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CONTACT LINGUISTICSs

ETKİLEŞİMSEL DİLBİLİM

ÖZET

Aitchison (1995: 1), Schuchardt'tan (1884: 5) alıntı yaparak, "Tamamen saf bir dil yoktur" ifadesini öne sürmüştür. Bu yaklaşımı desteklemek amacıyla çeşitli dillerin ve bu dillere ait lehçelerin toplumsal etkileşimler ve iki ya da daha fazla dilin konuşurları arasındaki karşılaşmalar yoluyla ortaya çıkmış olduklarına ya da en azından bu etkileşimlerden ve karşılaşmalardan etkilenmiş olduklarına dair tartışmalar yapılmaktadır. Bu anlamda etkileşimsel dilbilim, dil grupları ya da çeşitli dillerin bireysel konuşurları arasındaki etkileşim ya da diller arası etkileşim ziyade farklı kültürlerden kaynaklanan dil çeşitliliği olarak tanımlanabilir. Dil etkileşiminin tarih boyunca dil değişimi üzerinde muazzam bir etkisi olmuştur; fakat bu durum günümüzde dil etkileşiminin etkilerinin devam etmediği ya da görülmediği anlamına gelmemektedir. Çok dillilik, çift dillilik, dil ölümü, basitleştirilmiş karma dil (pidgin), kırma dil (creole) ve lehçe oluşumlarını açıklama girişimlerinde bulunulurken, bu kavramlar genellikle dil etkileşimiyle güçlü bir ilişki içinde bulunduğu için etkileşimsel dilbilimin göz önünde bulundurulması mühimdir (Garrett, 2007: 48). Bu çalışma, dil etkileşiminin söz konusu önemi sebebiyle bu eylemin olası sonuçları ve etkilerini açıklamak kadar ana kavramlarını tanımlamayı ve örneklendirmeyi de amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler

etkileşimsel dilbilim, dil etkileşimi, dil karışımı, ödünçleme

ABSTRACT

Aitchison (1995: 1), citing Schuchardt (1884: 5), suggests that "There are no fully unmixed languages". To corroborate this approach, it is argued that various languages and their varieties either emerged or were at least affected by social contact and encounters between the speakers of two or more languages. Language contact, in this sense, can be defined as the contact between language communities or individual speakers of different languages, or language variation coming from different cultures rather than contact between languages. Language contact has had a great impact on language change throughout history, yet it does not mean that the effects of language contact are not ongoing or visible today. It is important that language contact be taken into consideration when making attempts to explain multilingualism, bilingualism, language death, pidgins, creoles and the occurrence of dialects, since these often have strong connections with language contact (Garrett, 2007: 48). Because of the significance of language contact, this study aims to describe and exemplify the main concepts of language contact, as well as to explain its possible outcomes and effects.

Key Words

contact linguistics, language contact, language interference, borrowing

Introduction

Language is defined as an ever changing communicative system formed of certain patterns interacting with each other, and units such as sounds, morphemes, and words. The perception that this particular system lives, grows, and dies like a living being has been around for a long time in linguistics. Language, as a human-specific ability, also evolves and changes in regard to its speakers and the environment in which they live. It is argued that these changes and evolution of language occur not only because of factors within the linguistic community of that language itself, but also because of external interaction with other languages and linguistic communities. This can be defined as 'language contact' (Varol, 2014: 192). Language contact may occur depending on various causes including trade between two or more language communities, marriage, war, migration, colonization, or education. It is also possible that language contact might take place due to several individuals' learning another language rather than a whole language community getting exposed to that language, whether it is a lingua franca in the particular region where they live or a beneficial language for education or trading purposes. The more individuals learn the same language regardless of what purpose it is for, the more contact between that language and the speakers' native language takes place. Given the fact that the contexts in which language contact can take place are quite various, it is clear that both languages belonging to very distinctive language families and languages which share a lot of common features can come into contact and affect one another. Especially with today's mass communication and media, two or even more languages can contact and interact with one another much faster than language contact due to regional interclusion. (Sarı, 2013: 2). Some scholars have also claimed that interactions between languages are the sole factor in the evolution of languages, whereas scholars with opposing views argue that language contact merely causes lexical and minor structural changes in the language. However, both internal and external factors ought to be considered in order to explain the complexity of the alteration processes of language (Hikey, 2010: 31).

