

Grammar writing and language contact

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Grammar writing and language contact

Overview

- Introduction: Why is contact linguistics relevant for grammar writing and typology
- Contact through a majority language
- Contact phenomena in the target (minority) language
- Examples from the Caucasus
- Conclusion

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Why is contact linguistics relevant for grammar writing and typology

- no language and no linguist can avoid language contact, despite ideas of ancient stadia of 'pure' language
- traces of contact can be found at many levels of grammar and lexicon
- authors of grammars have to deal with it
- researchers interested in language contact might consult reference grammars for information about particular contact phenomena

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Why is contact linguistics relevant for grammar writing and typology

- the role of linguistic features (e.g. structural similarity due to genetic relationship or typologically similar profile) vs. extra-linguistic features (e.g. comparable contact situations)
- no systematic comparative studies of how typologically and genetically diverse languages 'react' to the impact of one and the same dominant contact language

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Example: Borrowing of Russian verbs

- **Light Verb strategy:** East Caucasian, West Caucasian (Adyghe), vast majority of Turkic languages, a few others (e.g. Udmurt, Ket)
- **Direct Insertion:** Aleut, the Tungusic languages Even and Evenki, Kolyma Yukaghir, different branches of Uralic
- **Indirect Insertion:** the Tungusic languages Nanai and Udihe, the Turkic languages Sakha and Dolgan, Armenian

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- contact phenomena through the use of a common (majority) language
- traces of language contact within the target (minority) language

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Language description and documentation

- grammars of (minority) languages are mostly written by researchers from outside
- a majority language is often the working language
- **advantages:**
 - fast and easy communication
 - electronic resources
 - knowledge of grammar, writing and reading practices, etc. through formal education

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Language description and documentation

- **disadvantages:**

- transfer (phonology, morphosyntax, lexicon)
 - translation of texts
 - translation of individual sentences in elicitation
- interpreting the own language through the lenses of the dominant language

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Traces of language contact within the target (minority) language

- from a few loan words to mixed languages, attrition, incomplete acquisition, shift, etc.
- basic knowledge about language contact is useful
- techniques how to account for instance of language contact during data collection, corpus building and grammar writing

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Data collection

- who is the speaker
- who makes the recording and who else is present
- who is the likely audience
(immediately present people,
other members of the speech
community, researcher, ...)



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Corpus building

- who makes the transcription
- editing of texts
- from oral to written mode
- sociolinguistic metadata

