

Typologising contact-induced changes in grammatical constructions

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Languages

- Need cases where we have an empirical understanding of
 - the changes that have occurred in the ‘copying’ language;
 - the sociolinguistic circumstances of contact, and
 - the language from which grammatical constructions have been ‘copied’
- Not many documented cases satisfy these conditions

Introduction

- An example of contact-induced constructional change
 - British English: *I have known his family all my life*
 - present perfect with a span of time that reaches to the present

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 - **British English:** *I have known his family all my life*
 - present perfect with a span of time that reaches to the present
 - **Colloquial Irish English:** *I know his family all my life*
 - not acceptable in British English
 - reflecting the lack of forms corresponding to the present perfect in the Irish Gaelic of speakers who shifted to English (Hickey 2013:102)

Languages

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 - bilingually induced change, where bilinguals copy from one of their languages into the other and
 - shift-induced change that results from imperfect adult language learning during rapid shift.

Languages

- Colloquial Upper Sorbian
 - has copied constructions through Sorbian/
German bilingualism.
 - Lenka Scholze's 2007 PhD thesis, published as Scholze 2008,
provides ample information
 - earlier work by Frido Michałk and Walter Breu

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German bilingualism.
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provides ample information
 - there is earlier work by Frido Michałk and Walter Breu
- **Rural Irish English**
 - has copied constructions from Irish Gaelic in the
course of language shift

Contact-induced constructional change

- A typology based on the degree to which a construction is altered as a result of contact:
 - an existing construction is used **more frequently**

Contact-induced constructional change

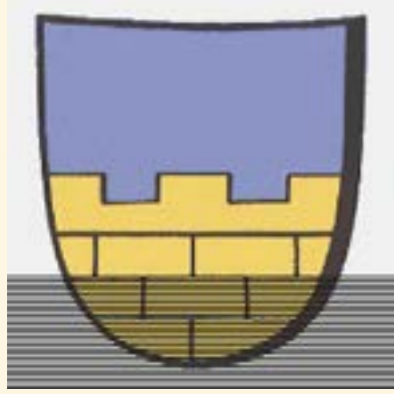
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Contact-induced constructional change

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 - an existing construction is **formally modified**, i.e. **constructional calquing**

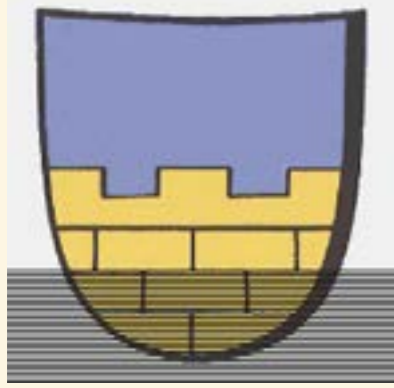
Contact-induced constructional change

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 - an existing construction is formally modified, i.e. constructional calquing
 - an existing construction is **structurally altered** to more closely match a corresponding ML construction, i.e. **metatypy** occurs.