Contact linguistics, in parallel with the given definition of language contact, deals with characteristics languages of at least two or more communities whose regions coincide (Tomic, 2000: 451). Contact linguistics can also be defined as the linguistic field which either investigates the diachronic changes in two or more languages which had been in contact, or explains completed changes which lead to the current linguistic forms in such languages, as well as describing the structural and lexical changes that have transpired in languages due to language contact in both diachronic and synchronic approaches. In this sense, it is possible to say that contact linguistics has strong ties with both diachronic research in linguistics and sociolinguistics (Leglise and Chamoreau, 2013: 1). Regarding the role of sociolinguistic research in contact linguistics, it is clear that factors such as multilingualism, bilingualism, language boundaries, dialects, politics, religion, and economics are closely related to language contact and the reasons behind it; therefore, these must be taken into consideration when investigating the processes or outcomes of contact between languages or language communities (Pütz, 1992: 384)

**Figure 1 – Disciplines in Relation with Contact Linguistics**
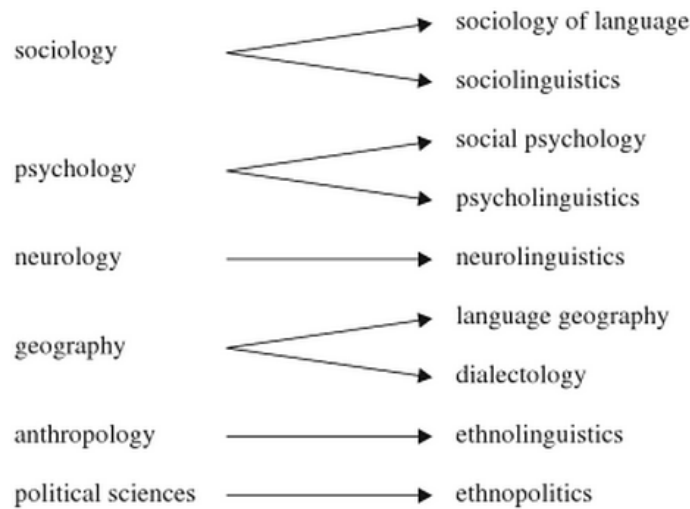
Tomić and Radovanović, 2000: 187

As seen above, contact linguistics has numerous subjects for investigation, which often causes the term contact linguistics to be used in a sense which would cover all the linguistic approaches to contact including the contact process and its degrees, the reasons behind the language contact, its outcomes regarding both changes in the structure of the language and the language communities in contact, as well as the way it affects the classification of languages (Fried and Östman, 2010: 36). In the following sections, we will be covering the types of contact between languages, the steps of language contact, the way contact affects languages and linguistic communities, and the results of language contact on different scales of severity.

In this study, the subjects explained and their relationships to each other are shown in following graphic:

Figure 2 – The Outline of this Study
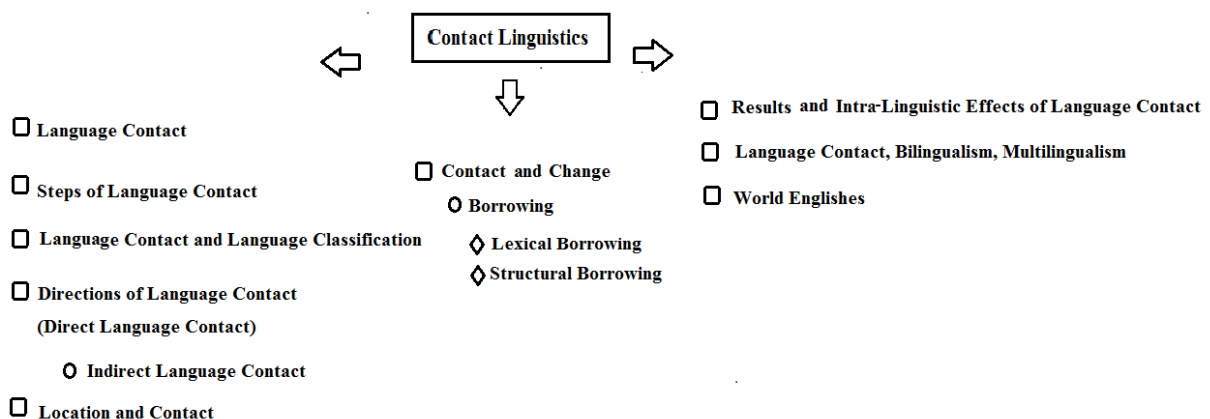
1. What is Language Contact?

