PARTITIVE CASE AND ABSTRACT LICENSING: SOCIATIVE CAUSATION IN KINANDE

Monica Alexandrina Irimia (University of Modena and Reggio Emilia) &
Patricia Schneider-Zioga (California State University, Fullerton)

Bantu languages are at the center of a debate about the role of nominal licensing. One camp argues that Bantu nominals do not need licensing (Harford 1985, a.o.); in the same line, Case is seen as a parametric choice (Diercks 2012, van der Wal 2015, a.o), with most Bantu languages being set to *no Case*. For another camp (Halpert 2015, Carsten and Mletshe 2016, a.o.), nominal licensing plays a role in Bantu languages. We provide support for this second camp; based on the Bantu language Kinande, we demonstrate that (a type of) inherent case is subject to licensing inside *v*P.

The data. We discuss overtly marked partitive (PART) case, a phenomenon virtually undocumented in Bantu languages. In Kinande, PART morphology is obligatory in a special type of causative, namely the sociative (SOC) causative, signaled by the morpheme *-ek-/-ik-* (1). In these constructions, an event is obligatorily subdivided between causer and causee such that the causer carries out a subevent of the caused event, including sharing a part of the theme nominal (*ngímba* 'clothes' in 1). The sentence in (1) is only felicitous if Kavira helps by washing some of Marya's clothes and Marya washed the rest of them, and not in a situation where Kavira helps by, for example, pouring soap into the wash-water (see the entry in 4).

(1) Kávirá a-k'-ér-**ek**-a-y-a   (***oko**   ngímba   y') Maryá   y'   *(**oko**)   ngímba.
 Kavira 3SG-IMPF-wash-**SOC**-TAM-TR-FV **LOC=PART** clothes LK' Mary LK' **LOC=PART** clothes
  'Kavira helps Mary wash her clothes.'

Special characteristics and freezing. **I)** Crucially, the object (*ngímba* 'clothes') of the caused event must be morphologically partitive and thus be preceded by *oko*, a locative (LOC) marker reinterpreted as PART, and also found in other partitive constructions. **II)** Unexpected for Bantu, SOC PART behaves like a structural Case under various tests. **II. A)** It is tied to a syntactic position rather than to a particular thematic/semantic role. Evidence from adverbials merged above VP (LOC in 2) indicates SOC PART licensing in a Spec, *v* position, and not inside VP, see (3). **II. B)** Crucially, SOC PART is different from other locative DPs which are allowed to move to an A-position in Kinande (5 vs. 2). SOC PART is inherent as its distribution is semantically conditioned, albeit not by thematic roles.

(2) Kámbale mw-á-hek-**ek**-ír-ye   Magulú y' **oko**   **mbago** oko mulongo.
  Kambale AFF-3SG-carry-**SOC**-TAM-TR-FV Magulu LK' **LOC=PART** planks LOC village
  'Kambale helped Magulu carry the planks in the village (event located in village).'

(3)

(4) $\lambda P.\lambda x.\lambda y.\ \exists e,e'[P(e) \wedge P(e') \wedge e' < e \wedge \text{agent}(e') = y \wedge \text{beneficiary}(e) = x]$
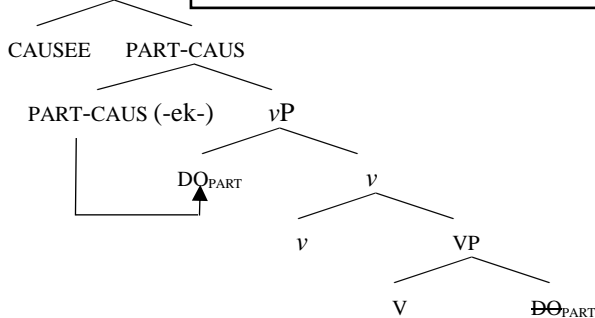
(5) Jacky mwakurira [ekihiringiti ky' **oko** **Arlette**]/ [**oko** **Arlette** kw' ekihiringiti].
    1Jacky 3SG.pull.APPL 7trunk   7LK' **17LOC** 1Arlette/ **17LOC** 1Arlette 17 LK' 7trunk
    'Jacky pulled the trunk to Arlette.'

