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CONTACT-INDUCED GRAMMATICAL (NON)CHANGES? OBSERVATIONS OF MORPHOSYNTACTIC STRUCTURES IN THE KASHUBIAN DIALECT IN CANADA**

This article considers the context of language contact and discusses four typologically relevant morphosyntactic features (definite and indefinite articles, the merger of instrumental and comitative cases, and the non-pro-drop tendency) and their possible changes in the Kashubian dialect in Canada. A comparison of the data on the Kashubian dialect recorded in Prussia during the mid-19th century by Hilferding and in the present-day by the author in the Renfrew area (Ontario, Canada) revealed no significant difference, even though the Kashubian spoken in the area has undergone various innovations due to the influence of English. Both grammatical and sociolinguistic analyses of the history of the contact situation suggested that the conservativeness of grammatical changes in the dialect can be explained by the prolonged isolation of the speakers in their new homeland, and by the fact that the intensive language contact and collective bilingualism between Kashubian and English are relatively new phenomena.

Keywords: Kashubian, German, English, language contact, morphosyntactic change, grammaticalization.

1. Introduction

From a language contact perspective, Kashubian can be classified as a so-called high-contact Slavic language, which is characterized by the

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existence of various structures induced by language contact (cf. NOMACHI and HEINE 2011). For instance, according to Lorentz (1958: 41), the Kashubian dialect was under the strong influence of German for centuries (until the end of World War II), subsequently incorporating the following morphosyntactic features:

1. The use of demonstrative pronouns *ten* and *nen* ‘that’ for the function of definite articles: *ten chłop* ‘the (that) guy,’ *no dzekò* ‘the (that) child’;
2. the numeral *jeden* ‘one’ as an indefinite article: *jedna białka* ‘a (one) woman’;
3. the merger of the instrumental and comitative cases, taking a prepositional form: *jô gò bił z cziją* ‘I hit him with a rod’;
4. the use of a dummy subject *to* ‘it’: *to bël jeden król* ‘there was a king’; and
5. a German-like word order.¹

The above features, with the exception of the last feature (which is consequently not discussed in this article) are (areal-) typologically relevant as they are particularly salient in major Western European languages, also known as Standard Average European (cf. DAHL 1990; HASPELMATH 2001; HEINE and KUTEVA 2006; VAN DER AUWERA 2011). The list of German grammatical borrowings continues to increase, as evident in the recent works on contact linguistics devoted to Kashubian (for instance, KNOLL 2012). However, as highlighted by Popowska-Taborska (1980: 36), the Kashubian dialect texts recorded by Friedrich Lorentz in the late 19th and early 20th centuries must be viewed with caution, because Lorentz seemingly used German texts and asked local Kashubs to translate them into Kashubian.² This is one of the reasons that the German influence appears more salient in his texts than it actually was.

In addition, some contact features, including those mentioned above, may not be extant or, at least, common in present-day Kashubian

¹ Although Lorentz did not provide any examples, various word order examples that evince the German influence have been identified: for instance, 1. placing the finite form of the verb at the beginning of a yes/no question: e.g., *Môsz të ksążkã?* ‘Do you have a book?’ (in German: *Hast du ein Buch?*); and 2. placing the past participle at the end of a sentence: e.g., *Ruscë są na ksążęc wëjehóny* ‘The Russians have gone to the moon’ (in German: *Die Russen sind zum Mond geflogen*).

² This was also expressed by late Prof. Jerzy Treder (in my personal correspondence with him).

because of sociolinguistic changes: first, there has been no German-Kashubian bilingualism since the end of World War II, and second the overwhelming influence of Polish as the official language of Poland has accelerated the replacement of some of the abovementioned structures with Polish borrowings. Therefore, an examination of the use of the genitive case of negation merits attention. Unlike Polish, various Kashubian dialects (BREZA and TREDER 1981: 153; CYBULSKI and WOSIAK-ŚLIWA 2001: 188; LORENTZ 1962: 1095; STONE 1993: 786) use the accusative case for the direct object even when the transitive verb is negated.³ However, the most of the informants in my field research (conducted in 2012 and 2016) were not familiar with such use of the accusative case, which can also be explained by the influence of Polish, as it requires the use of the genitive case of negation when the transitive verb is negated; apparently, there are numerous examples of this type of linguistic Polonization of Kashubian (e.g., MAKURAT 2014).⁴

