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Different syntaxes for bare passives in creoles

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Passive constructions in creole languages come in different guises (cf. Haspelmath et al. 2013). In this paper we focus on passive without verbal coding or bare passive in the terminology of Kouwenberg (2023). Cabredo Hofherr (2023) notes that proto-typical properties subject demotion and object promotion are logically independent of morphological voice marking. As noted in APiCS, a surprisingly high number of creole languages show this type of construction -- of the 76 languages surveyed there, 29 languages use a bare passive (either as the sole passive construction, or alongside a construction using verbal coding), even though they do not seem to be common in the world's languages (but see Arka & Kosmas 2005).

We will argue that promotion or displacement of the object in these bare passive constructions can target different positions, either the subject position in the extended projection or a topic position in the left periphery. Winford (1988), Lacharité & Wellington (1999) and Veenstra (2003) have argued for an Object_to_Subject-analysis (O_S), whereas Syea (2024) has argued for an Object_to_Topic-analysis (O_T). We show that both analyses, supported by semantic restrictions in terms of specificity and animacy as well as syntactic restrictions such as word order and coordination, are valid for the respective languages (Patwa/Saamaka vs Morisien). The distribution between the two different types of languages (O_S vs O_T), however, is substrate-based.

Cobbinah & Lüpke (2012) observed that bare passives are the norm for West-African Mande languages, and they also occur in the neighbouring Gur languages (Sulamana 2024), both of the Niger-Congo phylum. They further point to the existence of similar constructions in a number of African languages of the Adamawa, Chadic, and Bantu subgroupings (cf. also Bostoen & Mundeke 2011). We show that West-African languages that are the relevant substrate languages for the Atlantic area display the O_S-system, exemplified by the analysis of Sulamana (2024) for Bùlì, whereas some of the Bantu languages from areas that count as the substrate for the Indian Ocean creole languages display the O_T-system (Bostoen & Mundeke (2011) on Mbuun (B87, DRC); Van der Wal 2015 on Matengo (N13, Tanzania); Hamloui (2014) on Dholuo (Nilotic, Uganda), Bemba (M42, Zambia) and Bàsàá (A43, Cameroon)). This in turn shows the importance of the local ecologies in accounting for the different patterning found in the semantic field of passivization.

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Variation and effects of register in Bislama

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Keywords: variation, register, corpus of spoken Bislama, phonological variables, morphosyntactic variables

Bislama is the English-based creole spoken widely in Vanuatu (SW Pacific). It is the national language of the country and it is spoken by nearly all of the c.300,000 Ni-Vanuatu. It is the first language of about 10% of the population (Vanuatu 2020). Our team has compiled the first age- and sex-balanced corpus of spoken Bislama as used by residents of the capital, Port Vila. The corpus consists of 41 speakers (three age groups), nearly 18 hour of speech with over 122,000 words of Bislama (transcribed and translated). Some speakers have been recorded multiple times with different addressees, speaking on different topics. This allows us to explore possible register/style eRects in Bislama. Our paper introduces the corpus to the NILCS community and examines variation across four variables.

Two of the variables are phonetic: (1) phonetic reduction of auxiliary verbs (*stap* [stap] vs [sta]); (2) final consonant reduction/cliticisation of prepositions (*blong olgeta* [blɔʔɒlgɛta] vs *long olgeta* [lɒlgɛta]). Two are morpho-syntactic: (3) plural marking on NPs (***ol*** *mat* vs ***ol*** *mat**s*** 'the mats'); (4) plural subject agreement on verbs (*ol pikinini* ***i/oli*** *stap kam* 'the children are arriving').

We find limited inter- and intra-speaker variation in morphosyntactic variables, more in phonological ones. Auxiliary reduction is strongly constrained by auxiliary type: stap (imperfective) is realised as [sta] (N=1044, 71%) more than it is as [stap]; whereas save (ability) is realised as [savɛ] (N=395, 86%) more than it is as [sae]. Prepositions before pronouns are usually cliticised (N=1077, 82%).

In previous work, we have shown that variation in NP plural marking (N=2308) is primarily constrained by topic – non-canonical, innovative forms of the plural occur most in talk about work, then in conversations and oral histories, never in traditional stories. Agreement with 3rd person plural subjects shows little variation (85% canonical agreement [oli], N=981). More detailed analysis of the plurals showed that syntactic factors were significant, indicating that this variable is, indeed, morphosyntactic. It appears that in Bislama morphosyntax lies below the level of conscious awareness and is less amenable to being recruited for social/symbolic differentiation of speakers in the speech community. Our results suggest that members of the Bislama speech community of Port Vila share the same grammar, but differentiate themselves from each other phonologically or phonetically.

Seeking internal reasons for prosodic transfer failure: the emergence of rising boundaries in Pescara Italian and Abruzzese polar questions

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Keywords: intonational contact, Pescara, Italo-romance languages, Polar questions, Prosodic transfer

Internally conditioned intonational change is rather understudied. In Pescara, Eastern Italy, the community has switched to Italian from Pescarese, Adriatic Abruzzese (upper Southern Italo-Romance family), over the last generations. A documentation carried out in 2012 with 8 L1 speakers of Pescarese and 14 (8 younger and 6 older) L1 speakers of Pescara Italian, using Discourse Completion Task (Blum-Kulka *et al.*, 1989) showed that most Pescarese contours were transferred to Italian, but polar question developed further Italian strategies, acquiring rising boundaries.

Pescarese speakers showed 2 strategies for (S)VO polar question marking: 1) an initial polar marker *Chì,...?* 'Perchance…', with a L+H* accent on it, the verb deaccented and a nuclear mid-fall H+! H*L% and 2) an initial cataphoric pronoun *li…* '…it', the object being its referent, the verb accented and a H*(+L)L% accent on the object. Both strategies exhibit low boundaries.

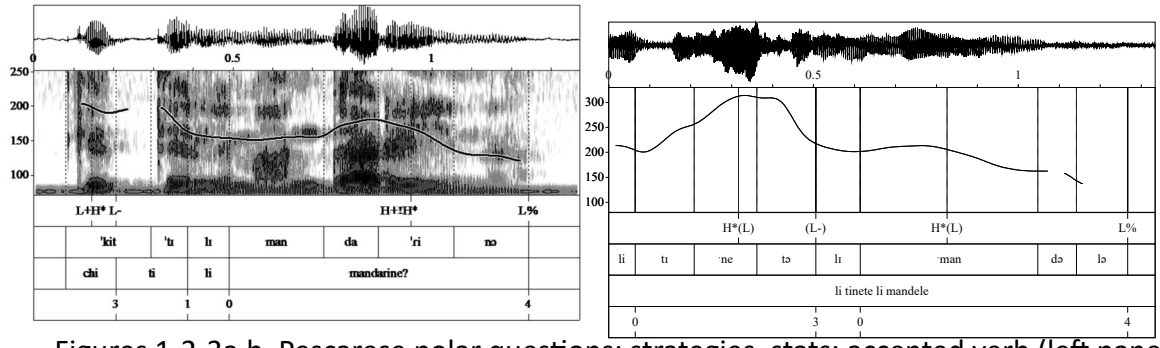
Chì, tinete/ti li **man**dele/manda**ri**ne? ('do you have almonds/tangerines', polar question, Pescarese)

L+H*L- H+!H* L% (1)

Li ti**ne**te/**ti**, li **man**dele/manda**ri**ne? ('do you have almonds/tangerines', polar question, Pescarese)

H*+(L)L- H*(+L) L% (2)

Information seeking polar questions in Pescarese		
Nuclear contour	Verb Accented; H*+(L)L-	Verb deaccented
H*(L) L%	6 ('*Li*' Word, deaccented)	0
H+!H* L%	0	11 ('*Chì*' word, L+H*L-)



Figures 1-2-3a.b. Pescarese polar questions: strategies, stats: accented verb (left panel) and deaccented verb (right panel).

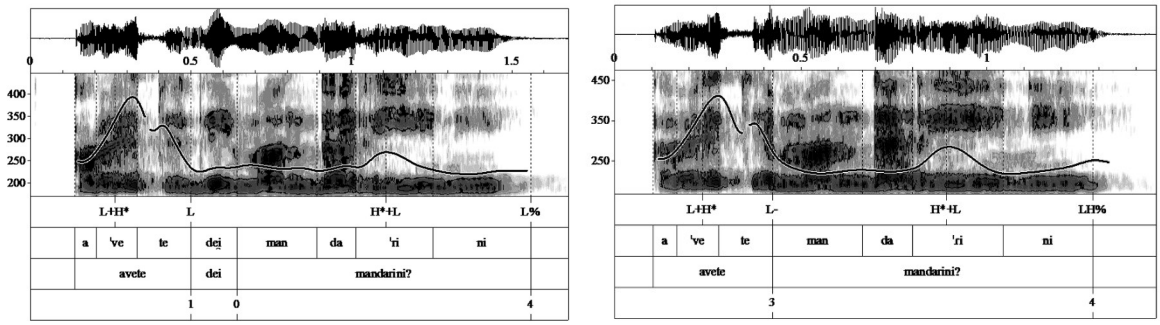
When moving to Standard Italian, however, initial words *Chì*/*Li* are forbidden in the unique segmental strategy (VO), and a rising boundary appears.

With a deaccented verb, we find H*+L LH%, which is also Rome contour (Central Italian), suggesting standardization, and H+!H*LH%, similar to Pescarese (1), but since polar marker is missing, low boundary are impossible in Italian.

With an accented verb, the contour shows high tones on both the verb and the object, suggesting transfer of (2), mostly with a rising LH% boundary. However, five utterances still exhibit a low boundary, suggesting that, unlike for deaccented verbs, a contour perfectly shaped on Abruzzese strategy (1) existed in Italian and the rising tone emerged later.

Avete	le **man**dorle/i manda**ri**ni? ('do you have almonds?', polar question, Italian)		
	H+!H*	LH%	(DEACC 1 RISE)
	H*+L	LH%	(DEACC 2 RISE)
L+H*L-	H*+L	L%	(ACC 2 LOW)
L+H*L-	H*+L	LH%	(ACC 2 RISE)

Nuclear accent	Accented verb (L+H*)		Deaccented verb	
H*+L LH%	Older 13	Younger 20	Older 7	Younger 21
H*+L L%	Older 4	Younger 1		
H+!H* LH%			Older 5	Younger 21
H+!H* L%			Older 0	Younger 0



Figures 4-5-6a.b Italian polar questions: strategies, stats: low and rising boundaries coexist for the accented verb strategy

We argue that three forces concur to change: Rome influence, need of informational compensation and the fact that H+!H* L% is also, both in Pescarese and Italian, used for contrastive focus, therefore eliminating "Chì" without modifying the intonation in Italian would lead to ambiguity.

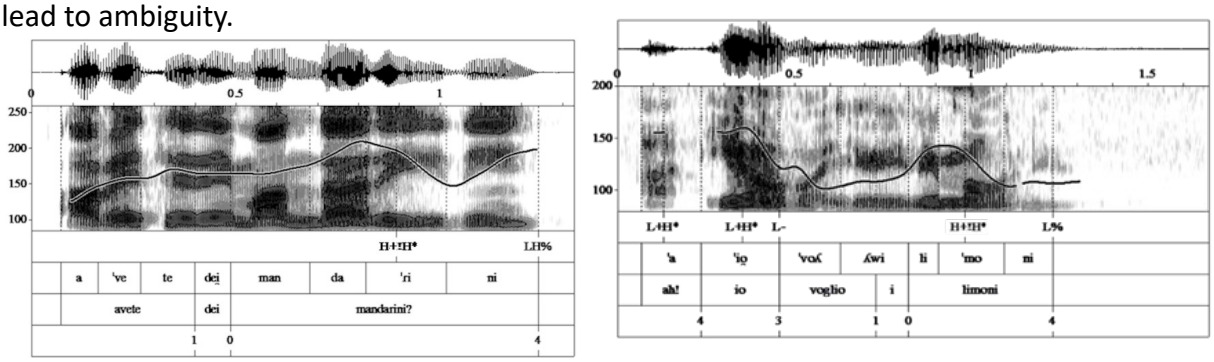


Figure 7a.b Mandatory rising boundary for deaccented verb polar questions (left panel) prevents ambiguity with contrastive focus statements (right panel)

This unfolds a debate on avoiding ambiguity being a functional trigger of language change (Grice 1975, Wasow, 2015). Noteworthy, the latter observation on polar questions would be impossible without documenting another sentence type. This advises that documentations of intonational phonology always try to include as many sentence types as possible.

