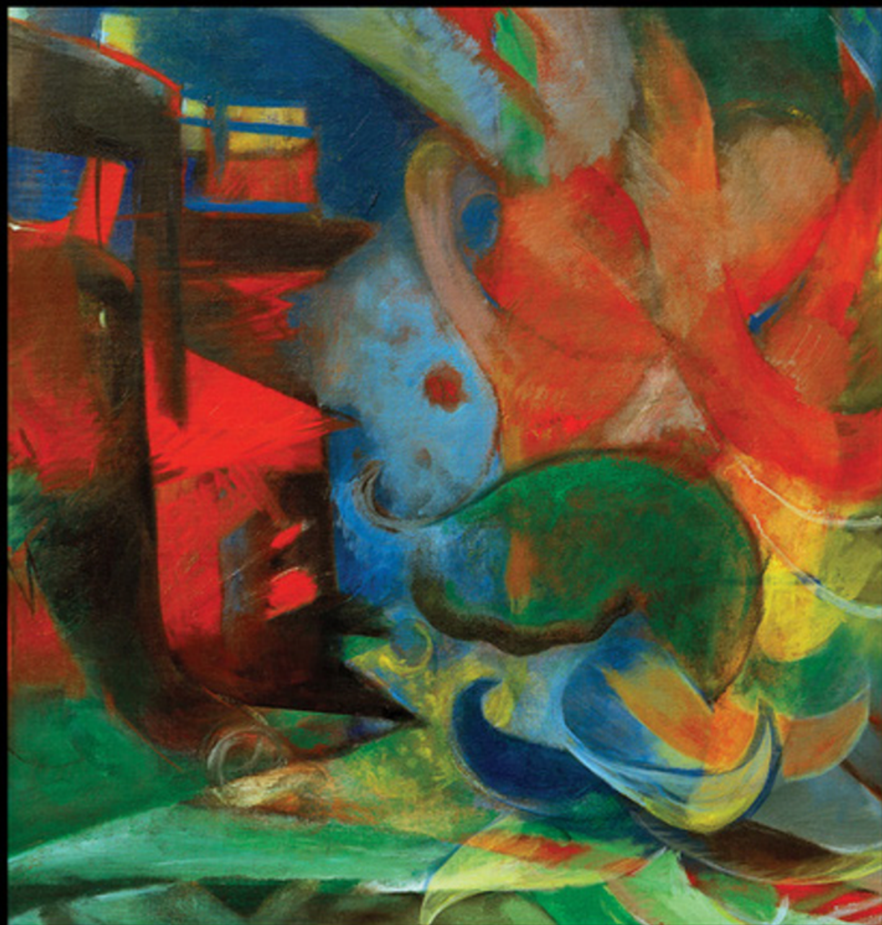
The Handbook of **Language Contact**

Second Edition



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Notes on Contributors

Maya Ravindranath Abtahian is a sociolinguist who studies language variation and change in the context of language contact, maintenance, and shift. She is an Assistant Professor of Linguistics at the University of Rochester, USA, and received her Ph.D. in Linguistics from the University of Pennsylvania, where her dissertation focused on variation and contact in Garifuna (Belize). She also studies language shift in Indonesia, and language variation and change in the northern United States.

Matthew Baerman is Principal Research Fellow in the Surrey Morphology Group at the University of Surrey, UK. He works on the typology of inflectional morphology, with a particular focus on structures that are theoretically or descriptively challenging. He is the co-author (with Dunstan Brown and Greville Corbett) of *Morphological Complexity* (Cambridge University Press, 2017) and the editor of *The Oxford Handbook of Inflection* (Oxford University Press, 2015).

Peter Bakker is Associate Professor in Linguistics at Aarhus University, Denmark. He specializes in new languages, including pidgins, creoles, and mixed languages, as well as twins who create their own languages. In his research, he combines typology, anthropology, and history in order to explain the genesis and structural properties of these languages. He is best known for his work on Michif (Cree-French mixed language), intertwined varieties of Romani, and the typological characteristics of creoles and mixed languages.

Klaus Beyer is a Research Associate in the Department of African Studies at Goethe University Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany. Trained in African linguistics, history, and anthropology, he worked on historical linguistics and language documentation in West Africa. His interest then broadened to the fields of multilingualism, language contact, and sociolinguistics. His current focus lies on the interplay of language repertoires and choices and their relations with speakers' characteristics and social network factors in non-standardized languages.

Kingsley Bolton is Professor of English Linguistics at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, and Professor Emeritus at Stockholm University, Sweden. He has published widely on English in the Asian region, language and globalization, sociolinguistics, and world Englishes. He is co-editor (with Daniel R. Davis) of the journal *World Englishes*.

Oliver Bond is Reader in Linguistics in the Surrey Morphology Group at the University of Surrey, UK. His research investigates the ways in which cross-linguistic variation can form the empirical base for developing linguistic theory. He is the co-editor, with Greville G. Corbett, Marina Chumakina, and Dunstan Brown, of *Archi: Complexities of Agreement in*

Cross-Theoretical Perspective (Oxford University Press, 2016) and, with András Bárány and Irina Nikolaeva, of *Prominent Internal Possessors* (Oxford University Press, 2019).

Werner Botha is Assistant Professor at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. His academic interests include the use of English in Asian higher education, educational linguistics, multilingualism, and language variation and sociolinguistics, with particular reference to the Asian region.

Lyle Campbell is Professor (Emeritus) of the University of Hawai'i, Manoa, USA. His specializations are: historical linguistics, American Indian languages, language documentation, and typology. He has published 23 books and about 200 articles, held appointments in Linguistics, Anthropology, Spanish, and Latin American Studies, and has taught in universities in nine different countries. He won the Linguistic Society of America's "Leonard Bloomfield Book Award" twice.

Hugo C. Cardoso is Assistant Professor at the University of Lisbon, Portugal. His research focuses on language contact involving Portuguese, having worked on Saramaccan, a creole of Suriname, but especially on the Portuguese-based creoles of South Asia – those of India (in particular, Diu and the Malabar Coast) and Sri Lanka. He has also undertaken extensive documentation on endangered languages. His work combines a synchronic descriptive perspective with an interest in the history of these languages and in comparative approaches.

Thiago Chacon is Assistant Professor at the University of Brasília, Brazil. He has been a research fellow at the Collegium de Lyon, the University of California in Santa Barbara, and has a Ph.D. from the University of Hawai'i with a dissertation on the phonology and morphology of Kubeo, an Eastern Tukanoan language. He has done extensive comparative work with Tukanoan and Northwestern Amazonian languages, as well as other Amazonian languages, including the linguistic isolate Arutani and the Yanomaman language Ninam. His main theoretical interests are historical linguistics, phonology, typology, and language description and documentation.

Éva Á. Csató is Professor Emeritus in Turkic Languages at the Department of Linguistics and Philology, Uppsala University, Sweden. She has worked on the typology of Turkic languages as well as the documentation of less-studied and endangered Turkic languages. Together with Lars Johanson she edited the volume *The Turkic Languages* (1998). She has co-edited several books on Turkic language contacts. She is a member of the editorial board of the journal *Turkic Languages*.

