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Social Conditions of “Imperfect Second Language Learning” and “Negotiation”:

Contact-Induced Changes in Prepositional Systems of Portuguese Varieties

Focusing on grammatical innovations in prepositional systems of African and Brazilian varieties of Portuguese, this paper shows that some effects of “negotiation” between fluent and non-fluent speakers of a target-language can also be attained when “imperfect second language learning” is not followed by that kind of “negotiation” (terms in quotation are used in Thomason and Kaufman’s 1988 sense). The study analyses data from Portuguese currently spoken as L2 in Maputo/Mozambique (MP-L2) and two varieties of Brazilian Portuguese – *Afro-Brazilian Portuguese* (ABP), spoken in socially isolated communities formed by African descendants, and *Vernacular Brazilian Portuguese* (VBP). The features of MP-L2 are a superset of the Brazilian variety features, as explained below. Some innovations of ABP are found in VBP (for instance, the use of *em* ‘in’ to introduce directional complements of movement verbs is an innovation detected in both varieties, but the occurrence of prepositionless directional complements is an innovation that is restricted to ABP), whereas many conservative features from Standard Portuguese preserved in VBP are absent from ABP (for example, the use of *a* ‘to’ to introduce directional and dative constituents). However, MP-L2 presents all innovations found in VBP and ABP, as well as conservative features kept in VBP. The Brazilian scenario may be due to the fact that innovations attested in VBP result, at a large extent, from a process of “negotiation” between fluent speakers of Portuguese and Africans brought to Brazil as slaves, who learned Portuguese as an L2. From this perspective, ABP has preserved grammatical innovations not found in VBP, as well as it hasn’t recovered conservative features, because social isolation has prevented its speakers to participate in “negotiation”. Regarding MP-L2, this variety is emerging within a social context in which learners of the target-language have access to a highly controlled input, provided by school education, media, mass culture etc. Although that doesn’t prevent the “imperfection” of the learning, it guarantees the preservation of many conservative features. Given that the amount of native speakers of Portuguese is not significant in Mozambique (in contrast with the Brazilian historical demography), the conclusion is that, if “imperfect second language learning” is mediated by controlled input, conservative features can be recovered and coexist with new ones without the need of effective “negotiation” between fluent/native and non-fluent speakers.

Philip Baker

Accounting for contact-induced changes in Mauritian Creole

The first French attempt at settling Mauritius (1721) failed due to lack of cooperation from Reunion. A new plan was drawn up in 1726 when the population comprised recently arrived French soldiers, some Compagnie des Indes employees, 20 Malagasy slaves, but no settlers. This plan was implemented from 1728 and included (1) the development of its two natural harbours, (2) importing slaves from several sources and, in the absence of real settlers, (3) turning soldiers into settlers. The latter was to be achieved by bringing unattached young women from France, discharging soldiers who married them from the army, and giving them a piece of land and two slaves. In the six years to 1/1/1735, the total population increased from perhaps 200 to more than 1500. Non-Francophones outnumbered Whites by 1730 and introduced eight other languages by 1736: Bengali, Makhuwa (Bantu), Malagasy, Mandinka, Tamil, Portuguese Creole, Wolof, and Yoruba. Although 55 young Frenchwomen had by then married soldiers who received land and slaves, the need for a pidgin permitting interethnic communication was most acute around the harbours and had begun earlier. There was no time for Chaudenson's scenario of successive approximations of French over several decades to apply in Mauritius. This, together with linguistic evidence from 60 old texts spanning 1734 to 1930 and containing almost 100,000 words, make Mauritius an ideal case for investigating relationships between social conditions and contact-induced change.

This paper first summarizes the overall influences which the languages of non-Francophone immigrants have had on the phonology and lexicon of Mauritian Creole (Mau). It then examines in considerably more detail several hybrid structures influenced by specific languages, and suggests that their adoption was favoured because they extended the potential of the emergent creole in some way. For example, the introduction of contrasting augmentative and attenuative reduplicated forms of Mau verbs effectively tripled its verb stock without the adoption of any new lexemes. Attention is also be given to other grammatical features for which no plausible source language has yet been identified. A concluding section investigates the relevance of the findings for other French Creoles.

Peter Bakker (Aarhus University)

Genderlects: gender-differentiated results of language contact

In some societies, men and women have spoken, or speak, systematically different languages, or varieties of a language. There are societies where men from one language community have formed new societies with women from another language community. This has led to a number of bilingual mixed languages, or intertwined languages, in hybrid societies, as exemplified by the language of the Métis in Canada, Chinese Indonesians in South East Asia, Basters in South Africa and a few more (Bakker and Mous 1994).

In addition, there are a number of societies where men and women use more or less divergent varieties of the same language. The differences may be speaker-oriented (i.e. there are forms in the language that depend on the sex of the speaker, but not referring to the speaker), or hearer-oriented (forms depending on the sex of the interlocutor, but not referring to him/her), or a combination. The phenomenon, known under names such as men's and women's speech/language (Souza 2011), gender indexicality (Fleming 2012), genderlects (Rose 2013), verbal allocutivity (Antonov 2013), gender-determined variation (Dunn 2014), is found in all continents, but it is especially prevalent in the Americas. There are close to 100 different documented cases.

In our paper we will link the existence of genderlects to two historical events in the societies where they are encountered. In some cases there were differential rates of language change along gender lines, when one of the sexes is more isolated than the other. The result of this is most often manifested in phonological differences between the sexes. In other cases, intermarriage between men and women speaking different dialects of the same language, or different languages, may lead to hybridization where sex-specific lects emerge. In these cases, the differences are mostly found in the lexicon. These are probably not the only scenarios towards the emergence of genderlects. Especially societies where discoursepragmatic markers, verbal morphology and case markers differ along gender-related lines are difficult to fit in these scenarios.

In some cases a historical process is documented that sheds light on the genesis and development. Ideally, specific linguistic results could shed light on the process, but that is as yet more difficult to achieve, as this is a neglected area of research.

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Grammatical borrowing in North-eastern Neo-Aramaic

North-eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) is one of the modern branches of the (Semitic) Aramaic language family. The NENA dialects are (or were) spoken by Christian and Jewish communities across northern Iraq, Turkey, Syria and Iran. The contact languages are genetically diverse: Kurmanji and Sorani Kurdish (Iranian), vernacular and standard Arabic (Semitic), Iranian Azeri and Turkish (both Turkic), as well as Persian (Iranian). More recently, through missionaries and then colonial rulers, there has been contact with European languages, predominantly English and French. The dialects show influence from all these languages, to a greater or lesser degree, depending on geographical location and social relationships: all show considerable influence from Kurdish varieties.

