Turkish deixis and its contact-induced change

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The following study illustrates some changes which Turkish undergoes when it comes into contact with Western European languages such as German in immigrant constellations. In general, there seem to be linguistic domains which are particularly 'vulnerable' to linguistic change, as e.g. those of connectivity (s. Matras 1995, Rehbein, Hohenstein & Pietsch 2007, Rehbein, Herkenrath & Karakoç 2009).

A basic hypothesis of the study departs from the observation that language change under contact-induction is to be explained mainly as a change in linguistic function, not so much in linguistic form (s. Rehbein & Karakoç 2004). The sociolinguistic explanation of this observation is that in an immigrant constellation there is no balance between minority and majority languages. At the same time, having access to multiple linguistic repertoires means that multilingual speakers often activate several linguistic repertoires at the moment of planning and speaking (s. Lüdi & Py 2009, Matras 2009, Grosjean 2010). In the following, I use some excerpts of transcripts to show that a functional change appears in a specific domain of the Turkish deixis. In particular, the hypothesis is that German plays the role of a *catalyst* of language change, and that, therefore, the development cannot be described as *copying* (Johanson 1999) or *replication* (which involves grammaticalization; Heine & Kuteva 2005) alone.

1. Numbers

The question if the diagnosis of a new linguistic variety of Turkish emerging under language contact is justified has been raised in several articles based on the large corpora of our projects of ENDFAS and SKOBI but, so far, could not be answered to our satisfaction (s. Rehbein 2001, Herkenrath, Karakoç & Rehbein 2003, Rehbein & Karakoç 2004; s. now Doğruöz & Backus 2010 for Turkish in the Netherlands). In the approach at hand, I will investigate some systematic changes of the Turkish deictic field under language contact of German (the standard Turkish deictic field has been studied by Sağın-Şimşek, Rehbein, & Babur 2008, 2009; s. fig. 1 below).

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Fig. 1. Deictic field of Turkish (from Sağın-Şimşek, Rehbein & Babur 2009)
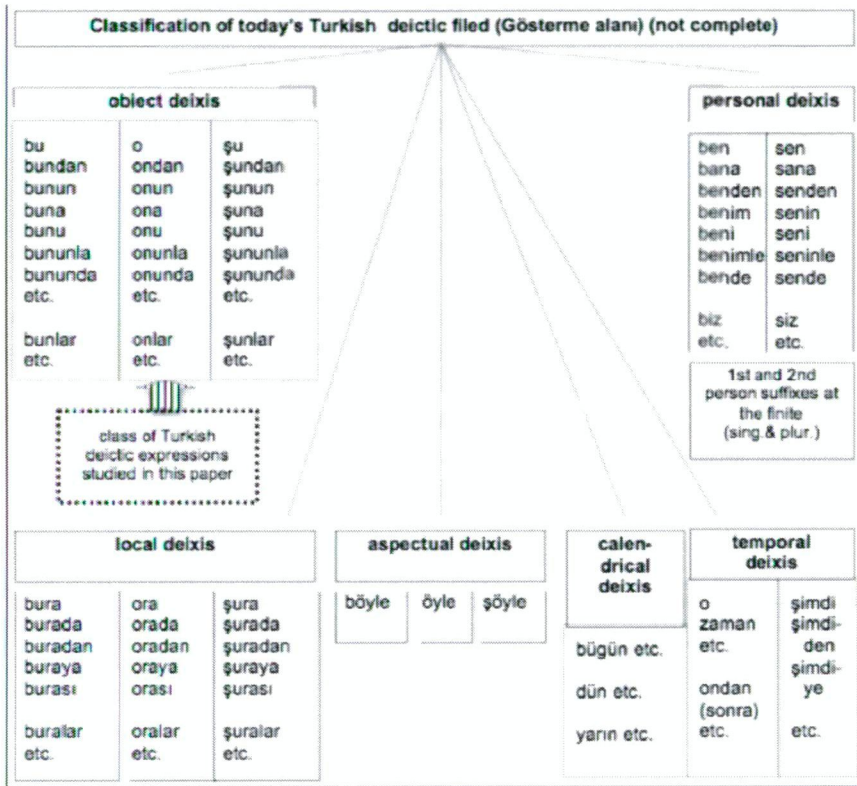
Changes of Standard Turkish towards a Contact variety of Turkish (i.e. Contact-Turkish) can be observed in three domains of the deictic field

(1) *"Shrinking" of the threefold Turkish system*: In our data, şu and its derivatives are seldom used in Turkish in contact with German, if at all within non-creative speech formulae. The Turkish system shows – under the influence of the Indo-European language German – the tendency to shrink into a twofold system (in Azeri, e.g., there is only a two-fold system as in Old Turkic; s. Erdal 2004).