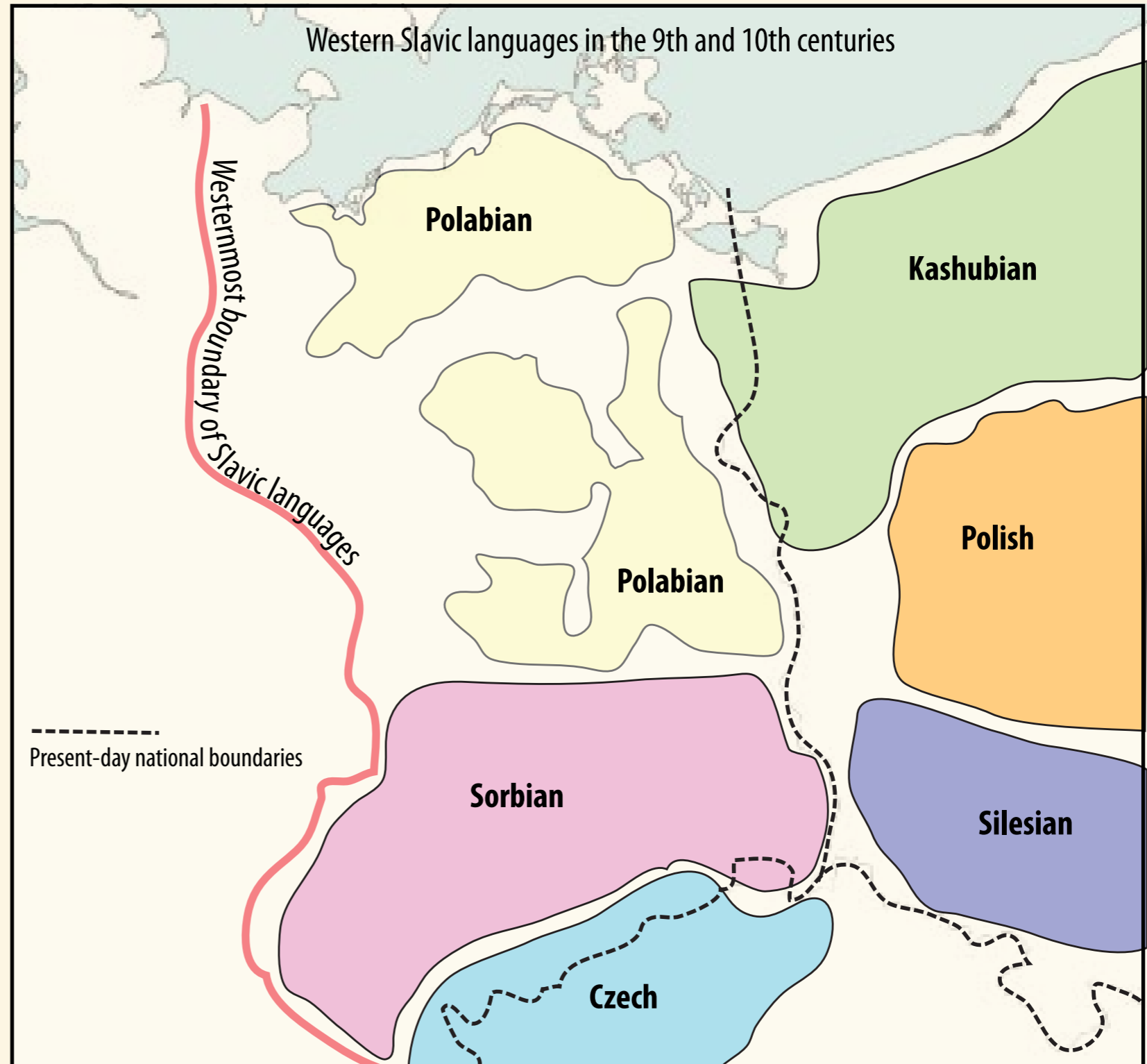
Colloquial Upper Sorbian

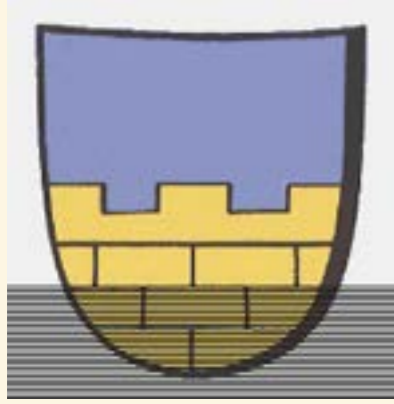
- 5th–6th centuries: Slavic speakers settled eastern region of present-day Germany.
- As the language diversified, the language of the northern part of the region became Polabian, the southern Sorbian.