The 3000-year written history of Aramaic allows us to trace historical developments with more certainty than in most language families. We are also fortunate in having a significant number of modern dialects now documented. As the dialects vary in the degree and effects of contact, this offers the opportunity to find correlations between these linguistic facts and the particular sociolinguistic situations on the ground. Contact influence on NENA seems to have arisen mainly through long-term bi- and multi-lingualism rather than through language shift (i.e. speakers of other languages shifting to speaking Aramaic; see Thomason 2001: 74–76). Kurds have long been the majority ethnic group in the region, except for in Iranian Azerbaijan. The Christian and Jewish communities were often in the power of local Kurdish rulers, the *aghas* (see, e.g., Sinha 2000: 11–12, Brauer and Patai (ed). 1993: 223), even if the state-level authority was Turkish or Arab. The demographic and political situation translated into a linguistic situation where the speakers of Aramaic, whether Jewish or Christian, usually spoke the local Kurdish dialect: this is documented in both 19th and 20th sources.

While contact influence is most apparent in the lexicon, there is also significant grammatical borrowing, of both the matter and pattern types (Sakel 2007), i.e. borrowing of grammatical morphemes and of syntactic structures. Such borrowings are found across the dialects, but are particularly common in the eastern Jewish dialects. Pattern borrowings (mainly from Kurdish) include word order in clauses; word order in noun phrases; the development of the verbal system – in particular of ergative alignment in the past perfective; the emergence of distinct reflexive possessive pronouns; a passive construction with a verb ‘to come’ plus verbal noun; bare nouns used as adverbials; and the loss of gender distinction in pronouns. Matter borrowings in the area of the grammar include numerous prepositions, conjunctions and other grammatical particles; a suffixed definite article (and marginally an indefinite article); and the Iranian Ezafe genitive marker. This paper will give an overview of the grammatical borrowings in NENA dialects, as well as the socio-linguistic situations that gave rise to them.

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Testing the significance of sociohistorical factors in creole genesis

The idea that the social settings in which languages evolve affect their structure gained a renewed interest following recent developments in the large-scale study of typological data encompassing a wide range of languages from various families reflecting the world's linguistic diversity (e.g. Hay & Bauer 2007, Lupyan & Dale 2010, Trudgill 2011).

In the context of multilingual settings, Bakker et al. (2011) recently tested the statistical significance of a number of sociohistorical factors which have been claimed to have influenced emerging creoles in colonial situations. The variables taken into consideration were: geographical area (which determines the distribution of adstrate languages and, to a certain extent, substrate languages), age of the creole (rapid creolization entails stronger divergence from the lexifier), lexifier (which provides the bulk of the lexicon and may influence the grammatical make-up of the creole) or type of community (fort, maroon, plantation or trade creoles). Apart from a slight effect for lexifier, they failed to detect a significant effect for any these factors. However, their sample consisted of 18 creoles representing seven lexifiers (only two of which were non-Indo-European), which limited the possibilities of testing certain variables.

In this paper, we propose to test the variables discussed in Bakker et al. (2011) with a broader sample of 76 creoles and contact varieties as provided by the *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures* (Michaelis et al. 2013). This will also allow us to include a larger number of lexifier languages (eight) and to statistically assess the effects of the different categories in a more in-depth manner.

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Multilingualism in Southern New Guinea - the case of Kómno and Wára

This paper presents a micro-study of language contact drawing from descriptive work of Kómno, a member of the Yam language family, spoken in the More-head district of Papua New Guinea. A system of patrilocal sister exchange is a cultural feature of the Morehead area (Williams 1936). While this practice has fostered a high degree of multilingualism, it is accompanied by a language ideology which emphasizes the connection between land and language (Ayres 1984). It is the tension between these forces and the way how they influence particular contact phenomena which will be discussed in the paper. Kómno has been in longstanding contact with its immediate neighbours: Nama, Anta and Wára. Kómno speakers perceive their language as being under threat from “mother’s language”, that is the language spoken by the women who marry into the village. For a number of social and historical reasons there is indeed a significant number of speakers who, although ethnically being part of the Kómno population, speak Wára. Additionally, the use of Wára and especially its transmission to children is frowned upon for ideological reasons. The rejection of “mother’s language” is, however, only partly successful. While tiny lexical differences are noticed by speakers and tend to be commented on (e.g.: ‘woman’ is Nare in Kómno and Nari in Wára), we find that a particular prefix in Kómno verb morphology is of Wára origin.

grammatical category (value)	Kómno	Wára
deixis (proximal)	<i>z-</i>	<i>n-</i>
tense (immediate past)	<i>n-</i>	<i>nz-</i>

Table 1: comparison of verb prefixes

As can be seen in the table above, there are two categorically distinct prefixes (for deixis and tense) occupying the same slot in the verb template. Although both have distinct forms in the table, the Kómno prefix for immediate past (*n-*) has been replaced by its Wára equivalent (*nz-*) leaving only a handful of older speakers employing the original form. In the light of the social situation described above and employing the transmission model by Van Coetsem (1995), the borrowing of the form is best described as a result of imposition by a group of speakers whose dominant language is Wára.

The case of Kómno and Wára presents an interesting scenario because we can see how contact is conditioned by social factors. Additionally, this case study brings data from a relatively understudied scenario in which the two varieties in contact are very close relatives.

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Mark Donohue (Australian National University)

Social histories and their different linguistic consequences

From crude approximations about what *level* of material can be borrowed in contact situations (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Enfield 2009), recent work has refined our understanding of the kind of material (phonological or morphosyntactic) that can be borrowed in different kinds of social scenarios (relative size of the different populations; relative prestige of the different groups) (Donohue 2013).

This paper examines a selection of contact scenarios where the social circumstances are known, and examines the kinds of lexical, phonological and morphosyntactic material that is shared (following the methodology in Donohue 2014, shown in Donohue and Denham in press), opening up prospects for more fine-grained understanding of the kinds of material, phonological or morphosyntactic, that can be shared in different contact situations.

