

Contact-induced word order change without word order change¹

Bernd Heine, July 2008

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Abstract

In studies on language contact, word order has been a prominent topic. The linear arrangement of phrases and words has been shown to be vulnerable when people speaking different languages interact regularly, and there is a wide range of works suggesting that such interactions lead people to adopt arrangements from another language with which they are in contact.

In the present chapter it is argued on the basis of a crosslinguistic survey that it is hard to identify cases where language contact resulted in people creating really new word orders; rather, what appears to happen commonly is that contact induces people to choose among the discourse options that are available in one of the languages in contact one that most readily corresponds to the structures they find in the other language.

Keywords

deategorialization, desemanticization, focus construction, grammaticalization, narrowing, pragmatic unmarking, replica language, replication, restructuring, model language, word order

1 Word order in language contact

Up until now there is still a widespread assumption among linguists that grammatical structure cannot be “borrowed”, that is, transferred from one language to another. Thus, Sankoff (2001) concludes that “[w]hether or not “grammar” or “syntax” can be borrowed at all is still very much in question. [...] many students of language contact are convinced that grammatical or syntactic borrowing is impossible or close to it” (Sankoff 2001). We consider this no longer to be an issue, considering that there is abundant evidence to demonstrate that both grammar and syntax can be “borrowed” or, as we will say here, replicated (see e.g. Ramisch 1989; Matras 1996; Johanson 1992; 2002; Aikhenvald 2002; Heine & Kuteva 2003; 2005; 2006).

That word order is among the linguistic phenomena that are most likely to be affected by language contact has been pointed out independently by a number of authors (e.g., Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 88; Thomason 2001c; Winford 2003). Thomason (2001b: 69-71) observes

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that ignoring vocabulary borrowing, word order is among "the next easiest things to borrow", and Dryer (1992: 83) sees the effects of linguistic diffusion to be particularly pervasive in the area of word order (see also Nettle 1999: 138; Zeevaert 2006: 2-3). The following is a selection of the many cases that have been named as examples for changes in sentence word order resulting language contact; for a wealth of additional cases, see Johanson (1992: 254-9):²

- Contact with Germanic and Slavic languages, having SVO (= subject - verb - object) order, is said to have been a strong contributing factor in the shift of the Western Finnic and Hungarian languages from SOV to SVO word order (Kahr 1976: 142; Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 55; Thomason 2001b: 88).
- Akkadian, a Semitic language that inherited VSO order from Proto-Semitic, acquired SOV word order under Sumerian influence (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 55; Thomason 2000; 2001b: 88).
- When the Indo-Aryan language Romani (Romanes) came into contact with languages of the Balkans, it is said to have replaced the verb-final (SOV) order inherited from its Indo-Aryan past by SVO (and VSO), which is characteristic of the Balkan languages (Matras 1996: 64).
- Indic Indo-European languages are claimed to have turned rigidly SOV and rigidly postpositional as a result of Dravidian influence (Kahr 1976: 143).
- The Western Oceanic language Takia is said to have changed from SVO to SOV order under the influence of the Papuan language Waskia (Ross 2001) and, more generally, Austronesian languages are claimed to have changed from SVO to SOV in New Guinea (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 55; Klamer et al. 2008).
- The Wutun language of the Chinese family borrowed from Tibetan a rigid verb-final word order and postpositional ordering (Li 1983; Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 92).
- Imitation of Chinese word order is said to have introduced "significant changes into the word order of Japanese" (Miller 1967: 245).
- Contact with Cushitic languages in northeastern Africa is blamed for a shift from a hypothetical SVO, or the VSO of Proto-Semitic, to SOV in Amharic and other Ethio-Semitic languages (Leslau 1945; 1952).³
- The Ma'a language of northeastern Tanzania is claimed to have shifted from SOV to SVO under Bantu influence (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 55).

² In the remainder of the paper we will use shorthand phrasings like "language X has changed from Y to Z". It goes without saying that languages cannot do such things; rather, that it is speakers that are responsible for any changes that may happen.

³ "Examples are the changes in Ethiopic Semitic from VSO, Aux-Verb, Noun-Adjective (probably), and Head Noun-Relative Clause word orders with prepositions to SOV, Verb-Aux, Adjective Noun, and Relative Clause-Head Noun word orders with postpositions to match the patterns of the substrate Cushitic languages" (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 131).

But contact-induced word order change is by no means confined to sentence structure; it can be found in the same way in noun phrase and other structures, as has been argued for in cases such as the following:

- On the model of Indo-European Balkanic languages such as Macedonian and Albanian, speakers of Turkish dialects on the Balkans have reversed the genitive and its head in possessive constructions; e.g., *babasi Alinin* 'the father of Ali' instead of Standard Turkish *Ali nin babası* (Friedman 2003: 61). More examples can be found in dialects of West Rumelian Turkish spoken in Macedonia (Friedman 2003: 50ff.).
- Western Oceanic languages commonly have prepositions but Takia has lost the prepositions, having created postpositions on the model of the postpositions of the Papuan language Waskia (Ross 2001).
- Bombay Hindi has switched its question particle from sentence-initial to sentence-final position under Marathi influence (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 98).

Not all of these claims are backed by appropriate empirical evidence. Take the African cases mentioned, for example: We know virtually nothing about the word order of Ma'a prior to its Bantu contacts; accordingly, a claim that Ma'a experienced a word order change from pre-contact SOV to post-contact SVO must remain of doubtful value. And similar observations can be made in other cases; it is in fact widely believed that the Ethio-Semitic languages of northeastern Africa acquired their SOV order from Cushitic (or Omotic) languages; but the evidence is not all that clear, especially in light of the alternative hypothesis that the Ethio-Semitic SOV syntax may be a retention rather than a contact-induced innovation (Grover Hudson, p.c.).

In a number of other cases there is no really convincing evidence to establish whether, or how, a hypothesized instance of word order change came about. A case in point can be seen in attempts to distinguish between rare and common Greenbergian word order types and to account for the presence of the former in terms of 'borrowing', that is, language contact (see e.g. Campbell 1997: 51). I will have little to say about such cases. Still, overwhelmingly, there can be little doubt that word order syntax is fairly vulnerable in situations of language contact.

The present paper is meant to show that the linear arrangement of words is in fact a phenomenon that is likely to be affected by language contact. It would seem, however, that what looks superficially like word order change is likely to be a process that does not really lead to a new word order in the language concerned.

2 Grammatical replication

Language contact may have a wide range of implications for the languages involved, and it may affect virtually any component of language structure (Thomason & Kaufman 1988). It manifests itself in the transfer of linguistic material from one language to another, typically involving the following kinds of transfer:

(1) Kinds of linguistic transfer

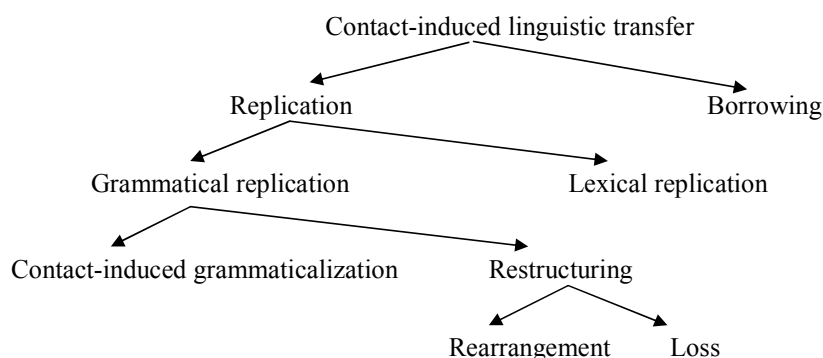
- a Form, that is, sounds or combinations of sounds,
- b Meanings (including grammatical meanings) or combinations of meanings,
- c Form-meaning units or combinations of form-meaning units,

- d Syntactic relations, that is, the order of meaningful elements,
- e Any combination of (a) through (d).

