

WORKSHOP 2
MACRO-LEVEL SOCIAL MOTIVATIONS FOR LANGUAGE CHANGE:
CONTACT, MIGRATION, AND GLOBALIZATION

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In her 1989 article on the role of socio-political forces as motivators of linguistic change, Susan Gal noted that the examination of speakers' micro-level responses to "macrohistorical processes" could provide new insights into the operation of contact as a motivator of change (Gal 1989: 357). In the years since the publication of this work, historical linguists, sociolinguists, and socio-historical linguists have grown increasingly aware of the interface between macro-historical processes and micro-level responses, as witnessed by paths of inquiry such as the following:

- The recognition of the role of ecology in establishing the trajectory of early varieties of African American English (Mufwene's 2001, 2008)
- The identification of population size as a determining factor in the linguistic outcome of contact and the level of complexity of contact varieties (Trudgill 2011), with smaller populations maintaining more complexity (Sinnemäki 2020) but also at times showing largescale areal distributions of complexity (Tallman and Epps 2018)
- The investigation of the role of koineization (Tuten 2003, 2021) and of socio-demographic factors (Sessarego 2019, 2021) under conditions of colonization and contact
- The development of new tools for the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the role of the individual in large-scale language change (Petré and Van de Velde 2018) and the mapping of large-scale and genealogical and geographical trends across time and space (Nichols 2016, 2020; Bickel 2020)
- The analysis of the interactive role of migration and urbanization in Africa and Europe (Mesthrie 2022; Kerswill & Wiese 2022; Wiese 2022; Mufwene 2022)

In this workshop, we propose to bring together scholars whose work focuses on macro-level motivations for linguistic change to explore how socio-political forces—invasion and migration, religious conversion and exclusion, colonization and globalization—have brought populations into contact, and what the micro-level effect on the languages of these speakers has been.

We regard this topic as critical at this moment in history, especially in light of several noteworthy trends:

- Approximately 4% of the world's population are global migrants: in 2020, there were about 281 million migrants in the world. [Migration Policy Institute]; in 2022, those fleeing conflict, violence, and other threats numbered more than 100 million (UNHCR, The UN Refugee Agency). Language contact is a constant among migrating populations.

- In 1945, about one third of the world's population (approximately 750 million people) lived under colonial rule (United Nations). While this number has diminished greatly in recent years, linguistic effects of colonial rule persist.
- Closely tied to colonization is globalization, defined by Vignouroux and Mufwene (2008: 4) as “the worldwide network of economic interconnectedness and interdependencies.” English and other European languages continue to exert influence in the realm of commerce, academics, and popular culture.

Such macrohistorical pressures continue to leave their mark on the languages of the world today, and on the linguistic choices that each individual speaker makes.

What we hope to accomplish in this workshop is an in-depth examination of the mechanisms through which these and other macro-level processes have influenced the language of speakers.

In order to achieve this goal, we invite submissions focusing on the following research questions or other related issues:

- To what extent are macro-level motivations responsible for the creation of linguistic areas?
- What new methodologies can be employed to map the effects of past macro-level influences? What kinds of remnants of past influence persist, and how can we analyze and interpret these most effectively?
- Do some demographic features turn out to be more influential in contact situations than others? Are some of these features intersectional in their influence?
- What role does contact play in determining the level of complexity in larger or smaller speech communities?
- Is koineization to be found in languages around the world, or only in those which have experienced particular macrohistorical pressures?
- To what extent do changing social hierarchies and political and religious ideologies impact patterns of change?
- What role does prestige play in setting up superstratal influence and roofing effects? How do such factors influence the actual language of speakers? That is, to what extent do these factors illustrate micro-level responses to macro-level processes?
- Are some traditional examples of language change better explained as having been motivated by macrohistorical processes or, more generally, by contact?

