

Academia Grammaticorum Salensis Octava, Salos (Lithuania), 31.07–07.08 2011

TOPICS IN THE TYPOLOGY OF CASE

Peter M. Arkadiev

(Institute of Slavic Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences &
Center for Linguistic Typology, Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow)
peterarkadiev@yandex.ru

1. What is case?

“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.

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. Syntactic vs. morphological case

Spencer (2006, 2008, 2009): syntactic case (**s-case**) as a feature of NPs (**constituents**) assigned in syntax vs. morphological case (**m-case**) as a feature of **words** realized by particular morphological exponents. These need not necessarily match each other.

Two kinds of mismatch (see also Зализняк 1973):

- (i) s-case without a dedicated m-case

CHUKCHEE (Chukotka-Kamchatkan, Russian Far East; Spencer 2006: 6–8): syntax requires a separate Ergative s-assigned to transitive subjects, but there is no Ergative m-case: with nouns low in animacy (non-humans) s-Ergative is realized by the m-Instrumental, with nominals high in animacy (pronouns, proper names) by the m-Locative.

- (ii) “displaced” exponence of case (cf. below on locus of marking)

RUSHANI (Indo-European > Indo-Iranian, Tajikistan; Керимова & Расторгуева 1975: 199): case of NPs is expressed on determiners (cf. German).

- (1) a. [dāδ xarwič-en]_{DIR} tar ka sāwan?
these:DIR boy-PL to where go:3PL
‘Where are the boys going?’

- b. [muf kitōb-en]_{OBL} tar čod yōs!
these:OBL book-PL to house bring
‘Bring the books home!’

3. Areal and genetic distribution of case

“Case families”: Indo-European (non-SAE), East Caucasian, Kartvelian, Altaic, Uralic, Dravidian, Chukotko-Kamchatkan, Eskimo-Aleut, Cushitic, Omotic, Nilotic, Pama-Nyungan, Gunwinguan, Nyulnyulan, Uto-Aztecan, Quechua etc.

“Case areas”: Eastern Europe, Caucasus, South Asia, North and Central Asia, Central-Eastern Africa, Pacific coast of America, Australia, New Guinea, Polynesia.

4. Morphology of case

4.1. Types of case exponence (Dryer 2011)

1. Case suffixes	452
2. Case prefixes	38
3. Case coded by tone	5
4. Case coded by changes within noun stem	1
5. Mixed morphological case strategies with none primary	9
6. Postpositional clitics	123
7. Prepositional clitics	18
8. Inpositional clitics	7

Case prefixes:

TASHELHIYT (Afroasiatic > Berber, Morocco; Galand 1964: 34, 40)

- (2) a. *ikrz u-rgaz igr.*
worked OBL-man (DIR)field
‘The man cultivated the field.’
- b. *a-rgaz ikrz igr.*
DIR-man worked (DIR)field
‘The man, he worked in the field.’

Prepositions as case exponents:

RAROTONGA (Austronesian > Polynesian, Cook Island; Buse 1963: 394 ff.)

- (3) a. *Kua ʔakakino te matangi i te ʔare.*
PST harm ART wind OBJ ART house
‘The wind damaged the house.’
- b. *Kua ʔakakino-ʔa te ʔare e te matangi.*
PST harm-PASS ART house PA ART wind
‘The house was damaged by the wind.’
- (4) a. *Kua ʔoki ʔa Tere ki te kāinga.*
PST return ART Tere DAT ART home
‘Tere went back home.’
- b. *Kua katakata te va ʔne ki tāna tamaiti.*
PST smile ART woman DAT her child
‘The woman smiled to her child.’

