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Multilingual practices in The Voice Russia: the pragmatics of musical performance

The vocal competition "Golos" (the Russian version of the global television show "The Voice") provides a rich source of material for the investigation of multilingual practices in music due to its particularly international status: the participants represent different republics within the Russian Federation, the CIS states, and various countries of the far abroad. In addition to the main three languages of the songs on the show – Russian, English, and Italian – musical performances incorporate other local languages, which are native to some of the contestants: French, Spanish, Portuguese, Ukrainian, Georgian, Azerbaijani, Hebrew, Romani, and so forth. The most interesting in terms of language use are multilingual performances, in which the performers mix lyrics (verses, choruses, fragments of verses and choruses, etc.) in different languages.

The study of multilingual performances in "Golos" is guided primarily by research on the sociolinguistics of globalization, which regards language as a "mobile resource" and posits that language varieties (resources) are appropriated by communicants for a certain purpose and gain meaning in situated contexts (Blommaert, 2010). The data were drawn from the videos of 21 multilingual songs that make 2% of the total number of songs performed in the five seasons of "Golos" (2012 – 2016).

Multilingual performances in "Golos" are composed via two main patterns: (1) language transposition (cf "linguistic transposition" in Chik (2010, p. 516)) and (2) music and language combination. Performances of the first type do not usually imply any changes in music and consist in the integration of a translated version of the same song into a different language. Performances of the second type combine fragments from different songs and alternate both language and music. In combination with a well-thought-out structure and musical arrangement, multilingual performances may take new meanings and perform new functions, which are not initially rooted in the original song lyrics.

Drawing evidence from four multilingual performances, the paper explores the mechanisms of language alternation and their pragmatic effects in musical performances in "Golos". It argues that the innovative uses of language are related to the structure of the performance and depend on the stage of the show. Thus, switching between languages in the initial position can be used to set the atmosphere of the performance, in the intermediate position – to shift the emphasis in the song content, and in the final position – to underline the symbolic meaning embedded in the song. In regard to the stage of the show, language alternation can serve to grab the attention of the coaches in blind auditions, to emphasize the contestants' vocal abilities in battles/knockouts, and to win more votes of the public in the "live" finals.

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Jenni Alisaari, Leena Maria Heikkola, Emmanuel Opoku Acquah

Valuing, accepting, or paralyzing multilingualism?

In Finnish schools, linguistic diversity of learners has increased remarkably. According to various studies, the schools that value their students' multilingualism have had good results in students' achievements (Nieto, 2010). Teachers who accept many languages and registers in their classrooms build their students' future knowledge on their current knowledge (Fránquiz & Reyes, 1998). By letting students to talk with other students in their native languages, teachers support the development of native language development, as well. Sometimes native languages are used only as bridges to new language, and the value of the language itself is not recognized. However, teachers' attitudes toward languages that multilingual learners use affect learning outcomes more than deficits in language skills. (Nieto, 2010).

Finnish Core Curriculum (National Board of Education, 2016) values multilingualism, and considers all languages as potential learning resources. However, little is known about teachers' attitudes toward linguistic diversity of their students, nor the practices teachers have related to the use of native languages as learning resources. In this study, we investigate Finnish teachers' attitudes and practices related to linguistic diversity in their classrooms. The participants were 822 teachers all across Finland (female 78%, male 21%, other 1%; average age 41). Of this number, 23.1% were class teachers, 44.3% subject teachers, 4.0% were both class and subject teachers, 14.9% special education teachers, 2.9% school counselors, 5.7% principals, and others 3.6%. 13% of the teachers had some training in linguistically responsive teaching, and 87% had no training. Data was collected via online survey during spring 2016. The survey comprises of both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative data were analyzed using basic descriptive for specific items using IBM's SPSS version 23. To understand whether teachers training in linguistically responsive teaching had effect on their attitudes and practices related to linguistic diversity, a t-test was conducted. The qualitative data followed a thematic analysis.

Preliminary results indicate that only approximately one third of the teachers value their students' multilingualism and let the students use their native languages as a resource for learning. Approximately 20 % of the teachers consider that using native languages is not allowed during the school day. The reasons for denying the use of native languages are, for example, the fear that students are bullying other students or teachers with the language others do not understand, or that by using other languages, learning of Finnish would not be optimal. Approximately 40 % of the teachers reported that native languages could be used occasionally, if the students want to ensure their understanding of some topics. Teachers' training about linguistically responsive teaching had a positive effect on their attitudes.

The results indicate that teachers' attitudes are not only positive toward linguistic diversity. However, to ensure successful learning of multilingual students, different languages should be seen as resources and not deficits. Practices that value linguistic diversity should be strengthened at schools since all the students benefit from atmosphere which values languages.

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Djegdjiga Amazouz, Martine Adda-Decker

Triggering Code-switching in French/Arabic Bilingual Communities

Key words: Code-switching, Interaction, Bilingualism, Algerian Arabic, French language, Spontaneous Speech.

Code-switching (CS) is "the dynamic switching from one language to another within a given oral or written speech interaction" [1, p.5]. CS results from language contact and it emphasizes a communicative skill of two languages. So- ciolinguistic factors may lead to switching between two languages [4]. These factors may be both individual and collective. They depend on the speaker's will and on a common agreement within the group's practice [3]. Further- more, bilingual speakers may easily switch within a conversational context and CS becomes a daily habit. In French (FR)/ Algerian Arabic (AA) bilingual communities, the two languages are of complementary use in daily life [6]. The speakers tend to use both FR and AA in their daily conversations resulting in an interdependent bilingualism [6, p.208], so the CS is frequent in this pair of languages [5].

In this study, we will show the different steps to trigger spontaneous FR/AA CS. With linguist questions and bilingual FR/AA code-switchers productions, we highlight the role of linguist and the role of the social/conversational context in CS speech. This study aims to gain insight into CS practice by analysing how CS may be induced and triggered. The goal of this experience is to obtain an natural spontaneous Code-switching data. First, we analyse the type of the questions in conversations witch triggered the height quantity of CS segments. Furthermore, we will present the statistics of the density CS segments productions. Finally, we will analyse the occurrences at the word level in CS speech.

Our CS corpus is composed of 8 bilingual speakers aged from 20 to 35. They all lived a part of their life in Algeria and another in France. They all studied at university and use both languages daily and often with CS. We recorded the speakers in a soundproof room at LPP (Labortoire de Phonétique et Phonologie) of Sorbonne-Nouvelle University in Paris. The aim of recording the conversations in a soundproof room is to perform an acoustico-phonetic study of spontaneous CS. We selected the speakers using a sociolinguistic online questionnaire (ECSP) *"Experience of Code-switching practice"* with questions about their linguistic autobiography, the environment in which languages are practised, language acquisition/learning, CS habits. We started with a first conversation unrecorded with the speaker to get them in a relaxed setting in order to practice both languages in the same interaction. We recorded a dual conversation with linguist and speaker. The records lasted 15 to 20 mn for each speaker. We used Transcriber program to segment the sentences, to transcribe the conversations and to annotate the languages used in the segments. The AA speech has been transcribed using a transliteration orthography inspired by Buckwalter Arabic transliteration [2]. There are four main types of questions in each speech sequence to trigger CS.

1- AA questions about their studies and their work.
2- FR questions about their lives and studies in Algeria.
3- FR/CS : code-switched questions using French as base language.
4- 4- AA/CS : questions using AA as base.

We note that the base language in this study is the language that presents more grammatical and lexical elements in the sentence or into the segment. We can resume the results as follows (table 1): most of the language produc- tions are in French. In the spontaneous CS triggered with balanced questions, we notice that CS frequency is considerably high. In CS FR/AA triggered, the language

base can change within a same sequence of conversation and the speaker can change to the embedded language several times in a list of successive sentences.

	Languages of the questions	Trigger questions (examples)	CS type gathered
1	AA	wiyn qriyti ? *Where did you study ?* kunti taxadmi fiy EljzaAyar? *Did you use to work in Algeria ?*	inter-sentential CS in an French interaction with AA sentences: intra-sentential CS with French base intra-sentential CS with AA base
2	FR	qu'est ce que tu faisais pour remdier `a ce probl`eme ? *How did you manage to resolve this problem ?*	1-inter-sentential CS in an French interaction with AA sentences 2- inter-sentential an AA conversation with French sentences 3- intra-sentential CS with an AA base 4- intra-sentential CS with an French base
3	CS in AA base	cajbak al texte? *Did you like the text ?*	1- inter-sentential CS in an French interaction 2- intra-sentential CS with French base 3- intra-sentential CS with an AA base
4	CS in FR base	Et la vie à Montpellier? KiyfaAX ? *How is the live in Montpellier*	1- inter-sentential CS in an French interaction 2- intra-sentential CS with French base

Table 1- CS FR/AA triggered type

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Timofey Arkhangelskiy, Maria Usacheva

Spontaneous Russian verbal borrowings in Udmurt

Udmurt, a Uralic language spoken in Russia, has experienced prolonged influence from the side of the dominant Russian language. As a result, it developed mechanisms for inserting spontaneous borrowings from Russian in an Udmurt sentence. Our talk deals with the two ways of adapting Russian verbs that exist in both the literary language and the dialects. The older strategy is using the Russian stem with a derivational suffix *-t-* and Udmurt suffixes; nowadays it is not productive and is constrained to a small number of old borrowings. The newer, productive, way is to use the Russian infinitive together with a properly conjugated verb *kariṅi* 'do' (a cross-linguistically widespread strategy, according to Heine and Kuteva 2005). These strategies are illustrated in the Standard Udmurt example (1).

CSU (*udmurto4ka.blogspot.ru*)
(1)   stress **vl'ijat'**   **kar-e**   appet'it   vil-e
      stress affect.RUS   do-PRS.3SG   appetite   top-ILL
      'The stress affects the appetite.'

Our research is based on the data from the Corpus of Standard Udmurt (7.3 million tokens, written texts) and the Beserman Udmurt corpus (oral texts, 71,000 tokens). The literary data comes primarily from blogs and direct interview quotes found in TV broadcast transcripts; such spontaneous borrowings are extremely rare in the newspaper articles, which constitute the majority of corpus texts, evidently due to language purism. We focus on the rules governing choice of the Russian verb and on Udmurt derivational suffixes that can appear on *kariṅi* and interact with the grammatical categories of the Russian verb. Our main conclusions are the following:

1. Russian verbs can have a suffix *-s'a*. It mostly corresponds in functions with the Udmurt detransitive (passive, decausative, subject/object impersonal etc.), however there are verbs that do not exist without *-s'a* and do not have any passive semantics. There are two strategies for borrowing such verbs. The first strategy requires that the *kariṅi* verb have the detransitive suffix, regardless of the semantics of the Russian verb, its aspect or the existence of a counterpart without *-s'a*. In the other, *kariṅi* does not have the detransitive suffix. We show that the choice between the strategies is geographically based. In North and Central Udmurtia the first strategy is preferred (e. g. in the Beserman corpus, all 20 instances follow it). In the South, close to the borders with Tatarstan and Bashkortostan, as well as in these regions (where Udmurts constitute minorities), the second one is chosen. It is also possible for a person (probably living somewhere in-between) to use both strategies.

2. There is no strong correlation between the aspect of the Russian verb and its TAM values in the target sentence. Out of perfective/imperfective aspect couples the more morphologically simple or the more frequent verb is usually borrowed regardless of its aspect.

3. Even idiomatic constructions headed by verbs such as val'at' duraka 'procrastinate' can be borrowed. The borrowed construction can undergo any syntactic process a normal Udmurt verb can.

4. The new strategy is so productive it can even replace the older loans with *-t-* (e. g. *pastušit' karənə* instead of *pastukanə̂* 'shepherd' in Beserman).

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Hiwa Asadpour

The Relevance of Nominal Categories for Word Order Change

In this paper, I shall examine the relevance of definiteness in word order in the languages of Urmia region mainly Sorani Mukri and Urmia Kurmanji and North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) dialects. These languages were spoken for many centuries in western Iran, south-eastern Turkey and northern Iraq. They have been in contact with other Iranian, Indo-European, Turkic and Semitic languages, especially Persian, Turkish and Arabic, and also Armenian dialects.

Definiteness in Kurdish dialects so far has been overlooked esp. in contact situation and there is no previous study on the influence of language contact and change. In NENA dialects historically definite articles are not suffixed while through contact with Kurdish this suffixation has been developed. In general, Iranian languages historically do not have definite article and one can find this feature just in languages in Western Iran like Kurdish dialects. It seems through contact with NENA and other Semitic languages Kurdish have borrowed definite article and in further stages it has been grammaticalized. Since suffixation is a feature in Kurdish morphosyntax it is plausible NENA again borrowed this feature from Kurdish and applied it in its own morphology as a suffix to which it is attached as a clitic. In some dialects, it varies the use of definite article and this seems to influence the word order. There are differences with regard to the frequency of movement of the definiteness across these languages and dialects. The order of constituents in these languages is a result to a large degree of the replication of neighboring languages models.

With regard to the word order, Kurdish dialects have basic OV word order and NENA dialects in western Iran have a basic OV word order as well. Some NENA dialects in Iraqi side have a basic VO word order. In all of these languages and dialects with VO and / or OV word order the object and also target are sometimes placed before or after the verb for pragmatic purposes. By target, I mean Addresses, Recipients, Goals, Beneficiaries and Indirect objects. The frequency of pre-/post predicate arguments differs for pragmatic purposes across the dialects. The development of basic OV/VO word order could be the result of contact and the replication of the verb-initial/final syntax of neighboring languages like Kurdish, Persian, Azeri Turkic, Arabic, and Armenian.

In this study, I will discuss in particular the differing degrees of convergence with the contact languages model of definiteness. This distinction includes changing strategies for the expression of pragmatic relations. It will be shown that Information Structure has an important factor in the convergence of these languages with neighboring language model rather than just a formal syntactic expression. The data for this study include a corpus of personal field work and published corpus materials (Khan 2008; Öpengin 2013 to name few) for the languages of the Urmia region. The data all involve oral speech, free speech and narrations.

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Victor Bayda

The influence of English in the functional expansion of an Irish perfect construction

The article discusses the recent expansion of a perfect construction in Irish of the following model:

Tá	*litir*	*scríofa*	*ag*	*Siobhán*
be.PRES	letter	write.PRT	at	Siobhán

'Siobhán has written a letter'

    The construction has been formally associated with the possessive construction (Irish lacks a verb 'have' and instead uses a construction combining the substantive verb and the preposition *ag* 'at'):

Tá	*leabhar*	*ag*	*Siobhán*
be.PRES	book	at	Siobhán

'Siobhán has a book'

    The surface resemblance of the Irish and English perfect constructions (both involving a possessive construction to express the actor) and the recent increase in the use of the construction, with the general language shift at the sociolinguistic background, has lead researchers to assume that the recent functional expansion of the perfect in Irish has been influenced by English. Although the influence of English is difficult to deny, it should be noted that this influence does not seem to constitute a mere imposition of the pattern of use of one language onto another, but rather constitutes an urge to find in the Irish language means of expressing the categories of English (Hiberno-English, which at an earlier stage has itself experienced influence of the Irish language) which is then followed by an expansion of their functional domains. In the case of the Irish perfect construction the process does not cover all the verbs, as could happen in a context of second language acquisition and learning, but to a large extent manifests itself in certain groups of verbs whereas others appear to be more resilient to these changes: experiential use of the perfect construction (a typologically later stage of the development of a perfect construction of the kind found in Irish and English) is mostly possible with verbs of perception and speech in Irish, and much less frequently – with other types of verbs. This reflects a "picky" nature of the Irish perfect – it sticks with its resultative semantics and is only willing to extend to experiential semantics in the context of verbs that are naturally more suitable for this purpose – atelic verbs and those that denote an action without a material result. The influence of English could therefore be argued to amount to a catalysing effect on the active processes in Irish as the expansion of the perfect construction is shown to take into account the semantics of the verbs with which it is used, instead of copying the use of the English perfect. This suggests that the expansion of the perfect in Irish is a relatively natural process, but triggered by the influence of an external factor of the English grammatical system.

Ingeborg Birnie

Gàidhlig ga bruidhinn an seo?! – Linguistic practices and ideologies of Gaelic speakers in Stornoway

The 2011 National Census recorded a total of 57,375 Gaelic speakers in Scotland, 1.1% of the overall population (National Record of Scotland, 2013). The information collected in the census allows an estimate to be made of the number of speakers of the language but does not provide an indication of how frequently Gaelic is used in the lives of those self-reporting to be able to speak the language,

and in which sociolinguistic domains.

