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## SEMANTIC ASPECTS OF CASE SYSTEMS

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### 1. What is case? (Repeated from the 2011 lecture)

“Case is a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads. Traditionally the term refers to inflectional marking, and, typically, case marks the relationship of a noun to a verb at the clause level or of a noun to preposition, postposition or another noun at the phrase level.” (Blake 2001/1994: 1)

“Case” as a **descriptive notion** definable in terms of the structure of a particular language vs. as a **comparative concept** used in typology (see Haspelmath 2009: 510–511, 2010). Cases and case systems of individual languages are, strictly speaking, not directly comparable to each other, in particular in what regards their functions.

Prototypical features of case (cf. the “canonical” approach in Corbett 2008):

- (i) case is a feature of nominals (nouns and noun phrases, NPs);
- (ii) case is expressed by bound morphology, i.e. affixes, not by independent words;
- (iii) case distinguishes between major (“core”) grammatical relations, i.e. subject and object;
- (iv) cases are organized in clear-cut and uniform morphological paradigms.

Neither one of the features (i) and (iv) is necessary or sufficient: there are languages where case appears not only on nominals but also on verbs, where case is expressed by adpositions, where there are only “peripheral” (“adverbial”) cases, and where case paradigms are neither clear-cut nor uniform.

### 2. What are the functions of case?

Two interrelated problems:

- 1) Case functions are highly heterogeneous:
  - syntactic functions: marking of grammatical relations, e.g. subject or object + the finer taxonomy introduced by Dench & Evans 1988, see the 2011 lecture;
  - “discriminatory” function (Comrie 1979, 1981, de Swart 2006): distinguishing between participants which would otherwise be confused (can be postulated as such only under particular conditions and in particular languages, see the 2011 lecture);
  - semantic functions: marking of particular semantic relations between situations and their participants, e.g. instrument, recipient, location etc.;
  - mixture thereof, e.g. simultaneously signaling a grammatical relation and conveying a particular semantic notion, e.g. a non-volitional subject;
  - + the problem of context-dependence: the choice of case-marking can be conditioned by features related not to the role of the participant in the situation, but rather to the properties of the participant itself (animacy, definiteness etc.) or to the grammatical context of the whole sentence (e.g. tense-aspect) — see the 2011 lecture.

2) Cases are notoriously polyfunctional: one and the same case can signal different semantic and/or syntactic relations under different conditions, which may sometimes lead to ambiguity.

RUSSIAN

- (1) *Eū (she:DAT) нельзя это показывать.*
  - i. ‘She (experiencer subject of *нельзя*) is not allowed to show it [to anybody]’.
  - ii. ‘One should not show it to her (recipient object of *показывать*)’.

This is a clear case of syntactic (parsing) ambiguity, but it would not have existed if the Russian Dative could not express both functions.

Here, we will be dealing mostly with semantic functions of case, i.e. those which cannot be reduced to mere signaling of grammatical (structural) relations or discriminating between them.

### 3. How to describe the functions of case?

NB: The following, *mutatis mutandis*, is applicable to other grammatical categories as well. Cf. Haspelmath 2003.

1) The traditional “listing” approach: case functions are merely listed in some (random) order, e.g. *dativus commodi*, *dativus auctoris*, *dativus finalis*, *dativus iudicantis* etc. in Latin grammars; might be useful for descriptive and pedagogical purposes.

Drawbacks:

- Why are certain examples of case usage lumped under one function while other are treated as different functions?
- How are different functions or uses of case related to each other?
- Are sets of case functions (= patterns of case polysemy) purely accidental or systematic? What is the reason for all the different functions to be expressed by the same case?

2) The structuralist “invariant” approach: all particular functions are subsumed under an abstract “general meaning” (*Gesamtbedeutung*), valid only as a member of a system of (binary) oppositions.

Jakobson (1984/1936: 83): “The general meaning of the [Russian] D[ative] is very clear; it signifies peripheral status, like the I[nstrumental], and involvement in an action, like the N[ominative]”.

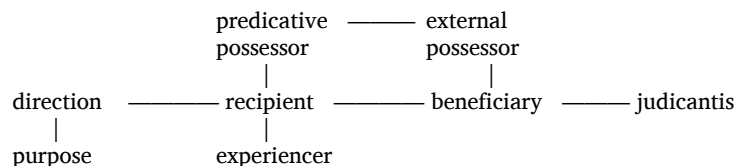
Van Hoecke (1996: 31): “The [Latin] [D]ative serves as the limit of the predicate in the sense that it indicates the ultimate term towards which the action or process referred to tends”.

Drawbacks (Chvany 1996/1984; Haspelmath 2003: 214):

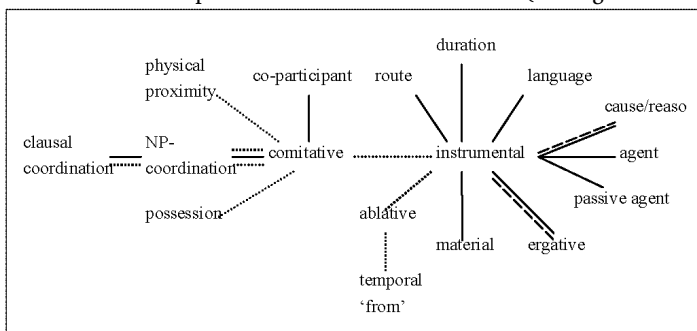
- such definitions are difficult to interpret: what exactly is meant by “peripheral status”, “involvement in an action”, “ultimate term” etc.?
- various functions of particular cases in particular languages cannot be derived or inferred from such definitions;
- such general labels do not help understand the cross-linguistic similarities and differences between case systems.

