

Multilingual Speakers and Language Change: Lessons from an African Contact Zone

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Multilingual Speakers, Overview

- Introduction to Contact Linguistics
 - Developments and Questions
 - Theoretical Considerations
- Research in an African Contact Zone
 - The Research Area
 - Methods
 - Speakers
 - Language Data
- Analysis
- Conclusion

Multilingual Speakers, Contact Linguistics

Desiderata in the field of language contact:

Contact Linguistics ...

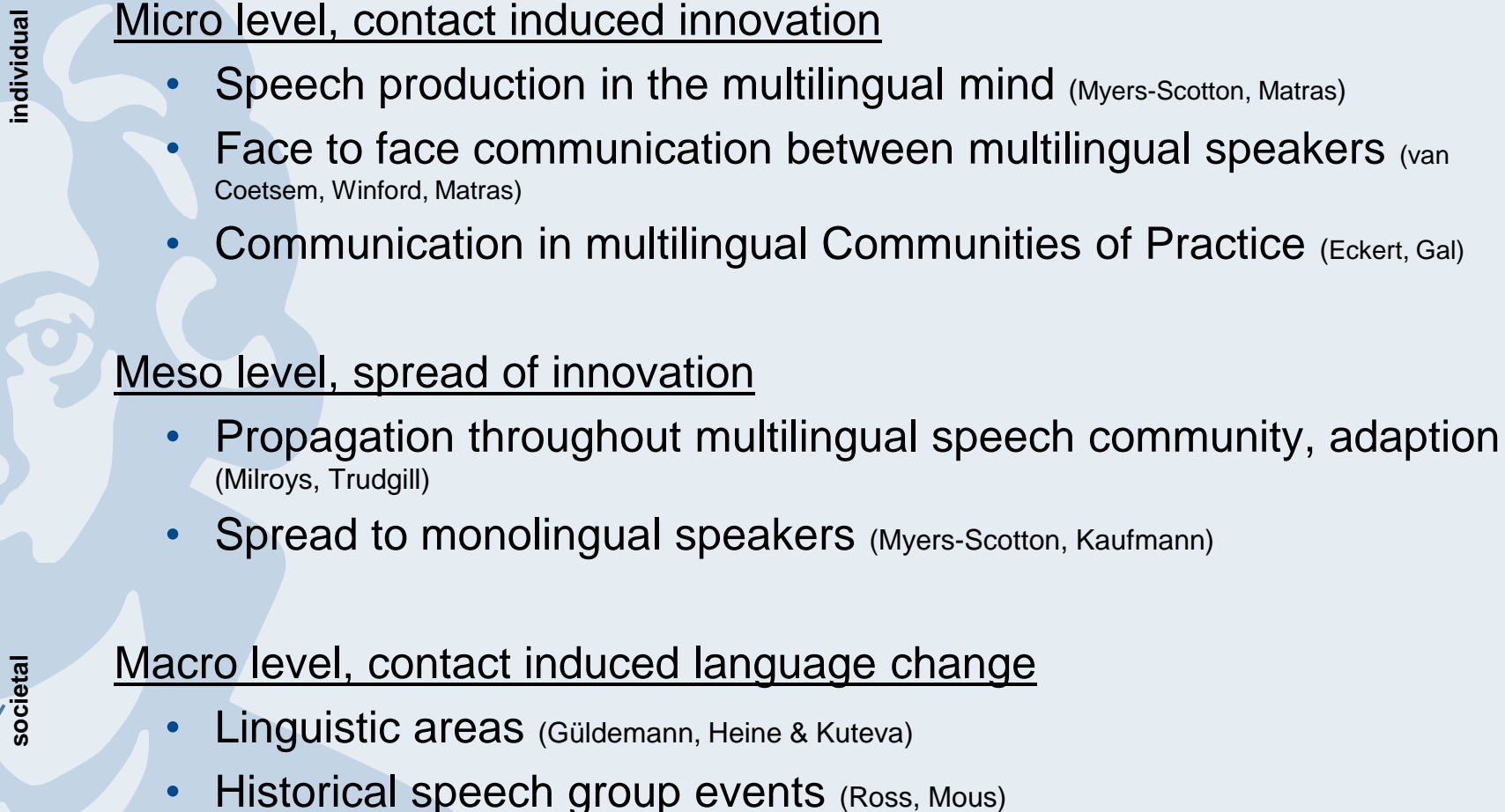
“...still lacks an adequate conceptual basis on which a synthesis can be built that is theoretically well-founded.” (van Coetsem 2000:5)