(2) *Genesis of a determiner*: The deixis o is used in Contact Turkish in a way which points towards the use of a definite article. One can observe a field transposition of the deictic expressions into the operation field.

(3) *Phoric employments of deictics*: o becomes non-deictic in that it serves as a phoric expression referring to subject and object elements. One could say that

the *pro-drop*-constitution of Turkish typologically develops into a *non-pro-drop*-constitution.

In the following, I can only throw a glimpse on the changes of the *o*-deixis. Changes can be observed in the domain of determiners also, which will be dealt with in a further study. The employment of non-Indo-European deixeis – comparable to Turkish *o*-deixis – for non-deictic purposes under Indo-European influence seems to be not infrequent (s. Matras & Bolkestein 2006). In our data (corpora of ENDFAS and SKOBI), this influence is expressed by the following numbers:

Tab. 1. Contact-induced changes of o-deixeis in the corpora SKOBI and ENDFAS

	bilinguals	monolinguals	total
numbers of o-deixeis	2614	482	3019
selected for a closer check of change	137		
in a phase of change to phoric procedure	65		
percentage of change (in bilingual corpus; measured in utterances)	2,5 %		
number of bilingual children involved in change	16		36
percentage of bilingual children in transcribed corpus who show instances of change of o-deixis	44 %		

Although only 2,5 % of all *o*-deixeis in the bilingual corpus are affected, the picture changes when we see that nearly half of the children are concerned. At least, this proves that the phenomenon is not an individual one.

2. Deictic procedure

'Deixis' as well as 'phorics' are to be classified as discourse-phenomena and, correspondingly, show different connectivity functions (s. Ehlich 1982, Rehbein, Hohenstein & Pietsch 2007; the distinction was introduced by Ehlich 1979 for Testmental Hebrew to distinguish *zä* vs. *hu* formally and functionally). As a background for the analysis of *o*-deixeis in the following transcripts, the deictic procedure is to be summarized.

A 'deictic procedure' is the minimal inter-actional unit which bears the following essential characteristics (s. esp. Redder 2000):

(i) *S (: speaker, author) newly focuses or re-focuses an object (specified as person, non-human object, time, location, aspect, and calendar) and/or points that object out to H (: hearer, reader) by the deictic expression,*

(ii) *so that H changes his/her focus of attention towards the object pointed to;*

(iii) *the (common) procedure starts from the origo, i.e. the hic-et-nunc point and centre of the speech situation,*

(iv)   *and connects the speech situation with a space in which S linguistically points
          out the (deictic) object to H; according to the speech situation, the space may be*

   (a)   *a perceptual space*

   (b)   *a discourse space*

   (c)   *a text space*

   (d)   *an imagination space ((b) – (d) are mental-cognitive spaces).*

The essential of a deixis is a *focus-change or a re-focusing* of speaker and listener to
an object pointed to by means of the deictic expression. The object (in (i)) is treated as an
object with extralinguistic spatial qualities and not with linguistic qualities.

3.   Illustration of changes

Let us check how these conditions are realized in the transcripts.

(1)   *O*-deixis in reiterated subject position: In score area [14] of the story-telling
         excerpt below, the *o*-deixis of the bilingual child Emre appears in subject posi-
         tion (*O zaman o Wolf'u gene ö'/ öldürdü* (Then she killed the Wolf once again))
         as in the preceding utterance (in [13]) and "points" to Snow White again. Be-
         cause the focus of the hearer is already oriented to *o* (= she, i.e. Snow White) in
         [13], there is no break between [13] and [14], i.e. there is no change between
         the two *o* concerning the 'discourse space'; the discourse knowledge is quasi-
         automatically continued from *o* [13] to *o* [14]. Hence, the focusing-function of
         the second usage of *o* (in [14]) is cancelled through the functional features of a
         phoric procedure.

[11]

Emr [v]	gidelim!"	• • O zaman aufstehen yaptı,		Schneewittchen dedi.
Emr [eg]	go!"	Then she made get up		Snow White said.

[12]

Emr [v]			O zaman gitti.	O zaman Wolf geldi.	O
Emr [eg]			Then she went away.	And then the wolf came.	And •
Fer [v]	• Hmhm˙	Sonra?			
Fer [eg]	Yes	And then?			

