

Affix borrowing and social setting

Frank Seifart
MPI EVA Leipzig & University of
Amsterdam

Overview

- quantitative and qualitative study of affix borrowing
- argue that grammatical hybridization is
 - not (strongly) constrained by typological similarity between donor and recipient language: room for social context
 - not (strongly) constrained by prestige: prestige is not the only social factor for hybridization
- affix borrowing escapes conscious control of speakers, and thus also social regulations regarding language mixing

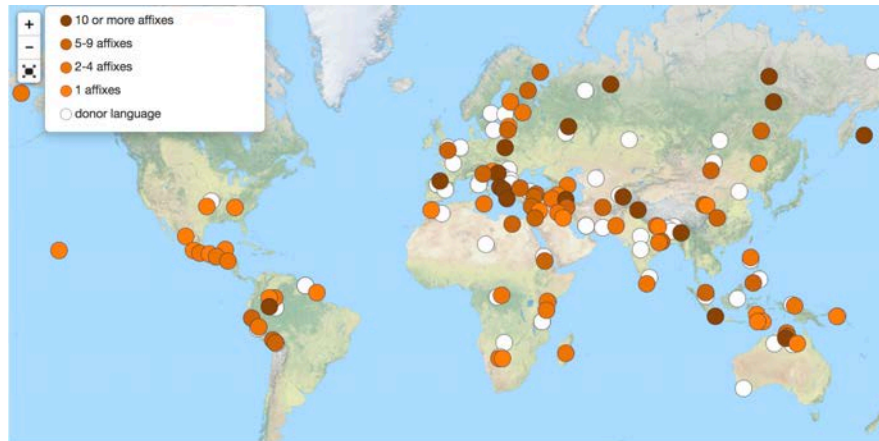
Typology and borrowability

- Is grammatical hybridization dependent on structural-typological features of the languages involved?
- "Borrowability, in a broad sense, is constrained by the morphological structuring of the languages in contact." (Field 2002: 42)
- "highly congruent structures" favor transfer because a highly bound morpheme is "useless in an alien system unless there is a ready function for it" (Weinreich 1953: 33)
- "Direct borrowing of structural elements can occur only when the languages involved are typologically very similar" (Winford 2005: 387)
- Do typologically similar languages borrow more affixes?

A study on affix borrowing: data

- AfBo database (Seifart 2013) <http://afbo.info>
- a total of 657 borrowed affixes in 101 pairs of languages in which one language has borrowed at least one affix from the other
- both inflectional and derivational affixes
- affixes that are attested on at least some native stems
- Used here 78 languages that borrowed between one and 50 affixes (Seifart 2014a)
- Extent of affix borrowing taken as a measure of hybridization

<http://afbo.info/languages>



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Affix borrowing: similarity scores

- Structural similarity between donor and recipient languages is calculated from 136 WALS features (Dryer and Haspelmath 2011)
- Mean number of 43 features for individual languages pairs
- Similarity scores for language pairs as Hamming distances, i.e. the proportion of features that have the same feature
- range from 0.21 (i.e., roughly one fifth of features have the same value) for Sri Lanka Portuguese and Tamil, to 1.0

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Affix borrowing: hybridization scores

- The mean number of borrowed affixes 6.5; median 4
- But borrowing 40 noun class markers is not as hybrid as borrowing noun class markers + plural makers + an augmentative + a dative case marker (Resígaro from Bora)
- The number of categories borrowed taken as hybridization score
- ranges from one to eight per language, mean number of categories per language 2.3; the median 2

