

*DEM GENITIV*  
Konstanz-Essex-JNU New Delhi Workshop  
Universität Konstanz, 11-13 October 2012

## **The ID of a case, with particular reference to the genitive**

Frans Plank  
frans.plank@uni-konstanz.de

“Cases form one of the most irrational part[s] of language in general.”  
(Otto Jespersen, *Philosophy of grammar*, 1924, p186)

Genitiv, weil es Dativ ist  
(apocryphal)

My questions:

1. Is the genitive a **case**?
  - so that everything that is true of cases in general will also be true of the genitive in particular
2. Which case is a genitive?
3. Is the genitive **one** case?
  - so that everything (or at any rate a core of crucial things) that is true of a genitive occurrence or use in the language concerned is also true of all other genitive occurrences/uses in that language
4. Are cases called “genitives” (or “possessives” or “datives” or “2nd/3rd cases”) the same, or at any rate comparable, **across** those languages that have any?
  - so that everything that is true of the genitive (possessive, dative, 2nd/3rd case) in one language is also true of the genitives in all relevant other languages

What's CASE, anyhow? And what else could a “genitive” be if not a case?

Cases are a (paradigmatically uniform) set of grammatical forms morphologically bound to nominals whose (sole?, main?) function is to encode (designate and/or distinguish) grammatical relations of those nominals.

A language has CASE (as an inflectional **category**) if it has such a set of forms (**terms** of that category) with that function.

- and STATE inflection?
- and derivational relation-marking?
  - really only nominals?
- and phonologically bound markers?
- and case as an agreement category?

(1) What are the (concrete/abstract semantic, syntactic) **RELATIONS** of **NOMINALS** that are being grammatically recognised in language *l* for purposes of (a) relational behaviour (syntax), (b) coding (morphology and syntax), and (c) argument-structure alternations (lexicon, morphology, syntax)?

- Such grammatical relations can be distinguished syntagmatically and/or paradigmatically, through **ALIGNMENTS** of intransitive, transitive, bitransitive clauses: nom-acc, abs-erg, act-inact, tripartite, double oblique, etc.)
- **How many?** Theoretical maximum of nominal relations:
  - 216, according to Hjelmslev 1935/37;
  - 68 according to Blake 1930;
  - 44 according to Beard 1995;
  - ca. 30 according to Brøndal 1950;
  - ...

- More general relevant issue here: What are NOMINALS (NPs/DPs) in language *l*, and which OTHER CONSTITUENT CLASSES are they to be distinguished from for purposes of relational behaviour, coding, and argument-structure alternations?

Concerning one method of coding relations, through CASE, can there be **verbal** and **clausal** cases, when verbs and clauses are not nominalised? i.e., things like *eat*-PAST-ABL ‘after I ate’, *come*-INF-ACC ‘[want] to come’. Or are we in such cases dealing with homonymies of case and verbal inflections?

Unlikely: Why should cases differ from adpositions, which happily do double duty as conjunctions, ‘after I ate’ – ‘after lunch’, ‘because it rained’ – ‘because of the rain’. (See recently Aikhenvald 2008, “versatile cases”.)

Can case-marking itself CHANGE word/phrase class, in derivational rather than inflectional manner, e.g., adjectivalise or adverbialise nouns? (e.g., genitive marking to derive adjectives or also adverbs)

- (2) How are these relations of nominals **FORMALLY EXPRESSED** (**designated**, or merely **distinguished** where necessary) in language *l*, generally speaking?
- (i) DIRECT marking on the nominal concerned itself (unless **displaced**, with phonological phrasing differing from morphosyntactic phrasing)
    - (a) relational nouns (= lex., not gramm.)
    - (b) relational verbs (serial verbs, converbs) (= lex., not gramm.)
    - (c) adpositions (post-, pre-, circum-, in-, ambi-) (= not morpho. bound)
    - ☞ (d) CASE inflection, on DEPENDENT nominals (= morpho. bound)
    - ☞? (e) STATE inflection, on HEAD nominals (= morpho. bound)
    - (f) derivation (adverbialisation, adjectivalisation, ...) (= morpho. bound)
  - (ii) INDIRECT marking (somewhere else than on the nominal concerned itself)
    - (a) agreement/cross-reference with **one** nominal in a designated grammatical relation, with ( $\alpha$ )  $\text{person}_a$ , ( $\beta$ )  $\text{number}_a$ , ( $\gamma$ )  $\text{gender}_a/\text{class}_a$ , ( $\delta$ )  $\text{case}_a$ , ( $\epsilon$ ) ... serving as agreement categories
    - (b) direct-inverse, depending on the hierarchical relationship (in referential terms, speech-act roles, animacy) between **two** nominals
    - (c) relational markers on predicates (e.g., preverbs)

[and of course **predicates themselves**, defining semantic relations at their most concrete]

- (iii) linear order,  
defined for one nominal **relative** to other clause parts (e.g., after verb and before other nominal) or **absolutely** (clause-initial, -final, -second)
- (iv) sentence prosody: intonation (?), pausing
- (v) incorporation,  
with the nominal concerned forming a **morphological** rather than a **syntactic** construction with the constituent it is to be related to (e.g., ‘my suits are tailor-made’ – ‘made by a tailor’)
- (vi) left unexpressed

- (3) If several forms of relational expression are utilised in language *l*, how is the expressive labour **DISTRIBUTED** among them?