Even without this detailed information, low speaker densities would suggest that Gaelic has all but disappeared as a community language in Scotland, the exception being the Western Isles. The Western Isles can be considered the last remaining 'heartland' of the Gaelic language, home to a quarter of all Gaelic speakers in Scotland and the only local authority where a majority of the population, 52.2% (National Record of Scotland, 2013), can speak the language. Previous studies assessing the linguistic practices in the Western Isles have shown that language shift is continuing and that the number of domains in which Gaelic is routinely used is decreasing. Census data would suggest that intergenerational transmission, named by Fishman (1991) as the *sine qua non* of language saliency, has all but ceased in the Western Isles and this has shifted the focus to sustain and support the language as a tool for communication to the institutionalised public domains, which have not been traditionally associated with the language.

This presentation discusses the findings of a research study that explored the interplay of these language support initiatives and linguistic practices and associated ideologies of Gaelic speakers in Stornoway, the largest settlement in the Western Isles. The study, the first of its kind in Scotland, collected qualitative data *in situ* and in real time about language practices in a selection of public domains fulfilling a variety of social functions, to assess how, when and by whom Gaelic was use. The information obtained through this linguistic soundscape study was supplemented by language use diaries and ethnographic interviews with Gaelic speakers in Stornoway. The qualitative data obtained through these diaries and interviews was used to evaluate the ideologies underpinning the language choice made by Gaelic speakers in a variety of sociolinguistic domains.

From this study it can be concluded that there is a clear dichotomy between the expressed ideologies, which favour the use of Gaelic in *Gemeinschaft* domains, and the linguistic practices which have become increasingly associated with *Gesellschaft* domains only. This dichotomy has significant implications in the way Gaelic is imagined, both by the speech community and those tasked with supporting the language in Scotland.

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Urjani Chakravarty

Multimodal- Linguistic Landscaping in Food Narratives: A Case Study of Indian Cookery Shows

Linguistic landscaping as a domain of study has been taking momentum slowly with scholars focusing on public signs from different settings and cultures. The requirement of such focus becomes relevant as through studying signs in the public space, a great deal of information can be inferred about a country. The term linguistic landscape was first time mentioned by R. Landry and R. Bourhis with the meaning "the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the LL of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration" (1997, pp. 25). The study of newer forms of public signs in this age of digital media can lead to further clarity in the complexity presented by linguistic landscaping in a multilingual society like India.

This article draws on insight from linguistic landscaping and socio-pragmatics to explore how language data as used in the contemporary Indian Cookery Shows considering them as case study can illuminate the multilingual dimensions of alternative narrative created with the help of signs such as name of dishes, uses of spices etc. Alternative narrative can be broadly defined as an area of study wherein the story line of the narrative is represented through a non-literary medium. The study hypothesize that alternative narrative acts as sign within the linguistic landscape of current day India and serve both informational and symbolic functions.

A sample of successful Indian Cookery Shows are selected from television channels like Food Food, TLC or NDTV Good Times and analysed. The shows are conducted either in commonly used language, i.e. Hindi or in the second official language, English. Through synthesis of multilingualism as represented by discourse narratives created in these shows the paper postulates about the role of socio-cultural context in the design and processing of the discourse representations. 'Socio-Cultural Context' as represented during interactions in these Cookery Shows, is sometimes construed intratextually and at other times intertextually. By using a deeper *rapprochement* facilitated through socio-pragmatics and multilingual practices the study attempts to dispel the contextual complexities at hand and so improve our understanding of the forms and functions of multimodal linguistic landscaping.

The argument set forth is that narratives' representations of discourse correspond to modes of encoding contexts-of-use into narrative form itself. The multimodal linguistic landscape represented in the Shows will reveal much about the Indian people, the languages spoken, what languages are valued, and what de facto language policies are in place in India. A detailed examination of the various discursive layers during the on-going interactions in the shows yield an enriched typology of represented socio-cultural discourse of the current day India. Thus, it is shown how a new socio-cultural typology which includes both the recipes prepared as well as the way they are presented in turn suggests ways of ordering the different multimodal landscaping along a pragmatic continuum, stretching from context-backgrounding to context- foregrounding of alternative narrative representations.

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Svetlana Edygarova

The adverbial case as an example of Udmurt language standardization

In the present paper, I analyze one concrete example of the standardization of the Udmurt language. In particular, I describe the development of the new function of the Udmurt adverbial case *-ja,* and explain its usage history in the light of language ideology in the Soviet period and after the perestroika. Furthermore, I analyze the specificities of the use of the suffix by modern speakers.

In modern Udmurt, the adverbial case *-ja* occurs with nouns that behave in the sentence as adverbial modifiers, as in (1), and as attributes, as in (2) (Perevoŝikov et al. 1962, Kel'makov & Hännikäinen 1999: 206, Winkler 2001, etc.)

(1) *ku̯ar   te̮l-ja   košk-i-z.*
     leaf   wind-ADV   leave-PST-3SG
     'A leaf blew around in the wind.'

(2) *udmurt kị̈l-ja*   *dị̈šetiś*
     Udmurt language-ADV   teacher
     'an Udmurt language teacher'

　　　Originally, the adverbial marker *-ja* had only the function of adverbial modifier. In the beginning of the 20th century, during the language standardization process, the marker *-ja* was further applied to phrasal syntax. In particular, it was used as an attributive marker to encode titles of organizations and people. However, its use was moderate during the Soviet period, since language purism was not prioritized at this time. Following the perestroika, during the second wave of language standardization and purification, the use of the adverbial in attributive functions increased.

　　　The construction of a noun with the adverbial in the function of attribute, as in (2), expresses an assignment or purpose of an object, and exists mostly in the standard variety. It is a peculiarity of newspaper style. In real communication, the distribution of the adverbial in this kind of expression depends on the speaker's knowledge of the standard language. Since the standard variety remains mostly as a written form and is restricted in usage, the new function is not acquired by most of the speakers. In particular, people with poor knowledge of the standard variety may use different markers in this case, for example an instrumental as in (3).

(3) *udmurt kị̈l-ị̈n   dị̈šetiś*
     Udmurt language-INSTR teacher
     'an Udmurt language teacher'

　　　The history of the use of the adverbial *-ja* in Udmurt demonstrates that minority languages like Udmurt have their own means to enrich their languages. However, the linguistic enrichment may be not successful itself if the functions of the language, in particular the functions of the standard variety, are not expanded.

Martin Ehala

Interplay of language practices, attitudes and environment: the case of Estonia

There are many language ecologies in the world. Some societies have high level of monolingualism with only specific subgroups knowing additional languages, in some settings everybody speaks two or more languages. Every particular language ecology is the interplay of the ethnolinguistic composition of the population, prevailing language attitudes, as well as already existing patterns of linguistic interaction in this particular language environment. This presentation analyses the data of a large scale language sociological survey conducted in Estonia in 2015. The main goal is to find correlational patterns between self-reported knowledge and use of different languages in everyday interaction in different domains of language use, the ethnolinguistic composition of the immediate social surrounding, and the self-reported attitudes towards multilingualism. The implications of the findings to the theory of language shift are discussed.

M. M. Jocelyne Fernandez-Vest

Information Structuring of bilingual discourse: examples from Northern Sami and Californian Finnish

Contact linguistics is a broad field of investigation, and the nature and role of Information Structuring in contact situations have been scarcely studied, still less its influence on the evolution of languages,

with a few exceptions (Prince 1998, 2001). We will draw from our fieldwork corpora a few examples of contact- induced differences directly attributable to typological differences between unrelated languages, which is definitely the case for Western Uralic languages. Some examples will be first taken from a contact language, Finnish spoken by Sami in Utsjoki-Ohcejohka, which was in the 1970s our initial source of reflection upon the domain of Information Structuring and degrees of (double) pure orality of a language: frequency of *Detachment constructions*, Initial (ID) and Final (FD).

Information Structuring and language contacts have also recently become an area of interest for diachronic studies in typology (see Corrigan 2010; Ferraresi & Lühr 2010). Examples will be taken from Northern Sami, a language in transition: traditionally oral, it has gradually moved during three decades into the communication sphere of written style and massmedia. This change also happens under the influence of Indo-European languages, an influence exerted nowadays both directly through standardization (lexical loans), indirectly through syntax formatting and information structuring in view of writing, that ignores the oral typological specificity of the Samic languages. The recent Sami press, whose reports are still grounded mostly in dialogic exchanges, offers many examples of new analytical constructions: originally synthetic phrases are complexified by the influence of Scandinavian adpositions, that usually also involve reverse word order. Ex (1), a cleft construction is preferred to a thematizing Discourse Particle. ID is still frequent both in speech and in literary texts, but the future of FD is insecure: limited in Norwegian Sami by more rigid syntax in Scandinavian languages, it still survives in the dialogues of many Sami fiction works, supported by its frequent (colloquial) use in Finnish.

A third set of examples will be taken from another bilingual corpus, gathered between 1996 and 2009 among descendants of Finnish immigrants in California. IDs were numerous in the mainly English- speaking parts of the conversations, but exceptional in the Finnish-speaking exchanges (replaced by a larger scale of accent variants). Interesting however was the role of FDs, commonly encountered as a structuring device of *circular cohesion.* Many occurrences showed clearly that a Mneme can be at the same time the product of a FD within a single utterance and within a text. Ex. (2). Besides, the FD covered, in the regular practice of several 80 year old female informants, one of the discourse functions ascribed above to the Initial Detachment: argumentation. Both IDs and FDs could be associated into a strong argumentative strategy achieved by the speaker. Ex. (3). Conclusion: many language problems that general linguists consider to be partly resolved deserve to be investigated and viewed through the prism of bilingualism and language contacts.

Data

(1) *Leimme mun   ja Piera-Ánde geat   oinniime*
    be-PST.1DU I   and Piera-Ánde   who-PL see-PST.1DU
    su   Kárašjogas.
    (s)he-ACC   Kárašjohka-LOC
    pro *Moai   Piera-Ándiin   dat   oinniime*
        we-DU   Piera-Ánde-COM   them.DIP   see-PST.1DU
    su   Kárašjogas.
    (s)he-ACc   Kárašjohka-LOC
    'It was I and Piera-Ánde who saw him in Kárašjohka.'
    (Example taken from the newspaper *Áššu*, Guovdageaidnu, 2005)

(2) [When did your father come to America ?]
    ∂ Minu ISÄ.... lähti merelle / kun hän oli kuudentoista vuotias. (...) Mutta minä en tiedä koska hän / juuri tuli / Amerikkaan [FD-Mn].
    'My FATHER …. went on sea / when he was sixteen years. (…) But I don't know when he / exactly came / to America [FD-Mn].'
    (Fernandez-Vest Archives / California Corpus)

(3)   (a) *Hän   aina   sanoi / että minä   olen <u>nationalist</u>* [Rh].
         'He   always said / that I   am <u>a nationalist</u> [Rh**].'
    (b) *Mutta minä   en ollut /   <u>nationalist</u>*.
         'But   I   was not /   <u>a nationalist</u> [Mn**].'
     (c) *Mä   oon   enempi <u>internationalist</u>* [Rh] [they laugh]
        'I   am   more   <u>internationalist</u> **[Rh]** [they laugh]
      <u>*kun .. kun nationalist* **[? Mn].**</u>
      <u>than .. than nationalist **[? Mn]**</u>.'
      (Fernandez-Vest 2004a: 65)

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Maria Frick, Niina Kunnas

Diasystematic links across constructions in cognate languages. The case of Karelian–Finnish and Estonian– Finnish compound nouns

This paper contributes to the ongoing discussion about how speakers make links across different linguistic systems, forming bilingual constructions (see, e.g., Hilpert & Östman 2016). Within the field of construction grammar, Höder (2012) has introduced the idea that multilingual speakers make generalizations of corresponding constructions in different languages, which can be either links across similar lexical elements or syntactic patterns in two languages (see Hilpert & Östman 2016: 2). This idea is supported by a large body of findings in contact linguistics (see, e.g., Muysken 2000). Compound nouns comprise an especially interesting case of bilingual constructions. In them, elements of two languages are combined in a single word (see, e.g., Verschik 2005; Praakli 2009: 140–143; Frick 2009, 2013: 31–33, 49–52). In the current paper, we use two sets of data from different language contact situations involving Finnic languages: Karelians in Finland and Finns in Estonia. The former data set consists of ca. 30 hours of recorded interviews, and the latter of a collection of ca. 1000 email messages, ca. 6 hours of recorded everyday conversations, and ethnographic field notes. In total, approximately 60 compound nouns were found in these data. The data include both ad hoc compounds, such as *kopsu+keittoo* 'lung (Est.) + soup (Fin.)' or *hingamis+papereita* 'breathing

(Est.) + papers (Fin.)', and bilingual versions of more established compounds, such as *keksi+louwwat* 'cookie (Fin.) + box (Kar.)' or *hautuu+mualta* 'burial (Fin.) + ground (Kar.)'.

The data enable us to observe the formation of constructions that involve two languages and to make cross-linguistic comparisons between the two different language pairs.

Our preliminary findings show that:

a) Bilingual noun-noun compounding is a relatively common phenomenon in both Finnish Karelian and Estonian Finnish;

b) It is typical for the head of an endocentric compound to be in the base language of the conversation. This is especially true in the Finnish–Estonian data, in which the base language can be more easily detected;

c) Bilingual homophony might facilitate bilingual compounding.

These findings suggest that, firstly, bilingual speakers favor compounding in the contact of languages such as Finnish, Karelian, and Estonian, in which compounding is a common way of creating novelties also in monolingual settings. This means that the structure, or form, of the construction is known to the speakers from both languages, and that there is high pragmatic motivation for its usage. Secondly, we find that there might sometimes be a semantic-pragmatic motivation for the modifier to be in the embedded language and the head in the base language of conversation. Thirdly, we find that the fact that bilingual homophony is found in compounds is further proof that there may be a semantic and structural motivation behind bilingual compounding.

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Julia Galiamina, Elena Budyanskaya

Differences in process of language change in written and spoken forms of the Ket language: a corpus-based study.

Keywords: the Ket language, language change, literacy, syntax

Ket is one of the endangered languages of Russia spoken in Central Siberia. Nowadays there are no more than 30 fluent speakers due to the process of language shift to dominating Russian language. In the same time Ket experiences contact-induced language change in both spoken and writing forms.

The degree of changes and code-switching in spoken language varies for different native speakers. While the written form shows the most dramatic impact.

Ket writing tradition is rather young. Firstly, the alphabet for Ket was created in the beginning of XX century, but in 1930s it was prohibited by Soviet government. The new alphabet appeared only in the end of the century. However, at the time young people and children could not speak Ket (it was not spoken at home on everyday basics, therefore transfer of language from one generation to another was cut) while adult speakers did not see any necessity to learn writing or reading.

Thereby, we can say that all Ket written texts were created in an unnatural communicative situation. The vast majority of them is from school textbooks which were written specially for learning goals. These texts were composed or translated from Russian by native speakers (with no steady literacy tradition) and show such a great influence of Russian syntax and sometimes morphology that was not registered in the spoken form of language.

For example, in (1) we can see the word order SVO which is basic for Russian language, but for Ket it would be SOV. The latter is quite solid in the spoken form.

(1) am   daketilbet   Biiltdiŋa   knigaŋ
     mother   gave   to Biilt   book
     Mother gave Biilt a book.
     [Nikolaeva 2000]

In written texts we can notice other processes connected with calques of Russian morphological and syntactic construction/ See (2) below where the author of Ket written text prefers Russian possessive construction to Ket one.

(2) a.   mişkinɨ   otmetka-ŋ
          Michiel.POSS   mark-PL
          [Nikolaeva 2000]
          instead
(2) b.   mişka-da otmetka-ŋ
          Michiel-POSS mark-PL

In the first example the Russian possessive form is used.

In our talk we will show this process in written language in comparison with spoken one and will discuss the concept of language standard in the situation of language shift and code-mixing in consideration of differences between spoken and written language, texts and corpora.

Our corpora consists of more than 30 oral texts collected during Ket expedition and about 30 written texts. All texts have morphological glosses and some of them have syntactic ones.

