

Language islands in the flood: Language change and language contact in German speaking communities in Russia and Brazil

**The Impact of Socio-Political Transformations on Language and Identity
Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, February 18-20, 2016**

Peter Rosenberg (Frankfurt/Oder)

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Outline

1. Goals, sample, and methods
2. Sociolinguistics
3. Regular and irregular morphology
 - regular morphology: noun inflection
 - irregular morphology: pronoun inflection
 - Conclusion
4. Explanations?
 - Convergence
 - Language obsolescence and change

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Goals, sample, and methods

German Research Foundation project
Regularity and Irregularity in case morphology
of German Language island varieties in Russia and Brazil

Subject: development of regular and irregular morphology in German language islands in Russia and Brazil: its frequency, distribution, and functionality (depending on language varieties, age-group and situational context).

Objectives: description of reduction or resistance of case morphology and explanation in terms of convergence, language change and language shift.

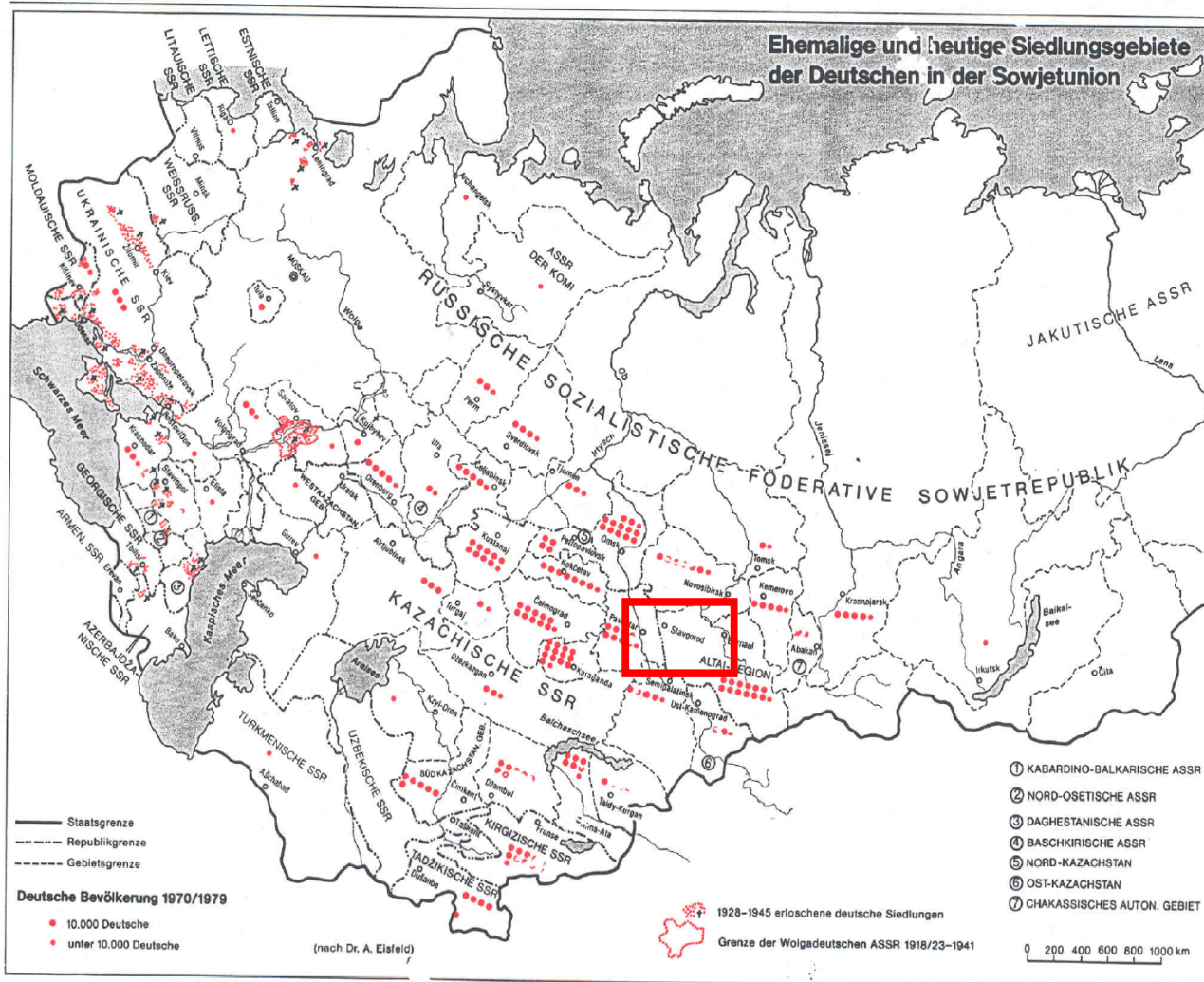
Sample

	< 40 1990s	< 40 2000s	40-59 1990s	40-59 2000s	≥ 60 1990s	≥ 60 2000s	Σ
RUSSIA							
Plautdietsch	0	6	5	7	4	5	27
<i>Repetitive recordings (Real-time comparison):</i>							3
„Katholisch“	3	4	10	6	6	5	34
<i>Repetitive recordings (Real-time comparison):</i>							7
BRAZIL							
Pomerano	2	9	9	5	9	5	39
<i>Repetitive recordings (Real-time comparison):</i>							5
Hunsrückisch	1	6	3	5	4	6	25
<i>Repetitive recordings (Real-time comparison):</i>							1
TOTAL	6	25	27	23	23	21	125
<i>Repetitive recordings (Real-time comparison):</i>							16

Goals, sample, and methods

Language varieties:		
Brazil:		
Pomerano	East Low German	
Hunsrückisch	West Central German	
Russia:		
Plautdietsch	East Low German	
“Katholisch”	West Upper German	
Age-groups:		
< 40	40-59	≥60
Situational contexts:		
Translation task (Standard German into vernacular)		
Interview and narration		
Home conversation (self-recorded)		

Regions of investigation

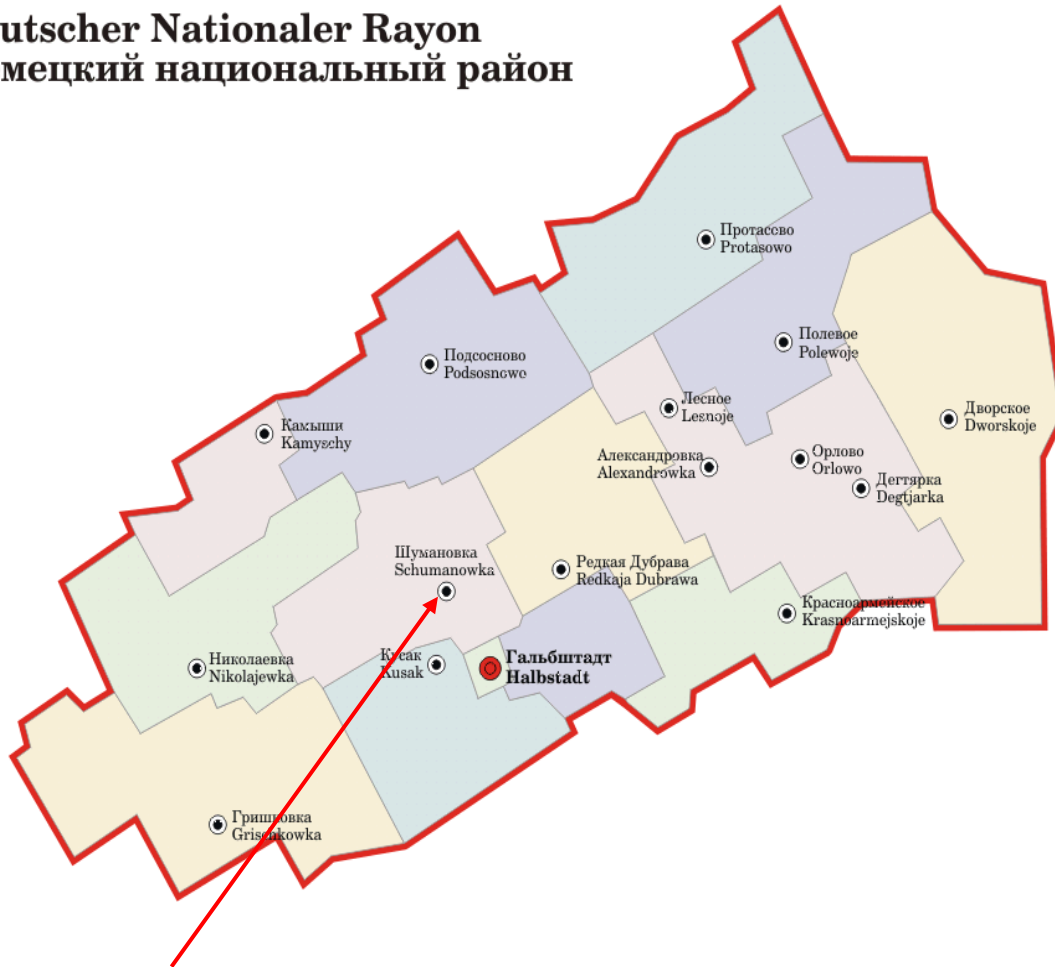


German settlements in Russia

National District of „Halbstadt“ (Altajskij Kraj)

Regions of investigation

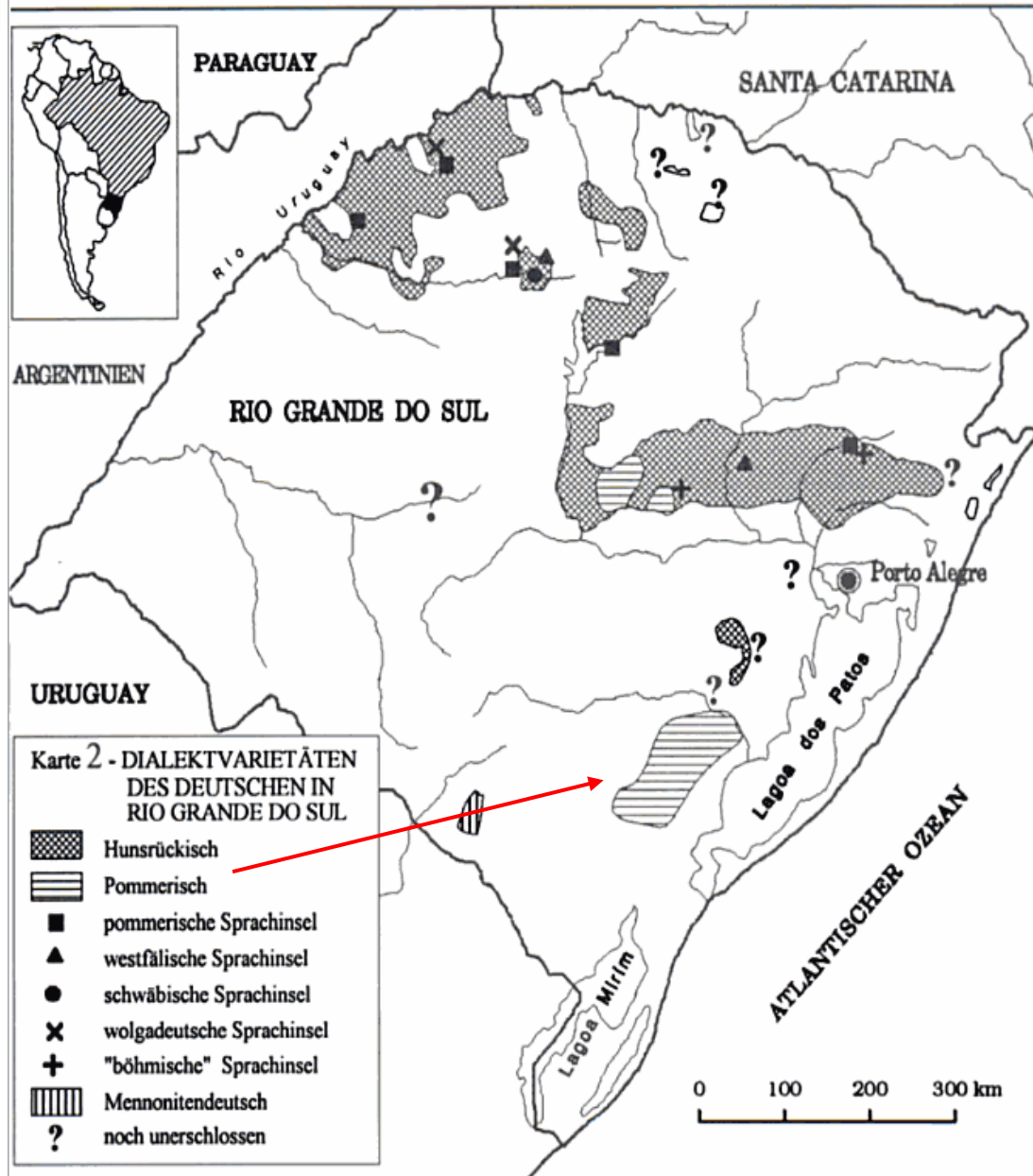
Deutscher Nationaler Rayon
Немецкий национальный район



