It is widely known that languages borrow words and grammatical structure. The lexicon is assumed to be a large container into which one can put as many words as need arises. Grammar, however, is a system with tight internal structure. How does a language incorporate alien grammatical structures without upsetting the system? In this talk, I argue for a two-step approach to grammatical borrowing. First, substrate transfer targets an entire grammatical system; in other words the locus of language mixing is the grammatical system. Second, the transferred (or borrowed) system is exponenced with suitable morphosyntactic materials from the lexifier (or borrowing) language and stabilizes. I take an evolutionary approach to stabilization, and show that the contributing languages in the contact ecology, and linguistic universals, are the natural selectors—they regulate the success or failure of features of a borrowed grammatical system. Languages mix; grammatical systems don’t.