

5567 00767

Case in Africa

CHRISTA KÖNIG

X 27748/D : Kön
Universität Hamburg
Institut für Afrikanistik und Äthiopistik

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

This book
of the
ized c
defini
Chris
of cas
reveal
for ca
which
of the
takes
tial a
book
follow
defin
are all
case c
langu
word
appe
betw
focus

OXFORD

UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide in

Oxford New York

Auckland Cape Town Dar es Salaam Hong Kong Karachi

Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi

New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto

With offices in

Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece

Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore

South Korea Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam

Oxford is a registered trademark of Oxford University Press
in the UK and in certain other countries

Published in the United States
by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

© Christa König 2008

The moral rights of the author have been asserted
Database right Oxford University Press (maker)

First published by Oxford University Press 2008

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press,
or as expressly permitted by law, or under terms agreed with the appropriate
reprographics rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction
outside the scope of the above should be sent to the Rights Department,
Oxford University Press, at the address above

You must not circulate this book in any other binding or cover
and you must impose the same condition on any acquirer

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

Typeset by SPI Publisher Services, Pondicherry, India

Printed in Great Britain

on acid-free paper by

Middles Ltd., King's Lynn, Norfolk

ISBN 978-0-19-923282-6

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

Contents

| | |
|----------------------------------|------|
| <i>Preface</i> | ix |
| <i>List of Figures</i> | xi |
| <i>List of Maps</i> | xii |
| <i>List of Tables</i> | xiii |
| <i>Abbreviations</i> | xv |
| 1 Introduction | 1 |
| 1.1 Previous research | 1 |
| 1.2 Methodology | 5 |
| 1.2.1 The basis | 5 |
| 1.2.2 Case systems | 6 |
| 1.3 Terminology | 12 |
| 1.3.1 General | 12 |
| 1.3.2 Terminological conventions | 22 |
| 1.3.3 Summary | 30 |
| 1.4 Conclusions | 30 |
| 1.5 Goals of the book | 33 |
| 2 Accusative | 36 |
| 2.1 Overview | 36 |
| 2.2 Saharan | 38 |
| 2.2.1 Tubu | 39 |
| 2.2.2 Kanuri | 48 |
| 2.3 Nobiin | 58 |
| 2.4 Masalit | 60 |
| 2.5 Kunama | 65 |
| 2.6 Fur | 67 |
| 2.7 Kemantney | 70 |
| 2.8 Ik | 72 |
| 2.9 Semitic languages | 88 |
| 2.10 Ebang | 89 |
| 2.11 Summary | 89 |
| 3 Ergativity | 95 |
| 3.1 Northern Lwoo | 96 |
| 3.1.1 Group one | 96 |
| 3.1.2 Group two: Shilluk | 121 |

This
of the
ized c
defin
Chris
of cas
revea
for ca
which
of the
takes
trial a
book
follow
defin
are all
case c
langu
word
appe
betw
focus

| | | |
|-------|---|-----|
| 3.2 | Tima | 130 |
| 3.3 | South Mande | 133 |
| 3.4 | Conclusions | 135 |
| 4 | Marked-nominative | 138 |
| 4.1 | Case studies | 139 |
| 4.1.1 | Tennet | 139 |
| 4.1.2 | Turkana | 141 |
| 4.1.3 | Toposa | 144 |
| 4.1.4 | Dhaasanac | 148 |
| 4.1.5 | Maale | 153 |
| 4.1.6 | Umbundu | 156 |
| 4.1.7 | Ngangela | 157 |
| 4.2 | Accusative | 157 |
| 4.3 | Type 2 | 168 |
| 4.4 | An alternative analysis? | 176 |
| 4.5 | Historical development | 178 |
| 4.5.1 | Nominative encoding agents in passive-like clauses | 178 |
| 4.5.2 | Marked-nominative case as a former definiteness marker | 179 |
| 4.5.3 | Marked-nominative case as a former preceding definite element | 180 |
| 4.5.4 | Marked-nominative case as a former topic marker | 187 |
| 4.5.5 | From accusative to marked-nominative | 188 |
| 4.5.6 | Ergative origin of marked-nominative | 189 |
| 4.5.7 | Summary | 191 |
| 4.6 | Distribution of marked-nominative languages | 192 |
| 4.6.1 | Genetic | 192 |
| 4.6.2 | Areal | 193 |
| 4.6.3 | Generalizations | 198 |
| 4.7 | Conclusions | 201 |
| 5 | Special phenomena | 204 |
| 5.1 | Tone | 204 |
| 5.1.1 | Bantu | 204 |
| 5.1.2 | Igbo | 222 |
| 5.1.3 | East Africa | 223 |
| 5.1.4 | Summary | 224 |
| 5.2 | Definiteness | 224 |
| 5.2.1 | Afroasiatic | 226 |
| 5.2.2 | Other languages | 234 |
| 5.2.3 | Conclusions | 235 |
| 5.3 | No case before the verb | 240 |
| 5.3.1 | Data | 240 |
| 5.3.2 | Genetic distribution | 256 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| 5.3.3 Towards a historical explanation | 256 |
| 5.3.4 Summary | 271 |
| 5.4 On the rise of new case markers | 273 |
| 5.4.1 !Xun: From topic to subject | 273 |
| 5.4.2 Khwe and Khoekhoe (Nama): From focus to object | 276 |
| 5.5 Conclusions | 278 |
| 6 Conclusions | 283 |
| <i>Appendix I. Case in Africa</i> | 290 |
| <i>Appendix II. Genealogical overview of case languages in Africa</i> | 292 |
| <i>Terminology</i> | 302 |
| <i>References</i> | 309 |
| <i>Author Index</i> | 325 |
| <i>Language Index</i> | 329 |
| <i>Subject Index</i> | 335 |

This book
of the
ized c
defini
Chris
of cas
reveal
for ca
which
of the
takes
trial a
book
follo
defin
are all
case c
langu
word
appe
betwe
focus

Preface

The focus of this work is to give a first overview on case in Africa, in particular on case systems, pointing out features which are salient for Africa. The volume is intended mainly as a work for general linguists, linguists specialized in Africa, linguists specialized in case, and students. The framework used, outlined in chapter 1, makes the data accessible to readers having little or no acquaintance with the grammar of case. It is hoped that the features described are of interest to scholars who deal with case outside Africa, since Africa provides certain features with regard to case which are unique from a crosslinguistic perspective, some of them having been ignored in previous research. The main purpose of this work is to present a comprehensive and cohesive approach to case in Africa.

The book is based on published and unpublished data on African languages. These data are of varying quality and quantity. Without the supporting assistance of colleagues, who had the generosity to provide me with their unpublished data, the book would not be what it is. I would like to express my sincere appreciation to a number of friends and colleagues who volunteered information on various languages and supported my studies, in particular by providing access to their unpublished data. Most of all, my thanks are due to Sasha Aikhenvald, without whose encouraging comments and guidance the Berber languages would have kept their treasures of case structure to themselves, to Azeb Amha for data on Wolaitta, Mike Bryant on Chai, Angelika Jakobi on Beria, Joachim Crass for stimulating discussions on marked nominative and data on various languages spoken in Ethiopia, in particular K'abeena and Libido, Dennis Creissels on western Bantu languages, Gerrit Dimmendaal on Tima, Roland Kießling for his work on Datooga, Maarten Kossmann for his comments and data on Berber, Angela Prinz for her data on Masalit, Gertrud Schneider-Blum on Alaaba, Helga Schröder on Toposa, Yvonne Treis on Kambaata, Martine Vanhove for her advice and data on Beja, Hirut Woldemariam on Haro, and Zelealem Leyew on Kemantney.

It would be impossible to thank and acknowledge the contribution of all those who have helped make this a better book than it would have been otherwise. I benefited in particular from my stay at the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology in Melbourne and the hospitality provided by its directors Sasha Aikhenvald and Bob Dixon and their research group, as well my stay at Dartmouth College and the hospitality provided by Leonore Grenoble and Lindsay Whaley. The following colleagues and friends assisted me in various ways in my work: Felix Ameka, Matthias Brenzinger for his advice about the location of many languages, Ulrike Claudi, Dennis Creissels for his inspiring comments on theoretical issues about case and typological novelties in Africa in general and Bantu in particular, Norbert Cyffer, Carola Emkow, Karen Ebert with her insights

This
of the
ized c
defin
Chris
of cas
revea
for ca
whicl
of the
takes
trial a
book
follow
defin
areall
case c
langu
word
appe
betw
focus

into case languages spoken outside Africa, Nick Evans, Orin Gensler, Tom Givón, Tom Güldemann, John Haiman, Bernd Heine for critical and encouraging remarks, Christa Kilian-Hatz, Tania Kouteva, Mechthild Reh for fruitful comments on Jur-Luwo, Hans-Jürgen Sasse, Thilo Schadeberg for his assistance on Umbundu and Bantu languages in general, Anne Storch, Kyun-An Song and his typology research group at Chonnam National University in Gwangju for their hospitality and discussions, as well as Erhard Voeltz and his typology group in Cologne. I would like to express my special thanks to Monika Feinen for her patience and outstanding expertise in producing readable maps, and Dennis Knoblauch, who was always at hand when help was needed with PC problems of various kinds. To all of them I express my deepest gratitude.

This material is based upon work supported by the German Research Foundation (DFG, Grants KO1525/5-1&5-2) to which I also extend my gratitude.

List of Figures

| | |
|---|-----|
| 1.1 Case systems | 7 |
| 2.1 Accusative case languages in Africa | 37 |
| 2.2 Genealogical classification of Saharan (Nilo-Saharan) | 38 |
| 2.3 Case patterns in Ik | 76 |
| 4.1 A schematic overview of the distribution of tone lowering for nominative encoding | 195 |

List of Maps

| | |
|--|-----|
| 2.1 Accusative case languages in Africa | 92 |
| 2.2 Accusative languages in Ethiopia | 93 |
| 4.1 Areal distribution of case in southern Ethiopia and adjacent areas | 194 |
| 4.2 Distribution of type 2 marked-nominative languages in Africa | 200 |
| 4.3 Marked-nominative in Africa | 202 |
| 5.1 Bantu case languages in Angola and adjacent areas | 206 |
| 5.2 Tone case languages in Africa | 225 |
| 5.3 Split definite case languages in Ethiopia | 236 |
| 5.4 Definiteness and case in Africa | 238 |
| 5.5 No case before the verb | 274 |
| 5.6 Non-obligatory case systems in Africa | 280 |
| I.1 Case in Africa | 291 |

List of Tables

| | |
|---|-----|
| 1.1 Bound personal pronouns in Swahili | 18 |
| 1.2 Various case labels used in the literature for similar functions | 29 |
| 2.1 Names used for Saharan languages in the literature | 39 |
| 2.2 Bound verbal pronouns in Tubu | 46 |
| 2.3 Alternative terminologies for case markers in Kanuri | 48 |
| 2.4 Case marking in Kanuri | 49 |
| 2.5 Bound verbal subject pronouns with the verb <i>bu</i> "to eat" | 52 |
| 2.6 Bound verbal object pronouns with the verb <i>ru</i> "to see" | 53 |
| 2.7 Bound personal pronouns in Masalit | 61 |
| 2.8 Bound personal object-subject pronouns in Masalit | 61 |
| 2.9 Case forms in Masalit | 62 |
| 2.10 Accusative of nouns ending in a vowel | 63 |
| 2.11 Nominal case forms for nouns ending in a vowel in Masalit | 63 |
| 2.12 Independent personal pronouns in Masalit | 64 |
| 2.13 Two sets of independent personal pronouns in Masalit | 64 |
| 2.14 Free-standing personal pronouns in Fur | 70 |
| 2.15 The case inflexions of Ik | 73 |
| 2.16 Case patterns and functions of copulas in Ik | 77 |
| 2.17 Number of encodings of S, A, and O in the narrative text "The three girls" | 80 |
| 2.18 Case-inflected grammatical categories in Ik | 82 |
| 2.19 Bound pronouns in Ik | 83 |
| 2.20 Realis paradigm of the verb <i>gô-on</i> "go" | 83 |
| 2.21 Continuum of the occurrence of the third person plural suffix <i>-át</i> in Ik | 84 |
| 2.22 Impersonal suffixes in Ik | 86 |
| 2.23 The behavior of nominative and accusative in African accusative languages | 90 |
| 3.1 Case inflexion in Pări | 97 |
| 3.2 Case patterns in Pări | 105 |
| 3.3 Case patterns in Anywa | 106 |
| 3.4 Case patterns in Jur-Luwo | 117 |
| 3.5 The development of case marking in Pări, Anywa, and Jur-Luwo | 119 |
| 3.6 The emergence of OVA-constituent order in Anywa | 120 |
| 3.7 The emergence of an ergative constituent order in Anywa | 120 |
| 3.8 Independent pronouns in Shilluk | 125 |
| 3.9 Marked third person object pronouns in Shilluk | 126 |
| 3.10 Case patterns in Shilluk | 129 |
| 3.11 Independent and enclitic pronouns in Tima | 131 |
| 3.12 The rise of the marked nominative in Wappo | 136 |
| 4.1 Nominative and accusative case functions in Tennes | 141 |
| 4.2 Nominative and accusative case functions in Turkana | 144 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| 4.3 Case marking in Toposa | 145 |
| 4.4 Nominative and accusative case functions in Toposa | 148 |
| 4.5 Case terminology in Dhaasanac | 150 |
| 4.6 Examples of case forms in Dhaasanac | 151 |
| 4.7 Nominative and accusative case in Dhaasanac | 152 |
| 4.8 Core cases in Maale | 154 |
| 4.9 Nominative and accusative case functions in Maale | 156 |
| 4.10 Accusative and nominative functions in marked-nominative languages | 158 |
| 4.11 Case inflexions in the determiners of Sidamo | 168 |
| 4.12 Case marking in K'abeena | 169 |
| 4.13 Determiners in K'abeena | 170 |
| 4.14 Adjectives in K'abeena | 171 |
| 4.15 Case inflexions in Beja | 175 |
| 4.16 Case inflexions in Beja with determiners | 175 |
| 4.17 Case in the subbranches of Berber | 181 |
| 4.18 The development of the marking of grammatical relations in Proto-Berber | 183 |
| 4.19 The marking of grammatical relations in Berber languages: an overview | 184 |
| 4.20 The rise and fall of case in Berber | 186 |
| 5.1 Case languages in western Bantu | 205 |
| 5.2 Examples of case-inflected nouns in Umbundu | 207 |
| 5.3 A scenario of the historical development of the nominative in Umbundu | 214 |
| 5.4 A scenario of the historical development of case in Umbundu | 215 |
| 5.5 Nominative and accusative case functions in Umbundu | 217 |
| 5.6 Nominative and accusative case functions in Ngangela | 219 |
| 5.7 Tone patterns of nominative and accusative in Berta with four-syllable nouns | 223 |
| 5.8 Case marking in Ethiopian languages | 227 |
| 5.9 Case forms in Burji | 231 |
| 5.10 The emergence of case in Burji | 233 |
| 5.11 Definiteness and case in Africa | 237 |
| 5.12 Nominative and accusative case functions in Dinka | 246 |
| 5.13 Case forms of the adjective "bad" in Tannet | 253 |
| 5.14 A three-stage scenario of case loss in Bari | 258 |
| 5.15 The Surmic family | 268 |
| 5.16 Reconstruction of case markers in Surmic | 270 |
| 5.17 Case and constituent order in Nilotic | 272 |
| 6.1 Grammaticalization pathways of case in Africa | 287 |
| 6.2 Development of case systems in Africa | 288 |

Abbreviations

| | |
|--------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | first person |
| 2 | second person |
| 3 | third person |
| a | final vowel -a, meaningless (Ik) |
| A | aspect marker (Dimmendaal) |
| A | transitive subject function |
| A | verb class A (Tosco 2001) |
| AA | Afroasiatic |
| ABL | ablative |
| ABS | absolutive |
| ACC 1 | accusative |
| ACC 2 | accusative system |
| A.DCL | affirmative declarative |
| AGEN | agentive |
| AGENT | agent noun |
| AGN | agentive noun |
| AGNM | agent nominalizer (Randal) |
| ALL | allative |
| AM | associative marker |
| AND | andative |
| AP | antipassive |
| AP | adverbial particle (Ternes) |
| AP | adverbial phrase |
| AP | anti-passive (Andersen) |
| APL | applicative |
| ASP | aspectual morpheme |
| AUG | augment |
| AUX | auxiliary |
| B | verb class B (Tosco 2001) |
| BEN | benefactive |
| bITV | bivalent itive form |
| C 1 | consonant |
| C 2 | subordinating conjunction (Reh) |
| C 3 | completive (Andersen) |
| C1, C2, etc. | noun class 1, 2, etc. |
| CAU | causative |
| CL | clitical element |
| CS1 | first construct state (Andersen 2002) |
| CC | concomitance |

This
of th
ized
defi
Chr
of c
reve
for c
whic
of th
take
tia
boo
follo
defir
area
case
lang
wor
app
ber
focu

| | |
|-----------|----------------------------------|
| CC | construct case |
| COM | comitative |
| COMP | completive (Andersen) |
| COMP | complementizer (Miller & Gilley) |
| CON | converb |
| Conj | conjunction |
| CONT | continuation follows |
| COP 1 | copula |
| COP 2 | copulative |
| CPL | completive |
| D | declarative (Andersen 2002) |
| DC | declarative sentence |
| DAT | dative |
| DEC | declarative |
| DEF | definite |
| DEF | definitizer |
| DEM | demonstrative |
| DER | derivation |
| DET | determiner |
| DI | distal (demonstrative) |
| DIM | diminutive |
| DU | dual |
| DP | dummy pronoun |
| E | evidential |
| ELA | elative |
| EMPH | "emphatic" pronoun |
| ENC | enclitic |
| ERG 1 | ergative |
| ERG 2 | ergative system |
| EX, excl. | exclusive (pronoun) |
| EXIST | existence |
| F | feminine |
| FAR | far (demonstrative) |
| FOC | focus marker |
| FUT | future |
| GEN | genitive |
| GOAL | goal |
| H | high tone |
| HAB | habitual |
| HEC | Highland East Cushitic |
| IC | inclusive |
| ICP | intransitive copy pronoun |
| IDF | indefinite |
| IMP | impersonal |

| | |
|--------------|---------------------------------|
| IMP | imperative |
| IN, incl. | inclusive (pronoun) |
| INDEF | indefinite |
| INF | infinitive |
| INST | instrumental |
| interj | interjection |
| IO | indirect object |
| IPS | impersonal |
| IPV | imperfective |
| ITR | intransitive |
| IRR | irrealis |
| L | low tone |
| L/I | locative / instrumental |
| LINK | linker |
| LOC | locative |
| LOCPRT | locative particle |
| M | masculine |
| MANN | manner |
| mN | modified noun (form) |
| MNOM | marked nominative |
| n.a. | not applicable |
| N.PRED | nominal predicate |
| N1, N2, etc. | marker of noun class 1, 2, etc. |
| n1, n2 | noun class 1, 2 |
| NAR | narrative |
| N.DCL | negative declarative |
| NEG | negation |
| NF | non-finite |
| NOM | nominative |
| NOMIN | de-verbal noun |
| NS | Nilo-Saharan |
| O | transitive object |
| O | transitive object function |
| OBJ | object marker |
| OBL 1 | obligation |
| OBL 2 | oblique |
| OR | oblique raising (Randal) |
| PA | past tense (Dimmendaal) |
| PAS | passive |
| PASI | passive I |
| PASII | passive II |
| PAST | past |
| PAST | past tense |
| PD | patient deleted |

Thi
of t
izec
defi
Chi
of c
reve
for
whi
of t
take
tia
boo
foll
defi
area
case
lang
wor
app
bet
foci

| | |
|-----------|---|
| PEE | possessee |
| PER | perfect |
| PFV | perfective |
| pl, PL, P | plural |
| PLR | pluractional |
| PM | pragmatically marked (Miller & Gilley) |
| POR | possessor |
| POSS 1 | possessive pronoun |
| POSS 2 | possessor |
| post | postposition |
| PP | peripheral participant |
| PP | postposition |
| PR | proximal (demonstrative) |
| prep PREP | preposition |
| PREP | preposition |
| PRES | present tense |
| PROG | progressive |
| PRON | pronoun |
| PURP | purpose |
| PVS | preverbal selector |
| Q | question marker |
| R | relational suffix |
| REC | recipient |
| RECI | reciprocal |
| REFL | reflexive |
| REL | relative clause marker |
| REL | relative pronoun |
| REP | repeated action |
| S 1 | intransitive subject function |
| S 2 | singular |
| SA | intransitive subject S is treated like transitive subject A |
| SBJ | subjunctive |
| sg, SG | singular |
| SGT | singulative |
| SIM | similative |
| So | intransitive subject S is treated like transitive object O |
| SQ | sequential (Miller & Gilley) |
| SUF | suffix |
| SUBJ | subject |
| t | marker of (1) participant of speech, (2) "movable k" |
| T | transitivizer |
| TAM | tense-aspect-modality |
| TOP | topic marker |
| TR | transitive |

| | |
|-----|------------------------|
| TR | transitive preposition |
| TRI | trial |
| TRM | transitive marker |
| V | verb |
| VEN | venitive |
| Vf | verbfinal |
| vi | intransitive verb |
| Vi | verbinitial |
| Vm | verbmedial |
| VN | verbal noun |
| VOC | vocative |
| vtt | transitive verb |
| > | grammaticalized to |
| ! | downstep |
| ↑ | upstep |
| = | clitic boundary |

Thi
 of d
 ized
 defi
 Chr
 of c
 reve
 for c
 whi
 of d
 take
 rial
 boo
 follo
 defi
 area
 case
 lang
 wor
 app
 betv
 focu

APPENDIX

| | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 101 | 101 | 101 | 101 |
| 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 |
| 103 | 103 | 103 | 103 |
| 104 | 104 | 104 | 104 |
| 105 | 105 | 105 | 105 |
| 106 | 106 | 106 | 106 |
| 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 |
| 108 | 108 | 108 | 108 |
| 109 | 109 | 109 | 109 |
| 110 | 110 | 110 | 110 |
| 111 | 111 | 111 | 111 |
| 112 | 112 | 112 | 112 |
| 113 | 113 | 113 | 113 |
| 114 | 114 | 114 | 114 |
| 115 | 115 | 115 | 115 |
| 116 | 116 | 116 | 116 |
| 117 | 117 | 117 | 117 |
| 118 | 118 | 118 | 118 |
| 119 | 119 | 119 | 119 |
| 120 | 120 | 120 | 120 |
| 121 | 121 | 121 | 121 |
| 122 | 122 | 122 | 122 |
| 123 | 123 | 123 | 123 |
| 124 | 124 | 124 | 124 |
| 125 | 125 | 125 | 125 |
| 126 | 126 | 126 | 126 |
| 127 | 127 | 127 | 127 |
| 128 | 128 | 128 | 128 |
| 129 | 129 | 129 | 129 |
| 130 | 130 | 130 | 130 |
| 131 | 131 | 131 | 131 |
| 132 | 132 | 132 | 132 |
| 133 | 133 | 133 | 133 |
| 134 | 134 | 134 | 134 |
| 135 | 135 | 135 | 135 |
| 136 | 136 | 136 | 136 |
| 137 | 137 | 137 | 137 |
| 138 | 138 | 138 | 138 |
| 139 | 139 | 139 | 139 |
| 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| 141 | 141 | 141 | 141 |
| 142 | 142 | 142 | 142 |
| 143 | 143 | 143 | 143 |
| 144 | 144 | 144 | 144 |
| 145 | 145 | 145 | 145 |
| 146 | 146 | 146 | 146 |
| 147 | 147 | 147 | 147 |
| 148 | 148 | 148 | 148 |
| 149 | 149 | 149 | 149 |
| 150 | 150 | 150 | 150 |
| 151 | 151 | 151 | 151 |
| 152 | 152 | 152 | 152 |
| 153 | 153 | 153 | 153 |
| 154 | 154 | 154 | 154 |
| 155 | 155 | 155 | 155 |
| 156 | 156 | 156 | 156 |
| 157 | 157 | 157 | 157 |
| 158 | 158 | 158 | 158 |
| 159 | 159 | 159 | 159 |
| 160 | 160 | 160 | 160 |
| 161 | 161 | 161 | 161 |
| 162 | 162 | 162 | 162 |
| 163 | 163 | 163 | 163 |
| 164 | 164 | 164 | 164 |
| 165 | 165 | 165 | 165 |
| 166 | 166 | 166 | 166 |
| 167 | 167 | 167 | 167 |
| 168 | 168 | 168 | 168 |
| 169 | 169 | 169 | 169 |
| 170 | 170 | 170 | 170 |
| 171 | 171 | 171 | 171 |
| 172 | 172 | 172 | 172 |
| 173 | 173 | 173 | 173 |
| 174 | 174 | 174 | 174 |
| 175 | 175 | 175 | 175 |
| 176 | 176 | 176 | 176 |
| 177 | 177 | 177 | 177 |
| 178 | 178 | 178 | 178 |
| 179 | 179 | 179 | 179 |
| 180 | 180 | 180 | 180 |
| 181 | 181 | 181 | 181 |
| 182 | 182 | 182 | 182 |
| 183 | 183 | 183 | 183 |
| 184 | 184 | 184 | 184 |
| 185 | 185 | 185 | 185 |
| 186 | 186 | 186 | 186 |
| 187 | 187 | 187 | 187 |
| 188 | 188 | 188 | 188 |
| 189 | 189 | 189 | 189 |
| 190 | 190 | 190 | 190 |
| 191 | 191 | 191 | 191 |
| 192 | 192 | 192 | 192 |
| 193 | 193 | 193 | 193 |
| 194 | 194 | 194 | 194 |
| 195 | 195 | 195 | 195 |
| 196 | 196 | 196 | 196 |
| 197 | 197 | 197 | 197 |
| 198 | 198 | 198 | 198 |
| 199 | 199 | 199 | 199 |
| 200 | 200 | 200 | 200 |

1

Introduction

The chapter starts by presenting a kind of state-of-the-art survey (section 1.1). The methodology and the terminology on which the book is based are presented in sections 1.2, 1.3, and 1.4, and section 1.5 describes the main goals of the book, the organization of the chapters, and what is in the book and what is not.

1.1 Previous research

I will begin the chapter by presenting an overview of the previous research and by giving reasons why I wrote this book. Labels used here will be explained in subsequent sections. There is no need for the reader to understand all details yet or to be familiar with all languages mentioned. Information provided in the present section will be dealt with in more detail in the following chapters.

Case in Africa does not seem to be an essential topic in the literature, either in works dealing with Africa or in general publications on case in a worldwide perspective. Dixon (1994) concludes in his book *Ergativity*, which covers ergativity but also case phenomena in general:

At that time little had been published on patterns of ergativity in the numerous languages of South America. [...] (However, much more work is still needed on the languages of South America, of Papua New Guinea and of Africa, in particular). (Dixon 1994:230)

Blake (1994), another seminal textbook on case, mentions Africa only in passing: In a chapter about grammaticalization, he deals with Africa as an example for the emergence of case markers, such as adpositions developing out of body part terms, and verbs which have given rise to case markers. A few Nilo-Saharan languages are mentioned as examples for inflexional case in accusative languages (Blake 1994:121). Bantu languages are mentioned by Blake as examples where case in a rigid sense does not exist but where there are cross-reference systems to be found which follow an accusative pattern:

In the Bantu languages typically there is no case marking, but the cross-referencing agreement system and the word order operate in an accusative system. Both subject and object are represented by prefixes on the verb and the basic word order is subject-verb-object. (Blake 1994:120)

In a two-volume study on *non-nominative subjects* (Bhaskararao & Subbarao 2004a and 2004b), Africa is not mentioned at all. The volumes present the topic from a typological perspective; among the 23 papers, there is neither a paper dealing with an African language nor is Africa mentioned in the comparative overview (Bayer 2004:49–76) or in the preface (Bhaskararao & Subbarao 2004a:ix–xi); India, Australia, the Himalayas, Europe, South-East Asia on the other hand are covered extensively. In a new textbook on case (Butt 2006), other than Bantu as an example of double object pronouns, Africa is not mentioned at all. In handbooks dealing with African languages, case is either not a topic or it is mentioned only with reference to the Nilo-Saharan and Afroasiatic phyla.

Tucker makes the following statement about what he calls “Sudanic languages”¹ in his introductory chapter to his book *The Eastern Sudanic Languages*: “There is no case in nouns” (Tucker 1940:57). Furthermore, he claims about “Eastern Sudanic”² languages: “Case relationship is shown either by position in the sentence or else by association with a preposition (in Bongo-Baka, Ndogo-Sere, Zande) or a postposition (in Moru-Madi)” (Tucker 1940:67). In other words, according to Tucker, Central Sudanic and Ubangi languages have no grammaticalized case.

In the volume *African Language Structures* by Welmers (1973), a classic on the structure of African languages, the only features mentioned with regard to nouns are noun class systems and agreement systems (Welmers 1973:159–210). Welmers (1973:116–58) elaborates on different functions of tone but case is not among them. And once again case is not mentioned at all. Gregersen (1977:63), in his introductory book on African languages, mentions case only with regard to a few subbranches of Afroasiatic and Nilo-Saharan, such as Cushitic, Semitic, Kanuri, and a few Eastern Sudanic languages. According to him, all languages either follow an accusative system or have case inflexion only within peripheral participants,³ and he states that ergative systems do not occur in Africa.

Similarly, in Heine, Schadeberg, and Wolff’s *Die Sprachen Afrikas* (1981), case is only mentioned with reference to Nilo-Saharan and Afroasiatic. Only with regard to the Kordofanian languages, Schadeberg mentions an object case for the Heiban languages (1981a:118). In the same volume, Heine and Voßen (1981:427) treat case as a typological feature for fourteen languages belonging to Afroasiatic and Nilo-Saharan, namely Sidamo, Ometo, Oromo, Somali, Rendille, Dhaasanac, Kemantney, and Dirayta (Gidole),⁴ (all Afroasiatic), and Kalenjin, Maasai, Teso, Turkana, Didinga, and

¹ “Sudanic languages” is used by Tucker as a cover term for all West and Central African languages which do not fit in elsewhere: “It would appear that linguists in the past have been content to group under the general term ‘Sudanic’ all Central and West African languages which cannot fit another grouping, and then to state that the main characteristic of Sudanic languages is their extraordinary divergence one from another” (Tucker 1940:56).

² Tucker’s Eastern Sudanic includes mostly Greenberg’s (1963a) Central Sudanic languages of the Nilo-Saharan phylum and Ubangi languages of the Niger-Congo phylum.

³ The latter is called “nominative system” by Gregersen (1977:63; see 1.3.2.3).

⁴ Languages are referred to by the names used in this volume.

Murle (all Nilo-Saharan). They claim that these languages share a case system of a similar kind.⁵ Jungraithmayr and Möhlig's (1983) *Lexikon der Afrikanistik* has no lemma for case at all. This perspective also surfaces in the syntax chapter of the most recent handbook of African languages, Heine and Nurse's *African languages: An introduction*, where Creissels notes:

In the majority of African languages, both subjects and objects are unmarked for case, that is they do not exhibit any marking (affix, adposition or prosodic contour) distinguishing noun phrases in subject or object function from noun phrases quoted in isolation.

(Creissels 2000:233)

The only exceptions mentioned by Creissels are Chadic languages, Cushitic and Semitic languages of the Afroasiatic phylum, a few branches of the Nilo-Saharan phylum, and some western Bantu languages (Creissels 2000:233–4).

In works on African languages, ergativity seems to be a much-neglected phenomenon. Päri is the only example of ergativity in Africa mentioned by Blake (2001:1014). Creissels makes the following claim in Heine and Nurse's handbook (2000):

But I am aware of no African language with intransitive subject markers identical to the object markers and different from the transitive subject markers, that is with a system of subject and object markers following an ergative pattern. (Creissels 2000:236)

As the above quote shows, according to Creissels, there is no ergative system to be found in Africa. As we will see below, this view is in need of revision (see chapter 3).

One could think of two possible reasons for this under-representation of Africa with regard to case: (i) In African languages, case really plays only a minor role. (ii) So far, case has never been a top priority in works dealing with African languages. On (i): According to the more general literature, case as an inflexional system exists only in Nilo-Saharan and Afroasiatic. Nevertheless, in some branches of these two phyla, case is an essential topic. For scholars of individual philologies covering these branches, case has always been a relevant issue. This holds for Berberologists, Cushitists, Semitists, and Niloticists in particular. East African languages are mentioned with regard to case systems expressed by tone only, such as Kalenjin (South Nilotic), Maasai, Teso, Turkana (all East Nilotic), Somali, and Maba of northern Africa (Tucker & Bryan 1966:199, 467–9, 516). Bennett (1974) treats East Africa as an area with case languages, observing, however, that West Nilotic and South Cushitic languages are without case (1974:24). Furthermore, he states that marked-nominative languages occur in Lowland East Cushitic, Didinga, Murle, Ometi,⁶ and in East and South Nilotic (Bennett 1974:25). As will be shown below, he is right in most but not all respects since

⁵ As will be shown in chapter 4, these are all marked-nominative languages.

⁶ Probably what I refer to as Ometo here.

there is also case in West Nilotic languages. Nubian is cited by Blake as an example of a language with a three-case system, distinguishing nominative, accusative, and genitive (Blake 1994:158). Since the 1980s, some western Bantu languages are also mentioned as having case expressed by tone (see Schadeberg 1986, 1990; Blanchon 1998, 1999). In a typological study based on 260 languages on the question of whether a language connects noun phrases with a conjunction meaning "with" or "and", Stassen (2003:803) claims that there is a tendency for a case language to have the AND-strategy whereas non-case languages tend to have the WITH-strategy. Among the 260 languages there are fifty-nine African languages, thirteen of them being case languages based on the definition proposed here, but only ten being case languages on the basis of Stassen's definition (see 1.3.1).

On (ii): The Kuliak language Ik demonstrates that case is not mentioned although the language clearly has a case system. Tucker and Bryan, in their book *The Non-Bantu languages of North-Eastern Africa* (1966), claim that the Kuliak languages are without case inflexions:⁷ "There is no evidence of inflexion for case" (Tucker & Bryan 1966:396). Five years later, Tucker (1971-73; in particular 1971:349-54) revokes this claim, demonstrating that Ik is a case language. There is some confusion on whether Dinka, a West Nilotic language, has case or not: According to Tucker and Bryan (1966:417), Dinka has no core-case, only a locative suffix -ic is mentioned; Nebel (1948), however, had earlier suggested that there is an accusative system that is highly irregular compared to the neighboring languages. Eventually, Andersen (2002) was able to establish that Dinka is a case language with a marked-nominative system. Shilluk, another West Nilotic language, has always been claimed to be without case. From early on, several scholars claimed that the Shilluk tend to "speak in the passive" (see Westermann 1912:78, Kohnen 1933:133-8, Tucker 1955:444-52, Tucker & Bryan 1966:424-5, Buth 1981:85-6). Tucker and Bryan found no core case in Shilluk (Tucker & Bryan 1966:417). According to them, even the independent personal pronouns are the same for S, A, and O (see Tucker & Bryan 1966:418 & 419); more recently, however, Shilluk has been shown to be an ergative case language (Miller and Gilley 2001; see chapter 3).

In the earlier literature on African languages, case was looked at primarily as an inflexional phenomenon, in which case is expressed by suffix or tone. After Fillmore's (1968) "case grammar" and his concept of deep case, a broader concept of case has been transferred to African linguistics as well; see, for example, the work on Swahili by Driever (1976). Other scholars adopted Fillmore's (1968, 1971) idea and developed it further (e.g. Halliday 1967-68, Chafe 1970, Longacre 1976, Dik 1978, and Cook 1979). Wierzbicka (1983) has proposed an analysis of the semantics of case marking.

⁷ These authors refer to the Kuliak languages under the term "Teuso". Note, that "Teuso" is obviously used by Tucker and Bryan for the whole group of Kuliak languages, as can be seen from the following remark: "On these little-known languages or dialects (?) only Tepeth has so far been analysed grammatically" (Tucker & Bryan 1966:392). Note that "Teuso" is an alternative name for Ik, but Tucker and Bryan cannot have used Teuso as a synonym for Ik. In the quote they speak of "languages" and they also refer to Tepeth, one of the Kuliak languages. (Tepeth is another name for So.)

To conclude, both (i) and (ii) corroborate the impression that in the literature on Africa, case is essentially a non-topic. Khoisan languages are never mentioned with regard to case, and in the remaining phyla, case is only a marginal phenomenon: Within Niger-Congo only few western Bantu languages are claimed to have case, and within Afroasiatic and Nilo-Saharan, case is present in restricted branches but not in others.

1.2 Methodology

1.2.1 *The basis*

Traditionally, case has been interpreted as an inflexional system encoding the relationship between the dependent nouns and their heads. Blake (1994) presents the following definition:

Case

1. A system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads. Originally applied to inflexional systems, but sometimes used of other systems such as systems of *postpositions*.
2. A member of such a system, e.g. the dative case in Turkish. (Blake 1994:198)

A first extension of the case concept has since taken place with regard to the means by which case is expressed. Restricted originally to inflexional systems, the concept was extended later to also include adpositions. A head may be either a verb on clause level or a noun or adposition on phrase level. For Africa, it is crucial to extend the means by which case is expressed. In addition to affixes and adpositions, tone and accent shift have to be taken into account, as we will see below.

Basically, I will adopt Blake's case definition, and take it here as well as the basis. For our purposes, a case system is defined as follows:

A case system is an inflexional system of marking nouns or noun phrases for the type of relationship they bear to their heads. Inflexional systems are expressed by affixes, tone, accent shift, or root reduction; adpositional systems are included only insofar as they encode core participants such as S, A, and O.

Languages which fulfill this definition will be treated as having *grammaticalized case*.

Additionally, the concept of case has been expanded in two directions. Since Fillmore (1968, 1971), manifestations of case could be studied even in languages which do not have grammaticalized case, since he proposed a concept of case that takes the semantic function as the basis.

As a starting point for the identification of case there are three basic functions which are, according to Dixon (1994:6-7), differentiated in all languages. They are called "universal syntactic-semantic primitives" (Dixon 1994:1). These basic functions are S, the intransitive subject, A, the transitive subject, and O, the transitive object. There

are other scholars who doubt whether S, A, and O are actually present in all languages. Comrie (1993:912–13) points out that it is necessary to define all syntactic relations, including S, A, O, IO (in Dixon's terminology), in terms of language-specific features, such as morphological case, verbal agreement systems, and by features which are the result of a comparison between languages. These works may contain prototypical definitions, such as Keenan's subject definition (1976). According to Comrie, it is possible that in a certain language not all syntactic relations are present. Haruai, for instance, could be a language without an indirect / direct object distinction (see Comrie 1993:912–13). In Dixon's view the syntactic relations A, S, and O are present in all languages (see Dixon 1994:6–9). In Africa, to my knowledge, no language has been found so far where the presence of S, A, and O would be questionable.

A further extension of the traditional case concept has been proposed by Dixon (1994). It goes beyond grammaticalized case and studies the *case patterns* manifested on different levels, such as constituent order, cross-reference, and clause type. Dixon argues as follows: It is crucial for the structure of a language not only to look into grammaticalized systems but also at other manifestations. The latter becomes relevant for example in split systems, that is, in languages which do not show a homogeneous pattern for all contexts but where different systems are simultaneously at work. As ergative languages mostly have split case systems, it is crucial to understand the complex behavior of case patterns on all levels rather than look only at grammaticalized case. In order to explain a split, it might be necessary to take constituent order, bound pronouns, different clause types, tense-aspect, etc. into account. The question of how to identify case patterns other than grammaticalized case remains always the same: Which alignment do S, A, and O show with regard to constituent order, cross-reference, bound pronouns, etc.?

The term case pattern corresponds to what is also referred to as alignment, as discussed for example by Harris and Campbell:

In this work, the term *alignment* is used to refer to the distribution of morphological markers or of syntactic or morphological characteristics; it is intended as a neutral way of referring to ergative, accusative, and other distributional patterns.

(Harris & Campbell 1995:240)

1.2.2 Case systems

Case systems are defined based on a distinction established by Blake and Dixon: The participants of a clause are divided into *core* and *peripheral*. Core participants (called "syntactic-semantic primitives" by Dixon 1994) are crucial for the classification of case. They establish core functions, namely the transitive subject (A), the intransitive subject (S), and the transitive object (O). All remaining participants are treated as peripheral. The state of the indirect object (IO), or recipient in some terminologies (e.g. Haspelmath 2005, 2006), has to be defined individually for each language; it may be core or peripheral, and often it shares features with both.

Note that Blake uses the abbreviation P instead of O in order to refer to the object. Core and peripheral participants according to Blake (1994) are:

Core. The core grammatical relations cover various organisations of S, A and P including subject, direct object or absolutive and ergative. (Blake 1994:199)

Peripheral. In this text "peripheral" is used to cover the non-core grammatical relations.

(Blake 1994:204)

A The agent argument of a transitive verb or any argument that is treated in the same way grammatically. (Blake 1994:XV)

P The patient argument of a transitive verb or any argument that is treated in the same way grammatically. (Blake 1994:XVI)

S The single argument of a one-place verb. (Blake 1994:XVII)

In order to be consistent, the transitive subject, A, and the intransitive subject, S, will henceforth be strictly differentiated even in contexts where traditionally S is used to cover both, such as in word order typology: What is traditionally referred to as SVO-order will accordingly be called here AVO-order.

In an *accusative system* (accusative in short), S and A are treated the same and simultaneously different than O (in short: $S = A \neq O$). In an *ergative system*, S and O are treated the same and simultaneously different from A (in short: $S = O \neq A$). The corresponding patterns are illustrated in figure 1.1. The case which covers S and A in

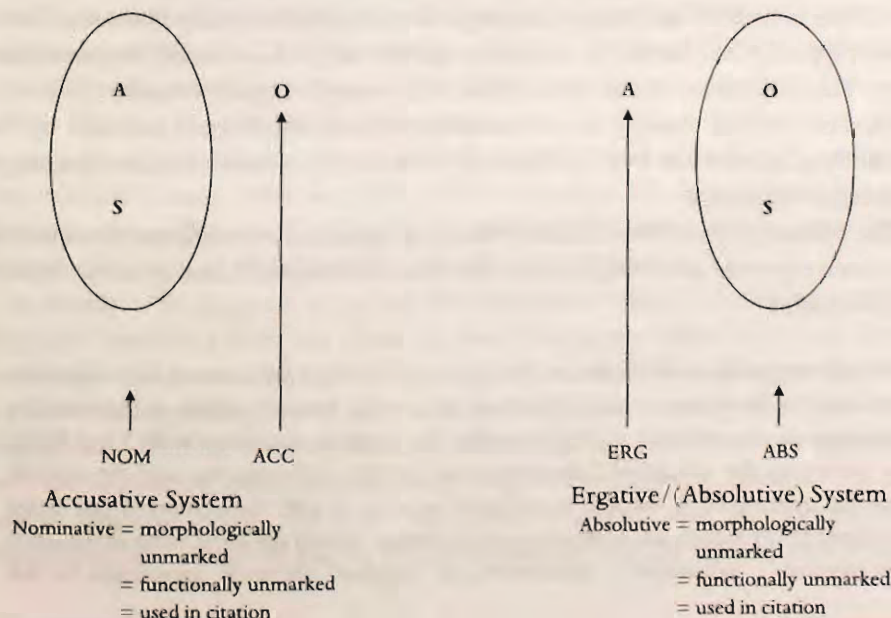


Figure 1.1 Case systems. (S = intransitive subject function, A = transitive subject function, O = transitive object function.)

an accusative system is called nominative⁸ and the case covering O the accusative. The case that covers A in an ergative system is called ergative and the case covering S and O absolutive. Furthermore, the nominative of an accusative system is prototypically the morphologically unmarked form,⁹ the functionally unmarked form, and the form used in citation. The absolutive of an ergative system on the other hand is prototypically the morphologically unmarked form, the functionally unmarked form, and the form used in citation. By "morphologically unmarked" I mean having zero realization, and by "morphologically marked" I mean having morphologically non-zero realization. "Functionally unmarked" means being used in a wide range of different functions, often being the default form. "Functionally marked" means being used in few functions only, not being the default form. The morphologically unmarked form is sometimes called "basic form" in the literature. The morphologically marked form is derived from the morphologically unmarked form by adding some extra element. The morphologically unmarked form is shorter and/or underived vis-à-vis the morphologically marked form.

So far, two basic case systems have been distinguished. In Africa, especially East Africa, there is a third type of importance, called marked-nominative, or extended ergative (already mentioned by Klingenberg 1949:21, Sasse 1974, Bender 1976a:133, Dixon 1979:77 and 1994). *Marked-nominative* languages are a mixture of both systems, as pointed out by Dixon (1994:64ff.). The pattern of A, S, and O is the same as in accusative languages, namely A and S are treated the same and simultaneously different from O. They share this feature with accusative languages. However, the accusative in marked-nominative languages is the morphologically unmarked form, at least typically (see below); it is used in citation, and is functionally the unmarked form. The nominative on the other hand is the morphologically marked form in a marked-nominative system; A, the transitive subject, therefore is encoded by the morphologically marked form. This feature is shared by marked-nominative languages with ergative systems.

The following quote from Dixon (1994) may illustrate how different the marked-nominative system is in comparison to the two other standard case systems, ergative and accusative.

In summary, we have distinguished three kinds of "markedness" among case inflections covering the three core syntactic functions A, O and S. Basically, either of the transitive functions can be marked. [...] If A is marked (by ergative case), then both O and S may be shown by the unmarked "absolutive case", which will again be used for citation. But the marking on A can also be extended to cover S, with the unmarked case being confined to O function and most instances of citation. Strictly speaking, none of the terms "nominative", "accusative", "absolutive", or "ergative" are really appropriate for this

⁸ Different uses of the term nominative will be discussed under 1.3.2.

⁹ As Dixon points out, "if any case has zero realization it will be nominative" (Dixon 1994:62).

third possibility. I will employ "marked nominative" as less potentially confusing than "extended ergative". (Dixon 1994:66ff.)

How "abnormal" marked-nominative systems are can be seen in the fact that they violate Greenberg's Universal 38 (1963b),¹⁰ according to which in a language with a morphologically expressed case system the least marked case will be the one marking the subject of an intransitive verb. This universal holds for accusative and for ergative systems but not for marked-nominative systems. Theoretically, one could argue that accusative and ergative systems are a mixture as they share the feature that S is morphologically unmarked. However, this feature is the expected one, as can be seen by Greenberg's universal 38.

Marked-nominative languages are defined as follows: A marked-nominative language is present when at least two cases are distinguished, namely an accusative covering O, and a nominative covering S and A, and when the accusative is the functionally unmarked form. The accusative is the default case, that is, the case which is used with the widest range of functions. If one of the two cases is derived from the other, it must be the nominative, which is derived from the accusative and never the other way round.

From a typological point of view, it might be of interest to know whether there are ergative languages which show an unusual markedness with a morphologically marked absolutive and a morphologically unmarked ergative. According to Plank (2007, number 38), there are a few ergative languages in which the absolutive, encoding S and O, is morphologically marked vis-à-vis a morphologically unmarked ergative, encoding A.¹¹ Two types are distinguished: (a) Either there is marking on noun phrases which are not focused or topicalized and are not case-marked at all, as in Nias (Sundic, Western Malayo-Polynesian, Austronesian), or (b) there is marking on noun phrases which are focused, as in Yukaghir (isolate or Uralic). According to Donohue and Brown (1999) and Plank (2007), in Chukchi (Chukchi-Kamchatkan) the absolutive singular, encoding S, is the morphologically most complex noun form, expressed by a variety of suffixes or by reduplication of the stem.

In accusative languages, it is typically the nominative which is encoded in a morphologically unmarked form but there are some languages where both case forms, nominative and accusative, are morphologically marked. Two subtypes therefore are to be distinguished among the accusative languages, namely *type 1* (the most frequent one) with the nominative being morphologically unmarked, and *type 2* with both the nominative and accusative both being morphologically marked. The East Sudanic language Nobiin is a type 1 accusative language, since the nominative is morphologically unmarked and the accusative morphologically marked, expressed by

¹⁰ "Where there is a case system, the only case which ever has only zero allomorphs is the one which includes among its meanings that of the subject of the intransitive verb" (Greenberg 1963b:75).

¹¹ Unfortunately, most languages listed there have a question mark. It does not become entirely clear what this means with reference to the information provided.

the suffix *-ga* (which appears in 1 as *-ka*): The nominative of the noun "food" is *kábà*, and the accusative *kábà-kà* (see example 1 and Werner 1987:98). The Kuliak language Ik is a type 2 accusative language since both the nominative and the accusative are marked by suffixes, namely *-a* for nominative and *-k^a/a* for accusative (for a complete list of case suffixes see chapter 2.8, table 2.15).

Nobiin (East Sudanic, Nilo-Saharan)

- (1) ày kábà-kà jòkkír. A O V
 I.NOM food-ACC chew
 "I chew the food." (Werner 1987:101¹²)

Ik (Kuliak, Nilo-Saharan)

- (2) en-es-ugót-a wík-á njíní-k^a.
 see-IRR-AND-a children-NOM we.IC-ACC
 "The children will see us (incl.)."

In the same way as with accusative languages, two subtypes are to be distinguished among the marked-nominative languages: Type 1 (the most common one), in which the accusative is the morphologically unmarked form and the nominative the morphologically marked form, and type 2, in which both case forms, nominative and accusative, are morphologically marked. In type 1 of marked-nominative languages, the accusative is morphologically unmarked, functionally unmarked, and used in citation. In type 2, the accusative is morphologically marked, functionally unmarked, and used in citation. With a marked nominative, type 1 shows more marked-nominative properties than type 2.

Prototypically, the accusative in marked-nominative languages covers functions such as citation form, nominal predicate, and O. In addition, indirect objects, possessee, nominal modifiers, modified nouns, nouns headed by adpositions, peripheral participants introduced by verbal derivations, topicalized and/or focused participants, and S and A before the verb may be covered by the accusative as well. The accusative is the morphologically unmarked form in type 1 languages; in type 2 languages, both cases are morphologically marked (see below).

Henceforth I will classify a language as a marked-nominative language even if it is only defectively so, meaning that there can be neutralizations, where there is no case distinction. Conditions for neutralizations are, for example, definiteness (Wolaitta), person (Datooga), noun phrase structure (Dinka), gender (Cushitic), number (Cushitic), or constituent order (Chai). If a marked-nominative language shows such a defective system, I refer to it as a split language (see below).

The morphologically unmarked form in marked-nominative languages should be systematic or "extra-paradigmatic", meaning that all nouns of the language appear in the morphologically unmarked form to cover the accusative and not just a few nouns

¹² The original examples are presented without glosses and with a German translation. The glosses are inserted by the present author and an English translation is provided.

or noun classes. Extra-paradigmatic is used by Carstairs (1981) for systematically morphologically unmarked forms (such as the nominative or absolutive in Turkish) as opposed to intra-paradigmatic, which is used if the forms are only sometimes morphologically unmarked (such as the nominative in Latin).

There is a fourth kind of case system, called tripartite by Dixon (1994). *Tripartite* systems are present if A, O, and S are all three treated differently (in short $S \neq A \neq O$). Interestingly, tripartite systems are, according to Dixon, a rare phenomenon in the languages of the world. In Africa, to my knowledge, no instance of a tripartite system has been found so far.

A further alignment pattern needs to be distinguished with regard to the behavior of S, namely *split S*, called active(-inactive) by Klimov (1973 and 1974), and split-ergative by Aikhenvald (1995).¹³ Split S is defined as follows by Klimov (1974): S is not marked coherently; with some verbs, it is marked in the same way as A (in short $S_A = A$), and with others in the same way as O (in short $S_O = O$). I will adopt Dixon's term split S (1994) to refer to this pattern. He uses it in opposition to flexible S. Note that a split-S system differs essentially from the systems earlier mentioned in that a language having split S is not necessarily a language with a grammaticalized case system. Split S mostly occurs with what will be referred to as other manifestations of case patterns, that is, in the cross-reference system. Beria (Saharan) has split S with regard to bound pronouns for first and second person. There are two sets of bound pronouns, one suffixed and a second one prefixed. With transitive verbs, first person A is encoded by the suffix -g (see 3d), and first person O is encoded by the prefix o- (see 3a). With some intransitive verbs, S is encoded like A (see 3c), with others, S is encoded like O (see 3b). With the verb *hɪɪ* 'run', first person S_A is encoded by the suffix -g (see 3c), and with the verb *tɔɪu* 'dance', first person S_O is encoded by the prefix o- (see 3b).

