Language Contact

Language Contact:
A Multidimensional Perspective

Edited by

Kelechukwu U Ihemere

**CAMBRIDGE
SCHOLARS**

P U B L I S H I N G

For Ekaterina –
because your lamp burns ever brighter in our hearts

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CHAPTER ONE

LANGUAGE CONTACT

KELECHUKWU IHEMERE

1. Introduction

Since the inception of modern contact linguistics through the works of Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1953), numerous investigators have studied the manifestations of language contact across different disciplines, naturally adopting varied perspectives and approaches relevant to their particular field of inquiry. Thus, for example, historical linguists have studied language contact phenomena from the point of view of its use as an explanation for certain changes in language (Andersen 1995; Blake and Burridge 2003; Campbell 2004; Lehmann 1992; Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Trask 1996). For psycholinguists it is the explication of the acquisition of proficiency in another language (Ellis 1985; Gleason and Ratner 1998; Kess 1976; Klein 1986; Steinberg, Nagata, and Aline 2001). Others have investigated the effects of contact on mental processes, while sociologists have treated it as an element in culture conflict and have looked at some of the consequences of linguistic heterogeneity as a societal phenomenon (Fishman 1964, 1965, 1968; Greenfield 1972; Parasher 1980; Rumbaut and Portes 2001). In the field of education, language contact has been studied in connection with public policy and to address questions relating to the alleged link between bilingualism and intelligence (Cummins 2003; Lippi-Green 1997; Mufwene, Rickford, Bailey, and Baugh 1998), whether certain types of bilingualism are good or bad, and the circumstances under which they arise are the foci of interest.

In spite of the many approaches and interests, quite simply when speakers of different languages interact closely it is typical for their languages to influence each other. The influence could be as common as the exchange of words or what is termed vocabulary borrowing in the literature. It can also go deeper, extending to the exchange of even basic characteristics of a language such as morphology and grammar. In some

cases, the result of the contact of two languages can be the replacement of one by the other. This is most common in asymmetric relationship between languages, and sometimes lead to language shift and death (see Ihemere 2007, 2011).

2. Possible outcomes of language contact

Here, a brief discussion of some of the outcomes of language contact is given (for more detailed discussions, see the subsequent chapters in this volume and the listed references). When speakers of different languages interact closely, a number of things are likely to happen as a result of the contact:

2. 1 Borrowing

One group will actually take into its language some words from the other group's language to refer to objects, activities, or concepts that the other group has, largely for those things that are new to the first group – lexical borrowings. This exchange is mostly asymmetrical, one group tends to do more taking and the group that takes the most is the one with less prestige in some vital public area, such as socio-economic status or political control. For example, when the Norman French conquered England in 1066, they not only had the political power, but their mode of living was considered more civilised, more sophisticated (i.e. it had *cachet*). (Myers-Scotton 2006, p. 209, 211) Today, as Myers-Scotton (ibid., p. 212) correctly observes, English is the laeding source of borrowings into many languages, other languages are also currently important as donor languages as well, if on a more limited level.

Borrowed words are almost always adapted to the recipient language in morphology. For instance, according to Myers-Scotton (ibid., p. 224), when a Spanish speaker, speaking Spanish, uses an English borrowed word, such as *weekend*, it receives a Spanish determiner (realised as a singular with masculine gender, the default gender for Spanish) and it is therefore *el weekend*. And when a Swahili speaker borrows a noun from English, it receives the noun class agreement prefixes of one of the Swahili noun classes. Thus, the borrowed noun *sweta* 'sweater' receives the demonstrative form (*hii* 'this') that integrates it into the noun class that is called class nine by Swahili grammarians. Myers-Scotton explains that class nine is the default class for singular items that are borrowed into Swahili. *Sweta* is phonologically integrated into Swahili by ending in a vowel (Swahili has a usual CVCV pattern, with words ending in a vowel):

1. Swahili-English (Myers-Scotton, unpublished Nairobi corpus, 1988)

Hii sweta Mummy ndiyo alishona.
'This sweater, Mummy indeed sewed it.'

