



语言学范畴研究丛书

Case

格 范 畴

第二版

Barry J. Blake
LA TROBE UNIVERSITY



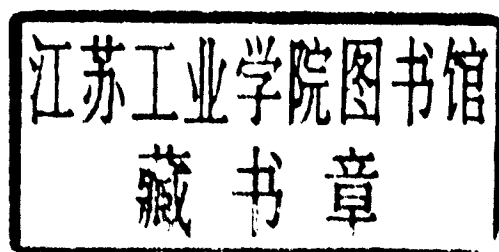
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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

About seven years have passed since I wrote the first edition of *Case*. It is now time to review what I wrote then and to take account of recent publications in the field. This second edition incorporates a number of significant additions to the data and some revised interpretations of data. It also incorporates a number of improvements and expansions to the discussion of important concepts, taking into account current developments in the field. As in the first edition, I have paid particular attention to traditional and current notions and terminology, not just in case itself, but in the areas of word class, structure, agreement, roles and grammatical relations.

The most substantial revision has been to section 3.3, which deals with abstract case in the Chomskian paradigm. I have updated this section, not without some difficulty. The book as a whole is aimed at students and academics in general linguistics or in languages, but the Chomskian paradigm contains numerous concepts and terms peculiar to itself. Introducing too many of these notions in a short section can lead to obscurity, but introducing too few runs the risk of distortion. Moreover, different authors within the paradigm adopt different approaches and the model is forever changing. Interested readers can follow up the references given in note 4 to chapter 3.

I would like to thank Carol-El-Chaar for incorporating the new material.

Bundoora
2000

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

I can remember my first encounter with case quite clearly. It was in 1949. The language was Latin and the book was *Latin for today*. The first sentence was *Discipulī, pictūram spectāte* and it came with a translation 'Pupils, look at the illustration.' I cannot say that I quickly became enamoured of case. There was not much pleasure to be had in memorising paradigms, but eventually there were rewards: the rolling hexameters of Virgil, the cleverly contrived odes of Horace and the epigrammatic prose of Tacitus, all exploiting the genius of a highly inflected language, a language where grammatical functions were expressed in the most highly condensed fashion, a single short suffix on a noun expressing case, number and sometimes gender, a single suffix on a verb expressing tense, aspect, mood, voice and the person and number of the subject.

There were other minor encounters with the language of Beowulf and the language of Njal, but my next significant encounter with case came in 1966. In that year I took up a fellowship to study Australian Aboriginal languages and I was sent to western Queensland to record Kalkatungu, or Kalkadoon in the more familiar spelling, a language which at that time had no more than a dozen fluent speakers. Like most Australian languages Kalkatungu had a well-developed case system. For Kalkatungu there was no available grammar and therefore no paradigms to learn. The paradigms had to be built up by a mixture of elicitation and recording of discourse.

These experiences are reflected in the present book. A concentration on Latin is entirely proper in a book on case, since our traditional notions of case and grammatical relations were developed with reference to Ancient Greek and Latin. If we set out to label cases in a previously undescribed language, it behoves us to apply the labels as far as possible in a way that is consistent with the traditional description of Latin. The strain of Australian Aboriginal examples that runs through the book is fortuitous, but not, I think, unfortunate. Though it reflects the background the author happens to have, it is not inappropriate, given that Australia provides, or at least did provide, the richest large-scale concentration of inflectional case languages

anywhere in the world. These languages obviously developed without any influence from Indo-European and they provide an independent perspective from which to view the case languages of our western tradition.

This book is aimed at two types of reader. Firstly it is written for senior students and academics in linguistics. Secondly it is written for senior students and academics whose field is a particular language or group of languages, students of the classical languages, for instance, or scholars of Slavonic. For all readers the book will provide a global perspective against which particular case manifestations can be judged, and for those not already versed in the literature of cross-language comparison it will reveal fascinating regularities.