Language island in Siberia:
Place of inquiry

Shumanovka village:
Plautdietsch and „Catholic“ variety

Regions of investigation



German varieties
in Rio Grande do Sul,
South Brazil

Regions of investigation

Rio Grande do Sul – Santa Catarina

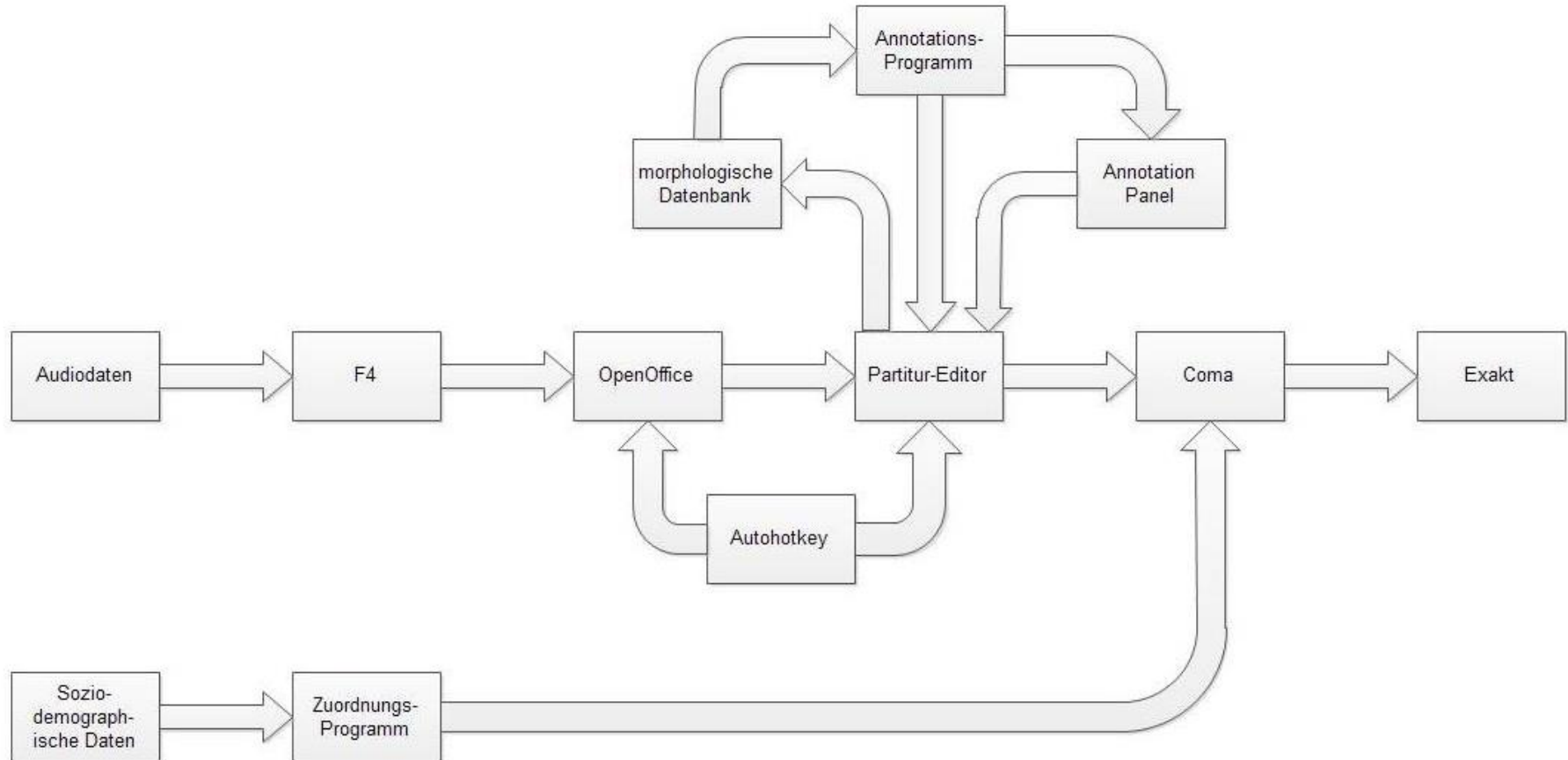


Language islands in South Brazil:
Place of inquiry

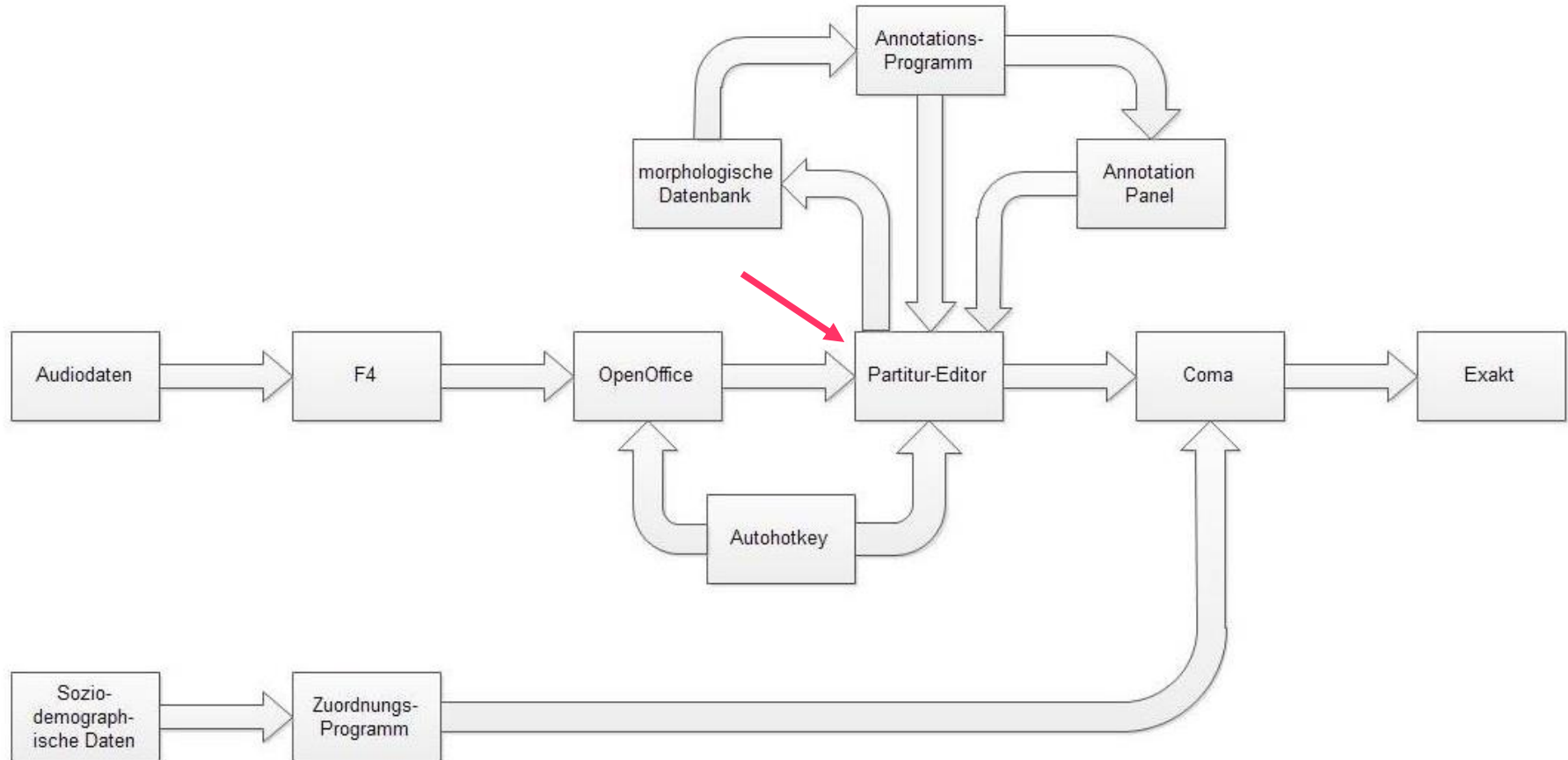
Pelotas Municipality:
Pomerano and
Hunsrueck variety

(Ilg 1982)

Methods und data processing



Methods und data processing

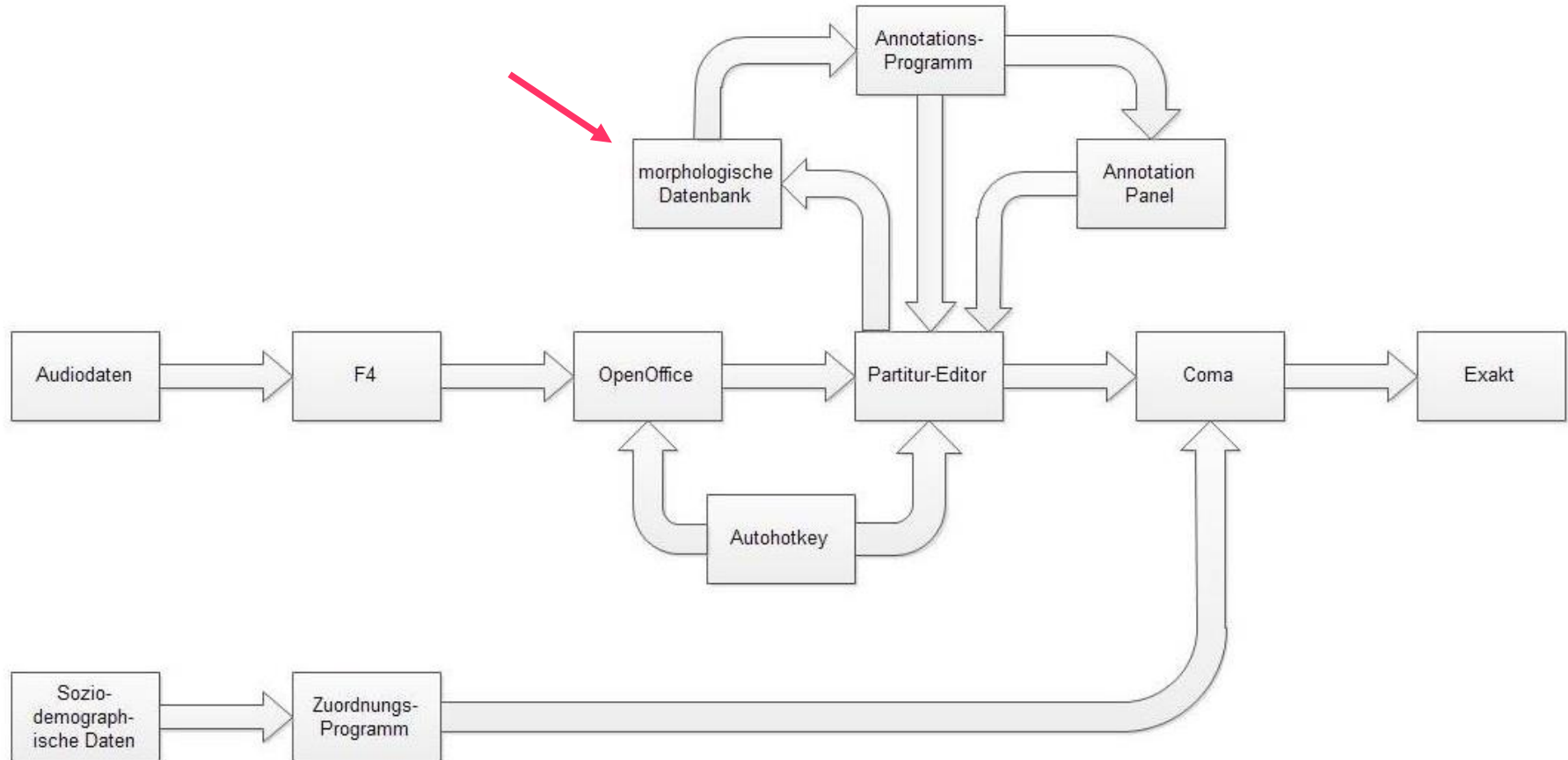


Methods und data processing

Exmaralda – Partitur Editor

	[00: 8 [00: 9	10 [00: 11 [00:21.4]	12
Testsatznr.	2	3	
Testsatz	<i>Hilf ihnen!</i>	<i>An meiner roten Nase hängt ein Tropfen.</i>	
BoJe02 [v]	helf iine	en	mainer
Satzelemente	hlf ihnen	an	meiner
BoJe02 [morph]	PPER:_D.P.3>PPER:_D.P.3(RED)^PPER.M.A.S.3(E)	APPRD>APPRD(D-HRX,D-KAT)	PPOSAT.F.D.S.PR.1._S>PPOSAT.F.D.S.PR.1._S
BoJe02 [phon]			
BoJe02 [k]			
INT [v]		T	

Methods und data processing



Methods und data processing

Morphological Tagging (Stuttgart-Tuebingen-TagSet)

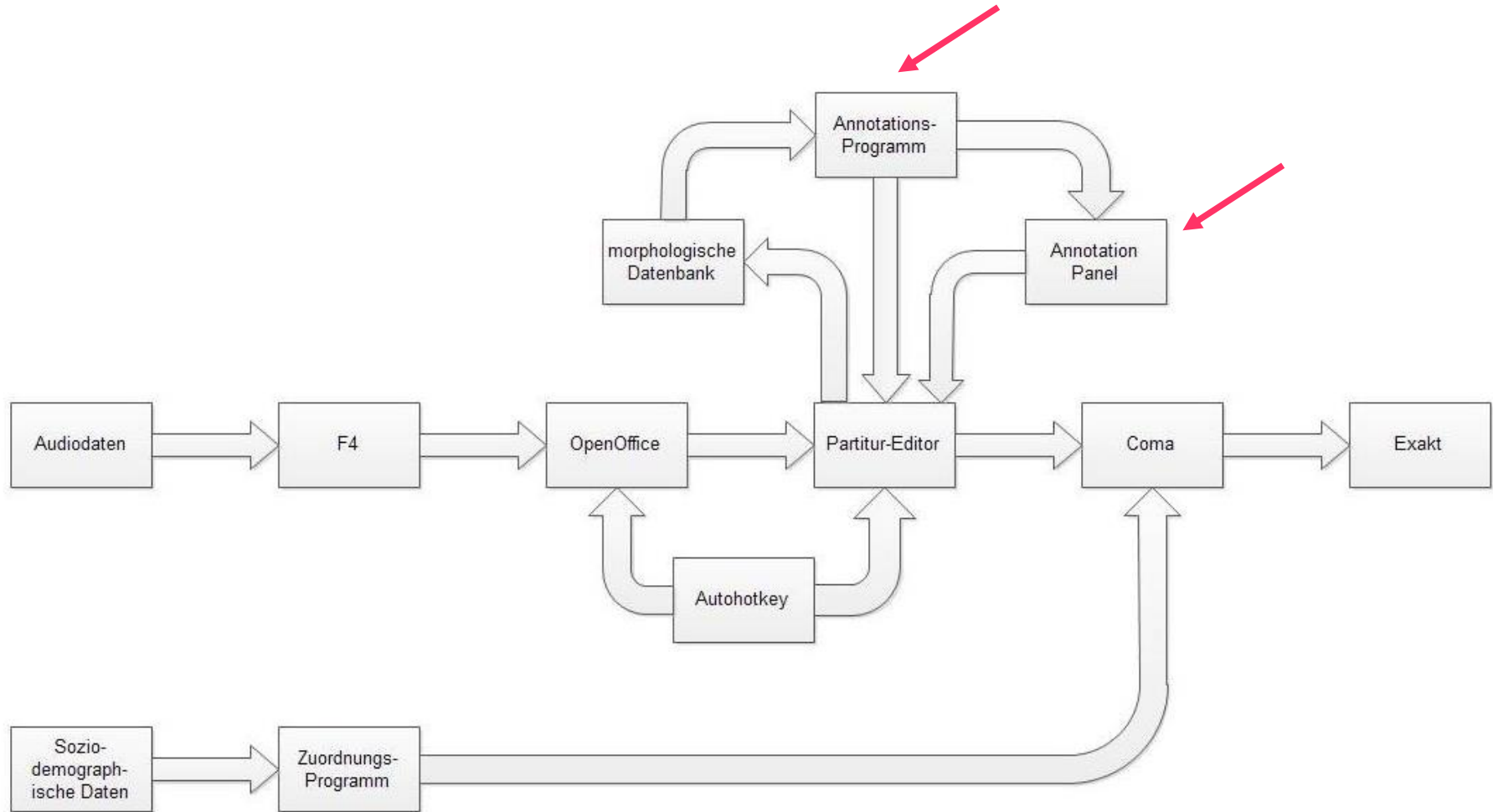
Stimulus der/des Interviewenden > Realisierung der/des Befragten

Wortart:Genus.Kasus.Numerus(.Fa kultatives)> Wortart:Genus.Kasus.Numerus(.Fakultatives)

Kürzel	Erläuterung
ADJ	(attributives) Adjektiv
APPRART	Präposition mit Artikel
ARTdef	bestimmter oder
ARTindef	unbestimmter Artikel
N	Nomen, Eigennamen
PDS	substituierendes
PDAT	oder attribuierendes Demonstrativpronomen
PIS	substituierendes
PIDAT	oder attribuierendes Indefinitpronomen mit oder
PIAT	ohne Determiner
PPER	irreflexives Personalpronomen
PPOSS	substituierendes
PPOSAT	oder attribuierendes Possessivpronomen
PREL	substituierendes oder attribuierendes Relativpronomen
PRF	Reflexives Personalpronomen

