Morphological borrowing from, into and within Slavic

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tinyurl.com/MBFDSL25

PoSla Typology Lab

Universität Potsdam

Disclaimers

- This talk is to a considearble extent based on

Arkadiev, Peter & Kirill Kozhanov (2023). Borrowing of morphology (with a case-study of Baltic and Slavic verbal prefixes). In: Peter Ackema et al., *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Morphology*.
https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119693604.morphcom011

- This talk is intended as an introduction to morphological borrowing for Slavicists, not as a comprehensive survey of the phenomenon in Slavic languages.

- While doing my best to focus on Slavic, I also give examples from typologically diverse languages where relevant.

- The discussion will be surely not "formal" enough ☺

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Roadmap

- Definition and examples

- Matter vs. pattern borrowing

- Direct vs. indirect affix borrowing

- Factors and parameters

- Summary

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Roadmap

- **Definition and examples**
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Definition and examples

- *Borrowing* is a process whereby the recipient language (RL) adopts (transfers) some elements from the source language (SL) in a situation of language contact, i.e. a sociolinguistic setting including speakers bilingual in both languages.

- Here we are interested in morphological borrowing, i.e. transfer involving bound grammatical elements (formatives, morphs), patterns of their combination and their functions.

Weinreich 1953, Thomason & Kaufmann 1988, Field 2002, Gardani 2008, 2020a, 2020b, 2021, Matras & Sakel (ed.) 2007, Johanson & Robbeets (eds.) 2012, Vanhove et al. (eds.) 2012, Gardani et al. (eds.) 2015, Arkadiev & Kozhanov 2023, Thomason (forthcoming) etc.

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- I largely abstract away from the questions related to the definition of morphology itself and its basic units such as "word", "affix" or "inflection", as well as from the recent debates on these issues.

E.g. Haspelmath 2011, 2021, 2023a, 2024, Tallman 2020, Tallman & Auderset 2023 etc.

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- Otherwise, I apply criteria I consider consistent.

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- Does any piece of SL morphology in RL qualify as morphological borrowing?
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Definition and examples

- "International inflection"?

(1) a. Polish *muze**um** ~ muze**a*** < Latin

  b. German *Gen**us** ~ Gen**era*** < Latin
  *Lexik**on** ~ Lexik**a*** < Greek

  c. English *foc**us** ~ foc**i*** < Latin
  *phenomen**on** ~ phenomen**a*** < Greek
  *cherub ~ cherub**im*** < Hebrew

Definition and examples

- "International inflection"?

  - peculiarities of inflection "imported" together with borrowed lexemes and confined to them ("parallel system borrowing", Kossmann 2010);

  - not only do not affect the native vocabulary, but often tend to be replaced by regular native models (cf. English *lexicons* vs. *lexica*, although cf. Bauer 2015: 73-74);

  - often have low formal transparency.

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Definition and examples

www.linguistik.uzh.ch

Gardani (2018: 3):

- "the mere presence of foreign formatives in words of an RL does not count as morphological borrowing as long as these formatives are not integrated in the morphological system of the RL".

- only those "foreign formatives that have spread to native bases of an RL … qualify as instances of morphological borrowing, as they have become an active part in the RL's morphological system".

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Definition and examples

- "International" affixes in the European languages:

(2)   a.   English *-age, -able, -ize, de-, ex-* etc.

     b.   Polish *-acja, -yzm, anty-* etc.

- Such affixes are able to combine with native roots:

(3)   a.   English *defrost, workable*

     b.   Polish *antypowieść* 'anti-novel', *Norwidyzm*
   (Bartnicka et al. 2004: 154, 178)

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Definition and examples

Mednyj (Copper Island) Aleut (e.g. Golovko & Vakhtin 1990):

- the verbal inflection and a large number of lexemes are borrowed from Russian, whereas the remainder of grammar (including verbal derivation, case-marking and major syntactic structures) is Aleut.

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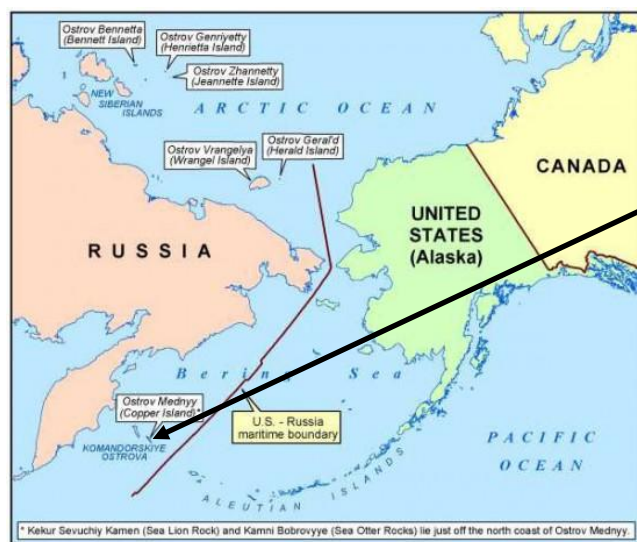
Definition and examples

Mednyj (Copper Island) Aleut (Sekerina 1994: 22, 24):

(4) *taana-x̌*   *ni-buud-ish*   *ukuu-t'*
land-ABS   NEG-AUX-PRS.2SG   see-INF
'You won't see the land.' (~ Rus. *ne budeš videt'*)

(5) *uku-xta-l-ya*   *ula-m*   *uluyaa*
see-RES-PST-1SG   house-OBL   red
'I saw a red house.' (~ Rus. *vide-l ja*)

ABS – absolutive case; AUX – auxiliary; INF – infinitive; NEG – negation;
OBL – oblique case; PRS – present tense; PST – past tense;
RES – resultative; SG – singular

Definition and examples

- Such bilingual mixed languages (other known cases are Media Lengua, Michif, Mbugu) emerge in very specific sociolinguistic situations characterized, first, by asymmetric bilingualism, and, second, by the creation of the new identity of an ethnolinguistic community, whose sign is the new mixed language.

