

REVIEWS

Elżbieta Kaczmarska and Motoki Nomachi, eds. *Slavic and German in contact: Studies from areal and contrastive linguistics*. Sapporo: Slavic Research Center, 2014. 165 pp. [*Slavic Eurasian studies*, 26.]

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The 26th volume of *Slavic Eurasian studies* considers language contact between Slavic and German. The articles in this volume deal with the influence of German on topics ranging from clitics to morphology to the verbal system to the lexicon. The contributors and editors are to be applauded for their effort to examine not only the commonly recognized standard Slavic languages but also languages which do not enjoy the same status within the Slavic family: Burgenland Croatian, Kashubian (with data from extinct Slovincian), and Silesian.

The opening article by Andreja Žele and Eva Sicherl represents an attempt at a contrastive description of the relationship between prefixes and prepositions occurring with verbs (including their valency structure) in Slovenian and German. A new classification of prefixed verbs based on transformations is introduced. The classification includes prefixed verbs in which (i) the prefix has adverbial meaning, (ii) the prefix can be derived from a similarly-sounding preposition, and (iii) there is a prepositional phrase with a paraphrase of the main verb in the semantic structure. It is often the case that German translations of such verbs are also prefixed and allow for similarly structured paraphrases. Consequently, a similar classification of German prefixed verbs is possible as well. Along with the analysis, abundant examples in both German and Slovenian are provided. Similarities between South and West Slavic material (e.g., Slvn *položiti na mizo* 'to put back in its place' Pol *położyć na miejsce*, Slvn *prenočiti v koči* 'to spend the night in a cabin' Pol *przenocować w chacie*, etc.) open the door to a broader and contrastive study of relations between prefixed and prepositional verbs in Slavic and German.

Motoki Nomachi, exploring Germanic influence on Kashubian, argues that it possesses four of the five characteristics of non-pro-drop languages, while all other Slavic languages, with the exception of Rus-

sian, are pro-drop. Supporting this point, the author claims that the past-tense form *jô ø bêt* 'I was' is inherently Slavic, while the presence of a personal pronoun, a non-pro-drop feature, reflects Germanic influence. Nomachi argues that while Polish, the most closely related language to Kashubian, may also include a personal pronoun in the same environment, its presence makes the construction emphatic, while Kashubian does not share this distinction. According to Breza and Treder (1981: 133), the past tense construction *jô jem bêt* ('I was') is an archaic feature of spoken Kashubian. Since the masculine past participle form is the same for 1st, 2nd, and 3rd sg. (*bêt*), it is possible personal pronouns are simply used to mark grammatical persons when their reference cannot be deduced from the context. That is not to say the influence of German had nothing to do with this particular construction. In order to establish its origin, more comparative work, including work on regional varieties of Polish, is needed. For example, in a south-eastern variety of Polish near Rzeszów, constructions such as *ja był, my byli* are not infrequent.¹

Changes in the verbal and nominal system are the topic of Milivoj Alanović's article on Germanisms in Serbian. One of the aims of the study is to present morphological characteristics of German borrowings from a synchronic perspective. The author demonstrates how certain linguistic features such as binominal constructions and syntagms with an indeclinable adjective emerged through language contact. One of the innovations is a semantic change in prepositional constructions,

¹ The forms are attested in the local vernacular [KEB]. In Standard Polish, the form *ja byłem* is used; corresponding to it, the form *jam był* has an archaic-dialectal character. *Jam był* is an interesting example of cliticizing the final morpheme of the past-tense form onto the personal pronoun (*ja byłem > jam był*). This phenomenon can also be seen in the 1st and 2nd pl. and 2nd sg.: *ty byłeś > tyś był; my byliśmy > myśmy byli; wy byliście > wyście byli*. Tokens of *jam był* can be found in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literature (Krasicki 1780: 21, 110; Wysocki 1850: 123). "Jam był wolny, dziś w klatce, i dla tego płaczę" ('I used to be free, now I'm in a cage, and that's why I'm crying') from one of Krasicki's fables is probably the most well-known instantiation of this construction in Polish literature (Krasicki 1844: 6). A similar construction is also possible for a female speaker: *jam była, tyś była*, etc. Forms without auxiliaries have been reported in different regions of Poland: *my kupili* and *jo niós* in Silesia (Nitsch 1939: 140; Bąk 1974: 148), *my chodzili* in Podlasie (Gardzińska 1993: 53), *my obrali* in the Przemysł region in the seventeenth century (Wiśniewska 1975: 58), *ja była sama* in Jasionka near Rzeszów (Nitsch 1968: 142), as well as in Lviv and southeastern *Kresy* by 1939 (*skąd ty wzioł*; Kurzowa 1983: 112). Kurzowa (ibid.) states that using personal pronouns to create past-tense forms is characteristic for the "whole Ruthenian [*ruski*] area."

e.g., *kafa za poneti* 'a coffee to go' (cf. German *Kaffee zum Mitnehmen*). Changes in verbal periphrases such as *dati piti* 'to give something to drink' (cf. German *zu trinken geben*) is another layer of comparison that Alanović concentrates on. He concludes that while contact-induced alternations in Serbian are an ongoing process, English is replacing German in this capacity.

Agnieszka Tambor examines German influence on Silesian and Sabine Pawischitz examines its influence on Burgenland Croatian. Both authors provide an overview of the current sociolinguistic situation before proceeding to specific contact-induced changes. Much space in both studies is devoted to the verbal systems. Tambor, for instance, describes the phenomenon of transitivization of verbs that are intransitive in Polish (cf. Silesian *ludzióm jes pómogane* 'people are helped' as a result of German *den Menschen wird geholfen*). A specific, German-influenced use of prepositions is yet another instance of contact-induced change (cf. Silesian *jechać z tramwajym* 'to go by tram,' *pisać z długopisym* 'to write with a pen' as calques of German expressions *fahren mit dem Straßenbahn* and *schreiben mit dem Bleistift*, respectively).