3) The semantic network/semantic map approach (Janda 1990; Haspelmath 2003, Narrog & Ito 2007, Malchukov & Narrog 2009), showing how different cases in the same or different languages carve the universal functional-semantic space.

- (2) The semantic map of the dative (Haspelmath 2003: 213)



- (3) The semantic map of the comitative-instrumental (Narrog & Ito 2007: 282)



Functions of cases are not only language-specific, but universal: they belong to the cross-linguistic pool of functions potentially grammaticalized in particular languages (the “universal grammatical inventory”, cf. Плу́нган 2011: 94; Plungian 1999: 311).

A case use in a particular language instantiates a cross-linguistic function if either (i) there exists a language where this use is grammaticalized as the only function of some grammatical element or (ii) there exists a language with a grammatical element whose set of uses overlaps with or differs from that of the case in question precisely in this use.

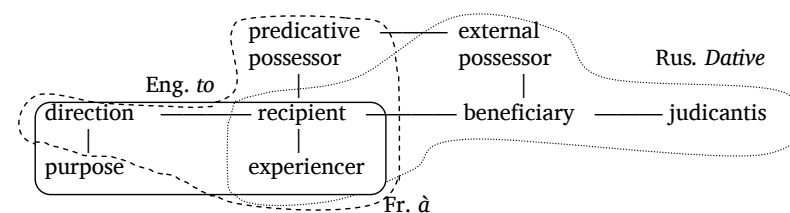
L1		L2		L1		L2		L1		L2	
Case1	Case2	Case1	Case2	Case1	Case2	Case1	Case2	Case1	Case2	Case1	Case2
use1		use1		use1	use4	use1	use1	use1	use1	use1	
use2	use2	use2	use2	use2	use2	use2		use2		use2	
use3		use3	use5	use3	use5	use3	use3	use3	use3	use3	

Various functions of cases are related (synchronically as well as diachronically) via metaphoric and metonymic extensions (see in particular Luraghi 2003). I.e. ‘recipient’ is a metaphoric extension of ‘spatial direction’, while ‘possessor’ is a metonymic extension of ‘recipient’.

Semantics of language-particular cases or other grammatical categories are plotted on the map as areas covering those functions which are instantiated by the particular case. Normally, the following well-formedness condition is imposed on semantic maps:

- (5) The functions must be arranged in such a way that all multifunctional maps can occupy a contiguous area on the semantic map. (Haspelmath 2003: 217)

- (6) The functions of English
- to*
- , French
- à*
- and Russian Dative



#### 4. Semantic “flavours” of syntactic cases

ESTONIAN (Uralic; Miljan 2008: 3): Nominative (totality) vs. Partitive (partitivity)

- (7) a. *Inimese-d sõitsid maale.*  
 people-NOM.PL travel:PST.3PL countryside:ALLAT  
 ‘[The] people travelled / were travelling to the countryside’.
- b. *Inimes-i sõitis maale.*  
 people-PTV.PL travel:PST.3PL countryside:ALLAT  
 ‘Some of the people travelled / were travelling to the countryside’.

FINNISH (Uralic; Kiparsky 2001: 341): Genitive/Accusative (object affected) vs. Partitive (object non-affected)

- (8) a. *Heit-i-n ikkuna-n kive-llä rikki.*  
 throw-PST-1SG window-GEN.SG rock-ADNESS broken  
 ‘I broke the (a) window by throwing the (a) rock at it’.
- b. *Heit-i-n ikkuna-a kive-llä.*  
 throw-PST-1SG window-PTV.SG rock-ADNESS  
 ‘I threw the (a) rock at the (a) window’.

FOLOPA (Teberan, Papua New Guinea; Anderson & Wade 1988: 7): Absolutive (involuntary action) vs. Ergative (voluntary action)

- (9) a. *No-ó kale naaq o make yqlo di-ale-pó.*  
 brother-VOC the your sago young 1SG:ABS cut.down-PST-DCL  
 ‘Brother, I (mistakenly) cut down your young sago tree’.
- b. *No-ó kale naaq o make e di-ale-pó.*  
 brother-VOC the your sago young 1SG:ERG cut.down-PST-DCL  
 ‘Brother, I (intentionally) cut down your young sago tree’.

JAPANESE (Altaic; Tsujimura 1996: 247): Accusative (coercive causation) vs. Dative (permissive causation)

- (10) a. *Taroo ga Hanako o aruk-ase-ta.*  
 Taroo NOM Hanako ACC walk-CAUS-PST  
 ‘Taroo made Hanako walk’.
- b. *Taroo ga Hanako ni aruk-ase-ta.*  
 Taroo NOM Hanako DAT walk-CAUS-PST  
 ‘Taroo let Hanako walk’.

A possible generalization (cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980; Malchukov 2006):

- (11) The pattern of case usage which is more similar to the canonical transitive construction of the language in question will be associated with the higher degree of semantic transitivity (telic, perfective, affirmative action; affected, animate, definite patient; volitional agent etc.).

## 5. “Non-dedicated” functions of grammatical cases

### 5.1. Nominative

LITHUANIAN: Nominative of time and price (Roduner 2005: 44, 45)

- (12) *Trys mėnesiai nesu jam žodžio tarusi.*  
‘For three months I have not spoken a word to him’.
- (13) *Vienkartinis apsilankymas suaugusiems kainuoja septyni litai.*  
‘A single visit for grown-ups costs 7 litas’.