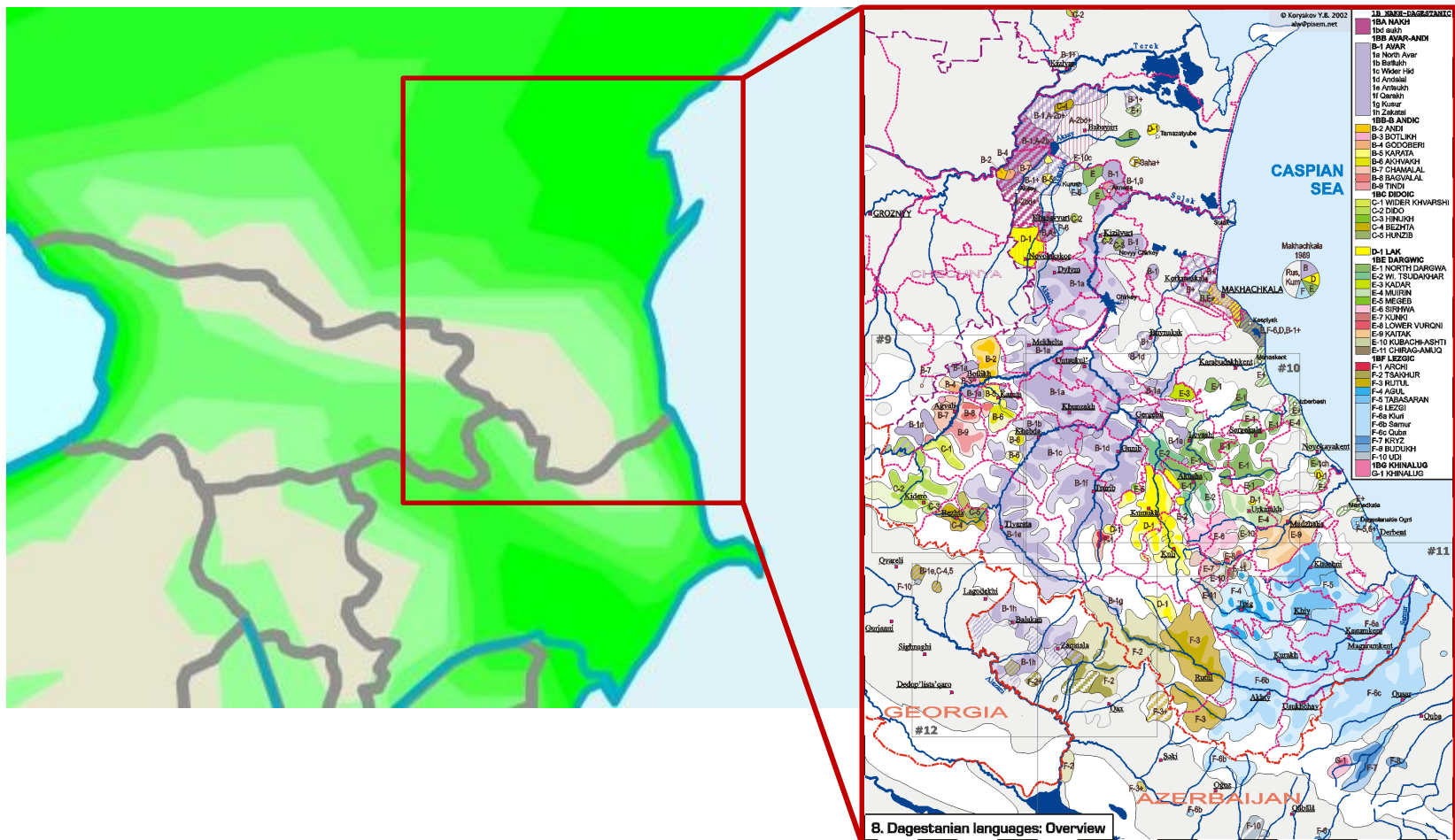


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A case study: Language contact in Sanzhi Dargwa



Daghestan (Caucasus, Russian Federation)



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Multilingualism in Daghestan

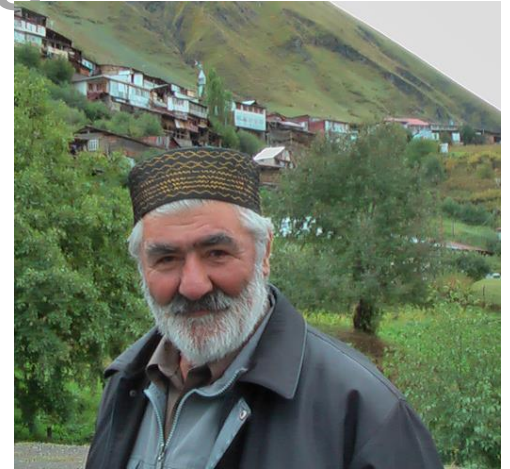
- written languages: Russian, Agul, Avar, Azerbaijani (Turkic), Chechen, **Dargwa**, Kumyk (Turkic), Lezgian, Lak, Nogai (Turkic), Rutul, Tabasaran, Tat (Iranian), Tsakhur
- there are more ethnic groups and languages (~ 40-50)

Ethnic groups in Daghestan (2010)	# 2,910,249	%
Avars	850,011	29.21
Dargwa	490,384	16.85
Kumyk	431,736	14.84
Lezgians	385,240	13.24
Azerbaijanis	130,919	4.50

