



Production

Language Science Press
November 12, 2020

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<http://www.glottotopia.org/doc2tex/doc2tex>

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114 possible errors

g118	Incident The language pairs her e---T turkish-Dutch in (\ref{ex4.7}), Croatian-English in (\ref{ex4.8}) and German-Hungarian in (\ref{ex4.9}). Use -- with spaces rather than ---	X X
g127	'volt 'o n the main news, it was on the news'	X X
	All translated sentences should end with punctuation	
g146	nged marriage) \parencite[80, <i>passim</i>]{sankoff-et-al-1990}. This analysis is criticised by \textcite[78–81]{muyserk-bilingual-2000} for several reasons; its central argument against the nonce-borrowing anal	X X
	Please use – for ranges instead of -	
g179	an be borrowed because they comprise ``frozen or idiomatic expressions''. This point recalls Backus (1996 , 1999, 2003), who elaborates the idea that idiomatic expressions are one type of multi-morphemic le	X X
	Please check whether this should be part of a bibliographic reference	
g198	\section{Adjective-noun combinations in German and Russian}	X X
	Only capitalize this if it is a proper noun	
g292	\gllt P ojd-u prines-u stul'v\c{c}ik seba malen'k-i	X X
	All vernacular sentences should end with punctuation	
g487	\hline	X X
	Use \midrule rather than \hline in tables	
g489	\multicolumn{5}{p{\textwidth}}{\footnotesize Note: The morphosyntactic glosses lack the information about the grammatical case marked on German	X X
	Please consider whether changing font sizes manually is really a good idea here	
g510	(ILS- 110714-1)	X X
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g528	(-e-) marks either the plural or the feminine gender (cf. examples \ref{ex4.29a}, \ref{ex4.29} and Table \ref{tab4.1}). If we consider the neuter gender of the noun and the feminine gender of the attributive a	X X
	It is often advisable to use the more specialized commands \tabref, \figref, \sectref, and \REF for examples	
g618	\begin{tabu} to \linewidth {X[1.5,p]X[1,c,p]X[1,c,p]} \hline	X X
	Use \midrule rather than \hline in tables	
g620	& German word order & deviant word order \\ \addlinespace[3mm] \hline	X X
	Use \midrule rather than \hline in tables	
g626	\hline	X X
	Use \midrule rather than \hline in tables	

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 - › will have to touch each chapter twice: once for content, once for postprocessing
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Ji Young Shim

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1- \vchapter{Experiment}\label{ch:exp}

2 This chapter presents an experimental study of Korean-English and Japanese-English *Vac*(CS) with three utter-related supports, eliciting judgment data that bear on the two research questions outlined in Chapter 1. Assuming that parametric variation, such as word order, is determined by feature specifications of a functional category as assumed in the Minimalist Program, the study asked how different functional categories in typologically different languages play a role in deriving various word orders in *Vac*(CS). More specifically, the role of light ar functional verbs was investigated in comparison with the role of heavy ar lexical verbs in different types of code-switched phrases, especially with respect to their contribution to *Vac*(W) and *Vac*(V) order variation in Korean-English and Japanese-English *Vac*(CS).

3 The study also investigated whether the syntactic flexibility of a code-switched phrase plays a role in word order in *Vac*(CS). Especially, the syntactic flexibility of an idiomatic phrase in English was tested against the hypothesis that syntactically flexible and less flexible phrases would exhibit different patterns towards *Vac*(CS): a flexible phrase is subject to *Vac*(CS) whereas less flexible or inflexible phrases may not undergo *Vac*(CS) and maintain the internal order of the phrase throughout the derivation.