Morphophonological alternations as case exponents:

LOWER UMPQUA (Siuslawan, California, extinct; Frachtenberg 1922: 570–571)

	Nom	Erg
'person'	<i>h̥itc</i>	<i>h̥iya'tc</i>
'woman'	<i>q̥iūt̥cū'n̥i</i>	<i>q̥iūt̥cū'wa'n̥i</i>
'deer'	<i>tsí'sqan</i>	<i>tsa'sq̥n̥</i>
'grizzly bear'	<i>swał</i>	<i>swał̥</i>
'coyote'	<i>txu'npl̥i</i>	<i>tsxuna'pl̥i</i>

Tonal case:

MAASAI (Nilotic > Eastern branch, Kenya, Tanzania; Tucker & Bryan 1966: 459)

	'knife'	'water'	'girl'	'shepherd'	'giraffe'
Dir	<i>ɛŋkálém</i>	<i>ɛŋkáré</i>	<i>entító</i>	<i>encekút</i>	<i>ɔlméút</i>
Obl	<i>ɛŋkalém</i>	<i>ɛŋkárè</i>	<i>entitó</i>	<i>encekút</i>	<i>ɔlméut</i>

Combinations of different means:

ENETS, forest dialect (Uralic > Samoyedic, Taymyr; Shluinsky 2010)

	Sg	Du	Pl
Nom	<i>kasa</i> sibling	<i>kasa-xi?</i> sibling-DU	<i>kasa-?</i> sibling-NOM.PL
Dat	<i>kasa-d</i> sibling-DAT.SG	<i>kasa-xi? ne-?</i> sibling-DU PS.DU-DAT	<i>kasa-xiz</i> sibling-DAT.PL
Abl	<i>kasa-xaz</i> sibling-ABL.SG	<i>kasa-xi? ne-z</i> sibling-DU PS.DU-ABL	<i>kasa-xit</i> sibling-ABL.PL
Loc	<i>kasa-xan</i> sibling-LOC.SG	<i>kasa-xi? ne-n</i> sibling-DU PS.DU-LOC	<i>kasa-xin</i> sibling-LOC.PL

MANGARAYI (Gunwingguan, Northern Australia; Merlan 1989: 57)

	Feminine 'woman'	Masculine 'man'	Neuter 'tree'
Nom	<i>ŋala-gaɖugu</i>	<i>na-malam</i>	—
Erg/Ins	—	—	<i>na-landi</i>
Abs	—	—	<i>ɔ-landi</i>
Acc	<i>ŋan-gaɖugu</i>	<i>ɔ-malam</i>	—
Gen/Dat/Purp	<i>ŋaya-gaɖugu</i>	<i>na-malam-gu</i>	<i>na-landi-wu</i>
Loc	<i>ŋaya-gaɖugu-yan</i>	<i>na-malam-gan</i>	<i>na-landi-yan</i>
Allat	<i>ŋaya-gaɖugu-lama</i>	<i>ɔ-malam-galama</i>	<i>ɔ-landi-lama</i>
Abl	<i>ŋaya-gaɖugu-wana</i>	<i>ɔ-malam-gana</i>	<i>ɔ-landi-wana</i>

4.2. Types of case paradigm:

Classical flective: Lithuanian

Agglutinative:

TURKISH (ALTAIC > Turkic; Plank 1991: 2) 'hand'

	Sg	Pl	Sg + 1Sg.Poss
Nom	<i>el</i>	<i>el-ler</i>	<i>el-im</i>
Acc	<i>el-i</i>	<i>el-ler-i</i>	<i>el-im-i</i>
Gen	<i>el-in</i>	<i>el-ler-in</i>	<i>el-im-in</i>
Dat	<i>el-e</i>	<i>el-ler-e</i>	<i>el-im-e</i>
Loc	<i>el-de</i>	<i>el-ler-de</i>	<i>el-im-de</i>
Abl	<i>el-den</i>	<i>el-ler-den</i>	<i>el-im-den</i>

Secondary cases:

ROMANI, North Russian dialect (Indo-European > Indo-Iranian; Вентцель & Черенков 1976: 306) 'a Roma'

	Sg	Pl
Nom	<i>rom</i>	<i>rom-a</i>
Acc	<i>rom-es</i>	<i>rom-en</i>
Dat	<i>rom-es-ke</i>	<i>rom-en-ge</i>
Loc	<i>rom-es-te</i>	<i>rom-en-de</i>
Abl	<i>rom-es-t̥r</i>	<i>rom-en-d̥r</i>
Ins	<i>rom-es-a < -es-sa</i>	<i>rom-en-ća</i>

OLD LITHUANIAN (Senn 1966: 92–95) 'house'

