THE CO-OPTION OF GRAMMATICAL RESOURCES
BETWEEN LANGUAGES: A FOCUS ON ENGLISH
AND CZECH

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Publications

Castle, Chloe. 2021. Language loyalty and language purity in a language contact   situation: South Australian Czech. *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 29(1). 1–44. (Paper 2).

Castle, Chloe. Forthcoming [a]. Czech, mate: Grammatical replication and shift in South Australian Czech. *Manuscript submitted for publication* (copy on file with author). (Paper 1).

Castle, Chloe. Forthcoming [b]. Expats in Prague: Czech borrowings in L1 English speakers. *Manuscript submitted for publication* (copy on file with author). (Paper 3).

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Abstract

In this thesis I analyse the ways that bilinguals utilise grammatical resources across two languages – English and Czech. I focus on language contact centring the bilingual individual as the "ultimate locus of contact" (Romaine 2005: 49; Li Wei 2013). Use of grammatical resources is considered through the lens of grammatical borrowing and replication (Heine & Kuteva 2005; Kuteva 2017), or matter (MAT) and pattern (PAT) borrowing (Matras & Sakel 2007), as well as shift and attrition. The research investigates whether grammatical borrowing and replication occur between English and Czech in the South Australian Czech community and for L1 English speakers in the Czech Republic. It provides an understanding as to why contact-induced borrowing occurs between these languages. I also address consciousness[1] of borrowing, other contact and non-contact related processes in bilingual speech, and compares the two parallel linguistic situations.

This thesis consists of four papers. The first paper examines grammatical replication and shift in South Australian Czech. Qualitative analysis of grammatical features drawn from authentic speech, supported by both Thomason's (2001) steps for identifying contact-induced structural change and the dynamic model of multilingualism (Herdina & Jessner 2002), reveal that non-Czech natural word order, overt subject usage, and tentative article formation are partially attributable to grammatical replication. Attrition and divergent attainment are also causes of grammatical features identified. In the second paper, I identify several reasons for South Australian Czech community members' engagement in borrowing, including sociocultural pressures (such as community pressures, partner attitudes, etc.), cognitive pressures and prestige value. All of the factors are encompassed by need (van Coetsem 2000), which is the primary motive for borrowing in South Australian Czech.

In the third paper, I study the opposite situation to that of South Australian Czech: the speech

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[1] In this thesis, consciousness refers to deliberateness and awareness surrounding engagement in borrowing.

of L1 English L2 Czech speakers in the Czech Republic. I posit that non-use of articles, adjective placement, functional suffix borrowing, and diminutive suffix borrowing are partially attributable to language contact. The types of borrowing that occur here are different to those in South Australian Czech; there is not only syntactic borrowing but also morphological form borrowing present. Attrition processes and accommodation are also factors here. The fourth paper analyses motivators in language use amongst L1 English L2 Czech speakers in the Czech Republic. It is identified that social pressure, cognitive pressures, gap filling, and conscious creative decisions are drivers of grammatical borrowing, and social pressure and self-pressure are inhibiting forces. To show how bilingual speakers engage consciously with borrowing and innovations between their two languages, I present a new model that addresses conscious and subconscious borrowing whilst also considering effects such as prescriptivism, self-pressure, language maintenance effort (Herdina & Jessner 2002) and societal pressure.

Language contact and links to language transfer have been of increasing interest to linguists for the past few decades. Ongoing research on the borrowing of grammatical resources in different communities can provide a more thorough insight into the phenomenon. Studies of language combinations with differing typologies in different sociolinguistic situations can provide a deeper understanding of the interrelationship between language contact and the co-option of grammatical resources.

Thesis Declaration

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint-award of this degree.

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Chloe Michelle Castle

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1. Introductory background

When speakers of different languages come into contact for prolonged periods of time, many linguistic phenomena result. Some widely recognised outcomes of such contact include language transfer and change (Thomason & Kaufman 1988; van Coetsem 2000), grammatical borrowing and replication (Heine & Kuteva 2003; 2005; 2008; 2010), language attrition (de Bot & Weltens 1985; van Els 1986; Gross 2000; Myers- Scotton 2002; Heine & Kuteva 2005), divergent attainment (Polinsky 2018), shift and loss (Seliger 1996; Gross 2000; Hulsen 2000), codeswitching (Myers-Scotton 2002; Heine & Kuteva 2005) and accommodation (Giles et al. 1973; Giles & Coupland 1991; Giles 2009; Drljača Margić 2017).

Linguists have been exploring language contact situations and subsequent grammatical outcomes with increasing intensity for several decades (Myers-Scotton 2002; Pavlenko 2004; Matras 2009; Poplack & Levey 2010; Heine & Kuteva 2010; Zajícová 2012; Nabělková 2014; Thomason 2014; Kuteva 2017; Polinsky 2018; Seifart 2020). The existence of, conditions for, and frequency of borrowing of grammatical resources has been debated in the literature (Weinreich 1953; Campbell 1993; Poplack & Levey 2010; Winford 2010; Thomason 2011). Possible causes for this phenomenon are also discussed at length in the literature, and there seems to be no widely accepted consensus for universal causes of grammatical borrowing.

Despite the recent plethora of research into language contact situations, there have been no investigations of borrowing or even language use in general in Czech communities in Australia. There have also been very few (Porte 1999a; 1999b; 2003) investigations of contact-induced borrowing where English is the immigrant's L1. This dissertation aims to address these gaps in the literature through examinations of Czech in the South Australian community and English in the L1 English speaking community in Prague.

The research to date has paid little attention to how bilingual speakers use their grammatical

resources between their languages, especially in a conscious[2] way. Thomason (2014: 211) states that "it is usually impossible to prove that a given linguistic change was brought about by deliberate speaker agency" and suggests that only evidence such as "clear social motivation and/or a change too rapid to have come about by ordinary change processes" can make the argument for conscious innovation. This gap in the scholarly literature is addressed through the presentation of a new modelthat shows how bilingual speakers engage consciously with borrowing and innovations between their two languages (Castle in press).

This thesis endeavours to explore the ways in which speakers can co-opt grammatical resources from between their languages, with a focus on English and Czech. These languages were chosen for two reasons:

(1) Their typological differences allowed for ease of analysis of possible instances of grammatical borrowing. Distinct grammatical rules and norms meant that change toward or away from the contact language could be moreeasily recognised.

(2) English is the native language of the researcher and Czech is one of the researcher's languages.

In this exploration of the co-option of grammatical resources between Czech andEnglish, the following questions are addressed, including:

(1) Does grammatical borrowing and replication occur between these languages?

(2) What are the drivers of borrowing in language contact situations?

(3) How are grammatical resources utilised across the languages by bilinguals, andhow does this phenomenon present itself?

(4) Which of these instances of grammatical resource borrowing are conscious? Which instances are subconscious, or become evident after the fact?

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[2] In this thesis, the term 'conscious' (and for that matter, 'subconscious') is used more broadly than the cognitive conscious/unconscious sense. Rather, it is used to describe the level of attention and awareness that interlocutors give to their speech phrase. It is also conceptualised as a continuum, described in Castle(in press).

(5) What other contact and non-contact related processes are present in the speechof bilinguals in these languages? What are the roles of attrition, divergent attainment (Kupisch & Rothman 2016; Polinsky 2018), and accommodation?

(6) What borrowing related processes occur as an L1 speaker of an analytic language (English) with an L2 in a synthetic language (Czech), and vice versa?How does the typology of the language influence what is borrowed?

To address these questions, four research papers are presented. The research focus is on grammatical rather than lexical phenomena in this thesis. Lexical borrowing is considered briefly throughout the papers, as research participants tended to have difficulty identifying and differentiating between instances of grammatical vs. lexical phenomena. However, in Castle (2021c) and Castle (in press) specific questionswere asked and explained regarding borrowing, morphology and syntax, and some participants with a higher metalinguistic awareness were able to provide more detailed and relevant answers.

In the papers, innovations (Matras & Sakel 2007) are considered in analysing the co- option of grammatical resources between languages. Innovations are defined here in the sense of Matras and Sakel (2007) and within the broader contact literature: in terms of its permanency and spread within the recipient language. The concept of innovation refers to the use of a linguistic resource from one language within another, which may be ephemeral, and represents a possible starting point for a propagated language change,wherein its use diffuses and spreads throughout the language community (Milroy & Milroy 1985; Matras & Sakel 2007; Thomason 2014) (cf. §2.1 for more discussion on this term in the literature). Some innovations may possibly lead to the community-wide propagation (as explored in the language contact situations in §2.4 and 2.5). However, itis also possible that this propagation will not occur. In any case, such innovations, or unconventionalities (Doğruöz & Backus 2009) still represent instances wherein speakers are choosing (whether consciously or not) to utilise grammatical resources from both of their languages.

It is recognised here that language change involves both:

(1) External causes labelled transfer, interference, convergence [3] etc.

(2) Internal causes including "language universal principles and pressures to prefer unmarked categories, as well as simplification, analogy, paradigmatic levelling,and innate cognitive/conceptual strategies" (Gross 2000: 40).

This thesis, and the papers therein, consider internal variation as a possible cause of the phenomena present in the data. It is important to consider internal change as an alternative explanation in determining whether phenomena are occurring due to language contact. Whilst internal changes as a whole are considered as a contributing cause of phenomena found, individual types of internal change are not focussed on at length in this thesis. The focus is on contact-induced language change and the co-optingof grammar from another language.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 review relevant literature for the overall study. Chapter 2 examines grammatical borrowing, Chapter 3 reviews other contact related processes, and Chapter 4 investigates specific grammatical borrowing in the Czech and English languages.

In §2.1, I summarise definitions of the terms *borrowing*, *transfer*, and *replication* in the literature. In §2.2, I address the academic consensus (or lack thereof) on whether grammatical borrowing occurs, as well as its frequency. I then present the literature on why grammatical borrowing occurs between languages in §2.3, while §2.4 considers several models explaining how the process of grammatical borrowing occurs. In §2.5, I show examples of grammatical borrowing from the literature, including double marking(§2.5.1), morphological renewal (§2.5.2), gap filling (§2.5.3), and contact-induced syntactic change and grammatical replication (§2.5.4).

Chapter 3 considers other contact related processes, including codeswitching (§3.1), convergence (§3.2), attrition, shift, loss, and death (§3.3), accommodation (§3.4), and social

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[3] Note here that convergence can operate as both a process and an effect (cf. §3.2).

dialect formation (§3.5).

Grammatical borrowing in Czech and English are addressed in Chapter 4, with §4.1 focussing on grammatical borrowing in the historically Czech lands, from Russian (§4.1.1), Slovak (§4.1.2), German (§4.1.3), and English (§4.1.4). Subsequently, in §4.2 I focus on grammatical borrowing in English, examining Celtic influences (§4.2.1), Latin influences (§4.2.2), Norse influences (§4.2.3), Norman French influences (§4.2.4), and Czech influences (§4.2.5).

Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 provide the four research papers: Czech, mate: Grammatical replication and shift in South Australian Czech; Language loyalty and language purity in a language contact situation: South Australian Czech; Expats in Prague: Czech borrowings in L1 English speakers; and L1 English speakers in Prague: Motivators inlanguage use and language borrowing. Chapter 9 concludes the thesis, presenting the contributions to the field, limitations, and future research possibilities.

This thesis and references are formatted in line with the 2014 Generic Style Rules for Linguistics[4] and the Leipzig Glossing Rules[5].

2. What is grammatical borrowing?
2.1 Defining borrowing, transfer, and replication
In order to identify whether grammatical borrowing, transfer and replication have occurred in between English and Czech, it is important to define these concepts. There are many definitions for "borrowing" in the literature, and many names for similar or the same processes involving and surrounding language contact-induced grammatical phenomena. The way that these terms are defined impacts on whether, why, and how they occur. As Wiemer & Wälchli (2012: 5) discuss, the fact that "there are many different terms, and the same terms are often used in very different senses… is a considerable source of confusion". Authors sometimes feel the need to define the meaning of a term for their specific study or paper

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[4] The Generic Style Rules can be found here: https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/GenericStyleRules.pdf
[5] The Leipzig Glossing Rules can be found here: https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf

(Backus 2009; Wiemer & Wälchli 2012), which shows the degree to which definitions in the field are not established and/or agreed upon. A discussion on several definitions for the concept of borrowing follows, with a table placing these definitions into groups.

First, Haugen (1950: 212) suggested that borrowing is a process of "innovative reproduction", as borrowings began as innovations by individual speakers. Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 37) define borrowing as "incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language". Similarly, Aikhenvald (2002), following Trask (2000: 44), defines borrowing as "the transfer of features of any kind from one language to another as the result of contact". Recently, Hickey (2010: 18) has defined borrowing as items or structures that are "copied from language X to language Y, but without speakers of Y shifting to X". He states that within this definition, borrowing is "characteristic of "cultural" contact, e.g., Latin and English in the history of the latter, or English and other European languages today" and posits that "such borrowings are almost exclusively confined to words and phrases" (Hickey 2010: 18)[6]. This conceptualisation of borrowing sees the languages as separate entities rather than one repertoire. This conceptualisation of borrowing is similarly described by Sanchez (2005a) as the transference of linguistics features from one language to another by bilinguals. She states that "when these transferred elements become part of the linguistic repertoire of the second language, particularly if they are adopted by monolingual speakers… they have been borrowed" (Sanchez 2005a: 1).

A definition of borrowing that conceptualises languages as being part of the bilingual or multilingual repertoire rather than as separate systems also exists. Matras & Adamou (2020: 237) state that borrowing is "a metaphor that denotes the use of a structure within a particular linguistic system although it is normally associated with another linguistic system", warning that this label is based on structuralist assumptions that languages are separate, self-contained systems. They point out that this assumption has been challenged in recent years, with contact

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[6] Hickey (2010: 20) finds the term "copying" more accurate to describe the process of speakers copying features from language B into their own language (language A).

linguistics scholars suggesting that bilinguals operate within their bilingual "repertoires" and do not switch individual language systems on and off (Loebell & Bock 2003; Thierry & Wu 2007; Kroll et al. 2008; Matras 2009; Blommaert & Backus 2013). Matras (2010: 67) defines borrowings as "the outcome of function-driven choices in which speakers license themselves, while interacting in one set of contexts, to employ a structure (word form, construction, meaning, phonological features, etc.), despite its original association with a different set of interaction contexts". In addition, he states that "[the] selection of structures is [not] necessarily conscious, deliberate or strategic" (Matras 2010: 67). Marian & Kaushanskaya (2007: 369) share this conceptualisation, defining overt borrowing as "an overt verbal behavior consisting of the speaking 'switching' into the other language and actively using single words or entire phrases from that language". They also contrast this with covert borrowing, stating that covert borrowing involves speaker use of the target language which is syntactically or semantically appropriate for the other language, without an overt language switch (Marian & Kaushanskaya 2007).

Other authors define borrowing as a specific type of transfer within a wider model. Some authors define it based on who is engaging in borrowing. For example, van Coetsem (1988: 3; 2000) states "if the recipient language speaker is the agent, as in the case of an English speaker using French words while speaking English, the transfer of material (and this naturally includes structure) from the source language to the recipient language is borrowing (recipient language agentivity)". This is distinguished from imposition, wherein the source language speaker is the agent[7] (van Coetsem 1988: 3; 2000). Winford (2010: 172) uses this wider model, stating that borrowing is the "transfer of linguistic materials from an SL (source language) into an RL (recipient language) via the agency of speakers for whom the latter is the linguistically dominant language, in other words, via RL agentivity". He posits that borrowing is a "psycholinguistic mechanism by which speakers introduce materials from an external language into a language in which they are (more) proficient" (Winford 2010: 172).

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[7] For more on agentivity, see §2.4.1.

This is in alignment with the conceptualisation of the languages as separate systems.

The term can also be defined based on what is being borrowed. Heine & Kuteva (2005; 2008; 2010: 86) state that the term borrowing is "reserved for transfers[8] involving phonetic material, either on its own or combined with meaning". Wiemer & Wälchli (2012: 5) follow Matras & Sakel's (2007) model of matter (MAT) and pattern (PAT) transfer, defining borrowing as being restricted to MAT transfer. They state that in their paper, "PAT transfer from a 'model language' to a 'replica language' is called 'calque'" (2012: 5). This also appears to conceptualise the two languages as separate systems.

This discussion is summarised in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Borrowing definitions

DEFINITION TYPE		AUTHORS
Copying, transferring, or incorporating linguistic features from one language into another – conceptualising the language as separate systems		Hickey (2010: 18), Sanchez (2005a: 1), Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 37), Aikhenvald (2002) following Trask (2000: 44), Haugen (1950)
A specific type of transfer	*Based on who is borrowing*	van Coetsem (1988: 3; 2000), Winford (2010: 172)
	Based on what is being borrowed	Heine & Kuteva (2005; 2008; 2010: 86), Wiemer & Wälchli (2012: 5)
Employing or switching between resources from the full bilingual linguistic repertoire – conceptualising the languages together		Matras (2010 : 67), Marian & Kaushanskaya (2007 : 369)

In this thesis, borrowing is defined as a phenomenon that occurs when language speakers use resources (e.g., lexical, grammatical, semantic) from one of their languages within another of

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[8] Types of linguistic transfer according to Heine & Kuteva (2010: 86): form (sounds or combinations of sounds), meanings (including grammatical meanings) or combinations of meanings, form-meaning unitsor combinations of form-meaning units, syntactic relations (the order of meaningful elements), or any combination of each of these types.

their languages. However, in the research papers in this thesis, the term is also used in the narrower sense of Heine & Kuteva (2003; 2005; 2008) to distinguish it from "grammatical replication".

Within this thesis, borrowing encompasses what some authors may refer to as "nonce borrowings"; brief, often ephemeral uses of linguistic resources from one language in a different language used by a single speaker (cf. §1). This still represents a language user utilising a resource from one of their languages within another; it is a linguistic innovation in the sense of Matras & Sakel (2007) rather than a propagation[9].

Propagation is not required for borrowing[10] to have occurred; it is, however, required for community-wide language transfer and contact-induced change (Thomason 2010: 32). Innovation is also defined by Croft (2000) as the use of a word or pattern not used before, which is part of a three-way distinction[11] that describes language change and is synonymous with actuation (Weinreich, Labov & Herzog 1968: 184). Croft (2000) also distinguishes between intentional and nonintentional innovations, and Backus (2005: 318) presumes that most cases of structural borrowing start as nonintentional innovations, stating that it is not likely that speakers intentionally attempt to imitate foreign syntax. It is recognised in Milroy & Milroy (1985: 347–48) that a "speaker innovation may fail to diffuse beyond the speaker"; yet it is still an innovation. In fact, many innovations are ephemeral according to Backus (2005: 316). Thomason (2014: 202) agrees that "any innovation – even a one-time speech error or a joking coinage – is a potential language change". Whether the innovation becomes a community-wide change is determined by linguistic and social factors (Thomason 2014).

Within this wider scope of borrowing, this thesis aims to analyse the phenomenon of

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[9] A propagation is the spread of an innovation throughout a speech community: it adheres to the idea thatchange can begin with a single speaker and spread from there.
[10] In the sense of Heine & Kuteva (2005) – the sense in which it is used in this thesis.
[11] The other elements in this three-way distinction are *normal replication,* meaning the use of familiarwords or patterns resulting in the absence of change, and *propagation,* meaning the choosing of a newpattern or word rather than the old one (Croft 2000; Backus 2005).

grammatical borrowing and change in language contact situations more closely. Two important distinctions to further consider in relation to grammatical borrowing and grammatical changes that occur when languages are in contact are matter (MAT) and pattern (PAT) borrowing (Matras & Sakel 2007; Matras 2010). MAT borrowing concerns borrowings of both the form and function of a morpheme or word-form (the concrete phonological shape) (Matras & Sakel 2007) (also called "borrowing" (Heine & Kuteva 2010))[12]. PAT borrowing is a borrowing of the function only; it involves "a specific mapping relation of meaning to form, or a structural relation among two or more word forms, expressed for instance through their position" (Matras 2010: 68).

This borrowing of function has also been called "calques" (Haugen 1950), "convergent development" (Weinreich 1953), and "pattern transfer" (Heath 1984: 367), being similar to "convergence" (Myers-Scotton 2006: 271) and "replication" (Heine & Kuteva 2010: 87). Both MAT and PAT borrowing are considered when analysing the data in this thesis.

2.2 Does grammatical borrowing occur?

To understand whether it is likely that grammatical borrowing could have occurred in Czech and English, I consider differing, and often diverging, opinions in the literature as to whether it occurs at all. These differing opinions may also be associated with the fact that there are so many slightly different definitions of the concept of borrowing itself. The opinions evident in the literature are discussed in the sections below.

2.2.1 Grammatical borrowing is rare/does not occur

There is contention in the literature as to whether grammatical changes can be attributed to language contact or are rather language-internal developments. Earlier researchers posit that changes are predominantly language-internal due to the belief that grammatical components

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[12] Phonology-only borrowings, or borrowings of form only, also exist and are labelled by Matras (2009:222) as phonological replication. These types of borrowings are not addressed in this thesis.

of a language are not easily transferable (Whitney 1881; Weinreich 1953). Whitney (1881) suggested that grammar could not be mixed between languages, yet he did note that grammatical material may accompany a lexical borrowing, and thus later be borrowed in itself through this process, dubbed secondary processes.

Linking perspectives, Weinreich (1953) hypothesised that language contact represents a trigger effect that hastens or releases language-internal grammatical developments. De Haan (1990) in his study on the Dutchification of Frisian posits that Frisian was indeed not "Dutchified" at all, and that surface-level similarities were simply due to a grammar-internal development. He proposes that it is very unlikely that bound morphemes will be borrowed between languages, and that lexical items are the easiest to borrow because of their lack of systematic connections to the rest of the grammar (de Haan 1990). In Alves' (2001) paper on borrowing from Chinese into Vietnamese, he concludes that whilst lexical borrowing was prolific, anything that appears to be a grammatical borrowing is likely due simply to grammar internal causation – and at best, language contact could have accelerated this process.

Later researchers posit that "changes" observed may not indeed be changes at all, but examples of language variation (Poplack & Levey 2010). Several researchers express concerns over the so-called shortcomings of more qualitative studies on the matter, creating steps to identify potential changes in a more empirically accountable quantitative way (Poplack & Levey 2010; Nagy et al. 2011; Nagy et al. 2018; Torres Cacoullos & Travis 2018). Thomason (2011: 146) refutes this, however, emphasising that Poplack & Levey (2010) use only the three cases that they analysed as well as "brief references to a few others" to come to their conclusions, whilst "reject[ing] the last hundred and fifty years of research by … historical linguists on contact-induced language change".

Many linguists have published works showcasing that contact-induced language change has occurred in language contexts including: Australian German and Australian English (Clyne 1967); Mednyj Aleut and Russian (Menovščikov 1969; Golovko & Vakhtin 1990; Sekerina

1994); Old Norse and Middle English (ME) (Geipel 1971); Turkish and Persian[13] (Vietze et al. 1975; Korfilt 1997; Kubiyak 2004; Göksel & Kerslake 2005; Memoglu-Süleymanoglu 2006; Nişanyan 2009; Zengin 2009); American Finnish and American English, and Pipil and Spanish (Campbell 1980; 1987; 1993); Norman French and Middle English (Dalton-Puffer 1996; Ciszek 2008; Palmer 2009); and in Ma'a and Bantu languages (notably Pare) (Mous 2003). In relation to Czech, studies have investigated: Chicago Czech and American English (Rakusan 1985; 1993); American Czech and American English (Henzl 1982; Vašek 1996); Texas Czech and American English (Dutková 1998; Dutkova-Cope 2001a; 2001b; Pintová 2009); and Paraguayan Spanish and Paraguayan Czech (Zajícová 2009; 2012).

Arguing for or against the existence of contact-induced change also depends on the way in which it is defined. Thomason (2001: 61–63; 2014) states that "any linguistic change that would have been less likely to occur outside a particular contact situation is due at least in part to language contact". It also depends on whether the definition of borrowing is broad enough to include the presence of innovations (cf. §2.1 for more information on innovations in the context of the literature).

2.2.2 Specific requirements must be met for grammatical borrowing to occur

Early linguistic research on borrowing posited the idea that grammatical borrowing could only occur under certain key conditions. Meillet (1921) suggested that structural borrowing was a rarity, and grammatical borrowing could only occur between similar "systems", i.e., dialects of one language. Building on this, Jakobson (1962[1938]: 241) stated that "a language accepts foreign structural elements only when they correspond to its own tendencies of development". Similarly, Bickerton (1981) asserts that languages are systems that cannot borrow from one another unless they have compatible structure. Aitchison (1981) posits that

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[13] This example and that of Mednyj Aleut/Russian and Norman French/Middle English are all from the AfBo resource. There are 101 total language-pairs where one language has borrowed affixes from the other, too numerous to place in this paragraph but important to keep in mind when considering debate onthe existence of contact-induced borrowing (Seifart 2020).

languages tend to borrow aspects which correspond superficially relatively closely to their own structure, and Allen (1980) proposes that syntactic influence ought only to be expected where there is a fair amount of syntactic similarity. This is supported by Field (2002), whose Principle of System In/compatibility shows that typological differences can inhibit inflectional morphological transfer. Winford (2003) adds to this, stating that a similarity between the typologies of two languages will enable direct morpheme mapping. In fact, Sanchez (2005) finds that items which are not structurally compatible with the recipient language will not be borrowed. More specifically, Meakins (2020: 185) suggests that the typological similarity of languages in contact and the structural profile of morphemes are key factors in language mixing patterns.

For some authors, the borrowability of a grammatical (or lexical) category is a typological consideration and can be placed into a hierarchy. Berk-Seligson (1986) and Brody (1987) find that detachable elements are more easily borrowed than bound morphemes. In other words, it is easier to borrow free morphemes. Weinreich (1953) suggests that it is usually the morpheme that is free and invariant in its paradigms that is selected for borrowing. Aitchison (1981: 120) claims that "detachable elements are most easily borrowed". However, not all researchers agree; Heath (1978) found that a negative suffix borrowing from Ngandi replaced a native free negative particle in Ritharngu, i.e., a bound suffix replaced a free morpheme. He proposes several factors affecting borrowability of inflectional morphology, including (Heath 1978: 105–107):

1. Syllabicity (independently pronounceable morphemes)
2. Sharpness of morpheme boundaries
3. Unifunctionality of morphemes (the morpheme has a single function)
4. Categorical clarity of morphemes (morpheme function is discernible without examination of the broader morphosyntactic environment)
5. Analogical freedom (morphemes less reliant on surrounding syntax are more easily borrowed).

In another case, Li (1983) also discovered that causative suffixes from Anduo Tibetan replaced resultative compounds from Wutun Chinese.

Stepping back, Moravcsik (1978) posits that non-lexical borrowings cannot occur unless lexical items have been borrowed first. Muysken (1981) proposes a borrowability scale based on his study of Spanish borrowings in Quechua (paraphrased in Meakins 2020: 186): "nouns > adjectives > verbs > prepositions > coordinating conjunctions > quantifiers > determiners > free pronouns > clitic pronouns > subordinating conjunctions".

In his linguistically broad analysis of language contact and borrowing, Winford (2010) states that there seem to be firm limits on transfer between languages in terms of structural elements. He suggests that, in most cases, lexical borrowing facilitates transfer, coming back to the idea presented by Whitney (1881) (see §2.2.1) (Winford 2010). He states that structural elements are more likely to be borrowed if:

1. Morphological structures are sufficiently similar between the languages.
2. Morphemes are more easily isolatable, with a clear and consistent meaning wherever they appear.
3. There are gaps in the morpheme inventory of the recipient language.

(Winford 2010: 179)

However, as discussed in Campbell (1993: 93), many counter-examples to the claim of a similar systems requirement exist:

1. Ethiopian Semitic: Word-order typology underwent a wholesale overhaul in several of these languages due to Cushitic influence (Leslau 1945; 1952; Little 1974; Hetzron 1975; Campbell et al 1988; Thomason 2014).
2. Syntactic borrowing in the South Asian linguistic area: suffixes and formations borrowed between non-similar languages (Gumperz & Wilson 1971; Nadkarni 1975; Sridhar 1978; Emeneau 1980).

3. Media Lengua (Muysken 1981): a variety of Quechua which, under Spanish influence, has undergone significant syntactic changes. This includes introduction of prepositions, conjunctions, complementisers, word order changes and the subordinator -ndu. These languages are not typologically similar systems.

4. Chinookan dialects: adopting tense-aspect formations of their neighbours, the Sahaptian languages (Silverstein 1974). These language groups are typologically divergent.

Campbell (1993), whilst accepting the idea some grammatical categories may not be borrowed as frequently as others, also proposes that detailing all options of borrowing may not resolve the ongoing borrowing that can be evident. Thomason (2014) states that typological congruence is an important factor in promoting contact-induced changes, but also notes that typological dissimilarity does not prevent such changes. Indeed, Matras & Adamou (2020: 240) assert that "structural equivalence between two languages is not a pre-condition for borrowing".

2.2.3 Grammatical borrowing does occur

Taking a pragmatic perspective, Campbell (1993), citing several studies and points of evidence, concludes that, given enough time and intensive contact, anything is able to be borrowed between languages. Hagège (1993) posits that any element can be borrowed, provided that the necessary time is given, and the contact is sufficiently intense.

In fact, Thomason & Kaufman (1988) state that anything (any level of a language) can be borrowed with strong enough cultural contact and pressure between the speaker groups. Further, Thomason (2001: 11) states that "all aspects of language structure are subject to transfer from one language to another, given the right mix of social and linguistic circumstances". As discussed in §2.3.1, Thomason & Kaufman (1988) do, however, have a borrowability scale indicating which types of borrowings would generally occur first before grammatical borrowing, which is more in alignment with researchers discussed in §2.2.2. The

paraphrased scale is as follows (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 74–76): non-basic vocabulary > basic vocabulary > function words (e.g., conjunctions and adverbial particles) > adpositions, derivational and inflectional affixes > word order (e.g., borrowing postpositions in a prepositional language) > extensive word order change, inflectional affixes and categories (e.g., new cases) > significant typological disruption, including changes in word structure rules (e.g., adding prefixes to an exclusively suffixing language or changes from flexional to agglutinative morphology).

However, not all researchers agree with the sequence of the scale proposed. For example, Næss & Jenny (2011) found that in Mon and Burmese, as well as in two Reef Island languages, structural borrowings occurred before lexical borrowings. Burling (1992) discusses the Kannada and Marathi languages spoken in Kupwar, clearly displaying that there has been profound syntactic borrowing between them (the syntax is very similar; it can sometimes be translated morpheme for morpheme) without an equal amount of lexical borrowing. However, this syntactic borrowing was brought into question by Kulkarni-Joshi (2016), who reveals this finding to be a result of the methodology used, which involved targeted speech varieties of forced bilingual interaction. Kulkarni-Joshi (2016) argues that neighbouring villages rather showed shared variation patterns. More broadly, Wiemer (2020: 285) suggests that underlying patterns of variation "can nonetheless converge and even remain stable over some area and time".

Meakins (2020) warns that borrowing scales and code-switching rules are not absolutes, but rather probabilistic models based on observed tendencies in language contact situations. In alignment with the idea that borrowing does occur, and does not need a hierarchy, she states that such scales and rules do not "exclude borrowings or switches of any kind, but rather suggest that some transfers are rarer or more common than others" (Meakins 2020: 195). Similarly, Adamou (2016) has suggested that although in the various borrowing scales, lexical borrowing precedes syntactic replication, in actuality the extent of syntactic replication and lexical borrowing evolve independently.

Matras & Adamou (2020: 242), in their discussion on borrowability, cite analysis by Matras & Sakel (2007) and Elšík & Matras (2006) in stating that a connection between "susceptibility to borrowing and the truth - or presupposition value assigned by a category to prepositional content" exists. They discuss several borrowability hierarchies as being confirmed by such analyses, including:

1. but > or > and

2. modality > aspect > tense

3. indefinites > other pronouns

4. prosody > segmental phonology

5. more complex/discontinuous local relations (e.g., 'against' and 'except') > basic local relations (e.g. 'on' and 'at') (Matras & Adamou 2020: 242).

Matras (2009: 246) also provides a borrowing hierarchy that is based on semantic transparency in terms of speaker cognitive awareness, which is as follows: "derivation marker > classifier > plural marker > definiteness marker > case marker".

Another approach is by examining placement of affixes. The AfBo is a world-wide survey of affix borrowing (Seifart 2020) whose existence certainly suggests that grammatical borrowing does occur. It is comprised of 101 language-pair descriptions of cases of affix borrowing, which includes a total of 657 borrowed affixes (Seifart 2020).

2.3 Why does grammatical borrowing occur?

To determine the motivations behind grammatical borrowing in Czech and English, reasons posited for grammatical borrowing in general in the literature are now discussed. There are many different overlapping opinions as to what drives grammatical borrowing, including:

1. socioeconomic factors, sociocultural pressures, and prestige (Brody 1987; Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Campbell 1993; Myers-Scotton 2002; Sakel 2007; Mahlangu 2016; Mensah 2016; Alonso de la Fuente 2017; Dobrushina 2017; Lipski 2017; Gardner-

Chloros & Secova 2018)

2. intentional, conscious use (language "play") (Porte 1999a; 1999b; 2003)

3. cognitive and pragmatic pressure to increase the similarity (Matras 1998; Sanchez 2005a; Alonso de la Fuente 2017) and "simplicity" (Coteanu 1957; Heath 1978; Maher 1985; Campbell 1993; Silva-Corvalán 1994) of the languages

4. filling a grammatical gap (Hale 1975; Heath 1978; Hill & Hill 1981; Campbell 1993; Alonso de la Fuente 2017)

5. through lexical borrowing and subsequent reanalysis and use of grammatical affixes e.g., suffix borrowings in Middle English from Norman French (see §4.2.4).

In view of the range in criteria, Backus (2005: 320) presents a schema attempting to bring together some of the literature to create a schema surrounding language contact processes. In the schema, he differentiates between "global" and "local" factors in discussing why grammatical borrowing occurs (Backus 2005: 320). Global factors refer to factors operating on a macro-social scale, such as dominance and intensity, whereas local factors are "linguistic", i.e., to do with the nature of the language itself (Backus 2005). Local factors are causal mechanisms (conversational reflexes of the social factors) (Backus 2005).

The five key drivers of grammatical borrowing outlined above are discussed below.

2.3.1 Socioeconomic factors

Thomason & Kaufman (1988) cite social factors as being of key importance in why contact-induced borrowing occurs. They created a five-stage borrowing probability scale, which is much referenced and highly influential in the literature (Thomason & Kaufman 1988). The scale represents a hierarchy of language features that can be borrowed between languages based on the time and intensity of social contact between the groups. On stage 5 of the borrowing scale, there is a very strong cultural pressure between the speakers of the languages, resulting in major structural features being changed/borrowed with significant typological disruption (Thomason & Kaufman 1988).

In contrast, Sanchez (2005a:169) postulates that there is no strong evidence for social factors in determining "which morphemes are eventually borrowed, and which are not, apart from the very existence of the contact situation" in her study on Papiamentu, a finding which, as she recognises, is in direct disagreement with Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) model.

Yakpo (2020: 130) also criticises Thomason & Kaufman's (1988) model for failing to explore the implicitly suggested continuum from more to less equal power relations between speaker groups, and for the circularity of the argument when "degrees of 'intensity of contact' serve to characterise contact outcomes". Further, Yakpo (2020: 131) criticises other appraisals of social factors in the literature, including that of Aikhenvald & Dixon (2007), as being circular and failing to provide "a socio-structural analysis of *social systems* in determining contact outcomes". He calls for a more systematic approach to social factors in situations of language contact, which pays attention to the macro-level, demography, and power dynamics. Yakpo (2020: 133) argues that the mechanisms and results of language contact are most likely due to the interrelationship between three macro-social factors: group size and density of social networks as an economic base for the society, the relation of this to social stratification, and ideological superstructures.

Whilst discussing the important benefits for development of the understanding of social factors in grammatical borrowing in the field, Yakpo (2020) states that social network analysis has provided insights into how contact-induced features have spread in individual communities and social groups, e.g., Beyer & Schreiber 2013. Such small- scale communities are the focus of my research.

Focusing on linguistic contact, Matras (2011) has suggested that there exist some sociolinguistic conditions on the spread of a certain innovation (or a pivot-matched construction), the most crucial of which are relaxed norms and attitudes in multilingual communities with elastic identity boundaries. Similarly, Auer (2020) states that the type and amount of linguistic contact is conditioned by several social factors, including political,

cultural, and economic superiority and power, and associated language ideologies. Notably, De Bot & Bülow (2020) state that it is important to take the social setting into account regarding languages in contact, and that an important factor is whether the L2 is the dominant language in the community. Matras & Adamou (2020: 248) posit that borrowing is sensitive to extralinguistic factors, including "duration and intensity of cultural contact, … roles and status of … participating languages, language attitudes… the degree of institutional support enjoyed by the languages". Such sociolinguistic factors cannot be discounted.

2.3.2 Language Play

In terms of intentional, **conscious** language use, language "play" (Porte 1999a; 1999b; 2003: 116) can be defined as "spontaneous expressions of linguistic invention… between knowledgeable [bilingual] friends". An example of this from Porte (2003: 116) follows. The use of a suffix from Spanish is bolded.

(1)   *I*   *was*   *speak-**ando***   *with*   *Steve*

       1SG   to.be.PST.1SG   to.speak-**CONT**   with   Steve

       the   *other*   *day*

       DET   other   day

       'I was speaking with Steve the other day'

Conscious exploitation of one's full bilingual linguistic repertoire is discussed by Matras (2009) in his book on language contact. Matras (2009: 36–37), in his research on a Hebrew-German-English speaking child, shows how the child is using "conscious" manipulation of language choice "for stylistic-conversational effects such as humour or imitation of roles and styles". In order to do this, Matras (2009) states that the child is required to have a certain level of confidence to defy the selection constraints of the expectations of the interlocutor (in terms of language separation). The child is also required to "win… over the hearer for the special effect that such defiance creates" (Matras 2009: 34). I would argue that this level of

confidence is related to the level of comfort the child experiences with those around them.

A form of conscious play has also been raised by Golovko (2003), who suggests that ordinary speakers are indeed able to use their creative abilities to induce language change. In order for conscious language change to occur, the initiators of such a change "must be aware of grammatical elements in their own language as being separate meaningful units", and grammatical borrowing is a "good illustration of this awareness" (Golovko 2003: 179). These speakers make intuitive conclusions by engaging in a "contrastive analysis" (Golovko 2003: 180).

2.3.3 Cognitive and pragmatic factors

From the beginnings of the study of contact linguistics, linguists such as Schuhardt (1882) and Whitney (1881) began to link the effects of language contact with cognition in bilingualism (de Bot & Bülow 2020). After the structuralism of the early twentieth century, the individual bilingual speaker and the phenomena occurring in their mind again became the focus of interest in language contact (Weinreich 1953; Haugen 1953).

According to the subsystems hypothesis (Paradis 2004: 210–219), the languages in the mind of the bilingual form subsets of a larger "language neurofunctional system". All of the linguistic units form subsets of a wider inventory, and can be independently activated according to de Bot & Bülow (2020). Bilinguals are thus able to draw on these subsets depending on the setting or context of use (de Bot & Bülow 2020).

Cognitive factors can be viewed as a form of pressure. Matras (1998:281; 2007; 2009) argues that grammatical borrowing in language contact situations is a result of cognitive pressure exerted on bilingual individuals to "draw on [the] pragmatically dominant language for situative… discourse-regulating purposes". Matras (1998) proposes that speakers experience tension against contradicting shared presuppositions with the interlocutor, which may interfere with language selection mechanisms.

Cognitive factors linked to the mental lexicon were considered in Myers-Scotton & Jake's (2017) revisited 4-M model. Myers-Scotton & Jake (2017) suggest that the predictions made about codeswitching by the revisited 4-M model could also apply to other contact phenomena, including borrowing. The 4M model divides morphemes into four different types that are explained by their relation to abstract entities in the mental lexicon (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2017). This model predicts which morphemes are more susceptible to borrowing: a borrowing hierarchy similar to those discussed in §2.2.3. The "early system morphemes", or conceptually activated morphemes, are more susceptible to borrowing than "late system morphemes", or structurally assigned morphemes. This is because early system morphemes are salient in the mental lexicon with their content morpheme heads. Examples of early system morphemes include: derivational prepositions; determiners; particles in phrasal verbs; derivational affixes; plural markers; some subordinating and coordinating conjunctions; and some tense and aspect markers. Late system morphemes, on the other hand, are accessed later in the process of speech production and carry little content. These types of morphemes include bridge late system morphemes, or bridges joining two clauses (e.g., complementisers), and outsider late system morphemes (e.g., agreement markers, some case markers).

Pressures for structural compatibility and similarity are also important, as they are viewed as cognitive pressures on bilingual speakers. Sanchez (2005a) argues that grammatical borrowing is triggered by structural compatibility, morphological renewal (i.e., borrowing to replace an existing form with a similar function) and convergence, which are defined by her as surface forms of languages in contact "becom[ing] more alike, with no specific implications for the internal syntactic structure of each language" (Sanchez 2005a: 12). Morphological renewal is discussed more in detail in §2.5.2, as it is regarded as more of a process than a cause in this thesis. Similarly, convergence is treated in §3.1, as it can be viewed as both a process and outcome in this thesis.

Another cognitive factor can be linked to simplification. Silva-Corvalán (1994) suggests that simplification in terms of decreased use of a form in Lx where that function does not exist in

Ly can be a factor in contact-induced change. Simplification can also be understood in terms of a decrease in use of the L1. Gruzdeva (2015) discusses the well- established hypothesis that attrition and language loss result in simplification and the application of this to Nivkh, a Paleosiberian isolate language, in contact with Russian. Hornung (2017) discusses outcomes of simplification, including: regularisation, loss of redundancy, increased morphological transparency, and loss of inflectional categories e.g., case endings.

2.3.4 Grammatical gaps

Some authors posit that filling a grammatical gap in a language contributes to instances of grammatical borrowing (Hale 1971; Heath 1978; Hill & Hill 1981; Campbell 1993; Alonso de la Fuente 2017). However, not all authors agree; for example, Brody (1987) argues that every full language is complete in itself, no element is borrowed to fill a gap, and there are simply different ways of expressing concepts in different languages. Matras (1998:281) builds on Brody's (1987) approach, arguing that grammatical borrowing in language contact situations is not due to grammatical gaps. Matras (1998; 2009) states that borrowings are related to the perceived expectations of the interlocutor and the communication interaction setting. Matras & Adamou (2020) thus propose that, from this perspective, gaps are not deficiencies in the expressive means of a language, but rather that bilinguals can use their full inventory of linguistic resources, from all languages they speak, and remove restrictions in language selection.

2.3.5 Lexical borrowing

Grammatical borrowings can occur through a process analysis and extension of lexical borrowings. An example of this is lexical borrowing of the French word *acceptable*, which was then analysed as root+suffix and extended use of the suffix to other, non- French words (cf. §4.2.4 for more on this topic).

2.4 How does grammatical borrowing occur? Theories of contact

Insight into relevant theories of contact and thus the processes behind how grammatical borrowing occurs is important for an analysis of how this may have occurred in Czech and English. There are a number of processes posited in the literature as to how the processes of grammatical borrowing and contact-induced transfer occur.

2.4.1 Van Coetsem's (2000) General and Unified Theory of the Transmission Process in Language Contact

In considering the causes of borrowing and language change, van Coetsem's (2000) theory distinguishes between Recipient Language Agentivity, Source Language Agentivity and Neutralisation of Distinction. These notions of agentivity consider both psycho-cognitive as well as social factors (Yakpo 2020). Recipient Language Agentivity occurs where the speaker is linguistically dominant in the recipient language and the recipient language is the agent language (van Coetsem 2000). In other words, the recipient language borrows from the source language: its L1 speakers act as the agents, borrowing elements from their L2 (source language) into their L1. Source Language Agentivity, on the other hand, occurs where the speaker is linguistically dominant in the source language and the source language is the agent language (van Coetsem 2000). In this case, L1 speakers of the source language "impose" elements of their L1 onto their L2 (the recipient language) (van Coetsem 2000: 172). These concepts are displayed in Figure 1 below. In the figure, the language situation of the South Australian Czechs is used as an example (hence the source language is English, and the recipient language is Czech).

Source Language — English
Recipient Language — Czech

Recipient Language Agentivity

L2 → L1 ● (Borrowing)

Source Language Agentivity

L1 ● → L2 (Imposition)
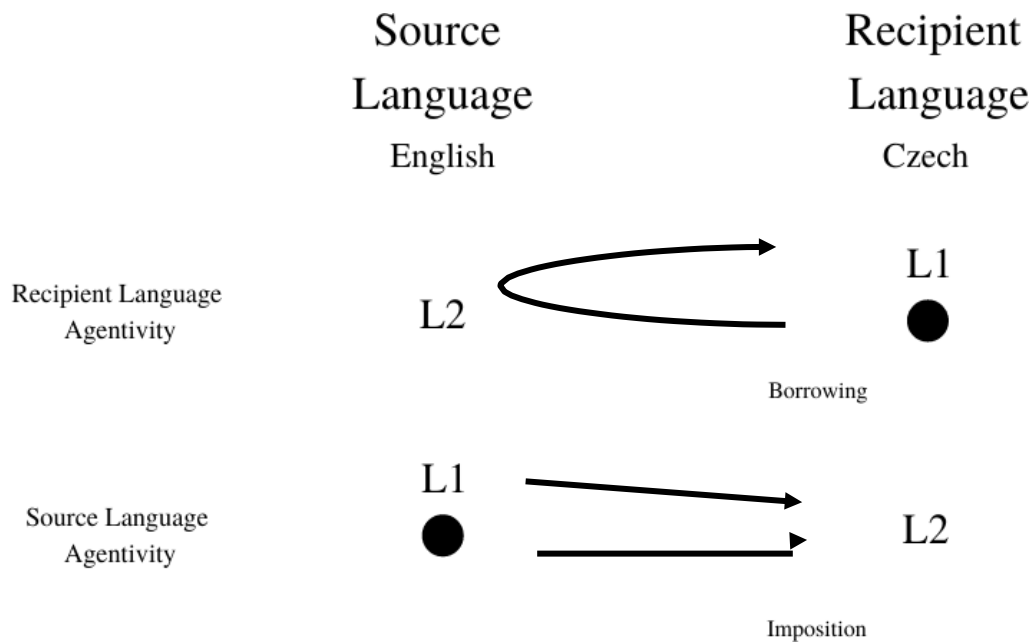
Figure 1: van Coetsem's (2000) Source and Recipient Language Agentivity

Neutralisation of distinction occurs where there is a neutralisation of the difference between Recipient Language Agentivity and Source Language Agentivity (van Coetsem 2000).

Van Coetsem's (2000) model posits that both prestige (having high reputation and standing) and need operate as fundamental reasons for grammatical borrowing to occur. He suggests that there are two modes of borrowing: the extended mode of borrowing, which encompasses both need and prestige; and the regular mode of borrowing, wherein only need is a source (van Coetsem 2000). Borrowing is viewed as an adaptation in the regular mode of borrowing, but it is considered an imitation in the extended mode due to speaker awareness of their L1 being subordinated to the dominant source language.

This model is useful for understanding the social situation and borrowing direction of both language situations studied. As such, it is drawn on and discussed further in the second (Chapter 6) and fourth (Chapter 8) papers.

2.4.2 Heine and Kuteva's (2003; 2005; 2008; 2010) Theories of Borrowing and Contact-Induced Grammaticalisation

Heine & Kuteva (2003) postulate that grammaticalisation and contact-induced language change collaborate to trigger grammatical change; they are not mutually exclusive

25

phenomena. They provide a figure displaying the main types of contact-induced language transfer, displayed below:
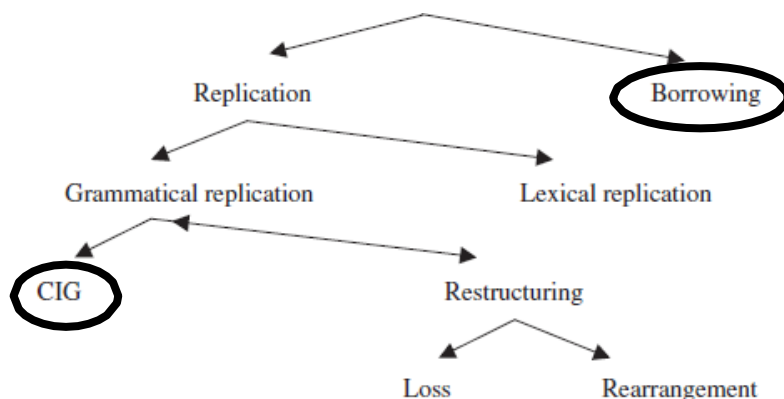
Figure 2: Main types of contact-induced linguistic transfer (Heine & Kuteva 2006: 95)

The main processes focussed on in this thesis (as circled in Figure 2) are those of CIG, or contact-induced grammaticalisation, and borrowing.

In their earlier work, Heine & Kuteva (2003; 2005; 2006; 2008; 2010) focus on replication only (Kuteva 2017). They discuss two types of grammaticalisation: ordinary and replica grammaticalisation, and these are in relation to the "model" language (i.e., the source language, whose structure provides the model to be adopted) and the "replica" language (that which makes use of the model) (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2003; 2005; 2006; 2008; 2010).

In ordinary grammaticalisation, no model source-to-target grammatical process is available to be replicated by the replica language (Heine & Kuteva 2005). In this case, speakers draw on universal strategies to construct the grammatical phenomenon that they observe within the

other language (Heine & Kuteva 2003). This process, as outlined in Heine & Kuteva (2005: 81), is provided in Figure 3 below:

a. Speakers notice that in language **M** there is a grammatical category **Mx**.

b. They created an equivalent category **Rx** in language **R** on the basis of the use patterns available in **R**.

c. To this end, they draw on universal strategies of grammaticalization, using construction **Ry** in order to develop **Rx**.

d. They grammaticalize **Ry** to **Rx**.