Colloquial Upper Sorbian

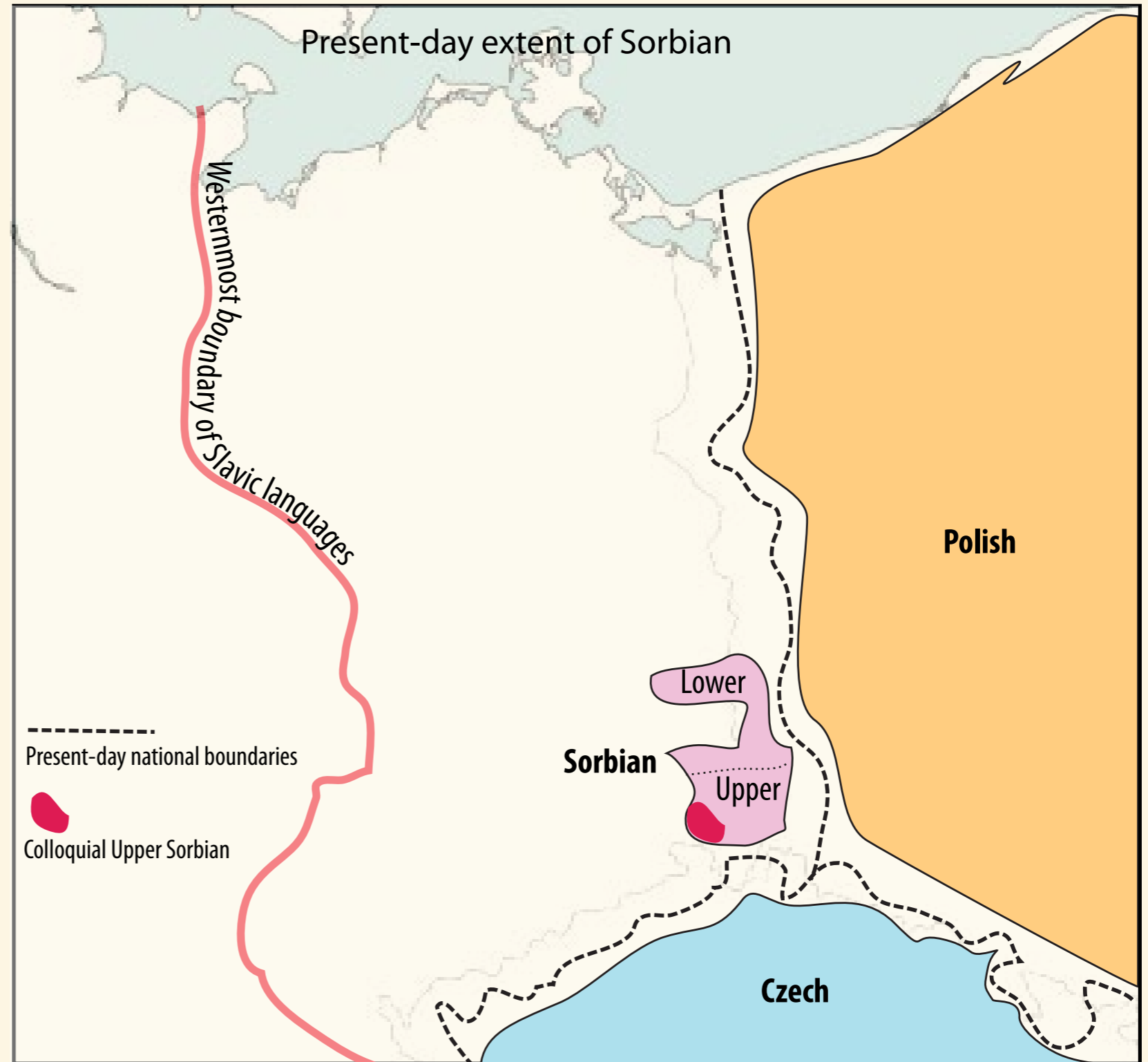
Western Slavic languages in the 9th and 10th centuries (approximate)





Colloquial Upper Sorbian

Present-day
extent of Sorbian
(approximate)



Contact-induced constructional change

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Colloquial Upper Sorbian

StdUS	∅	<i>běše</i>	<i>jemo</i>	∅	<i>stara</i>	<i>žona</i>
CUS	<i>To</i>	<i>běše</i>	<i>jemo</i>	<i>jena</i>	<i>stara</i>	<i>žona</i>
	it.NOM	be.3sIPF	once	a.NOM.F	old.NOM.F	woman.NOM.F
Ge	<i>Es</i>	<i>war</i>	<i>einmal</i>	<i>eine</i>	<i>alte</i>	<i>Frau</i>
	it.NOM	be.3sPST	once	a.NOM.F	old.NOM.F	woman.NOM

‘There was once an old woman.’ (Breu 2012:281)

- *jen* serves both as numeral ‘one’ and as indefinite article, here in a presentative construction

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‘There was once an old woman.’ (Breu 2012:281)

- *jen* serves both as numeral ‘one’ and as indefinite article, here in a presentative construction
- StdUS reflects the most frequent Slavic situation: no indefinite article in a presentative construction.

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‘There was once an old woman.’ (Breu 2012:281)

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- In CUS *jen* is **obligatory**,

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	it.NOM	be.3sIPF	once	a.NOM.F	old.NOM.F	woman.NOM.F
Ge	<i>Es</i>	<i>war</i>	<i>einmal</i>	<i>eine</i>	<i>alte</i>	<i>Frau</i>
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‘There was once an old woman.’ (Breu 2012:281)

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‘There was once an old woman.’ (Breu 2012:281)

- *jen* serves both as numeral ‘one’ and as indefinite article, here in a presentative construction:
- StdUS reflects the most frequent Slavic situation: no indefinite article in a presentative construction.
- In CUS *jen* is **obligatory**, on the model of German *ein*.
- Other Slavic languages sometimes use the numeral ‘one’ in this construction, so the variant of the construction with ‘one’ has displaced the more common variant that lacks it.

Contact-induced constructional change

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	‘There was once an old woman.’ (Breu 2012:281)					

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‘There was once an old woman.’ (Breu 2012:281)

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- CUS uses **to ‘it’ + ‘be’** here

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'There was once an old woman.' (Breu 2012:281)

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	it.NOM	be.3sPST	once	a.NOM.F	old.NOM.F	woman.NOM

‘There was once an old woman.’ (Breu 2012:281)

- StUS has no clause-initial pronoun
- CUS uses **to** + ‘be’ here, imitating Ge **es** + ‘be’
- CUS **to** is the neuter singular form of the neutral demonstrative.