My interest in this paper is with (1d), although we will see that the phenomena looked at cannot be reduced to (1d). Following Weinreich ([1953] 1964: 30-1; see also Heine & Kuteva 2003; 2005; 2006), the terms model language (M) and replica language (R) are used for the languages being, respectively, the source and the target (or the donor and the recipient) of transfer, and his term replication stands for kinds of transfer that do not involve phonetic substance of any kind, that is, for (1b) and (1d) -- for what traditionally is referred to with terms such as "structural borrowing" or "(grammatical) calquing". Thus, by grammatical replication I mean a process whereby speakers create a new grammatical meaning or structure in language R on the model of language M by using the linguistic resources available in R.

The term borrowing is reserved for transfers involving phonetic material, either on its own (1a) or in combination with meaning (1c).⁴ Furthermore, I will distinguish between replication restricted to the lexicon (= lexical replication) and replication that concerns grammatical meanings or structures (= grammatical replication). As has been shown in Heine and Kuteva (2003; 2005; 2006), grammatical replication is essentially in accordance with principles of grammaticalization; however, there are a few cases that are not, and the term restructuring has been proposed for the latter. The model of contact-induced transfer used here can summarily be represented as in figure 1.

Figure 1. Main types of contact-induced linguistic transfer.



The concern of this paper is with contact-induced grammatical replication as a product, for which there is some crosslinguistic evidence, and I will have little to say about the process leading to this product since it is still largely ill-understood. The following remarks are meant to provide at least some general understanding of the nature of this process, which has both a sociolinguistic and a linguistic component. At the beginning of the process as a sociolinguistic phenomenon there typically is spontaneous replication in bilingual interaction, where an individual speaker -- consciously or unconsciously -- propagates novel features in the replica language that have been influenced by some other language (or dialect). Spontaneous replication, described with references to notions such as "speaker innovation"

⁴ There are many alternative terminologies; for example, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) or Thomason (2001b: 93) uses borrowing, source language and receiving language for both kinds of transfer.

(Milroy & Milroy 1985: 15) or propagation, is highly idiosyncratic and the vast majority of instances of it will have no effect on the language concerned, being judged as what is commonly referred to as "speech errors". But some instances may catch on: Being taken up by other speakers and used regularly, they may become part of the speech habits of a group of speakers (early adopters), and they may spread to other groups of speakers -- in exceptional cases even to the entire speech community. Still, this process does not necessarily lead to linguistic change: Such innovations may remain restricted to some specific period of time, being abandoned either by the very speakers who introduced them or by the next generation of speakers. It is only if an innovation acquires some stability across time that grammatical replication has taken place.

Studies on language contact in the past have focused in particular on linguistic areas or sprachbunds. While it is true that these are paradigm products of language contact, for an analysis of grammatical replication they are as a rule of limited value, for the following reason: Sprachbunds, irrespective of whether they concern the Balkans, Meso-America, Ethiopia, or South Asia, are the result of a long and complex history, involving a range of different languages and of historical processes that took place at different periods in the development of the sprachbund (see e.g. Tosco 2000 for the Ethiopian sprachbund), and it remains in many cases unclear which of the factors, historical processes and/or languages exactly contributed what to some particular change. Another important source of information has been seen in creoles, which, like sprachbunds, owe their existence to language contact. But like that of sprachbunds, the history of creoles is the result of an interaction of a variety of different factors, such as the various "substrate" languages, the "superstrate" language(s), possible "adstrate" languages, as well as of a sequence of historical events, and to determine reliably what each of these factors contributed to produce a given grammatical change is more often than not near to impossible. Accordingly, I will have little to say on sprachbunds and creoles and rather concentrate on cases of language contact that took place more recently and where it is fairly uncontroversial which the model and which the replica language was.

3 Strategies

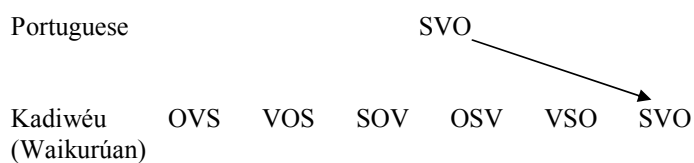
The main purpose of this paper is to study documented cases of what have been argued to be changes of word order induced or influenced by language contact. On the basis of evidence from such cases it would seem that there is a limited range of strategies that jointly can be held responsible for what appear to be instances of "word order change", namely the following: (a) narrowing (of options), (b) shift from one construction type to another, (c) pragmatic unmarking, and (d) extension and frequency. I will now deal with each of these in turn.

3.1 Narrowing

One way of replicating a word order arrangement found in another language is by narrowing down the range of discourse options available by choosing among the use patterns that are available in the replica language the one that most readily corresponds to the one in the model language and making it the regular one -- using it more frequently and in a wider range of contexts.

The following examples may illustrate the central role played by narrowing in the rise of new contact-induced use patterns. Kadiwéú, a Waikurúan language of Brazil, has quite free word order, attested orders being OVS, VOS, SOV, OSV, VSO, and SVO. But Kadiwéú-Portuguese bilinguals translate Portuguese sentences into Kadiwéú with SVO word order, and Thomason interprets this as "an adjustment to the basic SVO word order of Portuguese"⁵ (Thomason 2001a: 1642; 2001b: 89). What these bilingual speakers appear to be doing is to turn one of the minor use patterns (SVO) into a major one -- one that is used more frequently at the expense of the alternative orders, cf. figure 2.

Figure 2. Word order in Kadiwéú-Portuguese language contact (Thomason 2001a: 1642).



Another example from South America is the following. In the Vaupés region of northwest Amazonia, the North Arawak language Tariana is in contact with the East Tucanoan language Tucano, and there is a wide range of grammatical replications from the latter to the former (Aikhenvald 2002), one of them being the case discussed here. Not uncommonly in the Arawak languages of northwest Amazonia, word order is pragmatically based, where e.g. the order of words in adpositional or possessive constructions depends on whether the possessee or the argument of the adposition is focused or not. Thus, in the Arawak language Baniwa, (2a) and (2b) have the same meaning, but in (2b), *João* is in focus. East Tucanoan languages on the other hand have a fixed word order [dependent – head], that is, the possessee invariably follows the possessor and the adposition its complement. Now, the North Arawak language Tariana, which has been heavily influenced by East Tucanoan languages, appears to have replicated the structure found in the latter languages by generalizing (2a), which is identical in Baniwa and Tariana – with the result that (2b) is an ungrammatical structure in Tariana: There is no variation in word order, that is, there is now only one word order arrangement that is isomorphic with that of East Tucanoan languages (Aikhenvald 2002: 167).

(2) Baniwa (North Arawak; Aikhenvald 2002: 167)
a João i- siu

⁵ In Thomason (2003: 700) there is a slightly different rendering of this situation: She observes that bilingual Kadiwéú speakers usually have SVO order when translating sentences from Portuguese. Thomason (2001b: 143) observes that this is not an actual ongoing but "potential change".

John INDF- to

b ri- siu João
 3.SG.NF to John
 'to John'

That language contact may lead to a narrowing of syntactic options in language contact is also suggested by observations on diaspora speakers of Slavic languages. Sussex (1993: 1020) found that in émigré Slavic languages there is a decline in variety of word order (which he attributes to some extent to a decline of case inflections), where SVO order becomes the major use pattern. Already in first-generation Slavic émigré adults this order is more common than in the homeland, but it is overwhelmingly dominant in the speech and written language of children who either emigrated before adulthood or who were born outside their Slavic homeland.