	Sg	Pl
Nominative	<i>namas</i>	<i>namai</i>
Accusative	<i>namą</i>	<i>namus</i>
Illative	<i>namona</i>	<i>namuosn(a)</i>
Genitive	<i>namo</i>	<i>namų</i>
Allative	<i>namop</i>	<i>namump</i>
Locative	<i>namie</i>	<i>namuose</i>
Adessive	<i>namiep</i>	<i>namuosemp</i>

5. Morphosyntax of case: case across the NP

Locus of case realization (after Dench & Evans 1988):

syntax	type of marking	morphology	example
[_{NP} X N Y] _{S-CASE}	complete concord	[_{NP} X _{m-case} N _{m-case} Y _{m-case}]	Martuthunira, Lithuanian
	head marking	[_{NP} X N _{m-case} Y]	Urathi
	final marking	[_{NP} X N Y _{m-case}]	Basque, Kuuk Thaayorre
	initial marking	[_{NP} m-case X N Y]	Nias, Remo
	second position marking	[_{NP} X _{m-case} N Y]	Amharic

MARTUTHUNIRA (Pama-Nyungan > South-Western branch, Western Australia)

- (5) *Nhiyu ngalhangalha* [*ngurnu yarta-a kanyara-a*]_{ACC}
 this:NOM clever that:ACC other-ACC man-ACC
 'This one is clever compared with the other man.' (Dench 1994: 69)

URADHI (Pama-Nyungan > Paman, Queensland; Dench & Evans 1988: 5)

- (6) [*utagha-mpu amanyma*]_{ERG} *udhumpuny ighanhanga-n*.
 dog-ERG big back(NOM) break-PSY
 'The big dog broke (the other dog's) back.'

BASQUE (isolate, Spain, France; Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina (eds.) 2003: 171)

- (7) *gizon gazte hon-i*
 man young this-DAT
 'to this young man'

KUUK THAAYORRE (Pama-Nyungan > Paman, North-Eastern Australia; Gaby 2006: 180ff; Anderson et al. 2006: 7–9)

- (8) a. *wa'ar pamthawarr-an*
jellyfish dangerous-ERG
'the venomous jellyfish'
- b. *ngan pumun ngathan-thurr*
CL younger.brother my-ERG
'my younger brother'

REMO (Munda, India; Anderson & Harrison 2008: 572)

- (9) *nij o-[nij-ŋa djo] urij-t-ij*
I OBJ-I-GEN house walk-NPST-1SG
'I will walk to my house'

NIAS (Austronesian > Western Malay-Polynesian, Western Indonesia; Brown 2005: 567–568, Anderson et al. 2006: 5)

	'rice'	'land'	'stick'	'pig'	'boat'	'egg'
Dir	<i>fakhe</i>	<i>tanö</i>	<i>si'o</i>	<i>baßi</i>	<i>oßo</i>	<i>adulo</i>
Obl	<i>vakhe</i>	<i>danö</i>	<i>zi'o</i>	<i>m-baßi</i>	<i>n-oßo</i>	<i>g-adulo</i>

- (10) ... *orahu [zi'ulu ba siila ba niha mbanua]*_{OBL}.
have.meeting OBL:village.leader(*si'ulu*) and advisor and person OBL:village
'the village leader, his advisors and the people of the village had a meeting.'

AMHARIC (Afroasiatic > Semitic, Ethiopia; Leslau 1995: 183–184)

- (11) a. *wəšša = w [tallaq = u = n bāqlo]*_{OBL} *nākkās-ä*.
dog = DEF big = DEF = OBL mule bit-3SG
'The dog bit the big mule.'
- b. [*näčč = u = n wāmbār = ənna alga*]_{OBL} *amta*.
white = DEF = OBL chair = and bed bring
'Bring the white chair and bed.'
- c. [*y = astāmari = w = ən bet*]_{OBL} *tärräg-ä*.
POSS = teacher = 3SG.M = OBL house swept-3SG
'He swept his teacher's house.'

6. Some topics in the syntax of case

6.1. A tentative ontology of case functions/uses (extending Dench & Evans 1988):

(i) Relational: expressing the syntactic relation and/or semantic role of the NP in the clause.

(ii) Adnominal: marks an NP as a constituent of another NP;

(iii) Referential: marks an NP as semantically related to another NP with which it does not form a syntactic constituent.