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German relative clauses in contact with Romance: a way towards non- pronominal strategies

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This paper focuses on contact-induced variation phenomena in relative clauses (RC) in Cimbrian and Timavese, two German varieties in NE-Italy. Through contrastive analysis, we speculate that the contact with Italo-romance influences the relativization strategies of the Germanic varieties, which have lost the pronominal (German-like) strategy (the use of d-pronouns) favoring the use of a generic complementizer (Romance-like).
This process is attested in the Cimbrian diachronic development (Bidese 2008, data elaborated from Ferracin 2019):

	1602	1813	1900	Today (Lusern)
Relativizers [+ frequent]	d-pronouns	bo(-da)	bo(-da)	ke
[- frequent]	bo (= wo)	d-pron	ke	bo(-da)

The intermediate step, i.e. the relativizer *bo* (=wo), still represents a German type, it is not uncommon in southern varieties (Fleischer 2005, Mösch 2019), but crucially does not display pronominal features like inflection:

(1) a. Der Mann neben der Frau, [die ich gesehen habe] **(Hochdeut.)**
the man near the woman [who.f I seen have]
b. De Mann newe de Fra, [wu isch gesehe hab] **(Pfälzisch)**

The contemporary form *ke,* instead, is the Romance-type complementizer: arguably, it is found in a higher sub-projection within the C-layer, thus not involving the root- embedded word order asymmetry typical of West-Germanic (see Bidese, Padovan & Tomaselli 2014).
As for Timavese, relativization strategies appear to be different from both inland German and Cimbrian:

(2) **Timavese**
a. Is bai [as=ta host on-ckreit], is va chlalach
the woman [that=you have PART-talked] is from Cleulis
'The woman whom you talked to is from Cleulis'
b. Da chkindar [as=ta is puach host geim] hont=z varloarn
the children [that=you the book have given] have=it lost
'The children whom you gave the book have lost it'

In Timavese, *as* is the only relative introducer, with no inflection, which corresponds to the complementizer of the declarative subordinate clause (*dass* in German, *as* in both Timavese and Cimbrian), but would be impossible as a relativizer in the dialects of the German area. The pattern closely replicates the same structures in Friulian.

(3) **Gemonese Friulian**

a. Le femine [che tu as cjacarat] e jè diTulmiec the
woman [that you have talked] clit.3SG is from Tolmezzo
b. I frus [che tu as dât el libri] e al'an piardût
the children [that you have given the book] clit.3PL it=have lost

Interestingly, this pattern can also be found in other Germanic-Romance contact scenarios, such as Mennonite German in Argentina, where the relativizer *wat* (=what) is used as a counterpart of Spanish *que*:

(4) a. Det is dei Mann [*wat* immer no min Hüs kiek] (**Mennonite**)
this is the man [that always to my house look]
b. Este es el hombre [*que* siempre está mirando mi casa] (**Spanish**)
'That is the man who is always looking at my house'

Comparing the different relativization strategies in these German varieties, we speculate on a common pattern: a trend toward a single introducer via a gradual elimination of agreement-features in secondary/residual forms, which may be a structural development reinforced by close contact with Romance varieties.

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KW: Relative Clause, contact-induced phenomena, Cimbrian, Timavese, Mennonite German

Genetic waves and areal waves
in the Germanic-Romance language contact region in the Northeast Alps

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In my talk, I will focus on a typology of language contact, which linguistic scholars became aware of probably first, namely areal contact. Presumably, Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) was the first to observe that languages belonging to different linguistic families (German: *Stamm*), but sharing the same geographic area (*Gebiet*), often exhibit structural similarities and share parts of their lexicon – typically not their core (autochthonous) vocabulary, but rather elements of the functional lexicon. Humboldt's early insight was formalized in the twentieth century by Nikolai Trubetzkoy, who in 1923 introduced the notion of *yazykovoy soyuz* ('language union'), later rendering it in German as *Sprachbund* ('linguistic league') in 1930. A sprachbund explanation has been invoked for certain linguistic phenomena predominantly distributed among the languages of the Alpine region. For these phenomena, the term 'Alpine Sprachbund' has been proposed (see, for example, more recent Gaeta and Seiler 2021).

Within this research perspective, I will concentrate on northeastern Italy. In fact, this area has been characterized by successive waves of German-speaking settlers since the Middle Ages. This migration gave rise to numerous minority communities south of the Alps, some of which have survived to the present day (Cimbrians and Mòcheni in Trentino and Veneto, Tyrolean-Carinthian Germans in Friaul). The intense interaction between the Germanic and Romance populations in this region has led to linguistic contacts that have modified not only the structure of the German minority varieties, but also the syntax of the Romance dialects of Trentino, Veneto and Friaul which exhibit specific syntactic features that distinguish them from those of central and southern Italy.

The aim of my presentation is to show how we can reconstruct the impact of the German immigration in northeastern Italy by capturing the linguistic signal left by the German-speaking population in the Romance languages in this area. To achieve this, I will present data taken from the project AlpiLinK <https://alpilink.it> which highlight the syntactic variation of the Italian dialects of northeastern Italy. Interestingly, the variation in the Romance dialects of this region appears to follow a linguistically structured scale of variance: the dialects with the most German-like features are found in the northernmost parts of the area, with a gradual decrease in intensity

towards the south. Nevertheless, this decrease in German-like features is not merely quantitative. It follows, in fact, hierarchical patterns that reveal the internal structure of the linguistic parameters involved.

How can we measure the linguistic contact signal left by the interaction between the Germanic and Romance populations? On the one hand, we can draw on the concept of linguistic parameters as universally fixed values of core syntactic binary options, such as ±OV (object–verb order) or ±V2 (verb-second). This allows us to determine to what extent a given variety deviates from the core options of its language family. On the other hand, we rely on the concepts of the g_index and gradient lines, developed by Lazzizzera (2023), which provide a means of representing the intensity and geographic diffusion of deviant features across the region.

Discourses of language endangerment and maintenance among young bi/plurilingual speakers of a Francophone minority school in Vancouver

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The demographic decline of French speakers in Canada over the past decades (dropping from 6.1% in 1971 to 3.5% in 2021 in the population outside the province of Quebec) has led the federal government to promote Francophone immigration (IRCC, 2024). As a consequence, the French-speaking communities of Canada are now multicultural, multiethnic, and multilingual (Traisnel, Violette & Gallant, 2013; Fourot, 2016) and they can no longer be associated solely with European settlers and their descendants. This, of course, has an impact on the varieties of French spoken in Canada and on the different discourses around language use. In this article, I propose to examine how discourses of language endangerment and maintenance become ideologized together with the symbolic values attributed to language varieties and bi/plurilingualism. The objective of the research project I will present is to examine the ways that discourses of endangerment and maintenance have been taken up among young bi/plurilingual speakers who attend a French-language high school in Vancouver. Looking through the theoretical lens of language ideology, I unpack the contrasting discourses around the use of French. The research question is: What discourses of endangerment and maintenance coexist and drive the use of French among young bi/plurilingual speakers of Vancouver? To answer this question, I analysed data from interviews conducted with 31 grade-11 students from a French-language high school in Metro Vancouver. A thematic analysis of the data revealed two main contrasting discourses among students: one in which French is perceived as being threatened by English (a discourse of endangerment) and one in which French is valued as linguistic capital and viewed as a component of their identities (a discourse of maintenance). These dominant discourses are comprised of five different themes (which will be discussed during the presentation). The findings suggest that these young Vancouverites have internalised common discourses about the endangerment of French, but that they are also mobilising new discourses of maintenance that involve different ideologies about the continuing use of French within the community, which calls for a redefinition of what it means to be a French-speaker in Vancouver.

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Italian-Based Lingua Francas around the Mediterranean

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This paper deals with the Mediterranean Lingua Franca (MLF) – a purportedly extinct trade language, with a Romance lexical base, used around the Mediterranean basin from anywhere between the Middle Ages to the Early Modern period. It is (presumably) a similar language, if not the very same, to the one Burke (2004:127) refers when he describes 'the original lingua franca' as being "a mix of Venetian, Portuguese and Arabic that was known in the Mediterranean world in the Middle Ages". Even a study looking specifically at MLF in the Mediterranean in a historical framework, where we may hope to find traces of its presence, warns us not to confuse the term 'lingua franca' with '*Lingua Franca* proper' (Cremona 1997:53; his emphasis, and from which the title of this paper is taken). Here we are told that, during the seventeenth century, MLF was 'much in evidence during this period in spoken exchanges between Moslems and Christians' (1997:53). Nolan has recently investigated the 'fact and fiction' of Lingua Franca studies, noting that "the potential unreliability of some witness' accounts combines with the native language(s) bias of the writers and idiolectal variation, rendering their examples of Lingua Franca less credible" (2020:83).

This paper considers the notion of lingua franca itself, and considers to what extent the term might be applied to various contact situations around the Mediterranean when two (or more) linguistic varieties have been described as such. Descriptors of MLF around the Mediterranean have important consequences for language ideologies. Although the 'mixed' language used to refer to MLF data has been described by a plethora of labels, many rely on some version of "Italian" that is qualified as being 'broken', 'corrupt', or something else. In previous work, I attempted to look at MLF from the point of standard languages and attribution of data to those languages. This paper reverses that notion. What can a study of MLF tell us about *Italian*, and what characteristics might it entail?

Keywords: Italian, lingua franca, Mediterranean, merchants, purism

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Language contact and bilingualism in the area of Naples: a study of auxiliary development and selection in immigrant children

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Our study focuses on the longitudinal acquisition of Italian as an L2 by a group of immigrant children having different languages as hereditary languages (Wu, Hurdu, Arabic, Polish, Romanian, Yoruba, Tagalog, Wolof). Many of these children were born in Italy or arrived in this country very young but their true contact with the Italian language took place at the age of three or six when they began to attend Italian kindergarten or primary schools. All of them live in Naples and they were interviewed with respect to a range of narrative tasks with no written or audio-oral texts (picture stories and cartoons). According to the type of task, the subjects either shared or did not share information with their listener. All subjects were observed for a long period of time (minimally a year, maximally 4 years), during which the same tasks were reproposed every two months.

Our purpose is to analyze the verb morphology in their linguistic productions with respect to the Italian auxiliaries *essere* ('to be') and *avere* ('to have'), by means of which the compound tenses are obtained. We will focus on the *passato prossimo*: a form of analytical perfect tense corresponding to the first type of past in Italian childrens' productions. We will observe the development of the two auxiliaries with both transitive and intransitive verbs. With respect to the latter, we will test the hypothesis that the selection of *essere* or a*vere* can be motivated by semantic constraints reflecting the lexico-aspectual and thematic characteristics of the verbs employed by our young informants. We will adopt,in particular, Sorace's (2000) gradient model of split intransitivity (cf. also Cennamo 2008) and will test it on our young subjects' productions by matching the type of verbs that they use (change of location, uncontrolled process etc.) with the auxiliary that they select. While doing so we will investigate the role of cognition in the acquisitional path drawn by our data, the possible interference with the heritage languages of the informants but also the possible similarities with the path followed by Italian children for the acquisition of auxiliaries (cf., for instance, Lorusso 2015).

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Clausal perception verb complementation in Slovenian dialects in Friuli, Italy: a result of language contact?

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Clausal perception verb complements (see Declerck 1983; Van der Meer 1994 a.o., e.g. English *I heard* [*the kids screaming*]) denote sensorily perceived events; they typically include two syntactic constructions: the 'event perception construction' (EPC) and the 'individual perception construction' (IPC) (see Casalicchio 2016b for arguments against a clear-cut partition); EPC emphasizes the event itself, while IPC focuses on the individual satisfying the external theta-role in the 'perceived' event. Syntactically, languages can vary as for how IPC and EPC are expressed; in Italian for instance IPC is expressed via an infinitive clause (e.g. *Ho visto Gianni accarezzare il gatto* 'I saw Gianni petting the cat') or via a pseudo-relative (e.g. *Ho visto Gianni che accarezzava il gatto* 'I saw Gianni that petted the cat'); EPC is only expressed via an infinitive clause (e.g. *Sento bussare* 'I hear (someone) knocking').

Slovenian varieties spoken in Friuli (Resian, *Tersko*, *Nadiško*), historically influenced by Romance languages (Friulian, Venetan, and Italian), have at least three structures to express perceived events (here shown in Resian): the infinitive (1), the pseudorelative (2), and a gerundive structure (3).