Thus, in the context of language contact, the following two aspects render the Kashubian dialect of Canada particularly interesting:⁵ First, unlike the Kashubs who remained in their homeland, those who migrated from Kashubia (then part of Prussia) to Canada in the mid-19th century did not experience the Kashubian-Polish bilingualism, thereby explaining the lack of Polish influence and possibly the preservation of some of the old linguistic features that are comparable with, for instance, Hilferding's and Lorentz's data.⁶ Second, instead of exhibiting a German or Polish influence, the speech of present-day Canadian Kashubs exhibits a visible influence of English – a language in which they are fluent and, in most cases, use for everyday communication.⁷ However, English is a

³ For instance, Breza and Treder (1981: 153) provided examples, such as *te kònie ni mòglë cygnąc tegò wòza* (genitive) and *te kònie ni mòglë cygnąc ten wóz* (accusative) 'these horses could not pull that cart', to demonstrate both case government patterns.

⁴ The frequent use of the predicative instrumental may also be attributed to the Polish influence.

⁵ According to Ickiewicz (1981: 18), the migrants were originally from the southern part of Kashubia; the largest number of migrants were from the parish of Lipusz, followed by Parchowo. There were also some from Kościerzyna and Bytowo and the surrounding areas.

⁶ Canadian Kashubs had limited contact with Polish; for instance, in local churches where priests could be Poles and masses were held in both Polish and English. In a 2016 interview, a local Kashub, David Shulist, informed me that his mother repeatedly complained about the use of Polish language in church because she could not understand anything.

⁷ During my field research conducted in 2012 and 2016, I observed that even the Kashubs who were fluent in Kashubian, used English for their regular communication;

Germanic language and shares various grammatical features with German, including those mentioned previously (1–4); therefore, these features might be present in the speech of the present-day Canadian Kashubs, making it consistent with the dialect of the speakers in Kashubia who experienced German influence until they migrated to Canada. This article primarily focuses on these two aspects of the Kashubian dialect in Canada.

In this article, I analyzed data of native speakers from two sources: excerpts from natural conversations and responses to my questionnaires.⁸

2. Use of a demonstrative pronoun as a definite article

The definite article is often derived from the demonstrative pronoun as a result of grammaticalization (HEINE and KUTEVA 2006; HIMMELMAN 2001). There are various Slavic languages that possess definite-article-like usage of demonstrative pronouns due to language contact with German (SCHOLZE 2012; TROVESI 2009) or a fully grammaticalized definite article as in Balkan Slavic (JOSEPH 2013). Moreover, the colloquial variety in Upper Sorbian is particularly interesting due to its highly grammaticalized definite article (SCHOLZE 2012). Thus, due to the contact with German, Kashubian has also developed some functions characteristic of a definite article; for instance, Duličenko (ДУЛИЧЕНКО 2005: 394) demonstrated that in folkloristic texts and colloquial varieties, the demonstrative pronoun can function as a definite article.

According to Piotrowski (1981: 42), even in Slovincian dialects of Kashubian, which underwent severe linguistic Germanization to the point of becoming defunct in the mid-20th century, it cannot be concluded that the demonstrative pronoun had turned into a definite article. Furthermore, although the frequency of the demonstrative pronoun in Slovincian is high, there are no consistencies in the usage of *ten* and *nen*, unlike in German. According to Knoll (2012: 47–48), in Kashubian, the existence of the definite article is not fully grammaticalized because *ten* and *nen* can have cataphoric, associative anaphoric, abstract-situational,

when asked, most of them expressed that they used Kashubian to communicate with the elders in the community (such as parents and grandparents).

