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The State of the Art in Interlinguistics

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Résumé de l'article

Cet article propose une synthèse des diverses orientations de recherche qui ont marqué le champ d'étude des langues en contact. Quatre dimensions majeures sont explorées : 1) l'aspect psychologique (les aspects psychologiques et neurologiques du bilinguisme, l'acquisition d'une langue seconde, l'approche psychosociale du bilinguisme); 2) les aspects sociaux du bilinguisme (les caractéristiques sociologiques des communautés bilingues, le changement dans l'usage des langues, la mort des langues, la planification linguistique, l'éducation bilingue); 3) l'usage des langues dans les communautés bilingues, (les stratégies de neutralité, le mélange des codes et les codes utilisés pour parler aux étrangers); 4) les conséquences linguistiques du contact entre les langues (emprunt, changement linguistique, pidginisation et créolisation).

L'auteur illustre chacun des points par des exemples tirés d'études sur le contact linguistique entre l'espagnol, le quechua et l'aymara dans la région andine. L'article se termine par une discussion sur les perspectives théoriques de recherche dans le domaine de l'interlinguistique.

LINGUISTIC DIMENSIONS
OF LANGUAGE CONTACT

The state of the art in interlinguistics*

Pieter Muysken

1. Introduction

Our general view of language contact has not gained much in clarity in the last thirty years, even if much progress has been made on individual issues. Something like a field of 'interlinguistics' does not yet exist, even if the term is there.[1] In fact, the two general works on the subject remain Haugen (1950) and Weinreich (1953), which at the same time formed the basis for the unification of the field of language contact studies.

We will begin by briefly reviewing the key notions of Haugen's and Weinreich's, before going on to sketch the state of the art in the field as a whole. I should mention right away that I find it impossible to do a true and complete state of the art report; rather, I will outline the problems as they are defined within the many different research traditions, and indicate directions for research.

I will conclude by suggesting links between the different research traditions, and by stating some of the central issues, in the hope that we have brought the general discussion further along. In Haugen (1950) the

1. The term interlinguistics appears, among other places, in the following two sources:
   Interlinguistica. Sprachvergleich und Übersetzung. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Mario Wandruzska. Tübingen, 1971.
   Paul Wexler, "Jewish Interlinguistics: Facts and conceptual framework." Language 57 (1), 1981

crucial notion is *borrowing*, defined as "the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another." The word patterns is ambiguous, of course, between phonology, syntax, and semantics. The definition as a whole is much like the notion of 'transfer' used in second language acquisition studies (see below), and close to locating the phenomenon within the realm of parole, rather than within the language system. Weinreich's notion of *interference* (1953, p. 1) is wider: "Those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact, will be referred to as interference phenomena." Again we find the location within speech production, but Weinreich's definition is wider than Haugen's. It includes more subtle aspects of possible interlinguistic influence than simply the reproduction of patterns.

Weinreich's notion of interference includes also instances of linguistic influence over time: one language leaves its traces in the other one, like sand remains on the bottom of a river. This notion of interference is much wider than the strictly synchronic notion of interference in psycholinguistics, discussed below.

It will become clear from the discussion below that using definitions of such generality necessarily involves lumping together processes of a very different nature. We are placed, then, in the paradoxical situation that the only general treatments available in English have the property of not being sufficiently precise. Probably this situation will remain for the time being.

We will now discuss a number of approaches to language contact. They include the following:

The bilingual speaker

    Psychological and neurological aspects of bilingualism
    Second language acquisition
    The study of bilingualism within social psychology

Social aspects of the bilingual community

    Sociological characteristics of stable bilingual communities
    Language shift
    Language death and linguistic oppression
    Language planning
    Bilingual education

Language use in the bilingual community
   Strategies of neutrality
   Code mixing
   Foreigner talk

Linguistic consequences
   Language contact and language change
   Pidgins and creoles
   Borrowing

Conceptually these approaches are by no means separate, of course. Many specific issues are common to several of them, as will become clear. At the end of the discussion I will try to elucidate these common issues. The motive for treating the different research traditions separately at all is that they tend to lead a separate institutional life, utilizing different terminologies and conceptual frameworks, appearing in different journals and proceedings, and containing separate references to other work. Here I attempt to contribute to breaking through the barriers separating them.

To make the discussion of these issues more concrete, I will briefly illustrate them with examples from the studies of language contact in the Andean region, involving Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara (Wölck 1972). Spanish is the colonial language, now spoken by everyone but the Indians who live in the highlands, and speak Quechua or Aymara. Quechua is spoken in Ecuador, most of Peru, and parts of Bolivia, Aymara is spoken in the Bolivian altiplano and in parts of Southern Peru. More detailed information about the sociolinguistic situation in the Andes will be provided along the way.

2. The bilingual speaker

Psychological and neurological aspects of bilingualism

In this research tradition the focus is on bilingual children and adults as individuals. Among the research issues we find:

   i.   How does the simultaneous acquisition of two languages proceed? Are the children able to keep the two systems apart or do the systems interfere? Does simultaneous acquisition influence the speed of acquisition either positively or negatively?

    ii.   What are the cognitive effects of bilingualism? What are the effects of bilingualism on memory capacities, etc.?

    iii.   In what part of the brain are the different languages stored? Both in the same hemisphere, or in different hemispheres? What are the effects of brain lesion on bilingual speech and comprehension?

    iv.   Can we distinguish different types of bilinguals (compound versus coordinate, etc.)? If so, why are there different types? Is there a relation between type of bilingualism and the way the two languages are acquired?

