

3.00-3.30

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Lexical borrowing by non-bilinguals: A study of loanwords in an early colonial central Mexico Spanish corpus (1524-1630)

The cognitive, semantic and social factors proposed by contact studies to account for cross-linguistic lexical borrowing patterns (Matras and Adamou 2021) are usually predicated on settings characterized by widespread bilingualism. In contexts of limited social bilingualism, however, lexical borrowing is traditionally explained as either filling lexical gaps or responding to cultural pressures (i.e., ‘need’ vs. ‘prestige’, Campbell 2004: 64-65). Accounts that rely on these motivations typically do not distinguish between loanwords that have not become socially established (see ‘nonce borrowings’, Poplack 2018) and more widespread loanwords. Insofar as established loanwords may characterize emerging contact varieties (Schneider 2007), this distinction is relevant to the sociohistorical study of colonial language expansion in settings of limited social multi/bilingualism. In this presentation, I exemplify the sociohistorically usefulness of this distinction with data furnished by an administrative municipal corpus in Spanish from early colonial (1524-1630) central Mexico, a context of pervasive contact between Spanish and several Indigenous languages. The corpus was produced by the Cabildo (town council) of Mexico-Tenochtitlan (27 volumes, ca. 6,435,000 words) for a primarily local audience. While sociohistorical approaches to early colonial Mexico disagree as to the social extent of multi/bilingualism among Eurodescendants (Hidalgo 2016; Schwaller 2016), this particular corpus is significant because it was authored by an élite Spanish corporation whose members were generally not bilingual. For this study, a diachronic sample (20% of the total collection, ca. 1,287,000 words) was used. All Indigenous loanwords were extracted manually; besides toponyms and non-Mesoamerican loanwords, the sample yielded 328 tokens of mostly Nahuatl loanwords (e.g., macegual ‘Indigenous peasant, farmer’ < Nah. macehualli, tianguis ‘market’ < Nah. tianquiztli). Using Cáceres Lorenzo’s (2014) ‘index of incorporation’, all tokens were classified from 1 (loanwords used with a gloss or explanation) to 5 (no gloss + reference to culturally unmarked signifiers). In this classification, levels 1-2 correspond to nonce loanwords not assumed to be known by the audience, and higher levels signal semantic generalization but also broader social use. The analysis revealed most loanwords to be at levels 3-4, i.e. indicating a relatively high level of incorporation. Only a minority of the loanwords exhibit level 1-2 characteristics, even in the earliest decades. Also, while some loanwords increase their index diachronically, no loanword reaches level 5. This data indicates that loanwords in this corpus are largely established, but only in reference to Indigenous (i.e. culturally marked) concepts (e.g., jacal as ‘humble Indigenous dwelling’, not just ‘humble dwelling’), in contrast to the use recorded at later stages in colonial Mexican Spanish. It will be argued that this distribution can be explained as the function of a combination of two factors: on the one hand, the sociolinguistic profile of Cabildo members, largely consisting of monolingual individuals living amidst widespread language contact; on the other, their corporate interests, rooted in a Eurocentric ideological system where ethnolinguistic affiliation was classifiable into distinct categories (Schwaller 2016) and where these loanwords operate as indexical flaggers. This case study suggests that sociohistorical

studies of language contact will benefit from considering the social embedding of individual language use and textual production in the interpretation of contact features. References Cáceres Lorenzo, María Teresa. 2014. Differentiation between Indigenous Loanwords in the Spanish American Lexicon. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 91(2): 117-126. Campbell, Lyle. 2004. *Historical Linguistics*. Cambridge, MA.: The MIT Press. Hidalgo, Margarita. 2016. *Diversification of Mexican Spanish. A Tridimensional Study in New World Sociolinguistics*. Berlin: De Gruyter. Matras, Yaron, and Evangelia Adamou. 2021. Borrowing. In *The Routledge Handbook of Language Contact*, eds. Yaron Matras and Evangelia Adamou, 237-251. Poplack, Shana. 2018. *Borrowing: Loanwords in the Speech Community and in the Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Schneider, Edgar. 2007. *Post-Colonial English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Schwaller, Robert. 2016. *Géneros de Gente in Early Colonial Mexico: Defining Racial Difference*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press."