4 Data for the quantitative analyses were obtained via (i) a *Vac*(CS) judgment task (\textref{ch:exp:1}), (ii) a syntactic flexibility judgment task (\textref{ch:exp:2}), and (iii) an idiom familiarity task (\textref{ch:exp:3}). The study aimed to elicit evidence to shed light on the role of light verbs and syntactic flexibility in determining *Vac*(W)-*Vac*(V) variation in *Vac*(CS) where an English *Vac*(W) is incorporated into utterances in Korean or Japanese. The evidence comprises acceptability judgments elicited using contextually appropriate materials from Korean-English and Japanese-English bilingual speakers, whose competence and expertise in the two languages and familiarity with the two cultures were assessed. The study also tested the effect of the presence of the bilingual communities of the New York City area, where use of each of the speakers' languages is common, as it switching between languages within a conversation (if the work of *Vilantzi* (1990)). The study, therefore, made explicit use of a language-historic analysis and an exit interview probing experience in *Vac*(CS) in order to screen participants recruited from these communities. All participants gave their informed consent for inclusion before they participated in the study.

5 \section{Experiment}

order to screen participants recruited from these communities. All participants gave their informed consent for inclusion before they participated in the study.

1.1 Code-switching judgment task

To elicit judgments on OV vs VO ordered code-switched sentences between Korean and English and between Japanese and English, a 2-alternative forced choice task was used in this experiment. For each of a series of items, participants were asked to select between two utterances that were considered as (a) near-minal pair. *Vac*(W) *Vac*(V) Both utterances included an English-sourced *Vac*(W) followed by the Korean light verb *vexti*(ha) or the Japanese light verb *vexti*(su), and the *Vac*(V) that is code-switched into English was presented in *Vac*(W) order in one utterance and *Vac*(V) order in the other. The participant's task was to select the utterance that "sounded (more) natural" between the two sentences.

The rationale to use a 2-alternative forced choice method over a Likert scale method, which is more commonly used to elicit judgment/acceptability of test items, was based on the results from a pilot study, which suggested that the acceptance rate of a code-switched sentence may be influenced by other factors (e.g., lexical choice) than the OV-VO order contrast. Therefore, a 2-alternative forced choice task was considered more appropriate than a Likert scale method in order to elicit a bilingual speaker's judgment on *Vac*(W)-*Vac*(V) order variation in *Vac*(CS) while minimizing the potential influence of other factors in his/her judgment. *Vac*(W) *Vac*(V) While an anonymous reviewer disapproves the use of a 2-alternative forced choice task to elicit acceptability considering both choices could be acceptable or unacceptable, a 2-alternative forced choice task is proven to be suitable to investigate *Vac*(CS) competence by means of acceptability judgments, which provides granular details that remain invisible in a Likert scale experiment (*Vilantzi* (1990)).

Due to the fact that many of the critical items included English *Vac*(W) idioms and light verb constructions, the protocol was designed to provide strong contextual support of the intended interpretation. Each item presentation, therefore, had three parts:

- A short scenario introduction, mentioning two standard characters (Kibo and Dorna) to establish a discourse context. This introduction material was always presented, in written form, in English, and always closed by asking what Dorna would say in the situation sketched.
- Vac*(W) A cartoon depicting the content of Dorna's statement. This was presented in an advance of the statement and remained visible while two versions of that statement were heard.
- Vac*(V) The code-switched pair of utterances, presented in spoken form.

By presenting each code-switched sentence not only in an inappropriate context but also with a matching cartoon, the intended meaning of the code-switched phrase in a sentence, whether literal or non-literal, was successfully delivered without ambiguity. Instructions emphasized that the participants should attend to the cartoon while they were listening to the sentences. As an illustration of this protocol, \textref{ch:exp:ex1} below offers an example scenario introduction, followed by a cartoon describing the content of Dorna's statement and a Korean-English *Vac*(CS) pair between which the participant was asked to choose.

\textref{ch:exp:ex1}

Kibo told Dorna that his roommate had an extra iPod to give away, and later asked Dorna whether she called and got it. What does Dorna say?

While an anonymous reviewer disapproves the use of a 2-alternative forced choice task to elicit acceptability considering both choices could be acceptable or unacceptable, a 2-alternative forced choice task is proven to be suitable to investigate CS competence by means of acceptability judgments, which provides granular details that remain invisible in a Likert scale experiment (*Stadthagen-Gonzalez et al. 2010*).

