Social factors

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1. Introduction

I use 'social factors' as a cover term for a set of interdependent characteristics relating to economic structure, political participation and social organization, demographic distribution and ideological superstructure within a society. Contact ecologies and outcomes may be construed as intersecting spaces along a continuum. On one end, economically and politically more egalitarian linguistic ecologies create the conditions for the early acquisition of multiple languages. Balanced child and adult multilingualism, gradual population growth and modest mobility favour language maintenance, long-term structural accommodation and cumulative change, and the emergence of linguistic areas. This may be supported by fluid ethnolinguistic identities, exogamy, and dense and multiplex social networks across linguistic boundaries. Such sprachbund-type outcomes have, for example, been studied in the Balkans (Kopitar, 1829; Sobolev, 2004), Vanuatu (François, 2011), the Ethiopian highlands (Hayward, 1991), the West African littoral zone (Ameka, 2005), Amazonia (Epps, 2006), and India (Masica, 1976).

On the other end, we find hierarchical and non-egalitarian ecologies with rather sharp ethn-olinguistic boundaries, such as those created by European colonialism and other enterprises of conquest (e.g., the Han expansion in China, and the expansion of Arabic in Western Asia and North Africa). Concentrations of economic and political power in the hands of few, population displacement, genocide, and enslavement may engender skewed demographic distributions and lead to rapid and large-scale language acquisition by adults. These scenarios typically involve far-reaching and fast-paced linguistic change, often in the course of language shift, ushering in the emergence of heavily restructured and new languages. The European-lexifier creoles of the southern hemisphere, the Romance languages of Europe, and the Arabic varieties of the Maghreb represent some of the possible outcomes of such scenarios.

Other ecologies recombine characteristics of the social factors mentioned previously in various constellations, leading to a whole range of heterogeneous contact outcomes between these two idealized extremes, e.g., the emergence of urban youth languages in Africa and urban multi-ethnolects in Europe. In this chapter, I assess some of the social factors underpin-ning the processes and outcomes of language contact. I discuss explanations that have been

proposed to account for the differences between these outcomes. My own research strengths lie in the cultural and linguistic contacts between Africa and Europe in the age of European conquest and domination from the sixteenth century till today. Much of the following will therefore revolve around the outcomes of African-European language contact in the Atlantic basin, and specifically creolization. The various scenarios in which Afro-European language contact has taken place contain many of the ingredients that allow conclusions of a more general nature about the role of social factors in language contact.

2. Historical overview

Theories on the role of social factors in language contact and change began to flourish in early comparative historical linguistics. Hypotheses were advanced on how 'invasions' of 'Indo-Europeans' in Europe and South Asia ushered in the various sub-families of the Indo-European language family. In its earliest manifestations, the invasion paradigm postulates language contact as an epiphenomenon of demic diffusion alone, that is, the movement of 'superior' invading groups into the territory of 'inferior' groups. The invasion paradigm is intimately linked with nineteenth-century Social Darwinist thought, in which the status quo at the height of European imperialism and settler colonialism was projected in a recursive fashion on the historical relations between population groups and the languages they speak (see e.g., Aytürk, 2004, pp. 1–5 for an overview). This paradigm, together with the monoparental family tree model it begat, cast long shadows into the twentieth century, making it difficult to distinguish between scenarios where an element of demic diffusion is likely, as in the Bantu expansion (see de Filippo et al., 2012) and those where invasions as the source of language dispersal and differentiation are highly improbable, as with the 'Indo-European invasions' of India (Kivisild et al., 2003) and Europe (Demoule, 2014). In the intellectual climate of the time, the existence of European-lexifier creole languages was particularly unsettling because they proved difficult to align with the monoparental family tree model and showed an unexpected agency of the dominated in the restructuring of European languages. Only a few linguists at the time, among them Hugo Schuchardt (Schuchardt and Gilbert, 1980), could escape the nativist and racist European pseudoscience that proliferated around creoles and pidgins in particular (see Mufwene, this volume).

