

## **The Chinese Expansion and Language Coexistence in Modern China\***

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### **1. The historical expansion**

The title of this chapter might make it seem as if there has been some unified and unchanging group that we can call “the Chinese” that simply expanded over time, but this is not the case. The concept of “Chinese” is a socio-political construct which, in terms of genetics, ethnicity, culture, and language, has constantly been in flux due to migrations and the mixing of peoples and cultures/languages.<sup>1</sup>

The initial human migrations from Africa into Asia seem to have been from the southwest, more than 18-60 thousand years ago (Chu 1998, Jin & Su 2000, Ke et al. 2001, HUGO Pan-Asian SNP Consortium 2009), but the origins of what we now call the Chinese (and the Sino-Tibetans generally—see LaPolla 2001 and references therein) are said to have been in the Yellow River valley of the central plains of what is now north China around 6000 years ago, as represented in the Neolithic Yang-shao culture (e.g. Chang 1986, Treistman 1972, Pulleyblank 1983, Fairbank, Reischauer & Craig 1989, Xing 1996, Ran & Zhou 1983). At that time there were already other cultures to the east and south in what we now think of as China,<sup>2</sup> and even before the migrations east and south from the central plains there may have been contact between the different areas. To the north of the central plains, in historic times, were

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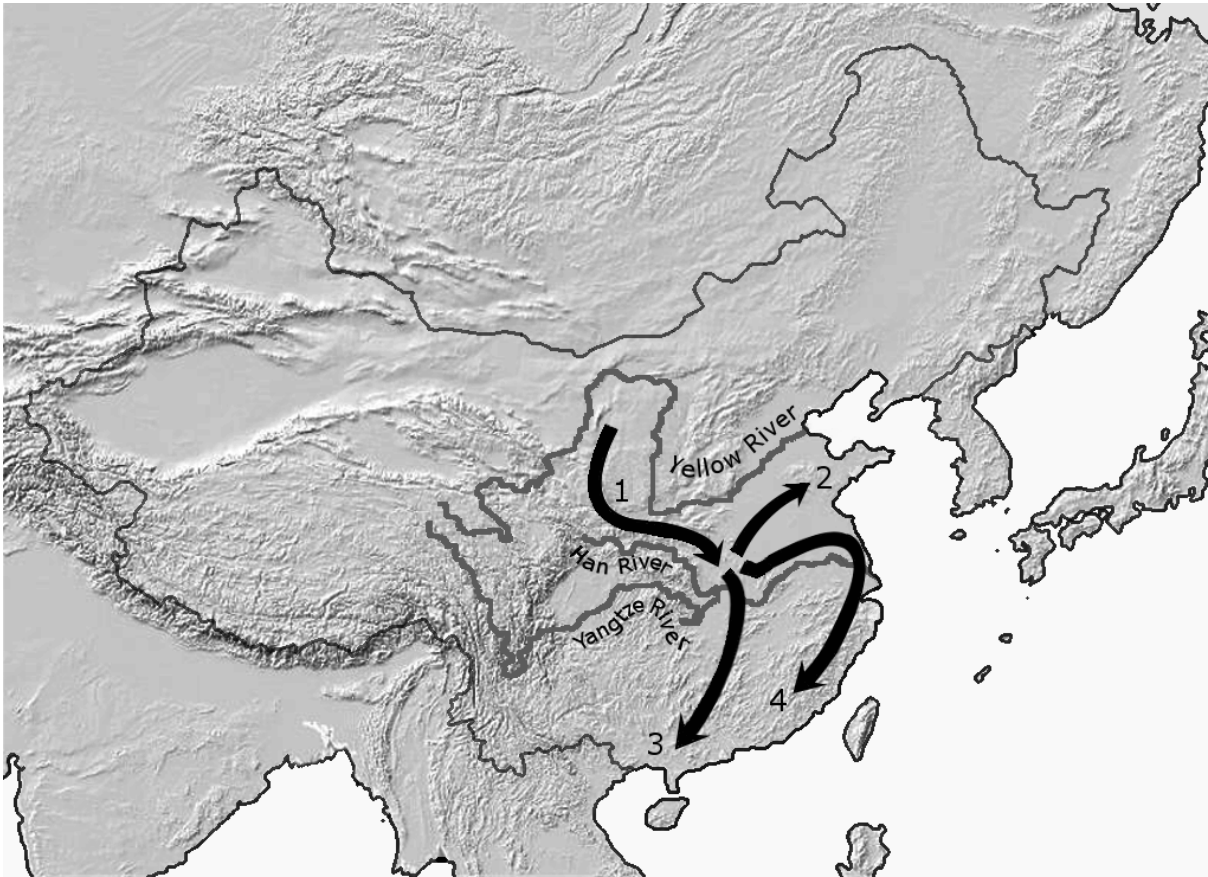
\* I’d like to thank Salikoko S. Mufwene for helpful comments on a draft of this paper and Carly Jaques for creating Maps 1 and 3.

