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## Hybridization of related languages: Which grammatical features are likely to be adopted?

Two present-day contact situations in the same geographical area, with different underlying social parameters.

- (a) Valencian and Spanish: 3 historical contact situations
- (b) Romanian and Spanish: recent contact situation with emerging contact varieties

Geographical location: Castellón, (Valencian Community)



1. *Valencian*: linguistically speaking, a cover term for a range of western Catalan dialects

### 1.1. Very brief external history of the linguistic situation

## Origins of Valencian:

- 1232-45 Conquest of the area and repopulation by settlers from Catalonia and Aragon  
**Language:** Old Catalan + some Aragonese => Valencian
- Input from two closely related Romance languages resulting from primary diversification of Popular Latin: mixture/koineization likely
  - Controversy regarding the contribution of Romance (Mozarabic) and Arabic substrate.

## I. Spanish as adstrate:

- 1609 Expulsion of the Arabic-speaking Moriscos, 1/3 of the population  
→ large-scale immigration of Castilian Spanish speakers (agricultural labourers)
- Inland areas, with varieties closer to Aragonese, shifted to Spanish.
  - Coastal areas, with varieties closer to Catalan, are likely to have been influenced
- 20th c. Internal immigration from Castilian-speaking areas

## II. Spanish as prestige language/H-language

- mid-15th c. The Valencian aristocracy adopts Castilian (Duarte & Massip 1981: 86-87)  
→ Castilian becomes the language of culture (literature and music)
- 1475 Union of the Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon (the latter including Valencia).
- 16th c. General shift to Castilian by the upper social classes and the clergy
- Sermons delivered in Castilian (Palomero 2006)
- 1714-16 Kingdom of Aragon (Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia) abolished after losing the *War of Succession*:
- Castilian becomes the official language for all official and administrative purposes.
  - Use of Catalan in schools prohibited by law.
- (...) que en todas las escuelas de primeras letras, y de Gramática, no se permitan libros impresos en lengua catalana, escribir ni hablar en ella dentro de las Escuelas (...)*  
Council of Castile, 13 June 1715

## III. Valencian/Catalan as the new H-language?

- 1982 Valencian acquires status of co-official regional language.
- An increasing number of schools use Valencian as their only vehicular language.  
→ The younger generations are no longer confident when *writing* in Spanish.
  - Standard Valencian, created on the basis of standard Catalan<sup>1</sup> and nobody's native variety, is imposed from above. Standard Catalan is accepted as alternative in official settings.
    - stringent proficiency tests obligatory for jobs in the public sector
    - stigmatization of non-standard speakers (for their use of 'barbarisms')
    - self-stigmatization common: "*Jo parle molt malament.*"

## 1.2. The sociolinguistic situation in the Valencian Region

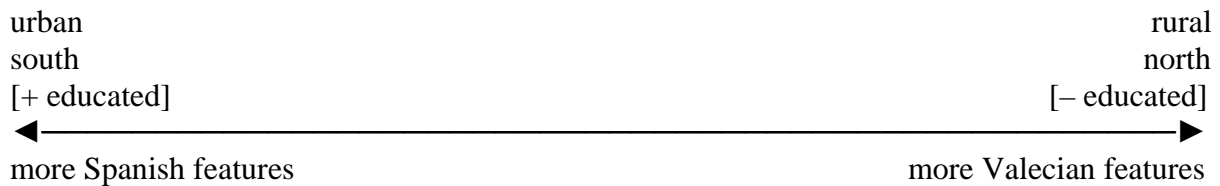
### 1.2.1. Until the 1980s

- Standard Spanish was clearly the H-language, used by the educated classes, in the education system and the media, in official settings, and more generally in the cities (Valencia, Alicante).
- Approx. 50% of population, mostly urban, were monolingual or dominant Spanish speakers.

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<sup>1</sup> The replacement of an existing Valencian standard by the 'dialect of Barcelona' is decried by critics of the new Valencian standard, such as Puerto Ferre (2006).

- The vernacular language was a varying mix of Spanish and Valencian, with the proportion of elements from the respective languages corresponding to a multidimensional continuum.



- Vernacular speakers were regularly exposed to standard Spanish through the media and the education system: long-standing and fairly stable diglossia
- Most speakers perceived their (mixed) vernacular as little more than their local non-standard variety. No stigmatization of borrowing or mixing within the community.
  - Ideal conditions for large-scale interference, transfer (and perhaps hybridization).