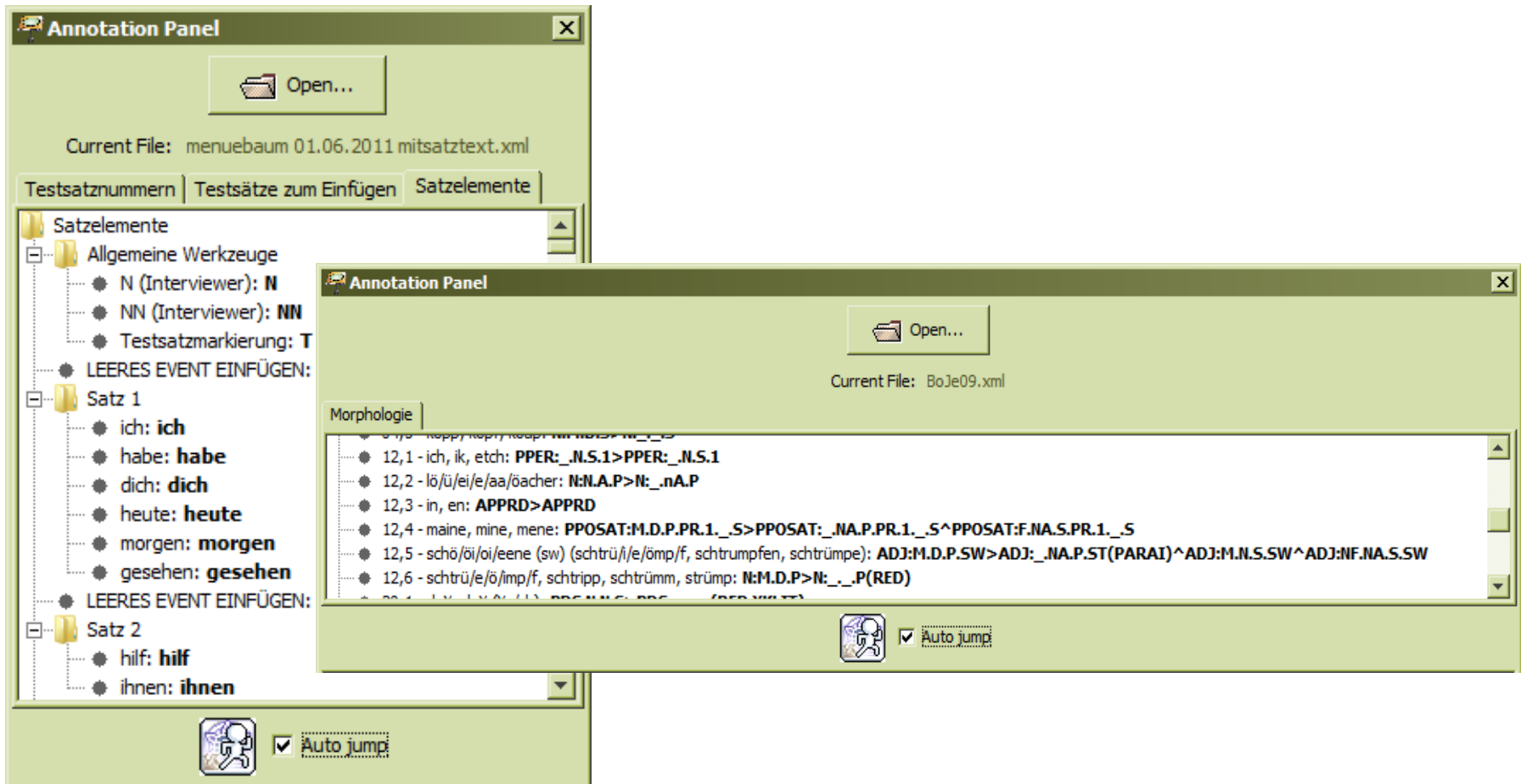
Nr.	Input	output	Tag	Gewährspersonen
34,1	vor	bi	APPRD>APPR(LEX)	TiLj09
34,1	vor	fo/oe/ö/e/ir, fu/oor/i/ch	APPRD>APPRD	FaJa09, BeNo09, MaVa09, GeDi11, FrLi11
34,2	ihm	dem	PPER:M.D.S.3>PDS:MN.D.S	HiAn99, GeDi11, GrRo11, GoAn11
34,2	ihm	dem kell	PPER:M.D.S.3>ARTdef.Mn.D.S+N:M._.S	KrAr09, LeLo09
34,2	ihm	dem mann	PPER:M.D.S.3>ARTdef.Mn.D.S+N:M._.S	LeTe11, GaOs11
34,2	ihm	dene	PPER:M.D.S.3>PDS:___(NON)	NoDe11
34,2	ihm	der	PPER:M.D.S.3>PDS:M.N.S^PDS:F.D.S	BoUl11
34,2	ihm	dir	PPER:M.D.S.3>PPER:_.D.S.2	NoSi11, ScAl99
34,2	ihm	eem, eam, aam, iim, em	PPER:M.D.S.3>PPER:MN.D.S.3	BeNo09, FaJa09, BrMa02, MaVa09, GrRo
34,2	ihm	een, iin	PPER:M.D.S.3>PPER:M.A.S	BoJe09, LeRe03, KlOl02, ScJo09
34,2	ihm	eer	PPER:M.D.S.3>PPER:F.D.S.3^PPER:M.N.S.3	MaVa03, ScMa09, LeTu98, NoNa98
34,2	ihm	eere	PPER:M.D.S.3>PPER:F.D.S.3(E)^PPER:M.N.S.3(E)	ScId02
34,2	ihm	iim (newa ~)	PPER:M.D.S.3>PPER:MN.D.S.3(K)	LoLy02
34,2	ihm	iin (neben ~)	PPER:M.D.S.3>PPER:M.A.S(K)	LoAn09
34,2	ihm	iine	PPER:M.D.S.3>PPER:M.A.S(E)^PPER:_.D.P.3(RED)	BeAl09
34,2	ihm	mi (bi ~)	PPER:M.D.S.3>PPER:_.DA.S(D-POM,K)	TiLj09
34,2	ihm	mir	PPER:M.D.S.3>PPER:_.D.S.1	NoSi11
34,3	ein	a, ai, e	ARTIndef.M.N.S>ARTIndef:_.S(RED)	BeNo09, BeGr09, Malv03, KrAr09
34,3	ein	ain, en, oin	ARTIndef.M.N.S>ARTIndef.M.N.S^ARTIndef:N.Na.S	HiAn99, BeNo09, MaVa09, ScCr11
34,3	ein	aine, ene, oine	ARTIndef.M.N.S>ARTIndef:F.Na.S	NoDe11, GuSv09, GrEl98, HaDa98
34,3	ein	de	ARTIndef.M.N.S>ARTdef:___(RED)	FaJa09, FeJa99, ScEl09, WaTa10
34,3	ein	den	ARTIndef.M.N.S>ARTdef:M.A.S^ARTdef:_.D.P	ReBe01
34,3	ein	der	ARTIndef.M.N.S>ARTdef:M.N.S^ARTdef:F.D.S	LoLy02, NoNa98
34,3	ein	n	ARTIndef.M.N.S>ARTIndef:MN.Na.S(REDV)^ARTdef:M.A.S(REDV)^ARTdef:_.D.P(REDV)	GoAn11, BoUl11, PiRo11, NoDe11, EsMa
34,3	ein	ne	ARTIndef.M.N.S>ARTIndef:F.Na.S(REDV)	ScFr98
34,3	ein	xn (laitx, wäärx ~)	ARTIndef.M.N.S>ARTIndef:MN.Na.S(KLIT)^ARTdef:M.A.S(KLIT)^ARTdef:_.D.P(KLIT)	GeDi11, GrRo11, LeTe11, GaOs11, BoEl11
34,4	Hund	hu/uu/ond	N:M.N.S>N:_.S	FaJa09, BeNo09, MaVa09, GoAn11

Methoden und Datenaufbereitung



Methods und data processing

Exmaralda – Annotation Panel / Computer-aided Tagging



Annotation Panel (Left Window)

Current File: menuebaum 01.06.2011 mitsatztext.xml

Testsatznummern | Testsätze zum Einfügen | Satzelemente

Satzelemente

- Allgemeine Werkzeuge
 - N (Interviewer): **N**
 - NN (Interviewer): **NN**
 - Testsatzmarkierung: **T**
- LEERES EVENT EINFÜGEN:
- Satz 1
 - ich: **ich**
 - habe: **habe**
 - dich: **dich**
 - heute: **heute**
 - morgen: **morgen**
 - gesehen: **gesehen**
- LEERES EVENT EINFÜGEN:
- Satz 2
 - hilf: **hilf**
 - ihnen: **ihnen**

Auto jump

Annotation Panel (Right Window)

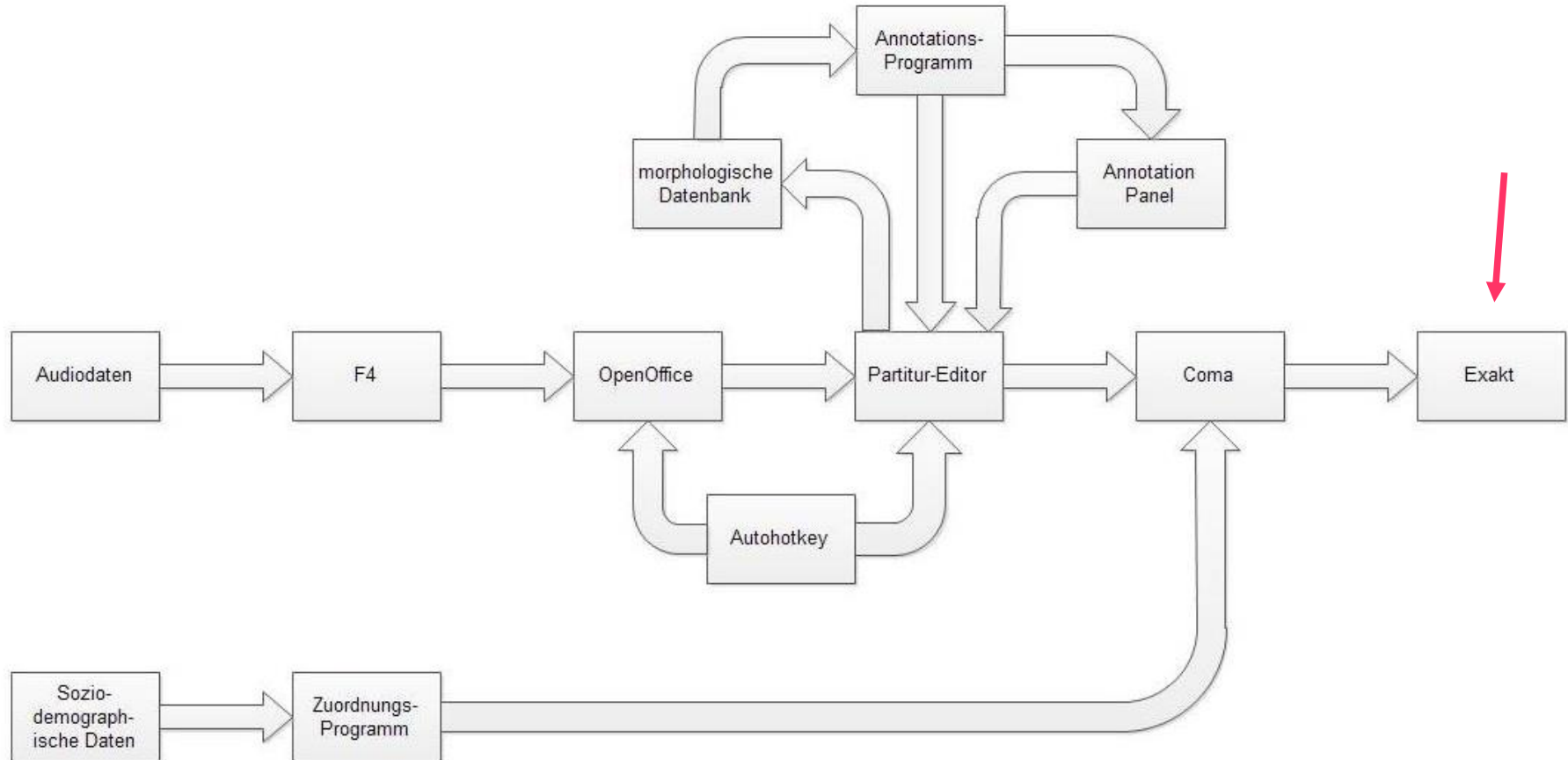
Current File: BoJe09.xml

Morphologie

- 12,1 - ich, ik, etch: **PPER:_N.S.1>PPER:_N.S.1**
- 12,2 - lö/ü/ej/e/aa/öacher: **N:NA.P>N:_nA.P**
- 12,3 - in, en: **APRD>APRD**
- 12,4 - maine, mine, mene: **PPOSAT:M.D.P.PR.1._S>PPOSAT:_NA.P.PR.1._S^PPOSAT:F.NA.S.PR.1._S**
- 12,5 - schö/öi/oi/eene (sw) (schrü/i/e/ömp/f, schrumpfen, schrümpe): **ADJ:M.D.P.SW>ADJ:_NA.P.ST(PARAI)^ADJ:M.N.S.SW^ADJ:NF.NA.S.SW**
- 12,6 - schrü/e/ö/imp/f, schripp, schrüm, strümp: **N:M.D.P>N:_P(RED)**

