to say”, respectively, the Turkish equivalents *izle-*, *seyret-* or *bak-* and *söyle-*, *de-* or *anlat-*, respectively, occurred very frequently. The Turkish equivalents that were used only once or none at all are mostly in the domain of bureaucracy with formal, specific words such as *engelle-* “to block”, *ikametgahtan çık-* “deregister”, and *oy ver-* “to vote” or sometimes compound verbs such as *teslim et-* “to hand in” and *kayıt yap-* “to record”. Some more ‘simple’ looking verbs such as *kal-* “to fail”, *geç-* “to pass” and *düş-* “to drop (a class)” are not used at all in the data. These verbs also mean other things such as *kal-* “to stay” and *geç-* “to cross (the street)”. However, as these verbs were used with meanings related to the domain of education, combining with nouns such as “class” or “exam”, their frequency in Turkish in our data was checked with these meanings. As such, the semantic domains become once again essential in the attempt to account for bilinguals’ language use.

Second, we looked at the occurrence of the pivotal verbs in Dutch portions of the data, as well as at usage frequencies of these verbs in a representative corpus of Dutch. The rationale was that high frequencies of use would provide reasons to assume that the inserted Dutch verbs are particularly well entrenched in the minds of the speakers. The occurrences in the data were presented in Sections 3.6 are also summarized in Table 3.10. Around two thirds of the verbs occurred between once and 23 times in the Dutch portions of the data. Only 20% of the verbs did not occur at all in all-Dutch utterances.

Table 3.10 Occurrences of the Turkish equivalents of the insertions in Turkish and of the inserted verbs in Dutch stretches

Dutch infinitive + <i>yap-</i>	Turkish equivalents of Dutch infinitive + <i>yap-</i>	TR occurrence	NL occurrence
afschermen yap-	engelle-	0	0
controleren yap-	kontrol et-	1	7
uitschrijven yap-	ikametgahtan çık-/ikametgah değiştir-	0	0
uitleggen yap-	açıkla-	0	6
verdienen yap-	para kazan-	1	22
reserveren yap-	rezerve et-/rezervasyon yap-	0	4
kijken yap-	izle-/seyret-/bak-	114	187
solliciteren yap-	iş görüşmesine git-&iş görüşmesi yap-	0	11
verzetten yap-	yeniden planla-/değiştir-	5	0
schoonmaken yap-	temizle-	2	3
beslissen yap-	karar ver-	0	4
trakteren yap-	ismarla-	0	2
laden yap-	yükle-	0	0
inhalen yap-	yakala-/geç-	2	1
toevoegen yap-	ekle-	3	2
ontbijten yap-	kahvaltı et-/kahvaltı yap-	0	1
chillen yap-	keyif yap-/dinlen-	0	7
afmaken yap-	bitir-	22	1
ontwikkelen yap-	geliştir-	1	1
opvoeden yap-	yetiştir-/büyüt-	1	0
omgaan yap-	anlaş-	0	2
voorbereiden yap-	hazırla-/hazırlan-/hazırlık yap-	2	1
lachen yap-	gül-	7	23
stemmen yap-	oy ver-/oy kullan-	0	10
vertellen yap-	söyle-/de-/ anlat-	227	21
vergroten yap-	büyüt-	0	1
uitvoeren yap-	gerçekleştir-/uygula-	0	0
inleveren yap-	teslim et-	0	4
indelen yap-	ayır-/böl-	0	2
focusen yap-	odaklan-	0	0
verklaren yap-	açıkla-	1	7
oefenen yap-	alıştırma yap-/pratik yap/uygulama yap-	0	5
uitvallen yap-	düş-	0	0
aannemen yap-	alın-	0	20
slagen yap-	geç-	0	9

zakken yap-	kal-	0	20
trainen yap-	egzersiz yap-/antreman yap-	0	7
inbreken yap-	(eve) hırsız gir-	0	1
wegwijzen yap-	yol tarif et- (yol söyle-)	1	0
leren yap-	ders çalış-/öğren-/öğret-	6	66
bowlen yap-	bowling oyna-	0	11
omkeren yap-	u dönüşü yap-	0	0
keren yap-	dön-/dönüş yap-	12	6
opnemen yap-	kayıt yap-	0	3
aangeven yap-	sinyal ver-	1	3
insmeren yap-	sür-	2	2
missen yap-	özle-/kaçır-	6	8
volgen yap-	takip et-	1	7
remmen yap-	fren yap-	1	5

Inserted verbs tend to also occur in Dutch stretches of the data, unlike the Turkish equivalents of which only a minority appears in the Turkish portions of the data. Analysis of the first 500 utterances per recording in Chapter 2 showed that the speakers clearly use more Dutch and mixed clauses than Turkish ones, so they have just overall more opportunities to use Dutch verbs. Therefore, it could be said that the inserted verbs benefit from the higher activation of Dutch in general. This may be the result of higher proficiency in Dutch, or Dutch dominance, but such conclusions cannot really be drawn on the basis of the current research design.

Finally, to investigate the question whether the inserted verbs may get high entrenchment simply from being frequent in Dutch in general, and/or whether their Turkish equivalents might be relatively unavailable because they have low frequency in Turkish speech, frequencies were checked in a Dutch and a Turkish corpus.

The frequencies found in the corpora did not show the inserted Dutch verbs to be more frequent than their Turkish counterparts; in fact, the opposite held for the majority of the verb pairs. There might be several reasons for this. First, the corpora are composed of written material, either from conventionalized media like newspapers, or from social media like Twitter. Both genres are different from the data used in this study which are spoken naturally occurring informal conversational data from young people. However, since the Dutch corpus also includes social media usage this might be closer to informal speech than the Turkish one. Another reason could be that the suggested Turkish equivalents might not always be the exact equivalents of the inserted Dutch verbs, or they might have more meanings. This, in turn, would affect the frequency of said verbs. For example, some Turkish verbs like *sür-* “to spread” and *kal-* “to fail (a class)” can mean other things in combination with different nouns. Another important thing to note is the fact that these corpora do not distinguish between different semantic domains. A

semantic domain such as education is very prevalent in our conversations because the speakers are students. Therefore, certain verbs that might not have a high frequency in general corpora might be highly frequent for these speakers. In any case, they are especially frequent in our data because that is what the speakers happened to be talking about. It is natural to assume that vocabulary relating to education and school is almost exclusively heard and dealt with in Dutch for these speakers as they are a part of the Dutch education system. Hence, such words are used and heard in Dutch more often. This makes the Dutch education vocabulary more attractive for these speakers. It is with these considerations in mind that the Dutch infinitive + *yap*- constructions were analyzed with regard to semantic characteristics.

Turning to the semantic domains to which the inserted Dutch infinitives belong paints a clear picture. Domains relating to education and school, life in the Dutch society, work, driving, and social media typically trigger the use of Dutch verbs. Considering the properties of these semantic domains it becomes understandable why they trigger activation of Dutch words in the minds of the speakers. Going to school and living in the Netherlands, for example having to deal with officials such as civil servants in city hall, learning how to drive and participating in traffic are all things that are predominantly taught, learnt and experienced in Dutch. When the speakers encounter the concepts involved in these domains (traffic rules, classroom tasks, etc.) in their daily lives, they are most likely named by Dutch words and expressions, therefore the Dutch lexical elements and units from these domains get more and more entrenched. This, in turn, strengthens their storage and makes the further activation of such units easier.

Linguistic competence is often treated as a constant state that is attained in childhood and is then more or less immutable through time. However, a usage-based approach hypothesizes that, depending on life experiences, contexts of conversation one is used to, and interlocutors one often talks to, the competence of a speaker undergoes change. Especially with regards to bilingual people, the competence to activate certain words in certain languages might change depending on these different circumstances (Grosjean 2001). The Turkish-Dutch bilinguals in this study are teenagers who go to school, have similar Turkish backgrounds, two languages at their disposal and are in a conversation with a friend or family member in an informal setting. All these factors are typical for their lives, and this has affected their competence at the time of these recordings. Take this example where the speaker is talking about finishing a study and receiving a diploma:

- (88) Gönül: (...) *Maar niye yapmadım geçen sene? Ha! Omdat ik al ik wou eerst effe wat afmaken omdat ik geen diploma had weet je. Çünkü ik vind havo diploma.. En stel ik ga naar de uni met mijn P. Stel ik kan het niet aan*

weet je? Dan zit ik daar. Dus ik dacht van bunu bi netjes afmaken yapıyım.

(...) But why have I not done it last year? Ha! Because I already I wanted to first finish because I had no diploma you know. Because I think HAVO diploma.. And imagine I go to the uni with my P. Imagine I cannot do anything you know? Then I'm sitting there. So I thought let me finish this properly.

Here, 'finishing' might seem like a very general concept. However, 'finishing' a school has a specific meaning as a concept in the domain of education, especially when talking about the past, i.e. when the whole point of the conversation is often about what education one had or when one finished etc. Thus, in the domain of education, even when speakers are talking in Turkish or switch to Turkish, Dutch educational terms are still activated. For general concepts, the Dutch word will also be entrenched, but when speaking Turkish or talking about general things, the Turkish one will still often win out, probably because it is more entrenched. However, in domains such as education that are so steeped in Dutch, Dutch words relating to this domain will be more entrenched, Here, 'more entrenched' should not be seen in absolute terms: the Turkish general word is sufficiently entrenched in lexico-grammatical Turkish environments, where it can easily be triggered by co-occurring material. However, specific Dutch words pertaining to a Dutch dominant domain can be triggered more easily even when the co-occurring environment is Turkish. Entrenchment, that is, is one factor that influences ease of activation, and it is this ease that ultimately determines whether or not a particular word is used or not. This ease, on top of this, is also affected by the semantic domain the conversation takes place in.

The role of (self-)priming is noticeable. The fact that sometimes speakers were primed either by themselves or by other speakers in the conversation connects to activation and usage have been mentioned and demonstrated in previous sections at least 7 times.

(89) Füsün: *Dan stel je een vraag haha valla heel serieus enzo begint heel de klas te ehm lachen terwijl het echt een serieuze vraag is. Herkes lachen yapınca da..*

Then you ask a question haha really very seriously and so on the whole class begins to ehm laugh while it's really a serious question. And when everyone laughs..

This is a part of the conversation where the speaker is talking about her class, teacher and classmates. Therefore, the semantic domain where the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* occurs is the school context. The verb *lachen* "to laugh" is not immediately

expected to be more frequent or more specific than its Turkish counterpart. However, she is talking in a semantic domain which can be considered to be predominantly Dutch oriented. On top of this, she primes herself with using the verb *lachen* “to laugh” in an all Dutch utterance prior to using the same verb as an infinitive in the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction. Hence, it is important to look at the surrounding utterances for a deeper understanding (see e.g. Garrod & Pickering 2004, Pickering & Ferreira 2008, Hartsuiker et al. 2004, Grosjean 2004).

When looking at the findings, it is equally important to scrutinize which friend groups, conversations or specific speakers use the kind of construction in question. As mentioned briefly above in Section 3.7.1: Semantic domain relating to school/education/learning, for example, there is one speaker in particular who uses both Turkish and Dutch very freely with lots of code-switches. This speaker is responsible for many occurrences of the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction, sometimes after priming herself in a previous all-Dutch sentence. In this sense, it becomes clear that the use of a particular construction in a dataset cannot be generalized even to all the participants in the dataset. Out of the seventeen people involved in these conversations, four were found to never use the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction, while one of them produces around a quarter of the 68 tokens. One of the speakers who do not use this construction is the conversation partner of this prolific code-switcher. The self-rating data indicate that the prolific switcher is equally dominant in both Turkish and Dutch while her conversation partner has rated herself as a Dutch dominant bilingual. The implication is that analyzing the selection of foreign words in insertional codeswitching as a function of the frequency of those words, the degree of entrenchment of these verbs for individual speakers, or of the language allegiance of the semantic domains these words come from, has to take into account language preference of the speakers involved. To complicate it further, these preferences can in turn be the result of earlier events of lexical selection in which words from the other language were often selected due to their frequency, degree of entrenchment, and semantic domain effects.

In the introduction, we briefly mentioned grammaticalization as a possible term to be applied to the use of *yap-* in the construction with Dutch infinitives. The table that listed the features of grammaticalization is repeated here for ease of discussion.

Table 3.11 Features of grammaticalization

Grammaticalization features	Reflexes in compound verb construction
a origin is lexical item	<i>yap-</i> means ‘make’ originally
b meaning has been bleached	<i>yap-</i> adds no lexical meaning
c obligatory occurrence	all inserted infinitives co-occur with <i>yap-</i>
d fixed position	<i>yap-</i> always directly follows the infinitive
e used in more and more domains	any Dutch verb can be used
f phonological reduction	<i>not attested</i>

The last step of the grammaticalization process which would require phonological reduction of the Dutch infinitive is not attested in the data. Moreover, the fixed position of *yap-* directly following the Dutch infinitive was found to be “violated” in one instance.

(90) Ceylan: *Ik hoop niet. Ontbijten bile yapamadık.*
I hope not. We haven’t even had breakfast.

In the example above, the speaker inserts the adverb *bile* “even” between the Dutch infinitive and *yap-*. No other studies of Dutch-Turkish contact have attested this before. If more such examples are found, we might have to conclude that Dutch infinitive + *yap-* has not grammaticalized as much as was thought previously (e.g. Backus 2009).

3.8.2 Implications and future directions

All the factors investigated above make it possible to explain the occurrences and uses of the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* constructions but it does not make it possible to generalize or predict the use of such constructions to all bilingual speakers. This small data set allows us to do a qualitative analysis and a close-up inspection of this particular construction. It provides a view of the daily language use of bilinguals that more controlled production tasks such as video description do not give us. The level of control during data collection affects how ecologically valid the data is and what kinds of analyses can be carried out. In bilingual research, corpus data from spontaneous speech gives the best insight into actual language use in the community. However, such data are very cumbersome to collect. The dataset will necessarily be small, so possibilities for quantitative research are limited. More controlled kinds of data collection, such as interviews or description tasks, yield a kind of data that are more comparable and generalizable. Psycholinguistic studies require even stricter control and in turn allow for even more generalizable

outcomes. However, it is not easy to see which combination of methods would be optimal.

With this chapter we aimed to show that frequency, entrenchment and semantic domains are important factors to be taken into account in bilingual language use. When research regards how entrenchment of certain units make them more easily activated and that these units are more frequent depending on the semantic domains they belong to, we gain a much better understanding of why certain units are inserted in bilinguals' daily language use.

CHAPTER 4

TURKISH IN CONTACT WITH DUTCH

Previous chapters have looked at code-switching (Chapter 2) and one particular Dutch-Turkish construction used by Turkish-Dutch bilinguals (Chapter 3). To try and paint a bigger picture of language contact in an immigration setting, this chapter will look at language change due to contact focusing on how Turkish is affected by contact with Dutch, in hopes of contributing significantly to the knowledge of language contact and language change. Since change affects Turkish and not Dutch, this chapter will focus on the Turkish of Turkish-Dutch bilinguals when they are in a monolingual Turkish mode.

4.1 Introduction

The chapter will first introduce some background on language change and will briefly review different angles from which this phenomenon has been studied such as the structuralist view and the usage-based approach. The different possible outcomes of language contact and the types of contact-induced language change will be introduced, before zooming in on, first, language contact in immigration contexts, and, finally, Turkish in Europe, and specifically in the Netherlands. Section 4.2 will give information on the data used for this chapter, and then go into a detailed analysis of the unconventional uses of Turkish found in these data, ranging from specific, or lexical, to more schematic, or syntactic structures. The chapter will conclude with a theoretical interpretation of the findings and specify some future directions language contact studies could take.

4.1.1 Language change: Structuralist and usage-based views

Traditionally two different kinds of language change are distinguished, depending on what the cause of change is. Some changes result from language contact and others result from internal developments. This chapter focuses on contact induced language change although when taking a usage-based approach such as the one we do here, it becomes difficult to maintain the distinction. Studies of language contact look at phenomena such as code-switching (e.g. Muysken 2000, Milroy & Muysken 1995, Myers-Scotton 1993), language maintenance and shift (e.g. Fishman 1964, 1966), the impact of social, psychological and cultural factors (e.g. Auer 1999), and

constraints on synchronic contact phenomena and diachronic change (Backus 2005, 2009, Heine & Kuteva 2005, Poplack 1988, 1993, Poplack et al. 1989). Structuralist views on language tend to explain these phenomena primarily on the basis of the properties of language, especially structural properties. In essence, they are concerned with what can happen when two languages come into contact given their typological characteristics and general linguistic universals. They do not, generally, look at the impact of cognitive or psycholinguistic aspects of language, for example how language is stored and produced. Nor do they attach much importance to the social factors that determine language use except for the broadest ones, like asymmetry in status (however, cf Muysken 2000, Thomason 2001, Thomason & Kaufman 1988). Neither is there much attention for characteristics of the speakers and their communicative intentions. Nevertheless, constraints that have been studied indeed often seem to be present in many different language pairs. Apart from generative contributions, few studies are completely structuralist. For example, Myers-Scotton (2002) gives a psycholinguistic explanation, based on Levelt's language production model (1989), for the regularities in code-switching behaviour she describes. This implies a focus on the conceptual level (which includes speaker intentions) and the lemma (which involves the mental lexicon), as well as the functional and positional levels (which include how surface forms get produced).

In contrast, the usage-based view on language, as its name suggests, focuses on the impact of language use on language structure, and therefore forces the explanation one step back, as it were, from structure to the determinants of structure. People's language use is different based on speakers' different experiences with language. In this introduction, we will briefly review these different views on language and language change (see for example Heine & Kuteva 2005, Matras 2009, Silva-Corvalán 1994a, Thomason & Kaufman 1988 among others).

There are many different kinds of bilinguals and many different kinds of bilingualism. Studies of language transfer and cross-linguistic influence in second language learners usually adopt a different definition of what a bilingual is than studies that look at bilinguals who live in bilingual communities. In addition, it makes a difference whether the languages involved enjoy different or similar social status within the community. This chapter will describe the different kinds of bilinguals and how language contact phenomena manifest themselves in them. The focus will mostly be on studies of bilinguals in immigrant settings, with special attention for Turkish in Western Europe, and in particular in the Netherlands.

4.1.2 Language maintenance, language shift and attrition

Language contact and contact-induced language change can only occur as long as the language undergoing the changes is maintained. In contact settings,

communities' home languages are either maintained, or the community shifts from its home or heritage language to the language of the majority. In research, language maintenance and shift have been studied as mainly social issues (sociolinguistic) while incomplete language acquisition and attrition have been studied from a more structural, grammatical (linguistic) point of view. We will present them together here as part of language contact outcomes and their reasons.

There are many factors that may have an effect on language maintenance. Giles et al. (1977) have constructed a model that allows systematic analysis of these factors. According to Giles et al. (1977) there are three main categories: status, demography, and institutional support. Together, they make up what they call *ethnolinguistic vitality*, which has a direct influence on language maintenance. Status includes things like economic and social status of the group and their language. For example, immigrant languages such as Turkish in the Netherlands and Spanish in the USA are spoken by groups that have relatively low socio-economic status. Giles et al. (1977) claim that this will have a negative effect on their home language use and might cause them to shift to the majority language. Demographic factors relate especially to the size of the group. If the number of speakers is low, this often has a negative effect on the language vitality, and hence on the chances of maintaining the home language. Institutional support is in evidence if the government supports home language education, provides administrative services in the language, or if the bilinguals have access to mass media in their home language. These circumstances are felt to affect home language use positively.

If the above-mentioned factors influence the linguistic vitality of the group negatively, some of the outcomes that can be observed include language loss, and, ultimately, language shift. In extreme cases where all speakers shift from their home language to the majority language, language death can occur: no speakers of the language remain and thus the language disappears.

Another line of research looks into grammatical aspects of language contact to try and find reasons for the outcomes of language contact. Incomplete acquisition and attrition are explanations some researchers use to elucidate structural and grammatical differences that are found in bilinguals' speech (compared to their monolingual counterparts). Language attrition refers to the loss of language skills of individuals over time (De Bot 2001). Studies in this area usually focus on such contexts where the influence of L2 (the majority language) accounts for language attrition in L1 (Clyne 2003). There are also studies that look at language loss due to pathology or age. In this sense, language loss is categorized by Van Els (1986) into four kinds: loss of L1 in an L1 environment by elderly people, loss of L1 in an L2 environment (this is relevant for our purposes), loss of L2 in an L1 environment where speakers lose their skills in a foreign language, and finally loss of L2 in an L2 environment where immigrants lose their second language skills due to advancing age (also see Weltens 1987). In the language loss literature, some studies focus on

immigrant communities in a comparative perspective, and compare the workings of social and linguistic characteristics in an effort to find some factors that might determine language loss or maintenance in general (Clyne 1982, Fishman et al. 1985). On the other hand, more recently, studies also focus more on individual speakers in order to describe within-group variation in immigrant communities. This helps determining the influence of the various factors that determine language loss or maintenance (De Bot et al. 1991, Hulsen 2000, Pecl 2001, Yağmur 1997).

Contact-induced change could be conceptualized as incomplete acquisition: speakers fail to acquire the exact form of the language that previous speakers acquired. Note, though, that this perspective only looks at one side of the coin: non-acquisition of some aspects of the language. The other side is that other things might get acquired that previous speakers did not have, such as borrowings from the other language. Imperfect acquisition has been studied in the context of immigrant and heritage languages that are learnt as L1s from birth and where the L2 is learnt no later than early childhood. These speakers often become dominant in the majority language as they enter the education system of the society they live in. Although they have very robust knowledge of their L1 they also show some significant differences in their knowledge compared to monolingual speakers. Some studies have shown grammatical properties to be different in the Spanish of heritage speakers in the United States and in that of monolingual speakers (see for example Montrul 2008 for a summary). It is unclear whether this should be seen as incomplete acquisition or as attrition, since in order to demonstrate whether a particular change represents imperfect acquisition or attrition one needs to know whether it ever was acquired. Usually that information is simply not available. Several studies have underlined the importance of information on input in looking at (incomplete) language acquisition and language loss, emphasizing that the input bilinguals receive in the home language might have consequences for their competence (see for example Cabo & Rothman 2012, Rothman 2007).

With regards to Turkish spoken in the immigrant context, studies in different countries such as Australia, France and the Netherlands have found that the language maintenance of Turkish speakers seems generally high, though their ethnolinguistic vitality ratings can differ according to the social factors and policies of the countries the immigrant communities are settled in (Yağmur & Van de Vijver 2012). Thus, Turkish speakers overall have been found to value the Turkish language and have positive attitudes towards it even though the ratings slightly differed from country to country. In Australia, for example, Turkish speakers are found to identify mainly with the mainstream culture. In France, Turkish people are found to identify mostly with Turkish culture while they do not particularly attach importance to speaking Turkish with others or value Turkish to be higher (Yağmur & Van de Vijver 2012). Yağmur & Akinci (2003) found that in France second generation bilinguals have more positive attitudes toward Turkish and have higher

vitality ratings for their in-group compared to the first generation. In other countries, like Germany and the Netherlands, Turkish speakers appear to identify more with Turkish culture and to value the Turkish language as more important than the majority language (Yağmur & Van de Vijver 2012). Turkish speakers in Australia are found to be exhibiting signs of lexical and syntactic attrition (Yağmur et al. 1999). However, Yağmur & Akinci (2003) conclude that although language shift among Turkish bilinguals might be on its way, the speakers still value the Turkish language and see it as a vital part of their Turkish identity. A study looking at Turkish speakers' language choices and ethnolinguistic vitality compared to the Dutch in the Netherlands has found that Turkish immigrants tend to maintain their Turkish even if there is a generational difference, especially with regards to their first and second language skills (Yağmur 2009).

4.1.3 Structuralist views on contact-induced language change

Structuralist views on contact-induced language change, following in the footsteps of Weinreich (1964), have shown that the more highly structured systems in a language are the most resistant to transfer. Grammatical influence exists, though, mostly in the form of interference rather than as the borrowing of actual grammatical morphemes. Some features are considered especially resistant to transfer, judging by the combined research findings of many studies (for an overview see Thomason & Kaufman 1988). Weinreich (1964) and many others (Jeffers & Lehiste 1979, Matras 2009, Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Vachek 1962, Vogt 1954) have come up with constraints and scales of borrowability to describe what can and cannot be borrowed or transferred in language contact and language change. This view explains what is possible to change in a language and what is not, but it does not engage much with the question what is probable in language contact situations. Similarly, Johanson (2002) suggests that some structures are borrowed more easily than others and that some are more resistant to influence from other languages than others. This degree of *attractiveness* determines how easily a structure will be borrowed. The question is how attractiveness is determined. Several factors seem to increase attractiveness, such as semantic transparency and high frequency. Frequency would increase entrenchment which in turn increases stability. For example, morphology and phrasal syntax, produced in virtually every utterance in a language and thus very frequent, have been shown to be resistant to change (Johanson 2002). Like Weinreich (1964), Johanson (2002) adds that the chances of an attractive construction to actually be borrowed will depend on social factors and on how typologically similar the two languages in contact are. It is important to note that typological similarity is not only how these languages are structurally similar in the sense of grammatical description, but also involves the degree to which speakers subjectively perceive them to be similar (Johanson 2002,

Muysken 2000). As this chapter and Chapter 2 on code-switching emphasize, typological distance does not act as an obstacle to language contact phenomena such as code-switching, convergence and language change. In addition, usage may bring the two languages closer together and more integrated in the minds of the speakers (also see Backus 2005, Demirçay & Backus 2014, Johanson 2002, Muysken 2000). Clearly, most structuralist approaches do not treat language as if it exists in a cognitive and social vacuum, but they do not integrate the social and the cognitive in a single explanation. Such integration is typical of the usage-based approach, on the other hand, as will be explained in Section 4.1.4.

