

MULTILINGUAL SPEAKERS AND LANGUAGE CHANGE: LESSONS FROM AN AFRICAN CONTACT ZONE

INTRODUCTION

Towards an integrated theory of Language Contact

The field of language contact is, since the works of Weinreich (1953), still missing an integrated theoretical framework:

"...still lacks an adequate conceptual basis on which a synthesis can be built that is theoretically well-founded." (van Coetsem 2000:5)

"Researchers in 'Bilingualism', 'Code-switching', 'Creole Linguistics', 'Historical Linguistics' and so on, seem to want to preserve the boundaries and distinctiveness of their own area of interest." (Winford 2007:1)

"...while a series of generalizations on the structural outcome of contact have been proposed, tested, and discussed in the past, a typologically oriented framework of contact is still missing." (Matras 2009:3)

Most authors concentrate either on the individual-synchronic aspects of bilingualism, or on structural diachronic aspects of contact-induced language change. Matras (2009) intends to introduce an integrated theory that combines these elements:

Layers of language contact

Micro level (contact-induced innovation)

- Speech production in the multilingual mind (Myers-Scotton, Matras)
- Face to face communication between multilingual speakers (van Coetsem, Winford, Matras)
- Communication in multilingual Communities of Practice (Eckert, Gal)

Meso level, spread of innovation

- Propagation throughout multilingual speech community, adaption (Milroy, Trudgill)
- Spread to monolingual speakers (Myers-Scotton, Kaufmann)

Macro level, contact induced language change

- Linguistic areas (Güldemann, Heine & Kuteva)
- Historical speech group events (Ross, Mous)

Matras' (2009) hypothesis on speech production in the multilingual mind:

- Language (in the brain) is not organized in discrete systems but as a complex interrelated repertoire of linguistic structures and routines
- In multilingual environments, this repertoire involves structures from several languages, including respective pragmatic and functional layers
- Some elements are more 'vulnerable' for substitution in a contact situation: utterance modifiers: conjunctions, tags, fillers, interjections, focus, particles, etc.
- They are the first elements being adopted from a *pragmatic dominant language*
- They start out as spontaneous switches and end up as regular borrowings

Socio-historic profile

- Retreat area on the fringe of West African power centers; "Slave reservoir"
- Village alliances across ethno-linguistic borders (women exchange, defense)
- All five groups are represented in the area at least two centuries (Echenberg 1969, Hubbell 2001)

Key points for research on contact languages:

- No long-time occupation by a single ethno-linguistic group a power center
- Languages are only distantly (if at all) related
- Languages are typologically different:
S-AUX-O-V-Syntax (Mande), Noun Classes (Gur), absence of V-O-Neg (Dogon), no labio-velars in Jula and Dogon (Pana)

Methods, Linguistic Data:

Elicitation with growing degree of freedom for speakers:

- Translation: Jula story into Pana
- Telling of a picture story (stimulus)
- Free speech: recordings of socio-linguistic questionnaire
- Long term recordings: selected speakers wear mini-mp3 recording device (up to 6 hours of free speech). The closest one can get to 'real' speech behaviour; *observer's paradox!*

Methods; Social Data:

- Elicitation of attributive and biographic data: age, gender, formal education, times of labour migration, local mobility, occupation, family relations.
- Integration into local community networks; four social fields:
 - community work (Women: whom do you ask to go collecting firewood? Men: whom do you ask for help in construction works?)
 - Leisure time (Whom do meet in your free time to drink millet beer/tea with?)
 - Advice (Whom do you ask for advice concerning difficult decisions?)
 - Family (Which relatives live in the village; How often do you see them?)

A special software calculates network positions from number and frequency of actors in the different fields; e. g. 'gatekeeper', 'broker', 'marginal actor' etc. From the combination of positions in the four networks plus individual local mobility (attributive factor) the so-called **network score** (0-5) of integration for each single actor was calculated.

TODAY'S EXAMPLE: FORMS AND FREQUENCY OF CODE-SWITCHING (CS) IN ENCOUNTERS IN THE VILLAGE OF DONON

Definition of CS: change between one or more languages within one conversation (conventionalized loans will not be considered).