Case has aesthetic properties. To the student of literature this is probably most evident in text, where an author successfully exploits the succinct means of relating words that an inflectional case system provides and the freedom of word order usually attendant on the presence of case. But there is also beauty in the system. This is nowhere more apparent than in Kalkatungu. I like to tell my students that it was a language 'more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin'. Not only did it have a system of nine cases, it had a number of valency-changing derivations that allowed different alignments of semantic role and grammatical relation. Moreover, it had a separate system of clitic pronouns, a referent-tracking system based on alternating the transitivity of the verb, and a word order maximally sensitive to the demands of discourse. Whether there were poets and orators who availed themselves of this marvellous instrument I do not know. 'Full many a flower is born to blush unseen and waste its sweetness on the desert air.'

A book cannot be written without contributions from many sources. I would like to thank first of all the following who supplied me with information: Keith Allan, Ketut Artawa, Peter Austin, Greg Bailey, Joan Barclay-Lloyd, Robert Bauer, Edith Bavin, Byron Bender, David Bradley, Kate Burridge, Mehmet Celik, Wally Chafe, Hilary Chappell, Bernard Comrie, Grev Corbett, Bob Dixon, Mark Durie, Nick Evans, Caspar de Groot, Nurcan Hacıoglu, Luise Hercus, Greg Horsley, Edrinnie Kayambazinthu, Miriam Meyerhof, Marianne Mithun, Isabel Moutinho, Johanna Nichols, William O'Grady, John Painter, Jan Rijkhoff, Graham Scott, Anna Siewierska, Jae Jung Song, Stan Starosta, Sandy Thompson and Nigel Vincent. I would also like to thank Julie Reid, who read the manuscript from the point of view of my potential readership, and I would particularly like to thank Rodney Huddleston, who oversaw the writing on behalf of the publisher and made numerous helpful suggestions.

Others who facilitated the work include Judith Ayling, who was always available on the e-mail to help with queries, and the staff of the Borchardt Library at La Trobe, particularly the inter-library loan staff. My biggest debt is to the secretaries

of the Department of Linguistics, Dothea Haynes and Barbara Upton, particularly Barbara who did the final formatting. '... hands worked busily a day, and there she stands. Will't please you sit and look ... ?'

Bundoora
1992

ABBREVIATIONS

A	The agent argument of a transitive verb or any argument that is treated in the same way grammatically.
ab	abessive
abl	ablative
abs	absolutive
acc	accusative
agt	agent
all	allative
ap	antipassive
aux	auxiliary
ben	beneficiary, benefactive
caus	causative
com	comitative
COR	correspondent
dat	dative
decl	declension
DO	direct object
ds	different subject
du	dual
el	elative
erg	ergative
evid	evidential
exp	experiencer
f	feminine
fa	future actor
fem	feminine
fin	finite
fut	future
gen	genitive
ger	gerundive

ia	instrumental advancement
ill	illative
imp	imperative
impf	(a) imperfect (b) imperfective
in	inessive
inc	inclusive
inch	inchoative
inf	infinitive
inst	instrumental
int	interrogative
IO	indirect object
loc	locative
m	masculine
mabl	modal ablative
masc	masculine
neut	neuter
nm	nominaliser
nom	nominative
NP	noun phrase
npst	nonpast
O	object
obj	object
obl	oblique
obv	obviative
P	The patient argument of a transitive verb or any argument that is treated in the same way grammatically.
par	partitive
part	participle
pass	passive
pat	patient
perf	(a) perfect (b) perfective
pl	plural
plur	plural
poss	possessor
ppart	past participle
pperf	pluperfect
pres	present tense
prop	propriative

prpart	present participle
purp	purpose, purposive
recip	recipient
refl	reflexive
rel	(a) relative (b) relative case
S	(a) the single argument of a one-place verb (b) subject (as in SOV subject-object-verb) (c) sentence (as in $S \rightarrow NP VP$)
sg	singular
sing	singular
ss	same subject
subj	subject
trans	translative
V	verb (as in SVO subject-verb-object)
voc	vocative
VP	verb phrase
1	(a) first person (b) subject (in Relational Grammar)
2	(a) second person (b) direct object (in Relational Grammar)
3	(a) third person (b) indirect object (in Relational Grammar)
-	separates morphs and the corresponding glosses: Spanish <i>virtud-es</i> (virtue-PL) 'virtues'
.	separates multiple glosses of a single morph or word form: German <i>trank</i> (drink.PAST) 'drank'
=	separates a clitic from its host

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1 Overview

1.1 Inflectional case

Case is a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads. Traditionally the term refers to inflectional marking, and, typically, case marks the relationship of a noun to a verb at the clause level or of a noun to a preposition, postposition or another noun at the phrase level. Consider the following Turkish sentence,

- (1) *Mehmet* *adam-a* *elma-lar-ı* *ver-di*
 Mehmet.NOM man-DAT apple-PL-ACC give-PAST.3SG
 ‘Mehmet gave the apples to the man.’