(1) *Si* *vïdël* *süncë* *wstajat*. (Resian)
AUX.1SG seen sun rising
'I saw the sun rising'

(2) *Si* *vïdël* *süncë* *ki* *to* *se* *wstajalu*. (Resian)
AUX.1SG seen sun that it AUX risen
'I saw the sun rising'

(3) *Si* *jo* *nalizal* *sadóć* (Resian, cf. Steenwijk 1992)
AUX.1SG her found sitting
'I found her sitting'

While the latter structure is documented, fieldwork inquiry shows it is no longer actively used.

This contrasts with standard Slovene, which allows for gerund PC (cfr. (4): note the prenominal position of the gerund and the case agreement, as opposed to (3), infinitival PC, *ki* 'that' finite PC (structurally akin to a pseudo-relative), and *kako* 'how' finite PC.

(4) *Slišal* *sem* *srmčečega* *dedka*
Heard AUX.1SG snoring-ACC grandad-ACC
'I heard grandpa snoring'

Contact Romance languages only allow for infinitival and pseudo-relatives structures, although 15th-century Friulan also had a predicative gerund (5), which did not agree with its external argument, similarly to (3):

(5) *… che sinte currint lisiarte…*
… that hears running lizard
'one hears a lizard running'

Additionally, Slovenian dialects in Italy align with Italian EPC, featuring null subjects, unlike standard Slovene.

(6) *Se je začəlo čutə borloč*
REFL AUX start hear.INF scream.GER
'One could start hearing screaming'

We propose that contact has influenced the syntax of clausal perception verb complements in these Slovenian dialects.

Keywords: perception verb complementation, Slovenian dialects in Friuli, language contact

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Discrete categories for continuous phenomena: discourse markers in code-switching between Italo-Romance and English/French

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Existing literature on bilingual speech typically relies on discrete, structurally defined categories to describe forms of code-switching (**CS**). In Muysken's (2000) typology, for example, three main patterns are identified: insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization. While such categories have proven useful for describing a wide range of bilingual phenomena, they fail to capture those instances that do not neatly fit into any predefined prototype (Demirçay & Backus 2014). One such instance involves discourse markers (**DM**s) from one language used within a discourse predominantly uttered in another. Traditionally described as cases of extra-sentential switching or alternations in Muysken's (2000) model, these forms of CS reveal a hybrid nature when not only structural but also cognitive and usage-based dimensions are taken into account (Matras 2000; Demirçay 2017; Del Vecchio 2023).

Building on previous research within the usage-based approach to CS (Demirçay & Backus 2014; Backus 2015; 2020; Demirçay 2017), we aim to test the adequacy of purely structural classifications involving DMs and advocate for an approach that jointly considers both form and function, allowing for a more comprehensive understanding of how bilingual speakers use these forms.

Our empirical analysis draws from a corpus of semi-structured interviews with first- and second-generation speakers from three Italian migrant communities: two from Campania (Italy) residing in the UK – one in Bletchley (Del Vecchio 2023) and the other in Bedford (Di Salvo 2019) – and one based in Liège (Belgium). The dataset captures the interplay of three language varieties – Italian, an Italo-Romance dialect, and English/French – whose distribution varies according to the sociolinguistic context (Del Vecchio & Di Salvo, 2024).

In particular, focusing on the particles *yeah/yes* and *oui/ouais*, we assess whether these elements can be consistently classified using existing theoretical models, such as Muysken's typology, or whether they fall into a "grey area" of mixed features. Our quantitative and qualitative findings reveal that DMs, while structurally simple, often defy categorical boundaries due to their multifunctionality and flexible syntactic positioning. A chi-square analysis further highlights a strong correlation between syntactic position and discourse function, particularly among second-generation speakers, suggesting increased structural entrenchment and pragmatic regularity in their bilingual speech.

In conclusion, following a usage-based perspective (Backus 2015; 2020), we propose an approach that integrates structural, social, and cognitive aspects of language, allowing for a more nuanced view that accommodates overlapping and fluid categories along a continuum. This shift is essential not only for refining our categorisation methods but also for gaining deeper insights into the true nature of CS phenomena.

Keywords: code-switching; discourse markers; categories; usage-based approach; Italian migration.

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Mouthing as Intermodal Contact in Italian-LIS Translation: A Qualitative Study on Deaf Signers' Perceptions

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Sign language (SL) employs manual and body parameters, including mouth actions, classified into mouth gestures and mouthing (Boyes Braem, Sutton-Spence, 2001). Mouth gestures involve configurations or sounds that may be onomatopoeic, evoking aspects of certain referents (e.g., "woof, woof" for a barking dog), or metaphorical, conveying abstract meanings through concrete images (e.g., air emission with the sign RELIEVE). Mouthing involves mouth movements resembling spoken language lexemes, either partially or fully (e.g., the Italian word "casa" (house) with the manual sign HOUSE). Due to Deaf signers' bimodal bilingualism, mouthing may morphologically inflect from spoken language interference but typically adapts into the SL system, appearing uninflected, reduced to visibly prominent segments, and spreading to adjacent signs (Fontana, Fabbretti, 2000; Roccaforte, 2018; Volterra *et al.,* 2022). Its function in signing is constrained by the neural motor-perceptual structure linking oral articulation to sign execution time (Woll, 2001). Mouthing appears controversial as it originates from spoken language contact, yet it may have a linguistic status and it is perceived as necessary by signers, with different attitudes depending on language awareness (Fontana, Raniolo, 2015; Roccaforte, 2018; 2019; Fontana, 2022). In fact, while some authors describe it as code-mixing (Giustolisi *et al.,* 2017), others consider it as akin to co-speech gestures (Fontana, 2008; 2009; Fontana *et al.,* 2022). This duality makes this intermodal contact issue unique and worthy of further research in various fields, such as teaching and translation. Interestingly, mouthing is generally overlooked in LIS teaching (Roccaforte, 2019). Furthermore, this contact might be more prominent among hearing SL learners (Mesch, Schönström, 2021) and interpreters (Romanchuk-Weisenberg, 2012).

The present study investigates Deaf signers' perceptions of mouthing in Italian-LIS translation adopting an ethnographic and data-driven approach (Hymes, 1974). It aims to explore the relationship between the type and frequency of mouthing and satisfaction with translation. Four sociolinguistic variables were considered: participants' language attitude and awareness, age, education, and role in the Deaf community. Three video translations featuring different levels of mouthing were selected and shown to ten Deaf LIS signers (age range 19-86) during semi-structured interviews. Open-ended questions assessed their comprehension and satisfaction, finally eliciting their evaluation of mouthing. Findings suggest that mouthing is perceived as essential for comprehension, though perspectives vary due to sociolinguistic heterogeneity and differences in metalinguistic awareness. These empirical data provide crucial insights into SL translation quality and training; moreover, they enrich theoretical discussions on intermodal contact, contributing to broader linguistic contact issues.

Keywords: Intermodal contact; Mouthing; Deaf Perceptions; SL Translation; Ethnographic Approach.

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Regularization of verb-cluster syntax in Amish Shwitzer

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Amish Shwitzer (AS) is a Germanic minority language mainly spoken by Amish communities in Indiana. AS historically originates from Bernese Swiss German (BG), but is heavily influenced by Pennsylvania Dutch (PD) – another Amish language, which is originally based on Palatinate German dialects – especially in morphosyntax (Fleischer/Louden 2010; AUTHOR-1). The syntax of 2-verb-clusters is one of the very few AS syntactic features that did not fully converge with PD. In PD, 2-verb-clusters are generally sequenced nonfinite-finite (2-1) (Louden 2011). This holds true for perfect (1) and modal verb-clusters (4). PD and AS 3-verb-clusters are realized 1-[NP]-2-[NP]-3 (6):

(1) *as me nachbe me gofferd$_2$ hot$_1$* PD-173
(2) *as mi mi nachbe offerd$_2$ het$_1$* AS-177
(3) *was mi nachbar het$_1$ mi gea$_2$* AS-young-136
'… which my neighbour had offered me'

(4) *wen si leese$_2$ wet$_1$ deech di nacht* PD-173
(5) *wen si wet$_1$ lääse$_2$ i d nacht* AS-177
'… if she wanted to read at night'

(6) *because e hot$_1$ mise$_2$ di alt fekoofe$_3$* PD-173
(7) *wäge e het$_1$ si alti mise$_2$ fechoufe$_3$* AS-177
'… because he had to sell the old one'

As for the relevant historical 18th c. BG variety of the Emmental region, Hodler (1969: 691) notes a clear 2-1 preference for perfect auxiliary clusters and 1-2 for modal verb-clusters. In previous fieldwork with elderly Amish speakers we found the same distribution in AS: modal verb-clusters were generally following a 1-2 pattern (5), while perfect auxiliary clusters were mainly realized as 2-1 (2). However, recent fieldnotes indicate that the 2-1 syntax for perfect auxiliary clusters is being replaced by a [NP]-1-[NP]-2 sequence (3) in younger speakers born around 2000 and after. Thus, we are witnessing an (apparent time) change in AS verb-cluster syntax, namely a regularization in favor of consistently ascending 1-2(-3) patterns.

In our presentation we will describe our preliminary findings in close detail and discuss possible causes for this process, comparing the AS development with PD as well as European and American Mennonite BG. We will conclude that (i) AS resisted full pennsylvanization of its verb-cluster syntax, which is remarkable in spite of AS' otherwise great permeability vis-à-vis of PD features, (ii) AS verb-clusters in younger speaker generations are even further shifting away from PD, and (iii) both language internal and external motivations are at play: regularization of verb-cluster syntax in favor of strictly ascending order, but putatively also maintenance of a distinctly Shwitzer-ish inner-Amish identity.

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Loanword Adaptations and their Effects on the Syllable Structure of English Loanwords in Kusaal

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Loanword adaptation processes have long been of interest to phonologists (Peperkamp, 2004). The influence of the English language has led to lexical borrowing and adaptation in native languages in Africa, many African countries having been marked by the arrival of the British (Sheini, 2022). This study focuses on such processes undergone by English loanwords utilised in Kusaal, a Mabia (Gur) language of the Niger-Congo phylum spoken in northeastern Ghana, as well as Burkina Faso and Togo (Eddyshaw, 2024).

Throughout this study, particular attention was paid to the effect of segmental adaptations on these words, specifically where there are alterations to syllable structure. A sample of 84 loanword adaptations into Kusaal was extracted from Sandow's investigation, Loanword Adaptation In Kusaal: A Phonological Study (2021), and analysed, alongside the British English (BrE) corresponding loanwords, in accordance with the alterations caused by vowel epenthesis, vowel deletion and monophthongisation. 31 monosyllabic, 45 disyllabic, 5 trisyllabic and 3 quadrisyllabic words were observed in the BrE loanwords, while 14 monosyllabic, 48 disyllabic, 17 trisyllabic and 5 quadrisyllabic words were detected in the adaptations in Kusaal. Of the monosyllables in BrE, 18 undergo vowel epenthesis, among which 16 result in disyllables, ie. [bʊks] > [bu.gus], and two in trisyllables, ie. [spɛks] > [sɪ.pɛ.gɪs]. Of the disyllables, only [lɒ.ri] undergoes vowel deletion, resulting in [lɔr]. 13 of the disyllables in BrE are adapted into trisyllables in Kusaal, ie. [sɪlvə] > [sɪlɪba], or into quadrisyllables, ie. [stiːvn] > [a.sɪ.tɪː.bin]. [plaɪwʊd] is the only loanword to undergo monophthongisation, resulting in [pɪ.laː.i.wud]. Of the trisyllabic loanwords, one undergoes vowel deletion, [sɪ.gᵃr.ɛt] > [si.gaːr]. Of the three quadrisyllabic loanwords, none undergo any of the processes of interest.

Through these observations, this study hopes to further contribute to the relatively limited research on loanword adaptation in Mabia (Gur) languages, adding to the embroidery of cultural richness woven by diversity in African languages.

Keywords: Ghana. Kusaal. Loanword adaptations. Syllable structure. Language contact.

