BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

Case in and across languages
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Meaning of Cases, Cases of Meaning

In this talk I explore what we can learn about meaning from the perspective of case. I examine two venues of research: **grammatical meaning** focusing on what cases mean, and **lexical meaning** focusing on what case usage can tell us about the meaning of words. I start from a series of assumptions that are common in cognitive linguistics, namely that:

- Grammatical and lexical meaning observe the **same** principles.
- **Polysemy** is common to both types of meaning.
- **Radial categories** of relationships among meanings exist and are structured around:
    - a **prototype** based on physical experience, with
    - extension via **metonymy** and
    - extension via **metaphor**.
- Difference in **form** implies difference in **meaning**.

In Part 1 I present a sample analysis of the meaning of the dative case in Russian. Whereas the use of the dative case appears to be chaotic and heterogeneous, I show that it is possible to establish a coherent description of the dative as a polysemous radial category with a prototypical meaning elaborated via metonymical and metaphorical extensions. In addition to the advantages in terms of linguistic description, this analysis facilitates both cross-linguistic comparison of case usage and the development of pedagogical materials.

Part 2 uses the networks of grammatical meaning established in Part 1 to investigate lexical meaning. Patterns of case use make it possible to "measure" the distance between synonyms and discover what kinds of metaphor are typical in understanding abstract phenomena. I present two empirical studies of the constructional profiles of words. A constructional profile charts the frequency of grammatical constructions (case with or without a preposition) associated with a given word in a corpus sample. The first case study examines the constructional profiles of Russian words for 'happiness' and 'sadness'. This study shows which synonyms are closest to each other in terms of case use and what metaphors are encoded by case in the Russian understanding of these emotions. The second study is of the constructional profiles of the Russian verb *gruzit'* 'load' with three perfectivizing prefixes that are traditionally considered to be semantically empty: *na-*, *za-*, and *po-*. This study shows that the three verbs *nagruzit'*, *zagruzit'* and *pogruzit'*, all glossed as 'load', behave very differently in terms of case usage. The verbs are therefore not synonymous and consequently their prefixes cannot be semantically empty.

Farrell Ackerman & John Moore

Proto-properties and Obliqueness

A basic distinction between some notion of Case and Grammatical Function serves as as fundamental explanatory assumption among most formal theoretical frameworks, obtaining despite theory-particular interpretations of Case and Grammatical Function. Despite the impressive array of empirical arguments for this distinction, we argue that relevant data are better analyzed in terms of a more general, cluster category concept formulated in terms of obliqueness, and that this complements Dowty's (1991) cluster concept of proto-thematic roles.

  We explore this hypothesis with respect to "so-called" oblique subjects. Moore and Perlmutter (2000) argue that Russian dative-marked experiencers as in (1) should not be treated as dative subjects: since they cannot be controlled and cannot undergo Raising, Moore and Perlmutter, following Grammatical Function based assumptions, argue these dative marked nominals are indirect objects. This contrasts with the dative marked nominals of infinitives, as in (2), which Moore and Perlmuter argue are dative subjects. The arguments for indirect object status of dative nominals in (1) prioritize certain properties as diagnostic of grammatical function status, while weakly weighting others: non-controllability and the inability to raise favor indirect object status, while appearance in canonical subject position and ability to antecede reflexives are not construed as properties determinative of subject status. Hence, the claim that the nominal in (1) not a subject, while that in (2) is, entails distinguishing some subject determining properties from others. This is made explicit in Ackerman and Moore 2001, where they propose that controllability and raisability are crucial for subject status, while other properties (e.g. anteceding reflexives) are not. Based on this, they argue that the Polish dative in (3b) is not a subject, yielding the subject-indirect object alternation in (3). They note that, correlative with its indirect object status, Jankowi is less agentive than the corresponding subject Janek. On the basis of this, and other data, and building on Dowty's (1991) proto-thematic role proposal, they propose the PARADIGMATIC SELECTION PRINCIPLE, paraphrased in (4).

  However, while the dimension of obliqueness in (3) is keyed to Grammatical Function (subject vs. indirect object), in other instances, they argue it should be keyed to Case. For example, in Hindi, nominative and dative-marked subjects exhibit similar attenuated agentivity in the dative-alternant. Thus, obliqueness on this analysis is defined along two hierarchies: Grammatical Functions and Case, thus, reflecting conventional cross-theoretic assumptions.

  This disjunctive characterization of analytic options is avoided if the opposition between Case and Grammatical Function is replaced with a cluster concept of obliqueness: this, obviously, recalls the seminal proposal by Keenan 1976 which distinguishes between coding and behavioral properties of nominals. Accordingly, the PARADIGMATIC SELECTION PRINCIPLE becomes a correspondence principle between two basic cluster concepts: proto-roles and obliqueness. One immediate consequence of this move in the dimension of obliqueness is that it encourages and permits the identification of language particular clusters of properties that both distinguish and relate distinct nominals in a clause. Additionally, it avoids the need to arbitrarily select only certain properties as necessary conditions for subjecthood and, by implication, other grammatical functions.

Data

(1) **Borisu** ne rabotaetsja u sebja doma.
     'Boris (dat.) can't seem to work at his own place (at home).'

(2) **Mne** ne sdat'èkzamen.
     'It's not (in the cards) for me (dat.) to pass the exam.'

(3) a. Te książke **Janek** czytał (z przyjemnością).
        'John (nom.) read this book (with pleasure).'
     b. Te książke czytało się **Jankowi** *(przyjemnością).
        'John (dat.) read this book (with pleasure).'

(4) PARADIGMATIC SELECTION PRINCIPLE: an attenuated proto-role corresponds to an
     attenuated encoding in terms of obliqueness.

Peter Arkadiev

Towards a typology of case in head-marking languages

The goal of this study is to present a systematic survey of case systems and patterns of case marking attested in languages with rich head-marking (in terms of Nichols 1986), among them languages claimed to be polysynthetic (cf. Baker 1996). The database currently includes some 20 languages from all over the world, but more languages will be included during further study.

First of all, unsurprisingly, rich head-marking and even polysynthesis do not appear to be incompatible with dependent-marking (cf. data from Nichols 1992 and Dryer et al. 2005). Among case systems attested in head-marking languages are poor ones (2–3 cases, e.g. Yimas, Adyghe, Choctaw, Straits Salish), moderate ones (4–7 cases, e.g. Hua, Tarascan, Alawa, Tonkawa) and also quite rich ones (e.g. Georgian, Chukchee, Gooniyandi, Basque, Mangarayi).

The most interesting question concerns the functional make-up of case-systems in head-marking languages, in particular, possible relations and mutual dependencies between head- and dependent-marking. A preliminary investigation suggests several types of such interrelation.

1) A (nearly) complementary distribution between head- and dependent-marking: overt case-marking on the noun phrase excludes its being cross-referenced by a pronominal affix on the verb, and vice-versa. This situation seems to be rather rare; it is found in Yimas, Coos, and to certain extent in Abkhaz and in the Salish languages.

2) A (nearly) exact matching of head- and dependent-marking, when different cases of the noun phrases correspond to different types of verbal pronominal affixes (with a caveat that usually only core grammatical relations are cross-referenced on the verb). This situation is also quite rare, being realized in Adyghe and Kabardian, and to certain extent in Tarascan and in Basque.

3) The most common type involves a rather complex relation between head- and dependent- marking, showing various mismatches in both directions. Quite widespread are wellknown 'splits', e.g. when case-marking on nouns follows the ergative pattern while the bound pronominals on the verb are aligned accusatively (cf. e.g. Siuslaw, Georgian, Gooniyandi, Eskimo). Similarly, in ditransitive constructions dependent-marking may show indirective alignment while head-marking may follow the secundative pattern (Haspelmath 2006; cf. Salish languages). More intricate situations are also found, cf. Mangarayi, where case marking on nouns is split according to gender, and Georgian, where it depends on tense, which is not reflected in the head-marking of both languages; in Choctaw, verb agreement, but not case, systematically distinguishes between ditransitive themes and recipients.

However, in type 3 languages one may also find non-trivial systematic correlations between head- and dependent-marking. First of all, though particular case must not correspond to a dedicated set of bound pronominals, usually there is a set of cases which exclusively allow verbal cross-referencing, the range of these case being subject to cross-linguistic variation. Second, certain case alternations may be accompanied by shifts in head-marking, cf. Georgian, where the so-called 'inversion' (Harris 1981) operates both on case-marking and on verb agreement.

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Angela Bartens & Enrique Lucena Torres

The Finnish translative and its equivalents in Spanish, French, and Italian – a case study of Kari Hotakainen's *Juoksuhaudantie* and its translations

In this paper, we examine the strategies employed by translators in order to render the meaning of the rich Finnish case system in languages which do not possess morphological case. For this purpose, we have chosen one specific case, the Finnish translative, which presumably presents particular difficulties to translators. The current paper is based on a previous study (xxxx forthcoming) which deals only with the language pair Finnish – Spanish. In order to expand the study beyond the purely translational domain, we now include two more Romance languages, French and Italian.

Present-day Contrastive Analysis emphasizes the importance of gathering the data to be analyzed from parallel corpora. However, a parallel corpus covering the four languages in question does not exist, at least as far as we know. As a result, we had to resort to a literary text, the Finnish award-winning novel *Juoksuhaudantie* (2002) by Kari Hotakainen and its translations into the previously mentioned Romance languages.

Based on 235 short passages drawn from the novel which contain a total of 260 occurrences of the Finnish translative as well as the equivalents chosen by the respective translators into Spanish, French, and Italian, we have elaborated a typology of the Finnish translative and its equivalents in the mentioned languages. Although we are well aware of the fact that both the source and target texts are first and foremost representative of their authors' idiolects, we consider that it is possible to extrapolate some general tendencies from them. As far as the Finnish language is concerned, our taxonomy is primarily semantic and not syntactic. It is constituted by six categories one of which presents further sub-categories. These semantic categories interact in a particularly interesting manner with the category 'transitivity' (Hakulinen et al. 2004: 1207). The translations into the Romance languages usually preserve the semantics of the Finnish translative while resorting to language-specific morphosyntactic structures in order to compensate for the lack of morphological case. To a certain extent, the structures employed reflect the typological differences between the Romance languages under survey (French and [Standard] Italian *vis-à-vis* Spanish).

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Adri Breed

Unmarkedness of case in Afrikaans

Afrikaans is one of the eleven official languages of South Africa, and it is spoken by the majority of the country's population as a first or second language. Though Afrikaans is only the third largest language in South Africa in terms of mothertongue speakers, it is widely understood and used as a second and third language.

Afrikaans derived directly from 17th Century Dutch, especially a variation of this language spoken by seamen and tradesmen who settled on the coast of Southern Africa. The Dutch speaking immigrants had regular contact not only with the indigenous people of Southern Africa, but also with imported Malaysian slaves and other seafarers speaking other European languages like Spanish, Portuguese and English. The regular language contact between the people living and working on the southern point of the African continent resulted in a new African language, namely Afrikaans.

Like many other languages that came into existence due to regular language contact between speakers of different languages, Afrikaans shows strong creole characteristics. It has, for example, no or little morphological inflection, a simple syntactic structure and and many of its grammatical and linguistic features are unmarked.

Afrikaans shows a strong resemblance to Dutch, and the two languages (due to their shared derivation from 17th Century Dutch) can be seen as sister languages. Both languages are of the Germanic language phyla.

When Afrikaans is compared with Dutch, and also with other languages such as German and English, it is clear that many linguistic and grammatical features seem to be "absent", or left unmarked in Afrikaans. Case and the specification of past tense are only two examples of this unmarkedness in Afrikaans.

The question can be asked whether this grammatical and linguistic unmarkedness is an indication that the above mentioned features are "absent" in Afrikaans. It can also be that in Afrikaans these features are marked in other ways than on a morphological level. For example, some languages mark case by means of syntax.

The subject of this paper, namely *Unmarkedness of case in Afrikaans,* forms part of a greater PhD-study on "unmarkedness in Afrikaans and Dutch". Although case is only one of the many linguistic features studied in the thesis, the paper will propose some hypotheses on the way in which Afrikaans marks its grammatical features such as case.

This study will be carried out within the framework of cognitive linguistics, and will include a comparative exploration of markedness not only in other Germanic languages (notably Dutch and German), but also Greek and Latin.

Since my PhD-study is still in a very early phase, the paper will mainly discuss the methodology that will be followed in the study.

Michael Crombach

Zipf, Kandel and Case
Case, case-syncretism and frequencies

George K. Zipf described in his works the famous "Zipf-Curve": the frequency distribution of words in a corpus/language (see the example below). The x-axis gives the position of a word(form)/token in a frequency table, the y-axis indicates the number of occurrences of the given item.

Eric R. Kandel amongst others investigated the importance of repetition (= frequency) in neural learning processes. If it is true, that the most frequent words are the most conservative ones, which goes perfectly with the neural learning described by Kandel, then change has to start somewhere else in the frequencytable. In other words a word heard often enough will be learned; no matter whether it fits into a predictable pattern of the language or not.

Case (as e. g. observed in Indo-European languages) undergoes change in formal and functional distributions. E. g. the function of "possessive" in other Germanic languages mainly expressed by the formal "genitive" tends at least in certain varieties of German to be replaced by the formal "dative" with preposition, compare *father's hat* vs. *Vaters Hut* vs. *der Hut vom Vater*.

This section paper wants to present the idea that change can only happen in a certain area of the Zipf-Curve. The word(forms)/tokens serving as hinge forms have to be frequent enough to form a blueprint, but on the other hand they cannot be not too frequent, or they contradict the observation that the most frequent entities in languages are the most conservative.

If the idea of a "Oort cloud", a source of change, within the Zipf-Curve is correct, the next question is that of how changes spread. The movement of a change to the right of the curve, i. e. from the more frequent word(forms)/tokens to the less frequent ones is (more or less) trivial and can be summarized under the name of *Analogy* (Although this concept also has many open issues, Analogy may here be simply described as "applying a successful pattern for something, where it is not originally appropriate.")

But how does change move *left*? How to describe the processes that underly the influence of less frequent word(forms)/tokens on the more frequent ones? That this change takes place is a fact: languages change. Sometimes repetitions are not sufficient to rule out the prediction-pattern, in these cases the change in the system moves left on the "Zipf-Curve". Is there a "cumulative frequency"? Are these phenomena related to the "invisible hand" phenomenon?

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Michael Cysouw & Diana Forker

Reconstruction of morphosyntactic function:
Non-spatial usage of spatial case marking in Tsezic

The Nakh-Daghestanian languages are famous for their rich spatial case marking systems. This paper focuses on the non-spatial use of spatial case marking in the Tsezic languages, a subgroup of Nakh-Daghestanian.

Tsezic languages have up to eight location markers that can be combined with up to six orientation markers in order to form complex spatial categories. Outside the spatial domain these markers indicate temporal (1a) and metaphorical (1b) location and orientation. Their grammatical uses include among others the marking of verbal arguments (2), of non-finite verb forms in adverbial clauses (3) and the expression of possession or purpose (4).

Using Maximum Parsimony, an approach known from biological phylogenetics, a reconstruction is proposed for the historical development of the case marking. Maximum Parsimony aims to minimize the number of necessary changes needed in order to get from the living Tsezic languages to Proto-Tsezic. A new semantic map-like visualization is developed to represent functional differences in case marking among the various Tsezic languages. and the same visualization is used to present the reconstructed historical developments in an insightful manner. A significant improvement in our approach is that the displays are automatically generated, which makes them easier to compare across languages. Besides various new insights regarding the development of Tsezic case marking, the approach used in this paper presents a generally applicable method for the reconstruction of morphosyntactic functions.

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Examples

(1)   Hunzib (van den Berg 1995: 191)

a. *oqʼel*   *wəd-i-**i***   *diya*   *aƛ-a-a*   *∅-anqʼe-n*   *lo*
   four.OBL   day-OBL-IN   BEN   village-OBL-IN   I-come-CVB   be(I)
   'After four days (he) came to the village.'

Khwarshi

b. *ssimi*   *m-okʼ-un*   *obu-tʼu-s*   *kandu-**ƛʼo-l***
   evil(III)   III-go-PSTUNW   father-OBL-GEN1   daughter-SUPER-LAT
   'The father got angry with the daughter.'

(2)   Bezhta

*sukʼo-**qa***   *kʼezi*   *∅-aq-aʔa-s*   *sukʼo*   *∅-iƛʼ-al*
person-AT   can   I-be-NEG-PRS   person(I)   I-kill-INF
'A man cannot kill another man.'

(3)   Hinuq

me	*aq'ey-**ƛ'o-r***	*de*	*kaɣat*	*cax-no*	*łaq'er-an*
you.SG	come-SUPER-LAT	I.ERG	letter	write-CVB	finish-FUT

'Until/before you come back I will finish writing the letter.'

(4) Tsez

yisi-z	*babiw-s*	*šuda-**ƛ'o-si***	*ħimu*
he-GEN2	father-GEN1	graveyard-SUPER-LNK	tombstone(II)

*y-agi-ani-**x***	*b-iħu-n yedu*	
II-lick-MSD-ILOC	III- come.to–PSTUNW	it

'It came in order to lick the tombstone on his father's grave.'

Abbreviations

I-III	gender	INF	infinitive
AT	location "at"	LAT	Lative
BEN	benefactive	LNK	linker particle
CVB	converb	MSD	masdar
ERG	Ergative	NEG	negation
FUT	future tense	OBL	oblique
GEN1	First Genitive	PRS	present tense
GEN2	Second Genitive	PSTUNW	past unwitnessed
ILOC	"inanimate" location	SG	singular
IN	location "in"	SUPER	location "on"

Michael Daniel

Vocative: paradigmatization of address

1. Preliminaries. In numerous works and on numerous occasions, it has been suggested that the vocative is not a case in the functional sense. Although typological definitions of case vary, there is a general agreement that cases typically encode argument structure, adnominal relations and/or non-obligatory adjunct (temporal and spatial) functions. Under this definition, the vocative clearly stands outside the main functional domain of case - its uses are clearly non-syntactic. It remains to be explained why some languages treat vocatives as case forms putting them together with formal means of argument or spatial nominal marking. How do they make their way into paradigmatic slots of nominal declension? In principle, there are two possible explanations.

2. Vocative case: function or form. It is possible that the vocatives share some deep functional properties with prototypical relational and semantic cases. That would mean that the definition of case has to be reconsidered so as to include the vocative. One could argue, for instance, that the vocatives are not fully indifferent to syntactic structures: they follow general rules of syntactic well-behavior by e.g. respecting the integrity of phrasal constituents. We well however opt for another explanation which lies in the formal domain. Analysis of vocative forms in some languages of the world proves that, if vocatives become aligned with case markers, that happens for various function-independent, formal reasons, such as vocative particle integration, special truncation patterns, etc. To our eyes, then, the vocatives may count as case forms only from the language-internal prospective. They are cases only to the extent that they are integrated into morphological patterns that we otherwise accept as patterns of case formation.

3. Cluster approach to case systems. This observation may be generalized to other case functions. Attributive functions, argument marking, spatiality are all distinct functional clusters that need not to be covered by one functionally oriented definition. The may come to live together under one roof of the case paradigm in some languages but may be formally distinct devices in the others. Examples of separate morphologization are available not only for the addressive function, but are also relatively frequent cross-linguistically for adnominal function (various types of non-case possessive morphology) and, more rarely, spatiality. The spatial cluster is formally distinguished in various languages to a different extent but comes to a very clear realization in e.g. East Caucasian languages with their locative subparadigms.

From this point of view, the case becomes a composite notion. The functional approach to the definition of this category is only viable in a typological dimension, investigating which clusters of functions - argument marking, spatiality, adnominal constructions - are more often treated together. Under this perspective, vocative is an example of a nominal function that is highly resistant to the tendency of paradigmatization.

Svetlana Edygarova

Cases and attributive possession in permic languages

Until now traditionally in Permic languages only three cases are regarded as possessive markers of the possessor in attributive possession: N-**GEN**+N(-PX), N-**ABL**+N(-PX), N-**NOM**+N (Vakhrushev, Perevoschikov, GSUYa, SKYa, Nekrasova). Rarely other cases are regarded as well (Sazhina).

The research is based on typological studies of B.Heine in possession. In particular I deal with attributive possession basing on his sours-schemas. According to this study attributive possession in Permic languages can be presented by wider range of constructions which involve other cases as well. In the present study I research possessive attributive phrases and cases they are composed by. In particular following phrases are regarded:

(a.1.) Genitive Schema is presented in both languages by genitive *-len/-lön* and Px (compulsory in Udmurt) and appears as a major schema. It expresses definite possession; in Komi it expresses mostly animate possession, in Udmurt inanimate possession as well (inalienable possession, complete control).

Udm. *stud'ent-len kn'iga-jez* (student-GEN book-3SG) 'the student's book',
Kom. *stud'ent-lön n'ebög(-ys)*.

(a.2.) Genitive Schema in both languages can be also presented by ablative *-les'/-lys'* (in function of genitive) and Px which is similar to previous pattern, but appears only when the possessee is direct object. Actually here we deal with Action Schema as far as the possessee is governed by transitive verb.

Udm. *stud'ent-les' kn'iga-z-e lydze* (student-ABL book-3SG-ACC read-PRES/3SG) 'He reads the student's book',
Kom. *me addzyli d'ad'-lys' pi-s-ö* (I see-PRET/1SG uncle-ABL son-3SG-ACC) 'I saw uncle's son'.

(b) In Topic Schema the possessor has form of nominative or so-called nominativus absolutus. It is used in both languages and expresses inalienable and indefinite possession.

Udm. *korka ös* 'house door',
Kom. *kerka ödzös*.

(c) Source Schema appears more regularly in modern Udmurt language and the possessor has elative form *-ys'*; the phrase expresses inanimate partial possession. In Komi in the same situation the possessor marked by adjective forming suffix *-sa*.

Udm. *un'ivers'it'et-ys' stud'ent* (university-EL student) 'student of university'
Kom. *kar-ys' nyvbab-jas-ys' velödys'* (city-EL woman-PL-EL teacher) 'woman teacher of the city',
Kom. *un'ivers'it'et-sa stud'ent* 'student of university'.

(d) Goal Schema is expressed by dative *-ly* and less grammaticalized as possessive in both languages.

Udm. *myn-ym esh* (I-DAT friend) 'my friend',
Kom. *mös-ly turun* (cow-DAT herb) 'herb for cow'.

(e) In Accompaniment Schema it is the possessee which is marked by case ending, in particular by instrumental *-en* (only in Udmurt). In Komi comitative and instrumental do not create attributive phrases. In both languages possessee can be marked by adjective forming suffixes (Udm. *-o*; Kom. *-a*). The latter is grammaticalized wider than the former.

Udm. *közhy-jen shyd* (pea-IN soup) 'pea-soup', *shundy-jo nunal* (sun-with day) 'sunny day',

Kom. *s'öd yurs'i-a nyv* (black hair-with girl) 'girl with black hair'.

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Stefanie Fauconnier

Agent marking and animacy

This paper is a cross-linguistic study of the effects of animacy on Agent[1] marking, and the functional motivation of such effects. The best known phenomenon in this domain is probably split ergative marking, in which animate and inanimate referents are on opposite ends of the hierarchy, and take accusative and ergative marking, respectively (Silverstein 1976). In this study, I will show that there are other kinds of animacy effects that are specific to Agent marking. The results are based on a small genetically diverse sample of 40 languages (see Rijkhoff & Bakker 1998). For one language, namely Classical Greek, I will go into more detail and do a corpus-based study.

The animacy effects treated in this study can be subdivided in two categories, based on the category of voice. Firstly, there are languages which mark inanimate Agents of active structures in a special way, by assigning them oblique instead of core case marking. Jingulu, for instance, uses the ergative case for animate Agents, but the instrumental for inanimate Agents (example 1). Secondly, some languages also rely on animacy principles to assign different cases to Agents in passive structures. This is the case, for example, the case in Turkish, where inanimates take ablative case (example 2). A similar phenomenon has also been observed for a dialect of Classical Greek (George 2005).

As to the motivation of animacy effects, it has been claimed that inanimate Agents may receive special case marking because of their low volitionality and control (e.g. Malchukov 2008:210–211), two features which are considered to be essential for prototypical agentivity and transitivity (Hopper & Thompson 1980; Dowty 1991). In this study I will question this claim because it leads to wrong predictions. If volitionality and control were the relevant features, one could expect that the same case marker will be used not just for inanimate Agents, but also for animate Agents whose actions are uncontrolled or unvolitional. However, the languages of the sample show that it is not possible to use the "inanimate" marker with animate Agents. Moreover, Kittilä (forthcoming) has shown that languages which assign special case marking to unvoluntary Agents do not allow the use of this case marker with inanimate Agents.