Figure 3: Ordinary grammaticalisation process (Heine & Kuteva 2005: 81)

They provide several examples of this type of grammaticalisation, including from Bislama, Solomons Pijin, and Pipil. In Bislama (as language R), speakers noticed the grammatical category of durative aspect marking particle, which indicates that an act is in progress (Mx) from Vetmbao, an Eastern Oceanic language of Vanuatu (M) (Heine & Kuteva 2005). Speakers then chose a pattern available in R involving the verb stap 'stay, be present, exist' (Ry) to create a durative aspect marker (Rx), appearing "in the same syntactic slot as durative markers (Mx) in the model languages" (Keesing 1991; Heine & Kuteva 2005: 82). This is exemplified below:

(2) Bislama (Keesing 1991: 328; Heine & Kuteva 2005: 82)

em   *i-**stap***   *pik-im*   *yam.*

He   he-**DUR**   dig-TRS   yam

'He's in the process of digging yams.'

(3) Vetmbao (Malekula, Oceanic) (Keesing 1991: 328; Heine & Kuteva 2005: 82)

> *naji*   *ng-u-xoel*   *dram.*
>
> he   he-DUR-dig   yam
>
> 'He's in the process of digging yams.'

In replica grammaticalisation, the model language provides a model for a category and the way that a category is replicated (Heine & Kuteva 2005). In this case, speakers replicate the grammatical process they assume to have taken place in the other language (Heine & Kuteva 2003). This process, also outlined in Heine & Kuteva (2005: 92), is set out in Figure 4 below:

> a. speakers notice that in language **M** there is a grammatical category **Mx**.
>
> b. They create an equivalent category **Rx** in language **R**, using material available in **R**.
>
> c. to this end, they replicate a grammaticalization process they assume to have taken place in language M, using an analogical formula of the kind [**My > Mx**]: [**Ry > Rx**].
>
> d. They grammaticalize **Ry** to **Rx**.

Figure 4: Replica grammaticalisation process (Heine & Kuteva 2005: 92)

Several examples of this are given in Heine & Kuteva (2005), one of which is the replication of use of the German (M) third person plural pronoun *sie* 'they' (My) as the polite second person singular pronoun *Sie* 'you' (Mx). Silesian Polish speakers replicated this by also extending use of their third-person plural pronoun (Ry) to second person singular (Rx) (Heine & Kuteva 2005: 93).

Heine & Kuteva (2007) propose a model of grammaticalisation wherein the same set of parameters can be used to analyse both language internal and contact-induced grammaticalisation. These parameters are as follows (Heine & Kuteva 2007; Kuteva & Heine 2012: 92):

a. "extension (or context generalization): use in new contexts suggests new meanings,

b. desemanticization (or "semantic bleaching"), i.e. loss in meaning content

c. decategorialization i.e. loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical or other less grammaticalized forms, and

d. erosion (or "phonetic reduction), i.e. loss in phonetic substance".

Later, Kuteva & Heine (2012) departed from the idea of ordinary vs. replica grammaticalisation, instead presenting an integrative model that split grammaticalisation processes into propelling vs. accelerating forces. Figure 5 displays this model.
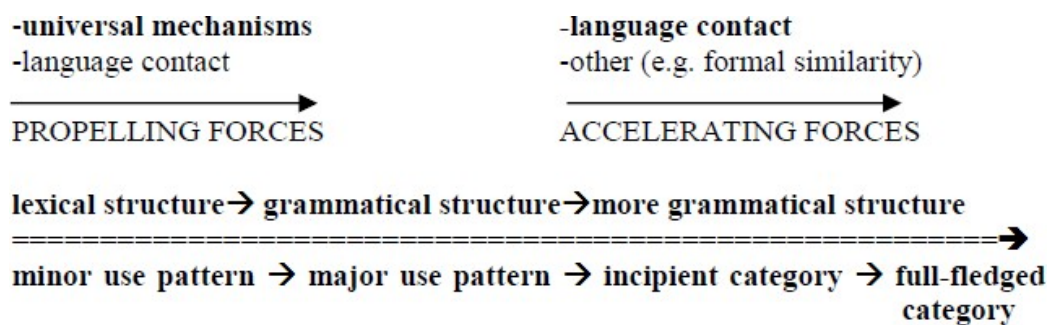
Figure 5: Integrative model of grammaticalisation (Kuteva & Heine 2012: 163)

In this model, the items above the doubled line display the macro-perspective, and those below the line display the micro-perspective. In terms of the macro-perspective or *langue*, these propelling and accelerating forces act to push linguistic expressions from "lexical- to-grammatical-to-more-grammatical status" (Kuteva & Heine 2012: 163). In terms of the micro-perspective, or *parole*, in terms of language use feeding into language structure, the process involves movement from a minor use pattern into a full-fledged category (Kuteva & Heine 2012).

In later work, however, Kuteva (2017) recognises the focus on grammaticalisation only and proposes an extended model that also includes borrowing processes. This model is displayed in Figure 6.
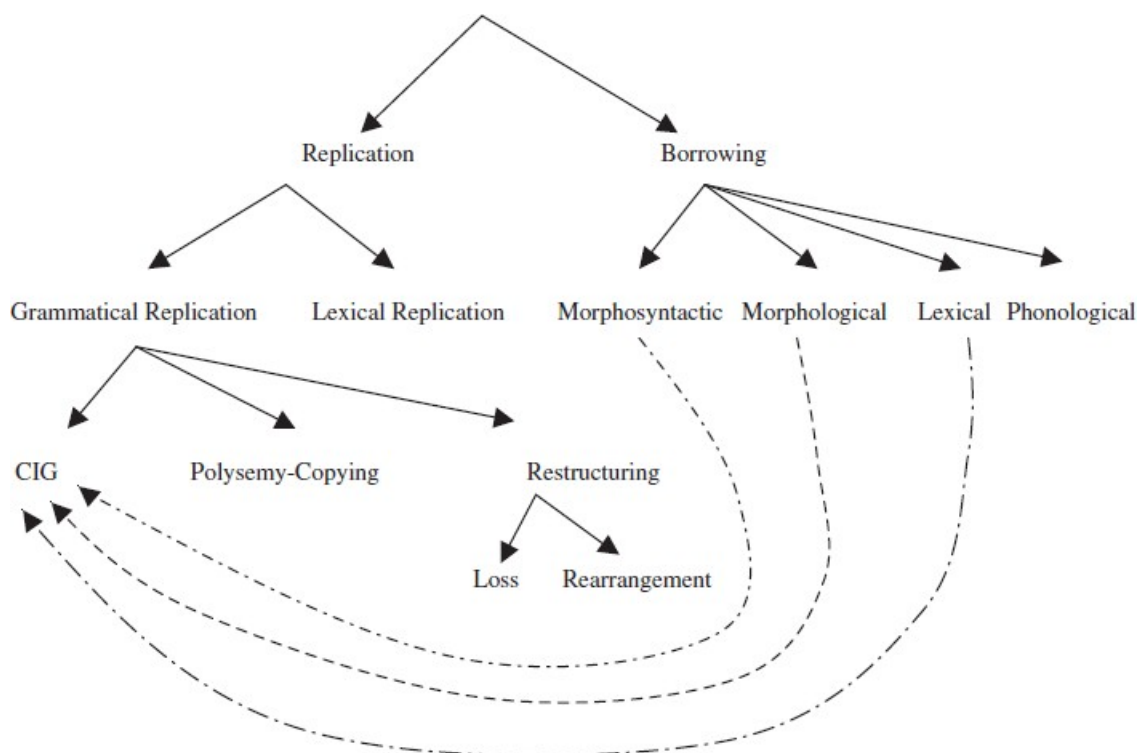
Figure 6: Kuteva's (2017: 174) Comprehensive Model of Contact-Induced Linguistic Transfer

This model elaborates the taxonomy of borrowing, allowing for a greater understanding of the processes occurring under this heading. The dotted unidirectional links represent "dynamic historical processes" (Kuteva 2017: 174).

Kuteva (2017) also links Heine & Kuteva's (2006) model to that of Matras & Sakel (2007) in terms of the two-way distinction on which they are both based. In Heine & Kuteva's (2006) model, linguistic transfer "involving phonological material/phonetic substance" is referred to as borrowing, and this same concept is referred to as matter borrowing (MAT) by Matras & Sakel (2007) (Kuteva 2017: 172). In the same vein, linguistic "transfer involving the transfer of meanings and structures associated with them whereby no phonological material/phonetic substance is involved" is referred to as replication in Heine & Kuteva's (2006) model, and pattern borrowing (PAT) by Matras & Sakel (2007) (Kuteva 2017: 172). These terminologies

are especially relevant to this thesis and will be used throughout the four papers.

Heine & Kuteva (2005: 33) also propose the following as a tool for identifying cases of contact-induced language change: if linguistic property X is shared by language Y and language Z, and these languages have a history of contact, and X is found in languages genetically related to Y but not in those genetically related to Z, this may be an example of contact-induced transfer, with X being transferred from Y to Z. A diagram of this proposed phenomenon created by the researcher is shown in Figure 7.
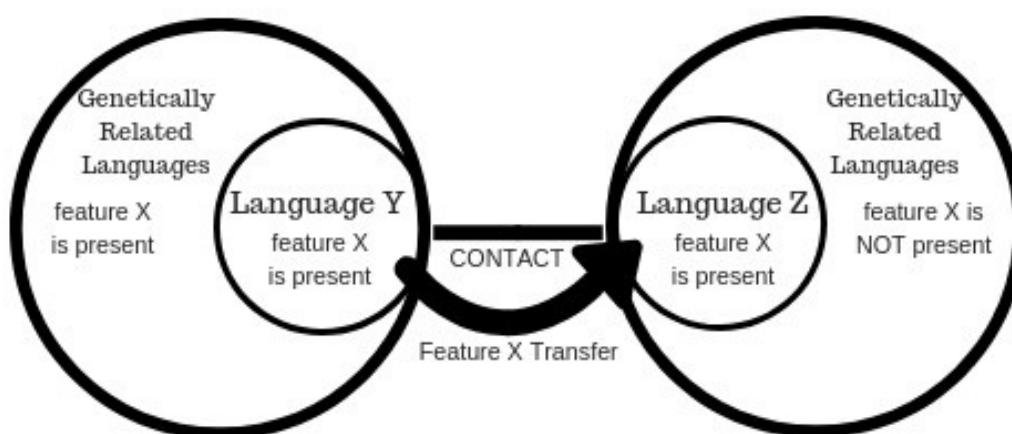
Figure 7: Created from Heine and Kuteva's (2005: 33) heuristic

2.5 What does contact-induced transfer look like? Types and examples of grammatical borrowing and replication

In this section, several types and examples of grammatical borrowing and replication are shown. These examples can assist in understanding and analysing the processes occurring in Czech and English.

2.5.1 Double marking

A concept can be borrowed from one language into another whilst still retaining the grammatical structure for the concept in the original language. This is called double marking and can be used for emphasis.

One example of double marking is seen in Molisean, a Croatian dialect spoken in Molise,

Southern Italy by a Slavic minority, which has undergone a process by which the outcome is double marking (Breu 1996). Molisean has been in contact with Italian for over five hundred years (Breu 1996). According to Breu (1996), Molisean speakers utilise *s* 'with' for instrumental phrases on the model of Italian *con* 'with'. Standard Croatian, on the other hand, distinguishes between the comitative (wherein *s* 'with' is included before the noun), and the instrumental (wherein this is not required). This is an example of PAT, wherein the function but not the form has been borrowed. As the instrumental case ending *-em* is already marked on the noun, the use of *s* 'with' creates a double marking in Molisean Croatian.

An example is shown below:

Standard Croatian

    (4) *nož -em*

       knife-**INST**

       'with a knife'

Molisean Croatian

    (5) *s*   *nož-em*

       with   knife-**INST**

       'with a knife'

Italian

    (6) **con**   *un*   *coltello*

       with   a   knife

       'with a knife'

(Breu 1996)

Double-marking also occurs in preacher-style speech in Yolŋu Matha and English[14] (Gale

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[14] I say Yolŋu Matha and English here because, as Gale (1993) suggests, it is unclear as to whether the language being spoken here is Yolŋu Matha with large chunks of English, or vice versa. Much codeswitching is occurring in the cases analysed by Gale (1993), and it is not clear which language is theMatrix Frame. Code-switching will be further discussed in §3.1.

1993). This style of speech is commonly used by male ministers who have undergone theological training outside of the community (Gale 1993). Gale (1993) suggests that reasons for the occurrence of preacher-style speech, meaning utilising English in conjunction with Yolŋu Matha, include the power and status of English within a Christian church setting and a need for non-Yolŋu Matha speaker audience members to have an understanding of the preaching. One example of double-marking in preacher-style speech is the utilisation of the Yolŋu Matha suffix -dhu, as well as the English preposition with, to express the concept of 'with his own blood' (with his own blood-dhu) (Gale 1993: 13). Another is the use of suffixes -ngur 'from' and -lil 'to the' along with the English prepositions 'from' and 'to' in the announcement of Bible readings in sentences like the following: from verse 14-ngur to verse 16-lil 'from verse 14 to verse 16' (Gale 1993: 13).

2.5.2 Morphological renewal

Morphological renewal occurs where the L2 form of a concept is replaced with the L1 form. This can result in a loss in what can be expressed through the L2 grammar. Such a loss can often occur in situations of minority-language contact with a majority language. It can result in the loss of certain ways of knowing and being amongst different groups around the world. An example of morphological renewal is that of the borrowing of the Slavic superlative prefix naj- in the Ormánság and Hosszúszó dialects of Hungarian (Fuchs 1949; Seifart 2020). This prefix is added to forms which include Hungarian comparative suffixes (Seifart 2020). Hungarian already has a superlative prefix leg-. Examples are shown below (Fuchs 1949: 225-226; Seifart 2020):

(7) *náj-nagy-obb*

SPRLTV[15]-big-CMPTV[16]

'biggest'

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[15] Superlative – this abbreviation is not included in the Leipzig Glossing Rules.
[16] Comparative – this abbreviation is not included in the Leipzig Glossing Rules.

(8) *náj-zë-bb*

SPRLTV-nice-CMPTV

'most beautiful'

It is not known whether this morphological renewal remains in these two dialects, as there is a seventy-year gap between publication of this phenomenon and the present, and the researcher is not aware of other more recent information on these specific dialects. However, it is known that the use of leg- as a superlative prefix continues to be used in Standard Hungarian (Bobaljik 2012).

A quite rare and atypical example of morphological renewal is Mednyj Aleut, a language spoken on Mednyj Island off the coast of Russia's Kamchatka Peninsula (Thomason & Kaufman 1988). The Aleut language has an agglutinative tense and person suffix system for both finite and non-finite verbs (Menovščikov 1969; Thomason & Kaufman 1988). However, after extensive language contact with Russian, Mednyj Aleut lost agglutination for its finite verbs and adopted the Russian flexional person/tense suffix system (Thomason & Kaufman 1988). This was a loss of grammatical categories and diversity of forms for Mednyj Aleut grammar, where there were originally over four hundred possible endings for each finite verb (Thomason & Kaufman 1988). The L1 and L2 of the speakers is deliberately not determined here, due to the process by which this contact- induced change occurred being contentious in the literature. Vakhtin (1998) and Matras (2009: 300) suggest that it was the bilingual second generation of speakers who, with a grammatical base of Russian, utilised Aleut vocabulary to "keep Aleut alive". Thomason (1997: 463), on the other hand, asserts that the "language is basically Aleut, with Russian features incorporated into the Aleut base". Depending on the perspective, this case may either be representative of grammatical or lexical borrowing, both of which stem from language contact.

2.5.3 Gap filling

Borrowing may also occur from L1 to L2 (or vice-versa) when there is not a certain way of

expressing the concept or of encoding certain information in one of the languages. This can result in the addition of grammar that allows for certain concepts to be expressed from L1 to L2.

An example of this phenomenon is Pipil, a Mesoamerican language spoken in El Salvador. Before contact with the Spanish language, there were limited resources of coordination and subordination (Campbell 1993). However, after language contact, Pipil adopted many coordinating conjunctions from Spanish, which are shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Borrowing in Pipil

BORROWING WITHIN PIPIL	ORIGINAL SPANISH	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
pero, pe:roh	*pero*	but
ni, ni ke	*ni, ni que*	neither nor, nor
sino	*sino*	but
i	*y*	and
mas bien	*más bien*	rather
o	*o*	or

(Campbell 1993: 97)

The Spanish coordinating conjunctions were borrowed into the Pipil language, allowing for more explicit expression of the relationship between conjoined clauses.

Another example of this is Sri Lanka Malay, which developed into an agglutinating language (previously an isolating language) under the influence of Tamil (Meakins 2020). This language acquired case-marking and pre-nominal determiners and adjectives due to this social contact (Smith et al. 2004; Ansaldo, 2011; Nordhoff, 2012).

This gap filling phenomenon has also occurred in Yolŋu Matha. The coordinating conjunction wo 'or' was borrowed into the language from the English 'or' (Yolŋu Matha Dictionary 2002). The language did not previously have a coordinating conjunction to express this meaning (Yolŋu Matha Dictionary 2002).

2.5.4 Contact-induced syntactic change and grammatical replication

Most of the examples above represent MAT borrowing (Matras & Sakel 2007, see §2.1), with the exception of Molisean Croatian. However, there are also many examples of PAT borrowing (Matras & Sakel 2007), or grammatical replication (Heine & Kuteva 2005) (see §2.4.2 for links between these concepts).

(1) Sentential word order change can occur due to language contact (Thomason 2014). Some examples discussed by Thomason (2014: 206) include:

(2) Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) in Proto-Finnic to Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) in Finnish – under Indo-European influence

(3) Verb-Subject-Object (VSO) to SOV in Akkadian – under Sumerian influence (Kaufman 1974: 132)

(4) SVO to SOV in Munda - influence of other language families in India

(5) SVO to SOV in Austronesian languages of New Guinea – influence of non-Austronesian New Guinea languages (Bradshaw 1979)

(6) SOV word order frequently occurring in Asia Minor Greek – Turkish influence.

However, as Thomason (2014: 206) suggests, identical-seeming sentential word order patterns may "be produced by very different underlying syntactic structures".

She discusses several examples of typological change that do not involve morpheme transfer in that "the contact-induced innovations in phonological, morphological, and syntactic categories are expressed by native morphemes", in other words, examples of PAT (Matras & Sakel 2007; Thomason 2014: 210).

These examples are presented below:

(1) Feature transfer occurred from Burushaski, an isolate language, to Shina, an Indic language of Northeastern Pakistan (Lorimer 1937). Features transferred included "a singulative construction formed with a suffix derived from the native Shina word for

'one', the use of a plural verb with an indefinite/interrogative pronoun, and… the use of an infinitive with a case marker to begin a sentence, where the infinitive is that of the main verb of the preceding sentence" (Thomason 2014: 210).

(2) Loss of the definite article except in the accusative case in the most significantly Turkicised dialects of Asia Minor Greek (Dawkins 1916: 46, 87). Also, in Asia Minor Greek from Turkish influence: "loss of most agreement inflection in attributive adjectives… [and] loss of grammatical gender" (Dawkins 1916: 115-125; Thomason 2014: 210)

(3) Dravidian influence: Indic languages Bengali and Marathi acquired negative verbs (Southworth 1971: 264; Klaiman 1977: 311); Sindhi, Gujarati and Kupwar Urdu acquired an inclusive/exclusive 'we' distinction (Emeneau [1962]: 59; Gumperz & Wilson 1971; Southworth 2005).

(4) Indic influence: Dravidian language Kannada developed "subordinate clauses with finite verbs beside typical Dravidian participial constructions" (Nadkarni 1970; Sridhar 1978: 205; Thomason 2014: 210).

3. What else could be occurring here: Other contact-related processes[17]

3.1 To borrow or to code-switch? Codeswitching

It is important to distinguish borrowing from codeswitching, as this thesis aims to focus on borrowing only. There are differing definitions of code-switching in the literature, and, indeed, differing opinions on whether borrowing and code-switching are able to be separated out. Torres Cacoullos & Travis (2020: 252) report that there are many terminologies and taxonomies in the literature regarding codeswitching, and "an astounding lack of agreement even on how to recognise a code-switch". Code-switching is thus similar to borrowing in this sense: its definition varies depending on which scholar one is reading. Winford (2010: 182) defines classic code-switching as a situation wherein a speaker imports content morphemes or

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[17] Pidgins and creoles also occur from language contact, but a deep discussion of such developments isbeyond the scope of this thesis.

phrases from their external source language into the morphosyntactic frame of their dominant language (or recipient language). Myers-Scotton (1993: 4; 2002) labels this morphosyntactic frame the Matrix Language Frame and gives the following definition for code-switching: "the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation".

According to Muysken (2000), code-switching refers to a switch between languages at a "switch point"; switching between still fully intact codes with their separate grammars, lexicon, etc. Taking a broad perspective, Backus (2009: 307) defines code-switching, specifically for that particular paper, as "any kind of discourse in which words originating in two different language systems are used side-by-side".

Attempts have been made to distinguish code-switching from borrowing, but, according to Winford (2010: 182), criteria for asserting such differences are shaky and inconclusive. He suggests treating "lexical switches and lexical borrowings as manifestations of the more general phenomenon of borrowing under Recipient Language agentivity [as]… the same underlying process is involved", effectively blurring the lines between the two concepts. Torres Cacoullos & Travis (2020: 256) posit more separated definitions of the two concepts, stating that borrowing involves "lexical retrieval from the recipient language only", whilst code-switching involves "drawing from two languages in real time".

Matras & Adamou (2020: 239) acknowledge that some scholars consider borrowings to be distinguishable from code-switching, yet other researchers find that these processes are best understood as a continuum. Poplack & Dion (2012) are of the view that integration of single-word tokens into the grammatical frame of a recipient language are borrowings, whereas code-switching refers to multi-word insertions. However, one could argue that it is also possible for borrowings to exist as multi-word expressions e.g., the lexical borrowing of French déjà vu 'already seen' into English. Poplack et al. (1988) and MacSwan (2016) are also of the view that code-switching and borrowing can be differentiated, and Torres

Cacoullos & Travis (2020: 258) state that borrowing and code-switching "must be recognised as distinct manifestations of language contact". This is in contrast to Myers-Scotton (1993) and Matras (2009), who are proponents of a continuum between borrowing and code-switching. Myers-Scotton (1993) proposes that single words are code-switches that can become borrowings if they become propagated and conventionalised into the speech community. It is important to note that the authors from both viewpoints all appear to be discussing primarily lexical transfer in particular, rather than that of grammar.

Gardani (2012: 75) differentiates transfer from code-switching by stating that transfer is a "permanent, well-established and collective phenomenon", whereas "code-switching is an ephemeral, temporary and rather individual occurrence". She quotes Myers- Scotton (1993: 204): "[i]t is not that a B[orrowed] form must recur to be a B[orrowed] form; it is that a C[ode] S[witched] form must not recur in order to be a C[ode] S[witched] form". Given that this thesis defines borrowing as including innovations (cf. §2.1), it then begs the question, how is it possible to distinguish between an innovation in terms of a borrowing and code-switching?

Matras (2009), on the other hand, considers a range of features in deciding whether a phenomenon represents borrowing or code-switching, including (paraphrased from Matras & Adamou 2020: 240):

(1) degree of speaker bilingualism (monolingual v. bilingual)

(2) degree of item composition (utterance v. single lexeme)

(3) degree of functionality (stylistic v. default use)

(4) unique character of the referent (lexical v. para-lexical)

(5) operationality (core vocabulary v. grammatical operations)

(6) regularity of the process (single v. regular occurrence)

(7) structural integration (non-integrated v. integrated).

Processes over time also appear to blur the distinction. Auer (2020: 157) discusses MAT

(Matras & Sakel 2007) under the heading of codeswitching, thus suggesting that such borrowing types are synonymous with codeswitching. He discusses borrowing of the –*ment* suffix from Medieval French into English, as well as the –*ie* suffix (from Old French) into German –*ei*, as being examples of lexical borrowings that have influenced the grammar of the receiving language (Auer 2020). Auer (2020: 162) appears to be in alignment with Gardani (2012) and Myers-Scotton (1993) in stating that "code- switching (including ad hoc borrowing) can have an impact on language structure… ad hoc borrowings can develop into established loanwords". It seems here that Auer (2020) also sees code-switching as that which does not recur, is ephemeral, and thus is more similar to an innovation.

3.2 Convergence: A process resulting from codeswitching and borrowing in contact scenarios?

Convergence is another phenomenon that can occur due to language contact, and it is both a process and an outcome. In the context of the contact literature, it essentially means that two languages are becoming more similar to one another in a contact situation and is thus relevant for discussion when considering phenomena arising from contact between Czech and English.

Myers-Scotton (2002) suggests that convergence can occur due to code-switching. For situations of codeswitching, Myers-Scotton's (2002) Matrix Language Framework was created. It proposes that there is an analysable frame that structures the morphosyntax of any Complementiser Phrase (called the Morphosyntactic Frame). In bilingual speech, the languages never participate equally as the source of the Matrix Language; the Matrix Language being the dominant language into which components of the embedded language are inserted (Myers-Scotton 2002).

Further distinctions occur. Myers-Scotton (2002) differentiates between two types of codeswitching: classic codeswitching and composite codeswitching. Classic codeswitching occurs when the morphosyntactic frame of bilingual speech is "derived from only one of the participating languages" (Myers-Scotton 2002: 105). Composite codeswitching is a "phenomenon with morphemes from two languages within a bilingual CP… with the abstract

morphosyntactic frame derived from more than one source language" (Myers-Scotton 2002:
105). An example of composite codeswitching between Hebrew and Arabic is shared by
Kheir (2019: 503) in her article on the Druze language in Israel. Arabic is bolded in (9).

(9)   Composite codeswitching

ana	*ein-li*	*savlanut*	*la*	***hai***
I	not-have.for.me	patience	for	this.SG.F

el-*štuyot*
the-nonsense-PL.F

(10)   Arabic

ana	*ma*	*ʕend-iš*	*ṣaber*	*la*	*hada*
I	NEG	have-not	patience	for	DEM

(e)l-habal'
the-nonsense

(11)   Hebrew

'(ani)	*ein*	*li*	*savlanut*	*la-štuyot*
I	not-have	for-me	patience	for-nonsense

ha-ʔelo'
DEM.PL
'I do not have patience for this nonsense'

Kheir (2019: 503) presents this as a case of composite codeswitching for several reasons,
including: the use of the Hebrew negation morpheme *ein* 'not' being used with an Arabic
pronoun; the suffixing of the Hebrew dative pronoun *li* 'for me' to the negation marker *ein*
'not', a pattern in general use in Arabic; use of the Arabic feminine demonstrative *hai* with a
Hebrew plural noun (agreement rule violation); and inflection of the Hebrew noun with the
Arabic determiner *el*.

A Matrix Language Turnover occurs when the Morphosyntactic Frame changes from L1 to
L2 or vice-versa (Myers-Scotton 2002). According to Myers-Scotton (2002), certain
borrowings occur as a result of a Matrix Language Turnover that does not go to completion.

Myers-Scotton (2002) thus surmises that, due to the fact that a composite Matrix Language frames the bilingual CP[18] in composite codeswitching, it entails convergence. Under the Abstract Level model, convergence is both a mechanism and an outcome, which occurs in the "mental lexicon when lemmas underlying content morphemes from what was the lesser dominant language achieve a level of activation more similar to that of the more dominant language" (Myers-Scotton 2002: 101). Essentially, convergence can represent what is often referred to as "structural borrowing" in terms of using surface-level morphemes from both languages within the morphosyntactic frame (though Myers-Scotton avoids this terminology). Myers-Scotton (2002) asserts that codeswitching is the main structural mechanism promoting convergence. Convergence represents the beginning of a chain of events that results in new "grammatical outcomes on both abstract and surface levels" (Myers-Scotton 2002: 248). Such an outcome represents a split language, which, according to the Matrix Language turnover theory, is when a turnover did not go to completion (Myers-Scotton 2002).

However, Torres Cacoullos & Travis (2020: 268) refute the claim that code-switching leads to convergence, finding that, according to their data, bilinguals are not impacted by the L2 pattern when speaking their L1, even in the environment of using the L1 nearby. They state that in code-switching "speakers strictly alternate between two languages, each language retaining the same grammatical patterns as in the absence of code-switching" (Torres Cacoullos & Travis 2020).

In the context of convergence as an effect (rather than a process), it can be viewed as having had a unidirectional influence, or reciprocal/mutual influence (Hock 1986; Romaine 1988; Salmons 1990; Thomason 2000; Myers-Scotton 2002; Heine & Kuteva 2005). The perspective taken here thus influences analysis of linguistic outcomes.

Taking a transitional approach, Wiemer (2020) suggests that convergence can mean an

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[18] Projection of complementizer: Myers-Scotton (2002: 54) states that the CP is "the syntactic structure expressing the predicate-argument structure of a clause, plus any additional structures needed to encode discourse-relevant structure and the logical form of that clause".

increased similarity between language varieties in contact, and that convergence implies a diachronic change. He suggests that language contact can "work as a catalyst of convergence" (Wiemer 2020: 286). Convergence was a key factor in the rise of transitional dialects in Slavic languages (Durnovo, Sokolov & Ušakov, 1915; Małecki 2004 [1934]). Wiemer (2020: 278) proposes the following chronological relation for the development of transitional dialects:

(1) "dialect continuum

(2) increasing divergence: split-up into salient (sufficiently dissimilar) dialects A, B… (=loss of homogeneity), often accompanied (or conditioned) by topographic or political-administratory borders

(3) (secondary) convergence: mutual assimilation of subdialects from adjacent parts of larger dialect areas A, B…

(4) rise of transitional dialects sufficiently distinct from dialects A, B…".

A relevant example of a transitional zone is that of northern Moravia (in the Czech Republic) and south-western Silesia (in Poland) (Wiemer 2020).

Convergence can also be viewed through a lens of language loss. Aikhenvald (2006: 47) views convergence as the situation arising when one language adopts the grammatical structures of another, "often at the expense of its own". In situations where one language is more dominant than the other, she suggests that this can lead to language attrition and obsolescence (Aikhenvald 2006).

Convergence can occur between dialects of the same language and can occur along with koineisation (Wiemer 2020). Such an event has occurred in Czech. The Czech National Revival occurred in the mid-1800s, and language revival was a key part in this. Leading figures in the revival, including Josef Jungmann (see §4.1.1) created a superregional "standard" variety of Czech (*spisovná čeština*), also now called Literary Czech. This standard was created with heavy grammatical borrowing from the Czech of the era of the Kralice Bible

(translated by the Moravian Brethren in the 1580s). This, along with later "purification" of the language (elimination of real and perceived Germanisms) led to a divide between the spoken language and the literary standard. This split then led to a superregional koine mostly based on the Central Bohemian dialects (*obecná čeština*). The two varieties became diglossic, and dialectal differentiation outside these varieties levelled out. Subsequently, the differences between *spisovná čeština* (Literary Czech) and *obecná čeština* (Common Czech) have become increasingly difficult to distinguish, and it has presently "more or less turned into register variation which incorporates elements of both varieties" (Wiemer 2020: 279). As a result of this convergence, the situation is no longer that of a diglossia (Bermel 2000; Wiemer 2020)[19].

Outcomes of convergence include both simplification and complexity. Convergence can involve either a simplification in terms of "an elimination of contrasts between two (or more) systems", especially when cognitive motivations are highlighted, or an increase in complexity, when sociopsychological factors such as considerations of group solidarity are the focus (Wiemer 2020). However, in her study on Modern Greek contact-induced varieties, Melissaropoulou (2017) claims that temporary complexifications ultimately result in simplification.

A different approach is evident in the work by Höder (2014), who views convergence under the lens of a multilingual system, rather than a system of two separate languages. He states that a diasystem (or a language system with features common to more than one linguistic variety) does not represent two separate monolingual systems in contact, but rather contains changes within a single multilingual system (Höder 2014: 58).

As a result of these different approaches, there are several proposed models for the

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[19] This linguistic history is considered when analysing the data for instances of grammatical borrowing inthe first paper (Chapter 5).

mechanisms of convergence, as discussed by Wiemer (2020: 287–289). These include:

(1) Code Copying (Johanson 2002)

(2) PAT and MAT borrowing (Matras & Sakel 2007; Matras 2009)

(3) Pivot-matching (Matras & Sakel 2007; Matras 2009; 2011; 2013)

(4) Contact-induced grammaticalisation (Heine & Kuteva 2005; Matras 2009; Kuteva & Heine 2012; Matras 2013)

(5) Polysemy copying

(6) Interlingual identification of linguistic subsystems (Gast & van der Auwera 2012).

3.3 Contact resulting in language loss: Attrition, shift, loss, and death

Processes of attrition, shift, loss, and death are highly relevant in terms of analysis of the contact situations between English and Czech in this thesis. In consideration of whether contact-induced borrowing and replication has occurred, other causes of potential phenomena found must also be considered. Major possibilities for this include attrition, shift and divergent attainment, loss, and language death. These are examined below.

3.3.1 Attrition

Defining Attrition

Attrition is discussed quite frequently in the literature, though it is not always made clear exactly what it is, and which processes lay behind the encapsulating term. Some authors (such as Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Hulsen 2000; Pavlenko 2003) who attempt to clarify the definition of attrition serve only to muddy the waters somewhat. This is because the definitions often diverge especially in terms of the causes involved. The overarching meaning of a reduction in use of and skills in a language, however, generally seems to remain the same. The broad meaning of attrition relevant to this thesis is a significant loss in the range of linguistic components utilised in speech. A key factor in this attrition is the frequency of use of the language, and the domains and purposes for which the language is used. First, language attrition often follows a move to a second language environment (Keijzer 2020: 221). This

has been described by Porte (1999a: 28), who states that the "loss of a second or foreign language [occurs] some years after instruction, and subsequent disuse, or the loss of a first language where, for example, the local community where the person resides speaks a different language".

The concept of attrition is then split into two categories in the literature: loss of the language components in speech (Seliger 1996; Zajícová 2009; 2012; Albirini & Benmamoun 2012); and replacement of components of the language with borrowings from a contact language (Sharwood Smith & Kellerman 1986; Grosjean & Py 1991; Pavlenko 2000; Gürel 2002; Cherciov 2013). In terms of replacement, Pavlenko (2003: 34) states that language attrition is the "loss of (or inability to produce) some L1 elements due to L2 influence: e.g., acceptance of syntactically deviant L1 sentences under the influence of L2 constraints"[20]. However, proponents of attrition as loss-only rather than replacement would instead call this L2 influence structural borrowing (Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Sanchez 2005a; Backus 2005; Næss & Jenny 2011).

Attrition in this case is also conceptualised as a combination of complete loss and replacement. Schmid & Keijzer (2009: 83) refer to L1 attrition as involving the language appearing to become "less easily accessible… word-finding difficulties, interferences from the second language (L2), and lexical and grammatical 'errors'" beginning to occur.

Another split exists in the literature in terms of whether the label attrition occurs solely on an individual basis, or on a group, community, or whole-language basis. Some authors take the position that the specific label of attrition only involves the individual (Sherwood Smith 1991; Major 1992; Polinsky 1994; Dutková 1998[21]; Myers-Scotton 2002; Keijzer 2020). This, then,

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[20] However, she also states that L1 attrition is a "complex phenomenon that cannot be reduced to L2 influence) (Pavlenko 2003: 44). She expands on this in her 2004 paper with the Crosslinguistic Influence(CI) framework, stating that L1 attrition "involves a more or less permanent restructuring, convergence, or loss of previously available phonological and morphosyntactic rules, lexical items, concepts, classification schemas, categorial distinctions, and conversational and narrative conventions, exhibited not only in the L2 but also in a monolingual L1 context.

[21] It is important to take Dutková's (1998) definition into account because her work is heavily referenced throughout the first two papers (Chapters 5 & 6), as it addresses a minority variety of Czech in America.

when analysed through the lens of generation, means that attrition in this case is seen as being intragenerational only. Others extend the term of attrition to include that of a community or language-wide scale, thus spanning several generations, i.e., intergenerational (Freed 1982; de Bot & Weltens 1991; Gross 2000; Gürel 2002; Thomason 2003). This bridging occurs where the original L1 is "gradually replaced by the language of the host country in the course of two to three generations" in the case of immigrants, or where the original L1 is gradually replaced by the language of those in power, as has and does occur in indigenous communities (de Bot & Weltens 1991: 42) Hulsen (2000) abides by the definition of shift as loss occurring cross generationally. Hulsen's (2000: 3) figure clearly delineates the differentiation between language shift and attrition under the broader umbrella of language loss (Figure 8).

LANGUAGE LOSS

INTERGENERATIONAL   INTRAGENERATIONAL

Language shift   Language attrition
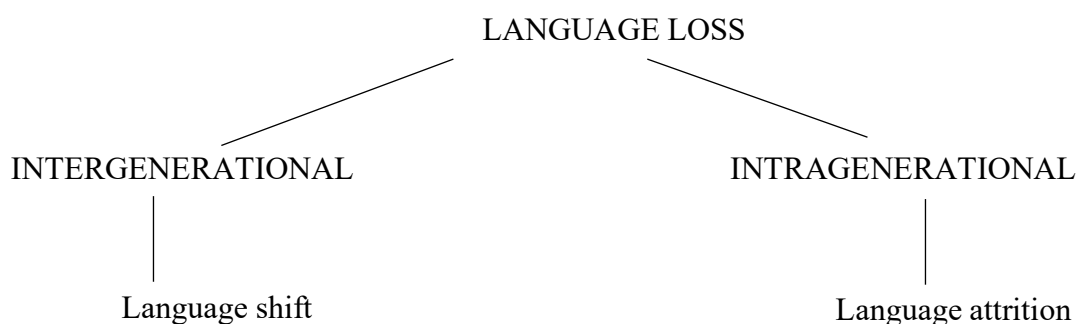
Figure 8: The relationship between language loss, shift and attrition according to Hulsen (2000: 3)

Attrition can also be categorised in terms of environment. According to Van Els (1986), as well as De Bot & Weltens (1985) and Gross (2000), there are four major attrition categories:

(1) L1 attrition in an L1 environment, e.g. attrition of elderly people

(2) L1 attrition in an L2 environment, e.g. migrant language attrition

(3) L2 attrition in an L1 environment, e.g. attrition of repatriating migrants

(4) L2 attrition in an L2 environment, e.g. attrition upon retirement.

This thesis focuses on L1 attrition in an L2 environment (2).

Position of this thesis on attrition

This thesis takes a stance on both of the diverging terminology norms in the literature, those being the loss/replacement split and the inter/intragenerational split, shown in Figure 9 below.
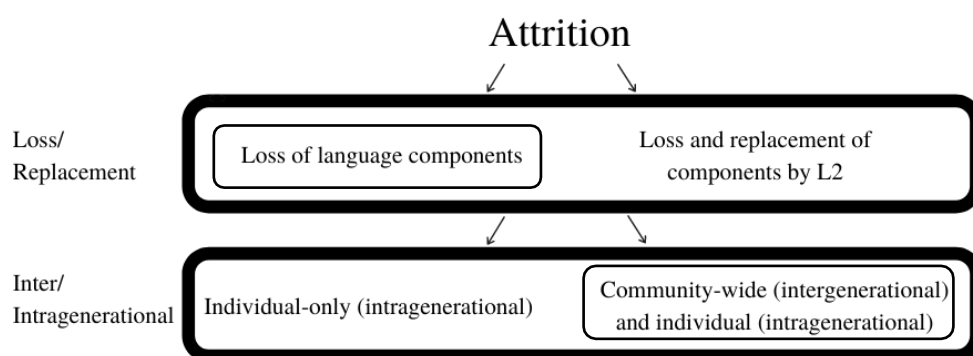
Figure 9: Concept of attrition in this thesis

This thesis takes the position that attrition does not include replacement, or the transfer of L2 into the L1, which is instead referred to in terms of *borrowing* and *replication* (Heine & Kuteva 2005; 2008; 2012). Attrition solely involves *loss* in the language components of speech.

This thesis also utilises Heine & Kuteva's (2005: 252) understanding that attrition may be, "and has been, understood as referring not only to individual language production but also to the general development of a language". Thus, attrition acts as a broader umbrella term encapsulating both individual language attrition and that of the community as a whole. However, language attrition within the individual is also referred to as "intragenerational" language attrition, which acts as a relevant differentiation for the key factor of generation in the communities studied. This type of attrition is also occasionally labelled "language attrition" in this thesis. Attrition occurring on the community level across generations, however, is here labelled both "shift" and "intergenerational attrition". These are explored in the following sections.

3.3.2 Language attrition and shift

"Intragenerational" language attrition or "language attrition"

There are several processes posited for intragenerational language attrition, including forgetting the L1 during second-language acquisition due to disuse and infrequent practice (Seliger & Vago 1991; de Bot et al. 1999). For example, Opitz (2013: 701) refers to language attrition as starting to "forget a language that was not practised".

Levy et al. (2007) posit that first language attrition may be related to retrieval-induced-forgetting (RIF) (Anderson, Bjork & Bjork 1994). They state "native-language words for ideas used most often in the foreign language are most vulnerable to forgetting… frequent use engages inhibitory control to achieve the fluency desired by foreign- language speakers" (Levy et al. 2007: 33). However, Hulsen (2000: 188) argues that difficulties in production encountered by those whose languages are undergoing attrition are retrieval problems rather than representing loss in terms of erasure from memory.

The level of language use plays a role. Schmid (2011) found that the strongest L1 attrition effects among bilingual speakers occurred with those who used their L1 the most and the least, whereas intermediate populations had higher levels of language maintenance. Schmid (2011) posits that, for those who use the language the most, they receive input from other bilinguals who may not "be targetlike in a consistent way[22]… this unreliability of the input may lead to accelerated language change" (Grosjean & Py 1991; Schmid 2014: 396). Speakers who use their L1 infrequently, however, may lose their language skills due to a process of atrophy (Schmid 2014). However, in Hulsen's (2000) dissertation on language loss and language processing in New Zealand Dutch migrants, she found that the continued use of Dutch in a speaker's primary social network and in domains outside the home is a compelling predictor for L1 retention. Another factor can be the level of education. Yağmur (1997) posits

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[22] This is taken to mean that the other bilinguals are not consistently using the language in the same way as a speaker living in the home country would.

that a higher level of proficiency in the L2 does not equal more attrition in the L1. Attriters[23] with a higher level of education generally have the highest L2 proficiency, and also outperform those with a lower level of education in the L1 (Yağmur 1997; Keijzer 2020). A higher educational background allows for speakers to build up a proficiency in their L1 that "acts as a safeguard against attrition" (Neisser, 1984; Keijzer 2020: 223). However, it is also true that language attrition can occur in the initial time following a change in language exposure (Chang 2012). This occurs due to a cognitive need to avoid interference from the L1 when beginning to engage with the new language (Chang 2012). Keijzer (2020: 226) suggests that such language learners "flexibly 'allow' changes to their L1 in accommodating their L2".

Several authors have also linked the extent of intragenerational language attrition to the age of onset of bilingualism (Pallier 2007; Montrul et al. 2008; Bylund 2009; Flores 2010; 2012). Individuals who moved to a new language situation as children tend to lose their L1 skills to a greater extent than adult immigrants whose L1 was fully developed at the time of migration (Ammerlaan 1996; Hulsen 2000; Polinsky 2018).

Another factor considered in the literature surrounding the attrition process is the role of attitudes and motivation in L1 attrition (Waas 1996; Yağmur 1997; Schmid 2002). In Schmid & Dusseldorp (2010), it was found that attitudinal factors had no impact at all on *lexical diversity*, whereas it was L1 use in the workplace that was the only factor consistently influencing the outcome. However, in the same study, Schmid & Dusseldorp (2010) discuss several reliable factor groupings regarding attrition, quoted from Keijzer (2020: 224):

   (1) "Identification and affiliation with the L1

   (2) Continued amount and type of L1 exposure

   (3) Attitudes towards the L1".

According to Dynamic Systems theory, L1 attrition and L2 acquisition are strongly related to

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[23] Those who are undergoing language attrition.

attitudinal factors (de Bot et al. 2007). This approach recognises the many interdependent variables involved with language attitudes and maintenance practices that may alter language system development (de Bot et al. 2007). However, Cherciov (2013) posits that, from a Dynamic Systems Perspective, analyses of the impact of attitude on first language attrition are not straightforward. Whilst she did not find much predictive power in terms of the measures of attitude and language use on the outcome variables, she did find through individual interview sessions that participants had various feelings about their language use, which conflicted and interacted with each other (Cherciov 2013). These included a desire for integration, a hope for imparting the language to the next generation, and identification, etc. (Cherciov 2013). Yilmaz & Schmid (2013: 253), operating within the Activation Threshold Hypothesis (ATH) and having quoted that Paradis (2007: 128) equates "the predictive value of motivation in successful second language acquisition with its impact on the rate of attrition", posit that "a positive emotional attitude toward one's native language and culture will lower the activation threshold enabling easy access and therefore be conducive to the maintenance of the native language". They also consider motivation towards integration into the social life and culture of the target language community and suggest that this is likely to affect their native language performance negatively and discourages maintenance of the L1 (Yilmaz & Schmid 2013: 254). However, later in their research they find that their data suggests a lack of relationship between motivational factors and language performance, in contrast to predictions made by the ATH. Cherciov (2013: 730) states that "a positive attitude is not in and of itself a guarantee against language attrition… [and is] only instrumental if conducive to an active effort to maintain the L1". Interestingly, for some immigrants, the desire to return to the original identity strengthened the longer they had been in the host country (Prescher 2007; Cherciov 2013). Cherciov (2013: 730) suggests that such an unpredictable shift in attitude is "in line with Dynamic Systems Theory" (Herdina & Jessner 2002; de Bot et al. 2007).

There is also the idea that attrition shown in production could be attributed to the cognitive

load in bilingual processing. Yilmaz & Schmid (2013) posit that the reduction in L1 lexical diversity and increase in hesitation markers found in Turkish-Dutch bilinguals is due to the "larger cognitive load associated with bilingual processing" rather than to lack of practice (Schmid 2016). Bergmann et al (2015) used EEG (electroencephalogram testing) responses to conclude that prolonged L2 immersion does not engender much change in morphosyntactic *processing* in bilingual natives. They achieved this by providing correct sentences and "sentences which contain violations of grammatical gender concord and verb fitness" to the bilingual group as well as a monolingual control group and found that "the detection of violations of these grammatical categories has not been eroded in the attritional process" (Schmid 2016: 212). This leads one to consider the difference between the speaker's language competency in comparison to their actual production. Whilst such attriters may be able to notice errors presented to them, it does not necessarily follow that they will not produce such errors. Sharwood Smith & van Buren (1991) suggest that language users "may be said to know… something, without this statement giving any information on

the facility with which that knowledge may be deployed in the various mental operations necessary for speech production".

Intergenerational language "attrition" or "shift"

Language attrition across the generations can be referred to as language shift. Language shift is defined as "a change from the habitual use of one language to that of another" by Weinreich (1953: 68), or the process of being replaced, partially or completely, by another language (Ammerlaan 1996). Alonso de la Fuente (2017: 317) uses this term as an alternate definition to language attrition; however, not all authors would agree with this and prefer to differentiate the two phenomena (see §3.3.1, Hulsen 2000). According to Myers-Scotton (2002: 48), a typical shift pattern has occurred when a speaker (or community of speakers) have shifted to the society's dominant language by the third generation. For example, Gürel (2002) argues that it would be more correct to analyse the cases of American Russian (Polinsky 1997) and

Pennsylvania German (Huffines 1991) as language shift rather than language attrition, as they are changes that occur through the generations, rather than restructuring in the mind of an individual speaker. Language shift is also defined as a situation in which a language variety which is lost in one community continues to be used in another setting (Wolfram 2002: 781-782).

A key aspect of intergenerational language attrition has been called imperfect learning, incomplete acquisition, and divergent attainment (Trudgill 1983: 124–126; Polinsky 1997; 2006; 2018). This occurs where subsequent generations are exposed to less and less input of the original L1, whether this be inside or outside of the home. According to Cherciov (2013: 717), L1 attrition in migrant contexts is "primarily triggered by reduced L1 input coupled with an increased dominance of the L2". Where incomplete acquisition is referred to in this thesis, it is in the way that Polinsky (2018: 26) originally intended: "adult heritage speakers' language is different from the baseline, and this difference can be accounted for by the *reduced input* received by heritage speakers growing up [emphasis mine]". It does not reflect the abilities or value of the speakers in any way (as suggested by Kupisch & Rothman (2016)), but rather captures the natural processes of intergenerational language attrition and focuses on reduced input, particularly given their L2 experiences outside the home. Notably, Polinsky (2018) changes the term *shift* to *divergent attainment*. In her study on American Russian, Polinsky (1997) also differentiates between the language spoken by non-first-generation speakers (American Russian) and the language of first-generation Russians (Émigré Russian).

According to Gonzo & Saltarelli (1983), within three or four generations immigrant languages in contact with a majority language are fated to be lost, while Paulston et al. (1993) suggest that, for immigrant languages, there is a high chance of a shift to the majority language. Polinsky (2018: 18) states three other possibilities (other than divergent attainment) for heritage speakers' grammar: "a match to that of the native baseline… transfer from the

bilingual's dominant grammar, [and] attrition over the lifespan". In discussing divergent attainment, she also refers to innovation. She posits that heritage speakers may actually engage in several of these at once: "a heritage speaker may simultaneously transfer the word order from their dominant language to the heritage language and lose a set of nominal paradigms under attrition while developing an innovative pattern of yes-no formation" (Polinsky 2018: 18).

The typical linguistic trajectory of heritage speakers involves: (1) in early childhood, stable exposure to the heritage language; (2) at school age, a decline in use of the heritage language; and (3) eventually, strong reliance on the L2 for everyday communication, with the L2 becoming the dominant language (Albirini & Benmamoun 2012: 8).