A new take on social dimensions began to emerge with the crystallization of language contact studies as an independent sub-discipline of linguistics. Psychological factors such as individual proficiency and language attitudes still dominate the enquiry of Weinreich (1953), but social factors such as relative group size, for example, are also taken into account. Van Coetsem's (1988) theory of transmission in language contact includes both psycho-cognitive aspects in the notion of agentivity as well as social ones, in the notions of social dominance and prestige of a language. In Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) typology of contact, the pendulum swings to the role of social factors in language contact, indicative of a maturation of the various subfields of contact linguistics. One field differentiated almost entirely into the psychological, and with the development of new technologies, into the neurological realms without much interaction with the social field, as noted by Stell and Yakpo (2015) for the study of code-switching. Studies like those of van Coetsem, and Thomason and Kaufman however remained vague on the exact nature of the social factors mediating contact processes and outcomes. The five levels of intensity of contact proposed by Thomason and Kaufman (1988) of (1) 'casual,' (2) 'slightly more intense,' (3) 'more intense,' (4) 'strong cultural pressure,' and (5) 'very strong cultural pressure' implicitly suggest a continuum ranging from more symmetrical to more asymmetrical power relations between speaker populations in

contact but the authors fail to explore this more systematically. In a similar vein, the analysis of social factors appears circular when degrees of 'intensity of contact' serve to characterize contact outcomes.

The study of the grammatical and typological ramifications of language contact has been the most richly differentiated field, with a large number of significant publications on contact hotspots and areal linguistics in specific world regions like Amazonia (e.g., Aikhenvald, 2004), Africa (Güldemann, 2018 and the sources contained there), and South Asia (Masica, 1976), or on specific processes such as borrowing (e.g., Matras and Sakel, 2007) and specific functional domains, such as morphology (Vanhove et al., 2012). Such works contain valuable information on social context even where they do not develop broader social typologies of contact. The convergence of unrelated languages observed in linguistic areas struck linguists as peculiar, further challenged the family tree model, and required some attention to the social backdrop to this kind of language change (e.g., in Gumperz and Wilson, 1971). Muysken (2008b, pp. 11–20) mentions migrations, trade, political transformations, European colonial expansion and slave trading, demographic restructuring, and urbanization as social factors in the emergence of a broadly defined Atlantic linguistic area encompassing Europe, the Americas, and West Africa. Aikhenvald and Dixon (2007, pp. 37–42) list a mix of factors on different levels of aggregation (e.g., size of speaker group vs. mythology), some of which are more psychosocial (language attitudes), others more socio-structural (e.g., types of subsistence, division of labour between the sexes). With other factors again, there is the recurrent tendency toward circularity when contact factors (degree of knowledge of each other's language and balanced or displacive contact) are adduced to explain patterns of contact. The 'lifestyles' listed (hunter-gatherers, village-dwelling agriculturalists, nomadic cattle herders, or largely urbanized groups) also indicate that Aikhenvald's sociocultural parameters are historically oriented and geared towards classifying contact processes and outcomes in small-scale societies.

From earliest manifestations in comparative historical linguistics, most appraisals of social factors therefore do not define causalities, micro-, meso-, and macro-features and parameters and their relation to each other. *En gros*, they fail to provide a socio-structural analysis of *social systems* in determining contact outcomes. We are therefore still waiting for a more systematic appreciation of social factors in language contact, and here more cross-fertilization with anthropology, sociology, and political science and economics would be useful. Areal linguistics has shown that egalitarian relations and exchange between linguistic groups leading to long-drawn and gradual diffusion of linguistic features are important in many language contact scenarios (but certainly not all, see Muysken's Atlantic linguistic area), thus anticipating a later line of enquiry into small-scale multilingualism (see Section 3). In creole linguistics, the investigation of social factors in language contact has been, conversely, oriented towards the inegalitarian face of language contact, since most research in this area has been conducted on languages that emerged during the European colonization of the Americas, Africa, and the Pacific. It is this attention to demography and power dynamics that has allowed creolists to develop some of the more sophisticated social explanations for language contact and change compared to other branches of linguistics.

In the following sections, I will therefore be mainly concerned with the role of the macro-level social factors of demography and socio-economic structure in the processes and outcomes of language contact. In doing so, I carve out a space of enquiry separate from the occupation of variationist sociolinguistics with social variables like gender, social class or ethnicity at the (individual) micro-, and (small group) meso-levels (Labov, 2001) and the social

meaning of such variables (Eckert, 2008). I also pass by the interactional micro-level proper to research on social factors in pragmatics (Auer, this volume).

3. Critical issues and topics

I now focus on demography and socio-economic structure, two social factors that feature in various manifestations in the literature, and have been deemed central for determining language contact outcomes. These outcomes are discussed further in section 4 in relation to current research in the field.

