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THE CASE SYSTEM OF BASKETTO

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Advisor.

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LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

%	zero morpheme
1sg	first singular
3fs	third person, feminine, singular
3ms	third person, masculine, singular
acc	accusative
ADJ	adjective
def	definite
fem	feminine
fut	future
impf	imperfect
masc	masculine
neg	negative
nom	nominative
passi	passive
pf	perfect
pl	plural
poss	possessive
recip	reciprocal
vb.to be	verb to be

ABSTRACT

This study gives a description and analysis of the Case system of the Basketto language. The realization and distribution of various Case types is investigated.

Assumptions in the Government and Binding theory as introduced by Chomsky (1981) and theoretical developments in later years have been used to analyse the data. Structures like the passive and infinitival constructions which are claimed to be explained by Case theory are also discussed.

Moreover, it will be seen that, from the theoretical point of view adopted in this thesis, the distinction between definite and indefinite NPs in Case assignment and the distinction between full and clitic personal pronouns is notable.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study presents the Case[1] system of Basketto, an Omotic language belonging to the West Ometo cluster, spoken in Gamu-Gofa awraja of the Omo Administrative region in southern Ethiopia.

1.1 THE PEOPLE

The language is spoken by approximately 100,000 native speakers (Cf. Éva Hompó's 1987 report) whose main livelihood is farming. Their most important products are coffee, ensete, maize, sorghum, and various root-crops like yam and sweet potato. The linguistic neighbours of Basketto are Malo in the north, Gofa in the east, Dime and Bodi (Me'en) in the west, and Aari and Galila in the south. People in the towns of Sawla and Bulk'i refer to both the speakers and the language as 'Mesketto', but the native speakers identify themselves as Basketto, claiming that this was originally the name of a kind of sorghum which is typical to the area.

1.2 PREVIOUS STUDIES

Basketto is one of the least studied languages of Ethiopia (cf. Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Ethnographic Survey of Ethiopia, 1983). The materials available

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[1] In this thesis the term 'case' is capitalised when used to refer to its technical use.

include: Cerulli (1938) which gives a short description of the phonology and morphology of the language with a short list of phrases and words. Fleming (1975) presents a comparison of the phonology and lexicon of the language to that of other related Omotic languages like Kafa, Janjero, Male, etc. Hompó (1987) describes the sound system of the language and gives a list of words and some notes on the syntax and morphology of the language. Haileyesus Bala (1988) presents the segmental and suprasegmental phonemes, their distribution, and the syllable structure of the language. Alemayehu Haile (1991) describes the segmental sounds of the language, their distributional variations, and phonological rules such as palatalization, nasalization, etc. using the Generative approach.

The present study examines the Case system of the language using the theoretical framework of Government and Binding (GB), developed in Chomsky (1980, 1981), Rouveret and Vergnaud (1980) and others. Before going into details, some introduction to the language in general is given below.

1.3 THE LANGUAGE

1.3.1 Phonology

The descriptions of the sound system of this language in the studies mentioned above are similar in many respects. However, some sounds treated as phonemes in one study are considered as allophonic variants in others. For example, Haileyesus presents /dz/ and /ts/ as phonemes contrasting with other segments in words like: [hayzi] 'proverb'; [haydzi] 'three' and [laytsi] 'year'. But the other studies do not list /dz/ as a phoneme. Alemayehu (1991) provides data which show that these segments are distributionally restricted to only syllable-final

positions and that /ts/ freely alternates with /s/ in such positions. Thus, such alveolar affricates are positional variants of their fricative counterparts. The same problem arises with /j/, /ñ/, and /ts'/. When we reduce these segments from the sound inventory of the language, we find the following twenty-four consonant phonemes:

b	d		g	
p	t		k	ʔ
ß	D			
	z	c		
f	s	S		h
	s'	c'	K	
m	n			
	r			
	l			
w		y		

Table 1. Consonant Phonemes of Basketto

The vowel phonemes below are taken from Alemayehu (1991), because all of them are also identified and used in the present study[2].

[2] Cerulli (1938) does not describe vowels. Hompó (1987) identifies five vowels without the two central ones. Haileyesus (1988) identifies the same five vowels as Hompó but vowel lengthening for him being phonemic, he lists ten vowels.

i		u
e	ä	o
	a	

Table 2. Vowel phonemes of Basketto

Furthermore, the present data include that the voiced pharyngeal fricative /H/ in contrast with the voiceless glottal fricative /h/[3], as in the following examples:

[hat] 'now'

[Ha:di] 'this'

This raises the number of consonant phonemes to twenty-five. The transcription of the segments presented above is phonemic and it is used throughout this thesis.

As the studies made on the morphology and syntax of this language are rather sketchy, some introductory points on the morphology and constituent structure of the language are briefly presented below.

1.3.2 Morphology

According to generative linguists, morphology refers to the study of the process of forming new words from existing simple or complex words (Cf. Selkirk 1982, Aronoff 1976). It is divided into two broad categories: word formation rules,

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[3] Éva Hompó (1987) presents word examples in which these two phonemes occur. But she does not comment on their nature and distribution.
See also Denise Perrett, Basketto-English *** English-Basketto Word Lists (Compiled from E. Hompó's report on Basketto, 1987), unpublished paper, 1990.

which include derivation and compounding; and inflection[4]. In Basketto, simple NP structures include nouns and pronominals which are not modified by any other element. As in many other Omotic languages (cf. Hayward, ed. 1990), most of such simple NPs end in vowels. The word-final vowels in Basketto are [-i] and [-a].

Examples:

kafi	'bird'	wuda	'cattle'
yefi	'tears'	yera	'donkey'
Koti	'butter'	ira	'rain'
bawi	'cat'	mola	'fish'
na?i	'child'	dona	'potato'

These final vowels are dropped before other morphemes as in the following examples:

(1) a. ir- bär

rain-with

'in the rain'

b. yer- in- d- o

horse-fem-def- acc.

'The horse'

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4 The place of inflectional elements in the grammar is controversial. Some linguists (Chomsky, Aronoff, etc.,) say that inflectional elements are relevant to the syntax and should be treated by PS rules. Others (Selkirk, Williams, etc.) argue that both word formation rules and inflections should be treated in the lexicon. In this study the former approach is adopted since the category INFL which contains these features is a syntactic category responsible for the nominative Case assignment.

c. mol- a- d- i

fish-masc-def-nom

'The fish'

Such simple NPs can be used as inputs to derive other complex NPs by derivation and compounding. The morphology of Basketto is not 'rich'. There are gaps in the derivation of its word formations, as can be seen from the following chart:

CHART 1 DERIVATION

Gloss	instrum.	agentive	process	manner	result	infinitival
kill	woDiz-	woDiz-	woDa	woDitits	=	woDits
cut	Kas'iz-	Kas'iz-	Kas'a	Kas'itits	=	Kas'its
drink	uSkiz-	uSkiz-	=	uSkitits	uS	uSkits
wash	mec'iz-	mec'iz-	mec'a	mec'itits	=	mec'its

Inflectional elements are affixed either to nouns for, e.g., number, person and gender, or to verbs for tense, aspect, number, person, etc., but they do not change the category of the base. As mentioned in Baker (1985: 380), "... the morphological shape of the verb is determined in part by the grammatical features of the noun phrase (number, person, gender, etc.)." Chart # 2 below shows how far this copying of nominal features (like person or number) and verbal features (tense, aspect, etc.) onto the verb affects the shape of the verb in Basketto.

Chart 2. INFLECTION (TENSE, ASPECT AND AGREEMENT)

Gloss	Imperfect	Past	Past-perf.	Gerundive	Jussive
GO(1sg)	lukk-a-nda	lukk-a-de	lukk-i-ne	lukk-ar-a	lukk-o
(1pl)	lukk-a-nda	lukk-i-de	lukk-i-ne	lukk-ar-i	lukk-ist
(2s)	lukk-a-re	lukk-a-de	lukk-i-ne	lukk-ar-a	lukk-abe
(2pl)	lukk-i-re	lukk-i-de	lukk-i-ne	lukk-ar-i	lukk-ibte
(3ms)	lukk-i-re	lukk-i-de	lukk-i-ne	lukk-ar-i	lukk-o
(3fs)	lukk-a-re	lukk-a-de	lukk-i-ne	lukk-ar-a	lukk-o
(3pl)	lukk-i-re	lukk-i-de	lukk-i-ne	lukk-ar-i	lukk-o

In this chart, the AGR (agreement) markers appear right after the verb root in the imperfect, past and perfect. In the gerundive and jussive, however, AGR elements are the last to occur. The chart shows that the inflection does not show different markers for all of the subject pronouns. That is, the second and third person plural and third person masculine singular have identical agreement markers for the imperfective, past and gerundive. Moreover, the first and second person singular and third person feminine singular have identical agreement markers for the imperfect, past and gerundive. Only number and gender are consistently identified: singular {-a}, plural {-i}; and third person singular masculine {-i}, feminine {-a}. Ambiguities arise from this if the subject NP is dropped as illustrated in the following example:

(2) [CP[IP pro [VP gents wong-i- de VP]IP]CP]

ox buy-AGR-past

'You(pl)/they/we/he bought an ox'

The ambiguity can be resolved by either pragmatic means or by lexical realization of one of the four possible external arguments. This may induce one to identify Basketto with non-pro-drop languages which require that all arguments of the verb are morphologically realized. Unlike non-pro-drop languages, in pro-drop languages the subject and/or the object can be dropped or remain unpronounced and still be recognized from the AGR elements. Such identification of dropped NPs is not possible in Basketto because the agreement elements are identical for different persons and numbers.

Basketto is also different from non-pro-drop languages in that, even though it is difficult to tell the exact person and number, there is always an AGR element on the verb. This AGR element can license the presence of pro but it cannot be fully recovered its content because there is only partial agreement between the subject and AGR in INFL (inflection). Rizzi (1986: 546) argues that:

> ... it appears to be necessary to separate the formal licencing of pro from the procedure through which its content is recovered ... pro is always licit in positions governed and Case marked by INFL or V, regardless of whether the licencing head has an overt feature specification recovering the feature content of pro.

Thus, Basketto is one of the pro-drop languages which do not "... fully exploit the recovery option ..." (ibid. p. 547). Section (2.3.2) provides other evidence attesting that Basketto is a pro-drop language. The AGR elements in Basketto identify only the subject NPs. Object NPs are not identified by an AGR element on the verb.

1.3.3 Word order

1.3.3.1 Clauses

Basketto is an SOV language, as the following examples show:

(3) a. [IP na?- in- d- a [VP ot- in- d- o tong- a- de]]

child-fem.-def-nom pot-fem-def-acc break-3fs-past

'The girl broke the pot'

b. [IP oni [VP zobb woDe? VP] IP]

who lion kill

'Who killed the lion?'

c. [IP na:r- a- d- i [VP[IP tani gents wong-ine VP] ge- y-de]

boy-masc-def-nom I ox buy-perf. say 3ms.past

'The boy said I bought an ox'

However, in some structures the word order can be violated without causing ungrammaticality. For example, when the object is a complement clause, the order of the subject can be reversed.

(4) [[LeKane Birag-ina dos- iza- d- a] tani sisk- a- de]]

leKane biraga-acc like-comp-def-nom I hear- 1sg-past

'I heard that LeKane likes Biraga'

The above example also shows that embedded clauses have the same SOV word order as main clauses. Moreover, the the OSV order is common with expressions like the following:

(5) a. biraga surs' ekk- i- de

biraga sleep take- 3ms- past

'Biraga is asleep' (lit. sleep took Biraga)

b. tana daburs woD- i- de

me tiredness kill- 3ms- past

'Tiredness killed me'

However, it is evident from most of the data that the basic word order is SOV.

1.3.3.2 Phrases

NP is a category that has a [+N, -V] property, as stated in Chomsky (1986: 48). An NP can have simple or complex structures. Simple NPs can be modified by adjectives or they may be used as complements of adpositions, thus forming other phrases. In this language the order of such phrases has the following form:

NP = complement + Noun, as in:

(6) NP[ßarints naar- a- d- i]NP

tall child-masc-def-nom

'The tall boy'

PP = complement + Postposition, as in,

(7) PP[ketsi gal]PP

house on

'on the house'

AP = Degree + Adjective, as in,

(8) AP[dam koS]AP

degree good

'very good'

This together with the SOV word order in clauses as shown above suggests that Basketto is a head-final language. This is in line with Hawkins's (1984: 108) prediction that: "... when a language has direct object modifier before the verb ... it will typically place genitive, adjective, and relative clause modifiers before the modified noun ... and noun phrase modifiers before the postposition." However, in Basketto word order is not strict in NPs with adjectival modifiers, i.e., the ADJ + N order can be reversed without causing ungrammaticality (See 2.3.1 for more discussion).