### 5.2. Accusative (Kittilä & Malchukov 2009; Эршлер 2009), cf. 2011 lecture.

– goal/direction of motion

ANCIENT GREEK (Indo-European; Luraghi 2003: 55)

- (14) ἡ δ’ ἄρα Κύπρον ἵκανε  
she(NOM) PTCL PTCL Cyprus:ACC.SG go:AOR.3SG  
‘She went to Cyprus’. (*Odyssey* 8:362)

– time

LITHUANIAN (Ambrasas (ed.) 1997: 501–502): NB important differences from Russian

- (15) a. *ateiti antradienį*  
‘to come on Tuesday’ (temporal location)
- b. *miegojau visą dieną*  
‘I slept all day’ (temporal duration)
- c. *ateina kiekvieną rytą*  
‘(s)he comes every morning’ (frequency)

– measure

LITHUANIAN (Ambrasas (ed.) 1997: 502)

- (16) *nueiti kilometrą*  
‘to walk a kilometer’

– price

LITHUANIAN (Ambrasas (ed.) 1997: 502)

- (17) *kainuoja du litus*  
‘costs two litas’

– quality

ANCIENT GREEK (Indo-European; Luraghi 2003: 58)

- (18) διαφέρει γυνή ἀνδρὸς τὴν φύσιν  
differ:PRS.3SG woman:NOM.SG man:GEN.SG ART:ACC.SG.F nature:ACC.SG  
‘there is a difference in nature between men and women’. (Plato, *Republic*, 453b)

### 5.3. Ergative

– instrument and cause

SANUMÁ (Yanomam, Venezuela; Palancar 2009: 568)

- (19) a. *kamisamakö-nö hama samatöpö se kite.*  
we.EXCL-ERG visitor 1PL.EXCL hit FUT  
‘We will hit the visitors’.
- b. *kusiali a-nö sa ia pia kule.*  
spoon 3SG-ERG 1SG eat intend PRS  
‘I am about to eat with a spoon’.

- c. *kamali te wasu-nö ipa ulu a nomasoma.*  
high.fever 3SG deadly-ERG my son 3SG died  
‘My son died from a deadly high fever’.

– possessor

LADAKHI (Sino-Tibetan > Tibeto-Burman, India; *ibid.*)

- (20) a. *thug-gu-yi pældän-ni kə-nə špe-čhə khyers.*  
boy-ABS-ERG Paldan-GEN from-ABL book-ABS took  
‘The boy took the book from Paldan’.
- b. *khyi-yi sŋə-mə-rin-mo duk.*  
dog-ERG tail-ABS-long-ABS be.PRS  
‘The dog’s tail is long’.

– goal and purpose of motion (uncommon)

YANYUWA (isolate, Australia; Kirton 1976: 3, 5, 6)

- (21) a. *ganj-ilu-yabima-njdji nja-miŋiŋiya nju-mařaljudji-lu.*  
3SG.O-3SG.A-make.well-PRS M.NOM-man M.OBL-doctor-ERG  
‘The doctor is healing the man’.
- b. *giya-wiŋga yila-lu nju-mařaljudji-lu.*  
3SG.ABS-go(PST) 3SG-ERG M.OBL-doctor-ERG  
‘He went to the doctor’.
- c. *ganj-ila-ga yařibaŋđa-lu.*  
3SG.O-3SG.A-take(PST) hunting-ERG  
‘He took him to hunt.’

### 5.4. Dative (cf. van Belle & van Langendonck (eds.) 1996, 1998; Næss 2009)

– purpose

LITHUANIAN (Ambrasas (ed.) 1997: 510; Sawicki 1992)

- (22) *turėti pinigų namui*  
‘to have money for a house’
- “subsequent temporal extent” (*ibid.*: 509–510)
- LITHUANIAN (*ibid.*: 509–510)

- (23) *atvažiuoti savaitei*  
‘to come for a week’

– (adnominal) possessor (“dative-genitive syncretism” is a notable areal feature of Australian languages, but is also found elsewhere, e.g. in the Balkans, see below)

NHANDA (Pama-Nyungan, Australia; Blevins 2001: 57)

- (24) a. *nyini apa mandaa yawarda-wu*  
you(PL) water get(PRS) kangaroo-DAT  
‘You get water for the kangaroo.’
- b. *wandha uthu-wu thudu-ra?*  
where dog-DAT meat-3SG  
‘Where is the dog’s meat?’

– instrument (rare)

ANCIENT GREEK (Luraghi 2003: 69)

- (25) *γράμμασί τε καὶ συλλαβαῖς*  
letter:DAT.PL PTCL and syllable:DAT.PL  
‘by means of letters and syllables’ (Plato, *Cratylus* 423e)

### 5.5. Genitive (cf. Nikiforidou 1991, Lander 2009)

- partitive quantification (see above);
- object with verbs low in semantic transitivity, cf. “background theme ... not construed as the primary figure (the subject) or the secondary figure (the direct object)” (Haspelmath & Michaelis 2008: 151)

LITHUANIAN (Ambrazas (ed.) 1997: 503)

- (26) a. *norėti geresnio*  
‘to want something better’
- b. *laukti traukinio*  
‘to wait for the/a train’

– passive agent

LITHUANIAN (Geniušienė 2006: 37)

- (27) *Vaikas buvo išgąsdintas šuns.*  
‘The child was scared by a dog’.