⁸ The informants were 18 native speakers (aged more than 60 years) from Barry's Bay, Wilno, and Round Lake. I am deeply indebted to all of the informants for providing the necessary data. In particular, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Theresa Prince, David Shulist, and Clifford and Mary Blanc for their help and advice in my research.

and generic usages, which are features of a definite article and not a demonstrative pronoun.⁹

The speech of Canadian Kashubs could be expected to be in a more advanced stage of movement toward the use of a fully grammaticalized definite article due to the contact with English. However, this expectation does not seem to have been realized. The demonstrative pronoun does not even appear in an endophoric context as in (1), while the possibility of using the demonstrative pronoun is not excluded, as in (2). In such contexts in English, a definite article or a demonstrative pronoun should be used.

- (1) *Ja bël urodzony na Wilno, na farmje – Morning Glory Farm, łoni nazywają ten. Ja šodzył do školy sztyrë mile z farmë z Ø farmë. (What did your parents do?) Łoni robili na Ø farmje. Me mjeli stodoa kruw na Ø farmje.*

‘I was born in Wilno, at a farm – the Morning Glory Farm they called it. I went to school four miles away from the farm.’ (What did your parents do?) ‘They worked at the farm; we had a herd of cows.’

- (2) *Jedna škólna co ma mjeli, ona mja bicycle. To belo caško do škole jisc, jechac pod ti gure. Połowa času ona mušala ten bicycle pchac.*

‘A female teacher whom we had had a bicycle. It was hard to get to school on it. She had to push the bicycle most of the time.’

My observations did not reveal any visible grammatical advancement in the use of a demonstrative pronoun as a definite article.¹⁰ The degree of grammaticalization of the definite “article” seems to be less than that observed by Knoll (2012), who analyzed this usage in the Kashubian spoken in Kashubia. This result has the following implications: first, regarding the definite article, Kashuba indicates no influence of the English interference; and second, although it is impossible to reconstruct the exact us-

⁹ However, it is difficult to conclude whether such usages were common in Kashubian at the time of Lorentz to confirm their existence, since Lorentz’s original German texts possibly had a certain influence on their Kashubian “translations.”

¹⁰ According to Himmelman (2001: 833), generic and associative-anaphoric uses are two important contexts for the use of definite articles. In these cases, demonstratives cannot be used. More importantly, in this context, one of my informants provided the following sentence in which a demonstrative pronoun had a generic meaning: *Ten pjes je animal* ‘The dog is an animal.’ However, after providing this example, he questioned the use of *ten* in the sentence. Thus, this type of usage can appear sporadically as a result of literal translation from English to Kashubian. During my research in Canada, I did not encounter any similar examples, implying that this usage is not common in their speech.

age of the demonstrative pronoun in the mid-19th century due to insufficient dialect texts from the ancestral countries of the immigrants, a brief comparison with its usage in the dialect texts recorded by Hilferding (1865) in Kościerzyna (3) and Bytowo (4), the areas from where some Kashubs migrated, may be suggestive.

- (3) ...przëszedł òn do jedni górë...jegò pies zaczął barzo lajac. Jak òn som blëzi do Ø psa przëstãpil...(HILFERDING 169)

‘...he came to a mountain...his dog began barking incessantly. When he came close to the dog...’

- (4) òn miól zatknãc dzurã w dwiërzi, pòwrózk tam wëwlec, to jeden jiny zatknã tã dzurã jemu. (HILFERDING 153)

‘He was supposed to make a hole in the door to plug in a cord, but someone else made the hole for him.’

Examples (3) and (4) demonstrate that the use of the demonstrative pronoun *ten* was not obligatory then, and therefore it is impossible to conclude that Kashubian had a fully established definite article.¹¹ In addition, the use of a demonstrative pronoun during that period is similar to that observed in the present-day Kashubian dialect in Canada.

