

LANGUAGES IN CONTACT VOL. 5

LANGUAGES IN CONTACT

edited by
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Languages in Contact 2014

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Introduction

The present-day discourse of cultural pluralism often seeks proof of its diversity. This edition of *Languages in Contact*, overseen by the Committee for Philology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Wrocław Branch, together with the Philological School of Higher Education in Wrocław, not only addresses this issue, but also embraces a new approach to the study. The volume pinpoints not only the vast scope and the huge potential of contact linguistics, but also the studies of anthropological linguistics, sociology, communicology, studies of culture and sign languages. The present volume is composed of papers, many of which were presented at the conference “Languages in Contact 2014” in Wrocław. The volume brings new and challenging insights into the studies of Maltese Sign Language (Marie Azzopardi-Alexander); the role of education in the process of revitalization of the Basque language (Joanna Anders); the earliest known text in Jamaican Creole (Andrei A. Avram); the sound system of Vilamovian within the scope of Government Phonology (Anna Bloch-Rozmej); language contact between Amerindians and Maroons in the South American country of Suriname (Robert Borges); the phenomenon of Polish corpolect based on Polish-English contact (Agnieszka Cierpich); the study of linguistic and cultural contacts from the anthropological perspective (Piotr P. Chruszczewski); recent morphological processes of blending, libfixing and clipping (Camiel Hamans); the case study of French foreign language learners in Tanzanian secondary schools (Mussa Julius Lulandala); linguistic picture of Kashubians and the Kashubian land in Benedikt Karczewski’s poetry (Marcin R. Odelski); pugilistic practice as a purposeful communicative act in 19th-century England (Dawid Raczyński); investigating glossogeny via the iterated learning methodology (Katarzyna Rogalska); the notions of “Original Language” and “Universal Religion” in the context of

the debates about the origin of language in 18th-century France (Tomasz Szymański); Japanese language under the influence of contact with other cultures (Paulina Tomaszewska); the role of presupposition and lexical conceptual structure in the causative/inchoative alternation of change of state verbs (Tomasz Twaróg); the source and location of interlingual contacts (Elżbieta Magdalena Wąsik); creole formation and second language acquisition (Donald Winford); language shift and protection of minority languages in Friuli (Joanna Woźniakiewicz); medicine in a folk perspective on the basis of patients' first person narratives in specialist medical journals (Magdalena Zabielska).

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On the Role of Education in the Process of Language Revitalization: The Case of Basque

ABSTRACT. Although *Euskara*, the Basque language, has been recognized regionally as a co-official language, the number of its speakers is low enough to qualify it as an endangered tongue. *Euskara* is an isolated language that is spoken in both the northern parts of Spain and the southern parts of France. Its ergative-absolutive alignment makes it completely different from the other European languages, not to mention the neighboring Romance languages. Several factors have contributed to its weakened position, e.g. Castilian took on the role of the common language, and during Franco's dictatorship it was generally prohibited to use any other regional language. Numerous initiatives have been undertaken to re-establish the position of Basque as an important language. Thanks to education, in the wide sense, its revitalization has become possible. Children are allowed to learn in Basque in the so-called *ikastolas*. For others, *euskaltegis* (i.e. language schools) are available along with *bar-netegis* – special crash courses. When it comes to tertiary education, *Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea* (i.e. the University of the Basque Country) offers studies in *Euskara* for the most advanced learners. In order to train the teaching staff, special programs under the auspices of the Basque Government are organized. In addition, there are also various bodies and institutions whose activity at the provincial level is aimed at the development and dissemination of the Basque language, especially among adults. Apart from these above-mentioned examples, which are connected mainly with teaching, there is a large number of special events whose aim is to raise funds for the promotion of Basque. The results of all the activities as mentioned above are definitely positive. According to sociolinguistic studies from 1991 and 2006, the number of people speaking Basque (aged 16 or more) who live in the Basque Autonomous Community has risen substantially from 24.1% to 30.1% respectively.

KEYWORDS: Basque, *Euskara*, isolated language, *ikastolas*, language teaching.

The Basque language (*Euskara*) is a co-official language in the Basque Country (Spanish: *País Vasco*, Basque: *Euskadi*), and is at the same level

of importance as the Castilian language, which is the official language of the whole country. Despite the fact that among the many autonomous communities of Spain the Basque Country is the only one where the language is officially recognized, the residents of neighboring regions also use it. Apart from the three provinces of Euskadi – Álava (Basque: *Ara-ba*), Gipuzkoa (Spanish: *Guipúzcoa*) and Biscay (Spanish: *Vizcaya*, Basque: *Bizkaia*), it is spoken in the Chartered Community of Navarre (Spanish: *Comunidad Foral de Navarra*, Basque: *Nafarroako Foru Komunitatea*) and three French provinces of the western part of the department of the Pyrénées-Atlantiques: Lower Navarre (French: *Basse-Navarre*, Basque: *Nafarroa Beherea*), Labourd (Basque: *Lapurdi*) and Soule (Basque: *Zuberoa*), forming *Iparralde*, “the North Side.” The above-mentioned seven provinces form the historical region of *Euskal Herria*, which was the first name given by the Basque people to their area. This structure, although with no political acknowledgement, is based on the idea of its inhabitants’ common language and culture. However, it is also essential to underline that although this particular language was present in the region, it was not considered to be a determinant of Basque identity for many centuries. The Basques had not maintained political or economic contacts for a long period (Tuñón de Lara *et al.* [1988] 1997: 89), as the area they inhabited was isolated due to natural conditions (*e.g.* mountains that were difficult to pass through). This was probably one of the factors that contributed to their independent development in many respects (Medina López /1999/ 2003: 10).

Euskara, the Basque language, is the only language of Western Europe that has not been put under the processes of Indo-Europeanization and Romanization. Some elements from Latin are present, however, their contribution is a result of the typical process of linguistic assimilation. The only territories reached by the Romans were in the provinces of Álava and Navarre, as these areas were close to the rest of the Romanized territory. Thus, the limited Romanization of the provinces of Biscay and Gipuzkoa is also explained (Navas (ed.) 1999: 12). Subsequently, the Arabic period brought no relevant changes since the whole north of the Iberian Peninsula resisted the attacks, apart from Navarre, which became independent from the Arabs in the early 10th century (Quesada Marco /1987/ 1992: 40). In 1512, Navarre joined the Castilian Crown, which had already been accessed by the previously independent lands of

Biscay, Gipuzkoa and Álava in 1200 (Navas (ed.) 1999: 17). However, it is essential to underline that this integration of territories was accepted by the Basque people under the condition that their rights, e.g. that they follow their own local traditions, that they use their own language and have wide autonomy (including no tax obligation to the king), be respected. This is a brief description of the historical changes that took place in the area which form the background of the present political situation and regional division. A look at the importance of *Euskara* in the following centuries indicates that its first serious weakening took place when the Basque bourgeoisie felt attracted to the “urban” Castilian style and were embarrassed to use the “rural” *Euskara* language. The next step was the vast industrialization of the region in the 19th century, which resulted in mass-scale immigration from other Spanish regions where the Basque language was not used. Since Castilian was a language understood by all, it naturally took over the role of the common language. Moreover, the fact that Castilian had a number of dialects spoken by the Basques only reinforced this language as a means of communication.

Finally, between 1939 and 1975, during the dictatorship of Francisco Franco, who aimed to create a homogeneous country, every slightest manifestation of regional culture was forbidden. This meant, among others, the prohibition of using and teaching local languages or even using local names in those languages. This situation caused strong objections of the local communities and also reinforced local nationalistic tendencies. However, it was only in 1978, after Franco had died in 1975, that the New Constitution of Spain brought back the division of the country into autonomous communities and re-established the significance of other Spanish languages, i.e. Galician, Catalanian and Basque, which in the respective communities along with Castilian became official languages again.

The origins of *Euskara* remain unknown. It is considered to be a pre-Indo-European language, as several common features have been identified between *Euskara* and one of the pre-Indo-European languages – Iberian (Medina López /1999/ 2003: 11). Nevertheless, there is no sound evidence to confirm this theory, but, on the other hand, there is no evidence discrediting such a possibility. A proven fact is that Basque has nothing in common with the neighboring Romance languages or with any other language. That is why it does not belong to any language family (Weinsberg 1983: 89) and was classified by Wilhelm von Humboldt as an isolated

language. Apart from the theory that Basque is similar to the Iberian language, many more hypotheses have been formed about its possible origins. The most popular ones are those linking it to African languages (Berber languages), Caucasus languages or the Aquitanian language used in ancient Aquitaine. Some linguists consider Aquitanian and Basque to even be the same language (Núñez Astrain /2002/ 2006: 32), but until now none of the above-mentioned ideas has been proven.

Basque is an ergative language, which is quite unusual among European languages. Ergative-absolutive alignment was also typical of pre-Indo-European languages, thus this is one of the reasons that supports the hypothesis of Basque's direct origin in those languages. Clauses in ergative languages differ when the subject of either a transitive or intransitive verb is concerned. The subject of an intransitive verb behaves like an object of a transitive verb.

The name of the language, *Euskara*, has a number of forms depending on the dialect: *euskera*, *euzkera*, *euskala*, *eskuara*, *eskuera*, *eskara*, *eskera*, *eskoara*, *euskiera*, *auskera*, *uskara*, *üskara*, *oskara*, *uskera*, *uskaa*, *üskaa*, *uska*, *üska*, *uxka* (Euskaltzaindia).

It has been assumed that the dialects of Basque, called *euskalki*, were formed depending on the division of the Basque lands between the ancient tribes, later replaced by territorial organization into ecclesiastical dioceses. Thus, four main dialects have been differentiated: “el de los aquitanos, hablado en Iparralde, el de los vascones, de Navarra, el de los várdulos, de Gipuzkoa y Araba, y el de los autrigones, de Bizkaia” (Zuazo 2007), including some minor variations. The use of dialectal forms has been in force until now, although some attempts have been made to create a unified version of the language. It was decided to standardize Basque because in many cases its diversity prevented efficient communication. Taking this into account, the first attempts included the foundation of Euskaltzaindia – The Royal Academy of the Basque Language.

The Royal Academy of the Basque Language (1919) is the official body responsible for Basque, that is the Basque language. It carries out research on the language and its object is to safeguard it; the Academy has formulated the rules for the normalisation of the language.

Euskaltzaindia enjoys full official recognition, as a Royal Academy in Spain (1976) and as a public non-profit organisation in the French Republic (1995). It has also earned broad acceptance in society at large.

As a result, Euskaltzaindia has been notably active in its prescriptive role, mainly from 1968 on, always in pursuit of the unity of the language and its modernization. (Euskaltzaindia)

During the 1950s and 1960s, Euskaltzaindia conducted several campaigns in order to re-establish the importance of the Basque language, including: “la introducción del euskera en la enseñanza de las ikastolas, el resurgir de la prensa en euskera y la alfabetización en euskera” (Gobierno Vasco). In 1968, the organization undertook the task of unifying the Basque language:

[...] se proponía basarse en los dialectos centrales y llevar a cabo un proceso gradual comenzando por los aspectos más superficiales y más fáciles de decidir para ir profundizando en temas más complejos, así se comenzaría por la ortografía, para continuar con el vocabulario y más adelante con la morfología y la sintaxis. (Gobierno Vasco)

The choice of the central dialects for the foundations of the new Basque was not accidental. It was believed that due to geographical distance from Spanish areas, some dialects were more “Basque” and less influenced by Spanish. Moreover, because they were used in the central area of the entire Basque region (*Euskal Herria*), they were considered to be bridges between the outer dialects and, thus, supposedly, understood by the entire Basque-speaking society.

Although the creation of *Batua* (standardized version) was considered crucial to guarantee language maintenance, it stirred emotions, as many thought that it was an artificial invention which could not be used for one to express oneself:

El Batua, lenguaje de coctelera, inventado con fines revolucionarios por exiliados de E.T.A., y que la Real Academia de la Lengua Vasca Euskaltzaindia trata hoy de imponer por la fuerza a todos los pueblos de la Tierra Vasca, matando al pluriforme euskara multiseccular de Euskalerría. La lengua latina, y su hija la lengua Castellana, son uniformes. El Griego Clásico no era así. El Euskara es de la misma especie que el Griego. Es CUATRIFORME. Cuatro son sus modalidades: el oriental, el Septentrional, el Central y el Occidental. Esa pluriformidad es esencial al Euskara. Para gentes de mentalidad latinizada esa pluriformidad es un inconveniente. Para nosotros es una ventaja y una riqueza. La lengua más vieja de Europa, la única que ha resistido viva desde la Prehistoria el embate de los siglos, es una lengua pluriforme. (de Latiegui, de Oñatibia 1983: 11)

Literature written in Basque emerged quite late. The Middle Ages were dominated by lyrical themes, probably songs, but they were always distributed in the oral form. The first written records date back to the mid-16th century; the first was *Linguae Vasconum Primitiae* (*Primitias de la lengua de los vascos*) written by Father Bernat Dechepare (Quesada Marco /1987/ 1992: 55).

Finally, a look into education reveals that the official status of the language in schools until 1830 remains unknown. That same year a number of decisions were made on the issue: “Se preocupó por la enseñanza de la lengua vasca a partir de 1830, se denuncia el camino errado que se sigue en el País en materia de vascuence y se propone la introducción del vascuence en la escuela, no para desterrar el aprendizaje del castellano, sino para hermanar a ambos” (Ugalde 1982: 265).

In 2002, UNESCO predicted that the Basque language, along with the other languages of Spain (apart from Catalanian), would disappear in a short period of time (Núñez Astrain /2002/ 2006: 13). Nowadays (as of July 25, 2014), *Euskara* is still qualified as an endangered language (UNESCO). Several measures have been undertaken to bring back the importance of *Euskara*. In the process of its revitalization, a crucial role has been played both by the Basque Government (especially the Department for Education, Linguistic Policy and Culture) and the Basque people. Probably without grassroots initiatives, the whole task would have ended in failure. One such socially inspired activity was the creation, in 1914, of the first Basque school, *i.e.* an *ikastola*, in which the Basque language is the main language and Spanish is taught as a foreign language.

During the Spanish Civil War and Franco's subsequent dictatorship, this form of teaching was officially forbidden. But in spite of this the language endured in the Basque Country, as the hostility of the government towards the minor languages and cultures of the Peninsula, in general, reinforced the secret teaching of Basque. Finally, between 1969 and 1976, the *ikastola* experienced its glory days. In the French Basque region the first *ikastola* was established in 1964. Many various Basque schools operated in this period, but their main problem was the lack of an official status, which meant they had no authorization to teach. As late as in 1965 the *ikastola* of Bilbao was officially approved, and to solve the problems of other schools of this type, it was decided that parishes and religious congregations would be their managing entities. Finally,

in 1980 the Basque Government and the Spanish Ministry of Education signed an agreement under which all *ikastolas* became official and equivalent to other schools.

Ikastolas from each province constitute a federation (i.e.: *Federación de Ikastolas de Vizcaya*, *Federación de Ikastolas de Álava*, *Federación de Ikastolas de Guipúzcoa*, *Federación de Ikastolas de Navarra* and *La Fédération Seaska*). All of them form the *Confederación de Ikastolas de Euskal Herria* (EHIK: *Euskal Herriko Ikastolen Konfederazioa*).

It is important to mention *Seaska*, which operates in France, where Basque is not recognized as an official language. For this reason its work is especially crucial – since the national Ministry of Education does not provide funds for *ikastolas*, they are financed by *Seaska* (27 schools, approx. 3000 students). This entity also organizes numerous events to promote the Basque language and culture, e.g.: *Herri Urrats* (typical festival), educational days, conferences, concerts, etc. (*Seaska*). In the Spanish communities of the Basque Country and Navarre, students (or their parents / legal guardians) can choose one of several different educational plans for education in Spanish or in *Euskara*. The following plans were defined in 1983: Plan “A” means teaching in Spanish while Basque is taught as a foreign language; Plan “B” involves education both in Spanish and Basque (+/- 50% of the course is in each language); Plan “D” means teaching in Basque while Spanish is treated as a foreign language; and “X” (“G” in Navarre) assumes no Basque lessons. According to data from the 2007/2008 school year, in the Basque Country alone Plan “A” was chosen by 11.6% of the students, “B” by 27.5%, “D” by 60.2% and “X” by 0.7%. In comparison, in the 2012/2013 school year, “A-X” were chosen by nearly 8% of the students from the Basque Country, “B” by 24.5% and “D” by 67.5% (Eustat). This clearly indicates that most of the students studied in Basque and that this trend is persistent.

When it comes to higher education, *Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea-Universidad del País Vasco* (the University of the Basque Country) offers studies in *Euskara* even for the most advanced learners, which means that the opportunity of studying in Basque is guaranteed in every field and every faculty. Apart from the above-mentioned university, which is public, two other private universities offer studies in *Euskara*, i.e. *Deustoko Unibertsitatea-Universidad de Deusto* and *Mondragon Unibertsitatea*.

It is possible to study Basque and in Basque due to an adequately prepared teaching staff. Although during the 1976/1977 school year only 4.7% of the teachers from the Basque Country knew *Euskara*, in 1995/1996 this number was already 67%. This spectacular progress was possible due to several teacher training programs, among which the most important was IRALE (*Irakasleak Alfabetatu eta Euskalduntzea*), which was launched in 1981 (IRALE). It is estimated that currently almost 100% of the teachers are able to work in Basque, as all of them must pass an exam in their subject in *Euskara* (*Capacitación Lingüística*), and those who started their teaching career before this requirement was implemented are close to going on retirement.

It is also important to mention other fund-raising activities that support promotion of the language and culture. Since 1980, AEK (*Alfabetatze Euskalduntze Koordinakundea*) has been organizing *Korrika* (*i.e.* Running), a race held bi-annually which does not stop even at night-time, and its participants run along the borders of the historical region of *Euskal Herria*. The race is usually scheduled to last two weeks, and runners cover approximately 2300 km. Each kilometer of the race is sponsored by one of the sponsors who donate money for the initiative (Korrika AEK).

Other events include the fete days of *ikastolas*. Every year, one of the schools from each province organizes the *ikastola* celebration. These include: the already mentioned *Herri Urrats* (always in Senpere-Saint-Pée-sur-Nivelle), *Ibiliaaldia* (in Viscay), *Araba Euskaraz* (Álava), *Kilometroak* (Gipuzkoa) and *Nafarroa Oinez* (Navarre).

Finally, it is crucial to mention *bertsolaritza*, which is traditional, improvised singing according to one of a few rhyming and melodic patterns. Singers often appear on stage in pairs and sing their verses alternately, thus creating a story, often ironic, on a topic that has been presented beforehand. Recently, this activity has become fashionable among young people, and Basque people in general perceive it as an important manifestation of their language which is inevitably connected with their own identity.

The AEK is an association that, apart from coordinating the *Korrika* project, arranges the work of the *euskaltegis*, *i.e.* language schools that teach Basque at every level and whose main aim is to prepare participants of the courses for the EGA certificate exams (*Euskararen Gaitasun*

Agiria). This diploma certifies competence and effective knowledge of Basque and is issued by the Basque Government in the autonomous community of the Basque Country, by the Government of Navarre in Navarre and by the *Office Public de la Langue Basque* in the French Basque Country. About 100 *euskaltegis* are subject to AEK in the whole *Euskal Herria*.

Another opportunity to study *Euskara*, provided by the AEK, is the *barnetegi*, *i.e.* a special “crash” course during which its participants study at least six hours a day for about two weeks. Such courses are often organized outside the cities so that no one and nothing will distract the students.

Many more institutions are trying to improve the situation of *Euskara*. One of these is *Udako Euskal Unibertsitatea* (UEU), the Basque Summer University. It is

a non-profit cultural association declared of public utility. Since it was founded in the Northern Basque Country in 1973, its principal goal has been the creation of a Basque University. UEU also has the following practical goals: To build bridges between the Basque language and the University, to bring together members of the Basque-speaking scientific and intellectual community, to produce university texts and make them available to the public. UEU has over a thousand members, organised into sections according to their areas of expertise. (UEU)

Another institution is *Labayru Ikastegia*,

El Instituto Labayru nació en 1970 y desde 1977 es una fundación cultural sin ánimo de lucro. Su finalidad principal es la investigación y difusión de todo lo relacionado con la lengua y la cultura vascas. Sus campos de actuación más importantes son: la investigación y enseñanza de la lengua y literatura vascas, los planes de normalización para el uso del *euskera*, la traducción, la recogida del patrimonio popular y la etnografía.

Es centro homologado para realizar el examen de EGA. Para profundizar en las labores mencionadas dispone de una biblioteca de temática vasca, denominada Euskal Biblioteka, que reúne unos 50.000 títulos de libros, colecciones de revistas y periódicos, y desde 1989 está declarada por el Gobierno Vasco como “Centro de riqueza bibliográfica.” (Labayru)

In 1981, HABE was established (*Helduen eta Berreuskalduntzerako Erakundea, Instituto para la Euskaldunización y Alfabetización de Adultos*. “Con su creación la enseñanza de *euskera* cobró una nueva dimensión:

la profesionalización fue en progresión, la producción de materiales aumentó, se creó un registro de todos los centros que impartían clases de euskera [...]” (HABE).

Finally, another institution should also be mentioned – HAEE-IVAP:

Herri Ardularitzaren Euskal Erakundea-El Instituto Vasco de Administración Pública. Los tres grandes ámbitos de actuación del Instituto son de capital importancia para el correcto funcionamiento de las administraciones públicas vascas. Son los siguientes: la selección y formación de sus recursos humanos, la euskaldunización del personal al servicio de las administraciones públicas, así como la traducción, interpretación, terminología y normalización del lenguaje administrativo y la investigación y la docencia sobre la Administración en general y sobre las peculiaridades de la Autonomía vasca en particular, así como la publicación tanto de libros como de revistas especializadas. (IVAP)

It has to be underlined that the mass media also plays an important role in the whole process. The EITB (*Eusko Irrati Telebista-Radiotelevisión vasca*) broadcasts programs in Basque (and in Spanish). Also, a considerable number of press publications in *Euskara* is available on the market.

The activities mentioned above have brought many positive results. Sociolinguistic studies indicate that in 1991, 24.1% of the community of the Basque Country (over 16 years of age) was bilingual (*i.e.* able to use either Basque or Spanish), 8.5% was passively bilingual and 67.4% spoke only Spanish; whereas in 2006 there was a total of 30.1% bilinguals and 18.3% passive bilinguals, and 51.5% did not know *Euskara* (Gobierno Vasco 2008: 17–19). In turn, in 2011, 32% were bilinguals, 17.4% were passive bilinguals and 50.6% knew only Spanish (Gobierno Vasco 2013: 24).

Considering the whole region of *Euskal Herria* in 2006, the following percentages of residents of each part spoke Basque: 30.1% in *Euskadi*, 22.5% in *Iparralde* and 11.1% in Navarre (Gobierno Vasco 2008: 202). For approximately 2 589 600 residents of those regions, almost 665 800 knew the Basque language, which meant that about 25% of the people of *Euskal Herria* were able to speak *Euskara*. Five years later, in 2011, out of 2 649 000 residents, 27% were bilinguals (Basque and Spanish or French), 14.7% were passive bilinguals and 58.3% were unable to communicate in Basque (Gobierno Vasco 2013: 58).

Education, in a wide sense, has contributed to the revitalization of the Basque language. This would not have been possible without the commitment of the Basque people. What is also important (despite the considerable immigration from regions where neither Spanish nor Basque are spoken), is that these immigrants are also trying to learn *Euskara*, and their achievements (especially those of school children) are significant.

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The Oldest Jamaican Creole Text: A Linguistic Analysis

ABSTRACT. The present paper analyzes the earliest known text in Jamaican Creole (Devonish 2011). The authenticity of the textual evidence is first ascertained in light of the caveats formulated by Hancock (1977) and Rickford (1986), and of the internal and external checks suggested by Rickford (1986, 1991), and Baker and Winer (1999). A detailed analysis of the text 1781 shows that it exhibits characteristics typical of, in particular, basilectal Jamaican Creole, both in its earlier stages and at present. In spite of its inconsistency and the problems this raises (see Avram 2000), the orthography of the text reflects various phonological processes that have been mentioned in the literature on Jamaican Creole (see Cassidy 1971; Akers 1981; Lalla, D'Costa 1990; Devonish, Harry 2008). Similarly, the text is illustrative of various characteristics of the morphosyntax and the lexicon of Jamaican Creole (Cassidy 1971; Patrick 2007). Also, several of the diagnostic features of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles as proposed by Baker and Huber (2001) are found in the text. These include features first recorded in this text, sometimes considerably earlier than the first attestation given in Baker and Huber (2001), or which are not attested in other early Jamaican Creole texts (*e.g.* in D'Costa, Lalla 1989), and do not figure in dictionaries such as Allsopp (1996) or Cassidy and Le Page (2009).

KEYWORDS: early Jamaican Creole, phonology, morphosyntax, lexicon, diagnostic features.

Introduction

The 568-word text (Devonish 2011) analysed in this paper is dated October 8, 1781 and was published in the Jamaican newspaper *Cornwall Chronicle*. The language of the text is Jamaican Creole, which is estimated to have already emerged by the year 1750 (Stewart 2005; Patrick 2007: 127). The *Cornwall Chronicle* was a newspaper whose readership essentially consisted of white planters and merchants. The newspaper

also had a *Supplement*, which contained letters, poems, *etc.*, which were frequently satirical. Many of the contributions to the *Supplement* were signed with pen names, such as “A Reader” or “The Printer.” The author of the above-mentioned text is unknown. The text is preceded by a letter to the printer of the *Cornwall Chronicle* and is signed “A Reader.” The author’s address is given as “Bubby Island,” which was “perhaps chosen to signal to the reader that this is a spoof” (Devonish 2011). The text is an alleged dialogue between two male slaves. Such dialogues are typical representations of creole speech in the 18th and 19th centuries (see *e.g.* Baker, Winer 1999: 104). As is well known, early records of pidgins and creoles generally pose a wide range of problems which make it necessary to resort to both external and internal checks in order to ascertain the authenticity of the textual evidence. The external checks consist of information about the authors (Rickford 1986: 160) as well as about their “experience, competence, attitudes and motivations” (Baker, Winer 1999: 105). As already mentioned, nothing is known about the author, who must have been, however, an “insider” (in the sense of Baker, Winer 1999). This is suggested by the fact that reference is made to local realia, such as the names of two parishes – St. Elizabeth and Westmoreland – both in Cornwall County, the name of the “county-town” – Savannah la Mar (see Long 1774: 182; D’Costa, Lalla 1989: xvi, map of 18th-century Jamaica), as well as to a hurricane, possibly the one which hit Jamaica in August of 1781. Therefore, it may be assumed that the author of the text had some first-hand knowledge of Jamaican Creole as well. Several internal checks are recommended in the literature. These include “contemporary source comparison” (Rickford 1991: 304), the comparison of “a newly found old text with earlier and later ones from the same territory” (Baker, Winer 1999: 105), and “feedback from current usage” (Rickford 1986: 162). Beyond these general requirements, it should be kept in mind that particular domains pose specific problems. As noted by Baker and Winer (1999: 106), “apparently bizarre lexical items and pronunciation features might be the most salient for readers,” and, by way of consequence, might figure more prominently in old pidgin and creole texts, thus distorting the general picture that emerges. Moreover, even a phonological analysis is not without problems, given the frequent use of an anglicizing orthography (Hancock 1977; Lalla 1986; Rickford 1986; Lalla, D’Costa 1990; Avram 2000). As far as morphology and syntax are

concerned, Baker and Winer (1999: 106) suggest that attempts at verifying authenticity should focus on “far less striking items – verbal particles, possessives, word order, articles, relativizers.” According to Baker and Winer (1999: 106), these “provide a more reliable guide to an author’s competence as a reporter,” because “such items are more difficult to hear [...], much less to invent.” Finally, as a useful yardstick, “the more of these that are used consistently, the more reliable the text” (Baker, Winer 1999: 106). To the extent to which this has been possible, the analysis that follows complies with these recommendations and requirements.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 1 focuses on the phonological features identified in the text. Section 2 is concerned with the morphology and syntax of the language used. The lexicon is discussed in section 3. In section 4 it is shown that a number of diagnostic features of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles are first attested in Jamaican Creole in the 1781 text. The findings are summarized in the conclusions.

The following abbreviations are used: 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person; E = English; JC = Jamaican Creole; OBL = oblique; PL = plural; POSS = possessive; SG = singular.

1. Phonology

1.1. Vowels

As noted by Lalla (1986: 122), “there is no trace of /ə/” in early JC. This is also confirmed by several forms in the text, where <a> presumably stands for [a]:

- (1) a. *clebba* ‘clever’ < E *clever*
- b. *fava* ‘favour’ < E *favour*
- c. *Gubna* ‘governor’ < E *governor*
- d. *massa* ‘master’ < E *master*

Another typical characteristic of early JC is the lack of a distinction between short and long vowels (see *e.g.* Alleyne 1980: 38; Lalla 1986: 122; Avram 2000: 6). This can be convincingly exemplified with variants of the same word:

- (2) *been* ~ *bin* < E *been*

1.2. Consonants

According to Lalla (1986: 119), the “stops /d/ and /t/ could apparently be pronounced with a flap [ɾ].” A more accurate statement would be that this phonetic realization occurs when etymological /t/ and /d/ are in intervocalic position. Consider first examples with the flap [ɾ], spelled <rr>, as a reflex of /t/:

- (3) a. *tharra* ‘that’ < E *that*
 b. *wharra* ‘what’ < E *what*

The form *tharra* in (3a) is comparable to *dari* ‘that,’ listed in Cassidy and Le Page (2009: 143, entry **DARA, DARI**). As for *wharra* (3b), “it represents the substitution of flapped *-r* for *t*” (Cassidy, Le Page 2009: 462, entry **wara**).

Next, consider an example with the flap [ɾ], spelled <r>, as a reflex of /d/:

- (4) *Gor Amity* ‘God Almighty’ < E *God Almighty*

Note that an identical form, despite the different spellings, e.g. *Gar a’mighty* / *Gar A’mighty*, is found in another source (Dallas 1803: 113 and 226, respectively) dating from before 1800, i.e. from approximately the same period.

A number of forms illustrate the substitution of stops for etymological fricatives. In the first grammar of JC, Russell (1868: 4) urges readers to “observe that in changing [...] *v* [is changed] to *b*.” The examples below illustrate the occurrence of [b], spelled or <bb>, as a reflex of /v/:

- (5) a. *berry* ‘very’ < E *very*
 b. *clebba* ‘clever’ < E *clever*
 c. *hab* ‘to have’ < E *have*
 d. *Gubna* ‘governor’ < E *governor*
 e. *lub* ‘to love’ < E *love*

The substitution of [b] for /v/ is also one of the diagnostic features of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles, i.e. “**F1** *v* → *b*” (Baker 1999: 317). The reflex of the etymological interdental voiceless fricative /θ/ is [t]:

- (6) *tink* ‘to think’ < E *think*

Similarly, the reflex of etymological /ð/ is [d]:

- (7) a. *dan* ‘than’ < E *than*
 b. *de* ‘definite article’ < E *the*
 c. *dem* ‘3PL’ < E *them*
 d. *dis* ‘this’ < E *this*

The reflexes [t] of /θ/ and [d] of /ð/ represent one of the diagnostic features of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles: “F2 #θ → t, #ð → d” (Baker 1999: 317). On the other hand, the forms in (8) and (9) appear to illustrate the occurrence of [v] and [ð], respectively:

- (8) a. *fava* ‘to favour’ < E *favour*
 b. *of* ‘of’ < E *of*
 c. *tarve* ‘to starve’ < E *starve*
 d. *victual* ‘victuals’ < E *victuals*
- (9) a. *de* ~ *the* ‘the’ < E *the*
 b. *tharra* ‘that’ < E *that*

Whether <v> / <f> and <th> represent [v] and [ð], respectively, is a moot point. These may be “errors of commission” (Lalla, D’Costa 1990: 48). They may also be “inexplicable shifts” (Lalla, D’Costa 1990: 48), *i.e.* instances of inconsistency in the transcription. Finally, the possibility that these spellings reflect variation cannot be ruled out since, as shown by Lalla (1986: 119), “extensive variation [...] does exist” in early JC.

The following forms, etymologically derived from African languages, are illustrative of the alternation [ɲ] ~ [j]:

- (10) a. *nyam* / *yam* ‘to eat’
 b. *nyanyam* ‘food’
 c. *nyanyams* ‘yam’

The occurrence of variation, *i.e.* of forms with an initial nasal vs. forms with an initial glide, is attested in several English-lexifier pidgins and creoles: see the diagnostic features 115. (*n*)*yam* ‘eat; food’ and

117. (*n*)*yams* ‘yam (SG.)’, both recorded in JC (Baker, Huber 2001: 199). The phonological status of [ɲ], however, is less simple to establish. According to Cassidy and Le Page (2009: lix–lx): “JC /ny/ [...] is common in words of African origin,” but “there is a tendency for African /ny/ to be reduced to /y/ as part of a general tendency to ‘de-nasalize’ and so de-Africanize initial pre-nasalized consonants.” Devonish and Harry (2008: 272) state that “phonetic palatals are sequences of stops and [...] semivowels,” *i.e.* /n/ + /j/. However, such analyses are problematic. First, forms with either [ɲ] or [j] are recorded equally early, *e.g.* the first attestation in JC of both *nyam* and *yam* is from 1776 (Baker 1999: 320). Thus there is no evidence that forms with [j] appear later, as part of an alleged tendency to “de-Africanize” pronunciation. Second, <ny> should best be analyzed as standing for /ɲ/, phonetically realized as a palatal nasal [ɲ], *cf. e.g.* French *igname*, Portuguese *inhame*, Spanish *ñame*. On this view, if JC <ny> stands for /ɲ/, then forms with [j] cannot be analyzed as a “reduction to /y/” and as “a tendency to ‘de-nasalize’ [...] initial pre-nasalized consonants” (Cassidy, Le Page 2009: lx), *i.e.* /ɲ/ is neither a cluster, subsequently undergoing reduction, nor a pre-nasalized consonant, subsequently undergoing denasalization.

1.3. Repair strategies

Early JC resorts to several strategies to repair syllables. One such strategy is the deletion of word-initial vowels (aphesis) and of word-initial syllables, as shown in the following examples:

- (11) a. ‘*tonish* ‘astonish’ < E *astonish*
 b. ‘*dustrious* ‘industrious’ < E *industrious*
 c. ‘*fuse* ‘refuse’ < E *refuse*
 d. ‘*pon* ‘on’ < E *upon*

Lalla (1986: 128) mentions “elision of the initial vowel.” However, from the examples she discusses, this applies to ‘*bout* ‘about’ and *cajon* ‘occasion,’ but not to ‘*tate* ‘estate,’ where both the initial vowel /ɪ/ and the consonant /s/ undergo deletion – compare with the form in (11a). The loss of word-initial vowels or syllables is not limited to early JC. As noted by Cassidy and Le Page (2009: lxiii), “aphesis and loss of preliminary unstressed syllables [...] has become a very common feature of JC.”

A strategy for the resolution of illicit /s/-initial onset clusters is the deletion of etymological /s/ (see *e.g.* Avram 1999, 2005: 46–49). This has been typical of JC throughout its recorded history. According to Cassidy (1971: 37), for instance, “at the beginning of words *s* is lost before *p*, *t*, or *k*” and “this kind of simplification must have been made from the first.” Cassidy and Le Page (2009: lxii) also write that “initial /sk/ /skr/ /sp/ /spr/ /st/ /str/ are frequently reduced by loss of /s/” and that “this appears to have been the norm in older forms of JC.” The text analyzed here contains forms with reflexes of /sp-/, /st-/ and /str-/. The deletion of /s/ in reflexes of /sp-/ is indicated by the absence of <s>:

- (12) *poil* ‘spoil’ < E *spoil*

As for the reflexes of /st-/ and /str-/, the loss of /s/ is indicated by the absence of <s> or the use of <’>:

- (13) a. *tan* ‘to stand, to stay’ < E *stand*
 b. *’tarve* ‘starve’ < E *starve*
 c. *’tonish* ‘astonish’ < E *astonish*
 d. *’tore* ‘store’ < E *store*
 e. *’trong* ‘strong’ < E *strong*

This is another diagnostic feature of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles: “F4 #sC → C” (Baker 1999: 318). The deletion of /s/ in /s/-initial onset clusters is also reported for modern Jamaican, in which it is typical of the basilectal variety (see Akers 1981: 31; Meade 1995; Avram 2000: 83–84).

Lalla (1986: 128) states with reference to early JC that “it is [...] normal for polysyllabic words to be shortened by syncope.” Syncope is illustrated by the following forms found in the text:

- (14) a. *bacra* ‘white person’
 b. *Gubna* ‘governor’ < E *governor*
 c. *Sava-lama* ‘Savanna la mar’

The form *bacra* (14a) can be compared with the earlier variants *bu-chara* 1735 and *bacceroes* 1747 (Baker 1999: 321). Note that these do not exhibit syncope. However, other forms recorded around the same date are syncopated; these include *buckra* 1775 and *bockra* 1790 (Baker 1999: 321).

In one form the illegitimate complex coda is reduced via consonant deletion:

- (15) *tan* ‘to stand, to stay’ < E stand

The form *tan* is attested throughout the history of JC (see Cassidy, Le Page 2009: 422, entry **STAND**). It illustrates a tendency in JC in which “final clusters of *consonant* + *dental* are frequently reduced by loss of the dental” (Cassidy, Le Page 2009: lxii).

Several forms show that illicit codas are also resolved by means of paragoge:

- (16) a. *yearee* ‘hear’ < E *hear*
 b. *tharra* ‘that’ < E *that*
 c. *wharra* ‘what’ < E *what*

The occurrence of paragogic vowels in early JC has been noted, of course, in the literature. Lalla (1986: 127), for instance, writes that “final vowels are regularly added in 18th and 19th century records.” On the other hand, the quality of the paragogic vowel in early JC is an issue in need of clarification. Cassidy and Le Page (2009: lxiii) state that “archaic JC tended to add /-i/ or /-a/ after a final consonant,” whereas Lalla (1986: 128) notes that “in the archaic creole preserved in texts of early Jamaican speech, some tendency towards vowel harmony can still be traced in intrusive final vowels.” In fact, as shown in Avram (2005: 186–187), early JC resorted to two strategies: vowel copying rather than vowel harmony – as in *e.g.* (16b, c), and the use of the default vowel [i] – as in (16b), where *yearee* presumably represents [jeri] (Cassidy, Le Page 2009: 488). Additional evidence for [i] as the default paragogic vowel is provided by the occurrence of variation: consider *e.g.* *dara* ~ *dari* ‘that’ (Cassidy, Le Page 2009: 143), the former – as in (16b) – with the vowel copy [a], the latter with the default vowel [i].

2. Morphology and syntax

2.1. Nouns, pronouns and pronominal adjectives

There are several instances of bare nouns, some of which are given below:

- (17) a. *I no want **victual** for nyam?*
 ‘I don’t want victuals to eat?’
 b. *Dem bin gee [...] both **nyanyam** and **money***
 ‘They gave [...] both food and money’
- (18) a. *when **belly** no full*
 ‘when the stomach is not full’
 b. *me bin ax **massa secretary***
 ‘I asked the secretary’
 c. *Commissioners read in a **book***
 ‘the commissioners read in the book’
 d. *if **book** say*
 ‘if the book says’

Although in JC bare nouns are usually [+generic], as in (17), the examples under (18) are all [+definite, +specific]. This accords with Patrick’s (2007: 142) observation that “bare nouns [...] are often generic [...], but not necessarily” (see also Patrick 2008: 637–639).

Two types of plural markers occur in the text. One of them is *-dem*:

- (19) *massa commissioners **dem** grande buckras*
 ‘the commissioners are fine white men’

According to Patrick (2007: 143, f.n. 3), “plural *-dem* is not attested before the 19th century.” Similarly, Patrick (2008: 639) state that “*-dem* [...] has only been found from the latter half of the 19th century.” These claims are thus disconfirmed by the occurrence of the plural marker *-dem* in 1781. The other plural marker attested, retained from the lexifier language, is *-s*:

- (20) a. *buckras*
 b. *commissioners*
 c. *ladies*
 d. *‘tore-keepers*
 e. *gentlemens*

Given the many basilectal features of the text, the frequent occurrence of the plural marker *-s*, particularly in the last two paragraphs, may

be an “error of commission” (see also Devonish 2011). However, this is not necessarily so since the plural marker *-s* is recorded in other early JC texts (Patrick 2007: 143). As for modern JC, both *-dem* and *-s* “are present in basilectal speech as well as mesolectal” (Patrick 2008: 639). Note also the occurrence of the redundant and hypercorrect *-s* (20e), also reported for modern basilectal JC (Cassidy 1971: 52).

Two types of structures expressing attributive possession are attested: possessor NP + possessee NP, in the examples under (21), and *for* + pronoun + possessee NP, in the examples under (22):

- (21) a. *Commissioners book*
 ‘Commissioners’ book’
 b. *bacra book*
 ‘white men’s book’

- (22) a. *for dem book*
 ‘their book’
 b. *for me name*
 ‘my name’
 c. *for me belly*
 ‘my belly’
 d. *for me doings*
 ‘my doings’
 e. *for you name*
 ‘your name’

Both patterns figure among the diagnostic features of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles: see features 59. *for* PRON NP and 213. NP1 NP2 (possessive N1’s N2) (Baker, Huber 2001: 198 and 202, respectively). These are recorded both in early JC (Baker, Huber 2001) and in the modern variety (Patrick 2007: 145, 2008: 636).

Five personal pronouns are found in the text: *me* ‘1SG’; *é* ‘3SG OBL’; *he* / *him* ‘3SG’; *oonoo* ‘2PL’; *dem* ‘3PL’. Their use is illustrated in the following examples:

- (23) a. *me been long for see you*
 ‘I longed to see you’
 b. *he no send é for me*
 ‘he did not send it for me’

- c. *him say*
'he said'
- d. *oonoo* '2PL'
How oonoo all do
'How are you'
- e. *dem is good bacra*
'they are good white persons'

As can be seen, only the form *he* is used as in the lexifier language. All of the remaining forms are diagnostic features of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles and are recorded in early JC: see features 160. *unu* (2PL), 197. *he* (3SG OBL), 200. *him* (3SG), 208. *me* (1SG), and 188. *dem* (3PL) in Baker and Huber (2001: 200–202). Moreover, they all still occur in modern JC (Patrick 2007: 146, 2008: 632).

The possessives that occur are the possessive adjective *dem* '3PL POSS' and the possessive pronoun *theirs*:

- (24) a. *dem book*
'their book'
in theirs
'in theirs'

The form *dem* is attested throughout the history of JC (see Cassidy, Le Page 2009: 147, entry **DEM** 3rd pers pron dial; for modern JC, see also Patrick 2007: 145). As for *theirs*, this is most certainly an "error of commission."

The two demonstratives attested are the demonstrative pronoun *tharra* 'that' and the demonstrative adjective *dem* 'those':

- (25) a. *full of tharra*
'full of that'
- b. *dem lady*
'those ladies'

Both forms are recorded throughout the history of JC: for *tharra*, see Cassidy and Le Page (2009: 143, entry **DARA, DARI**); for *dem*, see Cassidy and Le Page (2009: 147, entry **DEM** demonstr adj plural dial) and, for modern JC, see Patrick (2007: 143, 2008: 635).

2.2. Verbs

The equative copula is not overtly expressed:

- (26) *tharra* Ø *de reason*
 ‘that is the reason’

The Ø equative copula, a diagnostic feature of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles, is first attested in JC in 1775, see feature 247. ZERO (equative copula) (Baker, Huber 2001: 203).

The predicative copula is expressed by Ø, *bin* or non-concord *is*, as seen in the following examples:

- (27) a. *me* Ø *‘trong*
 ‘I am strong’
 b. *I bin stout*
 ‘I am stout’
 c. *I is hungry*
 ‘I am hungry’

The occurrence of the Ø (27a) and non-concord (27b) predicative copulas in early JC is paralleled by the situation in modern JC, in which “zero copula is normal before predicate adjectives [...] though non-concord *iz* [...] sometimes occurs” (Patrick 2007: 139–140). As for *bin* (27c), it seems to be rarely used in modern JC. According to Rickford (1996: 363), *bin* does not occur in the environment __Adj, whereas Rickford (1999: 149) reports that *bin* appears in the environment __Adj, but with a very low frequency.

The unmarked form of verbs is used for past reference:

- (28) a. *if Massa Gubna send ship, he no send ‘e for me*
 ‘if the Governor sent a ship, he did not send it for me’
 b. *him say*
 ‘he said’
 c. *massa commissioners no put for me name*
 ‘the commissioners did not put my name’
 d. *dem tell me*
 ‘they told me’

no one of dem da ax
 ‘not one of those who asked’

The same holds for modern JC, in which “when unmarked, the classic prediction is that they have past reference” (Patrick 2007: 129; see also Patrick 2008: 614).

The anterior or past tense marker is *been* ~ *bin*, as shown below:

- (29) a. *me been long for see you*
 ‘I longed to see you’
 b. *as if you bin yam*
 ‘as if you had eaten yam’
 c. *me bin ax massa secretary*
 ‘I asked the secretary’
 d. *I bin go to Massa Commissioners*
 ‘I went to the commissioners’

The various forms of the anterior or past tense marker are attested throughout the history of JC: see Cassidy and Le Page (2009: 38, entry **BEN**); for modern JC *ben* (and its variants), see Patrick (2007: 129, 2008: 616).

Negation is expressed by means of the invariant negator *no*. Its use is amply illustrated in the text. Here are some examples:

- (30) a. *belly no full*
 ‘the stomach is not full’
 b. *no talk dem word*
 ‘don’t say those words’
 c. *he no send ‘e for me*
 ‘he did not send it for me’
 d. *why you no tell massa commissioners*
 ‘why didn’t you tell the commissioners’
 e. *I no want victual for nyam*
 ‘I don’t want victuals to eat’
 f. *I no hab right*
 ‘I don’t have the right’
 g. *and no lub work*
 ‘and [if] I did not love work’

This is yet another of the diagnostic features of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles. Its first attestation in JC dates from 1735, see feature 215. *no* (negator) in Baker and Huber (2001: 202). Invariant *no* also occurs in modern JC (Patrick 2007: 136–137, 2008: 620).

The marker of the infinitive is *for*:

- (31) a. *Me been long for see you*
 ‘I longed to see you’
 b. *I no want victual for nyam?*
 ‘I don’t want victuals to eat?’
 c. *gee me heart burn for see dem washed away*
 ‘[it] makes me angry to see them washed away’

In JC the use of *for* as an infinitive marker is first recorded in 1735, see feature 192. *for* (infinitive) in Baker and Huber (2001: 201). It is attested throughout the history of JC, see Cassidy and Le Page (2009: 176, entry *fi*²); for modern JC, see Patrick (2007: 134, 2008: 626–627).

3. Lexicon

3.1. Words, phrases and expressions

Several lexical items found in the text are worth discussing in some detail:

- (32) a. *a* ‘at, in, into, on, to’
 b. *ax* ‘to ask’
 c. *Brae* ‘brother’
 d. *grande* ‘great, fine’
 e. *in a* ‘in’
 f. *pon* ‘on’
 g. *tharra* ‘that’
 h. *wharra* ‘what’

The preposition *a* (32a) is considered by Allsopp (1996: 2) to be “a strong basilectal particle in Anglophone crs [= Creoles].”

The form *ax* (32b), which exhibits metathesis of /s/ and /k/, is very likely of British English dialectal origin. Cassidy and Le Page (2009: xiii) state that “metathesis of /sk/ is common in /aks/,” but they also note that this form “is common in English dialects” and rightly conclude

that “there is thus no need to think of it as a Jamaicanism.” The same conclusion is reached by Lalla (1986: 128), who states that “English dialect variants [...] are sometimes preferred to standard forms, as in *ax* ‘ask.’”

The noun *Brae* (32c) is used as a term of address, as in modern JC (see Cassidy, Le Page 2009: 64, entry **BRA**).

The adjective *grande* (32d) is first attested in 1775 (Baker, Huber 2001: 201), but it is “less used today than formerly” (Cassidy, Le Page 2009: 205).

In spite of the spelling <in a>, *in a* (32e) is in fact the preposition *ina*, recorded throughout the history of JC (Cassidy, Le Page 2009: 234, entry **iina, ina**).

The form *pon* (32f), etymologically derived via aphesis from E *upon*, is recorded throughout the history of JC. Note, however, that this is its first attestation in JC, considerably earlier than 1868, the date indicated for a form *pon*, listed by Cassidy and Le Page (2009: 337, entry **pan**).

The demonstrative *tharra* (32g) is one of the “forms of *that* formerly very common, now much less so” (Cassidy, Le Page 2009: 143, entry **DARA, DARI**).

The question word *wharra* (32h) is also recorded by Russell (1868: 14): “Wara = wat or what.” Russell (1868: 14) further specifies that this form “is now clearly obsolete.” Cassidy and Le Page (2009: 462, entry **wara**) also write that this is “a word early noticed by recorders” and which is “still in use in conservative areas.” These observations on this form of the question word accord well with its occurrence in 1781.

Consider next the phrases and expressions below:

- (33) a. *for true* ‘truly’
 b. *Gor Amity in a top* ‘God Almighty in heaven’
 c. *how you do?* ‘how do you do?’

The phrase *for true* (33a) is attested throughout the history of JC, see Cassidy and Le Page (2009: 186, entry **FOR TRUE**).

The expression *Gor Amity in a top* (33b) also figures in Cassidy and Le Page (2009: 194, entry **GARAMIGHTY-IN-A-TAP**).

The use of the expression *how you do?* (33c) is first reported by Long (1774: 427): “*how you do* (for, how d’ye do?)”

3.2. African lexical items

Five lexical items etymologically derived from African languages are found in the text:

- (34) a. *bacra/buckras* ‘white person(s)’
 b. *nyam/yam* ‘to eat’
 c. *nyanyam* ‘food’
 d. *nyanyams* ‘yam’
 e. *oonoo* ‘2PL’

For *bacra/buckras* (34a), the generally accepted etymon is Efik, Ibibio *mbakara*, to which Farquharson (2011: 237–238) adds Duala *bakara*. The word is one of the diagnostic features of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles, see feature 9. *bakra* ‘European, white person’ (Baker, Huber 2001: 197).

Plausible etyma for *nyam/yam* (34b) include Fula *nyaama* ‘to eat’, Wolof *ñam* ‘taste’, and Serer-Sine *nyam* ‘to eat’ (Farquharson 2011: 305; see also Farquharson, Baker 2012: 166). On phonetic grounds, the Wolof and Serer-Sine etyma seem to be better candidates. Indeed, similar forms with no word-final vowel are found in European languages, e.g. French *igname*, Portuguese *inhame*, and Spanish *ñame*. Moreover, neither JC nor Portuguese and Spanish are known to have ever favoured deletion of word-final vowels, which raises doubts about a possible Fula etymon.

The form *nyanyam* (34c) has obtained via partial reduplication of the base *nyam* (Farquharson 2011: 306). The 1781 text contains the earliest attestation of this form. Cassidy and Le Page (2009: 321, entry **NIN-YAM**, **NYAMNYAM**) list similar forms which are recorded considerably later: *nenyam* 1912, *ninyam* 1942, *nyanyam* 1951.

Farquharson (2011: 303) suggests Akan *ànyinam* ‘a species of yam’ as the etymon of *nyanyams* (34d). However, this etymon does not account for the -s; which may reflect conflation with *nyams*, from Mende *nyamisi* ‘yam (general name)’ (see Farquharson 2011: 304).

The etymon of *oonoo* (34e) is Igbo *unu* (see e.g. Cassidy, Le Page 2009: 457; Allsopp 1996: 577; Parkvall 2000: 103; Farquharson 2011: 328; Farquharson, Baker 2012: 168). While there is unanimous agreement as to its origin, two other issues with respect to this personal pronoun are a matter of some debate in the literature. First, according to Allsopp

(1996: 577), this form “appears to have been first rooted in Bdos [= Barbados] and to have spread in its orig [= original] form via slaves transferred to Jmca [= Jamaica].” Although feature 160. *unu* (2PL) is considered by Baker and Huber (2001: 200) as unattested in Barbados, in fact, a form *woonoo* is recorded in 1905 (my corpus of Bajan, AAA). Now, the attestation in 1781 of *oonoo* in JC raises doubts about its origin in Barbados, where an equivalent form is first recorded 124 years later. Second, one of the “mysteries” discussed by Parkvall (2000: 154) is “the widespread 2pl pronoun /unu/ [...] from Igbo” since it “is not compatible with any known or reconstructed demographical dominance of [Igbo speakers] in any subsequently EC-speaking area.”

3.3. Calques from African languages

Also found in the text analyzed here is the following phrase:

(35) *heart burn* ‘to be angry’

This is included by Parkvall and Baker (2012: 239) in their list of idiomatic (potential) calques, after African languages, in the entry “**HEART** + **BURN** Anger,” with the specification “(NO SOURCE YET IDENTIFIED).”

Baker and Huber (2001: 198) and Parkvall and Baker (2001: 239) do not list JC among the Atlantic English-lexifier creoles in which *heart burn* ‘to be angry’ is recorded. Also, the phrase *heart burn* is not (apparently) found in modern JC, given that it is not listed in Cassidy and Le Page (2009). The 1781 text thus provides evidence that the phrase once occurred in JC. Note that there is independent evidence for its occurrence in early JC. Consider the following quotation from Stewart (1823: 258): “*Massa heart burn (angry)* ‘The master is angry,’” which even includes the gloss for the phrase.

3.4. African day-names

The names of the two participants in the dialogue are so-called “African day-names”:

- (36) a. *Quaco* ‘name given to a boy born on Wednesday’
 b. *Quashie* ‘name given to a boy born on Sunday’

Quaco (36a) and *Quashie* (36b) are indeed Kwa-derived day-names (see e.g. Farquharson 2011: 162, Table 7.5), and also the two most frequent male day-names in 18th-century Jamaica (Burnard 2001: 337, Table 3). However, they are not necessarily the names of the two slaves. Several arguments can be adduced in support of this claim.

It appears that Jamaican slaves did not name themselves. Burnard (2001: 328) writes that there is “no evidence that slaves named themselves, despite the retention of African names.” On the contrary, there is “direct evidence that slave owners named slaves” (Burnard 2001: 328). For instance, “John Taylor, an English migrant resident on the island in 1687/88, asserted that the white overseers were responsible for naming their slaves” (Burnard 2001: 328). Also, the diary of the Jamaican planter Thomas Thistlewood includes entries relevant to the practice of slave naming: 1756, on a newly bought male slave: “Named him Lincoln” (Hall 1989: 78); 1758: “My two new Negroes [...] The one I have named Johnie” (Hall 1989: 83); 1761: “A girl which I named Nanny” (Hall 1989: 122); 1762, on a newly bought female slave: “named her Sally” (Burnard 2004: 219).

It is known that African day-names underwent pejoration and were used generically and stereotypically (Cassidy 1971: 157–158; DeCamp 1967). For example, as shown by Cassidy (1971: 157), “in *Tom Cringle’s Log* [1833], *Quashie* simply means a peasant, but one also finds it glossed as ‘fool.’” Russell (1868: 7) also provides evidence that African day-names had already acquired a stereotypical, depreciative meaning: “Sunday— **Quashe**, [...] Cunning, Slender built”; “Wednesday— **Quaco**, [...] Bad luck, Stout lazy.” In the entry *qua(c)coo /qua(c)koo*, Allsopp (1996: 459) lists Jamaica among the Caribbean territories where it means “A rough, gullible Black man; [by extension] any Black person who accepts contemptuous treatment.” Similarly, in the entry *quashie* in Allsopp (1996: 459) Jamaica figures among the Caribbean territories where it means “A Black man who is considered to be gullible or stupid, esp such a person who is not familiar with city-life; [by extension] any Black person who is considered to be of no importance.”

The relatively early occurrence of depreciative meanings associated with the day-names *Quaco* and *Quashie* may be due to their conflation with homophonous or phonetically close common nouns (Farquharson 2011: 292): for *Quaco*, cf. Akan (Akuapem) **ɔ-kwakú** ‘a species of monkey’ and Guang (Nkonya) **okwakú**; for *Quashie*, cf. Akan (Akuapem) **ɔ-kwaseá**, (Fante) **kwasia** ‘fool, idiot, ignorant or stupid person, silly

fellow’ and **kwaseá** ‘foolishness stupidity’; Guang (Nkonya) **òkwasea** ‘idiot, fool,’ and (Gua) **kwasea** ‘a fool, a stupid or silly person’; Nzema **koasea** ‘foolish’; Gã **kwašía** ‘foolish, fool.’ According to Farquharson (2011: 292–293), this conflation may have been facilitated by the fact that “as native-speaker competence was lost in these African languages, speakers came to associate the semantics of different words with one form, even though etymologically they were distinct.”

Quaco and *Quashie* are also two of the generically and stereotypically used African day-names in drawings/paintings in e.g. early 19th-century Jamaica (see Appendix 2).

Finally, the African day-names *Quaco* and *Quashie* had a similar fate in other Caribbean territories (see Avram 2014).

In light of the above, it can be concluded that the African day-names *Quaco* and *Quashie* are used to confer an air of authenticity to the text, precisely because they were frequently used names, widely known and associated with equally widely known negative generic and stereotypical meanings.

4. First attestations in JC of diagnostic features of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles

The text analysed here is also relevant to the distribution of the diagnostic features of English-lexifier contact languages proposed by Baker and Huber (2001). Thus, 14 diagnostic features of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles are first attested in JC in this 1781 text. The first attestation of some of these is thus considerably earlier than the date indicated by Baker and Huber (2001: 197–204).

The first attestations in JC of these diagnostic features, numbered, labelled and/or defined as in Baker and Huber (2001: 197–204), are set out in Table 1. Also included is feature 68. *heart burn* ‘be angry,’ considered by Baker and Huber (2001: 198) to be unattested in JC.

Table 1. First attestations in JC of 15 diagnostic features of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles

Diagnostic feature	First attestation	Baker and Huber (2001)
22. <i>bra</i> ‘brother’	1781	1823
41. postposed <i>dem</i> (nominal plural)	1781	1877

Diagnostic feature	First attestation	Baker and Huber (2001)
43. <i>dem</i> (3PL POSS)	1781	-1833-
60. <i>for true</i> 'truly'	1781	-1790
68. <i>heart burn</i> 'be angry'	1781	n.a.
72. <i>ina, na</i> (locative preposition)	1781	-1790
117. <i>(n)yams</i> 'yam (sg.)'	1781	1868
160. <i>unu</i> (2PL)	1781	1868
173. <i>yerri</i> 'hear'	1781	-1819-
178. <i>been</i> (past/anterior)	1781	-1790
188. <i>dem</i> (3PL)	1781	-1790
197. <i>he</i> (3SG OBL)	1781	1873
213. NP1 NP2 (possessive N1'N2)	1781	1823
231. <i>suppose</i> 'if'	1781	1832
248. ZERO (predicative copula)	1781	-1796

Conclusions

The 1781 text exhibits phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical features known to have occurred in 18th-century JC, *i.e.* which are independently attested in other types of textual evidence or which are still found in the modern variety. Also, 15 morphosyntactic and lexical diagnostic features of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles are first attested in this text, including one previously believed not to be recorded in JC. However, as in many other sources documenting the earlier stages of pidgins and creoles, there are also inconsistencies. First, phonological adjustments apply selectively, even in the case of one and the same lexical item, *e.g.* *fuse* 'refuse' vs. *refused* 'refused'; *trong* vs. *strong* 'strong.' Second, the occurrence of some features is doubtful. These include the following: the third person plural possessive pronoun *theirs*; the past participles *washed away* and *refused*; the passive structure *bin refused* 'was refused'; the phrases *to de purpose* 'to the purpose' and *fair play*. Third, the language of the last two paragraphs of the text becomes, rather abruptly, considerably more acrolectal in nature, *i.e.* more anglicized. As was already mentioned, this part of the text abounds in nouns exhibiting the plural marker *-s*.

Consider also the absence of expected features, *i.e.* of features which are not reflected in the text. A case in point is illustrated by the form *can*

‘can.’ In spite of the spelling with <c>, the word-initial consonant must have been palatalized [kʲ]. Since palatalized [kʲ] is attested in 17th- and 18th-century English (Baker 1999: 318), “the rarity with which palatalized velars are represented in earlier records [of creoles] should not be taken as representative of the facts of spoken usage at the time” (Rickford 1986: 162). Consequently, the palatalization of /k/ in late 18th-century JC can be assumed by virtue of what Rickford (1986: 162) calls “feedback from current usage.”

To sum up, in spite of its inconsistencies and shortcomings, the 1781 text does indeed reflect 18th-century JC. The anonymous author of the text appears to have been rather knowledgeable about the language as spoken at the time, and has thus opened up for us a window on the linguistic past of JC.

Appendix 1. The oldest Jamaican Creole text

BUBBY ISLAND, Oct. 8, 1781.

Mr. PRINTER

Sir,

Taking a walk home last evening, I had an opportunity of hearing a dialogue between a St. Elizabeth’s and Westmoreland negro: the peculiar and uncommon attention which the one seemed to pay to what the other said, roused my curiosity. If you think it worthy of publication, please to insert it in your Cornwall Chronicle, and oblige.

A READER.

Quashie

Brae Quaco, ho you do? Me been long for see you. How oonoo all do in Westmoreland?

Quaco

Brae Quashie, I but so so, for when belly no full, no comfort for me.

Quashie

Belly no full! You ‘tonish me Quaco; you look as if you bin yam. Tan. Massa-Gubna no send down ship a Sava-lama, hab flour, beans, pease, and (yearee me good) oatmeal and, Quaco, if you yam belly full of tharra, no talk dem word, “you but so so.”

Quaco

Brae Quashie, if Massa Gubna send ship, he no send 'e for me; me bin ax massa secretary for some nyanyam, him say, massa commissioners no put for me name in a book.

Quashie

Your name in a book, Quaco! And why you no tell massa commissioners to put your name in a book?

Quaco

I bin go to Massa Commissioners, and dem tell me, I bin stout and young, I no hab right to put for me name in a book.

Quashie

I know Massa Commissioners dam well, some of dem fava book true.

Quaco

Brae Quashie, you tink Commissioners read in a book, 'cause me 'trong and young I no want victual for nyam? If so, I am sure Commissioners book, or for me belly, tell lies.

Quashie

Quaco, I tell you already Massa Commissioners fava book, if any mistake it must be in your belly, no in dem book.

Quaco

There no moe mistake in my belly than it want nyanyam when I is hungry; if book say da mistake, Massa Commissioners and Gor Amity in a top must put it to rights; for true, Brae Quashie, da no for me doings.

Quashie

Dis talk no to de purpose, you is 'trong and young, Quaco, oonoo should work and rise nyanyams for yourself, tharra the reason Massa Commissioners no put for you name in a book.

Quaco

You know, brae Quashie, me can, and do work, but hurricane 'pon hurricane 'poil all my ground, and all my work serve for no moe purpose dan gee me heart burn for see dem washed away. If me bin idle fellow and no lub work, Massa Commisssoners do right to 'fuse me; but I is not, and you know it, I must say dem no do me fair play.

Quashie

Hush! Brae Quaco, some body may hear you; massa commissioners dem grande buckras, besides you tell dem fault, but no tell dem good; me can tell many good tings dem do.

Quaco

– Wharra dem do, Brae Quashie?

Quashie

Dem bin gee a number of idle and ‘dustrious ‘tore-keepers, shop-keepers, wharf-keepers, pen-keepers, book-keepers, house-keepers, goal-keepers, and mulatto-keepers, both nyanyam and money; and what’s moe, dem hab bin ‘tentative to a heap of brown and black ladies, in a Savanna, no one of dem da ax bin refused, now as dem lady is berry tiseful members for de gentlemens, you hab no right, suppose you ‘tarve, to say, but dem is good bacra, and behave berry clebba.

Quaco

Brae Quashie, I tink you fava bacra book better than me, and as you say, Massa Commissioners do right, it must be so – But I will tell you wharra I must do – I is strong and young and, as Massa Commissioners will not put me in for dem book, I will see if dem ladies will not put me in theirs. So Brae Quashie, good bye t you.

Appendix 2. William Holland, A West India Sportsman (1807–1808)



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Accommodation of Maltese Sign Language: The Forging of an Identity

ABSTRACT. This paper overviews the particular changes that have generally taken place in the lives of the Maltese people in the last 50 years and the concomitant changes that have taken place in the language arena. The overview is used as an overlay on the way both Maltese and English have been in contact and how this impinges upon language behaviour. This creates the context for the consideration of how Maltese Sign Language is affected by the languages around it. Changes that are considered most relevant to the hearing community are also attested in the Maltese Deaf community. The views of the members of the Maltese Deaf community are presented as a backdrop for the consideration of the accommodation of Maltese Sign Language (LSM) to both Maltese and English. The study further focuses on the concrete issues of contact affecting the language behaviours of the Maltese Deaf, including the way they use Maltese Sign Language. Various contact phenomena are identified and discussed. Some of these are particular to the use of Maltese Sign Language and its use of the visual-gestural modality. These are shared by most sign languages that are in contact with other spoken and written languages. The extent to which code blending occurs is considered along with the degree of initialization in signs by different Deaf signers. The study takes account of the Maltese Deaf signers' own views on the use of these strategies and the extent to which they are conscious of what can be seen by others. Contact with other sign languages is also considered as resulting in various changes, including the possible loss of some native signs to give way to others. The question arises whether Maltese Sign Language stands a chance of survival within a society immersed in technology and in view of the minuteness of the language community and its relative isolation.

KEYWORDS: Maltese sign language, Maltese Deaf, language contact, visual-gestural modality, communication strategy.

Introduction

Malta presents two very different scenarios involving languages in contact: the scenario involving hearing individuals who communicate by using spoken and written language, *i.e.* generally Maltese and English, and the scenario involving Deaf individuals who use sign language as a part of their everyday lives along with different amounts of spoken and written Maltese and English. This, therefore, introduces a consideration of cross-modal language phenomena. Both groups can be seen to be involved in forging an identity in rather different ways.

1. The Maltese people

A number of factors have contributed to the identity of the Maltese people: the geography and size of the island (c. 392 sq. km, more or less in the middle of the Mediterranean), the relatively large population (421 364), contact with visitors speaking different Englishes – native and foreign (1.4 million a year), the extensive use of modern technology, particularly cable or satellite TV (228 880 licensed TV sets in 141 840 households), mobile telephony and IT, and the extensive use of private cars for getting around (746.4 vehicles to every 1000 persons) (NSO, Malta 2013). All of these factors are relevant to the Maltese people as bilingual speakers with different degrees of competence in the second language and to the Maltese Deaf who form a distinct linguistic community.

2. Language

2.1. Foreign language influences

Maltese, which is Semitic in origin, has always been in contact with other languages, which in turn have enriched it lexically. The main influences were Sicilian (from 1090 to 1530) and Italian (since 1530) (Mifsud 1995), which dominated the scene until World War II, and, of course, English, which took the place of Italian.