Attrition outcomes

Heine & Kuteva (2005) discuss the outcomes that attrition produces, by comparing it with grammaticalisation. According to them, the following tends to occur to case distinctions in European languages in contact due to attrition:

(1) Accusative/direct object markers are replaced by nominative/subject markers

(2) Dative/indirect object markers are replaced by accusative/direct object markers

(3) Markers for peripheral case functions (locatives, instrumentals) are replaced by markers for core participants (subject, object)

(Heine & Kuteva 2005: 254–256).

They posit that "new categories are far less likely to arise in the case of attrition; rather, existing categories are simplified, merge with other categories, or are simply abandoned" (Heine & Kuteva 2005: 254–256).

Another approach to attrition is viewing it as an agent of innovation and change. Zajícová (2012: 289) states that attrition is one of the three key driving forces causing morphological

innovation and change in situations of language contact. Attrition brings "innovations that occur as a result of the lack of language input/output" and these innovations do not necessarily make the dying language more similar to the replacement language (Zajícová 2012: 289). It is recognised that attrition causes results qualitatively different from other contact-induced processes, though both occur in a language contact situation (Andersen 1982; Sasse 1992a; 1992b; Thomason 2001; Köpke & Schmid 2004). Thomason (2003: 688) also differentiates between processes characterising language loss and other contact induced processes; she states that "non-convergent simplifying innovations in a dying language are certainly contact-induced, though they are not interference features".

A model describing attrition: The Dynamic Model of Multilingualism

The Dynamic Model of Multilingualism (DMM) is a model that applies dynamic systems theory to multilingual systems (Herdina & Jessner 2002). The model focuses on "the description of time-dependent changes in the psycholinguistic system", including a change of language dominance in a bilingual individual, with one language system weakening, e.g. in transitional bilingualism, the loss of L1 in an L2 environment (Seliger 1996; Jessner 2003: 235). The DMM takes into consideration the interaction between both changes at the societal level and variation on an individual level (Jessner 2003). Under this model, bi- and multilingual people can be classified into several groups: balanced bilinguals, unbalanced/asymmetrical bilinguals, and multilinguals[24].

Balanced bilingualism refers to a native-like proficiency level in both languages. Asymmetrical bilingualism can occur as transitional bilingualism or stable dominant bilingualism. Transitional bilingualism occurs when one language is gradually replaced by another, resulting in monolingualism in the L2. Stable dominant bilingualism occurs when a partial system develops, which involves the "freezing or domain specificity of the L2

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[24] Interestingly, Grosjean (1992) claims that bilingualism is not so much a clearly identifiable state, as it isa type of progress along a continuum (see §8).

development" (Herdina & Jessner 2002: 122). Multilingualism is also discussed, but it is not the focus of this paper.

A key parameter in retaining a high level of the L1 under the DMM is the Language Maintenance Effort (LME). In multilingual systems, the LME required to maintain the L1 grows "exponentially to the second order and soon exceeds the effort the average individual is prepared to put into the upkeep of his/her linguistic system" (Herdina & Jessner 2002: 113). This then has a tendency to "impede the ideal language acquisition process as language growth tends to outstrip required LME, leading to gradual loss of the language system" (Herdina & Jessner 2002: 113). Proficiencies in the languages depend on the communicative needs of the speaker (effective and perceived), including social status and related sociolinguistic parameters, as well as metalinguistic aptitude, language acquisition progress, motivation, perceived language competence, self-esteem, and anxiety. This model presumes that with increased proficiency in the L2, and little maintenance activity or communicative need to use the L2, the level of proficiency in the L1 will decrease, resulting in a dominance in the L2 or perhaps even language attrition in the L1 to the point of monolingualism in the L2. Following from this, it can be assumed that if participants have attained a high level of proficiency in the L2, and they engage in many maintenance activities, yet their L1 has deviated from the standard(s), it could be presumed to be a result of grammatical borrowing rather than attrition processes.

Can we keep it? Language maintenance

Also important to the concept of attrition processes are preventative actions taken against attrition, or language maintenance, as discussed within the Dynamic Model of Multilingualism (see §3.3.2) (Jessner 2003). According to this model, language attrition is a function of language acquisition as an "integrated part of an evolving dynamic system"[25], and language maintenance "provid[es]… the necessary link between the two processes" (Herdina

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[25] They posit that the two processes of attrition and acquisition depend on each other (Herdina & Jessner2002).

& Jessner 2002: 106). More use of one language will affect the other language(s) that an individual has, possibly leading to a decline of skills in the lesser used language (de Bot & Bülow 2020).

Language maintenance strategies, which can be as simple as "consulting a dictionary on the spelling of a word" or regular use of the language to be maintained, works to play a key role in the stability of the language system (Jessner 2003: 241–242). This concept is also referred to as Language Maintenance Effort, and it is composed of both "language use factor …activation of parts of the linguistic system for communicative purposes resulting in a renewal of parts of the subsystem", and "linguistic hypotheses verification, or corroboration factor… the renewal of parts of the speakers (explicit knowledge of a) linguistic subsystem by means of a verification of hypotheses coming from the language subsystem" (Herdina & Jessner 2002: 99). According to Paradis (2004; 2007), the most important predictive factor for language attrition within the Activation Threshold Hypothesis (ATH) framework is language use. It may be easier for individuals to engage in language maintenance activities in the modern day, as speakers now have "(social) media, applications like Skype and Facetime, and cheap airline tickets to ensure that they are never truly cut off from their L1 environments" (Keijzer 2020: 221).

3.3.3 Last steps: language death

Language attrition, at its extreme, can result in language death (Dorian 1981). Crystal (2002: 1) defines language death in a clear and simple fashion; he states, "A language dies when nobody speaks it anymore". By this definition, language death cannot occur in the scenarios analysed in this thesis: that is, Czech is still spoken elsewhere in the world regardless of whether it remains to be spoken in South Australia, and it is the same case for English spoken by L1 English speakers in the Czech Republic. In terms of both scenarios, the language is not differentiated enough to be considered a separate dialect (see §3.5). Thus, language death is not relevant for the groups studied in this thesis. Language loss in these scenarios relates more

to participants' sense of sociolinguistic and cultural identity.

3.4 When people come into contact: Language accommodation

3.4.1 What is language accommodation?

Another key consideration in analysis of grammatical phenomena occurring in English and Czech is that of language accommodation. This is especially true for L1 English L2 Czech speakers in the Czech Republic, as there is a large presence of L1 Czech L2 English speakers surrounding them, especially in the larger cities. This concept is thus utilised predominantly in Castle (in press).

Language accommodation is linked to Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), which explains the ways in which a speaker will utilise their linguistic resources for different desired effects on their interlocutors. CAT stipulates that an interlocutor will adjust their speech to that of others, namely, to obtain social approval and/or show friendliness/agreeableness toward their speech partner (Coupland et al. 1988; Giles et al. 1991; Giles 1971; 1973; 2009)[26]. This speech adjustment toward that of the fellow interlocutor(s) is called convergence[27], and can also be utilised for a range of other reasons, including promoting mutual intelligibility, showing courtesy and helping their interlocutor hone their language skills (Crawford 1987; Giles 2009; Gasiorek & Vincze 2016; Drljača Margić 2017).

This theory has been extended to encompass bilingual CAT, both in terms of switching to the interlocutor's language to accommodate or adjusting one's own register within their L1 to accommodate L2 speakers (Gasiorek & Vincze 2016; Drljača Margić 2017). Eighty-five percent of respondents in Drljača Margić's (2017) study reported adjusting their English when speaking with a non-native speaker. Some of the accommodation strategies used in this study

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[26] CAT also encompasses the ideas of both maintenance and divergence, wherein speakers will purposefully either not adjust their speech to that of their interlocutor, or even purposefully diverge from it, due to prevailing social norms, a sense of protecting their own space, and maintaining a separate socialidentity (Giles & Coupland 1991; Giles & Ogay 2006; Drljača Margić 2017).

[27] Convergence in this sense has a different meaning to its previous use in the thesis.

included (Drljača Margić 2017):

(1) using fewer idioms, e.g., he died rather than he kicked the bucket (35–36)

(2) simplifying sentence construction

(3) using grammatical constructions that would be considered incorrect in the standard variety of English that respondents spoke

(4) using fewer pronouns.

One respondent stated, "it is as though speaking to a non-native English speaker turns me into a non-native speaker" (Drljača Margić 2017: 38). In that study, respondents even mentioned using words and phrases "from their interlocutor's L1 or reshap[ing] some English expressions so that they reflect constructions from the interlocutor's first language" (Drljača Margić 2017: 44). Of course, this requires some knowledge of the interlocutor's first language.

3.4.2 Can language accommodation affect change?

L1 English speakers not fluent in the host language cannot converge to local native speakers of the host language through utilising the L2 (Sučková 2020b). However, host country inhabitants may wish to converge with the L1 English speaker, utilising the situation to practice their English (Sučková 2020b). This then leads to convergence on behalf of the L1 English speaker toward the interlocutor's L2 English, which may involve engaging in "foreigner talk"[28] (Ferguson 1975; Sučková 2020b). This type of convergence may only last a short period of time until the L1 English expatriate has established their social networks in the host country (Dostert 2009). However, Sučková (2020b: 51) suggests that "by this time, expatriates may have become habitualised to converging and the modifications may present a more or less permanent fixture". L1 English speaker teachers may be particularly vulnerable to this type of process due to a similar form of convergence labelled "teacher talk", wherein

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[28] Foreigner talk can entail using a slower tempo and simplified grammar and lexicon to aid the interlocutor in understanding, if the speaker perceives that they are not being understood well (Nekvapil& Sherman 2018).

teachers adjust their L1 to suit their students' language proficiency (Chaudron 1988; Porte 1999b; Dostert 2009).

In his study on code-mixing and blending in the L1 output of long-term resident overseas researchers, Porte (2003) recognises that L1 teachers of English may face difficulty in retaining their status as a native-speaker teacher model due to both the "inevitable erosion of the L1 consequent upon residence in the foreign country", and, importantly, the fact that the teacher is surrounded by students producing potential L1 deviances which teachers may cease to recognise and which teachers fear may be passing into their own performance (Porte 2003: 106).

This framework can also be adapted on a language-wide scale. In his study on diachronic change in movie title adaptations from English to Japanese, Heffernan (2008) investigated whether accommodation to the English language was present on a language-wide scale. Utilising accommodation index scores[29] found that the movie titles became increasingly accommodative to English, continuing steadily until slowing down in the 1990s. An example of a movie title with a lower assimilation score (but not no assimilation), using both translation and transliteration (in Katakana) is displayed below:

(12)   恋に   おちた   シェイクスピア
         koi-ni   ochi-ta   sheikusupia
         love-LOC   fall-PST   Shakespeare
         'Shakespeare who has fallen in love'
         Original film title: Shakespeare in love

Heffernan (2008) argues that this use of certain variants to achieve specific communicative effects reflects changing norms and positive attitudes towards the West within the society. This is an example of language change due to accommodation.

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[29] Cf. Heffernan (2008: 90) for more details.

3.5 Social dialect formation

It is also possible for social dialects (Bright 1960; Wolfram 1969; Kroch 1978) that differentiate between the diaspora and speakers in the home country to emerge due to factors including in-group covert prestige expressing a sense of social solidarity (Giles et al. 1977; Ryan 1979; Edwards 1982:21; Milroy 1982; Giles & Johnson 1981, 1987). However, social dialects are not relevant to this thesis for several reasons. There does not appear to be an in-group dialect that speakers in the Czech South Australian community use to differentiate themselves from Czechs in the Czech Republic; it does not appear that they are proud of their South Australian Czech in particular, but rather proud of their Czech (which they do not differentiate from Czech spoken in the Czech Republic) (see §4.1.2 in Castle 2021c). In terms of the L1 English speaking group, it did not appear that participants speak a grammatically separate social dialect of English to socially differentiate themselves from other English speakers in their respective home countries.

In both of these situations, it may be the case that the diaspora language has not had the time to develop separately from the home language in isolation, due to both technological advances and the relative age of the community. This is different to the situation of Texas Czech, which developed a separate dialect (Dutková 1998). Texas Czechs first arrived in the US in the mid-1800s, and their language developed in relative isolation (Dutková 1998; Eckert & Hannan 2009).

4. Grammatical borrowing in Czech and English in the past

This chapter covers grammatical borrowing from contact-induced transfer (see §2.5) in both Czech and English. This provides a background to discussion of the grammatical borrowing in the diaspora communities in the research papers to follow (see Chapters 5–8).

4.1 Grammatical borrowing in the Czech lands: German, Slovak, Russian and English

Contact-induced grammatical borrowing has occurred in Czech with languages of the surrounding countries and countries with which the Czech Republic has a sociopolitical history. Czech has been influenced in varying degrees by German, Slovak and Russian over the years that these languages have been in contact (Heine and Kuteva 2003; Thomas 2003; Aikhenvald 2006; Dickey 2011; Berger 2014; Giger & Sutter-Voutova 2014; Nábělková 2014). English is included here as a contact language both due to its international status and to provide a background for the Czech-English grammatical borrowing and replication explored in the research papers (Chapters 5–6). Throughout this section, terminological alternatives are provided to ensure preciseness and clarity.

4.1.1 Czech and German

German and Czech have been in contact for more than 1200 years, largely due to their geographic proximity and historical ideologies and events (Berger 2014). From around the year 1200 until 1350, there was heavy borrowing from German to Czech and literary German influenced the beginnings of literary Czech (Berger 2014). According to Berger (2014), it is plausible that the Czech construction *budu* + infinitive to indicate future tense and the German construction *werden* as an auxiliary verb are connected, as these constructions initially existed only in these two languages in the area at the time (14th century) and were not attested in Old Church Slavonic or Old East Slavic. However, the plausibility of this occurrence is a topic of debate, which has yet to come to a universally agreed-upon conclusion (Rösler 1952; Křížová 1960; Leiss 1985; Krämer 2005;Wiemer, Wälchli & Hansen 2012). This construction in Czech later influenced other Slavic languages, including Polish, Russian and Ukrainian (Moser 1998).

German has also influenced Czech in the area of modal auxiliaries. In Common Slavic, there

was one verb with a modal meaning, *mogti* 'to be able'. To express modality, impersonal predicates or special constructions were used in Common Slavic (Berger 2014). However, Old Czech had three additional modal auxiliaries: *drbiti* 'must', *musiti/musěti* 'must', *jmieti* 'ought'; the first two are from Middle High German *durfen* and *müezen*, and the third is the equivalent of German *soln* (Berger 2014).

The following Czech constructions are suggested by Giger (2003a) and Berger (2014) to resemble German constructions:

(1) Resultative construction: auxiliary *mít* 'to have' and passive participle (Giger 2003b). This construction is similar to the German periphrastic perfect tense utilising *haben* (Berger 2014: 194). An example of this construction in Czech is *mám zaplaceno* 'I have paid' (German: *ich habe bezahlt*) (Giger 2003b).

(2) Absentive construction: auxiliary *být* 'to be' and infinitive (cf. Berger 2009). The Czech absentive construction is comparable to German constructions utilising 'to be' + infinitive, e.g., *er ist essen* 'he is (away) to eat' (Berger 2014: 194). An example of the absentive construction in Czech is provided in Berger (2009: 25): "*bylas tancovat?" řekl po nějaké chvíli* '"were you dancing?" he said after a while' (German: "*Warst du tanzen?" sagte er nach einiger Zeit*).

(3) Recipient passive: auxiliary *dostat* 'to get' (Giger 2003a). The Czech recipient passive resembles the German recipient passive in sentences like *er bekommt die Haare geschnitten* 'he gets his hair cut' (Berger 2014: 194).An example of this construction in Czech is *Karel dostal (od otce) vyhubováno* 'Karel got scolded' (German: *Karel wurde gescholten (von seinem Vater)*) (Daneš 1968: 269).

Dickey (2011) suggests that German interference in western Slavic languages, including Czech, is at level 3 on Thomason and Kaufman's (1998) borrowing scale, i.e. intense lexical and moderate structural borrowing resulting from intense levels of contact.

Czech has calqued a 'have' perfect alongside its 'be' perfect from German, as well as

modelling their aorist/perfect contrast on the German language (Dickey 2011). The existence of the possessive perfect in Czech also likely comes from German influence, e.g., *Měl jsi otevřené okno?* 'Have you opened the window?' (Dickey 2011). The Czech prefix po- was calqued on German be- due to their shared meaning of surface-contact, leading to calquing based on its transitive meaning. Some examples from Reiter (1953) in Dickey (2011) are shown below, with the surface contact prefixes bolded. Note here that the transitive examples with Czech *po-* and German *be-* refer to nineteenth century usage, and may be unnatural or even unknown to contemporary speakers.

Table 4: Surface contact and transitive examples with Czech *po-* and German *be-*

SURFACE-CONTACT EXAMPLES WITH CZECH *PO-* AND GERMAN *BE-*		
English	Czech	German
'cover with paint'	**po**mazat	**be**streichen
'cover with sand'	**po**pískovat	**be**sanden
'cover with powder'	**po**prášit	**be**stäuben
TRANSITIVE EXAMPLES WITH CZECH *PO-* AND GERMAN *BE-*		
English	Czech	German
soil [verb]	**po**dělati	**be**machen
make use of something	**po**sluhovati se čeho	sich einer Sache **be**dienen
relate something to something	**po**tahovati co na něco	etwas auf etwas **be**ziehe

Dickey (2011) argues that language contact from German actually preserved western Slavic linguistic structures in their aspectual systems (like that of Czech), whilst eastern Slavic languages underwent change in the 17th century.

Grammatical borrowing may also be purposefully reversed, as linguistic prescriptivists have aimed to track down and eliminate influences from other languages, particularly in situations of conflict and a need for nationalism throughout history (Townsend 1990: 10; Sherwood

Smith 1991: 91-96; Pontius 1997). Regarding the Czech language, Pontius (1997: 107) discusses this concept in demonstrating how social enmity between Czechs and Germans created an obstacle to structural borrowings.

4.1.2 Czech and Slovak

In the history of Czech and Slovak language contact, Czech has tended to be the stronger partner, but there has also been some influence the other way. This is at least partially attributable to Slovak Protestants' view in the 19th century that "the Slovakization of Czech… [and] the Bohemization of Slovak"[30] was a way to further develop the common language of Czechoslovak, as well as the geographic proximity between the two countries and their previous state of unity (Nábělková 2014: 67). In situations of direct language contact, such as at school, work, or on the internet, many Slovaks living in the Czech Republic will actively use Czech, and as a result, "carry- over insertions" (Johanson 2008: 63) have occurred; where Slovaks carry over Slovakisms into their Czech (Nábělková 2014). As well as this, "take-over insertions" (Johanson 2008:63) have occurred, where contact-induced phenomena of Slovak permeates into the Czech spoken by Czechs (Nábělková 2014).

However, Czech and Slovak language features are also the result of an "analogical developmental process" (Nábělková 2014: 68). This has been both autonomous and simultaneous. Standard Slovak better reflects the analogical changes which took place in most Czech and Slovak dialects before codification, whereas Standard Czech took a more archaistic approach in codifying the language (Trencsényi & Kopeček 2007). It is thus important to make a distinction between codified Standard Czech, used in official and formal communication, and Common Czech, the ever-developing version of the language used in everyday communication. Common Czech more closely resembles Slovak because they both more closely represent the forms which existed long before the codification of the Standard

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[30] The exact meaning of this is not entirely clear, but Nábělková (2014) discusses convergent tendencies in terms of lexical borrowings, morphophonemic, morphological and morphosyntactic features.

Czech.

This similarity between Common Czech and Slovak can be seen in the extinction of short forms in participles and adjectives, and in some cases, its declension and conjugation (Nábělková 2014). For example, a single plural form is now used for verbs in the past tense:

(13)   Common Czech   *muž-i/*   *žen-y/*   *měs-ta*

men-NOM.PL.M/   women-NOM.PL.F   /towns-NOM.PL.N

byl-i

to.be-PST.PL

'men/women/towns were'

(14)   Slovak   *muž-i/*   *žen-y/*   *mest-á*

men-NOM.PL.M/   women-NOM.PL.F /   towns-NOM.PL.N

bol-i

to.be-PST.PL

'men/women/towns were'

(15)   Standard Czech *muž-i*   *byl-i,*

men-NOM.PL.M   to.be-PST.PL.M,

žen-y   *byl-y,*

women-NOM.PL.F   to.be-PST.PL.F,

měst-a   *byl-a*

towns-NOM.PL.N   to.be-PST.PL.N

'men were, women were, towns were'

Nouns in the plural instrumental also show similarity to those of Slovak. These plural instrumental case endings underwent a unification resulting from analogical developmental processes. Such processes include the exploitation of grammatical morphemes of differing origins (feminine in Slovak and dual in Common Czech) (Nábělková 2014: 68). The examples below show the results of these processes. The plural instrumental endings are in bold.

(16) Common Czech   *s*   *kamarád-**ama**/*   *žen-**ama***

     with   friends-INS.PL.?/   women-INS.PL.?/

     */měst-**ama***

     towns-INS.PL.?

     'with friends/women/towns'

(17) Slovak   *s*   *kamarát-**mi**/*   *žen-**ami**/*

     with   friends-INS.PL.M/   women-INS.PL.F/

     *mest-**ami***

     towns-INS.PL.N

     'with friends, women, towns'

(18) Standard Czech   *s*   *kamarád-**y**/*   *žen-**ami**/*

     with friends-INS.PL.M/   women-INS.PL.F/

     *měst-**y***

     towns-INS.PL.N

     'with friends, women, towns'

Both internal analogical development and language contact continue to occur between these languages as people emigrate between the two countries; particularly Slovaks coming into the Czech Republic in recent times for study or work (Nábělková 2014).

4.1.3 Czech and Russian

One factor in grammatical change from language contact is conscious and deliberate borrowing from another language for prestige and respect in the ideological climate of the time (van Coetsem 2000). In the early 1800s, elite groups in the Czech lands transferred linguistic resources[31] from Russian into Czech (Giger & Sutter-Voutova 2014). Josef Jungmann (a leading figure in the Czech National Revival[32]) and his fellow campaigners were well acquainted with Russian and delighted in using the language, translating from it, and publishing the translations. They were supportive of the Russian language because their ideology involved strength and unity of Slavonic (Giger & Sutter-Voutova 2014).

It is suggested that these transfers occurred through a process of "take-over insertions" (Johanson 2008: 63), wherein a transfer from (a not necessarily well-mastered) L2 to L1 occurs. The transfers from Russian to Czech were devised by the Russian-speaking activists of the national movement at the time. These transfers then spread into the use through the nationally-conscious elites in the Czech lands, for whom the idea of a more "Slavonic" standard language was popular, and the Russian language carried significant prestige (Giger & Sutter-Voutova 2014). Grammatical transfers from Russian to Czech thus resulted from deliberate decisions of both the activists and the speech community (Giger & Sutter-Voutova

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[31] These resources were borrowed to support the expansion of functional domains, and were predominantly lexical, though some were grammatical in nature (Giger & Sutter-Voutova 2014: 352–353).

[32] This also involved a revival of the Czech language. Jungmann's most important work is considered tobe the Czech-German dictionary (1834-39), which became the basis for modern Czech vocabulary. Jungmann used archaic Czech words, borrowed words from other Slavic languages, and createdneologisms to expand the vocabulary in this dictionary (Trencsényi & Kopeček 2007).

2014). Johanson (2008: 63) posited that the reason for such "insertional copying" was social.

Indeed, the wish to communicate in a prestigious way to distance oneself from a Habsburg identity and so position oneself as Slavonic was key in the spread of such transfers (Giger & Sutter-Voutova 2014).

A key example of this is the introduction of a fully paradigmatic active past participle [adjective derived from past transgressive] in the 19th century; *-(v)ší* (Giger & Sutter-Voutova 2014). This has remained to be considered "bookish device" in Modern Czech, but it is still used in word-formation and syntax (Giger & Sutter-Voutova 2014: 360). The process of change is shown in Giger & Sutter-Voutova's (2014: 359) table below (areas of change in bold):

Table 3: Russian and Czech "active past participle" forms at the beginning of the 19th century (Giger & Sutter-Voutova 2014: 359)

	RUSSIAN	CZECH
1800	converb *sdelav(ši)* 'having	converb *udělav* [past transgressive], *-ši , -še* [adjectives derived from past transgressive]
	done'	'having done'
	participle *sdelavšij, -aja, -*	**x** (*l*-participle [adjective derived from past participle *přišel*] *přišlý, -á, -é*
	ee 'the one, who has done'	'the one who has come'
		with some intransitive
		verbs)
1830	converb *sdelav(ši)*	converb *udělav* [past transgressive], *-ši, -še* [adjectives derived from past transgressive]
	participle *sdelavšij, -aja, -*	**participle [adj derived from past transgressive] *udělavší, -í, -í***

ee	(in addition to *přišlý* now also ***přišedší***)

Czech has undergone many changes in its own majority-speaking area due to the influence of language contact throughout the years. This change stems from both languages that are spoken in geographic proximity to the Czech lands (German and Slovak), and languages with which it has a sociopolitical history (Russian).

4.1.4 Czech and English

English has not had an effect on Czech in any major way throughout history up until the emergence of English as a global hegemonic language of technology and economy due to the industrialisation of the 18th century (Gester 2001: 36). Many loan words from this time may no longer be recognised as they are phonologically, orthographically and/or morphologically assimilated into the language e.g. *bojkot* for 'boycott' and *autsajdr* for 'outsider'[33] (Warmbrunn 1994: 25, 31, 41; Gester 2001: 51).

During the first half of the 20th century, English, particularly American English, exerted an influence on the Czech language (Meixner 1971). Thomas G. Masaryk, the first president of Czechoslovakia, admired American democracy and created the new

Czechoslovak state after the US (Meixner 1971). He also obtained financial support from the US for the struggle for Czechoslovak Independence during the First World War. English influence from the time of Czechoslovak Independence came through films and literary works, and many American English words were adopted into Czech, including *bar, dress, boss,* and *film star* (Meixner 1971:302). A cultural hiatus occurred during the Second World War, after which Czechs received food donated from the US and also continued to accept

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[33] Note that the orthographically adapted form *autsajdr* was never in wide usage, as *outsider* was adopted in its original written form into Czech. In the Czech corpus Syn2020, there are 424 occurrences of *outsider* and 1 occurrence of *autsajdr* (Křen et al 2020).

Anglicisms into their vocabulary, including *bikini, sex- bomb* and *pin-up girl* (Meixner 1971: 303). However, in 1948, the beginning of a 40- year Communist rule in Czechoslovakia, contact was cut off from the West and, as reported by Meixner (1971), borrowings from English massively decreased. During this time, the Russian language was the government-preferred language for students to learn and to borrow from (Sherman 2009; Hnízdo 2016). However, though American films were scarce during this time, novels were still available and were translated by Czech writers, and American idioms entered the Czech language as calqued translations (Meixner 1971).

From the 1990s, post-Velvet Revolution, English has become a "symbol of social and political prestige" and many anglicisms have been adopted into the Czech language (Tarnyíková 2009: 203). However, this has, in more recent years, led to a period of evaluation about the amount of Anglicisms used, which is regulated by the Institute of the Czech Language (Tarnyíková 2009). The over-use of foreign neologisms gave participants in Dickins' (2007: 115, 128) study a "strong residual apprehension". These participants often discussed feelings of nostalgia and purism for a time when language use was less tainted by modern terminology. However, the majority of participants also felt that lexical borrowing was enriching the Czech language (Dickins 2007). General attitudes to English are that it is a language of prestige and a pragmatic language to learn: English loanwords often fill lexical gaps, "contribute to the principle of the economy, and… function as social markers of self-identity" (Tarnyíková 2009: 203-4).

There are two types of grammatical borrowings evident in recent decades. Tarnyíková (2009) discusses the following grammatical borrowing related occurrences from English in Czech: modifications in syntactic patterns and communicative strategies adoption under the influence of mass media. Examples of each are given below.

Table 5: Grammatical borrowing from English in Czech

OCCURRENCE TYPE	EXAMPLES
Modification in syntactic patterns	(1) *V tomto mladofrontovském výboru* 'in this Mladá Fronta collection' (Mladá Fronta = a publishing house) According to Tarnyíková (2009: 205), a more expected solution would realise the long pre-modifying adjective as a word group: *v tomto výboru Mladé fronty* in this-collection-of Mladá Fronta. (2) *Ten pohled je prostě dech beroucí* 'The view is simply breathtaking' This sentence uses a stative BE-predication, typical of English, rather than V [lex] predications typical of Czech (Tarnyíková 2009: 205).
Adoption of communicative strategies and formulaic sentences	(3) *Děkuji Vám za Váš čas.* 'Thank you for your time' (4) *Rád jsem si s Vámi popovídal.* 'It was nice talking to you' These are both phrases which are essentially imitations of English pre-fabricated utterances (Tarnyíková 2009: 207).

There also exist many more recent lexical borrowings from English into Czech (Dickins 2007; Tarnyíková 2009; Markova 2018). Czech has frequently calqued from English, creating phrases such as *mýdlová opera* 'soap opera' and *prát špinavé peníze* 'to launder money'

(Markova 2018). Other calques include those of *internetová kavárna* 'internet café' and *internetové podnikání* 'internet business', which use the created declinable adjective *internetový* 'internet' (Markova 2018: 898). According to Markova (2018), such calques are not in alignment with traditional Czech syntax and phrasing. A more traditional phrase is exemplified in the related translation *obchodování na internetu* 'internet trading' (Markova 2018: 898).

4.2 Grammatical borrowing in English: the Celts, the monks, the Norse, the Normans, and the Czechs

In analysing whether the English language has undergone grammatical borrowing and replication from Czech in the language community studied, it is important to consider the ways in which contact-induced transfer into English has occurred in the past. This section focuses on outcomes of language contact with other languages within England, commencing from the period wherein the Angles, Saxons and Jutes arrived there and the English language came into existence. World Englishes developed due to colonisation and globalisation are beyond the scope of this thesis. Influences from Czech are included as a backdrop to English-Czech grammatical borrowing and replication explored in the papers (Chapters 7–8).

4.2.1 Celtic influences

Anglo-Saxon migration to the British Isles took place in the 5th century (Freeborn et al. 1993). Once there, language contact occurred with the Celtic peoples. The amount of time that the Celtic peoples had been there is not agreed upon in the scholarship, and theories range anywhere from 5000 to 100BC, but it is agreed that migration took place in several waves (Burton 1979; Monaghan 2004). Hornung (2017) suggests that the following are evidence of Brythonic Celtic influences on English:

  (1) Progressive e.g., *we are standing*
  (2) Cleft sentences i.e., sentences with a dummy subject, introduced by it

(3) Two separate paradigms of the verb 'to be' in Old English; habitual *bīo, bist, bið* and actual *eom, eart, is*[34]

(4) Loss of the Germanic reflexive **sik* in Old English

(5) Loss of the dative external possessor

(6) Do-periphrasis: e.g., *we do go there every year, we don't go there*

(7) Northern subject rule: e.g., *they go in and sits down*. This is a grammatical pattern evident in Northern Middle English and Middle Scots, as well as their respective present-day dialects.

Regarding the seven factors, Hornung (2017) codes (1)–(3) as "complexifications"; which she states is "related to the difficulty in acquisition of a language for an L2 learner; an addition of grammatical features transferred from one language to another". Additional complexity can occur in long-term stable high-contact situations involving childhood bilingualism (Trudgill 2010).

Hornung (2017) then codes (4) and (5) as simplifications, and codes (6) and (7) as regional influence. She states that simplification occurs when adults and post-adolescents learn a new language and simplify a grammar, including reduction in morphological categories, grammatical agreement, increased regularity and a shift from synthetic to analytic structure as typical simplification processes (Hornung 2017: 62).

In terms of (6), there is no consensus in the literature on whether it has Celtic origins. Van der Auwera & Genee (2002: 300) list supporters and those with general sympathy for a Celtic hypothesis, including Preusler (1938; 1940; 1956), Dal (1952), Wagner (1959),Haarmann (1976), Vincent (1986), Molyneux (1987), Meid (1990), Poussa (1990), Tristam (1997), and German (2000). They also list those with more hesitant attitudes toward a Celtic hypothesis: Ellegård (1953), Visser (1969: 1495), Denison (1985; 1993), Stein (1990; 1991: 363),

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[34] Trudgill (2010) suggests that the two paradigms of this verb that existed in Germanic became semantically bifurcated in Britain due to contact with Brittonic Celts. Bilinguals transferred the semanticcomplexification of the habitual/actual contrast (Trudgill 2010).

Rissanen (1991:335), Wright (1991: 486), Tristam (1993), Voss (1995: 346), van der Wurff (1995: 408), Hickey (1995: 108; 1997: 1010; 2000: 112), and Görlach (1997) (van der Auwera and Genee 2002: 301). They conclude that the Brythonic Celtic periphrastic "*do*" likely had an influence on the English periphrastic "*do*", whilst also stating that there may be other factors involved (van der Auwera & Genee 2002: 302).

According to Baugh & Cable (2002), Celtic had the least influence on English of the early influences affecting the English language. The Celts were a submerged culture in relation to the Anglo-Saxons, and so they were not positioned to notably contribute to Anglo- Saxon civilisation (Baugh & Cable 2002: 77).

4.2.2 Latin influences

The arrival of monks from 597AD onwards (the second period Latin influence – the first occurred before the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons[35]) exposed Anglo-Saxons to the Latin language through services and ecclesiastical learning (Baugh & Cable 2002; Crystal 2018b). The linguistic influences led to lexical borrowing, semantic adaptation, and compounding and loan translation, as well as a replacement of the runic alphabet with the Latin alphabet (Crystal 2018b).

One specific example relates to the English present participle -ing. Wright (1995) argues for the influence of Latin as a contributory factor in the demise of the present participle - ende in favour of the present participle -ing. She uses Middle English business writing from the 14th and 15 centuries to establish this claim, wherein accounts where written in what she terms as a "macaronic" mix of Anglo-Norman and English or Latin and English (Wright 1992; 1995).

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[35] The Romans had established the colony of Britannia in the British Isles after the systematic conquest beginning in 43AD (McIntyre 2009; Hornung 2017). The Celtic peoples lived there prior to this, and bythe time the Romans had to abandon Britannia in 410AD, they had "Romanised and Christianised the upper classes of British Celts" (McIntyre 2009; Hornung 2017: 54–55).

4.2.3 Norse influences

The Norse invaded England in the late 8th century AD (Crystal 2018b). They spoke Old Norse, which is another Germanic language, so the two languages already had shared roots (Hornung 2017). In fact, Townend (2002) posits that the contact situation between the Anglo-Saxons and the Norse in Viking-age England was one of mutual intelligibility. Baugh & Cable (2002) suggest that the 'body' (stem) of the word was so similar in the two languages that only the 'endings' (affixes) made obstacles for mutual understandings. Thus, due to these confusions regarding the affixes amongst the mixed population in the Danelaw, the endings were obfuscated and lost (Baugh & Cable 2002: 103). Baugh & Cable (2002: 103) posit that the tendency toward a loss of inflections was accelerated by the social conditions in the Danelaw.

The Old Norse forms for the plural of 'to be' (they) were borrowed into English and replaced the native Old English case endings (Geipel 1971; Hornung 2017). The table below outlines this change:

Table 6: Borrowing from Norse into Old English

CASES	OLD ENGLISH		OLD NORSE	MIDDLE ENGLISH	STANDARD ENGLISH
	MASCULINE	FEMININE			
Nominative	hīe	hēo	Þeir	thei	they
Accusative	hīe	hīo	Þeim	them	them
Genitive	hiera	heora	Þeira	thair	their
Dative	him	him	-	-	-

(Geipel 1971: 63; Crystal 2018b)

The pronoun forms (thei, them, thair) were substituted one after another (Hornung 2017). This could be due to dialect contact and migration from North to South (Bergs 2005: 91). In the South, however, it took over 300 years for the subject and object forms to be replaced, which

could represent a case of "extension by analogy, or… generalisation of the inflection" (Bergs 2005; Hornung 2017, 28).

Another grammatical influence from Old Norse was the replacement of *sindon* and *be* with *are* as a third-person plural of the form *to be* (Crystal 2018b). Geipel (1971: 66) also discusses this, stating that *thou art* and *they are* emerged into Southern and Western England from the Danelaw and replaced the native equivalents *thou bist* and *he sind*. The pronouns *both* and *same*, as well as the prepositions *til* and *fro*, are from Norse influence (Geipel 1971: 65, Crystal 2018b). Interestingly, Crystal (2018b) asserts that the -s ending for the third person singular present-tense verb form was "almost certainly a Scandinavian feature". He provides evidence for this in that the Old English third person singular present-tense verb form was usually *–ð* e.g. *gæð* 'goes', but in late Northumbrian texts an *-s* ending is found, which eventually spread south to become the standard form (Crystal 2018b). Hornung (2017: 13) supports this, stating that processes of reduction and simplification occurred due to Scandinavian contact, resulting in morphological simplification across the verbal system in Middle English.

Hornung (2017) discusses several other possible language-contact induced borrowings from Old Norse, including:

(1) Northern/Midland present participle *–and(e)* from the ON present participle *– and*. This is present today in Modern English in the present participle *–ing*, which derives from an innovated West Midland form of the present participle *–ing*.

(2) The Middle English nominal suffix *–ing*: she states that it derives from Old English and Old Norse, but suggests that the specific form *–ing* was diffused from Old Norse. Prior to contact, the Old English nominal suffix *–ing* was attached to class 1 weak verbs, and *–ung* was attached to class 2 weak verbs (Krahe & Meid 1967: 211; Miller 2012: 131).

(3) An *–(e)s* noun-plural ending and an *–(e)s* genitive-singular ending. Hornung (2017)

states that Miller (2012: 132), Classen (1919) and Keller (1925: 83) argue that there was Nordic influence for the spread of –s in noun plurals. Hornung (2017: 33) also suggests that the loss of a case system may have contributed to the generalised plural and genitival –s.

(4) Complementiser deletion/relative ellipsis. In Middle English, the relative pronoun was no longer required for introducing a subordinate noun clause. Hornung (2017: 44) suggests that "the changes in word order in ME from SOV to SVO… may account for the ability to delete the relative PN [pronoun] in ME". She then quotes Miller (2012: 138), who suggests that the "minimal phonetic difference between OE [Old English] -*þætt/þat* and ON [Old Norse] *at* … could have prompted a change in use among adult speakers of ON and OE – avoidance by omission – a typical contact phenomenon, that provided the prompt for C- deletion" (Hornung 2017: 44).

(5) Preposition stranding and relative clauses. Preposition stranding was possible in Old English, but it was not allowed with WH- words. In Old Norse, however, preposition stranding did occur in relative clauses that required no case marking. In both languages, it would not occur with pronouns requiring case marking. By the early 14th century, preposition stranding was able to occur with WH- words in Old Norse, and at around the same time, this phenomenon was found in Northern England in English (Miller 2012: 141).

(6) Word order changes. Old English verb phrases were for the most part SOV. However, in Old Norse VO order predominated by the 9th century, and it is suggested that this word order was introduced into English through contact with Old Norse (Hornung 2017: 48). However, Miller (2012) suggests that contact between the two languages only accelerated the shift from SOV to SVO.

There are several other similarities discussed in Baugh & Cable (2002) that may be evidence for borrowing:

(1) Retention or omission of conjunction 'that'

(2) Rules for use of 'shall' and 'will' in Middle English

(3) Strong stress on the preposition and occurrence of prepositions in certain locations that is not allowed in other Germanic languages (other than Danish and English) (Logeman 1906).

4.2.4 Norman French influences

In 1066, England was invaded by William the Conqueror, and the Norman French gained authority in the government (Brinton & Arnovick 2011; Hornung 2017; Crystal 2018a). Norman French hugely influenced the English language in terms of lexical borrowings, especially for words relating to government, rank, military affairs, and law (Crystal 2018a). However, Norman French affixes were also borrowed into English to create the Middle English forms (Seifart 2015). Eight examples of such affixes (all derivational suffixes) are presented in AfBo (Seifart 2020). The following examples are taken from Dalton-Puffer (1996) as cited in Seifart (2020) and are presented in the table below:

Table 7: Borrowing from Norman French into Middle English

CATEGORY	FORM	EXAMPLES
Abstract noun formation	-age	bondage
	-erie	husbondrie, outlawerie
	-ite	scantetee
	-ment	garnement
Concrete noun formation	-ard	dotard
	-esse	hunteresse
	-our	worshippour
Adjectiviser	-able	knowable, spekable

(Seifart 2020)

Other (Latin-derived) Norman French affixes borrowed into the language include *con-, de-, dis-, en-, ex-, pre-, pro- trans-, -ance/-ence, -ant/-ent, -ity*, and *-tion* (Crystal 2018a). Speakers

analysed Latinate French words into constituent parts, then extended the affixes to lexical roots from the L1 (Brinton & Arnovick 2011: 252). An example of this is the suffix –*able* (also seen in Table 7) coming into Middle English through French lexical borrowings such as *acceptable, comparable*, and *desirable*. After being analysed as a root + suffix, the suffix was added to other roots including *believable* (first appearing in 1382), *understandable* (1475), *unthinkable* (1430), and *eatable* (1483) (Brinton & Arnovick 2011: 252). This adaption is an example of language- internal analogical extension stemming from lexical borrowings (Seifart 2015).

Seifart (2015: 527) suggests that the abstract noun borrowing -*age* could represent "indirect borrowing[36] operated quickly and on a reduced basis", but that otherwise "direct borrowing[37] might have played a role in addition to indirect borrowing".

4.2.5 Czech influences

It does not appear that there has been a great amount of borrowing from Czech into English throughout history (Algeo 2010), and certainly not grammatical borrowing. However, there are several lexical borrowings which have made their way from Czech into English, through cultural influence, science, toponyms, and brand names (Short 2003). Most borrowings from Czech into English have occurred after 1500, in the Modern English period, and almost all have come through other languages (Algeo 2010).

Some of these borrowings include:

(1) *pistol* – this word was first recorded in 1570, and its path into English was mediated by German *pistole*, French *pistole* or Italian *pistola* (Short 2003). The original Czech word was *pišťala* which was a slang name at the time for a Hussite weapon (Short 2003).

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[36] Language-internal analogical extension stemming from lexical borrowings.
[37] Borrowing of a suffix directly from the source language without a prior lexical borrowing andlanguage-internal analysis.

(2) *robot* – this word was first recorded in 1923, and is a famous neologism coined by Josef Čapek for his brother Karel Čapek's play called *R.U.R.* (Rossum's Universal Robots) (Short 2003).

(3) *camellia* – this word was first recorded in 1753, this word for a genus of plant is named after Moravian Jesuit and plant-collector Jiří Josef Kamel (1661-1706) (Short 2003).

(4) *Budweiser* – this word came to English through the mediation of German *Budweiser*, from German *Budweis* from Czech *(České) Budějovice*, which is the capital of South Bohemia and originally denoted a type of beer brewed in the area (Short 2003).

In Chapters 2, 3 and 4, I have discussed relevant literature regarding grammatical borrowing and replication, other contact-related processes, and grammatical borrowings that have occurred in the two respective focus languages, English and Czech, in the past. With this background, in the following chapters I present four research articles, which together address the questions set out in this thesis (see §1).

Statement of Authorship

Title of Paper	Czech, mate: Grammatical replication and shift in South Australian Czech.
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Name of Principal Author (Candidate)	Chloe Castle		
Contribution to the Paper	100%		
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Signature		Date	1/8/2021

Co-Author Contributions

By signing the Statement of Authorship, each author certifies that:

     i.   the candidate's stated contribution to the publication is accurate (as detailed above);

     ii.   permission is granted for the candidate in include the publication in the thesis; and

     iii.   the sum of all co-author contributions is equal to 100% less the candidate's stated contribution.

Name of Co-Author			
Contribution to the Paper			
Signature		Date	

Name of Co-Author			
Contribution to the Paper			
Signature		Date	

Please cut and paste additional co-author panels here as required.

5. Paper 1: Czech, mate: Grammatical replication and shift in South Australian Czech

Abstract

Historical linguistics aims to investigate the innovation stage of a grammatical variantas well as the later community-wide propagation in order to fully understand the change (Fischer 2004). This paper focuses on individual contact-based grammatical innovations in a community setting, viewing the speaker as the "locus of change" (Weinreich 1953/1968: 1; Romaine 2005; Li Wei 2013). This provides a window intothe types of innovations community members produce in a situation of shift, wherein such innovations may never become complete changes. The community studied in this article is the Czech South Australian community, whose language situation is previously unstudied. Utilising Thomason's (2001) steps for proving whether contact-induced structural change has occurred, this paper identifies several instances of possible grammatical "replication" innovations in the speech of individuals in this community (Heine & Kuteva 2005; 2008: 2; Kuteva 2017), as well as the influence ofshift driven by "divergent attainment" (Polinsky 2018: 18) and intergenerational attrition. This is supported by findings of significant authors in the tradition of Czech diasporic linguistic research (Henzl 1982; Vašek 1996; Dutková 1998; 2001; Zajícová2009; 2012). It is suggested here that the features found are possibly the result of shiftand attrition processes and contact-induced language transfer acting together within a Dynamic System (Herdina & Jessner 2002).

1. Introduction

In this study, I investigate grammatical features occurring in the speech of ten individuals from the Czech South Australian community, particularly that representing **GRAMMATICAL REPLICATION** and **BORROWING** (Heine & Kuteva 2005; Kuteva 2017). Grammatical replication is a kind of transfer that does not involve phonetic substance of any kind, including contact-induced grammaticalisation, restructuring, rearrangement, and loss (Heine & Kuteva 2003; 2005; 2008; 2010). Borrowing, on the other hand, is "reserved for transfers involving phonetic material, either on its own or combined with meaning" (Heine & Kuteva 2010: 86). This community is undergoing attrition and language shift, which are also key considerations in the analysis. I utilise a methodology of a qualitative analysis of grammatical features drawn from authentic speech in alignment with the tradition of Czech diasporic linguistic research (Henzl 1982; Vašek 1996; Dutková 1998; 2001; Zajícová 2009; 2012). I support this with use of Thomason's (2001) steps for identifying contact-induced structural change and the dynamic model of multilingualism (Herdina & Jessner 2003). Thomason's (2001) steps particularly aid in detecting whether the features are instances of grammatical replication or are attrition and shift based. The dynamic model of multilingualism then assists with explaining how these sources interact.

In this paper, I adopt the epistemological stance of Matras and Sakel (2007) in positing that a community-wide change begins at the level of an innovation by an individual speaker. Indeed, Fischer (2004: 10) suggests that the innovation stage of a grammatical change must also be investigated to provide a full understanding of "the system of grammar with which adults innovate". Thomason (2014: 8) states that language change includes both the innovation and spread of a new feature, and that a change is "settled as soon as a single speaker produces a single instance of the change at a single time… whether or not this change is then propagated into the community is a matter of social and linguistic probability". In line with these scholars, this research centers the individual as the "locus of change" (Weinreich 1953/1968: 1; Romaine 2005; Li Wei 2013), and analyse innovations created by individuals in this

community setting. This loosely follows Clyne's (2003: 96) approach in considering 'change' in contact situations for individuals rather than for an entire speech community. Using this approach allows for an understanding of the bilingual grammatical features occurring in the individual, and how community members utilise the grammatical resources available to them. The grammatical features found are thus labelled as unconventionalities (Doğruöz and Backus 2009): unconventional speech productions that may not necessarily result in propagation and community- wide change.

The Czech diaspora are a minority among minorities in the Australian linguistic landscape, and therefore not a key focus in prominent works on the linguistic tapestry of Australia (Clyne 2003; Clyne & Kipp 1996; 2006). Languages that are, or were, more widely spoken in Australia are at the centre of such analyses: German, Dutch, Croatian (Hlavac 2000), Vietnamese (Ho-Dac 1996; 2001), and more. It is important to deepen understanding of the many language communities in Australia in order to better support them in language maintenance (if this is their desire), and to express and support the validity of these community members' languages. I aim to record and add to the information available on Australian community languages; the ways that they are used, considered, and how language contact and attrition processes have played a role in linguistic outcomes.

This paper considers both intergenerational language attrition (also called shift) wherein subsequent generations have reduced input and therefore divergent attainment; and intragenerational language attrition. It is recognised that there is an influence of language contact within the attrition process (Preston 1982; Andersen 1982; Sharwood Smith 1989; Seliger & Vago 1991; Huffines 1991; Sharwood Smith & van Buren 1991; Polinsky 1997; Altenberg 2010).

Section two provides a background to the study, introducing the South Australian Czech community and the relevant findings from other Czech diasporic communities. Section three explains the method, including the data gathering and coding processes. Section 4.1 shows the

results of the study and interacts with the literature in providing the qualitative analysis of features found. Section 4.2 provides an analysis in terms of the grammaticalisation framework and the dynamic theory of multilingualism. Section five concludes the paper, presenting an overall summary, limitations, and future research possibilities.

2. Background

In this section, the background of the speech community is explored, and grammatical borrowing in other Czech diasporic situations is considered.

2.1 Who are the Czech South Australians?

Czech immigration into South Australia coincides with key events within Czech history. The major waves occurred in 1949 following the 1948 communist takeover of Czechoslovakia, in the 1970s following the 1968 Prague Spring[1] and after the Velvet Revolution in 1989 (Vaculík 2009; Brouček et al 2019).

In the first wave, 1500 Czechs arrived in South Australia, many of whom had previously migrated to Germany, having fled Czechoslovakia (Migration Museum 2020a). These people were generally not welcomed by those who had come pre- WWII, and thus "reactionary" sporting and social clubs were formed as community refuges (Vaculík 2009: 242–244). The Czechoslovak Club was formed in 1949 and was incorporated as an official body in the 1950s (Migration Museum 2020a). In the second major wave, around 1000 Czechs settled in SA, and these political refugees were aided by the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Compatriots Association in Australia and New Zealand (Vaculík 2009). From the mid-1990's onwards, following the 1989 Velvet Revolution, many Czechs have migrated to

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[1] The Prague Spring was a period of liberalisation in Czechoslovakia wherein many reforms occurred, including greater freedom of expression for the press and loosening of restrictions on travel, granted byAlexander Dubček who became first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party on the 5th of January 1968. This ended on August 21, 1968, when Soviet armed forces invaded and occupied the country and the reforms were purged the following year.

