

Toward a Definition of Case

Igor A. Mel'čuk
University of Montreal

[*Tebja ne soblaznit' ni plat'jami, ni
sned'ju...*

Zaezžij muzykant igraet na trube.

*Čto mir ves' rjadom s nim, s ego
gorjačej med'ju?]*

*...Sud'ba, sud'by, sud'be, sud'boju,
o sud'be.*

Bulat Okudžava, "*Zaezžij muzykant*".

'[One cannot seduce you with fancy
dresses or food...

The visiting musician is playing his
trumpet.

What's the whole world next to
him, to his hot copper?]

*...Destiny, of destiny, to destiny, by
destiny, about destiny'.*

Bulat Okudžava, modern Russian
poet and song-writer:

A Visiting Musician.

This paper attempts to bring a bit more order into the discussion of GRAMMATICAL CASE, more precisely, to sharpen the notion of case itself.¹ I will not consider new facts, propose new theories or analyses, or put forth new hypotheses. I will only try to develop a rigorous definition of this protean entity which is case; I will be speaking exclusively of the term and of how it should be used. Therefore, what follows is a contribution to the LANGUAGE OF LINGUISTICS (rather than to the description of a particular

natural language or languages). This is an attempt strictly within the lines drawn and argued for in Mel'čuk 1982.²

I will operate under the following assumption: when defining a term designed to cover a class of observable linguistic³ phenomena $\{P_i\}$, we should first of all establish a kernel $\{P_j\}$ of this class, i.e., such prototypical or ideal phenomena among all the P_i s which we would like to have covered by our definition under any circumstances. These P_j s—the *empirical basis of the definition*—are chosen quite intuitively and must be taken as our postulate. Second, we develop a definition that takes care of all the P_j s. Third, we apply this definition to the phenomena in the difference $P_i - P_j$, i.e., to less clear-cut, fuzzy or dubious items. If our definition is good, it should:

(i) cover all items which are intuitively sufficiently similar to P_j s (cf. Kuipers 1975 on the importance of intuitively felt similarity for linguistics);

(ii) reject all items which are intuitively sufficiently dissimilar to P_j s;

(iii) in all intermediate domains where our intuition balks, produce results which could be supported by further arguments elaborated especially for the solution in question. (Such an instance will be provided by an analysis of the English "Saxon Genitive" below.)

This approach is basically identical with what Hockett proposed some 30 years ago, namely to define case first on the basis of the Latin or Greek case system and then to generalize reasonably, so that new phenomena subsumed under our definition will be sufficiently similar to, say, Latin case (Hockett MS).

1.

Ambiguity of the Term *Case*.

On the one hand, in modern linguistics the term *case* is indiscriminately used to cover NOMINAL CASE (as in Russian *pojas* 'belt' NOM, *pojasa* GEN, *pojasu* DAT, ...) as well as ADJECTIVAL CASE (as in Russian *dlinnyj* 'long' [SG. MASC] NOM, *dlinnogo* GEN, *dlinnomu* DAT, ...). I believe that nominal and adjectival case are two different morphological categories and should be discussed separately: nominal case is governed, adjectival case is induced by agreement with nominal case, etc. Without

entering into a lengthy discussion, let me simply state that in this paper only nominal case is considered.

Moreover, even in nouns two different case categories can sometimes be distinguished: one case is directly governed by the syntactically superordinate unit; the other appears as a mark of agreement—very much like adjectival case (e.g., in Old Georgian, Basque, Ngarluma, where a noun may have two consecutive markers of two different cases: see below, p. 68 ff.). Of these two, I will consider exclusively the first category: CASUS RECTUS. Therefore, when I say simply *case* I will mean ‘governed nominal case’.

On the other hand, even if we consider the term (*grammatical*) *case* solely in the above-indicated narrow interpretation, we discover that it still is, as currently used in linguistics, at least three-way ambiguous:

1. *Case 1* = a (grammatical or, more precisely, inflectional) category; this sense can be seen in such sentences as: “The Czech noun is inflected for case; Tartar possesses case as an autonomous category; Case is widely discussed nowadays.”

2. *Case 2* = an element (= a grammeme) of case 1, i.e., a specific case: nominative, accusative, superessive, etc. Cf.: “Bats has twenty-two cases; The nominative is the case of naming objects; This verb requires the dative case.”

3. *Case 3* = a case form, i.e., a linguistic₁ form which expresses a case 2 (roughly, a particular case marker or a particular wordform); cf. “*Členami* is in Russian the instrumental case of *člen* ‘member’ in the plural; The genitive case never appears after plural in regular English nouns; Give me the dative case of *chłopic* both in singular and plural.”

Unfortunately, these senses, especially ‘case 2’ and ‘case 3’, are too often confused in linguistic₂ discourse, resulting in unwarranted or meaningless statements (cf. Wierzbicka 1981 and Goddard 1982, where the point is vigorously made against the confusion of the concepts ‘case’ = ‘case 2’ vs. ‘case form’ = ‘case 3’). Because of this, I will use numerical indices to keep the three senses of the term *case* as strictly separated as possible.

2.

Preliminary Notions.

Grammatical case, be it case 1, case 2 or case 3, is very far

from an elementary concept. It is a rather involved entity which presupposes a whole series of other complex notions. It is not possible to present here the complete theoretical framework (with all postulates and definitions) that is necessary in order to rigorously introduce *case 1*, *2*, *3*. The reader has to be satisfied with something much less, namely with a list of intermediate notions which appear in our definition of *case 1* (on which definitions of *case 2* and *case 3* are based); these notions are accompanied by brief comments that hint at the idea behind the term used.

Most important, my constructions are developed within the Meaning-Text theory (Mel'čuk 1974, 1976:26-62, 1979:1-21, 1981). Familiarity with this theory may prove necessary for complete understanding of my proposals. This is especially true of the surface-syntactic representation used in Meaning-Text linguistic₁ models, and particularly of the surface-syntactic structure, which is a labeled unordered dependency tree with no non-terminal nodes. (The nodes are labeled with the lexeme occurrences of the sentence represented, and the branches occur with the names of surface-syntactic relations, or roles, roughly—syntactic functions such as 'the (grammatical) subject of', 'the direct object of', 'the modifier of', etc.) Since in my conception *case 1* concerns primarily surface-syntactic roles of the nominal, it is clear to what extent the surface-syntactic formalism adopted is vital for all subsequent deliberations.

Let it be equally emphasized that by (*natural*) language \mathcal{L} , I understand a particular correspondence, or mapping, between an infinite set of meanings and an infinite set of texts. Both sets and the correspondence itself, i.e., a specific language, are thought to be empirically given by the totality of speakers and readily accessible to the linguist (who can—theoretically—be also considered a native speaker). All the linguistic₂ notions that I introduce below are meaningful only *with respect to a given language* \mathcal{L} . To save space, I omit this restriction, but it should be borne in mind that when I write, e.g., *utterance*, what is meant is 'an utterance of \mathcal{L} '; when I speak of *category*, I mean 'a category of \mathcal{L} '; etc.

Below follow all the intermediate notions necessary for the definition of *case 1*. The explanatory statements supplied are by no means rigorous definitions in all instances; many of them are no more than approximate characterizations and should be construed as such.

1. *Utterance* = an autonomous part of discourse, i.e., a linguistic₁ sign or a complex of signs (= a meaningful text) which can appear between two absolute pauses (e.g., sentence, clause, phrase, wordform). Notation: U (from *utterance*).

2. *Lex* = an elementary autonomous linguistic₁ sign, i.e., a minimal utterance not consisting of other utterances (roughly, a wordform). Notation: \underline{w} (from *wordform*). Note that this is an oversimplification: actually, a lex can consist of several simpler lexes (= wordforms), as in so-called analytical forms: *has been seen*, for instance, is one lex (consisting of three lexes) of the lexeme SEE. The complete definition of lex, however, is too complicated to be considered here.

3. *Lexeme* = the set of all lexes that can be described by one dictionary entry (= a word in one of its senses; all the lexes of a lexeme have an identical lexicographic definition and an identical lexical co-occurrence). Notation: L; $\underline{w}(L)$ = 'a lex of the lexeme L'.

4. *To express*, or \underline{X} expresses 'Y' = the signatum of the linguistic₁ sign \underline{X} contains the signatum 'Y' or the part 'Y' of a signatum. Notation: $\underline{w}('c')$ = 'the lex [\cong wordform] \underline{w} that expresses the signatum 'c' (or '...the part 'c' of a signatum)'.⁴

It is important to note that a linguistic₁ signatum is not necessarily a genuine meaning: it can be a syntactic dependency, or a piece of information about the syntactic valence of a unit, or else a command to change, in a specified way, the combinatorial properties of a unit. Of course, all such signata are related, in the final analysis, to meaning, so that in this sense they are meaningful. However, they are not parts of a semantic representation and they affect the latter only indirectly.

5. *Category* = a maximal set of mutually exclusive signata (or parts of signata). For instance, the meanings 'solid', 'liquid', 'gas-like',...—taken all together—form a category; another example is the category of tense: 'present', 'past', 'future'. (The modifier *maximal* ensures that a category actually embraces ALL the signata it can embrace. From our formulation it follows that a category has no fewer than TWO elements: one element cannot be 'mutually exclusive'.)

6. *Inflectional category (of a class K of lexemes)*⁵ = a category $\{s_1, s_2, \dots, s_n \mid n \geq 2\}$ such that the following two conditions are met simultaneously:

- 1) a. Any lexeme of *K* obligatorily expresses an 's₁'
and
b. any 's₁' is obligatorily expressed in at least some lexemes of *K*.
- 2) 's₁'-s are expressed regularly, i.e. for most 's₁'-s the following holds:
 - (i) an 's₁' has a small set of markers distributed according to general rules;
 - (ii) an 's₁' is applicable to (nearly) all lexemes of *K*;
 - (iii) an 's₁' is strictly compositional, which means that the result of uniting an 's₁' to a 'K' is always computable by general rules.

Despite the obvious importance of the concept of inflectional category for the definition of *case 1*, I am in no position to elaborate on it here. Let me only indicate that these two formal conditions reflect the two intuitively felt constitutive properties of inflectional categories: their obligatory character and relative regularity of expression, respectively. In Condition 1, the requirement *a* guarantees that no lexeme of *K* can be outside of the category in question, while the requirement *b* provides for both incomplete (=defective) paradigms (e.g. *singularia/pluralia tantum*) and so-called partial inflectional signata (= relevant only for a subclass of *K*; see below, p. 61, on partial cases 2). In accordance with a long-standing grammatical tradition, I do not require that in an inflectional category, ANY of its elements should be applicable to ALL of the lexemes in *K*; it is sufficient if ANY of these elements applies to SOME lexemes of *K*.

Note that it is also not required that there be in *K* at least one lexeme such that ANY of 's₁' can be expressed in one of its lexes. Such a requirement would amount to stipulating that at least one lexeme in *K* distinguishes ALL the elements of a given inflectional category. Very often this is actually the case: e.g., if we take the category of grammatical nominal number in English, in spite of many *singularia* and *pluralia tantum*, there are English nouns (in fact, the majority) which can express both singular and plural. However, logically this is not necessary. I can easily imagine an inflectional category such that one of its several elements, say, 's₁', is expressed only in a subset of lexemes in *K*, while another one, 's₂' is expressed in a different (= disjoint) subset of *K*; so that no lexeme of *K* can express all of 's₁'. Russian case 1 is, for

instance, such a category. Therefore, I have not introduced the above requirement into the definition of inflectional category.

7. *Grammeme* = an element of an inflectional category (i.e., an inflectional signatum or part thereof).

8. *Nominal* = a member of the distributional class of lexemes which includes proper names. In other words, nominals are proper names plus all other lexemes which are similar to proper names with respect to their syntactic (and possibly morphological) behavior. These other lexemes include common names and pronouns as well as several deverbal formations (gerunds, masdars, etc.).

9. *Passive surface-syntactic [=SSynt-] role* (of a linguistic₁ unit) = being the dependent of a particular SSynt-relation or the top node of a particular SSynt-construction which represents an autonomous (= independent) utterance. (The second part of this formulation is explained below, in item 4 of Section 5.) For instance, one of the passive SSynt-roles of the English infinitive without *to* is "complement of a modal verb" (*must* → *go*, *should* → *prepare*, ...).

10. *Passive surface-syntactic valence* (of a linguistic₁ unit) = union of all passive SSynt-roles possible for this unit. Notation:

$VAL_{pass}^{SSynt}(\underline{w})$.

11. *Surface-syntactic governor* (of a lex \underline{w}_1 in utterance U) = lex \underline{w}_2 such that \underline{w}_1 is dependent on \underline{w}_2 via a particular SSynt-relation. Notation:

$G_U^{SSynt}(\underline{w}); G_U^{SSynt}(\underline{w}_1) = \underline{w}_2 \equiv \underline{w}_2 \rightarrow \underline{w}_1$ (in U).

12. *Major surface-syntactic relation* = a SSynt-relation between the main verb and a nominal depending on it as an actant, i.e., corresponding to one of its semantic variables. Major SSynt-relations are predicative (for the grammatical subject), objective (for direct and indirect objects), and complementive (for predicative complements). What is at issue here is a very important distinction between (strongly governed) ACTANTS and freely added CIRCUMSTANTIALS (the latter being—very roughly!—adverbials; cf. Vater 1978).