Beria (Saharan)

- (3a) o-k-ku-ɾɪ. O A V
 1.O-3.SG.A-call-PFV
 'S/he called me.' (Jakobi 2001:107)¹⁴
- (3b) ɔ-dɔu-ɾɪ. S_O V
 1.SG.S/O-dance-PFV
 'I danced.' (Jakobi 2001:106)
- (3c) hɪɪ-g-ɪ. V S_A
 run-1.SG.S/A-PFV
 'I ran.' (Jakobi 2001:118)
- (3d) ɔfɔɾ-g-ɪ. V A
 turn.sth.-1.SG.A-IPV
 'I turn something.' (Jakobi 2001:131)

¹³ Further see Mithun 1991; Merlan 1987.

¹⁴ The examples taken from Jakobi (2001) are without tones. The original examples are listed in a table without glosses. For the convenience of the reader, they are presented here in a different format.

On a world level, case systems show the following distribution (see, for example, Blake 1994): Accusative systems are found in Uralic and Indo-European languages such as Latin. Type 2 accusative languages are rare; Korean and Japanese are two examples. Split conditions in accusative languages are based, for example, on definiteness, as in Turkish, or found only with specific animate nouns, as in Hindi, or only with pronouns, as in English. According to Blake (1994:122), ergative languages account for up to 20 percent of the world's languages. They are widespread in all branches of the Caucasian languages, in Tibeto-Burman, Austronesian, the majority of Australian languages, some languages of the Papuan phylum, in Zoque and Mayan languages of Central America. In South America, they occur, for example, in Jê, Arawak, Tupi-Guarani, Panoan, Tacanan, Chibchan, and Carib. Elsewhere in the world, ergative languages are found in Basque, Hurrian and a few other extinct languages of the Near East, Burushaski (Kashmir, Tibet), Eskimo, Chukchi (Kamchatka peninsula), and in the Penutian languages Tsimshian and Chinook of British Columbia. Split S with nouns occurs in the Kartvelian languages of the Caucasus, for example in Laz and Georgian; with bound pronouns on the verb they occur in the Americas, for example in Guarani (Andean), Lakhota, and other Siouan languages, and in Mohawk, Seneca, and other Iroquoian languages, as well as in Acehnese (Austronesian) (see Durie 1985:180–95).

1.3 Terminology

1.3.1 General

In the following paragraphs, essential terms will be defined. In addition to Blake's case definition presented above in 1.2.1, Blake makes the following statement:

[...] typically, case marks the relationship of a noun to a verb at the clause level or of a noun to a preposition, postposition or another noun at the phrase level. (Blake 1994:1)

The last point mentioned by Blake is controversial. For Dixon and Aikhenvald, case is restricted to clause level. What is widely referred to as "the genitive" for example is not seen as a case by Dixon and Aikhenvald, as it encodes a relationship on phrase level¹⁵:

[...] genitive is not a case. Case is used for marking of the syntactic function of a clause constituent in a clause. Genitive marks a relationship within an NP.

(Dixon & Aikhenvald 1995:18)

Dixon and Aikhenvald argue that there are languages in which there is double-case marking. Double-case marking is present if one element bears two cases which are both functionally relevant. Typically, double-case marking occurs in possessive

¹⁵ For a crosslinguistic study about genitive, see Dixon (2002).

constructions: In a possessive construction only one element, either the possessor or the possessee bears the case required by the clausal syntax plus that of the possessor. In Kanuri, the possessor shows double-case marking with the genitive and the case required by the clausal syntax (see 4a & 4b).

Kanuri (Saharan, Nilo-Saharan)

- (4a) táta kámú-vè-gà rúskónà.

son woman-GEN-ACC see.I(?)¹⁶

"I have seen the son of the woman."

- (4b) fátò fèrò-vè-rò isónà.

compound girl-GEN-DAT come.he(?)¹⁷

"He has come to the compound of the girl." (Tucker & Bryan 1966:179)

Nevertheless, I will follow Blake and include the noun phrase level in the category of case, keeping in mind that these two levels should be differentiated.

Further terminological distinctions are mentioned by Blake, for example between case, case marker, case form, and grammatical relation:

We need to make a distinction between *cases* [...], and the *case markers* or *case forms* through which the cases are realised. A case marker is an affix and a case form is a complete word. (Blake 1994:2)

It is also necessary to make a further distinction between the cases and the *case relations* or *grammatical relations* they express. These terms refer to purely syntactic relations such as subject, direct object, and indirect object, each of which encompasses more than one semantic role, and they also refer directly to semantic roles such as source and location, where these are not subsumed by a syntactic relation and where these are separable according to some formal criteria. (Blake 1994:2)

There is a widely held view [...] that all dependents can be allotted to a particular grammatical relation whether purely syntactic or semantic. However, in practice it is often unclear how certain dependents are to be classified. For this reason I will refer, for the most part, to cases having functions or meanings. These terms are traditional and they can be taken to be theory-neutral or perhaps pre-theoretical. The term *function* will range over well-defined grammatical relations such as direct object and other relations such as "agent of the passive verb" where different theories might ascribe the function to different relations. The term *meaning* will cover not only semantic roles that are demarcated by case marking or some other formal means, but also semantic roles that are distinguished only on intuitive grounds, roles whose status remains unclear in the absence of some argumentation. (Blake 1994:3)

I will generally follow Blake and use the terms in the following way: *Case marker* is the marker by which case is expressed; *case form* is the complete case-inflected word

¹⁶ No glosses provided by the authors.

¹⁷ No glosses provided by the authors.

or phrase. *Case function* is the syntactic function expressed by case, such as S, A, O, indirect object (IO), peripheral participant, nominal predicate, or citation.

A *case language* is defined as a language that has grammatical forms within the NP used to distinguish the core participants S, A, and O exclusively or primarily. These forms may be obligatory, like the case inflexions of Latin, or optional, like the postposed case markers of Kanuri. Furthermore, these forms may be restricted to one case, for example the nominative in marked-nominative languages or the accusative in accusative languages. What this means is that a language that has grammatical case is not necessarily a case language. Many languages obligatorily mark genitive nouns, but this does not inevitably qualify them as case languages on my definition. This also means that a language may have a split-S system; nevertheless, most split-S systems are found in languages that are not case languages. For an example, see the West African Mande language Loma (Rude 1983).

There are definitions of case languages found in the literature which are more rigid, for example by Stassen:

A language is cased if the difference between core argument NP's is obligatorily marked by way of bound morphology on these argument NP's. (Stassen 2003:803)

A case-language definition, which considers not only its syntactic occurrence but also its occurrence outside of syntax, called extra-syntactic use, is proposed by Creissels:

In a broad sense, case languages are languages in which some syntactic contexts require the use of inflected forms of nouns (or noun phrases) different from those available for extra-syntactic functions. In a more restricted sense, case languages are languages in which noun or noun phrase inflection contributes to the manifestation of contrasts between core syntactic roles. (Creissels 2004:9)

A further question is which elements in a language are case-marked when speaking of a case language. It may happen that nouns show no case distinction but pronouns do, as, for example, in English. In my definition of case, English has a split case system, which in most contexts is neutralized, namely with nouns; only with pronouns case still operates. Some additional notes on the distinction core vs. peripheral may be useful: It roughly corresponds to the distinction complement vs. adjunct made by others (see Blake 1994:196–7; Comrie 1993:906ff.), in that core and (verbal) complement both refer to participants which are required by the verb. Peripheral participants and adjuncts on the other hand refer to participants which are not required by the verb.

Some authors have presented a broader use of the term complement. Thus, Blake says:

complement. In this book a complement is taken to be a dependent representing an argument. This means that the finite verb in a language like English is described as having a *subject* as a complement. The *direct object*, *indirect object* and some prepositional phrases are also complements. In the following examples, the complements are in bold:

She sent a cheque to the missionary.

She sent the missionary a cheque.

She put the money in the bank.

He was ready for a try at the title.

A student of the classics. (Blake 1994:198–9)

adjunct. A dependent that is not a *complement*, i.e. a dependent not representing an argument and so not implied by the governing *predicate*. An adjunct is always optional as with the prepositional phrase in *He did it with ease*. (Blake 1994:196–7)

For our purposes, we will not follow Blake but take a more narrow concept of complement and adjunct in that complements cover only the participants triggered by the verb, and these are in particular S, A, IO, and sometimes locative concepts. In !Xun, for example, the expression of the destination is part of the valency of the verb *cào* ‘to arrive’. Other scholars use the term argument, in the sense of obligatory argument, instead of complement.

Comrie (1993:906ff.) points out that there are problems with the definition of complements (arguments in his terminology). The feature obligatoriness may fail if taken as the only parameter: In languages where core participants are omissible (as in English), the question arises whether *the pizza* in the clause *Omar has eaten the pizza* is an adjunct or a complement considering the fact that the utterance *Omar has eaten* is also a complete clause. Therefore, further parameters are required. The second parameter is analogy: If the participant concerned behaves like corresponding complements of other verbs, this is an argument in favor of a complement. The participant *the pizza* behaves like *Mark* in the clause *Lola has killed Mark*, for example with regard to passive: Both can occur as the subject of a corresponding passive clause (*Mark has been killed* / *A pizza has been eaten*). The second parameter is defined as follows:

[...] one might establish the principle that any phrase that behaves like an already established argument (in terms of obligatoriness) is also to be considered an argument.

(Comrie 1993:907)

And there is a third parameter that comes into play, namely semantics: The meaning of the adjunct is not affected by the verbal semantics whereas that of the complement is. The subject can have, for example, the meaning of an agent or of an experiencer or a patient, depending on the semantics of the verb, while with adjuncts this does not hold: Adjuncts, such as expressions for time, have a stable meaning regardless of the verbal semantics. For a particular participant it might happen that not all parameters apply but only one. Comrie concludes with a definition of complements considering all three parameters, according to which a complement is sufficiently defined if one of the following three features applies:

[...] overall definition of argument would be: a phrase that is either obligatory given the choice of predicate or whose meaning is a function of that of the predicate, or whose behavior is parallel to arguments so defined. (Comrie 1993:907)

Whichever terminology one prefers, it is essential to consider the structure of the verb in question. The verb requires one core participant when being *intransitive*, two participants when *transitive*, or three participants when *ditransitive*. There are languages which do not have any ditransitive verbs.¹⁸ Furthermore, in a given language all or at least some transitive verbs are also used intransitively without any valency changing device. In the latter case, the verbs are called *ambitransitive*. Two subclasses of ambitransitive verbs can be distinguished: S of the intransitive verb behaves either like A or like O. An example taken from English may show this: The verb *eat* in the clause *I am eating an apple* is used transitively. In the clause: *I am eating*, which also is a complete utterance, the verb is used intransitively. In the latter case, S behaves like A, as S and A both are filled by an agent. With the verb *break*, the situation is different: The verb can occur transitively as in the clause *I broke the stick*, but it can also be used intransitively as in *The stick broke*. In the latter case, S behaves like O, as both are patients. Languages generally differ with regard to how core participants are treated, whether they have to be expressed at all, or by independent forms, or by bound pronouns only. Many languages are so called pro-drop languages, that is, the core participants need not be expressed in an independent form if expressed otherwise, for example by bound pronouns. There are also languages which lack bound pronouns and nevertheless do not require core participants to be expressed. This applies to !Xun (Ju, former North Khoisan). Some authors differentiate between two classes of transitive clauses, one in which one core participant is O (called transitive), and one in which there is no O participant, but the second core participant is, for example, a locative one instead. The latter is referred to by the term "non-transitive". Verbs belonging to this class are typically motion verbs which express the source or destination of their motion.

Dixon (1994) further extends the description of case in the following way. In addition to looking at grammaticalized manifestations of case, he maintains that the patterns found in case systems, such as accusative, or ergative, are also found outside the encoding of nouns. It can appear with particles, constituent order, cross-reference, tense/aspect, or main-subordinate clauses. In order to take care of such situations, we propose to use the term case pattern. The term *case pattern* (or pattern in short) should be distinguished from *case system*. The latter is strictly reserved for grammaticalized case. Case pattern is used if a certain pattern with regard to A, S, and O is present, which need not be a grammaticalized case system; it may relate to constituent order, cross-reference, etc. Case patterns which are not case systems are treated here under the label *other manifestations of case patterns*. Case patterns include all sorts of case alignments: Grammaticalized ones as in case systems and non-grammaticalized ones as in other manifestations of case patterns. The terms used to cover the various case patterns are identical with the ones used with case systems. Accusative covers

¹⁸ It has been claimed for !Xun (see König & Heintz Forthc., and König Forthc. b), and some Mande languages, as Jalonke (see Lüpke 2005), and Bambara (see Creissels).

a case pattern in which A and S are treated the same and simultaneously different from O. Ergative covers a case pattern in which O and S are treated the same and simultaneously different from A. Tripartite covers a case pattern in which A, S, and O are all treated differently, and split S covers a case pattern in which some S behave like A ($S_A = A$) and others behave like O ($S_O = O$).

Taking into consideration that the notion of case is discussed in this work on a variety of different levels, the term case (without further specifications) will be used as follows: Case is understood as *grammaticalized case*, which is manifested by an *inflexional system*, coded on the noun or noun phrase by inflexional means, consisting of a paradigm of cases (= members of the case systems, also referred to as case grammemes), giving the language with such an inflexional system the status of a *case language*. All further levels of case manifestations have to be labeled differently, for example as *other manifestations of case patterns*.

Cross-reference is defined by Dixon as follows:

A verb or verbal auxiliary may include bound affixes etc., which provide information about the person and/or number and/or gender etc. of NP's in certain syntactic functions.

(Dixon 1994:42)

Dixon describes, for example, a (nominative/)accusative cross-reference pattern as follows:

The patterning of bound pronominal affixes in the verbal word can be taken as evidence of intra-clausal accusativity or ergativity, just like the patterning of case inflections. If a certain affix cross-references an NP that is in S or A function, with a different affix referring to an NP that is in O function, then the language can be characterised as "nominative-accusative" at this level. (Dixon 1994:42)

An example may illustrate how a cross-reference accusative pattern works: Swahili has partly an accusative cross-reference pattern.

Table 1.1 gives an overview of the bound personal pronouns in Swahili. Pronouns presented in bold show an accusative pattern, since two different pronouns are used to encode either S/A, or O. The non-bold pronouns show no case pattern since S, A, and O are treated the same. Cross-reference follows an accusative pattern with regard to the bound pronouns for the second person singular (see 5f for O; 5g and 5h for S/A), the second person plural (see 5a and 5b for S/A; and 5c for O), and the third person singular (see 5d). In all other persons or noun classes, no case pattern is at work; A, S, and O are encoded identically. This applies to the third person plural, and the first person. The first person plural prefix (-)tu- for instance is used for A (see 5c), S (see 5i), and O (see 5b). Swahili, therefore, shows partially an accusative pattern with reference to cross-reference.

With regard to the position within the verb, all bound pronouns show an accusative pattern: S/A is always treated the same and simultaneously different

Table 1.1 Bound personal pronouns in Swahili

| Number & Person | Syntactic | |
|---------------------|-----------|-----|
| | S/A | O |
| 1. SG | ni- | ni- |
| 2. SG | u- | ku- |
| 3. SG ¹⁹ | a- | m- |
| 1. PL | tu- | tu- |
| 2. PL | m- | wa- |
| 3. PL | wa- | wa- |

from O since S/A-pronouns always occur before O-pronouns, both before the verbal root:

(NEG)-S/A-TAM-O-ROOT-(DER)-a

The accusative pattern can be illustrated by the first person singular pronoun *ni-*. It encodes A, S and O, but not in the same position: If *ni-* encodes S or A, it appears verb-initially (see 5e & 5f). If *ni-* encodes O, it appears directly before the root (see 5g).

- Swahili
- (5a) m-li-anguk-a. S-V
2.PL.S-PAST-fall-a²⁰
"You (pl.) fell down."
- (5b) m-li-tu-on-a. A-O-V
2.PL.A-PAST-1.PL.O-see-a
"You (pl.) saw us."
- (5c) tu-li-wa-on-a. A-O-V
1.PL.A-PAST-2.PL.O-see-a
"We saw you (pl.)."
- (5d) a-li-m-pend-a. A-O-V
3.SG.A-PAST-3.SG.O-love-a
"He loved her."
- (5e) ni-na-kwend-a. S-V
1.SG.S-PRES-go-a
"I go."
- (5f) ni-na-ku-on-a. A-O-V
1.SG.A-PRES-2.SG.O-see-a
"I see you."

¹⁹ Note that the forms listed as third person singular and plural are the markers of noun classes 1 and 2, respectively.

²⁰ As the ending -a has no meaning in Swahili; it appears as such in the glosses.

- (5g) u-na-ni-on-a. A-O-V
 2.SG.A-PRES-1.SG.O-see-a
 "You see me."
- (5h) u-li-anguk-a. S-V
 2.SG.S-PAST-fall-a
 "You fell down."
- (5i) tu-li-anguk-a. S-V
 1.PL.S-PAST-fall-a
 "We fell down."
- (5j) ni-li-mw-ambia Juma
 1.SG.A-PAST-3.SG.O-say Juma
 "I said to Juma:"
- (5k) ni-li-ki-chukua ki-tabu.
 1.SG.A-PAST-C7-take C7-book
 "I took the book."
- (5l) ni-li-chukua ki-tabu.
 1.SG.A-PAST -take C7-book
 "I took a/the book."
- (5m) ni-li-ki-chukua.
 1.SG.A-PAST-take
 "I took it."

As Dixon's definition of cross-reference indicates (cited above), cross-reference does not imply agreement. With regard to agreement, the situation might be complex: In Swahili for instance, the system is not homogeneous: Subject pronouns are obligatory, object pronouns are not. The object pronoun can occur (it mostly does if the referent is human; see 5j²¹), though it does not have to (see 5l). If it occurs, the participant it refers to can additionally be expressed in an independent noun phrase (see 5k), or not (5m).

Furthermore, it is necessary to include not only affixes but clitics as well. There are many African languages where it is unclear whether the items concerned are affixes or clitics. As in Swahili, it may happen in other languages that within the system not all items behave homogeneously. Thus, it seems helpful to use the notion pronominal cross-reference as a cover term for items occurring either as affixes or as clitics on the verb, covering the whole range indicated in the Swahili example: (a) The bound pronoun occurs in addition to the independent noun phrase; (b) the bound pronoun occurs instead of the independent noun phrase; (c) the bound pronoun can be omitted if expressed in an independent noun phrase.

²¹ With *-ambia* "to say" the object pronoun has become obligatory.

There is one further case pattern, called direct-inverse: In Algonquian languages, e.g. in Plains Cree, "the marking on the verb indicates whether an activity is in line with the person hierarchy or contrary to it" (see Blake 1994:130). The direct pattern indicates that the participant is in line with the hierarchy, and the inverse pattern indicates that it is in contrast with it, depending on whether the clause "I see him" gets a direct marking and "he sees me" gets an inverse marking on the verb. To my knowledge, no direct-inverse patterns occur in Africa.

The semantic functions expressed by a certain participant will be referred to as case roles; Blake defines case role thus:

Role. The semantic relation borne by a **dependent** to its **head**. In *She washed the tablecloth* the subject *she* could be described as having the role of agent and *the tablecloth* as having the role of patient. Other terms used are semantic role, case role, thematic role and theta role. (Blake 1994:205)

The following list of case roles, based on Blake (1994:68–72), will be adopted here²²:

- Agent*—The entity that performs an activity or brings about a change of state.
- Beneficiary*—The animate entity on whose behalf an activity is carried out.
- Cause*—The cause of an activity.
- Destination*—The point to or towards which an entity moves or is oriented.
- Experiencer*—The creature experiencing an emotion or perception.
- Extent*—The distance, area, or time over which an activity is carried out or over which a state holds.
- Instrument*—The means by which an activity or change of state is carried out.
- Location*—The location of an entity.
- Manner*—The way in which an activity is done or the way in which a change of state takes place.
- Partitive*—A form which refers to a part or quantity. (Crystal 1992:291)
- Path*—The course over which an entity moves.
- Patient*—(i) an entity viewed as existing in a state or undergoing change
(ii) an entity viewed as located or moving
(iii) an entity viewed as affected or effected by an entity.
- Possessor*—The entity that possesses another entity.
- Purpose*—The purpose of an activity.
- Reason*—The reason for an activity.
- Recipient*—A sentient destination.
- Sender*—A sentient source.
- Source*—The point from which an entity moves or derives.
- Time*—The temporal position or extension of an entity.

There is consensus among scholars that the total number of case roles should be kept small (see for example Fillmore 1977, Comrie 1986 & 1993):

²² Blake subsumes *time* under *location* (1994:69). The present author differentiates between the two.

On the one hand, there are indications that this list needs to be expanded. [...] The problem with following this approach to its logical conclusion is that the number of semantic relations soon proliferates beyond control, in the sense that as one considers new verbs new semantic roles arise. (Comrie 1993:910)

The analysis of ergative languages especially has shown that often case does not behave homogeneously within a given language. In ergative languages it is quite common that the ergative functions occur only in certain syntactic contexts, whereas in other contexts there is no ergative system but an accusative one, for example. The same holds for an ergative pattern: It also may occur in restricted contexts only whereas in other contexts, different patterns occur. The term *split* is used in the literature to refer to such situations. I will use the term *split* either if there are different patterns at work, for example an ergative/accusative-split, or if there is only one system which in certain contexts is neutralized, for example an accusative/neutral split. The conditions for a given split always have to be specified. Split may be triggered with regard to person, tense/aspect, clause type, constituent order, etc. In Georgian (Caucasian) for instance there is a tense/aspect split: Clauses with verbs in the "aorist" (i.e. past perfective) are ergative but in the present tense they are accusative (Comrie 1978). The Australian language Dyirbal has a person split, it shows an accusative system with A being first or second but an ergative one with A being third person (Comrie 1978). The importance of the concept split can be seen in the following quote from Plank:

[...] strictly speaking, all languages are "split" insofar as their rules and regularities alternatively follow two or more patterns of alignment rather than only a single one.

(Plank 1995a:1184)

The terms double case and case doubling need to be distinguished. *Case doubling*²³ is used for the morphological occurrence of more than one case ending on one noun. It refers to a special building pattern where the case marker is not suffixed to the morphologically unmarked form but to a form which itself is already a derived case form—in fact, the base for case doubling is a stem which itself is a derived case form. For instance, in the Omotic language Maale the ablative case (ABL) is attached to the root which itself appears in the locative case (LOC) (see 6).

Maale (Omotic)

(6) máár-ó-ídda-ppa

house-ACC-LOC-ABL

"from the house" (Amha 2001:69)

²³ Also referred to under the label "multiple case" marking (Malouf 2000) or *Suffixaufnahme* (Plank 1995b), a phenomenon which is attested for Australian languages. For a typological study with subtypes see Dench and Evans (1988).

Therefore, case doubling forms are not instances of double case markings.²⁴ In *double case* markings, different syntactic functions are marked on the same noun: a noun bears more than one case ending which has functionally the value of two cases. In contrast, in case doubling the noun bears more than one case ending which functionally has the value of one case. An example for double case marking is the genitive in Kanuri (see 4a & 4b above). In short, a noun with several case endings is an instance of double case if the case endings express more than one function; an instance of case doubling is present if two or more case endings express only one function.

The exceptional status of the morphologically unmarked form within an oppositional system has been pointed out by Bybee (1994) when dealing with tense, aspect, and modality systems. The morphologically unmarked form of the noun has different values depending on the case system concerned: In a type 1 case language it refers to one member of the basic case opposition and presents therefore a case form of its own (such as the accusative in a type 1 accusative language). In a split type 2 case language with contexts where case is neutralized, these contexts are covered by the morphologically unmarked form. The latter has not the value of a case form, but is just a *caseless form* (see for example Kanuri and Kemantney in chapter 2).

With regard to the total number of cases distinguished in a case language the following situations are documented crosslinguistically: According to Mel'čuk (1986) the number ranges from two up to forty-six, two (Ancient French), three (Hindi, Romanian), five (Classic Greek), seven (Latin), ten (Russian), eighteen (Hungarian), twenty-six (Andi, Archi), and forty-six (Tabasaran). In Africa, the range covers between two and twelve: two (Maa), three (Nobiin, Datooga), four (Fur, Tennes), seven (Ik, Turkana), eight (Alaaba), ten (Maale), and twelve (Awngi)²⁵ (see chapters 2 and 3).

One further case pattern has been reported, called double oblique, already mentioned by Sapir (1917). In my terminology a double oblique is present if A and O are treated the same, and simultaneously different from S. This peculiar pattern has been reported for Rosani (of the Pamir branch of Indo-Iranian; see Payne 1980:155). To my knowledge, no instance of this pattern is present in Africa.

1.3.2 Terminological conventions

The case terminology is unproblematic if the categories involved do not show any mismatch. For example, scholars agree principally on the following labels: An item which is used as the citation form of the noun and covers S and A is called a nominative; an item which is morphologically marked and covers O is called accusative, and the two together constitute an accusative system. An item used to cover S and O, also used as the citation form of the noun, and being the morphologically unmarked form

²⁴ See also the discussion about "Suffixaufnahme" and double case in Plank (1995b).

²⁵ According to Hetzron (1978:125-6) these are the following in Awngi: nominative, accusative, transitive, dative, ablative, locative, comparative, comitative, directive, innovative, genitive, and adverbial.

is called an absolutive; an item used to cover A only is called ergative, and the two together constitute an ergative system. If, however, the case in a particular language does not show these prototypical matches, scholars tend to disagree on terminology. I will now look at some particular conventions that have been proposed.

1.3.2.1 Marked nominative With regard to marked-nominative systems, there is an ongoing discussion to find the proper label for this mixed case system. Marked-nominative systems are sometimes called "extended ergative". As was observed above, Dixon (1994:66ff.) considers both terms "extended ergative" and "marked nominative" to be rather unsatisfactory but prefers the latter. He is not the only one expressing dissatisfaction with the term marked nominative; Creissels is another:

I retain it [marked nominative; C. K.] as the most widespread label for a type of case system particularly relevant to the ongoing discussion, but I put it in quotation marks in order to express my reservations about it. (Creissels 2004:6, footnote 7)

Creissels also sticks to the term marked nominative for lack of a better option; the term survives because it is the best of the worst. As it is necessary to stick to a coherent terminology, I will also adopt marked nominative. Another issue concerns the question of how the cases within a marked-nominative system should be called. The solutions proposed in the literature so far will be discussed in 1.3.2.2 and 1.3.2.3.

1.3.2.2 Absolutive/Absolute In East Africa a somewhat confusing terminology is used: The morphologically unmarked form tends to be called absolute or absolutive (although no ergative case system is present). What makes it so confusing is the fact that absolute/absolutive is used either for the nominative in an accusative system or the accusative in a marked-nominative system. It is even used for a non-zero marked accusative in a marked-nominative language, namely in the East Omotic language Haro (Woldemariam 2003:64²⁶). To illustrate this confusion: Tucker and Bryan (1966:14) use the term "absolute" either for the nominative or for the accusative case, it is always the case in citation:

The Term "Absolute" refers to the form of the Noun or Pronoun, &c., used when cited. In some languages this is in the Nominative Case, in others in the Accusative Case.

(Tucker & Bryan 1966:14)

In Cushitic languages such as Bilin and Awngi (called Awia by Tucker & Bryan 1966), the "absolute" refers to the nominative case, while in languages such as Sidamo,

²⁶ "Unlike in its common usage the term Absolutive here does not imply morphological unmarkedness. As we will show in the coming section, the Absolutive is characterized by a special morphological signal that paradigmatically contrasts with the Nominative and Genitive" (Woldemariam 2003:64).

Oromo (called Gala by Tucker & Bryan), Somali, and Beja (called Bedauye by Tucker & Bryan), it refers to the accusative case.

In the Central Cushitic language Kemantney, a type 2 accusative language with case being restricted to definite nouns, the term *absolutive* refers to the morphologically unmarked form—that is, the caseless form of the noun. With indefinite nouns the “absolutive” is used for S, A, and O, and it is opposed to the case-inflected definite noun, which occurs in the nominative in order to encode S, A, and in the accusative to encode O (Leyew 2003:237ff.; see also section 2.7).

Creissels (2004) adds another use of the term *absolute* (not *absolutive*). For him it is crucial to differentiate a further level with regard to case, namely the use of nouns in so-called extra-syntactic functions, vs. the use of nouns in syntactic functions. In search of a new term, restricted to extra-syntactic functions only, he comes up with the label “absolute”:

It seems to me that *absolute case* is the best way to label case forms available for the extra-syntactic function of pure designation without any hint at their possible syntactic uses, in spite of the possible confusion with “absolutive” as used in Dixonian tradition. Other possibilities would be *default case* or *designative case*. (Creissels 2004:10)

Outside of Africa, the term *absolute* is used to refer to the unmarked nominative, as, for example, by Lewis (1967): He used *absolute* for the Turkish morphologically unmarked nominative case form.

However, there is also a clear opinion on how the terms *absolutive* and *nominative* should be used. Blake for instance points out that he wants to restrict the term *absolutive* to grammatical relations subsuming S + O (= P in his terminology) only and use *nominative* for all other options including S + A:

The term *absolutive* is used in some circles for a case or case form covering S + P functions. Normally such forms are unmarked. (Blake 1994:26)

My preference is to use *nominative* for the case that is used to encode S irrespective of whether this case covers S + A or S + P or indeed whether it is exclusive to S or covers S + A + P. This case will normally be unmarked and will be the case used in isolation from constructions. I will reserve the term *absolutive* for a grammatical relation that subsumes S and P. (Blake 1994:187)

I will follow Blake and avoid the term *absolutive* when not covering S and O; instead I will stick to *nominative* covering S and A, irrespective of whether it is morphologically marked or unmarked, and *accusative* for the case covering O, irrespective of whether it is morphologically marked or unmarked.

1.3.2.3 Nominative In an article about case in Maasai, Mel'čuk suggests calling the accusative (my terminology) the *nominative*, and the nominative (my terminology) either “oblique” or “ergative” or “subjective” (see Mel'čuk 1986 and 1997:136).

Furthermore, he argues that Maasai has an ergative structure. His argumentation goes as follows:

(i) Mel'čuk takes the citation form as the sole basis for the case label. In his view, the form of the noun used in citation must be called *nominative*, irrespective of the syntactic use of this form:

In a language L that has grammatical cases, the case used to NAME objects or situations, i.e. to mark a noun in isolation, must be called the *nominative*, whichever role it plays in the syntax of L and whichever is its formal exponent. (Mel'čuk 1986:71)

(ii) As will be shown in chapter 4, Maasai (referred to in this book as Maa, Maasai being one of the dialects of Maa) is a marked-nominative language where the form of the noun used in citation is identical with the form of the noun used to encode O. If the syntactic use of a case is ignored, the accusative of a marked-nominative language (my terminology) has to be called *nominative* in Mel'čuk's terminology.

As the term *nominative* is already used for what I call *accusative*, Mel'čuk's procedure raises a problem with the label for the opposite case: The *nominative* (my terminology) is called either "oblique", or "ergative", or "subjective" by him (Mel'čuk 1997:136).

(iii) Accordingly, Mel'čuk argues that since the structure of Maa is not *nominative* it is *ergative* (1997:141).²⁷

The basic verbal construction of Maasai is an ergative construction, since the Grammatical Subject of any verb, including the verb "to be", and of any predicative adjective/noun, is never in the *nominative*: it is in the *oblique* case. (Mel'čuk 1997:138)

His definition of ergative goes as follows:

An Ergative Construction is a predicative construction "Grammatical Subject + Grammatical Predicate" such that its Grammatical Subject can potentially express the Causer (in the language in question) and is marked by a case other than the *nominative*.

(Mel'čuk 1997:138)

Mel'čuk discusses the possibility of calling the *nominative* (my terminology) the *ergative* (1997:138). He sticks to the term *ergative*, being aware that the *oblique/ergative* case encodes S and A:

An objection [to a prototypical ergative construction], however, might be raised in connection with the fact that in Maasai the *oblique* case marks the Grammatical Subject not only with transitive verbs, as in these languages, but also with intransitive verbs and even with predicatively used adjectives and numerals. (Mel'čuk 1997:140)

²⁷ "The Maasai construction is not *nominative*, and, *fâute de mieux*, I will call it *ergative* in the rest of the paper" (Mel'čuk 1997:141).

In the present volume the terms ergative and nominative will be used in accordance with the case patterns they cover, as introduced in 1.2.2; therefore, I will not follow Mel'čuk's proposal. For me, Maasai is not an ergative language and his nominative will be called accusative by me. Mel'čuk's view about ergativity has not gone unchallenged (see Dixon 1994:21–2, footnote). In particular, Mel'čuk's statement that Lezgian is an ergative language has been criticized by authors working on Lezgian languages (see Haspelmath 1991). Sasse (1984:111–12) proposes the term subject case for the nominative when dealing with East Cushitic languages (Gidole, Saho, Konso, etc.). In the Berber linguistic tradition, the nominative is referred to by the terms annexed state or oblique case. The morphologically unmarked form, the accusative, is called the free state or direct case (see Aikhenvald 1990:113).

As the following quotation suggests, Gregersen (1977:63) proposes a further use of the term nominative:

Case systems in African languages appear to be either of the accusative type—where one case is used for the subject of any sort of verb, while a second is used for the object of a transitive verb (as in Latin or German)—, or the nominative type—where a single case appears in both positions but other cases also exist. (Gregersen 1977:63)

Gregersen (1977:63) uses the term nominative in the sense of “nominative system” as opposed to accusative system. Accusative system is used by Gregersen in the usual way, namely for a case system in which the core functions are encoded by two cases, such that the accusative covers O and the second case covers S and A. The “nominative system”, however, is defined in a particular way by him: In a “nominative system”, all three core participants, S, A, and O, are encoded by one case form only; case inflexion exists for peripheral participants only. In our definition, the latter would not be a “nominative system”. In a strict sense, languages showing this pattern would not be case languages. The term nominative is misleading here as it implies that there is a case distinction among the core participants, while there is none. In the Kartvelian tradition, in particular the Georgian one, the term nominative has been used to refer to the absolutive of an ergative system, and the term narrative has been used to refer to the ergative (see Harris to appear:2–3; Harris & Campbell 1995).

1.3.2.4 Extra-syntactic use Creissels (2004) introduces the term “extra-syntactic use” to refer to functions of the noun when used in isolation or in quotations, or as the answer “A tree!” to the question “What is this?”.²⁸ It relates to the term citation form used here. In case languages, prototypically, the form of the nouns used in extra-syntactic functions corresponds to the morphologically and functionally basic form used elsewhere (in syntactic uses), that is, the nominative in accusative languages, or

²⁸ “[E]xtra-syntactic form of nouns available for uses such as quotation or pure designation” (Creissels 2004:4).

the absolutive in ergative languages. There are, however, languages where there is a mismatch between the two domains. If there is a mismatch between the two domains in a given language, it will be discussed (see for example Ik in section 2.8).

1.3.2.5 Further observations Case marking sometimes varies also in certain other constructions or participant types:

1. Indirect object (IO)

The term IO (or recipient) will not be used if the language requires a head-marking device like verbal derivation to encode it. This holds for example for Nilotic languages where an applicative (or applied) derivation is used to introduce the IO equivalent (see chapter 4). The concept IO is semantically restricted to participants encoding case roles like beneficiary, recipient, or directional, and syntactically to participants which need no head-marking device. In a language with a head-marking device, the beneficiary, recipient, or directional introduced by a verbal derivation will be referred to as "IO equivalent". IO is defined as follows:

The term **IO** is used for a participant which semantically encodes case roles like beneficiary, recipient or directional, if syntactically no head-marking like verbal derivation is required.

And IO equivalent is defined as follows:

The term **IO equivalent** is used for a participant which semantically encodes case roles like beneficiary, recipient or directional, if syntactically a head-marking device like verbal derivation is required.

There is a position according to which participants introduced by verbal derivation automatically become core participants (Erhard Voeltz, personal communication). Alternatively, it is also possible to argue, as I have done with regard to IO, that the crucial feature of core participants is the fact that they do not trigger any additional marking such as adpositions or verbal derivation. In the latter view, verbal derivation and adpositions are alternative strategies for the encoding of peripheral participants. I will not take a firm stance on this issue because it is essentially theory-dependent. If the relevant position proposed by the author concerned is not entirely convincing, I will suggest an alternative solution.

2. Passive

In particular with some marked-nominative languages an exceptional case marking occurs in passive constructions. Scholars have used different terms to refer to this construction (passive, passive-like, subjectless clause, demoted subject, impersonal active, etc.; see chapter 4). I will adopt, for the present purposes, a definition of passive from Dixon who defines it as a construction having the following features:

1. Passive applies to an underlying transitive clause and forms a derived intransitive clause.
2. The underlying O becomes S of the passive sentence.
3. The underlying A is omitted, although there is always the option of including it.
4. The passive is formally marked, generally by a verbal affix (see Dixon 1994:146).

Passives where the agent cannot be expressed are referred to as agentless passives. If no formal marker is present, it will be referred to as passive-like construction.

3. Copula clause

Different views are expressed with regard to the structure of copula clauses. Hengeveld (1992a:1) divides the clause "I am a teacher", into the predicate *the teacher* and the argument *I*; the predicate in his view includes everything after the copula without the copula itself. Dixon and Aikhenvald point out that verbless clauses do not have case structures found in verb clauses. Instead, they show a slightly different structure:

A copula verb always has the possibility of taking two arguments—but these are not A and O (a copula clause cannot include ergative or accusative marking on one of its arguments). It is normally appropriate to treat one of these as S and the other may be a special copula complement argument (alternatively, it may be locative, or possessive, etc.).

(Dixon & Aikhenvald 1995:15)

I will follow Dixon and Aikhenvald: Instead of copula complement I will use the term *nominal predicate* to refer to the second participant in verbless clauses. Accordingly, in a clause like *I am a teacher*, *I* is S and *a teacher* is the nominal predicate.

4. Topic and focus

Lambrecht defines *topic* as follows:

The topic of a sentence is the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence is ABOUT. (Lambrecht 1994:118)

According to Lambrecht, clause initial elements can be either topic or focus (1994:117). Lambrecht's topic definition is in line with that of other scholars such as Gundel (1976), Chomsky (1975), Dik (1978), and Reinhart (1982). For Lambrecht it is crucial to principally distinguish between topical and non-topical participants in discourse. This distinction is, as indicated by Lambrecht, not considered by all authors. Givón (1983) for example refers by the term "topic" to all discourse participants:

The characterization of "topic" adopted here may be summarized as follows. A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if IN A GIVEN DISCOURSE the proposition is construed as being ABOUT this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is RELEVANT TO and which increases the addressee's KNOWLEDGE OF this referent.

Table 1.2 Various case labels used in the literature for similar functions

| Author | Function | | | | |
|---|-----------------|-------------------------|---------------|----------|--|
| | S + A | O | S + O | A | Citation form |
| Tucker & Bryan 1966, Dimmendaal 1983a, Last & Lucassen 1998 | Nominative | Absolute | | | Absolute |
| Hayward 1984, Kießling 2001, Woldemariam 2003 | Nominative | Absolute | | | Absolute |
| Lewis 1967 | Absolute | | | | |
| Tucker & Bryan 1966 | Absolute | | | | |
| Sasse 1984 | Subject case | Accusative | | | Absolute |
| Tosco 2001 | Subject case | Absolute, basic form | | | Absolute |
| Creider & Creider 1989 | Oblique | Nominative | | | |
| Mel'čuk 1997 | Oblique | Nominative | | | Nominative |
| Mel'čuk 1997 | Ergative | | | | |
| Mel'čuk 1997 | Subjective | | | | |
| Leyew 2003 | | | | | |
| Creissels 2004 | Anti-accusative | Accusative | Anti-ergative | Ergative | Absolute, zero case, unmarked case |
| Randal 1998 | Nominative | Accusative | | | |
| Andersen 2002 | Oblique | Accusative | | | |
| Blake 1994, König here | Nominative | Accusative | | | |

Following Reinhart (1982), we may say that the relation "topic-of" expresses the pragmatic relation of aboutness which holds between a referent and a proposition with respect to a particular discourse. The term "pragmatic relation" should be understood as meaning "relation construed within particular discourse contexts." Topic is a "PRAGMATICALLY CONSTRUED SENTENCE RELATION". In what follows, I will try to make this somewhat vague characterization of "topic" more precise. (Lambrecht 1994:127)

According to Chafe (1970), focus is a complementary category to topic. For him focus is the new information which makes a statement about the topic of the clause. Lambrecht favors a different position in that focus is not simply the complement of the topic, in particular because all clauses have focus but not all have a topic:

However not all sentences have a topic [...]. Therefore focus cannot simply be defined as the complement of topic. (Lambrecht 1994:206)

Furthermore, Lambrecht (loc. cit.) maintains that focus does not equate new information. Focus is defined by Lambrecht as follows, and this definition is adopted here:

[...] the focus of the proposition expressed by a sentence in a given utterance context is seen as the element of information whereby the presupposition and the assertion DIFFER from each other. The focus is that portion of a proposition which cannot be taken for granted at the time of speech. It is the UNPREDICTABLE or pragmatically NON-RECOVERABLE element in an utterance. The focus is what makes an utterance into an assertion. (Lambrecht 1994:206)

1.3.3 Summary

In table 1.2, the terminological conventions are summarized. It gives an overview of the different case labels used in the literature to refer to similar functions. Horizontally, case functions are listed and vertically various labels are listed. My own terminology is placed at the bottom. Some authors, such as Tucker and Bryan and Mel'čuk, are listed more than once. This is because, as has been shown, Tucker and Bryan use the term absolute both in a marked-nominative and an accusative language, and Mel'čuk uses different labels for the same function.

1.4 Conclusions

As this short excursion into the literature may have illustrated, the case phenomenon discussed here is covered by a range of sometimes contradicting terms. Creissels (2004) highlights an important differentiation which will be considered here as well. Nevertheless, I will not adopt his terms anti-accusative or anti-ergative; rather, syntactic alignment is taken as the basis with regard to case labels, although the use

of the cases in their extra-syntactic functions will be considered as well. If there is a mismatch between the syntactic use and the extra-syntactic use, it will be pointed out, such as a nominative, which is not the case used for an extra-syntactic function, or a syntactically marked form used in extra-syntactic function.

Generally, our overview of the literature has shown that with regard to the case terms absolutive, ergative, nominative, accusative, and absolute, there seems to be no solution which would do justice to all functional aspects involved, such as extra-syntactic use, syntactic use, morphological markedness, syntactic markedness, and case alignment. I will stick to the traditional terms using the following definitions: *Absolutive* is the case for the morphologically unmarked form covering O and S in an ergative system. *Ergative* is the case covering A only in an ergative system. *Nominative* is the case covering S and A, either in an accusative or a marked-nominative system. *Accusative* is the case covering O, either in an accusative or a marked-nominative system. In order to avoid confusion, the term absolute will be avoided.

In an accusative system, the accusative is morphologically marked, functionally marked, and not used for extra-syntactic functions, while the nominative is typically morphologically unmarked, functionally unmarked, and used in extra-syntactic functions, such as pure designation. In a marked-nominative system, the accusative is morphologically typically unmarked, functionally unmarked, and used for extra-syntactic functions, whereas the nominative is the case which is morphologically marked, functionally marked, and is not used for extra-syntactic functions. Accordingly, the accusative is the default case in a marked-nominative system, the nominative is the default case in an accusative system, and the absolutive is the default case in an ergative system.

According to the terminology used in the present volume, the following generalizations can be made: The languages of the world can be classified into *case languages* and non-case languages. The former are languages with grammaticalized case. All case languages follow one of the following *case systems*: *accusative*, *ergative*, *marked nominative*, or *tripartite*. The only participants being considered in the manifestation of case systems are S, the intransitive subject, A, the transitive subject, and O the transitive object. The case systems are distinguished, *inter alia*, based on *case patterns*. As the participants considered are restricted to three, namely S, A, and O, the logically possible configurations of case patterns are limited to three as well:

Accusative: A and S are treated the same, and simultaneously different from O (in short $S = A \neq O$).

Ergative: O and S are treated the same, and simultaneously different from A (in short $S = O \neq A$).

Tripartite: A, S, and O are treated differently (in short $S \neq A \neq O$).

A fourth pattern occurs in the languages of the world with regard to S: if some S's behave like A and other S's like O, a split S system is present.

Split S: in short: $S_A = A$, $S_O = O$

No case pattern is present if A, S, and O are all treated the same.

The alignment patterns of case systems and case patterns are identical. Other manifestations of case patterns are present in nearly all languages of the world, whether case languages or non-case languages. Other manifestations are visible for example in the following areas: constituent order, cross-reference, number agreement on verbs, omissibility of participants, and syntactic pivots. These manifestations are encoded by a more extended class of means than case systems. A *case language* is defined as a language with grammaticalized case that is present if case is obligatorily expressed to distinguish at least S, A, and O by the following means: affix, tone, root reduction, accent shift and/or adpositions. Other manifestations of case patterns are like case systems identifiable via the alignments of S, A, and O. In contrast to case systems, these manifestations are expressed by means which are not primarily case expressions but also serve other functions. All languages can show other manifestations of case patterns; Swahili is not a case language but shows an accusative pattern with regard to cross-reference. !Xun is not a case language but shows an accusative pattern with regard to constituent order and an ergative pattern with regard to number agreement on the verb (see König *forthc.* c). Böhm has claimed that the Chadic language Tangle, which is not a case language, shows ergative alignment with regard to cross-reference (see Böhm 1983). Shilluk is a case language with an ergative system; in addition, it shows ergative case patterns with regard to constituent order, cross-reference, and omissibility of participants (see 3.1.2). The features being considered when speaking of a case system are the following: the alignment pattern of A, S, and O, the means by which case is expressed, and the marking correlation of the cases. The only feature considered when speaking of a case pattern is the alignment pattern of S, A, and O.

The term accusative is used on different levels: First, it is the case which covers O in an accusative case system; second, it is the case system showing an accusative case pattern, with the nominative being the unmarked member of the case opposition; and third, the alignment of $S = A \neq O$ is called an accusative pattern. Likewise, the term ergative is used on different levels: First, the case which covers A in an ergative case system is called the ergative case; second, the case system with an ergative pattern is called ergative system; third, the alignment $S = O \neq A$ is called the ergative pattern. Due to the fact that in case systems various features are considered, there is not always a one-to-one correlation of case pattern and case system: Accusative systems and marked-nominative systems both show an accusative pattern. What distinguishes them is the markedness correlation: In accusative systems, the nominative is the unmarked member of the opposition; in marked-nominative systems it is the accusative which is the unmarked member of the opposition.

Case patterns can be manifested by way of either case systems or of other manifestations of case alignment. All case systems with an accusative system

expressed by suffixes, for example, show an accusative pattern with regard to these suffixes. Compared to case system, case pattern is the more general term which is not restricted to grammaticalized case. The encoding of peripheral participants is not considered in any of these terms, either in the case patterns or in case systems or in case languages, or in other manifestations of case patterns. A case typology is possible with regard to the manifestation of case, either being grammaticalized when speaking of case systems and case languages, or not being grammaticalized when speaking of other manifestations of case patterns visible in case patterns only, not expressed by means whose primary function it is to express case.

1.5 Goals of the book

My interest in the study of case arose when I was carrying out fieldwork on the Ik language of northeastern Uganda. Subsequently, I wrote a monograph on the case structure of this language (König 2002). Observing that the analysis of case in this language raises questions that could not be answered based on the study of a single language, I embarked on a comparative survey of African languages, resulting in the present book, whose main concern is to understand case in its various manifestations, both in its grammaticalized and its non-grammaticalized structures.²⁹ As mentioned earlier, the total number of languages with grammaticalized case systems is relatively small in Africa; in addition, the languages with grammaticalized case show various peculiarities, such as split systems, and the number of contexts in which case is neutralized is relatively high.

From a crosslinguistic perspective there are some features in Africa where Africa stands out: Tone as a marker of case hardly exists elsewhere in the world (see section 5.1), and marked-nominative systems are a rare phenomenon elsewhere (see chapter 4). There is one other area where marked-nominative languages are found outside Africa: Some Yuman languages of California are also reported to be marked-nominative (see Gordon 1986, Langdon 1970, and Miller 2001). These features will therefore be looked at more closely.

Due to space limitations certain aspects of case discussed above are not part of the book. Among them there is the encoding of peripheral participants; it will be mentioned, if relevant, but requires a separate treatment. The encoding of nominal possession will be discussed only if core cases are involved in some way or other. What has been labeled above "other manifestations of case" is not part of this book, nor are split S systems. The emergence of case is also considered only in passing; the focus is on grammaticalized appearances of core cases.

In accordance with these goals, the book discusses the following issues. The present chapter has laid the foundation on how case is defined and what kinds of case systems

²⁹ This does not mean that grammaticalized case systems will not be distinguished from other manifestations of case patterns.

are to be distinguished. Subsequent chapters are more data-oriented. Chapters 2 to 4 present the basic case systems accusative (chapter 2), ergative (chapter 3), and marked-nominative (chapter 4). In chapter 5, further special African features of case are looked at, such as the relation between case and tone (5.1), the relation between case and definiteness (5.2), or the generalization that in East Africa there is no case distinction before the verb (5.3); note that definiteness and "no case before the verb" are salient split conditions in Africa. Areal phenomena are also dealt with in chapter 5, as most of the features mentioned here are somehow areally distributed. Chapter 6 presents a map with the case languages discovered in Africa so far and a genealogical overview of the African case languages. Finally, the results will be summarized in chapter 6, where an overview of the main issues with regard to Africa is given, in particular of accusative, ergative, and marked-nominative systems.

The data presented in this volume are mainly taken from the literature available. Wherever possible, data collected in the course of field trips to Kenya and Uganda are also taken into account, as well as unpublished information from scholars working on specific languages. Some languages are only mentioned briefly, others are discussed at great length. This is either because for my purposes the relevant language has not much to offer or that a similar type has been illustrated already with a different language, or simply because there are no more data available. This situation is far from being satisfactory; much further field research is required on case in Africa. This volume can therefore be no more than a starting point on this topic. Nevertheless, first generalizations are possible and it is hoped that they will inspire future research.

In order to make the analysis as transparent as possible the data are presented in accordance with the framework outlined above. For the sake of consistency I have changed the glosses of the authors cited if that turned out to be necessary, glossing for example the unmarked case form in marked-nominative systems as accusative but in nominative-accusative systems as nominative in an attempt to avoid misunderstandings. Conceivably, I may not always have met the intentions of these authors, and I apologize for any misinterpretations which may result from this convention.

For each language, genealogical information will be provided about the branch and phylum it belongs to. The genetic classification follows principally Greenberg's (1963a) seminal work, fairly generally accepted among students of African languages. According to this classification there are four language phyla in Africa (called families by Greenberg), namely Afroasiatic, Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan, and Khoisan. Note, however, that some of these genetic groupings are not uncontroversial. In particular, the evidence so far available to establish Nilo-Saharan and Khoisan as genetically defined entities is not entirely satisfactory. My reasons for nevertheless using Greenberg's groupings in this work are the following: First, this is what is generally accepted and done by both Africanists and general linguists. Second, I am not making any claim that, for example, Nilo-Saharan and Khoisan can be genetically

defined, nor would this be essential for the general content of this work. Third, like many colleagues, including those who reject genetic classifications altogether, I am using Greenberg's classification mainly as a reference system and, as such, there is no alternative available. And finally, most assertions on genetic relationships to be made here relate not to macro-groupings such as phyla but to sub-groupings such as Nilotic, Surmic, Bantu, or Cushitic, and the genetic status of these sub-groupings is generally uncontroversial.