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Recipient language	Donor language	Features compared	Struct. similarity	Borrowed affixes	Borrowed categories
Sri Lanka Portuguese	Tamil	38	0.21	2	2
Garifuna	Carib	25	0.24	2	2
Iraqi Arabic	Turkish	25	0.32	4	2
Albanian	Turkish	63	0.33	6	3
Yucatec Maya	Spanish	21	0.33	1	1
Copper Island Aleut	Russian	21	0.33	15	4
Bilin	Tigre	14	0.36	8	1
Resigaro	Bora	16	0.38	50	6
Chabacano	Visayan	25	0.40	8	6
Indonesian	Dutch	69	0.41	13	2
Lezgian	Farsi	117	0.43	3	1
Kharia	Hindi	42	0.43	1	1
Cappadocian Greek	Turkish	111	0.44	5	4
Azari	Persian	27	0.44	10	3
Malagasy	Swahili	101	0.45	2	2
Sonqor Turkic	Kurdish	42	0.45	5	4
Manange	Nepali	20	0.45	1	1
Kashmiri	Persian	57	0.46	13	3
Warndarang	Nunggubuyu	28	0.46	5	2
Hawaiian	English	53	0.47	1	1
Koasati	Quapaw	25	0.48	1	1
Cho'ol	Zoquean	25	0.48	1	1
Brahui	Makrān	37	0.49	3	3
	Baluchi				
Kayardild	Karwa	28	0.50	1	1
Moghol	Tajik	16	0.50	7	3

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Recipient language	Donor language	Features compared	Struct. similarity	Borrowed affixes	Borrowed categories
Wayampi-Emerillon-Zo'é	Carib	27	0.52	1	1
Tukang Besi	Indonesian	109	0.56	1	1
Malagasy	Banjar Malay	108	0.56	4	3
Ndunga-le	Lingala	16	0.56	4	1
Tariana	East Tucanoan	26	0.58	3	1
Kalderash Romani	Romanian	12	0.58	11	6
Hungarian	Croatian	49	0.59	1	1
Western Neo-Aramaic	Arabic	29	0.59	1	1
Hasankeyf Arabic	Aramaic	29	0.59	2	2
Turkish	Persian	118	0.60	7	2
Santa	Chinese	20	0.60	7	3
Indonesian	Arabic	23	0.61	1	1
Finnish	Swedish	68	0.62	3	1
Middle English	Norman French	122	0.63	8	2
Uru	Aymara	32	0.63	6	4
Chinese of Linxia/Hézōu	Santa	30	0.63	1	1
Kalderash Romani	Greek	30	0.63	5	4
Ritharngu	Ngandi	16	0.63	4	4
Ngandi	Ritharngu	16	0.63	2	1
Maltese	Sicilian Italian	16	0.63	4	2
Israeli Hebrew	Russian	121	0.64	6	1
Istro-Romanian	Croatian	45	0.64	8	1
Yiddish	Russian	28	0.64	13	5
German	Latvian	95	0.65	1	1
Purepecha/Tarascan	Spanish	55	0.65	1	1
Dagur	Chinese	37	0.65	1	1
Semelai	Malay	20	0.65	8	3

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Results

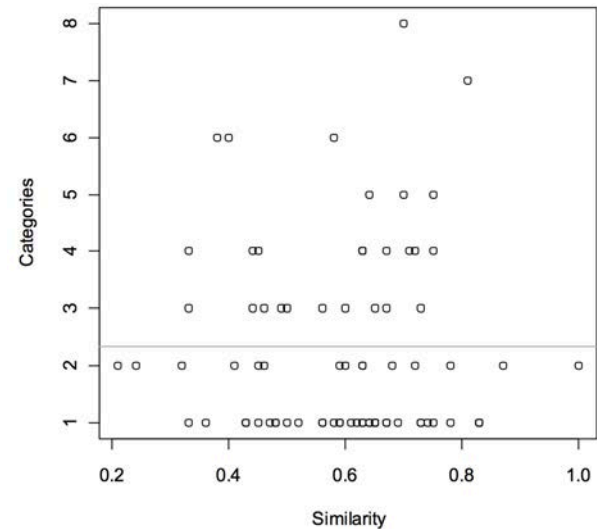


Figure 1: Number of borrowed affix categories as a function of structural similarity for 78 language pairs; the grey line indicates the (absence of) linear correlation.