Another example of narrowing is the following: When working on Montana Salish in 1999, Thomason (2001b: 82) asked elders to translate English sentences into Salish, and she was given more translations with English-like SV(O) word order than with the more typical Salish VS(O) order.⁶ In naturally occurring Salish texts, SV(O) order is one of the options available to Salish speakers, and it is one that is not especially rare.

In colloquial Turkish, there is a volitive construction with the predicate in the optative mood which can be either left- or right-branching (2). But speakers of the Turkic language Azerbaijanian of Iran follow the Persian model by generally using right-branching, cf. (3) (Kıral 2005: 287).

(2) Colloquial Turkish (Kıral 2005: 287)

buraya gelsin istemiyorum.
 here.DAT come.OPT.3.SG want.NEG.PRES.1.SG

or

istemiyorum buraya gelsin. 'I don't want him to come here.'
 want.NEG.PRES.1.SG here.DAT come.OPT.3.SG

(3) Azerbaijanian (Kıral 2005: 287)

män istemiräm jelä bura. 'I don't want him to come here.'
 I want.NEG.PRES.1.SG come.OPT.3.SG here

Such examples appear to be fairly common in situations of language contact: Speakers of the replica language select among the structural options that are available in their language the one that corresponds most closely to a structure that they find in their model language. What "selection" means is that that option is used more frequently and acquires a wider range of contexts. In the end -- that is, in extreme cases -- this may turn into the only structure used, eliminating all the other options that used to be available. Narrowing in language contact is

⁶ Note, however, that this is an instance of *spontaneous* rather than regular replication: The sentences came from just one elder while another objected, and a third commented, "Well, you could say it this way (i.e. SVO) too" (Thomason 2001b: 82).

by no means restricted to word order phenomena, but it is here where it is perhaps easiest to identify.

3.2 Shift from one construction type to another

Another kind of presumed word order change can be portrayed as an epiphenomenal product of a change in construction type in situations of language contact. The strategy that appears to be used is to recruit a construction that matches best the word order arrangement of the model language, even if it serves a function in the replica language that is not exactly that of the model construction.

In Germanic languages, noun-noun compounding is a highly productive mechanism, while French and other Romance languages lack such a mechanism. When speakers of Germanic languages are exposed to intense contact with French they tend to decrease the amount of compounding and to increase the use of attribute patterns on the model of French. The result is that in situations where speakers of languages such as German or Flemish are regularly exposed to French as a dominant language,⁷ they tend to shift to some extent from compounding to attributive use patterns. Examples of this change have been found on the one hand in the contact situation between French and Germanic languages in Belgium. German speakers in eastern Belgium may use the German compound *Herbstzeit* (lit.: 'autumn time') 'autumn', but they also use an attributive/possessive pattern instead, saying *Zeit des Herbstes* ('time of the autumn') on the model of French *le temps d'automne* ('the time of autumn'). On the other hand, there are also examples from South Tyrol, northern Italy, where the main official language is Italian, and where German speakers tend to develop their possessive pattern into a major use pattern where in Standard German compounding would be preferred. Accordingly, in an attempt to replicate the possessive construction of Italian, German speakers say e.g. *das Bündel von Trauben* 'the bunch of grapes' instead of *das Traubenbündel* ('the grape bunch') on the model of Italian *il grappolo d'uva* (Riehl 2001).

In no case has this bilingual behavior led to category shift, but it appears to have given rise to the preference of one kind of word order over another: Compounding in German and Flemish has modifier-head order whereas the prevailing pattern of attributive possession is head-modifier. While there are no quantitative data at my disposal, there is reason to assume that among these German and Dutch speakers attributive possession, and hence head-modifier order, is more frequent than compounding and the modifier-head syntax associated with it.

Another kind of shift from one construction type to another is provided by Matras and Sakel (forthc.) on Domari, an Indo-Aryan language spoken in the Middle Eastern Dom area. The principal contact language of Domari speakers is Arabic. In Arabic, adjectives follow the noun they modify, cf. (4), while in Domari they precede, cf. (5a). Now, Domari has a predicative construction, illustrated in (5b), where the adjective follows the noun and is in turn followed by an enclitic predicative marker (PRED). This predicative construction is often preferred when introducing nominal entities in Domari discourse, as it matches the word order of the Arabic noun-adjective construction, cf. (5c).

(4) Arabic (Afroasiatic; Matras & Sakel forthc.)

<i>l-</i>	<i>walad</i>	<i>l-</i>	<i>kbīr</i>
DEF-	boy	DEF-	big.M

⁷ Concerning the term "dominant language", see Johanson (1992).

'the big boy'

(5) Domari (Indo-Aryan; Matras & Sakel 2006)

a *till- a zara*
big- M boy
'the big boy'

b *zara till- ěk*
boy big- PRED.M
'the boy is big'

c *er- a zara till- ěk.*
came- M boy big- PRED.M
'The big boy arrived' (Lit.: 'The boy, being big, arrived').

Obviously, the only reasonable motivation underlying this behavior of Domari speakers must have been to find an equivalent to the linear arrangement of Arabic. The evidence that this behavior was contact-induced is of the following kind. First, Arabic is an important L2 for Domari speakers of this community, second, there are no postposed nominal modifiers in Domari, and third, Domari structure has been influenced by Arabic in a number of other ways as well.

Like the preceding example, this case does not represent a change from one form of categorization to another; rather, it also involves a change in preference of one construction in over another. But unlike the preceding case, this one shows that a construction can be used for quite a different purpose, in that language contact appears to be responsible for the extension of a predicative construction to also serve as a nominal modifier.

The Aztecan language Nahuatl provides an example of a gradual shift from one construction to another, apparently in an attempt to match the word order alignment of the model of the dominant language Spanish: There is a process that, at least on the surface, may be interpreted as leading from pre-verbal to post-verbal marking of object nouns. In Classical Nahuatl, incorporating nominal objects placed pre-verbally was highly productive, as illustrated in (6). In modern Hispanized varieties of Nahuatl, incorporation is disfavored, the preferred construction being one that also was available, where the object follows the verb, as in (7) (Flores Farfán 2004). There is little doubt that this change was influenced by contact with Spanish, although language attrition is also held responsible for the process.

(6) Classical Nahuatl (Flores Farfán 2004: 86)

ni- xōchi- temoa- ∅- ∅.
1.SG-flower- seek- PRES- SG
'I seek flowers.'

(7) Hispanized Xalitla Nahuatl (Flores Farfán 2004: 86)

ni- temoa- ∅- ∅ xoochi- meh.
1.SG-look- PRES- SG flower- PL
'I seek flowers.'

Once again there is no real word order change; rather, what happened is that a productive pattern loses in productivity in favor of another existing pattern that matches the word order of the Spanish model. As Flores Farfán (2004: 86) argues, with the activation of post-verbal object placement, the old construction of object incorporation has acquired a new significance in monolingual varieties of Nahuatl, serving "topicalization" (presumably more appropriately: focus marking), in that in such varieties (7) would be unmarked whereas (6) could be translated as 'It is flowers what I'm looking for'.

3.3 Pragmatic unmarking

As we saw in section 3.2, language contact may induce people to "copy" arrangements of meaningful elements from one language into another, in accordance with (1d) (Johanson 1992; 2002). But the "new word order" does not arise as a result of (1d) but rather of (1b) without there actually being any word order change. This is the case, for example, when in the process of grammaticalization some structure is reinterpreted as some other structure, with the result that a seemingly new word order arises. We had cases of grammaticalization above, like when we were dealing with a construction of predication that is pressed into service to mark nominal modifiers in Domari. But perhaps the main driving force for adjusting one's word order to that of another language is to select a pragmatically marked use pattern that exhibits an ordering corresponding to that of the model language and to grammaticalize that pattern into an unmarked syntactic pattern; note that a development from pragmatically marked to syntactic constituent is a fairly common grammaticalization process (Givón 1979a; 1979b; 1979c; 1984, 1995).