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Evgeny Golovko

Multilingual Patterns in the Native Communities of the Bering Strait before and after Euro-American Contact

This paper results from several field trips to the Bering Strait area. Their aim was to document and analyze the extent of cultural and social exchange that has been achieved by native people of the Bering Strait region. This area is historically heterogeneous. If one only counts broad ethnic and linguistic categories, Chukchi, Naukan Yupik, and Inupiaq (the latter two are also referred to as Eskimo) have to be considered. However, up to, at least, the 19th century, these ethnic categories were meaningless to the people themselves. Instead, smaller units – societies, consisting most often of one larger settlement and several smaller ones – were the basis of self- identification. In spite of the international Russia – U.S.A. border that cuts across the Bering Strait region, Native people on both sides of the strait have been in constant interaction across the narrow body of water.

Three major languages, Chukchi, Naukan Yupik, and Inupiaq, were spoken within the intercontinental network of the northern Bering Strait. Patterns of multilingualism reveal Chukchi as the dominant language on the Asiatic shore (Chukchi-Eskimo bilingualism was required only of the Eskimos, not of the Chukchi, cf. Bogoraz 1949:29; Vdovin 1965:55; Krupnik and Chlenov 1979:26; Menovshchikov 1986:63, 75), while the relationship between Naukan Yupik and Inupiaq speakers was more on an equal footing. English was the dominant European language until the early 1920s, since then replaced by Russian on the Asiatic side of the Bering Strait. Among the Native languages of the area, Chukchi on the one hand, and all Eskimo languages on the other hand, belong to different language families. Inupiaq and Naukan (as well as Chaplino Yupik language spoken in the southern part of Bering Strait) represent two different branches of Eskimo-Aleut language family. While speakers of the Yupik branch languages mentioned above, Naukan and Chaplino, are able to communicate with each other in their native languages quite successfully, Inupiaq on the one hand, and Yupik languages on the other hand, are considered mutually unintelligible. Based on interviews, the paper provides evidence of interaction patterns used by native people in the area. Not unexpectedly, people's perception of the languages in question ("folk linguistics") is far from the scientific evaluation of the degree of relatedness.

The prior existence of unstable trade jargons and pidgins in the area seems most likely (de Reuse 1994). For a long time there existed a convention that there were no cases of pidginized Eskimo or Chukchi in the Chukotka area (Krupnik and Chlenov 1979:26). De Reuse (1988:492-506) was the first to provide linguistic and historic evidence that there were indeed several simplified trade languages in the area under discussion. I agree with de Reuse (1988:492) that these languages contributed to the spread of Chukchi influence on Naukanski and probably to the Inupiaq idioms spoken on the Diomede Islands.

The oral histories collected in the field provide indications to the existence of native trade jargons and pidgins, against the background of Pidgin English which was in use among whalers (de Reuse 1988:503), in the past.

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Chryso Hadjidemetriou

Inclusion, exclusion and belonging in the Greek Cypriot community of London

This paper discusses notions of language, identity and belonging in the Greek Cypriot communitiy of London. The paper focuses on how members of this community challenge the idea of culture and ethnic identity in a diasporic and transnational context where 'Cypriotness' is being redefined and belonging is fluid and questioned. De Fina (2016: p. 187) argues that 'identities are conveyed, negotiated and regimented through linguistic and discursive means…[and] perceptions and constructions of identities fundamentally shape the ways linguistic resources are deployed'. This paper explores this idea whereby individuals negotiate, challenge, and re(formulate) notions of 'Cypriotness', 'Britishness', ethnic identity, belonging and exclusion.

The data used in this presentation come from recordings with Greek Cypriot adolescents and adults in London during fieldwork from 2012-2014. In total, 28 British-born Greek Cypriot adolescents between the ages of 14 and 18 were recorded along with 6 British Greek Cypriot adults between the ages of 35-45. The informants can be defined as transational individuals who according to Glick Schiller et al. (1995: p. 1 cited in De Fina 2016: p. 187) are individuals who 'build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement'. De Fina (2016: p. 187) further explains that 'studying the idnetities of transnational individuals involves analyzing processes and practices that are different from those that are relevant for people who are firmly grounded in one place'.

Through sociolinguistic interviews, the Greek-Cypriot informants offer insights on their multicultural associations and multilingual choices and perceptions regarding their plurilinguism and 'pluriculturalism'. The informants multi-layered understanding of ethnicity and language become evident in their views about these issues through looking at categories of belonging in narratives. As Farrell (2008: p. iii) stresses 'narrative…provides a wider framework from which to understand how social belonging is negotiated'. This is done in this paper by focusing on personal deixis and how spatial location transforms 'them' and 'us'. The paper explores these issues to highlight the challenges that heritage diasporic communities face regarding 'belonging'. The paper also explores how such diasporic communities can help in understanding hybrid ethnic identities, the fluidity of ethic identities through their perpetual reformulation, and how such fluid and constantly reformulated ideas of ethic identity, culture, and language can become visible and legitimised in the diasporic communities.

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Adam Harr

Scaling the Nation: The Language(s) of Politics in a Decentralizing Indonesia

Following the 1998 collapse of Suharto's authoritarian New Order regime, the Indonesian government instituted IMF-led democratizing and decentralizing reforms. One unexpected consequence of these reforms has been a widespread revival of local identities in Indonesia's new regional politics. Relatively unnoted within this revival is the emerging importance of local languages in district level elections. Increasingly, politicians and bureaucrats who had been accustomed during the New Order to addressing their publics solely in a bureaucratic register of the Indonesian language (Errington, 1995) find it necessary to intersperse the Indonesian national language with languages that index local ethnolinguistic identities (Goebel, Cole, & Manns, 2016). But which local language is a politician to choose when even a "single" local language comprises a heterogeneous repertoire of enregistered (Agha, 2007) and localized (Kuipers, 1998) varieties? Indonesia's new political landscape exemplifies Blommaert's (2010) notion of a polycentric indexical field, in which language users are subject to the constraints of differing evaluative authorities. Drawing on linguistic and ethnographic data collected with speakers of the Lio language in central Flores between 2006 and 2016, this paper argues that political performances and legal texts that interpenetrate multiple languages constitute "scalar visions" (Gal, 2016) in which semiotic relations between nation, district, and village are publicly imagined and contested.

Sociolinguistic scale as an analytic concept highlights the fact that human communicative behavior inherently indexes and enacts differential, hierarchically ordered magnitudes of space, time, and sociality (Blommaert, 2015). This paper aims to show some of the ways in which sociolinguistic scale emerges in interaction through the alternation and mixing of different languages. Data is drawn from three cases: a mass address celebrating Indonesian national independence, a stump speech by a district-level political candidate, and a contract transferring land use rights from village to district. In each case, the relatively novel phenomenon of the interpenetration of multiple languages in Indonesian official discourse can be seen to create the conditions for the reconfiguration of spatiotemporal and social scales.

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Linda Lam Ho

Narrative Construction of the Macanese Identity in Macao

There is no consensus on the definition of "Macanese". For some, the Macanese are those who were born and lived in Macao, regardless of their ancestors' ethnicity. For others, the Macanese are merely the descendants of the Portuguese who were born and lived in Macao. The estimated figures range from 3000 to 7000, depending on the definition of "Macanese". Language proficiency is a major marker of identity in the Macanese community. Most Macanese are bilingual or multilingual, speaking fluent Portuguese, Cantonese and English. The use of the Portuguese language distinguishes the Macanese from other ethnic Chinese. However, proficiency in Portuguese among the younger and teenage Macanese has decreased significantly since 1990s (Yee, 2001). For roughly three centuries, Macao's main language was *Patuá,* a creole derived from Portuguese, Cantonese, Malay, Sinhalese, English, and Spanish (Pereira, 1984). Nowadays, within the community, only a few families speak the Macanese Creole nowadays.

The aim of the study is to analyse how the Macanese people use big stories and small stories in their interactive engagements to construct a sense of who they are in such a minoritised community context. Thus, I will examine narrative-in-interaction by employing Michael Bamberg's model of positioning, which allows for exploring self at the level of the there-and-then story world and at the level of tellership in the here-and-now of a storytelling situation. Bamberg's (1997, 2003) model of positioning allows us to view identity constructions as two-fold: analysing how the referential world is constructed with characters in time and space. Meanwhile, it is possible to show how the referential world is constructed points in the interactive engagement. The data comes from audio-recordings of one-on-one narrative interviews and moderated group interviews of some Macanese family members in the community. My research hopes to contribute to offer analytical implications for examining the link between the two extreme ends of fine-grained micro-analysis and macro-accounts of the narrative identities constructed in the community on the grounds that there has been no previous research adopting this approach to analyse discourse and identity in the community.

Key words

Narrative identities; positioning theory; big stories; small stories; narrative-talk-in- interaction

Csilla Horváth

The Mona Lisa of Khanty-Mansiysk: Can a linguistic landscape lack written linguistic elements?

According to the few brief reports (e.g. Skribnik - Koshkaryova 1996, Сподина 2011) on language vitality the Ob-Ugric languages have been subjects to the classical process of contact-induced language shift starting from monolingual speakers of Khanty or Mansi through the phase of balanced bilingualism ending in having a new generation being monolingual in the majority language with traces of knowledge of their heritage language. The shift is governed by the all-pervasive dominance of the majority language and the transition from traditional nomadic lifestyle to settled, urban life.

Although urban environment changes radically the patterns of intergenerational language transmission and cannot be abreast with demands towards the renewal of the educational system of the Ob-Ugric language (Horváth 2015), urban life offers possibilities as well, new domains of language use (e.g. theatre, internet, linguistic landscape) and new attitudes towards the speakers.

The presence of Mansi and Khanty in the linguistic landscape is rising, yet it is still rather narrow. The amount of texts on signs and other written elements in Khanty or Mansi is under-represented, even bearing the dominance of Russian and the small proportion of Ob-Ugric citizens in mind. Non-linguistic element of the landscape on the other hand are rich and prominent, and apparently denote a complex claim for the visual representation of the indigenous Ob-Ugric minorities on the streets of the Russian-dominated capital of Khanty-Mansiysk.

The aim of present paper is to compare the situation of urban linguistic vitality of the Ob-Ugric languages with their visibility in the majority society. The comparison is based on the linguistic and cultural landscape of Khanty-Mansiysk and the results of the participant observations carried out in the same city among activists and communities interested in the revitalisation of Khanty and Mansi. The paper also aims to outline the importance of (lack of) proficiency in Ob-Ugric languages, language acquisition and language use in the urban Ob-Ugric communities.

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Laura Horváth

Inserted Russian infinitives and verbal switches in Udmurt/Russian bilingual utterances

Language contacts between Russian and Udmurt began in the 12th-13th century, and Udmurt-Russian bilingualism has become more and more common especially in the 20. century: the current oldest generation can be regarded as the first actually bilingual generation (Salánki 2007: 81–85). In my presentation, I aim to discuss typical cases of Udmurt/Russian verbal codeswitching on the basis of blog texts and structured interviews conducted in Udmurtia and Tatarstan in 2015 and 2016.

1. Russian verbs can often be inserted into the Udmurt matrix sentence in their infinitive forms (it is the dictionary form of the Russian verbs), e.g. by using constructions consisting of an embedded Russian infinitive complement and an Udmurt matrix verb (*karįnį* 'do' or *kariśkįnį* – the same *kar-* stem with the Udmurt reflexive suffix *-śk*) which carries the inflectional and derivational markers. These matrix verbs have lost their original lexical meaning and their only function is to integrate the verb of the source language (for cross-linguistic examples, see e.g. Muysken 2000: 184–185):

(1) Informant No. 32 (Aleksandrovo)
    produktį   *zakazįvat'*   *kar-iśk-om*
    product.PL$_{RUS}$ order.INF.IPFV$_{RUS}$ do-PRS-1PL
    'We use to order products.'

2. Russian infinitives can also be integrated into the Udmurt syntactic frame by attaching a nativizer suffix *-t* to them:

(2) Informant No. 19 (Izhevsk)
    televizor   *tažį*   *perekl'učat'-tį-sa*   *ul-ko*

television   so   switch.over.INF.IPFV_RUS-NTVZ-CVB   live-PRS.1SG
'I just keep switching the television over.'

Both the INF_RUS + nativizer suffix and the INF_RUS + V_UDM 'do' constructions are used among the Udmurts, but INF_RUS + V_UDM 'do' constructions are referred to be more common in the Southern dialects, while INF_RUS + nativizer suffix in the Northern dialects. This can be explained, for instance, with earlier Russian influence in Northern Udmurtia (for further details, see Salánki 2008: 182–184). It is, howewer, worth mentioning that there seem to be at least one other reason for choosing one strategy over another: namely, that Russian reflexional infinitives do not seem to allow the Udmurt suffix -t- to be attached to them (e.g. *stroiťsja-ţi-nị 'to be built').

3. In addition to the techniques being mentioned above, there are also Russian verbal switches without morphological integration to the Udmurt sentence structure.

In my presentation, I plan to discuss the possible reasons in choosing between these strategies. Beside the reflexivity, as well as areal (for instance, Tatar accomodation strategies, cf. Wohlgemuth 2009: 344) and dialectological factors as motives, aspectual role of the embedded language elements is going to be taken into consideration as well.

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Hanna-Ilona Härmävaara

Naturally occurring conversations as data for studying questions related to mutual intelligibility

This contribution focuses on a language contact situation with two closely related languages, Finnish and Estonian. The languages belong to Finnic languages that form a language chain around the Baltic Sea, and are mutually intelligible to some degree. As national languages with written standards, the languages can be clearly distinguished from each other, but in conversational situations, in which both languages are present, the boundaries between the languages get easily fluid.

This contribution discusses the use of naturally occurring conversations as data for studying questions related to mutual intelligibility. It is based on a study that analyzed receptively multilingual interactions among Finns and Estonians, by using the tools of conversation analysis. Receptive multilingualism refers to interaction in which participants employ a language different from their interlocutor's. In this kind of interaction mutual understanding can be based on the mutual intelligibility of the languages, on language acquisition, or on both.

The analysis of the interactional data (12 hours, 35 informants) revealed that the linguistic closeness of these languages serves as a basis for mutual understanding, despite the fact that the participants orient to interaction as problematic for those who do not have an active command of both languages. The participants operate with different degrees of cross-linguistic knowledge, which is also (re)shaped in interaction. Cross-linguistic knowledge manifests itself in metalinguistic comments of

comparative nature the participants make, while trying to understand the cognate language. It is also used for creating shared code by combining elements of the cognate languages. Furthermore, the mixed items are used for indicating and solving troubles in interaction, and the mutual intelligibility of the languages is constantly being negotiated through them. Analyzing conversations allows us to see how the participants understand the mutual intelligibility of the languages, and what is (socially) important for them in reaching mutual understanding.

Boglárka Janurik

Is code-switching responsible for an ongoing change in constituent order?

In my paper, I study the use of possessive constructions in Erzya–Russian code-switching discourse, focusing on hybrid forms. The data is collected from a corpus of 20 recordings (based on fieldwork data and radio interviews). Erzya is a Finno-Ugric minority language in the Russian Federation, with approximately 400,000 speakers and in contact with the majority language, Russian. All the members of the speech community are bilinguals who engage in code-switching to varying extents.

The two languages differ as regards the order of constituents in possessive constructions. In Standard Erzya, the possessor precedes the possessed (Keresztes 1990: 77), while in Standard Russian the possessor follows the possessed. In Erzya–Russian bilingual discourse, this incongruence results in various hybrid constructions.

The two main types of possessive constructions are the following: 1. constructions with the headword in nominative and 2. constructions with case markers (either Russian or Erzya). Constructions type 1 are realized in two ways. In example 1, the incongruence of the constituent order is neutralized by the insertion of the Russian form as an unanalyzed unit, as a chunk. The Russian possessive structure *vid podd'eržki* 'type of support' is inserted into the Erzya frame without any Erzya morphological markers (Russian is indicated with bold face):

(1) *uľ-i   ńej   isťamo* **vid   podd'eržk-i**   *ľem-eźe*
    be-3SG now   such   type   support-GEN.SG   name-POSS.3SG
    nesv' aźann-aja podd'eržka
    unconstrained-F support
    'There is now such type of support which is called unconstrained support.'

In the second subtype of type 1 constructions, the genitive suffix is Erzya, despite the fact that all the other elements are Russian. In example 2, the Russian genitive suffix -*a* (*sad'ika* 'kindegarten's') is replaced by its Erzya equivalent -*eńť* (*sad'ikeńť* 'kindegarten's'):

(2) **i   atťestacija sad'ik**-*eńť*   *ťeďeďe   nav'erno karm-i*
    and accreditation kindergarten-DEF.GEN   this.year   probably   will.be-3SG
    'The accreditation process of the kindergarten will probably take place this year.'