1.4 REVIEW OF THEORY

In this section, the theory of Government and Binding, which is the basis for this study, will be reviewed.

1.4.1. Government and Binding (GB) Theory

The GB theory, recently referred to as the Principles and Parameters approach (Cf. Chomsky & Lasnik 1991: 11), belongs to the general trend of Generative Grammar which was originally introduced in Chomsky (1957) and developed in Chomsky (1965). The main motivation for the introduction of Generative Grammar was the realization of the creative aspect of language which

"... provides the means for expressing indefinitely many thoughts and for reacting appropriately in an indefinite range of new situations." (Chomsky 1965: 6). The main goal of this approach was to describe the underlying mental rules and principles that enable all and only human beings to acquire language and the creative use of it; and by so doing to develop a theory of Universal Grammar. This theory is required to be restrictive. Chung's (1987: 180) explanation for this is as follows:

> The ideal of restrictive theory derives from the generative grammar's preoccupation with the problem of language acquisition. Only a theory that tightly constrains the class of possible grammars can explain how children come to know a language.

In the years following the introduction of Generative Grammar, a lot of research was carried out and as a result many 'sub-theories' that have more or less the same goal but different approaches have emerged (as cited in Sells 1985): Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar [GPSG], introduced in Gazdar, et al. (1985); Lexical-Functional Grammar [LFG] developed in Kaplan and Bresnan (1982); and Relational Grammar [RG] developed in Perlmutter (1983). The GB theory, as mentioned above, is one of such generative theories. As GB is the theoretical framework which underlines this study, the outline of this theory is presented below.

The main point that distinguishes the GB theory from early transformational generative grammar (its 'ancestor'), is its emphasis on the study of more general and fundamental abstract principles which, combined with a very limited rule system, can account for any natural language instead of language-particular syntactic rules (cf. Sells 1985: 22). Chomsky (1982: 89) claims that:

> The problem has always been to discover the elements that interact to yield the full complexity of a natural language. Early transformational grammar was in part on the wrong track in attributing this complexity to the variety of phrase structure rules and transformations...

To achieve a theory that can describe and explain the complex nature of language with simple and natural principles, Chomsky (1982) proposes two perspectives. The first one emphasizes a rule system which consists of three basic parts:

(A) Lexicon

(B) Syntax: (i) Base component

(ii) Transformational component

(C) Interpretive components: (i) PF component

(ii) LF component

The second perspective involves principles "...that hold of rules and representations of various sorts." (Chomsky 1982: 6). These are:

a. X-bar theory

b. Theta-theory

c. Case theory

d. Binding theory

e. Bounding theory

f. Control theory

g. Government theory

The X-bar theory introduces the idea that different phrases in a language have the same pattern as to the direction and hierarchy between the head and its complements.

Theta-theory is concerned with the assignment of theta-roles to each argument NP which provide their semantic information. The theta-criterion, which is the principle of theta-theory, requires each syntactic argument of the head to have one and only one theta-role.

Case theory specifies the assignment of Case, morphological or abstract, to arguments. Because the theory of Case is central to this study, a detailed discussion of its main assumptions, and methodologies along with its various modifications is presented in section (1.3.2) below.

Binding theory is concerned with the relations of anaphors and pronominals to their antecedents.

Bounding theory accounts for locality conditions on movement which are constrained by the principle of subjacency.

Control theory provides the means for the interpretation of the [+pronominal, +anaphor] empty element called PRO.

The notion of 'government' is defined as: "...the relationship holding between the head of a projection and the projections that "depend" on it." (Roberge 1990:16). This is expressed by the following theorem (Sells 1985: 40):

Alpha governs ß iff:

(a) alpha c-commands ß, and

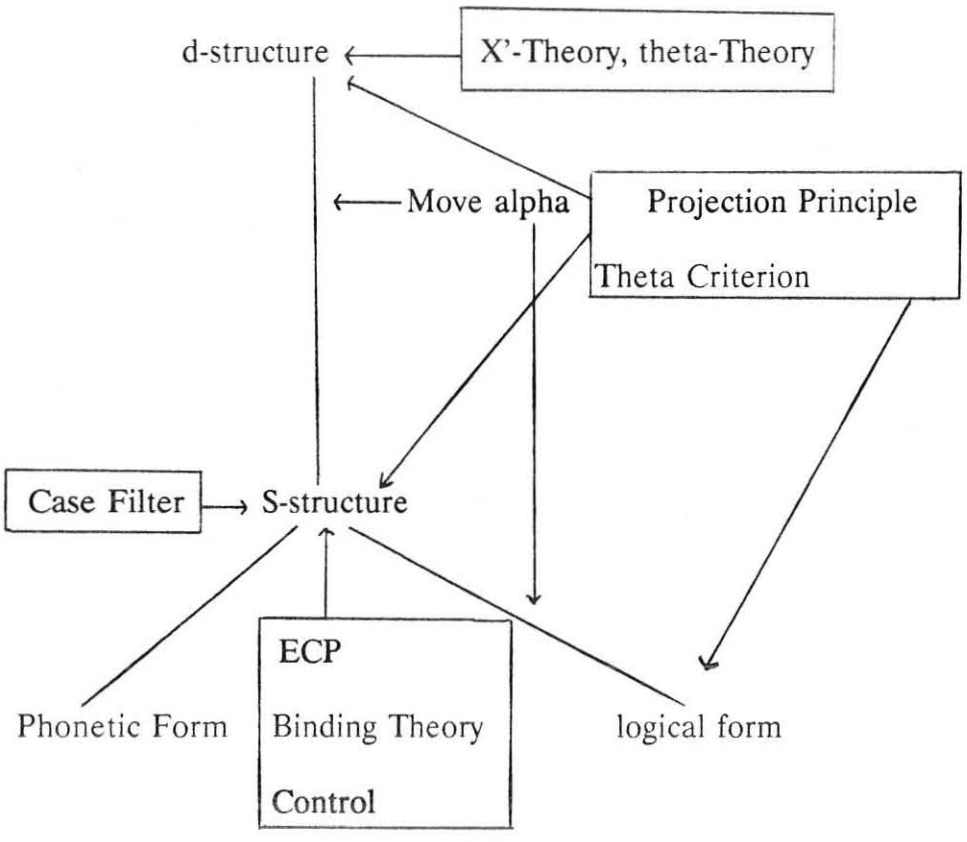
(b) alpha is an X° , i.e., alpha C {N, V, P, A, INFL}, and

(c) every maximal projection dominating ß dominates alpha.

Government theory involves the interaction of most of the principles mentioned above. For example, Case and theta-role assignment take place under government; the domain where a binding relation applies is defined under government. It determines the distribution of PRO; and subcategorization also is satisfied by government relations (cf. Sells 1985: 38-42).

There is the possibility of parameter-setting for particular languages in the application of these universal principles. For example, a language may be right- or left-headed, but the X-bar theory will still be able to account for the structure of its phrasal and clausal constructions.

The organization of the GB theory with all its components is shown below (adapted from Sells 1985: 24):



1.4.2 Case Theory

The notion of 'abstract Case' as is now understood in the GB theory was introduced and developed in the work of Rouveret & Vergnaud (1980) and Chomsky (1980). The motivation for this approach to Case, according to Chomsky (1980), was to provide a better account of sentence types which were formerly explained by the *NP - to -VP filter. Many substantial changes and new ideas were added to the theory of Case after the initial proposal made in the works mentioned above, while most of the basic ideas remain the same. These are discussed below.

Case is a syntactic notion that shows a structural relationship between arguments and predicates. It helps to determine the distribution of NPs because as Franks (1986: 221) argues, "... only certain positions are 'cased', and so overt NP's can only appear in these positions..."

Two main Case types are recognised: structural Case and inherent Case. According to Belletti (1988: 3), "An inherent Case is a Case assigned by a lexical head to the NP it governs and to which it assigns a theta-role." This Case is assigned at the level of D-structure. Structural Cases, on the other hand, are both assigned and realized at S-structure.

There are two types of structural Case: nominative and accusative. The nominative Case is assigned to a noun by tense/aspect or agreement elements in a sentence which are represented under a tree label INFL (inflection). The accusative is assigned by a verb or in some languages by a preposition.

Genitive Case is an example of inherent Case and it is assigned by nominal heads. Oblique Case is assigned by adpositions to their complement NPs.

Case can be realized in arguments in either of two ways. It can be morphologically realized, i.e., represented with distinct phonetic elements or it can be realized syntactically, i.e., the NPs get varying Cases by assuming certain positions in structure of sentences. This second type of Case is known as abstract Case, where "...case distinctions [are] morphologically neutralized" (Van Riemsdijk & Williams 1986: 230). Universal to all languages, according to this theory, is that all phonetically realized nouns are assigned Case. This is what is known as the Case filter, which says that any phonetically realized noun is required to have Case or lead to ungrammaticality.

As mentioned above, the theory has undergone several modifications to account for various types of constructions. The proposals made at different times include the following (cf. Lasnik 1992):

- Case is assigned to phonetically realised NPs (Rouveret & Vergnaud 1980, Chomsky 1980)
- It is assigned to lexical NPs and traces of Wh-movement (Lasnik and Freidin 1981, Safir 1985)
- It is assigned only to arguments (Chomsky 1981)
- It is assigned to 'chains', etc. (Chomsky 1986).

Even though the motivation(s) and evidence given in defence of each of these views do not strictly apply to Basketto, they will be briefly stated in this section to show the development of the theory under the GB framework.

The theory developed by Rouveret & Vergnaud and Chomsky required that every lexical NP should have Case. Thus sentences like:

(9) *It seems [John to be here]

are excluded by the Case filter, as the verb (to be) in the embedded clause cannot assign Case to its subject, [John]. The theory that Case should be assigned to lexical NPs was challenged because of the different status of the example in (10) on the one hand, and those in (11) and (12) on the other, as grammatical and non-grammatical respectively.

(10) The man who it seems [t is here]

(11) *The man who it seems [t to be here]

(12) *The man it seems [t to be here]

The difference between these examples arises from the difference in tense. In example (10) the NP with the wh-operator moves out of a complement clause which is tensed, while in the other two sentences it moves out of non-tensed complement clause. Thus, this suggests that like lexical NPs, a trace of wh-movement must be Case marked.

This proposal was rejected because Case is a requirement on lexical NPs; as wh-traces have no morphological realization, this requirement cannot be imposed on them. As an alternative, the Visibility condition was proposed in Chomsky (1981) and developed in Chomsky (1991). According to this theory "... lexical realization is not the crucial property. Rather, argumenthood is. To be "visible" for theta-marking at LF, an argument must have Case." (Lasnik 1992: 382). This theory accounts for examples (11) and (12) because the moved NPs land in A-bar (non-argument) positions and cannot share argumenthood with their traces because these are Caseless and thus non-visible for theta-marking.

However, examples like the following were raised as problems for the visibility analysis:

(13) I tried [[PRO to be here]]

(14) *It seems [there to be a man here]

In example (13) PRO is Caseless and thus not visible for theta-marking, but as the sentence is perfectly acceptable, it is not in violation of the theta-criterion. Example (14) is ungrammatical, but if we strictly follow the visibility requirement, the element 'there' is not an argument and thus does not need to be theta-marked. The sentence is excluded by the Case Filter because a lexical NP appears as a subject of a clause in which it cannot be assigned nominative Case.

Counter-arguments for this were given by Chomsky (1986) who argued that the visibility condition imposes a requirement not on the expletive 'there', but on 'a man' which is associated with it. 'A man' is an argument and must be visible for theta-marking, and this visibility must come via Case marking on the associated expletive. This reasoning brought forward the theory of Case transmission and the notion of 'chain' - i.e., the expletive 'there', which is the head of the chain, transfers its Case to the other element in the chain, i.e, 'the man', which then becomes visible and gets theta-role which it again shares or transfers to the expletive 'there'.

The following examples are provided as evidence for Case transmission theory.

(15) There is usually a man here

(16) There is likely [t to be someone here]

In examples (15) and (16) 'a man' and 'someone' get Case from the expletive 'there' even if they are not adjacent to their respective Case assigner.

However, example (17) below has a similar construction (the chain being there...someone) but it is ungrammatical:

(17) *There is likely [someone to be here]

Considering examples like this and also those in (18) below,

(18) *We consider [there a man in the room],

Lasnik (1992: 384) gives what he calls 'a reactionary revision of Case theory' which he states as:

Case is assigned only under government by a Case assigner.