2

Accusative

2.1 Overview

In this chapter an overview of languages with accusative systems is given. So far thirty languages with an accusative system have been discovered in Africa. A selection of different types is presented here. A complete list is given in figure 2.1 in genealogical order.¹

As the genealogical overview of accusative languages in figure 2.1 illustrates, most of the accusative languages belong to the Nilo-Saharan phylum. Among them are genetically fairly isolated languages like Fur, Maba, Masalit, Kunama, and Ik, a Kuliak language. In addition, there are languages belonging to larger groups, like the Saharan languages Kanuri and Tubu, and some Eastern Sudanic languages, like Nobiin, Mararit, Tama, and Nyimang. In the Afroasiatic phylum, accusative languages are found in particular within the Semitic languages, such as Amharic, Argobba, Gafat, Tigre, Tigrinya, Harari, and Gurage; the Central Cushitic languages, such as Awnḡi, Xamtanga, Bilin, and Kemantney; and some Omotic languages such as Masketo, Hamar, Dime, and Aari also belong here. In addition, it can be argued that the Khoisan language Khoekhoe (Nama) and the Central Heiban language of the Kordofanian phylum are accusative languages. (For Khoekhoe see section 5.4.2).

The typology of case languages shows considerable variation. There are languages with an elaborated case system, such as Awnḡi (Central Cushitic), where, according to Hetzron (1978:125–6), in total twelve cases are differentiated by suffixes, to my knowledge the largest number of cases² distinguished in Africa. Other languages have a split system only, where case is restricted to definite noun phrases; this applies to all Semitic case languages, to Kemantney (Central Cushitic), and Maba (see further section 5.2). In addition, there are languages which in a strict sense are not case languages since case, including core cases such as accusative, are only optional. These belong with the exception of Dullay (Afroasiatic) all to Nilo-Saharan, in particular Fur, Maba, Kunama, Tubu, Kanuri, and Tama. In Dullay only topicalized objects are

¹ For a definition of "accusative system", see 1.2.2.

² If only inflexional means are considered, no adpositions.

Afroasiatic

Semitic: Amharic; Argobba; Gafat; Tigre; Tigrinya; Harari; Gurage; Ge'ez

Cushitic: East: Dullay

Central Agaw: Awngi; Xamtanga; Bilin; Kemantney

Omoti³: Western: Ometo: West: Masketo (Basketo)

Eastern: (= Ari-Banna) Hamar; Dime; Aari

Nilo-Saharan

Ik; Fur; Maba; Masalit; Kunama

Saharan: Tubu (= Daza); Kanuri

Eastern Sudanic: Nobiin

Western: Mararit; Tama; Nyimang

Kordofanian

Heiban – Central: Ebang

Khoisan

Khoe: Khoekhoe (Nama)

Figure 2.1 Accusative case languages in Africa

usually case-inflected (see Tosco 1994). Finally there are split languages of a different kind from the one already mentioned: Case is obligatory but neutralized in various contexts, which are syntactically determined. This applies to Ik, and to Masalit.

In what follows, each type will be illustrated at least with one candidate. The Saharan languages Tubu, Kanuri, Kunama, and Fur illustrate the optional type where case is expressed throughout by postpositions, even core cases. Kemantney serves as an example of a split language: Case is restricted to definite nouns only. In order to avoid duplication, further split languages of this kind, such as all Semitic languages, will be presented in chapter 5 with reference to the relation between case and definiteness (section 5.2). Masalit and Ik demonstrate the second split type, where case is neutralized in certain contexts, either showing an accusative system or no case distinction at all. In Masalit, case is neutralized for example in the plural, in Ik for example with first and second person referents. Unfortunately, only limited data are available for Masalit.

There is a positive correlation between constituent order and accusative: with the exception of Ik, all accusative languages are verb-final. Unlike in marked-nominative languages, tone does not appear as a means for distinguishing case. It can appear with pronouns, though, but never with nouns. Maba might be an exception but not enough data is available. Unlike in the other two case systems, ergative and marked-nominative, there are no split languages showing simultaneously two different case systems such as ergative / accusative or accusative / marked-nominative. The only split

³ Classification according to Fleming 1976.

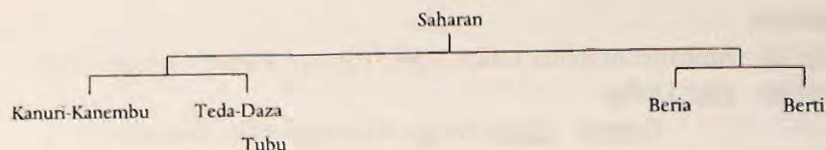


Figure 2.2 Genealogical classification of Saharan (Nilo-Saharan)

type which occurs is accusative/no case, meaning that either an accusative system is at work or there is no case system at all. Of the thirty languages, the majority (nineteen languages) show a defective system in one way or other. There are twelve languages with a split system, which may be of various kinds, either restricted to definite nouns (ten languages), or restricted to specific other contexts (three languages: Kemantney and Ik for various splits, Xamtanga split triggered by gender and number). In seven languages, case is not obligatory. There are only eleven languages without any restriction with regard to case (see map 2.1 and Appendix II). With the exception of Ik, all accusative languages are verb-final. Twenty-four accusative languages follow type 1, and six type 2.

2.2 Saharan

The Saharan languages are divided into two subbranches: Western and Eastern Saharan. Western Saharan, called Kanuri-Tubu by Lukas (1951–52:7; Cyffer 2000:31), has the two subbranches Kanuri-Kanembu and Teda-Daza. Eastern Saharan has the two subbranches Beria (Zaghawa) and Berti (Lukas 1951–52:7) (see figure 2.2).

There are several terms for the language group Teda-Daza. In the term Teda-Daza, Teda refers to the northern group and Daza to the southern group; there is no cover term for both groups. An overview of the various names appearing in the literature is given in table 2.1.⁴

Whether the Saharan languages have a case system or not is not uncontroversial. Core and peripheral participants are marked by postpositions. With peripheral participants, postpositions are obligatory but not with core participants. All in all, there are two different hypotheses: Either, it is argued, Saharan languages have no case as the items under consideration are postpositions whose use is optional, or

⁴ Tubu is another name used by Lukas (1953) to refer to the southern group. According to Lukas (1953: xiv–xv), the term Tubu or Teda has its origin in Kanuri and/or Kanembu: That is how the Kanuri and Kanembu call the people living on the Tu-mountains, otherwise known as the Tibesti. Tubu means “Tu-people” in Kanuri (*bu* meaning “people”). Tuda or Toda is the Kanembu name referring to the northern people, *da* meaning “ethnic group” in Kanembu; Tuda, Toda therefore means “Tu-group”. Tuda and Toda are the names for the people; the language they speak is called Teda. Gorʾān is the Arabic name for the southern group, in the French tradition; therefore the southern group is referred to as Gorames. Daza covers a dialect group within the southern branch. It is the name the people use for themselves. Daza includes the dialects Kaširda, Dugorda, Mediliya, Kumasālliya, Kumosāsālīma, Gāduwa, Yūruwa, Alaliwa, Wārabba, Kedeliya, Wānnala, Tummuliya, Sakarda, and Kazaleā (see Lukas 1953:xiv–xv).

Table 2.1 Names used for Saharan languages in the literature

| Teda-Daza | Arabic term | Lukas 1953 | Bryan 1971 | LeCœur 1956 | French |
|----------------|-------------|------------|------------|-------------|---------|
| Southern group | Gor'an | Tubu | Tubu | Daza | Gorames |
| Northern group | | | Teda | Teda | |

the Saharan languages have case expressed by postpositions. According to the latter position, the Saharan languages would have a rather unusual accusative case system with the following features: First, case marking is not obligatory; at least the cases expressing core cases such as S, A, and O are not. Second, they are type 2 languages, meaning that there is no morphologically unmarked form in the case opposition: All cases are expressed by morphologically marked forms. Third, case is expressed by postpositions. Fourth, core and peripheral cases are expressed by the same means, namely postpositions. And fifth, the genitive is used with double case marking.

2.2.1 *Tubu*

Lukas (1953) is the source of the data presented here, and the term *Tubu* is used here as it is by Lukas. Unless taken from the main dialect, the names of dialects from which the relevant data are taken are provided in the following treatment.

Case is expressed by postpositions. *Tubu* has an accusative system of type 2, meaning that the nominative and the accusative are both morphologically marked forms, both being expressed by postpositions. Core case marking is not obligatory. *Tubu* has basic AOV-order. There are at least nineteen postpositions which are used to encode both core and peripheral participants, of which three encode the core participants S, A, and O. *Tubu* clearly shows an accusative pattern, as S and A are always treated differently from O. O is sometimes encoded with the postposition which also encodes the indirect object (IO). There is one decisive difference between postpositions used for core and for peripheral participants: When encoding peripheral participants, postpositions are obligatory, when encoding core they are optional (mostly). With regard to obligatoriness, the indirect object seems to have the status of a peripheral participant as its marking is obligatory. In other words, nominative and accusative have optional case markings, all others, including dative and genitive, are obligatory. There is double case marking with the genitive, with the genitive case marker being suffixed to the possessee. There are certain hints that the dative has given rise to the accusative. Lukas (1953) does not provide interlinear glosses; all glosses provided are added by me. Furthermore all examples are translated into English. The original examples are presented with a German translation.

Accusative

The accusative is expressed by the postposition *ga*. With personal pronouns accusative marking is obligatory (see 1a). Otherwise its use is optional. Lukas (1953:161)

suggests that *ga* is used when semantic definiteness is to be expressed. He argues that the expression of definiteness is in accordance with the fact that the accusative is obligatory with personal pronouns. Yet, accusative marking is not obligatory in other uses which are inherently definite, in particular if the noun has a possessive suffix. It is more likely that the accusative marker is used when the object is not expressed in its basic position. This is the case in particular with a frontshifted object in an OAV-order (see 1d). In a basic order AOV the accusative marker can be used as well (see 1b & 1c). The indirect object precedes the direct object, resulting in an IO O V-order, where O need not be case marked (see 1e). In addition to patient, the accusative may rarely encode destination as well, depending on the verb (see 1f).

Tubu (Saharan, Nilo-Saharan)

- (1a) sɛŋgá ga góyintu. O V

he ACC take.3.PL.A

"They take him." (Lukas 1953:161⁵)

- (1b) dugulí maná ga wáu. A O V

lion squirrel ACC hit.3.SG.A

"The lion hit the squirrel." (Lukas 1953:161)

Ka-Tubu

- (1c) adɛ- ma yí anyi-sum- ma ga cidū. A O V

woman-DEF NOM man-POSS.3.SG-DEF ACC kill.3.SG.A

"The woman killed her husband." (Lukas 1953:53)

- (1d) dugulí ga ái kege du maná yi tárwayi. O A V

lion ACC SO POST squirrel NOM outwit.3.SG.A

"So the squirrel outwits the lion." (Lukas 1953:161)

- (1e) mí-sən du dōu gəyi cən. IO O V

son-POSS.3.SG DAT girl ?? give.3.SG.A

"He gave the girl to his sons (as a gift)." (Lukas 1953:159)

Ka-Tubu

- (1f) šé kwəi wúdər-nəm ga aú kudummí!

?? Place wish-POSS.2.SG ACC person send.IMP

"Send nobody to the place of your wish!" (Lukas 1953:177)

Nominative

The nominative is expressed by the postposition *yi* or *i*. Similar to the accusative, the nominative marker is not obligatory. Unlike the accusative, the nominative is hardly used with personal pronouns (see 2). The nominative is mostly used when the clause has an unusual word order, that is, not the basic AOV-order.

⁵ English translation and glosses are added by the present author. Original examples are given with a German translation.

Therefore, with OAV-order the nominative is more likely to be used (see 1d) than with the basic AOV-order (see 1b). The freedom of the system can be seen in the fact that in clauses with two core participants all markings are possible: Only O is case-marked (see 1b), only A is case-marked (see 9c), A and O are case-marked (1c), or neither A nor O is marked for case (see 9a).

No-Tubu

- (2) tani nebrē he nērí.

I you DAT give.1.SG.A

"I give you." (Lukas 1953:161)

In sum, there seems to be a tendency to use the nominative and the accusative mainly when word order does not indicate which participant is the subject or the object. The accusative is the only one which has an obligatory use, that is, with independent personal pronouns.

The nominative and accusative markers seems to be genuine postpositions. This can be seen in the facts that, first, within an NP, nominative and accusative are only used once, and second, they are used at the end of the NP, after the modifiers. The NP has the structure noun-modifier, such as noun-adjective-demonstrative genitive case (see 3a, 3b, 9a).

Ka-Tubu

- (3a) ɛnɛ trā yi

thing INDEF NOM

"a thing" (Lukas 1953:59)

- (3b) murá gənná ga

they all ACC

"they all" (Lukas 1953:59)

Origin of nominative and accusative

There are two clues leading in different directions as to a possible source of the accusative marker: First, *ga* covers a pragmatic function. For the Ka-dialect this function is documented. Lukas paraphrases the function with the words: "*Was...anbelangt*" ("as for...") (Lukas 1953:161) (see 4). The information given suggests that *ga* is used in a pragmatic function expressing concern, resembling a topic marker. This would be unusual, since topic markers may develop into subject case markers but not commonly object case marker. There are not enough data to say anything further about this issue.

Ka-Tubu

- (4) gadú nta ga

warthog you ACC

"Oh warthog! As for you [...]." (Lukas 1953:161)

Second, the accusative goes back to a dative marker. The following evidence suggests that the accusative can be traced back to the dative:

(a) Objects expressed after the applicative do not take the accusative marker *ga* but the postposition *du* (Lukas 1953:160) (see 5). The postposition *du* covers a vast range of different functions: Destination, locative, source, means, beneficiary, dative, temporal source, temporal destination are the ones listed by Lukas (1953:158–9). Furthermore the function's purpose and comparison are also mentioned as being covered by the preposition *du*. In addition, the postposition *du* is used in various kinds of subordination (see Lukas 1953:175–6). Even if Lukas does not connect all functions listed above as being expressed by the same postposition, it is reasonable to suggest that they are. In the genetically related language Kanuri, the postposition *ro*, used as a dative, covers a similar range of functions (see Heine 1990).

Ka-Tubu

- (5) ábba dǝmma ŋa i kallú du gúyúsəgɛ. A GEN O V

father girl GEN NOM boy DAT dress.APL.3.SG.A

"The father of the girl dresses the boy." (Lukas 1953:160)

(b) There are two dialects of Tubu (called Z and J by Lukas) in which the accusative marker is not the postposition *ga* but *do* (or *odo*) (see 6a). The latter is also used as a dative (see 6b). In other words, the dative appears to have expanded its use to an accusative in dialects Z and J of Tubu (see Lukas 1953:158).

Z-Tubu

- (6a) tani mǝrɛ do yídərgi. A O V

I he DAT kill.1.SG.A

"I kill him." (Lukas 1953:160)

- (6b) mǝrɛ dōwa odo áwei líhillo cən. A IO O V

he girls DAT ring silver give.3.SG.A

"He gave the girls a silver ring." (Lukas 1953:159)

(c) There is another dialect of Tubu, called No, where a postposition *ha* ~ *he* also functions as a dative (see 7a) and accusative (see 7b) (Lukas 1953:161). It seems that in No as well the dative covers further functions. Lukas lists an example where it encodes a manner participant (see 7c).

No-Tubu

- (7a) tani nebrɛ he nǝrí. A IO V

I you DAT give.1.SG.A

"I give you." (Lukas 1953:161)

- (7b) tani mre he dǎro. A O V

I he DAT love.1.SG.A

"I love him." (Lukas 1953:161)

- (7c) sai he
 foot DAT
 “by foot” (Lukas 1953:161)

Crosslinguistically the grammaticalization of an accusative out of a dative is not uncommon (see for example 4.5.5 for Omotic and Heine & Kuteva 2002).

Genitive

Nominal possession can be expressed by three means, either by the postposition -u, or *ŋa*, or by juxtaposition.

Double case

There is double case marking in Tubu. The genitive marker appears with the possessor, which itself occurs in the case that the clausal syntax demands. If for example the genitive is attributed to the subject, the possessor takes both the genitive and the nominative case marking (see 8a, which shows the form of “man of the village” when used as subject, and 8b⁶).

- Ka-Tubu
- (8a) aú né-u i
 man village-GEN NOM
 “man of the village.” (Lukas 1953:39)
- (8b) ábba dǝmma ŋa i kallú du gúyúsəgɛ.
 father girl GEN NOM boy DAT dress.APL.3.SG.A
 “The father of the girl dresses the boy.” (Lukas 1953:160)

Constituent order

I will discuss now means other than case marking which encode the status of a participant. These are in particular bound pronouns on the verb, constituent order, and verbal plurality. As mentioned above, case marking of the core participants seems to be to a certain extent triggered by constituent order. Tubu has a basic order with verb-final position: AOV or SV. A change in constituent order is possible: The object may be placed clause-initially when focused. Before direct speech clauses, the indirect object, IO, may be placed after the verb (see 9d). In a non-basic constituent order it is more likely that core participants are case-inflected. But even in an OAV-order there is flexibility. Both core participants may be case-inflected (see 9b), or only A may be case-marked (see 9c). Even in an A IO O V-order, A need not be case-marked (see 9a); actually no core participant needs to be case-marked in an A IO O V-order. In an A V IO-order, A need not be case-marked either (see 9d).

⁶ For convenience, example 5 is repeated as 8b.

Ka-Tubu

- (9a) derdé mi-sən du dóú góyi cen A IO O V
king son-3.SG.POSS DAT girl give.3.SG.A
"The king gave his son the girl." (Lukas 1953:177)
- (9b) dugulí ga áǎ kege du maná yi tárwayi. O A V
lion ACC SO POST squirrel NOM outwit.3.SG.A
"So the squirrel outwits the lion." (Lukas 1953:161)⁷
- (9c) aǎ anyí trā bafude dǎrdé yi brayiǎ hakken-ní. O A V, V
person man INDEF immune king NOM search.3.SG.A find.3.SG.A-NEG
"If a king searches for a brave man, he doesn't find him." (Lukas 1953:177)
- (9d) mǎlǎfúr fádage adé-sən du.
hyena say wife-3.SG.POSS DAT
"The male hyena said to his wife." (Lukas 1953:178)

Peripheral participants may be placed clause-initially (see 10a & 10b), or directly before the verb (see 10c).

- (10a) sǎgǎn dā tíne zukkúr. LOC O V
he LOC load put.1.PL.A
"We placed a load on him." (Lukas 1953:158)
- (10b) táǐ dā ére tuyintú céntu. LOC O V V
neck LOC bead put.on.3.PL.A give.3.PL.A
"They put on beads around (her) neck." (Lukas 1953:172)

Z-Tubu

- (10c) tāni álegi dǎmu lo šédǎrgi. A O DEST V
I gown neck DEST role.up.1.SG.A
"I roll the gown up to the neck." (Lukas 1953:162)

"Caseless form"

The fact that in Tubu case marking is only optional results in a situation in which the bare noun stem, unmarked for case, gets its own value within the system. I will call this the caseless form. Not only that, as has been demonstrated above, the caseless form may refer to either A (see 9a), S, or O (see 10b), or the possessor in juxtaposed possession (see 11d) (all other participants need case marking by postpositions); the caseless form also covers functions which in other accusative systems are expressed by the nominative. These are in particular the citation form: The bare noun is used as the citation form (see 11a). Furthermore, nominal predicates also always occur without any case marking, that is, only in the caseless form (see 11b & 11c).

Ka-Tubu

- (11a) lífi
"orphan" (Lukas 1953:204)

⁷ For convenience, example 1d is repeated as 9b.

- (11b) *sígən lifi.*
 he orphan
 "He is an orphan." (Lukas 1953:170)
- (11c) *yini gədu səri.*
 warthog meat medicine
 "The meat of the warthog is medicine." (Lukas 1953:171)
- (11d) *dərdē mī du*
 chief son DAT
 "the chief's son" (Lukas 1953:38)

Bound pronouns

Tubu has both subject and object bound pronouns on the verb. Verbs are divided into three verb classes, called class I, class II, and class III by Lukas (1953:62). The verb classes are inflected differently. Class I verbs are intransitive. Subjects occur as bound pronouns prefixed to the verbs. There are no object pronouns as the verbs are intransitive. Class I is mainly a closed class with a limited number of verbs. Classes II and III are mainly transitive verbs. Class III contains the largest number of members; loanwords also belong to class III. In most cases, in class II and class III, bound pronouns for the subject, A, are expressed by suffixes. This is true for the first and second person. The encoding of the third person is more complex. Frequent irregularities occur in class II. The third person is rarely encoded by prefixes; change of the initial phoneme is more frequent. Object pronouns are expressed by prefixes for first and second person only (see Lukas 1953:148–9). The object pronoun refers either to O or IO. Independent pronouns need not be expressed in addition. In class II, the prefix *t-* refers either to first person singular or first person plural (see 12a & 12b) and the prefix *n-* refers either to second person singular or plural.

There is verbal plurality, meaning that certain verbs occur with a singular and a plural stem. According to Lukas (1953:61), in transitive clauses the verb shows number agreement with the object. This is contradicted in example 12b(ii), in which a plural stem of the verb "to kill" refers to a singular object and a plural subject; translation 12b(ii) remains therefore unclear.

- Ka-Tubu
- (12a) *t-idəm.*
 1.OBJ-kill.SG.2.SG.A
 "You (sg.) kill me." (Lukas 1953:150)
- (12b) *t-ittəm.*
 1.OBJ-kill.PL.2.A
 (i) "You (sg.) kill us."
 (ii) "You (pl.) kill me."
 (iii) "You (pl.) kill us." (Lukas 1953:150)

Table 2.2 Bound verbal pronouns in Tubu

| Bound personal pronoun | Class I verbs | Class II verbs | Class III verbs |
|------------------------|--|----------------|--|
| t- | S 1. person (t- among other prefixes, such as g-, d-, c-; due to change of the initial phoneme: k > g, t > d, c > j) | O 1. person | O 1. person + <i>di-nəm</i> for singular (= 1.O-say.2.SG.S); + <i>di-ntum</i> for plural (=1.O-say.2.PL.A) |
| n- | S 2. person | O 2. person | O 2. person + <i>ni-nər</i> for SG (= 2.O-say.1.SG.S); & <i>ni-ntər</i> for PL (= 2.O-say.1.PL.A) |
| ø | S 3. person | O 3. person | O 3. person |

In class III, object pronouns are formed by a periphrastic construction consisting of an auxiliary *n* "to say" plus prefixes. The auxiliary is placed after the main verb and bears the object pronouns. As it is conjugated like a class II verb, the object prefixes of class III verbs are identical with those of class II. Examples 13a through 13c illustrate object forms of class III verbs, where the verb *gɔ* "to take" is used to refer to second person object (see 13a & 13b), or to first person object (see 13c), as the auxiliary with its prefixed object pronouns follows the head verb. In table 2.2, right column, the periphrastic construction is listed with the prefix plus the stem of the auxiliary added in parentheses (see Lukas 1953:155).

- (13a) *taní nta ga gó-ni-nər.*
 I you.SG ACC take-2.O-say.1.SG.A
 "I take you." (Lukas 1953:155)

- (13b) *taní ntánta ga gó-ni-ntər.*
 I you.PL ACC take-2.O-say.1.PL.A
 "I take you (pl.)." (Lukas 1953:155)

- (13c) *nta tanga ga gó-di-nəm.*
 you I ACC take-1.O-say.2.SG.A
 "You (sg.) take me." (Lukas 1953:155)

The verbal pronouns show a split S system. There is phonological resemblance between the subject pronouns of first and second person encoding S, and the object pronouns of class 2 verbs encoding first and second person O (in bold in 14a and 14b). Table 2.2 gives an overview of the forms which are in accordance with the split S pattern: S and O are expressed by prefixes; A is mostly expressed by suffixes. Neither third person S nor O is encoded, both forms are zero. Prefix *t-* encodes first person S and O, prefix *n-* encodes second person S and O. This on its own would result in an ergative pattern. There are, however, a few intransitive verbs in class II which are encoded like A.

| | | | | |
|-------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|--------|
| (14a) | ba "to climb up" | t-i' ¹ | n-ī | or m-ī |
| | | 1.sg.s-climb.up | 2.sg.s-climb.up | |
| | | "I climb up." | "You climb up." (Lukas 1953:112) | |
| (14b) | yit "to kill" | t-idám | n- idá-r | |
| | | 1.o-kill.sg-2.sg.A | 2.o-kill.sg-1.sg.A | |
| | | "You kill me." | "I kill you." (Lukas 1953:150) | |

For the first and second person, core participants are encoded by several means: First, by subject and object pronouns on the verb; second, by accusative marking, which is obligatory with first and second person. With third person this is different: Neither case marking is obligatory—neither A, S, or O have to be marked for nominative or accusative. Bound object pronouns are also not used for third person. Subject pronouns, A and S, remain as the only means to encode A and S. In addition, verbal plural provides a clue as to which participant is A and which O. As they are all transitive, singular verb forms refer to singular objects and plural verb forms to plural objects. Word order as well gives some hint; usually the subject, A and S, is placed clause-initially. Taking all devices into account that are used in order to encode the core participants one can say that accusative and nominative are problem-solving devices: There is a tendency for them to be used when other means fail to disambiguate A and O. In other words, they are predominantly used if A and O are not encoded otherwise. S only plays a minor role in this scenario as in intransitive clauses there is only one core participant and its status is obvious without any marking.

In sum, Tubu has a split accusative system in which the core cases either show an accusative pattern or no distinction at all, that is, case neutralization. The accusative pattern can be expressed in two different ways, either when both nominative and accusative case markings are present, or if only one of them is used and the other one is left unmarked. Even if both core cases, nominative and accusative, are morphologically marked, it is more likely that the accusative is used than the nominative. This can be seen in the fact that the accusative is the only core case marker that has environments in which it is obligatory, namely with independent personal pronouns. For the nominative there is no such environment in which it is obligatory. In addition, the accusative is more frequent than the nominative. This markedness relation is in accordance with accusative systems in general, in particular with systems of type 1, where it is the accusative which is morphologically marked as opposed to the morphologically unmarked nominative.

The question of whether a system in which case is not obligatory is a case system at all has been left open so far. Furthermore, it has become obvious that at least with regard to core participants, a case analysis is insufficient to a certain degree because there are contexts in which nominative and accusative are not present when A and O are in need of disambiguation. Therefore, it is necessary to look for an alternative analysis. The possibility has to be taken into account that nominative and accusative predominantly serve functions which are not based on syntax but on pragmatics or

semantics. If so, this would be apparent in the fact that an alternative analysis would be more coherent. So far the attempts to predict when accusative or nominative are used are to some extent unsatisfactory. The data presented by Lukas on Tubu do not allow us to answer this question sufficiently. There is, however, a genetically related language, Kanuri, with a similar case system in which Hutchison (1986) has tried to look for alternatives. I will therefore present the case system of Kanuri mainly from the aspect of whether it really is a language with a case system or something else.

2.2.2 Kanuri

The question of whether Kanuri has case or not has already been proved controversial in the literature as the following quote may illustrate:

I have come to the conclusion that the label “case” is not an appropriate term to describe syntactic relations in Kanuri, as long as it implies inflection or, specifically, declension. However, if we use the label as a vague category—failing to find a better name—and include word order, postpositions, semantic criteria, etc. we may get along with it.
(Cyffer 1983:201)

Unlike Cyffer, we will use the label “case” for Kanuri without including semantics or word order.

In Kanuri there is case marking of a similar type as in the related Western Saharan language Tubu: First, there is an accusative system, as S and A are always treated similarly and simultaneously differently from O. Second, case is expressed by postpositions.⁸ Third, core and peripheral participants are encoded by the same means, namely by postpositions. Fourth, there is nevertheless an essential difference between core and peripheral: Core case marking is for the most part not obligatory whereas peripheral case marking is. Fifth, it is a type 2 language, as both core nominative and accusative cases are morphologically marked. Sixth, in addition to case, participant marking is encoded by both bound personal pronouns and constituent order. And seventh, there is double case marking with the genitive.

The nominative is expressed by the postposition *ye*, the accusative by the postposition *ga* or *a*. Lukas (1937a) uses the terms case suffixes; Hutchison (1986) prefers the term

Table 2.3 Alternative terminologies for case markers in Kanuri

| Form | Lukas 1937a | Hutchison 1986 |
|-------------|---------------|-------------------|
| <i>ye</i> | nominative | agent marker |
| <i>ga/a</i> | accusative | object marker |
| | case suffixes | case markers (CM) |

⁸ Cyffer (1983) uses the term clitics instead.

Table 2.4 Case marking in Kanuri

| Core case marker | | Peripheral case marker | |
|------------------|-----|------------------------|-----------------|
| Nominative | -ye | Genitive | -ve, -be |
| Accusative | -ga | Dative | -ro |
| | | Ablative | -n, -nyin, -lan |
| | | Locative | -mben, mbên |

Source Lukas 1937a:17

case markers (see table 2.3). Hutchison argues that case is not expressed by suffixes but postpositions since the case markers occur only once per noun phrase (NP), and always NP-finally.

Table 2.4 gives an overview of the case markers in Kanuri as presented by Lukas (1937a:17).⁹ The postpositions used for peripheral case marking all have a wide range of functions.

The accusative *-ga* or *-a* is obligatory with independent pronouns (see 15a and 15b), otherwise it is optional. The basic constituent order is AOV (see 15a). A productive variant to AOV is OAV (see 15b). A frontshifted object is focused. In an OAV-order it is more likely that one of the core participants is case-marked. If A and O both refer to third person, the verb does not provide information on which participant is A and which O. In first and second person, subject and object pronouns disambiguate A and O.

- (15a) Ali shi-a suruna. A O V
 Ali 3.SG-ACC see
 "Ali saw him/her." (Hutchison 1986:191)¹⁰

- (15b) shi-a Ali suruna. O A V
 3.SG-ACC Ali see
 "Ali saw him/her." (Hutchison 1986:191)

- (15c) mai(-ye) shi-a bowoza. A O V
 king-(NOM) 3.SG-ACC call
 "The king called him/her." (Hutchison 1986:195)

- (15d) Ali suruna. A V
 Ali see
 "Ali saw (it)." (Hutchison 1986:195)

- (15e) Ali-a suruna. O V
 Ali-ACC see
 "He/She saw Ali." (Hutchison 1986:195)

⁹ The terms core and peripheral case markers are added by the present author.

¹⁰ The examples taken from Hutchison 1986 are without glosses; the glosses are added by the present author. Note that Hutchison does not mark tone. Thus, the Kanuri examples taken from him are without tone.

- (15f) ádə kúlwú Músa-be.¹¹
 this gown Musa-GEN
 "This is Musa's gown." (Cyffer 1991:53 & 310)
- (15g) Músa táda.
 Musa boy
 "Musa is a boy." (Cyffer 1991:22)

The citation form is covered by the bare noun stem without any case marker, e.g. *zúzu* "hump" (Cyffer & Hutchison 1990:200). Nominal predicates appear in the bare noun stem as well (see 15f & 15g).

Lukas (1937a:17) argues that the core case marking is used if there is ambiguity. Hutchison (1986:193) says that this is right but that examples of this kind, with two NPs referring to third person, are very rare. Only then does the verb not disambiguate (see 15a–15c). In Kanuri, as in the other Saharan languages, there are bound pronouns on the verb. For first and second person, S, A, and O are encoded on the verb. Essentially, third person subjects and objects are without any bound pronouns on the verb. If there is need to disambiguate, it applies to third person subjects and objects in particular. If only one independent participant is expressed with a verb showing no bound pronouns, the default interpretation of that independent participant is subject, S or A (15d). If the independent participant is O, the accusative is used (see 15e).

Constituent order

The basic order is AOV/SV (see 15a), it can be changed to OAV for pragmatic reasons (see 15b). Basically, all participants are placed before the verb, including peripheral ones (see 16a & 16b). Indirect objects are usually placed before O and after A (see 16h). There are, however, a few exceptions to the rule that all participants are placed before the verb. First, in imperatives, O and peripheral participants are regularly placed after the verb (see 16d & 16e). Second, in declaratives it may also happen that participants are placed after the verb. This can affect IO (see 16g) or peripheral participants (see 16c) (Hutchison 1986:191). Example 16b reflects the basic order, A LOC V; in 16c the same content is presented with a pragmatically marked order, A V LOC. In a similar fashion 16f reflects the basic order, IOV, and in 16g the same content is presented with a pragmatically marked order, V IO. Hutchison (1986:19) does not provide any information about a difference in meaning in the examples which differ in constituent order only, or when the pragmatically marked order is used. Third, in direct or indirect speech there is relatively free constituent order. The subject, A, may be placed after the verb (Hutchison 1986:201) (see 16i). In the examples 16h and 16i, the same content is presented with different word orders: 16h reflects the basic order, A IO V, and 16i the pragmatically marked order IO V A.

In sum, all participants, whether core or peripheral, are principally placed before the verb in an A O (IO) V-order. O can be placed productively clause-initially for

¹¹ Glosses added by the present author.

pragmatic reasons (OAV). A constituent order with a participant placed behind is very rare, with two exceptions: In imperatives, peripheral participants are often placed behind the verb, and in direct or indirect speech, participants are often placed after the verb.

- (16a) sunuri dadə jana-lan kamgono. A O INST V
butcher meat knife-ABL cut
“The butcher cut the meat with a knife.” (Hutchison 1986:199)
- (16b) sandi-a kasuwa-lan rukəna. A LOC V
3.PL-ACC market-ABL see.1.SG.A
“I saw them at the market.” (Hutchison 1986:191)
- (16c) sandi-a rukəna kasuwu-lan. A V LOC
3.PL-ACC see.1.SG.A market-ABL
“I saw them at the market.” (Hutchison 1986:191)
- (16d) lefane shi-a. V O
greet 3.SG-ACC
“Greet him/her.” (Hutchison 1986:191)
- (16e) waltəne fato-ro.
return house-LOC
“Return to the house.” (Hutchison 1986:191)
- (16f) shi-ro yikəna. IO V
3.SG-DAT give.1.SG.A
“I gave (it) to him/her.” (Hutchison 1986:191)
- (16g) yikəna shi-ro. V IO
give.1.SG.A 3.SG-DAT
“I gave (it) to him/her.” (Hutchison 1986:191)
- (16h) koko-ye jilwa-ro, “Lenginba.” wono. A IO V
frog-NOM rat-DAT go.1.SG.S.NEG say.1.SG.A
“‘I am not going’, said the frog to the rat.” (Hutchison 1986:201)
- (16i) jilwa-ro, “Lenginba.” wono koko-ye. IO V A
rat-DAT go.1.SG.S.NEG say.1.SG.A frog-NOM
“‘I am not going’, said the frog to the rat.” (Hutchison 1986:201)

In the basic AOV-order (see Hutchison 1986:195) it is possible to encode A, but only optionally (see 17a). The accusative is obligatory with independent pronouns (see 17a). In an OAV-order where A is case-marked, Hutchison gives two translations of this order, either one in which the object is focused or in a “passive translation” (see 17b). Since Kanuri lacks a passive construction in which the agent can be expressed, Hutchison argues that all OAV clauses with A being case-marked are equivalents of passive clauses (see Hutchison 1986:195 & 207–8, footnote 2):

Table 2.5 Bound verbal subject pronouns with the verb *bu* “to eat”

| Person | Form | Subject prefix | Root | Subject suffix | PAST | Appearance ¹² | Meaning |
|--------|------|----------------|------|----------------|------|--------------------------|----------|
| 1.SG.A | -k | | -bu- | -k | -in | | I ate |
| 2.SG.A | -m | | -bu- | -m | -in | | You ate |
| 3.SG.A | | s- | -bu- | | -in | > zəwin | S/he ate |
| 1.PL.A | -ye | | -bu- | -ye | -n | | We ate |
| 2.PL.A | -w | | -bu- | -w | -i | | You ate |
| 3.PL.A | | sa- | -bu- | | -in | > zawin | They ate |

Source Hutchison 1986:196

[...] passive-reflexive derivation of the verb [...]. Such derived verbs then have a valence of only one NP argument and thus no agent may be expressed. The OSV form of the transitive construction with agent-marked medial subject therefore represents the Kanuri equivalent of a passive construction with expressed agent.

(Hutchison 1986:207–8, footnote 2)

If the features mentioned by Hutchison are the only ones to argue in favor of a passive construction, it is hard to follow his argument. Even if Kanuri lacks a passive construction which allows the agent to be expressed, this is not sufficient for claiming that an active clause with an irregular OAV-order is a passive equivalent.

- (17a) kəna(-ye) wu-a cita. A O V
 hunger(-NOM) I-ACC seize
 “Hunger seized me.” (Hutchison 1986:195)

- (17b) wu-a kəna-ye cita. O A V
 I-ACC hunger-NOM seize
 “Hunger seized me./I was seized by hunger.” (Hutchison 1986:195)

Bound pronouns

As in the other Saharan languages, there are bound pronouns on the verb which encode the subject, A and S, or the object, O and IO. And as in the other Saharan languages, verbs occur in different verb classes; yet, unlike the other Saharan languages, in Kanuri there are only two verb classes left, namely classes II and III; the former class I has been lost. The bound pronouns occur mainly on first and second persons. Object pronouns are suffixed, subject pronouns are prefixed, referring to first and second person; in third person they are sometimes prefixed (see table 2.5). The object pronoun can refer to O or IO (see Hutchison 1986:196–7).

As can be seen in table 2.6, object pronouns occur verb-initially. For third person there is no object prefix; rather, an object has to be expressed by the independent

¹² Only morphologically irregular forms are provided.

Table 2.6 Bound verbal object pronouns with the verb *ru* “to see”

| Number | Person | Object prefix form | PL | Object prefix | Subject prefix | Root | Subject suffix | PAST | Appearance ¹³ | Meaning ¹⁴ |
|----------|--------|--------------------------|----|------------------|-------------------|------|-------------------|------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| SINGULAR | 1.O | s- | | s- | | -ru- | -m | -in | surumin | You saw me. |
| | 2.O | nz- | | nz- | | -ru- | -k | -in | nzurukin | I saw you. |
| | 3.O | ∅ | | | | ru- | -k | -in | | I saw him. |
| PLURAL | 1.O | s- | a- | sa- | | -ru- | -m | -in | | You saw us. |
| | 2.O | nz- | a- | nza- | | -ru- | -k | -in | nzarukin | I saw you. |
| | 3.O | ∅ | | | | -ru- | -k | in | | I saw them. |

Source Hutchison 1981:135ff. & 1986:196

personal pronoun forms which occur in the accusative throughout (see 18a and 18b). Kanuri is a pro-drop language: Usually independent pronouns, in particular for first and second person, are not used.

(18a) shi-a ru-k-in.

3.SG-ACC see-1.SG.A-PAST

“I saw him.” (Hutchison 1986:197)

(18b) sandi-a ru-k-in.

3.PL-ACC see-1.SG.A-PAST

“I saw them.” (Hutchison 1986:197)

Semantic and pragmatic functions

Hutchison avoids the terms nominative and accusative. He argues that S is almost never marked by the nominative, only A is so marked (Hutchison 1986:194). Nevertheless, Hutchison clearly states that Kanuri has a nominative/accusative-system, as the only case in which S can be presented is the nominative (1986:198). His argumentation goes as follows (see Hutchison 1986:194): The accusative is only obligatory with independent pronouns and otherwise optional; the nominative is always optional, used in AOV and AV-clauses but rarely in SV-clauses—hence semantic and pragmatic factors play a role in the use of core case marking. He uses the term “agent marker” for nominative and “object marker” for accusative but is not consistent with his terminology; for example, after rejecting the terms nominative/accusative he nevertheless uses the term accusative on the next page (see Hutchison 1986:195–6).

¹³ Only forms are given that show an irregular morphological behavior.

¹⁴ Translation is changed to past tense by present author.

In order to identify the pragmatic function expressed by the nominative and the accusative, Hutchison compares their occurrences with scales of probability which have been established for example by Comrie (1981) and Givón (1976). One of his statements is: "If A is human and O is non-human neither of them is case-marked in an AOV-order" (Hutchison 1986:197). Hutchison (1986:200) argues that in discourse non-human O's, expressed by independent pronouns, cannot be accusative-marked (see 19a: the pronoun *shi-a* is ungrammatical in the answer to the question "Have you eaten food?"). This claim contradicts his earlier statement (Hutchison 1986:194, point 1) according to which independent object pronouns are obligatorily marked by the accusative.

- (19a) *Aa, shi-a bu-kə-na. (b) Aa, bu-kə-na
 yes 3.SG-ACC eat-1.SG.A-PAST yes, eat-1.SG.A-PAST
 *"Yes, I have eaten." "Yes, I have eaten." (Hutchison 1986:200)

In Hutchison's view, the nominative semantically expresses the agentivity of a participant. In other words, from a semantic point of view, the nominative should most likely be used if a participant is agent-like. From a pragmatic point of view, however, the nominative is used if a participant is less agent-like, as the strategy used in pragmatics follows the general principle: The more an information unit contradicts the default expectation the more likely it is that it will be marked explicitly. There is a conflict of interest so to speak. If the nominative highlights the agentivity content of a participant it should be used predominantly with participants which are typical agents. If, however, the nominative is predominantly used with subjects which are the least typical subject referents, they are semantically often least agentive-like. The latter can be seen in a further claim made by Hutchison: Case markings for A and O appear if A is non-human and/or O is human (Hutchison 1986:199).

In narrative discourse, the nominative covers the following functions according to Hutchison (1986:201): First, "quotational use". This is the only function of the nominative which is found in all Kanuri dialects. "Quotational use" means that in a frame "A says" or "A says that" the subject A is always case-marked with the nominative, whether in an A IO V (see 16h) or an IO V A order (see 16i). This function has most likely emerged in discourse as subjects preceding dialogue structure are mainly mentioned if there is a subject that is switched. In other words, the function "quotational use" agrees with the function marking of subject switching, a further function covered by the nominative found in discourse. Among the Kanuri dialects the following are restricted to the function "quotational use": Bilma, Dagera, Fashi, Kubur, Manga, Sugurti, and Tumari, all spoken in Niger (see Hutchison 1986:201). In the Kanuri dialect Yerwa (also called Maiduguri), the quotational use has been extended to encode subject agents in transitive clauses. Hutchison argues: In Yerwa, the nominative encodes A, being semantically the agent. He claims that this is the "basic function of the nominative". He concludes therefore that it would be plausible that the nominative is essentially excluded to encode S in intransitive clauses.

The nominative with S is in fact extremely rare in conversation or narrative discourse. The proof for the semantic impact of the nominative occurrences are examples in which the nominative is not required to disambiguate; from a syntactic point of view the nominative increases the agency of A (see 20a) (see Hutchison 1986:202).

The following observation contradicts Hutchison's analysis: If the basic function of the nominative is A being an agent, how come that the nominative is used in clauses with A not being an agent, such as with the verb "to know" (see 20b), or with "hunger" being the subject (see 20c)?

(20a) *musa-ye sedo.*

Musa-NOM do

"Musa did it/It was done by Musa." (Hutchison 1986:202)

(20b) *shi kamudə(-a) nduso-ye nozəna O A V*

3.SG woman(-ACC) everybody-NOM know

"She, the woman, is known by everyone." (Hutchison 1986:202)

[Syntactic structure: Everybody knows *her*.]

(20c) *kəna(-ye) wu-a c-ita. A O V*

hunger(-NOM) I-ACC 1.SG.O-seize

"Hunger seized me." (Hutchison 1986:195)

The accusative is used in discourse according to Hutchison (1986:200–1)

(a) Never with non-animate objects;

(b) with animate objects. They are highly pragmatically marked;

(c) with animate objects of first and second persons.

Case marking in intransitive clauses is characterized by the following features (see Hutchison 1986:203ff.):

(a) The only case marker which can be used with S is the nominative;

(b) but S is rarely case-marked;

(c) in discourse, S is encoded with switch subject.

Within the few examples found for the nominative encoding S, the verb is intransitive but S is agent-like; therefore, Hutchison concludes that the nominative in these occurrences semantically marks agentivity of S (see 20d) (see Hutchison 1986:204, example 40).

(20d) *Cellu-ye cisə lewono. S V V*

Cellu-NOM get.up go

"Celluo got up and went." (Hutchison 1986:204)

Double case marking

As in Tubu, in Kanuri there is also double case marking, meaning that the genitive and the case of the possessee are both suffixed to the possessor. The possessor bears both the genitive and the case required by the clausal syntax (see 21a and 21b).

- (21a) *táta kámú-vè-gà rús-ké-nà. O A-V*
 son woman-GEN-ACC see-I-PAST
 "I have seen the son of the woman." (Tucker & Bryan 1966:179)
- (21b) *fátò fèrò-vè-rò isá-nà. LOC S-V*
 compound girl-GEN-DAT he.come-PAST
 "He has come to the compound of the girl." (Tucker & Bryan 1966:179)

The different views on case in Kanuri can be summarized as follows: According to Lukas, Kanuri has a case system which is used in syntactically ambiguous contexts in order to disambiguate. As Hutchison has shown on the basis of observations on frequency of occurrence, Lukas's hypothesis is not sufficient: Case appears the least in ambiguous contexts, such as on third person subjects, which are the only ones that are not encoded by cross-referencing. For first and second person, the alignment structure is encoded by cross-referencing on the verb. Hutchison sticks to the case analysis, claiming that, on semantic grounds, the nominative is used mostly with participants showing a high degree of agentivity, and, on pragmatic grounds, with participants which are less agent-like. Cyffer questions the case analysis on general grounds; nevertheless, he sticks to the case terms for want of a better alternative.

Conclusion

Hutchison (1986:207) concludes that with regard to the core cases Kanuri has a discriminatory system on all levels, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. In sum, it is legitimate to doubt whether Kanuri has a case system or not. With regard to peripheral case, the situation is clear: The language uses postpositions which are obligatory and therefore it is reasonable to say that Kanuri has a case system with regard to peripheral participants. On this view, one would assume that postpositions are accepted as a means by which case can be expressed. With regard to core cases, the situation is more complex: Obviously, the case markers used for core participants, nominative and accusative, are of a different nature than one would typically expect from case markers.

The following characteristics thus are typologically unusual: Case is marked by postpositions only, and core case marking is in most cases not obligatory. The languages have a discriminatory strategy in that case markers are mainly used when bound pronouns and constituent order fail to disambiguate A and O. Case occurs rarely with S. The occurrences of core case markers within discourse corroborates the fact that core case markers are used if some change in participant reference has to be expressed, such as subject switch. The accusative and the nominative do not have the same status with regard to their capacity as case markers: The nominative has a more restricted capacity than the accusative: First, the accusative is much more frequent than the nominative. Second, the accusative has at least one context in which it is obligatory (namely with independent pronouns); the nominative does

not have such a context. With regard to text frequency, the nominative mostly covers only part of what it should encode, namely A; most of the encodings of S are not covered by the nominative. On the other hand, any attempt to find a function for nominative and accusative which corresponds more closely to their usage than a case interpretation is not really convincing either. Obviously, the impact of semantics and pragmatics is more dramatic than in a system with obligatory case markers.

Hutchison fails to present semantic and/or pragmatic parameters which would explain the occurrence of nominative and accusative more convincingly than an analysis in terms of case does. For example, neither is the accusative a focus marker nor the nominative a topic marker. Nor is the nominative an agent marker, as non-agent participants encoded as subjects are even more likely to be marked by the nominative than agent subjects. Obviously, we are dealing with a split system, either showing an accusative pattern or no case distinction at all (in short, an accusative or a neutral system). What makes the system so peculiar is the fact that, unlike in other split systems, there are hardly any obligatory rules on contexts in which the case system functions and those in which it does not. The only clear rule is the use of the accusative with independent pronouns.

Maybe the question of whether Kanuri and Tubu should be counted as case languages or not is also one of personal preference, in the sense that there are good arguments for both positions. In any discrete categorization of case systems, one may hesitate to classify Kanuri and Tubu as case languages. If, however, a gradual or a prototype model of case taxonomy is adopted, it is possible to include Kanuri and Tubu as marginal case languages. A survey of all accusative languages in Africa leads to the conclusion that accusative systems characterized by substantial irregularities and split conditions, which from a worldwide perspective are marginal, are rather the default case compared to accusative systems of a "pure" type. Keeping this in mind, I suggest that Kanuri, Kanembu, and Tubu should not be excluded as candidates for case languages.

On a world level there are other languages, known as case languages, showing similar features to these Saharan languages. Generally speaking, Korean has a type 2 accusative system—in my terminology—which is not obligatory either. In Korean, case is expressed once per noun phrase; by postpositions (called case particles by Sohn 1994) placed at the end of the noun phrase; all cases are morphologically marked. Case for the core participants is not obligatory (in 22b the nominative is optional, in 22a the accusative is optional). The Korean system is complex, as case markers and so-called delimiters are to some extent mutually exclusive. Delimiters cover pragmatic functions such as topic and focus but also case functions (a topicalized subject usually does not occur in the nominative, see 22c for the delimiter *-un*). Since the case markers also serve pragmatic functions the two systems can be said to be in competition.

Korean

- (22a) taythonglyeng-I sicang-eykey san-(ul) cwu-ess-e. A IO O V
 president-NOM mayor-DAT prize-(ACC) give-PAST-INF
 "The president awarded a prize to the mayor." (Sohn 1994:107)
- (22b) Mia-(ka) ai-tul-ilang pata-lo ka-ss-e. S COM ALL V
 Mia-(NOM) child-PL-COM sea-ALL go-PAST-INF
 "Mia went to the beach with the children." (Sohn 1994:107)
- (22c) inkan-un cwuk-nun-ta. S V
 man-TOP die-IN-DC
 "Man is mortal." (Sohn 1994:107)

2.3 Nobiin

Nobiin (Nile Nubian) has basic AOV/SV-order, but OAV-order is also possible. Within the noun phrase the order of the modified elements is complex: Definite and indefinite particles, and adjectives follow the head noun, quantifiers, such as *kùlli* "every", precede the noun (see Werner 1987:114), the demonstratives in "this" and *mán* "that" precede the noun (see Werner 1987:122). There are also quantifiers which follow the noun, such as *díyyi* "many", *máris* "few", *mállée* "all, every" (see Werner 1987:112–14). Number is only expressed once, namely with the quantifier; if the quantifier already encodes plurality, the noun occurs in the singular form (see 23o).

Nobiin is an accusative language with a homogeneous system. According to Werner (1987), three cases are distinguished: nominative (called subject case), accusative (called object case), and genitive (called genitive or connective by Werner 1987:97). The nominative is morphologically unmarked; the accusative is encoded by a suffix *-ga* (and its allomorphs). The genitive is marked by a suffix *-n* (Werner 1987:102–3). The nominative encodes S (see 23b), A (see 23a), it is used as a vocative (see 23c), and in complex NP's all elements except the last occur in the nominative (see 23f), and nouns before postpositions usually occur in the nominative as well (see 23i). The nominative is also the form of the noun when used in citation, e.g. *áy* (= heart.NOM) "heart". The accusative encodes O (see 23a), IO (see 23d), and temporal participants (see 23h). If a clause has two objects, IO and O, both appear in the accusative case, usually in an IO O V-order (see 23g). Note that not all time participants are encoded by the accusative only, a postposition can be added, like the postposition *-lá* (shortened to *-l*) in 23b. According to Werner the postposition is necessary because *kùlli yóomgá* "every day" is lexicalized. The postposition *-lá* encodes all kinds of locative participants (see Werner 1987:102) and time¹⁵. The genitive encodes the possessor, usually in a possessor-possessee order (see 23l), but a different order is also found with pronouns, which occur in a possessee-possessor order (see 23c). Some postpositions require the

¹⁵ In these examples, Werner presents *-la* as a suffix.

corresponding noun in the genitive. These are complex postpositions containing a nominal element (see 23m).