2.2. Maltese dialects

Whilst the vast majority of people speak Maltese on a daily basis, it should be noted that Maltese is not a homogeneous entity. Malta and

Gozo, in spite of their size, boast several identifiable dialects. Aquilina and Isserlin (eds.) (1981) surveyed dialects in 61 localities which were (and are) identifiable mainly based on their phonetic and phonological as well as lexical characteristics, but are also marked at different linguistic levels. Educated dialect speakers also consider themselves to be speakers of Standard Maltese. Nevertheless, it may be more accurate to state that educated dialect speakers neutralise their phonology towards that of Standard Maltese in order to not stand out in conversations with non-dialect speakers. This does not mean that dialect speakers are unwilling to identify themselves as such, but they are competent language navigators who use the appropriate variety in relation to their conversational partner in daily language contact. The adjustment of dialectal features to what is perceived to be standard features is an important form of accommodation (Borg 2011; Azzopardi-Alexander 2011). We could say that if dialects were once shunned publicly (Aquilina, Isserlin (eds.) 1981), they are now celebrated – they have started to appear in published forms. University students are also keen to research their native dialects (e.g. Farrugia 2010; Incorvaja 2007 and 2011; Said 2007).

In many ways we could say that dialects are a living testimony to the non-destructive nature of languages which are in contact in places where the language constitutes an important part of the speakers' identity and thus they survive even the homogenizing effect of the media. This pride is also fostered by non-linguistic socio-cultural forces, as seen in festivals that are organised by local councils (e.g. the Vers Agħtini festivals).

2.3. Standard Maltese

In 2005, the Il-Kunsill Nazzjonali tal-Ilsien Malti (the National Council for the Maltese Language) was set up. Maltese has asserted itself in the educational system and many creative educators have worked hard to provide resources enabling learning through Maltese in many areas of study. Terminology has been developed in Maltese for various fields, e.g. for geography (DQSE 2011). The Education Directorates have encouraged this whilst they continue to maintain the importance of promoting a good standard of spoken and written English. This assertive step is a reflection that languages in contact need not always be involved in a power struggle for survival. However, this depends very much on the human (and hence financial) resources that are made

available, since ultimately the importance of languages is connected with financial resources (Hyltenstam 1994). Many have acknowledged that both languages can and must co-exist, thus the use of either should result in actually improving both. Nevertheless, current work being done to encourage the use of Maltese has resulted from the fact that Maltese ultimately needs to work within the arena occupied by English, which is resourced internationally as a world language.

2.4. English

Maltese people under the age of 60¹ use some amount of spoken and written English along with Maltese. English is an official language – a status it shares with Maltese which replaced Italian as the national language of Malta in 1934. The fact that educational materials for most subjects at both elementary and secondary schools are in English rather than in Maltese makes it essential for all students to learn English in order to have access to education. English in Malta is a language without which little can be achieved in the educational arena as well as in employment and other areas. Both languages have a place in everyday conversations in many settings, sometimes even within the same conversation through code-switching.

The Maltese have access to many varieties of English through the various TV and radio stations. Nevertheless, Standard British English with Received Pronunciation (RP) as the spoken variety is still the target that is assumed by most within education, although it is becoming increasingly recognised that standard British English can no longer be summarised within a homogeneous RP. In fact, it is not easy to come across RP speakers even in Britain. Most educated Maltese people will consider themselves bilingual with different degrees of competence in the two languages. Ongoing work indicates five distinct groups along a continuum on the basis of (a) language competence, (b) speaker confidence and (c) phonetic and other features, as indicated in Table 1.

What is relevant here is the fact that, possibly as a result of colonialisation, English that sounds close to RP or is identifiable as not typically Maltese English is either considered unusually high-status or even acrolectal by other speakers or, alternatively, is seen as a sign of snobbery, *i.e.* an attempt to speak in an accent that is marked in deliberate contrast to the more neutral Maltese English accent. This may currently

1 Education became compulsory in 1946.

be changing the earlier perspective of the Maltese people, many of whom considered their identifiable Maltese English as a second-class variety to what was recognised as a British English accent equated with RP. There is a surfacing of a more democratic perspective that Maltese English is identifiable and that any accent used by a Maltese speaker that forces itself out of or towards either of the extreme ends of the identifiable continuum either reflects a lack of competence on the one extreme or, at the other extreme, reflects snobbery with the concomitant attempt to be dissociated from the majority of speakers.

Many native speakers of Maltese recognise Maltese English even though it is not homogeneous. In fact, it varies from what could be called a very British-based non-rhotic accent with an RP phonological system to a rhotic Maltese-based accent often considered by some as sounding like Maltese with English lexical items. One can conclude that the phonetics of Maltese English is sometimes minimally and often largely influenced by Maltese, but always recognisable (Azzopardi-Alexander, work in progress). This is the natural result of the two languages living in close proximity without their original owners (since Malta became independent 50 years ago). It is interesting that Trudgill (2006: 23) points out that “[...] the ONZE Project suggests that, in colonial situations, the development of a new unitary dialect out of a dialect mixture situation takes approximately fifty years (i.e. two generations) [...]” So perhaps it is time for Maltese English to be considered as one of the many Englishes in the world, potentially to be equated eventually with Australian English or some other prestigious English in terms of its stable, identifiable features. This claim has not, to my knowledge, yet been made, probably as a result of the post-colonialist attitude of a number of speakers who regard it as a tainted variety, seeing its origin, *i.e.* British English, as being the pure target which it does not reach. Honey (2000) considers that there are “pronunciations which are compatible with educatedness and others which are not.” Crystal (1987) estimated that only 3% of the British used RP and more spoke it as a foreign language or as a second language.

2.5. Code-switching

Almost all Maltese speakers code-switch to different extents, and most extensively when speaking Maltese to participants they are comfortable with. Code-switching also occurs in English conversations, though not

to the same extent. The way the embedded language is threaded into the conversation differs across the groups 2 to 5 as listed in Table 1.

Code-switching with English as the matrix language uses Maltese mainly (a) when it is needed to fill in a lexical gap which the speaker cannot immediately retrieve from English and (b) to add conversational flow with Maltese phrases used as expressions to start off or link a previous utterance; the code-switched components do not constitute part of the central message of the utterances “*U ejja* (Oh, come on)” and “*kont taf?* (did you know?),” and (c) with groups 4 and 5 (see Table 1) taking over the rest of the utterance or even the discourse, such that the language of the conversation can change. This usually happens when another speaker uses this language to intervene or to respond, or when someone else joins the conversation, thus triggering the change because the person is one who is normally addressed in Maltese.

Conversations that make use of Maltese as the matrix language are more likely to lead to lexical code-switching where various English nouns are used even when native Maltese nouns are available. However, some lexical items are often simply inserted into Maltese utterances on a regular basis: numbers (in counting, but also when stating someone’s ages) and dates, and technical terms even when Maltese equivalents exist. English expressions are also often inserted.

3. The Maltese Deaf Community – origins and development

I will now focus on a very small community living within the larger bilingual setting. Naturally, every Deaf community in the world can be considered to be small in relation to the wider community living within the same region or country. It is estimated that there are around 421 persons with prelingual hearing impairment in Malta. A smaller number, between 80 and 100, use some form of sign language in their everyday lives. The minuteness of the community is itself a threat to the survival of the language in theory. The members of the Maltese Deaf Community identify themselves as Deaf and as having their own language and culture.

It would be safe to say that the Deaf community emerged as a result of the introduction of deaf education after 1956. Prior to this, it is unlikely that any group of deaf people actually got together regularly, both because there was no central place or established reason for a get-together and because people did not get around easily prior to the 1950s.

Table 1. Continuum of Maltese and English Used in Malta (adapted from Azzopardi-Alexander, work in progress)

	Level of Confidence	Characteristics of variety	Use of language
Group 1	either have English as L1 (e.g. because of a non-Maltese parent) or use a non-Maltese-English (ME) accent to dissociate themselves from ME speakers	their English does not have any of the ME features at any linguistic level; they do not (cannot) or avoid speaking Maltese, occasionally adopting a non-Maltese accent	they speak English and know no Maltese OR they avoid speaking Maltese and can even sound non-Maltese when speaking Maltese
Group 2	very high level of confidence in English and in Maltese	English with few phonetic ME features in ordinary settings but still recognised as educated ME or as a geographical accent; additional features surface with various conversational partners who they would normally use Maltese with	comfortable speaking either language in most settings; comfortable with code-switching, except in very formal settings
Group 3	High confidence using either language	very marked phonetic, phonological as well as syntactic features making their ME very identifiable; their accent varies slightly across settings	comfortable using either language, though would usually opt for Maltese; heavy code-switching which decreases but is still evident, even in formal settings
Group 4	Not confident in using English, mainly because they are not confident about their level of competence; very confident using Maltese	very marked ME, very similar to that of group 3; their accent does not vary at all across settings	avoid using English unless they have no option; heavy code-switching, even in formal settings
Group 5	level of competence in English is not good	there is substantial transfer from Maltese at all levels, including lexical; their accent does not vary at all	they are comfortable using English in limited settings where it is necessary; extensive code-switching which often leads to misunderstandings

Once the educational facilities were in place, a small number of deaf children came together and started to communicate by signing, possibly in ways similar to those recorded in Nicaragua close to half a century later (Kegl 2002). The only record of this, however, is through British researchers from Bristol University who set out to collect some basic signs from several Deaf communities (Kyle 1998), including Malta.

These deaf individuals may have developed a sign language but used speech because they were immersed in a speaking world that had not yet acknowledged signing as anything other than helpful gestures. The Deaf themselves did not regard their signing as a language until after the Research Project on Maltese Sign Language started at the University of Malta in the mid-1990s. Just like their European and American counterparts, the Maltese Deaf assert themselves as linguistically and culturally distinct from the rest of the hearing population.²

Deaf communities often define themselves primarily as members of a linguistic community. They feel, with a few exceptions, most comfortable using sign language. It is a part of who they are and their link to Deaf people overseas:

[...] solidarity, based on the concept of attitudinal deafness ties a deaf community in a given country with the international or interregional deaf... (they are not just) a group of individuals that happen to use the same language. (Plaza-Pust, Morales-López (eds.) 2008: 339)

The Deaf community started to blossom when the Deaf Club was set up. This enabled Deaf persons to meet in comfort and brought about the birth of a community that hosted Deaf visitors and various important hearing personalities, such as cabinet ministers and church leaders, and where Deaf members can organize a number of events for other members and their families. The Deaf club fosters the use of sign language and enables the much-needed interaction of the Deaf community. The club is like a second home where the Deaf are masters and are the ones “in control”; “The altruism of the hearing majority toward the deaf community is a form of control based on paternalism” (Gerner de Garcia 1990: 263).

The individuals involved, of course, vary in the degree of pride in their sign language. Most of the younger members, *i.e.* those in their 40s

2 The information reported here comes mainly from responses to a questionnaire about Maltese Sign Language that included questions related to the use of LSM and attitudes to the three languages, all of which comprise a part of a current study.

or younger, have no difficulty with this identification and assert themselves with ease. This can be seen in conferences when they have access to interpreters. Older members remember the days when signing was not meant to be seen by anyone beyond their Deaf friends and when they would not feel comfortable signing in public. They have followed the lead of younger Deaf persons and sign in public, only expressing an occasional shadow of self-consciousness now and then. Yet other people still look at them. Unbeknown to Deaf people, they are often very noisy and hence draw attention to themselves. In other situations they sign-chat incessantly when others are trying to focus on a given speaker or performer. This 'visual noise' sometimes gets in the way of the hearing of those who are expected to focus on some event but are rather drawn to the animated signing or even whisper-signing³ that takes place. Sign language is the *raison d'être* of their Deaf identity above all else. The community includes deaf members whose inclusive⁴ oral education did not give them access to sign language until they moved around independently and learned it quickly at the end of their school days from the community. To these members, even more than to the others, there is the great urge to make known their new-found identity and to claim the resources they require to enable them to continue living independently and accessing full information. The higher level of the academic achievement of the under-40 group is a basic distinction when compared to the older members, some of whom are not functionally literate. These younger individuals have very advanced meta-linguistic skills and are very conscious of the need to create new signs as they extend the use of sign language in the media (where some of them are news interpreters). They also constantly need to develop new signs in the context of post-secondary education and to access information that is available primarily

3 I refer to signing intended only for one or two other persons in a context where the signer is a part of an audience, *e.g.* in a church, at a conference or in some other place, where a person is giving a presentation of some kind and where the signers have access to it through a sign language interpreter. It is different mainly in that the signing space being used is reduced and the signs are reduced in size, probably to avoid being noticed.

4 Mainstream schooling is the only available system of education for Deaf children. Some may be provided with sign language interpreters in schools if their parents request this. There is still great reluctance to do this since using sign language in education is still considered to be a sign of failure.

in spoken or written Maltese. They are interested in everything that is going on around them and hence discuss new information regularly in Maltese Sign Language (henceforth LSM).

3.1. Are Maltese deaf persons bilingual?

The majority of the Maltese Deaf are the only deaf persons in their families. There are fewer than five individuals who have Deaf parents. The Deaf parents themselves usually have hearing children. For Deaf children to be fully educated they too need to learn to read and write both in Maltese and in English. Thus the Deaf community encourages children to be trilingual but expects sign language to dominate.

There are at least three varieties of Maltese Sign Language despite the tiny community that uses the language. These are linked with the age difference which, in turn, links with other factors such as the education of the signers. The factors that are mainly responsible for some of the differences is (a) contact with other non-Maltese signers and (b) their own use of spoken and written Maltese (and English). The question of language status does not concern them. They see Maltese and English simply as belonging to the hearing world in which they also live; they are aware of the fact that they are a tiny minority within the larger hearing community.

Generally, people are very positive about Deaf signers and many express their desire to learn to sign. Naturally, few hearing individuals take on the commitment that is necessary to become fluent in sign language. However, their attitude towards it is usually helpful, if not actually directly promoting its development. Politicians across the board have been positive towards Deaf activists who have expressed themselves in public. Malta's ratification of the UNCRPD⁵ in October of 2012 gave the Deaf community hope that it would be followed by official recognition of LSM. In fact a Sign Language Bill has gone through its second reading Parliament and it is hoped that the amendments suggested by the Deaf Community will be enacted at the third reading later this summer of 2015. Contact with the European Union of the Deaf (EUD) has given the Maltese Deaf community a greater sense of identity and a feeling of solidarity with other Deaf communities, who they consider to be linguistic allies sharing their culture.

5 The United Nations Convention for the Rights of Persons with Disability.

3.2. Notions of correctness

In the Deaf community, there are frequent discussions on the various signs for a single concept. One can easily discern that some signs are not considered to be the “correct” signs, whereas others are. Various characteristics underlie this attitude. First, there is the alignment with spoken Maltese or English. Second, there is alignment with other prestigious sign languages, such as British Sign Language or American Sign Language (BSL or ASL), or even International Sign Language coupled with the desire to have a native sign develop when one does not actually exist or to change when some sign is being used that does not have desirable characteristics, *e.g.* because it is visually crude.

Many have observed similarities between signs across the sign languages used by people who have had no contact with each other.



Figure 1. LSM signs for HOUSE (DAR) and RESPECT (RISPETT)⁶

Serpell and Mbewe (1990: 283) observed that the adoption of signs by persons from different cultures depends on “cultural, practical, or artistic appeal to the deaf person concerned.” These three criteria are also involved as signs become refined by mutual agreement within groups within the Deaf community. Signs reflect the culture (*e.g.* the LSM sign for HOUSE reflects the flat roofs and RESPECT shows the traditional lifting of a man’s cap). Older Deaf persons often observe the variant signs for the same concept and remark on the cultural appropriateness of the signs, the practical aspect of producing the sign and the artistic aspect or relative elegance as opposed to the crudeness,⁷ particularly of iconic signs. Although iconicity is usually favoured, it gives way when crudeness is involved.

6 All pictures of LSM signs are taken from Azzopardi-Alexander 2003 and 2004.

7 Crudeness can be defined in this context as iconic reference to a referent, particularly to a body part or similar fields.

3.3. Home signs

Various home signs are used and can often be retained as variant forms. One Deaf person held her ear lobe as her sign for 'Friday,' which originated from the fact that meat was not eaten on Fridays and which was in contrast to the entirely unrelated sign for FRIDAY (see Figure 2). This shows that signs can be created when necessary, but a community of signers is needed to create a language.



Figure 2. LSM sign for FRIDAY (IL-ĠIMGĦA)

3.4. Intrusive borrowings

There are recognised borrowings from other Deaf persons overseas, with which individual members are in contact. These are often regarded as intrusive but may increase with the widespread use of the social media.

3.5. Motivations for language choices

Various factors motivate language choices. These include conversational partners (deaf or hearing, familiar or unfamiliar, social status of partner), the need to assert cultural identity, the purpose of the conversation (*e.g.* to make a 'political' statement, to make friends, to explain), or the presence of recording equipment.

3.5.1. Influence from the written language – fingerspelling

A closer examination of LSM shows how it responds to contact with spoken and written Maltese and English and how this affects the development of the language. One of the most direct forms of borrowing into sign language is fingerspelling, *i.e.* taking over the spelling of a referent from the written language and transferring the letters of a particular

orthography into the manual alphabet (see Figure 3). LSM use the one-handed alphabet as in ASL with added handshapes for the Maltese letters <ċ>, <ġ>, <ħ>, <ġħ> and <ż>, which it uses over and above that of the core one-handed manual alphabet originally introduced by l'Abbé de l'Épée in the 18th century. This borrowing is essential when names are first introduced into a conversation or place names are mentioned in newscasts. The fingerspelled names are usually immediately abbreviated in the newscasts to either the initial letter or to part of the full name, usually identifying consonants after the initial letter.

The Maltese Deaf subsequently take short cuts, as youngsters do in their spelling, so that the crossed letter <ħ> is not always differentiated from the uncrossed h, the dotted <ż> <ġ> and <ċ> are no longer differentiated from the undotted versions, as they spell in conversation. This borrowing is, of course, inevitable. Older Deaf persons hardly ever fingerspell.

Spelling can be very useful in educational circles when terminology is used for the first time and sometimes even beyond. It is a useful bridge as the Deaf child accommodates to literacy. In a sense we could say that fingerspelling allows borrowing from resources within sign language (since the letters are signs) to enable the child to take some short cuts or to bypass the vocal basis of literacy. Fingerspelling is also used very frequently to resolve or to avoid ambiguity where two or more referents may be associated with the sign being produced. It is a short cut in a situation when rephrasing may be too costly communication-wise as, for example, in interpreting a fast speaker in a formal situation, such as during a conference. What is interesting is that often the spelling comes from the English version rather than from the Maltese one, *e.g.* C for “club” in English rather than “klabb” in Maltese in DEAF CLUB and POLITICAL PARTY CLUB (see Figures 4 and 5). This, of course, reflects the fact that English writing may be the preferred option for various Maltese persons, though their first spoken language is Maltese.

Sometimes fingerspelled names stay on as a part of the vocabulary. There are shortened forms, *e.g.* for some local place names, such as AT for Attard, BK for Birkirkara, BZ for Balzan, B for BELT (Valletta), HL for HAL-LIJA, or BB for Blata l-Bajda. This last example is surprising since the name means ‘White Rock,’ and so it could easily be signed. When names are signed through minimal spelling, one or more of

the letters signed may sometimes be shaped into minimal movement and the result can become the sign for the place name, *e.g.* in BELT (Valletta), where the B handshape moves from the palm out downwards to the palm down (see Figure 6). So, although use is made of the letter signs, one could say that they are modified in different ways to constitute signs in their own right.

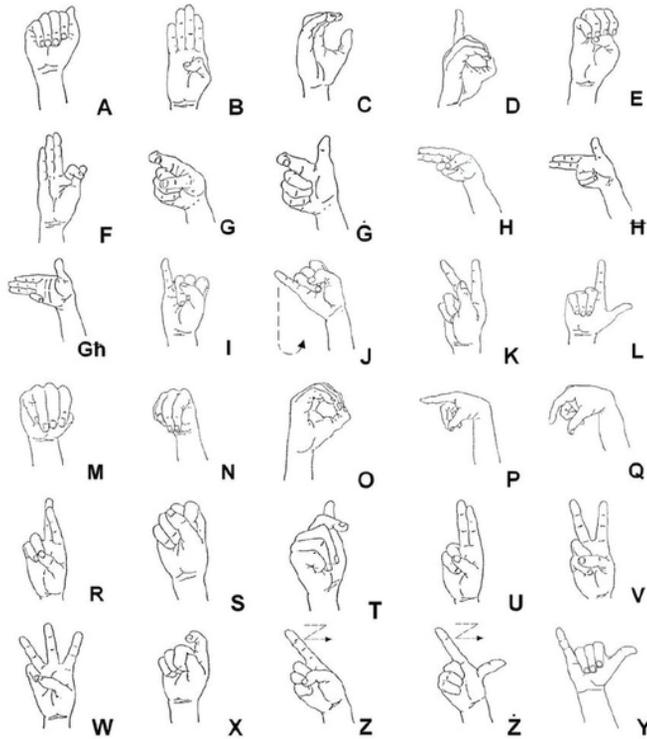


Figure 3. LSM Manual Alphabet



Figure 4. LSM sign for DEAF CLUB (DEAF KLABB)



Figure 5. LSM sign for POLITICAL PARTY CLUB (KAZIN)



Figure 6. LSM sign for VALLETTA (IL-BELT)

3.5.2. Influence from the written language – initialisation

Initialisation is the most dominant form of contact influence, or contact with the written language: the letter-sign from the manual alphabet is used for the first letter of the written word to form a new sign and this is ‘shaped’ by the orientation, location and movement from a previous sign or simply by a fresh combination of orientation, location and movements considered necessary to express the concept.

The process of ‘initialisation’ is a common way for some sign languages to ‘borrow’ a term from a surrounding spoken language. It relies on the existence of a manual alphabet, where each letter of the alphabet can be represented by a particular shape of the hand. In American Sign Language, a word can be ‘borrowed’ from English by taking a semantically similar sign and changing its handshape. For the original handshape, one substitutes the handshape that corresponds to the initial letter of the target English word. (Zeshan 2002: 155)

Initialisation is a very subtle form of borrowing and though it is visible, often Deaf persons themselves forget about the borrowed

letter-handshape originating from the written form of Maltese or English. This strategy is employed in many, if not all, sign languages:

1. One large group of signs that are often initialised are signnames, a very important part of Deaf culture and certainly very important in Maltese Deaf culture. The change is often not noticed by onlookers unless they are looking out for the identifying feature of the general characteristic, as it were. Vere (2014: 117–120) takes into consideration the signnames used by the Maltese Deaf community in her work. She lists the use of the first name initial, the name and surname initials, an initial preceding or following a descriptive sign or an initialised sign for sign names. Newer signs often make use of initialisation (see Figure 25 as opposed to Figure 24).
2. Other groups of signs with overlapping or sometimes very similar meanings are often disambiguated by means of initialisation. Thus we have the functional groups of persons represented in signs such as MEETING (Figure 7), FAMILY (Figure 8), CONFERENCE (Figure 9) or PARLIAMENT (Figure 10).



Figure 7. LSM sign for MEETING (LAQGHA)



Figure 8. LSM sign for FAMILY (FAMILJA)



Figure 9. LSM sign for CONFERENCE (KONFERENZA)



Figure 10. LSM sign for PARLIAMENT (PARLAMENT)



Figure 11. LSM sign for SYNOD (SINODU)

On the other hand, a newer sign for SYNOD is still the compound ARCHBISHOP + MEETING (Figure 11) rather than an initialised sign from that for MEETING.

An interesting aspect is that even Deaf individuals who are minimally literate use initialised signs once these are introduced. The initials are borrowed from both Maltese and English for the purposes of vocabulary extension. In fact, initialisation is just as likely to travel via English rather than Maltese spelling. Maltese Deaf persons are influenced by the English writing that abounds around them and have no problems in negotiating

around names in English spelling. In some cases the initials are identical in both the Maltese and English usages. The sign for DEAF CLUB (Figure 4) is simply a compound made up of the handshape for DEAF plus the handshape for the letter C. It just happens that the Maltese KLABB is a transliteration of the English word “club.” However, in LSM the adjective usually follows the noun, so this use of initials can be seen to transgress LSM syntax. However, POLITICAL (PARTY) CLUB (Figure 5) is signed through the compound of the handshape for the letter C plus the sign for POLITICS, thus observing Maltese syntax.

In other sign languages, initialisation has changed older signs as a result of the influence of a dominant spoken language. There is no doubt that initialisation is a very fruitful way of extending sign language, and though it is a result of the contact with the written form of the dominant language, it is a way of using the sign language parameters to form a sign that is not transparently linked to the written form. Often the origin of the initial is forgotten and new learners do not need to know the origin in order to learn and use the sign productively and spontaneously.

3.6. Influence from the spoken form

The influence of Maltese on LSM sometimes comes from the spoken form. Deaf community members often take the shape of a sign for a word that is similar in sound to the place name, as in Figures 12 to 14.



Figure 12. LSM sign for COSPICUA (BORMLA) – the compound B plus BORMA (POT)

This may have been a case of mistaken identity to start off with. However, Deaf persons are aware of the relationship between the spoken words, although it is difficult to gauge how similar they think these are. Some consider them to be identical or almost the same, and ignore the minimal pair issue. They smile at examples when pointed out as if to

caricaturize the use of language by hearing persons. We could consider this as making a virtue of necessity and as maximising on the benefits of ignoring auditory details, which is a convenient accommodation.



Figure 13. LSM sign for the placename FGURA, which is identical to that of FJURA (FLOWER)



Figure 14. LSM sign for the placename MQABBA, which is identical to that of MHABBA (LOVE)

3.7. Initials as prefixes

Many signs are made with a prefix consisting of the handshape of the initial letter of the written word. Prefixing is used in various signs, including place names. These could be considered as compound signs.

1. Qormi is signed as Q + BREAD since the town is renowned for its bakeries.
2. Marsa is signed as M + HORSE since the national racehorse track is in this town.
3. Floriana is signed as F + PLACES; the latter sign represents the granaries in Floriana.

4. Cirkewwa is signed as C + SEA since it is the point where the Gozo ferry can be boarded.



Figure 15. LSM sign for the placename ĆIRKEWWA

The purpose of the prefixed letter is to provide the semantic cue, particularly when there is a need to identify one out of a small group of very similar concepts. However, the differences are often overlooked – a fact that reflects Deaf culture, in my view. Thus the general sign used for such concepts as “manager,” “director,” or “boss” is that of HEAD (KAP). When it is necessary to specify heads such as “head teacher,” a compound is formed with HEAD (KAP) as the first component and SCHOOL (SKOLA) as the second component.

In other signs we have the compounding of a specific feature preceded by a more generic one, which functions as a prefix. Thus, for example, the first part of the compound directs the addressee to the animal group or species (Figures 16 and 19) or to some semantic feature which is then made more specific by the distinguishing characteristic (Figures 17, 18 and 20, 21, 22):



Figure 16. LSM sign for WILD ANIMAL (ANNIMAL SALVAĠĠ)



Figure 17. LSM sign for TIGER (TIGRA) – WILD ANIMAL plus STRIPES



Figure 18. LSM sign for LEOPARD – WILD ANIMAL plus SPOTS



Figure 19. LSM sign for DOG (KELB)



Figure 20. LSM sign for BOXER (BOKSER) – the signs for DOG plus STOCKY JAW



Figure 21. LSM sign for ALSATION (KELB TAL-WULF) – DOG plus WOLF



Figure 22: LSM sign for POODLE (PUDIL) – DOG plus CURLS

3.8. Independent development

LSM is a quickly developing language. It employs fruitful structural devices whenever necessary. Thus we can find:

1. The sign for “caravan” is the compound CAR + SLEEP, with no attempt to modify the first element to reflect the van’s characteristics.
2. The sign for “yacht marina” is the compound BOAT + PARK.
3. The sign for “address” is WHERE + HOUSE.
4. The sign for “local council,” a fairly new concept in Malta, is the compound GOVERNMENT + PLACE. This is because one associates local councils with the location, primarily since at the beginning of their adoption they were simply offices where one could go to for information. They quickly developed into active agents for the locality, with increasing responsibilities.
5. The sign for “farmhouse” (*razzett* in Maltese) is the compound HOUSE + ANIMAL.
6. The sign for “koala bear” is the compound TREE + HUG (as in ‘hug tree trunk’).

In these examples there is no borrowing or accommodation since the sign results from a reinterpretation at the semantic level with possible influence from other sign languages.

We see the development of signs that are formed by maximising the visual-gestural modality itself. One example – that for “South America” – shows the iconic joining of the hands at the thumbs representing the two Americas – in contrast to the sign for North America (Figure 23).



Figure 23. LSM signs for SOUTH AMERICA and NORTH AMERICA, respectively

It is interesting to note that the Maltese Deaf community uses strategies very similar to those used in ASL, BSL and Australian Sign Language, and presumably many other sign languages, in using usually three primary members of a lexical group meshed together to construct superordinate signs (see Mifsud 2010), but in reducing the signs for individual items to construct a more abstract superordinate. Thus we find signs for ‘apple,’ ‘orange’ and ‘banana’ used as the superordinate FRUIT where the movements are shortened, repetition done away with and each sign is partly merged into the other. This also occurs with other superordinates, both within the food register as well as in other registers, such as for furniture, equipment and tools.

Newer signs currently being formed often replace the older, more iconic or more phrasal signs, possibly because the phrasal signs are not very practical in real conversation. They take too long to sign and seem to interrupt the flow of the signed utterance. Often, when Deaf individuals are asked what the sign for something is, they initially either come up with a sign that transparently identifies a prominent physical feature or they come up with a definition-like sign because they cannot think of

a sign quickly enough, possibly because they have never needed to use it. Phrasal signs are unwieldy in real conversation, so when they need to be used more often they develop either by merging the parts, which is similar to what happens with the original individual items of the superordinate signs, or by creating a new sign that is entirely unrelated to the original. One such sign that I saw develop is LIBRARY, which was originally signed as a hand holding a book and placing it on a shelf (see Figure 24). This was replaced by a two-handed sign starting with L-shaped hands with the palms down touching at the ends of the L and then turning outward so that the hands touch at the knuckles and the L-shape turns like a book that is opening up. The trigger is the L for the Maltese word *librerija* (library) but it is subtly camouflaged into the structure of the sign (see Figure 25; see also Azzopardi-Alexander 2009).



Figure 24. Old LSM sign for LIBRARY



Figure 25. New LSM sign for LIBRARY

3.9. Code-blending

We can see that both Maltese and English, spoken and written, leave their marks on LSM in a way that is similar to the way Maltese is influenced by English and how English spoken by the Maltese is affected by Maltese.

One of the ways in which LSM is affected is through the modality-enabled characteristic of code-blending. A bilingual speaker can switch from one language to another inter- and intra-sententially but cannot use both languages simultaneously, precisely because of the linear nature of spoken language using the same articulators. The Deaf signer does not have to switch from sign language to a spoken modality sequentially, *i.e.* both languages can be used simultaneously since sign language makes use of the visual-gestural modality and both Maltese and English (and other spoken languages) make use of the vocal-auditory modality. However, in code-blending the sign language and the spoken language(s) that are being used simultaneously do not usually follow the same morphology or syntax. So it could be expected that one or the other grammar – or both – must accommodate each other in order to be processed simultaneously. In other words, the two blended utterances (*i.e.* occurring at the same time) need to be semantically congruent and, moreover, a certain amount of syntactic congruence is also expected.

Baker and Van den Bogaerde (2008: 7–9) consider four types of code-blending on the basis of the mothers' usage with her children and the children's own usage: (1) Code-blending when the spoken language acts as the base – the proposition is expressed entirely in the spoken words and the signs do not contribute additional meaning, (2) Code-blending when the sign language acts as the base – the proposition is expressed entirely in the signs and the spoken words do not contribute additional meaning, (3) Mixed code-blending – when the proposition is expressed by the spoken words and the signs together so that both are necessary to communicate the full proposition (with a great amount communicated by both the spoken words and the signs), and (4) Full code-blending – when the full proposition is expressed by both the spoken words and the signs, *i.e.* either of the modalities is sufficient.

Vere (2014: 67) reports:

The child aged [2;9] uses Maltese in 60% of his utterances, LSM in 47% of his utterances and English in 27% of his utterances with over a quarter (26%) of his utterances in this data collection session containing code-blends compared to 20% of his Mother's utterances and just 13% of his Father's utterances.

I would like to illustrate this with some examples from my data. Let me start with an extract from data in which there is more complete information

in the spoken version although the signed version is also complete. I will clarify this statement after my analysis is presented. The examples are given with the gloss in the first line (Gl). The gloss is the closest equivalent written word to the sign and appears in capital letters; the second line (M) shows the words that were actually spoken; the third line represents the (free) translation into English and appears in italics.

Table 2. Code-blending – Signer A, Example 1

Gl	NEG PROBLEM + BIG WHEN ONE TO ONE PROBLEMS + NOTHING
M	Jiena ma nsibx problemi kbar ...em ... ara... meta nkunu one to one problemi xejn
Tr	<i>I don't see it as a big problem hesitation ... look ... when we are one to one there are no problems</i>

Table 3. Code-blending – Signer A, Example 2

Gl	THERE + ARE GROUP + BIG CONFUSION THERE YES PROBLEM
M	Imma jekk ikun hemm hafna fi grupp – kulhadd jitkellem f'daqqa hekk iva problemi
Tr	<i>But if there are many in a group – everyone talking together – then it is a problem</i>

Though in both examples the information is given in both sign language and spoken language, there are additional conversational markers that are included in the spoken form but that have no corresponding marker in LSM. These include hesitation markers – possibly because we have not yet studied the timing of signed utterances and thus we do not know enough about this. In spoken Maltese, the Deaf informant repeats small phrases as one does in conversation. However, I would say that the syntactic and morphological structure of both spoken Maltese and LSM are perfectly acceptable within the setting of “comfortable discourse.” The informant had no problems with either language and did not need to “suppress” either since she knew the other participants were comfortable with this mode of conversation. I would say that, although the informant is a very profoundly deaf adult, she converses that resembles the way CODAs have been reported to converse, *e.g.* by Emmorey, Borenstein and Thompson (2005: 671).

At the other extreme we have a Deaf informant who does not often use spoken language unless he has to. In the excerpt analysed here, there are mouthings which could easily be considered to be those accompanying LSM. However, in some places certain words are mouthed without voice. In situations with hearing people he uses key words as an accompaniment to his speech. He reports, however, that he deliberately does not use any spoken language except in order to get his hearing son's attention. A closer study of the informant is needed to know whether he communicates as he reports: signing alone with his Deaf friends, signing and speech when he is with hearing people who may not be used to his signing, and speech with accompanying simple signs or gestures when communicating with hearing persons who do not sign. There is some mouthing (articulation without voice) of Maltese words, mainly of his son's actual name articulated simultaneously as he signs his son's sign name.

Table 4. Code-blending – Signer B, Example 1

Gl	I WHEN NIGHT MEET + (I & OTHER) SON MY WHERE BEDROOM HIS
M	<son's name> tiegħu
Tr	<i>At night when my son and I were in his bedroom</i>

Table 5. Code-blending – Signer B, Example 2

Gl	I TOLD HIM BRING SOMETHING SON-SIGN NAME BRING + BOOK
M	<son's name> book
Tr	<i>I told him to bring something – he chose to bring a book</i>

When there is no congruence between the syntax of LSM and spoken Maltese, one or the other will normally need to change. Thus either the syntax of the idiomatic Maltese utterance echoes the LSM syntax or the LSM utterance is changed. What actually happens is a little of both. What is said or mouthed without voice (depending on the signer and on the situation) is usually not in conformity with Maltese grammar but enables the Maltese listener to understand it as a sign-by-sign interpretation as it were. On the other hand, the signing is also affected, according to some Deaf informants. They feel that they simplify the signing though they cannot state exactly what kind of simplification takes place. Classifiers may not always be used in the same way as when LSM is the only

means of communication. Instead, the full sign is made. Some signs are changed to phrasal signs to add an explanation in sign. Some signers with advanced literacy skills often change the LSM syntax to correspond to that of the spoken Maltese utterances. However, these are extremes. In reality, what happens is an approximation to the other code in one or more phrases within the utterances. Deaf signers tend to follow LSM grammar, and so their spoken Maltese will change accordingly and they will not use the pronominals and other shortened forms as expected. However, usually both the spoken and signed utterances are intelligible even when they break structural rules.

In Emmorey *et al.*'s (2005) study, in conversations taking place with hearing bimodal bilinguals (CODAs), there was 95% code-blending. In the majority of these, *i.e.* 94%, there was semantic congruity. Verbs were code-blended more often than any other grammatical category, including nouns. However, the reasons for this lies partly in the fact that verbs in sign languages usually encode different information from verbs in spoken languages. Emmorey *et al.*'s data showed that when participants were in the bilingual mode (*i.e.* shared both languages with the conversational partner) their spoken English was often influenced structurally by the structure of their sign language. However, "Such speech should not be viewed as 'bad English,' but as a form of bilingual communication that is parallel to the code-mixing that occurs with unimodal bilinguals" (Emmorey *et al.* 2005: 671). One important difference between unimodal code-switching and bimodal code-blending is that the norm in the former is that the information load is distributed between the two languages, whereas in code-blending this does not usually happen: "[i]n general, code-blends are semantically equivalent in ASL and English, suggesting that code-blending is not produced in an effort to distribute distinct information across modalities" (Emmorey *et al.* 2005: 671).

3.10. Reflections on the study of contact phenomena in sign language

One must keep in mind the fact that there is no fool-proof sign language data collection method, even when the researcher attempts to be as unobtrusive as possible. This involves a camera which is prominently placed in front of the signer and cannot be hidden, as well as, in most cases, hearing intruders even if these have a very positive attitude towards signing and are considered as practically part of the Deaf

community, as in the case of interpreters. Changes in LSM syntax, for example, seem to depend on a variety of factors: (a) the signer's own competence, frequency and quantity of spoken Maltese used on a daily basis; or (b) the dynamic factors of the relationship of the signer to others involved in the interaction, including what the signer stands to gain or lose by "diluting" the signs with spoken language. The syntax may not be affected by level of formality to the same extent as code-switching is. Other factors, however, may also impinge on the signer's communication mode that can only be fathomed through broader data collection and study.

3.11. Reflections on issues relevant to languages in contact

There is a range of attitudes that marks some extreme results of languages in contact. At one end of the range are the emotional attitudes:

[l]anguage mixture has always prompted strong emotional reaction, often in the form of ridicule, passionate condemnation, or outright rejection. Language purists have proscribed it as an aberration of the "correct" language, and their attitude is reflected in a lay perception of mixed languages as deviant, corrupt, and even without status as true languages. (Winford 2003: 1)

At the other end of the range is what Winford (2003) acknowledges as "creative" with reference to the emergence of creole languages such as Gullah, which is spoken off the coast of South Carolina:

The truth, of course, is that these languages are testaments to the creativity of humans faced with the need to break down language barriers and create a common medium of communication. Far from being deviant, language mixture is a creative, rule-governed process that affects all languages in one way or another though to varying degrees. (Winford 2003: 1-2)

So the result of language contact ranges from borrowing a few items of vocabulary to the use of different word order patterns, the weaving together of morphological processes as well as the creation of entirely new languages which eventually become native languages that flourish sufficiently enough to enable their speakers to fulfill every communication task they are faced with and may themselves become the sources of contact influencing other languages. All of these could be grouped

together under the heading of “language mixture.” The attitude of the Deaf regarding the way LSM responds to Maltese and English is not a cause of concern for any of my Deaf informants.

Winford (2003: 11) points out three broad kinds of contact situation:

those involving language maintenance, those involving language shift, and those that lead to the creation of new contact languages. Many include interplay between maintenance and shift, others involve types of interaction and mutual accommodation, and others do not involve maintenance or shift ... and become “new” languages...

Borrowing varies from casual to heavy lexical borrowing, with or without re-lexification, and from slight to more or less significant incorporation of structural features as well. The borrowing of content morphemes such as nouns, verbs, *etc.*, is extremely common across languages at one time or another. Structural borrowing is more rare:

Structural diffusion often occurs where languages are spoken in close geographical proximity... In cases involving bi- or multi-lingualism within the same speech community, the results of language contact are often manifested in increasing structural convergence between the languages involved. Long-term pressure on the language of a minority group surrounded by a larger dominant group can sometimes lead to significant structural and lexical diffusion from the latter to the former. This can in turn lead to a radically altered version of the recipient language. (Winford 2003: 13)

The use of code-blending may well result in an individual’s languages changing dramatically. However, it is unlikely that LSM will change the spoken Maltese of the community of Maltese speakers. Nevertheless, it is quite possible that some users of LSM may use a variety that converges with spoken Maltese structurally when they code-blend in most or all of the contexts.

3.12. Forging of an identity

If we take into consideration Fishman’s (2012) bipolar factors in relation to cultural autonomy, *i.e.* Group vs. individual focus, Power/powerlessness, Unification/Separation, Majority/Minority, we will immediately recognise the unique situation of the Maltese Sign Language user community in terms of cultural autonomy. Their use of LSM binds them as

a community – they are a minority but they consider LSM so different from the spoken language that they do not look to the spoken language as being in competition with their sign language, *i.e.* they regard it as a means of inclusion into the speaking-hearing culture. This may change if their access to interpreters and the necessary resources for sign language maintenance becomes more limited.

Conclusions

The view taken in this paper is that the fear of unwanted change or even of extinction, which can arise from languages that are in close contact with each other, is not based on either linguistic or psycholinguistic principles. These principles show that languages can and do survive if they are required by their users and, in fact, they can flourish as a result of that contact. This is partly reflected in the works of various researchers. We find, for example:

The combination of elements of two distinct linguistic systems in bilinguals' productions have often been interpreted as an indicator of linguistic confusion without taking into consideration that bilinguals are more than two monolinguals in one person. Sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic studies coincide in the observation that the origins and functions of language mixing can change over time, *i.e.* reflect a sophisticated pooling of linguistic resources in the course of the bilingual development or serve a diversity of social functions in adult bilinguals' interactions. (Plaza-Pust, Morales-López (eds.) 2008: 234)

Just as Emmorey *et al.* (2005) stated, one needs to ask whether there is a difference in the way the two languages of both unimodal bilinguals and bimodal bilinguals are activated:

The fact that ASL signs occasionally intruded when bimodal bilinguals talked with monolingual nonsigners suggests that both languages may be always active to some extent within the bilingual brain... Anecdotally, many ASL-English bilinguals have reported to us that they sometimes produce ASL signs unintentionally while talking with nonsigners. It may be that the existence of co-speech gesture allows these intrusions to occur. In contrast, although both spoken languages may be active within the mind of a unimodal bilingual, articulatory constraints generally prevent unintentional code-switches to a language unknown to their

interlocutor. The nature of bimodal bilingualism thus provides a unique window into the bilingual mind. (Emmorey *et al.* 2005: 672)

This points to the fact that we have hardly started delving into the way the languages involved here work together both within the individual and within the community.

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An Introduction to the Sound System of Vilamovian

ABSTRACT. In this article our attention will be focused on the sound system of Vilamovian which will be subject to general description within one of the currently influential phonological theories – Government Phonology. We shall address the major aspects of the system putting forward the representation of the relevant phenomena as proposed by the framework adopted. Our study is of general introductory character, primarily because of the shortage of data. Beyond doubt, Vilamovian which is a vanishing language deserves a detailed linguistic analysis but at this stage we have to rely on the examples provided by the few works available. Thus, the issues addressed in the article will include the inventory of phonological segments present in the sound system, the major shape of the phonological domain and certain restrictions concerning the distribution of sounds therein. We will also formulate a Vilamovian-specific parameter concerning the status and licensing capacity of empty nuclei, word-final ones in particular.

The article is organized as follows. We start with a brief overview of the vocalic and consonantal inventories of Vilamovian, as described in the existing literature on the subject. Further, the most urgent phonetic problems that require investigation will be pointed out. In this part, certain parallels and differences between Vilamovian and other European languages will be indicated. Next, we shall explore the legitimate consonant clusters appearing at the edges of phonological domains and suggest a Vilamovian-specific parameter on domain structure. Also, the internal organization of Vilamovian syllabic constituents will be considered. We shall compare the results of this investigation with the corresponding aspects of the phonological systems of Polish, English or Irish. It is noteworthy that the conclusions we arrive at are regarded as an introduction to a future complex comparative study exploring the effects of language contact and establishing the major principles of inter-system relations.

KEYWORDS: Vilamovian, sounds, phonology, domain structure, parameters.

1. The sounds of Vilamovian

Vilamovian, an endangered language that dates back to the 13th century. It is spoken by no more than 50 people in Wilamowice, a small village near Bielsko-Biała in the south of Poland. The average age of native speakers is 84, which means that Vilamovian is on the verge of extinction. Being a member of the west Germanic family, the language has been influenced by German, Dutch, English or Polish. The available descriptions of the language's phonetics were produced in the first half of the 20th century in the works of Kleczkowski (1920, 1921). Noticeably, they are general and descriptive. Beyond doubt, further enhanced investigations into the structure of the sound system of the language are necessary. As no phonological analysis of Vilamovian has yet been provided, this module of its grammatical system calls for in-depth studies. This article, therefore, is meant to introduce the selected aspects of Vilamovian phonology pertaining to the organization of phonological domains allowed in the system of the language. The theoretical model applied will be that of Government Phonology (henceforth GP) as defined in Kaye, Lowenstamm and Vergnaud 1985, 1990 (henceforth KLV) and Harris 1994.

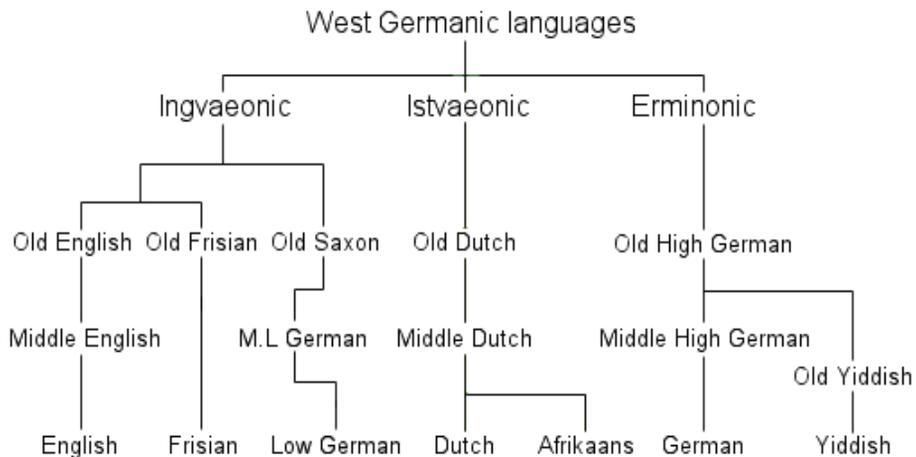


Figure 1. The West Germanic family of languages. Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:West_Germanic_languages_%28simplified%29.png [ED 15.04.2015]

The historical classification of Vilamovian proposed in Ritchie (2012: 2, 7) places the language in the West-Germanic family, in its Erminonic subgroup, together with Standard German and Yiddish. Other theories situate it within the Ingvaeonic branch, also known as Anglo-Frisian, together with Low German, Frisian and English. Yet other researches argue that Vilamovian should be grouped together with Dutch in the Ist-vaemonic branch.

Ritchie (2012: 68) proposes a contrastive analysis which highlights the Middle German features of the Vilamovian phonology. As far as the phonetics of Vilamovian is concerned, no spectrographic analysis of the Vilamovian sounds has ever been produced. The only work dealing with the phonetic aspect of the language is Kleczkowski (1920) which for obvious reasons does not contain any acoustic details of sound production, whereas the articulatory description is imprecise and based on the author's subjective perceptions of sounds. The exploration of the available sources (*i.e.* Kleczkowski 1920, Wicherkiewicz 2003, Ritchie 2012, Lasatowicz 1992) reveals that Vilamovian contains 26 (or 27) consonants, 9 monophthongs /i i̯ ɤ e ø a ɑ ɔ u/ and six diphthongs /ə yø eɪ øə aɪ ɔɤ/ (Ritchie 2012: 34).¹ Table 1 depicts the vocalic expressions along with their corresponding orthographic symbols, as proposed by Ritchie (2012: 34).

Table 1. Vilamovian vowels (Ritchie 2012: 34)

Sound	Spelling (Król 2011)	Sound (IPA)	Spelling (Król 2011)
i	i	iə	jy
ɨ	y	yø	iö
ɤ	ü	eɪ	ej
e	e	øə	öe
ø	ö	aɪ	āj
a	ā	ɔɤ	oü
ɑ	ɑ		
ɔ	o		
u	u		

1 All the examples used in the article come from the sources indicated as well as from http://inne-jezyki.amu.edu.pl/Frontend/Content/About/Wilamowski-monoftongi_PL.pdf

Importantly, melodic contrasts between vowels are basically based on the distinctions of quality. Vilamovian monophthongs correspond to short vowels in the related languages. The insignificance of segmental length can be a consequence of Vilamovian long-lasting contacts with Polish. Nevertheless, Wicherkiewicz and Zieniukowa (2001: 499–500) list both long and short vocalic expressions as members of the system of the language.

Table 2. Vilamovian vowels (Wicherkiewicz, Zieniukowa 2001)

Vowels		Examples	
a	short back	<i>hac</i>	heart
a	long back	<i>naacht</i>	night
a	front	<i>koma</i>	(they) came
e	open	<i>besser</i>	better
e	short close	<i>fretak</i>	Friday
e	long close	<i>eer</i>	honour
e	central neutral schwa	<i>woser</i>	water
i	short	<i>nist</i>	nist
i	long	<i>kii</i>	cows
y		<i>bysła</i>	a bit
o		<i>rot</i>	red
u	short	<i>muter</i>	mother
u	long	<i>kuu</i>	cow
ø	short	<i>štøk</i>	strong
ø	long	<i>zøøt</i>	(he) said
ü	short front	<i>fünf</i>	five
ü	long front	<i>štüürw</i>	(he) died
ü	back	<i>štükla</i>	a bit

Also, a vocalic inventory containing length distinctions is proposed in Wicherkiewicz (2003) and is based on the investigation of Biesik's poems.² More precisely, Biesik's Manuscript comprises the following vocalic monophthongs of Vilamovian: /ɑ, ɑ:, a, ε, e, e:, ə, i, i:, ĩ, ɔ, u, u:, ø, ø:, y, y:/.

2 Florian Biesik is the most famous Vilamovian poet and author of many works in this language, of which the longest one is *Of jer welt*.

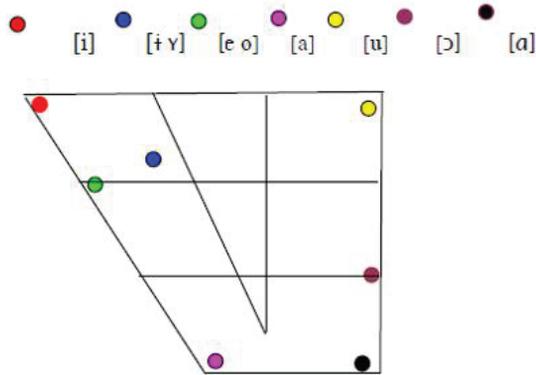


Figure 2a. Vilamovian (based on Ritchie 2012)

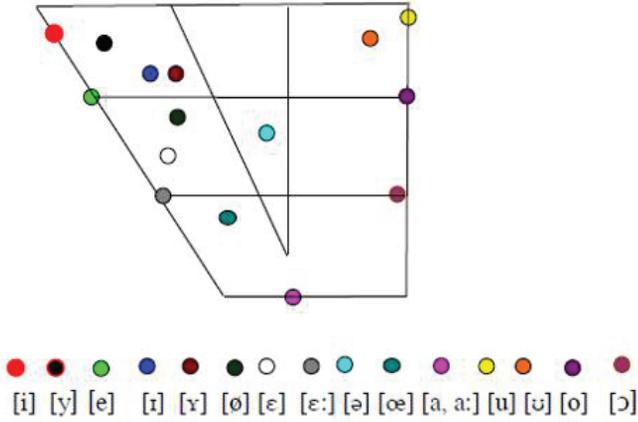


Figure 2b. German (based on Kohler 1999: 87)

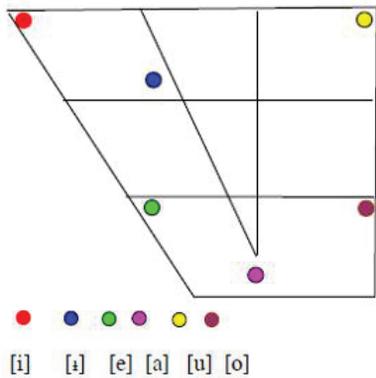


Figure 2c. Polish (based on Jassem 2003: 105)

The observable lack of consistency in the treatment of vocalic length clearly indicates that a thorough acoustic spectral analysis of the Vilamovian vowels is needed. By way of comparison, the Vilamovian monophthongs can be placed on the Cardinal Vowel Diagram next to those of Polish and German (Ritchie 2012; Kohler 1999: 87; Jassem 2003: 105).

As can be seen, Vilamovian possesses front rounded vowels, which is a typical feature of the Germanic languages, unlike Polish that belongs to a different family.

As for consonants, Wicherkiewicz (2003: 408–409) enumerates the following consonantal phonemes of Vilamovian, which is also based on the examination of Biesik's Manuscript:

/b/	besser	'better'
/ç/	dóch	'through'
/d/	dót	'there'
/dz/		
/dʒ/		
/dz̥/		
/f/	flász	'meat'
/g/	ganc	'entire'
/h/	haus	'house'
/k/	krik	'war'
/ʎ/	śtykla	'little piece'
/m/	myj	'more'
/n/	nąma	'name'
/ŋ/	trynkia	'drink'
/p/	kłap	'man'
/pf/		
/r/	rót	'red'
/s/	wąsser	'water'
/ʃ/, /ɛ/	ślách, szlách	'bad' (used interchangeably)
/t/	tächter	'daughter'
/ts/	cájt	'time'
/tʃ/, /tɛ/	dójcz, dójć	'German' (used interchangeably)
/v/	wąsser	'water'
/x/	nacht	'night'
/z/	zjér	'very'
/ʒ/	-że	particle
/z̥/		

It is noteworthy that the available sources describing the consonants of Vilamovian such as Lasatowicz (1992), Kleczkowski (1920) as well as those encoding them orthographically, *i.e.* Biesik's poems are not unanimous as to the exact number and quality of the existing consonantal segments. More specifically, the former two sources do not make any mention of the doubled consonants used in Biesik's poems. The influence of High German spelling might suggest that the doubled symbols represent consonantal geminates. Such an intuition seems to be supported by the contemporary manifestations of the spelling in the form of prolonged pronunciation of *e.g.* ff, kk, łł, mm, nn, pp, ss, tt in words such as *kenna*, *besser*, *byssa*, *ceryssa*, *fjetta*, *cyttyn*, *rytta*. Moreover, as remarked by Wicherkiewicz (2003: 407), Biesik does not use affricates indicated by Lasatowicz, namely: [pf], [dz], [dʒ] or [dʒ].

For the sake of the phonological analysis to follow, we shall recognize the following facts about the sound system of Vilamovian:

1. The availability of long vs. short vocalic expressions testified by the presence of short monophthongs and diphthongal expressions.
2. The presence of single vs. long consonants (singleton as opposed to geminated consonants).

In what follows, the most important tenets of the model of Government Phonology will be delineated in order to establish the principles governing the structure of Vilamovian domains and syllabic constituents as well as its crucial systemic parameters.

2. Domain structure in Government Phonology

The theory of phonological government (*GP*) proposed by Kaye, Lowenstamm and Vergnaud (1985, 1990), and further refined in the works of Kaye (1990), Charette (1990, 1991), Gussmann (2002) or Harris (1994), perceives phonology as a principle-regulated domain whose structure and functioning hinges on the establishment of a series of licensing and governing relations between representational components. The mechanism of licensing is considered the fundamental force driving the organization of the phonological representation. In particular, the theory predicts that phonological positions enter into licensing relations in terms of which the syllabic constituents are created. A stronger form of licensing is that of phonological government, also central to the framework, which,

similar to licensing, is a binary asymmetric relation contracted by two positions: a governor and governee. It is noteworthy that *GP* recognizes the validity of the *Binarity Theorem* which requires that all phonological relations and constituents be maximally binary.

Charette (1991: 11) maintains that the lexical representation of a word, which is a non-linear multi-tiered structure, comprises the melodic level of segments sequentially arranged, a linear sequence of skeletal points at the skeletal level and the constituent level with a linear sequence of onset-rhyme constituents. Nuclear positions with their melodic material are lexically associated with a constituent nucleus. Furthermore, the skeletal points along with their melodies are projected onto constituents in terms of governing relations they contract with each other. Two skeletal positions can enter into a governing relation when the following formal conditions are fulfilled (KLV 1990):

(1) a. *The Strict Adjacency Condition*

The governor must be adjacent to the governee at the P^0 projection, *i.e.* the projection containing every skeletal point.

b. *The Strict Directionality Condition*

Directionality of government at the skeletal level is universal and not subject to parametric variation:

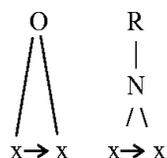
1. Constituent government is head-initial.
2. Interconstituent government is head-final.

The operation of both constituent and interconstituent government leads to the establishment of binary syllabic constituents and provides the link between constituents. The available constituents recognized by the theory are depicted in (2) below:

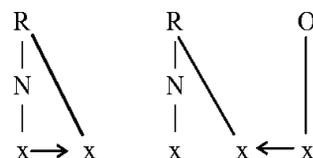
(2) a. *Non-branching*



b. *Branching*



c. *Interconstituent government*

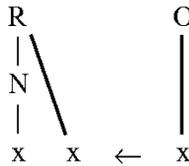


As indicated in (2b) above, the leftmost underlined positions perform the function of governors within the branching constituents. In (2c), on the other hand, the direction of government is from right to left as the relation of government binds the two adjacent constituent points. The presence of branching constituents in a given system is parametrically conditioned. Also notice the absence of the coda as an independent phonological constituent.

Furthermore, it has to be remarked that *GP* requires that each onset be universally licensed by the following nucleus, be it melodically-empty or not. This proviso takes on the form of the *Onset Licensing Principle* whose application binds constituent heads at the relevant level of licensers' projection. This principle guarantees that all words universally end with a nucleus whose melodic manifestation is subject to parametric variation. Though not immediately relevant for the discussion of government conditions, this principle combines in a sense with the *Coda Licensing Principle* (see (2c) above), establishing a governing relation between the onset and the preceding rhymal complement position, in securing the licensing connections between adjacent constituents within a phonological representation.

(3) *Coda Licensing Principle* (Kaye 1990: 311)

A post-nuclear rhymal point must be licensed by the following onset.



Government Phonology recognizes the existence of empty positions in the phonological representation of words.³ These are skeletal timing slots devoid of melodic content. We can attest both empty nuclear and non-nuclear positions. Their presence and phonetic manifestation is regulated by the *Empty Category Principle*:

3 The idea that empty positions can occur in the lexical structure goes back to Anderson (1982).

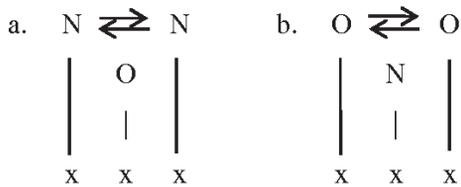
- (4) *Empty Category Principle* (KLV 1990: 219)
 A position may be uninterpreted phonetically if
- a. it is properly governed,
 - b. it is parametrically licensed.

The first condition enabling the silent presence of an empty position is connected with the operation of *Proper Government* which is regarded as a stronger form of government. The definition of this mechanism is provided in (5) below:

- (5) *Proper Government* (Charette 1990: 236)
 A properly governs B if
- a. A governs B (A and B are adjacent on the nuclear projection),
 - b. A is not licensed,
 - c. no governing domain intervenes between A and B.

The formulation of proper government assumes the existence of projection licensing which can be understood as a form of relation holding between constituent heads at higher levels of the phonological hierarchy. In particular, both internuclear and interonset projection government is possible:

- (6) *Projection Government*



Returning to the definition supplied in (4) above, it has to be noted that also a parametrically licensed empty nucleus cannot function as a proper governor of another empty position. This restriction reveals the existence of a parameter whose different implementation in particular languages divides them into exclusively vowel-final and possibly consonant-final ones.

- (7) *Final Empty Nucleus Parameter*: ON/OFF

Thus, in systems where this parameter is set at the ON version, words may finish with a consonant (*e.g.* German, or Irish), whereas otherwise, with the OFF position being active, all lexical items end obligatorily with realized vowels (*e.g.* Italian).

3. Vilamovian-specific principles of domain structure

In what follows we shall apply the principles outlined above in the analysis of the domain and constituent structure of Vilamovian words. As observed above, phonological domains constitute sequences of onsets and rhymes headed by nuclei. Each domain starts with an onset constituent whose skeletal point may be occupied by a melody or remain empty. In the former case, we should find consonant-initial words, whereas in the latter vowel-initial items. The existence of such Vilamovian words as *rót* ‘red’ or *tachter* ‘daughter’ clearly indicates that the language’s domains can start with a realized onset constituent. On the other hand, items such as *eer* ‘honour,’ *an* ‘and,’ *Esterrajch* ‘Austria’ or *ysst* ‘you’ prove that the domain-initial onset position can remain empty.

When we consider the right-hand edge of the Vilamovian domains, we attest both vowel-terminating and consonant-ending words. The examples illustrating the respective situations are listed in (8) below (Wicherkiewicz 2003).

(8) a. <i>final consonant</i>		b. <i>final vowel</i>	
ych	‘I’	zaa	‘see’
mjer	‘sea’	welta	‘worlds’
auch	‘also’	blimła	‘flowers’

Since all domains universally finish with a nucleus, the availability of consonant-final words indicates that Vilamovian selects the ON option of the *Final Nucleus Parameter*. This, in turn, means that the final nucleus is parametrically licensed and may remain unrealized. However, the emptiness of the final nucleus does not cause any reduction of the preceding consonant, which proves that final empty nuclei in Vilamovian are legitimate licensors, capable of supporting their onset licensees. The structures in (9) depict two illustrative cases of consonant-final and vowel-final domains.

(9) a. *Göt* ‘God’

$O_1 \leftarrow N_1$	$O_2 \leftarrow N_2$		
x	x	x	x
g	∅	t	

b. *ana* ‘and’

$O_1 \leftarrow N_1$	$O_2 \leftarrow N_2$		
x	x	x	x
a	n	a	

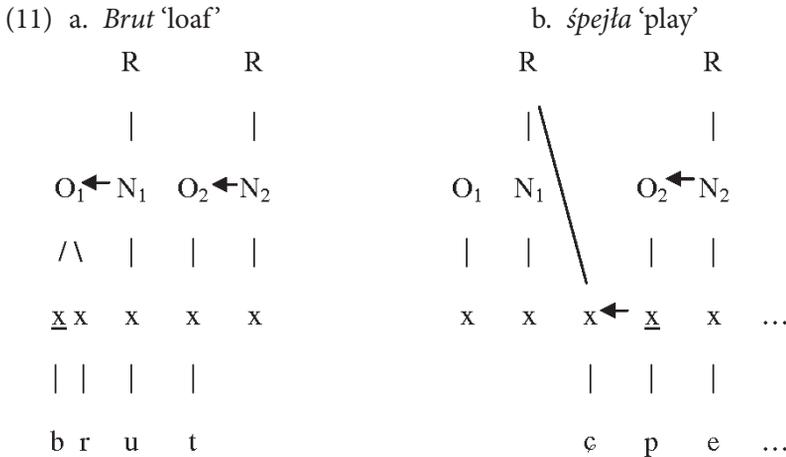
Let us now examine the types of constituent structures allowed by the system of Vilamovian. To establish the existing constituent parameters, we need to explore both vowel sequences and consonant clusters appearing within lexical items. Starting with possible onset structures, we need to observe that word-initially, we attest such clusters as:

- (10) a. [tr] *tragedyj* ‘tragedy’
 [fl] *Flora* ‘Florian’
 [fr] *frajyn* ‘enjoy’
 [pr] *prydikštül* ‘pulpit’
 [bw] *błütöm* ‘anemia’
 [br] *brut* ‘loaf’
 [kr] *kraowaol* ‘brawl’
 [kw] *kwyngia* ‘to ring’
 [gr] *grunca* ‘to grunt’
 [dr] *dröt* ‘wire’
- b. [ɛt] *štarwa* ‘died’
 [ɛp] *špejła* ‘play’

Interestingly, our introductory investigation of the word-beginning clusters reveals that the allowed sequences are composed of either an obstruent + liquid or ϵ/f + obstruent/sonorant segments. We have noticed the absence of sonorant + obstruent strings in this context. If that is the case, it can be inferred that Vilamovian allows branching onsets in which the leftmost segment represents the stronger melodic unit. This is in accordance with the basic assumption of the model concerning the universal condition on onset structure which should

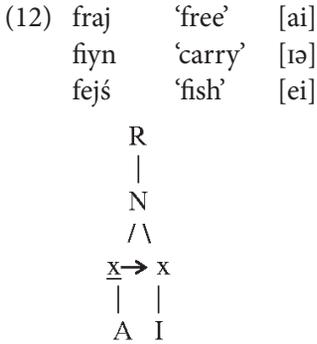
constitute a head-initial phonotactic domain. Since sonorants are melodically weaker, they cannot appear as the leftmost member of the branching onset structure. The examples listed in (10b) may not form branching onsets but have to be represented as rhymal complement-onset domains where the obstruent is the governor. Consider the structures in (11) depicting the corresponding consonant configurations in (a) and (b) respectively.

The organization of consonantal segments in the way depicted above is in accordance with the universally imposed sonority sequencing principle which requires that the sonority should decrease away from the nucleus if the consonants belonging to the cluster are to be assigned to the same syllable. This is observed in the case of [br] but violated in the case of [ɛp]. In consequence, the former can be the onset of the same vowel but the latter cluster is split between two different syllables. The structures presented in (11) demonstrate an important property of nuclei in Vilamovian. Namely, they can perform the function of both direct and indirect government-licensors for the preceding governing domains, which in order to be contracted, have to be authorized by the following nuclei.