### 1.2.2. Since the 1980s

- Clear separation as two distinct languages with official standards
- Distinction between standard Catalan and standard Valencian less clear and subject to politically motivated controversy
- Pressure on both dialectal Valencian speakers and native Spanish speakers to learn standard Valencian
  - Emergence of a new group of contact speakers whose native language is Spanish, whose preference for features (also) present in Spanish boosts the frequency of these features and supports their wider adoption.

## 1.3. Linguistic outcomes

Evidence of convergence at all levels of linguistic description.

### 1.3.1. Phonology: assimilation

The Valencian phonological system closely (and increasingly) resembles that of Spanish.

- 5 unstressed vowels (Spanish has 5, Catalan 3)
- Currently ongoing shift from 7 to 5 stressed vowels (Catalan has 7, Spanish 5)
- Loss of voicing opposition in the sibilant system (well established in some varieties, e.g. the “apitxat” variety, ongoing in others): /z, ʒ, dʒ/ are devoiced and merge with /s, ʃ, tʃ/. Spanish has no voiced sibilants.
- Merger of the palatal lateral /ʎ/ with the palatal approximant /j/, realised as /j/. The same merger has taken place in most varieties of European Spanish, including the standard.
- Merger of /b/ and /v/, as in Spanish.
- Elision of intervocalic /-d-/, as in colloquial Spanish.

### 1.3.2. Lexicon and phraseology

The majority of lexical items are cognate in Spanish and all varieties of Catalan.

This applies to basic vocabulary (approx. 85%) as well as derivations and loans.

Lexical borrowing is ongoing, frequent, and, unsurprisingly, stigmatized by purists if recent:

- (a) phonological adaptation
- (b) borrowing of a cognate (with phonological adaptation)
- (c) borrowing of a cognate leading to conjugation switch
- (d) borrowing of a cognate with a different prefixed preposition
- (e) loan and simultaneous calque

	Spanish	“Catañol”	Standard Catalan	English gloss/translation	Notes
a	<i>tamaño taladro</i>	<i>tamany taladre</i>	<i>mida, talla trepant</i>	‘size’ ‘drill’	Modelled on Sp. <i>año, baño, engaño</i> ; Cat. <i>any, bany, engany</i> ‘year, bath, deception’; Sp. <i>cuadro</i> , Cat. <i>quadre</i> ‘painting’
b	<i>albornoz</i>	<i>albornós</i>	<i>barnús</i>	‘dressing gown’	Final /-θ/ replaced by /-s/ because Catalan has no /θ/.
c	<i>admitir</i>	<i>admitir</i>	<i>admetre</i>	‘to admit’	Catalan preserves the distinction between the Latin 3rd (consonantal) and 4th (i-) conjugation, which have merged in Spanish.
d	<i>adivinar</i>	<i>adivinar</i>	<i>endevinar</i>	‘to guess, divine’	The choice of prefixed prep. is areal, not genetic: Span., Port <i>a-</i> , Cat., It. <i>en-</i> , Fr. Ø-
e	<i>caradura</i>	<i>caradura</i>	<i>barra</i>	Sp.: “hard-face” Cat.: “jaw” trans.: ‘shameless’	Both components of the compound <i>cara</i> ‘face’ and <i>duro</i> ‘hard’ exist in both Sp. and Cat.

Numerous calques (or jointly developed phraseological units) are evidence of linguistic convergence (the ones listed here are all normatively accepted):

Spanish	Catalan	English gloss/translation	Notes
<i>en lo que va de año</i>	<i>en el que va d’any</i>	“in that which goes of year” ‘so far this year’	morph. adapted: <i>lo &gt; el</i>
<i>al fin y al cabo</i>	<i>al cap i a la fi</i>	“at the end and end” ‘in the end, after all’	inverted order, same sense
<i>darse por vencido</i>	<i>donarse per vençut</i>	“to give oneself for defeated” ‘to admit defeat’	also in Ptg. but not in Fr.
<i>a propósito</i>	<i>a propòsit</i>	“to intent” ‘on purpose’	<i>propósito</i> is a 14th-c. Latin loan
<i>nosotros, vosotros</i>	<i>nosaltres, vosaltres</i>	“we-others, you-others” ‘we, you’	emerged 13th c. (not inherited)

### 1.3.3. ‘Discourse-regulating’ elements

‘Discourse-regulating grammatical elements’ are usually borrowed from the dominant language in a contact situation, i.e. the language used for communication with those outside a linguistic minority group.