<sup>1</sup> Zhao & Lee 1989 argue that evidence from immunoglobulin Gm haplotype frequencies and genetic distances points to the conclusion that ‘the modern Chinese nation originated from two distinct populations, one originating in the Yellow River valley and the other originating in the Yangtze River valley during early Neolithic times (3,000-7,000 years ago)’ (p. 101). Evidence from genetics, physical characteristics and fingerprints also supports that conclusion (e.g. Zhang Haiguo 1988, Zhang Zhenbiao 1988, Weng et al. 1989, Etlar 1992). In fact the mixing is even more complex than that. As argued by Wang 2017, there has been contact and hybridization over millennia, so there is no single Han (Chinese) people to speak of.

<sup>2</sup> For example, rice was domesticated near the eastern end of the Yangtze river more than 9000 years ago (Zuo et al. 2017), long before the people we think of as the Chinese migrated there.

peoples of the Altai mountains and northern steppes, who spoke languages ancestral to the Altaic languages (e.g. Uighur, Mongolian, and Manchu); to the south (starting around the Yangtze River) were speakers of Hmong-Mien and Tai-Kadai (Zhuang-Dong, Kra-Dai) languages; and to the east and southeast were speakers of Austro-Asiatic languages and precursors of the Austronesian languages (Pulleyblank 1983, Li 1994, Bellwood 1992, Tong 1998, Blust 1984/85, 1994). Even within the central plains there were differences in identity and language, and there was contact between the different groups in the early period (see e.g. Wang Huiyin 1989), to the extent that the ancestors of some early Chinese rulers are said to have been from the western group associated with the modern Tibeto-Burman peoples (Ran & Zhou 1983, Ran et al. 1984, FitzGerald 1961).

Migrations from the central plains mainly followed three routes: east, south and southeasterly (see Map 1); west and then south through the Tibetan plateau; and southwesterly, skirting the eastern and southern edges of the Tibetan plateau down the river valleys into Burma and beyond (LaPolla 2001 and references therein). The people who stayed in the central plains and those who moved east, south and southeasterly we identify as the Chinese; those who moved west and then south through the Tibetan plateau and into Nepal and Bhutan we identify as the Bodish branch of Tibeto-Burman (Tibetan and closely related groups); and those who went southwesterly we identify as the rest of the Tibeto-Burman peoples.



Map 1: *Initial Chinese Migrations*

The migrations occurred in waves of movement of different sizes, often into the same areas, for different reasons.<sup>3</sup> As early as the Yin dynasty (roughly 1600-1027 BC) there were

