6 Conversion in the Domain of Case Representation

This chapter is an excursus on the contact-induced changes that are apparent in the NE dialects in the way the various constructions use case to represent the relations between constituents.

Recent studies in contact linguistics have emphasized the aspect of language-internal grammaticalization that is triggered by accommodation to an external (contact-language) model (see Heine & Kuteva 2005). This is based on the notion that speakers make use of the available resources in order to match them to those of the target language. In traditional studies of language contact, this is also known as 'convergence', or 'metatypy' (Ross 2001) - the matching of grammatical meaning to forms. A problematic issue is contact-induced change in the domain of case representation. Synthetic case markers are usually thought of as fully grammaticalized morphemes. If contact-induced grammaticalization is, as Heine & Kuteva claim, much like monolingual grammaticalization, unidirectional, how do we treat instances of rearrangement of the semantic meaning and scope of case markers?

The essence of the problem is as follows. It is obvious that the dialects of the NE group express some of the constructions in a way that is different from the ones used in other dialects. It is also obvious that while no transfer of actual phonological material (MAT) takes place, the new ways of expressing the constructions emerge due to contact with Russian and Polish. This was noted and discussed by Rusakov (2004: 21-9). Here is an example taken from his work (p. 25):

(1) ***leste*** *sys raklori i rakloro* (RuR)

him.LOC was girl and boy
'He had a daughter and a son'

The Russian equivalent of this phrase is:

(2) *у него* *были дочь* *и сын* (Russian)
to him.GEN were daughter and son

Basing his analysis on Croft's (2001) Radical Construction Grammar, which takes constructions rather than individual constituents to be the operational units of language, Rusakov explains this phenomenon as the result of equating, in the minds of the bilingual Romani speakers, of the Russian '*y* + GEN' construction with the Romani LOC construction. Rusakov also discusses several uses of INSTR in Romani that are conditioned by the unique uses of INSTR in Russian. As will become apparent in this chapter the phenomenon is quite widespread in all of the NE dialects, and concerns many different constructions.

The challenges to the present discussion are as follows: 1) How to describe the mechanism of contact-induced change where there is no transfer of matter; 2) To understand what is actually being 'borrowed' from one language into another in such a case; 3) How to visually represent such data in a clear and useful manner. Within the discussion the Ursari dialect of Romania will be used as a control - it is not part of the NE or the neighboring dialects, and it is not in contact with the Slavic languages, and is therefore more conservative than the NE dialects with respect to the domain of case representation.

To start, here is another example, this time with an External Possession construction, 'my nose hurts', in LiR:

(3) *dukhal* ***man*** *o* *nakh* (Ursari)
hurts **me.OBL** ART.M nose

(4) ***man-de*** *dukhal* *nak* (LiR)
me-LOC hurts nose

(5) ***у меня*** *болит нос* (Russian)
to me.GEN hurts nose

Ursari represents the conservative Romani way of expressing external possession with the OBL (Accusative) case. Looking at the LiR and Russian examples we see, like with the example from Rusakov above, equivalence established between Russian '*у* + GEN' construction and the Romani LOC case marking. Here we are concerned with the question of the source of this equivalence. In preparation to the answer to this question, we should examine the Stative Location constructions in the three languages; the phrase is 'next to you':

(6) ***pašal tute*** (Ursari)
next.to you.LOC

(7) ***nadur tute*** (LiR)
near you.LOC

(8) ***возле тебя*** (Russian)
next.to you.GEN

What this set of examples shows is that the source of the equivalence is to be found in the Stative Location constructions. In the mind of the bilingual speaker the use of the Russian GEN in the Location constructions becomes equated with the use of Romani LOC in the same types of constructions. This is the first stage of the convergence, the point of "pivot matching", to use the

term established by Matras and Sakel (2007a: 830), around which further changes take place. The second stage then is the spreading of this equivalence to other constructions, with the result that a whole range of constructions utilize the Romani LOC where the Russian equivalents use the locative preposition + Russian GEN case. This is how the External Possession constructions and Possessor proper in NE dialects get their LOC case. Here is a summary of the three constructions, presented in a table:

Table 6.1 Possession constructions - convergence with Russian

Construction:	Ursari	RuR, LiR	Russian
Stative Location	Loc. prep + LOC	Loc. prep + LOC	Loc. prep + GEN
External Possession	OBL	LOC	Loc. prep + GEN
Possessor	OBL	LOC	Loc. prep + GEN

To explain phenomena such as the one discussed above, Ross (1996; 2001) proposes the term 'metatypy', which he defines as the "gradual convergence of languages, characterized by a tendency towards structural and semantic isomorphism" (Ross 1996: 182). This describes the data presented above very well, but does not answer the question of what it is exactly that gets borrowed from one language to another. Heine & Kuteva (2005) propose to handle contact-induced change such as this within their general grammaticalization theory. According to their analysis grammaticalization involves a change in categories, and proceeds along the following cline:

(9) lexical -> grammatical -> more grammatical

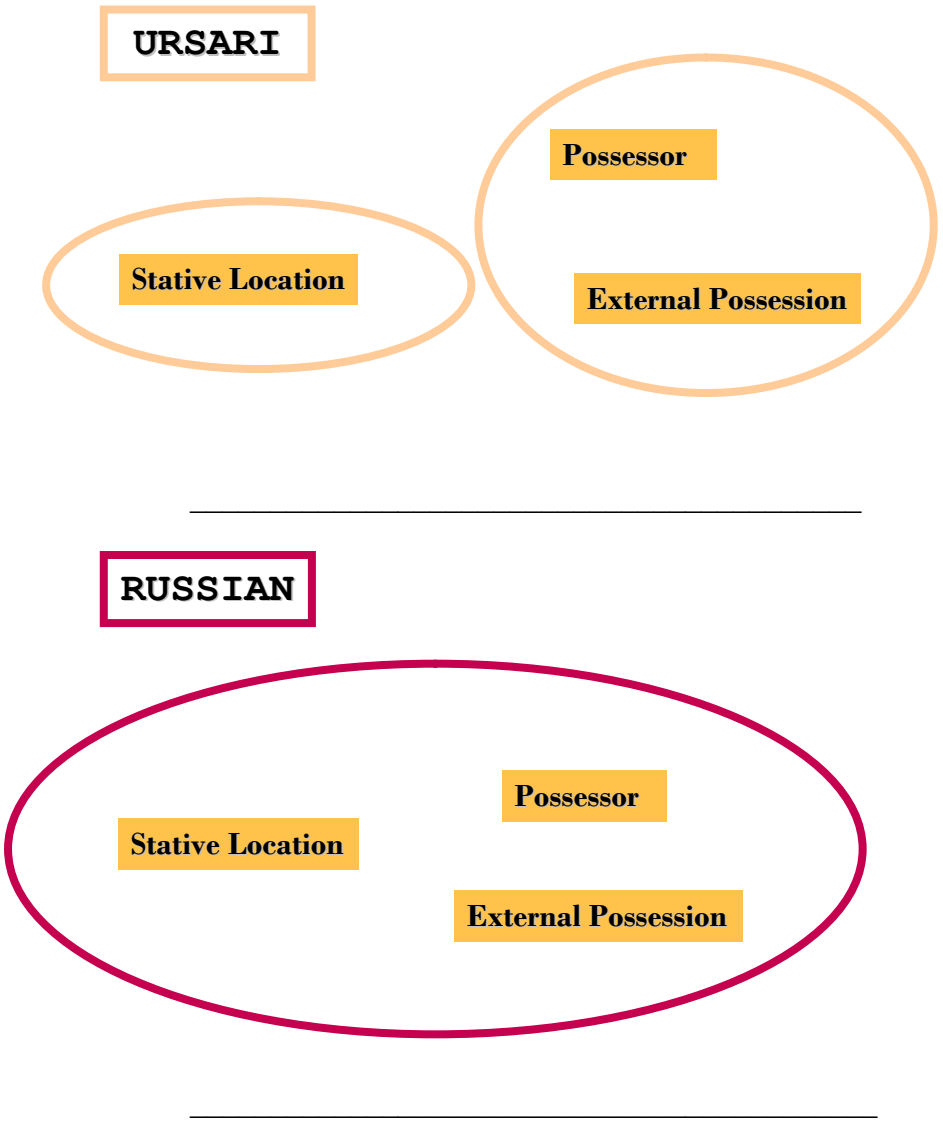
In Heine & Kuteva's analysis grammaticalization is accompanied by desemanticization, decategorialization and erosion. These processes do not necessarily apply to the data seen above,

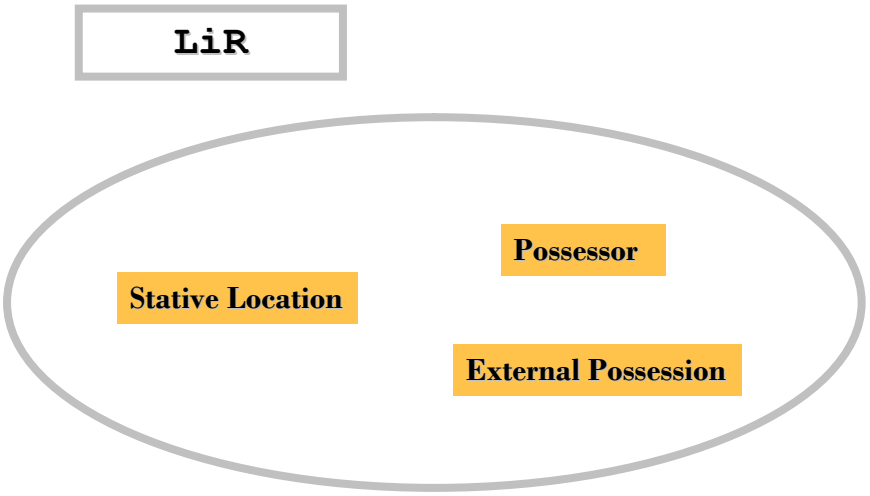
as there is no erosion - all of the original Romani case markers are still present in the NE dialects; and there is no one-way desematicization - as one case marker loses some of its functions, it gains other functions. More specifically, for cases such as the one discussed here, Heine & Kuteva adopt the term 'category extension', where speakers establish equivalence between categories in L1 and L2. Through doing this, they write, speakers replicate the grammatical properties associated with these grammatical categories. My analysis is quite compatible with the one proposed by Heine & Kuteva, but for the current discussion I would like to shift the focus and argue that in addition to the grammatical properties there is replication of semantic properties of the L2 structures. This will be called 'semantic map replication' and I would argue that it is exactly the semantic map that is borrowed from the Slavic languages into the NE dialect in the domain of case representation.