All languages are affected and influenced by other languages through contact and some of the changes which occur in language over time are caused by this liaison. Yet, this contact and its effects are not possible without the speech communities or individual speakers of the languages in contact having a common ground or a need to communicate (Einfield, 2002: 19). It is safe to say, in many

cases, that the reasons behind language contact are migration, marriage, trade, colonialization, or education. In that sense, language contact can be defined as contact between two or more speech communities rather than just contact between two or more languages. However, language influence does not necessarily require face to face contact or speech, since it can take place through written documents or mass communication. This brings us to formulate the definition of language contact as any personal or non-personal context which causes two or more different languages to interact with each other (Braunmüller and House, 2009: 2). Intra-linguistic changes due to language contact are often classified into two groups, lexical and structural. Although a language can be solely influenced lexically, structural change usually occurs after a great degree of lexical change and is considered more linked to the disturbance of the affected language's typology. Both lexical and structural alterations include sub-headings such as borrowing, imitation, transfer, or interference (Poplack, 1993: 257). Since the definitions and characteristics of these processes are not always agreed upon by scholars, they are all summarized under the language change and borrowing sections in this study.

1.2. Steps of Language Contact

Whether language contact occurs directly or indirectly, its results have different degrees of severity. According to Sarı (2013: 6), who cites Winford's (2003) borrowing scale, which was simplified from Thomason and Kaufman (1988), there are five different stages of borrowing. The first stage is ordinary interaction, which results in lexical borrowing only. The second stage is mildly intensive interaction, which results in borrowing some conjunctions, adverbs, and certain components of structure. The third stage is more intense interaction, which results in borrowing slightly larger structural pieces than the previous stage, and also borrowing of pronouns and derivational morphemes. The fourth stage is remarked to be strong cultural suppression which leads to mild changes in the structure that are not strong enough to change the typological characteristics of the substrate language. The last stage is said to be very strong cultural suppression that results in a disturbance in the structure of the recipient language. All these different stages and their severity are directly connected to the intra-linguistic effects of the language contact.

1.3. Language Contact and Language Classification

There are various ways to classify languages. One of these methods is to investigate how the language became the way it is. To follow that method of classification, two approaches usually come to mind, one being the investigation of the language's genetic relationships and the other being the investigation of the language's areal relationships. Yet this approach can be deceptive, as it is not always possible to know which changes occurred due to contact and which changes occurred due to the genetic relationships and evolution of the language (Fried and Östman, 2010: 37). There are examples like Yiddish and Romani whose entire evolution in history depends on their relations with the languages surrounding them (Hickey, 2010: 3). Another method of classification uses universals and typology in order to investigate which languages should be considered part of the same class. It is argued that human languages are, to begin with, results of social contact, therefore language contact has a significant role in the investigation of language classification. Thus, contact linguistics should be taken into consideration as a subsidiary factor during inquiry into language classification (Fried and Östman, 2010: 37).

1.4. Directions of Language Contact

One of the initial approaches to contact linguistics is language interference, which comprises a basis for the integration of languages and their linguistic features to varying degrees. According to Fried and Östman (2010), who cite Haugen (1950), Weinreich (1953), and Clyne (1972), it is safe to say that language contact in the context of direction can be examined in two main groups. The first is the dominant language, a language which is foreign to the speakers of the particular community in the investigated area, influencing the substrate language; the second group naturally happens to be vice versa. Sarı (2013: 4) adds a third group, in which multiple languages interfere with each other in multiple directions at the same time. Language contact can occur between different languages, different varieties of the same language, or in a complicated and versatile way between more than two languages. For instance, due to the fact that Germanic and Slavic tribes have a history of contact, mostly in war, Old Norse names have had a visible effect on Russian, for example the name *Igor* from the Scandinavian *Ingvar*. Furthermore, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Danish have been in contact and have influenced each other both structurally and lexically. However, they all belong to the same language family and already share many characteristics, due to the fact that Faroe Islands and Iceland were colonized by Denmark and Norway, whose languages are spoken in very communities in proximity (Östman, 2011: 368). In the first two cases, the languages that come into contact with each other can simply be classified in two main categories as the superstrate language(s) and the substrate language(s). These two concepts of substrate and superstrate are used in order to define which language involved in contact is dominant and which language is affected by the dominant one. Superstrate languages are observed to both affect and be affected by the substrate language, but the amount of alteration caused by a superstrate language far extends the amount of alteration or borrowing it gets, which would mean that substrate languages are in the position of recipient languages, whereas superstrate languages are positioned as dominant languages (Hikey, 2010: 7). For instance, despite Swedish being the dominant influencing language over Finnish in Finland for centuries, the Finnish word *poika* 'boy' has made its way into Swedish as *pojke* (Östman, 2011: 366). On top of these distinctions, linguistic dominance should not be confused with social dominance when determining the substrate and superstrate languages in contact. Linguistic dominance refers to a language that is the mother tongue of the speaker, whereas social dominance refers to the social acceptance and prestige level of the language (Coetsem, 1998: 13). For example, Matras (2009: 73) states that a seven-year-old bilingual child with English as his dominant language may form a sentence in German like *Er ist grösse denn mir*. The usage of *denn* is clearly due to the English word *then*, since the correct equivalent would be *grösse als mir* in German. Yet the fact that English structure and word usage influence German in this example does not mean that German language has adopted this usage due to contact with English; just one speaker whose German is influenced by English would not be enough to alter the whole language. So in this case, it is important to know the difference between linguistic or social dominance to be able to differentiate between language contact results on individuals and a whole speech community.