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Reconstructing prehistoric sociolinguistics from modern grammatical evidence

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Though a good deal is known to prehistorians about early centers of population growth and dispersal, and linguistics can identify some grammatical symptoms of sociolinguistic dominance and language shift, four problems remain unsolved. (1) Typology can now identify favored targets of selection in sociolinguistically asymmetrical language contact (e.g. canonical typology, Trudgill 2011), but these have not been applied to determining which language families descend from backwater refugees and which from expanding and sociolinguistically dominant ones. (2) Nor have they been applied to diachronic studies of head-marking, especially polysynthetic, languages with templatic morphosyntax. (3) Where past expansions can be identified, it is usually not known whether that involved spread into (near-)uninhabited land, dominance and absorption of a prior population, or sidelining a previous population with minimal substratal effects. (4) The effects of dense vs. sparse networks and short vs. long connections can now be modeled (Fagyal et al. 2010), but it is also known that very long travels in pre-Neolithic societies were routine (Graeber & Wengrow 2021:173); should ancient mobile groups (and selection in them) be modeled as nodes in sparse populations? as separate small populations (Bickel 2022)? as individuals in large, densely connected populations?

This paper uses case studies of four known or likely centers of expansion to propose answers by pushing back the temporal reach of sociolinguistic reconstruction. Additional theoretical considerations are the patch-and-pump model of first and early settlements (Author in press); staging areas and cost-path modeling (Anderson & Gillam 2001, Anderson et al. 2013) identifying centers and trajectories of spread; relational complexity (Author in press) to identify targets of selection in polysynthetic languages; self-similarity at different levels as an effect of selection (Nichols 2018); improved typological descriptions of features subject to selective pressure (e.g. Authors 2022); and isolation-by-distance modeling to identify centers and peripheries of spreads (cf. Grünthal et al. 2022).

Six variables are traced here across four case studies: (1) The early Columbia Plateau, for which the set of "Penutian" families is shown to be a likely early frontier population preserving a Eurasian-like typology as subsequent immigrants brought or developed a very different typology. (2) The later Columbia Plateau, where postglacial desiccation triggered the various "Penutian" spreads south and west, argued here to have begun in spreads along existing networks with minimal contact effects; (3) the Lower Mississippi Valley, a long-standing staging area (Kaufman 2014). (4) The Altai region (upper Irtysh and Yenisei, Minusinsk Basin, northern Kazakhstan and Mongolia), from which Pre-Uralic, Pre-Turkic, and Pre-Mongolic may have dispersed; the very self-similar Ural-Altai typology is barely emergent in reconstructed ProtoUralic (c. 4500 BP) and highly developed in Proto-Turkic (c. 2000 BP) and Proto-Mongolic (c.1000 BP). This evolution points to long-term selection without sociolinguistic dominance. Variables: Harmonic pronoun consonantism; self-similar morphology and syntax (morpheme/word order, head/dependent marking); fixed base lexical valence; high/low causativization (base intransitivity); consistency in finiteness across different clause types; configurational/templatic. All are relatively stable in families, and high frequencies of either polar value (e.g. head-final vs. head-initial) are favored in selection.

Keywords

Centers and peripheries, language spreads, linguistic networks, linguistic selection, sociolinguistic typology.

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Macro-changes at the dawn of history: The Slavic Expansion

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The extraordinary expansion of Slavic-speaking territories during the early centuries of our era (300s–700s) has long defied explanation. Slavic scholars have tried to link it with such macro-events as the Little Ice Age in the 500s or the Justinian plague. But these events are chronologically off and would at best explain population displacements and not the attested, vast territorial spread. Besides, there is linguistic evidence of distinct stages in the Expansion and of the role of language contact from its earliest stages (Andersen, To appear); this evidence leaves no doubt that the Expansion resulted from gradual, substantial population growth.

A rational account for this can refer to a macro-event of a different character, the gradual integration of Slavic-speaking populations into early medieval iron-age culture: The gradual adoption of an iron-age tool-kit and the replacement of slash-and-burn agriculture with crop rotation would naturally lead to a better return on hours worked, result in improved social health, and produce growing populations across the Slavic-speaking areas.

In connection with the adoption of iron-age tools it is significant that there is no single Proto-Slavic word for 'blacksmith' but instead a handful of native synonymous neologisms with a geographical distribution that reflects distinct population flows in the Expansion. Furthermore, hundreds of Slavic placenames reflect chronological stages in this development. The earliest stage (i) may be the introduction of industrial iron smelting and manufacturing, archaeologically evidenced in Poland in the 100s–300s. Perhaps simultaneously with this, (ii) iron-making spread across the land as a part-time activity of farmers, likewise part of the archeological record. A later stage (iii) was the gradual specialization of successful local blacksmiths who each supported farming communities in a small area. Stages (i) and (iii) are rather spectacularly reflected in Slavic placenames with geographical distributions that appear independent of that of the appellatives. Eventually, of course, (iv) every village would have its blacksmith.