Auto jump

Methods und data processing



Methods und data processing

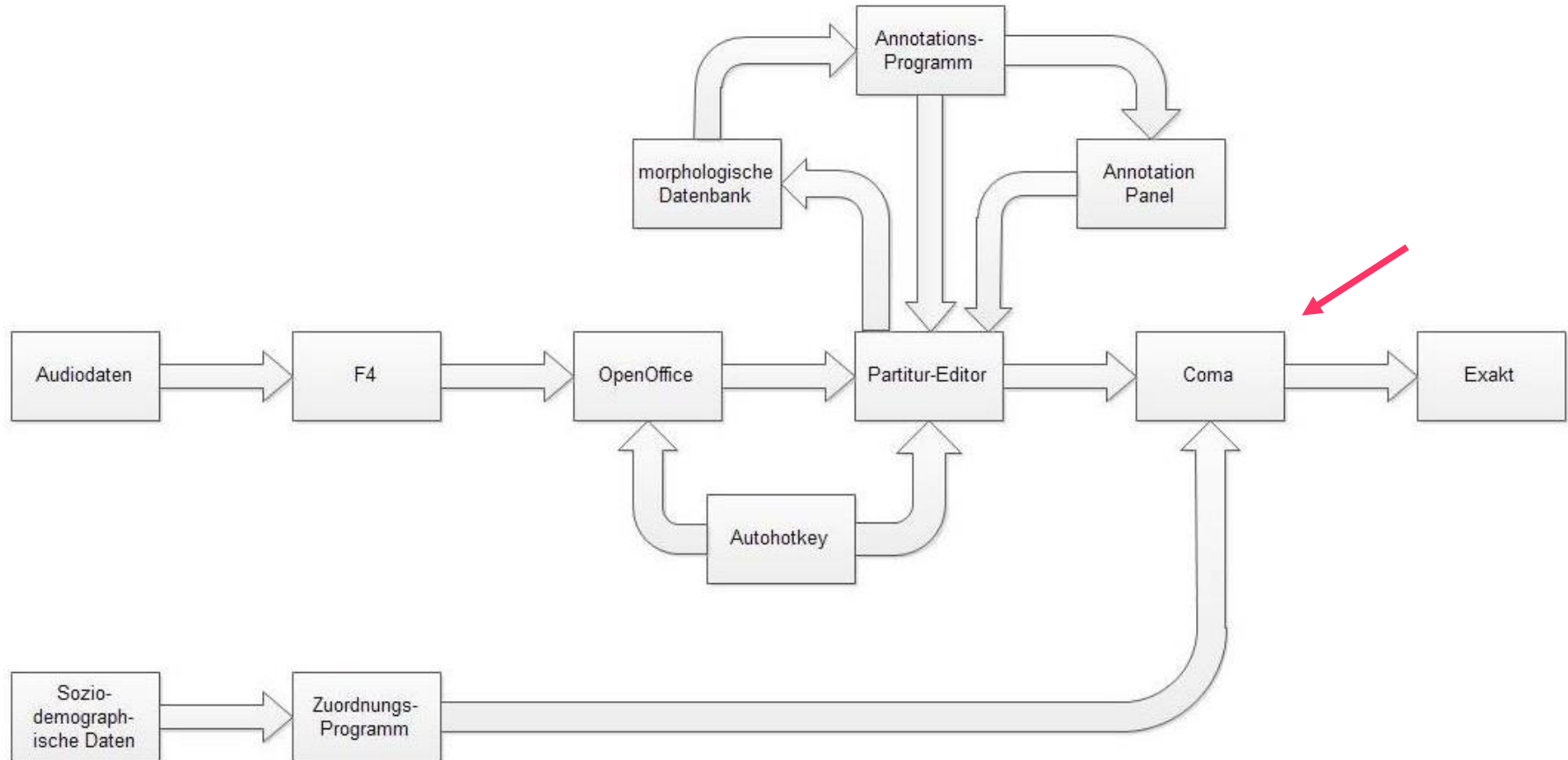
Exakt – Search procedure

Suchanfrage PPER:\.A.*>PDS:* (Auszug) in der morphologischen Annotationsspur

Spk	Morphologisches Tag	Satz- element	Test- satznr.
1 ZoJu10	jeft der tretch	<i>PPER:F.A.S.3>PDS:F.D.S^PDS:M.N.S</i>	<i>sie</i> 20
2 GoAn11	geeb di dem tsurikk	<i>PPER:F.A.S.3>PDS:F.nA.S^PDS:_.nA.P</i>	<i>sie</i> 20
13 HeMa10	jiff eer doi trütch	<i>PPER:F.A.S.3>PDS:F.nA.S^PDS:_.nA.P^PDS:M.N.S(D-PDT,D-POM)</i>	<i>sie</i> 20
14 WiHe10	jeft dei der tsuretech	<i>PPER:F.A.S.3>PDS:F.nA.S^PDS:_.nA.P^PDS:M.N.S(D-PDT,D-POM)</i>	<i>sie</i> 20
15 LeFr09	jääb eer dat tröich	<i>PPER:F.A.S.3>PDS:N.nA.S</i>	<i>sie</i> 20
18 FrLi11	geeb das dene tsurikk	<i>PPER:F.A.S.3>PDS:N.nA.S</i>	<i>sie</i> 20
19 GeDi11	gibt das dene tsurikk	<i>PPER:F.A.S.3>PDS:N.nA.S</i>	<i>sie</i> 20
20 HeMa10	jiff der dit trütch	<i>PPER:F.A.S.3>PDS:N.nA.S</i>	<i>sie</i> 20
23 HePs10	jebbX Xe dei (teret)	<i>PPER:F.A.S.3>PDS:_._._(KLIT,RED)^PPER:MN.nA.S(KLIT,RED)^PPER:F.D.S(KLIT,RED)</i>	<i>sie</i> 20
24 BeGr09	Geff e da wedder	<i>PPER:F.A.S.3>PDS:_._._(RED)</i>	<i>sie</i> 20
27 KoNi10	jiff de trütt	<i>PPER:F.A.S.3>PDS:_._._(RED)</i>	<i>sie</i> 20

Beispielsuche 2: Personalpronomina mit Akkusativ-Input und Realisierung als Demonstrativpronomen

Methods und data processing



Methods und data processing

Coma – Metadata Processing

Suchen

Filter

Alle Filter löschen 124 Personen

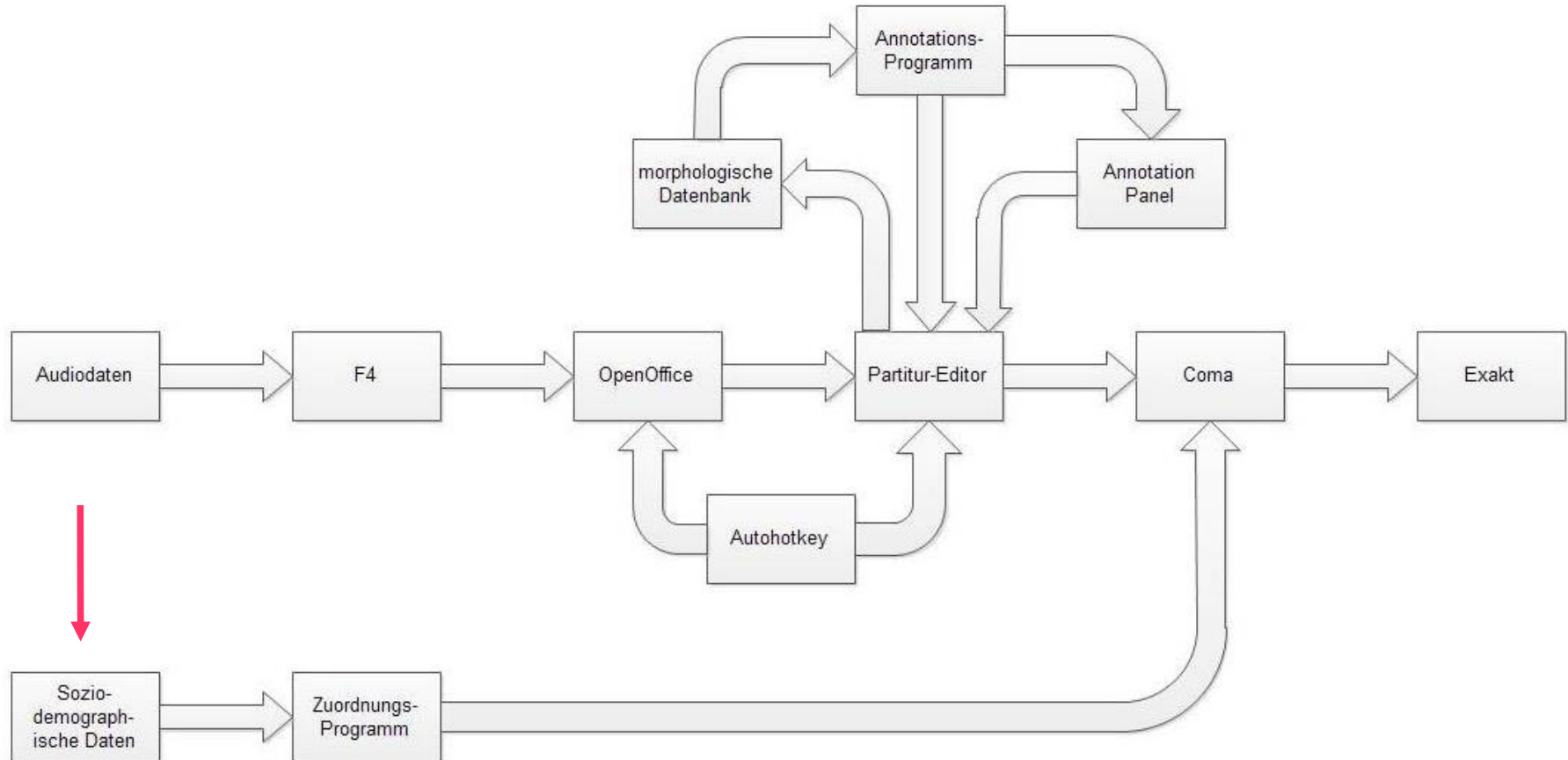
S	Sigle	Var
	WiHe10	
	JaOl09	
	ScNi09	
	ScJo09	
	GrRo11	
	LeBr98	
	NoDe11	
	KlKl09	
	FrLi11	
	NoEl11	
	LuOP98	
	ZoJu10	
	RoNa98	
	FaJa09	
	TiLj09	
	KlKl02	
	NoMu98	
	BeMa02	
	ScEl09	
	GuSv09	
	ScFr98	
	ScMu98	
	WaZh10	
	ScNa99	
	KlRu98	
	LoVa09	

Speaker: WiHe10 (no pseudo, Sex: male)

Description (Speaker)

Aktuelle Sigle	WiHe10
Altersgruppe bei voriger Aufnahme	keine andere Aufnahme
Altersgruppe heute	über 60
Altersgruppe zum Erhebungszeitpunkt	über 60
Beruf Kategorie	nicht berufstätig (RentnerInnen, Hausfrauen, Arbeitslose)
Geschlecht	männlich
Jahre Deutschunterricht	Nein
L1	Mennonitisch / Plautdietsch / Platt
Land	Russland
Lebensgemeinschaft	PartnerIn gleiche Varietät als L1
Ortsfestigkeit	ortsfest
Schulbildung	bis Berufsausbildung
Sigle früher	IMRUS-10-WiHe
Varietät Kategorie	Mennonitisch / Plautdietsch / Platt
Varietät	Mennonitisch / Plautdietsch / Platt
id	SPKD

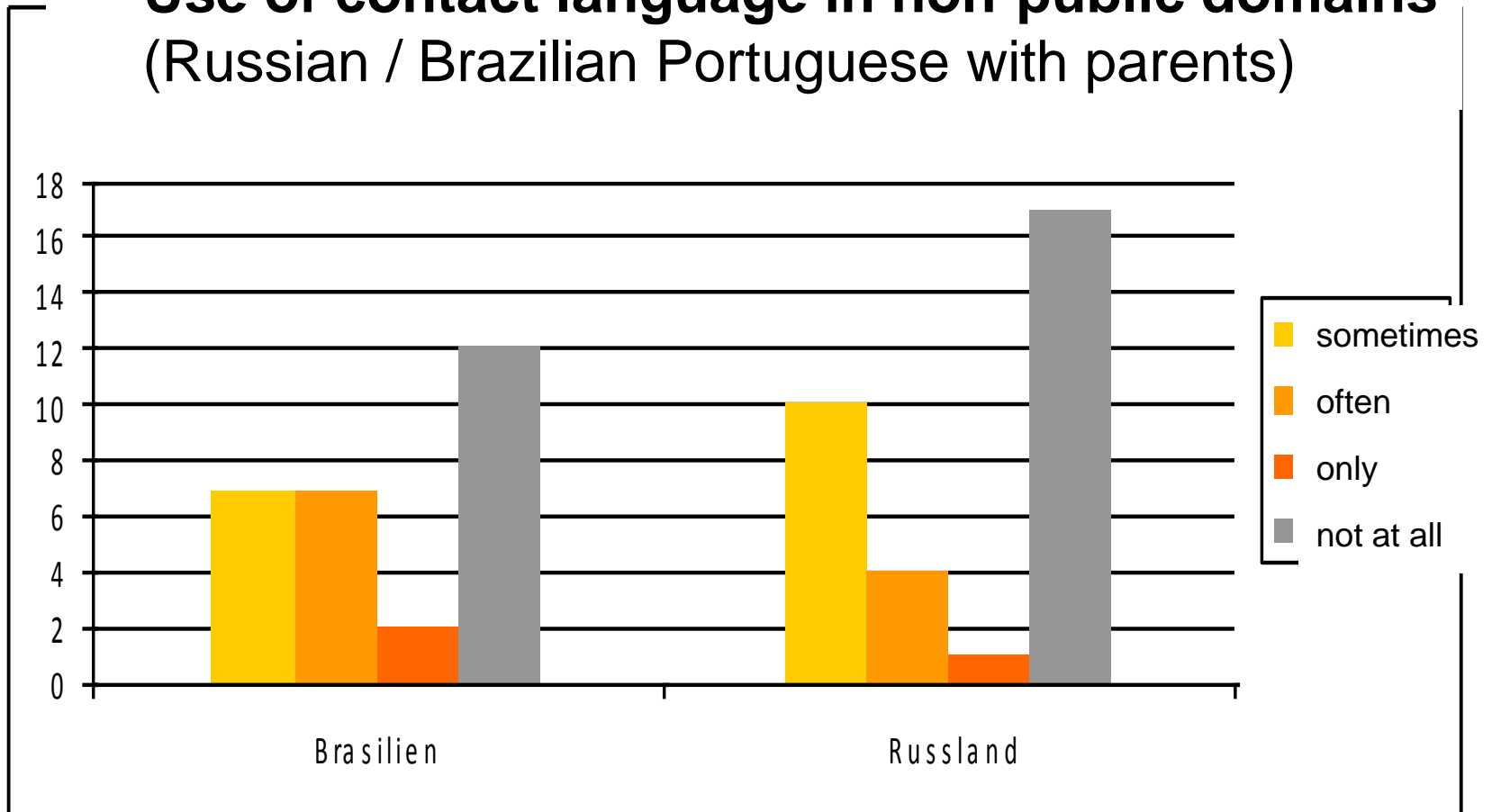
Methods und data processing



Outline

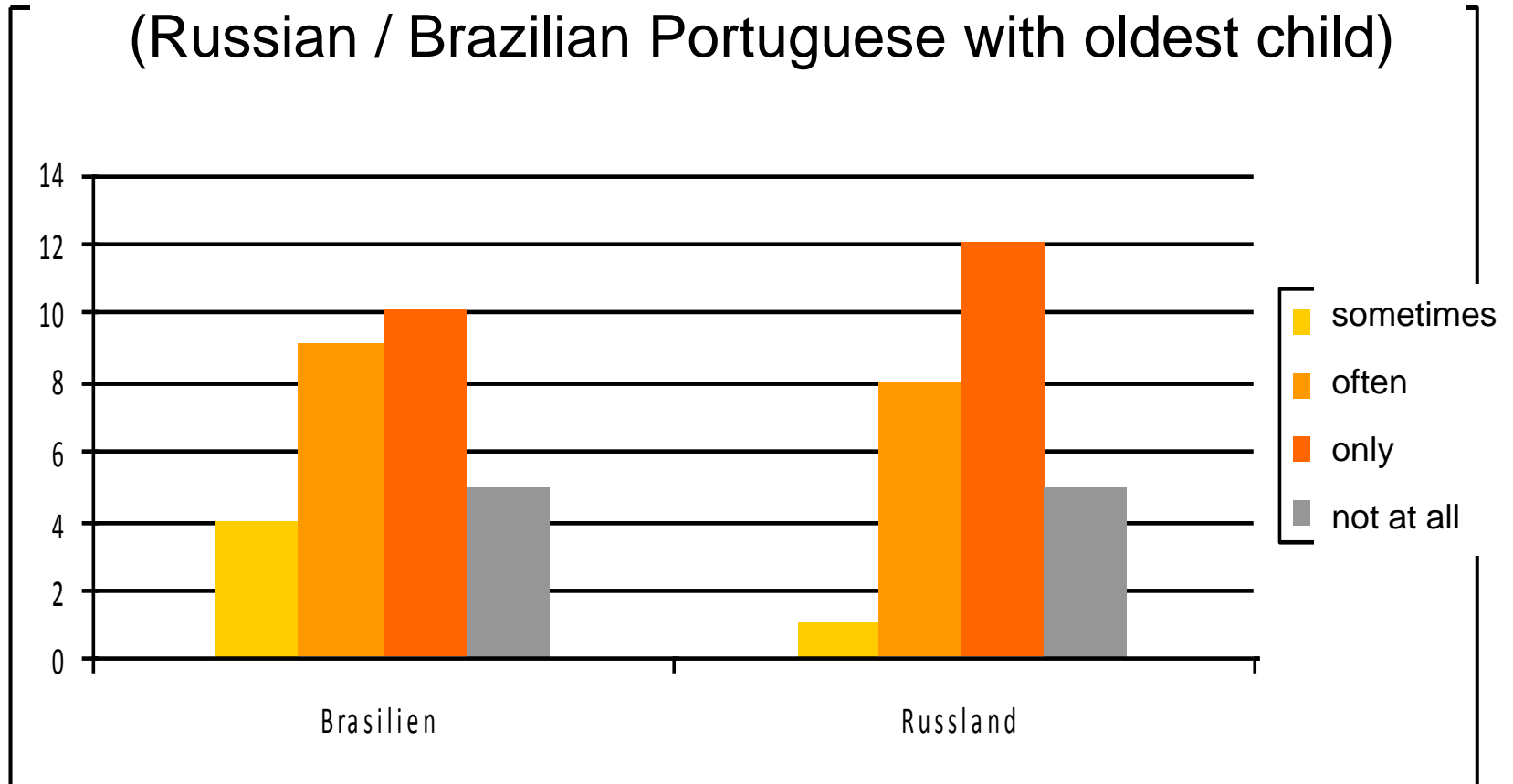
1. Goals, sample, and methods
2. **Sociolinguistics**
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2 Sociolinguistics of the language islands: Use of contact language in non-public domains (Russian / Brazilian Portuguese with parents)