As an alternative, I will explore the traditional notion of "expectedness", used in Silverstein (1976) and Wierzbicka (1981), who argue that inanimate Agents receive special marking because they are not expected to occur as Agents. Based on the more recent interpretation of expectedness in terms of discourse structure, especially in analyses of "optional" ergative marking (e.g. in Gooniyandi and Warrwa, see McGregor 1998, 2006), I will argue that expectedness is a better way to explain and motivate animacy effects for Agents.

Examples

 1 Jingulu (Pensalfini 2003:178,189)
   1. _Babi-rni_ ikiya-rnarna-nu ibilkini.
      older brother-ERG wet-3sgS1sgO-did water
      'My brother wet me' (animate A ERG)
   2. **_Darrangku-warndi_ maya-ngarna-nu.**

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[1] The word "Agent" is not intended as a strictly defined semantic concept, but it is used as a loose term to indicate the affecting participant in a semantically transitive event.

tree-INST hit-3sgS1sgO-did
 'A tree hit me' (inanimate A INST)

 2 Turkish (Comrie 1985:340, Göksel & Kerslake 2005:150)
   1. *Adam <u>kadin</u> <u>tarafindan</u> döv-ül-dü*
      man woman by hit-PASS-PAST
      'The man was hit by the woman' (animate A in passive postposition tarafindan)
   2. *keten <u>ayişiğ-in-dan</u> parçala-n-ir-miş*
      linen moonlight-NC-ABL destroy-PASS-AOR-EV.COP
      'Apparently linen gets fragmented by moonlight' (inanimate A in passive ABL)

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Beatriz Fernández & Jon Ortiz de Urbina

Core and peripheral datives: Dative agreement drop in Basque

Dative marked nominals often display properties which qualify them as the most peripheral of core arguments („oblique" arguments in some terminologies), and/or the peripheral elements closest to core arguments. Standard Basque datives rank quite high in core properties and are often analyzed as nominal (NPs or DPs) on a par with nominals marked ergative or absolutive, different from peripheral Postpositional Phrases (PPs).

A quite prominent core-like property of Basque datives is their ability to agree with the verb. Basque tensed verbs agree with ergative, absolutive and dative arguments (1). Although a further agreement marker may refer to the addressee of the speech situation (not a verbal argument), no other element may be cross-indexed on the tensed verb, and, in particular, there is no agreement with PP elements. However, northeastern varieties of Basque display from the earliest extant documents to the present time a phenomenon of dative agreement drop which is ruled by a variety of factors, foremost among which is the type of dative involved (Haspelmath 2003 for a „semantic map" of several dative functions). Cross-linguistically and intra-linguistically, dative marking is associated with a variety of thematic and grammatical roles, and the data from agreement drop in Basque provide first-hand evidence for a hierarchization of dative types with respect to their relative proximity to core or peripheral functions.

In these dialects, verbs hardly ever agree with datives which seem to correspond to postpositional relations. Example (2) shows a dative complement with the verb egon „be", with the meaning „be oriented towards", which is left unmarked on the verb. Similarly, many psych verbs participate in an alternation where, on top of „inverse" structures with a dative experiencer and an absolutive stimulus (3a), we find an absolutive experiencer and a postpositional stimulus, usually in the instrumental case (3b). In some contemporary northeastern dialects, dative can be used for the postpositional stimulus in this configuration, but this „postpositional" dative does not display agreement (3c). This contrasts sharply with the experiencer dative in the first, „inverse" configuration (see different cases in P. Bhaskararao & K.V. Subbarao 2004), which quite systematically maintains agreement, just like ethical dative marking or external possession marking (König 2001; see (4)). While experiencer datives are known to display subject properties, so that agreement maintenance is expected, ethical datives or possessive datives might in principle be considered to be less argumental and, therefore more pheripheral, so that agreement maintenance requires an explanation (see McFadden (2004) or Pylkkänen (2008) for claims that these are indeed „high" datives).

Finally, agreement drop shows goal datives occupy a position half way between core and peripheral. Human and locative goals are marked alike in many languages, and it is perhaps here where we find more variability, both cross-linguistically in the status of goal datives as central or peripheral, and language internally in northeastern Basque dialects in their ability to trigger dative agreement (compare non-agreeing (5), and agreeing goal datives (6) in the same idiolect).

Example sentences:

1. Ni-k   zu-ri   liburu-ak   bidali d-i-zki-zu-t
   I-ERG you-DAT book-DET.ABS.PL sent   PRS-DF-ABS.PL-2DAT-1ERG
   'I have sent the books to you'

2. hegoari   zagoenak   ez duela   iphar aldean   ongi emanen
   south.DAT was.3ABS.COMP.ERG neg AUX.that north side.LOC well give.FUT
   'that the one that was [oriented] to the south will not produce well on the north' (Dv
   Lab 382)
3. a. Mikel-i   gai hori   interesatzen zaio
      Mikel-DAT topic that(ABS)   interest.IMPF AUX.3ABS-3DAT
      'That topic interests (is interesting to) Mikel'
   b. Mikel   gai   horr-etaz   interesatzen da
      Mikel(ABS) topic that.INSTR interest.IMP AUX.3ABS
      'Mikel is interested in that topic' (lit. 'Mikel interests in that topic')
   c. Aurten, g aitari   interesatuko da   bereziki   jaialdia
      this.year bagpipe.DAT interest.FUT AUX.3ABS especially festival
      'This year the festival will [be] especially interest[ed] bagpipes' (Berria, 2006-02-24)
4. itsu hari   argitu ziozkan   begiak (Jnn SBi 108)
   blind that.DAT lighten AUX.3ABS.PL/3DAT

   'That blind person"s eyes lightened (lit. to the blind the eyes lightened)'
5. Ez uste… baitezpada   gorrieri   emango dudala   ene botza
   neg think yes.and.no.if.is reds.DAT   give.FUT   AUX.3ABS.1ERG.that my vote
  'do not think… that I will give my vote to the reds just in case' (Larz Idazl II, 227)
6. joka nezazkek neri   Aletxandrak emaiten   dautala   arrazoin
   bet AUX   I.DAT Alex.ERG   give.PERF   AUX.3ERG.1DAT.that reason
   'I would bet that Aletxandra will agree with me' (lit. 'will give me reason') (Larz Idazl
   I, 292)

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Maria Frick

Case usage in Finnish−Estonian code-switching

When first introduced to a new language, immigrant speakers usually start by using words from the new language while speaking in their first language. At first, these switches are grammatically integrated, i.e. they are inflected with suffixes from the first language – the base language of conversation. When we investigate later language usage (where the first language still forms the base of the conversations), second language items emerge which maintain the grammatical features of the "donor" language. How and why these non-integrated switches emerge in the language usage of bilinguals is the main question set in this paper.

The problem is investigated by examining code-switching in mainly Finnish language email data collected from 11 students during their first three years of residence in Estonia. In order to find out how and why morphological integration of the switched elements changes, the data is analysed against time (length of stay) and sociolinguistic variables. Reasons for morphological non-integration are sought and found on the socio-pragmatic level in a) the informants' usage of Estonian as a second language in everyday life, b) the speakers' language background – people of bilingual origin tend to use non-integrated code-switching more readily, and c) the functioning of non-integrated code-switching as a contextualisation cue.

The Finnish and Estonian inflection systems are formed of similar case categories, but with distinctive endings – a fact which gives the investigator of bilingual language usage a clear advantage. The question of how and why the bilingual speaker mixes the two language systems is thus relatively easy to approach using the data at hand. Further analysis is therefore carried out on the emergence of Estonian case endings in the code-switched Estonian elements in the Finnish language base, as well as on the syntax of the switches. The data suggests that even when breaking the morphological boundaries of the base language with non-integrated switches, the speakers tend to prefer following the syntax of the base language (Finnish).

Anton Granvik

Spanish *de* and the genitive

The aim of my paper is to present some observations concerning the grammatical status of one of the most frequent and abstract of Spanish prepositions, *de*. As is well known, in the evolution of the Romance languages the Latin case endings were lost, their functions being replaced by a seemingly small number of primary prepositions, e.g. *de, a, en, por, para* in the case of Spanish (cf. Pottier 1962, Lehmann 1985). The apparently obvious functional similarity between Spanish *de* and the Latin genitive probably led grammarians, highly influenced by tradition, to simply continue using traditional terminology, that is, calling *de* the genitive, in their descriptions of the Spanish language in the early grammars published from the late 15th century on (e.g. Nebrija 1492, Valdés 1535 and Correas 1627).

Obviously, the inclination to base all linguistic descriptions of vernacular languages on Latin, taking advantage of all possible similarities, is not without its problems, even in such a clear case as *de* and the genitive. Through all its history, Spanish *de* has also shown uses that relate to the Latin ablative. Reflecting *de*'s multiple origins as well as grammatical tradition, present day linguists have focused on *de* from two different perspectives —one referring to its uses inherited from the ablative, another from the genitive (cf. Morera Pérez 1988, Sancho Cremades 1994). Quite obviously, though, Spanish *de* is but one preposition, albeit on that presents multiple uses and several related and highly abstract meanings.

The issue, then, is how to determine which uses of *de* are to be considered genitival and which are not. As might be expected when dealing with an abstract topic such as prepositional semantics, there seems to be no straightforward way to establish such a division; indeed, it might not even be meaningful to try. Nevertheless, previous and ongoing studies of mine (Author 2008, 2009, under preparation) have made it apparent that *de* is undergoing a slow change —call it grammaticalization, specialization, narrowing— in which it is clearly becoming semantically more abstract, syntactically more restricted (into an NP marker) and increasingly frequent. Not surprisingly, all these attributes correlate nicely with what in other languages is, without controversy, described as genitive case.

In my paper I will focus on presenting some facts, derived from a systematic study of the evolution of the use of *de* throughout the history of Spanish, which can be thought to show that *de* is evolving into a more genitive-type preposition; its spatial, ablative domain is losing out, while the abstract, possession-centred genitive one is gaining ground. Hence, I feel that the traditional tendency to simply equate *de* with the genitive might, actually, be more appropriate than one might think. Of course, such an affirmation now rests on empirical grounds, rather than being purely based on tradition. Having said this, one must still acknowledge that Spanish *de* is, still, more than a genitive, although apparently less so than 800 years ago.

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Casper de Groot

Reconsidering the Hungarian Case System

Hungarian counts as a language with a well elaborated case system. Tompa (1968) distinguishes between 27 different case forms, but there is a lot of disagreement about the exact number. Kiefer (1987) argues that there seems to be agreement on the number of 17. In addition to the cases (bound morphemes) Hungarian also has a great number of postpositions (free morphemes). They can be distinguished on the bases of vowel harmony and word stress. Cases are subject to vowel harmony whereas postpositions are not, and cases do not have word stress, whereas postpositions do.

Generally, cases are found to mark the relation between predicates and their arguments, and postpositions to mark the relation between predications and satellites or adverbial phrases. There is, however, an overlap between the two categories. Actually, a number of cases and postpositions do functionally the same. Even the spatial distinctions found in the case system are also relevant to postpositions (see table 1). Note that there is no semantic ground to distinguish between the cases and postpositions in table 1. Morpho-phonological aspects may play a role here. Note that the cases in table 1 are monosyllabic and the postpositions are disyllabic. Moreover, some of the postpositions show formal elements which relate to an older Hungarian case system, e.g. the old locative –*tt*. There are more examples which do not fit into the general characterization of cases and postpositions. Some adverbial markers morphologically behave as cases, whereas some case markers are not sensitive to vowel harmony.

Against this background a lot of things can be said. I would, however, like to contribute to the conference by limiting down the number of possible subjects and focus on the following, partly interacting issues:

(i) Hungarian has semantic cases only. Note that Hungarian does not have a passive or dative shift comparable to English.

(ii) The argumenthood of elements as a decisive factor in establishing a case system. I will have a special look at obscure cases such as the 'formal', or 'essive-modal', but particularly to the 'essive-formal', which De Groot (2008) does not consider a case marker but a predicate marker (depictive) (1-3).

(iii) The morphological status of cases. I will argue that Hungarian cases are not part of a nominal inflectional category, but should be considered phrase markers. I will further argue that this is a property of agglutinative languages. In comparison to other agglutinative languages such as Cofan and Quechua I will argue that Hungarian also allows cases to mark embedded clauses (4). The status of the cases to be phrase markers also accounts for the fact that, different from Indo-European languages, just one element of a constituent is marked by a case suffix and that there is no case agreement within a constituent. Only in those instances where constituents are expressed discontinuously case markers may occur on more than one element as is found in other 'free word order languages' such as Warlpiri (5).

Data

	locative	lative 'to'	ablative 'from'	
cases	-ban/-ben	-ba/-be	-ból/-ből	'in'
	-on/-en/-ön/-n	-ra/-re	-ról/-ről	'on'
	-nál/-nél	-hoz/-hez/-höz	-t/ól/-től	'near'
postpositions	alatt	alá	alól	'under'

mögött	mögé	mögül	'behind'
mellett	mellé	mellől	'beside'

Table 1: Hungarian local system

(1) Modal and Essive suffix *-n*
Hat-an   voltunk   ott
six-suffix   we.were   there
'We were there with six persons.'

(2) Modal and Essive suffix –leg/lag
Békítő-leg   szóltam közbe.
peacemaker-suffix   I.interrpted
'In an attempt to make peace interrupted.'

(3) Dative versus Essive-Modal
   a.   Don Giovanni   szolgá-nak   álcázta   magá-t.
         Don Giovanni   servant-dat   disguised   himself-acc
         'Don Giovanni disguised himself as a servant.'
   b.   Don Giovanni   szolga-ként   álcázta   magá-t.
         Don Giovanni   servant-as   disguised   himself-acc
         'Don Giovanni disguised himself as (if he were) a servant.'

(4) Dummy element (co referential with object clause) with case suffix
   Péter az-t   mondta,   hogy Mari elment.
   Peter DUM-ACC   said   that Mari left
   'Peter said that Mari had left.'

(5) a.   Barna kabát-ot   vettem.
         brown coat-ACC   I.bought
         'I have bought a brown coat.'
   b.   Kabát-ot   vettem   barná-t.
         coat-ACC   I.bought   brown-ACC
         'I have bought a brown coat.'

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Ekaterina Gruzdeva

Coding of the subject in dependent clauses

Coding of the subject is known to be sensitive to the type of a clause in which it occurs. In matrix clauses, the subject is typically marked by the nominative case and/or finite verb agreement. In dependent clauses headed by a non-finite verb form, the subject may be also coded by nominative; however, non-finite verbs tend not to display agreement with it. Furthermore, the subject of a dependent clause may be marked differently from that of a matrix clause either by a case used in matrix clauses for coding other syntactic functions than the subject, or by a specific case that occurs only in dependent clauses. The paper considers the peculiarities of subject marking in dependent clauses with special attention to Nivkh (Paleosiberian) language data which provides evidence for all mentioned subject coding types.

In Nivkh, the subject typically stands in non-marked nominative both in matrix and dependent clauses, cf. *o:la-gu* 'children' and *əmək* 'mother' in (1) respectively. A finite verb optionally agrees with the subject in number, cf. *j-aɣaɣa--ɣu* '[the children] disturbed her' in (1), whereas most of non-finite verb forms (= converbs) do not show any agreement with any of arguments, cf. *p'ot-ŋan* 'when [mother] was sewing' in (1).

Besides these typical cases, Nivkh has also several dependent clauses whose subject takes a non-nominative form, while a converb displays agreement in person and number with the subject of the matrix clause.

First, in the purpose and cause clauses, the animate subject is referred to by the non-nominative form with the suffix *-aχ/-ax*, cf. *p'-eɣlŋ-aχ* 'his child' in (2) and *p'-əmək-aχ* 'my mother' in (3). These dependent clauses are headed by converbs of purpose, cf. *ɣe-gu-inəř* 'in order that [his child] buys' in (2), and cause, cf. *əki-gu-t* 'because [my mother] was ill' in (3), that obligatory attach the causative suffix *-gu-/-ku-*. Both mentioned converbs agree with the subject of the matrix clause. Note that the suffix *-aχ/-ax* coding the subject of given dependent clauses can be also used in matrix clauses, where it functions not as a marker of the subject but as that of the 'causee' of a causative verb denoting either factitive, cf. (4), or permissive, cf. (5), causation.

Second, in the clauses indicating reported speech, the animate subject is coded by a special case with the suffix *-qan/-ʁan/-ɢan/-χan* that apart from the 'causee'-case never occurs in matrix clauses, cf. *p'-ŋafq-ʁan* 'his friend' in (6). Non-finite converbs denoting reported speech, cf. *osqavil-fur* 'was coward [reportedly]' in (6), also agree with the subject of the matrix clause following the same pattern as converbs of purpose and cause.

Therefore, in the sentences with purpose, cause and reported speech clauses, one can observe a hierarchy of subjects which is overtly marked by morphosyntactic devices. The subject of a matrix clause is treated as a primary subject coded by nominative case and by both finite and non-finite verb agreement, whereas the subject of a dependent clause is considered as a secondary subject that is marked by a non-nominative case and does not trigger any agreement of any verb form.

(1)   (Nedjalkov and Otaina 1987: 306)

Imŋ—əmək   p'ot-ŋan   o:la-gu   j-aɣaɣa-d̦-ɣu.

they—mother:SG:NOM sew-CONV:when   child-PL:NOM   3SG-disturb-IND-PL
'When their mother was sewing, the children disturbed her.'

(2) *Ətk*   *p'-eɣlŋ-aχ*   *mu—ɣe-gu-inəř*
   father:SG:NOM REFL-child:SG-CAUSEE boat-SG-NOM—buy-CAUS-CONV:PURP:3SG
   čχa—xim-d.
    money:SG:NOM—give-IND:SG
   'Father gave [his child] the money in order that his child buys a boat.'

(3) (Nedjalkov and Otaina 1987: 306)

   P'-əmək-aχ   *əki-gu-t*   *ñi* *p'rə-ḑ.*
    REFL-mother:SG-CAUSEE be.bad-CAUS-CONV:CAUSE:1SG I:NOM come-IND:SG
   'Since my mother was [feeling] bad, I came.'

(4) *Nanx*   *p'-asq-aχ*   *pxi-roχ*
   elder.sister:SG:NOM   REFL-younger.sister:SG-CAUSEE   forest:SG-DAT
   vi-gu-d.
    go-CAUS-IND:SG
   'Elder sister forced her younger sister to go to the forest.'

(5) (Panfilov 1962: 131)

   Utkuoʁla *ere-rx* *ṭ'o-ax*   *vi-gu-ḑ-ra.*
    boy:SG:NOM river:SG-DAT fish:SG-CAUSEE go-CAUS-IND:SG-FOC
   'The boy let the fish go to the river.'

(6) *Ñ-ətk*   *p'-ŋafq-ʁan*   *osqavil-fur*
   my-father:SG:NOM   REFL-friend:SG-REPORTED.SUBJECT be.coward-
CONV:REPORTED.SPEECH:3SG
   it-nd.
    say-IND:SG
   'My father said that his friend was coward.'

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Dolgor Guntsetseg, Klaus von Heusinger & Udo Klein

The case of accusative embedded subjects in Mongolian

In Mongolian there are a number of subordinate clauses in which the form of the embedded subject alternates between the morphologically unmarked nominative case and the morphologically marked accusative case. It is also possible to mark the embedded subjects with the genitive case in some constructions, which can be analyzed as nominalizations like in Turkish (Kornfilt 2008), where the embedded subjects can also occur in nominative and genitive form depending on various factors. Guntsetseg and Klein (2009) argued that this alternation between the nominative and accusative depends on the adjacency of matrix and embedded subject and on the referentiality of the embedded subject. They claimed that this NOM/ACC alternation on embedded subjects is an instance of differential subject marking, based (i) on the assumption that this alternation involves the same grammatical function being morphologically marked differently, and (ii) on the fact that the referentiality of the embedded subject is a conditioning factor in this case alternation (cf. de Hoop and de Swart (2008) on the factors conditioning differential subject marking).

The question that Guntsetseg and Klein (2009) did not address is whether this case alternation can also be analyzed as an alternation of two different constructions: one in which the embedded subject is raised to object position and consequently marked as accusative, and the other one in which the embedded subject is not raised and consequently remains in the morphologically unmarked form, as proposed for Japanese in Kuno (1976). Although there is convincing evidence that the embedded accusative subjects in Japanese should be analyzed as constituents of the matrix clause, Sells (1990) argues that the grammatical function of these accusative marked arguments cannot be that of direct objects of the matrix clause.

In this talk we argue against analyzing these embedded accusative subjects as being raised to object. First we briefly present the morphological marking of arguments in the main clause and then we turn to the morphological marking of arguments in subordinate clauses, showing that the embedded accusative subjects can be found in a number of different subordinate constructions. We show that the embedded accusative subject may but need not be a constituent of the matrix clause. Given that in general there is no one-to-one mapping between position in constituent structure and grammatical function we provide additional evidence from passivization and causativization that these embedded accusative subjects cannot be analyzed as being direct objects. We conclude by showing that accusative subjects have different binding properties from direct objects.

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Helena Halmari

The case for the abstract case: Evidence from bilingual codeswitching

The purpose of this paper to show that even though case in English is mostly abstract, case-assignment relations between the case-assigner and the case-assignee are as strong in English as they are in Finnish (cf. Butt 2006, Chomsky 2000, Kiparski 2001). Thus, even though English has radically changed over the centuries in its overt typology, the case-assignment relations that prevailed earlier are still evidenced. However, the case today is an abstract case (with the exception of some pronoun paradigms).

Evidence for this claim comes from Finnish-English codeswitching. The results show that the syntactic relation holding between the case-assigner and the case that it assigns is so strong that switching from English to Finnish or vice versa does not typically occur between elements that are in this case-assignment relation with each other. The language of the case-assigner needs to match the language of the case assigned. Hence, in the usage of Finnish-English bilinguals, language-switching should not happen between the transitive verb and its direct object, between a preposition and its object, and between the tensed verb and its subject, because all these relations are case-assignment relations, the former element being the case-assigner and the latter the case-assignee. However, switching between Finnish and English happens often exactly between these aforementioned syntactic slots. This paper offers an explanation. Even though, for instance, the direct object may be in a different language than the transitive verb preceding it, the language of the case-marker in the direct object phrase will match the language of the element that assigned that case. Examples (1) and (2) illustrate this:

(1) Finnish frame sentence, English direct object inserted:

    On+ks   su+lla   napkin+ejä?
    have+Q you+ADE   +PL.PART
    'Do you have napkins?'

(2) English frame sentence, Finnish direct object inserted:

     Did you see that lumihiutale?
                        snowflake
    'Did you see that snowflake?'

The Finnish-English bilingual speaker in example (1) marks the English direct object with an overt Finnish case-marker (partitive) because the verb assigning this case is Finnish. In example (2), the case of the direct object is the abstract English case because the case-assigner is the English transitive verb see. The direct object itself is in Finnish (lumihiutale 'snowflake'), yet it does not get the Finnish accusative or partitive case, even though these would be the expected cases in the direct object position. The case is the English abstract case, assigned by the English verb.

Because of the 'invisibility' of the abstract case, arguments for this notion are hard to 'prove' true (but see Nikanne 1993). Language-mixing data can provide evidence for the abstract case and the importance of the syntactic relation between the case-assigner and the case-assignee (Treffers-Daller 1995, Halmari 1998). The language of the case assigned needs to be the same as the language of the case-assigner, even though the case may attach to an other-language word. Because Finnish marks case overtly in most instances, Finnish-English bilingualism can provide convincing evi-

dence for the essential nature of case-assignment relations and the notion of abstract case.

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Arja Hamari

The abessive case of the Uralic languages

In my presentation, I will treat the functions and development of a case category that is typical for many Uralic languages, i.e. the abessive – sometimes also known as the caritive or the privative case. The most central function of this case is to express the lack or shortage of something, which means that its meanings are often equivalent to English expressions formed by using the preposition *without*. For example, the Finnish abessive case ending *-tta/-ttä* can be attached to both nouns (e.g. *kirja* 'a/the book': *kirja-tta* 'without a/the book', *kynä* 'a/the pen': *kynä-ttä* 'without a/the pen') and nominalised verb forms (e.g. *kuule-* 'to hear': *kuule-ma-tta* 'without hearing', *näke-* 'to see': *näke-mä-ttä* 'without seeing').