As for nuclei, we can easily observe that both non-branching and branching constituent structures are allowed by the system of Vilamovian. This follows from the presence of long vowels and diphthongs within this language. Note the existence of such oppositions as *blach* ‘tin plate’ vs. *blaach* ‘pale’ where the distinction between a short

vs. long vowel determines the difference in meaning. Importantly, both diphthongs and long vowels have to be represented by means of two skeletal positions subsumed under a single nuclear constituent, as in (12) below:



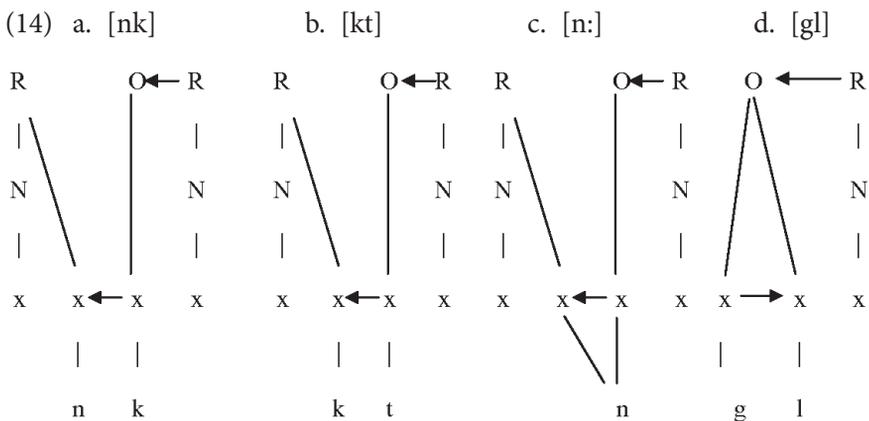
Let us now turn to the right edge of the Vilamovian word and examine the types of clusters attested there. The examples illustrating the range of observable consonant configurations are listed in (13).

- (13) a. künfald 'cornfield' b. ungyštykt 'awkward' c. byks 'rifle'
 baonk 'bench' ufgyrekt 'excite' waoks 'wax'
 łajcht 'easy' nött 'note' šnops 'vodka'
 bymölt 'painted' gronn '-bone' öks 'ox'
 małp 'monkey' špektaokl 'presentation'
 agl 'leech'
 ejggl 'hedgehog'
 engl 'angel'

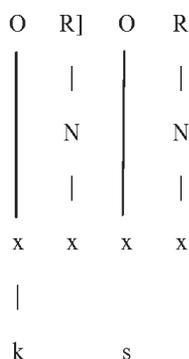
The examples in (13a) demonstrate the presence of word-final rhymal complement-onset sequences composed of the sonorant/fricative and obstruent consonants. The latter function here as governors. The final empty nucleus directly government-licenses the preceding governing domain. As indicated by some of the words in (13b), e.g. *ungyštykt*, the rhymal complement position can also be occupied by a velar plosive which, being melodically weaker than the alveolar one, can be placed here in the position of the governee. Additionally, relying on Besik's poems containing doubled letters for long consonants, we can assert that Vilamovian possesses geminate structures which within the current

model of phonological representation can be represented as either rhymal complement-onset domains, where two adjacent positions are linked to a single melody, or a sequence of onsets points separated by an empty nucleus, also linked to a single consonantal melody. Because of the scarcity of evidence on the vowel-zero alternations in Vilamovian, we stipulate that the former structural possibility is exploited by the system of the language. In such a case, Vilamovian will use the same geminate structure as Munster Irish (Cyran 1994). In either type of representation, however, the final empty nucleus will have to license the preceding governing domain, which, when employing the rhymal-complement-onset structure, takes place directly. Further, items such as *engl* ‘angel’ reveal that Vilamovian words may terminate in a branching onset domain since they are composed of a plosive and liquid. Also in this case, the final empty nucleus will exercise its government-licensing power, thus authorizing the preceding domain. Yet, its government-licensing will be discharged indirectly.

Words in (13c) represent a very interesting case because they finish with a so-called appendix, similar to the English items such as *box*, *coax*, *wax*. As proposed in Harris (1994), the plosive in that sequence will be associated with an onset position followed by an empty nucleus, whereas [s] is integrated in the phonological structure at some higher level of hierarchy, possibly at the word level. All the above-mentioned structural configurations are depicted in (14) a, b, c, d and e respectively.



e. [ks]



4. A typological perspective

In what follows, we would like to compare the Vilamovian-specific principles and parameters with those of the languages it has been in contact with as well as other endangered languages such as Irish.

Starting with the onset parameters, Vilamovian possesses both branching and non-branching structures in which it is similar to English, Irish, Polish and German. However, the distribution of branching onsets within phonological domains is different for all these systems. In Vilamovian, such structures can be found both word-initially, medially and finally. In Polish, by comparison, a similar distribution can be observed. Yet, Irish differs from both Vilamovian and Polish as no final branching onsets are allowed. The same distinction can be observed between Vilamovian and English. The system of English separates the final obstruent-sonorant sequences with some vocalic position. In fact German resembles Polish and English in this respect.

As for rhyme structures, we have seen that Vilamovian tolerates both branching and non-branching nuclei in which it is similar to English, German and Irish but different from Polish which lacks long vowels or diphthongs. Vilamovian rhymes may branch and the allowed rhymal complement-onset clusters contain either sonorant + obstruent sequences or geminated consonants. The former cluster type can also be found in Polish, English, Irish and German. However, geminates are allowed only in Irish, Polish and German. Yet, in German and Polish they are represented as interonset relations, similar to Connemara Irish. English

disallows geminates, but Vilamovian is similar to Munster Irish where geminates are also represented as rhymal complement-onset domains.

A significant aspect of Vilamovian phonology are the government-licensing properties of empty nuclei. Final empty nuclear positions are both direct and indirect government licensers. In this respect Vilamovian behaves just like Polish and Connemara Irish but differently than English in which no word-final branching onsets are observed. Realized nuclei exhibit the same properties in the languages in question. They can government-license both directly and indirectly.

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Amerindian–Maroon Interactions in Suriname and the Linguistic Consequences¹

ABSTRACT. This work serves as an introduction to language contact between Amerindians and Maroons in the South American country of Suriname. By examining the social setting in a historical perspective and their differential linguistic reflexes, we can see clearly that such settings serve as crucial constraints in determining the outcomes of contact induced language change. Four broad socio-historical settings along with associated linguistic consequences are discussed. The earliest Surinamese Maroons, for which we have records, appear not to have promulgated any Creole language, rather they assimilated culturally and linguistically to the Amerindian groups they encountered. Other, slightly later, early Maroons intermarried with Amerindian women, thereby adopting established material culture and techniques for surviving in the local environment. As they took over things and tactics for which they had no words, the Maroons borrowed Amerindian words and incorporated them into their incipient languages. The development of an intense trade relationship between the Ndyuka and their upriver Amerindian neighbors in the mid-18th century, combined with the lack of a functional interlanguage, led to the most extreme linguistic effect – the development of Ndyuka-Trio Pidgin. From the 1960s, however, the pidgin has ceased to be used due to a decline in the intensity of direct trade between the groups. Today, on the Tapanahony River, Ndyuka seems to be the socially dominant code, with Amerindians (Wayana and Trio) learning the language with near perfection for their interactions with Maroons.

KEYWORDS: Maroon Creole, language contact, Wayana, Trio, Sranan, Ndyuka-Trio Pidgin.

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Introduction

This contribution focuses on contact among a small subset of peoples in the South American country of Suriname – Amerindians and Maroons. Conveniently, the history of Suriname, since its beginning as an English plantation colony in 1651, is relatively well documented and at least some of the Amerindian and Maroon languages have been the subjects of in-depth study by linguists. This allows for observation of differential types of contact induced language changes, which can be correlated to stages of development in the group level relations among Amerindians and Maroons.

It is widely accepted that social circumstances of interacting groups within a multilingual context have an influence on the actual impact the linguistic systems have on each other. The determining role of socio-cultural circumstances in contact-induced language change has been recognized since the inception of Contact Linguistics as a discipline in the 19th century and continues to be a central component in various frameworks for the study of language contact. It is useful, therefore, to examine case studies of language contact where information about the socio-cultural context in which the contact occurs can be correlated with the outcomes of contact induced language change.

In the remainder of this paper, I will briefly introduce Suriname and its Amerindian and Maroon Populations. I will then discuss relations among a subset of these groups throughout different time periods and the linguistic consequences that can be attributed to them.

Amerindians and Maroons in Suriname

Details of pre-Columbian Amerindian civilizations in the Guianas are not well understood. Archaeological evidence suggests that Arawakan groups had been engaging in subsistence agriculture at least a millennium before the Spanish began exploring the area (Jansen 1980). At the time of the Spanish arrival to the Guianas, other Cariban groups had apparently recently arrived, hostilely taking over others' territory and resources (Boven, Morroy 2000: 377). Early attempts by the Spanish to settle the Guianas, *e.g.* Cayenne in 1568, were met with hostilities and obstructed by Cariban groups. Subsequent attempts made by the Dutch,

English, and French were also thwarted by Amerindians (Buddingh 1995: 10; Carlin, Boven 2002: 16–19).

Soon after, however, it became clear to some Amerindians that, unlike the Spanish, non-Spaniards were primarily interested in trade rather than the spread of religion and subjugation of natives. In the ensuing commercial relationship, Amerindians provided goods such as wood, hammocks, wax, balsam, spices, and slaves in exchange for firearms, cloth, machetes, knives, fishhooks, combs, and mirrors (Nelemans 1980: 21; Carlin, Boven 2002: 17). Then in 1651, two Kari'na (Amerindian) chiefs traveled to the English colony of Barbados to negotiate with the English about their settlement plans (Carlin, Boven 2002: 18). Later in that year, the English planters from Barbados would lay the foundations for what would eventually become a large-scale plantation economy. As the English arrived, mainly from Barbados and, to a lesser extent, other English possessions in the Caribbean, they brought a number of regional dialects of English and a limited number of African slaves. They exploited preexisting rivalries among the Amerindian groups to establish and maintain their political dominance. It was during this period that a basis for a creole – what would become known as Plantation Sranan – was either imported to the area with the arrival of the multiethnic, multilingual planters and slaves – or created by them.²

The earliest Maroons: Karboegers

It is not surprising, given the cruel nature of slavery, that slaves often engaged in some form of resistance to the institution. In Suriname, this resistance took the form of marronage – the systematic escape of slaves and subsequent establishment of independent communities. Although the English imported few African slaves relative to the overall population, and most of them from other English possessions in the Caribbean, marronage occurred in Suriname from the very beginning of the colony. The earliest group Maroons for which there is evidence are known as Karboegers (< Brazilian Port. *cabaclo* ‘person of mixed Amerindian & European descent’).

2 There has been debate whether the basis for Plantation Sranan had been imported or created locally, for instance, in the works of Norval Smith (e.g. 1999, 2009) and Jacques Arends (e.g. 2002). For a comprehensive up to date account of early historical issues relating to the formation of Plantation Sranan see Smith (2015).

Smith (2002, 2015) argues based on a thorough examination of historical sources, that this particular group began as a band of runaways who had their origins in the Gold Coast (present day Ghana) and formed around 1660 raiding plantations from a fort they constructed in the Para region. The group, led by Jerms, later assimilated linguistically to the Kariña speaking Amerindians of northwestern Suriname. This suggests that Plantation Sranan had not yet been afforded a status of importance such that it would have served as an interlanguage between Maroons and Amerindians, or as Smith (2015: 35) argues, it simply did not exist yet.

The Indian Wars and marronage

In 1667, a fleet of Zealantic ships attacked and easily captured the vulnerable colony, which had already been weakened by infighting among the planters, slave uprisings, marronage and Amerindian revolts (Carlin, Boven 2002: 19). On the agenda of the Dutch was to stabilize the colony in terms of relations with the Amerindians and to increase profitability of the colony. The new Dutch colonial government succeeded in brokering a peace agreement between rival Cariban and Arawakan groups by 1677 (Dragtenstein 2002: 37). They also increased the supply of slave labor in their first decade of rule, setting a trend that would continue for the next century.

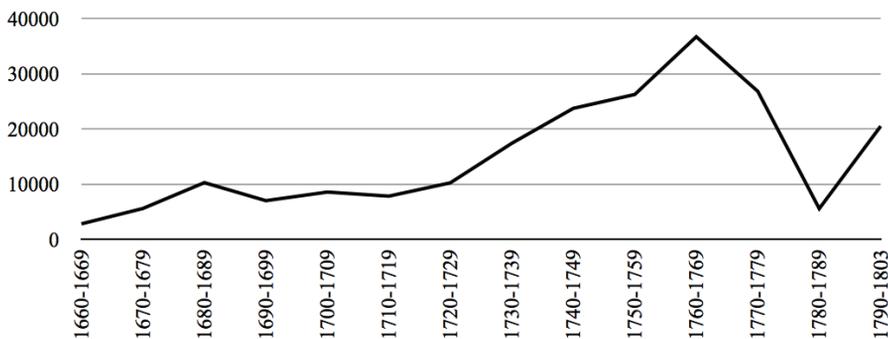


Figure 1. Slave imports to Suriname by decade, 1660–1803 (from Borges 2013: 41)

The peace agreement engineered by the colonial government between the Caribs and the Arawaks backfired. The newly united Indians, who found that they had a common set of grievances against the colonists,

were able to stage a series of severe uprisings, known as the Indian Wars (1678–1684). During these insurrections, the colony was thrown into chaos; plantations were burned and planters and slaves were murdered (Dragtenstein 2002: 39). As the initial Carib-Arawak alliance unraveled, African slaves seized the opportunity to escape – taking a version of Plantation Sranan with them – and fight alongside the Amerindians.

Oral histories of the Ndyuka and Saramacca and supporting archival documents suggest that initially Maroons were harbored by Amerindians, and later took Amerindian wives (a times non-consensually), such that virtually all clans have “Indian Mothers” (Dragtenstein 2002; Price 2010; Thoden van Velzen, Hoogbergen 2011). Price (2010: 4) notes that, strikingly, these women were rapidly integrated (at least conceptually) into Maroon society.

The reflex of these unions is not only evident in, for example, techniques for subsistence farming, hunting and fishing, and environmental knowledge (Price 2010: 5), but in the Amerindian contribution to the lexicon of the newly divergent Maroon Creoles as well. The Amerindian lexical contribution to the Maroon Creoles is significant within the realm of lexemes related to the local knowledge that was passed on by the Amerindians. In Good’s (2009) sample of 1000 Saramacca words, he found 15 lexemes with Carib etymology (see Appendix). These were categorically: animal names; food, drink, and cooking utensils; clothing, personal adornment and care; warfare and hunting.

I have examined the online version of the Summer Institute of Linguistics’ (SIL) Ndyuka dictionary in its entirety; there are 47 lexemes of Amerindian origin listed (see Appendix). Like the Saramaccan case, the words primarily describe items pertinent to the local environment: plants and fruit, 11 words; birds, 9 words; land animals, 8 words; aquatic animals, 4 words; cooking utensils, 3 words; insects, 3 words; ailments, 2 words; miscellaneous, 7 words.

Although the Indian Wars provided an impetus for cooperation among Maroons and Amerindians, and the subsequent sharing of local practices and related lexemes, these partnerships did not last. Following the unraveling of the Carib-Arawak alliance around 1680, the colonial government reengineered animosity between the two groups. Then following a 1684 treaty stipulating that all Amerindians in the colony were free and unenslavable, the colonial government employed various

Amerindians as forest guides and hunters in their quest to capture and punish runaway slaves. As a result, interactions between Maroons and Amerindians became rather limited.

18th-century trade on the Tapanahony River: Ndyuka-Trio Pidgin

In 1760, the colonial government concluded a treaty with Ndyuka, granting the Maroons territorial autonomy. As a result, the Ndyuka moved further south to settling a stretch of the Tapanahony River. Their advance displaced Trio, a Cariban-speaking group, who resettled further upriver. The Ndyuka also invited another Cariban group, the Wayana, to relocate downriver to facilitate trade (Carlin, Boven 2002). The Ndyuka formed a buffer and effectively monopolized trade with their upriver Amerindian neighbors. As a result of this, a typical trade pidgin developed by means of combination and simplification (especially homogenizing) of elements from Ndyuka, Wayana and Trio. Huttar and Velantie (1997) report that this language, known in the literature as Ndyuka-Trio Pidgin, was learned by observation and never developed a group of native speakers.

In order to fully appreciate the effects of pidginization, I will briefly characterize Ndyuka, Wayana, and Trio. Ndyuka is a Creole language, belonging to the Atlantic group, and is lexically most closely related to English. It is a mostly isolating language, with fixed SVO word order, prepositions, and generally speaking, relatively simple phonology and morphosyntax.

- (1) a. *Alisi anga pesi na wan nya~nyan di ala sama sabi*
 rice and bean COP DET eat~eat that all person know
 'Rice and beans is a food that everyone knows.' (SIL, my gloss)
- b. *Den sama teke koosi dombeeden sani fu sama á si den*
 DET person take cloth bundle 3PL thing so.that person NEG see 3PL
 'People wrap cloths around their things so people can't see them.'
 (SIL, my gloss)

The Cariban languages, on the other hand, display relatively complex morphology, with a large inventory of nominal and verbal morphology, postpositions and characteristics such as ergative alignment and SOV/OSV word order, depending on the clause type.

- (2) a. *ma, irë.mao.rëken* *tī-w-ëe-se* *ariweimë,*
 well, only.then RM.PST-SA-come-RM.PST cayman
 Ø *t-ëne-Ø* *ii-ja* Trio
 RM.PST-see-RM.PST 3-ERG
 ‘Well, only then did the caiman come, and he saw him.’ (Meira 1999: 507)
- b. *ëw-emhi-li-komo naj n-eha-ø ë-he* Wayana
 2-daughter-PSS-COLL INTENS. 3S_A-be-REC PST 2-PCOLL
 ‘Your daughter wanted you.’ (Tavares 2005: 336)

In pidginization, the simplification that occurred tended to consist of a compromise whereby the structures that could most easily be managed by both the Maroons and Amerindians were selected. In the domain of phonology, for example, only the vowels and consonants common to both groups are found in the pidgin.

Table 1. Compromises in Ndyuka-Trio Pidgin phonological inventories

	Trio	NT pidgin	Ndyuka
vowels	/a, e, i, o, u, i, ə/	/a, e, i, o, u/	/a, e, i, o, u/
stops	only /p, t, k/ (rare [b, d, g] allophones)	only /p, t, k/ (rare [b, d, g] allophones)	/p, t, k, b, d, g/
liquids	/r/ varying from a retroflex to a lateral-retroflex flap	/l/ a few rare instances of [r]	/l/, no [r]

Many complexities from the Cariban languages were not used in the pidgin. All synchronic Cariban nominal and verbal morphology is absent from the pidgin, as are the clusivity distinctions made in the pronominal system. Much like Ndyuka, most grammatical structures in the pidgin are constructed by means of simple juxtaposition of elements.

Ndyuka-Trio Pidgin is lexically mixed, with words from Ndyuka and Cariban sources, though it should be noted that the majority of verbs are from Ndyuka. Meira and Muysken (in press) suggest that this is probably because Ndyuka speakers would have found it difficult to pinpoint verb roots among the extensive Cariban verbal morphology. Somewhat surprisingly, there is no copula in Ndyuka-Trio Pidgin, despite multiple copular elements in both Ndyuka and the relevant Cariban languages. Some examples from Huttar and Velantje (1997) are reproduced in (3).

- (3) a. *Ala kiyo pataya waka.*
 all young.man village go
 ‘All the young men went to the village.’
- b. *Kaikushi pumi wani wa*
 dog 1sg want neg
 ‘I don’t want dogs.’
- c. *Bidon baka silon.*
 metal.barrel behind be/have
 ‘[They] are behind the barrel.’

The examples also show that the pidgin derives much of its syntactic structure from the Cariban languages, such as basic verb final word order and the use of postpositions.³ Similarly, negation is accomplished in the pidgin by a clause final particle *wa* which is derived from the Trio negative existential copula (Meira, Muysken (in press)).

The last 50 years

Huttar and Velantie (1997) note that from 1960s, with ease of travel between interior and coastal areas, Amerindians had new possibilities to bypass Maroons and trade directly with coastal populations. As a result of declining economic relations between the Maroons and the Amerindians, as well as perhaps Amerindians’ increased exposure to Sranan, the country’s *lingua franca*, and possibilities of using that language in their interactions with Maroons, Ndyuka-Trio Pidgin is no longer used and today its existence is virtually unknown to younger generations of Maroons.

In their interactions the Ndyuka on the Tapanahony, upriver Amerindians use some form of Creole. There is some difficulty distinguishing Sranan and Ndyuka on the basis of completely structural characteristics due to a high degree of similarity. Further, sociolinguists have noted the development of leveled and urbanized varieties of Maroon Creoles

3 It should be noted, however, that postpositional structures are not completely unfamiliar to Ndyuka speakers. Certain types of Ndyuka basic locative constructions consist of a “semantically empty” preposition an NP denoting the GROUND followed by a location word specifying the relation between FIGURE and GROUND (Huttar, Huttar 1994: 185).

e.g. *a de na a tafaa tapu*
 3SG COP PREP DET table top
 ‘It’s on the table.’

whereby some features traditionally associated with Sranan are employed (Léglise, Migge 2006; Migge, Léglise 2013). In the remainder of this section, I will briefly examine the variety of Ndyuka used by a man named Roni, who comes from Apetina, a Wayana village upriver from the Ndyuka. I interviewed Roni in the beginning of 2011 in an Ndyuka Village called Diitabiki.⁴

In addition to Ndyuka, Roni claims to have a command of Dutch⁵ and Wayana. I specifically inquired about *foto tongo* ‘city language,’ the Ndyuka name for Sranan, and Roni claimed only to speak Ndyuka. As will be made clear in the coming paragraphs, however, several features associated with Sranan and those leveled/urban varieties of Maroon Creole are evident in Roni’s speech. Additionally, there are other features that may be indicative of interference from Wayana. I will revisit this issue at the after describing some of these features.

The first set of variables – presence/absence of [r], modal auxiliaries, and forms used in preverbal negation – are those which have been associated with urban varieties of Maroon Creole and Sranan. In previous works (Borges 2013, 2014; Yakpo *et al.* 2015), I have demonstrated how these particular features vary in urban and rural varieties of Ndyuka; I will use this as a basis of comparison with Roni’s Ndyuka.

The [r] sound has a phonemic status in Sranan, however, it is reported (*e.g.* by Huttar and Huttar 1994) not to exist in Ndyuka. The close historical relationship these languages share leads to a situation where there is a plethora of cognate words that differ in the presence/absence of an /r/. Rural speakers rarely use [r], while there is considerable variation among urban speakers. Roni, almost unanimously, uses variants with /r/.

Table 2. Cognate words with -r/+r in urban and rural Ndyuka compared with Roni

-r/+r	Gloss	Rural Ndyuka	Urban Ndyuka	Roni
<i>daai/drai</i>	turn	22/0	0/1	0/1
<i>fuu/furu</i>	full	0/0	3/8	0/19

4 I have to acknowledge Benjamin Daigle, who, as a master student at Leiden University in 2013, had a detailed look at my interview with Roni. Daigle and I transcribed the recording together, and on that basis, he wrote up the results as a term paper for a course in Contact Linguistics under the supervision of Eithne Carlin and Maarten Kossman. Several points Daigle makes in his paper are summarized in this section.

5 As a school-teacher, Roni is required to conduct his classes in Dutch.

-r/+r	Gloss	Rural Ndyuka	Urban Ndyuka	Roni
<i>kondee/kondre</i>	country, village	5/0	7/4	0/9
<i>moo/moro</i>	more	20/0	14/14	1/19
<i>nengee/nengre</i>	negro, person	2/0	29/1	0/1
<i>seefi/srefi</i>	self	36/0	22/1	0/1
<i>soutu/s(r)ou(r)tu</i>	sort, lock	7/0	2/4	1/0
<i>taa/tra</i>	other	53/0	13/11	0/10
<i>wataa/watra</i>	water	8/0	0/0	0/1
<i>yee/yere</i>	hear	8/0	9/2	0/5

In general, Roni tends to avoid modal marking all together. In the approximately 45 minute interview, he employs just a handful of modal auxiliaries. As is evidenced in Table 3, where Roni does mark modality, it aligns with Sranan and the urban Ndyuka speakers.

Table 3. Roni's modal markers compared to Sranan and Ndyuka

Modal category	Rural Ndyuka	Urban Ndyuka	Sranantongo	Roni
positive potential	<i>Sa</i>	<i>Sa</i>	<i>Sa</i>	—
negative potential	<i>Poi</i>		kan/sa	—
positive possibility	<i>Sa</i>	<i>Kan</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>kan</i>
negative possibility	<i>Poi</i>	<i>Man</i>	<i>man/kan</i>	<i>man</i>
positive permission	<i>Sa</i>	<i>Kan</i>	<i>kan/mag</i>	—
negative permission	<i>Poi</i>	<i>Man</i>	<i>kan</i>	—
positive physical ability	<i>Sa</i>	<i>Kan</i>	<i>kan</i>	—
negative physical ability	<i>Poi</i>		man	—

Similarly, there is variation in the realm of preverbal negation where variants are associated with Maroon Creole and Sranan. The Maroon Creole negative particles are *ná*, *á*, or *án* (the forms are conditioned by their phonological environment), and can combine with the imperfective marker *e*, (*n*)*ái*. In Sranan, these are realized as *no* and *ne*, respectively. As in the case of [r] and modal marking, we see in Table 4 that most variation in preverbal negation markers occurs among the urban Ndyuka speakers and Roni prefers the strategy associated with Sranan.

Table 4. Preverbal negation in comparison

			Rural Ndyuka	Urban Ndyuka	Roni
NEG	(n)á(n)	(Maroon)	88	31	0
	no	(Sranan)	5	48	86
NEG + e IPFV	nái	(Maroon)	12	11	0
	ne	(Sranan)	0	14	2

Other features in Roni’s speech do not have a basis in Sranan or any version of Maroon Creole. Consider his use of *fu* in (4). Ordinarily, *fu* takes on several functions and can usually be translated as ‘of, for, in order to.’

- (4) a. *mi kondre fu na Apetina.*
 1SG village FU COP Apetina
 ‘I am from Apetina / my village is Apetina.’
- b. *Apetina fu na granman nen.*
 Apetina FU COP chief name
 ‘Apetina was the name of the chief.’
- c. *Tide te granman fu Nowahe de, dati a no wani moro.*
 Today when chief FU Nowahe COP that 3SG NEG want more
 ‘Nowadays, since Chief Nowahe is there, they don’t want it anymore.’

All the examples contained in (4) would be perfectly grammatical without *fu*, but at least from the point of view of a Maroon are ungrammatical as they appear. These structures do not seem to have an exact parallel structure in Wayana, but may (at least in the case of (4a–b)) be related to Wayana’s Existential adverbializer, which “indicates that the referent encoded by the nominal stem exists” (Tavares 2005: 385).

- (5) a. *upake kun-eha-kë tamuhi-pme*
 long.ago 3SADISTPST-be-DISTPST old.man-ExistentAvlz
 ‘A long time ago there were old men.’

The other unique feature of Roni’s Ndyuka is what Diagle [via Carlin] refers to as Background Chronology – “in describing the events of a story, a speaker expresses the result of an action prior to describing

the action which led to this event.” This is evident in Roni’s speech (6), though not mentioned in Tavares’ (2005) grammar of Wayana.⁶

- (6) *Da yu hari Tistup! Pop! Eh! fadon man e sutu.*
 then 2SG pull IDEO IDEO INTERJ fall.down man IPFV shoot
 ‘Then you pull back (the bow) Pop! Hey!
 (It) falls down. (The) man shoots.’

These features evidenced by Roni beg the question – can we speak of an ethnolect of Ndyuka spoken by the Wayana? To answer: the first set of features described above, are in fact, quite pervasive in Suriname (see *e.g.* Borges 2013, 2014; Migge, Léglise 2013; Yakpo *et al.* 2015), but these features are not limited to Amerindian speakers. Additionally, those unique features that Roni uses appear to be limited to his idiolect – although, to be fair, there is not much data for comparison. I found an interview with Granman Nowahe (OIS 2008) where the chief speaks for approximately one minute. Another source is a Three-page transcription of an interview of a Wayana woman by an Aluku woman.⁷ None of the features we described above are attested in either of these sources. Although women in Suriname tend to be more conservative linguistically, and one might argue that the pressures of a formal interview setting such as the one in which chief Nowahe found himself discussing mercury poisoning in his community might put one on his “best linguistic behavior,” all present evidence seems to suggest that Roni’s Ndyuka is reflective of an idiolect, rather than an ethnolect.

Conclusion

Although there is certainly room for additional research the evidence I have gathered here seems to suggest that in relations between Maroons and the Wayana, the former group is linguistically dominant. That is, the Wayana assimilate, learning some form of Maroon Creole nearly

6 Her analysis focuses on phonology and morphosyntax, leaving discourse largely unaddressed.

7 I graciously acknowledge Bettina Migge, who shared this transcript from her own research with me. It should also be noted that Aluku and Ndyuka are closely related and mutually intelligible language varieties.

perfectly. This, as we have seen, has come full circle since the mid-17th century when Plantation Sranan was neither widespread enough nor valuable enough to have been utilized by the earliest groups of Maroons when they interacted with Amerindians. Later as the Creole gained currency and Maroons began to establish themselves in well organized groups, they maintained their language(s) in the face of pressure from the Amerindians they interacted with. Still a number of vocabulary items were borrowed by the young Maroon groups, specifically relating to the local environment and material culture that they adopted from the Amerindians. Finally, Ndyuka-Trio Pidgin, the most drastic outcome of contact, occurred when Maroons and Amerindians apparently had no functional interlanguage and were unwilling to learn each other's language despite the necessity of communication for the purpose of trade. These differential linguistic outcomes speak to the crucial role of social phenomena as a constraint in contact induced language change.

Appendix: Amerindian words in Saramaccan⁸ and Ndyuka⁹

Saramaccan	Carib	gloss
akalé	akare	crocodile, alligator
joóka ¹⁰	ijoròrkan	ghost
káima	cayman	crocodile, alligator
kaluwá	karu`wa	lizzard
kujaké	kuja`ke	toucan
maaní	manare	to sieve or strain
maáun	mauru	cotton, thread
maisi	marisiri	freshwater eel
máku	mako	mosuito
piiwá	pyrywa	arrow
píngo	píingo	boar

8 Good's 15 words have been retrieved from the online version of the World Loanword database entry for Saramaccan (Haspelmath, Tadmor (eds.) 2009).

9 Although these lexemes presumably originate from Cariban languages, the SIL dictionary is rather imprecise in regard to the exact language of origin, indicating a broad category of Amerindian words with *AI*.

10 This word also exists in Ndyuka, though it does not appear in the SIL dictionary. *Yooka* 'ancestral spirit,' see Thoden van Velzen and Hoogbergen (2011).

saasáa	sarara	prawn, shrimp
sipaí	sipari	stingray
tookóo	tokoro	quail
walilí	wariri	anteater

Ndyuka	etym	gloss
agaa	caracara	any predatory birds of the families, <i>Accipitridae</i> , <i>Falconidae</i> , or <i>Panidonidae</i>
akami	akami	grey-winged trumpeter, <i>Psophia crepitans</i>
amaka	hamaca	hammock
anammu	inamu	rail (marsh bird), <i>Rallidae</i>
Awaa	awara	orange-colored fruit, <i>Astrocaryum segregatum</i>
awali	aware	opposum, <i>Didelphis marsupialis</i>
ayole	onore	heron of the <i>Ardeidae</i> family
balata	parata	plastic; sap or latex of the rubber tree, <i>Manilkara bidentata</i> ; rubber truncheon used by police
gwana	iwana	iguana, <i>Iguana iguana</i>
kaabasi	karawasi	tree which produces large rounded fruit, <i>Crescentia cujete</i> ; calabash gourd
kaawai	karawasi	rattles made from seeds in a pod
kaiman	acare+yuman	caiman; any of the alligator-like crocodilians of the family <i>Alligatoridae</i>
kapasi	kapasi	armadillo of the family <i>Dasypodidae</i>
kapuwa	kapiwa	capybara, <i>Hydrochorus hydrochaeris</i>
kasii	kasiri	alcoholic drink
kasiipo	kasiri'po	dark yellow soup made from liquid squeezed out of the bitter cassava
kasun	akajú	cashew plant, <i>Anacardium occidentale</i>
komu	kumu	fruit of palm, <i>Oenocarpus bacaba</i>
koonsaka	kumisako	athlete's foot
kopi	kup'i	extremely hard wood, <i>Goupia glabra</i>
kulekule	kule	orange winged parrot, <i>Amazona amazonica</i>
kumaku	kumako	brown ant w/ large head that walks in line and eats cassava in planting ground
kupali	kupari	bloodsucking parasitic tick, <i>Ixodidea</i>
kuyake	kuijaken	toucan, <i>Ramphastos</i>
kwasiqwasi	kuasi	coati, <i>Nasua nasua</i>
kuwata	kuwata	black spider monkey, <i>Ateles paniscus</i>

maain	marai	Marail guan, <i>Penelope marail</i>
maakusa	merekuja	edible fruit of the passionflower, <i>Passiflora</i>
manali	manare	sieve
matapi	matapi	cassava press
Mokomoko	mokomoko	variety of marsh plant, <i>Montrichardia arborescens</i>
Mombii	amombe	deprive
mope	mope	plum type fruit or tree, <i>Spondias mombin</i>
ngobaya	guayaba	guava fruit, shrub, or tree <i>Psidium guajave</i>
nyamaa	aimara	carp, <i>Hoplias macrophthalmus</i>
pakila	pakira	collarr peccary, <i>Tayassu tajucu</i>
papai	kapaja	papaya fruit or tree, <i>Carica papaya</i>
patawa	patawa	palm variety, <i>Oenocarpus bataua</i>
pilen	piraya	white piranha, <i>Serrasalmus rhombeus</i>
pingo	pyingo	white-lipped peccary, <i>Tayassu pecari</i>
sabaku	sawaku	cattle egret, <i>Bubulcus ibis</i>
sabana	zabana	savanah
sika	siko	sand flea, <i>Tunga penetrans</i>
simali	semari	cassava grater
sipali	sipari	stingray, <i>Potamotrygon</i>
tamanuwa	tamandua	giant anteater, <i>Myrmecophaga tridactyla</i>
yasi	yaws	skin disease characterized by red pimples

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Creolistics as a Study of Linguistic and Cultural Contacts: An Overview¹

ABSTRACT

Anthropology of Language

- I. **Linguistic Anthropology** researches relationships between culture, language and a specific speech community;
- II. **Cultural Linguistics** – one of its paradigms is researching the relations: language – culture – man – reality; (e.g. the so-called Sapir–Whorf hypothesis);
- III. **Anthropological Linguistics** (main directions of research):
 - a. **Field Linguistics** – documents languages (including endangered languages) and linguistic practices;
 - b. **Typological Linguistics** – conducts research on the classification and specification of the types of languages of the world;
 - c. **Contact Linguistics:**
 - c.1. **Linguistics of External-Social Contacts:**
 1. **Macro-sociolinguistics** – describes language change or language death mechanisms that are triggered by contacts between larger speech communities, researches the ethnography of speech of larger discourse communities, etc.;
 2. **Creolistics** – describes and investigates the creation mechanisms of pidgins, creoles and mixed languages that appear and change due to social contacts;
 - c.2. **Linguistics of Internal-Social Contacts** (anthropological pragmatics):
 1. **Micro-sociolinguistics** – investigates speech acts, linguistic politeness, relations between language and gender, changes in language within a speech community, etc.;
 2. **Pragmatics** – deals with the description of immediate communicational situations; types of discourses used by a particular speech community; studies the types and degrees of development of the discursive

1 The paper is a modified version based on materials that were already presented in Chruszczewski (2006: 22, 76–79) and were published in Polish in Chruszczewski (2011: 124–146).

practices of a particular speech community; researches anti-language that appears in a specific communicational situation, etc.;

3. **Translation Studies** – deals with the practical knowledge of how meanings are created in particular socio-cultural environments and works on finding the textual equivalents of source language texts in target language cultures.

KEYWORDS: Anthropological Linguistics, Contact Linguistics, Creolistics, languages in contact, cultures in contact.

Introduction

Uriel Weinreich, in one of the opening subchapters of his work published in 1953, brings to light the studies of Alfred L. Kroeber ([1923] 1948), Harry Hoijer (1953), Ralph Linton (ed.) (1940), and Richard Thurnwald (1932) and stresses the undeniable importance of the psychological and socio-cultural setting of any language contact. What is more, he regrets that “studies of language contact and culture contact have not enjoyed extensive coordination, and the relation between the two fields has not been properly defined” (Weinreich [1953] 1974: 5). Weinreich places his emphasis on the fact that cultural studies and linguistics are entitled to their own methodologies, however, both disciplines are connected in many ways by language, *i.e.* being a research subject of linguistics that is inextricably connected with the domain of culture. Weinreich summarizes de Saussure’s division of *linguistic forms* into structural and non-structural factors, adding that it is “the non-structural factors [which] are derived from the contact of the system with the outer world, from a given individual’s familiarity with the system, and from the symbolic value which the system as a whole is capable of acquiring and the emotions it can evoke” (Weinreich [1953] 1974: 5; see also de Saussure [1916] 2002). It needs to be emphasized that Weinreich was correct, for it seems to be an omnipresent linguistic and also cultural fact that “in linguistic interference, the problem of major interest is the interplay of structural and non-structural factors that promote or impede such interference” (Weinreich [1953] 1974: 5). It needs to be said that, as regards researching contact linguistics and mechanisms of language change, the uniformitarian principle seems very useful.

1. Creolistics and its place on the map of anthropological linguistics

In order to properly examine the problem under investigation, it is first appropriate to define the scope of research perspectives of anthropological linguistics, to separate them from the research framework of general linguistics and to indicate the related fields with which anthropological linguistics closely cooperates. At the beginning, it seems appropriate to quote the views of Harry Hoijer, who was of the opinion that one should think of language *in* culture, and not just of language *and* culture (see Hoijer 1953, after: Duranti [1997] 1999: 336). The statement above is of fundamental significance because according to this perspective one may claim that it is “the linguistic system [which] interpenetrates all other systems within the culture [...]. Language is not just a representation of an independently established world. Language is also that world” (Duranti [1997] 1999: 336–337). Alessandro Duranti reminds us that it was Lévi-Strauss (see *e.g.* 1978) for whom “to say language it was to say society,” for it is the inseparable relationship between language, culture and society which, primarily by discursive means, influences the changes that take place in the extra-linguistic reality.

According to Duranti, it is through repetitive, recursively linked and yet not necessarily identical communicative acts that society is reconstituted. This is due to a number of inter-human linguistic exchanges which, by their socio-cultural basis, constitute the extra-linguistic meaningful linkages existing in societies which, in turn, give rise to a number of social strata. These social strata can be linked to places where forms of symbolic patterns of (verbal and nonverbal) behavior are created. According to Berger and Luckmann, the symbolic cultural patterns of behavior are nothing else but ways of establishing a social order that can exist “only as a product of human activity” (see Berger, Luckmann [1966] 1967: 52). Social order as a symbolic human product is, first of all, a *sine qua non* condition or human development because: (a) it is a visible sign of past human activity – in the form of storage of information and various types of procedural knowledge that are needed to restore other creations if they have been lost, *e.g.* Canaletto’s paintings were used in the reconstruction of the Old Town in post-war Warsaw; (b) it exists only as long as human activity continues to produce it (Berger, Luckmann [1966] 1967: 52). Therefore, texts or even inscriptions of past societies as well as the methods

of constructing the foundations of a settlement from hundreds of years ago, or a system of streets in a mediaeval city, serve as tangible artefacts documenting particular symbolic patterns of human behavior and their habits to perform particular activities in a distinct way. It is difficult not to agree with Berger and Luckmann that “human beings must ongoingly externalise themselves in activity” ([1966] 1967: 52). It is the various types of products of human activity on the basis of which one can attempt to reconstruct the meanings which were created in discursive practices structuring the socio-cultural order of the society under investigation.

2. Anthropology of Language

- I. **Linguistic Anthropology** researches relationships between culture, language and a specific speech community²;
- II. **Cultural Linguistics** – one of its paradigms is researching the relations: language – culture – man – reality³; (e.g. the so-called Sapir-Whorf hypothesis⁴);

2 The field of study of linguistic anthropology would be the same as that of anthropological linguistics, hence the frequent confusion in the use of these terms. It can, however, be assumed that using the terms as synonyms is not a huge mistake, as linguistic anthropology focuses mainly on culture and a description of the cultural practices taking place with the use of language rather than on purely linguistic data collection regarding what language, register, *etc.* is used by the person uttering the words at the moment of speaking.

3 See Anusiewicz 1995: 10. The main area of interest of cultural linguistics includes the history of the relationship between language and culture; the state of research on this issue; the theoretical and methodological aspects of the problem; the cultural and culture-creating (sometimes also state-building, as in Israel) functions of language in various forms of its existence; and the cultural heritage preserved in the repertoire of a national or minority language; see also Anusiewicz 1995: 15–166.

4 Where the language is treated as a “socio-cognitive-cultural-communicational phenomenon, and not only as a means of communication,” what is more, in this sense language is a “psychophysical carrier of thought of a socio-cultural character. It constitutes the result of processes and ways of cognition through which thoughts are fulfilled in language. It contains a specific classification and hierarchization and taxonomization (ordering) of the world, which is reflected in semantic categorization, opening the semantic definitions as *genus proximum*. It is both the interpretation and axiologization of the reality. In this perspective, the text is a linguistic micro-model of a certain fragment of reality, organized according to the mentioned principles” (Anusiewicz 1995: 113).

III. Anthropological Linguistics (main directions of research):

- a. **Field Linguistics** – documents languages (including endangered languages) and linguistic practices;
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 3. **Translation Studies** – deals with the practical knowledge of how meanings are created in particular socio-cultural environments and works on finding the textual equivalents of source language texts in target language cultures.

3. Defining basic terminology

It is very difficult to clearly determine which of the proposed names of this discipline of linguistics is most appropriate. In the literature the following terms are the most common: contact linguistics, geolinguistics (see Ducrot, Todorov [1972] 1979), and creolistics/creolinguistics (sometimes also called aerial linguistics). It can be assumed that contact

linguistics is the most comprehensive term which specifies the terms of its sub-disciplines that have the same research perspective while it differs as far as the subjects of research are concerned, and hence, also, in the research methodology. There seem to be two main research sub-disciplines within contact linguistics: dialectology (including research dedicated to vernacular languages), which is primarily focused on research on internal-social contacts which, due to the fact that it is a well-described discipline, will not be discussed here; and, which is rarely present in Polish university courses – creolistics, which deals mainly with external-social contacts (examining mainly the mechanisms of the creation of pidgins, creoles, mixed languages, the phenomena of multi- and bilingualism as well as diachronic and synchronic documentation of language contact).

It is difficult to determine the proper etymology of the word pidgin, as it is quite unclear. Usually several possible genealogies of the term are given. Mühlhäusler (1986: 1) gives some of the most common proposals of the definitions of the word pidgin:

- a. the definition given by the *Oxford English Dictionary* is the ‘Chinese corruption of English <business>’;
- b. a Chinese corruption of the Portuguese word *ocupação*: “business”;
- c. Hebrew *pidjom*: “exchange, trade, redemption”;
- d. Yago (a South American Indian language spoken in an area colonized by Britain) *pidian*: “people”;
- e. South Seas pronunciation of English “beach” (*beachee*) from the location where the language was typically used.

Peter Mühlhäusler (1986: 1) is of the opinion that each of the above proposals may be appropriate, as pidgins, by their nature, are tools of communication between users of many different languages, and the coincidence between the close form of the word and its meaning as well as the huge spontaneity in the prevalence of the use of the term in several languages, could have given this word a much better chance of survival than other words. According to the definitions collected by Mühlhäusler and those presented by various researchers of contact languages, pidgin is sometimes defined as follows:

- a. A variety whose grammar and vocabulary are very much reduced.
[...] The resultant language must be native to no one;

- b. Language which has arisen as a result of contact between peoples of different languages, usually formed from mixing of languages;
- c. Vocabulary is mainly provided by the language spoken by the upper stratum of a mixed society, adapted by the lower stratum to the grammar and morphology of their original language;
- d. Grammatical structure has been simplified very much beyond what we find in any of the languages involved in their making;
- e. Two or more people use a language in a variety whose grammar and vocabulary are very much reduced in extent and which is native to neither side. Such a language is a pidgin;
- f. It is a corrupted form of English, mixed with many morsels from other languages and it is adapted to the mentality of the natives. Therefore, words tend to be simply concatenated and conjunction and declension are avoided.⁵

In the opinion of David DeCamp (1971: 28), pidgin remains in the same phase of development so long as the social conditions in which it functions do not change. Very often, however, an evolving pidgin changes into a creole language. According to Philip Baker (1995: 18):

since at least Leonard Bloomfield (1933), creole languages have been defined as pidgins which have become the native language of a speech community. This definition seems to have remained unchallenged until Derek Bickerton (1981: 4), who for the purposes of his language bioprogram hypothesis, proposed restricting use of the word creole to

5 Mühlhäusler 1986: 3–4. 1. “A variety whose grammar and vocabulary are very much reduced ... The resultant language must be native to no one.” [In:] Bloomfield 1933: 474. 2. “A language which has arisen as the result of contact between peoples of different languages, usually formed from mixing of the languages.” [In:] UNESCO (1963). *T/w Use of Vernacular Languages in Education. Monographs on Fundamental Education* 8. Paris: UNESCO; 46. 3. “The vocabulary is mainly provided by the language spoken by the upper stratum of a mixed society, adopted by the lower stratum to the grammar and morphology of their original language.” [In:] Adler 1977: 12. 4. “The grammatical structure has been simplified very much beyond what we find in any of the languages involved in their making.” [In:] Jespersen 1922: 227. 5. “Two or more people use a language in a variety whose grammar and vocabulary are very much reduced in extent and which is native to neither side. Such a language is a ‘pidgin.’” [In:] Hall 1966: XII. 6. “It is a corrupted form of English, mixed with many morsels from other languages and it is adapted to the mentality of the natives. Therefore words tend to be simply concatenated and conjunction and declension are avoided.” [In:] Baessler 1895: 23–24.

languages which: a) arose out of a prior pidgin which had not existed for more than a generation; b) arose in a population where not more than 20 percent were native speakers of the dominant language and where the remaining 80 percent was composed of diverse language groups.

In contrast, Sarah G. Thomason and Terrence Kaufman (1988) proposed a division of pidgins and creoles into the following categories: quickly arising creoles (which generally comply with Bickerton's (1981) restrictive definition as quoted above, and pidgins and creolized pidgins (which are mainly pidgins having few native speakers). What is more, Baker (1995: 18–19) is of the opinion that

over the years, the word pidgin has been applied to contact languages at many different stages of development, leading some to propose labels for less or more developed varieties such as, respectively jargons or extended pidgins, but generally without linking these terms to specific linguistic features. By proposing to extend the word 'creole' to include all those languages called pidgins that served as vernaculars or primary means of communication for at least a portion of their speakers, Mufwene (1990: 2) has effectively suggested restricting the term 'pidgin' to less developed varieties of languages currently so termed.

It is generally accepted that every pidgin can: (a) disappear, (b) remain as a pidgin, (c) become a creole. Dell Hymes (1971: 43) indicates that even if the social conditions change but a limited minimal need for communication between users of different languages in contact remains, which is considered necessary (usually for commercial reasons), the pidgin is in use. Given the beginnings of pidgins, the following theories of their emergence are used: "1. language-specific theories: a) nautical; b) foreigner talk/baby talk; 2. general theories: c) relexification theory; d) universalist theories. In addition, we find theories that stress observed differences between pidgins. These include: e) common-core theories; f) substratum theories" (Mühlhäusler 1986: 96–97).

Interestingly, all of the above theories of the origin of pidgins are also applicable for the beginnings of creole languages. It should be added, however, that in the theoretical model of the genesis of creoles from 1981 there appeared yet another theory of the origin of these languages that was authored by Derek Bickerton (1981), who named it the *bioprogram theory* (the theory of biological adoption / biological programming).

As far as the description of creole languages is concerned, one may consider some features as certain:

1. Creoles are regarded as mixed languages typically associated with cultural and often racial mixture.
2. Creoles are defined as pidgin languages (second languages) that have become the first language of a new generation of speakers.
3. Creoles are reflections of a natural bioprogram for human language which is activated in cases of imperfect language transmission. (Mühlhäusler 1986: 6)

It is worth noting that Mühlhäusler (1986: 6) emphasizes that in both cases (pidgins and creoles) both the social aspects and the language can be found in both categories; and it is the social criterion and non-verbal environment in which people come to live and work which make the users of contact languages develop or abandon a language. Hence we can talk about the process of change (development or decay) of a language, and in this case about the creation of a creole language as a process called creolization. One has to agree with Mühlhäusler when he states that:

creolization can occur: (a) with pidgins that are very rudimentary and unstable, that is, so-called jargons; (b) with elementary stable pidgins, and (c) with stable expanded pidgins. Consequently, three main sociolinguistic types of creoles can be distinguished according to their developmental history (1986: 8):

Type 1. jargon → creole (*e.g.* Hawaiian Creole English, but also *unser Deutsch* or New Guinea German);

Type 2. jargon → stabilized pidgin → creole (*e.g.* Torres Straits Creole English, but also North-Australian Krio);

Type 3. jargon → stabilized pidgin → creole (*e.g.* New Guinea Pidgin Tok Pisin, but also West African Pidgin English, Nigerian Pidgin English or *New Hebridean Bichelamar*).

The typology as presented above of the formation of creole languages is, of course, more of a research proposal as presented by Mühlhäusler than a dogma. This is due to the very complex nature and manner of the development or disappearance of creole languages and pidgins. Some of these languages are used at the same time, but some speech communities treat them as *classic pidgins* that are used for business contacts, while other groups of people can use the language as a tool for their daily communication in many, often extensively developed discursive practices.

This would indicate that the type of creolization depends on the social contextual embedding of the investigated pidgin or creole. In other words, the geography of language occurrence tends to be a determining factor here. Mafeni describes this situation in the following way:

[w]hile this [distinction between a pidgin and a creole language] is a useful distinction, it does not always prove possible to make such a neat separation [e.g.] [...] West African Pidgin [...] runs the gamut all the way from true creole – as a mother tongue and home language – to what one might call *minimal pidgin*, the exiguous jargon often used between Europeans and their domestic servants. (1971: 95–96)

Some creole languages, and especially the so-called plantation creoles, undergo a repidginization process, *i.e.* they are no longer used as the first language and are somewhat marginalized by another, socially dominant language in a given communicational environment. The creole language that is largely based on both the English and Portuguese lexicons and is used in plantations in Surinam can serve as a good example here (see also Muysken *et al.* (eds.) 2015). The mortality of people employed (usually performing slave labor) on the plantations was so high that over a long period of time the emaciated slaves – users of this local creole – were replaced by new slaves who were not its native users. However, with time, this language became their primary language in contact with others (other slaves or overseers) working on the plantation. For these people it was not a daily contact language, *i.e.* a creole, but a language of their first contact, *i.e.* a pidgin (Mühlhäusler 1986: 9).

One can also talk about full repidginization, which took place on Rambutyo island lying in the archipelago of the Admiralty Islands, where a group of plantation workers established their village and their children began to use Tok Pisin as their first native language, *i.e.* they used it as a classic creole. However, due to the very limited usefulness of Tok Pisin, the next generation of children grew up using the Rambutyo language as their first language, thus pushing Tok Pisin into the background.

Based on such field observations, one can postulate that it is appropriate to examine pidgins and creole languages as two aspects of the same linguistic process, and not as two different linguistic phenomena. Referring to Mühlhäusler (1986: 9–11), we must also mention creoloids, also called “semi-creoles” or “quasi-creoles,” which are complex language systems that arose in a relatively short period of time. One of the crowning

examples is the language that was established in Singapore. Its lexifier language is English and its grammar is based on the Mandarin dialect of Chinese.⁶ Nevertheless, the pattern of creoloid creation is not as simple as it may seem because languages such as, *e.g.* Afrikaans (see Markey 1982), Pitcairnese (see Ross, Moverley 1964), *County Tyrone Irish English* (see Todo 1974, 1975), East African Mbugu (see Goodman 1964, 1971), Egyptian (Zychlarz 1932–1933), Germanic (Feist 1932), or Melanesian languages (Lynch 1981) could also be treated as creoloids.

It is worth bearing in mind the interesting linguistic fact that

the term ‘creoloid’ reflects gradience of the social and linguistic parameters in the formative period of languages; the term ‘post-creole continuum,’ on the other hand, was coined by DeCamp in 1971 to cater to differential developments in the subsequent history of creoles. A distinction needs to be drawn between creoles such as the Krio of Sierra Leone, the Kriol of Northern Australia and Jamaican Creole (which exists in a community where the related lexifier language is also spoken and is a continuous influence on the creole), and creoles that do not coexist with a standard variety of their lexifier language. Examples of the latter are the English-derived Sranan of Surinam, a former Dutch colony, and Negro Dutch (Negerhollands) of the former *Danish* Antilles. (Mühlhäusler 1986: 11)

At this point one should notice the two paths that can be taken by creole languages (including creoloids) during their development. The two directions of this development stem from the fact that in some communication environments there is also a standard lexifier language next to the contact languages at various stages of their development (*e.g.* English occurring together with Sierra Leone Krio, North-Australian Kriol or Jamaican Creole), which, by constantly having an influence on the contact languages, may cause their modification and lead to a change in the direction of a standard acrolect or a standard lexifier language. In the second case we might be dealing with a variety of developmentally advanced creoles in whose communication environment a lexifier language does not function as an everyday language. In this case we will probably witness the development of lects which differ from their standard lexifier language in terms of their complexity and distance. Such lects, due to the absence of the clear influence of the lexifier language, will evolve in very different directions. According to Mühlhäusler,

⁶ The language’s name is *Singlish* (*i.e.* Singapore English); see Platt 1975.

the pressure of standard lexifier languages can result, given the right social circumstances, in the development of a linguistic continuum. Such a continuum is called a *restructuring continuum* and is characterized by the fact that the different varieties located on it are roughly of the same linguistic complexity. It thus contrasts with the *developmental continuum*, where differential complexity is encountered. (1986: 11)

The above can be presented schematically in the following way:

Level 1: lexifier language, if it appears in the same cultural embedding as the acrolects, mesolects, and basilect;

Level 2: acrolect, usually very close to the lexifier language;

Level 3: mesolect “a,” used in the cultural embedding of “a”;

Level 4: mesolect “b,” used in the cultural embedding of “b”;

Level 5: mesolect “n,” used in the cultural embedding of “n”;

Level 6: basilect, a variety of a creole which is furthest from the standard lexifier language;

Level 7: pidgin, used only for trade contacts if necessary, *i.e.* in the absence of a contact language which could be used by both sides of the contact.

4. From acrolects to basilects: a taxonomy of contact languages

David DeCamp’s description that dates back to 1971 was used to build the above model of *creole languages*. At the extremes of the set are the acrolect, which is usually a local version of a lexifier language (for instance, in Jamaica a Jamaican version of standard English would be an acrolect) and the *basilect*, which has the features of a creole and functions as a separate creole language; in order to use it one has to learn it, just like any other foreign language. Between the acrolect and basilect, several mesolects can operate (these lects are intermediate between the standard, local version of the lexifier language and the creole language which appeared with its use). Mark Sebba (1997: 211) illustrates this linguistic-cultural phenomenon on the basis of Jamaican Creole:

acrolect	I am eating	/aɪ æm i:tɪn/
mesolect “a”		/a ɪz i:tɪn/
mesolect “b”		/a iitɪn/
mesolect “c”		/mi i:tɪn/
mesolect “d”		/mi ai:t/
basilect		/mi a nyam/

With this phenomenon in mind it is clear that the acrolect basically does not differ here from the lexifier language, which is English, while the basilect, which is also the most popular and most widely used creole language, is significantly different not only from its standard lexifier language but also from some of the mesolects. Based on the available literature and on his own research, Robert Chaudenson (2001: 14–16) confirmed the information gathered by Ian F. Hancock, who in 1977 had stated that the number (obviously approximate) of creole languages that had developed from different lexifier languages was as follows:

- English-based languages – 35;
- African-based languages – 21;
- French-based languages – 15;
- Portuguese-based languages – 14;
- Native American-based languages – 6;
- Dutch-based languages – 5;
- German-based languages – 6;
- Italian-based languages – 3;
- non-Indo-European-based languages – 10 or more.

In 1995 Norval Smith presented his own list of languages and their numbers. The list is presented below (including also now extinct varieties); the numbers were calculated by Andrei Avram⁷:

- English-lexifier pidgins and creoles – 103;
- French-lexifier pidgins and creoles – 36;
- Portuguese-lexifier pidgins and creoles – 64;
- Spanish-lexifier pidgins and creoles – 18;
- Dutch-lexifier pidgins and creoles – 9;
- German-lexifier pidgins and creoles – 7;
- other Romance-lexifier pidgins – 3;
- Russian-lexifier pidgins – 3;
- other Indo-European-lexifier pidgins – 7;
- Basque-lexifier pidgins – 1;
- Arabic-lexifier pidgins and creoles – 7 (NB 3 more pidgins do not figure in the list);
- Bantu-lexifier pidgins and creoles – 17;
- other African-lexifier pidgins and creoles – 6;
- Japanese-lexifier pidgins – 4;

7 Private correspondence.

- Chinese-lexifier pidgins – 2;
- other Asian language-lexifier pidgins – 1;
- Austronesian-lexifier pidgins and creoles – 32;
- Papuan-lexifier pidgins – 8;
- Australian-lexifier creoles – 2;
- Amerindian-lexifier pidgins and creoles – 19;
- signed pidgins – 3;
- mixed pidgins (lexicon drawn from two languages, in relatively equal proportions, hence not classified in terms of a lexifier language) – 21;
- mixed pidgins (lexicon drawn from two languages, in relatively equal proportions, hence not classified in terms of a lexifier language) as men's languages – 2.

Mark Sebba (1997: 6) suggested a classification of pidgins and creoles based on their social embedding and presented the following classification:

- military and police pidgins;
- seafaring and trade pidgins and creoles;
- plantation pidgins and creoles to which the adjective “slave” can be added because of the social groups of slaves that had been transported in great numbers to the plantations and, secondly, because of the inhumane conditions in which these types of contact languages arose;
- mine and construction pidgins;
- tourist pidgins;
- urban contact vernaculars.

The criterion for the classification of pidgins and creoles as proposed by Sebba is most appropriate, as both languages are primarily contact languages. The contact takes place, or in the case of dead languages it took place, between communities of people and, more specifically, between participants of different speech communities who, for different purposes and in different degrees of intensity of need for contact, wanted to have a tool for intercultural communication. Peter Mühlhäusler (1986: 96–97), on the other hand, proposes a taxonomy of contact languages based on the theory of how they arose, which is as follows:

- a. language specific theories (1. Nautical language theory, 2. Foreigner talk / baby talk theory);

- b. general theories (1. Relexification theory, 2. Universalist theories);
- c. origin theories (1. Common-core theories, 2. Substratum theories); and
- d. language bioprogram theory proposed by Derek Bickerton and dating back to 1981.

It can be assumed that the phenomenon of language contact,⁸ described as a central research matter and thus presented as an alternative research perspective, was proposed in 1953 by Uriel Weinreich, a researcher of Polish origin and teacher of William Labov. In his book titled *Languages in Contact*, Weinreich ([1953] 1974: 1) states that “two or more languages will be said to be IN CONTACT if they are used alternately by the same persons.” This perspective places the communicating individuals in the focal point of Weinreich’s investigation. However, when these communicating individuals are no longer available, for any number of possible reasons, including their being dead, then what the researcher is left with is their texts. It is these texts on the basis of which we can attempt to discover the patterns of verbal behavior of a society of the past.

Bearing Clyne’s observations in mind, it appears obvious that for any invading people it was their language – in the form of more or less precise commands – which must have been the most important medium of communication, and by the same reason it also had to be language by means of which people (be they invaders, tradesmen or settlers) would

8 Michael Clyne (2003: 1) claims that “language contact is a multidimensional, multidisciplinary field in which interrelationships hold the key to the understanding of how and why people use language/s the way they do. This includes interrelations between the structural linguistic, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic; between typology and language use; between macro- and microdimensions; between variation and change; between synchrony and diachrony; between the linguistic, sociological, demographic and political. Languages in contact are, after all, the result of people in contact and of communities of people of different language background in contact. The analysis of language in contact data can also throw light on how language changes.” Clyne (1991: 3–4) continues his discussion by stating that the interaction-oriented approaches to language contact encompass four major functions of language, such as:

- 1. the most important medium of human communication;
- 2. a means by which people can identify themselves and others;
- 3. a medium of cognitive and conceptual development;
- 4. an instrument of action.

identify themselves as soon as they opened their mouths. And, again, it is believed that people organized their cognitive realities via language and constructed their socio-semantic mappings, which added to and enhanced the conceptual development of the social groups. Last but not least, it was language that served the role of an instrument influencing reality. First, it was used in order to observe the surrounding reality, then to tame it by means of describing it, and finally to change it. It would be a mistake to underestimate language contact, for it is an omnipresent pan-linguistic phenomenon, even though sometimes it is impossible to fully reconstruct the contact history of a particular language due to its complexity or due to the lack of remaining sources. We can say, however, that there are no languages which developed in complete isolation.⁹

The aforementioned patterns would, in any case, be of a dynamic and linguistic-cultural nature. This is because of the fact that language is always embedded in culture, and these patterns are dynamic because language is also an ever-changing phenomenon. Obviously, the greater the diversity of texts of a speech community one can obtain, the more in-depth and certain one's research will be. This is often an ideal situation which is difficult to achieve, especially when we are dealing with, for instance, a small community which no longer exists and where the only proof of its existence are often damaged and incomplete funeral inscriptions. All a researcher can do in such a situation is to make an attempt to collect and analyze all of the available texts and other non-verbal and

9 It is often said that Icelandic arose in a certain type of isolation. Sarah G. Thomason (2001: 8–9) states that “Icelandic, [...] is often said to have been isolated from other Germanic Scandinavian languages after the Norse settled Iceland in the ninth century. Aside from the remoteness of the island itself, the argument is based on the fact that the Icelandic literary language appears more archaic than the literary language of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, which [...] suggests that the absence of contact led to a slower rate of change than in more cosmopolitan languages. But contact between Iceland and mainland Scandinavia was never cut off. Ships traveled back and forth with supplies for the island, and although the degree of isolation was quite sufficient to produce divergence into a distinct Icelandic language, it was not complete. The archaic features of Standard Icelandic are no doubt due in part to the relatively great degree of isolation from other languages, but they are also in part a result of the process by which the language was standardized: the creators of Standard Icelandic deliberately archaized the language's structure, making it look older so as to bring it closer to the language of the Eddas, the celebrated medieval mythological poems of Iceland.”

meaningful artifacts which might help in investigating the cultural patterns of communication of the society in question.

5. Mechanism of cultural change vs. models of language change

With reference to language change, one needs to remember the two basic transfer types that are observable in language-contact situations, *i.e.* borrowing and imposition.¹⁰ We are dealing with borrowing in a situation where it is the recipient language user who triggers the process of borrowing (van Coetsem describes the phenomenon as recipient language agentivity) and, similarly, we are dealing with imposition in a situation in which it is the source language user who acts as the “language contact agent” in the process of transferring source language elements to the recipient language (van Coetsem describes the phenomenon as source language agentivity). Bearing in mind the above, van Coetsem is of the opinion that it is important to distinguish between linguistic and social dominance.¹¹

Van Coetsem underlines the fact that the two basic motivations in borrowing are *prestige* and *need*, adding that numerous motivations may also be involved which can vary due to the changing cultural embedding. Van Coetsem discusses dominance profiles and their changes on the basis of contacts between Norman French and Middle English, and Dutch and other vernacular languages which gave rise to Afrikaans. He shows how the languages can differ and discusses their developments on the basis of their dominance profiles, noting that “language contact, alone or in combination with other social factors, can lead to an acceleration

10 See van Coetsem 1988; the notion is also discussed in Janikowski 1996, see also Foley 1997: 381–397; discussed in Chruszczewski 2006: 77–79.

11 Frans van Coetsem (1988: 13) notices that “the notion of *dominance* presupposes two (or more) languages (dialects, idiolects), the recipient language and source language, in situations where one dominates the other linguistically or socially [...]. *Linguistically dominant* is the native language of the agent, in this context called the *first* language, [...] that is the *recipient language* in *recipient language* agentivity and the *source language* in *source language* agentivity. [...] *Social dominance*, on the other hand, refers to the social status of the *recipient language* as opposed to the *source language*. The important fact is that each transfer type shows a specific profile in terms of linguistic and social dominance and in relation to the *recipient language* and the *source language*.”

of structural change, more gradual in recipient language agentivity (borrowing) and more abrupt in source language agentivity (imposition)” (van Coetsem 1988: 136). The author points to the fact that in recipient language agentivity, Norman French was the socially dominant source language and Middle English was the linguistically dominant recipient language. As regards source language agentivity, van Coetsem is certain that in the South African context it was Dutch which was the socially dominant recipient language, and all the vernacular languages with which Dutch speakers had contact were linguistically dominant source languages. The above contact situation gave rise to Afrikaans.

It is important to note that even though van Coetsem does not mention the *uniformitarian principle*, he is subscribing to it by stating that

we can say that among the (standardized) modern Germanic languages, English and Afrikaans have been most strongly subject to language contact, and they have evolved faster than other Germanic languages. Although they developed independently of one another, their respective evolutions in some cases show strikingly similar patterns. (1988: 136)

Bearing in mind the uniformitarian and dominance principles, we can observe a similar mechanism of change during the Scandinavian invasions of the British Isles. At that time it was Old English which was the linguistically dominant recipient language, and it was Old Norse which was the socially dominant source language in this particular recipient language agentivity. We need to be aware of the fact, however, that the social dominance of Old Norse was diminishing and that its linguistic dominance was steadily growing for several decades up to a certain point in time.

In order to exemplify the described processes we can refer to the Neo-Malaysian pidgin which arose on the basis of modern English – Tok Pisin. One can note that in this source language agentivity contact situation, English was the socially dominant recipient language and all of the vernacular languages were linguistically dominant source languages. The above cases demonstrate the fact that recipient language agentivity, *i.e.* borrowing, leads to a more gradual process of structural change, whereas source language agentivity, *i.e.* imposition, leads to more rapid linguistic change. It appears that creolistics – as the study of linguistic and cultural contacts between languages – can be placed within the discipline of the anthropology of language and in the domain of linguistics of external linguistic contacts.

6. Mechanisms of cultural change

Anthropological and cultural studies distinguish several basic mechanisms of cultural change which can also be found in the changes taking place in language:

- invention;
- diffusion / cultural borrowing;
- cultural loss;
- acculturation (see also Haviland [1975] 1981: 400–406).

We talk about invention when a person discovers a new way to develop or use an object or discovers a new tool or principle which in the end is recognized as needed and useful by the other members of the community and which enters general social use. We can talk about primal (accidental) discoveries, which might include the discovery of the fact that baking clay makes it become hard and resistant to high temperatures. We talk about secondary (applicative) discoveries when we are dealing with an application of an earlier invention; in this case this would include the use of clay for the manufacture of containers (for a discussion, see, *e.g.* Amiran 1965) in which one could store water, wine, olive oil or other raw materials, or consumer products. Accidental discoveries may cause rapid cultural change and affect other inventions. The discovery of clay and its use in the production of pitchers resulted in far-reaching consequences, and not only esthetic ones, but also in very important changes in methods of food storage which, in turn, had an undeniable impact on improving the quality of life and probably also of life expectancy.