  Bakker & Mous (eds.) 1994, Matras & Bakker (eds.) 2003, Meakins 2016

Definition and examples

Frank Seifart 2013:
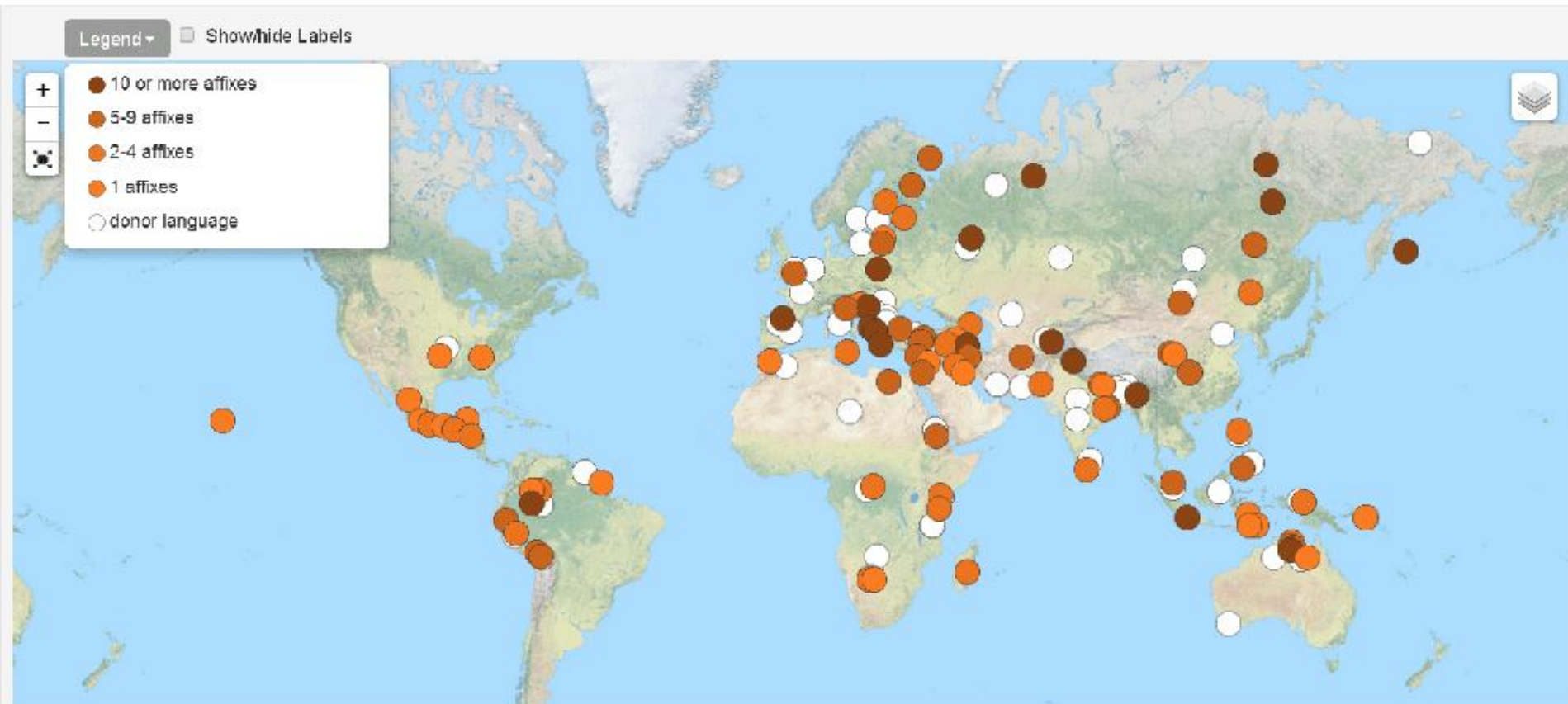
AfBo: A world-wide survey of affix borrowing

http://afbo.info/

Also Seifart 2017

https://frankseifart.info/

Definition and examples

http://afbo.info/

Definition and examples

Affix function	total number of borrowed affixes	number of languages that borrowed affixes with this function
subject/object indexing	60	10
nominalizer: agent	51	26
verbal TAM	51	17
nominal derivation (miscellaneous)	50	12
adjectivizer	46	19
noun class (inanimate)	45	3
nominalizer: abstract	39	12
nominalizer: miscellaneous	35	16
diminutive	34	16
number: plural	27	14
verbal derivation (miscellaneous)	21	9
case: non-locative peripheral case	20	10
numeral classifier	16	2
gender (human)	11	6
verbalizer	11	8
definite/indefinite	10	5
clause-level TAM	9	5
nominalizer: social group	9	7

http://afbo.info/

Definition and examples

- Slavic languages in AfBo:
  - BCMS: Sl for Albanian, Istro-Romanian, Hungarian
  - Bulgarian: SL for Megleno-Romanian
  - Russian: SL for Mednyj Aleut, Hebrew, Karelian, Kola Saami, Lithuanian Romani, Yiddish

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Definition and examples

- Not only affixal morphology can be borrowed.