The term 'semantic map' as originally applied by Haspelmath (2007) in relation to Indefinites is a mapping of functions in a certain domain (i.e. indefinites) in relation to each other on a one or two-dimensional scale in such a way as to reveal the semantic closeness of these functions. The mapping is based on a sample from a variety of unrelated languages, and thus the relations revealed by the map are proposed to be universal. In this chapter I am using the term 'semantic map' in a somewhat different way. Rather than the universal configuration of functions of case representation, I use it to mean the language-specific mapping of forms to functions. If we take this approach, we can visually represent the phenomenon described above in a different way. Below is the set of three language-specific semantic maps of the three constructions from Table 6.1.

The labeled boxes represent the specific constructions (functions), and the lines around them represent the forms that are used to express these constructions. Thus, in Ursari, there are two different forms that are used to express Stative Location on the one hand, and both Possessor and External Possession on the other hand. In Russian, the three constructions are expressed with a single form (Russian GEN), and LiR follows suit, also using a single form (Romani LOC) in all three constructions.

Figure 6.1 - Semantic map of Stative Location, Possessor and External Possession





Let us look at some other constructions now, this time involving the Romani ABL case, and using LoR as an example: in LiR the LOC has merged with the ABL, so this dialect does not make for a good example here. The pivot construction is the Source construction, which is a prototypical Ablative construction; the phrase is 'she came out of the house':

(10) *oj inkjas e* ***kheres-tar*** (Ursari)
she came.out.3SG ART.OBL **house-ABL**

(11) *jej gija auri* ***kxeres-tyr*** (LoR)
she went.3SG outside **house-ABL**

(12) *она вышла* ***из дома*** (Russian)
she went.out.F **from house.GEN**

The form 'Ablative preposition + GEN' in Russian gets equated, through this pivot point, with the Romani ABL, so that the scope of ABL in NE dialects, including LoR, is extended to other constructions, such as Partitive constructions - 'two of them':

(13) *duj* ***andar len-de*** (Ursari)
two **from them-LOC**

(14) *duj* ***len-dyr*** (LoR)
two **them-ABL**

(15) *двое* ***из них*** (Russian)
two **from them.GEN**

As well as Privative constructions, like 'except for the old man':

(16) ***yn afare*** *de* ***phuro*** (Ursari)
in exception of **old.man.NOM**

(17) ***kromje phures-tyr*** (LoR)
except.for old.man-ABL

(18) ***кроме старика*** (Russian)
except.for old.man-GEN

(As a side note: It is this equating of Slavic GEN with Romani LOC on the one hand, and with Romani ABL on the other hand, that facilitates the merge of Locative and Ablative case markers in the PoR and LiR dialects.)

The three constructions discussed above can also be put on to a semantic map, Figure 6.2, just like the one found with the LOC constructions. We see that while in Ursari the three constructions are expressed using three different forms/cases, LoR aligns with the Russian language in using a single form for all three.

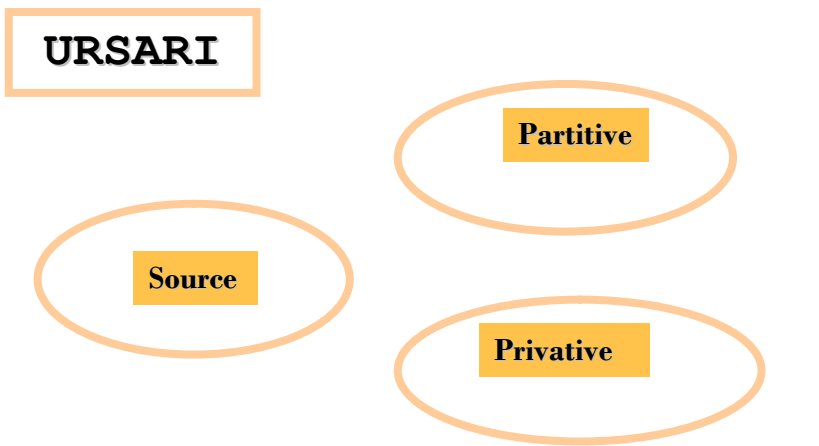
To this conglomerate of constructions that take Romani ABL in the NE dialects under the influence of Russian we can add the Origin construction (such as 'she is from Germany') and the Object of Comparison construction (such as 'she runs faster than anyone'):