– goal/purpose (rare)

LITHUANIAN (Ambrazas (ed.) 1997: 505; Sawicki 1992)

- (28) a. *išeiti vandens*  
‘go out for water’
- b. *išsiųsti gydytojo*  
‘to send (somebody) for the/a doctor’

– recipient (cf. the corresponding possessive function of the dative above)

MODERN GREEK (Indo-European; Holton et al. 2004: 73, 74): the recipient function is a relatively recent (Byzantine) extension of the Genitive

- (29) a. *Είπα της Μαρίας τα νέα.*  
tell:AOR.1SG ART:GEN.SG.F Mary:GEN.SG ART news  
‘I told Mary the news.’

- b. *το σπίτι της Μαρίας*  
ART house ART:GEN.SG.F Mary:GEN.SG  
‘Mary’s house’

– source of motion (rare)

ANCIENT GREEK (Luraghi 2003: 58–59)

- (30) *ὡς τυράννων ἐλευτερώτησαν Ἀθηναῖοι*  
how despot:GEN.PL free:AOR.PASS.3PL Athenian:NOM.PL  
‘how the Athenians were freed from their despots’ (*Herodotes*, History 5.62.1)

### 6. “Semantic” cases and their meanings

6.1. Instrumental (Wierzbicka 1980; Lehmann & Shin 2005; Narrog & Ito 2007; Narrog 2009) — one of the most polysemous cases.

– instrument proper

LITHUANIAN (Ambrazas (ed.) 1997: 513–514)

- (31) *rašyti laišką pieštuku*  
‘to write a letter with a pencil’

– means

LITHUANIAN (ibid.: 511–512)

- (32) *rašyti raudonu rašalu*  
‘to write with red ink’

– transport

LITHUANIAN (ibid.: 514)

- (33) *skristi lėktuvu*  
‘to fly by plane’

– clothing

LITHUANIAN (ibid.: 512; cf. a recent discussion in Anderson 2011)

- (34) *avėti batais*  
‘to wear shoes’

– body-part in motion

LITHUANIAN (ibid.: 513; cf. a recent discussion in Anderson 2011)

- (35) *traukti pečiai*  
‘to shrug one’s shoulders’

– path of motion

LITHUANIAN (ibid.: 514)

- (36) *eiti mišku*  
‘to walk through the forest’

– stimulus of emotion

LITHUANIAN

- (37) *žavėtis herojais*  
‘to admire heroes’

– passive agent (NB difference between Lithuanian and Russian)

RUSSIAN

- (38) *Закон рассматривается парламентом.*  
‘The law is being discussed by the parliament’.

– predicate nominal

LITHUANIAN (cf. Timberlake 1988, Holvoet 2004, 2008)

- (39) a. *Jonas tapo dailininku.*  
‘John became an artist’. (Holvoet 2008: 128)

- b. *Ji padarė jį laimingu.*  
‘She made him happy’. (ibid.: 129)

– “background theme” (cf. Genitive above)

LITHUANIAN (Ambrazas (ed.) 1997: 511)

- (40) a. *didžiuotis savo vaikais*  
‘to be proud of one’s children’

- b. *prekiauti gintaru*  
‘to trade (in) amber’

- c. *susirgti gripu*  
‘to fall ill with flu’

– temporal relations

LITHUANIAN (ibid.: 515) — NB subtle though important differences from Russian

- (41) a. *tuo momentu galvojo kitaip*  
‘at that moment (s/he) thought otherwise’  
b. *susitikti kiekvienais metais*  
‘to meet every year’  
c. *Konferencija vyks rugsėjo šeštą ir septyntą dienomis.*  
‘The conference will take place on the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> of September’. (Holvoet 2010: 183)

– manner

LITHUANIAN (Ambrazas (ed.) 1997: 516)

- (42) a. *važiuoti dideliu greičiu*  
‘to drive at great speed’  
b. *miegoti kietu miegu*  
‘to sleep with a sound sleep’

– standard of comparison

LITHUANIAN (ibid.: 516)

- (43) a. *loti šunumi*  
‘to bark like a dog’  
b. *ašaros bėga upeliais*  
‘tears are streaming in rivulets’

– cause

LITHUANIAN (Ambrazas (ed.) 1997: 517)

- (44) a. *jis nušvito džiaugsmu*  
‘he brightened with joy’  
b. *dangus mirga žvaigždėmis*  
‘the sky sparkles with stars’

– companion (cf. comitative)

JINGULU (West-Barkly, Australia; Chadwick 1975: 21)

- (45) a. *daaraŋgu-aŋđi majanu*  
stick-INS hit  
‘He hit him with a stick’.  
b. *wałagu wawaŋi-waŋđi djaŋgadjadju*  
dog boy-INS run  
‘The dog is running together with the boy’.

– language

ADYGHE (Кузнецова & Сердобольская 2009: 176)

- (46) *se adəγa-bze-č’e s-e-gʷəš’əʔe.*  
1SG Adyghe-language-INS 1SG.ABS-PRS-speak  
‘I speak Adyghe’.

– “point of application” (“the most affected part of the patient”)

ADYGHE (ibid.: 178)

- (47) *č’ale-m čemə-r ə-bž’aqʷe-xe-m-č’e r-jə-pxə-β.*  
boy-OBL cow-ABS 3SG.A-horn-PL-OBL-INS PRV-3SG.A-tether-PST  
‘The boy tethered the cow by the horns’.

– exchange equivalent

ADYGHE (ibid.: 180)

- (48) *txəλə-r karandaš-č’e zəbljəχʷə-β.*  
book-ABS pencil-INS (3SG.A)exchange-PST  
‘He exchanged the book for a pencil’.

– spatial direction

ADYGHE (ibid.: 183)

- (49) a. *s-jate qale-m-č’e k’a-βe.*  
1SG-father town-OBL-INS go-PST  
‘My father went towards the town.’  
b. *s-jate qale-m-č’e qjəč’əž’ə-β.*  
1SG-father town-OBL-INS return-PST  
‘My father returned from where the town is.’