DEMOGRAPHY. Fluctuations in the size and composition of populations, and migrations play an important role in explaining social, cultural and economic change in the social sciences at large (see Morland, 2019 for an overview). Demography has also been a key concern of theories attempting to explain systematic differences in grammatical structure between languages, and to address the question of structural complexity. In an influential work, Thurston (1987) claims that languages spoken in exoteric (hence outwardly oriented) societies tend to be more analytic, and therefore adapted to L2 learning by adults. Languages spoken in esoteric (inwardly oriented) societies, on the other hand, are adapted to L1 learning by children, and therefore tend to be more synthetic. Building on such earlier work, Kusters (2003) shows that languages serving as lingua francas, and have therefore integrated large numbers of L2 speakers in the course of their history, tend to lose inflectional and derivational morphology. For various neuro-cognitive reasons, adult speakers, as opposed to children, are said to find the learning of elaborate morphology difficult (see e.g., Klein and Perdue, 1997), and therefore tend to substitute synthetic (morphological) structures with analytic (syntactic) ones. Lupyan and Dale (2010) baptize these correlations the 'linguistic niche hypothesis' and seek to lend quantitative support to them. Both the statistics and the cognitive-neurological assumptions of the 'linguistic niche hypothesis' have been criticized (e.g., Koplenig, 2019) but such work broadens the empirical and theoretical foundations for studying the relation between language contact and change, and social structure.

Demography and language contact and change have been particularly close bed mates in creole linguistics, maybe because creolists have access to European historical records that contact scholars working in other regions often do not (e.g., Holm 2014). Demographic research on the provenance of the African and European populations during European colonialism in countries like Haiti (Singler, 1995) and Suriname (Arends, 1995) has invigorated the study of the detailed contributions of substrate (e.g., Lefebvre, 1998; Migge, 1998), superstrate (e.g., Chaudenson, 1992; Mufwene, 1996; Blasi, Michaelis and Haspelmath, 2017) and areal features (see Muysken and Smith, 2015 for a collection of recent studies; also Yakpo, 2017c, 2017d) to Afro-European creoles, and has also played a role in debates about the complexity of creoles.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE. While the links between demography and language structure have been made more directly, those between socio-economic and linguistic structure have been raised in more diffuse ways because they are more multi-layered in nature. Trudgill (2011) addresses social factors in addition to relative population sizes by turning to the nature of social networks in small vs. large linguistic groups. Face-to-face societies, typically pre-colonial hunter-gatherer, small-scale agriculturalist, and other decentralized societies organized in dense and multiplex social networks are believed to have morphologically more complex synthetic languages. In contrast, larger centralized societies characterized by over-arching political structures and 'loose networks' tend to produce languages with more ana-lytic structures. Trudgill's (2011) sociolinguistic typology seeks to provide a dynamic analysis of the social determinants of linguistic structure, and in doing so, focuses on the causes of

language change. He identifies five social factors that determine the outcomes of language change with respect to 'complexification' and 'simplification.' These are group size, density of social networks, amounts of shared information, degree of social stability, and degree of contact. Like Thomason and Kaufman before, Trudgill's typology of social factors is circular, when linguistic factors (e.g., 'much contact') are adduced to explain linguistic outcomes (e.g., 'simplification'). The model is also patchy in picking out certain factors (e.g., 'network density') without elaborating on socio-economic context (dense societies can be egalitarian or hierarchical, for example). Very few sources explore how group size and density of social networks form part of the economic base of a society, relate to its social stratification, and may engender and be shaped by a specific ideological superstructure (e.g., Adamou, 2016, pp. 184–210). Yet these social macro-factors probably have the most profound impact on the processes and outcomes of language contact.

High levels of socio-economic stratification are linked to political centralization and the presence of states, elite capture and the extraction of economic resources from commoners through various forms of (bonded and forced) labour, and social endogamy (Johnson and Earle, 2000). The centralization of socio-economic power often takes place when elites and their auxiliaries conquer and colonize other polities (the 'invasion' model referred to in Section 2). Conquest and colonization 'punctuate' an existing 'equilibrium' and can lead to extensive language contact. (Thurston, 1987, p. 40). The long-term contact outcome typically is language shift, both from dialects and languages within the new polity to the superstrate of the elites, and hence an eventual decrease in linguistic diversity (but see the cases covered under 'linguistic nationalism' and 'grassroots heteroglossia' that follow).