The only psychological study of bilingualism in the Andes that I am familiar with is Gonzales-Moreyra & Aliaga (1972). They tested 157 children between the ages of 7 and 12, divided into three groups : monolingual Quechua, monlingual Spanish, and bilingual. These children has to perform a concept-formation test based on work by Vygotsky. The authors conclude that the bilingual children scored significantly lower than both groups of monolingual children (between whom there were no significant differences). They claim that this result is due to the fact that interference between the two languages blocks interiorization of linguistic concepts.

This result is typical of a generation of bilingual studies. Later work has tended to show opposite results (cf. Hornby, ed., 1977), indicating that bilingualism tends to stimulate cognitive development.

Second language acquisition

Within the field of second language acquisition the research questions most pertinent to the study of languages in contact have to do with interference and simplification:

    i.   To what extent and how does the knowledge of a first language influence the acquisition of a second language? Do specific structures, rules, or elements get transferred from the first language to the second? Does knowledge of the first language impede or hinder the acquisition of specific rules or structures of the second one?

    ii.   What are the precise properties of non-final stages of the second language acquisition process? Do these stages show grammatical structures and rules that are simpler than those of the target?

Simplification has been neglected as an issue of research in the Andean context, but interference has figured dominantly in almost all studies (including Luján et al., 1981; Lozano, 1975; Puente, 1981). Scholars have claimed that object-verb order, possessor possessed order, double possessives, irregular article-noun-adjective concord and many other features of rural Spanish are in fact the result of interference from Quechua in the second language learning process. There are several problems. First of all, many speakers of rural Spanish that do not even speak Quechua themselves show the 'interference' features. Therefore, if there is interference at all, it must have taken place in the past, not with the speakers in question. Second, many of the features that are claimed to be due to interference, could easily be explained as well in terms of simplification. Third, those features for which an interference or transfer explanation is most plausible, also show the effect of Spanish stylistic rules. The fact that the object occurs before the verb, for instance, can be due either to Quechua OV word order or to the rule of object preposing in Spanish, because the subject can be empty. Thus the surface order in (a) can correspond to either (b) or (c):

   (a)   papas comió
         potatoes ate-3rd
         'He ate potatoes'
   (b)   [empty subject element] [object] [verb]
   (c)   [object] [empty subject element] [verb]

An argument that it is really the stylistic rule of object preposing that is involved could be that true SOV sequences, with a lexical subject present, as in (d) below, are rare or inexistent in Ecuadorian Spanish.

   (d)   Juan papas comió
         Juan potatoes ate.

Still, we find such forms as (a) more frequently with bilingual speakers and beginning learners than with monolingual speakers. (Muysken 1984).

The study of bilingualism within social psychology

Recently, there have been a number of studies of bilingual groups within the research tradition of social psychology. Questions asked within this tradition include:

   i.   What are the attitudes of bilingual speakers towards the different
         languages involved? Does one of their languages get rated

consistently higher than the other one? What is the relation between attitude towards a language and proficiency in that language? Does attitude towards a language extend to the speakers of that language?

ii.   To what extent and how do languages serve as markers of ethnic identity? Can just separate languages serve this function or can specific accents or varieties of a language do as well?

iii.   To what extent can the alternate use of two languages by the same speaker be incorporated within accomodation theory, a theory about the way speakers modify their speech in such a way that it resembles or does not resemble the speech of their interlocutor?

Wölck (1975) has carried out a language attitude survey in Peru. He presented tapes where bilingual speakers spoke both in Spanish and in Quechua (the so-called 'matched guise' technique) to a group of bilingual secondary students and asked these students their impressions. Even where the same (bilingual) speaker was involved (which was not known to the students), the Spanish voices were consistently rated to belong to more well-off and better-educated persons than the Quechua voices. The latter were judged stronger, more sincere, and more intelligent, however. The more balanced the students were as bilinguals, the smaller the difference in status that they accorded to the two languages.

These results are typical of the reactions of speakers of minority languages to the bilingual situation, explored in work by Lambert (e.g. 1967) and others.

3. Social aspects of the bilingual community

Sociological characteristics of stable bilingual communities

It is becoming clearer and clearer that bilingual speech communities, rather than being an anomaly, the unfortunate product of sudden migration, etc., in fact are frequent, normal, and in many cases relatively stable. This is possible because the different languages have different functions within the speech community. Since Ferguson (1964), who introduced the term diglossia to describe this situation, the functional differentiation has been described in terms of High and Low. It turned out, however, that in many cases more than two languages are involved, or that the socio-linguistic situation was far too complex to be described in terms of

a simple High/Low opposition. For this reason, more complex models of bilingual usage were developed, particularly by Fishman (1967 and subsequent work), in terms of factors governing language choice and of domains.

