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**Variierende Markierung
von Nominalgruppen
in Sprachen
unterschiedlichen Typs**



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wird. Diese Neutralisation kann in solchen Kontexten mit einer Hyperrolle erfaßt werden.

Th. Stolz und C. Stroh betrachten die Variation in der Kodierung komitativer und instrumentaler Relationen, die wenigstens in Europa häufig gleich ("synkretistisch") kodiert werden (z. B. durch deutsch *mit*). Variation betrifft in diesem Fall den verschiedenen Umfang des Gebrauchs sprachlicher Ausdrücke sowohl in verschiedenen Sprachen (hier: Deutsch, Estnisch, Kalderaš und teilweise verwandte Sprachen) als auch in einer Sprache: Die Gebrauchsweisen von *mit* stimmen z. B. in hohem Maße mit denen eines Suffixes im Estnischen und im Kalderaš überein, während z. B. entsprechende Morpheme im Finnischen andere Distributionsprofile aufweisen. Hier stellt sich dann erstens die Frage nach den Grenzen der Variation, also der Beliebigkeit der sprachspezifischen Synkretismen, die durch "Merkmalsattraktion" gebildet sind: Ist eine Sprache denkbar, in der ein Kasus oder eine Adposition sowohl "Begleiter" als auch "Zeitdauer" ausdrückt, aber nicht das "Mittel"? Zweitens erhebt sich die Frage nach der innersprachlichen Realität der im Synkretismus zusammengefaßten Kategorien. Eine Antwort auf die letzte Frage liegt in der Betrachtung der "verstärkten Konstruktionen" vom Typ 'zusammen mit' (s. o. M. Grochowski über die sekundären Präpositionen), deren eigene Distributionsprofile eine innere Differenzierung dieser synkretistischen Kategorien (z. B. "Instrumental" vs. "Komitativ") erlauben.

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On defining "variable marking" or "marking variation with nominal groups"

1. Introduction

Variation in morphosyntactic marking of nominal groups has always attracted the attention of scholars from linguistics. This holds not only for Slavonic languages, from which most of the examples in this introductory study will be taken. The bibliography, for example, that has been presented by CORBETT (1986) on the variation between genitive and accusative case with the direct object in Russian negated sentences comprises more than a hundred titles. And many studies on that issue have been published in the last 15 years, some monographs among them. A considerable number of these investigations pursue didactic aims. For a foreign language learner it is of course of great importance to know where he has to use one of the marking strategies of the corresponding foreign language, where the other one, and where the choice is rather irrelevant. On the other hand, in recent years variation, or better: "system-internal" variation¹, has increasingly interested theorists of linguistics, last not least in the discussions around Optimality Theory (cf. HASPELMATH 1999). This is mainly due to the fact that the phenomenon of variation is in many cases (though not all²) a synchronic reflec-

* The author kindly expresses his gratefulness to Robert McLaughlin for his help with the English text.

1 Sociolinguistic variation, which is not discussed in this volume, has of course been an issue since the 60ies.

2 Note, for example, that the above-mentioned variation between genitive and accusative case with the direct object of Russian negated sentences mirrors a historic shift away from the "genitivus negationis" with the direct object in Slavonic languages. In languages like Czech or Croatian this development has almost been completed, whereas Polish more or less still reflects the state that existed about a millenium ago. Russian is, so to say, in the middle of the process. But things are different with the variation of the "genitivus negationis" and the nominative with the "subject" or better with first arguments of Russian existential predicates, as discussed for example by

tion of a diachronic shift from one marking strategy to the other. This means that investigation into variation phenomena may deliver insights about the synergetic nature of natural languages, i. e. in their capability to steadily reorganize themselves as a system.

2. "Variation" vs. "opposition" and "neutralisation"

In spite of the importance of variation phenomena for linguistic research, the notion "variation" or "marking variation" tends to be used in a rather informal manner. This stands in contrast to the rather stringent definition of "variation" in Prague. In early structuralistic terminology the notion of "variation" formed – as we may say – a metalinguistic semantic field together with the notion of "opposition" and "neutralisation". Furthermore, it had the two hyponyms of "facultative" or "free variation" and of "combinatory" or "positional variation". In many cases where modern linguistic literature speaks of variation, the question arises, whether the alleged variants are in fact instances of a variation or rather elements that stand in opposition. It was Roman JAKOBSON (1936) in his famous "Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kasuslehre" who, for example, described the above-mentioned variation of the genitive and the accusative with the direct object of negated Russian sentences as an opposition (pp 257f): *ne našel kvartiry*_{GEN}, 'he did not find a flat' vs. *ne našel kvartiru*_{ACC}, 'he did not find the flat'. According to him, the genitive signals the absence of a concrete referent of the object phrase, the accusative its presence. (In other words, the genitive would mark an indefinite, non-referential noun phrase, the accusative a definite, referential one.) But Jakobson was cautious enough to add that the accusative may be used as well, if the speaker does not emphasize the absence of that referent.