“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)

Multilingual Speakers, Contact Linguistics

Layers of language contact:

- 
- individual**
- 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)
- societal**
- Macro level, contact induced language change
- Linguistic areas (Güldemann, Heine & Kuteva)
 - Historical speech group events (Ross, Mous)

Multilingual Speakers, Contact Linguistics

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 pragmatic and functional layers

Multilingual Speakers, Contact Linguistics

Hierarchical structure of linguistic elements (Matras 2009):

- Some elements are more 'vulnerable' for substitution in a contact situation:
utterance modifiers: conjunctions, tags, fillers, interjections, focus, particles, etc.
- In bilingual situations, they are the first elements that are adopted from a *pragmatic dominant language*
- They start out as spontaneous switches and end up as regular borrowings

Multilingual Speakers, Contact Linguistics

There are two factors at play when speakers act in a multilingual environment:

- Conscious production of speech acts that adhere to prevailing social norms in a multilingual setting:
 - > the selection from multilingual repertoire conforms to setting and goal of conversation
- Unconscious slips of utterance modifiers from contact languages are frequently observed:
 - > mental task of directing hearer-side processing of propositional content

Multilingual Speakers, Contact Linguistics

Current Questions:

What are relevant factors for contact induced language change on the micro/meso level in an African contact zone?

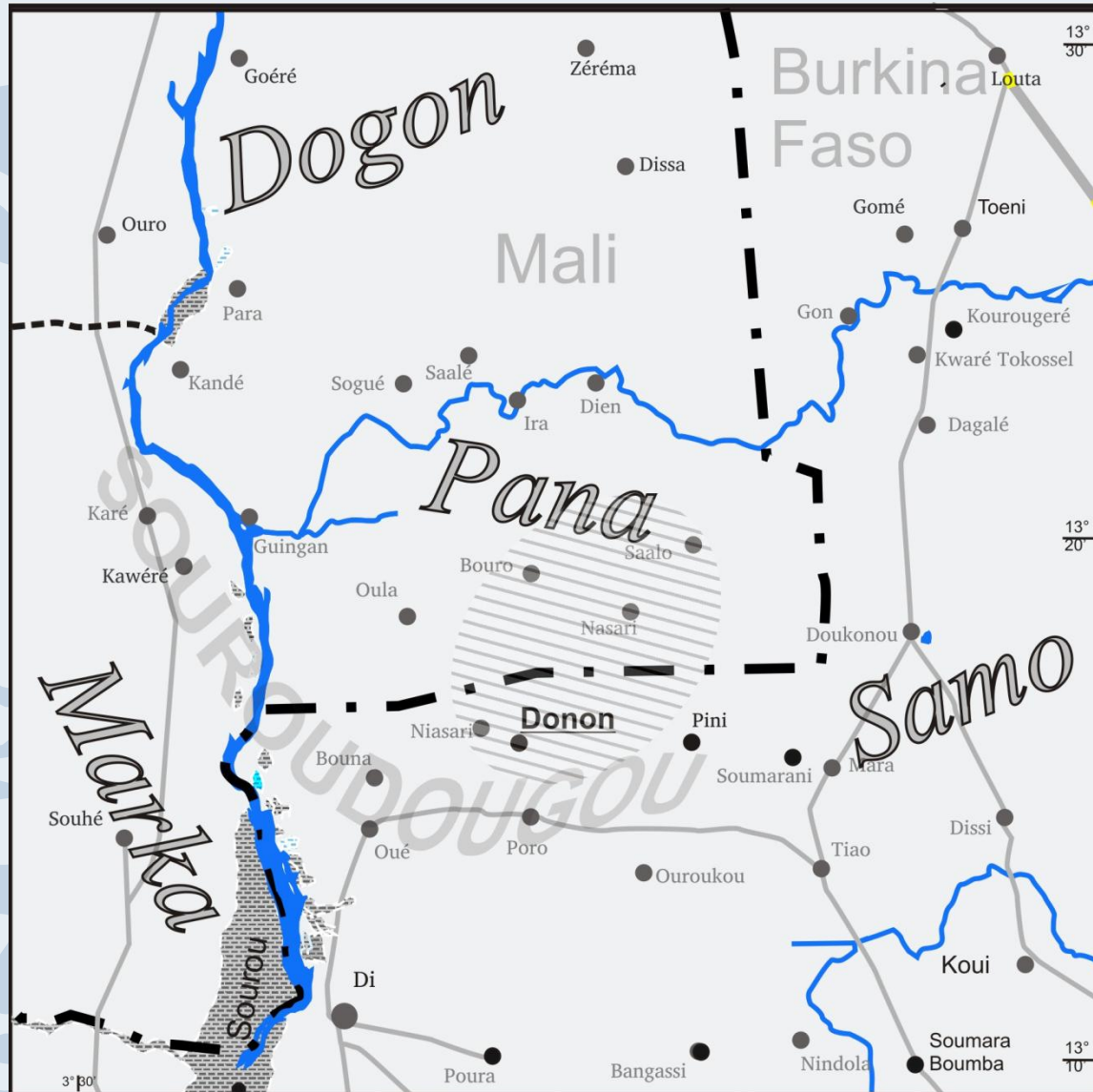
- Are specific language domains affected in specific ways?
- Are there specific social conditions for contact induced change?
- Are there any differences to other contact situations (e.g. western type)?