The abessive ending has etymological equivalents throughout the Uralic language family and, consequently, it is assumed that the suffix goes back to the Uralic protolanguage. The original form may have been **-ktå/-ktä*, but it is not clear whether the suffix was originally a case ending or a derivational suffix (Janhunen 1982: 29, 31).

In addition to the abessive case suffix, in some Uralic languages there is a derivational caritive ending that probably also goes back to the Uralic protolanguage and that is etymologically related to the abessive case suffix. The protoform of the caritive ending was most likely **-ktåmå/-ktämä* (Janhunen 1982: 29). For example in Finnish, its descendant is a derivational ending *-ton/-tön* (:*-ttoma-/-ttömä-*) that can be attached to both nouns (e.g. *kirja-ton* 'bookless', *kynä-tön* 'penless') and nominalised verb forms (e.g. *kuule-ma-ton* 'not-hearing', *näke-mä-tön* 'not-seeing'). Unlike in Finnish, in the Mordvin languages the descendants of this Proto-Uralic derivational ending are used both as abessive case endings as well as in the function of derivational suffixes (e.g. Erzya Mordvin *keďťeme* and Moksha Mordvin *kätʹfʹəma* 'without a/the hand; handless') (Itkonen 1992: 221).

In my paper, I will treat the use of the abessive case forms of different Uralic languages, with the main emphasis on the Finno-Permic sub-branch of the language family. Firstly, I will treat the historically fuzzy position of the suffixes between inflection and derivation and, secondly, discuss the relation of the abessive case and negation. Furthermore, the abessive case will be treated from a more general viewpoint by contrasting it with typological findings of semantically and functionally similar phenomena in other language families. Abessive-like cases are relatively common for example in Australian languages, in which there is usually a clear diachronic connection between the (privative) case ending / derivational suffix and negation (Dixon 2002: 81–86, 141–142). Although this kind of a diachronic connection with the negative markers can not be established in the Uralic language family, the semantic and functional connection to negation seems to be similar to a large extent.

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Corinna Handschuh

Marked-S case systems

Many theories of case highlight its function as identifying and distinguishing the core arguments of a verb. Mallinson & Blake (1981: 91) refer to those theories as 'discriminatory theories' naming Comrie (1978) and Dixon (1979) as examples. When case is studied from this point of view two main types of case-systems are identified in the languages of the World: Nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive systems. With respect to the overt encoding of case-relations these two types conform to the following observation, as phrased in Greenberg's Universal 38 (Greenberg 1963: 59):

"Where there is a case system, the only case which ever has only zero allomorphs is the one which includes among its meanings that of subject of the intransitive verb."

However, there are languages which do not conform to this general tendency. Instead they use the zero-marked form of a noun for the transitive argument which does not share its encoding with S (either agent-like A or patient-like P). I refer to these languages as marked-S languages. More commonly they are know as marked-nominative (if of nominative-accusative alignment) or marked-absolutive (if of the ergative-absolutive type). These languages are extremely rare from a global perspective, though they occur quite frequently in at least three distinct regions (Eastern-Africa, the North-American Pacific coast, and Oceania). From the discriminatory view of case these languages are uneconomical in so far as they use extra morphological material in instances where no two arguments need to be kept distinct (i.e. intransitive sentences). Their uneconomical behavior can be seen as an explanation for the overall rarity of such languages.

While the discriminatory view of case draws exclusively on the encoding of the syntacto-sematic primitives S, A and P – and thus only takes prototypical intransitive and transitive sentences into account – recently a different approach has gained more prominence. In this new approach all function of a case-form has in a language are considered (such as marking of predicate nominals, attributive possessors etc.). Especially for the study of marked-S languages this approach appears to lead to promising new insights (cf. König 2006, 2008 for a detailed study of the situation of the African languages of this type). The hypothesis is that in marked-S languages the overtly-coded Nominative or Absolutive case has a more limited range of uses as compared to the zero-coded Accusative or Ergative case.

I will present an overview of marked-S languages on a world-wide basis, giving special attention to the different functions the two grammatical core cases have in marked-S languages. I will argue that there is a general tendency for the zero-coded form of a noun to have the widest range of functions, drawing attention to the exceptions from that rule, and to special patterns emerging in subsets of the languages (such as genetically and/or areally identifiable groups). Though the data is limited to languages of a very specific type, the approach presented can be generalized to any language with a case system, where it could give rise to new observations and help to identify patterns before unnoticed.

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Helen de Hoop & Sander Lestrade

Case and Tense

Case and tense seem totally unrelated at first sight, the first one pertaining to the nominal domain, denoting properties of individuals, the second one to the verbal domain, denoting properties of events. Case alternations triggered by tense (or aspect), however, are not at all uncommon, and the question is why. Our aim is to provide an explanation for this type of differential case marking, focusing on the interaction between case and tense, and conflicts between nominal and verbal reference. In particular, we will discuss case alternations that can be analysed in terms of a difference between stage and individual level predication (Poudel 2008). Our proposal is to analyse the case-tense interaction in terms a verification procedure for factuality. That is, we will argue that morphological case on a subject or an object may be required in situations when the hearer is not able to check the factuality (realization) of the denoted event.

Jane Klavan

Synonymy in Grammar:
Estonian Locative Case and Adpositional Constructions

The aim of the present paper is to determine whether such Estonian locative case constructions as *vaas on laual* [vase:NOM be-PRS:SG3 table:ADE] 'the vase is on the table' and adpositional constructions as *vaas on laua peal* [vase:NOM be-PRS:SG3 table:GEN on] 'the vase is on the table' are synonymous or whether they express alternative ways of viewing one and the same spatial scene. The present paper proceeds from the theoretical premises of both Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995, 2006) and Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987, 2008). The data comes from both the corpus (the corpus of contemporary written Estonian) and linguistic tests (production tests carried out with native speakers of Estonian).

It is hypothesised that although such constructions appear, at first sight, to be synonymous and are treated as such in traditional grammars of Estonian (Erelt et al. 1995: 34), there are crucial differences in how language speakers actually use these constructions. Both functional and geometric issues play a role here, e.g. whether the landmark is animate or inanimate, whether the landmark serves the normal, everyday function or whether the spatial arrangement between the landmark and trajector is somewhat unusual (cf. the huge amount of cognitive-functional studies on spatial expressions, e.g. Carlson & Van der Zee 2005, Coventry & Garrod 2004, Feist & Gentner 2003, Herskovits 1986, Talmy 1983, Vandeloise 1991). Other potential sources for differences between these two constructions are word order and the polysemy of these constructions. For example, the locative case construction has a prominent meaning of showing possession and thus, in some contexts, it inhibits the spatial use of this construction and the alternative adpositional construction has to be used instead.

The present paper reports on the results of a production test carried out with fifty native speakers of Estonian at the University of Tartu and on the results of a corpus study conducted with 500 instances of the locative case constructions and 500 instances of the adpositional constructions from the corpus of contemporary written Estonian (http://www.cl.ut.ee/korpused/kasutajaliides/). Both the production test and the corpus analysis test the hypothesis whether such issues as the animacy of the landmark and the commonality of the spatial relationship significantly influence the choice between these constructions. The preliminary results indicate that when speakers are presented with a common enough spatial relationship and when the landmark is animate (more specifically, human), they tend to use the locative case construction.

The results of the present study are important for both practical (e.g. in teaching Estonian as a foreign language) and theoretical reasons (e.g. the general question of synonymy in language). Researching seemingly synonymous language phenomena is especially interesting from the point of view of Cognitive Linguistics, where one of the basic general assumptions is that of no-synonymy, i.e. the *Principle of No Synonymy*: when two constructions differ syntactically, then they also differ either semantically or pragmatically (Goldberg 1995: 67).

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Leena Kolehmainen

Rise and development of adpositional objects in a translation-induced language contact situation

In the grammatical descriptions of Modern Finnish the status, functions and properties of adpositional objects such as (1) and (2) are completely neglected. Adpositional objects constitute an alternative to standard canonical objects in accusative (3) and partitive case (4). With regard to their status, they can be compared with objects in local cases governed by particular verbs (5).

(1) *ymmärtää hyvän ruuan päälle*
    understand   good.GEN food.GEN onto
    'respect/value good food'

(2) *kysyä kunniansa perään*
    ask   honour.GEN after
    'insist on/seek one's honour'

(3) *ymmärtää kysymys*
    understand question.ACC
    'understand a question'

(4) *kysyä hintaa*
    ask   price.PART
    'ask for the price'

(5) *tykätä tytöstä*
    fancy   girl.ELA
    'be fond of/fancy the girl'

In Modern Finnish, some adpositional objects are isolated sporadic historical relics restricted to particular verbs (1), some of them belong to a larger series of similar expressions which function as a productive model for the formation of new expressions (2) (Kolehmainen/Vesalainen 2006).

For the emergence of these adpositional objects, language contacts with Germanic languages were crucial. The major epoch when they emerged was the beginning of the period of Old Written Finnish (ca 1540–1820). During this period, the foundations for written Finnish were laid and numerous lexical and grammatical innovations were introduced in Finnish through the process of loan translation.

The main goal of this work in progress is to describe the rise and development of a selection of Finnish adpositional objects in a translation-induced language contact situation. The paper explores adpositional objects in the first written documents of Finnish and compares them with their original German and Swedish counterparts. The analysis strives to shed light on their paths of development.

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Sander Lestrade, Kees de Schepper & Joost Zwarts

The PCaseBase

In this talk we will present the PCaseBase, a typological database of languages with both morphological case and adpositions. It consists of 32 languages from 25 different language families. The database contains 1355 entries on adpositions and their case-marked objects plus an additional 548 entries for the functions of the cases when not governed by an adposition. The goal of the database it to compare the case and adposition inventories of different languages, and to study the interaction and differences between the two systems.

We coded each case and each adposition for the functions it has. This resulted in a number of abstract functions (e.g. Agent, Patient, Recipient, Possessor, Instrument), but also in a number of locative and temporal functions. The locative functions are characterized by a motional component (Goal, Source, Path, Static) on the one hand, and a configurational component (e.g. Inside, Above, Under, Front, Back, Between) on the other hand.

Some questions regarding the relation between adpositions and case are the following: 1) When a language has both case and adpositions, what functions are expressed by case alone and what functions by adpositions? 2) Which functions tend to be expressed by the same case or adposition in languages? 3) What is the correlation between the function of an adposition and the function of the case on its object? 4) What is the correlation between the function of an adposition and the function of the case (if any) on the adposition itself? In this talk we will present a number of statistical analyses of the PCaseBase, to answer these questions.

Adpositions not only assign case, in some languages, adpositions may be case-marked themselves. For example the Lezgian adposition *wilik* optionally has an additional elative marker (resulting in the form *wilikaj*). When marked with it, it expresses the Path meaning 'along a path in front of' (Haspelmath 1993). We will show which adpositions tend to be case-marked and what the meaning differences are that are made in this way.

Another interesting phenomenon we will discuss is discuss adpositional case alternation. The Lezgian adposition *wilik* expresses the spatial meaning 'in front of' with a genitive marked object, and the temporal meaning 'before' with a superelative marked object. In this case it could be argued that the superelative combination expresses a temporal metaphor of the spatial meaning. The question is whether the two meanings that are expressed in such an alternation are always related, and whether the use of the cases is predictable. Is it always a more grammatical case that expresses the basic meaning?

Liina Lindström & Ilona Tragel

Agent marking in Estonian participal constructions

This paper concerns Agent marking devices in Estonian constructions containing past passive participle. The data comes from the Corpus of Old Literal Estonian (19th century texts), the Corpus of Spoken Estonian and the Corpus of Written Estonian (20th century texts).

Estonian past passive participle (PPP) is used widely in different constructions. Due to the Patient-orientation, most of the participal constructions are more or less passive-like (Comrie 2008). As PPP is Patient-oriented, the Agent of the action is not explicitely expressed or is expressed by adding some oblique arguments.

Estonian has at least 4 main devices to mark the Agent in these construction: elative case, adessive case, genitive case and postposition *poolt* 'by'. In this paper, we concentrate on adessive and elative cases as agent markers.

(1) argument with elative case marking:
*Keik nee-d Sanna-d sa-i-d, senni kui ta räk-i-s, **Sikkertari-st** ülles kirjotud.*
all   these-PL word-PL get-PST-PL3 until then he/she talk-PST-PL3 secretary-ELA up+write-PPP
'All these words were written down by the secretary while he was speaking.' (1817-Holtz_9)

(2) argument with adessive case marking:
*Tegelikult   ol-i   **ne-i-l**   kõik   aegsasti   ette kavanda-tud.*
actually   be-PST:SG3 they-PL-ADE all   early   ahead plan-PPP
'Actually they had all planned ahead early' (Kroonika 08.10.2002)

In the 19th century, the most frequent Agent marking device has been the elative case. During the 20th century, the use of the elative case has reduced and the use of the adessive case as an Agent marking device has increased. At the present time, the elative case is hardly used as an Agent marker, but the adessive case is very frequent.

In this paper, we discuss these dynamic processes: why is the elative case replaced with adessive case as an Agent marking device?
There are three possible explanations:
1) the semantics of the elative and the semantics of the adessive case are different;
2) adessive argument is a subject-like argument in many other constructions (e.g. possessive construction) and there may be some interaction between different constructions;
3) the influence of other languages: the dative case in many European languages is used similarily to Estonian adessive case.

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John Lumsden

On the Lexical Representation of Fusional Inflection

The one-to-one correspondence between phonological forms and grammatical proper-ties found in isolating inflection can be represented directly in the binary-branching trees of generative syntax. Agglutinating inflection may be derived from such represen-tations by 'head-movement', collecting the head positions of inflection phrases in a sin-gle phonological domain. These two structures are exemplified in the data of Amharic presented in (1a,b). Notice that these representations necessarily imply a hierarchical organization of the relevant grammatical properties.

In contrast, fusional inflection, presents a one-to-many correspondence between forms and grammatical properties. There is no obvious binary-branching structure, but the paradigms of fusional inflection do display systematic patterns of syncretism, as illustrated in the Old English nominal declension in (2). What structures the forms of fusional inflection and how is this structure related to the hierarchical structures of iso-lating and agglutinating inflection?

This paper follows Jakobson (1935/1984) in decomposing the traditional Case labels (Nominative, Accusative, etc.) into three binary oppositions as shown in (3). In the Old English declensions some of these oppositions are not manifested because of the extensive syncretism. Thus, the markers that are traditionally labeled as "Genitive" also appear in Ablative contexts, and some paradigms neutralize the contrast between Dative and Instrumental contexts, etc.

Assuming that grammatical properties constitute a procedural knowledge system, it is argued that syncretism in fusional inflection can be best explained in terms of cog-nitive schemas where grammatical properties are represented in a hierarchy of tiers that are related by specific derivational paths. The forms of inflection interface with this schema on specific tiers, and one "default" form appears only on a derivational path, as shown in (4). Derivational steps raise appropriate forms to the top of the tiers and the final step inserts a form in syntactic structure (i.e., K° in (4)).

The derivations proceed as follows. First, the speaker's perception of the perti-nent grammatical properties of the referent stimulates the appropriate grammatical tiers in the schema. Only these tiers and the derivational paths that relate these tiers will par-ticipate in the derivation. Thus, the derivation of the Nominative Feminine Plural illus-trated in (5) only involves the PLURAL, the FEMININE and the SOURCE tiers. Second, the phonological forms that interface with a derivational step (including the default form) all undergo one step towards the point of lexical insertion. Third the nearest form on each tier moves right to the foot of the next derivational step. The steps then proceed until the closest form reaches the point of lexical insertion. In the derivation illustrated in (5), the form [-e] is inserted because it raises through two derivational steps. The form [-u] must raise through three steps and the default form [-Ø] must raise through four steps.

Notice that in any given derivation, the intersection of derivational paths and grammatical tiers is a binary branching structure that organizes grammatical properties in a strict hierarchy. This account of syncretism in fusional inflection argues that all types of inflection share these properties.

(1)　AMHARIC:　ISOLATING AND AGGLUTINATING INFLECTION

　　　a. *kä　and　bet* "from a house"　　　b. *bet-u-n*　"the house (accusative)"

　　　ABL. INDEF.　house　　　　　　　　　　house-DEF.-ACC.
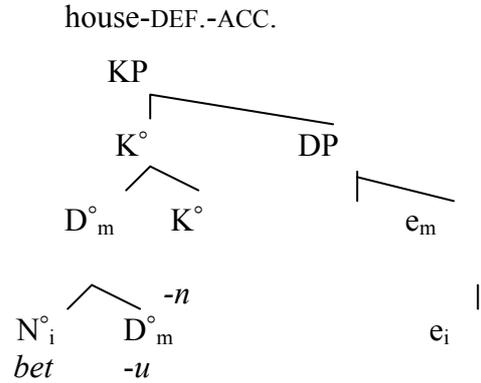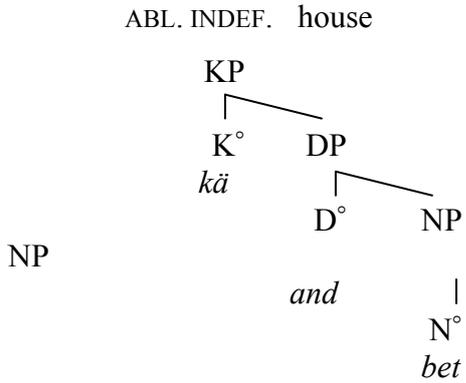
(2)　OLD ENGLISH:　　　　　　　　　　　　(3) JAKOBSON'S CASE FEATURES &

　　　a. STRONG NOUN DECLENSION　　　　OLD ENGLISH CASE MARKERS

	MARGINAL	QUANTATIVE	SOURCE
NOM			√
ACC			
INST	√		(√)
DAT	√		
GEN		√	(√)
GEN		√	
GEN	(√)	√	(√)
GEN	(√)	√	

	SINGULAR			PLURAL		
	MAS	NEU	FEM	MAS	NEU	FEM
NOM	Ø	Ø	-u	-as	-u	-e
ACC	Ø	Ø	-e	-as	-u	-e
GEN	-es	-es	-e	-a	-a	-a
DAT	-e	-e	-e	-um	-um	-um
INST	-e	-e	-e	-um	-um	-um
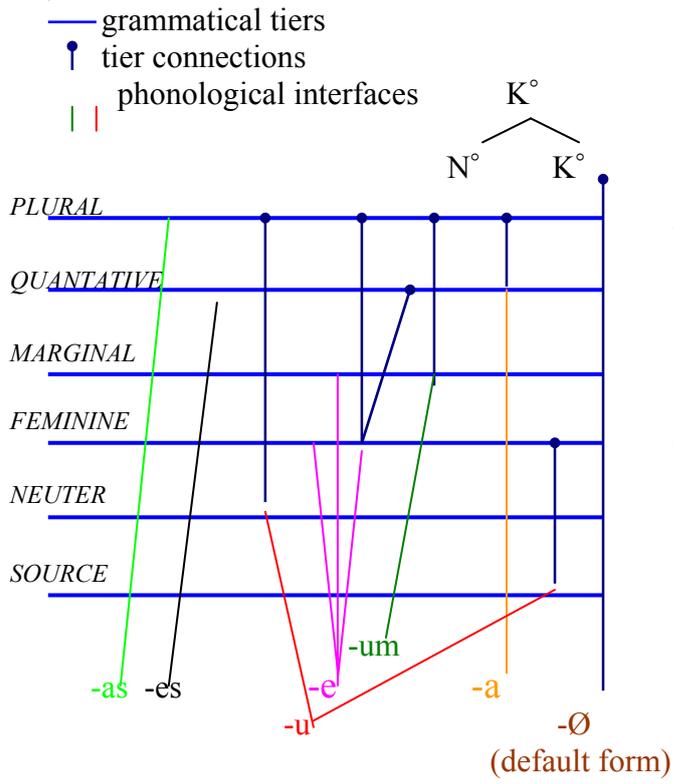
(4)   Paradigm Network   (5) Derivation (*Nominative Feminine Plural*)

— grammatical tiers

tier connections

phonological interfaces
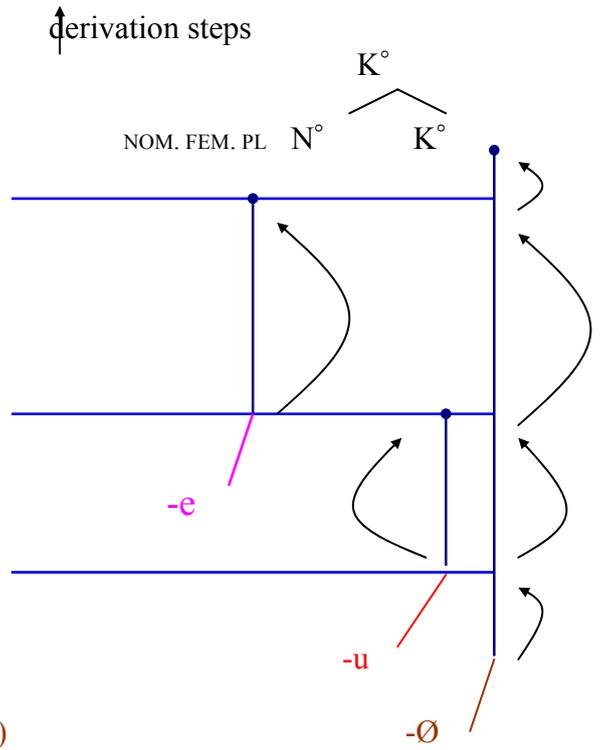
Lyih-Peir Luo

A contrastive study of dativus commodi et incommodi in German and Chinese

This study investigates the extra arguments which turn a transitive construction into a ditransitive one (cf. Hole 2005, 2006; Lee-Schoenfeld 2006; Li 1996; Zhang 1999). These extra arguments are marked with dative case in German and treated in terms of indirect objects in Chinese, since Chinese doesn't have morphological cases. We first point out that the indirect object of verbs of obtaining in Chinese and the dativus commodi et incommodi in German should be dealt with in the same fashion. We also provide evidences suggesting that verbs of obtaining and verbs of giving differ in both semantics and syntax (cf. Zhang 2001).

It has been observed that both German and Chinese double object constructions (DOC) represent inward transfer, whereas English only outward transfer (see e.g. Eisenberg 1994; Tang 1979). Given the differences between transfer and affectedness (Beavers 2006; Lu 2002), it could arguably turn out to be the case that not the meaning of inward transfer but affectedness is depicted by the DOC with verbs of obtaining. Further, we propose that transfer reflects an agent-centered event, whereas affectedness a patient-centered event. While "successful transfer" is implied by the agent-centered event, the patient-centered event implies a bounded event (cf. Pinker 1989; Harley 2003; Liu 1997, 2006). Our analysis explains thus why the theme objects in DOC with verbs of giving can be non-referential noun phrases, whereas in DOC with verbs of obtaining the theme objects must be quantized, and why in Chinese a frequence adverbial is required in the latter case, when the theme object is represented by a bare noun phrase.

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Silvia Luraghi

Cases as radial categories: The limits of polysemy

The paper focuses on case syncretism and its output on the example of the Ancient Greek dative, under the assumption that case meanings constitute radial categories (Lakoff 1987); see Nikiforidou (1991) on the meaning of the genitive in such a perspective. As evidenced both by morphology and by semantics, the Greek dative had merged with the locative at a preliterary stage. After the Mycenaean age, the dative/locative further merged with the instrumental (see Chantraine 1961 and Luraghi 2004b for morphological details). The merger of dative and locative must be understood in the wider frame of the coding of local relations in Greek. The main feature of roles typically encoded by the dative in Indo-European languages is partial affectedness; this implies that the participant in the dative does not undergo a change of state. On the spatial plane, such feature is metaphorically understood as stability in space (contrary to roles coded by the accusative, whose main feature is total affectedness, implying change of state and hence change of position). Later merger of the dative/locative with the instrumental is based on the container metaphor, which was active in Greek for certain instruments (body parts, containers, means of transportation, see Luraghi 2004a). Thus the locative constitutes the center of a radial category and provides the link between the dative 'proper' and the instrumental dative. Note further that roles typically coded by the dative are assigned to human beings, while roles typically coded by the instrumental dative in Greek are assigned to inanimate entities (see Figure 1).