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Calquing a Quirk: The role of social conditioning in the spread of the HAVE perfect across Europe

The HAVE perfect (Eng. *I have seen*, Ger. *ich habe gesehen*), found almost exclusively in Western Europe (Dahl and Velupillai 2013), has been identified as a “European quirk, unparalleled elsewhere in the world” (Cysouw 2011: 425). What is remarkable and important to note, however, is that this construction is not at all rare within its own geographical area. Periphrastic perfects formed with a possessive auxiliary are extremely well-represented in the Romance and Germanic languages, and have spread to numerous languages which have come in contact with them: certain varieties of W. Slavic (Upper and Lower Sorbian, Czech, Polish, Kashubian), Baltic (Lithuanian), Celtic (Breton), and Basque. The spread of this highly marked construction to adjacent varieties largely in the light of history provides us with an exceptional opportunity to observe the conditions under which this calquing occurred, and to assess the role of external as well as internal factors in the adoption of this structure in closely-related, distantly-related, and unrelated languages.

After a general overview of the distribution of HAVE-perfect calques across Europe, three representative instances are presented:

- Old High German and Old Saxon, which, as part of the “Charlemagne Sprachbund” (van der Auwera 1998, Haspelmath 2001), acquired their perfects through scribal and vernacular influence of Latin and Romance (Banniard 2004, Drinka 2013)
- Portuguese, which built its perfects on a vernacular model, with possible influence from Arabic (Fassi Fehri 2003), and
- Czech, which underwent centuries-long influence from German, calquing a HAVE perfect alongside its native BE perfect and constructing a perfect/aorist contrast modeled closely on that of German (Dickey 2011).

These examples illustrate, respectively, three important principles of social conditioning connected with grammatical calquing: the role of prestige in the operation of “roofing,” the linguistic repercussions of political and confessional realignment, and the capacity of social motivation to “trump” internal linguistic factors (Thomason and Kaufmann 1988), as witnessed both in the revamping of the verbal paradigm in the vernacular varieties and in the partially-successful attempts by language purists to suppress it in the standard variety (Thomas 2003).

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Iván Igartua (University of the Basque Country)

Loss of grammatical gender and non-native language acquisition

It is widely acknowledged that grammatical gender constitutes a relevant part of the structural complexity of languages, its assignment being sometimes rather arbitrary. Linguists have been mainly concerned with the rise of gender systems (Greenberg 1978, Corbett 1991), for which specific paths of internal development have been identified. Loss of gender systems has also been treated in a largely internal perspective: some authors even ascribe the “steady disappearance” of gender for inanimate referents to its lack of linguistic function (Bichakjian 1999, Trudgill 1999). From this viewpoint, gender represents a piece of complexity that has arisen through “a gradual evolution of the sort which proceeded quite independently of communicative necessity, and must be adjudged happenstance accretion” (McWhorter 2001: 129).

Nevertheless, cross-linguistic frequency of grammatical gender (43,5% of languages in Corbett 2013’s sample), as well as its pronounced diachronic and genetic stability (Dahl 2004: 199) call for a different kind of explanation. Members of the category are of course frequently lost (recall the reduction from three to two genders in many Germanic and Romance languages), but the category itself appears to be resistant to internal change.

Recent research on the effects of second language learning on the structure of languages in contact (McWhorter 2007, Trudgill 2011) has revealed that loss of gender and other simplificatory processes are likely to occur precisely when non-native acquisition predominates. In this paper three case studies will be presented that illustrate –to a varying degree of detail– the sociolinguistic scenarios that could be responsible for the contact-induced elimination of grammatical gender. The linguistic and historical information provided by the evolution of Persian, Armenian, and Cappadocian Greek, though not always entirely recoverable, certainly suggests that second language learning should be viewed as a key factor in the process of gender loss and other instances of grammar simplification.

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Differing forms of contact influence between Middle English and Anglo-Norman and their context

Contact between French and English in the medieval period operated via stable bilingualism from the later 12th to the later 14th centuries (Short 1980, Short 2010). Bilingual speakers belonging to a numerically restricted social elite generally acquired English as a mother tongue and the insular variety of Old French, Anglo-Norman, as a child L2 (Ingham 2012, cf. Meisel 2011). French is known to have influenced certain Middle English grammatical constructions (Orr 1962), a finding which in the present paper is linked to the concept of replica grammaticalisation of function words (Heine & Kuteva 2005) - henceforth 'replication'. Research reported here shows that replication in the reverse direction, from English to Anglo-Norman, is virtually unattested, but that the principal effects of English contact influence on the grammar of Anglo-Norman lay rather in areas interfacing with phonology and semantics. In keeping with work on contact effects on Judeo-Spanish (Fischer and Villanova 2014), it is shown that in Anglo-Norman verbal aspect, as well as indefinites under negation, underwent contact influence from English, whereas non-interface properties such as pronominal clitics and Verb Second did not. Gender agreement in Anglo-Norman was likewise largely immune to contact influence, except where Middle English phonological tendencies intervened.

The question is then addressed of why the incidence of contact influence by replication on the one hand, and by interface effects on the other, should have differed depending on the direction of influence. It is observed that in both the Judeo-Spanish and Anglo-Norman cases, the source language of the interface effects was demographically dominant; the replication effects, however, operated from a societally dominant on a societally subordinate language, not vice versa. This latter outcome is compared with contact effects in contemporary non-standard English varieties.

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Tracing Patterns of Contact and Movement in the Greater Burma Zone

This study takes at its starting point the areal linguistics and history of the ‘Greater Burma Zone’ a social, cultural, religious, and political space based on the modern state of Myanmar (Burma) but extending into the regions beyond. Throughout the zone, long-term contact and multilingualism have led to the spread of grammatical, syntactic, phonetic features, and lexical material from locally dominant languages to smaller or less powerful languages, although the directionality of contact is not always from ‘stronger’ to ‘weaker’ (see Næss & Jenny 2011).

Based on interdisciplinary research done on the extensive contact between Mon and Burmese speakers in southern Burma (Næss & Jenny 2011; McCormick & Jenny 2013), the present study applies the same methodology to the northern Burma Zone, where the Kachin and Shan occupy central roles in the social structure. The Kachin people, speaking various Tibeto-Burman languages, most importantly Jinghpaw, form a prominent cultural complex, but, unlike the Burmese, Mon, and Shan, no historically unified political power (Sadan 2013). Unlike the Mon and Burmese, the Kachin and Shan are not in direct competition for resources and land, and the cultural and social difference between them is much greater than between the Mon and Burmese, which leads to a very different contact setting from the one found in southern Burma, potentially resulting in different linguistic outcomes.