Some research that is structuralist in essence underlines that there are no very strict constraints on what changes can occur when languages come into contact and that social factors play a very important role in determining this (Thomason 2001, 2008, Thomason & Kaufman 1988). Structuralism is not taken to mean that only the structural properties of the languages involved play a role, although generative accounts tend to focus only on linguistic structure as the determining factor (e.g. MacSwan 2014). Most studies in contact linguistics are a mixture of structuralist and sociolinguistic concerns. Thomason & Kaufman (1988) famously introduced an intensity scale in which the intensity of contact has an effect on what can happen in terms of language change. The point is that in principle any kind of change is possible as long as the social context is right for these changes to occur. This view has been criticized as it is understood to mean that determining the linguistic outcomes of language contact is based on social factors alone, and that, thus, 'anything goes' (Aikhenvald 2010, King 2005). However, Thomason (2008) makes clear that this view does not disregard linguistic factors but merely underscores that purely linguistic factors that determine what linguistic change have to be seen as interacting with the social context.

Thomason & Kaufman's (1988) Borrowing Scale proposes that the more internal structure a grammatical subsystem has, the more intense contact will be needed in order for structural borrowing to occur. The Borrowing Scale is one dimension that regulates how aspects are borrowed from one language to another. For example, in cases where the two languages are in casual contact only content words from the non-basic parts of the vocabulary are expected to be borrowed. In cases where the contact is slightly more intense, function words such as conjunctions may be borrowed. Further down the scale, with more intense contact, more grammaticalized function words, such as adpositions, personal and demonstrative pronouns, might be borrowed. With added cultural pressure, structural and phonological features might change, and extensive changes in the word order might occur (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:74-76). Another dimension is typological distance: if the languages involved are typologically distant higher intensity of contact is needed for the same contact phenomena to occur.

Criticizing the scale, Matras & Sakel (2007) note that it needs a more principled distinction between what they call ‘pattern’ and ‘matter replication’. In general, it might be true that initially you would get simple lexical borrowing (matter replication) in a contact situation and down the line, with greater intensity, more complex things get borrowed, such as structural elements (pattern replication). Indeed, the differentiation between matter replication and pattern replication is important. Matter replication refers to replicating lexical material from the L2 in the L1 while pattern replication refers to replicating usage patterns such as word order, the use of patterns and grammatical elements, or their frequency. Weinreich (1964) had referred to pattern borrowing as *cases of convergent development*. Convergence has been studied in many different language contact situations, for example in Spanish as spoken in the USA. Silva-Corvalán (1994a), also see Section 4.1.6, found speakers to simplify, overgeneralize, or avoid Spanish in some cases. For example, Spanish speakers in Los Angeles were found to simplify the use of mood distinctions between indicative and subjunctive (Silva-Corvalán 1994b). Convergence is also often referred to as structural change (Backus 2005).

Heine & Kuteva (2005) look at the mechanisms of convergence and suggest that it involves contact-induced grammaticalization, a particular way of transferring grammatical meaning from one language to the other. Convergence is the diachronic result of synchronic pattern replication, and proceeds through the mechanism of contact-induced grammaticalization. This process is subject to the constraints that grammaticalization theory prescribes and includes changes such as (meaning) extension, semantic bleaching, loss of morphosyntactic properties and reduction of phonetic substance (Heine & Kuteva 2005:80). The strategy for contact-induced grammaticalization is based on transferring some grammatical concept from the model language (M) to the replica language (R) (Heine & Kuteva 2003:533):

- (1) 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.

A characteristic of grammaticalization is that the grammaticalization process is gradual and occurs in individual stages until the models in both languages (the model and replica language) match completely in function, distribution and morphosyntactic properties (Heine & Kuteva 2003, 2005). This is challenged by Matras & Sakel (2007:840) who claim that bilingual speakers can utter replica

constructions on the go, simultaneous to their speech acts without these patterns going through a gradual change. They give the example of the loan translation of the German particle *auf* “on”, “up” into Sinti Romani by bilingual speakers.

- (2) a Sinti Romani:
 Me ker-au o vuder pre
 I make-1SG DEF.M door up
- b German:
 Ich mach-e die Tür auf
 I make-1SG DEF.F door up
 I open the door

Here, based on the polysemy of the particle *auf* “on”, “up” the speaker translates its usage in the verb + particle compound that means “open” into Sinti. Matras & Sakel (2007) claim that a gradual grammaticalization of *pre* “up” from adverb into a particle can be ruled out on semantic grounds since no literal or metaphorical connection can be made which would explain this as grammaticalization. It is a loan translation that the speaker creatively used as a result of simultaneous activation, resulting in this unconventional usage which could then be seen as instantiating instantaneous change.

To be fair, Heine & Kuteva (2005) also underline the importance of seeing speakers as active and creative users of language. In this vein, the structural approach has some points in common with the usage-based language view as both seem to place importance on the role of the speaker. These points of overlap will be exploited and discussed in the following section.

4.1.4 The usage-based view on contact-induced change

The usage-based view on linguistic competence was first articulated in Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987, 1991), the first contribution to the field that soon became known as ‘Cognitive Linguistics’. According to cognitive grammar, the language is made up of units that pair a form and a meaning. Units can be specific (actual morphemes) or schematic (structural patterns) and be simple (just one unit) or complex (a unit consisting of more than one unit). Internally complex units are placed on a continuum that range from highly specific, via partially schematic ones, to schematic units. Highly specific units are fixed idioms whose parts cannot be changed while partially schematic units are composed of parts that are partially fixed and partially changeable, with open slots. Schematic units are composed of fully changeable open slots (grammatical patterns). An example of a highly specific unit would be an idiom like “a wild goose chase” in which none of the parts are interchangeable by any other word (all morphemes are ‘specified’). A partially

schematic unit would be the Turkish plural formation N + -lAr where the noun can be anything but the plural suffix is fixed. Morphological constructions are typically partially schematic. A typical schematic unit would be a word order, such as SOV in a Turkish sentence, where the subject, object and verb slots can be filled with more or less anything and the utterance formed this way is pragmatically neutral. The usage-based view on language proposes that units can move along this continuum depending on how frequent they are. For example, English irregular plurals are stored in memory as specific units, while through repeated usage even a partially schematic construction fitting into the regular plural formation of N + -s could move to the specific end of the continuum and be produced by speakers without being put together online through the use of the plural formation schema.

The usage-based view on language change has been articulated by Croft (2000) and is starting to gain momentum in the field of language contact, with work on language pairs such as Turkish and Dutch (Doğruöz & Backus 2009), Dutch and English (Zenner 2013), German and Russian (Hakimov 2016) among others. As can be understood from its name, the usage-based view attaches importance to the actual usage of language by speakers and, as such, is interested in the reasons and motivations bilingual speakers have for the selections they make in their daily language use. Croft (2000) distinguishes three options speakers have when they are speaking: *normal replication*, *altered replication* and *propagation*. Normal replication refers to when a speaker chooses what is expected and what will not likely attract any attention from the other participants in the conversation. An altered replication, on the other hand, would be a word, construction or pattern that is not expected, that has not been used before. However, it is difficult to pinpoint the first time a new construction or pattern is used (see Weinreich, Labov & Herzog's 1968 *actuation problem*). More realistic is the assumption that when speakers are using what seems to be an innovation, in reality they are propagating what once was an altered replication. All units may be produced by speakers intentionally or nonintentionally. When a unit is produced by intention it can be that the conversation that the speakers are involved in requires it and they consciously remember to use it. They might be trying to index a certain identity, or they simply think this particular word expresses what they mean best. As innovations get propagated they become *entrenched* in individuals and *conventionalized* in communities (Backus 2014). This way altered replications can become normal replications, simply by being used a lot and thereby getting entrenched in the speakers' minds. Entrenched words and constructions will often be selected nonintentionally, simply because they are easily activated.

Here, it is also important to consider how loanwords (lexical borrowings) are the diachronic outcomes of language contact, visible as more or less innovative uses and code-switches in spontaneous speech. Usage-based views on language change place importance on diachronic as well as synchronic data in language contact. As

such, insertional code-switches that appear in bilinguals' speech might be established loanwords already in their respective communities (Backus 2014). In this sense, the insertional code-switches that can be found in bilinguals' speech represent synchronic data. Looking at the frequency of such instances of code-switches in big corpora (if they exist) could help shed light on how established these code-switches are, and thus help establish their diachronic status as more or less established loanwords.

Following Croft's model, Backus (2014) suggests that when speakers of two languages in contact use both languages in their speech, they simultaneously contribute to stability (by using normal replication), innovation (by using altered replication) and propagation (by repeating the altered replication). Whether they select their units of speech intentionally or nonintentionally, all usage has an effect on whether their language use can be regarded as code-switching or as borrowing. The same perspective can be taken when looking at structural contact-induced change. Speakers might be using certain structures or words in language A in ways that show influence from language B.

Given that usage-based views on contact-induced language change attach an important role to usage in shaping language, it is important to understand what determines usage. This includes the speakers' backgrounds and linguistic repertoires, the social factors of the speech events that speakers are involved in, the degree of cognitive entrenchment of individual words and structures (as this helps determine ease of activation), and the degree to which these degrees of entrenchment are similar across individual speakers in a community.

4.1.5 Types of language change

Having introduced different *views* on studying contact-induced language change, this section will give an overview of the *types* of language change that have been distinguished, with special focus on loan translations. Backus (2005) provides a taxonomy of types of contact-induced language change, which will be adapted for the purposes of this chapter.

Table 4.1 Types of contact-induced language change (adapted from Backus 2005)

Type of change	Characterizations	Examples
1 Loan Translations	Direct translations of lexical items, complex verb renderings, idioms, grammatical morphemes (also called calque)	The use of <i>oynamak</i> “to play” instead of <i>çalmak</i> “to strike” in the Turkish collocation <i>piyano çal-</i> “to play the piano” by Turkish-Dutch speakers (Şahin 2015), many types of loan translations in this chapter
2 System-altering changes (Addition or loss) in the inventory of grammatical morphemes and/or categories	The two languages in contact result in the addition or loss of a grammatical morpheme or category	Addition of evidential marking in Tariana (Aikhenvald 2010), possible loss of evidential in immigrant Turkish (Pfaff 1993, cf. this chapter)
3 System-preserving changes in the distribution of grammatical categories	The two languages in contact converge and create different uses and distribution of grammatical categories	Changes of pro-drop in LA Spanish (Silva-Corvalán 1994a), changes in the use of case markings in Turkish in contact with Dutch (this chapter)
4 Changes in frequency	The two languages in contact result in changes in frequency of grammatical structures	Increased use of diminutives in East Sutherland Gaelic (Dorian 1993)
5 Stability: No structural change at all		Turkish compound nouns in contact with Norwegian keep their structure, despite differences with majority language (Türker 2005)

As Backus (2005) points out, often all these types of changes can be found in a single language contact situation. Also, as changes prompt other changes some cases of changes are best described as clusters of changes which might individually fall under different categories. Similarly, it might sometimes be difficult to have clear-cut distinctions between these types of change. Therefore, it is important to keep an open eye. For example, changes in the frequency of a grammatical structure might lead to system-preserving changes if the expanded usage also affects the way in which the construction is used. Similarly, a loan translation that gets propagated might affect the frequency of a lexical item.

Loan translations (sometimes referred to as calques) are direct translations of lexical items, complex verbs, idioms, grammatical morphemes etc. A typical example often given is the rendering of *skyscraper* in English into other languages

such as *wolkenkrabber* in Dutch, *gökdelen* in Turkish and *gratte-ciel* in French. Loan translations are categorized into different types by Backus & Dorleijn (2009):

- Loan translations involving content morphemes
 - One-word loan translations
 - Two-word loan translations
 - Multi-word loan translations
- Loan translations involving function morphemes
- Loan translations involving grammatical morphemes
- Loan translations involving discourse patterns

While ‘translation’ is clearly the mechanism that produces the first two categories, the last two are less obviously analyzable as the results of translation, though Backus & Dorleijn (2009) argue that they are. The third category, I will argue, is the same as what was called convergence above.

The first category of loan translations Backus & Dorleijn (2009) distinguish includes those cases that involve one, two or multi-word content morpheme combinations. An example of a one-word loan translation involving a content morpheme would be the following:

- (3) Bu sabah tren-i al-dı-m.
 This morning train-ACC take-PAST-1SG
 I took the train this morning.

Here the collocation used to mean “to take the train” is *treni al-* literally meaning “to take the train”. The verb is directly translated from the Dutch collocation *de trein nemen* “to take the train”. The verb used in the Turkish spoken in Turkey would be *bin-* “to get on”, “to board” yielding the collocation *trene bin-* “to get on the train”. Thus, the sentence should be:

- (4) Bu sabah tren-e bin-di-m.
 This morning train-DAT board-PAST-1SG
 I took the train this morning.

The second category concerns loan translations that involve function morphemes. An example Backus & Dorleijn (2009) give is the translation of the Dutch preposition *achter* “behind” into Turkish when talking about working at a computer.

- (5) Bütün gün kompüter arka-sın-da otur-du-m.
 Whole day computer behind-POSS.3SG-LOC sit-PAST-1SG
 I have been sitting at the computer whole day.

While Dutch uses the preposition *achter* “behind” in this collocation, the postposition used in Turkish is *önünde* “in front of”. In this example, the speaker has translated the function morpheme from Dutch into Turkish. Examples similar to these first two categories were found in my data, as will be shown in Section 4.3.3.

The next category Backus & Dorleijn (2009) distinguish is loan translations involving grammatical morphemes, though it is not obvious that this is the result of a similar translation process. They give the following example, involving the plural marker.

- (6) Hiç Türkçe kitap-lar oku-ya-mı-yor-um.
 None Turkish book-PL read-ABIL-NEG-PROG-1SG
 I cannot read Turkish books.

The noun *kitap* “book” is preceded by the quantifier *hiç* “none” which requires a noun in the singular. The Dutch equivalent of this quantifier is *geen* “none” and it would take a plural noun: *geen boeken* “no books”. The Dutch plural marking on the noun is ‘translated’ in the Turkish rendering of this utterance. I have encountered similar examples (and will actually include an entire section about the non-conventional plural marking). I will not consider them as a kind of loan translation, as it would be difficult to prove that they are. In the same way, Backus & Dorleijn (2009) also refer to other changes in the use of morphology, such as case marking, as loan translation. This is a grey area where it might still feel intuitively correct to call some changes ‘a translation’ but also where it shades off into the zone where ‘translation’ does not feel like the right term anymore for the psycholinguistic mechanism that produced the form. This is the zone where loan translation fades into grammatical influence (see the discussion in Section 4.4 for further comments).

Even more difficult to demonstrate as the result of translation is the final category of loan translations distinguished by Backus & Dorleijn (2009), those involving discourse patterns which might also be regarded as pragmatic influences and as such are not discussed in this chapter.

The second major type of contact-induced language change Backus (2005) distinguishes is system-altering change in the inventory of grammatical morphemes and/or categories. This occurs when a grammatical morpheme or category is added or lost as a result of language contact. An example of this that has been reported in various languages is the development of evidential marking. In a contact situation where one of the languages has evidential marking and one does not, the need to grammatically encode evidentiality may be added to the language that does not have it, or it can disappear from the language that does not have it. Tariana, a language spoken in the Amazons, had limited evidentiality marking before contact

with East Tucanoan. Cross-linguistic influence caused it to seriously expand its tense-evidentiality paradigm (Aikhenvald 2010). On the other hand, Turkish is sometimes claimed to be losing its evidentiality marking in contact with languages that do not have this. Pfaff (1993) found that Turkish-German bilingual children who are not Turkish dominant seem to avoid evidential marking all together. However, as this chapter will show, bilingual speakers of Turkish and Dutch certainly do not exhibit complete loss of evidential marking.

Probably the most common type of structural language change that can be found in language contact situations is system-preserving changes in the distribution of grammatical categories. Here, the change does not introduce an entirely new category, or cause one to be completely lost, but the two languages in contact converge and create changed uses and distributions of grammatical categories. An example is the decrease of subject pronoun dropping in pro-drop languages that are in contact with non-pro-drop language (see for example Silva-Corvalán 1994a). This type of changes also includes those changes analyzed by Backus & Dorleijn (2009) as loan translations involving grammatical morphemes. As this chapter will show, in Turkish as an immigrant language, the changes found are clearly contact-induced as these changes do not occur when Turkish is not in contact with another language (Backus 2005). At the same time, it is sometimes difficult to know whether these changes represent relatively established structural borrowings or more incidental loan translation. This chapter aims to illustrate such changes as far as they are visible in my data.

Contact-induced language changes might also display themselves as changes in frequency. For example, Dorian (1993) has shown that with the influence of Scots English, the use of diminutives in East Sutherland Gaelic increased. Showing this empirically is difficult as it requires large amount of data from the contact variety as well as from a monolingual variety. However, some studies on Turkish in contact with Dutch have tried to show this by comparing the use of a changing structure, in this case finite and non-finite subordinate clauses (Onar Valk 2015), in both immigrant speakers and a monolingual 'control group'. This particular study found that while Turkish monolinguals make use of non-finite subordination much more than finite subordination, the speech of Turkish-Dutch bilinguals has more finite subordination. Dutch has mainly finite ways of forming subordinate clauses. This shows that the frequency of non-finite subordination has decreased in Turkish-Dutch bilinguals' Turkish, presumably as a result of language contact.

4.1.6 Language change in immigrant settings

Language change due to language contact has been studied in the various settings that give rise to contact, such as immigration (e.g. Turkish in Europe), colonialism (e.g. English, French, Portuguese and Spanish in the New World and Australia, as

well as pidgin and creoles), indigenous minorities (e.g. Welsh and Gaelic in Great Britain) or neighbouring languages in the same geographical area (e.g. languages in the Amazon basin) among others. The immigrant setting is the most relevant to the present study. Labour migration, in which people migrate to a country where another language is spoken in order to seek work, has given rise to numerous groups of immigrants that become bilingual over the course of the generations. One of the most studied groups is the Spanish-speaking communities in the USA (Fishman et al. 1968, Lipski 2009, Silva-Corvalán 1994a). Another important body of work, on immigrant languages in Australia including German, Dutch, Hungarian, Croatian, Macedonian and the like, has been carried out by Clyne (1982, 2003, 2005) and colleagues (see also De Bot & Clyne 1994, Clyne & Kipp 1997, Hlavac 2003, Kipp et al. 1995, etc). Immigrant bilinguals in Europe that have been studied extensively are for example South Asians in Britain (Canagarajah 2006, 2008, Alladina & Edwards 1991, Lawson & Sachdev 2004), and Turks and Moroccans in Germany and the Netherlands (Backus 1996, Boeschoten & Verhoeven 1987, Extra & Verhoeven 1999, Extra & Yağmur 2010, Nortier 1990, Pfaff 1993) (for overviews see Backus 2013, Extra & Verhoeven 1993, and Yağmur 2016).

As a widely studied area, contact-induced language change in Spanish as spoken in the United States provides a solid basis for comparing an immigrant language with its non-immigrant parent variety. For the purposes of this chapter it is useful to have an overview of what studies of language contact have uncovered about Spanish-English bilinguals in the United States as the situation of Spanish as a heritage language in the USA is comparable to Turkish in Western Europe, specifically in the Netherlands.

Labour migrants from Spanish speaking countries such as Mexico and Puerto Rico have migrated to the USA. This influx of people continues today with already 3rd and 4th generations of immigrant Spanish-English speakers present in the communities. In some areas such as New Mexico ancestors of the Spanish speakers of today were already there when their territory became part of the United States in the 19th century. Studies have looked at Spanish-English speakers of Mexican, Puerto Rican and other backgrounds in in different areas of the country. While some study Spanish-English bilinguals in the California region (Silva-Corvalán 1994a), for example, others study speakers in New Mexico (see for example Wilson & Dumont 2015 or Cacoullos & Travis 2015 in the special issue of the *International Journal of Bilingualism on New Mexico Spanish-English bilingual corpus*) or New York City (Otheguy & Zentella 2012)

Both Spanish in contact with English and Turkish in contact with Dutch started out by exhibiting very few contact induced changes and those contact phenomena that could be found were mostly insertional code-switches. The effects of language contact then moved onto being displayed as more complex switches as people became more proficient in English (see for example Toribio 2002, 2004a, 2004b).

With studies on third generation Spanish-English bilinguals, on the other hand, language contact has started to manifest itself even more strongly. In some cases language shift can be observed. Third generation speakers may stop speaking Spanish completely or only speak it to older people when necessary (see for example García et al. 2001, Portes & Schauflier 1994, Rivera-Mills 2012). While some studies find that Spanish speakers are shifting to English, other studies find language maintenance and intensive code-switching, depending on the geographical area studies focus on (Alba et al. 2002, Bills et al. 2000, García & Cuevas 1995, Rivera-Mills 2001, Zentella 1997). Some studies find intensive language contact and code-switching as well as language change, such as changes in verbal morphology and nominal agreement, tense/aspect and mood morphology, and the use of null and overt subjects (Lipski 1996, Montrul 2004, Silva-Corvalán 1994a). As we will see, the Turkish of second generation bilinguals in the Netherlands, who use both their languages daily and are proficient in both of these languages, shows similar general trends.

4.1.7 Studies on contact-induced language change in the Netherlands

While some contact outcomes will be common to all immigration settings, it may be useful to pay extra attention to what happens to other immigrant languages in the Netherlands, since these are confronted with the same majority language as Turkish, in a similar social context. In the context of the Netherlands, languages whose contact with Dutch has been studied include Turkish, Spanish, Ambon Malay, and others. The population of the Netherlands is made up of people from a variety of backgrounds. The latest statistics show that about 22% of the Dutch population is made up of people with a non-Dutch background. Around 1.5 million people are categorized as having a Western background and more than 2 million are of non-Western background. This group consists of people with a Surinamese background or another former Dutch colony such as Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles, as well as labor migrants and their descendants from various Mediterranean countries. People with Moroccan and Turkish backgrounds make up the largest groups. The other big group is labelled 'other non-Westerners' (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek 2016). There are various studies on bilingualism in these groups, including, in addition to Turkish, Ambon Malay (Moro 2016), Papiamentu (Şahin 2015), Spanish (Irizarri van Suchtelen 2016) and Moroccan Arabic (Boumans 1998, El Aissati 1996).

These populations differ in various ways. While (Moroccan) Arabic and Turkish speakers form large groups of immigrant populations comprising three generations, the Spanish population studied by Irizarri van Suchtelen (2016) is made up of two generations of tightly-knit Chilean-Dutch people who form a relatively small community. Very different again are the Papiamentu speakers from

Aruba and Curaçao. Dutch is an official language on these islands and as noted by Şahin (2015), Kook & Narain (1993) and Vedder & Kook (2001), Antilleans in the Netherlands use both Papiamentu and Dutch in their daily language use and rarely only Papiamentu.

These studies have all looked at different grammatical structures, often gathering quantitative and qualitative data, and looking at various aspects of contact-induced language change, language shift, maintenance and loss. Structures studied include dative structures in ditransitive events (Şahin 2015), plural formation (El Aissati 1996), constructions with the verb 'give' (Moro 2016), relative clause formation (El Aissati 1996), grammatical gender (Irizarri van Suchtelen 2016), resultative constructions (Moro 2016) and others. The methods employed range from production tests (El Aissati 1996) and natural conversations (Boumans 1998) to elicitation tasks including personal interviews and descriptions of visual stimuli (Irizarri van Suchtelen 2016, Moro 2016, Şahin 2015).

A common finding is, not surprisingly, that these languages are all affected by the fact that they are in contact with Dutch. Depending on what these studies look at, this has an effect on pattern and matter replication (Irizarri van Suchtelen 2016), the frequency with which constructions are used (Moro 2016, Şahin 2015) and language choice patterns, as the majority language is seen to encroach into the more intimate domains (El Aissati 1996).

The following section will look at the case that concerns us in this book: Turkish as an immigrant language in the Western European context.