Lucinda Davidson is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow in the School of Languages and Linguistics at the University of Melbourne, Australia, whose primary focus is children's communicative competence. Working in two remote Aboriginal communities, her current research explores children's development in the Australian languages, Murrinhpatha and Pitjantjatjara.

Bridget Drinka is Professor of Linguistics, at the University of Texas at San Antonio. Her research focuses on such issues as the sociolinguistic motivations for language change, the role of contact in linguistic innovation, and the importance of geographical contiguity in the diffusion of changes across the Indo-European languages. Her 2017 book, *Language Contact in Europe: The Periphrastic Perfect through History* (Cambridge University Press), explores the

complex development of a grammatical category as it spread across the map of Europe. It was awarded the Leonard Bloomfield Book Award in 2019 by the Linguistic Society of America. As President of the International Society for Historical Linguistics, Drinka organized the International Conference on Historical Linguistics in 2017.

Philip Durkin is a lexicographer, etymologist, and historian of English, with a particular interest in the history of lexical borrowing in English. For the past 25 years he has been on the staff of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, where he is currently Deputy Chief Editor and Principal Etymologist. His publications include *The Oxford Guide to Etymology* (Oxford University Press, 2009), *Borrowed Words: A History of Loanwords in English* (Oxford University Press, 2013), and (as editor) *The Oxford Handbook of Lexicography* (Oxford University Press, 2016).

John Elliott is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa, USA, whose research focuses on the documentation and description of Enxet Sur, an Enlhet-Enenlhet language of the Paraguayan Chaco region, including work on the historical linguistics of the Enlhet-Enenlhet family and the evidence of language contact between different indigenous groups in the Chaco region. Elliott has also researched and published work on indigenous language policy and endangerment in the Chaco.

Joseph F. Eska is Professor of Linguistics at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, USA. His research focuses upon the diachrony of the ancient and medieval Celtic languages. He is the editor of the *North American Journal of Celtic Studies* and co-editor of *Indo-European Linguistics*.

Zygmunt Frajzyngier is Professor of Linguistics at the University of Colorado in Boulder, USA. His interests include the foundations of syntax and semantics in cross-linguistic perspective; typological explanations in grammar; emergence of forms and functions in language; grammaticalization; Chadic and Afroasiatic linguistics; relations between grammatical structures and the lexicon; descriptive grammars and dictionaries. He is the author, co-author, and editor of 23 books, and over 130 papers. His current projects include: study of the emergence of functions; languages in the Afroasiatic phylum (with Erin Shay and Marielle Butters, University of Colorado), and a study of Sino-Russian idiolects, with Natalia Gurian and Sergei Karpenko, of the Far Eastern Federal University, Vladivostok, Russian Federation.

Penelope Gardner-Chloros was an interpreter for the EU before studying linguistics and taking a Ph.D. at Strasbourg University (published as *Language Selection and Switching in Strasbourg*, Oxford University Press, 1991). She became a Professor at Birkbeck, University of London, UK, specializing in bilingualism and is the author of *Code-Switching* (Cambridge University Press, 2009). She has also done research on youth language in Paris with Jenny Cheshire, published as a special issue of the *Journal of French Language Studies* in 2018. She is currently a Research Fellow at Wolfson College Oxford, investigating bilingual artists, notably El Greco.

Anthony P. Grant has been Professor of Historical Linguistics and Language Contact at Edge Hill University, UK, since 2008. A native of Bradford, UK he was educated at the Universities of York and Bradford and has also worked at the Universities of Manchester, St Andrews, Southampton, Sheffield, and Duisburg-Essen. His specialist interests are Romani, creolistics, Austronesian, and Native American languages. He has published over 150 articles, chapters and reviews, and is editor of *The Oxford Handbook of Language Contact* and co-editor (with Bettina Migge) of *The Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*.

Lenore A. Grenoble holds a joint appointment in the Department of Linguistics and the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of Chicago, USA. Her research interests include Slavic, Tungusic, and other languages of the North, discourse and conversation analysis, deixis, contact linguistics, and language endangerment, attrition, and revitalization. Her fieldwork focuses on languages in Siberia and she is currently engaged in research on the interrelations between language shift, cultural change and the environment in the North. Her recent publications include *Saving Languages*, co-authored with Lindsay J. Whaley (2006); *Endangered Languages: Current Issues and Future Prospects*, co-edited with Lindsay J. Whaley (1998); *Language Policy in the Former Soviet Union* (2003); *Evenki*, co-authored with Nadezhda Ja. Bulatova (1999); and *Deixis and Information Packaging* (1998).

Natalia Gurian is Professor at the Far Eastern Federal University, Vladivostok, Russian Federation. Her main interests are Chinese language and linguistics; traditional Chinese philology and lexicography; early Chinese dictionaries; history of Chinese characters; Russian-Chinese language contact and contact languages. She is the author of one book, and more than 50 papers. Her current projects include a study of early Chinese, semantically organized dictionaries and character books from the third century BCE to the third century CE, and a study of Sino-Russian varieties, with Zygmunt Frajzyngier (University of Colorado) and Sergei Karpenko (Far Eastern Federal University, Vladivostok, Russian Federation).

Bernd Heine is Emeritus Professor at the Institute of African Studies, University of Cologne, Germany. He has held visiting professorships in Europe, South Korea, Japan, China, Australia, Kenya, South Africa, the United States, and Brazil. He has been a fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, USA, of the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies, and the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. His main research areas are presently grammaticalization theory, endangered languages in Africa, and discourse grammar. He has published more than 40 books and over 200 articles.

Raymond Hickey is Professor of English Linguistics at the University of Duisburg and Essen, Germany. He has written several books on varieties of English including *Dublin English. Evolution and Change* (John Benjamins, 2005), *Irish English, History and Present-day Forms* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), *A Dictionary of Varieties of English* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), *Sociolinguistics in Ireland* (Palgrave-Macmillan, 2016), *Listening to the Past, Audio Records of Accents of English* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), *The Cambridge Handbook of Areal Linguistics* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), and *English in Multilingual South Africa* (Cambridge University Press, 2020). On the Irish language he has published *The Dialects of Irish* (Mouton, 2011), *The Sound Structure of Modern Irish* (Mouton, 2014).

Lars Johanson is a linguist and Turcologist. For many years he was Professor of Turcology at the University of Mainz, Germany. He has been instrumental in transforming the field of Turcology, which was traditionally more philologically oriented, into a linguistic discipline. Apart from his contributions to Turcology, Lars Johanson has made a number of pioneering contributions to general linguistics and language typology, in particular to the typology of viewpoint-aspect systems and the theory of language contact, see *Structural Factors in Turkic Language Contacts* (2002). He is the editor of the journal *Turkic Languages* (Harrassowitz) and the monograph series *Turcologica* (Harrassowitz).