Do Matras' predictions hold in situations where norm-enforcement is less dominant?

Market day in Di, northern *Souroudougou*



Multilingual Speakers, Research



The contact zone based on IGN 'Tougan' Feuille ND-30-IX adapted from Beyer (2006a)

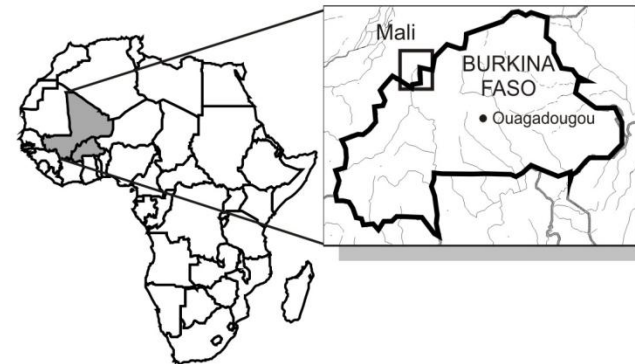
National border



Language name

Pana

Central dialect



Multilingual Speakers, Research

Contact zone of five local ethno-linguistic groups

- Pana (North-Gurunsi)
- Northern Samo (East-Mande)
- Marka-Dafing (West-Mande)
- Dogon (Niger-Congo)
- Fulani (Atlantic)

Languages of wider communication (LWC)

- Jula (West Mande)
- French (IE)

Multilingual Speakers, Research

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 four groups are represented in the area at least for two centuries

Multilingual Speakers, Research Area

Ideal for research on contact languages:

- No long time domination by a single ethno-linguistic group a power centre
- Languages are only distantly (if at all) related
 - Mande, Gur, Dogon, (Atlantic)
- 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)



Multilingual Speakers, Research

Elicitation of language data:

- Translation
- Telling of a picture story
- Recording of free speech
- Long-term recordings



Social Questionnaire:

Biographic data: age, formal education, occupation, regional mobility, religion, office holder, times of labour-migration

Social networks in the local community:
communal work, leisure time, family, advice

Social integration of individual actors captured in *egos network score*: from 0 – 5 points accumulated through calculation of ego's positions in the different community networks

Parameters: density, multiplexity, centrality + local mobility



Multilingual Speakers, Research

Today's example: forms and frequency of Code-Switching (CS) in encounters in the village of Donon.

Linguistic data: first 40 sentences of selected actors in a communicative situation where no outsider is present.

Questions:

What kind of codes-switches do occur?

Are more than two languages involved?

If so, are their functional differences between the switch-languages?

Are there any correlations between code-switching and speakers' social parameters?