Another very important mechanism of cultural change is diffusion (cultural borrowing). This process takes place when there appears a spread of customs and discursive practices from one cultural area to another. It can be assumed that at the time of contact of two or more cultures, diffusion can always appear. Borrowings can be very simple and seemingly minor, but they can cause a huge change in a variety of everyday practices of the borrowing group. These borrowings may be of different kinds – from T-shirts worn by the Maasai in Africa to the transfer of knowledge about how to take care of horses and firearms in the desert, to bringing and spreading potatoes, coffee or cocoa in Europe.

Bronisław Malinowski (1945) was of the opinion that cultural borrowing and the subsequent modifications and adaptation to local conditions

are one of the most creative human behaviors. Ralph Linton (ed.) (1940), on the other hand, argued that borrowings, both intentional and unintentional, may constitute up to 90% of any culture. At the same time, we need to remember that the whole cultural material of the sender with which the recipient culture comes into contact is never subject to borrowing, *i.e.* borrowing is a very selective process and the borrowed elements are almost always modified and adapted to the local needs of the recipient culture.

Cultural change can manifest itself not only in new cultural acquisitions but also in the loss of old ones, sometimes even well-established and well-functioning cultural practices; in the more and more seldom use of some everyday items or in the disappearance of older forms of language.

Cultural loss may be a twofold loss, *i.e.* it may be a material and non-material loss:

Non-linguistic loss is reflected in:

- changing culinary practices (instead of a traditional Sunday family dinner at home one eats a meal in a cafeteria);
- changing everyday objects (instead of a landline phone one uses a mobile phone, instead of a mobile phone – an iPhone; instead of a radio – an mp4 player, *etc.*);
- a change in interpersonal relations (or business ones), *e.g.* instead of having a workers meeting, electronic “newsletters” are sent to all parties interested, which is supposed to save the employees their time and effort in coming to a meeting, but in this way they are robbed of the opportunity of mutual, personal verbal and visual contact. The lack of such contact aims at depersonalization and a weakening of relations among employees which, if taken to extremes, can lead to the complete loss of social life among employees, which in turn may cause a disintegration of their business contacts.

Linguistic loss is reflected in:

- a change of polite linguistic practices, *e.g.* the disappearance of sophisticated forms of address in electronic correspondence (instead of “Dear Sir/Madam” – “Hello/Hi”);
- a change from the not-so-long-ago widespread use of literary Polish in business and official contexts, together with the increasing

amount of colloquial and pseudo-funny forms (during a meeting of employees the supervisor refers to important ballot sheets as “spaghetti” because they look like long thin strips of paper, *etc.*).

One of the most complex mechanisms of cultural change is acculturation. The mechanism of this type of cultural change begins to function when people from two (or more) cultures have the opportunity for direct, multi-faceted and prolonged contact. Due to such contact we may witness the acculturation of a community which is the “cultural donor” with a community which is the “cultural recipient,” or both (or more) communities may be involved in this contact. Many variables can affect the depth and intensity of acculturation. This includes the degree of differentiation (“cultural distance”) of the cultures in contact, their status (“dominant culture” vs. “dominated culture”), or the nature of the process of acculturation (unidirectional, dyadic, omni-directional, single- or double-sided).¹²

The following processes can be observed during the process of acculturation:

- substitution (replacement), where a previously functioning model of behavior is replaced by another which takes over the functions of the first with minimal or even no change in the structure (*e.g.* traditional correspondence is replaced by electronic mail, credit cards take over the role of traditional means of payment,

12 The literature on the subject usually distinguishes five basic stages of acculturation: “(1) direct or indirect contact with a different culture and its elements. This contact can be an event, a group of events or a complex process; (2) selection by members of the community of certain elements, properties, aspects of another culture; (3) adaptation of selected elements for their own needs, goals, values, properties, conditions of their own culture. This adaptation consists in modifying the selected content. This is a process of change in which an important role is played by innovative approaches [...]; (4) modification of cultural reality undergoing acculturation due to the adaption of new components or even as a result of a contact with a different culture [...]; (5) caused by exposure to changes in a particular culture, cause further cultural change. Reaction from a culture to cultural changes that have taken place in it begins. As a result, the change of certain elements, properties, aspects causes changes in the next ones; the result of changes that have occurred in a particular culture, can also be a different kind of attitude, phenomena, movements” (Nobis 2006: 38–39; see also Posern-Zieliński 1987: 19).

traditional Polish cuisine, which is high in calories and fat, is increasingly more often replaced by the much healthier, low-calorie Mediterranean cuisine);

- syncretism, when old patterns of behavior are combined to form a new system of behavior which may cause a significant cultural change (*e.g.* during the Christianization of some South American tribes some of these tribes began to assign the attributes of previously professed pagan deities to Christian saints) and linguistic change (*e.g.* in modern Singapore, where the coexistence of the Chinese language and culture with English culture and language has led to the creation of a new contact language, namely the commonly used Singlish);
- deculturization, where a significant part of a culture may be lost (*e.g.* the non-reconstructable sound of ancient music due to the lack of historical instruments). Interestingly, deculturization mechanisms may contribute to the emergence of a new culture and a new contact language, *e.g.* the culture of the population speaking the Twi, Ewe or Mende languages, which were largely lost after the brutal transport of many members of these communities as slaves to Jamaica. As a result, there appeared a new contact language in Jamaica – Jamaican Creole;
- adding, which is a process “during which one feature, an element or a group of elements from the second culture is added to the first culture. This change may be accompanied by, but not necessarily, a wider structural change” (Nobis 2006: 39);
- the emergence of new patterns of behavior which may occur, *e.g.* due to changing situations of social communication in rapidly developing societies (*e.g.* the ability to conduct video conferences thanks to the rapid transfer of data by electronic means or to shop online; the establishment of India’s Bollywood based on the pattern of the American Hollywood, which has become a synonym for a vibrant and highly productive film industry);
- rejection, when the changes are so fast (and unpredictable) that a large part of the population of the “recipient culture” is not able to accept them, which can result in complete rejection of the changes, rebellion or even the establishment of entirely new revitalization movements (*e.g.* the brief history of the 12-tone

technique, which was an innovative compositional technique considered to be too restrictive and artificial due to the lack of references to tradition. Another example would be the large influx of the Jewish population onto the territory of Palestine and the creation of Israel, which resulted in sharp opposition from the Palestinians).¹³

7. Selected models of language change

When languages come into contact with other languages, one can assume that this may always lead to language change.¹⁴ It is clear that the more extensive the contact between languages is, the more extensive the lexical modifications and the deeper the changes appear in the structure of contact languages. Jean Aitchison (1995) proposed three main models of linguistic change caused by language contact situations. These are:

- the “Tadpole-into-frog” model (X becomes Y). The traditional model of language change is one in which something “changes into” something else;
- the “Young-cuckoo” model (Y ousts X). The currently standard model of linguistic change is based on sociolinguistic studies and involves fluctuation;
- the “Multiple-birth” model (W, Y, Z compete with X). This model involves competition (Aitchison 1995: 2).

One can say that regardless of the language under investigation, the majority of linguistic changes under contact conditions may involve all of the above models of change, though to varying degrees. Jean Aitchison (1995: 3), when discussing the multiple-birth model, names three mechanisms which function as filters of the multiple possibilities of language change. These are: (a) psycholinguistic-typological, by means of which a “pointless variety is gradually eliminated or reinterpreted, though not with any urgency”; (b) intra-lingual, by means of which “any new construction will stand a greater chance if it fits in with the existing ones”; (c) social, by means of which “the selection of an option is finally dictated by social pressures,” which is consistent with van Coetsem’s

13 I would like to thank Katarzyna Mikuła, Przemysław Roszkowski, Magdalena Simińska, Katarzyna Swakoń, and Małgorzata Szczepanek for the examples.

14 Based on Chruszczewski 2006: 78–80.

view on the social perception of high prestige, which dictates the use of certain borrowings.

It is important to mention here how new, linguistic and at the same time ethno-cultural entities, being, on the one hand, grammatically and lexically imperfect as well as semantically incorrect forms of language, and, on the other hand, forming a nucleus of the first phase of the development of a new language, may come into existence. These entities are called Creole languages, pidgins and mixed languages. It is not clear why people, due to various trade, political or social contacts, develop indirect forms of linguistic communication, *i.e.* a pidgin, and are far less likely to learn one another's national languages. It can be observed that an abruptly emerging pidgin appears due to a new language contact situation, but is simultaneously restricted to particular social circumstances and displays limited lexical and structural resources (Thomason 2001: 197). This makes it a specific "linguistic concoction" created to serve a particular purpose (often of an economic nature). Classic pidgins rarely serve the clearly specified ethnolinguistic or cultural role which is characteristic of national languages. This role, however, is often taken up by creole languages which, as a result of evolution and change, often acquire native speakers, unlike the non-native, occasional users of "classic pidgins."¹⁵ In a model situation the thematic scope of a pidgin may expand significantly, so that it can start to have its own native speakers. In such a situation we treat this language as a creole.¹⁶ Obviously, there are cases in which creoles do not go through "the pidgin phase" but diverge gradually from the lexifier language, or arise abruptly in a new contact situation, depending on the nonlinguistic context of the language contact circumstances.

Another type of language contact situation is the conditions in which a mixed language may arise. Most of the time the way in which mixed

15 According to Sarah G. Thomason (2001: 197), "a prototypical creole emerges abruptly in a new contact situation involving three or more languages, with no full bi-/multilingualism among the groups in contact, and with need for a contact medium for all ordinary purposes of everyday life, so that the resulting creole does not have restricted lexical or structural resources; most of its structural features are not derived from any single previously existing language."

16 Sarah G. Thomason (2001: 160) is of the opinion that "the grammar of a creole, like the grammar of a pidgin, is a cross language compromise of the language of its creators, who may or may not include native speakers of the lexifier language."

languages arise is significantly different from the ways pidgins and creoles arise. Such a prototypical mixed language arises in a contact situation involving two languages. Thomason points out that in such cases bilingualism may be considered “one-way bilingualism” (Thomason 2001: 197). This indicates that there is usually no need for a new language to be introduced for the two communities to communicate. Thus, the need to create a new and highly specialized semiotic code derives from a certain social necessity rather than from a need for communication. Sometimes one can come across opinions that pidgins and creoles arise due to the incomplete mastery of a foreign language, whereas mixed languages appear in a situation in which both sides of the communicational process are fluent in at least two languages. The aforementioned social necessity, due to the repeated occurrence of a specific situational factor, may lead to the development of knowledge about how to use the new, bilingual, mixed language. The inevitable consequence of this will be the development of a diversity of registers of speech that are appropriate to the situation and culturally conditioned.¹⁷

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17 See Sarah G. Thomason (2001: 197–198), who notes that “when pidgins and creoles arise from a need for a medium of communication among groups that share no common language, the mixed languages arise within a single social or ethnic group because of a desire, or perhaps even a need, for an in-group language. All members of the group already speak at least one language that is used as a medium of communication with the other group in the contact situation and that could be used for all in-group communicative functions as well. The new mixed language is likely to serve one of two functions – keeping group members conversations secret from the other group, or being an identity symbol of an ethnic or subethnic group within a speech community [in which a group that sets up the bilingual mixed language functions – P. C.]”

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A (Polish) *Corpolect*? A Phenomenon Based on Polish-English Contact

ABSTRACT. Spoken and written English has become the *lingua franca* of corporate communication (Boussebaa *et al.* 2014). Polish employees at international corporations communicate with one another by using a peculiar mixture of both Polish and English phrases, which are often incomprehensible to other English-speaking Poles. A linguistic analysis of the formation of such intricate lexical items and grammatical structures is useful in order to understand the complexities of language development and syncretism. The aim of the study was twofold. First, we focused on identifying some of the most characteristic “Polish corporate anglicisms,” then on the various ways and contexts in which they are used, and on describing their impact on the Polish language and its speakers. Second, we classified this type of speech within the broader context of language. We challenged the commonly held idea of a “corporate sociolect” due to its insufficiency in explaining the existence of differences within the branches and divisions of a particular company. The author introduces the notion of *corpolect* which encompasses the whole range of corporate sociolects. These research findings are the result of a yearlong study conducted among 14 Poles employed mostly by international corporations in Warsaw and Kraków (*e.g.* Phillip Morris, Motorola, Capgemini). In-depth qualitative interviews were conducted, with each interview lasting 35–150 minutes. The interviews were recorded and then analyzed.

KEYWORDS: global English, anglicisms, corporate sociolects, *corpolect*.

English is currently the global language of business. Spoken and written English has become the *lingua franca* of corporate communication in most countries of the developed world, hence, many multinational companies accept English as the common corporate language (Neeley 2012: 116). The rapid spread of the use of English is clearly an attempt to facilitate both communication and performance within the business

environment, which encompasses various countries and cultures. This geographical dispersion underlies the heterogeneity of the “corporate habitat.” It is thereby obvious that “in order to survive and thrive in a global economy, companies must overcome language barriers – and English will almost always be the common ground, at least for now” (Zanola 2012). The aim of the present article is to discuss that corporate common ground by considering its Polish embodiment. In Polish subsidiaries of international corporations, employees communicate with one another by using a peculiar fusion of both Polish and English phrases. This distinct sort of speech is, in most cases, incomprehensible to other English-speaking Poles, and it is worth examining.

1. Englishization in the corporate world

Polish language speakers can be easily located on the global map of the *World Englishes* approach (Kachru 1985: 12). The reflection of globalization is observable in language use around the world, within: (a) the *Inner Circle* (native speakers), (b) the *Outer Circle* (speakers from post-colonial countries) and (c) the *Expanding Circle* (people using English as a foreign language). Poles employed by international companies in Poland use English, at least to some extent, on a daily basis. According to the *World Englishes* map, they belong to the *Expanding Circle*. Kachru (1994: 135–136), when discussing the multidimensional character of the spread of English and its hegemony across the world’s major languages, coined the term Englishization, which was to be juxtaposed with nativization and was to depict the “all-pervasive impact of English.” The global diffusion of both English and Anglo-American culture is also interlocked with the cross-cultural corporate world. Interestingly, the term ‘corporate Englishization’ was recently introduced by Boussebaa, Sinha and Gabriel (2014), who focused on “the spread and use of English as the *lingua franca* of international business.” They acknowledged that the phenomenon has recently riveted scholarly attention. Allegedly, the area of research is vast and varied, as is the number of places in which corporate English emerges. This characterization validates Kachru’s (1994: 137) claim that “English has acquired distinct sociolinguistic identities as an additional language: the British and American identities form only a part of a larger group of identities,” and this seems to be applicable to the variety of

English investigated here. Since English is currently fervently applied in multinational companies worldwide, its ‘corporate types’ in different countries may have already drawn linguists’ attention. To the best of my knowledge, in Poland this particular kind of linguistic research (unlike the language of business) appears so fresh that many of the results still circulate as unpublished papers within the scientific community.

The aim of this article is to shed some light on the socially approved language that is used in Polish branches of corporations, focusing on activities and areas of operation that have common, international grounds. Daily contact with an international corporate society and cooperation with colleagues from other countries is often a must. Such a reality is connected, for instance, with production lines which are dispersed around the world (e.g. factories in country A, warehouses in country B, offices in country C). Moreover, the employees’ mastering industry-specific terminology (which is said to be easier and more accurate) apparently fuels the development of the linguistic competence of the foreign (English) language. The question is, however, what reflection of this linguistic reality is mirrored in the mother tongue. It has to be emphasized that it is not English itself that is the subject matter here – it is the language of the Polish corporate world comprised within the *Expanding Circle* (spoken by people living within the *Expanding Circle* and, in most cases, speaking English) – thus we should rather be talking about a peculiar combination of both Polish and English linguistic expressions, or about ‘the English savor’ of Polish corporate speak, which emerged in the early 1990s directly after the pivotal moment of the socioeconomic and democratic transition in Poland. Since then it has been spreading across the community at a dizzying speed. It seems especially intriguing to an outside observer who is a fluent speaker of both Polish and English, nonetheless, he or she presumably will fail to understand mixed corporate speak.

2. Research methods

In order to classify such a type of speech within a language, a year-long research study was conducted. It was conducted in a twofold manner – written materials provided by the companies were analyzed and company employees were interviewed. Seventeen Poles working in the subsidiaries

of international corporations in Warsaw and Krakow (e.g. IBM, Phillip Morris, Motorola, Capgemini) took part in the study. The findings were based on in-depth conversations (35–150 minutes per one recorded interview). Open questions were asked in an informal style, so that casual speech could be elicited. The main purpose of the research was to: (a) uncover the origin of corporate speak and how it emerges, (b) describe the corporate speak and what it looks like as well as (c) discover the advancement of corporate speak and how it evolves. It is important to ask if this kind of language use is purely inadvertent or whether it is implemented on purpose. In this paper, an attempt was made to both encompass and to disassemble this speech, and then, hopefully, it will be possible to sketch its general profile. However, the main aim of this paper is exclusively to identify the very phenomenon and to define the frames within which it occurs. Only then can we place it among the acknowledged varieties of language.

3. Terminological disarray?

The present state of sociolinguistic research abounds in terminology connected with different types of speech varieties across society. As Zwicky and Zwicky (1982: 213, cited in Lewandowski 2010: 60) assure, “Anyone who wants to talk about the many varieties of a language is immediately faced with severe problems, the initial manifestations of which are largely terminological.” While investigating *corporate Englishization* in Poland, the first issue that comes to a researcher’s mind is that this language variety needs to be classified – and this is the above-mentioned key issue of this paper. The emergence of conceptual confusion and terminological disarray connected with social varieties of language is underlined by Lewandowski (2010: 60), who suggests that the attempt to name and define miscellaneous subsets of language is difficult. This is due to the fact that they are in flux: “it can be exemplified by the co-occurrence of such concepts as: *variant*, (*social*) *variety*, (*social*) *dialect*, *special language*, *style*, *code*, *sublanguage*, *slang*, *cant*, *argot*, *jargon* and possibly a few others” (Lewandowski 2010: 60). His view adheres to the one presented by Akmaijan *et al.* (2001: 273): “We talk and write about languages, dialects, sociolects, accents, jargons, registers, and so on and so forth, but none of these terms can be taken for granted and many of them are difficult to define in a satisfactory way.” Yet, choosing the proper terminology is an important starting point.

In the process of describing the linguistic phenomenon that has been the focus of this project, *slang* or *jargon* (*occupational sociolect*, *profession-lect*) are probably the most obvious terms to be excluded as they seem too narrow and specific with reference to corporate speak. According to Akmaijan *et al.* (2001: 286), both of these language varieties include “only a relatively small set of vocabulary items.” The authors describe *slang* as “a very informal language variety that includes new and sometimes not polite words and meanings” and they stress that “it is often used among particular groups of people, for example groups of teen-agers or professional groups, and is usually not used in serious speech or writing” (Akmaijan *et al.* 2001: 286). *Jargon*, by contrast, is “a set of vocabulary items used by members of particular professions, that is, their technical terms (*computer jargon*, *the jargon of Fulani shepherds*)” (Akmaijan *et al.* 2001: 286). On the other hand, Spolsky (1998: 125) defines *slang* as a kind of *jargon* “marked by its rejection of formal rules.” Considering the above definitions, corporate speak is, firstly, used not only informally, *i.e.* it is present in “official speech and writing” during formal meetings and in e-mails (see Appendix 1 – Motorola). Apart from the one extreme case that has been reported,¹ impolite vocabulary remains outside the accepted linguistic norms at the workplace. Second, it constitutes a tool to describe a reality reaching far beyond technical concepts. It is used not only to convey thoughts connected with a particular profession but encompasses a much broader area of speech. Consequently, *sociolect* or *social dialect* would appear to be the most relevant term to refer to since it is recognizably incorporated “by a specific social class” (Spolsky 1998: 125). This particular social class, understood as the class of Poles employed in Polish branches of international corporations, applies anglicisms in its daily speech. This dynamic was meant to be factored into the research, however, the investigation demonstrated that such a homogeneous social class does not exist. Accordingly, the issue of corporate speak seems eclectic and as assorted and diversified as its groups of users are. In the light of the analyzed interviewees’ commentaries, there is no rationale for referring to either the above-mentioned terms or to the notion of a *sociolect* since there are many different kinds of corporate sociolects whose linguistic items overlap at some point. To be more precise, the investigated speech communities

1 This was a case of a rude team leader from a Warsaw company who would swear and shout at her subordinates on a daily basis. It appears to be a feature of personality rather than one of the characteristics of the community speech language.

of Motorola, IBM or Phillip Morris, when speaking Polish share some basic corporate linguistic items that are commonly used worldwide and nationally, e.g. words such as *headquarters*, *CEO*, *open space*. On the other hand, each of these groups communicates using its own company-born sociolect that encapsulates items which are not necessarily understood or used outside the community.

Lewandowski (2010: 61) classifies the lexical repertoire activated in group-specific contexts as the distinctive feature of each sociolect. Such repertoires exist, without any doubt, in their unique ways within every single corporate sociolect. Nevertheless, certain elements of each group-specific speech diffuse to (or are repossessed from) the general corporate speak. These linguistic items are recognized and used by Polish corporate workers who become directly involved in the “corporate linguistic system.” To some extent, they share the surrounding corporate reality, which is reflected both in speaking and writing. The phenomenon is complex and the area of research has expanded, however, it can be analyzed holistically as one phenomenon. The term *corpolect* was suggested out of the need to sketch a profile of the investigated linguistic phenomenon. As a proposed umbrella term for the varieties of corporate speak it covers a broad number of functions or items that all fall under a single, common category. The initial division encompasses the following varieties of *corpolect*: (1) the stem of the *corpolect* which is anchored in a commonly recognized lexical repertoire; (2) diversifications within particular corporate sociolects; (3) subvarieties of corporate sociolects blended with other foreign languages; (4) the spread of this language variety on some enterprises with Polish capital which are not necessarily classified as corporations; and (5) the use of linguistic expressions in contexts unrelated to work. Each variety is presented below.

4. Corpolect

The following are varieties of corpolect:

4.1. The stem of the corpolect

It must be acknowledged that most types of such sociolects have a common ground, i.e. the joint English stem of the *corpolect* that appears worldwide. These are linguistic items that are connected with the general

background of company life. They are incorporated into the daily Polish language and are tinged with the above-mentioned “Polish savor,” being displayed, for instance, in phonetics or flexion. Some linguistic items of selected, exemplary areas of research can be grouped as follows²: (a) global and local structures of the company: *headquarters, afiliaty* (Eng: *affiliates*); (b) services offered worldwide, e.g.: *outsourcing, visual merchandising, help deski* (Eng: *help desks*); (c) jobs: *team leader, group leader*; (d) acronyms: *CEO, CFO, ASAP, FYI, IMHO, BCP*³; (e) daily work: *workflow, open space, working environment*; (f) career path: *grade, upgrade*; and (g) newly-formed Polish-sounding verbs: *upgradować, performować, fokusować się, estymować, confirmować* (Eng: *to upgrade, to perform, to focus, to estimate, to confirm*). It must be acknowledged that some of the aforementioned words and phrases are used pursuant to Polish declensional and conjugational rules. Until today, no specific criteria have been established according to which English words and phrases became a part of the Polish phraseology. While focusing on all the donor language terms, i.e. anglicisms, we can scrutinize graphic, phonological, morphological and semantic adaptation – as suggested by Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1995: 17). Regrettably, the scope of this article excludes such analyses. However, it is worth showing some examples of the daily use of a few Polish-English phrases within the Polish corporate society: *praca na/w open space’ie, wrócić do swojego desku, pracować na desku, zorganizować conf calla, iść na conf calla, być na conf callu, mieć meeting w sprawie..., wysłać meeting invitation, dążyć do continuous improvement, być na 5. gradzie, awansować na 5. grade, Senior Księgowy jest poniżej swojego grade’u, dbanie o swój image, ustalenie draftowych procedur, draft wersja, final wersja projektu.*

4.2. Diversifications within corporate sociolects

Until now, it has been stated that *corpolect* consists of the joint and commonly used stem and of its less repeatable offshoots that exist in particular

2 If the Polish word departs from the English one, its original version is provided in the brackets.

3 As reported by the people interviewed for the sake of this paper, all acronyms used by Poles are pronounced according to English phonological rules; the above-listed acronyms stand for: *Chief Executive Officer, Chief Financial Officer, As Soon As Possible, for your information, in my humble opinion, Business Continuity Plan.*

firms. To put it differently, a set of particular sociolects is formed in various kinds of international corporations. In the course of the investigation, characteristically, it turned out that such subvarieties are distributed at the company level as well. They appear within a firm and they are shaped by the profile of a particular division of that very firm. In other words, in company X there exists a joint sociolect X, but it is also manifested in its more specific task/job-related versions $X_1, X_2, X_3, \dots, X_N$ in its respective branches. Each type of Polish sociolect X incorporates English words and phrases. The linguistic items from X are always employed in X_1, X_2, X_3 , yet this does not necessarily happen the other way round. Below, a selected example presents a part of the Krakowian branch structure of Alexander Mann Solutions⁴ (data collected on February 5, 2014), which includes divisions providing services to the British company Barclays.

Alexander Mann Solutions – recruiting company. The “Polish” names:

ALEXANDER MANN SOLUTIONS POLAND, KRAKÓW⁵ → services for the British company Barclays X				
ADMINISTRACJA (Eng: administration) X₁				SOURCING X₂
Zespół schedulingu X_{1A}	Help desk X_{1B}	Admini (Eng: Admins) X_{1C}	CET (Eng: Candidate Experience Team) X_{1D}	

As is visible in the chart, the speech community of Alexander Mann Solutions Kraków uses sociolect X, which is a unique variety of the above-mentioned *corpolect*. The workers employed in the Administration

4 Alexander Mann Solutions is a recruiting company – its official website (www.alexandermannsolutions.com) informs us that they are “the world’s leading provider of talent acquisition and management services. We integrate our outsourcing capability and consulting expertise to help organizations attract, engage and retain top talent.”

5 The interviewee’s comment: this kind of division applies only to services provided for the company Barclays from the unit in Kraków. The structure of branches in other cities, providing services for other clients, may have an entirely different structure (*i.e.* in some branches there are ‘onboarding divisions’ which often exist besides the help desks and scheduling divisions).

department speak X, but also X₁, which is the more task-related version of X. Similarly, workers employed in the Help desk department use X and X₁, but also task-related X_{1B}. However, they would not use X_{1A} or X_{1C} because these subvarieties of the Alexander Mann Solutions sociolect are not connected with their work.

4.3. Subvarieties of corporate sociolects blended with other foreign languages

In some subvarieties of a sociolect X the ubiquity of English phrases is not the single characteristic feature. It may also be combined with borrowings from other foreign languages (*inter alia*, French or Italian), which are strictly connected with the work of a particular company division. The investigated examples (February 17, March 22 2014):

1. (PL+E+FR) A subvariety of the sociolect of Capgemini in Kraków – the interviewee reported that the Polish language used in his working team is fused not only with anglicisms but also with some French elements due to the fact that the team provides services to French-speaking customers from Northern Africa.
2. (PL+E+IT) A subvariety of the sociolect of IBM in Kraków – the interviewee declared a parallel situation, with Italian being the second foreign language complementing daily corporate communication.

4.4. Corpolect within Polish companies

Considering the research findings, another variety of *corpolect* emerged. It can be referred to as a sociolect spoken within the linguistic environment of people employed in large Polish companies (with 100% Polish capital) connected with recruitment, outsourcing and social media (a detailed scrutiny in other areas is to be continued). Evidently, it turned out that in this case it is not the international character of the company itself that determines the language use – it is the international character of the whole domain (business environment) in which corporate speak seems to be the daily bread. One of the analyzed examples (March, April 2014) was IT Kontrakt,⁶ with its headquarters in Wrocław and its

6 As presented on the official website (www.itkontrakt.pl), “the company employs hundreds of professionals (project managers, analysts, designers, architects, developers, testers, and others), who implement IT projects in Poland and abroad.”

branches in Warsaw, Kraków, Poznań, Gdańsk and the recently opened subsidiary company in Stuttgart. The interviewee, who was employed in Warsaw, reported that English elements constitute an integral part of the company workflow.

4.5. Corpolect used in contexts unrelated to work

Some of the in-depth interviews revealed incredible ingenuity of their interlocutors. The use of elements of corporate speak has also been traced in contexts unrelated to work. Twelve out of the 17 interviewees admitted that they willingly incorporated English expressions into their idiolects after work, providing,⁷ among others, examples such as: *sharujemy w domu obowiązki, mam w domu dużo tasków do wykonania, w życiu prywatnym zaczęłam miewać calle, ten problem nie aplikuje się do mnie* (literal translations into English: *we share duties at home, I have a lot of tasks to do at home, I've usually been having phone calls⁸ in my private life, this problem is not applicable to me*). In most cases, the literal translation into English distorts the intended meaning. The back translation of the phrases would not work – they would not be used equivalently in their original English form. Consequently, communication may also be disrupted, or broken. There were also cases reported in which certain English verbs would not be applied in a particular context, e.g.: *zesplituj mi ciastka* (meaning in Polish *podziel ciastka, przełam ciastko*) – borrowed from the English verb *to split*. Allegedly, the British or Americans would “share cookies” rather than “split them” (Pol. “zasheruj ciastka”). Similar is the case of *zaimputuj mi tę sprawę*, in English translated as *impute this matter*. This short list is only to shed light on the existing phenomenon. Beyond a doubt, a comprehensive analysis of the potential meaning or types of adaptations of the given expressions is required. Whether any of these linguistic particularities is likely to become integrated into the Polish lexicon, or whether all of them are to remain outside the recipient language, obviously remains a mystery.

7 Material based on information provided by the employees of Capgemini and Philip Morris, Kraków.

8 The interviewee was definitely not aware of the English meaning of the phrase “to have a phone call,” which means only “to receive a phone call,” not “to call someone.”

Conclusions

As Spolsky (1998: 103) assures, “you can’t be X unless you speak Xish.” Regardless of the geographical latitude of a country, surviving and excelling in the corporate world seems to be impossible today without at least some slight command of English. When investigating *corporate Englishization*, Boussebaa, Sinha and Gabriel (2014) noticed that the process “has received increasing scholarly attention in recent years but the focus has mostly been on the communication benefits and challenges of using English as a shared language inside multinationals.” That is why it seems sensible to apply the national, Polish perspective to the issue. By no means can we disregard the fact that the insertion of English loanwords into Polish as well as regularly applied colloquial English expressions have recently become a true phenomenon in Poland. The significant question that cannot be answered yet is how fluent these English-speaking Poles working in corporations are. Eleven out of the 17 interviewees admitted that their level of English command is communicative but not advanced, and that they incorporate “pieces of English expressions” although they are not always sure what these expressions truly mean.⁹ It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss whether this issue is perceived in a positive or negative way – either by people employed in such companies or by the remaining part of our language community. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that even the linguistic purists employed in the above-mentioned types of companies must adjust to *corporate Englishization* and must acquire a particular type of *corpolect* (?) in order to communicate effectively within the group network. Along with the development of communicative competence, loanwords and phrases become consolidated with the speakers’ own idiolects. It would thus be advisable to investigate to what extent this corporate speak influences peoples’ idiolects.

The aim of the research was to analyze a *corporate sociolect* which, in its idiosyncrasy, sounded intriguing. The initial assumption was that the speech community of the Polish corporate world uses consistent language patterns, thus willingly incorporating English words and

9 Four respondents admitted that they had learned the meanings of certain “mixed” phrases by chance or after a few months of working in the team, *i.e.* neither having asked others directly about the meaning nor having looked up the words/phrases in the dictionary.

phrases into its everyday speech. However, that consistency turned out to be highly doubtful, especially when considering numerous variations within this corporate speak. Certain repetitive linguistic areas that exist among the different types of companies and their branches do exist, both nationally and globally. Nevertheless, not only the joint stem of this language variety but also its prolific strains (alternations) appear crucial in this investigation. Consequently, the term ‘sociolect’ fails to be suitable if we are to comprehensively encompass this linguistic phenomenon. Hence, a new, umbrella term – *corpolect* – has been suggested. The material presented here is obviously only a fraction of the puzzling and complex phenomenon and it should not be considered exhaustive – it constitutes fertile ground for future research.

Appendix

Materials shared by Motorola Solutions –
 excerpts from emails (IT business) received in April 2014, original spelling,
 personal data erased

The ‘Polish’ original	Translation into English (A. C.)
XXX, Bardzo prosze Cie zrob peer review zmian dokonanych przez ESP team . Jesli zmiany wymagaja korekt pod wzgledem jezykowym to prosze o przekazanie takich szczegolow YYY. Pozdrawiam, OOO	XXX, Could you carry out a peer review of the changes done by the ESP team , please? If these changes require some linguistic corrections, please inform YYY about all the details. Regards, OOO
XXXX, Bardzo was prosze o maila zwrotnego z lista szkolen [...]. Chce to meic w jednym miejscu [...], w zwiazku z tym chialabym taka liste stworzyc w mentors list i potrzebuje Waszego inputu .	XXXX, Could you please reply to my email enclosing a list of training programs [...]? I want to have it in one place [...] that’s why I would like to make such a list in the mentors list and I need your input .

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Global Language Contact

ABSTRACT. In this paper, three recent morphological processes are studied, *i.e.* blending, libfixing and clipping. These processes have only just recently become productive in the prestigious global languages of English and/or French. As a result, the speakers of less prestigious and distant languages have borrowed instances of these processes in their own languages, re-analyzed the borrowed forms and, consequently, introduced the processes underlying these borrowings into their own languages. In this way the grammar of the borrowing languages is influenced by global language contact. The most obvious result of contact between languages is the borrowing of lexical items, but borrowing of non-lexical structural features also occurs. According to Thomason's (2001: 70) borrowing scale, the borrowing of content words occurs in situations of casual contact, but as the intensity of this contact increases, more and more categories of lexical items can be borrowed and structural borrowing may also occur.

KEYWORDS: global language contact, morphology, word formation processes, borrowing, blending, clipping, libfixing.

Introduction

In this paper it will be shown how global language contact may lead to the borrowing of linguistic processes. Thus speakers of less powerful languages may get to know the lexical items of a dominant but distant language. While using them they seem to realize what the underlying grammatical processes are according to which the items are produced. Subsequently, they start to make use of these processes of the more dominant but distant language in their own language, and so the grammar of less powerful languages may be influenced structurally by the grammar of such a more dominant language. The final result is that similar grammatical processes can be found in different distant languages.

The processes which will be discussed here are:

- **Blending** – a very restricted process that has only recently become productive in English and that is now one of the most frequent ways of technical and commercial word formation in modern Western languages;
- **Libfixing** – a term coined by Arnold Zwicky (2010) to describe affix-like formatives such as *-(a)thon* (from *marathon*; e.g., *saleathon*) or *-(o)holic* (from *alcoholic*, e.g., *chocoholic*) that appear to have been extracted (“liberated”) from another word. These are then affixed to free stems, and the resulting form often conveys a sense of either jocularly or pejoration. The extraction of libfixes is a special case of what historical linguists call “recutting,” and like recutting in general, the ontogenesis of libfixation is largely mysterious (Gorman 2013). Some of these “liberated” word parts become so popular that they can now be borrowed by other languages and cultures and they become productive again;
- **Clipping** – a process of truncation at word internal places that cannot be described as canonical borders. Clipping followed by the subsequent introduction of a new suffix *-o* has become quite commonplace in American English (and French). The pattern is borrowed by other modern Western languages and has become productive there.

1. Blending

Blending or contamination refers to “compounds where at least one constituent lacks some of its phonological material” (Bauer *et al.* 2013: 458), or “is compounding by means of curtailed words” (Marchand 1969: 451). Well-known examples are *smog* from *smoke* + *fog* and *Oxbridge* from *Oxford* + *Cambridge*. Traditionally, blending has not been considered as relevant as word formation, since “it is an intentional process of word-coining” (Marchand 1969: 451). Moreover, since it is an intentional process it cannot be productive and, therefore, is not very frequent.

The same picture is sketched by Grésillon (1984). Although he found some examples of blending in the works of Aristophanes and Rabelais – two authors who are known for their verbal inventiveness and virtuosity – blending seems to be a pastime for literary authors, such as Lewis

Carroll, who suggested the term *portmanteau word*, James Joyce (see for instance his *Finnegan's Wake*), and Heinrich Heine. Grésillon studied a corpus of blends found in the works of the German poet Heinrich Heine. The corpus consisted of 62 forms altogether.

Marchand (1969: 452) also produces a few instances of blending that are attested in older texts, such as Shakespeare's *glaze* for the amalgam of *glare* and *gaze*. Moreover, he quotes a few examples from the first half of the 19th century, such as *slantindicular*, a combination of *slanting* and *perpendicular*, and *squarson*, for *squire* + *parson*. Fischer (1998) adds *foolosophy* as an example from the 16th century and *knavigation* from the 17th century (*knavery* + *navigation*, 'villainous misleading').

However, it was not until Lewis Carroll, the first great propagandist of this type of wordplay, that blending became more frequent. Carroll coined, for instance, the now common forms *slithy*, from *slimy* and *lithe*, and *chortle*, from *chuckle* and *snort*. Perhaps it is due to this creative, literary use by authors such as Lewis Carroll and later James Joyce that blending or portmanteau words, as Carroll called the phenomenon, was not taken seriously. However, since about the middle of the 20th century blends seem to have developed into an important word formation pattern (Cannon 1986: 737). And recently the picture changed radically since, as Whitman (2013) testifies,

English speakers love to create new words by blending existing ones together into portmanteau words. Sometimes a particular word gets pulled into so many portmanteaus that a fragment of that word becomes "liberated" to become an affix (i.e. a prefix or suffix) all by itself — but one that has a much more specific meaning than what you get with affixes like *un-*, *-ly*, or *-ness*. The best example might be the suffix *-gate*, which jumped free of the name *Watergate* to embark on a successful career turning any noun into a scandal. The linguist Arnold Zwicky coined the term *libfix* for these creations, and like ants in the grass, once you've identified one of them, you start to see them all over the place.

In other modern Western languages the situation was more or less the same as in English until recently, *i.e.* blending existed as an epiphenomenon.

The following examples show how common and productive blending currently is:

- | | | |
|-------------|------|------------------------------|
| (1) English | | |
| phablet | from | phone + tablet |
| twaiku | | tweet + haiku |
| Billary | | Bill + Hillary |
| Hitlary | | Hitler + Hillary |
| Sharknado | | shark + tornado ¹ |

These five examples are only a small part of a much larger lexicon of very recent blends. In other Western cultures the process of blending names, such as *Billary* or *Brangelina*, or alternately *Bradgelina* (from Brad Pitt and Angelina Jolie), has become fully accepted, as shows the example *Merkozy* from Merkel and Sarkozy. This new name for the German-French political tandem was accepted in France, Germany, the UK, the Netherlands and many more EU countries almost immediately and appeared not only on Internet sites but also in newspapers, which are usually slightly more conservative in accepting neologisms.

In Polish, blending existed as a unique example, as this one from 1974 shows:

- | | | | |
|-----------------|------|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| (2) Wisłostrada | from | Wisła + autostrada | (1974) |
| | | | (name of a motorway) |
| (3) kobieteria | | kobieta + kafeteria | (a kind of |
| | | | women's club) |
| (4) warzywiada | | warzywo + olimpiada | (lit. Vegetable |
| | | | Olympics, <i>i.e.</i> an agro |
| | | | products festival) |

Examples (3) and (4), which have recently been attested in advertisements and newspapers, show that the process is becoming more and more commonplace in modern Polish, which may also be concluded from the examples in (5):

- | | | |
|--------------|------|----------------------|
| (5) Transpol | from | transport + pol(ski) |
| Dunpol | | duński + pol(ski) |

1 *Sharknado* is a 2013 disaster movie by Anthony C. Ferrante that advertises itself as: "When a freak hurricane swamps Los Angeles, nature's deadliest killer rules the sea, land and air as thousands of sharks terrorize the waterlogged populace."

Danpol	Danuta + pol(ski)
Zbigpol	Zbigniew + pol(ski)

Hamans (1996) discusses these and similar examples at length. The first examples of this type of company names, quite often but not always transport firms, appeared in the early 1990s, shortly after the fall of the Berlin Wall. These firms wanted to show their modern approach together with their Polish background. In the case of *Dunpol*, the name referred to the route that the transport firm took between Denmark ‘Dania’ (adjective *duński*) and Poland. In the last two examples it is the name of the owner from which the final form is derived. This process of naming has become as popular as the corresponding German² process with *Sped*, from *Spedition* ‘transport,’ as in, for instance, *Eurosped*, *GodeSped*, *Transsped* and *Spedtrans*, or as *Trans* from *transport*, as in, for instance, *Agrotrans*, *Eurotrans*, *I-Trans*, *PetroTrans*, and *Zwaantrans*, in several modern Western European languages.

It will be clear that only the first or a few of the ‘first’ new forms of a paradigm such as (5) are real blends. After one, or after a few successful newly coined blends, the resulting form(s) are re-analyzed, or recut, as Gorman (2013) calls this process, and interpreted as containing a part which can be seen as an affix, *i.e.* a libfix. So, from a certain moment on *-pol*, *-sped* and *-trans* should not be seen as a curtailed stump of the source word in the process of blending but as affixes or affixoids, *i.e.* forms on the way to becoming affixes.

The same happened to the French form *-naute*:

(6) astronaute	from (Gr.) astron ‘star’ + (Gr.) nautès ‘navigator’
cosmonaute	(Gr.) kosmos ‘universe’ + astronaute
spationaute	(Lat.) spatium ‘space’ + astronaute
taikonaute	(Chin.) taikongen ‘space’ + astronaute
vyomanaute	(Sanskrit.) vyoma ‘heaven’ + astronaute

Astronaute is the original and oldest form of the five examples presented in (6). *Astronaute* is a learned word and a blend. *Cosmonaute* is a clear blend of *kosmos* + *astronaute*.

² This form, *Sped*, has already been borrowed as part of the name of a transport firm into, among others, Serbian, Slovakian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Hungarian and Polish.

The meaning of these five forms, which are also found in English, is the same, and only the referents differ. *Astronaute* nowadays refers to American astronauts, *cosmonaute* to their Russian counterparts, *spationaute* is the term for a French astronaut, whereas *taikonaute* refers to Chinese and *vyomanaute* to Indian astronauts.

However, the development did not stop here.

(7) internaute	Internet surfer
boulistenaute	Internet site for players of jeux de boules / pétanque (bouliste = player of pétanque)
Briconaute	department store for DIY repair (brico = DIY)

It is evident that from a certain not well retraceable moment on, *-naute* became an affix or an affixoid with a meaning that may be broader than ‘navigator.’

These examples show two developments:

- blending has become a productive process in the languages discussed here, whereas it was not until some decades ago. Blending existed as an epiphenomenon in these languages, whereas it is now, at least in special registers, a more or less common process;
- blending may lead to the re-segmentation of hitherto unanalyzable words³ and, as a consequence, to the origin of new affixes.

However, these examples do not prove directly that it is the influence of a dominant language, usually American English, that triggers the process in the borrowing languages, although it seems that blending became more common and frequent before it became accepted as a normal process in a language such as Polish. However, other examples of libfixing, and especially of clipping, will provide evidence for the influence of a dominant distant language.

3 Marchand (1969: 451) is quite clear about the status of blends: “Blending [...] has no grammatical, but a stylistic status. The result of blending is, indeed, always a moneme, i.e. an unanalysable, simple word.” Therefore, blending cannot be productive according to Marchand and others. The examples here show that Marchand is mistaken.

2. Libfixes originating from blends

Libfixes are affix-like formatives that appear to have been extracted from hitherto unanalyzable words after re-segmentation of these words. In examples (5), (6) and (7) we already saw libfixes such as the Polish *-pol*, German *-sped* or French *-naute*. There are many more instances of libfixing that start with a blend:

- | | | |
|------|---|-----------------------------------|
| (8) | glitterati
digiterati
twitterati | glitter + literari |
| (9) | bubblicious
babelicious
booblicious | bubble (gum) + delicious |
| (10) | shockumentary
mockumentary | shock + documentary |
| (11) | infotainment
edutainment
docutainment
spiritainment
sextainment
multi-tainment
e-tainment | information + entertainment |
| (12) | motel
boatel
artotel | motorist + hotel or motor + hotel |

Next to these English examples one finds numerous recent examples in other languages such as Dutch, French and German:

- | | | |
|------------|--|---|
| (13) Dutch | zomertainment
wintertainment
fototainment
sporttainment | summer entertainment
winter entertainment
photo entertainment
sportstainment |
|------------|--|---|

Twentertainment	an organization that promotes musical entertainment in the Dutch region of Twente
C.R.E.A.tainment	a postgraduate program for creative entertainment professionals in Flanders

(14) Dutch

kanotel	hotel for canoeists
zotel	a combination of a hospital (<i>ziekenhuis</i>) and a hotel
stutel	students' hotel
scoutel	name of a hostel for scouts in Antwerp

(15) French

velotel	hotel for cyclists (<i>vélo</i> = bicycle)
ap(p)artotel ⁴	combination of apartment and hotel (French <i>appartement</i>)
citotel ⁵	chain of independent hotels in French cities and resorts (<i>cit�</i> = city)

(16) German

Rotel	“Rollendes Hotel,” a bus company that organizes holidays with full accommodation on board
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Examples (8–11) show again how common blending has become in modern English and how common ‘derivation’ via libfixes is. Second, they show how blends, which are theoretically unanalyzable since the curtailed parts of the original source words have no theoretical status whatsoever, have nevertheless been reinterpreted by language users. They feel that there is a certain borderline operating in the resulting form, which means that as a consequence they may use this border to cut the blend into two parts. Subsequently, these parts, or one of the parts, may be used as an affix-like formative.

Take, for instance, the form:

(10) shockumentary

4 This form now also appears in Spanish, Greek and Dutch as well, just as in some English-speaking countries. As many of these (commercial or media) neologisms, this form quickly became a part of international business jargon.

5 In French, the libfix *-otel* is on its way to becoming an independent form, see, for instance, the name ‘Bordeauxotel’ for a hotel in Bordeaux.

In this form the original source word *shock* is still recognizable. Therefore, the language user analyzes the form as consisting of *shock* + *-umentary*. Consequently, this last form may be used as an affix-like form in *mockumentary*. In (11) the situation is different:

(11) edutainment

In this resulting blend no existing English word can be recognized. However, the blends *edutainment*⁶ and *docutainment*⁷ almost immediately became common, rather frequent forms, at least in media jargon, and so the users of this special register recognized a common part in these words, which is a confusivum in the terms of Zabrocki (1962, 1967 and 1980). Such frequent common parts, *i.e.* confusiva, are conceived as elements with a certain real linguistic status, just as morphemes or syllables. Therefore, language users started to use the common part of *-tainment* as a productive affix-like formative.⁸

In either Dutch, French or German, or in the specialized registers of these languages, forms such as *edutainment*⁹ and *motel*¹⁰ became accepted

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- 6 “The term ‘EDUTAINMENT’ was used as early as in 1948 by Walt Disney to describe his True-Life Adventures series, but the noun *edutainment* is a portmanteau coined by Robert Heyman in 1973 while producing documentaries for the National Geographic Society” (Powsinska 2011).
- 7 “Noun, *North American*: Entertainment provided by movies or other presentations that include documentary materials, intended both to inform and to entertain. Origin 1970s: blend of documentary and entertainment” (http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/american_english/docutainment).
- 8 Another explanation may also be suggested: the source word *entertainment* might have been re-analyzed as consisting of two parts, *i.e.* the first part *ente*, homonymous with the existing English verb *enter*, and the remaining part *-tainment*. This kind of explanation will not work for the following examples, such as *Pakistan*, *Turkmenistan*, *Afghanistan* (see 22).
- 9 *Edutainment* was attested in Dutch for the first time in 1994 and became popular in specialized contexts from 1995/1996 onwards (<http://www.etymologiebank.nl/trefwoord/edutainment>). One of the first attestations of *docutainment* in Dutch can be found in the national newspaper *Trouw* in an article about the International Documentary Film Festival Amsterdam (IDFA). *Docutainment* here is still used enclosed in quotation marks in the body of the article. In the headline, which says “docutainment favourite genre in 2011,” the word appears without quotation marks.
- 10 “The word Motel is coined in 1925, from motor- + hotel. Originally a hotel for automobile travellers. The Milestone Interstate Corporation ... proposes to build and operate a chain of motor hotels between San Diego and Seattle, the hotels to have

borrowings, but much later than when they were introduced in American English. The speakers of these languages apparently also knew what the source words of these blends were and therefore were able to analyze the resulting forms as containing the formative *-otel* or *-tainment*. Subsequently, these suffix-like formative, or libfixes, became productive in the languages to which they belong, as examples (13–16) show.

3. Libfixes without previous blending

Reanalysis of blends is not the only source of libfixes. Libfixes can also be the result of the reanalysis of uncommon, often borrowed, words (17 and 18), or of a conscious reanalysis of new words (19), uncommon words (20), or names (21 and 22), as in:

- (17) *cavalcade*¹¹ from It. *cavalcata*
autocade
motorcade
camelcade

- (18) *landscape*¹² from Du. *Landschap*
seascape
cloudscape
soundscape

the name ‘Motel.’ [“Hotel Monthly,” March 1925]” (*Online Etymology Dictionary*, <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=motel>). According to <http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/motel>, the word was coined by Arthur Heinman for his Motel Inn of San Luis Obispo, established in 1925. In Dutch, the word *motel* is known from 1954 onwards, whereas it appeared in German for the first time in 1953 (<http://www.etymologiebank.nl/trefwoord/motel>).

- 11 In *cavalcade*, reinterpretation may have led to the idea that the word contained a noun, *caval* (cf. Fr. *cheval*), which appears in Eng. as *chivalrous* (Fr. *chevalresque*) and that, as a consequence, the “secreted” (Marchand 1969: 212) or “liberated” (Zwicky: 2010) second part *-cade* should mean ‘parade,’ as Marchand (1969: 212–213) suggests.
- 12 In the borrowing of *landscape*, the cognate *land* was recognized and, as a consequence, the word was re-segmented as consisting of *land* + *scape*. So, a libfix *-scape* originated (cf. Marchand 1969: 212).

- (19) selfie
smelfie
(book)shelfie
- (20) apocalypse
aquapocalypse¹³
replyallcalypse
spamocalypse
- (21) Armageddon¹⁴
snowmageddon
carmageddon
euromageddon
- (22) Pakistan
Afghanistan
Turkmenistan
Uzbekistan
Kurdistan
Absurdistan¹⁵
Londonistan¹⁶
Dum(b)fuckistan¹⁷

13 This form can also be explained as a blend of the Latin word *aqua* + apocalypse.

14 Although there is a swearword *geddon*, which refers to stinking, sweating persons having an Armenian background, it is not very likely that language users recognized this form in Armageddon since there is no semantic relation between *geddon* and *Armageddon*. Most probably a creative language user coined the first term with *-(ma)geddon* and managed to get this form accepted. The meaning of ‘chaos as if it was the End of Times’ is transferred to the libfix *-(ma)geddon*.

15 This word was first “invented” in Germany in 1971, where it was used in a political study. Later it became a household term used by the Czech dissident and later president Václav Havel. From 1989 onwards it became a popular word in (American) English to denote failed communist states (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Absurdistan>).

16 This name came in use from the mid-1990s onwards (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Londonistan_%28term%29).

17 This nickname for the US came in use after the re-election of George W. Bush in 2004 (<http://nl.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Dumbfuckistan>).

In the examples (17–21), it is most likely that reanalysis of the original form, *i.e.* *cavalcade*, *landscape*, *selfie*, *apocalypse* and *Armageddon*, formed the starting point of the separation, “liberation,” of a libfix and, as a consequence, of the productive formation of whole paradigms of neologisms ending in the new affix-like formations.

For example (22) this seems unlikely, as there seems to be no good reason to re-segment a name such as *Pakistan*. Yet, after having come across a few similar names with the same ending and the same “exotic” connotation, language users may have recognized a confusivum, intuitively gave this segment linguistic status and thus started to use it as an affix-like formative.

So far we have only seen that libfixing without an underlying blend has become common and frequent in modern (American) English. However, some of these forms and their corresponding processes have been borrowed by other languages as well. See, for instance, the following examples found in Dutch:

- (23) selfie
 stemfie¹⁸ ballotfie
 brilfie¹⁹ selfie with specs

Recently, *selfies* became as popular in the Netherlands as elsewhere. Also, new word formations on the basis of *selfie* have become known. Since the speakers of Dutch recognize the English word *self*, most Dutch youngsters know some English, moreover, the Dutch word for *self* is similar, *i.e.* *zelf*, these speakers of Dutch realize that the form may possibly be segmented as consisting of *self* + *ie*; so at the moment the object of the picture is not ‘self’ anymore but a ballot paper or a face with glasses (spectacles), so the nouns *stem* or *bril* may take the place of *self*.

- (24) Verweggistan²⁰ Faraway-istan
 Hakkiafistan²¹ Cut off-istan

18 *Stemfie* is a very recent word which came up during the Dutch local elections of March 2014.

19 *Brilfie* was introduced for the “Day of Specs,” April 8, 2014 (<http://www.taalkbank.nl/index.php/woord-van-de-dag/item/brilfie>).

20 Attested for the first time in Donald Duck comic books from the 50. or 60. of the last century.

21 The term was introduced by the columnist Menno Hurenkamp, see his collection of columns *De kleine pijn van de vooruitgang*. Amsterdam: Van Genneep 2009.

Boerpummelistan ²²	Dumbfuckistan
Hollandistan ²³	Holland taken over by Islamists
Homostan ²⁴	a country for homosexuals only

Although *Verweggistan* is much older and most probably an invention of the creative translators the bulk of Dutch, the *-(i)stan* examples emerged 15 years after these new word formations had become popular in American English. Most of these Dutch forms ending in *-(i)stan* are made consciously, and quite often the name of the “inventor” is even known. These are highly educated political commentators and columnists with adequate knowledge of English. Once the terms have been invented and introduced, the words become more popular and frequent and are also used by other speakers, who in turn produce new forms, e.g. see *brilfie*, *zwerfie*, a picture of *zwerfvuil* ‘litter,’ *lulfie*, a selfie of a *lul* ‘penis,’ *nichtistan*, a country for homosexuals only (*nicht* = gay), or *gekkistan*, a country of idiots (*gek* = idiot).

The borrowing of libfixes and their word formation processes do not only come from English:

- (25) French
 bibliothèque²⁵
 pinacothèque²⁶
 discothèque²⁷
 phonothèque²⁸

22 Introduced by the same author, Menno Hurenkamp, in an article in *De Groene Amsterdammer*, May 19, 2006.

23 A term that became popular in Dutch right-wing anti-Muslim circles from 2004/2005 onwards.

24 A term used, among others, by the Dutch columnist Stephan Sanders in a column in the weekly *VN* (August 12, 2006) (<http://www.vn.nl/Opiniemakers/Stephan-Sanders/Artikel-Stephan-Sanders/Tutu.htm>).

25 Attested in French from 1493 onwards (<http://www.cnrtl.fr/etymologie/biblioth%C3%A8que>).

26 Attested in French from 1547 onwards (<http://www.cnrtl.fr/etymologie/pinacoth%C3%A8que>).

27 Attested for the first time in 1928 (<http://www.cnrtl.fr/etymologie/discoth%C3%A8que>).

28 Attested for the first time in 1929 (<http://www.cnrtl.fr/etymologie/phonoth%C3%A8que>).

Bibliothèque is, in French, a simple, learned word that has been borrowed from Latin as a simple, non-analyzable form. The Latin word is of Greek origin. *Pinacothèque* has a similar history. There was already a pinacotheca in Athens as well as in Rome. The Latin form *pinacotheca* became *pinacothèque* in French. However, in the early 20th century some of the speakers of French who were using the word *bibliothèque* still knew enough Greek and Latin to form new learned words such as *discothèque*, not for disco, which the word refers to nowadays, but for a collection of records. A year later a comparable form, *phonothèque*, was coined.

These and other forms became common enough to be interpreted by the speakers of French as consisting of X + *-(o)thèque*, and to give rise to the French suffix *-(o)thèque*, which one may find in recent words such as:

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------|---|
| (26) | artothèque ²⁹ | art-lending gallery |
| | bédéthèque | collection of comic books, BD,
bande dessinée (a comic book) |
| | ludothèque | children's toy-lending service |
| | vidéothèque | video library |
| | sperma(to)thèque | seed bank |

Since a language such as Dutch used to borrow dozens of learned words from the then more prestigious language of French in the early days, the Dutch lexicon contains the following forms as presented in (27):

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------|--|
| (27) | bibliotheek | library |
| | discotheek | collection of records, later also disco |
| | fonotheek | collection of records and scores (for the Dutch radio) |
| (28) | artotheek ³⁰ | art-lending facility |
| | mediatheek ³¹ | lending facility for records, films, <i>etc.</i> , and at the same time a documentation center where one can read newspapers, journals and where one can surf the Internet |
| | archeothek ³² | lending facility for archaeological objects |

29 This neologism was introduced in Sweden for the first time in 1958 by Gallery Brinken Stockholm. In France, the word appeared in the standard dictionary *Grand Robert* in the 1970s (Fallet 2012: 12–13).

30 Attested for the first time in Dutch in 1972 (<http://www.etymologiebank.nl/trefwoord/artotheek>).

The first examples in (28), *artotheek* and *mediatheek*, may have been borrowed, but *archeotheek* definitely was not. It is a new analogical formation coined on the basis of forms such as the examples in (27) and in which an affix-like formative *-theek* appears.

The same formative plays a notable role in the examples presented in (29), where the first part are original Dutch words and roots. So far, *-theque* and *-theek* have only combined with neoclassical forms.

(29) speelotheek ³³	children's toy-lending service
brodotheek ³⁴	name of a fancy bakery
filmotheek ³⁵	collection of movies
fietsotheek	name of a pub in a former bicycle parking, a name that was later also in use for a collection of antique bicycles and for a bicycle-lending service
koetsotheek ³⁶	name of a disco originally in a former coach house in Leiden

Some of these forms are meant to be jocular, but *speelotheek* and *filmotheek* are quite serious new formations. What can be concluded from these examples is that the speakers of Dutch, after first having borrowed learned forms from French, started to re-analyze these forms and observed that they had a final segment in common which had a specific meaning. They then used this final segment, *i.e.* the affix-like formative *-(o)theek*, for new word-formation processes in which the meaning of the affix was extended and along with other word-formation conditions

31 Appeared for the first time in the standard Dutch dictionary Van Dale in 1999 (<http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mediatheek>). The French counterpart, *mediathèque*, appeared in print for the first time in 1972 (<http://www.cnrtl.fr/lexicographie/m%C3%A9diath%C3%A8que>).

32 Opened on June 20, 2014 in Vlaardingen, a city not far from Rotterdam.

33 This is currently a very common word that first appeared in print in 1986 (<http://www.etymologiebank.nl/trefwoord/speelotheek>).

34 Attested by Hamans (1989: 12) and seen in the early 1980s.

35 Attested for the first time in Dutch in 1963 (<http://www.etymologiebank.nl/trefwoord/portret>). 'Film' is of course a loanword, from English, but it became fully accepted in Dutch.

36 The last two forms are attested by Hamans (1989: 13) and observed for the first time in the early 1980s.

than the original affix-like formative (e.g. the requirement that the first segment should be a neoclassical formative was discarded).

The same happened in Polish:

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| (30) | biblioteka | library | | |
| | dyskoteka | disco | | |
| | apteka | pharmacy | | |
| (31) | mebloteka | furniture store | | |
| | piwoteka | beer shop | next to piwiarnia | beerhouse |
| | winoteka | wine shop | next to winiarnia | winery |
| | lekoteka ³⁷ | pharmacy | next to apteka | pharmacy |
| | minoteka | a whole set of grimaces | from mina | grimace |

It goes without saying that all of these forms and the corresponding commercial institutions emerged after the fall of communism. *Minoteka* is an analogical formation without a commercial background. *Lekoteka* and *minoteka* are very recent coinings.

4. Clipping

The last phenomenon which will be discussed here is clipping, although not the entire process of clipping and all types of clipping will be analyzed here, and only the type which has become productive recently and that is borrowed by other languages. For more aspects of clipping, see Hamans (1997, 2004a, b, 2012). What is interesting here is that clipping as a productive form of word formation is a recent phenomenon and clipping may eventually be combined with suffixing.

So far, clipping has always been as an exceptional epiphenomenon in morphology. Marchand (1969: 448–449) calls it “a modern phenomenon. [...] Old are only shortenings of names, which are not infrequent in Old Greek, OHG, and a few other languages (apparently not in Latin). But clipping, as we understand it today, was unknown in ancient times.”

Antoine (2000b: xxiv) is slightly more specific:

Clipping is not a recent formation process even though the corpus shows that the contemporary period is quite productive in English. The first

³⁷ This form is truly remarkable since it is completely synonymous with *apteka*. *Lekarz* means ‘physician.’

clipping appeared in English earlier than in French, with a first clipped word dated 1300. It is indeed a single instance but a few dozen words appeared before 1700 and about 50 between 1700 and 1800.

In the introduction to his French dictionary of clipped words Antoine (2000a: xxiv) notices that when it comes to clipping “the contemporary period is especially fertile in French and pretty fertile in English.”³⁸

English is said to have a preference for monosyllabic clippings (Jespersen 1933) and indeed most of the oldest clippings in English are of a (C)(C)VC(C)-structure, *vet*, *pres*, *ad*, *mike*, *unc*, *mex*. However, some time ago a new pattern came up:

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|------|---------------------|
| (32) | <i>psycho</i> ³⁹ | from | <i>psychopath</i> |
| | <i>nympho</i> ⁴⁰ | from | <i>nymphomaniac</i> |
| | <i>dipso</i> ⁴¹ | from | <i>dipsomaniac</i> |

Other clippings ending in *-o*, such as *mayo*, *demo* and *intro*, will not be discussed here. We restrict ourselves to [+ human] clippings ending in *-o*. What should be noted first is that all of these words end in a confusivum *-o*, which originally belonged to the full form of the source word. Subsequently, the final *-o* in these forms was seen as a sign for an informal register and therefore could be added to clipped forms not ending in *-o* themselves. Jespersen (1942: 223) already produced a few forms in which final *-o* was added to a clipped noun⁴²:

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------------------|------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| (33) | <i>journo</i> | from | <i>journalist</i> | <i>journal</i> + <i>-o</i> |
| | <i>commo</i> ⁴³ | from | <i>commissary</i> | <i>comm</i> + <i>-o</i> |
| | <i>Salvo</i> | from | <i>Salvation Army</i> | <i>salv</i> + <i>-o</i> |

38 “[...] la période contemporaine est particulièrement fertile en français et assez fertile en anglais.”

39 According to Merriam-Webster, attested for the first time in 1942 (<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/psycho>).

40 According to Merriam-Webster, attested for the first time circa 1910 (<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nympho>).

41 According to Merriam-Webster, attested for the first time in 1880 (<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/dipso>).

42 This *-o* is, according to Jespersen (1942: 223), “a suffix of a slangy, often also hypocoristic, character which does not really chance the sense of the root-word itself.”

43 There also exists a clipped word *commo* from *commodore*. This clipping is of the type discussed in (32).

In a third, more recent stage, *-o* was added after full forms without any previous clipping:

(34)	weirdo ⁴⁴	from	weird	weird + -o
	sicko ⁴⁵	from	sick	sick + -o
	rapo ⁴⁶	from	rape	rape + -o

Here, *-o* is an affix-like formative, perhaps already a full suffix, which has a pejorative meaning and is a sign for a highly informal, slangy register.⁴⁷

In modern Dutch, one observes the same development and the same three stages, although some decades later. Dutch originally had the same preference for closed monosyllabic clippings as English: *Jap* from *Japanner* ‘Japanese,’ *luit* from *luitenant* ‘lieutenant,’ or *mees* from *meester* ‘master, teacher,’ but the first clipped form ending in *-o*, *Indo* from *Indo-European*, for persons of mixed, colonial parentage, usually with a European father and an Indonesian mother, was attested already in 1898.⁴⁸ However, this form is a clear exception. The second clipped form ending in *-o* is *homo* for *homoseksueel* ‘homosexual.’ It was a gay organization itself that introduced this word as a euphemism in 1954,⁴⁹ since in *homo* the then still offensive part of the word *sex* could be avoided. The third word is *provo*, ‘a youngster of the provo movement that was reaching its peak in the mid-sixties in Amsterdam.’ The word was “invented”

44 According to Merriam-Webster, attested for the first time *ca.* 1955 (<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/weirdo>).

45 According to Merriam-Webster, the first known use was in 1963 (<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/sicko>).

46 Reported in the *Urban Dictionary* for the first time in 2004 (<http://nl.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=rapo>).

47 It is unclear, apart from the formal development as sketched above, why this development emerged and became so popular. This is most likely due to the Romance, especially Hispanic, influence in American English. In Australian English, *-o* and the comparable *-y/-ie* are even more frequent (see Hamans 2012: 26–27 and the literature quoted there), but it is unlikely that Australian English could have had such an impact on American English.

48 <http://www.etymologiebank.nl/trefwoord/indo>

49 <http://www.etymologiebank.nl/trefwoord/homo2>

in 1965.⁵⁰ In the decades to follow, clipped forms ending in *-o* became more and more popular:

(35)	pedo ⁵¹	from	pedofiel	paedophile
	impo ⁵²	from	impotent	impotent person
	aso ⁵³	from	asociaal	antisocial person

The meaning of these forms and their stylistic value is similar to that of their English counterparts. The negative meaning is, of course, due to the meaning of the source word.

Stage II, *i.e.* the clipping of adjectives followed by suffixing, followed almost immediately:

(36)	lesbo ⁵⁴	from	lesbisch	lesbian
	alto ⁵⁵	from	alternatief	alternative person
	sago/chaggo ⁵⁶	from	chagrijnig	cantankerous figure
	Limbo ⁵⁷	from	Limburg	dumb figure from the province Limburg
	Brabo ⁵⁸	from	Brabant	dumb figure from the province Brabant
	Ito ⁵⁹	from	Italië	dumb person from Italy

50 <http://www.etymologiebank.nl/trefwoord/provo>

51 Attested in print for the first time in 1988 (<http://www.etymologiebank.nl/trefwoord/pedo>).

52 Heard as a swear word in the 1990s.

53 Attested in print for the first time in 1986 (<http://www.etymologiebank.nl/trefwoord/aso>).

54 Attested in print for the first time in 1996 (<http://www.etymologiebank.nl/trefwoord/lesbo>).

55 Attested in print for the first time in 1987 (<http://www.etymologiebank.nl/trefwoord/alto1>).

56 Found in chat transcripts from 2004 onwards.

57 Attested in print for the first time in 1985 (<http://www.etymologiebank.nl/trefwoord/limbo>).

58 Attested in print for the first time in 1993 (<http://www.etymologiebank.nl/trefwoord/brabo>).

59 See <http://www.etymologiebank.nl/trefwoord/limbo>

Here, *-o* has a similar slangy, informal meaning as in the examples presented by Jespersen (33). However, quite often the clipped forms have a pejorative meaning, even when the source word is neutral, see *Limbo*, *Brabo* and *Ito*.