Australia and New Zealand for personal and professional reasons (Brouček et al. 2019). The differences in time of arrival affect the national and sociolinguistic identities and attitudes of the Czech-Australians in many ways. The timeline of Czech immigration interacts with the government policies and community attitudes in Australia at each time (Clyne & Kipp 2006). Australian government policy remained assimilationist and hostile until the 1970s, wherein multiculturalism and government support changed the social landscape (Clyne & Kipp 2006). The role of government policies and dominant community attitudes towards the presence of ethnic languages are an important factor in language maintenance or language shift (Pauwels 1988; Clyne & Kipp 1996).

The Czechoslovak Club today has an aim to "connect all Czechs and Slovaks from South Australia in a strong community that keeps and promotes national ideas based on united friendship and mutually honest social relations" (Charles Sturt Council 2019). The Club provides weekly dinners, social and cultural events such as St Mikuláš Day and the anniversary of the declaration of Czechoslovak independence, welfare services and once-weekly children's language classes. Whilst the language is used at the Club, it is not used by all and tends to depend on the individual's generation (Castle forthcoming). There are approximately 280 Club members, though of these, I observed approximately 50–60 key active members at the events attended, including the Annual General Meeting, the Christmas Wreath-making event, and several Club dinners. At the time of the 2016 census, there were 473 Czech-born South Australians and 1679 South Australians of Czech descent (ABS 2017). There are many more South Australians of Czech descent and Czech-born South Australians than there are Club members, suggesting a somewhat scattered wider Czech South Australian community with a tighter-knit Club community at its centre.

High-shift groups in terms of language loss tend to be those with a relatively smaller cultural distance from Anglo-Australians i.e., in terms of religion, historical consciousness, culture, and a lack of taboo around exogamy (Clyne & Kipp 1996; 2006). Hailing from a Central

European nation, Czechs are culturally different from Anglo-Australians; but not dramatically so, and exogamy is not frowned upon. Other factors affecting shift or language maintenance are whether or not language is a core value for the individual and community, and the length of residence and socio- political factors in the homeland and in Australia (Stoessel 2002; Clyne & Kipp 2006). Victoria and South Australia have had relatively lower shift rates for European languages, which can be partially attributed to a tradition of multicultural policies in these states (Clyne 1982; Clyne & Kipp 1996).

2.2 Grammatical changes in other diasporic Czech communities

There have been several studies of language change in minority Czech communities elsewhere in the world: in Texas (Dutková 1998; Dutkova-Cope 2001a, 2001b; Pintová 2009); Chicago (Rakusan 1985; 1993); America in general (Henzl 1982; Vašek 1996); and Paraguay (Zajícová 2009). Czech immigration into Texas and the wider US occurred in the mid-19th century, and into Paraguay from 1927–1939 (Pintová 2009; Vašek 1996: 71; Zajícová 2012). The general picture that emerges from this research is that when languages first come into contact and for the generation following, grammatical changes do not necessarily involve wholesale simplification, but rather tend to structurally converge (Dutkova-Cope 2001b; Zajícová 2012). However, as the younger generations experience divergent attainment, with consequent rationalisation of their morphological and grammatical systems, their Czech begins to simplify and structural relations are lost (Dutková 1998; Zajícová 2012).

The grammatical features found in those communities which are relevant to the findings in this paper are displayed in Table 1 below. The communities wherein the same features are occurring are ticked.

Table 1: Grammatical features in Czech diaspora communities

GRAMMATICAL FEATURE	TEXAN CZECH	AMERICAN CZECH	PARAGUAYAN CZECH
Overt subject marking	✓		✓
Preposition instability		✓	✓
Loss of case distinction	✓	✓	✓
Loss of gender distinction		✓	✓
Reflexive pronoun instability	✓		✓
Increasingly analytic syntax	✓	✓	
Tentative article formation		✓	✓

There are no instances where there are not at least two communities that display each feature. This, coupled with the fact that the contact languages are not only English and Czech but also Spanish and Czech, leads one to ponder whether the communities have their own individual paths of development in terms of language shift and maintenance. It is also possible that the changes are more typical of Czech in a contact situation i.e. possibly accelerating already existing slow changes in the language, or undergoing particular types of changes under attrition conditions. This comparison and information informs the study as to what features are typical to a contact situation involving Czech.

Now that the community sociohistorical background and the grammatical features occurring in other similar diasporic communities have been established, I move on to discuss the methods adopted for this study.

3. Method

In this section, I discuss the data collection, participant information and data coding and analysis.

3.1 Data collection

The study involves four observation sessions with groups of two to three people in the Adelaide Czechoslovak Club, and six[2] semi-structured interviews conducted in English. The participants in the observation sessions were both video and audio recorded. To prompt conversation, participants were given discussion sheets written in Czech only (Appendix 1). The discussion sheet included topics such as family, life memories and the upcoming Christmas festivities to encourage speakers to speak more naturally, as speakers are more likely to approximate their casual style when they become emotionally involved in the narration (Labov 1972). The participants were thus engaged in relaxed, everyday discourse.

I did not participate in the discussion to avoid the possibility of participant accommodation to my lower level of fluency in Czech. However, I was present, but seated away from the participants in the corner of the room. After recording, I transcribed the participant discussions using ELAN. A native Czech speaking transcriber from an external company completed a second transcription to ensure that it was correct[3].

The sample is non-random: it is shaped through referrals biased towards those perceived as having adequate bilingual abilities by community members. Sampling is skewed towards females as referrals from the female club manager tended to favour female speakers. However, this does not necessarily represent an issue and could in fact be helpful to the study, considering that women are generally the innovators in linguistic change (Labov 1990). As with Dutková's study, "practical considerations partly dictate[d] sample size" (Dutková 1998: 93; Milroy 1987: 23). However, I endeavoured to obtain a sample with a varied age range, speaker ability, ancestral regions, and educational levels to maximise the chance of finding different features amongst a relatively small participant group, as displayed in Table 2 below. The duration of the sessions is given in Appendix 3.

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[2] Only six of the ten participants were available for the subsequent interviews.
[3] The company is called Knockhundred Translations.

Table 2: Participant variables

NAME	AGE	GENDER	YEARS IN AUSTRALIA	GENERATION	EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	CZECH REGION OF ORIGIN
Adéla*[4]	Over 50	F	20+	1.5 (Polinsky 1997: 334)	Vocational Education	Bohemia
Dana	Under 50	F	20+	1.5	Bachelors	Moravia
Eva	Under 50	F	20+	2nd	Bachelors	Australian born
Jana	Over 50	F	20+	2nd	Bachelors	Australian born
Ivana	Under 50	F	10-20	1st	Bachelors	Bohemia
Kamila	Over 50	F	10-20	1st	Masters	Moravia
Milada	Under 50	F	20+	1st	Bachelors	Bohemia
Zuzana	Under 50	F	10-20	1st	Masters	Moravia
Roman	Over 50	M	20+	1st	High School	Bohemia
Martin	Under 50	M	10-20	1st	Masters	Bohemia

The questionnaire includes the number of years residing in Australia to avoid situations where newly arrived Czechs with a possible lower competency in English would skew the dataset.

Individuals are required to have adequate proficiency in both languages, which is determined with a self-test[5] (Table 3), as well as a content analysis[6] of the observation sessions and sociolinguistic interviews for information on social networks (Table 4).

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[4] Names have been changed for purposes of confidentiality.
[5] This self-test questionnaire can be found in Appendix 2.
[6] Content analysis "contextualises questionnaire reports… more generally allowing for [their]interpretation" (Torres Cacoullos & Travis 2018).

Table 3: Participant language proficiency and generation

Generation	1st		1.5		2nd					
	Adéla	Dana	Eva	Jana	Ivana	Kamila	Milada	Zuzana	Roman	Martin
Self-score (E)	10 ✓	10 ✓	10 ✓	10 ✓	9 =	7	7	9	10 =	9
Self-score (C)	7	5	8	3[7]	9 =	10 ✓	8 ✓	10 ✓	10 =	10 ✓
	Key: ✓ = more proficient in this language, = = equal, E = English, C = Czech									

In all cases except for Ivana and Roman, participants' better language reflects their generation: all 1.5 and 2nd generation Czech South Australians have English as their better language and all 1st generation Czech South Australians have Czech as their better language.

It is important to consider the social networks (Milroy 1987) of the participants as this reflects the language(s) which are most commonly used by them, and therefore the languages that are most well maintained (Stoessel 2002).

Table 4: Participant social networks and use of languages

PARTICIPANT	NETWORK INFORMATION
Adéla	Speaks Czech with Czech husband and at the Czech Club. Used to speak English at work but has now retired. Currently uses Czech more often, with Czech friends.
Dana	Mixes Czech and English at the Club. Occasionally Czech with her children but mostly speaks English. Speaks English with partner. Speaks Czech or mixes Czech and English with her mother.
Eva	Speaks English with her Australian husband and children. Mixes Czech and English at the Club. Speaks English when in front of

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[7] The discrepancy between P4's self-score and her CEFR assessed score in Czech can be at leastpartially explained by her clearly self-effacing nature regarding her Czech language abilities.

	others (or Czech more quietly). Uses Czech only with Czech relatives. Mixes Czech and English with her parents.
Jana	Speaks English with her Australian husband. Mixes Czech and English or Czech only at the Club.
Ivana	Speaks English with children when in front of others, but Czech when alone with them. Speaks English with Australian husband.
Kamila	Speaks Czech with her son in Australia (when daughter-in-law not present) and son in Czech Republic. Speaks Czech in the Club
Milada	Speaks Czech with Czech husband. Speaks Czech at the Club*.
Zuzana	Speaks English with Australian husband. Speaks Czech at the Club*.
Roman	Speaks Czech at the Club.*
Martin	Speaks Czech at the Club.*

*Insufficient further information (did not participate in interview)

In the participant information sheet[8], I informed participants that the study was about communication in the Czech community in South Australia. I stated that the project involves analysing how bilingual Czech-Australians converse with one another in Australia as a result of language contact. I did not provide information beyond this (i.e., that I was focussing on grammar), to avoid excessive self-monitoring of grammar and therefore potentially fewer borrowing events. I encouraged them to use Czech but to speak as naturally as possible, even if that includes some English. This study was approved by the Adelaide University Ethics Committee (Approval No. H- 2018-230).

3.2 Data coding and analysis

Instances of potential borrowing (morphological transfer) and grammatical replication) were identified by myself and two Czech research assistants from Palacký University Olomouc. Previous Czech diasporic studies were used as an approximate guide as to what features may be found (whilst also analysing for other features), and assistants were instructed to highlight phenomena which sounded unusual to them. Each assistant aimed to analyse different

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[8] Provided to potential participants to gain an understanding of what the study is about, what they are invited to do, the length and benefits of the project, and what will occur with their information.

phenomena in their assessments to increase the richness of the results found. Assistant 1 focussed on syntax and Assistant 2 focussed on morphology and subject-verb agreement.

It is recognised here that Czech is a unique, "intralinguistic"[9] diglossic language situation (Bermel 2000: 34). There is a standard literary variety used in formal situations and in writing (*spisovná čeština*)[10], and an unofficial variety used in speech (*obecná čeština*, or Common Czech) (Bermel 2000). It differs from other classic diglossic situations in that a there is no portion of the community that uses the standard language as an L1, and there is not enough of a difference between the codes for the boundaries between them to be clearly marked (Bermel 2000). Bermel (2000: 34) states that, as Common Czech (CC) is not defined or codified in any official manner, "the only arbiters [of CC] are native speakers, preferably… educated ones from certain parts of the Czech Republic". The research assistants had access to both the video and audio recordings as well as the transcripts, so that they could socially gauge the expected variety. They were therefore able to keep this in mind when assessing whether the speech data sounded unnatural to them.

The Czech National Corpus is also utilised in the analysis (Machálek 2019a; 2019b). The corpus was searched for attestations of each example, in context where possible (Appendix 4). Lemmatised variants were considered, and frequencies of some of the features were also examined for patterns (e.g., overt subject, see §4.1.1). It is recognised that the corpus does not always allow for an understanding of the pragmatic context of the situation. However, on the basis of the data collected and comparisons which can be made, one can make calculated speculations on phenomena occurring (Henzl 1982; Vašek 1996; Dutková 1998; 2001; Zajícová 2009; 2012).

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[9] The two varieties discussed here share enough syntax, morphology, phonology, and vocabulary that"many utterances cannot clearly be assigned to one or the other variety" (Bermel 2000: 16).

[10] This is not a typical case of a written variety which has emerged from a spoken variety: it was purposefully developed during the National Revival of the 19th century (Bermel 2000). Leading intellectuals chose to draw on the "'golden age' of Czech prose: the era of the Kralice Bible" (the late1500s) (Bermel 2000: 12). For more on this, see Bermel (2000) and Wilson (2008).

4. Results and discussion

In this section, the grammatical features found are discussed in detail, and a summary is given. Further analysis using Thomason's (2014) framework and the Dynamic Theory of Multilingualism (Herdina & Jessner 2003) is provided.

4.1 What grammatical features were found?

The Czech South Australian participants utilised the grammatical resources available to them in a variety of different ways.

4.1.1 Overt subject marking in pro-drop Czech

Czech is a pro-drop language. However, the subject pronoun is included with the verb for the discourse-pragmatic purpose of emphasis (Zajícová 2009). The overt subject pronoun also occurs more frequently in colloquial[11] speech (Janda & Townsend 2000).

An example of the emphasised subject is shown in (1) below:

(1) a. Standard Czech   *Už   jsme   spolu   mluvi-l-i*

already AUX.1PL together   to.speak-PST-PL

'We've already talked together'

    b. (Emphasized subject   *Už   **my** jsme   spolu*

    /colloquial)   already we   AUX.1PL together

mluvi-l-i

to.speak-PST-2PL

'***We***'ve already talked together'

---

[11] Colloquial speech is here assumed to mean what Bermel (2000) calls Common Czech. Janda and Townsend (2000: 4) directly contrast their "Colloquial Czech" with Literary Czech, so we can presume that this was what was meant here. In the Czech literature, there are some that argue for a separate category labelled Colloquial Czech (Kopečný 1949; Bělič 1959; 1960), which acts as an intermediate zone between Standard and Common Czech (Auty 1976). For more on this, see Wilson(2008).

Use of the overt pronoun was different across participants (see Table 1 supplementary materials). In assessing which instances of the subject pronoun were relevant for this analysis, I implemented the following rules:

- If participants have used a pronoun coreferentially with a verb, it is included. However, if they have used a standalone pronoun, it is omitted in the analysis.

- The 3SG copula/dummy subject to 'it' is omitted in alignment with Torres Cacoullos and Travis (2018: 139) choice to only include human specific subjects (though they chose to include only human specific 3SG subjects, which I do not do here).

- Lexical pronouns are omitted (Torres Cacoullos & Travis 2018: 138).

- Instances of repetition are removed, including instances of switching between the polite and casual pronouns ty 'you.SG' and vy 'you.PL.'

- 1SG and 1PL frequencies are differentiated out in the table, due to the "egocentric nature of communication" (Torres Cacoullos & Travis 2018: 106). In most cases, the use of 1SG and 1PL subject pronouns constitute a majority of the use of both unconventional and conventional overt subjects.

Two examples of participants' selection of the subject pronoun in South Australian Czech are shown in (2) and (3) below:

(2) Zuzana   *my   jsme   si   to   proje-li,*

                we   AUX.1PL   REFL   it   to.go.through-PST.PL,

                my   *se*   *podívá-me*

                we   REFL   to.look.PRF-1PL

                'We've gone through it, we'll see'

(3) Zuzana   ***já***   *musí-m*   *jet*   *dom-ů*

                I   must-1SG   to.go   home.GEN-PL

                'I have to go home'

Extensive use of the overt pronoun is not predictable from generational status or level of language proficiency; it is entirely possible that it is an individual stylistic choice. It is also possible that participants have increased their use of the subject pronoun is due to the influence of English. Their use of the subject pronoun could be increasing the analytic nature of the language; a common outcome of language attrition (Andersen 1982; Maher 1991; Polinsky 1997). Andersen (1982: 83–100) outlines a general compensatory strategy employed by language users that involves using "free

morphemes whenever possible, strung together linearly … to express your meaning", thereby leading to increased analyticity regardless of whether the language (in this case, Czech) would normally use them. The contact situation may also be accelerating an increase in the use of the subject pronoun in Czech that can be seen in data from the Czech National Corpus[12] (Machálek 2019a; 2019b), as shown in Table 5 below:

Table 5: Pronoun use in the Czech National Corpus in 1988 and 2017

PRONOUNS	1998 USE (PER MILLION WORDS, EST. TREND[13])	2017 USE (PER MILLION WORDS, EST. TREND)
já	1210.24 ~ 1229.21	1743.29 ~ 1769.18
ty	55.21 ~ 59.33	68.44 ~73.65
on/ona/ono	3372.17 ~3403.74	4567.24 ~ 4609.04
my	116.4 ~122.34	159.04 ~166.94
vy	305.47 ~315.04	583.42 ~ 598.44
oni	2021.29 ~ 2045.76	2502.53 ~ 2533.53

---

[12] This is purely data on use of the pronouns in all contexts; the researcher does not have the resources available to make distinctions based on discourse-pragmatic or syntactic placement at this point. However, a generalised, non-context dependent increase may still indicate that an increase is occurring in the pre-verbal context (the context analysed in this paper).

[13] The corpus provides the lower and upper bounds of the estimated trend, hence why ranges are presented in this table.

Bermel (2000: 20) suggests that subject pronouns are used regularly in Common Czech (*obecná čeština*). However, as mentioned in §3.2, the research assistants highlighted only those instances of overt pronoun usage which sounded unnatural to them in the social circumstances of each discussion. Whilst it is possible that they use the subject pronoun less in their varieties of Czech, it is important to note the plausibility of the claim that this feature occurs due to contact-induced transfer with English. It is also attested in Zajícová's (2009) study of Czech use in Paraguay, where she attributes likely causation to the joint influence of (internal) attrition processes and Spanish (contact-induced transfer).

4.1.2 Preposition instability: use, non-use, and misuse

In Czech, certain prepositions are generally required in certain circumstances/syntactic constructions, which then require a determined case ending. Some examples of the case requirements for each preposition are as follows: *bez* 'without' (+ genitive case), *pro* 'for' (+ accusative case), *s/se* 'with' (+ instrumental case). Table 2 in the supplementary materials shows the frequencies for this feature.

Adéla produced a grammatically unnecessary preposition in front of the adverb tam 'there', possibly modelled on the parallel English preposition, as shown in (4):

(4) Adéla   *takže   míst-o   tu   rodin-u   v   tam*

so   place-NOM   DEM.ACC   family-ACC   in   there

'so instead of [in place of] the family in there'

Some participants spoke without using a preposition, an example of which is shown in (5):

(5) Dana   *osob-ní   tříd-y*

personal-ACC.PL.F.ADJ   class-ACC.PL

čtvrtek-ø

Thursday-ACC?NOM?

('personal classes on Thursday')

This example is interesting because whenever days of the week are discussed in this way, they require the preposition *v/ve*, in this case meaning 'on', which triggers the accusative case ending. However, the accusative case ending for *čtvrtek* is unmarked (i.e., the same as for the nominative case). It is difficult to tell whether the participant intended the noun to be in the accusative case.

Some participants utilised unconventional prepositions for an expression, as exemplified in (6):

(6) a. Jana	**na** *sobot-u*	**z**	*neděl-i*
	On Saturday-ACC from		Sunday-GEN
b. Standard	*ze* *sobot-y*	*na*	*neděl-i*
Czech	From Saturday-GEN to		Sunday-ACC
	'From Saturday to Sunday'		

This led to differing requirements for the case endings. The meanings of the prepositions do not mirror those that would be required by English syntax, meaning that this phrase cannot be attributed to the influence of English.

Adéla, Dana and Jana were the only participants who used prepositions in an unconventional way, all of whom are members of the 1.5 or second generation. This is thus likely attributable to intergenerational attrition/shift, as it seldom reflects a direct translation of the English version of the prepositional phrase. Vašek (1996) attributes the interchange or omission of prepositions in American Czech to

weakening awareness of their meanings. However, where participants do more clearly reflect English syntax, it is possible that the prepositions in question have either acquired meanings

more compatible with those available in English or are simply used subconsciously to match the syntax of both languages.

4.1.3 The nominative becomes the default

There is an increased frequency in use of the nominative case in place of other syntactically required cases in diaspora Czech communities (Vašek 1996; Dutková 1998; Zajícová 2009). Zajícová (2009) regards this as attributable to a joint influence of language contact induced transfer and internal attrition processes. Spanish and Modern English do not have fully-fledged case systems. Participants may forget or not know case endings due to lack of use and generational attrition/shift. With no similar system operating in English, as the syntax changes to more closely represent English, case systems are no longer used and word-order becomes more prominent as a feature. Case endings tend to disappear throughout the generational attrition process amongst immigrant enclave communities (Maher 1991). Larmouth's (1974) study of immigrant Finnish speakers in Minnesota found that the case system is standard for first generation speakers, optional in the second and third generation and not consistently evident in the fourth.

In this study, participants occasionally used unconventional case endings (see Table 3 supplementary materials). In South Australian Czech, only one first generation participant used an unconventional case, with members of the 1.5 or second generation producing the remainder of the unconventional case endings. This suggests that intergenerational attrition/shift may be playing a role here.

In the example below (7), the nouns *manžel* and *dcera* conventionally require an accusative case ending (*manžela* and *dceru*) but are instead in the nominative. As a 1.5-generation speaker, Adéla has instead used the resource of word order to derive meaning, perhaps from her knowledge of English.

(7) Adéla   *má-m*   *manžel-ø*   *a*   *dcer-a*

to.have-1SG   husband-NOM   and   daughter-NOM

'I have a husband and a daughter'

In the following example, the preposition conventionally calls for a locative case ending on *Austrálie* 'Australia'. Adéla uses a nominative case ending here.

(8) Adéla   *jsme*   *ne-měli*   *rodin-u*   *v*

AUX.1PL   NEG-to.have.PL.PST   family-ACC   in

Austrál-ie

Australia-NOM

'We didn't have family in Australia'

In the example below (9), Eva uses the accusative case (*rodinu*) where the preposition conventionally requires the dative case (*rodině*).

(9) Eva   *kvůli*   *rodin-u*

because.of   family-ACC

('because of the family')

The following is an interesting occurrence, because Dana realizes that the preposition s 'with' requires an instrumental case ending on the noun *učitel* 'teacher' but does not apply this to pan 'Mr', simply applying the nominative case in this scenario (10a).

(10)   a. Dana   *s*   *pan-ø*   *učitel-em*

with   Mr-NOM   teacher-M.INS

     b. Standard   *s*   *pan-em*   *učitel-em*

     Czech   with   Mr-INS   teacher-M.INS

'with the teacher'

This tendency to eliminate alternate case inflection forms has also occurred in American Czech, where there is a tendency for the nominative and accusative case suffixes to be used where a different case is grammatically required (Henzl 1982: 42). In Dutková's (1998: 632) study on the structural features of Texan Czech, she found that the Older Generation (pre-1945 group) "correctly" indicated case markings on translations in the Reduced Task[14] 78.7% of the time, with the Younger Generation (post-1945 group) indicating case markings "correctly" only 26.4% of the time.

4.1.4 Gender distinction: masculine and feminine are swapped

In some European languages, and Arabic, there is a tendency for the masculine gender to be either overgeneralized, utilized in situations of unfamiliarity or reanalysed as a neutral form in the absence of overt morphological cues for a feminine classification especially if the masculine is the default, unmarked form in that language (Dieser 2009; Brehmer & Rothweiler 2012; Albirini et al. 2013; Bianchi 2013; Cuza & Pérez- Tattam 2016). However sometimes, phonological cues for a feminine classification (i.e., an ending usually reserved for feminine forms, e.g. -a) result in unconventional use of the feminine agreement forms. The example below from Pereltsvaig's paper on the absence of gender agreement in American Russian shows this:

(11)　　a. American Russian　　　*moj-a deduška*

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　my-F grandpa (M)

　　　　　b. Standard Russian　　　*moj-ø deduška*

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　my-M   grandpa (M)

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[14] The Reduced Task involved the translation of twenty sentences from English into Texan Czech andwas aimed at eliciting features of "reduced" Czech (Dutková 1998).

'my grandpa'

The unconventional ending for gender occurs in this dataset (see Table 4 supplementary materials), but participants did not **necessarily** default to masculine gender use. It is interesting to compare this to similar situations, wherein the unconventional gender ending is presumably much more pronounced (Vašek 1996; Zajícová 2009; 2012). It may be the case that, as this community is much 'younger' generationally, such a feature may not yet frequently occur.

The examples below demonstrate how the Czech South Australian community have used grammatical gender.

(12)   Adéla   *ví-m*   *že* ***moje***   *brách-a*

            to.know-1SG   that   my.NOM.SG.F   brother-NOM

            'I know that my brother'

It is likely that Adéla's use of a feminine possessive pronoun can be attributed to a phonological cue for feminine classification from the noun. However, the noun is masculine animate.

(13)   Jana   *to*   *jsou*   ***moje***

            DEM.N   to.be-3PL   my.PL.M.INAN/F/N

            lidi-ø

            people-NOM.M.AN

            'These are my people'

Here, the masculine animate noun *lidi* 'people' (whose form is used in the spoken language – in the written language it is *lidé* in the nominative) requires a possessive pronoun in the masculine animate plural. Jana instead uses the possessive for masculine inanimate, feminine

or neuter nouns. It is possible that the conventional ending was 'forgotten' here due to attrition. This example could also possibly represent the use of an accusative form **moje lidi** my.PL.M.AM.ACC people-ACC.M.AN with the copula *jsou* to.be-3PL, where the nominative would be used in Standard Czech. In that case, this would be an example of unconventional case endings rather than gender distinction.

(14) Milada *má-m* *manžel-a* *a* ***dvě***

  to.have-1SG husband-ACC and two.F/N

  kluk-y

  boy-PL.ACC.M

  ('I have a husband and two boys')

There are different forms of saying 'two' in Czech depending on the gender of the accompanying noun. The masculine form of 'two' is *dva*, and the feminine and neuter forms are represented by *dvě*. In this case, Milada uses the feminine/neuter form rather than the masculine.

4.1.5 Reflexive pronouns: disuse and unconventional use

In Czech, reflexive pronouns serve a variety of functions. They can derive a reflexive verb, a reciprocal verb or a passive, impersonal or intransitive verb from a transitive verb (Janda & Townsend 2000: 59). They can also represent a required component of a verb that only exists in accompaniment with si or se (a lexical reflexive) (Janda & Townsend 2000: 59).

Reflexive pronouns inflect for case; the dative case requires the reflexive pronoun form *si* (15a) whilst the accusative case requires the reflexive pronoun form *se* (15b).

(15) a. Dative case: *Myj-u* *si*

  to.wash-1SG REFL.DAT

  ruc-e

hand-ACC.PL

'I wash my hands' (lit. I wash for/to myself hands)

b. Accusative case: *Myj-u*   *se*

to.wash-1SG   REFL.ACC

'I wash myself' (i.e. the entire self)

Unconventional reflexive pronouns can thus serve as an example of a loss of case distinction, especially in cases of transitive verbs that can be used reflexively. It is also possible that missing reflexive pronouns are more likely to occur with Czech lexical reflexives that are not reflexive in English, in following with the English syntax and directly transferring the phrase over.

Adéla and Eva use the largest number of unconventional reflexive pronouns (see Table 5 supplementary materials). These participants are from the 1.5 and second generation, and the other user of unconventional reflexive pronouns, Jana, is also from the second generation. Intergenerational attrition/shift may thus be related to generation.

In one example (16), Adéla uses the dative form of the reflexive pronoun with the verb *učit se* 'to learn' (lit. to teach oneself), for which the accusative form is required. It could be argued that the verb *učit* 'to teach' is transitive and, used reflexively, represents 'to learn', maintaining the idea that utilization of an unconventional reflexive pronoun could represent loss of case distinction.

(16)   Adéla   *jsem*   ***si***   *uči-l-a*

AUX.1SG   REFL.DAT   to.learn-PST-SG.F

'I learned'

The example below (17b) shows the way that the lexical reflexive verb *snažit se* 'to try (in the sense of: to strive)' is conventionally used in Czech. Eva uses the verb without the reflexive pronoun (17a). This verb does not require a reflexive in English, so it may be that grammatical replication is at play here.

(17) a. Eva   *snaž-ím*   *ø*   *ted'ka*

             to.try-1SG   ?   now

    b. Standard   *snaž-ím*   *se*   *ted'ka*

      Czech   to.try-1SG   REFL.ACC now

      'I'm trying now'

In the following example, Jana uses the reflexive pronoun where it is not conventionally required (18).

(18)   Jana   ***jak***   ***se***   ***můž-e***   ***říct***

           how   REFL.ACC   to.be.able.to-3SG   to.say

         'How do I say this'

Jana mixes the phrases *jak se řík-a/řekn-ě* 'how does one say' and *jak můž-u říct* 'how can I say' in a way that is not conventional in Czech. It is possible that this is an example of redundancy of expression; a phenomenon which occurs when the speaker is not fully confident that the utterance will be parsed and decoded correctly and introduces more 'instructional' elements to guide the hearer (Polinsky 1997: 398–99).

4.1.6 Syntax: English influence?

Several participants adopted English construction types by choosing unconventional constructions and increasing the analytic nature of the sentence by utilising verbs such as *jít* 'to go' and *dělat* 'to do' as auxiliaries. Sentences considered attestations are somewhat difficult to quantify here, as they represent a number of different phenomena (including use of

an auxiliary + infinitive in following English syntax, as well as unconventional verb choice and word order). Sentences produced would generally make sense to a Czech person as word order is relatively free, but it would not sound conventional.

Most participants who produced such attestations are in the 1.5 or 2nd generation (see Table 6 supplementary materials). This could be evidence for their language development compared with those who arrived later as first-generation immigrants (Polinsky 2008: 334). It is possible that these people had divergent attainment of Czech as children, which represents intergenerational language attrition/shift (Huffines 1991; Burling 1992; Waas 1996; Polinsky 1997; Hickey 2010). Van Els posits that the main cause of language loss is not due to the individual forgetting elements of the language, but rather incomplete transfer between generations and thus incomplete acquisition (now called divergent attainment cf. Kupisch & Rothman 2016; Polinsky 2018) (van Els 1986). Indeed, the former is a contributing cause to the latter.

Interestingly, one of the first-generation participants who produced such attestations mentioned that they had not been back to the Czech Republic for over seven years, possibly suggesting a lack of use of the language and thus some intragenerational attrition (Stoessel 2002; Clyne & Kipp 2006). This particular participant is also married to an individual with another non-English L1, which has a greater relative importance in terms of speaker population in Australia. It is possible that this other language is thus prioritised in terms of conversation together and with their children.

The example below (19) shows how Eva utilises Australian English syntactic structure and switches in an Australian English word. In Australian English, in this context, one would not often say 'he doesn't want to camp', as such a phrasing has a perfective sense, but rather one would say 'he doesn't want to go camping', giving an imperfective sense to the phrase. In English, utilising the second phrase gives a more accurate depiction of the activities involved in engaging in camping. The sentence becomes more analytic in utilising the infinitive and a noun rather than simply using the verb.

(19) Eva   *on   ne-chc-e   **jít   camping***

               he   NEG-to.want-3SG   to.go   camping

               ('He doesn't want to go camping')

This is then repeated by Dana (20):

(20) Dana   *tam   můž-eš   **dělat   i   camping***

               there   to.be.able.to-2SG   to.do   and   camping

               ('You can go camping there')

One could argue that, because the English word 'camping' is utilized, the participants may be unaware of how to express this word in Czech. However, Eva utilizes the verb kempovat conventionally in the next sentence, perhaps in self-correction. However, after this, Dana continues to use the long form with the English vocabulary *dělat i camping* 'to also do camping'. This further shows English syntactic influence.

Increasingly analytic syntax is also evident in Texan Czech (Dutková 1998). Both generations in her study found it difficult to produce the "correct" Standard Czech imperfective verb, with half of the Older Generation (pre-1945 Group) and most of the Younger Generation (post-1945 Group) opting for use of an auxiliary and an infinitive in its place, confirming Kučera's observation of exactly this feature in American Czech (Kučera 1989; Dutková 1998: 64).

The syntax of Jana's sentence below (21a) follows that of SVO English: 'when (do) your kids go to school here?', however natural Czech speech requires a different word order: 'when go your kids here to school?' (21b). VSO and VOS sentences are the most natural word-order choices for Czech questions, with the WH question typically appearing at the beginning of the sentence (Janda & Townsend 2000). Syntactic change to further follow L2 sentence constructions and word order is also evident in Australian German (Waas 1996).

(21) a. Jana *kdy* **vaše** **dět-i** **šl-i** **do**

      when your.PL kid-NOM.PL.F to.go.PST-3PL.M.AN to

      škol-ky **tady?**

      school-GEN.DIM? here

   b. Standard *Kdy* *šl-y* *vaše* *dět-i* *tady*

      Czech when to.go.PST-3PL.F your.PL kid-NOM.PL.F here

      do *škol-y?*

      to school-GEN

      'When do your kids go to school here?'

In American Czech, sentence constructions and phrases often completely imitate those present in American English, and over time, a complete elimination of cases have led syntactic function to be derived from word order (Henzl 1982; Vašek 1996: 82). It would appear then that a combination of the forces of attrition processes in production of case endings and a subsequent calquing of English word order are responsible for the elimination of cases.

4.1.7 Tentative article formation

Czech has no distinctive article word class. In this data, participants use the demonstrative and the numeral to form definite and indefinite articles, which is also attested in the Zajícová (2009) and Dutkova-Cope (2001a) data from Paraguay and Texas. This use of numerals and demonstratives to create a category non-existent in Czech may be an example of filling a "grammatical gap". The filling of grammatical gaps is posited as a reason for grammatical borrowing in situations of language contact, particularly among earlier scholars (Hale 1975; Heath 1978; Hill & Hill 1981; Campbell 1993). The numeral *jeden* 'one' is utilized as an indefinite article in American Czech (Vašek 1996: 81).

It is mostly Kamila and Zuzana who produce a possible tentative article (see Table 7 supplementary materials). Two examples found in the data for this study are shown below (22 and 23):

(22) Zuzana *to* *byl-o* *tak-ové*

it.N to.be.PST-SG.N such/some.sort.of-NOM.PL.F

ty *koul-e,* *to* *jsou*

DEM.NOM.PL.F ball-PL.NOM.F it.N to.be-3PL

ty *česk-é*

DEM.NOM.PL.F Czech-NOM.PL.F

'It was some sort of balls, some sort of Czech'

(23) Kamila *má-m* ***ty*** *vnouc-ata*

to.have-1SG DEM.PL.ACC grandchild-PL.ACC.N

'I have the grandchildren'

It is also possible that the interlocutors are speaking Common Czech, wherein ten and its derivatives are used as definite articles or pronouns (Janda & Townsend 2000).

The use of this feature by primarily Kamila, Martin and Zuzana, all first-generation participants, means that it is unlikely that this feature is an example of intergenerational shift.

4.1.8 Summary of data

Each of the grammatical features found have been separately discussed and compared with other diasporic communities, and qualitative judgements have been made on the origins of each feature based on both the specific examples shown and the data frequencies.

It would appear that many of the grammatical unconventionalities occurring in South Australian Czech represent grammatical replication rather than borrowing as defined in §1; the way grammatical information is conveyed syntactically is altered rather than morphemes being directly borrowed. This is similar to Zajícová's (2012) observation about Paraguayan

Czech; Spanish has had more syntactic rather than morphological influence on Czech. It is likely that at least some of the features

observed are attributable to language contact-induced transfer, whilst other features are explained by attrition processes; especially through incomplete intergenerational acquisition. Some features attributed to language contact or attrition processes by previous authors are possibly due to use of Common Czech.

The figure below displays a summary of the current situation in South Australian Czech in comparison with American and Paraguayan Czech language situations. These communities are much further along in the language attrition process than South Australian Czech, and their development has been different due to many factors, one of which being the eras in which people immigrated and thus the technology available to them.
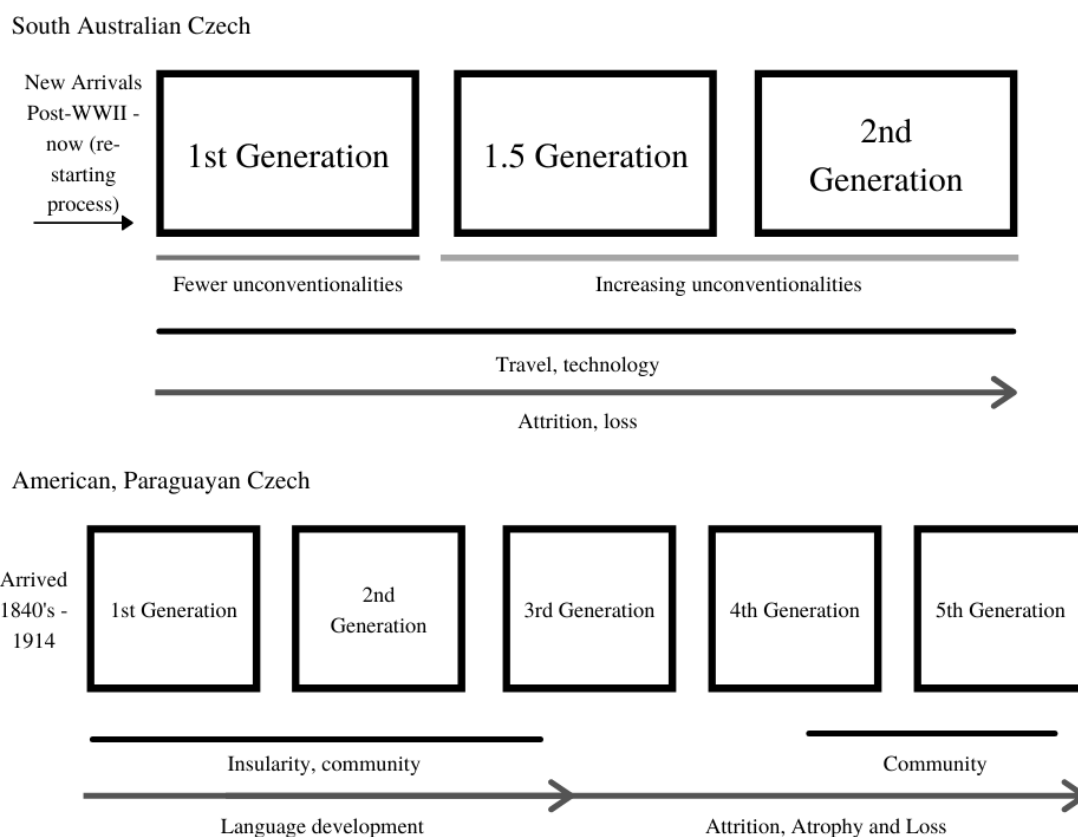
Figure 1: South Australian Czech and American and Paraguayan Czech Language

4.2 Analysis: Grammaticalisation framework and Dynamic Theory of Multilingualism

In this section, the qualitative conclusions reached about language contact-induced borrowing are further considered utilising steps to establish that contact-induced structural change has occurred (Thomason 2001: 93–94). These steps to establish **structural** change, or **replication**, are able to be used as it is replication rather than borrowing which has occurred here (§4.1.8). It is made clear here that the steps are adapted to identify the source of potential unconventionalities – the focus is on whether these features are contact-induced rather than representing community-wide change (see §1).

The paraphrased steps/rules are as follows:

1. Cases for contact-induced structural changes must be supported by other instances of structural interference from the same source language in the same receiving language: there must be more than one type of case.

2. The source and receiving languages must be shown to be in intimate enough contact to make structural interference possible.

3. Structural features shared by the proposed source and receiving languages need to be identified.

4. Prove that the proposed interference features were not present in the receiving language before coming into contact with the source language.

5. Prove that the proposed interference features were present in the source language before coming into contact with the receiving language.

6. Consider plausible internal motivations for the changes, and the "very real possibility of multiple causation".

<div align="right">(Thomason 2001: 93–94)</div>

In terms of step 1, it is noted that there are several types of potential cases which have been identified (§4.1). Participants' languages are in intimate contact and have been for several generations (step 2). They utilise both the source and recipient languages in their daily lives,

with the source language being used by the wider society and recipient language in their homes, with family and friends, and at the Club (Table 4). The relevant structural features of the two languages are present in Table 6 (step 3).

Table 6 can also be utilized to position each proposed change with respect to the host linguistic system and detect presumed causes, as well as showing whether the proposed interference features were not present in the pre-contact variety and present in the source variety prior to contact (4 and 5).

Table 6: Presence of feature in Czech and English with possible causes

FEATURE AMONGST SOUTH AUSTRALIAN CZECH PARTICIPANTS	FEATURE PRESENT IN COMMON CZECH?	FEATURE PRESENT IN AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH?	IS FEATURE A RESULT OF BORROWING IN LANGUAGE CONTACT?	IS FEATURE A RESULT OF ATTRITION/SHIFT?
Use of overt subject	Yes	Yes	Maybe	Maybe
Prepositional system	████	████	████	████
No case system	No	Mostly	No	Yes
No gender distinction	No	Yes	No	Yes
Reflexive pronoun phenomena	████	████	████	████
Analytic syntax	No	Yes	Yes	Maybe
Articles required	No	Yes	Maybe	Maybe

*These phenomena could not be analysed in the same way as the others in the table. See further explanation in the paragraphs below.

In the discussion below, I analyse and explain each feature, with consideration of internal motivations (step 6). The overt subject feature is not present in Czech as Slavic languages are pro-drop (Haspelmath et al. 2001). However, it does occur in Common Czech. Overt subject marking is required in English (Haspelmath et al. 2001). This feature could be a result of

borrowing in language contact as well as a result of attrition, but it is also possible that it represents use of Common Czech.

Slavic languages tend to have fully-fledged case systems, whereas inflections in English are present only in some pronouns. It is possible that these unconventionalities are a result of borrowing in language contact due to attrition. The participants who produced unconventional case endings were in the 1.5 and second generation (§4.1.3). This interacts with an increasingly analytic syntax; the roles of core syntactic cases become increasingly redundant in speech with a rigid word-order to provide grammatical information. It is not possible here to establish the directionality: whether the language has become more analytic in response to divergent attainment (Andersen 1982, §4.1.1), or whether the case system is rendered redundant with increased analyticity providing the grammatical information.

Czech has three grammatical genders and an animacy distinction. English does not have a productive gender system (excepting some nouns and pronouns). There is a possibility of such a feature representing attrition processes and language contact, as in Zajícová (2009: 144) where a frequent use of the nominative in place of other cases is attributed to a "combined influence of Spanish and attrition". However, the extremely small number of attestations could suggest that the community is still quite young in comparison with other Czech diaspora communities in terms of generation and therefore aspects of intergenerational attrition.

The reflexive pronoun could not be analysed in the same way, because the unconventionalities represent three phenomena: use when not conventional, non-use when conventional, and use of *se* or *si* (§4.1.5). There is some evidence here for attrition processes, as all attestations of these unconventionalities are from the 1.5 and second generations. The prepositional system also could not be analysed in this way because the unconventionalities represent several phenomena: inclusion where unconventional, non-inclusion where unconventional, and unconventional choice. All attestations of these unconventionalities also come from the 1.5 and second generation, providing evidence for the role of attrition.

Articles are not used or required in Czech (Dryer 2013). However, in Common Czech demonstratives are used more often in places where there would be articles in other languages (Janda and Townsend 2000). Articles are required in English (Dryer 2013). It is thus possible that article use could represent attrition, borrowing, or use of Common Czech.

Table 12 shows that several of the proposed changes were not present in the pre- contact variety, including the lack of a case system, lack of gender distinction, analytic syntax, and the requirement of articles. Overt subject use and the extended use of demonstratives are possible in Common Czech and may thus represent internal variation (step 6). However, it remains possible that this also represents a contact-induced borrowing (see §4.1.1, 4.1.7). These features were all possible in the source language prior to contact between the South Australian Czech Community and Australian English.

Divergent attainment is particularly likely to be a contributor to the instability of prepositions, loss of case distinction, loss of gender distinction and increased analytic nature of the language, as the speakers engaging in these were primarily from the 1.5 and second generation. Widely recognized signs of a language undergoing attrition include increased analytic nature no matter the source language structure, issues with loss of case distinction and increase in the use of the nominative case, preposition instability and loss of gender distinction (Andersen 1982; Polinsky 1997; Zajícová 2009). However, it is also likely that the speech of divergent attainers is influenced by their dominant language. Indeed, some authors consider this to be part of the attrition process (Sharwood Smith & Kellerman 1986; Grosjean & Py 1991; Pavlenko 2000; Gürel 2002; Schmid & Keijzer 2009; Cherciov 2013).

The Czech South Australian community are moving through processes of language shift. The South Australian Czech community is at the attrition stage, though the possibility of an influx of new community members from the Czech Republic keeps the cycle continuing (see Figure 1).

Excepting those possibly created by internal motivations, all of the unconventionalities discovered are the product of the sociolinguistic situation induced by language contact. Dynamic Systems Theory is able to be applied here: a dynamic system is a set of variables that mutually affect each other's changes over time (van Geert 1994; Herdina & Jessner 2002). In this case, language-contact induced transfer and attrition represent those variables; they have a somewhat symbiotic relationship, influencing one another and acting jointly to produce the features observed. Attrition occurs in the contact situation due to the introduction and required use of the majority language, and thus ever decreasing frequency of use of one's own language, possibly resulting in language loss and language death. As resources from one language are lost due to attrition, resources from the other language are borrowed. As the resource of a fully-fledged case system is lost in Czech, the resource of utilising a more rigid word order is employed, which is a feature of English but is also a tendency of languages undergoing attrition and shift.

5. *Conclusion*

Observation session data on individuals in the Czech South Australian community was collected and analysed to detect whether contact-induced **borrowing** and **grammatical replication** innovations occurred. Participants displayed several grammatical features in their speech, including increasing the analytic nature of the language, use of the overt subject; loss of gender distinctions; preposition instability; tentative article formation; and loss of case distinctions. These match that which has occurred in America and Paraguay (Henzl 1982; Vašek 1996; Dutková 1998; 2001; Zájícová 2009; 2012). Grammatical replication rather than borrowing (Heine & Kuteva 2008; Kuteva 2017) has occurred in South Australian Czech, similar to Zajícová's (2012) study.

Despite similar findings as those in other diaspora communities, it is noted that this paper analyses a different period of migration and thus examines a language contact situation in the era of increased connectivity in terms of travel and the availability of

phones and the internet (Keijzer 2020). It might be predicted that interconnectivity would mitigate against language attrition and contact-induced transfer, but despite this, the study demonstrates that unconventionalities are occurring at the level of morphology and syntax. Through adding data from a vastly different temporal and geographical context, this study aids in developing a more nuanced understanding of how and why speakers use different resources from between their languages.

Through analysis using Thomason's (2001) steps to identify instances of contact- induced structural change and dynamic systems theory it is posited that at least increasingly analytic syntax, overt subject usage and tentative article formation are partially attributable to language contact and grammatical replication. This paper is therefore adding to the literature stating that it is possible for language-contact induced grammatical borrowing to occur, whilst also positing that contact-induced language transfer and shift and attrition processes exist in a symbiotic relationship.

Future research could involve an analysis of whether innovations have resulted in community-wide propagations, which would require a larger sample size, more time analysed per speaker and a large Czech-habitant comparison group allow researchers to be able to make generalisations and stronger assertions about causation. Other future research could include the study of Czech in contact with a language with equal or richer morphology, or a study of English-speakers' English in the Czech Republic as a comparison.

Declaration of Interest Statement

The author declares that there is no conflict of interest.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Translation of the discussion themes

Discussion themes were originally provided in Czech.

- Travel:

    o Where have you travelled to in the world?

    o What places do you want to visit?

    o in Australia, in the Czech Republic, elsewhere in the world

- Life in the Czech Republic

- Life in Australia

- Films that you have seen recently:

    o Czech films

    o American films

    o Australian films

    o Films from other countries

- The three most interesting things you have ever done

- Favourite book or worst book you have ever read

- Favourite or least favourite food, recipes, differences between Czech and Australian cuisine

- What you are doing on the weekend

- What is your dream job?

Appendix 2: Bilingual ability section of the basic information form

<u>Bilingual Ability/dvojjazyčné schopnosti:</u>

English/Angličtina: 0 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8 9   10

Czech/Čeština: 0 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8 9   10

0 = does not speak the language at all / nemluví jazykem vůbec

10 = native-level fluency and maintained use of language / rodilý mluvčí a udržované
používání jazyka

Appendix 3: Minutes per participant

Participant	Minutes	Total Observation session time
Adéla	4 mins 5 seconds	15 mins 7 seconds
Dana	5 mins 16 seconds	9 mins 58 seconds
Eva	3 mins 48 seconds	9 mins 58 seconds
Jana	8 mins 37 seconds	14 mins 6 seconds
Ivana	3 minutes	14 mins 6 seconds
Kamila	6 mins 52 seconds	16 mins 21 seconds
Milada	3 mins 35 seconds	14 mins 6 seconds
Zuzana	8 mins 5 seconds	15 mins 7 seconds
Roman	3 mins 15 seconds	16 mins 21 seconds
Martin	2 mins 38 seconds	15 mins 7 seconds

Appendix 4: Attestations in Czech National Corpus (Kopřivová et al 2017; Machálek 2019a; 2019b)

Sections are shaded black if they represent an example rather than data. When giving times per million words, this only includes spoken words in the corpus.