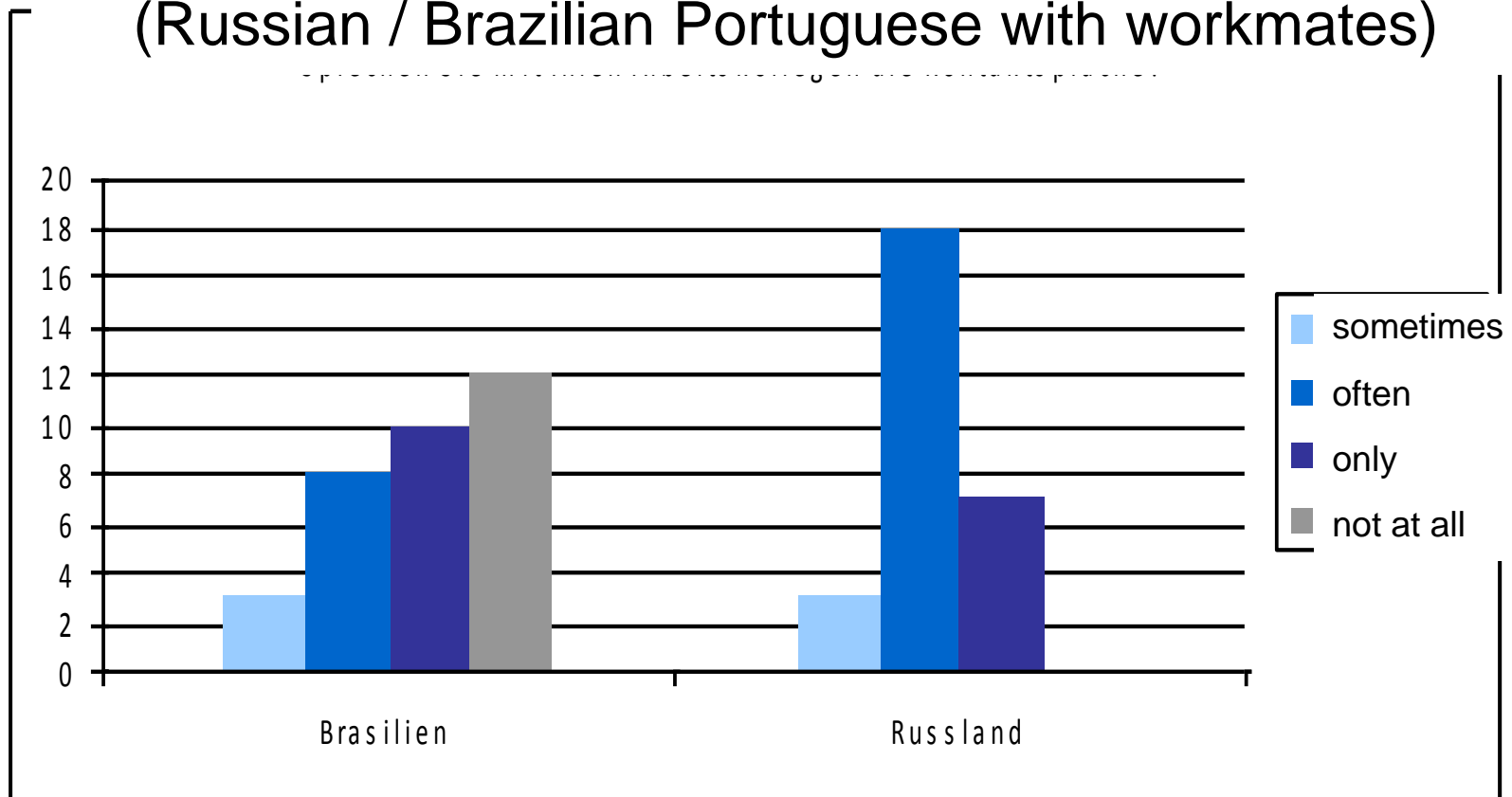
(Only 2000s' inquiry data: n=60).

2 Sociolinguistics of the language islands: Use of contact language in non-public domains (Russian / Brazilian Portuguese with oldest child)



(Only 2000s' inquiry data: n=60).

2 Sociolinguistics of the language islands: Use of contact language in semi-public domains (Russian / Brazilian Portuguese with workmates)



(Only 2000s' inquiry data: n=60).

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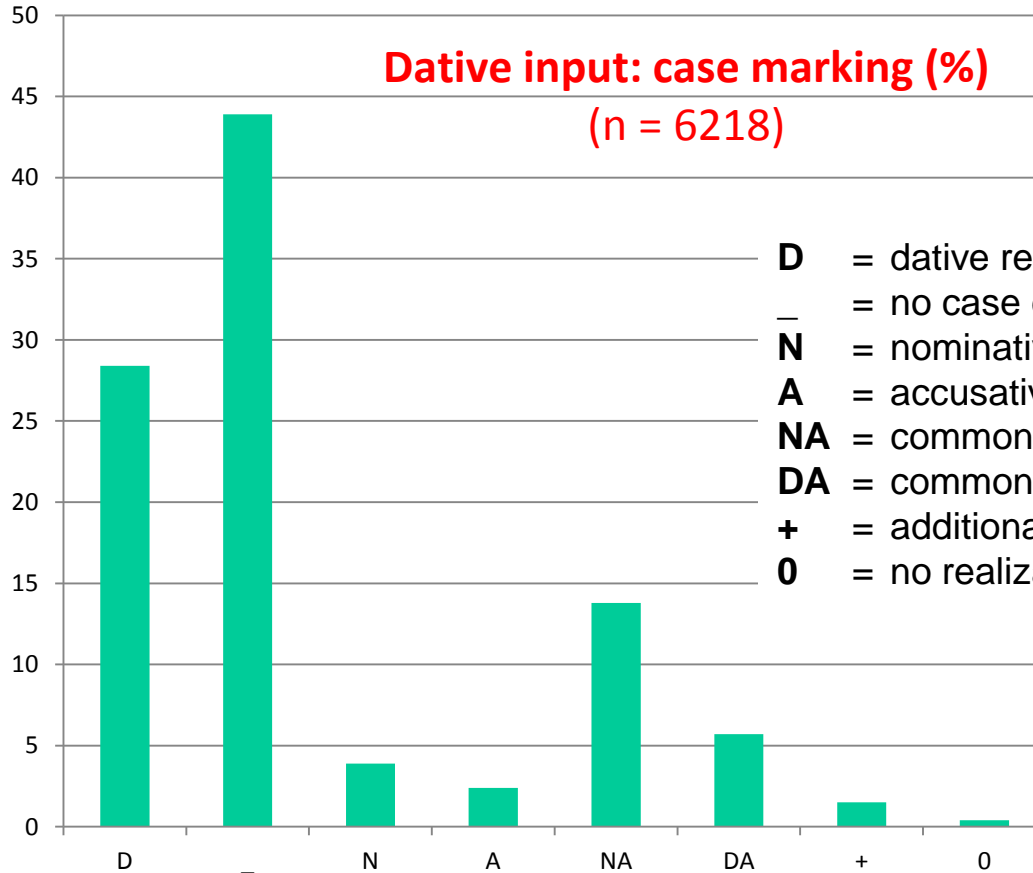
Outline

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Regular Morphology: Noun Inflection

Translation task:

(125 subjects, 270 potentially case marked elements, > 28.536 types)

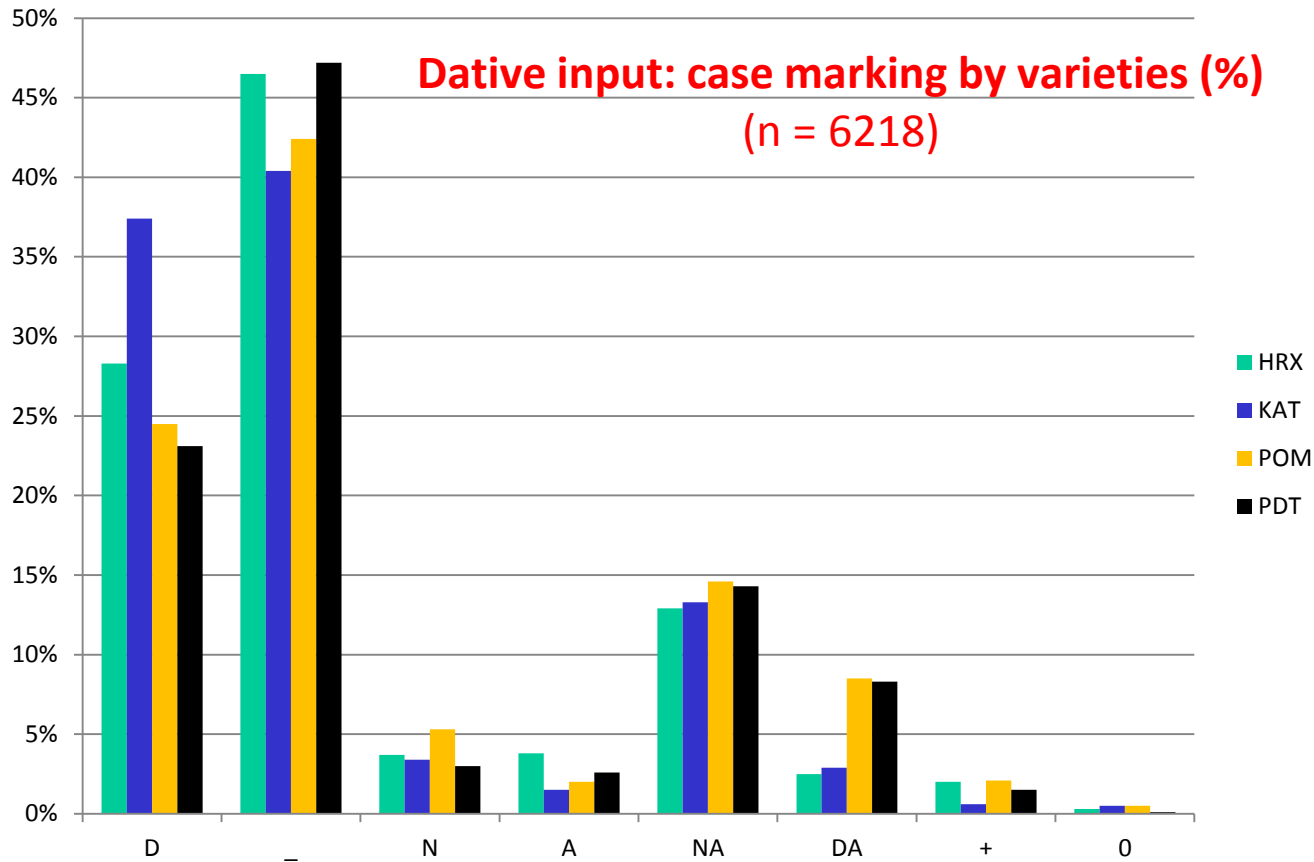


- D** = dative realization
- = no case ending (for instance *de*),
- N** = nominative
- A** = accusative
- NA** = common form for nominative and accusative (*die*)
- DA** = common form for dative and accusative
- +** = additional form
- 0** = no realization

Regular Morphology: Noun Inflection

Translation task:

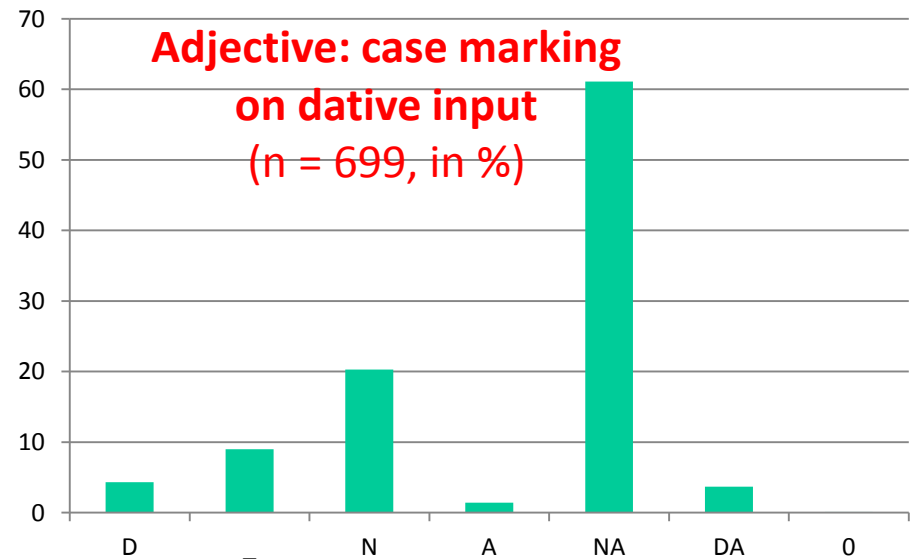
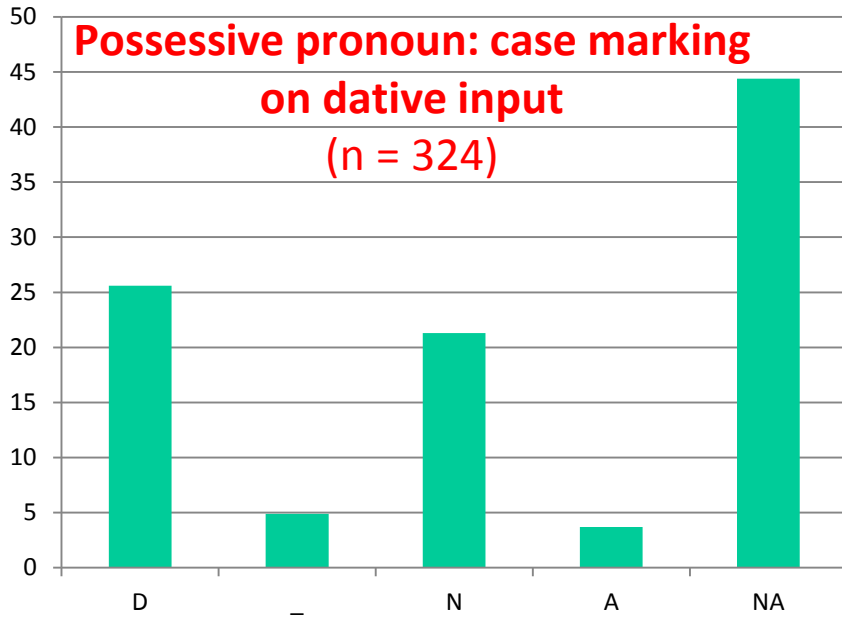
(125 subjects, 270 potentially case marked elements, > 28.536 types)