The dative was used as locative to a limited extent in the Homeric poems; later on, it was replaced by prepositional phrases (see Luraghi forthcoming). Thus the center of the category disappeared. In Classical Greek prose, the functions of the dative are divided into two lexically conditioned nuclei, one with human nouns, the other with inanimate nouns: with the former, the dative functions as a dative proper, with the latter, as an instrumental. It is questionable whether one can still speak of polysemy in such a situation. Indeed, when the dative disappeared in Byzantine Greek (Browning 1983), the functions of the instrumental dative were taken up by prepositional phrases with *me(tá)*, while the functions of the dative proper were taken up by prepositional phrases with *(ei)s* (or by the genitive in the case of pronouns). Lack of overlap between the two nuclei once coded through the dative case indicates that they were already distinct. Apparently, when the center of a radial category disappears, meanings which are not otherwise connected to each other remain disconnected. A similar development concerns the Greek preposition *metá*, which split into two different prepositions during the Byzantine period, after the loss of case variation: *me* 'with', corresponding to earlier functions of *metá* with the genitive, and *metá* 'after', corresponding to earlier functions of *metá* with the accusative. In the case of *metá*, too, the center of the category had disappeared after Homeric Greek. In Luraghi (2005) it is argued that the same form had developed into two homophones before undergoing formal differentiation. With respect to the dative, it remains to be discussed if the homophone approach can be insightful.

Figure 1.

DATIVE PROPER · LOCATIVE · INSTRUMENTAL DATIVE

iudicantis · *recipient* · *beneficiary* · *experiencer* · *possessor* · [+human]

cause · *instrument* · *manner* · *ornative* · *sociative* · [-human]
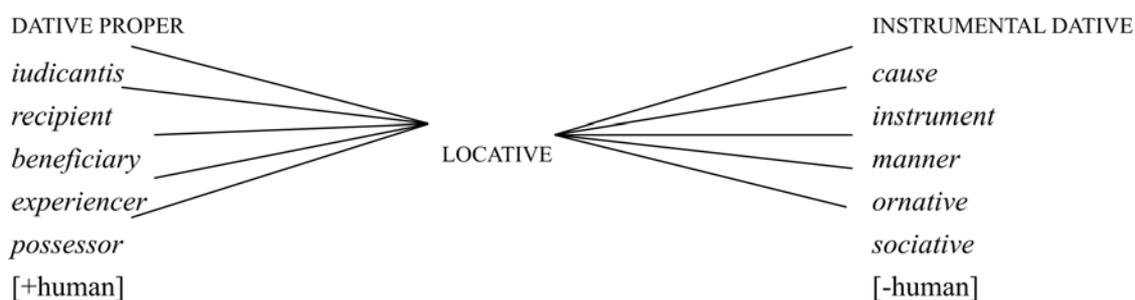
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Nerea Madariaga

Change in the status of case: from grammatical to even more grammatical

This is a formal approach to change in the status of grammatical case, exemplified through two case studies of Old-Middle Russian. I show that the syntactic change in the grammatical status of a case mirrors the classic instances of unidirectionality in grammaticalization studied in Hopper & Traugott (1993), and others.

I assume the fine-grained typology of grammatical case proposed by Kayne (2000), Bailyn (2004), and Woolford (2006). These case types are defined according to the head that licenses them, and their semantic relation with that head (formalized as theta-roles):

● Inherent lexical case (i) is inherent –valued on a DP by the same head that assigns it a theta-role–, and (ii) that head is a lexical head (V and P).
● Inherent non-lexical case (i) is inherent, but (ii) the head that assigns theta-role and licenses case on the DP is a functional head (Q and Pred).
● Structural case is valued on a DP by a head that is not a theta-role assigner: nominative (licensed by T), and accusative case (licensed by little v).

Case morphemes can change their status from a grammatical type to another by means of reanalysis. Reanalysis is viewed here as a way to repair parsing problems in the Primary Linguistic Data during the language acquisition period (Lightfoot 1999, Pintzuk et al. 2000). I show that these problems are produced by a conflict in the semantic (thematic) relation between a DP and the head that licenses its case.

The changes in Old-Middle Russian case analyzed in this work suggest that the directionality of change in the grammatical status of a case morpheme is the following: inherent lexical → inherent non-lexical → structural.

● Case study 1: from lexical inherent to non-lexical inherent. The Slavic lexical instrumental case of 'way of action' / 'comparison', exceptionally included in designative contexts such as (1a) (Nichols 1973, Xodova 1960), was reanalyzed as an inherent non-lexical case on predicate NPs (1b) (Bailyn 2001).

(1) a. I postavi im igumenomъ Varlama. (Laurentian Chronicle, 14th c.)
    and put them abbot INST Varlam AC
    'And he designated Varlam as their abbot.'
    (Dvinsk letter #54, 15th c.)
  b. Xto bude igumenomъ ili popomъ i vy tvorite pameⱶtь po dmitrei po m[a]rьi.
    whoNOM will-be abbotINST or priestINST you make memory of Dmitri and M.
    'And you, future abbots or priests, remember Dmitri and Mary.'

● Case study 2: from lexical inherent to structural. The old verbs meaning "taking care" replaced their lexical genitive case-marked objects (2a) with accusative (structural) ones (2b) (Borkovskij 1978):

(2) a. Pače že bljudi slovesъ jego. (Anthology of 1076)
    moreover part. guard wordsGN his
    'And over all, observe his words.'
  b. Čistotoju devstvo sobljula. (Life of the Archpriest Avvakum, 17th c.)
    with-cleanliness virginity AC looked-after

'She took care of her virginity by remaining chaste.'

Even if changes in grammatical case fall out the classical notion of grammaticalization (case is "grammatical" itself, and not a lexical item that becomes a functional head), the directionality of change from a case type to another follows the traditional pattern "from more lexical to more grammatical" or rather "from grammatical to even more grammatical".

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Alexandru Mardale

On some morpho-syntax correlations in the Romanian Case system

Romanian is a Romance language which partially inherits morphological (i.e., inflectional) cases from Latin, namely the Genitive case and the Dative which are homonymous. This language displays a remarkable alternation between DPs morphologically marked for Genitive case and P(prepositional) P(hrase)s headed by the preposition de, as in (1) below:

(1)   *fiul rege**lui***   vs.   *fiul **de rege***
       son-the king-the_{Gen}   son-the DE king
       "the king's son"   "the royal son"

Note that this alternation is not sensitive either to the lexical nature (i.e., relational, deverbal, picture / icon, object-denoting) of the head noun or to its number marking.

The **goal** of this paper is (i) to examine the conditions under which the two types of constructions are used and (ii) to propose an analysis for each of these constructions.

The two constructions are alike insofar as they involve a relation (which may either pertain to the lexical meaning of the head N or else be contextually triggered by the presence of the second argument), but they differ regarding the nature of the second argument: a strong correlation can be shown to exist between **syntactic categories** (DPs vs. NPs), **Case marking** (morphological vs. prepositional) and **semantic type** (individuals vs. qualities / properties).

From a **morpho-syntactic** point of view, I will show that Genitive case can only be marked on the determiner (only D can carry case markings). The constructions with morphological case are projections of D (DPs). In other words, they are full nominal expressions (i.e., nouns with a determiner) (cf. Cornilescu (1993), Grosu (1998)):

(2)   a.   fiul rege**lui**   /   fiul **unui** rege
             son-the king-the_{Gen}   son-the a_{Gen} king
             "the king' s son"   "the son of a king"
       b.   *fiul rege
             son-the king

In contrast, those projections of N that do not have a D cannot mark the case morphologically, hence the insertion of the preposition de. The constructions with de are NPs (i.e., incomplete nominal expressions) (cf. Dobrovie-Sorin & Giurgea (2005), Mardale (2007)):

(3)   a.   *fiul **de** regele   /   *fiul **de un** rege
             son-the DE king-the   son-the DE a king
       b.   fiul **de rege** (african)
             son-the DE king African
             The (African) royal son.

From a **semantic** point of view, I will show that while in the constructions with morphological case the head N denotes a relation between two individuals (the one denoted by DP1 and the one denoted by DP2) (Dobrovie-Sorin (2001a), Beyssade & Dobrovie-Sorin (2005)), in the prepositional constructions, the head N denotes a relation between

an individual (denoted by DP1) and a quality/property (denoted by NP2) (Kolliakou (1999)).

Finally, it will be shown that the above-mentioned correlations explain a number of distributional constraints which are summarized in the following table:

	Genitive-marked constituents	adnominal *de*-marked constituents
can appear after the copula	no	yes
can alternate with APs	no	yes
can alternate with pronouns	yes	no
can be antecedents for anaphoric pronouns	yes	no

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Elena Markus & Fedor Rozhanskiy

Comitative and Terminative in Votic and Lower Luga Ingrian[2]

The problem of distinguishing between a case and a postposition construction is well-known and is especially important for the Uralic languages that are abundant with postpositions. In this presentation the status of Votic Comitative and Terminative will be discussed. In the existing grammars of Votic we can find different opinions. Thus, A.Ahlqvist [Ahlqvist 1856] claims that Terminative is a postposition construction and Comitative is not a case but should be studied more carefully; P.Ariste [Ariste 1968] and D.Tsvetkov [Tsvetkov 2008(1922)] place both of them in the list of cases; and in [Агранат 2007] we observe them among the postpositions.

However, none of the scholars presented detailed argumentation for the chosen point of view. Our research does not intend to support one of the existing opinions, but is aimed at the detailed analysis of different features of Comitative and Terminative, as compared to other Votic cases and postpositions. There is a following set of criteria, which can be relevant for Votic and Ingrian: a) vowel harmony of the marker; b) accentuation characteristics; c) phonetic structure; d) reduction of the final vowel; e) alternations on the border between the stem and marker; f) ability to combine with different types of stems; g) marking of the dependant words in NP; h) obligatory marking of the coordinated nouns. The conducted analysis shows that Votic Comitative demonstrates practically equal amount of features typical for cases and postpositions, while Terminative has more features typical for postpositions.

A comparative analysis of the Lower Luga Ingrian data looks reasonable since the scholars claimed (see, for example, [Лаанест 1966: 104-106]) that the comitative marker *ka/kä* was borrowed by Lower Luga Ingrian from Votic or from Ingrian Finnish (this marker is absent in Soikkola Ingrian), and the Lower Luga Ingrian Terminative is closer to Votic than to Soikkola Ingrian type. It is interesting that some of the criteria show less postpositional features of Ingrian Comitative that these of Votic (e.g. Ingrian Comitative has vowel harmony variants, while there is only one variant in Votic).

The presented material was collected by the authors during their field work on Votic and Ingrian in recent years.

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Helena Metslang

Changes in the use of partitive subjects in Estonian

In Estonian and Finnish, the subjects of the clause are prototypically in the nominative case and the partitive usually marks the direct object. In certain clause types there exists also the partitive subject and this has been considered an evidence of ergativity. Although Estonian and Finnish are closely related languages, they are affected by typologically different tendencies (Erelt & Metslang 2006). There has been noted that the Estonian grammatical system is moving closer to the prototypical nominative-accusative systems. The current phenomena supporting this view are for instance the facts that the use of partitive subjects has decreased in the past decades, the experiencer and the possessor of the experiential/possessive clauses are increasingly mapped to the A position (instead of the traditionally dominating oblique position), and the impersonal constructions are moving closer to the passive constructions. (Erelt 2008; Erelt & Metslang 2006)

This talk focuses on one aspect among those: the changes in the use of the partitive subjects in Estonian and it compares the results with Finnish. It has been claimed that in Finnish the use of partitive subjects is increasing (Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979; Sands & Campbell 2001), unlike Estonian: from the common use in the experiential, possessive and existential sentences even to the transitive sentences. This could show a shift in the alignment system of the language: the subject (A) and the direct object (O) getting indistinguishable case marking in some sentence types. However, the transitive clauses with the partitive A and O often entail a verb with a volitional meaning and a semantically highly agentive subject which make it fairly easy to identify which NP argument is the subject and which is the object. In these clauses the participants are indefinite and cannot be accompanied by a definite pronoun (Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979). The talk will be based on corpus data and look at these phenomena in the context of the main syntactic operations and in a diachronic perspective.

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Merilin Miljan

Grammatical cases are actually semantic

This talk focuses on grammatical cases in Estonian. Estonian is one of the Finnic languages and has an extensive case system which includes alternations in the case marking of all the core arguments (e.g. objects, subjects) and a subset of adverbials. Current accounts of Finnic data take primarily a structuralist point of view of case (e.g. Vainikka 1993, Nelson 1995, Kiparsky 2001, Ritter and Rosen 2001, Kratzer 2002, Svenonius 2002, Asudeh 2003, among others), which means that the alternations in case-marking are described and interpreted from the structuralist, morphosyntactic perspective. This perspective, however, turns out to be problematic in the light of Estonian data. For instance, there raises the question whether all alternations are really alternations or an instance of another case instead, as in (1), in which the alternation between the genitive singular and the nominative plural is often referred to as the accusative case (Ackerman and Moore 1999, Hiietam 2003, Lees 2004).

(1)   Kass   sõi   hiire   / hiired   ära.
        cat.nom.sg eat.past.3sg mouse.gen.sg / mouse.nom.pl up
        'The cat ate the mouse/the mice.'

(2)   Kass   sõi   hiirt   / hiiri.
        cat.nom.sg eat.past.3sg mouse.part.sg / mouse.part.pl
        'The cat was eating a mouse / mice / ate mice.'

The semantically motivated alternations, as between genitive/nominative (1) and partitive (2) are even more challenging, as it has to be decided what determines the case marking on object noun phrases in identical syntactic environments. From the structuralist perspective, the semantics which a particular alternating case is seen to express (e.g. aspect, (in)determinacy) is derived from the construction, which then determines the assignment of a specific syntactic case. Yet this structurally derived semantics fails to account for (i) the variety of related meanings, and (ii) optionality in alternations (there is evidence that case alternations in Estonian can be optional). Thus an account is needed which would be able to capture the multiplicity of interpretations as well as optionality.

I will show that there is substantial evidence to claim that there is essentially no difference between structural (or grammatical) and semantic case in Estonian (or in Finnic). Therefore I will suggest that case should be viewed from a semantic/pragmatic point of view, which means that grammatical case is not structurally assigned, but that case morphology itself determines meaning. Yet, the semantic content which the grammatical cases in Estonian are seen to encode is not absolute (i.e. truth-conditional), but underspecified, and needs enrichment via pragmatic inferences triggered by contextual effects. Thus it is hypothesised that grammatical case has semantics, and may signal both semantic and syntactic information at the same time. This hypothesis may seem to be at odds with standard theories of grammar which keep syntactic and semantic notions separate, but it becomes more plausible if one drops the thesis of the autonomy of syntax, and studies the semantically motivated alternations from the perspective of morphological case-marking.

Sanna Mustonen

Local case phrases in L2 Finnish

The paper discusses the semantic development of the local case phrases in L2 Finnish. Typologically, at least in terms of morphology, Finnish can be regarded as a highly complex language. There are fifteen cases in the Finnish language, and eight of them form a subsystem called local cases. (There are alternative ways of categorizing the cases, but this is the approach of this study.) As the local cases are high in type frequency and have a wide spectrum of meanings and functions, the need of self expression makes them emerge in learner language from early on. In terms of morphosyntactic structure, the choosing the case is a challenge for a learner. Characterizing the general tendencies of how the cases are used on different skill levels may shed more light on the learning process of this analogous linguistic subsystem: The local case system can be understood through locality or spatiality. The other fields – e.g. time, action, possession – are analogical to the spatial one. On each field either static being/existence or dynamic movement, and the direction of the movement (be: on/in/at; go: from on/in/at; to on/in/at) is expressed by one of the cases. (see Jackendoff 1983.)

The semantics of the local case phrases (static vs. dynamic; direction of the movement) is not particularly transparent to the learner. In addition, in metaphoric use of the cases, the movement and direction is fictive, and the learner needs to "see the world in a Finnish way". The system is not thoroughly logical or watertight, either (e.g. time expressions, rection).

My data consist of 490 writings by adults who are learning Finnish as a second language. These writings have been evaluated using a six-step language proficiency scale adhering to the Common European Framework (CEF). The use of the local case phrases on analogical fields and on different functions (static vs. dynamic; direction of the movement) is a challenge to learners across the CEF levels. The productive use of the local cases can be seen as an indicator of language proficiency development.

Key words: local case phrases, second language acquisition, Finnish as a second language

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Tuija Määttä

Corpus-based Analysis of how Swedish-speaking students learning Finnish use the local cases in text production

On the courses Finska A and Finska A1, which are courses in Finnish as a foreign language at the beginner level, most of the students have Swedish as their mother tongue. The courses include studies in grammar, written and oral skills and text comprehension.

The studies in written skills contain for example many grammatical exercises and also free writing of shorter texts on different topics. During an academic year the students produce about ten texts each. The length of a text is approximately 30 clauses. The students deliver the texts in electronic form and after that the texts become a part of the larger text corpus *International Corpus of Learner Finnish* (ICLFI) which will be compiled during the project *Corpus study on language-specific and universal features in learner language* in 2008-2011.

Over many years I have noticed that the beginners in Finnish have difficulties in using the six local cases. For some reason they mix up the use of the inner and the outer local cases, especially the illative and the allative. To find out how frequent this phenomenon is I have chosen a corpus containing 30 000 tokens. The text genres in this corpus are narratives, essays, diaries, post cards and cartoon texts. To find all the occurrences of all the local cases I have used the Concord programme in the Word Smith Tools programme.

In this presentation I shall discuss possible reasons why the Swedish-speaking learners of Finnish use the illative and the allative as they do. Are there phenomena in their first language which disturb the learning of the local cases, or are there perhaps some context or text-bound features or factors at work in the genres in which they use them?

Åshild Næss

The not-quite-case system of Vaeakau-Taumako: Animacy, salience and role distinguishability in a Polynesian Outlier language

The Polynesian Outlier language Vaeakau-Taumako (Pileni) has two preposition-like morphemes, a and e, which are cognate with absolutive and ergative case-markers in other Polynesian languages, but whose function and distribution differs significantly from those of case-markers proper.

VAT has basic SV/SVO word order and no obligatory marking of any arguments in this syntactic configuration. However, a postverbal transitive subject must be marked with the preposition *e*. This preposition is cognate with the ergative preposition in languages such as Samoan and Tuvaluan, and with the marker of a demoted passive agent in Maori; but the VAT system does not fit the description either of an ergative case system or a passive alternation. If it can be considered a case-marker, it is one with a highly restricted distribution, occurring only when the argument in question is displaced from its unmarked syntactic position. Its function is to clearly identify the transitive subject in contexts where there is potential for confusion; while such disambiguation is a central function of case-marking crosslinguistically, it is not common for case-marking to be restricted to arguments in a particular surface position.

The distribution of *a* is considerably more complex. It shows properties characteristic both of articles and of prepositions, and is assigned to a class of its own by Næss and Hovdhaugen (in prep). Crucially, it is compatible with spatial prepositions, but not with the 'agentive' preposition *e*.

a may occur with either S, A or O arguments, but is never obligatory with either. It is, however, highly frequent with human-referring terms such as pronouns, personal names and kinship terms. More rarely, it is found with inanimate-referring nouns. The crucial factor appears to be that of contextual salience; a participant is marked with *a* when it is perceived to play some central role in the ongoing discourse.

The VAT system of argument marking could perhaps be conceived of as a kind of "pragmatic case". It serves to aid the structuring and interpretation of discourse by picking out salient participants of the discourse and by assigning special marking to elements occurring in a non-basic position in the clause. While this differs considerably from the functions associated with canonical case-marking systems, it is governed by many of the same semantic-pragmatic factors known to influence case marking proper, such as animacy, referentiality, and argument distinguishability. Accordingly, I will argue that the VAT system may provide useful perspectives on the kinds of functions which may be associated with case-marking systems crosslinguistically.

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Tommi Nieminen

"Double-casing" in contemporary Finnish

Every nominal word in Finnish has case, and only one case. This is consistent with the definition of "case" as derived from first Western grammars of the Classical languages.

However it has also been maintained that the current Finnish paradigm of fifteen (or so) cases has historically resulted from "case clashes" where the formatives of one case have intruded in words already in oblique case; for example, Inessive *-ssa ~ -ssä* suffix is seen to have been formed from Lative *-s-* and Essive (Locative) *-na ~ -nä*. For the explanation to work, it demands the possibility of a situation where words can have two cases, or at least the formatives of two cases, at the same time. In contemporary standard Finnish there is little evidence of "double-cased" words apart from (semi-) grammaticalized but non-standard cases (Excessive *-nta ~ -ntä* < Essive *-n-* + Partitive *-ta ~ -tä*) and instances of morphological reanalysis (*sinällään* 'in itself' < *se* 'it' + Essive + Adessive + 3.sg possessive suffix, where *sinä* is probably reanalysed as an adverb having no case on its own). This is hardly unexpected since no one is claiming new cases are born all the time.

I will be concentrating on just one example that shows some promise for a truly "double-cased" word: *siiheksi* 'up until that'. The word combines the initial part of the Illative suffix (*-he-* < *-hen*) with the Translative suffix (*-ksi*). The motivation for the "double-cased" formation is transparent. Among its many uses, Translative can have a Terminative ('till') function in words having a temporal interpretation, like *kahdeksi* 'till two (o'clock)', *illaksi* 'till evening'. The Translative case of *se* 'it' is however strongly on the way of being conventionalized to mean only 'because of that' – the causal interpretation being another of the functions of Translative. Thus, the temporal interpretation of a phrase such as *Tulen siksi*, 'I'll be there no later than that', is in danger of getting confused with the causal interpretation, 'I'll be there because of that'. In the standard language, the clash is only solved by using a periphrastic formation (*siihen mennessä*) for the temporal interpretation.

I will also consider the theoretical consequences of "double-casing" from the point of view of Peircean semeiotic thinking. Like Raimo Anttila, I think that the indexical element in case paradigms and the indexicality of the formatives themselves has been somewhat neglected.

Masahiko Nose

Choices of cases or prepositions/postpositions for several locative meanings: a typological study

Case markers encode the semantic functions of NPs in a clause (Iggesen 2005). As well as case markers, prepositions and postpositions are particles which encode the semantic functions of NPs. The number of cases in individual languages is highly diverse, ranging from no case marking in Chinese and Spanish to 15 cases in Finnish (Karlsson 1999) and approximately 20 cases in Hungarian. In contrast, the languages without case marking, like Chinese and Spanish, indicate semantic functions by using prepositions or postpositions. The function-based layers of cases are roughly classified in grammatical, locative and adverbial cases. This study pays a special attention to locative cases, and cross-linguistically examines choices of cases or prepositions/postpositions for some locative meanings. The sample languages are the following 20 languages, ten languages with no case marking, and another ten languages with more than 10 cases. Figure 1 shows the geographical positions of the sample languages.

- No case marking: Amele, Chinese, Hausa, Hixkaryana, Lakhota, Nguna, Spanish, Swahili, Tok Pisin, Wari'
- More than 10 cases: Basque, Chukchi, Epena Pedee, Finnish, Gooniyandi, Hungarian, Hunzib, Japanese, Nez Perce, Pitjantjatjara

This study will examine the following five locative meanings for the 20 languages, and summarize the functional choices of cases or prepositions/postpositions.

(1) Five locative meanings which this study concerns:
FROM, TO, ON, OVER, THROUGH

The examples in Tok Pisin (Mihalic 1986) and Hungarian (Rounds 2001) are shown in the following Table 1, and generally, Tok Pisin (no case marking) uses the preposition *long* for many locative meanings, and Hungarian (more than 10 cases) prefers locative case markers (elative, illative, and superessive) for them. On the other hand, Tok Pisin uses the adverb (*brukim*) or adverb-based preposition (*antap long*) for THROUGH and OVER, and Hungarian does not use a case but postpositions for OVER and THROUGH meanings.

Table 1. Some locative usage in Tok Pisin and Hungarian:

	FROM	TO	ON	OVER	THROUGH
Tok Pisin (No case)	**Long** preposition	**Long** Preposition	**Long** preposition	**Antap long** Adverb+preposition	**Brukim** Adverb
Hungarian (18 cases)	*-ból/-ből* elative case	*-ba-be* illative case	*-n-en/-on* superessive case	**Fölött, keresztül** postposition	*Át, keresztül* postposition

This study has clarified the following points. Every language uses cases, prepositions, or postpositions for carrying the locative functions. The languages with no case marking (e.g. Tok Pisin) choose preposition(s) or postpositions for the locative functions. In contrast, the languages with many cases (e.g. Hungarian) always have locative

cases. There are formal differences between typical locative functions (FROM, TO, ON) and other marginal functions (OVER, THROUGH), and many languages divide the forms between FROM/TO/ON and OVER/THROUGH. Finally, this study claims that the languages with a rich case system do not always use cases for all locations, and the languages with no case marking have another kind of grammatical means for locative meanings. There is a limitation of locative cases in the case-rich languages, and there is another way for expressing locations in the grammar of the no-case languages.