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

CUS

To

it.NOM

jo

be.3sPRS

te

the.NOM.Ns

blido.

table.NOM.Ns

Ge

Das

that.NOM.N

ist

be.3sPRS

der

the.NOM.Ms

Tisch.

table.NOM.Ms

‘That is the table.’

Cz

To

it.NOM

je

be.3sPRS

student.

student.NOM.M

That’s a student.’

Po

To

it.NOM

jest

be.3sPRS

mój

my.NOM.M

brat.

brother.NOM.M

‘That’s my brother.’

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

CUS	To	<i>jo</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>blido.</i>
	it.NOM	be.3sPRS	the.NOM.Ns	table.NOM.Ns
Ge	Das	<i>ist</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>Tisch.</i>
	that.NOM.N	be.3sPRS	the.NOM.Ms	table.NOM.Ms
	'That is the table.'			
Cz	To	<i>je</i>	<i>student.</i>	
	it.NOM	be.3sPRS	student.NOM.M	
	'That's a student.'			
Po	To	<i>jest</i>	<i>mój</i>	<i>brat.</i>
	it.NOM	be.3sPRS	my.NOM.M	brother.NOM.M
	'That's my brother.'			

- **to** is referential

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

CUS **To** **běše** *jemo* *jena* *stara* *žona*
it.NOM be.3sIPF once a.NOM.F old.NOM.F woman.NOM.F

Ge **Es** **war** *einmal* *eine* *alte* *Frau*
it.NOM be.3sPST once a.NOM.F old.NOM.F woman.NOM
‘There was once an old woman.’ (Breu 2012:281)

CUS **To** **jo** *te* *blido.*
it.NOM be.3sPRS the.NOM.Ns table.NOM.Ns
‘That is the table.’

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

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To

běše

jemo

jena

stara

žona

it.NOM

be.3sIPF

once

a.NOM.F

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‘That is the table.’

- In the construction that CUS has copied, CUS **to** and Ge **es** are non-referential dummies.

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it.NOM be.3sPST once a.NOM.F old.NOM.F woman.NOM
‘There was once an old woman.’ (Breu 2012:281)

CUS **To** **jo** *te* *blido.*
it.NOM be.3sPRS the.NOM.Ns table.NOM.Ns
‘That is the table.’

- In the construction that CUS has copied, CUS **to** and Ge **es** are non-referential dummies.
- Use of the existing CUS **to** ‘it’ + ‘be’ construction, where **to** is referential, ...

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

CUS	To	<i>běše</i>	<i>jemo</i>	<i>jena</i>	<i>stara</i>	<i>žona</i>
	it.NOM	be.3sIPF	once	a.NOM.F	old.NOM.F	woman.NOM.F
Ge	<i>Es</i>	<i>war</i>	<i>einmal</i>	<i>eine</i>	<i>alte</i>	<i>Frau</i>
	it.NOM	be.3sPST	once	a.NOM.F	old.NOM.F	woman.NOM
	‘There was once an old woman.’ (Breu 2012:281)					
CUS	To	<i>jo</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>blido.</i>		
	it.NOM	be.3sPRS	the.NOM.Ns	table.NOM.Ns		
	‘That is the table.’					

- In the construction that CUS has copied, CUS **to** and Ge **es** are non-referential dummies.
- Use of the existing CUS **to** ‘it’ + ‘be’ construction, where **to** is referential, has been extended to the ‘there is’ presentational function, where **to** becomes non-referential

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

CUS

To

běše

jemo

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it.NOM

be.3sIPF

once

a.NOM.F

old.NOM.F

woman.NOM.F

Ge

Es

war

einmal eine

alte

Frau

it.NOM

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once

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woman.NOM

‘There was once an old woman.’ (Breu 2012:281)

CUS

To

jo

te

blido.

it.NOM

be.3sPRS

the.NOM.Ns

table.NOM.Ns

‘That is the table.’

- In the construction that CUS has copied, CUS **to** and Ge **es** are non-referential dummies.
- Use of the existing CUS **to** + ‘**be**’ construction, where **to** is referential, has been extended to the presentational function, where **to** becomes non-referential
- This is a **new function** for the CUS **to** + ‘**be**’ construction, to judge from the Polish and Czech examples on the previous screen.

Contact-induced constructional change

- A typology based on the degree to which a construction is altered as a result of contact:
 - an existing construction is used more frequently
 - an existing construction is used for a new function
 - an existing construction is **formally modified**, i.e. **constructional calquing**

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

CUS **To** so *hrimoce.*
it.NOM REFL thunder.3sPRS

Ge **Es** *donnert.*
it.NOM thunder.3sPRS
'It is thundering.'