Contact between two different languages, whether they belong to the same or a different language family, usually takes place in cases of war, migration, or a close relationship between two language communities due to trade, regional closeness, mass communication, media, or education. As stated by Östman (2011), the lexical and structural borrowings in Nordic languages after World War II are predominantly from English because of the excessive English influence on domains of technology,

medicine, and education. This type of contact usually results in the substrate language's vocabulary receiving new words which are either replications of words expressing concepts which don't exist in the influenced language, or direct borrowing from the superstrate language. Moreover, structural changes are known to occur in the substrate language as well, whereas the superstrate language is often only influenced lexically by the substrate language. As an example of this situation, Dalton-Puffer (1995: 43) observes that Norman French borrowed lexical items from English as well, while the French effect on English structures and lexicon is observed to be far greater and more influential. However, contrary to this claim, Östman and Fried (2010: 39) claim that borrowing taking place under the influence of the dominant language is not necessarily lexical and even syntactic patterns are observed not to be immune to cross-language borrowing. A fine example of two different languages interfering with each other is the language contact between German and Turkish caused by worker immigration from Turkey to Germany. As Turkish became a minority language in Germany, code mixing with German and Turkish words has become common along speakers of Turkish living in Germany. However, the substrate language, Turkish, also affects German lexically, as a Turkish slang word *lan* is used by the younger generation of Germans (Sarı, 2013: 4). Language contact is also defined as different versions of the same language contacting and affecting each other. For instance, many salutation words in different dialects of Turkish have made their way into standard Turkish, which was originally spoken in Istanbul, due to immigration from rural to urban areas and cities. In this case standard Turkish is the superstrate variety and the dialect(s) affected by it are in the position of being the substrate variety. Sarı (2013) also points out that it is possible to encounter the opposite case, in which expressions, pronunciations, and words from standard Turkish are increasingly used in rural areas because of widespread means of mass communication. Multiple languages encountering and making an impact on each another is a situation which can be observed in multinational countries or areas, for example the Ottoman Empire (Sarı 2013). During the centuries when the languages of several nations came into contact, a considerable number of Farsi and Arabic words were borrowed by Turkish, as well as Turkish words and derivational suffixes borrowed by Serbian and Bosnian.

Hickey (2010: 8) argues that simplifying language contact to a one-way influence path from the superstrate to substrate and vice versa should not be taken into consideration as an accurate approach. If contact is sustained, the substrate language can display an insensible influence onto the superstrate language in a gradual way, causing systematic changes over time. This is called 'delayed effect contact' by Hickey (2010), who gives as an example the Celtic influence on syntactic structures in English.

1.4.1. Indirect Language Contact

The argument that cross-language interference is most likely to happen in cases of language contact is mentioned in the previous section. However, it may not always be possible to trace back to either of the languages in contact certain linguistic changes that occur due to being triggered by the contact situation. This would require a different explanation than standard contact processes, also known as direct language contact. Factors affecting second language acquisition, language shift, language death, etc., such as simplification, avoidance, or generalization sometimes show no qualitative link to the dominant language or the previous condition of the substrate language, yet the ostensibly internal creation or change of the previously absent structures would not have taken place if it had

not been for the language contact. In this case, multiple causation phenomenon should be taken into consideration in order to be able to determine patterns, rules, and structures triggered by contact with a language with similar properties (Fried and Östman, 2010: 42).

1.4.2. Location and Contact

Fried and Östman (2010: 37) state that it is not possible to distinguish which characteristic features of a language are based on a real issues and which are based on genetic features; therefore, the location of a particular group of speakers only has significance considering the relations between that speech community and other speech communities around them. Languages and distinctive dialects are formed either as a result of intensive language contact between two languages or as a result of lack of contact, yet the most common case is two different dialects or languages existing side by side, attuning one another through time. The locations where languages whose features have been constituted by such impacts are called linguistic areas and studies concerning these areas are in the field of areal linguistics, which has ties with dialectology, geolinguistics, and contact linguistics. Yet, it is clear that these three subfields of linguistics, despite having strong ties with each other, deal with different phenomena.