Jinghpaw displays features in vocabulary and syntax which attest to its history of contact with the economically and politically dominant Shan (Leach 1959) and Burmese, and possibly also Chinese. Our initial study of two varieties of Jinghpaw in Burma has revealed replication of Shan patterns in a Jinghpaw variety in a Shan-dominated area, but not in Jinghpaw spoken farther away from Shan influence. This suggests the expected direction of replication from prestigious Shan to Jinghpaw. On the other hand, Khamti, a language closely related to Shan spoken further north in Jinghpaw-dominated areas and in Assam, tends towards verb-final structures, indicating a possible replication of Jinghpaw structures. An analysis of patterns of matter and pattern replication reveals a chronology of contact across time and borders, providing a reading of the movements of speakers and their social, political, and ecological environments over the past several hundred years (Scott 2009).

Based on both published material and our own field data, this research examines dialects of Jinghpaw and Shan in Burma in comparison with varieties spoken in Yunnan and Assam. The combination of historical, social, and linguistic data is important in establishing the mechanisms of contact scenarios and adds to our understanding of the typology of language contact. As theoretical contact-linguistic background serve, among others, papers published in Chamoreau & Léglise 2012.

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Anna Jon-And (Stockholm University) & *Elliot Aguilar* (City U of New York)

Modelling contact-induced language change in Angolan Portuguese

In this paper we present a model for simulating language change in an expanding speech population using evolutionary game theory, in order to comment on earlier assumptions about linguistic transmission and change in language shift situations. It has largely been assumed that when a group shifts from one language to another, first generation second language (L2) speakers introduce the changes that are stabilized in the second generation of first language (L1) speakers (Fishman 1991: 9; Thomason and Kaufman 1988). Our empirical point of departure is the ongoing language shift from Bantu languages to Portuguese in Angola, which has occurred mainly after independence in 1974. We believe that a realistic model for linguistic innovation and spread needs to include transmission within generations as well as between them and should consider interaction between L1 and L2 varieties. Our computational model attempts to simulate the growth of the Portuguese speaking population in Angola since 1974, as well as the introduction and spread of a possibly contact related linguistic variant (using omission of preposition in locative phrases as an example). The population grows by recruitment of L2 speakers and birth of L1 speakers. For the linguistic feature the simulation starts with the original variant fixed. We add the probability of some individuals introducing the new variant and then allow individuals to interact and update their probabilities of using one variant or the other. By varying the weight for different kinds of interactions and population growth rates for L1 and L2 speakers, the simulation enables us to formalize hypotheses concerning the conditions required for the spread of the new linguistic variant. The outcomes of the simulations will later be compared to data from Cabinda in northern Angola that will be collected in June 2014.

Preliminary results indicate that at least one of the following two conditions needs to be fulfilled for a variant introduced by L2 speakers to spread: (i) recruitment rate of L2 speakers exceeds birth rate for L1 speakers; (ii) L1 speakers are equally influenced by interactions with L2 and L1 speakers. If birth rate of L1 speakers exceeds recruitment rate for L2 speakers *and* L1 speakers are less influenced by interaction with L2 speakers than with L1 speakers, the new variant does not spread in the population.

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Petros Karatsareas (University of the West of England)

Contact-induced typological anomaly *versus* language-internal dynamics. Differential case marking in Asia Minor Greek

In this paper, I argue that in settings of displacive contact (Aikhenvald 2007), in which one language dominates over another on both a societal and an individual level, transfer may result in the introduction of innovations that violate the typological generalisations defining respective phenomena crosslinguistically. Even in such cases, though, the development of typologically deviant, contact-induced innovations is shaped by the properties and internal dynamics of change of the recipient language. This proposal lends support to one of the prevailing views in the study of language change today, namely that—more often than not—diachronic innovations that occur in settings of language contact owe their development to a combination of language-internal and -external factors (Chamoreau & Léglise 2012; Dorian 1993; Jones & Esch 2002; King 2005; Poplack & Levey 2010).

As a case-in-point, I examine the introduction of differential case marking (DCM) into the grammar of two Asia Minor Greek dialects, Cappadocian and Phrasiot, in which the effects of crosslinguistic influence from Turkish are clearly identifiable on all levels of grammar (Dawkins 1916; Janse 2002, 2009, Karatsareas 2013). In Turkish, the ACC suffix *-(y)I* is used to mark direct object NPs only when they take a specific reading. Non-specific NPs are not case-marked, similarly to subject NPs of simple sentences (1). Cappadocian and Phrasiot replicated the Turkish differential object marking (DOM) pattern by matching (a) the grammatical feature of Specificity with that of Definiteness, which was already morphosyntactically expressed in the two languages, and (b) zero and ACC marking with NOM and ACC marking respectively, based on the correspondence in the means of expression of subject and direct object between the two languages.

Owing to the nature of their inherited Greek inflectional system, in Cappadocian and Phrasiot, the differential distinction between definite and indefinite NPs could only be formally realised on nouns that preserved the morphological distinction between NOM and ACC in their paradigms, namely only on historical masculines such as *milos* ‘mill’. These distinguished between the two cases by means of the morphological opposition NOM *-s* : ACC *-∅* (2). This DCM pattern, however, violates Aissen’s generalisation that “*overwhelmingly*, DOM is implemented by overtly marking the marked class of objects and leaving the unmarked ones with no morphological mark” (2003: 446, emphasis in the original). The generalisation is borne out in Turkish, which has always been differential in its history. As can be seen in (2), however, in Cappadocian and Phrasiot, the overt, morphologically more complex element marks the unmarked class of objects and *vice versa*.

What is more, at the time when DCM was introduced into the grammatical system of Cappadocian, nouns such as *milos* were undergoing shift from a historically masculine class that distinguished between NOM and ACC to a historically neuter class that did not (3). As a result, in the varieties in which this shift was more advanced, historical masculines lost the ability to participate in DCM, which soon led to its demise as shown by examples such as (4), in which NOM -s is found in a definite NP. On the contrary, in Pharasiot, which did not develop a similar inflectional class shift, the contact-induced DCM pattern remained well established.