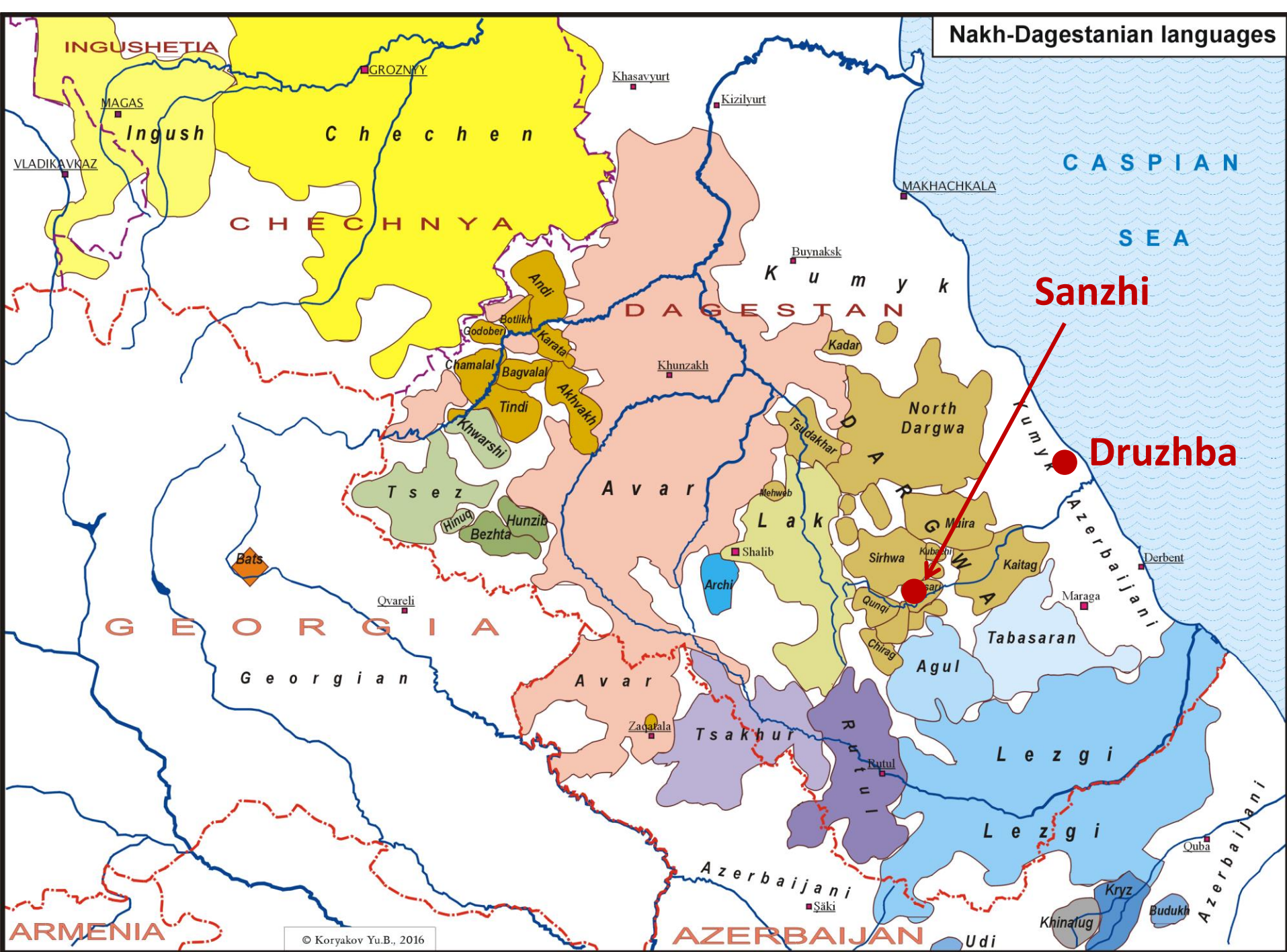
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Asymmetrical vertical multilingualism