I think that the main verb with its nominal actants is the

kernel of any syntax, a basic SSynt-configuration which should underlie any discussion involving surface-syntactic problems. Note that our formulation does not preclude major SSynt-relations with governors other than the main verb; it only implies that these relations should be defined on the basis of the "main verb + nominal actants" configuration.⁶

3.

Empirical Basis of the Definition.

The prototypical category of case 1 in the present study is formed by case 1 in such Slavic languages as Russian and Polish, then in Latin, Sanskrit and German, as well as in Georgian, Lezgian and Hungarian. The choice of these languages is determined by the fact that the presence and the nature of case 1 in them seems indisputable and also by the fact that I am better acquainted with them.

4.

Definitions.

The definition of case 1 which follows is extremely complex; I did my best trying to come up with something simpler and more digestible, but failed. Maybe the complexity of the definition proposed reflects the actual state of affairs: after all, grammatical case IS a notoriously complex concept. Nonetheless, the reader should not be frightened away by the clumsy and involved formal construction appearing below: in Section 5 it is explained at length in prose and illustrated with obvious examples.

1. *Case 1* = grammatical category of nominals such that:
 (i) Each of its grammemes 'c_i' is a pair

$$\langle M_1^i, M_2^i \rangle$$

where:

- M_1^i is a non-empty proper subset $\{\rho_1\}$ of the set of all passive surface-syntactic [=SSynt-] roles filled by the nominals of the language in question, such that:

- a) for any nominal lex w which expresses 'c_i', its passive SSynt-valence is identical with or included in M_1^i ;

b) for any ρ_i , there is a nominal lex \underline{w} expressing 'c_i' and an utterance in which \underline{w} plays the SSynt-role ρ_i ;
 - M_2^i is a (possibly empty) proper subset $\{\sigma_i\}$ of the set of all predicate semantemes of the language in question, such that:

a) for any nominal lex \underline{w} which expresses 'c_i', if in an utterance the lex \underline{w} itself or its relation to its SSynt-governor is characterized by semanteme σ , then σ belongs to M_2^i ;

b) for any σ_i , there is a nominal lex \underline{w} expressing 'c_i' and an utterance in which \underline{w} itself or its relation to its SSynt-governor is characterized by σ_i .

(ii) It contains no fewer than two grammemes 'c_i' and 'c_j', such that for both sets M_1^i and M_1^j each set includes at least one major SSynt-relation which the other set does not include.

Since verbal formulation proves so cumbersome, symbolic notation may be helpful. Let there be:

- \underline{w} ('c_i') - a lex (of language \mathcal{L}) expressing the grammeme 'c_i'
- $VAL_{pass}^{SSynt}(\underline{w})$ - passive surface-syntactic valence of a lex \underline{w} [=union of all passive SSynt-roles ρ_i it can fill]
- R^m - a major passive SSynt-role
- $VAL_{pass}^{SSynt}(\mathcal{L})$ - the set of all the passive SSynt-roles of nominals in language \mathcal{L}
- $SEM(\mathcal{L})$ - the set of all predicate semantemes of \mathcal{L}
- $U(\underline{w})$ - the utterance containing a lex \underline{w}
- $G_U^{SSynt}(\underline{w})$ - the surface-syntactic governor of \underline{w} in an utterance U
- $\rho_U(\underline{w})$ - the passive surface-syntactic role played by a lex \underline{w} in an utterance U
- $\sigma(\underline{w})/\sigma(\underline{w}_1, \underline{w}_2)$ - the semanteme σ characterizes \underline{w} /the semantic relation between \underline{w}_1 and \underline{w}_2

Then, *case 1* is such a category C of nominals that both (i) and (ii) hold:

(i) Each of its grammemes ' c_i ' is a pair

$$\langle M_1^i, M_2^i \rangle$$

such that:

- 1) $M_1^i \subset \text{VAL}_{\text{pass}}^{\text{SSynt}}(\mathcal{L})$ & $M_1^i \neq \Lambda$;
 - 2) a. $(\forall \underline{w}(\langle c_i \rangle)) [\text{VAL}_{\text{pass}}^{\text{SSynt}}(\underline{w}(\langle c_i \rangle)) \subseteq M_1^i]$;
 b. $(\forall \rho_i \in M_1^i), (\exists \underline{w}(\langle c_i \rangle), \exists U(\underline{w}(\langle c_i \rangle))) [\rho_U(\underline{w}(\langle c_i \rangle)) = \rho_i]$;
 - 3) $M_2^i \subset \text{SEM}(\mathcal{L})$;
 - 4) a. $(\forall \underline{w}(\langle c_i \rangle), \forall U(\underline{w}(\langle c_i \rangle))) [(\exists \sigma | \sigma(\underline{w}(\langle c_i \rangle)) \vee \sigma(\underline{w}(\langle c_i \rangle), G_U^{\text{SSynt}}(\underline{w}(\langle c_i \rangle))) \rightarrow \sigma \in M_2^i]$
 b. $(\forall \sigma_i \in M_2^i), (\exists \underline{w}(\langle c_i \rangle), \exists U(\underline{w}(\langle c_i \rangle))) [\sigma_i(\underline{w}(\langle c_i \rangle)) \vee \sigma_i(\underline{w}(\langle c_i \rangle), G_U^{\text{SSynt}}(\underline{w}(\langle c_i \rangle)))]$;
- (ii) $(\exists \langle c_i \rangle, \langle c_j \rangle \in C | \langle c_i \rangle \neq \langle c_j \rangle, \exists R_1^m, R_2^m \in \text{VAL}_{\text{pass}}^{\text{SSynt}}(\mathcal{L}) | R_1^m \neq R_2^m) [M_1^i \ni R_1^m \& M_1^i \ni R_2^m \& M_1^i \not\ni R_2^m \& M_1^i \not\ni R_1^m]$

Informally and very approximately, this means the following two things:

(i) Case 1 necessarily provides for marking passive SSynt-roles (i.e., the SSynt-dependencies) of a nominal N within this nominal and possibly provides for characterizing N semantically (more precisely, for characterizing the semantic content of N: independently or with respect to its syntactic governor).

(ii) The category of case 1 in a language is required to contain at least two different cases 2 expressing two different major passive SSynt-roles.

2. Case 2 = a grammeme belonging to case 1.

3. Case 3 = a lex expressing a case 2.

In order to avoid possible confusion, I suggest banning the term *case 3* altogether in contexts where a shift in meaning is possible

(i) Each of its grammemes ' c_i ' is a pair

$$\langle M_1^i, M_2^i \rangle$$

such that:

- 1) $M_1^i \subset \text{VAL}_{\text{pass}}^{\text{SSynt}}(\mathcal{L})$ & $M_1^i \neq \Lambda$;
- 2) a. $(\forall \underline{w}('c_i')) [\text{VAL}_{\text{pass}}^{\text{SSynt}}(\underline{w}('c_i')) \subseteq M_1^i]$;
 b. $(\forall \rho_1 \in M_1^i), (\exists \underline{w}('c_i'), \exists U(\underline{w}('c_i')))[\rho_U(\underline{w}('c_i')) = \rho_1]$;
- 3) $M_2^i \subset \text{SEM}(\mathcal{L})$;
- 4) a. $(\forall \underline{w}('c_i'), \forall U(\underline{w}('c_i')))[(\exists \sigma | \sigma(\underline{w}('c_i')) \vee \sigma(\underline{w}('c_i'), G_U^{\text{SSynt}}(\underline{w}('c_i')))) \rightarrow \sigma \in M_2^i]$
 b. $(\forall \sigma_i \in M_2^i), (\exists \underline{w}('c_i'), \exists U(\underline{w}('c_i')))[\sigma_i(\underline{w}('c_i')) \vee \sigma_i(\underline{w}('c_i'), G_U^{\text{SSynt}}(\underline{w}('c_i')))]$;

(ii) $(\exists 'c_i', 'c_j' \in C | 'c_i' \neq 'c_j', \exists R_1^m, R_2^m \in \text{VAL}_{\text{pass}}^{\text{SSynt}}(\mathcal{L}) | R_1^m \neq R_2^m) [M_1^i \ni R_1^m \& M_1^i \ni R_2^m \& M_1^i \not\ni R_2^m \& M_1^i \not\ni R_1^m]$

Informally and very approximately, this means the following two things:

(i) Case 1 necessarily provides for marking passive SSynt-roles (i.e., the SSynt-dependencies) of a nominal N within this nominal and possibly provides for characterizing N semantically (more precisely, for characterizing the semantic content of N: independently or with respect to its syntactic governor).

(ii) The category of case 1 in a language is required to contain at least two different cases 2 expressing two different major passive SSynt-roles.

2. Case 2 = a grammeme belonging to case 1.

3. Case 3 = a lex expressing a case 2.

In order to avoid possible confusion, I suggest banning the term *case 3* altogether in contexts where a shift in meaning is possible

and replacing it with the expression *the form of a case 2*.

5.

Comments and Explanations.

1. As defined above, the main task of case 1 and therefore case 2 is to mark the SSynt-dependencies of nominals. There are cases 2, or specific usages of cases 2, which do no more than just that: these are SYNTACTIC cases. However, even if a case 2 expresses a particular meaning (and is *eo ipso* a SEMANTIC case), it still marks the SSynt-dependency of the corresponding nominal. In other words, marking the SSynt-dependencies of nominals is the primary, constitutive property of cases 2 (and consequently of case 1); conveying meanings is their secondary, non-obligatory property. Thus, theoretically there can be purely syntactic cases 2, but no purely semantic cases 2: every semantic case 2 obligatorily marks a passive syntactic role as well, whereas the converse is not true.

Therefore the concept of case 1 is, in my view, essentially based on a specific SSynt-representation of utterances, in particular on SSynt-relations. (The semantic functions of cases 2 will be discussed in Section 8.)

2. Case 1 marks nominals as DEPENDENT members of particular SSynt-relations; that is to say, it determines their PASSIVE SSynt-valence. There exist, however, other grammatical categories of nominals which mark the nominal as the GOVERNING member of certain SSynt-relations. These categories are, in a sense, the inverse of case 1. There are three examples:

- The so-called *ezafa* of several Iranian languages. For example in Persian, a noun receives the suffix *-e* if this noun subordinates a modifier: an adjective, another noun or a relative clause: *ketab* 'book' but *ketab-e jaleb* '[an] interesting book' or *kitab-e pedar-e man* '[the/a] book of my father' = lit. 'book-of father-of I' [*pedar* 'father', *man* 'I'].

- The category of possession (or belonging) in Altaic languages. The noun governing another noun (the governed noun can be in the nominative, genitive or dative—depending on its referentiality, determinacy and the like) receives the suffix of belonging to the 3rd person. Examples: Hung. *a család ajándék-a* 'the family's present' = lit. 'the family present-its' [*család* 'family', *ajándék* 'present', *-a* = suffix of belonging to the 3rd person singular]; or Hung. *a költő-nek barát-ja* 'friend of the poet' [*költő*

'poet', *-nek* = dative suffix, *barát* 'friend', *-ja* = suffix of belonging to the 3rd person singular].

- The so-called 'state' of nouns in Semitic languages: a noun that governs a noun must be in the construct state, as opposed to the absolute state; thus in Modern Hebrew: *sfarím* 'books' but *sifreḡ limúd* 'books-of learning' = 'manuals'; *xéder* 'room' but *zadar óxel* 'room-of food' = 'dining room'; *dāvār* 'word' but *dvār ha-nāvís* 'word-of the-prophet'; *zákén* 'master, boss' but *zkan ha-bajít* 'master-of the-house'; etc.

3. The requirement that M_1^i should be a PROPER subset of the set of all passive SSynt-roles of nominals ensures that a case 2 cannot mark ALL passive SSynt-roles which a nominal can play in the language considered. A case 2 marking all possible SSynt-roles of a nominal is a *contradictio in adjecto*: if a marker accompanies a nominal in all roles which the latter plays, such a marker is independent of SSynt-role and consequently is not a case marker. On the other hand, a case 2 marking no syntactic role of nominals at all is equally a *contradictio in adjecto*: hence the requirement for M_1^i to be non-empty. Note that such a requirement is absent with respect to M_2^i : M_2^i is allowed to be empty; this is so because a case 2 can express no meaning.

4. A case 2 can also mark the SSynt-role of a nominal in constructions where this nominal is the top governor and does not depend on anything else: Russ. *Xleba i zrelišč!* [both nouns are in the genitive] = Lat. *Panem et circenses!* [both nouns are in the accusative] '[We require] bread and shows!'; Russ. *Avtoprobegom - po bezdorož'ju i razgíl'djajstvu!*, lit. '[Let us strike] with an auto rally on lack of roads and slipshodness!'; Russ. *Aristokratov na fonar'!* 'Aristocrats [in the accusative] on the street-lamp!'; etc. In order to cover all such case occurrences as well, we have to extend the notion of passive SSynt-role to include the ability of the unit in question to be the SSynt-top of a particular construction. That is exactly what we have done above, item 9 of Section 2.