The Expansion redistributed early dialect differences (Andersen 2020) and formed the background for the development of new isogloss systems across the Slavic-speaking territories.

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An information-theoretic approach to morphological and syntactic complexity in Dutch, English and German

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Larger languages in high-contact communities are morphologically less complex and rely more on lexical strategies and word order than smaller languages in close-knit communities (Lupyan & Dale 2010). This study focuses on the West-Germanic languages Dutch, English and German, which are known to have been exposed to different degrees of internal (dialect) contact and external contact (O’Neil 1978; Weerman 2006). Specifically, English has been more exposed to contact than Dutch, which in turn has been more exposed than German. To assess whether degree of contact correlates with morphological as well as syntactic complexity in these languages, we measure morphological and syntactic complexity by the mathematical notion of ‘Kolmogorov complexity’ (Kolmogorov 1968), an information-theoretic approach which defines a string’s complexity in relation to its information content.

The Dutch, English and German texts making up our dataset were taken from the Book of Genesis and the Gospel of Matthew, as they occur in the multilingual parallel EDGeS Diachronic Bible Corpus (Bouma, Coussé, Dijkstra & van der Sijs 2020). A total of 47 texts from different time periods between the 14th and 19th century have been analyzed: 21 for Dutch, 18 for English and 8 for German.

Following Juola (2008) and Ehret (2017), morphological complexity can be calculated after randomly deleting 10% of a text’s orthographic transcribed characters and compressing the file with gzip. The random deletion leads to morphological distortion, in that the number of unique tokens increases, which makes compressibility worse. Texts characterized by a high surface token diversity (as a result of affixal complexity, root-internal alternation or other morphological operations) will be comparatively less affected by distortion, because they already contain a higher amount of unique tokens before distortion. In terms of Kolmogorov complexity, these are the texts that are morphologically more complex. Syntactic complexity can be calculated in the same way, but instead of characters, words are deleted. This leads to a distortion of the word order rules, a higher number of unique lexical n-grams and thus worse compressibility. Texts with strict word order have more structural surface redundancies and will therefore be more affected by distortion, while languages with free word order will be less affected due to their lower number of redundancies. This means that in terms of Kolmogorov complexity rigid word order is considered as more complex.

The morphological complexity ratio is calculated as $\frac{mc}{c}$, where mc is the compressed file size in bytes after morphological distortion, and c is the compressed file size in bytes before distortion. The syntactic complexity ratio or the word order rigidity ratio is calculated as $\frac{sc}{c}$, where sc is the compressed file size in bytes after syntactic distortion, and c is the compressed file size in bytes before distortion. For each text the mean morphological and syntactic complexity was calculated over 1000 iterations, to take the aleatoric effect of the randomization into account.

We have found a significant interaction effect between year and language for the morphological complexity ratio. Morphological simplification happens faster in English compared to Dutch, as expected, but German seems to be more on the side of English, counter to what we expect. Syntactic complexity, then, shows the mirror image. We can thus observe a negative correlation between the morphological and syntactic complexity ratio (Figure 1). The three languages each take up their own space in the graph. Dutch is morphologically the most complex, but syntactically less complex; English is syntactically the most complex, but morphologically less complex; German lies in-between.