In example (2), from Türker (2000, p. 174 cited in Myers-Scotton 2006, pp. 224-225), a borrowed word, Norwegian *matpakke* 'lunch bag' is integrated into a Turkish frame. Note the Turkish particle *de* that modifies *matpakke* 'lunch bag/box' and the Turkish verb for 'spread' *sür*.

2. Turkish-Norwegian (Türker 2000, p. 174)

Bi	de	**matpakke**	sür	de-di
one	particle	lunch bag/box	spread	say-PAST3SING

'He also said [to me], "prepare a lunch bag/box".'

Myers-Scotton (ibid., p. 224), observes that the speaker has borrowed not only the word for lunch bag/box, but the entire Norwegian expression as a loan translation in which the verb – with a Norwegian meaning – has been realised in Turkish (Norwegian *smøre matpakke* 'prepare a lunch box/bag' (which literally means 'butter [your] lunch bag'). In Standard Turkish the verb for 'prepare' would be *hazirla-*. (Myers-Scotton 2006, p. 224)

2. 2 Codeswitching

Perhaps, the most studied and discussed outcome of language contact phenomena is codeswitching - the ability to use more than one language within a single utterance.

Much earlier, Gumperz (1982, pp. 75-84) put forward a number of discourse functions that codeswitching is seen to realise such as: quotations; addressee specification; interjections; reiteration; message qualification and personalisation versus objectivisation. An important part of Gumperz's approach relies on the symbolic distinction between *we* vs. *they* embodied in the choice of codes. In other words, the tendency is for the minority language to be regarded as the 'we' and the majority language as the 'they' code. The 'we' is the in-group, informal, personalised activities, while the 'they' code typically signifies out-group, more formal relations. Thus, in example (3) below (Ikwerre-Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) codeswitching, Ihemere 2007), Ikwerre serves to mark the in-group talk and NPE the out-group:

3. Ikwerre-NPE codeswitching (Ihemere 2007, p. 87)

A: 'Anyi nde na asu asusu anyi (.) ma ha na e *yuzu Pidgin for skul.*'
'We' [their parents] speak our language (the Ikwerre language), but 'they'
[the younger generation] speak NPE at school.'

The switch from Ikwerre to NPE in the above example stresses the boundaries between 'them' (the younger generation) and 'us' (the parent generation). This generalisation is, however, very problematic and not as clear-cut as Gumperz suggests. In fact, either Ikwerre or NPE can function as we-code, depending on the occasion and the age group concerned. This notwithstanding, stemming from Gumperz's (1982) work, the general view is that codeswitching acts as a contextualisation cue (Auer 1995, 1998). Codeswitching "contextualises" by highlighting in a certain context against which inferences are drawn.

 For Chan (2003, 2004) the communicative role of codeswitching may go even further beyond contextualisation cues in Gumperz's sense. He observes that codeswitching is quintessentially a *textualisation cue*, which "frames" elements in a discourse that are to be interpreted in some way different from the preceding text. The implication being that the act of switching rather than the switched code is the most essential cue. Under this analysis, contextualisation is only one of the pragmatic functions of codeswitching. In making this argument Chan proposes two taxonomies, namely, the three-fold motivations of codeswitching (i.e. social, pragmatic, and processing) and three levels of pragmatic meanings that codeswitching may convey (i.e. ideational, interpersonal, and textual).

On the other hand, Myers-Scotton (1983, 1993) observed that in many of the world's bilingual communities, fluent bilinguals sometimes engage in codeswitching by producing discourses which, in the same conversational turn or in consecutive turns, include morphemes from two or more of the varieties in their linguistic repertoire. In various publications, Myers-Scotton developed the theme of codeswitching as a tool for the speaker and an index for the addressee of the negotiation of interpersonal relationships, with participants cast within a "rational actor" framework, weighing costs and rewards of choices made against a backdrop of awareness for all interaction types of "unmarked" vs. "marked" choices (see also Myers-Scotton this volume). Her argument was based on what she termed the *Markedness Model* (MM). The MM is more centred on the notion that speakers make choices because of their own goals. Of course, they cannot ignore some consideration for listeners. After all, without listeners, there is no conversation (Myers-Scotton 2006, p. 158). Further, the MM is an attempt to establish a principled procedure that both