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Figure 1. Sample languages of this study (Generated by *WALS*)
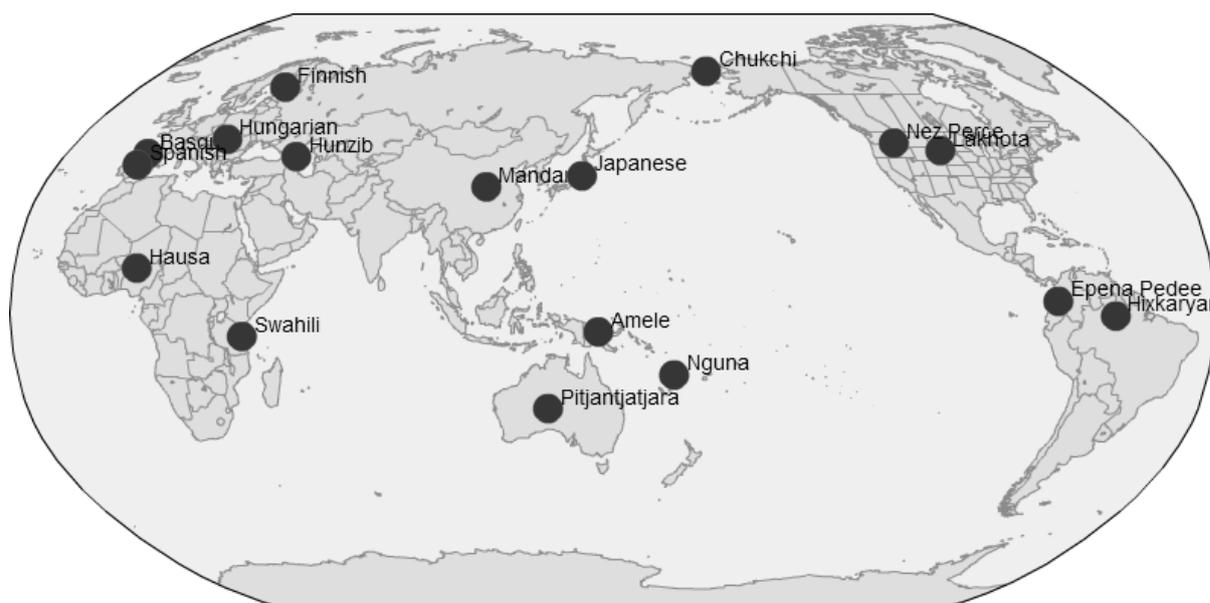
Renate Pajusalu

The Elative Case and Negation: evidence from Estonian

The primary meaning of the elative case is spatial. The Estonian case system encodes LOCATION (inessive and adessive), GOAL (illative and allative), SOURCE (elative and ablative). However, all these cases have no-spatial meanings too. Different meanings of the Finnish elative have been studied in details from the cognitive perspective by Pentti Leino (1993). The main functions of elative seem to be the same in Estonian: spatial, temporal and causal relations, substance, and so on.

In this paper I will discuss some functions of the elative in constructions, where it gives different shades of negative meaning to the whole construction.

1. The elative *mis*-construction [*mis* NP$_{nominative}$ NP$_{elative}$ V?] starting with the question word *mis* pragmatically expresses whether the prohibition to carry out the activity expressed by the verb or a claim that the activity is a nonsense (1, 2). None of the units of the construction (except the elative case marker) carry a negative meaning of a whole which depending on the context can be, for example 'do not do X' or 'there is no sense in doing X'.

(1)   Mis   sa   **se-st**   kirjuta-d?
        what 2SG   DEM-ELAT   write-2SG
        'Don't write it!' or 'There is no sense in writing it'

(2)   Mis   sa   **ta-st**   kiusa-d?
        what 2SG   3SG-ELAT   bully-2SG
        'Don't bully him!' or 'There is no sense in bullying him'

2. In the frequent phrases *mis sellest*, *mis sest* and other with meaning 'no problem', the elative component (*sellest*) occurs in the negative declarative sentence (3a), but grammatically the elative cannot be used in the respective affirmative sentence (3 b and c).

(3)
a.   **Selle-st**   ei   ole   mida-gi.
        dem-ELAT   NEG   be   what-CLTC
        'That's not a problem.'
b.   See   on   mida-gi.
        DEM   be.3.SG   what-CLTC
        'That's is something.'
c.   *Selle-st   on   mida-gi.
        dem-ELAT   be   what-CLTC
        'That is something.'

3. Another use of the elative includes arguments of some verbs. In these cases the object is negated, but the verb expresses negation semantically (see the list of verbs in Erelt et al. 1993: 69). Sentences (4a) and (4b) contain the adverbial in the elative case that denotes the semantic object. The same word is expressed as the grammatical object in the case of the semantically respective affirmative verb (4c-d).

(4)

a.   Jä-i-n   **raha-st**   ilma.
        stay-PST-1SG money-ELAT without
        'I lost my money.'

b.   Hoidu-n   **suhtle-ma-st**.
        avoid-1SG   communicate-SUP-ELAT
        'I avoid communication.'

c.   Sai-n   raha.
        get-1SG   money.PART
        'I got some money.'

d.   Püüa-n   suhel-da.
        try-1SG   communicate-INF
        'I try to communicate.

One can formulate the metaphor LEAVING IS NEGATION to explain the negative meaning of the elative as a separative case or say that leaving and negation are cognitively similar processes that borrow grammatical means from each other. Similar processes of grammaticalization have been observed in the case of the verb 'to leave' (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 192–193). The non-canonical marking of the object has also been noticed is some languages in regard to unreal modality, which is also negative by nature (Onishi 2001:39).

Heli Pekkarinen

From purposive to modal (and future): ongoing change in meaning of the translative present passive participle in Finnish

My presentation deals with Finnish present passive participle standing in the translative case. Depending on the context, this verbal form has different meanings such as purpose, obligation and possibility. Purposive meaning as in (1) is its primary meaning in vernacular Finnish whereas the future modal meanings exemplified in (2) are more typical for standard Finnish. In addition, together with certain verbs it may form a more specific verbal construction that acts as a complex predicate. Example of such a construction is (3) in which the compound of the verb *tulla* 'to come' or 'to become' and translative participle denotes future (obligation).

1. hevose-t   tuo-tiin   *kengitettäväks*   tuppaa
    horse-PL   bring-PASS.PST   shoe-PRES.PASS.PTCP-TRA   cottage-ILL
    'Horses were brought inside for shoeing'

2. Valtiovarainministeri-n   taktiikka *siirtää*   valtion   vela-t
    Minister of Finance-GEN tactic   move.3SG.PRES   state-GEN dept-NOM.PL
    seuraava-n   sukupolve-*n*   makse-ttaviksi.
    next-GEN   generation-GEN pay-PRES.PASS.PTCP-TRA.PL
    'The tactic of the minister of finance transfers the government dept to be paid by the next generation'

3. Kyllä se nyt   tulee   kaikki   jaettavaks
        it   now   come.3SG.PRES all   share. PRES.PASS.PTCP-TRA
    'Everything will be shared', 'Everything must be shared (in future)'

Finnish translative is regarded as a directional abstract local case which usually denotes state, e.g. result of a change or purpose (see ISK § 1259). Examples (1) - (3) show that the non-finite verb inflected in translative differ in their meaning from this definitions which merely applies to nouns inflected in translative. In Finnish, non-finite verb forms inflected in cases can be categorized as converbs, that is, verb forms whose main function is to express adverbial meaning(s) (Nedjalkov 1998, Haspelmath & König 1995). In converbs the markers of the non-finite verb form and case have fused together as a one processing chunk which has meaning of its own (Bybee 2002, Haiman 1994). Although this meaning is more than a sum of its parts, the case marker may retain some features of its original meanings that motivate the whole meaning of the chunk (Salminen 2002). The uses of the translative present participle can in fact be placed on a continuum from a verbal noun to converb.

    Based on data of vernacular and standard Finnish I will show that translative present participle is currently going through change in meaning from purposive to modal. Its meaning is specified in the context and these context induced meanings may give rise to more specific constructions such as (3) above. My presentation thus contributes to the discussion on converbs and their development stressing the importance of the form and context in their grammaticalization (e.g. Fischer 2007).

Abbreviations

3SG   3rd person singular
GEN   genitive
ILL   illative
NOM nominative
PASS passive
PL   Plural
PTCP participle
PRES present tense
PST   past tense
TRA   translative

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Elena Perekhvalskaya

Spatial cases in Udihe

In Udihe, as well as in other Tungus-Manchurian languages, the case system includes several spatial cases which express the semantic category of orientation. Crosslinguistically, spatial cases can cumulatively express both the orientation and the localization. The orientation expresses an action directed to a certain reference point; the localization specifies the space in relation to this reference point (*in, on, under* etc). The Udihe language seems to lack cumulative expression of localization and orientation in the system of spatial cases. The orientation is expressed by spatial cases, while the localization is expressed by spatial postpositions. The orientation is an obligatory category, and the localization appears to be an optional one.

The orientation meanings expressed by the spatial cases in Udihe are as follows: quiescent state (the Dative); movement to (the Locative); movement from (the Ablative); movement in the direction of (the Directive); movement along (the Prolative). Traditional names for the Udihe cases misrepresent the central spatial meanings of the cases in question.

There is still much uncertainty in the precise definitions of the case meanings, mainly in making a demarcation line between the usages of the Dative and the Directive, on the one hand, and between the Dative and Locative, on the other. Thus, the fundamental Udihe grammar says: " The distribution of the Locative and the Dative in the local sense does not follow any strict semantic or phonological criteria and has to be learnt for each individual instance "(Nikolaeva, Tolskaya: 2004, 125). I have analyzed the usages of the three cases (the Dative, the Locative and the Directive) in 20 texts recorded by E. Shneider in 1933 (the Anuj dialect). I came to the following conclusions:

1) The Dative always expresses the meaning of quiescent state, most often it matches with the verb bii- 'to be, to live' (more than 90 % of cases). The Locative expresses the attained aim of the motion. This aim may be perceived as "position", but unlike an NP in the Dative, it designates a position reached as a result of the action. The Locative does not indicate the precise localization of the action, e.g.: **ŋyhø-lo-ni** saŋʒehæwa tuləsiiti 'they used to put a nasal ring **into his** nose'; **Bəli-lə** ihigehæti 'they reached **Khabarovsk**'. If necessary it may be specified by means of spatial postpositions.

2) The main distinction between the usage of the Locative and the Directive cases depends on the fact, whether the reference point or the goal are in fact achieved. The choice of cases in question, therefore, depends on whether the action is perceived as accomplished or non-accomplished. E.g.:

Dative: **ʒugdi-du** bihi nii budəiti 'people who were **at home** were dying

Locative : ʒaŋgæ **ʒugdi-lə-ni** iigihəti 'the chief <and his people> entered **the house**';

Directive: **ʒugdi-tigi**-i ŋenihəni 'he set off **for his house**'.

So, the choice of the three spatial cases in Udihe is not chaotic; it obviously depends on the linguistic interpretation of the situation in question: is it viewed as stative or as a result of an action; and if this action was accomplished or not.

Pekka Posio

Transitivity effects on subject marking in Spanish

As a null subject language, Spanish usually doesn't require subject personal pronouns to be used with finite verbs. The fact that subject pronouns are often used, in spite of their being optional, has attracted lots of linguistic attention and given rise to many theories that have explained subject pronoun use as a means to compensate syncretism of verbal forms or as a way of 'emphasizing' the subject. The compensation hypothesis has been widely abandoned, and linguists nowadays focus rather on the discourse functions of subject pronouns. However, the questions why and when subject pronouns are used remain open.

My study on first person singular verb forms in a corpus of spoken Peninsular Spanish reveals that one crucial factor related to the frequency of subject double-marking (= subject person marking by both flexion and pronoun) is the subject's semantic role (see table 1). My findings suggest that subject double-marking in Spanish is connected with the level of clausal transitivity and thus resembles differential subject case marking found in other languages.

Subject double-marking is most frequent in clauses with Cognizer and Volitioner subjects (examples 1 and 3). The O arguments of these clauses are frequently subordinate clauses or non-referential entities. These clauses have a high rate of subject double-marking, as A is the most prominent argument, and the attention tends to be focused on the referent of the subject.

Highly transitive clauses with an Agent subject (examples 4-6) contain an overt referential O argument. In these clauses, subject double-marking is relatively rare, as attention is focused to the O argument. Clauses with a Perceptor subject (example 2) also have a low rate of subject double-marking, as they usually have referential O arguments that become the focus of attention.

Intransitive clauses have a medium rate of subject double-marking, as attention can be focused on the A argument (example 7), on the action expressed by the verb (examples 8-10) or on the predicative (examples 11-12), depending on the information focus of the clause.

The fact that clauses with an Emoter subject (example 13) rarely exhibit subject double-marking can be explained by the tendency to encode Emoter arguments as datives and causers of emotions as subjects in Spanish clauses expressing emotions. In the rare case that Emoters are encoded as subjects, they are not prominent enough subjects to trigger double-marking.

Transitivity and focusing of attention might also explain some other phenomena related to subject double-marking in Spanish, such as the differences found in the frequency of subject double-marking between imperfective and perfective past tenses. Clauses with a perfective aspect have a higher level of transitivity than imperfective ones and thus more frequently focus attention on the O argument. As to be expected, in perfective clauses subject double-marking is less frequent than in imperfective clauses. Imperfective clauses are less transitive, as they express non-completed events in the past, and thus tend to orient attention towards the A argument and consequently have a higher rate of subject double-marking.

Table 1

Role	Frequency of double-marking in Corpus 1	Frequency of double-marking in Corpus 2
Cognizer	41%	46%
Volitioner	36%	28%
Perceptor	31%	20%
Agent	30%	25%
S (intransitive)	26%	30%
Emoter	18%	18%

Corpus 1 consists of informal conversations and has 861 clauses in 1ˢᵗ person singular that were analyzed manually for the semantic roles. Context with obligatory double-marking of the subject argument were excluded.

Corpus 2 consists of approximately 29,000 clauses extracted from the oral subcorpus of the *Corpus del Español* in 1ˢᵗ person singular. The semantic roles were defined by verb lexemes (polysemic verbs and auxiliars were excluded and no distinction was made between obligatory and optional contexts).

Examples

1-3	*Sí, pero cuando* (1) ***yo quiero*** *divertirme* (2) ***escucho*** *discos, no compactos. Me gusta más el sonido. Pero* (3) ***yo creo*** *que, en España, lo que verdaderamente ha influido en la difusión del « jazz » es que, con la llegada de la democracia, cualquier tipo de manifestación artística pudo llevarse a la calle.* (Entrevista ABC)
	'Yes, but when (1) **I want** to amuse myself, (2) **Ø listen to** discs, not CDs. The sound is more pleasant to me. But (3) **I think** that, in Spain, what really has influenced the diffusion of jazz is that, with the arrival of the democracy, any kind of artistic manifestation could be taken to the streets.'
4-6	*Y luego, las yemas – las yemas las mezclas con siete cucharadas de azúcar, ¿sabes?* (4) ***Hice*** *una, fíjate cómo sería,* (5) ***hice*** *una primera y la* (6) ***tiré****.* (España Oral: BCON048B)
	'And then, the yolks – the yolks you mix them with seven spoons of sugar, you know? (4) **Ø made** one, just think how it would have been, (5) **Ø made** a first one and (6) **Ø threw** it away.'
7	*Claro,* (7) ***yo soy*** *feliz ahora haciendo sopas, si son para seis, si son para siete, si son para ocho. Y hago la cena.* (España Oral: CCON018B)
	'Of course, (7) **I am** happy now making soups, if they are for 6, 7, if they are for 8. And Ø make the dinner.'
8-10	*Sí. Los fines de semana, ahora, ya más en verano, normalmente* (8) ***me voy*** *a la playa, en la cual juego al tenis,* (9) ***ando*** *mucho, hago kilómetros, quince, dieciséis o lo que sea, no? Si hay vacaciones, casi siempre* (10) ***viajo*** *o hago viajes al extranjero o incluso por España, ¿ no?, por los Pirineos, por España.* (Habla Culta: Sevilla: M13)
	'Yes. The week-ends, now, more in summer, normally (8) **Ø go** to the beach, where Ø play tennis, (9) **Ø walk** a lot, Ø make kilometres, 15, 17, whatever. If there are holidays, almost always (10) **Ø travel** or Ø make trips abroad or even around Spain, in the Pyrenees, in Spain.'
11-12	*Evidentemente, una vez dimitido,* (11) ***soy*** *consciente de que* (12) ***no soy*** *presidente. Pero realmente, realmente yo creo que obré bien, yo creo que el Real Madrid…* (España Oral: ADEB007A)
	"Of course, once demitted, (11) **Ø am** conscious that (12) **Ø am** no president. But really, really I believe that did well, I believe that Real Madrid..."
13	*No, la voy a comprar el mes que viene, porque* (13) ***la odio****,* ***la odio*** *cordialmente, la televisión.* (Habla Culta: Madrid: M7)
	'No, Ø will buy it next month, because (13) **Ø hate it**, **Ø hate it** sincerely, the television.'

Example	Subject type	Transitivity level	Attention focus	Double-marking
(1)	Volitioner	Low	A	X
(2)	Perceptor	Low	O	
(3)	Cognizer	Low	A	X
(4)-(6)	Agent	High	O	
(7)	Intransitive	-	A	X
(8)-(10)	Intransitive	-	Action	
(11)-(12)	Intransitive	-	Predicative	
(13)	Emoter	Low	O	

All examples are from the oral subcorpus of the *Corpus del Español*. The sign Ø is used in the English translation to mark the position where there could have been a 1ˢᵗ person singular subject pronoun in Spanish, but where the pronoun was not used.

Jouni Rostila

A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Licensing in German

Once our attention moves beyond case-poor languages like English, it becomes clear that argument structure constructions in the sense of Goldberg (1995; 2006), if they are indeed valid tools of language description, must be symbolized by combinations of case morphemes. The purpose of my paper is to sketch an approach to argument licensing in German that is essentially based on a (polysemous) family of argument structure constructions whose form consists in the nominative – accusative case pair (cf. Author 2007). These constructions serve to link the central semantic roles (e.g. Agent, Patient, Experiencer, Stimulus) to syntactic functions. These are in turn conceived of as logico-pragmatic or perspectival roles in the sense of Welke (2002), not as primitives of an autonomous syntax.

Within this approach, argument licensing reduces to linking the potential argument elements in a sentence to the argument positions of argument structure constructions (1a) or of heads with idiosyncratic argument marking (1b: genitive; a rare object marking in German).

(1)   a. <u>Sie</u> ist <u>einen Marathon</u> gelaufen.

Agent   Patient (semantic proto-roles)

1st arg. 2nd arg. (perspectival roles; roughly equivalent to topic and focus)

nom.   acc.

b. Der Fall bedarf <u>eingehender Untersuchung</u>.

bedürfen: ... – Investigated (participant role)

2nd arg.

gen.

The central argument structure constructions are complemented in their linking function by more idiosyncratic devices. Such devices include argument structure constructions symbolized by certain prepositions of prepositional objects that have evolved into productive argument marking patterns (cf. *Ich warte/hoffe ... freue mich **auf** X*; Author 2005), as well as lexically determined prepositions and cases that serve as argument markers of individual heads (cf. 1b). What both devices have in common is that both link more peripheral semantic roles to syntactic functions than the argument structure constructions symbolized by the case pair nominative-accusative.

Apart from further exemplifying my approach to linking and argument licensing and describing it in more detail, I shall discuss the following questions: 1) how and why can this approach do without a role hierarchy, 2) why is it pointless to assume a universal set of semantic roles, 3) what are the implications of my approach for sentence processing?

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Jack Rueter

Case in Erzya, A synthesis of morphology, semantics, syntactic function, and compatibility with number, person and definiteness

The Erzya language is an agglutinative Uralic language, and from a morphological perspective Erzya can be seen to have three basic word classes: (1) those that generally take no inflection at all; (2) those that generally take only verbal conjugation, and (3) those that, to different degrees, can take either declension or conjugation, or both.

Since the focus of this paper is case, it will suffice to state that the first group consists of particles, interjections and conjunctions, and that the second group consists of finite verbs, whereas members of either of these groups in their own right might be plucked from context as entities and declined as nouns. However, it is the third group consisting of non-finites, nouns, adjectives, pronouns, determiners, numerals, postpositions and adverbs that are consistently subject to the phenomenon of case, be that grammatical or syntactic in nature.

Orientation strategies in Erzya are such that syntactic elements with a head in a member from the third group typically have morphological marking or lack thereof, Ø, on that head, the head being right-oriented. In the instance of non-finites and postpositions, the anchor, which typically precedes the head, may also take morphological case marking other than the absolute, indeterminate nominative singular. The declension of these anchors, as well as other modifiers, quantifiers and determiners is indicative of the semantic functions of these elements and therefore is not determined by the semantic function attributed to the case of the phrase head.

This article will deal with case in Erzya as a phenomenon of morphology, semantics and syntax and its compatibility with definiteness, as well as the grammatical categories of number and person in the frame work of part-of-speech divisions. The grammatical cases can conceivably combine with the three notions of number, person and definiteness. Such is also the situation when dealing with expression of spatial dimensions. Expression of time, state or other semantics, however, might be seen in less frequency with those three notions, but at the same time they might be represented by complex phrase structure.

Issues dealt with include morphology in combination with:

(a) Part-of-speech,
(b) Phrase complexity
(c) Category of number
(d) Category of person
(e) Definiteness
(f) Syntactic function

(1) Enumeration of 15 morphological means	
part-of-speech	attested morphology
nouns	abessive, ablative, comitative, comparative, dative, elative, genitive, illative, inessive, lative, nominative, prolative, temporal, translative
postpositions	ablative, comparative, elative, illative, inessive, lative, locative, prolative
non-finites	ablative, comparative, elative, illative, inessive, locative-nominative, prolative

(2) Cases attested at two syntactic levels		
name	syntactic level	
	NP	VP
abe	kudo+vtomo psaka house/home_N+ABE cat_N.ABS 'homeless cat'	psakaś kudo+vtomo cat_N.NOM.SG.DET house/home_N+ABE 'the cat [is] homeless'
cmp	vazo+ška kiska calf_N+CMP dog_N.ABS 'dog the size of a calf'	kiskaś vazo+ška dog_N.NOM.SG.DET calf_N+CMP 'the dog [is] as big as a calf'
ela	Turku+sto professoroś Turku_N+ELA profes- sor_N.NOM.SG.DET 'the professor from Turku'	professoroś Turku+sto professor_N.NOM.SG.DET Turku_N+ELA 'the professor [is] from Turku'
gen	Purgazo+ń kudoś Purgaz_N-PROP+GEN house/home_N.NOM.SG.DET 'Purgaz's house'	te kudoś Purgazo+ń this_PRON-DEICT house/home_N.NOM.SG.DET Purgaz_N-PROP+GEN 'this house [is] Purgaz's'
ill	jarsam+s kšim araś to-eat_NFV+ILL bread_N.POSS-1SG non-existent_PTC 'I don't have bread to eat'	kšim kadïja čokšnes jarsam+s bread_N.POSS-1SG to-leave_v.1SG>3SG evening_N.ILL to-eat_NFV+ILL 'I left my bread for evening to eat'
ine	pakśa+so lomań field_N+INE human_N.ABS 'a/the person in the field'	lomańeś pakśa+so human_N.ABS field_N+INE 'the person [is] in a/the field'
nom-abs	kiska ĺevks dog_N.ABS offspring_N.ABS 'puppy'	te kiska this_PRON-DEICT dog_N.ABS 'this [is] a dog'
loc	ikeĺe peś ahead_ADV.LOC end_N.NOM.SG.DET 'the front end'	peś ikeĺe end_N.NOM.SG.DET ahead_ADV.LOC 'the/this/that end is ahead'
prol	čavo pakśa+va moĺemańť końďamo empty_A.ABS field_N+PROL to-walk_NFV.GEN.SG.DET like_PP.ABS 'like going through an empty field'	kiś moĺś pakśa+va road_N.NOM.SG.DET to-go_VF.IND.PRETI.3SG field_N+PROL 'the road went throught a/the field'
transl	kudo+ks čočko house/home_N+TRANSL log_N.ABS 'a/the log for [building] a house'	ramaś čočkt od kudo+ks to-buy_VF.IND.PRETI.3SG log_N.PL.NOM.INDET new_A.ABS house/home_N+TRANSL 'he/she/it bought logs for [building] a new house'

Sirkka Saarinen

Case endings in Mari and Mordvin postpositions

Background: The oldest postpositions in Mari and Mordvin go back to Finno-Ugric stems denoting locality. The stems regularly take several case endings, usually at least those of a locative, a separative and a lative, in Mordvin also a prolative. The oldest postpositions in both Volgaic languages are inflected in the so called primary cases derived from the FU protolanguage. Younger postpositions are inflected in secondary cases, e.g., in the *s-cases of Finno-Volgaic origin. In Mordvin the class of postpositions has expanded through the grammaticalization of nouns, in Mari through borrowings from neighbouring languages.