There is a fourth candidate for case marker, namely the suffix *-a*, used with nouns and verbs. When used with nouns it encodes nominal predicates with or without an additional copula (23k). For third person the copula is often dropped, in this case *-a* alone marks nominal predicates (23j). Case markers are encoded like clitics, occurring only once at the end of the noun phrase. The suffix *-a* is used (i) with nouns when functioning as nominal predicates with the copula *ménir* (23k), (ii) when used as nominal predicates without any copula, in the third person (23i), (iii) with verbs in complex predicates before an inflected verb, and on the first verb (V1) in V1–V2 structures (see Werner 1987:168–9) where the form of the noun covers a verbal function. Within an NP, *-a* behaves like a case suffix as it only occurs once at the end of the NP. However, it is not entirely clear whether the two *-a* elements are functionally and/or etymologically really the same (see Werner 1987:168–9).

Nobiin (Chari-Nile, East Sudanic, Nilo-Saharan)

- (23a) ày kábá-kà jòkkír. A O V
I.NOM foot-ACC chew
‘‘I chew the foot.’’ (Werner 1987:101¹⁶)
- (23b) kùlli yóom-gá-l árij gójdákki? TIME S V
every day-ACC-LOC meat.NOM slaughter
‘‘Is meat butchered every day?’’ (Werner 1987:102)
- (23c) wóo áy-l á-n wèeléesè. VOC PEE POSS
Oh heart.NOM-DEF I.SG-GEN be.quiet
‘‘Oh my heart, be quiet!’’ (Werner 1987:97)
- (23d) ày ikká tèer. A IO V
I.NOM you.ACC give
‘‘I give you.’’ (Werner 1987:101)
- (23e) ày ikká dòllir. A O V
I.NOM you.ACC love
‘‘I love you.’’ (Werner 1987:101)
- (23f) idéen dóosh-ká kíd ússhè. O A V
woman stupid-ACC stone.NOM hit
‘‘The stone hits the stupid woman.’’ (Werner 1987:101)
- (23g) ày ikká in kitáap-pá tèer. A IO O V
I.NOM you.ACC DEM book-ACC give
‘‘I give you this book.’’ (Werner 1987:101)

¹⁶ The original examples are presented without glosses and with a German translation. The glosses are inserted by the present author, and the translation is given in English.

- (23h) kùlli yóom-gà kúmbú wèe-kà únníkèno. TIME O V
 every day-ACC egg INDEF-ACC give.birth
 "Every day it laid an egg." (Werner 1987:102)
- (23i) ày nóog wée-lá àagri. S LOC V
 I.NOM house INDEF-LOC live
 "I live in a house." (Werner 1987:129)
- (23j) in tòod-à.
 DEM.near boy-COP
 "This is a boy." (Werner 1987:168)
- (23k) íd dóosh wèer-à ménò N.PRED COP
 man crazy INDEF-COP COP
 "He was a crazy man." (Werner 1987:203)
- (23l) dèey-in nóog POR PEE
 fireplace-GEN room
 "fireplace of the room = kitchen" (Werner 1987:103)
- (23m) kám-íká dègèr-in táwwó kàari.
 camel-ACC saddle-GEN under search
 "He searches the camel under the saddle." (Werner 1987:137)
- (23n) àmbí táwwóo tá-n-gá nùuràkimmùun
 dum.palm.NOM under.side it-GEN-ACC give.shadow
 "The dum palm gives shade to its underside." (Werner 1987:136)
- (23o) iskintée díigíd kùl-ká wàddimùun.
 mouse many hole-ACC dig.NEG
 "Many mice do not dig the hole." (Werner 1987:112)

2.4 Masalit

The following account is based on Edgar (1989) and Angela Prinz (p.c.).¹⁷ Masalit has basic AOV-order. On the verb, subjects and objects are cross-referenced by two sets of pronouns, one for subjects, S/A, and one for objects and subjects, A-O. The latter is a portmanteau morpheme including information about both A and O. Further inflexions, such as tense and modality markers, and derivational morphology, appear after the root. The verb shows the following structure: S/(A)/(A-O)-root-tense/modality-voice (Edgar 1989:16). Third person objects are never cross-referenced. According to Edgar, the object set is optional, though this is not confirmed by Prinz.

Table 2.7 gives an overview of the bound pronouns as listed by Edgar (1989). The status of A-O pronouns remains unclear as it is not specified to which subject and

¹⁷ Unfortunately Edgar's grammar of Masalit (Edgar 1989) remains unclear and vague in many respects. As it is the only printed material available I will take it as a basis. Luckily, Angela Prinz provided me with her personal notes about Masalit. I am very grateful for her generosity.

Table 2.7 Bound personal pronouns in Masalit

| Number | Person | Subject pronouns S/A | Subject-object-pronouns A-O |
|----------|--------|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| SINGULAR | 1 | a-/ø | and(ε)-/mba- |
| | 2 | g-/n-/l-/r-/d-/j-/D- | mb(a)-/nd(a)- |
| | 3 | t- | ø |
| PLURAL | 1 | m- | amb(a)-/amb(ε)- |
| | 2 | k- | kand(a)-/kemb(ε)-/kondo- |
| | 3 | (w)i- | ø |

Source Edgar 1989:62

object person a specific form refers. The few examples given in the text suggest that at least *mba-* is used for first person object and second person subject, as well as for first person object and third person subject (see 24e–g). Taking this as evidence, the column “person” in table 2.7 refers to S/A for the subject pronouns, and to O for the subject-object pronouns. It also remains unclear which subject person the latter refers to.

A more plausible alternative of the portmanteau A-O pronouns (A-O pronouns for short) is given by Angela Prinz (p.c.), illustrated in table 2.8. Like Edgar, Prinz also lists four different A-O pronouns with a zero form for third person singular object. The two authors agree in principle with regard to the forms and the object functions listed. Prinz is more precise with regard to the subject functions covered by each A-O pronoun. According to her findings, the S/A-O-pronouns show the following features: Third person objects, both singular and plural, are never cross-referenced. The A-O paradigm is shaped by the object function and not by the subject function. This is suggested by the following facts: (i) The encoding of objects follows the rule: One form one meaning (see table 2.8); (ii) person and number have separate forms, such as first singular object, second singular object, first plural object, second plural

Table 2.8 Bound personal object-subject pronouns in Masalit

| Object | | Subject | | Subject-object-pronouns A-O |
|----------|--------|---------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| Number | Person | Person | Number | |
| SINGULAR | 1 | 2 + 3 | singular | and- |
| | 2 | 1 | singular + plural | mb- |
| | 3 | 3 | plural | ø |
| PLURAL | 1 | 2+3 | singular + plural | amb- |
| | 2 | 1+3 | singular + plural | kVmb- |
| | 3 | | | ø |

Source Angela Prinz, p.c.

object. With regard to the subject, the encoding is less differentiated: One form always encodes more than one person and/or number, such as second and third person, or singular and plural. As the portmanteau pronouns can be used with transitive verbs only, the only subject covered is A, never S. In sum, A-O-pronouns show the highest degree of differentiation with objects (see 24a & 24b).

(24a) ama kumb-ukana.

I 1A2O.SG-wash

"I have washed you."

(24b) ama kimb-ikela.

I 1A2O.SG-see

"I have seen you." (Angela Prinz, p.c.)

Edgar's data suggest the following with regard to case marking: There is a suffix *-ko* which is a possible candidate for accusative marker. The suffix *-ko* is used with nouns in several functions: First, it is used as a definite marker (Edgar 1989:59). In this function, it does not occur with all nouns, mostly with loanwords. Edgar (1989) claims that with some nouns *-ko* expresses the definite function in all syntactic environments whether used as S, A, or O; with others, though, it appears with O and IO only. Second, it is used as a singulative suffix: *-ko*, *-gi*, and *-ngi* are presented as allomorphs of the singulative suffix given in the abstract form *-(N)GV* by Edgar (1989:48). According to Edgar (1989:48) 12 percent of all nouns use *-(N)GV* as a singulative. Third, *-ko* is also used as an accusative marker, namely with those nouns where the definite function is restricted to O and IO only.

The suffix *-ko* occurring as a singulative marker is not identical with the *-ko* used as the definite and the accusative, since the singulative marker occurs with allomorphs *-gi* and *-ngi* which do not occur in the functions definite and accusative. The *-ko* encoding definiteness and the *-ko* encoding accusative are more likely to be identical, as their distribution is similar. Definite *-ko* is used with a slightly wider range of nouns than accusative *-ko*. Note, however, that crosslinguistically definiteness and case may

Table 2.9 Case forms in Masalit

| | Nominative | Accusative | Meaning |
|------------|------------|------------|-----------------------|
| | muco | muco | "woman" |
| | koma | komo | "stone" |
| | sargi | sargo | "back" |
| | feffef | feffefko | "lung" (Arabic) |
| | kawal | kawalko | "gravy" (Arabic) |
| | jon | jonko | "John" (English name) |
| <i>but</i> | nemnem | nemnem | "burr" |
| | ratatir | ratatir | "root" |

Source Edgar 1989:52

Table 2.10 Accusative of nouns ending in a vowel

| Ending of the noun in the nominative | | Ending of the noun in the accusative |
|--------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| i, u | → | u |
| ɪ, ʊ | → | ʊ |
| e, a, o | → | o |
| ɛ, ɑ, ɔ | → | ɔ |

Source Angela Prinz, p.c.

converge; historically, a former definite marker has often given rise to a case marker. This may have happened in Masalit as well, or is in the process of happening.

The profile of nouns taking the accusative and of others which do not remains unclear. Mostly non-indigenous nouns are case-inflected. In table 2.9 a few examples are listed. Nouns with case inflexion include the indigenous words for “woman”, “stone”, and “back”, and the non-indigenous ones for “lung”, “gravy”, and even the personal name “John”, but other indigenous nouns are without case inflexion, such as “burr” and “root”.

Edgar’s findings are not entirely corroborated by Prinz’s data. According to Prinz, case shows the following profile: First, all singular nouns are case-inflected while plural nouns never are. Second, there is only one case marker, expressed either by a suffix or by final vowel change. Third, the accusative marker is not identical with the definiteness marker. Independent personal pronouns are always case-inflected for singular and plural (details see below). With nouns ending in a vowel, the accusative is marked by changing the last vowel (see tables 2.10 and 2.11). With nouns ending in a consonant, the suffix *-ko* is used instead, e.g. *sug-ko* “market-ACC”.

Unlike nouns, personal pronouns are always case-inflected (see table 2.12) and, unlike nominal case inflexion, pronominal case inflexion is irregular: The accusative forms of the personal pronouns are not derived from the nominative forms by the suffix *-ko*; sometimes nominative and accusative are suppletive forms. Nevertheless, the nominative is always the shorter form and, therefore, at least historically also the morphologically unmarked one.

Table 2.11 Nominal case forms for nouns ending in a vowel in Masalit

| NOM | ACC | |
|----------|----------|-------|
| saye | sayo | tea |
| nyuguri | nyuguru | ball |
| baji | baju | mat |
| but: saɔ | saɔ (PL) | water |

Source Angela Prinz, p.c.

Table 2.12 Independent personal pronouns in Masalit

| Number | Person | Nominative S/ A | Accusative O |
|----------|--------|-----------------|--------------|
| SINGULAR | 1 | ama | amboro |
| | 2 | maŋ | mboro |
| | 3 | tii | tiiro |
| PLURAL | 1 | mii | minta |
| | 2 | kii | kinta |
| | 3 | ii/ wii | inta |

Source Edgar 1989:62

The highest degree of case inflexion is present in independent personal pronouns. According to Prinz, there are two sets of independent personal pronouns: One for the core participants S/A and O (cf. left column in table 2.13), and a second one for the possessive. All independent pronouns are case-inflected in singular and plural for the core participants and for the possessive with a singular possessee. Possessive pronouns with a plural possessee show no case inflexion (right column in table 2.13). The accusative possessive forms are derived from the nominative forms principally by the rules which apply to nouns, as outlined above. Pronouns used for core participants behave more irregularly.

Independent personal pronouns are used only if focused or emphasized, otherwise the bound pronouns are sufficient. This holds for S, A, and O. The accusative covers O (see 24f, 24g) and IO, and the nominative S and A (see 24d, 24g).

Masalit (Nilo-Saharan)
(24c) muco kaŋ-go koma-mbo t-idorona. A O V
 woman.NOM man-ACC stone-with she-hit
 "The woman hit the man with a stone." (Edgar 1989:74)

Table 2.13 Two sets of independent personal pronouns in Masalit

| Number | Person | Set I Core | | Set II Possessive | | S/A/O |
|----------|--------|------------|------------|-------------------|-------------|------------------|
| | | Nominative | Accusative | Nominative | Accusative | |
| | | S/A | O | S/A singular | O possessee | plural possessee |
| SINGULAR | 1 | ama | amboro | mbe | mbo | mbena |
| | 2 | maŋ | mboro | na | no | nana |
| | 3 | ti | tri | ta | to, tri | taya |
| PLURAL | 1 | mi | miinta | mini | minu | miniya |
| | 2 | ki | kinta | kini | kinu | kiniya |
| | 3 | i | inta | ini | inu | iniya |

Source Angela Prinz, p.c.

- (24d) (ama) kaŋ-go a-dorona. O V
 (I.NOM) man-ACC 1.SG-hit
 "I hit the man." (Edgar 1989:74)
- (24e) hayir mba-ge.
 ? 2.SG.A/s.1.O-embarrass
 "You embarrass me." (Edgar 1989:62)
- (24f) amboro hayir mba-ge.
 I.ACC ? 2.SG.A/s.1.O-embarrass
 "(It is) me you embarrass." (Edgar 1989:62)
- (24g) tii amboro hayir mba-ge.
 he.NOM I.ACC ? 3.SG.A/s.1.O-embarrass
 "He embarrasses me." (Edgar 1989:62)

As in canonical accusative languages, the nominative covers the citation form and nominal predicates occur in the nominative. In copula clauses the nominative is used twice for S and the nominal predicate (see 24h). The verb "to have" triggers the case pattern of a full verb; O occurs in the accusative (see 24i).

- (24h) igi saye ye.
 tea.NOM be
 "That is tea." (Angela Prinz, p.c.)

- (24i) ama sayo ane.
 I.NOM tea.ACC have
 "I have tea." (Angela Prinz, p.c.)

According to Angela Prinz, *-ko* is not a definite marker; rather, definiteness is encoded by *-gi/-gu*.

In sum, according to Edgar (1989) and Prinz (p.c.), Masalit has a split accusative system which is neutralized in the plural. The accusative, called "object form" by Edgar (1989:52), is encoded by the suffix *-ko* or by final vowel change. The accusative system functions in the singular and plural with independent pronouns referring to S, A, IO, and O. The accusative encodes O and IO. Case shows no split with independent pronouns, which are all case-inflected. Prinz (p.c.) does not share Edgar's view that the accusative suffix *-ko* is also a definite marker (Edgar 1989:59). The nominative is the morphologically unmarked form, which is used elsewhere. The nominative also serves as the caseless form being used to encode S, A, and O in contexts where case is neutralized, for example in the plural.

2.5 Kunama

Kunama has a basic AOV/SV-order. The noun phrase shows the following order:

Noun-Adjective-Demonstrative-Number-CASE

Eight cases are distinguished in Kunama, seven expressed by suffixes at the end of the NP. Peripheral participants are covered by the following cases: *-bu* instrument, *-la* locative (25i), *-(ŋ)kin/- (n)kin* source, *-tta* allative, *-tte* comitative (my terminology). The vocative is expressed by a preceding particle *o* (Thompson 1983:298–301¹⁸).

The nominative is marked by a suffix *-m* or *-dem* (see 25a & 25b). For pronouns, only the latter is used (see 25c). The accusative is marked by a suffix *-si*. The case suffix is expressed only once per NP, always at the end (see 25b & 25g). All case suffixes are optional. Thompson (1983:298) remarks that in simple sentences such as 25a–25c, usually no case marking would appear; these examples are elicited. The accusative encodes O (25e) and IO (25f), but it never appears twice in a clause. If IO and O are present, usually only IO gets the accusative marking (see 25f & 25g). The nominal predicate appears in the caseless form. Since in verbless clauses there is no copula, the nominal predicate is placed after the subject without any formal marking (see 25g). The citation form of the noun is the caseless form as well.

- (25a) Kunama (Nilo-Saharan)
 deda-m/deda-dem unu-si udae. A O V
 child-NOM/child-NOM he-ACC spoke
 "A child spoke to him." (Thompson 1983:298)
- (25b) deda anda-m/anda-dem unu-si udae. A O V
 child big-NOM/child-NOM he-ACC spoke
 "A big child spoke to him." (Thompson 1983:298)
- (25c) unu-dem ded(a) anda-si udae. A O V
 he-NOM child big-ACC spoke
 "He spoke to a big child." (Thompson 1983:298)
- (25d) ka ita-si i-ntake. A O V
 man house-ACC 3.SG-saw
 "A man saw a house." (Thomson 1983:298)
- (25e) aba-si a-ntike. O V
 I-ACC 1.SG-saw
 "He saw me." (Thomson 1983:298)
- (25f) darkoa-m ikka-si bia (k)i-šoke. A IO O V
 woman-NOM her.son-ACC water 3.SG-gave
 "The woman gave water to her son." (Thompson 1983:298)
- (25g) darkoa-m ikka baya-si bia (k)išoke. A IO O V
 woman-NOM her.son bad-ACC water 3.SG-gave
 "The woman gave water to her bad son." (Thompson 1983:298)

¹⁸ Note that Thompson lists eight cases. In addition he mentions a vocative expressed by different means.

- (25h) darka ikka baya-si bia (k)išoke. IO O V
 woman her.son bad-ACC water 3.SG-gave
 "He gave water to (the) woman's bad son." (Thompson 1983:298)
- (25i) suba-la
 river-LOC
 "at the river" (Thompson 1983:299)
- (25j) ide i-wwa unu-si gerioka-la-bu (k)i-ntike.
 but his-father he-ACC his-completely-far-away-LOC 3.SG-see
 "While he was a long way off, his father saw him." (Thompson 1983:299)
- (25k) nna deda.
 this child
 "This is a child." (Thompson 1983:293)

The case suffixes nominative and accusative have the same status as the suffixes used for peripheral case marking. Kunama is a type 2 language, since the nominative and the accusative are both morphologically marked. As case is not obligatory it is a split language showing either an accusative system or no case distinction at all. There is not enough data available to make any statements about the use of nominative and/or accusative. It seems they are both used in order to disambiguate. There is also no evidence as to whether the suffixes concerned primarily serve any other purpose. This raises the question that we were confronted with when dealing with Saharan languages in section 2.2, namely whether Kunama really has a case system or not. For the same reasons as given there I will classify Kunama as a *split type 2 accusative language* in a broader sense. There is a problem with regard to the case system involved, as the profile of functions covered by the nominative and accusative is not entirely clear. Kunama has a caseless form covering nominal predicates and the citation form, and it also seems possible that Kunama has a marked nominative system. Clauses with a definite nominal predicate are not found. The present classification must therefore be taken to be preliminary.

2.6 Fur

According to Tucker and Bryan (1966:223) Fur is a case language. In total four cases, expressed by suffixes or postpositions depending on the relevant analysis, are distinguished. These are:

| | |
|-----|--|
| NOM | zero |
| ACC | -si |
| GEN | -(i)ŋ |
| LOC | -le <i>mostly used with nouns denoting persons</i> |

In terms of our analysis, Fur has an accusative system of type 1, a nominative which remains unmarked, and an accusative which is marked by a suffix -si. Further cases

mentioned are the locative case *-le* (see 26d), and genitive *-(i)ŋ*. S remains unmarked (see 26a), and so does A (see 26b). Fur is not described as a case language by Jakobi (1989). Nevertheless even Jakobi glosses *-si* as an object marker and *-le* as locative (see Jakobi 1989:125ff.). It seems that neither *-si* nor *-le* is obligatory; according to Jakobi's data both are optional. A comparison between the following two examples may illustrate this: In 26b the object "bull" remains unmarked and in 26d the object "calf" is encoded by the object marker *-si*. The suffix *-si* is not restricted to O; it may also encode IO (see 26e) or even LOC (see 26f). In 26f, O remains unmarked. These generalizations are also consonant with the analysis of Tucker and Bryan (see 26h and 26k). The sparse data available do not provide enough information on whether *-si* is restricted to encode an animate participant if it is not the direct object. It also remains unclear whether the occurrence of *-si* is restricted to one participant per clause.

The locative *-le* is also optional, as the following two examples illustrate: In 26i there is no locative marker to encode the destination participant "river", but in 26j a locative marker is used with the recipient participant "lion". According to Tucker and Bryan (1966:223), the locative case is mainly used with participants denoting persons. This is the case in 26j or 26k; as 26k is part of a narrative discourse, animals are seen as humans. The genitive case *-iŋ* seems to be obligatory (see 26l). The nominative is used to encode the nominal predicate (see 26c).

Since case is not obligatory in Fur, and since this is a type 1 language, the morphologically zero form has the value of either the nominative, which is used in opposition to the case-marked accusative, or it stands for the general caseless form used for S, A, and O. I will therefore not gloss the unmarked form with NOM.

- Fur (Nilo-Saharan)
- (26a) fiè nàma elà. S V
hare then it came
"[At this moment] Hare came." (Jakobi 1989:125; example 10)
- (26b) tòòrò nàma nùùN bàà. A O V
hyena then bull it took
"The hyena then took the bull." (Jakobi 1989:125; example 4)
- (26c) ki fòra k-aŋ.
we Fur 1.PL-be
"We are Fur." (Tucker & Bryan 1966:227)
- (26d) nàma-s nùNî-sì nùùN-le duidì. O LOC V
then-TRM bull.calf-ACC bull-LOC it brings
"Then he took the calf to the bull." (Jakobi 1989:125; example 8)
- (26e) nàma-s fiè-si in kùà. IO V
then-TRM hare-ACC this it told
"Then he [hyena] told Hare." (Jakobi 1989:126; example 12)

- (26f) tòòro nàma-s uúN kèwà núúN-si lui. A O LOC/IO? V
 hyena then- TRM cow's blood bull- ACC it smeared
 "Hyena [quickly] smeared the cow's [birth] blood on the bull."
 (Jakobi 1989:125; example 7)
- (26g) kwa sagal-si kanyijul. A O V
 people headman-ACC abused
 "The people abused the headman." (Tucker & Bryan 1966:223)
- (26h) kiiso sagala-si juriŋa ini. A IO O V
 chief headman-ACC clothes gave
 "The chief gave the headman clothes." (Tucker & Bryan 1966:223)
- (26i) ròò ànnì.
 river I go
 "I am going to the river." (Jakobi 1989:126; example 21)
- (26j) mùùru-le kiò.
 lion- LOC they will/shall go
 "They would go to Lion." (Jakobi 1989:125; example 16)
- (26k) ahmed omar-le ɛla. S SOU V
 Ahmed Omar-LOC come
 "Ahmed has come from Omar." (Tucker & Bryan 1966:223)
- (26l) tòòro-¹⁹N dùòN- iN fie- N uu nàma kùe kiri.
 hyena-GEN herding-GEN hare-GEN cow then child it gave birth
 "[One day during] Hyena's herding Hare's cow gave birth to a child."
 (Jakobi 1989:125; example 6)

Fur is a verb-final language, with an SV or AOV order. Peripheral participants may be positioned also before the verb such as A O LOC V. With regard to IO, the data provide both orders: A IO O V and A O IO V. Note that an O V IO-order is also possible (Jakobi 1989:95). So far, Fur is a candidate of an accusative language in a broader sense. It shows an accusative system where case markers are not obligatory. The accusative case marker *-si* is not restricted to encode O only but at least IO also. Further evidence on the status of the language is provided by the personal pronouns.

Among the free-standing personal pronouns there are two sets, one for S/A and the other one for O. Most of them are distinguished only by tone; the object pronouns have low tone. As can be seen in table 2.14, the object pronouns can also be case-inflected by *-si*, the accusative marker (see column 4); and also by *gi*, a marker which is used for object pronouns referring to first and second person only (see column 5) or even in a combination of both (see column 6).

¹⁹ Genitive case *-iN* is not separated by Jakobi; it is done by the present author.

Table 2.14 Free-standing personal pronouns in Fur

| | S/A | O | O variant | O variant | O variant |
|------|-------|----------------|----------------------|-----------|---------------|
| 1.SG | ka | kà | kà-sì | kà gí | kà-sì...gí |
| 2.SG | ji | jì | jì-sì | jì gí | jì-sì...gí |
| 3.SG | ie | lè | lè-sì | | |
| 1.PL | ki | kì-Nò | kì-Nò-sì | kì-Nò gí | kì-Nò-sì...gí |
| 2.PL | bi | bì-No | bì-No-sì | bì-No gí | bì-No-sì...gí |
| 3.PL | lè-èn | lè-èn or lè-Nà | lè-èn-sì or lè-Nà-sì | | |

Source Jakobi 1989:92 & 96

The situation of personal pronouns strengthens the hypothesis of Fur being a case language with an accusative system. Among the personal pronouns, the nominative–accusative distinction is obligatory, mainly expressed by a tonal difference. In addition, the object pronouns can also take the accusative suffix *-si*, which is also used with nouns in order to encode the object.

In sum, like the Saharan languages and Kunama, Fur is an accusative language in a broader sense, where case is not obligatory. Unlike Tubu and Kanuri, Fur is not a type 2 language but a type 1 language.

2.7 Kemantney

Like all the other Central Cushitic languages, Kemantney has an accusative system: It is a split type 2 accusative language where case is restricted to definite nouns. Indefinite nouns occur in what Leyew (2003:237) refers to as the absolutive form, that is, the morphologically unmarked, caseless form. For reasons given in chapter 1, I prefer the term *caseless form*: It is the default form for all indefinite nouns, which show no case inflexion, and it is used for S, A, and O. The caseless form is opposed to the case-inflected definite noun, which occurs in the nominative to encode S, A, but the accusative to encode O (see Leyew 2003:237ff.). Nouns appear in the caseless form when cited.

According to Leyew (2003:237–40), three cases, nominative, accusative and genitive, are distinguished. The core cases, nominative and accusative, are marked by suffixes, but only when the noun is definite (see 27a versus 27b). The nominative is restricted further to definite, singular masculine nouns. It is encoded by the suffix *-i*. No feminine and no plural noun can take the nominative. According to Leyew (2003:239), the restrictive use of the nominative is a result of the influence of Amharic, a “negative borrowing” as Dimmendaal calls it (1998b). On this view, the defective use of the nominative today is the result of its decay. The accusative is encoded by two suffixes, *-(i)s* for masculine and all plural nouns, and *-(i)t* for all feminine nouns. The genitive occurs with all nouns. The caseless form is used as the default form in all slots where the nominative or accusative cannot be used, in particular with all

indefinite nouns. The caseless form appears in order to encode S, A, or O or any other participant (see 27b).

A comparison between examples 27a and 27b illustrates how the case system works: In 27a, A appears in the nominative, marked by the suffix *-i*, as the noun is definite masculine singular. The object, O, also appears in the accusative, as the noun is definite.²⁰ In 27b, however, A and O both appear in the caseless form, as both are indefinite. Peripheral participants including the dative are encoded by postpositions. Whether these postpositions are suffixes or postpositions is not entirely clear (Leyew 2003:244). In Leyew's convention the postpositions are suffixed to the caseless form of nouns, even if he states that they are postpositions (Leyew 2003:244). For instance, the postposition *-z* is used to encode dative, locative, instrument, and beneficiary. The noun *färzä* 'horse' occurs as *färzä-z* 'by horse' (horse-DAT).

Kemantney (Central Cushitic, Afroasiatic)

- (27a) *k^want-i nīŋ-īs xätīy- aɾ.*
ice- NOM house-ACC puncture-PAST
"The ice pierced the house." (Leyew 2003:239)

- (27b) *an šäb ǰax- iɾ^w.*
1.SG milk drink-PAST
"I drank milk." (Leyew 2003:241)

Object pronouns are case-inflected by the suffix *-it* for singular (= feminine accusative used with nouns) and *-is* for plural (= masculine plural accusative used with nouns) (Leyew 2003:173).

In sum, Kemantney has a defective case system following either a nominative/accusative pattern when nouns are definite (masculine, singular) or no case distinction at all. Therefore, Kemantney has a split system with either an accusative system or a neutralized case distinction. Kemantney is surrounded by genetically related marked-nominative languages (see chapter 4). The question of whether the case opposition has the value of a marked-nominative or of an accusative system can be decided only by the range in which the nominative and the accusative are used. The nominative is functionally the most unmarked form. This can be seen in the fact that the nominative is used when a definite noun occurs in citation and the nominative is used as the nominal predicate if definite (Zealelem Leyew, p.c.). Kemantney shares with the other type 2 languages of the Cushitic family that case encoding is determined by the gender and also by the number of a noun. All three categories, case, gender, and number, are amalgamated. Note that the Highland East Cushitic and Ometo languages, which also belong to type 2, are both marked nominative (see chapter 4).

As figure 2.1 shows, there are other Cushitic languages which are accusative as well, namely all the Central Cushitic languages Awngi, Xamtanga, Bilin, Kemantney, and the East Cushitic language Dullay. According to Tosco (1994) all these languages have

²⁰ It remains unclear how definiteness is expressed in Kemantney.

developed an accusative system under the influence of Ethiosemitic languages (see section 5.2). Accusative systems in Ethiopia therefore appear to be both genetically and areally motivated. The genetic influence can be seen in the fact that all Ethiosemitic and all Central Cushitic languages are accusative. Areal influence is suggested by the fact that, as Tosco claims, accusative is an innovation in Cushitic, being the result of areal influence from Semitic languages. All other case languages in Cushitic are marked-nominative (see chapter 4).

2.8 Ik

Ik is a Kuliak language spoken in northeastern Uganda at the boundary of Uganda, Kenya, and the Sudan. Its exact genetic status is uncertain. According to Greenberg (1963a), it belongs to the Eastern Sudanic branch of the Nilo-Saharan phylum, while Laughlin (1975) proposed to leave Kuliak unclassified.²¹ Ik is a verb-initial (VS/VAO) language, and a tone language, distinguishing two tone levels: High tone is marked by an accute accent, low tone is left unmarked. Ik has voiceless vowels (presented here as superscript vowels), which are distinctive, especially in the case system, as we will see below. Each word, including all suffixes in the language, can be pronounced in two different ways, the so-called final and the non-final form. These two forms are different speech realizations. Essentially, the final form occurs sentence-finally or before pauses, such as at the end of noun phrases, and the non-final form elsewhere. This is, however, more of a general tendency than a strict rule. The final form is morphologically the basic form from which the non-final form can be derived. Voiceless vowels of the final form are pronounced as voiced vowels, final consonants may be deleted in the non-final form. For example, *nak^a* is the final form of the past tense clitic and *na* the non-final form. Henceforth, all grammatical items are presented in both the final and the non-final form. Ik has ATR-vowel harmony, most affixes occur either with [+ATR] or [-ATR]²² quality. Affixes will be quoted in their [+ATR] variant; for example, the infinitive suffix *-in* occurs as either [-in] or [-m]; it will be quoted consistently in the [+ATR] form [-in]. Ik has an elaborate case system; seven cases are distinguished. Depending on the context, core participants are omissible. Ik is a pro-drop language; even if no cross-reference occurs on the verb, as in the third person (see below), no core participant has to be expressed, A and O are both inferred (see 28b); a third person O is more often inferred than expressed (see 28a).

²¹ Bender (1976b, 1989, 1996) and Ehret (1981a & 1981b, 1989) in a modified version stick to Greenberg's solution whereas Tucker (1967a, 1967b, 1971–73) proposes that Kuliak shares features with Afroasiatic (see also Fleming 1983, Lamberti 1988). Laughlin (1975) and Heine (1975–76; 1976, 1985) are in favor of leaving Kuliak unclassified.

²² The abbreviation ATR stands for advanced tongue root position. [+ATR] indicates an advanced tongue root, [-ATR] a retracted tongue root. [+ATR] corresponds to close and [-ATR] to open vowels in languages with an open/close vowel distinction (see Ladefoged 1964:36–40; Tucker & Bryan 1966). It is a general feature in Nilotic and Surmic, see Hall (1973–74), Rottland (1996), Rottland & Otaala (1983).

Table 2.15 The case inflexions of Ik

| CASE | Abbreviation | Final | Non-final |
|------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------|
| Nominative | NOM | *V[a] | *V-[a] |
| Accusative | ACC | -k[a] | [-a] |
| Dative | DAT | -k ^e | -e |
| Genitive | GEN | -e (-i) | -e |
| Ablative | ABL | -o (-u) | -o |
| Copulative | COP | -k ^o | -o |
| Oblique | OBL | ∅ | ∅ |

(28a) en-í-a.
 see-1.SG-a
 "I saw it."

(28b) en-a.
 see-a
 "He/she saw it."

Case Table 2.15 gives an overview of the seven case suffixes distinguished. The final vowel *-a* has a unique value in the system. All words or particles of the language end by default in the vowel *-a*, and so are nominative and accusative case forms (in the non-final form). It remains unclear whether the *-a* of the nominative/and accusative is triggered by the general rule of the language to use vowel *-a* as a default ending of each word or whether *-a* has the value of an independent case suffix encoding nominative/ or accusative. The square brackets in *V-[a] are used to signal this unclear status of vowel *-a*. The star before the vowel (*V) indicates that the final vowel of the stem form is lost in the nominative. The oblique case is the only non-derived case form in Ik (see table 2.15). It has also been called the basic form of the noun by Heine (1983) and Serzisko (1992). Often the noun in the oblique shows a final vowel which in other case forms is deleted. Peripheral participants are marked throughout by the dependent strategy case. The ablative and dative are both used in a wide range of functions (up to twelve different functions; see König 2002 and 2005).

Each suffix occurs in the final form and the non-final form. Ik is an accusative language, that is, S and A are treated the same and simultaneously differently from O. This means for main clauses that the nominative encodes A (29a) and S (29b) and the accusative encodes O (29a). Yet, there are many contexts where the accusative pattern is neutralized: If the subject, S or A, refers to the first or second person, all core participants (S, A, and O) occur in the nominative (see 29c–29g); I have used the term case anomaly (König 2002) for this neutralization of case. In imperative and cohortative clauses with VAO/VS-order, all core participants, S, A, and O, are encoded in the oblique case (see 29h and 29i). A and S are usually omitted in imperatives but they can be expressed. In imperative and cohortative clauses with AVO/SV-order, A and S occur in the nominative and O in the oblique (see 29j). In relative clauses and

other subordinate clauses marked by the subjunctive, expressed by the verbal suffix *-ik^c* indicating subordination, all core participants S, A, and O, are encoded in the accusative (for relative clause, see O = ACC in 30a and 30b; A = ACC in 30b; S = ACC in 30c; for subjunctive clause see O = ACC in 31a and 31b; A = ACC in 31b; S = ACC in 31c). In clauses with a topicalized object, all core participants occur in the nominative (see 32). Topicalized participants occur preverbally in the nominative (see topic below). The conjunctions of the language trigger different case patterns, depending on whether the verb occurs in the subjunctive, the narrative, or the optative. Complement clauses and auxiliary clauses show the same complexity (see König 2002 for more details).

Main clause

- (29a) en-es-ugot-a wík-á njíní-k^a.
see-IRR-AND-a children-NOM we.IC-ACC
‘The children will see us. (incl.).’
- (29b) met-és-íd-a bi-a.
be.ill-IRR-2.SG-a you-NOM
‘You (sg.) will be ill.’
- (29c) en-és-isín-a njín^a wík^a.
see-IRR-1.PL.IC-a we.IC-NOM children-NOM
‘We (incl.) will see the children.’
- (29d) en-és-im-a ngw^a wík^a awá-o.
see-IRR-1.PL.EX-a we.EX-NOM children-NOM home-ABL
‘We (excl.) will see the children at home.’
- (29e) en-í-a nk^a wík^a.
see-1.SG-a I-NOM children-NOM
‘I see the children.’
- (29f) en-es-íd-a bi^a wík^a.
see-IRR-2.SG-a you-NOM children-NOM
‘You (sg.) will see the children.’
- (29g) en-és-ít-a bit^a wík^a.
see-IRR-2.PL-a you(pl)-NOM children-NOM
‘You (pl.) will see the children.’
- Imperative or cohortative clause
- (29h) ats-é bi.
come-IMP2.SG you.OBL
‘(You) come!’
- (29i) en-é bi wíce.
see-IMP2.SG you.OBL children.OBL
‘(You) see the children!’

- (29j) bi-á gá-ée saḡ-ée loḡót^a
 you-NOM go-IMP.2.SG kill-IMP2.SG enemies.OBL
 “(You) go and kill enemies!”

Relative clause

- (30a) cek-a ná ntsí wíce-á en-uḡót-í bíra-a
 woman-NOM REL.SG she.OBL children-ACC see-AND-1.SG be.not-a
 neé na.
 here.DAT DEM
 “The woman whose children I saw is not here.”

- (30b) cek-a ná nci-a en-uḡót-í-á ntsí wice-k^a
 woman-NOM REL.SG I-ACC see-AND-1.SG-a she.OBL children-ACC
 bíra-a neé na.
 be.not-a here.DAT DEM
 “The woman whose children I saw is not here.”

- (30c) ḡan-uḡót-io nyot-a nú ekw-itíní-a maraḡ-ak-á
 take-AND-NAR men-NOM REL.PAST eye-PL-ACC good-PL-a
 nyer-a ní lébetse.
 girls-ACC REL.PL two.OBL
 “And the men whose eyes were good took the two girls.”

Subjunctive clause

- (31a) ḡ-á cék-^a en-íe wíce-k^a.
 go-a woman-NOM see-SBJ children-ACC
 “The woman goes when she sees the children.”

- (31b) na nci-a en-í-ik^e wíce-k^a ḡo-i-ak^o.
 when I-ACC see-1.SG-SBJ children-ACC go-1.SG-NAR
 “When I see the children I go.”

- (31c) na wíce-á ni ats-át-ik^e kóḡ-ese tóbḡ-a nótí-k^e.
 “when children-ACC DEM come-3.PL-SBJ cook-NAR.IPS food-NOM they-DAT
 “When these children came food was cooked for them.”

Topic clause

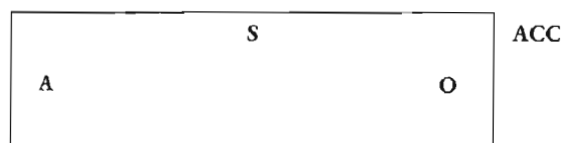
- (32) wík-a ríc-i en-a ná ríts-^a.
 children-NOM I-GEN see-a ENC he-NOM
 “As for my children, he sees (them).”

Generally speaking, the coding of core participants is triggered by various factors: The personal deixis of the subject, constituent order, clause type, TAM of the verb, irrespective of whether a subjunctive, narrative, or optative construction is involved. In total, five different case patterns are used to encode S, A, and O; they are illustrated in figure 2.3. The rules apply in hierarchical order. First, it is of importance whether the clause belongs to type A or B (see below). Unfortunately, type A is not homogeneous;

Clause type A includes focus clauses, relative clauses, clauses with subjunctives, clauses with the dummy pronoun triggered by a conjunction, imperative or cohortative clauses, and object topic clauses.

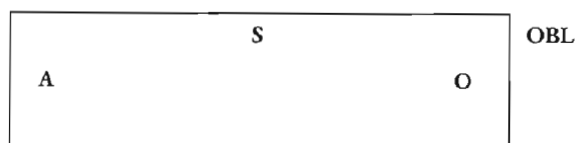
I Focus clause, relative clause, clause with a dummy pronoun triggered by the conjunction:

$$S = A = O$$



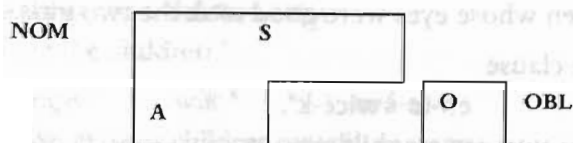
II Imperative and cohortative clause in a VA/S-order and *alaké*-clause with optative:

$$S = A = O$$



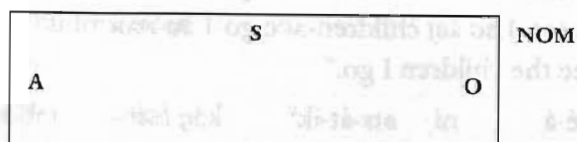
III Imperative and cohortative clause in A/SV-order, an optional variant of II:

$$S = A \neq O$$



IV Object topic clause:

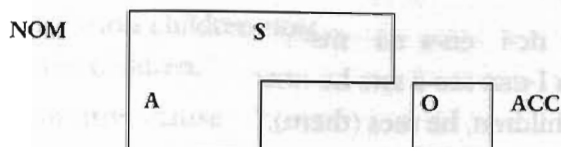
$$S = O = A$$



Clause type B = contexts other than A

V for S, A = third person:

$$S = A \neq O$$



IV for S, A \neq third person (= **case anomaly**):

$$S = A = O$$

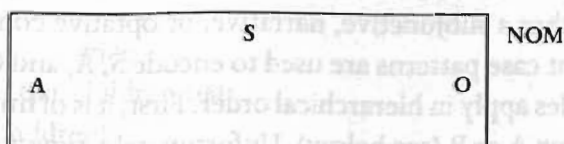


Figure 2.3 Case patterns in Ik

Table 2.16 Case patterns and functions of copulas in Ik

| Copula | S | N.PRED | Function | Example |
|----------------|-----|---------|-----------------------|----------|
| <i>i-on</i> | | NOM | Existence | 33a, 33b |
| | NOM | DAT | Location | 33c |
| | | | Verbal possession | 33d |
| | NOM | ńda OBL | Possession | 33e |
| <i>mut-on</i> | NOM | GEN | Possession | 33f |
| | NOM | OBL | Equation | 33g–33j |
| | NOM | GEN | Verbal possession | 33k |
| <i>brrɔ-on</i> | | NOM | NEG existence | 33l |
| | NOM | ABL | NEG location | 33m |
| | | | NEG verbal possession | 33n |
| <i>ɣam-on</i> | NOM | GEN | Similative | 33o |
| <i>COP k°</i> | | COP | Identification | 33p |
| | NOM | COP | Equation | 33q |
| <i>beniá</i> | | COP | NEG identification | 33r |
| | NOM | COP | NEG equation | 33s |
| <i>GEN -e</i> | NOM | GEN | Verba possession | 33t |

therefore, each feature has to be listed separately. Both types, A and B, are mutually exclusive. Type B contains main clauses but also subordinate clauses, for example when the verb is used in the narrative. Only two of the five patterns are accusative, namely patterns III and V. In all other patterns, case is neutralized, and A, S, and O are always treated the same. Three cases are used to encode the core participants: the accusative, the nominative, and the oblique.

Copula clause Table 2.16 gives a list of the elements used as copulas. Among them there are four which behave like verbs. Although all are marked by the infinitive *-on*²³, they are either transitive or intransitive: *i-on* “to exist” (itr.), *mut-on* “to be” (tr.), *brrɔ-on* “not to exist” (tr.) and *ɣam-on* “to be like” (tr.). They take the same derivational and flexional morphology as verbs, such as bound pronouns (see 33b, 33g, 33j, 33k, 33m) and verbal derivation (see 33j). In addition, the language uses an invariable item, *beniá* “not to be”, and a case suffix called copulative for copula functions (see 33s). The genitive is used to encode verbal possession (see 33t). The right column of table 2.16 lists the numbers of the examples which illustrate the various copula constructions. As can be seen in table 2.16, depending on the copula construction, the nominal predicate either occurs in the nominative, oblique, copulative, dative, ablative, or genitive. Among the copulas there are two, *brrɔ-on* and *beniá*, which exclusively express negated concepts.

²³ With verbs, *-on* is the infinitive for intransitive verbs only; and *-es* the infinitive for transitive verbs (see König 2002).

- (33a) i-a dakw-^a.
be-a tree-NOM
"There is a tree."
- (33b) i-íd-a bi-a-jí.
be-2.SG-a you-NOM-also
"Do you also exist?" (Reply to the greeting i-íd-a "Do you exist?")
- (33c) i-á hɔ-k^e.
be-a house-DAT
"He is in the house."
- (33d) í-a kárats-a níci-k^e.
be-a stool-NOM I-DAT
"I have a stool." (Lit.: A stool exists for me.)
- (33e) í-a rída dak^u.
be-a with tree.OBL
"He has a stick."
- (33f) iá ho-a nci-i.
be-a house-NOM 1.SG-GEN
"The house belongs to me."
- (33g) (njín-a) mít-isín-a eba-ík^o.
(we.IC-NOM) be-1.PL.IC-a friend-PL.OBL
"We are friends."
- (33h) mít-a ík-a roba ní marán-^a.
be -a 1k-NOM people.OBL REL.PL be.good-a
"Ik are good people."
- (33i) ík-^a rob-o ní marán-^a.
1k-NOM people-COP REL.PL be.good-a
"Ik are good people."
- (33j) mít-uǵot-át-a lɔǵot^a.
be-AND-3.PL-a enemies.OBL
"They have become enemies."
- (33k) kuruḡá-a ní mít-át-a ho-e.
things-NOM DEM.PL be-3.PL-a house-GEN
"These things belong to the house."
- (33l) bir-a dakw-^a.
be.NEG-a tree-NOM
"There is no tree."
- (33m) bira-ísín-a ho.
be.NEG-1.PL.IC-a house.ABL
"We are not in the house."

- (33n) bir-a dakw-a nc-u.
be.NEG-a tree-NOM I-ABL
“I don’t have a tree.” (There exists no tree from me.)
- (33o) ro6-a ní ǵam-át-a ící-é ní maráŋ-^a.
people-NOM DEM.PL like-3.PL-a Ik-GEN REL.PL be.good-a
“These people are like good Ik.”
- (33p) saba-k^o.
river-COP
“It’s a river.”
- (33q) ím-a ná íce-ama-k^o.
boy-NOM DEM Ik-SG-COP
“This boy is an Ik.”
- (33r) bení-a wáshu-k^o.
be.NEG-a first-COP
“It’s not the first.”
- (33s) beni-a bí-a pakw-áma-k^o.
be.NEG-a you-NOM Turkana-SG-COP
“You are not a Turkana.”
- (33t) kuru6á-a ní ho-e.
thing-NOM DEM.PL house-GEN
“These things belong to the house.”

Focus Focus is highly grammaticalized; there is a standard marker for it, the copulative *-k^o*. The copulative is part of the case inflexions. It serves in a wide range of functions including that of a copula (see below), of acting as a focus marker, and being a case marker required in certain syntactic contexts. All participants can be focused. The focus participant always precedes the verb in the copulative (34a & 34b). If the focused participant is not the subject (S or A), it has to be left dislocated before the verb as well, encoded by in the accusative (34b). If the focus participant is peripheral, a dummy pronoun (DP) has to be used after the verb to cross-reference it (34b).

- (34a) ncí-o en-és-ugot-í-a bí-k^a.
I-COP see-IRR-AND-1.SG-a you-ACC
“It’s me (who) will see you.”
- (34b) ho-ik-o wici-á ats-át-a d^e.
house-PL-COP children-ACC come-3.PL-a DP
“It’s the houses the children are coming from.”

Topic Topic is less grammaticalized than focus. The nominative in preverbal position is used to mark topic, though not all preposed nominatives are topicalized.

Table 2.17 Number of encodings of S, A, and O in the narrative text
"The three girls"

| Case | S | A | O | N.PRED | Other |
|------|--------------------|----|----|--------|-------|
| NOM | 28 | 16 | 3 | | 4 |
| ACC | 5 | 2 | 35 | | |
| OBL | 3 <i>nda</i> "and" | | 3 | 1 | 16 |
| GEN | | | 2 | 1 | |
| COP | | | | 5 | 3 |

Subjects (S and A) (35a) and objects may be topicalized (see 35c); the IO cannot be topicalized (see 35d). Topic clauses are much less frequent than focus clauses.

- (35a) *ngag-á na nta ng-imetⁱ.*
 food-NOM DEM.SG NEG eat-PAS-NEG
 "This food is not edible."²⁴

- (35b) *gur-í-a na nts^a.*
 break-1.SG-a ENC he-NOM
 "I cut him [the hair]." (Lit.: I broke him.)

- (35c) *ntsa-á gur-í-á nak^a.*
 he-NOM break-1.SG-a ENC
 "Him I cut [the hair]." (Lit.: He, I broke.)

- (35d) **rika-a m-at-a na tobonyw-á.*
 I-NOM give-3.PL-a ENC food-ACC

An alternative analysis One may wonder whether Ik is a case language if there are so many contexts in which case is neutralized (see figure 2.3 above). As has been argued in König (2002), there are the following reasons to maintain a case analysis: First, there is no alternative which would be more suitable than one in terms of case. There have been attempts, in particular by Serzisko (1992²⁵), to interpret the nominative and the accusative as "discourse-pragmatic markers". The functions of the accusative are only vaguely described by him²⁶; the nominative is a "*diskurspragmatischer Marker des präsentierten Partizipanten in thetischen Aussagen*". As has been shown in König (2002), narrative discourse data do not support Serzisko's analysis. Table 2.17 presents the frequency of the cases used to encode S, A, and O in one particular narrative discourse text. The results corroborate a case analysis: In narrative discourse, the

²⁴ In negation, the potential marker *-am-* is replaced by the passive marker *imét^a*.

²⁵ Further work on Ik by Serzisko see (1985, 1985–87, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1993a, 1993b).

²⁶ "Daß der ACC kein Akkusativ im Sinne eines Objektkasus ist, folgt daraus, daß er sowohl den Actor als auch den Undergoer kennzeichnen kann. Seine genaue Funktion kennen wir nicht und werden wir hier auch nicht weiter behandeln." (Serzisko 1992:172)

nominative is the default case to encode S and A; the accusative is the default case to encode O. With regard to frequency, irregularities are much less common than the five patterns would suggest.

Second, taking the whole case paradigm into account (as presented in table 2.15), the peripheral participants behave very regularly. Third, even if the core cases in particular are inconsistent, there are obligatory syntactic rules which determine their occurrence. In this respect they fulfill the case definition (see chapter 1). Fourth, as has been shown above, from a typological perspective, most accusative languages in Africa are less homogeneous than a Eurocentric perspective might suggest. On African standards it is more typical than not to have a split system with neutralized contexts. In sum, case seems to be the best option for the system under consideration. It goes without saying that case, in addition to its syntactic function, also has a pragmatic value (see the Topic and Focus sections above).

Case in Ik is defective; at the same time it is also the most productive morphological tool in the language. This can be seen in the following behavior: As in other languages, case in Ik is a category which is connected with nouns and pronouns, but case is not restricted to these word classes. Function words like conjunctions, postpositions, prepositions, adverbs, and even verbs are also inflected for case. Examples 36a and 36c illustrate the manifestation of case with regard to the case-inflected conjunction *toimen* 'that'. *Toimen* occurs in the case required by the syntax, namely nominative in 36a, accusative in 36b and dative in 36c (see further König 2005).

- (36a) **toimen-a** ríta tóped-ugó-íd-i it-és^a.
that-NOM NEG be.able-AND-2.SG-NEG reach-INF-NOM
 "(that) you are not able to reach [there]."
- (36b) itámáán-á mo tam-i **tóimení-k^a** ríta en-í-í nts^a.
 must-a neg think-NEG **that-ACC** NEG see-1.SG-NEG he.NOM
 kən-en-ə á-i.
 one-PEE.SG-COP side-GEN
 "He need not think that I will not find him anywhere."
- (36c) itét-í-a ría **tóimení-k^e** nǵ-a nyéǵa bi-k^a.
 notice-1.SG-a ENG.SG **that-DAT** eat-a hunger-NOM you-ACC
 "I noticed that you felt hungry." (Lit: hunger ate you)

Table 2.18 gives an overview of case-inflected elements in Ik. The left column presents the source concept, a noun or a case marker; the middle column presents the grammaticalized function of the source concept, and the right column presents the case inflexions in which the grammaticalized function occurs. Two cases, the dative and the copulative, have become part of verbal inflexion: The dative has been grammaticalized to a subjunctive marker (as in 31a–31c) and the copulative has given rise to the narrative (see further König 2002). The productivity of case corroborates the analysis of Ik being a case language.