Political centralization and socio-economic stratification are, in turn, intimately linked to 'language rationalization' (Laitin, 1992). Since the emergence of the nation-state in Western Europe, and its imposition on the rest of the world during European colonialism, linguistic nationalism (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998) and the invention and engineering of standard languages have become the norm (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007); I brush aside the problematic ideological ramifications of the term 'standard.' Much remains to be discovered about how fast languages change under differing social conditions (cf. Bakker et al., 2017, pp. 135–136), and how innovations percolate through social networks (cf. Yu, 2013), be they exposed to heavy cross-typological contact, and serve as vehicular languages in multilingual ecologies, or not. When elites codify their lect as part of a (sub-)nationalistic enterprise this may lead to its structural arrest until the next punctuation event. Despite large-scale adult immigration into all Western European countries from Eastern Europe and the Global South, natural contact-induced change including morphological levelling has largely stalled in the European standard languages. The intellectual elites of socially stratified nation-states may also seek to expunge traces of contact from the standard, for example in the ill-fated attempt to engineer Katharevouesa, a standard Greek language purified of Turkish and other 'foreign' influences (Demoule, 2014, p. 585), and the elimination of Arabo-Persian lexicon in the creation of Standard Hindi (Khan, 2006, pp. 225–250).

As a result of language rationalization, a temporary equilibrium may emerge with an engineered and fixed standard language spoken natively by political and economic elites, and to varying degrees by other sections of a polity's population in accordance with a tangled amalgam of factors like class, ethnicity, gender, geographic location, and access to educational, economic, and sociocultural resources. Other lects spoken in the polity may continue coexisting with the standard superstrate for varying periods of time, leading to situations known in the literature under processes and outcomes such as diglossia (Ferguson, 1959), the creole continuum (DeCamp, 1971; Rickford, 1987), dialect levelling, and diaglossia (Bellmann, 2009).

More recent research has attenuated the eschatological premise of these approaches that convergence with the standard inescapably ushers in the elimination of non-standardized varieties and languages. As sites of individual agency and linguistic creativity, the heteroglossic practices embodied in non-standardized varieties can have a significant impact on standardized ones. This is shown, for example, by the far-reaching influence of African-American Vernacular English on Standard American English (e.g., Paris, 2009) and the role of non-standardized varieties in nourishing a global pop culture in places as far apart as Kinshasa and Berlin (see Nassenstein, Hollington and Storch, 2018). Speakers of non-standard varieties can also contest and subvert the national standard, and develop their own regional standards (e.g., Hinskens, 2009 for a regiolect of Dutch).

In spite of an overall tendency of non-standard lects to become more similar to superstrate standard lects, such 'advergence' (Mattheier, 1996) is therefore not monolithic and regularly paced, but fractured, decentred, and halting.

4. Current contributions and research

GRASSROOTS HETEROGLOSSIA. Recent research has highlighted the decentred evolution and fragmentation that exists beside the linguistic homogenization tendencies inherent to globalization. In Africa South of the Sahara and the Caribbean, for example, diffuse and non-concerted language policies by weak postcolonial states and the failure of education dispensed in colonial languages has led to the appropriation and transformation of colonial languages by common people through grassroots heteroglossia (e.g., for Dutch in Suriname, see Muysken, 2017). This has effectively put a hold on the spread of European standard languages and the monolingual ideologies driving their expansion beyond an administrative-formal domain controlled by small elites (Mufwene and Vigouroux, 2008).

Often, such heteroglossic patterns in postcolonial nation-states are modelled on the ancient experiences of people practising subsistence economies in egalitarian small-scale societies (as in Vanuatu, see François, 2012), but sometimes they are also more recent adaptive responses of small-scale societies to external threats (e.g., in the Casamance, see Lüpke, 2016). While this leads to morphosyntactic assimilation of the participating languages, a complex array of socio-cultural (François, 2011) and cognitive factors (Ellison and Miceli, 2017) may simultaneously result in lexical and phonetic dissimilation. Maintaining and reproducing ethno-linguistic identities and boundaries, in spite of linguistic and cultural convergence in a region, can be crucial when a group seeks to secure its access to, and control over land and fishing grounds, trading networks, jobs, political power, and knowledge systems (e.g., Paulston and Paulston, 1980; the studies in Brooks, 1993; Michael, 2008; Rüsch and Nassenstein, 2016).