Matras 1998: 326

- Discourse markers (DM) borrowed from Spanish, whilst the Catalan cognates are used as the corresponding ‘content words’ (CW):

Spanish DM & CW	Catalan CW	Catalan DM	normative Catalan DM	English gloss/translation	Notes
<i>bueno</i>	<i>bo(n)</i>	<i>bueno</i>	<i>bé</i>	“good” ‘well, ...’	Diphthong /we/ clearly marks loan.
<i>pues</i>	<i>doncs</i>	<i>pues</i>	<i>doncs</i>	“because” ‘well, then...’	Diphthong /we/ clearly marks loan.
<i>vale</i>	<i>val</i>	<i>vale</i>	<i>val</i>	“it is valid” ‘ok’	Final /-e/ in 3rd sg. clearly marks loan.

- Discourse-structuring elements borrowed and/or calqued:

Spanish	colloquial Catalan	normative Catalan	English gloss/translation	Notes
<i>desde luego</i>	<i>desde luego</i>	<i>per descomptat</i>	“since afterwards” ‘of course’	Diphthong /we/ marks loan.
<i>por lo tanto</i>	<i>per lo tant</i>	<i>per tant</i>	“for it so much” ‘so therefore’	In standard Cat., <i>per lo</i> would be contracted to <i>pel</i> .
<i>a lo mejor</i>	<i>a lo millor</i>	<i>potser</i>	“it is valid” ‘ok’	In standard Cat., <i>a lo</i> would be contracted to <i>al</i> .

- Spanish expletives frequently transferred into Valencian, without phonological adaptation:  
*ostras!, jo! /xo/* (‘crikey!’, ‘blimey!’)

### 1.3.4. Morphosyntax

Spanish and Valencian share many identical structures that are NOT jointly inherited.  
→ structural convergence

- The *have*-perfect (in its current form):
  - no *have/be*-dichotomy
  - generally no agreement between OBJ and PTCP (as opposed to some other Catalan dialects)

(1) *L' Ana, l' he vist / ?\*vist-a avui.*  
DEF.ART Ana OBJ have.1SG see.PTCP / ?\*see.PTCP-F today.  
Anna, I've seen her today.

- The contexts triggering its usage are identical in both languages, setting it apart from surrounding sister languages such as French on the one hand and Portuguese, Galician, and Asturian on the other.
- The synthetic preterit has been replaced by the analytic [*anar* + INF] (‘go+INF’) construction in all but the most conservative varieties, but its functional range is exactly equivalent to that of the Spanish preterit (functional contrast with the imperfect and the *have*-perfect).

## 1.4. The pronominal system: convergence and divergence

**1.4.1. Pronominal syntax:** Clitic pronoun position (pre/post-verbal) has evolved in exactly the same way as in Spanish since the Middle Ages (in contrast to both French or Portuguese).

Clitic position in modern Spanish and Catalan (including Valencian) is determined exclusively by the finiteness parameter of the verb:

infinitive, imperative, gerund: enclitic  
finite verb forms : proclitic

**1.4.2. Allomorphy:** Spoken Valencian does not adopt the standard Catalan allomorphy within the clitic pronoun system (1SG, 2SG, 3SG/PL REFL, 1PL), resisting pressure from the “metropolitan standard”, instead preserving the pattern shared with Spanish:

	Cat. proclitic	Cat. enclitic	Val. proclitic	Val. enclitic	Spanish
<b>1SG</b>	em	-me	me	-me	me
<b>2SG</b>	et	-te	te	-te	te
<b>3SG/PL REFL</b>	es/se/s'	-se	se	-se	se
<b>1 PL</b>	ens	-nos/'ns	nos/mos	-nos/-mos	nos

Why follow the Spanish model?

- The standard Catalan pattern is somewhat complex, as the choice between the allomorphs is determined (a) by the position in relation to the verb, and (b) by the initial/final phoneme of the verb:

<i>sense repetir-se</i>		“without repeat-3SG.REFL”	‘without repeating himself’
<i>no es pot</i>		“not 3SG.REFL can.3SG”	‘you can’t; it’s forbidden’
<i>no se sap</i>		“not 3SG.REFL know.3SG”	‘it is not known’
<i>no s’espera</i>	/se/	“not 3SG.REFL expect.3SG”	‘it is not expected’
<i>sense recordar-me</i>		“without remember-1SG.REFL”	‘without remembering’
<i>no em coneix</i>		“not OBJ.1SG know.3SG”	‘he doesn’t know me’
<i>no m’espera</i>	/me/	“not OBJ.1SG expect.3SG”	‘he doesn’t expect me’

- Whilst complexity is, in itself, certainly no barrier for structural change, the simultaneous presence of a less complex alternative pattern (that of Spanish) may have tipped the balance in favour of the latter.