Regular Morphology: Noun Inflection

Translation task:

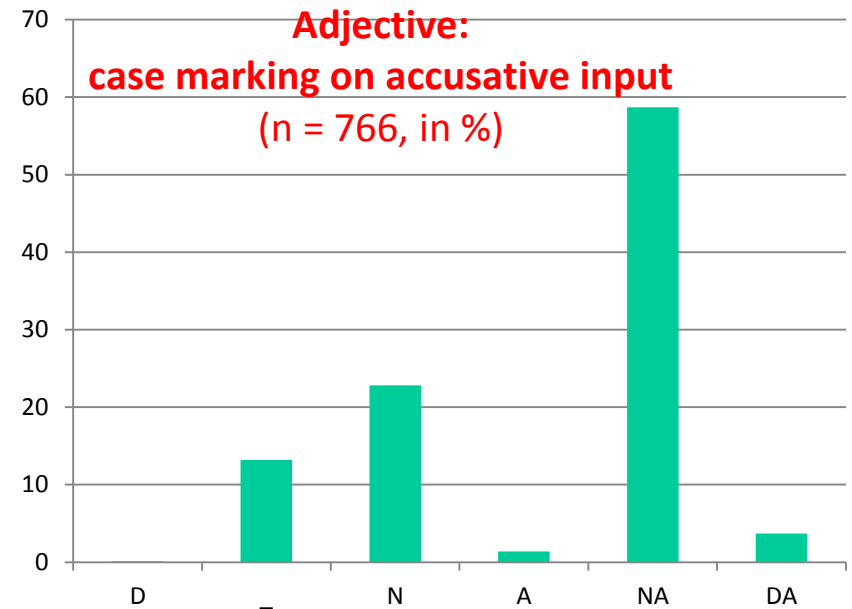
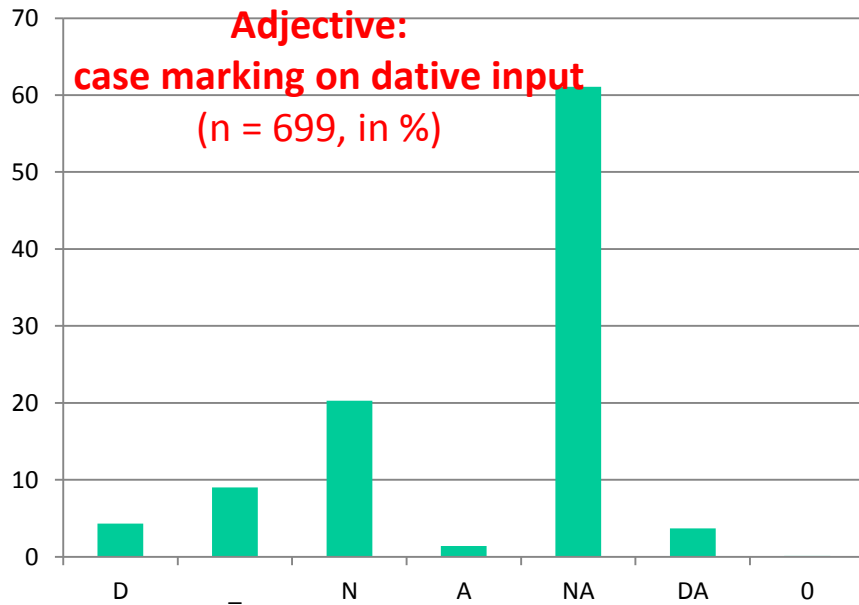
(125 subjects, 270 potentially case marked elements, > 28.536 types)



Regular Morphology: Noun Inflection

Translation task:

(125 subjects, 270 potentially case marked elements, > 28.536 types)



Findings I: spread of $-(e)n$

(1)	<i><u>den</u> oule mann</i>	den alten Mann	den
(2)	<i>help <u>den</u></i>	hilf dem/ihm	dem/ihm
(3)	<i>help <u>den</u></i>	hilf ihnen	denen/ihnen
(4)	<i>der winda <u>den</u> letste jåår</i>	der Winter des letzten Jahres (,der Winter das letzte Jahr')	das/des
(5)	<i>der leegt <u>den</u> brööt in en korftje</i>	er legt das Brot/die Brote in ein Körbchen	das/die
(6)	<i>mi braure hett <u>den</u> schååp gråås jejeft</i>	dem Schaf Gras gegeben	dem
(7)	<i><u>den</u> letste jåår</i>	das letzte Jahr	das
(8)	<i>wi derfe in <u>den</u> huus rinnegåån</i>	in das Haus hineingehen	das

Definite Article in Plautdietsch (cf. Jedig 1966: 52)

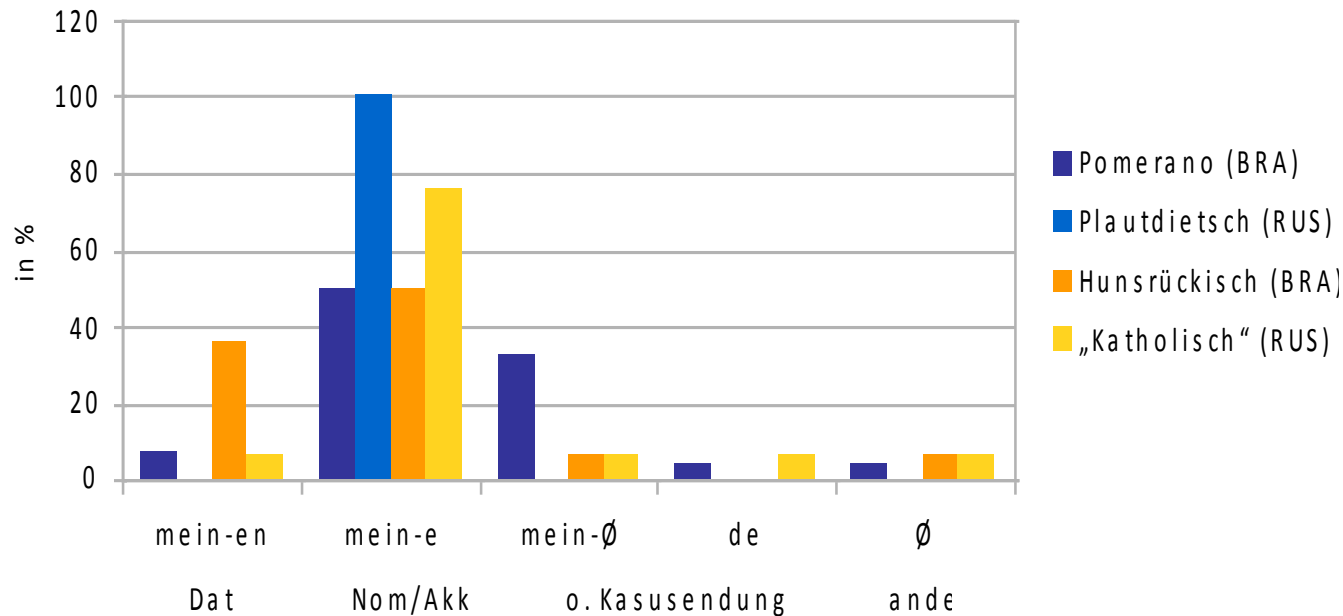
	Singular			Plural
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	M. F. N.
Nominative	däi də	däi də	dåut dət ət	däi də
Kasus obliquus	de:m əm m	däi də	de:m əm m	däi də
	(de:n ən n)		(dåut dət ət)	
	(də)			

„In general, the accusative (with masculine and neuter) is replaced by **dative**. [It is] used by the older generation almost exclusively, by the **younger** generation, however, it is hardly ever found“. (Jedig 1966: 52, 71; transl. PR)

50 years later: accusative (den/'n) or no case marking (de) !

„Der Akkusativ ist beim Maskulinum und Neutrum im allgemeinen vom Dativ verdrängt. [Sie wird] fast ausschließlich von Vertretern der älteren Generation gebraucht, bei Vertretern der jüngeren Generation dagegen findet sie sich fast gar nicht“ (Jedig 1966: 52, 71).

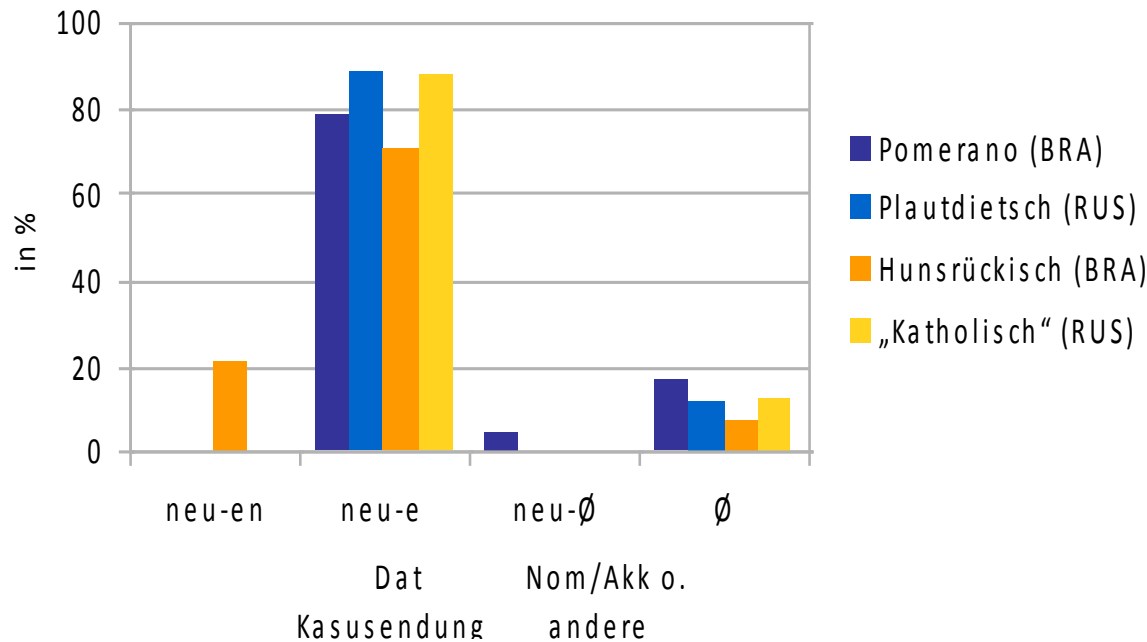
Findings II: reduction to common case marker *-e*



Possessive pronoun: case marking on dative input

(Translation task sentence: *Ich habe Löcher in meinen neuen Strümpfen.*
(,I've got holes in my new stockings') [n=64])

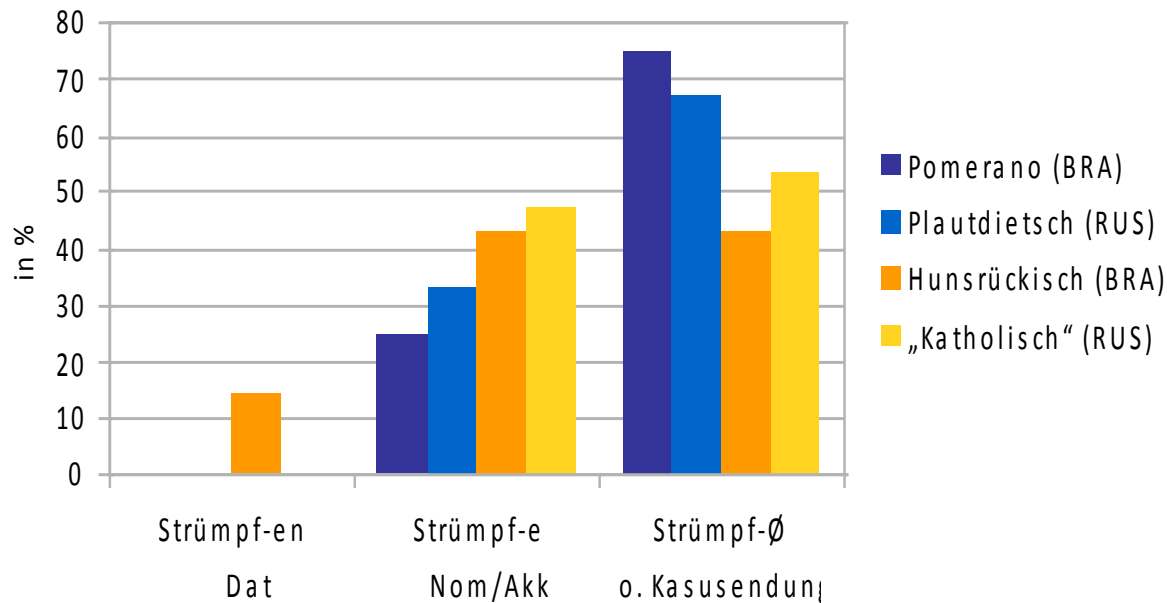
Findings II: reduction to common case marker *-e*



Adjective: case marking on dative input

(Translation task sentence: *Ich habe Löcher in meinen neuen Strümpfen.*
(,I've got holes in my new stockings') [n=64])

Findings II: reduction to common case marker –e



Noun: case marking on dative input

(Translation task sentence: *Ich habe Löcher in meinen neuen Strümpfen.*
(,I've got holes in my new stockings') [n=64])

Sing. nom. (all gender)	}	<i>-e</i>
Sing. acc. Neutr./Fem.		
all other cases		<i>-en</i>

Weak inflection paradigm in German (cf. Helbig/Buscha (2001: 274))

