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Prepositional phrases with *dlja* in non-standard varieties of Russian in Finland: Evidence from the Russian Learner Corpus

1. Non-standard Russian in Finland

This paper explores restructuring of case systems specific for two non-standard varieties of Russian spoken in Finland. The first variety is the Russian language of bilingual students who have learned and maintained Russian from early childhood through direct communication with family while being raised in an environment where majority speaks Finnish. The second variety of Russian in Finland is spoken by Finns who learned Russian as a foreign language mostly in educational institutions and reached high proficiency.

While there is a number of studies on non-standard Russian of bilingual communities across the world (Земская 2001; Никунласси, Протасова 2014; Протасова, Мяки, Родина 2017), Russian as a foreign language has been mostly a didactic discipline with a focus on a descriptive grammar of rules and exceptions. Meanwhile, research in the Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and development of corpus linguistics have led to the change of approaches. Theoretical and experimental studies in the SLA provide support for the hypothesis that language learners develop their own approximation of a foreign language and produce new linguistic patterns based on their native language and the language being learned (Gass, Selinker 2008). Parallel to this, corpus linguistics is developing a growing number of learner corpora, including the Russian Learner Corpus (the RLC), which contains linguistically annotated data of non-standard speakers with different sociolinguistic backgrounds (Granger et al. 2015; Rakhilina et al. 2016).

These two current trends in linguistics facilitate usage-based studies of non-standard Russian learned as a second language. Sociolinguistic studies (Вахтин 2010: 4–5) proposed separating non-standard Russian of foreign learners as a different variety of Russian with a specific set of "second level features". Following this sociolinguistic approach, the article compares case marking phenomena in two varieties of Russian spoken in Finland: the heritage Russian of primary Finnish-Russian bilinguals and the Russian spoken as a foreign language.

The level of proficiency plays a crucial role in this kind of comparison. The data comprises students' essays collected at the University of Helsinki; students from both varieties completed placement tests for the Advanced level before taking the course.

In non-standard varieties, incomplete acquisition related to unbalanced bilingualism (multilingualism) often leads to restructuring and simplification of case marking and case systems. Although a large number of studies presented evidence from non-standard language varieties across the world (for overview, see Winford 2003: 208–240; Polinsky 2018: 29–32), modern research still lacks data from languages with rich inflectional morphology. Therefore, the data elicited from Finnish-Russian speakers is of particular interest. First, both contacting languages are well known for detailed case marking and rich inflectional systems: 6-8 case forms in Russian (Janda, Clansy 2002; Кустова 2011) and 15 case forms in Finnish (VISK, 1221). Second, Finland maintains specific sociolinguistic situations creating educational support for multilingualism and preventing attrition of immigrants' native languages. For example, municipality can organize two lessons of Russian a week for school students from Russian speaking families (Протасова 2018, 131–135). Finns can also study Russian as a foreign language at schools (for Russian programs in Finland, see Мустайоки, Протасова 2010: 4–8). As a result, university students at Russian departments in Finland demonstrate relatively high literacy and proficiency in Russian (Никунласси 2012) compared to cohorts of Russian bilingual students with other dominant languages across the world.

2. Increase of prepositional phrases with *dlja* in homeland Russian and non-standard varieties

This article discusses formal and functional reorganization of Russian Dative and Genitive seen as abnormal use of prepositional phrases with *dlja* 'for'. Overuse of *dlja* in homeland Russian (further referred to as a standard Russian) has drawn attention of linguists for a long time.

Analyzing the norms and limits of variation in the Russian syntax, Ickovič (Ицкович 1982: 90–93) provides a large number of examples illustrating parallel use of non-prepositional Dative (NP$_{DAT}$) and prepositional phrases with *dlja* and a complement NP in the Genitive case (*dlja* NP$_{GEN}$):

(1) standard Russian
мне / для меня прислали книгу
*mne.*DAT / *dlja menja.*GEN prislali knigu
'they sent a book to me'

(2) standard Russian
мне / для меня нет оправдания
*mne.*DAT / *dlja menja.*GEN net opravdanija
'I have no excuse'

(3) standard Russian
процедура полезна *больному / для больного*
procedura polezna *bol'n-omu.*DAT / *dlja bol'n-ogo.*GEN
'the procedure is useful for the patient'