Another "variation" that was declared an opposition by JAKOBSON (1936, 265ff) was the option between instrumental and nominative case with predicative nouns in Russian. The former, according to Jakobson, (roughly speaking) expresses an episodic character of an utterance like *On togda byl direktorom instituta*, 'He was at that time the director of the institute', and the latter a stable feature like in *Oni byli greki*, 'They were Greeks'. But again there is the Jakobsonian cautiousness when he notes that the instrumental may be replaced by the nominative when there is no intention to

BABBY (1980). To a certain degree this variation has existed in Slavonic languages for the last 1000 years, of course with differences between single languages.

emphasize the episodic character. Jakobson's tendency to interpret formal contrasts like the two already mentioned as oppositions has been taken over by others like, for example, Wierzbicka (e. g. in WIERZBICKA 1980) or by Cognitive Linguists (e. g. JANDA 1993), often enough without the Jakobsonian cautiousness. Others have rejected the oppositional nature of the formal contrasts (e. g. KACNEL'SON 1972, 53f or PADUČEVA & USPENSKIJ 1979 as to the relation between nominative and instrumental with predicative nouns in Russian). This is not the place to discuss these phenomena of Russian in detail (cf. for that purpose HENTSCHEL forthcoming and, for Polish, BOGUSŁAWSKI in this volume). But of course the question remains whether the maxime that every formal contrast is based on a semantic or functional one (cf. BOLINGER 1968, 127; ISAČENKO 1975, 146; WIERZBICKA 1988, 14) is valid without limitations.

According to Trubetzkoy's principles, elements that are to be treated as variants of one constant must *n e v e r* be in opposition. In other words, there must not be even one context where they stand in opposition. Since we are dealing not with phones and phonemes but with morphosyntactic markers in this volume, this would mean that in order to identify two (or more) different morphosyntactic markers as instances of a variation, there must not be one single context where these markers contrast semantically or functionally.

It can be stated from the very beginning that most of the phenomena discussed in this volume do not fulfill this condition. So, when linguists speak of "variative" this is often enough a "prima facie" variation. There are at least some contexts where the corresponding "variants" do form oppositions. This is no surprise when dealing with morphosyntactic markers:

The most obvious instance of opposition is of course direct paradigmatic opposition. If in a sequence *ABX* the element *X* may be replaced by *Y* and the result of this replacement is semantically or functionally relevant, it is a "clear" opposition. This is the prototypical instance of phonemic opposition. But there are indirect phonemic oppositions as well. TRUBETZKOY (1938) mentions the case of German /h/ and /ɣ/. They do not share any context and thus do not contrast paradigmatically, but only syntagmatically³. Syntagmatic opposition is obviously typical for morphosyntactic markers. Except for the "periphery" of sentence structures (especially for local, temporal nominal groups but others as well – cf. for example MEL'ČUK 1986),

3 If not for the (problematic) criterion of substantial similarity they could be treated in Trubetzkoy's terms as positional variants like [x] and [ç].

morphosyntactic markers typically contrast syntagmatically. The typical absence of paradigmatic contrasts makes some linguists state that the main function of morphological case (at least as far as complements, and not adjuncts, of a predicate are concerned) is a diacritic one.

Syntagmatic oppositions between morphosyntactic markers become obvious of course in such concrete contexts where there is something to differentiate on the syntagmatic level of concrete utterances. In the Russian sentence (1) for example, the dative and the prepositional marking with *dlja* plus genitive clearly expresses a semantically relevant distribution:

- (1a) Ja tebe_{Dat} dlja_{Prep} malen'kogo_{Gen} kupila botinki.
'I have bought you for the little one shoes.'

Only the direct recipient of the shoes can take the dative; the ultimate recipient, which is usually called the benefactive (beneficiary), obligatorily takes the prepositional marking in this context.

If, however, the syntagmatic context is reduced to one recipient, both markers can occur:

- (1b) Ja tebe_{Dat} kupila botinki.
(1c) Ja dlja_{Prep} tebj_{Gen} kupila botinki.
'I have bought you shoes.'

