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# Grammars in Contact

*A Cross-Linguistic Typology*

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*Explorations in Linguistic Typology*

## Glossary of Terms

This glossary summarizes the terminological conventions adopted throughout this volume. This is done in order to avoid terminological and conceptual confusion. When appropriate, we provide the number of a section of Chapter 1 where a particular point is discussed in detail, or a major reference on the subject. References are at the end of Chapter 1.

**balanced language contact** occurs in a long-standing linguistic area with no significant dominance relationships (or with stable, traditional hierarchical relations) among languages. There is no pressure to shift languages, and the net result is increase of linguistic complexity and typological diversity (§4.2.3 of Chapter 1).

**borrowing** implies transfer of linguistic features of any kind from one language to another as the result of contact. (Borrowing of forms is known as direct diffusion, and borrowing of patterns as indirect diffusion: Heath 1978; Aikhenvald 2002.)

**code mixing** and **code switching** refer to the alternative use of two languages either within a sentence or across sentence boundaries. We distinguish between

- code switching which follows established conventions and practices and has certain functions (e.g. used to quote someone; to indicate one's authority, or allegiance: see Clyne 1987: 740) and
- spontaneous code mixing which does not obey such pragmatic rules (see Hill and Hill 1986: 348).

**Borrowings** and **code switches** are extremes on a continuum potentially distinguished by

- frequency of occurrence (code switches are often one-off occurrences);
- phonological integration;
- morpho-syntactic integration; and
- lexical criteria:
  - (a) does an equivalent exist in the other language?
  - (b) if so, is it in use in the community?
  - (c) is the equivalent known to the speaker?
  - (d) to which language does the individual regard the word as belonging?
  - (e) is it in use by monolingual speakers?

See Bernstein and Myers-Scotton (1993: 145), on the absence of a watertight difference between borrowing and code switching; and a summary in Heath (1989: 40–1).

**convergence** is a process whereby languages in contact gradually become more like each other in terms of grammatical categories and constructions (§4.3 of Chapter 1).

**diffusion** is the spread of a linguistic feature within a geographical area or between languages. Diffusion can be **unilateral** (where A affects B) or **multilateral** (where A affects B in some ways and B affects A in others).

**displacive language contact** occurs when one group aggressively imposes its language on another group. It promotes language displacement, loss of the language's own features, and, ultimately, language shift (§4.2.3 of Chapter 1).

**grammatical accommodation** involves a change in meaning of a morphological marker or a syntactic construction based on superficial segmental similarity with a marker or a construction in a different language. (§3.3 of Chapter 1; Haugen 1969 uses the term 'homophonous extensions', while Campbell (1987) calls these 'shifts due to phonetic similarity'.

**grammaticalization** is the process whereby an item with lexical status changes into an item with grammatical status (§3.3 of Chapter 1, Heine and Kuteva 2005). A typical example of grammaticalization is the verb 'finish' becoming a marker for 'completed' aspect. Grammaticalization necessarily involves reanalysis (see Harris and Campbell 1995: 92).

**language engineering** refers to conscious human effort to effectuate language change (§4.2.2 of Chapter 1).

**layered languages** are languages with a significant proportion of forms and patterns recognizable as resulting from diffusion from other language(s) which makes them atypical representatives of language families or subgroups they belong to. The core lexicon and morphology allow us to unequivocally trace a layered language to one proto-language (§§2.1, 2.4 of Chapter 1).

**lexical accommodation** refers to change or extension of meaning of a lexical item resulting from superficial segmental similarities with a lexical item in a different language (§3.3 of Chapter 1).

**linguistic area** (or *sprachbund*) is a geographically delimited region including languages from two or more language families, or different subgroups of the same family, sharing significant traits, or combinations of traits (most of which are not found in languages from these families or subgroups spoken outside the area) (§2.5 of Chapter 1).

An alternative use of the term ‘linguistic area’ just for bilateral interaction between languages, reserving the term ‘*sprachbund*’ for multilateral areas, was proposed by Thomason and Kaufman (1988); this, however, goes against the mainstream terminological consensus. The difference between contact involving two, or more than two, languages is captured by the notion of unilateral and multilateral diffusion, and uni-, bi- and multidirectional diffusion.