LITHUANIAN (Timberlake 1988: 185)

- (12) *Aš_{NOM} jį pažinojau dar jaunas_{NOM}*.
'I got to know him (when I was) still young.'

(iv) Complementizing: marks the clause and possibly some of its NP constituents as subordinate.

OLD LITHUANIAN (Амбразас 1990: 164)

- (13) [*Bet Petru_{DAT} atausiam_{DAT} ing Antiochia_{DAT} passistengiau esch ing akis*.
'When Peter came to Antioch, I opposed him to his face.' (Bretkūno Biblija 1579–1590, Gal. 2:11)

(v) "modal": case determined by the tense-aspect-mood of the verb

ZAZAKI (Indo-European > Indo-Iranian, Turkey; Selcan 1998: 277–279)

- (14) a. *televe malim-i vinen-o*.
student(DIR) teacher-OBL.SG see-PRS.3SG
'Student sees the teacher.'
- b. *televe-y malim di*.
student-OBL.SG teacher(DIR) see-PST.3
'Student saw the teacher.'

(vi) quantificational: marking quantificational properties of an NP (e.g. partitive).

LITHUANIAN

- (15) a. *Nusipirkau miška_{ACC}*.
'I have bought the forest.'
- b. *Nusipirkau miško_{GEN}*.
'I have bought some forest.'

Different types of case functions are logically independent and can apply to one and the same NP. Depending on the language, such functional conflicts are resolved either in **case alternations**, or in **multiple case marking** (or both).

6.2. Case alternations (differential case marking, see *inter alia* Tsunoda 1981, DeLancey 1981, Bossong 1985, 1991, de Swart 2007, de Hoop & Malchukov 2008, de Hoop & de Swart (eds.) 2008, Malchukov & de Swart 2009, Malchukov & de Hoop 2011) are variations in case marking of NPs filling the same syntactic/semantic relation triggered by a variety of factors:

(i) by morphosyntactic features of the head, cf. Zazaki above.

LITHUANIAN (Lavine 2010: 116)

- (16) a. *Inga_{NOM} nuramino vaika_{ACC}*.
'Inga calmed the child down.'
- b. *Ingos_{GEN} nuraminta vaikas_{NOM}*.
'Inga must have calmed the child down.'

(ii) by the presence of some (not necessarily local) operator, e.g. negation.

LITHUANIAN

- (17) a. *Noriu uždaryti langa_{ACC}*.
'I want to close the window.'
- b. *Nenoriu uždaryti lango_{GEN}*.
'I don't want to close the window.'

(iii) by inherent properties of the NP, such as animacy.

ZAZAKI (Indo-European > Indo-Iranian, Turkey; Selcan 1998: 277–279)

- (18) a. *televe kitav cên-o*.
student(DIR.SG) book(DIR.SG) take-PRS.3SG
'The student takes the book.'

- b. *televe malim-i vinen-o.*
 student(DIR.SG) teacher-OBL.SG see-PRS.3SG
 ‘The student sees the teacher.’

(iv) by contextual properties of the NP, such as definiteness/referentiality or quantification (cf. (15) above).

ADYGHE (West-Caucasian; Аркадьев и др. 2009: 34)

- (19) a. *məʔerəse-r qə-se-t!*
 apple-ABS DIR-1SG.IO-give(IMP)
 ‘Give me the apple!’
 b. *məʔerəse qə-se-t!*
 apple DIR-1SG.IO-give(IMP)
 ‘Give me an apple!’

(v) by “distinguishability” (Comrie 1979; de Swart 2006 etc)

MALAYALAM (Dravidian > Southern branch, India; de Swart 2006: 252, 254)

- (20) a. *Kappal tiramaalakaḷ-e bheediccu.*
 ship wave:PL-ACC split:PST
 ‘The ship broke through the waves.’
 b. *Tiramaalakaḷ kappal-ine bheediccu.*
 wave:PL ship-ACC split:PST
 ‘The waves split the ship.’

- (21) a. *Tīyyə kuṭil naṣippicu.*
 fire hut destroy:PST
 ‘Fire destroyed the hut.’
 b. *Vellam tīyyə keṭutti.*
 water fire extinguish:PST
 ‘Water extinguished the fire.’