### 1.4.3. Reorganisation of the pronominal system (plural indirect objects)

- Both standard Spanish and Catalan distinguish direct and indirect object pronouns to some extent.
- In Spanish, accusative *lo, la* (M/F SG), *los, las* (M/F PL) contrast clearly with dative *le* (M+F SG), *les* (M+F PL).
- In Catalan, the system is less transparent, as the masculine and feminine plural forms of the indirect object pronoun coincide with the masculine plural form of the direct object pronoun.

	standard Catalan		Spanish		colloquial Valencian	
	masculine	feminine	masculine	feminine	masculine	feminine
<b>direct obj. sing.</b>	el (-lo)	la (-la)	lo	la	el/lo (-lo)	la (-la)
<b>direct obj. pl.</b>	els (-los)	les (-les)	los	las	els/los (-los)	les (-les)
<b>indirect obj. sing.</b>	li	li	le	le	li	li
<b>indirect obj. pl.</b>	els (-los)	els (-los)	les	les	<b>lis</b>	<b>lis</b>

- The relationship between indirect object singular (*li*) and plural forms (*els*) in standard Catalan is not transparent; the plural forms coincide with the (masculine) direct object form (*els*).
- The relationship between the standard Catalan singular and plural indirect object pronouns (*li-els*) is not transparent, as they have less in common than the direct object pronouns with the plural indirect object pronouns (*el-els*).
- The fact that the feminine plural indirect object form (*els*) coincides with the masculine plural direct object pronoun (*els*) (but not with the feminine plural direct object pronoun *les*) highlights the lack of transparency within the standard Catalan system.

- Colloquial Valencian remedies this lack of transparency by following the model of the more transparent Spanish system, but using Catalan morphological material.

#### 1.4.4. Introducing the [+/- human] parameter

- In the Spanish pronominal system, the case distinction between dative and accusative (indirect vs. direct object) is gradually being replaced by a human/non-human distinction.
- Due to the fact that indirect objects (beneficiaries) are almost unavoidably human, the Spanish indirect object pronouns are in the process of being reanalyzed as [+human] object pronouns, leading to an extension of their use to (primarily masculine) human direct objects.
- Whilst standard Catalan resists this redistribution of pronouns, in spoken Valencian the extension of *li* from indirect object to human direct object is not uncommon:

(2) *Lo crida tots els dies.* —► *Li crida tots els dies.*  
 3sg.acc.obj shouts all.pl def.pl days.    3sg.hum.obj shouts all.pl def.pl days.  
 ‘He rings him up every day.’

- This is closely related to the functional expansion of the preposition *a*, modelled on Spanish differential object marking (DOM):

In addition to being used as indirect object marker, *a* is also used to mark human direct objects, which indicates that the distinction between human direct and indirect objects is somewhat blurred.

#### 1.4.5. Adverbial pronouns: divergence

Cat. *hi*, Old Span. *y* (< Lat. *HĪC* & *ĪBĪ*): replaces locative/allative adverbial clauses (prep.+NP)

Cat. *en*, Old Span. *ende* (< Lat. *ĪNDE*): replaces most other prepositional adverbial clauses

- Maintained in Catalan (incl. Valencian); disappear from Spanish by the late 15th century.
- Used by Meyer-Lübke (1925) as an example to argue that many of the syntactic differences between Spanish and Catalan have emerged in relatively recent times.
- Expansion/exploitation for the purpose of semantic distinction:

*vore* ‘to see’ → *vore-hi* ‘to be able to see’  
*anar* ‘to go’ → *anar-s’en* ‘to go away, to get going’

→ Divergence, despite long-lasting close contact and bilingualism.

### 1.5. Types of change and how they may be motivated

- Whilst lexical loans are pervasive, wholesale borrowing of syntactic structures together with the corresponding morphology (MAT) is not the norm.

- Functional (or semantic) alignment of structures that partly overlap in terms of their functional range: an analogical process. (‘morphosyntactic calquing’?)

- extension of the functions of the indirect object pronoun to human direct objects
- alignment of the functional ranges of the three past tenses

- It is often difficult to identify in which of the two languages the respective pattern originated (virtually simultaneous propagation in both languages).
- There is no need for a pair of semantically aligned structure to be cognate or even similar in terms of their internal morphosyntax, as seen in the case of the preterit tenses.

- Opacity within paradigms:

Availability of a more transparent or less complex model in the H-language appears to favour a move a way from opaque structures.

- Rejection of the Standard Catalan complex allomorphy in the object pronoun paradigm in favour of retaining the simpler system shared with Spanish.
- Move towards a more transparent distribution of pronouns, reducing syncretism (adopting a structural feature from Spanish, but not the morphological material).