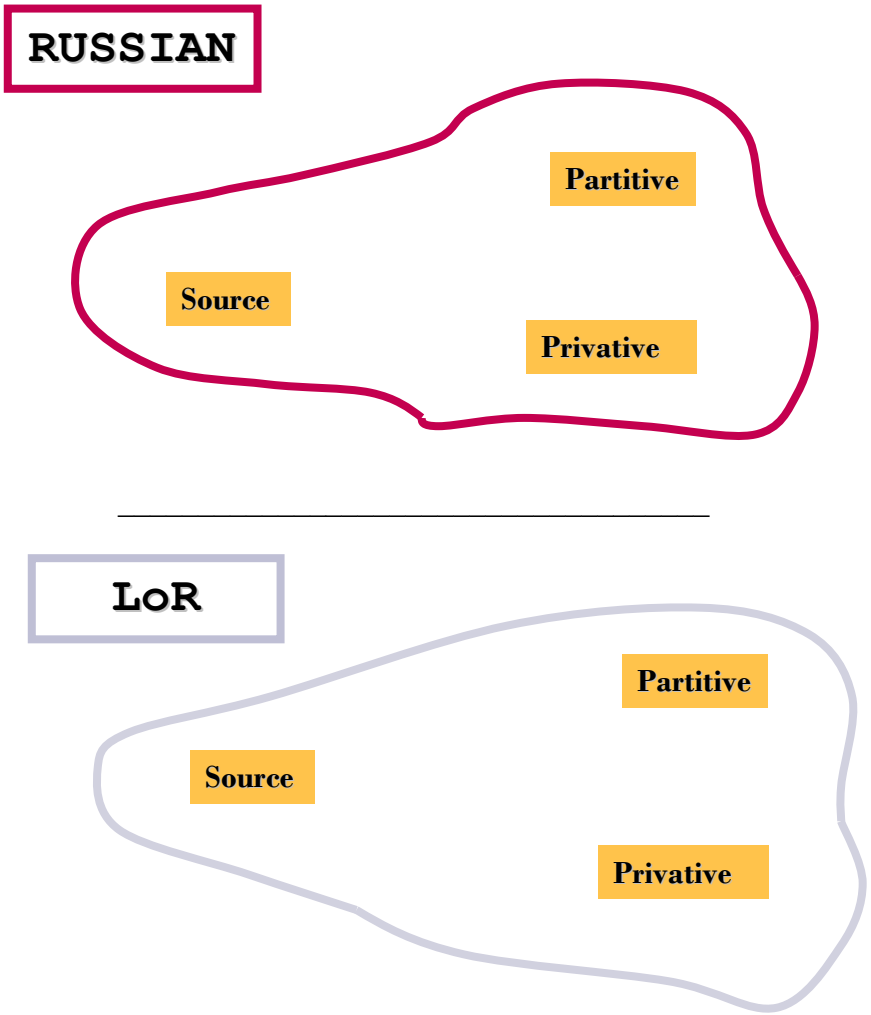
(19) *jej sy sasen-**dyr*** (LoR)
she is Germany-**ABL**

(20) *joj uxtela sygedyr saren-**dyr*** (LoR)
she runs.3SG faster everyone-**ABL**

For comparison, in Ursari the Origin construction is realized through an ablative preposition + NOM (*andar i Džermania*), and the Object of Comparison takes the LOC case.

Figure 6.2 - Semantic map of Source, Partitive and Privative constructions





Below are the semantic maps for some NE dialects, with over a dozen constructions that have been affected by this kind of process, preceded by the maps for the same constructions in Ursari and Russian. Here I will list and discuss the examples of the constructions found in the maps.

The Subject construction is put on the map as a prototypical carrier of the Nominative case. The Subject of Negative Existence construction takes the Romani ACC, while Russian uses the Russian Genitive. Based on the partial case syncretism of the Russian Accusative and Genitive,

as discussed in relation to Object of negative possession in Section 4.2 of this work, the constructions in the two languages are viewed as cognates here. Since the case syncretism of the Russian Accusative and Genitive concerns the personal pronouns (as well animate masculine nouns) the pivot point for equating the constructions in two languages is the Pronominal Direct Object. Compare the following two sets (the SoNE phrase is 'I was not home', and the PDO phrase is 'he sees me'):

(21) ***man*** *na sys khere* (LoR - Subject of Neg. Existence)
me.ACC NEG was home

(22) *jow dykhel* ***man*** (LoR - Pronominal Direct Object)
he sees.3SG me.ACC

(23) ***меня*** *не было дома* (Russian - Subject of Neg. Existence)
me.GEN NEG was home

(24) *он видит* ***меня*** (Russian - Pronominal Direct Object)
he sees.3SG me.ACC

There is also a conglomerate of constructions that use the INSTR. The pivot point here is the Instrumental and Comitative constructions, which use the Romani INSTR. Here are the typical examples:

(25) *jov kerel buty molotko-**sa*** (LoR - Instrumental)
he does work hammer-**INSTR**
'he works with a hammer'

(26) *он работает молотк-**ом*** (Russian - Instrumental)
he works hammer-**INSTR**

(27) *joj gija dade-**sa*** (LoR - Comitative)

she went.3SG father-INSTR
'she went with father

(28) *она шла* ***с*** *отц-**ом*** (Russian - Comitative)
she went.F **with** father-**INSTR**

Note that Romani is consistent in not using the instrumental/comitative prepositions with the INSTR case, while Russian makes the distinction in the above two constructions through the use of the preposition *c*. The functionality of Romani INSTR is extended, under Russian influence, to the Promotion of State constructions, as well as Time of Day Adverbs:

(29) *jow ačhel direktoro-**sa*** (LiR - Promotion of State)
he becomes director-**INSTR**
'he becomes director'

(30) *он становится директор-**ом*** (Russian - Promotion of State)
he becomes director-**INSTR**

(31) *utro-**sa*** (LiR - Time of Day Adverbs)
morning-**INSTR**
'in the morning'

(32) *утр-**ом*** (Russian - Time of Day Adverbs)
morning-**INSTR**

Rusakov (2004: 23-4) also mentions the following Russian or Slavic-particular constructions with the Russian Instrumental case marker and the instrumental preposition *c* that have affected RuR:

(33) *one sys syr pšal phenja-**sa*** (RuR) 'they were like brother and sister-**INSTR'**
*me tu-**sa** nesoglasen* (RuR) 'I don't agree with you-**INSTR'**
*duj paše-**sa** berš* (RuR) 'two and a half-**INSTR** years'