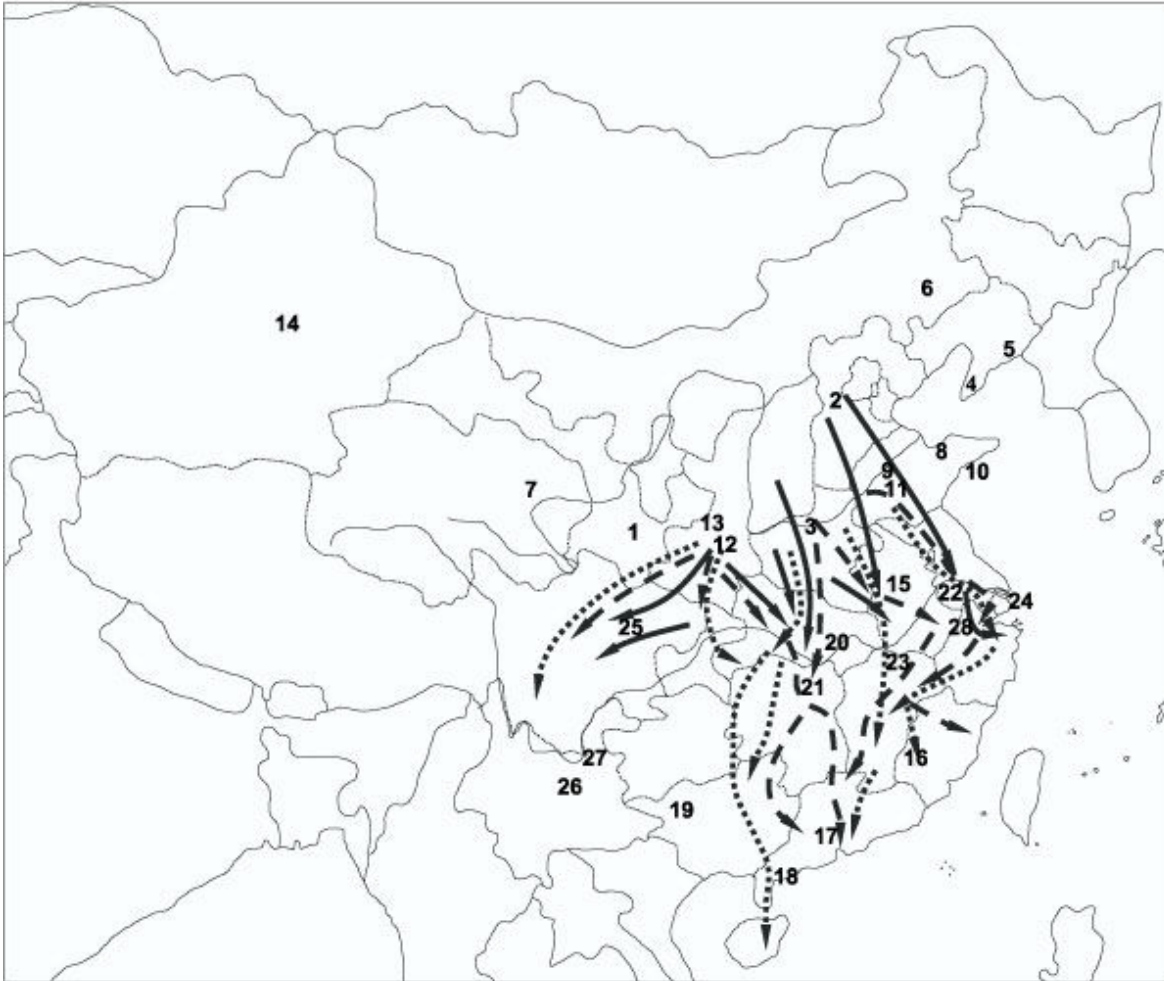
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<sup>3</sup> What Mufwene (2007: 79) says about the Indo-European expansion applies equally well to the Sino-Tibetan expansion: “The original populations need not have been politically and ethnolinguistically homogeneous, as well argued by Trubetzkoy (1939). They need not have departed from exactly the same geographical location either . . . Neither need they have left the homeland at the same time, not any more than they could have taken the same dispersal routes. Nor did they reach their destinations at the same time. The histories . . . all suggest also that the original colonization routes led them to new dispersal points from which they spread in all sorts of directions. This dispersal must have occurred in a way that is not matched at all by the traditional cladograms of genetic linguistics, with rectilinear and non-intersecting distribution branches . . .”. Burling (2012: 57-58) misrepresents my discussion of migration in LaPolla 2001, presenting it as if a) I assumed there is a consistent language and group of people that migrates all at one time, when in fact I show that some migrations took hundreds of years and involved waves of different people, and b) that I do not recognize that language shift can happen without population replacement, when in fact I give the examples of language shift without major population movements that occurred in what is now southern Myanmar and the Chao Phraya River valley in what is now Thailand, and the whole point of my paper is that the family has been influenced by the continual merging of different peoples, cultures, and languages, not replacement.

government-encouraged (or forced) migrations, including shifts of national or regional capitals, and all Chinese governments up to the present one have used this tactic to relieve population pressures, solidify borders, or address natural disasters. There have also been massive migrations due to natural disasters, war, and the pull of new economic opportunities (Lee 1978, 1982, Lee & Wong 1991, Zhou 1991, Ge, Wu & Cao 1997).

Significant for our purposes in this chapter is the fact that the movements were almost never into an area where there were no people. That meant migration not only involved splitting a group of speakers into two or more subgroups, which can lead to differentiation of the speech varieties over time, it almost always also meant there was cultural/language contact, either with speakers of other Sinitic (Chinese) varieties or of non-Sinitic languages, and in many government-sponsored migrations there was purposeful mixing of people from different areas to avoid the development of power bases. This led to either the absorption of other peoples into what we now think of as the Han Chinese ethnic group (Wang Ming-ke 1992, Wiens 1967, Xu 1989) or, in some cases, the absorption by the local ethnic groups of the immigrants (e.g. soldiers and settlers sent to the southwest during the Yuan dynasty (1234-1368) were absorbed into the Yi culture and developed a new Yi language variety—Dai, Liu & Fu 1987, He 1989, 1998).