Describing ongoing trends in Russian, Glovinskaja (Гловинская 1996: 247–248) examined overuse of the prepositional phrase [*dlja* NP$_{GEN}$] in positions where a conservative rigorous norm requires NP$_{DAT}$:

(4) standard Russian
Давай, Надя, примем знакомую *для человечества позу* (Никита Михалков)
Davaj, Nadja, primem znakomuju *dlja človečestva.*GEN pozu (by Nikita Mihalkov).
'Let's, Nadja, strike a pose familiar for people'

Also Lapteva (Лаптева 2003: 239) identifies the following examples as a grammatical error:

(5) standard Russian
Мы ни в коем случае не преследуем цели *для ограничения* наших гостей
My ni v koem slučae ne presleduem celi *dlja ogranichenija* naših gostej
'We do not aim to set limits for our guests'

There are different explanations for increase of abnormal PPs with *dlja* in modern Russian. While Ickovič (Ицкович 1982, 97) defines this phenomenon as a tendency toward differential marking of an addressee and a beneficiary, Glovinskaja (Гловинская 1996, 247) suggests that prepositional phrases, including those with *dlja*, increase in Russian as an outcome of grammatical development toward increasing analyticity, i.e. case marking by means of both prepositions and bound morphology.

Teachers of Russian as a foreign language and textbook designers also noticed overuse of *dlja* phrases in speech production of foreign learners (Чернышев 2018: 138–139). Russian instructors suggest that the reason why foreign students overuse PPs with *dlja* is a cross-linguistic transfer from the first (dominant) languages as equivalents of *for*, *pur*, and *für* (Чернышев 2018, 139–140).

The overview of facts documented in research literature demonstrates that the increase of PPs with *dlja* is a productive process both in standard Russian and non-standard varieties. This article examines outcomes of this process in non-standard Russian spoken in Finland and seeks answers to the following research questions:

1) To what extent does increase of *dlja*-phrases occur in written production of Finnish advanced speakers of Russian with different sociolinguistic background?
2) What are the phenomena, principles, and constraints that guide learners to create innovative patterns of PPs with *dlja* in the non-standard varieties?

Before discussing the data, the next two chapters focus on methodological remarks and describe the instrument of this study.

3. Corpus-driven methodology and error-focused approach to non-standard Russian

Unlike earlier studies of Finnish-Russian contact phenomena, this article introduces methodology influenced by learner corpus research. The core instrument of the study is the Russian learner corpus (RLC), which contains over 1000 anonymous essays collected during Advanced Russian course at the University of Helsinki. The students represent different types of Russian learners in Finland. Some of them are native speakers of Russian who grew up in Finland and have spoken both Finnish and Russian from early childhood. Recent research defines these learners as heritage speakers (Polinsky 2018). Most of the students are Finns who learned Russian primarily in educational settings. The theory of SLA refers to them as second language learners or L2 learners (Gass, Selinker 2008). In classroom settings, these two categories of speakers were exposed to relatively similar input and teaching instructions. This particular educational situation and the annotation instruments of the RLC establish adequate research conditions for comparison of phenomena that develop in Russian interlanguage of heritage speakers and L2 learners with Finnish as a dominant language.

The error-focused approach implies that scholars focus on abnormal forms and all sorts of syntactic and semantic deviations which may reflect innovations in non-standard varieties, see (Земская 2001, Рахилина 2014: 77–78). Although this method obtains good results in documentation of specific features, it ignores grammatical trends that coincide with rules and norms of standard language, for example, increasing use of certain words, forms, constructions and so on. Learner corpora research proposes to use basic statistical metrics in order to analyze frequencies of linguistic features (Gries 2013; Granger et al. 2015). In this framework, high frequency reflects overused elements and increasing trends, whereas low frequency indicates reduction of certain features or shortage of lexical and linguistic inventory (Granger et al. 2015).

Another important remark concerns the definition of over- and underused elements. In learner corpora research, high and low frequencies are relative measures used for comparison. As an indicator of normal frequency, scholars usually take the frequency numbers extracted from speech production of standard speakers. For instance, the frequency dictionary of the modern Russian language contains information about word frequencies in homeland Russian based on the Russian National Corpus (Ляшевская, Шаров, 2009).

This article combines quantitative and error-focused approaches to explore case marking processes within Russian non-standard varieties in Finland. While corpus measures reveal over- and underused elements, the error-focused search instruments provide lists of misused words, forms, and constructions annotated by native speakers as errors.