Whereas dialectology is concerned with large-scale language variation, and geolinguistics is concerned with linguistic conglomerations and the cultural ties involved, contact linguistics is focused on direct contact of speakers and the ways that this contact impacts the language. Therefore, multilingualism and bilingualism are also main focus areas of contact linguistics. It is possible to differentiate contact linguistics from other fields of linguistics with similar focal points by acknowledging the fact that language contact can take place between locationally irrelevant groups as well, while the main element in dialectology and geolinguistics is the location of the speakers. These locationally irrelevant groups are often in contact due to some common interests or features such as hobbies, age, gender, religion, etc., which brings them in contact with each other. Such language contact between locationally irrelevant groups has become quite common as a result of different linguistic groups of people coming across each other in completely different parts of the globe due to modern technology such as any form of mass communication and easier travel options.

2.1. Contact and Change

It could be said that there are two main types of reasons behind the changes which occur in language. Internal reasons for a change in a language are factors originating from the speakers, who mostly happen to be monolingual, and belong to the language community of that language itself. What can be defined as external reasons for language change are induced by speakers from a different language community? On the other hand, it is quite controversial to decide whether a change or a transfer which occurs within the language has an internal or external source. While the internal reasons are mostly due to psycholinguistic processes of the speakers of that language, external reasons for change usually involve contact with another language, which often leads to interference or borrowing (Hickey, 2010: 7).

2.2. Borrowing

As Winford (2003: 130) suggests, there are two main classifications regarding changes in languages originating from interference: interference by borrowing and interference by shift, which is also referred to as substratum influence, as mentioned in the directions of contact section. Winford (2003: 130) argues that these two categories merely refer to the outcomes or the process of the

interference, and though classifying these results are practical in order to study them further, focusing on the results clouds understanding of the psycholinguistic mechanisms behind them. The distinction between borrowing and imposition (in the terms of Van Coetsem, 1988) proves to be quite useful since it defines both processes as two transfer types, in which agentivity is labelled in both the dominant language and the recipient language. In borrowing, outside elements from an external source are brought into the receptive language, which is also the dominant language of the speakers but not the dominant language of the interference, which is the recipient language agentivity. Yet, in the case of source language agentivity defined as imposition, the elements are transferred from the dominant and most probably first language of the speakers to the recipient language in which the speakers are not as proficient as they are in the first language. There are psycholinguistic processes behind each type of cross-linguistics influence and these processes serve as pathways for linguistic material and elements to transfer from the source to the recipient. This which makes it absolutely necessary to distinguish between the agents of change and the kinds of agentivity, since the same agents might operate either kind of agentivity and therefore different psycholinguistic processes in the same contact situation. Yet, it is not considered sufficient to define borrowing only in the context of agentivity and the direction of change, rather than defining the type of transfer mode used in the process. Due to this fact, it is argued that speakers of the recipient language, whether monolingual or bilingual, should be called recipient-language dominant; the same thing goes for speakers of the source language, because different degrees of proficiency and bilingualism would lead to different kinds of contact-sourced changes (Winford, 2003: 131). After settling what borrowing is and what the main approaches to the borrowing processes are, it is now time to get into the details of lexical and structural borrowing.

2.2.1. Lexical Borrowing

It is seen that borrowings, especially lexical ones, have been classified into different categories by different scholars and structural borrowings have mostly been questioned in regards to their probability and frequency. In the early classifications of lexical borrowings, Bets (1949) comes up with a distinction between loan words and loan coinage; this was followed by Haugen's (1950, 1953) classification into three groups called loanwords, loan meanings, also known as loan shifts, and loan creations (Hickey 2010: 172). In this particular distinction, loanwords are imitations of phonological shapes and meanings of words in the source language, divided into two different types: pure loanwords and loan blends. Pure loanwords are items imitated in every aspect of their intra-linguistic features, such as the borrowing of the Spanish word *burrito* into English, taking the word exactly as it is in the source language. Another example of pure loanwords is the usage of French *déjà vu* in English, with imitation of the [ü] or [u:] sound at the end of the word (Coetsem, 1988: 8). As for loan blends, it is safe to say that the imitated word is used in connection with other morphemes or words already existing in the recipient language, also defined as hybrids by Fried and Östman (2010), such as the word *bossig* ({boss-} + {-ig}) in Pennsylvania Dutch.