Type 2 construction can also be Russian embedded language islands (Myers-Scotton 2002), unmodified chunks as the Russian construction *d'irektorom školi* 'as headmaster of the school' with the Russian instrumental suffix in example 3.

(3) *uľń-iń*   **d'irektor-om   škol-i**
    be-PST.1SG   headmaster-INSTR   school-GEN.SG
    'I was the headmaster of the school.'

The other possibility involves a hybrid construction (*zdańijasto školań* 'from the building of the

school' in example 4), in which both the elative case marker and the genitive marker are Erzya endings.

(4) **i   značit** tov **uže   plańir-ujet-śa** nana   ťeke
    and   so   to.there already plan-3SG-REFL er   also
    ťe-ste   **zdańija**-sto **škola**-ń   mińek   **stolovoj**   ťese
    this-ELA   building-ELA   school-GEN we.GEN   canteen   here
    'And so they are already planning to (make) a canteen from this building of our school.'

Finally, the Russian constituent order can occur with Erzya stems as well:

(5) *stuvt-in'*   *ľem-eze*   *moro-nt'*
    forget-PST.1SG name-3SG.POSS   song-GEN.SG.DEF
    'The name of the song is "I forgot".'

I argue that variation in the use of possessive constructions can be an indicator of a possible ongoing change in the order of constituents in Erzya, the frequent code-switching of Russian forms contributing to the entrenchment of the Russian model in the Erzya language.

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Claudia Sirpa Jeltsch

Sara *or* Saara – *Hybrid Identities German – Finnish*

This study examines the identities of persons with one Finnish-speaking and one German-speaking parent.

In Germany alone, there are more than 30,000 persons with a partly Finnish background. In my multidisciplinary dissertation project I research the identity of these persons, explicitly including those who have a German-speaking parent from Austria or Switzerland.

Is their identity linked to their knowledge of their respective languages? How do they define their own identity? And what do they consider to be their *Heimat* (=homeland)? Is there a difference between their definition of *Heimat* and *kotimaa / kotiseutu*? *Heimat* is impossible to translate, it is considered a „hotword" (Heringer 2007), provoking a lot of controversy amongst speakers of German.

For this purpose I have interviewed 31 persons with a bicultural family background, who form the second generation of Finnish immigrants in the German-speaking countries, irrespectively of their language knowledge. Including persons with a parent from Switzerland will shed a light on the question if the use of German *Heimat* has been influenced by postwar German history. Using semi-structured interviews, it is researched how persons take a stand and how they explain their attitudes and opinions (using the tradition of *laadullinen asennetutkimus,* Vesala & Rantala 2007 that is used in Finnish Social psychology). The outcome of the interviews is then compared to corpora research about the collocations of respectively *Heimat* in German and *kotimaa / kotiseutu* in Finnish; using the biggest German and Finnish corpora available.

I will show how differently the researched persons define their identity and what kind of linguistic means they use to show their unique identity. Special emphasis is put on defining the factors that promote or hinder the development of a certain identity.

In my presentation I will concentrate on one of the many factors and examine if and how there

is an influence of the first name given by the parents - does it make a difference if they chose a Finnish or German or international name? Having got both the first names of the interviewees and their siblings (who with two exceptions did not participate in this study and thus may be not as interested in their Finnish roots as the interviewees) I was able to compare their first names. Due to the qualitative nature of the study it is difficult to draw conclusions, but there might be tendencies that have to researched more closely.

The only person who postulated "*Ich habe keine Heimat.*" (I don't have a home country.) was a person with a strong German background, with weak self-assessed knowledge of Finnish (and a clearly German first name). Could it be that due to German history some Germans still avoid using this word and rather claim to have a Finnish identity, even though they have never ever lived in Finland? Could it be that a Finnish first name leads the child to think about her or his Finnish roots?

Mathias Jenny, Paul Widmer, Alys Boote Cooper

Gorakha in Myanmar - shift and retention under intensive language contact

This study looks at language use, and change and retention, of a multilingual community in a heavy contact situation. The Gorakha are a Nepali speaking group that has been living in Myanmar at least since the British colonial time. Gorakha men served as elite troops in the British army, and groups of families migrated to Myanmar in search of more fertile lands and better commercial opportunities since about 150-200 years ago. The Gorakha in Myanmar, though belonging to different ethnic groups, retain Nepali as their first language after many generations away (and more or less isolated) from Nepal. Only younger generations with more extensive Burmese education are more likely to be more fluent in Burmese than Nepali.

The case of Gorakha in Myanmar offers a good scenario for studying language change under intensive contact in a socially and linguistically well-defined setting. Nepali and Burmese, the main contact language, exhibit a number of important structural differences in all linguistic domains. With different generations speaking Nepali and Burmese to different extents and with different levels of admixture, it is possible to observe in which parts of the language change under contact influence first occurs, leading to insights in a broader context of language contact, language use, and language change. It is obvious that language change is occurring more rapidly in younger generations, indicating major recent changes in the social environment. Burmese influence has been increasing over the last few years due to the wider coverage of state controlled education, as well as the spread of mass media, especially television, throughout Myanmar. This development is partly countered by the introduction of Nepali education, spoken and written, in many communities, and increased contact with Nepal in the recent past, including the accessibility of online resources in Nepali. The picture in rural Gorakha communities shows old generations (60 and more years) speaking mostly Nepali, and the middle generation (40-60 years) being fluent in Nepali and Burmese, using Nepali in most domains of daily life. The younger generation (20-35 years) has been exposed more intensively to Burmese through school and work, and their first language of choice in most situations is Burmese. Many attend Nepali classes and are able to have a conversation in Nepali. Children with less exposure to formal schooling use Nepali more frequently (and naturally), but with heavy code-mixing and restructuring on all linguistic levels.

Areas where Burmese influence can be observed include Burmese-like intonation patterns, the extended use of the quotative marker *re* (quasi look-alike with Burmese *tɛ́/dɛ̀*), (partial) loss of ergativity, and restructuring of the numeral system. The Nepali verbal paradigm is increasingly simplified, becoming more aligned with Burmese, which distinguishes between FUTURE and NON-FUTURE, and PERFECT/NEW SITUATION. Younger speakers (up to 30) were found to use Burmese patterns in comparative and classifier constructions, either as pattern or matter replication. The sound system of younger speakers' Nepali converges with Burmese, including sporadic realization of /r/ as

[l], merger of dental with retroflex consonants, and the deaspiration of voiced aspirates.

This study is based on original material collected during research trips undertaken in different Gorakha communities in Myanmar in 2016/2017 with the assistance of staff at the University of Mandalay.

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Laura Kanto

Contextual factors associates with the use of language and code-blending by hearing children of Deaf parents

Bilingualism of KODAs (Kids of Deaf Adults) is *bimodal* since children are acquiring simultaneously sign language that is based on visual-gestural modality and spoken language that is based on auditory- visual modality. Additionally, in the linguistic environment of KODAs sign language has always the status of minority language and spoken language represents always the language of a majority group. For these reasons KODAs are a unique group of bilingual children that provides interesting viewpoint to the research on language usage practice and code-mixing among bilingual children. Due to the bimodal bilingualism, these children can produce signs and speech simultaneously, but for children acquiring two spoken languages simultaneous production of both languages is impossible. This unique phenomenon of code-mixing among bimodal bilinguals is also called *code-blending*. In previous studies, it has been found that bimodal bilingual children and adults clearly prefer to use code-blending rather than code-switching. The aim of this study was to explore how KODA children's use of languages and code-blending is associated with the contextual variables (related to the interlocutor(s) the child is communicating with).

Language use and code-blending of eight KODA children was observed between 1;0 to 3;0 years of age every six months by video-recording their interaction in three different play sessions; with their Deaf parent, with Deaf parent and a hearing adult and with a hearing adult alone. From the video-recorded play sessions children's *language choices* and *code-blending* (based on the study of Baker & Van den Bogaerde, 2008) was analysed. To determining the lexical status of attribution, the criteria were based on the principles proposed by Petitto et al. (2001) and Vihman and McCune (1994). The criteria for identifying and analysing code-blend utterances was based on previous studies of Petitto et al. (2001), Emmorey et al. (2008) and Lillo-Martin et al. (2014). Thus, the utterances that consisted of simultaneous production of sign(s) and phonated or whispered word(s) were classifies as code-blended. The code-blended utterances were further subcategorised similarly to Van den Bogaerde and Baker (2005, 2008) based on the semantic content of the code-blended utterances.

The results showed that contextual variables clearly associated with the KODA children's language use and code-blending during different play sessions. Already since young age children preferred to produce signs when communicating with their Deaf parent and speech when communicating with the hearing adult. The results indicated that KODAs tend to code-blend more often with the Deaf parent than with the hearing adult. This finding in line with the previous studies that have observed the higher amount of code-mixing by unimodal bilingual children when they are

using the language that has a minority status in the surrounding community. Deaf persons are often bilinguals. For this reason, code-blending might be more natural with the Deaf parent than its use with a hearing adult who hardly ever has a knowledge on sign language. Additionally, the results indicated that KODA children seemed to have acquired the normative patterns of code-blending from their environment already this early phase of their language development.

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Heini Karjalainen

The functions of the deictic presentative naku in colloquial Veps

Veps is a severely endangered Finno-Ugric language spoken in the north-western parts of Russia. The speakers of Veps have been in a close contact with the speakers of Russian for centuries, which has resulted in a considerable Russian influence on Veps. Today, there is a recreated literary Veps language, and the amount of published material is steadily increasing. However, some linguistic phenomena are mainly characteristic of spoken language. The present study discusses one means of discourse coherence in dialectal Veps. The aim of the study is to shed light on the usage of colloquial Veps in a broader context and in real interaction.

The study treats of the Veps deictic presentative *naku* 'here, there; look, well'. The usage of *naku* in Eastern Central Veps dialects resembles closely the usage of the Russian deictic presentative *vot.* According to a contrastive work on Russian and French (Grenoble & Riley 1996), it is only natural, that the ostensive deictic functions of demonstratives extend to cover discourse functions.

The data of this study are mainly drawn from Veps conversations, and the literary language only provides a useful baseline. The data consist of excerpts from spontaneous colloquial speech, recorded in Eastern Central Veps villages in 2014. In addition to the newly annotated material, some data have been drawn from the dialectal texts of the Veps Internet Corpus.

In Veps, there are in fact two deictic presentatives: *naku* and *nakka* 'there'. *Naku* may be described as +proximal and *nakka* as -proximal. However, in actual usage *naku* is systematically favoured over *nakka. Naku* can thus be seen as the unmarked member and *nakka* as the marked member of the pair. The use of *nakka* is fairly restricted, and there seems to be an on-going semantic change.

The presentative *naku* is used as a primary deictic in both the literary language and in all the three main dialects. Further, *naku* may be used as a secondary deictic. Especially in the Eastern Central Veps dialects, it has taken on some broader discourse functions. The role of these

metalinguistic functions is to build up discourse coherence and to facilitate interaction between the speaker and the receiver. *Naku* may mark transition situations in different discourse levels. It may for example mark openings and closings of different discourse topics. Likewise to the Russian presentative *vot*, the presentative *naku* may function both cataphorically (1) and anaphorically.

(1) *ludogit' eduu viživläjim* **naku** *kut: kipätkat lämbitam, čugunit' tehuškeitam päčiš da homesuu kaik sijat hiitam, eduu vet' siniil' obojit' iilen, nikuz nimida iilen.* (Zayceva & Mullonen 1969: 179)

'We formerly exterminated bedbugs **naku** how: we heat up boiling water, we boil cast-iron pots in the stove, we throw everything (out), formerly, you know, there were no wallpapers on the walls, there was nothing nowhere'

The present study shows, that in Veps dialects there is a pronounced extension of the functions of the deictic presentative *naku*. This results from both the close language contact situation with Russian and from the universal nature of the demonstratives.

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Olesya Khanina

Two indigenous languages of Siberia in contact: Enets and Nganasan in the 20th century

The present paper traces the history of mutual bilingualism of two ethnic groups, each speaking related Samoyedic (Uralic) languages: Tundra Enets and Awam Nganasan. I reconstruct the patterns of the bilingualism since the beginning of the 19th century (see (Khanina & Meyerhoff, Subm) for actual data) and introduce in details a wave of Enets migration to Awam tundra that happened in the 1930s. The main focus of the research is the variety of Enets that formed at the new place under the heavy influence of parallel use of the two languages in the suddenly increased number of mixed marriages. There are only a few studies of the language contact in the Tajmyr peninsula (e.g. Siegl 2015 or Stern 2012), and the particular case discussed in this paper has never been reported in the literature.

There is an added methodological challenge as by now the Enets community has completely dissolved in the more numerous Nganasan community, and today no one speaks Enets in the Awam area. So the main data are recordings done in 1970s - early 2000s that I now transcribe with Tundra Enets from Vorontsovo (whose parents either did not migrate or returned to their traditional lands after a short while) and Nganasans from the Awam area (with an Enets parent or grandparent), none of whom counts the recordings as representing their native language.

The recordings show exemplars of the same stable lect with some features of a mixed language: Tundra Enets substance vocabulary combines with Nganasan discourse markers and some Nganasan morphology. As languages were related, some similarities could not help being noticed by native speakers: as a result, processes close to dialect leveling were also observed, when Tundra Enets morphemes were used or pronounced the way the cognate Nganasan morphemes were used or pronounced. E.g. Tundra Enets -*sij* is an affix of an Anterior/Passive participle that can be used in non- finite contexts only, while its Nganasan cognate -*suə - ə/-śüə/-ś ə*, IPA [so, se, sʲo, sʲe], is used only finitely as a Past marker: Awam Tundra Enets used -*sij* as a finite marker in contexts of the standard Tundra Enets Past and Perfect.

Phonetic outlook of Awam Tundra Enets words also differed from the standard Tundra Enets. Though the changes were more sporadic than regular, it is clear that they could go in one of the three directions, either Tundra Enets sounds underwent the same changes as Russian loanwords in Nganasan did (e.g. /p/ > /f/, as no /p/ in Nganasan), or they changed to etymologically cognate variants (e.g. /tʃ/ > /sʲ/), or they got involved into the same variations that were common in Nganasan (e.g. /b/ > /b/ or /w/).

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Irina Khomchenkova, Polina Pleshak

Code-switching as a contrastive context in Hill Mari[1]

In this paper, we discuss code-switching as one of the contrastive contexts in discourse, presenting evidence related to the non-possessive use of possessive markers in Hill Mari.

We collected the data in the village of Kuznetsovo (Mari El Republic, Russia) in 2016-2017. This village is bilingual with two spoken languages: Hill Mari and Russian, which results in the relatively frequent interference in terms of [Weinreich 1953:1], code-mixing and code-switching with Hill Mari as the matrix language and Russian as the embedded one.

In Hill Mari, there is a marker of contrastiveness, namely the possessive marker -P.3SG in its discourse function (see [Kuznecova 2003; Nikolaeva 2003; Simonenko 2014] on the discourse uses of possessive affixes in Uralic). We propose the following classification of contexts, in which -P.3SG is used, relying both on our elicited data and on the corpus-based research (the corpus consists of 39 oral texts transcribed during the fieldwork ≈ 3.5 hours):

- The choice between potential topics:
- New topic in global discourse structure
- New topic in local discourse structure
- Selection from the given set
- Contrastive uses

In our talk, we will elaborate on the latter type, which includes 68 relevant occurrences in the corpus (out of total 147 ones). Besides other prototypical contrastive topics, the contrastive uses include examples of the following kind: the speaker emphasizes that the word is in one language and not in the other. There are two main types of this use.

First, -P.3SG marks the name of the language, accenting the occurrence of "foreign" word in the discourse (1). It is worth noticing that in non-contrastive contexts the names of languages remain unmarked (2).

(1) *konešno   vošt'   agêl   mar-la-**žê**[2]*
of.course   leader   NEG   mari-EQU-**P.3SG**
'Of course, "leader" is not a Mari word <there is another word, but I don't know which one>.'

(2) *ipolit lobanof sir-ä   mar-la-(*žê̂)   piš   kogo-n   vn'atno*
I.   L.   write-NPST.3SG   mari-EQU-**P.3SG**   very   big-ADV   clearly
'Ippolit Lobanov writes in Mari very clearly'.