speakers and listeners use to judge any linguistic choice that they might make or hear as more or less marked, given the interaction in which it occurs. Thus, unmarked choices are those that are more or less expected, given the ingredients of the interaction (participants, topic, setting, and so on.). For example, Myers-Scotton (1993) refers to a Rights and Obligations set (RO) as part of the normative expectations for each interaction type. These expectations illustrate an unmarked way to behave. Concerning language, the unmarked choice is the linguistic reflection of any specific RO set, but only in a specific interaction type (Myers-Scotton 2006, p. 159). Therefore, in example 3 above, for Ikwerre-NPE bilinguals the unmarked choice to use to elderly relatives at family gatherings is Ikwerre. This linguistic choice is indexical of the RO set. Accordingly, in the words of Myers-Scotton (ibid.), when a speaker makes the unmarked choice, he/she is causing no social ripples because participants expect such a choice, based on experience.

The MM presupposes that as part of their general cognitive architecture all speakers have a *markedness evaluator*. This abstract component underlies the capacity to conceptualise markedness. Specifically, as a sociolinguistic construct, markedness refers to the capacity to develop the following three abilities:

i. Most important is the perception that relevant linguistic choices for a specific interaction type fall along a multidimensional continuum from more socially unmarked to more marked.

ii. Additionally, speakers learn to recognise that the markedness ordering of choices is dynamic. It depends on the specific interaction type, as well as on how the individual interaction develops.

iii. Lastly, speakers develop the ability to provide relevant interpretations for all choices, marked as well as unmarked, given the interaction type.

What the markedness evaluator offers is not a set of rules, but rather a process for evaluating potential choices. The interpretations that speakers attach to linguistic choices have to do with the speaker's projection of his/her own persona and relations with other participants. Hence, any choice a speaker makes is perceived as indexing a desired (RO) set between participants. All participants interpret a choice against the backdrop of those choices that index the more unmarked RO sets for a specific interaction type. As a corollary, this means that they also recognise some choices as indexing more marked RO sets (see Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai 2001, pp. 8-11).

Finally, the main thrust of the MM is a reliance on the notion of intentionality in human actions (Levinson 1995). That is, actors intend their actions to reflect goals or attitudes, and observers attribute intentions to actions. They also give at least a nod toward the notion that innate architectures coordinate readings of cost-benefit analyses of competing choices. In interpersonal contexts, such architectures can also be seen to coordinate readings of intentionality.

It is equally important to note that codeswitching is not only studied from a sociolinguistic perspective. In fact, a host of other investigators including Carol Myers-Scotton (this volume) have studied the syntax of codeswitching.

A number of researchers (Poplack 1980; Poplack, Wheeler, and Westwood 1987; Poplack and Meechan 1995; Sankoff, Poplack, and Vanniarajan 1991) are interested with formulating constraints on points in a sentence where codeswitching can take place on the grounds of surface-level linear differences between the languages concerned. These researchers view restrictions on codeswitching along the lines of dissimilarities in word order, either across clauses (inter-sentential) or on phrases within clauses. For instance, Poplack's (1980) Equivalence Constraint is based on this premise that switching is not permitted when the syntax of two languages does not match at a potential switch point. This thinking still pervades much of current research in the field (Adalar and Tagliamonte 1998; Budzhak-Jones 1998; Eze 1998; Samar and Meechan 1998; Turpin 1998). Muysken (2000, p. 118) says that "the evidence overwhelmingly supports more surface-oriented constraints". However, others (Bhatt 1997a, b, 1999, 2001a, b; Kupisch 2003; Möhring and Meisel 2003) have put forward many counter examples to such models.

It is very possible to observe that when the surface word order of two languages does not match, as in the examples below from Igbo-English bilingual discourse, switching is still possible.

4. Ọ-zụrụ   efè   na   **shop**
   3ₛ-$_{PAST}$-buy   shirt-$_{NOUN}$ at-$_{PREP}$ **shop**
   'He bought [the] shirt at [the] **shop**

5. Ọ ma-ghi ajụ-I   ajụ-jụ   mgbe   ọ ga èbido ime
   3ₛ will-$_{NEG}$ ask-$_{VERB}$-you question-$_{NOUN}$ when-$_{ADV}$ 3ₛ start   do
   interview
   interview
   'He will not ask you [any] questions when he will start the **interview'**

In these examples Igbo is the Matrix Language. This is evident from the fact that every element in the clause follows Igbo word order rather than English, indicating that only one language supplies morpheme order (i.e. Igbo).