Stage III suffixing after a full noun of the adjective started more or less at the same time, but mostly as a process of conscious word formation:

(37)	positivo ⁶⁰	from	positief	a boring, positive figure
	jazzo ⁶¹	from	jazz	jazz fan
	lullo ⁶²	from	lul 'penis'	shithead
	lokalo ⁶³	from	lokaal	a representative of a local political group
	suffo ⁶⁴	from	suf 'dull'	dull person

All of the examples presented in (37) are highly informal and have a negative connotation, except for *jazzo*.

The process of *-o* suffixing as presented in (36) and (37) is not incidental, as one may expect since some of these forms were consciously coined. Nevertheless, the process became structural and therefore productive. Not all examples presented here are still in use or in general use, but in the meantime dozens and dozens of new forms have come up, and not only in the slang of youngsters. What all of these forms – clipped forms + *-o* (stage II) or full words suffixed by *-o* (stage III) – have in common is that they all share an informal register and most of the time a pejorative meaning. So the “meaning” of *-o* can be described as [+ informal] and [+ negative]. The structural character of *-o* can also be seen in the further development of some of the examples presented here. Some were already reinterpreted as if having an Italian background and as being comparable

60 Introduced by the TV comedians Van Kooten en de By, October 20, 1982 (<http://www.etymologiebank.nl/trefwoord/positivo>).

61 A term used by youngsters from 1985 onwards (<http://www.etymologiebank.nl/trefwoord/jazzo>).

62 Introduced by the satirical TV program *Jiskefet*, December 5, 1995. The word became immensely popular.

63 Attested in print for the first time in 1998 (<http://www.etymologiebank.nl/trefwoord/lokalo>).

64 Reported to the author in the second half of the 1990s.

to the pairs *diva*–*divo* and *bravo*–*brava*; so along with *lullo* and *lesbo* one also finds *lulla* and *lesba* as the “female” counterparts.

What may be concluded from these examples is that a development which started in such a dominant language as American English turned out to be so attractive that it was borrowed into another, less prestigious and distant language somewhat later, most likely via initially borrowed word forms. These words were re-analyzed in a similar way as in the source language. Consequently, the processes became productive on their own in the borrowing languages and produced completely new forms. Also, the meaning of the “suffix” changed somehow, *e.g.* in Dutch *-o* is more negative than in English, compare, for instance, the examples given in (33) to those presented in (36).⁶⁵

Conclusions

In this paper, three processes were studied, namely blending, libfixing and clipping. All three started in a dominant language, mostly English, but later also in French. Instances of these young processes have been borrowed by less prestigious languages such as Dutch, German and Polish. In these languages the borrowed word formations were re-analyzed by language users, which led to similar word formation processes as in the source languages. However, the word formation processes in the borrowing languages also resulted in completely new forms, and so the processes became a part of the grammar of the borrowing languages. This is how global contact can structurally influence the grammar of other languages.

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65 The borrowing of *-o* is not a process that is restricted to Dutch only, see, for instance, the popular nickname for the German football player Jürgen Klopp, who is called *Kloppo* (Klopp + *-o*) by his fans, whereas in German, clipped forms usually end in *-i*. That is why the Polish football player Lewandowski, who plays in the German premier league, is called *Lewi* by his German, and also Polish, fans. For examples of clipped forms ending in *-o* in languages such as Swedish and Icelandic, see Hamans (2004b).

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Social Representations and the Fate of Ethnic Community Languages: A Case Study of French Foreign Language Learners in Tanzanian Secondary Schools

ABSTRACT. The concept of social representation is increasingly gaining importance beyond its field of origin, *i.e.* social psychology. It is frequently encountered in sociolinguistics and in applied linguistics, especially in multilingual contexts. Its centrality in the latter fields lies in the fact that social representations can influence not only practices related to language learning and use by multilingual individuals, but also the intergenerational transmission of languages in contact. With more than 120 Ethnic Community Languages (ECLs), Tanzania stands out among African countries with the highest sociolinguistic diversity. However, in the current state of affairs this diversity is unlikely to be sustainably transmitted across generations. The number of speakers of ECLs among the younger generations is diminishing significantly. This trend is attributable to multiple factors, among which is social representation toward these languages. Most French foreign language students in Tanzanian secondary schools have, at varying levels of competency, exposure to at least four different languages, namely a given ethnic community language (ECL), Swahili, English and, of course, some French words. However, the way individuals relate to these languages and the images they attach to each of them leave much to be desired. This paper intends to analyze social representations expressed by French students of the different languages constituting their multilingual repertoire. The ultimate objective is to understand the social image accorded to ECLs and the implication of such an image in the intergenerational transmission of these languages, and to propose both sociolinguistic and didactic alternatives to be adopted in order to positively influence the prevailing social representations and to ensure their vitality across generations. Oral and written data collected from 11 secondary schools in five Tanzanian regions will be used for the analysis here.

KEYWORDS: multilingualism, social representations, Ethnic Community Languages, language vitality.

Introduction

It is an evident fact that languages are not static; they are, without exception, in a constant state of change. While some of them experience epochs of ascendancy, others face epochs of decline. Some languages expand and acquire new functions and users, while others experience loss of functions, loss of speakers and, so to speak, death. The phenomena of language birth, growth and death are well attested and have existed since time immemorial. However, in recent decades we have witnessed growing concerns and efforts to maintain the vitality of languages, especially endangered ones. This trend indicates that societies and governments have become more conscious of the importance of languages. In fact, Crystal (2000) puts forward a number of interesting arguments in favor of language maintenance. First, just as biological species, linguistic “species” need to be maintained for healthy language “ecology.” Second, languages are an important pillar for sociocultural identity. Third, just as museums, languages are used as repositories for sociocultural knowledge and shared history. Fourth, every language represents a unique view of the universe; it is a way of being and acting. Last, languages are interesting in their own right as far as their phonological, morphological and semantic particularities are concerned. On the basis of these arguments the maintenance of language vitality becomes a justifiable undertaking.

In connection with language vitality, Williams (1991) describes three major planning approaches that can be adopted, namely: evolutionist, conservationist and preservationist approaches. The first is based on Darwinian evolutionary theory and defends the position that every linguistic “species” has to survive according to its ability to adapt to the environment. No deliberate intervention has to be made and all languages have to compete naturally. On the contrary, the conservationist approach emphasizes not only the necessity to protect linguistic “species” but also to enrich the “ecology” of languages by putting in place mechanisms for the revitalization of moribund or extinct languages. The preservationists aim at maintaining the *status quo* on the basis that any subtractive or additive changes can jeopardize the entire system. We can see in a straightforward manner that the preservationist approach is ambivalent since, as was stated earlier, languages are constantly changing and this change is not independent of other social forces. It is logically implausible that a *status quo* can be maintained. It is, however, clear that current efforts

to protect languages are rather founded on the conservationist approach to language planning. It is similarly evident that the five arguments as advanced by Crystal (2000) in favor of language maintenance are in line with the conservationist approach to language planning.

1. Languages in contact and available statistics on their endangerment

Just as many African countries, Tanzania is linguistically and culturally diverse. The living languages existing in Tanzania are estimated to be between 120¹ and 150² in number. Their genetic diversity represents the major families existing on the African continent, namely: Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan, Indo-European, Afro-Asiatic and Khoisan. However, the current trend shows that this diversity is unlikely to be maintained across generations. The number of speakers is generally diminishing and many languages are heading towards extinction. In this paper we employ the terms “endangerment” to refer to a situation in which a language is on the path towards dying, and we use the term “extinction” to refer to a situation where a language loses all of its native speakers, as was suggested by UNESCO (2003). The current statistics³ on language endangerment in Tanzania indicate that 29 languages are shifting, two languages are dormant, five languages are moribund and, according to Petrollino and Mous (2010), two languages (Aramanik/Asaax and Kwadza) have been confirmed as extinct.

Batibo (2005) describes six indicators of language endangerment. The first is related to the current number of users of the language. According to the author, a language with fewer than 5000 speakers is deemed as highly endangered. The second indicator is linked to the degree of bilingualism in the dominant language; normally, the higher the bilingualism the higher the endangerment. The third indicator is the socio-economic disadvantage of the minority language. The fourth is the prevalence of negative attitudes towards the minority language. The fifth is linked to the non-transmission of the minority language to the younger generation, while the last is the existence of a situation whereby elderly people

1 See www.ethnologue.com

2 See “The Language Atlas of Tanzania” at www.lot.udsm.ac.tz

3 Available at: www.ethnologue.com

are beyond child-bearing age. Of course, these indicators do not operate independently and can, in various ways, influence one another.

2. Purpose and objectives of the study

This work is intended to examine the social representations⁴ of languages and their potential impact on the vitality of Tanzanian ethnic community languages (henceforth, ECLs) with particular focus on French foreign language learners in Tanzanian secondary schools. We employ the term “ethnic community language” to refer to a language used by a social group sharing a common sociocultural and geographical identity. This group shares such characteristics as traditions, customs, folklores, music, dance and, in some cases, a traditional religion. In all of these characteristics language is the central pillar. According to this conception, as suggested by Alba (1990), the qualifier “ethnic” is not to be associated with stereotypic representations of race or tribe. In the category of Tanzanian ECLs, we exclude Swahili, English and other imported languages such as Arabic, Gujarat, *etc.* Our particular interest in ECLs is founded on three main reasons.

First, all ECLs are generally “minority” languages in the sense that they are generally used for intra-community communication as opposed to dominant languages, such as Swahili and English, which are employed for wider communication. Of course, the number of speakers varies greatly across ECLs; some have as many as five million speakers, while others have only a few hundred. Second, not all ECLs have some sort of official recognition or function, as opposed to Swahili, English and French. Swahili is the national and first official language. It is also the medium of instruction in public elementary schools. English is the second official language and the medium of instruction in private elementary schools, in secondary schools and in higher education. French is officially recognized as a foreign language that is taught as a subject in several secondary schools. Last, ECLs generally share a common fate, *i.e.* they are, at varying degrees, endangered, in the general sense of the term “endangerment.” Of course, it is well attested that some ECLs

4 As is explained in the theoretical part, representations are related but not synonymous to attitudes towards languages (one of the indicators of language endangerment).

face threats from other ECLs; for instance, there are cases when small ECLs may shift to larger ones. The study pursues the following objectives:

1. To examine the social representations of ECLs in relation to Swahili, English and French.
2. To explain the origin of the representations.
3. To propose sociolinguistic and didactic options to influence representations and to promote intergenerational transmission of ECLs.

3. Theoretical considerations

Central to this paper is the concept of “representation,” in which we explore the definition and processes involved in the formation and operation of representations. According to Jodelet (1989), the term is employed to denote a form of socially developed and shared knowledge with practical implications which contributes to the construction of a common reality for a social group. Therefore, in connection to language we speak of ideas that a certain social group has about language and its use.

According to Moscovici (1961, cited in Castellotti, Moore 2002), the genesis and operation of representations involve two processes, namely objectification and anchoring. The former refers to the selection of information deemed meaningful to the individual and the transformation of such information into images which can be easily apprehended, though they are generally less informative. The latter involves the adaptation and incorporation of less familiar elements into familiar categories that are already available to the individual. In both linguistics and social psychology, there is a certain overlap between representation and attitude and, as rightly pointed out by Castellotti and Moore (2002), the two have sometimes been used interchangeably, hence the need for a conceptual distinction between the two. The authors define attitude as a predisposition to react favorably or unfavorably to a set of objects. It is, however, clear that either a favorable or unfavorable reaction implicates a close link between one’s reaction and the representation he or she has about the object in question. “Stereotypes” is another overlapping concept, but Tajfel (1981) considers them as a specific expression of representation accepted by a group as characteristics for describing the differences of other groups. It is a way that one group perceives others and, ultimately, itself as opposed to others. In the context of

this study, attitudes and stereotypes are employed as subsets of social representations.

4. Methodological considerations

The study, mainly qualitative, was conducted in 11 French-teaching⁵ secondary schools distributed in five regions of mainland Tanzania. Five schools were from the city of Dar es Salaam, while six were from smaller towns and rural districts. The aim was to find respondents from both rural and urban settings due to the fact that ethnic community languages are more dominant in rural areas and less so in urban areas.

Questionnaires containing both closed and open items were administered to a total of 168 secondary school students aged 14 to 18 years old in forms 1 and 4. The questionnaires contained three items:

1. Arrange the languages in order of proficiency.
2. Arrange the languages in order of preference, beginning with the language you love the most. Provide reasons for the first and last languages in the order.
3. Arrange the languages in order of their importance. Provide reasons for the first and last languages in the order.

The questionnaires were filled out in the presence of the researcher because most of the form 1 students, who came from Swahili-medium primary schools, had a very low level of English proficiency and needed translation and explanation to understand the content of the questions. A collective interview guide was also employed, and covered aspects related to situations where students used each of their languages, in order to understand the place of ECLs in the students' daily communication. The research findings are presented and discussed in the following section.

5. Findings and discussion

For practical purposes, the following abbreviations are used: ECL – as a general label for any ethnic community language, SW for Swahili, ENG

5 French-teaching schools were chosen because the data collection was part of a Ph.D. research project whose purpose was to study the role of multilingual resources in French foreign-language classroom interaction. There are fewer than 200 French secondary schools in Tanzania.

for English and FR for French. Table 1 below presents the responses to the arrangement of languages in order of proficiency.

Table 1. Languages in order of proficiency

Languages	Relative position in the order	N	%
ECLs	1 st	22	13
	2 nd	49	29
	3 rd	75	45
	4 th	38	23
SW	1 st	110	66
	2 nd	15	9
	3 rd	0	0
	4 th	0	0
ENG	1 st	36	21
	2 nd	102	61
	3 rd	55	33
	4 th	0	0
FR	1 st	0	0
	2 nd	0	0
	3 rd	38	23
	4 th	130	77

The arrangement was based on the students' self-evaluation, and the most frequent order was SW (66%), ENG (61%), ECL (45%) and FR (77%). A striking observation in this order was the appearance of English before the ECLs. This seemed to contradict our experience of the language practices. In Tanzania, English is not used in daily communication, apart from educational and certain administrative settings. While we recognize the diminishing levels of ECL proficiency amongst young speakers, the tendency to identify with English and to disidentify with ECL is commonly observable. For most of the students it is positive to be considered as English speakers and negative to be speakers of ECLs. This fact is even more evident in the students' responses to the question of language preference.

Table 2. Languages in order of preference

Languages	Relative position in the order	N	%
ECLs	1 st	5	3
	2 nd	16	10
	3 rd	32	19
	4th	116	69
SW	1 st	7	4
	2 nd	47	28
	3rd	99	59
	4 th	30	18
ENG	1st	105	63
	2 nd	21	13
	3 rd	17	10
	4 th	7	4
FR	1 st	51	30
	2nd	84	50
	3 rd	20	12
	4 th	15	9

The most frequent order was ENG (63%), FR (50%), SW (59%) and ECL (69%). As indicated earlier in the methodological part, our interest is in the extreme positions in the order. The following were the reasons for the appearance of English in the first position: internationality (57%), and the role of English as a medium of instruction in secondary and higher education and, of course, in private elementary schools (46%). Other factors included the ability to speak it (27%), the association of English with science and technology (24%), the easiness to learn it (20%) and the beauty of the language (18%).

As for the appearance of ECLs in the last position of preference, several reasons were given. The most frequent reason was limited utility (61%). The adjective “useless” was not uncommon in the students’ responses, and this can be explained by the fact that these languages have no official function. Another reason was that ECLs are tribal languages (27%). In this context, a tribal language is linked to tribal

division or tribalism in the negative sense of the term, which reflects the dominant discourse that has been prevalent in both the government and the general public since independence was gained. The link between ECLs and poverty was also mentioned and seems to be based on the fact that these languages are mostly used in rural areas, where poverty is more rampant as compared to the urban areas. Hence ECLs become languages of poverty by association. A total of 16% of the students further indicated that their limited knowledge of ECLs was the reason for their non-preference of these languages. A small proportion (12%) of the students mentioned female genital mutilation as a reason for their dislike of ECLs. For the purpose of clarity, the term “female genital mutilation (commonly abbreviated as FGM)” refers to partial or total removal of female genitalia for non-medical reasons. In fact, FGM is a traditional cultural practice performed by many ethnic communities in north-east and central Tanzania. It is solidly condemned by both the government and civil societies. By the same token, languages spoken by such communities are “condemned.” Table 3 below presents the responses on the arrangement of languages according to their importance.

Table 3. Languages in order of their importance

Languages	Relative position in the order	N	%
ECLs	1 st	0	0
	2 nd	0	0
	3 rd	0	0
	4 th	156	93
SW	1 st	15	10
	2 nd	26	16
	3 rd	127	76
	4 th	0	0
ENG	1 st	112	67
	2 nd	32	19
	3 rd	24	14
	4 th	0	0

Languages	Relative position in the order	N	%
FR	1 st	41	24
	2 nd	112	67
	3 rd	17	10
	4 th	12	7

As for the importance of languages, the same order was maintained as for the students' "love" of the languages: ENG (67%), FR (67%), SW (76%) and ECL (93%). According to the students' responses, three factors explain the importance of English, namely: internationality (66%), its role as a medium of instruction (59), access to employment (59%), and access to science and technology (20%). As for the last position occupied by ECLs in the order, four reasons were mentioned. Limited utility was mentioned by 68% of the students, whereas 66% indicated that ECLs were "village languages." The label "village languages" here means "rural languages." It is clear, as stated earlier, that ECLs are most dominant in rural areas, and these areas are generally poorer than urban areas. It seems plausible to argue that the label "rural languages" associates ECLs with poverty. A total of 47% of the students mentioned tribalism, while 20% mentioned non-access to employment. The latter factor is also linked to poverty.

Concerning the various situations in which ECLs are used, responses from the collective interviews revealed various cases. However, only the major cases are presented here. The first case involves the dominance of ECLs in both intra- and extra-family communication. This is a typical case of remote rural areas, where Swahili assumes a minimal role in daily communication. One of the interviewees had this to say:

Watu wa kijiji cha Lighano wanaongea sana sana kilugha. Hata tukiwa na marafiki zetu tunaongea kilugha ila tukiwa hapa shule tunaongea Kiingereza na Kiswahili." This can be translated as: "The inhabitants of Lighano village usually speak a tribal language. Even among friends we speak a tribal language, but English and Swahili are mostly used at school."

The second case involved the dominance of ECLs in intra-family communication, while Swahili was used in extra-family communication.

This case is common in both rural and semi-urban areas. It is illustrated by one of the students:

Maeneo, mara nyingi watu wanatumia kihehe wakiwa nyumbani lakini tukikutana na marafiki zetu tunaongea zaidi kiswahili. This can be translated as: "In this area normally people use Hehe at home, but when we meet our friends Swahili is spoken the most often."

The third case indicates that parents use an ECL among themselves but Swahili with their children. This is common in semi-urban and urban areas:

Mimi wazazi wangu wote ni wasukuma na wanaongea Kisukuma lakini wanawasiliana na mimi kwa Kiswahili. This can be translated as: "Both my parents are Sukuma and speak Sukuma, but they talk to me in Swahili."

The fourth case involves the use of ECLs when family members pay visits to grandparents in rural areas.

Kwenye familia yetu wengi tunaweza kuongea Kinyamwezi lakini hatukitumii hadi tukiwatembelea bibi na babu ama wakija kututembelea. This can be translated as: "In the family most of us can speak Nyamwezi, but we normally don't use it unless we pay a visit to our grandparents or they visit us."

General interpretation of the findings

The data indicate that English and ECLs occupy extreme positions as far as preference and importance are concerned. While the former is linked to positive factors such as internationality, quality education, economic prosperity, science and technology and beauty, the latter are associated with limited utility, poverty, tribalism and negative cultural practices such as female genital mutilation.

It is further attested that the preference and importance of languages are, to a great extent, determined by utilitarian factors, and that factors related to cultural identity and intellectual curiosity of languages seem less significant to adolescent students. The implication of this utilitarian thinking is that, for a language to continue to exist, it must fulfill certain recognizable functions. A close observation of these language practices indicates that the use of ECLs is significantly affected by social representations; for instance, the collective interviews have indicated

cases in which adult community members deliberately decide not to transmit ECLs to their children, even if the languages are shared by the parents. This is evidence to show that some parents have negative attitudes towards ECLs, and that such attitudes can easily be transmitted to their children.

6. Origin of social representations

Three main factors can explain the social construction and reinforcement of the negative image of ECLs, but they are by no means the only factors. The first factor dates back to the time of independence, when Swahili acquired the status of the national and official language of the nascent nation. It was then promoted as a symbol of national unity and a tool for socialist construction of the nation. As a consequence, multilingualism was considered to be a threat to national unity and as a divisive factor. Linguistic unification was equated with national unification and diversity with division. In fact, there was a *de facto* policy against ECLs – the media were used to favor Swahili and be against ECLs. In fact, Calvet (1993) points out that, at the dawn of independence, Kiswahili was a threat to both ECLs and English. Secondly, as a consequence of Swahili campaigns, rules were established against the use of ECLs in elementary schools and continue to be applied to date. In fact, a Swahili derogatory term, “kilugha,” was coined to refer to ECLs. As pointed out by Muzale and Rugemalira (2008), the prefix *ki-* is a diminutive meaning of a small language or less than a language, thus to speak kilugha is a disciplinary offense. That is why students asked the researcher whether ECLs were to be included in the list, during the administration of the questionnaire. The third factor is the absence of the official status and function of ECLs. They are considered useless because they have no official function.

7. Influencing social representations: sociolinguistic and didactic options

This study has so far made it evident that the prevailing social representations of ECLs exacerbate the already hostile environment for the vitality of these languages and they contribute to deliberate non-transmission of ECLs to younger generations. Government policies continue to turn

a blind eye on the situation and ECLs are left to struggle for their own survival. The current language planning approach seems to be based on Darwinian evolutionary theory, whereby only the fittest linguistic species can survive. If this trend is left without intervention, more ECLs will be in the line to become extinct. The extinction of ECLs means the extinction of the culture of the community in question, *i.e.* a given community's traditional knowledge, dances, folklores, traditional healing practices, *etc.* In fact, if at present Tanzania boasts of its cultural diversity, it is thanks to the cultures of the various ethnic communities. The consequences of the extinction of ECLs are not only cultural and linguistic, but also economic; for instance, the emerging sector of cultural tourism is largely dependent on ethnic community cultures.

The propositions we put forward in this paper are based on recognition of the fact that representations are socially constructed and can be socially deconstructed or modified. It was rightly pointed out by Castellotti and Moore (2002: 10) that "there is evidence (including discursive evidence) of a state of representation and its evolution in specific contexts." It is therefore possible to influence social representations by acting on the object of representation. The point of departure is recognition, by the government, of the role of cultural and linguistic diversity on national culture and development and the fact that people can have multiple linguistic identities without jeopardizing national unity. ECLs can represent a local identity, Swahili can represent a national identity while English and other foreign languages can carry an international identity. The idea of "one nation, one language and one identity" seems impossible in the current globalized world. It is being replaced by "one nation, many languages and many identities." This is in line with the conservationist thinking advocated in this study. The following options are likely to positively influence the social representations of ECLs:

1. ECLs should be taught in pre- and elementary schools according to regions in which a particular language is spoken.
2. Early literacy programs should be conducted in ECLs.
3. ECLs should be considered as legitimate means of communication during village meetings.
4. All repressions against the use of ECLs in elementary schools should be stopped.

5. Pluralistic approaches⁶ which involve working on more than one language in language classrooms at pre- and elementary school levels could prove to be a useful didactic solution in influencing representations; for instance, when learning either Swahili or English, reference can be made to ECLs. Language awareness and inter-comprehension between related languages are some of these approaches.
6. Promoting language documentation activities, in which both linguistic and cultural contents (such as proverbs, dances, folklores, traditional medicines, traditional costumes) have to be considered.

The Languages of Tanzania⁷ Project constitutes an important initiative that is currently being undertaken by the University of Dar es Salaam to document ECLs. While the initiative has proved successful in preserving the traces of ECLs, even after their extinction, other measures are necessary in order to influence social representations and to promote intergenerational transmission of these languages.

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6 See Candelier (2008) for a detailed presentation of the pluralistic approaches.

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A Linguistic Picture of Kashubians and Kashubian Land in Benedikt Karczewski's Poetry from the Years 2008–2012

ABSTRACT. Spreading both the spoken and written word appears to be one of the most vital issues as far as language revival is concerned. Currently, there are many initiatives being carried out that appear to fulfill all the strategic areas as far as promotion and preservation of the Kashubian language is concerned. However, one should not forget about initiatives that were launched in the past and, thus far, have been continued. Dr. Eng. Benedikt Karczewski's life experience, professional engagement and numerous other faculties contributed to a distinctive verbal continuum in the form of the substantial number of his poems. The author of this article aims to extract various elements from the aforementioned poems to present the linguistic picture of Kashubians and Kashubian land as juxtaposed with a broader image of Kashubians taken from selected available data of the Kashubian ethno-cultural *milieu*. The linguistic embedding, with all of its shades, is tremendously significant in order to investigate one of the instrumental imperatives of culture. Following Burszta's (1986: 61) reasoning: "It seems that, at the same time, one can treat language as one of the instrumental imperatives of culture [...] The position of language is inasmuch specific as (1) the language precedes and allows all other "imperatives" and (2) the language constantly accompanies them" (translation mine – M. O.) This may sound very trivial, but one also has to constantly remember that language is the major element that unites a given speech community, allows fruitful communication and is an early but still developing social tool of everyday use. An individual approach to language can influence the broader approach and therefore more room for investigation and interpretation is left. It is crucial to allow given language users to confess their secrets, write bills, enjoy romantic attachment, discuss problems and understand their predecessors – also through the offices of poetry.

KEYWORDS: Kashubian poetry, minority languages, language revival, language contact.

Spreading the spoken and written word appears to be one of the most vital issues as far as language revival is concerned. Currently, there are many initiatives that appear to fulfill all of the strategic areas as far as the promotion and preservation of the Kashubian language is concerned. These are, *inter alia*, *Kaszubskie Bajania*¹ / Reading Kashubian fairy-tales, or *Kaszubska e-kapsuła pamięci* / the Kashubian e-memory capsule. However, one should not forget about the initiatives that were launched individually in the past and, thus far, have been continued.

Dr. Eng. Benedikt Karczewsczi, whose life experience, professional engagement and numerous other faculties contributed to a specific verbal continuum in the form of the substantial number of his poems, is an example. He started writing in 1999 and celebrated his 15th jubilee of writing in June 2014. It is important to note that he created a poetic credo containing 12 points and crucial to highlight the following points that constitute a solid frame for his poetry as far as the linguistic picture of Kashubians and Kashubian land are concerned, namely:

Table 1. Selected points taken from Karczewsczi's poetic credo

2. Kashubian – as the adjective – is always present in the title of a given collection of poems.
7. The subject area always comprises: Kashubian land, tradition, customs, inadequacies and virtues, people.
10. There are frequent references to patriotic and religious themes which are in accordance with the social doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church.

A prolific writer, Karczewsczi published five poetic volumes from 2008 to 2012: *Kaszëbsczi Plon* / Kashubian Crop² (2008), *Z kaszëbszczich Strón* / From Kashubian Territory (2009), *Kaszëbscze Pielgrzimczy* / Kashubian Pilgrimages (2010), *Kaszëbsczi Trzëñôsti Gón* / Kashubian Thirteenth Field (2011), and *Kaszëbsczi Wión* / Kashubian Wreath (2012). Extracting various selected elements from the aforementioned

1 *Kaszubskie Bajania* – a social campaign under the supervision of the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association and Radio Gdańsk whose aim is to promote the cultural heritage of Kashubia among children by reading fairy tales to them. Fairy tales have also been recorded and issued on CDs. Several eminent people who represent various professional areas were invited to record their voices for the children, e.g. Danuta Stenka, Maciej Miecznikowski, Rudi Schuberth, Prof. Jerzy Treder, Prof. Józef Borzyszkowski, Father Marian Miotk, Krzysztof Skiba and Angelika Cichocka.

2 All translations are mine unless otherwise stated.

poetic volumes is necessary in order to present a linguistic picture of Kashubians and Kashubian land. The following division comprising such themes as: Kashubian land, the Kashubian language, Kashubian virtues, the Kashubian people, Kashubian culture/customs, patriotic themes and religious themes is proposed by the author of this article:

- a. **Kashubian land** → Karczewsczi (2008: 17): “[...] wszechmòcny parmiń słuńca Bòżą mòcą pòbùdzony, Padnie na zymkòwą darniã, Zelén wnet mdze przëwróconò [...]” / [...] the almighty ray of the sun activated by divine power will destroy the turf and the greenery will soon be restored [...]; Karczewsczi (2008: 24): “Na kròju Królewsczych Lasów Lasnictwa Smólnégò Błota Leżé snòżé torfòwiskò, Òpòł to na wògã złota [...]” / There is a beautiful peat-bog – a fuel that is worth its weight in gold in the outskirts of the Royal Forests of Smolne Błota³ forestry [...];
- b. **the Kashubian language** → Karczewsczi (2009: 10): “[...] Że Kaszëbsczi jãzëk zwëczy Bãdã òd dzys w kòzdi chëczy.” / [...] The Kashubian language, starting from today, will be under every roof;
- c. **Kashubian virtues** → Karczewsczi (2009: 9): “[...] To tu⁴ pòwsta Solidarnosc – Etos ten wcyg wiarã seje [...]” / [...] Solidarity came into being here – an ethos that still plants its seeds of faith [...];
- d. **the Kashubian people** → Karczewsczi (2012: 26): “[...] Czas wieczere to czas osoblëwi. Lëdze dzãkùją Stwórcë za dzień całi [...]” / [...] The time of supper is unique. People thank God for the entire day [...];
- e. **Kashubian culture/customs** → Karczewsczi (2010: 11): “[...] W dównëch czasach mòji młòdoscë Czãsto jò griwòł w kartë do rena, Tede bëła módnò gra w òczkò, a grający w baszkã⁵ to chłopi Stolema⁶ [...]” / [...] Long time ago – in the days of my youth, I used to play cards until dawn. The blackjack game was popular

3 A part of the Sianowska Huta village in Kartuzy county.

4 The author has the city of Gdańsk on his mind.

5 ‘Baszka’ or ‘Baśka’ – a local card game that is popular in the Kaszuby region and for which four people should gather to play (frequently while traveling by train). People usually play for money (usually small amounts).

6 According to Kashubian legends, Stolems were giants whose activity can still be seen in the form of the boulders they threw all over the Kashubian land due to their fights or tournaments.

back then and those who were playing *baszka* were Stolem fellows; Karczewsczi (2012: 21): “[...] Je téż kònkùrs Zaziwaniô Tobaczi, Co w Chmielnie mô swój mól. To wiekòwi zwëk Kaszëbów. Nienaszińcóm wiôldzi żól [...]” / [...] There is also a championship in snuff-taking in Chmielno. It is a very old Kashubian custom. People who are not Kashubians regret it;

- f. **patriotic themes** → Karczewsczi (2008: 9): “[...] Tu nad rodnym mórza sztrądem Lud kaszëbsczi straże mô, Běl ě je tu gòspòdòrzem, W Gduńskù òd prawiéków trwò. [...]” / [...] These are the Kashubian people who keep guard at the native shore, They were and are the hosts in Gdańsk since very long ago [...];
- g. **religious themes** → Karczewsczi (2011: 7): “To z Wadowic spòd Krakòwa, Z Pòlszczi – Daleczégò Kraju Bóg Ce⁷ wëbròł na Trón Piotra Wedle Conclawe zwyczajù [...]” / God chose you from Wadowice, from Kraków, from Poland – a faraway land, to take the chair of Saint Peter, according to the papal conclave [...].

However, there are verses that should not be divided into smaller parts as they comprise a mixture of all the elements as proposed above, for instance (Karczewsczi 2008: 5):

Table 2. A linguistic picture of Kashubians and Kashubian land embedded in *Kaszëbsczi Plon* – Benedikt Karczewsczi’s poem

<i>Co sã sklòdò na Kaszëbë Na jich rodney bëlny plón Mëszlã że jich snòżò zemia Katolëcczi wiarë stón</i>	The term <i>Kaszëbë</i> comprises the following: → beautiful Kashubian land → Catholic faith (a religious theme)
<i>To jich jãzëk – Rodnò mòwa Òd Praòjców erbòwónò To historëjò ě kùltura Òd wiek wieków zachòwónò</i>	→ their (Kashubian) language – a native tongue that was inherited from their ancestors → history and culture preserved since very long ago (patriotic themes)
<i>To bëlnota w obyczajach Na kaszëbsczi swòjszczi òrt Gòspòdarny dostatk w bëcym Na to pròcowac je wòrt. [...]</i>	→ Kashubian customs → Kashubian virtues (work)

7 The author of the poems recalls Saint Pope John Paul II, who has been an important figure to Kashubians.

The above-mentioned elements taken from Karczewsczi's poetry should be juxtaposed with a broader image of Kashubians as taken from selected available data on the Kashubian ethno-cultural *milieu*. According to Obracht-Prondzyński (2007: 16):

(T)he Kashubian ethos consists of such values as: language, religion (attachment to the Catholic Church), family, origin (genealogy), territory (in a threefold meaning: space, native land, landscape) as well as correlated characteristics of the self-stereotype (piety, diligence, persistence, patriotism, etc.).

The linguistic picture of Kashubians and Kashubian land in Benedikt Karczewsczi's poetry from the years 2008–2012 that emerges from his poems is in agreement with the Kashubian ethos as depicted above.

One must not forget that a given linguistic picture of a given world is irreversibly connected with identity. Therefore, significant contributions to the contemporary shape of Kashubian identity were provided by Saint Pope John Paul II, and especially the Pope's words of strength during his papal visits in Gdynia (1987) and Sopot (1999). The Pope's address to the people in Gdynia was in the form of a verbal reminder: "Dear Brothers and Sisters – the Kashubian People! Protect those values and heritage that are the foundation of your identity." As far as pilgrimages are concerned, it is possible to experience the following pilgrimages: the Kashubian walking pilgrimage to Jasna Góra (July 25–August 12) and the Kashubian boat pilgrimage (June 29) from Kuźnica to Puck (on the waters of Puck Bay). With regard to poetry, one should mention that poetry is written in a given language and numerous facts and situations are encapsulated in that given language, thus they can be deciphered through that language. Certain linguistic (and not only) notions enabling potential ways of language development and preservation are stipulated in particular forms. An exemplary tool that organizes potential ways of development of the Kashubian language is called the *Strategy for Protection and Development of the Kashubian Language and Culture*. The very *Introduction* of this *Strategy* comprises the following statement (Kaszëbskò-Pòmòrszczé Zrzeszenié 2006: 7):

The Kashubian language constitutes the foundation of the identity of the Kashubians. Fundamental for this strategy is the conviction that language and culture constitute an important contribution to the common cultural heritage and avert processes of alienation and commercialization.

The strategy is based on the confidence that the essential way of preserving own identity is opening up to new trends, not division.

Undoubtedly, poetry is one of the forms that can help a given language not only exist but also develop. Poetic endeavors can be compared to a specific reservoir of thoughts that accumulate already coined phrases as well as mental concepts and utterances that come into being in quite a serendipitous way. One can assume, therefore, that poetry is indeed in service of depicting and preserving the Kashubian ethos and language. Furthermore, poetry that is published becomes a public phenomenon because it functions in the public sphere. Taking into account such reasoning, one should adhere to Geertz (1995: 243), who states that: “[c]ulture is public because meaning is.” One cannot escape it. Moreover, one should not forget that poetry consists of words, and even the simplest words are meaningful. Wierzbicka (1997: 21) highlights the fact that: “[l]anguage – and in particular, vocabulary – is the best evidence for the reality of “culture,” in the sense of a historically transmitted system of “conceptions” and “attitudes.” Of course, culture is, in principle, heterogeneous and changeable, but so is language.” All of this adds up to increasing awareness that one can learn, memorize, digest, explore and document a given culture and simultaneously be enriched by it. Poems are enormous depots that store words, and words can easily be extracted and grouped to make readers acquainted with particular content.

As far as relatively new technology is concerned, one should be aware of the fact that there are some web pages that manifest potential attachment to the land or to the other already mentioned values. A quite interesting example highlighting the uniqueness of a local Kashubian place name comes from the *Dziemiany* website (www.dziemiany.pl): → ... *coż masz więcj nad Dziemiany* / There is nothing better than Dziemiany. This is a clear reference to the religious theme as it is a paraphrase of the beginning of the second stanza of *Bóg się rodzi* – the Polish Christmas carol written by Franciszek Karpiński:

Table 3. A juxtaposition of two almost similar phrases – one of which signals attachment to Kashubian land

<i>Cóż masz niebo nad Ziemiany</i> → a Polish Christmas carol
... <i>coż masz więcj nad Dziemiany</i> → ‘Dziemiany’ as a catchy slogan (taken from the www.dziemiany.pl website, top left corner)

The linguistic picture of Kashubians and Kashubian land that emerges from Benedikt Karczewsczi's poetry from the years 2008–2012 can be divided into seven themes – each of which was juxtaposed with core elements of the Kashubian ethos. It turned out that each theme has its equivalent in the contemporary perception of the Kashubian region and its inhabitants.

To conclude, one can compare the following themes:

Table 4. A juxtaposition of proposed themes based on Karczewsczi's poetry and the Kashubian ethos according to Obracht-Prondzyński

A linguistic picture of Kashubians and Kashubian land that emerges from Benedikt Karczewsczi's poetry from the years 2008–2012	The Kashubian ethos according to Cezary Obracht-Prondzyński
Kashubian land	<i>territory (in a threefold meaning: space, native land, landscape)</i>
Kashubian language	<i>language</i>
Kashubian virtues	<i>correlated characteristics of the self-stereotype (piety, diligence, persistence, patriotism)</i>
Kashubian people	<i>family, origin (genealogy)</i>
Kashubian culture/customs	<i>(*)⁸</i>
Patriotic themes	<i>patriotism</i>
Religious themes	<i>religion (attachment to the Catholic Church)</i>

Additionally, linguistic embedding, with all of its shades, is tremendously significant when investigating one of the instrumental imperatives of culture. Following Burszta's (1986: 61) reasoning: "It seems that, at the same time, one can treat language as one of the instrumental imperatives of culture [...] The position of language is insomuch specific as (1) the language precedes and allows all other "imperatives" and (2) the language constantly accompanies them." This may sound very trivial, but one also has to constantly remember that language is a major element that

8 Implicit elements of culture and customs in daily manifestations – in and outside a family circle [annotated by the author].

unites a given speech community, allows fruitful communication and is an early but still developing social tool of everyday use. An individual approach to language can influence the broader approach and therefore more room for investigation and interpretation is left. It is crucial to allow given language users to confess secrets, write bills, enjoy romantic attachments, discuss problems, understand their predecessors and their current situation – also through the offices of poetry.

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Pugilistic Practice as a Purposeful Communicative Act in 19th-Century England

ABSTRACT. Pugilism, or boxing, stood among the most cherished sports of 18th- and 19th-century England. Having drawn the participation and patronage of the representatives of various political and social classes, it produced a rich and diverse discursive area. The popularity of pugilism can be attributed to numerous societal factors, such as competing cultural ideals of masculinity, the changing perception of social class, nationalism and militarism. Therefore, a pugilist, through participation in a boxing event, made a series of conscious choices to convey particular messages that influenced and shaped the discursive context. With such constant bi-directional influence occurring at various levels of discourse, prizefighting demonstrates all attributes of cultural habitus, being both a product and a generative agent in its sociocultural environment. Discussing pugilistic practice in such terms makes it possible to explore the prevalent cases of intercultural influence. In the course of this article an attempt is made to illustrate such interaction by analyzing the introduction, reception and eventual absorption of a foreign habitus – in this case, Angolan martial rituals – into the culture of English boxing by using Bill Richmond and Tom Molineaux as examples. The discursive context for this process is demonstrated from the viewpoint of the dominating cultural environment by making use of contemporary English boxing manuals and sports magazines.

KEYWORDS: discourse, communication, culture, ethnicity, pugilism, sociocultural environment.

Among the multiple areas of linguistic studies, the notion of discourse is used as a very broad term. Borne out of the idea that a communicative act never exists in a vacuum, discourse analysis is constantly changing. It encounters the questions of what does and what does not belong to the domain of discourse, or which parts of communication

are relevant to the communicative act and which are not? It is debatable whether particular elements of communication are purposeful actions undertaken by the speaker to elicit certain responses, or whether they are simply involuntary, reflexive actions that are concurrent with the 'main' channel of communication. It is, however, widely acknowledged that not only text or speech can be considered vessels for the information we are trying to convey; for example, paralinguistic elements connected to an utterance can be just as crucial for the expression of the intended message as the semantic content of the utterance itself. And so can be the social context, register or physical environment in which communication takes place. This article is an attempt to push the borders of what is considered to be a purposeful communicative act even further.

1. Act of communication

The main question that needs to be addressed is whether boxing can be considered as a meaningful communicative act that takes place on a more profound level than the simple act of aggression towards another person. If it were performed outside of culture and context, then most probably the answer would be "no." However, it must be considered that pugilism, or prizefighting, was an activity that was deeply ingrained in the society and discourse of 19th-century London. It was as popular as it was controversial. The political and social concepts personified by the ideal of a pugilist put the sport in the center of any debate regarding honor, national identity, the notions of proper manliness, sensibility or manners. To analyze pugilism as a communicative act it is necessary to examine the way it fulfills the key elements needed for communication – which means establishing the sender, the intended receiver, the message itself and the channel through which the message is being conveyed. Also, in order to argue that hitting another human being in the face (and doing so in a specific manner) can be considered an act that carries more than the obvious level of meaning and can be seen as nothing short of a declaration of a certain worldview, we have to consider the archetypes of manliness which the young Victorian man could identify himself with and the attitudes he encountered within his community.

2. Ideals of masculinity in 19th-century England

The views on masculinity in 19th-century England were strongly polarized. Numerous conflicts waged by the British Empire during the Georgian Period, especially the Napoleonic Wars and the loss of American colonies, undermined faith in the strength of the British state and military. It is argued by Braudy (2010: 5) that in times of war, and in the face of blurring social roles, societies tend to embrace rituals that are concerned with “casting out what is feared and the affirmation of what is desired,” especially when these elements are feared to be “arbitrary enough to be constantly in the danger of erosion or forfeit.” In the case of early 19th-century Britain, it was the need to affirm the traditional masculine values that was seen as standing in opposition to the Georgian ideal of a polite gentleman. This led to a very clear distinction between “gentlemanliness” and “manliness” (Tosh 2005: 86), along with the rise of rather antagonistic attitudes between these two ideals. Probably the main attribute of “manliness” in terms of wide social appeal was its inclusiveness – “birth, breeding and education were secondary [...]”. Manliness had to be earned, by mastering the circumstances of life and thus securing the respect of one’s peers” (Tosh 2005: 86).

The advocates of the culture of masculinity and the ideal of a “gentleman pugilist” accused the ethos of “politeness” of spreading effeminacy and weakness and, effectively, of the enfeeblement of the state itself. John Stuart Mill (1836: 13) accused the “refined classes” of “moral effeminacy, an inaptitude for every kind of struggle,” as “[t]hey shrink from all effort, from everything which is troublesome and disagreeable, [...] and when it is necessary not to bear pain but to seek it, little needs be expected from the men of the present day.” The notion of withstanding, disregarding or even embracing physical punishment was seen as an important manly attribute, and a pugilist was seen as a noble personification of this virtue, as the “prime requisites for success are courage, endurance, and a lofty contempt for physical pain” (Osborne 1888: 432). Such endurance was in pugilism exemplified by the concept of “bottom” (Lemoine 1788: 26), *i.e.* the “ability to stand in the face of oncoming blows without backing away regardless of the adversity a man faced” (Desch Obi 2009: 107).

At this point, it is necessary to briefly address the very beginnings of pugilism as a sport in England. The first men who started giving self-defense, cudgel (quarter staff) and boxing lessons were folk champions

of these disciplines (Egan 1824: 8). Therefore, early pugilism showed a high degree of adaption of elements such as stance, footwork and strategy from fencing and other methods of armed duelling (Godfrey 1747: 48–56). This is strongly supported by the fact that the first extensive guide to boxing, written by Captain John Godfrey, was part of a fencing manual. These technical qualities meant that the pugilist moved back and forth in a straight line, as he would in a swordfight, using long straight punches and blocks rather than circling the opponent and using a variety of different strikes, as is the case in modern boxing. What seems to be a technical detail is, however, a crucial element in the development of the later boxing ethos, as it neatly fits into the desirable qualities of endurance, resilience and straightforwardness.

3. Nationalism in boxing

Attitudes towards ethnicity, skin color and nationality in 19th-century boxing discourse were highly complex and diverse. On the one hand, the inclusiveness of the “masculine culture” meant that through deeds seen as manly and noble, or displays of athleticism and “bottom,” one’s status could be elevated regardless of other factors. On the other hand, when the stakes grew high enough, tolerance often gave way to prejudice (Magriel 1951: 331). With the rise of new ideals of masculinity and individualism, independence and self-reliance became more important than the traditional hierarchy. Demonstrating physical prowess, “bottom” and the ability to defend oneself and others gave the pugilist a chance to rise beyond his class, breeding, ethnicity or material situation, at least in terms of social respectability:

Man is taught to look his equals, nay, his superiors, boldly in the face. Though he is not inclined to attack others, he knows he is able to defend himself, a reflection which must be ever pleasing to an independent mind. No size, no weight of body, will make any courageous person, skilled in Pugilism submit to bade indignities. (Anonymous 1815, quoted in Ungar 2010: 87)

A variation of a popular song, presented in *Sporting Magazine* (1811: 294–295), called “A Boxing We Will Go,” is a great example of the duality of contemporary attitudes. The second and third verses are illustrative of the attitude of British superiority displayed by the practitioners of pugilism:

Italians stab their friends behind,
In darkest shades of night;
But Britons they are bold and kind,
And box their friends by light.

The sons of France their pistols use,
Pop, pop and they have done:
But Britons with their hands will bruise,
And scorn away to run.
(Anonymous 1811: 294–295)

A similar sentiment had been expressed a few decades earlier by Lemoine (1788: 28), who, after recounting the methods of fighting with various weapons employed by, among others, the French, Italians, Portuguese, Turks, Arabians, Scots and Irish, states that only “[...] an Englishman, open, bold and brave, bids defiance with his fists, and thus generously gives his adversary an equal chance for superiority, if his wind, spirit, and bottom, can bring him through the contest with superior advantage.” The sixth verse of the “A Boxing We Will Go,” however, gives praise to the esteemed practitioners of the “manly game/and Briton’s recreation”:

Mendoza, Gulley, Molineaux,
Each Nature’s weapon wield;
Who each at Boney would stand true,
And never to him yield.
(Anonymous 1811: 294)

Of the three pugilists mentioned here, only John Gulley (a future member of the Parliament) was ethnically an Englishman. Among the other two, Molineaux was a black ex-slave from Virginia and Mendoza was a proud Jew, known in the prize ring as “The Hebrew” (Strachan 2009). Such an attitude allowed numerous boxers to rise in prominence and to be seen as popular heroes, which would otherwise be impossible due to popular preconceptions regarding their skin color or ethnicity. Notoriousness gained through his pugilistic exploits made it possible for Bill Richmond, a former slave from America, to acquire an education, pursue a profession and marry a white woman despite the rampant racial prejudice (Desch Obi 2009: 109). In a similar fashion, the pugilistic prowess of Daniel Mendoza led to him being hailed as a pugilistic hero, despite his Jewish ancestry, as “[n]o one has united the theory of sparring

with the practice of boxing to greater advantage than Dan Mendoza” (Egan 1824: 11). However, in the case of both of these fighters there was a darker side to their popularity. In the aftermath of the bout between Daniel Mendoza and Richard Humphries, won by the latter, Lemoine (1788: 77), states that “should he [Humphries] fight him [Mendoza] again, I wish him success as an Englishman, and that he may transfer as much again, from the Hebrew interest over to our’s [referring to the bets placed on the fighters] [...]” The outcome of Mendoza’s most famous fight against John Jackson has also been argued to have displayed a degree of nationalistic bias. During the match, as described in *The Sportsman’s Magazine of Life in London and the Country* (1845: 124), Mendoza “stopped the blows of his antagonist with great neatness, and returned several good hits.” In the fifth round, however, “Jackson caught his opponent by the hair, with his left, and punished him with the right till he got down” (Anonymous 1845: 124). Although there was no specific rule that prohibited such behavior, some “*de facto* rule” must have existed, as it was common among boxers to grow long hair after 1760, and Mendoza himself had never been assaulted this way before (Roberts 1977: 255–256). Roberts therefore draws the conclusion that Jackson “took unfair advantage of Mendoza, and that the referee and spectators permitted the injustice,” and considers the fight an “[...] example of English nationalism” (1977: 255–256).

Nevertheless, it needs to be noted that no matter what the general attitude towards the fighter, the concept of fair play and equality within the pugilistic “masculine culture” was still a very important factor. Often, both journalists and the pugilists themselves would go out of their way to stress that race or ethnicity did not influence their respect (or lack of it) for a particular fighter, or they even displayed some kind of guilt over individual results. Such was the case of the famous Cribb-Molineaux fight in 1810 and the subsequent rematch six months later, both won under disputable conditions by the English champion, Tom Cribb. Currently, historians tend to agree that “by a narrow margin Cribb properly retained his championship” (Cone 1982: 90), despite the support of the public being rather aggressively one-sided in favor of the English champion. However, ten years after the second match, Egan (as quoted in Brailford 1985: 139) states that it “will not be forgotten, if justice hold the scales, that his colour alone prevented him

from becoming the hero of that fight,” providing a somewhat apologetic explanation for Cribb’s victory.

4. Pugilist and prizefighter

With the immense popularity of pugilism and pugilism-related gambling, which was gradually taking precedence over the fights themselves, there was an ever-growing number of fighters that entered the ring solely for monetary gain. This situation has sparked numerous issues regarding the idea of pugilistic honor and fair play, as bending the rules (that at this point were still, admittedly, very vague) for the sake of winning became more and more notorious, illustrated by “[...] clinching, hugging, feinting, and falling without receiving a blow to bring the round to an end to earn a half minute’s rest” (Brailford 1985: 134). Such actions were tolerated and rarely resulted in disqualification, but they also did not bring the perpetrator any fame or recognition. The most celebrated champions, although also motivated to a great extent by the prospect of money, were praised by the public for not resorting to such dishonorable means. There was a growing distinction between a “prizefighter,” who was merely an instrument for gambling, and a “pugilist,” who “firmly stood up and fought in a most courageous style; here, there was no shifting, or falling back to avoid a hit, and nothing but a real knock-down blow could bring [him] to the floor” (Oxberry 1814: 93, quoted in Brailford 1985: 134). It is important to emphasize the praise that was given for not “falling back to avoid a hit,” which, judging by today’s standards, meant as much as dodging a blow.

At this point, reaching the core of the dualistic perception of the African fighters who partook in this English pastime, it is yet again necessary to invoke the technical aspects of pugilism as well as the biographical details of pugilists who were foreign to the English boxing culture. The aforementioned Angolan, Bill Richmond, was a pioneer of the African style in English boxing or, as Desch Obi (2009: 102) puts it, of the “dancing defence” which was later widely adopted. Richmond’s defense is argued to have been shaped by Angolan cultural practices, as he grew up in Virginia, within the diaspora of first-generation Angolan slaves. Cimbembasia, the native region of Richmond’s parents, was notorious for a form of dance-fighting called N’golo, or Engolo, whose traditional

roots lay in the tactics of Angolan warfare, which utilized many throwing weapons but no shields, therefore “[i]n order to survive and enter into hand-to-hand combat, warriors relied on their ability to dodge projectile weapons,” which consequently meant that “the Cimbembasian aesthetic of combat emphasized defensive agility through dance-like footwork and the science of dodging” (Desch Obi 2009: 102–103). Born into slavery, Richmond was forced to fight against other slaves in no-holds-barred “rough and tumble” matches (also referred to as “gouging” – from the common practice of gouging out the opponent’s eyes), which were organized by the plantation owners. This experience, along with the military roots of N’golo, seems to have shaped Richmond’s attitude towards fighting that was more akin to that of a prizefighter, in which victory, utilizing all of one’s available skills, was more important than showmanship or a display of toughness. This argument is strengthened by the fact that Richmond’s later protégée, Tom Molineaux, also participated in such “rough and tumble” matches, and was rumored to have won his freedom as a result of such a confrontation (Magriel 1951: 329) before coming to England, where he was also criticized for his “unsportsmanlike” behavior.

5. Modern relevance

The practice of using established practices of socialized violence as means of self-definition within a given society is certainly not a new phenomenon. However, approaching these practices and the processes of their cross-cultural transfer from the viewpoint of communication studies gives us a peek at certain trends and the underlying mechanisms that can be applied to the evolution of modern combat sports. In their analysis of the formative years of Mixed Martial Arts (MMA) in the United States, García and Malcolm (2010: 47) point to the uneasy attitude of the audience towards elements of submission fighting and striking onto the ground, which were prevalent within the sport, and therefore to the “conflict with stereotypical views of martial arts which centre on the use of standing kicks and punches.” This kind of fighting, originating from the Brazilian *vale tudo* (no holds barred), initially struck the American audience in a similar way that the evasive manner of boxing and the conduct of non-British pugilists appeared to 19th-century boxing patrons, *i.e.* as unmanly, boring and, to a certain extent, uncivilized. This way of fighting

was, however, a point of pride for those competitors and audiences who identified with its cultural roots. Similarly to the new pugilistic methods of the 19th century, ground-fighting and MMA in general became accepted in the US, as “various reforms [...] brought MMA into line with dominant social sensibilities” (García, Malcolm 2010: 49), and were amalgamated into a sport that is displaying a rapid increase in worldwide popularity.

Conclusion – differences between the communicative goal of English and the foreign pugilist

The reception of boxers that, knowingly or unknowingly, did not conform to the values represented by the culture of pugilism is a major argument which underlines the importance of the cultural message carried by the very act of participation in the sport, but also by the manner and style of the said participation. Looking at pugilism as a communicative act, both the communicative goal and the message channel of Richmond, Molineaux and Mendoza were different from those of the native English pugilists. A boxer who grew up inside this culture felt the need to assert his membership within it, to validate his status as a “bold and brave” Englishman with a “stern bottom.” With this attitude being his communicative goal, he would naturally assume the most suitable channel to achieve it – which was not only through participation in pugilistic events but also in doing so in an established way that would present him to the receivers (the public) in the way he intended. In the case of fighters who were foreigners to 19th-century London and its pugilistic culture, their goals were determined by their individual experience. Because of this they were inclined to choose a style based not on qualities desired by their cultural environment but rather by using personal preference and experience as well as by their physique. Such nonconformity often brought them resentment, if not outright animosity, from the public, but it also led to eventual evolution and betterment of the sport itself.

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Investigating Glossogeny via the Iterated Learning Methodology: The Effect of Entrenched Linguistic System(s) in Human Agents

ABSTRACT. At its foundations, evolutionary linguistics studies the phylogenetic, ontogenetic and glossogenetic development of a language system (Hurford 1999: 344; Kirby, Hurford 2002: 121–122; see also Wacewicz 2013: 1). As part of the Evolution of Language (EoL) endeavor, recent advancements in the iterated learning methodology enable to study the cultural transmission of “linguistic” signs in human agents (Kirby *et al.* 2008; Cornish 2010). The method, created and developed by Kirby *et al.*, constitutes a valuable tool for obtaining empirical data that contribute to the study of structure emergence at the glossogenetic level, thus confronting the main challenge in EoL, *i.e.* obtaining the source of experimental evidence. By means of replicating the original experiment, data that point to stored-language bias in the emergent evolvects were obtained. The research reported so far lacked any direct indication of the agents’ entrenched linguistic structures having influence on the conducted iterations. Crucially, the data analysis revealed that any phonological or morphological overlap of form between a given unit of the emerging evolvect and the agents’ entrenched linguistic structures significantly contributes to the ease of learning that unit, and thus to its immediate success in subsequent iterations as well as in facilitation of the evolvect itself. It can be hypothesized that entrenched linguistic system(s) in human agents facilitate evolvects emerging in the context of the iterated learning methodology.

KEYWORDS: glossogeny, iterated learning methodology, entrenched linguistic system, evolutionary linguistics, linguistic signs.

Introduction

Recently, there have been numerous attempts at studying the evolution of language in laboratory conditions (*e.g.* Galantucci 2005; Scott-Phillips *et al.* 2009). Though these may seem highly promising, they are not always warmly received, as it has been argued that language evolution took

thousands of years and that replicating the process through experiments is simply impossible. Nevertheless, various research groups are trying to find a methodology that would allow them to study the emergence and development of a novel linguistic system, *i.e.* an *evolect*. The very term “*evolect*” was adapted from Jasiński (2015, in prep.) and will be used in the course of the study. Following Cornish, iterated learning experiments do not deal with language proper but “[...] with a simplified definition of what a language is. In these experiments, a language is simply a mapping between meanings and signals” (Cornish 2011: 86). In line with the definition as proposed by Jasiński, a terminological decision was made to refrain from referring to sign-based systems evolving via vertically transmitted chains as “language(s)” and to apply to them Jasiński’s notion of “*evolects*,” *i.e.* “mathematical constructs [signified-signifier pairings] used for modeling processes of structure emergence and evolution [...] under various adaptive pressures” (Jasiński 2015, in prep.).

One of the studies that has received much publicity in recent years was conducted by researchers from the Language Evolution and Computation Unit at the University of Edinburgh and was based on the Iterated Learning Model (Kirby, Hurford 2002). The model allows researchers to stimulate the process of language evolution through a series of iterations in order to demonstrate the role of cultural transmission from generation to generation in the manner of language shaping. The experiment in question was replicated in a simplified version by the present paper’s author. The analysis of the results made it possible to hypothesize that a key role in the transmission process is played by entrenched linguistic structures of various origins that are stored in the minds of learners, which was not acknowledged by the original experiment’s authors. The aim of this paper is to briefly present the current state of research, the iterated learning methodology and the results of a replicated “alien language” experiment.

1. Language evolution and its main challenge

Language evolution unfolds and may be investigated at at least three levels, *i.e.* ontogenetic, glossogenetic and phylogenetic (Hurford 1999: 344; Kirby, Hurford 2002: 121–122; see also Waciewicz 2013: 11–12). Until the 1990s, only the first of these was treated by scholars as worth analyzing

since the other two levels related to time scales that made obtaining empirical data for studies impossible. To be more precise, while ontogeny may relate to as many as several years, glossogeny describes thousands or even hundreds of thousands of years, and phylogeny describes between five and seven million years (Wacewicz 2013: 11–12). Consequently, the main difficulty with EoL studies is focused on the lack of empirical data, as languages do not fossilize.

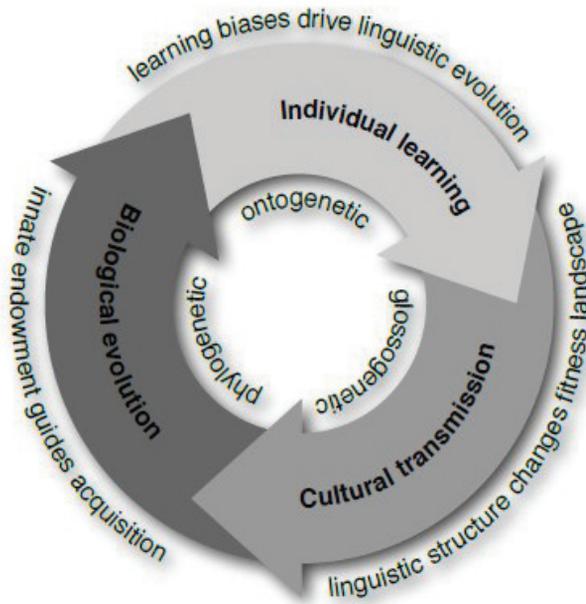


Figure 1. The three adaptive systems that give rise to language and some of the interactions between them. Taken from Kirby and Hurford 2002: 122

Interest in glossogeny provoked a number of studies, the most interesting of which applied the iterated language learning framework. Initial studies involved computational and mathematical modeling, which allowed researchers to see the process of language evolution, which normally takes thousands of years, after just a few hours. Although these studies were a highly important approach to the EoL study, the commonly held accusation against them was that they were not conducted with the participation of human agents, which are necessary for (artificial) language creation (e.g. Kirby *et al.* 2008). A real breakthrough moment in the field were experimental models, an example of which shall be presented in the following section.

2. Iterated learning methodology (ILM)

The Language Evolution and Computation Unit of the University of Edinburgh (comprising the following researchers: Jim Hurford, Simon Kirby, Kenny Smith, Michael Dunn, Olga Feher, Marieke Schouwstra, Monica Tamariz and Hannah Cornish) appears to be the most renowned research group investigating the evolution of language through iterated learning. The model in question was developed by Kirby and Hurford (2002), and can be defined in the following way:

Put simply, iterated learning refers to the process whereby someone learns a behaviour by observing someone else performing that behaviour. Crucially, the person being observed must also have acquired that behaviour in the same way. This process is most commonly conceived of as a linear (vertical) transmission chain, with the output from each person's learning becoming the input for the next 'generation.' (Cornish 2010: 18)

Iterated learning was first used with computational (e.g. Kirby 1994, 1999; Kirby, Hurford 2002; Smith 2003) and then mathematical (e.g. Kirby *et al.* 2007) models, as mentioned in the previous section. Both of these models showed that due to becoming more structured over time, languages become easier to learn, which can be referred to as adaptation. A natural continuation of iterated learning studies was to employ human agents in the research. The Edinburgh Group offered a number of experiments involving people (Kirby *et al.* 2008). The study that became recognized worldwide, mainly due to a BBC Knowledge TV series, was the "alien fruit" experiment. It involves having each subject learn an artificial language composed of a finite set of meanings paired with signals to denote "alien" fruit. Each of the agents undergoes a three-stage process of learning which is composed of training, testing and transmission. First, the participant is shown a set of "alien" fruit pictures with their "alien" names, displayed one after the other. The names are randomly generated and unstructured, and cannot be associated with the presented fruits in any way. The agent is asked to learn the names to the best of his/her abilities. In the testing phase the learner is asked to name the pictures from memory. Finally, in the transmission phase, the answers are used to generate a new set of meaning-signal pairs that will be shown to the next subject.

What needs to be taken into account in iterated learning research are the various bottlenecks that are applied in the experimental design. Just as in the natural language-learning process the child is exposed to only a part of the whole linguistic system, so human agents in iterated learning experiments experience a “poverty of stimulus” (Smith 2003: 521). Therefore, the first and probably most important bottleneck that needs to be acknowledged is the transmission bottleneck (also called the “semantic” bottleneck in Hurford 2002: 305; he also suggests other bottlenecks in use: production and intake), meaning that learners encounter only a subset of possible meanings. Following Kirby, only when this bottleneck is neither too large nor too small do we begin to see systems emerge that are compositionally structured and stable (Kirby 2000: 420–421).

Another related bottleneck mentioned in the literature refers to generation size. In the case of ILM, there is always only one learner in each generation, while in real life every speech community consists of at least several people. Therefore, it can be stated that the methodology in question ignores the importance of interaction, as participants do not use learned structures for communication (Verhoef *et al.* 2014: 67). Nevertheless, experiments show that linguistic structure can emerge independently of communication by means of a blind and unconscious process of transmission.

3. Replication of the experiment and its outcome

The experiment conducted by Kirby *et al.* was replicated in a simplified version with the participation of 18 agents who created two chains (the initial set of signals + nine iterations in each chain). What is meant by a chain here is a sequence of iterations in which the output of one subject becomes the input for the next subject. The initial input was a set of randomly created three-syllable words to describe “alien” fruit which varied in three aspects: color, shape and number. The subjects (speakers of Polish) were to familiarize themselves with the words, after which they were asked to name the fruit (testing phase). There was a twist, however, as six of the fruits were familiar and three of them had not been shown to the subjects before. In consequence, the subjects did not know the words to describe them, which was unnoticed by most of them, and they came up with their own names. The pictures shown

to the participants came from a structured meaning space consisting of three dimensions (shape, color and number) containing three variables (see Figure 2 for the shape variables; color variables: yellow, red, blue; number variables: one, two, three).

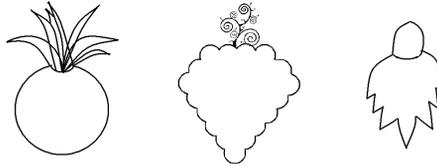


Figure 2. Shape variables used in the replication of the experiment

The aim of the experiment was to observe the evolution of language, which normally takes hundreds of years, within a couple of hours. After nine iterations, *i.e.* when the chain was complete, the expectation was that the language would turn from a chaotic one into a structured one with combinations that could easily be remembered and recombined. When it comes to the specific bottlenecks applied, the transmission/semantic bottleneck with a ratio between the total number of meanings and the elements shown was 9:4, and the ratio between seen and unseen elements in the testing phase was 3:1.

The final state of the evolvects proves simplified overgeneralizing mappings with respect to one feature (shape, see Figure 3). In the case of the first chain, it is worth noticing the potential resemblances between the signals obtained and ELS. The first fruit, regardless of the number and color, became *citron* or *citorn*, a name that is similar to the Polish *cytryna* (lemon). The second fruit became *nipon* in blue, and *kanula* in yellow and red (*nipon* may be associated with the Japanese name of Japan and the **anula* ending is frequently found in the corpus of the Polish language). The third fruit was called *tomato*, regardless of the color or number, which may be due to the influence of English ELS. The final state of the evolvect for this chain is presented in Figure 3.

	Blue	Yellow	Red	
			CITORN	1
	CITRON			2
		CITRON		3

	Blue	Yellow	Red	
			KANULA	1
	NIPON		KANULA	2
		KANULA		3
	TOMATO	TOMATO		1
		TOMATO	TOMATO	2
	TOMATO			3

Figure 3. Final state of the evolvect in chain 1

When it comes to the second chain, a systematic overgeneralization of the “ki”-marker ending may be noticed. Because all of the subjects participating in the experiment were Polish, and “ki” is a plural noun marker in their native language, it may be hypothesized that that is the origin of the marker in the final evolvect in the case of the second chain. We can also observe the presence of *pomioki* or related signals (*poumioki*, *niepomioki*, *pomidor*) in all of the fruits. Because *pomidor* means *tomato* in Polish, the influence of ELS seems quite intense. The final state of the evolvect in the second chain is presented in Figure 4.

	Blue	Yellow	Red	
			POMIOKI	1
	POMIOKI			2
		NIEPOMIOKI		3
			POUMIOKI	1
	CYTRONIAKI		NIEPOMKI	2
		POUMIOKI		3
	POMPOM	POMIOKI		1
		POMIOKI	POMIDOR	2
	POMPOM			3

Figure 4. Final state of the evolvect in chain 2

The overall hypothesis can therefore be formulated as follows: if there are no filters imposed on transmission that would disable any potential ELS bias, the emergent signals that exhibit such bias should enhance a given evolect with respect to learnability, systematicity and simplicity. Interestingly, the ELS bias does not focus on the participants' native language exclusively but on various foreign languages which might have influenced these participants' linguistic systems.

