1. The sociative causative and Case

- A newly discovered causative construction in Kinande: sociative causative - causing by helping (Schneider-Zioga & Mutaka to appear)
- Dedicated sociative morphology, typologically rare
  - Obligatory verbal extension (suffix -ik/ek/-)
- Also characterized by distinctive morphology on the internal argument of the caused event
- Internal argument marked with sociative (oko) morphology but without locative interpretation
- Locative morphology interpreted partitively
- The partitive-marked argument also shows unexpected syntactic properties (Section 3)

**KINANDE SOCIATIVE CAUSATIVE**

1. Kavira a-k’ér-ek-a-y-a
2. Marya y’ (oko) ngimba.
3. Marya LK 17LOC 10cloth
4. ‘Kavira helps Mary wash her clothes.’

**Our claims:**
- The –oko marked internal argument is a type of structural inherent Case.
- This type of inherent Case is subject to licensing inside vP.
- Case does play a role in Bantu languages.

1b. Context: (NO?) Case in Bantu

- Bantu languages are at the center of a debate about Case and its validity as a universal.
- Case theory accounts for distribution of nominals.
- Problem - the distribution of nominals is far more liberal in most Bantu languages (Kinande) than one finds in a language like English.

2. The sociative causative: Interpretation

- Interpretation of the sociative causative in (1):
  1. AP.Ax.Ay. 3e, e[P(e)] ∧ P(y) ∧ e ≠ e ∧ agent(e) = y ∧ beneficiary(e) = x
  2. Helping = helper carries out a sub-event of the caused event.
  3. Caused event is partitively shared between both participants.
- oko marks partitivity morphologically on the DP, but it is displacement of the partitivity of the entire event.
- Here, the interpretation is NOT that Kambale and Magulu each killed part of the snake. Instead, the sentence means they each did part of the killing.
- Displacement similar to Finnish aspectually-conditioned partitive Case (Kiparsky 1998)

3. The partitive: Syntactic properties

- For partitives, vP internal re-ordering is restricted (not so for other multiple argument constructions in Kinande, including other causatives)

3a. Case in Bantu

- Case does play a role in Bantu languages.

4. The partitive needs licensing inside vP

- A minimalist reinterpretation of de Hoop’s (1996) insight that PARTITIVE is best understood as weak structural case
- Weak structural Case involves both an inherent (idosyncratic) & structural Case component.


- Support for Halpert’s proposal that there is vP internal licensing of nominals in Zulu, in particular, and in Bantu languages, in general
- Evidence from NPIs and augmented nominals inside vP

6. Partitive case in sociative causatives is structural

- Evidence that the partitive case (oko) is a structural Case:

  | (9) esymbongo sy-a-hek-ek-i-báw-á-ko | (*Magulu) |
  | 10planks | 10-TAM-carry-SOC-TR-PASS-FV-LOC | (*Magulu) |
  | ‘The planks were helped to be carried.’ |

- Evidence that the partitive nominal is not an adjunct:
  - The NPI licensing algorithm in Kinande cares about lowest argument within the verb phrase, not lowest XP per se.
  - The partitive-marked nominal patterns with arguments
  - The partitive-marked locativeness with principle phrases

7. Conclusions

- The sociative partitive data can be best explained by assuming that the structural inherent Case is subject to licensing inside vP.
- Our conclusion: Case does play a role in Bantu languages.

- Contra Harford Perez 1985, a.o. who claim: Bantu nominals do not need licensing; or Diercks 2012, van der Wal 2015, a.o.: Needing Case is a parametric choice (with most Bantu languages being set to no Case).
- Pro Halpert 2015 and Carsten & Mletshe 2016, who claim: nominal licensing plays a role in Bantu languages.

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