Table 2.18 Case-inflected grammatical categories in Ik

| Source | Target | Case inflexions accepted |
|--|---|---------------------------------|
| Dative - <i>k^e</i> / - <i>e</i> | Subjunctive - <i>ik^e</i> , - <i>ie</i> | |
| Copulative - <i>k^o</i> / - <i>o</i> | Narrative - <i>uo</i> | |
| Noun | Case-inflected conjunction | |
| <i>túmeda</i> ? | "where" | NOM, ACC |
| (<i>na</i>) | | |
| <i>mená</i> "thing" | "what" | NOM, ACC |
| <i>koróbáa</i> "thing" | "what" | NOM, ACC |
| <i>na</i> "place" | "where" | NOM, ACC, DAT, ABL |
| <i>tóimen</i> "problem" | "that" | NOM, ACC, DAT |
| Noun | Case-inflected adverb | |
| <i>wash</i> "front" | "ahead", "first", "earlier" | DAT, ABL, COP, GEN |
| <i>na</i> "place" | "here" | NOM, AKK, DAT, ABL, COP, OBL |
| <i>yasⁱ</i> "truth" | "true", "really" | DAT, COP |
| [nominal source no longer known] | <i>edá</i> "alone" | COP, GEN |
| | <i>muny^u</i> "all", "completely" | OBL, COP |
| | <i>jík^e</i> "always" | DAT, GEN |
| | <i>koóke</i> "there" | DAT invariable |
| Relational Noun | Case-inflected postposition/preposition | |
| <i>ai^a</i> "side" | "from" | All |
| <i>akw</i> "palm (of hand)", "sole" | "inside" | All |
| <i>búbú</i> "stomach" | "under" | All |
| <i>ǵwari</i> "surface" | "top" | All |
| <i>kan</i> "back" | "behind" | All |

Cross-reference Subjects (S and A) are obligatorily cross-referenced on the verb for first and second persons, the third person plural is sometimes cross-referenced depending on the syntax, while the third person singular is never cross-referenced (see table 2.19). Objects cannot be cross-referenced explicitly but the third person singular object is always inferred from transitive verbs if not expressed overtly. Indirect objects can never be cross-referenced, nor can they be inferred. They can only be expressed as independent forms. In this respect they behave like peripheral participants. In 37a and 37b, the transitive verb "to see" is used, and in both clauses the object is not expressed overtly but nevertheless a third person singular object is inferred. In 37a, the subject (A) is cross-referenced by the suffix -*i*-. In 37b, no core participant is expressed overtly, nor is any cross-referenced. The core participants, A and O, are inferred to be third person singular.

Table 2.19 Bound pronouns in Ik

| | | Final | Non-final |
|----|-----|-------|-----------|
| SG | 1 | -í | -íá |
| | 2 | -íd | -ídà |
| | 3 | ø | -à |
| PL | 1IC | -ísín | -ísínà |
| | 1EX | -ím | -ímá |
| | 2 | -ít | -ítá |
| | 3 | -át | -átà |

(37a) en-í-a.
see-1.SG-a
"I saw it."

(37b) en-a.
see-a
"He/she saw it."

Table 2.19 gives an overview of the suffixes which are used to cross-reference S or A on the verb. The third person plural form, -át or -átà, is not obligatory; the other forms listed in table 2.19 are. For the former there are complex rules which determine their occurrence, ranging from being ungrammatical to being optional up to being obligatory (see above).

Table 2.20 presents the verb *gǒ-on* "to go" in the realis form with all cross-reference pronouns. Ik has a basic modal distinction: The morphologically unmarked realis form is used for present and past contexts, the derived irrealis form (expressed by the suffix -es-) covers future. The irrealis can also be used with reference to present or past. It is in these two contexts that it gets an epistemic modal interpretation of counterfactuality or of a vague present.

In main clauses, the third person plural suffix -át^a is ungrammatical in a VA/VS-order (compare 38d and 38e). It is optional in an SV/AV-order if S/A is expressed

Table 2.20 Realis paradigm of the verb *gǒ-on* "go"

| Person | | Form | Meaning | |
|--------|-----|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| SG | 1 | <i>gǒ-i</i> | (i) "I go." | (ii) "I went." |
| | 2 | <i>gǒ-id^a</i> | (i) "You go." | (ii) "You went." |
| | 3 | <i>gǒ-a^a</i> | (i) "He/she/it goes." | (ii) "He/she/it went." |
| PL | 1IC | <i>gǒ-sín^a</i> | (i) "We (ic) go." | (ii) "We (ic) went." |
| | 1EX | <i>gǒ-m^a</i> | (i) "We (ex) go." | (ii) "We (ex) went." |
| | 2 | <i>gǒ-ít^a</i> | (i) "You go." | (ii) "You went." |
| | 3 | <i>gǒ-át^a</i> | (i) "They go." | (ii) "They went." |

Table 2.21 Continuum of the occurrence of the third person plural suffix *-át* in Ik

| I Ungrammatical | II Optional | III Obligatory |
|----------------------|--|---|
| Nominal subject VS/A | a Nominal subject S/AV b REL-clause | a No independent subject b Pronominal subject c Complement clause Comparative Subjunctive |

nominally (39b). In relative clauses it is optional too (40a and 40b). It is obligatory if not expressed by an independent noun (38a), if expressed by a pronominal subject (compare 38b and 38c), as well as generally in the following clause types: comparative (41), subjunctive (31c), and complement clauses.

Main clause

- (38a) en-es-át-a ceki-k^a.
see-IRR-3.PL-a woman-ACC
“They will see the woman.”

- (38b) en-es-át-a nt^a ceki-k^a.
see-IRR-3.PL-a they-NOM woman-ACC
“They will see the woman.”

- (38c) *en-es-a nt^a ceki-k^a.
see-IRR-a they-NOM woman-ACC

- (38d) en-es-a wik-a ceki-k^a.
see-IRR-a children-NOM woman-ACC
“The children will see the woman.”

- (38e) *en-es-át-a wik-a ceki-k^a.
see-IRR-a children-NOM woman-ACC

- (39a) mit-á kúrúbá-a ní ntí.
be-a things-NOM DEM they-GEN
“These things belong to them.”

- (39b) kúrúbá-a ní mit-át-a ntí.
things-NOM DEM be3.PL-a they-GEN
“These things belong to them.”

- (40a) roḡ-a ní dun-et-a....
people-NOM REL.PL old-VEN-a
“People who grow old [...]”

- (40b) roḡ-a ní dun-et-at-a....
people-NOM REL.PL old-VEN-3.PL-a
“People who grow old [...]”

- (41) ɲɪ-ak-á nyɔt-a ilo-át-a cik-ámá-k^a.
 be.strong-PL-a men-NOM defeat-3.PL-a woman-PL-ACC
 "Men are stronger than women." (Heine 1999:44)

Taking case and cross-referencing mechanisms into account, there seems to be a tendency to the effect that if a core participant is encoded via cross-reference, case is defective. This relates in particular to first and second person. If cross-reference is defective, case encodes core participants. This holds for third person, especially third person singular, but also third person plural. With the latter, *-át^a* is obligatory, particularly whenever case fails. As has been shown above, subjunctive and relative clauses are defective with regard to case. If there is no subject expressed by an independent element, *-át^a* is obligatory. With regard to cross-reference, Ik also shows an accusative pattern since the only participants being cross-referenced are S and A.

Phrase level On the noun phrase level, Ik has one remarkable feature: Other than demonstratives (see 42a), nouns are hardly modified in an NP; there are no adjectives. Stative verbs cover the semantics of what in other languages is expressed by adjectives; they follow the noun in the form of a relative clause (42b). The only elements, other than demonstratives, which can modify a noun without a relative clause are numerals (42b). The modifying numeral occurs in the oblique case, irrespective of the case of the head. The modifier in the NP is therefore dependent-marked. Nominal possession as well follows a dependent-marking strategy: Either the possessor occurs in the genitive case in a possessee-possessor order (43), or the possessor precedes the possessee in a possessor-possessee order. In the latter case, the possessor occurs in the oblique (44). Adpositions of nominal origin, called "relational nouns", follow the same two dependent strategies mentioned with the possessor. The adposition either follows the possessee in the genitive (45b) or it precedes the possessee in the oblique (45a). Note that the adposition *bubu* "under" can be traced back to a noun meaning "stomach".

- (42a) gwa na
 bird DEM
 "this bird"

- (42b) cem-í-a beɗ-és-o de-ik-e lébetse ní ze-ík-^a.
 fight-1.SG-a want-INF-ABL foot-PL-GEN two.OBL REL.PL big-PL-a
 "I am looking for two big feet."

- (43) ats-á ák asaká-o ho-e.
 come-a PER door-ABL home-GEN
 "He has come from the house door."

- (44) tír-a píta ñarupía-ík^a.
have-a Peter.OBL money-PL.ACC
“He has Peter’s money.”
- (45a) i-i- á dakú bubua-k^e.
be-1.SG-a tree.OBL under-DAT
“I am under the tree.”
- (45b) i-i- á bubua-e dakw-í.
be-1.SG-a under-DAT tree-GEN
“I am under the tree.”

Verbal derivation Ik has four modification strategies for decreasing the valency of the verb by one. With all four, it is always the demotion of the subject, A, never that of O. This means that there is no antipassive or the like; there are only passive-like constructions. Lack of an antipassive might be due to the fact that core participants can easily be omitted. There is only one increasing device, namely the causative. Unlike the other Kuliak languages, Ik has no applicative extension. The function of an applicative is covered by the dative (46).

- (46) kaw-és-í-á dakwa lokwáamu-k^e.
cut-IRR-1.SG-a tree.NOM Lokwam-DAT
“I cut the tree for Lokwam.”

Table 2.22 presents the different valency-reducing impersonal forms of Ik.

The valency-reducing devices are the following: There are two different passive suffixes -ós^a (called passive I) and -ímét^a (called passive II; both are glossed “PAS”). The difference between the two is unclear; both demote A of the active clause, and O occurs as S. Both allow the expression of an agent as a peripheral participant marked by the ablative (47 & 48). In the impersonal, expressed by the suffix -án, again A is demoted, but unlike passive I and passive II, the impersonal does not allow the expression of an agent (49). The potential suffix -am expresses potentiality or feasibility, as in 50 “edible”, derived from the verb “to eat”. Verbs in the potential are nominalized; they often serve as nominal predicates in copula clauses, as in 50. Semantically, the agent role is deleted and the patient role raised. The agent can be expressed by the ablative (51). The potential marker -am is excluded in negation; instead the passive -ímét^a is used (52).

Table 2.22 Impersonal suffixes in Ik

| | Final | Non-final |
|---------|--------------------|-----------|
| PAS1 | -ós ^a | -ósá |
| PAS2 | -ímét ^a | -íméta |
| NAR.IPS | -éese | -éese |
| POT | -am ^o | -amo |
| IPS | -an ^a | -ana |

- (47) det-os^a wík-a ní ríc-u.
bring-PAS children-NOM DEM.PL I-ABL
“These children are brought by me.”
- (48) kəŋ-ímet-a təbəŋ-a ríc-u.
cook-PAS-a food-NOM I-ABL
“Food was cooked by me.”
- (49) ítíŋ-án-a cu-a.
boil-IPS-a water-NOM
“Water is boiled.”
- (50) napeí be saatsosín^a mít-a wá-a na ng-am^a.
since ENC yesterday be-a fruit-NOM DEM eat-POT.OBL
“Since yesterday this fruit has been edible.”
- (51) ŋurú-má-a dé-a karats-í ríc-u.
break-POT-a leg-NOM stool-GEN I-ABL
“The leg of the stool has been broken by me.”
- (52) ríta ng-ímet-í ngəŋ-á na ríc-u.
NEG eat-PASII-NEG food-NOM DEM.SG I-ABL
“This food is not eatable by me.”

Causative The causative is expressed by the suffix *-ít*. The valency of the verb is increased by one participant. The causer occurs in the case required for the subject; the agent occurs in the case required for O (e.g. the nominative in 53, with A being first person), and the patient occurs in the dative (56b). It is only in causative constructions that the dative expresses means (54). The causative expresses direct (53) and indirect causation (55a & 55b). Often the causative is followed by the venitive or andative. Both intransitive and transitive verbs may be causativized, and the same applies to stative verbs. Often intransitive verbs take the venitive or andative in addition to the causative (55b with andative) though not always (55a without andative). There are also verbs where a deictic extension is obligatory, as with *kəŋ-es* “to cook” (compare 56b with 56c).

- (53) ŋat-ít-úŋot-í ak ríts.
run-CAU-VEN-I PER he.NOM
“I have made him run away.”
- (54) ats'-it-et-ée eme-k^c.
eat.hard food-CAU-VEN-2.SG.IMP meat-DAT
“Feed (him) with meat!”
- (55a) ŋit-ít-i-a ríts.
be.strong-CAU-1.SG-a he.NOM
“I make him strong.”

- (55b) $\eta\iota\iota\text{--}\acute{\iota}t\text{--}\acute{\upsilon}\acute{\kappa}\acute{o}t\text{--}\acute{\iota}a$ $\acute{n}ts.$
 be.strong-CAU-AND-1.SG-a he.NOM
 "I make him strong."
- (56a) $k\acute{o}\eta\text{--}\acute{\iota}\text{--}a$ $t\acute{o}b\eta\eta^a.$
 cook-1.SG-a food.NOM
 "I cook food."
- (56b) $k\acute{o}\eta\text{--}\acute{\iota}t\text{--}\epsilon t\text{--}\acute{\iota}\text{--}a$ $t\acute{o}b\eta\eta\acute{o}\text{--}k^e.$
 cook-CAU-VEN-1.SG -1.SG-a food-DAT
 "I made her cook food."
- (56c) $*k\acute{o}\eta\text{--}\acute{\iota}t\text{--}\acute{\iota}a$ $t\acute{o}b\eta\eta\acute{o}\text{--}k^e.$
 cook-CAU-1.SG food-DAT

The encoding of core participants follows the following principle: If constituent order and cross-reference fail, case comes into play. The encoding of peripheral participants is predominantly marked by case. In clauses with verbal derivation there is a double strategy in that the participant is marked both on the verb and by case.

Extra syntactic use In what Creissels (2004) calls extra syntactic use (see chapter 1), Ik shows a complex pattern. Nouns are cited in the nominative form, that is, the form in which they appear in the lexicon, e.g. *cek^a* (wife-NOM) "wife". Each noun can appear in the copula case in isolation, meaning something like "It is X", e.g. *cek-uk^o* wife-COP "it is a wife".

Conclusions Ik has a (nominative/)/accusative system which shows some irregularities. There are many syntactic contexts in which the basic case opposition between the nominative and the accusative is neutralized. Therefore, to be precise, Ik is a split-accusative language, meaning that it either shows an accusative pattern or no distinction at all. Split conditions are in particular persons. In main clauses, the accusative system is only present if the subject is not first or second person. Clause type, TAM, the presence of the dummy pronoun, and constituent order are further split conditions. Five different case patterns are used to encode the core participants S, A, and O; in three of them, the case distinction is neutralized. Case is a highly productive mechanism of Ik. Nearly all lexical items of the language can be case-inflected, including adverbs, conjunctions, and verbs (see König 2002).

2.9 Semitic languages

All Semitic case languages have an accusative system restricted to definite nouns. They will therefore be discussed in 5.2.1.1.

2.10 Ebang

According to Thilo Schadeberg (p.c.), the Central Heiban languages (Kordofanian) Koalib, Laro, Ebang, Otoro, and Tira are possible candidates for accusative languages. According to him (p.c.) the verb-final language Ebang, on which he has carried out some research, is an accusative language, with two cases being distinguished, an unmarked nominative and an accusative, expressed by a suffix on the noun. The shape of the accusative suffix varies. Further research is necessary to make any final statements about case in Kordofanian in general and Central Heiban in particular. Therefore, it will not be considered here any further. Note that Dimmendaal claims for another presumably Kordofanian language, Tima, that it is split-ergative (see 3.3).

2.11 Summary

The following generalizations are preliminary **and** therefore have to be considered with caution; some of the languages discussed are simply not well described, especially some Eastern Sudanic and Kordofanian languages. Canonical accusative languages without any splits or other restrictions are found in Eastern Sudanic, including Nobiin, Mararit, and Nyimang (Nilo-Saharan), in Central Cushitic with Awngi and Bilin, and in Omotic with Hamar, Dime, and Aari (all Aari-Banna), Masketo (Afroasiatic). All type 2 accusative languages show numerous irregularities, such as contexts where case is neutralized on various conditions (as in Kemantney, Ik, and Maba), or case which is not obligatory. The latter occur in type 2 (Kunama, Teda-Daza, and Kanuri) and type 1 languages (Dullay, Fur, Tama, and Masalit). With regard to irregularities, type 2 accusative languages differ from type 2 marked-nominative languages (see chapter 4), which, in their overall occurrence, show far fewer irregularities. In accusative languages, the nominative shows the following profile (see table 2.23):

Function (a), "S & A obligatory", applies to all accusative languages, in particular to all type 1 languages irrespective of the split conditions they show or the fact that case is merely optional. Exceptions are presented under (b). An explanation is given below.

Function (b), "S & A not obligatory", does not apply to all languages where case is not obligatory; it applies only to type 2. This is due to the fact that in non-obligatory case systems of type 2, the caseless form covers S and A in neutralized contexts.

Function (c), the citation form, is covered by the nominative in all type 1 accusative languages, but in none of the type 2 accusative languages, except for Ik. The remaining type 2 accusative languages take the "caseless form" in order to cover the citation form (such as Kemantney, Kanuri, Teda-Daza, and Maba).

Function (d), nominal predicate, is either covered by the nominative, by the caseless form, or by a copulative, never by the accusative. Some languages have grammaticalized

Table 2.23 The behavior of nominative and accusative in African accusative languages

| Case function of NOM | Language |
|------------------------|---|
| a S & A obligatory | Unrestricted in all obligatory type 1, without split (Awngi, Bilin, Masketo, Hamar, Dime, Aari, Nobiin, Mararit, Nyimang, Ebang, Nama), and with split (Amharic, Argobba, Gafat, Tigre, Tigrinya, Harari, Gurage, Ge'ez, Kemantney, Xamtanga); Restricted in all split type 2 languages to the context where case is not neutralized; In Ik in certain clause types only with S/A = third person |
| b S & A not obligatory | All non-obligatory type 2 languages, such as Kunama, Teda-Daza, Kanuri |
| c citation form | All, except all type 2 languages (*Kemantney, *Kanuri, *Teda-Daza, *Kunama), but Ik |
| d Nominal predicate | Tubu, Masalit, Fur, Nyimang, Kemantney, Amharic (for definite nouns only) *Nobiin—copula case; *Ik various cases, copula case; *Kanuri caseless form; *Kunama caseless form at least if indefinite |
| e O, if indefinite | All type 1 split def languages: Amharic, Argobba, Gafat, Tigre, Tigrinya, Harari, Gurage, Ge'ez |
| f S, A, O | Dullay, except topic O; Xamtanga PL+M; Ik in certain clause types, for S/A \neq third person |
| g S & A if definite | Kemantney with M.SG only, Maba |
| Case functions of ACC | Language |
| a O = obligatory | Awngi, Bilin, Masketo, Hamar, Dime, Aari, Nobiin, Mararit, Nyimang, Ebang, Nama, Xamtanga F SG; Ik in certain clause types only with S/A = third person |
| b O, if definite only | Amharic, Argobba, Gafat, Tigre, Tigrinya, Harari, Gurage, Ge'ez, Kemantney |
| c O = not obligatory | Dullay, Xamtanga, Fur, Masalit, Kunama, Teda-Daza, Kanuri, Tama |
| d S, A, O | Ik in certain clause types, such as relative clauses |

a case specified for the function nominal predicate, called copulative; this applies to Nobiin and Ik. In Ik the situation is more complex. Different copulas have developed different case schemas, two of them, expressing existence, also taking the nominative for this function (see table 2.16). If the language has not grammaticalized a specific case for the function nominal predicate, the following holds: In type 1 languages, regardless of whether split or not obligatory, the nominal predicate is covered by the nominative. This applies to Masalit, Fur, and Nyimang. In type 2 languages, the nominal predicate will most likely be covered by the caseless form. This applies to Kanuri, Teda, and Kemantney, if the noun is indefinite. Definite nouns appear in the nominative when used as nominal predicates.

Function (e) occurs in split definite type 1 accusative languages: The nominative is the morphologically unmarked form and encodes indefinite O. This applies to the Ethio-Semitic languages (see chapter 5.2.1.1).

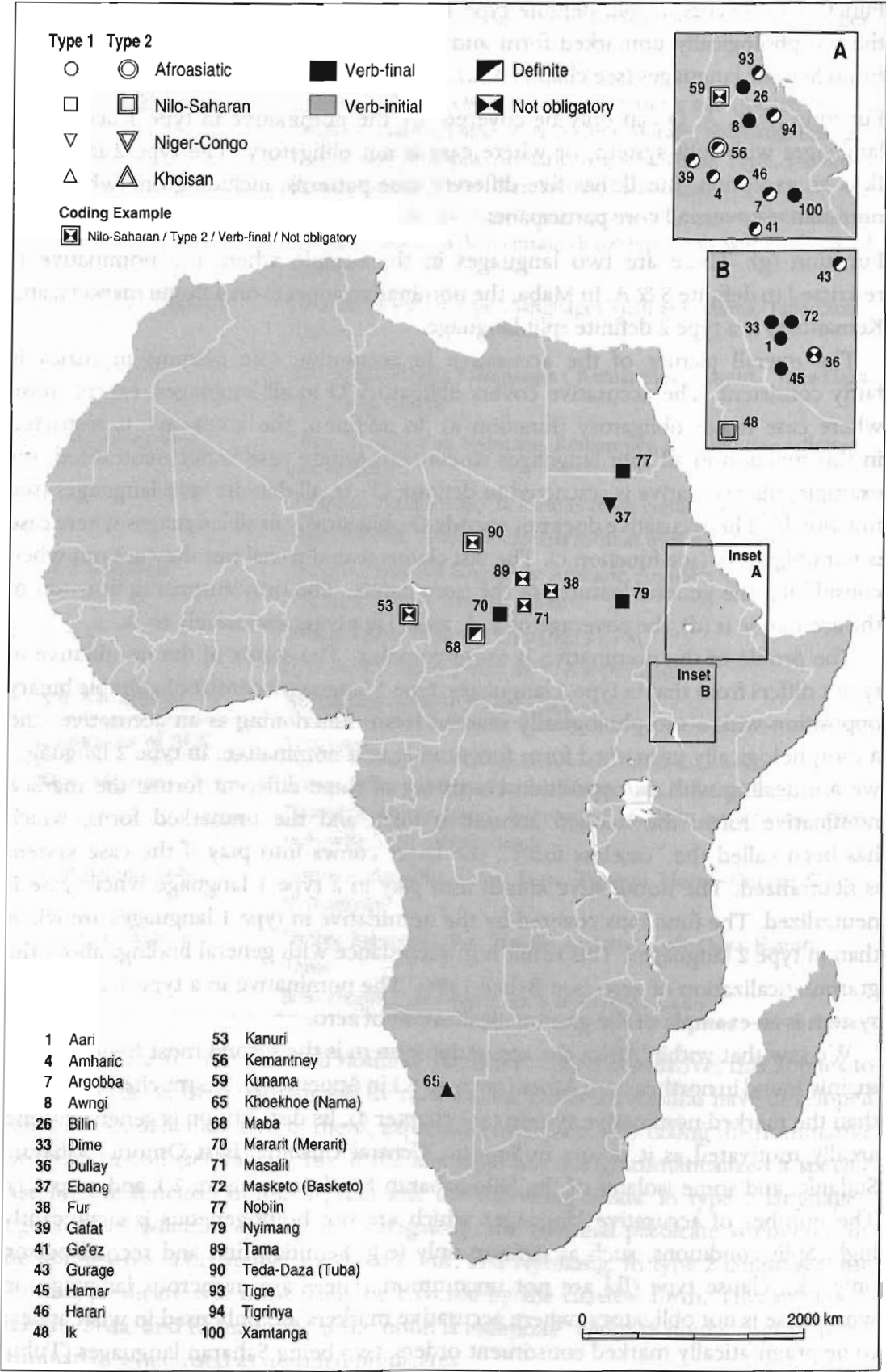
Function (f), S, A, O can only be covered by the nominative in type 1 accusative languages with split system, or where case is not obligatory. The type 2 language Ik is an exception. But Ik has five different case patterns, including one where the nominative covers all core participants.

Function (g): There are two languages in the sample where the nominative is restricted to definite S & A. In Maba, the nominative appears on definite markers, and Kemantney is a type 2 definite split language.

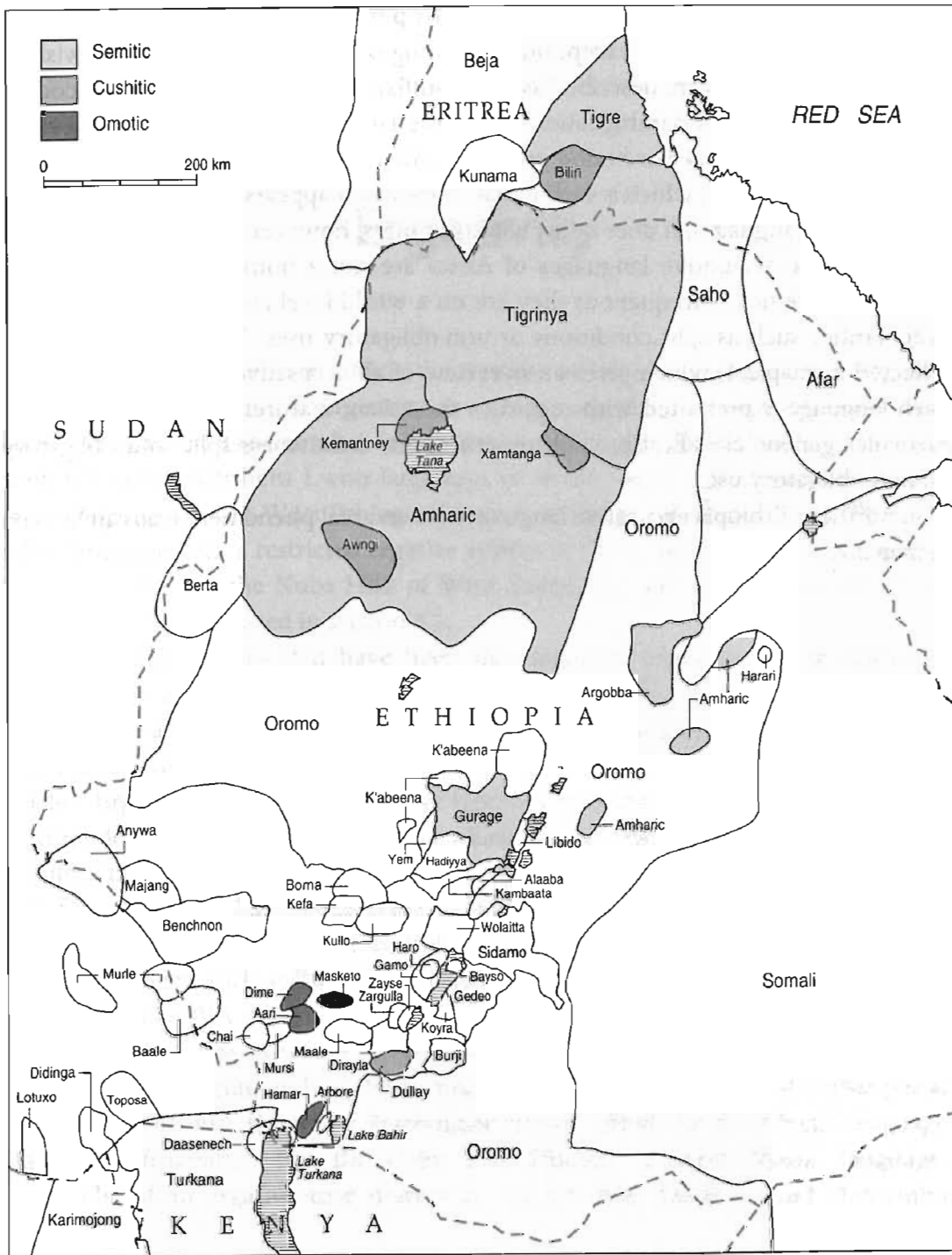
The overall picture of the accusative in accusative case systems in Africa is fairly consistent. The accusative covers obligatory O in all languages, except those where case is not obligatory (function a). In addition, the accusative is restricted in this function in all split languages to contexts where case is not neutralized; for example, the accusative is restricted to definite O's in all definite split languages (see function b). The accusative does not encode O obligatorily in all languages where case is not obligatory (see function c). The last claims sound trivial but they are not when considering the general features of the nominative. The only surprising function of the accusative is (d), the coverage of S, A, and O applying exclusively to Ik.

The profile of the nominative is more complex. The status of the nominative in type 1 differs from that in type 2 languages: type 1 languages consist of a simple binary opposition with a morphologically marked form, functioning as an accusative, and a morphologically unmarked form functioning as a nominative. In type 2 languages we are dealing with an opposition consisting of three different forms: the marked nominative form, the marked accusative form and the unmarked form, which has been called the "caseless form"; the latter comes into play if the case system is neutralized. The nominative comes into play in a type 1 language where case is neutralized. The functions covered by the nominative in type 1 languages are wider than in type 2 languages. This result is in accordance with general findings about the grammaticalization of zero (see Bybee 1994). The nominative in a type 1 accusative system is an example of the grammaticalization of zero.

We saw that within Africa the accusative system is the second most frequent one, mainly found in northeastern Africa (see map 6.1 in Appendix I). It is much less frequent than the marked-nominative system (see chapter 4). Its distribution is genetically and areally motivated as it occurs in Semitic, Central Cushitic, East Omotic, Saharan, Sudanic, and some isolates of the Nilo-Saharan family (see figure 2.1 and map 2.1). The number of accusative languages which are not homogeneous is significantly high. Split conditions, such as definite only (e.g. Semitic), first and second person only (Ik), clause type (Ik) are not uncommon. There are numerous languages in which case is not obligatory, where accusative markers are only used in what appear to be pragmatically marked constituent orders, two being Saharan languages (Tubu,



Map 2.1 Accusative case languages in Africa



Map 2.2 Accusative languages in Ethiopia

Kanuri). If case is only optional, it is expressed by postpositions or by definite particles, as in Maba. Fur could be an exception, depending on which author one may wish to consult. Case markers are described as either suffixes or postpositions. Case encoding seems to be used for disambiguation unless the latter is achieved by other devices, such as constituent order or bound pronouns. All accusative languages are verb-final with one exception, Ik, which is verb-initial. Tone never appears as an exclusive means in accusative languages; it does occur with pronouns, however, for example in Fur.

In sum, the accusative languages of Africa are not a homogeneous typological class. They are not as frequent as they are on a world level and most of them show irregularities such as split conditions or non-obligatory uses. These results are also reflected in map 2.1, which gives an overview of all accusative languages in Africa. Each language is presented with regard to the salient features mentioned so far, in particular genetic classification, constituent order, definiteness split, and obligatory vs. non-obligatory use.

In northern Ethiopia accusative languages are an areal phenomenon as can be seen in map 2.2.



3

Ergativity

Unlike other case systems in Africa, the number of African languages with ergative systems is severely limited. Ergativity as a grammaticalized case system is not only limited in number; its occurrence is also areally and genetically restricted: It is largely confined to the Northern Lwoo languages of West Nilotic (Nilo-Saharan), spoken in the region of South-West Ethiopia/South-East Sudan (see section 3.1). The only other language with a restricted ergative system is Tima, presumably a Kordofanian language spoken in the Nuba Hills of West Sudan; the split ergative system of this language will be discussed in section 3.2.

Additional languages that have been mentioned in connection with ergativity are Mande languages, such as Loma (Rude 1983) and the South Mande languages Guro, Mano, and Beng, as well as Proto-South Mande (Vydrine 2006). Rude describes Loma as a language with a split-S phenomenon; the term ergative in the title of his article ("Ergativity and the active-stative typology in Loma") is somewhat misleading. Vydrine describes ergative phenomena which, if at all, fall under the rubric of other manifestations of case (see 3.3).

A few languages have been reported to have what I propose to call ergative alignment patterns, which are of the following kind: (i) Constituent order. Some West Nilotic languages, such as Burun, and Dinka (in passive constructions only) show the highly unusual OVA/SV-order (Schröder 2005); (ii) Transitive and antipassive verb classes, as claimed by Schröder (2005), to be found in some West Nilotic languages such as Shilluk, Burun; and (iii) Pluractionals, that is a specific kind of verbal plural marking (see below), shown by Frajzyngier (1984a, 1984b) for the Chadic language Mandara (Afroasiatic). For the claim that Dholuo, a West Nilotic language, has a relic of an ergative case marker *gr*, see Schröder (2005:12) and Odhiambo (2006).

According to Newman (1990 and forthc.) and Gerhardt (1983, 1984, 2002), ergative alignment with pluractionals is the expected pattern, in that the verb shows number agreement with S in intransitive clauses and with O in transitive clauses. Such kinds of ergative alignment patterns will not be considered further as they are not instances of grammaticalized case.

3.1 Northern Lwoo

Ergativity as a full-fledged case system is mentioned in Africa only three times in the literature, namely for the closely related West Nilotic languages Jur-Luwo, Pāri, and for Shilluk. The first two are split-ergative languages following either an ergative pattern or a marked-nominative pattern. But there is a fourth language, closely related to Pāri and Jur-Luwo, namely Anywa. According to Reh (1996), Anywa has no grammaticalized case system, but the case marker of Pāri appears in Anywa as well, though as a definiteness marker; as we will see below, there is also an alternative perspective on this issue. Other manifestations of ergative patterns are found in all three languages with regard to pronominal cross-reference and constituent order. All three languages will be discussed together. Pāri and Anywa are better documented than Jur-Luwo; I will first describe the ergative system of Pāri, compare it to Anywa, and finally turn to Jur-Luwo.

Reh (1996) presents the following classification of Northern Lwoo:

- Northern Lwoo: (a) Shilluk
 (b) Anywa, Pāri, Jur-Luwo
 (c) Bor-Belanda
 (d) Thuri, Bodho, Manangeer, Col (Reh 1996:6)

Pāri and Anywa are dialects of the same language and, according to Reh (1996:5), they are closely related to Jur-Luwo.

3.1.1 Group one

Within Northern Lwoo two groups of ergative systems need to be distinguished: Pāri, Anywa, and Jur-Luwo on the one hand and Shilluk on the other. Both groups share some features but there are also significant differences. In the following, group one will be described first (see 3.1.1) and group two thereafter (see 3.1.2).

3.1.1.1 Pāri In Pāri, there is only one case marker: the suffix *-i*. This suffix in some contexts behaves like an ergative case marker, encoding A; in other contexts it behaves like a nominative, encoding A and S. In both kinds of contexts the second core case is expressed by the morphologically unmarked form, namely the absolutive in the ergative system, encoding S and O, and the accusative in the marked-nominative system, encoding A and S. Table 3.1 lists a few nouns in the morphologically unmarked form (absolutive/accusative) and the morphologically marked form (ergative/marked-nominative). Henceforth, in order to be consistent, I will refer to the case suffix *-i* (with the allomorphs *-ī*, *-i*, *-i*, or *-è*, *-e*) (see Andersen 1988:294) always by the term ergative case, even if it functions as a marked-nominative. With personal pronouns and kinship terms the ergative is expressed by tone only, changing the original tone to a low-extra low tone.

The different case systems correlate with specific clause types: All clauses of the language fall into two classes which Andersen (1988) refers to as "NP-initial clause"

Table 3.1 Case inflexion in Pāri

| Absolutive / Accusative | Ergative / Marked-nominative | Meaning |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|---------|
| ùbúr | ùbúrr-i | Ubur |
| mʌʌn | mʌʌn-i | woman |
| tóŋ | tóŋŋ-i | spear |
| ʔáani | ʔáan`-i | I |

Source Andersen 1988:294, 297

and “verb-initial clause”. NP-initial clauses contain for example declarative clauses whereas most subordinate clauses belong to verb-initial clauses. NP-initial clauses show an ergative system, verb-initial ones a marked-nominative system. Both systems differ with regard to constituent-order, bound pronouns, cross-referenced pronouns, and case. In NP-initial clauses, S occurs in an SV-order and is morphologically unmarked (see 1). O is treated the same: It appears in an OV-order and is morphologically unmarked (see 2). A, on the other hand, is treated differently: It is placed after the verb, in a VA-order, and appears in the ergative case (see 2). If, however, A in an NP-initial clause is placed before the verb, it no longer takes the ergative case marker (see 3). NP-initial clauses follow an ergative system only in an OVA-constituent order. In an AOV-order, the ergative system is neutralized, and there is no longer any case distinction at all: O and A appear in the same morphologically unmarked form (see 3).

In verb-initial clauses, S is encoded in the nominative in a VS-order (see 12), and so is A in a VOA-order (see 13). The nominative is encoded by the same suffix as the ergative, namely *-i*. O is left morphologically unmarked (see 15). Again, the accusative system is defective: In verb-initial clauses, A can only be marked by the nominative when positioned after the verb. When placed before the verb, A is no longer case-inflected; instead, A occurs in the morphologically unmarked form (see 14). In an AOV-order the accusative system is neutralized.

Case appears essentially with both nouns and pronouns. Yet, in an NP-initial clause, A is usually expressed by bound pronominal suffixes only which take no case inflexion. There are two exceptions: First, if A is focused it occurs in the ergative case after the verb in the focus clause (see 23b). Second, derived verb forms show for first person plural exclusive and third person plural bound pronominal suffixes which are case-inflected for the ergative in the form of a clitic (see 11).

In verb-initial clauses, A can only be positioned after the verb when O is expressed pronominally. This is due to the following restriction: Verb-initial clauses allow only one nominal core participant after the verb. If there is more than one nominal core participant, A has to be placed before the verb; O may also be placed in front (see 14). Taking all restrictions into account, the only structure where the marked-nominative system can occur is when O is expressed pronominally and A nominally (see 13). O is always morphologically unmarked—irrespective of whether it is placed before or after the verb (see 14 & 15). NP-initial-clauses, which are generally ergative, include

all declarative clauses and some subordinate clauses. Verb-initial clauses, which are generally marked-nominative, include imperatives, most subordinate clauses, and questions (see Andersen 1988:316).

With regard to case patterns, such as cross-reference and constituent order, the following can be said: In NP-initial clauses, cross-reference shows an ergative pattern. A occurs as a bound pronoun suffixed to the verb (see 7); S and O are either expressed by identical proclitics (see 4b & 8) or identical prefixes to the verb (see 4a and 9). In other words, with regard to pronominal cross-reference, the NP-initial clause shows an ergative pattern: Only A can be cross-referenced by a bound pronoun, suffixed to the verb. S and O either occur as proclitics or prefixes, both immediately preceding the verb. Third person S and O need not be expressed (see 10a & 10b). Third person A must be expressed by suffixes (see 10b & 11). Note that in derived verb stems for third person plural and first person exclusive, A is expressed by a suffix plus an enclitic marking the ergative (see 11) (see Andersen 1988:295–7). In every respect, NP-initial clauses show ergative patterns with regard to cross-reference expressed by bound pronouns or clitics.

With regard to constituent order, NP-initial clauses show an ergative pattern as well, as S and O are placed before the verb and A after it (see 1 & 2). The alternative AOV-order can be interpreted as ergative as well if one argues that only O and S can be placed juxtaposed to the verb. NP-initial clauses are therefore ergative throughout, with regard to case marking, cross-reference, and constituent order.

VP-initial clauses show an accusative pattern only when cross-reference is expressed by bound pronouns or clitics: A and S appear as bound pronouns suffixed to the verb (see 15 & 16); O cannot be cross-referenced (see 13 & 14). It appears as a free pronoun only, placed directly after the verb (see 13 & 14). In other words, the cross-reference system shows an accusative pattern, insofar as A and S are treated the same and simultaneously different from O. With regard to constituent order, the situation is more complex. There is no case pattern, possible orders being VS, OVA, AOV. If a core participant is placed before the verb it has in addition to occur pronominally after the verb, either bound as with A and S or free as with O (see 14). According to Andersen a left-dislocated core participant is topicalized (see Andersen 1988:316).

Päri (Northern Lwoo, West Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan) NP-initial clauses—ergative system

- (1) ùbúr á-túuk'. S V
 Ubur COMP-play
 "Ubur played." (Andersen 1988:292)
- (2) jòobi à-kèel ùbúrr-i. O V A-ERG
 buffalo COMP-shoot Ubur-ERG
 "Ubur shot the buffalo." (Andersen 1988:293)

- (3) ùbúr joobì á-kèel-é. A O V-A
 Ubur buffalo COMP-shoot-3.SG.A
 "Ubur shot the buffalo." (Andersen 1988:294)
- (4a) á-kwÁŋ-ó. S-V
 1.SG.S-swim+M-SUF
 "I am swimming." (Andersen 1988:296)
- (4b) ʔáan á-kwÁŋ-ò. S V
 1.SG.S COMP-swim+M-SUF
 "I swam." (Andersen 1988:296)
- (5) á-yáng-ì yàng-ó. O-V-A
 1.SG.O-skin+M-2.SG.A skin+M-SUF
 "You will knife me." (Andersen 1988:297)
- (6) ʔáan-á-yànj-ì mÁŋ-ni mōg-é. O-V A
 1.SG.O-PAST-insult.M-SUF women-ERG some.PL-ERG
 "I was insulted by some women." (Andersen 2000:74)¹
 [Syntactic structure: Some women insulted me.]
- (7) dháagò á-cúol-à. O V-A
 woman COMP-call-1.SG.A
 "I called the woman." (Andersen 1988:295)
- (8) ʔáan á-cúol-ì. O V-A
 1.SG.O COMP-call-2.SG.A
 "You called me." (Andersen 1988:296)
- (9) á-yáng-ì yàng-ó. O-V-A
 1.SG.O-skin+M-2.SG.A skin+M-SUF
 "You will knife me." (Andersen 1988:297)
- (10a) á-kwÁŋ-ò.
 COMP-swim+M-SUF
 "S/he/it/they swam." (Andersen 1988:298)
- (10b) á-cúol-è. V-A
 COMP-call-3.SG.A
 "S/he called him/her/it/them." (Andersen 1988:298)

¹ Note that the Pári data presented here are basically from two sources, namely Andersen 1988 and 2000. It seems as if Andersen has changed the glosses in between. In 1988, ʔáan would have been presented as an independent pronoun, in 2000 as a prefixed pronoun; the verbal prefix á- occurs in 1988 as complementizer, in 2000 as past tense marker. NP-initial clauses are translated by Andersen 2000 always in a passive voice; 1988 similar clauses have been translated as active clauses instead. Andersen (2000) does so in order to represent the information structure, not the syntactical relations. "The passive in the English translation [...] reflects the information structure rather than the grammatical relations in Pári clause" (Andersen 2000:79). The active translation added by the present author therefore reflects the syntactic relations which are crucial for understanding the case system.

- (11) á-cúònd`-ì-gì`. V-A+ERG
 COMP-call+M-SUF-3.PL.A+ERG
 "They called him/her/it/them." (Andersen 1988:298)
- Päri verb-initial clauses—marked-nominative
- (12) pìr ñò ì pâlɛ cícù-é. V S-ERG
 matter what LINK jump man-ERG
 "Why did the man jump?" (Andersen 1988:318)
- (13) pìr ñò ì cùòl yí jùpònd`-è. V O A-ERG
 matter what LINK call 3.SG.O child-ERG
 "Why did the child call her?" (Andersen 1988:319)
- (14) pìr ñò jùpònd`-ò² dháago ì cùòl-é gò. A O V-A O_{PPRON}
 matter what child woman LINK call-3.SG.A 3s.O
 "Why did the child call the woman?" (Andersen 1988:319)
- (15) pìr ñò ì cùòl-é dháagò. V-A O
 matter what LINK call-3.SG.A woman
 "Why did he call the woman?" (Andersen 1988:319)
- (16) páy-y-ú! V-S
 jump-2.PL
 "Jump!" (Andersen 1988:317)

Päri has grammaticalized focus. There are three different means by which focus is encoded: First, the verb takes a suffix *-a*, and the focused participants are placed after the verb. This applies to core participants. Second, various prepositions, such as *kè* or *káà*, sometimes jointly with tonal changes on the verb, precede the focused participant. This applies to peripheral participants; *káà* is the focus form of the instrumental preposition *kí* (see Andersen 1988:313). If not explicitly expressed otherwise, the term "focus clause" will be restricted to clauses in which focus is expressed by the verbal suffix *-a* only.

Focus clauses constitute a pattern of their own. Every constituent order is possible. The focused participant usually follows the verb, which takes the focus suffix *-a* (see 17a & 17b³). The free constituent order allows VS-order, as in 19a, but in this position the ergative case marker cannot occur with S (see 19b). In VA-order, A takes the ergative case marker (see 18). Therefore, even in focus clauses the case suffix *-i* serves as an ergative case. Neither S nor O can take the case suffix *-i* (see 17b & 20). The only participant which can take the case suffix *-i* is A (see 18). Andersen suggests that the encoding of A in a focus clause, as in 18, is a recent development, whereas the restriction of S to be encoded in the ergative, as in 19a, reflects the older pattern (see Andersen 2000:74). Most focus clauses would be ergative if not focused. As they

² Suffix *-ò* remains unglossed by the author cited.

³ The focus suffix *-a* appears here as *-o*.

are independent declarative or interrogative clauses they would mostly belong to NP-initial clauses. But there are also focus clauses which correspond to VP-initial clauses if not focused, such as imperatives (see Andersen 2000:72) (see 21a & 21b). This does not affect the behavior of the ergative case. In focus clauses, the only participant which can be encoded by the ergative is A. Andersen suggests (2000:75) that the ergative in focus clauses helps to disambiguate A and O, as both constituent orders are possible (see 22a & 22b). The ergative case marker can appear with independent pronouns as well (see 23b). Pragmatically, the use of independent pronouns expressing A is highly marked. Since Pāri is, with regard to A, a pro-drop language, A is usually expressed by bound verbal suffixes only. Still, if A is focused it is regularly expressed by the independent pronoun placed after the verb in the ergative case (23b). Note that the bound pronominal suffix is dropped also in focus clauses if A is expressed by the independent pronoun (see 23b).

Pāri—focus clauses (focus constituents are printed in bold)

- (17a) dháagò càm-ò. S V
 woman eat.AP-SUF
 “The woman is eating.” (Andersen 2000:72)
- (17b) càm'-ò-ò dháagò. V S
 eat.AP.FOC-SUFF-FOC woman
 “**The woman** is eating.” (Andersen 2000:72)
- (18) thóondh-í' pát-tà jìpònd-è mâr-ê. O V A-ERG
 rope.AB-DEM1 undo-FOC child-ERG some-ERG
 “This rope has been undone by **some boy**.” (Andersen 2000:74)
 [Syntactic structure: **Some boy** does undo this rope.]
- (19a) mì'èl-á ?áaní. V-FOC S
 dance-FOC 1.SG
 “I am dancing.” (Andersen 2000:74)
- (19b) *mì'èl-á ?áañì. V-FOC S-ERG
 dance-FOC 1.SG.ERG (Andersen 2000:74)
- (20) ùbúr kwál-à dhìej. Ubur steal-FOC cow
 “Ubur stole **the cow**.” (Andersen 1988:315)
- (21a) thà'ándhú kwàn!
 cook.2.PL.A porridge
 “Cook porridge!” (Andersen 2000:72)
- (21b) thà'ándhú kì kwàn!
 cook.2.PL.A FOC porridge
 “Cook **the porridge**!” (Andersen 2000:72)

- (22a) dháagò ʔíc-cà ñipòndǎ. A V O
 woman wake.up-FOC child
 "The woman woke **the child** up." (Andersen 2000:75)
- (22b) dháagò ʔíc-cà ñipònd-ě. O V A
 woman wake.up-FOC child-ERG
 "**The child** woke the woman up." (Andersen 2000:75)
- (23a) dháagò á-púod`-à. O V-A
 woman COMP-beat-1.SG.A
 "I beat the woman." (Andersen 1988:311)
- (23b) dháagò púot-à ʔáañ-i. O V A
 woman beat-FOC 1.SG-ERG
 "I beat the woman." (Andersen 1988:311)

It remains unclear which bound pronouns are used in focus clauses. The few examples presented by Andersen allow for a guess only. Bound pronouns in focus clauses are in need of an explanation: In the latter, a non-focused A occurs as a prefixed pronominal clitic, which otherwise is restricted to encode S or O only (see 24a & 24b). Reh (1996:200ff.) claims for Anywa that the focus suffix *-a*, which corresponds to *-a* in Pāri, may originate in the copula *ʔā* "to be something", and that focus clauses are intransitive (1996:349, footnote). The odd behavior of the bound personal pronouns would be consistent if focus clauses are of intransitive origin and have retained some features of their intransitive status, such as the prefixed bound pronouns originally referring to S.

There are no examples presented by Andersen which would show the bound pronominal patterns in clauses with *kì*. Focused clauses in which the focused participant is prefixed by *káà* show a different pattern of bound pronouns than focus clauses with focus being expressed on the verb by the suffix *-a*. With focus expressed by *káà*, A is suffixed on the verb by a bound pronoun, just as in non-focused clauses (see 25).

- (24a) (yí-)néend-á ʔáaní.
 (3SG.A-)see+M-FOC 1.SG.O
 "He is looking **at me**." (Andersen 1988:312)
- (24b) á-néend-á yíní.
 1.SG.A-see+M-FOC 3.SG.O
 "I am looking **at him**." (Andersen 1988:312)
- (25) ɲòori rùud`-à káà p̀lam.
 cow=peas grind-1.SG.A PREP.FOC grinding=stone
 "I ground the cow/peas **with a grinding stone**." (Andersen 1988:313)

To summarize, ergativity in Pāri is restricted to certain clause types, such as indicative clauses (= NP-initial) and focus clauses. Other clauses (i.e. verb-initial

ones), such as imperative and most subordinate clauses, are marked-nominative. The only case marker, irrespective of the clause type, is the suffix *-i*. The marked-nominative and the ergative case systems share some features, in particular the following: Case marking is restricted to nouns used after the verb; there is no case inflexion before the verb. This feature is widespread in East Africa, as we will see in section 6.3.

Passive

If an NP-initial clause is passivized, the ergative case is not used. This is in accordance with what is to be expected by an ergative case. As the ergative case in the active clause encodes A only, and A is dropped in a passive clause, the remaining SV structure shows the same encoding patterns as active intransitive clauses belonging to NP-initial clauses: S appears preverbally without case marking (see 26b). 26a presents the active variant of 26b (see Andersen 1988:299).

Päri—Passive in NP-initial clauses

- (26a) dhien á-kwál-é. O V-A
 cow COMP-steal-3.SG.A
 ‘He stole the cow.’ (Andersen 1988:299)

- (26b) dhien á-kwál’. S V
 cow COMP-steal+PAS
 ‘The cow was stolen.’ (Andersen 1988:299)

Passives of verb-initial clauses, however, show some irregularities with regard to the encoding of S which are in need of an explanation:

- (i) In Päri, the ergative which serves in an active clause as a nominative case (see 27b) does not occur in the corresponding passive clause (see 27a). The corresponding active clause follows a marked-nominative pattern (see 27b) in which A occurs in the nominative case. In the passive clause, however, the nominative is not used. Instead, S occurs in the morphologically unmarked accusative form, even when placed after the verb (see 27a).
- (ii) Passive is marked on the verb by tonal change (HL) for simple stems, or by a suffix *-i* for derived verbs (Andersen 1988:299). There is a further morpho-phonological rule according to which the O-enclitic pronoun at the end of a suffixless verb changes from *yí* to *lí* in a verb-initial clause (see 27b). This rule, which is restricted to O in active clauses, does apply to S in the corresponding passive clause (see 27c). In other words, once again, the passive S is treated like O and not like A.
- (iii) In passive clauses, a pronominal S is encoded by the accusative pronouns which, in a corresponding active clause, refer to O (see 27d), and again, S is treated like O in a passive clause and not like A.