- highlanders learned larger lowland languages for economic purposes (trade, labor migration)
- and larger neighboring languages
- for lowlanders there was no need to learn highland languages (e.g. Nichols 2013)
- regular contacts, but not on everyday basis (Dobrushina 2017)



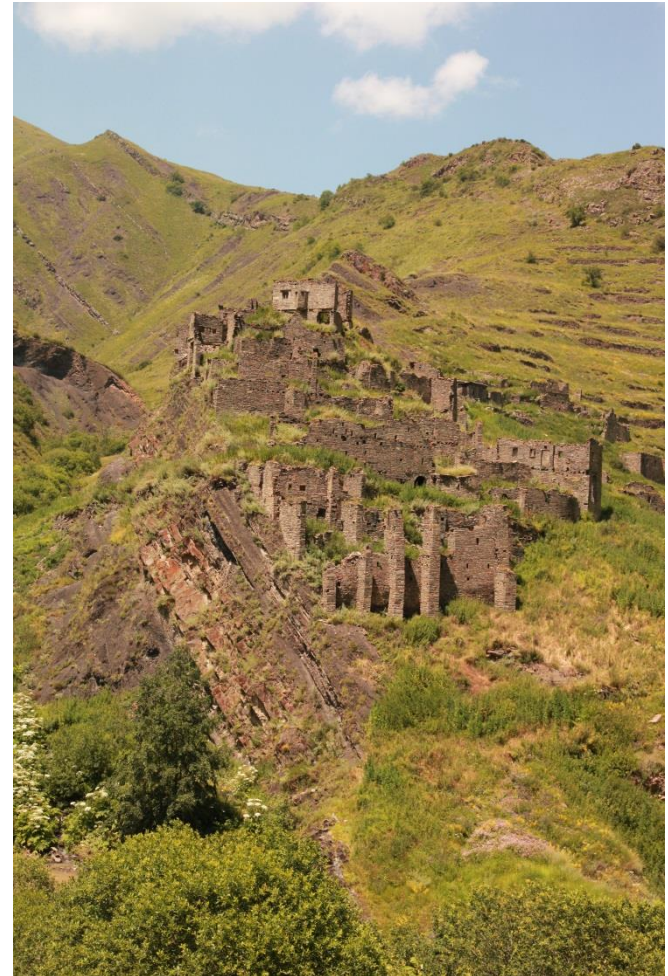
Nakh-Dagestanian languages



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Sanzhi Dargwa

- around 250 speakers from the village of Sanzhi
- 1970-1978 moved to Druzhba ('friendship')
- other ethnic groups in Druzhba: Dargwa varieties, Tabasaran, Agul, Lezgians, Lak, Kumyk, Russians and Avars



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Contact languages for Sanzhi

- surrounding Dargwa varieties (in particular Icari Dargwa)
- Kumyk (Turkic) was the lingua franca in central Daghestan
- indirect contact languages: Arabic, Persian
- heavy influence of Russian, but huge intergenerational differences
- one Agul village



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Languages used in a Sanzhi family in Druzhba