The present section will illustrate the role of pragmatics in grammatical replication by looking at a number of cases of language contact. I will first deal with phrase structure and subsequently with sentence word order.

3.3.1 Phrase structure

Noun modifier. An incipient shift in the order of attributive possession can be observed among certain groups of Russian L1 speakers in Finland, as studied by Leisiö (2000). In Finnish (and Finland Swedish) the genitive modifier precedes its head in attribute possession, while in Russian, the genitive modifier follows the head but -- and this is relevant to our discussion -- in colloquial speech, the reverse order is more common when the possessor is a specific person and/or is in focus. Leisiö distinguishes two groups of Russian speakers in Finland: On the one hand there are what she calls "dialect speakers" (i.e. the so called Kyyrölä Russians), whose speech has Northern Russian dialect features; on the other hand there are speakers of "nondialect Russian". The former group differs from the latter in particular in the fact that it has a long history of close contact with Finnish. A quantitative analysis of text corpora of the two groups shows a significantly higher frequency of Finnish-type modifier-head uses for "dialect speakers". As can be seen in table 1, modifier-head order is predominant among "dialect speakers" (88 %), while among "nondialect speakers" the Standard Russian order head-modifier prevails (59 %).

Table 1. Relative frequency of genitive and possessive-adjective constructions in two groups of L1 speakers of Russian in Finland (based on Leisiö 2000: 309).

	Head-modifier	Modifier-head	Total (Absolute figures)
"Nondialect speakers" (40)	59 %	41 %	100 % (141)
"Dialect (Kyyrölä) speakers" (28)	12 %	88 %	100 % (103)

What the analysis by Leisiö (2000) suggests is, first, that intensity of language contact with Finnish has resulted in a significantly higher rate of word order of Finnish-type genitive constructions, and second, that the change involved was not one from one word order to another but rather from minor (= less frequent) to major (= more frequent) use pattern, and, third, that the change has a pragmatic base: The preposed modifier position in colloquial Russian is said to be associated with animacy, prominence, and/or focal information. In other words, what used to be a pragmatically marked placement appears to have turned into the normal, that is, unmarked one in "dialect speakers" of Kyyrölä Russian.

It would seem that this is not an isolated case. Like Russian, Polish has head-modifier order in genitive constructions but in spoken Polish, the modifier is sometimes preposed, especially when the noun refers to a person, e.g., *naszego kolegi siostra* 'our friend's sister'. This modifier-head pattern appears to gain in frequency among émigré Poles in close contact with English; thus, Sussex observes:

One also finds copies of English word order in structures like preposed possessives in émigré Polish: *mojej siostry tata* 'my sister's father' (standard Polish: *tata mojej siostry*. (Sussex 1993: 1020)

Molisean, the variety of a Croatian minority in Molise, southern Italy, provides a similar example of structural change within the noun phrase. Rather than preceding the nominal head, nominal attributes in Molisean tend to be postposed, thereby matching the structure of the Italian model language. That we are dealing with a contact-induced change is suggested e.g. by the fact that Italian may use word order to express a functional distinction between a differentiating (postposing) and descriptive (preposing) use of attributes. According to Breu (1996), exactly this distinction has been replicated by Molisean speakers, cf. (8).

(8) Molise Croatian (Breu 1996: 31)

- | | | | | | |
|---|-------------|--------------------|--------------------|--|--|
| a | <i>jena</i> | <i>mala</i> | <i>hiža</i> | | <i>'a big house'</i> |
| | one | big | house | | |
| | | | | | |
| b | <i>jena</i> | <i>hiža</i> | <i>mala</i> | | <i>'a big house (not a small one)'</i> |
| | one | house | big | | |
| c | <i>una</i> | <i>casa</i> | <i>grande</i> | | <i>'a big house' (Italian)</i> |

Evidence in support of a contact hypothesis is provided by the following observations: First, speakers of this Slavic variety have had a 500-years history of intense contact with the host language Italian; second, Molise Croatian has replicated a wide range of Italian structures as a result of this contact and, third, as Breu (1996) argues convincingly, an account of this change of preference of head-modifier order in terms of an inclusively internal development is implausible.

The following is a more complex example of grammaticalization of a pragmatic structure into a new syntactic structure. Ross (1996; 2001) describes a situation where two genetically unrelated languages spoken on Karkar Island off the north coast of Papua New Guinea have become semantically and syntactically largely intertranslatable while each of the two has retained its own lexical material – a situation he proposes to call metatypy. The model language is Waskia, a Papuan language of the Trans-New Guinea type, and the replica language Takia, a Western Oceanic language of the Bel family of the North New Guinea

cluster. In the process of contact, "Takia speakers have increasingly come to construe the world around them in the same way as the Waskia" (Ross 2001: 144). In an attempt to assimilate their language to the Papuan language Waskia, speakers of the Western Oceanic language Takia largely adopted the syntax of the Papuan language Waskia. For example, while in Proto-Western Oceanic the determiner (article) preceded the head noun, cf. (9a), it follows the head noun in both Takia (9b) and Waskia (9c).

(9) Determiner – noun order (Ross 2001: 142)

a	Proto-Western Oceanic	<i>*a</i>	<i>tam^wata</i>	'the man'
		DET	man	
b	Takia (Western Oceanic)		<i>tamol an</i>	'the man'
			man DET	
c	Waskia (Papuan)		<i>kadi mu</i>	'the man'
			man DET	

The way Takia changed from preposed to postposed determiner is the following: Proto-Western Oceanic had a set of three deictic morphemes, one of them being **a* ('that', near speaker). When one of these was used attributively, it followed the Proto-Western Oceanic adjective syntax, taking a pronominal suffix agreeing in person and number with the head noun, the result being a structure as in (10a). This structure underwent a canonical grammaticalization process from demonstrative to definite determiner, resulting in the Takia structure (10b) (= (9b)). In this process, the construction was subject to the usual mechanisms of grammaticalization, that is, loss of deictic force (desemanticization), of its status as an inflectable constituent (decategorialization), and loss of the preposed article **a* and reduction of the postposed determiner **a-nā > an* (erosion).

(10) Grammaticalization (based on Ross 2001: 142)

a	Proto-Western Oceanic	<i>*a</i>	<i>tam^wata</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>nā</i>	'that man'
		DET	man	that-	3.SG	
b	Takia		<i>tamol</i>	<i>an</i>		'the man'
			man	DET		

As the description by Ross suggests, the change in Takia from preposed to postposed determiner did not involve any change in the order of constituents; rather, in order to adapt to the postposed determiner order of the model language Waskia, Takia speakers drew on a construction that was available to them, namely what appears to have been a pragmatically marked postposed deictic determiner, and they grammaticalized it into their new determiner.

This example illustrates a process that we observed already earlier: Following a pattern in the model language, speakers draw on some existing use pattern in the replica language that corresponds most closely to the model, frequently one that until then was more peripheral and of low frequency, and they activate it – with the effect that that peripheral pattern turns into the regular equivalent of the model, acquires a high frequency of use, and eventually may emerge as a fully grammaticalized category, equivalent to the model category.