There were also movements into the central plains from the north, which in some cases caused a domino effect, resulting in the migration of the original inhabitants out of the central plains. For example, between the second and third century roughly two million of the northern steppes people moved into the central plains, causing, between the second and fourth centuries, three million of the original central plains inhabitants to flee to the southeast, into the Jiangxi, Zhejiang, Jiangsu area, changing the linguistic situation in that area (see Wen et al. 2004 and Map 2, Figure 1 of Wen et al. 2004, p. 303).



**Figure 1** Geographic distribution of sampled populations. Shown are the three waves of north-to-south migrations according to historical record. The identifications of populations are given in Supplementary Table 1. Populations 1–14 are northern Hans, and 15–28 are southern Hans. The solid, dashed and dotted arrows refer to the first, second and third waves of migrations, respectively. The first wave involving 0.9 million (approximately one-sixth of the southern population at that time) occurred during the Western Jin Dynasty (AD 265–316); the second migration, more extensive than the first, took place during the Tang Dynasty (AD 618–907); and the third wave, including ~5 million immigrants, occurred during the Southern Song Dynasty (AD 1127–1279).

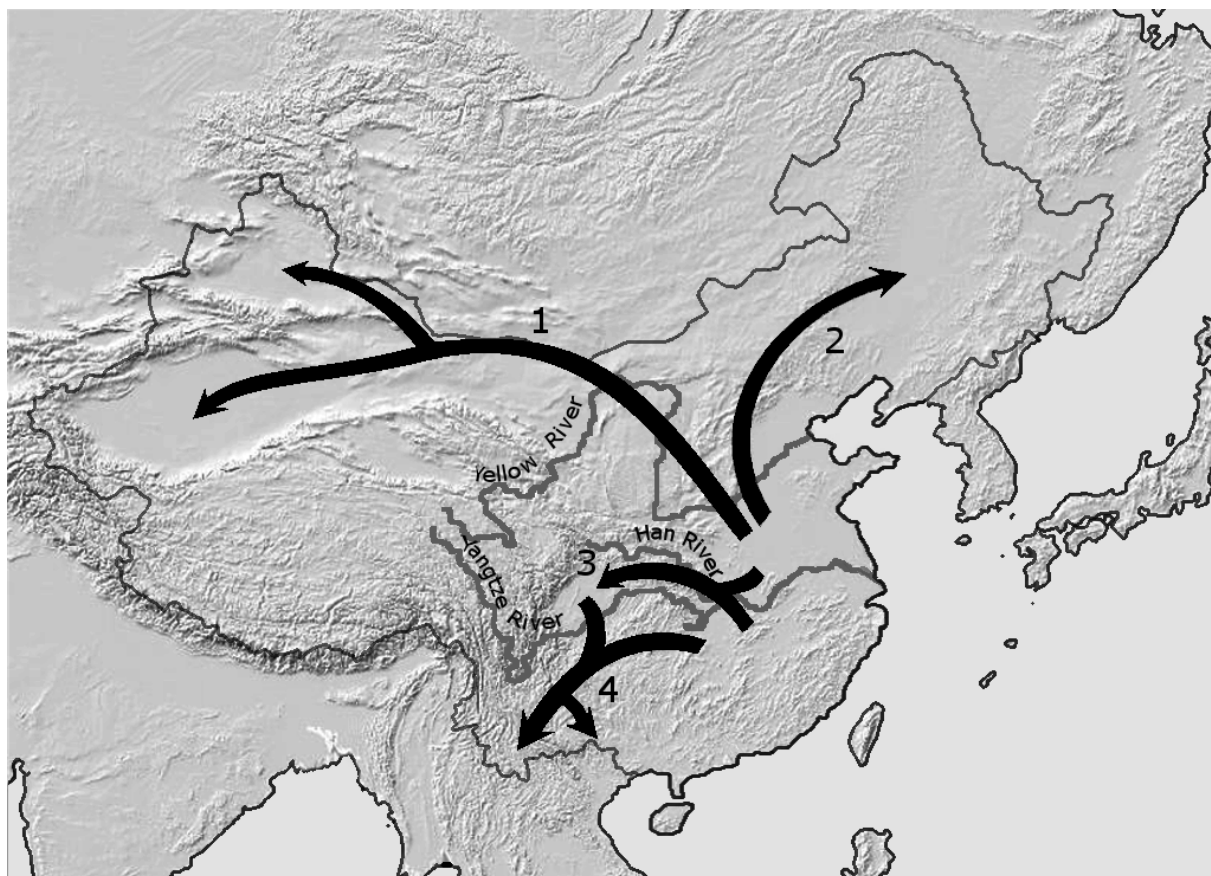
Map 2: *Middle Period Migrations (Figure 1 of Wen et al. 2004)*