(examples following page)

Danny Law (University of Texas at Austin)

The social roots of grammatical hybridity in Mayan languages

The Mayan languages, spoken today in Guatemala, Southern Mexico and Belize, have recently been highlighted as a cross-linguistically striking example of contact-induced language change. Many of the 31 surviving Mayan languages show evidence of significant transfer of grammatical features including inflectional and derivational morphology, phonological innovations, syntactic structures and morphosyntactic and semantic categories. For the bulk of these areally shared features, both the recipient language and the donor are Mayan, though often from highly divergent branches of the family. Inherited linguistic similarity certainly facilitated Mayan language contact, but it is by no means sufficient to explain the profound and cross-linguistically unusual effects of language contact in the region. In this paper, I will consider these linguistic outcomes in their socio-historical context. I will investigate several aspects of that context that had a substantial effect on how and why linguistic features were transferred across language boundaries with such apparent ease in the Maya area. I will focus particularly on the emergence of an ideology of group identity that privileged place and kinship over language. An analysis of the social context of Mayan language hybridity relies on a body of epigraphic, sociohistorical and archaeological data that is unparalleled in the New World and rare elsewhere. The Maya area is one of the best-documented archaeologically in the New World, and numerous ethnohistorical records from shortly after the Spanish Conquest of the 16th century, many actually in Mayan languages, as well as tens of thousands of pre-Columbian hieroglyphic texts, provide evidence of language use and its social context over nearly two thousand years. Such a long-term perspective on language and social context highlights the dynamism of the way in which political, social and linguistic communities overlapped and diverged over time as political structures waxed and waned and as ideologies surrounding language and identity shifted in the wake of new social realities.

Laura Álvarez López & Anna Jon-And (Stockholm University)

Afro-Brazilian Cupópia: language contact, lexically-driven deliberate change and its grammatical outcomes.

In Brazil, there are different types of Afro-Brazilian speech communities where grammatical hybridization and/or lexically and contextually driven in-group codes can be observed (Vogt & Fry 1996, 2005; Queiroz 1998, Lucchesi et al. 2009, Byrd 2012). This paper focuses on the speech of a rural community called *Cafundó* in order to relate contact settings and linguistic outcomes.

Cafundó is situated 150 km from São Paulo and in 1978, when linguistic data were collected, the community was constituted of approximately 80 individuals, descendants of two slave women who inherited their owners' properties (Vogt & Fry 1996). According to Vogt and Fry, who recorded approximately 100 hours of interviews, when the inhabitants of *Cafundó* spoke in their supposed "African language", they used structures borrowed from Portuguese and a vocabulary of possible African origin (Vogt & Fry 2005: 39). This variety, also called *Cupópia*, has been classified as an "anti-Creole" (do Couto 1992; Petter 1999) or as a "special language" (Petter 1998).

Following Thomason, we will support the claim that speakers' choices may lead to significant changes and argue that the social circumstances in which this variety emerged and was maintained involve language contact and bilingual speakers who have "the ability to manipulate their language" and "the conscious knowledge required to effect language change" (Thomason 2007: 45-46). Lexical replacement and maintenance can be made to "increase the difference between one's own speech and someone else's" or to keep outsiders at a linguistic distance (Thomason 2007: 50-51). Such lexical changes are generally not believed to affect language structure; however the qualitative and quantitative analyses of our data show that both nominal and verbal phrases found in the environment of the *Cupópia* lexicon show a higher level of restructuring than the Portuguese produced by the same speakers (Álvarez & Jon-And 2014). Relatively radical grammatical changes are observed in *Cupópia*, such as copula absence and alternated word order.

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John Mansfield (Australian National University and University of Melbourne)

Grammatical influences of a migrant language and a prestige language

Murrinh Patha (MP) is an Australian Aboriginal language spoken by some 2500 people living in the town of Wadeye, Northern Territory. It is a polysynthetic language in which grammatical relations are marked primarily on the verb, and noun phrases are frequently elided. MP is the main language of Wadeye and the first language of all children growing up there, but most of these children are the descendants of Marri language speakers who settled the town two generations ago. The Marri languages are no longer spoken by young people, but the history of settlement and MP acquisition by L1 Marri speakers has resulted in various subtle changes to MP verb morphosyntax. At the same time, English has some role in the town as the language of communication with “whitefella” Australians, and of formal work and education. However, young people are generally not fluent in English, and tend to view whitefellas with a mixture of curiosity and contempt. There are large amounts of English lexical borrowing into young peoples’ MP, but grammatically only a couple of minor functions have been borrowed.

The Marri language influences on MP grammar involve a merger in the TMA verb inflection categories, with MP’s erstwhile separate Future, Future Irrealis and Past Irrealis categories merging into a single Irrealis category for all three functions, which mirrors the system found in Marri languages. There are also changes underway in the morphological ordering of verb suffixes, again resulting in a verb that is more nearly isomorphic with Marri languages. The changes resulting from English contact involve the creation of a new modal ABLE marker using a reflex of the English word *easy*, and occasional tokens of noun phrases in which the word order follows English rather than MP phrase structure rules – though this only occurs when English lexical items are present in the noun phrase. I argue that the changes from Marri languages involve core parts of the grammar, while the changes from English are highly peripheral. This supports the hypothesis that childhood acquisition establishes deeper grammatical structures, while adult bilingualism results in more superficial changes (e.g. Labov 2007).

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Carol Myers-Scotton

English Verbs in Nairobi Swahili-English CS: Socio-psychological Factors or Grammatical Structure?

This paper argues that while embedding English verbs in Swahili-framed clauses in codeswitching (CS) adds a facet to the speaker's social identity, such structures are facilitated only because they rely on the combination of certain abstract verbal structures in English and the verbal morphology in Swahili. That is, social factors, on their own, are not the critical forces in promoting hybrid grammatical structures.

Informal conversations in Nairobi today are marked by a good deal of Swahili-English CS. Neither Swahili nor English are the first languages of many Kenyans living in Nairobi, but because of Swahili's history as an inter-ethnic lingua franca ever since British colonial days, it continues in that role. Also, the first languages of many Nairobi residents are also Bantu languages, not too distant structurally from Swahili. Such CS offers speakers the chance to fine tune their contributions to conversations in various ways that add an urban cachet to their social identities. Sheng, with a Swahili base, is very popular with the youth, but is not the subject here.