In the mega-cities of the Global South, small languages and lingua francas, creoles, pidgins, youth sociolects, cryptolects and other paradigm-defying means of communication are indispensable tools for securing livelihoods through the mobilization of local, regional, professional, and ethnic networks. Vast linguistically non-normalized spaces therefore remain in Africa, Amazonia and the Caribbean, South and South East Asia, Oceania, even in the heart of Europe (e.g., the case of Luxembourgish, see Gilles, 2009).

EXPANSIVE LINGUA FRANCAS. At least one other sociolinguistic scenario needs to be considered that falls between the extremes of language standardization in nation-states and grassroots heteroglossia. In various parts of the globe, we witness the expansion of unstandardized or weakly standardized lingua francas spoken by tens of millions of people and upwards that thrive and grow without top-down standardization and state enforcement. These languages

of wider communication are contact languages par excellence. They are generally spoken by fewer L1 than L2 speakers, are acquired outside of the parental fold by many, and often later in childhood or adolescence, and serve as outgroup languages spoken in various multilingual constellations throughout the day, include intense code-switching and show contact effects in various subsystems. This is particularly the case in Africa, with its generally weak penetration of standard languages. Some of the largest African lingua francas are the continua of non-coastal varieties of Kiswahili in Eastern-Central Africa, Lingala in the DRC and the Republic of the Congo, Mande, Hausa and Arabic in West and North-East Africa.

A striking case is the continuum of the African English-lexifier contact languages (AECs) spoken along the West African littoral in mutually intelligible varieties known in the literature as Nigerian Pidgin, Cameroon Pidgin, Ghanaian Pidgin English, Krio, and Pichi. From humble beginnings in the nineteenth century, their speaker numbers have exploded in the past few decades reaching over one hundred million today (Yakpo, 2016a), and are likely to grow to to several hundred million speakers in the next few decades (Yakpo, 2017b). The growth of these languages is driven by a recurring constellation of social factors linked with 'modernization': accelerated demographic growth, rural-urban migration and galloping urbanization, the expansion of basic education, the degradation of rural economies and changes in employment structure, the expansion of transport, telecommunications, and the digital media revolution (see Yakpo, 2015, pp. 265–266, for a study of a similar set of factors in Suriname). As a consequence of these dynamics, AECs have penetrated all but the most formal domains (i.e., government, and other highly asymmetrical spaces of interaction) in all countries where they are spoken (Yakpo, 2016b). AECs dominate the pop music soundscapes of Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, and 'anglophone' Cameroon. Nigerian Pidgin is deployed in patterns of plurilingual communication together with Nigerian English in movies, TV shows, comedy shows, and on YouTube channels in the burgeoning media industry of Nigeria. Due to their role as means of horizontal communication, languages like Nigerian and Cameroon Pidgin are not claimed by specific social formations, e.g., 'an ethnic group,' are rarely identified as 'mother tongues' by their speakers, and speech practices are not as embedded in 'traditional' social structures as other African languages. A shared lexicon, rampant code-switching, and lexical and structural borrowing between English and the AECs challenge monoglossic notions of separate languages. There is also some evidence that these lingua francas change faster than expected (for Ghanaian Pidgin English, see Corum, 2015; for Sranan (Suriname), see Yakpo, 2017a).

Social factors in creolization outcomes. Creole studies is the field of linguistics in which the most comprehensive suggestions for the role of social factors in language change have been proposed. The simplicity of creole languages vis-à-vis non-creoles is a leitmotif that has found its way into textbooks far beyond linguistics. It assumes a 'terra nullius' scenario, in which subjugated populations could or would not acquire the European lexifier language, and therefore contracted it to the rudimentary system of a pidgin, later expanding it to a creole in the course of inter-generational transmission (most radically formulated by Bickerton, 1981 and subsequent work) (but see Mufwene, this volume, for an opposing view of the pidgin-to-creole cycle). The focus on (morphological) form in discussions about complexity in the outcomes of language contact has been criticized from many angles, for example by syntacticians for its privileging of 'surface' complexity (e.g., Aboh, 2015), its disregard for semantic complexification accompanying morphological simplification (e.g., Koplenig, 2019, also see Bisang 2015), its indifference to the complexity of plurilingual grammars (Yakpo, 2009), and for a superficial view on the analytic typology of their substrates (Szeto, Lai and Ansaldo, 2019).