Much effort has been made to construe a semantic difference even in those contexts where it then would be a paradigmatic opposition (cf. WIERZBICKA 1986, 387 or AKGR 1982 II, 36). Sometimes this was in analogy to another "dative variation", where much is similar but one crucial point different:

- (2a) On mne_{Dat} na_{Prep} poslednij vopros_{Acc} ne otvetil.
'He did not answer me on my last question.'
(2b) On mne_{Dat} ne otvetil.
'He did not answer me.'
(2c) On na_{Prep} poslednij vopros_{Acc} ne otvetil.
'He did not answer to the last question.'

When (2a) is reduced syntagmatically, the marking constellation remains stable, leaving the personal (non-first) participant with the dative (2b) and the inanimate one with the prepositional marking. So in the case of (2), a solution in terms of different semantic (thematic) roles for the nominal group with only the dative or the prepositional marking seems to be justified. In (1a) such a description encounters the difficulty that the corresponding participants do not show a difference in animateness (or personality). Things are

thus far from being as obvious as in (2). But the mere fact that native speakers accept (1b) and (1c) as synonymous, irrespective of the question whether recipient and benefactive coincide ontologically or whether the corresponding utterance is indifferent to this distinction, should be accepted as an argument for treating the marking conventions of (1b) and (1c) as instances of a neutralisation of a principally syntagmatic opposition. Interpretations suggesting a paradigmatic opposition in sentences (1b) and (1c) seem to be far-fetched (see STÖRMER in this volume for details).

On the other hand, there are doubtlessly contexts where dative and prepositional marking with *dlja*, 'for' in Russian (and correspondingly in other Indo-European languages) do form a direct, paradigmatic opposition. This is the case with evaluative predicates like *važno*, 'important':

- (3a) Emu_{Dat} èto bylo važno.
(3b) Dlja_{Prep} nego_{Gen} èto bylo važno.
'To / For him this was important.'

Whereas the dative in (3a) signals that the referent of the pronoun in the dative (at least where it has its normal referential meaning, and not a generic one) is aware of the stated importance, the corresponding prepositional marking in (3b) is indifferent in this respect. So in front of us is a "canonical" privative opposition in the sense of Trubetzkoy. The problem with this privative opposition is that it works with just a handful of evaluative adjectival predicates, but even with these it is limited to certain contexts (see HENTSCHEL in this volume): Its functional load is rather small. In contexts like (4) and in many others dative and prepositional marking vary freely:

- (4) Èto mne_{Dat} / dlja_{Prep} menja_{Gen} očen' interesno.
'This is very interesting for me.'

As has been discussed so far, a given instance of two competing morphosyntactic markers, like the one between the dative and the preposition *dlja* in Russian, can have contexts where they, first, form a syntagmatic opposition, second, make up a paradigmatic opposition, and, third, are in free variation (or neutralisation, allowing both markers). Additionally, the examples under (5) – with (4) repeated as (5a) – illustrate a type of positional variation:

- (5a) Èto mne_{Dat} [!]⁴ / dlja_{Prep} menja_{Gen} očen' interesno.
 (5b) Vopros mne_{Dat} / dlja_{Prep} menja_{Gen} očen' interesen.
 'The question is very interesting for me.'
 (5c) Vopros ?mne_{Dat} / dlja_{Prep} menja očen' interesnyj.
 'the same as (5b)'
 (5d) Ona postavila interesnyj ??mne_{Dat} / dlja_{Prep} menja_{Gen} vopros.
 'She asked an interesting for me question.'
 (5e) Samoe interesnoe *mne_{Dat} / dlja_{Prep} menja_{Gen} rasskazal on.
 'The most interesting for me [thing] told he.'

In these five sentences the (semantic) predicate 'interesting' appears in three syntactic functions – as the syntactic predicate in (5a) to (5c), as a modifier in (5d) and as a nominalized lexical head in (5e) – and in two forms – the so-called short form of an adjective in (5a) and (5b) and the long form in (5c) to (5e).

Most obviously these functional and formal differences have an impact on the choice of the morphosyntactic marker (see HENTSCHEL in this volume for details): the dative is prevalent in (5a) but the probability of its occurrence decreases from (5a) to (5e), becoming impossible if not in (5d) so at least in (5e). Whereas syntactically predicative function and long form are in favour of dative marking, the function of modifier and nominalized lexical head disfavours or even blocks it. Interestingly, the quantitative relations may be different for other adjectival predicates. For example with verbs of perception in contexts of the type (5a), only the dative is allowed, the prepositional marking becoming possible in context type (5d). In other words, the general impact of the context type favouring or disfavours the dative remains. This is of course an instance of deterministic complementary distribution or positional variation: one of the markers is blocked. But in others the complementarity is rather probabilistic in nature: positional preferences for one or the other marker.