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286 The overall pattern of results found in the task supports the hypothesis that syntactically flexible and inflexible phrases differ differently with respect to word order variation in *Vac(CS)*, leading to *Vac(OV)* and *Vac(VO)*, respectively. This can be further corroborated by the argument that while the internal argument of a syntactically flexible phrase is subject to *Vac(CS)*, a syntactically inflexible phrase is frozen and undergoes *Vac(CS)* as a unit. Hence, the internal order of the phrase is maintained throughout the derivation.

287

288 However, the correlation between the preferred word order and the syntactic flexibility of a code-switched phrase was found to be rather weak in both groups ($\text{Textit}(r) = -.033$ for Korean-English bilinguals and $\text{Textit}(r) = -.38$ for Japanese-English bilinguals), revealing that there are variation among idiomatic phrases. A footnote¹ in an item-based analysis is provided in Chapter 5.) The weak correlation between the syntactic flexibility of the code-switched phrase and word order variation found in Korean-English bilinguals suggests that English *Vac(CS)* may be more relative than the fact that the internal arguments that were experimentally tested in the present task undergo *Vac(CS)*-question formation. In other words, the question formation may not be directly related to the syntactic phenomenon that derives *Vac(OV)*-*Vac(VO)* variation under the assumption that *Vac(CS)* is derived from *Vac(OV)* via object shift. Although it is true that the results from passivization, relative clause formation, and *Vac(CS)*-question formation revealed different degrees of syntactic flexibility of the code-switched phrases, the nature of these three syntactic operations is different from that of object shift leading to *Vac(OV)*-*Vac(VO)* variation in *Vac(CS)*, summarized in (Textit[ban0673332]).

289

290 a. *Vac(OV)* [Itemno]
 291 *Vac(VO)* [styleListParagraph]

292 a. Object shift is an argument caused by the EPP property on *\textit{Textit}(v)\textit{label}(j)\textit{vo}(fuz0073332)\textit{Footnote}*[In Chapter 3, it will be argued that the object moves to Spec, A] *\textit{Textit}(textit{subj}(P))\textit{Textit}(P, not Spec, C) \textit{Textit}(textit{whit}(V))\textit{Textit}(P)*, which does not concern us here. The assumption that the EPP property on *\textit{Textit}(v)\textit{Textit}(whit)(V)\textit{Textit}(P)* derives object movement, resulting in *Vac(OV)*, will remain constant regardless of the object landing site.]

293 *Vac(StyleListParagraph)*
 294 *Vac(Itemno)*

295

296 b. *Passivization* is due to Case: the underlying object is assigned the nominative Case from T, which is specified for EPP

297

298 a. *Vac(Vo)* [P06]\textit{Textit}(textit{whit}(P)) T [*\textit{Textit}(textit{whit}(v))\textit{Textit}(whit)(P)\textit{Textit}(V)*]

299

300 b. *Passivization* is due to Case: the underlying object is assigned the nominative Case from T, which is specified for EPP

301

302 c. *Object shift* is a syntactic dependency between the head noun in the matrix clause and the gap in the embedded clause (no movement involved).

303

304 d. *head noun**\textit{Textit}(textit{whit}(P)) = [\textit{Textit}(whit)(P) C [\textit{Textit}(whit)(P) T \textit{Textit}(textit{whit}(v))\textit{Textit}(whit)(P)] \textit{Textit}(v)\textit{Textit}(whit)(P)]*

305

306 e. *Object shift* [Itemno]

307 f. *Object shift* [Itemno]-question is movement caused by *\textit{Textit}(whit)(P)*-feature on C, which is specified for EPP

308

309 a. *Vac(Vo)* [P06]\textit{Textit}(textit{whit}(P)) C [\textit{Textit}(whit)(P) T \textit{Textit}(textit{whit}(v))\textit{Textit}(whit)(P)] \textit{Textit}(v)\textit{Textit}(whit)(P)

310

311 g. *Object shift* [Itemno]

312

313 h. *Object shift* [Itemno]

314 i. *Object shift* [Itemno]

315 j. *Object shift* [Itemno]

316 k. *Object shift* [Itemno]

317 l. *Object shift* [Itemno]

318 m. *Object shift* [Itemno]

319 n. *Object shift* [Itemno]