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The Typological Implications of Contact: A Study of Ditransitive Constructions in Afro-Brazilian Portuguese

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This study examines ditransitive constructions in Helvécian Portuguese, an Afro-Brazilian Portuguese variety spoken in Helvécia, Bahia. Helvécian Portuguese arose in the 19th-century coffee plantations of Bahia, where large numbers of Yorùbá speakers worked and interacted with speakers of other nativized Afro-Brazilian Portuguese varieties (Lamberti 2022). This research provides a cross-linguistic analysis on the formation and typological implications of ditransitive constructions, which consist of a ditransitive verb, an agent (A), a recipient-like argument (R), and a theme (T). As defined by Malchukov, Haspelmath & Comrie (2010), these elements form the basis for analyzing ditransitives across languages. In Romance languages, the recipient-like argument is typically introduced by a preposition (Calindro 2020). Conversely, in many Niger-Congo languages, the theme argument is often the marked element (3). Previous research on Afro-Brazilian Portuguese and Creole languages has highlighted innovative uses of ditransitive structures (Bruyn, Muysken & Verrips (1999); Lucchesi, Baxter & Ribeiro (2009)), but the specific role of Niger-Congo languages in shaping these innovations remains unexplored. Scholars have tended to attribute the emergence of these structures to factors such as irregular transmission, morphological erosion, or input poverty. However, such explanations often overlook the underlying mechanisms of second language acquisition that could drive structural changes. This study draws on 11 sociolinguistic interviews conducted during fieldwork in 2019 in the Helvécia community to explore the impact of language contact on ditransitive constructions. Through a detailed cross-linguistic analysis of ditransitives in Brazilian Portuguese and Yorùbá, the findings demonstrate that Helvécian Portuguese does not mark either the recipient or the theme arguments.

Instead, its default word order follows the sequence of A, R, and T, a pattern more consistent with Yorùbá than with Romance languages. The results demonstrate that native Yorùbá speakers introduced an innovative third system of ditransitive constructions, distinct from both Portuguese and Yorùbá. The Natural Second Language Acquisition framework suggests that language transfer, via imposition, plays a key role in such contact-induced changes (Winford 2003; 2013). Specifically, Yorùbá speakers appear to have transferred structural features from their language into Helvécian Portuguese, reshaping its ditransitive construction patterns. In conclusion, this research illustrates how language contact between typologically different languages can produce novel grammatical structures. The case of Helvécian Portuguese underscores the significant influence of Niger-Congo languages, particularly Yorùbá, on the Afro-Portuguese varieties of Brazil. This study contributes to our understanding of language contact, Creole formation, and the dynamic evolution of Afro-Latin American language varieties.

Keywords: Afro-Brazilian Portuguese, ditransitive constructions, Helvécia, language contact, typology

Examples:

Helvécian Portuguese

(1) Ele vendia compade Jacó porco gordo.
he sell.PERF friend Jacó pig fat
'He would sell fat pigs to Jacó.'
(Lucchesi, Baxter & Ribeiro 2009)

Brazilian Portuguese

(2) Ele vendia porco gordo para o compade Jacó.
he sell.PERF pig fat to the friend Jacó
'He would sell fat pigs to Jacó.'

Yorùbá

(3) Bàbáà rẹ fún mi ní ìyàwó.
father.POSS 2SG.POSS give 1SG.O SEC wife
'Your father gave me a wife.'
(Atoyebi, Haspelmath & Malchukov 2010)

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Schoolscapes for Linguistic Equity: Exploring the Impact of Language Contact on Identity representation in Educational contexts

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The late 1980s marked an exponential increase in immigrant flows to Italy, enriching the already varied national linguistic landscape (Chini, 2011). The linguistic space, which has only recently seen a consolidated common language, is now experiencing exogenous neoplurilinguism (Vedovelli, 2015). This polymorphous landscape, characterised by public places, such as schools, which promote multiple and diverse coexistences, on one hand entails the breaking down of geographical and cultural barriers, and on the other the erection of new social and linguistic obstacles. Obstacles that limit the exercise of the right to receive a fair education, which not only guarantees equal opportunities for all, as recommended by the 2030 Agenda (UN, 2015), but which also knows how to respect the linguistic diversity of all, a founding principle of a multilingual Europe (Galante *et al*., 2022).

However, schools fall short of these recommendations, proposing practices anchored in traditional pedagogical approaches (Dewey, 1916) and promoting unchanging schoolscapes that fail to represent language contact. The schoolscape construct (Bagna, Bellinzona, 2022; Carbonara, Scibetta, 2022), which attempts to understand the uses behind multiple forms of languages and the as they are physically displayed in educational contexts, could support the construction of new linguistic identity, that arise from language contact. In this regard, children, if correctly guided, can become aware of their own experience and make the most of it, stimulating the maturation of their relational abilities, the search for their own identity in the affective and social dimension, and the cognitive decentralisation of their own experience (Brasca, Zambelli, 1992).

Inserted in the pragmatic paradigm (Peirce, 2003), the study intends, on one hand to investigate, from an ethnolinguistic perspective (Iannaccaro, 2018), children's different representations of belonging and to understand how language contact has modified their identity; on the other, according to a pedagogical approach, it wants to understand which educational strategies can foster linguistic-cultural richness in school contexts in order to guarantee a representative schoolscape for all. Through a Professional Development Action Research methodology (Zecca, 2018) 12 teachers and 111 children (6-8 years old) from one primary school in Milan were involved.

A content analysis (Tipaldo, 2007) identifies recurring themes related to children's perceptions of linguistic and cultural diversity and challenges teachers face in fostering inclusive schoolscapes. While children show a strong potential for linguistic flexibility, these capacities are underutilized due to rigid, monolingual educational practices. Teachers, despite willing to embrace multilingualism, expressed difficulties in navigating language contact in classroom.

Key words: ethnolinguistic; primary school; schoolscape; equity; identity

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Languages in contact in translation: between Italian and LIS in academic settings

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Given the increasing presence of deaf students in universities (Foster & Walter, 2019), academic settings are a crucial area of linguistic contact between Italian Sign Language (LIS) and Italian. As Fontana (2013) notes, the deaf community, whose language is asymmetrical with respect to spoken language, often faces barriers to full access to services, making academic translation even more critical. In these environments, interpreters face significant challenges when translating specialized academic language between Italian and LIS. This study investigates the strategies interpreters use to address these challenges, particularly in ensuring deaf students' access to technical content.

The research explores how interpreters manage the translation of specialized terms and adapt their approaches throughout the course. Qualitative data are collected through interviews with deaf students from various degree programs at the University of Catania and observations of interpreting sessions (Duranti, 2009). Key areas of focus include the timing and process of translation, the methods interpreters use to bridge cultural and linguistic gaps, and the creation of conventions for translating technical terms. The translation of specialized language highlights the complexity of ensuring deaf students' access to highly technical content.

Often, post-lecture discussions between students and interpreters are needed to agree on how certain terms should be expressed in LIS. These strategies evolve as students become more familiar with the terms. Initially, interpreters may suggest provisional signs (sometimes using the sign language alphabet), but as the course progresses and terms are repeated, both interpreters and students refine their understanding. By the end of the course, the spoken term and its corresponding sign become standardized and familiar. This process ensures that the meaning is accessible and culturally relevant within the visual-gestural framework in LIS (Franchi & Maragna, 2013), while maintaining linguistic and cultural accuracy.

The study highlights the collaborative role of interpreters in co-constructing meaning with students, emphasizing the importance of teamwork in such complex linguistic settings (Wilcox & Shaffer, 2005). The findings also underscore the technical challenges of interpreting between Italian and LIS in academic contexts and call for new strategies to better accommodate linguistic diversity.

Keywords: Italian Sign Language, linguistic contact, technical terminology, deaf university students, translation.

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Language Contact Through the Lens of Acquisition

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Keywords: language contact; bilectalism; transfer; Carnic Friulian; syntactic variation

This paper investigates the acquisition trajectories and linguistic properties of bilectalism, namely the bilingualism originating in contact situations between a standard language and a vernacular nonstandardized local dialect. While much research has focused on the acquisition of two major standardized languages, little is known on bilectalism [1-5]. Our aim is to qualify children's bilectal competence and to identify how the syntax of the two languages in contact interact in children's production.

We tested 17 preschool children exposed to both Italian and Carnic Friulian from birth with the picture-supported task "Multilingual Assessment Instrument for Narratives" [6-7] in its Italian version [8], translated into Carnic Friulian. Parental questionnaires were collected to obtain information concerning children's language exposure.

Our findings show that all children produced and comprehended Italian. As for the dialect, children comprehended Carnic Friulian, despite exhibiting differences in the production of dialectal elements. Moreover, an implicational scale in the dialectal competence was found: if a child exhibited some productions with dialectal syntax, s/he also produced dialects at the phonological, morphological, and lexical levels. Two linguistic profiles were detected. The first profile, represented by 4 bilectals, consists of a mainly Italian production with the presence of phonological, morphological and lexical dialectal elements. For this group of children, the input declared by the parents was lower than 40%. The second profile is represented by 13 children who produced dialectal elements also at the syntactic level. They were reported to receive more than 60% of dialectal input in the parental questionnaires. Independent of the linguistic profile children exhibited and regardless of the language they used, all children produced a consistent number of structures involving right-dislocation (both with and without resumptive clitics), while left-dislocations were almost absent. The massive presence of rightdislocated structures and the asymmetry between right-/left-dislocations may be explained as a transfer from Carnic Friulian, whose right periphery is reported to be more active than the left one. We conclude that (a) children's dialectal competence should be arranged along a fine-grained continuum, (b) the quantity of Carnic Friulian input children receive has a positive effect on their production abilities of the minority language, and (c) the syntactic domain at the interface with discourse is subject to transfer in contact situations. While further studies are needed to corroborate these conclusions, bilectalism seems to offer new insights for theorical modelling of language contact where the syntax-pragmatic interface plays a crucial role in contact situations.

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Syntactic cohesion in third language acquisition: The case of Italian L3

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Keywords: Language Acquisition, Third or Additional Language Acquisition, L3, Psycholinguistics

The present work investigated the possible influences that previously acquired languages (Background Languages) could exert on the acquisition of an L3 (c.f. De Angelis, 2007; Håkansson et al., 2002; Bardel and Falk, 2007; Flynn et al., 2004; Rothman, 2011). For this purpose, the narratives of 20 informants were analysed: 10 of them were German-speaking students learning Italian as L3, while the other 10 were bilingual speakers with German and Italian. Furthermore, the language experiment was based on the lack of shared knowledge: the students were asked to narrate a short film from the Polish series Reksio in both languages (the order of which was reversed for each interview) to a listener who was not present during the screening of the film.

The research was conducted in the city of Heidelberg, Germany, and the group of bilingual students shares the characteristic of being second- and third-generation Italians, children or grandchildren of Italians who moved to Germany as Gastarbeit. The preservation of the Italian language in the German-speaking territory is rather poor. However, at the time of the interviews, these students were all part of a program initiated by the Stuttgart district to cultivate their hereditary language (Italian) with native speakers, in order to be able to develop their hereditary language system in a spontaneous manner.

The narratives, subsequently transcribed by CHAT and analysed through the *Quaestio Theory* (Klein & von Stutterheim, 1989; 1991), showed interesting results on the morpho-syntactic and lexical levels. The idea underlying the *Quaestio Theory* is that every text is constructed by responding to an implicit question governing it. It therefore goes to the origin of textual generation, aiming to explain the processes underlying the speaker's discursive organisation.

In light of the analysis of the morphosyntactic structures used in informants' productions (main or subordinate clauses; finite or non-finite clauses), the logical-semantic structures used to convey a message (the various types of subordinates), as well as the use of temporal connectors, an attempt was made to broaden our understanding and knowledge of the mechanisms underlying language acquisition and the various influences that background languages can exert on L3 acquisition. Furthermore, this work offers a significant contribution from a didactic perspective through the distinction between basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) proposed by Cummins (2000) aiming to facilitate the analysis of the interviewees' interlanguage level and implement new strategies to improve their language integration.