Second, -P.3SG can mark a Russian word when a speaker is trying to remember its Hill Mari counterpart (3).

(3) *užyn... užyn-**žê̂**   agêl [indistinct] vad-eš   ê̌ške   šolt-et   <…>*
supper supper-**P.3SG**   NEG   evening-LAT   REFL   cook-NPST.2SG
'Supper... not supper [tries to remember the word in Hill Mari], in the evening you cook yourself'.

The examples involving language interference occupy one third of all contrastive contexts in the corpus. In these contexts, the speaker tries to correct a word belonging to another language. They are similar to the types of code-switching which focus on a word and are marked by repetitions, hesitations or metalinguistic comments (see [Poplack 1987] on flagged code-switching or [Auer 1999] on insertional code-switching). Some properties of our constructions are shared with code- switching

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[2] In the examples, the "code-switched" words are underlined.

in the "reiteration" function [Gumperz 1976], when a message in one code is repeated in the other code, either literally or in somewhat modified form undergoing dynamic interference [Paradis 1993].

Our data emphasizes the role of choice in the concept of contrast, as interference requires the activation of words from both languages during the conversation [Dijkstra 2005]. This contrast can be marked by contrastive affixes with a more general semantics.

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Yury Koryakov, Yulia Mazurova

Mapping linguistic diversity of Moscow

Moscow is a multiethnic and multilingual metropolis where more than 150 languages are spoken, among which 17 languages have 10,000+ speakers (according to the 2010 Census). Moscow has always attracted immigrants from different regions and countries. At the same time, the linguistic situation here has never been thoroughly studied.

The aim of the "Languages of Moscow" project[3] is to describe the metropolis as a multilingual linguistic area in context of urban linguistics (Labov 1972). The project investigates the languages

spoken in Moscow and tries to estimate the number of their speakers and the degree of language maintenance in different ethnic/age groups. Besides, the project examines the functional aspects of language use in ethnic groups, i.e. the functioning of languages in the public sphere and the media (Sinjova 2013). It is equally important to investigate the degree of knowledge of the Russian language among the members of the groups whose native language is not Russian and to observe the ways those groups acquire the Russian language. The issues of the Moscow government's language policy and education of migrants' children (Baranova 2012) will also be discussed.

All the ethnic communities in Moscow have their linguistic and cultural specifics. From the historic standpoint, these communities are usually divided into "old", having long history (Ukrainians, Belarusians, Lithuanians, Tatars, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanis and Jews, among others) and "new", formed by the new economical migration flows (during the recent years, chiefly from the Central Asia, see Varshaver 2014). Communities with substantial number of speakers are mostly comprised of immigrants from the former Soviet republics, but there are also quite large expat communities from a number of other countries (e.g. China, Vietnam). Though pilot study shows that all languages are distributed in Moscow quite evenly, we will try to plot different linguistics communities and centers of their activities on the Moscow map.

We will focus on the comparison of the ethnic communities in Moscow in the context of their linguistic behavior. The criteria for comparison include the level and way of acquisition of Russian, the specification of language profiles and language vitality (Giles et al. 1977), the distribution of languages in functional domains, the use of ethnic languages in education, media and linguistic landscape.

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Magdolna Kovács

Typological similarity or lexical uncertainty? Code-switching practices of Finnish-Hungarian siblings

This paper focuses on the multilingual practices of siblings in a Finnish–Hungarian family. Although Finland has never been the main destination of Hungarian migration, still nearly 3000 Hungarian speaking people are living in Finland. Being relative languages, Finnish and Hungarian have similarities in typological features but from the same typological point of view, the two languages also have many differences. In lexicon, the differences are especially remarkable. Considering these circumstances, the main aim of the study is to define the similarities and the differences of the grammatical patterns used by the two siblings in the code-switching and find out whether some features can be explained on typological ground or not. Code-switching is used here as a cover term

for the use of the elements of two or more languages in the same discourse. The data consists mother's diary notes, text and voice messages.

The sister seems to try to avoid code-switching use consciously and systematically, corrects his brother's language production and, if she uses switches, she flags them. She might follow her mother's line in this issue (De Houwer 1999). The brother uses switches more than his sister, and flagging appears rarely with the switches in speech. In text messages, he also tries to avoid code-switching. The grammatical analyses of the code-switches aims to show whether the brother linguistic production is "borrowing"-type and follows the grammar of the matrix language or typological issues further mixing as well. In the grammatical analyses Muysken's (2000), Auer's (1999) and Kovács' (2001) code-switching model is used.

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Sayaka Kutsukake

Language shift in Tanzanian multilingual communities: A case study of four linguistic communities in southern Tanzania

This study investigates language shift in Tanzania, a multilingual society that hosts about 120 languages.

Since its independence in 1961, the Tanzanian government demonstrated its political eagerness to establish Kiswahili, already a majority language at the time, as the only language that symbolizes its national unity. Through the rise of nationalism and the spread of primary education in 1970s, Kiswahili has successfully spread all over the country, which resulted in complementary diglossia between ethnic languages and Kiswahili (cf. Heine 1976; Polomé 1980). However, an increasing body of research has pointed out an apparent language shift (Brauner et al. 1978, Mekacha 1993). My own investigation of four linguistic communities in southern Tanzani, namely Kikinga, Kibena, Kingoni, and Kiyao, conducted in 2015-2016 substantiates the previous studies.

A total of 359 subjects were involved in the study. The distribution of the subjects over four speech communities, each in three age groups, is listed in Table 1. For the Kibena and Kingoni communities, subjects were chosen from both urban and rural areas. Questionnaires were designed to investigate their language use, and 1-2 subjects in each age group and sex from each community were involved in an interview about their language attitude. They consisted of a total of 20 questions about language choice in everyday use, and 20 questions about their attitudes towards the relevant languages.

	Kikinga	Kibena		Kingoni		Kiyayo	Total
		urban	rural	urban	rural		
Under 35	19	22	22	21	23	18	125
35-55	25	20	18	26	21	24	134
Over 56	18	11	20	14	17	20	100
Total	62	53	60	61	61	62	359

Table 1: Summary of subjects

90% of the subjects under 35 answered that they used only Kiswahili when they talked to pre-school children, and 70% of the subjects over 56 even used only Kiswahili to the children. These result suggest that Kiswahili is becoming the dominant language in these speech communities as a result of following factors. Firstly, Kiswahili is the national language. Secondly, speakers resort to Kiswahili to facilitate communication and avoid any communication barrier between generations. Thirdly, parents strongly prefer to make Kiswahili as their children's first language. While the parents may be fluent in their ethnic language, they choose Kiswahili to address their children so that they know the language before entering school.

A preliminary result based on two-hour recording of dialogues in ethnic languages shows that Swahilization of ethnic languages is also in progress. Even though people think that they use both Kiswahili and their own ethnic language as if they were bilingual, the fact is that they speak Kiswahili which is very strongly influenced by the ethnic language with fluent code-switching and code-mixing. The ethnic communities are thus integrated into the Kiswahili society. As a result, the functions of the ethnic languages became weak in their ethnic communities.

These facts suggest that multilingual practices are no longer practically observable in Tanzania, but the situation there rather represents ethnic varieties of Kiswahili, and linguistic and ethnic multiplicity within the monolingual Kiswahili society.

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Marion Kwiatkowski

***Portraying Linguistic Diversity and Post-immigration Identity Construction – The Berlin Sitcom*
Gutes Wedding, Schlechtes Wedding**

"Die Prenzlwichser kommen, wa?" (The wankers from Prenzlauer Berg are coming, right?)
- "Alter, sei mal bitte nich so ne Rassistin!" (Dude, stop being such a racist!)

In this talk I want to present the sitcom "Gutes Wedding, Schlechtes Wedding", a spin-off of a theatre sitcom that has acquired cult-status among Berlin citizens. Its main topic is the cultural and economic gap between two of Berlin's most known district areas: the gentrified, hipster hub Prenzlauer Berg and the multicultural, economically weak Wedding, personified by the twins Ulla and Penelope who

were separated at birth. Their paths cross when Penelope's son Casper is forced to attend a school located in Wedding. Here, he meets Ratte, Ulla's daughter, and the twins Taifun and Orkan who have a Turkish background. The story evolves in that Casper has to be integrated into Wedding culture, with the comic twist that Taifun and Orkan offer their help. The dichotomy of the two districts is underlined by the depiction of various varieties of German spoken in Berlin: Whereas a somewhat stylised version of the local contemporary urban vernacular, Kiezdeutsch, as well as Berlin dialect are spoken by Wedding residents and symbolise the epitome of down-to-earth multicultural Berlin, standard German and Swabian dialect are spoken by the well-off gentrifiers living in Prenzlauer Berg. As a comic interpretation with elements of hyperstilisation, the sitcom opens up an interesting perspective on evaluations of the perceived linguistic landscape of Berlin as well as identity formation in multicultural areas. These aspects will be set in relation to theories proposed by Bhabha (1994) and Hall (1996). I will argue that the sitcom exemplifies how Western urban spaces currently experience an 'empowerment of the marginal' that challenges established notions of cultural authority. Global migration has therefore lead to hybridisation, i.e. the emergence of a new cultural identity out of multiculturalism in urban spaces, which strongly centres around spatial belonging. This fact has been taken up in the quotation above, where using a derogatory term for Prenzlauer Berg residents is equated with racism.

Linguistically, these liminal, highly productive spaces brought forth contemporary urban vernaculars as distinct varieties as well as linguistic practices such as crossing (Rampton 1995), which function as expressions of a new cultural identity. Even though these phenomena are the product of amongst others multiethnic contact, we are now dealing with speakers who actively construct an identity around parameters other than ethnicity resulting in a unified post-migration urban identity. For this reason, I argue that post-migration cultural phenomena should not be interpreted and deconstructed with the help of established terminology (multi-ethno-lects), but rather viewed as unitary elements in themselves that challenge and defy these traditional notions.

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Patxi Laskurain-Ibarluzea

A Study of the Multilingual Linguistic Landscape of the French Basque city of Bayonne

This study focuses on the linguistic landscape in the French city of Bayonne, one of the two sub-prefectures of the department of Pyrénées Atlantiques in the Nouvelle- Aquitaine region of southwestern France. Bayonne is part of the historical territory of the Basque Country, generically called *Iparralde* or Northern Basque Country. Contrary to the situation in the Spanish Basque Country, the Basque language does not enjoy official status in the French Basque Country, where the number

of Basque speakers has dramatically diminished in the last decades. However, the presence of Basque is still noticeable in language signs, where it competes for a presence with French, Spanish, and the ever-increasing presence of English as an international language throughout Europe.

The study examines the signs from government and institutional sources versus those from the private sector. Calvet (1990, 1994) has referred to these two types of signs as 'in vitro' and 'in vivo' components of the linguistic landscape. The two terms make an overall distinction between 'official' signs –what is written by the authority– and 'nonfficial' signs –what is written by private citizens. Both 'official' and 'nonofficial' signs provide a window into the power relations within the community. In brief, it is the hypothesis that 'official' signs are markers of status and power. 'Nonofficial' signs, on the other hand, are a manifestation of the covert language practices of a community and may display the grass roots cultural identity and aspirations of its members; they claim solidarity or identity. This study demonstrates that official and non-official signs in Bayonne exhibit essentially different characteristics with regard to two different variables. The first variable has to do with the languages contained and their mutual relationship regarding the question of whether they constitute a translation of each other or not, a methodological distinction first noted by Reh (2004). Following the work by Scollon and Scollon (2003), the second variable pertains to the differences on the visual prominence of the languages contained in a given sign. Finally, and from a strictly linguistic perspective, this study also documents the influence of these languages over each other, not just in the form of lexical borrowing, but also in the area of orthography.

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Nana Lehtinen

L1 (Finnish) language attrition in an L2 (English) language environment (research proposal)

Background: This Ph.D. research proposal focuses on the Finnish language (L1) spoken by first generation immigrants who have lived in an English (L2) environment for a minimum of 20 years. Language attrition means gradual, non-pathological loss of language by healthy in- dividuals. It is typically seen in immigrant settings where native language (L1) falls into dis- use or is used alongside an environmental one (L2) (e.g., Schmid, 2011). Finnish, a morpho- logically rich language (Helasvuo, 2008), provides a unique environment to investigate lan- guage attrition. Earlier studies on Finnish spoken in the US (e.g., Hirvonen, 1995; Leppänen, 2004) imply overall language simplification at structural level and greater variation in spon- taneous use of case assignment system in subjects compared to control group. In this study, subjects' performances at lexical and structural level in L1 are compared to a control group of native Finnish speakers living in Finland. Language tasks in L2 are included to assess sub- jects' language processing skills and the influence they may have on the language attrition process. Research questions are as follows:

1. Can markers of language attrition be detected in Finnish language spoken by first genera-

tion immigrants at lexical level a) in *lexical retrieval* and/or b) in *lexical diversity* in sponta- neous spoken language?

2. Can markers of language attrition be detected in Finnish language spoken by first generation immigrants at structural level a) in *spontaneous use of 20 morphological features* and/or

b) in the *ability to apply inflectional rules* to novel words?

3. Are there differences between L1 and L2 a) in *lexical retrieval* and b) in *lexical diversity* in spontaneous spoken language in the experimental group?

This study creates novel information about the process of attrition in a morphologically complex language. As such, findings from this study will add to both, Finnish and international language attrition research, as well as to the wider field of bilingualism.

Methods: Research design represents an experimental case-control group study (experimental group n=30, control group n= 30). Data to be collected consists of: 1) Spoken narratives (in L1 and L2) and 2) Specific language tasks (Verbal Fluency Tasks in L1 and L2, WUG-test for the Finnish case assignment system in L1). All data is recorded, transcribed orthographi- cally and analyzed. To support linguistic analysis applicable statistical methods are applied.

Results from the analysis will be discussed in regard to specific research questions.

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Heini Lehtonen

Wallah(i), mä vannon, jag svär, jeg sværger, jeg sverger: *The enregisterment of a group of epistemic phrases across multilingual urban Scandinavia*

In this paper I will shed light on the lexical item *wallah(i)* (Arabic 'I swear on Allah') that has spread among adolescents in Scandinavian and Central European urban settings characterized by immigration. In these settings, *epistemic phrases* (cf. Kärkkäinen 2009) that are used similarly to *wallah(i)* have emerged in the main languages, e.g. the Finnish *mä vannon* 'I swear'. These phrases get *enregistered* (Agha 2007) in certain youth styles; they gather *social indexicality* (Agha 2007) that connects them to ethnic minorities, multiethnic urban youth, local hip hop styles, masculinity and to social practices associated with these. In some countries, they have almost become iconic of multiethnic (sub)urban youth. I will especially focus on the Finnish use of *wallahi* and *mä vannon,* but I will compare my results to findings from Sweden, Denmark, and Norway.

I will first describe the phrases *wallah(i)* and *mä vannon* in my data: Who uses them and how? What kind of metapragmatic descriptions they invoke? I will also describe the change in the use of the verbs *vannoa* and *luvata* ('to swear', 'to promise') when used in these epistemic phrases. I will

then compare my results to the ways in which these phrases are used and described in other Nordic countries.

My data mainly come from linguistic ethnographic fieldwork in two junior high schools in East Helsinki. The data consist of a field diary, interviews, audio and video recordings, as well as retrospective interviews where I played the recordings to the participants and we discussed them. I will reinforce my analysis with more recent observations from media discourses. As for the use and social indexicality of the phrases in other Nordic countries, I will rely on the detailed discussion of recent research literature.

Wallah(i) offers interesting insights to late modern urban diversity in the Nordic countries: It is mentioned in most sociolinguistic studies about urban linguistic diversity since the late 1980's. Similar epistemic phrases have emerged and spread in many languages. Analyzing the enregisterment of *wallah(i)* across the Nordic countries shows both similarities and differences in the linguistic ideologies surrounding urban linguistic diversity.

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Yulia Mazurova

Multilingual practices in Kullu (Himachal Pradesh, India)

The Indian state of Himachal Pradesh is an interesting linguistic area. The mountainous landscape helps preserve archaic features in local Indo-Aryan languages, which form the Himachali Pahari genetic group (also known as Western Pahari). This group represents a dialectal continuum without a definite center and the differences between idioms can be prominent. The Himachali Pahari group is comprised of 10 to 60 idioms (according to different sources, e.g. Bailey 1908, Grierson 1916, Zoller 2011), none of which has any official status. Some of the idioms are not mutually intelligible. They are the means of everyday communication in local communities, while Hindi is the lingua franca in Himachal Pradesh and in North India in general. Most people of the region are multilingual, they usually speak two or more idioms (usually one or more local languages, Hindi, to some extent English, sometimes also Urdu, Punjabi, Nepali).