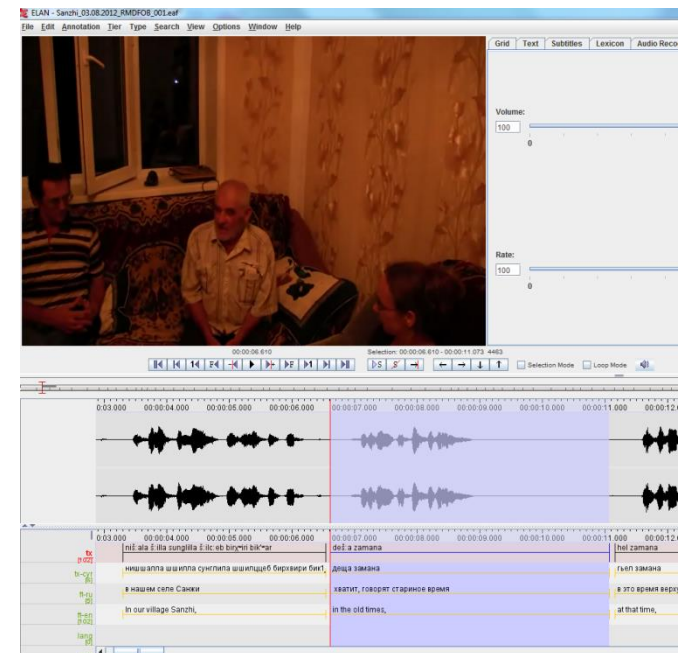
- Amatullah and Asabali (oldest generation): Sanzhi, Icari, (little) Russian
- Hadzhimurad (middle generation): Sanzhi, Russian, Tabasaran, little Standard Dargwa, Agul
- children and grandchildren (youngest generation): Russian, passive knowledge of Sanzhi Dargwa



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The autobiography of Asabali

- recorded in August 2012 in Druzhba
- speaker: Asabali (*1935, no formal education, learned Russian during military service)
- other participants: his son, Rasul Mutalov (a speaker of Icarl Dargwa, the neighboring village), two linguists
- the speaker is encouraged to speak Sanzhi



warq'ibilda du azirim ur'endaršlim ʔa'bc'anu xuraibil
 dila at:a aba lebde, at:a webč'ib **ɖavnu**
 aba kelgun, dura dila ruc:i k'wɛl ʔa'bal **značit**
 krušle duʔlede nuša š:ila tura agurda, š:ilc:erka
 helt:ud kelgunda ca čumal dus, helka čardiɣubda c'ilra **abrat'na** Sanži
 Sanžid kelgunda xuc'anu ʔa'bra xuc'anu aɣ'raib dussic:ew dikaraj
 c'il du ʔa'rmijale agurda xuc'anu xuraib dusic:ew, ʔa'rmijalew kelgunda ʔa'bal dus
 ʔa'rmijaler **šaxtalc:ew** agurda, urek:al **bač**, **dagavur**, **kaniš.na**, dilade dus užij ..., dus užij
 čul birq'ande dam **k:ak:ju-ta**
 urek:al bacler **atpuska** luk:anda bik'ul wirʔible
 du **vabšem** ne ra ... **raš.ut'** ajɣuble š:a sač'ibda
 dila aba rebč'iblede, du sajɣisat:ina rebč'iblede aba
 giliw čak'al wak:wɪ, **apjat'** ca duginade kelgunil ca
 c'ili ʔa'rmijaler sajɣiblehit:i xunul karižibda urekc'araib dusic:eb
 xunullic:ella hana ižal bus:a'ʔa'tra canille welda, c'aq' xunul
 c'ili wallah bik'war **pereselica** diɣ'ij dirɣ'anda **vat'** hešt:u
 hešt:u **pereselica** diɣubda urekc'anu k:aʔraib dusic:ed
 du agurda **šupirra kurs**, belč'unda, **šupira kurslew** kelgunda, belč'unne
 werc'araib dusic:eb **mašin** haas:ibda dul
 uc:ibda k'widaršlim k:aʔalibil dus dikaraj sat:ina; hež **savɣuzlic:ew** aɣ'c'al dus ʔa'či barq'ibda,
 aɣ'c'al dus
 c'il ilka **asvabadit** iɣubleda hana **ot:yɣ** cab, dila **ɣazjastveni** ʔa'či dirq'ulda **pensija** hajs:ulda
 wec'nu cara azir q:uruš **pensijara** leb dura lewda, mašaʔallah ʔa'hleda
 c'il hilaba ce argujal Allah t:ulka balɣulcab
 durhne leb wec'al, xujal rurs:i cabi, ʔa'bal durhu'
 helt:alla čirkabač'ibte **pačti**, čum argule? **weral**
 čaqal weral? **weral** rurs:i, ʔa'bal durhu'
 durhu'la durhne suk:ilra, **šestdesjat šest**
 ʔa'bc'anu, ʔa'bc'anu čumrajal argulcab ʔa'bc'anu

