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Competing Motivations and the Typology of Case-Marking

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"Quirky" case: rare phenomena in case-marking

Andrej Malchukov

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Topics addressed:

Rare phenomena in case-marking:

- case marking which is exceptional in terms of distribution or function

- explanation for rare vs. common patterns: functional and diachronic factors

Not addressed:

- Formal aspects, where formal encoding is unusual or rare ("tonal case", case by mutation, prefixal case, etc)

Distribution unusual I: double case marking

A better known phenomenon: double case marking (Plank (ed.) 1995).

- NB double case marking apparently violates an iconically motivated bi-unique mapping between roles and NPs assumed in many approaches (Fillmore, GB, etc)

- **Three common patterns of double case-marking:**

- a) GEN +OBL: cf. Kayardild (Evans 1995: 398)

*thabuju-**karra-nguni** mijil-**nguni***

brother-**GEN-INSTR**   net-**INSTR**

'with brother's net'

- Co-occurrence not surprising - may be two different categories: governed vs. concordial case (Mel'čuk 1986)

double case marking

- **b) Compound cases**
  - "Daghestanian case hoax" (Comrie & Polinsky 1998): 53 cases (mostly spatial) in Tsez are composed of 7 cases + 8 orientation markers. Agul (Daniel & Ganenkov 2008)

  xul-a-q-as

  house-obl-post-el

  from behind the house
- **Again two different categories: "orientation" (Kibrik's 'localization') + case**

- **c) Case "layering".** Cf. OBL + POSTP in **Hindi**:

  bacce=ne   *bacce=ko*

  child.OBL=ERG   child.OBL=ACC
- **Explanation: residual + emergent case**

Double case marking

- Less usual is multiple case-stacking:

Kayardild (Evans 1995, 115)

Maku yalawu-yarra yakuri-na dangka-karra-nguni-na mijil-nguni-na

woman catch-PST   fish-mABL man-GEN-INSTR-mABL   net-INSTR-mABL

'The woman caught some fish with the man's net'

- Partial explanation:
  - "Total concord" principle (Evans 1995): consistent case-percolation/copying from heads to dependents.

Distribution unusual II: "distributed case"

- In Koasati, the order of syntactic and spatial cases is different, importantly both can co-occur (Kimball 1984):

Koasati (Kimball 1984, 348, ex. (57))

l·iyá:li-fa-kitt-on   (hí:ca-l)

stepping-LOC-ART-ACC.FOC (see.1SG)

'I see its footprints (lit. place where he stepped)'

- NB order: N-LOC-ART vs. N-ART-NOM

  - Explanation: syntactic cases have discourse-related functions

    - NB They have special focus forms, and are incompatible with other discourse markers)

Distribution unusual III: head-marking case

- **Common: dependent-marking (case) vs. head-marking (AGR); Nichols 1986.**
  - NB functional equivalence is imperfect though.
- **Less usual:**
  - Head-marking case in Sumerian and Abkhaz, where same case markers appear alternatively on N (as case) and V (in an applicative-like fashion)

Head-marking case: **Abkhaz**

- **In Abkhaz some (oblique) case markers (benefactive -*zə*, instrumental −*la*) can appear as either postpositons or "intraverbal relational particles":**

<<Abkhaz>>(Hewitt 1979: 113)

Axra yə-zə   yə-qá-s-c'e-yt'

Axra him-**for** it-PREV-I-do-FIN

'I did it for Axra'

Axra ø-yə-zə-qá-s-c'e-yt'

Axra (it)-him-**for**-PREV-I-do-FIN

'I did it for Axra'

Head-marking case: Sumerian

- **In Sumerian, same or similar (adverbial) case markers function as case suffixes (enclitics) or verbal "dimensional" prefixes:**

<<Sumerian>> (Hayes 1997: 22)

mu-na-ra-ni-e-eš

CP-DAT-ABL-LOC-go-PL

'They came out from there for him'

NB. Unlike in Abkhaz bound pronouns "hosting" case-markers are (usually) missing.