Thus, the Case transmission theory is no more required. Examples (17) and (18) are ruled out because someone and a man are not governed by a Case assigner in their respective clauses. Lasnik further argues that the verb 'be' is a Case assigner because (18) will turn out to be grammatical when governed by this verb:

(19) We consider [there to be a man in the room]

This recent development in the theory provides an easy way of analysing certain constructions which were formerly explained by the Case transmission theory. Thus, at the present the general theory of Case assignment strictly requires Case receivers to be governed by a Case assigning category, which can be a verbal category, i.e., either a verb or a verb 'to be'; an adposition; INFL or the NP head.

Referring to the main assumptions of Case theory, as discussed above, this study on the Case system of Basketto focuses on three main Case types: the nominative, the accusative, and the genitive. These four Case realizations belong to what Anderson (1971: 4) calls the "typical syntactic cases". These are also the basic Case types which the GB approach recognises.

The analysis of the data is presented in three chapters:

Chapter Two discusses morphologically realised Case in the language. This includes nominative and accusative Case assignment in simple and complex NP structures.

Not all NP structures are identified with morphological Case. Rather some NPs receive abstract Case. These are discussed in Chapter Three. Chapter Four discusses structures explained by Case theory.

CHAPTER TWO

MORPHOLOGICALLY REALISED CASE

2.1 THE NOMINATIVE CASE

According to the GB theory the term nominative refers to the Case type which an NP bears when it is governed by an AGR or TNS(tense) element in INFL. Usually this Case is assigned to NPs that have the grammatical relation subject, because of this the theory recognizes the notion subject as the NP under the first branching node of the IP (inflectional phrase). And it is this position that INFL governs and assigns nominative Case. The category INFL consists of both verbal and nominal features such as person, number, gender, tense, and aspect. These, according to Chomsky (1986: 161), "... are generally associated with an adjacent verb".

In Basketto, when INFL has such nominal or verbal features, the nominative Case is identified by the morpheme {-i} for masculine, and {-a} for feminine NPs as in the following examples:

(20) a. ot - a - d - i kedd - i - de

pot-3ms-def-nom fall -3ms-past

'The pot fell'

b. na?in- d- a ot - in - d- o tong - a - de

girl- def-nom pot- fem -def-acc throw-3fs- past

'The girl threw the pot (diminutive)'

c. kan - a - d - i na?ants-bär bukk- int- i - de

dog-3ms-def-nom children-with beat-pass-3ms-past

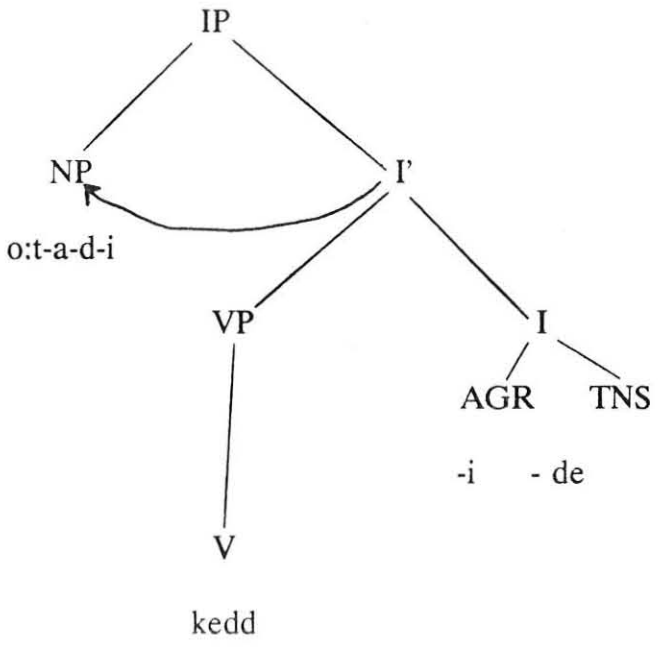
'The dog was beaten by the children'

d. kan - in - d - a ayS - a - d - a m - o: - de

dog- fem- def-nom meat-3ms-def- acc eat-3fs - past

'The dog (f.) ate the meat'

The nominative Case is assigned under government relation (defined in 1.4.1) between INFL and the subject, as shown in the following structural tree:



In complex NPs the nominative Case is realized attached on the head NP. Example:

(21) [[NP na?in buliki Tilat- a- d- i NP] zoKats- e]
girl garment fringe-3ms-def-nom red- vb. to be
'The girl's garment's fringe is red'

This is also the case in relative clauses as in (22):

(22) [IP[NP[CP tani miSi im- ino CP]na?a-d- i NP] ye- y- ne IP]
I(nom) money give-comp boy-def-nom come- 3ms- perf.
'The boy to whom I gave money came'

When the head noun is dropped, the Case morpheme shifts to the relative clause.

(23) [CP[CP tani miSi im- ino- d- i CP] ye- y- ne CP]
I(nom) money give-comp-def-nom come-3ms- perf
'The one to whom I gave money came'

As is mentioned in Dowty (1991: 363) "Principles of Case assignment serve to specify some details of constituent order". One such principle, the Case adjacency principle, requires Case receivers to be adjacent to their Case assigners. That is, the order of elements in a structure is fixed relative to the Case assigner - either to the right or left of the head, depending on the head parameter of the language. In Basketto the order of constituents is determined relative to the head. However, within the same NP the order of elements is not strict. Here, the Case morpheme can be attached to the head NP, or to its complement, or specifier as shown below:

(24) a. [CP[NP mints gabar-ants-i NP] dura maKK- i- de CP]

strong farmer-pl-nom rich become-3pl-past

'Hard working farmers become rich.'

b. [[gabara mints-ants- i] dura maK- i- de]

farmer strong- pl- nom rich become-3pl-past

'Hard working farmers become rich'

c. [[ßarints na?- ants- i] s'anK ka?- i- re]

tall boy- pl. nom gäbäTa play-3pl-impf.

'The tall boys are playing gäbäTa'

d. [[na?-ants Barints-ants- i] s'ank ka?- i- re]

boy- pl tall- pl- nom. gäbäTa play- 3pl- impf

'The tall boys are playing gäbäTa'

The same goes to NPs with demonstrative pronouns. Compare the following:

(25) a. Hants na?- ants- i

these boy- pl- nom

'These boys'

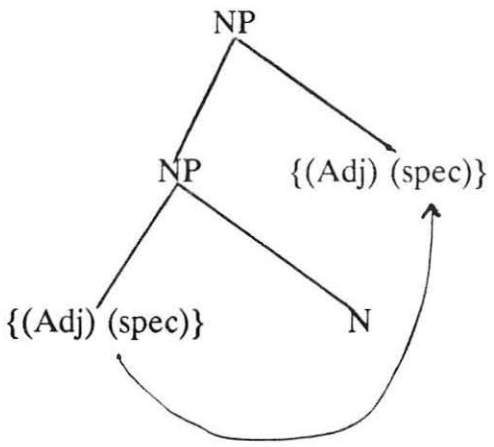
c. na?- ants Hants- i

boy- pl these- nom

'These boys'

The fact that the nominative Case morpheme is attached to the element on the right whether it is a noun, an adjective, a relative clause, or a demonstrative, in examples (23)-(25), makes the case look more difficult.

However, this does not mean that the position of the head of an NP cannot be determined. That Basketto is a head-final language can be seen from the position of heads in other maximal projections like VP, PP, and AP. The apparent loose word order in NPs must have explanations which are not syntactic and are outside of the scope of this paper. Structurally, the basic word order in NPs is [NP complement, head noun NP], in which the complement (i.e, adjective) or specifier can be dislocated for non-syntactic reasons and be adjoined to the right as shown in the following structural tree:



Thus, word order freedom is constituent internal. Except in the Case of complex object NPs and complements of certain verbs like 'sleep', 'tired', etc. mentioned before, two elements that belong to different constituent structures cannot be freely reversed. As Example (26) below shows, such sentences are judged as unacceptable:

(26) gents-a- d- a na:r- a- d- i wong- i- de

ox-3ms-def-acc boy- 3ms-def-nom buy-3ms-past

? 'The ox the boy bought'

2.2 THE ACCUSATIVE CASE

The accusative Case is indicated by the morpheme {-a} for masculine, and {-o} for feminine which are attached to the head noun. In this language, the accusative Case is assigned only by verbs.

(27) a. [IP iza [VP kan - a - d - a Succ - bär bukk- a - de VP]IP]

she dog -3ms-def-acc stone-with hit-fem-past

'She hit the dog with a stone'

b. [IP Salo [VP leKan- o dos- i- de VP]IP]

Salo LeKane-acc like-3ms-past

'Shalo likes LeKane'

c. [[NP na?in ap-ants-a NP] [NP yepi NP] kam- i- ne]

girl eye-pl-acc tears close-3ms-pf.

'Tears filled the girl's eyes'

Like in the nominative, if the head NP is dropped, the accusative Case marker is attached to the relative clause. This is shown in the following example:

(28)a. CP[IP[leKane NP[CP[Salo wong-ino]CP gents-a- d-a]NP erg- a- de]

leKane Salo buy-comp ox-3ms-def-nom borrow-3fs-past

'LeKane borrowed the ox which Shalo bought.'

b. [LeKane CP[Salo wong- ino e]- d- a]CP erg- a- de]

LeKane Salo buy-comp- def-acc borrow-3fs-past

'LeKane borrowed the one that Shalo bought.'

When proper nouns are in the accusative Case position, they are suffixed with the morpheme {-ana}, as shown in the following examples:

(29) a. [IP leKane [VP birag -ana dos - a - re VP]IP]

LeKane biraga-acc like-fem- impf

'LeKane likes Biraga'

b. [IP lolise [VP Sab- ana bukk - a - de VP]IP]

lolise Saba- acc beat- 3fs- past

'Lolise beat Saba'

2.3 PRONOUNS

In this section are discussed two types of pronouns which have interesting features of Case assignment.

2.3.1. Demonstrative Pronouns

Lyons (1977: 646) says: "Demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives like the English 'this' and 'that' as well as demonstrative adverbs such as 'here' and 'there', are primarily deictic; and, when they have this function, they are to be interpreted with respect to the location of the participants in the deictic context."

Basketto distinguishes two forms of deictic expressions both of which are identified relative to the place of the speaker, i.e., close to the speaker or remote from the speaker. These are:

[Ha] 'this'

[sekka] 'that'

These demonstrative pronouns are invariable as specifiers of a noun in different Case positions, as shown in the following examples:

(30) a. [IP [NP Ha kets- a- d- i NP] yint- ay- e IP]
this house-masc-def- nom 2.pl- poss- vb.to be
'This house is yours'

b. [IP i: [VP [NP Ha na?in- d- o NP] bukk- i- de VP] IP]
he this girl-def-acc beat-3ms-past
'He beat this girl'

c. [IP [NP sekka kets- a- d- i NP] ta kets- e IP]
that house- masc-def- nom my house- vb.to be
'That house is my house'

d. [IP tani [VP [NP sekka kets- a- d- a NP] wong- a- de VP]IP]

I that house-3ms-def-acc buy- 1sg-past

'I bought that house'

However, when the demonstrative pronouns independently take the nominative or the accusative Case position, they are marked with the same Case morphemes that any nominal in that same construction would take. The following examples show these pronouns in the nominative Case position:

(31) a. [[Ha:- d- i] int kets- e]

this-def-nom your house-vb.to be

'This is your house'

b. [[sekka- d- i] ta kets- e]

that-def-nom my house-vb. to be

'That is my house'

The above deictic expressions refer only to masculine singular subjects. The plural and the feminine have different forms:

(32) a. [[Ha- ants- i] on- o]

this- pl -nom who- vb. to be

'Who are these?'

b. [[Ha- nn- a] ta miS- a]

this-fem-nom my sister-vb.to be

'This is my sister'

c. [[sekka- n- a] ta miS- a]

that.-fem-nom my sister- Vb.to be

'That is my sister'

The same deictic expressions are inflected for the accusative Case when they occur as objects of verbs as in:

(33) a. [IP i: [VP Ha- d- ana bukk- i- de VP]IP]

he this-def-acc beat-3ms-past

'He beat this'

b. [IP na?in- d- a [VP sekk- ants-ana Ko:ts- a- de VP]IP]

girl-def-nom that- pl- acc insult-3fs-past

'The girl insulted those'

c. [IP Ha- d- i [VP sekka-n- o bukk-i- de VP]IP]

this-def-nom that-fem-acc beat-3ms-past

'This beat that(fem.)'