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

CUS **To** *so* *hrimoce.*
it.NOM REFL thunder.3sPRS

Ge **Es** *donnert.*
it.NOM thunder.3sPRS
'It is thundering.'

To *jo* *džěwećich.*
it.NOM be.3sPRS nine.o'.clock

Es *ist* *neun* *Uhr.*
it.NOM be.3sPRS nine o'.clock
'It is nine o'clock.'

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

CUS **To** *so hrimoce.*
it.NOM REFL thunder.3sPRS

Ge **Es** *donnert.*
it.NOM thunder.3sPRS
'It is thundering.'

Cz **Ø** *prší.*
rain.3sPRS
'It is raining.'

Po *Pada śnieg.*
fall.3sPRS snow.NOM.M
'It's snowing.'

To *jo dźěwećich.*
it.NOM be.3sPRS nine.o'.clock

Es *ist neun Uhr.*
it.NOM be.3sPRS nine o'.clock
'It is nine o'clock.'

Ø *Je děvet hodin.*
be.3sPRS nine o'.clock
'It is nine o'clock.'

Ø *Jest godzina piątą.*
be.3sPRS o'.clock five
'It is five o'clock.'

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

Expletive *to*

CUS	To	<i>bu</i>	<i>fajge</i>	<i>bóto,</i>	<i>[nic hin-hiĆ].</i>
	it.NOM	be.3sSBJV	cowardly	be.PTCP.sN	NEG DEIC-go.INF
Ge	Es	<i>wäre</i>	<i>feige,</i>	<i>[nicht hin-zu-gehen].</i>	
	it.NOM	be.3sIPF.SBJV	cowardly	NEG DEIC-to-go.INF	
		'It would be cowardly not to go.'			

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

Expletive *to*

CUS	To	<i>bu</i>	<i>fajge</i>	<i>bóto,</i>	<i>[nic hin-hić].</i>
	it.NOM	be.3sSBJV	cowardly	be.PTCP.sN	NEG DEIC-go.INF
Ge	Es	<i>wäre</i>	<i>feige,</i>	<i>[nicht hin-zu-gehen].</i>	
	it.NOM	be.3sIPF.SBJV	cowardly	NEG DEIC-to-go.INF	
			‘It would be cowardly not to go.’		
Cz	\emptyset	<i>je</i>	<i>možno</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>změnit.</i>
		be.3sPRS	possible	it.ACC	change.INF
			‘It is possible to change it.’		
Po	\emptyset	\emptyset	<i>szkoda</i>	<i>mówić.</i>	
			pointless	talk.INF	
			‘It’s pointless to discuss it.’		

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

CUS **To** so *hrimoce.*
it.NOM REFL thunder.3sPRS

Ge **Es** *donnert.*
it.NOM thunder.3sPRS
'It is thundering.'

- Language in use consists of intersecting constructions
- Contact may affect just one construction represented in a given clause or sentence

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

CUS

To

so hrimoce.

it.NOM

REFL thunder.3sPRS

Ge

Es

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it.NOM

thunder.3sPRS

'It is thundering.'

- Language in use consists of intersecting constructions
- Contact may affect just one construction represented in a given clause or sentence
- CUS has copied the impersonal construction **es + weather verb** from German,
- but retains the CUS argument structure construction of the verb 'thunder', which is reflexive

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

CUS	To	<i>jo</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>blido.</i>
	it.NOM	be.3sPRS	the.NOM.Ns	table.NOM.Ns
Ge	Das	<i>ist</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>Tisch.</i>
	that.NOM.N	be.3sPRS	the.NOM.Ms	table.NOM.Ms
	'That is the table.'			
Cz	To	<i>je</i>	<i>student.</i>	
	it.NOM	be.3sPRS	student.NOM.M	
	'That's a student.'			
Po	To	<i>jest</i>	<i>mój</i>	<i>brat.</i>
	it.NOM	be.3sPRS	my.NOM.M	brother.NOM.M
	'That's my brother.'			

- **to** is referential

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

CUS *Čora* *jo* *so* *∅* *hrimotało.*
 yesterday be.3sPRS REFL thunder.PTCP.N

Ge *Gestern* *hat* *∅* *es* *gedonnert.*
 yesterday have.3sPRS it.NOM thunder.PTCP

‘Yesterday it thundered.’ .

CUS *dókejš* *∅* *jo* *zno* *swětło ...*
 because be.3sPRS already bright

Ge *weil* *es* *schon* *hell* *ist ...*
 because it.NOM already daylight be.3sPRS

‘because it is already daylight...’

- In the constructions where CUS has extended the use of **to** on the model of Ge **es**, **to** only occurs clause-initially.