3. Use of the numeral *jeden* ‘one’ as an indefinite article

The grammaticalization of the numeral ‘one’ into an indefinite article is a popular cross-linguistic pattern (HEINE and KUTEVA 2002: 220; 2006: 119–133). In the context of Slavic, the focus should be on the colloquial variety of Upper Sorbian that possesses an almost fully grammaticalized indefinite article induced by contact with German (BREU 2012).

According to Heine (1997: 71–76), the evolution of an indefinite article can be classified into five stages, from more lexical to more grammatical (representative examples of usages of indefinite articles are provided in parentheses): stage I, the numeral 1 (I have *a* car); stage II, the presentative marker (once upon a time, there was *an* old man...); stage

¹¹ According to Perkowski (1969: 97), in the Kashubian dialect of the USA, the demonstrative pronoun *ten/ta/to* is used frequently and “serves as a kind of definite article rather than a demonstrative pronoun.” However, Perkowski does not provide any criteria to intrinsically determine the existence of a definite article, and the “definite article” in his example *tam ñima żadni w wodi f tim tanku* ‘there isn’t any water in the tank’ is ambiguous. In addition, his other studies have clearly highlighted the obligatory use of a demonstrative pronoun, unlike the definite article.

III, the specific marker (*a man came in yesterday and started talking*); stage IV, the non-specific marker (*draw a dog!*); and stage V, the generalized marker (Spanish: *un día venían unos hombres* ‘one day there came *some* men’). By introducing this model, Heine (1997: 71) suggested that the scale may be implicational; in other words, “an indefinite article of a given stage also has, or may have, the properties of all preceding stages.” Applying this model to Kashubian in Poland, Nomachi (forthcoming) indicated that Kashubian did not reach stage IV, although the frequency of *jeden* ‘one’ in stages I, II, and III was relatively higher at the time of Kashubian-German bilingualism.

Therefore, the data on the Kashubian dialect in Canada indicates that it was not influenced by English; in other words, it has seemingly reached only stage III. Example (5) demonstrates stage I:

- (5) *Jo mum jednigo brata Norbert, Ø sostra Marsela.*¹²
 ‘I have one brother Norbert and a sister Marsela.’

Regarding stage II, most of my informants (17/18) did not use *jeden* ‘one’ adnominally in the presentative marker in an almost phraseological expression, as in (6) or (7).¹³

- (6) *To bēla rôz Ø stara kòbita.*

or

- (7) *Jeden rôz bēla Ø stara kòbita.*
 ‘Once upon a time, there was an old woman.’

This situation is rather different from what was described by Sychta (1968: 92) who highlighted that Kashubian tales usually begin with phrases such as *jeden: bēlē rôz jedni lēdzē* ‘once upon a time there were certain people...’, or *bél rôz jeden chłop* ‘once upon a time there was a man...’. This also seems to be true for Hilferding’s texts. Due to the lack

¹² In this dialect, the nasal vowel is often denasalized. Thus, the form *sostra* ‘sister’ should be regarded as the accusative case form. In addition, the first names of local Kashubs, which are typically English, do not decline in oblique cases and are pronounced as English words.

¹³ I asked some of my informants whether it is possible to insert *jedna* into a phrase, as in *jedna stara kobita* ‘an old woman.’ They responded that they did not use ‘one’ in such a phrase, as the word form *kobita* already indicates that there is a single woman. However, if one wants to emphasize that there is ONE woman (stage I in HEINE 1997), then *jedna* can be used.

of dialect texts, it is impossible to conclude whether the Canadian Kashubian feature in question is either archaic (i.e., inherited from Kashubia) or innovative (i.e., developed in Canada). However, logically, folktales begin with an assumption that the listeners are usually not familiar with the characters in the stories. In addition, phrases such as *rôz* or *jeden rôz* ‘once upon a time’ already indicate the indefiniteness of a situation in which the characters are also indefinite at the beginning.

In contrast, even though stage II’s situation is rather unclear, the usage of *jeden* at stage III seems to be normal, as in (8) and (9):

- (8) *Jedna škólna, co ma mjeli, ona mja bicycle.*
 ‘A female teacher whom we had had a bicycle.’
- (9) *Jo patša za jednigo chłopa.*¹⁴
 ‘I am looking for a man.’