The recognition that the choice of one code over another was governed by a set of factors such as identity of the interlocutor, formality of the situation, degree of intimacy between the two speakers, content of the conversation, etc., lead to the construction of decision trees, meant to be able to predict, given a number of parameters, what a speaker would do in a specific circumstance. These trees, however, turned out to leave too many choices open, and hence not to be very useful. Therefore Sankoff (1972) introduced the idea that given a set of parameters, there may be an unmarked and a more marked option in a given context. Fishman has suggested that the choice between different languages is based on the speaker's evaluation of a given circumstance as belonging to a specific domain. Here domain is seen as an abstract sociological category which can manifest itself in a number of situations. Thus e.g. the domain 'work' can stand for a number of situations involving aspects of the job that the speaker has.

In di Sciullo et al. (1975) an approach to language choice is developed along the lines of the probabilistic model of Sankoff & Cedergren (1974), using data from Italian immigrants in Montreal. Absolute rules for language choice are replaced by probabilities that in a given situation a specific language will be chosen.

The alternative use of Quechua and Spanish in the Andean highlands has been studied extensively and from different perspectives. Pereira (1979) limits himself to showing that there is a correlation between sex, age, level of schooling and type of occupation on the one hand, and knowledge and use of both Spanish and Quechua on the other. Just like Pereira's study, Moya (1979) focusses on an Ecuadorian community, but she takes the local *mestizo* market town, rather than an Indian village, as the basic unit of analysis, revealing how the power structure, reaching from the capital to the Indian villages, determines the prestige of different groups of speakers, and consequently, of the linguistic varieties associated with these speakers.

In earlier work, Albó (1970; 1974) presents an extremely detailed analysis of a town with the dependent Indian communities in the valley of Cochabamba, in Bolivia. On the basis of materials from 354 speakers Albó

documents the changes that have occurred in Quechua due to its being dominated by Spanish, and the use of both Quechua and Spanish in a variety of situations. The central concept employed by Albó is that of articulation. The greater a speaker's "articulation with the national system" (1970, p. 179) the greater the impact of Spanish on the linguistic behavior of that speaker. The impact is both evident in the type of Quechua spoken and in the amount of Spanish spoken.

It should be stressed that none of the 'stable' bilingual communities studied is truly stable over time. In fact, Pereira, Moya, and Albó all show highly dynamic situations. What distinguishes these, however, from studies of language shift, discussed below, is that in the latter the presupposition is made of rapid transition from one language to another.

Language shift

A related issue involves unstable bilingual communities: how does one language, once widely used in the community, yield its place to another one. What intermediate stages are there? What groups of speakers are the ones that shift from one language to the other quickest? Does language shift automatically involve an intermediate stage of code-mixing (see below)? Does it involve reduction of the structures of the language that disappears, and if so, to what extent? How are shifts from one language to another evaluated in the speech community?

In the Andean context the best-known study is Myers' research (1973) on language shift among migrants to Lima, Peru. Sarah Myers analyzed interview material from a sample of 163 highland migrants in squatter settlements whose mother tongue was Quechua. In addition there were in-depth interviews with twenty women out of the sample. While Myers found that, as expected, there was strong pressure to use Spanish, particularly outside of the home, and even more so, outside of the neighbourhood, there were several surprising results as well. In the first place, there were great individual differences between the speakers as to the degree in which they shifted to Spanish in different situations; these differences are due to their experiences with the two languages. In the second place, Myers signals that the great influx of squatters into Lima has lead to the adaptation of Quechua culture to the coastal environment, rather than to the complete disappearance of the Quechua culture. We find adaptation in addition to shift.

Language death and linguistic oppression

In many places of the world languages that are spoken by small minorities or by groups with a very low social status (often peasants) are in the process of disappearing, because more powerful groups utilize the organization of the state to oppress these languages. Well-known cases include the Celtic languages in Western Europe and the Indian languages in the Americas. In recent years the disappearing, termed language obsolescence and then language death, has been the object of scholarly study. The questions posed in this discipline are both structural and functional:

(a) Is there a pattern to the gradual loss of linguistic elements, categories, and distinctions that can be generalized from one situation of language death to the other?

(b) Are specific functions of the language lost earlier than others, in a number of cases? What groups of speakers show the loss fastest?

(c) What are the ways of reviving dying languages, given that the social and political situation that originally lead to the death of the language has changed?

Since the destruction of the Inca empire the Indian languages of the Andes have been in the position of the loser, even if they were accorded a status within the colonial hierarchy. This has lead to wide-spread bilingualism throughout the Andes and to the disappearance of Quechua in a number of places. Some scholars, such as Albó (1981) and Torero (1975) have documented the political and sociological dimensions of this process, but the linguistic dimensions have been studied less. Exceptions are Albó (1970) study of the Cochambamba valley and Lefebvre (1979) on Cuzco Quechua . There it is argued that the loss of a semantic distinction in the address form is due to the increasing use of Spanish, which takes over a number of functions.

In Quechua the following two possibilities existed originally:

(a) iman suti — *yki* wayqi
     what name-your brother
     'What is your name, brother?'

(b) maymanta ka — *nchis*
     where from be 1st.incl.
     'Where are you from?'

The form in (a), second person, is unmarked, but using the first person inclusive *we* (inclusive of both speaker and hearer literally) to refer to second persons marks distance. In the bilingual context the unmarked usage in (a) remains, but the marked usage in (b) is replaced more and more by the use of Spanish, which in itself implies distance.