5. The actual passive SSynt-valence of a case form, i.e., of a declined nominal lex, depends not only on the case 2 it expresses but also on the semantic and syntactic properties of the stem of this lex—which can reduce the passive SSynt-potential the case 2 imparts to all nominal lexes in this language. For instance, in Russian the accusative marks, along with direct objects, the circumstantial of duration—but only with a specified subset of nouns (names of time intervals; names of events including the

semantic component 'duration'; etc.). Cf: *Vsju nedelju* [Acc] *on nabljudal...* 'The whole week he kept observing...'; *Vsju vojnu* [Acc] *on nabljudal...* 'During the whole war he kept observing...'; but not *Vsë sobranie* [Acc] *on nabljudal...* 'During the whole meeting...' [the correct way to say this is *V tečenie vsego sobranija...*]. This is why I require that the passive SSynt-valence of $\underline{w}('c_i')$ be equal to or included in M_1^i .

6. Subitems *a* and *b* in Requirements 2) and 4) of Condition (i) of our definition take care of sufficiency and necessity, respectively. More specifically, *2a* requires that any SSynt-role which a lex expressing a given case 2 can play should be included into M_1 of this case 2; inversely, *2b* requires that any SSynt-role in M_1 of a given case 2 should be played by some lexes (expressing this case 2) in some utterances. Analogously, *4a* requires that any semanteme which a lex expressing a given case 2 (or the relation of this lex to its SSynt-governor) can be characterized by should be included into M_2 of this case 2; inversely, *4b* requires that any semanteme in M_2 of a given case 2 should characterize some lexes (expressing this case 2) or their relations to their SSynt-governors in some utterances.

7. Condition (ii) provides for the correct treatment of caselike forms which are in fact not cases 2 and should not be admitted as such. Suppose that a language has a vocative form, obligatory for direct address and formally always distinct from the 'basic' form of the noun; at the same time, this language has no other nominal caselike forms. The grammeme 'vocative' [= 'direct address'] satisfies Condition (i) of the definition; without Condition (ii) we would be forced to classify this vocative form as the form of a case 2. The result would be that the other noun form (= the 'basic', or zero, form) would—BY DEFAULT—become another case 2, say the common case 2 (or the nominative), used in all SSynt-contexts except for direct address. (This is so because an inflectional category cannot contain fewer than two elements—cf. above, p. 39. Therefore, by postulating one case 2 in a language, we automatically create a second case 2 which has to embrace all the nominal forms not covered by the first case 2.)

Thus the language under consideration would receive the category of case 1, with all the theoretical implications of this decision,—which obviously contradicts our intuition. A vocative form alone should not be allowed to force us into admitting case 1

in the absence of other valid reasons. This effect is achieved by Condition (ii). What this condition does in fact is to require that any case system includes at least two different genuine, unquestionable cases 2 which encode different MAJOR SSynt-dependencies, such as 'grammatical subject' vs. 'grammatical object'. If a case system is well established by obvious cases 2, then even a "dubious" case 2 is readily accommodated within this system. Consequently, for example, in Modern Greek the vocative is a case 2 because there are other unquestionable cases 2: nominative, accusative, genitive. However, dubious forms alone do not create a case system. Thus, for instance, the so-called Saxon Genitive of Modern English is rejected as a case 2 by our definition: there are, as a result, no cases 2 (and no case 1) in the English noun (but the pronominal subsystem of English has case 1, which is a different matter); cf. Section 6.⁷

Let it be emphasized that Condition (ii) amounts to forbidding that a language has only concrete (= adverbial) cases 2 and no abstract (= grammatical) cases 2; about the latter distinction see below, Section 9. As stated above, I try to model the general concept of case 1 after such languages as Latin or Russian, where the case system is strongly anchored in abstract cases 2. (For a different viewpoint cf. Lehmann 1983:366-67.)

Note that case 2 cannot be defined prior to case 1 (I owe this suggestion to Ju. Šixanovič). The description of a case grammeme (= of a case 2) is necessary but not sufficient as a condition imposed on the notion of case: the case category as such has a property (expressed by Condition (ii), i.e., "contains no fewer than two grammemes, such that...") which logically cannot be ascribed to an individual case 2.

6.

English "Saxon Genitive."

The problem of the "Saxon Genitive Case" in English (*the boy's book, my children's room*) has a long and respectable history, which I will summarize very briefly and rather superficially. The most current view has it that the noun in Modern English features a two-case system: the marked genitive case 2 in *-s* and the unmarked common case.⁸ This point of view is stated as a matter of fact in the classical work by Otto Jespersen (1924, 1927, 1933) and accepted with no discussion in one of the best contemporary

English grammars (Quirk *et al.* 1972:192); cf. also Barxudarov 1975:84-86. However, this view is by no means impregnable: there are also many scholars who deny the English *-s*-form the status of case 2, cf., e.g., Vachek 1961:24-31, Ilyish 1965:45, Poldauf 1970, Hansen 1970 (with further references), Chomsky 1975: 281, and Zwicky 1975. I side with the latter and think that the Saxon Genitive is not a case 2 and, therefore, there is no category of case 1 in the English noun at all. Our definition as it stands rejects the *-s*-form of the English noun as a case 2. (Formally, this is ensured by Condition (ii), since the *-s*-form cannot play any major SSynt-role.) The question now is whether this is the right thing to do. To be sure that our definition is good, we must, in particular, be sure that the Saxon Genitive really does not deserve the status of case 2. To achieve this, I will adduce the following six arguments which show that the Saxon Genitive does not behave as elements of other inflectional categories of Modern English do; therefore, it is not a grammeme—and, consequently, not a case 2. (These arguments are essentially borrowed from Vachek, Hansen and Zwicky, *op. cit.*)

1. All of the few English inflectional grammemes characterize a given lexeme, never a phrase:

- (1) all my relatives_s and acquaintances_s ~ *all my relative and acquaintances_s;
 my sisters_s-in-law ~ *my sister-in-laws_s;
 three passers_s-by ~ *three passer-bies_s;
 younger and stronger ~ *young and stronger_s;
 He shaved_d and washed_d ~ *He shave and washed_d; etc.

That is, the so-called *group inflection* never occurs in English. But the Saxon Genitive systematically marks phrases rather than lexemes:

- (2) John and Mary's_s parents,
 my sister-in-law's_s house,
 the unfortunate passer-by's_s body,
 the king of England's_s throne, etc.

In this respect, the Saxon Genitive is quite like English derivational elements, several of which can be easily joined to (lexicalized) phrases:

- (3) atomic physics ~ atomic physic-*ist*
 [= (atomic physic)-*ist*];
 every day ~ everyday-*ness*;
 at home ~ at-home-*ish*;
 out of doors ~ out-of-doors-*y*;
 goose-flesh ~ goose-flesh-*y*; etc.

2. An English inflection never combines with another non-zero inflection; so, e.g., there is no 3sg marker in the non-zero marked past. However the Saxon Genitive does combine with plural inflections different from /z, s/: *children's, women's, virtuosi's, seraphim's, both sheep's*. At the same time, the Saxon Genitive does not combine with the plural /z, s/: **boys's/bójziz/, etc.*: in the plural of regular nouns a portmanteau item, i.e. a megamorph, appears which expresses 'plural' and 'possessiveness' together. (For a careful analysis of all relevant problems see Zwicky 1975.) This fact is by no means phonological: On the one hand, in a context where the Saxon Genitive should have appeared on an -s-plural noun though linearly separated from the plural /z, s/, it doesn't appear: **all my sisters-in-law's parents; *all my sisters'-in-law parents* is equally ungrammatical. [The correct way to say this is to use the construction with *of*: *parents of all my sisters-in-law*.] On the other hand, the Saxon Genitive readily appears after any non-plural /z/ or /s/: *in Cole's <Max's> case, for missus's/míszəz/ dress* (but not phonetically identical **for misses's/míszəz/*; Zwicky 1975:173), etc. It is clear, then, that what plays a role here is a complicated (phono-)morphological interdependency between plural and the Saxon Genitive. Such involved interaction is not at all typical of English inflections while several English derivational categories do exhibit similar restrictions: cf., e.g., *three fingers ~ three-fingered <*three-fingersed>, many values ~ many-valued <*many valused>*, etc.; or *murderer*, not **murdereder*, although *murderer* = 'who (has) murdered'. Obviously, also in this respect the Saxon Genitive is nearer to derivational rather than inflectional meanings.

3. The -s-inflection of the plural induces voicing of the final consonant in several stems: *wife ~ wives, thief ~ thieves, wolf ~ wolves, ...*; the /z/ of the Saxon Genitive never does that: *my wife's <*wive's> friends, the thief's <*thieve's> footsteps, ...*

4. All English inflectional categories (with the exception of the

-ing form) show "irregular" forms: irregular plurals (such as *women, mice, oxen,...*), irregular 3sg forms (*is, does, has*), irregular pasts (*was, went, put, sang,...*), irregular participles (*gone, sung, put,...*), irregular degrees (*better* or *worst*). As opposed to this, the Saxon Genitive is absolutely regular (even more so than derivational formations).

5. An English inflectional category is, as a rule, valid for the majority of lexemes within the corresponding word class, exceptions being semantically motivated: grammatical number embraces all the (semantically) countable nouns, tense (and 3sg)—all of the verbs, degree—all of (semantically) graduable adjectives. The Saxon Genitive, however, applies to a restricted number of nouns: all human nouns, all proper names, some measure nouns (*at a mile's distance, the whole week's work*) plus a few isolated instances.

6. An English inflectional category never drastically changes the syntactic behavior of a lexeme. Take, for example, grammatical number: a noun, be it singular or plural, retains the main syntactic properties of a noun (i.e., quite independent of its number, it can be: the grammatical subject or object of a verb; the object of a preposition; the head of an absolute construction, such as *My courage <All the students> gone, I...; etc.*). The tenses and the degrees behave similarly: a verb also has both in the present and in the past the same syntactic properties—as does an adjective in different forms of comparison. The Saxon Genitive, however, as opposed to these inflectional categories, transforms the syntactic properties of the noun in a most radical way:

- A noun in the Saxon Genitive cannot fulfill any of the syntactic roles of a "normal" noun, in particular, to be dependent on a verb or a preposition (except for such special cases as *of Mary's* or *at the grocer's*).

- No "normal" (= non-Genitive) noun can ever be used in the context where the Saxon Genitive appears: **my wife friends, *these men jobs,...*

- A Saxon Genitive noun acquires the syntactic properties of a determiner and may become incompatible with the latter: **this Mary's book ~ this book of Mary's*, exactly parallel to **this my book ~ this book of mine*. (This is not true of the so-called 'qualifying' Saxon Genitive: *a children's book*, etc.)

- All "normal" nouns mostly follow their SSynt-governors and in a couple of constructions precede them (the subject, as a rule, precedes the verb; the subordinated component of a nominal

compound precedes the noun it modifies). A Saxon Genitive noun, however, can only precede its governor.

True, a case 2 is supposed to change the (passive) syntactic potential of a wordform in a more sensible way than, for instance, grammatical number. But a noun in different cases 2 still remains within the limits of typically nominal roles (in particular, it may depend on a verb or a preposition; it does not become a quasi-determiner; etc.) and retains the basic syntactic properties of nouns. This seems not to be the case with the Saxon Genitive.

Summing up this evidence, I conclude (in accordance with the above mentioned authors) that the English Saxon Genitive is not a case 2: it is a special formation similar to possessive adjectives in Slavic languages (of the type Russ. *Mašin* 'of Masha', *otcov* 'of father'). It can be conveniently called *possessive form* and should not be considered a paradigm-building unit. Therefore, the English noun lacks case 1 altogether. It is in order to account for this substantive conclusion and cover all such cases that Condition (ii) is necessary in my definition of case 1.⁹

7.

External Independence of Case Forms.

The deplorable confusion of *case 1* and *2* with *case form* (our *case 3*), mentioned in Section 1, has entailed the appearance (and frequent usage) of the expression "variant of a case"—which in fact is meaningless. Let us consider a well known example, that of the so-called Russian masculine genitives in *-a* and *-u* (*konjaka* vs. *konjaku*, both 'cognac'). The first form characterizes all masculine nouns and can be used in all contexts requiring the genitive; the second one is possible only with certain masculine mass nouns ([*nemnogo* 'a little'] *saxaru* 'sugar', but not **zlebu* 'bread'; [*nemnogo* 'a little'] *supu* 'soup', but not **boršču* 'borscht'; [*nemnogo*] *lesu* 'wood', but not **uglju* 'coal') and several masculine abstracts (*straxu* 'fright', *xodu* 'going', *tolku* 'meaning',...) in three types of governing contexts only:

- with a transitive verb to mark its direct object, if the latter refers to an indefinite amount of the corresponding material;
- with a quantitative expression to mark the dependent noun, which denotes the material quantified;
- in several idiomatic expressions, as the object of a preposition.

Following are several representative examples:

- (4) a. *Nalej mne roma/romu!* 'Pour me some rum!'
 b. *On prodaval rom <*roma/*romu> tuzemcam* 'He used to sell rum to the aborigines'.
 c. *Nalej mne rom!* 'Pour me the rum (rather than anything else)!'
 d. *nemnogo <2 litra> roma/romu* 'a little <two liters> rum'
 e. *cvet <cena> roma <*romu>* 'the color <price> of rum'
 f. *so strazu <*straza> ~ ot straza <*strazu>* 'from fear'.