Across most CS corpora, not just in Kenya, nouns from the Embedded Language (i.e. less dominant language in a CS clause) are numerically the most frequent English addition to informal Nairobi conversations. However, of more interest in discussions of contact-induced change is that current Nairobi CS often shows many English verbs. See 'notice' and 'rush' in example (1). What is noteworthy is that these English verbs in Swahili frames are typically fully integrated, receiving Swahili verbal affixes.

- (1) (One Nairobi female market stall owner to another in 5/2013): *Ohh, hata sikuwa ni-me-notice hiyo; kwangu sijamaliza **rent** ya **last month**. Siku hizi zi-na-rush haraka sana.* 'Oh, even I hadn't noticed that; at my place I haven't finished [paying] the rent of last month. [The] days rush [by] very fast.'

This paper acknowledges the role of both English nouns and verbs in such CS as a means to identify a speaker's dual social identity. However, the main argument is to show how this full integration of English verbs in Swahili frames is facilitated by the structural nature of these verbs at the abstract level and also by Swahili verbal morphology. By analogy, one can argue elsewhere that the particular structural "fit" of the languages involved is critical in expediting many contact-induced changes.

Johanna Nichols (UC Berkeley)

Favored shifts in derivational morphology accompany expansive contact situations

A distinctive type of large-scale contact situation that has arisen several times in recent millennia is associated with consistent developments in morphological derivational types:

- Causativization as the favored realization of the causative alternation
- Simplification, in the form of increased consistency in directionality of derivation
- Increase in noun-based derivational paradigms, decrease in verb-based ones
- Increase in roots with fixed part of speech, decrease in flexible ones

The contact areas surveyed are (* = survey not complete):

Amazonia *

Western North America

West Africa *

Former Caucasian Albania (southeastern Caucasus, northern Azerbaijan)

North central Caucasus

The post-Bronze Age western steppe periphery: (Balto-)Slavic, Germanic, westernmost Finnic

The Indo-Iranian-BMAC¹ contact zone (western Central Asia, southern steppe periphery)

The eastern steppe periphery (Mongolia and nearby)

The contact situations involve:

- Social change or turnover involving economic expansion (of one ethnic group or state as it succeeds another; or of several groups, as expanding economic frontiers affect all groups).
- Because of the social change, new economic opportunities appear sometimes unpredictably and with no ethnic or political control. The entrepreneurially inclined seize opportunities and construct new economic networks.
- At least during the period of rapid change and expansion, there is no obvious standard or prestige language.
- Often, catalyst languages appear: a language acts as buffer, intermediary, trade facilitator, etc. between an expanding group and new markets, and expands itself at the expansion zone's periphery. (Better-known examples from other areas: Ainu mediating between the expanding Yayoi and retracting Jomon cultures and economies [Janhunen]; early Uto-Aztecan expanding the frontier of Mesoamerican domestication [Hill, Merrill]; Proto-Finno-Ugric as northern catalyst for

early Indo-Iranian [Anthony]; Aztec and ancestral Quechuan expanding at the frontier of Spanish conquest.)

The paper surveys, across a genealogically diverse sample of the languages of each area as well as some of their neighbors and sisters outside the area, the frequencies of the relevant derivational phenomena (the entire larger variables: treatment of causative alternation; extent and type of directionality of derivation; noun-based, verb-based, and flexible roots and derivational bases). It gives a capsule sociolinguistic and political-economic history of each area and its expanding and catalyst languages.

¹ BMAC: Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex, the pre-Indo-Iranian civilization of western Central Asia.

Dirk Noël & Timothy Colleman (University of Hong Kong)

Same formal pattern, different contact situation, different propagation: Evidential vs. deontic NCI constructions in Dutch (contrasted with English)

The grammars of both English and Dutch include nominative and infinitive (or NCI) patterns, consisting of a passive P-C-U verb complemented by a *to/te*-infinitive, e.g. Eng. *be said to*, *be thought to*, *be found to*, and Du. *geacht worden te* ‘be considered/supposed to’ and *verondersteld worden te* ‘be supposed to’. Both languages borrowed them from Latin in the Early Modern age, as loan translations of forms like *dicitur* and *creditur*, and introduced them as evidential constructions in scholarly writing. In English the evidential NCI could spread to other genres and become a productive schematic construction because it filled a semantic niche. In Dutch it faced competition from constructions already occupying that niche and as a result the Dutch evidential NCI withered away, disappearing almost completely. Much later, in the second half of the 20th century, two substantive vestiges of the Dutch evidential NCI, *geacht worden te* and *verondersteld worden te*, took on a deontic meaning after the model of the English cognate patterns *be supposed to* and *be expected to*, which helped to ensure the viability of these Dutch patterns. The difference between the attrition of the evidential construction and the acceptance of the deontic one may not just be attributable to the fact that the deontic construction could fill a functional niche while the evidential one did not. Different as well is the nature of the contact situation that led to the introduction of both constructions into Dutch. A far greater segment of Dutch speakers now has contact with English than was the case for contact with Latin during the Renaissance and the deontic NCI is less constrained by genre in both the model and the replica language. The latter will be argued with reference to corpus data for English and internet data for Dutch.

Corinna Scheungraber (GWDG Göttingen)

Towards a typology of contact-induced morphological change in Indo-European languages

The diversity of non-inherited morphological structures, which are frequently encountered in IE languages, is probably – at least partly – due to the influence of a contact language (just like many phonological and syntactic innovations are generally considered to be contact-induced). After a systematic examination of the morphologies of genetically related languages which have come in secondary contact with each other (or with other, more distantly related or even non-related languages), some light will be shed upon the mechanisms of morphological restructuring in the RL during and subsequent to a contact situation. On the basis of the collected data (see below), we will be able to determine which areas of inflectional morphology are affected by language contact and to what extent. Finally, this will allow for a typology of contact-induced morphological change in IE languages, which then might be extended and compared to data obtained from non-IE languages.