Language planning

Many emerging nations, particularly in the post-colonial Third World, were faced with the task of formulating a language policy, often with the contradictory purpose of redefining the national identity with respect to the colonial past (which could imply the use of an indigenous language as the language of the state) and at the same time of promoting national unity (which could imply using the dominant language of the colonial era as the language of the state).

In addition to choosing a language of the state, a choice based on often delicate and complex political, demographic and sociological considerations, language planning involved deciding the status of the other languages spoken, types of education needed to implement the language policy, and the kind of support that the state would give to the various media. On the linguistic side, many cases of language planning in the Third World and elsewhere focussed on vocabulary development, and grammatical and orthographic standardization. Language planning in the Andean area has not been very successful so far. In the three main Quechua speaking countries, Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador rather different Quechua writing systems are used, and even within each country there is not even a semblance of uniformity. Lack of resources and of sufficient political support has prevented the Peruvian government from carrying out the ambitious Quechua officialization policy set up in 1967. Bolivia and Ecuador are far from even formulating such a policy. We do find incidental efforts on the national, but not on the regional level, towards the development of new vocabulary in Quechua. Lack of coordination so far has frustrated these efforts, however.

Bilingual education

Traditionnally, members of minority groups, if they participated in the state school system at all, were forced to use the majority language in

education. Since the late sixties there has been a movement in a number of countries towards education in the vernacular languages or towards the use of two languages in the school. This political movement has been accompanied and supported by research aiming to evaluate the programs of bilingual education.

This evaluation has centered around the following research questions:

   (a)   to what extent does the use of the vernacular language in the school in addition to the dominant language help or hinder the acquisition of the dominant language by the children?
   (b)   to what extent do the children manage to do better in all other subjects as well, in a bilingual program?

There have been some types of bilingual education in the Andes in the colonial era, but most projects in contemporary times have come in the wake of the bilingual education movement in the United States. In Peru and Ecuador there have been experiments, not all of them seriously evaluated, with primary education, and in Bolivia with adult education, involving both Quechua and Aymara. The bilingual education programs, in the Andes as elsewhere, have had a second purpose, not always made explicit, namely that of helping to maintain the vernacular languages of the minority groups and of aiding in their ethnic survival.

4. Language use in the bilingual community

Strategies of neutrality

In a number of circumstances, speakers may want to use a linguistic code that is in some sense neutral, neutral between their vernacular and the language of the hearer, or neutral between two identities between which they are torn. In such cases, a number of options are open to a speaker:

— A third language.
   Especially in many post-colonial societies people will use a third language, often the old colonial language, when speaking to someone from another ethnic group, caste, or tribe. This is one of the reasons for the continued use of English in India, for instance.
— Dialect shift.
   In situations where speakers belong to two different dialect groups, often a make-shift new dialect is created, which has features of both dialects

involved, but which may in itself be rather unsystematic. This type of strategy can be fruitfully studied in the framework of a theory of accomodation (Giles and Powesland, 1975).

— Foreign accent.
Immigrant groups often maintain a strong foreign accent when they speak the new language, stressing their mixed identity. This process has been documented most extensively for the immigrants in the United States (cf. the rich tradition of immigrant studies that started with Haugen, 1953).

— Code-switching.
A very frequent strategy of neutrality is code switching, the use of two languages within one discourse. Sometimes the switching from one language to another is motivated by specific situational factors, sometimes it has a purely stylistic value (so-called metaphorical switching); (Gumperz 1971). Often the discourse involves two languages without it being clear why a particular language is being used at a particular moment. To this we return in the next paragraph.

— Relexification.
One way in which speakers can 'speak two languages at the same time', as it were, is through relexification. This process involves the replacement of the word forms of the language by those of another one, while leaving the organization of the lexicon as such intact, e.g. in the range of meanings associated with a given word.

Below, we will discuss two other strategies of neutrality: code mixing and foreigner talk, in separate sections.

What types of neutrality do we find in the Andes? Quechua has ceased to function as a 'third' language in inter-tribal communication, although it is still used as a lingua franca in parts of the Amazon basin. Perhaps it was used as such in the Incaic and colonial periods, used by the administrations to communicate with different tribes (that used local languages).

With respect to dialect shift, not enough is known to determine possible neutralizations between different Quechua dialects to produce something acceptable to different groups of speakers at the same time, but there may well be such dialects.

With respect to foreign accents, we saw above in the section on second language learning that Quechua and Aymara speakers tend to maintain

their Indian identity through the preservation of strong accents in Spanish, particularly in the vowel use.

The most interesting strategy of neutrality, however, may be relexification, which has been documented for Ecuador in Muysken (1981). Examples are given below: (Q = Quechua, ML = Media Lengua)

```
Q    yalli — da tamia — pi — ga, mana ri — sha — chu
ML   dimas  ta llubi    pi   ga no   i    sha    chu
     too muchAC rain SUB TO not   go  1FU   NEG
     'if it rains too much, I wont' go.'
     'si llueve demás, no iré'
```

```
Q    kay llakta — bi — ga k''uchi — guna tiya — n — mi
ML   isti pweblo — bi — ga pwirku — guna abi — n — mi
     this village   LO  TO pig        PL be    3   AF
     'in this village there are pigs'
     'en este pueblo hay puercos'
```

It is clear that in both examples the structure of the Q and the ML sentences is exactly parallel, while the words are different. There are some differences between Media Lengua and Quechua, but they are minor ones. From the point of view of the strategies of neutrality, one could say that Indians can express two cultural identities at once through the use of Media Lengua.