In this sentence *-ı* indicates that *elmalar* is the direct object of the verb *vermek* ‘to give’. The suffix *-ı* is said to be an accusative (or objective) case marker and the word form *elmaları* is said to be in the accusative case.¹ The suffix *-ı* also indicates that *elmaları* is specific, since in Turkish only specific direct objects are marked as accusative. *Adam* is marked by the suffix *-a* which indicates that it is the indirect object. *Adama* is in the dative case. *Mehmet* contrasts with *elmaları* and *adama* in that it bears no overt suffix. It is said to be in the nominative case, which in this sentence indicates the subject.²

The term **case** is also used for the phenomenon of having a case system and a language with such a system is sometimes referred to as a **case language**.

Our definition of case refers to marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads. This definition obviously embodies certain assumptions about what is a head and what is a dependent or modifier. The verb is taken to be the head of the clause, since it largely determines what dependents may be present. *Vermek* ‘to give’, for instance, is a three-place verb that takes three arguments: a giver (expressed in (1) by the subject in the nominative case), a gift (expressed in (1) by the direct object in the accusative case) and a recipient (expressed by the indirect object in the dative case). A verb may also have other dependents expressing,

Table 1.1 *Turkish case system*

nominative	<i>adam</i>
accusative	<i>adamı</i>
genitive	<i>adamin</i>
dative	<i>adama</i>
locative	<i>adamda</i>
ablative	<i>adamdan</i>

for instance, time or location, which, though not licensed by a particular verb, are nevertheless modifiers of the verb.

Turkish has a system of six cases as in Table 1.1. The locative marks location as in *Istanbul-da* ‘in Istanbul’, and the ablative indicates ‘from’ or ‘out of’ as in *Ankara-dan* ‘from Ankara’. The genitive is used in phrases like *adam-ın ev-i* ‘the man’s house’ where *ın* corresponds to ‘s’ in English. There is a complication. Note that *ev* ‘house’ bears a suffix *-i* which is a third-person-possessive form translatable as ‘his’, ‘her’ or ‘its’. In Turkish ‘the man’s house’ is literally ‘the man’s, his house’. The genitive meets the definition of case on the assumption that *ev* is the head of a noun phrase and *adam* a dependent.

In (1) the cases are determined or governed by the verb. *Vermek* ‘to give’ requires a subject in the nominative, an indirect object in the dative and a direct object in the accusative (if specific) or nominative (if nonspecific). Cases can also be governed by prepositions or postpositions. Turkish has postpositions which govern the ablative like *dolayı* ‘because of’: *toplantı-dan dolayı* ‘because of the meeting’, and *sonra* ‘after’: *tiyatro-dan sonra* ‘after the theatre’.³

The word forms displayed in Table 1.1 make up a **paradigm**, i.e. they constitute the set of case forms in which the lexeme *adam* can appear.⁴ In Turkish one could say that there is only one paradigm in that a constant set of endings is found for all nouns. It is true that noun stems of different shapes take different inflectional suffixes, but all these differences are phonologically conditioned by principles of vowel harmony and the like. The locative, for instance, has the form *-da* following stems with back vowels and *-de* following stems with front vowels. The *d* of this suffix devoices to *t* following a stem-final voiceless consonant: *kitap-ta* ‘on (the) book’.⁵ One could refer to *-da*, *-de*, *-ta* and *-te* as case markers or one could consider that at a more abstract level there was only one locative case marker. We need to make a distinction between **cases** (of which there are six in a system of oppositions), and the **case markers** or **case forms** through which the cases are realised. A case marker is an affix and a case form is a complete word. In Turkish the case affixes can be separated from the stem, so it is possible to talk about case markers. In some languages, however, it is not possible to isolate a case suffix, so it is necessary to