What is the relational domain of adpositions, case marking, ...?

- linear order, agreement/cross-reference, and/or cases are preferably used for **syntactic** relations (because there aren't so many, and these modes of marking don't lend themselves to expressing rich paradigmatic distinctions),
- adpositions preferably for **semantic** relations (of which there are more, and it is easy to create large inventories of adpositions).



(4) **Which** other grammatical categories **INTERACT** with relational expression in language *l*? And **how** do they interact?

(i) Categories

(a) definiteness

(b) specificity

(c) topic-comment, focus, discourse-prominence

(d) animacy, gender/class

(e) number, quantification

(f) tense, aspect, mood, polarity

(g) clause types (main – subordinate, finite – non-finite, ...)

(h) ...

(ii) Ways of interaction

(a) cumulative exponence

(b) conditional (one-way or two-ways)

(α) encouraging, necessitating

(β) discouraging, prohibiting (incl. neutralising context)

(iii) **Differential marking** as one way of interaction:

**same** relation marked differentially depending on factors like referential semantics of nominals, affectedness (wholly/partly), tense/aspect, overall clausal transitivity, co-occurrence of other nominals (of particular kinds), ...

(which may be difficult to distinguish from: a **single** semantic relation being alternatively mapped onto **several** syntactic relations; e.g., applicative alternations, ‘spray wall.ACC paint.INS’ – ‘spray paint.ACC wall.LOC’; partitive alternations, ‘drink wine.ACC’ – ‘drink wine.PART’, ‘shoot deer.ACC’ – ‘shoot deer.GEN’)

And now for CASE only.

(5) **HOW MANY** cases (paradigmatically) and **WHICH**?

- (i)
  - for language *l* as a whole
  - for particular subsets of nominals in language *l*  
(nouns/pronouns, person/place/... and such referential distinctions)
  - only for smallish subsets of nominals in language *l*  
(such non-productive/residual cases are the responsibility of the lexicon, not the grammar)
- (ii)
  - “How many?” – maximally as many as there are grammatical relations of nominals (216?), minus those relations encoded through other means;
  - “Which?” – those relations left after this subtraction, minus those relations syncretised with others, with single cases alternatively expressing more than one relation (see below).

(iii) Method for DISTINGUISHING cases in languages which have any:

However many formal distinctions are made or not made (= neutralised) for **particular** case-inflecting words of language *l*, assume so many paradigmatic contrasts for **all** case-inflecting words alike (that is, essentially the sum total of all formal distinctions of all individual case-inflecting words) as permit the syntactic-semantic rules of **case assignment** in language *l* to apply in a **maximally general** manner.

The general idea, thus, is: Let **syntax** be **easy** and suffer **morphology** being **hard**.

(Good exposition in Comrie 1991, also pointing out that no all grammar-writing traditions have been following this method. Australianists tend not to: nominals in different positions on the Silverstein-hierarchy are assigned case differently.)

Moral here: Case requires morphology and syntax to interact!  
(See below for the opposite moral.)

(iv) SIZE of case inventories

2 cases	MINIMUM
3 cases	SMALL
4-6 cases	MEDIUM
7-10 cases	LARGE
11+ cases	EXTRA LARGE
ca. 20 cases	MAXIMUM (actual, not theoretical – though the 40+, 50+, or even 60+ cases in Daghestanian of <i>Guinness Book of Records</i> fame have been exposed as a hoax, – well, as a somewhat too comprehensive categorial misanalysis, failing to distinguish morphologically segmentable forms from several position classes, cases proper and markers for localisation and direction)

But are these size classes NATURAL classes?

Can generalisations be made in terms of such size classes?

Plank 1986 suggests that when case is cumulated with some other category LARGE is the limit, which would render at least this size limit natural.

- (v) Constraints on membership in case inventories, implicational dependencies between members of case inventories – which would likewise render such size classes natural?

possible 2-case inventories

- (i) Sbj, Obj
- (ii) Basic, Local
- (iii) Basic, Possessive/Genitive

possible 3-case inventories

- (i) Sbj, dObj, iObj
- (ii) Sbj, Obj, Poss/Gen
- (iii) Sbj-Obj, Dat-All, Loc-Ins

etc.

Thus, if a Sbj case, then also an Obj case, and vice versa;  
if an iObj case, then also a dObj case;  
if a Dat-All, then also an Obj case; ...

(vi) Other paradigmatic relations between members of case inventories?

- **closeness** to one another (semantically or syntactically defined), with contrasts between neighbours especially prone to neutralisation;
- “**correlations**”, with member in privative or equipollent oppositions, markedness – Jakobsonian cubes and such.

But are case inventories **well-structured systems** (whose analysis is science rather than interpretive art [Jakobsonian cubes and such – see below, Sebeok 1946 for Finnish and Hungarian])?