It is very often said that the form in *-u* manifests a variant of the genitive which can (and sometimes must) be used in specified contexts; such is the official view of school grammars and most reference books. However, if we admit that the *form* or, more precisely, the *marker* of a case 2 can be chosen depending on the external governing context of the wordform concerned, then it could be maintained that any forms of different cases 2 are actually different forms of the same case 2, distributed in accordance with different governing surface-syntactic contexts. Suppose we say that Russ. *saxaru* and *saxara* are forms of the same case 2 (= genitive) but that *saxaru* can appear only when selected by *nemnogo*, verbs such as *dat* 'give' or *prinesti* 'bring', etc. In this case, nothing would prevent us from saying that *stolbe* 'pole' PREP and *stolbom* 'pole' INSTR are forms of one and the same case 2 distributed along the following lines: *stolbe* is used with the prepositions *na*, *v*, *o*, *pri*, ..., and *stolbom*—with the preposition *s* or *za*, with such verbs and adjectives as *interesovat'sja* 'be interested in', *dovoln* '(be) satisfied with', and with transitive verbs to denote the instrument of action. One could easily reach the absurd conclusion that all syntactic cases 2 of a given language are in fact a single case 2, whose various forms are determined by their governing SSynt-contexts! This would simply mean that there are no cases 2 at all.¹⁰

To preclude this "argumentation", we will have to postulate the PRINCIPLE OF EXTERNAL AUTONOMY OF CASE FORMS: PEACF. (This principle is by no means a novelty in linguistics: it has been followed, although implicitly, for a long time, at least in more or less obvious situations.) Let there be:

- R - a nominal stem;
w(R) - a wordform with the stem R;
 'c' - a case 2;
m₁('c') different morphs expressing 'c' [m₁ ≠ m₂]; note
 that m₁ and m₂ may express not only case 2
m₂('c') but other grammemes as well, i.e., they may be
 cumulative markers.

Then the following must hold:

- (PEACF) If a language displays two nominal wordforms (w₁(R) and w₂(R) such that w₁(R) contains m₁('c') and w₂(R) contains m₂('c'), then either w₁(R) and w₂(R) are in free variation, or the choice between w₁(R) and w₂(R) depends only upon their own properties (i.e., upon the grammemes they express and/or morphological processes they include) or else—in rare and rather exceptional situations—upon the presence of a particular SSynt-dependent or co-dependent thereof.¹¹

In prose, this means that for a single nominal stem, two different markers of the same case 2 can be in the following relationship only:

a) Either they are always mutually interchangeable, independently of context and without affecting meaning or grammaticality, in which instance they are in free variation. Cf. Russ. *-oj* ~ *-oju* and *-ej* ~ *ēju* in the instrumental singular of feminine nouns (Ist Declension): *rukoj/rukoju* 'hand' INSTR or *stolicej/ stoliceju* 'capital city'; similarly, Germ. *-ø* ~ *-e* in the dative singular of strong masculine nouns: *am Tag/am Tage* 'in the day', *im Haus/im Hause* 'in the house', etc.

b) Or these markers are distributed contingent upon the following two factors:

- The current situation: depending upon some other features of the same wordform, e.g., upon other grammemes expressed. Cf. Russian *-om* and *-ami*, both marking the instrumental: *-om* expresses the instrumental and the singular, while *-ami* expresses the instrumental and the plural. (This is the case of CUMULATIVE morphs expressing syncretically a case 2 and one or more other grammemes.)

- The exceptional situation: depending upon the presence of a particular SSynt-dependent of the wordform in question. Cf. Germ. *Heimat Marias* < **Maria* > 'Maria's motherland' vs. *Heimat meiner*

geliebten Maria < **Marias* >; *Heimat Vergils* < **Vergil* > 'Vergil's motherland' vs. *Heimat seines Vergil* < **Vergils* > 'his Vergil's motherland'; *die geheimnisvollste Stadt Europas* < **Europa* > 'Europe's most mysterious city' vs. *Städte eines unbekanntes Europa* < **Europas* > 'cities of an unknown Europe'; etc. In these phrases the genitive of a proper noun has a form with *-s* if it has no adjectival (= agreeing modifier), and a form with a zero suffix otherwise. (The last condition of the PEACF represents a sharpening of its previous formulation in Mel'čuk 1980:801; that formulation turned out to be insufficient since it did not account for the above German examples.)

Thus the PEACF actually means autonomy only from the SUPERORDINATED (= governing) syntactic external context; the subordinated and co-subordinated context may—in principle—affect the choice of case 2 forms within the same case 2.

In agreement with the PEACF, no case marker can be selected with respect to the external governing context of the wordform in question. Only cases 2 as such are determined by governing SSynt-context of the wordform concerned or by the meaning to be expressed; as for the markers of a given case 2, they are determined by the "internal state of affairs" within the wordform (or—rather rarely—contingent upon a depending wordform).

As early as 1936 R. Jakobson insisted (following A. Šaxmatov and N. Trubetzkoy) that Russian wordforms such as [na] *mostu* '(being) on the bridge', [v] *lesu* '(being) in the forest', [v] *kroví* '(being) in the blood', on the one hand, and [nemnogo] *čaju* 'a little tea', [daj mne] *saxaru* 'give me some sugar', on the other, should not be considered mere variants of the prepositional and the genitive cases 2 respectively, but rather forms of two separate cases 2 in their own right: locative (or 'prepositional II', as Jakobson calls it) and partitive (or 'genitive II'). The papers Jakobson 1936/1971 and 1958/1971, which expound this viewpoint, are too well known to reproduce here the corresponding argumentation. Jakobson's proposal neatly corresponds to the Principle of PEACF.

The PEACF forces us to postulate in Russian ten cases 2:

- six currently distinguished;
- locative and partitive just mentioned;
- a vocative, attested as a distinct formal entity in colloquial forms of hypochoristic human names such as *Mam!* 'mum!', *Nad'!* /*nád'*/, *Serž!* / *s'ir'óž!* etc. (with a voiced final consonant, which

is impossible elsewhere in Russian);

- and an adnumerative, used with numerals, as in *dva šagá* 'two steps' etc. (cf. below, p. 61).

If, for some reason (irrelevant here), one does not want to admit the "extra" cases 2 in Russian, the only choice left is to introduce new declensional categories of the noun—such as 'partitivity', for instance, so that *peska* 'of-sand' and (*nemnogo*) *pesku* '(a little) sand' should be described as PESOK_{sg, gen, non-part} and PESOK_{sg, gen, part}, respectively. One cannot, however, talk about "variants of a case 2" or about "case allomorphs that differ semantically" (as is sometimes done): these expressions are logically absurd.¹²

8.

Do Cases 2 Have Meanings?

The answer to this question, which has concerned linguists for a long time, seems trivial; it is parallel to the answer given in a Soviet joke by the famous Radio Erevan to the question of a naive listener as to whether there will be money under communism:

[Q.] - *Budut li den'gi pri kommunizme?*

[A.] - *U kogo budut, a u kogo net!*

('Some people will have it, and some not'.)

There are cases 2 (in some languages) which never have meaning: such is, e.g., the Russian nominative or the Russian prepositional. There are cases 2 (in some languages) which always have meaning: such, it seems, is true of the Finnish partitive. Finally, there are also cases 2 which in some contexts have meaning and in other contexts do not: such as, e.g., the Russian partitive which conveys the meaning 'some' [= 'an indefinite amount of'] with the direct object of several verbs (*Prinesi sazar!* 'Bring the sugar!' vs. *Prinesi sazaru!* 'Bring some sugar!'), but which is devoid of meaning in such idiomatic expressions as *bez tolku* 'to no purpose' or *dlja smexu* 'to amuse people'. In this respect, cases 2 are similar to so-called structural, or function, words. Take, for instance, Russian prepositions and conjunctions: some of them never have meaning such as *čto* 'that'; some of them always have meaning, such as *esli* 'if' or *po napravleniju k* 'in the direction of'; and some have meaning in one type of context but not in another: *valjat'sja na stole* 'be scattered on the desk' [where *na* 'on' contrasts with the possible *v* 'in', *pod* 'under', or *za* 'behind' and therefore carries

meaning], as opposed to *deržat'sja na ètom argumente* 'hinge on this argument' [where *na* is automatic and therefore meaningless].¹³

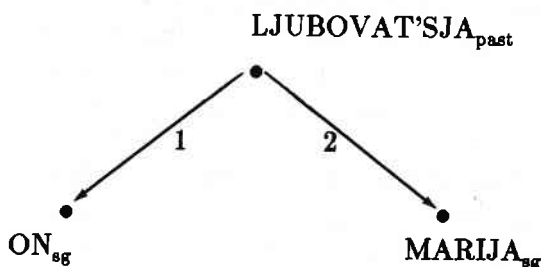
A statement of the type "A case 2 (or a case 2 occurrence) has/has no meaning" should be construed within the framework of Meaning-Text theory as follows:

(i) A case 2 which conveys no meaning of its own encodes, on the morphological level, a particular syntactic relation; therefore, this case 2 does not appear in the syntactic structure of the sentence. Cf., e.g., the Deep-Morphological and Deep-Syntactic structures of the Russian sentence *On ljuboval'sja Mariej* 'He was admiring Mary':

(5) Deep-Morphological Structure

ON_{sg, nom} LJUBOVAT'SJA_{past, masc} MARIJA_{sg, instr}

Deep-Syntactic Structure



Neither the nominative of ON nor the instrumental of MARIJA should appear in the syntactic structure: on the one hand, the syntactic roles of the corresponding lexemes (the 1st and 2nd deep-syntactic actants of LJUBOVAT'SJA, respectively) fully determine their amalgamation into the semantic representation (= SemR) of the sentence; on the other hand, these syntactic roles fully and univocally determine the case marking.

Thus a "meaningless" case 2 contributes to the meaning of the sentence, but only indirectly—through its syntactic structure.

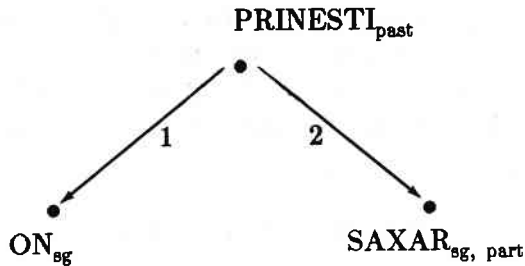
(ii) A case 2 which conveys a meaning must appear in the syntactic structure. For instance, Russ. *On prinës saxaru* 'He brought some sugar':

(6)

Deep-Morphological Structure

ON_{sg, nom}PRINESTI_{past, masc}SAXAR_{sg, part}

Deep-Syntactic Structure



Here the partitive of SAXAR expresses 'some'; the deep-syntactic role of SAXAR (= the 2nd actant of PRINESTI) does not univocally determine either the (corresponding portion of the) SemR (= meaning) of the sentence, or the case marking.

Thus a "meaningful" case 2 contributes to the meaning of the sentence in two ways: first, in a straightforward manner, e.g., part(itive) ⇔ 'an indefinite amount of' (in an appropriate context), and second, indirectly: through the syntactic relation it marks.

To put it in slightly different terms: A "meaningful" case 2 is selected (under text synthesis from a semantic representation) according to its meaning (and syntactic context), very much like the way "full" lexemes are selected; it appears in the syntactic structure of the sentence. A "meaningless" case 2 is selected by the syntactic context only, exactly as "empty" lexemes (= function words) are selected; it is not admitted into the syntactic structure and appears in the deep-morphological structure of the sentence only. (Here the analogy between "meaningless" cases 2 and "empty" lexemes stops: the latter do appear in the syntactic structure of a sentence—for several reasons, which are irrelevant at this point.)

Prototypical examples of "meaningful" cases 2 are easily found in such languages as Lezgian (see Mel'čuk 1983a:266-69). Two examples will suffice:

- The adessive alternating with the dative in the indirect object NP governed by a verb of giving or belonging means 'for a

time' \cong 'as an interim user', cf:

- (7) Lezg. a. *Ali-di z-az ktab-∅ vug -ana*
 Ali-ERG I-DAT book-NOM pass-AOR
 'Ali gave me the book' [lit. 'Caused-by-Ali, to-me
 the-book passed'].

vs.

- b. *Ali-di z-av ktab-∅ vug-ana*
 I-ADES
 'Ali lent me the book' [= 'gave it to me for a
 time'].

- The ablative alternating with the ergative in the agentive complement NP means 'without direct and voluntary involvement', cf.:

- (8) Lezg. a. *Ali-di kiç-∅ qe -na*
 Ali-ERG dog-NOM die-AOR
 'Ali killed the dog' [lit. 'Caused-by-Ali, the-dog
 died'].

vs.

- b. *Ali-divaj kiç-∅ qe-na*
 Ali-ABL
 'Because of Ali, the dog died' [= 'Somehow, but
 not on purpose, Ali caused the dog's death'].