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From multilingual repertoire to language change: A critical approach to feature spread, borrowing and language ecology

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We are in an era where categories are questioned: ethnic and gender identity and even citizenship are acknowledged as fluid and negotiable. They are added to what Appadurai, as part of first-generation conversations about globalisation and transnationalism, described as 'ethnoscapes': the various socio-cultural networks that individuals can be part of irrespective of place of birth or current settlement. So-called critical sociolinguistics has followed in questioning the integrity of language systems, highlighting the role of context-bound selection of individual features from complex repertoires in shaping what we perceive as named languages (Makoni & Pennycook 2007, Jørgensen 2008, Matras, 2009/2020, Wiese 2023). In effect these conversations have instigated a new epistemology of language that is particularly pertinent to the study of multilingual societies and increased mobility and shifts in individuals' linguistic repertoires, one that places in the foreground features and processes over fixed categories and system boundaries. It directly challenges the legacies of the structuralist revolution where language is a self-contained system. It questions categories around which we tend to pitch legal and policy measures to define and protect language such as notions of native speakers or of indigenous and autochtonous language. The questioning of categories has been partly instigated by a critical reflection on ontologies that accompanies the de-colonial agenda in the social sciences and humanities (Mignolo & Walsh 2018), one that has so far only marginally been received in historical linguistics (but see Mufwene 2020).

Drawing on the context of these debates I wish to introduce a critique of categories that have been discussed intensively yet also taken for granted in contact linguistics over the past decade: The notion of contact-induced change as 'borrowing' or 'transfer' from one system to another, the widely contested notion of pidgins & creoles as particular language types, the idea that 'mixed languages' constitute a distinctive type of language system (one that defies genetic classification) and the more recently established concept, still much under debate, of 'heritage' language and its relation to native speakers, second language learners and what social anthropologists have termed 'diasporic stance' (Brubaker 2005). I re-examine the relationship between what some have called the language ecology, and the individual's linguistic repertoire; I address the relevance of goals of communicative action and of the functional composition of individual linguistic forms and structures; and I present a new approach to contact linguistics that replaces the centre-stage attention given to fixed categories with an appreciation of type of process that bring about a spread of features.

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Challenging dual monolingualism in variationist sociolinguistics: Alternative pathways to testing for contact-induced change

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Although most of the world's population is bi/multilingual (Grosjean, 1982; Romaine, 2013), dominant language ideologies perpetuate misconceptions about this type of speaker. For example, some believe that bilingual speakers should speak each language as if they were monolingual, without showing cross-linguistic influence or engaging in translanguaging (Fuller & Leeman, 2020). In the academy, this dual monolingualism ideology is reflected in monolingual speakers being the unmarked norm in linguistics theory and research (Ellis, 2006; Nagy & Meyerhoff, 2008; Pavlenko, 2000; Romaine, 1995). Indeed, even the field of contact linguistics has not been immune to this perspective with the debate surrounding internal vs. external change (Mufwene, 2001).

This talk will critically challenge the comparative sociolinguistic framework for language contact proposed by Poplack and Levey (2010), a model which is based on the view that research often fails to rule out internal motivation for language change. Their model emphasizes comparisons of bilingual speakers with monolingual speakers that are rooted in dual monolingualism, as they assume that pre-contact or non-contact varieties exist for all languages and that contemporary monolingual speakers will never adopt/propagate contact-induced features. Informed by these critiques, the talk will highlight two alternative pathways for testing for contact-induced change: 1) focus on propagation through social factors; 2) comparison of communities with varying degrees of bilingualism.

For the first proposal, I will present data from a corpus of Spanish-Kaqchikel Maya bilingual speakers from Guatemala that accounted for speakers' degree of bilingualism and their social network structure in the community. With an analysis of voice-onset time (VOT) of the Spanish voiceless stops /p, t, k/, I will demonstrate how more Kaqchikel-dominant and closed-network individuals produce longer VOT values, a feature found in Kaqchikel Maya. For the second proposal, I will present corpus data on Spanish subject position from Spanish-English bilinguals in two communities in the United States. Although the underlying constraints on variation are the same, there are less post-verbal subjects in Tucson, Arizona than in the Rio Grande Valley in Texas. These two communities differ in the societal presence of English that correlates with their distance from the US-Mexico border, with Tucson Spanish showing more influence from English's obligatory use of pre-verbal subjects. Taken together, these two case studies showcase avenues for comparing bilingual speakers to other bilinguals to determine contact-induced change that moves beyond using monolingual speakers as benchmarks, which aligns the field with recent calls for the same in others (Leivada et al., 2023; Ortega, 2013).

Keywords: Sociolinguistics, language variation and change, variationist sociolinguistics

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Contact induced innovations in Piedmont Sinti of southern France verbal system

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Keywords: Romani, French, morpho-syntax, contact induced language change

Piedmont Sinti of southern France (FPS) is a Romani dialect spoken by a community that settled in the surroundings of Cannes and Grasse (Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur) since the 60s' (cf. Formoso & Calvet 1987: 5), but that has been present in the area for a much longer period (cf. Winstedt 1910). This dialect represents a transitional variety between Lombard Sinti and Piedmont Sinti (cf. Scala 2023), but it also shows some peculiar innovations in its verbal system which appear to be induced by the contact with Gallo-Romance languages.

For example, while the Sinti dialects have a 'non-past vs. past' tense opposition in the indicative mood (i.e. Piedmont Sinti *kerava* 'I do / I will do' vs. *kerdom* 'I did', *keravas* 'I used to do', *kerdomas* 'I had done'), in FPS a new analytic future developed. This future is built with the present of the verb *džava* 'I go' followed by the subordinative (i.e. ***džava vav*** 'I go I become = I will become'). The analytic future with *džava* seems a calque from the French periphrastic future "*aller* + infinitive" (es. *je* ***vais devenir*** 'I will become/I'm becoming'). The inherited Romani set of non-finite verbal forms includes only the past participle and the gerund (lost in many varieties), the infinite is absent and the subordinative is the finite mood used for verbs depending on other verbs.

Another innovation is the pattern "*an* + *te* + subordinative", i.e. *an te gineli* 'in that sings (she) = singing'. The new pattern is used for non-argumental subordinate clauses expressing an event simultaneous with that of the main clause, and thus it functions as a gerund, as for example ***an te gijaveli****, tovela li le lumpi* 'in that she sings, she washes the laundry = singing, she does the laundry'. In FPS, as in almost every other Sinti variety, there is no trace of the inherited gerund (cf. Boretzky & Igla 2004, Teil 2: Karte 148, Meli 2022: 173-174). The preposition *an* 'in' has allegedly French origin (cf. fr. *en*) and the pattern seems to relate to the French gerund, e.g. ***en chantant****, elle lave le linge.* In this case, the non-finite French verbal form is adapted in Romani with the Romani complementizer *te* and the subordinative.

Both examples point to an enrichment of FPS verbal system, which originally consists of synthetic forms (cf. Elšík 2020: 159-163), by replicating Gallo-Romance (mainly French) analytic structures, which are integrated in the Romani system using subordinative forms in two morpho-syntactic diferent ways (with or without the complementizer *te*). The highly motivated character of the analytic forms of the model seems important for their entrance in the replica language.

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Contact-induced syntactic changes in the language of Filipino heritage speakers in Italy

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Keywords: *heritage language, Tagalog, word order, voice, transfer*

The present research deals with contact-induced changes in the language of Filipino heritage speakers in Italy. They are second generation individuals, who speak Italian, Filipino, English (see Moro & Russo 2024). In this paper, we conduct an investigation on two target domains: word-order and voice, as these domains are vulnerable to contact in heritage settings (Ronquillo 2015; Tanaka et al. 2019; Polinsky & Scontras 2020).

Filipino has a flexible word order with a preference for verb-initial order (VAP or VPA) and patient voice (Cooreman et al. 1984); while Italian has a less flexible system with a preference for verb medial order (AVP) and active voice.

We collected data from a group of 66 speakers: 28 second generation (G2) speakers, 32 first generation (G1) immigrants who were not born or raised in Italy, but immigrated during adulthood, and 6 homeland speakers. We employ the same methodology and video elicitation stimuli of Tanaka et al. (2019) in order to allow for a cross-diasporic comparison (Bondoc et al. 2018). The pairs of clips are meant to elicit transitive constructions with different voice marking, such as *There are a boy and a girl, the boy lifts the girl*; see Fig. 1).

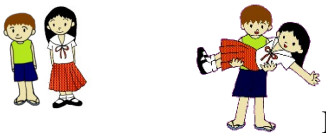

Figure 1: Example of target clips to elicit transitive constructions

Preliminary results show that, with respect to word order, G2 speakers differ significantly from G1 speakers as they use more verb medial constructions such as the one in (2), while G1 speakers prefer verb initial ones (1) (The model was significant $\chi^2(4) = 59{,}881$, $p < 0.001$). This is likely due to transfer form the dominant language Italian.

	V	A		P	
(1)	*Binuhat*	*ng*	*batang lalake*	*ang*	*batang babae*
	PV-carry	NSBJ	child man	SBJ	child woman

'The boy lifted the girl'. (G1 speaker)

	A	V	P
(2)	*Yung batang lalaki*	*binuha*	*yung babae*
	thatchild man	PV-carry	that woman

'The boy lifted the girl'. (G2 speaker)

The preliminary results show no statistically significant difference between G1 and G2 in the use of patient voice and actor voice. Therefore, the word order domain seems to be more vulnerable to language contact than voice. We hypothesize that this may be due to the fact that the patient voice is the unmarked one in Filipino (acquired very early and more frequent, Garcia & Kidd 2020), and that there is no similarity between the Filipino (five voices) and Italian (two voices) systems, which blocks cross-linguistic transfer.

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Inter-dependent revitalization and field research: **Linking Homeland and Heritage Francoprovençal**

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#FPGlobal digitally connects Francoprovençal (FP) speaking communities in Italy, France, and Switzerland with their diaspora in Canada and the USA, connecting five countries whose boundaries delimit different national languages. FP is a group of endangered and minoritized Romance varieties with no history of standardization (Zulato et al. 2018) and thus no agreement on how distinct the communities' varieties are. In minoritized languages, we observe generational divides between younger less proficient speakers and older fluent speakers, a situation described as engendering 'social and linguistic incompatib[ility]' (O'Rourke & Ramallo 2011:139). Electronically mediated communication (EMC) can alleviate such generational and geographic divides, promote language revitalization, and support language learners. EMC can also foster virtual language communities in which speaker errors and innovations are less likely to trigger essentialist "standard language" ideologies than more traditional genres. EMC's text-based nature, however, creates complication in communities without codified writing systems, including most FP communities.

We describe how #FPGlobal encourages speakers to share multimedia (speech, text, images, videos) responses to task-based activities in the FPGlobal WhatsApp group (public and currently counting ~50 participants) linked to a website (www.fpglobal.ca/). The platform:

- broadcasts audiovisual and text prompts (e.g., "questions of the day" challenges, quizzes) in multiple FP varieties plus 3 national languages;
- displays audio and text responses in oral and written modalities (see Fig. 1);
- aggregates, archives and tags responses (and translations) by speaker location and topic;
- provides baseline data for future automated transcription;
- links users to language-support resources, e.g., online dictionaries and lessons.

This holistic, community-driven, approach to revitalization and language-contact research offers several advantages to speakers and linguists. It brings into contact groups with differing degrees and types of linguistic (including orthographic) practices on both sides of the Atlantic, which can abate concerns about writing a little-codified language "the wrong way" (Lillehaugen 2019). Moreover, it encourages inter-generational communication by linking younger speakers with strong technical skills to older speakers with strong linguistic and cultural knowledge (e.g., "Ask your grandma about her favourite meal and post a picture of it."). Third, these activities introduce the language into contemporary contact settings where younger community members (current and future language transmitters) are active. Finally, #FPGlobal fosters a new generation of linguists and creates a virtual adaptation of Polinsky (2019)'s 'field stations', providing an enduring corpus of FP languages for future research. We hope to expand/adapt it to other minoritized languages.

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Figure 1: Sample challenge post on www.fpglobal.ca (top); Multimodal response to the post in WhatsApp (bottom left); QR code to join the group (bottom right).

Translations:

"Eating
What is your favourite traditional dish?
Post a message on WhatsApp with the tags #food, and #valledaosta [or the hashtag of your region, for example #aosta]. Your post will appear below. (Posts must be public to appear in the feed.)"

"Eating a fine pizza #Apulia #favouritefood"


A mungi na bella pizz #puglia #favouritefood
Edited 8:47 PM
2

Language attitudes among secondary school students in a bilingual area of Friuli Venezia Giulia

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Over the past three decades, Italian-Slovene bilingualism in the eastern part of the region Friuli Venezia Giulia Region has undergone/seen important changes, which are to be seen primarily in relation to the new political realities that emerged towards the end of the 1980s in Central and Eastern Europe. In actual fact, the far-reaching political and social developments have undoubtedly had important consequences locally as well, thus contributing to a transformation of the relations between the two main ethnic groups historically present in the area (in the provinces of Trieste/Trst, Gorizia/Gorica and Udine/Viden), i.e. Italians as the majority and Slovenes as the minority population. Both have now shown considerable interest in each other and there has also been a fresh, decidedly positive view of bilingualism.