Modern Persian (Lazard 1957: 57):

(6) a.   *soltan* 'sultan'   pl. *salâtin* (< Arabic)
      b.   *ostad* 'master'   pl. *asâtid* (native)

See e.g. Coghill 2015, Souag 2020 on the borrowing of Arabic root-and-pattern morphology.

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Definition and examples

Thomason (2015):

> "[T]here is no global dispreference for morphological diffusion. In certain types of contact situations, even inflectional morphology passes readily from one language to another. ... the diffusion of inflectional features is considerably more common than one might guess from the general language-contact literature".

https://lsa.umich.edu/

Roadmap

- Definition and examples
- Matter vs. pattern borrowing
- Direct vs. indirect affix borrowing
- Factors and parameters
- Summary

Roadmap

- Definition and examples

- **Matter vs. pattern borrowing**

- Direct vs. indirect affix borrowing

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Matter vs. pattern borrowing

Yaron Matras & Jeanette Sakel 2007:
Investigating the mechanisms of pattern
replication in language convergence.
Studies in Language 31(4): 829–865.

www.researchgate.net

www.aai.uni-hamburg.de

Matter vs. pattern borrowing

Matras & Sakel (2007: 829-830):

MAT(ter)-borrowing: "direct replication of morphemes and phonological shapes from a source language"

PAT(tern)-borrowing: "re-shaping of language-internal structures" when "it is the patterns of distribution, of grammatical and semantic meaning, and of formal-syntactic arrangement ... that are modeled on an external source" without transfer of phonological substance.

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Matter vs. pattern borrowing

- NB nice new terms for an old distinction, cf.
  - "borrowing" vs. "calquing/interference" (Haugen 1950, Weinreich 1953);
  - "direct" vs. "indirect transfer" (Silva-Corvalán 1997);
  - "global" vs. "selective copying" (Johanson 1999, 2008).

- See Gardani (2020b) and Pakendorf (2022) for a finer-grained typology, in particular, arguments that borrowing of pure matter without the associated SL content is also possible.

Matter vs. pattern borrowing

- Types of morphological pattern-borrowing:
  - copying of functions, e.g. polysemy copying
  - copying of morphological structures:
    - ✓ affix types (e.g. prefixes)
    - ✓ reduplication
    - ✓ compounding
    - ✓ exponence types
    - ✓ suppletion
    - ✓ etc.

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Matter vs. pattern borrowing

Polysemy copying (Talmy 1982; Heine & Kuteva 2005: Ch. 2; Heine 2012; Gast & van der Auwera 2012 etc.):

- extension of the range of functions/uses of a RL-element to match the range of functions/uses of a partially similar SL-element

Matter vs. pattern borrowing

- Polysemy copying

Romungro Romani (Indo-Aryan > Romani; Romania)

(4) a.   *ker-es*   *buki*   *ekh-e*   *čokanoa-ha*
         do-2SG   work   ART-OBL   hammer-INS
         'to work with a hammer' (Tenser 2016: 213)

     b.   *me kerdjo-v*   *direktoro*
         1SG become-1SG   director(NOM)
         'I become a director.' (Tenser 2016: 214)

Southern Central dialects

45

www.kratylos.org/~raphael/romani/maps/

Matter vs. pattern borrowing

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instrument

ART – article, INS – instrumental case,
OBL – oblique case

Southern Central dialects

46

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Matter vs. pattern borrowing

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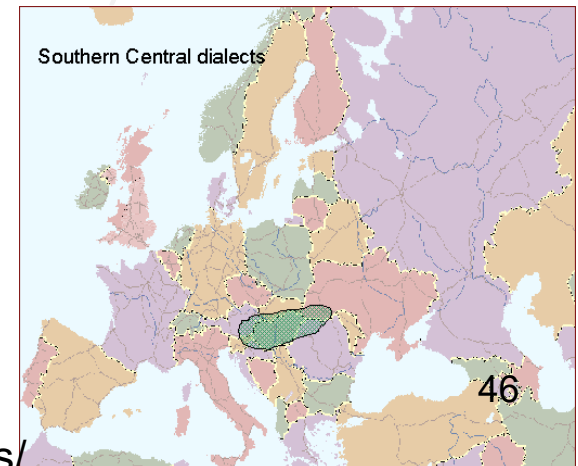
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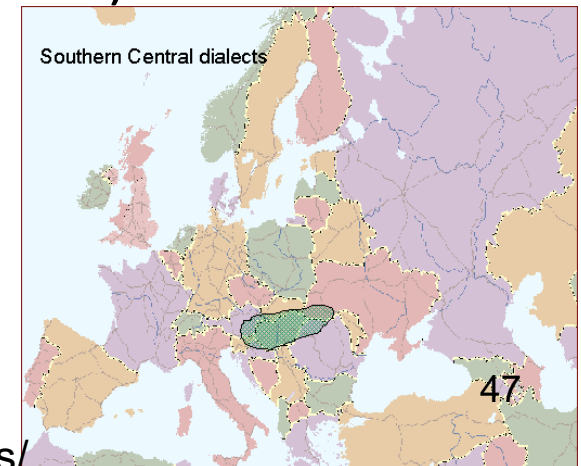| instrument |