Data base: Long-term recordings of four actors in situations where no people from outside the village are present; the first 40 sentences of selected actors in a new conversational situation are analyzed according to frequency and form of code-switching.

Relevant questions:

- Which forms of CS appear (e. g. '*insertional*' switch: single words or phrases embedded in a different language frame; switches between sentences or utterances '*alternational*' switch?)
- How many languages are involved in switching?

- Are there functional differences when more than two languages are concerned?
- Are there correlations between social position of actors and their CS-behaviour?

Four speakers in comparison

A1: female, 49 years, head of local women's association, no formal education.

Languages: Pana, Jula, some French.

Central position in community network of Donon (NS 5)

Language data from her first 40 utterances during a conversation held in the kitchen with her elder daughter and other kids: 6 CS / 333 Lexemes = 1,8 %.

(N. B. Code-Switches **bold**, Switches from **French** underlined)

- 1) úbyèn, kúyèrí mà wùní nánò sè
oder, Löffel auch sein LOC DEM
Oder, der Löffel ist auch da (drin).
- 2) à dá kára **kùlé** nà
1SG machen Vertrauen Schmied mit
Ich vertraue es dem Schmied an.
- 3) tàamò bóttí-lè tòrò, ò kó nà
Salz Dose-DEF nehme, 2SG komm mit
Nimm die Salzdose und komm (her) damit.

A2: male, 49 years, catholic lay prayer, low formal education.

Languages Pana, Jula, some Baulé.

Well integrated in social networks of Donon (NS 4)

Language data from the 'Cabaret' of his wife: 6 CS in 247 Lexemes = 2,4 %

- 4) wálà ò kó nò ò cé kì nánò
voilà, 2PL komm mit 2PL leg Ding LOC
Voilà, legt eure Sachen dort hin.
- 5) p'tey wótóró sà náasi nògò
vielleicht, Karre NUM.CLASS vier ungefähr
Vielleicht, ungefähr vier Karren (voll).
- 6) è sú ná dóní dóní lè
1PL befeuchten.PERF ANA klein klein PRED
Wir haben es ein klein wenig befeuchtet.

A3: male, 32 years, local photographer, high formal education (Baccalauréat).

Languages: Pana, Jula, French, Moore.

Below average integration in social networks of Donon (NS 2).

Language data from a family encounter on financial issues: 15 CS in 261 Lexemes = 5,74 % :

- 7) donc, jénjén lè wùní mé wò lè mé sìmú ná
Donc, klein REL sein 1SG.EMP auf REL 1 SG.EMP wollen ANA
Also, das kleine (Stück), das meines ist, das will ich.

- 8) *èeh wó! dà mùnú bó*
EXCL EXCL mach geduldig.sein jetzt
Hey! Hab jetzt (mal) Geduld.
- 9) *bɔ̀ dé kí dà ná nà d' á kó ná nà*
Gut, CNJ Ding tun ANA mit CNJ 1SG komm ANA mit
Gut, wenn es so gemacht wird gebe ich es (das Geld).

A4: female, 20 years, local merchant, no formal education.

Languages: Pana, Jula, Français de la Côte d'Ivoire.

Very low integration in local networks (NS 1)

Language data from talk with mother and sister in the court yard:

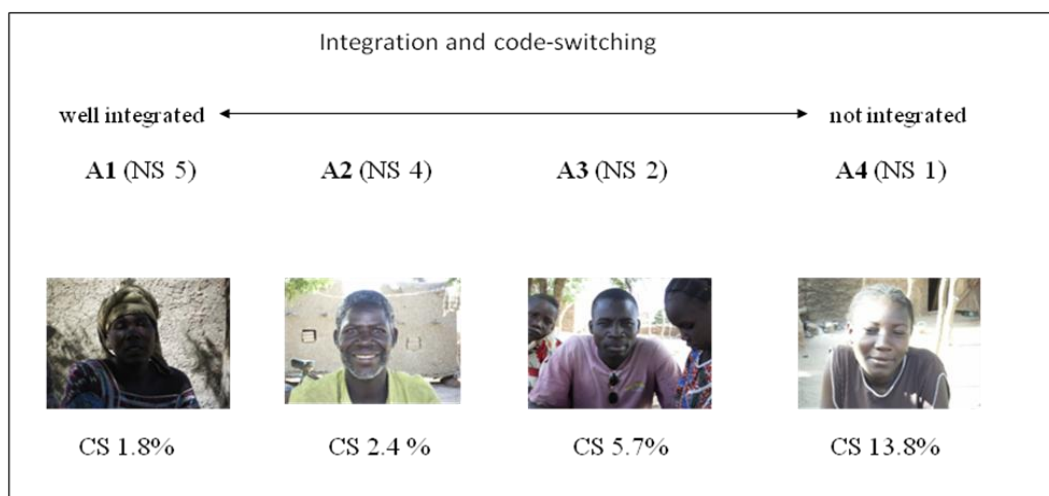
45 CS in 325 Lexemes = 13,8 %:

- 10) *wàgá-a lóra-à pọ́ bánbàní*
Korb-DEF heraus.kommen.PERF-OBJ in schön
Der Korb kommt gut heraus (auf dem Bild).
- 11) *ámèd má cè ó... ámèd y'... à kúnò né kẹ̀*
Ahmed auch legen 3SG.POSS Ahmed KOP... 3SG Kopf 1SG auf
Ahmed legt sein... Ahmed hat... sein Kopf auf mir.
- 12) *ò dèré sògòbí. ù ká manièr lòn dòn*
3PL machen.NEG Sogobi. 3PL POS Art PRED PRED
Sie machen (nehmen) nicht Sogobi. Sie machen es auf ihre Art.

ANALYSIS

Correlation between social integration and Code-Switching:

Tendency: Code-switching in Donon correlates inversely proportional with actors' integration into local community networks. This tendency is supported by contact-induced changes in the phonological and morphological system (Beyer 2010, Beyer & Schreiber (im Druck)).



Forms of CS

- Switches only into French and Jula; no other contact languages from Souroudougou (pragmatic dominance and/or prestige?).

- Mainly insertional Switches, only A4 shows mainly alternation.
- Functional split: French for discourse particles (ou bien, voila); Jula for specific reference (artifacts, concepts).

Explanation:

Well integrated actors set local norms (Granovetter 1973). This correlation is also shown for linguistic innovation and norms (Milroy & Milroy 1985) and also holds for contact-induced innovation in the Souroudougou setting (Beyer 2010, Beyer & Schreiber (im Druck)).

- Local norm allows limited exploration of the multilingual repertoire: insertional switches + discourse marker
→ Gateway for contact-induced language change
- Less well integrated actors bring up innovation; e. g. A3 uses 'donc' (5 token in 40 utterances) and an extra ordinary switch in the verbal domain *mùnú*
→ Speaker demonstrates competence in prestige languages
- Marginalized actors in 'bilingual mode' (Grosjean 2001); e. g. A4 has mostly alternational switches
→ usual switching in the special communicative setting of the family, ease of expression

CONCLUSION

Multilingual speakers activate their multilingual repertoire on different layers; specific patterns show up:

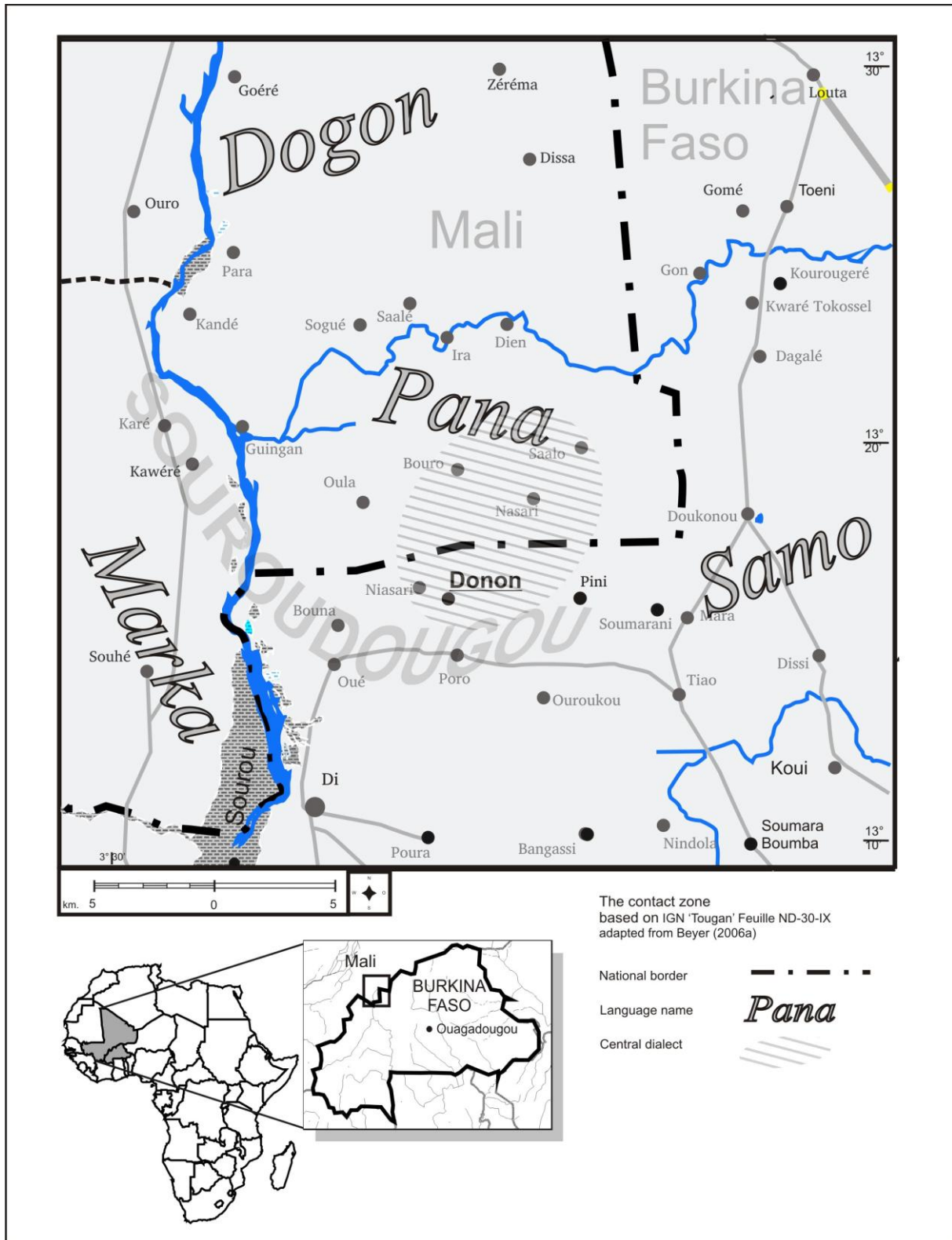
- specific reference (e.g. A2 *wótóró* 'donkey cart') and contextual significance (e.g. A1 *kùlé* 'blacksmith, also working wood') from Jula-lexicon (established LWC)). This is the semantic motivation for switching described in Backus (1996).
- Discourse particle from most 'prestigious' language French. Innovative speaker use elements to build up the multilingual repertoire for discourse-directing operations (Matras 2009).
BUT: in the Donon case it is **not** the pragmatic dominant language but the most prestigious!!!
- Alternational switches (in Donon) are only possible in contexts where a bilingual mode is socially accepted.

More general observations:

- A continuum from innovative Code-Switching to well established language change is apparent on all linguistic layers.
- Language change is extremely dynamic as stabilizing factors are weak;
Prediction: 'donc' will be a well established discourse particle in due time
- Prestige languages play a more important role than in western type multilingual settings: French is not the pragmatically dominant language and still, discourse particle come mainly from there
- New elements from urban languages: '*rouler le baba cool*' -> babacouc.

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Map 1: The Souroudougou-contact zone.