Multilingual Speakers, Research

Actor 1: female, 49 years

Languages: Pana, Jula, very little French

No formal education

Head of women's association

From the founding clan of the village

Highly respected member of Donon community

Network-score 5



Multilingual Speakers, Research

Actor 1:

Excerpt from a conversation in the kitchen with an elder daughter and some other kids.



6 CS items in 333 lexemes = 1,8% :

- 1) úbyèn, kúyèrí mà wùnî nánò sè
oder, Löffel auch sein loc dem
Oder, der Löffel ist auch da (drin).
- 2) à dá kárá kùlé nà
1sg machen Vertrauen Schmied mit
Ich vertraue es dem Schmied an.
- 3) tàamà bócti-lè tòrò, ò kó nà
Salz Dose-def nehm, 2sg komm mit
Nimm die Salzdose und komm (her) damit.

Multilingual Speakers, Research

Actor 2: male, 49 years

Languages: Pana, Jula, (Baulé, French)

Low formal education,

Catholic lay preacher

Highly respected member of Donon community

Network-score 4



Multilingual Speakers, Research

Actor 1:

Excerpt from a conversation in the 'cabaret' of his wife.



6 CS items in 247 lexemes = 2,4% :

4) **wálà** ò kó nà ò cé kǐ nánò
voilà, 2PL komm mit 2PL leg Ding LOC
Voilà, legt eure Sachen dort hin.

5) **p'tey wótóró sà náasì nḡḡ**
vielleicht, Karre NUM.CLASS vier ungefähr
Vielleicht, ungefähr vier Karren (voll).

6) è sù ná **dócnī dócnī lḡ**
1PL befeuchten.PERF ANA klein klein PRED
Wir haben es ein klein wenig befeuchtet.

Multilingual Speakers, Research

Actor 3: male, 32 years

Languages: Pana, Jula, French, Moore

High formal education (bac),

Local photographer, moves around a lot

Not very well integrated in Donon community

Network-score 2



Multilingual Speakers, Research

Actor 3:

Excerpt from a conversation held in his courtyard with family members discussing financial issues.



15 CS items in 261 lexemes = 5,74% :

- 7) **donc**, *ǰɛnǰɛn lè wùnĩ 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) **b̀̀**, *dé kĩ 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).

Multilingual Speakers, Research

Actor 4: female, 20 years

Languages: Pana, Jula, Ivory French

No formal education

Local merchant active on all regional markets

Born and raised in CI, from 10 years on in Donon

Network-score 1



Multilingual Speakers, Research

Actor 4:

Excerpt from a conversation in the court with her mother and sister, preparing merchandise.