4. Frequencies of prepositional phrase with *dlja* in the Russian Learner Corpus

By April, 2018, the size of the RLC reached over one million tokens. The RLC consists of two main domains: the subcorpus of texts provided by heritage speakers and the subcorpus of texts collected from L2 learners. Every domain falls into smaller subcorpora with different dominant languages. Due to this structure, scholars can search for specific linguistic features in non-standard varieties with different dominant languages as well as gather and compare statistical data.

Table 1 describes the size of heritage and the L2 subcorpora with different dominant languages within the RLC.
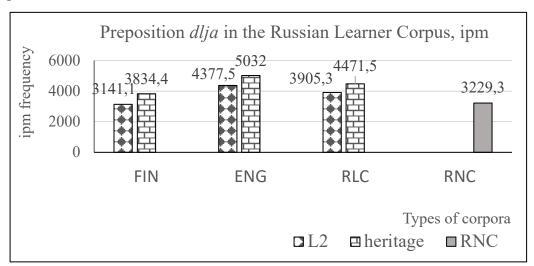
Table 1

dominant language	L2 subcorpus	heritage subcorpus
RLC (total)	794 086 (100%)	488 422 (100%)
Finnish subcorpus	201 207 (25%)	110 577 (23%)
English subcorpus	377 633 (47%)	276 228 (56%)
Other languages	215 246 (27%)	101 617 (21%)

The table shows that the biggest subcorpora are those with Finnish and English as dominant languages. When subcorpora are of different size, like in our case, raw numbers are not meaningful for comparison: the bigger the subcorpus, the higher can be the frequency of an item. Instead, scholars recommend using normalized frequencies, i.e. instances of items per million words, further referred as ipm frequencies (Gries 2013).

Figure 1 illustrates the comparison of the ipm frequencies for *dlja* in four largest subcorpora of the RLC: the heritage and L2 subcorpora with dominant Finnish (FIN) are compared to those with dominant English (ENG). The figure also provides ipm frequencies of *dlja* in the whole RLC regardless of the dominant language (RLC). The plain colored vertical chart is the ipm frequency from the Russian National Corpus (RNC). This element reflects the average frequencies of *dlja* in homeland Russian according to the frequency dictionary (Ляшевская, Шаров, 2009). Figure 1 demonstrates that all the heritage speakers, regardless of the dominant language, use prepositional phrases with *dlja* more than L2 learners. In comparison with average ipm frequencies of the RLC, the chart reflects overuse of *dlja* among Russian L2 learners dominant in English and underuse of it among L2 learners from Finland.

Figure 1

Preposition *dlja* in the Russian Learner Corpus, ipm

However, in comparison with the data of homeland Russian reflected in the RNC frequencies, Finnish learners do not show significant discrepancy: L2 speakers use *dlja* almost at the same frequency as homeland speakers and heritage speakers overuse it slightly.

These observations are significant, as they demonstrate that the overuse of *dlja* is not typical for all non-standard Russian speakers. Differences in frequencies may depend on the dominant language and have to do with cross-linguistic influences. Compared to Russian, Finnish has a similar variation in marking semantic roles: an addressee and a beneficiary correspond either with NP in the Allative or with a postpositional phrase Partitive-*varten* ('for X'), as illustrated below:

(6) Finnish
     Hän.3SG osti.PST jäätelöä.PAR *minulle*.ALL
     'He bought me an ice-cream'
(7) Finnish
     Hän.3SG osti.PST jäätelöä.PAR *minua*.PAR *varten*.POST
     'He bought an ice-cream *for me*'.

Meanwhile, in English, the preposition *for*, which is the closest equivalent of *dlja*, has wide scope of functions, and non-standard speakers set up correlations between them and produce cross-linguistic transfers, such as (8) reported in (Rakhilina et al. 2016: 17):

(8) L2 Russian
     dlja dva časa
     for two hour.SG.GEN
     'for two hours'

The Finnish case system does not provide prepositional patterns for straightforward correlations and cross-linguistic transfers for *dlja*, and this can potentially explain the effects of lower frequencies in the Finnish subcorpus. The explanation of over- and underuse of *dlja* in non-standard varieties requires more detailed analysis of the data. In the rest of the article, we examine linguistic phenomena underlying the misuse of *dlja* in the Finnish non-standard varieties of Russian.