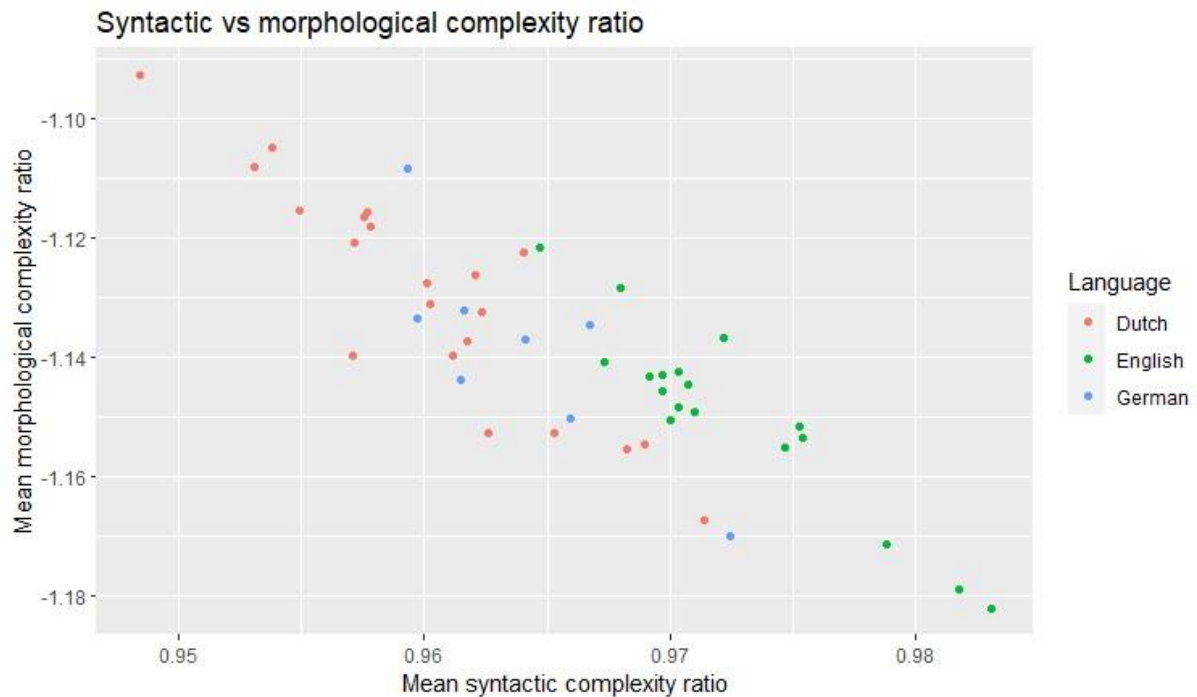


Figure 1: Syntactic vs morphological complexity ratio

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Contact as a major Motivation for Linguistic Change in the History of Balkan Slavic

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This paper presents theoretical, methodological and practical results obtained in the last decades in the field of comparative-historical Balkan Slavic linguistics. Against the backdrop of the major theoretical issues of Balkan linguistics, e.g. principles of genetic, areal, social or contact determination or restriction in language evolution [Friedman, Joseph 2023], contact is viewed as the major motivation for linguistic change in the history of Balkan Slavic [Sobolev 2019], and is responsible for the creation of the Balkan linguistic area.

The genetic, areal-typological, anthropological and socio-political analysis of Slavic languages in the Balkans reveals divergent and convergent developments which can be interpreted against the background of comparative-historical theory, geolinguistic theory, language contact and Sprachbund theory, including the dialectology of convergent linguistic groups [Sobolev (ed.) 2021]. General mechanisms of genetic splitting and typological merging, borrowing and calquing, language shift, and language and ethnic separation and symbiosis interplayed to make this a truly unique area of Europe and Eurasia.

South Slavic entered the Balkan peninsula as at least two genetically differentiated subgroups (socalled West South Slavic and East South Slavic,) but eventually became part of the Balkan linguistic landscape irrespective of this primary genetic subdivision. Due to profound multilingualism, the Balkan linguistic landscape can be viewed as an uninterrupted continuum of closely and distantly related dialects (languages), characterized by an array of isoglosses that run irrespective of “language borders.” Among the most prominent features are the following: identical or similar inventories of affricates as well as palatal consonants; the postpositive definite article; “case loss” and the analytic marking of grammatical relations on the noun; “infinitive loss”; the volitive future tense; the possessive perfect; grammaticalized evidentiality markers; and semantic patterns borrowed from Greek, Latin, and Turkish.