Different groups of Altaic speakers controlled large parts of northern China for hundreds of years each over a millennium, so much so that Beijing was a political center of non-Han rulers for most of the 1000 years before the 20th century, except for three hundred years during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). These groups eventually assimilated into Han culture, but also had an influence on the development of Han culture<sup>4</sup> and the northern variety of Chinese

<sup>4</sup> For example, what we now think of as traditional Chinese clothing is actually based on traditional Manchu clothing due to the fact that the last imperial rulers were Manchu.

(Hashimoto 1976, 1980, 1986), while the southern dialects manifest features that are similar to those in the Tai-Kadai and Hmong-Mien languages that they came into contact with (see Yue-Hashimoto 1976, You 1982, 1995, Zhou & You 1986, Wang Jun 1991).

One of the major changes in the demographic situation led to the relatively recent, rapid, and wide dispersal of the northern variety (what we think of as Mandarin now) to the northeast, west, and southwest of what is now China (see Map 2), making that the dominant variety in China, such that it was chosen to be the base of the national language in the early 20th century. In the 17th century only one twentieth of the population of China lived in the northeast, southwest, and upper Yangtze areas, representing about ten percent of the population of northern variety speakers, but massive migrations west and southwest from the middle Yangtze area and northeast from the central plains led to these areas now being home to one third of China's population and half of the total population of northern variety speakers (Lee & Wong 1991:55).



Map 3: *Major Pre-modern Migrations*

Since 1949 there has also been government-encouraged migration into areas formerly mainly inhabited by non-Han peoples, such as Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang, and Tibet, as a way of

solidifying control over those areas, making the original inhabitants minorities in their own supposedly autonomous areas. For example, in Inner Mongolia the Mongolian population is now less than 16% of the total population (Zhang & Huang 1996: 35), and in the southern areas, where the capitol is, the Mongolians make up less than 2% of the population. This has of course led to the loss of use of the Mongolian language in all but the most northern areas of Inner Mongolia, and the same is happening in Xinjiang, Qinghai, Tibet, and parts of Yunnan and Sichuan (see Ren & Yuan 2003 and other articles in Iredale, Bilik & Guo 2003, also Poa & LaPolla 2007). At the same time contact varieties of Chinese, which show features of Tibeto-Burman or Altaic languages, have also arisen, such as the Sinitic variety spoken by the Dungan people of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan (Rimsky-Korsakoff 1967, Hai 2003), Wutun (Chen 1982), and the Linxia dialect of Chinese (Dwyer 1992).

The mixing of speakers of different languages that resulted from the many migrations is what has given us the branches (“dialects”) of Sinitic we now find (cf. Zhou & You 1986, Wang Jun 1991):

- an early Wu (Zhejiang/Jiangsu area) branch had formed from a Zhou dynasty (roughly 2500 years ago) south-eastern migration into what was most likely an Austroasiatic-speaking area;
- the Chu branch (a precursor to the Xiang [Hunan] branch) formed from a very early southern migration into a Tai/Hmong-Mien area (Li 1994, Tian 1989);
- the Gan branch formed in the area where the Wu and Chu varieties were in contact with each other in central and northern Jiangxi because of a later migration down the Han river during the Han dynasty (206 BC-AD 220), and then there was a split of this branch into the Gan and Hakka branches as what became the Hakka people migrated to the east and south into Fujian and Guangdong, and then later to the west as far as Sichuan, with resulting sub-varieties of Hakka due to the contact created by these later migrations (see Leong 1997, Hashimoto 1992);
- the Yue (Cantonese) branch had its beginnings in the Qin dynasty (221-207), as the first emperor sent 500,000 troops south to settle in the Lingnan area (Jiangxi, Guangdong and south-eastern Guangxi), followed by waves of migration, possibly as many as 1.4 million

people (acc. to Lee 1978), who followed them as far south as northern Vietnam,<sup>5</sup> and while Chinese records of the time talk about the sinicization of the Yue people (the original inhabitants, Tai-Kadai speakers), there was also structural and lexical influence from the Yue on the Chinese (Yue-Hashimoto 1967, 1991, Baron 1973, You 1982, 1995, Zhou & You 1986, Huang 1990, Cao 1997, Meng 1998);