Code-mixing

In the preceding paragraph we referred already to the phenomenon of code-switching: the use of two languages in one discourse. In several cases, it turns out that two languages are used in one sentence. This is commonly referred to as code-mixing. In this process, the two languages as such remain grammatically and phonologically intact. It is just the sentence that is mixed, being constructed with the aid of two grammars.

There is a fast-growing literature devoted to the problem of how this is possible and what constraints there are on the process. Originally, this literature involved mostly Spanish-English mixing by Puertoricans and Chicano's in the United States, but now the languages studied include Hindi, Marathi, French, Italian, and Hebrew as well. Both syntacticians and psycholinguists are looking at code-mixing. Issues of research include: is there one 'host' language for every sentence, or is mixing symmetrical? How 'surface' or 'deep' should constraints on mixing be formulated? Is

there a separate code-mixing grammar, (Sankoff & Poplack, 1983) or do independent principles guide the possibilities for mixing (di Sciullo, Muysken & Singh, 1984)?

Lucinda Hart-González (1980a, b) has studied code-mixing in Quechua poetry and verse. She concludes that the code-mixing here is highly functional, involving the meaning associated with the use of both languages. An example of mixing is the following carnival-song:

Ay carnestolendas	Ah, Carnival
(Ah (S) Carnival)	
	Leaves of tobacco
Hojas de tabaco	
((S) Leaves of tobacco)	To love a woman is easy
Warmi muna-y fácil	To keep her is work.
(Woman love-inf (S)easy)	
Mantiene-y trabajo	
((S)Keep-(Q)ing (S)work)	

But also in ordinary discourse we find frequent code-mixing. Here is a fragment from my own recordings. The italicized fragments are Media Lengua, the capital ones, Quechua:

Marido valido quantu mas que marido PAYA *sonsa* dice, PAYA tonta *dizin*.
husband valued how m. even if husb. old dumb says old dumb says

Maridumi vali dizin mas y quantu *gakpipish. Asimi* mamita. *Asi sufrinchi*
husbandAF worth says even and how m. if be thus   mother thus we suffer

nustru pubregu. Claro cierto el eso, ele eso yo, claro, menor de edad,
we poor DIM Clearly sure that hey that I clearly   minor of age

menor de edad, menor de edad, *nustrus* menos pensado turbar a casar.
minor of age   minor of age   we   unexpectedly strive to marry

Llegado casoga ÑUKUCHIGA, yo *pobrega* LLAKI. Espera, no. Ele LLAKINI
arrived wedding we   TO I poor TO suffer wait   no hey I suffer

así mamita. *Buskuna ki sufringichi,* nada.   Para, para yo sofrir con mi
thus mother you PL what you suffer nothing For   for I   suffer with my

padre alma bendita para dar oración digo. Que hace pues? Nada, mas *valin*.
father soul blessed for give prayer I say what he does then nothing more is
worth

ACHI TAYTAKU nada.
Godfather nothing

No systematic work has been done so far on the question of when mixing is possible, and when not, between Quechua and Spanish. In the above fragment, in so far as it is grammatically interpretable at all, we find a number of switched topics, quotations and exclamations, which are close to the emblematic switching mentioned earlier. In some cases we find sentence internal switching, as in the first line / PAYA tonta/, where a Spanish adjective follows a Quechua noun. This is against approaches in which the order of the languages has to correspond before switching is possible: Spanish has noun-adjective, Quechua adjective-noun.

Foreigner talk

Ever since Schuchardt's *Die Lingua Franca* (1909) it has been known that native speakers simplify and distort their speech in certain situations of contact with non-native speakers. Ferguson (1975) has named this type of speech 'foreigner talk', sparking off a number of studies in this field. The relevant research issues include:

i. What triggers the use of foreigner talk? A certain perceived (e.g. lower class) social identity of the non-native speaker? Limited competence of the non-native speaker in the language of interaction?

ii. Is foreigner talk a specific more or less fixed register or rather a loose set of optional modification strategies? Is the variation in foreigner talk speech determined by characteristics (in terms of perceived identity or second language competence) of the non-native interlocutor?

iii. Are there features of foreigner talk that are stable across different languages or even universal?

iv. To what extent is the input provided by the native speaker who uses foreigner talk helpful or harmful for the second language acquisition process of the other?

There has been no systematic study as yet of foreigner talk in the Andean context. From my own work it becomes clear that the type of Spanish foreigner talk addressed to Indians is very different from that addressed to tourists. With tourists we get fairly universal features such as the use of infinitives, absence of copulas, articles, and prepositions, English-type pronunciation, etc. With Indians we get:

(a) Specific forms of address such as *hijito* 'little son';
(b) the use of the familiar second person verb form, and sometimes of the familiar second person pronoun, instead of the polite one;
(c) the use of diminutives;
(d) deletion of articles, but no use of infinitives, and for the rest, fairly ordinary syntax.

In any case the Andean foreigner talk data are highly relevant to the questions (i)-(iv) above.

Examples of both type of foreigner talk are the following:

(a) to tourists:
   Míster Quito ir?
   Mr. Quito go?
   'Are you going to Quito, foreigner?'