4.1.8 Studies of Turkish in the immigration context in Western Europe

Turkish as an immigrant/heritage language has been studied in Western Europe, in countries such as Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark and Norway (see for example Backus 1996, 2004, Jørgensen 2003). The studies initially focused on the first generation, and then moved onto the second generation (Backus 1996) including children (Pfaff 1991) and adolescents (Jørgensen 2003). Many studies look not only at linguistic aspects of bilingualism but also at the social meaning of language choice and identity formation aspects (Extra & Yağmur 2010, Kallmeyer & Keim 2003, Lytra & Jørgensen 2008, Vedder & Virta 2005) While some studies focus on the bilingual speech of speakers including code-switching, insertions, and loan translations (Backus 1996, Türker 2000), more recent ones have also focused on structural language change (Backus 2005, Doğruöz 2007, Doğruöz & Backus 2009, Onar Valk 2015, Queen 2001, Rehbein et al. 2009, Şahin 2015). These studies, similar to other studies on immigrant languages spoken in Europe and elsewhere, focus on various grammatical structures ranging from word order to grammatical cases (Doğruöz 2007) and from intonation patterns (Queen 2001) to subordinate clauses (Onar Valk 2015). All of them find that Turkish is affected by the languages

it is in contact with in the immigrant setting. In some cases direct influence from the majority language can be demonstrated while in other cases the change in the structure of the language cannot clearly be attributed to interference. Even in these cases though, the change found is likely the result of language contact, as it is not found in the monolingual variety. In this chapter as well, changes found in the Turkish of bilinguals can sometimes be attributed to the majority language (here Dutch), like in some loan translations, while with others it is not possible to make a direct connection with interference from Dutch, for example with some non-conventional uses of case marking.

This chapter aims to cast a closer look at the Turkish of second generation bilinguals who use both their languages in their daily lives to identify points of change in their Turkish and what this might tell us with regards to the status of Turkish as an immigrant variety. The overall perspective on contact-induced language change in Turkish in the Netherlands will be a usage-based one.

4.2 Data and methodology

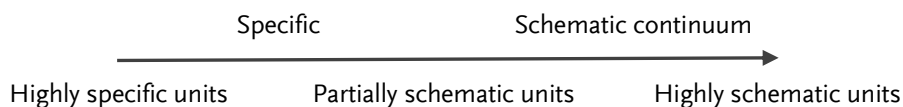
Previous sections have focused on previous studies on language change, in particular in immigrant contexts and with special focus on the Netherlands. This section will give information about the data that will be analyzed in this chapter. Following the usage-based approach to language change, the data will be analyzed assuming a continuum between specific and schematic constructions (Bybee 2010, Langacker 1987, 2008). We will start with specific units like discourse markers and words that seem to have changed in the way in which they are used and move on to more schematic constructions, such as case and tense marking.

The data analyzed in this chapter comes from one-on-one interviews with the same Turkish-Dutch bilingual speakers who also participated in the spontaneous speech data collection (see Chapters 2 and 3). They are from the second generation in the immigrant community and their mean age is 18. The interviews were carried out by the researcher in a room at the university. Speakers filled out a form and a questionnaire before starting the interview. Not all the speakers who recorded themselves in friend group conversations (Chapter 2 and 3) came back for this study, for example because they did not want to come for an interview or were unable to do so. The researcher is a Turkish speaker who does not speak Dutch, and therefore she asked the participants to stick to Turkish throughout the interview as much as possible, thereby putting them in a monolingual mode (Grosjean 2001). Each interview covered everyday topics such as family life, school life, hobbies and ambitions, etc. There were 15 participants (4 male, 11 female), resulting in 15 separate recordings amounting to more than 20 hours of speech with a total of more than 155,000 words. This also includes speech by the interviewer though, which is about half of the total. Only the bilinguals' Turkish will be analysed here.

This analysis will be of a qualitative nature: the examples of unconventional Turkish will be grouped under different categories, roughly ordered along the continuum from specific to schematic. A quantitative analysis at this point would not be too useful and premature, given the small size of the database and the state of the art of this kind of research: it is important to first find out what the relevant categories are.

4.3 Analysis of Turkish data

This section will present an exhaustive qualitative analysis of the data to find out what kinds of changes can be found in the Turkish of second generation Turkish-Dutch bilinguals. These changes were grouped together and will be presented starting from specific units and moving on to more schematic units. Roughly, this continuum moves from lexical to syntactic phenomena. Upon closer inspection of the data some patterns emerged which are grouped together. Clear-cut divisions, however, will not be made as units are thought to be on a continuum from highly specific to highly schematic (see Section 4.4).



Before beginning the analysis of the continuum we want to mention a few examples of what seem to be contact-induced pronunciation phenomena. It seems that Turkish-Dutch bilinguals have difficulty with the pronunciation of certain words. One example is the word *herkes* “everyone” which is consistently pronounced as *herkeş* by a speaker.

- (7) Erkan: Herkeşe karşı.
 Against everyone.

The standard Turkish pronunciation is *herkes*. Some regional accents in Turkey are known to produce the /ş/ sound instead of an /s/ or switch consonants around when one of them is an /ş/. A typical example is the word *ekşi* “sour” which is sometimes produced as *eşki* like in this speaker’s speech:

- (8) Melis: Hani eşki ot var ya.
 You know sour herb.

Several other words are pronounced in an unconventional way when seen from the perspective of standard Turkish, for example *zarhoş* “drunk” instead of *sarhoş*, *çiğ* “raw” instead of *çiğ*, and *tükçük* “saliva” instead of *tükürük*. It is impossible to

know at this point whether the speakers have undergone change, whether they learned these forms with a local accent from their family and friends, or whether these are momentary slips of the tongue.

4.3.1 Lexical retrieval

The speakers sometimes explicitly indicated they had trouble finding the right word. At other times they used existing words in unconventional ways.

Word finding problems

On the word level, speakers seem to sometimes have difficulties coming up with the Turkish word as was required from them for the interview. This is quite common for second generation bilingual speakers especially if they are in a monolingual setting requiring the use of only their home language. When the speakers encounter a word search problem there can be several outcomes: pauses, hesitations, the use of filler words and discourse markers, resorting to Dutch (loan)words, or some form of circumscription.

The use of *şey* “thing” as a filler word was particularly frequent. It was used around 100 times in the data.

(9) Doruk: Yani Hollanda'ya göre, yani Hollanda şeylerine göre kuralları işte şeyleri öyle.

I mean according to the Netherlands, I mean according to Dutch things rules you know like things.

In this example the speaker has trouble finding the word for “rules” and uses *şey* “thing” as a filler word. Right afterwards he remembers the word and uses it.

(10) Öznur: Diplomayı alınca hemen şeye girebiliyon.

When you get the diploma you can immediately go on to the thing.

Above is an example in which the speaker uses the filler word *şey* “thing” when she cannot remember the noun she is looking for. However, in this case the speaker never utters the Turkish word. It is not known, therefore, whether she was able to remember the word, whether she even knows it, or whether there was just no need to say it anymore. The intended meaning can be reconstructed from the conversation: she means a kind of school she can go to once she graduates from the present one she is studying at. Since it is likely that her interlocutor understood this too, there may have been no need to repair the missing information.

Speakers also have trouble remembering verbs and therefore make use of the construction *şey yap* “do thing” as was also found in the bilingual data (see Chapter

3, Section 3.5). However, as opposed to the bilingual data, when these speakers are talking in Turkish, even when they cannot remember the verb they do not make use of the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction. This shows they ‘know’ that the Dutch verbs, while perfectly acceptable loanwords in conversation with other bilinguals, are still ‘foreign’ and, thus, not known by interlocutors who don’t speak Dutch.

- (11) Erkan: Ama işte şey yaptılar ya, pas attılar.
But well they did thing, they made a pass.

In the example above the speaker cannot remember the word for “to skip” or “to change their mind” when talking about calling and making plans. He uses the *şey yap* “do thing” construction as a conversational filler, and immediately utters a Turkish verb which means “to make a pass”. This is a verb that is normally used in the context of football. Here, the speaker thinks this Turkish verb is a good enough equivalence to convey the meaning he was aiming for. However, similar to when *şey* “thing” is used as a filler for a noun, there are also some examples where speakers do not follow the *şey yap* “do thing” construction with the proper Turkish verb they could not remember or did not know.

- (12) Leyla: Hey sen diye şey yaptı.
He did thing like ‘hey you’.

Presumably the speaker here refers to a verb that means ‘to call someone’, or ‘to call out to someone’, ‘to yell someone’s name’. It is important to note that the *şey yap* “do thing” construction is also used by Turkish speakers in Turkey as mentioned in Chapter 3, Section 3.5

There are further discourse markers speakers make use of when they cannot remember a word. Using constructions such as *nasıl diyeyim* “how do I say it”, *nasıl diyorsun* “how do you say it” and *şey diyelim* “let’s say thing”, speakers mark that they have trouble coming up with the words they are searching for. These are found to be used 75 times in the data.

- (13) Melis: Bi şey onu nasıl diyon ya.
Something how do you say that.

- (14) İlknur: Bi bi şey ee nasıl diyim? Matematiksel bi bölümü bitirdi.
Some something um how do I say it? He finished a mathematical study.

In the above example, the speaker uses the discourse marker *nasıl diyeyim* “how do I say it” and follows it with what is presumably what she wanted to refer to. Sometimes, however, the speakers use these discourse markers as filler items, but

cannot come up with the word(s) they are looking for, so instead they resort to circumscribing.

- (15) Melis: Şey em ne diyolar ya? Hani mesela çalışıyon ya ve çocuklar evde kalıyo. Onu bi yere bırakıyosun.
 Thing um what do they call it? Like for example you are working and the children stay at home. You leave them somewhere.

In the above example the speaker first tries to come up with the word. When she cannot, she gives an explanation of what she means, which is a kindergarten. This is then understood by the interviewer who offers the Turkish word and the bilingual speaker then is able to use it in her following utterance.

In some cases the bilingual speakers make explicit remarks about how they cannot remember the word they want to utter.

- (16) Hatice: E kelimeyi getiremiyom.
 Um I cannot remember the word.

Sometimes speakers ask for the interviewer's help in lexical retrieval. This is found to happen around 35 times in the data. They do this in several different ways; sometimes they come up with their own suggestion and check with the interviewer whether the Turkish equivalent of the Dutch word they want to use is the correct one or simply ask whether the Turkish word they use is the right one, without making reference to the Dutch counterpart (Dutch in italics).

- (17) Nergis: Ne diyolar *huismeester*. Muhtar mı?
 How do they call *concierge*. Elected neighborhood representative?

In the example above the speaker wants to refer to a person who takes care of an apartment building. The Turkish equivalent she comes up with refers to a more official authority, which only exists in Turkey.

In the following examples the interviewer's help is elicited in remembering a word (Dutch in italics).

- (18) Ahmet: Eee *kentekenplaat* noluyodu? Arabanın.. *kentekenplaat* ne diyolardı ya?
 Uhmm what was *licence plate*? The car's.. What do they call *the licence plate*?
 (19) Ceylan: Objektif var mı Türkiye'de. Türkçe'de?
 Does "objective" exist in Turkey? In Turkish?

They also openly admit they do not know the Turkish equivalent of the Dutch word they want to use (Dutch in italics) which happens around 13 times in the data.

- (20) Nergis: *Bank en verzekering*. Türkçesini bilmiyorum.
Bank and insurance. I don't know it in Turkish.

Unconventional use of lexical items

Up until now, we have seen that there are words speakers do not know and they show they are aware of that. Some of this is probably just momentary forgetting that goes on everywhere, also for monolinguals. Some of it is due to contact in general (less entrenchment of Turkish words), some of it to direct competition (replacement) by Dutch words, and some of it by lexical gaps. There were also some patterns that were observed in the data that represent unconventional use of lexical items. First, the speakers do not usually use the Turkish words to refer to months but instead use numbers to refer to them.

- (21) Kadriye: Altıncı ayın sonuna kadar herhalde.
 Probably until the end of the sixth month.

- (22) İlknur: 11. ayda bitiyö. ay 11. ay diyorum 7. ayda bitiyö.
 It ends on the 11th month. Oh I'm saying the 11th month, it ends on the 7th month.

While some speakers do use the Turkish names for months, one speaker, after being told the names of the months by the interviewer, says she does not understand because she does not know these words. I have no certain explanation for this phenomenon, but presumably the speakers are from dialect backgrounds in which the months are not referred to by their standard Turkish names. It is unlikely that Dutch influence has anything to do with this, except perhaps that talking about dates may be a domain more common in Dutch than in Turkish, so that the Dutch names might be better entrenched than the Turkish ones.

- (23) Ceylan: İşı başladım ben geçen sene haziran, temmuz, yaz tatiline doğruydu.
 I started working last year in June, July, it was towards the summer vacation.
- (24) Interviewer: Temmuz sonu mu? ne bayram temmuz sonu galiba? ağustos başı.
 At the end of July? I think the holidays are at the end of July? Beginning of August.
- Nergis: Ayları bilmiyom Türkçe'de. Ayları Türkçe'den bilmiyorum.
 I don't know the months in Turkish. I don't know the months in Turkish.

4.3.2 Use of Dutch words as insertions

Aside from the above mentioned strategies and the fact that participants were put in a monolingual mode, sometimes they used Dutch words as part of their Turkish speech (see also Chapters 2 and 3 on code-switching patterns found in bilinguals' speech). In some cases, as mentioned above (Example 19) they asked what the Turkish equivalent of the word or construction is. In others they admitted they did not know the Turkish equivalent (Example 20). There were also cases, however, in which they simply inserted the Dutch word into the otherwise Turkish utterance. Some of these insertions are adjectives that refer to nationality or origins (Dutch in italics).

- (25) Öznur: Bi tane *afrikaan* kız 11 yaşında.
An *African* girl who is 11 years old.

Where appropriate, these insertions take Turkish case markers or plural suffixes (Dutch in italics).

- (26) Melis: *Marokkaan-lar*, *Surinamlı-lar*.
Moroccan-PL Surinamese-PL
The *Moroccans*, the *Surinamese*.

In the example above, the Dutch adjective *Marokkaan* "Moroccan" is used with the Turkish plural suffix -*lar* attached to it.

Many words in the semantic domain of school and education are also inserted into their Turkish, such as words referring to studying and the names of study programs (Dutch in italics).

- (27) Pelin: İnşallah bari *herkansing* vardır yani.
I hope at least they have *re-sit* that is.

As mentioned above, these insertions also take Turkish case markings (Dutch in italics).

- (28) Gönül: Bur-da *rechten*-da oku-yo.
Here-LOC law-LOC study-PROG.3SG
She is studying here in the *law program*.

In the example above, the study name *rechten* in Dutch meaning "law" is inflected with the Turkish locative marker -*da*.

Some of these Dutch insertions are used while the speaker tries to remember the Turkish word, as this is provided immediately after uttering the Dutch word (Dutch in italics).

- (29) İlknur: Hani *faalangst* var. Nası diyim? Ee kaybetme korkusu.
You see there is a *fear of failing*. How do I say it? Uhm fear of failing.
- (30) Gönül: *Vrijwilligerswerk* var biliyo musun? Gönüllü, gönül işi.
Do you know *volunteer work*? Volunteering, volunteer work.

The way in which the speaker uses the Dutch word and comes up with its Turkish equivalent afterwards is similar to the cases with *şey* “thing” mentioned above.

Some of the Dutch insertions concern the infinitival form of a Dutch verb combined with the Turkish finite verb *yap-* “to do”. This construction is also a prominent construction in the everyday language use of Turkish-Dutch bilinguals when they are not limited to a monolingual Turkish mode, and is analyzed in detail in Chapter 3. In the following example the stem of the Dutch verb *afstuderen* “to graduate” is used in combination with the Turkish verb *yap-* “to do” which is conjugated for time and person (Dutch in italics).

- (31) Gönül: Son sene zaten *afstudeer* yapıyorsun.
Anyway in the last year you *graduate*.

In the following example the infinitive Dutch verb *intereseren* “to interest” is used with the Turkish auxiliary *yap-* “to do” (Dutch in italics).

- (32) Gönül: Yoksa gerçekten *interesseren* mı yapıyo.
Or really interest.INF Q do.PROG.3sg
Or if she is really *interested*.

This example is especially interesting since the construction Dutch infinitive + *yap-* is rarely found to be divided by another grammatical particle between the two parts of the construction such as with the question copula *mı* here.

As can be seen, the Turkish-Dutch bilinguals in the study make use of Dutch words in their Turkish speech despite the fact they were put in monolingual Turkish mode. In some cases, they seem to be aware that the words they use are not Turkish and hence they pause, ask the Turkish equivalent, or come up with it themselves. However, on other occasions they seem to use them as established loanwords.

4.3.3 Phrases, sayings/collocations and loan translations

The previous section has dealt with issues of lexical retrieval Turkish-Dutch bilingual speakers can be expected to have to confront. These issues had to do with the retrieval of single words. This section will deal with fixed phrases and longer chunks. It will first focus on phrases and sayings/collocations and then move on to larger chunks which often reflect the familiar contact phenomenon known as loan translations.

Phrases and sayings/collocations

The speakers in the study use words and longer expressions in ways that look unconventional and strange from a monolingual, or Turkey-centered perspective. These phrases are not as fixed as single words because although the words that can be used in these phrases as well as their order are quite fixed they still often in various forms as they are conjugated with respect to person and tense. In some cases additional words can be inserted into the phrase. There are many examples in the data that could be regarded as somehow unconventional.

- (33) Hatice: Ayak-lar-ın-ı, kendi ayak-lar-ın-da dur.
 Foot-PL-POSS-ACC your-own foot-PL-POSS-LOC stand
 Your feet, stand on your own feet.
 TR-TUR: Kendi ayakları üzerinde dur.
 NL-DUT: Op je eigen benen staan. (lit.: to stand on your own legs)

In the above example the fixed phrase “to stand on your own feet” means the same as in English, to be able to support yourself. The conventional Turkish equivalent, however, would be *kendi ayakları üzerinde/üstünde dur-*. So, the locative suffix -dA attached to *ayakların-* “your feet” replaces the locative-marked spatial nominal. It is easy to understand what the speaker means in this example, although it represents a slight deviation from the convention. In relation to Dutch influence it seems that the use of the Turkish locative ‘feels like’ the translation of ‘op’; but also note that the Turkish use of ‘feet’ in the expression is not replaced by Dutch-influenced ‘legs’. So some Dutch influence is likely, but it is not total.

- (34) Ahmet: Yani bi sene boş yer-i-ne git-ti.
 So one year empty place-POS-DAT go-PAST
 So one year went to waste.
 TR-TUR: Yani bir sene boş yere gitti. / Yani bir sene boşa gitti.

The construction that the speaker uses is *boş yerine git-* “to go to waste”. This expression could be formed in two ways in Turkish; *boş yere gitti* (without the possessive) or *boşa gitti* (with a nominalized adjective). Instead of the verb *git-* “to

go” other verbs can be used such as *harcan-* “to be wasted” or any other verb depending on what you are talking about, since the construction is either *boş yere VERB* or *boşa VERB*. However, the speaker here uses an extra possessive on the noun. The use of the possessive may reflect language change. The schema Adj + N-POSS-Case + V is probably better entrenched (since it is more frequent) than Adj + N-Case + V, just because most adjectives, or adjective-like words, form compound nouns with the following noun, and compound nouns end with the possessive morpheme. The cases without possessive are less frequent, and may be subject to slow attrition in the immigrant varieties.

Another example of a fixed expression that is rendered is an unconventional form is the following, in which the speaker uses a synonym of the word that would normally be used in this construction in Turkish.

- (35) Erkan: Dövüş arı-yo-lar.
 Fight search-PROG.3PL
 They are looking for a fight.
 TR-TUR: Kavga arıyorlar.

Here, the speaker uses the word *dövüş* “fight”, a synonym for *kavga*. The word *kavga* has a bit more general meaning as it can also refer to vocal arguments and rows, whereas *dövüş* refers to physical fights. In the expression “to look for a fight” the noun *kavga* should be used. This might be a result of the loss of the subtle difference between these two words, which in turn may stem from not experiencing their uses often enough. Once again, even if this change is ongoing in the immigrant variety, we cannot know whether it represents attrition or ‘incomplete acquisition’. Note that the expression does not suggest Dutch influence, since Dutch doesn’t use a word for ‘fight’ in the equivalent expression.

A similar thing can be seen in the following example where the speaker uses similar noun instead of the expected noun in a collocation.

- (36) Melis: Kafa-sı-nda tut-muş.
 Head-POSS-LOC keep-EVID.3SG
 She remembers it.
 TR-TUR: Aklında tut-
 NL-DUTC: In haar hoofd zitten. (lit.: to sit in her head)

In the above example, the speaker uses the construction *kafasında tut-* “to remember” literally “to keep in one’s head”. However, the conventional collocation in Turkish uses the noun *akıl* “mind”, yielding *aklında tut-*. The Dutch collocation uses the noun *hoofd* “head”, so most likely the speaker has produced a loan translation of the Dutch collocation.

Sometimes Dutch influence is relatively obvious; in other cases it is not likely, as the previous examples showed. Another example in which it is unlikely is the following. Again, a fixed phrase is rendered in a form that uses a similar verb as the conventional one. The utterance is understandable, but it is just not how it would be said in Turkey.

- (37) Gönül: Hayat-ta dur-mak için.
 Life-LOC stand-INF for
 Power to stay alive.
 TR-TUR: Hayatta kalmak için.

The fixed phrase in question here means “to stay alive” or “to survive”. This in Turkish would be *hayatta kal-*, literally “to stay in life”. However, instead of using the verb *kal-* “to stay, to remain”, the speaker uses the semantically related verb *dur-* “to stay, to stand, to stop”. Dutch uses the equivalent of *kal-*, (*in leven blijven*; literally “stay in life”) so whatever the reason is for the speaker to use *dur-* “stand” instead, it is unlikely to be direct influence from Dutch. Mixing two fixed expressions is also found in the data where the speaker uses the first half of one expression and another half of the other expression:

- (38) Ceylan: Böyle bilmiyorum zorlarına mı yediremiyorlar.
 Like I don't know if they don't want to feel abased.
 TR-TUR: Zorlarına mı gidiyor. / Gurularına mı yediremiyorlar.

The speaker is referring to the unwillingness of people to accept that they were wrong because they would feel offended or humiliated. The constructions that can be used here are *zoruna git-* “to feel offended” or *gururuna yedireme-* “to not want to accept they are wrong for fear of being humiliated”. Here, the speaker uses the noun of the first fixed phrase and the verb from the second phrase. Conventional Turkish could have used either one of the expressions in the context of this conversation. The confusion that is in evidence might be because of not being exposed to the two expressions often enough to affect sufficient entrenchment of either.

Following is another example of ‘confusion’, with a collocation that is normally formed with the auxiliary *et-* “to do” but where the speaker uses the semantically similar auxiliary *yap-* which also means “to do”.

- (39) Füsün: Ama işte onla tereddüt yapıyo.
 But well she is hesitating about it.
 TR-TUR: Tereddüt ediyor.

There are no other examples of this in our data. However, other research has found a similar phenomenon and the reason for this could be an overall increased use of the verb *yap-* “to do” in the immigrant variety because of its use in combination with Dutch infinitives (Doğruöz & Backus 2009 and Treffers-Daller et al. 2016, also cf. Chapter 3).

In some cases the speakers know the words that are a part of the phrase they want to utter but they have trouble forming the entire phrase, and thus they hesitate and use discourse markers while trying to form their utterance.

- (40) Ceylan: *Tükürdüğün lafı yalamıyacak mı öyle bi şey var ya, yani- söylediği sözü-*
He is not going to eat his own words or something, you know, I mean-
the thing he said-

Here the fixed phrase is *tükürdüğünü yala-* “to eat your own words” literally “to lick what you have spat”. However, the speaker cannot come up with the exact idiom so she adds an extra word *laf* meaning “word”, literally saying “licking the word you have spat”. She then goes on with many discourse markers showing that she is not entirely satisfied with how she produced that phrase and even tries to repair it at the end, to no avail. This is probably a case of low entrenchment due to low exposure and little practice in using this saying.

- (41) Füsün: *Ama böyle gerçekten oturup da bi problemimizi masanın üstünde konu- koymayı şey yapmıyoruz. Masada yani konuşmayız biz öyle.*
But we don’t really sit and discuss our problem in detail we don’t talk-
we don’t do thing. We don’t talk about it at the table.
TE-TUR: *Masaya yatır-*
NL-DUT: *Leggen het op tafel.* (lit.: to lay it on the table)

In this example, the speaker cannot come up with the saying that means “to discuss something in detail”. In Turkish, this is phrased as *masaya yatır-* literally “to lay it on the table”. Again, the speaker uses a verb that is a synonym, *koy-* “to put”. She realizes that this is not the proper way to form this expression and struggles to repair her error. When she cannot, she resorts to circumscribing what she means by saying they do not talk at the table, referring to a literal table. The Dutch way of saying it is *leggen het op tafel* literally “to lay it on the table”. It is similar to the Turkish and looks like it might have resulted in confusion for the speaker who might be translating this and producing an unconventional utterance.