This extreme tendency towards borrowing is well-illustrated by (1):

(1) Golo Bordo dialect of Macedonian [Sobolev & Novik 2013]

'imat d'e 'veno	na=d'e fi
have distribute.PPP	PREP=rams.PL
'(They) distributed rams'	

This example illustrates not only the direct material borrowing from Alb. dash [daj] ‘ram’, partially integrated into the morphology of Macedonian, cf. daj SG.INDEF, d'ajof ~ d'ajot SG.DEF ‘ram,’ but also the adoption of the Albanian apophonic plural marking a ~ e, that is Alb. dash ~ desh, which is completely alien to Slavic, alongside the affixation of the common Slavic plural marker -i. The inclusion of the preposition na to mark the direct object, following the Balkan Romance model, adds the final touch to this extraordinary and highly redundant amalgamation.

At the same time, some particularly Slavic features persist and appear to act as barriers to language integration: stress shift on proclitics (as in Bulgarian b'ez=žena ‘without a wife’); the category of peripheral case forms as opposed to structural cases; the category of animateness and personness; opposing “short” and “long” forms of adjectives with unclear intrasystemic functions; the absence of any categorial marker for definiteness on any member of the nominal group, that is, of an explicit marker for individualizing, generic, specific, or indefinite meaning;

the category of verbal aspect with the admittedly vague general meaning of terminativity, expressed by a root morpheme or a suffix.

Thus, we see abundant evidence for major structural innovation motivated by contact, leading to a deep qualitative reorganization of Balkan Slavic languages throughout their history. On the other hand, certain inherited characteristics persist which resist these changes and do not spread beyond Slavic to other languages of the Balkan peninsula.

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Ideology, language choice and language change

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The tradition of research on ideology and language assumes that ideology, related to ideas, beliefs and opinions, construes underlying patterns of meaning and the corresponding frames of interpretation. These have a bearing on different types of discourse (cf. e.g. Verschueren 2012). The research presented here adds to this by focusing on (a) ideological self-ascription, (b) choice of the intended addressees, and (c) language choice on three levels:

- the macro-level of the extended social group, usually with an intended ethnic, religious or political identity,
- the meso- level of ideological group differentiation within the frame provided by the macro-level, and
- the micro-level of the (Self or Other) ascription by an individual speaker.

The paper discusses these matters based on representative modern-era ideologically conditioned periods of change in Central Europe that systematically addressed ideological (initially religious, later national) issues through language. Firstly, the Reformation and the Catholic Counter-Reformation in the 16th and 17th centuries addressed the transregional macrolevel and promoted spoken languages, for which an adequate choice of language norm was required. This brought about language-ideological considerations and caused significant language shifts mediated by codification.¹ Secondly, the emergence of national ideologies in the 19th century accompanied by a search for the language variety with sufficient cultural weight to represent the nation (such as the language of the 16th century Kralice Bible for Bohemia, or the language of the Baroque poetry of Dubrovnik for Croatia, influenced by the Catholic Counter-Reformation); the accompanying codification brought about major language shifts across the national territories. The third period of change started with the loss of the ideology of supra-national standard languages (particularly Serbo-Croatian, in part paralleled by CzechoSlovak) in Central Europe, which overtly preceded the loss of the political ideology of supranational states. Superficially seen this was a process opposite to the former ones (i.e. linguistic ideology change preceded the corresponding political change of ideology), but in fact the loss of the linguistic supra-national ideology was a proxy for the loss of the political supra-national ideology, officially forbidden by the ruling communist regimes.

These major periods of change were triggered by increase vs. decrease of the macro-level ideological scope (in the latter case, dissolution of the overarching language norm) leading to change implemented by codification.

The contemporary period is mainly characterized by meso-level ideological differentiations systematically expressed either by preserving linguistic conservatism or adopting innovation (i.e., either by rejecting or adopting the forms or orthographies proposed by recent language reforms).

Mass media choose these alternatives to implicitly advertise their political-ideological adherences. This is another example of language ideology as a proxy for political ideology attested both in contemporary Czech (Bermel 2007) and Croatian (Gvozdanović 2010, PetiStanić 2013). It is neither destandardization nor demotization (as defined by Kristiansen & Coupland 2011), but ideologically driven symbolic dissection on the meso-level within the macro-frame of the standard language.

Based on Croatian and Czech examples, this paper traces effects of an increase or decrease of ideological scope on the macro level, showing how changes of political, religious and national ideologies are interrelated with language ideologies that condition the corresponding language changes.

¹ E.g., for Croatian cf. the discussion by Knežević (2007), Gabrić-Bagarić (2010).