For a "meaningful" case 2 c in a language \mathcal{L} , or, more precisely, in a Meaning-Text model of \mathcal{L} , there should be a (set of) semantic rule(s) specifying the SemR of this c , i.e., something of the following form (such rules apply between the SemR and the DSynt-structure of a sentence):

(9)



\Leftrightarrow • X_c | X is a noun; ...

σ stands for the meaning of the case 2 c ; if, e.g., c is the Russian partitive, then $\sigma =$ 'an indefinite amount of'.

Here an obvious question arises: where do the famous Jakobsonian (1936/1971) case features fit into the picture which I propose? Should we state somewhere and, if so, then where, that the Russian genitive and the prepositional are "quantified", the dative and the accusative—"directional", etc.? My answer is affirmative but I think that Jakobsonian case features are not descriptive statements, i.e., not part of a linguistic₁ model: they are, as far as I can see, META-descriptive statements, i.e., part of the description of a linguistic₁ model. In other words, in a linguistic₁ model of Russian, we do not find semantic rules correlating a case label and a bundle of Jakobsonian features. In a Meaning-Text type model of Russian we will have for cases 2 only semantic rules such as (9), and these, not for all cases 2 but exclusively for those that are held to be "meaningful" (according to our interpretation of case 2 "meaningfulness"). Now, in a description of our model, or, if you like, in a linguistic₂ model of second order, we will characterize the behavior of Russian cases 2 within the model, using Jakobsonian features (or something very similar). Such features serve an explanatory purpose, providing a common denominator for many case-related phenomena which otherwise seem disparate and antisystematic.

9.

Taxonomy of Cases 2.

I know of SIX relevant properties, or rather contrasts, to characterize nominal cases 2. They are binary and they intersect, thus generating $2^6 = 64$ theoretically possible classes of cases 2. (The actual number of such classes is smaller, since there are several incompatibilities.) Two of these contrasts belong to the content plane and four to the expression plane.

Content Plane:

1. *Syntactic* vs. *Semantic* Cases 2. This distinction, also known as *Abstract* <Grammatical> vs. *Concrete* <Adverbial> Cases 2, was established and studied by J. Kuryłowicz (1949/1960). As stated in Sections 5 and 8, a purely syntactic case 2 marks the dependent

SSynt-role of the noun—or, more precisely, it specifies the set of its potential dependent SSynt-roles, but it does not express any meaning directly. As opposed to a syntactic case 2, a semantic case 2, while fulfilling the same functions, in addition conveys a meaning, i.e., expresses a part of the SemR of the sentence.

2. *Complete vs. Partial Cases 2* (Zaliznjak 1973:84–86). A complete case 2 embraces all nouns of a language throughout the whole paradigm (with the exception of the non-systematic and purely formal defectiveness: e.g., the Russ. genitive plurals **mečt*, **vymen*, **mgl*/**mgol* do not occur, while *ščec* ‘[some] cabbage soup’ exists only in the genitive plural). A partial case 2, however, functions for a subset of the nouns or for a subset of the paradigms only: sometimes for purely semantic reasons, sometimes not. Several examples of partial cases 2 follow:

–In Russian, the partitive is possible only in the singular and only with some masculine mass nouns. The adnumerative is even more partial: it is relevant only for a couple of nouns in the singular (*časá* ‘hour’, *šagá* ‘step’) and for some dozen nouns in the plural ([10] *čelovek* ‘men’, *gramm*, *volt*, ...); cf. Mel’čuk 1984:425.

–In Finnish, the comitative is limited to the possessive form of the noun in the plural: e.g., *hirsí-ne-nsa* ‘with his/their log/logs’, where *hirsí* is the plural stem (the singular stem being *hirte*), *-ne* is the suffix of the comitative, and *-nsa*, the 3rd person possessive suffix of both numbers; forms **hirsí-ne* (without the possessive suffix) or **hirte-ne-nsa* (with the singular stem) are ungrammatical. (Note that, being formally plural, the comitative form denotes both singularity and plurality of the entities referred to.)

–In Armenian, the locative does not occur in human nouns and in the nouns of the *-an*-declension (type *tun* ‘house’ etc.).

Expression plane:

3. *Synthetic vs. Analytical Cases 2*. A synthetic case 2 is expressed WITHIN the corresponding wordform, i.e., by a morphological means, namely: mostly by an affix (practically, I know only of case suffixes) or—rather rarely—by an apophony

- c. *Nagpadalá akó ng aklát sa aking kaibigan sa Manila.*
sent I book my friend
- d. *Ang aklát ay arí ng paakláan.*
book belong library
- e. *Para sa aking kaibigan ang paanyayang itó.*
for my friend invitation this

4. *Primary vs. Secondary Cases 2.* A primary case 2 is built on the basic stem of the noun, whereas a secondary case 2 is built on the form of a primary case 2. Thus, in Tokharian A the oblique is formed directly from the stem: NOM *kaşsi* 'master, teacher, guru'—OBL *kaşsim*; all other cases 2 are derived from the oblique: INSTR *kaşsin-yo*, Dat *kaşsin-ač*, LOC *kaşsin-am*, ... (-*n*- and -*m*- being purely graphic variants). Secondary cases 2 are widespread in the languages of Soviet Daghestan. For instance, in Lezgian the ergative, a primary case 2, is derived from the base: the base *lam* 'donkey'—ERG *lamra*, while the other cases 2, being secondary, are built formally on the ergative: GEN *lamra-n*, DAT *lamra-z*, ADESS *lamra-v*, ... In Dargwa, we find as many as three layers of case 2 markers: the primary ergative (*žuz* 'book—ERG *žuzli*), the secondary dative and allative (formally derived from the ergative: DAT *žuzli-s*, ALL *žuzli-či*) and the tertiary comitative and discussive (formally derived from the allative: COM *žuzliči-l* 'together with book', DISC *žuzliči-la* 'about a book'). Note that formally the ending \underline{M} of a secondary case 2 *c* consists of two case 2 markers: $\underline{m}_1 + \underline{m}_2 (= \underline{M})$, of which only \underline{m}_2 expresses the case 2 *c*, \underline{m}_1 being—in this context—an empty morph, a sort of epenthesis, with no semantic content.

Secondary cases 2 should not be confused with compound cases 2: see immediately below.

5. *Simple vs. Compound Cases 2.* A simple case 2 is a (part of a) "simple" signatum expressed by an unanalyzable marker; a compound case 2 is a "compound" signatum $\sigma = \sigma_1 \oplus \sigma_2 \oplus \dots \oplus \sigma_n$ expressed by a compound ending $\underline{M} = \underline{m}_1 \oplus \underline{m}_2 \oplus \dots \oplus \underline{m}_n$ such that $\underline{m}_1 = \underline{m}_1(\sigma_1)$, $\underline{m}_2 = \underline{m}_2(\sigma_2)$, ..., $\underline{m}_n = \underline{m}_n(\sigma_n)$, i.e., each component of the compound case marker expresses a component of the compound case signatum. The most typical instance of compound cases 2 are locative cases 2 in several Daghestanian languages; here \underline{m}_1 expresses the localization, and \underline{m}_2 —the orientation ('being there' - 'moving to/towards' - moving from' -

'moving through'). Cf. in Lezgian: POSTESSIVE *vaxa-q^h* '[being] behind the sister'—POSTLATIVE *vaxa-q^h-di* '[moving] to behind the sister'—POSTELATIVE *vaxa-q^h-aj* '[moving] from behind the sister'; or SUBESSIVE *vaxa-k* '[being] under the sister'—SUBLATIVE *vaxa-k-di* '[moving] to under the sister'—SUBELATIVE *vaxa-k-aj* '[moving] from under the sister'. (The terms for compound cases 2 reflect their internal structure: the terms are also compound; namely, the first component of a compound case 2 term specifies the localization [POST- = 'behind', SUB- = 'under', ...], and the second, the orientation [-ESSIVE = 'being', -LATIVE = 'moving to', -ELATIVE = 'moving from'].)

The contrasts "primary *vs.* secondary" and "simple *vs.* compound" are logically independent; thus we have all four possible combinations: primary simple cases 2 (e.g., the Lezgian ergative: *vax* 'sister' - ERG *vaxa*); primary compound cases 2 (Didoy [= Tsez] locative cases 2; e.g., NOM *hon* 'mountain' - SUPERL *hon-t^xo* - SUPEREL *hon-t^x-aj* - SUPERPROL *hon-t^x-aza*); secondary simple cases 2 (the Lezgian dative: *vaxa-z*); and secondary compound cases 2 (Lezgian locative cases 2—such as postlative, postelative, etc.).

Compound cases 2 create an interesting theoretical dilemma: Either we admit compound cases 2 and thereby accept non-elementary grammemes (since, according to our own definition, a compound case 2 is a grammeme) or we ban compound cases 2 altogether and analyze forms such as the Lezgian postlative *vaxa-q^h-di* '[moving] to behind the sister' as manifesting two different categories: (simple) case 1 expressing the localization ('in', 'on', 'behind', 'under', ...) and a new inflectional category, say, orientation, expressing the type of movement ('being there', 'moving to', ...). It is impossible to discuss here the problem in its full complexity, and I will do no more than outline a possible line of argument.

Following the traditional view, I prefer to admit the existence of compound cases 2 and *eo ipso* of compound grammemes.¹⁵ My reasons are that compound cases 2 belong to the same paradigm as simple cases 2 (whatever it may mean) and behave—on the syntactic level—exactly as simple cases 2 do. In particular, a compound case 2 is often governed (by a verb) as a whole, completely independently of the components of its signatum. Thus we find in Lezgian the following:

the verb *inanmiš tir* 'believe [in]' governs the postessive;
 the verb *reyüda* 'feel shy [in front of]' governs the postelative;
 the verb *kučeda* 'be afraid [of]' governs the subelative;

cf. the examples in (11):

- (11) a. *Xalk'* *vičin k'uvat-di-q^h*
 nation-SG-NOM own force-SG-POSTESS
inanmiš tir
 believe-PRES
 'The nation believes in its own force'.
- b. *Mualim-di-q^h-aj* *reyüda*
 teacher-SG-POSTEL feel.shy-PRES
 'He/she feels shy in the presence of a teacher'.
- c. *Mualim-di-k-aj* *kučeda*
 teacher-SG-SUBEL be.afraid-PRES
 'He/she is afraid of the teacher'.

On the other hand, though, in genuine locative contexts ('run [to] behind the tree', 'crawl out from under the stone', ...) the uses of compound cases 2 follow from the semantic components of their signata. The foregoing makes one think of lexical idiomatic expressions and their relationship to simple lexemes: e.g., *kick the bucket* can be understood and used in accordance with its "compositional" meaning (= 'kick' + 'the bucket', as in, e.g., *He angrily kicked the bucket full of dirty water, swore and stepped out of the cabin*); but most often it is used as a non-decomposable whole, meaning 'to die' (with a note of flippancy with regard to the person who died). Something very similar seems to hold concerning compound cases 2: the signatum of a compound case 2 is an easily "idiomatizable" complex of, so to speak, subgrammemes. This is exactly the solution I propose for the problem of compound cases 2: the concept of grammeme should subsume idiomatized (or idiomatizable) complexes of 'smaller' grammatical elements, which I suggest calling subgrammemes. The subgrammemes will be introduced in parallel with submorphs to be distinguished in such well-known instances as Russ. *za-by-(t')* 'forget' (no longer related semantically to *by-(t')* 'be') or *s-umasšedš-(ij)* 'mad, crazy' (lit. 'from-reason-having-descended'), etc. This concept of subgrammemes corresponds to one of R.

Jakobson's favorite principles: to look for and state ALL minimal correspondences between meaning and sound, even those that lie deep under "normal" morphic level (cf. Mel'čuk 1977b). However, this quest for minimal meaning-sound correspondences and the description thereof do not belong to a linguistic₁ model, i.e., they are not part of the description of a language. Just like Jakobsonian case features, the subgrammemes should be treated in a META-linguistic₁ model, i.e., in the description of our description of the language in question. Therefore, if we keep the model and the meta-model strictly separated, the problem of compound cases 2 is solved: they are compound in the meta-model; in the model itself they are described in exactly the same way as simple cases 2.

6. *Autonomous vs. Non-autonomous* Cases 2 (Zaliznjak 1973:69-74). A case 2 *c* is (morphologically) autonomous if it has at least one marker that does not coincide with a marker of any other case 2 which can appear on the same base (= stem) as *c*; otherwise, *c* is non-autonomous. The Russian dative is autonomous, since it has, e.g., the marker *-u* that unambiguously signals the dative with *derev-* 'tree' or *okn-* 'window' (in fact, it has also the unambiguous marker *-am* in the plural). But the Russian partitive is non-autonomous, since its only marker *-u* always coincides with the dative *-u* of the same stem: *snégu* can be the dative or the partitive of 'snow', and this is true of all nouns which have the partitive.¹⁶

It is obvious that in principle it is always possible to do without any non-autonomous case 2, using instead the case(s) 2 with which our non-autonomous case 2 is homophonous. This will entail, though, an increase in the complexity of the corresponding SSynt-rules, so that there is a trade-off between the complexity of a given case system (in particular, the presence/absence of non-autonomous cases 2) and the complexity of the SSynt-rules of the same language (as explicitly stated in Zaliznjak 1973:69). For instance, we can reject the Russian partitive altogether, treating the forms such as (*nemnogo*) *snegu* <*sazaru, pesku, ...*> as dative forms and including into the SSynt-rules of Russian several rules allowing the dative (of a lexically specified subset of masculine nouns) to appear in the three types of context mentioned in Section 7; p. 52. However, these rules would be more complex than the corresponding rule for the partitive. The latter simply

says "In contexts *C* you may use the partitive", while the former have to say much more: "In context *C* you may use the dative if the given noun belongs to the following list". Whether or not a particular noun has the partitive is quite naturally specified in its morphological characterization (in the dictionary), and there is no need to mention the fact in SSynt-rules again. But it is impossible to specify in the morphological characterization of a noun whether or not it has the dative usable only in restricted syntactic contexts *C*: such a strange "dative" would in fact be a different case 2, i.e., the partitive. Therefore we would have to state all the constraints needed for the "partitive" use of the dative in the SSynt-rules.