Loan shifts are also divided in two types, semantic extensions and loan translations (Winford, 2003: 133). As Hickey (2010: 172) suggests, semantic extensions consist of a word from the recipient language used under the influence of the source language, for instance the extension of the meaning of the Portuguese word *frio* 'cold (temperature)' to 'cold (illness)' due to the influence of American English. Loan translations involve replication of a word from the source language translated into the

recipient language, such as the German version of the English word *skyscraper*, namely *wolkenkratzer*. Lastly, creations are also of three types, one being purely native creations for concepts borrowed from the source language (e.g. 'wrinkled buttons' for the word *elephant* in Pima), the second being mixed creations for concepts borrowed from the source language (e.g. the Yagqui word *lios nooka* which translates as 'god speak' for the word *pray* in English), and the third being creations made using only borrowed morphemes from the source language (e.g. the Japanese word *wan-man-ka* meaning 'a bus with no conductor', which is an imitation of *one-man car* in English) (Winford 2003: 133). Loan words usually comply with the phonological and morphological contraints of the recipient language, often making them indistinguishable among the native words of the recipient language (Hickey, 173).

2.2.2 Structural Borrowing

The matter of structural borrowing is considered to be rather controversial in regards of through what type of transfer it occurs. Winford (2003: 134) cites Thomason and Kaufman's (1992) argument that borrowings should be evaluated on a scale, with light lexical borrowing on one end and inclusive grammatical replacement on the other end, which definitely indicates that structural borrowing occurs in different degrees. Winford also argues that heavy lexical borrowing is likely to lead to the formation of new structures in the language and in as much as pure structural borrowing takes place as well, grammatical replacement as a result of lexical borrowing is more likely to be observed. The data which shows that the English language adopted derivational morphemes such as {-dis}, {-de}, {-able} and {en-} from French as a result of heavy lexical borrowing can be given as an example. Pure structural borrowing as mentioned above is usually said to occur with borrowing of bound morphemes, prepositions, and conjunctions, and both the recipient and source language must share common structural and typological features for structural borrowing to take place. Winford (2003: 180), again quoting Thomason and Kaufman (1992), states that two types of structural borrowing can occur. In the first scenario, the whole grammatical structure of the recipient language is replaced by the structure of the influencing language while the recipient language keeps a majority of its lexicon, leading to the creation of a new mixed language. In the second case, the languages remain in contact for a long time and gradually one language affects the other language's structure more severely than its own structure is affected. Although Winford (2003: 180) argues that it is possible for a full grammatical replacement to happen gradually, it is considered highly unusual. For instance, a well-known example of structural borrowing is argued to be the contact between Ngandi and Ritharngu, with Ritharngu having more speakers and Ngandi shifting towards Rithaarngu. It is observed that Ngandi borrowed several bound morphemes from Ritharngu, as well as borrowing a massive number of lexical items. Nevertheless, it is argued that the base structure of Ngandi has not been fundamentally changed by morpheme borrowings, possibly due to the fact that the two languages already share similar typographic features (Winford, 2003: 135).

Another possible scenario of the results of structural language contact is the creation of new structural patterns carrying characteristics from both languages in contact or the revival of old patterns to be used more frequently with a new or old function. For instance, German speakers in Eastern Belgium can use *die Zeit des Herbstes,* borrowing the structural model of French *le'temps de a'utomne*; similarly, to the Germans in North Italy can use *das Bündel von Trauben* instead of *das Traubenbündel*, imitating the Italian structural model (Heine and Kuteva, 2005: 46).

3. Results and Intra-linguistic Effects of Language Contact

Language contact can just result in borrowing and replication or it may lead to more severe changes in the language community such as the influenced language being replaced by the dominant language or even creation of a new language. The results of language contact, to be explained in more detail, are divided in three by Sarı (2013, citing Windorf,2003): language maintenance, which indicates that the influenced language is actively spoken by its community although possibly having undergone changes, language shift, when the dominant language becomes preferable to the other language in contact, which is replaced by it, and creation of a new contact language which includes components from both of languages in contact. In the first case, the affected language keeps its phonologic, morphological, and syntactic characteristics while adding borrowed or replicated lexical items to its vocabulary. In the second case, the influenced language is abandoned by its speakers and replaced by the dominant language, which is also related to language shift or even death, since the less prestigious language dies due to lack of speakers. This phenomenon has many names including language demise, language drift, or language replacement, but it is only called language death if the language disappears completely (Craig, 1998: 257). Hickey (2010: 11) states that a few centuries ago the majority of the Irish population spoke Irish, but they shifted to English gradually around the 19th century. There was no general schooling system before the early 1800s, which indicates that Irish-speaking adults must have learned English in their adulthood from others who speak English. This unguided second language acquisition can be thought of as the reason why Irish speakers transferred phonological features of their previous language to English. Language contact can result in the death of the substrate language; Hickey (2010: 4) argues that the loss of speakers leading to language death is always linked to a more dominant language threatening the substrate language's existence.