Another example of a positionally complementary distribution can be observed in a subarea of the genitive-accusative variation with the direct object in Russian negated sentences already mentioned:

- (6a) On ne videl ètu devušku_{Acc} / ??ètoj devuški_{Gen}.
 'He did not see this girl.'

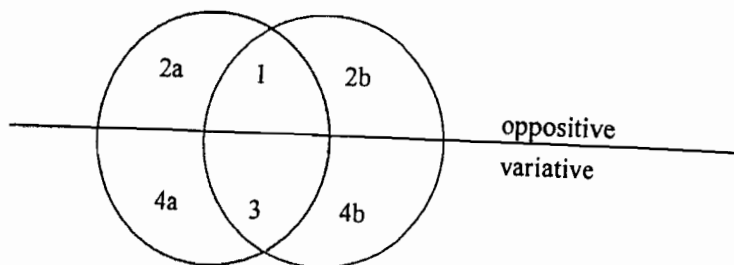
4 [!] after one of the competing variants signals that this one is preferred, i. e. more frequently used, but the other one is possible as well.

- (6b) On ne videl ètot gruzovik_{Acc} [!] / ètogo gruzovika_{Gen}.
 'He did not see this lorry.'
 (6c) On ne videl ètu problemu_{Acc} / ètoj problemy_{Gen} [!].
 'He did not see this problem.'
 (6k) Nikakuju devušku_{Acc} / ?Nikakoj devuški_{Gen} ne vižu.
 'I do not see any girl.'
 (6l) ?Nikakoj gruzovik_{Acc} / Nikakogo gruzovika_{Gen} ne vižu.
 'I do not see any lorry.'
 (6m) ??Nikakuju problemu_{Acc} / Nikakoj poblemy ne vižu.
 'I do not see any problem.'

The examples in (6) show the interaction of at least two parameters influencing the choice of genitive or accusative case. The first one is empathy or the dynamicity hierarchy: the more speaker-like the referent of the direct object, the higher the probability of the accusative. In Contemporary Standard Russian, the genitive in sentences like (6a) is almost ruled out. The second parameter is the so-called reinforced negation by the negative pronoun *nikakoj*, which turns the nominal group into a non-referential one. This enforced negation is unanimously reported to strongly favour genitive case. But as we see in (6k) the accusative is acceptable with a personal noun, whereas in (6m) with an abstract one it is almost impossible⁵. The examples in (6) thus illustrate free variation (with probabilistic positional preferences) in sentences (6b) / (6c) and (6l) (maybe even (6k)) and positional variation – (6a) on the one hand, and (6m) on the other simultaneously: in dependency on two or even more parameters.

To summarize, phenomena often labelled as variations between two morphosyntactic markers, or to express it more cautiously, two competing morphosyntactic markers, as a rule display the following distributional picture:

5 Sentences (6k-m) show another contrast compared to sentences (6a-c). It is the initial portion of the object group which seems to enforce the possibility of the accusative. But this would just be a third parameter interfering.



- 1 contexts of paradigmatic opposition
- 2 contexts of complementary distribution and of syntagmatic opposition, where 2a represents one semantic or functional value and 2b another
- 3 contexts of paradigmatic, free variation
- 4 contexts of complementary distribution and of syntagmatic variation (non-opposition) with one marker occurring only in subset 4a of the contexts and with the other one occurring only in subset 4b

As there are contexts where the two marking devices show oppositional character (1 and 3) the contexts subsumed here under variation (2 and 4) would in strict Trubetzkoy's terms have to be called neutralisation. Neutralisation in phonology usually results in a distribution of the representations of the "archiphoneme" ("Archiphonemstellvertreter") that resembles complementary (positional) variation, not free variation. This is different with morphosyntactic markers: When we talk of variation of morphosyntactic markers, what is referred to is rather a widespread neutralisation of an opposition with complementary or free distribution of the markers in specific contexts.

