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## Language Contact and Grammatical Change

The phenomenon of language contact, and how it affects the structure of languages, has been of great interest to linguists in recent years. This pioneering new study looks at how grammatical forms and structures evolve when speakers of two languages come into contact, and offers an interesting new insight into the mechanism that induces people to transfer grammatical structures from one language to another. Drawing on findings from languages all over the world, *Language Contact and Grammatical Change* shows that the transfer of linguistic material across languages is quite regular and follows universal patterns of grammaticalization – contrary to previous claims that it is a fairly irregular process – and argues that internal and external explanations of language structure and change are in no way mutually exclusive. Engaging and informative, this book will be of great interest to sociolinguists, linguistic anthropologists, and all those working on grammaticalization, language contact, and language change.

BERND HEINE is Professor of African Studies in the Institute for African Studies, University of Cologne, and has taught in universities all over the world. He has carried out fieldwork in Ghana, Togo, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Namibia, and has published 32 books and approximately 120 papers on African linguistics, sociolinguistics, historical linguistics, and grammaticalization theory.

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Cambridge Approaches to Language Contact is an interdisciplinary series bringing together work on language contact from a diverse range of research areas. The series focuses on key topics in the study of contact between languages or dialects, including the development of pidgins and creoles, language evolution and change, world Englishes, code-switching and code-mixing, bilingualism and second language acquisition, borrowing, interference, and convergence phenomena.

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## Series editor's foreword

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The series Approaches to Language Contact (ALC) was set up to publish outstanding textbooks and monographs on language contact, especially by authors who approach their specific subject matter from a diachronic or developmental perspective. Our goal is to integrate the ever-growing scholarship on language diversification (including the development of creoles, pidgins, and indigenized varieties of colonial European languages), language convergence, bilingual language development, code-switching, and language endangerment. We hope to provide a select forum to scholars who contribute insightfully to understanding language evolution from an interdisciplinary perspective or by bridging different research areas in linguistics. We favor approaches that highlight the role of the relevant ecology and draw inspiration both from the authors' own fields of specialization and from other disciplines or other research areas in linguistics. Eclecticism is one of our mottos, as we endeavor to comprehend the complexity of evolutionary processes associated with contact.

We are proud to add to the ALC series Bernd Heine and Tania Kuteva's *Language Contact and Grammatical Change*. This is the first comprehensive monograph that bridges research on grammaticalization with scholarship on language contact and in genetic linguistics. It focuses on linguistic areas, where, because of frequent contacts among their speakers, different languages, some of which are not genetically related, have come to share several structures. The authors propose to identify the language from which a particular structure or function has spread as the *model language*, and the language calquing it as the *replica language*. The very process by which the grammatical pattern is calqued is identified as *grammatical replication*. Various cases are discussed from especially European and Native American languages, but also from African and Melanesian ones. Creoles, in relation to which the process of grammaticalization has been questioned, are also well covered in this book, in which the discussions lead to the conclusion that these vernaculars are no exception to the fact that this diachronic phenomenon can be, and often is, contact-induced.

Quite informative also is the authors' discussion of structural and sociological constraints on grammatical replication. They clearly show that this phenomenon is not different from other diachronic processes which have been shown to be

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ecologically constrained. Moreover, individual speakers, rather than populations, constantly emerge from behind the processes Heine and Kuteva discuss, because they make it obvious that it is the speakers of a language who produce the changes cumulatively through things they do during their communicative acts, under the influence of a model language. They highlight the extent of osmosis in linguistic systems, making obvious that language boundaries are not so rigidly defined and borrowings can affect any component of the language architecture.

Since grammaticalization is the outcome of various processes of language change (for instance, generalization, category reassignment, and structural reanalysis), the book hits the heart of the distinction between contact-induced and internally motivated change. It disputes allegations that grammaticalization can only be internally motivated. And it also highlights the fact that linguistic convergence has taken place more frequently than has been suspected. In addition, it sheds light on the interaction of universal principles with language-specific ones in the process of change. Readers will also be happy to verify Heine and Kuteva's taxonomy of the most common types of replications, as well as several other research questions, such as (1) to what extent has the Europeanization of the world affected structures of other languages? (2) what can the study of contact-induced grammaticalization contribute to the study of geographically defined linguistic areas? (3) how relevant is the notion of "grammaticalization area" to understanding linguistic areas? The reader will not be disappointed by the breadth and depth of this book, which reflects successful cross-pollination between research in grammaticalization, in genetic linguistics, and in language contact.