5. Misuse of *dlja* in non-standard varieties of Russian with a dominant Finnish language

The error-focused analysis of *dlja* shows that in the Finnish subcorpus, items detected as errors by annotators are not spontaneous slips. They are regular deviations and fall into several groups. Some of the errors are common for both heritage speakers and L2 learners, whereas the others are specific for different types of learners.

5.1. Errors, common for heritage and L2-learners

Both categories of non-standard Russian speakers in Finland prefer to use PPs with *dlja* in certain positions where strict written norm requires a non-prepositional form. Two annotators of the Russian Learner Corpus have marked the following examples as deviations:

(9) heritage Russian
самый лучший *магазин для одежди.*GEN Манго, *для обуви.*GEN Динско, а *для макияжа.*GEN Сток-манн (correction: магазин одежды, магазин обуви и магазин косметики)
'The best shop for clothes is Mango, for shoes is Dinsko, and for make up is Stockmann'

(10) heritage Russian
Посылаю следующию эссе и тагже *текст для песни*, которую я выбрала для урока (correction: текст песни)
'I send the following essay and also the lyrics of a song'

(11) heritage Russian
Я разделила свои *интересы для собирания* на две части (correction: собирательские / коллекционные интересы).
'I divided my collecting interests into two parts'

The Advanced L2 learners of Russian offer similar examples of prepositional overmarking. They also add the preposition *dlja* where non-prepositional Genitive is more appropriate:

(12) L2 Russian
У меня определение для индивидуализации от немецких социологов (correction: определение индивидуализации)
'I have a definition of individualization by German sociologists'

(13) L2 Russian
власть никогда не является самоцелью или целью *для всех деятельностей* (correction: целью деятельности)
'Power does not establish a purpose for all actions'

(14) L2 Russian
и я тоже член в одном финском политическом союзе *для молодёжи* (correction: союзе молодежи, молодежном союзе).
'I am also a member of one Finnish youth political union'

These examples demonstrate that non-standard speakers from both categories prefer to avoid non-prepositional phrases with OBJECT-OBJECT relations. They mark syntactic connection between phrase constituents with *dlja* regardless of the fact that the preposition has its own meaning (beneficiary, purpose) which does not fit the meaning of the whole phrase.

5.2. Errors specific for heritage speakers

Heritage speakers are well known for maintaining creative patterns of speech production which involve compositionality, transparency of form-meaning correlations, and formal overmarking (Rakhilina et al. 2016: 26). Another phenomenon attested in heritage Russian is simplification of the case system. It includes case restructuring and reducing the number of case forms, for instance, the misuse of the Genitive and the Prepositional endings *ov* vs *ah* in the plural paradigm which is attested among other non-standard varieties and standard Russian as well (Гловинская 1996).

In addition to the previous observations, the RLC data reveals a new phenomenon in the heritage data. It concerns hybrid PPs with Dative forms [*dlja* NP$_{DAT}$] instead of [*dlja* NP$_{GEN}$] or non-prepositional Dative both in the singular and plural paradigms:

(15) heritage Russian
но *для кому-то другому* это может быть вся жизнь
no *dlja komu-to.*DAT *drug-omu.*DAT eto možet byt' vsja žizn'
'For someone else, it can be whole life'

(16) heritage Russian
решение переехать в Финляндию оказалось успешным *для всей семье*
rešenie pereehat' v Finljandiju okazalos' uspešnym *dlja vsej.*DAT *sem'je.*DAT
'The decision to move to Finland turned out to be successful for the whole family'

(17) heritage Russian
Я надеюсь, что война Афгана русским то же, что и Вьетнам *для американцем*
Ja nadejus', čto vojna Afgana russkim to že, čto i V'etnam *dlja amerikancem.* DAT
'I hope that the Soviet Afghanistan War for Russians is the same as the Vietnam War for Americans'

The heritage speakers regularly write ending -*em* instead on -*am* (amerikancam), which can be a spelling error (*e* instead of *a* in unstressed syllable) or a morphological one, i.e. ending borrowing from pronoun paradigm, for example, Dative plural forms *tem* (*tot* 'that'), *vsem* (*ves'* 'whole') and so on.