Loan translations

As several of these examples show, the data include some constructions that may be regarded as loan translations. As explained in Section 4.1, according to the categorization by Backus & Dorleijn (2009) loan translations can be categorized into those involving content morphemes, those involving function morphemes, those involving grammatical morphemes and those involving discourse patterns. Loan translations involving content morphemes can be easier to detect as they are one, two or multi-word literal translations that can be traced back to the other language of the bilinguals relatively easily. On the other hand, loan translations involving function morphemes like pre or postpositions and loan translations involving grammatical morphemes like plural markings can be more difficult to notice since the unconventional grammatical marking may be unconventional but not completely unfamiliar before contact. In addition, it is not unproblematic to call them loan translations because the likely target of translation is not so much a shade of meaning but rather the subconscious transfer of an entrenched grammatical pattern in one language to the other (cf. Backus & Dorleijn 2009, Demirçay 2012).

We will look at possible loan translations resulting from the translation of a word, a whole saying or a phrase, then move on to loan translations as an outcome of translating the verb in a construction. Afterwards, loan translations that might result in translating the adjective or the adverb will be analyzed. Finally, loan translations of collocations or constructions that could be linked to the translation of pre and postpositions and case markings will be looked into. In some cases, the examples discussed look like they might be translated from Dutch but making a direct connection proves difficult. However, they still point to issues with the production of Turkish forms that result in some form of unconventional usage.

An example of a loan translation involving a two-word content morpheme is the following:

- (42) Kadriye: Bizim köşe evimiz var.
 We own a corner house.
 NL-DUT: Hoekwoning.

The concept of a corner house does not really exist in Turkey but the direct translation of the Dutch *hoekwoning* literally meaning “corner house” allows the speaker to deliver the meaning. There are also some examples of two-word content morphemes that seem to be translations but cannot really be traced back to Dutch.

(43) Hatice: Sonra bu eve geçtik işte yer evine.

Then we moved to this house you know to a (semi)detached house.

TR-TUR: Müştakil ev.

NL-DUT: Vrijstaand huis.

Here, the speaker tries to make a differentiation between a flat and a house which can be detached, semi-detached or terraced and uses *yer evi* literally meaning “ground house”. The Dutch *vrijstaand huis* would be literally “self-standing house” so there seems to be no loan translation process involved. In Turkish you could say *müştakil ev* “self-contained house”. This is a relatively specific word and low entrenchment could be the reason why this word is not easily activated by the speaker, paving the way for the new combination.

(44) Kadriye: Annem ev bürosunda çalışıyo.

My mother works in the real estate agency.

TR-TUR: Emlak ofisi.

NL-DUT: Huizenmakelaar.

In the example above, the speaker uses *ev bürosu* literally meaning “house office” to refer to a real estate agency, as she explains where her mother works. The Turkish equivalent would be *emlak ofisi* literally meaning “property office”. The Dutch *huizenmakelaar* also just means “real estate agency” so there is no obvious translation process from Dutch that would produce the attested compound noun. Most likely, the conventional Turkish form has not been frequent enough in the speaker’s linguistic environment to get entrenched well, or at all.

The data analyzed includes a word-for-word translation of the Dutch saying *een grote mond hebben* “to be bold/cheeky” into Turkish used in the same sense. The Dutch saying is literally “to have a big mouth”.

(45) Kadriye: Ya öğrenciler de bazen çok büyük ağızları var.

Well students are sometimes very bold.

TR-TUR: Öğrenciler de bazen terbiyesiz.

NL-DUT: De studenten hebben soms een grote mond. (lit.: the students sometimes have a big mouth)

In the example above, the Turkish *çok büyük ağızları var* literally meaning “they have very big mouths” is used to convey the meaning that the students can be very cheeky and bold towards the teachers. The sense that the speaker wants to convey could be rendered with the Turkish adjective *terbiyesiz* “cheeky, impolite”.

Constructional loans

With the following examples the loan translations move from what can be categorized as lexical to more constructional cases. A construction that has been previously analyzed as a loan translation by the researcher (Demirçay 2012) is the use of the verb *bak-* “to look” when it combines with nouns such as television or movies to denote “to watch”. Dutch uses the verb *kijken* to mean both “to look” and “to watch” whereas Turkish distinguishes between these two meanings. To convey “to watch” Turkish has a couple of synonymous words *izle-* and *seyret-*. The verb *bak-* meaning “to look” can also be used in the sense of “to look at, i.e. watch something not very carefully”. There are many examples of the use of the verb *bak-* “to look” in collocations where the meaning is “to watch” and conventional Turkish would use one of the other two verbs.

- (46) Gönül: Bi sürü Türkçe dizi bakıyorum.
I watch many Turkish series.
TR-TUR: Bi sürü Türkçe dizi izliyorum.
NL-DUT: Ik kijk heel veel Turkse series.
- (47) Hatice: İşte maç filan bakar.
Well he watches matches and so on.
TR-TUR: İşte maç filan izler.
NL-DUT: Nou hij kijkt wedstrijden.
- (48) Pelin: Önceden hollanda kanallarına da çok bakıyodum.
I used to watch a lot of Dutch channels.
TR-TUR: Önceden hollanda kanalları da çok izliyordum.
NL-DUT: Vroeger keek ik veel Nederlandse zenders.

From these examples we can see that the verb *bak-* “to look” combines with a variety of nouns such as series or channels. However, a few speakers also use the other two verbs in addition to *bak-*, which shows that they are still in their lexicon.

- (49) Pelin: Ama işte televizyon seyrettiğimiz sadece Türk.
But well the television we watch is only Turkish.

As mentioned above, the use of *bak-* is not ungrammatical or wrong for conventional Turkish, it just has a slightly different meaning. The difference in meaning between *bak-* and *izle-* might have decreased in the language use of Turkish-Dutch bilinguals, creating another example of underdifferentiation. In Dutch, the corresponding verb for “to watch” is *kijken*, which is the same verb that is used to denote “to look at”. The above-mentioned examples would all use *kijken* in Dutch, so Dutch influence is likely in the underdifferentiation of the Turkish verbs

bak- “to look”, *izle-* and *seyret-* “to watch” (or, alternatively put, the overgeneralization of *bak-*).

A loan translation relating to translating parts of a collocation is the collocation to denote “to study for an exam” in Turkish is *sınava çalış-*. The verb in this collocation is *çalış-* which means “to work/to study”. However, *leren*, the verb that means “to study” in Dutch also means “to learn” (as well as “to teach”). The fact that Dutch uses the same form appears to have an influence on Turkish-Dutch bilinguals as they can be found to be underdifferentiating and collapsing the meanings of “to study” and “to learn”.

- (50) Berk: Önce dil sınavına öğrendi.
 First he studied for the language exam.
 TR-TUR: Önce dil sınavına çalıştı.
 NL-DUT: Eerst leerde hij voor de taaltoets.

The above example shows the speaker producing the collocation *sınava öğren-* “to study for an exam” with the verb *öğren-* “to learn” instead of conventional *çalış-* “to study”. Presumably this was influenced by the similar form *leren* Dutch uses for to mean both “to learn” and “to study”. Since the speakers are all around 18 years of age, they are in the school system, some of them trying to graduate from their secondary school to go on to higher education while some are already in some kind of higher education. As students, school related topics are very pervasive in their conversations. As this domain is dominated by Dutch (also see Chapter 2), it is to be expected that it involves a lot of Dutch influence on their Turkish. This influence is found to manifest itself not just as loanwords but also as loan translations in certain collocations and constructions.

The expression to refer to failing a class or an exam in Turkish is *sınavdan kal-* “to fail an exam” *dersten kal-* “to fail a class” and *sınıfta kal-* “to fail the year”. Turkish uses the verb *kal-* literally meaning “to stay” in these constructions. To refer to passing a class, exam or study year Turkish uses *dersten geç-*, *sınavdan geç-*, and *sınıfta geç-* respectively, making use of the Turkish equivalent of “to pass” *geç-*. On the other hand, the verb in the collocations in Dutch that mean “to pass a class” or “to pass your exam” uses the verb *halen*, literally “to take” as well as *slagen* “to succeed”. The speakers are found to use the Turkish translation of *halen* “to take” namely *al-* in such constructions.

- (51) Kadriye: Ondan sonra sınavları alamadım.
 Afterwards I could not pass the exams.
 TR-TUR: Ondan sonra sınavlardan geçemedim.
 NL-DUT: En daarna kon ik de examens niet halen / kon ik niet voor de examens slagen.

(52) Öznur: Sonra HAVO alamadım.

Then I could not pass HAVO (a kind of secondary school).

TR-TUR: Sonra HAVO'yu geçemedim.

NL-DUT: Daarna kon ik de HAVO niet halen / kon ik niet voor de HAVO slagen.

In the above examples, speakers make use of *al-* “to take”, reflecting the lexical choice in the Dutch construction *N[school subject or exam] halen*, in which *halen* literally means “get”. It is interesting that speakers use the same verb in both its positive and negative forms. Dutch also does this: *het examen halen* “to pass the exam” and *het examen niet halen* “to not pass the exam” i.e. “to fail the exam”, although Dutch also has two separate verbs for this: *slagen* “to pass” and *zakken* “to fail”.

To refer to studying a certain subject in a certain institution in higher education, Turkish uses the verb *oku-* literally “to read” as in the collocation *üniversite oku-* “to study at university”. Dutch uses a very general verb *doen* “to do” as well as the more specific verb *studeren* “to study”. It was found in the data that the speakers use the Turkish equivalent of *doen* “to do” in such expressions (also see Backus 2009).

(53) Füsün: VVO yapıyorum.

I am studying at the VVO (a kind of high school similar to a German gymnasium).

(54) İlknur: Ama kızlarda hani kızlar bazen hani diyo ya inşaat yapıyorum.

But girls like you know girls sometimes say I am studying construction.

The second example above is especially interesting in that the Turkish collocation *inşaat yap-* actually means “to build a building” whereas the speaker is actually talking about following a university program in construction. The only collocations in this domain in conventional Turkish where *yap-* “to do” is used are those referring to finishing a bachelor’s or master’s degree. An example would be:

(55) Yüksek: Lisansımı Hollanda’da yaptım.

I completed my master’s degree in the Netherlands.

There are further examples that were uttered by the Turkish-Dutch bilinguals where they seem to translate the Dutch verb of a construction into Turkish and hence turning it into a loan translation.

- (56) Ahmet: O zaten emekliye gelecek 3 sene sonar.
 Anyway, he is going to retire in 3 years.
 TR-TUR: O zaten emekliye ayrılacak 3 sene sonar.
 NL-DUT: Hij gaat trouwens met pensioen binnen 3 jaar. (lit.: anyway he's going with pension in 3 years)

The collocation that the speaker uses in the above example is *emekliye gel-* “to retire” literally meaning “to come to retirement”. This is based on the Dutch collocation *met pensioen gaan* literally meaning “to go with retirement”. As can be seen, the attested combination uses the verb *gel-* “to come” where a literal translation would use *git-* “to go”. Still, the collocation seems to be based on Dutch as the conventional Turkish form is *emekliye ayrıl-* literally “to leave to retirement”. It is important to note that although the verb might be motivated by the Dutch equivalent, the preposition that is used in the Dutch expression is not translated into Turkish: the dative is preserved instead. On the other hand, in the following example, both the verb and the associated preposition are translated into Turkish.

- (57) Melis: Paranın değerini anladım. Hep anneme soruyodum.
 I understood the value of money. I was always asking for it from my mother.
 TR-TUR: Hep annemden istiyordum.
 NL-DUT: Ik vroeg het altijd van mijn moeder. (lit.: I always asked from my mother)

In this example the speaker refers to asking her mother for money and uses the collocation *birine sor-* literally meaning “to ask to someone”. This is presumably partially translated from Dutch *iets vragen van iemand* literally “to ask something from someone”. In conventional Turkish this meaning would be conveyed through the collocation *birinden bir şey istemek* which includes the verb *iste-* “to request”, “to want” rather than a verb meaning “ask”. However, note that the case used on ‘my mother’ is the dative, which is the usual case marker that *sor-* “to ask” subcategorizes for, but the Dutch equivalent has the preposition ‘van’, which normally equals the ablative case in Turkish. Interestingly, the ablative is exactly what the conventional Turkish expression with *iste-* “to want” uses. What this shows is that we should be very cautious in overestimating the force of language contact: while we find many examples that suggest Dutch influence, there are also many features where influence could be expected but is not found.

In the case of the Turkish-Dutch bilinguals in this study, something is going on with references to nationalities and languages. It seems that two meanings are collapsed in one word, following Dutch practice. The adjectives in question are *Türk* and *Türkçe* which both mean “Turkish”. The first refers to the people and the

culture, and the second to the language. Similarly, speakers conflate *Hollandalı* “Dutch (people)” and *Hollandaca* “Dutch (language)”. The reason why this comes about is that bilingual speakers underdifferentiate the words in their dominated language if the difference between them does not exist in their other language. Bilingual speakers can also exhibit over or underdifferentiation of words due to language contact (Johanson 2002). This happens when speakers can collapse the meanings of different words that have slight differences and overlook these differences (underdifferentiation) or they differentiate between synonyms and use one of them in only one sense and the other one for the other meaning (overdifferentiation).

- (58) Hatice: Belki Türk kitap okuduğum için.
 Maybe it's because I read Turkish books.
 TR-TUR: Belki Türkçe kitap okuduğum için>
 NL-DUT: Misschien omdat ik Turkse boeken lees> (lit.: maybe because I read Turkish books)

In the example above, the adjective *Türk* “Turk” is used instead of *Türkçe* “Turkish” to refer to the language of the books the speaker likes reading.

However, the examples below show that both words are used unconventionally, since now the word referring to the language is used to refer to the people.

- (59) Kadriye: Pek Türkçe olduğumu da bilmiyolar ya.
 You know because they don't really know I am Turkish/a Turk.
 TR-TUR: Pek Türk olduğumu da bilmiyolar ya.
- (60) Füsün: Mesela bazı yerlerde şöyle Hollandaca kültürü benim için daha önemli.
 For example in some places like the Dutch culture is more important for me.
 TR-TUR: Mesela bazı yerlerde şöyle Hollanda kültürü benim için daha önemli.
 NL-DUT: Bijvoorbeeld op sommige plaatsen is Nederlandse cultuur belangrijker voor mij. (lit.: for example in some places Dutch culture is more important for me)

In these examples, the conventional words would have been *Türk* “Turk” and *Hollanda* “Netherlands”. Note that *Hollanda* functions as a noun and not an adjective, as the construction *Hollanda kültürü* “culture of the Netherlands” is a compound noun, marked by the possessive suffix -ü that is attached to *kültür*. Dutch would use an adjective ‘*Nederlands*’ here, which is the same word as would be used to denote the language. Therefore, the merger of these words seems to reflect some degree of direct influence of Dutch. The same phenomenon can be

observed in the following example where the speaker uses the adjective that means “language” already and adds the redundant *dil* “language”; in addition, in conventional Turkish the adjective would not trigger the possessive suffix on the noun *dil*, so the speaker treats *Türkçe dil* as a compound noun rather than an adjective-noun sequence, and hence adds the possessive suffix. Conventional Turkish would either have *Türk dili* “Turkish language” or *Türkçe* “Turkish”. Since Dutch uses the same form ‘Turks’ for the noun “Turkish language” and the adjective “Turkish”, bilingual speakers seem to have trouble using the right form when speaking Turkish. The conclusion seems warranted that the differentiation between the two words that mean ‘Turkish’ is eroding. However, it is important to add that in addition to examples where speakers use the wrong noun or adjective, they are also found to use them correctly.

- (61) Leyla: *Türkçe dilinin neden böyle önemli olduğunu yani.*
 I mean why the Turkish language is so important.
 TR-TUR: *Türk dilinin neden böyle önemli olduğunu yani.*
 NL-DUT: *Ik bedoel waarom de Turkse taal zo belangrijk is. (lit.: I mean why the Turkish language is so important)*

With regards to loan translations that seem to result from the translation of an adverb, an interesting case is the varied use of *geri* “back” by the Turkish-Dutch bilinguals in this study. This is similar to the case of *para atrás* “toward back” or “backwards” in Spanish spoken in the USA where it is used as literal translation in Spanish phrases meaning for example “to call back” and “give back” (Lipski 1986, 2010). In our data, there are some examples where speakers use the word *geri* “back” similar to how its equivalent in Dutch would be used. In other examples the speakers seem to use the word *geri* to mean *yine* or *tekrar* “again”. In yet other examples the word *geri* seems to add no meaning to the utterance. All these cases are demonstrated in the following examples.

- (62) Hatice: *İnternet felan. Böyle bi saat girerim sonra anneme falan yardım ederim. Kitap okurum. Sonra geri bi saat girerim.*
 Internet and all. I go online for like an hour then I help out my mother. I read a book. Then I go online again for an hour.
 TR-TUR: *Sonra tekrar bir saat girerim.*
 NL-DUT: *Daarna ga ik terug/weer online. (lit.: then i do back/again online)*

In the example above, the speaker is talking about what her day is like after she gets home. She first goes on the internet, then does chores around the house and then goes on the internet again. The repeated nature of going on the internet again she

refers to with the adverbial *geri* “back” while conventional Turkish would rather use *tekrar* “again”.

(63) Berk: Son 6-7 ay geri başladım.

Last 6-7 months I started again.

TR-TUR: Son 6-7 ay yine başladım.

NL-DUT: Laatste 6-7 maanden ben ik opnieuw begonnen (met de cursus). (lit.: last 6-7 months I started again with the course)

Here, the speaker refers to a music course he had started and stopped many times already, but now has started taking again. In conventional Turkish the words *yine*, *yeniden* or *tekrar* “again” would all be suitable. However, it is not entirely clear whether the use of *geri* in this context is impossible in conventional Turkish, since as far as I am aware of there has not been any study that looks at the use of *geri* in Turkish as spoken in Turkey (however, see Demirçay 2012).

(64) Berk: Zevki gitmişti geri bırakmıştım.

It had stopped being fun so I had quit.

TR-TUR: Zevki gitmişti bırakmıştım.

NL-DUT: Het was niet leuk meer dus ben ik ermee gestopt. (lit.: it was not fun anymore so I stopped it)

In this example, the speaker refers to the time he used to play football and he quit when it stopped being fun. There is no repeated action or spatial direction involved, so it is unclear what exactly the adverbial *geri* “back” refers to.

Some uses can be traced to the influence of Dutch *terug* “back”, but this is not the whole of the story. A possible scenario is that the increased use of *geri* “back” and the development of its meaning “again” could have made its way into the usage of Turkish-Dutch bilinguals through a first stage of direct translation, after which its meaning in cases where it refers to repeated action could have become close enough to *yine/yeniden/tekrar* “again” to start being used in place of these words. However, a look into the use of these three words shows that speakers do use these words in conventional ways, so *geri* “back” is not completely replacing them. In the following example the speaker utters both *geri* “back” and *yeniden* “again”, probably in an effort to correct herself:

(65) Kadriye: Ama ayarları geri yeniden yapmam lazım zaten.

But I have to do the settings again.

The following example contains an adverbial phrase in which the adverb seems to be translated from the Dutch equivalent phrase.

- (66) Öznur: Dediler ki kompütür arkasında çalış dediler.
 They said work behind the computer.
 TR-TUR: Dediler ki bilgisayar başında çalış.
 NL-DUT: Ze zeggen werk achter de computer. (lit.: they said work behind the computer)
- (67) İlknur: Bilgisayarın arkasında anket yapmıştık o zaman.
 We had done a survey behind the computer then.
 TR-TUR: Bilgisayar başında anket yapmıştık o zaman.
 NL-DUT: We hebben achter de computer een enquête ingevuld. (lit.: we filled in a questionnaire behind the computer)

The phrase in question is the adverbial phrase *kompütür/bilgisayar arkasında* “behind the computer”. The adverb in this expression means “behind”, just like the preposition in *achter de computer*; its Dutch equivalent. However, conventional Turkish would use the opposite conceptualization, and use the the adverb *önünde* “in front of” (see also Demirçay 2012). One may wonder why words like ‘back’ and ‘again’ seem to be vulnerable (or attractive) in contact situations in general (given the Spanish-English literature on *atrás*). The reason might be that repeated action is typically something that lends itself to grammaticalization, but is not such a core aspect of grammar that all languages will have an entrenched grammatical construction for it. Another typical example of this is evidentiality, which seems to be easily transferable between languages (see Section 4.1.3).

The data includes some other examples where the preposition that is used in constructions seem to be translated from Dutch into Turkish. One such example includes the preposition meaning “with”.

- (68) Ahmet: Bi kere babamın otobüsüyle sürüyorum.
 One time I was driving my father’s bus.
 TR-TUR: Bi kere babamın otobüsünü sürüyordum.
 NL-DUT: Die ene keer reed ik met de bus van mijn vader. (lit.: one time I drove with the bus of my father)

The preposition that the verb *sür-* “to drive” requires in conventional Turkish is the accusative and thus it should be *otobüs-ü sür-* “drive bus-ACC”. However, the speaker uses the instrumental case *-(y)lA* and says *otobüs-ü-yle* “bus-GEN-INSTR”. The instrumental case is the translation of the preposition that the verb takes in Dutch *die ene keer reed ik met de bus van mijn vader* “one time I was driving my father’s bus”.

Similarly, the collocation *benim için* in the example below means “suitable for me”. The postpositional collocation *benim için* literally means “for me” (with a

genitive pronoun); this seems a partial translation from the Dutch *voor mij* in the collocation *niets voor mij* “nothing (suitable) for me” (i.e. ‘not my kind of thing’).

(69) Hatice: Ama hiç benim için değildi oralar.

But it was not (suitable) for me at all there.

TR-TUR: Ama hiç bana göre değildi oralar.

NL-DUT: Het was daar niets voor mij. (lit.: it was there nothing for me; i.e. it wasn't right for me there)

The conventional Turkish construction here is *bana göre*, which literally means “according to me” but is also often used with the meaning “suitable for me”.

This section summarized some of the unconventional uses found in the speech of Turkish-Dutch bilinguals and attempted to categorize them as loan translations ranging from those based entirely on lexical combinations (loan translations involving content morphemes) to those that involve postpositions and adverbs. The latter seem to shade off into the domain of grammatical influence. As mentioned in the introduction, what structuralist views on language would call interference of convergence has also been loosely touched upon here as a kind of loan translation. This section has focused on contact-induced language changes that can relatively clearly be labelled as loan translations. As it is sometimes difficult to pinpoint Dutch influence on morphosyntax, the next section will provide an exhaustive analysis of unconventional cases on the more schematic end of the specific-schematic continuum. Where Dutch influence, whether or not conceptualized as translation, is a possible explanation, this will be explored.

4.3.4 Morphosyntax: Case and tense markings

After having covered unconventional uses at relatively specific levels, i.e. involving lexical items, this section will move on to more schematic constructions, conventionally referred to as morphosyntax. As such, this section will focus on analyzing atypical uses of grammatical morphemes such as nominal cases, suffixes, and tense markings. In some of these cases, Dutch influence can be established, while in others the change found cannot be traced to direct influence of Dutch.

4.3.4.1 Case markings

Firstly, we will look into unconventional case marking in the Turkish-Dutch bilinguals' speech. Three kinds of unconventional uses of nominal case markings and other nominal morphosyntax can logically be found in the data, and all three were found: omission of the case marking, replacement of the conventional case marker by another one, and the addition of case marking where it is not

conventional. In a study with Finnish-English bilinguals (who learnt English when they emigrated to the USA at the ages of 6 and 7, Halmari (2005) finds two cases of replacement of Finnish nominal markers within a 90 minute conversation. Considering our data comes from second generation bilinguals, it is expected to observe more instances of unconventional uses of nominal case markings and other nominal morphosyntax.

Table 4.2 Unconventional case marking

Cases of unconventionality	Amount	Ratio
Omission	97	58.4%
Replacement	54	32.5%
Addition	15	9.1%
Total	166	100.0%

The table shows that in most cases (58.4%) the unconventional case marking is the result of omission. In one third of the cases the unconventionality is caused by replacement, while 9% of unconventional cases is caused by adding a case marker where none was required. As can be seen, the total number of cases of unconventional case marking that was identified is 166. The data is made up of a total of about 155,000 words including utterances by the researcher. Roughly half of the words are uttered by the bilinguals, which amounts to around 77,500 words. The length of utterances varies between 1 to 10 words, most of them containing 4 or 5 words. With regards to case marking, if we assume that each utterance has at least one word marked for case, which would make the total number of case marking environments between 15,000 and 19,000. In this sense, of the 166 cases of unconventionality make up less than one percent of all uses of case marking. If the unconventional cases suggest there is a change in progress, the change has not propagated far yet. The following sections will look closely at these types of unconventionality using examples.