To conclude, as with the case of the demonstrative pronouns *ten* and *nen*, the numeral *jeden* has never been turned into an indefinite article, despite the possible interference of English. In addition, the case of Canadian Kashubian could be one to which Heine’s approach might not apply, as the existence of stage III does not automatically guarantee the existence of stage II.

4. Merger of the instrumental and comitative cases

According to Nomachi and Heine (2011), in high contact Slavic languages, the merger of two cases seems to occur rather easily upon close contact with Romance or Germanic languages. In the context of Slavic-German contact, the merger has occurred in both varieties of Sorbian, Slovene and the now-defunct Polabian.

In Kashubian, however, no merger has occurred. Thus, the example *jô gò bil z czija* ‘I hit him with a rod’ in feature 3 and the prepositionless instrumental case, as in *jô gò bil Ø czija*, did coexist. In this context, the merger of the instrumental and comitative is scarcely attested in the speech of contemporary Kashubs in Kashubia, although some of my young informants (aged 20–30 years) remembered their grandparents using the

¹⁴ This sentence seems to be a literal translation of the English idiom ‘to look for.’ Other informants provided sentences with the verb *szukac* ‘to search,’ most often with the preposition *za* + instrumental.

prepositional construction for the instrumental meaning, they themselves do not use it.¹⁵

In most cases, the Kashubian dialect in Canada did not indicate the case syncretism in question. Example (10) illustrates the comitative case and (11) and (12) are examples of the instrumental.

(10) *Jo z nim do szkoły chodzela téš.*

‘I also went to school with him.’

(11) *On je pojachuny do dužigo mjasta Ø karem.*¹⁶

‘He has gone to a big city by car.’

(12) *Jo go udeža Ø/ z ta ksuška.*

‘I hit him with this book.’

Contrary to my expectations, even an informant who experienced significant difficulty in speaking in Kashubian was able to choose the correct case form in (11) without any errors. For (12), I observed that only two of the 18 informants provided examples in which the preposition *z* ‘with’ was used with the instrumental case. Furthermore, considering the strong influence of English, case syncretism is evident in the two case forms; however, such a phenomenon is rather marginal. Thus, the “correct” usage among the Kashubian speakers in Canada can be explained as the preservation of two different case semantics that their ancestors differentiated in the mid-19th century in Kashubia.¹⁷

¹⁵ According to Stone (1993: 768), in Kashubian “there is a strong tendency for the instrumental to acquire the preposition *z* (*s*) / *ze* (*se*) ‘with’ when used with its basic function as an expression of instrument.” However, to the best of my knowledge, it may be difficult to agree with Stone that the tendency was strong, since by the 1990s, all Kashubs were completely bilingual in Polish and Kashubian. At the very least, there does not seem to be such a “strong” tendency in Kashubian today.

¹⁶ Some of the informants used verb forms, such as *jidzony* and *pošły* ‘gone (on foot),’ in combination with lexical items in the bare instrumental-case form, such as *autom*, *karem*, *karzem* ‘by car’ or *trenem* ‘by train.’ This may be explained by the influence of English, which does not differentiate the verb based on means of transportation.

¹⁷ In this context, it is worth comparing to Kashubian idiolects in the USA. In Perkowski’s corpus (1969) includes both of the following constructions: 1. With the preposition *z* + instrumental: *wuna vimjata ze staro mjotvo* ‘she is sweeping with an old broom’ (271); and 2. with the bare instrumental case form: *kwutka jest co zamkne Ø klučim* ‘A padlock is what one locks with a key’ (283). However, it is unknown which form appears more frequently in the corpus, as the number of examples is very limited.