3.30-4.00

Heimir Freyr Viðarsson

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On the loss of OV word order in Early Modern Icelandic in relation to its geographical spread and sociohistorical context

From a typological perspective, the Object-Verb/Verb-Object (OV/VO) distinction in word order is clearly among the larger aspects in which languages may vary (see e.g. Kroch & Taylor 2000; Hróarsdóttir 2000; Haider 2012; Wallenberg et al. 2021). All the North Germanic languages have at some point gone through a change from OV (or OV/VO) to VO. In an Icelandic context, corpus-based research has primarily focused on temporal aspects, leaving other potential factors in this change mostly aside (Hróarsdóttir 2000, Wallenberg et al. 2021). The study and subsequent analysis of Hróarsdóttir (2004) is an exception in this regard, where the suggestion is made that external factors were at play during the Early Modern period, in particular during the 18th century, leading to the gradual demise of OV order. The aim of the present contribution is to improve upon previous studies of the loss of OV in Icelandic with special regard for geographical and sociohistorical aspects of variation.

The two most comprehensive studies of OV/VO in Icelandic from a historical perspective (Hróarsdóttir 2000; Wallenberg et al. 2021) converge as far as the timing of the change is concerned, both suggesting a decline in the use of OV from the 17th century onwards. This convergence obtains even though the authors drew their data partly from distinct corpora and employed different methods in collecting and analyzing the data. In terms of triggers, Wallenberg

et al. (2021) only discuss VO order as having an ‘advantage’ in language change and, once innovated, is predicted to take over ‘given enough time’. For Hróarsdóttir (2004), the competition between OV/VO was influenced by forces such as high death rates among certain sections of the population due to epidemics and natural disasters. Interestingly, these factors all date to the early 18th and not the 17th century, well before the onset of change. As such, these events are not likely triggers of change, per se, but they might still have contributed to its spread. Importantly, neither Hróarsdóttir (2000 and later work) nor IcePaHC, used in Wallenberg et al. (2021), offer any geo-specific metadata. Moreover, the geographic location and authorship of many of the texts used in these studies, especially from the medieval period, is often unknown. In contrast, most texts from the Early Modern period are distinctly authored and may, at least in principle, be assigned a location based on available biographical data. The OV/VO dataset (N=6,875) used in this ongoing study at present includes 1,977 out of 2,364 localizable OV/VO data points from the period 1540–1790. While many issues arise when augmenting the corpus data points in this way, such an undertaking offers novel and valuable insights into the inner workings of this change, both in terms of potential triggers as well as diffusion patterns. The present study will be contrasted with previous studies of other grammatical changes in Icelandic, the diffusion of some of which has been studied in detail (e.g. Gunnlaugsson 1994, Guðmundsson 1972). As much previous scholarship reveals, both in Iceland and elsewhere, the diffusion patterns tend to suggest a trajectory of change from “economically and culturally dominant” centers of power (cf. Kerwill 2003), in our case from the North to the South of Iceland, or vice versa. The trajectory of OV to VO will be compared against three distinct models of diffusion (Kerwill 2003, Labov 2003, Blaxter 2019, Trudgill 2020) and further evaluated based on recent advances in the study of (proto-)urban clusters in Early Modern Iceland (Júlíusson 2018, Róbertsdóttir 2018). A key element of the analysis will be the linking of innovation to increasing population density and complexity of social networks, contributing to the descriptive and theoretical literature of language variation and change in relatively isolated language communities.

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4.00-4.30

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'You keep jūning me, and I will keep qīnging you': Stance, persona, and second-person pronoun qīng among Six Dynasties Chinese intelligentsia'

Amid the tumultuous political backdrop of late Hàn to Jìn (166-420 AD), scholars distanced themselves from active governance, finding solace in artistic and literary pursuits and striving to take on the míngshì persona – a prestigious social type blending carefreeness with perceived moral and intellectual superiority. While the míngshì's material, psychological and behavioural characteristics are well-known (e.g. Mǎ 2014), their language use remains under-studied.