Some researchers within this group interested in devising constraints on codeswitching on the basis of surface-level linear differences dismiss such counter-examples to the Equivalence Constraint by asserting that any "out of order" Embedded Language words are borrowings, not codeswitching. For instance, Shin (2002) who worked on Korean-English codeswitching took this viewpoint to account for a number of English words in what would be accusative (objective) case position in Korean. According to Myers-Scotton (2006, p. 251) Korean is a language with the verb in final position and a preceding direct object (that sometimes receives an overt accusative case marker and sometimes does not). Shin (2002) reports that the percentages of English- and Korean-origin nouns that occur with an overt accusative case marking suffix or with no suffix are similar. Because of this, she argues that the English nouns are borrowings into Korean and so their "wrong order" in Korean-English codeswitching does not count.

Additionally, there is another group of researchers who disregard singly occurring Embedded Language words as codeswitches. They look for explanations at a more abstract level than linear structure. These researchers (Belazi, Rubin, and Toribio 1994; DiSciullo, Muysken, and Singh 1986; Halmari 1997) do this by structuring their explanations along the lines of what are considered generative theories of syntax. That is, they assert that the grammatical organisation of codeswitching can be accounted for in terms of the principles of current syntactic theories, even though these theories were initially formulated to explain monolingual data. They do not recognise any theoretical (or useful) value in recognising the asymmetry between a Matrix Language and an Embedded Language. Thus, with Myers-Scotton (2006, p. 251), I argue that in attempting to rework syntactic theories intended to explain monolingual utterance structure, these researchers are looking for explanations at an abstract level of grammatical structure. Further, given that these researchers do not consider single content words as part of codeswitching, they can view them as borrowings, although they generally receive inflections from the language the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model categorises as the Matrix Language. These single content words can justifiably be viewed as borrowings since established borrowings also generally accept inflections from the recipient language corresponding to the Matrix Language. However, the main drawback of this view is that these researchers provide

no theory to account for how the production and use of these forms vary from that of established loan words that are in the lexicon of the Matrix Language.

Moreover, these researchers attempt to explain code-switching within the terms of the syntactic theory of Binding (Belazi, Rubin, and Toribio 1994) and Government (DiSciullo, Muysken, and Singh 1986). Chomsky's (1995) Minimalist Programme has been adopted by MacSwan (1999, 2000), Toribio and Rubin (1996) and Bhatia and Ritchie (1996). Increasingly, serious counter-examples have been suggested to Government constraints on codeswitching (for example, Bhatt 1997a, b, 1999, 2001a, b; Bhatt and Hancin-Bhatt 2002; Ezeizabarrena 2003; Hinzelin 2003; Kupisch 2003; Möhring and Meisel 2003). The view taken in this paper is similar to that in Jake, Myers-Scotton, and Gross (2002) that the Minimalist Programme on its own without the Matrix Language versus Embedded Language distinction is not adequate to explain what happens in codeswitching.

What is more, there are other investigators who differ from the earlier groups because they usually take into account all Embedded Language material including singly occurring forms and full phrases and sometimes full clauses or sentences in their analyses. For example, Clyne (2003) considers different levels of structure and is more interested in what in the words of Myers-Scotton (2006, p. 242) is termed *composite code-switching*, but which he includes under the label transference. Hence, these approaches differ from the MLF/4-Morpheme (4-M) model, which considers codeswitching as contact between languages only within the clause.