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Matter vs. pattern borrowing

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North Russian Romani (Indo-Aryan > Romani; Russia):

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    b.   me ker-av   pe   dir'ektoro-sa
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Northeastern dialects

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COMP – complementiser, INS – instrumental,
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Northeastern dialects

Source: http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/maps/map13.gif

49

www.kratylos.org/~raphael/romani/maps/
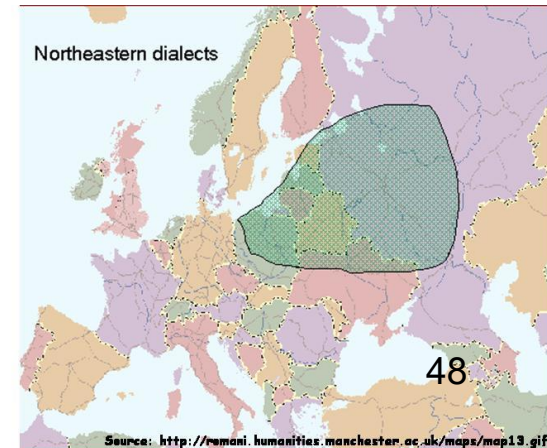
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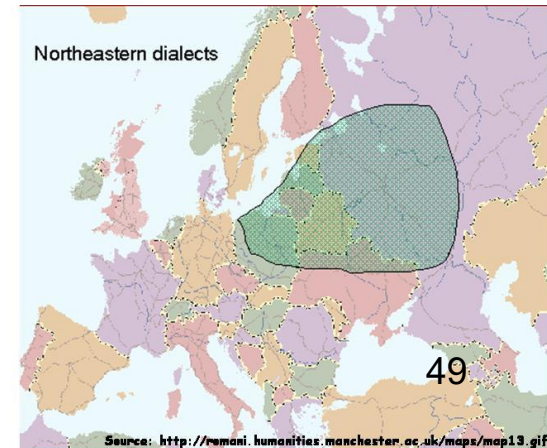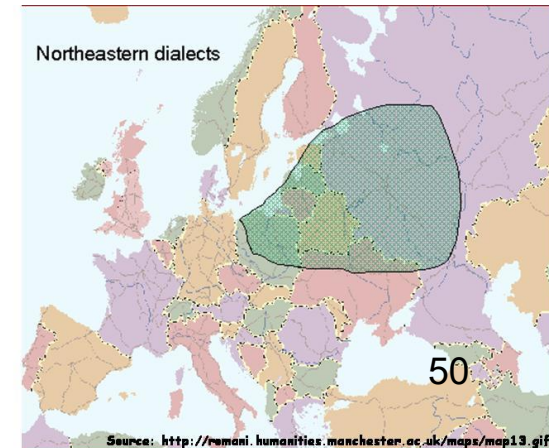   COMP   do-2SG   work   hammer-INS
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instrument

predicate nominal

The coexpression of instrument and predicate nominal is a typologically rare pattern

COM
REFL

Northeastern dialects

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Source: http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/maps/map13.gif
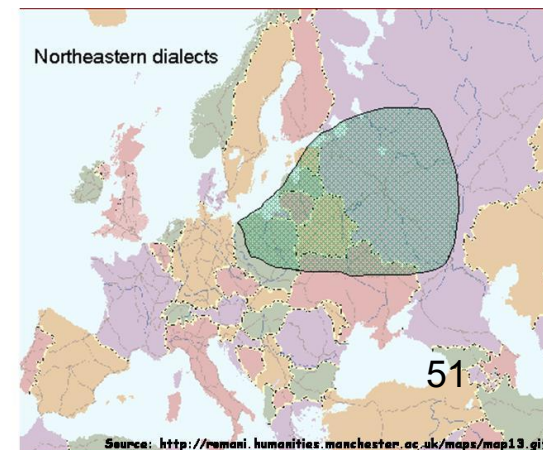
Matter vs. pattern borrowing

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Russian

(9) a. *rabota-t'*   *molotk-om*
         work-INF   hammer-INS

instrument

   'to work with a hammer'

   b. *ja*   *stanovlj-u-s'*   *direktor-om*
       1SG.NOM become-PRS.1SG-REFL   director-INS

predicate nominal

   'I become a director.'

