PRO SYMMETRY:
- Situated language choice, rather than strict dominance;
- Both languages are in certain cases chosen as languages of interethnic communication;
- Symmetric marriage patterns and economic activity;
- Mano see the situation as symmetric;
- Leveling of interference in bilingual children with time.

CONTRA SYMMETRY:
- (Typically) unreciprocated bilingualism;
- Kpelle see the situation as asymmetric;
- Kpelle is often preferred over Mano;
- Almost exclusively unidirectional contact-induced change.

WHY?
- Population size matters!

1. Linguistic background of Guinea
- Population of 13,000,000;
- Official language: French, used in education and official situations;
- > 30 indigenous languages;
- Pular, Maninka: 30% each;
- Susu: 20%, the lingua franca of Conakry, the capital.

2. Ethnographic study of situated language choice
Rule of thumb: the language of communication is chosen in the real or inferred repertoire of:
- The speaker
- The addressee(s)
- (Sometimes) the legitimate overheard (Goffman 1981).
Kpelle is often chosen over Mano (Situations 4-6).

3. Stable contact effects
Kpelle on Mano:
- Agreement patterns (Konoshenko 2015: 176-177);
- Inclusion construction (Kachaturyan 2019);
- Vocabulary, nasalization patterns (Kachaturyan 2018).

Mano on Kpelle:
- Only perhaps the influence of the proto-language of the Southern Mande branch on the proto-language of the Southwester Mande branch: e.g., reciprocal marker ( ké in Mano, *ki in Southern Mande; kéé in Kpelle).

Mano and Kpelle are very close structurally, e.g. word-by-word translations (Kachaturyan forthc.):

Kpelle says: "I have God problem spirit know with truth"
Mano says: "Jëfandikó dékk la nün, bi la dékk la nokó wé "I have God problem interior know with truth"

Nevertheless, the languages show distinctive and non-converging prosody and several morphosyntactic parameters, in particular, reflexivity.

3. Stable contact effects
Kpelle on Mano:
- Agreement patterns (Konoshenko 2015: 176-177);
- Inclusion construction (Kachaturyan 2019);
- Vocabulary, nasalization patterns (Kachaturyan 2018).

Mano on Kpelle:
- Only perhaps the influence of the proto-language of the Southern Mande branch on the proto-language of the Southwester Mande branch: e.g., reciprocal marker ( ké in Mano, *ki in Southern Mande; kéé in Kpelle).

Mano and Kpelle are very close structurally, e.g. word-by-word translations (Kachaturyan forthc.):

Kpelle says: "I have God problem spirit know with truth"
Mano says: "Jëfandikó dékk la nün, bi la dékk la nokó wé "I have God problem interior know with truth"

Nevertheless, the languages show distinctive and non-converging prosody and several morphosyntactic parameters, in particular, reflexivity.

4. Interference in bilingual language acquisition

Kpelle interference in the speech of bilingual Mano – Kpelle individuals: a summary of the reflexive picture questionnaire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Bilingual Mano</th>
<th>Kpelle</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Bilingual Mano</th>
<th>Kpelle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>She is brushing her teeth</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>She is brushing her teeth</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She is brushing teeth</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>She is brushing teeth</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She is brushing her teeth</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>She is brushing her teeth</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>3/4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References
Kachaturyan, Maria. Forth. From the Qur’an to Christianity: Ethnolinguistic contact and religious conversion in West Africa. To appear in Cahiers d’Études Africaines.