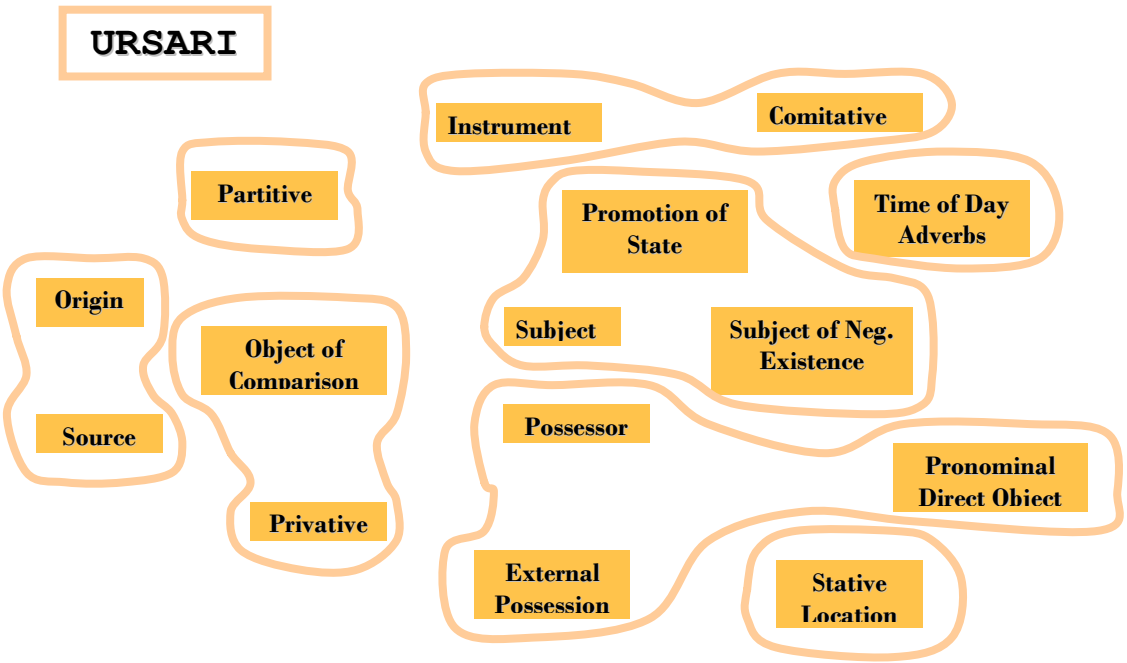
Compare these to the parallel constructions in Russian below, where the Russian Instrumental marker and the preposition are in bold:

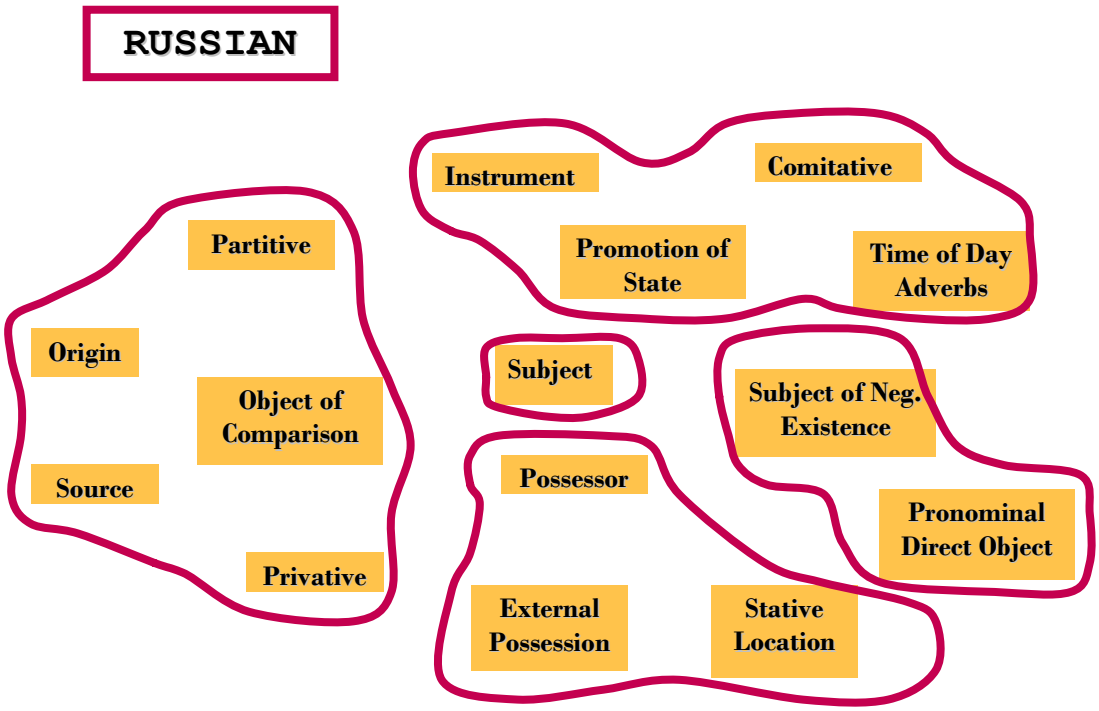
(34) *они были как брат* ***с*** *сестр-****ой*** (Russian)
я ***с*** *тоб-****ой*** *не согласен*
два ***с*** *половин-****ой*** *года*