An important strain of newer historically oriented work has focused on the agency of enslaved and marginalized peoples to subvert, refashion and co-determine socio-economic, and concomitantly, linguistic structures even under conditions of extreme oppression (Faraclas, 2012; Linebaugh and Rediker, 2013). Faraclas et al. (2007) expand earlier work (Alleyne 1971, 1980; Mintz, 1971) to show how different modes of economic production, differing ideologies about religion, ethnicity and race, and divergent legal-political dispensations decisively shaped the outcomes of Afro-European language contact in the European colonies of the Americas. The meagre opportunities for socio-economic advancement that 'Northern' European colonial production regimes (British, Dutch, and partly French) offered to enslaved Africans, versus the comparatively better opportunities offered by the 'Southern' European (Portuguese and Spanish) models engendered very different Afro-European language contact outcomes (e.g., Brazil vs. the USA, see Carvalho, 2018; Klein, 2018; Mattos and Grinberg, 2018). As a consequence, African substrate features are pervasive in the English-lexifier creoles, intermediate in the French-lexifier creoles, and comparatively few in the American vernacular varieties of Spanish and Portuguese.

The political economic perspective on the outcomes of language contact and change can be combined with a typological approach that embeds the evolution of creoles and other contact languages in their areal context (Yakpo, 2017c). This can be exemplified with respect to the fate of prosody in Afro-European contact languages in Africa and the Americas (i.e., creoles, pidgins, and the transplanted colonial varieties of European languages that emerged through the interaction of Africans and Europeans in the Atlantic area). These languages feature prosodic systems ranging from tone to stress to mixed systems incorporating both. In the literature, tone is often seen as a crosslinguistically marked feature that either gets lost or is reduced in language contact (Salmons, 1992; McWhorter, 1998; Trudgill, 2010). A systematic look at a larger range of prosodic contact constellations, however, shows no evidence that stress invariably trumps tone (Bordal Steien and Yakpo, 2020). Instead we find a continuum of prosodic systems stretching across the Atlantic basin from Africa to the Americas with outcomes determined by degrees of socio-economic stratification (in this case along racialized lines), and degrees of areal-typological dominance of tone languages in the ecology (Lim, 2009).

One group contains the Afro-European creoles of the West African littoral zone as well as the European colonial colloquial varieties spoken in the tonal ecologies of Africa. These all feature lexical tone systems. Isolated Afro-European contact varieties spoken in the Americas also feature tone systems (Saamaka, Ndyuka, Paamaka, Aluku, Kwinti). A second group consists of the European-lexifier creoles of the Caribbean and many of the colloquial varieties of the European colonial languages of the wider region, including South America. Many of these contact languages have 'residual' tone systems (Berry, 1972), where distinctive tone is limited to specific semantic fields and subsystems, and to specialized functions, in prosodic systems otherwise characterized by the use of stress. The English-lexifier Creoles of the Caribbean, for example, have been described to possess grammatically distinctive tone with person forms (see e.g., James, 2003 for Tobagonian Creole), in ideophones and in reduplications (see Smith and Adamson, 2006 for Sranan).

A third group consists of languages with stress systems that nevertheless seem to point to some substratal transfer from African tone languages in their evolutionary trajectory. Brazilian Portuguese features 'tonal events not linked to stressed syllables' which are 'reminiscent of the intonational characteristics of languages like Japanese and Korean' (Frota and Vigário, 2000). In Afro-Bolivian Spanish (Rao and Sessarego, 2016),

Afro-Peruvian Chincha Spanish (Sessarego, Rao and Butera, 2017) and the Spanish-lexifier creole Palenquero, spoken in Colombia, (Hualde and Schwegler, 2008), 'accented' syllables consistently carry high (contour) pitch. This is quite different from European and Euro-American varieties, where word-level pitch contours can be significantly altered by the pragmatic functions of intonation (see Hualde and Prieto, 2015 for an overview). The first holistic take on the evolution of the prosodic systems of Afro-European contact languages on the basis of both social and linguistic factors is presented in Bordal Steien and Yakpo, 2020.

With a refinement of methods, and after making room for the countless variations in these scenarios, approaches based on demography and social stratification including factors at a lower level of aggregation (e.g., network density, exogamy vs. endogamy, cultural, identity, and gender features) may explain differences in outcomes of other large linguistic continua with a history of intense contact (e.g., the Romani continuum, Sinitic, the northern Indian continuum of languages, Arabic, and others).