From prepositions to postpositions. Prepositions may change diachronically into postpositions and vice versa. But do they really do so in language contact? Another case of

"word order change" discussed by Ross (1996; 2001) concerns a set of postpositions exhibiting a similar semantic patterning in the two languages. Western Oceanic languages commonly have prepositions but Takia speakers have lost the prepositions, or use them no longer productively. In an attempt to replicate the postpositions of Waskia, Takia speakers developed postpositions by grammaticalizing inalienably possessed relational nouns. In this way, a Proto-Western Oceanic construction illustrated in (11) turned into a postpositional construction (12) in Takia (note that Takia has given up the possessee-possessor order of Western Oceanic and adopted the possessor-possessee order of Waskia). In accordance with mechanisms associated with grammaticalization, the prepositional phrase **i lalo-nā* lost its nominal structure and turned into an adposition (decategorialization) and was phonetically reduced to *lo* (erosion). Thus, in order to establish equivalence with the model language Waskia, speakers of the replica language Takia had recourse to a grammaticalization process. One crosslinguistically fairly widespread conceptual schema leading to the rise of new possessive constructions is referred to by Heine (1997: 144) as the Topic Schema, taking the form [(As for) X, X's Y] (e.g., something like *I saw John, (actually) his car*), where the possessee follows the possessor and agrees with the latter in the form of a possessive attribute, and turn it into a possessive construction (*John's car*). In using this schema as a pragmatically marked option, Takia developed a relational noun for 'inside' into locative (inessive) adposition.

(11) Proto-Western Oceanic (Ross 1996:189; 2001:143)

**i lalo- nā a Rumaq*
 PREP inside- its ART house
 'inside the house'

(12) Takia (Western Oceanic; Ross 1996:190; Ross 2001: 143)

ab lo
 house in
 'in the house'

Predictably, in languages using this schema the possessee follows, rather than precedes, the possessor – irrespective of any word order constraints that may characterize the language concerned. It would seem that Takia speakers drew on this schema, with the effect that the possessee follows the possessor. Now, when the possessee phrase **i lalo-nā* was grammaticalized, the expected result was a postposition on the erstwhile possessor rather than a preposition. This suggests that Takia's history from prepositions to postpositions did not involve any word order change; rather, the prepositions were lost and the postpositions arose via the creation of a new possessive construction. While this was seemingly a language-internal process, we concur with Ross that it was at the same time contact-induced, in that the choice of the Topic Schema provided Takia speakers (or their ancestors) with a strategy to match the postpositional structure of the model language Waskia.

Genitive word order alignment. That the Topic Schema provides an important means in the grammatical replication of word order characteristics can also be demonstrated with the following examples on attributive possession. Unlike fellow Western Oceanic languages, such as Arop-Lokep in (13), Takia (14) follows the Papuan language Waskia in placing the possessor before the possessee (15), and once more it seems that it was the Topic Schema that allowed them to replicate the possessor-possessee syntax of Waskia: This schema appears to have provided the most convenient tool for preposing the possessor, where (14) can be paraphrased diachronically roughly as '(as for) Kai, his house'.

(13) Arop-Lokep (Western Oceanic; Ross 2006)

rumu ke tool in
house ABL man that
'that man's house'

(14) Takia (Western Oceanic; Ross 2006)

Kai sa- n ab
Kai CLASS- hishouse
'Kai's house'

(15) Waskia (Papuan; Ross 2003: 184; 2006)

Kai ko kawam
Kai ABL house
'Kai's house'

A strikingly similar situation can be found in the Qashqa-Darya dialect of Arabic spoken in Uzbekistan. Having been separated from the Arabic-speaking world for many centuries, this dialect (together with Bukhara, another Arabic dialect; see below) has been in contact with the Indo-European languages Tajik and Dari and the Turkic languages Uzbek and Turkmen; Qashqa-Darya speakers are particularly fluent in Uzbek. Chikovani (2005) notes a number of contact-induced changes that Qashqa-Darya Arabic has undergone under the influence of Uzbek. In attributive possession, the head-modifier order of Arabic is still widely used (16a). But under the influence of Uzbek, a new order possessor-possessee has evolved via the grammaticalization of the Topic Schema, where the possessor precedes and is cross-referenced on the possessee by means of a possessive suffix (16b).

(16) Qashqa-Darya Arabic (Chikovani 2005: 131)

a *ṣōḥb il-bāgir*
owner the-cow
'the owner of the cow'

b *āfāndi morta*
effendi wife.his
'the effendi's wife'

3.3.2 Sentence order

From SOV to SVO: West Rumelian Turkish. One effect that the change from minor to major use pattern may have is that it leads from what is usually described as a marked structure to an unmarked structure. Turkish is commonly portrayed as a verb-final language, but there are pragmatically marked structures where the verb precedes its complement. For example, Friedman (2003: 66) notes that a sentence such as (17a), where the verb occurs in non-final position, would have a pragmatically marked meaning like 'It is Erol who is the good student' in Standard Turkish. But Turkish varieties spoken on the Balkans have been strongly influenced by Balkan languages, and in West Rumelian Turkish dialects spoken in Macedonia, the above sentence would be an unmarked sentence equivalent of English 'Erol is a good student' – corresponding to the unmarked Macedonian sentence (17c). This suggests that under the influence of Macedonian and perhaps other Balkanic verb-medial (= SVO) languages, speakers of West Rumelian Turkish dialects have developed one of their pragmatically marked minor use patterns into an unmarked pattern – thereby establishing

syntactic equivalence with the language or languages of their Balkanic neighbors. Consequently, in these Turkish dialects of Macedonia the verb occurs far more frequently in a non-final position than it does in Standard Turkish.⁸

(17) Turkish and Macedonian (Friedman 2003: 66; no glosses provided)

- | | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| a | <i>Erol 'dur iyi öğrenci.</i> | 'It is Erol who is the good student.' | Standard Turkish |
| b | <i>Erol 'dur iyi öğrenci.</i> | 'Erol is a good student.' | West Rumelian Turkish |
| c | <i>Erol e dobar učenik.</i> | 'Erol is a good student.' | Macedonian |

That language contact was a contributing factor in this development is suggested, first, by the fact that West Rumelian Turkish has been influenced massively by Macedonian, second, that an internal development from SOV to SVO is unlikely in this case and, third, that using a pragmatically marked option to establish an equivalence relation with the word order of the model language appears to be a crosslinguistically common strategy.

From SOV towards pragmatically unmarked order in Eskimo. Rather than "word order change", certain varieties of Eskimo are experiencing a new orientation in presenting sentence participants as a result of language contact. Fortescue (1993) describes "standard Eskimo narrative discourse", with special reference to West Greenlandic, in terms of the word order arrangements listed in (20), where X stands for adverbial material modifying the verb, and the optional constituents are: P1 = an NP with the function of a given topic (anaphoric), P \emptyset = foregrounded/highlighted material, which may include e.g. a new topic NP or heavy material modifying a head NP, or other material expressing high "newsworthiness", and Tail = afterthought or clarifying/elaborating material. He observes that deviations from the order in (18a) are statistically not very frequent, while deviations from (18b) and (18c) are not tolerated, at least not in West Greenlandic.