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

CUS	<i>Čora</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>so</i>	\emptyset	<i>hrimotało.</i>
	yesterday	be.3sPRS	REFL		thunder.PTCP.N
Ge	<i>Gestern</i>	<i>hat</i>	\emptyset	es	<i>gedonnert.</i>
	yesterday	have.3sPRS		it.NOM	thunder.PTCP

‘Yesterday it thundered.’ .

CUS	<i>dókejš</i>	\emptyset	<i>jo</i>	<i>zno</i>	<i>swětło ...</i>	
	because		be.3sPRS	already	bright	
Ge	<i>weil</i>	es		<i>schon</i>	<i>hell</i>	<i>ist ...</i>
	because	it.NOM		already	daylight	be.3sPRS

‘because it is already daylight...’

- In the constructions where CUS has extended the use of **to** on the model of Ge **es**, **to** only occurs clause-initially.
- If an adverb or a conjunction assumes clause-initial position, **to** does not occur.

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

CUS *Čora* *jo* *so* \emptyset *hrimotało.*
 yesterday be.3sPRS REFL thunder.PTCP.N

Ge *Gestern* *hat* \emptyset *es* *gedonnert.*
 yesterday have.3sPRS it.NOM thunder.PTCP

‘Yesterday it thundered.’

CUS *dókejš* \emptyset *jo* *zno* *swětło ...*
 because be.3sPRS already bright

Ge *weil* *es* *schon* *hell* *ist ...*
 because it.NOM already daylight be.3sPRS

‘because it is already daylight...’

- The clause structures of the CUS and Ge adverbial clause constructions with ‘because’ don’t match.

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

CUS \emptyset *mi* *so* *dere* *džo.* ***To** *so mi dere džo.*
me.DAT REFL well go.3sPRS
'I am well' (lit. 'It goes itself to-me well.')

Ge *Es* *geht* *mir* *gut.*
it.NOM go.3sPRS me.DAT well
'I am well' (lit. 'It goes to-me well.')

- The CUS expression is a translation of the Ge

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

CUS

∅

mi

me.DAT

so

REFL

dere

well

džo.

go.3sPRS

**To* so *mi dere džo.*

'I am well' (lit. 'It goes itself to-me well.')

Ge

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it.NOM

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 - with a dative experiencer as in Ge

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 - but the impersonal construction represented by German **es** is encoded in Slavic manner by a reflexive pronoun, not by **to**

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it.NOM go.3sPRS me.DAT well
'I am well' (lit. 'It goes to-me well.')

Cz *Jak* *se* ***máš?***

Po *Jak* *się* ***masz?***
how REFL **have.2sPRS**

- The CUS expression is a translation of the Ge
 - with a dative experiencer as in Ge
 - but the impersonal construction is encoded in Slavic manner by a reflexive pronoun, not by **to**
- Polish and Czech metaphor uses the verb 'have' with a reflexive pronoun

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- Despite being a translation, this phrase has not been affected by the extension of the **to** construction.
 - probably because it is very frequently used
 - frequently used items are less susceptible to change (Bybee 2007).

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- Despite being a translation, this phrase has not been affected by the extension of the **to** construction.
 - probably because it is very frequently used
 - frequently used items are less susceptible to change (Bybee 2007).
- Compare the preservation of the British English greeting *How do you do?* in the face of the rise of the progressive, as in *How are you doing?* (Tottie 1991).

Contact-induced constructional change

- A typology based on the degree to which a construction is altered as a result of contact:
 - an existing construction is used more frequently
 - an existing construction is used for a new function
 - an existing construction is formally modified, i.e. constructional calquing
 - an existing construction is **structurally altered** to more closely match a corresponding ML construction, i.e. **metatypy** occurs.

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

- Constituent order in clauses
- **Link** (= Topic), **Focus** (Vallduví 1992)

Cz *Pavel* *zabil* *Petra*
Pavel.NOM killed Petr.ACC

‘Pavel killed Petr.’

Petra *zabil* *Pavel*
Petr.ACC killed Pavel.NOM

‘Petr was killed by Pavel.’/‘It was Pavel who killed Petr.’

Pavel *Petra* *zabil*
Pavel.NOM Petr.ACC killed

‘Pavel killed Petr.’/‘Killed was what Petr did to Pavel.’

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

Cz *My* ***jsme*** *se* *uči-li*
we AUX.1pPRS REFL.ACC study-PTCP.p

‘We studied/were studying.’

Učil-a ***se-s?*** (*se-s* < *jse se*)
study-PTCP.f AUX.2sPRS-REFL
Were you studying?

- There is a complication in Czech: auxiliaries are second-position (Wackernagel) clitics
- The history of auxiliary cliticisation in Polish is somewhat complicated, but it is likely that Czech is more conservative in this regard (Borsley & Rivero 1994, Migdalski 2004)

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

CUS *To ja z ruku šo wólpokwem S...O...V*
that.ACC I with hand.sINS all wash.up
'I'll wash all that up by hand.'