Päri—Passive in verb-initial clauses

- (27a) n-à-thaal¹ rìjò-ǎ́, [...] V S
 when-PAST-cook.PAS meat-CONT
 “When the meat was cooked, [...]” (Andersen 2000:78)
- (27b) rìjò n-à-thaal-lí dháag-è-ǎ́, [...] O V O_{pp} A-ERG
 meat when-PAST-cook-3.SG.A woman-ERG-CONT
 “When the meat was cooked by the woman, [...]” (Andersen 2000:79)
 [Syntactic structure: When the woman cooked the meat.]
- (27c) rìjò n-à-thaal-lí-ǎ́, [...] S V-S
 meat when-PAST-cook.PAS-3.SG.S-CONT
 “When the meat was cooked, [...]” (Andersen 2000:79)
- (27d) pìr ñò dháagò Ì cúol¹ gò. S V S_{pp}
 matter what woman LINK call.PAS 3.SG.S
 “Why was the woman called?” (Andersen 2000:78)

The notion of the agent is absent in a passive clause in Päri. All active clauses corresponding to the passive clauses presented above are marked-nominative (VP-initial). As we saw above, S in a passive clause is treated like O in various ways: When expressed nominally, the case used for S is the morphologically unmarked form which in the corresponding active clause is used for O. When expressed pronominally, S occurs in the pronoun which in the corresponding active clause is used for O. With regard to a morpho-phonological rule which applies to bound pronouns, S behaves like O in a corresponding active clause. Andersen (2000:66) therefore assumes that “the logical object remains a grammatical rather than turning into a grammatical subject as in Reh’s analysis”. As will be shown below, in corresponding passive clauses the expression of the agent is possible in Anywa. Therefore, the situation with regard to passive might at least differ in this respect, though not in other respects (see 3.1.1.2).

The irregular behavior of passive clauses is also found in other marked-nominative languages, such as Maa, Turkana, and Nandi (see chapter 4). It might be that, similar to Maa, the passive clause goes back to a structure in which the passive suffix *-i*, used on derived stems, has been a personal pronoun of the third person plural for derived stems *-i-gĩ*, so that the passive clause originally had a transitive structure (“They cooked the meat” in 27a), which was reanalyzed as “the meat was cooked”.

Table 3.2 lists the case patterns found in Päri. NP-initial clauses are purely ergative with regard to case, constituent order, cross-reference, and bound pronouns. Focus clauses are a mixture of ergative case marking and accusative alignment with regard to bound pronouns, verb-initial clauses are a mixture of marked-nominative case marking and accusative alignment with regard to bound pronouns.

Table 3.2 Case patterns in Pări

| Clause type | Constituent order | Cross-reference affixes | Bound pronouns | Ergative case marker -i ⁴ | Case patterns |
|--------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| NP-initial | Ergative | Ergative | Ergative | Ergative | Pure ergative |
| | SV | | S-V | * | |
| | OVA | | O-V | A-ì | |
| | AOV | | | * | |
| Verb-initial | None | V-A | Accusative | Marked-nominative | Marked-nominative |
| | VS | | V-S | S-ì | |
| | AVO | | V-A | | |
| | V O A, if O is pronominal | | | A-ì, if O is pronominal | |
| | AOV | | | *not passive clauses | |
| Focus | All | | Accusative | Ergative | Ergative/accusative |
| | | | S-V | nouns & pronouns | |
| | | | A-V | A-ì | |

3.1.1.2 Anywa Pări and Anywa show many similarities but, according to Reh (1996), Anywa has no case inflexion. The ergative case marker of Pări is a definite marker in Anywa: A comparison between the two languages will show that there are in fact differences. In Anywa, as in Pări, syntax is split. All clauses either follow the so-called NP-initial or the verb-initial clauses. As in Pări, the focus clause constitutes a separate clause type. The three basic clause types are manifested with regard to constituent order, cross-referencing either expressed by bound pronouns or affixes, and the use of the definite marker. In table 3.3, these features are listed with regard to the different syntactic patterns. Note that in table 3.3 the term ergative refers to manifestations of ergative patterns, not to grammaticalized case. The case patterns presented in table 3.3 will be illustrated below.

NP-initial

NP-initial clauses in Anywa show purely ergative patterns with regard to constituent order, cross-reference, and bound pronouns. With reference to all three features, S is treated like O and simultaneously different than A. NP-initial clauses occur either with SV- or OVA-order (see 28 & 29), which means that S and O precede the verb and A follows, usually marked by the definiteness marker -Cì (and its allomorphs; see below). In this constituent order no further marking of core participants is needed, such as cross-referencing of any core participant on the verb.

⁴ The Pări suffix -i corresponds to the definite marker -Cì in Anywa.

Table 3.3 Case patterns in Anywa

| Clause type | Constituent order | Cross-reference affix | Bound pronouns | Definite marker -Ci for nouns only | Case patterns |
|--------------|---|----------------------------|---------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| NP-initial | Ergative SV OVA AOV | Ergative V-A | Ergative S-V O-V | Ergative * A-Ci * | Pure ergative |
| Verb-initial | Ergative , for nominal O VS AVO V O A, if O is pronominal | | Accusative V-S V-A | Marked-nominative S-Ci A-Ci, if O is pronominal *not in passive | Ergative/marked-nominative |
| Focus | no case distinction | | Accusative S-V A-V | Marked-nominative S-Ci A-Ci like case marker to distinguish AVO from OVA | Marked-nominative/none |

Instead of OVA, AOV-order may be used (see 30). In the latter, the definite suffix cannot be used. The only participant being cross-referenced is A in AOV-order (see 30). S and O, when expressed pronominally, appear as bound pronouns in the same position before the verb as when they are expressed nominally (see 31 for S, and 32–33 for O). NP-initial clauses, therefore, show an ergative pattern with regard to constituent order and with regard to bound personal pronouns. With regard to the use of the definite marker, there is mostly an ergative pattern since there is a strong tendency for A to be basically the only core participant which can occur with the definite marker (for further discussion, see below).

Anywa (Northern Lwoo, West Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan)—NP initial clause⁵

- (28) wàaŋi lwɔɔr. S V
grandmother.his be.afraid
“His grandmother is afraid.” (Reh 1996:311)

- (29) dīcāŋ āciēl lūmmé ā-wīŋ éní. O V A
day one talk.P.MN.3SG.A PAST-hear her/him.DEF⁶
“One day she/he heard about her/him.” (Reh 1996:312)

⁵ Emphasis in bold, here and elsewhere, is mine.

⁶ According to my analysis, “he/she” would be a more appropriate gloss.

- (30) ó òimó tón wànní ā-kwáa-é. A O V-A
 son.mn Dimo spear.mn uncle.his PAST-ask.for-3SG.A
 "Dimo's son asked for his uncle's spear." (Reh 1996:311)
- (31) 'āan-ā-tèeDó. S-V
 1SG.S-PAST-COOK.PD
 "I cooked." (Reh 1996:190)
- (32) gēn-ū-tèén jìlāal-ŋ. O-V
 3.PL.O-FUT-COOK.PD.BEN child-DEF
 "The child will cook for them." (Reh 1996:190)
- (33) wā-gèen-gí ká lùum. O-V-A
 1.PL.EX.O-build.PD.BEN.CC-3PL.A CC grass
 "They build for us with grass." (Reh 1996:191)

In verb-initial clauses, essentially the only participants which can take the definite marker are S (see 35b) and A. This establishes an accusative pattern. A, however, can take the definite marker only when O is expressed pronominally. Similarly to Pāri, VAO-order is restricted by the rule "no more than one nominal core participant behind the verb" in Anywa (see 37b); instead, AVO-order is used (see 37a). As a result of this general constraint, verb-initial clauses follow mostly an ergative constituent order, as these clauses show either VS- (see 36), or AVO-order (see 37a); VAO-order is excluded with two nominal participants (see 37b). If A is expressed by a bound pronoun only, V-AO-order is possible (see 38). With regard to cross-reference, verb-initial clauses show an accusative pattern. The only participants which can be expressed by suffixal bound pronouns on the verb are A and S (see 34 & 35a). O cannot be expressed at all on the verb.

With regard to the definite marker -Cŷ, verb-initial clauses show an accusative pattern as well, as S and A are treated the same and simultaneously different from O. Because of the constraint according to which VA-order in verb-initial clauses can only appear when O is expressed pronominally, the occurrence of the definite marker with A in this clause type is extremely rare; Reh (1996) does not provide any example.

Anywa—verb-initial clause

- (34) willí mǎn-ā-màaDDHí pìi kī gó [...] V-A O
 glass REL.S-PAST-drink.2.SG.A water OBL it
 "The glass out of which (s)he⁷ drank water [...]" (Reh 1996:192)
- (35a) n-ā-dùu-ē, [...] V-S
 C-PAST-come.back-3.SG.S
 "When (s)he came back, [...]" (Reh 1996:192)

⁷ According to my analysis "you" would be the appropriate translation.

- (35b) n-ā-òo jówwì [...] V S.DEF
 c-PAST-come people.DEF
 "When the people come [...]" (Reh 1996:318)
- (36) [...] óo mùél jówwí. V S
 and dance people.REF
 "[...] and the people dance." (Reh 1996:313)
- (37a) jìlál n-ā-kéel líeē kī tǒŋ, [...] A V O
 child c-PAST-hit.3.SG.A elephant OBL spear
 "After the child had speared the elephant, [...]" (Reh 1996:315)
- (37b) But *n-ā-kéel jìlál-lì líeē kī tǒŋ, [...] *V A O
 c-PAST-hit.3.SG.A child-DEF elephant OBL spear (Reh 1996:315)
- (38) [...] òo lóŋ tírí. V-A O
 and swallow.3.SG.A bead.SGT
 "[...] and (s)he swallowed the bead." (Reh 1996:319)

A comparison between the definite marker -Ci in Anywa and the ergative case marker -i in Pāri

As mentioned before, the ergative case marker -i in Pāri corresponds to the definite marker -Ci (with its allomorphs -Ci⁸, -è, and ∅) in Anywa. There is an overwhelming tendency to consider that the definite marker -Ci on S and A can only occur after the verb. This is also the view expressed by Andersen (2000:72–3)⁹. There are counterexamples to this rule (see 39): In 39, the definite marker -Ci is also used before the verb with a possessor. These are rare occurrences, however. The overall behavior of -Ci is such that it is restricted to use after the verb. Consequently, in NP-initial clauses, the only participant which can take the definite suffix is A (see 29), and in verb-initial clauses S (see 35b) and A.

Anywa

- (39) n-a-lèŋ-gí gò nàam, mù léer-rí a-ní-lǐŋ.
 c-PAST-throw.BITV-3PL.A them river mother.MN Leer-DEF PAST-be-sinking
 "When they had thrown them into the river, Leer's mother sank."
 (Reh 1996:518)

Reh gives the following description of -Ci:

Definiteness is not obligatorily indicated in Anywa in the case of preverbal nominal participants and postverbal ones other than those in S- or A-function. (Reh 1996:137)

⁸ Capital C stands for a consonant, indicating that if the noun stem ends in a consonant the latter is reduplicated (see Reh 1996:138ff.)

⁹ "[...] a postverbal subject in Anywa may take a suffix which cannot occur anywhere else" (Andersen 2000:72). "In Pāri, as in Anywa, the suffix [definite article] cannot occur anywhere else but in a postverbal subject" (Andersen 2000:73).

Andersen (1988:294) interprets the equivalent suffix in Pări as an ergative case marker. Such an analysis would be definitely wrong in the case of Anywa because there is a contrast between clauses in which the S- or A-participant is marked by this suffix and those in which it is not. If the suffix were a case marker, such a contrast would not be possible. It remains to be investigated whether the contrast has been overlooked in the case of Pări, which may easily happen since indefinite S- and A-participants in post-verbal position are rare pragmatically, or whether this definite marker has really developed into a case suffix in the case of Pări. (Reh, footnote 1996:137)

Reh rejects the hypothesis of *-Ci* being a case marker in Anywa mainly for the reason that *-Ci* does not occur obligatorily with S and A after the verb: *-Ci* can appear with S and A after the verb but it must not. She hypothesizes that Andersen in Pări might have overlooked a similar variation with the corresponding suffix *-i*. Andersen (2000) reacts to this by stating that Pări *-i* definitely is a case marker and that no variation of the kind found in Anywa is possible (see examples below.)

In Pări, as at least overwhelmingly also in Anywa, the definite marker *-Ci* is only possible for S and A if they follow the verb. What distinguishes Pări from Anywa is the following: In Anywa, the definite marker *-Ci* is not obligatory for S and A when they follow the verb (Reh 1996:137–8). In 40a, A appears with the definite marker, but not in 40b. Both examples belong to the NP-initial clauses. In Pări, the only pattern possible would be 40a according to Andersen (2000).

Anywa

(40a) rĩḡō ā-cám ḡlāl-l̥.

meat PAST-eat child-DEF

“The child ate the meat (up).” (Reh 1996:137)

(40b) but rĩḡō ā-cám ḡlāl.

meat PAST-eat child

“A child eat¹⁰ the meat (up).” (Reh 1996:137)

According to Andersen (2000:72–3), the Pări suffix *-i* undoubtedly is a case marker, not a definite marker. This can be seen in the fact that *-i* can be used, first, with personal pronouns which are inherently definite (see 41a) and, second, with noun phrases which are explicitly indefinite (41b).

Pări

(41a) kwàn cá-m-à ʔáan̥.

porridge eat-FOC 1.SG.ERG

“I ate the porridge.” (Andersen 2000:73)

(41b) ʔáan-á-yànj-ì málán-nì mōḡ-ê.

1.SG.O-PAST-insult.M-SUF women-ERG some.PL-ERG

“I was insulted by some women.” (Andersen 2000:74)

[Syntactical structure: Some woman insulted me.]

¹⁰ According to the glosses “ate” would be more appropriate.

A note by Buth (1981) corroborates the analysis of the suffix under consideration being a case marker. As will be shown below, in Jur-Luwo there is a suffix *-ê* serving as a case marker, showing striking similarities to Pări's suffix *-i*. The data presented by Buth does not contain any example with an indefinite noun. Nevertheless, a hint is given by the following note. This note has to be taken seriously, as Buth differentiates strictly between definite and indefinite objects.

The noun subjects in this paper are grammatically ambiguous concerning definiteness.

(Buth 1981:74)

This note confirms, first, that *-ê* in Jur-Luwo is not a definite marker and, second, that *-ê* can appear both with definite and indefinite nouns in Jur-Luwo.

In Lango, a fellow West Nilotic language without case, there is no marker exclusively expressing definiteness; there are three demonstratives suffixed to the noun each of which also conveys a definiteness meaning. Among them there is the near demonstrative *-nî* (singular), *-gî* (plural). According to Noonan, subjects always get a definite interpretation if not marked otherwise (see Noonan 1992:161). With regard to tone and the vowel, the definiteness marker in Lango is identical to the marker in Anywa and Pări: Both are low-toned, and both have the vowel *-i*. If the near demonstrative of Lango has the same origin as the definiteness marker in Anywa and Pări, Lango would reflect an earlier stage in the grammaticalization from definiteness to case.

Focus clauses

As in Pări, in Anywa there are also focus clauses which share most features with Pări focus clauses. As in Pări, focus clauses in Anywa are formally marked by a verbal suffix, namely by *-a* in Anywa; they have a free constituent order and the focused participant appears after the verb. However, there is one significant difference: In Anywa, the definite marker follows the rule as in other clauses if it can be used at all with S and A in postverbal position (see 43). In Pări, however, the corresponding ergative case suffix is restricted to its ergative function: It is not allowed with S even when placed postverbally (see 18 & 19b). Note, that Reh does not present an intransitive focus clause.

Anywa—focus clause

- (42) *jìlálám-á rìŋō.* A V O
 child eat-FOC meat
 "The child is eating (the) meat." (Reh 1996:236)

- (43) *rìŋō cām-á jìlál-ì.* O V A
 meat eat-FOC child-DEF
 "The child has eaten the meat."¹¹ (Reh 1996:236)

¹¹ It remains unclear why 42 has a progressive translation whereas 43 has a perfect translation.

In Anywa, focus clauses show the following case patterns:

- (i) Cross-reference expressed by bound pronouns: A and S are treated in the same way and different from O. Thus, pronouns follow an accusative pattern. As in Pàri, S and A are expressed by prefixes (see 44 & 45), O never is.

(44) g̀r-cíŋŋ-ā jáal. A-V O
 3.PL.A-send.message.BEN-FOC old.man
 "They are sending a message on behalf of the old man." (Reh 1996:237)

(45) g̀r-bòDDHá jì pòolíis. S-V
 3.SG.S-escape.FOC BEN police
 "They escaped the policemen." (Reh 1996:238)

- (ii) Constituent order: With regard to constituent order, every order is possible, such as SV (see 47), AVO (see 42), or OVA (see 43). The constituent order shows no case pattern. Instead, constituent order is constrained by the following factors: First, a focused participant must follow the verb and, second, no more than one nominal core participant is allowed after the verb. If A is focused, it has to be placed in VA-order, as it has to follow the focus suffix. Now, O automatically needs to be placed in front of the verb, because of the constraint just mentioned. The result is OVA-order (see 43). In the latter, the definite suffix -Ci is the only clue for the hearer to decide what is A and what is P.

(46) p̀ùDDHó wéeGG-á 'ēnī. A V IO
 field leave.IDF-FOC 3.SG
 "The field is left to her/him". (Reh 1996:239)

(47) lám-bá lier-ā wí tàràbézà. S V
 lamp hang.IDF-FOC above table
 "The lamp is hanging above the table." (Reh 1996:238)

- (iii) Definite marker -Ci: A comparison between focus clauses with AVO- and OVA-order (see 42 and 43) illustrates the following: NP V NP is interpreted as AVO if the NP following the verb does not take the definite marker -Ci (see 42). NP V NP is interpreted as OVA if the NP following the verb takes the definite marker -Ci (see 43).

(48) n̄r-sóé ú-dhóDDHá càaG A V O
 calf.PL HAB-suck.FOC milk
 "Calves suck milk." (Reh 1996:239)

Reh points out, as already mentioned above, that the focus suffix probably goes back to an identifying copula 'ā meaning "to be something" (1996:239); thus, example 48 may go back to a structure meaning: "Calves used to suckle (it) is milk". Considering this as the basis for clauses having verbs in a focus form, the basic clause is always an intransitive SV followed by a copula-clause in COP X-order.

Reh classifies focus clauses as NP-initial clauses (1996:242, 327, 340). Andersen (2000:71–2) has shown convincingly that this classification is controversial: First, unlike NP-initial clauses, focus clauses can appear with a postverbal object in AVO-order (see 42). Second, Reh does not present intransitive focus clauses but, in the neighboring language Pāri, intransitive focus clauses can appear with a VS-order, again unlike in NP-initial clauses (see 17b). Furthermore, Andersen (2000) doubts Reh's (1996:349) analysis that focus clauses are intransitive. He argues that, if focus clauses were intransitive, the verb should show the typical derivational behavior which in other clauses would be required in this case. Anywa is very strict in this respect: Either all core participants must be expressed or the verb root has to be derived in order to be used with a different valency (see Reh 1996). A transitive verb used intransitively should be derived by the antipassive extension in order to delete the object. Despite Andersen's doubts there are also arguments in favor of Reh's analysis, such as the presence of the prefixed bound pronouns encoding S and A. Irrespective of whether focus clauses are transitive today but still show traces of their intransitive origin, it is obvious that focus clauses establish a class of their own and cannot be subsumed under NP-clauses. Therefore, in table 3.3 focus clauses are presented as a separate type.

Passive

Reh presents two derivations which are likely to be passive: One, called passive by her (1996), occurs in verb-initial clauses only, while the other, called "indefinite person" by her, occurs in NP-initial clauses only (Reh 1996:383–385). Andersen argues that indefinite person corresponds to the passive clause in NP-initial clauses and that both are passives (2000:77–8). S being placed before the verb never gets the definite marker, as expected; this holds for passives of both NP-initial and verb-initial clauses (see 49 & 50). In passive clauses corresponding to active verb-initial clauses, S can additionally occur after the verb (see 51b). Yet, when there is VS-order, S cannot take the definite marker (see 51b). As has been shown, in a verb-initial active clause, S would take the definite marker. Lack of the definite marker for S in VS-order would suggest that, as in Pāri, S in passive clauses is treated like O in Anywa. In verb-initial passives it is possible to express the agent, which is placed after the verb preceded optionally by the preposition *nā* (see 52). The latter is impossible in Pāri (see 3.1.1.1 on the passive).

Anywa—Passive NP-initial clause

- (49) *jàál ā-gèenní.* SV
 old.man PAST-build.PD.BEN-IDF
 "Somebody built for the old man." (Reh 1996:192)

Passive verb-initial clause

- (50) *óo ēní óo maa-ì.* SV
 and 3.SG and catch-PAS
 "And s/he was caught." (Reh 1996:263)

- (51a) óo cà-m-ē kwán. V-A O
 and eat-3.SG.A porridge
 "[...] and ate the porridge." (Reh 1996:355)
- (51b) óo cà-m kwán. VS
 and eat.PAS porridge
 "[...] and the porridge was eaten." (Reh 1996:355)
- (52) gín-ógó n-ā-wíjní (nā) kwá-lá-só, [...]
 thing.MN-that C-PAST-hear.PAS (by) headman
 "When this was heard by the headman, [...]" (Reh 1996)

Concerning case patterns, other than case inflexion, Pāri and Anywa, again, behave identically in the following features (see tables 3.2 and 3.3 above): NP-initial clauses show basically an ergative pattern with regard to constituent order, cross-reference, and bound pronouns. Bound pronouns are used only when not expressed otherwise; cross-referenced pronouns are used when expressed nominally as well. Verb-initial clauses show an accusative pattern with bound pronouns; S and A occur as suffixes; O cannot be cross-referenced. In focus clauses, the constituent order shows no case pattern at all, as every order is possible. Bound pronouns show an accusative pattern; A and S are prefixed; O is not cross-referenced. Unlike in Pāri, NP-clauses in Anywa have an ergative constituent order if A and O are expressed nominally. Concerning the ergative case marker *-i* in Pāri and the definite marker *-Ci* in Anywa, the similarities are striking: In both languages, the marker under consideration shows an ergative pattern in NP-initial clauses, a marked-nominative pattern in V-initial clauses. In focus clauses, Anywa and Pāri differ—in Pāri the case marker shows an ergative pattern, in Anywa a marked-nominative pattern. In both languages, the markers under consideration are reserved for the use after the verb. Unlike in Pāri, in Anywa the use is restricted to definite nouns only, and, unlike in Pāri, the definite marker in Anywa is not obligatory, and, unlike in Pāri, the definite marker in Anywa does not occur with pronouns.

Ignoring Reh's analysis, it would be possible to claim that Anywa is a case language in which case is restricted to definite nouns only. There are other languages in Africa where case is restricted to definite nouns (such as Amharic, some Berber languages, Haro; see section 5.2). On this analysis, both Anywa and Pāri would be split-ergative languages with either an ergative or a marked-nominative system. In Anywa, the ergative case would be more restricted than in Pāri: First, because case is restricted to definite nouns, second, because in Anywa, focus clauses are not ergative and, third, because in Anywa case is restricted to nouns; therefore case is neutralized with first and second person. Other than that, the restrictions of the two languages are the same: In both languages, there is one case form only, namely a suffix *-Ci* or *-i*, which is opposed to a morphologically unmarked form. In both languages, case is neutralized with participants used before the verb. The question therefore arises whether under such limited conditions it is really appropriate to speak of case in

the first place; note that other languages with a case system restricted to definite nouns only usually have more than one case form which can be morphologically distinguished.

The split conditions in Anywa and Pări are similar concerning the constraint “no case before the verb”, but they differ since in Anywa case marking is restricted to definite nouns only and there is a person split. In Pări, case marking is not restricted to definite nouns; indefinite nouns and pronouns are case-inflected, too; therefore, there is no split with regard to person or definiteness in Pări.

If one should favor Reh’s analysis in saying that *-Cì* is a definite marker, some questions remain unanswered, such as the following: Why should the definite marker be largely restricted in its use to S and A, and why should the definite marker be largely restricted to postverbal use? If analyzing *-Cì* as a case marker, both restrictions would make sense, the first one for obvious reasons, and the latter would follow the general pattern in East Africa: No case before the verb; see section 5.3. Whatever analysis one prefers, whether saying that *-Cì* is a definite marker or is a case marker, the data suggest from a historical perspective that both have experienced the same development but that Anywa reflects an earlier stage than Pări (see 3.1.1.4).

3.1.1.3 Jur-Luwo

NP-initial clauses

The little that is available on Jur-Luwo suggests that inflexional case and case patterns are similar to Pări. As in Anywa and Pări, Jur-Luwo has a syntax distinguishing between verb-initial and NP-initial clauses. In the latter, the suffix *-ê* appears to be an ergative case marker,¹² encoding A only (see 53a), while S and O appear in the morphologically unmarked form (see 53a, 53b, & 53d). In NP-initial clauses, the constituent order is basically ergative, as O and S appear preverbally and A postverbally (see 53a, 53b, & 53d). As in Anywa and Pări, A can alternatively be placed preverbally, resulting in an AOV-order. Then, A has to be cross-referenced after the verb. In this order, there is no longer any ergative case marker (see 53c). This again is the same as in Anywa and Pări. In Pări in general, the case marker does not appear before the verb, which, as mentioned above, is a general feature of East African case languages. Bound personal pronouns follow an ergative pattern as well: O (see 53e) and S (see 53f) are expressed preverbally and A postverbally (see 53e).

Jur-Luwo (Nilotic, West, Lwoo, Northern, Nilo-Saharan)—NP-initial clauses

(53a) nyākōw á-gōj nyîdhôôg-ê.¹³ O V A-ERG

girl PAST-hit boy-ERG

“The boy hit the girl.” (Buth 1981:75)

¹² Buth (1981) calls the suffix *-ê* a “subject marker”. In order to be consistent, the present author will refer to it as an ergative case marker. Buth’s glosses have been changed where necessary for convenience of the reader.

¹³ The symbol ^ stands for a breathy vowel, e.g. ê for a breathy vowel e (see Buth 1981:89, footnote 1).

- (53b) nyāakōw á-gōj-ì. O V-A
 girl PAST-hit-you(.SG)
 "You hit the girl." (Buth 1981:75)
- (53c) nyīdhōōk nyāakōw á-gōj-è. A O V-A
 boy girl PAST-hit-he
 "A/the boy hit the girl." (Buth 1981:74)
- Passive
- (53d) nyāakōw ā-gōc. S V
 girl PAST-hit.PAS
 "The girl was hit." (Buth 1981:75)
- (53e) ù-gōy-á. O-V-A
 you-hit-I
 "I hit you." (Buth 1981:83)
- (53f) (ŋo) ā-gōc. S-V
 he-hit.PAS
 "He was hit." (Buth 1981:84)

Verb-initial clauses

As in Pāri, in verb-initial clauses the ergative case functions like a marked-nominative case: The case suffix *-è* encodes A (see 54) and S (see 55) with nouns and with independent pronouns S (see 59) and A (see 60), but not O (see 61). With regard to constituent order there is one significant difference between Pāri and Anywa on the one hand, and Jur-Luwo on the other: Obviously, Jur-Luwo lacks the restriction according to which in verb-initial clauses only one nominal core participant is allowed after the verb; otherwise, a structure VAO-order with A and O being both nominal (see 54) should be ungrammatical, as it is in Pāri and Anywa.

As in Anywa and Pāri, bound pronouns for S and A only appear postverbally in verb-initial clauses (see 56 and 57); as in Anywa and Pāri, therefore, bound pronouns show an accusative pattern in verb-initial clauses. And as in Pāri, in verb-initial passive clauses S is treated like O, meaning that S appears in the morphologically unmarked form and cannot take the case suffix *-e*, which functions otherwise as a marked-nominative case in verb-initial clauses (see 58).

Jur-Luwo verb-initial clauses

- (54) máa gōj nyīdhōōg-ē nyāakōw. V A-ERG O
 and-then hit boy-ERG girl
 "And then the boy hit the girl." (Buth 1981:78)
- (55) ū-gōy nyīdhōōg-ē. V S-ERG
 and-hit boy-ERG
 "... and the boy hit." (Buth 1981:79)

- (56) máa gōj-è ȳō. V-A O
and-then hit-he her
“And then he hit her.” (Buth 1981:78)
- (57) ũ-gōōy-è ké ȳō. V-S PP
and-hit[PD]-he with it
“... and he hit with it.” (Buth 1981:79)
- Passive
- (58) máa gōj nyāakōw. V S
and-then hit(PAS) girl
“And then the girl was hit.” (Buth 1981:78)
- (59) máa gōōy gēn-ê. V S-ERG
and-then hit[PD] they-ERG
“And then they hit.” (Buth 1981:80)
- (60) máa gōj¹⁴ é gēn-è. V O A-ERG
and-then hit him they-ERG
“And then they hit him.” (Buth 1981:80)
- (61) máa gōj-è gēn. V-A O
and-then hit-he them
“And then he hit them.” (Buth 1981:80)

In sum, Jur-Luwo behaves the same as Pāri in the following respects: Jur-Luwo is a split ergative language; clauses either follow an ergative or a marked-nominative system. There is only one inflexional case form as suffix (-ê). This case suffix serves either as an ergative or a marked-nominative case form. The second core case, absolutive in the ergative and accusative in the marked-nominative system, is always covered by the morphologically unmarked form. In Jur-Luwo it seems that case is even more widespread than in Pāri as, at least in the marked-nominative system, free pronouns can also be case-inflected. As has been argued above (see section 3.1.1.2 on the discussion definite vs. case marker), case appears in Jur-Luwo with both definite and indefinite nouns. There is not enough data on focus clauses in Jur-Luwo. The case patterns of Jur-Luwo are largely similar to those of Pāri and Anywa: NP-initial clauses essentially show an ergative pattern in constituent order, bound pronouns, and cross-referencing. Verb-initial clauses show an accusative pattern in bound personal pronouns and constituent order, and a marked-nominative one in case. But the accusative pattern manifested in constituent order is different from that in Pāri and Anywa. Table 3.4 gives an overview of case patterns found in Jur-Luwo.

¹⁴ The original spelling gōj-é “hit-him” has been changed here.

Table 3.4 Case patterns in Jur-Luwo

| Clause type | Constituent order | Cross-reference affixes | Bound pronouns | Ergative case marker -ê with nouns & pronouns | Case pattern |
|--------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|--|
| NP-initial | Ergative SV OVA AOV | Ergative V-A | Ergative S-V O-V | Ergative * A-ê * | Pure ergative |
| Verb-initial | Accusative VS VAO | | Accusative V-S V-A | Marked-nominative S-ê A-ê | Marked-nominative Accusative |
| Focus | No information | | No information | No information | |

3.1.1.4 Historical development A comparison of the three languages under consideration has shown that they are overwhelmingly alike but they also differ in non-trivial ways, and this applies most of all to Anywa. Irrespective of whether Anywa -Cɪ is a definite marker or a case marker, it was argued above that Anywa reflects a historically earlier stage than Pāri—in other words, there is evidence to the effect that the ergative case marker of Pāri developed out of a definite marker. The distribution of marked-nominative and ergative clauses further suggests that the marked-nominative case has been grammaticalized to an ergative case marker and not the other way round. In Pāri, ergative clauses are main clauses, whereas marked-nominative clauses are imperatives, subordinate clauses, and questions—that is, in contexts where older syntactic patterns appear to have been preserved. The ergative case marker would have emerged via the following stages:

Definite marker > Marked-nominative case marker > Ergative case marker
[Grammaticalization of the ergative case marker -Cɪ in Pāri and Anywa.]

This hypothesis is in accordance with Andersen (1988:322) and Dixon (1994). Dixon's argument goes as follows: In Pāri the simple ergative pattern is only found in main clauses. This fact can be interpreted as a development from an earlier "marked-nominative" system; marked-nominative is found in imperatives and most types of subordinate clauses.¹⁵ Andersen presents a different view concerning historical development. In his view, the ergative marker is younger than the definite marker. He claims the following:

¹⁵ For an alternative view see Schröder 2005:14.

Ergative case marker > Definite marker

[Grammaticalization of the ergative case marker according to Andersen (2000:74).]

Reh (1996) reconstructs *-*Ǿ* as the proto-form for the definite marker in Anywa. This form is in accordance with the ergative suffix in Pāri used on nouns, namely a suffix -i. Yet, in the view of Andersen (2000:74), the ergative case marker with personal pronouns and possessed kinship terms, which is expressed by tonal change only, does exclude the possibility of the ergative case marker being derived from the definite marker. The ergative case is expressed by a low-extra low tone pattern which replaces a high-high pattern of personal pronouns, and the low-high of possessed kinship terms. This results in the ergative form *ʔáanì* “first person singular” (see 41a), as opposed to *ʔáaní* “first.person.absolutive”, or *wàr-ǎ* “my father.ergative”, as opposed to *wàr-á* “my father.absolutive”. In Andersen’s view, the ergative in Pāri therefore cannot be a younger development of the definite marker, since there are ergative forms expressed entirely by means of tone. Instead, in his view, it is more likely that the ergative refers to an older situation than the definite marker.

It would seem that ergative marking by tonal change only does not affect the hypothesis of the ergative case having emerged out of the definite marker. From a worldwide perspective it would be rather unusual if a case marker had been grammaticalized to a definite marker; rather findings on grammaticalization strongly suggest a development in the opposite direction. New case markers often emerge within the context of definite nouns (see Aikhenvald 1995 on Berber, and section 6.2 on Burji). With regard to Pāri, the development of case marking on nouns and on pronouns and kinship terms appears to be a more recent development than the one from definite marker to case marker. Conceivably, the source of the case marker used for personal pronouns and kinship terms in Pāri is different from that of nouns. The case suffix -*ê* of Jur-Luwo can occur with definite nouns, indefinite nouns, and pronouns (cf. the discussion on definite vs. case marker in sections 3.1.1.3 and 3.1.1.2). Therefore the data of Jur-Luwo would strengthen the hypothesis that the definite marker has given rise to the case marker, as hypothesized in table 3.5.

With regard to the two clause patterns found in Pāri and Anywa, a development from marked-nominative to ergative case system would suggest that NP-initial clauses developed out of verb-initial clauses—exactly as postulated by Andersen (1988):

Verb-initial clauses > NP-initial clauses.

Andersen (1988) claims Pāri to have a basic word order OVA (OVS in his terminology). This is a rare word order in general and even more so in ergative languages:

[...] and the Western Nilotic language Pāri has been claimed to have a basic OVS order, but no other case of exceptional constituent order pattern has been reported to my knowledge among African languages. (Creissels 2000: 250)

Table 3.5 The development of case marking in Pāri, Anywa, and Jur-Luwo

| Proto Anywa, Pāri, & Jur-Luwo | | Anywa | | Pāri | | Pāri |
|----------------------------------|---|---------------------|---|-----------------|---|-------------------------------|
| -*Cì | > | -Cì | > | -ì | > | low-extra low |
| | | | > | <i>Jur-Luwo</i> | | <i>Jur-Luwo</i> |
| | | | | -ê | | -ê |
| Definite marker | | (i) Definite marker | | Case marker | | Case marker |
| | | (ii) Case marker | | MNOM/ERG | | MNOM/ERG |
| | | MNOM/ERG | | with nouns | | personal pronouns |
| | | with definite nouns | | definite & | | (kinship terms) ¹⁶ |
| | | only | | indefinite | | |

As we saw above, Anywa and Jur-Luwo also have OVA-order. In the general literature on ergative languages, Mallinson and Blake (1981:123) say that “in practically every ergative language A precedes O”. And we also saw above that there are clauses which follow this principle, as AOV is a productive variant to OVA. The latter, however, is a productive ergative clause type in Jur-Luwo, Pāri, and Anywa.¹⁷ Therefore, the claim made by Mallinson and Blake does not hold for Pāri, Jur-Luwo, and Anywa. The OVA-order contradicts the generalization proposed by these authors. The unusual constituent order of the West Nilotic languages in question is thus in need of an explanation.

Andersen (1988) and Reh (1996) agree that OVA¹⁸ is an older constituent order which later on led to AOV—a development for which Andersen (1988) claims the following sequence of word order changes:

VAO > OVA > AOV

(i) With regard to Andersen’s original word order VAO (his VSO), Reh’s analysis would predict something different. Reh claims that transitive NP-initial clauses with AOV-order emerged from passive clauses, as in Table 3.6.

The OVA-order, reflected in transitive NP-initial clauses today, has emerged out of a passive clause. In Shilluk, another Northern Lwoo language, a passive clause with the structure *SV -yi Agent* is more common than its active variant with AVO-order (see section 3.1.2 below). Taking this *SV -yi Agent* clause as the source construction, S encodes the patient. The preposition *yi* is used with demoted agents to encode the agent in the passive clause. Due to its high frequency, the passive clause *SV -yi Agent* was reanalyzed to a transitive clause, resulting in an OVA-order. The reanalysis was driven by the semantics of the case roles of S and the peripheral participant in the source construction: S was reanalyzed as O, since in the passive clause S encodes the

¹⁶ Kinship terms in Pāri.

¹⁷ Anywa, if seen as an ergative case language.

¹⁸ They use S instead of A. In order to be consistent, I have changed S to A.

Table 3.6 The emergence of OVA-constituent order in Anywa

| Passive clause | | Active clause | | |
|----------------------|---|------------------------------|---|-----|
| <i>S V -yi Agent</i> | > | OVA | > | AOV |
| | | <i>NP-initial transitive</i> | | |
| <i>Shilluk</i> | | <i>Anywa</i> | | |

Source Reh 1996

patient. The agent of the passive clause, expressed as the peripheral participant placed after the verb, was reanalyzed as A. Reh argues that there are still traces of the Shilluk preposition *yi* left in Anywa, namely in the following morpho-phonological process: In Anywa verb roots there is an ending in a palatal consonant, usually realized as a voiceless stop [c]; but before a vowel-initial noun it is realized as a long glide [j:]. Anywa shows the following seemingly unmotivated change: *c* > *j*. This change might be a relic of the original **yi* preposition (Reh 1996:360). The active counterpart to the Shilluk passive structure is AVO. If Reh’s analysis is correct, AVO would be an old word order found in Northern Lwoo languages.

Andersen (1988, 2000:80–1) claims, however, that AVO is a new constituent order in Northern Lwoo and he questions Reh’s analysis. On his view, the ergative constituent order simply reflects the old intransitive constituent order, namely SV. It is in fact most likely that the constituent order SV of intransitive NP-clauses today reflects the original constituent order of the source constituent order SV/AVO. In other words, the source construction with an SV structure would have survived in the intransitive NP-initial clauses, which today show the same constituent order. The original constituent order SV *yi* Agent would have been reanalyzed only for transitive clauses as OVA. In table 3.7, both developments are presented together, the development of OVA (as presented in table 3.6) in addition to the survival of SV for intransitive clauses. Shilluk, reflecting the original source pattern, has an accusative system in its constituent order. This changed into an ergative pattern in Anywa (Päri and Jur-Luwo), as the reanalysis of the constituent order only applies to transitive clauses.

Table 3.7 The emergence of an ergative constituent order in Anywa

| Active clause— accusative pattern | | Passive clause | | | Active clause— ergative pattern | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|---|--|------------------------------------|--------------|
| | | <i>S V -yi Agent</i> | > | | OVA | > AOV |
| | | | | | <i>NP-initial transitive</i> | |
| AVO | | | | | SV | SV |
| SV | | | | | <i>NP-initial intransitive</i> | |
| <i>Shilluk</i> | <i>Shilluk</i> | | | | <i>Anywa</i> | <i>Anywa</i> |

Reh's analysis is corroborated by Plank's hypothesis about how ergative systems emerge out of accusative systems. Plank (1985a) maintains that the passive clause is one essential source structure for ergative patterns to arise out of an accusative system. He furthermore claims that the passive clause at an earlier stage, shortly before the grammaticalization started, is often a construction used with high frequency. Even if Plank refers to the emergence of an ergative case system, and Reh's analysis refers to the emergence of an ergative constituent order, the structures involved and the evolutionary stages hypothesized do correspond.

(ii) Reh furthermore argues that the verb-initial clauses were originally nominalized clauses (1996:436). The head-modifier structure of Anywa would sustain this hypothesis. In nominalized clauses, logical subjects or logical objects appear as possessors of the verbal noun. A clause like "he eats" would go back to a construction "it is his eating". Since in Anywa and Pāri the possessor is placed after the possessee, the initial structure could be paraphrased as "it is eating his", which is reanalyzed to "eats he" in the meaning "he eats". Traces of nominalization should still be found today on the verbs. One crucial point in this hypothesis is the question of whether possessive pronouns as used today in Anywa show similarities to bound pronouns used to encode S and A in verb-initial clauses. The paradigms presented for possessive pronouns (Reh 1996:142) and for bound pronouns used in verb-initial clauses (Reh 1996:194) would at least not exclude such an analysis. Nevertheless, Andersen questions this hypothesis (2000:82–3). Further investigations are required on constituent order and its historical development, as well as on the question of how the two clause types, verb-initial and NP-initial, emerged.

3.1.2 Group two: Shilluk

Group two consists of one language only, namely Shilluk, which has also been demonstrated to be an ergative language (Miller and Gilley 2001). Like Pāri, Jur-Luwo, and Anywa, Shilluk belongs to the Northern group of Lwoo. The ergative case is expressed by a tonal downstep and a preposition *yī*. Generally the tonal downstep is part of the verb: All transitive verbs are stressed and followed by a tonal downstep; all intransitive verbs are unstressed and without a tonal downstep. There are striking similarities in some respects to the ergative systems of the other Northern Lwoo languages Pāri, Jur-Luwo, and Anywa: First, the ergative occurs only after the verb. Second, the syntax is divided into two different clause types which also differ from one another in their ergative profile. Third, the unusual constituent order OVA/SV is basic in one of the two types. Fourth, ergative patterns are manifested in constituent order, cross-referencing, and independent pronouns. But there are also differences with respect to the other Northern Lwoo languages presented above: Unlike in Pāri, Anywa, and Jur-Luwo, the ergative case marker is

not expressed by a suffix or a postposed clitic but by a preposition which invariably precedes A.

Literature

Miller and Gilley (2001) present a significantly different analysis of Shilluk than all other authors before them. Westermann (1912:78), Kohnen (1933:136), Tucker and Bryan (1966:424–5), and Buth (1981:85–6) had all claimed that in Shilluk people “tend to speak in the passive”, meaning that most of the clauses are passive clauses. Miller and Gilley (2001:48ff.), however, doubt this analysis and claim instead that the so-called passive clause is not a passive but an active clause with an omitted agent and the so-called preposition, which introduces the agent in a passive clause, is an ergative case marker. Miller and Gilley argue (2001:49): First, the ergative case marker *yī* and the preposition *yī* “with” have been mixed up by previous authors. Kohnen (1933:136) presents a preposition *yī~i* which introduces agents in passive clauses (see 62a & 62b). Miller and Gilley suggest that Kohnen did not recognize that there are two different elements, one *yī* [+ATR] and one *yī* [–ATR], the first one being a preposition used to introduce peripheral participants such as destination; the second being the ergative case marker. Miller and Gilley (2001:48ff.) suggest further that Kohnen’s example 62a is likely to have the structure given in 62e, with a [–ATR] *yī*. Miller and Gilley’s analysis is supported by the fact that Kohnen’s morph *-i* (see 62b) is an allomorph of the preposition *yī* but not of the ergative marker *yī* (see 62d). Examples presented by Tucker and Bryan (1966) are also reanalyzed by Miller and Gilley: 62f follows more likely the structure of 62g, and 62h more likely the structure of 62i. A can be omitted (as will be shown below) if already known through the context. In 62i (and 62g) A is omitted, but the verb is not in a passive voice. In 62f it is more likely that A should be expressed as in 62g.

Second, Miller and Gilley’s main argument against a passive interpretation of basic clauses in Shilluk is the fact that in Shilluk there is no formal passive marker on the verb; instead, it is possible to omit the agent:

We conclude that from a synchronic view Shilluk does not have a passive, since there is no formal marker of passive voice indicated in verbal morphology. Rather, in transitive sentences in OVA order, the agent may be omitted. (Miller and Gilley 2001:52)

Consequently for Miller and Gilley *yī* is not a preposition introducing the agent in a passive clause:

We conclude, then, that at least from a synchronic perspective, the ergative marker is not a preposition introducing the A constituent of a passive verb.

(Miller and Gilley 2001:49)

In sum, at least for the synchronic analysis of Shilluk, Miller and Gilley (2001) present convincing evidence that Shilluk basic clauses are not passive and that

yī is not a preposition to introduce the agent in a passive clause but an ergative marker.

Shilluk (Northern Lwoo, West Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan)

(62a) a-pwot *yī* yan.

PAST-strike by me

"He has been struck by me." (Kohnen 1933)

(62b) a-pwot-i yan.

PAST-strike-by me

"He has been struck by me." (Kohnen 1933)

(62c) bŭl á-bì *yī* cŭl.

Bol PAST.E-come.ITR to Col

"Bol came to Col." (Miller and Gilley 2001:49)

(62d) bŭl á-bì *yī-í.* (phonetically *yíí*)

Bol PAST.E-come.ITR to-you

"Bol came to you (sg.)." (Miller and Gilley 2001:49)

(62e) bŭl á-'cwŏl' *yī* cŭl.

Bol PAST.E-call.TR ERG Col

"Col called Bol." (Miller and Gilley 2001:49)

(62f) *yáá* cwŏl

I call

"I was called (by ...)." (Tucker and Bryan 1966:427)

(62g) *yá* á-'cwŏl' *yī* ...

1.SG PAST.E-call.TR ERG ...

"X called me." (Miller and Gilley 2001:50)

(62h) *yá* ó-cuŏl.

I ?-call

"I have been called." (Tucker and Bryan 1966:427)

(62i) *yá* ú-'cwŏl'.

1.SG PAST.NONE-call.TR

"Someone called me (but I didn't know it)." (Miller and Gilley 2001:51)

Independent clause

The independent declarative clause type corresponds to the NP-initial clause of Pări, Anywa, and Jur-Luwo. In independent declarative clauses, the following ergative patterns are present: First, grammaticalized case: A is encoded by *yī* and a preceding tonal downstep, O and S never are (see 63a & 63b). Second, the independent pronouns follow an ergative pattern. Third, the basic constituent order is ergative (OVA/SV, see 63a & 63b). Fourth, there is also an ergative pattern with regard to cross-reference and with regard to the omissibility of core participants.

Shilluk Independent clause

- (63a) byél á-'rākk' yī nān ḍájò. O V A
 grain.PL PAST.E-grind.TR.REP ERG person female
 "The woman ground the durra." (Miller and Gilley 2001:36)
- (63b) māc á-dùŋ áwālā. S V
 fire PAST.E-smoke.ITER yesterday
 "The fire smoked yesterday." (Miller and Gilley 2001:37)

The basic constituent order of independent declarative clauses is OVA/SV. A pragmatically marked AVO-order is possible (see 63c). In AVO-order, A has the connotation "to choose to accomplish an action with respect to a particular goal" (Miller and Gilley 2001:36).

- (63c) nan ḍájò á-'rākk' byél. A V O
 person female PAST.E-grind.TR.REP grain.PL
 "The woman chose to grind the durra." (Miller and Gilley 2001:36)

All transitive verbs occur with a second stem, which is an antipassive stem. In this case, transitive verbs become intransitive with the deletion of the object. Clauses with an antipassive verb stem follow the ergative pattern as well: The only core participant S has to occur before the verb and never takes the ergative case (see 63e compared with 63d).

- (63d) pījī ḍèè á-gūr' yī twón. erg
 peg.mN COW.3.SG PAST.E-drive.TR ERG Twong
 "Twong drove the stake (i.e. for tethering) of his cow."
 (Miller and Gilley 2001:42)
- (63e) twón á-gūt. S V
 Twong PAST.E-drive.AP
 "Twong drove (a stake/stakes) for tethering cows."
 (Miller and Gilley 2001:42)

In left-dislocated constructions, with A being placed clause-initially, A is postverbally presented either by the ergative case plus an independent pronoun (see 63g), by an independent pronoun without the ergative case but the tonal downstep (see 63h), or by the bound pronoun which encodes third person A only (see 63i). All variants express different pragmatic connotations.

- (63f) úgík á-'kēl' yī ūnótī. O V A
 buffalo PAST.E-spear.TR ERG Onyoti
 "Onyoti speared the buffalo." (Miller and Gilley 2001:45)
- (63g) ūnótī úgík á-'kēl' yī én. A O V A_{pp}
 Onyoti buffalo PAST.E-spear.TR ERG 3.SG.A
 "As for Onyoti, he speared the buffalo." (Miller and Gilley 2001:45)

Table 3.8 Independent pronouns in Shilluk

| | Short form | Long form |
|---------|------------|-----------|
| 1.SG | yá | yán |
| 2.SG | yí | yín |
| 3.SG | ∅ | én |
| 1.PL.IN | wá | |
| 1.PL.EX | wó | wón |
| 2.PL | wú | wún |
| 3.PL | gē | gén |

Source Miller and Gilley 2001:38

- (63h) ūnótī úgīk á-'kēl' èn. A O V A_{pp}
 Onyoti buffalo PAST.E-spear.TR 3.SG.A
 "As for Onyoti, he speared the buffalo (unexpectedly)."
 (Miller and Gilley 2001:45)
- (63i) ūnótī úgīk á-'kēl'-é. A O V A_{pp}
 Onyoti buffalo PAST.E-spear.TR-3.SG.A
 "As for Onyoti, he speared the buffalo (intentionally)."
 (Miller and Gilley 2001:45)

Independent pronouns occur in two forms, the so-called short form and the so-called long form (see table 3.8). These two sets are ergative as well in the independent clause type, insofar as the short form is the absolutive used for S and O only (see 63j for S and 63k for O), and the long form is the ergative; it is used for A only (see 63k). The ergative form is derived from the absolutive form by the nasal *n*. Nevertheless, the ergative case is used also in front of the ergative pronouns (see 63k). Generally, in all clause types, the short form occurs preverbally only, and the long form postverbally only. In dependent clause types with a VOA/VS-order (see below), the long forms are used for all participants, S, O, and A.

- (63j) yá bā kēt. 1.SG.S NEG.NONPAST GO.1TR
 "I am not going." (Miller and Gilley 2001:38)
- (63k) yá á-'cwōl' yī yín. 1.SG.O PAST-call.TR ERG 2.SG.A
 "You called me." (Miller and Gilley 2001:38)
- (63l) dé bèèdō mí gén nūī 'wīl' gen. but live.VN REL.1MN 3.PL.A NEG.PAST change.TR 3.PL
 "But they did not change their manner of living (contrary to expectation)."
 (Miller and Gilley 2001:39)

Table 3.9 Marked third person object pronouns in Shilluk

| Pragmatically marked pronouns | Short form | Long form |
|-------------------------------|------------|------------|
| 3.SG.O | <i>gò</i> | <i>gòn</i> |
| 3.PL.O | <i>gi</i> | <i>gin</i> |

Source Miller and Gilley 2001:39

There is an additional set of so-called marked pronouns used for third person O (see table 3.9). These follow an accusative pattern, as they never encode S and A but only O. Again, these pronouns occur in a short form and a long form. The short form without a final nasal usually occurs preverbally only; the long form with a final nasal occurs postverbally. The marked pronouns are used in all clause types to encode O only; A and S are never covered by them; they therefore constitute an accusative pattern in all clause types. In 63m, O is presented with the pragmatically unmarked independent pronoun *gé*. Clause 63m and its pragmatically marked variant 63n may illustrate the use of these special pronouns: In 63n, O is presented with the pragmatically marked independent pronoun *gi*, used for O only, to express that the action is either unexpected or wrong. In 63m the ordinary independent pronoun *gé* is used instead.