The next example is less transparent, as the ending is not stressed. However, written pattern and soft stem refer to a Dative ending:

(18) heritage Russian
Для этой женщине принцесса Диана – это не олигитворение (sic!) настоящей королевской особы.
*Dlja etoj ženščine.*DAT princessa Diana – eto ne oligitvorenie nastojaščej korolevskoj osoby.
'For this lady, Princess Diana is not an icon of authentic royalty'
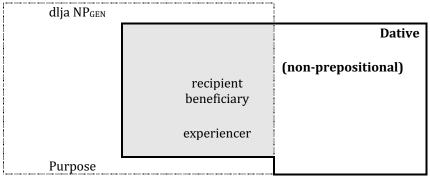
Another example is of particular interest:

(19) heritage Russian
Бондачур обсуждает тему которая ещё больна *для большинства россиянинам*.
Bondačur obsuždaet temu kotoraja eščjo bol'na *dlja bol'šinstva.*GEN *rossijaninam.*DAT
'Bondarčuk discusses the topic that is still painful for most Russians'

Although in (19) the prepositional phrase [*dlja* NP$_{GEN}$] is correct, the Dative ending occurs in the last word of the phrase *dlja bol'šinstva rossijaninam* instead of morphologically regular form *dlja bol'šinstva *rossijan.* There are several factors that underlie the occurrence of the hybrid phrases with [*dlja* NP$_{DAT}$] in the heritage data. The first is a common tendency to analyticity, as Zemskaja (Земская 2001) notes. Heritage speakers try to avoid non-prepositional phrases and add preposition *dlja* before the Dative form. Second, the *dlja* phrases and the Dative have similar sets of meanings and functions, which is one of the reasons why they alternate in standard Russian, as Ickovič (Ицкович 1982: 90–94) documented.

Figure 2 introduces a semantic map of meanings for the prepositional phrase [*dlja* NP$_{GEN}$] and non-prepositional Dative, as described in the research literature (Золотова 1988, Татевосов 2004).

Figure 2

As Figure 2 shows, the set of meaning of the two forms are mostly similar. The only meaning that excludes the use of non-prepositional Dative is purpose.

The formal and semantic analysis of PPs with *dlja* and Dative NPs demonstrates that heritage speakers with a dominant Finnish produce their own formal patterns of case marking using both prepositions and endings. It is notable that these innovative patterns are semantically consistent and reflect full transparency of syntactic and semantic relations between constituents of a phrase.

5.3. Errors specific for L2-learners

Finnish L2 learners of Russian introduce a few non-standard patterns of case with *dlja*-headed PPs. Their errors are distinct from those of heritage speakers attending the same Russian classes. While the deviations in heritage data concern hybrid forms and formal overmarking, the Advanced L2 learners produce grammatically correct forms with proper endings, but often use them in semantically inappropriate way. Despite the diverse inventory of Russian prepositions and wide scope of their meanings (Золотова 1988; Janda, Clansy 2002), the errors of L2 learners in phrases with *dlja* are not occasional, but establish several regular patterns of misuse.

Most of the deviations with *dlja* in the L2 data concern phrases with OBJECT-OBJECT relations. L2 learners regularly use [*dlja* NP_GEN] in contexts where Russian semantic and collocational rules require a prepositional phrase [*na* NP_ACC]:

(20) L2 Russian
ответ *для какого-либо политического вопроса* – ответ *на вопрос*
otvet *dlja kak.ogo-libo*.GEN *političeskogo*.GEN *voprosa*.GEN – otvet *na vopros*.SG.ACC
'an answer to some political question'

(21) L2 Russian
планы *для будущего* – планы *на будущее*
plany *dlja buduščego*.GEN – plany *na buduščee*.ACC
'plans for the future'

(22) L2 Russian
для уроки мне не хватило времени – *на уроки* мне не хватило времени
dlja uroki.ACC mne ne hvatilo vremeni – *na uroki*.ACC mne ne hvatilo vremeni
'I did not have enough time for homework'

(23) L2 Russian
беречь деньги *для поездки* – беречь деньги *на поездку*
bereč den'gi *dlja poezdki*.GEN – bereč den'gi *na poezdku*.ACC
'to save money for a trip'

(24) L2 Russian
у государства есть права *для насилия* – права *на насилие*
u gosudarstva est' prava *dlja nasilija*.GEN – prava *na nasilie*.ACC
'Government has the right to violence'