This is also reflected in educational contexts, where traditionally members of the minority also studied the majority language, while Italian students had no contact with the language of the minority. In recent decades the situation has changed: in Slovene schools there are also students from Italian families, while some Italian schools now offer Slovene as an optional subject. Given the new sociolinguistic reality, it appears important to get an insight into the students' attitudes towards the language of the Other. This is precisely the aim of our contribution, which will present the results of a survey carried out among students of some Italian and Slovene secondary schools in Gorizia and Trieste on the basis of questionnaires and interviews. It emerges from the answers that bilingualism is usually perceived favourably, as a necessity and an advantage, and that the new sociolinguistic reality may have a transformative impact on the linguistic identities of the young, while also bringing unexpected challenges for both communities.

These challenges do not concern primarily social aspects of the coexistence between the two ethnic groups – since mutual rapprochement seems to be the result of a natural and spontaneous development, welcomed by both – but rather pedagogical ones, given that linguistically mixed classes present a whole series of new and unforeseen issues that need to be addressed. By researching students' as well as teachers' attitudes towards the language of the Other we can obtain a fundamental tool for gaining a more comprehensive understanding of the present sociolinguistic situation and, possibly, for contributing to the creation of a school environment where full use will be made of the potential of multilingualism to which young generations are exposed.

KEYWORDS: language attitudes in a contact situation, secondary school students and teachers, Italian-Slovene bilingualism, Friuli Venezia Giulia, socio-linguistic embeddedness of education

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Deficient Concord in Occitanorromance Possessives

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In this abstract I present my work in progress investigating a phenomenon affecting Northern Catalan, the dialect of Catalan spoken mainly in France, and secondarily in Occitan, in which possessive constructions show a lack of gender and number concord:

(1) Example in Northern Catalan (Botet 1997:225)
La meu casa.
the.F mine house.F
My house.

The phenomenon seems to be, a priori, limited to adjectival possessives in prenominal position, where they are preceded by a definite article, as in (1). To explain the phenomenon, I propose, departing from Baker (2008) in having concord and agreement being dependent on functional projections above lexical ones (like NP or AP), that deficient concord is explained by the lack thereof above PossP, which I take to be found under DP, and by having adjectival possessives (i.e. those which obligatorily require a definite article) move without carrying the Functional Projection from a lower base position, following Brugè (2002). Pronominal possessives I take to be base generated in PossP and to move to SpecDP, thus entering in a relationship with the functional projection above DP and getting both gender and number features.

What links this study to the topic of language contact is the possibility of the phenomenon in northern Catalan being influenced, at least to a certain point, by Lengadocian Occitan, which allows not only for the pronominal possessive to display deficient concord (2), but also for the adjectival one to display the phenomenon in postnominal position (3).

(2) Occitan pronominal possessive deficiency (Bechet 2011:28)
Lo nom d'una lenga es pas neutre per son imatge.
the name of=a languagei is not neutre for heri image.**F**
The name of a language is not neutre for its image.

(3) Langed. Occ. postnom.:
La sor mieu.
the.F sister.(F) mine
My sister.

Regarding deficiency in prenominal adjectival possessives, Niçard, the Occitan variety spoken in the city of Niça (fr. *Nice*) and its sorroundings, does show a similar pattern to that of northern Catalan.

(4) Example of Niçard (Toscano 1998:50)
Li mieu sòrres
the.F.PL mine sister.F.PL
My sisters.

To conclude, with this Work in Progress I attempt to develop a unitary theory for this phenomenon in both Occitan and Catalan as a whole. The problem with adding Occitan to the equation is that the analysis proposed for Northern Catalan needs to be discarded.

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Orthographic variation in trilingual contact situations

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Orthographic standards not only serve to facilitate clear and efficient communication in writing but also carry significant sociocultural importance for the respective speech community. Spelling norms are selective representations of linguistic form, and as such, they reflect and shape identities, contributing to the formation of 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1991). Proficiency in applying orthographic conventions is regarded as an essential skill for individuals to function effectively within society. Conversely, deviations from orthographic norms—whether intentional or unintentional—can serve as markers of group identity and provoke emotional reactions to varying degrees. In multilingual environments, ongoing language contact increases the likelihood of orthographic divergence and variation, as individuals draw on different writing systems and language-specific phoneme-to-grapheme correspondences. This raises several key questions: What intra- and extralinguistic factors govern interlinguistic orthographic transfer in a non-standardized environment? To what extent do these transfers shape or challenge the de facto orthographic standard? How do individuals navigate and negotiate their orthographic choices across languages? This study addresses these questions using Facebook data from the German-Namibian community, which presents a particularly interesting case for analyzing orthographic practices. Members of this community typically grow up in a trilingual environment, speaking Standard German, English, and Afrikaans. Additionally, the prolonged language contact in this context has given rise to a non-standard variety of German commonly referred to as Namdeutsch (Namibian German, or NG), which incorporates lexical and morphosyntactic elements from all three languages and, to a lesser extent, from indigenous languages. (Kellermeier-Rehbein 2016, 228; cf. Böhm 2003; Dück 2018; Kellermeier-Rehbein 2015; Nöckler 1963; Pütz 1991; Wiese et al. 2014; 2017; Wiese and Bracke 2021; Zimmer in press; 2019)This setting offers rich data for examining how multilingual speakers manage orthographic norms and how such practices influence language evolution in a non-standardized linguistic environment.

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Some grammaticalizations in south-western Piedmont

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Grammaticalization, Piedmont, adverbs, time, language contact

Non-standard Romance varieties exhibit varying degrees of grammaticalization, situated at different points along the Romance Grammar Cline (Lamiroy/De Mulder, 2011). French, which has a higher degree of grammaticalization, and Spanish, which has a lower degree, represent the extremes of this continuum.

Miola (2017) highlights that Piedmontese has undergone a further stage of grammaticalization compared to Italian, which serves as its roofing language (*Dachsprache*) in numerous aspects of its grammar. The 'Jespersen cycle' is considered a paradigmatic case in linguistics, involving the transformation of the negations 'nen' (NEC ENTEM/NE GENTEM) and 'pa' (PASSU), originally full words with their own precise semantic content, into forms observed in contemporary French and Piedmontese, respectively. The grammaticalization process was progressive and proceeded in two successive stages. The first was discontinuous negation, as exemplified in contemporary written French. The second was post-verbal negation, characterising contemporary Piedmontese and spoken French (Parry 1996). In the context of Piedmontese dialects (Tosco/Miola/Duberti 2023; Cerruti/Regis 2023), the present study focuses on a specific alpine area in south-western Piedmont, where two distinct grammaticalization processes concerning the sphere of temporality have emerged. Specifically, two lexical morphemes have undergone grammaticalization, becoming adverbs of time. These are the Italian equivalents “il mattino” or “al mattino”, used to express the temporal concept of “tomorrow morning”, and the expression “alla sera” or “sera”, used to express “last night” (Regis, 2018). These phenomena are attested in a specific alpine region in the Province of Cuneo, which straddles the boundaries between linguistic types, encompassing varieties belonging to the Occitan, Piedmontese, and Ligurian linguistic domains. Regarding the temporal concept of 'yesterday evening', it is possible to attempt a diachronic reconstruction: these attestations appear to represent a phase preceding the typical Ligurian and Langarolo (Ledgeway 2015), in which the type ‘sera’ generically corresponds to 'yesterday' (Regis 2018; Culasso/Viberti 2013).

The research is based on data gathered directly by the authors and cross-referenced with data from regional and national Atlases (ALEPO, AIS, ALF) and data from the dialect literature (Gasca Queirazza 1989). The aim is to present the findings in a broader context related to the interpretative framework of the Romance Grammar Cline.

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Sociolinguistic correlates of language contact leading to the formation of two Sinitic varieties in the Gansu-Qinghai area (Wǔtún, Línxià)

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Keywords
Sinitic, Mongolic, Tibetan, language contact, mixed language, sociolinguistics, bilingualism

In this paper, we will compare the case of two purportedly Sinitic languages from the Gansu-Qinghai area of China, called Wǔtún and Línxià, respectively. The Gansu-Qinghai area is considered as a *Sprachbund* because of the large number of linguistic features shared by the local languages, which belong to either of the Sinitic, Mongolic, Turkic, or Tibetan families (Dwyer 1995, Janhunen 2012, Sandman & Simon 2016, Slater 2021, Szeto 2021 among others). Wǔtún and Línxià were first documented in the early 1980s (Ma 1982, Chen 1982).

Wǔtún is described as a Sinitic language heavily influenced by Amdo Tibetan, with clear signs of additional influence from Mongolic languages of the Gansu-Qinghai region (Sandman 2012). As for Línxià, despite the "genetic continuity" of its Sinitic substratum, it has also experienced "heavy interference in syntax" due to long-term language contact (Dwyer 1992).

Whereas Dwyer invokes "[…] the political and economic dominance of the Hàn Chinese" as an explanation for the maintenance of a distinctive Chinese substratum for Línxià, Wǔtún was formed under sociologically different circumstances, involving widespread bilingualism, which accounts for its arguably mixed language status (Sandman 2021, Dede 2015).

We propose to explore qualitative aspects of the sociolinguistic situation (such as the type of bilingualism, prestige issues, imperfect learning, intermarriage, speaker attitudes…) that may have played a role in the form and depth of contact-induced changes in both languages, and relate them to the contact phenomena documented in the published studies of these languages.

Finally, we will examine in more detail the reported changes at the morphological, syntactic, lexical and phonological levels in order to assess the qualitative difference between Línxià and Wǔtún.

Our choice of the two languages Línxià and Wǔtún aims to fill in a gap in language contact studies in the region, which have often focused on the influence of Sinitic languages on other varieties, rather than the other way around (Dwyer 2023). In addition, we hope to shed some light on sociolinguistic mechanisms that have hitherto been little discussed for the situations under consideration, in order to enrich our understanding of the formation of atypical Sinitic varieties in the region.

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Germanic-Romance language contact in the Western Alps: modal verbs and modality in the *titsch* language of Gressoney (Aosta, Italy)

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The Walser community of Gressoney is characterized by a peculiar situation of contact and linguistic change, since it is an Alemannic minority sited in the Romance *continuum* between Gallo-Italic and Franco-Provençal languages in the Aosta Valley. If until the beginning of the 20th century the community had almost any contact with Italian, French and Franco-Provençal varieties, subsequently Gressoney broke its ties with Germany and Switzerland and opened up to the Romance world. In terms of repertoire, it starts from a diglossia between dialect (*titsch*) as a L-variety and German as a H-variety (Giacalone Ramat 1979; Zürrer 2009: 86). The situation changed in the 20th century, when Piedmontese was included as L-variety with *titsch* and Italian and German became the H-varieties of the community (Zürrer 2009: 100). Subsequently, the repertoire changed again after the II World War, with French and Italian as H-varieties, while among the L-varieties a dilalia between *titsch* (alongside Piedmontese) and Italian is imposed (see Giacalone Ramat 1979). The consequences are drastic for *titsch* and speed up its change: the lack of German as a *Dachsprache* frees it from normative pressure and determines that condition between the linguistic change induced by contact and the progressive abandonment of the Germanic variety in favor of Italian (Saracco 2024). The contribution aims to describe and therefore verify, for the first time, the linguistic change induced by contact in *titsch* in the field of modality and, more precisely, in the class of modal verbs, using the methods of contrastive linguistics. *Titsch*, Italian and German will be compared to describe the linguistic change underway, using both the corpus collected and digitized by the CLiMAlp project of the University of Turin (Gaeta et. al. 2022), and an *ad hoc* questionnaire submitted to the community of Gressoney. Modal verbs are in fact a central morpho-lexical class of the Germanic family, an almost defining structural trait (Milan 2001). As regards Italian, the picture is more limited, although certainly no less complex (Simone/Amacker 1977, D'Achille 2003). One of the first results of the contact in the field of modal verbs is, for example, the regression in the use of almost two of the six modal verbs of *titsch* (*mògò* and *torfò* s. Germ. *mögen* and *dürfen*). In other cases, some modal verbs are now used in *titsch* with the same meaning and uses of the Italian modal verbs (*chònnò*; s. Germ. *können*).