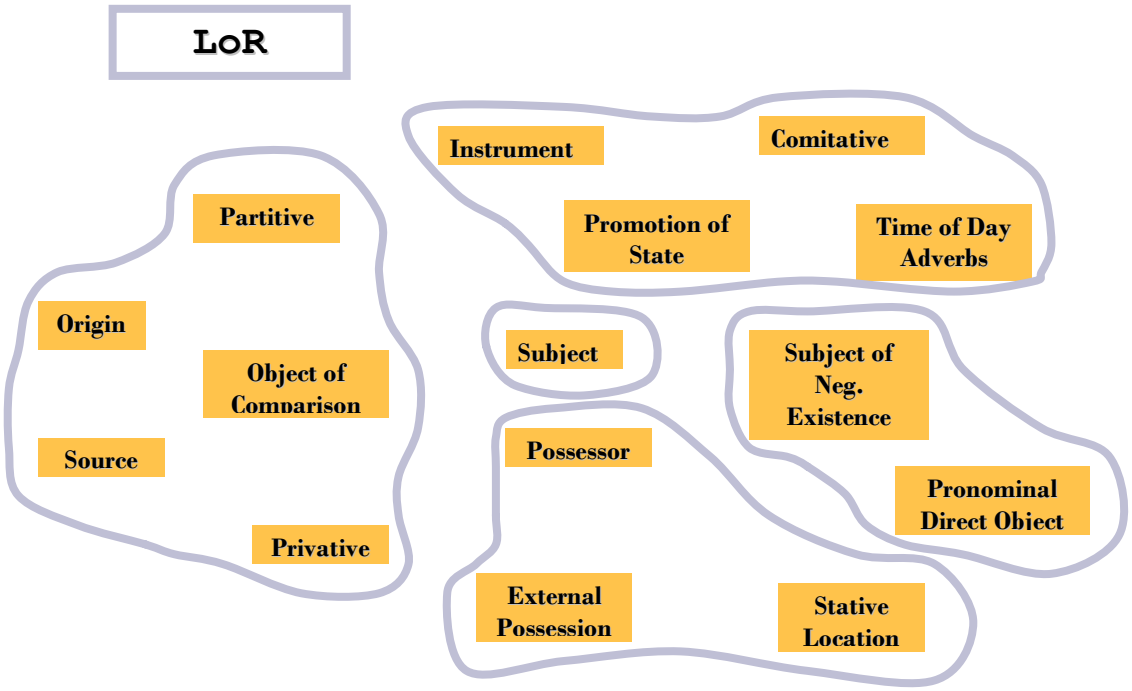
As these constructions were not part of RMS questionnaire, and comparative data from various dialects is not available, the constructions in (33) are not put on the semantic maps below.

Let us now turn our attention to the semantic maps found below in Figures 6.3 and 6.4. For the included constructions, the semantic map of LoR matches the one for Russian one to one. The RuR semantic map differs from the one for Russian in only the Privative construction, which in RuR uses LOC, rather than ABL. This can be accounted for, once again by the equating of Russian GEN with both Romani LOC and ABL cases.

Figure 6.3 Semantic maps of Ursari, Russian, LoR and RuR


URSARI
Instrument
Comitative
Partitive
Promotion of State
Time of Day Adverbs
Origin
Object of Comparison
Subject
Subject of Neg. Existence
Possessor
Source
Pronominal Direct Object
Privative
External Possession
Stative Location


RUSSIAN
Instrument
Comitative
Partitive
Promotion of State
Time of Day Adverbs
Origin
Subject
Subject of Neg. Existence
Object of Comparison
Possessor
Source
Pronominal Direct Object
Privative
External Possession
Stative Location


LoR
Instrument
Comitative
Partitive
Promotion of State
Time of Day Adverbs
Origin
Subject
Subject of Neg. Existence
Object of Comparison
Possessor
Source
Pronominal Direct Object
Privative
External Possession
Stative Location