INF – infinitive, NOM – nominative, PRS – present

Matter vs. pattern borrowing

- Polysemy copying

Pre-contact stage
(≈Romungro Romani)

> INS: instrument
> NOM: predicate nominal

Contact language
(Russian)

> INS: instrument
> INS: predicate nominal

Post-contact stage
(North Russian Romani)

Matter vs. pattern borrowing

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Pre-contact stage
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INS: instrument
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pivot-matching

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Matter vs. pattern borrowing

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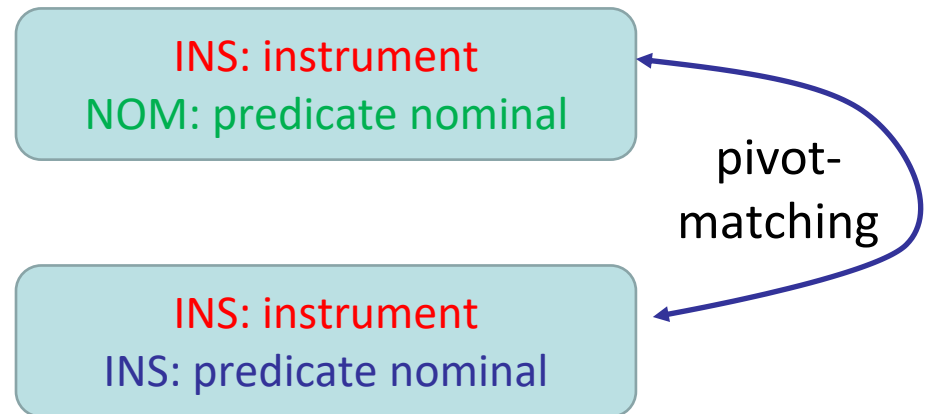
pivot-matching

Post-contact stage
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pattern extension

Matter vs. pattern borrowing

- Polysemy copying is a widespread and well-documented phenomenon in the domain of Slavic verbal prefixation.

  Arkadiev 2014, 2015, 2017, Arkadiev & Kozhanov 2023, with references

- Slavic as SL: e.g. influence on Eastern Yiddish preverbs (Wexler 1964, 1972, Talmy 1982, Shishigin 2015 etc.)

- Slavic as RL: e.g. influence from German onto Sorbian and other minority languages (Wexler 1972, Toops 1992, Bayer 2006 etc.).

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Matter vs. pattern borrowing

- Pattern-borrowing of morphological structures of different kind is also attested, both cross-linguistically and in the Slavic area.

Matter vs. pattern borrowing

- Copying of Turkic *m*-reduplication into Balkan Slavic (Grannes 1996; Friedman & Joseph 2025: 301-304):

Turkish (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 91-92)

(10) a. *etek* 'skirt'   *etek-metek* 'skirt(s) and the like'
     b. *kapı* 'door'   *kapı-mapı* 'door(s) and the like'

Friedman & Joseph (2025: 302):

(11) Bulgarian: *knigi-migi* 'books and such'
(12) Macedonian: *OBSE-mOBSE* 'OSCE and the like'

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(12) Macedonian: *OBSE-mOBSE* 'OSCE and the like'

Matter vs. pattern borrowing

- Copying of Turkic *m*-reduplication into Balkan Slavic (Grannes 1996; Friedman & Joseph 2025: 301-304):

Turkish (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 91-92)

(10) a.   *etek* 'skirt'   *etek-metek* 'skirt(s) and the like'
     b.   *kapı* 'door'   *kapı-mapı* 'door(s) and the like'

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- Borrowing of suppletion in third person pronouns between East Slavic and Eastern Lithuanian dialects (Hill 2015).

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	masculine	feminine
Nominative	*jis*	*ji*
Genitive	*jo*	*jos*
Dative	*jam*	*jai*
Accusative	*jį*	*ją*
Instrumental	*juo*	*ja*
Locative	*jame*	*joje*

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- Borrowing of **suppletion** in third person pronouns between East Slavic and Eastern Lithuanian dialects (Hill 2015).

(14) Eastern Lithuanian

	masculine	**feminine**
Nominative	*anas*	*ana*
Genitive	*jo*	*jos*
Dative	*jam*	*jai*
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(15) Belarusian

	masculine	feminine
Nominative	*jon*	*jana*
Genitive	*jaho*	*jaje*
Dative	*jamu*	*joj*
Accusative	*jaho*	*jaje*
Instrumental	*im*	*joju*
Locative	*im*	*joj*

Matter vs. pattern borrowing

- Balkan Slavic bound object pronominals:
  - a shift from Wackernagel enclitics to verb-adjacent clitics to affixes;
  - clearly influenced by convergence with the other Balkan languages;
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Affixes vs. clitics (cf. Spencer & Luís 2012, 2013):

- both are bound morphs, i.e. cannot occur in isolation;

- affixes are positioned with respect to roots, stems or words;

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BCMS: bound pronominals occur in the second position in the clause and need not be verb-adjacent (Wackernagel's law)

(16) a.   *Ja=mu=ga*   *često*   *dajem*.
          1SG.NOM=3SG.DAT=3SG.ACC   often   give.PRS.1SG
          'I often give it to him.' (Alexander 2000: 22)

     b.   *Juče=si=mu=ga*   *ti*   *dala*.
          yesterday=2SG.AUX=3SG.DAT=3SG.ACC   2SG.NOM give.LF.F.SG
          'It was you who gave it to him yesterday.' (ibid.)