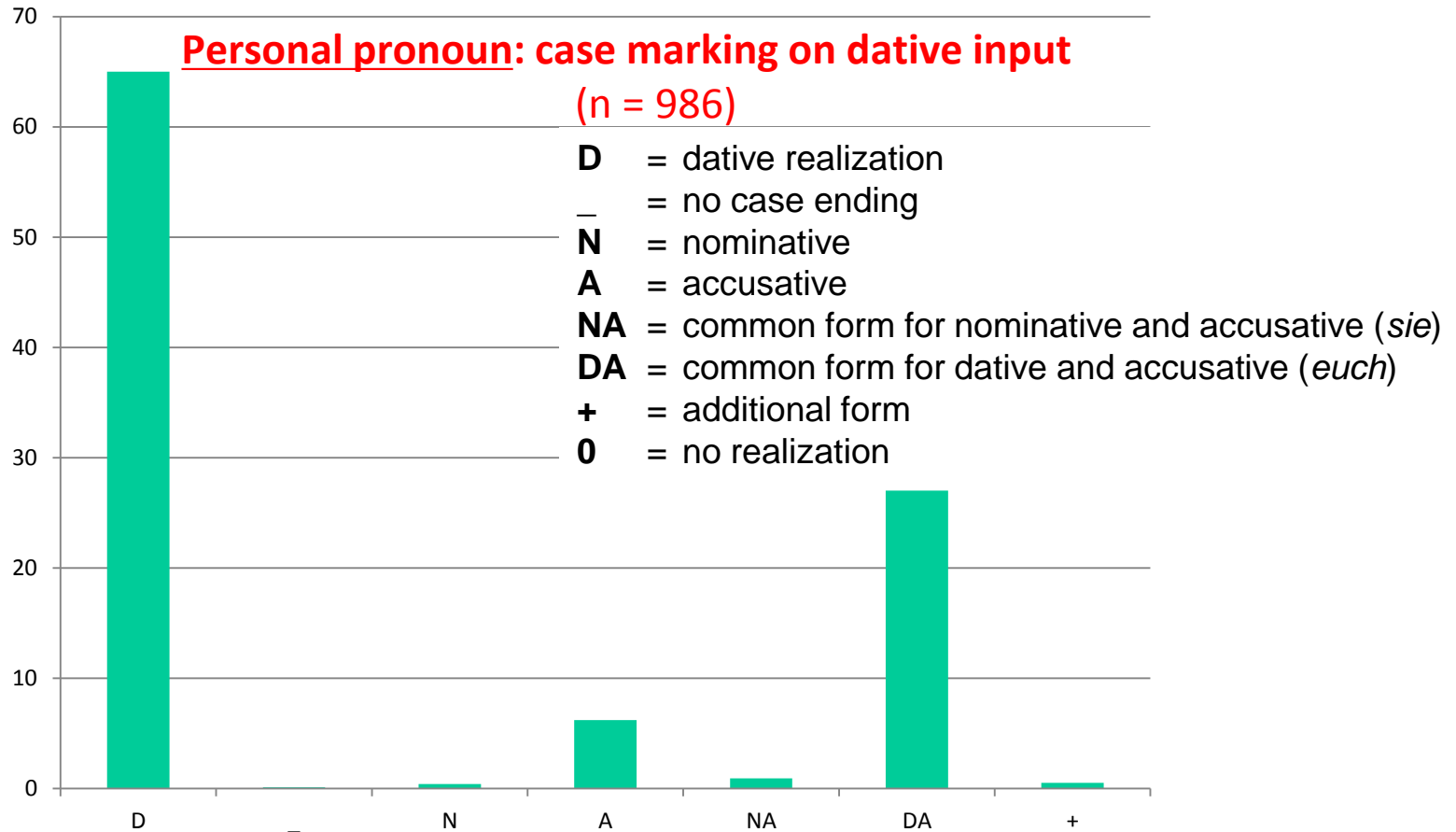
Outline

1. Goals, sample, and methods
2. Sociolinguistics
3. **Regular and irregular morphology**
 - regular morphology: noun inflection
 - **irregular morphology: pronoun inflection**
 - Conclusion
4. Explanations?
 - Convergence
 - Language obsolescence and change

Irregular Morphology: Personal pronoun inflection

Translation task:

(125 subjects, 270 potentially case marked elements, > 28.536 types)

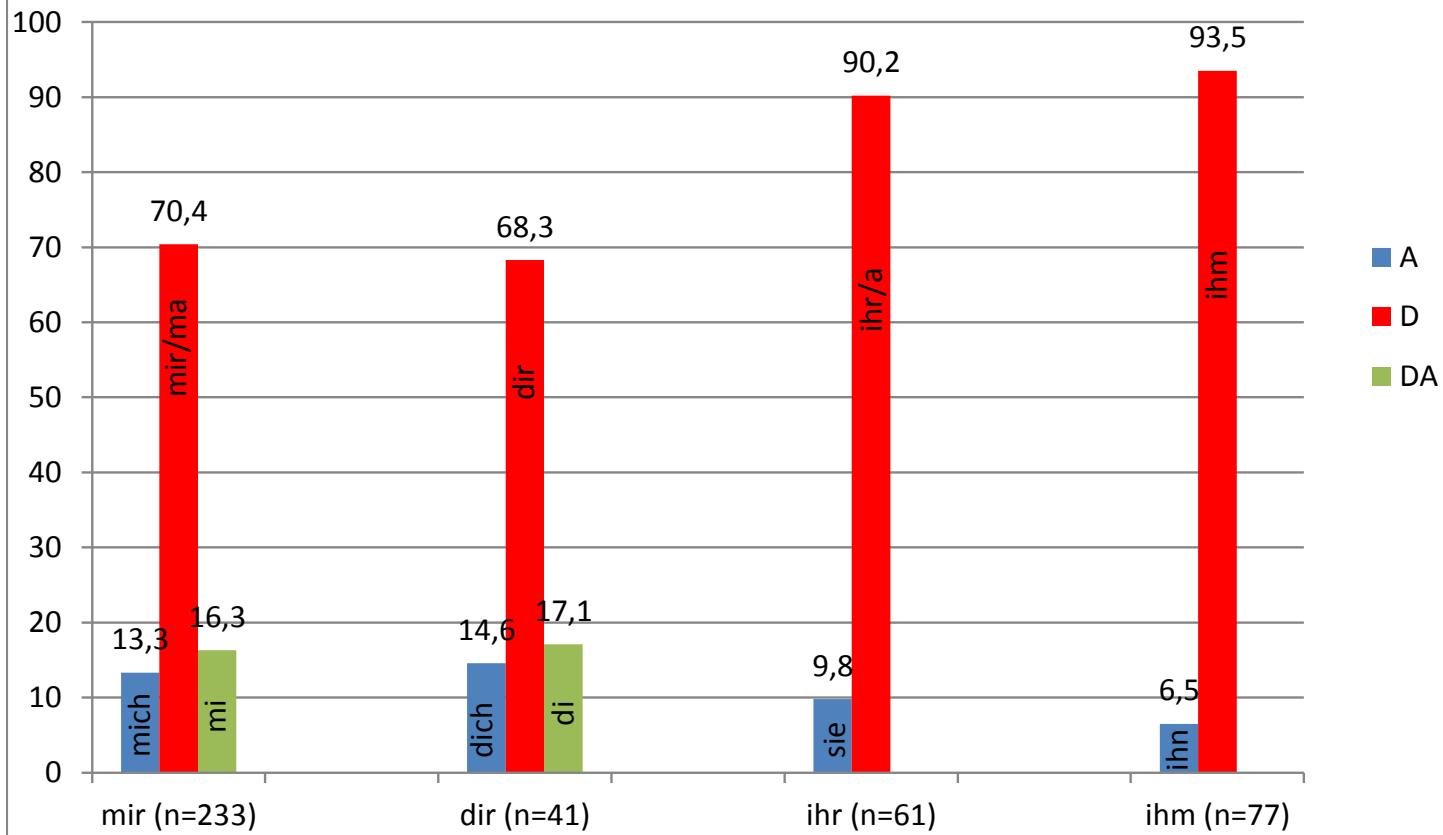


Irregular morphology (personal pronoun inflection): realization on dative input

Irregular Morphology: Personal pronoun inflection

Interview and narration

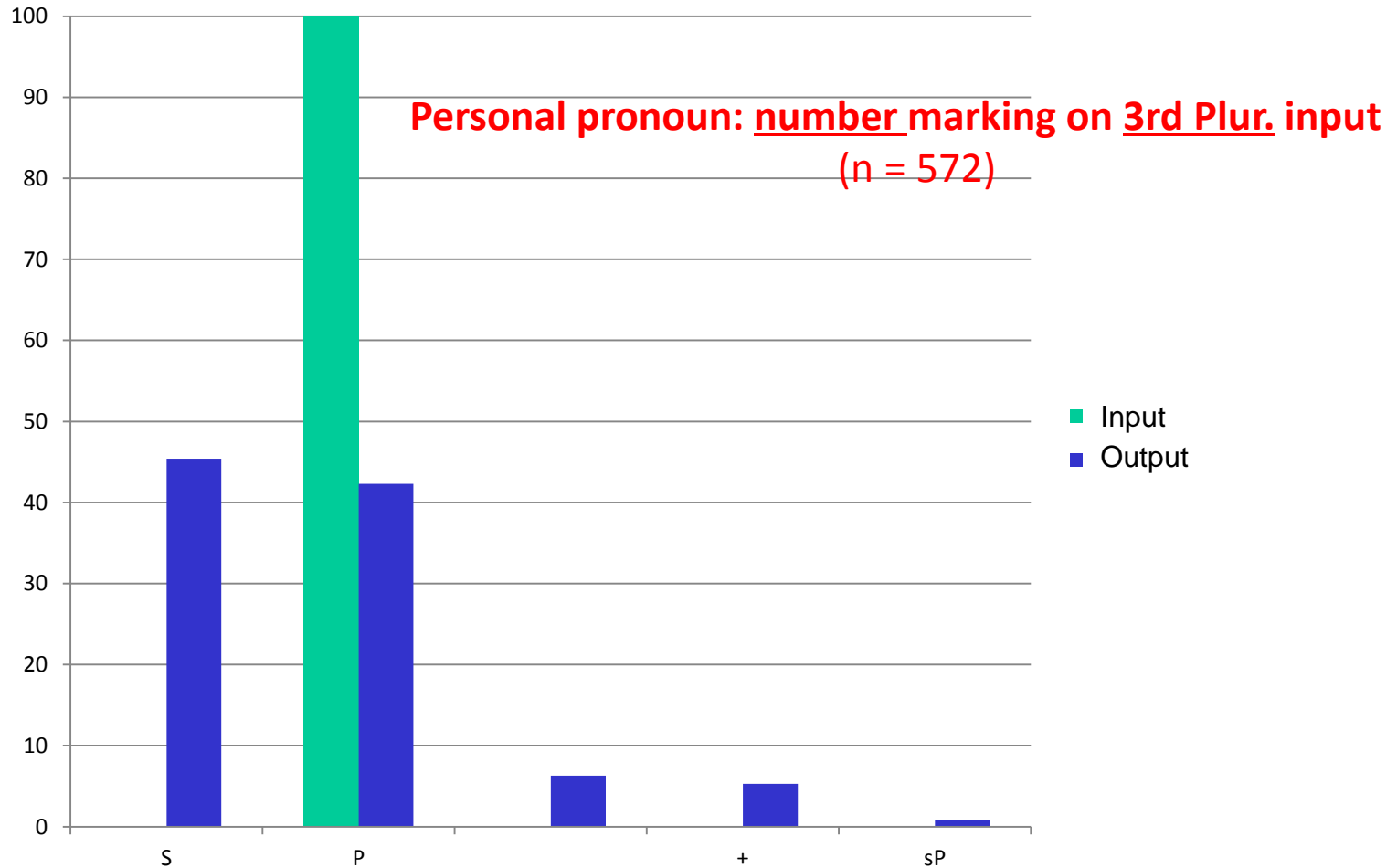
Personal pronoun: case marking on 3rd Sing. (Standard German dative)
(n = 412)



Irregular Morphology: Personal pronoun inflection

Translation task:

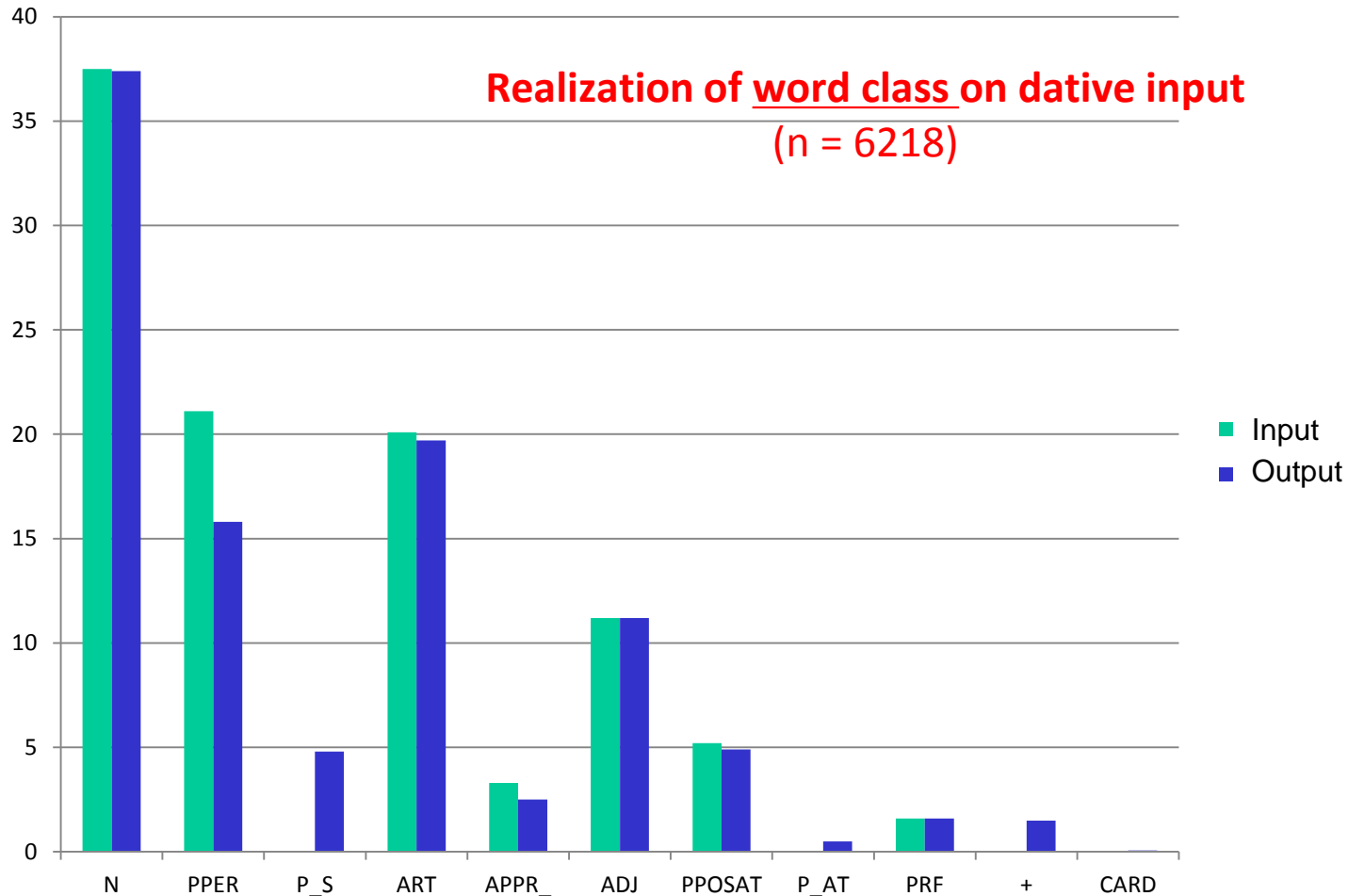
(125 subjects, 270 potentially case marked elements, > 28.536 types)