(b) to Indians:
   No *taiticu*, ya así pues, esto con *platita* vengo tray*endo mijito*.
   No father-DIM, this way, this with money-DIM I come bringing, my son-DIM
   Acaso que vengo tray*endo* sin gana*ndo*
   'Perhaps that I come bringing without gaining'

   Striking is the use in (b) of diminutives and of the gerund ending *-ndo*.

5. Linguistic consequences

Language contact and historical linguistics

In the discipline of historical linguistics there are two sets of research issues involving language contact: substratum and convergence. We will discuss them in turn. In order to explain how daughter languages came to diverge widely from the mother language some scholars have appealed to substratum. When a language is brought into another region than the one of its original use, and when speakers of other languages in that region adopt that language as their second one, because its cultural or political prestige, then these speakers might start influencing that language in various ways. Schematically:

(1)
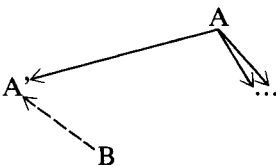
Thus Romance scholars have sometimes argued that French is derived from Vulgar Latin not only through a series of regular changes, but also because of Celtic influence on Vulgar Latin in the late Roman era. This type of influence would explain a number of the differences between French, Spanish, Portuguese, etc.

Presumably, this type of influence would take place because the Celts learned Vulgar Latin as a second language, but learned it only imperfectly, introducing many elements from their own language into it. Thus the issue of substratum links up to the issue of transfer or interference discussed above.

In addition to the term substratum, denoting influence from dominated groups in a colonial or semi-colonial setting, we have the term superstratum referring to linguistic influence exerted by prestige languages (such as the French influence on Anglo-Saxon in the Roman era), and the term adstratum, referring to linguistic influence by a neighbouring language. This brings us to the issue of convergence, similarly a controversial topic.

Convergence refers to the process by which languages which coexist within the same area gradually come to be closer to each other, without it being evident that one specifically and unidirectionally influences the other, in all areas of grammar where convergence occurs. Schematically as in (2):

(2)   A   B
              \   /
               \   /
                ↘ A'   B' ↙
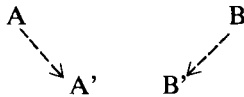
Languages which have converged in this way are said to form a 'Sprachbund', or a linguistic area, and features involved in the convergence process are termed 'areal features'. A special case of convergence involves areas in which specific features of grammar have been widely diffused through whole series of languages, which then have come to share that feature. Convergence processes are said to be characteristic of the Balkan and of Northern India (cf. Gumperz & Wilson, 1971; Masica 1976). scale diffusion processes have been documented for the aboriginal languages of Australia.

In the Andes substratum and convergence are sometimes hard to keep apart. Rural Spanish, as we have mentioned above, has come to resemble

Quechua in several respects, but at the same time it is hard to pin down features that are unequivocally due to Quechua influence. An interesting example is the use of *es que* 'it is that' and *diz que* 'they say that'. Their frequent use in Andean Spanish has been related to the use of the validational suffixes *-mi* 'affirmative' and *-si* 'hearsay' in Quechua , to which they correspond semantically. At the same time, however, we find the Spanish forms, albeit perhaps less frequently, throughout the Spanish-speaking world. Convergence? Substratum? This dilemma is posed by a number of constructions.

Pidgins and creoles

Just as certain languages have disappeared under the pressure of socially dominant languages, other languages are newly born, often within one or two generations. Most frequently pidgins and creoles emerge in a colonial context, out of the contact of a colonial language and a number of languages spoken by the colonized or by slaves brought in from the outside (as in the well-known case of the Caribbean).

With respect to the origin of pidgins and creoles there are two opposing schools of thought. The historicists think of creoles as being derived via fairly straightforward processes of historical transmission or change from other languages, involving greater or lesser amounts of grammatical mixture. The romanticists, on the other hand, tend to conceive of creole languages as being born in a linguistic vacuum (besides some vocabulary), through the intervention of the forces of nature (in the form of Universal Grammar or the bioprogram, cf. Bickerton 1981), when the process of historical transmission was interrupted.

While for the romanticist school of thought, creole genesis only involves language contact in a trivial sense, for the historicist school it is crucial. Within the historicist school, there are two extreme positions; one, taken by certain European philologists, claims that creoles are not much more than simplified versions of regional varieties of European languages. The other extreme position, taken by some Caribbean scholars, is that creole languages are largely African languages with a European vocabulary. Between these two positions there is a large spectrum of intermediate positions; all these hold that the structure of the creole languages is due to the interaction of various grammars, that have contributed, either through a concomitant process of simplification or not, various bits to the creole.

With respect to simplification, there are again two opposing points of view. One position (most closely associated with the Europeanist tradition) holds that the morphological simplification evident in the creole languages when compared to their European lexical ancestors was due to the fact that the Europeans consistently used foreigner talk in interactions with non-Europeans. The other school holds that it is the simplification inherent in the second language learning process that has lead to the creole languages.