Brian D. Joseph is Distinguished University Professor of Linguistics, and the Kenneth E. Naylor Professor of South Slavic Linguistics, at the Ohio State University, USA, where he has

taught since 1979. His research focus is historical linguistics, especially sound change and morphological change and the interaction between them, and especially regarding Greek, from Ancient through Modern, in its genealogical context as an Indo-European language and its geographic, and thus language-contact, context within the Balkans.

Birsel Karakoç is Professor of Turkic languages at the Department of Linguistics and Philology, Uppsala University, Sweden. She obtained her Ph.D. from the University of Mainz (Germany) in 2001, writing a dissertation with the title *Das finite Verbalsystem im Nogaischen*. Between 1999 and 2006 she worked as a research fellow at the University of Hamburg (Germany). Her research focuses on questions concerning the typology of Turkic languages (especially Noghay, a minor Turkic language spoken in the Northern Caucasus, and other Kipchak Turkic languages, Turkish, and Turkic varieties spoken in Iran), the bilingual acquisition of Turkish in Western Europe, comparative Turkic linguistics, and language contact.

Sergei Karpenko is a Professor at the Far Eastern Federal University, Vladivostok, Russian Federation. His main interests are cross-linguistic studies of syntax and semantics in English and Russian; description of forms and functions from a cognitive linguistic perspective. He is the author/co-author of three books and over 30 papers. His current projects include: a study of Sino-Russian varieties, with Zygmunt Frajzyngier (University of Colorado) and Natalia Gurian (the Far Eastern Federal University); the reference system of Russian (with reference to Russian dialects) with Zygmunt Frajzyngier (University of Colorado).

Jonathan Kasstan is a Lecturer (Assistant Professor) in French and Linguistics at the University of Westminster, UK. His research focuses on language variation and change, with a particular focus on endangered and heritage languages. He is currently completing a Leverhulme-funded project on grammatical change in language obsolescence.

Paul Kerswill is Professor of Sociolinguistics at the University of York, UK; he has previously held positions at the Universities of Durham, Cambridge, Reading, and Lancaster. His doctoral research in Bergen in Norway initiated his interest in the linguistic outcomes of migration. This was followed by a study of Milton Keynes in Britain and Multicultural London English in the capital. His collaborators include Jenny Cheshire, Sue Fox. Eivind Torgersen, and Ann Williams. A parallel track has been his interest in language and development in West Africa. He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 2017.

Tania Kuteva is a Full Professor of English Linguistics at Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf and a Professorial Research Associate of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, UK. She has held Visiting Professorship positions at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig, the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies (NIAS), Wassenaar, the University of Texas at San Antonio, the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, the Radboud University of Nijmegen, University College London, and the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Her main interests include grammaticalization, linguistic typology, language evolution, discourse grammar. She is the author and the co-author with Bernd Heine of several books published by Cambridge University Press and Oxford University Press as well as a number of articles.

Johanna Laakso studied at the University of Helsinki, Finland, where she completed her Ph.D. Since 2000, she has held the chair of Finno-Ugric studies at the University of Vienna, Austria. Her research interests include historical linguistics (in particular, the history of

Uralic derivation), language contact and contact-induced language change, multilingualism and minority languages, and gender linguistics.

Danny Law is Associate Professor of Linguistics at the University of Texas at Austin, USA. His research explores the history and development of Mayan languages, particularly contact-induced language change. He also works on the documentation and description of several contemporary and ancient Mayan languages, including the language of ancient Mayan hieroglyphics.

Siu-Lun Lee is Senior Lecturer in the Yale-China Chinese Language Centre at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. His research interests include applied linguistics, Cantonese studies, Chinese linguistics, sociolinguistics and issues of language teaching.

Debbie Loakes is a phonetician at the University of Melbourne, Australia. Her postdoctoral project is supported by the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the Dynamics of Language, and focuses on speech production and perception by L1 Aboriginal English people in Victoria (Australia). She is also affiliated with the Research Unit for Indigenous Language at the University of Melbourne.

Robert McColl Millar is Professor of Linguistics and Scottish Language at the University of Aberdeen, Scotland. His books include *Modern Scots: An Analytical Survey* (2018), *Contact: the interaction of closely related varieties and the history of English* (2016) and *English Historical Sociolinguistics* (2012).

Rajend Mesthrie is Professor of Linguistics at the University of Cape Town (UCT) , South Africa, where he holds a National Research Foundation (NRF) chair in Migration, Language, and Social Change. His main interests are in general linguistics and sociolinguistics. He was head of the Linguistics Section at UCT (1998–2009), President of the Linguistics Society of Southern Africa (2001–2009), co-editor of *English Today* (2007–2012), and President of the International Congress of Linguists (2013–2018). Amongst his publications are *Language in South Africa* (ed., Cambridge University Press, 2002), *World Englishes* (with Rakesh Bhatt, Cambridge University Press, 2008) and *A Dictionary of South African Indian English* (UCT Press, 2010).

Marianne Mithun is Professor of Linguistics at the University of California, Santa Barbara, USA. Her work ranges over morphology, syntax, discourse, prosody, and their interrelations; language contact and language change; typology and universals; language documentation; revitalization work with communities; and the languages indigenous to North America and Austronesia.

Carmel O'Shannessy is a Lecturer in the School of Literature, Languages and Linguistics at the Australian National University, Australia. Her research is on language contact and acquisition, including the emergence of Light Warlpiri, a new Australian mixed language, and children's development of Light Warlpiri and Warlpiri. She has been involved with languages and education in remote Indigenous communities in Australia since 1996, in the areas of bilingual education and language contact and acquisition.

Brigitte Pakendorf, who holds Ph.D. degrees in both Molecular Anthropology and Linguistics, was a Max Planck Research Group leader at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig, Germany, from 2007 to 2011. Since 2012 she has been

a senior scientist at the CNRS research unit "Dynamique du Langage" in Lyon, France. Her current research focuses on the documentation of the Tungusic languages Even and Negidal and on language contact in Siberia (in particular involving Even and the Turkic language Sakha).

Thomas Purnell is Professor of English (Language and Linguistics) at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, USA. He received his Ph.D. in Linguistics from the University of Delaware. His research interests focus on variation within sound systems, particularly in Upper Midwestern US English. His research has appeared in *American Speech*, *Journal of Dialect Geography*, *Journal of English Linguistics*, *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*. He is the editor of *American Speech*.

Paul Roberge earned his Ph.D. at the University of Michigan and is currently Professor of Germanic Languages and Joint Professor of Linguistics at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USA. His research and teaching interests are Germanic linguistics, Old Norse language and literature, socio-historical linguistics, pidgins and creoles, Afrikaans, and the origin and evolution of human language.

Joseph C. Salmons is the Lester W. J. "Smoky" Seifert Professor in Language Sciences at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, USA. With Jim Leary, he co-founded the Center for the Study of Upper Midwestern Cultures and has edited *Diachronica: International Journal for Historical Linguistics* from 2002 until 2019. He is the author of *A History of German: What the Past Reveals about Today's Language* (Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, 2018). His research focuses on language change and linguistic theory, especially sound systems.