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Language use in Alsace from 1914 to 1919. Private texts between official legislation and individual identity construction

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This proposition aims to explore the interface between macro-historical processes, such as contact, linguistic prestige and language legislation, and micro-level responses in a GermanFrench corpus of private texts written during World War I by Alsatian soldiers and their families.

For Alsatian society, linguistic and cultural contact has been for centuries a constitutive element of their everyday life. Over the times, Alsatians were confronted several times with changing national languages, different linguistic prestige and varying language legislation. The main question that the paper seeks to explore is: How did macro-level processes such as official language legislation, language ideology and linguistic prestige influence the actual language use of the writers?

The texts, which have not yet been examined, are from two Alsatian families, the Jeandon family from Lapoutroie (*Schnierlach* in German) and the Braun family from Oberhaslach. In total, the corpus includes 162 German and 12 French postcards and letters as well as one French diary written by Auguste Jeandon who, like all Alsatians who had not fled their homeland, fought as a soldier on the side of the German Empire. The authors of the texts can roughly be considered as less-experienced writers as their everyday life before 1914 hardly required any writing practice.

In particular, the paper takes up the following questions raised in the description of the workshop.

The role of contact with regard to the complexity of speech communities is fundamental for this specific linguistic community. Depending on the place of residence, different language laws apply, speakers have different first languages that condition schooling, and religious confession influences language behaviour. Every factor depends on the specific circumstances of the locality and the legislation applied there: e.g. the number of German immigrants, the attitude of the local authority, the acceptance as francophone community (or not) and the self-representation of each writer. Moreover, the corpus shows not only contact between the normative standard varieties of German and French as well as between the Germanic and Romance dialects, but also contact of two different scripts in use in the two cultural spaces.

Social and political hierarchies as well as religious ideologies are crucial for the linguistic choices the authors make. Linguistic legislation in Alsace during World War I depends on the civil and military authorities who do not always follow the same lines. Catholic and protestant churches play an important role in the maintenance of French or in the support of the Germanization of the population. On a macrolevel there is a strong linguistic pressure for the Germanization, especially from the military authorities supported by Protestantism, but on a micro-level the writers show some resistance in the use of German because they maintain French and/or the dialects.

Linguistic prestige and language as a marker for identity construction are of essential importance in the negotiation of language use in this border region. However, the attribution of prestige to a particular language is not the same for all Alsatians, but depends on their specific context. Some Alsatian writers may respond explicitly to the changing political hierarchies expressing their political affiliation in the texts. The only use of French in a German-speaking context, such as keeping a French diary in the German army, could be seen as a political and ideological positioning.

The present proposition does not claim to be representative, but at least, it can contribute for this period to a broader view of the language use subject to the aforementioned constraints. The corpus shows exemplarily how Alsatian writers individually respond to the significant processes of the macro-level and which concrete linguistic forms result from this specific situation.

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Political influence as a factor in morphosyntactic variation: demonstratives *este* and *aqueste* in medieval Aragonese

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Keywords: Iberorromance; historical morphosyntax, demonstratives, medieval Aragonese, language contact

Medieval Ibero-Romance languages exhibited variation between short and long variants of the demonstratives (i.e. Spanish *este* and *aqueste*, respectively, both meaning ‘this’). Data collected from notarial documents (cf. Enrique-Arias 2018) shows that in most Ibero-Romance varieties (Galician-Portuguese, Leonese, Castilian, Navarrese) long forms such as *aqueste* were a small minority throughout the Middle Ages and disappeared completely by the 1600s. Catalan is a notable exception: in this language the long forms (i.e. *aquest* as opposed to short form *est*) were almost categorical from the earliest texts and have continued to exist to this day.

This research focuses on the peculiar situation of Aragonese, which experienced a spectacular increase in the frequency of *aqueste* type forms throughout the 14th century to become almost categorical at the beginning of the 15th century. Shortly after, however, the long forms declined rapidly and disappeared in the 16th century.

In this paper I argue that the abrupt changes involving the distribution of *aqueste* type forms in Aragonese legal documents are changes from above that reflect how writers adopted alternating scriptural models –first Catalan, and later Castilian– dictated by the successive power centers that dominated Aragon.