5. Main research methods

Much twentieth-century work on the social context of language contact focused on colonial ecologies in the Americas and in the Asia-Pacific region, and therefore drew on methods of historical research next to structural linguistics. Such work had important ramifications, for example, for our understanding of the linguistic demography in the early colonial Caribbean (e.g., Singler, 1995), thereby calling into question the social foundation of the pidgin-to-creole cycle in the region and the idea of 'abrupt' creolization (Arends, 1995), instead establishing, for example, the existence of 'ordinary' genealogical links between the Caribbean (e.g., Baker, 1999) and West African English-lexifier creoles (Huber, 1999). The reconstitution of 'histories from below' through the use of neglected archival sources and oral histories reveals the complex socio-cultural, economic, and linguistic settings in societies featuring a diverse range of populations that shaped contact languages that arose in the Atlantic (e.g., Walicek, 2009) and Pacific (e.g., Drechsel, 2014) regions.

In the last two decades or so, the production of numerous grammars with the toolbox of descriptive linguistics and linguistic typology of languages profoundly marked by contact beyond the traditional purview of pidgin and creole studies is revealing the great diversity of contact ecologies and contact outcomes (e.g., Nordhoff, 2009; Litamahuputty, 2012; Souag, 2014). Such studies also seem to suggest that contact languages, innovative as they often are, largely reflect areal and genealogical proclivities in their structures rather than constituting a typological class onto themselves (cf. van Sluijs, van den Berg and Muysken, 2016; Blasi, Michaelis and Haspelmath, 2017).

Beyond, that social network analysis and anthropological methods of participant observation have provided insights into the social context, and the spread of contact-induced features at the level of individual communities and social groups (e.g., Beyer and Schreiber, 2013).

Significant changes in the study of language contact have also come, as in other sciences, from the integration of core linguistics with advanced statistics, cognitive and brain sciences. Equally, advances in natural language processing are allowing increasingly sophisticated mining and analysis of the gargantuan amounts of linguistic data created through digital and social media platforms and applications (also see Section 6).

6. Future directions

The main challenge of future research is to consolidate and refine an emerging multifactorial methodology to investigate the social factors that co-determine the processes and outcomes of contact. A key goal is to understand how micro-, meso-, and macro-social factors interact with each other, and with respect to different structural-linguistic features (see e.g., Sinnemäki and Di Garbo, 2018). The current trend to model the impact of social (and environmental) factors on language contact and change with the help of data driven sciences will continue. Works that integrate computational linguistics and data visualization (e.g., Hammarström and Güldemann, 2014), genetics (e.g., Pakendorf, de Filippo and Bostoen, 2011), GIS (e.g., Eriksen, 2011), anthropology and archaeology (e.g., O'Connor and Muysken, 2014), have allowed the testing of correlations between linguistic, social, and environmental factors at increasing levels of refinement, and contact-induced change and areal convergence will remain at the core of much of such work.

Linguistic data sciences are also being harnessed to set up and mine an increasing number of uncurated (e.g., Heyd and Mair, 2014) and curated corpora of contact languages (e.g., for Cameroon Pidgin English, see Green, Ayafor and Ozón, 2016; for Nigerian Pidgin, see Caron, 2019). Structured data banks like APiCs (Michaelis et al., 2013), eWave (Kortmann and Lunkenheimer, 2011) and other corpora in tandem with careful analysis of the sociopolitical, economic, and cultural context of a particular contact ecology can also be harnessed to uncover correlations between linguistic structure and social factors (e.g., Adamou and Granqvist, 2015). Studies informed by computational methods will allow new insights into variation, register, and style (e.g., Manfredi et al., 2019). The expansion of online media and texting is driving the emergence of vernacular orthographies and the development of formal registers in contact and minority languages alike (e.g., Eberhard, 2019), and is creating a widening gap between on-the-ground facts of language use and rigid official language policies (see e.g., the role of the BBC Pidgin Service in West Africa, Kasraee, 2017).

New developments can also be expected in qualitatively oriented research. Most contact languages studied are located in the Global South, in regions once colonized by Europe, or are spoken in the Northern hemisphere by marginalized populations with cultural and historical ties with the Global South. Yet, the vast majority of contact research is still conducted by Northern researchers. This raises problems with respect to research agendas, not only because representation is a prerogative of social justice, but also with respect to the value of resulting research. The absence of deeper intuitions about the languages they study and the often rudimentary biographic experience of multilingualism by researchers from countries with monoglossic traditions may result in long learning curves and significant gaps in findings (cf. Chomsky, 1997); the institutional self-containment of research in the North limits the impact on policy-making in Global South countries in dire need of reform of the destructive language regimes inherited from colonialism (see e.g., Wa Thiong'o, 1992; Muthwii and Kioko, 2004); the lack of a personal stake and an apolitical stance may lead Northern researchers to unwittingly perpetuate colonialist and racist tropes, as shown by DeGraff (2005) with respect to the epistemic violence (Chakravorty, 1999) inherent to the argument on creole simplicity.

