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***Español aprendí con mi mamá, ella hablando conmigo normal:***  
**Linguistic Manoeuvres of Bilingual Heritage Speakers Between**  
**Attrition and Creativity**

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Following the definition of attrition by Pavlenko 2004, attrition is "a more or less permanent restructuring". In the case of heritage speakers who are constantly exploiting their multilingual potential, this is sometimes considered as a matter of simplification due to a presumed decline of linguistic competence. However, with regard to creative patterns, the question of an increase in complexity must also be raised.

For this contribution, the results of 7 bilingual speakers (German-Spanish and German-French, 2L1) were evaluated in a multidimensional, qualitatively designed setting (GJT, semi-structured interview, language test, language production test) and examined to see which forms of attrition could manifest and if tendencies for creative, innovative patterns might be evident. The extent to which linguistic routines remain stable will also be analysed. It is expected that frequent linguistic routine patterns of the L1s are stable and less prone to change (cf. Thomason 2010). The example ? *El coche de María es en el garaje*, however, shows that the routine pattern sp. *estar en* ("to be in") is susceptible to change in condition of language contact and the concept of the surrounding language ger. SEIN ("BE") is adopted by this speaker – the meaning of spatiality is fixed in the pattern {ESTAR + preposition} and would here never be changed with *ser* in Spanish only contexts, cf. eg. research results in the *Corpus del Español*. Thus, creative patterns are formed for the opposition *ser/estar* in Spanish, in which concepts are superimposed or exchanged.

By analysing these seven case studies, the article aims to describe and document some of the manoeuvres of bilingual heritage speakers and thus to contribute to the discussion on the complexity and reduction of the language competence and production of L1-speakers.

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