Some Andean scholars (e.g. Cerrón-Palomino 1972) have claimed that the Spanish spoken by Quechua speakers in the highlands could be compared to a creole in that it combined grammatical elements from two languages, but the comparison is rather inappropriate: the Spanish morphology is almost completely intact (while creoles show greatly reduced or absent morphology) and most of the syntax of Spanish as well (while creoles show complete syntactic restructuring). We do find traces of pidgins in the Andean context, but rather in the Amazon basin than in the highlands. One example:

tuyo no sabiendo leña cortando
yours not knowing wood cutting
'you don't know how to cut wood'

Here we find typical pidgin features such as extremely reduced syntax, fixed morphology, use of strong forms of the pronoun, absence of copula and articles, etc. (cf. Naro 1978). It may well be that Andean highland Spanish has gone through a pidgin phase (at the end of the colonial era) as well, but if so, its traces have disappeared.

Borrowing

The concept of borrowing has been the focus of the study of language contact at least since the middle of the 19th century. All along there has been a consensus on the difference between the different components of the language as to the extent to which they can be borrowed. At the same time, there has been considerable disagreement about the extent to which borrowing was possible at all. Linguists with a view of language as a tightly organized autonomous system tend to reject borrowing as a source of language change, while scholars with a view of language as a loose system, that is in continuous interaction with its social, cultural, and linguistic environment, tended to accept borrowing quite easily. Thus in the 19th century Schuchardt opposed the Neo-Grammarians in the same way as in

the present era some of the sociolinguists and anthropological linguists oppose the generativist tradition on this issue. Both the Neo-Grammarians and the generativists tend to reject borrowing on the whole.

The consensus with respect to borrowing can be summarized in the following quote from Tesnière:

"la miscibilité d'une langue est fonction inverse de sa systématisation» (1939, p. 85)
(The mixibility of a language is an inverse function of its systematization, i.e. the more systematic the component of a language, the less easily it is involved in borrowing processes)

On the whole, this is most often interpreted as follows: The lexicon is most easily borrowed, since it is mainly a list of words; then the more superficial aspects of the pronunciation of a language; then some of the derivational morphology; then some of the inflectional morphology; and finally some of the syntactic rules. Various researchers have elaborated this hierarchy in various ways, and in particular scholars have attempted to determine what kind of words can be borrowed most easily. Here the general conclusion is that common nouns are by far the class of elements most easily borrowed, followed by adjectives, verbs, etc. This result, however, could have a cultural explanation in addition to a linguistic one. Note that the cultural elements that are most commonly borrowed are also the ones expressed by nouns, such as animals and objects.

We find lexical borrowing both from Spanish to Quechua and from Quechua to Spanish; in many cases, the words borrowed reflect the cultural changes due to the colonial expansion, but Quechua has borrowed many words as well for concepts for which it already had a word: verbs, adjectives, and nouns. Some varieties of Quechua has as much as 45% of their tokens borrowed from Spanish. Striking is that even these dialects show remarkably little phonological and syntactic influence from Spanish At the same time, Spanish shows very few Quechua words in current speech, but has adopted a number of Quechua semantic distinctions. One example of such a semantic distinction which has entered Andean Spanish in a subtle way is the Quechua distinction between a past tense and a sudden discovery tense:

miku - rqa	versus	miku - sqa
'he ate'		' it turns out that he ate'

This distinction shows up in Spanish as follows:

comió	versus	había comido (Peru / Bolivia)
'he ate'		ha comido (Ecuador)
		' it turns out that he ate'

Spanish has influenced Quechua superficially, Quechua Spanish at a deeper level.

6. Theoretical perspectives

When we consider these research traditions as a group, it is clear that from a theoretical point of view there are many links between them. Here we will try to isolate some of these links. A good place to start is Weinreich, Herzog & Labov's discussion of the five problems that a theory of language change is faced with (1968):

— constraints problem
— transition problem
— embedding problem
— actuation problem
— evaluation problem

The *constraints* problem concerns the way in which linguistic structure restricts the type of change that is possible within a given language. This issue was addressed above with respect to borrowing, where it was pointed out that there is a school of thought that tends to think of language as a closed and self-contained coherent system, and another school that assumes much latitude in the linguistic system. The issue comes up, however, not only with respect to borrowing, but also with:

— second language acquisition (is transfer of first language features into a second language easily possible or not?)
— historical linguistics (how easy is it for a substratum to emerge in the process of change?)
— creoles (to what extent does creole genesis involve language mixture?)
— code-mixing (how intimately can the two languages become entangled in the utterance?)

Clearly, one's view of the constraints problem depends crucially on one's conception of grammar. Within the generative research paradigm there has been a shift away from the notion 'language' towards the notion 'grammar', and this can lead as well to a shift from 'language contact' to

'grammar contact'. This implies, of course, an emphasis on rules that interact, rather than specific outputs. At the same time, it forces a much more principled analysis. The situation becomes more complicated again when we consider the increasing modularization of the conception of grammar as a loosely interacting union of separate components.

The *transition* problem concerns the intermediate steps in the process of change. With respect to language contact, the most immediate problem related to transition has to do with the scala of degrees of integration of a foreign item or struture into a language. This scala may be represented as follows:

inter-sentential code-switching
emblematic code-switching (i.e. of tags, etc.)
intra-sentential code-mixing
code-mixing with phonological adaptation
borrowing
relexification
calquing

This hierarchy is not unproblematic, but it will do for our purpose. One issue of considerable debate in the language contact literature is the degree to which the hierarchy represents a series of concrete steps or a continuum.