In my paper I shall concentrate on two features of the Volgaic postpositions:
1. In both Mari and Mordvin one can see a clear tendency towards adding case endings to the postposition even when there does not seem to be any need for it, i. e. when the meaning of the postposition is not local or temporal. In Mari and Mordvin the position and function of an adverbial phrase in the sentence is clearly marked with a case ending. If the adverbial consists of a noun and a postposition, the postposition takes a case ending, even if it – being an adverb or a borrowed postposition – could express the needed function as such. This causes variation in the form of the postposition: it can be used both with and without a case ending.
2. The meaning and function of case endings in Mari and Mordvin is usually fixed, e.g. an inessive is used to answer the question 'where', an illative to 'where to', etc. The only exception of this rule are, again, some non-local and non-temporal postpositions, which can take two or even three different case endings without any change in meaning. I.e. we have here another case of free variation. E.g. Mordvin *ki|s* (illative) ~ *ki|se* (inessive) 'because of' or Mari *nerge|n* (genetive) ~ *nerge|šte* (inessive) '(to speak/think) of'.

Jun'ichi Sakuma

The double nominative marking in the Finnish language

In the Finnish language the same set of cases is available to indicate the grammatical functions, the subject and the object. The cases involved in the set are the nominative, the genitive and the partitive. Although the nominative is the most unmarked alternative for a subject, it can also indicate an object. However, the nominative case is not available for an object, if the subject of the same predicate is marked in the nominative case. This means that a nominative object cannot co-exist with a nominative subject in one and the same clause. When an object contains a numeral, however, not only the subject but also the object can be marked in the nominative case. For example, the following sentence has two nominative arguments: *Mies näki kolme naista.* (The man saw three women.). The question is how we can explain this double nominative marking.

In this language quantitative definiteness plays a crucial role in determining the case marking of grammatical functions. Quantitative definiteness means that the referent in question is indivisible. Grammatical functions marked in the partitive case are quantitatively indefinite, while those marked either in the nominative case or in the genitive case are quantitatively definite. What is important to note is that a subject or an object containing a numeral as its head is also quantitatively definite. Such a subject or an object should be regarded not as a noun phrase but as a numerical phrase. When a numerical phrase has a strong specific reading, it contains a part-whole relation. The part-whole relation a numerical phrase entails is expressed by marking a noun after a numeral in the partitive case. The numeral itself, on the other hand, is never marked in any other case than the nominative. We should not overlook that a numerical head is in the singular in form but in the plural in meaning. When a plural object refers to an entity that is highly definite, it is also marked not in the genitive case but in the nominative case. Since a numerical head is a hybrid between the singular and the plural, the morphological distinction of a numeral in the singular is partially neutralized. This is the reason a numerical head cannot be marked in the genitive singular case.

At first glance, the case marking pattern of the Finnish language seems to be partially defective, since the distinction between the nominative case and the genitive case for grammatical functions is not available in the plural. This is due to the fact that plural objects are usually considered to be quantitatively indefinite. As a default, plural objects are marked in the partitive case. A default indefinite interpretation of a plural object is not obtained, however, if the genitive plural is available as an alternative. In other words, a default indefinite interpretation follows from abandoning the genitive marking of a plural object. Thus, the double nominative marking can be explained in a principled way.

Merja Salo

Cases in Northern Khanty dialects

The Khanty language, together with Mansi and Hungarian, belongs to the Ugric group of the Uralic language family. The speakers of Khanty live in the northwestern part of Siberia, along the lower and the middle reaches of the river Ob and its tributaries. According to the census, in 2002 there were over 28 000 ethnic Khanty. The great majority of the Khanty live in the territory of the Khanty-Mansi (Yugria) and the Yamalo-Nenets autonomous districts (about 63 % and 30 % of the Khanties respectively). In earlier studies the language was divided into three major dialects, of which possibly the Southern Khanty is already extinct. Reliable population figures for the various dialects are not available. Due to the fact that their living area is vast and scattered, the Khanty nowadays use four literary languages, two eastern and two northern. Actually the differences between the dialects are so considerable, that one could speak of several Khanty languages, in the same way as we recognise several Sami or Finnic languages.

The case systems in different Khanty dialects vary widely from 10–11 to 3, which is the smallest number in the Uralic languages. Case suffixes are placed after any number or person suffix. The Northern Khanty literary languages, Kazym and Shurishkar, have 3 cases that are almost identical: morphologically unmarked nominative, lative in -*a* and locative in -ən or -*na*. In the northernmost dialect, called Obdorsk or Priuralsk, the inventory differs slightly: the lative and the locative have merged, the 3rd case here is translative in -*ji* and -*Ci* after a consonant-final stem, where C assimilates to the stem-final consonant. Pronouns inflect for case, but their case paradigm differs from that of nouns. Personal pronouns have accusative in -*t* in some dialects and demonstrative pronouns have ablative in -*lta*. Because of the small number of cases, there is a considerable number of postpositions complementing the grammatical system. In this study I shall list the meanings of these functionally very loaded cases and compare the functions of the cases in the literary and non-literary Northern Khanty dialects.

Erika Sandman

The Numeral Two as a Comitative/Instrumental Case Marker in Wutun Language: A Case of Areal Grammaticalization in Amdo Sprachbund

In my presentation I will discuss the comitative/instrumental case marker derived from numeral two in Wutun. My goal is to demonstrate that the grammaticalization of numeral two into case marker in Wutun is likely due to areal grammaticalization.

Wutun is a little-documented Sinitic language spoken by a population of some 4000 individuals in Wutun, Qinghai Province, Western China, also known as the Amdo region of ethnic Tibet. Areally, Wutun belongs to a larger areal union of languages best termed Amdo Sprachbund. The Amdo Spracbund comprises ca. 10–15 mutually unintelligible oral idioms, which represent four groups of languages: Sinitic, Bodic (Tibetan), Mongolic and Turkic. All the members of Amdo Sprachbund incorporate typological features of these four groups of languages and they have been approaching a common language type. (Janhunen et al. 2008: 21–22).

Due to areal interference, Wutun has developed features not well attested in Sinitic languages. One of these features is illustrated by nominal case system. An interesting feature in Wutun case system is the source of comitative/instrumental case marker   liangge. It is a compound of Mandarin Chinese numeral liǎng (两), 'two' and a classifier ge (个). This source of comitative/instrumental appears to be cross-linguistically quite uncommon; it is for example not mentioned in recent work on grammaticalization of comitatives and related categories (e.g. Heine and Kuteva 2002, Stolz et al. 2006).

While Standard Mandarin has separate simple numeral liǎng (两), 'two', and compound numeral liǎ (俩), 'two together', the numeral liangge in Wutun covers both of these functions. The use of numeral –liangge as a comitative marker in Wutun is most probably based on semantic extension of the compound numeral 'two together'. The comitative case is then further grammaticalized into instrumental, since as is generally known, instrumentals typically develop from comitatives. I thus propose the following grammaticalization cline:

two > two together > comitative > instrumental

The use of numeral two as a comitative/instrumental marker has also been documented in several other Sinitic languages of the region, e.g. in Linxia and Xining (Dwyer 1992: 167).The model for this grammaticalization path obviously comes from the Mongolic languages spoken in Amdo Sprachbund. Comitatives/instrumentals based on numeral two are found in Mongolic languages Bonan (Chen 1986: 121-122) and Santa (Dwyer 1992: 166) spoken in Amdo region. It seems plausible to say that Sinitic languages are replicating Mongolic grammatical pattern and the grammaticalization of numeral two into comitative/instrumental case here is contact-induced. Moreover, the Amdo Sprachbund case seems to qualify as an example of areal grammaticalization as defined by Heine and Kuteva (2005). The same, cross-linguistically rather uncommon grammaticalization process occurs at least in three languages with shared history of contact, the genetic relationship can be ruled out as an explanation and the grammaticalized element itself is further grammaticalized following the same pattern in all the languages involved.

Appendix: Data and references

Data

Wutun: 1) nga-　　　　ha　ma　liang-ge yek
　　　　　1P:SG:OBL-FOC　horse　two- CL　EXIST
　　　　　'I have two horses.'

　　　2) da　adia- da zhawa　liangge　　du　jaze　bi- she- ma
　　　　　then　monk-and disciple　two together　alone　basket　carry-get- SER

　　　　　xhen-dio- de　　　re
　　　　　walk-NEC-NMLZ　FACT
　　　　　'Then, the monk and the disciple had to start walking with baskets on
　　　　　their back.'

　　　3) ngu　　ngu- de　tixang-　　　　liangge qhi-zhe
　　　　　1P:SG 1P:SG-GEN younger brother-COM　go- CONT
　　　　　'I will go together with my younger brother.'

　　　4)　gu agu shetek-liangge zhaze　　da- pe- lio　ze-　li
　　　　　that girl　rock- INSTR　window　hit-break-PRF　EXEC-OBJ
　　　　　'That girl broke the window with a rock.'

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Kan Sasaki & Daniela Caluianu

The rise of a semantically unrestricted oblique case in the Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese

The rise of a semantically unrestricted oblique case in the Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese The Standard Japanese dative case particle *-ni* is known for its wide variety of usages, e.g., recipient, location, source of transfer, target of emotion, experiencer, beneficiary, causee, passive agent, and secondary predicate (see the examples in (1)). Due to the difficulty of finding a shared feature among all these usages, some researchers have abandoned the attempt of semantic characterization of *-ni* and consider it as a default oblique case element (Uda 1994). However, using the idea of semantic map (Croft 2001, Haspelmath 2003), it becomes possible to capture the various usages of *-ni* as an instance of family resemblance.

It is to be expected that in a case system where oblique cases are more elaborate than in Standard Japanese the semantic characterization of oblique cases should pose fewer problems. The Mitsukaido dialect, spoken in the south-western part of Ibaraki prefecture, Japan, defies this expectation. The dialect has a complex case system, with no less than four oblique case particles. In spite of this, the dialect has a case particle which cannot be characterized semantically even with the aid of a semantic map. The aim of this presentation is to present the current situation of the oblique case particles in the Mitsukaido dialect and to clarify the diachronic change which gave rise to a semantically unrestricted oblique case particle.

The Mitsukaido dialect distinguishes four case particles in the semantic sphere where Standard Japanese *-ni* is used (see Table 1). The four oblique case particles are *-nge* (animate dative), *-sa* (inanimate dative), *-ngani* (experiencer case) and *-ni* (locative). None of these case particles corresponds to a single semantic role. The usage of *-nge*, *-sa*, *-ngani* can be captured semantically with a family resemblance connected in the adjacent space on semantic map (see Figure 1). On the other hand, the usage of the locative case particle *-ni* does not have such a connection. There is no common semantic feature relating all the usages of this case particle. The sole feature shared by most (not all) of the usages is syntactic, i.e., being a syntactically peripheral element. This characterization is available for the location adjunct in an existential construction, the target of emotion, the passive agent (1 chomeur in terms of relational grammar) and the secondary predicate (predicate chomeur). Thus, *-ni* in the Mitsukaido dialect can be regarded as a semantically unrestricted oblique case particle despite of having a more restricted usage than that of Standard Japanese ni.

This paradoxical situation is a reflection of diachronic change. The three semantically defined case particles, *-nge*, *-sa* and *-ngani*, do not date back to Old Japanese. The dative *-nge* and *-sa* are derived from derivational suffixes denoting directionality through grammaticization (Kobayashi 2004, Morishita 1971). The experiencer case particle *-ngani* is derived through combination of possessive *-nga* and locative *-ni*. It appears that the rise of these "new" oblique case particles lead to a loss of connection among the usage of *-ni* in semantic map. This is not a unique phenomenon. Similar developments, where the rise of a newly grammaticalized item has lead to the loss of semantic coherence in an old item, have been discussed in Haspelmath (2003).

The usages of Standard Japanese locative case particle *-ni*

kodomo-ni *atae-ru* 'give something to the child' (recipient), *ie-ni* *i-ru* 'stay at home' (location), *kare-ni* *mora-u* 'obtain something from him' (source of transfer), *soon-ni* *komar-u* 'be annoyed with noise' (target of emotion), *boku-*

ni-wa wakar-u 'I understand' (experiencer), *kodomo-ni yon-de yar-u* 'read something for the child' (beneficiary), *kodomo-ni yom-ase-ru* 'make the child read' (causee), *sense-ni sikar-are-ru* 'be scold by the teacher' (passive agent), *sense-ni nar-u* 'become a teacher' (secondary predicate)

Table 1. *The Mitsukaido dialect case system and Standard Japanese case system*

	Mitsukaido dialect		Standard Japanese	
	Animate	Inanimate		
Dative	NP-*nge*	NP-*sa*	NP-*ni*	Dative
Experiencer case	NP-*ngani*			
Locative	NP-*ni*			

Figure 1. *Semantic map for four oblique case particles in the Mitsukaido dialect*
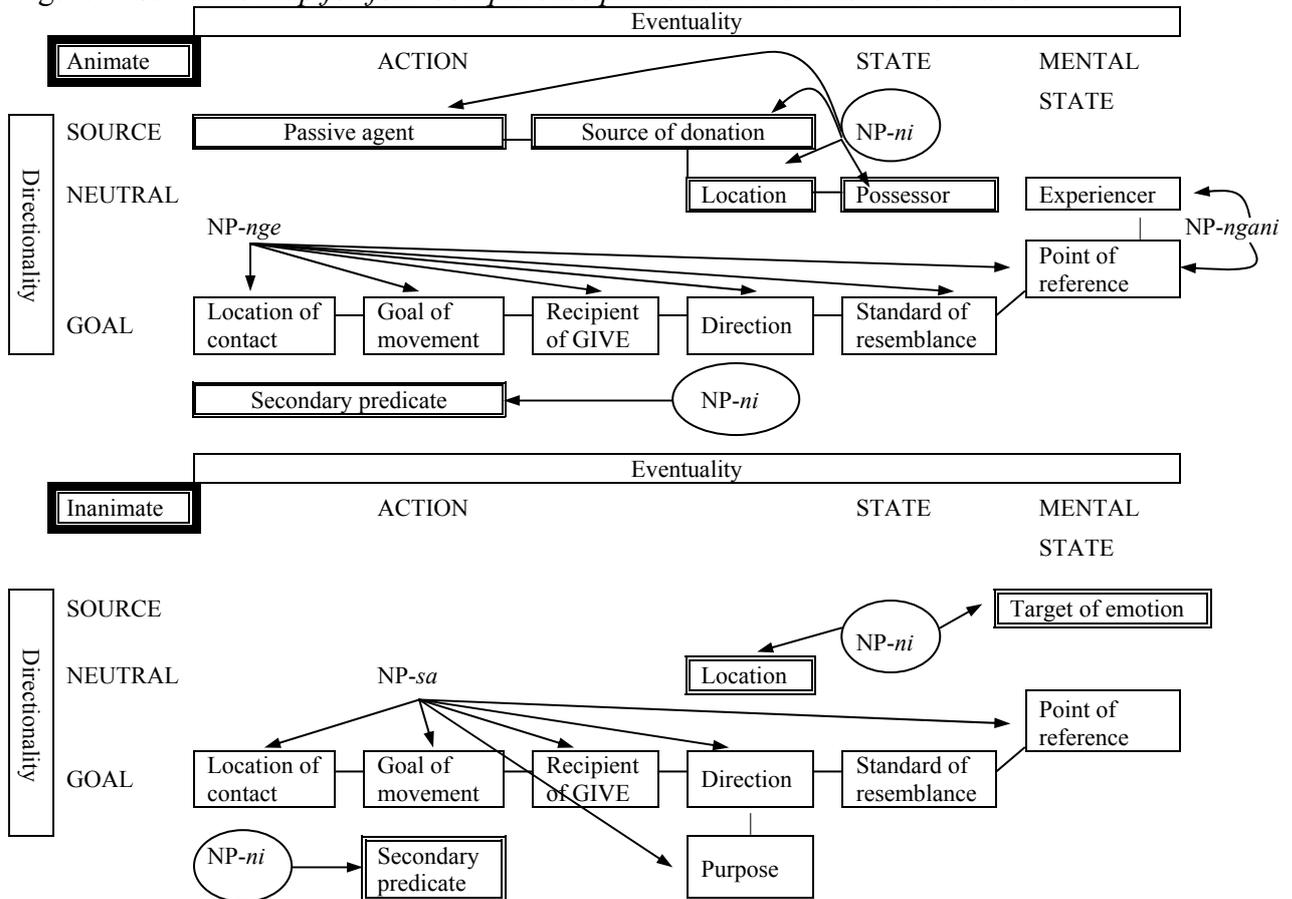
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Maija Sirola

Comitative in Finnish language

Comitative prototypically expresses accompaniment (Blake 1994: 198), although it can also be used for encoding instrument, possession or inclusion, for example. Comitative can be expressed by adpositions, case affixes and serial construction among other means. In Finnish, the main means are postpositions (e.g. *kera*, *myötä*, *mukana*, *matkassa*, *lisäksi*, *rinnalla*, *yhteydessä* and the main variant *kanssa* 'with') and the comitative case affix *-ine* which is accompanied with a possessive suffix when attached to a noun.

Lately, the research on the comitative case has been focused on comparing the means of encoding the functions of comitative and instrumental (e.g. Stolz 2001, Stolz et al 2006; WALS 2005: 214–217), which limits the applicability of the results. On my newly started research, my approach on the comitative takes the opposite starting point: instead of analyzing the forms used for a specific function, I am taking a specific form and look for all the functions that can be encoded with it.

In this paper I discuss two questions concerning the relations between the Finnish comitative case *-ine* and the construction with the postposition *kanssa*. The arguments used are based on my pilot research on a newspaper corpus (Sirola 2008).

Firstly, it has been assumed that the functions of the case affix *-ine* are much the same as those of the postposition *kanssa* (Haarala et al 2004; Karlsson 1982: 132; partly also Hakulinen et al 2004: 943). Even though they have some common functions, such as the prototypical function of expressing accompaniment, in most cases they are used for encoding different meanings (only 15 % of the constructions with *kanssa* in corpus could have been expressed with the case *-ine*). There are two main reasons for which the two constructions can't overlap. The first is a matter of symmetricality: the *kanssa* construction is employed to encode a symmetrical relationship between two independent participants, while the comitative case represents an asymmetric relationship where the COMPANION (marked with the case affix) is subordinate to the ACCOMPANEE and, for example, share the same macrorole. The other reason is semantic: since *-ine* is always accompanied by a possessive suffix, there is necessarily a semantic (possessive) connection between the COMPANION and the ACCOMPANEE, whereas the postposition *kanssa* can in principle combine any two participants.

Secondly, related to the first question, it has been argued that the *-ine* comitative is a fading means of language and is giving way to the postposition *kanssa* (Grünthal 2003: 27; WALS 2005: 214). It is true that the comitative case is not in frequent use (0,02 % of newspaper corpus' 31 million words has the affix *-ine*) and that all the meanings expressed with *kanssa* can't be encoded with *-ine*. However, the corpus shows that the field of application of *-ine* widens rather than decreases: in newspaper texts the *-ine* case expresses a wider choice of functions than what Finnish grammars define, such as spatial relations, cause, instrument and textual means. These functions can not the be expressed with the postpostition *kanssa*.

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Maria Smolina

On recently grammaticalized case morphemes in Urum language

Urum is a Turkic language spoken by an ethnic minority in Southeastern Ukraine. The native speakers of the language typically define their ethnicity as "Greek" and belong to the Orthodox church. The language exists as a number of dialects remarkably differing in many aspects.

Many of these dialects present a system of morphological case markings which is more complicated than a typical six-case Turkic system. The greatest number of case morphemes can be found in the Old Crimean dialect, that presents 3 new case morphemes in addition to the standard 6 cases. The new cases can be described and classified as Instrumental-Comitative (with –*(j)nAn* affix), Abessive (with –*sYz* affix) and Terminative (with –*AjğAz* affix) cases.

The data we have on the Turkic cases system history suggest that all the three affixes have become morphological case markings very recently. The Instrumental/Comitative affix can be easily traced to a postposition *birlen* with intrumental and comitative function. The Terminative affix seems also to be a result of fusing of nominal dative marking (-*A*) with a postposition with terminative function. The Abessive case affix –*sYz* can be easily found in many Turkic languages where it has a noun derivative status. At the moment, all these three case morphemes seem to be fully grammaticalized morphological cases, being phonetically united with the stem (via common stress and vowel harmony), co-occurrent with plural affix and possessive affixes, and not co-occurrent with other case affixes. Other Urum dialects and related Turkic languages present us with other stages of this morphologization process, with incomplete phonetic assimilation of the affixes and limitations on co-occurrence with plural and possessive affixes.

These cases have a limited number of analogues in other Turkic languages, where similar morphologization processes seem to have occurred – such as Kazakh language (for Instrumental-Comitative case) and Bojnurdi language (for Terminative case). There is no reason to suspect contacts between those languages, so no direct grammatical adoption could have had place.

Some reconstructed systems of ancient Turkic case marking morphemes include special affixes for each of the listed cases. However, all those morphemes had serious limitations on combinations with stems, as well as other noun affixes, nor were they fully following the vowel harmony rules. For those reasons, they are not commonly considered to be "true" morphological cases. In modern Turkic languages these morphemes are considered extinct as case markings, existing in some cases as diachronically separable elements of adverbs.

All that suggests certain common drift inherent for at least some Turkic languages. This drift generally can be described as the process of formalization and systematization of case markings, with postpositions and derivational affixes becoming the source of new morphological case affixes.

Merlijn de Smit

Systems in motion: subject and object case-marking in Old Finnish and Sweden Finnish

Terho Itkonen (1979) characterized the Finnish system of subject and object case-marking as "inverted ergativity": subjects of existential clauses are assigned the object case (with regards to both overt morphological marking, post-verbal position, lack of agreement, etc.). The "invertedness" of the system lies precisely in that, unlike typical ergative or active-stative languages, most subjects in Finnish are unmarked (and objects in typical transitive clauses are marked). This makes the Finnish system particularly vulnerable to change: the morphologically more "ergative" features (such as the un-marked object and the marked subject of non-finite constructions) are all more or less marginal and prone to reanalysis and analogical extension.

Itkonen's analysis provides for an interesting background to took at contact-induced change in varieties of Finnish strongly affected by Swedish, such as Old Finnish (1540-1809) and modern-day Sweden Finnish. Such changes include:

- Extension of unmarked subjects in contexts previously dominated by morphologically marked ones, such as necessitive verbs.
- Extension of morphologically marked objects to contexts such as the object of necessitive verbs and imperatives.
- Reanalysis of the non-promotional passive to a promotional one, which eliminates one context for the morphologically unmarked object.

These changes may be in themselves quite superficial and have a variety of causes, from relatively straightforward grammatical calqueing to a complex interplay between con-tact-induced change and internal restructuring. And in particular in modern varieties, counterposed tendencies (such as the extension of the marked object and the calqueing of a (Swedish) unmarked object) seem to exist. The purpose of this paper is to exem-plify and compare (with varying degree of detail) change in Old Finnish and Sweden Finnish, and to justify treating these as a whole, instantiating a piecemeal (and in case of Old Finnish, aborted) structural shift in Finnish alignment typology.

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Marianne Spoelman

The use of the partitive case in Finnish learner language: A corpus study

Finnish, an agglutinative language and a member of the Finno-Ugric language family, is particularly well known for its rich and complex morphology (Moscoso del Prado Martin, Bertram, Häikiö, Schreuder & Baayen, 2004). The Finnish case system comprises fifteen cases (ISK, 2004; Leino, 1997) and is traditionally taken to consist of structural or grammatical cases and semantic cases (Nikanne, 1993). Semantic cases are divided into locative and marginal cases. Together with the nominative, genitive and accusative case, the partitive case constitutes the structural cases (Helasvuo, 2008).