(vi) construction-wise

LITHUANIAN

- (22) a. *noriu [aplankyti drauga_{ACC}].*
 ‘I want to visit a friend.’
 b. *atėjau [aplankyti draugo_{GEN}].*
 ‘I came to visit a friend.’

6.3. Multiple case marking (Dench & Evans 1988, Plank (ed.) 1995): simultaneous expression of different case functions on the same nominal.

Suffixaufnahme: NP-internal “case concord” involving case-marked attributes (adnominal case + relational case).

OLD GEORGIAN (Kartvelian; Schanidse 1982: 188)

- (23) *sisxl-i vic-ta-j da kuro-ta-j*
 blood-NOM goat-GEN.PL-NOM and ox-GEN.PL-NOM
 ‘blood of goats and oxen’ (ibid.)

EVENKI (Altaic > Tungusic; Plank 1995: 84)

- (24) *bu iche-re-v [kiran-ma munnukān-nun-me].*
 we see-NEUT-1PL eagle-ACC hare-COMIT-ACC
 ‘We saw an eagle with a hare.’

- (25) X $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{[NP N}_{\text{CASE}} \\ \text{CASE} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{[NP N}_{\text{GEN}} \\ \text{GEN} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{[GEN + CASE} \\ \text{CASE} \end{array} \right]$

“Anti-Suffixaufnahme”: adnominal case stacked over relational case

JAPANESE (Altaic > Japonic)

- (26) a. *tomodachi-kara tegami-ga ki-ta.*
 friend-ABL letter-NOM come-PST
 ‘There arrived a letter from a friend.’
 b. *tomodachi-kara-no tegami*
 friend-ABL-GEN letter
 ‘a letter from a friend’

NP-external Suffixaufnahme: relational case + referential case

WARLPIRI (Pama-Nyungan > South-Western branch, Northern Australia)

- (27) a. *ngarrka-ngku = ka yankirri luwa-rni ngapa-ngka-rlu.*
 man-ERG = PRS emu shoot-NPST water-LOC-ERG
 ‘The man, being at the water-hole, is shooting the emu.’ (Hale 1982: 269)
 b. *ngarrka-ngku = ka = rla = jinta yankirri-ki luwa-rni ngapa-ngka-ku.*
 man-ERG = PRS = 3SG.DAT = 3SG.DAT emu-DAT shoot-NPST water-LOC-DAT
 ‘The man is shooting the emu (who is) at the water-hole.’ (ibid.)

Multi-layered case marking in Tangkic

KAYARDILD (Tangkic, Northern Australia; Evans 1995: 102–103, 115–116)

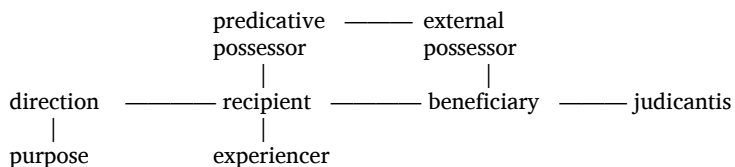
- (28)
-

- (29) a. *dangka-karra-nguni mijil-nguni*
 man-GEN-INS net-INS
 ‘with the man’s net’
 b. *maku yalawu-jarra yakuri-na dangka-karra-nguni-na*
 woman catch-PST fish-M:ABL man-GEN-INS-M:ABL
 net-INS-M:ABL
 ‘The woman caught fish with the man’s net.’
 c. *maku-ntha yalawu-jarra-ntha yakuri-naa-ntha*
 woman-C:OBL catch-PST-C:OBL fish-M:ABL-C:OBL
 dangka-karra-nguni-naa-ntha mijil-nguni-naa-ntha.
 man-GEN-INS-M:ABL-C:OBL net-INS-M:ABL-C:OBL
 ‘The woman must have caught fish with the man’s net.’

7. A few words on the semantics of case

Cases are polysemous / multifunctional. Case polysemy can be modeled by **semantic maps** (Haspelmath 2003, Narrog & Ito 2007, Malchukov & Narrog 2009), showing how different cases in the same or different languages carve the universal functional-semantic space.

(30) The semantic map of the Dative (Haspelmath 2003: 213)



An example of cross-linguistic case polysemy: the accusative, the case of patient/direct object (Kittilä & Malchukov 2009; Эршлер 2009).