An interesting way of rephrasing the transition problem is through the concept of linguistic code. If we consider the human linguistic capacity of shifting from one way of speaking to another, depending on the circumstances, etc., and we take that to mean that speakers continually switch 'codes', then we can ask how different the codes can be. Clearly, bi-dialectal switching or a shift between the phonetic variants of one phoneme is much less constrained than switching between two different languages. Perhaps it is possible to formulate a theory which states that the more differences there are between the two codes, the more constrained switches from one code to another are. Such a theory would need to be able to contrast languages or codes. Interestingly enough, however, from a socio-linguistic perspective all code, different or not, have been treated equally.

The *embedding* problem concerns the way in which changes are embedded both within the overall linguistic structure, and within the speech community. The linguistic aspects of the embedding problem can best be considered together with the constraints problem: the overall linguistic

system in fact imposes the constraints. The social aspects of the embedding problem are crucial to a variety of aspects of language contact studies, including societal bilingualism, language shift, language death, foreigner talk, and strategies of neutrality. Which social structures and patterns of interaction are conducive to the processes involved? Which groups are most directly involved? These questions have constituted the core of the research effort of sociolinguistics insofar as it has dealt with language contact, during the last twenty years.

The *actuation* problem relates to the issue of how a particular linguistic change, which starts out with individual speakers, is generalized within the speech community. As such the actuation problem reflects a general issue in the social sciences: the agglomeration problem. How can we translate descriptions of individual behavior into the language needed to describe group behavior? Take again the relation between transfer (a notion derived from the study of second language learning) and substratum (a notion derived from historical linguistics). There are two possible links: either transfer was sufficiently general as a second language learning phenomenon that all or most speakers showed the same effect, so that a substratum could emerge, or the feature transferred in the speech of some speakers assumed a function within the speech community as a whole, in terms of marking the identity of a group of speakers, etc. These issues form the domain of enquiry that falls under the actuation problem. Oddly enough it is often ignored by researchers, who feel able to switch from the imagery of individual behavior to that of group behavior without problems.

Finally, there is the *evaluation* problem, which involves the way speakers react to the different languages or linguistic varieties in their community. This problem has been tackled with more or less success in the research tradition of social psychology.

We will now turn to the research traditions once again, trying to establish whatever links exist between them. Consider Figure I; this figure is organized in such a way that the dominant contributing disciplines, sociology, psychology, and linguistics, occupy the three corners of the triangle, while the research traditions are grouped within the triangle, and linked to each other in different ways. Double lines indicate a strong link, of a conceptual nature, while single lines indicate the weaker link of relevance to a given tradition. Quite obviously, many more conceivable lines could be
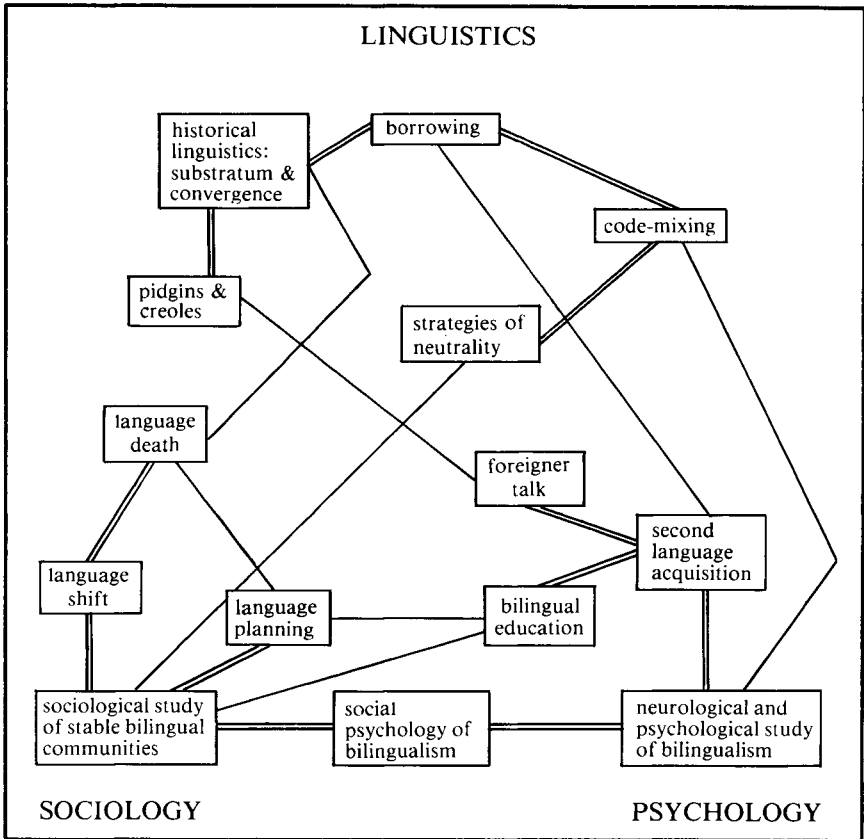
FIGURE I

drawn, but they would not alter the picture profoundly. It would be possible to draw some line linking the more linguistic disciplines intrinsically to the other ones, but in actual practice the links here are not very strong.

As such, the field remains chaotic in that it combines concepts from different disciplines. There is no hope for unification, but perhaps the possibility of greater awareness of what are the common themes and issues.

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