

Language Contact

Most societies in today's world are multilingual. 'Language contact' occurs when speakers of different languages interact and their languages influence each other. This book is an introduction to the subject, covering individual and societal multilingualism, the acquisition of two or more languages from birth, second-language acquisition in adulthood, language change, linguistic typology, language processing, and the structure of the language faculty. It explains the effects of multilingualism on society and language policy, as well as the consequences that long-term bilingualism within communities can have for the structure of languages. Drawing on the author's own first-hand observations of child and adult bilingualism, the book provides a clear analysis of such phenomena as language convergence, grammatical borrowing, and mixed languages.

YARON MATRAS is Professor of Linguistics in the School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures at the University of Manchester. His recent publications include *Romani: A Linguistic Introduction* (Cambridge, 2002) and *Markedness and Language Change* (with Viktor Elšík, 2006).

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-82535-1 - Language Contact
Yaron Matras
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE TEXTBOOKS IN LINGUISTICS

General editors: P. AUSTIN, J. BRESNAN, B. COMRIE, S. CRAIN,
W. DRESSLER, C. EWEN, R. LASS, D. LIGHTFOOT, K. RICE,
I. ROBERTS, S. ROMAINE, N. V. SMITH

Language Contact

In this series:

- R. A. HUDSON *Sociolinguistics* Second edition
 A. J. ELLIOT *Child Language*
 P. H. MATTHEWS *Syntax*
 A. RADFORD *Transformational Syntax*
 L. BAUER *English Word-Formation*
 S. C. LEVINSON *Pragmatics*
 G. BROWN and G. YULE *Discourse Analysis*
 R. HUDDLESTON *Introduction to the Grammar of English*
 R. LASS *Phonology*
 B. COMRIE *Tense*
 W. KLEIN *Second Language Acquisition*
 A. J. WOODS, P. FLETCHER and A. HUGHES *Statistics in Language Studies*
 D. A. CRUSE *Lexical Semantics*
 A. RADFORD *Transformational Grammar*
 M. GARMAN *Psycholinguistics*
 G. G. CORBETT *Gender*
 H. J. GIEGERICH *English Phonology*
 R. CANN *Formal Semantics*
 J. LAVER *Principles of Phonetics*
 F. R. PALMER *Grammatical Roles and Relations*
 M. A. JONES *Foundations of French Syntax*
 A. RADFORD *Syntactic Theory and the Structure of English: A Minimalist Approach*
 R. D. VAN VALIN, JR, and R. J. LAPOLLA *Syntax: Structure, Meaning and Function*
 A. DURANTI *Linguistic Anthropology*
 A. CRUTTENDEN *Intonation* Second edition
 J. K. CHAMBERS and P. TRUDGILL *Dialectology* Second edition
 C. LYONS *Definiteness*
 R. KAGER *Optimality Theory*
 J. A. HOLM *An Introduction to Pidgins and Creoles*
 G. G. CORBETT *Number*
 C. J. EWEN and H. VAN DER HULST *The Phonological Structure of Words*
 F. R. PALMER *Mood and Modality* Second edition
 B. J. BLAKE *Case* Second edition
 E. GUSSMAN *Phonology: Analysis and Theory*
 M. YIP *Tone*
 W. CROFT *Typology and Universals* Second edition
 F. COULMAS *Writing Systems: An Introduction to their Linguistic Analysis*
 P. J. HOPPER and E. C. TRAUOGOTT *Grammaticalization* Second edition
 L. WHITE *Second Language Acquisition and Universal Grammar*
 I. PLAG *Word-Formation in English*
 W. CROFT and A. CRUSE *Cognitive Linguistics*
 A. SIEWIERSKA *Person*
 A. RADFORD *Minimalist Syntax: Exploring the Structure of English*
 D. BÜRING *Binding Theory*
 M. BUTT *Theories of Case*
 N. HORNSTEIN, J. NUÑES and K. GROHMANN *Understanding Minimalism*
 B. C. LUST *Child Language: Acquisition and Growth*
 G. G. CORBETT *Agreement*
 J. C. L. INGRAM *Neurolinguistics: An Introduction to Spoken Language Processing and its Disorders*
 J. CLACKSON *Indo-European Linguistics: An Introduction*
 M. ARIEL *Pragmatics and Grammar*
 R. CANN, R. KEMPSON and E. GREGOROMICHELAKI *Semantics: An Introduction to Meaning in Language*
 Y. MATRAS *Language Contact*