The translation of the same Russian examples into Finnish shows that *dlja* phrases mostly correspond with the Illative which marks both purpose and destination:

(25) Russian-Finnish equivalents
    a. standard Russian   ответ *на вопрос*
    b. Finnish   vastaus *kysymykse-en*.SG.ILL
        'an answer to a question'

(26) Russian-Finnish equivalents
    a. standard Russian   время *на уроки*
    b. Finnish   aika *kotiläksy-i-hin*.PL.ILL
        'time *for homework*'

(27) Russian-Finnish equivalents
    a. standard Russian   деньги *на поездку*
    b. Finnish   rahaa *matka-an*. SG.ILL
        'money for a trip'
    c. Finnish   rahaa *matka-a*.PAR *varten*.POST
        'money *for a trip*'

(28) Russian-Finnish equivalents
  a. standard Russian   право *на насилие*
  b. Finnish   oikeus *väkivalta-an*.SG.ILL
                               'right *to violence*'

These examples illustrate an interesting phenomenon: in the contexts with abstract nouns, Finnish L2 learners of Russian do not associate the Illative with a correct prepositional phrase [*na* NP_{ACC}], although these forms are semantically similar and their primary function in both languages is marking spatial destination, for Russian-Finnish case correlations see (Мустайоки 1984, 79). Despite this cross-linguistic correspondence, Finnish L2 learners prefer to use [*dlja* NP_{GEN}], meanings of which do not comprise destination in standard Russian.

The next group of errors is also congruent. It involves misuse of the *dlja* phrases instead of prepositional phrases [*k* NP_{DAT}], 'toward/ to X', as exemplified in the following:

(29) L2 Russian
    я потерял все мои интересы *для школы* – интерес *к школе*
    ja poterjal vse moi interesy *dlja školy.*GEN – interes *k škole.*DAT
    'I lost all my interests *in school*'
(30) L2 Russian
    я опять получил интерес *для учёбы* – интерес *к учёбе*
    ja opjat' polučil interes *dlja učeby.*GEN – interes *k učebe.*DAT
    'I regained interest *in studies*'
(31) L2 Russian
    мы разделяем наш энтузиазм *для чтения* **–** энтузиазм *к чтению*
    my razdeljaem naš entuziazm *dlja čtenija.*GEN – entuziazm *k čteniju.*DAT
    'we share our enthusiasm *toward reading*'
(32) L2 Russian
    и какие отношение есть *для мужшины и женшины* – отношение *к мужчине и женщине*
    i kakie otnošenie est' *dlja mužšiny.*GEN *i ženšiny.*GEN – otnošenie *k mužčine.*DAT i *zhenščine.*DAT
    'and what is the attitude *toward men and women*'

The prepositional phrase [*k* NP_{DAT}] also refers to destination, as in the previous group of errors related to [*na* NP_{ACC}]. In Russian, choice of prepositional group relies heavily on semantic types of phrase components. The [*k* NP_{DAT}] is used as a complement of nouns that denote feelings (33a), part-whole relations (33b), and time limits (33c), as exemplified in (Золотова 1988: 128–139):

(33) standard Russian
    a. уважение *к разуму*
        uvazhenie *k razumu*. DAT
        'respect *for intellect*'
    b. принадлежит *к партии*
        prinadležit *k partii.* DAT
        'belongs *to the political party*'
    c. готовиться *к летнему сезону*
        gotovit'sja *k letnemu.*DAT *sezonu.*DAT
        'prepare *for the summer season*'

In the examples (29)–(32), L2 learners violate these semantic constraints using prepositional phrase with *dlja* [*dlja* NP_{GEN}] instead of [*k* NP_{DAT}]. The translations of the contexts (29)–(32) demonstrate that *dlja*-headed phrases correlate in Finnish with the Illative case or adpositional phrases Partitive-*kohtaan* 'toward X', which both denote destination. For translation, we used Finnish collocational dictionary (Jönsson-Korhola, White 1997: 40, 55):

(34) Russian Finnish equivalents
  a. standard Russian   интерес *к школе*
  b. Finnish   kiinnostus *koulu-a.* PAR *kohtaan*
                               ~ kinnostus koulu-un.ILL
                               'interest in school'
(35) Russian Finnish equivalents
  a. standard Russian   интерес *к учебе*
  b. Finnish   kiinnostus *opinto-ja.* PAR *kohtaan*
                               ~ kiinnostus *opintoi-hin.*ILL
                                   'interest in studies'