3. On the location of the "tertium comparationis" or the "constant"

For two morphosyntactic markers to be variants it must be possible to locate and to identify the constant or tertium comparationis they stand for. The question arises where or which level of representation this constant has to be

located on: first, on a situative (in a broader sense) level of extralinguistic reality; second, on a universal cognitive level⁶, third on the level of a given single language? Clearly, it is not the task of linguistics to investigate the structures, entities etc. of the first level. So there remain the last two. But whereas the cognitive level does usually not have to be differentiated further (at least not in linguistics), all modern language models differentiate more than one level of representation within the single language.

The question of the constant is comparably easy in the above-mentioned examples of the variation between the instrumental and the nominative case with predicate nouns in Russian or between genitive and accusative case with the direct object of Russian negated sentences. At least in sentence pairs like (7a / b) and (8a / b), one can postulate a paradigmatic variative relation (in the sense of context type 3 in the scheme above) and a constant that is made up by structural identity on the syntactic and semantic (in terms of semantic roles) levels of Russian:

- (7a) Ona ne podnimala golovy_{Gen}.
 (7b) Ona ne podnimala golovu_{Acc}.
 both: 'She did not lift the head.'
- (8a) Oni byli kogda-to druz'jami_{Ins}.
 (8b) Oni byli kogda-to druz'ja_{Nom}.
 both: 'They once were friends.'

In other words, in (7) the nominal group *golova*, 'head' would have in any account of the sentence a semantic role of patient and a syntactic function of (direct) object⁷. In (8) the noun *druz'ja*, 'friends' is undoubtedly the (syntactic) predicate binding one (external) argument in both sentences. So the constant behind the two marking devices can be seen in a nominal group

6 LEHMANN; SHIN; VERHOEVEN (1998, 3) additionally differentiate this level into a first one with a universal cognitive representation that is independent of language ("language" and "langue" in terms of de Saussure) and a second one that is already structured by language, but not by the system of a single "langue".

7 If at all (Russian is more restrictive as to passivization than German or English), patients of negated sentences can become subjects of passive sentences irrespective of genitive or accusative marking in the corresponding active sentences. – Note furthermore that a description that states that the nominal group in the genitive would be within the scope of negation, and the nominal group in the accusative outside of that scope (as for example proposed in NEIDLE 1988), would seem at least in such sentences clearly unjustified.

with semantically and / or syntactically identical values, i. e. identical semantic roles and / or syntactic functions.

Instances like these, where the constant can be determined intralinguistically, in terms of semantic roles⁸ and syntactic functions, can be understood as the prototype of marking variation. Things already are different with phenomena of diathesis. A diathesis is usually defined as a certain pattern of correspondence between semantic roles and syntactic functions. If a given predicate-complement-scheme, i. e. a predicate with at least two complements of different semantic roles, allows more than two diatheses, one might speak of a variation as well: *John*_{AG-Subj} *hit the ball*_{PAT-Obj} vs. *The ball*_{PAT-Subj} *was hit by John*_{AG-Adj}⁹; *Železnuju dorogu*_{PAT-Obj-Akk} *postroili plennye*_{AG-Subj-Nom} vs. *Železnaja doroga*_{PAT-Sub-Nom} *byla postroena plennymi*_{AG-Adj-Instr}. 'Prisoners built the railroad' (with reversed constituent order in the Russian sentence) vs. 'The railroad was built by prisoners'. The constant of a given nominal group can be seen in its semantic role, i. e. in an intralinguistic value. What varies is its syntactic function; for example, "object" and "subject" with the patient in canonical active-passive-pairs and thus, in a language like Russian, its morphosyntactic representation. Phenomena of different diatheses are usually not treated as phenomena of variation. To differentiate the "variation" within different diatheses from the above-mentioned variation phenomena, one may call the former "marking alternation", and the latter thus "marking variation", *sensu stricto*. Phenomena of diatheses are usually not discussed as instances of "variation"¹⁰, which is probably due to their clear oppositional character in terms of discourse-pragmatic perspectivization. Furthermore, there are usually more than just differences in marking (by case or adposition) of one particular nominal group. There are clear constructional differences that affect at least two nominal groups and often enough the verb as well.

Clearer constructional differences occur as well with still another "variant of variation". But this one – in contrast to diatheses alternation – is indeed often discussed as a phenomenon of variation. Cf. the following Russian sentences:

- 8 The possibility of an intralinguistic determination of semantic roles presupposes a model of languages that provides such roles as a descriptive tool, in other words, it presupposes a corresponding theoretical device.
- 9 Ag-"Adj" stands for Agent as an external argument / complement that functions at the surface of passive sentences as an adjunct. It may, for example, be left out.
- 10 But compare the discussion of split ergativity, e. g. GIVÓN (1984, 153ff).