Throughout the Middle Ages the Crown of Aragon, which also included the Principality of Catalonia, was ruled by a Catalan-speaking dynasty and, for the most part, the Royal Chancellery issued its documents in Catalan; thus, long demonstrative forms, which are characteristic of Catalan, became part of the prestigious model adopted by the scribes. This situation changed dramatically after 1412, when the Crown of Aragon was taken over by the Castilian-speaking Trastámara rulers; a few decades later there was a dynastic union with Castile under the Catholic Monarchs (Isabella and Ferdinand) which further increased the political and cultural Castilian influence among the peninsular kingdoms. This political change is reflected in a sudden decrease in the use of the Aragonese long forms and the adoption of Castilian style short forms.

In order to investigate these changes, I analyze a wide corpus of 2500 medieval Ibero-Romance documents (<https://corpuscodea.es/>) as well as other text types, looking at aspects such as the precise geographical distribution of the short and long variants, the realm where legal documents were issued (ecclesiastical, municipal or private), as well as additional texts from different typologies, such as documents of the Royal Chancellery and literary texts.

In sum, this investigation explores the powerful role of political influence in the introduction of contact-induced morphosyntactic structures. Other similar cases in the Iberian Peninsula will be considered, such as the increase of proclisis (Martins 2011, 2015) and prepositional object marking (Paixão de Sousa 2004) in Portuguese due to Castilian influence during the dynastic union with Spain (1580-1640), and the abrupt decrease of these structures once Portugal regained its independence.

**Macro sociohistorical forces, contact, convergence and the development of modern
linguistic areas: insights from South Africa**

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Mesthrie (2017) makes a case for the development of a robust South African linguistic area (impinging on neighbouring parts of southern Africa). In pre-colonial times (up to the mid-17th C) the autochthonous Khoisan languages formed an important substratum that resulted in the eventual transformation of Southern Bantu languages, especially in their phonologies. Colonisation wrought further changes on the indigenous Bantu languages, firstly via Afrikaans (17th C on) and then English (19th C on). South Africa differs from other heavily colonised, settled and exploited territories (in the senses used by Mufwene 2001) in that indigenous languages survived and remain an essential part of an African multilingualism with official status since 1994. This has opened up new avenues of mutual influence between the living, growing substrata of mainly Bantu languages and the globally and locally prestigious English language. Mesthrie (2017) shows how Afrikaans played an intermediary role – almost as a clearing house – in disseminating features within the emerging linguistic area. The current paper for ICHL 26 will emphasise the role of two dimensions of macrolinguistic relevance: (a) processes of second language learning under socially constrained conditions (notably apartheid) that resulted in distinctly Africanised varieties of English and (b) a more egalitarian multilingualism today showing “third space” effects among younger people comfortable in English and an African language – i.e. showing innovations that go beyond each of the monolingual codes involved in language switching.

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Verticalization and the historical sociolinguistics of language maintenance

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From the present day back as far as we can see into prehistory, migration and colonization have correlated with language shift, where a community abandons its traditional language(s) for another, usually socially dominant one. A new model ties language shift to changes in community structure, laid out in Brown (2022) and built on Warren (1978). Central to the model is that minority-language communities who control their own local institutions and resources tend to maintain their languages; when that control moves to those beyond the community, a process of ‘verticalization’, we see shift to the language(s) of that broader community. The model has been widely tested with immigrant languages in North America and increasingly beyond (Brown 2022, with initial comparative work in Salmons 2022), and it is general enough that it can be applied to almost any setting of contact and shift past or present.

The model has barely been used for deeper historical situations, where evidence is sparser and harder to interpret, though Frey and Salmons (2012) did an initial study of verticalization in Latin-Germanic contact. This presentation explores how verticalization can be generally integrated into historical sociolinguistic research. Warren identifies five “major functions” carried out within communities and/or from beyond them (1978: 9-13): Production–distribution–consumption; socialization; social control; social participation; mutual support. I draw examples from the history of English, especially English-French contact, to probe how these factors correlate with the ultimate maintenance of English. Recent work (e.g., Timofeeva and Ingham 2018) helps us to see how even important institutional roles for French in domains like religion and education did not create the strong and broad vertical patterns which would have led to wholesale shift to French, rather than just powerful language-contact effects on English.

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