Recipient language	Donor language	Features compared	Struct. similarity	Borrowed affixes	Borrowed categories
Albanian	Serbian	43	0.67	14	3
Kurux	Hindi	33	0.67	8	4
Assamese	Tibeto-Burman	18	0.67	15	1
Central Siberian Yupik Eskimo	Chukchi	12	0.67	3	1
Kormakiti	Greek	44	0.68	5	2
Tetun Dili	Portuguese	35	0.69	1	1
Sebjan-Küöl Éven	Sakha	30	0.70	22	5
Mari	Chuvash	20	0.70	12	8
Middle Mongolic	Turkic	115	0.71	6	4
Meglenoromanian	Bulgarian	54	0.72	35	4
Uchur Évenki	Sakha	43	0.72	8	2
Dagur	Evenki	40	0.73	3	1
Western Kurmanji	Turkish	30	0.73	1	1
Wutun	Tibetan	15	0.73	7	3
Chantyal	Nepali	23	0.74	4	1
Arvanitic Albanian	Greek	67	0.75	31	5
Moroccan Arabic	Berber	32	0.75	1	1
Khanty	Komi-Zyrian	24	0.75	15	4
Mexicanero	Spanish	32	0.78	1	1
Central Mexicano	Spanish	32	0.78	3	2
Sakha	Mongolian	43	0.81	14	7
Ingrian Finnish	Estonian	52	0.83	2	1
Cho'ol	Spanish	35	0.83	3	1
Sierra Popoluca	Spanish	23	0.83	1	1
Lithuanian Romani	Russian	30	0.87	5	2
South Swahili	North Swahili	112	1.00	2	2

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Examples

- Yucatec Maya borrowed from typologically dissimilar Spanish (similarity score 0.33) only one affix (diminutive suffix *-ito*) (Chamoreau 2012: 84)
- Copper Island Aleut borrowed from Russian (equally dissimilar: 0.33) 15 affixes from four different categories: six present tense suffixes; seven past tense suffixes, one infinitive marker; one negative verbal prefix (Golovko & Vakhtin 1990; Sekerina 1994).
- Resígaro borrowed from dissimilar Bora (0.38) 50 affixes belonging to six categories (Seifart 2012)
- Chabacano borrowed from dissimilar Visayan (0.40) eight affixes from six categories (Steinkrüger 2003)

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Typological similarity and hybridization

- Structural-typological similarity plays at best a minor role in constraining borrowability of affixes
- Consistent with Thomason and Kaufmann (1988): sociolinguistic factors, not structural factors are the primary determinant of contact-induced change
- When speakers mix languages they will do so – under the appropriate circumstances – regardless of typological features of the languages involved.

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Prestige

- Prestige → non-prestige language
 - Anglo French → Middle English (0.63 sim./8 affixes from 2 categories)
 - Turkish → Albanian (0.33 sim./6 affixes from 2 categories)
 - Spanish → Quechua (4 affixes)
 - ...
- Non-prestige → prestige language
 - Moroccan Berber → Moroccan Arabic (0.75 sim./1 affix)
 - Tamil → Sri Lanka Portuguese (0.21 sim./2 affixes from 2 categories)
 - Visayan → Chabacano (0.40 sim./8 affixes from 6 categories)

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Unconscious affixes: Mutual borrowing

- Hybrid formations may be first formed in the donor languages (as loanword + native affix), then borrowed back into the recipient language, e.g.
 - Middle English nouns with Anglo French affixes, e.g. *lodman-āge* 'cost of pilotage', first attested in Anglo French and only later in Middle English (Seifart 2014b)
 - Quechua nouns with Spanish affixes, e.g. *warmin-ero* 'womanizer', first in Spanish, only later in Quechua (Bakker & Hekking 2012:200)
 - Moroccan Arabic nouns with Moroccan Berber affixes, e.g. *ta-kotbiyā-t* 'profession/art of bookseller' first formed in Moroccan Berber, then borrowed back into Moroccan Arabic (Zellou 2011)

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Unconscious affixes: Prohibition of language mixing

- Cultural constraint against language mixing under heavy multilingualism in North West Amazonian exogamy and other interethnic exchange
- No (or few) lexical stems borrowed, but affixes borrowed:
 - Eastern Tukanoan → Tariana (sim. 0.58/3 affixes from 1 category) (Aikhenvald 2012)
 - Bora → Resígaro (sim. 0.38/50 affixes from 6 categories) (Seifart 2012)

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Conclusion

- grammatical hybridization is not (strongly) constrained by typology: importance of social factors
- grammatical hybridization is not (strongly) constrained by prestige: prestige is not the only social factor
- grammatical hybridization escapes conscious control of speakers, and thus also social regulations regarding language mixing, including prestige and others

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