- (9a) On počinil Maše velosiped.
 (9b) On počinil u Maši velosiped.
 (9c) On počinil Mašin velosiped.
 (9d) On počinil velosiped Maši.
 all, roughly: 'He repaired Maša's bicycle'

The cognitive feature at issue in these sentences is, of course, the relationship of possession. A girl named Maša is the "possessor" of a bicycle. If we treat all four coding possibilities in (9) as variants of one underlying constant, then the latter probably has to be stipulated as the representation of an extralinguistic fact on a cognitive level. On a language-specific level, syntactic and semantic, there are clear formal and constructional differences in the representation of *Maša*. The main difference consists in the fact that *Maša* functions only in (9a) and (9b) "directly" as a nominal group on the clause level, whereas in (9c) and (9d) *Maša* is an element of a superordinated nominal group that directly forms a nominal group on the clause level and that has *velosiped*, 'bicycle' as its lexical head. Thus *Maša* in (9c) and (9d) is not directly involved on the clause level but on the phrase level. Furthermore, *Maša* in (9c) appears as a possessive adjective, i. e. as a modifier of the head *velosiped*, 'bicycle', but it is a nominal adjunct to this lexical head in (9d). It is thus clear that there is no constant that can be identified on a syntactic level within the given language, at least if one does not allow transformations (here: some type of "possessor raising"), that affect categorial representation (*Mašin* – adjective vs. *Maša* – noun) of the entity referred to.

The same would be the case for the language-specific semantic level as far as it is defined in terms of semantic (thematic) roles. Today it is widely agreed that such participant roles should be subdivided into a first role type on the cognitive level (c-participants) and into a second one on the linguistic level (l-participant)¹¹. As far as the latter are concerned, most linguistic theories or models would not stipulate l-participant roles for nominal groups that are not direct members of the clause level but rather direct members of the phrase level of superordinated nominal groups. With HELBIG (1992), one may say that such models share a "syntactisized" conception of semantic (l-participant) roles. In *Peter's letter annoyed me* the nominal group *Peter* is not a direct constituent of the sentence level but of the phrase level, i. e. of

11 We will not discuss whether this linguistic level should be identified on an interlingual (typological) level or a language-specific level.

the phrase which has *letter* as its lexical head. So these models would not assign a "syntactico"-semantic role to *Peter* but only to *letter* and *me*. *Letter* would be treated as the first (external) argument with the role agents or force, both in a broader sense. On the cognitive level, of course, *Peter* has to be treated as the agent, so that within these frameworks the constant can not be identified in terms of semantic roles in the sense of language specific roles.

This might seem possible only for sentences (9a) and (9b). But here the following question arises. For (9a) with *Maša* in the dative a reading with *Maša* as the possessor is certainly the default one, but there is certainly another reading: The agent may repair any bicycle, maybe even his own one, to be used by *Maša*. This would then be, if at all, a somewhat different, broad variant of possession. If the agent is the owner of the bicycle and thus the possessor in a narrow (untypical sense), then *Maša* as the benefactive of the action of repairing can only be seen as a possessor in a much broader sense¹². So the only level on which the constant can be looked for is the cognitive level. It would be the cognitive participant (c-participant) possessor.

When the constant can be seen only on a cognitive level, what varies is, of course, not only the morpho-syntactic marking – at least if we understand marking as a phenomenon of surface level¹³. There are constructional (syntactic) and semantic, e. g. syntacto-semantic (semantic-role-constellations) as well. In order to differentiate these phenomena from marking variations (sensu stricto) and marking alternations (diathesis differences) one might speak of expression variation in the case of the former. But nevertheless the criteria, the parameters that are of relevance for the distribution of two different and "competing" markers or constructions are obviously the same (at least to a high degree) in all three types of phenomena¹⁴.

12. There are, of course, still other dimensions of a broader conception of possession, as for example for a teacher talking of 'his parents' in the sense of 'the (biological or social) parents of his students'.

13. With "surface level", it is not the absolute surface level of phonemic representation that is meant, but the level where, for example, morphological cases like nominative, genitive, accusative etc. function like significant ("cases₂" in the sense of MEL'ČUK 1986). On the phonemic level of surface representation, they function like signifiés with concrete case forms ("cases₃" in the terminology of MEL'ČUK) as their signifiés.

14. The phenomena discussed in this volume are mostly ones that belong to marking variations and expression variations in the proposed sense. Phenomena of marking alternations or differences in diathesis are commented upon only occasionally.

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