As was observable in the original experiment, the number of errors decreased over generations, which is a clear indication of improvement in learnability. A significant drop in the number of errors between generations is visible especially in the final iteration. The observation in question goes in line with Kirby *et al.*'s observation. It is presented in Figure 5 below.

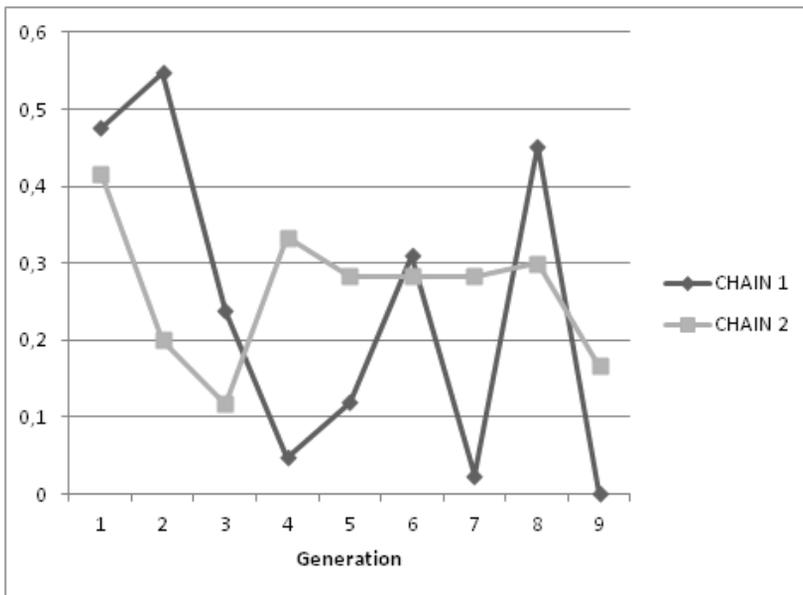


Figure 5. Normalized error scores by generation

Another important observation is the decrease in distinct signals in the evolects, which indicates simplification in both chains, as the same number of meanings is described by a lower number of signals. It is presented in Figure 6. It might be, however, useful to block multiple identical answers denoting distinct meanings in a subsequent study (applying the uniqueness of the signal bottleneck).

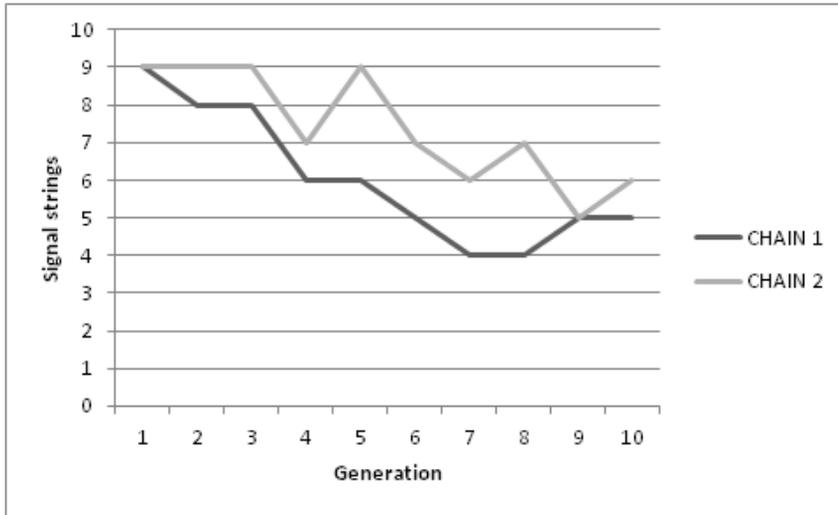


Figure 6. Number of distinct signal strings found in the evolvects across generations

It is also very important to notice that in the course of the iterations an emergence of “trendsetters” can be noticed in both chains. The notion of a “trendsetter” shall refer to an emergent signal exhibiting ELS bias that immediately proves highly adaptive and successful across subsequent generations. In the case of the first chain, one can talk of trendsetters deriving from previously acquired linguistic structures in the case of *kanula* (*anula is a frequent marker in the IPI PAN corpus of Polish), *nipon* (which might be associated with the Japanese word for Japan), *citrin* (related to the Polish equivalent of *lemon*), and *tomat* (related to the English *tomato*). When it comes to the second chain, the trendsetter effect was not as robust but still visible. A grammaticalization process can be observed in the presence of the “ki” plural ending marker of Polish, and the *pomioki* trendsetter which occurred for the first time in the fifth generation (related to the Polish equivalent of *tomato*).

Interestingly, it turned out that the following assumption made by Kirby *et al.* in 2008 did not prove true in the case of the present study:

A participant’s first language may influence the learnability of a particular artificial language and therefore play a role in shaping the cultural evolution of those languages in our experiments. However, this explanation cannot be the whole story: if participants were merely stamping

their own linguistic knowledge onto the data that they were seeing, there would be no reason we would find rampant structured underspecification in the first experiment and a system of morphological concatenation in the second. (Kirby *et al.* 2008: 10684)

In the experiment discussed here the data analysis shows the reverse, *i.e.* the evolects are mostly shaped by entrenched linguistic structures in both chains. As ELS forms appear to be more salient throughout the generations than those unrelated to ELS (an interesting case here is *nipon*, which was initially considered a trendsetter but finally died out due to the presence of more ELS-related signals), they are highly responsible for the appearance of the final evolects. Complete mappings in both chains are presented in Figures 7 and 8.

Conclusions and further research

An analysis of the two chains of iterations conducted above makes it possible to hypothesize that entrenched linguistic structures, *i.e.* previously acquired knowledge of various linguistic forms either from the native language or from foreign languages, play a key role in the process of learning through the iterated learning design and they influence the bias towards simplification of these structures by means of underspecification.

When it comes to further research, a study with children as subjects seems to be an obvious continuation to obtain a more natural learning process, as children have long been implicated in the emergence of language, especially when taking into account the fact that even previous iterated learning studies refer to the subjects as adults and children. The application of the 'entrenched linguistic structures' bottleneck as well as previously used bottlenecks should be present. Such an experiment with children *e.g. ca.* six years of age has already been conducted by this paper's author, and its results are currently being analyzed.

Chain1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
F1blue2	PALINO	GRIN	KANULA	KANULNA	KANULA	KANULA	KANULA	KANULA	CITRON	CITRON
F1red2	KANULA	KANULA	MALINA	MALINA	MALIN	KANULA	CITRON	CITRON	CITORN	CITORN
F1green3	FOLUNA	MALINA	GRIN	CITRIN	CITRIN	CITRIN	KANULA	KANULA	CITRON	CITRON
F2blue2	NALUTA	NIPOKI	NIPOKI	NIPON	NIPON	NIPON	NIPON	NIPON	NIPON	NIPON
F2green3	A	CYTRIN		KANULA		NIPON		NIPON		KANULA
F2red1	B	KANULA		NIPON		MALIN		NIPON		KANULA
F2red2	KALONU		KANULA		NIPON		NIPON		KANULA	
F3green1	NAMUKI									
F3green2	MOFIKO	GRANAT	GRANAT		TOMATO		TOMATO		TOMATO	
F3blue3	NIPOKI	NIPON	CITRIN	TOMATO	TOMATO	TOMATO	TOMATO	TOMATO	TOMATO	TOMATO
F2blue1	KUNIMA		NIPON		KANULNA		TOMATO		TOMATO	
F3red2	C	TOMAT		KANULA		TOMATO		TOMATO		TOMATO

Figure 7. Complete mappings in chain 1

Chain2	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
F1blue2	PALINO	NAMUKI	NAMUKI	NEMUKI	NEMUKI	NOMIKI	POMIOKI	POMIOKI	POMIOKI	POMIOKI
F1green3	FOLUNA	NOMUKI	NUMOKI	KUMOKI	LIMOKI	POMIOKI	POMIKI	CYTONKI	POUMIOKI	NIEPOMIOKI
F1red1	KANULA	FOLUNA	FOLUNA	FOLUNA	TOMOKI	KUMOKI	POMIOKI	POMIOKI	POMIOKI	POMIOKI
F2red2	KALONU				KOUMOKI		POMOKI		NIEPOMKI	
F2blue2	NALUTA	NIPOKI	KAMUKI	NEPUKI	LUOMIKI	NUMOIKI	NEOPUKI	POMNUOKI	CYTRONIAKI	CYTRONIAKI
F2green3	A	KAMUKI		PUKIMI		LIMOKI		NEOCYNKI		POUMIOKI
F2red1	B	FUNAKI		PUMIKO		NUOMIKI		ROKOCE		POUMIOKI
F3green1	NAMUKI		KUMOKI		KUMOKI		NEOMUKI		POMIOKI	
F3green2	MOFIKO	NOPUKI	PUNOKI	KUMOKI	POMIOKI	NEMUKI	NEOPOMIKI	POMIOKI	POMIOKI	POMIOKI
F3blue1	KUNIMA		KIKIMI		LUMOKI		POMIOKI		POMPOM	
F3blue3	NIPOKI	NUMUKI	NEPUKI	NEPUKI	KUMIOKI	POMIOKI	LIMOKI	NIEPOMKI	POMIOKI	POMPOM
F3red2	C	PUKIMI		PUMIKI		POMIOKI		POMPOM		POMIDOR

Figure 8. Complete mappings in chain 2

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Pojęcia języka pierwotnego i religii uniwersalnej w kontekście sporów o pochodzenie języka w XVIII-wiecznej Francji

ABSTRACT. The search for the original or universal language has a long history. It was outlined by Umberto Eco in his book *La ricerca della lingua perfetta nella cultura europea* (1993). During the Enlightenment period in France, the supporters of the back then dominant naturalistic and sensualistic approach (Condillac, Rousseau, De Brogues) were opposed by the authors representing the currents of theosophy and spiritualism, who advocated an esoteric concept of the original language linked to the first Revelation received by mankind. Such a language would allow men direct contact with the Divine. The Theosophist Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin developed this idea in the spirit of the Judeo-Christian gnosis while the ultramontane catholic Joseph de Maistre criticized Locke's empiricism and recognized the Divine Word as a guiding principle in all act of cognition. From these authors' perspective the emergence of conventional languages was a consequence of the Fall of Man. As its result the original knowledge was dispersed, but it still remains present in myths, symbols and sacred books of mankind. Antoine Court de Gébelin in a work that bordered both naturalism and esotericism used a method of singular etymological speculation to conclude that allegory and symbol were universal keys to the original language and to the world. It may be interesting to examine the debates surrounding the issue of the origin of language from the point of view of the history of religious ideas. Depending on whether the concept of universal religion takes the form of a natural religion or whether it is derived from an ancient esoteric tradition, the world is either perceived as a book written in the language of the laws of nature intelligible to reason or as a sacred book holding secrets of a forgotten language that if we could read correctly might lead us back to the lost spiritual unity.

KEYWORDS: original language, universal religion, eighteenth century, France, naturalistic approach, sensualistic approach, gnosis, esoteric tradition.

Poszukiwanie pierwotnego lub uniwersalnego języka ma długą historię, którą zarysował Umberto Eco ([1993] 2002) w książce *W poszukiwaniu języka uniwersalnego* (*La ricerca della lingua perfetta nella cultura*

europa). Autorzy średniowieczni, opierając się na Biblii i Ojcach Kościoła, utożsamiali rajski język Adamowy z językiem hebrajskim, a w próbie wzniesienia wieży Babel widzieli przyczynę pomieszania i wielości języków (Eco [1993] 2002: 86–87). Zainteresowanie hebrajskim w czasach nowożytnych wiąże się zarówno z badaniem go od strony czysto filologicznej, jak i z poszukiwaniami o charakterze mistycznym, inspirowanymi kabałą żydowską i właściwymi jej metodami hermeneutycznymi (Eco [1993] 2002: 87). Jeszcze w XVII wieku Athanasius Kircher będzie widział w hebrajskim święty język pierwotny, w którym nazwy i rzeczy łączy naturalny związek (Eco [1993] 2002: 95–96). Jednocześnie za sprawą dzieł takich autorów jak Giuseppe Scaliger, Richard Simon, Méric Casaubon, Gottfried W. Leibniz czy Thomas Hobbes, stopniowo wzrasta świadomość krytyczna oraz sceptyczne nastawienie względem możliwości dotarcia do języka pierwotnego, a nawet samego jego istnienia (Eco [1993] 2002: 97–99). Teza o naturalnym charakterze języka wypierana jest przez koncepcje konwencjonalistyczne¹, zaś teza monogenetyczna dotycząca pochodzenia języka coraz częściej ustępuje ujęciom poligenetycznym, inspirowanym m.in. materialistyczną filozofią Epikura, którą już grecki filozof zastosował do problemu początków mowy. Materialistyczno-biologiczne tezy epikurejskie, powiązane z kulturowym relatywizmem i krytyką religii, zyskały wielu zwolenników wśród XVII-wiecznych libertynów francuskich, takich jak kalwinista Isaac de La Peyrère (Eco [1993] 2002: 100–101).

W oświeceniowej Francji, w kwestii pochodzenia języka dominują rozwiązania naturalistyczne i sensualistyczne. Étienne Bonnot de Condillac w *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines* (1746; wyd. polskie *O pochodzeniu poznania ludzkiego*, 1952), przyjmując empiryczną metodę Locke'a (Condillac 1746, t. 1: V–XXVI), zwraca uwagę na społeczny wymiar ewolucji mowy i czyni język łącznikiem między wrażeniem zmysłowym a poznaniem racjonalnym. Condillac stwierdza, że głównym czynnikiem rozwoju języka są potrzeby jednostek oraz konieczność komunikowania ich innym ludziom (Zernik 1983/2012: 10–15). Jean-Jacques Rousseau, na którego Condillac wywarł znaczący wpływ,

1 Spór o to, czy język wywodzi się z samej natury rzeczy, czy też jest oparty na konwencji, zarysowany został już w dialogu Platona *Kratylos*. Wobec tego problemu staje również czytelnik opowieści biblijnej o stworzeniu, w której przebywający w raju Adam nazywa poszczególne istoty żywe (Eco [1993] 2002: 18, 21–22).

podważy jednak jego tezę w *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité* (1755, wyd. polskie *Rozprawa o nierówności*, 1956), a następnie w *Essai sur l'origine des langues* (1761, wyd. polskie *Szkic o pochodzeniu języków*, 2001), zauważając, że matką pierwotnej mowy, przypominającej poezję i śpiew, nie jest potrzeba (do wyrażenia tej ostatniej wystarczy bowiem gest), a raczej odczuwanie i emocje związane z zanurzeniem w nieodróżniony stan natury. Powstanie nowoczesnych języków racjonalnych nie jest zaś oznaką postępu, lecz wynaturzenia, odejścia od owej pierwotnej naturalnej harmonii (Zernik 1983/2012: 23–30). Charles de Brosses w *Traité de la formation mécanique des langues* (1765) [*Rozprawa o mechanicznym kształtowaniu języków*]² uzna, że pierwotny język ma charakter fizyczno-organiczny, a narządy mowy wiernie naśladują za jego pomocą doświadczaną rzeczywistość natury (de Brosses 1765: 214–216; Eco [1993] 2002: 104).

Tym oświeceniowym koncepcjom naturalistycznym (choć niepozbanionym miejscami czynnika irracjonalnego lub mitycznego), autorzy reprezentujący nurty iluminizmu³ i spirytualizmu przeciwstawiają ezoteryczną koncepcję języka pierwotnego, związanego z pierwszym Objawieniem danym ludzkości. Chodzi o język utożsamiony z pełnią duchowej wiedzy, umożliwiający bezpośredni kontakt z bóstwem, język, w którym słowa dokładnie odpowiadają rzeczom i posiadają moc sprawczą (co jest charakterystyczne dla wielu starożytnych czy tradycyjnych kultur, jak również dla światopoglądu magicznego). I tak, teozof Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin (1743–1803), który przyjął przydomek „Nieznanego filozofa”, rozwija tę myśl w duchu judeochrześcijańskiej gnozy w dziełach *Des erreurs et de la vérité* (1774) [*O błędach i prawdzie*], *Tableau naturel des rapports qui existent entre Dieu, l'homme et l'univers* (1782) [*Naturalny obraz stosunków zachodzących między Bogiem, człowiekiem i wszechświatem*], *De l'esprit des choses* (1800) [*O duchu wszechrzeczy*]⁴.

Pierwszy człowiek u de Saint-Martina jest istotą duchową – emanacją Pierwszej Zasady boskiej – i posługuje się jednym, uniwersalnym

2 Wszystkie tytuły wymienione w artykule w nawiasach kwadratowych podaję w przekładzie własnym, ze względu na brak polskich wydań omawianych dzieł.

3 Pojęcie „iluminizmu” stosuje się tu w odniesieniu do XVIII-wiecznego ezoteryzmu, analogicznie do francuskiej terminologii Antoine'a Faivre'a (Faivre 1973: 31).

4 Wymienione dzieła dostępne są na stronie poświęconej życiu i twórczości „Nieznanego filozofa” (<http://philosophe-inconnu.com>).

i wewnętrznym językiem, całkowicie jednoznacznym i przejrzystym dla pozostałych duchów (Frantz A: 1; de Saint-Martin 1775: 453–456, 478). A dokładniej mówiąc, posługuje się dwoma językami: pierwszy składa się bowiem z czterech liter boskiego imienia (odpowiada więc świętemu tetragramowi *jod, he, waw, he*), drugi zaś – z 22 liter oznaczających wszelkie twory Pierwszej Zasady (Frantz A: 1; de Saint-Martin 1782, cz. I: 108). Ten drugi język należy utożsamić ze światem natury, który można określić jako boskie pismo. W tym ujęciu sam człowiek stanowi Księgę, w której zgromadzona została cała wiedza pochodząca od boskiej zasady i będąca wyrazem boskiego prawa (Frantz A: 2; de Saint-Martin 1775: 253). Tak jak twierdził Martinès de Pasqually, mistrz de Saint-Martina i założyciel Zakonu Wybranych Kohenów, którego nauczanie wyrażone w *Traité sur la réintégration des êtres* [Traktat o reintegracji bytów] stanowiło formę gnozy inspirowanej kabałą i hermetyzmem, pierwszy Człowiek przenikał bowiem wszystkie byty w jednym, wszechogarniającym oglądzie i był zdolny do bezpośredniego komunikowania się ze swoim boskim źródłem (de Pasqually 1899: 12–13).

Co istotne, został on powołany do istnienia dopiero po upadku pierwszych istot, aby sprawować pieczę nad nimi i zarządzać wszechświatem za pośrednictwem siedmiu najwyższych duchów oraz Słowa, posiadającego moc sprawczą. To, co miało być narzędziem boskiej chwały, stało się jednak przyczyną upadku (Frantz A: 3; de Pasqually 1899: 15–18). Człowiek, chcąc stać się równym bóstwu, pozwolił bowiem ować nadnąć sobą niższym duchom i w ten sposób utracił znajomość pierwotnego języka, który uległ zaciemnieniu i rozbiciu. Język ten został przesłonięty językami konwencjonalnymi, które nie rządzą się już zasadą naturalnej analogii, lecz odległego i arbitralnego związku zniekształcającego istotę rzeczy. Kontakt z pierwiastkiem boskim odtąd wymagał zapośredniczenia, a wynikłe stąd pomieszanie opisuje mit wieży Babel. Nowoczesne języki posiadają charakter linearny, a sposób przyswajania wiedzy przy ich pomocy jest rozłożony w czasie. Nie stanowi już natychmiastowego i całościowego oglądu tak jak to było w przypadku języka pierwotnego. Podczas gdy ten ostatni znany był dzięki wewnętrznemu poznaniu, języki konwencjonalne narzucane są z zewnątrz i wydają się oderwane od swego źródła (Frantz A: 4; de Saint-Martin 1775: 457–458). Pomimo tego jednak zachowują z nim odległy związek, a ślad ten (np. struktury gramatyczne) powoduje, że człowiek nieustannie nosi w sobie pragnienie

powrotu do stanu sprzed upadku. Wyraża się to m.in. w nostalgii za światem, w którym słowa dokładnie odpowiadają rzeczom. Powrót ten możliwy jest jednak jedynie poprzez regenerację duchowych władz człowieka (Frantz A: 5). O tym, że pochodzenie języka jest boskie, że Pierwszy człowiek posługiwał się językiem-matką, który został utracony po Upadku, lecz odradzał się w niektórych momentach ludzkich dziejów, przede wszystkim za sprawą języka hebrajskiego, de Saint-Martin pisze również w dziele *De l'esprit des choses* (1800, t. 2: 103–106, 211–214).

Ultramontanista Joseph de Maistre (1753–1821) podobnie jak de Saint-Martin pod koniec XVIII wieku należał przez pewien czas do masonerii Rytu Szkockiego Rektyfikowanego (powstałej z połączenia nauk Martinèsa de Pasqually z nawiązującą do tradycji templariuszy Ścisłą Obserwą niemiecką). Nawiązując do swoich wcześniejszych doświadczeń z iluminizmem, w drugim rozdziale *Soirées de Saint-Petersbourg* (1821, wyd. polskie *Wieczory petersburskie*, 2011), de Maistre poddaje ostrej krytyce empiryzm Locke'a i sensualizm Condillaca, uznając wyższość koncepcji idei wrodzonych, mających swoje źródło w boskim Słowie. To ostatnie według de Maistre'a jest naczelną i ostateczną zasadą poznania (de Maistre 1821, t. 1: 115), a także początkiem objawienia i wypływającej z niej uniwersalnej tradycji rozsianej po wszystkich kulturach świata. Nic więc dziwnego, że języki wszystkich ludów zawsze czerpały z pewnych wcześniejszych zasobów – dziedzictwa, które w sposób naturalny przyswoiły. Tłumaczy to również fakt, że języki narodów żyjących w znacznym oddaleniu od siebie wykazują daleko idące analogie, choć jakiegokolwiek zapożyczenia historyczne między nimi były niemożliwe (de Maistre 1821, t. 1: 127–128).

Co znamienne dla de Maistre'a, im dawniejsza kultura, tym płodniejsza językowo i tym głębsza filozoficznie (de Maistre 1821, t. 1: 138–141). Oznacza to, że wiedza pierwszych ludzi była wyższa i bliższa pierwotnego Objawienia i że stopniowo ulegała ona rozproszeniu i zaciemnieniu. Świadczy o tym słowotwórcza nieporadność współczesnych mędrków, spowodowana odcięciem od żywej i organicznej tradycji języka. Wbrew temu, co twierdzą niektórzy XVIII-wieczni uczeni, w kształtowaniu języków według de Maistre'a nie ma żadnej arbitralności (de Maistre 1821, t. 1: 120–121). To prawda, że nowe języki powstają i rozwijają się podobnie jak organizmy żywe – języki mają bowiem swój początek w czasie, jednak to, co stanowi o ich istocie, a więc Słowo – czyli sama

nadprzyrodzona zasada mowy – jest odwieczne i wyprzedza historię, tak jak słowa wyprzedzają języki, a myśl słowa (de Maistre 1821, t. 1: 132). Każdy wyraz ma bowiem przede wszystkim swoją rację i swój sens, odsyłający do Objawienia danego ludzkości w momencie założenia świata. Słowo przekazujące to Objawienie, choć uległo zamazaniu za sprawą grzechu pierworodnego, wciąż jest rozsiane i obecne w mitach, symbolach i świętych księgach ludzkości, nade wszystko zaś w kościelnej tradycji. Kluczem do ich zrozumienia, do właściwego odczytania i odsłonięcia ich źródłowego duchowego znaczenia jest „pochodnia” analogii, inaczej mówiąc interpretacji symbolicznej (de Maistre 1821, t. 1: 135–136).

Jednym z czynników i nośników tradycji Słowa dla Josepha de Maistre’a jest etymologia. Na niej to również oprze swoje rozważania dotyczące pierwotnego języka protestant i wolnomularz Antoine Court de Gébelin (1719–1784). W swoim głównym dziele⁵ *Le Monde primitif analysé et comparé avec le monde moderne* (1773–1782) [*Analiza i porównanie świata pierwotnego ze światem nowoczesnym*], które sytuuje się na pograniczu naturalizmu i ezoteryzmu, stosując metodę osobliwej etymologicznej spekulacji⁶, dostrzega on w alegorii i symbolu uniwersalny klucz pierwotnego języka i świata, podobnie jak de Maistre, lecz wychodząc ze zgoła odmiennych przesłanek. Twórczość Court de Gébelina z jednej strony jest zgodna z duchem czasu i metodą, która przyczyni się do powstania oświeceniowej *Encyklopedii* filozofów, z drugiej jednak strony wymyka się czysto racjonalistycznej logice i stawia problem samej genezy świata, który pokrywa się właściwie z problemem genezy języka (Frantz B: 2). Badając niezwykle obszerny i różnorodny materiał kulturowy, obejmujący nie tylko języki, ale również wytwory kultury takie jak emblematy, herby, gry, monety czy kalendarze, Court de Gébelin usiłuje uchwycić źródłowy związek istniejący między słowami a rzeczami. Związek ten, któremu poświęcony jest rozdział III *opus magnum* Gébelina, okazuje się dla niego konieczny i naturalny, oparty na naśladownictwie

5 Court de Gébelin już w roku 1772 wydał książkę na temat historii mowy, pochodzenia języka, pisma oraz gramatyki uniwersalnej, zatytułowaną *Histoire naturelle de la parole ou Origine du langage, de l'écriture et de la grammaire universelle*.

6 „Pasja etymologiczna” związana z poszukiwaniem języka pierwotnego rozwinęła się szczególnie w okresie renesansu, jednak jej korzenie sięgają dzieła Izydora z Sewilli (VI/VII w.). Spekulacje etymologiczne opierają się na mimologizmie „rodem z platońskiego Kratylosa”, zakładającym że związek nazw i rzeczy jest naturalny, nie zaś arbitralny (Eco [1993] 2002: 92–93).

(podobnie jak u de Brosse'sa), a odczytać go można m.in. dociekając etymologii poszczególnych słów (Eco [1993] 2002: 105–106).

Głównym czynnikiem rozwoju języka są bowiem, podobnie jak u Condillaca, ludzkie potrzeby, w pierwszej zaś kolejności potrzeba komunikacji oraz scalenia wspólnoty, zrodzona z instynktu samozachowawczego. Gébeline pokreśla jednak jeszcze bardziej ich społeczny charakter. Język pierwotny według niego ewoluował i zmieniał się wskutek dziejowej komplikacji, wynikającej z niej różnorodności oraz pomnażania się liczby ludzi. Między światem pierwotnym a nowoczesnym nie ma jednak zerwania ciągłości spowodowanego Upadkiem (Frantz B: 1). I chociaż to Bóg obdarzył człowieka narządami mowy, które umożliwiły powstanie języka, to jednocześnie jest ono wpisane w naturę rzeczy i zakorzenione w samej fizyczności świata. Do pierwotnego języka, który odsyła do odwiecznego prawa rządzącego naturą, można więc wciąż dotrzeć drogą wnikliwej refleksji. Pierwsze dźwięki i monosylabiczne słowa naśladowały konkretne rzeczy, a ich kombinacja zrodziła bardziej złożone wyrazy. Idee zaś powstały poprzez stosowanie względem nich myślenia metaforycznego (Frantz B: 2). Podział ten Gébeline zastosuje również do różnych rodzajów dźwięków: początkowo według niego samogłoski odnoszą się do wrażeń zmysłowych, a spółgłoski do idei, jednak pod wpływem de Saint-Martina, francuski uczyony odwróci ten porządek (Frantz B: 3). Ostatecznie w opracowywaniu słowników etymologicznych Court de Gébeline przyjmie potrójne rozróżnienie na rzeczy fizyczne lub konkretne, rzeczy abstrakcyjne (odsyłające do ludzkich wytworów) oraz prawdy intelektualne lub wyższe. Stwierdzi on, że pismo rozwinęło się równoległe do mowy i że nie ma między nimi zasadniczej różnicy. Podobnie jak mowa posiada ona pierwotnie obrazowy charakter i opiera się na naśladownictwie oraz analogii. Podobnie też jak w przypadku mowy powołały je do życia ludzkie potrzeby, zwłaszcza te związane z funkcjonowaniem społeczności rolniczych (Frantz B: 2).

Court de Gébeline należy do towarzystwa filaletów i związany jest z kręgami martynistycznymi. I choć trudno jednoznacznie określić, w jakiej mierze wpłynął na niego de Saint-Martin oraz pokrewni mu myśliciele, to nie ulega jednak wątpliwości, że podobnie jak oni poszukiwał on wiedzy o początkach języka, która dałaby wgląd w pierwotny stan świata i umożliwiła całkowitą reintegrację człowieka – jego powrót do pierwszego zamysłu Stwórcy (Frantz B: 3).

Interesujące może okazać się również spojrzenie na problematykę pochodzenia języka oraz spory toczone wokół niej w XVIII-wiecznej Francji z punktu widzenia historii idei religijnych. Rozwijające się w czasach nowożytnych pojęcie ponadwyznaniowej „religii uniwersalnej” wydaje się bowiem miejscami ściśle związane z tym zagadnieniem. Rousseau, który genezy języka doszukuje się w sferze afektywnej człowieka, swoją religię naturalną uczyni religią serca (Rousseau 1961: 84, 88). Wewnętrzny głos sumienia, będący podstawą *Profession de foi du vicaire savoyard*, czyli *Wyznania wiary wikarego sabaudzkiego* (IV część *Émile ou De l'éducation*, 1762), odsyła do idealizowanego stanu natury, w którym człowiek żył w harmonii ze stworzeniem i Stwórcą, nie doświadczając społecznego wyobcowania.

Court de Gébelin w języku alegorii ujrzy ślad jednego odwiecznego, niewzruszonego ładu i opartej na nim religii, która istniała od zawsze i którą wyznawały wszystkie ludy⁷. Objawienie historyczne pozwoliło właściwie jedynie powrócić do jej dawnych i zapomnianych prawd. Kult ten jest ściśle związany z uniwersalnym językiem alegorii oraz organiczną więzią łączącą między sobą słowa i rzeczy, Niebo i Ziemię, duszę i ciało, życie fizyczne i moralne, a także wszystkie czasy i miejsca w dziejach ludzkości (Court de Gébelin 1773–1782, t. 8: XVI–XIX).

Dla de Saint-Martina i de Maistre'a w pierwotnym, mistycznym języku sformułowane jest Objawienie, będące u źródła jedynej religii ludzkości. Kult pierwszego człowieka, jak twierdził już Martinès de Pasqually, opierał się na bezpośrednim kontakcie z bóstwem oraz płynącej z niego wiedzy. Po Upadku człowieka wiedza ta uległa degradacji i zapomnieniu, jednak w tradycjach i mitach wszystkich ludów można odnaleźć jej pozostałości i ślady (de Saint-Martin 1782, t. 1: 190–217; de Maistre 1821, t. 1: 280; t. 2: 279; Dermenghem 1923: 67–68). Świadczą o tym takie uniwersalne motywy jak rajski ogród szczęśliwości, bunt i upadek stworzenia, niewola i odkupienie, rytualny posiłek czy zbawcza ofiara poprzez przelew krwi. Dla de Saint-Martina tradycja pierwotnego Objawienia, choć rozsiana we wszystkich wierzeniach i kulturach, znajduje swój najpełniejszy wyraz w przekazie judeochrześcijańskim (de Saint-Martin 1800, t. 2: 144–157), dla de Maistre'a zaś w sposób szczególny

7 Wszelka religia i prawo moralne streszcza się dla Courta de Gébelina w przykazaniu miłości Boga i bliźniego, podobnie zresztą jak i dla innych myślicieli Oświecenia, m.in. Rousseau czy Voltaire'a (Court de Gébelin 1773–1782, t. 8: 570).

w katolicyzmie, w którym to wszystkie żydowskie i pogańskie wyobrażenia znajdują swoje wypełnienie (Dermenghem 1923: 285–311).

W zależności od tego, czy religia uniwersalna przyjmuje postać religii naturalnej, czy pochodzi od pradawnej ezoterycznej tradycji, świat postrzegany jest jako księga napisana w języku praw natury przejrzystym dla rozumu lub jako księga przechowująca święte znaki zapomnianego języka, które właściwie odczytane mogą poprowadzić na powrót do utraconej duchowej jedności. Należy jednak zauważyć, że wspólnym mianownikiem wszystkich wymienionych koncepcji XVIII-wiecznych jest zajmująca w nich kluczowe miejsce analogia, przyjmująca postać naśladowania, alegorii, mitu, symbolu czy poetyckiej metafory. Pomimo niuansów lub różnic znaczeniowych wskazuje ona bowiem na obrazowy (czy też wyobrażeniowy) oraz naturalny charakter języka pierwotnego, czyniący z oderwanej od niego racjonalności, wyrażającej się w arbitralnej językowej konwencji, znamię degradacji i upadku człowieka.

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On the Japanese Language in Contact with Other Cultures

ABSTRACT. This short paper revolves around the Japanese language and aims to provide some reflections on the discussion regarding the distinctive features that Japanese possesses. It is generally observed that each language changes with time, and this is also a great opportunity to analyze Japanese in terms of how its coexistence with other cultures influences its present form. This work also alludes to the attitudes that Japanese citizens represent when faced with a new, global reality as well as the positive and negative emotions that a particular foreign language and its culture evoke. Most of the discussion will be focused on a comparison between Japanese and English, as English seems to be the most influential among the other languages that are present in the awareness of Japanese residents. This phenomenon is illustrated with a number of examples of borrowings from English to Japanese which are present in everyday use. As one of the surveys shows, 90% of loanwords in Japanese are derived from English, and the newly created lexicon has even been given the name of Japalish (a combination of the words *English* and *Japanese*). What is more, it is undeniable that this is a continuous process. Therefore, this area of interest is very important as far as linguistic analysis is concerned and it is definitely worth paying some attention to this issue in order to be able to predict in which direction the above-mentioned changes may go in the future.

KEYWORDS: Japanese language, culture, borrowings, language change.

Introduction

Language is an interesting subject of study, as there is often something new and surprising to discover about it. It can be regarded as a phenomenon that is constantly changing with time, together with its speakers. Among the currently existing languages in the world, it is Japanese that is now undergoing an exceptionally serious series of changes, thus it stands as perfect material for an analysis. Taking into consideration the fact that

Japanese significantly differs when compared to the Japanese language from previous decades, it becomes clear that a closer examination of this process is necessary. Therefore, the strong influence of other cultures on Japanese is the main area of interest to be discussed in this paper, as well as the loanwords that are introduced into the language and are currently in use, as they are the direct result of such intense contact. This is a fascinating area of study because the Japanese language shares features that evoke both awareness of national identity in Japan and its multicultural openness to other cultures at the same time. As a consequence, we can observe its changing nature, which most probably will result in another interesting linguistic phenomenon in the near future. But first, in order to grasp the idea of what it may look like, a short analysis of the language's features is essential.

1. Characteristics of Japanese

The history of the origins of Japanese shows that this language has always been exposed to the influence of other cultures, and each such source of contact left a visible mark on its contemporary form. While analyzing the written forms of this language that are found in Japanese people's usage in their everyday lives, it can be observed that the lexicon of contemporary Japanese includes (Shimada 2003: 1; Hei 2009: 5):

- Wago (Japanese words) – usually written in Hiragana;
- Kango (Chinese words) – usually expressed using Kanji characters;
- Gairaigo (incoming foreign words) – expressed in Katakana;
- Roomaji¹ – words written in the Roman alphabet.

Irwin (2011a: 5) explains in his work that words of a more Japanese origin are often connected with words that are of the basic usage, such as: や (Ya) – ‘and,’ だけ (Dake) – ‘only,’ なく (Naku) – ‘cry,’ たべる (Taberu) – ‘eat,’ and はは (Haha) – ‘mother,’ but even in this group of words the strong presence of Kango is palpable, as in the example of numbers higher than ten that are derived from Chinese (Irwin 2011a: 5).

1 The fourth category is mentioned in the work of Hei (2009: 5), and even though it does not stand for a perfect completion of the proposed division of Japanese lexicon, it still helps to illustrate how different spelling systems in Japanese perform their function. It also helps to emphasize the fact that the newly introduced lexicon can be found in writing only within the last two categories.

An explanation as to why Chinese influence on Japanese is so prominent was presented in the work of Horikawa (2012: 7) and illustrated with good examples. Chinese is described as being the primary source that provided the language with symbols. This is connected with the fact that Japanese did not have its own writing system at that time. Together with the written language, some meaningful concepts were also transported into Japanese. Currently, we can come across concepts that have either both the Japanese and Chinese oral realization of a word or only the Chinese terminology. An example of such an occurrence is the Japanese word *yama* ('mountain'), which has the symbol 山 in Chinese as well as in Japanese but a different oral representation. As Shimada (2003: 3) stated, words that come from Chinese comprise about 40% of the Japanese lexicon and they are mostly loanwords which have been introduced into Japanese; Shimada analyzed the data of the study of the National Institute for Japanese Language. Those words, however, are so deeply ingrained in the Japanese language that they are no longer considered to be borrowings.

The following two categories are more of the recent introductions into the language and they are usually used to express new concepts. Such innovations are introduced to Japanese with the usage of Katakana symbols, which makes them distinguishable from other words. Still, as the influence of other cultures deepens, there is also a trend to keep the original form of a word in the Roman alphabet. The influx of incoming foreign words is believed to have its beginnings at around the 16th century, with the most intensive transfer of loanwords in the period from the 19th century. This incident was determined by cultural contact with Western countries (Horikawa 2012: 8). In fact, the impact was truly huge, and this can be illustrated with the results of the analysis done by MacGregor (2003: 18), who wrote that the "Loanword dictionary entries continue to grow: the latest katakana dictionary published by Sanseido (2000) contains 52,500 foreign word entries. Compare this figure to the 20,000 total of the first edition, published in 1972." These numbers prove that the phenomenon of the transfer of loanwords into Japanese cannot be ignored and left unnoticed.

Another important observation concerning loanwords in Japanese was expressed by Shimada (2003: ii), who observed that Western vocabulary items stand for about 10% of the modern lexicon of Japan, and

according to a research study conducted by the National Institute for Japanese Language from 1971, about 80.08% of those items came from English. These facts indicate that English borrowings form an important part of contemporary Japanese and its importance may become even stronger. Hence it is worth focusing on the influence of English on Japanese while examining this language's changing phenomenon. Within this area of study, two further terms are worth being distinguished:

- Japalish – in other words, *Japanese English*, meaning the words that were created in Japan on the basis of English by means of reformulation (Yamaguchi 2002);
- Wasei eigo – regarded as “pseudo-anglicisms,” meaning English words that were created in Japan in a way that can be called artificial since they did not originate in English (Gollin 2013: 2–3).

These two categories represent groups of words which, due to their frequent use, are regarded as a regular part of the language. Still, it is observable that they became incorporated into the language so accurately that they are often no longer recognized as English borrowings. As a result, the following question arises:

2. Is it true that English is so common in the everyday life of Japanese people?

A sufficient answer to this question can be provided by an analysis of the results of Takashi's research (1990). Takashi examined a sample of 513 TV commercials and 406 advertisements in print. He discovered that of the 21 149 words found in the sample, 5555 (*ca.* 23%) were loanwords from English. Such a high percentage of newly introduced vocabulary in the language is not a common phenomenon, which means that it is a significant change within the structure of Japanese. Another fact confirming this hypothesis is the existence of a rich variety of forms in which the new part of the lexicon of Japanese is introduced. It can be presented by using categories depending on the factors that influenced the process of borrowing. To grasp this in a simplified and general picture, it could be said that the process of such transfer begins when speakers of Japanese try to use an English word and pronounce it. This is the first stage that involves an English word in a primary transformation. Such an occurrence is determined by the fact that the Japanese language

has some linguistic constraints, as it differs significantly from English. One such aspect is the fact that Japanese is a language that does not produce consonant clusters, which results in Japanese people's inability to pronounce more difficult words. What is more, Japanese is limited to only five vowel sounds, which in comparison to English is a very small number (Shoji, Shoji 2014: 3). These are the problems users of Japanese face, thus they adapt various methods and, as a result, the following products of the process of borrowing can be found:

- compound words that do not originate in English, as in: *en-suto* (*engine stop*), *gattsu-poozu* (*guts pose*), *gooru-in* (*goal in*) (Simon-Maeda 1995);
- shortened words, as in the examples from the work of Irwin (2011b: 73):

Eng. operation	opereeshoN	>	ope	'operation'
Eng. strike	sutoraiki	>	suto	'(labour) strike'
Eng. character	kyarakutaa	>	kyara	'(cartoon, etc.) character'
Ger. Seminar	zeminaaru	>	zemi	'seminar'
Eng. mistake	misuteeku	>	misu	'error, slip, mistake'
Fr. mayonnaise	mayoneezu	>	mayo	'mayonnaise'
Fr. millimètre	mirimeetoru	>	miri	'millimeter'
Eng. husband	hazubaNdo	>	hazu	'husband'
Eng. (cash) register	rejisutaa	>	reji	'till, cash register'
Eng. ecology	ekorojii	>	eko	'green, eco-friendly'

- words with completely changed pronunciation, e.g.: *raibu* ('live'), *baiorin* ('violin'), etc. (Kamiya 1994: XVI). This is a very common procedure in the process of borrowing;
- words with changed meaning or usage in comparison to the meaning of the original word which was the primary source of the loanword. This category can be divided into three further subcategories:
 - ▶ narrowed meaning – takes place when the transferred word functions within a much narrower context. This is quite a frequent occurrence because loanwords are often used to replace a particular meaning, ignoring the full understanding of the borrowed word and its possible applications in the original language. An interesting example is presented by Gollin (2013: 17), who mentions the loanword *chaamingu*,

which originally meant ‘charming’ in English, but in Japanese it is used in the compound word *chaamu-pointo* (‘charm point’) to refer only to a physical feature. As a result, the meaning is significantly narrowed. Similarly, in an example from the work of Olah (2007: 181), ‘tuna’ is used in Japanese as *tsuna*, but it means canned and not fresh tuna;

- ▶ multiple meanings – some words are transferred from English to Japanese to function as elements for the creation of new words, as in the case of the word *bebii* (‘baby’), which was used to create compound words such as *bebii-uea* (‘baby wear’) or *bebii-gorufu* (‘baby golf,’ meaning miniature golf) (Gollin 2013: 19);
- ▶ completely changed meaning – this is also a frequent type of borrowing, and interesting examples are proposed by Kay (1995: 71):
 - manshon* (mansion) – ‘high-class block of flats,’
 - baikingu* (Viking) – ‘buffet meal,’
 - potto* (pot) – ‘thermos flask.’

Gollin (2013: 13–14) also proposed another category, which seems to be the most basic one, that there are also loanwords which are “lifted verbatim from English,” as in the case of *keeki* (‘cake’). Still, it can be argued that those loanwords also differ when it comes to correct pronunciation and they can be included in the third category above. As far as other categories are concerned, there are many more suggestions concerning the detailed selection of loanwords that can be found in Japanese, but the ones listed above seem to represent the most frequent occurrences and illustrate, in a simple way, how complex and broad this process is.

3. Why did English become so popular in Japan?

Why is Japanese so open to its influence?

To answer this question, Olah (2007: 178) lists the following reasons:

- to fill a semantic or lexical gap in Japanese;
- Western languages evoke connotations of progress and modernization;
- after WWII – Japan’s aspiration to create a country like the US as far as economic and technological growth are concerned;

- Western countries – symbol of wealth, power, prestige (when Japan was in the process of development);
- a trend of imitating the American way of life;
- foreign languages still seen as fashionable and appealing.

Hei (2009: 7–8) adds the following possible reasons influencing such a large influx of loanwords from English:

- to avoid taboo words – Golin (2013) gives an example of the word *toilet*, which is used instead of the native Japanese word having the same meaning because the English word seems to be more delicate and subtle;
- to search for new solutions in the language;
- motivation to learn English – it is a multicultural language of science, business and common communication with the rest of the world.

An analysis of the possible reasons for this phenomenon raises another interesting question, *i.e.* which factors support this phenomenon? It can be stated that it is mostly the media, namely commercials, newspapers and magazines, the radio, *etc.*, which are responsible for such a quick pace in which changes are introduced. It is also important to pay attention to the popular culture in general that is developing via many means of communication, and since the development of the Internet, through many social services online. All in all, it can be assumed that contact between Japanese and other languages occurs at any place where communication is possible. As a result, there are many new possibilities to exchange information, *e.g.* on Facebook, chats, blogs, *etc.*

The popularity of using foreign languages in Japanese media is connected with the fact that some languages are connected with positive associations. As Blair (1997) states,

English evokes an image of quality, reliability, [...] and modern living [...]; French communicates elegance, most often in women's products; Italian brings to mind simple elegance and speed; Spanish projects masculine charm and wild female tenderness; and German suggests tidy, industrious people in a pleasant rural setting.

Thus, Blair (1997) concludes that the foreign words which are used are not intended to be fully understood but to create a particular image of a product.

4. Problems resulting from the transfer of loanwords into Japanese

Together with the large number of new entries in the Japanese vocabulary, there are also many problems connected with loanwords, the most problematic of which are as follows (Olah 2007: 179–183):

- a. mispronunciation – due to the restrictions of Katakana, words are lengthened and then shortened, and their pronunciation becomes very Japanese-like. As a result, English speakers are not able to understand these words and Japanese people use them although they are unaware that they are incorrect. What is more, English learners of Japanese have to re-learn loanwords that supposedly come from their native language;
- b. change or loss of meaning – misuse of words by the learners of English is very common. As a result, there exists an English that is understandable only to Japanese users, and this leads to many mistakes and to miscommunication;
- c. generation gap – the older generation is unable to understand many words which are used excessively by the young Japanese population (thus a list of loanwords to be avoided was created by the National Institute for Japanese Language).

Table 1. Results of the questionnaire, from Olah (2007: 184)

Statement	N=153		
	Agree (total of 4 & 5) Responses (%)	Neutral (3) Responses (%)	Disagree (total of 1 & 2) Responses (%)
1) There are too many LWs in Japanese.	93 (60.8)	37 (24.2)	23 (15.0)
2) I Like to use LWs when I speak Japanese.	43 (28.2)	68 (44.4)	42 (27.4)
3) LWs give new ways of understanding the world.	73 (47.7)	56 (36.6)	24 (15.7)
4) LWs are a threat to Japanese.	48 (31.8)	50 (33.1)	53 (35.1)
5) LWs should be taught in English lessons.	95 (62.9)	32 (21.2)	24 (15.9)
6) I adjust the LWs I use for people over 40.	47 (31.1)	61 (40.4)	43 (28.5)
7) I think LWs should be regulated.	20 (13.2)	47 (30.9)	85 (55.9)
	More than 50% (total of 4 & 5) Responses (%)	50% (3) Responses (%)	Less than 50% (total of 1 & 2) Responses (%)
8) Percentage of media LWs I don't understand.	66 (43.2)	45 (29.4)	42 (27.4)

Numerous research studies have been conducted to gauge the scope of problems connected with borrowings. An interesting study was conducted by Olah (2007: 183–185), who focused on attitudes towards loanwords among Japanese university students. The results of his work are especially applicable and helpful in this paper, and are presented in Table 1.

While analyzing problems connected with the transfer of loanwords, the answers concerning statement (8) are especially important. It can be noticed that 43.2% of the students did not understand more than 50% of the borrowings used in the media. This confirms the fact that the problems, *e.g.* concerning the distortion of the meaning of loanwords as well as mispronunciation, are serious, and this also influences the results for statement (1), in which many students claimed that there are too many loanwords in Japanese. As far as the generation gap is concerned, the problem was also clearly indicated in answers to statement (6), in which only 31.1% of the respondents paid attention to their overuse of loanwords when they were speaking to older people. However, on the basis of other statements, it can be assumed that attitudes towards new vocabulary were positive (Olah 2007: 183–185).

5. The future of Japanese

The results of the above-mentioned research studies lead us to many reflections regarding the future of Japanese. One of these is that Japanese is acquiring more and more English vocabulary items and that Japanese people are often unaware of the fast pace of this process. The direct consequence of this is that the Japanese, especially the older generation, need to update their knowledge concerning language quite often in order to keep up with the ongoing changes and to be able to understand its new applications. A perfect example presenting how serious this problem is was reported in an article from the Japan Real Time website (Warnock 2013), in which the first lines stated that: “Japan’s public broadcaster NHK is in a bit of *‘toraburu’*” (trouble) because of the excessive use of foreign words. As the author of the article stated, 71-year-old Houji Takahashi sued the NHK for \$14 000 in compensation and he enlisted words such as *kea* (‘care’), *conshieruju* (‘concierge’), *risuku* (‘risk’) and *toraburu* (‘trouble’) as most distressful. Such situations help us to realize

how significant the changes inside the language are and how little time they have needed to become accepted by the users of this language.

What is more, the influx of loanwords is unlikely to stop, as was proven in the study by Ando (cited in Olah 2007: 182). Ando examined 75 English textbooks for junior and senior high school that were in use in 1996 and he discovered that two thirds of the vocabulary to be taught at school could also be found in dictionaries of Japanese loanwords. This fact indicates that the existence of English in Japanese is very well established, and this tendency may even become stronger, especially when positive attitudes towards loanwords keep on supporting this process. The question appears as to whether this phenomenon is positive. An interesting opinion was provided by Loveday, who wrote that

[a] further attitude that has received little attention is the conception that the current extent of Western borrowings is leading to language “decline” or “infection” and is a sign that the Japanese have lost faith in their own linguistic creativity – and beyond this, their own culture as represented by language. (1986: 21)

Loveday was not the only researcher to raise concern about the Japanese language’s capacity to fulfill new demands. In fact, it was previously questioned throughout its history by various public figures in Japan whether to maintain it as the official language (Blair 1997). Still, the Japanese language is highly valued for its uniqueness and firm representation of the spirit of nationality and tradition of Japan as a country. Therefore, instead of thinking about Japanese as a deficient language that is looking for solutions from other languages, it may be regarded as a language in the process of transformation that will only strengthen its importance and self-dependence. From this point of view, the Japanese people can be regarded as very responsive to the global world and, as has been stated, “During this evolutionary process, they need to come to grips with the contemporary popular representation of the Japanese language in those aspects that can lead them to rediscover the Japanese language and ‘Japaneseness’” (Igarashi 2007: 222).

This paper intended to raise some questions concerning the processes that are taking place in modern Japanese and to pay more attention to this linguistic phenomenon, as it is a source of knowledge concerning the evolution of language. It may also be regarded as a remarkable point in the history of Japanese, as the changes happening now may lead to

a completely new creation which will be called ‘modern Japanese’ in the future. Therefore, it seems advisable to keep better watch over what is happening within the structure of Japanese, because similarly to the idea of Morrow, by having such a thorough understanding of this language “we can more accurately predict how it will be used in the future, and given a sense of what our future needs will be, we can begin preparing to meet them” (Morrow 1987: 61). Morrow was writing about English, but at the same time his words seem to perfectly suit the situation of modern Japanese and have crucial meaning not only in terms of the future of this language but also of the future of its users.

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The Role of Presupposition and Lexical Conceptual Structure in the Causative/Inchoative Alternation of Change of State Verbs: An Analysis Based on Selected Examples from a Corpus

ABSTRACT. The analysis helps to establish constraints which decide about the participation of a verb in the causative/inchoative alternation. Knowing such constraints may help to explain which factors decide about the participation of a verb in diathesis alternations and why a given construction is used instead of another one in a sentence. This is investigated by reference to change of state verbs in the causative/inchoative alternation based on selected examples from a corpus. The article is based on a hypothesis developed mainly by Levin and Rappaport Hovav which refers to the lexical approach, in which the meaning of a verb encoded in its lexical conceptual structure determines its argument structure. Another assumption suggests that there is a distinction between the meaning of a predicate and its presuppositional aspect, *e.g.* Fillmore's approach states that presupposition is encoded in some verbs. This assumption may help to put some constraints on verbs which may participate in a given alternation. Some questions connected with this subject arise, *e.g.* what kind of role does the meaning of a verb represented in its lexical conceptual structure play in determining the argument structure of change of state verbs in the causative/inchoative alternation, especially since verbs in diathesis alternations are mostly polysemous. This paper checks whether various senses of verbs in the causative/inchoative alternation depend on the context, lexical entry of the verb or the syntactic structure which the verbs appear in. It is also confirmed that a verb puts selectional restrictions on its arguments within its verbal domain, which determines its sense in a sentence as well as its argument structure.

KEYWORDS: lexical conceptual structure, argument structure, meaning, presupposition, causative/inchoative alternation, change of state verbs.

Introduction

This article adopts the hypothesis which states that the meaning of a verb determines its argument structure. Another assumption suggests that

there is a distinction between the meaning of a predicate and its presuppositional aspect. This is, for example, Fillmore's approach, which states that presupposition is encoded in some verbs. This assumption may help to put some constraints on verbs which may participate in the causative/inchoative alternation. There are some questions connected with this subject, for example, what kind of role does the meaning of a verb represented in its lexical conceptual structure play in determining the argument structure of change of state verbs in the causative/inchoative alternation. Moreover, verbs in diathesis alternations are mostly polysemous. This paper checks whether various senses of verbs in the causative/inchoative alternation depend on the context, lexical entry of a verb or syntactic structure which the verbs appear in.

Section one introduces the general background of the so-called Lexical Approach to a verb's meaning which states that the verb's meaning is represented in the lexical conceptual structure (LCS). The notion of argument structure which is determined by LCS (*cf.* Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995) and refers to the argument taking predicates is also mentioned. Section two presents the notion of polysemy and explains the main source of the polysemy of change of state verbs. Section three explains the causative/inchoative alternation in reference to externally and internally caused change of state verbs. Section four presents the analyses of change of state verbs in the causative/inchoative alternation based on selected examples from a corpus. Section five provides the concluding remarks which state that the sense of a verb in the causative/inchoative alternation is different and that the main factor which causes the polysemous senses (in the examples that are analyzed) is derived from the lexical entry of a verb (its meaning). It is also concluded that the argument structure of change of state verbs is determined by their causative lexical-conceptual structure and the selectional restrictions that a verb presupposes.

1. Background of two lexical representations of verbs: lexical conceptual structure (LCS) and argument structure (AS)

A verb is associated with two lexical representations: lexical semantic representation, *e.g.* LCS, and lexical syntactic representation, *e.g.* AS (*cf.* Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 20). LCS determines the "event types."

The meaning of a verb is also associated with the event structure, which is also described in the following subsection.

Syntax/semantics interface: LCS & AS

LCS “encodes the syntactically relevant aspects of verb meaning” (Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 21). The meaning of a verb is represented in semantic role lists and predicate decompositions. The former reduces the meaning of a verb “[...] to a list of semantic roles that the arguments bear to the verb” (Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 22); the latter represents the meaning of a verb “[...] in terms of a fixed set of primitive predicates; the semantic roles can be identified with particular argument positions associated with these predicates” (*cf.* Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 22). Predicate decomposition consists of two basic elements, *i.e.* primitive predicates and constants. As an example, the predicate decomposition of the unaccusative *break* is given in (1) (*cf.* Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 23). *Become* is potentially primitive and BROKEN “is a constant that represents the element of meaning that sets the state of being broken apart from other states” (Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1996: 23).

- (1) Break: [y become BROKEN]

Predicate decompositions, as in the case of the unaccusative *break* in (1), “are selected so that verbs belonging to the same semantic class have common substructures in their decomposition” (Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 23); common substructures which are “lexical semantic templates,” as in (2), refer to verbs which belong to the same class. For example, a verb of putting has the same “semantic template” as given in (5) but a different constant which “distinguishes that verb from other verbs of the same semantic type” (Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 23–24). Below, examples (3) and (4) present the lexical semantic representation of change of state verbs which share the common “semantic template” from (2) but have a different constant (*cf.* Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 24–27):

- (2) Noncausative verb of change of state: [y BECOME STATE]
 (3) *dry* [y BECOME DRY]
 (4) *warm* [y BECOME WARM]

(5) Verb of putting: [x CAUSE [y BECOME P loc z]

The examples are presented in Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995: 24, 27).

In the previous paragraphs the notions were presented of lexical conceptual structure as well as semantic representation in the form of predicate decomposition. The following paragraph, in turn, is devoted to the event structure of verbs. As Levin and Rappaport Hovav (2008: 6) state, “the information encoded in the LCSs is a small subset of the information encoded in a fully articulated explication of lexical meaning” gives “the limited inventory of basis events types.” “Event” covers all situation types. Schäfer (2009: 651) defines event structure as: “decomposition into basic event types is often referred to as ‘event structure.’”

The theories of event structure show a distinction between components of the meaning of the verb and primitive predicates which have event types (*cf.* Levin, Rappaport Hovav 2008: 6). The architecture of event structure is relevant in argument realization because it also motivates complex event structures based on argument realizations. Event complexity is concerned with the statement that there is “an argument in the syntax for each subevent...” (Levin, Rappaport Hovav 2008: 13). Two types of event structure have to be mentioned: the first is simple and the second is complex. As Levin and Rappaport Hovav state, verbs with a simple event structure can be transitive or intransitive, but verbs with a complex event structure have to be transitive. In a complex event structure which is a causative event structure “an entity or event causes another event” (Levin, Rappaport Hovav 2008: 12). Telic events are complex events, and most causative events are telic events (*cf.* Levin, Rappaport Hovav 2008: 13). In the following paragraph, some interpretations of argument structure (AS) are presented.

There are different interpretations of AS; one of them is presented by Sadler and Spencer (2001: 207) as “Argument structure: the way participants are realised in morphosyntax ... the facet of morphology – syntax interface [is] argument structure.” AS “encodes the syntactically relevant argument-taking properties of a verb” (Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 21) and it does not create semantic features. Grimshaw (1991: 1) states that AS was associated with “the number of arguments related by predicate”, later with “information critical to the syntactic behaviour of a lexical item.” It also refers to the “lexical representation of grammatical

information about a predicate” (Grimshaw 1990: 1). The “A-structure” is used instead of the name of the argument structure (*cf.* Grimshaw 1990: 1). To represent the argument structure, one uses different signs. Williams (*cf.* Grimshaw 1990: 2) uses “underlying” to show the “external argument,” while others use angle brackets. The argument structure may be presented as “a set of elements with external or internal status of an argument [...]” (Grimshaw 1990: 3).

After presenting the general definitions of LCS and AS, the following paragraph briefly mentions the “linking rules” which show the connection between the two notions. As claimed by Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1996: 487), the meaning of a predicator in a sentence determines the argument structure. The existence of so-called “linking rules” confirms the existence of the syntax/semantics interface. The associations between semantics and syntax are called “linking rules” because they “associate arguments bearing certain semantic roles with certain syntactic expressions” (Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1996: 486), for instance, the thematic role of the agent is connected with the subject. The main assumption about the relation between semantics and syntax is that “mapping between the lexical semantic representation of a predicator and the syntactic expression of its arguments is fully predictable” (Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1996: 488).

2. Polysemy of change of state verbs

A general description of change of state verbs is presented here. Classes of verbs are divided according to shared meaning parts of a set of verbs which show similar behavior (*cf.* Levin 1993: 17). Change of state verbs consist of several members: *break*, *bend*, *cooking* verbs, *verbs of entity-specific change of state* and *verbs of calibratable changes of state*, and other verbs (*cf.* Levin 1993: 241–247). Each of these participates in some alternations. Change of state verbs “refer to actions that bring about a change in ‘material integrity’” (Levin 1993: 242).

2.1. Notion of polysemy

Polysemy presents different senses of words, but in comparison to homonymy these are related. Saeed (1997: 64) presents the example of the word *hook*, which is a polysemic word. It has ten senses and all of

them are included in one entry, for instance, the first sense says that it is “a piece of material,” the second – “short for fish hook,” the third – “a trap or snare,” the fourth – “something that attracts or is intended to be an attraction,” and the last sense is “something resembling a hook in design [...], etc.” The example shows that this is not several different words but that there are different senses of this word.

2.2. Polysemy of verbs

Verbs have “systematic polysemy,” “where we have two different lexemes with the same form” (Spencer 2001: 232). This type of polysemy is presented in the causative/inchoative alternation, which is explained further in section three, but one example from Spencer (2001: 232) is shown below to make the idea more clear:

- (6) a. Tom broke the vase.
b. The vase broke.

In this alternation, “most linguists would probably say that there are two distinct though related BREAK lexemes” (Spencer 2001: 232). It is also worth mentioning that verb alternations are shifts “in the syntactic projection” of the verb’s arguments and are “regular patterns of polysemy” (Kearns 2006: 573). Another type of polysemy shown in verbs is “regular polysemy,” which refers to “instances of polysemy that are consistently exhibited by words with certain types of meanings” (Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 179). The verb *bake*, which is a change of state verb, is associated with two meanings, *i.e.* the “change of state meaning” as in (7) and “a creation meaning” as in (8) below (*cf.* Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 180). Such kinds of verbs are “variable behaviour verbs” (*cf.* Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 180).

- (7) Max baked the potato.
(8) Max baked a pound potato.
(Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 79)

Various meanings of a verb determine its argument structure, and each meaning can be connected with different syntactic behavior (*cf.* Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 180). Rappaport Hovav and Levin use

“regular word formation rules,” referred to as lexical conceptual structures, to show “some of the extended uses of alternating verbs” (Kearns 2006: 573). For instance, *fill* may have the sense of *load* as in (9). This sentence means that “The truck was filled with furniture” in the meaning of *load*. This use of verbs comes from the *put* sense, as in the next example (10). The *fill* sense may be given in the LCS as “x cause y to come to be filled/covered by means of x cause z to come to be at y,” which is derived from the rule from the *put* sense “x cause z to come to be at y” (Kearns 2006: 573).

(9) John loaded the truck with furniture.

(10) John loaded furniture onto the truck.

3. Causative/inchoative alternation of change of state verbs

The Unaccusativity Hypothesis is introduced in the subsection below as a background to the causative/inchoative alternation. Many of the change of state verbs found in the causative/inchoative alternation are unaccusative, thus knowing the answer to what causes some verbs to participate in the causative/inchoative alternation and some to not is significant in determining their argument structure. The prototypical unaccusatives are change of state verbs (*cf.* Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 80).

3.1. Unaccusativity Hypothesis

The Unaccusativity Hypothesis “is a syntactic hypothesis that claims that there are two classes of intransitive verbs, the unaccusative verbs and the unergative verbs, each associated with a different syntactic configuration” (Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 3). Unaccusative verbs take an internal object but no external object (*cf.* Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 3). Many change of state verbs are unaccusative and externally caused, as will be explained in the following subsections. Unaccusative verbs are a group of verbs without an external argument, *i.e.* they are monadic. Unaccusative predicates express states or changes of states. The event structure refers to the second subpart of an accomplishment. Causative verbs are accomplishments since “they are complex predicates involving a causing event” (Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 107) and they bring about some type of change. Accomplishment verbs present a causing subevent or

result state, *e.g. break* presents the result state, and the causing event is unspecified. The argument of a verb belonging to the unaccusative class will always have the most prominent internal argument of an accomplishment, and event structure may be described as a “complex event” (which is an activity and a resulting state) (*cf. Grimshaw 1990: 40*).

Unergative verbs have only an external argument which is realized as a subject (*cf. Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 3*). All unergative verbs are monadic verbs. Unergative verbs are internally caused, as will be explained later.

3.2. Causative/inchoative alternation

Verbs that participate in the causative/inchoative alternation “show transitive and intransitive uses such that the transitive use has roughly the meaning ‘cause to V-intransitive’” (*Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 79*). Here are some examples of the causative/inchoative alternation from *Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995: 79)*.

- (11) a. Pat broke the window. / The window broke.
 b. Antonia opened the door. / The door opened.
 c. Tracy sank the ship. / The ship sank.

3.3. Verbs which participate and those that do not in the causative/inchoative alternation

Verbs which are unergative cannot participate in the causative/inchoative alternation, *e.g. laugh, play* or *speak*. The unaccusative classification is essential for verbs which participate in the causative alternation (*cf. Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 80*). Unergative verbs are agentive verbs, whereas change of state verbs are unaccusative and their unaccusativity derives from “dyadic causative verbs”; unergative verbs are monadic. Intransitive verbs are divided into three types: the unaccusative type, as their argument structure consists of an indirect internal argument; with two internal arguments; and unergative verbs, as they take a single external argument. Unaccusative verbs have “a causative lexical semantic representation.” Causative verbs are inherently causative and do not arise from the causativization process but from participation in detransitivization (*cf. Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 84*). As an example, two verbs are mentioned, *i.e. break* and *laugh*. *Break* has a complex lexical semantic

representation because it includes the predicate “cause” and it is characterized by two subevents. The first subevent is the “causing” subevent and the second is “the central subevent,” which specifies the change which refers to the verb. *Laugh* in comparison with *break* is “a nonalternating intransitive verb,” *i.e.* it does not have the predicate “cause” and one subevent characterizes its representation. Verbs such as *laugh* do not have causative variants because their lexical semantic representation does not have the predicate “cause” and the “causing subevent.” It must be stated that “the subject of intransitive variant and object of the transitive variant bear the same semantic role” (Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 79). Transitive and intransitive verbs are used in the causative/inchoative alternation. In the transitive use the verb means “cause to V intransitive.” Many of the unaccusatives participate in this alternation.

3.4. Semantic restriction in the verbal domain

Certain semantic restrictions are visible within semantic relations (*cf.* Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 85). Both transitive and intransitive uses of *break* have the same set of possible objects and subjects, but not all physical objects can break, as is shown in (14) and (15), *e.g.* in the transitive use “the vase” and “the window” are objects that can be broken, as is shown in (12); the same objects are subjects in intransitive *break* and they, as in the transitive use, can break, as is shown in (13) (*cf.* Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 85). Such objects as “the clothes” and “the paper” are not found in both transitive and intransitive uses of the verb *break*, as in examples (14) and (15). Entities such as “the contract” may be used in the transitive variant of *break*, as in (16), but intransitive use, in turn, is not correct in this example (*cf.* Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 85). A wide range of objects can be used in transitive *break* than in the intransitive variant. The selectional restrictions are different for uses of the verb *open*. Only some possible objects can be used in transitive *open* and they cannot be used in the intransitive variant. The selectional restrictions may show which variant is basic, as those verbs which do not have any fixed selectional restrictions of their arguments are basic (*cf.* Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 86).

(12) Antonia broke the vase/the window/the bowl/the radio/the toaster.

(13) The vase/The window/The bowl/The radio/The toaster broke.

- (14) *Antonia broke the cloth/the paper/the innocence.
 (15) *The cloth/The paper/The innocence broke.
 (16) He broke his promises/the contract/the world record.

It is worth mentioning the division of change of state verbs into externally and internally caused change of state verbs as there are some semantic features which decide about a verb belonging to one of the above-mentioned groups.

Verbs such as *blossom* are internally caused verbs and the “changes of state that they describe are inherent to the natural course of development of the entities that are predicated of and do not need to be brought about by external cause” (Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 97). Such verbs are, for example, *flower*, *bloom* or *blossom*. In internally caused eventuality with an intransitive verb, the eventuality is brought about by some property that is inherent to the arguments of the verb; for example, in verbs such as *play* or *speak*, such a property is “the will or volition of an agent” (Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 91). Verbs such as *blush* or *tremble* are not agentive and are internally caused because the eventuality that is shown comes from the internal properties of the argument, e.g. an emotional reaction.