Or are they momentary, and transient, states in grammaticalisation scenarios which are bound to be somewhat **haphazard**, driven by all sorts of forces and reined in by all sorts of circumstances rather than exclusively by the teleology of well-designed paradigms?

(Good paradigm design would for instance be guaranteed if **morphological change** were subject to **constraints** such as “You may only innovate an ablative if you’ve already innovated a locative” or “You may not let a locative go as long as you’re keeping an ablative”).)

(6) **WHICH** cases in languages  $l_1, l_2, l_3 \dots$ ?

(i) What's a case's ID? What does case identity consist in?

(Which is the key question if you want to compare cases, or any other grammatical categories for that matter, across languages.)

- Trivially, it's not a mere question of **labels**, however descriptively intentioned (“nominative”/Nenn-Fall, “accusative”/Anklage-Fall, “ergative”/Wirk-Fall, “dative”/Gebe-Fall, “genitive”/Ursprungs-Fall, “partitive”/Teil-Fall, “inessive”/Drin-Fall, “illative”/Rein-Fall, “vocative”/Ruf-Fall ...).
- In essence, a case's identity consists (a) in the particular **relations** that it encodes (see below for a list from which to choose) and (b) in how it is in **contrast** in this respect with other cases in the same language. Perhaps also in how it is **assigned** in the language concerned, for there are different modes of case assignment (see below, (8)).



- Thus, a case which encodes (all) subjects and nothing else in language  $l_1$  would be a different case from one which encodes (all) subjects and also direct objects (some, such as those in clauses lacking a subject) in language  $l_2$ . But such cases would be RELATIVES, insofar as they share one relation.
- Or would one rather have to say that we have the **same** case in languages  $l_1$  and  $l_2$  here (call it “nominative”), except that this same case has an **additional use** in language  $l_2$ , also marking direct objects?
- Or are these two ways of putting things – a *Gesamtbedeutung* and a *Grundbedeutung* approach, as it were – really the one and the same? After all, what we’re doing is comparing across languages which relations are covered by particular (case) forms.
- Are there **focal** meanings/uses for particular cases, which need to be shared (and indeed tend to be shared) for cases to qualify as the **same** across languages, with more **peripheral** meanings/uses being crosslinguistically more variable?

(ii) RELATIONS which cases can encode, uniquely or syncretically:

SYNTACTIC	attributive	phrase-level
	adadpositive	
	appositive	
	intrans/trans subject	clause-level
	direct/primary object	
	indirect/secondary object	
	oblique object	
	predicative: sbj-complement	extra-clausal?
	predicative: obj-complement	
	address rather than reference (appellative, vocative)	
	absolute	

NON-LOCAL SEMANTIC experiencer  
stimulus  
recipient  
beneficiary  
maleficiary  
source, origin  
agentive  
causal  
purposive  
patientive (affected, effected)  
instrumental  
modal  
aversive  
comitative  
sociative  
absentive (aka abessive)  
comparative

equative  
temporal setting  
duration  
possessor (alienable, inalienable)  
kin relation  
whole of part  
possession  
material  
value  
characteristic  
content  
quality  
explicative  
comparatum, reference set for comparison  
...

## LOCAL SEMANTIC

### LOCATIONAL

essive  
inessive  
adessive  
subessive  
superessive  
...

### DIRECTIONAL

lative  
allative  
illative  
sublative  
ablative  
elative  
delative  
translative  
terminative  
...

(≈ 68, Blake 1930)

combinatory cases: cases (usually local) syntagmatically combined (excluding agreement case as the combined case), e.g. ablative-subessive ‘from under the table’; to be distinguished also from two- or more-level inflection, with an innermost level of stem formation (distinguishing, e.g., direct and oblique), a next level of case proper, and an outermost level of adpositions(-soon-to-be-cases)

(7) **FORM(S)** of cases in language *l*

(i) Kinds of EXPONENTS:

- zero
- additive (=affixes): suffixes, prefixes, circumfixes, infixes
- segment-modification/replacement/metathesis
- subtractive
- suppletion
- suprasegmental: tone, stress

(ii) POSITION CLASS of case exponents in word template:  
more central (near stem) or more peripheral (at word-edge)?  
(e.g., NUMBER always more central than CASE?)

(iii) Relationship to other paradigmatic categories:  
Which category is paradigmatically DOMINANT over the other?  
(e.g., NUMBER always dominant over CASE?)

- (iv) NEUTRALISATIONS of case(.X) contrasts
- systematic or accidental? (e.g., NOM=ACC in neuter in IE, GEN=DAT in feminine singular in German)
  - patterns?
  - subject to general conditions?  
(no/little neutralisation when exponents are separative)
- (v) INVARIANCE or VARIANCE of case(.X) exponents?
- If variant, how conditioned?
    - semantically, phonologically, morphologically, lexically?
  - If lexically conditioned, how many INFLECTION CLASSES are there?
  - Which cases are especially prone to be variant and which invariant?  
(e.g., DAT.PL invariant in OE, DAT.SG variant, GEN.SG most variant)
  - And how are the choices of variants for one case dependent on those for others? Or also on other categories, such as gender?