– location

JAPANESE (Tsujimura 1996: 135)

- (50) *Taroo wa toshokan de hon o yon-de i-ru.*  
Taroo TOP library INS book ACC read-CNV AUX-PRS  
‘Taroo is reading the book in the library.’

The comparison of Lithuanian and Adyghe data with fig. (3) shows that a detailed semantic map of the polysemy of the instrumental is yet to be arrived at.

**6.2. Comitative:** ‘a participant with a role similar to that of some other participant’ (Stolz et al. 2006, Архипов 2009, Arkhipov 2009, Stolz et al. 2009).

BASQUE (isolate, Spain, France; Архипов 2009: 12)

- (51) *Iker Berlin-era joan zen alaba-rekin.*  
Iker Berlin-ALLAT go AUX.PST.3SG daughter-COMIT  
‘Iker went to Berlin with his daughter.’

IMBABURA QUECHUA (Quechuan, Ecuador; ibid.: 100)

- (52) a. *ñuka-ka wambra-wan puri-ni.*  
1SG-TOP child-COMIT1 walk-1SG  
‘I am walking with a child’. (accidental coincidence)  
b. *ñuka-ka wambra-ndi puri-ni.*  
1SG-TOP child-COMIT2 walk-1SG  
‘I am walking (together) with a child’. (we have a common purpose)

The comitative-instrumental polysemy is widely attested in Europe (Stolz 1996), but is not so widespread in the world as has been believed (Stolz et al. 2009: 605–606). However, instrumental and comitative share many “non-core” functions.

– transport

ITELMEN (Chukotko-Kamchatkan, Russia; Архипов 2009: 233)

- (53) a. *p’eç k’-ip|xə-ļ k’oļ-en.*  
boy COMIT1-friend-COMIT1 come-3SG  
‘The boy came with his friend’.  
b. *t-k’oļ-kiçen atnoke k-leŋa-ļ.*  
1SG-come-1SG home COMIT1-skis-COMIT1  
‘I came home skiing.’

– causee in causative constructions

AYACUCHO QUECHUA (Quechuan, Peru; *ibid.*: 242)

- (54) *pay-wan ñuga-ta engaña-čt-wa-n.*  
 3SG-COMIT1 1SG-ACC deceive-CAUS-1SG.O-3SG.S  
 ‘He made him deceive me’.

– stimulus

BASQUE (*ibid.*: 246)

- (55) *Iker ni-rekin haserretu eta joan zen.*  
 Iker 1SG-COMIT angry and go AUX.PST.3SG  
 ‘Iker got angry with me and left’.

– standard of comparison

NORTHERN PAIUTE (Uto-Aztecan, USA; *ibid.*: 248)

- (56) a. *ni u-noo mia.*  
 1SG 3SG-COMIT go  
 ‘I went with him’.
- b. *ani gai ka nota-noo paba-’yu.*  
 ant NEG ACC bee-COMIT big-PRED  
 ‘The ant is not as big as the bee’.

– path

URUM (Altaic > Turkic, Georgia, Ukraine; *ibid.*: 253)

- (57) *jol-nan lazym t’it-meje.*  
 road-COMIT need walk-INF  
 ‘One should walk along the road’.

– manner

TAMIL (Dravidian; India, Shri Lanka; *ibid.*: 253)

- (58) *avan uccakatt-ooṭe veeleye ceṇcaan.*  
 he enthusiasm-COMIT work:ACC did  
 ‘He worked with enthusiasm’.

– temporal relations

BASQUE (*ibid.*: 254)

- (59) *egunsentia-rekin esna-tzen da.*  
 dawn-COMIT wake.up-IPF AUX.3SG  
 ‘(S)he wakes up at dawn’.

ITELMEN (*ibid.*)

- (60) *ən-sç’el-qzo-kiçen x-qłhal-çom.*  
 1PL-drive-IPF-1PL COMIT2-day-COMIT2  
 ‘We drove for the whole day’.

Other semantic extensions of the comitative:

– experiencer

NAVAJO (Athabaskan, USA, Canada; *ibid.*: 246)

- (61) *sh-ił b-ééhózin.*  
 1SG-COMIT 3SG-know  
 ‘I know about it, lit. the knowledge is with me’.

– participant with an unspecified role (cf. *ibid.*: 250–251)

RUSSIAN

- (62) a. *помочь с билетами*  
 lit. ‘to help with the tickets’: ‘to help buy/obtain/sell/print the tickets’
- b. *С бензином у нас перебои.*  
 lit. ‘we have stoppage with petrol’: ‘we have not got petrol constantly’
- c. *хлопотать с обедом*  
 ‘to bustle about preparing the dinner’

ENGLISH

- (63) *to have problems with smth.; to mess about with smth.* etc.

**6.3. Proprietary:** marks an object as being in someone’s permanent or temporary possession. This case is an areal characteristic of the Australian languages.

DJABUGAY (Pama-Nyungan, Australia; Arkhipov 2009: 239)

- (64) a. *ngawu galin-ng gurra-rr.*  
 1SG go-PRS dog-PROP  
 ‘I go carrying a dog.’
- b. *warrdjan gulu walngga-l bama-rr bibunda-nydji.*  
 raft this float-PRS people-PROP children-PROP  
 ‘This raft floats with adults and children aboard.’