The term ‘linguistic area’ or ‘*sprachbund*’ is sometimes used to refer to the spread of one type of linguistic feature or an isogloss over a geographic area (which is not necessarily a linguistic area involving bi- and multilingualism, or even contact between languages). One of the most salient features of all the South-East Asian languages is their ‘monosyllabicity’ and ‘tone-proneness’—as a result they have been called *Tonbund*, or ‘tonal area’ (Matisoff 2001). The fact that numerous Eurasian languages share phonological features (e.g. palatalization) prompted Jakobson (1938) to describe this as a ‘phonological’ *sprachbund*. Since most languages of India are spoken in a comparable sociolinguistic situation, India came to be called a ‘sociolinguistic area’ (papers in Abbi 1991). Heine and Kuteva (2005) distinguish ‘grammaticalization areas’ which share similar mechanisms of transforming more lexical morphemes into more grammatical ones. And also see Haarmann (1970) for evidentiality-type meanings as an ‘areal’ feature (in this sense) characteristic of the whole Eurasian continent.

**mixed, or intertwined, languages** are products of semi-conscious language engineering under specific social circumstances with many lexical and grammatical forms taken from two linguistically different sources. The genetic affiliation of mixed languages in terms of its core lexicon and morphology is therefore mixed (Bakker 1997, 2003; §2.4 of Chapter 1).

**reanalysis** is a historical process by which a morphosyntactic device comes to be assigned a different structure from that which it had, without necessarily

changing its surface form and with little change to its semantics. For instance, in Udi a number of verbs—which originally contained noun class agreement markers—were reanalysed as simple stems, as part of the process of losing the noun class system (Harris and Campbell 1995: 66–7; §3.3 of Chapter 1).

**reinterpretation** (or **extension**) is a change in the surface manifestation of a pattern ‘which does not involve immediate or intrinsic modification of underlying structure’ (Harris and Campbell 1995: 97). Reanalysis most often occurs together with reinterpretation. Examples of reinterpretation without reanalysis involve ‘a shift in the categorial status of a linguistic form resulting from its occurrence in ambiguous positions’. For instance, the English noun *fun* has been reinterpreted as an adjective, leading to its use in contexts like *This is a fun game* (Trask 2000: 274, 280; §3.3 of Chapter 1).

**substratum**, or **substrate**, refers to the impact of a language previously spoken in an area onto a new arrival in terms of vocabulary (hence substrate vocabulary), phonological, morphological, and syntactic features. **Superstratum**, or **superstrate**, refers to the influence exercised by a language spoken by a dominant group over that of a subordinate group. **Adstratum**, or **adstrate**, refers to one language influencing another, without dominating it. This term is occasionally employed as superordinate for substratum, adstratum, and superstratum. The dangers of overusing the idea of substratum in explaining language change are outlined by Trask (2000: 328–9) and Thurston (1987).

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Languages can be similar in many ways—they can resemble each other in categories, constructions and meanings, and in the actual forms used to express these. A shared feature may be based on common genetic origin, or result from geographic proximity and borrowing. Some aspects of grammar are spread more readily than others. The question is—which are they? When languages are in contact with each other, what changes do we expect to occur in their grammatical structures? Only an inductively based cross-linguistic examination can provide an answer. This is what this volume is about.

The book starts with a typological introduction outlining principles of contact-induced change and factors which facilitate diffusion of linguistic traits. It is followed by twelve studies of contact-induced changes in languages from Amazonia, East and West Africa, Australia, East Timor, and the Sinitic domain. Set alongside these are studies of Pennsylvania German spoken by Mennonites in Canada in contact with English, Basque in contact with Romance languages in Spain and France, and language contact in the Balkans. All the studies are based on intensive fieldwork, and each cast in terms of the typological parameters set out in the introduction. The book includes a glossary to facilitate its use by graduates and advanced undergraduates in linguistics and in disciplines such as anthropology.

**Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald** is Professor and Associate Director of the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology at La Trobe University.

**R.M.W. Dixon** is Professor and Director of the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology at La Trobe University.

### **Explorations in Linguistic Typology**

*General Editors:* Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and Professor R.M.W. Dixon

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