There are some restrictions which determine when a given verb can be used in the intransitive variant. When eventuality presented by a causative verb does not choose the volitional intervention of an agent, it may be used in the intransitive variant. The choice of an agent influences which verb may be used in the intransitive variant. Externally caused verbs such as *break* have an external cause, which is that something does not break because of its own features and it breaks via an external cause. Those verbs which are intransitive and have intransitive uses are internally caused verbs (cf. Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 92). The change of state verbs are a perfect example of causative alternation verbs.

Externally caused verbs, unlike internally caused ones, do not have fixed semantic restrictions on their arguments. Externally caused verbs have a transitive variant. Internally caused change of state verbs do not have transitive uses. This subsection was devoted to semantic restrictions (or selectional restrictions) within the verbal domain. The following subsection presents Fillmore’s approach to the relation between the presupposition of a verb and the selectional restrictions which a given verb imposes on its arguments.

Presupposition as part of the lexical entries for predicates

Selectional restrictions in the verbal domain are presuppositions which verbs impose on their arguments (*cf.* Löbner 2013: 97). For instance, “the verb *reply* is restricted to persons [...] verbs of change presuppose that resulting state did not apply before” (Löbner 2013: 97). Löbner (2013: 96) states that the “[...] verb imposes certain conditions on things and persons it predicates about.”

According to Fillmore (1971: 380), there is a distinction between the meaning of a predicate and its presuppositional aspect; presupposition is encoded in some verbs and it is also a property of a verb. The example in (17) illustrates this assumption. In (17) “the presupposition about the closed state of the door is a property of the verb *open*” (Fillmore 1971: 380).

- (17) Please open the door.
(Fillmore 1971: 380)

Moreover, presupposition in Fillmore’s approach is “part of lexical entries for predicates” (Norrick 2001: 83); for example, the verb *blame*, which is “a verb of judging,” “is characterized as presupposing the activity for which culpability is assigned is ‘bad,’ and even as presupposing selection restrictions such as that normal subject is human” (Norrick 2001: 83). Fillmore (1971: 391–392) gives examples of lexical entries for three verbs, *i.e.* *blame*, *accuse* and *criticize*. These verbs contain presupposition as a part of their lexical entries, *e.g.* the verb *accuse* in its lexical entry carries the following presuppositions, *i.e.* “x and y are human; z is an activity; z judges [z is ‘bad’]; x indicates [y caused z]” (Fillmore 1971: 391). I shall present more examples which show that presupposition can be “a semantic property of [...] particular lexical items” (Norrick 2001: 83); for instance, “the verbs *murder* and *kill* both assert that the object ends up dead, but *murder* presupposes the act was intentional on part of the subject [...]” (Norrick 2001: 83). Schäfer (2009: 653) also adds that “a verb like *murder* implies a causing event involving intention.” In turn, the verb *assassinate*, in contrast to *murder*, presupposes “that its object held political office” (Norrick 2001: 83). The following section is devoted to the analysis of change of state verbs in the causative/inchoative alternation based on selected examples from a corpus.

4. Analysis of change of state verbs in the causative/inchoative alternation based on some selected examples from a corpus

Analyses of both externally and internally caused verbs are presented in this section. First, the analysis of *break* verbs, e.g. *break*, *crash*, *fracture* and *smash* (cf. Levin 1993: 241–247), is presented. According to the classification (cf. Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 28), these are externally caused verbs. Next, an analysis of internally caused verbs is conducted, e.g. *bloom*, *burn* and *flower* (cf. Levin 1993: 246). The examples of verbs mentioned here derive from the BNC (British National Corpus) and the BYU-BNC (British National Corpus). Some examples also derive from a Google search. Due to the limits of this article, I chose and discussed only the most relevant examples, based on which the conclusion is written at the end.

Before moving on to the analysis, a short explanation of corpus linguistics is presented and examples of verbs from the corpus are analyzed. There are various existing definitions of the term ‘corpus.’ Corpora contain “data about the use of words in context” (Plag *et al.* 2007: 161); and “A corpus is a compilation of machine-readable texts, both written and spoken [...]” (Plag *et al.* 2007: 161). The largest and most well-known corpus of British English is The National British Corpus, which comprises about 100 million words from samples of written or spoken British English. There are two techniques which are used in this branch of linguistics; these are “the production of frequency lists” and “the generation of concordances” (cf. Evison 2010: 122; for a detailed description cf. Evison 2010: 122).

4.1. Examples of *break verbs* (externally caused)

Externally caused verbs take part in the causative/inchoative alternation. It is worth mentioning that the choice of theme influences their occurrence in the causative/inchoative alternation. Some verbs with some themes appear only in the causative use, as in (18). Selected examples from the corpus and a Google search of externally caused verbs such as *break*, *crush*, *fracture* and *smash*, which are divided into causative and inchoative uses, are given in this subsection.

(18)

- a. He broke his promise/the contract/the world record. (Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 86)

- b. *His promise/the contract/the world record broke. (Levin, Rappaport Hovav 2011: 7)

(19) **Causative break**

- a. 1493 Broke his arm or his wrist.
 b. K25 1057 Ralph Baughan was tipped from his wheelchair and set upon by two men who broke his wrist.
 c. The next year we were at Muirfield and I also did the Canada Cup with Peter the following year, 1960, and here he broke the news to me that he wanted to use his regular St Andrews caddie Wal d. Gillespie for the 1960 Open.
 d. Pensioners will be worse off every week because the Government broke the link with earnings.
 e. JXY 2207 That in itself is traumatic enough but —' she swallowed '— it was losing you that really broke her heart.
 f. H9Y 732 Just like his dad — who, one memorable Sports Day at his school, broke the world record for the 100 yards sprint.
 g. 366 It broke his concentration.
 h. A6R 82 'Anglers broke the ice to fish and diesel bubbled up to the surface.

(20) **Inchoative break**

- a. My son wanted to annoy me, so he threw my precious vase against the wall and it broke. (Levin, Rappaport Hovav 2011: 9)
 b. FRE 2082 But when the doctor, the vicar and Gabriel arrived, and she no longer needed to be strong, her self-control finally broke, and she became very ill.

Break used in the causative variant mainly describes externally caused eventualities (cf. Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995); the wide variety of uses of the verb *break* in this alternation presents its metaphorical use and acceptability of such uses in certain contexts as in (19e, g). The wide range of uses of the verb *break* is used in a metaphorical context, so this indicates that its sense depends on the context and what a speaker wants to say when using this verb in the causative/inchoative alternation. It also proves that the elements of discourse must be analyzed in some examples, as in (19b, c, d), or in metaphorical contexts, as in (19e, g). Let us look at other verbs.

(21) **Causative crash**

- a. K1B 2891 An inquest's been hearing how a teenage joyrider died when he crashed a stolen car while trying to escape from police.
- b. K25 2733 Fifty years ago an American airman died averting a disaster, when he crashed his stricken bomber into a field after steering it away from a busy town centre.
- c. A5W 30 And when he was nearly killed when he crashed his car on a motorway he had a Brahms symphony on his radio, which he now uses as his theme tune.

(22) **Inchoative crash**

- a. CBE 1925 The 63 students and teachers from Weston-super-Mare College, Avon, were returning from a day trip when the coach skidded and crashed.
- b. HH1 6200 Burning timbers crashed to the ground, to be extinguished in the billowing cloud of dust.

The verb *crash* is used in the inchoative variant describing car accidents. This verb describes telic events, mainly regarding crashes that can be found, *e.g.* in news items. The inchoative variant is so widely used there because it states only that the crash happened, without any additional information about it, *i.e.* at least in the contexts which are given in (22). The causative construction is used in stories, conversations or descriptions of the causes of the accident, and it describes who causes the accidents in example (21). One can notice that the meaning of the verb which is represented in its lexical conceptual structure as well as the role of the aspect, *e.g.* the telic/atelic distinction, are those factors which contribute to determining its argument structure. Thus this is evidence that semantic/pragmatic factors are relevant in determining the argument structure of the verb.

The verb in the analyzed examples is an accomplishment; in the causative use it has BECOME predicate and its argument structure has the form of {x, y}.

A part of its lexical conceptual structure describes its event structure, which specifies the events described by this verb as telic; the lexical conceptual structure determines its argument structure. Telic events “have become predicate (x) or (x,y) in their lexical representations” (Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 167).

(23) **Causative fracture**

- a. K1J 964 Finally...there's doubt over the cricketing future of Gloucestershire fast bowler David Lawrence...he's fractured his knee again.
- b. K27 boot. He was found beneath his buggy. Pathologist Dr Stephen Gould said boys fractured their skulls, probably when their heads hit the unpadded sides of the seat.
- c. K28 a lot stronger team out this time and the good news is that Marcus Hannaford who fractured his jaw when he was knocked out against the Saracens is back at scrum half.
- d. K1F New Zealand, has returned home. Video-Tape, no voice over Lawrence, who fractured his kneecap on the last day of the final test in Wellington, arrived at
- e. K1l of flats near his home when he fell 20 feet to the ground. He fractured his skull and remained unconscious for 10 days. The Health and Safety Executive sued
- f. CR8 2805 The break-up of the Soviet Union has fractured the brutal certainties of the cold-war nuclear regime.
- g. A new geriatric centre is due to open later this month. The bomb blast fractured the ventilating system and spewed dust particles along the system throughout the hospital. Piping
- h. FSC 750 The sun lit the drops and sparkled in sharp bursts of white light; but some of the drops caught and fractured the light so that Comfort appeared to be the source of a million tiny rainbows.

(24) **Inchoative fracture**

- a. CAJ 575 Did I think that under my house the gas lid from the propane tank had fractured, that gas was accumulating, that the pilot light was on?

The verb *fracture* is often used in a context when the body is damaged, as in (23a, b, c, d, e). *Fracture* is classified as an externally caused verb, but in some cases the intervention of an agent is not needed, therefore, it can be used in an inchoative structure, as in (24). The meaning of the verb *fracture* in the causative/inchoative alternation is not the same, for instance, in the causative example (23) *fracture* may mean that the *knee* can be broken or shattered and *fracture* may presuppose an accident. In example (24a), the gas lid was damaged as a result of some internal cause, it does not suggest an accident but, for example, that the gas lid was broken earlier and the process of its “damaging” had started before. The analysis

confirms that the basic meaning of *fracture* changes depending on what kind of arguments it presupposes.

(25) **Causative *smash***

- a. HKR 811 Describing the disturbances, the Financial Times of Feb. 20 reported that “rampaging opposition members smashed windows, overturned furniture and scuffled with police.”
- b. K97 7787 We smashed a hole in the patio door and carried her out.
- c. G17 1992 Someone grasped at the side of the cart as it went past, and Arkhina smashed his fingers with a hammer.
- d. A87 392 About 20 Iranians burst into the Dutch embassy in Tehran and smashed furniture and equipment, causing considerable damage, the Dutch Foreign Ministry said yesterday.
- e. [...] Colombian police say they have smashed a drug-trafficking network that was exporting several tonnes of cocaine to the US each month. (www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-11498478)

(26) **Inchoative *smash***

- a. H7F 1055 ‘I’ve been proving to Graham I really did have some wine and it smashed.
- b. 2 Dec 2010 ... The inner pane of glass has smashed on our Zanussi ZBF 560 x single oven. I cannot find a way of either replacing the [...] (www.fixya.com/support/t7086491-inner_pane_glass)
- c. K55 945 It smashed and he picked up one the table legs and used it to hit her.’
- d. head-on By James Murray FIVE men were killed and two seriously injured when two vans smashed head-on yesterday. An engine from one of the vans was found more than 120 feet.

The meaning of *smash* is close to *break* or *crash* with such arguments as *window*, e.g. as in (25a). In the inchoative use its meaning is close to *disintegrate*, e.g. in (26). In example (25e), the Colombian police have smashed the traffickers, the verb has the change of state meaning but its interpretation is associated with arresting the gang and not with a literal change of state, although it may be said that this gang, after “smashing,” no longer exists and that this is a change in the structure of this group. *Smash* may appear in the inchoative structure as it does not need the volitional intervention of an agent. This proves that verbs whose event structure describes events which do not need the volitional intervention of the agent (e.g. *break*) may appear in the inchoative structure.

4.2. Examples of internally caused verbs

Let us look at selected examples from the corpus of the internally caused change of state verbs *blossom*, *burn*, *flower* and *stagnate* in this subsection.

(27) **Causative *blossom***

- a. Early summer heat blossomed fruit trees across the valley. (Levin, Rappaport Hovav 2011: 11)

(28) **Inchoative *blossom***

- a. BM1 502 Here she blossomed, recovering a great deal of her former vitality and alertness.
 b. FP7 2030 The discomfort in his chest had settled to a hoarseness as the bruise blossomed, but his stomach churned on the lees of booze and bile
 c. AMK 1063 During the 19th century, German philosophy blossomed.
 d. AN4 369 Freemantle's friendship with Mary Leapor blossomed quickly.
 e. B2G 239 Their friendship blossomed when they met again at the funeral and developed into a love that was to stretch across forty years of marriage.

The external/internal distinction, which is a key factor responsible for the participation of a verb in the causative/inchoative alternation, is confirmed by the analysis of *blossom*. The verb presupposes very narrow selectional restrictions on its arguments; internally caused verbs presuppose very narrow selectional restrictions on their arguments, which is proven by examples with this verb. It describes internally caused eventualities. Its meaning in the intransitive use is different from the transitive one. It is often used in many instances in metaphorical context.

The verb *blossom* presupposes that volitional intervention of an agent is not needed because it describes internally caused events. However, example (27a) shows that *blossom* may appear in a transitive structure; it seems that *blossom* presupposes some selectional restriction on its subjects, in this case the subject in the transitive structure may be an [-] animate entity (such as "early summer heat") which has certain internal properties that may trigger a process (such as the blossoming of fruit trees) and leads to a result (e.g. the fruit trees become blossomed). The verb *blossomed* presupposes that its arguments have certain internal features which allow

them to be used with this verb, thereby it presupposes with what kind of arguments it may appear within its argument structure.

(29) **Causative *burn***

- a. The gardener burned the leaves. (Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 101)
- b. The campers burned the fire* (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995: 101)
- c. KCX 139 I burnt the taters!
- d. H98 826 They murdered a woman, cut her throat, after they brutally sliced her breasts, raped and burnt her over a fire!

(30) **Inchoative *burn***

- a. The leaves burned.
- b. The fire burned.
- c. FEB 1881 powerful flea repellent, also against other insects, as an air cleanser when burnt.

A good example of a change of state verb that shows polysemy is the verb *burn*. According to the classification in Levin (1993: 246), the verb *burn* is an internally caused verb; however, its causative uses are briefly described by Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995: 101). The verb *burn* has a causative meaning in “consume by fire sense” (Levin, Rappaport Hovav 1995: 101), as in (29a, c); the example from (29b) is a poor example because *burn* does not have the meaning of the “consume by fire sense.” “Subject” in the inchoative use has certain inherent properties of burning. Contrary to the inchoative use, *burn* in the causative variants presupposes external cause and it also presupposes that the event it describes in the causative variant cannot happen without the intervention of an agent. One sees that the meaning of *burn* in the causative use is close to “be consumed by fire,” as in (29a), and the meaning in the inchoative use is close to “destroy by fire,” as in (30a). The polysemy of that verb may be connected with the structure in which the verb is found, which means that its alternation causes the polysemy. The ability of this verb to appear in causative/inchoative uses is another factor of its polysemous meaning; this ability derives from the causative lexical conceptual structure which the verb *burn* possesses (*cf.* LCS in this article).

(31) **Inchoative *flower***

- a. HSK197 Permanent plants include the architectural *Cordyline australis*,

and the winter flowering cherry *Prunus subhirtella* “Autumnalis”, which has flowered for the last two years.

- b. The zeal for the development of spiritual life, which had flowered in Europe from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, had resulted in the reform of the Benedictine monasticism of the West and the emergence of Orders — Cluniac, Cistercian and Carthusian — committed to living apart in various communal ways which stressed above all the individual inner spiritual growth of their members.
- c. [...] he still thought she was lying, or was he pretending in order to keep her with him? Unbidden excitement flowered deep inside her, only to die.

The examples show that some verbs (such as *flower*) presuppose strict restrictions with their arguments. The verb *flower* presupposes the kind of arguments in which it is used. The meaning of the verb determines its argument structure. What is interesting is that this verb is used in the context of “plant” with the Present Perfect, as in (31a), which indicates that the result is visible in the present. The meaning of *flower* with such arguments as “plants” or “tree” is different than with such arguments as “the zeal.”

(32) **Inchoative *stagnate***

- a. FB2 143 The most rapid rates of growth have been in the professional and scientific services, in insurance and other financial services, in miscellaneous services and in public administration and defence, while employment in distribution and transport has stagnated or declined.
- b. HXC 1063 With rising rural population and the end of the cereal boom, farm wages away from industrial areas simply stagnated.
- c. CC4 29 No-one else seemed disposed to take over, in spite of ‘ads’ in this magazine, so the whole situation stagnated.
- d.a. FBN 285 This is particularly important when Catfish are housed in the aquarium because if the substrate has stagnated, the fish living on the substrate are the first to suffer.
- e. HH3 14763 Birth rates in Eastern Europe have stagnated for 30 years.

The meaning of *stagnate* changes depending on the kind of arguments this verb presupposes. This verb particularly appears only in intransitive variants. After presenting the analysis of selected change of state verbs, the following paragraphs present a short summary of this analysis.

The analysis of both kinds of verbs shows that the external/internal division as stated by Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995: 90) is correct. Verbs with their causative LCS which require external cause appear in the causative use. Those verbs which are causative but do not need the intervention of the agent may be used in the inchoative structure.

Internally caused verbs appear in many examples in the inchoative variants, but some of them, e.g. *burn* or *blossom*, have the causative variants. Both externally and internally caused verbs present different meanings in the causative/inchoative alternation. Their polysemy seems to be the result of the lexical semantics of a verb (cf. LCS in this article). The different polysemous senses of the verbs which were analyzed here result from their basic meaning; meaning is one of the main factors of verbal polysemy, and the other senses of a given verb are derived from its basic lexical entry. Another conclusion which can be noticed is that there are verbs, such as *break* or *crash*, which appear in a large number of examples in the causative/inchoative variants. There are also verbs, such as *flower* or *blossom*, which appear in a smaller number of causative/inchoative uses. This proves that the semantic factors of verbs, e.g. agentivity, determine with what kinds of arguments they may be used. In many examples a verb “chooses” the group of arguments in which it is used. Therefore, the same syntactic form may have different meanings, and this depends on what kind of group of arguments a verb is used with. Not every argument may have certain features to appear with a verb. A verb presupposes certain selectional restrictions on its arguments. A verb may choose with what kind of arguments it may be used; it has certain meaning with one group of objects but it may have other meanings with other groups of objects.

Conclusions

This article adopts the hypothesis that the meaning of a verb determines its argument structure. The meaning is also the source of polysemy of verbs in the causative/inchoative alternation. The selected change of state verbs have different senses in the causative and inchoative uses. This analysis proves that the division of verbs into externally and internally caused verbs is a significant factor which determines which verbs may appear in the causative/inchoative uses. It also proves that semantic

factors have a strong influence on what kind of arguments a verb may be used in within its argument structure.

Moreover, it seems that not only the lexical conceptual structure determines the argument structure of a verb but also the presupposition which is understood in terms of the semantic properties of some lexical items. A verb may presuppose some selectional restrictions within its verbal domain that are imposed on its arguments.

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Territorial Multilingualism or Personal Polyglottism: Reflecting on the Source and Location of Interlingual Contacts

ABSTRACT. This paper points to the investigative consequences that are deducible from the answer to the question whether contacts between languages occur in the geographical area (located within a state or country) or in the mind of the polyglot individual who knows and speaks many languages or language varieties. It emphasizes the fact that placing interlingual contacts on a territory on which more than one verbal means of social communication functions results mainly in describing the changeability and variability of languages in time and space, in language development, language attrition or language decay. However, turning attention to speakers of many languages and realizing their goals in communicative interactions with others as the grounds and cause of language contacts leads to the study of such species-specific phenomena of the human mind as language transfers, language interferences, code-switching, and the like. It is argued that the ultimate object of linguistic study are, in both cases, the human selves as communicating persons and signifying subjects acting as the real makers and originators of interpersonal and intersubjective communities formed on the basis of their linguistic properties.

KEYWORDS: language contacts, the self, the communicating individual, polyglottism, multilingualism.

1. Specifying the notion of language contacts

With reference to the theoretical and practical achievements of the initiators and representatives of contact linguistics at the beginning of the second half of the 20th century, such as especially Uriel Weinreich, Leon Zawadowski, Charles A. Ferguson, John J. Gumperz, Joshua A. Fishman, Harald Haarmann, and others, the conviction must be expressed that languages remain in mutual relations when their users are temporarily

linked through engagement in acts of communication.¹ They remain in social relationships which can be characterized, as summarized, *e.g.*, by Haarmann (1988 and 1989), according to demographic, political, cultural, psychological, interactive and/or situational criteria. Therefore, the study of interlingual contacts is necessarily connected with the interest of researchers in language bearers and language users and in their manifold conditionings.

As for the definition of language contacts, Weinreich ([1953] 1974: 1) was of the opinion that the place in which they occur was the bilingual person. Zawadowski (1961: 9–10), however, referred the issue of contacts particularly to the texts of given languages in situations in which a given person, actively or passively, makes use of at least two languages. He maintained that language contacts take place on a territory on which the texts in two languages occur alternatively. As a matter of fact, these two approaches to language contacts, as one must state by departing from incommensurable premises, found expression in research carried out either within the domain of sociology of language or sociolinguistics, ethnology of language or ethnolinguistics as well as in the domain of psycholinguistics, foreign language teaching, and the like. The depictions of language contacts in question are reflected in the structure of contents in handbooks and in other publications dealing with language-and-society-related topics, *e.g.*, in Gerard Van Herk (2012: 127–147).

Nevertheless, assuming that the definitions formulated independently by Weinreich and Zawadowski basically imply separate scopes of investigative domains belonging either to psychology or sociology, one has to highlight the fact that both disciplines are in fact interested in human individuals. Psychologists and sociologists deal, adequately, with the mental properties of humans as persons and with their manifestations in verbal and nonverbal behavior or with the properties of humans as members of social groups and participants of communication. There is no denying the fact that explorations of language contacts do not dispense with knowledge on language speakers and bearers.

1 On the importance of language bearers and language users for determining the external conditionings of linguistic systems, the author of this article wrote, among others, in Wąsik (1999: 10–36, see especially 34–36).

2. On the roots of psychological and sociological perspectives in the study of interlingual contacts

Weinreich, in his book titled *Languages in Contact* ([1953] 1974), attached particular importance to the characterization of a bilingual individual. Subsequent to reading his work, the following questions come to mind: first, what are the psychological motivations for language change resulting from alternative uses of related languages, their varieties, grammatical forms, phrases or words; second, what is the relevance of the situation from the point of view of a communicating individual; and, finally, what are the ultimate effects of respective language contacts. Beyond all doubt, for example, code-switching is, due to its causes, exclusively a psychological and not a linguistic phenomenon.

As representative of the sociological approach to language contacts, the term 'diglossia' may be acknowledged as worthy of a detailed discussion. It refers to the phenomenon or state described by Charles A. Ferguson (1959) in his famous article "Diglossia," which was afterwards quite significantly redefined by John J. Gumperz ([1962] 1970) and Joshua Fishman (1967). The notion of diglossia is suitable for characterizing language contacts in a given society and thereby also on a given territory. As has been proved by Georg Kremnitz (1996, see especially 47–53), the concept of 'diglossia' immediately attracted the attention of the researchers of language contacts in the United States and in Europe. What is interesting is that such a situation was labeled by Ferguson (1959: 336) as diglossia in which, apart from dialects having a low prestige, there existed a divergent, strictly codified variety of language being used as a high prestige means of communication for superior purposes. By way of an exact explanation, one might paraphrase the most often quoted opinion of Ferguson (1959: 336), according to whom diglossia is a relatively stable situation in which a divergent, codified and often grammatically complex variety is superposed upon the primary dialects of a language, including a standard or even regional standards spoken in a given country. This prestigious variety is the vehicle of literature, mostly rich and respected, which in many cases was written in earlier periods or in another speech community. Such a high variety is learned formally in education and used in written as well as in formal spoken communication. Nevertheless, it usually does not function in ordinary conversations among members of any strata of a given society.

While diglossia, according to Ferguson, was limited to two varieties of the same language, one owes Gumperz ([1962] 1970) and Fishman (1967) the expanded meaning of this term. Based on their terminological contributions, the practitioners of language contacts studies came to the conclusion that either language varieties or closely related and unrelated languages might be seen as functioning in a diglossive way. As far as the functional arrangement of languages in an area is concerned, it should be separately noted that two languages may stay in complementary regional distribution when each of them fulfills a full range of functions in two distinct parts of the country (e.g., French and Flemish in Belgium). Sometimes, however, one language functions as a school and government language and another is a home language on the whole territory of the country (e.g., Spanish and Guarani in Paraguay). These states of affairs have been called by Fishman (1967), in the first case, bilingualism without diglossia and, in the second, diglossia without bilingualism.

To sum up, Fishman (1967, [1971] 1972) characterized different kinds of regional distribution of languages with reference to society and individuals as their speakers on particular territories by having distinguished the following combinations: (1) bilingualism and diglossia, (2) diglossia without bilingualism, (3) bilingualism without diglossia, and (4) neither bilingualism nor diglossia (*cf.* also Saville-Troike [1982] 2003: 45–46). Having stated that both social and cultural rules govern the use of two or more languages and language varieties on a certain territory, Saville-Troike (1978) proposed to introduce here an umbrella term, namely, ‘dinomia’ (*cf.* also Saville-Troike [1982] 2003: 46–47). In her opinion, different cultural norms, governing behavior at home and at school that respectively involves speaking different languages, can be detected in some societies or communities resident, for example, in Africa or Asia, where Western educational systems have been introduced without adaptation to the indigenous cultures.

Anyhow, the main idea of defining diglossia, regardless of the semantic nuances as discussed above, is unambiguous because authors in question paid attention to the functional division of language varieties or languages spoken and/or written in particular societies or communities, and thereby on particular territories. Nevertheless, as one might deduce, e.g., while reading the arguments of Ferguson, Gumperz, Fishman and

others, that a situational distribution of communicational means utilized alternatively within a given community is connected, in the first instance, with a sense of identity of the communicators and, in the second, with their attitudes as speakers and hearers towards languages and language varieties functioning in their surroundings.

3. Some remarks on the study of human individuals in territorially-related diglossive situations

When observing the reception of pioneering works written by the founders of the sociological approach to the object of linguistic studies, one should additionally mention the view of Chad Nilep (2006: 5–6), who maintains that the study of diglossia involves, in the last instance, the human individual who resorts to acting in respective diglossive situations of languages or language varieties. In his estimation, the descriptions of diglossia as provided by Ferguson and Fishman explicitly bear on the notion of situational code-switching as described later by Jan-Peter Blom and John J. Gumperz ([1972] 2010). It seems to be reasonable to assume that communicating individuals may speak different language varieties for humoristic, comical, critical and/or satirical reasons, or for emphasizing something important or conspicuous, *etc.*, in everyday communication, as has already been acknowledged, *inter alia*, by Fishman (1967: 36). Considering this fact, one could conclude that not only the context and situation setting constitute crucial factors for the choice of languages or their varieties, but also the intentions of the speakers. That is why Blom and Gumperz ([1972] 2010: 222–224) pointed to some aspects of situational and metaphorical switching between languages by communicators belonging to the speech community they investigated, namely, the residents of the small Norwegian town of Hemmesberget. Having ascertained that the use of some linguistic clues by communicators may signal, within the same setting, first, that their estimation of social (communicative) events changes and, second, that the language switch relates to the topic or subject matter of conversation, Blom and Gumperz ([1972] 2010) were in the position to conclude that code-switching between languages is a rhetorically significant means of individual expression.

Apparently, the notion of territory, which is relevant for the study of interlingual contacts, is associated with the investigative framework,

called “the ethnography of speaking,” which was inaugurated by Dell H. Hymes ([1962] 1970). This anthropologically-oriented linguist opted specifically for studying the use of language in its natural environmental conditionings, *i.e.*, to conduct fieldwork which entails applying ethnographic or anthropological methods, such as interview and participant observation. The aim of the research, which belongs to the domain of the ethnography of speaking or, more broadly taking, the ethnography of communication, is to investigate actual speakers and hearers as members of particular speech communities functioning in particular communicative events in order to unravel the cultural patterns of their linguistic behavior that is sanctioned and practiced locally. As has been stated by Hymes (1972: 43), only the results of sociolinguistic fieldwork may contribute to shaping models which are suitable for the description of language in society and to formulating theories which explain the experiential nature of communicational phenomena.

Hymes (*cf.* 1966, 1971), the author of the notion of communicative competence, was aware of the fact that individuals who are willing to communicate with others under changeable situational and social contexts must possess appropriate sociolinguistic knowledge. This knowledge must allow them to be understood and to understand others, and, as a consequence, to effectively act in particular communicative events. Focusing on concrete persons in concrete circumstances is essential in studies conducted by ethnographers of speaking or communication. In accordance with Hymes’ ways of reasoning, it was important to investigate how communicating individuals demonstrate their communicative competence through the semantic interpretation of linguistic utterances depending on complex sets of social and cultural factors which usually condition the occurrence of speech events. Apart from the grammatical rules determining how to create correct sentences in particular languages or their varieties, speakers must know the semantic and pragmatic rules to ascribe meanings to their own utterances depending on appropriate contexts, and hearers, in turn, should be able to understand those respective utterances while detecting and interpreting their locutionary meanings (*i.e.*, word-for-word senses), illocutionary forces (*i.e.*, intentional senses rendered by paraphrases) and perlocutionary effects (*i.e.*, intentional impacts rendered by paraphrases), which take place in direct and indirect speech acts

as components of speech events belonging to particular communicative situations. It is worth recalling here the list, extended and ordered in retrospect by Ron Scollon, Suzan Wong Scollon and Rodney H. Jones ([1995] 2012: 29–39), which contains the following components of communicative contexts: (1) the scene (setting: time, place, location, use of space as well as purpose, or function, topic and genre), (2) the key (*i.e.*, the mood of communication), (3) the participants (especially who they are made by and which roles they play), (4) the message form (speaking, writing, silence, other media, such as video, digital images, such as PowerPoint slides, amplification, or recording), (5) the sequence (a set or open agenda), (6) co-occurrence patterns, and (7) manifestation (tacit or explicit).

As for today's view on the issue, interest in the territorial distribution of languages spoken by multilingual communities generally led to sociological investigations undertaken in many areas of Europe and the world starting from the 1960s. Their focus was mainly placed on isolating and describing the domains and particular situations in which minority languages and dialects are used by the inhabitants of bilingual or multilingual territories. Psychological conditionings of humans have been taken into account, in this approach, inasmuch as the degree of the mastery of languages and language varieties by their speakers have been estimated. Moreover, the attitudes of speakers towards languages and their varieties as an object of the study of social psychology have been described as well.

The concept of 'footing,' as coined by the American sociologist Erving Goffman in his essay "Footing" from 1979, published in his book *Forms of Talk* (1981: 124–161), seems to render the essence of the individual conditionings of communication participants which results from their social experiences and manifests itself not only in language contact situations. Footing, according to Goffman, refers to the ways in which interlocutors align themselves with one another during communicational encounters and thanks to the interactions in which they engage. The stance-taking or positioning to which an individual commits him- or herself in communication with others can repeatedly shift during a conversation, which is displayed not only by code-switching but also by sound markers, such as pitch, rhythm, stress, tonal quality, volume, *etc.* Within an interaction, an individual mostly provides information about the different roles he

or she plays on the stage of social life. Goffman was of the opinion that changes in purpose, context and participant role are frequent during interaction, and that code-switching, similarly to other linguistic markers, is, from the point of view of the speaker, usually involved in footing shifts (cf. Goffman 1981: 127–128). Briefly speaking, the procedure of alternating languages serves to mark positioning shifts in a particular context conditioned by the particular roles of the communication participants.

When it comes to the psychological approach to the study of language contacts, in opposition to the sociological one, it presupposes departing from the intellectual and emotional abilities of the human individuals themselves. This conclusion may be drawn from the studies of code-switching that were conducted by Gumperz and other researchers, which have shown, according to Nilep's evaluation (2006: 7–10, especially 9–10), that language alternation, similarly to other contextualization cues, can provide a useful tool for speakers and hearers to signal how utterances are to be interpreted. What was relevant for the research methodology was that Gumperz and subsequently other scholars proposed several lists of functions which code-switching may fulfill with respect to the communicative needs of humans. As Nilep admitted, however, the specifications of such functions could not be fully accepted because they bring together incommensurable criteria, *e.g.*, structural, pragmatic and/or conversational. Their authors, without attempting to trace the relationship between forms and functions, searched in fact for functions of different types of utterances, such as declaratives or interjections, message qualifications or addressee specifications, and so on. The category of reiteration, for example, failed to define exactly what was repeated or why. Although typologies of code-switching functions constituted, according to Nilep, a useful step in understanding conversational code-switching, they are far from providing a satisfactory answer to the question as to why particular individuals alternate languages in their conversations. As it turns out, code-switching may serve any of numerous functions in a particular interaction and, as Nilep formulated it pointedly, a single turn at talk will likely have multiple effects. Therefore, as he suggested, it would be rather preferable to observe the course of an actual interaction than starting from general knowledge on the sources and effects of code-switching.

4. The communicating individual as the self in the context of language contacts

If one assumes that the place of interlingual contacts is the mind of a speaker of two or many languages, some observations pertaining to the nature of intrapersonal and interpersonal communication made by the practitioners of communication studies, as, for example, by Joseph A. DeVito (1976) and Jacquelyn B. Carr (1979a, 1979b) and others may appear to be somehow valuable. According to their ascertainments, the so-called intrapersonal communication, equal to the internal processes that take place within the mind of an individual, is considered to be a basic level of communication and a prerequisite for interpersonal communication. Both intrapersonal and interpersonal communications predominantly involve a language and, not uncommonly, many languages. As it seems, by posing questions as to who speaks which language, with whom, where and why, and also who borrows a word from whom, when or where and why, formulated by analogy to the characteristic title of the article by Fishman that was published in 1965, namely, “Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When,” it would be suitable to refer to the meaning and common associations which the notion of the self carries. The notion of the self referring to a being that constitutes a source and a mainstay of consciousness, a thinking and acting subject that continues in time as an object, is identifiable with or corresponds to the notion of intrapersonal communication. Hereto, Harold D. Lasswell (1902–1978), an American political scientist who was known, among others, as the author of an elaborated communication model, defined the components of interpersonal communication processes. Departing from asking the questions of who says what, in what channel, to whom and with what effect, he definitely attempted to focus on communicators (*cf.* especially Lasswell 1948: 37 and DeVito 1976: 21–22).

Thus the concept of the self presupposes that a human individual is an exceptional and irreplaceable acting subject and, at the same time, he/she is the object of his or her own experience staying in relationships with other individuals and other living beings while establishing and sustaining meaningful contacts with their social and natural environments. As such it has been borrowed by theoreticians of communication from the philosophers of American pragmatism, who assumed that action is

an essential human need and that the conceptual categories of the human mind are subordinate to effective conduct. In accordance with the views of Charles S. Peirce (1839–1914), as discussed by William James (1890 and [1892], [1961] 2001) with reference to his own definition of the term in question, as well as by George H. Mead (1934) and others, the concept of the self encompassed all knowledge that an individual gets about him or herself in the processes of social communication. This knowledge accumulated by a human individual is considered to be the result and the condition of interpersonal encounters with others. In keeping with the acceptance of assumptions as made by James (1890) and Mead (1934) that the thinking processes of an individual are internal conversations in which the *I* (i.e., the self as a subject) responds to the *Me* (i.e., the self as an object), one feels entitled to arrive at a conclusion that communicating individuals function, in the physical dimension, as concrete persons who send and receive messages as observable meaning bearers and, in the logical dimension, as mental subjects who generate and interpret messages as meaningful and understandable. To sum up, one has to state, with reference to Elżbieta M. Wąsik (2010: 55–56 and 69–70), that the personal self appears to outsiders as an empirically accessible object and the subjective self can only be assumed as a rational phenomenon.

Not going into details with respect to philosophical discussions on the concept of the self, which can be deduced, for example, on the basis of essays edited by the American philosopher Shaun Gallagher (2011), it is enough to refer to the works of some communication scientists. As representative of the views that the course of interpersonal communication is basically determined by intrapersonal communication, one can accept statements formulated by Larry L. Barker, the author of widely-read handbooks on interpersonal relationships and group processes who argued that when an individual acts as a communication participant, different parts of his or her self must be activated (Barker 1977: 111–132). According to him, an individual, due to his or her physical self, is able to recognize him- or herself as being separate from the environment but having certain common biological and anthropological properties with other members of the group. Moreover, the behavior of an individual is accompanied by feelings which are conscious and which are recognizable by motions and physiological changes, such as a rapid heartbeat, tensed muscles, a raised blood sugar level, and the like. As emotional

selves, communicating individuals are usually aware of the stimuli that prompt their emotional responses. Apart from this, habits, *i.e.*, repetitive behaviors of which individuals are predominantly unaware, are activated automatically in communication. The habitual behavior patterns of individuals fulfill certain needs towards them, therefore they recur constantly. As Barker pointed out, the relationship between the so-called public (or open) self and the private (or closed) self is a variable which is important for the course of communication as corresponding with the distinction between private and public situations. To better appreciate the importance of self-awareness for the effects of communication, one has to allude to the distinction between the open, hidden, blind and unknown selves, as made by Joseph Luft ([1963] 1969: 11–20) and elaborated for analytical purposes by DeVito (1976: 80–86). According to Luft's and DeVito's depictions, the open self (including the knowledge about him- or herself which an individual is aware of and which he or she is willing to share with others), the hidden self (being equal to the knowledge about him- or herself which an individual is aware of but which he or she is not willing to share with others), the blind self (including facts about him- or herself which an individual is unaware of but which are known to others), and the unknown self (including inferred facts about him- or herself that are unknown both to the individual and to others) exert influence on the ways in which he or she communicates with others. Thus, it is not without significance how an individual evaluates his or her relationships with others. As a matter of fact, the current interactions in which they mutually take part, past experiences, reference groups and their accustomed roles combine in ever-changing communicative networks which contribute to the formation of self-concept, self-awareness and self-identity of an individual.

In this particular context it is worth returning to Barker (1977: 126–128), who devoted particular attention to those intrapersonal factors which are labeled “personal orientation” while describing the internal and external stimuli that affect the cognitive, emotional and physiological processing of the intrapersonal communication of an individual and their role in any analysis of interpersonal communication situations. He maintained that the reaction(s) of communicators to particular situations reflect their values, attitudes, beliefs and opinions – all of which make up their personal orientation. These notions, as basic concepts of

communication theory, deserve a thorough clarification. According to Barker, personal orientation is defined as a set of (1) values, *i.e.*, moral or ethical judgments of things an individual considers to be important, (2) attitudes, *i.e.*, learned tendencies to react positively or negatively to an object or situation, which implies a positive or negative evaluation of someone or something, as well as (3) beliefs, opinions and prejudices. Values can be a source of conflict within an individual as well as a barrier between people of opposing standards. Attitudes operate at three levels: first, at the cognitive level which involves a particular belief; second, at the affective level which involves a particular feeling; and, finally, at the instrumental level which involves overt behavior or action. Additionally, individuals act according to what they accept as true without expressing any positive or negative judgments about the matter of truth and, what is more, they do not always voice their opinions about anything directly. The mere fact of presenting an opinion lies somewhere between expressing an attitude and a belief, and it implies a positive or a negative reaction. Prejudices, preformed judgments about (a) particular person(s), groups or things, are based on preconceived ideas and not on an individual's own actual experiences. The communicative behavior of an individual must be, therefore, considered as resultant from all of these factors and the dependences between them which are not always perceptible by other communication participants or researchers. They also undoubtedly count in contacts between individuals in multilingual communities or in cross-cultural contacts where different languages are involved.

Concluding remarks: from the study of territorial multilingualism to interest in polyglot individuals

Linguists who define and classify the natural languages spoken by ethnic or national groups inhabiting certain geographical areas usually refer to the notion of multilingualism in their territorial distribution. However, the issue of variability and changeability of languages deserves special attention in the context of language contact research from a human-centered perspective. It seems to be obvious that languages and their varieties influence one another in contact situations, but the question arises as to who the bearer of those contacts is or where these contacts occur.

The study of spoken and written texts provides evidence that languages undergo changes over time, develop further, are replaced by other languages or disappear. However, to formulate such a statement is only the metaphorical rhetoric of linguists who believe in the textual source of language contacts. Researchers who are aware of the ubiquity of interlingual contacts and their importance for changes in the structure, status and condition of languages devote their attention rather to non-linguistic facts pertaining to the ecology of languages, mostly in the cultural, social and situational contexts in which languages are spoken. Especially sociologists of language aim at a systematic analysis and comparison of communicational settings in which more than one language or language varieties are in use. As one may conclude, the study of communicative events on a particular territory usually amounts to identifying and describing the rules of language use which are applied by members of different communities. Since languages in use exist exclusively in verbal means, which are produced and received, generated and interpreted by human individuals, language contacts researchers direct their attention, in the last instance, to the communicating selves. It is an empirical fact, indeed, that only language knowers and language bearers are subjected to making choices between multiple realizations of languages or language varieties being embedded in their social roles, cultural conditionings and situational circumstances. Hence, it is the human mind that should be treated as the right place for language contacts. It has to be pointedly emphasized that it is the individuals who regularly speak, write or read in two or more languages in their everyday lives as polyglots accessible in the observed reality who are the true originators and doers of language contacts. Polyglotism as such is a species-specific property of human beings for whom languages constitute merely a certain continuum of resources from which they can choose some proper means for satisfying their communicative needs. There are simply such social situations in everyday life that are interpreted subjectively by a polyglot individual which induces him or her to undertake a particular manner of verbal behavior as, for example, switching from one language or variety to another. As a result, the conscious or unconscious choices made by the polyglot participants of communication contribute to the mixing of languages which results in the transfer of ideas, interferences in performance habits, interlingual borrowings, and the like.

When the focus of researchers interested in language contacts is placed on the study of human individuals as signifying and communicating selves whose properties can be detected in or inferred from the texts and text-processing activities of communication participants, then the distinctions between an observable person engaged in a concrete process of text-production and text-reception and an inferable subject occupied with the mental activities of text-interpretation and text-comprehension (in other words, the observable self vs. the inferable self) must be recognized as relevant here from a linguistic point of view. This distinction allows an inquisitive researcher to realize that language contacts occur when communicating individuals switch between texts of different languages, borrow words and expressions or transfer textual units or structures from their native language to the languages they acquire, sometimes committing errors or mistakes. An open question remains, however, as to whether they refer the same verbal means of language to the same extralingual reality in a similar way in comparison to the speakers of other languages with whom they stay in contact.

In support of the main argument announced in the title and abstract of this paper, being thoroughly substantiated in its main text, it would be reasonable, as a last word, to quote an appropriate statement made by Joshua A. Fishman in his article titled "Language Maintenance and Language Shift as a Field of Inquiry" from 1964. The whole discussion postulating the refutation of a conjecture about the "subjectification" of languages being sometimes in contact situations would be unnecessary if the practitioners of linguistic studies remembered or were familiarized with the main tenets of sociolinguistic methodology: first, that "language maintenance and language shift" depend on "change or stability in habitual language use"; second, that the use of language is an "ongoing psychological and social or cultural process"; and, finally, that it is the "populations differing in language" who "are in contact with each other." These tenets are expressed by the following statement:

The study of language maintenance and language shift is concerned with the relationship between change or stability in habitual language use, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, social or cultural processes, on the other hand, when populations differing in language are in contact with each other. That languages (or language variants) SOMETIMES replace each other, among SOME speakers, particularly in CERTAIN types

or domains of language behavior, under SOME conditions of intergroup contact, has long aroused curiosity and comment. (Fishman 1964: 32)

Accordingly, Fishman (1964: 33) saw the need for a division of the investigative field of human language behavior, provided that three major topics would be considered: (1) habitual language use at more than one point in time or space under conditions of intergroup contact; (2) antecedent, concurrent or consequent psychological, social and cultural processes and their relationship to stability or change in habitual language use; and (3) behavior toward language in the contact setting, including directed maintenance or shift efforts.

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Creole Formation and Second Language Acquisition: A Language Processing Perspective

ABSTRACT. There is a growing consensus among creolists that creole formation represents a type of naturalistic second language acquisition (SLA) that shares much in common with other types of SLA, though there are differences as well. On the one hand, there is strong evidence that the early stages of creole formation and SLA share processes of simplification and other kinds of restructuring, to the point that “the early L2 learner and the early creole co-creator are cognitively and epistemologically indistinguishable” (Sprouse 2006: 175). Researchers also agree that L1 transfer plays some role in both cases. On the other hand, the developmental paths taken by creoles diverge to varying degrees from those taken by developing L2 systems. In this paper, I explore some of the ways in which psycholinguistic models of language production can shed light on the restructuring of creole grammars, and how that process differs from the restructuring of interlanguage (IL) systems in more usual cases of SLA. I focus particularly on the role of L1 transfer in both kinds of language acquisition, and I suggest that there is a fundamental split between (radical) creole formation and IL development with regard to how L1 transfer operates at the levels of morphological and syntactic processing. Hence, I argue, Pienemann’s (2005: 143) claim that L1 transfer is “developmentally moderated and will occur only when the structure to be transferred is processable within the developing L2 system” seems misplaced when applied to radical creole formation. Using an approach based on models of bilingual language production, I argue that creole creators appeal directly to their knowledge of the language production procedures of their L1s and apply them to produce structures in the incipient creole. I support this with evidence from the development of functional categories and syntactic phenomena such as serial verb constructions and complementation in creoles.

KEYWORDS: SLA, IL, creole grammar, creole formation, language processing, psycholinguistics, language production.

Introduction

The parallels between creole formation and second language acquisition were noted as early as the 19th century by scholars like Hesseling (1897), and later Jespersen (1922). There is now a growing consensus among creolists that creole formation represents a type of naturalistic second language acquisition (SLA) that shares much in common with other types of SLA, though there are differences as well. In the first place, it has been argued that the early stages of creole formation and SLA share processes of simplification and other kinds of restructuring, to the point that “the early L2 learner and the early creole cocreator are cognitively and epistemologically indistinguishable” (Sprouse 2006: 175). Schumann (1978) suggested that the early stages of both types of acquisition involved a pidginization process. There is now abundant evidence that the same processes of simplification operating in the early stages of SLA also operate in the early stages of creole formation, producing outcomes that have been referred to as “pidgins” or “basic varieties” of the target language (Klein, Perdue 1997). Secondly, researchers also agree that L1 transfer plays some role in both kinds of acquisition, but acknowledge that the developmental paths taken by creoles diverge to varying degrees from those taken by developing L2 systems. As Siegel (2006: 20) points out, if SLA was involved in the genesis of creoles, this raises the key question of why acquisition did not progress further, *i.e.*, “why creoles did not continue along the developmental continuum to become more like their lexifiers.” Creolists explain such divergence in terms of (a) the fossilization of simplified structure in creoles and (b) the pervasiveness and persistence of L1 transfer in creoles by contrast with L2 development (Kouwenberg 2006).

The debate concerning the role of speakers’ L1s in creole formation raises issues similar to those debated in the SLA literature, particularly with respect to the competing roles of transfer and universal grammar (UG) in SLA. Researchers like Bickerton (1984), who argues that creole grammar arises from the operation of an innate language bioprogram, align themselves with those SLA researchers who argue for the “full access” model, which claims that “UG in its entirety constrains L2 acquisition,” and assign little or no role to transfer (Epstein *et al.* 1996: 678). Other SLA researchers have argued for the Full Transfer/Full Access

model, which claims that the initial state of L2 acquisition is the L1, which transfers in its entirety (Schwartz, Sprouse 1996). Their position is reflected in the Relexification Model of creole genesis first proposed by Lefebvre and Lumsden (1994), which proposes that creators of creoles retain their L1 lexical entries more or less intact, while replacing their phonetic shapes with those of superstrate lexical items or lexemes.

My goal in this paper is to assess the claims made about the parallels between SLA and creole formation with respect both to processes of simplification in the early stages of acquisition, and the role of transfer in the restructuring of the interlanguage system. I approach these questions from the perspective of models of language processing, and particularly Pienemann's (1998) Processability Theory of SLA, which has recently been applied to creole formation as well (Plag 2008a, b). I explore some of the ways in which psycholinguistic models of language production can shed light on the restructuring of creole grammars, and how that process differs from the restructuring of interlanguage (IL) systems in more usual cases of SLA. I focus particularly on the role of L1 transfer in both kinds of language acquisition, and I suggest that there is a fundamental split between (radical) creole formation and IL development with regard to how L1 transfer operates at the levels of morphological and syntactic processing. Hence, I argue, Pienemann *et al.*'s (2005: 143) claim that L1 transfer "is developmentally moderated and will occur only when the structure to be transferred is processable within the developing L2 system" seems misplaced when applied to radical creole formation, since the restructuring of such systems involves radically different kinds of input as well as processes of restructuring. I support this with evidence from the development of syntactic phenomena such as serial verb constructions and complementation in creoles.

1. The Interlanguage Hypothesis and Processability Theory

I will first assess claims concerning the parallels between early interlanguage and creole formation with regard to processes of "simplification." My point of departure is Plag's (2008a, b) formulation of what he calls the "Interlanguage Hypothesis," which states that "Creoles are conventionalized interlanguages of an early stage" (Plag 2008a: 115) – an idea that he acknowledges goes back to Andersen (1980, 1983). The term

“conventionalized” is meant to capture the fact that creoles are ultimately the result of community-based processes of leveling and stabilization of a common grammar, as distinct from interlanguage processes that occur at the level of the individual. The latter are psycholinguistic in nature, while the former are more sociolinguistic. The IL hypothesis, as well as the discussion that follows here, is concerned only with the psycholinguistic processes that operate in the minds of individual learners. Plag is careful to point out that the Interlanguage Hypothesis (IH) focuses mostly on SLA processes in the early stages of creole formation, which means that it cannot account for all SLA-related properties of creoles, many of which emerge at later stages of the restructuring process. Moreover, Plag rightly cautions that there are many properties of creoles that do not result from processes of SLA, but may be due rather to internal developments, or later contact-induced change.

Plag’s discussion of the parallels between early IL in SLA and creoles draws heavily on Pienemann’s (1998) Processability Theory, which in turn is based on psycholinguistic models of language production such as that proposed by Levelt (1989). The basic premise of Processability Theory is that:

[...] the task of acquiring a language includes the acquisition of the procedural skills needed for the processing of the language. It follows from this that the sequence in which the target language (TL) unfolds in the learner is determined by the sequence in which processing routines develop which are needed to handle the TL’s components. (Pienemann 1998: 1)

The chief claim of PT is that the acquisition of L2 language processing procedures follows a strict implicational sequence, in which each procedure is a necessary prerequisite for the following procedures. The hierarchy of procedures is outlined as follows (Pienemann 1998: 7):

1. Lemma access.
2. The category procedure.
3. The phrasal procedure.
4. The S[entence]-procedure.
5. The subordinate clause procedure – if applicable.

Pienemann explains the implicational hierarchy as follows:

A word needs to be added to the target language lexicon before its grammatical category can be assigned. The grammatical category of a lemma (i.e., certain semantic and grammatical aspects of a word) is needed before a category procedure can be called. Only if the grammatical category of the head of a phrase is assigned can the phrasal procedure be called. Only if a phrasal procedure has been completed and its value is returned can the function of the phrase (subject, object, etc.) be determined. Only if the function of the phrase has been determined can it be attached to the S-node and sentential information be stored in the sentence procedure. (1998: 7)

Processability Theory therefore makes strong predictions about the developmental path of second language acquisition, which can be tested against empirical data. In fact, its predictions have been tested and confirmed by studies of the acquisition of various L2s (Pienemann (ed.) 2005).

Processability Theory builds on the model of language production described by Levelt (1989), which assumes that language generation follows the procedure outlined in Figure 1:

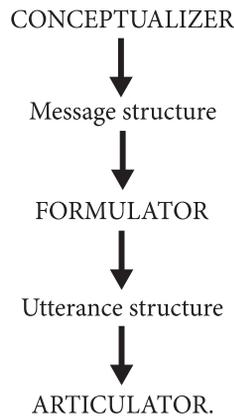


Figure 1. A simplified model of language production

As Levelt (1993: 5) explains, “Grammatical encoding takes a message as input, retrieves lexical items from the mental lexicon, and delivers a surface structure as output.” Lexical retrieval involves, first, accessing the lemmas associated with the relevant lexical item, and second, selecting the item’s form specification or lexeme as it is stored in the mental lexicon. Lemmas contain information about the semantic, syntactic and other grammatical properties of the relevant lexical item. The crucial premise of the model is that “lexical selection drives grammatical encoding” (Levelt 1993: 5);

in other words, “the lexicon is an essential mediator between conceptualization and grammatical ... encoding” (Levelt 1989: 181). In short, lemmas activate or trigger syntactic procedures that correspond to their syntactic specifications. Thus, a verb will trigger construction of a VP, a noun the construction of an NP, a preposition the construction of a PP, *etc.* Levelt’s model assumes as well that each processing component, *e.g.*, the procedure of building NPs, is relatively autonomous, and that processing is incremental, *i.e.*, the surface form of the message is gradually constructed while conceptualization is still in progress.

Pienemann *et al.* (2005: 138) illustrate the way phrasal and S-procedures work to produce simple sentence structures with the example shown in Figure 2.

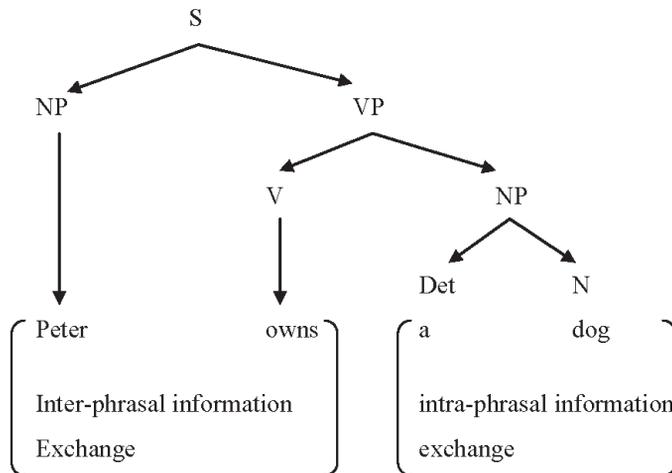


Figure 2. Intra- and inter-phrasal information exchange (adapted from Pienemann *et al.* 2005: 138–140)

As can be seen, phrasal procedures such as the building of the phrase ‘a dog’ involve exchange of information within the phrase, in this case, matching the SINGULAR feature of the determiner *a* with the number specification for *dog*. An operation of this type is described as intra-phrasal affixation. By contrast, subject–verb agreement involves matching features of two distinct constituents, namely NP_{subj} and VP, and is part of the S-procedure. An operation of this type, which requires that grammatical information be exchanged across constituent boundaries, is referred to as inter-phrasal affixation. PT predicts that intra-phrasal

affixation will be acquired as part of the phrasal procedure, and hence emerge earlier than inter-phrasal affixation, which requires command of the sentence procedure. These two types of morphological process are also referred to as “contextual” morphology. A third type of morphological process, such as number marking on nouns or tense on verbs, relies only on category procedures, the information for which is part of the lexical entry, and does not have to be exchanged with any other constituent (Pienemann 1998: 115). An affix of this type is referred to as a “lexical” morpheme. Other researchers refer to this type of morphology as “inherent.” PT predicts that, in SLA, morphemes will be acquired in the following sequence:

Lexical < (intra-)phrasal < inter-phrasal (Pienemann 1998: 115)

Plag (2008a, b) appeals to the insights of Processability Theory to explain (a) the rarity of inflectional morphology and (b) the structure of basic sentence types in creoles. With regard to inflectional morphology, he shows that creoles show a much stronger preference for “inherent” inflection such as number, degree, *etc.*, which are not required by the syntax, than for “contextual” inflection such as agreement between subject and verb, or between nouns and adjectives. He argues that the types of inflectional morphology found in creoles strongly parallel those found in early interlanguage, and argues that this can be explained in terms of processing constraints on the acquisition of morphology, as predicted by PT. He cites Pienemann’s (2000) sketch of developmental stages in the acquisition of processing procedures for L2 English, which shows how inflectional morphology develops at each stage of acquisition, as shown in Table 1:

Table 1. Processing procedures for English (source: Pienemann 2000)

Stage	Processing procedure	L2 processing	Morphology	Syntax
1	word/ lemma	words	invariant forms	single constituent
2	category procedure	lexical morphemes possessive pronouns	plural on nouns	canonical order
3	phrasal procedure	intra-phrasal information exchange	NP agreement Neg+V	ADV, <i>do</i> -fronting topicalization

Stage	Processing procedure	L2 processing	Morphology	Syntax
4	S-procedure/ word order rules	inter-phrasal information exchange		Y/N inversion, copula inversion
5	S-procedure/ word order rules	inter-phrasal information exchange	SV agreement (3sg -s)	Aux/ <i>do</i> 2nd
6	subordinate clause procedure	main and subordinate clauses		cancel inver

As can be seen, plural marking emerges quite early, at stage 2, but NP agreement and subject–verb agreement emerge later, at stages 3 and 5 respectively. Plag takes this as evidence that the emergence of inflection in creoles follows a similar developmental path to early IL, and is constrained by the fact that the processing procedures necessary for its emergence has not yet been acquired. Thus, inherent inflection such as number, which does not require information exchange between different constituents, emerges in early IL, and also in some creoles. Plag cites cases like Cape Verdean creole and Palenquero, both of which manifest plural suffixes on nouns. By contrast, contextual inflection such as agreement, which requires such information exchange, fails to emerge in the early stages of both kinds of SLA. Kihm (2003: 335) also notes that “creole languages exhibit little or no contextual inflection in comparison with the lexifier or substrate languages.” Plag argues that these facts about inflection in creoles are “best accounted for in psycholinguistic terms as an effect originating in second language processing” (2008a: 119).¹

With regard to basic syntax, Plag (2008b) makes essentially the same argument to explain why creoles manifest simplified structures in declaratives, yes/no questions, and negative sentences. For instance, creoles universally have either SVO or SOV word order, which are precisely the ones produced by L2 learners cross-linguistically, regardless of the L1 or L2 involved. With regard to question formation, creoles and early IL lack inversion because this process emerges only at late stages of IL

1 It can be further noted that “inherent” morphological categories such as tense, number, *etc.*, originate in conceptual structure, while “contextual” categories such as agreement, structural case, *etc.* are a matter of purely language internal grammatical structure, and bear no direct relevance to conceptual structure (see Bierwisch, Schreuder 1993: 43). Thus it could be argued that creoles show a preference for “inherent” morphological categories because these are more essential to the message itself.

development (stage 5 in the case of English). But some creoles also employ sentence-final question particles which may be due to substrate influence. As far as negation is concerned, preverbal negation with a single element is practically universal in creoles, and is also typical of early IL, where it emerges at stage 3 of L2 English acquisition. This suggests that creole negation is motivated by universal SLA processes, though Plag acknowledges that some creoles, such as Palenquero and Berbice Dutch, also show evidence of substrate transfer in their use of sentence-final negative particles. Plag concludes from his discussion that the basic syntactic structures found in creoles “generally do not go beyond stage 3 of the [processing – D. W.] hierarchy, which lends independent evidence to the idea that psycholinguistically motivated universal traits of SLA processes are chiefly responsible for the emergence of many creole structures that are considered to be unmarked” (2008b: 325).

Limitations of the IL Hypothesis

Plag’s interpretation of the IL Hypothesis in terms of Processability Theory does seem to explain certain properties of creole grammar that arguably define creoles as a relatively homogeneous class. Both the lack of inflectional morphology and the uniformity of basic syntactic structures have been cited as instances of the “universal tendencies” toward simplification and transparency that characterize creoles (*e.g.*, Seuren, Wekker 1986). The preservation of such “unmarked” structures in creole is generally attributed to the fact that they began as pidgins (or a collection of early-stage ILs) which then became targets of learning for later arrivals in various (usually plantation) settings. This pidgin-to-creole development has been well documented for Pacific creoles such as Hawai’i Creole English (Roberts 2000) and the Melanesian creoles Tok Pisin, Solomon Islands Pijin, and Bislama (Siegel 2008). A similar developmental path has been assumed for other creoles such as the English-lexicon creoles of the Caribbean, though we lack clear historical evidence that a stable pidgin was the primary input to creole formation in this case. However, the assumption is that the target of learning for creole creators was some form of (pidginized) contact variety that had emerged among earlier arrivals (Baker 1990). This “shift” in target away from the superstrate laid the foundation for the emergence of creole grammars that diverged to varying degrees from those of their lexifiers. But this fact,

in itself, highlights the limitations of the IL Hypothesis as an explanation for the development of creole grammar as a whole – a limitation that Plag himself acknowledges (2008a: 115). Indeed, for most creoles, the vast majority of their grammar, including the emergence of tense-mood-aspect systems and a broad range of sometimes complex syntactic structures, cannot be accounted for under the IL hypothesis. It is precisely the later stages of creole development that challenge the assumed parallels between SLA and creole formation.

As mentioned earlier, creoles diverge from cases of SLA along two dimensions – internal developments, and degree of L1 influence (or transfer, as SLA researchers refer to it). Neither of these is unique to creoles, of course. Developing IL systems often display evidence of both internally-motivated and L1-related patterns of restructuring. In general, though, the links between SLA and creole formation have been explored mostly in relation to transfer. As Kouwenberg (2006: 206) points out, “the persistent influence of L1 transfer beyond the point of target shift constitutes a striking contrast between L2 acquisition and creolization.” This raises questions about how far psycholinguistic approaches to SLA such as Processability Theory can account for the development of creole grammar beyond the early stages. In particular, what kind of explanation does PT offer for the role played by L1 transfer in SLA, and how far does that explain the role of L1 transfer in creole formation?

2. Transfer in creole formation and SLA

Like researchers in SLA, creolists have different views on the extent to which L1 transfer plays a role in the restructuring of learners' IL systems. For the moment, I confine my attention to those approaches that propose a significant role for L1 transfer. With regard to creole formation, the Relexification Hypothesis (Lefebvre, Lumsden 1994; Lefebvre 1998) easily constitutes the strongest claim about substrate influence on the emergence of creole grammar. Relexification is described as a process whereby the creators of a creole retain their L1 lexical entries more or less intact, while replacing their phonetic shapes with those of superstrate lexical items. Lefebvre *et al.* (eds.) (2006: 5) specifically identify relexification as “a particular type of transfer,” and define it as “[...] a cognitive process that essentially consists in assigning to a lexical entry of language L1 a new

label drawn from language L2.” They equate the RH with the Full Transfer/Full Access (FTFA) model of SLA proposed by Schwartz and Sprouse (1994, 1996), White (1989) and others. According to the FTFA model, the L1 grammar transfers fully at the outset of L2 acquisition, so that it in effect constitutes the initial state of the emerging Interlanguage. Lefebvre *et al.* (eds.) (2006: 7) point out: “Both relexification theory and FTFA posit transfer, such that the L1 effectively *is* the interlanguage grammar or *is* the creole grammar” [italics in original]. At the same time, they acknowledge that transfer perseveres much longer in the case of creoles than in SLA, where its effects become less pronounced in later stages. The difference can be attributed to factors such as the social ecology in which creole formation takes place, the nature of the TL involved, processes of conventionalization peculiar to creoles, learner attitudes, and so on.

The view that both early SLA and creole formation are shaped by full transfer from learners’ L1s contrasts sharply with the position taken by Pienemann (1998), and Pienemann *et al.* (2005). They argue that “L1 transfer is constrained by the capacity of the language processor of the L2 learner (or bilingual speaker)” (Pienemann *et al.* 2005: 128). Consequently, they reject the idea that the L1 Formulator can be bulk transferred at the initial stage, and argue instead that “the learner will construct the Formulator of the L2 from scratch” (Pienemann *et al.* 2005: 143). They support their argument with evidence from various studies showing that L1 transfer plays little or no role in the restructuring of L2 grammar in the earliest stages of acquisition.² It is important to understand that the arguments put forward by Pienemann *et al.* relate to the early stages of IL development, and are specifically meant to refute the claim that *the initial state* of L2 acquisition is the final state of the L1. Their objection to this is based squarely on the premise that “L1 transfer is developmentally moderated, and will occur only when the structure to be transferred is processable within the developing L2 system” (Pienemann *et al.* 2005: 143). Recall that a basic premise of PT is that L2 acquisition follows an implicational hierarchy from lemma access to the category procedure and so on, all the way to the subordinate

2 For example, Håkkansson *et al.* (2002) show that Swedish learners of L2 German first employ SVO order and only later acquire the German V2 rule, even though Swedish also has that rule. Similarly, Kawaguchi (2002) shows that English-speaking learners acquire the SOV order of Japanese from the start because this pattern is processable at the start of acquisition, and do not transfer the SVO pattern of English.

clause procedure. In the initial stages of this sequence, the developing IL has not yet acquired the processing procedures that would allow for all L2 structures to be transferred. This is because “the processing of syntax is lexically driven, and the processor relies on highly language-specific lexical features” (Pienemann *et al.* 2005: 143), which learners have not yet acquired. This is why Pienemann *et al.* argue that “structures higher up the processability hierarchy are never transferred at the initial state” (2005: 148) [emphasis mine – D. W.]. However, they do acknowledge that “this would not exclude that, in the course of this process [constructing the L2 Formulator – D. W.], L1 procedures would be utilized” (Pienemann *et al.* 2005: 143).

Now, there is in fact evidence that L1 transfer comes into play at various stages of IL development, and that the type of transfer that occurs depends on the stage of acquisition the learner has attained. For instance, Nemser (1991) shows that different types of transfer from German can be found in the L2 English of German-speaking Austrian students, depending on their level of proficiency in English. Less advanced students manifest examples of word order transfer from German in the production of *wh*-questions like the following:

- (1) a. Want you yoghurt?
b. Went you home?

More advanced learners produce structures like the following, in which German verbs “provide models for subcategorization” for their English equivalents (Nemser 1991: 360).

- (2) a. I would suggest him to go.
Compare German *Ich empfehle ihm zu gehen*.
b. You just finished to eat.
Compare German *Du hast gerade aufgehört zu essen*.

Nemser notes that such structures appear at the stage where the learners have already acquired structures involving verbs like *expect*, *tell etc.* (in the case of 2a), and *start*, *agree etc.* (in the case of 2b), whose subcategorization properties match those of German *empfehlen* ‘suggest’

and *aufhören* 'finish' respectively. This similarity promotes the kind of transfer seen in (2).