**6.4. Caritive/abessive:** ‘without’

KÂTE (Finisterre-Huon, Papua New Guinea; Pilhofer 1933: 45)

- (65) a. *neṅgo?-mâ?* b. *neṅgo?-tâmilî?*  
 mother-CARIT mother-ABESS  
 ‘without mother (orphan)’ ‘without mother’s accompaniment’

**6.5. Comparative and equative:** ‘standard of comparison’

JAPANESE

- (66) a. *yama yori takai* b. *yama hodo takai*  
 mountain COMP high mountain EQU high  
 ‘higher than mountains’ ‘high like a mountain’

**6.6. Causal** (‘cause’) and **final** (‘purpose’)

KALKATUNGU (Pama-Nyungan, Australia; Blake 2001: 154–155)

- (67) a. *yanyi-ngkungu rumpi* b. *palpir-tungu ulinyin*  
 ghost-CSL fear poison-CSL dying  
 ‘to fear ghosts’ ‘dying from poison’

ADYGHE (Адыгэгов (ред.) 2006: 49) < verbal stem ‘carry’

- (68) *pšaše-m g<sup>w</sup>eg<sup>w</sup>enə-r ə-št-jə psə-he k<sup>w</sup>a-βe.*  
 girl-OBL pitcher-ABS 3SG.A-take-and water-FIN go-PST  
 ‘The girl took the pitcher and went to fetch water.’

**6.7. Contentive:** ‘topic/contents of speech or thought’

ICARI DARGWA (North Caucasian > Nakh-Daghestanian, Russia; Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003: 26)

- (69) *at-čilla Rajbik’uldi.*  
 2SG-CNT talk:IPF.PST.3PL  
 ‘They were talking about you.’

### 6.8. **Chezative**: ‘animate host’ (< French *chez*)

SHIPIBO-KONIBO (Panoan, Peru; Valenzuela 2003: 232)

- (70) *no-n onanya-bo-iba no-a isinaitian bo-xon no-a benxo-mai...*  
 1PL-ERG healer-PL-CHEZ 1PL-ABS when.get.sick carry-PASS 1PL-ABS heal-CAUS  
 ‘When we get sick we are taken to our healers and they heal us.’

### 6.9. **Designative**: ‘object intended for the recipient’

EVEN (Altaic > Tungusic, Russia; Malchukov 2009: 645)

- (71) a. *hin turki-ga-s emurem.*  
 your sledge-DSG-2SG bring:PST.1SG  
 ‘I brought the sledge for you.’  
 b. *hin turki-vu-s emurem.*  
 your sledge-ACC-2SG bring:PST.1SG  
 ‘I brought your sledge.’

## 7. Spatial (local) cases

7.1. **Structure and parameters of a spatial event** (Тестелец 1980/2008; Jackendoff 1983; Talmy 1983, 1985/2007; Svorou 1994; Levinson 1996; Lestrade 2010):

**Trajector** (Figure), whose location is described in the sentence;

**Landmark** (Ground), with reference to which the location of the Trajector is described;

**Motion** vs. static **position**;

**Orientation** (term from Mel’čuk 2006: 146, cf. Talmy’s **path** or **directionality** from Lestrade et al. 2010) of the Trajector with reference to the Landmark:

- **Essive** ‘static position’
- **Lative** ‘motion towards the Landmark’
- **Elative** ‘motion from the Landmark’
- **Prolative** (perlative, translative) ‘motion whose trajectory passes the Landmark’

**Spatial region** (cf. Mel’čuk’s **localization** or Lestrade et al. 2010’s **configuration**) of the Landmark with reference to which the Trajector is oriented:

- **In** ‘the inner region of the Landmark’
- **Super** ‘the upper surface of the Landmark or the region above it’
- **Sub** ‘the lower surface of the Landmark or the region below it’
- **Cont** ‘attached to the Landmark’ (cf. Ganenkov 2010)
- **Inter** ‘between the elements of a mass Landmark’
- **Ante** ‘the region in front of the Landmark’
- **Post** ‘the region behind the Landmark’
- **A(pu)d** ‘the region near the Landmark’
- **Circum** ‘the region around the Landmark’

In case systems, the parameter of Orientation is primarily grammaticalized, with spatial region distinctions being either expressed by other means (e.g. locational nouns or adpositions) or encoded in the case system as secondary (Creissels 2009: 614; Lestrade et al. 2010: 975; Lestrade 2010: 106).

Cases expressing just the orientation are traditionally called **locative** (essive), **directional** or **allative** (lative), and **ablative** (elative).

## 7.2. A brief typology of spatial case systems (cf. Creissels 2009; Lestrade 2010)

7.2.1. **Languages with no spatial cases proper**: spatial meanings are either encoded by non-spatial cases or by adpositions (possibly together with cases)

ANCIENT GREEK (Luraghi 2003: Ch. 2): essive ~ Dative, lative ~ Accusative, elative ~ Genitive

SLAVIC and GERMAN: spatial functions of cases reveal themselves only in combination with prepositions.

RUSSIAN: lative ~ Accusative, essive ~ Instrumental or Prepositional

- (72) a. *поставить книгу на полку*(ACC)  
 ‘to put the book on the shelf’  
 b. *книга стоит на полке*(PREP)  
 ‘the book is on the shelf’  
 (73) a. *бросить бумаги под стол*(ACC)  
 ‘to throw the papers under the table’  
 b. *бумаги лежат под столом*(INS)  
 ‘the papers are under the table’

### 7.2.2. Languages with only one spatial case proper

LITHUANIAN: the Locative covers only the essive domain vs. LATVIAN: the Locative is also employed in the lative domain

TSWANA (Bantu, Botswana; Creissels 2006): the Locative case signals that the NP is the Landmark in a spatial event, without specifying the orientation, which is inferred from the lexical semantics of the verb.