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-82535-1 - Language Contact
Yaron Matras
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Language Contact

YARON MATRAS

University of Manchester



Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-82535-1 - Language Contact
Yaron Matras
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521532211

© Cambridge University Press 2009

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2009

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Matras, Yaron, 1963–

Language contact / Yaron Matras.

p. cm. – (Cambridge textbooks in linguistics)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-82535-1 (hardback) – ISBN 978-0-521-53221-1 (pbk.)

1. Multilingualism. 2. Second language acquisition. I. Title. II. Series.

P115.M38 2009

306.44'6 – dc22 2009015836

ISBN 978-0-521-82535-1 hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-53221-1 paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	x
<i>Preface</i>	xiii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xvi
1 Introduction	1
1.1 The study of language contact	1
1.2 Toward an integrated, functional approach to language contact	2
1.3 The structure of this book	6
2 An emerging multilingual repertoire	9
2.1 A case study	9
2.2 Lexical development	10
2.3 Controlling the selection mechanism	17
2.4 Combining repertoire components	23
2.5 Conscious exploitation of the full linguistic repertoire	34
2.6 Implications for the study of language contact	38
3 Societal multilingualism	41
3.1 Linguistic repertoires and social activities: a micro-level approach	41
3.2 Language–domain mapping at the macro-level	44
3.2.1 Role attributes of languages in multilingual societies	45
3.2.2 Types of domain specialisation	47
3.2.3 Domain stability and language maintenance	50
3.3 Language management in multilingual settings	53
3.4 Repertoire, activity domains, and language change	57
4 Acquiring and maintaining a bilingual repertoire	61
4.1 Bilingual first-language acquisition	61
4.1.1 Definitions and methodological problems	61
4.1.2 The separation of languages	63
4.1.3 Linguistic socialisation and pragmatic competence	66
4.1.4 Language systems vs. language repertoires	68
4.2 Second-language acquisition	68
4.2.1 Facilitating factors	69
4.2.2 Transfer and interference	72
4.2.3 Interlanguage and fossilisation	74
4.2.4 Communicative creativity in L2 discourse	79
4.2.5 Language learners and linguistic repertoires	85

viii	Contents	
4.3	Bilingualism and language processing	86
4.3.1	Language separation in the brain	87
4.3.2	Models of bilingual language processing	89
4.3.3	Bilingual speech errors	91
4.4	Conclusion	99
5	Crossing the boundaries: codeswitching in conversation	101
5.1	Defining codeswitching	101
5.1.1	Language mixing in the bilingual mode	101
5.1.2	Single-word insertions and their integration	106
5.1.3	The codeswitching–borrowing continuum	110
5.2	Situational and conversational codeswitching	114
5.2.1	Code selection: social norms and identity	114
5.2.2	Discourse functions of codeswitching	116
5.3	Structural aspects of codeswitching	129
5.4	Codeswitching and utterance modifiers	136
6	The replication of linguistic ‘matter’	146
6.1	Defining ‘borrowings’	146
6.2	Generalisations on borrowing	149
6.2.1	Motivations for borrowing	149
6.2.2	Borrowing hierarchies	153
7	Lexical borrowing	166
7.1	Content words and the position of nouns	166
7.2	The structural integration of nouns	172
7.3	The borrowing of verbs	175
7.4	Adjectives and lexical adverbs	187
8	Grammatical and phonological borrowing	193
8.1	Grammatical function words	193
8.1.1	Discourse markers and connectors	193
8.1.2	Phasal adverbs and focus particles	197
8.1.3	Indefinites and interrogatives	198
8.1.4	Expressions of temporal and local relations	199
8.1.5	Numerals	201
8.1.6	Place deixis, demonstratives, and personal pronouns	203
8.1.7	Negators, possessors, and existentials	208
8.2	Morphological borrowing	209
8.2.1	Derivational morphology	209
8.2.2	Inflectional morphology	212
8.2.3	Articles and classifiers	216
8.3	Constraints on matter replication	218
8.4	Mechanisms of contact-induced change in phonology	221
8.4.1	General considerations	221
8.4.2	The phonological integration of word-forms	226
8.4.3	Convergence of phonological systems	229
8.4.4	Contact-susceptibility within phonology	231