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A paradigm example of clitics

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Standard Bulgarian: bound pronominals must be verb-adjacent, but cannot be clause-initial (Tobler-Mussafia law)

(17) a.　*Včera　Vera　mi=go=dade*.
　　　　yesterday Vera　1SG.DAT=3SG.ACC=give.AOR.3SG
　　　　'Vera gave it to me yesterday.' (Alexander 1994: 3)

b.　*Dade=mi=go　　　　　　　　　včera　Vera.*
　　give.AOR.3SG=1SG.DAT=3SG.ACC　yesterday Vera
　　'It was Vera who gave it to me yesterday.' (ibid.)

c.　*Vera=mi=go včera dade.*

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Position determined (in part) by the sentence-level syntax, hence still clitics.

Matter vs. pattern borrowing

Macedonian: bound pronominals are verb-adjacent, and their position vrt verb is determined by the latter's inflectional form:

- preposition with indicative forms (including the no longer periphrastic perfect with the former *l*-participle);

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> Position determined entirely by the properties of the verb itself, hence not clitics but ambifixes.

Matter vs. pattern borrowing

Cf. Aronson (1997: 33, 36):

- "the distribution of object clitics in Bulgarian is to a great extent syntactically determined"

- "The distribution of object clitics in Macedonian can be described purely on the level of morphology, with all rules relating to the inflected verbal form."

- The same reasoning applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to many so-called "pronominal clitics" in Romance languages (Monachesi 2005, Spencer & Luís 2012: Ch. 5), Modern Greek (Joseph 1988) and Albanian (Newmark 1955: 168-170).

- It was Newmark who used the term ambifix for the first time.

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(19) a.   Macedonian: *mu-go*-davam   daj-*mu-go*

     b.   Albanian: *i-a*-jap   jep-*i-a*

     c.   Modern Greek: *tu-ton*-ðino   ðose-*tu-ton*

     d.   Aromanian: *lj-u*-dau   dă-*lj-u*

                                    'I give it to him.'   'Give it to him!'

(Based on Alexander 2000: 13; Mišeska-Tomić 2005: 300-302; Buchholz & Fiedler 1987: 82; Friedman & Joseph 2025: 803-4)

(20) a.   Italian: *glie-lo*-do   da-*glie-lo*

     b.   Catalan: *li-ho*-dono   dóna-*li-ho*

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- Other Slavic varieties in contact with Romance also no longer disallow clause-initial bound pronominals:

(21) a.   Bulgarian in Romania (Ivanova 2025: 18)
gu-zea na răcete 'They took him in their arms.'

    b.   Molise Slavic in Italy (Breu 2017: 76)
ju-znesivaju vana 'They release it.'

    c.   Resian in Italy (Steenwijk 1992: 120)
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Nomachi 2015, Sugai 2015, Nomachi & Browne 2019, Ivanova 2025 and references therein

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- Balkan Slavic, in particular, Macedonian, shows convergence to a pattern actually extending beyond the Balkans.

- Lindstedt (2014: 172):

"Balkan Slavic is typologically different from the rest of Slavic languages, and this difference is mainly explained as a result of the influence of other Balkan languages. Balkan Romance does not differ from other Romance languages so radically."

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- Morphologisation of bound pronouns often goes hand in hand with the increase of the scope of so-called "clitic-doubling", i.e. cross-indexing of overt nominals (e.g. Aronson 1997; Bošković 2016; Friedman & Joseph 2025: 817-833).

- Head-marking (Nichols 1986; Lander & Nichols 2020; Haspelmath 2019) is susceptible to areal spread (Nichols 1992: 272-274).

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Roadmap

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- Direct vs. indirect affix borrowing
- Factors and parameters
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Direct. vs. indirect affix borrowing

Donald Winford, 2005.
Contact-induced changes: Classification and processes. *Diachronica* 22(2), 373–427.

"[C]ertain structural innovations in an RL appear to be mediated by lexical borrowing, and are therefore not clear cases of direct structural borrowing".
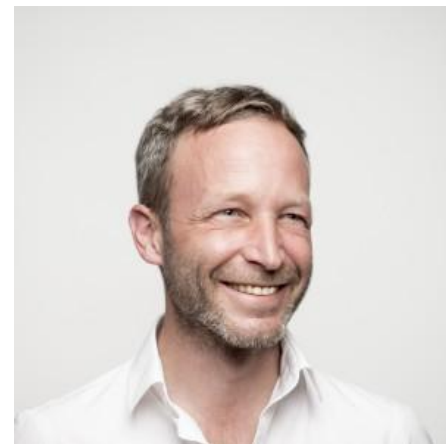
https://linguistics.osu.edu/

Direct. vs. indirect affix borrowing

Frank Seifart, 2015.

Direct and indirect affix borrowing. *Language* 91(3), 511–532.

- The first (and so far the only) empirical test of this claim.

https://frankseifart.info/

Direct. vs. indirect affix borrowing

- Seifart (2015a: 511) on indirect affix borrowing:

"First, a language borrows a number of complex loanwords containing an affix, and second—possibly much later—these complex loanwords come to be analyzed within the recipient language, and eventually the affix becomes productively used on native stems."

Direct. vs. indirect affix borrowing

- "International" affixes such as Polish *-acja*, *-yzm, anty-* etc. have initially made their way into the RLs as parts of words containing them.

- The fact that these affixes were factored out and became productive is due to the large number of borrowed Latin and Greek words and primarily to the fact that often whole derivational paradigms rather than isolated words have been borrowed.