The above examples show that when the noun which is specified by the demonstrative pronouns is dropped, the demonstratives themselves are affixed with

the same number, gender and Case forms which are otherwise affixed to nominals. But it is also possible to have both the specifier and the noun marked identically for the same Case, number, and gender, as in the following:

(34) a. [IP [NP Ha- d- i na'a - d - i NP] Barints- e IP]
this-def-nom boy - def- nom tall - vb to be
'This boy is tall'

b. [IP[NP Ha- nn- a na'a - in - d - a NP] Barints - e IP]
this-fem-nom girl - fem-def-nom tall - vb to be
'This girl is tall'

c. [IP Saba[VP[NP Ha- nn- o na?in- d - o NP] Ko:ts- i- de VP]IP]
shaba this-fem-acc girl- def-acc insult-3ms-past
'Shaba insulted this girl'

One interesting point about the inflection of such demonstrative pronouns is that, like other NPs, they are marked for definiteness which should not be expected considering their semantic interpretation. That is, as Lyons (1977: 647) says for demonstrative pronouns 'this' and 'that' in English, "... there is a component of definiteness in [their] meaning..." It seems there is some redundancy in marking them for definiteness as they already have that meaning. This shows that in terms of Case assignment in the Basketto language in general, Case morphemes and definite markers are inseparable. If morphological Case has to be marked for a

category, the definite morpheme accompanies it. The exceptions are plural and proper nouns in accusative positions since they take the morpheme [-ana] without the definite marker.[5] That is, in this language Case morphemes always appear after the definite marker. If the nouns are indefinite, Case is not morphologically realised (see Chapter Three).

2.3.2 Personal Pronouns

There are two sets of personal pronouns in the Basketto language. The first set consists of the full independent personal pronouns which are inflected for Case, number, and in the third person singular, for gender. The following chart shows these pronouns:

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5 This morpheme usually occurs with plural nouns and proper names. The following two sentences were given to informants but they were not accepted as grammatical.

1) *iza nasa- d- ana k'o:ts- a- de
she man-def-acc. insult-3fs-past
'She insulted the man'

2) *iza miz-ants-a- d- a wong-a- de
she cow- pl- ?-def-acc buy-3fs-past
'She bought the cows'

In contrast, the same structures are accepted as grammatical if the Case suffixes are reversed:

3) iza nasa-d- a k'o:ts- a-de
4) iza miz-ants-ana wong- a- de

Chart 3. INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	Nominative	Accusative	Genitive
sg.	tan-i	tan-ana	ta-
1st			
pl.	nun-i	nun-ana	nu-
sg.	nen-i	nen-ana	ne-
2nd			
pl.	yint-i	yint-ana	yinte-
sg(M)	i:	iy-ana	i-
sg(F)	iza	iza-ana	iz-
3rd			
pl.	int-i	int-ana	inti-

Examples:

(35) a. iza nunana s'eg- a- de

she us call-3fs-past

'She called us'

b. nuni yintana s'eg- i- de

we you(pl.) call- 1pl- past

'We called you(pl.)'

c. i izana si:k'- i- de

he her love-3ms- past

'He loved her'

Such pronouns are not always used in the form listed above; rather they are shortened or 'cliticized'. Such shortened forms constitute the second set or group of pronouns - clitic pronouns. One way to determine whether the Basketto pronouns are clitics or not, is to examine their distribution against that of the full pronouns. In this language, clitic pronouns occur where full pronouns occur, but there are some structures where one or the other is excluded. Before directly going to the details, some examples will be given to show the clitic forms of the above independent pronouns:

(36) a. ta ayiS mo:- de
I meat eat(2sg)-past
'I ate meat'

b. ne abz koyara?
you(sg) what want
'what do you want?'

c. nu intana bukk-anda
we you(pl.acc) beat(fut.1pl)
'We will beat you'

d. naKfa tana yel- i- de
naKfa me reach-3ms-past

'I was assigned in NaKfa'(lit.: N. reached me)

e. iza nena si:k'- a- de

she you(sg.) love-3fs-past

'She loved you'

In the above examples, the clitics {ta}, {ne}, and {nu} are subject clitics. {tana} and {nena} are object clitics. The following chart shows the clitic forms of the language:

Chart 4. CLITIC PRONOUNS

CASE	PERSON						
	1st		2nd		3rd		
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.(M)	sg.(F)	pl.
Nominative	ta	nu	ne	(yint)	(i:)	(iz)	(int)
Accusative	tana	nuna	nena				

The clitic forms in brackets appear with postpositions, unlike the others which occur independently.

DISTRIBUTIONAL VARIATION

Example (36) shows that clitic pronouns occur where full pronouns or other nominals occur. In this section we will see structures where one or the other is excluded:

I. Complements of Postpositions:

Only clitic pronominals are used as complements of postpositions. The following examples show this:

(37) a. ta ne- bär igintabda
I you(sg.)-with reconcile(impf.neg.)
'I will not reconcile with you'

b. ta iz-ko lukkade
I her-to go(past 1sg)
'I went to her'

c. iza ta- bo miSSi imm- a- de
she me-for money give-3fs-past
'She gave me money'

d. inti nu-bär lukk-a- de
they us-with go-3ms-past
'They went with us'

The clitic pronominals in examples (37) are identical to the forms that are identified as subject clitics. If these clitic pronominals are replaced by full pronominals (either nominative or accusative), the sentence will be ungrammatical. Compare example (37a) with the following:

(38) *tani neni- bär igintabda(nominative)

(39) *tani nenana-bär igintabda(accusative)

As post- or pre-positions are capable of assigning Case, one may ask what Case is assigned by post-positions. This will be discussed in Chapter three.

II. Conjunction

The second place where we find distributional restriction between full and clitic pronominals is conjunction construction. Only full pronominals can be used in conjunction with other pronouns or proper names.

Examples:

(40) a. tani-ke neni-ke gents wong- i- re

you-conj. you-conj ox buy-pl.- impf.

'You and me will buy an ox'

*ta-ke ne-ke gents wongire

b. neni-ke leKane-ke o:s dos-base

you-conj leKane-conj work like-neg.

'you and LeKane do not like work'

*ne-ke leKane-ke o:s dosa-base

c. Sabi leKane tani-ke ne- bo miSi imm- i- re

Sabi leKane i- conj you(sg)-for money give-pl-impf

'Shaba, LeKane and I will give you money'

*Sabi leKane ta-ke ne-bo miSi immire

The non-occurrence of clitic pronouns in conjunction constructions is one property that distinguishes clitic pronouns from full pronouns (Cf. Borer 1986a: 3). Note that in this language, if the co-ordinated elements are more than two, the co-ordinate morpheme {-ke} is attached only to the last noun.

III. Cleft constructions

Only the full pronoun can be the head of cleft constructions.

Examples:

(41) a. iza si:K-ino- d- i tanan- e

she love-comp- def-nom me- vb.to be

'The one she loved is me'

*iza si:K-ino- di tan-e

b. inti koy- ino- d- i yintan- e

they want-comp-def-nom you(Pl.acc)- vb. to be

'What they wanted is you(pl.)'

*inti koy-ino- d- i yint-e

c. i: si:K- ino- d- i izan- e

he love-comp- def-nom her- vb. to be

'The one he loved is her'

*i: si:K-ino- d-i iz- e

There are other constructions where the full pronouns are preferred. Two such cases are shown below:

A) With numerals or quantifiers, the full pronouns are used. The following examples show this:

(42) a. nuni nama?-ants sawli lukk-anda

we two- pl. Sawla go-pl.impf.

'We two will go to Sawla'

b. i yintana haydz-ants- a dos- i - de

he you(pl.acc) three-pl-acc like-3ms-past

'He liked the three of you'

c. iza nunana woytsi dos- a- de

she us all like-3fs-past

'She liked all of us'

If a subject clitic pronoun is modified by a numeral, the meaning can be ambiguous; i.e., it gives the meaning of possession unless there is a long, noticeable pause between the clitic and the number.

Example:

(43) ? nu nama?-ants sawli lukk- anda

we two- pl Sawla go- pl. impf

? 'Our two will go to Sawla'

This ambiguity arises from the formal similarity between subject clitics and genitive pronouns (cf. the pronouns chart # 3). Modification of object clitics by numerals is not ambiguous but less preferable than modification of full pronouns. Compare example (42c) with the following:

(44) iza nuna haydz- ants- a dos- a- de

she us three- pl.-acc like-3fs-past

'She liked the three of us'

B) As heads of relative clause, the full pronouns are used as shown in the following examples:

(45) a. [IP[NP [CP neni zinab bek'-ino CP] nuni NP] hat duma IP]

you(sg) yesterday see- comp we now different

'We, whom you saw yesterday are different now'

? neni zinab bek`-ino nu hat duma

b. [NP[CPiza k'oys-iza CP]yintana NP] [tani] bonc- a- re]

she insult-comp you(pl.acc) i respect-1sg-impf

'I respect you whom she insults'

? iza k'oys-iza yint tani bonc- a- re

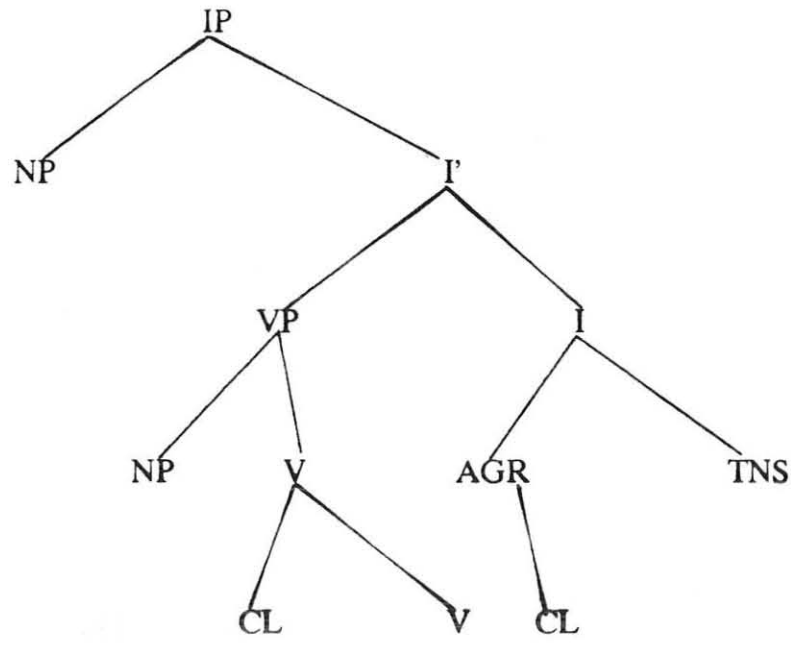
It is clear now that there are two types of pronouns in the Basketto language which may or may not share the same position in a sentence. Example (36) shows that clitic pronouns can appear where other pronouns occur. Example (37) show that clitics are obligatory as complements of post-positions. Examples (40) and (41) show that clitics are strictly avoided in conjunction and cleft construction. Finally, examples (42)-(45) show that clitics may be used instead of full pronouns, but this is less preferable. In the following section, some points in the theory of clitics will be discussed briefly and evaluated in terms of the data presented above.

THE THEORY

Jaeggli (1986: 15) characterizes clitics as "... morphemes which are neither clearly independent words (or roots) or purely inflectional elements." They behave both as syntactic and morphological elements. Like words they carry a categorial label, have varying placement vis-à-vis the verb, and satisfy the subcategorization requirement of the verb (Examples in (37) show the noun-like property of Basketto

clitics). Like affixes, they can be attached to other lexical categories and can be restricted from occurring in certain constructions like conjunction (cf. Klavans 1979, also Borer 1986). "Clitics cannot be conjoined or modified because they are not free syntactic constituents." (Pulleyblank 1986: 49). Examples (40)-(45) show that in this respect, Basketto clitics also behave different from other nouns. Of the many interesting issues about clitics that are discussed in various works, two points will be raised here in relation to the Basketto language.

1. The first point is the place of clitics in a structure. Many linguists agree that clitics are not base-generated under the NP slot. Aoun (1985) says they are base-generated in A' position. Roberge (1990) states that subject clitics are base-generated under the INFL node while the object clitics are generated under the V node. Thus, he gives us the following structural tree (modified to fit Basketto, a head-final language):



For languages like Basketto, such a structure implies that, when the subject of a sentence is a clitic pronoun, the [NP, IP] position is empty. The kind of empty element that fills this vacant structural position, according to Roberge, is pro. This proposal is needed to account for languages which allow the occurrence of both lexical NP and clitic pronoun in the same sentence. The content of pro can be recovered from the clitic because the missing pronoun and the clitic share the same features as number, person, etc. Ouhalla (1988: 486) states that:

> Clitics are treated as a type of agreement inflection. However, they are distinguished from other types of agreement inflection by virtue of the fact that they impose a restriction on the argument position they are coindexed with. It can be occupied only by a pronominal element...