320 o. We see in (Textit[ban0673332]) that neither relativization nor *\textit{Textit}(whit)(P)* movement have the same driving force as object shift, whereas syntactic procedures for object shift and relativization appear to be similar; the object raises to a specifier of a functional head, such as *\textit{Textit}(whit)* and T respectively, due to the EPP specification on the Functional Head. *\textit{Textit}(whit)_A\textit{Textit}(whit)_B* will be discussed in Chapter 3. The EPP property is not intrinsic to T but is inherited from C via feature inheritance.)² Yet, there are additional properties present in passive constructions cross-linguistically, which is distinguished from object shift. In an active sentence, the external argument is the head of the group and gets the nominative Case, whereas the internal argument in the verb position gets the accusative Case. In a passive sentence, the internal argument of the verb becomes the grammatical subject of the sentence, which is assigned the nominative Case, and the external argument of the verb is not projected as an argument but may be realized as an object phrase, such as the *\textit{Textit}(whit)(P)*-phrase in English and the dative phrase in Korean and Japanese. Most importantly, the denotation of the external argument, coupled with the accusative case absorption, brings about valency decrease, which is reflected in a morphological change in the verb. Examples are provided in (Textit[ban0673332]). *\textit{Footnote}*[Both Korean and passive constructions are analyzed as a cursive construction with an experiential reading in *\textit{Textit}(thim000)* and *\textit{Textit}(thim00ayim0012).*]

321

322 a. *Vac(OV)* [Itemno]
 323 *Vac(VO)* [styleListParagraph]

324 *Vac(Vo)* [fuz0278441]b. *Bibi* kicked the dog

325 *Vac(StyleListParagraph)*
 326 *Vac(Itemno)*

327

328 m'. The dog was kicked by *Bibi*

329

1 Experiment

question formation, may not be directly related to the syntactic phenomenon that derives OV-VO variation under the assumption that OV is derived from VO via object shift. Although it is true that the results from passivization, relative clause formation, and wh-question formation revealed different degrees of syntactic flexibility of the code-switched phrases, the nature of these three syntactic operations is different from that of object shift leading to OV-VO variation in CS, summarized in (1.2.3).

a. Object shift is object movement caused by the EPP property on v⁷

[CP OBJ_v [VP V_t]]

b. Passivization is due to Case: the underlying object is assigned the nominative Case from T, which is specified for EPP

[CP OBJ_v T [v_t v [VP V_t]]]

c. (Object) relativization is a syntactic dependency between the head noun in the matrix clause and the gap in the embedded clause (no movement involved)

... head noun...[CP C [TP T_v [v_t v [VP gap]]]]

d. (Object) Wh-question is movement caused by Wh-feature on C, which is specified for EPP

[CP OBJ_v C [TP T_v [v_t v [VP V_t]]]]

We see in (1.2.3) that relativization nor wh-movement have the same driving force as object shift, whereas syntactic procedures for object shift and passivization appear to be similar; the object raises to a specifier of a functional head, such as v and T respectively, due to the EPP specification on the functional head.⁴ Yet, there are additional properties present in passive constructions cross-linguistically, which is distinguished from object shift. In an active sentence, the external argument of the verb serves as the grammatical subject of the sentence and gets the nominative Case, whereas the internal argument appears in the object position of the verb and gets the accusative Case. In a passive sentence, on the other hand, the internal argument of the verb becomes the grammatical subject of the sentence, which is assigned the nominative Case, and the external argument of the verb is not projected as an argument but may be realized as an object phrase, such as the *\textit{Textit}(whit)(P)*-phrase in English and the dative phrase in Korean and Japanese. Most importantly, the denotation of the external argument, coupled with the accusative case absorption, brings about valency decrease, which is reflected in a morphological change in the verb. Examples are provided in (Textit[ban0673332]). *\textit{Footnote}*[Both Korean and passive constructions are analyzed as a cursive construction with an experiential reading in *\textit{Textit}(thim000)* and *\textit{Textit}(thim00ayim0012).*]

In Chapter 3, it will be argued that the object moves to Spec, A_{EPP}, not Spec, v_t, which does not concern us here. The assumption that the EPP property on v derives object movement, resulting in OV, will remain constant regardless of the object landing site.