Head-marking case

- ## **Explanation:**

  - In both Sumerian and Abkhaz loose morphology with unclear distinction between clitics and affixes; as well as free and bound pronouns;

  - In both languages, head-marking case developed from case-markers on incorporated bound pronouns, with subsequent partial reanalysis to applicatives;

  - reanalysis is more advanced in Sumerian, where "dimensional" prefixes can stand on their own

  (without a pronominal host).

Distribution unusual IV: "misplaced" case

- **In Iraqw, case enclitics attach to the noun in preverbal position.**
    - Strikingly, the noun "is not necessarily the object of case relation" (Mous 1992, 102, 246):

Iraqw *(Mous 1992, 246)*

inós   i   hhar-tá   hhawat=i   hanmiis
3SG   S.3 stick-F.CON   man=DIR   give
'He is giving a stick to the man'

inós   i   hhawatú   hhart=i   hanmiis
3SG   S.3   man.CON   stick=DIR give
'He is giving a stick to the man'

"Misplaced" case in Iraqw

- **The pattern is unusual because it yields an iconicity violation: mark a feature/relation on the constituent to which the feature pertains**
  - In OT terms: iconicity violation is incurred by a phonetic constraint Align(Clitic) outranking the Relevance/Iconicity constraint.
- **Explanation: conspiracy of 3 factors:**
    - cases are clitics
    - clitics appear in a dedicated (preverbal) position
    - word order of arguments pragmatically determined.

Function unusual I: pragmatic cases

- **"Presentational" case in Samoan**
    - In Samoan, among 15 prepositional case-markers the "presentational" case in *'o*:

<<Samoan>>(Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992, 143, 772)

'O   le   maile saa fasi e   le   teine

PRES ART dog   PAST hit   ERG ART girl

'The dog was hit by the girl'

    - Semantic/syntactic function not clear: PRES used to introduce a clause, with nominal predicates, or with fronted NPs (then contrastive/new topics).
- **NB basic function is pragmatic, even though it is paradigmatic with other cases.**

Function unusual II: "old" cases

- **The functions of OBLique case in Kayardild (Evans 1995, 149):**

  - OBL has some dative-like uses (purpose, object of middle verbs), but otherwise semantically disparate, and the semantic core/general meaning is not clear.

    - Explanation (Evans 1995: 148-9): OBL is an old DATive case (preserved in Yukulta), but replaced in central (BEN, ADR) functions by other ("verbal") cases.

- **NB diachronic explanation: residual function non-transparent**

Function unusual III: "modal case"

- **In Kayardild case marking on nouns can express TAM features ("modal case"):**

<<Kayardild>>(Evans 1995: 108)

ngada warra-ja ngarn-kiring-ku

I.NOM go-ACT   beach-ALL-mPROP

'I will go to the beach'

ngada warra-ja ngarn-kiring-kina

I.NOM go-ACT   beach-ALL-mABL

'I went to the beach'

Here 'modal proprietive' expresses future, and 'modal ablative' expresses past.

Modal case in Kayardild

- **Diachronic scenario for the rise of modal cases (Dench & Evans 1988; Evans 1995):**
    - originally case marked subordinate forms in complement function;
    - percolation of case from the subordinate verb head to its arguments;
    - "insubordination", use of erstwhile subordinates as main clauses;
    - grammaticalization of case forms on the verb -> (potential) disagreement between case forms on NPs and the verb.
- NB apart from consistent percolation of case from head to its dependents (conditioned by the rule of "total concord"), other processes commonplace.

Restricted use of genitive in Yakut

- In Yakut, unlike other Turkic languages, GEN in (-*TIN*) is restricted to stacked possessors:

<<Yakut>> (Stachovsky &Menz 1998: 428)

učuutal jie-te

teacher house-3SG.POS

'teacher's house'

kini aγa-tïn   χara- γïn uuta

s/he father-*tin* eye-*tin*   water-3SG.POS

'his/her father's tears'

Restricted use of genitive in Yakut

- **Explanation again diachronic:**
  - remnant of a Turkic GEN, elsewhere GEN in Yakut is lost (under influence of language contact with Tungusic?)
  - NB GEN is retained where it is non-redundant (not supported by POS marking on the head)

- **Restricted uses of cases may be indicative of incipient/residual cases**

Function unusual V: function-form mismatches

- **"Designative" case in Even (Tungusic)**
  - Performs a double function (in violation of the "θ-criterion"): marks P, simultaneously assigning BEN to its possessor:

Bej turki-*ga*-n emurem

man slade-DES-3SG brought

'I brought the slade for the man'

Cf.