Irregular Morphology: Personal pronoun inflection

Translation task:

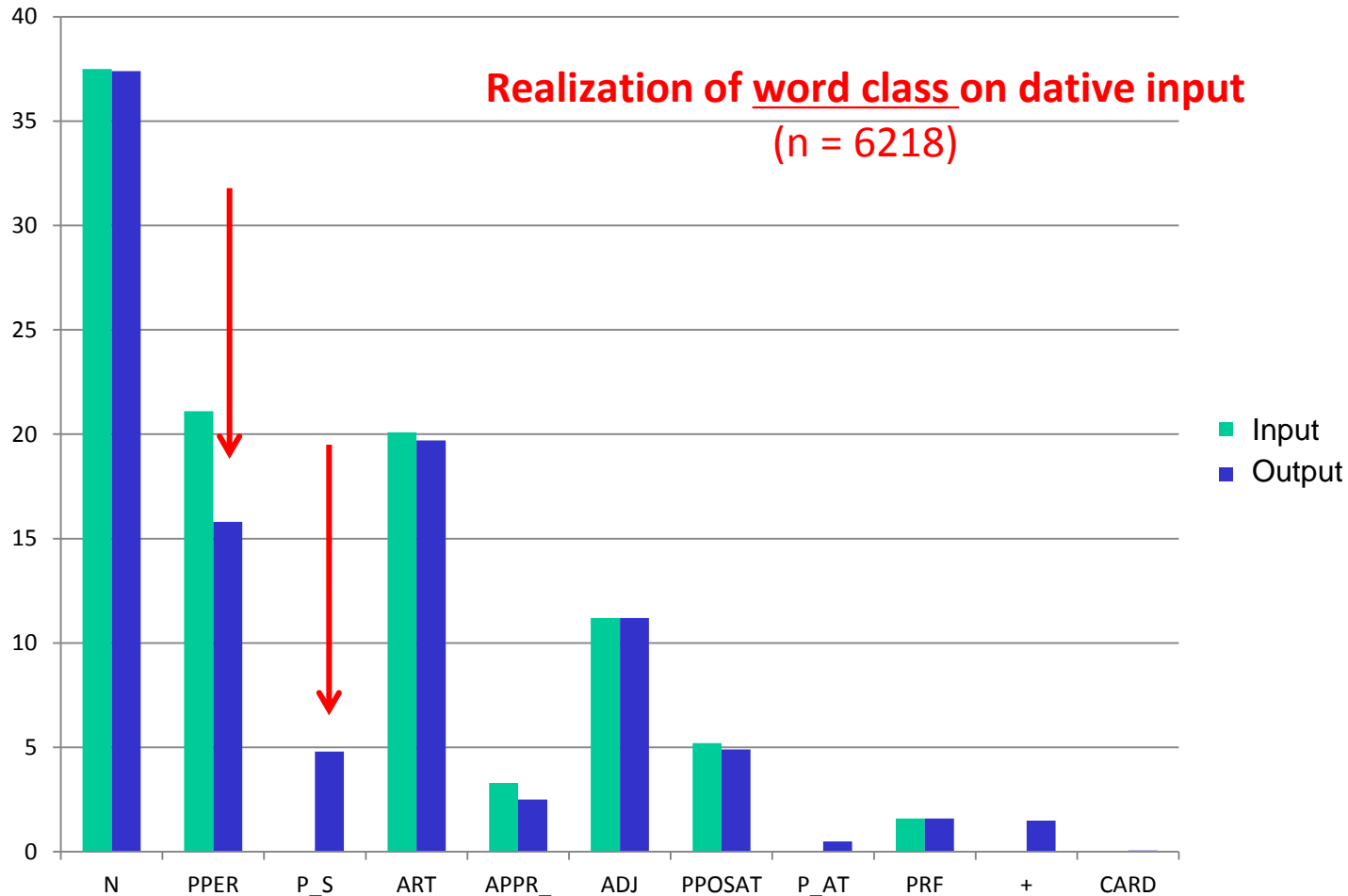
(125 subjects, 270 potentially case marked elements, > 28.536 types)



Irregular Morphology: Personal pronoun inflection

Translation task:

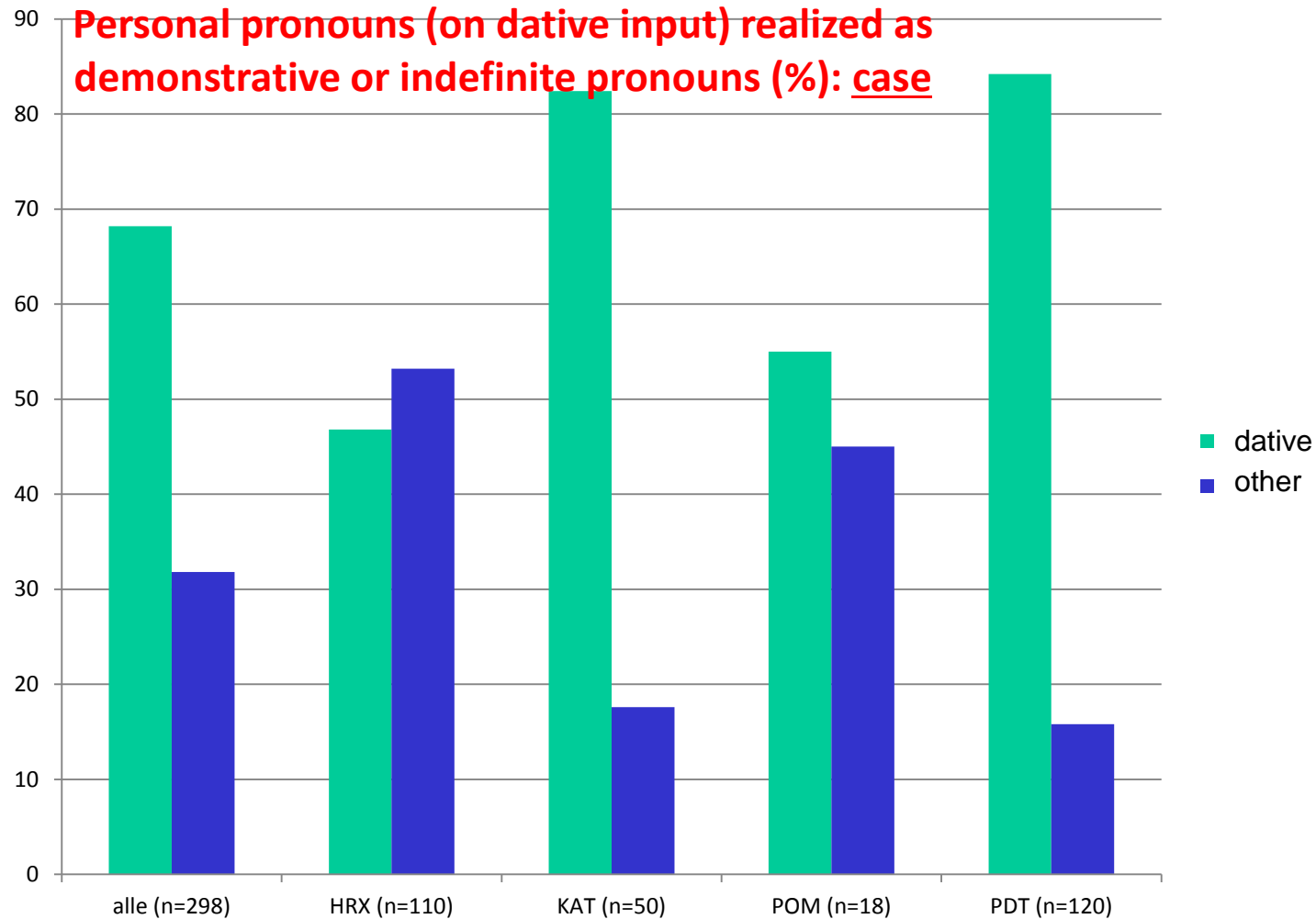
(125 subjects, 270 potentially case marked elements, > 28.536 types)



Irregular Morphology: Personal pronoun inflection

Translation task:

(125 subjects, 270 potentially case marked elements, > 28.536 types)



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Conclusions: Findings on (ir)regular morphology in ‚Sprachinseln‘

- 1 **Case syncretism** in irregular morphology less than in regular.
- 2 **Dative marking** in Personal pronoun inflection of high frequency (while **accusative** or nominative prevailing in **noun** inflection).
- 3 As well in language „islands“ with **morphologically rich as with poor contact languages**
- 4 Resistance of case marking in personal pronouns of **1st- 3rd Pers. Sg.** with animate referents
- 5 **3. Pers. Sg.** Most frequent dative **marking**
 - ↪ cf. English *him/her* (aengl. Dativ: *him/hire*)
 - ↪ cf. Danish *ham/henne* (askand. Dativ *honum/henni*)
 - ↪ cf. French *lui* (afrz. *li*, vulgärlat. *li*, lat. *illi*)
- 6 **Accusative frequently defaults** (*den*, *'n* etc.), even in **neuter**.
- 7 **Simplification** of noun inflection: juxtaposition **-e** ⇔ **-(e)n**
- 8 **Sequence of reduction?** Regularization > simplification/defaults > reduction of morphology (with substitution by word order)
- 9 **Reduction of markedness** in noun inflection, not in pronoun inflection
- 10 Pronoun inflection: distinction of **case-semantic core function** (dative: prototypical case of animate recipient, cf. Jakobson 1936)

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4 Some explanations for the findings

Would **convergence** account for the reduction of case morphology? But what kind of convergence?

- Convergence as a result of **language contact**?
Not very likely, since change occurs in both language contact settings
- Convergence as a result of **variety contact**?
Not very likely, since change occurs in all variety contact settings
- **Polycentric „convergence“** (Coseriu 1975)?
Most likely, since „normal“ change occurs accelerated in times of fading linguistic „normativity“ (norm awareness and norm loyalty)

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4 Some explanations for the findings Change in times of language obsolescence

- ↪ The language island varieties are more or less communities „in **obsolescence**“ (Dorian 1989) which entails
- ↪ the dissolution of social **networks** and **boundary marking**
- ↪ a decay of „**normativity**“ (in terms of linguistic knowledge und of linguistic loyalty)
- ↪ an increase of **second language learners**, but a decrease of native speakers
- ↪ Some authors suggest an analogy of „language death“ and **pidginization** (Dressler/Wodak-Leodolter 1977), others regard „language death“ as „**creolization in reverse**“ (Trudgill 1978)
- ↪ In fact, what we observe is:
 - a representation of grammatical relations less by morphology than by **word order**
 - form-function-patterns according to the **1:1-principle** (cf. Andersen 1989: 386)
 - and a replacement of marked (case-) structures by **unmarked** (or less marked) structures (cf. Campbell/Muntzel 1989: 189, Jakobson 1936) or by „natural“ ones (cf. Mayerthaler et al. 1998: 167).

Sociolinguistics pave the way for ordinary change!

Language islands in the flood: Language change and language contact in German speaking communities in Russia and Brazil



The Impact of Socio-Political Transformations on Language and Identity
Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, February 18-20, 2016

Vielen Dank für Ihre Aufmerksamkeit!

დიდი მადლობა ყურადღებისათვის!

Большое спасибо за Ваше внимание!

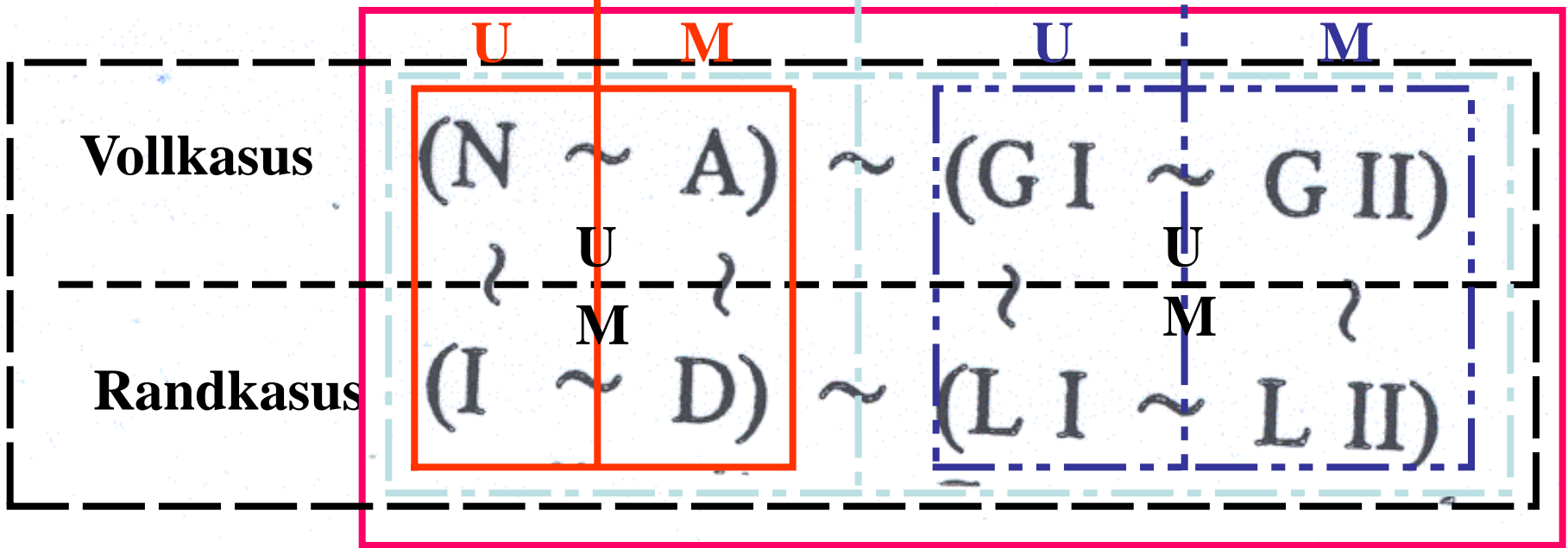
Peter Rosenberg

Europa-Universität Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder)

Bezugskorrelation

Gestaltungskorrelation

Umfangskorrelation



„Es ist für alle diese Gegensätze charakteristisch, daß *das Gekennzeichnete* eigentlich stets *negativer Art* ist: es setzt hierarchisch den Gegenstand herab, schränkt auf irgendeine Weise die Fülle seiner Selbstentfaltung ein. So wird durch die *Bezugskaskus* (A, D) die Unselbständigkeit des Gegenstandes angezeigt, durch die *Umfangskaskus* (die G-e und L-e) die Einschränkung seines Umfangs, durch die *Randkaskus* (I, D und die L-e) seine periphere Stellung und durch die *Gestaltungskaskus* (G II, L II) die Beschränkung seiner Funktion auf die des Enthaltens oder des Enthaltenseins. Je mehr Korrelationsmerkmale der Kaskus in sich trägt, desto vielfältiger wird die Geltung des bezeichneten Gegenstandes in der Aussage beschränkt und herabgedrückt, und eine desto erheblichere Verwickeltheit des übrigen Sachverhaltes wird durch diesen Kaskus angezeigt.“ (Jakobson 1936/1974: 282, Hervorheb.: im Orig. gesperrt, PR)