The global expansion of tertiary education and increasing academic mobility will, however, continue to render a growing amount of research on contact languages by 'bearers of the corresponding cultures' (Huttar, 2019, p. 178), linguistically and culturally at ease in the communities they work with, and whose research often explicitly or implicitly includes decolonial approaches and social activist agendas (e.g., Carpenter and Devonish, 2010). Such work has, for example, engendered more nuanced, insider views of the links between social forces and

linguistic structure in the emergence of Afro-European contact languages, for example with respect to morphology in Haitian Creole (DeGraff, 2001), complex patterns of suppletion in the African English-lexifier creoles (Yakpo, 2019), the subtle interplay between substrate and superstrate influences in creole syntax (Aboh, 2015), and the identity factors driving grammatical change in Ghanaian Pidgin English (Osei-Tutu, 2016).

Dramatic socio-economic transformations and far-reaching changes in the demographic distribution of the world's population are likely to cause further reorientations in research priorities. By the end of the twenty-first century, the population of Africa will have risen to more than four billion, and the populations of Africa and Asia will together constitute about 90% of the world's population (United Nations, 2017). This will go hand in hand with rapid urbanization, and an acceleration of regional and international migration out of, into, and within Africa and Asia, and the growth of a young and mobile population numbering billions. The self-authored linguistic evolution of expansive lingua francas numbering hundreds of millions of speakers like West African Pidgin English, Hausa, Swahili, Lingala, Arabic, Hindi-Urdu, Malay-Indonesian, and regional varieties of English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish will bring crucial insights into the nature of linguistic accommodation and change, and the differing roles in these processes of individual actors and social networks, institutions, and the media in a more globalized, and simultaneously more decentred world. These trends are going to fundamentally shake up established views and the fairly limited understanding we still have of how social factors shape language contact and change.

7. Further reading

Thurston, W. (1987). *Processes of change in the languages of North-Western New Britain (Pacific Linguistics: Series B 99)*. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.
    This pioneering work on language contact in Papua New Guinea proposes a link between the degree of rich morphology and closedness 'esoteric' (L1-oriented) vs. 'exoteric' (L2-oriented) functions of linguistic systems, forespelling later work by Kusters, 2003 on the development of morphology in large lingua francas, and on the 'linguistic niche hypothesis' by Lupyan and Dale, 2010.

Faraclas, N., Walicek, D.E., Alleyne, M., Geigel, W. and Ortiz, L. (2007). The complexity that really matters: the role of political economy in creole genesis. In: U. Ansaldo, S. Matthews, and L. Lim, eds., *Deconstructing creole (Typological Studies in Language 73)*, 1st ed. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 227–264.
    Expanding earlier work by Alleyne (1971) and Mintz (1971), this book chapter offers a refreshingly holistic take on the outcomes of language contact and creolization in the Caribbean due to differing economic structures, political systems, and ideological superstructures practised by European colonizers on the one hand, and African colonized/enslaved peoples on the other.

Aboh, E. O. (2015). *The emergence of hybrid grammars*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
    Taking earlier work on linguistic ecologies further (Mufwene, 2001; Ansaldo, 2009), Aboh presents ample socio-historical and linguistic data to buttress his analysis of the structure of contact languages, arguing that hybridization, rather than simplification, drive their evolution in ways no different from languages that emerge in more monolingual environments.

Bordal Steien, G. and Yakpo, K. (2020). Romancing with tone: on the outcomes of prosodic contact. *Language*, 96(1).
    Arguing against claims that tone necessarily cedes to stress during language contact and creolization (Salmons, 1992; Trudgill, 2010), this study of contact between African tone and European intonation-only languages suggests that certain social (linguistic demography and socio-economic stratification), and linguistic factors (areal-typological dominance) are pivotal for explaining the presence of tone

systems in almost all Afro-European contact languages including creoles and African varieties of French, Spanish, and English.

8. Related topics

Pragmatic factors, typological factors, borrowing, convergence, creoles and pidgins, urban youth speech styles, West Africa

Abbreviations

AEC   African English-lexifier contact languages
L1   first language
L2   second language

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