All of these instances of transfer are in accordance with the PT view of developmentally moderated L1 transfer in SLA. However, they are based on cases where learners have continued access to the TL, and sufficient input from it to continually revise their IL grammar so that it approximates the TL grammar more and more as acquisition proceeds. But this is where creole formation differs drastically from SLA. In general, creole creators have little access to the superstrate language, and hence little input from it. Instead, in most cases, their only input comes from a grammatically impoverished pidgin or simplified contact variety. As a consequence, they have to build the components of creole grammar by drawing primarily on their L1 knowledge, and other universally-motivated strategies. It follows that the tenets of PT cannot apply to creole formation in the same way that they apply to SLA, if indeed they apply at all. It is particularly difficult to see how the PT prediction that L1 linguistic properties can transfer to the L2 only when the IL system can process them (Pienemann *et al.* 2005: 132) applies to creole formation. According to this claim, learners must first acquire the necessary L2 procedures before they can process and incorporate L1 structures or forms as part of their developing L2. But in creole formation, there is no opportunity to acquire L2 procedures at higher levels of the processability hierarchy. Thus learners have no way of acquiring the L2 processing procedures necessary to produce structures such as TMA systems, complementation, copular-type predication, various types of subordination and a variety of other grammatical phenomena. In the light of this, it is hard to see how the tenets of PT, particularly its processability constraints on L1 transfer, apply. How then can we explain the fact that creole formation involves massive amounts of L1 transfer at every level of the processability hierarchy? How is this possible when creole creators have no way of developing the necessary L2 processing procedures in the first place?

The answer to this must lie in the fact that, in creole formation, the L1 grammar is indeed fully accessible and available to learners. It may be true that, at the initial stage of acquisition, learners do attempt to construct the target grammar "from scratch" in both SLA and creole formation. This is why both types of acquisition share so much in common at the start, when learners create a "basic" or pidgin variety of the target.

Beyond that stage, however, creole formation departs radically from SLA. According to Pienemann *et al.*, in SLA, “all of the grammatical forms not yet developed are caused by the absence of specific processing procedures” (2005: 135). They predict that, when the hierarchy of procedures is cut off for a particular learner, “the rest of the hierarchy will be replaced by a direct mapping of conceptual structures onto surface form as long as there are lemmata that match the conceptually instigated searches of the lexicon” (Pienemann *et al.* 2005: 135). But this is certainly not what happens in creole formation, when learners are “cut off” from access to the processing procedures of the superstrate. Instead, I argue that creole creators make up for such lack of access by employing the mechanism of imposition, that is, applying the processing procedures of their L1 to produce structures in the L2, in addition to appealing to other, perhaps universal strategies. To better understand how the restructuring of creole grammar differs from the restructuring of IL in SLA, we first need to take a closer look at the psycholinguistic models of language production to which Processability Theory appeals in making its case for a predictable developmental path based on an implicational hierarchy of acquisition in SLA. Specifically, we focus on the role of the Formulator in the language production process.

3. A model of language production

As Levelt (1993: 5) explains, conceptual structures are the preverbal messages that form the input to the Formulator, “whose task it is to map the message onto linguistic form” – a process referred to as grammatical encoding. Levelt explains: “[g]rammatical encoding takes a message as input, retrieves lexical items from the mental lexicon, and delivers a surface structure as output” (1993: 5). Bock and Levelt (1994: 946) offer a more detailed model of the production process, shown here as Figure 3.

As Figure 3 shows, grammatical encoding involves two subcomponents, functional and positional processing, each consisting of two steps. At the level of functional processing, the first step is lexical selection, which “involves identifying the lexical concepts and LEMMAS suitable for conveying the message” (Bock, Levelt 1994: 947). Lemmas contain information about the selected lexical concepts, such as their semantics, form class membership, and grammatical properties. As Pienemann

(1998: 51) notes “[...] recognition and/or production of the constituent structure of a sentence relies crucially on the syntactic sub-categorization of lexical material.” In short, lemmas activate or trigger syntactic procedures that correspond to their syntactic specifications. Thus, a verb will trigger construction of a VP, a preposition the construction of a PP, *etc.* For example, selection of the lemma for the verb *sell* will trigger construction of a clause with three arguments, agent, theme, and goal, which are mapped onto the grammatical functions of subject, object and indirect object respectively. We will see that lemma access is fundamental to the kinds of crosslinguistic transfer that occur in bilingual language mixture, particularly those associated with imposition.

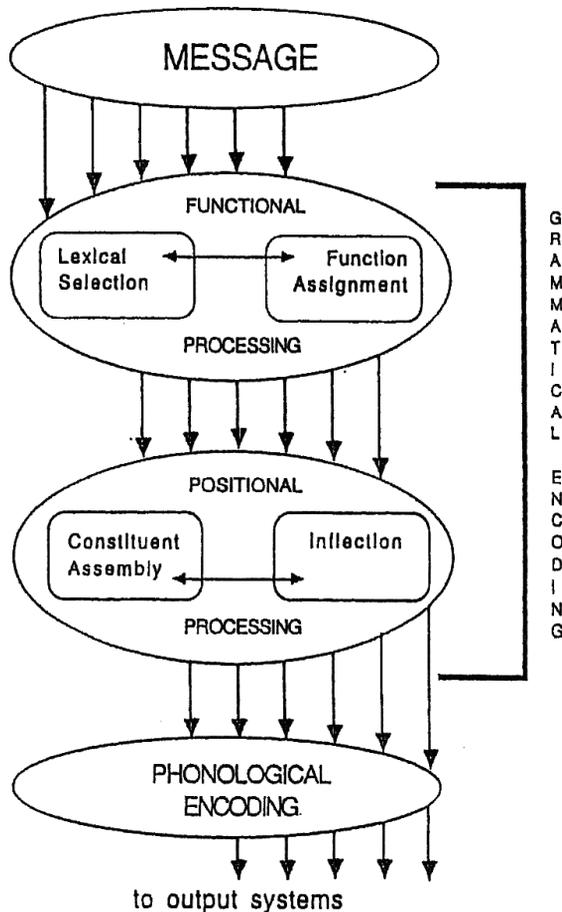


Figure 3. Language production processes (Bock, Levelt 1994: 946, Figure 1)

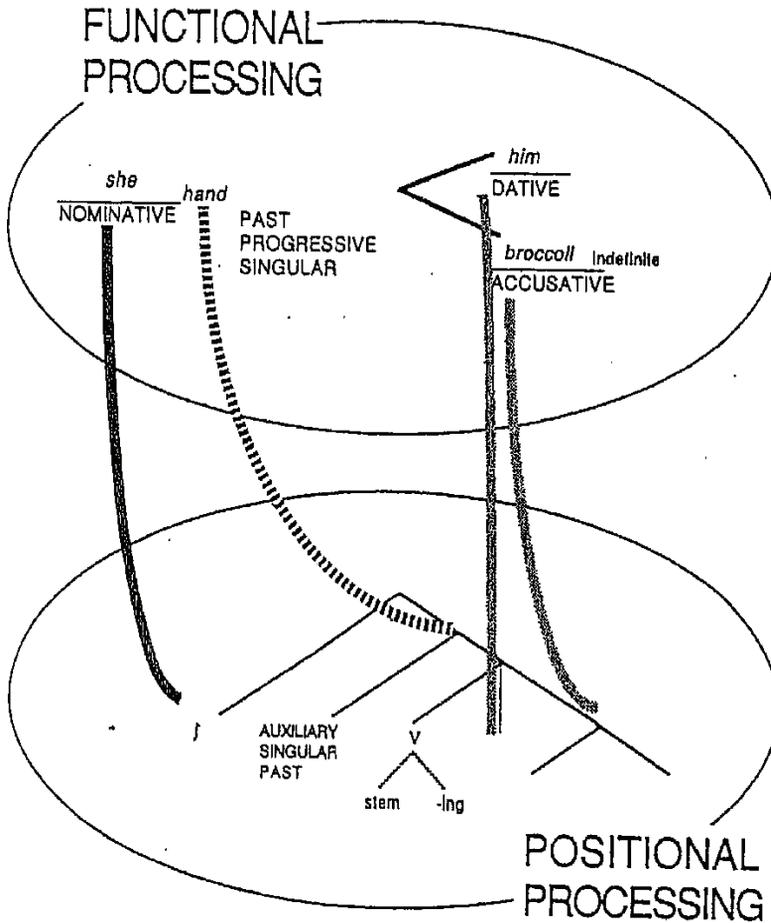


Figure 4. Processes of grammatical encoding (Bock, Levelt 1994: 977, Figure 6)

The second step in functional processing is function assignment, which involves assigning syntactic or grammatical functions such as subject-nominative, object-accusative, *etc.*, to relevant lexical concepts. For instance, in producing an utterance such as “The dog bit the boy,” the lemma for ‘dog’ will be linked to the nominative (subject) function, the lemma for ‘boy’ to the accusative function, and the lemma for ‘bite’ to the main verb function. Lemmas are distinct from lexemes, which represent the phonological form of the word, which is spelt out only at the stage of articulation (phonological encoding). Note that the assumption here is that “verbs somehow control function assignment”

(Bock, Levelt 1994: 966). For instance, the lemma for ‘bite’ specifies that it requires two arguments – an agent, and a patient. The assignment of the nominative and accusative functions to the agent and patient respectively, creates a simple utterance. The centrality of the verb to the organization of clause and sentence production is a crucial point in explaining many cases of L1 transfer – a point to which we return below. To sum up, Bock and Levelt state:

Functional processing, as we have described it, yields an activated set of lemmas and a set of syntactic functions, linked together via the argument structures of the lemmas (notably that of the verb). (1994: 968)

The next step in language production, positional processing, fixes the order of elements in the utterance. It consists of two steps – constituent assembly, and inflection. The former involves “the creation of a control hierarchy for phrasal constituents that manages the order of word production and captures dependencies among syntactic functions” (Bock, Levelt 1994: 947–948). Such a hierarchy can be represented as a syntactic tree, and is “[...] largely predictable from the types of syntactic functions that have to be represented and from the syntactic features of the selected lemmas” (Bock, Levelt 1994: 948). The final step in grammatical encoding, inflection, involves generating the elements that carry information about notions like number, gender, tense, *etc.*, which have to be attached to the relevant words. Bock and Levelt illustrate the products of grammatical encoding as shown in Figure 4, using the utterance *She was handing him some broccoli* as the target to be generated.

Adapting Levelt’s model for bilingual language production

The above account of language production applies only to proficient monolinguals whose language production system is fully developed. However, as Pienemann (1998: 73) points out, SLA leads to a bilingual language processor, and hence Levelt’s model has to be adapted to account for language processing in bilinguals. Pienemann appeals to de Bot’s ([1992] 2001) adaptation of Levelt’s model, which addresses the additional requirements that a language production model has to meet in a bilingual context. As de Bot points out, the model must not only account for cross-linguistic influences of various types, but also “[...] deal with the fact that the speaker does not master both language systems to the same extent”

([1992] 2001: 425). Hence, such a model must be able to account for the following aspects of bilingual language production (de Bot [1992] 2001: 425):

1. The two language systems involved can be used independently of each other, or they may be mixed in various ways (as in code switching, for example).
2. The two systems may influence each other.
3. The bilingual speaker may have different degrees of proficiency in each system.
4. Interactions can take place between languages that are typologically similar or dissimilar.

The point most relevant to our present concern with L1 transfer is de Bot's observation that the majority of bilinguals will not have a complete command of both languages, and that this can lead to interference from the more dominant language. As he puts it:

It is clear that when the speaker has very little knowledge of the L2 he can still make utterances in that L2 by making some (internal) extensions to the L1 system. In this way it is plausible to think that it is only the morpho-phonological information for lexical items in the L2 which is L2 specific, while syntactic information from the L1 translation equivalent is activated. (de Bot [1992] 2001: 441)

In other words, it is possible for a single lemma to be associated with two lexemes from the two languages. This kind of association seems to lie behind cases of lexical as well as grammatical interference in the production of speakers for whom one of the languages is dominant. In such cases, the speaker may treat a lexeme in the less dominant language as an alternative phonological shape to that of an L1 lexeme, and associate the latter's lemma with both. This would explain phenomena that are common in the early stages of second language acquisition, where the learner acquires L2 lexical items but not all aspects of their grammatical properties, including often their grammatical category, their precise semantic content, and their subcategorization requirements. For instance, early learners sometimes assign the incorrect category to L2 items, treating adjectives as nouns, or nouns as verbs, and so on (Pienemann 1998: 50). Similarly, it explains why early learners cannot produce L2 sentences with the appropriate constituent structures, since that relies crucially on the syntactic subcategorization of lexical material,

as contained in lemmas (Pienemann 1998: 51). Faced with the need to produce utterances in an L2 with which they are not familiar, learners often resort to L1 knowledge and procedures. One solution they adopt is to attach an L2 lexeme to an L1 lemma as an alternative phonological shape. As Pienemann suggests:

If the L2 word is simply attached to the L1 lemma as an alternative morphophonological form, then the complete L1 syntactic information would be available upon accessing the lemma. (1998: 83)

Interestingly, this is in fact essentially the same explanation for L1 transfer that is assumed by adherents of the Relexification Hypothesis and the Full Transfer/Full Access model of SLA. Sprouse (2006: 174) suggests that:

[...] the only way for the “abstract properties of the L1 to transfer and comprise the initial state of L2 acquisition is via retention of the L1 lexicon (minus phonetic labels). That is, Full Transfer’s “abstract properties” appear to correspond in Minimalist terms to Relexification’s lexical “features” (minus phonetic features).

It would seem then, that both creole creators and L2 learners can transfer abstract features of their L1 to the L2 they are attempting to produce. I will argue that the mechanism by which they accomplish this is imposition, which I interpret as the use of L1 processing procedures in producing an L2.

4. Imposition in creole formation

The term imposition was introduced by van Coetsem (1988) as one of the two transfer types associated with cross-linguistic influence – the other being borrowing. In both types of transfer, there is a source language and a recipient language. The direction of transfer is always from the source language to the recipient language, and the agent of the transfer is either the recipient language speaker or the source language speaker. In the former case we have borrowing (recipient language agentivity), in the latter, imposition (source language agentivity). The distinction between these two types of transfer is based, crucially, on the psycholinguistic notion of language dominance. This refers roughly to the degrees of proficiency that the speaker has in each language, though it must be emphasized

that a speaker may have different degrees of proficiency in different areas of a language. Generally, however, a speaker is linguistically dominant in the language in which he is more proficient or fluent – which is not necessarily his first or native language (van Coetsem 1988: 15). In borrowing, the speaker, as agent of change, introduces elements from an external source language (SL) into a recipient language (RL) in which he is linguistically dominant. Hence borrowing involves RL agentivity. As van Coetsem (1988: 3) explains:

If the recipient language speaker is the agent, as in the case of an English speaker using French words while speaking English, the transfer of material (and this naturally includes structure) from the source language to the recipient language is *borrowing (recipient language agentivity)*.
[italics in original]

In imposition, on the other hand, the speaker, as agent, is linguistically dominant in the source language, and hence transfers features of it into his version of the recipient language, via SL agentivity, “as in the case of a French speaker using his French articulatory habits while speaking English” (van Coetsem 1988: 3). In imposition, the SL is the dominant language of the speaker; hence imposition involves transfer from a linguistically dominant SL to a linguistically non-dominant RL. The speaker will tend to preserve, and transfer, more stable components of the dominant language, including phonology, syntactic patterns, grammatical categories, *etc.*

Applying this approach to creole formation explains many of the phenomena that have been ascribed to “transfer” or “substrate influence.” I will now illustrate this with examples of how various types of complex clause structure, including serial verb constructions and subordinate clause procedures, arise in creoles. For example, Hagemeyer and Ogie (2011) show that Santome has a wide range of serial verb constructions modeled on those of Èdó. These include constructions in which the V2 conveys directed motion, comparative, completive and other meanings. The following illustrates a directed motion SVC (Hagemeyer, Ogie 2011: 47):

- | | | | | | |
|----------------|------|---------------------------|--------|-------|--|
| (3) a. Santome | Inen | kólé | lentla | ke | |
| b. Èdó | Íran | rhùé | làá | òwá | |
| | 3pl | run | enter | house | |
| | | ‘They ran into the house’ | | | |

We can explain such creole structures in terms of transfer of the lemmas associated with substrate verbal lexemes to their superstrate counterparts. In Èdó and other West African languages verbs of movement or transport such as *rhùé* ‘run’ are subcategorized for an Agent argument as well as an adjunct phrase introduced by a directional serial verb that indicates the direction of movement. In the process of producing the incipient creole, Èdó speakers imposed the lemmas of verbs like *rhùé* onto superstrate lexemes such as *kólé*. This triggers generation of a structure such as (3a), which has the same constituency as its Èdó counterpart. In other words, the subcategorization properties of Èdó *rhùé* are imposed on Portuguese-derived *kólé*. Like *rhùé*, *kólé* requires that its Agent be mapped onto a subject NP, while its Goal must be introduced by a directional VP complement headed by a verb like *lentla*, which indicates the direction of the transfer. This might be represented as follows:

- | | | | |
|-----------|--------|---------------|--------|
| (4) Agent | Motion | Direction | Ground |
| | | | |
| NP1 | V1 | V2[direction] | PP |

This is a clear example of imposition at the level of function assignment.

A similar explanation accounts for the emergence of complement clause structures in creoles. For instance, Migge and Winford (2013) provide evidence that the grammar of fact-type complements in the Surinamese creoles was modeled on Gbe languages. In both language groups, such complements are introduced by a complementizer derived from a verb meaning ‘say,’ *taki* in Sranan, *bé* in Gengbe, and *dɔ* in Fongbe, as the following examples illustrate.

- (5) SN *Mi sabi taki yu no e nyan pataka.*
 I know COMP you NEG IMPF eat type-of-fish
 ‘I know that you do not eat pataka.’

- (6) Gengbe *O nyán bé né o nɔ mɔɔ-me káká kɔsídá vo.*
 they know COMP if you stay car-in until week finish
 [...], *o lá lé dɔ, [...]*
 you FUT catch sickness
 ‘They know that if you stay in the car until the end of the week you get sick.’

- (7) SN *Ma yu kan si taki a man don fosi.*
 but you can see COMP DET man dumb before
 'But you can see that the guy was stupid then.'

- (8) Fongbe *É mɔ dɔ ví ɔ yàví.*
 s/he see COMP child DEF cry
 '(S)he saw that the child cried.'

(Tossa 1994: 181, in Lefebvre, Brousseau 2002: 543)

Migge and Winford demonstrate that complementizers derived from 'say' perform a number of core functions that are shared across the two language groups, including use as a quotative marker, fact-type complementizer, marker of embedded questions, and a conjunction introducing purpose or reason clauses. They take this to suggest that the properties of 'say' and 'say'-headed phrases in the Surinamese Creoles most likely emerged due to substrate influence from Gbe. They argue that the transfer of the multifunctionality of Gbe 'say' to *taki* and *táa* 'say' in the Surinamese creoles can be explained in terms of the mechanism of imposition, by which creole creators accessed the lemmas associated with the relevant complement-taking predicates as well as verb/complementizer 'say' in their L1s, to supply the information necessary for them to initiate the syntactic procedures associated with fact-type complements in the emerging creole.

The phenomenon of imposition is not restricted to cases of creole formation, but can also be found in SLA, particularly among learners who have not yet mastered L2 grammar. Helms-Park (2003) discusses examples of transfer like the following, from the L2 English of elementary-level Vietnamese learners.

- (9) L2 English *Suzie cooked butter melted* (2003: 228)
 'Suzie melted the butter'
 Vietnamese *Hoà đun nước sôi* (2003: 217)
 Hoa cook(liquid) water boil
 'Hua boiled the water'
- (10) L2 English *Harry is shake the bell rang*
 'Harry rang the bell'
 Vietnamese *Giáp rung cái chuông reo*

Giap shake CLAS bell ring
'Giap rang the bell'

Helms-Park (2003: 213) notes that this is a fairly common strategy in SLA, by which learners, faced with incomplete TL information, "treat TL verbs as though they had the lexico-semantic structure and accompanying argument structures of their ostensible L1 translation equivalents."

Conclusions

The above discussion lends support to the suggestion that in both SLA and creole formation, the learner's L1 plays an active role in shaping the acquisition of the target language, or in psycholinguistic terms, is fully activated in the process of producing the L2. This means that L1 transfer has the potential to manifest itself at every stage of acquisition, including the earliest stages, as the Full Transfer/Full Access model maintains. In SLA, learners typically inhibit transfer from their L1s since it affects successful acquisition as well as communication. But in cases of natural SLA, such transfer may be more prominent. In the earliest stages of acquisition, learners do attempt to create a simplified version of the TL grammar from scratch, as Pienemann has suggested. This explains the strong similarities between early IL and the pidgin stage of creole formation. Plag's IL hypothesis can only account for this stage of creole development, and its parallels with early IL. Beyond that, however, the path of IL development diverges significantly from that of creole development primarily because of the greater strength and persistence of L1 transfer in the latter. The chief motivation for this is the lack of access to the superstrate grammar, which is due to the fact that only pidginized or simplified second language varieties of the superstrate act as targets of learning for creole creators, at least in cases of "radical" creole formation. This means they have limited access to the grammatical encoding procedures of the superstrate, and have to fall back on those of their L1s in order to create a viable language of communication. The extent and nature of this L1 transfer challenges the claim by Pienemann that transfer can only take place when L1 structures can be processed by the IL system. This claim assumes that creole creators must first master superstrate grammatical structures before they can "transfer" alternative L1 structures into the creole. Such

an assumption ignores the fact that creole creators have little or no access to the grammatical structures of the superstrate in the first place. A more feasible explanation is that they appeal directly to their knowledge of the language production procedures of their L1s and apply them to producing structures in the incipient creole. According to Pienemann *et al.* (2005: 143), “[...] PT implies the hypothesis that the L1 Formulator will not be bulk transferred because the processing of syntax is lexically driven, and the processor relies on highly language-specific lexical features.” The implicit assumption here is that only acquisition of the L2 lexical features will promote successful restructuring of the IL system. This may be true under “normal” circumstances of SLA. But in creole formation, learners can in fact access the language-specific lexical features of their L1s to compensate for their inability to access the features of superstrate lexical items. By imposing such L1 features (lemmas) onto superstrate lexemes, they facilitate processes of grammatical replication that result in a new creation, the creole. In all of these respects, creole formation seems to provide evidence for the full availability of the L1 processing procedures in the process of restructuring a developing L2 grammar.

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Language Shift and Protection of Minority Languages in Friuli: The Case of Friulian

ABSTRACT. This paper discusses the sociolinguistic situation of Friulian – a minority language spoken in Friuli-Venezia Giulia, a region in the north-east of Italy – based on a survey that was conducted by the author in 2008. An analysis of such factors as the presence of a minority language in the local media and in education as well as the legal aspects related to its protection will be presented. Friulian is closely related to Italian, although it has no well-established standard form. While it is now recognized as a language by the Act on Protection of Historic Linguistic Minorities as adopted by the Italian Parliament in 1999, its status as a separate language, and not an Italian dialect, has been very controversial. There are several norms in Italian law which should guarantee the protection of minority languages. First, protection is guaranteed by the Constitution of the Italian Republic, and more specific norms are determined in the Act on Protection of Historic Linguistic Minorities. Also, the regional authorities of Friuli-Venezia Giulia, which is an autonomous region, have adopted regional laws aiming at the protection of Friulian language and culture. Friulian is also taught at schools as a non-obligatory subject and it is present in the local media – radio, private TV stations and some weekly and monthly newspapers. However, we can also see clear signs of a language shift, *i.e.* a process which has gained rapidity in recent decades in the Friulian-speaking community. In spite of all the effort being made to safeguard Friulian, it is yet unclear whether this is enough to reverse the language shift.

KEYWORDS: Friulian, minority language, language protection, Italian, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, media.

Introduction

This paper is concerned with the sociolinguistic conditions of Friulian – one of the minority languages of the Apennine Peninsula. It is spoken by an ethnolinguistic group in the north-eastern part of Italy, in the area bordering with Austria and Slovenia. Nowadays, all territories where

this language is still in use are situated in a region called Friuli-Venezia Giulia, which was created after World War II by joining the historical territories of Friuli with the territories of Trieste. It is estimated that there are about 430 000 speakers of Friulian (Picco 2001: 23). The Friulian-speaking community is undergoing the processes of a language shift, which is a common phenomenon that occurs within minority groups under the influence of a dominant language and culture.

These territories had a rich and troubled history. They were a melting pot in which members belonging to three large families of Indo-European languages, *i.e.* Germanic, Slavic and Roman, met. The region is therefore extremely rich and diversified from a linguistic point of view. Apart from Italian, which is the national language, and Friulian, the regional language, there are also areas where German and Slavic (Slovenian and Resian) dialects are spoken. Thus it truly is a multilingual region. Additionally, for centuries the Venetian dialect had a very strong position there and was spoken mostly by the urban population of the region (Strassoldo 1996: 11). The Friulian-speaking area is in itself very diversified; in fact, there is no standard, uniform language but a mixture of dialects that is being used by the population.

1. A dialect or a language?

Nowadays, the status of Friulian as a separate language is sanctioned by Act No. 482 of December 15, 1999 on the Protection of Historic Linguistic Minorities. It is listed along with 12 other minority languages, thus it is recognized as a language, not a dialect. The other languages mentioned in the law are: Albanian, Catalan, German, Greek, Slovenian, Croatian, French, Franco-Provençal, Ladin, Occitan and Sardinian. Of all these languages, Friulian and Sardinian are the most similar – both are closely related to Italian and have no reference to any national language abroad. Nevertheless, the law did not put an end to the controversy¹ and even now voices are raised claiming that Friulian is simply “a mere dialect” and that any financing of this language is “a waste of money” (*cf.* Caligaro, Oriani 2009).

1 Some of the controversies regarded the fact that while Friulian and Sardinian were recognized as languages, such status was denied Venetian.

The standard Friulian language has also been created, the so-called *koinè*, and there is a long history of efforts to impose it and to popularize it. The present *koinè* is modeled on the language of Friulian literature from the 18th and 19th centuries (Vicario 2005: 84). Nevertheless, there have also been centripetal forces. Some artists, such as Pier Paolo Pasolini, who have always tried to evade the artificial, standardized form, find the best means of artistic expression in their own dialect (Francescato 1977: 240). Today, standard Friulian is being popularized, mostly through language courses which have been introduced into many schools.

In order to understand the status of Friulian and the discussion regarding it, it is necessary to look at it as part of a larger picture, *i.e.* at the general linguistic situation on the Apennine Peninsula. Historically, Italian dialects had a very strong position. In fact, when Italy was united in the 19th century there were few people who could speak Italian. It was the language of literature and was used only in official situations, whereas in everyday life people spoke the dialects of their home towns and villages. In the 19th century, Italian could only be acquired through formal education, *i.e.* at school, therefore, the two phenomena – literacy and knowledge of Italian – were strictly interconnected. According to data mentioned by Tullio De Mauro (1970: 36–37), in 1961 illiteracy was still widespread in Italy – 78% of Italians did not know how to read or write and we can also assume that they could only speak their local dialect. Looking at it from this angle, the situation in Friuli was no different than anywhere else in Italy – most people simply spoke their local tongue, and in this case Friulian.

Friulian was mostly connected with the rural areas and with rural life. As was already mentioned, it did not have a standardized form and existed rather as a group of dialects. Friulian is also closely related to Italian, as it is a Roman language deriving from Latin, therefore it could also very easily be considered an Italian dialect. There is a rich history of literature written in Friulian which dates back to the 18th century (just to mention a few authors: Piero Zorutti, Caterina Percoto, Carlo Sgorlon or Pier Paolo Pasolini), but dialectal literature was a very common phenomenon in Italy. In fact, the status of Friulian as a language was and still is being questioned. To understand why it was at all taken into consideration as an individual language, we must go back to 1873 when Graziadio Isaia Ascoli, a distinguished Italian linguist, made the observation that Romansh spoken in the Swiss canton of Grisons,

Ladin spoken in the Dolomite Mountains and Friulian had some distinctive features in common which strongly differentiated them from other Italian dialects. On this basis he drew the conclusion that these dialects formed a separate language. This theory was based solely on linguistic features and ignoring other factors or their lack, such as the historical or socio-political background – in the past these areas were never a part of one political organism, nor did the users of these dialects share any common conscience (Heinemann 2007: 29–31). Nevertheless, this was the first time when the distinctive character of Friulian was noticed.

The observations made by Ascoli gave rise to a Friulian ethnolinguistic movement. The three institutions which played the most vital roles in the movement were: Società Filologica Friulana, existing since 1919 and promoting research on the Friulian language and culture, Scuele Libare Furlane, which promoted literacy in the Friulian language among the Friulians, and the journal *La Patrie dal Friûl* (Roseano 1999: 119).

2. Protection of Friulian under Italian law

While Italian dialects, which are also a part of the national heritage and diversity, do not enjoy any form of legal protection, the protection of minority languages is guaranteed by the Constitution from 1948. Art. 6 of the Constitution states: “[t]he Republic safeguards linguistic minorities by means of appropriate norms.” However, it was not until 1999 that the appropriate norms, *i.e.* the above-mentioned Act No. 482/1999, were introduced. Previously, works on such regulations were hindered by a lack of consensus at the national level on the position towards minorities. This was the fruit of widespread prejudice dating back to the times of Risorgimento – the fight for Italian unification – which was based on the myth of national cultural and linguistic unity, thus diversity was seen as a weakness, not as a strength (Misiuda-Rewera 2005: 79–86).

Act No. 482 of December 15, 1999 on the Protection of Historic Linguistic Minorities (Legge n. 482/99) names 12 linguistic minorities and makes some special provisions aiming at safeguarding these languages. It is emphasized also in the title of the act that it concerns historic linguistic minorities, therefore the languages of immigrant groups were purposefully excluded. The protection of minority languages, guaranteed by the act, is based on the territorial principle. The measure can be undertaken

following a motion of at least 15% of the residents. The act regulates the possibility of teaching minority languages in school (art. 4, 5 and 6), the use of those languages by the administrative authorities (art. 7, 8, 9), the use of place-names in the form they have in the relevant minority language (art. 10), the return to original forms of surnames for those members of the minority languages who had their surnames Italianized (art. 11), and the use of minority languages on the radio and on TV. In education, the act guaranteed the possibility of introducing the teaching of minority languages and the use of those languages as the medium of teaching, leaving decisions on the form, number of hours and extent of those subjects to the school. Schools, in turn, organize such lessons upon the parents' requests.

It is also important to note that Friuli-Venezia Giulia is one of five autonomous regions in Italy which have a special statute. Such regions were created in the first decades after the end of World War II. They are border regions which are inhabited by a substantial number of people belonging to national minorities and were created as a result of conditions imposed by the Paris Treaty rather than in order to fulfill the obligations of protection as guaranteed by the Constitution. Therefore, at the time when the statutes of the regions were being written down, no protection was granted to the numerous ethno-linguistic groups, such as the Friulians (Bonamore 1980: 50–51; Serena 2003: 84). Friuli-Venezia Giulia was the last of five such regions and its statute was adopted in 1963. It was granted special status mostly because of the Slovenian minority living in this region (Misiuda-Rewera 2005: 79–86).

Protection of minority languages is not only regulated at the national level but also by regional laws. The first laws relating to the Friulian language date back to the 1990s. In 1996, Regional law No. 15 of 1996 of the Autonomous Region Friuli Venezia-Giulia titled “Norms for the protection and promotion of the Friulian language and culture and the establishment of the Service for regional and minority languages” (Legge regionale 22 marzo 1996, n. 15) was adopted. Its aim was to protect and promote the Friulian language and culture. It appoints institutions responsible for the promotion and protection of Friulian, convokes an institution with the purpose of conducting sociolinguistic research on Friulian, *i.e.* the Osservatorio regionale della lingua e della cultura friulane, regulates the financing of these institutions and also determines Friulian orthography.

In 2007 another regional law followed (*Legge regionale* 18 dicembre 2007, n. 29), which contained more specific measures aiming at promotion of the Friulian language. However, this specific regional law caused some controversies, as some of the important norms introduced in this regional law were later repealed by the Constitutional Court after a case was made by the national government (*Sentenza della Corte Costituzionale* 159/09). The Constitutional Court found articles 3, 6 and 17 to be illegitimate, as they supposedly violated the measures introduced by Act 482/1999. The repealed norms introduced the obligation for all public offices in Friuli-Venezia Giulia to provide public information in Friulian, and the right of the citizens to ask questions and receive answers in that language. This was found to be contrary to Act 482/1999, which provided such a possibility only on territories inhabited by a certain percentage of speakers of the minority languages based on the territorial principle, while the regional law took the personal principle into account. Furthermore, article 9, which allowed regional collegial bodies to debate in Friulian, providing oral or written translation of what was said for those who did not understand Friulian, was abolished on the grounds that Act 482/1999 in such cases required instant translation, not written. Additionally, the possibility to introduce place-names in Friulian and Italian or only in Friulian was found contrary to the dispositions of the first article of law 482/99, stating that the “official language of the Italian Republic is Italian,” and article 10 of that law, stating that in certain cases the official version of the place-names could be accompanied by the version in the minority language. This is an interesting ruling since in fact the traditional place-names are those in Friulian.

3. Education in Friulian

Friulian was practically absent from schools until the 1980s. The authorities were not very favorably inclined towards the teaching of minority languages and dialects at school, with exceptions being made only for French, German, Ladin and Slovenian, as education in these languages was guaranteed by the peace treaties (Serena 2003: 75). Friulian education, however, was organized outside the formal education system. The organization *Scuele Libare Furlane*, created in the 1950s, organized Friulian language and culture courses. The courses were based

on the volunteer work of teachers and the parents who sent their children to these courses after school. Courses in Friulian were also organized since the 1950s by the Società Filologica Friulana (Roseano 1999: 120). The attitude towards Friulian in state schools started to change at the end of the 1970s. It was then possible to introduce the teaching of Friulian at school, but this depended on the consent of the school principal (Serena 2003: 76). Nowadays, lessons in Friulian are organized upon the parents' request as a non-obligatory subject. Regional law No. 29 of 2007 titled "Norms for the protection and promotion of the Friulian language" was meant to introduce more favorable measures, but the relevant article was repealed by the Constitutional Court.

4. Popularization of Friulian in the media

Friulian is to a greater or lesser extent present in all media, *i.e.* traditional as well as electronic media. Although there are no daily newspapers in Friulian, some magazines are partly published in the language. Among those with the longest tradition are *Ce fastu?*, which is the bulletin of the Società Filologica Friulana that has been appearing since 1920; *Sot la nape*, a quarterly bulletin, also published by the Società Filologica Friulana since 1949; and *La Patrie dal Friûl*, as mentioned before, appearing since 1945. This is a weekly magazine which is currently available also online. Another important paper is *La Vita Cattolica*, which is published by the Archdiocese of Udine. One of the publisher's aims is to publish a magazine that is well rooted in the local territory, tradition and the Catholic faith. The Archdiocese of Udine is very committed to safeguarding and promoting the local language and culture. A part of the magazine, called "Pagjine furlane," is published in Friulian.

There are also many magazines available online, such as *La Patrie dal Friûl*, all of whose articles also become available online one month after the paper version is issued, and *Il Diari* – a free newspaper published with the financial support of the regional agency for the Friulian language, *i.e.* the Agenzie Regional dal Friûl pe Lenghe Furlane (ARLeF), available in paper and as an electronic version. Also, the organization Friuli nel Mondo runs a website and publishes a monthly magazine of the same title. It is addressed principally to Friulian emigrants who live in all corners of the world. There are also many web portals in which texts are published

in Friulian, *e.g.* www.friul.net publishes entirely in the Friulian language. And, of course, Wikipedia has a Friulian version, *i.e.* Vichipedie. There are also blogs written in Friulian. The Internet plays an important role in the promotion of written Friulian, and it additionally allows to bring together numerous Friulian emigrants living in many parts of the world.

In Friuli-Venezia Giulia there is also a private TV station, Telefriuli, which started broadcasting in 1974. Its aim was to reinforce and promote the Friulian identity. Its programming contains many programs on the Friulian language and culture and the “Telegiornale,” *i.e.* the newscast, is also in Friulian. There are also two radio stations whose mission is to promote the Friulian language and culture. One of them is Radio Onde Furlane, which was set up in the 1960s with the purpose of promoting the Friulian language. It broadcasts mostly in Friulian, with about 70% of the programming in Friulian. The other radio station is Radio Spazio 103, which was established and run by the Archdiocese of Udine, which, as was already mentioned, is very committed to the promotion of the Friulian language.

5. Research on the sociolinguistic situation of Friulian

Several research projects on the sociolinguistic situation of Friulian were conducted in the past. The first large-scale project was carried out in the years 1977–1978 and was conducted by the Institute of International Sociology Gorizia (ISIG); it was then repeated in 1986. The third survey was commissioned to the Osservatorio Regionale della lingua e della cultura Friulana and was conducted in the years 1998–1999. According to the acquired data in the Friulian-speaking area, the language is spoken regularly by a majority of the people – 57%. A comparison of the results of the studies from 1986 and 1999 shows that the use of Friulian dropped by 12% during that time period. Taking into account the data from 1978 allows us to measure the dynamics of a language shift across four generations. In 1978, Friulian was spoken by 75% in the oldest age group and only by 32% in the youngest age group. On average, there was a loss of 10% in every generation. The data also showed an interesting fact, namely that Friulian is spoken more often outside the home, *i.e.* with friends or colleagues at work, than with family members. It is also considered to be more appropriate in informal situations than in formal ones (Picco 2001: 14–19).

The survey, whose results are presented below, are a part of the research that was conducted by the author in the years 2007 and 2008 (Woźniakiewicz 2013). The participants were 78 people living in Friuli. The idea was to examine only those people who were of Friulian origin, therefore, the snowball method for selecting the interviewees was chosen, *i.e.* the person being interviewed was asked to indicate one or more people who also belonged to the Friulian ethnolinguistic group. The survey showed that almost all of the interviewees could understand and speak the language. Only one person (1.28%) did not understand it, and 4% said that they had difficulty in understanding it. When it comes to speaking, only 4% could not speak Friulian at all, 5% spoke very poorly and 13% spoke it poorly. The majority, *i.e.* 78%, answered that they had good or very good competence in speaking Friulian. The picture is quite different when it comes to the so-called literacy competences, such as reading and writing. Still, more than a half (59%) said they could read well or very well, but only 21% could write in Friulian (Figure 1). This is probably due to the fact that most of the interviewees had never received any formal education in Friulian, *i.e.* they acquired the language at home in its oral version and at school they were only taught to read and write in Italian, not Friulian, therefore the language was used predominantly in its oral form.

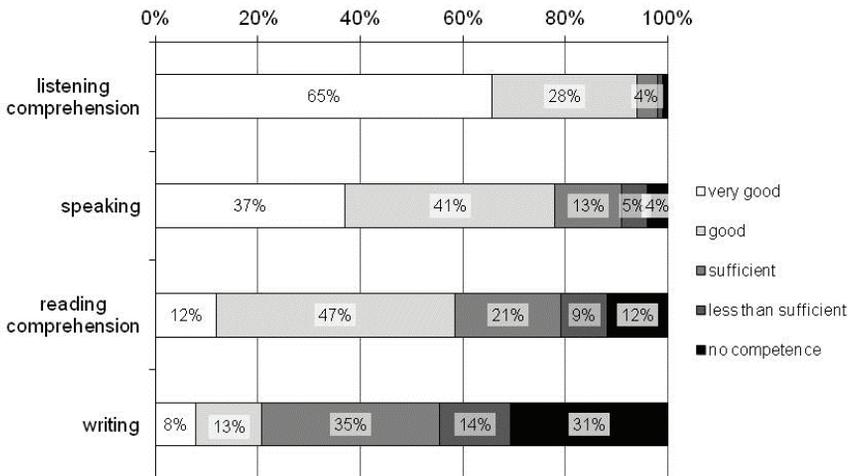


Figure 1. Self-assessment of linguistic competence in Friulian

The results of the research show that Friulian was still present in the everyday lives of the Friulians as a spoken language. Figure 2 shows that

97% of the respondents heard it spoken by other people at least a few times a week (often). Only one interviewee (3%) admitted to never having heard Friulian. However, when it comes to the language's presence in the local media, *e.g.* on the radio or on TV, only a third of the respondents had contact with the language through these media outlets at least a few times a week (Figure 3).

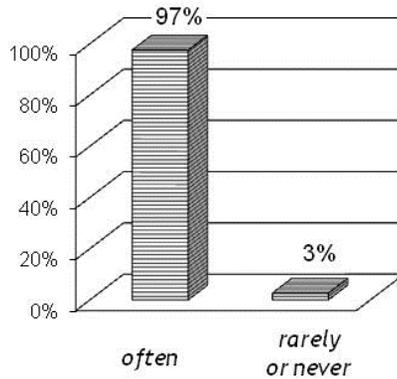


Figure 2. Frequency of contact with Friulian spoken by other people

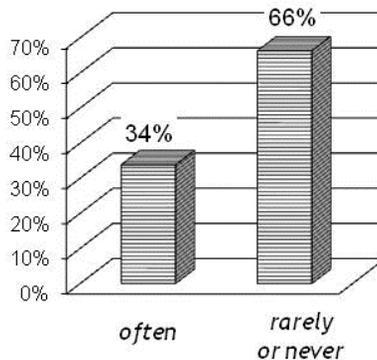


Figure 3. Frequency of contact with Friulian on the radio or on TV

When it comes to active use of the language (Figure 4), Friulian was still very popular, and 87% actively spoke it more than a few times a week. Only 13% admitted to speaking it rarely or never. Active use of Friulian is very low when it comes to its written form. This is related to the above-mentioned fact that few people are literate in Friulian. Only 9% use

the language to note or write something down, and the vast majority, *i.e.* 91%, do so rarely or never (Figure 5).

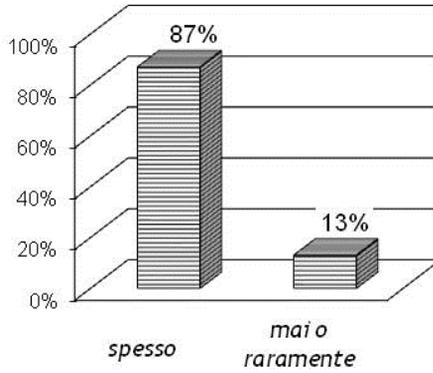


Figure 4. Frequency of oral use of Friulian

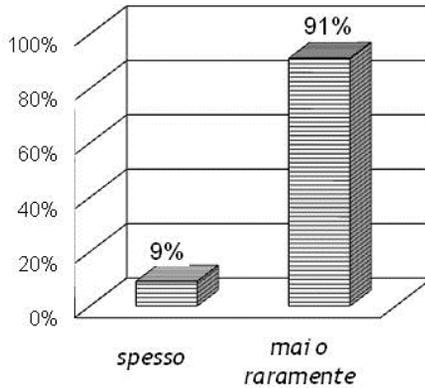


Figure 5. Frequency of use of Friulian in writing

The picture of the use of Friulian in various communicative situations is significant. Generally, communication only in Friulian is more typical of situations in which the interlocutor belongs to the older generation. The younger the interlocutor is, the more likely he/she will use Italian rather than Friulian. A total of 35% of the interviewees spoke Friulian with their parents and 41% spoke it with their siblings. Fairly few interviewees used Italian as the only language of communication in these situations – only 7% used it with their parents and 9% with their siblings.

The use of Italian rose to 56% in conversations that the children had among themselves, while the use of Friulian as the only means of communication dropped to 16% (Figure 6). Another factor that was observed in the research conducted by the Osservatorio Regionale della lingua e della cultura Friulana (Picco 2001: 11–17) was the growing use of a mixture of Friulian and Italian in many of the families' homes. This can also be interpreted as a sign that in family situations, Friulian is giving way more and more often to Italian.

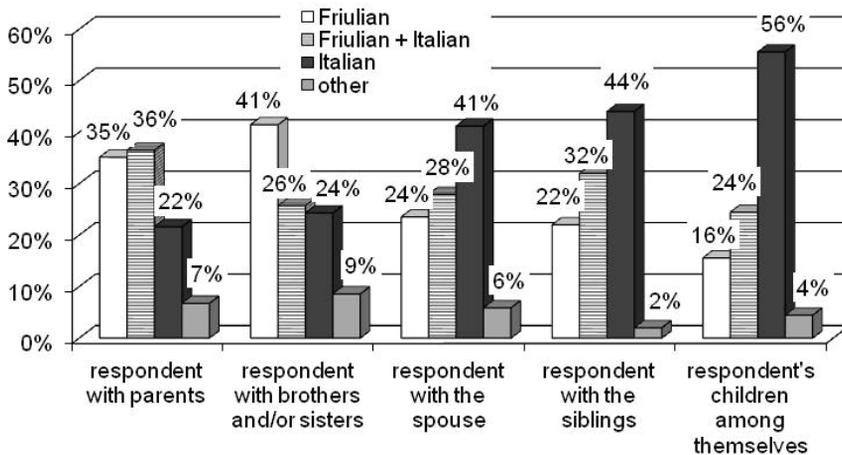


Figure 6. Use of Friulian with family members

Conclusions

Friulian is still a part of the everyday life of people in Friuli and it is still regularly spoken by a majority of the population in the region. Friulian functions mostly as a spoken language and is used in informal situations. A factor that may raise some concern is that in families it is being more and more often replaced by Italian. Additionally, a rapid decrease in the use of Friulian across generations, which has been observed in many surveys, including the one conducted by the author here, is a negative prognostic marker for the language's future. On the other hand, today Friulian has much more favorable conditions for its development than ever before. Campaigns organized to promote and safeguard Friulian receive financing from regional authorities; the language can be taught in schools and it is used frequently in the regional media as well as on the Internet. Yet

it is unclear whether these actions will be able to reverse the general trend of the language shift towards Italian and whether they will ensure the natural intergenerational transmission of Friulian.

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Medicine in a Folk Perspective: Patients' 1st-Person Narratives in Specialist Medical Journals

ABSTRACT. Narrative-based sections or whole publications which adopt the patient's and other perspectives have been published increasingly more often in specialist medical journals. Openly not meant to be scientific texts, they point to other viewpoints or sources of knowledge which were previously excluded from the realm of medical practice.

The starting point for this paper is a contact situation between the lay discourse of a patient's narration and the professional discourse of medical description. Such a situation in the study at hand is an *interactive* variety of the medical case report – a relatively new development which, though in different forms, shares the feature of offering readers the possibility to comment on a published case, usually online. Additionally, it may include a section called “Patient's perspective” in which the patient is given the floor. In the present study, a collection of interactive case reports from three professional medical journals was analyzed with respect to the linguistic means that the patients and other parties involved in the process of diagnosis and treatment used to talk about their disease experience. This, in turn, was contrasted with the main body of the text, which constitutes the 3rd-person professional discourse of the doctor. The paper will focus on the aforementioned patients' voices (subjective and lay perceptions) as well as other voices (*e.g.* the family's or of auxiliary staff), which in turn will be contrasted with the doctor's use of specialist vocabulary and selection of relevant information, thus exemplifying typical features of medical discourse, namely depersonalisation and objectification. The hypothesis is that the modes of reference employed by the two parties to the same disease event will differ not only in form but also in content. While the form refers here to a different set of vocabulary items and tone, the content relates to the very selection of the material.

KEYWORDS: (interactive) medical case report, narrative-based publications, professional medical discourse, lay perception.

1. Narrative-based publications in specialist medical journals

Folk medicine is commonly referred to as various forms of alternative treatment practices which are a part of a certain group's culture, are unrelated to formal medical training and, very often, use natural remedies. What can be referred to as medicine in the folk perspective may be the patients' beliefs or the stories they produce to talk about their experiences of illness. These have been widely examined within the area of narrative research (*cf.* Rabinowitz *et al.* 1994; Halkowski 2006) in a number of studies on patients' narratives. However, while these can be subsumed under broadly understood lay communication, professional discourse has also been affected by lay perspectives. Recently, specialist medical journals have published narrative-based publications increasingly more often. Examples of such publications are, for instance:

- case reports with the "Patient's perspective" section from the *Journal of Medical Case Reports* and the *Cases Journal*;
- "On being a doctor/patient" series from the *Annals of Internal Medicine*;
- the "Reflective practice" series from *Patient Education and Counseling*;
- the "A piece of my mind" series from the *Journal of the American Medical Association*;
- the "On my mind" series from the *Journal of American Medical Association – Pediatrics*.

The above-mentioned examples are series of sections/articles featuring 1st-person narratives both by doctors / medical students (the disease perspective) and patients (the experience of illness), in the latter case the so-called "pathography" (Hawkins 1993). Regarding the doctor's perspective, these might be professional stories of medical practice adopting the disease perspective ("professionalism and its challenges, and collaboration in patient care and counseling"), but also more personal and subjective stories describing the experience of treating patients or actually becoming a patient ("personal narratives from clinicians of all types on their perspective on caring, patients' perspectives, the patient-provider relationships, humanism in healthcare," Hatem, Rider 2004: 252). In the latter case, these might be "creative expressions of personal opinion or moving experiences in either poetry or prose form" (JAMA Instruction for authors 2). These narratives introduce

different perspectives into medical practice (“a voice for physicians and other healthcare providers, patients and their family members, trainees and medical educators,” Hatem, Rider 2004: 252), but also allow doctors to reflect on their practice (Davidoff 1996: 270), “[...] emphasis[ing] the importance of reflection in [their] learning and how [their] patient and self-care can be improved through regular practice, similar to other health provider skills” (Hatem, Rider 2004: 252). In other words, these are “personal vignettes (e.g. exploring the dynamics of the patient-physician relationship) taken from wide-ranging experiences in medicine” (JAMA Instruction for authors 1), offering a “lesson applicable to caring, humanism, and relationship in health care” (Hatem, Rider 2004: 252). This way they affect the doctor–patient relationship by showing new-knowledge production practices, *i.e.* drawing on the patient’s contribution, and the doctor and patient partnership, thus treating the patient as an equal participant in the process of diagnosis and treatment.

2. The genre of the case report

The focus of the present paper is the genre of the medical case report. Peh and Ng (2010: 10) define it as follows:

A case report is a description of a single case with unique features. This includes a previously-unreported clinical condition, previously-unreported observation of a recognised disease, unique use of imaging or diagnostic test to reveal a disease, previously-unreported treatment in a recognised disease, or previously-unreported complication of a procedure. Case reports should be short and focused, with a limited number of figures and references. The structure of a case report usually comprises a short unstructured (or no) abstract, brief (or no) introduction, succinct but comprehensive report of the case, and to-the-point discussion.

Case reports belong to the oldest forms of communication in the context of medicine. They date back to the times of Ancient Egypt (Dib *et al.* 2008: 1), when the first oncological case reports were written, but also to Hippocratic medical writings (Hunter 1991: 93; *cf.* Nowell-Smith 1995: 3). In those days their status was significant because all of medical knowledge was based on recorded cases. However, with the development of medicine and technological progress, their status decreased as they began to be perceived as subjective accounts of individual doctors

(cf. Hurwitz 2006). Also, other, different genres developed, for instance, the research paper, which is based on studies of larger populations using statistical analyses (Atkinson 1992). However, case reports still perform an important function in medicine – they inform the academia about new cases (Rylance 2006) and exemplify a typical way of reasoning in medicine, namely of *working up a case*, which is important especially in the context of medical education (Vandenbroucke 2001). One of the recent developments and also a reflection of the phenomenon of narrative-based publications are the so-called interactive case reports, which will be presented in the following subsection.

2.1. Recent developments

2.1.1. Interactive case reports

Case reports are now regularly published in major general medical journals, such as *Lancet*, *Journal of the American Medical Association*, *New England Journal of Medicine* and the *British Medical Journal*. There also exist other online journals that exclusively publish case reports, such as *Ground Rounds*, *Case Reports in Medicine*, *Journal of Medical Case Reports*, *BMJ Case Reports* or discipline-specific *Case Reports in Dentistry*, *Journal of Radiology Case Reports*, *Case Reports in Cardiology* or the *Journal of Surgical Case Reports*, to name but a few. One of the recent developments of the genre was the so-called interactive case report, which used to be published by the *British Medical Journal*. This form appeared as a series of case reports devoted to one particular topic, published in subsequent issues and starting with a *case presentation*, through *case progress* to *case outcome*. The first part was reminiscent of a regular case report presenting a given case, which additionally included a call for readers' responses and comments. Progression of the treatment as well as possible readers' reactions were the topic of the second part. The third part presented the outcomes of the treatment and discussed the prognosis and implications for further investigations. Apart from the inclusion of readers' contributions as supplied in the course of treatment, interactive case reports contained the patient's account, which appeared in the third part. Therefore, this type of case report comprised a series of smaller narratives constructed by doctors, readers and patients. It was also dynamic in that the story developed over a series of texts. In other words, interactive case reports allowed the medical community and other readers to “[s]har[e]

communication issues from different perspectives, enriched by a valuable patient contribution” (Peile 2003: 1136; *cf.* Biswas). This was acknowledged by the very journal, which can be observed in the following quote:

The fact that real patients take part is, we feel, one of the strengths of interactive case reports. We encourage questions that are patient centred rather than simply clinical, asking what the doctor should say to the patient and sometimes prompting discussion on ethics issues. Taking part and helping others to learn from personal experience takes generosity and courage on the part of patients and, to some extent, their doctors. (Siotia *et al.* 2005: 1068)

The editors emphasized the innovative nature of the format which, at the same time, was challenging to both the doctors and patients, as it presented new perspectives in medical practice. The project was eventually discontinued by the *British Medical Journal* because it was very time-consuming. On the one hand, in the era of Web 2.0, sending comments to the editor of the journal became obsolete; and, on the other, each case report actually consisted of three separate publications. However, it cannot be denied that this proved to be a valuable venture (Anjan K. Siotia, p.c.). Also, in the guidelines of the *British Medical Journal Case Reports* we can read that the authors are strongly encouraged to include the patient’s perspective (*cf.* Biswas). It needs to be emphasized that the original version, though discontinued, served as a springboard for other journals which have continued to publish interactive case reports, however, not in the *BMJ* sense of the word. Helán (2012) points to such a group of journals publishing case reports which allow online comments from readers and include the patient’s perspective. The *Journal of Medical Case Reports* and the *Cases Journal* feature occasional examples of case reports with the patient’s narrative, either as a separate section (the “Patient’s perspective” section) or as part of the “Case Presentation” section, in which the patient’s words are embedded. The editor of the *Cases Journal* openly states that it is a journal that “wants to accept not reject and to include patients as authors as much as possible” and where “case reports can eventually be submitted by anybody – patients, doctors, nurses, relatives, anybody” (Smith 2008: 1). This way, it can be said that thanks to the interactive feature of case reports (medical knowledge is no longer limited to the academia) and the “Patient’s perspective” section (inclusion of new sources of information), the genre has changed its character.

2.1.2. "Patient Experience" case studies

Another interesting development of the genre are the so-called "Patient Experience" case studies, which were produced as part of the project titled *Patient First Review*. Basic information regarding the project is given in the text that appears at the beginning of each case study:

The Patient First Review was a landmark research study within the Province of Saskatchewan which explored the current health care system from a patient's perspective. The research involved speaking with patients, health care providers, and health system stakeholders in order to understand issues within the system, the potential causes of those issues, and what potential solutions might address them. ("Patient Experience Case Studies")

The above-mentioned series was part of the project and its aim was to complement the general report. According to the authors, the series was centered around two areas: (1) the patient experience and (2) administration of the publicly funded healthcare system. As regards the former, patients and their families were questioned about problematic areas of medical care and about their suggested solutions. Regarding the latter, these questions were also addressed to the medical staff involved as well as to the decision-makers. Additionally, a number of patients and families were randomly chosen to be talked to via a telephone survey. Throughout the process, a variety of different methods of data collection were used. These various pieces of information were then composed into representative case studies illustrating particular problems. Each case study consisted of the following information: Introduction (overview of a particular case and the aspects addressed in it), a particular patient's story (3rd-person perspective, although very detailed and adopting the patient's point of view), Case discussion (with reference to the very problem, how it was managed and how it impacted the patient's life), Leading practices (available resources and suggested solutions), and the Patient's story retold (the doctor's perspective). Of primary importance for this article is the different character of the two parts of each study, *i.e.* the patients' and the doctors' stories. Although their comparison was not the aim of the project at any point, and very often one case study was actually a story composed of similar cases (though still titled, *e.g.* "Mathew's story," "Kate's story," *etc.*, Kathleen Peterson, *p.c.*), the sections differed in the use of vocabulary, perspective and

focus. While in general the patient's story was longer, more detailed and focused on the patient's experience of illness as well as its effect on the activities of his/her daily living, the other, though not entirely without acknowledgment of the patient's experience of illness, centered rather on the very procedures adopted in the treatment process and very often omitted the problematic areas mentioned by the patient. However, no generalizations can be made at this point since the sample of materials is very small. A number of selected case studies as well as the full documentation regarding the project, its aims and results are available online (<http://www.health.gov.sk.ca/patient-first-review>).

In the following section, the data and methods of the study will be described.

3. Data and methods

The corpus analyzed here contains two types of interactive case reports. The first group consists of 56 interactive case reports which allow readers to comment on cases online and include the optional "Patient's perspective" section. The articles were published between the years 2008 and 2012. The other group contains eight original interactive case reports published by the *British Medical Journal* which are divided into *case presentation*, *progress* and *outcome* parts. Such a small number of publications of the other type stems from the fact that there are only eight of them available online. This group of reports was published between the years 2003 and 2006. In the analytical part, first the patient-centered character of the interactive case reports will be described, namely lay vocabulary and perception, acknowledging the patient's experience and his/her textual visibility. Second, both the patient's and the doctor's stories will be compared and their discourses will be analyzed qualitatively.

4. Results and discussion

4.1. Patient-centered features of interactive medical case reports

4.1.1. Lay vocabulary and perception

As regards the text written by the patient ("Patient's perspective" section), it contains the patient's account in the form of 1st-person narration, which Hawkins (1993) calls "pathography." Here the patient uses his/her

own words to talk about his/her illness and chooses information that will be included according to his/her liking. It needs to be emphasized that these choices, both language and content-related, reflect the patient's understanding of his/her ailment and its impact on the activities of his/her daily life. In the examples below, we can observe precisely how the patient experiences the condition (1), his/her reasoning regarding his/her doctor's words (2) as well as the patient's appreciation of the care that is provided (3). This way, the patient's perspective is adopted in a variety of ways.

- (1) *At first I just felt so unwell that I would have taken anything. I was really disappointed that prochlorperazine hadn't worked; I felt so tired and unwell. BMJ2*
- (2) *I wanted to be told the truth. Every doctor except my GP said, "It's very serious," but they wouldn't say, "You're not going to die" or "It's an everyday operation." I kept being told, "You've got the best surgeon" but they couldn't tell me, "You'll be alright." Why couldn't they tell us before the operation that gall bladders are removed every day? It was very scary. It was out of our control – something that had to be done. BMJ1*
- (3) *I felt so tired and unwell. I was really happy to do this trial because someone was taking an interest in my symptoms. I felt that I was being given a treatment and being monitored just to see if it helped me, rather than just being given the routine treatment that might not work. BMJ2*

Inclusion of the patient's perspective seems to be a complementary element that introduces how things are experienced and understood by the other party. This way, "the patient emerge[s] very differently when recounted as an agent in a personal story" (Mattingly 1998: 274) who is able to actively engage in this medical practice. What is interesting is that at the beginning of the report, similar information is delivered by the doctor, but the means of expression are entirely different.

4.1.2. Acknowledging the patient's experience of illness

Apart from the very patient giving an account of his/her experience of illness, it is also acknowledged by the doctor in the main body of the text. In (4) and (6) this is done when talking about the patient's risks and

benefits, while (5) discusses frustration as a reaction to a problematic diagnosis. Also, the importance of including such information is mentioned (7).

- (4) *Ruth experienced adverse effects from azathioprine and risks more while she continues taking steroids. The aims, risks, and benefits of treatment need to be discussed with her, because her views will ultimately determine whether she takes prescribed drugs.* BMJ2
- (5) *A diagnosis remained elusive, and the patient and her parents were becoming frustrated.* BMJ4
- (6) *Although she needed the pain relief, she was reluctant to give up alcohol. Her general practitioner discussed the benefits and harms of paracetamol versus non-steroidal anti-inflammatories and gave her a decision aid to help her clarify her decision (12 June, p 1425).* BMJ3
- (7) *We asked her parents to comment since some of the most difficult communication challenges occurred when the patient was unconscious.* BMJ5
- (8) *Mrs Prior is a 40 year old housewife whose husband frequently attends the surgery because of his diabetes. They are a close couple, and she takes the lead in managing his condition. In the past three years she has consulted her general practitioner just once on her own account—for dyspepsia. During one of her husband's consultations (and quite out of character) she mentions three problems of her own: a seven day history of intermittent "cystitis," for which she had taken over the counter sodium citrate; generalised itching; and a rash that looks to her general practitioner like seborrhoeic dermatitis.* BMJ1

In examples (4–7), reference is made to the patient's experience of illness through the use of specific words – a verb (*experience* in (4)) and adjectives (*frustrated* in (5) and *reluctant* in (6)). What is also addressed here is the process of decision making with direct reference to the patient's involvement (*her decision* (6)) and well-being (*risks and benefits* (4), and *benefits and harms* (6)). (8) is a longer piece of text which exemplifies the patient's visibility achieved through the use of both personal and possessive pronouns as well as nouns. Additionally, similarly to regular

case reports, the author's voice can be observed here (*cf. we* in (7) above), all of which, together with direct references to the patient, contribute to a more patient-oriented text, and not one in which *diseases are treated and procedures carried out*.

4.2. Patients' vs. doctors' stories

In this section the perspectives of both doctors and patients as manifested in interactive case reports will be analyzed. As it will be shown, they differ in three respects – vocabulary, type of reference and type of information included, all of which will be dealt with accordingly.

4.2.1. Vocabulary

As has already been mentioned, the first and most visible difference between the patient's story and the doctor's report is the vocabulary used to describe the same disease event. While the patient uses lay expressions, usually accompanied by some comment regarding his/her subjective experience, the doctor exchanges this for specialist terminology which, according to Donnelly (1988), contributes to a more objective effect of the message mediated. The two instances below (9–10) show pairs of corresponding examples that are underlined, with specialist terms given first and the lay terms following them.

- (9) *The consequences of failed implantation were **severe constipation** and loss of reflex penile erection and bladder emptying.* CJ29
 [...] ***my bowels were slow** and my ability to gain a reflex erection had gone.* CJ29
- (10) *Our patient was a 41-year-old Caucasian woman who presented to our Rheumatology clinic for evaluation of progressive exercise intolerance, fatigue, diffuse **myalgias, arthralgias** and difficulty sleeping.* JMCR23
*My main symptoms included **muscle and joint pain**, weakness, fatigue, muscle twitching, pain, headaches, and visual disturbances – was diagnosed with fibromyalgia, but there were other symptoms as well.* JMCR23

4.2.2. Objectification

Another feature which is different for the doctor's and patient's accounts is the manner in which information is presented. Consequently,

the outcome of the translation process from the patient's story is often almost an impersonal account of the disease, with symptoms being "itemized" (Rylance 2006), as if they were things (*cf.* Blois 1984) (11) and abstracted from the patient (13), even when mentioning particular bodily sensations (12).

- (11) *Subsequently he suffered generalized **weakness, diarrhea, fever, lower back pain and abdominal pain.*** CJ12
- (12) *Four days after intravitreal injection, total remission of **pain** and hypopion was observed (Figure 2).* JMCR12
- (13) *Continent vesicostomy with Benckroun hydraulic valve was performed on 17 June 1993. External urethral meatus was circumcised and urethra was dissected to bladder neck. A vertical midline suprapubic incision was made through the umbilicus. Urinary bladder was opened. Urethra was intussuscepted to bladder and excised. Bladder neck was closed in two layers. 14 cm ileum was isolated on mesentery; bowel continuity was restored. Mesenteric defect was closed. Ileum was intussuscepted with serosal surface outermost. The Benckroun valve was fixed to apex of vesocostomy. The bladder was closed. Stoma was fixed to anterior abdominal wall in right iliac fossa extraperitoneally. A suprapubic cystostomy was kept emerging on left side of abdomen.* CJ30

The examples given above (11–13) well illustrate the general perception of professional medical discourse as written in a "matter-of-fact" mode, excluding the presence of the author and relying on objectivity of the data as rendered by machines (Taavitsainen, Pahta 2000: 69). What Taavitsainen and Pahta (2000) point to is that the authors tend to omit self-reference and prefer that the data speak for themselves. Moreover, the texts are characterized by an "abundance of numbers and names of drugs and devices" (Gunnarsson 2009: 61), as well as "specialised vocabulary, abbreviations and the low frequency of words referring to patients" (van Naerssen 1985).

4.2.3. Exclusion

The final difference concerns which information is mediated by the doctor and which is more likely to appear only in the "Patient's perspective" section. As can be observed in the examples below (14–18), information

reserved for the patient's account pertains to the (improved) condition after treatment (*cf.* 14–17) or to a recollection of the pre-treatment condition as well as expectations regarding the treatment (18). While such facts are usually (if at all) only briefly alluded to by the doctor at the end of the report, the patient may mention them in greater detail, paying particular attention to how these developments affected the activities of his/her daily life.

- (14) *The abdominal hernia and leak of urine cause problems in my marriage.* CJ30
- (15) *On a personal note, the nephrostomy drainage does not really get in the way as to cause any major day to day problems, the only issue is time away from work to attend spinal injuries unit out patient department, but due to my condition being related to my disability (paraplegia), my employer has made reasonable adjustment to my job allowing me to have one afternoon a week off, this is a small problem to overcome when my quality of life has been improved so significantly.* CJ28
- (16) *I take Ciprofloxacin 500 mg twice a day when the catheter is changed to combat infections. But sometimes, I require antibiotics to be given intravenously; then I am admitted to spinal unit. Would I choose to have a stent today? I would so definitely "NO."* CJ27
- (17) *"My daughter is now 3 1/2 years and is perfectly normal. I would have no problem recommending Herceptin during pregnancy. If any concerned patient would like to contact me and see my daughter I would be glad to put their mind at ease."* CJ26
- (18) *I had experienced gradual worsening of MS related symptoms since the diagnosis in 2000. It had been my expectation that continued worsening of my disability was inevitable.* CJ18

Conclusions

The present paper focused on the interactive variety of medical case reports as a textual representation of recent developments in medical practice. As the analysis has shown, interactive case reports can be seen as a contact situation between the lay discourse of a patient's narration

and the professional discourse of medical description. The doctor's and the patient's narratives differ in three respects, *i.e.* in the choice of vocabulary, information and reference to disease. The vocabulary used by the patient also reflects the way he/she understands an abnormal process. What the doctor's story excludes and the patient's focuses on is the lay perspective. In other words, the patient uses lay expressions and talks about his/her disease as a process affecting the activities of his/her daily life. It may be concluded that such a variety of case reports allows medical professionals to "listen with the third ear" (Davidoff 1996: 270), *i.e.* to broaden their perspective and to possibly affect the doctor–patient relation as well as to explore new knowledge production practices and new doctor–patient partnerships.

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