The MLF/4-M (Myers-Scotton 1993, 2002, 2006) model makes the case for a distinction between the Matrix Language and the Embedded Language. The Matrix Language plays a dominant role in providing more morphemes in a given codeswitching discourse and in shaping the overall morpho-syntactic properties of codeswitched utterances. In other words, the model posits two hierarchies in reference to mixed constituents: both languages do not participate equally; only one language is the source of the abstract morpho-syntactic frame. This language (and the frame) is called the Matrix Language and the other language is called the Embedded Language. This idea is formalised as the Morpheme Order principle and the System Morpheme principle of the MLF model. These are testable hypotheses referring to the existence of asymmetry between the languages implicated in codeswitching. On the basis of these principles only one language (the source of the frame) supplies both morpheme order and frame-building system morphemes to the frame. Such morphemes are

referred to as outsider late system morphemes under the 4-M model (Myers-Scotton 1993, p. 83; 2002, p. 59).

2. 3 Convergence and Attrition

According to Myers-Scotton (2006), convergence and attrition occur when one language becomes more like another. Convergence is speech by bilinguals that has all the surface-level forms from one language, but with part of the abstract lexical structures that underlies the surface-level patterns coming from another language (or languages). Attrition is generally thought of as language change within the speech of one individual. Both tend to happen to the L_1 of bilinguals when they live in a community where the "invading" or other language is socially and politically dominant. Codeswitching often precedes (or combines with) convergence or attrition, but either can occur without extensive codeswitching, too (p. 271; see Hawes and Mirvahedi; and La Morgia this volume).

An example of syntactic convergence is found in (6a). The extract is from Dimitrijević-Savić's (2008, p. 58) study of a variety of Serbian spoken in a migrant community in Melbourne, Australia.

6a. AS (Australian Serbian)

a	svako	počne	da	*smeje*	*mi*
and	everyone$_{NOM}$	begin$_{PRES.3.SG}$	that	laugh$_{PRES.3.SG}$	I$_{DAT}$

b. HS (Homeland Serbian (spoken in Serbia))

a	svi	počnu	da	*mi*	*se*	*smeju*
and	everyone$_{NOM.PL}$	begin$_{PRES.3.pL}$	that	I$_{DAT}$	EFL	laugh$_{PRES.3.SG}$

'and everyone begins to laugh at me'

Dimitrijević-Savić observes that (6a) exemplifies similarity between syntactic structures in one language (Serbian) in contact with another (English) increasing at the expense of difference.

Convergence has variously been defined as the increasing agreement of languages in regards to features of their overall structure (Hock 1986, pp. 492–512), or as increasing similarity between two or more languages in a particular area of grammar (Silva-Corvalán 1994, pp. 4–5). McMahon (1994) has argued for three dimensions of difference between convergence and borrowing: (i) convergence requires long-term bilingualism; borrowing can occur with only limited bilingualism; (ii) convergence tends to affect syntax and morphology; borrowing tends to be limited to the lexicon; (iii)

convergence is a mutual process, i.e., it affects both languages; borrowing is unilateral.

2. 4 Pidgins and Creoles

Pidgins and Creoles are languages that develop out of contact between the speakers of different languages. There are in most cases quite marked social conditions associated with that contact. For example, Meyerhoff (2011, p. 259), the speakers may only be in contact in a reduced set of social interactions, such as trading or work. Because of the limited social contact between the speakers, they seldom have extensive access to native speaker models of each other's languages. Traditionally, linguists distinguish pidgins and creoles on the grounds of how they are learnt, with a pidgin being defined as a contact language that is nobody's first language, and a creole as a contact language that does have native speakers. Generally, there is one language that provides most of the vocabulary in pidgin/creole – this is known as the lexifier because it provides the building blocks of the lexicon (vocabulary). Although other languages may not dominate the surface structure of the pidgin/creole so much, they may still have profound and subtle effects on the way the words are used and how the sentences are structured – that is, on the semantics and syntax. These languages are known as the substrate, and their effects are displayed in underlying structure (ibid, p. 262; see further, Mann this volume).