The theory developed by Roberge (1990) predicts that languages which have subject clitics (like Basketto) cannot have the structure *[[NP%] [SCL%] V...], instead, they either have [[NP] [SCL%] V...] or [[NP%] [SCL] V...]. This prediction is correct, as all examples (36)-(45) above show.

As stated in the introduction, in the Basketto language, the verb exhibits partial inflection for person, number and gender. If the subject clitics are under the INFL node as is claimed in the theory, where should we put these (partial) agreement markers on the verb which identify the subject?

According to Roberge it is possible to have both agreement markers on the verb and subject clitics, because in some languages only clitics can identify the pro - i.e., clitics have the effect of disambiguating (cf. ibid., p. 50). But then, even if it is possible to branch the INFL node and to have two agreement markers identifying the same subject (pro), there still remains one problem with Basketto as a head-

final language. The deep structure representation of the clitics and their surface form would not be similar. That is to say, if there are subject clitics in a sentence, they are pronounced at the beginning of a sentence (cf. example (36)a to c), while the structural tree above predicts that they appear after the verb. This forces us to assume that there is movement. But since the [NP, IP] position is occupied by pro, where will this clitic land? The only possibility is that the moved clitic pronoun is adjoined to the pro which it identifies.

One may suggest here to base-generate the clitics in their surface position, i.e., the subject clitics in [NP, IP] position and the object clitics in [NP,VP] position. In fact, this would be an easy analysis which would avoid movement of the subject clitic from AGR position to [NP, IP] position and it would also avoid the discussion of an empty element, pro, in the subject and object positions in those instances where the sentence already has clitic pronouns. But this would be totally against the theory of clitics, the main point of which is to show that clitics are different from other NPs (on the grounds discussed in section II) and hence cannot be base generated where other NPs are generated. As claimed by Roberge (ibid. p. 55):

> In the theory I argue for here, the concept 'subject clitic' is not grammatically spurious but refers to a very precise syntactic notion. It follows from this view that subject clitics should be base generated uniformly across languages.

The assumption that subject clitics are generated in INFL means that actually those languages which have a rich inflectional morphology, and those without a rich morphology, are similar: Both can have 'pro' in subject position. From this, Roberge (1990: 35, 52) concludes that no 'null subject parameter' needs to be formulated. The decision on the presence or absence of pro can be made by

observing whether subject-pronouns are clitics or not. Roberge gives the following four tests to recognize the typology of languages in relation to the presence or absence of pro (ibid. 52):

- If the pronouns are never missing and are clitics, then pro can be licensed, as in French.

- If the pronouns are never missing and are not clitics, then pro is not available, as in English.

- If the pronouns are missing, then they are not clitics and the presence of pro is made possible by licensing through rich verbal inflection, as in Italian.

- The fourth possibility, pronouns are missing and are clitics, is excluded by the following generalization: if the grammar of L includes subject clitic pronouns, then, when [NP,IP] is phonetically null and filled by pro, a subject clitic must be present.

As can be seen from all the examples above, in the Basketto language verbs always have their subcategorized NPs in their phonetically real form. If the selected arguments are pronouns, they must appear either in full or in their clitic form. Thus the language belongs to those languages that fit the first test.

2. The other point which is often mentioned about clitics is that they 'may absorb Case'. This in fact is related to their base generation under INFL and V, subject and object clitics respectively. If they are base-generated in these positions, they are not arguments and thus not Case receivers. But they optionally absorb whatever Case the predicate has to assign to its arguments. Jaeggli (1986: 21) says: "...Case absorption is a parameter along which different clitics may vary." If clitics absorb Case, no other lexical NP can appear that can be co-indexed with them - like in the Basketto language which strictly selects either the clitic or the full pronoun, but

never both together. If they do not absorb Case, the language allows the occurrence of a lexical NP co-indexed with the clitic - like in clitic doubling languages.

We saw that post-positions in Basketto always appear with clitics, but the Case of these clitic forms cannot be identified. This behaviour of the Basketto clitics seems to underline the statement made by Givón (1984: 357) on the Ute language: "... clitic pronouns can refer to either subject, object or possessive/genitive nouns. This is a reduction ('neutralization') of one distinction that is marked more fully in independent pronouns." In the Basketto language, clitics can refer to the subject of a sentence or complements of post-positions. The type of Case which post-positions assign to their complements will be discussed in the next chapter.

SUMMARY

In this chapter the morphological aspects of the Case system of Basketto have been described. In this language, the nominative and accusative Cases are morphologically realized. The distribution of these morphemes in various nominal forms and complex NPs has been shown. In Basketto, morphologically realized forms are sensitive to definiteness. The morphological Case realization as discussed in this chapter requires the Case bearing NPs to be definite.

The behaviour of pronouns in terms of Case assignment was also discussed. It has been shown that demonstrative pronouns in the language are inflected for Case, number and gender. Moreover, it is evident that the Basketto language has two sets of personal pronouns: full personal pronouns (non-clitic pronouns) and clitic pronouns. The clitic pronouns can be subdivided as subject clitics and object

clitics. Such clitic pronouns may appear where full pronouns occur, which shows that they are like other NPs; but the following distributional restrictions were observed:

(a) only clitic pronouns can be used as complements of post-positions.

(b) only full pronouns can be used with conjunctions and in cleft constructions. This shows that clitic pronouns are not like other lexical NPs.

(c) as heads of relative clauses, full pronouns are preferred.

The presence of clitics shows that Basketto has pro - which cannot be easily seen in the language if we treat clitics as other nominals because complements of verbs often appear in their lexical form, as the AGR element on the verb does not fully recover the content of pro.

CHAPTER THREE

ABSTRACT CASE

In the GB theory, the notion of abstract Case refers to Case which is not morphologically realized. This arises from the claim of the theory that all lexical NPs have Case. In the previous sections it was shown that Basketto has morphologically realized Cases for the nominative and the accusative. However, such Case morphemes are not affixed to indefinite NPs. The other construction in which Case is not always morphological in Basketto is the genitive construction. The possessor - possessed relationship is often identified by syntactic position. However, there is a morphological element identifying the possessor only for the third person singular and plural. Neither is a Case morphological in complements of postpositions and in subject nouns which are proper names. Each of these is discussed in this chapter.

3.1 INDEFINITE NOUN PHRASES

Indefinite NPs[7] appear without overt Case both in the accusative and the nominative positions as in the following:

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7 In Basketto indefiniteness is not marked morphologically

(46) a. yeri färäs Kak - i - re

donkey horse kick-3ms-impf

'A donkey kicks a horse'

b. iza o:t tong- a -de

she pot throw-3fs-past

'She threw a pot'

c. i: godarsi woD- i- de

he lion kill-3ms-past

'He killed a lion'

d. na:r- a- d- i gents wong - i - de

boy- 3ms-def-nom ox buy- 3ms- past

'The boy bought an ox'

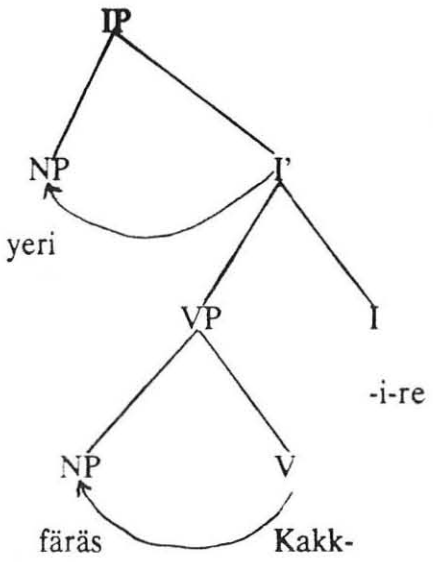
e. haydzi Pec yer - ants kats tokk - i - ne

three big donkey- pl. grain carry -3pl.- past

'Three big donkeys carried grain.'

All of the examples in (46) are grammatical: thus, the NPs in these structures are not in violation of the Case filter. Since the Cases assigned to the [NP, IP] and [NP, VP] positions are not morphologically realised, we assume that the NPs are assigned abstract Case. The question is what type of abstract Case do they actually bear? Two possible approaches are discussed below.

The first approach is the one adopted in the previous chapters for morphological Case assignment. In this approach, INFL is the governing category for the [NP, IP] position and the verb governs the [NP, VP] position. If these government relations are satisfied, nominative and accusative Case can be assigned to these positions as shown below:



Thus, the subject and object positions in the above structure can be assigned abstract nominative and accusative Case respectively, from INFL and the verb.

The second approach we consider here was first proposed in Belletti (1988). This approach suggests a possible relation between Case marking and definiteness by applying the notion of the 'Definiteness Effect' (DE). According to this approach the indefinite NPs in (46) bear abstract partitive Case. The DE, its relation to Case theory, and how it accounts for the definite/indefinite distinction in Case assignment in Basketto, are discussed below.

The term DE is introduced to account for certain syntactic structures in which only 'indefinite' NPs are allowed. Such structures in English include 'there-

contexts' shown in example (47) (from Safir 1985) and example (48) (from Belletti 1988):

(47) a. There is a man in the room

b. *There is the man in the room

(48) a. There arrived a man

b. *There arrived the man

Thus it is assumed that in such structures the NP associated with the expletive 'there' cannot be definite. Belletti gives a Case theoretic account for the contrast between the grammatical sentences in examples ((47) and (48) a) and the ungrammatical ones in ((47) and (48) b).[8]

Belletti argues that ((47) and (48) b) are excluded by the Case filter because the NP 'the man' cannot get accusative Case from the verbs 'be' and 'arrived'. This is because it is generally assumed that 'be' is not a Case assigner (cf. Lasnik 1992) and 'arrived' is an example of 'unaccusative' verb that cannot assign accusative Case. Examples ((47) and (48)a), on the other hand are grammatical because they are assigned abstract 'Partitive' Case by the verbs 'be' and 'arrived' which are capable of assigning this Case.[9] Partitive Case cannot be assigned to the examples

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8 As discussed in section (1.4.2), such structures were formerly accounted for by the Case transmission theory suggested by **Chomsky (1986).**

9 The notion of abstract partitive Case accounts for various constructions like the passive and the inverted-subjects of **sentences with unaccusative verbs, in Italian and Finnish. See** also Raposo and Uriagereka (1990) for the analyses of Case assignment in European Portuguese based on Belletti's proposal.

in ((47) and (48)b) because "... there is an essential incompatibility between partitive Case and a definite NP." (Belletti 1988: 1)

The idea of partitive Case is basically semantic, i.e., this Case type is identified by semantic reading or meaning of the construction. Belletti (ibid: p. 5) states:

> ...**partitive Case always selects an indefinite meaning for** the NP that carries it - a meaning equivalent to that of a lexical quantifier like 'some' in English.

She thus assumes that partitive Case is inherent because it is assigned in conjunction with theta-role assignment.

Though the DE is often associated with structures similar to those in (47) and (48), it can also occur in other constructions (cf. Safir 1985: 95). Thus, the Case theoretic account proposed by Belletti for sentences with unaccusative verbs can be extended to other constructions where the DE holds. For example, Lasnik (1992: 398) suggests this for Turkish and Hebrew [10], which, in spite of the same structural position, exhibit different Case markings for definite and indefinite NPs[11]. He states that:

> ... in Turkish, the specific versus nonspecific distinction among object NPs is marked by a Case distinction. In **particular, specific objects are accusative, whereas** nonspecifics have no overt Case marker.

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[10] His data are taken from Chenausky's (1990) analyses of Hebrew and Enç's (1991) of Turkish.

[11] Lasnik (1992: 398) also mentions that Enç's study refers to the 'standardly discussed definiteness' as specific and nonspecific.

It is argued that in such languages the same verb assigns two types of Case, i.e., accusative Case (which is realized morphologically), when the noun is definite and abstract partitive Case (recognized by the semantic reading), when the NP is indefinite.

As shown in example (46), the Basketto language has the same Case assigning system as described in these two languages. That is, in this language morphological accusative Case is associated with definite NPs. NPs appear without any Case morpheme if they are indefinite. Thus (46a), repeated below as (49a), contrasts with (49b).