Lotfi Sayahi is Professor of Linguistics in the Department of Languages, Literatures, and Cultures at the University at Albany, State University of New York, USA. His research focuses on language variation and change in situations of bilingualism and language contact. He is the author of *Diglossia and Language Contact: Language Variation and Change in North Africa* (Cambridge University Press, 2014). He has published more than 30 articles and book chapters that have appeared in the *Journal of Sociolinguistics, Journal of Language Contact, International Journal of the Sociology of Language, Journal of Language Sciences*, among others.

Edgar W. Schneider is full Professor of English Linguistics at the University of Regensburg, Germany, after previous appointments in Bamberg, Georgia, and Berlin. He has written and edited several books (including *American Earlier Black English* (1989); *Introduction to Quantitative Analysis of Linguistic Survey Data* (1996); *Focus on the USA* (1996); *Englishes Around the World* (1997); *Degrees of Restructuring in Creole Languages* (2000); *Handbook of Varieties of English*, 2nd edition (2020); *Postcolonial English* (2007)) and has published and lectured widely on the dialectology, sociolinguistics, history, semantics and varieties of English, and was the editor of the scholarly journal *English World-Wide* along with an associated book series.

Erin Shay is a member of the Linguistics Department of the University of Colorado, Boulder, USA, and has spent over 25 years researching, recording, analyzing, and describing languages of the Chadic branch of the Afroasiatic family. She has authored or co-authored grammars of five Chadic languages as well as many books and papers concerning the description and analysis of languages within and outside the Chadic family and the application of such analyses to wider areas of linguistics, such as linguistic forms and functions, language history, language change, and written preservation of endangered languages. Her latest volume is *A Grammar of Pévé* [Chadic], (2020).

Jeff Siegel is Emeritus Professor in Linguistics at the University of New England, Australia. His main area of research has been on language contact, concentrating on the origins of pidgins, creoles, and new dialects, and on the use of these varieties in formal education. Recently, he has changed his focus to language documentation, working on Nama, a Papuan language of southern New Guinea.

Helen Sims-Williams is a Research Fellow in the Surrey Morphology Group at the University of Surrey, UK. Her research interests lie in historical linguistics, morphology, and typology, focusing particularly on tendencies of language change and the evidence they contribute to linguistic theory. Her work to date has investigated the role of analogy in morphological change and the loss of inflection cross-linguistically.

Eeva Sippola is Associate Professor of Ibero-American languages and cultures at the University of Helsinki, Finland. She has previously held positions at the University of Bremen (Germany) and Aarhus University (Denmark). Her research interests have a broad focus on contact linguistics and critical sociolinguistics in the Hispanic world. Sippola has published on descriptive and comparative creolistics and sociolinguistic issues, including language endangerment, ideologies, and folk perceptions.

John Charles Smith is an Emeritus Fellow of St Catherine's College, Oxford, UK, where he was Official Fellow and Tutor in French Linguistics for 20 years, and is Deputy Director Emeritus of the University of Oxford Research Centre for Romance Linguistics. Before returning to Oxford, where he was an undergraduate and graduate student at the Queen's College, he held posts at the Universities of Surrey, Bath, and Manchester; he has also held visiting appointments in Limoges, Paris, Berlin, Melbourne, and Philadelphia. His main research interests are in refunctionalization, morphology, and deixis, with special reference to the Romance languages.

Sarah Thomason is a Professor of Linguistics at the University of Michigan, USA, and is a historical linguist specializing in language contact. Among her publications are *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics* (with Terrence Kaufman, University of California Press, 1988), *Language Contact: An Introduction* (University of Edinburgh Press, 2001), and *Endangered Languages: An Introduction* (Cambridge University Press, 2015). She has also worked with the Seliš-Q'lispe Culture Committee since 1981 to document the Montana Salish language.

Jill Vaughan is a Research Fellow with the Research Unit for Indigenous Language at the University of Melbourne, Australia. Her work in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology is concerned with multilingualism, contact and variation in Indigenous languages of northern Australia, and language practices in the context of the Irish diaspora.

Heike Wiese is Professor of German in Multilingual Contexts and speaker for the Centre "Language in Urban Diversity" at the Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany. She is interested in the dynamics of multilingual settings, especially in urban areas, with foci on grammatical-pragmatic interfaces, linguistic architecture, and language perception and monolingual ideologies. In her research, she investigates urban contact dialects, grammatical developments within heritage speakers' repertoires, urban markets as metrolingual sites, and the dynamics of German in the multilingual context of Namibia. In transfer and outreach activities, she cooperates with educational institutions, museums, and speaker communities.

Preface

The past decade since the publication of the first edition of this handbook has seen a sizable increase in research concerning language contact. It is perhaps significant that at least four major publishers (Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press, Routledge, and Mouton) are preparing or have just produced handbooks of language contact, testifying to the relevance of the subject to linguistics as a whole.

The position of language contact within linguistic research has steadily become more central given the increasing number of studies which see contact as an essential element of virtually all language change. During the first two decades of the present century contact research has broadened to interface with other fields, such as areal linguistics, code-switching, grammaticalization, creole studies, complexity theory and linguistic typology, to mention just a few. In recent years an increasing focus has been on the role of individual agents and the link between contact and linguistic identity, especially in the context of mixed languages and high-contact forms of language, often in modern situations of urban multilingualism and transnational communication.

The philosophy behind the present handbook has been to provide two broad sections, the first considering the interface between language contact and other closely related areas of linguistic research, such as typology or grammaticalization, with the second part presenting overview chapters of language contact from the standpoint of major languages and language families or areas. In this second part many of the theoretical issues surrounding contact research are discussed in detail and supported by relevant linguistic data.

It is hoped that the contributions in the present edition of the handbook will improve our understanding of typical contact scenarios attested across the world. For my part, I would like to thank all my colleagues who readily agreed to contribute to this volume and so made it possible from the very beginning. Hopefully, they and the readers of this handbook will be pleased with the result of their work and find the volume useful and insightful.

My thanks also go to the staff at Wiley-Blackwell for their continuing support during the compilation and production of this second edition, especially to Tanya McMullin and Merryl Le Roux who were always ready to answer questions and offer useful advice.

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Language Contact and Linguistic Research

RAYMOND HICKEY

1 Introduction

As a field of linguistic study, research into language contact has long since established itself. Its relevance to investigations of sociolinguistic variation and language change has gained increased recognition during the present century as the number and scope of contact-based studies have extended and scholars have come to see contact between languages and/or varieties as default and zero-contact scenarios as the exception. The linguistic publications on language contact in the past few decades cover articles, monographs, edited volumes, special issues of journals (see the references at the end of each chapter).[1]

While the classic study of language contact by Uriel Weinreich was published in 1953, the following two decades were years which saw not just the heyday of early generative linguistics but also the rise of sociolinguistics (dealing initially with monolingual contexts), and it was those two directions in linguistics which were to dominate the research activity of scholars for a number of decades, certainly in the Anglophone world and frequently elsewhere as well. But the late 1980s witnessed the publication of Sandra Thomason and Terrence Kaufman's large-scale study of various contact scenarios with many generalizations about the nature of contact and the range of its possible effects (Thomason and Kaufman 1988). Due to the carefully mounted cases and several stringent analyses, this study led to the re-invigorization of language contact studies and the re-valorization of language contact as a research area. As well as highlighting the field of language contact within linguistics, the study also allowed for virtually any type of change as a result of language contact, given appropriate circumstances to trigger this. The impetus provided to contact studies was felt throughout the 1990s and into the twenty-first century yielding the situation now (2020) with contact considerations center-stage in many areas of linguistics.