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## Preface

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A number of students of language have pointed out that the way meanings are expressed in the language analyzed by them is exactly the same as that found in some neighboring language or languages, even though the forms used in these expressions are entirely different, and in spite of the fact that the languages concerned are genetically only remotely related or even unrelated. The main goal of this book is, first, to show that such observations are far from being coincidental; rather, that such cross-linguistic similarities are more common than is widely believed. Second, we will argue that there is a principled way to account for such similarities and, third, that these similarities are the result of processes of conceptualization that are the same across cultures.

The book has benefited greatly from discussions with and comments from many colleagues, in particular the following: Sasha Aikhenvald, Peter Bakker, Walter Bisang, Kate Burridge, Bernard Comrie, Andrii Danylenko, Gerrit Dimmendaal, Bob Dixon, Carola Emkow, Nick Evans, Zygmunt Frajzyngier, Victor Friedman, Jost Gippert, Tom Güldemann, John Haiman, Martin Haspelmath, Lars Johanson, Christa Kilian-Hatz, Christa König, Hiroyuki Miyashita, Salikoko Mufwene, Ulrich Obst, Thomas Stolz, Elmar Ternes, Elvira Veselinović, Debra Ziegeler, and many others. We also wish to thank Monika Feinen for the maps presented, Meike Pfaff and Barbara Sevenich for their typographical work, and Ulrike Claudi and two anonymous reviewers for many critical comments.

We are in particular grateful to the participants of the symposium on Language Contact and Replication that took place in Cologne on July 12, 2003. Comments made by Walter Bisang, Eva Csató, Gerrit Dimmendaal, and others turned out to be extremely valuable when reviewing some of the issues discussed in this book.

Our thanks are also due to the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (German Research Society) for having supported part of the work on which this study is based. Finally, we are deeply indebted to the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, and the Institute for Advanced Study, LaTrobe

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University, and in particular the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology in Melbourne, which offered us hospitality to work out our field notes; we are grateful to these institutions for their generosity and understanding. Our gratitude also extends to our colleagues Lenore Grenoble and Lindsay Whaley, Dartmouth College, USA, who offered the first-named author academic hospitality and the means to work on this book when he was invited as a visiting professor from March to June, 2002.

# Abbreviations

---

A	subject of transitive clauses
a.n.	authors' note
ABL	ablative
ABSOL	absolutive
ACC	accusative
ADE	adessive
AL	allocutive
ALL	allative
ANIM	animate
AOR	aorist
AP	adverbial particle
ART	article
AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive
CAU	causative verb
COM	comitative
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjugational verb, conjunction
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directive
DO	direct object
DUR	durative
ELA	elative
F	feminine
GEN	genitive
HAB	habitual
IMP	imperative

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INDF	indefinite
INE	inessive
INF	infinitive
INFR	inferred
INSTR	instrumental
INTER	interrogative
INTR	intransitivizer
IRR	irrealis
L1	first language
L2	second language
LOC	locative
M	masculine; model language
MOD	modal
MT	modal time
N	noun
NEG	negation
NF	non-final
NFIN	non-finite
NOM	nominative
NOMIN	nominalizer
NON	non-
NP	noun phrase
O	object
OM	object marker
OPT	optative
Q	question
PART	partitive
PERF	perfect
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PM	predicate marker
POSS	possessive
PPA	active perfect participle
PPLE	participle
PPP	past passive participle
PREP	preposition
PRES	present
PRET	preterit
PROG	progressive
PRT	preterit
PTCP	participle
PWOc	Proto Western Oceanic

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Q	question marker
R	replica language
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative clause marker
REP	reported
REM.P	remote past
S	subject of intransitive clauses; subject
SE	demonstrative determiner <i>se</i> in Finnish
SEC	secondhand
SG	singular
TOP	topic
TRN	transnumeral
TRS	transitive suffix
V	verb
VIS	visual
TZ	transitivizer
WOc	Western Oceanic
1, 2, 3	first, second, third person