(8) Syntax/semantics of **CASE ASSIGNMENT** in language *l*

(i) Domain of case assignment:

**within** clause, also **across** clause boundaries?

(ii) Modes of assignment:

- assignment through inherent case semantics

- case government :

lexically or constructionally governed?

- case agreement:

What are possible domains and possible targets of case agreement?

- within nominal constituents (determiners, quantifiers, modifiers agreeing with heads – or is the relevant mechanism percolation?);

- apposition (or special appositive case?);

- ☞ **double case**

- at clause-level: (co-)predicatives of noun, adjective adverbial kin (or special predicative case?)

- case percolation:  
Which words within nominal constituents can be case-marked by percolation? What can influence where case percolates to?
  - case assimilation/attraction
- (iii) Obligatory/optional use of all/particular cases:  
circumstances favouring/disfavouring, requiring/prohibiting use of a case
- (iv) Different assignment rules for different subclasses of nominals;  
different assignment rules for different clausal contexts (tense/aspect, main/subordinate, ...)

(9) Case **HISTORY**

- (i) Are (particular) cases of language *l* **old** or **young** morphology?  
How old/young?
- (ii) From which **sources** and by which **kinds of reanalysis** did (particular) cases develop in the history of language *l*?
  - (a) adpositions
  - (b) adverbs
  - (c) verbs
  - (d) nouns
  - (e) demonstratives
  - (f) “particles”
  - (g) other (what?)
  - (h) existing morphology reanalysed  
(derivation? stem formation? other inflection? other?)
  - (i) borrowing (Where from?)
  - (j) no source reliably identifiable

- (iii) Are/Have particular cases (been) developing **into** something else during the history of language *l*?
- (a) remaining cases, but changing their case function
  - (b) turning into something else inflectional (What?)
  - (c) turning into something else non-inflectional (What?)
  - (d) being used less productively or indeed discontinued, with something else (What?) taking on the case's function(s)
  - (e) the case exponent wearing out or indeed disappearing phonologically
  - (f) other
- (iv) Did/do any of these creative, modificational, or destructive developments occur **simultaneously** for two or more cases? Or did each particular case have its own history?

## Example of case ID: GENITIVE – a case of split identity?

Which relations are expressed by GEN in one or another Germanic language?

### phrase-level: adnominal

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| • (alienable) possessor                                       | <i>the king's palace</i>  |
| • kin and other converse relations<br>(inalienable possessor) | <i>the king's sister/subjects</i>   |
| • whole of part<br>(inalienable possessor)                    | <i>the symphony's first movement</i><br><i>the king's head</i>  |
| • partitive   | — <i>a large amount of wine</i><br><i>a glass of wine</i><br><i>all/some/six of them</i><br><i>the oldest of the boys</i> |
| • reference set for comparison                                | — <i>the king of kings</i>  |
| • agent (subject)   | <i>the king's reply</i>   |
| • experiencer (subject)                                       | <i>the king's anger</i>   |

- patient (object)
- recipient (object)
- beneficiary
- cause
- location
- affiliation
- origin
- source (subject)
- theme
- temporal setting
- duration
- material
- value
- content
- characteristic
- quality
- appositional

*the city's destruction*

*the cow's fodder*

*a children's hospital*

— *a cry of pain*

*England's villages*

*West Ham's Thomas Hitzlsperger*

— *the woman from/of Bath*

*the woman's tale*

*the woman's tale*

*today's lecture*

*ten day's absence*

— *a coin of gold*

— *a fine of two pounds*

— *a cup of/with tea*

— *the house of the seven gables*

— *a man of rare genius*

*Dublin's fair city*

- epexegetical/explicative — *the virtue of honesty*
- comparatum — *a scoundrel of a man*
- ???

or simply and generally and semantically (almost) wholly underspecified:

- attributive (determiner/non-determiner) with genitive assigned  
**constructionally** rather than  
**lexically**

### phrase-level: adadpositional

genitive assigned **lexically**,  
by adpositions of recent  
nominal or verbal origin  
(with genitive case government  
historically inherited)

*angesichts, anhand, abzüglich, (an)statt,  
ausgangs, infolge, einschließlich, laut,  
jenseits, namens, unbeschadet, während,  
um ... willen, trotz, vermöge, zeit, zwecks,  
...*

## **phrase-level: adjectival, oblique objects (?)**

genitive assigned **lexically**  
by a smallish set of adjectives,  
with genitive usually competing  
with adpositional marking

*schuldig, verdächtig, froh, fähig, würdig,  
bewusst, kundig, bar, ledig, eingedenk,  
sicher, gewärtig, teilhaftig, habhaft, müde,  
...*

## **clause-level: adverbial, oblique objects**

genitive **lexically** assigned by a small set of verbs

- transitive (?)

*harren, gedenken, bedürfen, ermangeln,  
entraten, ...*

- transitive-reflexive (?)