Previously language contact characterized the work of scholars somewhat outside the mainstream. Smaller departments at universities, dealing with non-Indo-European languages or Indo-European ones apart from the Germanic and Romance languages, often produced research in which contact was pivotal. But for scholars in the English-speaking world, or dealing with varieties of English, language contact was not a primary concern during the 1960s and 1970s. Apart from the dominance of other approaches to linguistics at this time (as just mentioned), there were further reasons for the relative neglect of language contact. Older literature which looked at contact tended to assume uncritically that contact was always the source of new features registered in particular languages, assuming the presence of at least

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two in any given scenario. Furthermore, early studies did not necessarily provide rigorous taxonomies for the various types of language contact and their effects (though Weinreich is a laudable exception in this respect). Nor did they usually distinguish individual tokens of language contact, manifest usually in lexical borrowings, from the contact of language systems and the indirect effects which the latter situation could have on the further development of languages.

Overviews of aspects of language, which also touched on contact, did of course have relevant chapters, e.g. that by Moravcsik (1978) in the Greenberg volumes on language universals. And the early 1980s did see studies of language contact, e.g. Heath (1984), but other suggestions for the triggers of language change were preferred, at least in mainstream language studies, such as varieties of English, see Harris (1984), an influential article arguing against the role of contact in the rise of varieties of English in Ireland or Lass and Wright (1986) offering similar arguments against contact with Afrikaans as a source for specific features of (White) South African English.

2 Recent Studies of Language Contact

The studies of language contact during the 1990s and into the 2000s varied. Some of these are in a more traditional style, e.g. Ureland, and Broderick (1991), but others show a linguistically nuanced analysis of the effects of contact, see the contributions in Fisiak (1995) and Thomason (1997a), along with the typological overview in Thomason (1997b). Indeed these publications often contain a blend of contact studies and a further approach in linguistics, consider the sociolinguistically based investigation of language contact in Japan by Loveday (1996) or the large-scale typological studies in Dutton and Tryon (1994).

The 2000s opened with a number of analyses of different contact scenarios. There is the general overview of language contact and change by Frans van Coetsem (van Coetsem 2000) along with the overview article by Thomason (2000), the study of contact within the context of the Slavic languages[2] by Gilbers, Nerbonne, and Schaeken (2000) and the investigation of lexical change due to contact in King (2000),[3] to mention just three of the publications from that year.

2001 saw the publication of Sarah Thomason's introduction to language contact (Thomason 2001) and of a volume on language contact and the history of English (Kastovsky and Mettinger 2001), as well as the overview of features in English-lexicon contact languages (pidgins and creoles) by Baker and Huber (2001). The latter type of investigation characterizes volumes such as that by McWhorter (2000), the full-length study by Migge (2003), the edited volume by Escure and Schwegler (2004), as well as the special journal issue by Clements and Gooden (2011).

Clyne (2003) is a monograph which examined language contact between English and immigrant languages in Australia. This type of contact is grounded in bilingualism, an avenue of research which has been pursued intensively in the past few decades; see Myers-Scotton (2002) as a representative example; see also Field (2002). Further studies concern other kinds of contact-based varieties of English far from the European context, e.g. Chinese Englishes, see Bolton (2003).

2.1 Overviews of Language Contact

The increase in the data on language contact has led to more general reflections on the nature of contact and its effects. This is something which can be observed in other fields as well. Once most of the groundwork has been done and bodies of data have been collected, scholars begin to reflect on the status of the field as a scholarly endeavor. It is in this light that one can view publications like those by Winford (2003, 2005, 2008) and Matras (2009).

A further sign of the maturity of a field is the publication of handbooks dedicated to it. This shows that it has become sufficiently mainstream for it to appear in dedicated courses at universities and hence to be worthy of treatment in this form. Handbooks dealing with language contact began with the comprehensive, two-volume work by Goebl, Nelde, Stary, and Wölck (eds., 1996) and continued with the first edition of the present handbook (Hickey ed., 2010). Both these works are now in their second editions. The earlier work by Goebl et al. is in the process of appearing in revised form, the first volume of which has been published as Darquennes, Salmons, and Vandenbussche (2019) with the second volume projected for 2023.

At the end of the second decade of the present century three further handbooks have been published or are being prepared: Grant (ed., 2019), Mufwene and Escobar (forthcoming), and Adamou and Matras (forthcoming).

Dedicated volumes on contact often have a typical range of languages, often recognizable in the subtitle, e.g. Ansaldo (2009) which looks at language contact and change in a South Asian context, Norde, de Jonge, and Hasselblatt (eds., 2010) which deals largely with North Germanic languages, Léglise and Chamoreau, (eds., 2012) which concentrates on French-lexified creoles, and Law (2014) which looks at scenarios in the Mayan languages; Velupillai (2015) examines pidgins, creoles, and mixed languages, as does Grant (2019: 27–30), while McColl Millar (2016) is a study concerning the historical development of varieties of English. Hundt and Schreier (eds. 2013) deals explicitly with contact scenarios for English around the world.

Yet another sign of the advances made in contact studies is the comprehensive guide to contact languages by Bakker and Matras (2013) and is found in the series on contact maintained by publishers. For instance, Cambridge University Press has a series entitled *Cambridge Approaches to Language Contact*, De Gruyter Mouton has *Language Contact and Bilingualism* as well as *Sociolinguistics and Language Contact* while Benjamins has the series *Contact Language Library*, a continuation of the *Creole Language Library*. One can also mention the center-stage treatment of language contact accorded in handbooks of historical linguistics, such as McMahon (1994), McColl Millar (2007), and Campbell (2013).

2.2 What Does Contact-induced Language Change Encompass?

The term "contact-induced change" has been invoked in a wide range of studies (including those in the present volume) and a number of authors have pointed to the necessity of determining just what is meant by this. Hence the question of what kinds of change can be traced to a contact source has been revisited in a number of recent studies, such as Siemund (2008), Poplack, Zentz, and Dion (2012), Poplack (2018), Lucas (2012) and Seifart (2019). This issue is closely connected to examining the possible effects of contact; see the collection by Wiemer, Wälchli, and Hansen (eds., 2012) and the comprehensive introduction (Grant, 2019) to the *Oxford Handbook of Language Contact*.

In the past two decades sociolinguistic studies have increasingly highlighted the role of the individual in variation and possible change. This standpoint may well have been the impetus[4] for the consideration of agency and identity in contact scenarios, see the edited volume by Schwägerl (ed., 2010) and that by Hinrichs and Farquharson (eds., 2011) for the creole context. In volume 1 of the new De Gruyter Mouton handbook on language contact there is an entire section on language contact and the individual (Darquennes, Salmons, and Vandenbussche 2019: 136–256).