	Contents	ix
9 Converging structures: pattern replication	234	
9.1 Defining pattern replication	234	
9.1.1 Distinguishing matter and pattern replication	234	
9.1.2 Convergence and grammaticalisation	238	
9.1.3 Pattern replication and creative pivot-matching	240	
9.2 The distribution of pattern replication	243	
9.2.1 Lexical semantics	245	
9.2.2 Clause-level typology	248	
9.2.3 Phrase-level typology	252	
9.2.4 Morphology and morphological paradigms	258	
9.3 Linguistic areas	265	
9.3.1 Methodological issues	265	
9.3.2 Profiles of linguistic areas	268	
9.3.3 An outlook on language convergence	271	
 10 Contact languages	 275	
10.1 The birth of a language	275	
10.2 Pidgins and creoles	277	
10.2.1 Definitions and key features	277	
10.2.2 Emergence scenarios	283	
10.3 Mixed languages	288	
10.3.1 Definitions and explanatory accounts	288	
10.3.2 Structural profiles and the functionality cline	291	
10.4 The position of contact languages	306	
 11 Outlook	 308	
11.1 The multilingual speaker's repertoire	308	
11.2 Multilingual speakers as agents of language change	310	
11.3 Contact and the layered architecture of the language faculty	312	
 <i>Notes</i>	 316	
<i>References</i>	323	
<i>Author index</i>	350	
<i>Language index</i>	355	
<i>Subject index</i>	362	

Figures

1.1	The interplay of factors in communication in language contact settings.	<i>page 5</i>
2.1	Bilingual synonyms by semantic domains and word classes (age 1:9).	13
2.2	Verbs (at age 1:9).	14
2.3	Selection among words for household utensils and toys (at age 1:9).	15
2.4	Words for clothes and body utensils (at age 1:9).	16
3.1	Speakers' self-assessment of language use in a northern German village: Standard German (SG) and Low German (LG) (from Reershemius 2002).	51
5.1	Dimensions of the codeswitching–borrowing continuum.	111
5.2	Distribution of languages over positions in Example (4).	121
5.3	Language choices, their meanings, and speech act distribution in Example (7) (adapted from Lo 2007: 93–94).	128
6.1	Borrowing and 'markedness' in dialects of Romani (adapted from Elšík and Matras 2006: 371).	160
7.1	Proportion of content-lexical word classes among Spanish borrowings (from Hekking and Bakker 2007).	167
7.2	Loanwords for three concepts in several languages.	169
7.3	Close kin and remote kin in English.	170
7.4	Close kin and remote kin in Maltese.	170
7.5	Consanguineal kinship terms in Domari.	171
7.6	Inherited and Turkish-derived verb conjugations in the Romani Kalburdžu dialect of Sindel, Northeastern Bulgaria.	183
7.7	Inherited and borrowed colour terms in some languages.	188
8.1	Borrowed pronominal forms in some Romani dialects.	207
8.2	Borrowing of Turkish person concord markers into Romani.	214
8.3	Diffusion of inflectional morphology among Arnhem Land languages (based on Heath 1978).	215
8.4	Borrowed Chinese classifiers into Vietnamese (from Alves 2007: 347).	217
8.5	Types of processes leading to contact-induced phonological change.	225