With considerations such as the above as our guide, we can ensure that a decision concerning the admission of a non-autonomous case 2 into the case 2 inventory of \mathcal{L} is taken on a principled basis. Namely, I propose the PRINCIPLE OF INTERNAL AUTONOMY OF CASES 2. (This is, in a rather loose sense, the inverse of the Principle of External Autonomy of Case 2 Forms, p. 54: there, the choice of a case 2 form should not be contingent upon a different wordform that syntactically subordinates the nominal in question; here, the choice of a case 2 (depending on a different wordform) should not be contingent on idiosyncratic properties of the stem to be declined.)

(PIAC) || A morphologically non-autonomous case 2 should be admitted into the case 2 inventory of a language \mathcal{L} if and only if otherwise the SSynt-rules which state the selection of cases 2 would have to mention individual properties of the lexeme to be declined.

If we do not admit the partitive into the case 2 inventory of Russian (and use the dative instead), then the SSynt-rules specifying the contexts for these "partitive" datives must unavoidably refer to individual lexemes (SUP 'soup', but not BORŠČ 'borsht': *Nalej supu* < **boršču* > 'Give (me) some soup <borsht>'; PESOK 'sand', but not GRANIT 'granit'; LUK 'onions', but not OVĚS 'oats'; etc.). With the partitive in our case 2 inventory, the Russian SSynt-rules simply require the partitive (in the appropriate position) or the genitive, the first being selected—on the syntactic level—if the noun in question has it.

The information on whether a noun has the partitive or not must be stored anyway in the morphological zone of its dictionary entry. Thus all individual lexemic peculiarities are relegated to the domain of morphological description. This is exactly the main idea behind the PIAC: to keep the syntax as free as possible of all morphological deviances and caprices. Where such deviances do not appear, there is no reason to postulate a non-autonomous case 2.

A good example of the situation where the PIAC forbids a non-autonomous case 2 is found in Lak (Daghestan). Here, the (grammatical?) subject of a transitive verb is marked by the nominative if it is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun and by the genitive otherwise (without a single exception):

- (12) a. *Na <Ina> lu bukka-ra*
 I-NOM thou-NOM book-NOM read-1/2PERS
 'I <You-sg> read the book'.
- b. *Uss-i-l <Ars-na-l> lu bukka-j*
 he-GEN son-GEN book-NOM read-3PERS
 'He <The son> reads the book'.

Logically, one could postulate for Lak a morphologically non-autonomous ergative, whose forms coincide with the nominative forms in 1st/2nd person pronouns and with the genitive forms in all other nominals (= 3rd person pronouns and nouns). However, the PIAC does not allow us to do so, since in the SSynt-rules of Lak specifying the choice of the nominative *vs.* the genitive in a transitive subject, no individual lexemic properties need be mentioned.

To complete the general picture of cases 2, I probably should briefly touch upon the AGREED nominal cases that—according to the proviso at the beginning of Section 1—are not cases 2 and do not belong to case 1 but constitute a different inflectional category of the noun: CASUS CONCORDATUS.

Typically, a case 2 of a noun N is governed, i.e., determined by the SSynt-relation in which N is dependent ($X \longrightarrow N$) as well as by certain lexemic properties of the lexeme which syntactically subordinates N. However, in some languages the noun has markers physically identical with (or similar to) the markers of cases 2 but fulfilling quite a different function: these caselike forms mark the agreement of N with another noun N', such that N belongs to NP

headed by N', i.e., $N \in NP(N')$. Note that N is not necessarily a direct dependent of N' and, therefore, we cannot say that the caselike forms in question mark the dependent SSynt-role of the noun. Moreover, N receives two consecutive "case" markings, one of which (as a rule, the first one) is an actual (= governed) case 2, marking the dependent SSynt-role of N within $NP(N')$, and the other one is an agreed case, which automatically reflects the case 2 of N'. Let me give two examples:

- In Ngarluma (Australia), all the nouns in a relative clause mark, in addition to their own case 2, the case 2 of the head (= noun modified by this clause). For instance, if we simulate two Ngarluma sentences in Russian, we get the following:

- (13) a. *Ja vižu mal'čik-a, kotor-ogo-ogo ukusila*
 I see boy-ACC which-ACC-ACC bit
sobak-a-u
 dog-NOM-ACC
 'I see the boy whom the dog bit'.

vs.

- b. *Ja vstretijsja s mal'čik-om, kotor-ogo-im*
 I met with boy-INSTR which-ACC-INSTR
ukusila sobak-a-oj
 bit dog-NOM-INSTR
 'I met with the boy whom the dog bit'.

In (13a) and (13b), the relative clauses mean strictly the same; the markers of the agreed cases are underlined.

- In Old Georgian, a noun N as an adnominal attribute of another noun N' receives the governed genitive (marking the dependency of N on N') as well as the reflection of the case 2 of the governing noun N':

- (14) *saxel -man mam -isa -man*
 name -ERG father-GEN-ERG
 'father's name';
saxel -ita mam -isa -jta
 name -INSTR father-GEN-INSTR
 'with father's name; etc.

The second suffix in the forms of *mama* 'father' is the marker of an agreed case.

In a general theory of nominal case we will have to consider both CASE I, or GOVERNED CASE, with the subdivisions we have introduced: *case I.1*, *case I.2* and *case I.3*; and CASE II, or AGREED CASE, with analogous subdivisions: *case II.1* (the category), *case II.2* (specific cases II) and *case II.3* (the form of a case II.2).¹⁷ However, as stated in Section 1, the agreed nominal case is not discussed in the present paper.

10.

Illustrative Inventory of Cases 2.

The number of cases 2 varies from language to language. Without claiming a definitive status for my figures (since many cases 2 are problematic in several languages), I will illustrate the astonishing variety of cases 2. There are:

- 2	cases 2 in	Old French and Esperanto;
- 3	" " "	Classical Arabic, Hindi, Kabardian, and Rumanian;
- 4	" " "	Adyghe and German;
- 5	" " "	Old Greek;
- 6	" " "	Osmanli Turkish;
- 7	" " "	Latin, Georgian, and Kannada;
- 8	" " "	Sanskrit;
- 9	" " "	Tokharian A;
- 10	" " "	Tokharian B and Russian;
- 14	" " "	Estonian;
- 15	" " "	Finnish;
- 16	" " "	Chechen;
- 21	" " "	Hungarian;
- 22	" " "	Bats (related to Chechen);
- 26	" " "	Andi and Archi;
- 27	" " "	Dargwa;
- 42	" " "	Lak;
- 46	" " "	Tabassaran.

The last figure—46—is the empirical maximum known to us today; it is obviously impossible to establish a theoretical

maximum. As for the theoretical minimum of cases 2 in a language, it is rather obvious: two (this follows from the definition of inflectional category, see Section 2, item 5).

In the list which follows I indicate only the most important SSynt-roles (and meanings, if any) marked by each case 2; this rough characterization should not be misconstrued as an attempt at definition.

1. Nominative: designation of things (outside of any syntactic context). Other frequent SSynt-roles marked by the nominative: the grammatical subject (in the so-called nominative construction, as in Latin, Russian, Turkish, etc.); the direct object (in the so-called ergative construction, as in Georgian or Chukchee); the predicative nominal; adverbial of duration (in languages with the ergative construction); several types of attributes.

2. Subjective: marks any grammatical subject (but cannot be used as the designation of a thing); cf. Japanese *-ga*-case 2.

3. Ergative: marks either the agentive grammatical subject (of a transitive verb) or the complement of agent. (The ergative may be more or less directly related to the semantic component of 'causation'.)

4. Accusative: marks the direct object, i.e., the "patient" main object of a transitive verb (for the concept of 'transitive' see Mel'čuk 1979:50-51; the accusative may be also related to 'causation'—very roughly, it marks the name of the thing undergoing causation). Other frequent SSynt-roles: adverbials of duration (*čitat' celyj den'* 'to read the whole day') or of relation ('with respect to', as in, e.g., Old Greek); may be also governed by some prepositions.

5. Pathetic: marks the "patientive" grammatical subject of a transitive verb (in Dyirbal; see Mel'čuk 1979:52-53 and *passim*).

6. Dative: marks the indirect object of a verb (destination, addressee, experiencer), especially of verbs of 'giving'; hence the name. Other SSynt-roles: a complement governed by some prepositions; *Dativus Ethicus* and the like; the grammatical subject in the so-called affective construction ("to-me sees he", meaning 'I see him').

7. Instrumental: marks the instrument or the means. Other SSynt-roles: the agent with the passive; the predicative nominal; the grammatical subject in the ergative construction; several adverbials; a complement governed by some prepositions.

8. Genitive: marks the adnominal attribute (the transform of the grammatical subject or the direct object: Benveniste 1962). Other SSynt-roles: the direct object after a negated transitive verb; the main object of some verbs; a complement governed by some prepositions; the agent with the passive (Lithuanian); and the grammatical subject in an ergative construction.

9. Partitive: marks (almost) the same SSynt-roles as the accusative and the nominative but adds the meaning of 'indeterminacy' (\approx 'some', 'part of...'). Thus in Basque it appears with an indefinite grammatical subject (of an intransitive verb) and with an indefinite direct object in negative or interrogative sentences. It also marks nouns depending on a quantitative expression (as in Russian *pobol'she* <*polkilo*> *sazaru* 'a bit more <half a kilo> sugar [please]')

10. Oblique: marks the same SSynt-roles as the cases 2 from the accusative through the partitive, i.e., all roles except the grammatical subject in a nominative construction and the direct object in a certain type of ergative construction.

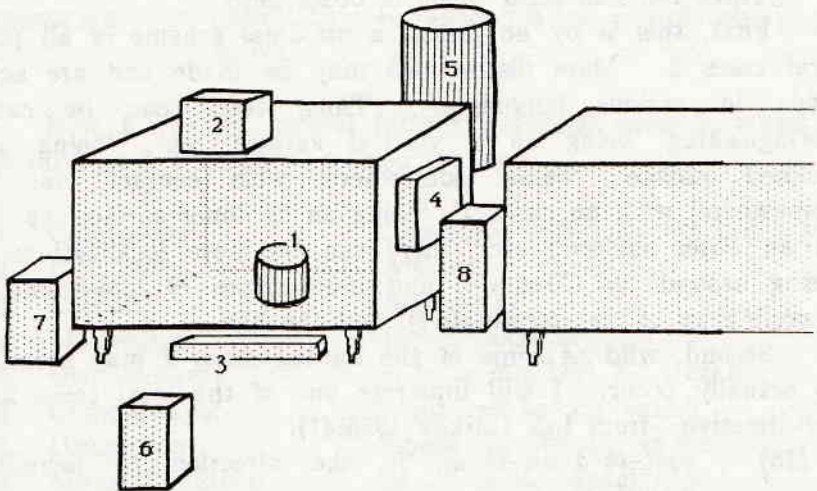
The first ten cases 2 presented above are the so-called "grammatical" (also "abstract" or "syntactic") cases 2. As a rule, they do not express meanings—or, if they do, they do not do it in a very systematic way. (Their meanings, for example, depend on the construction in which they appear, or on other factors.) In general, it is difficult and sometimes impossible to ascribe a particular well-defined meaning or a set of well-defined meanings to a particular "grammatical" case 2 as such.¹⁸

As opposed to the above, all the following cases 2 are "adverbial" (also "concrete" or "semantic") cases 2. Each of these, in addition to marking a SSynt-role, which is most often a circumstantial (= adverbial) or, less frequently, a governed object or complement, expresses a particular meaning.