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- An important property of "international affixes" is transparency in both form and content:

  - clear and unequivocal semantics;

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- Extension to native vocabulary does not necessarily involve formal registers and learned vocabulary.

Colloquial Russian
(22) a. *pomogator* 'helper' ~ standard *pomoščnik*
b. *napominator* 'reminder' ~ st. *napominanie*
c. *zarjažator* 'charger' ~ st. *zarjadnoe ustrojstvo*

- Spread through children's cartoons and informal communication on the Internet.

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fixiki.fandom.com/

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- Seifart (2015a: 512) on direct affix borrowing :

"Under direct borrowing, an affix is recognized by speakers of the recipient language in their knowledge of the donor language and used on native stems as soon as it is borrowed, with no intermediate phase of occurring only in complex loanwords."

Direct. vs. indirect affix borrowing

Seifart (2015a: 527ff):

- Direct and indirect modes of affix borrowing form a scale rather than a clear-cut dichotomy, with most actual cases probably involving both scenarios.

- See also Gardani 2021 for a reassessment.

Direct. vs. indirect affix borrowing

- Suffixes of active present participles of modern Russian:

Church-Slavonic (CS, South Slavic) *-ащ-, -ущ-* (*-ašč-, -ušč-*) instead of East Slavic *-ач-, -уч-* (*-ač-, -uč-*).

- NB Russian dialects do not know such forms, while Ukrainian and Belarusian retain the East Slavic suffixes.

- Possibly, direct affix borrowing.

See Gardiner (1973) on the role of the Kievan recension of CS and Latin and Polish interference.

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Direct. vs. indirect affix borrowing

- The borrowing of participial suffixes became possible due to the following factors:

  – the early loss of productivity by the native Russian participles in -*ač*, -*uč* and their lexicalization as adjectives (cf. *letučij* 'able to fly' vs. *letjaščij* 'flying' < *letet'* 'fly', *gorjačij* 'hot' vs. *gorjaščij* 'burning' < *goret'* 'burn');

  – the long period of Russian-CS diglossia, which has facilitated the transfer of CS forms into the written language, where the participles were most actively used, especially after 1650;

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- Factors and parameters

- Summary

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- Summary

Factors and parameters

- Morphological borrowing is determined both by structural as well as and primarily by sociolinguistic factors.

See e.g. Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Thomason 2001, 2008, 2015, Migge & Gooden (eds.) 2020 etc.

Factors and parameters

- Sociolinguistic factors include such parameters of the language contact situation as:

  - language maintenance vs. language shift;

  - dominance relations between speaker communities and languages;

  - type and spread of bilingualism in the communities;

  - age of bilingualism: children vs. adults;

  - the role of language and its elements in the construal of identity;

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Factors and parameters

- Borrowing scale (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 74-76):

(1) Casual contact: lexical borrowing only.

(2) Slightly more intense contact: borrowing of minor phonological, syntactic, and lexical semantic features.

(3) More intense contact: derivational affixes may be abstracted from borrowed words and added to native vocabulary.

(4) Strong cultural pressure: borrowed inflectional affixes and categories … will be added to native words, especially if there is a good typological fit in both category and ordering.

(5) Very strong cultural pressure: changes in word structure rules (e.g. adding prefixes in a language that was exclusively suffixing or a change from flexional towards agglutinative morphology).

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- Types of borrowing correlate with types of language-contact situations (Thomason & Kaufman 1988):
  - MAT-borrowing primarily occurs in situations of language maintenance;
  - by contrast, for language shift situations, PAT-borrowings from substrate/superstrate languages are characteristic due to the imperfect learning of the dominant language, while MAT-borrowings may be rare or even altogether lacking.

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Factors and parameters

- However, many contact situations cannot be unequivocally described as language maintenance or language shift:

- "[I]n many or most shift situations, borrowing and shift-induced interference occur simultaneously, mediated by different agents; and it is not always possible to determine which process(es) has/have produced a given innovation." (Thomason 2015: 29)

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Factors and parameters

- Structural factors that have been evoked in the study of contact-induced change:

  - transparency and biuniqueness in form and function of linguistic elements;

  - typological congruence of structural systems of the languages in contact;

  - "functional gaps" in the recipient system which may be filled by the elements from the donor language;

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Factors and parameters

- Gardani (2008: 84, emphasis mine):

"[I]nherent inflection, i.e. the inflectional categories which are more similar to derivation, such as aspect, tense, mood, gender, number and inherent cases (72,3%), is borrowed far more frequently than contextual inflection, i.e. person and structural cases (27,6%)."

On inherent vs. contextual inflection see Booij 1996.

Cf. "early" vs. "late system morphemes" in Myers-Scotton 2002, Myers-Scotton & Jake 2009, 2017 etc.

Factors and parameters

- Borrowing of contextual inflection

Languages of India
(C) Jost Gippert, 1993-2002

- Borrowing of structural case from Nepali (Indo-Aryan) into Thulung-Rai (Sino-Tibetan > Kiranti), Lahaussois 2002; see also Noonan 2003.
- Cf. Mardale & Karatsareas 2020 and Mayo 2025 on differential object marking in contact.