(63m) á-'kōbbì kīnnì' kàl 'gén ká gé kālāl'-é.
 PAST.E-SAY.TR.BEN COMP take.TR.VEN¹⁹.IMV 3.PL and 3.PL take.TR.VEN-3.SG
 "S/he said, 'Take them away.' And s/he took them away (as expected)."
 (Miller and Gilley 2001:40)

(63n) á-'kōbbì kīnnì' gé kó kālāl ká
 PAST.E-SAY.TR.BEN COMP 3.PL NEG.MOD take.TR.VEN.IMV and
gi kālāl'-é.
 3.PL.O take.TR.VEN-3.SG.A
 "S/he said, 'Don't take them away.' And s/he took them away"
 (unexpectedly or wrongly)." (Miller and Gilley 2001:40)

In addition, ergative patterns also relate to the omissibility of core participants: O and S must be expressed either by a noun or an independent pronoun (for O see 63a and 63k; for S see 63b and 63j); if already known, A is omissible in discourse (see 63o).

(63o) dyaŋ á-'kwāl'.
 COW PAST.E-steal.TR
 "Someone (agent known) stole the cow (and I saw him do it)."
 (Miller and Gilley 2001:51)

¹⁹ Miller and Gilley (2001:34) use the term centrifugal (CF) for the venitive (or ventive) and the term centripetal (CP) instead of andative (or itive).

Dependent clauses

Miller and Gilley (2001) present three different types of dependent clauses: sequential clauses, conjoined *ká* (“and”) clauses, and so-called circumstantial clauses. The *ká*-clauses behave throughout like independent clauses with regard to their ergative profiles (see Miller and Gilley 2001:61); the circumstantial clauses also behave like independent clauses with regard to the use of the ergative case and constituent order (see Miller and Gilley 2001:61). Therefore, I will not discuss these two types any further. The third type, sequential clauses, is significantly different from the other two. Sequential clauses are used in narrative discourse for a sequential order of events. They are marked by a mid tone on the past evidential marker instead of a high tone elsewhere²⁰ (*ā-* instead of *á-*).

In sequential clauses, the basic constituent order is verb-initial, with basic VOA/VS-order (see 63p). Pragmatically marked VAO-order is also possible, where A is no longer encoded by the ergative case; only the tonal downstep remains (see 63q). Independent pronouns occur in the long forms only for the core participants S, A, and O (see 63r & 63u); note that they all occur postverbally. The bound pronouns are used for S and A; O is cross-referenced differently, also after the verb (see 63r). The only difference between the bound pronouns used for S and for A can be seen in the tonal downstep: All A forms occur with a preceding tonal downstep.

Shilluk—Sequential clause

- (63p) *ā-kwāāp̄ gīncām' yī jīmēm.* V O A
 SQ-take.TR food ERG sister
 “... and then the sister took the food.” (Miller and Gilley 2001:57)
- (63q) *a-kwāp̄' jīmēm gīncām.* V A O
 SQ-take.TR.PM sister food
 “... and then the sister chose to take the food.” (Miller and Gilley 2001:57)
- (63r) *a-kwāāp̄'-í yī wún* V-O A
 SQ-take.TR.3.SG.O ERG 2.PL
 “... and then you (pl.) took it.” (Miller and Gilley 2001:57)
- (63s) *ā-yēēj-é' ugīk.* V-A O
 SQ-skin.TR-3.SG.A buffalo
 “... and then s/he skinned the buffalo.” (Miller and Gilley 2001:58)
- (63t) *ā-nīn-é.* V-S
 SQ-sleep.1TR-3.SG.s
 “... and then s/he slept.” (Miller and Gilley 2001:60)
- (63u) *ār-wōm' gēn'én kí tòŋ.* V A O INST
 SQ-do.together.TR.PM 3.PL 3.SG with spear.PL
 “... and then they chose to do it together with spears (i.e. they threw their spears simultaneously at it).” (Miller and Gilley 2001:57)

²⁰ Miller and Gilley (2001) present all examples in the past evidential.

Focus clauses

Like in the other Northern Lwoo languages, focus clauses are indicated on the verb by the suffix *-a*, the constituent order being determined by the focus participant, which has to occur after the verb. If O is focused, the constituent order is AVO; no ergative case is used (see 63v). If A is focused, the constituent order is OVA and the ergative case is used (see 63w).

- (63v) *nān dájò á-'rākk-à' byél. A V O*
 person female PAST.E-grind.TR.REP-foc grain.PL
 "The woman ground the durra (not another grain)."
 (Miller and Gilley 2001:36)

- (63w) *byél á-rākk-à' yī nān dájò.*
 grain.PL PAST.E-grind.TR.REP-foc ERG person female
 "The woman (not someone else) ground the durra."
 (Miller and Gilley 2001:36)

There is no data available for an intransitive focus clause; therefore it remains unclear how S is encoded in a focus clause.

Table 3.10 gives an overview of the ergative profile found in the different clause types. The independent clause type corresponds to the NP-initial clause type of Pāri, Anywa, and Jur-Luwo; the dependent clause type corresponds to the VP-initial clause type of Pāri, Anywa, and Jur-Luwo. Miller and Gilley (2001) present the ergative profile of three different dependent clause types, namely sequential clauses, conjoined *ká* ("and") clauses, and so-called circumstantial clauses, the last one being used for providing background discourse information. With regard to the ergative profile, *ká*-clauses behave like independent clauses (see Miller and Gilley 2000:61); they are therefore subsumed in table 3.10 under independent clauses. Circumstantial clauses also share some features with the independent clauses, such as ergative case use and constituent order. They are therefore not listed separately. Sequential clauses differ significantly from the independent clauses. They show similarities to the verb-initial clauses of the other Northern Lwoo languages. Therefore, they are listed in table 3.10 as representatives of the second clause type. The focus clause in Shilluk is similar to the focus clause in the other Northern Lwoo languages: It is marked by a suffix *-a* on the verb, and the focus participant has to appear after the verb.

Shilluk is what one may wish to call a purely ergative language; no marked-nominative patterns are found. An ergative case marking is possible in all clause types—irrespective of whether independent, dependent, or focus clauses are involved, whether the verb is in the antipassive or anticausative construction, the ergative case marking remains. Only if for pragmatic reason A is transferred to the preverbal position, the ergative is no longer used, and in the dependent clause type in a pragmatically marked VAO-order, no ergative case marker is used either, even if in the last type the tonal downstep remains in front of A.

Table 3.10 Case patterns in Shilluk

| Clause type | Constituent order | Cross-reference bound/cliticized pronouns | Free pronouns | Omissibility of participants | Ergative case marker: Tonal downstep (!) and <i>yī</i> used for nouns and independent pronouns | Case patterns |
|---|------------------------------|---|--------------------|------------------------------|--|----------------------|
| Independent ²¹ = "NP-initial" | Ergative | Ergative | Ergative | Ergative | Ergative | Pure ergative |
| | SV | A optional S & O never | S & O = short form | S & O never A possible | * | |
| | OVA basic | | A = long form | | [!] <i>yī</i> A | |
| | AOV pragmatically marked | V-A obligatory | | | * | |
| Dependent ²² Verb-initial | None | Accusative | None | | Ergative | Ergative |
| | VS | V-S | long form | | [!] <i>yī</i> A | |
| | VOA basic | V- [!] A | only for A, S, O | | no ergative case, only [!] | |
| | VAO, pragmatically marked | | | | | |
| Focus | All OVA | | | | Ergative [!] <i>yī</i> A | Ergative |

Historical development

Historically, it is very likely that the ergative marker has emerged out of a former preposition introducing agent participants as peripheral participants in a passive-like construction. This analysis does not contradict the synchronic situation described by Miller and Gilley (2001) (see above 3.2.1). Historically, the two elements *yī* (preposition to introduce peripheral participants) and *yī* (ergative case marker) are likely to be of the same origin. Evidence for this hypothesis can be seen in the following facts:

- (i) Even synchronically the ergative marker encodes peripheral participants, such as the causee.
- (ii) From a worldwide perspective, an OVA-basic constituent order is highly unusual; there must be some explanation for this order. The neighboring

²¹ Including the dependent *ká*-clauses.

²² Basically the sequential clauses. Circumstantial clauses are not presented here.

Northern Lwoo languages have basic AVO/SV-order. Taking the AVO/SV-order as the basis, a passive-like construction would have the order SV PP-A. The latter results in an OVA-order via reinterpretation: Due to its semantics, the former patient S is reinterpreted as O. S remains unaffected by this development: The synchronic SV-order reflects the original SV-order.

- (iii) There must be an explanation for the fact that the ergative marker only occurs after the verb. In neighboring languages such as Anywa prepositions show stranding, meaning that they only occur after the verb.
- (iv) Worldwide, one main source for ergative markers are agent markers which encode peripheral agents in passive clauses (see Anderson 1977, Givón 1980, Lehmann 1982, Harris & Campbell 1995:243–5).
- (v) Traces of the former prepositional status of the ergative marker can be seen in the fact that the ergative participant is still placed at the end of all core participants: In sequential clauses the basic order is not VAO but VOA.

3.2 Tima

The following is based on Dimmendaal (forthc.). The language Tima is almost undescribed; its exact genetic classification is still unclear; it is grouped with Katla as one subbranch of Kordofanian by Greenberg and Schadeberg (see Greenberg 1963a, Schadeberg 1981b & 1981c). But, whether Tima and Katla really form a subbranch of Kordofanian or are genetic isolates is not yet clear. The genetic classification of Kordofanian itself is doubtful; Greenberg (1963a) had classified it as belonging to Niger-Congo (at that time called “Niger-Kordofanian”). The findings presented by Dimmendaal are work in progress; this article (forthc.) is his first attempt to describe the features that we are concerned with here.

According to Dimmendaal, ergativity in Tima is established by the following facts: Ergativity is expressed by a nasal *-N*²³ preceding the noun. The ergative marker occurs in focus clauses only (that is, clauses which contain a focused participant or a focused verb). In transitive clauses with a focused preverbal object, A, placed postverbally, is preceded by the ergative marker (see 64a). Intransitive focus clauses lack the nasal *-N*; thus, the ergative never occurs with S. In unfocused declarative clauses, the ergative does not occur either: Neither S nor A takes the ergative (see 64c). Hence, the nasal *-N* occurs in an ergative pattern: It marks A in focus clauses only. Tima therefore is a split ergative language, ergativity being restricted to focus clauses.

²³ The capital *N* stands for the different realizations of the ergative marker.

Tima (Kordofanian)

(64a) yáḃùh-é yálúk ṛàḥúnèn.

meat-FOC eat.PL ERG.women

“The women are eating *meat*.” (Dimmendaal forthc.:16, example 62)

In intransitive focus clauses, S never occurs with the ergative marker:

(64b) nà Hamid-á ñ-díáṛ-dá.

PREP- Hamid-FOC 1.SG-come-1.SG

“I came *together with Hamid*.” (Dimmendaal forthc.:13–14, example 54)

In non-focused clauses, no ergative marker is used either with A or with S:

(64c) kí-ṛ-ká'lúk kíḃḃ káḃuh -ḡḡ.

NEG-1.SG-eat 1.SG meat NEG

“I don’t eat meat.” (Dimmendaal forthc.:8, example 15)

If A is expressed pronominally, the ergative marker appears before the clitic subject pronoun inside the verb:

(64d) ímmòṛ-é ṛ-kéél-ná.

fish-FOC 1.SG-buy-ERG.1.SG

“I/buy/bought *some fish*.” (Dimmendaal forthc.:8, example 13)

There are three different sets of personal pronouns:

- (i) one set of independent pronouns used for S, A, and O (see left column in table 3.11).
- (ii) enclitics, where one is used for A in focus clauses, called “verbal enclitic C” (see right column in table 3.11); this is the ergative set; and one used for A and S elsewhere, called “verbal enclitic B” (see middle column in table 3.11). The enclitic pronouns adapt their tone to their verbal environment; hence most of them are presented without tone. The pronouns presented in bold (added by

Table 3.11 Independent and enclitic pronouns in Tima

| | Independent pronoun S, A, O | Verbal enclitic B S, A (no focus) | Verbal enclitic C A (pre-verb focus) |
|----------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1 SG | kíḃḃ | -ḃḃ etc. | -ná-, nḡ, -nḃ, nḡ etc. |
| 2 SG | ṛán | -ṛán | -ṛán |
| 3 SG | pínḃ | -ḡ | -mínḃ |
| 1PL EXCL | ìnééy | -neey | -neey |
| 1PL INCL | íníin | -niin | -nain |
| 2 PL | ínáán | -naan | -naan |
| 3 PL | ihínḃ | -ḡ | -jùhínḃ |

Source Dimmendaal forthc.:16

the present author) in table 3.11 are similar in sets B and C; Dimmendaal notes however that they differ tonally.

- (iii) The ergative set C is the result of a fusion of the nasal ergative marker -N- with the enclitic pronouns of set B.

In verbless clauses the ergative is not used:

- (64d) kídā-wá kómúrík.
1.SG-FOC Tima
‘I am a Tima.’ (Dimmendaal *forthc.*:12, example 34)

There are, however, examples which do not correspond to the ergative pattern established by Dimmendaal, as presented above: In clauses where A is focused, the ergative marker does not appear. Note that Dimmendaal (*forthc.*) says that ergative marking occurs if A, O, or the verb are focused.²⁴

- (64e) kídā-wá kéél ímmòŋ.
1.SG-FOC buy fish
‘I buy / am buying / bought fish.’ (Dimmendaal *forthc.*:7, example 11)

There are also non-focused clauses which contain an ergative marker: In the declarative intransitive clause (64f), S appears with the ergative marker:

- (64f) kú-n̄-mwóók-nó-óòŋ.
NEG-1.SG-drink-ERG.1.SG-NEG
‘I don’t drink. / I am not drinking.’ (Dimmendaal *forthc.*:14, example 49)

In questions, the ergative may appear without focus:

- (64g) má-à-yálúk-n̄n-í.
what-2.SG-eat.PL-ERG.2.SG-Q
‘What are you eating?’ (Dimmendaal *forthc.*:17, example 65)
(64h) n̄-iyémé ú-kùdú-í.
ERG-who REL-catch-Q
‘Who caught it?’ (Dimmendaal *forthc.*:17, example 66)

It does not become entirely clear whether the structure in 64h is transitive or intransitive; note that O is not expressed.

Other questions follow the rule established by Dimmendaal: They don’t take an ergative marker (see 64i).

- (64i) òyémé í-cíì.
who REL-came
‘Who went?’ (Dimmendaal *forthc.*:17, example 68)

²⁴ “[M]orpheme -N- preceding the pronominal enclitics of type C. This marker, which only occurs with agents of transitive clauses whenever a core constituent (Agent, Object, or verb) is in focus and which consequently may be called an ergative marker” (Dimmendaal *forthc.*:8).

- (64j) kídɿ-wa kálúk kábùh kí-m̀-ínl-wá ɿlɿ.
 1.SG-FOC eat meat NEG-ERG-SG-FOC NEG
 "I was (am/will be) eating meat, not *she/her*."
 (Dimmendaal forthc.:18, example 75)

Historically, the ergative marker goes back to a preposition *n* still used in Tima to introduce instruments. Agents in passive clauses are also introduced by a preposition *n*, but Dimmendaal argues that the ergative marker does not go back to the preposition *n* which introduces agents in passive clauses. The data presented above are in support of an analysis according to which Tima is a split ergative language with ergativity mainly restricted to focus clauses. The exact pattern is not yet clear in every detail. The origin of the ergative marker is a preposition used to introduce peripheral participants.

3.3 South Mande

In a recent paper, Vydrine (2006:49–64) claims that an ergative case has emerged in South Mande, in particular in the South Mande languages Guro, Mano, and Beng²⁵ and in Proto-South Mande. Since Vydrine does not present any data for Mano or Beng, these languages will not be considered any further. According to our definition of ergative case (see sections 1.2 and 1.3), we cannot speak of the emergence of an ergative case in Guro, first, because no separate ergative case affix exists and, second, because the elements affected are not nouns but independent pronouns. Instead, South Mande falls, if at all, under the rubric of what we called in section 1.3.1 “other manifestations of case”, that is, an ergative pattern occurring with a restricted set of independent personal pronouns by means of suppletive forms.

The South Mande languages have a complex system of independent personal pronouns. These pronouns contain information about person, focus, aspect, polarity, etc. The pronouns are case-sensitive in that some of them are restricted to subjects (called “subjective pronouns”), opposed to other sets (called “non-subjective sets”), which are used in a wide range of functions, such as marking direct objects, indirect objects, possessors, and non-final members in a noun phrase. Traditionally, the “subjective pronouns” are labeled “nominative” by the author, as opposed to the non-subjective ones, which are labeled “oblique case”. Further subsets of these two groups (subjective and non-subjective) are formed in accordance with functions mentioned above, such as focus, or reflexive.

For Proto-South Mande, Vydrine reconstructs a split ergative system of independent personal pronouns (see Vydrine 2006:51, table 1). The following forms are reconstructed by him under the label “portmanteau/ergative”: **mā* “first person

²⁵ “In some languages (Guro, Mano, Beng) we find ergative case which cannot be regarded as a mere fusion of a subject and a direct object pronoun” (Vydrine 2006:50).

singular", *bè* "second person singular", **yà* "third person singular", **wā* "first person exclusive plural," and **wà* "third person plural". All remaining persons (dual, first plural and second plural) show no distinct "portmanteau/ergative" form but employ the form used in the absolutive (my terminology).²⁶ Furthermore, it remains unclear whether all pronouns cover both functions mentioned, that is, "ergative" and "portmanteau", or one function only, either "ergative" or "portmanteau".

In Guro, *mā* and *bè* are proposed by Vydrine to be ergative pronouns: *mā* is the ergative pronoun for first person singular, and *bè* for second person singular. They are opposed to different absolutive pronouns (called "nominative" by Vydrine²⁷), among them, for example, *ā* for first person singular intransitive subject, as well as S, and *ī* for second person singular intransitive subject and S. Ergative alignment is restricted to A being first and second person singular, to affirmative, to O as a third person singular pronoun, and to indefinite nouns; *mā* has a slightly wider range than *bè*: In addition to the O's mentioned before, it can be used for all O's except first and second person plural (see Vydrine 2006:56, table 3).

An analysis contrasting with that of Vydrine is presented by Benoist (1969:52–3). He interprets *mā* and *bè* as "contracted pronouns", meaning that they comprise information about subject and object: According to Benoist, *mā* is used as a pronoun for first person subject–third person object, and *bè* for second person subject–third person object. The main argument that Vydrine holds against Benoist's hypothesis is the following: It is difficult to explain the form *bè* (second person ergative) as a fusion of *ī* "second person subject, nominative" + *à* "third person object, oblique", and similarly *mā* as a fusion of *ā* "first person subject, nominative" + *à* "third person object, oblique". Even if this is true, it is not in itself entirely satisfactory: First, Vydrine's argument holds under the assumption that the pronouns *mā* and *bè* must be a fusion of the synchronically used personal pronouns. It is also possible that the forms under consideration have a different origin. Second, if Benoist's hypothesis constitutes a problem, the same holds for Vydrine's hypothesis: Vydrine's ergative forms, on his own view, are derived from complex subject–object pronouns. His grammaticalization chain can be illustrated as follows:

first subject + third singular object > first person singular ergative
 second subject + third singular object > second person singular ergative.

The examples presented by Vydrine do not seem to lend support to the ergative analysis: In all transitive examples presented by Vydrine there is none where *mā* and *bè* could not be interpreted as complex pronouns encoding subject–object (see 65a & 65b):

²⁶ It remains unclear what "portmanteau" stands for, possibly for complex subject–object pronouns.

²⁷ Vydrine mentions in a footnote that he should use the term absolutive (see Vydrine 2006:57 & 63, footnote 11).

Guro (South Mande, Niger-Congo)

- (65a) mà ɓālāá.
1SG.A>3SG.O beat.PFV
“I beat him.” (Vydrine 2006:55)

- (65b) ɓè ɓālāá.
2SG.A>3SG.O beat.PFV
“You beat him.” (Vydrine 2006:55)

The only intransitive example presented by Vydrine allows the “ergative” and the “absolutive” form of the pronoun. It is a reflexive clause, where the ergative form should not be used to encode S (see 65c).

- (65c) mà à zùlù-nâ. or ǎ à zùlù-nâ.
1.SG.ERG be wash-PROG 1.SG.ABS be wash-PROG
“I’m washing myself.” (Vydrine 2006:55)

Considering all facts presented in the article, the evidence provided is not sufficient to establish an emergence of an ergative case in South Mande. Whether the independent pronouns in Guro for first and second person singular in very restricted contexts (see above) show an ergative alignment expressed by suppletive forms, or whether the forms under consideration are more appropriately described as complex subject-object pronouns, cannot be answered conclusively. Due to lack of additional evidence, we will therefore not consider South Mande in general, and Guro in particular, as instances of ergative case emergence. Vydrine (2006:57) stresses that the ergative hypothesis violates two generally attested rules: First, in Niger-Congo languages in general and Mande in particular, ergativity is not attested; second, according to Kozinsky (1980:52), if the pronouns for first and second person show an ergative-absolutive declension, the same opposition is present in the declension of nouns. If, however, the ergative hypothesis is dropped altogether no violation needs to be postulated.

3.4 Conclusions

Ergativity in Africa shows the following features: There is hardly any ergativity in the form of an inflexional case system. Inflexional ergative systems appear in two areas only: The Kordofanian language Tima on the one hand and the Northern Lwoo languages Pāri, Jur-Luwo, Shilluk, and Anywa on the other. The findings on Tima are still preliminary. So far, it looks as if Tima is a split ergative language with ergativity being expressed in focus clauses only, mostly, though not always, after the verb.

The most substantial instances of ergativity are found in the Northern Lwoo languages, spoken in the southern Sudan and western Ethiopia (see Andersen 1988, 2000; Buth 1981, and Reh 1996). Pāri, Jur-Luwo, and Anywa, closely related to Pāri, constitute one type of ergative language, showing many similarities; Shilluk constitutes

Table 3.12 The rise of the marked nominative in Wappo

| | O | S | A |
|-----------|---|----|----|
| Pre-Wappo | Ø | Ø | -i |
| Wappo | Ø | -i | -i |

Source Li & Thompson 1976:454–5; Li, Thompson & Sawyer 1977:98–9²⁸

a type of its own; there are also similarities to the first group but differences, too. The first group shows the following characteristics: Pāri, Jur-Luwo, and Anywa are split ergative languages, showing both an ergative system and a marked-nominative system. In all three languages, there is only one case marker, which in Anywa has been described as a definite marker. In other words, the same case marker, the suffix *-i* (Pāri), or *-ê* (Jur-Luwo), or *-Cɪ* (Anywa), functions in some contexts like an ergative marker encoding A only, in others as a marked-nominative marker, encoding A and S. The split is triggered by two clause types, called NP-initial and verb-initial. All clauses in a particular language belong to either class, an exception being focus clauses, which constitute a class of their own. It has been argued that within the three languages there is grammaticalization at work: The definiteness marker of Anywa reflects the earlier state of the ergative marker. Within Anywa, the occurrence of the ergative marker is still restricted to definite nouns; it does not appear with personal pronouns. In Pāri, it has become a full-fledged case marker, being used both with definite and indefinite nouns and personal pronouns. In Jur-Luwo, as the few data suggest, the ergative case has its widest occurrence: It appears with all nouns and pronouns in the language. As the case system first developed a marked-nominative and later an ergative system, it might be that the definite marker first developed into a marked-nominative and subsequently into an ergative case marker.

The ergative is opposed to the morphologically zero form, being the absolutive in the ergative system and the accusative in the marked-nominative system. Other manifestations of ergative patterns are also found in all three languages, such as an ergative constituent order and an ergative pattern with bound pronouns. The ergative constituent order contains the typologically unusual OVA-order. The latter is not only unique within Africa, taking all languages into account, it also is exceptional for ergative languages in general. The data would suggest that in the languages under consideration the ergative case system has emerged from a marked-nominative system. Note that for the Californian language Wappo the opposite development has been claimed. Wappo is said to have developed a marked-nominative system out of an ergative system: According to Li and Thompson (1976:454–65) and Li, Thompson, and Sawyer (1977:89–99), Pre-Wappo had an ergative system marked by a suffix *-i* which in Wappo has been extended to all subjects (A and S) (see also table 3.12).

²⁸ In order to be consistent, the terminology of the authors cited has been changed by the present author.

Characteristics of the second type (Shilluk) are the following: As in Pāri, Jur-Luwo, and Anywa, the ergative is opposed to the morphologically unmarked form, which is the absolutive. As in Pāri, Jur-Luwo, and Anywa, the syntax is divided into two different subtypes, one called the independent clause (corresponding to the NP-initial clause in group one), the other one called the dependent clause (corresponding to the verb-initial clauses in group one). Nevertheless, the ergative profile of the two groups differs significantly: Unlike in Pāri and Jur-Luwo, the ergative marker does not function in some clauses as ergative and in others as a nominative. Also with regard to constituent order, only ergative patterns are found or there is no distinction. The only accusative pattern is present in sequential clauses with cliticized pronouns (see under dependent clause in table 3.10): A and S share the same set of pronouns, insofar as there is an accusative pattern; yet, A pronouns are preceded by a tonal downstep, S pronouns never are.

Unlike Pāri, Jur-Luwo, or Anywa, Shilluk is not a split language but a full-fledged ergative language. Shilluk shows in all respects the highest degree of ergativity within Northern Lwoo and within Africa as a whole. Interestingly, the means by which the ergative case is expressed is different in Pāri, Jur-Luwo, and Anywa as opposed to Shilluk. Ergative is expressed by a preposition in Shilluk but by a suffix/clitic in Pāri, Jur-Luwo, and Anywa. The latter has presumably developed out of an earlier demonstrative, the former out of a preposition introducing peripheral participants, such as A in a passive clause. Consequently, for the historical development within Northern Lwoo, the ergative case marker must have emerged at least twice via two different pathways.

All four languages are surrounded areally and genetically by languages with a marked-nominative system, such as West, East, and South Nilotic, Surmic, Omotic, and Cushitic languages (see chapter 4 and map 6.1 in Appendix I). Anywa and Pāri are in the direct neighborhood of the Surmic marked-nominative languages Murle and Didinga. Within the West Nilotic languages, Dinka has a marked-nominative system; to my knowledge, there are no further case languages other than Anywa, Pāri, and Jur-Luwo, and Dinka. Dholuo, another West Nilotic language, has been claimed to have a relic of an ergative case marker (Schröder 2005:12, Odhiambo 2006). In the remaining subbranches of Nilotic, East, and South Nilotic, marked-nominative is a widespread feature (see chapter 4). Therefore, it is plausible that the languages under consideration partly show a marked-nominative system.

Marked-nominative

Marked-nominative case systems occupy an important place in this volume, for two reasons: Not only do they constitute the most widespread type of case systems in Africa, they also are an almost unique African phenomenon. Marked-nominative languages are in fact cross-linguistically rare. The only other reliable cases that have been reported are the Yuman languages (e.g. Maricopa [Gordon 1986], Diegueño, Jamul Tiipiy [Langdon 1970, Miller 2001] as well as the Yukian language Wappo (Li & Thompson 1976:454–65, Li, Thompson & Sawyer 1977:89–99) of California. Further information is needed on the following languages, also claimed to have marked-nominative systems: Houailou (Oceanic, Austronesian), some older Germanic languages, Old French, Ancient Egyptian (on pronouns), varieties of Maidu (Penutian), Shokleng (Jê), Malak-Malak (non-Pama-Nyungan, Australian), and Proto-Afroasiatic (Plank 1985a:302, 2007 and Mallinson & Blake 1981:47–8).¹ There are a few western Bantu languages which are suspected of having case expressed by tone, and at least some of them seem to display a marked-nominative system as well; for discussion, see Blanchon 1998, 1999, Schadeberg 1986, 1990, Maniacky 2002. As the situation in these languages is complex and controversial, they will be discussed in section 5.1 when dealing with tone as a marker for case.

In this chapter, different types of marked-nominative languages are presented with regard to whether they are of type 1 or type 2, or to areal and genetic distribution, and first attempts to study their historical development are made.

As mentioned in chapter 1, marked-nominative case systems are defined as follows: S and A are treated the same and simultaneously different from O. O is encoded by the morphologically unmarked form, called the accusative. S and A are encoded by the morphologically marked form called the nominative. That the accusative is morphologically and functionally the unmarked form can be seen by the fact that the accusative is the default case used with the widest range of functions. As also mentioned in chapter 1, the accusative has also been referred to as the absolute or absolutive case. Marked nominative is somehow a mixture of the two basic case systems, namely the accusative and the ergative system (see further chapter 1).

¹ An anonymous reviewer remarks that Malak-Malak, for example, is not a marked-nominative language, and according to Aikhenvald (1995) it is also questionable whether Proto-Afroasiatic is marked-nominative.

4.1 Case studies

In the following sections I will illustrate the behavior of marked-nominative systems by discussing five marked-nominative languages in more detail. They cover all genetically relevant phyla: The Surmic language Tennet, the Nilotic languages Turkana and Toposa of the Nilo-Saharan phylum, and the Cushitic language Dhaasanac and the Omotic language Maale of the Afroasiatic phylum. Areal influence will be discussed by comparing Turkana and Dhaasanac, two typologically contrasting and genetically unrelated languages, both spoken in the same general area west and north of Lake Turkana in Kenya and Ethiopia (see map 4.1). These languages cover all major constituent orders: There are verb-initial (Turkana, Toposa), verb-medial (Tennet), and verb-final languages (Dhaasanac, Maale).

4.1.1 Tennet

According to Randal (1998:219–72), Tennet is a verb-initial language, with a basic VAO constituent order. Peripheral participants occur sentence-finally. Tennet is a case language with inflexional case. Four cases are distinguished, namely accusative, nominative, genitive, and oblique. The accusative is the morphologically unmarked form. All other cases are marked by suffixes or tone. The oblique case covers peripheral participants of time, location, instrument, etc. In a transitive clause with VAO structure, A is encoded in the nominative case and O in the accusative case. The nominative case is the morphologically marked form, expressed either by the suffix *-ɪ*, as in 1, or by the suffix *-a*, or even by tone in other environments. The nominative covers A while the accusative covers O (see 1).

Tennet (South West Surmic, Nilo-Saharan)

- (1) *ákát Lowór-ɪ Yomá. V A O*
 PFV.spear Lowor-NOM Yoma.ACC
 “Lowor speared Yoma.” (Randal 1998:230)

In an intransitive clause with VS-order, S appears in the nominative case (see 2).

- (2) *úk mányúdí-ɪ mgínoati. V S*
 go.PFV squirrel-NOM there
 “Squirrel went there.” (Randal 1998:230)

With regard to the case schema, there is on the one hand an accusative system, as A and S are treated the same, namely both are encoded by the nominative and are simultaneously different from O, as O appears in the accusative. On the other hand, the case profile of Tennet resembles an ergative pattern insofar as A is encoded in the morphologically marked form, namely the nominative case, by means of a suffix or tone.

In copula constructions, the nominal predicate appears in the accusative form, as in example 3. In "I am a teacher" the copula is clause-initial, the subject "I" appears in the nominative and the nominal predicate "a teacher" appears in the accusative clause-finally.² Additional constructions are presented in section 5.3.1.6.

- (3) k-eéní anná deméz-zóh-t. COP S N.PRED
 1-be 1SG.NOM teach-AGENM.ACC-SG NOM ACC
 "I'm a teacher." (Randal 1998:233, 2000:72)

Peripheral participants, introduced by the applicative, are also encoded in the accusative form. This may be illustrated by 4a and 4b: In both clauses the valency of the verb is increased by the applicative in order to include the recipient of the action. The recipient always occurs in the accusative, irrespective of whether placed clause-medially between A and O (as in 4a) or clause-finally (as in 4b). In 4a and 4b the accusative occurs twice, for O and the recipient.

- (4a) i-ttón-êk Lokóri-1 Yomá kavíyák. V A REC O
 PFV-send-APL Lokor-NOM Yoma.ACC news.ACC
 "Lokori sent news to Yoma." (Randal 1998:244)
- (4b) i-ttón-êk Lokóri-1 kavíyák Yomá. V A O REC
 PFV-send-APL Lokor-NOM news.ACC Yoma.ACC
 "Lokori sent news to Yoma." (Randal 1998:244)

Nominal possession can be expressed by two different constructions, one with a genitive and one without. In a juxtaposed possessor-possessee order, no genitive marker is needed. The possessor occurs in the accusative case, as "fish" in 5, followed by the possessee.

- (5) k-ε-tééd-a ulúg-t ∅. POR POE
 1-PFV-cut-1SG fish-SG.ACC head.ACC
 "I cut the head of the fish." (Randal 1998:241)

The citation form of nouns is the accusative, as illustrated in 6a.

- (6a) kavíyák.
 news.ACC
 "News".
- (6b) Lokúli cí á-rúh Lohâm. A V O
 Lokuli.ACC AM IPV-beat Loham.ACC
 "It is Lokuli who is beating Loham." (Randal 1998:261)

² An anonymous reviewer criticizes my interpretation of the construction presented in 3, claiming that what I call nominal predicate is rather an O due to the fact that the copula is simply a transitive verb. In clauses without a copula one cannot argue that the nominal predicate has the status of O as there is no element which could function as a verb.

Table 4.1 Nominative and accusative case functions in Tennet

| Case | Function |
|------|--|
| NOM | Subject (S & A) after the verb (a) Citation form (b) O |
| ACC | (c) Nominal predication (d) Subject (S & A) before the verb (sometimes) (e) Possessor in juxtaposed possession (f) Peripheral participants introduced by head-marking devices (verbal derivation) such as the applicative |

S and A appear in the accusative if placed before the verb in some focus constructions, as in 6b; in others again, this does not apply (see section 5.3.1.6).

Table 4.1 gives an overview of the functions covered by the nominative and the accusative in Tennet. To summarize, the nominative covers S and A, the accusative covers O, while peripheral participants are introduced by verbal derivations, such as the applicative, citation, nominal predicate in copula clauses, and as a possessor in juxtaposed possession. In other words, one can say that the accusative is the default case to encode dependent nouns if no special case is required. The accusative has a much wider range of uses than the nominative; therefore, it is also functionally unmarked.

4.1.2 Turkana

The basic constituent order of Turkana³ is VS/VAO, that is, the language has a verb-initial syntax. The marked-nominative system is expressed by tone. Turkana has a two-tone system (high tone is left unmarked and low tone receives a grave accent). Seven cases are distinguished: accusative, nominative, genitive, instrumental, locative 1 (encoding location and destination), locative 2 (including an ablative), and vocative. All cases are marked by tone. All modifiers within a noun phrase are case-inflected, except for demonstratives (Dimmendaal 1983a:264ff.). The nominative is the only case that is encoded by a distinct tonal morpheme, namely by low tone. The genitive, the two locatives, and the vocative are encoded by fixed tonal patterns.⁴ The nominative is derived from the accusative by a floating low tone (see Dimmendaal 1983a:261). The accusative (called “absolute” by Dimmendaal) is identical with the basic form, which is also used in citation. The nominative encodes A (see *a-pa* ‘father’ in 7a), S (see *a-wuyè naga* ‘this home’ in 7b), and S in copula clauses with a copula (7d). Beyond citation,

³ Based on the work of Dimmendaal (1983a, 1983b, 1986b, 1996).

⁴ ACC: unmarked; NOM: floating low tone; LOC: HHL_L or HHL(L...); GEN SG: HHL_L or LHL(L...) & PL: HHL_L or HHL(L...); INST: HHL_L or HHL(L...); VOC: LHL_L or L(L...) HL_LH (Dimmendaal 1983:259–68).

the accusative encodes O (see *a-k-ìmuj* 'food' in 7a), nominal predicates (see 7c–7e), S in non-verbal clauses without a copula (7e), additional participants being introduced by verbal derivation. This applies to the valency-increasing devices *-akì*, called dative by Dimmendaal (1983a), which is similar to the applicative (7f), and to the causative *ite-* (7g). With the causative, the agent and the patient occur in the accusative and the causee in the nominative (7g). Furthermore, the accusative encodes S and A under certain conditions: First, if used before the verb, second in passive-like constructions, and third in so-called subjectless clauses.

Note that in non-verbal clauses with a copula, S is encoded differently from S in non-verbal clauses without a copula (see 7d & 7e).

Turkana (East Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan)

- (7a) è-sàk-ì[↑] a-pà a-k-ìmuj. V A O
3-want-A father.NOM food.ACC
"Father wants food." (Dimmendaal 1983a:263)
- (7b) è-jòk[↑] a-wuyè naga. V S
3-good home-NOM this
"This homestead is nice." (Dimmendaal 1983a:263)
- (7c) ɲi-de omwòn. N.PRED
children.ACC four
"There are four children." (Dimmendaal 1983a:74)
- (7d) mèèrè a-yòŋ ɛ-ka-pil-a-ŋì. COP S N.PRED
not I.NOM witch.ACC
"I am not a witch." (Dimmendaal 1983a:75)
- (7e) a-yòŋ ɛ-ka-pil-a-ŋì. S N.PRED
I.ACC witch.ACC
"I am a witch." (Dimmendaal 1983a:75)
- (7f) to-dyak-akì ɲesì i-tuanì a-torobù. V A COM O
3-divide-DAT 3.SG.NOM person.ACC chest.ACC
"He shared the chest with the person." (Dimmendaal 1983a:70)
- (7g) à-ite-lep-ì a-yòŋ ɲesì a-kàal. V CAU AGENT O
1.SG-CAU-milk-A 1.SG.NOM 3.SG.ACC camel.ACC
"I will have her milk the camel." (Dimmendaal 1983a:200)
- (7h) è-kile lo pe-è-à-yen-ì ɲa-kirò ɲuna, k-idar. A V O
man.ACC this not-3-PA-know-A matters.ACC those 3-wait
"This man, not knowing about these problems, waited..."
(Dimmendaal 1983a:408)

In preverbal position—irrespective of the case function involved—only one case form occurs, namely the morphologically unmarked one, which is the accusative. This irregular behavior is referred to in this work with the slogan "no case before the verb" (for explanation see section 5.3).

In languages with a basic verb-initial order like Turkana, a participant placed preverbally encodes pragmatic functions, such as topic or focus in cleft constructions. Core participants before the verb appear in the unmarked accusative case irrespective of whether they serve as S, A, (7h) or O (7i). In an AVO-word order, the case distinction is neutralized.

S in passive clauses, called impersonal active by Dimmendaal (1983a:131ff.), occurs in the accusative,⁵ as “milk” in (7j). The voice marker is used with a number of intransitive verbs in order to “indicate an expression with reference to the future” (Dimmendaal 1983:133); this applies to 7k; S still appears in the accusative (see “we” in 7k). The passive-like construction is mixed: With regard to cross-reference, the bound verbal pronoun does not agree with the subject; instead, it invariably refers to the third person by means of the prefix *è-* (or *ε-*). Thus, in (7j), where S refers to first person plural, *è-*, the third person pronoun is used on the verb. S is treated like O, occurring in the accusative. Nevertheless, the meaning of the clause is impersonal. The construction in (7j) goes back to a concept like “he/it ‘drank’ milk”, meaning “the milk was drunk”.

Dimmendaal argues that clauses like (7l) are “subjectless”, which is suggested by the fact that the only independent noun phrase expressed occurs in the accusative. It is possible to add a nominative participant such as “thing”; however, this construction is not liked very much by the Turkana (Dimmendaal 1983a:73). In expressions of emotion, the experiencer is often not expressed as the subject but as the object of the clause.

- (7i) *ε-maànik ηol` kɪ-gelēm-l.* O V A
 bull.ACC that we-castrate-A
 “That bull we castrated.” (Dimmendaal 1983a:408)
- (7j) *è-à-mas-ì ηa-kile`.*
 3-PAST^o-drink-V.SG milk.ACC
 “The milk was drunk.” (Dimmendaal 1983a:132)
- (7k) *è-twa-kì-o (sùà).*
 3-dead.PL-A-V:PL (we.ACC)
 “We (people) will die.” (Dimmendaal 1983a:133)
- (7l) *k-à-bur-un-it` a-yoŋ` (i-bòre).*
 t⁷-1.SG-tire-VEN-A 1.SG.ACC (thing.NOM)
 “I am tired.” (Dimmendaal 1983a:73)

Table 4.2 gives an overview of the case functions covered by the nominative and the accusative in Turkana.

⁵ Note, however, that Dimmendaal (1983a:132) says that the nominative (called absolute by him) is used. My analysis is supported by the fact that in the closely related language Toposa the accusative is used also for S in passive clauses (see Toposa example 8j and Schröder 2002:37).

⁶ The abbreviation A = aspect marker, V = verb elsewhere; here probably voice, even if not in Dimmendaal’s abbreviations.

⁷ The prefix *k-* glossed as *t-* which stands for object pronoun marker.

Table 4.2 Nominative and accusative case functions in 'Turkana

| Case | Function |
|------|---|
| NOM | (a) Subject (S & A) after the verb (b) Subject in copula clauses |
| ACC | (a) Citation form (b) O (c) Nominal predication (d) Subject (S & A) before the verb (e) S in non-verbal clauses (f) S in subjectless clauses (g) Peripheral participants introduced by head-marking devices (verbal derivation) (h) Patient (S) of passive |

In sum, Turkana is a marked-nominative language of type 1. The accusative encodes O, IO, S, and A in preverbal position, S in passive clauses, S in subjectless clauses, S in non-verbal clauses without a copula, participants introduced by valency-increasing devices, nominal predicates, and it is used as the citation form. The nominative encodes S and A in postverbal position only. The accusative is morphologically and functionally the unmarked case, as can be seen by the fact that it covers a wide range of different functions. Therefore, Turkana meets all requirements of a marked-nominative language as defined in chapter 1.

4.1.3 Toposa

The following account is based on Schröder (2002). Toposa is closely related to Turkana; according to Dimmendaal (1983a), Turkana and Toposa are mutually intelligible. Toposa shows a similar profile with regard to case as Turkana: It is a marked-nominative language of type 1, with case being expressed by tone. The basic constituent order is verb-initial (VAO/VS). The following tonemes are distinguished: high, low, falling (word-finally only) and raised (rare, word-finally only) presented as *á*, *à*, *â*, *ǎ*, respectively. A raised vowel stands for a voiceless vowel which occurs word-finally (marked by underlining by Schröder 2002). Four cases are distinguished: nominative, accusative, genitive and locative, two of them by tone only, namely the nominative and the accusative. The remaining two are expressed by a mixture of tone plus prefix. In the locative, the noun appears in a fixed tonal pattern plus a prefix, and in the genitive the noun appears in the accusative after the so called *ka* construction.

Unlike Dimmendaal, Schröder does not provide a general rule for deriving the nominative from the accusative. The nouns in Toposa fall into different noun classes (see Schröder 2002:53). A lexeme in the nominative appears in two different forms; one is used when expressed before a pause (e.g. clause-finally), the other one without a pause (e.g. in the middle of a clause). I will refer to the form used before a pause as the

Table 4.3 Case marking in Toposa

| ACC | | NOM non-final form | NOM final form | Meaning |
|----------|--------------|--------------------|----------------|------------|
| nyí-kòkù | DIM.SG-child | nyí-kókù | nyí-kókû | "child" |
| nyé-kilé | M.SG-man | nyé-kilè | nyé-kilê | "man" |
| nyá-bérú | F.SG-woman | nyá-bèrù | nyá-bérû | "woman" |
| ɲú-túnà | M.PL-people | ɲú-túnà | ɲú-túnâ | "people" |
| áyôn | | áyôn | | "I" |
| íyôn | | íyôn | | "you (SG)" |

final form and the form used without a pause as the non-final form: The nominative of "cow" is *ɲá-átúk* (non-final form) and *ɲá-átûk* (final form) (compare 8b & 8i). In all noun classes the accusative is the morphologically unmarked form and the nominative is derived from the accusative. It appears as if the nominative, at least within one noun class, is derived from the accusative by changing all vowels to H except the last, which becomes falling (before a pause) or L (elsewhere), as with "cow". It remains unclear how the floating low tone indicating nominative in Turkana corresponds to the high-final low pattern in Toposa. One possible source for the difference could be the influence of gender markers. All nouns are prefixed by an element indicating number and gender. Most nouns distinguish three genders: masculine, feminine, and diminutive; others distinguish the first two only (see Schröder 2002:11). Gender markers are throughout H (see Schröder 2002:73), such as *nyá-* F.SG, *ɲá-* F.PL, *nyé-* M.SG, *ló-* M.SG. Table 4.3 presents a few examples for the accusative and nominative case forms in Toposa. They all follow the tonal rule by which the nominative is derived from the accusative, as described above.

The accusative covers the following functions: citation form, nominal predicates (8q & 8r), O (8b), participants introduced by verbal derivation, such as benefactive (8c), and instrument (8d), the agent (or sometimes experiencer, see 8f) in causative constructions (8h), nouns after the prepositions *kòtèré* (8d) and *kà* (except when the meaning is instrumental) (see Schröder 2002:73), S in passive clauses (8j), experiencer in experiencer expressions (called idiomatic expressions by Schröder 2002:8) (8m & 8n), and S and A before the verb in focus cleft constructions (8p). The nominative encodes S and A after the verb (8a & 8b), the instrument after the preposition *kà* (8h), and A in experiencer expressions (see 8m & 8n).

Toposa (South-Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan)

- (8a) è-pèr-í nyí-kókû. V S
 3.SG.S-sleep-IMV⁸ DIM.SG-child.NOM
 "The child is sleeping." (Schröder 2002:37)

⁸ Schröder uses a somewhat confusing terminology with regard to verbal inflexion. She argues that Toposa has an aspect system with an imperfective/perfective distinction and uses the abbreviations IMP for imperfect and PER for perfect in the glosses (see Schröder 2002:33, 52ff., viii). In accordance with her analysis, I will use the abbreviations IMV and PFV instead.

- (8b) è-màs-é-tè ñá-àtùk ñá-kìpì. V A O
3.PL-drink-IMV-PL F.PL-COW.NOM F.SG-water.ACC
“The cows are drinking water.” (Schröder 2002:37)
- (8c) à-lìm-ókin-î lò-káàtó-kánj ñá-kírró ñùnà. V BEN O
1.SG-tell-BEN-IMV M.SG-brother-my.ACC F.PL-matters.ACC these
“I shall tell my brother about these matters.” (Schröder 2002:50)
- (8d) á-tú-dún-ákin-’í nyá-bérú nyá-kí’rínj kòtèré nyà-bèrù. V INS O BEN
3.SG-cut-IMV-INS M.SG-knife.ACC F.SG-meat.ACC for F.SG-woman.ACC
“He cuts the meat with a knife for the woman.” (Schröder 2002:71)
- (8e) è-pèr-í nyí-kókù.
3.SG-sleep-IMV DIM.SG-child.NOM
“The child is sleeping.” (Schröder 2002:44)
- (8f) è-té-pér-ì áyònj nyí-kòkù.
1.SG-CAU-sleep-IMV I.NOM DIM.SG-child.ACC
“I put the child to sleep.” (Schröder 2002:44)
- (8g) è-tì-ìn-ákin-ì áyònj nyá-bérú nyá-lírú. V A BEN O
1.SG-CAU-give-BEN-IMV I.NOM F.SG-woman.ACC F.SG-spear.ACC
“I cause [someone] to give the spear to the woman.” (Schröder 2002:58)
- (8h) á-tú-dún-ákin-’í nyá-bé’rú nyá-ki’ínj kà nyé-kilèn.
3.SG-CAU-cut-BEN-IMV F.SG-woman.ACC F.SG-meat.ACC with M.SG-knife.NOM
“He caused the woman to cut the meat with a knife.” (Schröder 2002:71)
- (8i) ì-dés-ì nyé-kilè ñá-átùk. V A O
3.SG-beat-IMV M.SG-man.NOM F.PL-COW.ACC
“The man is beating the cows.” (Schröder 2002:37)
- (8j) ì-dés-ít-àè ñá-átùk. V S
3.PL-beat-PFV-PAS F.PL-COW.ACC
“The cows are being beaten.” (Schröder 2002:37)
- (8k) kì-ìn-ít-àè isùá ñá-kílè.
3.A.1.PL.O-give-PFV-PAS we.ACC F.PL-milk.ACC
“We were given milk.” (Schröder 2002:39)
- (8l) kì-lìm-ókin-’í-é-tê íkèsì ìnjwónì.
3.A.1.PL.O-tell-BEN-IMV-PL they.NOM we.ACC
“They will tell us.” (Schröder 2002:38)
- (8m) kà⁹-nyám-ítì áyònj nyá-kórò.
1.SG.O-eat-PFV I.ACC F.SG-hunger.NOM
“I am hungry. (Literally: ‘Hunger eats me.’)” (Schröder 2002:39)

⁹ Schröder (2002:37–9) interprets the initial *k-* as an object/ergative-pronoun; Dimmendaal interprets the initial *k-* as an object pronoun.

(8n) kè-mùrí-ákín-ìtì áyôn ny'd-kirò kèn^e.

1.SG.O-forget-DEN-PFV I.ACC M.SG-name.NOM his

'I forgot his name. (Literally: 'His name is escaping me.')

 (Schröder 2002:39)

As in Turkana, in a passive clause S behaves like O. The passive is expressed by a suffix. The expression of an agent is not possible; therefore, according to the definition of passives presented in chapter 1, Toposa has an agentless passive. The explanation for the particular behavior is the same as in Turkana (see above): The passive clause goes back to a former transitive structure VAO: In 8j the passive clause "the cows are being beaten" goes back to the clause "he/it beats the cows". O of the source structure has been reinterpreted as S of the target structure VS (that is "cows" in 8j). The source structure can still be seen in the case encoding (see 8j "cows" appears in the accusative) and in cross-referencing, at least when S = first and second person. According to my analysis of bound personal pronouns, passive constructions for first and second person S show object agreement, since *ki-* in 8k refers to third person subject and first person plural object (compare with the non-passive clause 8l). With third person, A and O are cross-referenced identically, therefore nothing is visible. This analysis of the accusative case for S in passive clauses in Turkana is corroborated by Schröder's analysis: Unlike Dimmendaal, Schröder says that S occurs in the accusative (2002:8) (see 8j).

In experiencer expressions, typically denoting emotional states such as "to be hungry", "to be thirsty", "to feel", the experiencer occurs as the object, O, and not as the subject (A or S). "I am hungry" is expressed by "hunger eats me" (see the literal meaning in 8m). "I forgot his name" is expressed by "his name is escaping me" (see 8n). The case encoding is in accordance with the literal meaning (for 8m: "hunger" is encoded like A and the experiencer "I" like O; for 8n: "his name" is encoded like A and the experiencer "I" like O). It is a widespread phenomenon that experiencer expressions appear in special structures. Toposa has chosen one which is common in Africa and prevalent in the area where Toposa is spoken, that is to say, it is areally motivated (see Reh 1998, Reh, Simon, & Koops 1998, and Simon & Reh 1999). The VOA-order regularly appears in Toposa if O is a first or second person pronoun and A is a noun (see Schröder 2002:39). In Turkana, similar constructions are referred to by Dimmendaal as "subjectless clauses".

The causative is expressed by a derivational prefix on the verb. The increase of valency by one triggers a change in the syntactic structure: The subject (S or A) of the non-causative clause appears as O in the causative clause: In 8e, S "child" is encoded in the nominative, whereas in the corresponding causative clause in 8f "child" is encoded in the accusative like O. The new causer fills the subject slot and is encoded in the nominative (see "I" in 8f). Within causative constructions, it is possible to use a further verbal derivation, so that the valency of the verb is increased by two. In 8h the verb is derived by the causative and the benefactive: now the accusative is used twice, for the subject of the non-causative clause (see 8h "woman"), and the causee (8h "meat").