Keywords: *Titsch, modal verbs, language contact, German, Italian*

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“POV”, “Me when…”, and “BFF” – The use of English in German professionally produced youth media memes

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Key words: Global Englishes; Social Media; Memes; Linguistic Ethnography; Youth media

English words and phrases also known as anglicisms are frequently used in many countries of the expanding circle of the World Englishes paradigm (Kachru 1985). Previous research in these localities of language contact has therefore focused on various domains in which anglicisms are used, particularly in traditional mass media and social media communication (e.g. Coats 2019; Fiedler 2022; Lee 2014; Plümer 2000; Sagmeister-Brandner 2008; Author 2024; Smakman et al. 2009). Furthermore, many studies on social media communication were also undertaken in relation to English language memes in the expanding circle and beyond (e.g. Greene and Schmid 2024; Lou 2017; Zenner and Geeraerts 2018). Despite this plethora of research, little attention has been paid to how and why English is used in meme captions in online communications by professional journalists in Germany. Playing a significant role in communication among young people, memes are used by many German youth media organisations. In particular for youth radio stations in Germany, which have become multimedia outlets, online communication via Instagram is vital for their target audience interaction and for staying up-to-date with the latest trends in their youth community.

This study investigates the use of English words and phrases in a self-compiled corpus of meme captions produced by professional journalists working in the online team of one of the largest youth radio stations in Germany. The corpus was compiled as part of the ongoing research project *CIDoRa* (*Community, Identity and Diversity in German youth radio*) funded by the European Union. Further methods of data collection and analysis include 8 months of linguistic ethnography both at the youth radio station and on the station’s Instagram page, informal interviews and 20 semi-structured interviews with journalists, and a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the meme captions. In addition to giving examples of the use of English from the corpus of approx. 1000 memes, the presentation also looks into the frequency and types of anglicisms and discusses the functions of English in meme captions from the perspective of the actual language users. Furthermore, the presentation gives insights into influencing factors shaping the production of memes, such as the socio-cultural environment in which memes are produced, the target audience, and the image the station as a multimedia organisation wishes to present to its audience.

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Contact-induced change in the French variety spoken by the Swiss diaspora on the Black sea coast

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Key words :
Black sea colonies – French variety – Swiss dialects – Patois – Language shift

This paper investigates the specific processes of contact-induced change in the French variety spoken in the Swiss colonies on the Black sea coast between 1820s and 1940s.

The study is based on materials collected during our research project focused on the history of a Swiss communities on the Northern Black Sea coast in the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. The case study addresses the specific case of language use within the Swiss community of Shabo (Chabag) situated near Odessa founded by winemakers from the canton of Vaud in 1822. Shabo characterizes as a multilingual community, whose members spoke French and German, as well as oral varieties of Francoprovençal and Swiss-German and situated in a multilingual region of the Russian empire where Russian, Ukrainian, and Moldavian were spoken. We focus on French variety spoken at the village by five generations of settlers.

The methodological perspective in the paper involves the use of handwritten archival documents from the private sphere and linguists' fieldnotes. We show how the contact phenomena can be traced through these data.

Our study illustrates the macro-sociolinguistic aspects of the use of French variety in Shabo. It discusses the historical background of language contacts, the demographic, economic and language policy of the he Russian Empire and of the Romanian Kingdom that impacted it. The domains of French variety use are also be described, and they are characterized from the point of view of language maintenance vs. language shift.

Our study also leads to understand social motivation of linguistic variation and change in this specific linguistic community. The fieldnotes that linguists produced in the 1920s, 1940s and 1960s illustrate language use of three generations of settlers. We use these data to comprehend how their French progressively acquired marked features resulting from interference standard French-patois and from Russian. It could be argued that the di]erences between the Shabo Swiss variety and standard French under the influence of the Russian language are not accidental, they point to a systematic reorganization of vocabulary, syntax and phonemics. We also look at explaining innovations in the French variety spoken in Shabo, i.e. phenomena which did do not exist in French nor in Russian.

Our conclusion suggests that language contact has parallels with the setting of the Swiss community in the colony. Pressures that shaped it were: setting up a community within a foreign environment and distinguishing themselves from the neighbors, Russians and Germans, and political circumstances.

Decolonial approaches to language contact

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Decolonial approaches have gained prominence in academia in recent decades, also in the field of linguistics (Deumert et al. 2020, Charity Hudley et al. 2024, Ndhlovu & Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2025). In this talk, I explore what decoloniality means for the contemporary study of language contact by applying decolonial theories of power, representation, and agency (Spivak 1988, Mignolo 2000) across diverse research contexts. Drawing on three case studies, I aim to foreground issues of positionality, unlearning, and relearning—central concerns within decolonial frameworks (Smith 1999). The first case study examines approaches to the description and classification of a letter written in a mixed Philippine-Spanish code from the colonial period. The second highlights differences between speaker and researcher perceptions within a creole-speaking community. The third presents a recent language documentation project focused on endangered contact varieties, employing a collaborative methodology.

Together, the case studies show how, from a decolonial perspective, it is essential to engage with and theorize a plurality of ontologies, particularly from those historically marginalized, in order to critically assess dominant assumptions about language change and contact. This perspective also entails the decolonization of research methodologies, requiring a reflexive examination of the researcher's own positionality within the field. Moreover, it calls for a disruption of conventional binaries—such as fixed versus fluid linguistic practices, or speaker versus linguist—advocating instead for collaborative research practices conducted with communities.

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On the correlation between Germanic V2 and the low realization of the infinitival marker. Evidence from Germanic varieties spoken in NE-Italy

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In several studies concerning V2 (i.e. the mandatory movement of V_{fin} to COMP/Fin0) in Germanic languages, two traditionally correlated phenomena, namely (i) the root-embedded asymmetry, and (ii) pronominal Subj-V_{fin} inversion in root sentence, are interpreted as evidence for structural-V2, assuming that COMP has specific phi-features that attract V_{fin}.

In this paper, we hypothesize that the infinitival marker represents a third correlated phenomenon, more specifically by comparing the *loci* where the [+fin] and [-fin] features are respectively realized, confronting this pattern with Scandinavian and West-Germanic [+V2] languages on one hand, and Romance languages/Italian and modern English [-V2] on the other. Also included in the group of Germanic languages are Cimbrian and Timavese, Germanic varieties in close contact with Italo- Romance varieties.

Despite micro-variations (see examples 1-3), Cimbrian and Timavese reproduce the Germanic model realizing the infinitival marker in the low vP-domain. We hypothesize that the low position of the infinitival marker represents the "other side of the coin" of V2 (the lexical realization of subject agreement morphology).

Consequently, we speculate on a possible generalization that correlates the domains that host finite/Agr-features and the infinitival marker respectively, as the functional head that requires the lexicalization of agreement morphology is cross-linguistically incompatible with the realization of the infinitival marker (i.e., the lexicalization of [-fin]):

V2 languages / German	Romance languages / Italian	English
[+fin] morphology lexicalized in CP	[+fin] morphology lexicalized in INFL/TP	[+fin] morphology lexicalized in vP and checked by INFL/TP
[-fin] morphology lexicalized in the lower vP domain ➔"zu" as verbal morphology as 4a-c)	[-fin] morphology correlates with a free morpheme in COMP/FinP (5a-b)	[-fin] is realized in the higher INFL/TP domain (➔ English *to*), examples (6a-b)

(1) a. Ger: Er hat mich gebeten [ø nicht weg**zu**gehen]
b. Cimbr: Dar hatt=me gepittet [ø nèt vort**zo**giana]
c. Tim: Ear hott=mar ongschoft [ø nitt vurt**za**gian]
'He asked me, ø not to go away'

(2) a. Cimbr: Dar hatt=me gepittet [ø *nèt* **zo** giana vort]
b. Tim: Ear hott=mar ongschoft [ø *nitt* **za** gian vurt]

(3) a. Cimbr: ?Dar hatt=me gepittet [ø **zo** giana *nèt* vort] (OK: 70%)
b. Tim: *Ear hott=mar ongschoft [ø **za** gian *nitt* vurt]

(4) a. Gestern **hat**[+fin] sie ihn an der Uni nicht angetroffen
b. …, **dass**[+fin] sie ihn (gestern) an der Uni nicht angetroffen hat
c. (Sie hoffte), **ø**[-fin] ihn (gestern) an der Uni nicht an**zu**treffen

(5) a. Oggi all'università [(lei) non lo **ha** più incontrato]
b. Sperava [**di** [ø non incontrarlo più oggi all'università]]

(6) a. She **ø**[+fin] always meets him at the university
b. I want for her (not) **to**[-fin] meet him at the university

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KW: syntactic variation, Verb second, infinitival marker, Agr-features, Germanic varieties

Stage-level properties in "verbal" constructions: studies from Guadeloupean Creoles

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In Haitian Creole, one pattern of reduplication at clause level (*reiteration*, with Aboh, Smith, Zribi Hertz 2012) consists in doubling the predicate form and inserting, also in combination, attributes of quantity (*yon* 'one', *sel* 'only') or quality (*bon* 'good', *byen* 'well', *gwo* 'big', *ti* 'small') between the predicate (P1) and its duplicate (P2) (1.).

1. Haitian Creole (Glaude & Zribi-Hertz 2014: 268)

Elsi ***kouri*** *bon ti* ***kouri***
P1 P2
Elsi run good small run
'Elsi {runs/has run} quite a bit'.

This reiteration construction is particularly productive with predicates expressing dynamic events, and pragmatically conveys several meanings concerning evaluation of manner (e.g. intensification and/or attenuation) and/or aspectuality of the action (for instance, in 1. → to run (*for*) *quite a bit*).

This paper aims to analyse the compatibility of stative predicates expressing properties with the reiteration construction presented in 1. In particular, it will be explored which semantic classes of adjectives (dimension, value, age, material, physical properties, etc…, Stassen 1997) are allowed with such typically verbal constructions, and what is the semantic effect produced by reiteration on the adjectival predicates. Working on Guadeloupean Creole data, collected by interviewing a total of 8 native speakers in a survey-type context of elicitation, it will be shown that adjectives that are semantically characterised to a higher degree by some (typically) verbal features – mainly the lack of time-stability and the processual gradeability (which generally define *stage-level properties;* Kratzer 1995) –, are more eligible than atemporal properties adjectives (*individual-level properties*) in reiteration constructions to express intensification and attenuation. In conjunction to that, it will be shown that the same classes of adjectives that are eligible for reiteration in Haitian Creole require in Guadeloupean Creole the sole progressive aspect *ka* to form a degree achievement or partial completion predicate (Hay et al. 1999), without the intervention of the progressive light verb *vin* 'to become'.

These two phenomena are indeed strongly linked, since they both are to be viewed as grammatical strategies that deal with the semantic dimension of processual development implied in stage-level property predicates, a topic which is still mainly overlooked by the literature, but that is crucial in the theory of the relationship between the adjectives and verbs macro-categories.

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When Italian languages go abroad: from Calabrian villages to metropolitan Toronto

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Keywords: sociolinguistics, heritage languages, language ideology, identity, diaspora, multilingualism

This qualitative study presents an analysis of language ideologies within a multilingual community of Italian immigrants in Canada and their second- and third generation descendants, as they emerge from conversations where they discuss their languages practices and preferences.
Heritage Calabrian Italians (HCIs) immigrated from Calabria to Toronto during the 50's and 60's, bringing with them Calabrian Italian and Calabrese dialects (local, non-standardized Romance languages) as heritage languages. The goal of this study is to show how language ideologies from the homeland and the country of immigration are recreated, reinforced, and transformed in the metalinguistic discourse of an immigrant community.
Drawing from the analytical framework of Language Ideology (Irvine & Gal 2000; Woolard 2016), I analyzed data consisting of responses to an Ethnic Orientation Questionnaire (EOQ). These were previously collected by the Heritage Language Variation and Change project (HLVC, Nagy 2024), a cross-linguistic, intergenerational, and diatopic (heritage vs. homeland varieties) corpus study of multiple heritage communities in Toronto, including HCI, mainly for the purpose of variationist sociolinguistic analysis. 15 interviews were analyzed, focusing on explicit metalinguistic discourse or talk about language(s).
The analysis of the metalinguistic discourse of HCI reveals a tension between ideologies of Multiculturalism from Canada, where it is desirable to maintain and share cultural and linguistic diversity (Brosseau & Dewing 2009; Berry 2013), and standard language ideologies from Italy, where local languages are historically stigmatized and seen as impediments to socio-economic advancement (Cremona & Bates 1977; Ruffino 2006; Rubino 2014; Besler et al. 2024). Younger generations of HCIs are invested in maintaining their heritage identities, but they are encouraged by older generations to favor Italian over Calabrese, as a marker of a real Italian-Canadian identity. Calabrese bears strong emotional value as language of the family and a marker of Calabrian origin but is erased from discourse on heritage language maintenance or Italian-Canadian identity. This situation exemplifies the mixed effects of ideologies of authenticity on minority language maintenance (cf. Woolard 2016: 24). For Heritage Italian, its perceived value as authenticating a desirable local identity – being Italian-Canadian – encourages its survival and maintenance efforts. For Heritage Calabrese, the same property of authenticity and locality discourages efforts to extend the language to speakers outside the family or the small circle of the *paesani* – people from the same hometown – including younger generations of HCIs.