Bej turki-va-n emurem

man slade-ACC-3SG brought

'I brought the man's slade (slade from the man?)'

- Possible explanation: DES *–ga*- originates from *ga*- 'take', inheriting its argument structure?

Function unusual V: "quirky" case

- Common motivation for the rise of idiosyncratic ("quirky") cases: pattern inheritance/pattern unification

  - Ingush 'listen' takes exceptionally the ERG-Obl pattern; since historically *ladieG* ← *la+dieG* 'ear+put' (Nichols 1994: 119).

  - 'Look'-verbs can exceptionally take an inverse inverse (DAT-NOM/ABS) pattern if polysemous with 'see' cf. (Malchukov 2005) on Lezgian.

Case in a word class changing function

- **Common: case as a nominalizer-complementizer:**

<<Nahali>>(Kuiper 1962: 34)

Ara-ye-kon

see-PAST-ABL

'from having seen'

- NB any nominal category can be a nominalizer (cf. Malchukov 2004): CLASS in Bantu, DET in many Amerindian, etc

- Uncommon: Case as a verbalizer

Case as a verbalizer

- **"Verbal case" with a verbalizing function is exceptional: found only in Kayardild (and some other Tangkic languages).**

- **Verbal cases in Kayardild (Evans 1995) are like case**

  - in function (allative, dative, ablative, etc)

  - syntactically (percolate as normal cases),

  - but have a verbalizing effect (take verbal inflections):

Verbal cases in Kayardild

Kayardild (Evans 1995, 163)

Ngada warra-jarra dathin-kiiwa-tharra ngilirr-iiwa-tharr

I.NOM go-PST   that-vAll-PST   cave-vALL-PST

'I went to that cave',

Ngada warra-ju dathin-kiiwa-thu ngilirr-iiwa-thu

I.NOM go-POT   that-vAll-POT   cave-vALL-POT

'I will go to that cave'

- NB verbal cases mostly have verbal origin (verbal dative ← *marutha* 'put', verbal ablative ← *bula.tha* 'remove', etc); (Evans 1995: 166-8; 182-3).

Verbal cases in Kayardild

- Origin complex (Evans 1995: 182-3):

    - extensive case-percolation ("total concord")

    - old cases increasingly acquire modal function ("modal cases")

    - recruitment of new cases from of N-V compounds/serial-verb construction (hence verb inflecting)

    - analogical processes modeling verbal case on nominal.

- NB all processes in isolation (apart from the two first) are widespread cross-linguistically.

- Also usual morphology (verbal inflections retained) lags after functional reanalysis

Unusual alignment patterns I: marked NOM and ABS

In Koasati, marked NOM (and also ACC) contrast with the unmarked "autonomous" case for DAT, GEN functions.

<<Koasati>> (Kimball 1985, 331)

ifá-k	ifá-n	ifá-ø
dog-NOM	dog-ACC	dog-AUT

- **Explanation: NOM has a discourse-pragmatic functions.**
- **NB. topic/definiteness markers are usual sources of marked NOM elsewhere (Cushitic, Berber); C. König (2005).**

Unusual patterns II: Pronominal ergatives

- **Languages where only pronouns have ergative case are exceptional: counterexamples to Silverstein's generalization.**

- **Diachronic explanation for this exceptional pattern.**

    - In Wakhi (Iranian) (Filimonova 2005/Plank 1985), ERG retained on pronouns as they are more conservative under the ergative to accusative shift

        - NB A frequency effect: pronominal inflection is more conservative as pronouns are more frequent than nouns (cf. Haspelmath 2006 on the role of frequency).