(36) Russian Finnish equivalents
   a. standard Russian   энтузиазм *к чтению*
   b. Finnish   innostus *lukemis-ta*.PAR *kohtaan*
                                ~ innostus *lukemise-en*.ILL
                                'enthusiasm toward reading'
(37) Russian Finnish equivalents
   a. standard Russian   отношение *к мужчине и женщине*
   b. Finnish   asenne *mies-tä*.PAR ja *nais-ta*.PAR kohtaan
                                ~ asenne *miehe-en.* ILL ja *naise-en.* ILL
                                'attitude toward men and women'

The semantic and cross-linguistic analysis demonstrates that Finnish L2 learners regularly use erroneously phrases [*dlja* NP$_{GEN}$] instead of the prepositional phrases [*na* NP$_{ACC}$] and [*k* NP$_{DAT}$], which primary meaning refers to spatial destination (Золотова 1988: 189). Another important note concerns semantic types of nominals: misuse of *dlja* occurs only in contexts with abstract nouns and does not comprise lexemes with concrete meanings. It is notable that the Finnish L2 learners set up semantic and functional parallels between *dlja* phrases in Russian and two Finnish patterns of destination marking: the Illative case and the Partitive-*kohtaan* prepositional phrase.

Unlike two previous groups of errors, the last type of deviations with *dlja* concerns a number of examples related to marking the second subject of argument structure. The errors focus around two lexemes *govorit'* – *skazat'* 'say, speak' and *delat'* 'do', as exemplified in the following:

(38) L2 Russian
   Когда финны могут сказать *для незнакомых* просто «Мой!»
   Kogda finny mogut skazat' *dlja neznakomyh* prosto "Moi!"
   Kun suomalaiset.PL voivat.PL.PRS sanoa.INF *tuntemattom-ille.*PL.ALL vain "Moi!"
   'When Finns can say just "Moi!" to strangers'

(39) L2 Russian
   надо делать что-нибудь *для количество людей*
   nado delat' čto-nibud' *dlja količestvo ljudej*
   Pitää.3SG tehdä.INF jotain.PAR *ihmismäärä-lle.*ALL
   'We need to do something with the number of people'

(40) L2 Russian
   Животные так чистые, я не могу понимать почему человек хотел бы делать что-нибудь *для них*
   životnye tak čistye, ja ne mogu ponimat' počemu čelovek hotel by delat' čto-nibud' *dlja nih.*GEN
   Eläimet ovat niin puhtaita, en voi ymmärtää, miksi ihminen.SG.NOM halua-isi.3SG.COND tehdä.INF jotain.PAR *nii-lle.*ALL
   'Animals are so innocent, I cannot understand why a man would want to do something to them'

As the translations show, Russian [*dlja* NP$_{GEN}$] corresponds to NP in the Finnish Allative case. While employing this correlation, L2 learners violate Russian collocational rules. The pair with verbs of speech *govorit'* – *skazat'* requires non-prepositional Dative, which marks an addressee (*govorit'/skazat' mne*), or the Instumental with a comitative meaning (*govorit' so mnoj*).

The errors with the verb *delat'* (*to do*) deal with contradictory marking of semantic roles. The Russian verb *delat'* 'to do' has an oblique valency for another participant. In these contexts, the prepositional phrase [*dlja* NP$_{GEN}$] denotes a beneficiary (Zolotova 1988: 40-44) and implies that someone does something good for another participant. Meanwhile, the meaning of the sentences (39) and (40) is malefactive: the contexts imply that someone does something harmful to another participant: *delat' s kolichestvom ljudej* in (39) means to do something preventive to reduce a number of earth population. The (40) implies that the author of the sentence cannot understand, how one can do something bad and harmful to innocent animals. In context with the Russian verb *delat'*, the difference between beneficiary and malefactive must be marked by the means of different case forms: *dlja* denotes a beneficiary (*delat' dlja menja*), while the prepositional phrase [*s* NP$_{INS}$] refers to a malefactive.