ATTESTATION	IN CZECH NATIONAL CORPUS?	EXPLANATION/COMPARISON
1	████████████████	████████████████
2	Lemmatised variant *my se podívat* attested, 0.3 occurences per million words	Lemmatised variant *podívat se* of conventional form, *podíváme se* occurs 97 times per million words
3	Lemmatised variant *já muset jet* attested, 0.6 occurrences per million words	Lemmatised variant *muset jet* without overt subject occurs 15.7 times per million words
4	Attestations, occurs 2.5 times per million words	*tam* on its own (without preposition *v*) occurs 13084.2 times per million words
5	No attestations	-
6	-	Untested, only three-word utterances may be entered into the corpus, and this phrase requires all four words to show the unconventionality
7	No attestations for *mám manžel* or *mám dcera*	Attestations for conventional *mám manžela*, lemmatised variant *mít manžel*, 1.1 instances per million words, *mám dceru*, lemmatised variant *mít dcera*, 3 instances per million words
8	No attestations of *v Austrálie* in terms of v representing the preposition 'in' and not 'versus'	Conventional phrase *v Austrálii* used 2.5 times per million words
9	No attestations	-
10	No attestations	-
11	████████████████	████████████████
12	No attestations	-
13	No attestations	Corpus picked up the lemmatised variant *můj člověk* 'my person', with the conventional version *moji lidé* 'my people' being used in the corpus
14	No attestations	-
15	████████████████	████████████████
16	No attestations	-
17	Attestations for lemmatised variant *snažit* 'to try', 117.6 per million words	Lemmatised version of conventional form, *snažit se* 'to try' actually occurring less frequently, 20 per million words, and *se snažit* 'to try' occurring 53.4 per million words – however, the main collocation with *snažit* is *se*.

18	-	Untested, only three-word utterances may be entered into the corpus, and this phrase requires all four words to show the unconventionality
19	No attestations	No attestations for *jít camping* 'go camping' or even Czech-only *jít kempovat* 'go camping'
20	No attestations	No attestations for *dělat i camping* 'go camping' or even Czech-only *dělat i kempování* 'go camping'
21	No attestations	-
22	Attestations for lemmatised variant *ten koule* 'the ball', 6.1 occurrences per million words	*ten* listed as [pronoun] here, rather than article
23	Attestations for lemmatised variant *ten vnouče* 'the grandchild', but 0.8 occurrences per million words	*ten* listed as [pronoun] here, rather than article

Supplementary Materials

Table 1: Overt Pronoun use per participant

Participant	OPPORTUNITIES FOR SUBJECT PRONOUNS TO BE USED	NO SUBJECT PRONOUN USED	SUBJECT PRONOUN USED			
			1SG	1PL	Others	Total
Adéla	70	31	16	16	7	39
Dana	83	45	20	5	13	38
Eva	61	40	9	3	9	21
Jana	102	87	8	2	5	15
Ivana	35	28	5	0	2	7
Kamila	88	60	16	4	8	28
Milada	38	29	4	3	2	9
Zuzana	133	79	24	15	15	54
Roman	31	26	5	0	0	5
Martin	34	28	3	2	1	6

Table 2: Unconventional preposition use per participant

Participant	TOTAL PREPOSITION POSSIBILITIES	CONVENTIONAL PREPOSITION USED	UNCONVENTIONAL PREPOSITION USED		
			Not included where conventional	Used where not conventional	Unconventional choice of preposition
Adéla	36	34	0	1	1
Dana	37	35	1	0	1
Eva	25	25	0	0	0
Jana	48	45	0	0	3
Ivana	44	44	0	0	0
Kamila	36	36	0	0	0
Milada	30	30	0	0	0
Zuzana	55	55	0	0	0
Roman	24	24	0	0	0
Martin	24	24	0	0	0

Table 3: Use of unconventional case ending

Participant	UNCONVENTIONAL CASE ENDING USED
Adéla	6
Dana	1
Eva	2
Jana	1
Ivana	0
Kamila	0
Milada	0
Zuzana	0
Roman	0
Martin	0

Table 4: Unconventional gender use

Participant	UNCONVENTIONAL GENDER USED
Adéla	1
Dana	0
Eva	0
Jana	1
Ivana	0
Kamila	0
Milada	2
Zuzana	2
Roman	1
Martin	0

Table 5: Forms of reflexive pronouns

Participant	TOTAL REFL PRONOUN POSSIBILITIES	CONVENTIONAL REFL PRONOUN USED	UNCONVENTIONAL REFL PRONOUN USED		
			Se vs si	Not included	Used where not required
Adéla	8	5	1	2	0
Dana	28	28	0	0	0
Eva	15	8	1	5	0
Jana	19	17	0	0	2
Ivana	10	10	0	0	0
Kamila	23	23	0	0	0
Milada	10	10	0	0	0
Zuzana	13	13	0	0	0
Roman	7	7	0	0	0
Martin	6	6	0	0	0

Table 6: non-Czech conventional word order/English word order/syntax

Participant	ATTESTATIONS
Adéla	1
Dana	4
Eva	2
Jana	3
Ivana	0
Kamila	0
Milada	0
Zuzana	0
Roman	3
Martin	2

Table 7: Tentative article formation

Participant	UNCONVENTIONAL USE OF DEMONSTRATIVE AS ARTICLE
Adéla	0
Dana	1
Eva	0
Jana	0
Ivana	0
Kamila	3
Milada	0
Zuzana	2
Roman	1
Martin	2

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By signing the Statement of Authorship, each author certifies that:

    i.   the candidate's stated contribution to the publication is accurate (as detailed above);

    ii.   permission is granted for the candidate in include the publication in the thesis; and

    iii.   the sum of all co-author contributions is equal to 100% less the candidate's stated contribution.

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Contribution to the Paper			
Signature		Date	

Name of Co-Author			
Contribution to the Paper			
Signature		Date	

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6. Paper 2: Language Loyalty and Language Purity in a Language Contact Situation: South Australian Czech

Abstract

This paper is a parallel study to Language Contact and Grammatical Borrowing: A Study of Czech in South Australia (Castle 2021) and investigates the reasons why grammatical borrowing and attrition processes occur within the South Australian Czech community. In-depth qualitative interviews were conducted with six participants, yielding results including reports of cognitive pressure, structural influence and similarity, and outside societal pressure to speak English. Utilizing Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) framework, it was identified that Czech Australian participant speech was marked by characteristics placing it at level three on the borrowing scale: function words and sentence structure are borrowed from English, which correlates with participant experience with a more intense level of contact and social pressure from the larger Australian majority. Additionally, "need" (van Coetsem 2000: 215), comprising social pressure, structural similarity, and cognitive pressure, is the key factor in grammatical borrowing, transfer, and attrition processes in the Czech South Australian community.

1. Introduction

This study aims to identify potential drivers of grammatical borrowing in South Australian Czech as established in Castle (2021), including cognitive pressure to assimilate, gap filling, and increasing simplicity and structural similarity, with a focus on possible compounding sociocultural motivations. It also aims to explore reasons behind other grammatical phenomena occurring in the South Australian Czech community, including attrition processes and loss.

This paper interacts with and builds on findings from previous studies of Czech diasporic communities (Vaculík 2004; 2009; Dejmek 2007; McCabe 2016) and Czech as a diasporic language (Henzl 1982; Machann & Mendl 1983; Sherwood Smith 1991; Šašková-Pierce 1993; Vašek 1996; Dutková 1998; Gallup 1998; Hannan 2004; Eckert 2006; Cope 2006, 2011; Eckert & Hannan 2009; Vaculík 2009; Vaculík & Kucík 2014). It aims to contribute to filling the gap in the literature with regards to the drivers of grammatical borrowing in this diasporic community; previous papers have focused on the drivers of attrition processes in such communities (Sherwood-Smith 1991; Šašková-Pierce 1993; Dutková 1998; Cope & Dittman 2020) (which this paper will also address and build on), or have shown that contact-induced grammatical borrowing *occurs* in such communities (Henzl 1982; Kučera 1989; Vašek 1996; Dutková 1998; Zajícová 2009; 2012), but have not tried to identify the sociolinguistic, cognitive and linguistic processes behind it.

The paper has the following structure: in Section 2, I give a background of other similar Czech diasporic communities, the history of the South Australian Czech community, and define the language contact terminology used in this article. Section 3 outlines the method, including design, procedure and participant data. In Section 4, I share the results in three main headings: language maintenance, acquisition, and attrition; borrowing; and how borrowing

occurs. The language maintenance, acquisition and attrition section can be compared with the background information on other diasporic communities and addresses attrition processes and loss. The sections on borrowing aim to address the potential drivers of grammatical borrowing.

In section 5, a data summary is given which discusses each participant opinion on the potential reasons behind grammatical borrowing from their interview data. Community comparisons in terms of the intergenerational shift process and the reasons behind this are then shared. Subsequently, I compare social pressure experienced by participants discussed in interviews to actual language use from the observation sessions (Castle 2021). Finally, I analyse the source of the grammatical borrowing using van Coetsem's (2000) model. Major findings on the sources and motives of grammatical borrowing and limitations of the study are summarized in the conclusion.

2. Literature Review

2.1 The South Australian Czech Community

The first major wave of immigration to Australia occurred post-WWII, following the communist takeover of Czechoslovakia in 1948 (Vaculík 2009; Migration Museum 2020a). There were smaller waves which came prior to this time, but many returned as Australian interest in agricultural workers declined and unemployment rose in other industries (Vaculík 2009). After 1948, many refugees fled to Germany and chose to further migrate to Australia, with 1,500 Czechoslovakians settling in South Australia during this time (Migration Museum 2020a). New migrants initially stayed in Woodside, Mallala, and Smithfield Migrant Hostels, and were bound to a two-year employment contract with the Australian government as laborers or domestic workers in exchange for passage from Europe (Migration Museum 2020a). These refugees were generally not welcomed by those who had come pre-WWII, and thus new "reactionary" sporting and social clubs were formed as community refuges (Vaculík

2009: 242-244). Two participants in this study (referred to below as P5 and P6) were in this group. Participant 6's family moved to South Australia in 1952 after a brief time in Paris, where she was born. Participant 5 was born in South Australia after her parents left the Czech Republic in 1948.

A second major wave occurred in the early 1970s following the end of Prague Spring, and 1000 Czechoslovakians settled in South Australia (Migration Museum 2020a). The Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Compatriots Association in Australia and New Zealand aided these second-wave refugees to ease their hardships (Vaculík 2009). In both the first and second waves, migration occurred for political and social reasons; it was a reaction to living under a totalitarian system (Brouček et al. 2019). The third major group began arriving as refugees in 1989, after the fall of the Czechoslovak communist government and the Velvet Revolution (Migration Museum 2020a). Many Czechs have migrated to Australia and New Zealand for life, professional and language experience from the mid-1990s onwards (Brouček et al. 2019). Two participants in this study (referred to below as P1 and P4) moved post-1989 for personal reasons. One participant (P3) moved in the early 1980s as a young child, whilst another participant (P2) was born in South Australia after her parents moved in the late 1970s.

The Czechoslovak Club in South Australia was established in 1949 and incorporated as an official body in the early 1950s (Charles Sturt Council 2019; Migration Museum 2020a). An old church, purchased for the Club in 1959, was soon demolished and used to build a hall (Migration Museum 2020a). This Club continues today, with an aim to "connect all Czechs and Slovaks from South Australia in a strong community that keeps and promotes national ideas based on united friendship and mutually honest social relations" (Charles Sturt Council 2019). The Club provides cultural activities and events such as St Nicholas Day[1], the

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[1] This celebration is a Czech Advent tradition which takes place on the eve of the name day of *Svatý Mikuláš* 'Saint Nicholas'. Throughout the course of the evening, Saint Nicholas, accompanied by an angel and a devil, ask children whether they have been good for the year. If so, treats are given. If not, it is lumps of coal or potatoes for the children.

anniversary of the declaration of Czechoslovak Independence, New Year's Eve, sports days, BBQs, Mother's Day, and Father's Day, as well as welfare services, weekly dinners, children's language classes and private language lessons for students of all ages (Migration Museum 2020a). The Club also has a community informational bulletin called *Život* 'Life'. According to the Club manager, there are around 280 members of the Czechoslovak Club.

According to the 2016 census, there were 473 Czech-born South Australians and 1679 South Australians of Czech descent (ABS 2017a; Migration Museum 2020a). The population of Czechs is scattered throughout the metropolitan area (Migration Museum 2020a). There were 317 Slovakian-born South Australians, and 781 people of Slovakian descent (ABS 2017b; Migration Museum 2020b). Therefore, there were 49.2% more Czech-born South Australians than Slovakian-born South Australians, and 114% more South Australians with Czech descent than those with Slovak descent. There also exists a separate Slovak Club of SA, which evolved in early 1950s and registered as an official body in 1980 (Migration 2020b).

Given how many Czech South Australians there are in comparison to the number of Club members, one could say that the community is scattered. However, there is a Club group with closer social ties, and within that there are closer-knit groups of people. This is particularly true for older generations who shared that fellow Club members once acted as family for them during a time when they could not return to their own families for political reasons. During that time, the only people that they could speak Czech with outside of their immediate families were fellow Club members, as linguistic contact from the homeland was cut off.

2.2 Language Contact and Other Diaspora Communities in the Anglosphere

2.2.1 Immigrant Czech: Czech in the US in the "Classical Period of Immigration"[2]

These communities, and the Texas Czech community in particular, have been researched extensively (Henzl 1982; Vašek 1996; Dutkova-Cope 2001; Cope 2006; Eckert & Hannan 2009; Vaculík 2009; Vaculík & Kucík 2014; Eckertová 2017a). This research encompasses both language maintenance, attrition processes, and language loss, as well as the identification of cases of grammatical borrowing from English (Henzl 1982; Vašek 1996; Dutkova-Cope 2001; Cope 2006; Eckert & Hannan 2009; Vaculík 2009; Vaculík & Kucík 2014; Eckertová 2017a).

There are many social factors which promote linguistic and cultural maintenance in these immigrant Czech communities. These include: a rural tight-knit community setting in the 19th century (in Texas); pre-WWI Czech-language journalism; the support of the Unity of the Brethren in organizing Catholic schools and summer camps where Czech was the primary mode of instruction (in Texas); a strong institutional linguistic support base in the form of community organizations; and the attitude of young community members today in wanting to connect with their identity and their pride in any ancestral language ability (Machann & Mendl 1983; Gallup 1998; Hannan 2004; Cope 2006; Cope & Dittman 2020).

In the Texas Czech community in particular, maintaining factors have included: a homogenous community in the earlier years with regards to geography of origin, occupation and religion; reinforcement of ethnic identity with regards to language use; adherence to traditions and language planning; the establishment of community professional, social and religious institutions; sufficient inner resources to survive for generations[3]; and the maintenance of contact with the homeland through the flow of new immigrants and letters

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[2] As described by McCabe (2016: 170).
[3] Eckert and Hannan (2009: 89-90) discuss this, suggesting that these resources are linguistic, cultural and economic. This insulated existence is well-described by Cope and Dittman (2020: 12-13): "Czechs started…their own settlements, built their own churches, schools, dance halls, and fraternal, religious and theatrical societies…they published Czech newspapers and patronized their own businesses, stores, and pubs".

from the Czech and Moravian lands (Eckert & Hannan 2009). Other pertinent factors included a prevalence of endogamous marriages in the 19th and early 20th century, and an ideology of "*národnosť*"[4]: developing a nation and tying this in with identity (Eckert & Hannan 2009: 103, 133). The high literacy of Czech immigrants and the importance of literature in the Czech culture and tradition also aided language maintenance, as people participated in reading clubs and engaged with Czech-language American journals (Eckert & Hannan 2009; Vaculík & Kucík 2014).

WWII played a significant role in the distancing of people of Czech heritage from their culture and their language. During the 1940s the assimilationist movement became accentuated, and Europeans had to give up "large portions of their ethnic cultures" to be able to fully participate in society (Banks & Gay 1978: 239-41; Sherwood Smith 1991; Dutková 1998; Hannan 2004). There was a focus on the English language, American history and the propagation of loyalty and patriotism (Eckert 2006). Immigrants and ethnic organizations were seen as suspicious and were advised to learn and speak English (Eckert 2006). Linguistic shaming and alienation experienced by many Czechs in these settings discouraged them from speaking the language and engaging in the culture (Banks & Gay 1978; Dutková 1998; Eckert 2006; Cope 2006). Post-WWII, Czech ceased to be the language of the family, and the young, with little to no knowledge of Czech, left for the city, creating new social networks in which Czech was not used (Eckert & Hannan 2009: 151). As community structures crumbled, so did the language; several attempts at cultural revivals were made in the decades following the 1980s, but these did not result in a return to fluent heritage language use, and the language form, if learned anew, is typically the Standard Czech taught in the Czech Republic (Šašková-Pierce 1993; Cope 2006; Eckert & Hannan 2009).

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[4] Literally meaning 'nationality', Eckert and Hannan (2009: 103) discuss how this particular "vision" of *národnost* was focussed on the "Czech language of national literature".

In Nebraska Czech, ancestry, rather than language ability, has become the main indicator for the ethnic group membership (Šašková-Pierce 1993). Cope (2011) reports that whilst ethnic Texas Czechs regard their ancestral language as important in their self-identification and have a positive attitude toward maintaining the language, most "would gladly pass the job [of learning and maintaining it] to someone else because they feel that their lives are already too hectic to follow a few enthusiastic leaders in their communities" (Cope, 2011:376; also cf. Hannan 2004). The nature of social and cultural contact has in this context created pressures for Czech immigrants to utilise the language in increasingly fewer public locations and withdraw from modelling the language in intra-community social situations, leading to a decline of intergenerational language transmission and thus divergent attainment. Czech from the classical period of immigration (1848-1914) (Vaculík 2009) is an *atrophying language*; it is in the last stages before extinction. This atrophy occurred due to social movement outside of insular communities and therefore a more extensive need to participate in mainstream language situations (Eckertová 2017b).

2.2.2 Czech in the US from post-WWII to the "new wave of immigration"[5]

Similar to the Czech South Australian situation, there were three main waves of immigration to the US between WWII and the Velvet Revolution of 1989: in 1939 before the Nazi occupation, in 1948 during the Communist coup d'état and 1968, after the Soviet invasion (Vaculík 2009). These migrants are dissimilar from their predecessors in the classical period in that they no longer formed communities, and there is significant movement from Czech to English from the second generation onwards (Eckertová 2017a).

Since 1989, immigrants have tended to be highly educated and come to the US for work, study or relationships (McCabe 2016; Brouček et al. 2019). In McCabe's (2016: 169) study,

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[5] As described by McCabe (2016:170).

she found that the successful factors in language maintenance for second-generation Czech and Slovak immigrants in the Southeastern US are: anticipation of a future need to use Czech or Slovak, constant parental use of Czech or Slovak, yearly extended overseas holidays, and "parental ability to use additional strategies, such as involving grandparents or employing Slavic au pairs". The transnational context is vital for contemporary heritage language retention (McCabe 2016).

2.2.3 Immigrant Czech: Canada

There is no research available regarding whether grammatical borrowing and attrition processes have occurred in Czech Canadian communities. However, Dejmek (2007) provides a history of the Czech community and language situation in Canada, and Vaculík (2004; 2009) briefly comments on immigration history. Canadian Czechs are in quite a similar situation to South Australian Czechs, especially regarding periods of larger waves of immigration as well as modern community efforts.

Whilst smaller waves of Czech immigration occurred from 1860 into the 1920s for socioeconomic reasons, the larger Czech waves occurred in 1938, 1948 and 1968 (Dejmek 2007; Vaculík 2009). The Czechoslovak Assocation was quite active in the 1970s and 80s, but post-1989 the momentum of the Czech community in Canada has slowly dissipated from what it once was (Dejmek 2007). This decrease in community activity would decrease the likelihood of language maintenance. However, the Montreal Czech diaspora still hosts community events, including a children's summer camp (Hostýn), and there is a heritage Czech language school in the Toronto area continuing the language practice in the community (Dejmek 2007; Moldová 2021).

2.3 Terminology used

2.3.1 Language Contact

Phenomena which occurred in South Australian Czech represent several language contact outcomes outside of grammatical borrowing (Castle 2021), including instances of code-switching, code-mixing (Muysken 2000) and divergent attainment (Polinsky 2018). Code-switching is defined by Poplack (1993) as the "juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic… rules of the language of its provenance". Code-mixing refers to "all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence" (Muysken 2000:1). Divergent attainment [previously: incomplete acquisition] occurs when an individual does not "learn the entire system of a given language… [which is] a result of bilingualism where one of the languages is strongly dominant" (Polinsky 2006: 194; Polinsky 2018). Divergent attainment is one of several processes of shift and loss occurring in the Czech South Australian community.

Language loss occurring in immigrant communities occurs wherein the L1 is "gradually replaced by the language of the host country in the course of two to three generations" (de Bot & Weltens 1991: 42). During this process, the changes to the structure of the linguistic system occur (Münstermann & Hagen 1986). Language shift is very similar to this, defined by Montrul (2015: 11) as a "gradual transition from speaking the heritage language to speaking and using the majority language predominantly". Also occurring in the Czech South Australian community are attrition processes, which are defined here as those processes occurring in the community which lead to attrition in the language, or "imperfect language competence" (Polinsky 2006: 194).

2.3.2 Grammatical Borrowing

Grammatical borrowing which occurred in South Australian Czech represents grammatical *replication* (structural change) rather than *borrowing* (morphological form borrowing) as defined by Heine and Kuteva (2005) (Castle 2021). Similar to these definitions are matter borrowings (MAT) and pattern borrowings (PAT) (Matras & Sakel 2007). MAT occur when the phonological form and function are borrowed, and PAT occur where the function but not phonological form is borrowed (Matras & Sakel 2007). Previous research offers evidence of PAT, namely in article formation and marked use of personal pronouns (also cf. Castle 2021):

(1) Article formation

Má-m　　　　*ty*　　　　　*vnouč-ata*

To.have-1SG　　DEM.PL.ACC　　grandchild-PL.ACC.N

'I have the grandchildren'

(Castle 2021:28-29)

(2) Marked use of personal pronoun

My jsme　　si　　to proje-li,　　　　　my se　　　podíváme

we AUX.1PL REFL it to.go.through-PST.PL, we   REFL to.look.PRF-1PL

'We've gone through it, we'll see'

(Castle 2021: 14)

 Most of the borrowing represented PAT of syntactic function and word order. There were no instances of MAT from English into Czech in Castle's (2021) study.

3. Method

3.1 Design and Procedure

This study involved six one-on-one interviews conducted with Czechoslovak community members at the Adelaide Czechoslovak Club in Brompton between November 2018 and May 2019. The sample was non-random as it was shaped through availability of the participants from a prior study (Castle 2021). A bias toward female speakers is reflected in this study, as the pool of interviewees, 80% female, came from the first study (Castle 2021). This was due to referrals by the female Club manager, whose suggestions tended towards female speakers. However, as with the previous study, the researcher aimed to obtain a sample with a range of generations, ancestral regions, and educational levels. Participants were required to be bilingual to participate in the study. Their competency was self-assessed using a bilingual ability grading scale (Appendix 2) and assessed by the researcher using the observational data from the prior (Castle 2021) study through the speech-related reference points of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Appendix 3). The sample is small (n=6), but adequate for an exploratory in-depth qualitative study seeking potentially indicative results (Loewen & Plonsky 2015:173).

The interview method was semi-structured in that the researcher prepared a question set but also had the freedom to ask follow-up questions and enquire further. Interviews can be particularly useful in gaining insight into non-observable phenomena such as attitudes, beliefs, and cognitive processes (Loewen & Plonsky 2015:91). The interviews were on average 21 minutes long.

The aim of the semi-structured interview questions (Appendix 1) was to identify instances of grammatical borrowing that the participants may be aware of in their speech, and to examine the degree to which they account for their (perceived) borrowing in their language behavior as resulting from social factors. Questions were specifically aimed at addressing possible causes

of grammatical borrowing, including prestige and purist ideologies (questions 3 and 10), grammatical gaps (question 4c), increasing structural similarity (question 5d), cognitive pressure (question 7), and societal pressure from other Czechs (question 9) and the majority population (question 9). Question 2a aims to detect whether participants have an adequate level of English to ensure the data is not skewed.

Linguistic terminology used to communicate with participants was somewhat adapted into plain English for purposes of user-friendliness. Participants were not likely to be aware of the differences between PAT and code-switching in their speech, especially as PAT may be more difficult for speakers to identify in their speech than MAT (Matras & Sakel 2007). Therefore, a broader term of *mixing* was used with participants when discussing language use, but further questions were explained and asked specifically about syntax and morphology. It is thus recognized that this study may not only reflect possible reasons behind grammatical borrowing, but also reasons behind lexical borrowing and other forms of code-mixing. A result of unconscious borrowing, whether PAT or MAT, is that participants may not always do what they say they do in terms of mixing (see §4.2.1 for more). However, such a comparison is beyond the scope of this paper. An Ethics Clearance was obtained from the University of Adelaide Human Research Ethics Committee (Approval No. H-2018-230).

3.2 Coding and Analytic Procedure

Interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed, and coded by themes as they were observed in NVivo[6]. A constructivist approach was taken to both data-gathering and analysis, recognizing the presence of multiple socially built realities to explore and describe phenomena occurring within the community (Gray 2013: 31). In terms of analysis, the data was closely examined for potential patterns to allow grounded findings to emerge (Berg & Lune 2012: 157; Gray 2013) relatively free from the researcher's own influence.

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[6] NVivo is a qualitative data analysis computer software package.

Once the social pressures were identified from the interview data, this was compared with observed language use to analyse whether the perceived levels of pressure experienced by participants matched with the outcomes of features in their actual speech. Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) borrowing scale (Appendix 4) is used to do this. This model was selected as it allows for analysis of features borrowed at different levels of contact intensity for typologically dissimilar languages like Czech and English (Thomason 2010).

Following this, van Coetsem's (2000) model is used to more deeply analyse the possibilities for the motivation of grammatical borrowing. This not only takes the factors already analyzed through a close examination of the interview data, but also the language dominance of the participants and identification of language agentivity.

3.3 Participant Data

The number of participants in this study (n=6) is not adequate to generalize about the entire Czechoslovak Club community (N=280). However, for an exploratory study intent on providing rich descriptions of the community members' experiences, this number is acceptable (Gray 2013:22). The rich interview data can be used to both explain the reasons for certain borrowing phenomena and provide an insight into linguistic community life.

Table 1 shows the metadata for participants in this study.

Table 1: Participant Metadata

VARIABLE	CATEGORY	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS	PARTICIPANT #
Age	Under 50 (younger group)	3	1 2 3
	Over 50 (older group)	3	4 5 6
Gender	Male	0	-

	Female	6	1 2 3 4 5 6
Age when moved	Born in Australia	2	2, 5
	0 - 10	2	3, 6
	10 – 18	-	-
	18 – 50	1	1
	50+	1	4
Years living in Australia	0 - 10	-	-
	10 – 20	2	1, 4
	20+	4	2, 3, 5, 6
Educational level	Vocational education and below	1	6
	Bachelor's degree and above	5	1 2 3 4 5
Czech Region of Origin	Bohemia	2	1 6
	Moravia	2	3 4
	Born in Australia	2	2 5

Table 2 gives assessment of each participant's language proficiency, as determined by themselves (self-score) and the researcher (CEFR-assessed score) (see Appendix 2 for grading scale, Appendix 3 for CEFR score meanings).

Table 2: Participant Language Proficiency

PARTICIPANT	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6
Self-score (English)	9	10	10	7	10	10
CEFR-assessed score (English)	C2	C2	C2	C1	C2	C2
Self-score (Czech)	9	8	5	10	3[7]	7

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[7] The discrepancy between P5's self-score and her CEFR assessed score in Czech can be at least partially explained by her clearly self-effacing nature regarding her Czech language abilities.

CEFR-assessed score (Czech)	C2	B2	B2	C2	B2	C1

Participants are defined in this study in relation to their generation. The table below defines each generation in this dataset.

Table 3: Generation Definitions for this Article

GENERATION	DEFINITION	PARTICIPANTS
First Generation	Those who were born in the Czech lands and moved to Australia as older teenagers or adults.	P1, P4
"1.5 Generation" (Polinsky 1997: 334)	Those who moved to Australia as children and grew up in Australia.	P3, P6
Second Generation	Those who were born after the parents moved to Australia and grew up in Australia.	P2, P5

Participants can also be defined in terms of two binaries discussed in Polinsky (2006: 194-5), namely first/second language and primary/secondary language, as well as in terms of whether they speak South Australian Czech or "Émigré" Czech. Émigré Russian is defined as "the Russian language as spoken in North America by the first generation of immigrants, who grew up speaking Full Russian and came to America as adults" (Polinsky 2006: 195), Émigré Czech can be defined as the Czech language spoken in South Australia by the first generation of immigrants, who grew up speaking Full Czech and came to Australia as adults. Participants 1 and 4 are speakers of Émigré Czech, whilst Participants 2, 3, 5 and 6 speak South Australian Czech, a "reduced" (Polinsky 2006: 194) heritage variety of the language. This is important to note as there is evidence suggesting that representational differences between baseline native and heritage grammars exist (Polinsky 2016). In terms of the two binaries, first and second

language relate to *time* of acquisition, whereas primary and secondary language relate to current language *dominance* and *ability*. Participants are placed into these categories in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Binary Language Use Identifiers

PRIMARY/FIRST	PRIMARY/SECOND	SECONDARY/FIRST	SECONDARY/SECOND
P4	P6?	P1, P2, P3, P5	-

Participant 6 is tentatively placed in the primary/second category, as she shared with me that she thinks she spoke only English as a young child, though her parents were both Czech. She did not speak Czech very much throughout her childhood and started learning and speaking much more in early adulthood when she met her Czech husband. She currently still speaks Czech with her husband, which, now that she is retired, is the language spoken in her home much of the time.

4. Results

4.1 Language Maintenance, Acquisition and Attrition in the Czech Community

4.1.1 Maintenance Efforts by Participants

There is evidence of participants maintaining their own Czech language skills and being supportive of language maintenance in the community. Participant 6 reads Czech magazines and newspapers to maintain her language skills but stops at books because they are too long for her to enjoy. This type of language maintenance does not hinder enjoyable everyday life experiences involving the language. Language maintenance ideals must be realistic: for some speakers, maintenance is too onerous because they have few readily available daily opportunities that encourage the use of Czech, and because they have not been successful in building an in-home culture that involves regular use of Czech. Participant 2 tries to speak

Czech with her children but mentioned that it takes a strong commitment and can be hard to maintain.

Participants 3, 5 and 6 mentioned that they will, if they do not know a certain word in Czech, ask their interlocutors what the word is so that they can learn it and use it in future. This continued learning is a form of maintaining the language.

Participant 4 stated that she speaks only Czech to the children in the Club to help them learn and remember their language. She is proud of Czech and feels that intergenerational language maintenance is important.

Others make conscious choices to maintain Czech in their young children, though this can be challenging in an Australian-English language public sphere. Participant 1 consciously tries to speak Czech with her children, though due to their tendency to respond in English, she will sometimes answer them in English, realize, and repeat in Czech, as she discusses below:

> "I do try to… consciously… speak … Czech to the kids, but sometimes because they tend to respond in English to me a lot, it's just… a subconscious thing that naturally I'll … respond in English and then I'll…– oh! Yeah, and then… sometimes I'll just leave it and then go into Czech, and sometimes I might… just say exactly the same thing in Czech again".

Participant 2 will say something in Czech, repeat it in English assuming that her children do not understand, and then repeat it in Czech to try to teach them. As expected, the children's comprehension is much better than their production in Czech.

Participant 5 stated that her parents made a conscious decision to implement a one-parent one-language policy in the home to assure she knew enough English before starting school.

4.1.2 Why Maintain?

Most participants enthusiastically expressed a sense of cultural identity surrounding their activities at the Club, their language use, and their perceptions about it. Participants 1 and 2 felt that Czech was a richer, more poetic and versatile language than English, though Participant 1 conceded that over the years she had come to see that one can also create richness in English, though in a different way (grammatically, modes of expression, etc.). Participant 2 stated that she appreciates being able to draw on her Czech to name culture-specific items and concepts that do not exist in English. All participants felt pride in the Czech language and being able to use it.

Using Czech is part of the community experience, and more strongly so for some. Some participants, including Participants 3 and 5, are happy to participate mostly in the cultural events and indicate that the language use, whilst it would be nice, is not a defining factor in enjoyment of their culture and time spent at the Czechoslovak Club. For others, including Participants 4 and 6, it is a major factor.

4.1.3 School

One influence cited in identifying the point at which children start to use predominantly English is the beginning of school or English-centered childcare. Participant 3 mentioned that her children's exposure to English through childcare has contributed to their lack of ability in Czech. She compared this to the experience of her German friend's children, who were immersed in German at home with their mother until commencing school.

Participant 6 mentioned that her youngest grandson was quite proficient in Czech, as she looked after him often as a young child, but once he started school his Czech began to decline. Participant 5 shared that she was very fluent in Czech as a young child, but she was introduced to English just prior to entering school (at childcare), after which English became her dominant language.

An interesting side note which fits neatly with a well-established pattern observed in many studies (Hulsen, de Bot & Weltens 2002; Nesteruk 2010: 279; Yilmaz 2016; McCabe 2016) is that Participant 1's primary school age children speak Czech to her, and to each other, when they go to the Czech Republic for their annual holiday and for a few months after they return. They eventually regress to English-only answers and playtime together, and the cycle begins again on their next holiday. She discusses this below:

> "We tend to go [to the Czech Republic] every year… for about six… to eight weeks, and… when we come back from Czech, they speak to me in Czech, all the responses are in Czech and… the longer we stay here it sort of diminishes".

Participant 4 mentioned that her 12-year-old granddaughter came back to Australia speaking Czech and "making sentences" after a shared six-week holiday in the Czech Republic.

4.1.4 Attrition Accelerators and Language Maintenance Aids

One barrier to acquisition and attrition accelerator has been some of the participants' children's English-monolingual partners. Participants 4 and 6 shared that their son- or daughter-in-law did not wish for their children (or their partner, or mother-in-law) to speak Czech) in their presence and discouraged their language learning, in one case even stipulating that the children should not be allowed to attend the Czech school. Partner attitudes and motives surrounding language learning and use within the family influence intergenerational maintenance and acquisition versus attrition (Lambert 2008: 232; Mejía 2016: 25). Children are more likely to make use of the language if they are exposed to it in the home (Pauwels 2005: 126), which is not likely to be often if one parent wishes not to have it spoken in their presence.

It is unclear as to whether the existence of the Czech school has had a significant effect on language maintenance overall with the younger generation, as no data have been collected on

the children and their language abilities/preferences in the Czech South Australian community context. Fishman (1991: 2, 252-83) found that reverse language shift management (supporting speech communities whose languages are threatened due to increasing intergenerational shift through ethnic community schools, radio and press in the language) had little effect on the immigrant language loss rate in Australia, excepting a slight slowing of the normal rate in post-WWII immigrant language groups.

It is uncertain whether students at community language schools can develop a full literacy level given the limited hours afforded to them (generally a few hours on a weekend) (Spolsky 2003:207). Though opportunities for language maintenance and delaying language shift are "quite plentiful" (Clyne 2001:388) in Australia, there has been an increased rate of shift to English for all immigrant language groups, demonstrating that Australian policy in support of maintaining immigrant languages is "positive but ineffective" (Fishman 1991:277).

The people closest to the participants appear to have a profound effect on the frequency of their Czech language use. Participant 6 shared that she did not speak a lot of Czech until she met her husband in her early twenties, as he is Czech, and she needed it to speak with both him and her mother-in-law. Her Czech then improved as they moved in Czech social circles. Today she utilises Czech more often, though during her working career she spoke a lot more English (even to her husband) as it was required in the workplace.

More than half of the participants do not have a Czech-speaking partner (Participants 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5). Even though they try to speak Czech to their children they still feel inhibited by a sense of accommodation and politeness toward their monolingual partner: they want everyone to understand what is happening. Participants 1 and 2 will use Czech with their children, but only when their (the participant's) partner is not around. Often the partner understands some Czech, but not enough to participate in daily life within the home in the language. This

influences how often they can use Czech on a daily basis and hence how well they maintain their vocabulary.

Participants 2, 3, 5 and 6 have parents living in Australia who speak Czech or both Czech and English with them, supporting their language maintenance.

4.1.5 Societal Pressures and Locations when Mixing

It is well-documented in the literature that context and interlocutor awareness affect language choice in bilinguals (Fishman 1965; 1972; Rubin 1968; Gardner-Chloros 1985; 2009; Myers-Scotton 1993; Wei 1994; 2007; Côté & Clement 1994; Galindo 1996; Schrauf 2002; Regan & Nestor 2010; Dewaele 2010; 2011; Grosjean 2010; 2016; Hammer 2017). Participants 1, 2, and 6 discussed their preference to speak English in a situation where they are with an English monolingual or (non-Czech speaking) group. Participant 6 thought that it may be rude to speak in front of English-speaking friends in Czech. Participant 1 shared the same view, and would, out of politeness for the non-Czech friend, speak English to the whole group. This is indicative of language accommodation and convergence (Gasiorek & Vincze 2016), which, under Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles et al. 1973; Giles & Coupland 1991; Giles 2009), is used to minimize differences in communication between oneself and one's conversation partners due to seeking approval or increased effectiveness of communication (Eng 2016).

Participant 5 spoke of the societal pressure her mother felt to speak English. She lived in an Australian country town and would have to wait in the shop until everyone else completed their orders, and then the shopkeeper would deal with hers. There was major pressure to learn and speak English, mediated by language assistance from her daughter. The participant observed that back then, Australians did not know how to deal with immigrants:

> "Mum would wait in the shop because Australians didn't know how to deal with
> migrants, so a country town … the shopkeeper would wait until everyone else has been

served and then take, you know, that sort of thing, … it wasn't malicious, it was just simply we have no idea how to communicate, so um, it was a lot of point and stab".

Participant 1 shared that she prefers to speak English with her children out of politeness so as not to leave others out. Examples of this include the school playground with other mothers and the checkout line at the supermarket. She does not wish to alienate anyone. However, if she is alone with the children, either at home or out in public away from others, she speaks Czech. Similarly, Participant 2 mentioned that she speaks Czech to her children if they're not in a big group in public, but it is more the kids' reaction (i.e., not understanding her) that is an inhibitor rather than her perception of what the public thinks.

Participant 4 felt that Australian perceptions about immigrants, particularly European immigrants, have been changing. People are travelling more than they did in the 1980s and many are familiar with the Czech Republic. She does not feel any societal pressure to speak English; she feels that she does not have to speak it unless speaking to an English speaker who does not speak Czech.

Generally, the participants all mentioned that they speak Czech at home, at the Club, and with Czech friends and family members, whether in person, on the phone, or when visiting the Czech Republic. However, some constraints remain, such as the presence of an L1[8] monolingual English-speaking partner, or friends and family members who are non-Czech speakers, as mentioned above. Participants 4 and 6 noted that they would speak Czech in public with other Czech speakers with no qualms about the public opinion. Participants 1 and 2 specified that they would either prefer to speak English within earshot of English-speaking monolinguals or speak more quietly in Czech. Switching to English use in an increasing number of spheres lessens Czech use, thus accelerating the attrition process.

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[8] L1 = first language, L2 = second language

Some participants reported the locations where they mixed their languages. Participant 2 mentioned that she would mix Czech and English at the Club and with her family members living in Australia. However, she mostly refrained from mixing when speaking with relatives living in the Czech Republic. Participant 1 mentioned that she mixes the languages at the Club unless the children are around because she wants to be a good example for their Czech development. Participants 3 and 5 mentioned that they mix at the Club, most commonly when they are not familiar with a word in Czech and need to fill this lexical gap with an English word. Participants 4 and 6 reported that they try not to or do not mix at all.

4.2 Borrowing

4.2.1 Opinions on Borrowing – Purism and Acceptance

The interviews conveyed interviewees' perceptions of a continuum between purism and descriptivism that is not necessarily compatible with the observation data. Information gleaned from the interviews does not necessarily reflect actual language use. This study aims to analyse how participants conceive of their language behavior: what they think they do and perceive about their language use and that of others, rather than reflecting on what they actually do in practice, which was analysed in the parallel study of the observation data (Castle 2021). However, there are instances where the interviews do seem compatible with the observation data, which is also to be expected when recognizing that attitudes would be likely to affect conscious speech decisions.

Participant 6 does not like language mixing, especially lexical borrowing and phonological and morphological assimilation within Czech e.g. *šopinkovat* 'to go shopping'. She believes that people should speak one or the other. Participant 4 concurs. However, she shared that the languages sometimes mix in her self-talk, so she presumably consciously adjusts her speech to one or the other language, actively avoiding mixing.

Participant 1 shared at the start of the interview that she probably prefers it if people speak one language at a time. However, she admits that she is guilty of "hybrid sentences" and borrowing words and, once reminded of the opinion of descriptive linguists (as she has completed university-level linguistics training herself some time ago), acknowledges that language is for communication purposes. She does not like to transfer grammar between the languages: she states, "I might borrow words, but I try not to… mess up with the grammar". In "messing up", from earlier commentary in the interview it appears that she means both MAT, or borrowing the form and function together, and PAT. She states "I think that on a subconscious level… the grammar gets… influenced… I try not to", and when asked about MAT, she says "that probably would be… going too far for me… consciously I try not to". Later in the interview, she states that she is happy to switch from one language to another.

Participant 3 thinks that it is fine for people to borrow words, especially if they are relatively unfamiliar words. However, she dislikes embedding English words with Czech inflections within Czech speech; she does not like the sound of it and finds it embarrassing. On the other hand, Participant 2 will happily put Czech grammatical endings onto English words if she is not familiar with the lexical item in Czech and will mix when speaking with Czech-English speakers in Australia, particularly with family members.

Many Czechs in the Czech Republic are quite comfortable and familiar with embedding English-language borrowings into their language's grammatical structure, though not always knowingly. For example, older Czech generations in the Czech Republic do not like what they recognise as Anglicisms, and attitudes toward English word use are better amongst younger generations (though not necessarily reaching a positive opinion) (Dickins 2007; Endrštová 2010:77). A great number of Anglicisms have been borrowed into the Czech language since the industrialization of the 18th Century, wherein the English language began to influence the language of economy and technology (Gester 2001: 36). These loanwords, however, may no longer be recognized because they have existed for a long time and are phonologically,

orthographically, and/or morphologically assimilated e.g. *autsajdr* 'outsider', *bojkot* 'boycott', *dabing* 'dubbing' (Warmbrunn 1994:25, 31, 41; Gester 2001:51; Daneš 2001). English-derived neologisms also exist (Bozděchová & Klégr 2018). These have become integrated into the Czech grammar e.g. *šopík* 'small shop' (šop-ík shop-DIM), *manažerovat* 'to manage', *fejsbůček* 'little Facebook' (fejsbů-ček Facebook-DIM), *sprinterka* 'female sprinter' (sprinter-ka sprinter-F), *spirituální* 'spiritual' (spiritual-ní spiritual-ADJ) (Bozděchová & Klégr 2018:6; Salzmann 1991: 227; Warmbrunn 1994: 312). Whilst some Czechs may not notice the origin of fully assimilated loanwords from English, non-assimilated "foreign neologisms" (Dickins 2007: 128) are not given the same treatment. Participants in Dickins's (2007: 115, 128) study had a "strong residual apprehension" about the over-use of foreign neologisms, often appealing to purism and a nostalgia "for an era in which language use was somehow 'better'; that is to say, untainted by modern terminology, unnecessary jargon and innumerable other impurities". However, a majority of informants still believed that lexical borrowing was enriching to the language rather than believing it to be harmful (Dickins 2007: 116).

Participant 5 feels that to be comfortable with language mixing is probably a bit controversial, yet she is not too bothered about it. She tries to speak only Czech especially with older people, out of courtesy, a feeling of owing it to both them and herself, a feeling of national solidarity and cultural identity, and deference to Czech heritage and tradition. However, she accepts that Australian Czech is likely unique and that it ought not to be too problematic if people are mixing, stating that this is Czech as it is spoken (in South Australia).

4.2.2 Reasons for Borrowing

There were several reasons provided as to why the participants engage in borrowing. They were asked to provide some reasons and then to agree or disagree with reasons given by the researcher (see Appendix 1). These include:

(1) Not being able to recall a word or not knowing it at all (to maintain fluency and meaning)

(2) Quick access to the English phrase in the brain, coming first to one's mind.

(3) Certain words not having the same "essence" (as described by one participant) or feeling about them in a translation, or a good translation being unavailable.

(4) A phrase in English explains better what you want to say or expresses the meaning more fully.

(5) Others do so, so it is acceptable.

(6) An Australian phrase is semantically and/or socially more appropriate for context at hand, e.g. "pres" in the sense of "we had pre(drink)s last night before going to the bar" – this is a concept which does not exist in the Czech Republic because the cultural practice is not there.

(7) Australian contextual information, e.g. current Australian political news.

When referring to words not having the same "essence", Participant 2 mentioned the word *vyvětrat*, meaning literally 'to air out something', but having a certain different quality about it that leads her to use it even when speaking with her monolingual husband about taking the children outside to play at the end of the day. She discusses this concept below:

> "We've got young boys, and … they're very wild … in Czech you take your dog out for a walk at the end of the day to vyvětrat which is air, you don't really use it for kids but I often say like, let's go vyvětrat our kids, because they need it, so it doesn't quite – you can't really say the same thing in English, like you can run around outside but it doesn't have that – I dunno, vyvětrat".

Participant 1 mentioned that uses English words in her Czech when there is lack of a good translation (reason 3), and her interlocutor will not understand a certain concept in Czech but they will in English (reasons 4 and 6).

4.3 How Borrowing Occurs

4.3.1 Lexical Borrowing

Participant 6 mentioned that her vocabulary is generally quite good. She mostly borrows from English when she has momentarily forgotten a word or does not know a word and most likely when it is an infrequently used word. Participant 5 mentions that she has an issue with remembering Czech numbers fast enough to carry on a conversation. This is unsurprising, given that her dominant language is English, and that it was the language in which she learnt arithmetic in school. Bilinguals tend to perform better and feel more comfortable using numbers in the language in which they learnt arithmetic in school; the dominant language for math tends to be the one in which "numerical knowledge was first acquired" (Marsh & Maki 1976; Martínez 2019: 15). They also perform worse when numerical problems are posed in their weaker language or L2 (Morales et al. 1985; Frenck-Mestre & Vaid 1993). Whilst Czech is Participant 5's L1, it is now her weaker or secondary language (Polinsky 2006: 194-5, see Table 5).

Participant 5 also discusses a faux pas whereby she referred to an older lady with the incorrect honorific distinction (e.g., *ty* 'you (sg)' rather than *vy* 'you (pl)'), which she had simply forgotten to do in that moment. This represents a faux pas in Czech because it is a rule of politeness to use *vy* when addressing an elder or in a formal situation.

Participant 1 shares that she may borrow a word or phrase before jumping back into Czech. She also mentions that sometimes people embed an English word into the Czech grammar, e.g. *bukovat* 'to book a holiday'. It does not sound right to her, but it is now in common use in her Czech speech communities. A participant in the observation sessions in Castle's (2021) study uses this verb when discussing his holiday. Participant 2 will also utilise English words with Czech case endings within her Czech if she is unfamiliar with a word and does not have an issue with this.

Participant 5 borrows English lexical items freely in her Czech, and vice-versa.

4.3.2 Grammatical Borrowing

It is easier for participants to identify instances of lexical rather than grammatical borrowing. Several participants admitted that it is likely that their grammar is subconsciously affected by their utilization of the two languages and the contact between them, but that they really do not know, or cannot know, whether this is truly the case. It is not something that they actively consider when speaking, they find it a lot easier to identify an instance of using a word or phrase from the other language.

However, some individuals noted/observed that their syntax in one language is affected by the other. Participant 5, a 2nd generation participant with a lower fluency level in Czech, mentioned that often when she is about to say something in Czech, she will translate it word-for-word, except for fixed expressions. She discusses the Latin she learned at school and compares her experiences with syntactic influence from Latin with the phenomena occurring between her English and Czech. Participant 6 also mentions Latin classes at school in Australia, and says that they influenced her English sentence formation, so she imagines that a similar thing happens between her English and Czech.

Participants 2 and 4 discussed writing when asked about their syntax cross-over. They mentioned writing sentences down in Czech and realizing that the sentences were grammatically "incorrect" only afterward, but they were not sure if this was due to the influence between their languages.

Participant 2, whose dominant language is English, shared that her English syntax affects her Czech speech in Australia. However, when she goes to the Czech Republic for an extended amount of time, her English tends to begin to mimic the Czech sentence structure. She also tends to translate literally from English into Czech, occasionally causing confusion to Czechs in the Czech Republic.

Almost all the participants were adamant that they never "crossed over" with morphology – in the framework of attaching Czech morphological affixes to English words within English speech. They insisted that the morphologies of the languages are separate for them. However, Participant 2 admitted to morphological borrowing Czech speech – but participants 3, 4 and 6 stated that they try to avoid it. It would appear that participants are mostly aware of syntactic borrowing within their speech, which is reflected in the syntactic borrowing found in the parallel study (Castle 2021).

4.3.3 Community Pressure

Some individuals who admitted to borrowing between the languages (Participants 1, 2, 3 and 5) tended to back up this tendency with the fact that other people also borrow and provide an excuse for why they do. It is possible that pressure to avoid borrowing is evident in the community. It could also be the case that participants had an expectation of purism on behalf of the linguist (which was certainly not there, and in some cases the linguist specifically explained her descriptivist beliefs and the concept of linguistic descriptivism).

Participant 5 feels that attending a formal event comes with a societal expectation that you do not mix your languages and should apologize for utilizing English words if you have trouble using Czech only. She states that most Czech South Australian interlocutors are understanding about it. However, some do not like the languages to be mixed, and they especially do not like it if one uses English only. This participant feels most comfortable and relaxed when she can use both languages freely. She also had no parental pressure not to mix, as her parents were happy for her to speak English to assist them in their new country.