5. Usage of the dummy subject *to*

The use of the dummy subject *to* in Kashubian was discussed by Nomachi (2014) in the context of the rise (and fall) of the non-pro-drop tendency and emergence of the preterit form without the auxiliary *bęc* ‘to be,’ such as *jô bël* ‘I was.’ The emergence of the phenomenon in question can most likely be explained by the German influence. Regarding the Kashubian dialect in Canada, my data indicated the following: First, the non-pro-drop tendency is strong; the dummy subjects are also used and both constructions—with or without the dummy subject—are possible, as seen in (13), (14), and (15) (See also [6] and [7]). Apparently, the dummy subject is more commonly used than expected:

(13) *ØWćora padało.*

‘It rained yesterday.’

(14) *To mo wjele padone.*

‘It has rained a lot.’

(15) *To je barzo trudno tam jisc sama.*

‘It is very difficult to go there alone.’

Since Hilferding’s texts from Bytowo, Kościerzyna, and other places do not contain a single sentence that permits the dummy subject, it would be difficult to follow a possible diachronic change. However, the other examples evince that the non-pro-drop tendency in the mid-19th century was strong, thereby confirming the use of the dummy subject at the time.

6. Discussion: Is Kashubian in Canada conservative or innovative?

According to the preceding arguments, it may seem that English did not influence or change the morphosyntactic structure of the Kashubian dialect in Canada; however, this is not true. During my field research, I frequently observed the use of the passive form, as seen in (16), particularly among the youngest generation of Kashubian speakers:

(16) *Jo bela dana ksuška.*¹⁸

‘I was given a book.’

¹⁸ The case form of the word *ksuška* ‘book’ is difficult to determine because this dialect often loses nasality in nasal vowels. Thus, it could be either the nominative or accusative case.

Example (16) is either a clear innovation or a literal translation of the English passive form of ‘I was given,’ which exists neither in Kashubia’s Kashubian nor in German. Similarly, the almost literal translation in (17) seems to be very common, even among fluent speakers:¹⁹

(17) *Jo bë lubił mjec konia.*

‘I would like to have a horse.’

Other literal translations have also infiltrated Canadian Kashubian grammar. However, how can the coexistence of these two different tendencies – conservative and innovative – be explained in the case of Kashubian in Canada? To address this question, I focus on both internal and external linguistic factors.

6.1. Conservativeness 1: Language-internal account

Some linguistic features are relatively easily transmitted from one language to another in a contact situation, whereas others are not. In the context of articles, Matras (2009: 218) highlighted the importance of the degree of transparency and consideration of the referential individuality of nouns. Since articles – both definite and indefinite – are used to indicate the pragmatic status of discourse, their transparency and individuality largely depends on the context. This is one of the reasons that they are not as easily borrowed as, for instance, nominal modifiers such as the derivational marker, classifier, or plural marker (MATRAS 2009: 218). From the perspective of articles, as in other non-Balkan Slavic languages, Kashubian, having a rich inflexion, a relatively free word order, and other grammatical and lexical means to express definiteness/indefiniteness, does not require articles (cf. КАЦНЕЛЬСОН 1972: 36).

6.2. Conservativeness 2: Language-external account

The preservation of separate instrumental and comitative case forms does not seem to be explained simply by the conservative nature of the language in question, as this change can occur relatively easily. Thus, sociolinguistic observations of the contact situation will be useful in understanding the conservativeness.

When the Kashubs emigrated to Canada, some speakers were fully bilingual in Kashubian and German. However, in their new homeland,

¹⁹ In Kashubian in Poland, the following sentences are used: *jô bë rôd miôł kònia* or *jô bë chcôł miec kònia*. The former is a calque from the German *gern(e)* + the finite form of the verb.

the Kashubs had no need to continue using German. Although the Kashubs as “Prussians” left their homeland alongside many Germans and settled in Renfrew County in the then Upper Canada, Kashubian settlers were isolated from German ones as soon as they landed (REKOWSKI 1997: 60).²⁰ Thus, as a natural sequence of this sociolinguistic situation, the second generation of Kashubs did not speak German, which could be one of the reasons for the absence of case syncretism.²¹

It is essential to acknowledge the Polish influence. The first generations of the Kashubian migrants knew some Polish, as the language was used in Catholic churches. However, it was not a language of communication among Kashubs, and being non-native speakers of Polish, the first generation of migrants did not transmit Polish to the next generation. Nevertheless, the language was taught in schools and churches, but not on a regular basis.²² Szulist (1992: 36) asserted that Polish has minimal influence on Kashubian.

