

CHAPTER 32

CASE AND CONTACT LINGUISTICS

LARS JOHANSON

32.1 COPYING CASE MARKERS AND CASE FUNCTIONS

LANGUAGE contact affects case categories in various ways. This chapter is concerned with effects of contacts between linguistic codes (languages, unrelated or related, or language varieties): changes in one code on the model of another. It deals with inflectional case markers, affixes, and adpositions from which they evolve. Though most adpositions express more specific relations, some are relatively desemantized. Affixes and case-like adpositions may fulfil similar functions; cf. the close correspondences between Dravidian case suffixes and Indic postpositions.

Case markers and case functions are acquired through what is called 'borrowing', 'diffusion', 'transfer', 'interference', 'replication', etc. Speakers copy case markers or case functions from a model code (a 'source', 'donor', or 'diffusing' language) and insert the copies into their basic code (a 'recipient' or 'replica' language). The term 'copying' is preferred here to stress the non-identity of models and copies.

32.2 GLOBAL COPYING: 'TRANSFER'

Case markers can be copied *globally*, as a whole, including their material shape and properties of meaning, combinability, and frequency, a process often called 'transfer'. The copy is inserted into a position felt to be equivalent to that filled by the original in the model code. According to Thomason and Kaufman, copying of case affixes and case categories is possible 'under strong cultural pressure'. New case affixes may be added to native words, 'especially if there is a good typological fit in both category and ordering' (1988: 75).

Case affixes are relatively seldom copied globally. The Lithuanian illative suffix *-n* is considered to be a copy of an illative suffix of an older Finnic language. The Kurmanji (NW Iranian) locative marker *-de*, e.g. in *memleketde* 'in the homeland', might be a copy of Turkish *-de*, or a remnant of a native postposition (Bulut 2006). As a rule, only single markers are copied: 'the transfer of a full grammatical paradigm ... has apparently never been recorded' (Weinreich 1953: 43–4). However, Northern Tajik (SW Iranian) varieties, spoken in Central Asia, have copied the Uzbek core case suffixes *-gä* dative, *-dä* locative, and *-dän* (ablative). Resígaro (Arawak), spoken in Peru, has copied several oblique cases from Bora (Witotoan) (Aikhenvald 2001).

The case systems of fusing languages such as Latin provide few suitable models for copying. In older learned texts in European languages, Latin nouns were often copied globally together with their case markers, e.g. dative *Christo*. After non-Latin prepositions, they assumed the case markers required by the corresponding Latin prepositions, e.g. German *mit den pronomibus* 'with the pronouns'.

Case-like adpositions are more easily copiable. Irano-Turkic varieties have copied simple Persian prepositions, e.g. Khalaj *bī sän* 'without you'. The Kurmanji preposition *gor(a)* 'according to' is copied from the Turkish postposition *göre*; Mari *köra* 'because of' from Tatar (NW Turkic) *körä*. Karaim (NW Turkic) has copied *okolo* 'around, about' from Slavic, and *puk'i* from Polish *póki* 'up to, until'. A global copy of a periphrastic Latin preposition is German *in puncto* 'in respect of'. Even whole case forms can be globally copied, e.g. English *them* 'them' from Scandinavian replacing Middle English *him* (Baugh and Cable 1993: 102; Morse-Gagne 2003).

32.3 SELECTIVE COPYING: 'REPLICATION'

Copying does not necessarily involve morphological material. Properties of case markers – semantic, combinational, and frequential properties – may be copied

selectively from one code into another without material shapes, the means for expression being provided by the basic code. This process is called ‘replication’, ‘semantic interference’, ‘loan translation’, ‘calquing’, ‘indirect diffusion’, etc.

On the basis of structural and conceptual similarities, an equivalence relation is established, consciously or intuitively, between a marker in a model code and a suitable target in the basic code, a native segment onto which the relevant properties can be copied. Targets – affixes, adpositions, etc. – are reanalysed with respect to these properties, their functions becoming more similar to those of the models.