The partitive case is a typical case characterizing the Finnic languages. From origin, the partitive was a spatial case, which had a separative meaning. Its unboundedness-marking functions developed within Balto-Finnic (Kiparsky, 1998). In modern Finnish, the partitive case expresses mainly unknown identities, partialness and irresultative actions. The Finnish partitive has two functions, which can be termed aspectual and NP-related (Kiparsky, 2005). Most often, partitives can be classified as partitive objects, partitive predicatives or partitive subjects.

The partitive case has often found to be problematic for foreign learners of Finnish (Schot-Saikku, 1990), because its use may involve polarity and aspect as well as divisibility and definiteness of the subject, object or referent (Muikku-Werner, 2002). Denison (1957: 15) even describes the use of the partitive case as "the most baffling and at the same time the most intriguing problem which the foreign student of Finnish syntax has to face".

This corpus study investigates the use of the partitive case in Finnish learner language, focusing on Dutch, German and Estonian learners of Finnish. The source languages (L1s) have been chosen based on their genetic and typological distance to Finnish, since linguistic phenomena (in this case the partitive case) are assumed to be more difficult to learn, when not existing in a learner's native language (Kaivapalu, 2008). The purpose of the study is to provide valuable insight into the nature of learner language, the role of L1 influence and the use of the partitive case in Finnish learner language in all its nuances. The study is part of the project *Corpus study on language-specific and universal features in learner language.* This research project is led by Jarmo Harri Jantunen. Within the project, the *International Corpus of Learner Finnish (ICLFI)* is compiled from 2007 onward.

In this presentation, the three main applications of the partitive case will be discussed and illustrated by examples. In addition, a pilot study on the use of the partitive case in Finnish learner language will be discussed. This pilot study has been based on the use of partitive objects, predicatives and subjects in the Estonian, German and Dutch subcorpora of the International Corpus of Learner Finnish. Frequencies observed from the learner corpora were compared with each other and with a reference corpus (the Native Finnish corpus; Mauranen, 2000).

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Uri Tadmor

The rise and fall of case marking in Malay-Indonesian pronouns

The pronominal system of Malay-Indonesian is extremely conservative. All six reconstructed Proto-Austronesian pronouns (described in Ross 2006) have closely-matching reflexes in one or another variety of modern Malay-Indonesian, five of them in the standard language. This is remarkable given the time depth involved: Proto-Austronesian is estimated to have been spoken about 6,000 years ago. At the same time, the Malay-Indonesian pronominal system can also be said to be very innovative, because it in now includes loanwords such as *saya* (1SG, from Sanskrit), *mereka* (3PL, from Old Javanese), and several others. This is also remarkable, since closed, rigidly structured sets like pronouns are often said to be impermeable (or at least highly resistant) to borrowing.

   Like some other languages (such as English), Malay-Indonesian case is only overtly expressed in the pronominal system. Yet unlike some other languages (again, such as English), this is not a vestige of an earlier general case system that once encompassed all nouns. What makes the Malay-Indonesian case system particularly interesting is that it has experienced decay, reexpansion, restructuring, and then decay again. The complex system described for Proto-Austronesian in Ross 2006 had partially decayed and restructured by the time Old Malay is first attested in the 7th century CE. Classical Malay, attested from the 16th century CE after several 'dark' centuries, had a very different and arguably more complex case system, expressed in singular pronouns only, as shown in Table 1.

	Simple form	d- forms	Proclitic forms	Enclitic forms
1SG	*aku*	*daku*	*ku-*	*-ku*
2SG	*engkau*	*dikau*	*kau-*	*-mu*
3SG	*ia*	*dia*	-	*-nya*

Table 1: Case marking in Classical Malay pronouns

As will be demonstrated, the simple forms functioned were nominative, d- forms (which historically developed from simple forms preceded by the ablative preposition *di*) functioned as accusative, and enclitic forms functioned as genitive. Proclitic forms marked the actor in object voice constructions. This system subsequently underwent attrition and other changes, so that only vestiges remain in modern Malay-Indonesian.

   This paper will trace and discuss the development of the Malay-Indonesian pronominal case system from its first attestations until the present, citing examples from inscriptions, manuscripts, literature, and natural conversations.

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Anne Tamm

Cross-categorial abessive in Estonian

This contribution provides evidence for the following claims.

1. Estonian abessive non-finite verb constructions negate possessive perfect constructions (in their 2nd stage of grammaticalization).

2. The meaning of Estonian cross-categorial abessive constructions contains a presupposition about a plan, a standard or an expectation concerning a normal state of affairs.

By "cross-categorial abessive" I mean the case meaning 'without', which appears on nominals (1) as well as other categories, such as verbs or mixed categories with verb properties (2). The "abessive construction" is the construction with an adessive argument, the finite verb 'be' and the abessive form of the *ma*-infinitive in Estonian, $NP_{ade}+be+V_{ma\text{-}inf\_abessive}$, where either the NP_{ade} or the copula 'be' may be dropped (3), (4).

I argue that the Estonian possessive perfect construction (grammaticalization stage 2, example (5)) is the affirmative counterpart of abessive constructions as in (1)-(4).

Is there a possessive perfect in Estonian? Typically, languages lacking the verb 'have' do not develop possessive perfects. However, on the basis of a possessive construction $NP_{ade}+be+NP_{nom/part}$ (6), Estonian has developed a possessive perfect construction $NP_{ade}+be+V_{past.passive.participle}$ (5). Lindström and Tragel (2009), based on the account of the development of the possessive perfect by Heine and Kuteva (2006), show that the Estonian construction demonstrated in (5) corresponds to the 2nd stage of grammaticalization of the possessive perfect. The grammaticalization has not reached the final stage (stage 3).

The abessive and possessive perfect constructions share a number of properties. Their form resembles the form of possessive constructions, but they lack the possessive meaning. They are resultatives, the result is relevant at the speech time, and the verb may be intransitive. The adessive argument cannot be inanimate; however, the animate adessive argument as well as the copula may be omitted. The abessive construction is semantically different from the halfway grammaticalized possessive perfect (of stage 2) in terms of polarity.

How does the abessive negation differ from the standard predicate negation? In the examples with an abessive NP, the abessive negation is used if there is a normal or a standard expectation about the state of affairs, but the situation is the opposite. The NP *lumeta* 'without snow' appears in descriptions of situations where snow can be normally expected, as in January in New York (1). An odd effect emerges if a season where snow cannot be expected is introduced (7). The pragmatic effect fails to appear with standard negation (8). Testing the abessive constructions in contexts that block the projection of the presupposition about a normal or expected state of affairs by stating the opposite, the utterances containing abessive are not natural, as in (9) and (10). These preliminary tests suggest that the constructions contain a presupposition about a plan, a standard or an expectation concerning the normal state of affairs.

The phenomenon of abessive negation, combined with non-finite forms, is attested cross-linguistically. Abessive negation is known in other Finnic (Agranat 2007) and Uralic languages (e.g., Nganasan, Wagner-Nagy&Tamm forthc.) as well. My contribution helps to clarify the semantics of these constructions.

Examples

(1) *Jaanuarikuine New York* oli **lumeta** *ja kevadiselt karge.*[3]
   January-time N.Y.   was snow-abe and spring-like fresh
   'There was no snow in the New York of January and the weather was fresh
    as if it were spring.'

(2) *Ilu   pidavat   olema   vaatajate   silmades –*
   beauty must-part_ev be-ma-inf beholder-gen.pl eye-pl.ine
   kraash kas   mul on   silmad **pesemata**
   kraash Q-ptcl I-ade be.3s eye-pl wash-ma-inf-abe
   või on keegi ilust väga valesti aru saanud[4]
   or be.3s somebody beauty-ela very wrong ptcl understand-act.past.ptcp
   'They say that beauty is in the eye of the beholder – kraash either I have not
   washed my eyes, or someone has a very strange understanding of beauty.'

(3) *Sul   vägitegu   tehtud   ja mul pirukas veel* **söömata**.[5]
   you-ade heroic deed[nom] do-past.pass.ptcp and I-ade pie[nom] yet eat-ma_inf-abe
   'You have done your heroic deed and I have not eaten my pie yet.'

(4) *ilmselt ei ole kingitus, sest auto on* **pesemata**[6]
   apparently not be gift because car be.3s wash-ma-inf-abe
   'Apparently it is not a gift, because the car has not been/ is not washed'

(5) *Mu-l on   auto   pes-tud.*
   I-ade be.3s car[nom] wash- pass.past.ptcp
   'My car is washed' / 'I have washed my car' / 'I have washed the car'
    (Lindstrom and Tragel 2009)

(6) *Mu-l on auto.*
   I-ade be.3s car[nom]
   'I have a car.' (Lindstrom and Tragel 2009)

(7) *Juulikuine New York oli*   **lumeta**.
   July-time   N.Y.   was snow-abe
   'There was no snow in the New York of July.'

(8) *Juulikuises New Yorgis* **ei olnud**   *lund*.
   July-time   N.Y.   not be-ptcp snow-abe
   'There was no snow in the New York of July.'

(9) *Jaanuarikuises Rios ei peagi   lund sadama.*
  January_time-ine R.-ine not must snow.part fall-sup
   %Jaanuarikuine Rio oli   **lumeta**.
   January-time   R. was snow-abe
   'In the Rio of January, there should be no snow.
    There was no snow in the Rio of January.'

(10) *Ma ei pidanudki pirukat ära sööma. %Mul on   pirukas* **söömata**.
    I   not must   pie.part ptcl eat-sup I-ade be.3s pie[nom] eat-ma_inf-abe
   'I was not expected to eat the pie. I have not eaten the pie.'

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[3] http://luup.postimees.ee:8080/leht/98/03/06/kultuur/problu.htm
[4] http://foorum.usk.ee/index.php?topic=3102.new
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Chrysanthie Therapontons

Genitive complements of two-place verbs and the structural case hypothesis in Modern Greek

The aim of this paper is to examine two-place verbs that assign genitive case to their complement in Modern Greek. I will focus on two types of verbs: (i) verbs with a nominative marked external argument and a genitive marked internal argument, such as tilefono "telephone" in (1), and (ii) verbs without an external argument but with two arguments marked respectively genitive and nominative, such as areso "please" (2).

Constructions with three-place verbs assigning genitive like dhino "give", often analysed as double object constructions, have been examined systematically for Modern Greek (Anagnostopoulou 1999, 2003, Georgala & Bowers 2007), and for many other languages, mainly English. Both genitive constructions with two and three place verbs share some similarities, such as alternations with PP, -which distinguishes Greek from English, a language where only double object constructions exhibit alternations (see (3) – (6)).

Anagnostopoulou (2003: 69) claims that genitive goals / experiencers in Greek have an underdetermined Case-theoretic status. According to the criterion of passivizability they bear inherent case and, according to the criterion of clitic doubling, they are assigned structural case. In other words, genitive is hybrid in that it possesses properties of both the inherent and structural case system. Van Peteghem (2006) showed that dative case in French is a structural case, assigned in a specific structural configuration: the existence of an internal argument which is thematically lower than the dative argument.

On the basis of these two configurational criteria, I will try to show that genitive is a structural case assigned to the NP. The parallelism between Greek and French is that verbs like téléphoner and plaire assign dative to their complement, but, unlike Greek, they do not exhibit alternations, morphological case being marked only on the pronouns lui/leur.

Concerning verbs such as tilefono "telephone", which is an intransitive verb, I propose that these verbs actually have an internal nominal argument (i.e. a cognate object or a null complement), which is not always explicit, and hence they have the same structure as bitransitives (cf. Hale and Keyser 2002, Melis 1996):

The second type, areso "please", has only two internal arguments, one marked genitive and one marked nominative, and no external argument. Thus, passivization is impossible.

My general claim will be that under these relevant syntactic configurations, genitive in Greek is a structural case. Based on the presence of an internal argument and the thematic superiority of the genitive argument, the structural case hypothesis also allows us to unify genitive complements of two and three place verbs.

Datas & references

   (1) *O   Ahilleas   tilefonise tou   Ari*
        the –NOM Achilles –NOM telephoned the –GEN Ares –GEN
        "Achilles telephoned Ares"

   (2) *Tis   Antigonis   aresoun i   ekpliksis*
        the –GEN Antigone –GEN please   the –NOM surprises –NOM

"Antigone likes surprises"

(3) *O   Ahilleas   tilefonise   ston   Ari*
the –NOM Achilles –NOM telephoned to the –ACC Ares –ACC
"Achilles telephoned Ares"

(4) *I   ekpliksis   aresoun stin   Antigoni*
the –NOM surprises –NOM please   to the –ACC Antigone -ACC
"Antigone likes surprises"

(5) *O   Adhonis   edhose tis   Aphrodhitis   ena vivlio*
the –NOM Adonis –NOM gave   the –GEN Aphrodite –GEN a   book –
ACC
"Adonis gave Aphrodite a book"

(6) *O   Adhonis   edhose ena vivlio   stin   Aphrodhiti*
the –NOM Adonis –NOM gave   a   book –ACC to the –ACC Aphro-
dite –ACC
"Adonis gave a book to Aphrodite"

(7) *I   Aphrodhiti   tou   tilefonise   ta   nea*
the –NOM Aphrodite –NOM the –GEN telephoned the –ACC news
"Aphtodite tell him the news on the telephone"

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Saartje Verbeke

Case in Kashmiri

The case system in Kashmiri reveals some interesting particularities. The distribution of the cases of the main arguments is especially worthy of note. Besides having a complex case system, Kashmiri also displays an intricate pattern of cross-references on the verb.

The Kashmiri case system consists of four morphological cases: nominative, dative, ablative and ergative (see Table 1). The ergative form of the first and second personal pronoun is identical to the dative form (see Table 2). Nouns and demonstrative pronouns used to express the third person, however, distinguish between dative and ergative. The language is of a split ergative kind, with a split conditioned by tense-aspect-mood (cf. Dixon 1994: 97). Kashmiri takes an ergative system in the past/perfect tenses and an accusative system in the present tenses, as exemplified in examples (1) and (2).

(1) *me*　　　　*pər*　　　　　　*kita:b*
　　　I.ERG.sg.　　read.PAST.f.3sg.　　book.NOM.f.sg.
　　　I read a book.

(2) *bI*　　　　*ch-u-s*　　　　*kita:b*　　　　*par-a:n*
　　　I.NOM.sg.　　be.PRES-m-1sg　　book.NOM.f.sg.　　read-PRES.part.
　　　I am reading a book.

The accusative case is lacking in Kashmiri. In the present tense the direct object (DO) is in the dative or the nominative case according to a strict person hierarchy. When the DO is a personal pronoun or an animate object, it takes the nominative case only when it is ranked lower in person than the subject, as exemplified in (3), but it takes the dative case when it is ranked higher in person than the subject, or when both arguments are third person (in this case the DO should be animate and specific); see example (4) where *me* is in the dative case. In the past/perfect tenses, the DO is always represented by the unmarked case, e.g. *kita:b* in example (1).

(3) *bI*　　　　*so:z-a-th*　　　　*tsI*　　　　*to:r*
　　　I.NOM.sg.　　send.FUT-1sg-2sg　　you.NOM.sg.　　there
　　　I will send you there.

(4) *tsI*　　　　*ch-u-kh*　　　　*me*　　　　*parIna:v-a:n*
　　　you.NOM.sg.　be.PRES-m.-2sg.　　I.DAT.sg.　　teach-PRES.part.
　　　You are teaching me.

The unmarked case used for the DO in the past/perfect tenses is formally identical to the nominative case used for the subject and the unmarked direct object in the present tenses. However, here Kashmiri uses cross-referencing on the verb to differentiate the case functions from the morphological cases. In example (3), for instance, the two suffixes added to the verb *so:z-a-th* belong to a different paradigm, i.e. *-a-* for the nominative subject and *-th* for the nominative (unmarked) DO. It is interesting to note that the suffixes for the unmarked DO of the present tense are formally identical to the suffixes for the ergative case in the past/perfect tenses.

The inventory of the Kashmiri case system leads to some more general questions about case:

1/ What is the relation between case and cross-referencing and how are their respective functions to be assessed?

2/ Further, after analyzing the use of the unmarked case in a split ergative language as Kashmiri, the necessity of using the term 'absolute' case is put into question.

3/ Finally, Kashmiri also illustrates the semantic connotations of case marking, as for instance connotations of definiteness, animacy, and person hierarchy.

Table 1: case markings of nouns (cf. Koul & Wali 2006: 32)

Case	masc		fem	
	sg	pl	sg	pl
Nom.	/	/	/	/
Erg	an/C'	av	i/an	av
Dat	as/is	an	i	an
Abl	I/i	av	i	av

Table 2: declension of the pronouns (cf. Koul 2006: 32, 53, 79)

case	person	gender and number			
		masc		fem	
		sg	pl	sg	pl
nom	first	bI	əs'	bI	əs'
	second	tsI	toh'	tsI	toh'
	third	su	tim	s>	timI
erg	first	me	asi	me	asi
	second	tse	t>hi	tse	t>hi
	third	təm'	timav	tami	timav
dat	first	me	asi	me	asi
	second	tse	t>hi	tse	t>hi
	third	təmis	timan	təmis	timan
abl	first	me	asi	me	asi
	second	tse	t>hi	tse	t>hi
	third	tami	timav	tami	timav

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Ralf Vollmann

Optional ergative case marking in Tibetan

It might be interesting for general case theory to consider the complex situation of case marking in Tibetan. In Tibetan, we find the following features: group inflection, ERG/ABS/EXP system, optional case marking, possible omission of all NPs, evidential verbal morphology interacting with semantic/pragmatic case functions, and case-marking after verbs. Apart from the core cases (ERG, ABS, EXP/LOC/DAT, together with ABL, SOC, GEN, TOP), we find a number of postpositions of the type GEN+ADPOSLOC (ex. chos-kyi+hkhor-la 'about the dharma', lit. dharma-GEN+around-LOC) which can be formally reduced (chos-hkhor 'about the dharma').

The ERG case is used in a quite complex way with partly contradicting parameters: first, it is embedded in a split-ERG system (obligatory in perfective, possible in imperfective, impossible in intentional aspect), and it is not based on transitivity or agency, but mainly on the semantic expression of a volitional (and successful) actor (as in "I gave it to you" or "I went to Lhasa"). In general, ERG case can be omitted or added, thereby leading to specific pragmatic readings ("It was he who ...", "I (instead of you) ..."); it can also be replaced by ABL (honorific meaning, e.g., "he wrote this book", or improbability (of volition), e.g. "Tibet will help China") and omitted by using resultative constructions ("I could not turn it" > "it did not turn"); but it is obligatory in events where the volitionality of the actor is questionable or absent, as in "I will stay in your house", "I watch you", "I see you", "I don't understand". Historically and in part even synchronically, ERG marking interacts with regular causative (vs. resultative) verb formation (e.g. skor 'somebody turns something' vs. hkhor 'something turns').

The use of the EXP/LOC/DAT case is similarly complex; there are instances of experiencer subjects ("I:DAT received a letter", "I:DAT [can] hunt rabbits"), and EXP/LOC/DAT case marking is also optional, leading to pragmatic differences. The topic marker (TOP) replaces other case markers in the written language, but is no longer used in most spoken variants. A small number of verbs requires objects with sociative (SOC) case-marking, and finally, all case-markers are used for subordination, i.e., they can be attached to verbs. Some case markers therefore require nominalization, some don't.

In a cross-dialectal study, a continuum of typological case-marking characteristics is found, starting from more semantic/pragmatic usage in the west (Balti, Ladakhi) across Central Tibetan (Lhasa, etc.) towards somewhat more grammaticalized patterns in the east (Kham, Amdo); however, this might not be the last word on that, since the available dialect grammars do not always explain this problem well enough, optional case marking being probably more widespread than described so far. The written language shows a more grammaticalized behavior of case-marking which may be explained by the functional differences of orate and literate styles of language.

To conclude, this system is a quite 'peculiar' ergative system, requiring some adaptation of existing theories, and it is a clear counter-example to the concept of "government": The case markers of Tibetan are used partly on formal grounds and partly semantically, and even pragmatically; the main relation between case and verb is based upon volition, causativity, and evidentiality. Therefore, Tibetan case-marking may be seen more as a distant relative to the case-marking types found among Pacific languages.

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Katja Västi

Semantics of initial allative in verbless constructions and finite clauses in Finnish

In my presentation, I discuss the semantics of the allative case in Finnish. I demonstrate that in an initial position the range of semantic roles of an argument in allative case varies according to whether there is a finite verb in the clause or not. In particular, I show that in verbless constructions, that cannot be seen as elliptic clauses, the allative case can have a semantic function, which it cannot have in finite clauses. That function is an agentive function, a fact that is not mentioned in grammars of Finnish. In this study, I only consider structures including an initial allative argument with an animate referent, as the verbless construction in (1) and the finite clause in (2).

(1) *Varka-i-lle*   *tietokone-i-ta*   *Vammala-ssa*
     thief-PL-ALL   computer-PL-PART   Vammala-INESS
     AGENT   THEME   LOCATION
     '**Thieves stole** (etc.) computers in Vammala'
     (Lit. 'Computers **to thieves** in Vammala')

(2) *Varka-i-lle*   *menete-ttiin*   *tietokone-i-ta*   *Vammala-ssa*
     thief-PL-ALL   lose-PASS.IMP   computer-PL-PART   Vammala-INESS
     BENEFICIARY   THEME   LOCATION
     'Computers were lost **to thieves** in Vammala'

The animacy of an argument in allative case is relevant to the verbless construction. In an initial position, an animate allative argument does not bear the same semantic role as the corresponding inanimate argument. Moreover, the semantic role of the animate allative argument varies according to whether it appears in a verbless construction or in a finite clause. For instance, an initial allative argument can act as an agent in verbless constructions, as in (1), which is not possible for allative arguments in finite clauses.

The study is carried out within the framework of Construction Grammar and Cognitive Grammar. As for the verbless constructions, the study is based on newspaper headlines collected mainly from the Finnish Language Bank. The examined constructions are typical and relatively common in headlines. The corresponding finite clauses have been generated intuitively to illustrate minimal pairs.

Tobias Weber

Volitionality alternations expressed through differential case marking

The languages of the world have a number of grammatical strategies to express whether an action is carried out volitionally or nonvolitionally. The present paper aims at showing how differential case marking is used to express such alternations in a crosslinguistic perspective.

In many languages constructions involving an involuntary agent (so called Involuntary Agent Constructions, or IACs for short, term adapted from Haspelmath 1993: 292) differ from prototypical transitive constructions (which involve a volitional agent) in that they are formally less transitive with respect to certain features. IACs are typically used to emphasize that the particularly low degree of agency (and thus volitionality) of a given event is unexpected (see Kittilä 2005).

According to the Transitivity Scale proposed by Malchukov (2006), volitionality is a feature that primarily pertains to the agent. In fact, my data show that it is not uncommon that volitionality alternations are expressed through differential agent marking. A volitional agent is then often marked by a case labeled Ergative or Nominative while a nonvolitional agent is marked by a case labeled Absolutive, Dative, or yet another case. However, there are also instances where volitionality alternations are expressed through differential patient marking (although the patient is affected in the same way in both constructions), cf. the following example from Russian (Malchukov 2006: 339):

(1)   a.   *On   kruti-l   rul'.*
               he   rotate-PST   wheel[ACC]
               'He rotated the wheel consciously.'

      b.   *On   kruti-l   rul-em.*
               he   rotate-PST   wheel-INST
               'He rotated the wheel unconsciously/nonvolitionally.'

The present paper focuses on the following issues in different languages:

1.   If a volitionality alternation is expressed through differential case marking, which argument is marked differently?
2.   What cases are involved?
3.   What other functions do these cases have?
4.   Does the verb morphology change? And if yes, what categories do change?

Abbreviations

ACC=accusative; INST=instrumental; PST=past

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Thomas Wier

'Morphosemantax' and the system of case-assignment in Georgian

Georgian famously displays a complex system for case assignment (Table 1). The problem is evidently not the number of cases but their distribution: except for narrative case, each case stands in a many-to-many relationship with surface notions of thematic roles and grammatical functions. Much ink has been spilt on whether this complex system featuring apparent splits both in tense and conjugational class has centered on the notion of grammatical relations: the idea that traditional notions like 'subject' and 'object' are a mapping between two thematic arguments. This has lead to prominent disagreements within the Kartvelological community about whether Georgian has a more 'ergative' (Hewitt 1987, 1989, 2008) or 'active/stative' (Harris 1981, 1985; Amiridze 2006; Tuite 1998) alignment.