- the Min (Fujian) branch manifests many strata (Bielenstein 1959, Norman 1991), the first being the language of what were called the Min-Yue (one of the Bai Yue ‘Hundred Yue’, assumed to be Austro-Asiatic speakers—Norman & Mei 1976), the second being the language of the first Chinese settlers during the Eastern Han Dynasty (AD 25-220), the older dialect of the Wu area, as colonization of Fujian was from Zhejiang in the north, the third being a later Wu variety that was different from the original Wu variety due to the massive immigration from the north after the fall of the Western Jin Dynasty in the early fourth century, the fourth stratum being a Tang dynasty (post-8th cen.) literary form of the Tang koiné, and the fifth is now Modern Mandarin (Norman 1983, 1988, 1991; Ting 1988; Mei 2015).<sup>6</sup>

Throughout Chinese history national and provincial prestige dialects have also had an effect on other dialects. As centers of population concentration developed, languages in those centers came to be quite distinct from each other,<sup>7</sup> with each having prestige within its own area, and then spreading out from those centers. The result is that the languages form something like prototype categories rather than areas with sharp boundaries (see, e.g. Pulleyblank 1991, Iwata

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<sup>5</sup> The country known as Nanyue, which covered what we now know as Northern Vietnam, Guangdong, and Guangxi, was founded by a Qin general after the fall of the Qin Dynasty in 203 BCE. It remained a Chinese vassal until it became independent in 939 CE.

<sup>6</sup> As the Min branch is not reflected in the 601 CE rhyme book *Qieyun*, it is often assumed that that branch is an earlier split from the rest of Chinese and maintains older features, but it may actually be that the branch had not yet fully formed as a distinct entity and/or simply was not something the writers of the *Qieyun* were aware of at the time, as the area was not fully integrated into the intellectual life of China at the time (cf. Bielenstein 1959 on the lateness of the integration of this area compared to the others).

<sup>7</sup> For example, Nanjing was the capital of two Chinese dynasties from the 4th to 6th century, and attracted over 200,000 northern migrants into an area where the original inhabitants spoke a Wu variety. The resulting variety now spoken in the larger area, though influenced by the Wu substratum, is considered a Mandarin variety. The Hangzhou variety, also originally a typical Wu variety, came to be lexically and grammatically more similar to the northern dialects due to the influx of northerners when the capital of the Song dynasty shifted to Hangzhou in 1127 (Zhou & You 1986: 19).

1995).<sup>8</sup> These major centers have also influenced each other in various ways, such as in the spread of certain patterns of interrogative syntax and other constructions among the Yue, Min and Beijing dialects (Yue-Hashimoto 1993), in the creation of ‘syntactic hybrids’ in the Southern dialects due to the influence of Mandarin (Chappell 2001).

Since at least the Song dynasty (960-1279) the Chinese have also been going abroad into Southeast Asia and particularly in later years there was considerable migration from the coastal provinces of Fujian and Guangdong into the area and further to the US, Australia, and Europe. In most cases they remain a minority, and assimilate to different degrees while contributing to the mainstream culture and language, but in Singapore they became the majority, and this has greatly affected the language situation there (see, e.g., Lim 2015).

## **2. Language coexistence in Modern China**

In the early 20th century, influenced by what they saw as the benefits of having a national language in Japan and the sense of the new nation-state needing a unified language (cf. Benjamin 2015), a committee of linguists in China created a Mandarin variety which has its phonology based on that of the Beijing dialect, but its lexicon and grammar based on a more generalized leveling of northern dialects. In the Republican era (1911-1949), and still in Taiwan, this language is referred to as the National Language (*Guóyǔ*—the Chinese pronunciation of the Chinese characters used to write the Japanese-created term, 国語 *Kokugo*). In the 1950’s the government of the People’s Republic of China further developed and recast this variety as the Common Language (*Pǔtōnghuà* 普通话), and has made great efforts to spread the language to all parts of China, and most education is in this variety. The non-Mandarin Sinitic varieties were also actively suppressed; for example, they were not allowed to be used in broadcast media. As a result there has been quite a bit of influence on almost all of the languages of China from the Common Language.<sup>9</sup> As early as the 1980’s children in

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<sup>8</sup> Pulleyblank argues that the traditional family tree model is not appropriate for the Chinese varieties, as they require ‘some kind of network model, with provincial and regional centers of influence as well as successive national centers of influence in the form of standard languages based on imperial capitals’ (Pulleyblank 1991: 442).