Participant 2 admitted that, when attending the Club, she felt concerned about whether her Czech would be adequate. She held back from talking with certain people for fear that her Czech was lacking and that she would have to mix in her speech with them. She emphasizes the importance of context; if someone is familiar or friendly, she does not feel pressure to

speak perfect Czech. She mentioned earlier in the interview that you can mix in the Club and it is generally not looked down upon, but these background pressures do seem evident, especially the social barriers created from linguistic issues. She feels more relaxed when she can use her two languages freely. She discusses this below:

> "The Czech teacher who I hadn't seen for a very long time, I would be held back from … talking to him because I feel like my Czech isn't good enough for what I want to say… for the people I'm familiar with and friendly with, no problem, because I probably … [won't have an] in-depth level of conversation, but when it gets more complicated I'll probably hold myself back".

Participant 4 does not feel comfortable with Czechs speaking English to each other in the Club. She feels that speaking Czech in the Czechoslovak Club is a way of preserving the culture and community, and of feeling more at home.

5. *Discussion and Analysis*

Table 5 below divides the reasons provided for borrowing in the qualitative analysis above into seven categories.

Table 5: Summary of Data Collected[9]

CATEGORY	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6
Purity (opinion on mixing)	~	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗
Grammatical Gaps	~	✓	✗	✗	~	✗
Increased structural similarity	~	✓	~	✓	✓	✓
Cognitive pressure	✓	✓	✗	~	✓	✗

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[9] Key: ✓ = yes, this is a factor for them; ✗ = no, this is not a factor for them; ~ = there are mixed opinions on this/participants contradicted themselves, P1 = Participant 1.

Societal Pressure from Czech Community	~	✓	~	✗	✓	✗
Societal Pressure from Australian Society	✓	✓	~	✗	✗	~
Excellent English Ability	✓	✓	✓	~	✓	✓

No two participants share the same answers; there is a great deal of variation in how they feel about grammatical borrowing, and whether they consciously engage in it. This variation is possibly attributable to participant diversity in terms of generation (cf. Table 2) and age (cf. Table 7).

5.1 Categories in Data Summary

5.1.1 Purity (Opinion on Mixing) and Social Pressure

Purity (opinion on mixing) and social pressure in terms of pressure from the Czech community interact. Interestingly, it was those participants who did not feel pressure to speak Czech in the Club that discussed that mixing between languages is not ideal and that people ought to speak the languages separately. The two participants who had negative opinions on mixing were from the older group, and from/of the first and 1.5 generations, respectively (Table 6).

Table 6: Social Pressure and Purism in terms of Age and Generation

GENERATION (AS DEFINED IN TABLE 2)	AGE					
	<50 (YOUNGER GROUP)			>50 (OLDER GROUP)		
	Participant	Social Pressure[10]	Negative opinion[11]	Participant	Social Pressure	Negative opinion
1	P1			P4		✓
1.5	P3			P6		✓
2	P2	✓		P5	✓	

The idea of Czech prestigiousness and puristic language ideologies often stems from an understandable desire to keep the language alive within the community for younger generations and to maintain one's identity and the identity of the Club. However, an imposition of these rules on others may be accelerating language attrition processes as some members become too afraid to speak their version of Czech in some situations, avoid engaging with some people and, at times, avoid attending the Club. Purism and social pressure are further discussed in §4.1.5, 4.2.1, 4.3.3.

5.1.2 Grammatical Gaps

Only one participant, of the 2nd generation, felt that borrowing possibly occurs due to grammatical gaps; the others disagreed outright or had mixed opinions.

5.1.3 Structural Similarity

All participants felt that language contact had caused a tendency toward structural similarity in their language use. Participants 2, 4, 5 and 6 agreed with the possibility that contact between the languages may have caused them to re-create sentences in one language utilizing

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[10] Participant feels social pressure from the Czech community to speak Czech.
[11] Participant has a negative opinion toward language mixing.

the other's syntactic rules, with the remaining two having mixed opinions. This awareness of changing sentence structure in response to the language contact situation is discussed in the parallel study on grammatical borrowing in the Czech South Australian community (Castle 2021).

The grammatical changes found in that study are confirmed by participant opinions surrounding their conscious language use. These participants essentially "lightened their cognitive load" by making their two languages increasingly "isomorphic"; converging the languages' word orders (Sanchez 2005:234-235).

Participants 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6 also discussed a possible subconscious syntactic influence of English language structures and peer engagement in and thus indirect approval of certain borrowing techniques as possible reasons for their engagement in borrowing.

5.1.4 Cognitive Pressure

Participants 1, 2 and 5 felt that there was cognitive pressure (in the sense of pressure in a communicative situation to state a word in a timely fashion, e.g. pressure for word retrieval) for them to use one language over another, especially in situations where they may not know or have forgotten a word. This overlaps with syntactic change in the direction of utilizing syntax from the other language. It is important here to consider the participants' understanding of the question, because Participant 3 stated that she did not see cognitive pressure playing a role in her speech, but also mentioned that whenever she does not know a word or has forgotten it, she will use a primary language word (English, in her case).

5.1.6 English Ability

All participants but one rated themselves as highly proficient English speakers.

5.2 Community Comparisons

American Czechs from the classical period are contrasted here with post-WWII immigrants to America, Canada, and South Australia. Though Czechs did migrate to Canada and South Australia earlier than WWII, these were much smaller waves of migration than that of the American Czechs. There is also not as much information available about these groups.

The language of South Australian Czechs is in an earlier stage of shift and loss than that of Czechs in the US whose ancestors immigrated during the classical period, particularly Texas Czechs. The youngest Texas Czechs do not speak Czech at all now beyond a few words or phrases; the language is nearly extinct. South Australian Czech is not yet at this stage; the language is still used amongst younger people in the community[12]. However, South Australian Czechs are at a similar stage of shift to those in Canada and the post-WWII waves of immigration to the US. There are first- and second-generation adult Czech South Australians, Canadians, and Americans, whereas the Texas Czechs are now of the third, fourth, or fifth generation. Due to globalization, increased mobility, and global knowledge made available by technology and the current sociolinguistic climate, the experience of the Czech immigrant to the US, Australia and Canada in modern times is quite different.

Many more recent Czech South Australians, Canadians, and Americans already recognize the importance of heritage language maintenance without experiencing a process of loss and shame about their language (particularly in school) due to the sociopolitical consciousness of the time. Currently, the importance of bilingualism and its benefits are understood; community members are able to maintain their heritage language without having first collectively undergone a generational language shift process.

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[12] It is important to note here that the language of South Australian Czechs is very similar to Czech in the Czech Republic; new arrivals continue to come to South Australia and increase the number of first-generation speakers. In terms of Texas Czech, this is not possible because it refers to a community of people who arrived during a set time, and whose language developed in an insular fashion and is quite different to modern Standard Czech.

Though these more recent communities try to maintain language use in different ways, including language classes and cultural activities, practical Czech use seems to be declining, especially with reports of Czech South Australian children being unable to speak the language to the same level as their parents unless they return to the Czech Republic for extended visits. More recent Czech immigrants to the US also recognize that lengthy trips to the Czech Republic are important for the heritage language maintenance (McCabe 2016).

It is recognized that home language use, the presence of an ethnic community with a language school, and perceived prestige and vitality of the language are consistent predictors of heritage language retention (Fishman 1991; Tse 2001). Czech South Australians, Canadians (Dejmek 2007) and Americans (Moldová 2021) can rely on the presence of ethnic communities with language schools. Whilst McCabe (2016) mentions that many new arrivals to the US settle in destinations without established Czech communities and schools, she also ascribes the recently founded community language schools to the presence of the new migrants. The presence of such schools works for Czech speakers in terms of language maintenance. Prestige is also important for language maintenance. In South Australian Czech, the language has prestige and standing in terms of social solidarity in the community (see §4.2.1, 4.3.3 for more). Only time will tell whether the language will be maintained to fluency for South Australian Czechs.

Though globalization, technology and mobility can make the Czech heritage speaker experience different from the past in a way that motivates intergenerational language maintenance, it can also push against it. As evidenced in McCabe's (2016) study and in the present study, increased intermarriage and English abilities of new immigrants create a situation where Czech may not be fully passed on to the next generation.

The figure below from Castle (2021) displays the differences between South Australian, Canadian, and American Czech (classical period and post-WWII period), and how different the development of Czech has been, largely depending on the era in which people moved.
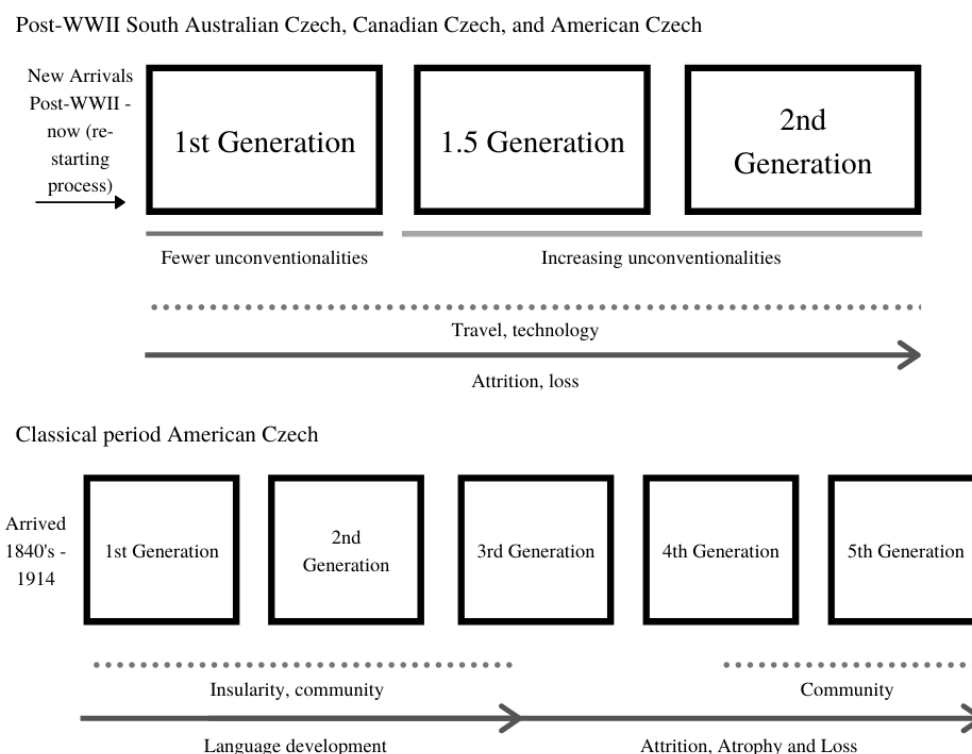
Figure 1: South Australian, Canadian, and American Czech Language Situations (adapted from Castle 2021).

5.3 Comparison of Social Pressure Experienced with Observed Language Use

On Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) borrowing scale, the Czech South Australian situation is likely at level two or level three. Function words and sentence structure are borrowed from English, for example with the increased marked use of pronouns, and syntax reflecting English word order (Castle 2021). Participant reports of their syntax directly reflecting English word order is in line with Gumperz and Wilson's (1971:165) assertion that bilinguals tend to move their languages toward "word for word translatable codes". Some examples of changing syntax include:

(3) Use of overt pronominal subject:

?já   musí-m   jet   dom-ů

I   must-1SG   to.go   home.GEN-PL

'I have to go home'

(Castle 2021:15)

In Czech, the subject pronoun is generally not required once the subject is established as it is a pro-drop language. However, one possibility for using the subject pronoun is for emphasis. In the situations given in Castle (2021) it is suggested that the subject pronoun is not used for emphasis but could rather represent a contact-induced shift toward an Anglicized sentence structure.

(4) Use of a more analytic sentence structure, overt subject pronoun (and codeswitching):

on ne-chc-e   jít   camping (kempovat)

he NEG-to.want-3SG to.go camping (to.camp)

'he doesn't want to go camping'

(Castle 2021:26)

In Standard Czech, in this situation one would simply utilise the verb *kempovat* 'to camp' e.g. *nechce kempovat* 'he doesn't want to camp'. Insertion of the verb *jít* 'to go (in the sense of by foot)' along with the English lexical item suggests a shift toward a syntactic structure more closely resembling English. The overt subject pronoun *on* is also used here where it is not required.

Though there are word order changes, these are not deemed extensive enough for a level four rating on the borrowing scale. No English inflectional affixes are added onto Czech words, also indicating that the borrowings occurring in South Australian Czech are not at a level four.

Level three suggests a more intense level of contact and pressure from the broader surrounding Australian culture with a slight amount of structural borrowing. This fits with the participants' responses (§4.1.5, 4.1.4, 4.3.3).

5.4 Sources of Grammatical Borrowing

According to van Coetsem (2000:215), the two fundamental grammatical borrowing motivating forces are **need** and **prestige**. The borrowing mode that encompasses these sources is called the extended mode of borrowing. The borrowing mode that prioritizes need as a source is called the regular mode of borrowing (van Coetsem 2000). In the regular mode of borrowing, the borrowing process by each individual is seen as an adaptation. However, in the extended mode of borrowing, this is considered an imitation, undertaken because language community members have a strong awareness of their language being subordinated to the socially and culturally dominant source language (the language that is the source of the borrowings). In South Australian Czech, Czech is the recipient language and English is the source language.

In the regular mode, such language awareness is absent for a variety of reasons, but in South Australian Czech it could be argued that it is because the prevailing criterion for using English is for communication and intelligibility purposes and not for prestige-related purposes. Here, **prestige** refers to social status or reputation. As it is therefore primarily need driving the borrowing process forward, this makes South Australian Czech fit the regular mode of borrowing, which typically involves borrowing from the syntagmatic axis. This axis involves the distribution of phonological, morphological, and syntactic forms and structures. This could aid in explaining the relative propensity for syntactic borrowing in South

Australian Czech in comparison to minimal morphological borrowing (which is more related to the paradigmatic axis).

There is great cultural value and prestige within the Czech community, tying in with the idea of covert prestige expressing a sense of social solidarity (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor 1977; Ryan 1979; Edwards 1982:21; Milroy 1982; Giles & Johnson 1981, 1987). Czech social dominance and prestige within the Czechoslovak Club is clearly explained by van Coetsem's (2000) model and a need-based choice to learn and communicate in English in the outside world in Australia. One may also consider what van Coetsem (2000:233) refers to as normativeness, or the motivation for avoiding borrowing, of which one aspect is purism. This is certainly present in the South Australian Czech community.

However, Participants 2, 3, 5 and 6 are no longer linguistically dominant in Czech.. They are of the 1.5 and 2nd generations, reflecting the idea that intergenerational language shift processes such as divergent attainment are active in the community. Such generations also have closer and more intense contact with English in their formative years, through school etc. The linguistic situation of these participants would more closely represent Source Language Agentivity (van Coetsem 2000) than Recipient Language Agentivity. Also referred to as imposition, Source Language Agentivity occurs in this case where elements are imposed onto participants' Czech through their English dominance. Van Coetsem's (2000:172) Source Language Agentivity model is shown below:

"initial generation(s): L1 (A) → L2 (B) = imposition by A (acquisition of B)

subsequent generation(s): L1 (B) → L2 (A) = imposition by B (possible attrition of A)"

where imposition refers to linguistic dominance. Underlining indicates the linguistically dominant language.

For this group, their borrowing may be more affected by prestige. This is possible through having prestige ascribed to the English language in their youth e.g. at school, where it is not only the language acquired and utilized by teachers, but it is also the language of peers and friends. This may move the situation of South Australian Czech closer to the paradigmatic axis.

Need certainly plays a role in grammatical borrowing for the Czech South Australian community. Participants discuss a need to utilise English within broader Australian society (§4.1.5). This could also be extended to a cognitive need to make the languages' syntactic structures more similar for ease of processing in managing "a context-sensitive selection of structures and items within a complex repertoire of linguistic structures" (Matras 2010: 83) as well as to borrow grammatical elements, especially given the idea of imposition of language material in the model above (van Coetsem 2000:172). The need for borrowing is also extended to encompass the fact that English is the most useful language for communication outside the Czech community in South Australia, as it is the language used by the government, administration, schools and general Australian population. Though English has authoritative and normative language dominance within Australia, it is not necessarily seen as prestigious in comparison with Czech by the participants (see §4.1.2). Therefore, it is likely that the borrowing situation here represents regular mode, leading to borrowing on the syntagmatic axis and making **need** the primary force for grammatical borrowing. The factors encompassed by **need**, including social pressure, structural similarity, and cognitive pressure, each play a role in the grammatical system of Czech in South Australia.

6. Conclusion

Sociocultural pressures, including community pressures and norms, family influence, partner attitudes, availability of and accessibility to schools, and wider Australian community pressures are identified as an important factor in causing grammatical phenomena occurring

in South Australian Czech. Sociocultural pressures have presented different issues for temporally different Czech communities in majority English-speaking countries due to the sociopolitical and cultural backgrounds of the time. However, they appear to present similar issues for geographically different contemporaneous Czech communities in the US, Canada, and Australia. However, whilst the types of sociocultural pressures differ, similar results occur and thus, the linguistic processes are much the same. The sociocultural pressures experienced match that of the linguistic outcomes as analyzed using Thomason and Kaufman's (1998) borrowing scale.

Cognitive pressures and prestige value are other key factors. Cognitive pressures discussed include the ability to recall a word, not knowing a word, and quick access to a phrase in the brain. Another pertinent cognitive pressure is that of making the languages more structurally similar. It is noted that outcomes of increased structural similarity are evident in Castle (2021), and participants discuss both the possibility of their unconscious move toward structural similarity, as well as a conscious knowledge of using the grammatical structure of the other language. It is identified that Czech is perceived as a language of prestige by the participants, and they act accordingly e.g. by a preference to speak Czech only in the Czechoslovak Club, having a sense of pride in the language. The participants had a variety of reactions to the pressures involved, with some participants being affected by certain factors more than others.

Need (van Coetsem 2000) encompasses all of the above factors, and is thus the primary motive for grammatical borrowing in situations such as that of South Australian Czech.

A limitation of this study is that it does not reflect the entire Czech South Australian community. However, as an exploratory study intended for in-depth qualitative discussions with a few individuals, it successfully produced an array of nuanced views surrounding language use within the community. Another limitation involves the fact that only six out of

the initial ten participants in the parallel study were available for interview, so comparisons between performance during the observations and experiences shared in the interviews could only be made for those six. Future research with a larger sample size would enable researchers to generalize about the Czech South Australian community's use of the language.

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Appendices

1. What languages do you speak?

2. What would you rate your language proficiencies in each of your languages?

   a. What was your IELTS score (if you did an IELTS test)?

3. What is your opinion on mixing between languages in speech?

4. In conversation with other bilinguals, do you notice yourself using both of your languages? Why do you do this?

   Ideas:

   a. due to momentarily forgetting a word? Give monolingual example for when you forget a word- no way to say it at all!

   b. another word/particle is more useful/better/more appropriate for the situation

   c. another word/particle expresses the meaning more fully

   d. another word/particle feels easier to express in that language

5. How do you do this?

   a. Do you feel that you borrow words from between languages in a bilingual situation? Which words?

   b. Do you feel that you borrow grammar between your languages in a bilingual situation?

   c. Do you say two words/two morphemes in one sentence that express the same concept but use them both, e.g. for emphasis?

   d. Do you have an awareness of the way you phrase sentences changing at all to match the form of your other language? Provide examples.

6. What places are you in when you borrow between languages/mix languages?

7. Do you feel more relaxed in speaking when you can use both languages rather than just L1 or L2?

8. How long have you been in this country/were you born here?

a. How long have you been speaking English?

9. Do you feel any form of societal/community pressure to mix two languages in a sentence or to not do so? Or in public/at home? Would it be weird? When would it be weird?

10. Do you feel any social pressure to conform to majority languages? Do you also feel language pride for your own language? How does this play out in your speech?

If you think of any more instances of grammatical borrowing that you have in your speech and you would like to share them, feel free to email me.

Appendix 2: Bilingual Ability Grading Scale

English/Angličtina: 0 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8 9 10

Czech/Čeština: 0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8 9 10

0 = does not speak the language at all/nemluví vůbec tímto jazykem

10 = native-level fluency and maintained use of language/rodilý mluvčí a pravidelné používání jazyka

Appendix 3: Common European Framework of Reference for Languages[13]

PROFICIENT USER	C2	Can understand with ease virtually everything heard or read. Can summarize information from different spoken and written sources, reconstructing arguments, and accounts in a coherent presentation. Can express him/herself spontaneously, very fluently and precisely, differentiating finer shades of meaning even in more complex situations.
	C1	Can understand a wide range of demanding, longer texts, and recognise implicit meaning. Can express him/herself fluently

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[13] The highlighted text represents that which was used by the researcher to assess the level of competency for the participants. The researcher was only able to use the highlighted conditions in the categories for assessment as they relate to spoken Czech (i.e., written speech was not assessed).

		and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions. Can use language flexibly and effectively for social, academic and professional purposes. Can produce clear, well-structured, detailed text on complex subjects, showing controlled use of organisational patterns, connectors and cohesive devices.
INDEPENDENT USER	B2	Can understand the main ideas of complex text on both concrete and abstract topics, including technical discussions in his/her field of specialization. Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party. Can produce clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects and explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and disadvantages of various options.
	B1	Can understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. Can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in an area where the language is spoken. Can produce simple connected text on topics which are familiar or of personal interest. Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes & ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans.
BASIC USER	A2	Can understand sentences and frequently used expressions related to areas of most immediate relevance (e.g. very basic personal and family information, shopping, local geography, employment). Can communicate in simple and routine tasks requiring a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar and routine matters. Can describe in simple terms aspects of his/her background, immediate environment and matters in areas of immediate need.

	A1	Can understand and use familiar everyday expressions and very basic phrases aimed at the satisfaction of needs of a concrete type. Can introduce him/herself and others and can ask and answer questions about personal details such as where he/she lives, people he/she knows and things he/she has. Can interact in a simple way provided the other person talks slowly and clearly and is prepared to help.

(Council of Europe 2020)

Appendix 4: Thomason and Kaufman's Borrowing Scale

Thomason and Kaufman's Borrowing Scale Summary

LEVEL	INTENSITY OF SOCIAL CONTACT	BORROWING OUTCOME	EXAMPLES OF BORROWING OUTCOME
1	Casual contact	lexical borrowing only	content words
2	Slightly more intense contact	slight structural borrowing	function words from the lexicon minor phonological, syntactic and lexical semantic features
3	More intense contact	slightly more structural borrowing	function words including adpositions, derivational affixes, pronouns syntax e.g. borrowed postpositions in a prepositional language
4	Strong cultural pressure	moderate structural borrowing	extensive word order changes borrowed inflectional affixes added to native words

5	Very strong cultural pressure	heavy structural borrowing	major structural features
			significant typological disruption
			added morphophonemic rules

(Thomason and Kaufman 1988)

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By signing the Statement of Authorship, each author certifies that:

    i.   the candidate's stated contribution to the publication is accurate (as detailed above);

    ii.   permission is granted for the candidate in include the publication in the thesis; and

    iii.   the sum of all co-author contributions is equal to 100% less the candidate's stated contribution.

Name of Co-Author			
Contribution to the Paper			
Signature		Date	

Name of Co-Author			
Contribution to the Paper			
Signature		Date	

Please cut and paste additional co-author panels here as required

7. Paper 3: Expats in Prague: Czech borrowings in L1 English speakers

Abstract

This paper endeavours to identify instances of possible grammatical borrowing and replication in the speech of the L1 English speaking bilingual community in Prague. Phenomena found within the data are analysed with regard to whether they can be attributed to language-contact induced grammatical borrowing from Czech, or whether they are influenced by language accommodation to L1 Czech L2 English speakers, attrition, internal variation or the effect of Czech parentage.

This study builds on the findings of Porte (1999, 2003) in identifying grammatical phenomena occurring within English as the L1 in a bilingual situation, as well as adding to the debate on whether grammatical borrowing occurs at all and in what circumstances.

The method for this exploratory study involved conducting seven observation sessions and thirteen interviews. The findings included: article omission, overuse of article, word order changes, omission of noun with adjective, verb omission, verb tense instability, preposition instability, grammatical number and person mismatch, and use of suffixes and diminutives. This study focuses on unconventionalities (Doğruöz & Backus 2009) in the speech of each individual participant (Clyne 2003: 96), with a focus on innovations (Matras & Sakel 2007) rather than community-wide propagation.

The analysis reveals that some of the phenomena are potentially the result of contact-induced language transfer, accommodation to L1 Czech L2 English speakers, non-contact related attrition processes, the influence of Czech parentage, colloquialisms and speech performance errors. Some phenomena are attributed to a combination of several of these factors.

Keywords Grammatical borrowing, L1 English speakers, language attrition, structural change, language contact

1. Introduction

This paper explores the reverse situation of Author's (forthcoming) paper on grammatical borrowing in South Australian Czech. It identifies whether possible *borrowing* (of morphological items), *grammatical replication* (structural borrowing) (Heine & Kuteva 2003; 2008: 2) and *language attrition* have occurred in individual L1 English bilingual expatriates and immigrants in the Czech Republic. This paper views the speaker as the *locus of change* (Weinreich 1953; Romaine 2005; Li Wei 2013), providing a window into contact-induced innovations produced by the *individual* which may or may not become complete, community-wide changes. The researcher seeks to determine whether the participants' English grammar has changed, and whether this is due to attrition-based processes, language transfer-related grammatical replication and borrowing, or internal variation. This paper considers how grammatical resources can be used across and between languages (e.g., use of certain semantically fuelled suffixes from Czech not existing in English).

This paper distinguishes between material borrowings (morphological material and phonological shape from one language replicated in another [MAT]) and pattern borrowings (function but not phonological form is borrowed [PAT]) (Matras & Sakel 2007). Incomplete acquisition through intergenerational language attrition is not a factor in this paper, as all participants (excepting those with Czech heritage, whose parents now live overseas) are first generation Czechs[1].

Another facet analysed is whether any apparent grammatical borrowing is based on interaction between the bilinguals' two languages, or instead sourced from L1 Czechs' English. The existence of Global English pushes divergence from "standard" English speech by exposure to English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) (Cogo & Jenkins 2010; Drljača Margić

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[1] Participants are both expatriates and immigrants; they are first-generation Czechs. They are long-term residents in the Czech Republic. This is the same concept as the first-generation Australians in Author's (2020a) paper.

2017) and Czech L2 English speakers, but also aids in maintenance through exposure to "standard English" media and fellow L1 English speakers.

Variation from the standard language and differing standard forms (Australian, US, UK) will be considered in this paper. Corpora from each country are utilised in the analysis. The paper adds to the literature on grammatical borrowing, focussing on English.

2. Background

2.1 L1 English Grammatical Borrowing

Studies analysing grammatical borrowing by L1 English speaking bilinguals are not common in the literature. Studies exist involving:

- Borrowing from English into other languages (Albirini & Benmamoun 2014; Campbell 1993; 1980; Clyne 1967).
- how other languages have borrowing from foreign languages (Alves 2001; Berk-Seligson 1986; Brody 1987; Campbell 1993; de Haan 1990; Li 1983; Menovščikov 1968; Sakel 2007; Seifart 2017).
- how English has historically borrowed from other languages (Crystal 2018; Geipel 1971)
- how L2 English speakers have changed the way English is spoken (Cogo & Jenkins 2010; Cook 2003)

However, few exist regarding how/whether L1 English speakers' language has been affected by grammatical borrowing and attrition processes under language contact.

Porte's (2003, 1999) studies focus on this, analysing how long-term L1 English L2 Spanish speakers in Spain have experienced language loss and linguistic change in English. In Porte's (1999) study, 29 participants (n = 52) admitted to blending their languages, with half of the group claiming that lexical items and grammatical structure are affected. Eight participants

admitted to morphological borrowing. They added Spanish past-tense suffixes to English verbs, or noun suffixes to similar English words (Porte 1999). Participants mentioned that their use of prepositions in English had been reduced to utilising only "in" or "of" in following the Spanish *en* and *de* (Porte 1999: 30).

Examples of morphological borrowing are described as *code blending* (Porte 2003: 116). The focus in this paper is on *innovation* rather than *propagation* in the sense of Matras and Sakel (2007) and the wider language contact literature. Matras and Sakel (2007: 849) state "change is instigated at the level of the individual language user, where it initially takes the form of an *innovation* at the level of the individual utterance". Individuals may engage in borrowing regardless of whether the change is propagated and results in language-wide change through linguistic transfer. It is important to distinguish happenstance language borrowing into the L1 from contact and borrowing that gains currency in the community.

The shortage of literature on L1 English speakers' engagement in grammatical borrowing may be attributed to English as a global language; many speakers exist worldwide and the language has permeated into many spaces. It may be assumed that L1 English speakers would not undergo borrowing or attrition processes.

2.2 English in the Czech Republic

English is regarded as a basic skill in the modern Czech Republic; it is a "component of basic education; like having computer skills or a driver's license" (Cogo & Jenkins 2010: 274). It is considered integral to professional development (Nekvapil & Sherman 2013). University students are offered language courses and predominantly choose English (Kaderka & Prošek 2014).

Czechs may want to practice their English (Scallon 2015). They may assume expatriates cannot speak Czech and thus use English. In 2003, Czechs were unused to foreigners having Czech proficiency and responded in English or German, even if this was at a lower level than

the foreigner's Czech (Crown 1996; Neustupný & Nekvapil 2003). Anglicisms carry a degree of "coolness" when used within Czech speech. Venková (1998: 18) and Svobodová (1996) claimed that use of Americanisms are fashionable and represent being "in". Entlova and Mala (2020: 140) reaffirm this, suggesting that this trend continues today, and "concerns all areas of social life".

English teachers may have to maintain their native English (Porte 1999) after spending many years in the Czech Republic, due to the effect of listening to L1 Czech L2 English learners speak English and a communicative style called "foreigner talk" (Ferguson 1975). This speaking style occurs when, for example, an expatriate realises that a local with whom they are conversing does not understand them well and switches to a slower speech tempo and simplified grammar (Nekvapil & Sherman 2018).

2.3 The L1 English Community in Prague

There are expatriate English-speaking communities in Prague, including the Czech Australia New Zealand Association (CANZA), Americans in Prague, and Expats in Prague. When contacted, whilst keen to assist, CANZA was unable to identify suitable candidates for participation because, in their words, "Aussies with no CZ family connection, who came to CZ and now speak fluent Czech… these people are as rare as hen's teeth". The rarity of expatriate Australians proficient in Czech could be for many reasons, including the status of English in the Czech Republic (outlined in §2.2) and English speakers' status as "elite migrants" (Dong 2016).

However, thirteen participants were found, though only four of them were Australian. Several participants mentioned that Australians living abroad tend not to form tight-knit communities as other nationalities do, and they do not engage with expatriate life. Only a few participants mentioned involvement in expatriate communities to some degree, and only one was still involved in expatriate life. L1 English Czech speakers do exist, but they are not easily found because they do not engage with the expatriate community. It can be further surmised that the

more engaged one is with the expatriate community, the less likely they will be to learn the language and fully integrate into the local society.

L1 English Czech speaking "non-communities"– individuals living out their lives in local society – are somewhat difficult to find. These individuals are the focus of the study.

3. Method

3.1 Design and Procedure

The method involved conducting seven two-participant observation sessions and thirteen one-on-one interviews.[2]

Observation sessions had a 10 to 15 minute duration. A prompt sheet in both languages was provided (Appendix 1). Prompts were designed to represent situational influences for language choice and memory from both places.

Interviews were semi-structured, allowing participants to share content-rich relevant information or to discover topics or phenomena about which the researcher was previously unaware. The questions are slightly modified from Author's (2021a) study for the new participants (questions available in Appendix 2). Questions 4 and 5 are the focus, which aim to detect whether the participants use both of their languages in speech and the way that they do this.

The researcher was a silent observer in the observation sessions to limit the effect of participation on data. Limited disclosure was given to participants to avoid undue self-monitoring during speech. Participants were encouraged to speak as naturally as possible, in English, but to allow themselves to use Czech if it would feel natural to them to do so. They were informed that the study was on L1 English speaking bilinguals in the Czech Republic.

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[2] An Ethics Clearance was obtained from the University of Adelaide Human Research Ethics Committee (Approval No. H-2018-230).

The researcher aimed to gather a diverse sample with a range of (1) language abilities, (2) ages (3) educational levels (4) regions of origin (5) genders and (6) length of habitation in the Czech Republic. A basic information sheet was used to obtain this participant metadata.

Participants were required to be L1 English L2 Czech speakers to consider whether their Czech usage had affected their English speech.

Participants' level of language ability was tested through both a self-test questionnaire wherein participants graded their Czech and English from 0 – 10, and an online vocabulary placement test (Gollub 2020)[3]. It is recognised here that there can be limited validity to a self-assessment in terms of language proficiency, hence the supporting measure of the vocabulary placement test. The self-assessed scores may rather provide an indication of participant confidence in their speaking abilities.

Initially, participants were required to be Australian with no Czech parentage (CP), but a lack of time in the country and participant availability led to this requirement being discarded.

Important distinctions for analysis in this paper are defined in the table below:

Table 1: Distinctions for Analysis

Category	Definition	Participants
Non-CP	Those without Czech parentage or heritage.	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
CP	Those born in an English majority speaking country to one or more Czech parents.	11, 12, 13
LCAP (low Czech ability participants)	Those scoring less than B2 on the CEFR and self-score of ≤5/10	8, 9
Fluent Czech speakers	Those scoring a B2 level or above on the CEFR and self-scoring ≥6/10	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10

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[3] This vocabulary placement test was created to place potential students into the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) for selection of an online course. However, it was used here as a test to compare participant abilities using the CEFR and provide a reference point for their self-tests.

Having CP and thus a different linguistic background may make a difference in the types and amount of borrowing participants engage in. Participants with a lower Czech ability may also be more influenced by L1 Czech L2 English speakers in their English speech.

3.2 Coding and Analytic Procedure

Potential grammatical borrowings were identified by the researcher and six volunteer L1 English analysts. The volunteers were required to be University-educated, and they were instructed to highlight sentences or phrases which were unnatural to them as native English speakers (further details on each participant provided in Appendix 3).

Only instances identified by at least two individuals (two panel members, or the researcher and one panel member) are included as potential borrowings. The researcher analysed each instance to determine whether it could represent grammatical borrowing or another phenomena e.g. dialectal differences or lexical borrowing. Examples of grammatical phenomena shown in this paper are not exhaustive; the remainder of the attestations are found on Figshare (Author 2021b).

Several corpora were also utilised in the analysis, including the Australian National Corpus (AusNC), the British National Corpus (BNC) (Davies 2004-), the British National Corpus 2014 (BNC2014 [a more recent British corpus]) (Love et al. 2017), and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) (Davies 2008-). These corpora were used as a supporting tool to identify whether phrases identified as potential borrowings produced by participants were commonly used in Australian, British or American English.

3.3 Participant Data

Sample data was collected based on discoverability and availability of participants in the time the researcher was able to briefly reside in the Czech Republic. The sample size of 13[4] is not

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[4] Initially, the sample had a size of fourteen participants, but one participant was raised in the Czech Republic and had then lived in Australia for a total of eleven years as an adult. Her data is thus unable to be used in this study. The fact that the other participant (Participant 1)'s conversation partner was not an L1 English speaker is

adequate to represent the population of Australian, UK and US foreigners residing in the Czech Republic (N=17, 279 in 2018 (Czech Statistical Office 2019)). In any case, it is not known how many of these foreigners are English-Czech bilinguals, and therefore the true population size cannot be known. However, this is not required as the study focuses on *individual* contact-based grammatical innovations in a community setting. It intends to determine whether the phenomenon of grammatical borrowing exists *at the individual level* within this community.

The aim to obtain a varied sample (§3.1) was successful, displayed in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Participant Data

Variable	Category	Number of participants	Participants
Age	>50	5	6 7 8 10 12
	<50	8	1 2 3 4 5 9 11 13
Gender	Male	7	1 7 8 9 10 11 12
	Female	6	2 3 4 5 6 13
Years living in CZ	<1 year	2	9 13
	1 – 10 years	0	
	10 – 20 years	3	1 2 11
	20 years +	8	3 4 5 6 7 8 10 12
Education Level	High School	1	12
	Bachelor's Degree	6	2 4 6 8 9 11
	Master's	2	1 13
	PhD	4	3 5 7 10
Region of Origin	New South Wales	1	1

considered here, but their data will be used because they represent the ideal target candidate for this research: an L1 English speaker who learned Czech in adulthood and is now fluent in the language.

Victoria	3	9 12 13
USA	7	2 3 4 5 6 7 10
England	2	8 11

Participant language proficiency assessments are displayed in a separate table, allowing comparison between participant scores.

Table 3: *Participant Language Proficiency*

Participant	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10	P11	P12	P13
Czech Self-score	8	7	9	8	9	6	8	4	2	8	6	10	7
Czech CEFR score	C2	B2	C2	C2	C2	C2	C2	A2	B1	C2	C2	C2	C1
English Self-score	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10

Participants 6, 9 and 11 have self-scores differing significantly from their CEFR score. This is partially explained by the somewhat self-effacing nature of these participants, particularly when discussing their Czech language abilities. For example, Participant 11 states "I'm attending at the moment uh, Czech classes, … I'd say something sort of not quite advanced but sort of hyper intermediate… it's very hard". There is a limitation in the CEFR results as it is based on participants' lexical knowledge.

4. Results

4.1 Article Omission

Several participants displayed a lack of article where it is conventionally required in English. Participant 1 mentioned: "sometimes I read my writing or hear myself speak and I drop articles, I stop using a, the, these kind of things". There are several examples of article omission below:

(1) Participant 7

About … husband and wife couple

about… husband and wife couple

'about **a** husband and wife couple'

AUF, UKF[5]

In this context, *husband* conventionally requires an article. In AusNC, BNC, and BNC2014, there were no matching records for "about husband". In COCA, there were eight matches, but these were either in brief writing (e.g. "omit rant about husband's staunch pro-gun views"), contexts where this phrase would not need an article (e.g. "she called to tell me about husband number three" or "I'm not talking about husband hate"), or by non-native speakers. The lack of true matches in the corpora indicate that this is not a systematically used grammatical structure in English in such a context.

(2) Participant 11 – CP

everyone	*wants*	*state of the art…*	*level of equipment for*
everyone	to.want-3SG	state of ART art…	level of equipment for

cheaper	*price*
cheaper	price

'everyone wants state of the art… level of equipment for **a** cheaper price'

AUF

There were no matching records for "for cheaper price" in AusNC, BNC, BNC2014 or COCA.

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5 Panel member codes: AUF: Australian Female, AUM: Australian Male, UKF: UK Female, UKM: UK Male, USF: US Female, USM: US male. Each example in this section was also selected by the researcher.

There were no instances of "'into pretty good'" in AusNC or BNC 2014. There was one instance of "'into pretty good'" in BNC and five in COCA. The participant is American in this case. There are three instances of "'pretty good time'" in BNC and 115 instances in COCA. However, these either all included the article or were sentence-beginning or used with the verb "'make'" or "'keep'" (e.g. "'making good time'", "'keeping good time'"). There were no instances in the corpora for "'into pretty good time'". It is possible that this participant was gathering thoughts as there was a slight pause between "'into'" and "'pretty'", but an article seems to be required in this context for standard English.

(3) Participant 12 – CP

Immigrants   were   still   accepted   and   supported

immigrant-PL to-be.PST.3PL still   to.accept-PST and   to.support-PST

by   country

by   country

'immigrants were still accepted and supported by **the** country'

<div align="right">AUF, UKF, USM, UKM</div>

There were no instances of "by country" in AusNC. In COCA, there were 485 instances of "by country", but the vast majority were adjectives e.g. referring to country music, parts of a name e.g. a business name, or statistical analysis e.g. "varies by country". There were two instances where it was used similarly to the above: "a declaration of war by country" and "the best thing that I can do… is to do the right thing by country". In BNC, there were 52 instances of "by country", all of which were adjectives, statistics, or names e.g. "published by Country Life". There was once instance of "by country" in the BNC2014, involving statistical analysis. Given that in three corpora "by country" is used in this sense 0% of the time, and in the COCA "by country" is used only 0.4% of the time, it is likely that this structure is not part

of standard English. *Country* is often used without an article by First Nations People in Australia to refer to their lands, but it is not used to refer to Australia as a whole which the participant is aiming to do in their speech.

(4) Participant 6

he	*had*	*done*	*translation*	*of*	*it*
he	AUX	to-do.PST	translation	of	it

'he had done **a** translation of it'

<div align="right">AUF, UKM</div>

There were no instances of "done translation" in AusNC, BNC or BNC2014. In COCA, there were two instances, but in both cases translation was an adjective rather than a noun as in the case above.

4.2 Unconventional use of Article

Articles do not exist in Czech, though demonstratives are often used in an article-like fashion. L1 Czech L2 English learners thus often have difficulty determining which nouns require an article in English. Participant 2 feels they overuse "the", for example, saying "the nature". They ascribe this to the fact that they are around many L1 Czech L2 English speakers, and they therefore hear this unconventional usage of the article in English. Participant 8, a teacher, mentions using "the nature" to encapsulate the Czech environmental interpretation of the concept in English to aid his Czech students understanding what he is teaching them. This phrase is the main example participants referred to. Participants have acquired the set term from the influence of native Czech speakers' English and the utilisation of accommodation strategies which have permeated into regular use.

The phrase "in the nature" is not found at all in AusNC. It is found 381 times in BNC, but none of these instances match the circumstances under which participants use it (referring to

an outside place involving trees, animals, streams, dirt etc). Instances refer to "in the nature *of*", act as an adjective e.g., "the reduction in the nature conservation interest", a name "in the Nature Conservancy Council", or refer to the nature vs. nurture argument. It is found three times in BNC2014, of which only once was it used in the same sense as participants refer to. It is found 1114 times in COCA; however, only 17 of those times it matched the circumstances under which it is used by participants, or 1.53% of the time. On some websites the phrase was no longer present (possibly edited out), or it was written by a non-native English speaker, or, as in one case, it was written in italics to show awareness of its non-native quality.

As participants only referenced the particular example "the nature" when discussing this concept, it is difficult to tell whether it is a broader, more systematic phenomenon or whether it relates particularly to this frozen phrase.

4.3 Czech/Non-English Natural Word Order/Syntax/Mode of Expression

Participant 1 mentions that they "mess up word order a little bit because Czech word order is a bit freer… sometimes I get to the end of the sentence and go, why did I say it that way". Similarly, Participant 2 is self-aware of their syntax occasionally reflecting that of Czech: "I'll say something in English and be like, well that was dumb that's not how you say that in English… let me put the words in the right order in that language".

Participant 7 says "I'll invert things when speaking English like, I'm borrowing from Czech". Participant 11 discusses that their word order can vary:

Not often, but sometimes you … say things that you thought, oh hang on that's not right… you've been thinking and speaking in Czech so often for so many years that your native language is still there but it… gets a bit rusty… you can say things… sometimes it just doesn't sound right.

Participant 5 translates from Czech to English for work and feels that some of their translations are "too close to Czech… in terms of syntax". Participants 7 and 10 mentioned that they are sometimes not sure whether their English grammar is correct after living in the Czech Republic for so long.

(5) Participant 4

you're   from   originally   where

you-to.be-2SG   from   originally   where

'you're from where originally?/where are you originally from?'

AUF

The phrase "originally where" is not attested in AusNC or BNC2014. It is attested three times in COCA, once as a spelling error for "were", and the two other times in different contexts to example 5 e.g., "originally where x equalled 0" and "that's originally where he wanted it". It is possible that Participant 4 was undergoing structural priming from Participant 12 (Loebell & Bock 2003; Pickering & Ferreira 2008). Participant 12 phrased several sentences in this "backwards" (but not ungrammatical) fashion, including "the last time you were back was when then?" and "you were married here or you were married there?".

There are several possibilities for producing a translation of this phrase in Czech, depending on the topic focus. It is a possibility that this represents a borrowing from Czech syntax, as the same word order is possible in Czech, as displayed below:

(6) *Ty   jsi   původně   odkud*

You   to.be-2SG   origin.ADV   where.from

'you're from where originally?'

The gloss of the Czech statement closely syntactically aligns with Participant 4's statement in English. However, it is not an exact alignment, as the concepts of 'where' and 'to be from somewhere' are lexicalised in Czech as *odkud* 'wherefrom'.

4.4 Omission of noun with adjective

(7) Participant 11 – CP

unless	*you're*		*an*	*English*		*or*	*a*	*person*	*who*
unless	you-to.be-2SG	ART	English-ADJ		or	ART	person	who	

hasn't		*got*		*a*	*lot of money*
to.have-AUX-NEG	to.get-PST		AUX	lot of money	

'Unless you're an English person or a person who hasn't got a lot of money'

AUF, USF

The phrase "an English or" has no attestations in AusNC or BNC2014. There are 17 attestations in COCA, but all except one (referring to a type of food) follow with another adjective and then the required noun. There are five attestations in BNC, each of which follows with another adjective and the required noun. The sentence produced by Participant 11 is non-standard in English.

It is possible to express the equivalent of "an English" in Czech: *Angličan* (anglič-an, English-M, 'an English man'); in Czech, one does not have to say the word *muž* 'man' in this context. This represents a possible influence from Czech into English.

4.5 Verb Omission

(8) Participant 12 – CP

I'm	*originally*			*from*	*Melbourne,*	*Australia,*	*but*	*Czech*
I	to.be-1SG	original-ADV		from	Melbourne	Australia	but	Czech-ADJ

parents

parent-PL

'I'm originally from Melbourne, Australia, but I have Czech parents'

<div align="right">AUF</div>

The phrase "but Czech" does not return any results in AusNC or BNC 14. It returns two results in COCA and one result in BNC, neither of which are used in the same context i.e. one is a noun, and the others are sentence-beginning e.g. "but Czech officials, looking beyond Comecon agreements".

(9) Participant 6

it   just   such   a –   such a   vivid   picture   of that time

it   just   such   ART   such   ART vivid   picture   of that time

'it is just such a – such a vivid picture of that time'

<div align="right">AUF, UKF, USM</div>

The phrase "it just such" does not occur in any of the corpora except once in COCA in the form of a question, wherein the verb occurs before the pronoun "is it just such a compelling moment".

4.6 Verb tenses

(10)   Participant 7

I'm   wroting   about them

I-to.be-1SG-AUX   to.write-?   about them

'**I'm writing** about them'

<div align="right">UKF, USM, UKM</div>

There were no instances of "wroting" in AusNC, BNC or COCA. It is possible that this participant made a speech performance error in his articulation of the phoneme.

(11)   Participant 11 – CP

| *I* | *was* | *going* | *there* | *since* | *I* | *was* | *a* | *kid* |

| I | to.be-1SG-AUX | to.go-PST-CONT | there | since | I | to.be-1SG-PST | ART | kid |

'I have/had been going there since I was a kid'

<div align="right">AUF, UKF, UKM</div>

There are no attestations for "was going there since" in BNC, BNC 2014, COCA and AusNC. In the context of the participant's sentence, the present perfect is the conventional verb form to use, rather than the past continuous.

4.7 Preposition Instability

(12)   Participant 1

| *they're* | *the* | *ones* | *that* | *were* | *born* | *1996* |

| they-to.be-3PL | ART | one.PL | that | to.be.born-3PL-PST | 1996 |

'they're the ones that were born **in** 1996'

<div align="right">AUF, USM</div>

The query "born 1996" did not have any matches in the corpora. There were 11 instances of "born in 1996" in COCA.

(13)   Participant 8

| *'cause* | *I've* | *been* | *Germany,* | *Scotland* | *and* | *all* |

| because | I-to.have-1SG-AUX | to.be-PST | Germany | Scotland | and | all |

sorts of places

sorts of place-PL

'because I've been **to** Germany, Scotland and all sorts of places'

AUF

The phrase "been Germany" was not present in AusNC or BNC 14 Corpora. It was attested twice in BNC and nine times in COCA, but none of these were in the same context as above. In this case, the preposition is conventionally required.

4.8 Grammatical number and person mismatch

(14)   Participant 12 – CP

Australia   needed   people   much   more   than   it   probably

Australia   to.need-3SG-PST   people   much   more   than   it   probably

need   people now

to.need-?   people now

'Australia needed people much more than it probably needs people now'

AUF, UKF, USM

There are no matching records for "it need people" in AusNC, BNC, BNC 14 or COCA. Conventionally, the verb "to need" must be in the third person singular in the above.

(15)   Participant 4

I   mean   there   is   a   normal internal company secrets

I   mean   there   to.be-3SG   ART normal internal company secret-PL

'I mean there **is a** normal internal company secret'

OR 'I mean there **are** normal internal company secrets

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There are no matching records for "there is a secrets" in the corpora.

4.9 Conjunction Issues

(16)   Participant 11

a   case why   that   I   had   to go there

DET   case CONJ   CONJ I AUX.PST   to-go there

'a case why I had to go there' (or a complete rephrasing)

The construction "why that" is not attested in AusNC. It is, however, attested in BNC 186 times, BNC2014 147 times and COCA 3449 times. It appears that in many of these cases, "that" plays the role of the subject of the NP or the adjective of the NP e.g. "why that was the case" and "why that Matlack character has not changed". In the case above, "that" operates as a conjunction, as another subject is introduced directly after ("I"), and is not required in the sentence.

4.10 Use of Czech Morphological Resources

Participant use of Czech morphological resources is an example of MAT; both function and form are borrowed (Matras & Sakel 2007). Matras and Sakel (2007) suggest that MAT occurs less than PAT due to speakers aiming to operate within sociolinguistic bounds of not overtly borrowing between languages. As MAT involves phonological substance in that the sound and form are borrowed, it is more obvious than PAT e.g. a syntactic change that may even be subconscious to the speaker themselves. It then makes sense that the MAT found were from examples given in the interviews that participants use only with those they know well (but frequently), rather than being used in the observation sessions with (mostly) strangers.

Participant 3 and their family utilise the Czech place denoting suffix *-oviště* in English, citing examples such as *mousoviště* "a place where mice have been making a mess", and *plastic boxoviště* "the place where plastic boxes are kept".