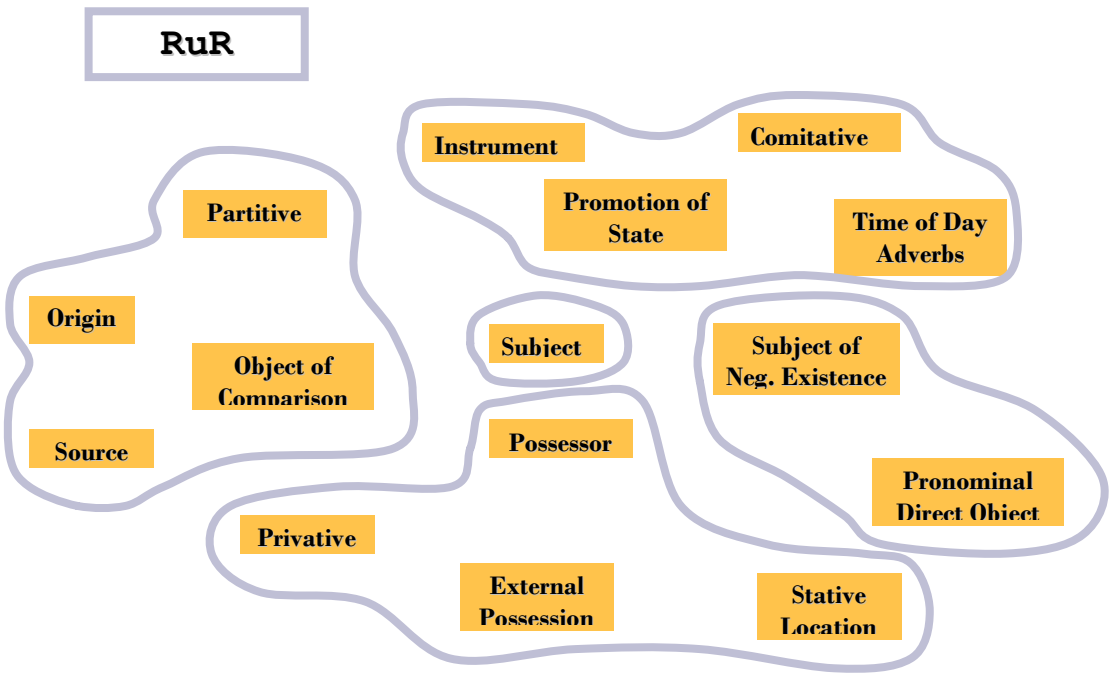
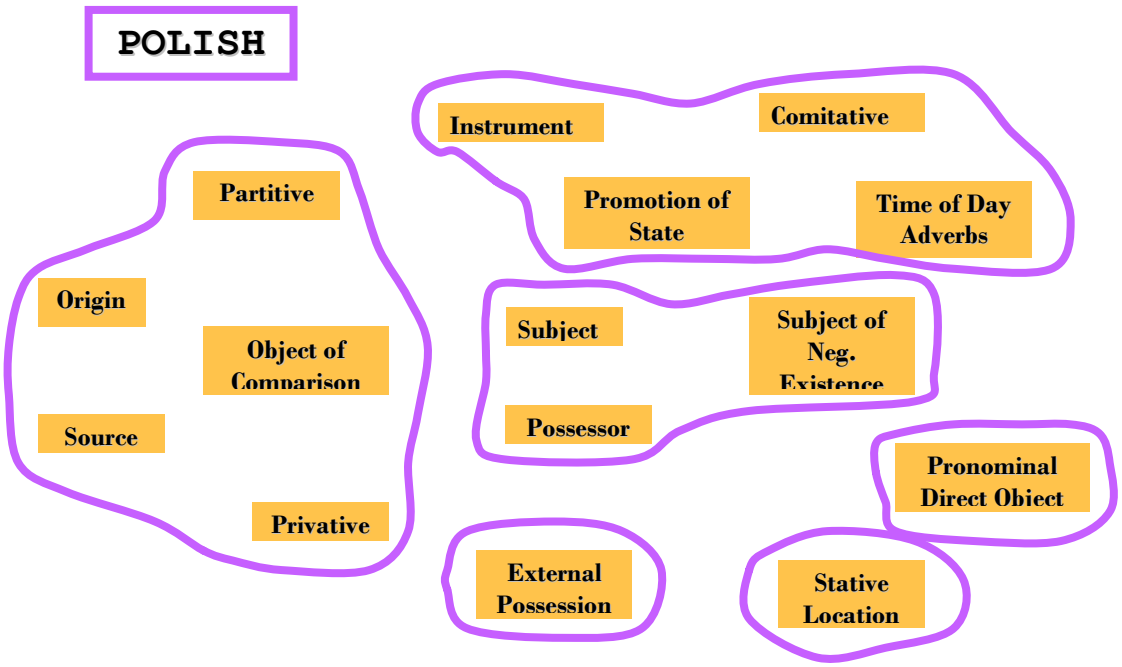
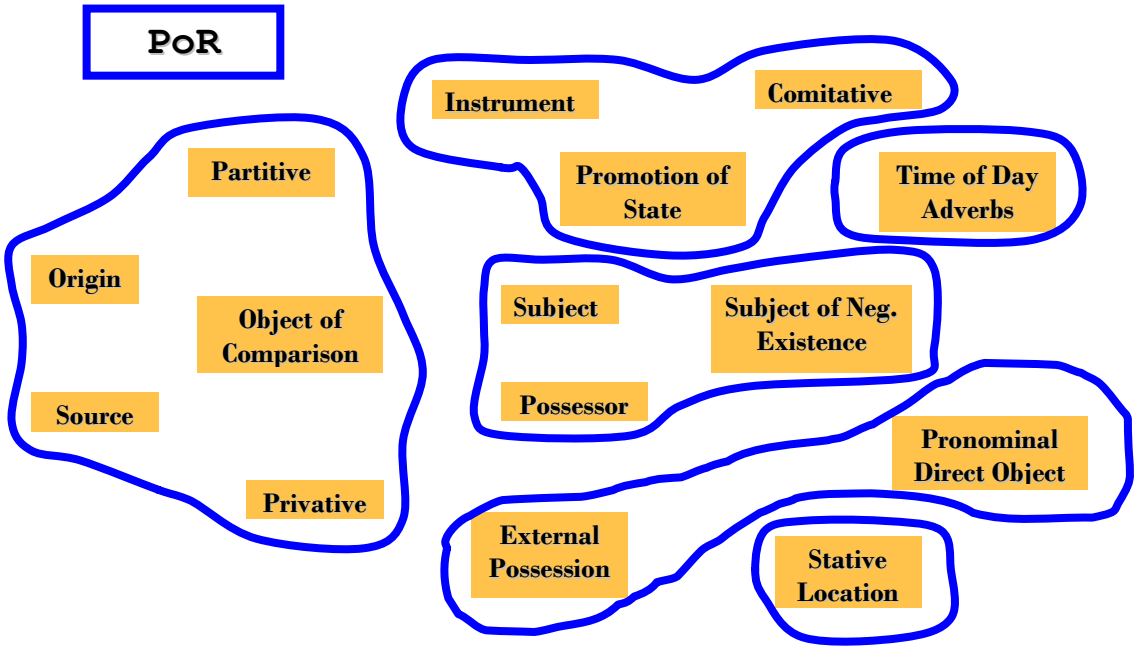

RuR
Instrument
Comitative
Partitive
Promotion of State
Time of Day Adverbs
Origin
Subject
Subject of Neg. Existence
Object of Comparison
Possessor
Source
Pronominal Direct Object
Privative
External Possession
Stative Location

Figure 6.4 Semantic maps of Polish and PoR





As further evidence for the contact-induced nature of this phenomenon, we can look at the semantic map of Polish, as it differs from Russian, and see if these differences are reflected in the PoR dialect as compared to RuR or LoR. Figure 6.4 presents the semantic maps of Polish and PoR for the comparison with the maps in Figure 6.3.