Omission

Speakers were found to omit all cases at least once, as can be seen from the table below. The most common case to be omitted (44%) is the genitive case, followed by the accusative (30%). Note that these are grammatical cases rather than semantic (or spatial) ones.

Table 4.3 Omitted case markers

Omission	Amount	Ratio
Accusative	29	29.9%
Locative	13	13.4%
Dative	9	9.3%
Instrumental	2	2.1%
Genitive	43	44.3%
Ablative	1	1.0%
Total	104	100.0%

Fairly often, the genitive is omitted from the subject of a non-finite subordinate clause. This is perhaps to be expected as the meaning of the genitive is not transparent at all in this construction, and it is a strange case marking when viewed from a Dutch conceptual perspective: basically, the subject is marked as the possessor of the nominalized action conveyed by the non-finite subordinate verb and its complements. Dutch, like English, has finite subordinate clauses in which the subject is marked with 'nominative', like subjects in main clauses.

- (70) Erkan: Genellikle baba-m yat-ma-sı için kalk-ıyo-z.
 Usually father-POSS sleep-NMLZ-POSS.3SG for get.up-PROG-2PL
 Usually we get up so that my father can lie down.
 TR-TUR: Genellikle baba-m-in yat-ması için kalk-ıyor-uz.
 Usually father-POSS-GEN sleep-NMLZ-POSS.3SG for get.up-PROG-2PL

In this example, the genitive that in conventional Turkish would be added to the subject noun of the subordinate clause is not used. Almost 40% of the omissions of genitive cases are in such non-finite subordinate clauses. This is a clause type that was found to be dispreferred by Turkish-Dutch bilingual speakers in a study by Onar Valk (2015), who found that bilingual speakers prefer finite subordination over non-finite subordination (results for monolinguals in Turkey were the opposite). Importantly, both structures are possible in Turkish (Backus & Onar Valk 2013). The omission of the genitives in non-finite subordinate clauses in our data shows that when they do produce such clauses they are often found to lack the genitive case marking. We have looked randomly at parts of the conversations to find the first five non-finite subordinate clauses in each conversation, and found that around one of these would be missing the genitive, suggesting the omission rate is about 20%. However, the sheer occurrence of non-finite subordinate clauses seemed extremely low, confirming the findings of Onar Valk (2015).

Turkish-Dutch bilinguals were also found to omit genitives in the possessive construction. The following example is illustrative.

- (71) Ceylan: Yani ben okul para-m gel-iyö.
 So I school money-POSS come-PROG.3SG
 So my school money comes.
 TR-TUR: Yani ben-im okul para-m gel-iyor.
 So I-GEN school money-POSS come-PROG.3SG

In the possessive construction *benim okul param* “my school money” the possessor would have the genitive case in conventional Turkish, but it is missing in the utterance produced by the speaker. This construction accounts for all other cases of omitted genitives in the data. Since the Dutch possessive construction only has the possessive marking on the possessor and no marking (such as genitive) on the possessee it could be that speakers are influenced by the Dutch way of constructing possessives.

The accusative is the second most often omitted case. In many instances, the accusative case marks definiteness in Turkish. This would normally be marked in Dutch by definite articles which Turkish does not have. That might be a reason why accusative marking to show definiteness is not used consistently.

- (72) Gönül: (Bi de ben sırf tek yabancı ben olduğumdan) hep soru-lar bana soru-yo-lar.
 Always question-PL me-DAT ask-PROG-3PL
 (And because I’m the only foreigner in class) they always ask the questions to me.
 TR-TUR: Soruları bana soruyorlar.

Here the word *sorular* “questions” has a definite meaning which in conventional Turkish would be marked with the accusative -I to show this, resulting in *soruları*.

In the next example as well, the accusative is needed to mark the direct object of the utterance but it is missing from the utterance. The direct object *Hollandalılar* “the Dutch” should be marked with the accusative and thus be *Hollandalıları*.

- (73) Ceylan: Yani Hollandalılar bazen anlıyorum.
 So I understand the Dutch sometimes.
 TR-TUR: Yani *Hollandalıları* bazen anlıyorum.

The other cases make up around 26% of the omissions. One example each will be provided.

- (74) Kadriye: Böyle Türk-ler-nen böyle onlar-ın ara-lar-ı bence çok büyük bi fark var.
 Like Turk-PL-COM like they-GEN between-PL-POSS according.to.me
 lot big a difference there.is.
 I think like between Turks and them there's big difference.
 TR-TUR: Türklerle onların aralarında bence çok büyük bir fark var.
 NL-DUT: Er is een groot verschil tussen hen en Turken.

The conventional Turkish construction *aralarında fark ol-* means “to be a difference between them”, and it uses a locative case marker -dA on the spatial noun *araları* that means “the space between them”. The English translation uses the preposition “between” and so does Dutch: *er is een groot verschil tussen hen* literally meaning “there is a big difference between them”. Note there is no hint of a locative meaning. The expression *araları fark var* is missing the locative case marking -dA; Dutch influence is likely but hard to prove.

- (75) Ahmet: Rotterdam falan git-me-n lazım.
 Rotterdam like go-NOM-2SG need.to
 You need to go to like Rotterdam.
 TR-TUR: Rotterdam'a falan gitmen lazım.

A missing dative case marking accounts for around 9% of the omissions. In the example above, the speaker is talking about going to Rotterdam which requires the dative marking -A, and therefore should be *Rotterdam'a* “to Rotterdam”. In Dutch, the preposition *naar* “to” would be required, so the missing dative cannot be seen as resulting from Dutch influence.

Omission of the ablative and instrumental cases is found only 1 and 2 times, respectively.

- (76) Melis: Hani mağaza al-ıyo-n.
 Like store buy-PROG-2SG
 You know you buy it from/at the store.
 TR-TUR: Mağazadan/mağazada alıyorsun.

As can also be seen from the rendering of the utterance in English, both locative and ablative marking of the noun *mağaza* “store” would be possible. Therefore both *mağazadan* “from the store” and *mağazada* “at the store” would be conventional Turkish. Not marking the noun with either one of these case suffixes, however, changes the meaning to “buying a store”. Obviously, that was not the intention of the speaker.

- (77) Hatice: Onlar da ben-im beraber gez-iyo-lar bazen.
 They also I-GEN together wander-PROG-3PL sometimes
 They also walk around with me sometimes.

The prepositional phrase in the example above that means “with me” is normally achieved through the use of the instrumental case *-IA* in Turkish. Thus, the personal pronoun *benim* “me” should be *benimle* “with me”. It is possible that the use of *beraber* ‘together’ induces the speaker to ‘forget’ the instrumental.

As can be seen from this section, omission is the most common category of unconventional case marking in the data. The most commonly omitted case is the genitive, amounting to more than 44% of the omissions, followed by the accusative (30%). The semantically more transparent case suffixes are omitted more rarely. Note that in many of the cases where genitive or accusative is omitted, Dutch does not have any morphosyntactic means to indicate the grammatical relations of possession and definiteness that the genitive and accusative tend to encode. Thus, Dutch influence might be a factor in explaining the omissions. At the same time, recall that overall, omission of case markers is relatively rare: most case markers are used as in conventional Turkish.

Replacement

There are fewer occurrences of replacement of case markers compared to omission. The overview below summarizes which case marking was used instead of the conventional case marking. The dative is the case that is used in the most varied way, as it replaces 5 different cases 18 different times (accounting for more than 30% of the instances of replacement). This is followed by the instrumental case which is used to replace 4 different cases a total of 11 times (20%). The locative and the ablative cases are each used to replace 3 different cases 5 and 6 times, respectively (totaling 20%). Such changes found in the data with regards to these cases could be more easily called ‘loan translations’ (Backus & Dorleijn 2009) as these case markers are all relatively transparent in meaning (as opposed to the accusative and the genitive). In theory, they should be the ones that would be influenced by Dutch the easiest, as their meanings are more transparent and hence their ‘translation’ is psycholinguistically easier for speakers (the case marker is replaced by the one that translates the word, usually a preposition that Dutch uses in the equivalent phrase). However, although non-transparent in meaning (and hence looking less like ‘translation’ and moving more into the grey area where it appears to be more like grammatical influence) and used to replace only 2 other cases, the accusative case is used 13 times in total to replace another case marker (23%). Finally, there were a few occurrences where the genitive case replaced the locative and where the instrumental replaced the genitive. We will now take a closer look at these occurrences of replacement.

Table 4.4 Replaced case markers

Replacement	Instead of	Amount	Ratio
Accusative	Dative	9	16.4%
Accusative	Ablative	4	7.3%
Locative	Accusative	1	1.8%
Locative	Ablative	2	3.6%
Locative	Dative	2	3.6%
Dative	Locative	3	5.5%
Dative	Accusative	7	12.7%
Dative	Ablative	1	1.8%
Dative	Instrumental	5	9.1%
Dative	Genitive	2	3.6%
Instrumental	Dative	5	9.1%
Instrumental	Accusative	3	5.5%
Instrumental	Ablative	2	3.6%
Instrumental	Genitive	1	1.8%
Ablative	Dative	3	5.5%
Ablative	Locative	2	3.6%
Ablative	Accusative	1	1.8%
Genitive	Locative	2	3.6%
Total		54	100.0%

As mentioned above, the dative most often replaces other cases. Most commonly, the dative is used instead of the accusative.

(78) Öznur: Rooi Pannen-ye baya bi araştır-dı-m.

Rooi Pannen-DAT lot one research-PAST-1SG

I researched Rooi Pannen quite a bit.

TR-TUR: Rooi Pannen'yi bayağı bir araştırdım.

NL-DUT: Ik heb wat onderzoek gedaan naar de Rooi Pannen. / Ik heb naar de Rooi Pannen gekeken.

Rooi Pannen is the name of a school in the Tilburg area. The speaker has considered going to this school and hence has done her research on it. In conventional Turkish, the case marking required by the verb *araştır-* “to research” is the accusative *-(I)*, giving *Rooi Pannen'yi*. However, the speaker uses the dative case marker *-A* (phonological rules yield *-ye* as the actual morpheme produced). It is possible in this example that the speaker was conceptualizing this utterance

through Dutch. In Dutch, the utterance could be rendered as *Ik heb wat onderzoek gedaan naar de Rooi Pannen* “I have done some research into Rooi Pannen” or *Ik heb naar de Rooi Pannen gekeken* “I have looked at Rooi Pannen”. In both cases, the object is coupled with the preposition *naar* “to”, the equivalent of the dative.

All occurrences of the use of dative instead of the instrumental are with the same verb *konuş-* “to talk” and uttered by the same speaker.

- (79) Öznur: Hala-m-in oğl-u-na konuş-uyo-m.
 Aunt-POSS-GEN son-POSS-DAT talk-PROG-1SG
 I talk to my aunt’s son.
 TR-TUR: Halamın oğluyla konuşuyorum.
 NL-DUT: Ik praat met de zoon van mijn tante.

In the example above, the speaker refers to talking to her aunt’s son and thus not cutting all communication with him. In conventional Turkish, this verb takes the instrumental case -IA similar in meaning to the English preposition “with”, and therefore one would expect *halamın oğluyla*. Dutch influence is possible but not likely, since Dutch also tends to use the preposition *met* “with” with the verb *praten* “to speak”.

- (80) Gönül: Ben-im karış-ım-a ben-im bakış açı-m hiç uyuş-ma-yan biri bile ol-sa.
 I-POSS opposite-GEN-DAT I-POSS look angle-GEN never agree-NOM
 person even be-SUBJ
 Even if there is someone in front of me who does not share my view.
 TR-TUR: Benim karşımda benim bakış açıma hiç uyuşmayan biri bile olsa.

The utterance above makes use of the verb *ol-* “to exist” with the prepositional phrase *benim karşıma* “in front of me” which has the dative -A at the end. However, in conventional Turkish this verb requires the locative case -dA. In this sense the expected prepositional phrase is *benim karşımda*. It is probably relevant that in this particular example other constituents come in between the verb and the prepositional phrase, and this may have affected the processing of the sentence by the speaker. The speaker may have wanted to use the construction *karşıma çık-* “confront me”, with the dative, but lost track of her utterance midway and switched to another verb at the end, one that requires locative -dA rather than the dative -A she has already uttered. However, there is no way of knowing for sure what online psycholinguistic process led to this production.

- (81) Erkan: Ben siz-in yan-ınız-a bi daha gez-mi-yce-m di-yo.
 I you-POSS beside-GEN-DAT ever wander-NEG-FUT-1SG say-
 PROG.3SG
 He says I'm not going to wander around next to you anymore.
 TR-TUR: Ben sizin yanınızda bi daha gezmeyeceğim diyor.
 DU: Hij zegt ik ga niet meer naast je lopen. (lit.: he says I'm not going
 to walk beside you anymore)

In the example above, the verb *gez-* “to wander around” is difficult to translate into English as it is used in many different contexts mainly meaning “to hang around”, “to wander around”, and “to visit”. Here the context is that the speaker and his friend sometime have misunderstandings where the friend stops talking to him and refuses to hang out anymore. This verb *gez-* “to wander around” requires the locative case marking -dA in conventional Turkish but the speaker uses the dative -A. As with other examples, there is no obvious explanation that presents itself, and Dutch influence seems unlikely since the Dutch equivalent does not use the dative preposition *naar* “to”.

Although being used to replace only two different kinds of case markings, the accusative is the second most used case to replace other markers. The accusative replaced the dative 9 times which is the highest number of all categories. Note that the dative more or less equally often replaces the accusative, with 7 occurrences. Apparently, it is easy to confuse those two markers. There is no apparent reason as to why speakers do this.

- (82) Hatice: Gör-me-diği-m yer-ler-i git-ti-m.
 See-NEG-ADJ-POSS place-PL-GEN-ACC go-PAST-1SG
 I have been to places I have not seen.
 TR-TUR: Görmediğim yerlere gittim.

The verb *git-* “to go” requires the dative -A, but the speaker here uses the accusative -I instead. Similarly, the verbs in the following examples *alış-* “to get used to” and *tosla-* “to hit” also require a dative while the speaker used the accusative.

- (83) Doruk: Or-da insan-lar alış-mış artık di-yelim. Or-da kötü araba kullan-ma-yı felan.
 There-LOC person-PL get.used.to-PAST anymore say-SUBJ there-LOC
 bad car drive-NOM-ACC like
 People there are used to it, let's say, to driving badly and so on.
 TR-TUR: Orda insanlar alışmış artık diyelim. Orda kötü araba kullanmaya felan.

- (84) Ahmet: Karşı-daki duvar-ı tosla-dı-k.
 Opposite-ADJ wall-ACC hit-PAST-1PL
 We hit the opposite wall.
 TR-TUR: Karşıdaki duvara tosladık. (duvar-a = wall-DAT)

The instrumental case was used in place of three different cases (dative, accusative, and ablative) as well as the possessive affix. An example of each is given where the verb used requires the noun to be followed by other case markings in conventional Turkish but the speaker employs the instrumental.

- (85) Erkan: On-lan şaka yap-ıyo-z.
 He-INS joke do-PROG-1PL
 We joke with him.
 TR-TUR: Ona şaka yapıyoruz.

The verb meaning “to joke” or “banter” in Turkish is *şaka yap-*. This verb requires the dative -A on the object and thus the expected pronoun is *ona* “to him”. Using the instrumental instead seems to give this utterance another meaning “we joke around with him” but the context makes clear that the speaker is trying to convey the meaning of “joking about him”, “bantering around with him”, “making fun of him”. The replacement seems to suggest confusion because of these slight differences in meaning.

- (86) Berk: Kötü konuş-an-lar-la sustur-mak.
 Bad speak-NOM-PL-INS silence-NOM
 To shut up the ones who thrash talk.
 TR-TUR: Kötü konuşanları susturmak.
 NL-DUT: We leggen ze het zwijgen op.

In the example above, the verb *sustur-* “to make (someone) shut up” would be preceded by an accusative-marked object in conventional Turkish yielding *konuşanları*. However, the speaker makes use of the instrumental case -LA instead. In this instance Dutch, similar to conventional Turkish, would also construe the object as a regular direct object, in *we leggen ze het zwijgen op* “we impose being silent on them”; i.e. “we silence them”. This example, therefore, illustrates a change observed in the contact variety which seems to have nothing at all to do with the structure of the other language. In the absence of interference, other possible explanations are hard to evaluate. The verb might not be entrenched well, making speakers insecure about the case marking that goes with it. Momentary slips of the tongue are always a possibility, too.

There are two examples where the speakers uses the instrumental instead of the ablative and one example where a speaker uses the instrumental instead of the genitive case marking.

- (87) Hatice: Böyle rakam-lar-la falan bazen baş-ım ağrı-yo.
 Like number-PL-INS like head-POSS ache-PROG.3SG
 Sometimes my head aches from all these numbers.
 TR-TUR: Böyle rakamlardan falan bazen başım ağrıyor.
 NL-DUT: Soms doet mijn hoofd pijn met al die cijfers. / Soms krijg ik hoofdpijn van al die cijfers.

The ablative case -dAn that would be expected with *başım ağrıyor* “my head aches”. The speaker uses the instrumental case marking -IA instead which is unconventional. However, the Dutch way of saying this would make use of the preposition *met* “with” or *van* “from” depending on how one would form the utterance. As such it could be both *soms doet mijn hoofd pijn met al die cijfers* “sometimes I get a headache with all these numbers” or *soms krijg ik hoofdpijn van al die cijfers* “sometimes I get headaches from all these numbers”. As such, the speaker might be influenced by the first option; the second option would actually reinforce the conventional Turkish form with the ablative, which is often translated by the genitive preposition *van* in Dutch.

- (88) Erkan: Kişi-ler-len bazı-ler-i anl-ıyo.
 Person-PL-INS some-PL-POSS understand-PROG.3SG
 Some of the people understand.
 TR-TUR: Kişilerin bazıları anlıyor.
 NL-DUT: Een aantal van de mensen begrijpen (het). (lit.: a number of the people understand it)

The definite compound noun meaning “some of the people” is formed in Turkish with the genitive in the possessor (here “people”) and the possessive in the possessed (here “some”). The speaker attaches the instrumental case marking -IA instead of the genitive -In to the plural noun ‘people’. The Dutch equivalent may help accounting for this example, as Dutch uses the preposition *van*. However, this preposition is sometimes translated by the ablative and sometimes by the genitive in Turkish expressions.

Below is an example where the locative is used instead of the accusative case.

- (89) Berk: Bütün şey-ler-de öğren-meli-sin bur-da.
 All thing-PL-LOC learn-must-2SG here-LOC
 You need to learn everything here.
 TR-TUR: Bütün şeyleri öğrenmelisin.
 NL-DUT: Je moet alles leren.

The verb *öğren-* “to learn” would be expected with the object *şey* “thing” inflected in the accusative case -I yielding *şeyi*. However, the speaker affixes the locative case marking -dA and utters *şeyde* instead. Dutch influence cannot explain this usage as it also construes “thing” as a regular direct object. It is possible that the speaker wanted to say something else, that “something needs to be learnt on a particular topic” *bir şeyde bir şey öğren-* “to learn something (omitted) in something”, which would make sense of the locative marker (on the first *şey-*).

- (90) Ahmet: Şey-den anlat-mış.
 Thing-ABL tell-PAST.3SG
 She told about the thing.
 TR-TUR: Şeyi anlatmış.
 NL-DUT: Ze vertelde erover.

Above is an example where the ablative is used instead of the accusative case. The verb *anlat-* “to tell” subcategorizes for the accusative in conventional Turkish. In this example, Dutch influence is possible as the translation goes *ze vertelde erover* “she told about” in which the preposition *over* “about” is similar in meaning to the ablative case. It is also important to note that Dutch does not use a direct object here which should be the case in conventional Turkish.

- (91) Berk: Başka bi şehir-de git-mek iste-r-im.
 Another one city-LOC go-NOM want-AOR-1SG
 I would like to go to another city.
 TR-TUR: Başka bi şehire gitmek isterim.

In this example, the object preceding the verb *git-* “to go” would be expected to be marked the dative -A. However, the speaker uses the locative -dA instead. Similarly, in the following example where the verb normally requires the object to be inflected in the dative, the speaker uses the ablative -dAn. Here, the speaker defensively challenges being questioned about a decision she made and utters the following where she underlines she is not the kind of person who has to be taught how to behave by other people.

- (92) Berk: Siz-den mi sor-aca-m.
 You-ABL Q ask-FUT-1SG
 Am I going to ask you.
 TR-TUR: Size mi soracağım.

The two examples above are not easily explainable. In the following examples the two ablative is replaced by the locative.

- (93) Füsün: Or-da da işte ee daha haber gel-me-di.
 There-DAT too well yet news come-NEG-PAST.3SG
 Well no news have arrived from there yet.
 TR-TUR: Ordan da işte daha haber gelmedi.
 NL-DUT: Er is nog geen nieuws. (lit.: there is still no news)

The verb used in this utterance is *gel-* “to come”, “to arrive” and refers to hearing news from somewhere. The object in this utterance should have the ablative -dAn but the speaker uses the locative -dA. Dutch influence is less likely here, as the spatial reference would normally be entirely left out. Therefore, this example is also a bit difficult to explain.

- (94) Öznür: Bütün kelime-ler-i bil-mi-yor-um ya Türkçe-den.
 All word-PL-ACC know-NEG-PROG-1SG Turkish-ABL
 I do not know all the words in Turkish.
 TR-TUR: Bütün kelimeleri bilmiyorum ya Türkçe'de.
 NL-DUT: Ik ken alle woorden van het Turks niet.

In the example above the prepositional phrase that means “words in Turkish” would be expected as locative-marked *Türkçe'de* while the speaker produced ablative -dAn instead. At the conceptual level, this may be influenced by the Dutch way of saying this, *alle woorden van het Turks* “all words from Turkish”. Recall we have seen before that the Dutch genitive preposition *van* and the Turkish ablative case are seen as equivalent sometimes.

Finally, we look at an example in which the the locative case replaces the genitive.

- (95) Ceylan: Üniversitenin herkesin kendi dolabı olmuyo lisedeki gibi.
 People do not get a locker in university like they do in high school.

Here the prepositional phrase to mean “in university” should be formed by affixing the locative case marker -dA onto *üniversite* “university”. The speaker, however, uses

the genitive case marking -In which is difficult to explain with Dutch influence or any other psycholinguistic mechanism that could be going on in the speakers' mind.

This section has carefully looked at the case markings that deviate from the case marking that Turkish would conventionally require. The dative and the accusative seem to be most involved, both in being replaced by other cases as well as being used to replace other cases.

Addition

Addition is the category that has the least occurrences compared to omission and replacing, happening only 15 times. As can be seen from the table below, the case added most often is the accusative making up almost 50% of the occurrences.

Table 4.5 Added case markers

Addition	Amount	Ratio
Accusative	7	46.7%
Genitive	5	33.3%
Locative	2	13.3%
Dative	1	6.7%
Total	15	100.0%

Since zero marking automatically counts as nominative marking in Turkish, addition can always be seen as replacement of the nominative by another case marker. In the example below, the subject of the utterance would be expected in the nominative form in conventional Turkish and thus receive no ending. The nominative is sometimes used in unprototypical ways. While prototypical use is for the agentive subject, unprototypical use is constituted by direct objects that are not marked by the accusative. This happens with some types of direct object, including complements of verbs limited in transitivity, e.g. 'to like'.

(96) Füsün: O şey-ler-i baba-m-ın hoş-u-na yani ilgi-si-ni çek-iy-o.

Those thing-PL-ACC father-GEN-POSS pleasure-GEN-DAT well
interest-GEN-ACC pull-PROG.3SG

My father (likes) those things, I mean he is interested in them.

TR-TUR: O şeyler babamın hoşuna gidiyor. / O şeyler babamın ilgisini çekiyor.

NL-DUT: Mijn vader vindt die dingen leuk.

The subject in the above example is *o şeyler* "those things". The first verb, which the speaker does not fully utter, is *hoşuna git-* "to like". She instead uses a hesitation marker and then utters the fully conjugated verb *ilgi çek-* "to interest". As a subject,

the noun phrase *o şeyler* “those things” would be expected in the nominative and not take the accusative case marking *-I*. However, the Dutch equivalent of saying this is *hij vindt die dingen leuk* “he is interested in these things”, “he likes these things”, in which ‘these things’ is a direct object. The bilingual Turkish speaker likewise might construe ‘those things’ as a direct object, and then the accusative does not come as a surprise.

The addition of an unexpected genitive is seen in the following example. The genitive suffix *-Im* to *ben* “me” turns the subject into a possessive pronoun.

- (97) Erkan: Ben-im daha yeni başla-dı-m.
 I-POSS yet new start-PAST-1SG
 I just recently started.
 TR-TUR: Ben daha yeni başladım.

The following example features an extra locative that is added to a noun which would be expected to be in the nominative.