<sup>9</sup> In the past and to some extent still today, Hong Kong is an exception, as being a British colony for more than a hundred years up to 1997 allowed the local variety, based largely on Guangzhou city Cantonese, to flourish, to the extent that 96% of the population speak that variety, and it is the only Chinese variety other than Mandarin

Shanghai were using the Common Language to speak among themselves, as they learned it and were required to use it in school, even if they spoke Shanghainese with their parents. This has caused some changes within Shanghainese, such as the leveling of vocabulary and phonology in terms of becoming more like Mandarin (see, for example, Qian 1991, 1997). The opening up of internal migration also has helped the spread of the Common Language as it becomes the lingua franca of the areas where there are a lot of migrants, basically all major cities. The effect is not just limited to language; whereas in the past each area of China had its own unique language and cultural conventions, including architectural style, ways of thinking, and ways of celebrating traditional holidays, today there is a (purposeful) homogenization of the language and cultural conventions, and ways of thinking, across China.

At the same time, the version of the Common Language spoken in each area shows substratum influence from the original dominant variety, and so regional varieties of Mandarin are forming. Taiwan Mandarin (Kubler 1985, Hansell 1989) is the most extreme example of such a regional variety, as is Singapore Mandarin, due to the relative lack of native speakers, which allowed more substratum influence as non-natives spoke to each other in the language and so stayed with their old habits.

In terms of government policy, 56 ethnic groups are given official recognition, which includes the right to use their own language, though only one language is recognized per ethnic group (see Poa & LaPolla 2007 on the identification of the ethnic groups and its influence on language maintenance). As the Han people (roughly 92% of the population) are considered one ethnic group, only the Common Language is considered as the language of that group, and the non-Mandarin varieties of Sinitic cannot be considered independent languages (and allowed to flourish), and must be considered “dialects”, even if they are mutually unintelligible. And as only 55 minority ethnic groups are recognized, only 55 minority languages are officially recognized and given support, even though many of the minority ethnic groups are large amalgamations of speakers of several different mutually unintelligible languages, like the Han.<sup>10</sup> While some Chinese linguists recognize more than the 56 official languages (e.g. Sun

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that is regularly used in newspapers and magazines. Since the return to Chinese control in 1997, the teaching of Mandarin has been introduced in schools and the flood of Chinese tourists and immigrants means one is more likely to hear the Common Language being spoken there, and it gives the locals an economic incentive to learn the language.

<sup>10</sup> For example, the *Zàng* minority (often translated as ‘Tibetan’, but a Chinese construct and not the same as the Tibetan concept of *Bod-pa* ‘Tibet-person’) is an amalgamation of all the Tibetic speakers but also at least thirteen

Hongkai (2001), who recognizes 125 minority languages), the number of mutually unintelligible languages is much higher (Ethnologue counts over 200, but this is also an underestimation). For example, from fieldwork in 41 villages inhabited by Phula people near the China-Vietnam border in Yunnan, Pelkey (2011) found 24 mutually unintelligible languages, even though the speakers were all considered members of the Yi minority, and so would only have the Yi language (which itself has many sub-varieties and is mutually unintelligible with all the varieties described by Pelkey) recognized as their official language.

Although some minorities still live in rather isolated places and can maintain their languages relatively well, most minorities live in mixed communities, in small clusters alongside the Han and other ethnic groups, even in the five large autonomous regions (Tibet [Tibetan], Xinjiang [Uyghur], Guangxi [Zhuang], Ningxia [Hui], Inner Mongolia [Mongolian]) and the many autonomous prefectures and counties in Guizhou, Sichuan, Yunnan, Qinghai, and other areas, and in many cases the minorities are the minority population even within their own supposedly autonomous area. Because of this, bilingualism or multilingualism is the norm in these communities. While in some communities there may be multilingualism in different minority languages, most often it is bilingualism in the native language and some variety of Chinese (which may be a contact variety itself, as there is bidirectional influence between the languages—see for example the Tai-Chinese variety described in Chen Baoya 1996). And as the bilingualism is of an unequal sort (e.g. native speakers of the more dominant languages rarely become bilingual in the smaller languages—Wang Yuanxin 2000), and Chinese is often the main lingua franca among different ethnic groups, and there are economic advantages to learning Chinese well, including the lure of jobs in the cities, tourism, and the fact that all administration and almost all education is in Chinese, there is a tendency for the speakers to shift to Chinese exclusively (see Xu Shixuan 2001, 2003, Yuan 2001, and Poa & LaPolla 2007 for specific examples and their causes). In fact most of the minority languages have relatively small populations, and could be considered endangered (see Sun 2001, Shearer & Sun 2002, Bradley 2007).