(49) a. yeri färäs Kak- i- de
donkey horse kick-3ms-past
'A donkey kicked a horse'

b. yer- a- d- i färäs- a- d- a Kak- i- de
donkey-3ms-def-nom horse-3ms-def-acc kick-3ms-past
'The donkey kicked the horse'

The interpretation of an indefinite NP in Basketto is similar to the interpretation of Belletti's (1988) partitive Case: implying a reading of a 'part of a set'. Thus, we can conclude that the indefinite object NPs in examples (46 a-e) are assigned abstract 'partitive' Case by the verb.

Of the two possibilities for the analysis of the Case assignment of indefinite NPs presented in this section, Belletti's approach is preferable because the Case type assigned by the verb can be justified on semantic grounds while it still fulfils

the Case filter. It also shows that there is a link between Case assignment and definiteness, i.e, definiteness affects the type of Case to be assigned to the NP.

However, in adopting Belletti's theory of partitive Case assignment to the Basketto data we need to determine the position of subject NPs in a structure. In this language, indefinite NPs in subject position behave exactly like those in object (accusative Case) positions in that they appear without any morphologically realised Case forms. Their meaning implies a 'part of a set' reading of NPs with this Case. However, Belletti argues that partitive Case is always VP internal. She uses examples from Finnish in which partitive subjects are excluded in sentences whose verb is not unaccusative. She thus says: "...the subject position cannot qualify for the assignment of partitive Case." (ibid. p. 26). The question is, if partitive Case is not available in the [NP, IP] position, how do the indefinite subject NPs in Basketto get this Case?

For languages in which the DE is manifested on the subject NP, Belletti suggests that the subject is VP-adjoined and gets partitive Case from the verb. She concludes:

> The only necessary modification [in the theory] consists in also allowing partitive Case to be assignable to a position that is not the object position but is still, crucially, VP-internal and thematically associated with the verb.(ibid. p.14)

Therefore, if the second option is chosen for analysing the Case assignment of indefinite NPs in Basketto, then we are forced to recognise a VP-adjoined subject because the 'definiteness effect' "... does not occur in the [NP, IP] position, outside the VP" (Belletti 1988: 14).

As stated in Mulder (1992), the theory of the VP-internal subject hypothesis has already been proposed by many scholars for various reasons. According to this hypothesis the subject is base-generated inside the VP not adjoined to it in later stages. Chomsky (1991: 34-35) states that:

> The status of [SPEC, IP] is anomalous in several respects. One is that it may or may not be a theta-position, depending on lexical choices. ... Such idiosyncratic properties would be eliminated if we were to assume that a thematic subject originates from a position internal to VP, then raising to [SPEC, IP].

Different reasons were given to justify this proposal. Burtan and Grimshaw (1992: 305) argue that:

> If only lexical categories are theta-markers, and if theta-marking is strictly local, operating only within a maximal projection, then specifiers of functional projections are non-theta-positions. Hence, specifier of IP could not be the deep structure position for an argument.

In general, the theory of VP-internal subjects is used to account for various structures. The structural tree, for example (46a) shown above, will thus have the following form:[12]

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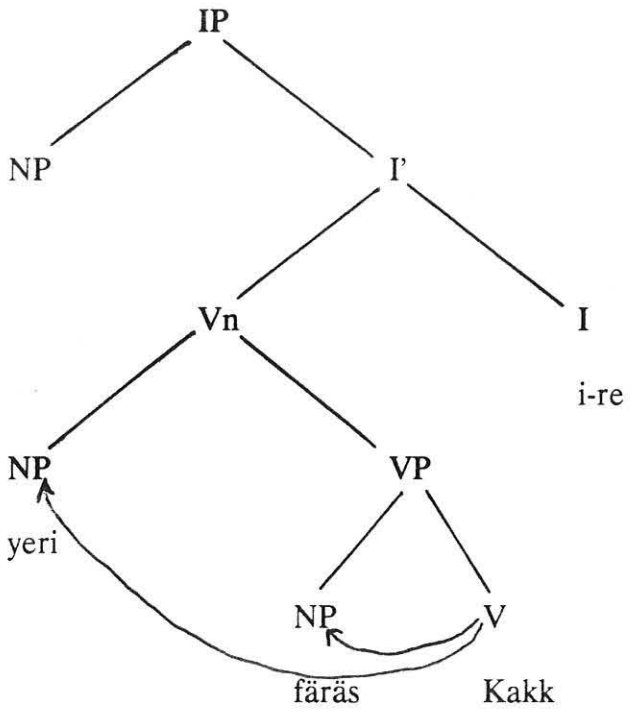
12 This tree structure is adopted from Sportiche (1988). He states that the the structure of S = IP always has this representation. The NP under the first branching of Vn is the canonical subject position of VP and Vn is a projection of V.



To generalize, we argued that indefinite subject NPs in Basketto are base-generated within the VP and are assigned abstract partitive Case by the verb. In view of the discussion of nominative Case assignment in Chapter Two, this conclusion is problematic because it implies that some subject NPs are generated in the [NP, IP] position to get nominative Case while others originate in [NPS[13], VP] position and get partitive Case. This problem will be avoided if the theory of base-generation in the VP is assumed to be the case for all subjects.

This in turn will raise the question of how definite subject NPs do get Case, since partitive Case cannot be assigned to such NPs because it is 'incompatible' with them. As shown in Chapter Two, in Basketto such NPs are assigned nominative Case. Since an NP has to be governed by INFL to be assigned nominative Case, the definite NP has to move to the [NP, IP] position to get this Case. This movement

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13 [NPS] stands for 'subject noun' in the VP, i.e, the first branching NP under the tree node Vn in the structural tree in this page.

of subject NPs from the [NPS, VP] position is suggested for other languages (e.g. English) which have nominative subjects (cf. Mulder 1992: 28).

3.2 THE GENITIVE CASE

The genitive or possessive Case is assigned to arguments by their governing nouns. In Basketto, the genitive Case is not morphologically marked. This, however, does not apply to personal pronouns because as shown in Chart # 3 (Chapter Two), all personal pronouns have distinct possessive pronoun forms.

As can be seen from the following examples, the possessor-possessed relationship is identified by position: the possessor on the left.

(50) a. dore ayS
sheep meat
'mutton'

b. wus- ants ketsi
thief-pl house
'thieves' house'

d. ge:S afil
beggar clothes
'beggar's clothes'

e. Sabi i:S

Sabi brother

'Shaba's brother'

Here one may question whether all the examples in (50) are genitives or lexical compounds. We argue that they are genitive constructions because each element in the constructions can be modified independently as in (51).

(51) [NP dura wusants orats kets- a- d- i NP] awn woDe]

rich thieves new house-3ms-def-nom where exist

'Where is the rich thieves' new house?'

The only morphological element that identifies the possessor is the morpheme {pe-} 'his'/'her'/'their'. This morpheme is prefixed to the possessed noun only when the possessor is third person singular or plural.

(52) a. [IP aykale [VP pe- na?a- bär buk- int- a- de VP]IP]

aykale poss.- boy- by beat-passi.-3fs-past

'Aykale was beaten by her son'

b. [IP Saba [VP pe- iSa- d- a bukk- i- de VP]IP]

Saba poss- brother- def- acc hit- 3ms- past

'Shaba hit his brother'

c. [IP inti [VP pe- mehants- abo mati imm- i- de VP]IP]

they poss-cattle- for grass give-3pl- past

'They gave grass to their cattle.'

3.3 POSTPOSITIONS

It is generally agreed that adpositions, i.e., post- or pre-positions assign Case and semantic roles to their complements. According to the GB theory, pre- or postpositions assign oblique Case or, in some languages like English, accusative Case.

Basketto is a postpositional language. In this language, complements of postpositions are not morphologically marked for Case. The following examples show this:

(53) a. baw- in- d- a ketsi- gal woD- e

cat-fem- def-nom house- on exist-vb.to be

'The cat is on the house'

b. tani Saba-bär lukk- a- de

I Saba-with go- 1sg- past

'I went with Shaba'

In some languages, personal pronouns indicate the type of Case assigned by a postpositional head[14]. This is not possible in Basketto because, as mentioned in section (2.3), when personal pronouns are used as complements of postpositions they appear in their clitic form, as shown in examples (37) repeated here as (54).

[14] For example, in Wolaytta, an Omotic language related to Basketto, the fact that post-positions assign accusative Case is indicated by the form of the pronouns (Cf. Bekale 1989).

(54) a. ta ne- bär ig- int- ab- da

I you(sg.)-with reconcile-recip.-neg-fut.

'I will not be reconciled with you'

b. tani iz- ko lukk- a- de

i her-to go- 1sg- past

'I went to her'

c. iza ta-bo miSi imm- a- de

she me-for money give-3fs-past

'She gave me money'

d. inti nu- bär lukk- i- de

they we-with go- 3pl-past

'They went with us'

These clitic pronouns are distinct for person, number and gender but not marked for Case. As these clitics are formally similar to the genitive pronouns (see the chart for full pronouns (# 3) above), one can argue that postpositions in the Basketto language assign genitive Case.[15]

However, since the form of the pronouns that occur as complements of postpositions is also similar to the form of clitic pronouns in this language that

[15] Baye Yimam pointed out to me that some scholars argue that postpositions in some languages (e.g. Somali) assign genitive Case. Unfortunately, I was not able to find any material on this issue.

occur in subject positions of sentences, we argue that postpositions in Basketto assign oblique Case. This assumption is supported by the fact that there are other Omotic languages which are reported to have the same two-way distinction for subject pronouns, i.e., clitics and non-clitics, where, the former are distributionally restricted. For example, Hayward (1990: 211) writes about Zayse:

> Another surprise appears in the syntax, for Zayse has a full series of enclitic subject pronouns that attach to the end of focused noun and postpositional phrases.

Thus, in this study it is assumed that postpositions assign oblique Case. The fact that nominative and accusative pronouns cannot occur with the postpositions suggests that the Case type assigned by postpositions is not one of these Case types. This is shown in the ungrammaticality of examples (38) and (39) repeated below as (55a and b), in which the pronouns [neni] 'you nom.', and [nenana] 'you acc.' cannot appear with the postposition.

(55) a. [tani neni- bär ig- int- abda]
i you(nom)-with reconcile- recip- neg.
? 'I will not be reconciled with you'

b. [tani nenana- bär ig- int- abda]
i you(acc)-with reconcile- recip- neg
? 'I will not be reconciled with you'

3.4 PROPER NAMES IN SUBJECT POSITION

Proper names are not marked with the nominative morpheme. The following examples show this:

(56) a. leKane birag- ana dos -a- de

leKane birag-acc like-3fs-past

'LeKane liked Biraga'

b. Sabi leKan- ana bukk- i- de

Saba leKane-acc beat-3pl-past

'Shaba beat LeKane'

c. lolise Sab- ana bukk- a- de?

lolise Saba-acc beat-3fs-past

'Did Lolise beat Shaba?'

In the above examples we assume that the proper names in subject positions are marked abstract nominative Case. Partitive Case cannot be assigned to these NPs because they are definite.

SUMMARY

In this chapter it has been shown that in Basketto there are some constructions in which Case is not morphologically realised. They include subject

and object indefinite NPs, genitive NPs, complements of postpositions and proper names in subject position. Following the GB theory, it is assumed that such NPs have abstract Case to satisfy the Case filter. Concerning the type of abstract Case assigned to the indefinite subject and object NPs two options were considered. The first option was to assume that INFL and the verb assign nominative and accusative Case respectively, to both definite and indefinite NPs. The second option was to consider Belletti's theory of partitive Case, which was also used for the analyses of data of other languages which distinguish definite and indefinite NPs in relation to Case assignment. As the interpretation of indefinite NPs in Basketto gives the meaning of 'part of a set', it is argued that the Case type that these NPs bear is abstract partitive Case. The VP-internal subject hypothesis which accounts for the assignment of this Case for indefinite subject NPs can be adopted for the analysis of all subject NPs in the language. The Case type assigned by PPs in Basketto is Oblique Case.

CHAPTER FOUR

STRUCTURES EXPLAINED BY CASE THEORY

As is claimed in the Government and Binding theory (cf. Van Riemsdijk and Williams 1986, Radford 1981 and 1988, Pollock 1981, Chomsky 1986, etc.), Case theory has a significant role in the analyses of different syntactic constructions. For example, the reason for the obligatory movements of nominals within some types of sentences is explained by this theory. In the GB account, movements of NP in passive and infinitival clauses are triggered by Case. The movement of NPs in raising constructions is also explained by the interaction of Case and theta-role assignment. All such movements are part of the operation known as: "move alpha" ("move anything anywhere"), which is constrained by principles. That is, movement is permitted only to satisfy some conditions like Case or theta-role requirement (cf. Chomsky 1991: 24).