11	nouns
7	particles
3	adverbials
2	verbs
1	adjective
1	pronoun
1	numeral
1	conjunction



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The autobiography of Asabali

- text with 221 words
- 14.93% are Russian borrowings / insertions: 33 tokens (word forms); 27 types (lexemes)
- similar to established borrowing hierarchies / frequencies

nouns > particles > adverbials > verbs >
conjunction / pronoun / numeral

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Contact-induced effects: Data collection and corpus building

- influence of interviewer who speaks a different dialect (Icari - Sanzhi)
- influence of outsider (researcher): comments or summaries in Russian
- influence of transcriber (different dialect)



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Contact-induced effects: Phonology

- introduction of new phonemes /o/, /f/ in borrowings
- introduction of /o/ in transcriptions, e.g. *aʼb^wa* ‘four’ transcribed as *oʼba* (“our language also has /o/”)
- omission of labialization of velar and uvular stops and fricatives in transcription, omission of tense consonants (absent in Standard Dargwa)

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Contact-induced effects: Morphosyntax

- use of plural marking of nouns in noun phrases with numerals (“you also have to use the plural in Russian”)
- constituent order at the clausal adheres to the Sanzhi preference for SOV (vs. Russian SVO)

S	V	X	O
Али	отобрал	от меня	велоспед
ʔa ^h li-l	b-erqː-ib	di-cːe-r	welesepet
Ali-ERG	N-take.PFV-PRET	1SG-IN-ABL	bike[R]
‘Ali took away my bike.’			

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Contact-induced effects: Morphosyntax

- Russian clause coordination pattern

<i>di-la</i>	<i>χazajstveni</i>	<i>ʔaʕči</i>	<i>d-irq'-ul=da</i>
1SG-GEN	household[R]	work	NPL-do.IPFV-ICVB=1

<i>i</i>	<i>pensija</i>	<i>ha-js:-ul=da</i>
and[R]	pension[R]	UP-take.PFV-ICVB=1

‘I do my house work and get a pension.’

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Contact-induced effects: Transfer / calquing

- constituent order (position of relative clause)

Ключ находился у сестры, **которая жила в лесу.**

umxu	b-irχ-i	ruc:i-c:e-b	[wac'a-c:e-r
key	N-be.IPFV-HAB.PST	sister-IN-N	forest-IN-F

er **r-irχ^w-an]**

life F-be.IPFV-PTCP

‘The sister, who lived in the forest, had the key.’

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Contact-induced effects: Transfer / calquing

- constituent order (adverbial after verb)

В это время лягушка **вышла** из банки и ушла **на улицу**.

hel	zamana	ʔaˈt'a	t:ura	ha-b-uq-un-ne
that	time	frog	outside	UP-N-go.PFV-PRET-CVB

bank'a-ci-e-r,	ag-ur-re	ca-b	t:ura
can[R]-IN-ABL	go.PFV-PRET-CVB	be-N	outside

‘At that time the frog left the can and went outside.’

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Dealing with loan words / code switches

- transcription and glossing:
 - separate alphabet
 - font: italics, underline, bold face, capital letter, ...
 - other marking: {}
 - indication in glosses: [Rus], ...

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Muhamedowa (2009): Kazakh-Russian

- Standard Russian orthography, indication of Russian grammatical categories

[muǧalim-der-diň	ДЕЖУРИТЬ	et-ken-i]
teacher-PL-GEN	keep	do-PTCP.PST.POSS.3PL

es-im-de	žoq
memory-POSS.1SG-LOC	NEG

‘I do not remember that teachers guard us.’