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other languages. The flip side of this is that some communities of language speakers were split into two ethnic groups, and their language given two different names, because they happen to live in two different administrative areas, e.g. Zhuang (Guangxi) and Buyi (Guizhou), Pumi (Yunnan) and Pumi-speaking Tibetan (Sichuan), Qiang-speaking Tibetan (Heishui county, Aba Prefecture, Sichuan) and Qiang (other counties in Aba Prefecture) (Poa & LaPolla 2007).

Because of improvements in the economy, more remote villages are getting roads and electricity and television, and there is now tourism in the areas, so the dominant language has become part of the local context in a way it wasn't before (cf. Grenoble & Whaley 1998:39), and so Chinese is now heard regularly in places it would not have been earlier. The children also now often go away to a Chinese-only boarding schools, So even if there isn't a total shift in language use, due to developing the habits of Chinese language use, including cognitive habits and categories, Chinese is influencing the local language use and cognition of the speakers.

What we have been describing is often talked about as “language contact” and the results of language contact can be a shift of speakers from using one language to another, with possible substratum influence on the language shifted to, or, if there isn't a total shift, or in the process of the shift happening, the speakers of both languages may retain the sense of speaking independent languages, but the languages develop certain commonalities of structure, in some cases becoming typologically very different from other members of their family, such as in the case of Vietnamese and southern Chinese becoming very similar in structure. If a group of languages come to share a significant typological profile, then they may form a *Sprachbund* (linguistic area) (e.g. the Balkans—Friedman 1997; India—Emeneau 1956, Masica 1976; Central America—Campbell, Kaufman, & Smith-Stark 1986; the Amazon—Aikhenvald 2002; Australia—Dixon 2001; Europe—Haspelmath 2002; and Southeast Asia—Matisoff 1991, 2001, Enfield 2001).

The influence is often said to be due to imperfect learning of the target language (e.g. Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 38). But language isn't a thing, it is human behavior which manifests the physical, perceptual, and cognitive habits and conventions of the speakers (Whorf 1956, LaPolla 2015). Different languages reflect the different construals of states of affairs in the world of the speakers, which depend on cultural norms (conventions) and experiences. Learning our first language we acquired a set of physical, perceptual, and cognitive habits associated with that language and culture,<sup>11</sup> and if we want to learn another language we must learn to suppress the physical, perceptual, and cognitive habits of our first language and acquire

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<sup>11</sup> Language is actually culture, like any other aspect of our culture, governed by the same principles and supported by the same cognitive abilities (LaPolla 2015).

a new set.<sup>12</sup> This is difficult though, as we are habituated to making certain categorial distinctions and not others, and to constraining the interpretation in particular ways (LaPolla 2015). We then end up going along with our habits unless there is some strong motivation not to, and this leads to mistakes relative to the way native speakers speak, but these different ways of speaking can become entrenched in the community. Good examples are Taiwanese Mandarin (discussed above) and the many World Englishes, which reflect the use of English words and some structures but are heavily influenced by the native habits of the local speakers in terms of not only pronunciation and grammar, but also in terms of conceptual categorization. For example, Singapore English lexical items do not always reflect the conceptual categories of British, Australian, or American English (each of which differs from each other as well), but reflect Chinese conceptual categories. This is why “Mother Tongue” teaching in Singapore is not about what people in the West would think of as mother tongue, but is about the Chinese conception of emblematic or ethnic language, expressed in Chinese as *mǔyǔ* 母语 ‘mother-language’. Although not often recognized, the key part of learning another language well is not the learning of the forms, but the internalization of the categories that the forms represent.

Although we often distinguish superstratum, substratum, and adstratum influence, it is the influence of these habits of behavior and conceptualization that is involved in all cases (see LaPolla 2009 for examples and further discussion): in substratum influence, the habits of L1 influence the production of L2; in superstratum influence the habits acquired in the learning of L2 influence the production of L1 (LaPolla 2005); in adstratum influence you have two or more sets of habits influencing each other to create a common set of habits. In the case of the latter, the speakers of different languages share a single set of cognitive categories, even though the categories are represented by different words (Bhattacharya 1974, Ross 2001). What this means is that they come to share the same habits of conceptualization and expression, and in many cases come to share the same behavioral habits as well, such as having the same phonemic inventories.

What we find in Modern China is that the original diversity of ways of construing the world is being lost, leading to homogenization of the behavior and cognitive categories of the speakers of not just Sinitic languages, but non-Sinitic languages as well.

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<sup>12</sup> It is this effort to suppress the set of habits related to one language in order to speak another that is said to contribute to the development of greater executive control, one of the features of the bilingual advantage (see, for example, Prior & MacWhinney 2010).

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