Fromkin et al. (2007, pp. 435), observe that one of the characteristics of pidgins is that speakers from different linguistic backgrounds may have different sets of rules, giving the language a more haphazard feel than one gets from a fully developed language. They cite the example of a Japanese (and SOV language) speaker of an English-based pidgin who may put the verb last (in accordance with Japanese word order), as in *The poor people all potato eat*. Whereas a Filipino speaker of Tagalog (a VSO language), may put the verb first as in *Work hard these people*. Furthermore, the set of pronouns is often simpler in pidgins. In an English-based pidgin spoken in Cameroon (CP), the pronoun system does not show gender or all the case differences that exist in Standard English (SE):

7. **CP**   **SE**

a	mi	ma		I	me	my
yu	yu	yu		you	you	your
i	i/am	i		he	him	his
i	i/am	i		she	her	her
wi	wi	wi		we	us	our
wuna	wuna	wuna		you	you	your
dɛm	dɛm/am	dɛm		they	them	their

Fromkin et al. (2007, p. 435)

Pidgins have not been viewed positively in many places. In fact, through massive education, English replaced a pidgin spoken on New Zealand by the Maoris. Pidgins have been unjustly maligned according to Fromkin et al (2007, p. 436); they may serve a useful function. For example, a person can learn an English-based pidgin well enough in six moths to commence varied types of semiprofessional training. To learn English for the same purpose might require ten times as long. In multi-ethnic/cultural areas with mutually unintelligible languages, a pidgin could bridge the communicative and cultural gaps. (ibid., p. 436)

The study of pidgins and creoles is significant to our understanding of the nature of human language and the genetically determined constraints on grammars. (ibid., p. 437)

2. 5 Language Endangerment

Another likely outcome of language contact is *language endangerment.* Batibo (2005) observes that the term *endangered language* denotes a language that is threatened by extinction. The threat may arise because the pool of speakers is declining rapidly to small numbers – younger speakers are not learning to speak it or the domains in which the language is used have diminished so much that it is not routinely used in the language community. The linguistic structures of a language are so eroded and simplified that the language is progressively becoming non-functional. Perhaps, it is more accurate to regard language endangerment as a continuum, or a sliding scale, with 'safe' languages at one end and 'dying' languages at the other. Broadly, the minority languages would be the ones which would be found in the 'endangered' zone, as many of them would manifest the main features of endangered languages.

Brenzinger and de Graf (2006, pp. 3-4) add that language endangerment may be caused primarily by *external* forces such as military, economic, religious, cultural, or educational subjugation. It may also be caused by *internal* forces, such as a community's negative attitude towards its own

language or by a general decline of group identity. Internal pressures always derive from external factors. Together, they halt the intergenerational transmission of linguistic and cultural traditions. Many minority communities associate their disadvantaged social and economic position with their ancestral culture and language. They have come to believe that their languages are of no use anymore and not worth retaining. Speakers of minority languages abandon their languages and cultures in the hope of overcoming discrimination, to secure a livelihood and enhance social mobility for themselves and their children. (ibid., pp. 3-4)

Furthermore, they explain that endangered languages are not necessarily languages with few speakers. Even though small communities are more vulnerable to external threats, the size of a group does not always matters. The viability of a language is determined first and foremost by the general attitude of its speakers towards their heritage culture, of which their language may be considered the most important component. In this respect, they cite the case of the Suruaha, a small Indian community that lives in a remote area of Amazonia in Brazil, consists of approximately 150 members and all of them – including the children – were monolingual in Suruaha at the time of first contact with linguists. Despite the small size of the population, the community holds on to its language and traditional way of life in all domains (Brenzinger and de Graf 2006, pp. 3-4).

Simply put, in normal circumstances, no community would like to see its language die as a language provides a communicative and interactive lifeline for its speakers (Batibo 2005, p. 63; see also Batibo this volume).

It is important to point out that the discussions in the above sections are by no means exhaustive of all the possible outcomes of language contact. For instance, one can add that language contact engenders all sorts of attitudes towards the speakers and languages in a speech community. On both a societal and an interpersonal level, the languages that a person is able to speak are an index of that person's position in society – or what Pierre Bourdieu (2005) refers to as a person's *symbolic power*. The value of a language variety as an "asset" is related to other forms of capital associated with the specific variety in question (economic capital, cultural capital). Altogether, these forms of capital define the place of an individual in social "space" (i.e., the person who speaks that specific variety). (Myers-Scotton 2006, p. 114)

3. The Structure of this Book

Though a great number of book volumes have appeared over the years exploring various aspects of language contact and associated phenomena,

the present volume is unique in that it brings together research by distinguished scholars and other highly talented researchers from across the world to offer a multidimensional exploration of the field. The individual chapters present contemporary discussions and analyses of the topics grouped in three parts:

Part I: Contact, Change and Competence

In Chapter Two, Carol Myers-Scotton explores the likely "costs" in language production in codeswitching corpora. Specifically, she argues that the Matrix Language (ML) frame can accept Embedded Language (EL) verbs as lexical items in many Codeswitching (CS) pairs, but not the structure-building verbal morphology of the EL. In Chapter Three, Najat Benchiba-Savenius examines a grammatical category which is barely touched upon in current sociolinguistics literature, namely that of the placement of Moroccan Arabic and English diminutives within codeswitched data. In Chapter Four, Elena Papadopoulou, Evelina Leivada, and Natalia Pavlou investigate the hypothesis that *embu '{it-}is- {it-}that'* is an underlying form of clefts as well as deciphering exhaustivity effects between cleft and *embu*-structures in Cypriot Greek. In Chapter Five, using empirical examples from the lexical, phonological, morphological, syntactic and pragmatic domains and aspects of the present sociolinguistic situation, Aminem Mementin illustrates contact induced language changes in Modern Uyghur, a language spoken by a Muslim Turkic nation living in Western China. In Chapter Six, Frances La Morgia tests the assumption that language acquisition cannot take place without sufficient access to linguistic input and that successful bilingual acquisition is only achievable when the child is exposed to the two languages and uses them both frequently.

Part II: Language Shift and Language Maintenance

In Chapter Seven, Herman Batibo explores the cultural incompatibilities that have been brought about by the use of one code in a cultural and social context of the other and the effects of this development on the cultural future of the minority language speakers or their mastery of the cultural norms of the major languages. In Chapter Eight, Aditi Ghosh proposes in her paper that migration is one of the major factors for influencing language maintenance and shift. Using language use and attitudes data from a cross section of Bhojpuri speakers in Kolkata she opines that a migrated language is almost always faced with dominant

varieties, which motivates language shift. In Chapter Nine, Carmela Perta analyses some contact phenomena in two francoprovençal communities in Southern Italy – Faeto and Celle San Vito. On the basis of her overall findings, it emerges that the minority language in Faeto is largely diffused among the population: francoprovençal is used in all 'inner' domains (such as family and friends domains) and gradually extends itself to contexts once reserved to Italian; whereas, in Celle it is possible to observe a gradual decline of the minority language and its shift to the regional variety of Italian and to the local Italo-romance dialect - a default minority language situation, where the linguistic loyalty is associated to old, rural areas and primary sector employment. In Chapter Ten, Lisbeth Philip focuses on the role of attitudes and identity in the maintenance and shift of Limón English spoken by 127 Afro-Costa Rican women in two bilingual communities in the province of Limón, Costa Rica. In Chapter Eleven, Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya explores how trades of the mother-tongue speakers, who ascribed importance to their Portuguese identity and the significance of music as a centripetal force to bind the community, have all helped in the longevity of Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole (SLPC).

Part III: Language Attitudes and Identity

In Chapter Twelve, Marina Rončević, Branka Blažević, and Tatjana Šepić investigate the existence of multilayered identity of children in mixed-marriage bilingual families by assessing and determining the extent to which the usage of mother's minority language and the perception of domination by one parent influence the shaping of one's identity, be it a single identity or a multilayered one. In Chapter Thirteen, Thomas Hawes and Seyed Mirvahedi examine the case of language attrition in Tabriz, Iran as indexical of membership of mainstream society and "loyalty" to the central government. In Chapter Fourteen, Charles Mann uses the voices of questionnaire and interview respondents to reflect attitudes toward Anglo-Nigeria Pidgin (ANP) (variously called 'Nigerian Pidgin English', 'Nigerian Pidgin', 'Broken', and more recently 'Naijá') in twelve urban centres in Nigeria in a context of non-formal, non-standard, socially-marked varieties of language.

Finally, I hope that teachers and students will find this volume useful on courses in language contact and change, language shift and maintenance, language attitudes and identity, and broadly language in society. The volume also includes exercises designed to give students sound understanding of the various topics.