There is a difference between utilising this Czech morphological resource in English and inserting an English word into the Czech grammar in Czech speech (thus a lexical borrowing from English). The same participant uses the verb suffix *-ovat* with English words in Czech, which is common practice in the Czech Republic for borrowing foreign verbs into the grammar. Participant 10 mentions this with the verb *googlovat* "to google something".

Participant 1 utilises the rich Czech morphology of diminutives within English. They cite the example of using *hugisek* "a little hug" in the context of *give me a hugisek.* They also add diminutives onto English words, including *-ek*, *-ka*, *-iček, -isek* and *-ička*. Participant 12, when prompted with the fabricated example of *koalka* meaning "little koala" to explain the concept, mentioned that this sort of borrowing is "definitely done".

In Czech, diminutives are often used with names and there is a rich array of meanings that can stem from the choice and context of the diminutive. Three participants discussed utilising name diminutives, but it is in some cases difficult to distinguish whether this represents borrowing, especially if the name was originally Czech. For example, Participant 1 mentions declining names like *Beniček* "little Ben" (or an affectionate way of saying Ben) – but this name can be recognised as Czech, a declined version of *Benjamín*. Participant 10 mentions declining *David*, but this is also a Czech name. Participant 2, however, mentions that their son calls their dog *Lexinku* or *Lexinkovač*. Lexi is not a Czech name and Participant 2 commented that they speak English in the household, leading to the idea that perhaps in this case, thename diminutive *Lexinku* represents a borrowing from Czech. Interestingly, *Lexinkovač* uses a combination of two suffixes, those being the verb formant *-ova-* and an agentive suffix *-č*. It is possible that their son either is not aware of the meaning of the Czech suffixes in this case, or

uses them to create a word meaning something similar to *Lexi-er* Lexi-VRB-AGT 'the thing that Lexi's'.

5. Discussion

5.1 Accounting for CP and LCAP

Participants with CP represent 23.07% of the sample. If each instance of deviation from standard English is counted (n = 55 [including only specific examples, not including diminutive names that exist in Czech already]), these participants are responsible for 38% of the deviations. These participants are thus overrepresented in the data, showing that those whose parent(s) spoke Czech to them as a child had more of an inclination to deviate from standard English.

LCAP represent 15.38% of the total sample, yet they make only 7% of the deviations from Standard English in the dataset. However, only one LCAP deviated from Standard English (who represents 7.6% of the total sample). Thus, 7.6% of participants make 7% of the deviations from Standard English, and the deviation to participant ratio is approximately equal for LCAP.

Therefore, 62% of the deviations from Standard English are from participants with non-CP, and 55% are from fluent Czech speaking participants with non-CP. The phenomena in the data are listed below, along with columns listing the percentage of CP participants and LCAP, and preliminary conclusions regarding each phenomenon.

Table 4: Preliminary Conclusions regarding CP and LCAP

Phenomenon	% CP	% Low level Czech users	% high level Czech users, non-CP	Preliminary conclusions
Lack of article	50	0	50	Possibly language contact borrowing-based, possibly partially CP influence
Overuse of article	0	50	50	Likely L2 speaker influence
Non-English natural word order/mode of expression	40[6]	0	60	Possibly CP influence
Adjectives	50	0	50	Possibly CP influence
Verb Omission	33.33	11.11	55.55	Possibly partially CP influence
Verb tenses	62.5	0	37.5	Possibly CP influence
Preposition instability	0	25	75	Possibly partially L2 speaker influence
Grammatical number and person mismatch	43	0	57	Possibly CP influence
Conjunction issues	50	50	0	Possibly CP influence

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[6] The non-CP participant (4) was in this case in conversation with the CP participant (12) and could have been influenced by them through structural priming, as discussed in §4.1.

Use of Czech morphological resources: Suffixes	0	0	100	Possibly language contact borrowing-based
Use of Czech morphological resources: Diminutives	0	0	100	Possibly language contact borrowing-based

5.2 Wider Analysis

Poplack and Levey (2010: 410) outline a set of steps to establish the existence of contact-induced change, drawing on the work of Thomason (2001) (Appendix 4). Poplack and Levey's (2010) work is intended for analysis with a larger dataset in finding what is patterned and predictable in the community's variable grammar. However, the paraphrased steps are useful in determining what could possibly represent grammatical borrowing and attrition versus internal variation or speech performance errors. The general procedures of identifying sources of a phenomenon, whether languages share certain features and consideration of internal variation are used in other studies without referring to this particular set of steps, in Czech communities (Henzl 1982; Dutková 1998; Dutková-Cope 2001a; 2001b; Zajícová 2009; 2012) and in the general contact literature (Campbell 1993; Clyne 2003; Doğruöz & Backus 2009). Thus, the steps are used as a general guide in the analysis of the data gathered and are adapted to identify the source of potential unconventionalities, with a focus on whether phenomena are contact-induced rather than whether they represent community-wide change.

Presumed causes of the change (step 2) include: language-transfer related grammatical replication and borrowing, attrition processes, speech errors, internal variation and the influence of L1 Czech L2 English speakers. Communication Accommodation Theory (Coupland et al. 1988; Drljača Margić 2017; Gasiorek & Vincze 2016; Giles 1971, 1973,

2009; Giles et al. 1991) is used to analyse the latter of these. Several participants claim that they change the way they speak English to accommodate the level of English they perceive from their interlocutors. They simplify the way they speak or match certain terms e.g. "the nature" to increase ease of understanding for their students (Participants 7, 8 and 10) or other interlocutors. It is possible that this enters their usual English speech.

Participant 8 mentions using ELF in their working life, which includes trips to Germany. They mention that in Germany, the word "beamer" is used to mean "overhead projector" rather than a type of vehicle. As the key reasons that participants give for speech accommodation is to aid others' understanding, it seems likely that they use phrasing which is easier for Czechs *specifically* to understand, rather than a standardised simplified ELF.

It is possible that participants undergo structural priming[7] from their Czech L1 English L2 interlocutors when speaking English, and that this priming, if used enough, becomes regular phrasing in their speech. Participants may also have structural priming from Czech into English e.g. Participant 3's husband speaks Czech to them, and they speak back in English. Structural priming is possible between languages, given that the structural possibilities for the phrase or grammatical phenomenon is similar (Loebell & Bock 2003).

Structural features shared and not shared by the recipient and source languages (step 3) are listed in Author (forthcoming).

Table 5 situates proposed changes with regards to their host linguistic system of English (step 1), indicates whether proposed interference features were present in the pre-contact variety of English (step 4) and proves that the proposed interference features were present in the source variety of Czech prior to contact (step 5). It does not include grammatical number and person

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[7] Here meaning that use of a particular structure in English, by Czech L1 English L2 speakers, raises its salience and potential for replicating by L1 English speakers in conversation.

issues as this clearly represents speech performance errors or attrition rather than language contact.

Table 5: Presence of Feature in Czech and English with Language Contact Conclusions

Phenomenon amongst 11 English expatriates	Present in English	Present in Czech	Result of borrowing in language contact?
Non-use of articles	No	Yes	Possibly
Unconventional article use	No	No	No
Adjectives: Missing Noun (CP participant)	Noun required	Noun *generally* required	Possibly
Presence of a verb	Generally required	Required	No
Preposition Instability: 1. Missing 'in' in reference to years 2. Missing 'to' in reference to countries	1. Preposition required 2. Preposition required	1. Preposition required 2. Preposition required	1. No 2. No
Verb tense instability: Use of past continuous with the simple past	No	No	No
Conjunction Issues	No	No	No
Functional Suffixes – use of a place denoting suffix	Yes, but somewhat archaic	Yes	Probably
Diminutives: 1. General Noun diminutives 2. Name diminutives	1. No 2. Yes	1. Yes 2. Yes	Probably

Articles are required in English, but not in Czech (Dryer 2013). This feature could be a result of borrowing in language contact, but also possibly the influence of L1 Czech L2 speakers (accommodation). The use of an article in "the nature" likely due to L1 Czech L2 English speaker influence (accommodation).

Nouns are generally required with adjectives in English and Czech. In example (7), it can clearly be seen where the link would come from for a borrowing (see §4.4).

Verbs are generally required in English, except for stylistic effect e.g. "A white hat. A white coat", and Czech has less of a variety of verbless sentences than English (Mathesius 1975: 87). Verb omission is likely a speech performance error.

The prepositions "in" and "to" are required in the cases where they were omitted in both English and Czech, meaning that the prepositional instability is likely the result of speech performance errors or attrition processes.

In English, it is unconventional to combine the past continuous with the simple past; the present perfect is preferred. In Czech, there is no past continuous though a past tense with an imperfective sense can be achieved using aspect. However, the associated sentence would be phrased differently in Czech: *chodil jsem tam od dětství/odmalička* "I was going there since I was a kid" lit. "I went there since my childhood", so this is possibly a speech performance error or from the influence of CP.

Both English and Czech do not have a "double conjunction" in terms of one conjunction appearing right after the other, with a subject following. This is probably a case of speech performance error.

English has a place denoting suffix *-ery* e.g. *bakery, distillery*, though productive use of it outside established forms and "frozen" words can sound somewhat archaic (which can at times be used for stylistic purposes e.g. for a hipster brand). Czech has several place denoting

suffixes including *-iště* and *-árna*. This probably represents a case of contact-induced borrowing.

Diminutives are not used on nouns in English beyond baby talk, however, they are used on names in colloquial Australian English e.g. "Davo" for "David", "Debbie" for "Deborah". Diminutives are widely used in Czech for general nouns and names. It is probable that this represents a case of contact-induced borrowing. Though diminutives are used for names in colloquial English, the name diminutives used by participants are MAT (they borrow form and function e.g. using *-iček* on the end of a name).

The Dynamic Model of Multilingualism (DMM) (Herdina & Jessner 2002) is used to rule out or situate internal motivations (step 6). According to the DMM, *transitional bilinguals* experience a change in their language dominance as one language (the L2) is used more often and surpasses the other language, eventually by far and L1 ability is reduced (Herdina & Jessner 2002). A mitigating factor in this reduction is Language Maintenance Effort (Herdina & Jessner 2002). Where the L1 is still used frequently, *balanced bilingualism* or even *stable dominant bilingualism* may result (in this case, where the L1 English is dominant and so is the less fluent L2 Czech, as in the participants below B2 level). In the case of balanced bilingualism, it may be concluded that non-CP participants are not borrowing due to attrition. In the case of *stable dominant bilingualism*, it may be assumed that borrowing represents influence from L1 Czech L2 English speakers. All participants rated themselves a full score for their English skills, indicating that they believe they are fluent to a native-speaker level. All participants consume English media to some degree, including books, online news, Netflix, TV and films, with Participant 6 even stipulating reading in English to maintain their language skills. Participants visit home or an English-speaking country (where they would get exposure to native speakers of the language) on average once a year or once every two years. Participants (especially those living in Prague) are also constantly exposed to (varying levels of) English in the Czech Republic due to the phenomenon of Global English. Possible

motivations involving internal variation are discussed and ruled out using the corpora following each example (§4).

Some participants who have lived in the Czech Republic for an extended time period (over 20 years) claim that they sometimes do not know the "correct" way to say something in English anymore. It is to be expected that they would require a high level of maintenance activities to maintain their English to the same level as their Czech. However, their English self-scores are important to remember here.

With these factors in mind, it is not likely that most participants are undergoing a change in dominance, but rather have either *balanced bilingualism* or *stable dominant bilingualism.* Therefore, it is unlikely that all the deviations from Standard English occur due to attrition processes.

5. *Conclusion*

Non-use of articles, adjective placement, functional suffix borrowing, and diminutive suffix borrowing are at least partially attributable to language-contact induced grammatical borrowing. Of these, functional and diminutive suffix borrowing can be attributed to borrowing (morphological items) (Heine & Kuteva 2008) and MAT (form and function) (Matras & Sakel 2007). Non-use of articles and omission of noun with adjective are examples of PAT (function only, syntactic arrangement) (Matras & Sakel 2007) and grammatical replication (Heine & Kuteva 2008). This is quite different to Author's (forthcoming) study on South Australian Czech borrowing, in that it is not mainly syntactic processes which are borrowed, but a combination of both syntactic and morphological form borrowing. Interviews were also conducted for that study which inquired about morphological form borrowing. It is postulated that the reason for increased use of such borrowings in this study is the rich morphology of Czech and availability of a plethora of useful suffixes, as well as a tendency

away from prescriptivism especially in conversations with people well-known to participants (see §4.1.9).

Non-use of articles and unconventional article use are also at least partially attributable to accommodation to L1 Czech L2 English speakers. Omission of noun with adjective is partially attributable to CP influence. Verb tense instability is partially attributable to colloquial speech and CP influence. Verb omission, preposition instability, conjunction issues and verb tense instability are partially attributable to speech performance errors or attrition processes.

The attrition process is at least partially blocked by Language Maintenance Effort (Herdina & Jessner 2002), which is made easier by the existence of English as a global language. However, the existence of this phenomenon also affects the speech of participants through the influence of the plethora of L1 Czech L2 English speakers living in the Czech Republic.

A dynamic system is a set of variables that mutually affect each other's changes over time (Herdina & Jessner 2002; van Geert 1994: 50). It is proposed here that attrition processes (including inter- and intragenerational language attrition, language loss), language accommodation and grammatical borrowing are part of a dynamic system: each of them is able to affect the other and result in the other, whilst they are also able to exist on their own. For example, use of diminutives in English can be regarded as grammatical borrowing only – a resource has been borrowed without any attrition having needed to happen.

Future studies with a larger sample size and greater funding to achieve this sample size (allowing for time spent in the country, finding of adequate participants) could bring forth some more quantitative answers about this phenomenon in the context of the entire L1 English-speaking bilingual community in the Czech Republic. This type of study could also be conducted in countries or places where English is not as accessible as it is now in the Czech Republic, and participants utilise their L2 the majority of the time. This could remove the effect of Global English and L2 speaker English, thus allowing the analysis to be wholly

based on language contact-based borrowing and attrition processes. This would be

particularly interesting in other morphologically rich languages in comparison to the analytic

language of English.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Observation session prompt sheet

Diskusní témata

- život v České republice

- život v Austrálii

- Cestování:

    o kde jste všude byli

    o jaká místa chcete ještě navštívit

    o v Austrálii, v ČR, jinde na světě

- Filmy, které jste viděli v poslední době:

    o české filmy

    o americké filmy

    o australské filmy

    o filmy odjinud

- Tři nejzajímavější věci, které jste kdy udělali

- Oblíbená kniha nebo nejhorší kniha, kterou jste kdy četli

- Oblíbené jídla nebo neoblíbené jídla, recepty, rozdíly mezi českou a australskou

    kuchyní

- Co budete dělat o víkendu

- Jaké je vaše vysněné povolání/zaměstnání

Discussion Themes

- Life in the Czech Republic

- Life in Australia

- Travel:

    o Where have you travelled to in the world?

- What places do you want to visit?

- in Australia, in the Czech Republic, elsewhere in the world

- Films that you have seen recently:

  - Czech films

  - American films

  - Australian films

  - Films from other countries

- The three most interesting things you have ever done

- Favourite book or worst book you have ever read

- Favourite or least favourite food, recipes, differences between Czech and Australian cuisine

- What you are doing on the weekend

- What is your dream job?

1. What languages do you speak?

2. What would you rate your language proficiencies in each of your languages?

   a. What level of the Czech Language Certificate Exam have you passed (if you did a CCE exam)?

3. What is your opinion on mixing between languages in speech?

   a. My opinion: it is wonderful to draw from many languages to express yourself – I am interested in this topic for my research and how it impacts languages throughout time – it is a phenomenon that has occurred most likely as long as humans themselves have been able to speak

4. In conversation with other bilinguals, do you notice yourself using both of your languages? Why do you do this?

   Ideas:

   a. due to momentarily forgetting a word? Give monolingual example for when you forget a word- no way to say it at all!

   b. another word/particle is more useful/better/more appropriate for the situation

   c. **another word/particle expresses the meaning more fully**

   d. **another word/particle feels easier to express in that language**

5. How do you do this?

   a. Do you feel that you borrow **words** from between languages in a bilingual situation? Which words?

   b. Do you feel that you borrow **grammar** between your languages in a bilingual situation? Do you use any resources form Czech in your speech – e.g. diminutives, perhaps with children, partner or a pet?

      i. Do you say two words/two morphemes in one sentence that express the same concept but use them both e.g. for emphasis?

      c. Do you have an awareness of the way you phrase sentences changing at all to match the form of your other language? Provide examples.

6. What places are you in when you borrow between languages/mix languages? What places are you in when you speak English? And what places are you in when you speak Czech?

7. Do you feel more relaxed in speaking when you can use both languages rather than just L1 or L2?

      a. How long have you been in this country/were you born here?

      b. How long have you been speaking Czech?

8. Do you feel any form of societal/community pressure to mix two languages in a sentence or to not do so? Or in public/at home? Would it be weird? When would it be weird?

9. Do you feel any social pressure to conform to majority languages? Do you also feel language pride for your own language? How does this play out in your speech?

10. Do you most often listen to media [TV, movies, books, Netflix, YouTube] in Czech or English?

11. What language do you most often speak with your friends? At home? With your partner? Your kids?

      a. Do you find that you often meet other expats who speak the language? Or who don't? Talk about your experiences here… How many of your friends are expats vs Czechs?

      b. Do you have kids? How do you go about English language maintenance with them?

12. How often do you visit home or an English-speaking country?

Appendix 3: Panel member metadata

PANEL MEMBER	AGE	GENDER	EDUCATION	NATIONALITY
Panel Member 1	43	Female	Bachelor in Arts (Italian) (Hons.), Bachelor in Education	Australian
Panel Member 2	35	Female	Bachelor in Spanish, minor in French	American
Panel Member 3	52	Female	BSc (Hons) in Psychology, PGCE, Postgraduate certifications in education-related areas	British
Panel Member 4	69	Male	Bachelor of Laws, Grad Dip Legal Practise, Grad Dip Legal Studies, Diploma in Secondary Teaching	Australian
Panel Member 5	32	Male	Master's degree, current PhD student in Clinical Psychology	American
Panel Member 6	40	Male	Studied to postgraduate level	British

Appendix 4: Steps for contact-induced language change

The paraphrased steps/rules:

1. Cases for contact-induced structural changes must be supported by other instances of structural interference from the same source language in the same receiving language: there must be more than one type of case.

2. The source and receiving languages must be shown to be in intimate enough contact to make structural interference possible.

3. Structural features shared by the proposed source and receiving languages need to be identified.

4. Prove that the proposed interference features were not present in the receiving language before coming into contact with the source language.

5. Prove that the proposed interference features were present in the source language before coming into contact with the receiving language.

6. Consider plausible internal motivations for the changes, and the "very real possibility of multiple causation".

(Thomason 2001: 93–94; Poplack & Levey 2010: 410)

Statement of Authorship

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Name of Principal Author (Candidate)	Chloe Castle		
Contribution to the Paper	100%		
Overall percentage (%)	100%		
Signature		Date	1/8/2021

Co-Author Contributions

By signing the Statement of Authorship, each author certifies that:

     i.   the candidate's stated contribution to the publication is accurate (as detailed above);

     ii.   permission is granted for the candidate in include the publication in the thesis; and

     iii.   the sum of all co-author contributions is equal to 100% less the candidate's stated contribution.

Name of Co-Author			
Contribution to the Paper			
Signature		Date	

Name of Co-Author			
Contribution to the Paper			
Signature		Date	

Please cut and paste additional co-author panels here as required.

8. Paper 4: L1 English speakers in Prague: Motivators in language use and language borrowing

Abstract

This paper identifies causes of grammatical borrowing and related grammatical phenomena in L1 English L2 Czech immigrant speech. This study contributes to the literature on causes of grammatical borrowing and considers key ideas including social pressure (Thomason and Kaufman 1988), cognitive pressure (Matras 1998; Sanchez 2005) and gap filling (Campbell 1993).

Thirteen semi-structured interviews were conducted. Participants were affected by social pressure and cognitive pressure surrounding their language use, whether it acted as a driving or inhibiting factor in terms of grammatical borrowing. Participants also engage in borrowing akin to "language play" (Porte 2003: 116) with those close to them; it is a conscious choice to borrow in these cases and it usually represents matter (MAT) (Matras and Sakel 2007) borrowing (Castle 2020a).

This paper proposes a new model which considers both conscious and subconscious borrowing whilst also considering factors inhibiting the possibility of borrowing.

Keywords

1. Introduction

This paper identifies drivers of grammatical borrowing and related borrowing phenomena in L1 English L2[1] Czech immigrants, established in Castle (2021a).[2] Possibilities include cognitive pressure for assimilation (increasing structural similarity and simplicity e.g., paradigmatic regularisation) (Weinreich 1953; Coteanu 1957; Heath 1978; Maher 1985; Matras 1998; Sanchez 2005), gap filling (Hale 1971; Vachek 1972; Karttunen 1976; Mithun 1980; Hill and Hill 1981; Campbell 1987; 1993; de la Fuente 2017) and sociocultural motivations (Brody 1987; Thomason and Kaufman 1998; Campbell 1993; Myers-Scotton 2002).

It considers subconscious and conscious borrowing events (§2.2). The results and discussion are split into the following:

- Social pressures: Driving and Inhibiting Influences

    o Pressure to speak Czech e.g., by the public, etc

    o Partner influence

    o Purism-motivated pressure to avoid mixing

    o Self-pressure and perspective on mixing

    o Location-related pressures

- Cognitive Pressures

    o Preference related to comfort in language

    o Borrowing due to forgetting a word and cognitive ease of expression

- Gap Filling and Creativity

    o Borrowing due to usefulness and better (sociocultural) expression of meaning

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[1] In this article, L2 is used in the sense of "further language", as it is acknowledged that participants may have other languages as well, which they may possibly be more proficient in and/or have learned prior to learning Czech.

[2] The participants are referred to as immigrants but can also be considered first-generation Czechs. I have avoided the term expatriate because: the majority of the participants are long-term residents in the Czech Republic; it can represent negative connotations regarding refusal to participate in the host culture (see §1.1; Sherman 2009: 83-84); and a large majority of the participants themselves either did not mention the word expatriate or actively distanced themselves from it e.g., Participant 3 "I don't hang out in expatriate society".

          o   Perspective on language play

- Subconscious Borrowing

Participant opinions are compared with their borrowing tendencies established in Castle (2021a). The data is analysed within Thomason and Kaufman's (1998) framework, incorporating Language Management Theory (Neustupný and Nekvapil 2003; Sherman 2009; Nekvapil and Sherman 2013; Nekvapil 2016). A new model is proposed which considers conscious and subconscious borrowing, as well as inhibiting factors.

2. Background

2.1 Contact-induced transfer in L1 English speakers

In the literature on L1 English speakers in European language settings, there are many L1 English expatriates who have not learned the local language (Sherman 2001; Neustupný and Nekvapil 2003; Sherman 2009; Leinonen 2012; Lawson 2016). In Leinonen's (2012) study on American expatriates in Finland, the majority of participants were not fluent in Finnish though they had spent many years in Finland. Finnish, like Czech, is a small language on the world stage, and when a "speaker of a globally very powerful language" resides in the country they may assume it is not expected or necessary to be able to speak it (Latomaa 1998: 56). L1 English migrants represent a class of "elite migrants" (Dong 2016): they are often multinationals with significant social prestige and power (Sherman 2009; Nekvapil and Sherman 2013). This prestige stems from the status of English as globally powerful language, and thus Czechs' willingness to learn it and the perceived career opportunities and advantages that knowledge of the language brings (Nekvapil and Sherman 2013; Sučková 2020a). Thus, many "Czech city dwellers typically have some knowledge of it… [and] the pressure … for Anglophone expatriates to linguistically… assimilate is not as pronounced as with other groups" (Sučková 2020a: 84). Many such Czechs may adhere to the *ideology of the absolute instrumentality of a particular language* discussed in Nekvapil and Sherman (2013: 112). Nekvapil and Sherman (2013: 93) found that white collar employees from abroad in a

particular large multinational company with plants in the Czech Republic "tend not to acquire a communicative level of Czech after living in the Czech Republic for a number of years". This linguistic non-integration would not be acceptable for an immigrant from a poorer country (Leinonen 2012).

In Lawson's (2016: 72) study on L1 English speaking immigrants in France, many ended their French lessons as "real life gets in the way". Communication with locals is of a relatively lower importance in life. Amongst Czech-American couples in the Czech Republic, English is frequently used and socioculturally American patterns dominate (Sherman 2001; Neustupný and Nekvapil 2003). Americans can be unwilling to give up their expatriate status through language, and Czechs may not easily admit foreigners into their networks (Neustupný and Nekvapil 2003).

The representative at the Australia/New Zealand expatriate community in Prague, CANZA, informed the researcher that L1 English L2 Czech speakers without Czech heritage are as "rare as hen's teeth". L1 English expatriates in this community are included in this group of immigrants who do not learn the local language to any degree of fluency. It is interesting to ponder whether social networks of such expatriates extend far beyond other L1 English speakers[3]. Indeed, Sučková (2020a: 84) states that L1 use rate "can remain at 100% in the 'expat bubble' in the capital". Sherman (2009: 85) discusses a "vicious circle" in terms of the explanations that can be offered here: either English speakers are "linguistically incapable" and thus remain in their expatriate bubble; or the fact that they do not venture out of this bubble and thus do not practice speaking Czech renders them "linguistically incompetent". During the data collection process the researcher became aware that though the expatriate club did not know many relevant possible participants, they do exist. The population of L1

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[3] English L1 expatriates who frequently attend expatriate clubs (e.g., CANZA) would likely not share a common form of English influenced by Czech bilingualism (as they are not bilingual in Czech). English L1 Czech L2 immigrants, who do not tend to attend expatriate clubs, would also not share a common form of English influenced by Czech bilingualism as a community – because they do not form a community. This has consequences affecting interpretations of the outcomes of borrowing if similar borrowing occurrences happen in participants who are not part of a wider community – similar occurrences may be happening for reasons not involving community spread and propagation but rather similar individual cognitive processes.

English L2 Czech speakers may be small, but larger than anticipated according to the literature and CANZA. These individuals seem to embed themselves within the Czech community. They often still have some L1 English speaking friends, particularly in their workplaces, but their constant contact with Czech and Czech speakers provides a hotbed in which socially motivated contact-induced grammatical borrowing can take place. For those who remain primarily in the expatriate bubble, this is not possible.

Accommodation (Giles et al. 1973; Giles and Coupland 1991; Giles 2009; Gasiorek and Vincze 2016) behaviour in the language toward L1 Czech L2 English speakers, however, is still possible in such cases (Sučková 2020b). Such accommodation occurs in an attempt by individuals to both be accepted by their interlocutor and to enhance communication. This can involve engaging in "foreigner talk" (Ferguson 1975) to aid the interlocutor in understanding (Giles et al. 1973; Giles and Coupland 1991; Giles 2009). L1 English speakers may then become habitualised to speaking in this way (Sancier and Fowler 1997; Sučková 2020b).

2.2 Reasons for engaging in grammatical borrowing

Several possibilities are posited and rejected in the literature for the cause(s) of grammatical borrowing in language contact situations. Filling a grammatical gap is cited as a potential driver for grammatical borrowing (Hale 1971; Heath 1978; Hill and Hill 1981; Campbell 1993; De La Fuente 2017). Campbell (1993: 97) discusses several examples of such a phenomenon, including the borrowing of coordinate conjunctions from Spanish into Pipil, a language spoken in El Salvador. Prior to this borrowing, Pipil had only "very limited and perceptually none-too-salient resources of coordination and subordination" so it is hypothesised to fill the "'grammatical gaps' recognized in contact with Spanish" (Campbell 1993: 97).

This idea is somewhat contentious in the literature, however. Brody (1987) suggests that no element is borrowed to fill a gap because every full language is complete in itself: there are simply different ways of expressing different concepts. Sanchez (2005) agrees in positing that

grammatical gaps do not trigger borrowing. However, such ideas become clouded by differing definitions of what grammatical gaps actually are. Campbell (1993: 96) explains it as "the claim that some languages borrow precisely because they lack otherwise useful constructions which they encounter in other languages with which they come into contact". Sanchez (2005: 236) does posit that "grammaticalisation via a foreign morpheme" may occur, wherein a foreign morpheme can be borrowed from a source language which encodes something morphologically which the recipient language codes periphrastically. Matras (2007: 858) posits that speakers are not trying to fill a gap in one of their linguistic systems, but rather they are "attempting to avail themselves of constructions that are part of their total repertoire irrespective of the setting … and… identity of the chosen language of interaction". To this researcher, these fit within the definition of filling a grammatical gap.

Sanchez (2005) also posits morphological renewal (the replacement of a native morpheme with a foreign one provided that both are of the same type i.e., a bound form replacing a bound form, and that they have the same overlapping function), structural compatibility and convergence (surface forms of contact languages become more alike) as contributing causes of borrowing. Pressures for structural compatibility and convergence may be interpreted as cognitive pressures on the bilingual brain. Matras (1998: 281) suggests that grammatical borrowing is the result of cognitive pressure experienced by bilinguals to "draw on [the] pragmatically dominant language for situative… discourse-regulating purposes".

In Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) model, it is posited that social factors are contributing causes of grammatical borrowing. They provide a scale of borrowing, wherein lesser contact and social pressure result in mainly lexical borrowing, and very strong contact and pressure can result in borrowing of essentially any category (Thomason and Kaufman 1988). Many other studies agree that social factors can contribute to grammatical borrowing in contact situations (Brody 1987; Campbell 1993; Myers-Scotton 2002; Sakel 2007; Lipski 2017; De La Fuente 2017; Dobrushina 2017; Gardner-Chloros and Secova 2018). Sanchez (2005),

however postulates that there is no strong evidence for social factors in motivating the borrowing process aside from the very existence of the contact situation.

3. Method

3.1 Design and procedure

Thirteen one-on-one interviews were conducted. Interviews were semi-structured to allow for new or unexpected content-rich information to be shared and further investigated (Loewen and Plonsky 2015). Interviews lasted from between 13 and 38 minutes and were undertaken at the National Technical Library in Prague, or at participant homes in December 2019. The interviews were audiorecorded, transcribed and coded by theme in NVivo.

The questions identified whether participants report themselves as engaging in grammatical borrowing and their perceived causes of the phenomenon. They gleaned an in-depth understanding about language choices and contributing factors. Questions can be accessed on Figshare (Castle 2021d).

The sample was non-random, and a snowball sampling method was used. The researcher aimed to obtain a sample with a range of ages, genders, educational levels, regions of origin and length of habitation to maximise chances of obtaining a variety of results amongst a relatively small group of participants. A basic information sheet was used to acquire the participant metadata.

Participants were required to be L1 English L2 Czech speakers. Their level of language ability was identified with a self-test and an online placement test (Gollub 2020). Participants graded themselves between 0 and 10, with 0 representing no language knowledge and 10 representing fluency. In the online test, participants were placed on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). To be considered fluent Czech speakers at an adequate level for this study, participants needed to have a B2 level on the placement test.[4]

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[4] A speaker at B2 level is considered an independent user who can "interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party",

Participants under this level are included in this paper, but their lack of fluency is considered and signalled throughout the analysis.

There was an initial requirement for participants to have no Czech parentage and to be Australian, but this requirement was discarded due to both participant availability and the researcher having only a limited period of time in the country. There were 626 Australians residing in the Czech Republic in 2019 (Czech Statistical Office 2020), but a total of 18, 353 foreigners from majority English-speaking countries[5]. The majority of these were from the UK (8, 332 people) and the US (7, 245 people). However, this may not reflect the proportion of native English speakers. As of 2012, approximately 0.68% of people in the Czech Republic had English as their L1, whereas the English-speaking "foreigners" make up approximately just 0.17% of the population (van Parys 2012; Czech Statistical Office 2020). This gap may reflect those with Czech citizenship who have English as their L1, or could represent a change based on the years in which the data were collected. The Czech parentage participants are Participants 11, 12 and 13. This is considered in the analysis.

3.2 Terminology

Grammatical borrowing includes both matter borrowing (MAT) (wherein the phonological form and function are borrowed) and pattern borrowing (PAT) (wherein the function but not the phonological form is borrowed) (Matras and Sakel 2007). Examples of MAT and PAT occurring in the data are shown in examples (1) and (2) respectively.

"produce a clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects" and "understand the main ideas of a complex text on … concrete and abstract topics" (Council of Europe 2020).

[5] These are the countries recognised by the UK government as being majority English speaking: Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Canada, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, New Zealand, St Kitts and Nevis, St Lucia, Trinidad and Tobago, St Vincent and the Grenadines, The United States of America (and, of course, the UK itself) (Gov.UK 2021).

(1) Participant 3: MAT (functional suffix borrowing)

mous- ovište

mouse-PLACE.SUFFIX

'A place where mice have been making a mess'

(2) Participant 7: PAT (article omission)

About… husband and wife couple

About husband and wife couple

'about **a** husband and wife couple'

Czech:

o   manžel-ovi   a   manžel-ce

About husband-LOC   and   wife-LOC

'about **a** husband and wife (couple)'

This paper follows Matras and Sakel (2007) in considering grammatical "unconventionalities" (Doğruöz & Backus 2009) at the individual level as grammatical borrowing, with innovation (in terms of new use of language borrowed in some way from another language, *not* its more general definition) rather than community propagation being the focus.

The term *mixing* was used when enquiring about language use; analogous to Muysken's (2000: 1) "code mixing", referring to "all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence". This increased the user-friendliness of the linguistic terminology. However, as the study aims to focus on grammatical borrowing, specific questions were asked and explained regarding borrowing, morphology, and syntax. It is recognised that this study may reflect potential reasons behind not only grammatical borrowing, but also lexical borrowing and other forms of mixing. This is due to difficulty for participants in identifying instances of borrowing and differentiating between them e.g.

syntactic vs lexical. Some participants did have higher metalinguistic awareness than others and therefore deeper, more detailed, and relevant answers were obtained from them.

Metalinguistic awareness plays a role in how much participants can share regarding grammatical borrowing, or any language-contact related phenomena in their speech. Borrowing events participants discuss include:

1. Conscious events that people are aware of and purposefully engage in in real time.
2. Events which people become aware of immediately after use.
3. Events which people are aware of upon reflection.
4. Events which people have a vague feeling that they may possibly engage in.
5. Events that people are entirely unaware of.

In this study, the researcher will not be able to obtain information about 5. However, participants discuss 1-4 at length throughout the interviews. Events that are subconscious in real time are discussed in Section 3.4. Participant awareness of borrowing events after the fact shows that their performance differs from their competency. This is not to say that borrowing represents poor performance, but rather to say that participants tend to be aware of some linguistic rules, requirements and ideologies around Standard English, though they may not always adhere to them.

In the analysis, a panel of six educated L1 English speaking people were selected to find non-English sounding grammatical phenomena in the data. Metadata on this panel is displayed in Appendix 1.

3.3 Participant data

The sample size of 13 was based on availability of participants during the time the researcher was able to spend in the Czech Republic. This is adequate for an exploratory in-depth study into reasons behind contact-induced grammatical borrowing. The rich data collected from this sample may be added to existing data in the literature used to better understand this

phenomenon for broader cross-linguistic studies. Aims to obtain a varied sample were relatively successful (see §2.1). Participant data is displayed in Table 1, and language proficiency data is displayed in Table 2 for ease of comparison and analysis between participants.

Table 1: Participant data

VARIABLE	CATEGORY	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS	PARTICIPANTS
Age	>50	5	6 7 8 10 12
	<50	8	1 2 3 4 5 9 11 13
Gender	Male	7	1 7 8 9 10 11 12
	Female	6	2 3 4 5 6 13
Length of habitation in the Czech Republic	<1 year	2	9 13
	1 – 10 years	0	
	10 – 20 years	3	1 2 11
	20 years +	8	3 4 5 6 7 8 10 12
Education	High School	1	12
	Bachelor's Degree	6	2 4 6 8 9 11
	Master's Degree	2	1 13
	PhD	4	3 5 7 10
Region of Origin	New South Wales, Australia	1	1
	Victoria, Australia	3	9 12 13
	USA	7	2 3 4 5 6 7 10
	England	2	8 11

Table 2: Participant language proficiency

PARTICIPANT	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10	P11	P12	P13
Czech Self-score	8	7	9	8	9	6	8	4	2	8	6	10	7
Czech CEFR score	C2	B2	C2	C2	C2	C2	C2	A2	B1	C2	C2	C2	C1
English Self-score	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10

The self-scores of Participants 6, 9 and 11 differ significantly from their CEFR score, which is partially attributed to the fact that these participants had a self-effacing nature regarding their Czech abilities. Participant 8 states that his Czech is "A2 to B1 for all forms, listening probably a little bit better, the speaking comes a little bit later, but I *try* with her family and things like that". Participant 6 stated that she was not speaking Czech nearly as much as she used to, and she is not happy about her current level of Czech. There also exists a limitation in terms of the CEFR online placement test (Gollub 2020) being purely based on lexical knowledge.

4. Results and discussion

4.1 Social pressures

4.1.1 Pressure to conform to speaking Czech

Participants were asked whether they felt social pressure to speak Czech. Two factors come into play including whether the individual is the type to be influenced by social pressure, and whether they then do feel such pressure. In considering whether the individual is the type to be influenced by social pressure, the researcher considered later commentary by those who initially stated that they are not affected by such things.[6] People are not always perceived as being confident and self-assured if they reveal that they care about what others think, even if they do, hence the researcher conducted a deeper content analysis to find a more accurate answer.

Social pressure to speak Czech can act as both a driving and inhibiting influence for contact-induced unconventionalities. Consistently speaking Czech rather than English may aid in Czech fluency and lower English fluency over time. This could potentially lead to more attrition-based unconventionalities in the participants' English, as well as borrowing in English from the influence of extensive Czech use.

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[6] This is displayed in Table 1 of the supplementary materials, wherein both the first answer and final answer after having analysed later commentary are given. Each of the pressures and influences involved with this study are summarised in Table 6.

However, pressure to speak Czech only may also act as an inhibiting factor for borrowing, because individuals are unable to borrow from between their languages when they feel that they must only use one. Such pressure, for lower-level speakers of Czech, may actually inhibit them from trying to speak in Czech if it is not entirely fluent and thus being less likely to borrow for non-accommodation related purposes in their English, as their Czech is not proficient enough to do so. For example, Participant 8 feels a strong pressure from the larger society and community not to mix between the two languages and feels that he is judged if he does.

According to the data, 23% (3/13) of participants feel social pressure to speak Czech, 23% (3/13) somewhat feel pressure and 54% (7/13) do not feel pressure to conform. Only the data from the participant's final answer is taken here as it is considered to reflect the situation more accurately.

There is a slight majority who do not feel such pressure. Almost half of the participants feel at least some pressure to speak Czech, especially in public situations. Pressure to conform to speaking Czech figures as a contributing factor in grammatical borrowing and attrition processes amongst these participants.

4.1.2 Partner influence

Partner influence can act as a driver for grammatical borrowing where participants speak both languages with their partners, as speakers tend to borrow where and with whom they feel most comfortable, particularly at home (§3.1.5). Participant 3 speaks English to her husband, who speaks to her in Czech. Participant 7 normally speaks Czech at home with his wife, but will switch to and mix in English in some situations. Participant 10 and his wife "kind of take turns, with Czech and English, sometimes mixing them up".

It also acts as a driver where Czech is used very frequently, allowing it to permeate into the user's English. Monolingual Czech partners or bilingual Czech partners with whom participants speak Czech can act as attrition accelerators for participants' English. De Klerk

(2001), in her study on English-Afrikaans cross-linguistic marriages, shows that in many of these partnerships, one language (namely English) prevails, and the other language speaker (namely Afrikaans) quite often feels that their native language ability has decreased due to disuse in the home and social environments. Participant 6 states that her husband does not speak English, so her home life is a total Czech environment. Participant 4 shared that when she was married she always spoke Czech with her husband, and some days she would not speak English at all.

Those who speak only or mostly English with their L1 Czech partners may find themselves accommodating (Drljača Margić 2017) to their partner's L2 English speech style. Therefore, the speaking of English with their partners can affect their English through accommodation. Participant 8 states that he always speaks to his Czech wife in English because her level of competency is very high.

Participant partner nationalities and languages spoken are displayed in Table 4. Ex partners are included because they have had on influence on primary language choice at home in the past and thus have shaped participant language abilities and use.

Table 3: Participant partner nationalities and languages spoken

PARTICIPANT	PARTNER NATIONALITY	LANGUAGE(S) SPOKEN
P1	(ex) Czech	Czech?[7]
P2	American	mostly English
P3	Czech	She speaks English, partner speaks Czech
P4	(ex) Czech	Czech
P5	German (Sorbian)	Czech, German, Sorbian
P6	Czech	Czech
P7	Czech	Czech and English

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[7] Question marks are included where it is not 100% certain which language/s were spoken.

P8	Czech	English
P9	Australian (Czech background)	mostly English
P10	Czech	Czech and English
P11	(ex) Slovak	He spoke Czech, partner spoke Slovak?[8]
P12	Czech	mostly Czech
P13	Australian	mostly English

Each language situation is unique. Sixty-two percent (8/13) of participants have (had) a Czech partner, with 15% (2/13) having an L1 English speaking partner, 8% (1/13) having an Australian-Czech partner and 15% (2/13) having a partner of another heritage. 31% of participants (4/13) speak Czech only or mostly Czech with their partner, 38% (5/13) speak a combination of languages (including Czech) with their partner, and 31% (4/13) speak English or mostly English with their partners.

4.1.3 Pressure to keep the languages separate

Participants were asked whether they felt pressure to keep the languages separate, which would act as an inhibiting factor for grammatical borrowing, particularly MAT. It is possible that PAT could still occur even under this pressure. Individuals may not be aware that they are engaging in it, as PAT is not as emblematic of language and therefore as overt as MAT (Matras and Sakel 2007).

As in Section 3.1.1, participant answers were analysed to detect whether they first claimed to have felt social pressure, and the final answer about their experiences with social pressure gleaned from later commentary[9].

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[8] The question mark here shows that this information was not obtained, but with the knowledge that the participant's ex-partner was Slovak, it is possible that she spoke Slovak to him, as the two are relatively mutually intelligible.
[9] See Table 2 in supplementary materials for detailed information. See Table 6 for summary.

Twenty-three percent of participants (3/13) feel social pressure to keep the languages separate, 31% (4/13) somewhat feel this pressure, and 46% (6/13) do not feel this pressure at all. Over half of the participants felt at least some degree of social pressure to conform to keeping the languages separate, meaning that this is likely a contributing factor to the inhibition of grammatical borrowing, particularly MAT.

Linguistic shame and alienation exist in the Czech Republic regarding pressure to not mix. Participant 3 revealed that their children experienced such backlash for being bilingual in a small-town Czech school.

There exists a pressure to avoid speaking Czech as a native English speaker. Several participants discuss the fact that, at times, Czechs will speak to them in English even after they have attempted to speak in Czech. This action performed by the Czechs is in alignment with the ideology of *use a foreign language, above all English* with western foreigners discussed in Nekvapil and Sherman (2013: 97).

4.1.4 Self-pressure and perspective on mixing

The inclusion of this question presupposes that individuals have some metalinguistic awareness and control over their speech patterns. According to Language Management Theory (Neustupný and Nekvapil 2003; Nekvapil 2016: 14), there are two key processes individuals engage in relating to language: the generation of utterances (language behaviour) and utterance management (metalinguistic activities and behaviour towards language). Individuals engage in metalinguistic activities and creative use of the languages available to them (Matras and Sakel 2007).

Participants may not always recognise when they are engaging in a borrowing (especially PAT), or that their language use reflects attrition processes (see §2.2, 3.1.3) However, the way that people feel about borrowing can affect whether they choose to censor themselves, what they decide to use, how they decide to use it and how creative they choose to be. Parts of the

borrowing processes can be conscious, especially in terms of prescriptivism and language play.

The way that people feel about borrowing can also be termed adherence to the norm of a language ideology (Sherman 2009; Nekvapil and Sherman 2013) within the language management framework. Language ideologies guide language practices, and these ideologies provide a basis for expectations and norms in communicative behaviour (Sherman 2009). Deviations from these norms can then be evaluated in different ways (e.g. positively, negatively, etc.) (Sherman 2009).

The majority of participants have a positive or neutral view on the practice of language mixing[10]. Thirty-nine percent of participants (5/13) were positive about borrowing, 46% (6/13) were neutral and 15% (2/13) were negative.

However, the true language situation is somewhat more nuanced than the numerical data suggests. Participant answers depended on their view of mixing: whether they see it as lexical borrowings, or a reflection of their language abilities (e.g., using English words in Czech if the Czech word is unknown), or whether they would include grammatical borrowing (see also §2.2). Some participants would at times happily say that they borrow or are creative with mixing, and at other times seem quite against the idea. This was particularly true for those who linked mixing to a perceived lack of language ability. Those participants were coded as neutral in Table 6. It is likely that those who are positive or neutral toward mixing would be more likely to engage in grammatical borrowing by choice.

It seemed that there were several different language ideologies at play for these participants. For some, mixing represented a deviation from the ideology *it is not good to mix languages*. Others adhered to an ideology of *it is ok to mix in certain situations*, and still others operated under the ideology *it is normal and natural to mix languages*.

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[10] For more details, see Table 3 in supplementary materials. See Table 6 for summary.

4.1.5 Mixing locations

There are specific places and people with whom participants felt most comfortable engaging in borrowing (if they feel that they engage in it at all). If conscious borrowing is more likely to appear as MAT, and subconscious borrowing as PAT (see §3.1.3), it follows that the participants are more comfortable engaging in MAT in specific situations.

Matras and Sakel's (2007: 859) state that speakers aim at behaving "correctly" in "overtly observing the communicative *norms* by selecting matter items from … a single component language of their repertoire… at the same time draw[ing] on other component languages of their repertoire in search of models for the mental organisation of a construction [emphasis mine]", effectively suggesting that this is why PAT is more common than MAT. MAT is more overtly recognisable to interlocutors (Matras and Sakel 2007) and it can therefore be concluded that it is more consciously chosen. This heavily depends on the context that speakers find themselves in, particularly, the people with whom they are speaking, the *norms* and the formality of the situation.

The majority of participants mentioned home, with friends and in social situations as "places" where they mix[11]. It tended to depend on who they were with rather than where they were for engagement in mixing: the norms and ideologies they adhere to based on the situation they were in. In situations where participants felt more comfortable and were with bilinguals with whom they had close relationships, they were more likely to engage in borrowing. Home, with friends and in social situations also featured as circumstances where participants spoke Czech or English. However, work, and public places were emphasised more heavily here, and with language-sectored friend groups. Language spoken at home is related to language spoken with a current partner (§3.1.2).

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[11] For details, see Table 4 in supplementary materials. Locations where participants mix, speak Czech, and speak English are shown there. See Table 6 for summary.

This is reminiscent of Grosjean's (1997; 1998) model of language modes. Grosjean suggests that there is a continuum of language modes that bilinguals operate on in their daily lives (cf. Figure 1).
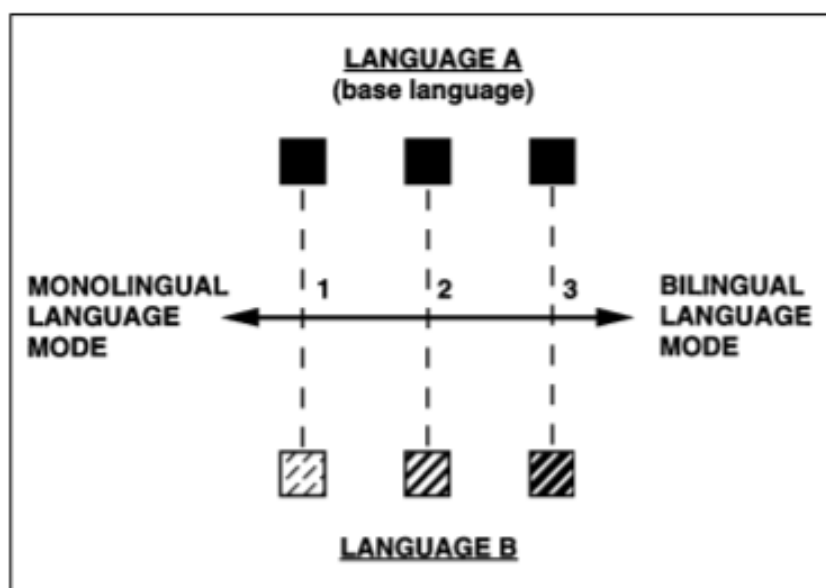
Figure 1: Language mode continuum (Grosjean 1998: 136)

The level of language activation is represented by the degree of darkness of the square in this model. In position 3, the speaker is in "bilingual mode… [where bilinguals] are interacting with other bilinguals who share their two (or more) languages and with whom they feel comfortable mixing languages" (Grosjean 1998: 137). It appears that participants are operating in this mode when mixing with other bilinguals with whom they feel comfortable and norms allow for this. Participants who do not have a negative opinion on mixing appear to enter monolingual mode (Grosjean 1998: 136) when the situation requires it (e.g., with monolinguals, out in public, etc). Participants who *do* have negative opinions, however, seem not to adhere to this model because they consciously choose not to mix regardless of the situation. They rather subscribe to the ideology *it is not good to mix languages*. However, even participant 6 agreed to occasionally mixing with bilinguals, though she had earlier stated that she prefers not to engage in it.

4.2 Cognitive pressures

Several questions were asked in attempting to identify whether participants experienced cognitive pressure that they were aware of in using their languages.

Pressures for structural compatibility and convergence are cognitive pressures, as such phenomena create an ease of processing for bilinguals (Sanchez 2005: 235). Pressure for structural compatibility and thus convergence here refers to the cognitive pressure for bilingual speakers use the same surface syntactic structure in both of their languages, in other words, to engage in PAT. If the languages become increasingly structurally compatible, their grammars are thus converging. An example of this in Sinti Romani is displayed in (1) below. In this example, the Sinti dialect of Romani has replicated the German pattern of verbal-particle use, making the surface structures compatible.