Structures that have no counterpart in the H-language (e.g. the adverbial pronoun system) are not necessarily under threat, as assimilation between related languages typically appears to “work with” existing similar structures, aligning them semantically or adjusting them morphosyntactically if there is a good structural reason.

## 2. Romanian and Spanish (+ Valencian) in contact: *Rumañol*

### 2.1. The contact situation

- Castellón de la Plana: 15-20% Romanian population
- Recent contact situation: immigration mainly over the past 20 years
- Balance between integration in the “host society” and maintaining their own cultural identity:
  - Romanian churches (Orthodox, Adventist, Pentecostal), Romanian-run businesses, etc.
  - access to Romanian satellite TV
  - many younger women working in the service sector
  - children fully integrated in the education system

### 2.2. The linguistic situation

- First-generation immigrants generally acquire a high degree of proficiency in Spanish relatively quickly, due to lexical and structural similarities between the languages.
- Second-generation speakers generally balanced bilinguals or Spanish-dominant bilinguals
- Particularly interesting in this context:
  - structural changes to Romanian caused by transfer from Spanish<sup>2</sup>
    - emergence of a new contact variety combining structures from both languages
  - The influence of a third contact language, Valencian, both directly and via the local contact variety.

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<sup>2</sup> It has convincingly been demonstrated that language contact can affect the morphology and syntax of the native language of immigrants within their community, for instance by Doğruöz & Backus (2007, 2009).



### 2.3. Differences and similarities between the two contact situations

Valencian + Spanish	Romanian + Spanish
direct contact for several centuries	contact for approx 2 decades
L-language speakers are the locals	L-language speakers viewed as outsiders
historical absence of a prescriptive standard	clear awareness of what is 'correct'
many native Valencian speakers are L- or hybrid language dominant	many 2nd-generation native Romanian speakers are H-language dominant
in both cases, the contact languages are related and structurally similar (to different degrees)	
at present, the linguistic outcome of both contact situations is stigmatized	

### 2.3. Some contact-induced structural features in the Romanian of Castellón<sup>3</sup>

- Greater use of prepositional constructions instead of the genitive/dative:

Due to influence from Ibero-Romance, which does not have morphological case (except in the pronominal system), the proportion of prepositional genitive and dative constructions increases in the Romanian spoken in Castellón, even in frequently occurring collocations such as the following:

Standard Rom.	Ministerul	Învățământ-ul-ui
	ministry	education-DEF-GEN
Castilian	<i>Ministerio de Educación</i>	
	ministry	of education
Castellón Rom.	Ministerul de	Învățământ
	ministry	of education
	'Ministry of Education.'	

- Greater use of the infinitive in adverbial clauses, replacing finite constructions

As a general rule, Romanian subordinate clauses use a finite verb form, even in case of subject coreference.

Standard Rom.	<i>mănâncă</i>	<i>înainte</i>	<i>să</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>culce</i>
	eat.3SG	before	COMP	REFL	lie.down.SBJV
	'He eats before lying down.'				

However, a synonymous infinitival construction is also available, which is structurally much closer to the corresponding Spanish sentence:

Spanish	<i>come</i>	<i>antes</i>	<i>de</i>		<i>acostarse</i>
Romanian	<i>mănâncă</i>	<i>înainte</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>se culca</i>
	eat.3SG	before	of	INF.MRKR	REFL lie.down.INF
	'He eats before lying down.'				

In the Romanian of Castellón, a strong increase in the frequency of coreferential adverbial infinitives can be observed: approximately 95% of informants opted for the infinitival construction in an elicitation task.

<sup>3</sup> Data from Schulte (2012)

### 3. Some conclusions

- A certain degree of real hybridization can be observed in the case of Valencian (structures combining morphosyntactic features from two different source languages).

- The variety of Romanian spoken in Castellón is not (yet) a hybrid language. However, the changes in usage frequency of certain constructions is highly significant, as they are an important step in a shift away from the Balkan language type towards the standard Romance type.

N.b.: Frequency change is, of course, the path along which all innovations are propagated.

- In both contact situations we are dealing with ‘assimilation’.

The changes observed do not radically ‘disrupt’ the fundamental grammatical structure of the recipient language, but rather modify the existing morphosyntactic patterns, their functional ranges or usage frequencies.

- The data presented here supports the hypothesis that, in addition to the particular social conditions, the structural predisposition of a recipient language favours the incorporation of some types of grammatical elements more than others. To predict which structural features are likely to be (or to have been) transferred between languages, it is therefore important to take into account both the social conditions *and* the structural similarity/disparity of the languages involved.

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