However, what about the English influence that might have advanced the abovementioned case syncretism? To address this question, it is important to consider the possible situations in which the Kashubs used English. Since the Kashubs were mostly woodsmen and farmers in the early days of their settlement in Canada, they lived in isolated areas (ICKIEWICZ 1981: 37). In addition, the Kashubs avoided marriages with other local ethnic groups, such as Irish or German settlers (ICKIEWICZ 1981: 43). Education could be another factor causing case syncretism; according to Rekowski (1997: 70–71), the first few generations of the Kashubs did not receive much formal education, because first, schools were few and far between, and second, some of the Kashubs were prejudiced against the formal education system, as the one they left behind in Prussia was often considered to be associated with Germanization. This situation changed only after World War II, when young Canadian Kashubs began abandoning farming to attend school; many of them moved to cities in pursuit of higher education and a better life (ICKIEWICZ 1981: 61). This situation caused a sudden bilingualism in Kashubian and English.²³ In other words, the very intensive

²⁰ Unlike Germans, who are Lutherans, Kashubs are Catholic. This is one of the reasons of the abovementioned separation of Kashubs from Germans.

²¹ In the 18th century, Kashubs in the area were not bilingual (JOST 1983: 53).

²² The promotion of Catholicism and Polishness was closely related. To explore programs for local Kashubs to learn Polish, see Blank (2016: 40–42).

²³ My interviews with the locals revealed that this generation experienced considerable difficulty in schools as they did not understand the English-speaking teachers. Consequently, most of the Kashubs from this generation did not transmit Kashubian to their children to protect them from experiencing the same difficulty in their schools. There-

language contact and collective bilingualism in Kashubian and English occurred rather recently, namely a little more than half a century ago. According to Trudgill (2011: 14), “conservative language varieties tend generally also to be those which are relatively more geographically isolated, and relatively more stable socially, than the more innovating language varieties,” which is true for the Kashubian dialect in Canada, until the youngest generation of speakers. This could explain why the two cases have not been syncretized.

However, the abovementioned grammatical “innovations” can be explained as “new” features that have emerged due to intensive language contact with English. In this sense, it is suggestive that in my pilot field research conducted in 2012, a Kashubian woman aged more than 100 years (parent generation of the present youngest speakers of Kashubian, who are all aged more than 60 years), who was not fluent in English, interrupted my interview by stating that she would say *mje belo dane baro malo pjenjodzë* ‘I was given a very little money (lit: ‘to me was given a very little money’),’ but never *jo bela danô malo pjenjodzë* ‘I was given a little money’ (cf. example [16]).

The “preservation” of the non-pro-drop tendency could be similarly explained. This feature also occurs rather easily in a contact situation with English (cf. DOROSZEWSKI 1938: 191 for Polish; JUTRONIĆ-TIHOMIROVIĆ 1985: 47 for Croatian). Although the non-pro-drop feature is functionally redundant in Kashubian, it had been relatively well-established before the migration. Due to the abovementioned sociolinguistic situation, the Kashubian dialect in Canada did not change from what it was in Kashubia. Thus, despite yielding the same result, the influence of English was not that striking in this case.

7. Conclusion

In this article, I elucidated that no significant changes have occurred in the representative morphosyntactic features of the Kashubian dialect in Canada since the pre-migration period from Kashubia in the mid-19th

fore, they spoke to their children in English. This, to the best of my knowledge, is one of the reasons that there are so few speakers of Kashubian in the Ontario region who are aged younger than 60 years. In this context, however, it is important to note that the youngest Kashubian-speaking generation had perfectly learned Kashubian from their parents, as it was the language of communication at home. However, they began discarding the language by leaving the Renfrew area. Thus, they mastered the formal and semantic differences between the instrumental and comitative cases.

century, despite the strong English influence evident in the idiolect of the youngest Kashubian speakers. However, there are some innovative forms that are borrowed/calqued from English as new layers; they have appeared presumably only among speakers of the last generation, who experienced the most intensive collective Kashubian-English bilingualism.