Factors and parameters

- Borrowing of contextual inflection

Nepali (Lahaussois 2002: 68–69):

(23) a. *ma   tapaai-laai   dekhchu*
     1SG you-OBJ   see.NPST.1SG
     'I see you.'

   b. *meero   aamaa   ma-laai   khaana   dinuhuncha*
      my   mother   1SG-OBJ   food   give.NPST.3SG
      'My mother gives me food.'

   NPST – non-past, OBJ – object case

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Factors and parameters

- Borrowing of contextual inflection

Thulung-Rai (Lahaussois 2002: 65):

(24) a. *gu-ka   khlea-lai   jal-y*
       3SG-ERG   dog-OBJ   hit-3SG>3SG
       'He hits the dog.'

   b. *go   a-mam-lai   tsɯtsɯ gwak-tomi*
       1SG   my-mother-OBJ   child   give-PST.1SG>3SG
       'I gave the child to my mother.'

ERG – ergative, OBJ – object case, PST – past tense

Factors and parameters

- The hierarchy of linguistic factors in morpheme borrowing (Gardani 2008: 88-89):
    - categorial clarity (100%)
    - semantic fullness (90%)
    - sharpness of boundaries (70%)
    - monofunctionality (70%)
    - reinforcement (45%)
    - filling of functional gaps (20%)

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Seifart (2017: 417) on the role of the paradigmatic dimension:

- "sets of borrowed affixes tend to consist of internally interrelated affixes rather than being isolated, non-interrelated forms";

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Factors and parameters

- Borrowing of the whole set of Slavic verbal prefixes into North Russian Romani and Istroromanian.

- Prefixes are borrowed both in their lexical and aspectual (perfectivising) functions.

- Still, the resulting systems of aspectual oppositions are either much less robust than (Romani), or structurally distinct from (Istroromanian), their Slavic models.

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North Russian Romani (Rusakov 2001: 315-316)

- lexical prefixes:

(25) *te **ot**des* 'give away' ~ Rus. ***ot**dat'*
     *te **vyd**es* 'give out' ~ Rus. ***vy**dat'*
     *te **roz**des* 'distribute' ~ Rus. ***raz**dat'*

- perfecitivising prefixes:
(26) *popuchne* 'they asked' ~ Rus. *poprosili*
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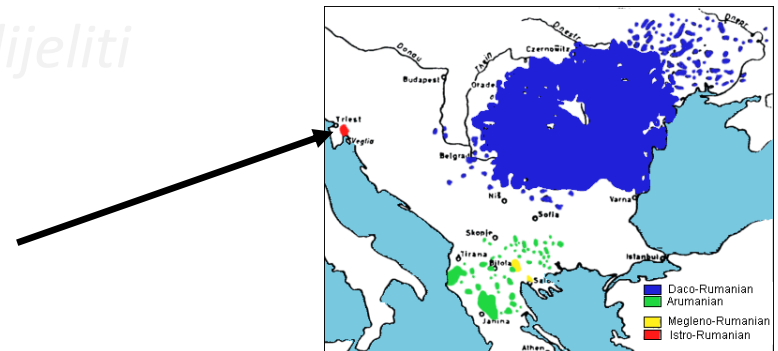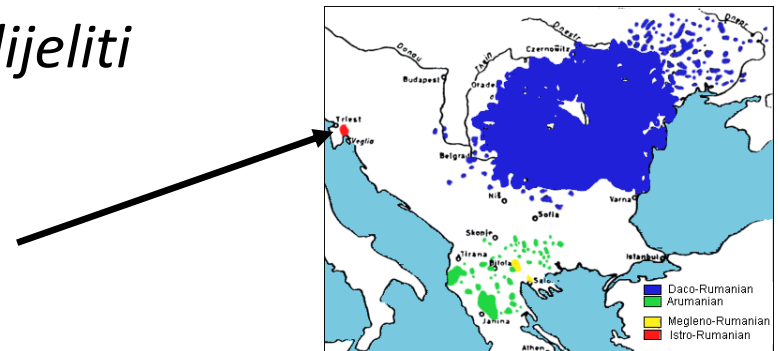(27) *lega* 'tie' : *rezlega* 'untie' ~ Cro. *razvezati*
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Factors and parameters

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- imperfectivizing suffix:
  - with simplex bases:

(29) *a mnat* 's/he went' ~ *mnaveit-a* 'they were going'
    a scutat-av 's/he heard' ~ *scutaveit-a* 's/he was listening'

  - with prefixed bases:

(30) *rescl'ide* 'open!' ~ *rescl'idaveit-a* 's/he kept opening'
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Summary

- Morphology, including morphological matter, inflection and abstract patterns of exponence, can be borrowed.

- Different kinds of morphology are borrowed with different frequency and in different sociolinguistic situations.

- Typological congruence and genealogical relatedness may facilitate borrowing of morphological matter, but lack of congruence resp. relatedness does not always inhibit it.

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The phenomenon of morphological borrowing calls for:

- a refinement of the notions of theoretical morphology (inflection vs. derivation, inherent vs. contextual inflection, "transparency" etc.);

- a serious consideration of sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic data, both on the "macrolevel" (speech communities) and on the "microlevel" (individual linguistic behavior) for a better understanding of linguistic change in general.

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Thank you for you attention!

Dziękuję za uwagę!

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