Pronominal ergatives

- **In Mande languages pronominal ERG derive historically from portmanteau pronouns**
  - (even though cannot be considered as contracted synchronically; Vydrin 2006):

<<Guro>>(Vydrin 2006)

maa   blɛɛ Blaaá

1SG.ERG dog beat.PFV

'I beat a dog'

  - NB only the most frequent "direct" pattern

    (1->3) of portmanteau pronouns has been grammaticalized (again a frequency effect!)

Unusual patterns III: double oblique

- **Double-Oblique patterns as found in Iranian languages (Payne 1980; Bossong 1985; Arkadjev 2005):**

<<Vafsi>> (Stilo 2004: 232)

luas-i   *kærg-e=s*   *bæ-værdæ.*
fox-obl.sg   chicken-obl.sg=3sg pfv-take.pst
'The fox caught (the) chicken'

- **NB. A → Obl in the past; O -> Obl if prominent**
- **NB. Unlike A and P, S is in DIRect case**

Double oblique pattern

- **OBL-OBL is rare, as violates all functional principles behind case marking:**
    - Distinguishability (of A and P arguments)
    - Economy
    - Indexing (encoding of semantic roles).

- NB Indexing is violated as well, results in a discontinuous pattern on Croft's (2001) semantic map (OBL arguments marked)

$$A \quad\text{———}\quad S \quad\text{———}\quad P$$

Double oblique pattern

- **Explanation diachronic (Arkadjev 2005 -> Rastorgueva & Kerimova 1975):**
  - A/Obl – O/Obl pattern is a result of meaning extensions of the DAT/GEN case:
    - DAT/GEN → ERG (in past tense)
    - DAT/GEN → ACC'(prominent object)

Double oblique pattern

- **This pattern is due to a polysemy chain, with individual polysemy patterns well-attested elsewhere:**
  - If ERG=GEN, GEN = DAT, DAT = ACC, then ERG=ACC → A=P≠S
- **NB there is no contiguity violation of the semantic map; rather the "shortest link" violation.**

Possessor ——————— Addressee

A ————— S ————— P
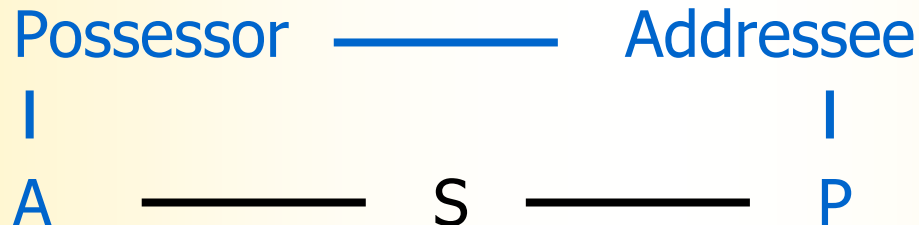
Asymmetries in DCM

- Explanation of asymmetry between DOM and DSM in terms of competing motivations/ conflicting constraints (de Hoop & Malchukov 2006)
    - in DOM Index and Diff converge → more cross-linguistic consistency;
    - in DSM Index and Diff are in conflict → less cross-linguistic consistency.

Iconicity violations and structural constraints

- Shipibo-Conibo (Valenzuela 1997): A must be marked by the ergative case only when P is referential:

e-n-ra   *yapa-ø*   *pi-kas-ai*

I-ERG-AS fish-ABS eat-DES-INCOMPL

'I want to eat fish (referential only)'

ea-ø-ra   *yapa-ø*   *pi-kas-ai*

I-ABS-AS fish-ABS eat-DES-INCOMPL

'I want to eat fish (referential or non-referential)'

- **Possible explanations:**
  - Maximal Semantic Distinguishability of A and P (Næss 2004)
  - A side effect of object incorporation
  - A consequence of a higher ranking structural constraint Primary Argument Immunity Principle (Malchukov 2006).