Though this theory of movement is considered as the property of UG, there are languages that do not allow it at all or which differ in the details of applying it (cf. Van Riemsdijk and Williams 1986: 225; Chomsky 1986: 75). In this chapter we shall examine the behaviour of the Basketto language in the light of the Case theory of movement.

4.1 PASSIVE CONSTRUCTION

As mentioned above, one type of structure explained by Case theory is the passive. Chomsky (1981: 124) gives two crucial properties of passive sentences:

a) [NP, VP] does not receive Case within VP

Thus, the explanation as to why sentences like [It was seen John] are ungrammatical is that the noun [John] cannot be assigned accusative Case by the verb, because passive verbs cannot assign Case, and thus it is not liable to stay there.

Different proposals were made to explain why the object NP in a passive verb does not receive Case. Van Riemsdijk and Williams (1986) state that passive participles cannot assign Case because they are more "adjectival" than verbals and that adjectives in general are not Case assigners. However, Chomsky (1991: 71) argues that passive verbs are not adjectival: "... a passive verb, while not a verb ([+V,-N]), is not an adjective ([+V, +N]) either. Rather, it is a neutralized [+V] category with no marking for the feature [N]." The reason for this conclusion is the ungrammaticality of sentences like:

*[It is believed (of) Mary]

in which the passive can assign neither accusative nor inherent genitive Case (which, however, could be assigned by a +N category,) to the noun 'Mary' for which it assigns a theta-role.

The second property of passives is that: [NP, S] does not receive a theta-role.

That is, the passive morphology absorbs the theta-role the verb has to assign to its external argument position. The term absorption in this context is defined and explained by Jaeggli (1986: 592):

> ... let us define "absorption" simply as assignment to a bound morpheme. This entails that features may be assigned to affixes in the syntax as long as principles such as the Projection Principle are satisfied.

In trying to explain the reason why the external theta-role is absorbed, Jaeggli (1986: 590) further states that:

> The external theta-role of a predicate is the only unlinked theta-role in the lexical entry of a predicate. Thus, it is free to be associated with any element whatsoever.

Thus, because of the passive morphology, the verb loses its ability to assign Case to its internal argument and theta-role to its external argument (cf. Chomsky 1986: 74). At this point, the GB theory applies 'move-alpha' for the analysis of passive structures. The type of movement involved in such structures is 'NP movement' in which the object NP moves to the subject position. For example, the sentence [It was seen John] will be grammatical if the NP [John] is simply dropped or moved to the subject position to replace the pleonastic [it]. Such an analysis of passives suggests that even though the moved NP is in subject position and receives nominative Case, underlying it is the object of the verb, and not the subject. Thus,

as stated in May (1983: 165), movement of NPs takes place ultimately to positions of Case assignment.

A landing site for the moved NP is available as a result of the second property of passive verbs. That is, as the external argument position has no theta-role, subject NP cannot be lexically realized in this position on account of the theta-criterion. The moved object NP which has a theta-role but not Case lands in this position and receives nominative Case from INFL.

The object NP position that has been vacated by 'move alpha' is marked by the 'trace' of the moved NP. The existence of the trace of the moved NP is posited by the Projection Principle, which states that if, in a certain syntactic construction, there is an NP position, that NP position must be present at all levels (cf. Chomsky 1986: 116). The NP moved to the subject position and its trace in its original place form a chain which in turn has to satisfy the chain condition, which states that: "... every argument chain must be headed by a Case position and must terminate in a theta-position" (Chomsky 1991: 24).

In general, in most languages, complements of passive verbs move to escape the Case filter.

In the Basketto language, the passive verb is identified by the suffix {-int} to the verb. Object NP complements of such verbs move to the subject position and get nominative Case from INFL. The subject of the active counterpart forms the agent phrase by suffixing the morpheme {-bär}. If the instrumental phrase is already there, the by-phrase will be dropped. Examples (57a and b) below show the derivation of the passive from the deep structure representations in (57c and d) respectively:

(57)a. [IP kar- a- d- i [PP Kulfi-bär [VP t firK- int- ine VP]PP]IP]

door-masc-def nom key- with open- pass- pf

'The door is opened with a key'

b. [IP na?in- d- a [VP t bukk- int- a- de VP] IP]

girl- def-nom beat-passi-3fs-past

'The girl was beaten'

c. [IP e [PP Kulfi-bär [VP kara firK-int-ine VP]PP]IP]

key-with door open-pass-pf

'With a key a door is opened '

d. [IP e [VP na?in bukk- int- a- de VP] IP]

girl beat-pass-3fs-past

'The girl was beaten'

Passive constructions are of two types: lexical and syntactic. The lexical passives are idiosyncratic and are formed in the lexicon, while the syntactic passives are formed at the deep structure level of the syntax and acquire their surface form after the application of "move NP" (cf. Chomsky 1981). A language may have both lexical and syntactic passives. The examples shown above are syntactic. Lexical passives include forms like [woD] 'kill' vs [hayK] 'killed' and [meys] 'break' vs [meKK] 'broken'. Example (58) shows the surface structure form of the lexical passives:

(58) a. [IP o:t- a- d- i [VP meKK- i- de VP]IP]

pot-masc-def-nom break(pass)- 3ms- past

'The pot is broken'

b. [IP zobb- a- d- i [VP hayK- i- de VP]IP]

lion-3ms-def-nom kill(pass.)-3ms- past

'The lion is killed'

The verbs in the examples above are lexical passives because:

1) the same verbs have a different form in the active, as shown below:

(59) a. [IP i: [VP zobb woD- i- de VP]IP]

he lion kill-3ms-past

'He killed a lion'

b. [IP iza [VP o:t- a- d- a meys- a- de VP]IP]

she pot-masc-def-acc break-3fs-past

'She broke the pot'

2) the lexical passive verbs in (58a and b) do not occur with the passive morpheme {-int}, as shown in the following:

(60) a. [IP o:t- a- d- i [VP meKK- int- ine VP]IP]

pot-3ms-def-nom break-pass- pf

? 'The pot was broken'

b. [IP zobb-a -d- i [VP hayK- int-ine VP] IP]

lion-3ms-def-nom kill-pass-pf

? 'The lion was killed'

3) They do not take agent subjects, as is suggested by the ungrammaticality of the following example:

(61) a. [IP na:ra-d-i VP[o:t meKK- i- de]VP]IP]

boy-def-nom pot break-3ms-past

? 'The boy broke the pot'

b. [IP i: [VP zobb hayK- i- de VP] IP]

he lion kill-3ms-past

? 'He killed a lion'

Now, the question is how do /o:t/ 'pot', and /zobb/ 'lion' in (58), which are arguments of the lexical passives /meKK/ 'broken' and /hayK/ 'killed', get the nominative Case? Two options can be proposed. The first option is to assume that these NPs are base generated in the [NP, IP] position because the verbs do not take patient object NPs as in (61). This option is not plausible because the verbs 'kill' and 'break' belong to the category of verbs that subcategorize object NPs.

The second option is to assume that the patient nouns in the subject position in (58) are base-generated in the VP and are moved afterwards. This suggests that all passive construction in the language are derived uniformly. That is, the surface structure subject was originally the deep structure object NP both in the syntactic

and lexical passives. However, the movement of object NPs in the lexical passive verbs is not motivated, because there is no passive morphology which absorbs the Case assigning ability of the verb. That is, in principle, the object NPs could get accusative Case from their governing verbs. This, however, is not the case, because the patient NPs bear nominative Case, not accusative Case. This problem would be solved if we would assume that all passive verbs fail to assign Case to their object NPs. But this would also go against Jaeggli's (1986) definition of Case absorption by a passive verb which states that the Case that the verb can assign to its object is absorbed by the passive morpheme.

4.2 INFINITIVAL CLAUSES

In the modular approach of the study of language, various syntactic structures are explained in terms of the interaction of rules and principles of UG. When a rule or principle fails to account for a certain structure, other rules or principles may be invoked. One example is Case theory which explains the absence of phonetically overt subject NPs in infinitival clauses; an absence which, by the extended projection principle, is not allowed.

The Extended Projection Principle [EPP] states that complements of heads should be represented at each syntactic level, and that all sentences should have subjects (Chomsky 1986: 116). However, infinitival clauses may be ungrammatical if they have phonetically realised subject NPs. For example (taken from Chomsky 1980: 24):

* [A man [you to give the book to]

If the embedded subject of the infinitival clause is dropped the sentence will be acceptable, suggesting that the infinitival clause cannot have lexically realized subjects. The explanation given for this is that, generally, the INFL node of infinitival clauses has a negative value for the feature TNS and thus cannot assign nominative Case to the [NP, IP] position. Hence the position is filled by an empty category known as PRO. According to Aoun (1985: 89), "PRO is a set of features (alpha-person, beta-number, gamma-gender, etc.). It differs from other pronouns in that it lacks a phonetic matrix."[16]

The presence of PRO in subject position of infinitivals, satisfies the EPP and excludes lexical subjects from occuring in this position (cf. Chomsky 1986: 115).

One property of subject positions of infinitivals is that they are always Caseless because they are not governed by INFL with the feature TNS. However, in languages that have AGR features in the infinitival constructions, lexical NPs can appear as subjects of infinitival clause (cf. Chomsky 1986: 193). Raposo and Uriagereka (1990: 533) state that: "In Portuguese an infinitival clause may have Agr features ... this type of inflection is a nominative Case assigner, thus allowing (in principle) a lexical subject".

Languages like Oromo also allow infinitivals with lexical subjects (see Baye 1986: 264). Thus, there are two kinds of infinitivals:

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16 Furthermore, the binding principles, developed by Aoun, consider PRO different from other abstract elements recognised by the theory such as a trace of a moved NP in passive or trace of Wh-clauses, and an empty subject or object pronoun in morphologically rich languages. Its typical characteristics are that it appears in a Caseless position and that it is not governed.

a) those that have AGR elements and are able to have a phonetically realized subject, in this thesis we refer to them as Type I; and

b) those that have no AGR and TNS elements and hence allow no overt subject, here identified as Type II

Basketto has both types of infinitival forms mentioned above. The Type II infinitivals in this language have two forms: those that have the infinitival-forming suffix {-its}, and those that take the suffix {-and}, plus the complementizer suffix {-abo}, meaning 'for'. In what follows, each of these will be discussed.

4.2.1 Type I Infinitivals

This type of infinitivals are formed with the morpheme {-its} and have overt AGR element. Hence, they can have nominative subjects.

The AGR element which assigns nominative Case to the subject position is {-a}. The following examples show this :

(62)a. [IP iza [CP[IP iz iSa- d- i meh wongits- a- d- a]] erare]

she her brother cattle to buy-AGR-def-acc know-3fs-impf

'She knows her brother's buying of cattle'

b. [IP[CP[IP Saba hayK-its- a- d- i]] nuna dirc'-is- i- de]

Saba die-infin-AGR-def-nom us scare-caus-3ms-past

'Shaba's death made us scared'

c.[IP[CP[IP leKane fe-azina is'its-a-d-i]] nuna goyl-is-ine]

LeKane her-husband hate-AGR-def-nom us angry-caus-pf

'LeKane's hating of her husband made us angry'

The nominative and the accusative Case suffixed to the infinitival forms in example (62) are assigned to the whole clause. At this point one may raise a question about the possibility of assigning Case to a clause in view of the 'Case Resisting Principle'[17] which states that clauses do not receive Case, because they contain a head with Case-assigning features, i.e., INFL with [+TNS], or [+AGR]. In other words, a category bearing a Case-assigning feature cannot be Case-recipient. Plann (1986) questions the existence of such a principle, because her data from Spanish show otherwise.

The Basketto data also lead us to question the universal validity of this principle, because, as is shown in the above examples, the infinitival clauses, which have an AGR element in their INFL node are assigned Case. There is another view concerning the Case resisting principle: strictly speaking, the infinitival clauses with +AGR element are rather nominal and like other nominals may be marked for Case.[18] We thus assume the Case morphemes in the above examples show that the whole infinitival clause has been assigned nominative Case by the INFL of the matrix clause.

A point that one can notice in these forms is that like in the other nominal forms in the language, the morpheme {-d} which marks definiteness in the language is suffixed to the infinitival clause when it is assigned morphological Case.