Case studies¹

- The Albanian and Modern Greek middle imperfect and the verb ‘to be’: In Greek, the middle imperfect endings of the verb ‘to be’ (which itself has been inflected in the middle voice since the Hellenistic period) are used for marking the middle imperfect of any verb. This state of affairs was imitated in Albanian. Furthermore, both the Alb. and the Gr. verbs ‘to be’ are formed with a prefixed eni- ‘in, inside’ (cf. Schumacher / Matzinger 2014)
- The transfer of allomorphy of the dative plural ending from (older) West Lithuanian to Old Prussian: In OPruss., the proportion between WLith. acc.pl. –us : dat. pl. –mus was imitated: OPruss. acc.pl. –ans : X, X = OPruss. –mans (Hill forthc.)
- The “composition” of the demonstrative pronouns in West Germanic (e.g. OHG der N.sg.m. < *þez < *þa-iz) on the model of Celtic demonstrative pronouns (Gaul. so-sin, N.-A.sg.n.) (Hill, pers. comm.)
- The pronoun of the 3rd person (masculine) in East Lithuanian and East Slavic (cf. Petit 2010)
- The two verba substantiva in Celtic and West-Germanic as a contact phenomenon (Schumacher 2009)
- Asia Minor Greek’s agglutinative noun morphology, modeled on Turkish (Dawkins 1916; Janse 2009)
- Morphological gemination / consonant gradation in Germanic and Baltic Finnic (cf. Kroonen 2011)
- The Vikings in Northengland: the contact-induced rise of the Northumbrian OE verbal present endings in –s (Scheungraber, forthc.)
- The collapse of the IE tense-/aspect-system and restructuring of the verbal system in Anatolian and Proto-Germanic

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¹ This list does not aim to be exhaustive; also, the collection of data is still ongoing.

Kim Schulte (University Jaume I Castelló de la Plana)

Hybridization of related languages: Which grammatical features are likely to be adopted?

This paper analyses and compares a number of morphosyntactic changes arising from two present-day contact situations within a single geographical area but with somewhat different underlying social parameters. What makes the linguistic situation particularly interesting for the study of contact-induced change is the fact that the three languages involved are related (though to different degrees) and therefore typologically very similar, which, it will be argued, facilitates grammatical transfer among them.

In the northern part of the Valencia region of eastern Spain, there is long-standing and relatively stable diglossic situation involving Valencian (a cover term for a range of western Catalan dialects) and Spanish, in which Spanish traditionally has had the status of the superstrate language. As a result of this diglossia, speakers incorporate a varying range of Spanish morphosyntactic features into a hybrid variety sometimes referred to as *Valeñol*. The clitic pronoun system of this variety, which will be analysed in this paper, is of particular interest because it contains some elements that are largely resistant to transfer (such as the presence or absence of the ‘prepositional clitics’ *hi* and *en*), whilst other features, such as the systematic morphological distinctions between human/non-human and direct/indirect object, the position of the pronoun relative to the verb, and the allomorphic variation of proclitic pronouns (e.g. //se-// vs. //es-//) have been strongly affected by the contact situation.

Subsequently, these findings are compared with the outcome of a far more recent, migration-based contact situation between Spanish/Valencian on the one hand and Romanian on the other. The emerging contact variety, sometimes jokingly referred to as *Rumañol*, also shows signs of grammatical hybridisation. What makes the comparison particularly interesting is that, irrespective of the differences between the contact situations, both contact varieties tend to adopt elements that do not radically ‘disrupt’ the fundamental grammatical structure of the recipient language, but rather modify the existing morphosyntactic patterns.

Though it is well known that almost anything can be borrowed between languages, the data presented in this paper supports the hypothesis that the structural predisposition of a recipient language favours the incorporation of some types of grammatical elements more than others. Rather than trying to set up a universal hierarchy of borrowability, it may therefore be more appropriate to establish a number of individual, typologically-informed borrowability scales.

Frank Seifart (MPI EVA Leipzig & University of Amsterdam)

Affix borrowing and social setting

This paper quantitatively and qualitatively investigates the role of social settings on contact-induced language change, specifically the borrowability of affixes, in set of 78 languages that borrowed between one and 50 affixes (Seifart, 2013a). Firstly, we show that linguistic-structural similarity of donor and recipient languages (calculated from *WALS* features, Dryer and Haspelmath, 2011) does not lead to increased affix borrowing, suggesting that bilingual speakers are not constrained by linguistic-structural factors of the languages they speak when creating mixed varieties of these languages, and that the social settings is thus probably indeed the primary determinant of contact-induced language change. Secondly, we show that affix borrowing is comparably extensive in different types of contact situations including substrate vs. superstrate vs. balanced settings. It thus appears that while affix borrowing occurs only in situations of intense language contact, as a precondition to identify affixes in a donor language, it operates relatively independently of dominance of one language over another. This may be because affixes, as part of the grammar of a language, escape conscious control of speakers, and thus also social regulations regarding language mixing. Interestingly, we find cases of extensive affix borrowing also in settings with strong cultural constraints against lexical borrowing. This is in line with the fact that affix borrowing may come about both indirectly, on the basis of loanwords, and directly, in the absence of loanwords (Seifart 2013b), with similar end results. We conclude that based on synchronically observable affix borrowing little can be said about undocumented past social settings except for an indication of intense language contact.

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Margot van den Berg & Robbert van Sluijs (Radboud University Nijmegen)

Property concepts in the Caribbean past and the West African present

Varieties of English and the Gbe and Akan languages have been in contact in the Caribbean as well as in West Africa since the 17th century, giving rise to creole languages in the Caribbean in the past and complex multilingual language practices in West Africa in the present. A comparison of these various outcomes of language contact contributes to a better understanding of the impact of and interaction between social settings and linguistic constraints on outcomes of language contact. This paper compares historical creole data from Suriname and the Virgin Islands with contemporary multilingual language use data collected in Ghana and Togo by means of semi-experimental elicitation techniques in the period 2010-2013: First, we discuss differences and similarities in the expression of property concepts in two creole languages, that is Early Sranantongo, a cover term for varieties of the 18th century creole language of Suriname, and Virgin Islands Dutch Creole ('Negerhollands'), on the basis of 18th century language data in the Suriname Creole Archive and the NEHOL database. Second, we compare early creole strategies of property concept predication with property concept predication strategies in contemporary multilingual discourse in Ghana and Togo. Our findings show that early creole property concept predication strategies do not only include traces of the European and African languages that contributed to creole formation, but also traces of creative property concept predication strategies that are typically found in multilingual discourse in Ghana and Togo. We discuss how structural similarities between the languages in contact can impact the outcome of language contact, and furthermore, how sociolinguistic circumstances, in particular power relations between languages in contact, supported the propagation of innovative property concept predication strategies in Suriname, Ghana and Togo.

