forms: one with the borrowed marker *ka* attached to the Ingrian genitive form (*saha-n-ka* saw-GEN-COM 'with a saw'), and the other as a borrowing of a full Votic comitative form (*saha-ka* saw.GEN-COM 'with a saw').

5) Contacts between two closely related languages can result in "soft borrowing" when nothing principally new is adopted but some forms conform to the donor language. E.g due to Ingrian influence, some Western Votic words restored the original initial *h*, cf. Finnish *hirvi* 'elk', Estonian *hirv* – Votic *irvi* – contemporary Western Votic *hirvi*).

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Towards a typology of pattern borrowings: Case study of subject reference change in Votic and Ingrian

Evgeniya Budennaya
(Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences)

Keywords: null subject, personal pronoun, language contact, Russian, Votic, Ingrian

This talk focuses on the loss of referential null subjects in Votic and Ingrian, two minor Finnic languages spoken to the south-west of the Leningrad region (historical Ingria). Their long-lasting contacts with Russian and ensuing borrowings on different linguistic levels are well-documented (Hartmann 1984; Rozhanskiy 2009), yet the uncommon double pattern of expressing pronominal subjects has not been studied so far. In the talk I trace the development of this pattern with regard to language contact and discuss how the results apply to a more general typology of factors that facilitate contact-induced change.

To express the reduced subject, Votic and Ingrian employ both personal pronouns and verbal inflection in all persons:

(1)   Votic (Markus, Rozhanskiy 2017):

    a. *sis*   *tämä*   *tul-i-ø*

       then   3SG   come-PST-3SG

       'Then he came'

    b. *miä*   *tätä*   *e-n*   *e*   *kensa* *näh-nü*

       1SG   3SG.PART   NEG-1SG   be   never   see-PTCP.ACT

       'I have never seen him'

(2)   Ingrian (non-published recording by F. I. Rozhanskiy and E. B. Markus, 2011):

    a. *hā*   *kūl-i-ø*

       3SG   die-PST-3SG

       'She died'

    b. *miä*   *muišša-n*   *šene-n*   *hüväšt*

       1SG   remember.PRS-1SG   it-GEN.SG   good

       'I remember it well'

Here Votic and Ingrian differ from other Uralic languages, where referential subject pronouns are mostly omitted (Kibrik 2013: 239-241). Taken into account the typological rarity of the double-marking pattern (Siewierska 2004: 268), its genesis in minor Finnic is of great interest. Internal scenarios dealing with the loss of agreement (Rizzi 1986) cannot be suggested since both Votic and Ingrian have preserved non-syncretic verbal inflection. However, the presence of a similar double pattern in Russian allows external influence to be viewed as a possible trigger for the rise of pronouns in Finnic.

To shed the light, I carried out a diachronic comparative study of Votic and Ingrian texts from the 19th century till today. The overall volume of analyzed finite clauses comprised 607 units. The binominal test showed that in both languages during the second half of the 20th century a significant expansion of the third person pronouns took place , with a higher rate for Votic that was always considered less prestigious in comparison to Russian and Ingrian (Markus, Rozhanskiy 2017: 13). Since contacts with Russian speakers considerably enhanced after the 1930s, the rise of third-person pronouns in minor Finnic which resulted in a regular double-marking referential pattern in all three persons, can be treated as a loss of linguistic complexity induced by a massively increased adult-only language contact (Trudgill 2011). In addition, some structural similarities between Russian and minor Finnic, such as SVO word order, might also contribute to the expansion of pronouns in Votic and Ingrian. This implication can account for a range of minor Turkic and Mongolian languages that preserved SOV order and were not affected by any rise of subject pronouns (Dryer 2013), despite the similar degree of contacts with Russian. Based on our data, typological similarity tends to play a more crucial role in facilitating the change in unrelated languages, compared to the sociolinguistic properties of the contact.

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The impact of relatedness and typological distance on pattern borrowability: A comparative study of D-marking on proper names

Iker Salaberri

(Public University of Navarre)

Keywords: contact situation, typological distance, pattern borrowability, D-marking, proper names

A central point of discussion in the literature on language contact in recent decades has addressed the question whether and to what degree genetic relationship and typological similarity favor the borrowing of various grammatical elements (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 14, Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009: 2, Bowern 2013: 413 among others). In this sense, languages have been argued to be more prone to borrow from genetically close and typologically similar linguistic systems (Hock 1991: 388, Masica 2005: 182).

This study aims to contribute to the discussion by providing an analysis of one rarely investigated morphosyntactic property, namely the borrowing of definiteness and specificity marking —which Himmelmann (1997: 6-7) and Handschuh (2017: 491) refer to by the cover-term "D-marking"— on proper names in three contact situations: (1) Basque, Catalan and Iberian Spanish in Spain; (2) Fulacunda (Pulaar), Sereer and Wolof in Senegal; (3) Paraguayan Guaraní and Paraguayan Spanish in Paraguay. These contact areas provide valuable insights to the discussion at hand, since they encompass (i) unrelated languages and languages related to each other to varying degrees; (ii) typologically similar as well as distinct languages; (iii) different contact situations, including a more or less balanced bilingualism in Paraguay and a multilingual context in Senegal. Various onymic subclasses have been considered for the study, including anthroponyms (*Andy*, *Mary*, *Ms. Hopkins*), zoonyms (*Pickles*, *Rocky*, *Tango*), toponyms (*Morocco*, *New Orleans*, *Tuscany*, *Kilimanjaro*) and phenonyms (*Hurricane Katrina*, *The Valdivia Earthquake*), among others. The data have been drawn directly from native bilingual (i.e. Basque-Iberian Spanish, Fulacunda-Wolof, Paraguayan Guaraní-Paraguayan Spanish, etc.) speakers by means of questionnaires specifically designed to encourage the use of proper names.

First results suggest that the contact situation is a stronger predictor for the borrowability of D-marking on proper names than relatedness and typological distance. Moreover, onymic subclasses seem to differ with respect to the likelihood of developing D-marking under contact. This is illustrated by Paraguayan Guaraní (Yopará variety), a Tupian language which under considerable influence from Paraguayan Spanish has borrowed the D-markers *el*, *la*, *lo*. In the corpus of collected data these