*sich enthalten, sich entledigen, sich  
entäussern, sich befleißigen, sich schämen,  
sich freuen, sich rühmen, sich bedienen,  
sich annehmen, sich bemächtigen, sich  
vergewissern, sich erwehren, ...*



*sich seiner Haut wehren, sich eines  
besseren besinnen, seines Amtes walten,  
der Ruhe pflegen, das spottet jeder  
Beschreibung, das entbehrt jeder  
Grundlage, ...*

- ditransitive acc + gen:

*jemanden beschuldigen, anklagen,  
bezichtigen, überführen, versichern,  
würdigen, berauben, entbinden, entheben,  
...*

**clause-level: adverbial, direct objects**

genitive assigned **semantically**, if dObj is **partitive**

*Sorgsam brachte die Mutter des klaren,  
herrlichen Weines (Goethe)*

## clause-level: adverbial

genitive assigned **semantically** (or plain holistic lexical storage of relevant expressions)

*eines (schönen) Tages, eines Abends,  
eines (\*schönen [92 Google hits!]) Nachts;  
er ist des Todes, des Teufels,  
er ist frohen Sinnes, guter Dinge;  
er kommt des Weges;  
er wird noch Hungers sterben;  
er behauptet das allen Ernstes;  
...*

This sums up the pan-Germanic genitive.

What follows?

- A genitive-in-general is a case which encodes **all** of these relations.

???

- A genitive-in-general is a case which encodes **any/some** of these relations.

yes, but which?

## The Missionary Position:

Genitive case is a case in which the referent of the marked noun is the possessor of the referent of another noun.

<http://www.sil.org/linguistics/GlossaryOfLinguisticTerms/WhatIsGenitiveCase.htm>

Im Falle eines Falles weiss Wikipedia wirklich alles (und besser):

In grammar, genitive (abbreviated GEN; also called the possessive case or second case) is the grammatical case that marks a noun as modifying another noun. It often marks a noun as being the possessor of another noun; however, it can also indicate various other relationships than possession: certain verbs may take arguments in the genitive case, and it may have adverbial uses (*see* Adverbial genitive).

Many languages have a genitive case, including Basque; Albanian, Greek, Belarusian, Czech, Slovak, Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, Bosnian, Serbian, Croatian, Slovene, Latvian, Lithuanian, German, Icelandic, Gaelic, Irish, Latin, Armenian, Sanskrit; Estonian, Finnish; (literary) Arabic; Turkish; and Georgian. [also Old English, Japanese, Korean, Sámi, Akkadian, Ugaritic]

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Genitive\\_case](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Genitive_case)

Textbook wisdom:

A genitive case is widespread. [A genitive is found not only in Indo-European languages, but also in Uralic, Caucasian, Altaic, Dravidian and Semitic languages. Also in some Australian languages, where it is, however, called dative.]

On the basis of Latin one would normally ascribe the label genitive to the most common or unmarked adnominal case, although one would not expect such a case to be exclusively adnominal. [Would one not???] [Also marking complement of small sets (handful, some scores) of verbs including 'to forget' and 'to pity'. Also in competition with dative to mark complements of some (impersonal) intransitive verbs.] In such a situation the adnominal function would be crucial for allotting the label genitive. [Would it???]

Blake 2001: 149

Are genitives **in all their uses** in German(ic) morphologically the **same**?

Yes, mostly: • same allomorphy  
(inflection class variants, phonological conditioning)

- same distinctness constraint:

*die Diskriminierung \*Frau-en/alt-er Frau-en;*

*statt \*Frau-en/alt-er Frau-en;*

*Wir sind \*Frau-en/manch-er Frau-en müde;*

*Wir ermangeln \*Frauen/tatkräftig-er Frau-en;*

*Er wird noch \*Erschöpfung/Hunger-s sterben.*

But there is **one exception**:

personal pronouns in the singular (all persons) and 3PL (as well as 2PL.FORMAL *Ihr*-), where genitives other than adnominal are **formed by -er**, suffixed to adnominal stems (= possessive adjectives?)

*mein/dein/sein/ihr/ihr Gedächtnis*

‘my/your/his/her/their remembrance’

*Wir gedachten mein-er/dein-er/sein-er/ihr-er/ihr-er*

‘we remembered me/you/him/her/them GEN’

What does this mean?

Adverbial genitive distinct from adnominal genitive for at least **one** class of case-inflecting words; hence assumed to be distinct for **all** case-inflecting words?

Compare:

*s* possessive morphologically not the same as genitive, on allomorphy grounds:

*Pauls/Paulas/Meiers/Opas/Omas/Tantchens ... Liebling*

*s* adverbialiser morphologically not the same as genitive:

*tags/nachts/seitens/erstens/unterwegs*

Moral here: Case sees morphology and syntax ignore each other!



For the syntax, it couldn't matter less whether there is one  
(morphological) genitive or five.  
(See above for the opposite moral.)

## **How to connect the various uses of genitives, in particular the adnominal (possessive) and adverbial ones – in case they are not to be kept separate?**

some highlights ... ohne viele Worte

### **A. From adnominal to adverbial**

#### **A.1. Head ellipsis theory**

(ancient, but still espoused, e.g. by Kuryłowicz 1964, Fairbanks 1979)

- adnominal use primary/original;
- adverbial uses involve an elided head noun and are, abstractly, also really adnominal ('to hear [the word/noise/call] of a man/bell/bird');
- subjective and objective adnominal uses more basic than all other adnominal uses.