- (74) a. *Monna o dule motse-ng.*  
 man 3SG left village-LOC  
 ‘The man left the village.’  
 b. *Monna o ile noke-ng.*  
 man 3SG went river-LOC  
 ‘The man went to the river.’

### 7.2.3. Languages with orientation distinctions only

– locative vs. directional vs. ablative (rarely also prolative):

TUVAN (Altaic > Turkic, Russia; Harrison 2001: 22–25)

- (75) a. *o-lar xoray-dan kel-gen.*  
 3-PL TOWN-ABL come-PST  
 ‘They have come from town’.  
 b. *daarta men Sukpak-če čoru-ur = men.*  
 tomorrow 1SG Sukpak-DIR go-NPST = 1SG  
 ‘Tomorrow I am going to Sukpak’.  
 c. *men amda Kızıl-da čurttap tur = men.*  
 1SG now Kyzyl-LOC live-CNV AUX = 1SG  
 ‘I live in Kyzyl now’.

However, non-actual (past or future) location is expressed by the Dative instead of the Locative (ibid.: 25)

- (76) a. *men Kızıl-ga törtün-gen = men.*  
 1SG Kyzyl-DAT be.born-PST = 1SG  
 ‘I was born in Kyzyl’.

- b. *men Kizil-ga čurtt-a-ar = men.*  
 1SG Kyzyl-DAT live-NPST = 1SG  
 'I will live in Kyzyl'.

– locative + directional vs. ablative (widespread)

ALAMBLAK (Sepik, Papua New Guinea; Bruce 1984: 198, 201)

- (77) a. *fīnji tēhrmēm bus-kor-t.*  
 NEG they.stood forest-LOC/DIR-3SG.F  
 'They did not live in the forest.'

- b. *womr brhiha-kor fakrmemēr.*  
 another outside-LOC/DIR he.ran.in.fear  
 'The other ran away in fear outside.'

- c. *ind-ēmbha-r-pnē mithonalgetanēm.*  
 DEM-place-3SG.M-ABL we.floated.down.all.the.way  
 'From there we floated down all the way.'

– locative + ablative vs. directional (extremely rare according to Creissels 2006: 4, but probably not so rare, cf. Lestrade 2010: 100–102)

DINKA (Nilotic, Sudan; Andersen 2002: 12)

- (78) a. *kù jòol táqñ mēēc.*  
 and do.then:3SG press:INF fire:ALLAT  
 'And then he pressed it into the fire'.

- b. *myēet q-ṭ mēēc.*  
 food DCL-be.present fire:LOC/ABL  
 'The food is on the fire'.

- c. *rēec q-mùul bèy mēēc.*  
 fish DCL-crawl out:ALLAT fire:LOC/ABL  
 'The fish is crawling out from the fire'.

– locative vs. ablative + directional (extremely rare)

LAZ, Ardeşen dialect (Kartvelian, Turkey; Kutscher 2011: 54–55): “motive” case expressing the Landmark of the motion event; orientation is encoded by spatial preverbs

- (79) a. *şışe masa goo-dg-un.*  
 bottle table PRV-stand-3SG.PRS  
 'The bottle is on the table'.

- b. *bere oxori-şa am-ul-un.*  
 child house-MOT PRV-go-3SG.PRS  
 'The child goes inside the house'.

- c. *bere oxori-şa gam-ul-un.*  
 child house-MOT PRV-go-3SG.PRS  
 'The child goes out of the house.'

#### 7.2.4. Languages with both orientation and spatial region distinctions

AVAR (North Caucasian > Nakh-Daghestanian, Russia; Алексеев, Атаев 1997: 48–52; Creissels 2009: 617): a compositional system

	Essive	Lative	Elative	Translative
<b>Super</b>	- <i>da</i>	- <i>d-e</i>	- <i>da-ša</i>	- <i>da-šan</i>
<b>Inter</b>	- <i>ɬ</i>	- <i>ɬ-e</i>	- <i>ɬ-a</i>	- <i>ɬ-an</i>
<b>Apud</b>	- <i>q</i>	- <i>q-e</i>	- <i>q-a</i>	- <i>q-an</i>
<b>Sub</b>	- <i>L'</i>	- <i>L'-e</i>	- <i>L'-a</i>	- <i>L'-an</i>
<b>In</b>	-( <i>ni/u</i> )- <i>CM*</i>	-( <i>ni/u</i> )- <i>CM-e</i>	-( <i>ni/u</i> )- <i>CM-ša</i>	-( <i>ni/u</i> )- <i>CM-šan</i>

HUNGARIAN (Rounds 2001: 100; Creissels 2009: 616): a not so compositional system

	Essive	Lative	Elative
<b>In</b>	- <i>ban/-ben</i>	- <i>ba/-be</i>	- <i>ból/-böl</i>
<b>Super</b>	-( <i>o/e/ö</i> ) <i>n</i> (Superessive)	- <i>ra/-re</i> (Sublative)	- <i>ról/-röl</i> (Delative)
<b>Apud</b>	- <i>nál/-nél</i>	- <i>hoz/-hez/-höz</i>	- <i>tól/-től</i>

Fully non-compositional systems also exist:

EVENKI (Altaic > Tungusic, Russia; Nedjalkov 1997: 170–171): 'exact' (In) vs. 'non-exact' (Apud) localization + a rare distinction between two Prolatives ('motion through the landmark' vs. 'motion along the edge of the landmark')

- (80) a. *ure-l-dule* b. *ure-l-tyki*  
 mountain-PL-ILLAT mountain-PL-ALLAT  
 'to the mountains' 'in the direction of the mountains'

- (81) a. *nungan bira-duk ju-re-n.*  
 he river-INELAT come.out-NFUT-3SG  
 'He went out of the river'.