CUS *zo tam jen pólcaj prede towo awta stój.*
that there a.NOM policeman in.front.of the car.GEN.N stand.3sPST
'(he saw) that a policeman was standing there in front of the car.'

- Unlike all other Slavic languages, by default a CUS clause is **verb-final**.

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- An **auxiliary** is in **second** position (as in Czech)
- Its **dependent lexical verb** is in **final** position.

German

Ge *Gestern* **sah** *ich im* *Park* *einen* *Mann.*
yesterday saw.1sPST I in.the.sDAT.M park a.sACC.M man
'Yesterday I saw a man in the park.'

- Main (independent) clauses are **verb-second (V2)**.

X **V** (S)...O ...

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Ge *Gestern* **sah** *ich im* *Park* *einen* *Mann.*
yesterday saw.1sPST I in.the.sDAT.M park a.sACC.M man
'Yesterday I saw a man in the park.'

- Main (independent) clauses are verb-second (V2).

Ge *Gestern* **habe** *ich im* *Park* *einen* *Mann* **gesehen.**
yesterday have.1sPRS I in.the.sDAT.M park a.sACC.M man see.PTCP
'Yesterday I saw a man in the park.'

- If there is an **auxiliary**, it occupies **V2** position and the **dependent** lexical verb is **clause-final**.

X **V** (S)...O

X **Aux** (S)...O **v**

German

Ge *Der Mann, den ich gestern im Park sah...*
the man, REL.sACC.M I yesterday in.the.sDAT.M park saw.1sPST
'The man I saw in the park yesterday ...'

- Subordinate clauses are **verb-final**.

S...O...V

German

Ge *Der Mann, den ich gestern im Park sah...*
the man, REL.sACC.M I yesterday in.the.sDAT.M park saw.1sPST
'The man I saw in the park yesterday ...'

- Subordinate clauses are verb-final.

Ge *Der Mann, den ich gestern im Park gesehen habe...*
the man, REL.sACC.M I yesterday in.the park see.PTCP have.1sPRS
'The man I saw in the park yesterday ...'

- If there is an **auxiliary** in a subordinate clause, it occupies **final** position and usually follows the **dependent** lexical verb.

S...O...V

S...O v Aux

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

CUS **S...O...V** or **SAux...O...v**
Ge Main: S...V...O or **SAux...O...v**
Ge Subord: **S...O...V** or S...O...v Aux

- If we compare the structures of the two languages (ignoring Ge V2, which doesn't greatly affect the comparison), we see that
 - **CUS SOV** matches the Ge subordinate clause construction, and

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

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Ge	Subord:	S...O...V	or	S...O...vAux

- If we compare the structures of the two languages (ignoring Ge V2, which doesn't greatly affect the comparison), we see that
 - **CUS SOV** matches the Ge subordinate clause construction, and
 - **CUS SAuxOV** matches the Ge main clause construction

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

CUS **S...O...V** or **SAux[...O...]v**

Ge Main: S...V...O or **SAux[...O...]v**

Ge Subord: **S...O...V** or S...O...vAux

- Sorbian, like German, has a *Satzklammer*, a clausal bracket construction **SAux[...O...]v** with
 - the auxiliary in second-position and
 - the dependent lexical verb at the end
- These constituents bracket most of the rest of the clause.

Colloquial Upper Sorbian

- How did the Sorbian lexical verb come to be positioned at the end of the clause?

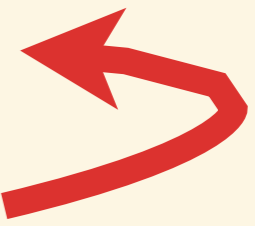
Colloquial Upper Sorbian

- More likely that Sorbian copied a Ge main clause construction than a subordinate clause construction
- This would have been the **Ge SAuxOV** main-clause construction, as its auxiliary position matched that of **Sorbian S(Aux)OV**.