I will begin with "local" cases 2—or cases 2 which express localization with respect to the object denoted by the nominal stem. One can think of eight localizations, which are designated below with Latin prepositions:¹⁹

- | | |
|--|---------------|
| 1) within the object: | <i>In-</i> |
| 2) on/over its upper surface (outside): | <i>Super-</i> |
| 3) on/under its lower surface (outside): | <i>Sub-</i> |
| 4) on its lateral surface (outside): | <i>Ad-</i> |
| 5) behind it: | <i>Post-</i> |

- 6) in front of it: *Ante-*
 7) near it: *Apud-*
 8) between two (or among many) objects: *Inter-*



At the same time, the idea of localization can be specified with respect to movement—to produce five types of movements, designated below also with Latin terms:

- 1) rest ('being there'): *-essive*
 2) traveling to: *-lative*
 3) traveling out of/from: *-elative*
 4) traveling through: *-prolative*
 5) traveling towards: *-directive*

The combination of eight localizations with five types of movements produces 40 local cases, of which only several examples will be given here:

11. Inessive: 'being within...'
 12. Illative: 'traveling into...'
 13. Inelative: 'traveling from within...'
 14. Improlative: 'traveling through...'
 15. Indirective: 'traveling towards within...'
 16. Supressive: 'being on/over the upper surface of...'
 17. Superlative: 'traveling onto...'
 18. Superlative: 'traveling from the upper surface of...'

48. Interrelative: 'traveling from between/among...'
 49. Interprolative: 'traveling through between/among...'
 50. Interdirective: 'traveling towards a point between/among...'

Three remarks seem to be in order here:

First, this is by no means a maximal scheme of all possible local cases 2. More distinctions may be made and are actually made in various languages. Thus, there can be cases 2 distinguishing 'being on a vertical surface' vs. 'being on an inclined surface', 'being [somewhere] with contact' vs. 'being [somewhere] with no contact', 'being on an inner surface' vs. 'being on an outer surface', etc.; there can be more localizations (e.g., 'being around' = *Circum-*), and more types of movement (e.g., 'traveling up to' = *-terminative*), and the like.

Second, wild as some of the quoted cases 2 may seem, they do actually occur. I will illustrate one of the local cases 2—the postdirective—from Lak (Žirkov 1955:41):

- (15) *qqat-lu-x-un-m-aj* 'in the direction to behind the house',
 i.e., 'toward the rear wall/side of the house',

where:

- qqat* is the root of *qatta* 'house';
-lu is an empty suffix (of a series of empty suffixes that are added regularly to a nominal root before a case ending);
-x is the marker of 'behind' (= *Post-*);
-un is the marker of 'traveling to' [= *-lative*; the form *qqatlurun* exists and means 'to go behind the house': the final point of this movement must be behind the house];
-m is the assimilated variant of the class marker *-v* (roughly, classes I and III), which refers to the class of the object traveling towards the space behind the house [instead of *-m-*, we could get *-n<-d* (classes II and IV)];
-aj is the marker of \approx 'not necessarily arriving at the destination' [so that *-un* and *-aj*, taken together, mean 'traveling towards' = *-directive*].

Third, in less developed case systems abbreviated case names are used; let me give the most current ones:

Locative	= Inessive + Adessive + Superessive +...
Ablative	= Inelative + Adelative + Apudelative +...
Delative	= Superelative + Adelative + Apudelative +...
Translative	= Improlative + Superprolative + Apudprolative +...

Now I will list several further adverbial cases 2, which do not form such a nicely organized system:

51. Comitative:	'(together) with', 'accompanied by'
52. Privative:	'without'
53. Causal:	'because of'
54. Motivative:	'for the sake of'
55. Distributive:	' <i>n</i> [= a number] X ... each'
56. Comparative:	'compared to' [\cong 'than']
57. Discussive:	'[speaking] about', 'as for'
58. Modal/Equative:	'as...', 'in its capacity of'
50. Temporal:	'in the time of'
60. Pretemporal:	'before'
61. Posttemporal:	'after'
62. Prot temporal:	'during'
63. Vocative:	marks the direct address (normally, to a person).

11.

The Russian Genitive in Numeral Phrases
(A Problematic Situation).

As is well known, with the "small" numerals DVA '2', TRI '3' and ČETYRE '4' standing in the nominative or the accusative (the latter with inanimate nouns only), a Russian noun must be in the genitive (singular): *dva stakan-a* 'two glasses', *tri sestr-y* 'three sisters', or *četyre okn-a* 'four windows'. In my analysis of Russian numeral phrases Num + N, it is the numeral that syntactically depends on the noun: Num ← N (Mel'čuk 1984). Therefore, it may be concluded that in such phrases the genitive of the noun marks its role as the SSynt-governor (of the respective numeral)—which contradicts our definition of case 1 as the category called upon to mark the DEPENDENT SSynt-roles of nominals. Note that even if my proposal for the direction of

dependency in the Russian Num + N phrases is not accepted, the problem nevertheless remains, since it is logically feasible that—in some other construction—a SSynt-dependent of a noun influences the choice of its case 2. The solution to the problem, however, seems to be quite straightforward: the case 2 of the head noun N in phrases of this type still marks the dependent role of this noun (with regard to its own SSynt-governor)—but **CONDITIONALLY**; namely, if and only if N itself has a particular type of dependent. Thus in Russian Num ← N phrases the genitive (singular) of N marks its role as the grammatical subject or the direct object **UNDER THE CONDITION** that this N syntactically subordinates a “small” numeral (DVA, TRI or ČETYRE). Such conditional case-marking of SSynt-roles is not extremely widespread but it does occur, and the possibility of its occurrence must be accounted for in a general theory of case 1.

It is worth noting that conditional case-marking means that during the synthesis of a text from a given semantic representation, cases 2 can be ascribed to nouns not in one step but in a more complicated way. Suppose that a Russian transitive verb V syntactically subordinates the noun N as its main object; this V governs the accusative of its main object and therefore N must be in the accusative. But N subordinates, in its turn, a “small” numeral Num—which, as we know, requires the genitive of N. Then the following happens: one surface-syntactic rule ascribes the accusative, so to speak, to the entire phrase Num ← N (it is this phrase that plays—as a whole—the SSynt-role of a direct object); then a second SSynt-rule “distributes” this accusative among the constituents of the phrase: namely, the accusative “permeates” to Num, and N receives the genitive. (This hasty description does not, of course, properly represent the two-step case marking; for more details see Mel'čuk 1984:163 ff.)

12.

Main Tendencies in the Study of Case 1.

Two main tendencies can be clearly distinguished in linguistic₂ investigations aimed at the theory and description of case 1.

1. The first approach is based exclusively (or at least primarily) on SYNTAGMATIC considerations and tends to treat a case 2 as the class of all nominal forms mutually substitutable in

certain specified governing contexts; cf. Revzin 1967:139-55, Marcus 1967, Zaloznjak 1967:36-55 and 1973, Gladkij 1969:110-23 and 1973. Case 1 is considered a purely syntactic category, virtually meaningless. The goal is to establish the set of relevant contexts and to develop reliable procedures that return the inventory of cases 2 of a given language, based on the ability of several nominal forms to be governed—that is, to be admitted or excluded by diagnostic context frames—in an identical way. As can be expected, this method ensures best results in the domain of syntactic (= abstract or grammatical) cases 2.

2. The second approach is based primarily on PARADIGMATIC considerations and tends to treat a case 2 as a specific meaning, so that a system of cases 2 can be represented in terms of several semantic features; cf., in particular, the work of L. Hjelmslev (1935-37/1972) and R. Jakobson (1936/1971, 1958/1971). Case 1 is considered a semantic category, virtually always meaningful. The goal is to establish the set of case contrasts within nominal paradigms, to isolate the “nuclear”, or “underlying”, meaning of each case 2 (= Jakobson’s *Grundbedeutung*) and to describe the semantic content of specific cases 2. (Here the provocative work of A. Wierzbicka (1980b and 1983) is of particular interest.) This method is especially good in the domain of semantic (= concrete or adverbial) cases 2, primarily when applied to local cases 2.

Personally, I am convinced that only an appropriate combination of both approaches is capable of yielding satisfactory results. Case 1 is mainly a syntactic category, and cases 2 are there, before all, to mark passive SSynt-roles of nominals; at the same time, though, they so often convey a meaning that it is impossible to describe them without accounting for their semantic load. Yet one cannot abstract from their basically syntactic nature either: the majority of cases 2 cannot be described exclusively in terms of their semantic content; they are, as a rule, entailed by particular syntactic constructions or by particular lexical items in particular constructions. Therefore, a double-faceted description, put forth in our definition of case 1, imposes itself.

Now, as a coda to my overstretched improvisation, I will touch upon the notion of “deep case”, as launched and developed by Fillmore (1968 and 1977). As a matter of fact, Fillmore’s deep cases are SEMANTIC RELATIONS obtaining between lexeme

occurrences in a sentence, more precisely, those between a predicate lexeme and its semantic arguments. These relations can be expressed (on the surface) by cases 2, by prepositions/postpositions or even by word order (as Fillmore himself has repeatedly stated). Just for this reason, I don't think the term *deep case* itself is entirely felicitous; to me, it is rather a misnomer, and if linguists are to use it, they should use it cautiously. (I, for one, would prefer calling semantic relations *semantic relations*.)

As for the notion as such, it has proven extremely fruitful, bringing about a new dimension in semantic research and contributing to the shift from the syntax-centered transformationalism of the 60's to the semantically-based studies of today. True, deep cases in the sense of Fillmore are only tangentially related to case 1 as understood in this paper and consequently they need not be discussed here. However, given the popularity and the importance that the notion "deep case" enjoyed in modern linguistics, I feel that it would be useful to add the following three remarks.

1. A Fillmorean deep case is a semantic relation between a predicate and one of its arguments:

- (16) *I cut my foot on a rock:*
 EXPERIENCER(*I, cut*)
 PATIENT(*foot, cut*)
 GOAL(*rock, movement of the foot*)

But '(be) experiencer of', '(be) patient of' and '(be) goal of' (and in general all semantic relations) are, in their turn, predicates. If we strive for a quite homogeneous semantic representation, then the relation of such a predicate to each of its arguments should be expressed as well by a deep case of second order: EXPERIENCER → *I* and EXPERIENCER → *cut*, etc. These second-order deep cases will face the same problem: how to express the relations between them and their arguments? We will need third-order deep cases, and in this way, we will enter into an infinite regression. The only way to avoid this is to draw ARBITRARILY a line somewhere, e.g., just after the deep cases of the first order. However, such a solution is not to be recommended for a consistent semantic representation. (A preferable solution: never to characterize semantically the relations between a predicate and

its arguments; these relations will be fully specified by the semantic decomposition of the predicate itself—for which it is sufficient to differentiate somehow the arguments of the same predicate and indicate their respective positions in its semantic decomposition.)

2. If a deep case is a genuine meaning, i.e., a full-fledged semanteme, then it could be expressed by an English lexeme or phrase: there are, after all, such English lexemes as EXPERIENCE or GOAL. In this event, the question arises: how should the deep cases of these lexical units be expressed? For instance, *John has experienced hunger and need*: EXPERIENCER(*John; experience*), ACTOR(*hunger and need; experience*)? What is in general the respective status of deep cases and lexemes synonymous to them? Or is a deep case never completely synonymous with at least one (sense of) an English lexical unit? (A possible solution: to express ALL meanings in the same manner, thus providing for a homogeneous semantic representation—which, once again, implies the rejection of deep cases as entities with a distinguished status.)

3. Fillmore has of course seen all of the above mentioned difficulties and has insisted that deep cases belong to a special level of utterance representation: an intermediate level between the genuine semantic representation and the (deep) syntactic representation (e.g., Fillmore 1977:60). I think what is meant is a level where all full lexemes of the sentence appear as such, i.e., semantically not decomposed, but their interdependencies are stated in semantic, rather than syntactic, terms. Impressionistically, such a level seems justifiable; it can be, for instance, a surface-semantic representation (cf. Apresjan 1980). Still, I see several problems in this connection, of which I will mention three:

- Some relations between lexeme occurrences in a sentence are utterly asemanitic; notorious instances are the grammatical subject and the direct object. It seems very problematic that such relations could be reduced to a common semantic denominator with other, actually semantic, relations.

- The number of semantic relations obtaining in natural sentences is higher than Fillmore's examples imply. If these relations are really semantic (and not simply conventional labels for

disjunctions of semantic elements), then what is needed is several dozen of them (cf., e.g., the list of "semantic valence slots" in Apresjan 1974:125-26 ff.).

- Some relations hold between a lexeme and a PART OF THE MEANING of another lexeme: cf. (18) above, where *foot* is GOAL of the 'movement', which is a semantic component of *cut* (or maybe not of *cut* but rather of the overall meaning of the whole sentence). How can we ensure a more or less homogenous representation in such situations?

*

*

*

There are, no doubt, more questions to be asked concerning case 1 and cases 2, but I will only mention, by way of conclusion, several relevant problems that have not been touched upon in this paper:

- Case 1 and paradigmatically related categories in other parts of speech (e.g., the category of case and attributivity in adjectives, or mood in verbs: categories that mark passive SSynt-roles of adjectives and verbs, respectively).

- Case 1 and syntagmatically related categories in nominals (e.g., determinacy, number, animacy: categories that tend to be marked together with case 1 by the same cumulative markers).

- Case 1 and government; in particular, case 1 and verbal diathesis.

- Cases 2 *vs.* phrases "noun + postposition".

- Case marking in particular syntactic constructions (i.e., the choice of cases 2 as the function of context).