²As will be discussed in Chapter 3, the EPP property T is not intrinsic to T but is inherited from C via feature inheritance.

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Werner (Share Werner affiliation (University of Leipzig -- Institute for Sorbian Studies))

VILLE (Editorial and linguistic contact in the case of Sorbian: Evaluating linguistic variation in conditions of sparse data)

Abstract The severely endangered minority Sorbian languages (ISO 639, dsh, dsb), endemic to the Eastern part of Germany, are dramatically under-researched. This lack of research extends from basic knowledge about speaker numbers, competence, and transmission to include also core aspects of linguistics like phonology, morphology, syntax. Having experienced centuries of marginalization, Sorbian texts are (sparsely) attested only from the 16th century, already then showing strong German influence. This makes evaluation of variation especially difficult, since the variation might reflect the state of the language, for example, a special dialect (our default assumption), but it might also be caused by other factors such as oral traditions and folk songs (which have not been preserved in their original state either and are therefore hard to evaluate). In this talk, for the first time we compare old Sorbian texts to folksongs, applying knowledge about neighbouring cultures and literatures and thereby exploiting aspects of cultural contact as well as linguistic contact. Furthermore, we extend the contact zone taking not only Germanic, but also Celtic into account. From the linguistic side, results lend greater insights into historical sound changes in Sorbian; from the cultural side, we learn about aesthetic concerns of verbal art in this language, which, in turn shed light on a range of linguistic phenomena beyond sound patterns.)

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Chapter 1

Cultural and linguistic contact in the case of Sorbian: Evaluating linguistic variation in conditions of sparse data

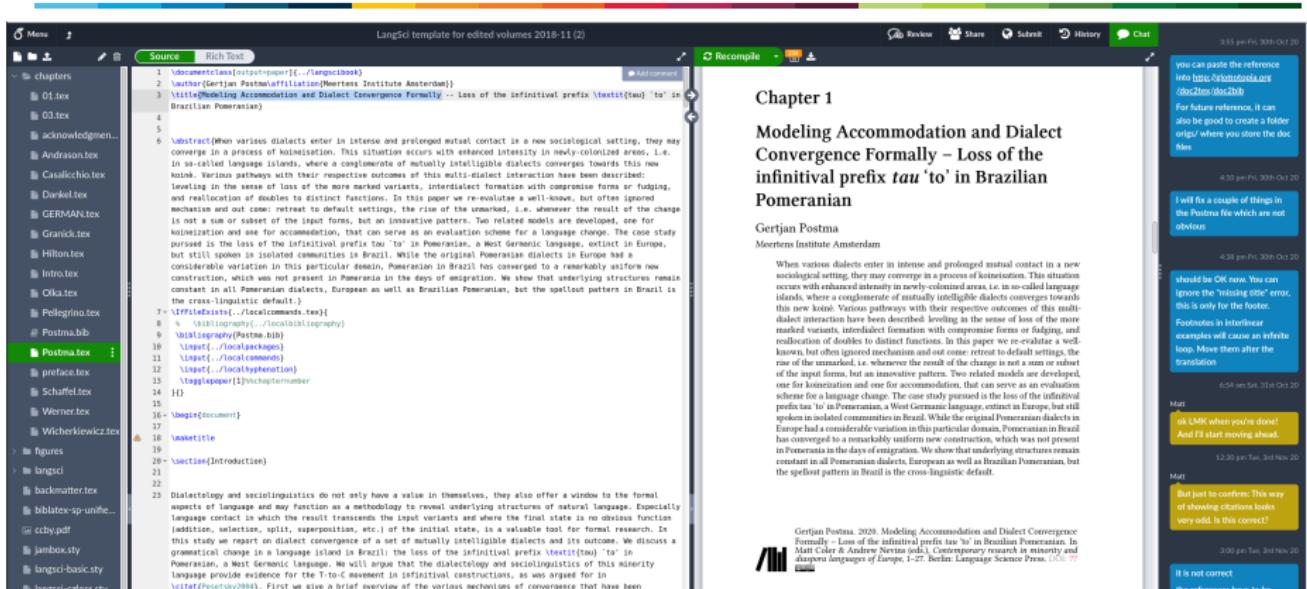
Eduard Werner
University of Leipzig – Institute for Sorbian Studies