A basic code may have a comitative marker, whereas its model code equivalent fulfils both comitative and instrumental functions. Copying properties from the latter marker allows the use of the former marker in both functions. Speakers of Basque have copied properties of Romance models onto the comitative case suffix *-ekin* to give it an additional instrumental function (Stolz 1996b). Karaim *-Bə* ‘with’ displays uses resulting from copying of semantic and combinational properties of the Russian instrumental case (Csató 2000). Similar processes are observed for case-like adpositions. English semantic-combinational influence on Guernésiais, the Norman variety of Guernsey, is seen in the trend to use one single form corresponding to *with* instead of separate comitative and instrumental forms. The instrumental preposition *atou* is vanishing in favour of the comitative *dauve* (Jones 2002: 157).

32.4 RESULTS OF COPYING

Copying of case markers and functions leads to various results. Semantic copying affects the meaning, combinational copying changes the applicability to contexts, and frequential copying leads to increased or decreased occurrence. There are always corresponding differences between models and copies. Copies are often subject to creative restructuring according to general cognitive and communicative principles.

The ultimate outcome is functional reorganization of the basic code: modification of features, addition of features, loss of features. An existing case marker assumes modified functions, a new case marker is added, or an existing case marker is eliminated. There may be shorter or longer periods of competition between conflicting markers.

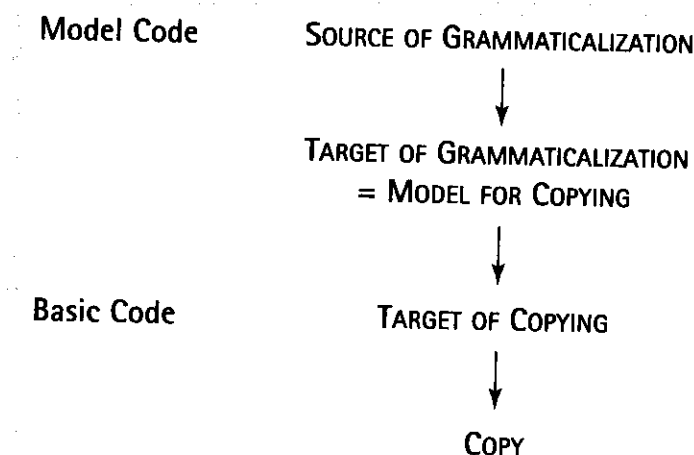


Figure 32.1.

32.5 SELECTIVE COPYING AND GRAMMATICALIZATION

The relationship between selective copying and grammaticalization is based on the following distinctions: (1) the source of grammaticalization of the model code marker, (2) the target of grammaticalization of the model code marker, which is identical to the model for copying, and (3) the target of copying (see Figure 32.1).

The interrelations may be illustrated with a process found in Tariana (North Arawak) and described by Aikhenvald (2001). Though Arawak languages typically do not employ case marking for core grammatical relations, Tariana has developed, on the model of the East-Tucanoan suffix *-re*, a core case marker for topical and specific referents in non-subject functions. This is the result of reanalysis and reinterpretation of the target *-naku/-nuku*, an allative marker meaning 'on/to the surface'. Since grammatical means for this case marking are supplied by a previously existing Arawak structure, no grammaticalization is involved. The source of grammaticalization of the East-Tucanoan marker is irrelevant for the copying process. What is copied is not the history of the model code marker, but the result of a code-internal process at a specific stage of grammaticalization.

Copying is not a grammaticalization process. Grammaticalization proceeds unidirectionally from less to more grammaticalized items. Fresh copies, however, mostly represent less advanced stages than their models. Their use is often pragmatically determined, contextually restricted, and optional rather than obligatory. Heine and Kuteva, who take changes in case functions to follow the same principles of grammaticalization as changes not involving language contact, note: 'wherever there is sufficient evidence, it turns out that the replica construction is less grammaticalized than the corresponding model construction' (2005: 101). If we were to

take the copying act itself to be a grammaticalization process, such phenomena would have to be viewed as instances of reverse directionality, i.e. violations of the unidirectionality principle. I do not share Heine and Kuteva's opinion that grammatical replication involves a grammaticalization process.

Copies are immediately subject to internal processes of the basic code, where they may reach more advanced stages of grammaticalization. Again, this is not a result of the copying itself, but a matter of code-internal development. Copies at early stages of grammaticalization may go through various new stages, whereas copies at advanced stages have few chances to develop further (except eroding to zero).