– goal/direction of motion

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

(31) ἡ δ' ἄρα Κύπρ-ov ἵκαν-ε
she(NOM) PTCL PTCL Cyprus-ACC go-AOR.3SG
'She went to Cyprus' (*Odyssey* 8:362)

– time

LITHUANIAN (Ambraszas (ed.) 1997: 501–502)

- (32) a. *ateiti antradieni*
'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 (Ambraszas (ed.) 1997: 502)

(33) *nueiti kilometrą*
'to walk a kilometer'

– price

LITHUANIAN (Ambraszas (ed.) 1997: 502)

(34) *sumokėti du litus*
'to pay two litas'

– quality

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

(35) διαφέρ-ει γυν-ή ἀνδρ-ός τ-ήν φύσ-ιν
differ-PRS.3SG woman-NOM man-GEN ART-ACC nature-ACC
'there is a difference in nature between men and women.' (Plato, *Republic*, 453b)

8. Outlook: What is left?

- types of case systems (Blake 2001/1994: 156–160; Malchukov & Spencer 2009);
- a decent discussion of case semantics (e.g. of spatial cases, Creissels 2009, or of “exotic” cases, Malchukov 2009)
- diachrony and grammaticalization of case (Kulikov 2006, 2009; Heine 2009; Barðdal & Kulikov 2009);
- interaction of case with other grammatical mechanisms, such as agreement, word order (Bakker & Siewierska 2009), voice (Shibatani 2009), cross-clausal dependencies; etc etc ...

Abbreviations

ABL – ablative, ABS – absolutive, ACC – accusative, ALLAT – allative, AOR – aorist, ART – article, C – complementizing case, CL – classifier, COMIT – comitative, DAT – dative, DEF – definite, DIR – direct case; directional preverb, DU – dual, ERG – ergative, GEN – genitive, IMP – imperative, INS – instrumental, IO – indirect object, LOC – locative, M – modal case, NFUT – non-future tense, NOM – nominative, NPST – non-past tense, OBJ – objective case, OBL – oblique case/stem, PA – passive agent, PASS – passive, PL – plural, POSS – possession, PRS – present tense, PS – postpositional stem, PST – past tense, PTCL – particle, PURP – purposive, SG – singular

References

- Ambraszas V. (ed.) (1997). *A Grammar of Lithuanian*. Vilnius: Baltos lankos.
- Anderson G.D.S. & K.D. Harrison (2008). Remo (Bonda). In: G.D.S. Anderson (ed.), *The Munda Languages*. London, New York: Routledge, 557–632.
- Anderson S., L. Brown, A. Gaby & J. Lecarme (2006). Life on the edge: There's morphology there after all! *Lingue e linguaggio* 5/1, 1–16.
- Bakker D. & A. Siewierska (2009). Case and alternative strategies: Word order and agreement marking. In: Malchukov & Spencer (eds.) 2009: 290–303.
- Barðdal J. & L.I. Kulikov (2009). Case in decline. In: Malchukov & Spencer (eds.) 2009: 470–478.
- Blake B.J. (2001/1994). *Case*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bossong G. (1985). *Empirische Universalienforschung: Differentielle Objektmarkierung in den neuromanischen Sprachen*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Bossong G. (1991). Differential object marking in Romance and beyond. In: D. Kibbee & D. Wanner (eds.), *New Analyses in Romance Linguistics*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 143–170.
- Brown L. (2005). Nias. In: N. Himmelman, K.A. Adelaar (eds.), *The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar*. London, New York: Routledge, 562–589.
- Buse J.E. (1963). The structure of Rarotongan nominal, negative, and conjunctival pieces. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 26/2, 393–419.
- Comrie B. (1979). Definite and animate direct objects: A natural class. *Linguistica Silesiana* 3, 13–21.
- Corbett G.G. (2008). Determining morphosyntactic feature values: The case of case. In: G.G. Corbett, M. Noonan (eds.), *Case and Grammatical Relations. Studies in Honor of Bernard Comrie*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1–34.
- Creissels D. (2009). Spatial cases. In: Malchukov & Spencer (eds.) 2009: 609–625.
- de Hoop H. & A. Malchukov (2008). Case marking strategies. *Linguistic Inquiry* 39/4, 565–587.
- de Hoop H. & P. de Swart (eds.) (2008). *Differential Subject Marking*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- deLancey S. (1981). An interpretation of split ergativity and related patterns. *Language* 57/3, 626–667.
- Dench A. (1994). *Martuthunira. A Language of the Pilbara Region of Western Australia*. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Dench A. & N. Evans (1998). Multiple case-marking in Australian languages. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 8/1, 1–47.
- de Swart P. (2006). Case markedness. In: L. Kulikov, A. Malchukov, P. de Swart (eds.), *Case, Valency and Transitivity*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 249–268.
- de Swart P. (2007). *Cross-linguistic Variation in Object Marking*. Utrecht: LOT Publications.
- Dryer M.S. (2011). Position of case affixes. In: M.S. Dryer & M. Haspelmath (eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library, feature 51A. Available online at <http://wals.info/feature/51A> (Accessed on 2011-07-23).
- Evans N. (1995). *A Grammar of Kayardild. With Historical-Comparative Notes on Tangkic*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Frachtenberg L.J. (1922). Siuslawan (Lower Umpqua). In: Fr. Boas. (ed.), *Handbook of American Indian Languages*. P. 2. Oosterhout N.B.: Anthropological publications, 431–629.
- Galand L. (1964). L'énoncé verbal en berbère. *Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure* 21, 33–53.
- Gaby A. (2006). *A Grammar of Kuuk Thaayorre*. PhD Dissertation, University of Melbourne.