II. C) Another difference resides in passivization. SOC PART cannot passivize, contrary to arguments of (in)direct causatives, applicatives, or other locatives. In (6) we see a direct causative (*without* the morpheme -**ek**), where passivization can apply to the theme. In (7), on the other hand, passivization cannot apply to SOC causative PART; the latter only allows causee passivization (8):

(6) esyombagó sy-a-hek-i-**báw**-a   na Kámbale.   *Direct causative*
    10planks   10-TAM-carry-TR-**PASS.TAM**-FV with Kambale
    'Planks were made to be carried by Kambale.'

(7) ****oko**/Ø   esyombagó syahek-**ek**-i-bá-w-a   (na Kámbale). *SOC causative*
    LOC=PART 10plank   10carry-**SOC**-TRANS-aC-PASS-FV (with Kambale)
    Intended: 'Planks were helped to be carried (by Kambale)'

(8) Nadine a-hek-**ik**-i-a-**w**-a   **oko**   mbago.   *SOC causative*
     Nadine 3SG-carry-**SOC**-TR-V-**PASS**-FV   **LOC=PART** plank
    'Nadine was helped (by someone) to carry the planks.'

To summarize, SOC PART presents a very puzzling behavior. Freezing and absence of passivization set it apart from arguments of other causatives and applicatives. Crucially, an adjunct explanation is not available either. SOC PART also diverges from typical adjuncts which can move easily to various positions in the clausal spine (Baker and Collins 2006, a.o.). Strictly connecting SOC PART to semantic partitivity *of the object* is not enough either. In (9), the PART-marked object is singular and the interpretation is not that Kambale and Magulu each kill parts of the same snake. Instead, each are doing part of the killing eventuality of a snake. All the SOC PART examples can instead be unified as forcing a *sharing requirement* on the *eventuality*. This has been independently noticed for other languages with SOC causatives (see for example, Tatevosov 2018 a.o.).

(9) Kámbale ít-**ik**-á-y-a   Magulu y' **okó**   nzóka.
    Kambale kill-**SOC**-TAM-TR-FV Magulu LK' **LOC=PART**   snake
    'Kambale helped Magulu kill the snake.'

Analysis. We propose that these properties can be derived following de Hoop's (1996) insight that SOC PART is best understood as 'weak structural Case.' In de Hoop's (1996) system, weak structural Case is configurationally assigned to a nominal by certain lexical items (in our study, causative -*ek*-); this operation ensures freezing – the nominal cannot move to any other possible licensing position, as it has already been licensed. We connect the SOC PART sharing interpretive requirement to the specification of SOC causative to provide access to the *internal parts of the eventuality* (see also Tatevosov 2018 for related remarks concerning Tatar). Going beyond previous (typological) work, we propose that this restriction ***also affects the PART object***, in that it forces mapping of the object to the *parts* of the eventuality (Verkuyl 1972, Megerdoomian 2000, a.o.). However, the SOC causative is different from, say, Finnish PART Case in that aspectual restrictions do not hold (Kinande SOC causative eventualities can be bounded or unbounded, etc.). A yet more abstract constraint is at work in our data. The PART object itself must minimally be *individualized* so that it can be mapped to the parts of the eventuality; thus, it must obligatorily escape incorporation with the verbal root (-*ér*- 'wash') and must be visible in sentential syntax. LOC=PART reflects the presence of an obligatory licenser (-*ek*-) on the object (3). We correctly predict that 'generic' eventualities (i.e., *snake-killing* as opposed to *killing a snake*) are not possible in SOC causatives. We thus build on accounts of PART Case as having both a structural and an inherent component.

Extensions. Our work supports Halpert's (2015) view that structural Case can be found in Bantu languages inside *v*P. The PART-CAUS projection behaves similarly to the L projection above *v*P in Halpert (2015). Our discussion also offers insights into the nature of sociative causation – a little-explored construction (Kulikov 1993, Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002, Rose 2003, a.o.).

Selected references. **Diercks**, M. 2012. Parametrizing Case. Evidence from Bantu. *Syntax*. **Halpert**, C. 2015. *Argument licensing and agreement*. OUP; **de Hoop**, H. 1996. *Case configuration and noun phrase interpretation*. Routledge.

[AFF = affirmative, FV = final vowel, LK = linker, SG = singular, TAM = Tense/Aspect/Mood, TR = transitive, V = (epenthetic) vowel]