My study addresses this question through the lens of second-person pronouns. While there are robust findings regarding correlations between pronominal choice and social rank (Wèi 2004, Zhāng 2005, Zhū 2006, Cáo and Lǐ 2017), little work has discussed their role in persona construction. I examine 375 tokens of pronouns (mostly qīng, rǔ, jūn and (míng)gong) from the text Shìshuō Xīnyǔ. Through an innovative mixed-methods approach combining qualitative analysis with a Bayesian multinomial regression model predicting pronominal choice from manually-coded social factors like rank, kinship, and affect, I show that the distribution and use of second-person pronouns can be accounted for through interacting factors like conversational stance (Du Bois 2007), persona construction (Eckert 2008) and specific sociopolitical developments of the era.

The most characteristic pronoun of the míngshì persona is qīng. Consistent with earlier research, I find speakers having greater or equal power as the listener favours the use of qīng, as does intimacy between speakers. Yet I also find that utterances conveying positive stances towards the speaker are less likely to use qīng except in intimate, superior-to-inferior dyads, whereas a negative stance on the hearer reduces the chances of qīng use for intimate social equals. I argue that these findings are best explained if qīng directly indexes an interpersonal stance that the hearer has high status but the speaker is even higher, from which all other social meanings derive. As a pronoun, qīng was first used by rulers towards any high-ranking officials, conveying both respect for the hearer and their own authority (1). This 'hearer high, speaker higher' meaning was then exploited so anyone could qīng close inferiors (2), and by the Jìn Dynasty, also peers (3, 4), thus constructing the 'hearer high, speaker higher' relationship. Since the simultaneous self-aggrandisement and respectfulness associated with peer use of qīng fit the míngshì persona but was inappropriate when speaking to non-intimates, qīng also came to indirectly index míngshì-ness and intimacy (e.g. (5)). The spread of qīng encroached on the territory of older pronouns paradigmatically opposed to qīng; in particular, rǔ, a pronoun indexing casualness, rudeness or condescension in Old Chinese, became limited to speakers with what I call intimate authority over the listener; qīng came to be preferred for non-kin superior-to-inferior dyads (6) as the authority of social superiors began to atrophy.

I argue that by combining historical analysis, detailed annotation and statistical modelling, the diachronic study of pronominal systems can go beyond syntax and basic social factors to examine the full range of stances, personas and sociocultural values embedded in pronouns.

Examples

(1)

Emperor Míng asked Marquis Zhōu, ‘Commentators are comparing you to Chī Jiàn – what do you say?’ (2.17)

(2)

[Zhì Zhān is a former subordinate of Wáng Dūn.] Zhān bid farewell to Wáng Dūn. Dūn told Zhān, ‘you (qīng) are not even thirty yet, and you already have a salary of ten thousand stones. This is rather too early.’ (2.42)

(3)

Liú Zhēngzhǎng was talking to Yīn Yuānyuán. At one point, Liú’s arguments faced minor difficulties. Yīn said, ‘Sigh, do you (qīng) not want to build a good cloud-ladder to attack me from above?’ (4.26)

(4)

[Língyùn and Kǒng are close in social status. Yīnshì is a subset of míngshì living as hermits.]

Língyùn enjoyed wearing a hat that looked like a crooked-handled umbrella. Yīnshì Kǒng said, ‘If you (qīng) want to pursue noble goals, how can you not dispense with the appearance of a crooked-handled umbrella?’ (2.108)

(5)

Wáng tàiwèi was not a friend of Yú Zǐsōng, but Yú qīnged him without stopping. Wáng said, ‘you (jūn) cannot do this.’ Yú said, ‘You (qīng) keep jūnning me, and I will keep qīnging you (qīng). I will follow my ways, and you (qīng) can follow your (qīng) ways.’

(6)

Wáng Sēng’ēn looked down on Duke Lín. Lántián (=Sēng’ēn’s father) said, ‘Do not be like your older brother. Your (rǔ) brother is no match for him.’ (9.64)

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