- Hale K.L. (1982). Some essential features of Warlpiri verbal clauses. In: S. Swartz (ed.), *Papers in Warlpiri Grammar. In Memory of Lothar Jagst*. Darwin: SIL, 217–315.
- Haspelmath M. (2003). The geometry of grammatical meaning: Semantic maps and cross-linguistic comparison. In: M. Tomasello (ed.), *The New Psychology of Language*, Vol. II. Mahwah (NJ): Erlbaum, 211–242.
- Haspelmath M. (2009). Terminology of case. In: Malchukov & Spencer (eds.) 2009: 505–517.
- Haspelmath M. (2010). Comparative concepts and descriptive categories in cross-linguistic studies. *Language* 86/3, 663–687.
- Heine B. (2009). Grammaticalization of cases. In: Malchukov & Spencer (eds.) 2009: 458–469.
- Hualde J.I. & J. Ortiz de Urbina (eds.) (2003). *A Grammar of Basque*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Kittilä S. & A. Malchukov (2009). Varieties of accusative. In: Malchukov & Spencer (eds.) 2009: 549–561.
- Kulikov L.I. (2006). Case systems in a diachronic perspective: A typological sketch. In: L. Kulikov, A. Malchukov & P. de Swart (eds.), *Case, Valency and Transitivity*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 23–47.
- Kulikov L.I. (2009). Evolution of case systems. In: Malchukov & Spencer (eds.) 2009: 439–457.
- Lavine J.E. (2010). Mood and a transitivity restriction in Lithuanian: the case of the inferential evidential. *Baltic Linguistics* 1: 115–142.
- Leslau W. (1995). *Reference Grammar of Amharic*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Luraghi S. (2003). *On the Meaning of Prepositions and Cases. The Expression of Semantic Roles in Ancient Greek*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Malchukov A. (2009). Rare and ‘exotic’ cases. In: Malchukov & Spencer (eds.) 2009: 635–648.
- Malchukov A. & H. de Hoop (2011). Tense, aspect, and mood based differential case marking. *Lingua* 121 (special issue on Semantics of Case Variation), 35–47.
- Malchukov A. & P. de Swart (2009). Differential case marking and actancy variations. In: Malchukov & Spencer (eds.) 2009: 339–355.
- Malchukov A. & H. Narrog (2009). Case polysemy. In: Malchukov & Spencer (eds.) 2009: 518–534.
- Malchukov A. & A. Spencer (2009). Typology of case systems: Parameters of variation. In: Malchukov & Spencer (eds.) 2009: 651–667.
- Malchukov A. & A. Spencer (eds.) (2009). *The Oxford Handbook of Case*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Merlan F. (1989). *Mangarayi*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Narrog H. & Sh. Ito (2007). Re-constructing semantic maps — The Comitative-Instrumental Area. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 60, 273–292.
- Plank F. (1991). Of abundance and scantiness in inflection: A typological prelude. In: F. Plank (ed.) *Paradigms: The Economy of Inflection*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1–39.
- Plank F. (1995). (Re-)Introducing Suffixaufnahme. In: Plank (ed.) 1995: 3–110.
- Plank F. (ed.) (1995). *Double Case. Agreement by Suffixaufnahme*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schanidse A. (1982). *Altgerogisches Elementarbuch. Teil I. Grammatik der Altgeorgischen Sprache*. Tbilissi: Tbilisis universit’et’is gamomcemloba.
- Selcan Z. (1998). *Grammatik der Zaza-Sprache. Nord-Dialekt (Dersim-Dialekt)*. Berlin: Wissenschaft und Technik.
- Senn A. (1966). *Handbuch der litauischen Sprache. Bd. I. Grammatik*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Shibatani M. (2009). Case and voice: Case in derived constructions. In: Malchukov & Spencer (eds.) 2009: 322–338.
- Shluinsky A.B. (2010). Locative cases of the dual number of nouns in Forest Enets: a case study of ‘postpositional cases’. Handout of the paper from the workshop *Uralic Case* at the *14th International Morphology Meeting*, Budapest, May 2010.
- Spencer A. (2006). Syntactic vs. morphological case: implications for morphosyntax. In: L. Kulikov, A. Malchukov & P. de Swart (eds.), *Case, Valency and Transitivity*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 3–22.