2.3 Code-switching and Contact

Code-switching has been a staple of language contact studies and has been examined from different perspectives, with recent work concentrating on the grammatical change which it

can engender, see Torres Cacoullos (ed., 2015) and Torres Cacoullos and Travis (2016) A key question, but one surprisingly seldom addressed head-on except as regards the debate concerning loanwords versus single-word code switches, is how we determine that a word has been borrowed into another language – this issue is addressed by Durkin (this volume). He furthermore makes the point that words which are copied from a source language may, in their morphological transparency, lead to analogical formations within the receiving language, see *-ment* in Late Middle English.

Borrowing is an issue addressed repeatedly in the current volume. Contemporary analyses tend to favor a different terminology, referring to copying and/or replication. Nonetheless, the established discourse around borrowing and loans has been retained by many authors, see Durkin (2014) and the comprehensive guide, Haspelmath and Tadmor (eds., 2009).

2.4 Language Contact, Linguistic Areas, and Typology

Research into language families and linguistic areas received considerable impetus during the 2000s. The native languages of northern South America were scrutinized in Aikhenvald (2002a, 2002b). This vein of investigation was continued with Aikhenvald and Dixon (2001, 2003, 2006). Johanson (2002) looked at structural change in the Turkic languages which can be traced to contact (see also Johanson, Csató, and Karakoç, this volume). Similar studies from the early 2000s, e.g. Haspelmath (2001), attest to this revitalized interest in the study of linguistic areas (Matras, McMahon, and Vincent 2006; Muysken ed., 2008). A comprehensive overview can be found in Hickey (ed., 2017).

Language typology and its connection with language contact is a theme in studies which congregate around families and areas; see the contributions in Haspelmath et al. (2001), Dahl and Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001), Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006).

Furthermore, there are languages whose entire development and history is dominated by contact with other languages: Romani and Yiddish are good examples of this situation, see Matras (1995, 2002) and Jacobs (2005) on these two languages respectively; for the genesis of Hebrew, see Doron, Rappaport Hovav, Reshef, and Taube (eds., 2019).

The investigation of languages which have virtually no written records presents a special set of problems. This is particularly true of native American languages (Mithun, this volume), of African languages (Beyer, this volume), of Australian languages (Vaughan and Loakes, this volume) and of creole languages in the Pacific arena (Siegel, this volume). Recent book-length studies have been dedicated to investigating language in such scenarios; see Dakin, Parodi, and Operstein (eds., 2017) and Berez-Kroeker, Hintz, and Jany (eds., 2016).

2.5 Language Contact and Creole Studies

A central discussion in creole research has concerned the putative exceptionalism of these forms of language, i.e. whether they represent a typological class[5] on their own, see McWhorter (ed., 2000) with opposing views put forward which give greater weight to substrate influences, see DeGraff (2003) as a representative example (Schneider and Hickey this volume offer an assessment of this issue). Most of the discussions have been of English-lexified creoles, but recently studies of Afro-Hispanic varieties and Ibero-Asian creoles have been published, see Sessarego (2019) and Cardoso, Baxter, and Pinharanda Nunes (eds., 2012) respectively.

Languages whose existence is regarded as deriving from contact between other languages are labeled ‘contact languages’ and have been the subject of various investigations; see Siemund and Kintana (eds., 2008) and Huber and Velupillai (eds., 2007).

2.6 Language Contact and Mixed Languages

Not unrelated to this type of situation is that of mixed languages, the result not just of contact but of fusion, to which the attention of the scholarly community was drawn by a number of seminal publications, among the earliest of which was Muysken (1981) which presented the case of Media Lengua, a mixture of Quechua and Spanish (see Muysken 1997 for a later overview). A broader perspective was provided by the collection of studies on a number of mixed languages to be found in Bakker and Mous (eds., 1994). Cases of mixed languages have also been reported in language endangerment situations (Comrie 2008), e.g. that of light Warlpiri in Northern Australia (O'Shannessy 2005). An instance of a mixed language from the Slavic area would be Surzhyk, a blend of Russian and Ukrainian; see Grenoble (this volume). A further example is Trasianka (a blend of Belarusian and Russian). The Romance languages also have similar mixtures which arose due to contact (Smith, this volume).

2.7 Language Contact, Obsolescence, and Death

Language obsolescence (Dorian 1989) and language death (Nettle and Romaine 2000; Harrison 2007) are further issues closely related to language contact. After all, the endangerment of a language always goes hand in hand with contact with one or more dominant languages, the latter threatening the continuing existence of the minority language, or indeed in many cases leading to its disappearance.

2.8 Language Contact and Grammaticalization

The study of grammaticalization received significant impulses from the research of Elizabeth Traugott, Bernd Heine, and Paul Hopper in a number of landmark publications, such as Traugott and Heine (2001), as well as the accessible textbook, Hopper and Traugott (2003 [1993]). In the context of the present volume the focus on grammaticalization and language contact[6] was made in the programmatic article by Heine and Kuteva (2003) which was followed up by the full-length study Heine and Kuteva (2005); see Heine and Kuteva (this volume) as well as Heine (2008) on contact-induced word-order change.

2.9 Language Contact and Complexity

Complexity in language is a recurrent theme in linguistic research over the past decade or so and its relationship to questions of contact and typology has been addressed in a number of publications; see the chapters in Miestamo, Sinnemäki, and Karlsson (2008) and the study by Mufwene (2008). Works in this vein have been continued in the past decade or so; see Sampson, Gil, and Trudgill (eds., 2009) Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi (eds., 2012), Trudgill (2011), McWhorter (2011), Aboh (2015, ed., 2017), Mufwene, Coupé, and Pellegrino (eds., 2019) as representative examples as well as the individual studies by Bastardas-Boada (2019) and Maitz and Németh (2014). By and large the view is that language contact only necessarily leads to simplification if the contact is largely between adults (Trudgill 2011: 55) whereas situations of longer duration result in stable bilingualism, with children acquiring languages naturally, and hence complex morphosyntactic structures and distributions are not lost in such contact scenarios.

2.10 Early Language Contact and Older Hypotheses

The assessment of language contact in the history of established languages is a matter which has varied in the relevant scholarship. For the history of English it is clear that the influence of other languages – bar Latin, Old Norse, and Anglo-Norman – has been played down by

the majority of scholars in the field.[7] But in recent years, a reexamination and reassessment of the role of contact in the development of the Germanic dialects in the period subsequent to the transportation to England has taken place. Specifically, the role of British Celtic in this context has been highlighted by publications such as Hickey (2012a, 2012b), Filppula, Klemola, and Pitkänen (2002), Filppula, Klemola, and Paulasto (2008), reconnecting to an older hypothesis put forward by German and Scandinavian scholars in the first half of the twentieth century; see Preußler (1938), Dal (1952), and Braaten (1967). Contact as a source of change has been further extended to encompass later, nonstandard features of English such as the so-called Northern Subject Rule, see Klemola (2000). For details on the "Celtic hypothesis" in the history of English, see Filppula, Klemola, and Paulasto (2008), Filppula and Klemola (eds., 2009), Filppula and Klemola (2014).