(18) Neutral word order in Eskimo (Fortescue 1993)

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| a | (P1) S-O-X-V (P \emptyset) (Tail), |
| b | possessor - possessee, |
| c | head - modifier. |

Fortescue observes that there are also what he calls "non-neutral" orderings deviating from the neutral orders in (18), which he finds to be particularly frequent in Eskimo varieties most strongly exposed to contact with English, characterized by a high degree of bilingualism, that is, in North Alaska Inupiaq, Central Alaskan Yup'ik, and Canadian Inuktitut, and they are less pronounced in older than in younger texts. In the former two varieties, the orders VO, possessee - possessor, and modifier - head, all deviating from the orders in (20) but corresponding to the order in English, appear to be common and to lack "contextual markedness" (Fortescue 1993: 282). That English contact influence is a contributing factor is suggested also by the observation that it is in recent texts of Canadian Inuktitut "from areas

⁸ In more general terms, Johanson (1992: 255) observes: "In türkischen Sprechsprachen des balkanischen Areals hat das ständige Kopieren die Wortstellung so umgestaltet, dass z.B. Komplemente und freie Angaben gewöhnlich dem Prädikatskern folgen. Besonders das Gausische ahmt die Rechtsverzweigkeit der umgebenden slawischen Sprachen und des Römänischen nach [...]."

where English has made the strongest inroads that the proportion of 'non-neutral' clausal orderings increases dramatically" (p. 283). Fortescue concludes:

We can return now to the paradoxical suggestion that the influence of rigidly SVO English, in those areas where its impact has been great, should have resulted in 'freer' word order. What seems to have happened there is that the original fairly labile but by no means 'free' word order principles of Eskimo have been nudged (through the mechanism of bilingualism) in the direction of favouring those patterns, once contextually 'marked', that correspond to common English patterns, to the detriment of those that are alien to English. The effect of English in these areas has thus been to loosen up the word order, obscuring the pragmatic factors that originally determined the relative positioning of clausal constituents when 'neutral' conditions did not apply, but without imposing its own rigid ordering patterns on the receiving language. (Fortescue 1993: 285).

The main factor in these changes was apparently the weakening of pragmatic significance attached to word order. It seems that there is a new use pattern VO in Alaskan Eskimo where post-verbal objects are no longer given special emphasis, by being foregrounded/highlighted, that is, where this ordering is less pragmatically than syntactically motivated. These changes are clearly more marked in the spoken than in the written forms of language use, and they are more marked in the Eskimo-English contact situations of western Canada and Alaska than in Eskimo-Danish contacts in West Greenland, where the colonizing language at no point has "been forced upon the native population as has been the case at various times and places in North America" (Fortescue 1993: 287). The overall effect of these changes is not that Eskimo has acquired a new word order but rather that the pragmatics of information structure has lost its significance and that linear arrangement now is looser and more readily corresponds to arrangements in the model language English.

From VO to OV via topicalization in Bukhara Arabic of Uzbekistan. That speakers react to language contact by molding pragmatically marked use patterns in the direction of the model language can also be shown with the following example. Ratcliffe (2005: 143-5) argues that in the Bukhara dialect of Arabic of Uzbekistan there is a common syntactic OV pattern where transitive verbs have an encliticized pronoun referring back to a nominal object, cf. (19), and he notes: "This type of construction is by no means alien to other forms of Arabic, where a word can be topicalized by being moved to the first position of a sentence, with its syntactic role indicated by a resumptive pronoun", as in the Egyptian example of (20).

(19) Bukhara Arabic (Ratcliffe 2005: 144)

sakina xadā- ha.
knife (he) took- it
'He took a knife.'

(20) Egyptian Arabic (Ratcliffe 2005: 145)

il- fustān gībt- u.
the dress I.got- it
'I got the dress.'

What appears to have happened in Bukhara Arabic is that a topicalization strategy within VO syntax was grammaticalized to a pragmatically unmarked OV syntax, with "the reanalysis of

a resumptive pronoun as a verbal inflection agreeing with the object" (Ratcliffe 2005: 145). The result is a pattern that matches the OV order of the model languages Tajik and Uzbek, and Ratcliffe (2005: 145) comments that the "... shift from VO to OV is not immediate, but is mediated through a variant word-order pattern available to the language in the stage where VO is the unmarked order".

From VSO to SVO in Breton. There is an abundance of information on how in situations of contact one language may adopt syntactic properties of another language. But it may as well happen that the replication of a grammaticalization process has some effects on the syntactic structures concerned, leading e.g. to the rise of new syntactic relations and new arrangements of meaningful elements.

Breton differs from fellow Celtic languages in a number of respects. Geographically, it is the only modern Celtic language spoken in mainland Europe. Linguistically, it has some properties that also set it apart from other insular Celtic languages. One of these properties is the presence of a fully grammaticalized possessive perfect (or 'have'-perfect) akin to what is commonly found in mainland western Europe. Another property concerns word order syntax: While the Celtic languages Irish, Scottish Gaelic, and Welsh are characterized by a verb-initial (VSO) syntax, Breton is not; note that Breton is the only modern Celtic language spoken in continental Europe. For Breton, a number of different descriptive taxonomies have been proposed, ranging from one in terms of an underlying VSO-syntax with surface SVO-structures, to one in terms of a basic SVO-syntax with relics of VSO-structures (see Ternes 1999). Irrespective of how one wishes to categorize the overall structure of Breton clauses, it seems fairly uncontroversial to say, first, that Breton has salient SVO-structures that are absent in its closest relative Welsh in particular and in other Celtic languages in general. The following examples from Welsh (21a) and Breton (21b) illustrate this difference.

(21) Celtic languages (Ternes 1999: 238)

a Welsh

Mae 'r tywydd yn braf.
(is the weather AP nice)
'The weather is nice.'

b Breton

An amzer a zo brav.
(the weather that is nice)⁹
'The weather is nice.'

Second, it also appears uncontroversial to argue that this difference is the result of more recent developments whereby Breton became typologically dissimilar from other insular Celtic languages, increasingly replacing its earlier VSO-syntax by SVO-structures. While this is seemingly an instance of syntactic change from one kind of word order to another, thereby making Breton syntactically similar to the majority language French, as a matter of fact it is not; rather, it is the result of a pragmatic process whereby a focus construction, having the structure of a (bi-clausal) cleft construction, is grammaticalized to a new (mono-clausal) syntactic pattern where the (focalized) subject is placed sentence-initially (see Harris &

⁹ Ternes (1999:238) describes the particle *a* as a "verbal particle" (VP). We follow Harris and Campbell (1995:155-6) in glossing it as a relative clause marker (see below).

Campbell 1995: 155-157; Ternes 1999 for details). Thus, a sentence of the form (21b) is diachronically derived from a cleft construction of the type (22).

(22) Focus construction

[It is X [that Y]]

where [It is X] = copular matrix clause, and [that Y] = relative clause.

That this reconstruction is correct is suggested in particular by the fact that the verb phrase in sentences such as (21b) appears to be historically a relative clause: Throughout the history of Breton, the particle *a* is used in relative clauses in which the subject or direct object is relativized, and *zo* (or *so*) is a special third person singular form of the verb 'be', which originated in relative clauses (Harris & Campbell 1995:155). Thus, colloquial Breton has replaced its earlier verb-initial clause structure by a cleft construction where the subject noun phrase is focalized ([It is X]) and the rest of the sentence takes the form of a relative clause ([that Y]). While this grammaticalization process is still in its intermediate stages in written Breton, colloquial (dialectal) varieties of Breton are described as presenting the final stages of the process (Ternes 1999: 248).

But this process does not appear to have happened in a vacuum; rather, it also took place in the general area of Romance languages where Breton is spoken, specifically in colloquial varieties of French and in Gascon. In Gascon it has reached a stage of grammaticalization that is not unlike that found in Breton (Haase 1997; Ternes 1999: 248-9). Thus, the grammaticalized Breton structure has its equivalents in these Romance languages (Wehr 1984: 86f.; Haase 1997: 218), as the following examples (23) and (24) illustrate, where the subject and the verb phrase are connected by what is diachronically a relative clause marker (The asterisk in the glosses indicates that the forms *que* and *qui* are hypothesized to be historically relative clause markers):

(23) Colloquial French (Wehr 1984: 79)

Ton nez qui coule.

(your nose *REL run)

'Your nose is running.'