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Constructing and Deconstructing Linguistic Identity: The Case of Britannica International School in Shanghai

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Italy, with its strategic position from a geopolitical, economic, and cultural perspective, is currently facing the phenomenon of international migration, becoming a country of both immigration and emigration. According to the latest *Rapporto italiani nel mondo* (2023), the primary destinations for Italian migrants are Argentina, Germany, and Switzerland. In addition to these countries, which are considered the 'old' routes and destinations of migrants, other 'new' ones are emerging, albeit in smaller numbers, including China, where the Italian presence has seen/sees a continuous increase over time (Moffa 2022).

Alongside this 'new' wave of Italian emigration to China, interesting studies have provided valuable historical and sociological insights (Di Vincenzo, Marcelli, Staiano 2014; Moffa 2022). However, researchers seem to have overseen the issues of identity and language contact between Italian and the local varieties (except Ni, Vallini 2023).

For the descendants of Italians living abroad, studying the Italian language and culture is an essential factor in their identity development: the Italian education system outside of Italy provides younger generations with opportunities to engage in the Italian language and culture through the support of Italian schools, charter and non-charters schools, and bilingual sections (Castellani, 2019). In areas lacking such a support network, the Italian community is often compelled to seek alternative solutions.

As the initial step of a pilot project undertaken by the authors, this contribution aims to study one of the few unique scenarios in China: the Britannica school in Shanghai, the only international school currently offering an Italian curricular course for children of Italian descent. The research aims to achieve the following objectives:

1) understand learners' perception of their linguistic identity through the analysis of autobiographical writings and semi-structured interviews;

2) examine, through non-participant observation and audio recordings, which language variety(ies) the younger generations use in a formal educational setting;

3) explore, through a questionnaire addressed to the families of the students, the motivations behind the (continued) maintenance of the Italian language.

Keywords: linguistic identity, Italian emigration to China, Italian curricular course, children of Italian descent, Third culture kids

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“Null Subject or Non-Null Subject? That is the question”. Subject Pronoun Expression Language Contact in Puerto Rican Spanish

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The Null Subject Parameter (NSP) within Chomsky’s (1995) Principles and Parameters framework categorizes languages as [+null subject] (e.g., Spanish, Italian) or [–null subject] (e.g., English, French) (Rizzi 1996; Roberts & Holmberg 2010). However, research on language contact, particularly within the Romance family, has shown divergences from the original NSP predictions, making Subject Pronoun Expression (SPE) a key area of inquiry (Rizzi 1982 on Italian; Casanova 1998 on Catalan; Carvalho et al. 2015 on Spanish in contact; Duarte & Marques 2023 on Portuguese; among others). While Modern French and Haitian Creole are obligatorily pronominal (Ortiz-López 2011), Brazilian Portuguese has shifted to semi-pro-drop (Erker & Guy 2012), and Spanish remains variable (Morales 1997; Gutiérrez-Maté 2010). In Caribbean Spanish, including Puerto Rican Spanish (PRS), higher frequencies of overt subject pronouns have been documented, suggesting a shift toward more obligatory pronoun use (Morales 1999; Ortiz-López 2022).

This study analyzes SPE in two varieties of PRS: San Juan Spanish (SJS) and Loíza Spanish (LS). While SJS is considered the urban standard–usually viewed as the variety to follow due to its greater access to education (Silva-Corvalán 2001)–, LS represents an Afro-Hispanic vernacular shaped by both African and Hispanic linguistic influences in historically marginalized and underrepresented communities (Lipski 2005; Visconte & Sessarego 2022a, 2022b). By analyzing these varieties, this work has two primary goals: (1) to explore the influence of linguistic (internal) and social (external) factors on SPE, and (2) to examine the implications of this morphosyntactic feature for creole studies and Afro-Hispanic vernaculars.

Data were collected through sociolinguistic interviews with speakers from both communities, followed by a quantitative analysis of SPE rates. Preliminary results reveal similar rates of reduction of null subjects across SJS and LS, challenging earlier creole-based hypotheses and suggesting no decreolization for LS. These findings also question NSP predictions, indicating that contact-induced language change can blur traditional typological distinction. Specifically, the convergence toward more frequent overt subject pronoun use suggests that both internal variation and Afro-Hispanic linguistic interaction can shift the default [+null subject] setting of Spanish. This pattern aligns with patterns observed in other Hispanic and Lusophone contact varieties (Toribio 2000; Camacho 2008), supporting the re-evaluation of the NSP in contact languages (Camacho 2013). Moreover, the stability of SPE in LS, despite its Afro-Hispanic heritage, offers new insights into how language contact shapes linguistic identities and disrupts linear creole-decreole models (Bickerton 1975; Lipski 2006).

Keywords: Null Subject Parameter; Subject Pronoun Expression; Puerto Rican Spanish; Afro-Hispanic Vernaculars; Contact Linguistics.

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"Let's Get Loud!" Contact-Induced Prosodic Change in Afro-Hispanic Varieties: Insights from Mexico and Puerto Rico

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This paper compares prenuclear peak alignment in two Afro-Hispanic Languages of the Americas (AHLAs)–the varieties that developed in Latin America from the contact of African languages, Spanish and Portuguese in colonial times–: Afro-Mexican Spanish (AMS) (Southwestern Mexico), and Afro-Puerto Rican Spanish (APRS) (Northwestern Puerto Rico).

Four participants (mean age: 63yrs old, 2 male, 2 female) from the marginalized communities of Costa Chica, Guerrero/Oaxaca (Mexico), and Loíza (Puerto Rico) were recruited. Spontaneous speech data collected through sociolinguistic interviews was annotated according to Spanish ToBI conventions (Beckman et al. 2002; Face and Prieto 2007; Aguilar et al. 2009; Prieto and Roseano 2010). The variable context was outlined as prenuclear peaks, i.e, any pre-final pitch accent realized as a rise; nuclear peaks, i.e., the final stressed syllable of the utterance, were discounted due to peak variability in this condition. Peaks were coded as L+H* (with the peak reached within the tonic syllable) and L+>H* (with the peak reached in the following, post-tonic syllable).

Results show that, in both AMS and APRS, instances of L+H* are twice as frequent as L+>H*. Further analysis reveals a suprasegmental-segmental interaction in AMS: peaks align on following nasals regardless of intervening syllable boundaries, such that in closed syllables with coda /N/, peaks are tonic, whilst in open syllables with /N/ as following onset, peaks are post-tonic.

Features thus align with patterns described in other AHLAs where prenuclear L+H* prevails (Lipski 2008; Butera et al. 2020; Korfhagen et al. 2021; Visconte et al. 2024). This is distinct from non-Afro varieties of Spanish where instead prenuclear peaks align post-tonically (Aguilar et al. 2009). The historical source of these differences is considered with respect to The Spanish Creoles Debate. Whilst others have maintained that such features are attributable to historic contact with African tonal languages, in which each stressed syllable is produced with a specific tonal specification (Hualde and Schwegler 2007), we instead consider environment and language background. We hypothesise that they are instead the result of a reduced inventory of phonological targets. Rather than arise from contact-induced change, they may instead be attributable to the second language acquisition strategies of the primary speakers associated with the phonology/pragmatics interface (Sessarego 2013). As such, it is not historical contact with a specific language from which these features emerge, but rather the contact environment and strategies employed by the original speakers which influences their presence in geographically distinct, contemporary varieties.

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Monolingualism vs. multilingual identity: exploring the relationship between language policy and linguistic identity/ies construction in Chinese heritage language schools in Italy

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Heritage language schools not only facilitate language learning and cultural preservation, but also serve as pivotal spaces where "new configurations of language knowledge, cultural values, and identities are generated" (Li 2014: 158). While numerous studies have explored the complex construction of linguistic identities among Chinese heritage speakers (see Rizzuto 2022), relatively few have examined the role of Chinese heritage language schools in shaping pupils' linguistic identities (He 2004; Li 2014). The present study adopts an interactional sociolinguistic approach to investigate the interplay between monolingual language policy and the multilingual practices observed in CHL classroom activities in Italy. This research forms part of the PRIN PNRR ECCO-Italy project, "Education of Children of Chinese Origin in Italy," with a particular focus on children's linguistic socialization in CHL schools.

Drawing on ethnographic interviews with CHL school principals and teachers, as well as audio recordings of naturally occurring classroom interactions, this study examines the linguistic ideologies articulated by principals and the language policies enacted in CHL classrooms as described by teachers, through the lens of "indexicality" as proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005). The findings indicate that both principals and teachers consistently emphasize the maintenance of Chinese as the dominant language of instruction. However, the analysis of classroom interactions, informed by the framework of interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1982), reveals that teachers' and students' language practices vary according to context or as specific frames are evoked during conversation. This finding supports previous conclusions that "the complementary classroom is a translanguaging space where the conventional configurations, categories, structures and power relations are challenged" (Li 2014: 173), as pupils' multilingual repertoires can sometimes constitute a "bottom-up" approach that challenges the "top-down" policies.

Taken together, these findings suggest that a more nuanced understanding of heritage language maintenance through language policy requires approaches that foster the development of pupils' multilingual identity, which encompasses various individual identities (Fisher et al. 2018: 459), instead of establishing a one-to-one correspondence between language and identity.

Key words: linguistic identity, multilingualism, Chinese Heritage language speaker, Chinese heritage school, language policy

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Morphosyntactic Analysis on Double Plurals in Cantonese-English

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Double plurality is a pattern found cross-linguistically, in which speakers employ more than one plural form for attributing plurality. Kramer (2016) discussed the analysis of split realisation in Amharic: one is hosted by the *n*-categoriser and another by the Num/ Div head. Acquaviva (2008) argued for Breton that *n* plurals are collective, while Div plurals are collection of singularities. The split approach to plurality is further extended to cases of double plural in language mixing by Alexiadou (2024) to language pairs involving different kinds of Div markers.

In this paper, I investigate Cantonese-English mixing, a language pair that has received little attention. Cantonese lacks plural morphology and makes use of classifiers instead (SG: *go*; PL: *di*). If one assumes, as in Borer (2005), that CL and the plural marker share the same function, namely singling out an entity from the mass and occupying the same syntactic position, div(vision), one would not expect the doubling phenomenon in Cantonese-English. I examine whether doubling is possible in this language pair.

I discuss data presented in previous literature and the Cantonese Web Corpus (Baroni et al., 2009) and find that despite the single form remaining prominent in expressing plurality, double plurals can be an alternative and formed with all three Cantonese plural markings: (i) the plural classifier (1), (ii) quantifiers with optional singular classifier and (iii) numerals with singular classifier.

(1) *jyu*^{21} *gwo*^{35} *di*55 sponsor speaker-s *dou*55 *heoi*33
if CL.PL sponsor speaker-pl also go
'If the sponsor speakers also go' (Leung, 1987)

From the split plurality perspective, plural markers are not necessarily located at Div, they can be in
n-categoriser: in (1), the English suffix creates the group meaning, which bears cohesiveness that the *speakers* belong to the same group and should be at *n*-categoriser. The "true" pluralisation at Div is given by the Cantonese plural classifier: it singles out the *speakers* individually and pluralises them, i.e. having more than one referent.

The empirical data demonstrates that avoiding opaque formation in language contact situations (Don, 2017; Leufkens et al., 2015) leads to a more transparent option for speakers to express their concept – the one-to-one form-meaning mapping in doubling (Martin et al., 2023). Furthermore, it extends the split realisation of plurality, proposed in Alexiadou (2024) for language mixing, to language pairs with a different kind of plural marker – a classifier.

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