- b. *bira-git edyn edyn-d'ere-n.*  
 river-ADELAT wind blow-PRS-3SG  
 'The wind is blowing from the river'.

- (82) a. *d'avi-l ejen-d'ere bira-li.*  
 boat-PL go.down.the.river-PRS river-PROL1  
 'The boats float along the river'.

- b. *oron bira-kli hukty-re-n.*  
 reindeer river-PROL2 run-NFUT-3SG  
 'The reindeer ran along the bank of the river'.

#### 7.2.5. Other types of spatial case opposition

PÁEZ (isolate, Colombia; Rojas Curieux 1991: 27, 84–86): locative cases encode type of posture of the Trajector

- (83) a. *grabadora' mesa-te ūs-a'.*  
 tape.recorder-TOP table-LOC1 be-3SG  
 'The tape recorder is on the table (in a vertical position)'.

- b. *grabadora' mesa-ka ūs-a'.*  
 tape.recorder-TOP table-LOC2 be-3SG  
 'The tape recorder is on the table (in a horizontal position)'.

- c. *pi'dz' n'in'-a' pi'dz'-k<sup>h</sup>e u'p-a'.*  
 oak seed-TOP oak-LOC3 be-3SG  
 'The acorn is on the oak-tree (in a hanging position)'.

7.3. Non-spatial uses of spatial cases: an extremely rich and not yet fully studied topic, cf. Ганенков 2002, Creissels (2009: 621–624), Lestrade (2010: Ch. 5).

– temporal relations

TURKMEN (Altaic > Turkic, Turkmenistan; Ганенков 2002: 85)

- (84) *dogan bir aj-dan gid-er.*  
 brother one month-ABL leave-FUT  
 'Brother will leave in a month'.



– instrumental relations

MORDVIN (Uralic > Finno-Ugric, Russia; *ibid.*: 24)

- (85) *cōrānes' kersi kšint' peel'-se.*  
 boy cut:PRS.3SG bread knife-INNESS  
 ‘The boy is cutting bread with a knife’.

– (non-canonical) agents

GUUGU YIMIDHIRR (Pama-Nyungan, Australia; Lestrade 2010: 177–178)

- (86) a. *ngayu galga nhanu dumbi.*  
 1SG.NOM spear 2SG.GEN break:PST  
 ‘I broke your spear (on purpose)’.
- b. *ngadun-gal galga nhanu dumbi-idhi.*  
 1sg-ADESS spear 2SG.GEN break-RFL:PST  
 ‘I broke your spear (by accident)’.

– (non-canonical) patients

TSEZ (North-Caucasian > Nakh-Daghestanian, Russia; Forker 2010: 1090)

- (87) *k'et'u-L'or-no b-ezu-n zir-a ?esir-no.*  
 cat-SUPERLAT-and CM-look-CNV fox:OBL-ERG ask-PST  
 ‘The fox looked at the cat and asked.’

– possessive relations

AGUL (North-Caucasian > Nakh-Daghestanian, Russia; Ганенков 2002: 27)

- (88) a. *gada-ji-q pul q-an-dawa.*  
 son-OBL-POSTESS money PRV-remain-PRS.NEG  
 ‘The son has no money’. (permanent possession)
- b. *za-w kant' fa-a.*  
 1SG:OBL-ADESS knife be-PRS  
 ‘I’ve got a knife with me’. (temporary possession)

– recipient and addressee

KHALKHA MONGOLIAN (Altaic > Mongolic, Mongolia; *ibid.*: 47)

- (89) *Dulmaa-d ene nom-iig ög!*  
 Dulma-DIR/LOC this book-ACC give:IMP  
 ‘Give this book to Dulma’.

BAGWALAL (North-Caucasian > Nakh-Daghestanian, Russia; *ibid.*: 54)

- (90) *šamil-i-r basqan šumar-i-lā heL'i ...*  
 Šamil-OBL-ERG Baskan Omar-OBL-SUPERLAT say  
 ‘Šamil told Baskan Omar...’

#### Abbreviations

A – agent, ABESS – abessive, ABL – ablative, ABS – absolutive, ACC – accusative, ADELAT – adelative, ADESS – adessive, ALLAT – allative, AOR – aorist, ART – article, AUX – auxiliary, CARIT – caritive, CAUS – causative, CM – noun class marker, CNT – contentive, CNV – converb, COMIT – comitative, COMP – comparative, CSL – causal, DAT – dative, DCL – declarative, DEM – demonstrative, DIR – directional, DSG – designative, EQU – equative, ERG – ergative, EXCL – exclusive, F – feminine, FIN – finalis, FUT – future tense, GEN – genitive, ILLAT – illative, IMP – imperative, INELAT – inelative, INESS – inessive, INF – infinitive, INS – instrumental, IPF – imperfective, LOC – locative, M – masculine, MOT – motative, NEG – negation, NFUT – non-future tense, NOM – nominative, NPST – non-past tense, O – object, OBL – oblique case/stem, PASS – passive, PL – plural, POSS – possession, POSTESS – postessive, PRED – predicative, PREP – prepositional, PROL – prolative, PROP – proprietive, PRS – present tense, PRV – preverb, PST – past tense, PTCL – particle, PTV – partitive, PURP – purposive, RFL – reflexive, S – subject, SG – singular, SUPERLAT – superlative, TOP – topic, VOC – vocative

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