The third case leads to the creation of a pidgin, a mixed language carrying the characteristics of all of the languages in contact (Sarı, 2013: 5). A pidgin is simply explained as a linguistic system whose features are borrowed from multiple languages in contact and seriously reduced. This linguistic system has no native speakers of its own and can disappear if the need for it to exist is no longer viable. However, when a pidgin gains native speakers, it evolves into being a creole, which can stay as it was when it did not have any native speakers, evolve into being a dominant language in the area where it is spoken, or lose prestige and keep its existence as a lingua franca. Most pidgin languages are spoken in Africa and in the Pacific region, whereas creoles are commonly found in the Far East, West Africa, the Caribbean, and the Indian Ocean region. For instance, Tok Pisin, spoken in New Guinea, is considered a pidgin for its speakers in the rural areas, yet a creole for its speakers in the urban areas (Appel and Muysken, 2005: 175).

I have already mentioned that language contact occurs in a number of situations and settings, goes in various directions, and in the end it directly affects at least one of the languages in contact. These effects can be lexical, phonological, morphological, semantic, or syntactic. In most cases the biggest impact of language contact takes place in the lexical layer of the language. The substrate language in contact receives some lexical units from the recipient language, in need of some new or foreign concepts. The fact that most of the Islam-related words in Turkish are borrowed from Arabic is a fine example. Changes in semantics can be defined as semantic loans or semantic borrowings made in order to capture the meaning of a word from the dominant language by broadening or changing the meaning of an already existing word in the recipient language. For example, the meaning of the

Turkish word *yıldız* 'star' has been broadened to match the full meaning of the English word *star*, including the definition 'celebrity'. Nouns and adjectives are the units which can be transferred or borrowed most easily, yet it is possible for a language to borrow morphological units as well as lexical ones, so long as the languages in contact belong to similar typologies and share similar structures. Transfer of phonological units is also observed due to the fact that the substrate language can borrow a word consisting of sounds or phonological units which do not exist in its native phonological structure. However, this type of transfer mostly takes place when a considerable number of lexical units have been borrowed. Lastly, syntactic structures being borrowed and transferred is not entirely impossible, though this is mostly considered rare since syntax is quite resistant to change. Thus, syntactic borrowing is considered the last and the most severe stage of language interaction (Sarı, 2013). As an example of this type of transfer, Sarı (2013, citing Thomason, 2001) observes that Finnish, which is a Uralic language with the original syntactic structure SOV, changed to SVO due to being surrounded by Indo-European languages like Russian and Swedish.

3.1 Language Contact, Bilingualism and Multilingualism

Bilingualism and multilingualism have strong connections with the external linguistic factors that contact linguistics deals with, such as language communities, language boundaries, migration, etc. Therefore, the type of multilingualism observed during language contact is highly relevant to the contact process itself. Whether the multilingualism observed falls into the category of individual bilingualism, institutional bilingualism, diglossia, dialect or social multilingualism, etc., it plays a crucial role in determining the reasons and ways behind the contact and its outcomes (Pütz, 1992: 382). Appel and Muyskel (2006) state that language contact ineluctably makes way for bilingualism to some degree, whether individual or social bilingualism, but social bilingualism leading to eventual multilingualism is seen far more commonly if there are contact based changes in the language.

Figure 3 – Contact Linguistics and Multilingualism
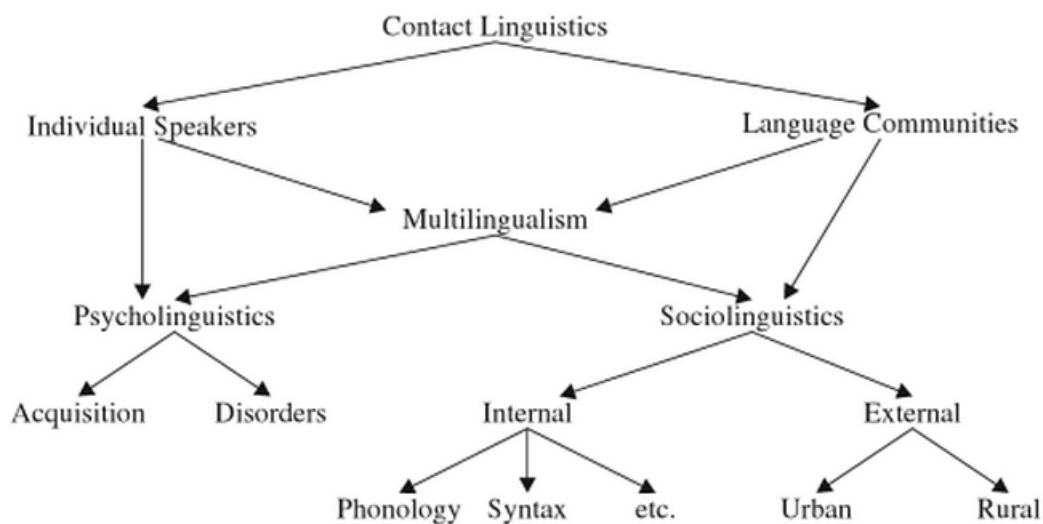
Tomić and Radovanović , 2000: 186