Tambor's study argues that the Germanisms in Silesian ought to be perceived as a salient and important element of Silesian identity. The author also deals with the language vs. dialect discourse. In her view, Silesian is not a creole but "a Slavonic ethnolect with a certain number of German elements that result from language transfer" (144). Not surprisingly, Silesian lexis is where German has had the biggest influence. The author claims that many German loanwords in Silesian are "almost completely on the retreat" and tend to be substituted by Polish equivalents (e.g., Pol *parapet* 'windowsill' instead of German-origin *fénsterbret* 'windowsill') (148). Tambor is to be applauded for the historical part which lays the foundation for linguistic analysis. Registering the most vulnerable layer of such borrowings is one of the accomplishments of this study, which can be used for future, broader lexically focused research. However, the article could benefit from a more structured presentation of linguistic material. Subchapters or separate categories would have been much welcome in such a material-rich study.

Pawischitz uses the results of fieldwork conducted among speakers of Burgenland Croatian to investigate the changes the ethnolect has undergone under German influence. Participants in the study constitute three separate age groups: those who are over 70 years old, those who used Burgenland Croatian during childhood but not as teenagers, and those who learned Burgenland Croatian as teenagers or adults. Gram-

matalization of adverbs, which replaced verbal prefixes, conjugations, and tense losses, and verbal aspect mutations (use of the perfective in imperfective contexts, substituting aspectual constructions with paraphrases) are just some of the phenomena observed. While the imperfect and aorist were lost in the tense system, a special *tili/mogli*-past tense developed (absent in both Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian and German). It is used for "actions in the foreground," to describe "the progress of the action" and "for iterative actions" (75). This tense is constructed with the auxiliary forms *tio/tila/tili/tile/tila* (or *moga/mogla/mogli/mogle/mogla* in the Vlahija region) + infinitive, e.g., *San tila va gšefti bit, san tila prodavat kruh tr to* 'I used to be in the shop, I used to sell bread and stuff' (69). Interestingly, its usage is heavily age-dependent: while it is not used by the youngest generation, it is most prevalent among the oldest speakers. According to the author, it is "surely a consequence of its elimination from the standardized Burgenland Croatian" (70). Such a conclusion leaves the door open to a more detailed analysis of linguistic observations, with gender/age/occupation as the first level of comparison and the use of certain grammatical categories as the second.

The issue of diglossia is another research problem that Pawischitz addresses in the article. With recent standardization, a gap between the written (standardized) and spoken language widened. Attempts to bring Standard Burgenland Croatian closer to Standard Croatian in order to "escape the strong German influence" deal with this dichotomy. As a result, the sociolinguistic situation in Burgenland has become increasingly complicated, especially since "TV, radio, and newspapers are in the standard language... nobody really speaks like that" (77). However, the extent of claimed diglossia is impossible to measure, as the author does not relate the Burgenland situation to that of other idioms. The first example that comes to mind is Czech, with its written (*spisovná čeština*) and spoken (*hovorová čeština*) varieties. As Pawischitz's study represents some preliminary results, it may be used as a starting point for further, more detailed research. On the other hand, the analysis of the verbal system could benefit from simultaneous comparison with Standard Croatian equivalents.

Wayles Browne's and Alexandr Rosen's articles examine clitic syntax. Focusing on West and South Slavic languages, Browne argues that the rules for clitic ordering within a group are dependent on case for pronoun clitics and person and number for verb clitics. However, taking Burgenland Croatian into account, we see that person can also influence pronominal clitic placement. While it is possible that this phe-

nomenon comes from contact with Bavarian German dialects, Browne argues that this is unlikely because Bavarian German fails to distinguish first- and second-person reflexive pronoun forms and their non-reflexive counterparts.

Rosen's article continues on the topic of clitic ordering but with a narrower focus on Czech. He claims that the haplology of dative and accusative reflexive clitics in Czech is due to strict clitic-ordering rules, one of which states that there can be only one reflexive clitic in a cluster, even if the clitics represent different cases. The author argues that this constraint is not due to phonological factors, because it only occurs with reflexives. To prove this, he uses corpus data and carefully selected examples to show that there is no correlation in preference to haplologize one type of clitic over the other. Additionally, Rosen discusses the phenomenon of "clitic climbing," in which clitics in an embedded clause may shift to a less embedded clitic cluster. That is, the clitics that are placed later in a sentence may climb to position themselves in Wackernagel's position, directly following the first stressed word or syntactic phrase in a clause.

The clitics cannot, however, climb over one another. Rosen asserts that the degree of embeddedness of the clitics is not a factor in determining the extent to which they may climb in a sentence.

While Browne and Rosen are able to challenge other researchers' hypotheses, neither author reaches a definitive conclusion as to why clitics behave in these ways. Therefore, while they provide insight into the subject, they demonstrate that further research is necessary in this area. Although Rosen does not discuss Germanic and Slavic language contact, his contribution is an excellent complement to Browne's article. While Browne introduces the topic from a broad perspective, Rosen follows up with a more detailed case study. As such, these articles are a useful reference for scholars looking to examine the issue of clitic syntax not only in Slavic, but in other languages as well.

The publication provides useful evidence of Germanic influence on Slavic dialects, and it compares the relationships between the Slavic languages themselves. This makes the volume a valuable resource not only for Germanists and Slavists, but also for scholars concerned with language contact among closely and more distantly related languages. There is need for more case studies on German and Slavic language contact such as those contained in this publication, especially on less well-known varieties, such as Kashubian and Burgenland Croatian.

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