32.6 COPIABILITY AND STAGES OF GRAMMATICALIZATION

Grammaticalization of case markers normally follows the path LEXICAL ITEM > CASE-LIKE ADPOSITION > CASE AFFIX > ZERO. The transition from adpositions to case affixes is characterized by extension of occurrence, desemanticization, decategorialization, and erosion. Adpositions denoting location, source, and destination often develop into case affixes.

Copiability ('borrowability') is correlated with the stage of grammaticalization as reflected in degrees of saliency of meaning and shape. Old case markers with central syntactic functions are less transparent and less salient, mostly displaying reduced shapes. Their opaque structure makes it difficult to decide whether they are copies or not. Case-like adpositions, which are more transparent and open to analysis, with materially richer shapes and relatively specific meanings, are more copiable. Transparency makes it easier to find a natural corresponding target of copying. The Tajik postposition *dīdā* 'because of' is a semantic-combinational copy of Uzbek *körä*. Properties of *kör-* 'to see' plus a converb suffix have been copied onto an item formed from the past stem of Tajik *dīdān* 'to see'. Under Yakut (Turkic) influence, dialects of Even (Tungusic) tend to replace the directive-locative marker *-kla* by a construction with the postposition *istala*, a converb of *is-* 'to reach' (Malchukov 2006b). Elaborate, periphrastic adpositions representing early stages of grammaticalization and employing nominal items as the semantic core, e.g. *à cause de*, *by reason of*, are easy to analyse and copy into languages that possess equivalent nouns. Irano-Turkic varieties have copied periphrastic Persian prepositions, e.g. *āz tārāf-e* 'on the part of'. Such complexes are grammaticalized further, e.g. English *because of*, which still reflects a structure containing the copied French noun *cause*. The Uralic languages of Europe have developed their case systems substantially through

grammaticalization of postpositions. Several Hungarian cases, the Estonian comitative, etc., have been formed relatively recently.

Selective copying is facilitated by congruent structures. Copied case affixes fill positions corresponding to those of their models. Copied adpositions may occur in a different linear order relative to their head, e.g. the Basque postposition *kontra* as a copy of the Spanish preposition *contra* 'against'. Karaim and Irano-Turkic varieties may use copies of prepositions as postpositions (Csató 2000).

32.7 COPYING VALENCY PATTERNS

Copied combinational properties may affect rules for case assignment. Model code predicates may trigger copying of their valency patterns for basic code equivalents. Turks in Western Europe tend to choose the accusative (instead of dative or ablative) with *sor-* 'to ask', influenced by equivalent foreign verbs taking direct object markers. Finnish schoolchildren in Sweden tend to use *käydä koulussa* (inessive) instead of *käydä koulua* (partitive); cf. Swedish *gå i skolan* 'to go to school' with the preposition *i* 'in'. Influenced by Russian verbs governing the instrumental, Uzbek speakers tend to overextend the use of the postposition *bilän* 'with', e.g. *X bilän qiziq-* 'to be interested in X' (*interesovat'sja* + instrumental) instead of dative (-*gä*) *qiziq-*. Copying of valency patterns may be particularly tempting when the model and the copy are phonetically similar. Due to identification of *to* and *for* with Swedish *till* and *för*, respectively, speakers of American Swedish have been observed to use *van till* instead of *van vid* 'accustomed to' and *för ett år* instead of *i ett år* 'for a year'.

32.8 EXAMPLES OF SELECTIVE COPYING

The sole function of Persian *-rā* (< *rādi* 'because of') is to mark specific direct objects, though it previously also had other functions. This similarity to the use of Turkic accusative markers might well be contact-induced (Johanson 2002: 102–3).

Turkish influence on the Ardeshenian dialect of Laz (South Caucasian), spoken in Northeastern Anatolia, has restructured the system of core case marking. Young urban Turkish–Laz bilinguals extend the use of the goal marker *-ša* to mark indirect objects, according to the use of the Turkish dative suffix *-(y)A* (Haig 2001: 214–16).

Ergative systems are often susceptible to contact-driven change. Under Azeri and Armenian impact, Udi (Northeastern Caucasian) has given up its ergative construction. The Mingrelian ergative marker was once extended to cover both the subject of intransitive clauses and the subject of transitive clauses in the aorist, resulting in a nominative–accusative system (Dixon 1994: 202). Bulut (2006) notes that the split ergative system of Diyarbakır Kurmanji has broken down in certain narrative structures, with nominative–accusative widely used instead of ergative–absolute, probably due to internal tendencies supported by frequential copying from Turkish.