Grammar writing and language contact

Forker (2019): Hinuq-Russian

- no special transcription, indication of source language in glosses, grammatical categories according to minority language (Hinuq)

<i>c'aq'</i>	<i>bercinaw</i>	<i>xrustalni</i>	<i>teł</i>	<i>rek''^we</i>	<i>Ø-ike-ł'os</i>	<i>maždik</i>
very	beautiful	crystal	inside	man(I)	I-see-PTCP.HAB	mosque
A	A	R	H	H	H	A

‘a very beautiful crystal mosque where you could see the people inside’

Grammar writing and language contact

Nikolaeva (2004): Yukaghir-Russian

- no special transcription, indication of source language by means of {}, grammatical categories according to minority language (Yukaghir)

<u>I'E-IIE</u>	<u>mon-i,</u>	<u>{otdIqaj}</u>	<u>El=kej-nu-j,</u>	<u>mon-i.</u>
be-SS.PERF	say-3SG	rest	NEG-give-IMPF-3SG	say-3SG

He doesn't give me a rest.

Comment:

The literal translation of this sentence is 'he doesn't give me rest', a calque from Russian syntax.

Grammar writing and language contact

Forker (2018): Sanzhi-Russian

- no special transcription, special font (no italics, no bold face), grammatical categories according to minority language (Sanzhi)

šopir-ra kurs b-elč'-un=da, šopir-ra kurs-li-ciella
driver-GEN course N-learn.PFV-PRET=1 driver-GEN course-ERG-COMIT
'I learned at the driver's course, with the driver's course.'

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Khanina (In Prep.): Enets-Russian

- no special transcription, indication in glosses, grammatical categories according to minority language (Tundra Enets)

kada	savxɔz-xozo	dʲɔdʲe-puʔɔ-nʲiʔ ...
when[RUS]	collective_farm[RUS]-ABL.SG	finish(PFV)-CVB.SIM-OBL.SG.1SG
kamsamol-xane	modʲera-zodʲi	sekretare-ʔa
Komsomol[RUS]-LOC.SG	work(IPFV)-1SG.S.PST	secretary[RUS]-TRANSL
'When I left the collective farm... I worked in Komsomol as a secretary.'		

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Dealing with loan words / code switches

- grammar writing ≠ historical linguistics
- Which words can be called ‘borrowings’?
 - time depth (e.g. German *Fenster* ‘window’)
 - code switching vs. borrowing
- source language
 - direct copy
 - indirect copy (e.g. Arabic, Persian, Turkic)

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Dealing with loan words / code switches

- examples of borrowings in Sanzhi Dargwa:
 - Turkic: Kumyk *ач-макъ* / Azerbaijani *aç-maq* ‘to open’ > Sanzhi *ač barq’ij* ‘to open’, *ačce* ‘open’ (adj.), ...
 - Turkic / Persian: Kumyk *оьрдек* / Azerbaijani *ördək*; Persian اردک ‘domestic duck’ > Sanzhi *urdek* ‘wild duck’
 - Arabic / Persian / Turkic: Arabic دنيا (dnyā), Persian دنیا; Kumyk *дюнья* / Azerbaijani *dünya* > Sanzhi *dune* ‘world’
 - German *Mundstück* / Russian *мундштук* ‘mouthpiece’ > Sanzhi *muštuk* ‘pipe, tube’
 - Russian *конечно* > Sanzhi *kaniš:na* ‘of course’

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Conclusion: A wish list from the perspective of contact linguistics

- documentation and description of variation
- reasonable indication of borrowings, calques and other contact-induced changes
- detailed account of the general sociolinguistic situation and rich metadata
- ...

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Taking into account variation

- increasing awareness for sociolinguistically-informed language documentation (e.g. Childes et al. 2014, Marten & Petzell 2016, Meyerhoff 2017)
- contact-induced language change leads to variation
- variationist sociolinguistics provides methods that can be employed for language documentation, grammar writing, and the study of language contact (e.g. Meyerhoff 2009)