- (98) Ceylan: Bi de Türkçe’de ol-unca tek tek o-nu düşün-me-m lazım.
 One too Turkish-LOC be-ADV one one that-ACC think-NOM-1SG
 need.to
 And when it is Turkish I need to think one by one.
 TR-TUR: Türkçe olunca.
 NL-DUT: In het Turks.

Here, the speaker is talking about reading newspapers, magazines and books in Turkish. She refers to these being in Turkish which acts like an adjective in Turkish and should not be inflected with the locative *-dA*. In this example, Dutch influence seems clear, as the equivalent would be *in het Turks* literally “in the Turkish”. This uses the preposition *in* and its equivalent in Turkish would be the locative.

The verb *hoşuna git-* “to like” was encountered in Example 96 above. In the example below the verb *hoşuna git-* “to like” is used with a subject marked in the dative.

- (99) Ceylan: Hollanda-da kal-ma-ya hoş-u-na git-mi-yo, dayan-a-m-ıyo.
 Netherlands-LOC stay-NOM-DAT pleasure-GEN-DAT go-NEG-
 PROG.3SG bear-ABIL-NEG PROG.3SG
 He does not like staying in the Netherlands, he cannot bear it.
 TR-TUR: Hollanda’da kalmak hoşuna gitmiyor. / Hollanda’da kalmaya
 dayanamıyor.

The first verb in this utterance *hoşuna git-* “to like” requires the subject to be in the nominative form and thus be *Hollanda’da kalmak* “to stay in the Netherlands” without the dative case marking -A. Cross-linguistically verbs like “to like” are often intransitive, taking either a dative or a nominative complement. In the case of Turkish it is the nominative. The following verb used by the speaker is *dayan-* “to bear” which assigns the noun phrase *Hollanda’da kalmak* “to stay in the Netherlands” as an object. This verb *dayan-* “to bear” takes an object that should be inflected in the dative case marking -A which makes the noun phrase use as expected for this verb.

This section has tried to give a detailed analysis of case markings used unconventionally within the Turkish bilinguals. Among the 35 examples that were given to illustrate the details of what was found in the data, in 23 cases (66%) an explanation to why speakers might have used an unconventional marking have been given. The explanation is sometimes obvious Dutch influence, other times possible confusion with the use of a slightly different verb which would require a different case marked noun. We were not able to pinpoint a possible explanation to an unconventional use of case marking in 12 of the examples out of the 35 (34%) mentioned in the section.

4.3.4.2 Possessive marking

There are also cases of omission and addition of another main category of nominal morphosyntax, namely possessive marking (see the table below). There are no cases of replacement as indeed it would be hard to see what could replace a possessive.

Omission	7
Addition	8

There are a few examples of missing possessive markers, where in conventional Turkish they would be expected.

- (100) Ceylan: Türk arkadaş-lar daha fazla ol-du bur-da.
 Turkish friend-PL more be-PAST here-LOC
 The number of my Turkish friends increased here.
 TR-TUR: Türk arkadaşlarım.
 NL-DUT: Mijn Turkse vrienden.

The possessive construction that conveys “my Turkish friends” would be expected as (*benim*) *Türk arkadaşlarım*. The possessive adjective *benim* “my” can be dropped in Turkish, but the first person possessive marking -(I)m cannot. The Dutch

equivalent construction does not use a possessive marker: Dutch would have *Turkse vrienden* “Turkish friends”.

Another example of a ‘missing’ possessive marker is the following:

- (101) Öznur: *Abla-m-ın OV-ni al-ıyor-um.*
 Sister-GEN-POSS OV-ACC take-PROG-1SG
 I take my sister’s OV (public transportation card).
 TR-TUR: Ablamın OV’sini alıyorum.

Here the possessive construction that is marked with the accusative should be *ablam-ın OV-si-ni* “my sister’s OV” but it is missing the third person possessive marking *-(s)ı*.

Addition of the possessive marking where Turkish as spoken in Turkey would have no such marking is found to occur 8 times in the data.

- (102) Füsün: *O-ndan sonra-ki sene-si.*
 That-ABL after-ADJ year-POSS
 The year after that.
 TR-TUR: Ondan sonraki sene.

According to Turkish grammar, the adverbial phrase *ondan sonraki sene* meaning “the year after that” should not be marked with the possessive *-(s)ı*.

There are also a couple of examples where the speaker adds the possessive to a noun phrase involving the word *Türkçe* meaning “Turkish”.

- (103) Hatice: *Biraz böyle kelime kat-ıyo Türkçe kelime-si.*
 Few like word add-PROG.3SG Turkish word-POSS
 He adds a few words like Turkish words.
- (104) Füsün: *Ama Türkçe müziğ-i de dinle-r-im.*
 But Turkish music-POSS also listen-AOR-1SG
 But I also listen to Turkish music.

In all of these examples, the third person possessive marking *-(s)ı* turns the word combinations into compound nouns where conventional Turkish would not do so. The reason for its use in the data could be that the bilingual speakers might treat some adjectival phrase as compound nouns. This was discussed earlier in relation to contact phenomena surrounding the words for nationalities and languages. Dutch influence presumably has little to do with this, since Dutch doesn’t have an equivalent for third person possessive marking of compounds, but contact may erode the subtle difference in grammatical behavior between these semantically close constructions.

4.3.4.3 Plural marking

The final category of nominal morphosyntax that could be affected by contact is plural marking.

In conventional Turkish, plurals do not occur with plural quantifiers such as *iki* (two) or *çok* (many) or some other quantifiers like *bazı* and *kimi*, both meaning “some”, unless they are used in a generic context. At the same time, *bütün* and *tüm*, both meaning “all”, do require plural marking on the noun they quantify (Kornflit 1997, Pfaff 1991). Thus the two following phrases would be grammatically correct:

- (105) *bütün çocuklar* all children
 iki çocuk two children

To mark certain groups, plurals can be used with plural quantifiers such as in the title of the book *Üç Silahşörler* “The Three Musketeers” but this is not the case in most uses, or in the examples that will be discussed in this analysis (Göksel & Kerslake 2004, Kornflit 1997). Importantly, if the quantifiers *bütün* and *tüm* are used to mean “the whole” then the noun can be singular.

- (106) *Bütün sınıf ayağa kalktı.*
 The whole class rose to its feet. (example from Göksel & Kerslake 2004)

Other quantifiers that require the head noun to be singular are *fazla* “too much”, *az* “not much”, *biraz* “a little”, *birkaç* “a few”, *bir miktar* “some”, *bu kadar/o kadar* “this/that much”, *kaç* “how many” and *her* “every” (Göksel & Kerslake 2004). The quantifier *birçok* “many” usually prefers the singular but can also co-occur with a plural noun. This overview will suffice to show that there are cases where conventional Turkish does not use plural marking, but that the patterns are relatively mixed.

Pfaff (1991) notes that Turkish has a history of Indo-European influence on its plural marking, which tends to be more generally provided. German uses plurals with plural quantifiers, and so does Dutch. Pfaff (1991) studied children up to 12 years of age and found the use of plurals to be quite like conventional Turkish, although she could also find some nonstandard uses, presumably either resulting from influence of German or from processing difficulties. Similar examples were also found in our data which will be analysed below.

Most cases in which the plural was used unconventionally were with the quantifier *çok* “many”. This occurred 15 times in the data; a few examples are given below.

- (107) Erkan: Daha gezmediğim daha çok yerler var.
There are still many places I have not seen yet.
TR-TUR: Daha gezmediğim daha çok yer var.
- (108) Gönül: Çok yabancılar vardı.
There were many foreigners.
TR-TUR: Çok yabancı vardı.
- (109) Leyla: Çok türk arkadaşları varmış.
He has many Turkish friends.
TR-TUR: Çok türk arkadaşı varmış.

Other quantifiers where the plural was used unconventionally include *birkaç* “a few”, *çoğu* “most”, *pek* “a lot”, *bayağı bir* “quite a”. Göksel & Kerlake (2004:149) write that the combination of the quantifier *bir* “one” with a plural noun is occasionally encountered in informal settings. It conveys that the referent is conceived as being plural, but that its identity is unknown or unknowable.

- (110) Bir sesler duydum galiba.
I think I heard something. (lit.: some sounds)

In this sense, bilinguals’ use of this could be regarded not as ungrammatical but maybe an informal use that might be found occasionally in Turkish.

- (111) Öznur: Her sene bi bi kaç şeyler öğrenirsin.
You learn a few things every year.
TR-TUR: Bir kaç şey öğrenirsin.
- (112) Kadriye: Bi kaç mağazalar var.
There are a few stores.
TR-TUR: Bir kaç mağaza var.

In the above examples, the nouns *şey* “thing” and *mağaza* “store” would be singular in conventional Turkish and thus not take the plural marking -lar. Similarly, the example below also has a noun *olay* “incident” that the speaker marks with the plural whereas it follows the quantifier *pek* “a lot”.

- (113) Hatice: Pek olaylar olmuyo artık.
Not a lot of incidents occur anymore.
TR-TUR: Pek olay olmuyo artık.

The following example exhibits the quantifier *daha az* “less/fewer” followed, unconventionally, by a plural noun.

- (114) Leyla: Ora biraz daha az yabancılar oturuyor.
Fewer foreigners live there.
TR-TUR: Ora biraz daha az yabancı oturuyor.

There is only one case of the plural being used after a numerical quantifier and that is the word *yarım* which means “half”.

- (115) Kadriye: Annem yarım günler çalışıyo.
My mother works half a day.
TR-TUR: Annem yarım gün çalışıyor.

In conventional Turkish, the quantifier *yarım* “half” should be followed by a noun in the singular form.

In all these instances Dutch would use a plural noun. This points to a usage of Turkish plurals in a way that is not conventional in Turkish and as such, a point of beginning Dutch-influenced change in the language of Turkish-Dutch bilinguals.

4.3.4.4 Other unconventional uses of morphosyntax

Some other cases of unconventional usage of conjugations and derivations can be found in the data. A word that is pronounced differently than the standard Turkey Turkish is the verb *de-* “to say” which is pronounced as *di-*. The speaker consistently uses the stem *di-* instead of *de-* throughout his speech. This speaker is also the same who pronounces *herkes* as *herkeş* as seen in Example 95.

- (116) Erkan: Yani adam dirse sana burdan git dirse yok ben burdan gidecem diyom.
So if the man says to you go from here I say no I go from there.

It is important to note here that the verb *de-* “to say” ends with “e”, and is therefore replaced with a high vowel based on vowel harmony when it is in the progressive tense as in the main finite verb of this example. In this sense, *diyom* (colloquial way of saying *diyorum* meaning “I am saying”) is fitting with the standard Turkish. However, the other uses of the verb in this turn should normally use the stem of the verb *de-*. In a similar vein, a speaker pronounces a verb conjugated with the aorist which is marked with *-(i)r/(E)r*. However, the verb she uses *sor-* “to ask” is an exception and is not entirely fitting with the vowel harmony in standard Turkey Turkish and should therefore be *sorularlar* “they ask”. She pronounces it, however, as *sorurlar*; a way that fits the vowel harmony but is not how standard Turkish would prescribe.

- (117) Gönül: Gelip sorular sorurlar.
They come and ask questions.

In the examples above, we see the same verb sometimes has a different stem when conjugated in different tense markings (as in the case with the verb *de-* “to say”) or the verb might require a different tense marking (as in the case of the aorist marker after *sor-* “to ask”). It is possible to claim, then, when verbs or tense markings on a verb make two options possible with different rules for each, bilingual speakers might overgeneralize one of the uses and not use the other.

There are also few examples that show speakers making mistakes in derivational processes in Turkish. For example the intensifying prefix added to adjectives has a lot of different variations which basically need to be memorized.

- (118) Öznur: Mesela biz gelince ev temtemiz.
For example when we come the home is mighty clean.

In this example, the adjective *temtemiz* meaning “mighty clean” is derived from the adjective *temiz* “clean” and it takes the prefix *ter-* and becomes *tertemiz* in standard Turkish.

Similarly, the verb *küçümse-* “to look down/despise” is derived from the adjective *küçük* “small” by adding the suffix *-(i)mse* but the final sound is dropped in the derivational process. However, a speaker produces the verb as *küçükse-* instead.

- (119) Leyla: Seni mesela biraz küçüksüyolar böyle.
They, for example, like look down on you.

Another example of mixing up two derivational suffixes is the following example:

- (120) Ahmet: O kadar ilgili bi şey yok aslında bende.
I don't have anything so interesting actually.

Here the speaker uses the word *ilgili* “attentive” instead of *ilginç* “interesting”. *ilgi* means attention with the derivational suffix *-li* it means attentive. Whereas with the derivational suffix *-ç* it means something worthy of attention i.e. interesting. So the speaker mixes these two derivational suffixes. However, from a usage-based perspective it seems more likely that speakers are not confusing the derivational affixes here but rather the two actual words. Where there are two words that sound similar and have related meanings, these could easily get confused, through the lower entrenchment that results from not using the language very much.

As can be seen, there are many things could be happening at the same time during a speech event such as lexical retrieval problems, processing difficulties, as well as not knowing the correct case markings that should be used which has an effect on the speakers' utterances. This section has looked at examples where the bilingual speakers have produced utterances that include case markings that are used unconventionally. It is important to note that the instances when this happened do not comprise the majority of speech in the data. The examples come from a relatively large amount of speech data comprising more than 150,000 words.

4.3.4.5 Tense markings

This final section will shift the focus from nominal to verbal morphosyntax. Unconventional usage is found with tense marking.

A noticeable construction is the extensive use of *-A bakarak* literally meaning “(while) looking at X”, but used by the Turkish-Dutch bilinguals to mean “compared to”. In conventional Turkish this meaning is usually conveyed through other constructions: *-A göre*, *-A kıyasla* or *-A nazaran*. The construction *-A bakarak* is used around 30 times in the dataset.

(121) Berk: Türkelere bakarak Hollandalılar baya bi, baya bi cimri.

Compared to Turks, the Dutch are quite stingy.

TR-TUR: Türklere kıyasla Hollandalılar bayağı bir cimri.

NL-DUT: Vergeleken met Turken zijn Nederlanders veel gieriger. / Als je naar Turken kijkt zijn Nederlanders veel gieriger.

A common way to render the meaning ‘comparing Dutch people to Turkish people’ in conventional Turkish would be *Türklere kıyasla Hollandalılar* “the Dutch compared to Turks”. You can render this in Dutch in two ways: *als je naar Turken kijkt* “if you look at Turks” and *vergeleken met Turken* “compared to Turks”. The first option translated into Turkish might be the reason the speakers utters such a construction in Turkish.

(122) Gönül: Bi de sakin değil mi Türkiye'ye bakarak?

And isn't it calmer compared to Turkey?

TR-TUR: Bir de sakin değil mi Türkiye'ye nazaran? / Bir de sakin değil mi Türkiye'ye bakarsan?

In conventional Turkish, the comparison could be expressed through the construction *-A nazaran* “compared to”, giving *Türkiye'ye nazaran*. The same meaning can also be conveyed with a construction that does use the verb *bak-* “to look”, but marked as a conditional: *-e bakarsan* “if you look at”. This is also how

Dutch can express the intended meaning: *als je naar ... kijkt* “if you look at ...”. However, note that the actually attested construction is not a conditional: the converb -ErEk marks that two events happen at the same time (‘while’). In that sense, speakers seem perhaps not to be influenced by Dutch directly but rather to be merging two constructions: -ErEk adding the meaning “while” or manner of the verb and the conditional -sEn “if you ...”. This merging itself might be the result of a combination of factors: influence of the Dutch convention of constructing this meaning with the help of the verb ‘to look’, and low entrenchment of the various more or less synonymous Turkish expressions.

Turkish has two different past tenses, a simple past -dI and an evidential perfective marker -mİş. They can also attach to a verb stem together, first the simple past tense -dI followed by the evidential -mİş. These tenses can also attach to a nominal predicate, in which case -mİş is merely an evidential copula marker, conveying no tense or aspect. One cannot add both -dI and -mİş to a nominal predicate. However, one of the bilingual speakers was found to use these two suffixes together.

(123) Berk: Bankacıymıştı.

He was a banker.

TR-TUR: Bankacıymış. / Bankacıydı.

In the example above, the nominal predicate should take either the simple past suffix or the evidential copular marker and thus be either *bankacıymış* or *bankacıydı*.

The evidential is used in Turkish as a modality to convey information that was received from an outside source, and thus not through personal experience or knowledge. The use of evidential marking can be translated into English as “apparently”, “it seems”, “from what I have heard”. The use of evidential marking is not voluntary but is necessary to point the speaker’s source of information. Therefore, not using the evidential marker in a conversation to mark information gleaned from somewhere else is against conversational conventions (Göksel & Kerslake 2004:309). The use of evidential is not very common for first and second persons: when a speaker talks about something relating to themselves or the person in front of them they have first-hand knowledge. However, evidential markings can be found when people relate stories from their childhood that they cannot remember themselves or when they were sleeping or unconscious. Dutch does not make this distinction, at least not in an obligatory grammatical way. Therefore, erosion of the distinction could be expected as an instantiation of contact-induced change.

Turkish-Dutch bilinguals were found to use the simple past tense to mark information they could not have known themselves. Sometimes they do this consistently throughout a story, while at other times they switch back and forth

between the simple past tense and evidential marking. Around 670 instances of evidential marking were found in our data, this shows that the speakers are using evidentials often enough. However, of interest is when an evidential is *not* used where Turkish convention would expect one. Below are some examples; presumably this does not represent an exhaustive list of all non-uses of the evidential, since often it is ambiguous whether or not an evidential should have been used.

- (124) Pelin: Annemle babam Türkiye’de doğdular işte (...) dedemgil işte onlar buraya geldi.
 My mother and father were born in Turkey. My grandfather and his family came here.
 TR-TUR: Annemle babam Türkiye’de doğmuşlar işte (...) dedemgil işte onlar buraya gelmiş.

In the example above, the speaker consistently uses the simple past tense *-di* to refer to a time when she was not born yet. Therefore, the information she relates in this sentence comes from her parents and/or grandparents and would require use of the evidential suffix *-miş* in conventional Turkish, yielding *doğmuşlar* “apparently they were born” and *gelmişler* “apparently they have come”.

- (125) Öznur: Dedem hani mesela evlenmesini istedi. Annem istemedi başta. O yüzden şey yaptı. Yoksa gelmezdi ki annem.
 My grandfather wanted her to get married. My mother didn’t want it initially. That’s why she did thing. Otherwise she would not have come.
 TR-TUR: Dedem hani mesela evlenmesini istemiş. Annem istememiş başta. O yüzden şey yaptı. Yoksa gelmezmiş ki annem.

Similar to the previous example, the above example also includes verbs that are marked with the simple past tense *-di* while the speaker talks about her mother’s arrival story to the Netherlands and how she got married, things of which she has no first-hand knowledge. Again, in conventional Turkish this would trigger the use of the evidential marking *-miş*: *istemiş* “apparently he wanted”, *istememiş* “apparently she did not want”, *yapmış* “it seems she did” and *gelmezmiş* “I have learnt that she would not have come”.

In the following example the speaker switched back and forth between using the simple past tense and the evidential.

- (126) Füsün: Sonra küçük amcamı getirmiş buraya. Sonra büyük amcamı getirdi. Sonra da babam geldi. İşte ilk başta orda çalışmış.
 Then he apparently brought my younger uncle. Then he brought my older uncle. Then my father came. You see he apparently worked there initially.
 TR-TUR: Sonra küçük amcamı getirmiş buraya. Sonra büyük amcamı getirmiş. Sonra da babam gelmiş. İşte ilk başta orda çalışmış.

In the example above the verbs used are *getirmiş* “apparently he brought”, *getirdi* “he brought”, *geldi* “he came” and *çalışmış* “apparently he worked”. Tense marking starts with the evidential. As the sentence refers to the time when her grandparents moved to the Netherlands and brought her father and uncles, a time before the speaker was born, this constitutes conventional use. However, the speaker’s following two utterances make use of the simple past tense suffix *-di* even though the information referred to was not obtained through first-hand experience. The speaker then switches back to using a conventionally used evidentially marked verb. In conventional Turkish, all verbs in this utterance would be evidentially marked with *-miş*.

Likewise, in the following example the speaker starts the turn with the evidentially marked verb as the context requires. This sentence is followed by an aside, and then there is a switch to a verb marked with the simple past tense *-di* where continuation with the evidential would be expected.

- (127) Ceylan: Anneanneme yollamış beni. Annemin tarafı Türkiye’de. Beni bi sene Türkiye’ye yolladı. Kendisi de burda işe başladı işte.
 She apparently sent me to my grandmother. My mother’s side is in Turkey. She sent me to Turkey for a year. She started to work here herself you see.
 TR-TUR: Anneanneme yollamış beni. Annemin tarafı Türkiye’de. Beni bi sene Türkiye’ye yollamış. Kendisi de burda işe başlamış işte.

Under Turkish conventions, the last two sentences in this example should also be marked with the evidential tense marking *-miş* and thus should be *yollamış* “apparently she has sent” and *başlamış* “apparently she has started”. The speaker’s turn continues on with verbs marked in the simple past. These examples suggest that the speakers seem to be losing the conventional use evidential marking when they talk about information about which they have no first-hand knowledge. It is not that the speakers do not use evidential marking at all, but they are not using it consistently (cf. Arslan et al. 2017). As Dutch does not differentiate between the evidential information and direct information in its past tense formation, bilingual speakers might slowly lose their feeling for this differentiation.

Order of tense and person markings

With regards to tense marking, we have also found a few cases where the order of the tense and person marking has been confused by the speakers. This happens when the speakers are using the generalizing modality marker *-dir*. This marker follows the person markers except in the case of the third person plural suffix when it can either precede or follow (Göksel & Kerslake 2004). However, speakers are found to use the generalizing modality marker before the person markers.

- (128) Öznur: Şu anda bile 8 almamışdırım.
 This moment-LOC even 8 take-NEG-EVD-GM-1SG
 Right now I must not have even gotten an 8.

As can be seen, in the example above the generalizing modality marker precedes the first person singular person marker whereas it should follow it. Thus the verb should be *almamışımdır* “I must not have gotten”.

- (129) Füsun: Yani belki fark etmiştirsin.
 So maybe notice do-EVD-GM-2SG
 So maybe you have noticed.

The verb *fark et-* meaning “to notice” in Turkish is formed with the auxiliary *et-* “to do” and thus this is where the tense and person marking is attached. As with the previous example, the speaker uses the second person singular marker after the generalizing modality marker *-dir* while it should come before it and thus be *etmişindir* “you must have noticed”

Person markings

A couple of examples have been found where the subject and the person marking on the verb do not overlap.

- (130) Gönül: Yani biz insanları hani sosyal ilişkiler okuduğundan.
 Well because we are studying social relationships with people.

Here the subject is *biz* “we” and the verb is *okuduğundan* “because he/she is studying” creating a mismatch between the two. The verb should be conjugated with the first person plural rather than the third person singular. As such the verb should have been *okuduğumuzdan* “because we are studying”.

- (131) Öznur: Sonra yine bir sınava girmesi gerekiyolar üniversiteye gitmek için.
 Then they need to take an exam again to go to university.

Similarly, in the example above the subject is *sınava girmesi* “he/she needs to take an exam” which is marked for third person singular while the verb is *gerekiyolar* “they need to” which is marked for the third person plural. Therefore, either the subject should be in the third person plural and thus be *sınava girmeleri* “they need to take an exam” or the verb should be conjugated in the third person singular and thus be *gerekiyor* “he/she needs to”. These examples are agreement errors which might be caused by low-entrenchment of such constructions, perhaps also because they are cognitively complex for the speakers.

The morphosyntactical such as case and tense markings relate to the more schematic end of the specific-schematic construction continuum employed in usage based cognitive linguistics. This section has dealt with unconventional uses of the tense markings and the order of tense markings and person markings as well as mismatch of tense and person markings. It was shown that Turkish-Dutch bilingual speakers use unconventional case markings and suffixes where they omit some case markings, replace case markings that would be conventionally required with others and in some instances add an extra case marking where the word should be in the nominative form. Aside from this, the bilingual speakers are also found to have trouble with some tense marking such as being consistent in using the evidential marking. They are also found to use mismatching person markers on the verbs with the subjects and sometimes confuse the orders of tense and modality markers attaching to the verb. These show that aside from more specific lexical level changes in their Turkish the bilinguals in this study also exhibit language changes or unconventional language use at the more schematic end of the continuum which will be discussed in the following section.

The data analysis has shown that the Turkish of Turkish-Dutch bilingual speakers have certain aspects that would label it as unconventional or not standard Turkish spoken in Turkey. These unconventionalities have been looked into using examples from the data and analysed from a usage-based perspective. The unconventional Turkish uses range from specific constructions such as lexical items and phrases, to loan translations and morphosyntax. The following section will focus on discussing what the findings could mean in relation to the bigger picture of change in Turkish in contact with Dutch as well as in immigrant languages in general that are in contact with a societally dominant language.