[13]

Emr [v]	zaman•	o zaman hemen çabuk o • o geldi.		O
Emr [eg]	then	and then very quickly she she came.		And
Fer [v]			• Hmhm˙	

[14]

Emr [v]	zaman o Wolf'u gene ö'/ öldürdü.			
Emr [eg]	then she ki/ killed the wolf once again.			
Fer [v]		Hmhm˙	Kötü •	Wolf'u
Fer [eg]		Yes	The bad •	wolf

(E12) 325_EFE01tk_Emr_b_0758_4_SKO_010301

(2) *O*-deixis in possessive constructions: In score areas [4] and [5] of the question-answering excerpt below, the genitive *o*-deixeis of the bilingual child Binnaz seem to be redundant because tk. *adı* (her name) bears the personal suffix *-ı* already. The German contact of >ihr< (= *her*), or rather, the German speech formula >ihr Name< (*her name*) seems to be actualised in the child's mental background. If one understands both *onun* (her/his) as deixeis, then one has the impression that another person is refocused respectively. Hence, both *onun-* "deixeis" are used in the discourse-space but show all features of a phoric possessive procedure.

[3]

Bin [v]		((1s)) Ihmm a/ o za	• man • • das war's.		
Bin [eg]		Ehm Th/ and the • n	one • • that's it.		
Fer [v]	güzel.			Peki kaç tane	
Fer [eg]	beautiful.			And how many teachers	

[4]

Bin [v]		((1,8s)) Üç. • Ehm • • •	bi tane, onun adı
Bin [eg]		Three. Ehm • • •	one item, her name is.
Fer [v]	öğretmeniniz var?		
Fer [eg]	do you have?		

[5]

Bin [v]	Christa.	((nefes alır)) Çocuk var. O /	em onun adı • • Halina,
Bin [eg]	Christa.	((breathes in)) She has a child. Her/er / ehm her name is	Halina
Fer [v]		Hím˙	

4. The change of the o-deixis

To understand what happens with the Turkish *o*-deixis requires an explicit and more ge-
neral characterization of the procedure towards which the deixis develops under contact
induction. This is the 'phoric procedure' (with its 'ana'- and 'kata'-orientation) which is
attributed to what Functional Pragmatics (FP) calls the 'operational field'. A phoric
procedure is not sufficiently defined by the category of ‚pronoun' widely used in the litera-
ture on ‚PRO'-languages because it is a structural class of (discourse)-connectors of its own
which deep-structurally underlies the employment of "pronouns" and therefore cannot
adequately be described at a sentence-internal level alone. Rather, a phoric procedure is
modelled as follows:

(i)   *S has mentioned / will mention a propositional element (noun phrase, name,
         other lexical/symbol field element etc.) within a discourse/text;*

(ii)   *he propositional element (of (i)) has a grammatical structure and establishes a
         discrete discourse knowledge;*

(iii)   *[phoric procedure:] in another utterance(s) in discourse / text, a language-spe-
         cific expression establishes a linguistically-based relationship to the proposi-
         tional element (i);*

(iv)   *the employment of an expression (iii) by the speaker allows the hearer*

         (a)   *o identify the propositional element (i);*

         (b)   *to process (forwards or backwards) a quasi-automatic continuation of
                 the linguistically discrete discourse knowledge established by (i), with
                 the effect that*

         (c)   *there is no break of the discourse memory between (i) and (ii) [s. Chafe
                 1972, 1994: memorizing a verbalised propositional knowledge in a new
                 context].*

(v)   *[identification, processing and automatic memorizing of discourse knowledge
         through language-typological means:]*

         (a)   *some Indo-European languages require explicit grammatical forms of
                 separate words as:*

                 – definite and indefinite articles

                 – possessive "pronouns" in various cases

                 – "pronouns"

                 *– other operative structures as indeterminate pronouns (GM man, FR
                 on, EG one))*

(b)   *in most of the languages of the world, including Turkic languages, speakers and hearers operate by means of inferences which are part of the so-called gram-matical discourse knowledge.*

The linguistic field of the expressions of (v,a) is categorized in FP into to the operative field. Generally speaking, an operative procedure of the operation field such as the phoric procedures *he, she, it* and their cases or subordinate conjunctions (Redder, 1990), or word order (Rehbein 1995a) bring about the processing of linguistic knowledge (among others, understanding) on the part of the hearer. Ehlich defines: »The operation field differs from other linguistic fields in that it deals with the processing of the verbal event as such with special regard of the propositional dimension of the speech action. Minimal requirements of interaction as mere cooperation by interjections and the like are not taken into consideration within the frame of the operation field.« (Ehlich 1991, 139–140)