The political, religious, and educational state of the language community should be taken into consideration while conducting research on language contact in an area, since these three domains have great effects on which language people use, or in some cases, are forced to use. Especially

minority groups within large linguistic communities are observed to experience language loss, shift, or even death across generations due to the unfortunate fact that educational services, job opportunities, and the political environment of the country often force them to unify with the rest of the language community in order to be accepted among the majority they live with (Pütz, 1992).

4. World Englishes

Since English in today's world serves as a contact language among speakers whose cultural backgrounds and native languages differ from each other, the English effect on other languages spoken on the globe is irrefutable and extensive. Thus, it is essential for contact-linguistic research to focus on world Englishes that were born due to language contact between English and all the languages whose speakers use English as a lingua franca, and mixed languages which come to existence as a result of excessive language contact (Proshina, 2005: 517). English is the first language in linguistic history that has contact with every language family, without any restrictions in its function, as seen in Sanskrit or Arabic which are restricted to religious functions only. Moreover, English not only exhibits a massive spectrum of functions within the societies and languages it blends in with, it also serves as a great transmitter between cultures and language communities from all around the world; therefore, it must be one of the focal points of contact linguistics (Mesthrie, 2003). English studies in contact linguistics gained recognition during the 1980s due to contact between a rising number of non-standard vernaculars (Hickey, 2010: 26). In addition, norms in world Englishes are often denigrated, because they are not evaluated based on the function they serve within the language community in which they are spoken; instead, these language innovations, which are natural outcomes of language contact, are judged based on their accuracy and relationship to native Englishes (Bambgbose, 1998: 1).

World Englishes have been divided into three main groups based on their speakers: native varieties, nativised varieties, and lingua francas (Houghton, 2009: 71). However, grouping world Englishes based on their speakers may cause hardship since the distinction between a second language and a foreign language is rather uncertain, which sometimes makes it difficult to differentiate nativised varieties of English from lingua franca Englishes (Melchers and Shaw, 2013). It is also possible to divide world Englishes into four main groups according to the area where they are spoken: West African Englishes, South Asian Englishes, English in North America, and English in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland (Kachru and Nelson, 2009). Nonetheless, world Englishes today spread far beyond this four-group description since English is being used and spoken in higher education, international trading, and so on. With a great number of people learning, speaking, and teaching English, native norms of English are not always accurate compared to the new norms constantly appearing based on the needs and the culture of the language community in which it is spoken. It can be argued that the rapid norm changes seen in world Englishes are often caused by the fact that most English teachers in peripheral and expanding circles of world Englishes are non-native English speakers. As much as native English language norms are taught by teachers who have been educated in that particular direction, native norms are still changed and molded into that particular language and culture of the speakers who learn English, since language norms are often acquired and not learned. The situation, which reflects rapid and irrepressible spread and heavy contact with English, is also suggested to be relevant for an account of language shifting. It can be observed that some speakers in peripheral and expanding circles of world Englishes, especially the ones who speak an

uncommon language-shift variety, switch to English only as a sole home language. Speakers of Celtic Englishes, Singaporean English, Native American varieties, and Aboriginal Australian varieties can be given as examples of this situation, which escalates toward the loss of characteristic features of the English varieties spoken in these communities. (Mesthrie, Kachru and Nelson, 2009: 273) However, Gargesh (2000, citing Abbi et al., 2000) gives the example of India, where it is observed that families prefer English as an education language yet are reluctant for it to be considered a mother tongue. As explained above, world Englishes carry a certain amount of risk in regards to possible language death, and it is also undeniable that contact between English and other languages of the world has created countless new varieties and mixed languages, also serving as a cross-cultural phenomenon (Mesthrie, 2003).

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