NOTES

¹The present paper was written during my stay as a visiting professor at the Linguistics Department of the University of Vienna; I owe my gratitude to Chairman, Professor W.U. Dressler, who provided encouragement and excellent working conditions for me. The first draft was read by Pamela Dougherty, the subsequent versions by Lidija Iordanskaja, Ian Mackenzie and Nikolaj Pertsov, whose remarks, as always, entailed radical changes and contributed a lot towards an improved presentation. Anna Wierzbicka, James Levine and Richard Brecht agreed to comment on the prefinal version. I thank all these colleagues and friends for their criticisms and suggestions; but, of course, I alone take the brunt of any attack occasioned by blunders and inconsistencies that may have remained.

Finally, special thanks are due to the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, the University of Montreal, for help in typing my very complex manuscript (Mr. B. Landriault, assistant to the Dean, and Mrs. M. Braun, the typist).

²The present paper continues and develops the attempt undertaken in Mel'čuk 1977a. It also shares several important points with Hockett MS, which summarizes Professor Hockett's talks given in 1953-55 and whose copy the author kindly sent to me in April 1979.

³The English adjective *linguistic* is (very unfortunately) ambiguous between 'relating to language' (= Germ. *sprachlich*) and 'relating/pertaining to linguistics' (= Germ. *sprachwissenschaftlich*). I will use subscripts to distinguish both readings: *linguistic*₁ = 'relating to language,' *linguistic*₂ = 'relating to linguistics.'

⁴We need to speak not only about signata but about PARTS of signata as well for the following reason. A signatum is something that has a special signans of its own, that is, something that can be expressed (in the language considered) as a separate entity. However, we have very often to deal with content entities that are never expressed separately—only together with other content entities; these are parts of signata. The most obvious example is nominal case 1 or nominal number in Russian or Latin: a Russian or Latin case 2 has no separate signans but is expressed syncretically with number (Latin *-us* 'SG. NOM', *-i* 'PL. NOM', *-o* 'SG. DAT', *-ibus* 'PL. DAT', etc.). Therefore, cases 2 and grammatical numbers in these languages are not signata but parts thereof.

⁵In Mel'čuk 1982:31 (and *passim*) I used the term *grammatical* instead of my current *inflectional*. Now I feel that *grammatical* (as applied to *category*, *signatum*, *element*, ...) should rather be used to cover both *inflectional* and *derivational*, and I have changed the terminology accordingly.

⁶Interestingly, Hockett (MS:7-8) has also insisted that marking subject-predicate-object relations is "the quintessence of a case-system". As far as I know, he was the first to promote the importance of major SSynt-relations for the definition of case 1.

⁷The state of affairs, as it concerns caselike nominal forms, is far from being always clear-cut. Thus in Abkhaz, the SSynt-roles of the grammatical subject and of both direct and indirect objects are always expressed by the same (= zero) form of the noun; this form is also used with postpositions. However, the Abkhaz noun has three caselike forms (expressed by specific suffixes): transformative (= 'be transformed into...'), instrumental (= 'by means of...') and privative (= 'without'), so that we find, e.g., the following:

- (i) a. *Dara jara ɬarɬ'man -s dɔqarɕeit*
 they he interpreter into they-him-made
 'They made him an interpreter'.

- b. *Sara laba-la ala sasit*
 I stick with dog I-it-hit
 'I hit the dog with a stick'.

These three forms are traditionally considered nominal derivations (or nouns with postpositions), not forms of cases 2—because they are never governed by particular verbs and are obviously full 'semantic' entities. Intuitively, I agree with this analysis but I realize that a serious study is needed to substantiate it.

⁸I reject (with no discussion or special justification) an older approach, which saw in the English noun at least three cases 2: the nominative, the accusative, and the dative, distinguished by word order, as in (ii):

- (ii) *John* [Nom] *sent Mary* [Dat] *a new book* [Acc].

To me, word order IN PRINCIPLE cannot mark cases 2. Word order and cases 2 are two types of linguistic₁ expressive means—being on equal footing—used to mark SSynt-dependencies. I refer the reader to R. Jakobson, who as far back as 1936, emphasized [the translation is mine. - I.M.]: "... we have no right to say that word order can express case, since word order can express only syntactic functions of words; case and syntactic function are by no means the same" (Jakobson 1936 [1971:28]).

Equally, I do not discuss all "Latinizing" attempts to interpret English prepositions as cases 2: *of* = Gen, *to* = Dat, *with* = Instr, etc.

⁹English personal pronouns (*I*, ..., *they*) do have cases 2: nominative and oblique (*me*, ..., *them*). A special problem (which I cannot treat here) is whether it is advisable to consider possessive adjective (*my* - *mine*, ..., *their* - *theirs*) as genitive forms of personal pronouns. As for the status of possessive (= Saxon Genitive) forms in Modern English, I am against calling them derivational: I do not think we would be justified in considering *wife* and *wife's* as lexes of two different lexemes (and derivation implies deriving a new lexeme): to me, a possessive form belongs to the same lexeme as the basic forms. In order to accommodate English possessive forms in the same lexemes we have to introduce an intermediate mechanism between inflection (in the strict sense of the term) and derivation: something that could be called, say, quasi-inflection, so that all quasi-inflectional forms would be lexes of the same lexeme as the basic forms. English possessive forms would then fall precisely in the realm of quasi-inflection. There are lots of other morphological phenomena which could be handily described in terms of quasi-inflection (and quasi-grammemes)—but this topic goes far beyond the limits of the present paper.

¹⁰Cf. the succinct formulation of Goddard 1982:169: "A case is a class of nominal forms which are mutually substitutable in certain syntactic or semantic environments given that any two cases ... are formally distinguished by at least one subclass of nominal. Precisely because cases are set up as classes of mutually interchangeable forms, the concept of case enables simple statements of many morphological patterns."

¹¹The Principle of External Autonomy seems to lend itself to a more general formulation: it might be true not only of case 2, but of all grammemes induced by a syntactically governing context, i.e., of grammemes imposed by government or agreement. Since, however, such a generalization would require special research, I prefer to limit myself here to a more cautious statement.

¹²One consequence of our PEACF is that we cannot say, with B. Talibov (1967:594-95), that in Tsakhur the genitive case 2 has three different suffixes, such that the choice depends on the noun N' modified by the genitive form N: if the modified noun N' is in the nominative, then if N' is of Class I-II, the genitive on the modifying N receives the suffix *-na*, but if N' is of

Class IV, the genitive on N is expressed by the suffix - (*+*)*n*; however, if N' itself is not in the nominative, the genitive suffix on N is *-ni*, independent of the class of N' (e.g., *hammaz* 'friend' - *hammaz-na dek^h* [I, NOM] 'friend's father' - *hammaz-in jik^h* [IV, NOM] 'friend's heart' - *hammaz-ni dek-is* [I, DAT]/*jik^h-is* [IV, DAT] 'to friend's father/heart'). Following the PEACF, we are forced to admit that Tsakhur has three DIFFERENT genitive cases 2: the Direct Genitive I, modifying nominative nouns of Class I-II; the Direct Genitive II, modifying nominative nouns of Class IV; and the Oblique Genitive, modifying non-nominative nouns. (Let us note, incidentally, that the distinction of a Direct Genitive vs. an Oblique Genitive is a routine matter in several Daghestan languages, especially in all languages of the Didoy (or Tsez) group: Bokarev 1967:401.)

¹³Let it be emphasized that even strongly governed prepositions and, in an analogous manner, cases 2 can be meaningful (= express semantic contrasts directly), if the governing item does not uniquely specify the preposition or the case 2. The following is a telling illustration. The indirect object of the Russian verb KOLOTIT' '(to) pound' can be expressed by one of the three prepositions: V 'in', PO 'all over', O 'on', with the corresponding differences in meaning:

- (iii) a. *Maria kolotila butylkoj v dver'* 'Mary was pounding on the door with a bottle—in order to be heard from inside (and admitted)'.
 b. *Marija kolotila butylkoj po dveri'* 'Mary was pounding the door with a bottle—in order to damage the door or to make noise'.
 c. *Marija kolotila butylkoj o dver'* 'Mary was pounding the door with a bottle—in order to break the bottle'.

Contrasts such as these are equally possible between strongly governed cases 2. Thus, 'being strongly governed' ≠ 'meaningless'; a function word or a case 2 becomes semantically empty (= 'meaningless') if and only if it is strongly governed AND is unique in the given context.

¹⁴My presentation of Tagalog data is utterly simplified. In fact, Tagalog case particles fulfill further important functions: they are, so to speak, noun actualizators having to do with determination, specificity, etc. Let it be noted that every personal or deictic pronoun in Tagalog has three synthetic case forms; thus *akó* 'I' distinguishes the subjective *akó*, the oblique *ko*, and the lative *akin*.

¹⁵The consequences of such a decision are not quite clear now; note, however, that in introducing preliminary notions in Section 2, it was not required that a grammeme should be elementary, i.e., "simple".

¹⁶Suppose that my analysis of the Russian partitive as a partial case 2 (= valid for a subset of masculine mass and abstract nouns only) is not accepted and the partitive is treated instead as a full case 2. Even then its status as a non-autonomous case 2 is not affected: simply, its forms would coincide either with the dative forms or with the genitive forms.

A further example of a non-autonomous case 2 is the Latin locative (which also happens to be a partial case: practically, only proper names of cities and islands have it). In some names the locative coincides with the genitive (*vivo Romae* <Corinthi, Cypri> 'I live in Rome <in Corinthus, on Cyprus>'), while in others—with the ablative (*vivo Athenis* <Carthagine> 'I live in Athens <Carthago>') (Zaliznjak 1973:71).

¹⁷The picture can even be much more complicated. As reported by Nicholas Evans ("Modal Case Marking in Kayartilt", manuscript), in Kayartilt, an Australian language, a noun can accumulate up to four case suffixes. Thus the first suffix of a noun N is a case 1 suffix; it marks the

semantico-syntactic role of N in the clause: for example, the instrumental. The second suffix manifests the so-called modal case of N: together with the main verb inflection it signals the general modality of the sentence ('instantiated' [= 'past or present'] ~ 'future' ~ 'low reality status', etc.); for example, the genitive as a modal case signals low reality status. The third suffix (appearing automatically on all the words of the sentence) specifies the connection of the sentence with the preceding discourse; so, for example, the purposive indicates a contradiction to previous remarks (something like the French *Mais si!*). Now, suppose there is a N' depending on N; this N' will "inherit" — by rules of "case agreement" operating within NPs — all these three case suffixes of N and add them after its own case 1 suffix (the possessive or the genitive). Therefore, the result will be four case suffixes in a row! Here is Evans' example:

- (iv) *ngijuwa yalawu-jarra- ntha yakuri-naa- ntha*
 I-NOM-PURP catch IRREAL PURP fish GEN PURP
- waytpala- karra-nguni- naa- ntha [=N']*
 white.man POSS INSTR GEN PURP
- mijil-nguni- naa- ntha [=N],*
 net INSTR GEN PURP

which means: 'Yes, I did catch some fish with the white man's net' (an answer to an unfounded allegation, such as 'you didn't catch any fish').

It follows from this evidence that we must introduce more case (or caselike?) categories: CASE III—modal case in the sense of Evans and, probably, CASE IV—discourse-bound case. However interesting, these facts do not interfere with our analysis of case I.

¹⁸Suppose, indeed, that in Georgian there is a semantic difference between the nominative and the ergative, on the one hand, and between the dative-accusative and the nominative, on the other. However, (v a) and (v b) do not show the slightest semantic difference beyond the obvious difference in tense:

- (v) a. *Studenti çerils çers*
 Student-NOM letter-DAT.ACC write-PRES
 'The student is writing a letter'.
- b. *Studentma çerili daçera*
 Student-ERG letter-NOM write-AOR
 'The student wrote a letter'.

The alternation "nominative/ergative" (in the grammatical subject) and "dative-accusative/nominative" (in the direct object) is an automatic function of the verbal tense: nominative and dative-accusative with the present; ergative and nominative with the aorist. These trivial facts obviously contradict the hypothesis about semantic differentiation of the said cases 2 (at least, in the construction considered). A further example is provided by Lak, where the grammatical subject of a transitive verb in all tenses and moods is in the genitive, if it is a noun or a 3rd person pronoun and in the nominative otherwise (i.e., if it is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun: see (12) on p. 68. The choice of the subject case 2 is thus also quite automatic in Lak (although contingent on a different factor); I do not see how this fact is compatible with the hypothesis of cases 2 being always semantically loaded. Nevertheless, SOME 'grammatical' cases 2 in SOME contexts do have meaning. Let me mention here an insightful analysis by A. Wierzbicka (following the trail blazed by R. Jakobson); namely, her description of the genitive 'of quick use' in the direct object in Polish, meaning 'I don't think of it as such a big thing' (Wierzbicka 1983):

- (vi) a. *Daj mi świeczki!*
Give me candle-DIM-GEN

implies that the speaker wants to do something not very serious and needs a light just for a moment, while

- b. *Daj mi świeczkę!*
candle-DIM-ACC

presupposes that the speaker wants the candle. Cf. also her description of possible meanings of the Polish dative: this volume, pp. 386-426.

¹⁹The following system of local cases 2, including the nomenclature of case labels, is essentially borrowed from the famous work Hjelmslev 1935-37/1972, with a few changes aimed at rationalization and simplification.