## A.2. Jakobson 1936, Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kasusmythologie

Grundbedeutung des Genitiv: Umfangskorrelation;

“der Genitiv kündigt stets die Grenze der Teilnahme des bezeichneten Gegenstandes am Sachverhalte der Aussage an. [...]

Der G an sich besagt nur, dass der Umfang der Teilnahme des Gegenstandes am Sachverhalte der Aussage geringer als sein gesamter Umfang ist.”

“Der adnominale Gebrauch entfaltet am vollkommensten und deutlichsten die semantische Besonderheit des G-s und es ist kennzeichnend, dass er der einzige Kasus ist, welcher sich auf ein reines, d.h. von einer verbalen Bedeutungsnuance freies Dingwort beziehen kann. Wir können den **adnominalen** Gebrauch des G-s als die **typische** Äusserung dieses Kasus bezeichnen.”

### A.3. Nikiforidou 1991

genitive as an instance of **structured polysemy** (rather than homonymy or abstract *Grundbedeutung*) in which meanings/senses (and uses?) are related through **metaphor**:

- Parts are possessions.
- Wholes are origins.
- Causes are origins (of the event).
- Experiencers are possessors (of the experience).
- Things that happen (to us) are (our) possessions.
- Constituent material is origin.
- (Distinctive) property is a constituent part.
- Relatives are possessions.
- Attributes (properties) are possessions.
- The standard of comparison is an origin. (Comparison is separation from an origin.

Possession (in a wide sense) is the most basic, diachronically the original meaning of genitive; all others are derived, diachronically secondary, tertiary, directly or indirectly based on/derived from possession through metaphorical extension.

And genitive uses other than adnominal ones?

## B. From adverbial to adnominal

### B.1. Ammann 1961 (building on Grimm, Delbrück, Brugmann, Curme, Schuchardt

- independent, adverbial use primary/original: genitivus exclamationis:  
“Grundhaltung des Betroffenseins”;
- adverbial use secondary, “Genitiv des Bereichs” (**sphere**), derivational:  
“Versetzung des Nominalinhaltes in eine andere Kategorie, vergleichbar einer Wortbildung augmentativen, kollektiven oder abstrakten Gehaltes ... kein Übertreten des Nomens in eine andere grammatische Funktion, sondern nur ein Übertreten in eine andere Bedeutungskategorie”, namely:
  - von X beherrschter Bereich  
(Der Genitiv bezeichnet den Gegenstand, der Wirkungen ausstrahlt und mit ihnen einen Wirkungsbereich beherrscht)
  - von X umheger und begrenzter Bereich
  - von X eingenommener und erfüllter Bereich

Originally adverbial rather than adverbial, because verbs originally without valency.

- attributive use tertiary  
via link (metaphor?) Wirkung > Besitz  
(Schuchardt 1921: passivisch > possessivisch);  
partitive adverbial > partitive adnominal (Brugmann etc.)

## B.2. Nominalisation

verb-dependent > noun-dependent case marking when verbs are nominalised;  
generalisation from nominalisations to all head nouns.

– counterfactual, because nominalisation frequently does not retain verbal case marking (*Der Sieger* NOM *zerstörte die Stadt* ACC → *die Zerstörung der Stadt* GEN *durch den Sieger* PREP+ACC)

## **What are crosslinguistic generalisations about: the genitive-as-a-whole or the genitive-of-this-or-that-use?**

If a language has ergative case marking, it will with far more than chance frequency also have divergent ordering of genitive and adjective attributes (with genitives preceding and with adjectives following their head nouns); if it has divergent genitive and adjective ordering, it will also have ergative case marking.

Gabelentz 1894

In languages with prepositions the genitive almost always follows the governing noun.  
In languages with postpositions the genitive almost always precedes the governing noun.  
If a language has dominant SOV order and the genitive follows the governing noun, then the adjective likewise follows the noun.  
If in apposition the proper noun usually precedes the common noun, then the language is one in which the governing noun precedes its dependent genitive.

Greenberg 1963

If a language has a noun-genitive order in the possessive construction, it has quantitative-noun order in the partitive construction.

Greenberg 1978



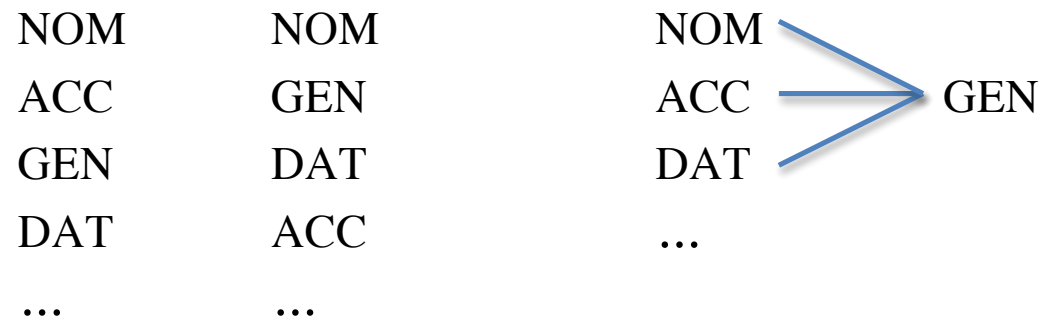
If a language has dominant SOV order and the genitive follows the governing noun and the language has a parts-of-speech system of types 4-5/6, then the adjective likewise follows the noun.