Several studies of contact have stretched backwards to reach greater time depth using the tools of contemporary research.[8] Andersen (ed., 2003), Askedal, and Nielsen (eds., 2015), Boas and Höder (eds., 2018), Braunmüller, Höder, and Kühl (eds., 2014), Drinka (2017), and Ross (2003) are examples of this in their investigations of prehistoric language contact. Salmons and Joseph (1998) look at the evidence for and against Nostratic, an undertaking in which contact is center-stage. For contact and early Finno-Ugric, see Laakso (this volume) and for contact and Arabic, see Sayahi (this volume).

2.11 Language and/or Dialect Contact

It is obvious that the difference between language contact and dialect contact is more one of degree than of kind. The interaction of dialects with one another is a topic which received considerable impetus from Peter Trudgill's 1986 study *Dialects in Contact* after which the treatment of this subject was seen as on a par with that of languages in contact. Given the great diversity of varieties of English, this approach proved to be fruitful in the Anglophone world and has been adopted by many scholars since, especially by considering the notion of accommodation together with existing data not hitherto analyzed from this perspective. Dialects in contact are treated in this volume in the contributions by Kerswill (in the context of new varieties) as well as Salmons and Purnell (in the context of American English).

2.12 Language Contact in Pluricentric Languages

Major European languages, above all English and Spanish, are characterized by having several centers across the world due to their spread during the colonial period (*c*. 1500–1900). These centers are inherently locations of contact; see Sessarego and González-Rivera (eds., 2015), King and Sessarego (eds., 2017), Ortiz López, Guzzardo Tamargo, and González-Rivera (eds., 2020), Clements and Gooden (eds., 2011) and Mackenzie (2017). With pluricentric languages different locations have been contrasted with each other, see Orozco (2018).

Pluricentric languages are often characterized by diglossic situations with a standard form of language deriving from an original source alongside local vernaculars in various countries. This situation has been investigated recently for Arabic, see Sayahi (2014, this volume) and Manfredi and Tosco (eds., 2017) on contact in Arabic in general.

2.13 Language Contact and Diasporic Varieties

Languages which are characterized by geographical spread frequently have diasporic communities, cf. Hungarian treated in Fenyvesi (ed. 2005). In the Anglophone world, the largest diaspora is that of Indians which is the subject of the volume by Hundt and Sharma (eds., 2014).

2.14 Language Contact in English Studies

In English studies the significance of contact in the rise of nonstandard vernaculars was given increasing recognition during the 1980s. Rickford (1986) is a well-known example of work in this vein, here with specific reference to dialect transportation and contact at overseas locations. However, not all scholars saw contact as a prime source of new features in varieties, some put more emphasis on the continuation of vernacular traits at new locations. This stance forms the so-called retentionist hypothesis which enjoyed greatest favor among Anglicists. However, by the late 1980s and into the early 1990s, the considered case for contact in certain scenarios regained acceptance and was underlined by key publications such as Mesthrie (1992) which showed clearly the role contact played in the rise of South African Indian English. The dichotomy of contact versus retention continued to occupy scholars into the 2000s; see Filppula (2003) which provides a fresh look at the arguments. The role of contact in the formation of different varieties of English at various geographical locations has been considered, e.g. Bao (2005, 2010) which examines substratist influence on the aspectual system of English in Singapore. For contact and African Englishes, see Mesthrie (this volume).

2.15 Vernacular Universals and Contact

The notion of vernacular universals is something which has been dealt with by Anglicists in recent years, above all by Jack Chambers (see Chambers 2004). It refers to features found across varieties of English in different parts of the world and postulates that the occurrence of such features is due to universals of language development, specifically in the context of new dialect formation (see Gold 2009, for example). The issue has spawned a number of publications the most comprehensive of which is the volume by Filppula, Klemola, and Paulasto (2009b) in which vernacular universals are viewed within the framework of language contact; see the introduction to that volume (Filppula, Klemola, and Paulasto 2009a) and also the contribution by Donald Winford (Winford 2009).

2.16 Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Language Contact

An emphasis on the social setting in which language contact can take place is found in many publications, e.g. those in Potowski and Cameron (2007) on Spanish-based contact and in particular in studies of pidgins and creoles (Deumert and Durlemann 2006; Holm 2004, 2010; Schneider and Hickey, this volume). Studies like Siegel (1987), where the plantation environment of the Fiji Islands in the nineteenth century is investigated, implicitly adopt this stance. The role of substrate in the rise of these contact languages has also been pursued in other publications by Siegel (1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2008, this volume). In a far-eastern context this issue has also been broached; see the discussion in Matthews (2010).

In handbooks on sociolinguistics and models of socially-determined language change, chapters on contact can also be found, indeed in the second edition of the *Handbook of Language Variation and Change* there is a four-chapter section devoted to contact (Wolfram and Schilling 2013: 469–554), see also Sankoff (2002). A broader view than just the social setting can be found in considerations of a language's ecology; see Mufwene (2001, 2007) and more recently, Ludwig, Pagel, and Mühlhäusler (2018).

2.17 Contact in Urban Environments

In the past, contact studies did not usually deal with the rural–urban dichotomy, probably because at the time of contact this division was assumed not to have been relevant for the communities in question. However, contemporary investigations of contact,

either interlinguistic or intralinguistic, are frequently of urban scenarios, e.g. Silva-Corvalán's 1994 study of Spanish and English in Los Angeles or Hickey's 2005 study of language variation and change in Dublin, where dissociation (Hickey 2013a), triggered by internal contact between differing varieties in the city, has been the driving factor. Other urban environments have provided further examples of change and development through contact, e.g. the creative language mixture found in the Sheng and Engsh codes in urban Kenya (Abdulaziz and Osinde 1997). Triggered not least by discussions of superdiversity, research into urban contact scenarios has increased; see Duarte and Gogolin (eds., 2013) and Wiese (this volume).

2.18 Language Contact and Globalization

Connected with an augmented focus on language in cities is the issue of globalization in linguistics. The main author in this field, Jan Blommaert, has discussed situations of language contact across national boundaries, indeed in international settings; see the discussions in Blommaert (2010), but generally without speaker contact. Communication across the internet and mobile networks, the subject of Deumert (2014), is dominated by English which exercises a transnational influence (Schneider 2014) on virtually all languages.

3 Generalizations Concerning Contact

It would seem that language contact always induces change. History does not provide instances of speech communities which adjoined one another, still less which intermingled, and where the languages of each community remained unaffected by the contact.[9] However, there may well be a difference in the degree to which languages in contact influence each other, that is a cline of contact is often observable and it can be bidirectional or largely unidirectional. Furthermore, influence may vary by level of language and depend on the nature of the contact, especially on whether bilingualism exists or not and to what degree and for what duration. These remarks refer to communities of speakers as contact is understood here as between groups.