North India has not been studied much from the linguistic and socio-linguistic point of view, and papers on the Himachali Pahari are rare (see, for example Matthews 2008, Eaton 2008, Hendriksen 1986, Zoller 2011). Some information can also be obtained in typological works on Indo-Aryan languages (Masica 1993; Abbi 2001; Dahl, Stroński 2016) but, in general, very little material on the Himachali Pahari is available.

In 2014 and 2016, our research group went on a fieldwork study of the Kullui language[4], one of the Himachali Pahari idioms (Kullu district, Himachal Pradesh). The main goal was to gather linguistic material for grammar and lexicon description and also to conduct structured socio-linguistic interviews with informants.

During the fieldwork, we made a number of interesting observations on language use in different situations, code-switching, language domains, strategies of language use in the town and in the villages. The important factor for multilingualism is population mobility (study, job, visiting relatives, marriages and so on). The fieldwork data provided us with information on the languages used in Kullu district, level of their knowledge, way of acquisition of different languages and their functional domains.

Social situation influences all levels of local languages. Minor languages suffer from the strong influence of Hindi and English. Although the younger generation learns Kullui as their mother tongue, our fieldwork data shows changes in grammar and lexicon in speech of young people as compared to the speech of their parents. The most interesting socio-linguistic feature of Himachal Pradesh is constant interactions between dozens of local languages which makes the task of linguistic description very complicated. Multilingualism and frequent contacts between related languages lead to significant variability of grammatical forms and pronunciation.

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Katharina Meng, Ekaterina Protassova

Heritage Russian in contact with German: 25 years after repatriation

We present the results of a longitudinal study concerning the linguistic and social integration of young Russian-Germans after about a quarter of century of their residence in Germany. The multimetodological approach included interviews, experiments, tests, narratives, questionnaires, samples of writing in two languages in a selection of several Russian-German families during 25 years of their life in Germany. All generations of every family were included.

Russian-Germans are officially called (*Spät-*)*Aussiedler, i.e. repatriates*. Repatriates are ethnic Germans who moved from the former Soviet Union and / or other Eastern European countries (e.g., Poland, Romania, and Hungary) to Germany. For this study, we investigated Russian as heritage language in these bilinguals and the way it changes during processes of social integration. For most ethnic Germans from Russia, German was the heritage language for all generations before their repatriation, even if the respective skills in German differed widely from generation to generation (Berend, 1998). After repatriation, Russian became the heritage language for all Russian-Germans. However, the importance of Russian varied for different generations. It had least importance for those Russian-Germans who were born before WWII or immediately thereafter. It had the most importance for those Russian-Germans who were born in the 1960s and later, because Russian was their first and family language (cf. Meng, Protassova, 2016). The younger Russian-Germans who have become participants in our longitudinal study experience the analogical problems in their efforts to maintain the Russian language as Russian-speakers elsewhere in a non-Russian-speaking environment. A number of publications studied the contact-induced changes of Russian in contact with different majority languages (Andrews, 2012; Isurin, 2008; Protassova, 2007; Rethage, 2012). We analyse the competencies in Russian based on self-evaluations as well as in Russian-language communication (individual interviews, group interviews).

The characteristics of heritage Russian (influences from German, absence of elaborated standard expressions in Russian, inability to find a word etc.) are applicable to all of the participants and are due to the interruption or incomplete acquisition scenarios (Benmamoun et al., 2013; Polinsky, Kagan, 2007; Isurin, Riehl, 2017). The language of input, that is their parents and other Russian-speaking immigrants, may already differ from the baseline Russian of the previous generation because it a) was regionally colored; b) was mixed with, or influenced by, German; c) had undergone attrition through the years of limited use in Germany. The attitudes and self-identifications are also dependent on the level of language proficiency. The main difference in our study is in self-identification of the newcomers: the Russian-German repatriates knew that they were designated as Germans and had to live up to this designation by speaking German perfectly. Apart from this, we see variation between families, rather than between individuals, as children within particular families develop similar attitudes towards language maintenance and shift and adopt similar language preferences. When the participants spoke German, they could give more extensive and nuanced responses about their Russian language competencies. They use the language in everyday conversations about family matters, especially with parents. Most of them are not used to reading and writing in Russian and reflect about it themselves. Their spoken Russian is colloquial and partially influenced by German.

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Maria Morozova, Alexander Rusakov

What does "balanced language contact" look like? Analyzing the linguistic (micro)landscape of Velja Gorana, Southern Montenegro

Since the classical work by Thomason and Kaufman (1988), the establishment of the correlation between the social setting of the language contact and its linguistic outcomes remains one of the central problems in linguistic contactology. In the last years the situations of the so- called "balanced language contact" (quite generally defined as situations "of a long-standing linguistic area and stable multilingualism without any dominance relationships" in (Aikhenvald 2007: 42)) or "power (prestige, range) symmetry" (Haspelmath & Michaelis 2014) draw a special attention. Such situations may result in the mutual influence and contact-induced changes in all languages involved and may be insightful, in particular, for the problem of the arising of *Sprachbunds* of different types. But the exact criteria for the definition of "balanced contact" situations as well as their classification are not elaborated explicitly.

The paper investigates the case of a small multilingual village of Velja Gorana in Southern Montenegro. This area of Montenegro, located between the towns of Bar and Ulcinj not far from the Albanian-Montenegrin border, has mixed Muslim Slavic, Muslim Albanian, Orthodox Slavic and Catholic Albanian population. The community of the village, as it seems, represents a good example of the "balanced contact" situation. The locals of Velja Gorana identify themselves as *goranci* and as part of the Slavic-speaking Muslim community ("tribe", BCMS *pleme*) Mrkovići. In the beginning of the previous century, Jovičević (1922: 113) emphasized that the population of Gorana acquired Albanian because the local men tended to marry Albanian women from the neighboring area of Ana e Malit. A similar situation is observed during the 2012-2016 expeditions to this region conducted by the team of linguists and anthropologists from Saint Petersburg, in which one of the speakers participated. All children in mixed families of Velja Gorana learn two languages, the local variety of BCMS and the local (North-western Gheg) subdialect of Albanian, from their parents. A striking point is that the bilingual situation is *reproduced* herefor a long time, and for some reason it does not result in a language shift towards either Albanian or Slavic (Sobolev 2015).

As the paper will show, the linguistic landscape of Velja Gorana consists of a number of scenarios developing at family level and individual level. The proposed microanalysis of bilingual interaction and strategies in Velja Gorana attempts to reveal what factors influence the individual behavior, how this behavior fluctuates during the lifespan, and how individual behaviors amalgamate in what we call the behavior of multilingual speech community of Velja Gorana.

Using this approach to the case of Velja Gorana, we attempt to develop a more or less precise mechanism of evaluation of contact situations from the point of view of their "balanced" / "imbalanced" state, which can be further applied to the similar situations in the Balkans and beyond. The next possible step of the analysis is to relate the processes taking place in such bilingual communities to the particular linguistic outcomes (contact-induced language change in both interacting languages),

and to find the way how "individual choices become fixed and part of a commonly shared code" (Muysken 2013).

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Szilvia Németh

The types of code-switching in discourses of Mansi speakers

Mansi (Vogul) is an Uralic language spoken in Western Siberia. It is an endangered language, and it is subdivided into four main dialect groups, but these days only one dialect is living (the Northern one), which has four subdialects. According to the last census (2010), there was 938 Mansi-speaking people in Russia. They mostly fall into the middle aged or the elderly age groups. Nowadays there are a very few Mansi people, who do not speak Russian (the accurate number of these speakers is not acknowledged, see Horváth 2012, 63–64), therefor the Mansi-Russian bilingualism is the most common situation. Although some earlier studies have been made about the bilingualism of Mansi speakers (see Bíró and Sipőcz 2006; Horváth 2012; Skribnik and Koshkaryova 1996), but the code-swiching hasn't been studied.

In my presentation I will show the types of code-switching, that can be found in discoures of Mansi speakers.

During my research I followed Gumperz's definition of code-switching: „the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (Gumperz 1982, 59). I apply a grammatical approach using Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame model (2002) and Muysken's theoretical framework (2000).

My corpus contains structured and unstructured interviews and spontaneous conversations from 11 Mansi–Russian bilinguals, ten of them are female, one of them is male. They are all in their middle-age or above 60 years of age. All of these interviews were recorded in the summer of 2014 in Siberia by Anastasia Saypasheva and myself. The data altogether consist of 68 minutes. The strucured interviews made by foreign interviewers (us), the questions were in Russian, but the native

Mansi speakers were asked to respond in Mansi. The unstructured recordings contain simple conversations between only native speakers.

My results show that code-switching appears in 28,4% of the clauses in the corpus. The majority of Russian elements were used for coordinating conjunctions and discourse particles.

The Russian verb usage is rare, but it has two types: a) the verbal suffix has been coded in Russian as well (1), b) use the imperative form of the Russian verb as stem (2).

(1) taw akwaj   lāwə-s   govori-t […]
    she always   say-PST.3SG   <say>-<PRS.3SG>
    'She was always saying, she is saying […] '
(2) χotaľ   sdava-j-tə-s-l-ən?
    where   <transmit>-<IMP.2SG>-DER-PST-OBJ(SG)-2SG
    'Where did you hand down [the fish]?'

The constructions, that contain composite matrix language appears in only 2,8% of the clauses in the corpus and for the most part they are characterized by numeral phrases. The rare occurrence of language mixing has been consistant with my observations, that both Mansi and Russian languages are rarely used paralelly in the same discourse. The Mansi speakers ordinarily use their native language with elderly relatives to talk about life in the villages and about the tradicional tasks, like fishing. In these topics they are more comfortable using Mansi. On the other hand they always discuss other topics in Russian.

We rarely observe constructions where the morphemes are all from Mansi, but the structure comes from the Russian language and is also characterized by numeral phrases.

2   second person
3   third person
< >   Russian element
DER   derivational suffix
IMP   imperative
OBJ   object
PST   past
PRS   present
SG   singular

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Nantke Pecht

A mixed variety? Grammatical features and sociolinguistic aspects of* Cité Duits *in Belgian-Limburg

In the mining district of Eisden in Belgian-Limburg, among the locally-born children of immigrant coalminers a variety labeled by its speakers *Cité Duits* emerged in the 1930s. Nowadays, it is on the cusp to disappear, with about a dozen speakers left. Although language contact has been researched in a number of linguistic contexts, this in-group variety has hardly been investigated (Auer and Cornips forthc.; Pecht 2015). In this talk, based on results of audio recordings (approx. 300 minutes) collected by a method of sociolinguistic interviews (Labov 2001, 1972) in 2013 and 2015/16, I will demonstrate within the language contact framework (Myers-Scotton 1976; Stell and Yakpo 2015; Muysken 2014; Gardner-Chloros 2009) that Cité Duits is a truly mixed variety that mainly combines elements from Southern Dutch (Flemish), German and the Limburgian dialect Maaslands. I argue that this grammar turns out to be a (relatively) stable system with features that are used in a systematic way. The analysis will concentrate on morphosyntactic features as illustrated in (1):

(1) (171115_3:00.07.28, T.)

jetz	*hab*	*ich*	*so*	*spät,*	*sacht*	*er,*	*dat*	*ich*	*dich*
now	have	I	so	late	says	he	that	I	2SG.DI.OBJ

kein	*perzike*	*kann*	*gebe.*
no	peaches	can	give-INF

'He says: It is too late now to give you any peaches.'

Whereas many lexical items can be associated with German, (1) exemplifies a syntactic structure including an order of verbal elements (*kann gebe*) that resembles Dutch/Limburgian (Barbiers et al. 2008). The negative indefinite article *kein* shows strong resemblance to German, but unlike in German, case is not marked. The pronouns *ich* and *dich* can be associated with both German and the dialect. The word *perzike* and final n-deletion, however, go back to Dutch. Yet, while Cité Duits is similar to Dutch/Limburgian with respect to the word order in the two-verb cluster, initial analysis suggests that there is variation regarding the syntactic V2 constraint. I propose that language-internal factors related to information-structure could be responsible for the co-existence of V2 and V3 structures (Westergaard 2005; Freywald et al. 2013; Wiese 2013).

Furthermore, I will discuss the sociohistorical conditions under which this language mixing took place: In particular, I argue that factors such as the closed social setting of the community and the multilingual environment played a key-role in its formation (Rampton 2011). What makes Cité Duits interesting, compared to better known cases of mixed languages, is that the contact varieties are genetically very close, and results might allow us to shed more light on the dynamics of language contact of closely related varieties.

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Natalia Perkova

What can language contact bring along: the case of presuppositional comitatives

Presuppositional comitatives are such non-canonical comitative constructions where one of the co-participants is backgrounded: its involvement in the situation is presupposed. The second co-participant is then anchored to the backgrounded one. Typical contexts for presuppositional comitatives are situations of 'coming/going along' and 'taking/bringing along'.

In my talk, I'm going to discuss the role of language contact in the development of presuppositional comitative patterns. The Circum-Baltic languages have been chosen for the study, as they are highly relevant for the analysis of presuppositional comitatives: Finnic languages and Latvian use dedicated markers for this function, while Germanic languages have a salient particle verb formation pattern used in such contexts. As the Circum-Baltic area is well-known as the contact superposition zone (Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli 2001), it also seems to be a good case for investigation of micro-contacts in the domain in focus.

I have chosen four instances of presumed contact-induced change for the discussion:

1) possible convergence between Latvian and Finnic (with the focus on Latvian, Livonian, and Estonian);

2) the Leivu variety of South Estonian in contact with Latvian;

3) Latvian Romani in contact with Latvian and Estonian;

4) Slavic microlanguages in contact with German (partly beyond the Circum-Baltic area).

As any comitative construction, presuppositional comitatives have the quadripartite structure with the following obligatory components: the predicate, the marker, and two co-participants. The analysis of the Circum-Baltic data shows that variation in presuppositional comitatives can be related to its different components. One of the most important parameter for the description of presuppositional comitatives is syntactic patterns available for relevant markers: 'coming/going along' represents the intransitive pattern, and 'taking/bringing along' – the transitive one. Ditransitive and possessive patterns are also attested in the Circum-Baltic languages.

Latvian is remarkable for the development of a dedicated presuppositional marker, which is

common for all Finnic languages, but not for its most closest language, Lithuanian. Leivu, in its turn, diverges from both Standard Estonian and other South Estonian varieties, as the original meaning of its presuppositional marker resembles rather Latvian. Latvian Romani is remarkable for the use of the sociative adverb *khetane* 'together' in the presuppositional comitative function. Finally, Slavic varieties in close contact to German either calqued or borrowed the verb particle *mit*(-); Sorbian is the most interesting example here, as it reanalysed the reflexive pronoun form *sobu* from the original Slavic construction after the German pattern. All the cases discussed are characterised by stable contacts between the replica and the model language and by the bilingualism of the speakers of the latter. As will be shown in the talk, the development of the pattern in most cases results in the alignment of syntactic patterns and other properties, for instance, the omittability of the backgrounded participant.