	Figures	xi
8.6	Connections between intensity of bilingualism, type of accommodation process, and overlap between phonological systems.	226
9.1	Pivot-matching in pattern replication.	242
9.2	Layout of the present-tense finite verb in languages of East Anatolia.	260
9.3	Aramaic and Kurdish forms for 'to come'.	260
9.4	Some case markers and verbal categories in Sri Lankan Portuguese and Sri Lankan Malay, and their etymologies (based on Bakker 2006).	262
9.5	Genitive case marking in Ferteek Greek (based on Dawkins 1916).	263
9.6	Replication of Russian semantic map of case-representation in Baltic-North Russian dialects of Romani (after Tenser 2008).	264
11.1	The continuum of contact-induced creativity and innovation.	311

Preface

In those very few societies in which monolingualism is the norm, bilinguals are sometimes asked which language they dream in. The answer is, of course, invariably: 'It depends what or whom we are dreaming about.' That tends to put monolinguals in their place: they show respect for the rhetoric. In fact, the correct answer is that as bilinguals we are unable to keep our languages entirely apart even in our dreams. We may associate certain expressions or phrases with particular events, gestures, or faces, but in our dreams as in our everyday conscious communication we strive for the absolute liberty to use our entire linguistic repertoire freely, with no constraints, and we adore those moments when we can converse with fellow bilinguals who understand and even encourage us to do so. Language contact is about the way we live with the expectation that even our dreams should be monolingual, about how we bypass these restrictions and mix our languages in actual conversation, and about the way in which even monolinguals sometimes end up enriching and re-shaping their own form of speech thanks to their interaction with bilingual individuals. This is essentially the idea that is presented, in somewhat more detail, in the following chapters.

I feel fortunate to have been raised in a multilingual environment and in a multilingual family, and I owe many of the insights that I am able to present here as my own to the stimulating and compelling circumstances that allowed me to participate, observe, and reflect on the way individuals and societies practice language contact. I am also privileged to have had the opportunity, over the years, to discuss issues of language contact at the professional level with many colleagues and friends, among them Greg Anderson, Peter Auer, Ad Backus, Peter Bakker, Giuliano Bernini, Walter Bisang, Simone Bol, David Bradley, Kate BurrIDGE, Michael Clyne, Bernard Comrie, Bill Croft, Eva Csató, Guy Deutscher, Christina Eira, Viktor Elšík, Patty Epps, Marcel Erdal, Nick Evans, Dan Everett, Jonathan Fine, Victor Friedman, Friedel Frohwein, David Gil, Eitan Grossman, Dieter Halwachs, Ian Hancock, Martin Haspelmath, Bernd Heine, Peter Hendriks, Kees Hengeveld, Kristine Hildebrandt, Lars Johanson, František Kratochvíl, Masha Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Tanya Kuteva, Patrick McConvell, April McMahon, Felicity Meakins, Miriam Meyerhoff, Marianne Mithun, Pieter Muysken, Carol Myers-Scotton, Johana Nichols, Shana Poplack, Mark Post, Carmel O'Shannesy, Angelika Redder, Gertrud Reershemius, Jochen Rehbein, Jeanette Sakel, Eva Schultze-Berndt, Zdeněk Starý, Thomas Stolz, Uri Tadmor, Johan van der Auwera, Peter Wagner, and Debra Ziegeler; my thanks to all of them.

My students and collaborators in the Manchester Working Group on Language Contact have been a precious source of inspiration. For many hours of thought-provoking discussion I wish to thank Asma Al-Baluchi, Adele Chadwick, Claire Chen, Veliyana Chileva, Andrea Donakey, Francesco Goglia, Lucy Hottmann, Heveen Ali Kurdi, Sandy Lo, Mohamed Fathi Osman, Barbara Schrammel, Veronica Schulman, Maryam Shabibi, Ellen Smith, Declan Sweeney, Anton Tenser, Anne-Marie Thomson, and Şirin Tufan.