(24) Gascon (Haase 1997:218f.; cited from Ternes 1999: 249)

Lo monde que van tribalhar.

(the world *REL go work)

'The people go to work.'

Given the fact that Breton has been strongly influenced by its Romance-speaking neighbors, there is reason to adopt the hypothesis suggested by Ternes (1999) according to which Breton speakers replicated a grammaticalization process that they observed in colloquial French and perhaps other Romance varieties.¹⁰ This hypothesis is based on the following facts:

¹⁰ There is an alternative hypothesis according to which the grammaticalization that Breton underwent is not the result of transfer from Romance languages but can be traced back to an earlier Celtic structure (Jost Gippert; p.c.). While such a possibility cannot entirely be ruled out, the evidence available suggests that the Breton structure cannot be traced back to earlier Celtic; rather, it is the result of processes that happened more recently, that is, within the last millennium after the split of Breton from its insular Celtic relatives. Nevertheless, even if one were to assume that that latter hypothesis is correct, this would not change the basic fact that

- (a) This process did not take place in languages genetically closely related to Breton, that is, in other insular Celtic languages.
- (b) Breton shares a grammaticalization process with its immediate Romance neighbors.
- (c) Since Breton is known to have had an extended period of language contact with its Romance neighbors, resulting in massive linguistic transfers, it appears plausible that we are dealing with yet another instance of contact-induced transfer.
- (d) The grammaticalization of bi-clausal focus (cleft) constructions to mono-clausal constructions is cross-linguistically not entirely uncommon (see e.g. Heine & Reh 1984; Harris & Campbell 1995:152-62; Harris 2003); still, if it is found in neighboring languages then language contact offers the most plausible hypothesis to account for this fact.

To conclude, Breton is experiencing a change that makes it typologically more similar to French, the major second language of the region where Breton is spoken, bringing it in line with the SVO word order of French. But this change in word order appears to have been an epiphenomenal product of something else, namely a shared grammaticalization process that appears to have been responsible for this typological alignment from pragmatic to syntactic marking.

3.4 Extension and frequency

Of all the factors discussed in this paper, the most pervasive effects on grammatical replication can be seen in the extension of existing structures to new contexts and in an increased frequency of use. These may be concomitant results of other factors such as pragmatic forces (section 3.3), but they may as well be the only effects of language contact, and in the present section I am concerned with the latter. What frequently happens is that speakers draw on a minor use pattern -- one that has a more marginal status, being used rarely and/or only in specific contexts only to build a new major use pattern by increasing the frequency of use and extending the range of contexts in which it may occur.

From SVO to free word order and SOV preference. In the following example, a Turkic language, Uzbek, was not the replica but the model language. As we noted above, the Qashqa-Darya dialect of Arabic, spoken in Uzbekistan, has been separated from the Arabic-speaking world for many centuries. Together with Bukhara, another Arabic dialect, it has been in contact with the Indo-European languages Tajik and Dari and the Turkic languages Uzbek and Turkmen, but especially with Uzbek; note that Qashqa-Darya speakers are particularly fluent in Uzbek. The description by Chikovani (2005) suggests the following changes, which he attributes to the influence of the verb-final Turkic language Uzbek: The Qashqa-Darya speakers, first, acquired a free word order, where the main constituent orders are SVO, OVS, and SOV, and, second, the verb-final order SOV, illustrated in (25), has become the most frequent word order type in this Arabic dialect.

(25) Qashqa-Darya Arabic (Chikovani 2005: 131)

bōy i bint hušrūya gāl-ki.

(bey girl beautiful said)

'The bey said to the beautiful girl ...'.

there was a transfer of a grammaticalization process from one language to another – be it from Romance to Celtic or the other way round.

This case can be considered to be another instance of narrowing (section 3.1), in that out of a range of different word orders available, one that immediately corresponds to that of the model language is selected as the primary order. The reason for treating it here is that on the basis of the data available it would seem that frequency of use was the primary factor for shaping the status of word order alignment.

From preposed to postposed subordinate clauses. Turkic languages in general and Turkish and Standard Uzbek in particular are renowned for placing (nonfinite) relative clauses before the verb. But Uzbek of northern Afghanistan (UNA) has replicated the Persian structure of finite post-verbal relative clauses (Reichl 1983). In the following examples, (26a) illustrates the nonfinite relative clause structure of Standard Uzbek while (26b) shows the corresponding UNA structure, where the Persian structure illustrated in (26c) is said to have provided the model.

(26a) Standard Uzbek (Reichl 1983: 483)

Men kutub↓anada išlaydigan bir ādam taniyman.
 I in.the.library working a man I.know
 'I know a man who works in the library.'

(26b) UNA (Reichl 1983: 484)

Men bir ādamdi taniyman ki u ketāb↓anaga išlaid'i.
 I a man I.know who he in.the.library he.works
 'I know a man who works in the library.'

(26c) Persian (Reichl 1983: 484)

(Man) ādanī ke (u) dar ketāb↓ane kār mīkonad mītānam.
 I a.man who (he) in library work he.does I.know
 'I know a man who works in the library.'

Reichl (1983) portrays this example as a case of genuine word order change from preposed to postposed relative clause as a result of Persian influence. That there was replication of a Persian model seems to be uncontroversial; but the UNA structure is not really an innovation. In Standard Uzbek as well a structure like (26b) exists, where a finite post-verbal subordinate clause is introduced by a conjunction. What appears to distinguish UNA mainly from Standard Uzbek is that in the latter this is an available option while in UNA this has turned into the preferred structure. Thus, the relevant contact-induced change can be summarized as in table 2, leading from less common, minor, to more common, major structure of subordination.

Table 2. A scenario of replicaton of the relative clause structure in Uzbek of northern Afghanistan (UNA) (based on Reichl 1983. Major discourse option in bold; minor discourse option in parentheses).

	Structure of subordinate clause	
Standard Uzbek	nonfinite, preverbal	(finite, postverbal, introduced by conjunction)
UNA	(nonfinite, preverbal)	finite, postverbal, introduced by conjunction
Persian		finite, postverbal, introduced by conjunction

Extension of preposed adjective order. In concluding, one may mention an example of a gradual shift from postposing to preposing adjective placement. In the contact situation between English and the French/Norman dialect Guernésiais on the Channel Island of Guernsey, speakers of Guernésiais appear to be replicating the preposed-adjective order of English by expanding the existing use pattern of adjective - noun ordering. Guernésiais speakers tend to prepose adjectives distinctly more frequently than would be expected historically: Jones (2002: 154) found 70 % of all adjectives to be preposed. In this case, no grammaticalization from one meaning or pragmatic function to another appears to have been involved; rather, what happened is that an existing use pattern was extended. That contact played a role in this change is suggested e.g. by the fact that not only simple adjectives but also compound adjectives, which are likely to follow the noun in Mainland Norman, are being preposed, e.g.,

- (27) Guernésiais (Jones 2002: 156)
ses anti-rouoyalistes principes
 'his anti-royalist principles'

From nominal postmodification to premodification. Pre- and postmodification by means of non-inflected nominal expressions present nearly mirror images in German and English: In German, postmodification is the preferred strategy, cf. (28a), whereas in English this is premodification (28b). In the former language, syntactic postmodification is morphosyntactically more flexible and semantically less restricted than in English, while in English premodification is morphosyntactically more flexible and semantically less restricted than in German.