While the Russian collocational rules require differential marking of another participant, Finnish represents homonymy. The Finnish dictionary (Kielitoimiston sanakirja, KTS) provides

examples illustrating that the Adessive occurs with a verb *tehdä 'to do'* while marking both beneficiary and malefactive roles:

(41) Finnish (examples from the dictionary "Kielitoimiston sanakirja")
tehdä tilaa.PRT *j-olle.ku-lle.*SG.ALL
'to make room for someone'

(42) Finnish (examples from the dictionary "Kielitoimiston sanakirja")
tehdä kiusaa.PRT *tois-ille.*PL.ALL
'to be nuisance for someone'

The discussed deviations with *dlja*-phrases in the L2 data reveal a few tendencies of the Finnish L2 learners in Russian case marking. Some of the errors show that Finnish advanced speakers ignore regular correspondence between Russian and Finnish syntactic elements, such as:

a) [*na* NP$_{ACC}$] || NP$_{ILL}$ in contexts with abstract nouns
b) [*k* NP$_{DAT}$] || [NP$_{PART}$ *kohtaan*] or NP$_{ILL}$ in contexts describing feelings and relations.

Instead, Finnish L2 learners set up their own correlations and associate *dlja*-headed prepositional phrases with a number of Finnish syntactic units, including the Illative, phrases with Partitive-*kohtaan*, and the Allative. As a result, the Finnish speakers overgeneralize the use of [*dlja* NP$_{GEN}$] on wide range of contexts as a default prepositional phrase for marking semantic roles with a target point related to purpose, destination, an addressee, and a second participant of a situation, such as a malefactive or a beneficiary.

6. Conclusion

The error-focused approach identified several patterns of prepositional phrases with *dlja* among the advanced Russian learners in Finland.

Both heritage speakers and L2 learners prefer [*dlja* NP$_{GEN}$] over non-prepositional Genitive. Regardless nuances in meanings between these two syntactic units (*kniga dlja receptov* vs *kniga receptov*), non-standard speakers insert the *dlja* preposition before non-prepositional form and mark syntactic dependencies between components (*magazin dlja odezhdy* vs *magazin odeždy*).

Following the strategy of adpositional marking, heritage speakers provide regular hybrid phrases [*dlja* NP$_{DAT}$] instead of proper [*dlja* NP$_{GEN}$]. This hybrid formal pattern is semantically congruent, as the preposition *dlja* and non-prepositional Dative share the same set of meanings and substitute each other in many contexts, as studies of standard Russian demonstrate. The error-focuses analysis shows that overuse of *dlja* in the heritage data is an outcome of the tendency to avoid non-prepositional phrases by adding *dlja* to the Genitive and the Dative.

The misuse of *dlja* in the data of L2 learners do not violate Russian rules of phrase formation. The semantic deviations concern primarily inappropriate marking of semantic roles as a result of overgeneralizations influenced by the dominant Finnish language. The cross-linguistic analysis of erroneous contexts demonstrates that L2 learners associate Russian *dlja*-phrases with the Finnish Illative, Allative, and Partitive-*kohtaan* phrases ('*toward, to*'), which all refers to spatial destination. Although semantic map of the Russian *dlja*-phrases comprises some roles with a target point, such as Addressee and Purpose, it completely excludes the spatial destination. Influenced by semantics of Finnish case equivalents, L2 learners assign spatial meaning to *dlja*-phrase and favour it over Russian phrases with spatial prepositions, such as [*na* NP$_{ACC}$] and [*k* NP$_{DAT}$]. On the other hand, by overgeneralizing correlation between the Russian *dlja*-phrases and the Allative, they violate Russian collocational rules and simplify semantic nuances (*delat dlja menja* vs *delat'so mnoj*).

The provided comparison of errors detected the significant difference in case marking between different types of Advanced Russian learners dominant in Finnish. The heritage speakers demonstrate semantic and formal restructuring within Russian grammar system, whereas L2 learners overgeneralize the use of prepositional phrases by associating them with certain forms in the dominant language.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

ALL	Allative	INS	Instrumental
ACC	Accusative	NOM	Nominative
COND	Conditional	PAR	Partitive
DAT	Dative	PL	Plural
GEN	Genitive	POST	Postposition
ILL	Illative	PRS	Present
INF	Infinitive	SG	Singular

Resources

KTS = Kielitoimiston sanakirja. kielitoimistonsanakirja.fi
RLC = Russian Learner Corpus. web-corpora.net/RLC
VISK = Iso suomen kielioppi. scripta.kotus.fi/visk/etusivu.php

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