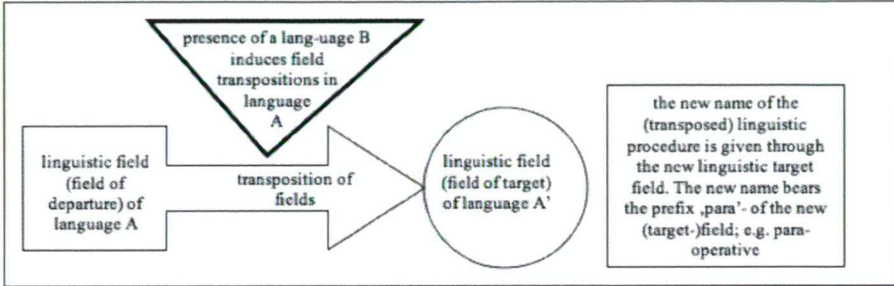The propositional dimension may be inferred from two facts:

–   the structure of many utterances, i.e. their segmentation, in many languages with a certain head-modifier-structure and other structural morphosyntactic and semantic characteristics is linked with the verbalisation of the propositional content;

–   together with a segmentation, the dimension of linguistic knowledge, based on linguistic procedures, forms a linguistically determined *space of knowledge* especially in the hearer's domain of knowledge. For example, complementizers such as *while, though* etc. which contain an operative procedure, contribute to the extension of the propositional knowledge (of the respective utterance) to a space of knowledge common to speaker and hearer. Another example of operative procedures are *wh*-elements which combine with case-morphology etc. (s. Herkenrath 2011, Herkenrath, Karakoç & Rehbein 2003).

The use of the category 'referent', 'pronoun', 'overt pronominal subject' (Haznedar 2010) or also 'demonstrative pronoun' (TK gösterme adılı, s. Demircan 2007) for both a deictic AND a phoric procedure cannot grasp the process of change which the *o*-deixis of the PRO-DROP-language Turkish undergoes under contact with the PRO-language German, as is apparent from the data.

5. Transposition of the linguistic field: Function change as essential effect of contact induction

According to our data, the *o*-deixis of 45% of the 36 bilingual Turkish-German children is changed by a phoric procedure, to be more precise, functionally changed from the deictic to the linguistic field (s. fig. 2 below). Especially, it happened at discourse positions outlined in the analysis of the transcripts. The fact of a field transposition of a linguistic element is indicated by the prefix 'para'- preposed to the name of the new linguistic field the linguistic element belongs to. An example: Subordinative conjunctions contain a historical development from the deictic field to the operation field (cf. GM. *als, dass, indem* EG. *that* etc.): they are 'para-operative' procedures.

Fig. 2. Outline of the field transposition of linguistic expressions by means of conduction induction

presence of a lang-uage B induces field transpositions in language A

linguistic field (field of departure) of language A

transposition of fields

linguistic field (field of target) of language A'

the new name of the (transposed) linguistic procedure is given through the new linguistic target field. The new name bears the prefix ‚para'- of the new (target-)field; e.g. para-operative

I argue that certain existing theories on language contact should be supplemented by a *functional explication* of contact-induction. In this respect, I resort to the 'field transposition' theory of FP, according to which contact-induced language change can be understood as a form-function-oriented process from state/variety A of a language to state/variety A', which is catalyzed (or mediated) by the inducing language which, in turn, is activated in multilingual communication.

Tab. 2: Contact-induced language change mediated by a catalyst-language (s. Rehbein, Herkenrath, Karakoç 2009)

S(ource)-Language			contact induced transpositi on	T(arget)-Language		CAT(alyst)-Language German
Monolinguals' Turkish				Bilinguals' Contact Turkish		
linguistic form		linguistic function	[change in form – function]	linguistic function	linguistic form	
category of linguistic expression / structure		linguistic field/pro-cedure in monolinguals		contact-induced linguistic procedure in bilinguals	contact induced new category of expression/ structure	catalyzing categories
deictic expression o, bu, şu (+ case)	*subject / object position*	*deictic procedure of deictic field*	**field trans-position**	*para-phoric procedure*	*phoric subjects and objects (+ case)*	*phoric expressions er, sie, es (+ case)*
	prenomin. position	*deictic procedure of deictic field*	**field trans-position**	*para-operative procedure*	*determiner*	*definite article*
deictic ex. şu (+ case)	*part of threefold system*	*specific deictic procedure*	**field reduction**	*obliterative*	*[limited frequency, formulaic use]*	*twofold deictic German system*

With the distinction between forms/structures and functions of a language in mind, we can observe, then, that forms/structures of a language very often seem to remain the same from A to A', but gradually expand to adopt new functions. It is this *functional* domain of a language change which we described by means of the concept of 'linguistic procedure'.

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