Jean-Christophe Verstraete (University of Leuven)

Personal multilingualism and contact-induced change in Cape York Peninsula, Australia

This paper describes a case of contact-induced change in the Princess Charlotte Bay area of Cape York Peninsula, Australia (Rigsby 1997, Verstraete 2012), investigating both the social basis of contact and its structural outcomes. The paper compares this case with similar contact situations in Australia (e.g. Heath 1978), Amazonia (e.g. Aikhenvald 2002, Epps 2007) and Papua New Guinea (e.g. Ross 1996), and identifies a number of challenges it raises for general models of multilingualism and contact-induced change.

The contact situation investigated in this paper involves the Middle Paman language Umpithamu and the Lamalamic languages Umbuygamu and Lamalama to its south. On the basis of historical-comparative and internal evidence, we can show that the effect of contact is restricted to profound restructuring of Umpithamu morphosyntax on a Lamalamic model, with no evidence for any substantial lexical transfer, and only weak evidence for phonological transfer (in word structure).

Contact between Umpithamu and Lamalamic languages is rooted in social structure, specifically the structuring principle of the patrilineal clan, which is associated with a distinct language or dialect, and a marriage rule of clan exogamy, which defines multilingual households and local groups. Taken together, these aspects of social structure lead to patterns of balanced personal multilingualism. Such patterns are interesting because they are difficult to describe in terms of classic notions like psycho- or sociolinguistic dominance of one specific language in a shared multilingual repertoire.

Contact influence between Umpithamu and Lamalamic languages is partial, restricted to transfer of morphosyntactic patterns, and unidirectional, going from Lamalamic languages to Umpithamu. While a split between morphosyntactic and lexical influence is well-documented for specific high-contact contexts (compare Aikhenvald 2002 and Epps 2007 for Amazonia), unidirectionality of transfer is more surprising, especially in comparison with the patterns of convergence observed for similar contexts in Aikhenvald (2002).

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Pairing gene-specific and language-specific evidence for population contacts—towards a typology

The motivation for the workshop is to replace a scale of intimacy of social contact correlated with the magnitude of linguistic interference (Kaufman and Thomasson 1988) with a more specific typology of contact situations. This paper aims to add specificity from a genetic perspective, focusing on genetic evidence revealing of population contact and known linguistic outcomes. Data will mainly be gathered from the literature, but will also be based on some of our own work (i.e., Afro-American groups).

There are many cases in the literature where genetic data is available for populations whose languages are known to have undergone influence as a concomitant of the social situations giving rise to the genetic influence, but where the genetic studies have ignored the linguistic background of the populations studied, except in generic terms. That is the case for Romas in Romania and for various Jewish populations, for instance. We intend to review these studies and, given that we combine expertise in genetics and linguistics, hope to be able to extract a number of cases that may serve as a first skeleton towards a typology of genetic-cum-linguistic contact.

The identification of gene flow between communities is a strong indicator of social interaction, and in many cases is expected to also have a linguistic correlate, bringing complementary perspectives that could be concordant or discordant. Among the major tools of population genetics is the characterization of uniparental markers (mtDNA or y-chromosome), which respectively reveal the maternal and the paternal lineages, i.e. sex-biased transmission of genes. More recent progress permits the characterization of the entire genome of each individual. The identification of common polymorphisms among human groups at a genome-wide scale provides the analytical tool for identifying ancient and modern contacts between populations and to date these contacts much more accurately than before. Our paper will include discussion of these recent methods.

Some areas that are ripe for contributing to a typology of genetic-cum-linguistic contact include the Himalayas, Mexico, Siberia, Spain, and Madagascar. In the case of Spain, for instance, the different genetic components of the population are known, and we can compare the nature of Arabic loanwords with the nature of genetic influx from northern Africa. Madagascar is a opposed case where a lot is also known about both the linguistic and genetic history, but where the link between the two is anything but obvious: the population is genetically fifty-fifty percent African and Barito (Indonesian), but there is very little linguistic testimony to any social interaction between the Barito immigrants and erstwhile African inhabitants of the island. This can serve as a warning that it is not always possible to make linguistic predictions from genetic evidence or the other way around, but other cases where such links can be made reassure us that the envisaged typology is a worthwhile enterprise.

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Greek influence on Coptic case?

Coptic (Afro-Asiatic) is the final stage of the Ancient Egyptian language, attested in written sources from approximately the fourth to the eleventh centuries AD. According to a widely held opinion Coptic is a contact language, a ‘product’ of prolonged societal bilingualism in Egypt where, starting from the Hellenistic period, Greek was enjoying the status of the prestige language of literature and administration. In this view, Coptic is a heavily hellenized Egyptian vernacular which can even be qualified as a ‘bilingual language variety’ (Reintges 2004).

In several recent publications I argue extensively in favour of a different view according to which Coptic, as it has come down to us, is not a vernacular but a *constructed literary idiom*. The ‘constructors’ of Coptic intended to emulate Greek literature, specifically Greek Christian literature. The idiom thus obtained is clearly influenced by Greek in some domains, especially as regards the cultural vocabulary and strategies of discourse organization, not to mention the use of the Greek alphabet. By contrast, the influence of Greek on the grammar of Coptic is much less pronounced (see Zakrzewska *fc.* for a detailed discussion). In the present contribution I will discuss apparent counterevidence to this last claim: the possible Greek influence on case marking in Coptic.

In Coptic, several case functions are expressed by prepositions. Interestingly, from a diachronic point of view the prepositional strategy of case marking is an innovative one: although marginally attested in earlier stages of Egyptian, it is only in Coptic that this strategy becomes dominant. As case marking by means of bound morphemes in fusing languages, such as Greek, seems hardly borrowable (Johanson 2009, Matras and Sakel, eds., 2007), the question arises whether the ‘constructors’ of Coptic borrowed (or calqued) Greek *valency patterns* in order to build out this innovative strategy.

The focus of this contribution is the marking of the second argument by means of the accusative, genitive or dative in Greek and by the following prepositions in Coptic: *m-/mmo=* (the default prepositional marker of the second argument), *e-/ero=* (basically an allative marker) and *n-/na=* (basically a dative marker). I will specifically take into account the fact that the varieties of Greek which most probably served as a model for Coptic, New Testament Greek and Koinē, were undergoing a process of a major rearrangement of their case systems in the period concerned (Humbert 1930, Horrocks 2010, Bortone 2010). In conclusion I will demonstrate that the supposed Greek influence on Coptic case is not plausible while the qualification as a ‘constructed literary idiom’ still holds.

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