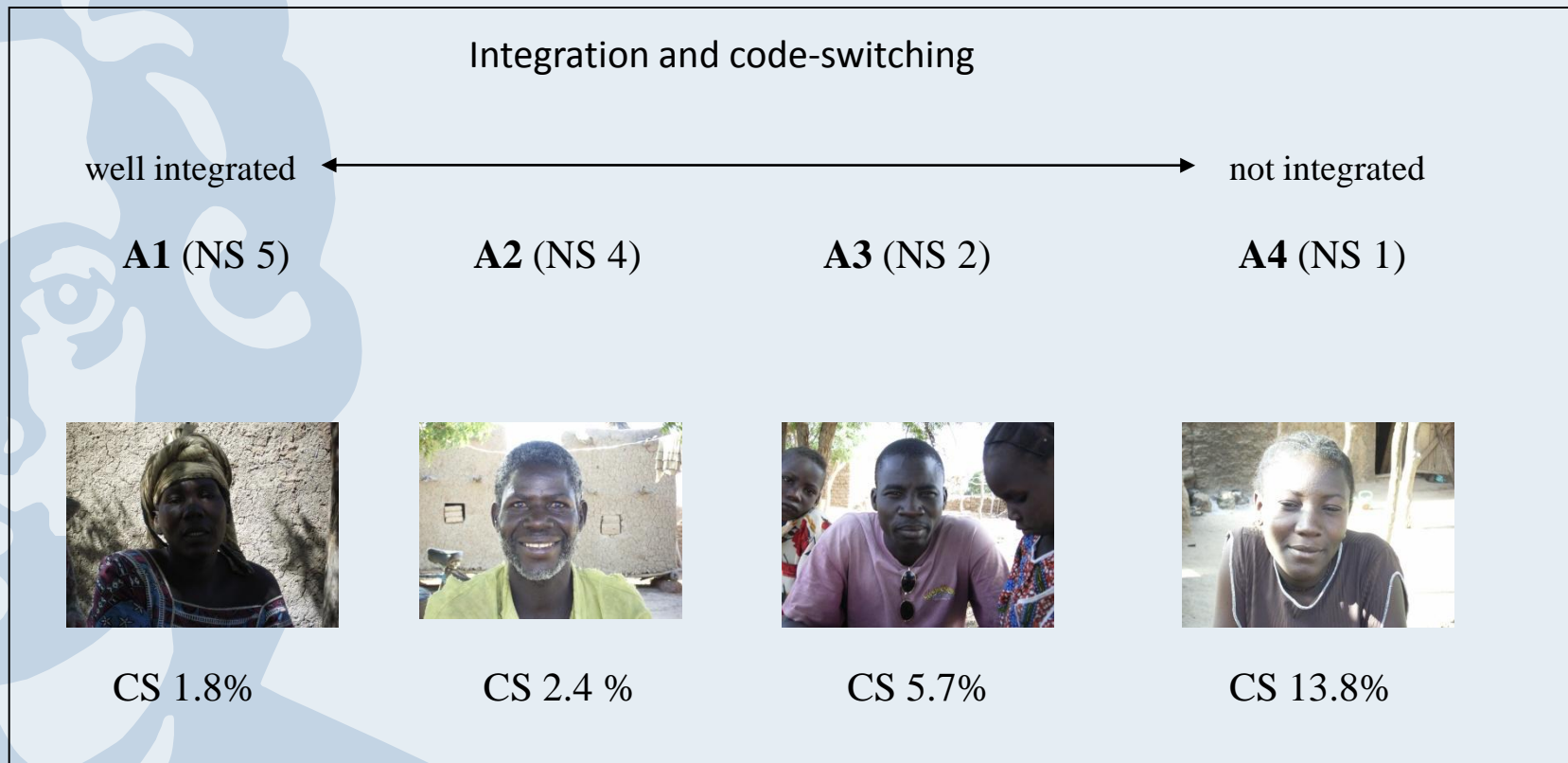


45 CS items in 325 lexemes = 13,8% :

- 10) *wàgá-a lórà-à* *pó 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 kẹ*
Ahmed auch legen 3sg.poss Ahmed kop... 3sg Kopf 1sg auf
Ahmed legt sein... Ahmed hat... sein Kopf auf mir.
- 12) *ò dèré sògòbì. 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.

Multilingual Speakers, Analysis

Frequency of code-switching (in Donon) correlates inversely proportional with actors integration into local community networks:



Multilingual Speakers, Analysis

Answers

- CS only to French and Jula
 - French with highest prestige in Mali und BF
 - Jula most used LWC cum prestige (merchants, Islam)
- 'insertional' switches dominate
 - only rare 'alternational' switches, mainly with A 4
- Functional split
 - French dominates discourse particles (ou bien, voila)
 - Jula dominates specific references encoded in nouns (artifacts, concepts)

Multilingual Speakers, Analysis

More answers

Well integrated actors set local language norm

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),
extra ordinary switch in the verbal *mùnú*
-> Speaker demonstrates competence in prestige languages

Marginalized actors in 'bilingual Mode' (Grosjean 2001)

e. g. A4 mostly alternational switches
-> Usual switching in the special communicative setting of this family,
ease of expression?

Multilingual Speakers, Conclusion

Elements of the multilingual repertoire are differently activated

- specific reference and transparent meaning from Jula, the established pragmatically dominant language
-> Motivation: 'specificity/awareness' (Backus 1996)

- Discourse marker from most prestigious language French, but not the pragmatically dominant language

-> continuum from (prestige)-switch to language change (Matras 2009)

-> Pana of Donon: contact induced change clearly visible in established norm

Multilingual Speakers, Conclusion

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 in the region and still, discourse particle come mainly from this language

New elements from urban languages

'rouler le baba cool' -> babacou