In this talk I will suggest that both stances are miss the mark, though the latter is closer to the heart of the matter. The disagreement arises from two main terminological confusions at the heart of any theory. The first is a reliance on grammatical *relations* rather than autonomous *functions* onto which thematic roles and logical arguments are mapped. This can be illustrated in the famous case of inversion in (1) whereby the notional subject/agent appears to take dative case and agree with the *m*-set morphology that normally marks primary objects. This contrasts with the other two series both of whose subjects agree with the v-set markers and yet take different case arrays. This is a serious problem: case-seems to be at variance with agreement, and does not at all correspond to any intuitive notion of grammatical relations (uninverted (1a) vs. inverted (1b)), since no one characteristic could plausibly be called a relation here. I will present evidence from binding, quantification, and the person-role constraint that suggests most cases are not directly mapped onto grammatical functions at all, but by a mapping from argument structure.

A second related problem arises from the conflation of morphological with syntactic or argument-structural categories. The general pattern presented in Table 1 conceals a number of construction types. Firstly, there exist two kinds of morphologically intransitive verbs that nonetheless appear to take objects. One class consists of 2nd conjugation verbs that obligatorily take dative case arguments, as in (2). The second kind of exception, which may be of either class of intransitive, are intransitives which may optionally take object verb morphology for syntactic adjuncts as in (3a) vs. (3b). A third kind of exception is that there are indeed transitive clauses which do not have the right case array in the present series, as with the standard form in (4) and the dialect forms in (5)-(6).

All such data call into question the idea that there exists one kind of argument or transitivity, but rather transitivity along different dimensions which may not align with one another. Instead of assuming that case-marking is always syntactic in nature, I will provide further evidence (following Sadock forthcoming) that we can distinguish between two kinds of semantic representation onto which case morphology can also be mapped separately from syntax: argument structure, which treats discourse participants as logical entities through functional application; and role-structure, which formalizes the cognitive representation of events through dynamic statements about thematic features (a la Dowty 1991) and static qualia representations (Pustejovsky 1991). Split-S properties seen in Georgian case-marking will be shown to concern mostly properties of argument structure, but sometimes a purely cognitive approach in role-structure is necessary to account for the many-to-many mapping.

(1) a. Gela-m   me   m-nax-a   **[Case: NP-NARR   NP-NOM]**
     Gela-NARR 1SG.(NOM) 1SG-see.PF-3SGAOR **[Agreement: v-set   m-set]**
     'Gela saw me.'
   b. Ivane   me   m-e-nax-a   **[Case: NP-DAT   NP-NOM]**
     John-NOM   1Sg.(Dat) 1SG-PRV-see.PF-3SG **[Agreement: m-set   v-set]**
     'I had apparently seen John' (but e.g. I don't remember it)

Table 1. Georgian case marking across tense/aspect series and conjugational classes.

Series / Conj.	1st Conj. (trans.)	2nd Conj. (unacc.)	3rd Conj (unerg.)	4th Conj.
Present / Future	SUBJ: NOM_AG DO: DAT_PAT IO: DAT_GOAL	NOM_PAT	NOM_AG	SUBJ: DAT_EXP DO: NOM_PAT
Aorist	SUBJ: NARR_AG DO: NOM_PAT IO: DAT_GOAL	NOM_PAT	NARR_AG	SUBJ: DAT_EXP DO: NOM_PAT
Perfect Evidential	SUBJ: DAT_AG DO: NOM_PAT IO: -TVIS_GOAL	NOM_PAT	DAT_AG	SUBJ: DAT_EXP DO: NOM_PAT

(2) a. Gela   gv-e-lod-eb-a   me   da   Zurab-s
     Gela.NOM   1PL-PRV-wait.for-TH-3SG   1Sg   and   Zurab-DAT
     'Gela is waiting for Zurab and me.'
   b. Gela   gv-e-lod-a   me   da   Zurab-s (*Zurabi)
     Gela.NOM   1PL-PRV-wait.for-TH-3SG   1Sg   and   Zurab-DAT (Zurab-NOM)
     'Gela waited for Zurab and me.'
(3) a. Tinatin-i   čven-tvis   mğer-i-s
     Tinatin-NOM   1Pl-for   sing-TH-3SG
     'Tinatin is singing for us'
   b. Tinatin-i   gv-i-mğer-i-s
     Tinatin-NOM   1PL-PRV-sing-TH-3SG
     'Tinatin is singing for us.'
(4) **Gela-m**   i-c-i-s,   sad   ari-s   rest'oran-i
     Gela-NARR   PRV-know-TH-3SG   where be-3SG   restaurant-NOM
     'Gela knows where the restaurant is.' (Not the expected nominative in present!)
(5) Present series with NARR Subject and NOM Object (Lower Ajarian dialect):
     sakatme   ver   ga-a-k'et-ep-s   k'ac-ma
     chicken.coop.NOM   NEG.POT   PVB-PRV-make-TH-3SG   man-NARR
     'The man will not be able to make a chicken coop.' (Not the expected NOM and DAT
     arguments; K'iziria: 1974: 78, cited in Harris 1985: 377)
(6) Present series with NARR Subject and DAT Object (Lower Ajarian dialect):
     glex-eb-ma   xmar-ob-s   mic'a-s
     peasant-PL-NARR   use-TH-3SG   earth-DAT
     'The peasants use the earth.' (Not the expected NOM subject argument; Jajanadze 1970:
     259, cited in Harris 1985: 377)

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Simone Ueberwasser

A Requiem for the German Genitive?

The German genitive is a case with different syntactic functions: A genitive can be triggered by a verb and have the function of an object (er nahm sich des Igels an , 'He took care of the hedgehog'.), by a preposition (wegen des Einspruchs, 'because of the appeal') or by an adjective which is part of the verbal construction (sich einer Sache bewusst sein, 'To be aware of something'.). It can furthermore be a NP in an adverbial position (meines Wissens, 'according to my knowledge'), a predicative NP which is introduced by a form of the verb to be (der Meinung sein, 'To be of the opinion'), an apposition (Annie entsann sich Jesse Olsens, des bekannten Rocksängers, 'Annie remembered Jesse Olsen, the famous Rock singer'.) or an attributive (der Süden Europas, 'The south of Europe'). These seven syntactic functions represent all together different uses of the genitive. They have to a great deal developed independently of each other over time. Because each one of these syntactic functions offers an abundance of individual topics to be investigated, research about the genitive mostly covers and investigates only one of them. Used as an object, the genitive has continuously been declining since the 15th century. Its stronghold on the other hand is the attributive use, which is still productive. The use of the genitive after prepositions is mostly seen as declining, while all other uses are more often than not reduced to idiomatic forms. Empirical comparisons of all these functions do not exist.

In my presentation, I will outline the results of an empirical investigation, in which I compared the use of the genitive in 1947 to the one in 2007 based on data from the magazine "Der Spiegel". The data confirms that the genitive is more often than not reduced to an idiomatic use in all positions but the attributive one. However, the attributive use also declines in this timespan by 30%, which comes unexpectedly. Because of the focus of the investigation on only one magazine, the results cannot be seen as representative for the general development of the genitive in German, but it can exemplify a possible tendency and encourage further research into the matter at hand.

Bettina Zeisler

Semantically based case marking in Ladakhi and the transitivity hierarchy

Ladakhi belongs to the western-most varieties of the Tibetan language family, itself the western-most branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is spoken in Ladakh (Jammu & Kashmir, India) and falls into two dialect groups, which differ also with respect to case marking properties. Their case marking systems show some deviation from the system of Old (mid 7th to early 11th century) and Classical Tibetan (11th to 19th century).

Roughly speaking, Tibetan languages are ergative languages. The 'agent'-case, being used also for non-agents of perception and reception verbs, shows traces of grammaticalisation. However, case marking in Tibetan does not just serve to differentiate between semantically bleached 'subjects' and 'objects' or truly semantic agents and patients. The case markers are recombined in various ways to form meaning based templates, which, in contrast to each other, reflect several steps of the transitivity hierarchy. This allows overt marking of each of the arguments as well as non-marking of more than one argument.

One may assume that case systems generally develop from more semantically oriented marking to more semantically bleached or syntactic marking. It is thus interesting to observe that the Ladakhi varieties show 'regression' towards more semantically based case marking, particularly with the introduction of a dative experiencer-'subject' for perception, reception and other non-agentive 'transitive' verbs. This semantification reflects the transitivity hierarchy much better then the overall Tibetan system and probably happened under the influence of an Indoaryan sub- and adstrate. However, on a smaller scale, a similar development has taken place also in some modern Central Tibetan varieties, where the first argument of some reception verbs receives a dative marker. Apart from this, almost all Tibetan varieties use case marking in a very flexible pragmatic way, with overt markers for contrast or emphasis and zero-marking for neutral or de-emphasised statements, the range of the individual varieties lying between canonical case marking and marking exclusively for contrastive purposes.

In this context, one of the less obvious differences between the Ladakhi Shamskat and Kenhat dialects is that the latter tend to be more sensitive to downgrading on the transitivity scale, e.g. in the case of reflexive or reciprocal actions, allowing thus more pragmatically conditioned variation between ergative and absolutive marking of agents.

The presentation will outline the case marking inventories (inclusive postpositions) of the two varieties, their main point of divergence, touching also upon the deviations from the classical system. The bimorphemic or perhaps even adpositional character of some of the case markers will be briefly discussed as well as the evidence that particularly the Kenhat and some neighbouring dialects give for such an analysis.

The main focus, however, will lie on the semantic and pragmatic functions of the case markers as well as their interaction to form meaning based templates and how these templates can be derived from a master template, representing the trivalent verbs of the top-most position in the transitivity hierarchy.

The data was collected by the author during extensive fieldwork.

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Workshop: Differential object marking: theoretical and empirical issues

Coordinator: Giorgio Iemmolo

Differential object marking (DOM), i.e. the phenomenon whereby only some direct objects are (case)-marked depending on their semantic and pragmatic properties has been studied in detail in the functional-typological literature (e.g. Bossong 1985, 1998; Comrie 1979, Croft 1988, among others). Properties influencing DOM include animacy, definiteness, specificity and topicality.

Within the functional-typological literature, two main approaches to DOM can be identified, the "markedness" or "discriminatory" approach and the "indexing approach". In the markedness approach, advocated for example in Comrie (1979) and Croft (1988), DOM reflects the marked status of highly definite and animate direct objects (in the typological sense of the notion of markedness, as defined e.g. in Croft 2003). Proponents of the indexing approach have however argued that this analysis is in contrast with the notion of transitivity as put forward by Hopper and Thompson (1980), in that the high degree of affectedness (and consequently the high clause transitivity) of the direct objects directly correlates with a high degree of individuation (Næss 2004, 2007).

DOM has also been studied within generatively oriented theories of grammar, such as Optimality Theory and Lexical Functional Grammar. For example, Aissen (2003), Morimoto (2002) and de Swart (2007) tried to provide a systematic account of DOM from an OT-syntax and LFG approaches, adopting both a discriminatory and an indexing perspective.

More recently, Nikolaeva & Dalrymple (2007) have proposed a new model for DOM, suggesting that DOM is the grammatical marking of the pragmatic role of secondary topic.

Although there are several studies dealing with DOM in individual languages, such asSpanish (e.g. Pensado 1995, von Heusinger & Kaiser 2003, 2007), Iranian languages (Bossong 1985) and others, comparatively little attention has been devoted to this phenomenon both from the cross-linguistic and the diachronic point of view. The aim of this workshop is to bring together scholars interested in various aspects of DOM, from both a theoretical and descriptive perspective. The topics to be addressed include but are not limited to:

– DOM in individual languages;
– the cross-linguistic distribution and the diachronic evolution of DOM;
– the interplay among the different factors held as relevant for DOM;
– DOM and information structure: does information structure affect the appearance of DOM?
– DOM and transitivity: are clauses with DOM higher in transitivity as suggested by Hopper and Thompson and Næss, (thus representing the prototypical transitive clause), or does DOM signal the markedness of direct objects and, consequently, the transitive 1 clause in which it is found? Can we consider direct objects found in prototypical transitive clauses the prototypical direct objects? What challenges does this problem present for the theory of case?

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Workshop: Non-Locative Functions of Spatial Forms in East Caucasian

Coordinators: Michael Daniel and Dmitri Ganenkov

East Caucasian languages are famous for being rich in nominal declension forms, mostly due to the existence of the so-called spatial subparadigm as opposed to syntactic cases. Syntactic cases are monomorphemic. The syntactic case inventories are quite rich themselves, but it is the spatial forms that push the abundancy of the system to a typological extreme. Spatial forms typically include two morphological slots for the so-called localization and orientation categories. Localization slot may be filled by over half a dozen morphemes in the richest languages. Localization markers designate a spatial domain with respect to the landmark and include, to use the traditional labels, sub (the domain under the landmark), post (the domain behind the landmark), in (the domain inside the landmark) etc. The orientation marker that follows the localization marker describes the motion of the object with respect to the spatial domain indicated by the localization marker and covers such meanings as el-ative, lat-ive, all-ative and some other, more peripheral. Absence of motion, called essive, is left unmarked in most languages . Cf.:

Bagvalal	Archi	Agul
roš-i-ʟ'i	qʷˤen-ni-t̄ı-š	k̄arawut-i-q-di
tree-obl-sub	cliff-obl-super-el	bed-obl-post-lat
'under the tree'	'from (the top of) the cliff'	'to behind the bed'

The impression one might get from this brief description, with syntactic cases expressing abstract and argumental functions and spatial forms constrained to locative meanings, is anything but accurate. While syntactic cases do tend to be focussed on abstract functions (with a notable exception of the dative, and some more rarely occurring patterns mentioned below), spatial forms significantly overlap with the abstract domain in all the languages. The aim of the workshop is to investigate patterns of this overlap by overviewing abstract meanings conveyed by spatial forms in various languages of the family, observing which forms and markers are indeed limited to the spatial domain, and discussing how to distinguish between spatial and non-spatial functions.

Two main modes of overlap readily present themselves. First, there are localization markers with robust spatial meanings that are used in some prototypically syntactic functions, or even, in some languages, localization markers that (are claimed to) have exclusively or predominantly syntactic uses, such as comparative localization in Khinalug or possessive localization in some Tsezic languages, grouped with locative forms on purely formal and/or diachronic grounds. Second, some languages recruit spatial forms as core syntactic cases, expressing such basic roles as Agents, Recipients, Experiencers and adnominal Possessors by spatial forms. It is not yet obvious whether these two cases can be easily distinguished, so we expect workshop participants to cover both phenomena if present in the language.

Some examples of the acknowledged cross-family features of this kind include:

Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993: 91) unintentional Agent
dide-di-w-aj   nek alax-na.

mother-obl-ad-el   milk   boil.over-aor
'The mother (inadvertently) made the milk boil over.'
Archi (Archi Electronic Corpus) lative 'temporary' Recipient

k'an   harak-du-t   iq-n-a   ja-r   ɬanna
most   before-atr-4   day-obl-in   this-2   woman.obl(erg)

č'ut   bo-ʟo-li   ju-w   oq'er-mu-ra-k   da‹b›χi-s
jug   3-give.pfv-evid   this-1   pauper-obl.1-cont-lat‹3›hit-inf
'On the (very) first day this woman gave this pauper a jug {of butter} to churn.'
Bagvalal (Kibrik ed. 2001) locative 'temporary' Possessor

ibrahim-i-r   heʟ'i-b-o   ek'˳a   "k˳ā   as   weč'e-ʁe
Ibrahim-obl-erg   say-n-cvb   cop   in.hands   money neg.cop-part

in-s̆u-č',   heraχ   ič-a-š-ʁa-di.
self-obl.m-cont   later   give-pot-fut-part-quot
'Ibrahim said: "I do not have any money with me, I will give it {to you} later.'
Chechen (courtesy Zarina Molochieva) Addressee of the speech act

aħ   c'ħanij   diega   ħaχuo-ra   d-ā̄-ca-ħ
you.sg.erg   one.gen   father.all   mention-fut   3-be-neg-cvb.irr
c'ħa   huma   d-üjcu-ra   d-ara   as   höga
one   thing   3-tell-fut   3-be.pst   I.erg   you.sg.all
'I will tell you a story, if you do not tell it to anybody (lit. to no-one's father).'
Tsakhur (Kibrik ed. 1999) transitive Causee

eger   za-l-qa   inʲammiš-de-x-e-xē,   ǯu-s-qa   χabar
if   I.obl-sup-all   believe-neg-1.become-ipfv-cond   self.1.obl-ad-all
        story

haʔ-as ali‹w›k-e,   nēnče-ne   ʁu   hama-na   qoˤ‹p›q-u-wɨ".
3.do-pot   ‹3›cause-imp where.from-intrg   you.erg   this.3-aa
        ‹3›steel-pfv-part
'If you don't believe me, make him tell the story, {asking} "Where did you steel it?"'
Agul (Agul Electronic Corpus) Instrument

ha-me c'aj-ar   mi   ʁuǯ-a-j-e   χil-i-l-di,
emph-this   fire-pl   this.obl(erg)   take-ipfv-conv-cop   hand-obl-super-
lat
ha-ge aħakūl-ar,   q̄adilq'˳an-ar, ha-gi-s-ar-i-l-di   fatq-u-ne
emph-that   sheepskin.coat-pl   carpet-pl   emph-this-loc-pl-obl-super-lat
        throw-pfv-pf
'He takes this fire {embers} with his hand and throws it onto the sheepskin coats, onto
the carpets, yonder.'
Khwarshi (courtesy Zaira Khalilova) lative recruited for dative

l-i-jin   ɬiɬuk'a   bušne-bo   q'ala-l
npl-do-uw   witch.obl(erg)   bread-pl   child-lat

k'oro-s,   zoru-l   joɬa-^{n}mus.
cheese-gen1   fox.obl-lat   ashes-coil.gen1
'The witch made bread with cheese for the children, and bread with ashes for the fox.'
For these uses, which are relatively free syntactically, an account of typical contexts and
conditions on use should be presented when possible. More focussed functions, such as
stimuli of 'be afraid', exchange equivalents with 'give / exchange for', targets with

'look' or 'throw', source-like addressees with 'ask', or benchmarks in comparative constructions may also be mentioned.

The objective of the workshop is to accumulate comparable data from various languages of the family by inviting experts in individual East Caucasian languages to contribute a detailed account of non-spatial usages of spatial forms in the languages of their expertise. In addition to an account for the relatively 'well-known' cases discussed in the literature and mentioned above, we also expect the participants to extend our/common knowledge on what other non-spatial functions spatial forms may have in East Caucasian. The workshop will provide an opportunity to exchange relevant facts, resulting in a shared functional typological expertise which may foster research and descriptive efforts in the area.

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Gilles Authier

Grammaticalization of dependent-marked inalienability split from inessive and adessive cases

Budugh has a rare type of inalienability split on possessive NPs, in which alienable vs inalienable possessors are marked by different cases. Its source is the permanent vs non-permanent recipient marking (a well-known phenomenon in Daghestanian) semantically derived from AD-location for non-permanent, and IN-location for permanent recipients. In Budugh, the original dedicated genitive case found in closely related Kryz has disappeared, and possessors are now consistently marked like recipients (Dative=Genitive syncretism). Two Genitive (-Dative) cases are functioning synchronically to mark a prototypical alienability contrast (bodyparts, part-whole and kinship relation terms vs all others).

Natalia Bogomolova and Solmaz Merdanova

Non-locative uses of locative cases in East Lezgic

East Lezgic comprises three languages Agul, Tabasaran, and Lezgian and represents itself a genetic sub-group within the Lezgic branch of the East Caucasian family. In this paper, besides giving a comparative overview of various non-locative uses of locative cases, we will concentrate on one particularly interesting feature found in these languages, viz. The impossibility to draw conceptual and formal distinction between location and possession. In fact, every localization (i.e. the essive form of every localization) can be used to express a kind of possession. In addition, Tabasaran extends this conceptual indistinguishability to the comitative domain.

Bernard Comrie

Non-locative functions of spatial cases in Tsez

Tsez (Dido) belongs to the Tsezic group within the Nakh-Daghestanian family and is spoken in western Daghestan. Like most Daghestanian languages, it has a rich system of

spatial cases, combining markers for location (e.g. 'in', 'under') and orientation (e.g. 'to', 'from'). Tsez further enriches this system by adding a third opposition [± distal], which doubles the number of spatial case combinations. The presentation will examine non-local uses of spatial case combinations. While Tsez has clear parallels to other Tsezic and, more generally, Daghestanian languages, an unusual feature is the spread of the Inessive to cover the ergative function with most (but not quite all) nouns.

Denis Creissels (Universite Lumiere, Lyon 2)
Non-locative uses of locative cases in Northern Akhvakh

The nominal inflection of Northern Akhvakh includes five localization markers combining with the three spatial cases, essive, lative and elative-perlative. Three of the five localization markers have very clear spatial meanings, and relatively few non-locative uses relying on quite obvious metaphorical transfers : AD, IN and SUB. It seems that, historically, g-localization originally marked ON localization, but synchronically, it is the default localization, which cannot be defined as encoding any particular spatial configuration. By itself, it encodes the typical localization of a given object with respect to a given ground; nouns in the -g- form combine with spatial adverbs to encode other localizations, and it is always possible to replace the marked localization markers in locative function by -g- combined with a locative adverb. The fifth localization is the most problematic. Its only clear and productive locative meaning is 'localization with reference to an opening' (door, window, etc.), but this represents only a small proportion of its occurrences in texts. Non-locatives uses of spatial forms in Northern Akhvakh include:
– 'default' localization -g-: the addressee of verbs of saying, the complement of 'resemble', 'believe', 'insult', 'listen', 'look at' etc.; the elative encodes the complement of predicates such as 'be afraid', 'ask a question', etc.; it is used for adjuncts expressing the material from which something is made, comparison, extraction (including partitive), and also encodes non-volitional agents.
– AD: the lative is used for recipients that are not viewed as prospective possessors (for prospective possessors, Northern Akhvakh uses the dative).

Michael Daniel (Moscow State University)

Non-locative uses of locative cases in Archi

Archi is a Lezgic language which has been in strong and extensive contact with Lak and Avar, two other East Caucasian languages only distantly related to it. Archi has a rich set of locative forms, typical of East Caucasian, including five localizations (CONT, SUB, SUPER, IN, PERSLOC) and three basic orientations (unmarked essive, lative and elative). Among most salient non-locative functions of these forms are temporary Recipient (cont-lative), Addressee of speech verbs (cont-allative), unintentional Agent (cont-el). Temporary Possessor, conveyed by locative forms in some other East Caucasian languages, uses comitative in Archi. The elective case may be identified as a variant of sub-elative (also used with the verbs of fear). Interesting is the case of the comparative; this case has distinctly locative functions and especially widely used in the situations like that of herding or looking after, which suggests an alternative interpreation of a locative form which may mark the benchmark of comparison. However, the form does not have elative and lative forms, which is quite unlikely other Archi localizations. On the other hand, localizations IN and PERSLOC have no non-locative func-

tions whatsoever; for IN, this seems to be a general feature observed in various East Caucasian languages.

Michael Daniel and Anna Khoroshkina

Non-locative uses of locative cases in Khinalug

Khinalug is a family-level isolate of the East Caucasian family, spoken in northern Azerbaijan. It has been under strong pressure from the neighbouring Lezgic languages (Budukh and especially Kryz) and Azerbaijani, which may explain development of some non-typically East Caucasian syncretisms, such as elative in the sense of prolative. Despite this structural pressure, Khinalug features the East Caucasian system of locative forms, even if by far not the richest one. It comprises AD, POSS and CMPR localizations, and unmarked essive and elative orientations (lative is combined with essive). In fact, all of these forms are mostly used in not prototypically locative functions, including target (listen to, call at) or exchange equivalent for AD; temporary Possessors, temporary Recipients and, according to some data, unintentional Agents for poss-essive; predicates such as 'take /steal from' for poss-elative. The name explains itself for comparative localization (the difference between comparative-essive and comparative-elative being unclear). An important diachronic evidence related to the boundary between spatial vs. non-spatial functions comes from the two genitives, a distinction that the pronouns and a few nouns make between alienable and inalienable possession. As comparative evidence from Budukh, the only other language of the family which makes the same distinction, shows, one of the genitives may originate from a locative form.

Dmitry Ganenkov

Non-locative uses of locative cases in Dargwa

Dargwa is so linguistically heterogeneous that it is often considered as a group of languages rather than one language with a lot of dialects. Among many other grammatical and lexical features, Dargwa dialects are quite different from each other with respect to their locative case systems. In this paper I present an overview of non-locative functions of locative case forms in several dialectal varieties of Dargwa. The comparison of dialects with different, yet related, systems of locative cases allows to trace back 'spatial motivation' for non-locative functions and to reveal the degree of diachronic stability of various non-locative functions.