Examples

(1) a. Latvian
      Pamāte   *nosūtīja*   *arī*   *barenīti*   **līdzi.**
      stepmother:NOM   send:PST:3   also   orphan:DIM:ACC   PCOM
    b. Livonian
      Võrõzjemā   *sõtiz*   *ka*   **īņõ**   *bōriņ*   *lapp s.*
      stepmother:NOM   send:PST:3   also   PCOM   orphan   child:GEN
    c. Estonian
      Võõrasema   *saatis*   *vaeslapse*   *ka*   **kaasa.**
      stepmother:NOM   send:PST:3   orphan:GEN   also   PCOM
      'The stepmother also sent the orphan along.' (after Wälchli 2001: 426)
(2) a. Leivu
      *tü`țri`k   min´üde **ta`ssa***
    b. Standard Estonian
      tüdruk   *läinud*   **kaasa**
      girl.NOM   go:PA.PST   PCOM[ILL]
      'The girl went along' (Niilus 1937: 55), *tassa* < 'even', cf. Latvian *līdz(i)*
(3) Latvian Romani
      kana   *džala.*   *žviros*   *džala*   **khetane**
      now   go.PRS.3SG   beast.NOM   go.PRS.3SG   together
      '[So] he goes. The wild beast follows him [goes with him].' (Ariste 1973: 25)
(4) a. Sorbian
      póńdu   *radšo hnydom*   *z*   *nim*   **sobu**
      go.FUT:1SG rather right_now with   3SG.M:INS   PCOM[=P.REFL.INS]
    b. German
      ich   *geh*   *lieber*   *mit ihm*   *zusammen*   *hin*
      1SG.NOM   go.SUBJ   better   with 3SG.M:DAT   together   there (ParaSol,
      http://parasolcorpus.org)

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Merja Pikkarainen

From multilingualism to monolingualism? Changes in linguistic practices among the minority peoples in the Russian Federation

This paper deals with multilingual practices among the minority peoples in the Russian Federation. The Russian Federation is a multilingual nation with over 100 languages spoken within its boundaries. The most important language is Russian and it has strengthened its position during the past few decades. This strengthening poses serious threats to minority languages and many of them are in danger of becoming extinct in the future. In addition, the previous areal majority languages (e.g. Tatar language) have lost their importance. In many speech communities the trend is unidirectional and Russian language is gaining more prestige. Therefore, the speech communities are becoming monolingual.

The presentation is based on data collected in different parts of the Russian Federation including republics of Mordovia, Mari El, Karelia and Tatarstan and the Sakhalin Island, Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug and Tver Oblast. The minority peoples studied are Erzya, Meadow Mari, Karelian, Nivkh, Uilta, Eastern Khanty, Northern Mansi, Tatar, Udmurt, and Mari (Udmurt and Mari residing in diaspora in Tatarstan). The data consist of language biographies. A language biography is a biographical account or a narrative in which the interviewee describes the acquisition of different languages and use of them. This kind of approach enables to clarify how an individual has learnt different languages, how they use those languages as a part of their everyday life or why they have stopped using language or languages they have previously used. In addition, language biographies can reflect societal changes and their effects. The attention is paid to that what is the linguistic environment which people live in and what is their linguistic behavior in that particular environment.

Based on the collected biographies, one can say that there are differences between different minority peoples. Among the middle-sized peoples (e.g. Erzya, Mari) it is common that the parents still speak the minority language to their children but children and the young use Russian when interacting with each other. Few decades ago in eastern parts of the Republic of Mari El it was customary that the Mari speech communities were multilingual (Mari, Russian, and Tatar). Nowadays, Tatar language is no longer needed.

Those peoples who are in more vulnerable position use Russian with their children. These peoples include the Nivkh, Uilta, Khanty, Mansi and Karelian. This is due to, for example, historical reasons which have led to the attrition of the speech communities. In northern parts of the Republic of Karelia, Finnish language has lost its importance but might be regaining some of that back due to migration processes. The peoples themselves would like to maintain bilingualism but they do not have enough resources to do that. It is also noteworthy that the minority language does not necessarily have an official status in the area. It is also possible that the maintenance and revitalization measures are designed by higher authorities which means that the peoples themselves do not see them effective or appropriate.

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Dalia Pinkeviciene

Multilingual Talk at Work: the Case of a Bioscience Lab in Vilnius

Multilingualism is a daily reality in many contemporary workplaces (Angouri, 2014; Gunarsson, 2014; Pennycook and Otsuji, 2014). This is particularly true in multinational corporate enterprises, but it is also true in smaller companies and in countries such as Lithuania (more than 25 years post-soviet) where the majority speak a non-global language and which relatively recently has opened to Western, especially English, language influences. Multiple language resources flood in and are incorporated into the linguistic repertoires of language users to help them achieve their communicative aims (Blommaert and Backus, 2011). Various language features are combined regardless of how well the speakers know the involved languages (Jørgensen et al., 2011). The purpose of this study is to contribute to current understanding of such multilingual practices and to analyse how adult speakers in Lithuania adopt features of other languages or turn to code-switching in certain social situations at work and what effects are achieved by doing this.

This study is part of a larger ongoing study focussing on sociolinguistic aspects of multilingual practices performed by white collar employees in their workplaces. The study presented here takes a case study approach and draws on audio recordings of naturally occurring spoken discourse collected in a bioscience laboratory in Vilnius and supplemented with focused interviews with the participants. Theoretically and methodologically, it has its basis in discourse analysis, interactional sociolinguistics and linguistic ethnography, i.e. it takes an ethnographically informed interactional micro-level perspective, involving a close study of small number of individuals. Although the company's working language is Lithuanian, the presence of a co-worker from abroad (Poland), makes it a really multilingual workplace in which Lithuanian, English, Russian and occasionally Polish languages or mixed/ hybrid codes co-exist.

The findings depict the bioscience lab as a vibrant, dynamic, and linguistically rich place and show that multilingual practices in Lithuanian workplace discourse are creatively used as group or individual stylistic choices to construct certain social images and to perform various functions: for instance, to express solidarity, collegiality and team spirit in the form of jokes, narratives, greetings and swearing, or to index professionalism and expertise and simply have things quickly and effectively done or explained. A certain tendency to develop the group's own mixed code as a skill necessary for their internal purposes (for Goffmanian backstage encounters) can be observed. Such patterns are linked to employees' professional and group identities and reveal close parallels with what has been previously found by other researchers in similar contexts (Leppänen, 2007; Nelson, 2014).

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Péter Pomozi, Anastasia Saypasheva

Changing of multilingual patterns and language choices in the Bashkirian Mari speech communities

The multilingual state of affairs in Bashkiria. Bashkirian Maris have been living for hundreds of years in a very special multilingual environment considering the local cultural characteristics of Bashkiria. Although Bashkirians make up the linguistic majority in the republic, it is Russian as second language that is becoming more and more essential among the Mari speech communities. In the regions with a significant Mari population like Mishkan district and several villages of Birsk district, mainly Mari, Tatar and Russian are spoken, therefore the local basic multilingual variants are Mari-Russian(-Tatar) or Mari-Tatar- Russian.

    The aim and method of the research. Questionnaires. We needed special approaches to understand and analyse the language behaviour of such Mari minorities, that form quite homogenous blocks in a three-four-language area. Thus, within the framework of the joint project of Helsingin Yliopisto and Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem called *Multilingual practicies in Finno-Ugric communities,* a detailed questionnaire on language attitude has been compiled with 38+5 questions, divided into four thematic groups as follows:

    Questions 1–5: personal data (sex, age, abode, education, workplace);

    Questions 6–19: multilingual behaviour and language choices with possible code-switching within family and kinship;

    Questions 20–38: code-switching in informal, everyday communicative situations e. g. on the street, on the bus, at work, at school; preferred language(s) listening to music, reading books, using social media;

    Part 4 (Appendix): self rating of communicative language ability.

    The prepared questionnaires were administered personally by our fieldworkers. The data of our attitudinal survey was collected from 71 informants last December and January of 2017, in several villages located in Mishkan and Birsk districts, however only in villages with absolute Mari majority. Of the 71 questionnaires 68 were suitable for complete analysis because three questionnaires had only partially been filled out. Of the 71 informants 49 were women and 18 were men, from three age-groups, (more detailed data of each age group can be found in the first row of the attached table). The research method is quantitative. The used method enables us to interpret some attitudinal differences across generations of speakers with the *apparent time hypothesis* (Labov Milroy–Gordon 2003: 35–37, Sakel–Everett 2012).

    Outcomes. A small fraction of the outlined multilingual patterns are presented by the attached table. Here are some interesting phenomena indicating the generational attitude change:

    – Mari-Russian code-switching is common even between speakers born to Mari parents and having Mari mates, especially in discourses involving children. Bilingualism, therefore, is present

among the majority of youngsters, along with the danger of language loss.

– In the case of two minority languages encountering within one family, the claim to mutually preserve multilingualism is low: instead of learning the mate's language, both parties give up their own, and Russian as a lingua franca comes into view.

The recent days' unfavourable political changes regarding minority languages, along with a growing language right deficit can have a negative effect on the future of multilingual speech communities of Bashkiria.

Age-grading	age 18-30 (24 female, 7 male)	age 31–50 (16 female, 5 male)	age 51– (7 female, 6 male)	31–50 (1 female) 51– (1female)
Parents' first language (Q6–Q7)	Mari	Mari	Mari	Russian
Spouse's or mate's first language (Q16)	MAR (15), TAT (1), RUS (3)	MAR (18), TAT (1), (0)	MAR (8), BAS (1), RUS (2), (0)	MAR (2)
Language(s) used with own children (Q17)	MAR (4), MAR-RUS (2), RUS (2), (0), RUS (1)	MAR (14), MAR-RUS (2), RUS (2), RUS (1), MAR (1)	MAR (5), MAR-RUS (3), RUS (1), RUS (2), MAR (1)	RUS-MAR- (1), RUS (1)
Parents' first language (Q6–Q7)	Mari	Mari	Mari	Russian
Possible code-switching in every day communicative situations	MAR (9), RUS (8), MAR-RUS (11)	MAR (11), MAR-RUS-TAT (1), RUS (4), MAR-RUS (4)	MAR (7), MAR-RUS-TAT (3), RUS (1), MAR-RUS (2)	RUS-MAR (2)
Dominant (Primary) language(s)	MAR-RUS	MAR	MAR	RUS-MAR

Table 1. A fraction of the outcomes *Changing of multilingual patterns and language choices in the Bashkirian Mari speech communities*

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Michael Rießler, Nikolay Hakimov

Fusion outside the clause: the case of vernacular Kildin Saami

Kildin Saami is a severely endangered and under-described Uralic language spoken actively by no more than a few hundred speakers on the Kola Peninsula in North-West Russia. Changes induced by the ongoing language shift to Russian have been documented on different levels of linguistic structure in spoken Kildin Saami (Blokland and Rießler, 2011; Kotcheva and Rießler, 2016; Rießler, 2007, 2009, Rießler and Karvovskaya, 2013).

This paper analyses the speech of Kildin Saami-Russian bilinguals interacting in the bilingual and the Kildin Saami monolingual mode (Grosjean, 1982). The corpus data for our investigation are taken from annotated speech recordings done by the Kola Saami Documentation Project (http://dobes.mpi.nl/projects/sami/), specifically a two hours long free conversation between three female speakers while cooking and eating. The three female speakers (born 1932, 1933, 1940), who learned Kildin Saami as L1 and are acquaintances (distant relatives).

In line with earlier reports, such as Pineda's (2008, 2009), the speech of Kildin Saami-Russian bilinguals in the bilingual mode is found to involve frequent code-switching and heavy code-mixing. However, in the Kildin Saami monolingual mode, Russian items also regularly occur. Despite the presence of Russian elements, the mode of speech is unequivocally monolingual, which is signalled directly, by meta-linguistic comments of the language choice, and indirectly, by the use of self-repair and other-repair strategies. We thus refer to the variety spoken in the monolingual mode as vernacular Kildin Saami.

The Russian elements occurring in vernacular Kildin Saami are limited to items from the realm of clause-peripheral grammar, including discourse grammar, but they also include a few lexical items carrying very specific meanings. Longer Russian constituents almost never appear in otherwise Kildin Saami sentences in our data.

We argue that the Russian grammatical elements used in vernacular Kildin Saami, all of which have either an indexical or a textual function, are established loans because Kildin Saami equivalents of these elements never occur. This is particularly evident in the case of the additive borrowing of extra-clausal elements, which include the complementizer *što* 'that', co-ordinating conjunctions, modal particles as well as discourse markers. These observations enable us to conclude that vernacular Kildin Saami as spoken in the monolingual mode in our data is a fused lect (Auer, 1999, 2014). However, not all the borrowed elements can be categorized as instances of additive borrowing. In fact, some of the borrowed items alternate with Kildin Saami-origin elements and seem to be in free variation with them. Among these elements we find the phrasal co-ordinator *i* (Kildin Saami *ja*), the focus particle *vot* (Kildin Saami *tel'*), the phasal adverb *uže* 'already' (Kildin Saami *jo*) and the deictic adverb *potom* 'then' (vs. Kildin Saami *maŋŋa*).

A comparison of vernacular Kildin Saami with bilingual speech involving heavy language mixing shows that the Russian grammatical items found in the monolingual mode also regularly occur in the bilingual mode.

In view of these facts, we conclude that Kildin Saami vernacular has emerged from code-mixing, and the process of fusion, which affects the domain of clause-peripheral grammar, is at its incipient stage.

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Marylise Rilliard

Indexation of North African Ethnicity in Gad Elmaleh's Speech

Situations of multiculturalism are very common in France, mainly due to immigration from the Maghreb region. These circumstances call into question how immigrant populations index their ethnic identity in spoken French. Multi-ethnic neighborhoods in France have been the center of attention since *parler des cités* ('suburban speech') has emerged in the French suburbs. Previous studies identified several phonological features characteristic of this variety of French, which could possibly come from contact with North African French and/or Arabic (Gadet & Paternostro, 2013; Jamin, 2004; Jamin, Trimaille, & Gasquet-Cyrus, 2006; Pooley, 2009). Supporting this idea is the fact that certain variants seem to be primarily used by young speakers of North African origin (Jamin, 2004). Thus, these features could potentially index North African ethnicity; however, their use in these neighborhoods is also linked to the degree of integration of the speakers into street culture. In other words, street culture is inseparable from a certain socio-ethnic identity. The present work addresses this issue; through the speech of Gad Elmaleh, a very popular French/Moroccan/Canadian humorist, it investigates two features typical of the *cités* accent outside of the suburbs: affrication of /t/ and /d/, and realization of the phoneme /R/ as [ħ]. I hypothesize that the artist varies his use of the two variants depending on his audience and the setting (Bell, 1984).

The data come from videos of the humorist during a stand-up performance and a TV show, which allowed for the investigation of stylistic variation in his speech. Affrication of /t/ and /d/ was tested before the vowels /y/, /i/, and /u/ and the approximants /ɥ/ and /w/, where it most often occurs in suburban French (Jamin, 2004; Jamin et al. 2006). The realization of /R/ as [ħ] has not been studied in detail in relevant literature, so its contexts of occurrence were investigated in this study. The variant [ħ], unlike affrication–which occurs in many varieties of both French and Arabic–only occurs in Arabic, so it is potentially a stronger index of North African ethnicity than affrication (Delattre, 1971; Pooley, 2009).

The data were coded auditorily, and the analysis revealed a gradient rather than a categorical use of the variants under study by Gad Elmaleh. Moreover, while the humorist uses these variants to a greater extent in his impression of a Moroccan speaker than when addressing a crowd in a formal manner, he does not use them much in a casual interview setting, contrary to predictions. Lastly, the results show that the use of the variant [ħ] is, in part, phonologically conditioned.

This study allows us to further understand affrication and the realization of /R/ as [ħ] in French as indices of a Maghrebi identity. It is the first study to look at these two variants outside of the suburbs, and its results provide preliminary evidence that affrication and pharyngeal [ħ] are used to index North African ethnicity independent of belonging to street culture, opening the way for further investigations.

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Timo Savela

Educational landscapes – nodes of materialized education and language discourses

My research focuses on educational landscapes as nodes of intersecting materialized discourses (Schein, 1997). Landscape is defined as a representational overlay (Lefebvre, 1991), which is disciplinary (Foucault, [1977] 1995) and as a result doxic (Bourdieu, 1977), a seemingly neutral, yet produced order of things that contributes to its reproduction. Therefore landscape not only is, but also does. I combine sociolinguistics and landscape research in an educational context. I focus on the salience of languages, the role of landscape participants and the discourses that shape the landscape.

For my study I created a multimodal data annotation scheme based on Barni and Bagna (2009). It addresses not only languages, but also other features, including translation and code-mixing, multimodality, spatial features and the different functions of the items in the landscape: Bourdiesard power relations, Boudonian good reasons, Goffmanian presentation of self and collective identity (Ben- Rafael, Shohamy & Barni, 2010). This approach utilizes large sets of data and it can be used multidimensionally to examine different aspects and patterns in the data.

My data contains 6016 units of analysis collected in a primarily Finnish medium of instruction peripheral urban school in Southwest Finland. The results indicate a predominantly monolingual Finnish school with little room for other languages, except English that is emphasized by the school. Conversely, and more interestingly, the use of other languages by the students is marginal, despite the heterogeneous student body. Somewhat paradoxically, the emphasis of English as the foreign language choice likely contributes to a lack of multilingualism beyond the use of Finnish and English. The results also indicate decline in landscape participation on the higher levels of education, as well as spatial differentiation by the level of education. Furthermore, analysis of multimodality indicates that the students make great use of images, while the teachers use more text than images. However, there are also clear internal differences in multimodality on the different levels of education.