Some of the data included in this book and some of the ideas discussed here are, directly or indirectly, products of a series of externally funded projects carried out at the University of Manchester. I am grateful to the Arts and Humanities Research Council for funding some of my research on Mixed Languages and on Language Convergence and Linguistic Areas, to the Economic and Social Research Council, the Arts and Humanities Research Council, and the Open Society Institute for funding my research on Romani, to the British Academy for support for my research on Domari as well as the creation of a digital archive of recordings of endangered languages, and to the Special Research Area on Cultural and Linguistic Contacts in North Africa and Western Asia at the University of Mainz (SFB 295) for sponsoring my fieldwork on a number of languages. For technical support and assistance with the collection, processing, and archiving of data and data sources I thank Viktor Elšík, Barbara Schrammel, Jeanette Sakel, Christa Schubert, Charlotte Jones, Ruth Hill, Hazel Gardner, Chris White, Veronica Schulman, and Anthony Grant, who worked with me on these projects, as well as Martin Nissen, Dörte Hansen-Jaax, Dunja Rösteholm, Nellie Weiss, Mi'assar Sleem, Moshe Dafan, Greta Johansen, and many others who have provided interviews, shared data, or helped gloss and translate examples. I am deeply grateful to my colleagues in Linguistics and English Language at the School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures of the University of Manchester for their support and enthusiasm, which allowed Manchester to become a thriving centre for discussions on language contact.

During the preparation of the book I benefited from audiences' comments in reaction to invited keynote addresses at the Annual Meeting of the Linguistics Association of Great Britain in Roehampton and at the Workshop on Language Variation and Contact-Induced Language Change at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Linguistic Typology in Paris, as well as from reactions to seminar presentations at the Max Planck Institute in Leipzig, at the universities of Cologne, Düsseldorf, Hamburg, York, Jerusalem, Prague, Melbourne, and Sydney, and at the Australian National University in Canberra and the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology at La Trobe University, Melbourne. I began writing the book during a research visit at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig, in the spring of 2004, and I am grateful to Bernard Comrie and Martin Haspelmath for facilitating my stay there. I completed the manuscript in 2007 during my stay as International Linkage Fellow sponsored by the Australian Research Council and as Distinguished Fellow of the Institute for Advanced Studies at the Research Centre for Linguistic

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-82535-1 - Language Contact
Yaron Matras
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Typology at La Trobe University, Melbourne, by invitation of Sasha Aikhenvald and Bob Dixon.

The ideas expressed in this book are grounded not just in the experience of language contact, but also in a general appreciation of what language is. I owe an immeasurable debt of gratitude to my teacher Jochen Rehbein, who, more than anyone, prompted me to reflect critically on the meaning of categorisations, labels, and models in linguistics, to search for the inner function of linguistic forms in the very purpose of linguistic activities, and to appreciate, unapologetically, the broad range of human communicative activities as an integrated whole and as the key to the study of the language faculty. I feel that his past years of guidance and inspiration have shaped my approach to the following chapters even more than they had influenced some of my earlier work, and I therefore dedicate this book to him.

Last but certainly not least, my love and very special thanks to Tom, for being the most wonderful 'Ben' that he is, and for always helping me see the world in full colour.

Abbreviations

1	First person	LOC	Locative
2	Second person	M	Masculine
3	Third person	NEG	Negation
ABL	Ablative	NEUTR	Neuter
ACC	Accusative	NOM	Nominative
AOR	Aorist	OBL	Oblique
ATT/R	Attributive	PART	Particle
COMP	Complementiser	PASS	Passive
CONSTR	Construct state	PAST	Past tense
COP	Copula	PL	Plural
DAT	Dative	POSS	Possessive
DEF	Definite (article)	PRED	Predication
DEIC	Deixis	PRES	Present tense
DET	Determiner	PROG	Progressive
F	Feminine	REL	Relativiser
GEN	Genitive	REM	Remote
IND	Indicative	SG	Singular
INSTR	Instrumental	SUBJ	Subjunctive
ITR	Intransitive	TR	Transitive