CUS S...O...V or SAux...O...V

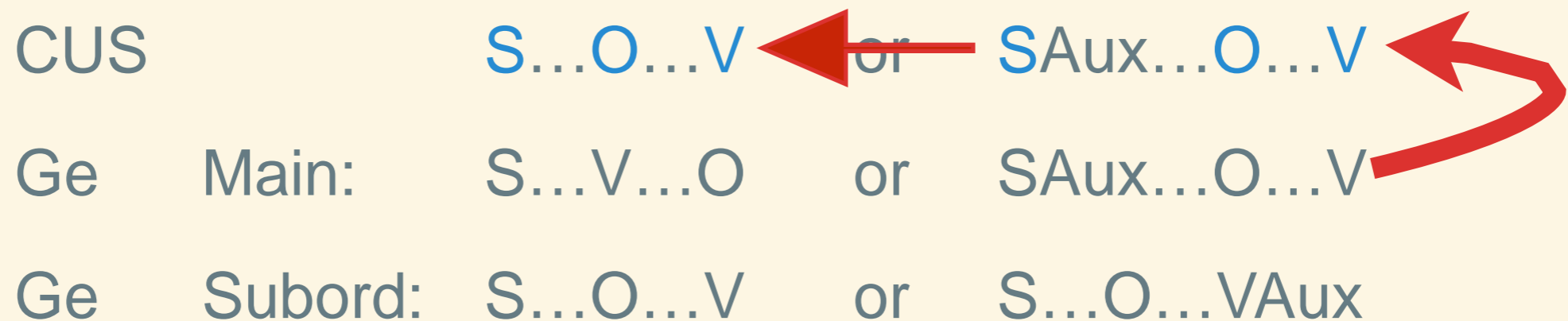
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- Since in early West Slavic there was flexible clause order, the clitic Auxiliary being the only fixed position, it was natural for speakers to treat **SAuxOV** as a variant of **SOV**, later expanding use of the latter by analogy.

Shift-induced change

- Shift-induced change:
 - Shift that entails imperfect language learning by adults.
 - Such cases are relatively rare.



Rural Irish English

- 1169 Anglo-Norman invasion: English entered Ireland
 - Language of majority continued to be Irish Gaelic, a Celtic language.
- around 1750: English began to spread among people of Irish descent—British were economically and politically dominant
- 1750–1900: Language shift: bilingualism in Irish and English became established first in and around Belfast and Dublin and spread outwards from the cities, leading to language shift (McCafferty 2004)

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- An existing construction is used **more frequently**

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BrEn ***John** went to Derry yesterday.* (i.e. not David etc)

- British English also uses intonation for this purpose, with a high falling tone

- Irish regularly uses clefts for this purpose, resulting in a higher incidence of clefts in rural Irish English than in British English (Harris 1991:198).

Rural Irish English

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- Irish English clefts differ from Standard English clefts both functionally and syntactically, on the model of Irish.

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A father asks his son, ‘What has happened to you?’ The son answers,

IrEn *It was Mícheál Rua who gave me a beating.* (Filppula 1986)

IrGa *Mícheál Rua a bhuaill mé*
Mícheál Rua REL beat me

- In Irish, clefting is used not only for contrastive focus. It is also used for sentence focus, where all the information is new. It also occurs in this function in Irish English (Harris 1991:198).

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- In British English this is pragmatically infelicitous, as it presupposes that there has already been mention of the son receiving a beating

Rural Irish English

- An existing construction is **formally modified**, i.e. **constructional calquing**
- In Standard English clefts the elements that may be extracted as focal constituents are limited to
 - subject NP
 - object NP
 - complement of preposition
 - certain types of adjunct
- Verbs, subject complements, and manner adjuncts cannot be extracted.

Rural Irish English

IrGa *Is ag déanamh a chuid ceachtannaí atá Tadhg.*
is at doing his portion lessons REL.be Tim

IrEn *It's doing his lessons that Tim is.* (Focus = non-tensed VP; Harris 1991:197)
'Tim is doing his **lessons**'/'What Tim is doing is his **lessons.**'

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'He's **drunk**.'/'What he is is **drunk**.'

IrGa *Níg o=maith a chonaic sé iad*
is.not well REL see.PST he them

IrEn *It's not **well** he saw them.* (Focus = manner adverb; Harris 1991:198)
'He didn't see them **well**.'

Rural Irish English

IrEn *They are **after** [doing the work].*

They have (just) completed the work.’ (Hickey 2010:156, 2013:95)

IrGa *Tá siad **tar éis** [an obair a dhéanamh]*

bePRS they after the work COMP do.VERBAL.NOUN

‘They have done the work.’ (McCafferty 2004:114)

IrEn *She’s **after** [selling the boat].*

‘She has just sold the boat.’ (Harris 1991:205)

IrGa *Tá sí **tréis** [an bád a dhíol]*

bePRS she after the boat COMP sell

‘She has sold the boat.’ (Harris 1991:205)

Rural Irish English

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Conclusions

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 - Features of the languages in contact: the typological distance between them and whether they are morphosyntactically and semantically transparent (Johanson 2002:44–47)

Conclusions

- Contact-induced constructional change is evidently constrained by two sets of factors (Muysken 2013)
 - Features of the languages in contact: the typological distance between them and whether they are morphosyntactically and semantically transparent (Johanson 2002:44–47)
 - Speakers' recognition of congruence between their two languages, which determines where copying can occur to render them yet more congruent.

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 - Shift-induced change:
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Thank you