As contact is a cline, any community can exhibit low or high contact; the extreme end for the former situation would be a situation of complete monolingualism which may have held and still holds for isolated or indeed uncontacted communities, though zero contact may be more a theoretical scenario rather than an actual reality. High-contact situations have and still do abound and the extreme end of this type is one of bi- and/or multilingualism where all speakers in a community are fluent in two or more languages. Community-wide bi-/multilingualism, if it lasts for some time, usually leads to the formation of a linguistic area as the mutual permeation of the languages involved is insured through the acquisition of two or more languages by child learners. The Balkans area (Joseph, this volume) and India (Schiffman 2010) provide good evidence for this. Low-contact communities also show certain features which are characteristic of them in general. Because of the lack of contact with other groups, such communities are usually more closely knit and certain cognitive distinctions may come to be expressed in their languages. A good example is evidentiality, the confirmation to one's interlocutor of evidence for an event or state. This can be morphologically marked, as an inflection or a clitic, in low-contact languages, but in high-contact, diffuse languages, evidentially is usually expressed periphrastically, e.g. by means of modal verbs like *should, ought to*. For example, Eastern Pomo (a nearly extinct Pomoan native American language in northern California) has inflectional evidential marking (McLendon 2003; Joseph 2003).

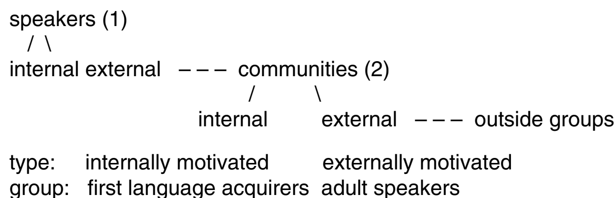

Figure 0.1 Differentiation of the internal-external distinction and typical time spans for types of language change.

3.1 *Internal vs External Reasons*

It is scholarly practice to distinguish between internal and external reasons for language change (Hickey 2002a, 2002b). However, these terms are used in two distinct ways (see Figure 0.1). The first concerns a motivation (internal) for change which is determined by the structure of a language and which appears during first language acquisition while change motivated by contact with other members of one's group and ultimately sociolinguistically motivated is seen as external.

The second use of the dichotomy "internal ~ external" is where internal change is seen as that which occurs within a speech community, generally among monolingual speakers, and external change is viewed as that which is induced by contact with speakers of a different language, usually from a different community (Hickey 2012c).

Opinions are divided on when to assume contact as the source of change. Some authors insist on the primacy of internal factors (e.g. Lass and Wright 1986) and so favor these when the scales of probability are not biased in either an internal or external direction for any instance of change. Other scholars view external reasons more favorably (Vennemann 2001, 2002b) while still others would like to see a less dichotomous view of internal versus external factors in change (Dorian 1993; Jones and Esch 2002). The role of contact in the diversification of languages is also a theme in the seminal monograph by Johanna Nichols (1992); see also Nichols (2010).

3.2 *Substrate and Superstrate*

A lot of attention has been paid in the literature to the relative social status of two languages in contact situations. Two established terms are used to label the language with less status and that with more, namely, "substrate" and "superstrate" respectively. The superstrate is regarded as having, or having had, more prestige in the society in which it is spoken, though just precisely what "prestige" refers to is something which linguists like James Milroy have questioned. Nonetheless, there would seem to be a valid sense in which one of two languages has, or had, more power in a contact situation. Asymmetrical levels of power in a contact situation play a definite role in the results of contact (Durkin, this volume).

3.3 *Relative Status and Direction of Influence*

The standard wisdom has traditionally been that the language with more status influences that with less, i.e. borrowing is from the superstrate by the substrate. This is, however, a simplistic view of the possibilities of influence in a contact scenario. Vocabulary, as an open class with a high degree of awareness by speakers, is the primary source of borrowing from the superstrate; French and Latin in the history of English are standard examples.

However, if contact persists over many generations, then the substrate can have a gradual and imperceptible influence on the superstrate, leading in some cases to systemic change at a later time. This type of contact can be termed "delayed effect contact" (Hickey 2001) and may well be the source of syntactic features in English which the latter has in common with Celtic (Poussa 1990; Vennemann 2002a; Isaac 2003; Hickey 2012a). This line of thought is pursued by Filppula (2010), who presents the arguments for Celtic influence on English. In addition to structural parallels there is further evidence here. Consider the fact that in Old English *wealh* was the word for 'foreigner' but also for 'Celt'. The word came to be used in the sense of 'servant, slave' (cf. *wielen* 'female slave, servant' with the same root, Holthausen 1974: 393), which would appear to be an indication of the status of the Celts vis-à-vis the Germanic settlers.[10] Not only that, the meaning of 'servant' implies that the Germanic settlers put the subjugated Celts to work for them; this in turn meant that there would have been considerable face-to-face contact between Celts and Germanic settlers, in particular between the children of both groups. As the latter context was one of first language acquisition it provided an osmotic interface for structural features of Celtic to diffuse into Old English. Given that written Old English was dominated by the West Saxon standard, it is only in the Middle English period that the syntactic influence of Celtic becomes apparent in the written record, e.g. in the appearance of possessive pronouns in cases of inalienable possession.

3.4 Where Does it Start? The Locus of Contact

It is a convenient shorthand to claim, for example, that language A borrowed from language B. However, this is already an abstraction as the appearance of borrowings in a speech community can only be the result of actions by individual members of this community. If one puts aside cases of "cultural" borrowings, e.g. from Latin or Greek into later European languages or from English into other modern languages, then it is probably true that the borrowing of "systemic" material – inflections, grammatical forms, sentence structures – can only occur via bilinguals. This view has a considerable tradition. Weinreich (1953) saw the true locus of contact-induced change in the bilingual individual who moves between two linguistic systems. Some scholars go further and consider bilinguals as having a single system, e.g. Matras (2010) who contends that bilinguals "do not, in fact, organize their communication in the form of two 'languages' or 'linguistic systems'." The awareness of linguistic systems on the part of speakers is a difficult issue to resolve. It may well be that in prehistory and in nonliterate societies today the awareness of the separateness of languages was/is less than in present-day literate societies. If one of the languages a bilingual uses is the sole language of a country then the bilingual's awareness of switching between languages increases. Matras (2010) maintains that bilinguals "operate on the basis of established associations between a subset of structures and a set of interaction contexts." The communicative competence of the bilingual then includes making the appropriate choices of structures for communication in given contexts. Whatever the degree of awareness by bilinguals of the separateness of their linguistic (sub)systems, the presence of competence in two languages fulfills the precondition for the adoption of material from one language into another. The next, and crucial, question is how borrowings, made on an individual level, spread throughout a community and are accepted by it. This step is essential for borrowings/items of transfer to become part of a language/variety as a whole and hence be passed on to later generations as established features (see Hickey, Chapter 7).

3.5 What Can be Attributed to Language Contact?

The current volume is dedicated to analyses of language contact, the situations in which it is or was to be found, and the results it engenders or has engendered. This focus should not imply a neglect of changes, indeed types of change, which are not due to language contact.