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Ritva Takkinen

Sign language as one language resource among deaf young persons using a cochlear implant

Most of the deaf and severely hard-of-hearing (DHH) children are born to hearing parents (e.g. Mitchell & Karchmer, 2004), who are not familiar with deafness. Nor do they know sign language (SL) or deaf culture. Sign languages belong to minority languages in every country, and their status is fairly low even in countries in which they have some kind of legal recognition (De Meulder, 2016). In many countries DHH children do not have access to SL at the age of language acquisition. In Finland access to SL has been from early 1970's even for most of the DHH children born to hearing parents (Salmi & Laakso, 2005). After the arrival of a cochlear implant (CI), a hearing aid that gives stimulus directly to the hearing nerve, the parents have chosen less SL for their DHH children than before CIs. Nor the professionals working with DHH children have anymore suggested SL for those children and their families (Tapio & Takkinen, 2012).

In Finland the Service Foundation for the Deaf has arranged a program for the families of DHH children. During the four courses in a year the adults can learn SL and familiarize themselves with deaf and deaf culture, and the children – DHH children and their hearing siblings – have activities in groups with bilingual hearing and deaf children's instructors (Reunanen, 2016).

During a longitudinal study, I have, already over ten yours, followed the development and the use of a SL and a spoken language in five subjects. At the beginning I have filmed and analyzed their SL and spoken Finnish and later interviewed them concerning their use of these two languages and also the learning of other languages. I have also interviewed their parents regarding the choice of languages at the beginning, the use of them at home, as well as their thoughts about maintaining both the SL and the spoken language as language resources for their children.

All the children acquired first SL – it was their first language because the family members started to learn and to use it with them. After the children got the CI they also started acquire spoken Finnish. After three four years of CI usage Finnish has become the mostly used language at home and children's environment. Every child went to hearing school, thus the input was mostly received in Finnish. There have been differences in the way the languages have developed and have been used among the children. Now when they all are teen- agers, their main language is Finnish. Four of them use signing sometimes and three of them say that they understand signing considerably better than can sign.

The parents' idea from the beginning has been to offer a visual language for their DHH children. However, because the environment is mostly hearing and uses spoken Finnish, the input in SL has been scant. The knowledge of the majority language has also been weighted more heavily.

The individual courses of the language change and linguistic attitudes will be discussed in the presentation.

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Outi Tánczos, Ulriikka Puura

Attitudes towards multilingualism and multilingual practices among university students of Veps in Russia and Hungarian in Romania

The Veps in Russia and the Hungarians in Romania are two minority language communities, in which bilingualism is widespread. In both communities, the majority language has often been seen as a threat to the minority language, occupying its domains or corrupting the minority language itself. Therefore, minority language maintenance has displayed purist tendencies. Purism is defined as a conception of language, in which a certain language variety is regarded as more valuable and as more authentic than the others (Crystal 2008: 397). Language is perceived as a stable entity, and change, often particularly in the form of foreign elements, is deemed undesirable. The effect of purism on minority language maintenance has been addressed by several scholars (e.g. Dorian 1994, Crystal 2003, Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes 2012). The overall view is that purism in many cases is harmful for the language maintenance efforts, although it is often a core element of language maintenance ideology that stresses the value and uniqueness of the language in question. Typically those involved in language maintenance work inside the community, and are socialized to the prevailing, often purist language attitudes.

This presentation addresses language attitudes among university students of Veps in the Republic of Karelia and university students of Hungarian in Romania. The two language communities represent Finno-Ugric minority language communities, but differ significantly from each other in many aspects. One of these is the size of the community, another the support that the existence of the neighboring Hungary, a nation state with Hungarian as its state language, means for Hungarians in Romania. However, the linguistic culture (see Schiffman 1996) in both countries can be described as normative and strongly favoring standard language. Both countries are multilingual, but the dominance of the majority language is indisputable. The university plays a central role in minority language maintenance. The future language activists and language workers are raised there. This study aims to shed light on what kinds of language attitudes the students present and how much flexibility and variation they allow for the language. The data consists of two semi-structured group interviews. The first one was conducted with all the students of Veps language at the Petrozavodsk State University, and the other with a selected group of Hungarian language students at the Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca. The data was approached through critical discourse analysis (e.g. Fairclough 1995; Wodak & Meyer 2001).

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Benjamin Tsou, Andy Chin

Transitional and Stable Triglossia: The Case of Sanya and Gelong, China

Relatively stable plurilingual societies may undergo consequential societal repositioning of the relevant internal languages as a result of changing societal circumstances. This is common as a follow-up to consequential language planning and policy changes after political transformation. Less obvious are subtle social and economic developments which can nonetheless cause no less significant sociolinguistic changes.

Typically the relative status of the High and Low Languages in the classical framework of *DIGLOSSIA* of Charles Ferguson may be adjusted in complex ways. Based on the analysis of complex societies as widely different in demographic terms such as the very populous People's Republic of China and the miniscule Republic of Singapore, previous studies have shown that a more complex framework of *triglossia* has to be introduced to provide an appropriate explanatory account of the dynamic sociolinguistic interaction of the contributing factors over time and the results [Tsou 1981, 2003].

This paper proposes to re-examine triglossia by means of the sociolinguistic surveys conducted with more than 4,000 school children, age 10 to 15 in Sanya of China, and neighboring Gelong county over 6 years [from 2007 to 2014]. There were 9 key language varieties: 6 Sinitic ones, and 3 non-Sinitic ones with close relatives in neighboring Thailand and Cambodia. They contribute to 3-level chronological stratification: The high status Putonghua and Hainanese were introduced respectively about 50 years and 300 years ago, and speakers of other Sinitic dialects and the Khmer related Huihui arrived in the area from 500 to 900 hundred years ago, while the earlier indigenous Li and Miao languages have been on the island much longer. This frontier area has undergone rapid urbanization, especially in the last 10 years, and the area has become known as China's Hawaii. This paper will attempt to review the relative stability of [+diglossia,+bilingualism] society compared to the other 3 possible kinds of situations, raised by Fishman (1967), and will propose as well as examine *transitional* and *stable triglossia* in the plurilingual milieu of Sanya, Hainan. In the process, we shall review concomitant changes such as language drift and language shift, language and ethnicity, and in language hybridization including revisiting the controversial concept of semi-lingualism (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981; MacSwan, 2000).

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Johanna Virkkula

Scripts in the Central Balkans

This paper is a report on script usage in the Central Balkans, based on field data collected in 2015 in Macedonia, Albania and Greece. The data is described in Makartsev & Wahlström 2015.

In Macedonia, Albania and Greece different scripts are in use: Macedonian is written with Cyrillic letters, Albanian with Latin letters, and Greek with Greek letters. Our field work sought out minority representatives in all of these countries, and so we encountered for instance Albanian or Turkish speakers in Macedonia, Aromanians and Macedonians in Albania, and Macedonians in Greece. Many of our informants had formal education in their minority language as well as certainly the majority language of their country, and so usually knew at least two scripts from their school years alone. Now,

many of course also know some English and other languages used as *lingua franca*, thus enlarging their scriptal repertoire further.

However, when asked what they write, informants often would say that they write only, for instance, Macedonian. Several of our informants would when prompted notice that they do not have Cyrillic on their mobile phones and thus write text messages in Latin letters. It would seem that Latin script is routinely used at least in Macedonia without any conscious reflection of this – it just happens.

This paper will discuss script usage in the Central Balkans, where use of several scripts are an everyday phenomenon. Bunčić (2016, 68) in his discussion on biscriptal situations in Europe describes a Serb who knows only Latin or only Cyrillic script as more or less semiliterate, the same seems probable for inhabitants of Macedonia, regardless of their mother tongue. In Albania the biscriptal situation with Latin and Greek or Cyrillic scripts and in Greece with Greek and Latin scripts show similar tendencies.

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Max Wahlström, Maxim Makartsev

Three multilingual minority communities in Albania, Greece, and Macedonia: Factors affecting multilingual practices

The tri-border area among Albania, Greece, and Macedonia has been historically characterized by widespread, mutual multilingualism across the various linguis- tic communities. This multilingualism has given rise to the Balkan sprachbund phenomenon, whereby the Balkan languages display a number of converging linguistic phenomena (see, e.g., Friedman 2012). This paper seeks to identify fac- tors that affect the multilingual practices within three minority communities. The study is based mainly on data from 53 sociolinguistic questionnaires, collected during field work around the Lakes Ohrid and Prespa in the year 2015. Also, we use complementary data from other recent field work in the area.

The three communities in the focus of this study are the Macedonians of the Prespa region in Albania, the contested group of Macedonians or *Dopii* in Greece, and the Muslims of Southern Macedonia. The common nominator between these groups is that, in contrast with the members of the majority ethnic groups, the members of these minorities typically use more than one local language in their everyday interactions (these include Albanian, Aromanian, Greek, Macedonian, Romani, and Turkish).

It has been proposed that the prestige status of languages used to play an important role in the dynamics of historical multilingualism in the Balkans: A lower status of a language meant that its native speakers knew more languages than those speaking a language with a higher status (Lindstedt 2000, 242–243). We find support for the effect of a similar scale in the modern communities. Yet in contrast with the past situation, the dominant state language of the country acts as a *lingua franca*, with an uncontested position on the top of the prestige scale. Typically, the native speakers of the majority state language are unlikely to learn or use any other local language. Yet we observe two major exceptions to this. First, in the Macedonian portion of the Prespa area, there are some communities in which there are also Macedonian speakers that have a command of Albanian (see also Makarova

2016). Second, the group of Macedonian Muslims, or *Torbeši*, display more multilingualism than the Orthodox Christian speakers of Macedonian. We argue that intermarriage among the Muslims from different linguistic minorities is an important factor explaining this.

Additionally, we find that intermarriage between the members of the minor- ity and dominant majority language communities is the most significant factor explaining language shift that favors the majority language. This is demonstrated by the reports given in the interviews, as well as by the biographical data of the interviewees. Yet we claim that also the different language policies of the three countries have an impact on both the scope of multilingual social contexts and attitudes toward multilingualism.

Finally, we briefly address code switching between the dominant majority language and the minority language by presenting some key factors contributing to the phenomenon. The analysis is performed from the perspective of style shifting, a concept typically used in interactional sociolinguistics (for the term, see Labov 2001).

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Chingduang Yurayong, Arttu Anttonen, Richard Kerbs

Failed language standardisation as an accelerator of language shift in Guangxi Province, China

This paper discusses a rapid language shift from Zhuang (Tai) to Mandarin (Sinitic) in Guangxi and adjacent areas in Southern China. The discussion focuses on the language situation of Zhuang-speaking communities during the past century as well as the ineffectiveness of language standardisation and linguistic factors behind that failure.

The Zhuang are a Tai-speaking nationality living in Southern China. By population, they are the country's largest ethnic minority group. The Standard Zhuang language and the accompanying *Sawcuengh* script are one of the new standard minority languages created and disseminated soon after the foundation of the People's Republic of China. However, the popularisation of the new standard minority languages was interrupted by the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), during which *Putonghua* (a.k.a. Mandarin) monolingualism became the main linguistic ideology of the state. The legacy of the Cultural Revolution is still visible today as Standard Zhuang and many other minority standard languages lack in function when compared to *Putonghua*. This, and possibly some inherent problems in the Standard Zhuang language and *Sawcuengh* orthography have led to diminishing language use domains and increasing language shift to *Putonghua*.

The rapid language shift in the latest generations can be associated to the failure of language standardisation and the infamous *Sawcuengh* script. This modified Latin script is a creation of linguists assigned from Beijing in 1955. The orthography was criticised immediately in the 1950s by Zhuang speakers, saying:

'Can we really call this strange squiggly script which looks like a chicken's intestines a script?' (Kaup 2000: 140).

Behind this unpopularity, there are many linguistic factors that on the one hand suit purpose of linguistic research but on the other hand are user-unfriendly.

Firstly, the new system is Latin-based alphabet, which is definitely unfamiliar to the Zhuang speakers who only use Chinese script in their daily language repertoire. Secondly, the tone marking makes the reading remarkably difficult because they are marked only by word-final letters (<z>, <j>, <x>, <q> and <h>) without any clear distinction from the word itself. Thirdly, selection of graphemes to represent certain phonemes is sometimes phonological and sometimes etymological (e.g. <r> [ɣ] < Proto-Tai *r) with several non-logical solutions to differentiate vowel length (e.g. <aeC> [aC] vs. <aC> [aːC], but <iC> [i] vs. <ieC> [iːC]), for example:

Gou	*ngoenzlwenz*	*banringz*	*gvaq*	*song*	*diemj*
[kou^{24}	ŋon^{31}lɯːn^{31}	baːn^{24}ɣiŋ^{31}	kwaː^{35}	soːŋ^{24}	tiːm^{55}
I	yesterday	evening	pass	two	hour

ngeihcib	*faen*	*daeujdaengz*	*Bwzgingh.*
ŋei^{33}ɕip^{24}	fan^{24}	tau^{55}taŋ^{31}	pɯ^{31}kiŋ^{33}]
twenty	minute	arrive	Beijing

'Yesterday evening, I arrived in Beijing at 2:20.' (Wei et al. 2008: 64).

Last and the most important, the *Sawcuengh* script and the language standardisation ground themselves on a single language spoken in Wuming district, which is not necessarily intelligible to the speakers of all Zhuang languages. Genealogically, Zhuang as a hyponym consists of two Tai groups: 1) Northern Tai in Yunnan, Guangxi and Guangdong and 2) Central Tai in Guangxi and Vietnam. Depending on the opinions, these two languages together can be classified into 13 (Zhang et al. 1999: 12–13) or up to 16 different variants (Ethnologue 2016).

Unconsciously to the people involved or not, this poor standardisation of Zhuang obviously accelerates the extinction of Zhuang languages and identities. In order to save the Zhuang and their languages, a better solution of standardisation is urgently needed.

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Chia-Ying Yang

Practiced language attitudes: a case of mother tongue education in Taiwan

Taiwan is a multilingual country where Taiwanese Mandarin is the national language, with Taiwanese (Daighi), Hakka, and 10 Austronesian languages as generational or regional languages throughout

the country. Moreover, the global Lingua Franca: English (see Seidlhofer, 2005; Graddol, 2007; Abdullah and Chaudhary, 2012; Jenkins & Leung, 2013), also plays an important role in the Taiwanese linguistic repertoire, as it is one of the mainstream language subjects in the National Curriculum. Attitudes toward these languages constitute a well- defined linguistic hierarchy: English placed at the top, followed by Taiwanese Mandarin, then Daighi, Hakka and Austronesian languages (Hong, 2002). Such linguistic hierarchy has triggered a language shift: the younger generations (the under 30s) of whichever ethnic groups they belong to, have broadly switched to become monolingual in Taiwanese Mandarin (Census, 2010).

This study focuses on Daighi teachers, who are multilingual speakers of at least three languages: Daighi, Taiwanese Mandarin and English, and investigates the notion of Daighi teachers' use of language and translanguaging during the interview and in the classrooms. As interviews are my main data collection method, I interviewed 20 teachers: 10 teachers teaching in the capital city of Taiwan, Taipei, where based on the census 2010, intergenerational language shift from Daighi to Taiwanese Mandarin is shown to be at the fastest rate compared to the rest of the cities, as Taiwanese Mandarin is the predominant language (see Yeh, Chan & Chen); and another 10 teachers teaching in Changhua, where the 2010 census indicates over 96% of resident reported using Daighi at home. I also observed two classes per teacher as a supporting data collection means.

A rich set of translanguaging data was found. In this paper, I focus on discussing what may potentially contribute to the outcome of only 4 out of 10 Daighi teachers using Daighi as the code of interview. I also examine the function of different languages when used in interviews and classroom instructions. The results show that language choices are dependent on the interlocutor, such as teachers' perception of their interlocutor's ability in particular languages, as well as a form for the teachers to show their identity and professionalism. Translanguaging, on the other hand, is observed to be a form of communication, as pedagogy, as an action to promote language equality, and as language ability that teachers expect students to have to prepare them for the multilingual speech community. This paper will draw on the different translanguaging aspects in the form of conversation analysis to show detailed language exchange, it also discusses and how such translanguaging practice achieves the purposes mentioned above.