The severely endangered minority Sorbian languages (ISO 639, dsh, dsb), endemic to the Eastern part of Germany, are dramatically under-researched. This lack of research extends from basic knowledge about speaker numbers, competence, and transmission to include also core aspects of linguistics like phonology, morphology, syntax. Having experienced centuries of marginalization, Sorbian texts are (sparsely) attested only from the 16th century, already then showing strong German influence. This makes evaluation of variation especially difficult, since the variation might reflect the state of the language, for example, a special dialect (our default assumption), but it might also be caused by other factors such as oral traditions and folk songs (which have not been preserved in their original state either and are therefore hard to evaluate). In this talk, for the first time we compare old Sorbian texts to folksongs, applying knowledge about neighbouring cultures and literatures and thereby exploiting aspects of cultural contact as well as linguistic contact. Furthermore, we extend the contact zone taking not only Germanic, but also Celtic into account. From the linguistic side, results lend greater insights into historical sound changes in Sorbian; from the cultural side, we learn about aesthetic concerns of verbal art in this language, which, in turn shed light on a range of linguistic phenomena beyond sound patterns.

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Chapter 1

Modeling Accommodation and Dialect Convergence Formally – Loss of the infinitival prefix *tau* 'to' in Brazilian Pomeranian

Gertjan Postma
Moerens Institute Amsterdam

When various dialects enter in intense and prolonged mutual contact in a new sociological setting, they may converge in a process of *kontamination*. This situation occurs with enhanced intensity in newly-colonized areas, i.e. in so-called language islands, where a conglomerate of mutually intelligible dialects converges towards this new *kontakt*. Various pathways with their respective outcomes of this multi-dialect interaction have been described: leveling in the sense of loss of the more marked variants, interdialect formation with compromise forms or fudging, and realizations of a specific dialectal construction. In this paper we report on research on a specific type of *kontamination*, and not *kontakt*, between the *tau* 'to' variants of the *kontakt*, i.e. when the result of the change is not a sum or subset of the input forms, but an innovative pattern. Two related models are developed: one for *kontaminierung* and one for *accommodation*, that can serve as an evaluation scheme for a language change. The case study pursued is the loss of the infinitival prefix *tau* 'to' in Pomeranian, a West Germanic language, extinct in Europe, but still spoken in isolated settings, in spite of the *kontakt*, i.e. when the result of the change is not a sum or subset of the input variants in the sense of *kontamination*. In this paper we show that the underlying structures remain constant in all Pomeranian dialects, European as well as Brazilian Pomeranian, but the speech act patterns in Brazil as the cross-linguistic default.)

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 23 Dialectology and sociolinguistics do not only have a value in themselves, they also offer a window to the formal aspects of language and may function as a methodology to reveal underlying structures of natural language. Especially language contact in which the result transcends the input varieties and where the final state is no obvious function of the initial state, needs a formal model of language change to support the research. In this study we report on dialect convergence of a set of mutually intelligible dialects and its outcome. We discuss a grammatical change in a language island in Brazil: the loss of the infinitival prefix *tau* 'to' in Pomeranian, a West Germanic language. We will argue that the dialectology and sociolinguistics of this minority language provide evidence for the T-to-C movement in infinitival constructions, as was argued for in Pötschke (2004). First we give a brief overview of the various mechanisms of convergence that have been discussed in the literature, as well as the two main models of language change: accommodation and *kontaminierung*. Then we base on this a description of the nature of the *kontaminierung* and the infinitival prefix in Pomeranian. In section 3 we discuss a possible source of the change: the original Pomeranian dialects in Europe had considerable variation in this particular domain. The pattern of this variation is investigated as well as the underlying syntactic patterns. We list two mechanisms of resolving this variation: convergence of the various dialects to a new value and accommodation to Portuguese. We repeat the arguments developed in our 2018 study. The arguments were taken from a previous publication to the conference. The argumentation to Portuguese is not likely to have given directions and impulse to the change, but rather dialectal internal convergence within the Pomeranian diaystem, still hole. But these must be balanced by new considerations of occurrence frequency.