4.4 Discussion and conclusions

This chapter has looked at evidence of contact-induced language change in a set of data from Turkish-Dutch bilinguals in the Netherlands. In a setting characterized by considerable language maintenance, it is near impossible to say whether any example of contact-induced language change is the result of ongoing change in the language competence of the individual speaker (‘attrition’) or of earlier change in

other speakers who have provided the input to current speakers ('imperfect acquisition'). Given this impossibility, I have chosen the neutral option to present language use that differs from how things are said in Turkey as cases of unconventionality.

In this work, I have adopted a usage-based perspective on language and contact-induced language change. This approach focuses on the implications of usage for people's linguistic competence, and hence emphasizes frequency effects and the importance of studying what goes on in actual communication. This constitutes a deviation from the majority of studies on contact, which tend to take a more structuralist view, focusing on form.

The data discussed in this chapter are from Turkish-Dutch bilinguals in the Netherlands who were interviewed by the researcher, a Turkish speaking person with little knowledge of Dutch. This put the bilinguals in a monolingual mode (Grosjean 2001). The analysis focused on different areas of the bilingual speakers' Turkish that diverge from conventional Turkish. Unconventional units were positioned on a continuum ranging from specific to schematic. Phrases and idioms fall towards the specific end of the continuum while schematic units are represented by grammatical patterns with open slots. Usage-based linguistics claims that the units that conventionalize for individual speakers can be different for different speakers, depending on how, where and with whom they use their language(s). Therefore, it is important to keep track of the social background and values of the speakers as well as the speech events they are involved in on a daily basis. Similarly, it is important to keep in mind not only the speakers' values, backgrounds and competencies but also to pay attention to the social and economic value of the two languages spoken by the bilinguals. As Turkish is not an economically valuable language for bilinguals in the context of the Netherlands, this has an effect of their language use, informing questions such as where they speak it, how much they speak it, and with whom they speak it.

Usage-based linguistics has to look further than just the structures of languages. Since it adopts the view that structure is a by-product of usage, the explanation of language data resides in the explanation of usage itself and of and how the mind processes it and stores whatever knowledge it saves from this. The explanation is not assumed to be located in the structures themselves.

Previous research on Turkish spoken in the Netherlands has found abundant lexical change in the form of insertions and loan translations (see Backus 1996, 2013) as well as some structural change with regards to case marking, word order and other constructions (Doğruöz & Backus 2009). Recent studies focusing on second generation bilinguals find that these bilinguals generally use Dutch much more than Turkish. As a result of the intertwining of these two languages in the daily lives of Turkish-Dutch bilinguals, complex forms of language change can be attested (e.g. Onar Valk 2015, Şahin 2015). The present study adds to this literature,

showing that that in informal in-group interaction, the bilingual mode of speaking involves intense code-switching. However, in the current chapter we analysed data similar to these antecedent studies, as the induced mode of speaking was monolingual Turkish.

Our data analysis showed that various types of language change can be observed in the Turkish of Turkish-Dutch bilinguals. Some of the changes are easily demonstrated as they are at the lexical level. Grammatical changes, on the other hand, are more difficult to discern as they concern small (i.e. phonologically light) morphosyntactic morphemes that speakers as well as listeners will not pay much attention to. The reason why changes at the lexical level are more easily noticed is because content words carry the meaning of the utterance and it is likely that people pay more attention to them in a conversational speech event. Given their higher salience, they are an easier target for conscious selection. On the other hand, we could expect that morphosyntactic elements are very entrenched, so that deviant usage of them should stand out.

The findings of the data analysis show that there are changes in all parts of the specific-schematic continuum of units although for schematic units, by their nature, changes are harder to demonstrate. While a new word combination is easy to spot, use of a grammatical construction may be more or less unconventional. Therefore, the data analysed is skewed towards the highly specific and partially specific/schematic units. Changes are easiest to recognize at the lexical, i.e. and highly specific, level. This is most obvious when speakers show awareness of lexical gaps within their own speech. There are words they do not know and they show they are aware of that, through hesitation, repair, admitting they do not know the Turkish equivalent, asking for help from the researcher in their word search or by inserting the Dutch equivalent instead. Some of this is most probably just a temporary forgetting that happens during speech events, also for monolinguals, some of it is due to contact in general (less entrenchment of Turkish words), some of it to direct competition (replacement) by Dutch words, and some of it due to lexical gaps. There were also examples in which fixed expressions are formed in an odd way. Some of these can be analyzed as loan translations while some might be the result of confusion, due to low exposure and the resultant low entrenchment of these expressions. An example of loan translation involving a fixed phrase is *çok büyük ağızları var* literally meaning “they have very big mouths” which was used to convey the meaning that the students can be very cheeky and bold. The phrase is directly translated from Dutch. Speakers were also found to overgeneralize Turkish lexical items that have a Dutch equivalent that has more than one meaning. This is likely why the verb *öğren-* meaning “to learn” was used in the meaning “to study” instead of *çalış-* which is the actual verb that means “to study”, most likely because the Dutch equivalent *leren* means both “to learn” and “to study”. In Turkish, these concepts are expressed by two separate verbs and as a result the frequency of the

one verb in Dutch is higher than that of its two equivalents in Turkish. Note that this is a clear example of a verb that comes from the semantic domain of education which is argued to be practiced much more through Dutch. As a result, the entrenchment of the Dutch *leren* increases even more and somehow its most direct Turkish equivalent, *öğren-* meaning “to learn”, is selected by speakers to encompass both meanings of *leren*. This creates overgeneralization of *öğren*, or under-differentiation between Turkish *öğren-* meaning “to learn” and *çalış-* meaning “to study”.

Moving to the more schematic end of the continuum, the data analysis shows some unconventional use of morphosyntax, such as case and tense marking. In the case of nominal morphosyntax, Turkish-Dutch bilinguals sometimes omit, replace or add case markings. Omission is found to be the most common. The most often omitted case is the genitive, especially in subordinate clauses, which could be explained by the fact that its meaning in these constructions is not transparent at all. Dative is the case most often used in place of other nominal cases. This could be due to the fact that dative is relatively transparent in meaning and can therefore be used in loan translations to take the place of Dutch dative prepositions (Backus & Dorleijn 2009). The accusative case is sometimes added where conventional Turkish would not have it. Presumably this is because the Turkish distinction between ‘specific definite’ direct objects and ‘non-specific definite’ ones is getting blurred in some cases. This in turn may be the result of Dutch influence, as Dutch does not make the distinction. Not all cases of omission, replacement and addition of morphosyntax can be explained by loan translation of a specific Dutch combination or direct influence from a Dutch schematic construction. As mentioned in the introduction, while Dutch influence is more obvious in the case of unconventional use of semantically transparent case markers, it might be accurate to refer to these “loan translations”. However, in other cases where case markers are not that transparent in their meaning, and no direct connection can be made to Dutch influence, the right account seems to occupy a grey zone between ‘loan translation’ and ‘grammatical interference’. To what extent these phenomena have a similar underlying mechanism is hard to tell at this point. However, all the documented changes constitute something that happens in bilinguals’ speech as they are not found in the speech of monolinguals, so it is likely that their explanation has something to do with contact, even if direct Dutch influence is not always likely. On the other hand, with plural marking and tense marking a clearer influence of Dutch could be seen. For example, speakers were found to produce plurals where Turkish would require a singular while the Dutch equivalent would use the plural. In the same vein, since Dutch does not have the evidential past tense, speakers can also be found to sometimes use the simple past and the evidential past tense interchangeably.

All these types of changes we found in the Turkish of the Turkish-Dutch bilinguals could be looked at purely from a structuralist point of view, focusing on how the grammatical structures of the two languages differ and how Dutch might be influencing Turkish. From this view, one can definitely describe the changes found in the examples accurately, but it would not allow us to fully explain why these changes occur. For example, the underdifferentiation of the verb *öğren-* “to learn” in Turkish, where bilingual speakers use it to also mean “to study”, just like its Dutch equivalent *leren* “to study”, “to learn”, is not fully accounted for by just noting the change. The fact that this word is in the semantic domain of education which the speakers are involved in (mostly in Dutch) on a day to day basis might be the reason why this word is so well entrenched for bilinguals. The most likely equivalent in Turkish (*öğren-* “to study”) is at some point chosen (altered replication) and used (propagation) to mean both “to learn” and “to study”. Not all such differences between the two languages result in lexical change, however. Similarly, the translation of lexical items and fixed phrases can also be analysed by looking at the different ways Dutch and Turkish put things in words, but the reason why the speakers target particular phrases and translate them would not be explained by a purely structuralist view. The direct translation of the Dutch saying *een grote mond hebben* literally meaning “to have a big mouth” into a new Turkish expression that means “to be bold”, as a word-for-word translation with the exact same meaning, needs to be explained rather than just described. Possibly, the phrase is encountered quite often in schools, as teachers admonish pupils about their unruly behaviour. As a result, it would be entrenched well in its Dutch form for these speakers, which in turn leads to the literal translation when the speaker aims to refer to the concept without wanting or being able to switch to Dutch. One should keep in mind, though, that the widespread practice of code-switching by these speakers in their daily language use will often induce them not to translate at all, but to just code-switch.

Borrowability accounts (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988, Weinreich 1964, etc.) claim that the first elements to be borrowed would be basic vocabulary. Johanson (2002) uses attractiveness as the attribute that promotes change in a particular area of the language. According to him, for example, elements that are more susceptible to being copied are those that are regular and transparent. However, it is not clear why these would promote attractiveness and this is what a theory of contact induced language change should focus on.

Johanson suggests that areas of grammar in which speakers perceive their languages to be similar undergo influence relatively easily. Again, how speakers perceive their languages to be similar in certain areas of grammar requires further work. With regards to our data, as such, these views do not explain why the loan translations that were found were used by the speakers, or why some lexical items are apparently difficult to produce, and are therefore either confused or lose out to a

Dutch word instead. Similarly, the claim that some changes happen only with intense contact, and only after other changes have been observed already, does not help accounting for why, for example, personal pronouns are not found to have changed while we did observe person agreement errors. More in general, it is not easy to understand what changes need to occur before others can happen, i.e. why some unconventional uses of morphosyntax are found while others are not. Thomason & Kaufmann (1988) as well as Thomason (2008) underline the importance of social factors that determine the extent of contact-induced language change but do not go into too much detail about how exactly the crucial dimension of 'intensity of contact' could be measured.

The usage-based view on language does not make a clear-cut division between lexicon, syntax and semantics like structuralist views tend to do. Instead, it views language as based on units which are spread on a continuum of schematicity. Frequency of use and saliency are factors that affect a unit's placement on this continuum. Since every speaker's usage and language experience and background is different, the same unit, such as a particular multiword expression can be highly schematic for some speakers (i.e. it's a novel form constructed through productive use of a schema), while for others it can be highly specific (i.e. it's a multiword unit). Consider the compound noun *contact-induced language change* that has been used throughout this chapter. For linguists working in the area of language contact this is a highly specific unit as it is a common theme in their research and the word combination is used with high frequency. For them, it is not computed from its parts but used as one whole fixed unit. On the other hand, it might be a partially schematic unit for linguists whose specialty lies elsewhere, but for whom 'language change' is a specific, entrenched, unit that can combine with an adjective. Furthermore, for non-linguists this is probably a schematic unit whereby the meaning of the parts of this unit might be understood sufficiently to allow them to make sense of it. Most probably, this sense will be nowhere near the connotations linguists have with the same unit.

This approach of looking at language and change, therefore, takes the impact of usage as central, and gives importance to how it might differ from speaker to speaker. This is of course also dependant on social background factors of the speakers, as these partly determine usage. Therefore, an 18-year-old monolingual Turkish speaker who is going to university in a big city in Turkey studying archaeology would have a different experience with the Turkish language compared to an 18-year-old Turkish-Dutch bilingual living in a small city in the Netherlands who studies to become a dentist technician in a vocational school and has gone through the Dutch educational system. On the other hand, two 18-year-old Turkish-Dutch bilinguals who study in the same program and live in the same city will have very similar language experiences as a result of their overlapping educational, family and social backgrounds. However, their language use might still cause units to have

different frequencies and therefore be differentially entrenched in their mental representations. In extreme cases, they may fall on different parts of the specific-semantic continuum. For example, a family in which the children are actively participating in sports might use *futbol maçı* “football match” so frequently that this might be a specific unit in the lexicon of the bilingual. At the same time, other bilinguals who have a very similar background might not be interested in sports at all and thus the frequency of *futbol maçı* “football match” might be very low in their lexicons, resulting in a partially schematic construction of X[sport] *maçı*. In attempting to generalize, it is important to keep this perspective in mind. Frequency and speaker profiles play important roles in language use and, therefore, in contact-induced language change. Only looking at the structures that occur (or not) would miss important points about how grammatical and lexical units get selected in running speech. This is also why we have decided to focus on all of the Turkish data at hand for an exhaustive analysis of what can be found. We did not think it useful to conduct judgment tests or production tasks to test a certain kind of construction without having an idea of the kinds of contact-induced changes that would be found in speech of Turkish-Dutch bilinguals.

As such, we have tried to explain unconventional uses in the data by considering various aspects that influence selection, such as whether the lexical item is used alone or as part of a construction, whether there is evidence of retrieval difficulties. We also considered whether lowered entrenchment or direct Dutch influence were likely explanations for the changes found in the data.

(132) Erkan: *Dövüş arıyorlar.*

They are looking for a fight.

For example, in the construction to mean “to look for a fight” the noun *kavga* would be used in conventional Turkish. The replacement of this word by *dövüş* “fight” is an unconventional use of a part of a specific unit. The replacing word is a synonym of the expected word. In this sense, the speaker could be said to have some knowledge of the unit, except it does not seem entrenched enough to have become a specific multiword unit. As a result, the speaker seems to be employing the partially schematic unit N[relating to fighting] + *ara-*.

Contact leads to the overall weakening of Turkish-origin lexicon, which may be conceptualized as the weakening entrenchment of individual lexical units in the minds of individual speakers. This manifests itself as forgetting (the ultimate lowering of entrenchment to zero; but probably not in evidence yet and in any case impossible to show with this kind of data), as trouble with activation, and as replacement by better entrenched alternatives. The contact linguistic question is why those alternatives are better entrenched, and reinforcement by a Dutch equivalent will often be the number one hypothesis. Some of the loan translations

that were found in the data, especially those involving content morphemes, can similarly be a result of insufficient exposure to conventional Turkish. In general, decreased frequency of words and expressions is assumed to lead to their lower entrenchment. When the conventional word or expression is not easily activated, speakers try to come up with an equivalent. If the thing that comes to mind first is the Dutch equivalent, speakers may resort to translation. However, in some cases it was difficult to ascertain that a translation from Dutch was the reason why the speakers used a certain unit. This is especially the case with unconventional uses of morphosyntax where direct Dutch influence is harder to establish. With unconventional uses of case and tense, a structural difference between Turkish and Dutch can be easily established. For example, since Dutch does not have evidential past tense, it can be suggested as an explanation that the speakers are not consistently using the evidential past tense because of this. However, the evidential past tense is not completely absent in their speech, so we cannot say that the Turkish tense system as such has changed. Insufficient exposure to and use of this tense (for example in recounting a story or an event where evidential past is often used) in full Turkish might be the reason for its inconsistent use. The fact that the Turkish-Dutch bilingual speakers do not encounter many situations where they are forced into a monolingual Turkish mode might cause non-use or decreased use of certain structures, expressions, and units. When exposure and usage decreases, presumably so does entrenchment of these units and constructions. When the units in question are suffixes which attach to the ends of the word and usually are not very salient and when the meaning of the utterance is also communicated through other aspects of the linguistic and extralinguistic context of the conversation, entrenchment may decrease further.

Taking usage, frequency, entrenchment and saliency into consideration in relation to contact-induced language change in addition to structural differences between the two languages allows us to paint a more detailed picture of what happens when a language is spoken in an immigrant setting, why this happens, and how the language might be affected in the future.

As can be seen, the usage-based view on language as applied to contact-induced language change can help researchers in understanding and explaining language use, and therefore language change, in the context of bilingual speakers in an immigrant setting such as the Turkish-Dutch bilinguals in the Netherlands. The view taken in this chapter was to take a usage-based perspective in explaining how the changes and unconventionalities found in the data could be explained with reference to how speakers produce language, more in particular how they select words and structures in running speech. The expectation is that such explanations will be compatible with the more familiar structuralist explanations, but add a necessary layer that helps explain why structure is the way it is. However, there is still a lot to work out in future studies. As useful as the qualitative analysis of

spontaneous conversational data is for gaining a better understanding of the linguistic competence of bilingual speakers, other types of data would be useful in expanding the application of the usage-based approach to the explanation of contact-induced language change. Data from carefully designed processing tasks or judgment tasks would provide different and complementary information (see for example Onar Valk 2015). For example, a judgment task based on observations from qualitative analyses of spontaneous speech could help inform us about the degree of diffusion of particular types of unconventional lexical and grammatical choices through the community. One could, for example, ask a representative sample of community members to rate the degree to which they think several of the expressions investigated above are commonly heard in the Turkish spoken around them in their daily environments. There might also be structures that are not used often in spontaneous speech data. Note, for example, that we did not focus on the use of finite and non-finite subordinate clauses in our data. This is because finite subordinate clauses are rarely unconventional; what was unconventional in Onar Valk's (2015) data was the overall rate with which these two kinds of subordinate clauses were used. Our conversational data can only show that non-finite subordination is not preferred, and perhaps this means that it is not mastered well enough to be produced spontaneously. Experimental tests could be exploited to see if bilinguals merely avoid this construction but still have the competence to produce it or understand it, or whether these constructions are actually lacking from their competence all together.

A more extensive database of conversational data would also help us say more about the language use of different speakers. Building an extensive dataset is as of yet very difficult with bilinguals, especially when it comes to spoken data (Backus 2014a). While the spoken data analysed in this chapter point to interesting insights, they are limited to the handful of speakers that were recorded for this research. Research should aim to collect and share larger amounts of data. However, collecting bigger amounts of spontaneous speech data is very time consuming and costly, so one would be dependent on large research grants. These will be difficult to get, considering the research area is a relatively small one and the target group is one of low status. However, perhaps a larger database can be achieved through cooperation and collaboration between researchers. Similarly, the type of data looked at in this chapter would be even more useful in understanding trends and changes if data collection would be longitudinal. Gaining a perspective on diachronic change within a bilingual community is of utmost importance for theories of language change, and the value of synchronic variation as observed with the dataset used in this chapter is constrained in this regard (Backus 2014b). As of yet, longitudinal or cross-sectional studies of speech in the Turkish-Dutch community is lacking.

The usage-based view argues that language use is shaped a lot by entrenchment, and therefore by frequency. As such, if the frequency with which Turkish as an immigrant variety is spoken decreases, this makes all of Turkish less entrenched for its speakers. The less entrenched Turkish lexemes and structures become, the more contact effects will be found, especially when speakers are in a monolingual Turkish mode and cannot resort to code-switching into the other language. The question then would be whether speakers would even be able or willing to keep to a Turkish-only mode. Research on Turkish-Dutch bilinguals carried out in the Netherlands with first and second generation bilinguals exhibit similar results where people's language use becomes more and more affected by their level of proficiency and comfort in using both their languages (Backus 2013). However, as a third generation of Turkish-Dutch immigrant population emerges it remains to be seen what their language use and choice patterns will be like. One study has found that speakers experience anxiety while talking Turkish (Sevinç & Backus 2017, Sevinç & Dewaele 2016). Similarly, the speakers in this study have mentioned that they think they sound 'rude' or 'wrong' while speaking Turkish. This way of thinking, combined with the fact that using the language less will decrease the entrenchment of its lexical and grammatical elements might lead to Turkish being used even less. As was mentioned in the introduction Section 4.1.2, studies on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Turkish in Western Europe have shown that the Turkish identity is regarded as very important by bilingual speakers. However, with the anxiety to speak Turkish, the possibility of decreasing frequency and entrenchment of Turkish units, the perception that their Turkish sounds 'wrong', and the knowledge that the majority language is socially and economically needed for overall social and economic success, the willingness to continue speaking Turkish and transmitting it to upcoming generations might also decrease. The possible decrease in ethnolinguistic vitality of Turkish might be a result no matter how much importance is attached to the Turkish culture and the Turkish language. Future studies will be able to detect how fast and in what ways Turkish will change and how the daily language choice of Turkish bilinguals in the immigrant context is affected.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis looked at the language use of Turkish-Dutch bilinguals, particularly their language mixing and their Turkish. The analysis roughly followed a framework of cognitive linguistics and the usage-based approach. In this chapter we give a short overview of the findings and conclusions drawn from these. The aim is to relate these findings to the bigger framework of bilingualism, language contact and contact-induced language change. We will also mention the limitations of the data and point to what can be done in future studies to further our understanding of contact-induced language change.

In Chapter 2, spontaneous conversations of second generation Turkish-Dutch bilinguals were analyzed with respect to their language mixing. The stance taken is not a structuralist one that assumes a strict distinction between lexicon, morphology and syntax, but one that looks at language as made up of units on a continuum that range from specific units that are stored fully formed in speakers' minds to schematic units that need to be filled out during online speech and resemble grammatical rules. Instead, I have adopted a usage-based view on language which stipulates that units become more entrenched and more easily activated through frequent usage. Although typologically distant, the two languages involved, Turkish and Dutch, are used together intensively and in complex ways by the speakers investigated in this study. This intense mixing is made possible by high proficiency in both languages, acceptance in the community, or at least no open hostility, toward mixing (although importance is attached to being able to speak 'good' monolingual and standard-like Turkish), and using both languages in their repertoire in a variety of circumstances throughout a typical day in their lives. With these conditions in place, speakers routinely activate partially schematic constructions and chunks from both languages, and this in turn results in a kind of language mixing that does not look like typical insertion or alternation. There were many instances of language mixing in the data which turned out to be difficult to categorize as belonging to the main structurally defined types of code-switching of insertion and alternation. I want to highlight that when we analyze language contact and its outcomes, it is useful to consider language as being made up of units that lie on a continuum ranging from specific to schematic, rather than as a collection of lexical items, morphological items, and syntactic patterns. I hope to have shown

that this way some examples can be explained that otherwise would be hard to account for.

Chapter 3 focuses on a particular construction found in the spontaneous conversations, as well as in earlier work, namely the combination of a Dutch infinitive with the inflected Turkish verb *yap-* “to do”. This Turkish verb is a light verb whose semantic meaning is bleached and as such the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction can be seen as a bilingual compound verb. The phenomenon of using a light verb to borrow verbs from another language is well-studied (Moravcsik 1975, Muysken 2000, Wohlgemuth 2009). However, it has mainly been studied from a structuralist point of view, to explain the linguistic characteristics of these constructions and whether the inserted verbs should be considered as loanwords or code-switched instances. I presented a usage-based approach in trying to analyze the use of this construction. I compared the frequency of usage not only of this construction but also of the inserted Dutch verbs and their Turkish equivalents elsewhere in the data and in larger corpora of the two languages. We aimed to try to explain why some Dutch verbs are used in combination with Turkish *yap-* “to do” while at other times maybe the regular Turkish equivalents are used. When Turkish equivalents were not used at all, this was interpreted as a sign that they are not easily activated within the minds of the speakers at time of speaking. Although this does not show that the Turkish equivalents are completely lacking from the lexicon of the speakers, it might point to lowered ease of activation. Similarly, we also looked at the use of Dutch verbs within Dutch stretches of the conversations and found that only 20% of them were not used outside of the Dutch infinitive + *yap-* construction.

I wanted to see whether the Dutch infinitives in this construction have an overall higher frequency in Dutch as their Turkish equivalents in Turkish, as measured in two corpora of these languages, OpenSoNaR and Turkish National Corpus. We found that the frequencies of the verbs in these corpora do not explain why these particular Dutch infinitives were chosen to be inserted into the bilingual compound verb construction (as opposed to other Dutch verbs). Some of the Turkish equivalents were found to be much more frequent in the Turkish corpus than the Dutch ones in the Dutch corpus. Higher frequency normally means higher degree of entrenchment and easier activation. However, the big language corpora we used to check for overall frequency of Dutch and Turkish verbs are made up of written material and are thus different from the kind of conversations used in this study. Also, while verbs might be each other’s translation equivalents in isolation, they may have more specific meanings in combination with different nouns, and these combinatory possibilities may differ considerably across languages. Thus makes the comparison sometimes problematic. For example the verb *sür-* means “to drive” when it combines with the noun *araba* “car” but “to spread” when it combines with the noun *krem* “cream”. In comparing the frequencies of translation equivalents, it

is impossible to consider all these possible different meanings when verbs combine with different nouns in the language corpora. This also relates to the specificity of meaning. Inserted Dutch verbs often have a very specific meaning for which Turkish may use a multiword unit. For example, the Dutch verb *uitschrijven* means “to deregister from the municipality where one lives” has a multiword translation in Turkish: *ikametgah değiştir-* “to change registration”.