Iconicity violations and diachronic factors

- In Chepang, O is case-marked, only if A is intentional (Næss 2004):

Chepang>> (Caughley 1982, 68)

hEw-kay   pu?-nis-?I   sat-?a-thEy

brother-OBJ O.Brother-DL-AG kill-PT-AGRo

'The two older brothers killed the younger brother'

pu?-nis-?I   sat-?a-c-u   hEw

O.Brother-DL-AG   kill-PT-DL-AGRa Y.Brother

"The two older brothers killed the younger brother (unintentionally)'

- **Næss 2004: a violation of Maximal Semantic Distinguishability of A and P**

Iconicity/Relevance violations

- **Note that otherwise the DOM-pattern in Chepang is reminiscent of Hindi: ACC=DAT on prominent Os, but also on indirect objects.**

<<Chepang>> (de Lancey 1981)

Ngaa-?i waa? saag?-na-ng

I-ERG   bird   PRES-1SG

'I hear a bird'

Ngaa-?i waa?-kaay? saag?-na-ng

I-ERG   bird-OBJ   PRES-1SG

'I listen to a bird'

- **Explanation of the case dependency in Chepang may be historical: intentionality is a left-over of the 'attempted action' use of DAT.**

Rare patterns and language specific constraints

In Kambera (Klamer 1998), both (definite) O and IO are cross-referenced by bound pronouns;

- Unexpectedly, in ditransitives both O (theme) and IO are cross-referenced by DAT clitics:

Kambera (Klamer 1998: 203)

Na-wua-ngga-nya

3sNOM-give-1sDAT-3sDAT

'He gives it to me'

- Explanation: double DAT here is due to clitic cluster restrictions second clitic in a clitic cluster must be DAT (Klamer 1998): V-DAT-ACC → V-DAT-DAT.

    - **In OT terms: a morphological constraint (CL2/DAT_) outranking a FaithRole constraint.**

Conclusions

- 1) Common vs. rare patterns: common patterns arise when several functional motivations converge, variation is found when they in conflict (cf. subject/object asymmetries in differential case marking)
  - NB competing motivations/functional OT approach

- 2) Rare patterns dependent on co-occurrence of several different factors (cf. Harris, this workshop), cf. conditions under which case displacement in Iraqw arises;

- 3) A rare pattern may result from interaction between a grammaticalization path and a conflicting functional constraint (cf. , e.g., grammaticalization of topics to subject in conflict with an economy constraint against marked NOM)

Conclusions

- 4) Rare patterns can arise from interaction of grammaticalization paths with a language specific rule (e.g. rise of modal and verbal cases in Kayardild, depends on extensive case-percolation)

- 5) An exceptional patterns may be due to interaction of general factors with a language specific constraint, especially on a cross-modular basis (cf. interaction of syntactic vs. phonological rules in Kambera); cf. Newmeyer 2008).

- 6) Functionally deviant cases frequently result from incomplete grammaticalization cycles (pragmatic cases, not fully reanalyzed, remnant or emergent cases).

General conclusions: functional typology and OT

- **Preferential patterns in case-marking arise through functional motivations/ conflicting constraints.**

- **My approach combines functional-typological approach with the functional OT.**
  - Like other work in the functional tradition the competing motivations are functional and general (eschewing language particular constraints as sometimes practiced in OT)
  - Like in OT, sets out to determine the outcome of interaction of the assumed constraints under the different constraint ranking ('factorial typology')

General conclusions: functional typology and OT

- **Commonalities between functional typology and functional OT:**
    - Both regard grammatical patterns as arising from functional constraints
    - Different weighting/ranking of the constraints yields cross-linguistic variation
- **Conceptual differences: are constraints linguistic or extralinguistic, do they belong to grammar or are usage based (Bresnan and Aissen vs. Haspelmath)**
    - NB, however, that from an evolutionary perspective constraints arise through diachronic adaptation and may get conventionalized

General conclusions: functional typology and OT

- **Further convergent tendencies**
  - Increased role of statistic information and corpus studies in both fields; discussion of frequency effects in typology (Haspelmath) and stochastic OT (Bresnan, Jäger)
  - Evolutionary approaches; functional factors constraint diachronic processes (Haspemath's diachronic adaptation scenario; Blevins' evolutionary phonology; Jäger's 'evolutionary game theory')
  - Increased appreciation of the functional basis of grammar beyond the functionalist tradition ('Hard constraints mirror soft constraints' (Bresnan); Performance-Grammar Correspondence Hypothesis (Hawkins))