The conservativeness or lack of English influence at the morphosyntactic level cannot be explained simply by linguistic-internal factors; rather, a concrete contact situation should be considered while explaining the conservativeness. For Kashubian in Canada, the fact that the long-lasting isolation of the Kashubs in the Ontario region, combined with the fact that the intensive language contact with English appeared mainly after World War II, are crucial.

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Мотоки Номаћи

ГРАМАТИЧКЕ ПРОМЕНЕ УЗРОКОВАНЕ ЈЕЗИЧКИМ КОНТАКТИМА?
НЕКИ УВИДИ У МОРФОСИНТАКСИЧКУ СТРУКТУРУ
КАШУПСКОГ ДИЈАЛЕКТА У КАНАДИ

Резиме

У овом чланку се разматрају четири особине кашупског дијалекта у Канади, и то граматикализација одређеног и неодређеног члана, синкретизам инструментала друштва и средства те склоност ка употреби личних заменица. Све набројане особине се могу сматрати типлошки релевантним у светлу кашупско–немачког и кашупско–енглеског језичког контакта. Поређење дијалекатских текстова које је још Гиљфердинг средином 19. века прикупио са онима до којих сам за ову прилику у канадској провинцији Онтарио лично дошао у овоме веку показало је да, иако се могу уочити неке промене у датом дијалекту, нарочито након емиграције Кашуба у Канаду, ипак није дошло до значајнијих промена у посматраним граматичким категоријама. Након социолингвистичке анализе грађе, аутор је дошао до закључка да се, с једне стране, овако висок степен језичког конзервативизма мора довести у везу са друштвеном изолацијом Кашуба у новом окружењу, док, с друге, одређене иновације пак иду на рачун интензивног утицаја енглеског језика, посебно у контексту билингвизма с доминантном англофоном компонентом, који постаје приметан тек средином 20. века.

Кључне речи: кашупски језик, немачки језик, енглески језик, језички контакт, морфосинтаксичке промене, граматикализација.

Мотоки Номачи

ГРАММАТИЧЕСКИЕ ИЗМЕНЕНИЯ, ВЫЗВАННЫЕ ЯЗЫКОВЫМ
КОНТАКТОМ? НАБЛЮДЕНИЯ НАД МОРФОСИНТАКСИЧЕСКОЙ
СТРУКТУРОЙ В КАШУБСКОМ ДИАЛЕКТЕ КАНАДЫ

Резюме

В этой статье рассматриваются четыре морфосинтаксические особенности в кашубском диалекте Канады (грамматикализация определенного и неопределенного артиклей, синкретизм инструменталиса и комитатива, тенденция обязательного употребления местоимений), которые можно считать типологически релевантными в контексте кашубско-немецкого и кашубско-английского контакта. Сравнение диалектных материалов, записанных Гильфердингом в середине 19-го века в Кашубии, с материалами, собранными автором этих строк в провинции Онтарио в 21-м веке, показало, что, хотя и наблюдаются некоторые инновационные изменения в грамматическом строе названного диалекта, однако с того времени, как кашубы переселились в Канаду, в указанных четырех грамматических категориях не произошло существенных изменений. Проанализировав материалы с социолингвистической точки зрения, автор приходит к выводу, что такой консерватизм в данных четырех категориях объясняется сравнительно высокой степенью социальной изоляции кашубов в новой среде, а произошедшие инновационные изменения можно отнести на счёт интенсивного английского влияния, в том числе полного билингвизма с доминированием английского, который начался лишь в середине 20-го века.

Ключевые слова: кашубский язык, немецкий язык, английский язык, языковой контакт, морфосинтаксические изменения, грамматикализация.