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 25
 26 \fifteenpt{\footnotesize{[\dots] /localcommands}}
 27 \fifteenpt{\footnotesize{[\dots] /localcommands}}
 28 \fifteenpt{\footnotesize{[\dots] /localcommands}}

29 While traditional diachronic linguistics has focused on language change by inherent processes, such as (phonological) erosion and inherent internal dynamics of linguistic cycles (e.g. Jespersen's cycle), modern sociolinguistics has made contact-induced language change a major object of investigation. For instance, the arrival of considerable numbers of immigrant speakers in a foreign country, usually gives rise to new social dynamics, a new society, and a language with new properties. Two extreme cases are noteworthy: the circumstance of huge immigration of mutually unintelligible speakers, outside the immediate realm of a root language, may initiate a creolisation process; the emergence of a completely new structure, albeit with traces of various source languages

you can paste the reference into <https://www.overleaf.com>
<https://doi.org/10.5281/23b>

For future reference, it can also be good to create a folder [origs/](#) where you store the doc files

4:50 pm Fri, 30th Oct 20

I will fix a couple of things in the Postma file which are not obvious:

4:58 pm Fri, 30th Oct 20

should be OK now. You can ignore the "missing file" error, this is only for the footer.

Footnotes in interlinear examples will cause an infinite loop. Move them after the translation

6:54 pm Sat, 31st Oct 20

Mat
 oh LMK when you're done!
 And I'll start moving ahead:

12:30 pm Sun, 3rd Nov 20

Mat
 But just to confirm: this way of showing citations looks very odd. Is this correct?

3:00 pm Sun, 3rd Nov 20

It is not correct
 the references have to be transformed into the proper bbl-format
 the link I gave above will help you

The references then all have to go into
 localbibliography.bib

I can have our latent work on the Twitter file if I want to

3:48 pm Wed, 4th Nov 20

We're 16/23 -> your internal work on it -- also would facilitate my conversion of future files

Just let me know when he is

- › use offline conversion with `langsci` python package
- › use sanity checker
- › use GitHub
- › even if the editors are experts they should allow LangSci to peek so we can see quickly when the project goes into the wrong direction

3 rules for production

1. **Early Bird Rule**
2. **Body Positivity Rule**
3. **Five Minute Rule**

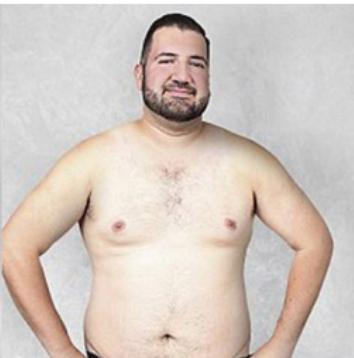
Early Bird Rule

- › The answer to “is it too early to show my manuscript to LangSci?” is always “No”.

Body Positivity Rule



Body Positivity Rule



Body Positivity Rule



- › Don't believe that people in magazines have perfect bodies.
They don't.
- › Don't believe that other people's manuscripts are perfect.
They aren't.
- › Do show us your code with all its imperfections.

Five Minute Rule

- › Authors should not spend more than 5 minutes trying to understand a LaTeX problem
- › Upon thinking/researching 5 minutes without finding the cause, please contact support@langsci-press.org.
- › This will be faster for everybody.

Over to proofreading

- › Once all chapters are in a reasonable shape (need not be perfect), the book can go into proofreading
- › Depending on how full the proofreading queue is, we take care of finer details during production (when the queue is full) or not (when the queue is empty and waiting for the next book).

Production: images

- › As a rule of thumb, we will recreate all images which are
 - › bar plots
 - › line plots
 - › classifications
 - › flow charts, semantic maps and the like
 - › maps
- › there are cases where this is not necessary, but they are rare
- › R export is fine, preferably in pdf format.
- › For screenshots, authors should use the monitor with the most gigantic resolution they can find and maximize the relevant part.
- › <https://userblogs.fu-berlin.de/langsci-press/2016/12/12/graphics-and-images>