- Spencer A. (2008). Does Hungarian have a case system? In: G.G. Corbett, M. Noonan (eds.), *Case and Grammatical Relations. Studies in Honor of Bernard Comrie*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 35–56.
- Spencer A. (2009). Case as a morphological phenomenon. In: Malchukov & Spencer (eds.) 2009: 185–199.
- Timberlake A. (1988). Case agreement in Lithuanian. In: M. Barlow, Ch.A. Ferguson (eds.), *Agreement in natural language: Approaches, theories, descriptions*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications, 181–199.
- Tsunoda T. (1981). Split case-marking patterns in verb-types and tense/aspect/mood. *Linguistics* 19.5/6, 389–438.
- Tucker A.N. & M.A. Bryan (1966). *Linguistic Analyses. The Non-Bantu Languages of North-Eastern Africa*. London: Clarendon.
- Амбразас В. (1990). *Сравнительный синтаксис причастий балтийских языков*. [Comparative syntax of the participles in the Baltic languages.] Vilnius: Moksas.
- Аркадьев П. М., А. Б. Летучий, Ю. А. Ландер, Н. Р. Сумбатова & Я. Г. Тестелец (2009). Введение: Основные сведения об адыгейском языке. [Introduction: Basic features of Adyghe] В: Я. Г. Тестелец (ред.), *Аспекты полисинтетизма: Очерки по грамматике адыгейского языка*. [Aspects of Polysynthesis: Essays on the Grammar of Adyghe] Москва: РГГУ, 17–120.
- Вентцель Т.В., Л.Н. Черенков (1976). Дialectы цыганского языка. [Romani dialects]. In: М.С. Андронов (ред.), *Языки Азии и Африки. Т. I. Индоевропейские языки: Хетто-лувийские языки, армянский язык, индоарийские языки*. [The Languages of Asia and Africa. Vol. I. The Indo-European Languages: Anatolian languages, Armenian, Indo-Aryan languages] Москва: Наука, 283–339.
- Зализняк А.А. (1973). О понимании термина «падеж» в лингвистических описаниях. [On the interpretations of the term “case” in linguistic descriptions] In: А.А. Зализняк (ред.), *Проблемы грамматического моделирования*. [Problems of Grammatical Models] Москва: Наука.
- Керимова А.А., Расторгуева В.С. (1975). Категория падежа [The category of case]. In: В.С. Расторгуева (ред.), *Опыт историко-типологического исследования иранских языков*, Т. 2. [A Historical-Typological Study of the Iranian Languages, Vol. 2] Москва: Наука, 117–199.
- Эршлер Д.А. (2009). К типологии непацентивных значений аккумулятива [Towards a typology of non-patient functions of the accusative]. *Вопросы языкознания* 3, 32–49.