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17 This principle was first proposed by Stowell (in 1981), stating that sentences that have a +TNS INFL node are Case resistant. Picallo (1984) revised it to include sentences with an AGR element as well (See Plann 1986: 336).

18 Baye Yimam, personal communication.

4.2.2 Type II Infinitivals

As predicted by the theory, the type II infinitivals cannot have overt subjects:

(63) *IP[IP [leKane ayiS muyints]IP i:t- e]IP

LeKane meat to eat bad-vb.to be

* 'LeKane to eat meat is bad'

As mentioned above, there are two different morphemes in this language that identify Type II infinitivals.

4.2.1.1 Type II Infinitivals without a complementizer

This type has the morpheme {-its} suffixed to the verb, and is always without a complementizer. The subject of such infinitival clauses is PRO as shown in the following representation:

(64)a. [IP tani[VP [CP[IP PRO buni wong-its IP]CP]koy- a- re VP]IP]

I coffee buy-infin want-3fs-impf

'I want to buy coffee'

b. [IP [CP[IP PRO woylisi wo:s'-its IP]CP] [VP daburs-i-re VP]IP]

a lot run-infin tire-3ms-impf.

'To run too much makes one tired'

c. [CP[IP [CP[IP PRO wos'-its IP]CP] koS- i- re IP]CP]

run-infin need-3ms-impf

'It is necessary to run'

In (64a), the infinitival clause appears as the direct object complement of the verb /koyare/ and in examples (64b), and (64c), as the subject of the sentence.

4.2.1.2 Type II Infinitivals with a complementizer

This type of the infinitival has the morpheme {-and}[19] and the complementizer {-abo} 'for'. The subject of such infinitival clause also is PRO. The following example shows the representation of such structures:

(65)a. [IP[CP[IP PRO Basket lukk-and-IP]abo CP][VP makini Day-i-ne]]

Basketto go-(ing)- COMP car lost-3ms-pf

'There is no car for going to Basketto'

b. [IP tani [CP[IP PRO fiSi mo- nd-IP] abo CP] koy- a- re IP]

I food eat-(ing)- COMP want-1sg-impf

'I want to eat food'

c. [IP i: [CP[IP PRO gents wong-and-IP] abo CP] gabi lukk-i-de IP]

he ox buy -(ing)- for market go- 3ms-past

'He went to the market for buying an ox'

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19 An identical form {-and} is used to refer to the first person imperfective. The same use of the imperfective marker is exhibited in other related languages, like Wolayta (cf. Bekale 1989) and Gamo (Cf. Hompó 1990). Example:

[CP[IP[tani basket lukk-anda]IP]CP]
I Basketto go- impf
'I will go to Basketto'

4.3 RAISING STRUCTURES

Still another structure which is explained by the interaction of Case theory and theta-theory is the Raising Structure. Raising structures are structures with predicates like 'seems' or 'likely' in English which take clauses as complements. Such predicates have an empty subject position, because they do not assign a 'theta-role' to their external argument position. Complements of 'raising verbs' can be either tensed or infinitival clauses. When they take an infinitival complement, the subject of such complements moves to the subject position of the matrix clause to get nominative Case. When they take a tensed clause as a complement, movement is optional, because the nominative Case can be assigned to the subject NP within the IP of the complement clause itself, like in Amharic (cf. Baye 1991). The optional movement is possible because the 'trace' of the moved NP can be governed by the TNS or AGR element in the INFL of the complement clause.

In Basketto, the raising verb [mays'] 'seem' takes only finite clauses as its complement. Such clauses are marked for aspect. There is no tense marker in the complement clause itself, rather the COMP (complementizer) is different for the imperfect and the perfect. Examples (66a and b) below show a complement clause with the perfective and imperfective aspect respectively:

(66)a. na?in-d- a orats afil wong-ino mays'-i-re

girl-def-nom new clothes buy- COMP seem-AGR-impf

'It seems that the girl bought a new dress'

b. yinti giyab lukk-iza mays'- i- re

you(pl) tomorrow go-COMP seem-AGR- impf

'It seems that you will be going tomorrow'

Before going to the analyses of these structures, we first need to make clear whether {-ino} and {-iza} are COMP or aspect markers. They are not aspect markers because the same morphemes always identify clausal complements including the relative clause, as is shown below:

(67)a.[IP[NP[CP[IP e gents wong-IP] ino CP] na:ra-d- i NP] yey-ine IP]

ox buy- COMP boy- def-nom come-pf

'The boy who bought an ox has come'

b. [IP[NP[CP[IP e gents wong- IP]iza CP] na:ra-d-i NP] yey-ine]

ox buy- COMP boy-def-nom come-pf

'The boy who will buy an ox has come

c. [IP tani[CP[IP na:ra-d-i gents wong]ino] d- a er-a-de]

i boy-def-nom ox buy- COMP-def-acc know-1sg-past

'I knew that the boy bought an ox'

d. [IP tani[CP[IP i: gents wong- IP]iza] d-a] si:sk- a- de]

i he ox buy- COMP-def-nom hear-1sg-past

'I heard that he will buy an ox'

These morphemes cannot be taken as person or tense markers on the embedded clause because they are invariable for different persons, number, gender, and Case. For example, the same morpheme {-ino} or {-iza} will be used whether the relativised NP is the subject or the object of the verb. Thus, the morphemes {-ino} and {-iza} are complementizers that are distinct for aspect; perfect and imperfect respectively.

In view of the analysis of raising structures in the GB theory, discussed at the beginning of this section, the S-structure representation of the raising structures in (66) will be as follows:

(68)a. [IP e[CP[IP na?in- d- a orats afil wong-IP]ino] mays'-i-re]

girl-def-nom new clothes buy- COMP seem-AGR-impf

'It seems that the girl bought a new dress'

b. [IP e [CP [IP yinti giyab lukk-IP]iza] mays'- i- re]

you(pl.) tomorrow go- COMP seem- AGR- impf

'It seems that you will be going tomorrow'

In (68 a and b) the [NP,IP] position of the matrix clause is empty, as there is no lexical NP subject which matches with AGR features in the INFL of the matrix clause. /na?inda/ 'the girl' in (68a) and /yinti/ 'you pl.' in (68b) cannot be the external arguments of the verb /mays'/ 'seem' because they do not share the AGR features associated with this verb. The [NP, IP] position can neither be assumed to be filled by a pro with a matching AGR features with the INFL of the matrix clause as the ungrammaticality the following sentence suggests:

(69) [IP i: [CP[IP na?in-d- a orats afil wong-]ino] mays'-i-re]

he girl-def-nom new clothes buy- COMP seem-3ms-impf

? 'He seems that the girl bought a new clothes'

In (69) the subject of the matrix clause [i:] has matching AGR features with the AGR element in the INFL of the matrix clause. But the sentence remains ungrammatical.

The only possible subject in this position is an empty element, which has the same interpretation as the English word 'it'. The presence of this pleonastic subject and the ungrammaticality of (69) is explained by the assumption of the GB theory which states that raising verbs in general do not assign a theta-role to their external arguments. Thus, lexical subjects cannot appear in this position unless they are moved out of a theta-position in the complement clause.

In Basketto, movement of NPs to the [NP, IP] position of the matrix clause in raising structures is optional. When the subject of the complement clause moves to the empty subject position of the matrix verb [mays'-], the AGR element in the matrix verb changes to match with the AGR features of the moved NP. The S-structure representation of (68) after the movement of the subject of the clausal complement is shown below:

(70) a. [IP na?in-d-a [CP[IP t orats afil wong-]ino] mays'-a- re]

girl-def-nom new cloth buy- COMP seem-AGR-impf

'The girl seems that she bought a new dress'

b. [IP yinti [CP[IP t giyab lukk- IP]iza] mays'- a- re]

you(pl.nom) tomorrow go- COMP seem-AGR- impf

'You seem that you will be going tomorrow'

In all the above examples we observe that there is no AGR morpheme in the INFL of the complement clause. It is the aspect distinction in the COMP that enables INFL to govern the [NP, IP] position and assign it nominative Case. After the movement of the subject NP, the trace left behind has to be licensed. This licensing is fulfilled by the perfect - imperfect distinction in INFL.

SUMMARY

In this chapter the nature of various types of syntactic structures in Basketto which, according to the GB theory, are explained by the Case theory are discussed. These are passives, infinitivals and raising structures.

The GB theory tries to explain why external arguments fail to appear in these structures and also why object NPs in passive structures move to the subject position. In Basketto the passive is formed by suffixing the morpheme {-int} on the verb. Objects of such passive verbs move to the subject position, as predicted in the theory. There are a few lexical passives in this language. These too have their object NPs in the subject position. This leads us to question Jaeggli's (1986) definiton of Case absorption by a passive verb. That is, lexical passives that do not have a

position. In Basketto the passive is formed by suffixing the morpheme {-int} on the verb. Objects of such passive verbs move to the subject position, as predicted in the theory. There are a few lexical passives in this language. These too have their object NPs in the subject position. This leads us to question Jaeggli's (1986) definiton of Case absorption by a passive verb. That is, lexical passives that do not have a passive morpheme fail to assign Case to their object NPs as is the case with the syntactic passives in which the passive morpheme absorbs the Case that has to be assigned to the object NP.

The GB theory recognizes two types of infinitivals: those which have AGR elements in their INFL node to govern and assign nominative Case to their external argument positions and those that do not have AGR elements in INFL and cannot have overt subjects. The subject of infinitival clauses that do not have AGR features is an abstract element called PRO.

Basketto has both types infinitivals mentioned above. An infinitival clause without AGR features may appear with or without a complementizer. When it appears with a complementizer the infinitive morpheme is {-and} followed by the complementizer {abo}; if the infinitival appears without a complentizer, the infinitival morpheme is {-its}. When the infinitivals have an AGR morpheme {-a}, they have overt subject.

Raising predicates in this language take only finite clauses as their complements. They are finite because there is aspect distinction in the complementizer. Movement out of such finite complement clauses to the subject position of the matrix clause is possible. The movement of the subject in the complement clause is optional.

CONCLUSION

In this study, the nature of Case assignment in the Basketto language was presented. It was shown that the language has both morphological and abstract Case. The morphological Case include nominative and accusative, which are assigned by INFL and the verb respectively. The morphemes that identify the nominative Case are {-i} for masculine and {-a} for feminine. The accusative Case is identified by {-a} for masculine and {-o} for feminine. These morphemes are attached only to definite NPs.

Demonstrative and personal pronouns were described. Demonstrative pronouns may be inflected for Case, gender and number. Personal pronouns in this language are of two types: full and clitic pronouns. The distribution of these two forms was shown. Clitics may appear in positions where other pronouns occur but in some constructions one or the other is excluded. Under the same NP structure full and clitic pronouns do not occur consecutively.

Indefinite NPs in Basketto are not morphologically marked for Case. It was argued that the Case type assigned to indefinite object NPs is abstract partitive Case, as proposed by Belletti (1988). There are also other structures in Basketto in which Case is not morphological. These include the genitive, postpositional phrases, and proper names in subject position. The genitive is mainly identified by position: the possessor noun on the left and the possessed noun on the right. When the third person singular or plural is a possessor, the possessed noun is identified by the morpheme {pe-}. Postpositions in the Basketto language assign oblique Case.

The theory of Case is used to explain structures like the passive and raising. The nature of such structures in Basketto was also discussed in the light of the GB theory.

Based on the description of the Case system, some general points in the nature of the language were noted. These include the following.

As there is only partial agreement between the verb and the subject, it was difficult to decide on the nature of the language in terms of the pro-drop parameter. Following Rizzi (1986) it was argued that the partial agreement between the verb and the subject is enough to classify the language with the group of pro-drop languages which do not 'fully recover' the content of pro. This argument was further strengthened by adopting the theory of clitics as developed in Roberge (1990). Roberge argues that if a language has clitic pronouns, which according to him are base-generated under the INFL node, the [NP, IP] position has pro, the content of which can be recovered from the AGR elements on the clitic. Furthermore, it was argued that clitic pronouns in Basketto absorb the Case feature to be assigned to arguments of the verb.

Another generalization made in this study involves the place of subject NPs in a structure. It was argued that subject NPs are generated in the [NPS, VP] position. The evidence for this comes from the distinction in Case assignment between definite and indefinite NPs. Specifically, it was shown that both indefinite object and subject NPs are assigned abstract partitive Case, as developed in Belletti (1988). To be assigned this Case, subject NPs should be base-generated under the VP, because partitive Case is not available outside the VP. Hence, it was concluded that all subject NPs are base-generated under the VP and the definite subject NPs move out of this position to receive nominative Case from INFL.

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