Hengeveld, Rijkhoff, & Siewierska 1997

If in a language adjectives assign morphological case to their complements, the range of cases assigned by them will include the genitive.

Moravcsik 1997

- patterns of paradigmatic non-distinction:
  - unique linear ordering of case paradigms, with neighbourhood licensing homonymy, only possible if genitive is only an adverbial case; no such unique ordering possible (but loops) if genitive is both adverbial and adnominal:



- GEN=ABL syncretism only if genitive is adverbial (cf. Ancient Greek, South Slavonic)
- GEN=ERG (transitive agent) syncretism/identity only if genitive is adnominal (cf. Mayan, NW Caucasian, Eskimo, old IE; Schuchardt 1921, Allen 1964)

- a partitive case separate from a genitive only if genitive is adnominal
- case inventories:
  - genitive as a member of small inventories (2-3 cases) only if genitive is adnominal
- significance for paradigm structure conditions in case of variance (inflection classes):
  - genitive as “Kennform” (= predictor for other choices among variants) only if genitive is adnominal (e.g., German and Latin has NOM.SG and GEN.SG as Kennformen)

		number of CASES
Uralic	Yukaghir	
	Kolyma	9 (6)
	Tundra	
	Samoyedic	
	Selkup	8
	Nenets	7
	Enets	7 (6)
	Nganasan	7 (6)
	Kamas	7 (6)
	Finno-Ugric	
	Ugric	
	Hungarian	17 (18+, 21, 24)
	Mansi	6 (5)
	Khanty	3 (2)

Finnic		
	Permic	
		Komi-Permyak 21 (17)
		Komi-Zyrian 17 (16, 18)
		Udmurt 14 (16, 17)
	Volgaic	
		Mari 13
		Erzya Mordvin 8 (9, 11)
	Balto-Finnic	
		Finnish 12 (15)
		Estonian 14
Saami		7

What is the **TIME-DEPTH** of Uralic (if there **was** a Proto-Uralic, that is)?  
Some 6,000 years?

For such a long period, the current diversity in CASE would seem quantitatively (number of cases), also qualitatively (identity of cases) rather moderate.  
It's really only Khanty (Ob-Ugric) which deviates on the **SMALL** side, with the average inventories **LARGE** to **EXTRA LARGE**.

Is CASE in general **pertinacious** rather than **transient**?

Compare Indo-European, time depth about 9,000 years (or only 6,000? or 12,000 or more?): ranging from 9-10 cases (Tocharian B, Ossetic, Lithuanian) to **no** cases (English, Afrikaans, French), with everything in between also attested, and with 8 (or 9: including an endingless locative-allative) cases reconstructed for Proto-IE.

## The Finnish case system (according to Sebeok 1946, lines partly reordered)

	location	direction	marginality	limitation	closeness
ELATIVE	+	+	Ø	+	+
ABLATIVE	+	+	Ø	+	—
ILLATIVE	+	+	Ø	—	+
ALLATIVE	+	+	Ø	—	—
INESSIVE	+	—	Ø	—	+
ADESSIVE	+	—	Ø	—	—
PROLATIVE	+	—	Ø	+	Ø
ACCUSATIVE	—	+	Ø	Ø	+
TRANSLATIVE	—	+	Ø	Ø	—
ABESSIVE	—	Ø	+	+	Ø
COMITATIVE	—	Ø	+	—	Ø
PARTITIVE	—	Ø	—	+	+
GENITIVE	—	Ø	—	+	—
NOMINATIVE	—	—	—	—	Ø
ESSIVE	—	—	—	—	—

The Hungarian case system (according to Sebeok 1946, lines partly reordered)

	location	direction	marginality	limitation	(closeness)
“suffixed postpositions”					
ELATIVE	+	+	Ø	+	+
DELATIVE	+	+	Ø	+	Ø
ABLATIVE	+	+	Ø	+	–
ILLATIVE	+	+	Ø	–	+
SUBLATIVE	+	+	Ø	–	Ø
ALLATIVE	+	+	Ø	–	–
INESSIVE	+	–	Ø	Ø	+
ADESSIVE	+	–	Ø	Ø	–
SUPERESSIVE	+	–	Ø	Ø	Ø
COMITATIVE	–	–	+	Ø	Ø
DATIVE	–	+	–	Ø	+
FINAL	–	+	–	Ø	–



“cases proper”

SUPERESSIVE	+	Ø	Ø	Ø
ACCUSATIVE	Ø	+	Ø	Ø
TRANSLATIVE	Ø	Ø	+	Ø
TERMINATIVE	Ø	Ø	Ø	+
NOMINATIVE	—	—	—	—

- + marked member of privative opposition
- unmarked
- Ø doesn't participate in opposition