Influenced by Georgian (Southern Caucasian), Ossetic (Eastern Iranian) has added new agglutinatively arranged case markers to the inherited Indo-European system. Instead of the Old Armenian fusional case-marking system, modern Armenian uses, for the same categories, native forms with selectively copied functions arranged agglutinatively on the model of Turkish.

Uralic substratum influence ('imperfect learning') is assumed to have influenced Slavic and Baltic, e.g. giving rise to partitives. The new Lithuanian illative, allative, and adessive cases were developed from postpositions, probably under Balto-Finnic influence. The use of the nominative for objects in Russian impersonal constructions may have been copied from Finnish (Timberlake 1974). The predicative instrumental construction used in most Slavic languages and Lithuanian, e.g. Russian *On byl soldatom* 'He was a soldier', may be due to early Uralic influence. The corresponding Finnish case is the essive (Veenker 1967: 131). Karaim (Turkic) has copied the pattern from Slavic and Lithuanian, e.g. *Ol ed'i yavanbə* 'He was a soldier', with the instrumental marker *-Bə*.

Whereas Indo-European languages have generally suffered substantial loss of cases, most Slavic languages and Lithuanian have retained many inherited cases, possibly due to reinforcing and conserving frequential copying from the case-rich Uralic languages. The Finnish partitive has influenced the Russian use of genitive-marked direct objects with negations. Russian *-u*, once the genitive marker of a minor noun class, developed into a partitive marker when Uralic speakers shifting to Russian copied properties of their partitive onto it (Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Thomason 2001).

32.9 POLYSEMY, SYNCRETISM

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Contact-induced extension of the use of case markers may cause polysemy; see the above-mentioned additional use of comitative markers in instrumental functions.

Merge of cases – one category extending its domain and taking over the function of another category – causes syncretism. Locatives are often used instead of datives. Yakut (Turkic) and the co-areal language Evenki (Tungusic) exhibit a dative–locative merger due to Mongolic influence. Merger of locatives and directionals is also a Balkan feature. Under the influence of corresponding markers in Macedonian, Albanian, and Serbian, the West Rumelian Turkish locative is generalized to express ‘location’ and ‘motion toward’, e.g. *bizde džel* ‘come to us’. On the model of its Guernésiais equivalent *a*, the preposition *to* in Guernsey English is also used to express static location (Jones 2002: 147).

The use of datives or allative-goal markers is often extended to mark direct objects. A dialect of Kannada (Dravidian) has, under Indo-Iranian influence, extended the use of its dative to express human direct objects (Gumperz and Wilson 1971: 158). When communicating in Portuguese, speakers of Tariana use the allative-goal preposition *pra* ‘to, towards, for’ to mark definite and referential objects (Aikhenvald 2002: 314). A similar example is the direct object marking in Romance, e.g. Spanish, by means of the preposition *a* ‘to’. The use of an allative–dative preposition as a direct object marker in Maltese (*lil*) and Spanish Arabic (*li*) may be influenced by this pattern (Heine and Kuteva 2005: 150–2).

32.10 IMPOVERISHED CASE SYSTEMS

Case reduction is well known in immigrant contact situations, particularly in contacts with the highly reduced English case system. Clyne (2003: 124–30) summarizes recent studies on case loss and restructuring in immigrant varieties spoken in the USA and Australia. German varieties exhibit case syncretism, reduction to one common case or to two cases, nominative and oblique. Examples include loss of dative, instrumental, and locative in Polish, replacement of the Croatian dative and locative by the nominative and the accusative, respectively, omission of accusative, inessive, and superessive markers in Hungarian, case reduction in Finnish, e.g. loss of the partitive.

Extreme loss of case markers is found in makeshift languages, pidgins such as ‘Gastarbeiterdeutsch’ (‘guest-worker German’) or foreigner talk. In Russenorsk, once used by Russian merchants and Norwegian fishermen – the result of two-way copying processes between a simplified Norwegian variety and Russian foreigner talk – case relations were expressed with the all-purpose preposition *po*.

Impoverished case systems can be enriched by the creation of new case-like adpositions (see Kulikov, Chapter 28).

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