- (28) a German: Die Familie Müller 'the Miller family'
 b English: The Clayhanger family

Zifonun (2008) argues that there is a minor shift in German from post- to premodification due to English influence. This shift is manifested in context extension and in frequency of use. She found in her corpus of 18th and 19th century German that premodification involving the noun *Regierung* 'government' as a head noun accounts only for 12.5 % (2 out of 16) cases of noun modification while in present-day German the number increased to 27.9 % (58 out of 150). Thus phrases such as *die Kohl-Regierung* 'the government of chancellor Helmut Kohl' were rarely found in earlier forms of German but are now fairly common. To be sure, a use pattern with premodified proper names of the kind *Mozartkugel* 'Mozart ball' or *Beethoven-Symphonie* 'Beethoven symphony' existed earlier, but what happened is that this use pattern experienced semantic expansion and an increase in its frequency of use.

4 A counterexample

The message of the present paper is that in contact-induced change nothing falls from heaven; rather, innovations in the linear arrangement of meaningful elements build on what already exists in the language concerned. There is, however, one example that would seem to contradict this claim. It concerns effects of borrowing (in the technical sense as outlined in table 1) rather than replication.

The example relates to the situation of language contact in Estonia, where the minority language Russian represents the 'weak code' and the national language Estonian the 'strong

code'.¹¹ Speakers of Russian in Estonia have created a number of replica constructions on the model of Estonian, and the following is one instance of such constructions (Verschik 2008: 73). In Estonian, nominal modifiers precede their nominal heads, that is, there is modifier-head (possessor – possessee) order, whereas Russian has the opposite order. There appears to be a fairly stable pattern that Estonian Russians were found to use in responding to the contrasting order in their version of Russian, and this pattern is in accordance with what was discussed in section 3.2 as shift from one construction type to another: Since adjectives precede their head nouns in Russian, Estonian Russians tend to draw on their [adjective - noun] construction to present the head noun as a relative adjective modifier, thereby replicating the modifier-head order of nominal possession in Estonian. Thus, where a monolingual Russian (R) might say something like (28a), Estonian Russians (ER) would use (28b) on the model of Estonian (E) (28c). While being compatible with Russian syntax, (28b) would not be used by monolingual Russians.

- (28) a R pereryv dlja kofe
break for coffee
- b ER kofej- n- aja pauza
coffee- ADJ- F.NOM.SG break
- c E kohv- i- paus
coffee- GEN- break
'coffee break' (Verschik 2008: 73)

Accordingly, there appears to be a formula of equivalence where (29a) of Estonian Russian corresponds to (29b).

- (29) a ER modifier noun-ADJ - head noun
b E modifier-GEN - head noun

This 'word order change' is in accordance with what we found throughout this paper; but there is also a new pattern that is not. Russian Estonians use, or have borrowed, a number of Estonian proper nouns, i.e. toponyms, personal names, and names of companies. When such names are presented as possessive modifiers, the constructions to be used in Standard Russian (R) would be either (30a) or (30b), where *Pae* is a street name of Estonia's capital Tallinn. But the construction favored in Estonian Russian would be (30c), which is a replica of the Estonian construction (30d) and has no structural equivalent in Standard Russian.

- (30) a R gimnazija Paé
gymnasium Pae.GEN
- b R Paé- sk- aja gimnazija
Pae- ADJ- F.SG.NOM gymnasium
- c ER Pae gimnazija
Pae.GEN gymnasium

¹¹ This terminology, as well as the data presented below, are taken from the insightful discussion in Verschik (2008: 83ff.).

E Pae gümnasium (Verschik 2008: 83-4)
Pae.GEN

As the description by Verschik (2008: 83-4) suggests, with such borrowed proper nouns there is in fact a genuinely new word order resulting from language contact. But this case differs from all the other examples discussed in this paper in that replication was triggered by borrowing, and the new order can be understood to be a lexical feature of the borrowed nouns concerned. Nevertheless, this example shows that in principle, straightforward replication of word order does in fact seem possible, even if it requires specific conditions to take place.

5 Conclusions

In a seminal paper on word order in the Romani varieties of Europe, Boretzky (1996) comes to the conclusion that in spite of all the changes that these varieties have experienced in contact with their respective host languages, leading to a wide range of new patterns of linear arrangement, no fixed new rules replacing older ones were introduced; rather, what happened is simply that existing rules became looser or more flexible. In the survey data discussed in this paper we have not come across any clear case where speakers really produced a word order entirely alien to the language concerned -- hence, there is not really a change from one word order to a new order. While I do not wish to claim that the latter is impossible (see section 4), this does not seem to be what speakers normally do. What they do, rather, is to recruit existing structures, redefine them, and create new structures that mirror the word order characterizing the model language.¹² The main strategies for creating new word order arrangements matching those of the model language are the following:

- (a) Select among the word order alternatives that exist one that matches the order to be found in the model language.
- (b) Use an existing construction and assign it a new function.
- (c) Use a pragmatically marked construction and develop it into a pragmatically unmarked construction.
- (d) Extend an existing use pattern to new contexts.
- (e) Use an existing use pattern more frequently.

This classification, meant primarily for descriptive purposes, is far from satisfactory, especially since the strategies are by no means mutually exclusive; on the contrary, there is almost invariably more than one strategy involved in a given case of "word order change". But more importantly, there appears to be an entailment relationship in that -- as far as the data that we were able to survey suggest -- (a), (b), and (c) entail (d) and (e), in that the latter two are involved in some way or other in all other strategies. Conceivably, these strategies are different manifestations of a more general process; more research is required on this issue.

While the speakers' goal underlying the strategies described in this paper is apparently to develop some form of correspondence or equivalence relation between the replica and the model language, the outcome of the process can be at variance with this goal. For example, we observed that some communities of Eskimo speakers in North America have changed

¹² Note the following observation made by Johanson (1992: 255): "Bevor Schlüsse auf Fremdeinfluß im Sinne kopierter Wortstellungsmuster gezogen werden, sind jedoch die bereits vorhandenen sprachinternen Variationsmöglichkeiten unbedingt zu beachten."

their word order behavior in the direction of the model language English; but rather than moving towards the fairly rigid SVO order of English, the result was 'freer' word order in Eskimo.

In more general terms, the observations made in this paper suggest that speakers recruit material available in R (the replica language) to create new structures on the model of M (the model language) and that, rather than being entirely new, the structures created in R are built on existing use patterns and constructions that are already available in R. Accordingly, even if there is a clearly syntactic goal, such as copying a word order characteristic of another language, the strategy employed to achieve this goal is not really syntactic but rather semantic or pragmatic in nature.

Fourth, the observations made in this paper show why grammatical replication is -- and presumably will remain -- a notoriously controversial field of study: The grammatical changes described in this paper concern processes of grammaticalization that could in principle have happened as well *internally*, that is, without language contact -- in other words, it is not possible to "prove" that contact was a contributing factor. Nevertheless, I hope to have demonstrated that in the cases examined contact must have been involved, either as a triggering or an accelerating factor, or both.

And finally, the discussion may have shown that there appears to be one fundamental difference between the two main types of contact-induced transfer, namely borrowing and replication (see figure 1). Whereas the former involves a transfer of substance from one language to the other, where "substance" may take the form of loanwords, borrowed phonetic units or properties, etc., there is not really any transfer in the case of replication; rather, what speakers do is that they employ the grammatical means that are available in the replica language in order to create novel structures that correspond, or are believed to correspond, to "appropriate" structures in the model language.

Abbreviations

ABL = ablative; ACC = accusative; ADJ = adjective; AP = adverbial particle; ART = article; CLASS = classifier; DAT = dative; DEF = definite marker; DET = determiner; F = feminine; GEN = genitive; M = masculine; NEG = negative marker; NOM = nominative; OPT = optative marker; PL = plural; PRED = predicative marker; PREP = preposition; PRES = present tense; REL = relative clause marker; SG = singular; 1, 2, 3 = first, second, third person.

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