(3) a. Sinti Romani:

me   ker-au   o   vuder pre

I   make-1SG DEF.M door   up

b. German:

ich   mach-e   die   Tür   auf

I   make-1SG DEF-F   door   up

'I open the door'

(Matras & Sakel 2007: 846)

The level of linguistic meta-awareness about structural compatibility and convergence was deemed too high for discussion with participants (see also §2.2). Instead, questions focussed on reasons for borrowing related to ease of cognitive processing (which reflects the pressure for structural compatibility).

If participants feel more relaxed in mixing, they may be more likely to engage in borrowing in certain situations. If participants feel more relaxed in separating the languages, they may be less likely to borrow as it is more effort to do so. For some, there was no difference in whether they use both languages or one or the other, possibly meaning that they would at least borrow more than those who feel more relaxed in separating the languages.

Participant 13, feels more relaxed in speaking a mix or English only (8% of the sample), grew up in a household where Czech and English were spoken interchangeably[12]. It is difficult for them to speak Czech only. Thirty-eight percent of participants (5/13) had no difference in relaxedness whether they use both languages or one or the other, 23% (3/13) felt more relaxed using one of the other (or three participants, two of which are also those who have negative opinions on mixing), 8% (1/13) preferred to mostly speak English only due to lower ability in Czech, and 23% (3/13) had an unclear answer.

Almost all participants engage in borrowing due to forgetting or not knowing a word, but this may be more related to lexical borrowing. Borrowing due to ease of expression is used in the sense that the participant would utilise whichever form is easier to formulate in their cognitive processing. However, this was not always understood, as some interpreted it as ease in the sense of whichever language they are more proficient in, or the ease of interlocutor understanding. However, of those who likely interpreted it correctly based on their answers (n=11), 91% (10/11) agreed that they would engage in borrowing for this reason, and only 9% (1/11) said that they would not do this. This participant (Participant 6) was aware that it would be easier to borrow but they choose not to.

Participant 6 has a negative view on mixing between languages and adheres to the ideology *it is not good to mix languages* (see §3.1.4). They mentioned that they are more relaxed in speaking one language or the other, yet they are aware that it would ease their processing to

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[12] For details on cognitive pressures experienced, see Table 5 in supplementary materials. See Table 6 for summary.

borrow. It seems likely that their relaxedness in speaking is more related to the ideology that they adhere to and feeling that they are doing the "right" thing in staying with the norm for that ideology than actual ease in cognitive processing.

4.3 Gap filling and creativity

4.3.1 Gap filling

It is known that MAT occurred from Czech into English among this participant group (Castle 2021a). These borrowings use foreign morphemes to grammaticalise concepts commonly expressed lexically in English e.g., utilisation of the Czech diminutive rather than using an adjective in English (Castle 2021a). An example of this is shown below:

(4) Participant 1

Give	*me*	*a*	*hug-isek*
give-IMP	I-DAT	ART	hug-[Cz]DIM.M

'Give me a cute/little hug'

The questions inquired as to whether participants borrow due to usefulness or appropriateness to the discussion context, and due to better expression of meaning[13]. This could represent semantic gap filling in the sense of certain cultural phrases or better expression of the intended meaning, or a grammatical gap filling in the sense that utilisation of a certain grammatical resource is more useful than expressing the concept periphrastically.

Not every participant interpreted the intended meaning of these concepts correctly. Participant 8 understood the concept as usefulness in aiding the interlocutor to understand (by switching languages, if the interlocutor is more or less fluent in one or the other). Of those who are presumed to have understood the intended meaning for borrowing due to usefulness/appropriateness (n=12), 75% (9/12) agreed that they do this, 8% (1/12) felt that

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[13] For more details on answers given, refer to Table 6 in supplementary materials, table 6 (this paper) for summary.

they probably do this, and 17% (2/12) felt that they do not do this.[14] Interestingly, it was those same two participants who have negative opinions on borrowing.

Most participants interpreted the meaning correctly for better expression of meaning (n=12). Participant 11 understood this in the same way that Participant 8 understood the previous question, that is, in aiding the interlocutor to understand (by switching languages). Sixty-seven percent of participants (8/12) agreed that they borrow due to better expression of meaning, 8% (1/12) possibly do this, and 25% (3/12) do not do this. Again, Participant 6 is aware that it is more useful but still will not do it because of their negative opinion on borrowing. Participants 8 and 9 are in a situation where their Czech is not yet at a level where they can freely choose between their languages with regard to what will express their intended meaning in a better way, and the easiest mode of expression will always be in their L1, English.

It is possible for speakers to fill a gap, particularly in regard to MAT. As MAT usage is more conscious for interlocutors, they may identify grammatical resources from their L2 which do not exist in their L1 and utilise them in their bilingual speech.

4.3.2 Creativity and language play

Several participants who were either positive or neutral regarding their attitudes on borrowing discussed engaging in language play. As this was not a specific question asked to participants, it cannot be documented in a table comparable with the other tables presented. However, conscious engagement in "language play" (Porte 2003: 116) is a form of grammatical borrowing in this situation. Innovation rather than community propagation is the focus here.

Participants 1, 2, 3, 7, 11, and 12 referred to engaging in language play. Participant 1 stated that it is something you "do only with people that you're very comfortable with" (see also §3.1.5). Participant 2 reflects that she has a "very strange [mix of] language" spoken

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[14] As with Section 3.2, this is based on the answers given.

"especially after a few glasses of wine" that only she and her friends understand. Participant 7 discusses the addition of a diminutive to an English friend's name for humorous effect: *Eshl-ík* Eshl-DIM 'little Ashley'. Participant 11 shared that he uses Czech affixes on English words "only in fun… with swear words or stupid stuff… that's just for fun, people enjoy the humour".

Participants 6 and 9 stated that they do not do this, which are the same participants who have a negative opinion on mixing. Other participants were unclear as to whether they engage in language play.

According to Matras and Sakel (2007: 848) and Heine and Kuteva (2005: 34–35) interlocutors are "actors who make creative use of language". Speakers use their creativity and abilities in both languages to form unique phrases that may involve grammatical borrowing.

4.4 Subconscious borrowing

Whilst by definition participants cannot determine aspects of their subconscious borrowing in the moment, several discussed engaging in borrowing which they later realised had occurred, either immediately after the fact or upon reflection (see §2.2).

Participants have three ideologies that come across when reflecting on their subconscious borrowing practice. The first ideology is that *subconscious borrowing events represent mistakes.* The second is that *Czechs do not speak English correctly,* and the third is *the use of Czech should not affect my English.*

In line with the first ideology, Participant 1 reflected:

> "I read my writing or hear myself speak and I drop articles, I … stop using a, the, you know…and *mess up the word order* a little bit because Czech word order is a bit freer so it definitely does happen sometimes that I will get to the end of the sentence and go, why did I say it that way?"

In this instance, he is ascribing his actions to the influence of his knowledge of the Czech language[15]. He also recognises the influence of hearing L1 Czech's L2 English, in line with the second ideology: "hearing Czechs speak *incorrectly*, can influence me and suddenly things that you know are wrong don't sound so wrong".

In line with ideology three, Participant 11 states: "sometimes you can be saying things that you thought, oh hang on that's not right… because *you've been thinking and speaking in Czech so often for so many years* that your native language is still there but it's… slowly getting put on the backburner."

Participant 10 does not think his syntax is affected, but perhaps someone else would notice it. During the observation sessions in Castle (2021a), the same participant stated that, when it comes to mistakes in English, "sometimes we're [he and his colleague, also in the observation session] not sure anymore" after having lived and worked in the Czech Republic for 30 years, in alignment with the third ideology.

In line with both the first and last ideologies, Participant 4 explained that she may accidentally subconsciously "*mix up* the sentence order" if she has been *speaking in Czech for a long time* and then needs to suddenly switch to English.

These reflections obviously cannot encompass the grammatical borrowing that could be happening at an entirely subconscious level in terms of not realising that it has occurred at all. However, they allow an insight into borrowing that is subconscious at the moment of speech.

4.5 Borrowing tendencies

In Table 4, the borrowing tendencies of the participants are displayed. To create this, participant speech data from the observation sessions was analysed (Castle 2021a). In Castle

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[15] This is a possible example of syntactic borrowing. Participant 1 does not use 'a' or 'the' sometimes (disuse of the article), possibly following the pattern of Czech, which does not have articles. In terms of word order, he may also be following a Czech word order pattern rather than and English one.

(2021a), groups of two[16] interlocutors participated in observation sessions, wherein they spoke about topics including travel, family, and food (with discussion sheet prompts). The 'time' column refers to the amount of time in the observation session that the participant spoke for.

Table 4: Participant borrowing tendencies

PARTICIPANT	GRAMMATICAL PHENOMENA ATTESTATIONS[17]	BORROWING ATTESTATIONS[18]	TIME	WHETHER THEY SAY THEY BORROW
P1	6	2	9m 23s	Yes
P2	5	1	8m 33s	Yes
P3	3	2	6m 40s	Yes
P4	3	0	7m 1s	Yes
P5	0	0	6m 23s	Yes
P6	3	1	12m 31s	No/Prefers not to
P7	5	3	7m 43s	Yes
P8	4	0	6m 15s	Sometimes/Ability is low in Czech
P9	0	0	10m 41s	No
P10	5	1	8m 35s	Yes
P11	15	5	11m 45s	Yes/Prefers not to
P12	4	2	10m 16s	Yes
P13	2	0	8m 38s	Yes

Examples of a grammatical phenomenon attestations are shown below. Example (2) shows an instance of a lack of the required noun form with an adjective, and example (3) shows article omission. Example (1) in §3.3.1 is also a grammatical phenomenon attestation.

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[16] Initially, the sample had a size of fourteen participants (hence groups of two), but one participant was raised in the Czech Republic and then lived in Australia for eleven years as an adult. Their data is thus unusable here, but the other participant's data is still used because they represent the ideal target candidate for this research: an L1 English speaker who learned Czech in adulthood and is now fluent in the language.
[17] From Castle (2021a)
[18] From Castle (2021a)

(5) Participant 11

Unless   you're   an   English   or   a   person   who

Unless   you-to.be-2SG   ART   English-ADJ   or   ART   person   who

hasn't   got   a   lot of money

to.have-AUX-NEG   to.get-PST   ART   lot of money

'Unless you're an English person or a person who hasn't got a lot of money.'

(6) Participant 6

He   had   done   translation of it

He   AUX   to-do.PST   translation of it

Participant 11 produces the most attestations by far. He also spoke for the second longest amount of time in total. There are no attestations from Participant 9, who states that he does not borrow, but also has a lower proficiency in Czech. There are none from Participant 5, who spoke for the second shortest amount of time and spoke in an interviewer-like style.

Borrowing attestations are, for the most part, produced by those who say that they borrow. However, there is one attestation of a borrowing by Participant 6, who prefers not to engage in borrowing, and five by Participant 11 who states that he prefers not to borrow. There may be some subconscious borrowing occurring.

4.6 Summary

Social pressures, cognitive pressures, gap filling, and creativity were considered in determining the causes behind grammatical borrowing. Pressures for convergence and structural similarity are contained within the heading of cognitive pressures.

The social pressures explored in this article include that of pressure from the public, community, and partners, as well as self-pressure. Self-pressures were encompassed by three ideologies that the participants adhered to, namely: *it is not good to mix languages*; *it is ok to*

mix in certain situations; and *it is normal and natural to mix languages.* Several of the social pressures discussed in this article can act as both driving and inhibiting influences in terms of grammatical borrowing (cf. Table 5).

Table 5: Social pressures as driving or inhibiting influences for grammatical borrowing

PRESSURE	DRIVING INFLUENCE	INHIBITING INFLUENCE
Pressure to conform to speaking Czech	+	+
Partner Influence	+	+
Pressure to keep the languages separate	-	+
Self-pressure and perspective on mixing	+	+

Key: + = it is an influence, - = it is not an influence

In some cases, the opinion regarding grammatical borrowing was a stronger factor for avoidance of conscious grammatical borrowing than ease of cognitive processing. Most participants had no difference in relaxedness in whether they were able to mix or not mix their languages, and a majority also expressed that they would borrow due to ease of expression.

Most participants agreed that they would borrow due to usefulness/appropriateness and better expression of meaning. Several participants also engage in language play, particularly with those with whom they are closest to and most comfortable speaking with. The relationship to the interlocutor is an important element for the emergence of grammatical borrowing.

These findings are summarised in terms of each individual participant for the purposes of ease of comparison in Table 6.

Table 6: Summary of factors contributing to grammatical borrowing

FACTOR		P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10	P11	P12	P13
Social Pressures	*Conform to speaking Czech*	S	✗	✗	✗	✗	S	✓	✗	✓	✗	S	✗	✓
	Partner influence	Cz	E	M	Cz	M	Cz	M	E	E	M	M	Cz	E
	Separate languages	✗	✗	✗	S	S	✗	✓	✗	✓	S	S	✗	✓
	Self-pressure not to borrow	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	N	N	✓	N	N	N	N
Cognitive Pressures	*Relaxedness*	Sep	N/A	N	N	N	Sep	N	M	Sep	N/A	N/A	N	M
	Forgetting/not knowing a word	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Ease of expression	P	✓	P	✓	P	✗	P	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Gap Filling and Creativity	*Usefulness/appropriateness*	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	P
	Better expression of meaning	P	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓

Key: Cz = Czech, E = English, M = a mix of the languages, ✓ = yes, ✗ = no, N = neutral, S = somewhat, P = possible/probable, Sep = separate, N = no difference

4.7 Analysis

Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) framework is utilised to confirm the level of social pressure and contact experienced. The types of borrowing participants have engaged in identified in Castle's (2021a) paper include: functional suffix borrowing (derivational morpheme) (see example 5 below); diminutive suffix borrowing (derivational morpheme) (cf. example 2), non-use of articles (syntactic unconventionality) (cf. example 6 below, example 4); and adjective placement (syntactic (and morphological) unconventionality) (cf. example 3).

(7) Participant 3: functional suffix borrowing

Plastic box-oviště

Plastic box-PLACE.SUFFIX

'the place where plastic boxes are kept'

(8) Participant 12: non-use of articles

Immigrants	*were*		*still*	*accepted*	*and*	*supported*
Immigrant-PL	to-be.PST.3PL		still	to.accept-PST	and	to.support-PST

by country

by country

'immigrants were still accepted and supported by the country'

Table 7 below provides a summary of which participants engaged in these four types of borrowing. This can be viewed alongside Table 4 for a fuller understanding of the borrowings which are occurring.

Table 7: Participant borrowing occurrences

BORROWING TYPE	PARTICIPANTS
PAT: Non-use of article	11 (4)[19], 7 (3), 12 (2), 2 (1), 1 (1), 6 (1)
PAT: Adjective placement	11 (1), 10 (1)
MAT: Functional Suffixes	3 (2)
MAT: Diminutives	1 (1)[20]

Derivational morpheme borrowing meets the criteria for level 3 borrowing on Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) scale. It is interesting to ponder whether this would then become ingrained into the language over the generations if allowed to develop and not exposed to the outside world. The other forms of syntactic unconventionalities are placed at level 2. As there were not a large amount of attestations, the contact level is placed between 2 and 3. The intensity of social contact can be placed between "slightly more intense contact" and "more intense contact" (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 74-76). Most of the participants are above a B2 level of Czech competency (in fact, the majority are of C2 level) and utilise Czech in their daily lives.

However, as an inhibiting factor, at least half of participants felt pressure to avoid mixing, which is not included in this scale. This is most relevant for instances where participants are able to tell that they are borrowing between the languages, for example with MAT (§3.1.3, 3.1.4, and 3.1.5). Language Maintenance Effort (Herdina and Jessner 2002) is identified as being an important factor in English maintenance for these participants (Castle 2021a). English maintenance and the presence of Global English may act as inhibiting factors in the emergence of grammatical borrowing.

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[19] The number in brackets shows the amount of occurrences of this phenomenon by this participant.

[20] There was also an instance where Participant 12 mentioned that borrowings such as e.g. *koalka* 'little koala' would be very common in his speech and his bilingual community, but this was not included as this example was prompted. Also, Participant 2 mentioned that her son uses the diminutives *–ka* and *–ovač* on their dog's (non-Czech) name, but again this was not included as it was in her son's speech, not hers.

Using Thomason and Kaufman's (1998) framework, it can be confirmed that the level of social pressure experienced, and the types of borrowing participants have engaged in (Castle 2021a) are matched. However, this framework does not cover both conscious and subconscious borrowing processes. The proposed model below aims to address these differences (cf. Figure 2).
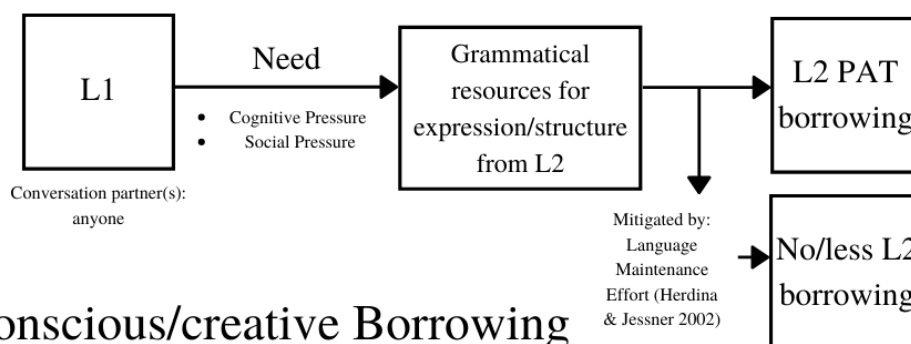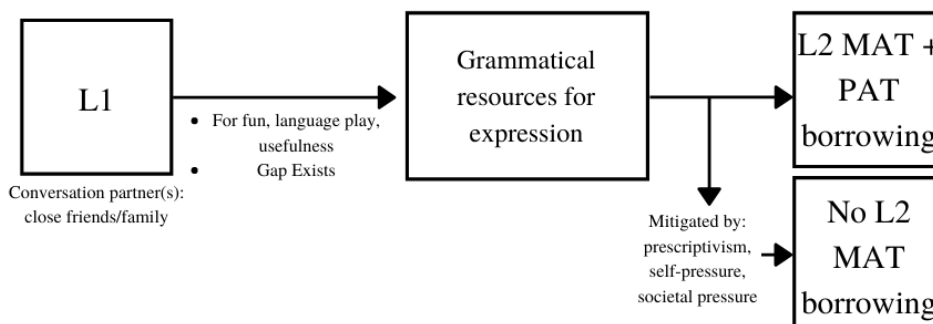
Figure 2: Conscious and subconscious borrowing processes

This model considers the conversation partner involved, whether the borrowing is subconscious, the different pressures involved in each situation, and inhibiting factors in conscious borrowing. In subconscious borrowing, where the conversation partner may be anyone, *need* (van Coetsem 2000) encompassing cognitive pressure and social pressure (Castle 2021a) lead the speaker to utilise grammatical resources and structure from the L2 and borrow them into their L1. As mentioned in Section 3.1.3, this is more likely with PAT (Matras and Sakel 2007: 842). This explains why even prescriptivists may engage in this type of borrowing; they can only control their conscious borrowings. Indeed, the process of

language management only occurs when the participant is paying attention to and thus aware of their language use. Participants note a phenomenon which is occurring e.g. a deviation from the norm, evaluate it and thus implement a communication design (Nekvapil and Sherman 2013: 91). Prescriptivists are unable to implement a design in communication if they are unaware that they have engaged in what they would likely regard as a deviation from the norm *it it not good to mix languages.*

Syntactic borrowing appears to be more subconscious than MAT. Participants were much less able to identify instances of syntactic borrowing occurring, indicating that they were less meta-linguistically aware of this. They also often thought of syntactic unconventionalities as "errors" that they notice after they have produced the phrase rather than a choice that they have made beforehand, in line with the ideology *subconscious borrowing events represent mistakes* (see §3.4).

In conscious borrowing, conversation partners are those close to the speaker. An opportunity for a MAT to fill a grammatical gap is identified, and the speaker uses it in playfulness or for usefulness and better expression of meaning. Thus, an L2 borrowing occurs in the L1. This can be inhibited by prescriptivism, self-pressure, and societal pressure. In conscious borrowings, speakers can choose whether, when and how they engage in it.

Participants are integrating synthetic structures into English. A replacement of synthetic structures with analytic structures represents language attrition (Dorian 1982; Maher 1985; 1991; Dutkova-Cope 2001: 39). However, as synthetic structures are integrated here, these borrowings do not represent attrition, especially as it is by first generation speakers, but rather a borrowing of resources and use of them for fun, or for purposes related to conscious choice. It would appear that participants are engaging in "utterance management" (Nekvapil 2016: 14) in choosing which grammatical resources to utilise in their speech.

In terms of a comparison with South Australian Czech, it was interesting to see that there were morphological MAT occurring in this data but not in the SA Czech data (Castle 2021c). Almost all of the borrowings in the SA Czech data were syntactic PAT (Castle

2021c). Zajícová (2012: 304) in her article on the speech of Czech immigrants in Paraguay, stated that the fact that there was no instance of Spanish bound morphemes into Czech confirmed how borrowing hierarchies feel about this type of replication. However, the richness of the morphology may have an effect on what is borrowed. There are creative bound morpheme MAT evident in this study, yet not in South Australian Czech or Paraguayan Czech. Czech has an arguably much richer morphology than English as a synthetic language.

5. Conclusion

Social pressure, cognitive pressures, gap filling, and conscious creative decisions are drivers of grammatical borrowing, with social pressure and self-pressure potentially acting as inhibiting forces. A significant proportion of participants feel pressure to conform to Czech but there were still many who do not, demonstrating that there were not only different social situations, but also many different personalities at play in the sample. A majority of participants also speak Czech only or a combination of the two languages with their partner, and a large majority held positive or neutral ideologies regarding borrowing, those being *it is normal and natural to mix languages* and *it is ok to mix in certain situations* respectively. However, just over half of participants felt at least some pressure to keep their languages separate.

In the process of analysis, the importance of separating conscious and subconscious borrowing and the processes leading to each came to light. It was identified that there are certain places or people with whom participants consciously decide to engage in borrowing. Most conscious, playful borrowing occurs with those closest to the participant, and this borrowing is often MAT. PAT, especially syntactic borrowing, is usually less conscious and can sometimes be realised after the speaker has finished. These instances of subconscious borrowings, once realised by the participant, are usually considered "mistakes", informing the ideology *subconscious borrowing events represent mistakes.* A new model was created

which takes both conscious and subconscious borrowing into account, as well as including inhibiting effects such as prescriptivist ideologies and associated self-pressure to adhere to them, language maintenance effort (Herdina and Jessner 2002) and societal pressure.

The main limitation of this study is the small sample size; however, it does not aim to be reflective of the whole L1 English L2 Czech immigrant community. It is an exploratory study into the realities of grammatical borrowing. Potential future studies could involve larger sample sizes or focus more heavily on the psycholinguistic perspective in terms of the roles of personality with regard to how participants react or claim to react to outside sociolinguistic influences (see §3.1.1, 3.1.3). Research could also be undertaken on grammatical borrowing between Czech and English in the large community of L2 English L2 Czech immigrants living in the Czech Republic. There is a need for more typological studies in this area in terms of drawing on languages with different typologies in contact with one another.

Declaration of Interest Statement

The author declares that there is no conflict of interest.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Panel metadata

PANEL MEMBER	AGE	GENDER	EDUCATION	NATIONALITY
Panel Member 1	43	Female	Bachelor in Arts (Italian) (Hons.), Bachelor in Education	Australian
Panel Member 2	35	Female	Bachelor in Spanish, minor in French	American
Panel Member 3	52	Female	BSc (Hons) in Psychology, PGCE, Postgraduate certifications in education-related areas	British
Panel Member 4	69	Male	Bachelor of Laws, Grad Dip Legal Practise, Grad Dip Legal Studies, Diploma in Secondary Teaching	Australian
Panel Member 5	32	Male	Master's degree, current PhD student in Clinical Psychology	American
Panel Member 6	40	Male	Studied to postgraduate level	British

Supplementary Materials

Table 1: Social pressure to speak Czech

PARTICIPANT	FEELS SOCIAL PRESSURE TO CONFORM (FIRST ANSWER)	LATER COMMENTARY	FEELS SOCIAL PRESSURE TO CONFORM (FINAL ANSWER)
P1	0	Speaks Czech to their dogs when in public so as not to "stick out"	1
P2	0	Speaks Czech out of respect	0
P3	0	Natural to speak Czech to Czechs, but if it does not concern them, it does not matter what the language is	0
P4	0	Prefers to speak Czech to Czechs, does not care what others think	0
P5	0	Does not find herself in those kinds of situations	0
P6	0	Speaks English more quietly on a tram (in a public place)	1
P7	2	Village resents it if Czech is not spoken there	2
P8	0	Had familial pressure in the past, but no longer bothers him	0
P9	2	Feels pressure to speak Czech in public	2
P10	0	People have commented (rarely) on use of English, but this is a non-issue for him	0
P11	1	Depends who he is with as to whether he experiences pressure	1
P12	0	Not a type of person to be influenced	0
P13	2	Feels pressure to speak Czech in public	2

Key: 0 = No, 1 = Somewhat, 2 = Yes

Table 2: Social pressure to keep the languages separate

PARTICIPANT	FEELS SOCIAL PRESSURE TO CONFORM (FIRST ANSWER)	LATER COMMENTARY	FEELS SOCIAL PRESSURE TO CONFORM (FINAL ANSWER)
P1	0	People would be confused	0
P2	0	Feels that societally, people wonder why Czech is even being learned	0
P3	0	People pressure her not to mix –stared at when she speaks with husband – but does not bother her	0
P4	1	Does not care what others think, but if she knows someone does not like it, she will try to humour them	1
P5	1	Considers it a norm, rather than a pressure, not to mix	1
P6	0	Speaks one language or the other	0
P7	2	Pressure from linguists in the community to bring his kids up to be 'perfectly bilingual' rather than mixing	2
P8	0	Communities he is in are relaxed about it	0
P9	2	Feels pressured not to mix	2
P10	0	Would feel pressured not to mix Czech into English speech in the classroom	1
P11	1	It depends where he is and who he is with	1
P12	0	Language decisions are made based on whether the intended audience understand what is being said	0
P13	2	Feels pressure not to mix in public	2

Key: 0 = No, 1 = Somewhat, 2 = Yes

Table 3: Participant opinions on borrowing

PARTICIPANT	POSITIVE, NEGATIVE, NEUTRAL	COMMENTARY
P1	2	Does mix, especially with friends
P2	2	Does mix, with friends, and in self-talk
P3	2	Have fun, does not seem like a yes or no question
P4	2	If the other person is bilingual, she will switch if it is easier for herself
P5	2	Does mix, it is great
P6	0	Does not usually mix, has aesthetic feel for both and does not like combination
P7	1	Does not mind in social situations, but is irritating in professional situations, especially if impeding understanding
P8	1	Will mix out of necessity from not being adequately fluent in the language
P9	0	Would prefer people just use English or Czech, thinks of it as a reflection of competency, especially of their own competency
P10	1	Inevitable, not a big deal
P11	1	Fun to switch with friends, but quite adamant on speaking one or the other – links the need to borrow to ability
P12	1	Normal, organic development of any language
P13	1	Grew up mixing– would prefer to be able to not mix to aid children in learning

Key: 0 = Negative, 1 = Neutral, 2 = Positive

Table 4: Mixing locations

PARTICIPANT	LOCATION - Mixing	LOCATION - Czech	LOCATION - English
P1	With friends	Supermarket, shopping centre, driving	Work
P2	With friends, sometimes at home	Post office, in the city	Home
P3	Home	Home, with friends	Work, home
P4	Work (names of applications)	Work, home	Writer's group, with English-speaking friends
P5	Home, work	With friends (sectored)	With friends (sectored)
P6	Only with people fluent in both	With husband, out and about	Work
P7	With friends, sometimes colleagues	Home	Home sometimes, work
P8	Wherever required	Out and about, shops	Home
P9	-	Czech school, shops	Home
P10	Home, with friends, children, and wife	With friends	Work, with friends
P11	With friends	Swimming practice, work, with friends	With friends, travel
P12	With other bilinguals, social situations, work	Home, work, social	Work, social
P13	Home	In public in the Czech Republic	In public in Australia

Table 5: Cognitive pressures

PARTICIPANT	RELAXEDNESS IN LANGUAGE(S)	BORROWING DUE TO FORGETTING/NOT KNOWING A WORD	BORROWING DUE TO EASE OF EXPRESSION
P1	Only English or only Czech	Yes	Possible
P2	-	Yes	Yes
P3	No difference	Yes	Probable
P4	No difference	Yes	Yes
P5	No difference	Yes	Possible
P6	Only English or only Czech	Yes	No – aware that it would be easier, but chooses not to
P7	No difference	Yes	Possible
P8	A mix, or English only (due to ability)	No	Yes – due to ability
P9	Only Czech or only English	Yes	Yes – in the sense of, ease of having the interlocutor understand
P10	-	Yes	Yes
P11	-	Yes	Yes
P12	No difference	Yes	Yes
P13	A mix or English only (due to background)	Yes	Yes

Table 6: Gap filling

PARTICIPANT	BORROWING DUE TO USEFULNESS/APPROPRIATENESS	BORROWING DUE TO BETTER EXPRESSION OF MEANING
P1	Yes	Possible
P2	Yes	Yes
P3	Yes	Yes
P4	Yes	Yes
P5	Yes	Yes
P6	No	No
P7	Yes	Yes
P8	Yes – in the sense of, usefulness in aiding the interlocutor to understand	No – not at the ability to do this
P9	No	No – not at the ability to do this
P10	Yes	Yes
P11	Yes	Yes – for others' understanding
P12	Yes	Yes
P13	Probably	Yes

9. Bringing it together: Conclusions

9.1 Overall picture

When speakers of different languages come into contact for extended time periods, the languages can impact one another in many ways. The outcomes focussed on in this thesis are grammatical borrowing and replication, attrition, and shift. Several of these outcomes occur in the language situations of South Australian Czechs and L1 English L2 Czech speakers in the Czech Republic. In this thesis, two complementary studies on precisely these speaker groups were created. Each of these studies had two components that informed the analysis. In the observation sessions, relevant data was collected for an analysis of whether grammatical borrowing and replication had occurred, and in the interviews, sociolinguistic data was collected to better understand how language use interacts with other factors for the individuals studied.

Each research paper in this dissertation has contributed to answering the questions posed at the outset of this study. These questions address whether, why and how grammatical borrowing and replication occur between English and Czech. They also consider which instances of resource borrowing are conscious, what other contact-and non-contact related processes are present in bilingual speech in these languages, and how the typology of the language influences what is borrowed.

The first research paper (§5), "Czech, mate: Grammatical replication and shift in South Australian Czech" (Castle forthcoming [a]) – which is currently under review for the *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* – is the first piece of research on language contact processes in the Czech diaspora in Australia. It identifies that the co-option of grammatical resources occurs in South Australian Czech. The paper considers how grammatical resources are utilised across the two languages by community members and determines how the phenomenon of contact-induced transfer presents itself for them. It also analyses other contact-related processes that have influenced community members' speech, including attrition and divergent attainment.

The second research paper (§6), "Language loyalty and language purity in a language contact situation: South Australian Czech" (Castle 2021c) – which has been published in the *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* – is the first case study that considers how the sociolinguistic situation of South Australian Czechs affects language- contact induced transfer processes in this community. It is also one of very few research pieces regarding the sociolinguistic situation of Australian Czechs in general (see Clyne 2003; Vaculík 2009; Brouček et al. 2019 for brief commentary). This second research paper investigates why the grammatical replication, attrition and divergent attainment found in the first article (Castle forthcoming [a]) occurred. It considers several causes of grammatical borrowing posited by linguists, including cognitive pressure (Maher 1985; Campbell 1993; Sanchez 2005a; Matras 2010; Alonso de la Fuente 2017), sociocultural pressures (Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Lipski 2006; Sakel 2007; Dobrushina 2017; Gardner-Chloros & Secová 2018), and gap filling (Hale 1971; Heath 1978; Hill & Hill 1981; Campbell 1993; Alonso de la Fuente 2017), and ultimately views each of these causes as coming under the umbrella of van Coetsem's (2000) need in this particular contact situation. The paper provides insights into how community members shape and are shaped by language use.

The third paper (§7), "Expats in Prague: Borrowings in L1 English speakers" (Castle forthcoming [b]) – which is currently under review for *Estudios de Lingüística Inglesa Aplicada* – is unique in its focus on grammatical borrowing wherein the L1 English speaker is positioned as the migrant whose first language is affected by their experiences in the host country. This paper finds evidence of grammatical borrowing occurring from Czech into English, whilst also recognising the effect of English as a global language and thus the influence of L1 Czech L2 English speakers. This is compared with the parallel language situation discussed in Castle (forthcoming [a]). In this comparison, it is noted that grammatical borrowing, or form and function transfers, occur only from L2 Czech into L1 English, whereas grammatical replication, or function-only transfers, occur in both situations. It is concluded that this is possibly due to the typological difference between the languages,

with Czech having a rich inflectional morphological system from which to borrow.

The fourth research paper (§8), "Expats in Prague: Motivators in language use and language borrowing" (Castle in press) – which has been accepted for publication in *Linguistica Pragensia* – explores the sociolinguistics of the language contact situation for L1 English migrant speakers in the Czech Republic. In the same way that the second paper considers the causes of grammatical replication in South Australian Czech (Castle 2021c), this paper considers causes of grammatical borrowing and replication by L1 English L2 Czech speakers in the Czech Republic. However, unlike in the second research paper wherein frameworks from the literature are utilised to build an understanding of these causes, in this paper an in-depth content analysis of sociolinguistic pressures is used to construct a new model (see §8, 9.3). This model links conscious/subconscious borrowing to both situational context and borrowing type.

9.2 Responses to the research questions

This section provides a summary of the findings in relation to the research questions raised in Chapter 1. The summary is provided in Table 8 below.

Table 8: A summary of findings in relation to the research questions

RESEARCH QUESTIONS	FINDINGS
(1) Does grammatical borrowing and replication occur between these languages?	In terms of innovations occurring in the participants studied in the two communities, yes, it does. Grammatical replication occurs in South Australian Czech, and both grammatical borrowing and replication occur in L1 English L2 Czech speakers residing in the Czech Republic.

(2) What are the drivers of borrowing in language contact situations?	The drivers of borrowing in the contact situations studied include:
	• need (van Coetsem 2000), comprising:
	   ○ social pressure: community pressures and norms, family influence, wider community pressures
	   ○ cognitive pressure: structural similarity, simplification, word recall, ease of expression
	• self-pressure
	• gap filling and creativity: usefulness/appropriateness, better expression of meaning

(3) How are grammatical resources utilised across the languages by bilinguals, and how does this phenomenon present itself?	Grammatical resources are transferred across the languages in several ways. L1 English L2 Czech speakers engage in MAT, or borrowing, which is the transfer of form and function, from Czech into English. Both groups studied engage in PAT, or replication, transferring the function only and creating syntactic innovations. Both groups also engaged in codeswitching, but it was primarily the Czech South Australians that did this.
(4) Which of these instances of grammatical resource borrowing are conscious? Which instances are subconscious, or become evident after the fact?	According to the model created in Castle (in press) (§8), instances of conscious grammatical borrowing occur with conversation partners with which the speaker is comfortable, for reasons of fun, language place, usefulness, or the existence of a grammatical gap. This is mitigated by prescriptivism, self-pressure, and societal pressures. Instances of subconscious resource borrowing occur with conversation partners with whom the speaker is less familiar, for reasons of need (cognitive pressure, social pressure), and is mitigated by *language maintenance effort* (Herdina & Jessner 2002).
(5) What other contact and non-contact related processes are present in the speech of bilinguals in these languages? What are the roles of attrition, divergent attainment (Kupisch & Rothman 2016; Polinsky 2018), and accommodation?	As mentioned above, codeswitching also occurs in the speech of both groups. In terms of attrition, if defined in the intragenerational sense, this occurs in both groups, though it is primarily present in the L1 English L2 Czech speaking group. The South Australian Czechs, however, are experiencing language shift, and thus *divergent attainment* (Kupisch & Rothman 2016; Polinsky 2018) plays a key role in the phenomena found. Accommodation to L2 English speakers is a factor in the language use of the L1 English L2 Czech speakers, and particularly for those who have a lower level of Czech.
(6) What borrowing related processes occur as an L1 speaker of an analytic language (English) with an L2 in a synthetic language (Czech), and vice versa? How does the typology of the language influence what is borrowed?	As mentioned above, the Czech South Australian group only engaged in grammatical replication, whereas the L1 English L2 Czech speaking group engaged in both grammatical borrowing and replication. It is posited that this is at least partially due to the different language typologies. Czech is a synthetic language, with a rich grammatical system from which to borrow. English, on the other hand, is an analytic language with which it may be more difficult to produce MAT (form and function) borrowings.

9.3 Significance and conclusions

This thesis contributes to the fields of contact linguistics and sociolinguistics. It provides yet another supporting example for the existence of grammatical borrowing and replication. The focus on South Australian Czech also fills a gap in the literature in considering language use by the Czech diaspora in an Australian context. The analysis of L1 English speakers in the Czech Republic provides a new perspective in an area of literature where there is scarce information from this particular viewpoint. There exists much literature on grammatical borrowing situations, but very few (Porte 1999a; 1999b; 2003) position the L1 English speaker as the immigrant doing the language learning. This dissertation also compares two parallel language contact situations.

A key contribution to the literature is the creation of a new model that indicates the types of borrowing which are likely to occur in different situations. The model builds upon and links the concepts of: MAT and PAT (Matras & Sakel 2007); register, language mode and context (Grosjean 1998; Li Wei 2013; de Bot & Bülow 2020); and the conscious choice[38] (Porte 1999; 2003; Golovko 2003; Matras 2009; Thomason 2014) of whether to engage in borrowing. Matras & Sakel (2007) suggest that the use of MAT is more overt and recognisable to interlocutors, whereas PAT is less so. This suggests that use of MAT may be more conscious than use of PAT. Further, the interaction context is important. Grosjean's (1998) model shows that bilinguals are more likely to mix between their languages when they are with other bilinguals with whom they feel comfortable doing so. When speakers mix their languages, borrowing can sometimes be a conscious choice. Matras (2009), Porte (1999; 2003) and Golovko (2003) posit that language can be used in a conscious way, and indeed,

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[38] It is important to remember that consciousness in terms of borrowing choices does not refer to the cognitive idea of being conscious/unconscious here. It is rather a continuum describing the level of attention and awareness that interlocutors give to their speech phrase. This continuum is described inCastle (in press), which ranges from: conscious events that people are aware of and purposefully engage in in real time, to events which people are aware of upon reflection, to events that people are entirely unaware of.

that interlocutors can engage in language play.

These frameworks and models provide a background through which the data from the third and fourth papers are able to be examined. However, each separate model was not able to display the variables existing in the broader picture of the phenomena occurring in the participant speech, including those of language ideology[39], Language Maintenance Effort (Herdina & Jessner 2002), language play, familiarity/comfort, and possible reasons and pressures to borrow.

A qualitative sociolinguistic analysis of the interviews, along with an examination of borrowings occurring in the observation sessions, revealed that there are several variables involved when considering the types of borrowing occurring in different situations. Participants did not engage in any MAT during the observation sessions (with acquaintances, for the most part), but in the interviews some discussed MAT borrowing they engage in with other bilinguals with whom they are most comfortable. Some participants held prescriptivist ideologies in that they thought it was better not to mix between languages, and all participants were less able to identify instances of syntactic borrowing (PAT) in their speech than of MAT. Some participants described engaging in language play, which either involved lexical borrowing or MAT, only with those that they were comfortable, and that they were evidently conscious of engaging in. Other participants described engaging in language maintenance activities, in both the interviews for the fourth paper and in the Czech South Australian community in the interviews for the second paper. Identified reasons to borrow included need (encompassing cognitive pressure and social pressure), language play and usefulness, and the existence of a grammatical gap. Pressures not to borrow included prescriptivism, societal pressure, and self-pressure.

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[39] This refers to whether the speaker holds the prescriptivist belief that mixing languages is not ok.

The researcher combined the models and frameworks in the literature with insights gained from the data to create a new model. The linking of the separate concepts from the literature can be seen in Figure 10 below.
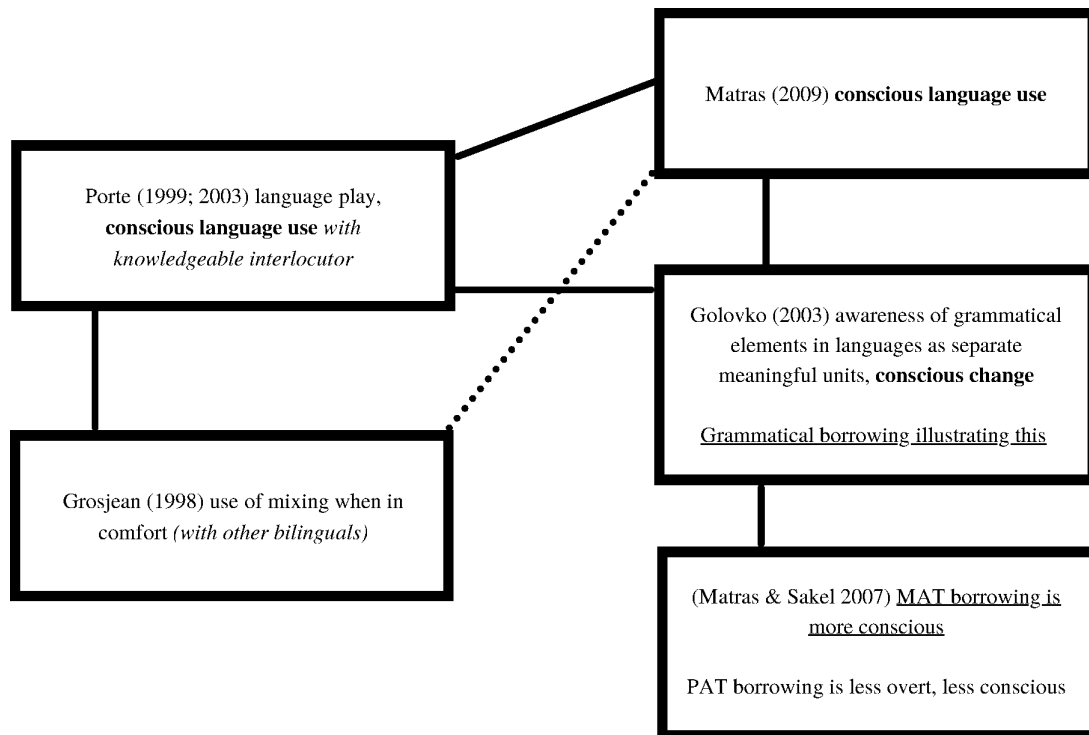
Figure 10: Conscious language use, language play, comfort, and MAT borrowing

The concept **conscious language use** is in bold, the concept of *who one engages in language mixing with* is in italics, and the type of borrowing engaged in is underlined. The concepts that are clearly linked are attached together with a straight line, and the concepts linked by the researcher are linked with the dotted line.

This model allows for a broader understanding of the sociolinguistic contexts that lead to different types of grammatical borrowing (MAT or PAT). It considers speaker agency, consciousness of language use, types of borrowing, grammatical resources for expression, accommodation, and social context. It is important to remember here that the model presented in Castle (in press) does not suggest that only conscious borrowing occurs with

family and friends, but rather that, in situations with family and friends, one is more likely to feel comfortable to choose to engage in conscious/deliberate borrowing.

9.4 Limitations and problems encountered

In these studies, I conducted research in two main research sites, those being the Czechoslovak Club in South Australia and the National Technical Library in Prague[40]. The number of respondents were limited, but I collected what was possible given temporal and financial constraints. The main challenge and limitation in the creation of this dissertation has thus been the small size of the dataset that I have worked with. I created my own small corpora each time, as there was not already data collected and available for the groups I wished to examine. Reasons for the small size of each corpora include:

(1) In South Australia:

    a) The community that attends the Club is small, and though flyers were placed on tables and handed out, not many contacts were made.

    b) Contact through snowball sampling and through the Club manager, with whom the researcher was already familiar, was made. However, it was difficult for the manager to find and identify speakers who she deemed good enough speakers of Czech for the study.

    c) The prevalence of the COVID-19 virus and the fact that many Club members are older speakers prevented the researcher from returning to collect more data at a later date.

(2) In the Czech Republic:

    a) There were not enough funds available for the researcher to remain in the

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[40] There were a few other sites in the Czech Republic, those being the home of two of the participants in Prague, and the Palacký University in Olomouc.

Czech Republic on study leave for a lengthy period of time and continue

snowball sampling and finding/engaging with more participants. The

researcher is extremely grateful to have been able to go and conduct the study

at all, which would not have been possible without the funding of the AFUW-

SA Trust Fund. In any case, the researcher was fortunate to have returned to

South Australia in early January 2020 before the COVID-19 virus had spread

globally and Australia closed its international borders.

(3) The size of the corpora affected my analysis in the following ways:

    a) I was not able to identify community-wide propagation and changes occurring.
This was also due to the rapid shift situation in the South Australian Czech
community, and the absence of a "community" of L1 English L2 Czech
speakers in Prague (see §2.3, Castle forthcoming [b]). Instead, I focussed on
individual respondent's innovations.

    b) I was not able to conduct a comprehensive analysis into each phenomena
found, as there were not enough attestations of that phenomena for
generalisation.

However, this key limitation in the analysis was not an insurmountable issue and can be

understood in terms of both the size and nature of the communities studied and the

methodology of the research. Much of our understanding of contact situations from outside of

globally large language groups come from small-scale studies in smaller language

communities, for which there is a strong linguistic tradition (Galindo 1996; Stoessel 2002;

Porte 2003; Hlavac 2010; Rebelos 2012; Mayr et al. 2012; Mejía 2016). This is particularly

true for previous studies on the Czech diaspora (Henzl 1982; Vašek 1996; Dutková 1998;

Zajícová 2009; 2012). Each of the studies were primarily qualitative, supported by further

analyses that used adaptations of different models.

Qualitative research generally analyses a much smaller number of participants, and small sample sizes can be adequate for exploratory in-depth studies such as those conducted in this thesis (Loewen & Plonsky 2015: 77, 173). The other frameworks utilised were adjusted for the fact that the research question involved the question of whether contact-induced *innovations* (vs. propagations) were present. These innovations occur in individual speakers, and thus, generalisations are not possible or required here. Generalisation and representativeness are not necessarily the goals in qualitative research (Miyahara 2020). Non-generalisable studies are not limited "in contributing to the construction or accumulation of knowledge" (Miyahara 2020).

9.5 Future directions

This dissertation has brought gaps in the literature to light in terms of contact-related phenomena, particularly involving minority language communities. Future directions building on the research presented in this dissertation are discussed below.

In terms of building immediately on the studies conducted in this thesis, a future project may look for established, propagated changes in the communities. To do this, I would conduct further observation sessions and interviews in order to have a greater sample size. This would assist in examining whether the proposed changes have taken place in the community as a whole. I could also undertake longitudinal studies on the communities to make a temporal comparison of changes that have occurred in the same community and location. I have attempted to make a temporal comparison between the sociolinguistic situations of Czech diaspora communities in Castle (2021c). However, I have been

unable to make a grammatical comparison, as the literature offers only comparison data on the situation in the US. Most of this literature comes from Texan Czech, wherein the starting

point of a 19th century majority Moravian population is vastly different to that of the situation with South Australian Czech.

Obtaining a larger dataset would also allow me to conduct a more comprehensive analysis on each speech phenomenon found. As it appears that the literature is moving towards variationist sociolinguistic studies (see §2.2.1), I could then work within this framework to consider the variable context and probabilistic constraints for each proposed phenomenon. However, it may be difficult to obtain a large enough dataset to obtain statistical significance in the small communities studied. It may also not be possible to showcase established community-wide propagations in a situation of shift as rapid as in South Australian Czech.

It also became apparent in Castle (2021c) that whilst most participants felt a connection to the Czech language and several hoped/wished that they and/or their children could speak it to a higher degree of fluency, there were various outcomes that were not in alignment with these goals. Participants were choosing not to speak Czech with certain people from fear of judgement of their level of proficiency, and others felt such pride and connection to the language that they strongly encouraged others in their presence to use the language in the Club if English was heard. A cycle begins wherein those unable to converse in the language are less likely to converse in it, or to attend the Club, thus resulting in less language maintenance activity and lower proficiency. More research needs to be conducted into how to better support communities undergoing language shift and the social issues arising from this.

The model presented here in Castle (in press) could be further progressed and tested to explore its validity and possibilities for use. I could apply it to other bilingual community situations to inform methodologies e.g., for observation sessions. I could further test it by undertaking extensive observation sessions or ethnographic studies to capture speakers when engaging with those closest to them i.e., when they are feeling most comfortable, and

comparing this with borrowing of form and/or function. Engaging in sessions between strangers or acquaintances would then assist in further examining whether, as the model predicts, less overtly visible syntactic change occurs more often here. The model could also be more broadly applied to the study of bilinguals and borrowing in general to aid in the understanding of how bilinguals borrow from between their grammatical resources.

Language shift is on-going in communities around the globe; recording and gaining insights into an individual's language processes can enhance our understanding of sociolinguistics and language contact.

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[41] Referred to as Castle 2021c in Paper 3 (Castle forthcoming [b]).
[42] Referred to as Castle 2021d in Paper 4 (Castle in press).
[43] Referred to as Castle forthcoming in Paper 1 (Castle forthcoming [a]), and Castle 2021b in Paper 3 (Castle forthcoming [b]) and Paper 4 (Castle in press).
[44] Referred to as Castle 2021 in Paper 2 (Castle 2021c), Castle 2021a in Paper 3 (Castle forthcoming [b])and Castle 2021c in Paper 4 (Castle in press).
[45] Previously titled "Language contact and grammatical borrowing: A study of Czech in South Australia" in Paper 2 (Castle 2021c) and "Language contact, grammatical borrowing, and attrition: A study of Czech in South Australia" in Paper 3 (Castle forthcoming [b]) and Paper 4 (Castle in press).
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