Another aspect of the corpus check that is not without problems is the distribution of semantic domains across the myriad daily conversations that corpora are supposed to represent. While big corpora aim to be as representative as possible and therefore range across semantic domains, the conversations in our data clearly revolve around certain semantic categories. This issue is not addressed much in bilingual research. I studied the semantic domains to which the inserted Dutch verbs belong. It was found that most verbs center around certain semantic domains which can be hypothesized as being lived and perceived mostly in Dutch. Thus, verbs pertaining to these domains, e.g. education, work, or life in Dutch society, are frequent and therefore entrenched in the minds of bilinguals. This, in turn, results in the verbs being used in combination with *yap-* when the activation of their Turkish equivalents is difficult. The Dutch verb is more readily available and activated more easily.

An additional point examined was (self-)priming, when the inserted Dutch verb is preceded shortly before by use of the same verb in a Dutch sequence. The analysis has given us an in-depth view of the use of this construction by bilinguals using data in naturally occurring conversation. In more controlled environments (such as production or video retelling tasks) the construction might be more difficult to observe, or its elicitation might be less ecologically valid. However, the database is relatively small and cannot be generalized to the whole group of second generation Turkish-Dutch bilinguals. We saw that individual speakers can differ greatly in their use of this construction, and presumably in many other ways too. However, it is very difficult to gather data of this kind in sufficient quantities given how burdensome the data collection and coding is, and the large budget that is needed accordingly. Therefore, qualitative analysis such as used here might pave the way for more controlled and quantitative data to be collected at a later stage. Frequency judgment tasks where speakers are asked how often they think they hear a particular construction (rather than whether they think it is a grammatically ‘correct’ utterance) would give us more insight into the frequency of the construction, and in the case of the focal construction in this chapter, what Dutch infinitives can be used. This chapter has tried to highlight the importance of looking at frequency and semantic specificity, rather than aiming for structuralist explanations of the construction. It attempted to avoid labeling issues such as whether the Dutch verbs should be seen as loans or code-switches. Finally, the question was addressed whether the Turkish verb *yap-* was undergoing grammati-

calization in its combination with Dutch infinitives. The conclusion was that several of the criteria were fulfilled. However, neither *yap-* nor the Dutch infinitives in these constructions are phonologically reduced, and occasionally other morphological elements were found to occur between the two parts of the construction, which suggests that the construction has not fully grammaticalized.

Chapter 4 used another set of data, namely interviews conducted by the researcher in which the bilinguals were put in a monolingual Turkish mode (Grosjean 2001). The Turkish of these bilinguals was studied in depth, with a focus on the unconventional uses, and again from the perspective of usage-based linguistics. The basic tenet of cognitive linguistics is that language is made up of units that range from specific, via partially schematic, to schematic. Specific units are mostly words and multiword units; more schematic constructions involve, for example, morphological elements such as the plural formation or the use of the evidential past tense. Changes found at the lexical level, i.e. the specific end of the continuum, were the easiest to demonstrate. Examples included translations of multiword units, such as sayings and phrases. Another use of unconventional specific units concerned the underdifferentiation of certain Turkish words whose Dutch equivalents encompassed more than one lexical element. Speakers were found, for example, to use the Turkish verb *öğren-* “to learn” also to encompass the meaning of “to study” which would be rendered through *çalış-* “to study”, “to work” in conventional Turkish. Most likely, this usage was the result of translation from the Dutch verb *leren* which means “to study”, “to learn” and “to teach”.

The usage-based view predicts that units that are highly schematic in the minds of speakers can give rise to specific units, i.e. instantiations of the schema, through repeated usage. As a particular multiword unit is used more and more often, the effect of the increased frequency might be that the unit becomes less likely to be computed through rules (schematic) and more that it is activated as a chunk (specific). Conversely, multiword units that do not get used often enough may lose their unit status. Thus, we observed difficulties in the formation of some (fixed) phrases, presumably from lack of sufficient exposure. Similarly, if certain verbs and their associated constituents are used more often in Dutch than in Turkish, then one might assume that the case markings on the complement nouns might not be entrenched well, and hence speakers might produce something unconventional, perhaps by ‘translating’ the verb phrase while using it in a Turkish utterance. There are, of course, also changes in the Turkish of Turkish-Dutch bilinguals that cannot be directly attributed to Dutch influence. However, the mere fact that they are found points to some sort of effect bilingualism might be having on their Turkish use. A similar thing can be said about the unconventional uses of morphology that were analyzed. While in many cases pinpointing direct influence from Dutch was not possible, the fact that there are unconventional uses of case morphology (unexpected in monolingual speech) points to an effect of bilingualism. At the same

time, in some examples the term “translation” could be used with some justification (especially with the dative), mostly because they involve more transparent meaning, and transparent meanings are likely to be more accessible to speakers for transfer onto equivalent morphemes in the other language.

Chapter 4 provided an overview of the various kinds of change that were found in the Turkish data of the Turkish-Dutch bilinguals. The aim was not just to provide the overview but also to show the importance of usage, frequency and salience in accounting for what we found. Again, however, it must be emphasized that the sample is relatively small, with data from 15 individuals, so the findings should not be generalized. Much more data, naturally collected from different speakers, would be needed to be able to understand and predict which way contact-induced language change in Turkish-Dutch bilinguals might go. Though collecting such large amounts of data consumes a lot of time and resources, another way would be to carry out longitudinal studies designed to see how contact-induced language change progresses within a generation or cross-sectional studies, designed to see how language change differs between generations. As such, comparing different studies on the same population (Turkish as spoken by bilinguals in Western Europe) can be revealing. Backus (1996) focuses on first and second generation bilinguals. My study as well as previous ones referred to here (Doğruöz & Backus 2009, Onar Valk 2015, Şahin 2015 etc.) focus mainly on second generation bilinguals. However, with the rising third generation it will become possible to compare the language use of different generations. While speakers in this study do not seem to feel intimidated when having to speak Turkish, a study by Sevinç & Backus (2017) points to the fact that as anxiety relating to speaking Turkish increases within the community, overall use of Turkish decreases. This, in turn, decreases exposure and frequency of Turkish units and further increases anxiety, leading to a vicious circle. As such, by creating the monolingual mode of Turkish through interviews with the researcher, we may have created a fairly unnatural context. Studies might increasingly find that Turkish-Dutch bilinguals avoid using Turkish. Another kind of data collection similar to recording naturally occurring data would be focus group interviews, in which the researcher leads the speakers with regards to topics but allows them to interact normally for the rest. In such settings, speakers could also be asked directly about their ideas, feelings and metalinguistic knowledge regarding their language use.

This study aimed at a general overview of the various kinds of change that were found in the Turkish of Turkish-Dutch bilinguals and in-depth analysis of examples to see what could have brought them about. The analyses loosely fit within a usage-based framework. A logical next step would be then to collect more systematic data. This could tell us whether conventional structures that can be observed not to be in use in the Turkish spoken by Turkish-Dutch bilinguals are lacking completely from their usage or whether the speakers have the competence to understand them but

are not able to consistently produce them. Frequency judgement tasks or production tasks could be used to do carry out research on particular units, located on different regions of the specific-schematic continuum.

Throughout this thesis, we have focused on the language use of Turkish-Dutch bilinguals, notably on their language mixing and on their Turkish, from a usage-based perspective on language, and thus taking into account frequency, entrenchment, and specificity as explanatory factors. Contact-induced language change is a relatively new area of research for usage-based linguistics; exploring the combination allows us to further deepen our understanding of what drives the details of language use and how the changes visible in it can be explained. Structural views on language work with clear divisions between morphology, lexicon and syntax. This makes it harder to investigate the intricate relationship between overlapping units of varying length and degree of schematicity. I argue that the usage-based perspective makes it better possible to answer *why* certain units are code-switched and others are not. The frequency and degree of entrenchment explains why certain words, morphemes, expressions and constructions are more easily activated, even if they hail from the other language as the one spoken so far in a given clause. High degrees of entrenchment (in whichever language) make activation easier and thus units with high entrenchment may win out even when the other language is setting the grammatical frame of an utterance. Overall, this is mostly in evidence when Dutch units are activated while speaking Turkish, but there are also examples in the other direction. When put in a monolingual Turkish mode and simply switching into Dutch is not an option, the activation of Dutch units still affects speech, resulting in various kinds of loan translations and other forms of contact-induced change.

Further research is needed to improve of the available database. Only this way can we keep building our knowledge of bilinguals' language use and be able to say more about how usage affects contact-induced language change. More qualitative research, based on naturally occurring spontaneous speech as well as focus group interviews will help uncover why speakers use certain units rather than others. Focus group interviews can be used to dig deeper into perceived frequency of structures and words, and can elicit metalinguistic commentaries from speakers themselves. Furthermore, quantitative methods such as frequency judgment tasks and productions tasks might help discern to what extent units and constructions used (or unused) by bilinguals are entrenched in their competence. This thesis takes its place in a recent research tradition (cf. Doğruöz 2007, Onar Valk 2015, Hakimov 2016 etc.) which tries to illustrate the different information and understanding that can be gleaned by steering away from purely structural outlooks on language and by focusing on the importance of usage. I hope it has proven to be enlightening and that it has succeeded in raising curiosity, ensuring that further

research on contact-induced language change will be carried out, and that it will place much more importance on actual use.

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APPENDIX

TURKISH AND DUTCH SELF-RATING QUESTIONNAIRE¹

HOLLANDACA VE TÜRKÇE DİL KULLANIM ANKETİ

Bir başka kültürel ortamda iki dil kullanarak yaşayan kişilerin zaman içerisinde diğer kültürden ve dilden etkilenmeleri söz konusu olabilir. Örneğin, bir insan Hollanda kültürüne Türk kültüründen yeni unsurlar katarken, farkında olmayarak Hollanda kültüründen ve dilinden bazı şeyleri de kendi kültürü içinde kullanmaya başlayabilir. Bu duruma kültürel ve dilsel etkileşim diyoruz. Bizim bu anketi yapmaktaki amacımız bunları tespit etmektir.

Bazı sorular size çok farklı gelebilir ancak bu akademik bir araştırmadır. Anlayış içerisinde her soruyu cevaplamanızı rica ediyoruz. Her sorunun karşısındaki kendi düşüncenize uygun olan rakamı daire içine alınız. Her soruyu verilen örneğe uygun olarak cevaplayınız.

Örneğin aşağıdaki soruda Hollanda'nın çok güzel bir ülke olduğunu düşünüyorsanız, 5 rakamını daire içine alırsınız.

	Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	<i>Katılmıyorum</i>	<i>Ortada</i>	<i>Katılıyorum</i>	Kesinlikle katılıyorum
Hollanda çok güzel bir ülkedir.	1	2	3	4	5

Eğer, Hollanda'nın çok güzel bir ülke olduğunu hiç düşünmüyorsanız, 1 rakamını daire içine alırsınız.

	Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	<i>Katılmıyorum</i>	<i>Ortada</i>	<i>Katılıyorum</i>	Kesinlikle katılıyorum
Hollanda çok güzel bir ülkedir.	1	2	3	4	5

Anketle ilgili sorularınızı araştırmacı Derya Demirçay'a iletebilirsiniz.

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¹ Based on Yağmur & Van de Vijver (2012) and Extra & Yağmur (2010).

BÖLÜM 1: KENDİNİZLE İLGİLİ BİLGİLER

- 1) Adınız ve Soyadınız:
- 2) Cinsiyetiniz:
 - Bayan
 - Erkek
- 3) Doğum tarihiniz? _____ – _____ 19_____
- 4) Hangi ülkeden doğdunuz?
 - Türkiye
 - Hollanda
 - Diğer: _____
- 5) Kaç yıldır Hollanda'da yaşıyorsunuz? _____ yıldır.
- 6) Babanız hangi ülkede doğmuş?
 - Türkiye
 - Hollanda
 - Diğer: _____
- 7) Anneniz hangi ülkede doğmuş?
 - Türkiye
 - Hollanda
 - Diğer: _____
- 8) Hangi şehirde yaşıyorsunuz? _____
- 9) Hangi okuldan mezun oldunuz (diplomanız)? _____
- 10) Mesleğiniz nedir? _____
- 11) Evli misiniz?
 - Evet
 - Hayır
- 12) Evliyseniz, eşiniz hangi ülkede doğdu?
 - Türkiye
 - Hollanda
 - Diğer: _____
- 13) Ne kadar sık Türkiye'ye gidiyorsunuz?
 - Senede 1'den fazla
 - Her yıl
 - 2 yılda bir
 - 3 yılda bir

BÖLÜM 2: HOLLANDA'DA YABANCILAR

14) Aşağıda sunulan cümlelerin karşısındaki sizce uygun olan rakamı işaretleyiniz lütfen.

	Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Ortada	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum
Hollanda'daki yabancılar Hollandaca konuşmak zorundadır.	1	2	3	4	5
Hollanda'daki yabancılar Hollanda gelenek ve göreneklerini herşeyin üstünde tutmalıdırlar.	1	2	3	4	5
Hollanda'daki yabancılar kendi dillerini konuşabilirler.	1	2	3	4	5
Hollanda'daki yabancılar kendi kültürlerine uygun olarak yaşayabilirler.	1	2	3	4	5
Hollanda'daki yabancılar kendi gelenek ve göreneklerini herşeyin üstünde tutmalıdırlar.	1	2	3	4	5
Hollanda'daki yabancılar Hollanda kültürüne uygun olarak yaşamalıdırlar.	1	2	3	4	5

KAMUYA AÇIK YERLERDE, İŞTE VE OKULDA

	Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	<i>Katılmıyorum</i>	<i>Ortada</i>	<i>Katılıyorum</i>	Kesinlikle katılıyorum
Yabancılar her zaman Hollandaca konuşmalı.	1	2	3	4	5
Yabancılar kendi dillerini konuşabilir.	1	2	3	4	5
Yabancılar Hollanda gelenek ve göreneklerini herşeyin üstünde tutmalıdırlar.	1	2	3	4	5
Hollanda'daki yabancılar kendi kültürlerine uygun olarak davranabilirler.	1	2	3	4	5
Hollanda'daki yabancılar Hollanda kültürüne uygun olarak davranmalıdırlar.	1	2	3	4	5

EVDE

	Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	<i>Katılmıyorum</i>	<i>Ortada</i>	<i>Katılıyorum</i>	Kesinlikle katılıyorum
Yabancılar kendi dillerini konuşabilirler.	1	2	3	4	5
Yabancılar Hollanda gelenek ve göreneklerine uygun olarak yaşamalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5
Yabancılar kendi gelenek ve göreneklerine uygun olarak yaşayabilirler.	1	2	3	4	5
Yabancılar Hollandaca konuşmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5

BÖLÜM 3: HOLLANDACA – TÜRKÇE DİL KULLANIMI

15) Aşağıda sunulan cümlelerin karşısındaki sizce uygun olan rakamı işaretleyiniz lütfen.

Dil kullanımı - Aşağıdaki kişilerle genellikle hangi dilde konuşursunuz?	Her zaman Hollandaca	Çoğunlukla Hollandaca	Eşit derecede / Karışık	Çoğunlukla Türkçe	Her zaman Türkçe
Babanızla?	1	2	3	4	5
Annenizle?	1	2	3	4	5
Kardeşlerinize?	1	2	3	4	5
Türk arkadaşlarınızla?	1	2	3	4	5
Mahalledeki Türk arkadaşlarla?	1	2	3	4	5
Türk işyerlerinde?	1	2	3	4	5
Kahvehanede?	1	2	3	4	5
Camide?	1	2	3	4	5
Telefonda Türk tanıdıklarla?	1	2	3	4	5

Aşağıdaki kişiler size konuşurken hangi dilde konuşuyorlar?	Her zaman Hollandaca	Çoğunlukla Hollandaca	Eşit derecede / Karışık	Çoğunlukla Türkçe	Her zaman Türkçe
Anne - baba	1	2	3	4	5
Kardeşler	1	2	3	4	5
Arkadaşlar	1	2	3	4	5
Akrabalar	1	2	3	4	5
Türk komşular	1	2	3	4	5

Genellikle hangi dilde...?	Her zaman Hollandaca	Çoğunlukla Hollandaca	Eşit derecede / Karşık	Çoğunlukla Türkçe	Her zaman Türkçe
Düşünürsünüz?	1	2	3	4	5
Rüya görürsünüz?	1	2	3	4	5
Sayı sayar, hesap yaparsınız?	1	2	3	4	5
Kitap okursunuz?	1	2	3	4	5
Gazete-dergi okursunuz?	1	2	3	4	5
Televizyon izlersiniz?	1	2	3	4	5
Radyo dinlersiniz?	1	2	3	4	5
Yazarsanız?	1	2	3	4	5

Aşağıdaki konularla ilgili konuşurken hangi dili tercih ediyorsunuz?	Her zaman Hollandaca	Çoğunlukla Hollandaca	Eşit derecede / Karşık	Çoğunlukla Türkçe	Her zaman Türkçe
Güncel konularla ilgili konuşurken	1	2	3	4	5
Akademik konularla ilgili konuşurken	1	2	3	4	5
Sosyo-politik konularla ilgili konuşurken	1	2	3	4	5
Müzik-aktüalite konularında	1	2	3	4	5
Dini konularda	1	2	3	4	5
Kültür-egitim konularında	1	2	3	4	5

Hollanda'da aşağıdaki işleri yapmak için Türkçe ve Hollandaca ne kadar önemlidir?	Sadece Hollandaca önemli	Hollandaca daha önemli	İkisi de eşit önemde	Türkçe daha önemli	Sadece Türkçe önemli
Arkadaş edinmek için	1	2	3	4	5
Para kazanmak için	1	2	3	4	5
Eğitim için	1	2	3	4	5
İş bulmak için	1	2	3	4	5
İleri düzeyde eğitim için	1	2	3	4	5
Hollanda'da yaşamak için	1	2	3	4	5
Türk toplumunda söz sahibi olmak için	1	2	3	4	5
Çocuk yetiştirmek için	1	2	3	4	5
Türk toplumunda kabul görmek için	1	2	3	4	5
Arkadaşlarla konuşmak için	1	2	3	4	5
Hollandalılar tarafından kabul edilmek için	1	2	3	4	5
İş arkadaşlarıyla konuşmak için	1	2	3	4	5
Seyahat etmek için	1	2	3	4	5
Ticaret yapmak için	1	2	3	4	5

Hollandaca ve Türkçe Hakkında Ne Düşünüyorsunuz?	Sadece Hollandaca	Hollandaca daha fazla	İkisi de aynı	Türkçe daha fazla	Sadece Türkçe
Kulağa hoş gelen dil	1	2	3	4	5
Kulağa arkadaşça gelen dil	1	2	3	4	5
Kulağa ayrıcalıklı gelen dil	1	2	3	4	5
Kulağa kibar gelen dil	1	2	3	4	5
Kulağa samimi gelen dil	1	2	3	4	5
Kulağa modern gelen dil	1	2	3	4	5

DİL BECERİLERİNİ DEĞERLENDİRME ANKETİ

Bu anketin amacı Türkçe ve Hollandaca dillerinde okuma, yazma, konuşma ve anlama becerilerinizin kendiniz tarafından değerlendirilmesidir. Yardımlarınız için şimdiden teşekkür ederiz.

Aşağıdaki ölçeği kullanarak kendi dil becerilerinizi değerlendirin lütfen.

- 1 = Hiç yapamam
- 2 = Çok zorlukla yaparım
- 3 = Zorlukla yaparım
- 4 = Çok az zorlukla yaparım
- 5 = Kolaylıkla yaparım

Örneğin:

	Türkçe (A)	Hollandaca (B)
Haftanın günlerini söyleyebilirim	5	5

Türkçenizi değerlendirirken 1'den (hiç yapamam) 5'e (kolaylıkla yaparım) kadar olan bir rakamı sorunun karşısındaki (A) kolonuna yazın. Aynı şekilde (B) kolonunda da Hollandaca becerinizi değerlendirin.

ANLAMA	Türkçe (A)	Hollandaca (B)
1 Basit bir konuşmanın ana hatlarını kavrayabilirim.		
2 Bir konuşmada anlamadığım sözcükleri bağlamdan çıkarabilirim.		
3 Bir kimsenin bir konu ile ilgili olumlu veya olumsuz düşüncelerini anlayabilirim.		
4 Bir dizi olayın aktarıldığı bir anlatımı kavrayabilirim.		
5 Dilenen özürü anlayabilirim.		
6 Teklif edilen veya istenilen yardımı anlayabilirim.		
7 Bir başkasının bir talep veya isteğini anlayabilirim.		
8 Soyut kavramları anlayabilirim.		
9 Karmaşık cümleleri kavrayabilirim.		
10 Deyim ve atasözlerini anlayabilirim.		

KONUŞMA	Türkçe (A)	Hollandaca (B)
1 Bir konuyla ilgili olumlu veya olumsuz düşüncelerimi anlatabilirim.		
2 Bir şeyi anlamadığımda açıklama isteyebilirim.		
3 Söylediğim şey karşımdaki tarafından anlaşılmasa hatamı düzeltebilirim.		
4 Özür dileyebilirim.		
5 Yardım isteyebilir veya teklif edebilirim.		
6 Başkalarından bir konuda bilgi istekte bulunabilirim.		
7 Soyut sözcükler kullanabilirim.		
8 Karmaşık cümlelerle konuşabilirim.		
9 Deyim ve atasözleriyle konuşabilirim.		
10 Espiri ve şakalar yapabilirim.		

OKUMA	Türkçe (A)	Hollandaca (B)
1 Bir ilanı okuyup anlayabilirim.		
2 Bir broşürde verilen bilgiyi okuyup anlayabilirim.		
3 Bir kullanım talimatını veya başvuru formunu okuyup anlayabilirim.		
4 Şiir okuyup anlayabilirim.		
5 Bir gazateyi okuyup anlayabilirim.		
6 Bir kitabı okuyup anlayabilirim.		
7 Bir metinde kullanılan deyim ve terimleri anlayabilirim.		
8 Bir metinde bilmediğim sözcükleri bağlamdan çıkarabilirim.		
9 Bir metinde kullanılan soyut kavramları anlayabilirim.		
10 Karmaşık cümlelerle yazılmış metinleri anlayabilirim.		

YAZMA	Türkçe (A)	Hollandaca (B)
1 Akraba ve arkadaşlara mektup yazabilirim.		
2 Bir başvuru formunu doldurabilirim.		
3 Bir konudaki düşüncelerimi yazılı olarak anlatabilirim.		
4 Bir gazete için bilgilendirici bir metin yazabilirim.		
5 Becerim oranında bir şiir yazabilirim.		
6 Bir metin yazarken gerekli olan kelimeleri sözlükten arayıp bulabilirim.		
7 Bir metin yazarken deyim ve terimler kullanabilirim.		
8 Soyut sözcükler kullanarak bir metin yazabilirim.		
9 Karmaşık cümleler kullanarak bir metin yazabilirim.		
10 Bir iş mektubu yazabilirim.		

ZAHMETİNİZ VE KATKILARINIZ İÇİN ÇOK TEŞEKKÜR EDERİZ!

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 Kaapverdische 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 'litteraire 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. Concurrentievoorordelen uit multiculturele strategieën*. Supervisors: Ruben Gowricharn and Slawek Magala, 14 March 2012.

- 21 Jef Van der Aa. *Ethnographic Monitoring. Language, Narrative and Voice in a Caribbean Classroom*. Supervisors: Jan Blommaert and Sjaak Kroon, 8 June 2012.
- 22 Özel Bağcı. *Acculturation Orientations of Turkish Immigrants in Germany*. Supervisors: Guus Extra and Kutlay Yağmur, 3 October 2012.
- 23 Arnold Pannenburg. *Big Men Playing Football. Money, Politics and Foul Play in the African Game*. Supervisor: Wouter van Beek, 12 October 2012.
- 24 Ico Maly, N-VA. *Analyse van een politieke ideologie*. Supervisors: Jan Blommaert and Sjaak Kroon, 23 October 2012.
- 25 Daniela Stoica. *Dutch and Romanian Muslim Women Converts: Inward and Outward Transformations, New Knowledge Perspectives and Community Rooted Narratives*. Supervisors: Enikő Vincze and Jan Jaap de Ruiter, 30 October 2012.
- 26 Mary Scott. *A Chronicle of Learning: Voicing the Text*. Supervisors: Jan Blommaert, Sjaak Kroon and Jef Van der Aa, 27 May 2013.
- 27 Stasja Koot. *Dwelling in Tourism. Power and Myth Amongst Bushmen in Southern Africa*. Supervisor: Wouter van Beek, 23 October 2013.
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- 33 Alice Leri. *Who is Turkish American? Investigating Contemporary Discourses on Turkish Americanness*. Supervisors: Odile Heynders and Piia Varis, 9 September 2014.

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