

Bantu languages are famously at the center of a debate about the role of nominal licensing in human language. One camp (e.g., Harford 1985, Diercks 2012) argues that nominals do not need licensing in Bantu. Some members of this camp propose that Case licensing is a parametric choice that a language can make and most Bantu languages are set to *no Case*. Another camp (e.g., Halpert 2015, Carstens & Mletshe 2015) proposes that nominal licensing does play a role in Bantu languages – we provide support for this second camp. Specifically, we demonstrate that inherent case is subject to licensing in at least one Bantu language—Kinande.

Kinande manifests morphologically marked partitive case (see Schneider-Zioga & Mutaka 2016, 2018). This partitive morphology is tied to aspectual properties of the verb in Kinande. Specifically, it is obligatory in sociative causative constructions where an event is subdivided between causer and cause. The event is subdivided in such a way that the causer is understood to be carrying out a subevent of the caused event. Here is an example:

- (1) **Kávirá a-k'-ér-ek-a-y-a** **Maryá y' *(oko) ngímba**
 Kavira 3s-IMPF-wash-SOC-aC-TRANS-FV Mary L(IN)K(ER)' LOC clothes
 'Kavira helps Mary wash her clothes.'

This is felicitous in a context where Kavira helps by washing some of Marya's clothes and Marya washed the rest of them. It is not felicitous in a situation where Kavira helps by, for example, pouring soap into the wash water. Note that the object of the caused event 'clothes' is interpreted as partitive and is obligatorily preceded by "oko," the locative marker that has among its meaning 'from.' This same morphology is also evident with nominals that are "quantitatively indeterminate" –in this case, the aspect of the verb is irrelevant:

- (2) **A-soma oko bitabu**
 3s-read LOC books
 'She read some of the books'

Partitive case has properties of both structural and inherent case: structural in that it is tied to a syntactic position rather than to a particular thematic/semantic role; inherent in that the distribution of partitive case is semantically conditioned, albeit not by thematic roles. De Hoop (1992) proposed that the apparent dual nature of partitive case is best understood through the notion of 'weak structural case.' In de Hoop's system, weak structural case is configurationally assigned to a nominal by certain verbs: the partitive nominal is frozen in its first-merge position due to the special way weak structural case is assigned. Therefore, although in general nominals in the languages de Hoop studied could scramble, partitive nominals could not. Kinande is very well-behaved with respect to de Hoop's case typology: a) aspectually related partitive case is assigned only by sociative causative verbs (only some verbs assign weak structural case), b) partitive nominals are frozen in their first merge position where weak structural case is licensed, whereas non-partitive nominals in other types of causatives can freely scramble:

- Note that direct and indirect causatives are symmetrically ordered: either causee + theme, or theme + causee are acceptable post verbal orders:

- (3) a. **Kámbale ásóm-es-á-y-a** **[Magulú y' ekitábu]**
 Kambale 3s-read-CAUS-a-TRANS-FV Magulu LK book
 'Kambale made Magulu read the book.' (indirect causation)

b. **Kámbale ásóm-es-á-y'** [ekitábú kyo **Magúlu**]
 Kambale 3s-read-CAUS-a-TRANS' book LK Magulu
 'Kambale made Magulu read the book.'

- However, there is a restricted, asymmetrical ordering for sociative causatives such that the causee must always precede the internal argument of the caused event. We include only the ungrammatical order of (partitive) theme before causee, the grammatical order cause then theme is given in (1):

(4) ***Kávirá a-k'-ér-ek-a-y-a** **oko ngímba ko Maryá**
 Kavira 3s-IMPF-wash-SOC-aC-TRANS-FV LOC clothes LK Marya
 'Kavira helps Mary wash her clothes.'

There is no general constraint in Kinande against *oko*-marked phrases scrambling, as long as they are interpreted as actual locatives, rather than partitives.

- The partitive nominals in sociative causatives cannot passivize (5), although the object of a caused event can easily passivize in direct and indirect causatives (6):

(5) ***esyombago sy-ahék-ek-iba-w-a** (**na Kambale**)
 planks agr-carry- SOC-TRANS-PASS-FV (with Kambale)
 Literally: 'Planks were helped to be carried (by Kambale)'

(6) **esyombago syahék-iba-w-a** **na Kambale**
 planks agr-carry- TRANS-PASS-FV with Kambale
 'Planks were made to be carried by Kambale.'

If partitives are licensed through weak structural case, then the partitive theme of the caused event remains in its position, deeply embedded within the caused event. For reasons of locality alone, in addition to being licensed by weak structural case, the partitive has no possibility to passivize (5). With direct or indirect causation, the theme of the caused event can occur in a position that is local to the verb (the immediate post verbal position, see (3b)) and from there passivize. If we consider nominal partitives in Kinande, ones not dependent on verbal aspect, the internal argument, *oko akalole* 'some of the banana,' is local to the verb and we see that passivization is possible as long as the partitive locative marker *oko* is incorporated into the verbal complex (V+ko):

(7) a. **Akalole kabirilibwa-ko** (**n' ehinyunyu**)
 banana agr-eaten.PASS-KO(LOC) (with birds)
 'Some of the banana was eaten by the birds.'
 b. ***oko akalole kwabirilibwa** (**n' ehinyunyu**)
 LOC banana agr-eaten.PASS (with birds)

For completeness, we note that locative phrases such as *oko nyumba* 'from the house' can readily occur in subject position in Kinande, with the locative marker part of the phrase in subject position.

The passivization facts in (7) support the claim that inherent case is subject to licensing in Kinande. Consider the proposal of van Geenhoven 1996, and others, that a partitive head can undergo incorporation into the verb. When this happens, the DP that remains after incorporation of the Preposition becomes active and can undergo structural licensing. There is an overt morphological demonstration in Kinande that precisely this situation holds (7a).

Contrary to what is assumed for Bantu languages, we see that case licensing clearly does play a role, at least for Kinande: inherent case cannot go unlicensed, whereas it is not clear that structural case is subject to licensing in Bantu languages. This study expands our understanding of what kind of nominal licensing plays a role cross-linguistically.