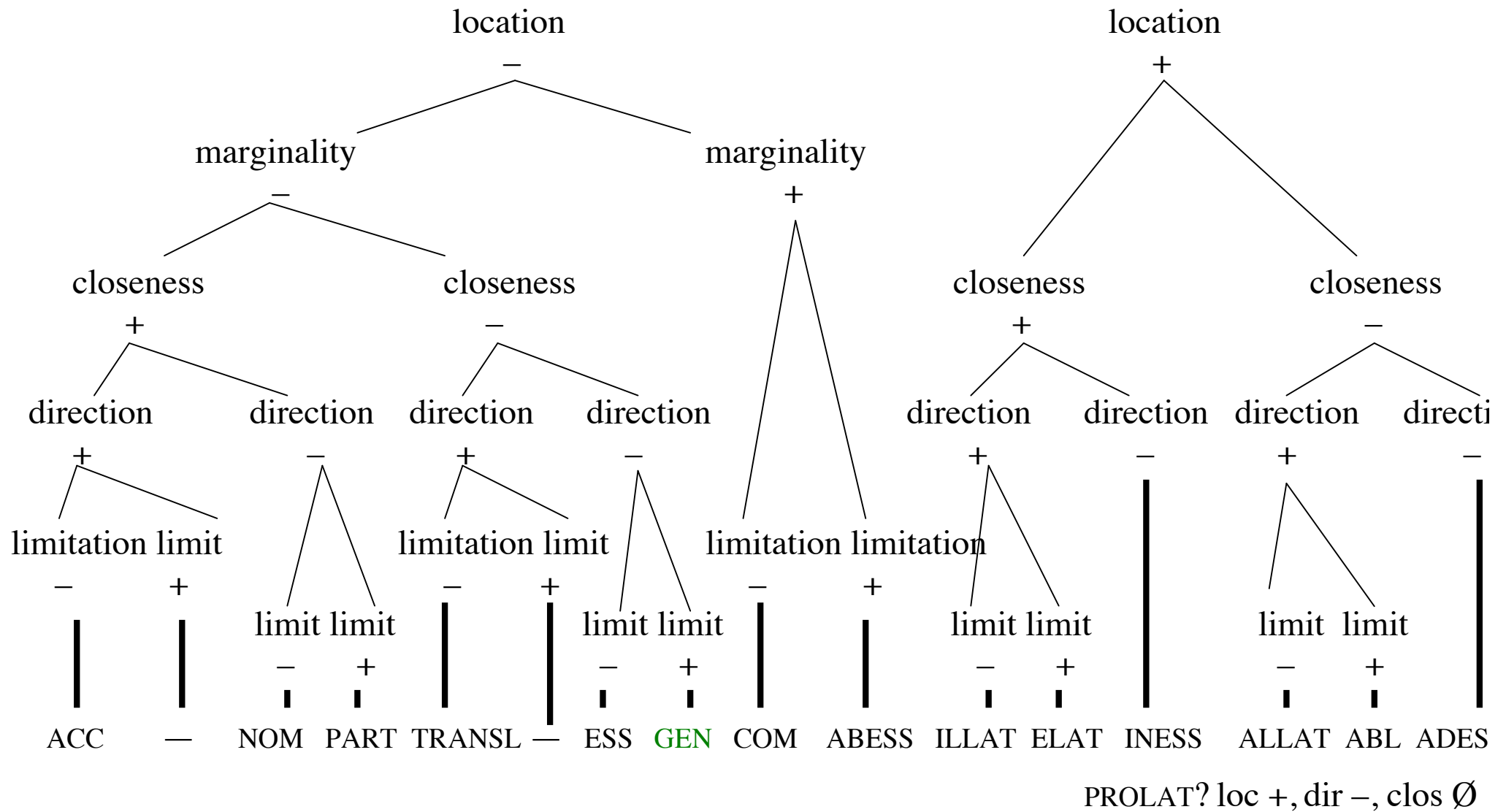
Above, the lines have been reordered so as to reflect similarities among cases, and so as to have markedness decrease from top to bottom.

But what about the relationships between the CORRELATIONS (columns)?

Any more meaningful linear arrangement of columns?

Something like a feature geometry as in featural phonology?

Structure of the Finnish system according to Sebeok: a feature hierarchy, sort of:



If the case “features” were independent of each other, there should be a three-way contrast for each feature – e.g., for Finnish

NOMINATIVE	—	—	—	—	Ø
ESSIVE	—	—	—	—	—
NN	—	—	—	—	+
NN	—	Ø	—	+	Ø
PARTITIVE	—	Ø	—	+	+
GENITIVE	—	Ø	—	+	—

But many such NN cases aren’t part of the systems analysed. Accidental gaps?  
Or the result of systematic dependencies among features?

## Feature dependencies for Finnish

- marginality implies no location and non-participation in direction, and non-participation in closeness;
- no marginality implies no location;
- non-participation in marginality implies location and/or direction;
- direction implies non-participation in marginality;
- non-participation in direction implies no location;
- location implies non-participation in marginality;
- non-participation in limitation implies no location, direction, non-participation in marginality;
- And: each case must participate in the location correlation.