Comparing Figure 6.4 with Figure 6.3, we see that the differences between Russian and Polish are reflected in the differences between the respective Romani dialects. Namely, compared to the Russian semantic map, the Possessor and the Subject of Negative Existence constructions in Polish are divorced from their respective conglomerates and are found in the same conglomerate as the Subject, meaning that both of these constructions make use of the Nominative case. PoR follows suit here, and has the same arrangement. Here are the examples of these two

constructions in Polish and PoR (Possessor is represented by the phrase 'I have a house', and SoNE is 'I was not at home':

(35) ***(ja)*** *mam* *dom* (Polish)
I.NOM have.1SG house

(36) ***(me)*** *majinav* *kher* (PoR)
I.NOM have.1SG house

(37) ***(ja)*** *nie byłem doma* (Polish)
I.NOM NEG was.1SG home

(38) ***(me)*** *na somas khere* (PoR)
I.NOM NEG was.1SG home

External Possession construction is also divorced from the Stative Location conglomerate in both Polish and PoR: Polish uses DAT here, and PoR makes use of the ACC case, which is a conservative Romani way to realize this type of a construction. Thus we see that the rearrangements in the domain of case representation that are apparent in the NE dialects are truly the result of language contact.

This type of an analysis serves several aims that were proposed in the beginning of this chapter - 1) to describe the mechanism of the contact-induced change in the absence of MAT transfer; 2) to show that it is the semantic map of the L2 that gets borrowed into the NE Romani dialects; and 3) a convenient and useful way of visually representing the data such as this. Naturally, the usefulness of this type of an approach is not limited to the domain of case representation; it can be used to describe and represent contact-induced changes in the NE dialects with the distribution of indefinite pronouns, with the distribution of prepositions, as well as with

subordination and coordination. The tool will also prove useful with other situations of language contact where no MAT transfer takes place, as well as in the fields of areal convergence and second language acquisition.

More generally, I hope to have demonstrated how a typological tool such as semantic maps can be used to an advantage in the study of contact-induced phenomena. This kind of study emphasizes the empirical reality of a concept as abstract as semantic maps. If we accept this reality we can further hypothesize in relation to bilingual speakers' cognitive motivation for such language change. I would argue that through the semantic map borrowing the speakers aim at cross-linguistic harmony of semantic maps. In other words, the aim is to keep only one semantic map, and then to apply the two different language systems (lexicon, phonology, grammar) to the single semantic map during the act of speech. Matras and Sakel describe this kind of process as following: "the speakers' motivation is to avail themselves of constructions that are part of their overall linguistic repertoire, irrespective of the setting of the interaction" (Matras and Sakel (2007: 831). This is an idealistic proposition, of course, since not all of the constructions of NE dialects have such direct L2 models as may be surmised by looking at the Figures 6.3 and 6.4. The constructions in this chapter were chosen for the purpose of illustrating the point. Nevertheless, the tendency for the cross-linguistic harmony of the semantic map is apparent.

Thus, typology comes to the aid of language contact. I believe the favor can be returned, and the studies such as these can be useful to the field of typology. This concerns the idea of the pivot point. Studies such as these provide an empirical way of determining the pivot points. Let me demonstrate what I mean with the example from the INSTR conglomerate of the semantic maps

presented above. Let us take three constructions from the conglomerate - Instrument, Promotion of State and Time of Day Adverbs. In Ursari (taken here as conservative Romani) the three constructions are realized through three different ways - Instrument constructions use Romani INSTR, Promotion of State constructions use the Romani NOM case, and Time of Day Adverbs are separate lexical items. These three different ways are represented in figure below as 'A1', 'A2' and 'A3'. Russian, on the other hand, has one way of rendering all three of these constructions - it uses the Russian INSTR case. This is represented by 'B'.

Figure 6.5 Instr, PoS and ToDA construction is Ursari and Russian

Ursari			Russian		
Instr	PoS	ToDA	Instr	PoS	ToDA
|	|	|	|	|	|
A1	A2	A3	B	B	B

A dialect of Romani, such as RuR, that aims at cross-linguistic semantic map harmony with Russian needs to have all three constructions take the same form. There is a choice to be made here - RuR, theoretically, can choose either 'A1', 'A2' or 'A3' as the form to which the other two constructions have to be adopted. In other words, the bottom line of the figure for RuR has to be either

(39) 'A1 A1 A1' or
'A2 A2 A2' or
'A3 A3 A3'

Only one way is chosen, of course, namely 'A1', and this is the form that becomes recognized as the pivot point, and the result of this choice is the empirical data that we can observe. The fact that the form of one construction is chosen over others, I believe, makes this chosen form more

basic or less marked in some way. The analysis of such situations - the pivot points around which contact-induced change takes place - can thus contribute to the study of markedness.