Table 4.4 Nominative and accusative case functions in Toposa

| Case | Function |
|------|---|
| NOM | (a) Subject (S & A) after the verb (b) Subject in copula clauses (c) After the preposition <i>kà</i> if expressing instrument |
| ACC | (a) Citation form (b) O (c) Nominal predication (d) Subject (S & A) before the verb (e) After the preposition <i>kòtèré</i> and <i>kà</i> (if not expressing instrument) (f) Peripheral participants introduced by head-marking devices (verbal derivation) (g) Patient (S) of passive (h) Experiencer |

- (8o) nya-kuj^u e-yen-i daanⁱ na pa ny-a-yen-i
 F.PL-God/ACC 3.SG-know-IMV all.ACC which not NEG-1.SG-know-IMV
 ayonj. A V O V S
 I.NOM
 "God [alone] knows everything that I don't know." (Schröder 2002:88)

- (8p) ŋuna daani e-rwor-o nye-tau a-riŋa a-ya-i
 these all.ACC 3.SG-speak-RFL M/SG-heart.NOM 1.SG-be.still 1.SG-be-SC
 kidiama. O V A
 up/above
 "My heart spoke **all that** while I was still up in the air." (Schröder 2002:88)

- (8q) à-rà-í nyèkètàtàmání.
 1.SG-bin-IMV teacher.ACC
 "I am a teacher." (Helga Schröder, p.c.)

- (8r) à-rà-í áyòng nyèkètàtàmání.
 1.SG.be-IMV I.NOM teacher.ACC
 "I am a teacher." (Helga Schröder, p.c.)

In table 4.4, the functions covered by the nominative and the accusative in Toposa are listed. The accusative has the widest range of functions. Toposa is a canonical marked-nominative type 1 language with case expressed by tone.

4.1.4 Dhaasanac

The Lowland East Cushitic language Dhaasanac is a verb-final language, having AOV/SV order. Tosco describes it as an accent language. He distinguishes between "accented words", which are, according to him, high-toned (marked by an acute accent) and "unaccented words", which are non-high-toned (left unmarked) (Tosco 2001:38–9). Consonant with this analysis, most nouns are unaccented (see below). It

remains unclear why the accented noun always has high tone; yet for our purposes it is not crucial whether Dhaasanac is a tone or an accent language.

All nouns occur in two different ways, either in the so-called “context form”, that is, in fluent speech (Tosco 2001:65), or in the form used in isolation, that is, before a pause, in slow speech, or in isolation. The context form can be derived from the isolation form principally by the deletion of the terminal vowel. The latter is largely meaningless, except for some contexts, involving for example *-u* for masculine and *-i* for feminine nouns (Tosco 2001:65). The noun may consist of the stem plus a formative or a suffix; the latter is a derivational element such as singularive or plural; the former is a meaningless invariant ending.¹⁰ The term “basic form” is used by Tosco on the one hand as an equivalent for absolutive (when opposed to subject case), and on the other hand as an equivalent for stem (when opposed to extended noun¹¹) (see Tosco 2001:65ff. and 94ff.).

S, A, and O are cross-referenced on the verb by clitic pronouns. There are two different sets of pronouns: One set encodes S and A preverbally, and another set encodes O postverbally. The cross-referencing subject pronouns look like shortened versions of the independent nominative pronouns. The cross-referenced object pronouns look like shortened versions of the independent accusative pronouns. Interestingly, cross-reference is defective, in that first and second person singular subject, as well as first person inclusive, and third person (singular and plural) object are not cross-referenced.

Case is expressed by accent shift or through suffixes (Tosco 2001:93). Three cases are distinguished: accusative, called either absolutive or basic form by Tosco, nominative, called subject case by Tosco, and genitive. The accusative is the morphologically unmarked form; it is identical with the so-called basic form. In the accusative masculine, monosyllabic nouns are accented throughout, feminine nouns are unaccented, and so are most plural forms. In addition, so-called extended nouns (see footnote 11) are mostly unaccented (Tosco 2001:39). The nominative is derived from accented accusative forms by lowering the accent (high tone) (Tosco 2001:94). With non-accented (non-high-tone) accusative nouns, the nominative is only “latent”, as Tosco calls it (2001:95). It remains unclear whether in the latter the nominative is identical with the accusative (Tosco 2001:97).¹² Genitive is expressed by a suffix *-iet* and the high tone of the accusative is lowered, e.g. *cár* “snake.ACC” *cariet* “snake.GEN” (Tosco 2001:97). Many nouns, though, do not take the genitive suffix; instead, they take the isolation form, that is, the form without loss of the terminal vowel. It is possible that the so-called isolation form constitutes a case form of its own, namely the

¹⁰ For a complete list of all noun classes see Tosco (2001:70, table 1).

¹¹ “Extended nouns” is the term used by Tosco (2001) to refer to nouns which are either derived forms or forms which bear a meaningless ending (a formative).

¹² “‘Subject case’ is glossed with ‘SUBJ’ only when realized through lowering of the accent (high tone) of a Basic form. It is not glossed when ‘latent’, i.e. on all unaccented (not high-toned) nouns” (Tosco 2001:95).

Table 4.5 Case terminology in Dhaasanac

| Tosco | Proposed here | Example "sun" |
|-------------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| Form in isolation | Oblique = basic form | ʔáaðu |
| Absolutive = basic form | Accusative | ʔáað |
| Subject case | Nominative | ʔaað |
| Genitive | Genitive | ʔaaðiet |

only unmarked form of the language. On this analysis, all remaining forms, including the accusative, would be derived forms.

The isolation form is used in restricted contexts and with certain nouns only, such as when a possessor is presented (see 9j & 9k). Note that in Ik, a Kuliak language, the situation is strikingly similar: All nouns of the language are expressed in what Tosco would call either the isolation form or the context form. The context form can be derived from the isolation form by the loss of final phonemes, a vowel or a consonant plus vowel. The isolation form has remnants of occurrences, such as possessor in possessee–possessor construction, or objects in imperative clauses. Therefore, I claim for Ik in König (2002) that the isolation form has the value of a case form, which I call the oblique case (abbreviated as OBL in the glosses). If in Dhaasanac the same holds as for Ik, an alternative analysis for case could be proposed: Tosco's form in isolation is the oblique case, which is identical with the basic form, the only morphologically unmarked form of the case system. Tosco's absolutive is not the basic form but the accusative, derived from the oblique by vowel reduction; Tosco's subject case is the nominative. In table 4.5, both Tosco's and my view are represented; the different labels are illustrated with the Dhaasanac noun ʔáað "sun". According to my analysis, Dhaasanac would have four cases and not three, and would be a type 2 language and not a type 1 language.

Case is encoded only once in the noun phrase: It is only the last element of a noun phrase that undergoes lowering when used in the nominative (see table 4.6 and example 9i). Table 4.6 gives an overview of a few case forms in Dhaasanac. Independent pronouns are case-inflected differently than nouns, either by suppletive stems or by derivation. The accusative forms seem to be derived from the nominative forms by the suffix *-ni*, which according to Tosco (2001:211) is found on subject pronouns of neighboring languages such as Oromo. Note that there is no accusative form for the third person. With regard to the pronoun-building pattern, independent pronouns do not match the general pattern of marked-nominative languages. With the former it is not the accusative which is the morphologically unmarked form but the nominative. Functionally, however, independent pronouns match the general pattern of marked-nominative languages as the accusative is used as the default form with the widest range of functions. The irregular behavior of independent pronouns is in need of explanation.

The accusative covers the following functions (see table 4.7): citation form (see 9a), O (9b), nominal predicates (9e), topicalized participants (9f), focalized participants

Table 4.6 Examples of case forms in Dhaasanac

| ACC | NOM | Meaning |
|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>múor</i> | <i>muor</i> | "leopard" |
| <i>máa</i> | <i>maa</i> | "man" |
| <i>?árab</i> | <i>?arab</i> | "elephant" |
| <i>gáal yáb</i> | <i>gáal yab</i> | "males (lit.: people male)" |
| <i>yú</i> | <i>yáa</i> | "I" |
| <i>kúnni</i> | <i>kúo</i> | "you (SG)" |
| — | <i>h'é</i> | "he, she, it, they" |
| <i>múuni</i> | <i>(h'é) ké ~ kí</i> | "we (IN)" |
| <i>niini</i> | <i>naanyi</i> | "we (EX)" |
| <i>?itini</i> | <i>?iti</i> | "you (PL)" |

Source Tosco 2001:94–7 & 211

(9g), nouns before adpositions (9d), modified nouns (9e), and the possessee in a possessee–possessor order (9j). If the subject is topicalized, the subject slot is filled by the third person pronoun as a dummy; the independent noun occurs clause-initially in the accusative case form (9f). The nominative encodes S (9d) and A (9b), but only if not topicalized (9f), focused (9g), or modified (9e). Dhaasanac has no passive. There is one pragmatic construction which according to Tosco (2001:275) is an equivalent of passive clauses, namely a clause with a topicalized left- dislocated object (9l).

Dhaasanac (Lowland East Cushitic, Afroasiatic)

- (9a) *múor*
leopard
"Leopard" (Tosco 2001:95)
- (9b) *yú múor ?argi.* A O V
I.NOM leopard.ACC see.PER.A¹³
"I saw a leopard." (Tosco 2001:95)
- (9c) *múor yú ?argi.* O A V
leopard.ACC I.NOM see.PER.A
"I saw a leopard." (Tosco 2001:95)
- (9d) *min bie gaa doti.* S V
woman.NOM water.ACC in run.PER.B¹⁴
"She¹⁵ ran away from the water." (Tosco 2001:94)
- (9e) *máa=ti=a dáasanac.* S N.PRED
man.ACC=that=DET Dhaasanac.ACC
"That man is a Dhaasanac." (Tosco 2001:94)

¹³ The abbreviations A and B refer to two verb classes which behave differently with regard to inflexion or derivation (see Tosco 2001:112).

¹⁴ See the preceding footnote.

¹⁵ According to the glosses "the woman" would be more appropriate.

Table 4.7 Nominative and accusative case in Dhaasanac

| Case | Function |
|------|---|
| NOM | (a) Subject (S & A) if not focused, topicalized, or modified (b) Subject in copula clauses |
| ACC | (a) Citation form (b) O (c) Nominal predication (d) Subject (S & A) if focused, topicalized, modified (e) Focused participants (f) Topicalized participants (g) Modified nouns (h) Peripheral participants introduced by head-marking devices (verbal derivation) (i) Possessee (j) Nouns after prepositions |

- (9f) múor ^hé kufi. S V
leopard.ACC 3.NOM die.PER.A
"The leopard died; as for the leopard, it died." (Tosco 2001:95)
- (9g) múor=ru kufi. S V
leopard.ACC=FOC die.PER.A
"The leopard died. (Answer to the question: Who died?)" (Tosco 2001:95)
- (9h) 6íl caríet PEE POR
house.ACC snake.GEN
"snake-house." (Tosco 2001:97)
- (9i) gáal yab ^hí koi
people.ACC males.NOM 3.SG.VERB eat.PER.A
"The males ate." (Tosco 2001:97)
- (9j) búul kimiddí PEE POR
nest.ACC bird.OBL
"bird nest." (Tosco 2001:97)
- (9k) d́aa ʔaaðu ~ ʔaaðíet
side.ACC sun.OBL sun.GEN
"West [the side of the sun]" (Tosco 2001:254)
- (9l) lokod=ci=a 6asau=a ʃíet ^hé konpi. O A V
skin.ACC=my=DET flat.ACC=DET fire.ACC 3.NOM eat.PER.B
"The fire burned my flat hide. [My flat hide, the fire burned it.]
or: My flat hide was burned by fire." (Tosco 2001:275)

In sum, Dhaasanac is a marked-nominative language of type 1 following Tosco's analysis, or type 2 following my suggestion. Functionally, the accusative is the case

with the broadest range of occurrences and the widest range of functions; it is therefore the functionally unmarked case. Functions such as citation, nominal predicate, object, topicalized participants, focused participants, modified nouns are covered by the accusative. The nominative is used only to encode S, and A if neither topicalized, focused, or modified. If, as I suggest, Dhaasanac has not three cases, namely accusative, nominative and genitive, but four, namely accusative, nominative, and genitive plus oblique, the language would follow type 2: If there is an oblique, this corresponds to the “basic form” of nouns, which is the only morphologically unmarked form. All other cases are derived forms: The accusative is derived from the oblique via vowel loss, and the nominative is derived from the accusative via accent lowering.

4.1.5 *Maale*

Maale is a South Ometo language spoken in southern Ethiopia. According to Amha (2001) the basic constituent order is verb-final (AOV/SV) (see 10a & 10b). In total, ten cases are distinguished, mostly by suffixes, eight of them encode peripheral participants, such as dative expressed by the suffix *-m*, genitive by *-ko*, instrument by the suffix *-na*, ablative by *-ppa*, vocative by *-é*, and three different locatives by *-idda*, *-aa*, and *-ka*. The core cases, accusative (called absolutive by Amha 2001) and nominative are sensitive to definiteness: Indefinite nouns are encoded by tone, definite nouns by suffixes. The bare word stem represents the indefinite accusative form, which forms the basis of all other cases, that is, for all nominative forms whether definite and indefinite and for all indefinite peripheral cases. The indefinite nominative is derived from the indefinite accusative form by changing the last vowel into final H. If the indefinite accusative form ends in final L, the nominative changes it to final H (see the “dog” column in table 4.8); if the indefinite accusative form is already final H, there is no difference between the indefinite accusative and the indefinite nominative form (see the “girl” column in table 4.8). The definite accusative is derived from the indefinite accusative by the suffix *-ó*, the definite nominative is derived from the indefinite accusative by the suffix *-á* (see the “egg”, “snake”, and “girl” columns in table 4.8).

Maale is a split language with regard to the building pattern of case: It follows type 1 with indefinite nouns and type 2 with definite nouns. This can be seen by the fact that with indefinite nouns the accusative is morphologically unmarked and the nominative is morphologically marked, while with definite nouns both the accusative and the nominative are morphologically marked.

The nominative encodes S (10b) and A (10a). The accusative is used as the citation form of all nouns (compare second and third line in table 4.8); it encodes O (see 10a), nominal predicates (see 10b), and some IOs, though usually it is the dative that encodes IO (see 10d). But there are instances where the accusative is used instead, in particular with ditransitive verbs like “to feed”: The IO is encoded in the accusative (see 10e), resulting in a structure where O and IO are encoded in the accusative. Note

Table 4.8 Core cases in Maale

| | "dog" | "egg" | "snake" | "girl" |
|----------------|------------------|--------|-------------|-------------|
| Citation form | kani | búúlla | ʃóóʃi | wudúró |
| ACC IDF, SG | kani | búúlla | ʃóóʃi | wudúró |
| NOM IDF, SG | kaní | bullá | ʃóóʃi | wudúró |
| ACC DEF, SG | | bull-ó | ʃóóʃ3-ó | wudúr-ó |
| NOM DEF, SG | | bull-á | ʃóóʃ3-á | wudúr-á |
| ACC DEF, SG, M | kan-z-í | | | |
| NOM DEF, SG, F | kan-ó | | | |
| ACC DEF.PL | kan-at(t)-ó-ntsi | | ʃóóʃ3ó-ntsi | wudúró-ntsi |
| NOM DEF.PL | kan-at(t)-ó-ntsi | | ʃóóʃ3ó-ntsi | wudúró-ntsi |
| ACC IDF.PL | kan-at(t)-ó | | | wudúr-átsi |
| NOM IDF.PL | kan-at(t)-á | | | wudúr-átsi |

Source Amha 2001

that the verb contains no derivational affix. In causative constructions, the accusative encodes the agent and the patient (see 10f), and it also encodes the possessor in a genitive construction (see 10g): The possessor can be expressed in two different ways. Both constructions share the possessor–possessee order. First, possessor and possessee are juxtaposed; no genitive marker is used. The possessor appears in the accusative (see 10g). Second, the possessor appears in the genitive (see 10h). There is a meaning difference between 10g and 10h: The latter implies that the rest of the body is not short.

Maale has instances of case doubling (for a definition see chapter 1): Peripheral cases are not suffixed to the bare word stem but to the accusative form. This can be seen in definite nouns, where the accusative is expressed by the suffix *-ó* (see 10j). In 10i and 10j the same expression “roof of the house”, literally expressed as “the back of the house”, is encoded by the two different possessive constructions, one without the genitive (10i) and one with the genitive (10j). In the latter, the genitive is not suffixed to the bare word stem but to the definite accusative form of the noun. The same holds for definite dative nouns (see 10d). There are even instances of triple case marking, having an additional ablative (10k): The ablative is suffixed to the noun which already contains the accusative and the locative suffix. It is most likely that the double and triple marking is a result of the following process: The core cases accusative and nominative are hypothesized to have developed at some earlier stage. The locative *-ídda* (see 10k), the instrument *-na* (10l), the genitive *-ko* (10h), and the dative *-m* (10d) developed later, as suggested by the fact that they are attached to the accusative form: Postpositions originating in relational nouns have been grammaticalized to case suffixes by a genitive construction where possessee and possessor are juxtaposed. The ablative represents the latest innovation of the same kind. Even today, Maale uses the same kind of constructions: There is a set of so-called locative nouns (see Amha

2001:68) which function like postpositions. They appear in genitive construction with their head noun, just like “back” in 10i and 10j.

Change in the basic word order does not affect the case encoding. In 10m, S occurs in VS-order and is still encoded in the nominative. In 10n, O is placed clause-initially in OAV-order and still occurs in the accusative.

Maale (South Omoto, West Omotic, Afroasiatic)

- (10a) naaʔʔ-atsí wál-átsi baizz-é-ne.
child-M.NOM axe-M.ACC lose-PFV-A.DCL
“The boy lost the axe.” (Amha 2001:56)
- (10b) wudúr-átsí muk-é-ne.
young.girl-PL.NOM come-PFV-A.DCL
“Young girls came.” (Amha 2001:56)
- (10c) hayí ʃóóʃi-ke.
this.M.NOM snake.ACC-BE¹⁶.A.DCL
“This is a snake.” (Amha 2001:39)
- (10d) ʔííní ʔád-ó-m maʔ-é haazzi keezz-é-ne.
3.M.SG.NOM father-ACC-DAT happen-REL.PF thing.ACC tell-PFV-A.DCL
“He told something to his father.” (Amha 2001:38)
- (10e) ʔínd-á naʔʔ-ó ʔaʃki muuzz-é-ne.
mother-NOM child-ACC meat.ACC feed-PFV-A.CL
“The mother fed the child (with) meat.” (Amha 2001:207)
- (10f) ʔízi ʔízó waatsi burk'-is-is-á-ne.
3M.SG.NOM 3F.SG.ACC water.ACC boil-CAU-CAU-PFV-A.DCL
“He made her boil water.” (Amha 2001:95)
- (10g) gudúri tókí k'amítsi-ke.
hyena.ACC foot.NOM short-BE.A.DCL
“A hyena's leg is short.”
- (10h) gudúri-ko tókí k'amítsi-ke.
hyena.ACC-GEN foot.NOM short-BE.A.DCL
“A hyena's leg is short.” (Amha 2001:63)
- (10i) máár-ó zúll-a
house-ACC back-LOC
“roof of the house.” (Amha 2001:68)
- (10j) máár-ó-ko zúll-a
house-ACC-GEN back-LOC
“roof of the house.” (Amha 2001:68)

¹⁶ BE is not mentioned in the references of the author cited.

Table 4.9 Nominative and accusative case functions in Maale

| Case | Function |
|------|-----------------------------|
| NOM | Subject (S & A) |
| ACC | (a) Citation form |
| | (b) O |
| | (c) Nominal predication |
| | (d) IO |
| | (e) Possessor |
| | (f) Basis for case doubling |

- (10k) máár-ó-ídda-ppa
house-ACC-LOC-ABL
“from the house.” (Amha 2001:69)
- (10l) ta lágg-átsi peekó mácc-ó-na wolla muk-é-ne.
1.SG.GEN friend-M.NOM 3.LOG.GEN wife-ACC-INST together come-PFV-A.DCL
“My friend came with his wife.” (Amha 2001:62)
- (10m) kumm-uwá-se ?agínn-á.
fill-IPF.NEG-N.DCL month-NOM
“It does not last for a month (lit.: a month does not fill).” (Amha 2001:235)
- (10n) waas’-ó táání láál-é-ne.
water-ACC 1SG.NOM spill-PFV-A.DCL
“I spilled the water.” (Amha 2001:235)

Table 4.9 gives an overview of the case functions covered by the nominative and accusative in Maale.

In sum, Maale is a split type 1/type 2 marked-nominative language—type 1 with indefinite nouns and type 2 with definite nouns. The accusative has the widest range of functions and therefore is functionally the unmarked case. The accusative is used as the citation form, as the basis for case doubling; it encodes O, nominal predicates, IO, and the possessor. The functions IO and possessor are not exclusively expressed by the accusative but as an alternative to the dative and the genitive. The nominative encodes only S and A. Word order change does not affect the encoding of the participants.

4.1.6 Umbundu

Umbundu, spoken in southern Angola, is one of the western Bantu languages which are suspected of having a marked-nominative system expressed by tone, where two cases are distinguished, a nominative and an accusative. I will return to this language in section 5.1.1.1.1.

4.1.7 Ngangela

Ngangela is another western Bantu language spoken in southern Angola which, like Umbundu, is suspected of having a marked-nominative system expressed by tone with two cases, nominative and accusative; see section 5.1.1.1.2.

4.2 Accusative

How broad the range of functions of the accusative in a marked-nominative system of a particular language can be may be illustrated with the following statement by Hayward on Zayse (Ometo, West Omotic). Note that Hayward uses the term absolutive instead of accusative:

[...] it would be true to say that this is the form [absolutive; CK] which occurs in every syntactic function except that of subject. (Hayward 1990a:242)

After having illustrated the general behavior of marked-nominative languages by presenting three languages, namely Turkana, Toposa, Dhaasanac, and Maale, mentioning Umbundu and Ngangela in addition, I will now make some general remarks specifically on the profile of the status of the accusative case in marked-nominative languages.

Table 4.10 gives a survey of the functions which may be expressed by the accusative and by the nominative in marked-nominative languages. For the accusative it is more of a maximum list in that it contains all the functions being covered by the accusative according to the relevant literature; an accusative of a single language may only cover part of the functions listed in table 4.10. I will now discuss each of these functions in turn. The data available for some languages is far from exhaustive. If a language is not mentioned under a certain function it may mean that this function is not covered by the accusative or nominative, but it may also mean that there is no data available.

(a) Citation form

This function is expressed by the accusative in all marked-nominative languages belonging to type 1. In type 2 languages, where both forms (accusative and nominative) are derived, the citation form may differ from the accusative. Arbore, a Cushitic language (Afroasiatic), is mainly type 1, in that the accusative is typically the morphologically unmarked form and the nominative the morphologically marked form, encoded either by tone or by a suffix, e.g. *-é*. There are, however, a few nouns in the language where both cases, nominative and accusative, are morphologically non-zero. So Arbore is a language belonging mainly to type 1 but also to type 2. With nouns of type 2, the accusative is derived from a so-called "basic form" by tone. Among the latter, it is not the accusative but the basic form that is the form used in citation. In 11, nouns of both types are listed: *se?* "cow" belongs to type 1; accordingly the citation form is identical with the accusative form, but *koró* "wood" follows type 2 and therefore it is the basic form that is used in citation and not the accusative.

Table 4.10 Accusative and nominative functions in marked-nominative languages

| Function of the ACC case | Language |
|--|---|
| (a) Citation form | All, except for type 2 nouns in Arbore; only definite in Haro |
| (b) Object function | All, but only definite in Haro; only some in Umbundu; if not modified in Dinka, Datooga, ¹⁷ Berta |
| (c) Nominal predicate in copula clauses | All, except Arbore; only definite in Haro |
| (d) S & A before the verb (either topicalized or focused) | Maa, Datooga, Teso, Turkana, Toposa, Pări, Jur-Luwo, Dinka, Pokot, Nandi, Sebei, Kipsigis, Datooga, Omotik, Majang, Didinga, Murle, Tennes, Baale, Chai, Berber, Berta |
| (e) Possessor | Maale, Datooga, Tennes & Maa only if juxtaposed |
| (f) Indirect objects | Arbore, Datooga (always), Umbundu, Maale (mostly DAT, but sometimes ACC) |
| (g) Participants introduced by head-marking devices such as verbal derivation (applicative, causative, instrumental) | Tennes, Maa, Datooga, Dhaasanac, Turkana, Toposa |
| (h) After prepositions | Datooga, Maa (<i>ɔ</i>), Dinka (<i>ne</i>), Dhaasanac, Berber (only a few languages), Umbundu (<i>kwenda</i> , <i>la</i>), Toposa (<i>kòtéré</i> and <i>kà</i>) |
| (i) Basis for case doubling | Maale, Zayse, Wolaitta, Alaaba; K'abeena for ablative. ¹⁸ Exceptions: Genitive in K'abeena (for other cases), Haro |
| (j) Patient of passive (S) | Maa, Pări, Nandi, Turkana, Toposa, Suri-Chai |
| (k) Further participants | Alaaba: time; Umbundu: locative & agents in passive clauses |
| (l) Focused participants | Dhaasanac |
| (m) Topicalized participants | Dhaasanac |
| (n) Possessee | Dhaasanac |
| (o) Modified nouns | Dhaasanac |
| Function of the NOM case | Language |
| (a) S & A | All; only after the verb in all verb-initial and verb-medial languages, that is, with non-focused or non-topicalized subjects; also in one verb-final language: Dhaasanac |
| (b) Prepositions | Berber, Dinka, Maa (<i>tɛ</i>) |
| (c) Agent of passives | Dinka, Maa |
| (d) Basis for case doubling | Berber |
| (e) Possessee | Berber, Dinka |

¹⁷ The findings presented here for Datooga are based on Kießling 2001. They may contradict Rotland's results (1982). This might be due to the fact that Rotland's database was very limited. For Datooga examples see chapter 5 and König (2006).

¹⁸ Genitive is used with other cases in case-doubling forms instead.

Arbore (Omo-Tana, East Cushitic, Afroasiatic)

- (11) *se?* "cow" = cow.ACC
koró "wood" (*koro* "wood.ACC") (Hayward 1984)

In all other type-2 languages where case marking is not dependent on definiteness the citation form is always identical with the accusative.

In languages where the case system is restricted to definite nouns only, the default citation form is the caseless indefinite form (as for example in Haro; see section 4.3). Nevertheless, the functional unmarkedness of the accusative is apparent in the fact that definite nouns occur in the accusative as their citation form (see Woldemariam 2003:63).

(b) Object

Objects are marked in the accusative in all positions irrespective of whether expressed after or before the verb, and irrespective of whether type 1 or 2 is involved. However, Bantu languages such as Umbundu contradict this rule: O is encoded by the accusative in certain positions only, in particular when placed immediately after the verb (see 5.1.1.1.1). In marked-nominative languages which have a construct case, that is, a case used for head nouns being modified within an NP or a relative clause, a modified O occurs in the construct case instead. This holds for Berta (Andersen 1995), Dinka (Andersen 2002), and Datooga (Kießling 2001). In Datooga, a canonical marked-nominative language with three cases distinguished by tone (nominative, accusative, and construct case, called anti-genitival by Kießling 2001), an unmodified O occurs in the accusative, as in 12a, but a modified O occurs in the construct case instead (see 12b).

Datooga (South Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan)

- (12a) *gàyqábár qáarèemángá bũñêeda.* V A O

3.PL-dig youths.NOM grave.ACC¹⁹

"The youths will dig the grave." (Kießling 2001:8)

- (12b) *qwàat gàtmòodá hàw.* V O (N ADJ)

take wife.cc big.acc

"He takes the big (= first) wife." (Kießling 2001:13)

(c) Nominal predicate in copula clauses

Nominal predicates are always encoded by the accusative, except where the language has developed a case just covering this function. Nandi, an East Nilotic marked-nominative language may demonstrate the typical behavior. In 13, the nominal predicate "child" is encoded in the accusative in copula clauses.

- (13) Nandi (East Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan)

kipe:t kò la:kwét. S PRED.N

Kibet.acc ?? child.acc

"Kibet is a child." (Creider & Creider 1989:125)

¹⁹ Most examples of Kießling are without glosses, which are added by the present author.

Arbore is an exception, again. Arbore has developed a copulative (called predicative by Hayward) which is used in this function (14). The copulative encodes focused participants and nominal predicates.

Arbore

- (14) w[əhə]²⁰to ?[oɦó]l-a.

DEM donkey-cop

"That is a donkey." (/ʔohól/) (Hayward 1984)

- (d) S & A before the verb (either topicalized or focused in cleft constructions or just in the default word order)

This feature does not apply to verb-final languages, for obvious reasons, otherwise they would not be case languages, as has been shown for Dhaasanac (see above in 9b, 9c, & 9d) and Maale (see 10e, 10f, & 10g). But the feature "S and A before the verb are encoded in the accusative" applies to all verb-initial and verb-medial languages. Feature (d) is an "irregularity" not restricted to marked-nominative languages; it applies to all case languages (see 5.3).

- (e) Possessor

Some languages have developed a genitive case to encode the possessor, but even then it may be that there is an alternative, juxtaposed, possessive construction in which the preceding possessee occurs in the accusative. This holds true for Maale (see example 10g) and for Tenneset (see 5 above).

In Maa the possessee occurs after the genitive particle in the accusative form (see 15). The possessor after the genitive particle²¹ is encoded in the accusative, as *ol-ayióni* "boy" in 15, irrespective of whether the possessee is encoded.

Maa (Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan)

- (15) é-ípot ol-córe l-ó [o]l-ayióni.

3.SG-call M.SG-friend.NOM M.PEE-M.SG.POR M.SG-boy.ACC

"The friend of the boy called him." (Tucker & Mpaayei 1955:213)

However, there are also marked-nominative languages where the possessee occurs in the nominative, Dinka and Berber being examples. Dinka, a West Nilotic language, has four cases: A nominative (called oblique by Andersen 2002) marked by tone, an accusative (zero marked),²² and two locatives, called allative and inessive-ablative, marked by an overlong vowel and tone change. Andersen calls the latter "external cases", which encode the relationship of participants on clause level, distinguished

²⁰ Square brackets show the phonetic form.

²¹ Note that the genitive particle is gender- and number-inflected. It consists of two parts, where the first part is inflected for possessee and the second for possessor.

GEN-particle: l-ó M.PEE-M.SG.POR

l-é M.PEE-F.SG.POR

l-óó M.PEE-PL.POR

²² Note that some nouns show no variation in nominative and accusative form.

from internal cases, which operate within complex noun phrases. All external case inflexions are marked by non-linear tools such as root-internal change. Modified nouns appear in what Andersen calls the “construction case” (see Andersen 2002:29). The possessor occurs in the nominative after the preposition *ɛ̃*. The same preposition is also used as a copula, but in this case the nominal predicate occurs in the accusative (see 17). 16 and 17 are nearly identical clauses; the only difference is that in 16 “chief” occurs in the nominative and in 17 in the accusative. The element *ɛ̃* obviously functions as a copula in 17 and as a preposition in 16.

Dinka (West Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan)

- (16) *mən ɛ̃ bən.* POR = NOM
 child.cs1 PREP chief.NOM
 “the chief’s child.” (Andersen 2002:15)

- mən ɛ̃ bən.* N.PRED = ACC
 (17) child.cs1 be chief.ACC
 “A child who is (going to be) a chief.” (Andersen 2002:15)

In Berber languages it is also the nominative rather than the accusative which is used as the basic form of the genitive case. Possessors in nominal possession are marked by the genitive case. The genitive case itself, marked by the clitic *i-*, is prefixed to the nominative case form of the word and not to the accusative one. The nominative, being the form used in possessive constructions, may be due to the fact that, in general, nouns after prepositions occur mostly in the nominative. The genitive itself has developed out of a definite clitic (see Aikhenvald 1992:43 & section 4.5.1.3).

(f) Indirect objects

Indirect objects²³ are often encoded in the accusative but, again, not if the language has developed a dative case covering this function, as for instance in Libido (18).

Libido (Highland East Cushitic, Afroasiatic)

- (18) *'ani gubamaammooki keesa yee-tte.*
 1s.NOM struggle.IPV.1sg.M.NOM 2.sg.DAT say.CON.1s-COP
 “That I am struggling is for the sake of you.” (Crass & Meyer 2007:242)

It may happen that even in a language with a dative case, IO is not always encoded in the dative but in the accusative instead. As has been shown above, this applies to Maale (see 10d & 10e), resulting in a structure where two participants within one clause are encoded in the accusative without any verbal derivation or postposition.

In Arbore, where there is no grammaticalized dative case, the accusative is also taken to encode the indirect object, once again without any further verbal derivation. The accusative encodes the indirect object (IO) and the direct object (O) with ditransitive verbs. Both orders O IO V or IO O V are possible (as exemplified in 19 and 20). The

²³ For a definition see chapter 1.

indirect object is really encoded by the accusative and not by the basic form, which can be seen in nouns which have a different basic form. In 21, the indirect object is encoded as *ǵ[ǵaʔa]r-te*, the accusative form of “old woman”, and not the basic form, which would be *ǵ[ǵaʔa]r-té*.

Arbore

- (19) ʔi-ñ biče náag s[ifñ]s-e. O IO V
 pvs-1s water.ACC boy.ACC give.1.SG -PER
 “I gave water to the boy.” (Hayward 1984:111)
- (20) náag biče ʔi siss-e. IO O V
 boy.ACC water.ACC pvs.2.SG give.2.SG-PER
 “You gave water to the boy.” (Hayward 1984:159)
- (21) ǵ[ǵaʔa]r-te dafar-á-ñ s[ifñ]s-a. IO COP V
 old.woman-F.ACC cloth-COP-1.SG give.1.SG-PER
 “It’s clothes that I’ll give to the old woman.” (Hayward 1984:159)

The same holds for Datooga: IOs are always encoded in the accusative (see 22).

Datooga

- (22) qòodâw náawúudá gùdêedâ. V A IO
 give cat.NOM dog.ACC
 “The cat gave it to the dog.” (Kießling 2001:7)

Other languages, such as Tennet or Maa, do not have three-place verbs. They always use the head-marking device, an applicative, whereby the semantic concept corresponding to IO in other languages is encoded in the accusative, as has been shown above.

- (g) Participants introduced by head-marking devices such as verbal derivation (applicative, causative, instrumental)

Some marked-nominative languages encode the participant introduced by a verbal derivation always in the accusative. This applies in particular to Tennet (see above), Maa, Datooga, and Nandi. In 23, the beneficiary “the child” is encoded in the accusative. The verb has a suffix -i “cut”, which looks like a verbal derivation,²⁴ so that the dependent participant introduced by verbal derivation is encoded in the accusative.

Nandi

- (23) kí-ka:c-i kipe:t la:kwé:t ce:kà.
 PAST-give-cut Kibet.NOM child.ACC milk.ACC
 “Kibet gave the child milk.” (Creider & Creider 1989:124)

²⁴ Unfortunately the author does not provide further information on the kind of derivation expressed by suffix -i.

In Maa, the beneficiary “father” occurs in the accusative (see 24). It is introduced by the verbal applicative suffix *-óki* (with the allomorphs *-aki*, *-oki* in the imperfective and *-aka*, *-oko* in the perfective). In 25, the instrumental participant “knife” is encoded in the accusative; it is introduced by the verbal instrumental derivation, marked by the suffix *-ié*.

- Maa
- (24) á-ból-óki papá ɔl-béne.
 1.SG-open-APL father.ACC M.SG-basket.ACC
 “I open the basket for father.” (Tucker & Mpaayei 1955:129)
- (25) á-dún-ié enk-álém.
 1.SG-cut-INST F.SG-knife.ACC
 “I cut it with a knife.” (Tucker & Mpaayei 1955:142)

In Datooga, the participant encoded by the head-marking device of verbal derivation always appears in the accusative (see 26a for the instrumental suffix *-an* (or *-a*), and 26b for the recipient/goal suffix *-s*).

- (26a) gáft-à balláandá gàacéedà dáráwéetà. V A INST O
 shoot-INST boy.NOM arrow.ACC swala.ACC
 “The boy shoots the swala²⁵ with an arrow.” (Kießling 2001:20)
- (26b) gágwàl-s-á gísànjángá mùránéedà dугà. V A BEN O
 select-GOAL-? Gisamjanga warrior.ACC cattle.ACC
 “The Gisamjanga selected cattle for the warrior [...]” (Kießling 2001:20)

(i) Case doubling²⁶

As mentioned above, Maale has ten different cases; some are suffixed to the accusative form. Case doubling occurs with all eight peripheral cases. The accusative is always the basic form for peripheral cases such as the genitive (10h), dative (10d), instrumental (10l), and the three locatives. Some case forms, like the ablative (10k), are even triple-marked in Maale; again, the basis is the accusative.

There is evidence to argue that in Zayse (Omoto, West Omotic) the accusative is also the basis for case doubling. Hayward presents a slightly different interpretation. He prefers the term “postpositions” for the suffixes which encode peripheral cases and which are attached to the accusative form (Hayward 1990a:255). This construction looks similar to the construction described as case doubling in neighboring languages by other authors (see Haro by Woldemariam 2003, section 4.3). In Wolaitta (North Omoto, West Omotic) and Alaaba (Highland East Cushitic) there is also case doubling, and the accusative is always the basis for the case doubling forms (Azeb Amha, p.c. and Gertrud Schneider-Blum, p.c.). In other marked-nominative languages, however,

²⁵ Probably an antelope species (CK).

²⁶ For a definition see chapter 1.

the genitive is the basis for case doubling. These are in particular, to some extent, K'abeena (Highland East Cushitic) and the Omotic language Haro (see section 4.3).

(j) Subjects in passive(-like) constructions are encoded by the accusative. Some of the languages show a full-fledged passive, such as Maa; others an agentless passive, like Toposa; others again have no formal marker on the verb, like Nandi, and therefore show only a passive-like construction.²⁷ In most marked-nominative languages, S in passive constructions is, as expected, encoded in the nominative like A and not like O, as 27 from Maale may illustrate.

- Maale
 (27) ʔízi ʃóóʃi-na ɗaʔ-ínt-é-ne.
 3M.SG.NOM snake.ACC-INST bite-PAS-PFV-A.DCL
 "He is bitten by a snake." (Amha 2001:39)

However, as has been shown above, there are other marked-nominative languages which encode S in passive(-like) clauses like O. Passive in Maa, a Nilotic marked-nominative language, is expressed by a suffix *-í*. According to the definition of passives given in chapter 1, Maa is on the verge of having full-fledged passive, but mostly it is used as an agentless passive.²⁸ Surprisingly, S, the only independent core participant, is encoded in the accusative in passive clauses, such as *Sirónká* in 28a, *n-kaji* "house" in 28d, and *[i]nk-ishu* "cow" in 28e. The syntactic status of the only independent core participant is complex. It includes features of O and of S. This is in need of explanation. The O features are due to the source of the passive structure, the S features are due to the target passive meaning. The particular behavior of the passive in Maa and its origin has already been discussed by Greenberg (1959).

The only independent core participant in passive clauses shows the following O features of a transitive clause:

(1) Verbal agreement

As Heine and Claudi (1986:79–84) convincingly show, the passive suffix *-í* goes back to a third person plural pronoun **ki*, i.e. PAS *i* < **ki* 3.PL. Literally, the passive construction as in 28a originated in the structure "They praise Sironka".

- Maa²⁹
 (28a) (M) é-ísis-í Sirónká.
 3.PL.A-praise-PAS Sironka.ACC
 "Sironka is praised. (Lit.: They praise Sironka.)"
 (Tucker & Mpaayei 1955:175)

²⁷ For a definition, see chapter 1. Note that the label "passive" is used here in a loose sense as a cover term to make the different constructions in the variant languages comparable. Whether in a particular language the construction should really be called passive or not is not substantial to the analysis presented here.

²⁸ All four features are fulfilled in Maa.

²⁹ Maa consists of different closely related dialects. Examples presented here are from Maasai (M) and Samburu (S).

- (28b) (S) k-áa-ipot-o-kí.
 k-3.PL.A.1O-call-PFV-PAS
 "I have been called." (Heine & Claudi 1986:80)
- (28c) (S) áa-puonunú-i áa-ijuraa.
 3.PL.A.1O-come.PL-PAS INF.PL-look
 "I'll come to be seen." (Heine & Claudi 1986:80)
- (28d) (S) k-é-jijí-í n-kají, n-kerá-í. V S PP (Agent)
 k-3.PL.A-enter-PAS F-house.ACC F-child.SG-NOM
 "The house will be entered by the child." (Heine & Claudi 1986:80)
- (28e) (M) e-rik-i [i]nk-ishu aainei [i]l-murran. V S PP (Agent)
 3.PL.A-lead-PAS F.PL-COW.ACC 1.SG.F.PL.POSS M.PL-warrior.NOM
 "My cows will be led by the young men." (Tucker & Mpaayei 1955:81)

The verb still shows traces of the source construction in various ways: First, the subject is cross-referenced as an object (O) and not as a subject (S & A). This can be seen in cases where the subject refers to first or second person. Maa has complex portmanteau pronouns prefixed to the verb which cross-reference both subject (S & A) and object (O). In 28b, the subject refers to first person singular. The pronoun used on the verb, however, encodes third person subject (S or A) and first person object. Second, Maa has some suppletive verbs sensitive to number agreement. In passive constructions, it is always the plural form which is used even if the subject has singular reference (28c).

(2) Case marking

The only independent core participant occurs in the accusative, that is, the case of O in the original construction. The only independent core participant in passive clauses shows the following S features of an intransitive passive clause:

(a) Meaning

The clause gets a passive meaning.

(b) Syntactic structure

The clause consists of a verb and one independent core participant, which by default is interpreted as a VS structure. The construction allows only one core participant even if the verb is transitive (only VS-structure, no VAO-structure) (see 28a).

(c) Semantic

As in other passive clauses, S expresses the patient role.

(d) Expression of the agent

As in other passive clauses, the agent, if expressed at all, has to appear as a peripheral participant placed after S. With regard to the expression of the agent, the picture is not consistent. According to Heine and Claudi (1986:79–84), only some speakers allow the notion of an agent, others do not. If the agent can be expressed it always occurs consistently in the nominative (see 28d–e). In 28d, S (the patient "house") is encoded in the accusative and the agent "by the child"

(as a peripheral participant) is encoded in the nominative. According to Heine and Claudi (1986:79–84), the agent in passive clauses is pronounced with a small preceding pause and agents are not allowed to be placed before subjects. The preceding pause may be a trace of the structure by which the agent was initially introduced into passive clauses: either as a kind of afterthought, or originally introduced by the preposition *tɛ*, which always takes nouns in the nominative.

In sum, synchronically the passive clause still reflects features of its original structure; it also shows features which are typical for passive clauses. As case is among the features belonging to the original structure it is not the nominative but the accusative in which S appears in passive clauses. Other Nilotic languages show similar constructions which in the literature are referred to under various labels such as impersonal active (e.g. by Dimmendaal 1983a for Turkana) or demoted subject (e.g. by Andersen 2002:15 for Dinka). The passive construction is a hybrid: The patient is promoted, but not to the extent that it contains all properties of S found elsewhere. Alternatively, one could argue that constructions like 28 are not passives but subjectless clauses. Whatever position one favors the construction remains complex. For our purpose it is of importance that in constructions of this kind the only core participant occurs in the accusative and not in the nominative. This also holds for the passive constructions mentioned for Turkana. As the constructions are similar but not identical, I will refer to them under the label passive-like constructions.³⁰

In addition to Maa (see 28a–e) and Turkana (see 7j & 7k), Dinka, Pāri, and Nandi also belong to this group. In the passive-like construction of Nandi, S, the patient, is encoded like an object in the accusative case (see 29). S (“the door”) appears in the passive clause of 29 in the same shape as O in 30, the corresponding active clause.

Nandi

- (29) kɪ-yâ:t-éy kúrké:t.
 1p³¹-open-IPV(3) door.ACC
 “The door is being opened.” (Creider & Creider 1989:126)
- (30) kɪ-yâ:t-é kúrké:t.
 1p-open-IPV(non-3³²) door.ACC
 “We are opening the door.” (Creider & Creider 1989:126)

The same is true for Pāri, a split ergative language, which either shows an ergative or a marked-nominative pattern. Active clauses follow a marked-nominative pattern to encode S in the unmarked accusative case in a corresponding passive clause (see 31 & 32).

In 31, A occurs in the nominative case form, in the corresponding passive clause of 32; S has to appear in the unmarked accusative form.

³⁰ For a definition see chapter 1.

³¹ It remains unclear whether this form really refers to “1p”, that is, to the first person plural.

³² But not in the third person.

Päri (West Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan)

- (31) rĩjó n-à-thaal-lí dháag-è-ǎ, [...] O V O_{pp} A-NOM
 meat.ACC when-PAS-cook-3.SG woman-NOM³³-CONT
 "When the meat was cooked by the woman, [...]"³⁴ (Andersen 2000:79)
 [Syntactic structure: When the woman cooked the meat.]

- (32) n-à-thaal rĩjó-à'', [...] V S
 when-PA-cook.PAS meat.ACC-CONT
 "When the meat was cooked, [...]" (Andersen 2000:78)

And the same applies to Chai,³⁵ a Surmic marked-nominative language. Last and Lucassen describe the mixed behavior of the passive construction for the Suri dialect in the following way:

The logical object, which becomes the grammatical subject in passive constructions in other languages, remains the grammatical object in Chai, as the object agreement suffixes are similar to the object suffixes used in active forms. The verb agrees with the Agent in number and person. The agent normally is not explicitly specified elsewhere in the sentence. (Last & Lucassen 1998:387)

In passive clauses S is treated like O with regard to verbal agreement (see 33), and with regard to the case marking: S appears in the accusative case (see 34, an example taken from a further dialect of Chai, called Tirmaga).

Suri-Chai (South-East, Surmic, Nilo-Saharan)

- (33) kù-cúk-t-à-j.
 PAS-chase-t?-1.SG.O
 "I am chased." (Last & Lucassen 1998:387)

Tirmaga-Chai (Surmic, Nilo-Saharan)

- (34) kà-ǎasay zùgó-a bu-ó mer-a ɲòónu hólóɲ húɲ.
 PAS-scatter.IPV people.ACC-REL³⁶ big-REL be.many-REL there freely just
 "...and many people were scattered there for no reason." (Bryant 2001)

To summarize: The accusative shows the following profile: Function (b), the encoding of O, is always present; functions (a), citation form, and (c), nominal predicate in copula clauses, mostly, except for some type-2 languages and languages with case systems restricted to definite nouns. Function (d), S & A before the verb, is found in

³³ Note that the nominative is called ergative by Andersen, as the same suffix functions as an ergative and a marked-nominative case suffix, respectively. In order to be easier to understand, I changed the glosses here to nominative. The clauses presented in 31 and 32 belong to the so-called verb-initial clauses which follow a marked-nominative pattern; see section 3.1.1.1.

³⁴ Note that Andersen translates the active clause like a passive one.

³⁵ Chai has the dialects Suri and Tirmaga; the two are closely related.

³⁶ Glosses are changed by me in order to be consistent; REL = relator, copula-like element; NREL = non-specific relator.

Table 4.11 Case inflexions in the determiners of Sidamo

| ACC | M - <i>ha</i> | NOM | M - <i>hu</i> |
|-----|-----------------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| | F - <i>ta</i> (also - <i>te</i>) | | F - <i>tu</i> (also - <i>te</i>) |

Source Tucker and Bryan 1966:514 & 517

all languages having a basic verb-initial or verb-medial constituent order. In languages with a basic verb-initial order, the fronted S and A are either topicalized or focused. Functions (e), possessor, (f), IO, (g), participants introduced by head-marking devices, and (h), after prepositions, apply to varying degrees. The general pattern of participant marking seems to be that dependent nouns (such as possessor, after prepositions, after being marked by verbal derivation) are encoded in the accusative form, even if in a particular language some dependent nouns occur in the nominative as well. In Maa there are two prepositions, one (*te*) taking the nominative and the other (*ɔ*) the accusative. Functions (i), basis of case doubling, (j), patient of passive, and (k), further participants, are rarely found; as has been shown above, (i) applies to Maale, Zayse, Wolaitta, Alaaba and partly to K'abeena (all of which are Afroasiatic languages); (j) applies to Maa and furthermore to Pāri, Nandi, and Turkana (all Nilotic languages); (k) applies to Alaaba and Umbundu only.

4.3 Type 2

As defined in section 1.1, type 2 languages are languages where all case forms used to encode the core participants A, S, and O are derived forms; there is no morphologically unmarked, zero form. In type 2 marked-nominative languages, both the accusative and the nominative are derived forms, as opposed to type 1 marked-nominative languages, where only the nominative is derived whereas the accusative is the basic form. Only a minority of the marked-nominative languages belong to type 2, namely seventeen of the sixty-four³⁷ languages studied. Out of these seventeen, four are only partly type 2, in that some nouns in the language follow type 1 and others type 2. There is a concentration of type 2 languages within Highland East Cushitic and North Omotic, all being Afroasiatic languages.

Sidamo

Tucker and Bryan (1966) list the following case endings for Sidamo (East-Highland, Cushitic, Afroasiatic): Accusative is zero, nominative either suffix -*i* or -*u*, genitive also either suffix -*i* or -*u*. Among the determiners, a suffix distinguishes two cases in accordance with type 2; see table 4.11.

One could argue that the determiners follow type 2.

³⁷ For a complete list, see map 4.3 and Appendix II.

Table 4.12 Case marking in K'abeena

| Noun | Accusative | Nominative | Genitive | Dative | Instrumental Comitative | |
|------|---|---|-----------------|------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| | | | | | Locative | Ablative |
| 2 M | a, aa, ee, i, o, oo, u | ⁱ , ^u , oo | ee, i, o | VVh ^a | VVn ⁱ | VVcc ⁱ |
| 2 F | e, o | ⁱ , ^u | e, o | VVt ^a | VVn ⁱ | VVcc ⁱ |
| 4 F | at ^a , aat ^a , eet ^a , it ^a , ut ^a | at ⁱ , aat ⁱ , eet ⁱ , it ⁱ , ut ⁱ | a, aa, ee, e, o | VVt ^a | VVn ⁱ | VVcc ⁱ |

Source Crass 2005:89

K'abeena

According to Crass (2005), seven different cases are distinguished in K'abeena. Case marking follows complex rules. Nouns fall into thirteen different classes. Case encoding is sensitive to gender, number, and the number of morphemes making up the word stem. Two genders are distinguished, feminine and masculine. Gender and case are distinguished by final vowels. The accusative is encoded by different suffixes, depending on the gender. The nominative is expressed either by vowel shift, pitch accent shift, or zero. Table 4.12 gives an overview of a few case endings (raised symbols stand for voiceless vowels); for a complete list see Crass (2005:89). Morphologically, cases are divided into two subclasses: Case marking in the accusative, nominative, and genitive are all derived directly from the word stem. The dative, instrumental, locative, and ablative are derived from either the accusative or the genitive form, the latter two via case doubling.

Functionally, the nominative covers S and A (as in 35) and the accusative is used in citation, covering O (as in 35), nominal predicates (see 36), and S in impersonal constructions (see 37).

K'abeena (East Highland, Cushitic, Afroasiatic)

- (35) faangoo lalu 'aa'lyo'.

thief.NOM cow.ACC take.PFV.3.SG.F/3.PL

"Thieves have stolen the cow/the cows." (Crass 2005:65)³⁸

- (36) 'is^u haakime-h^a.

3.SG.M doctor.ACC-COP.M

"He is a doctor." (Crass 2005:97)

- (37) 'eedisi zabboonⁱ hureennu-ba.

aids.ACC medicine.INST heal.IPF.IMP-NEG

"AIDS is not curable with medicine." (Crass 2005:102)

³⁸ Original examples are in German. For readability, examples are translated into English by the present author. The original glosses have been adapted to the present conventions for easier access.

Table 4.13 Determiners in K'abeena

| Morphological status | Demonstrative determiner | | Head noun |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| | | | |
| Derived, e.g. <i>ti</i> | NOM | NOM | |
| Zero marked, e.g. <i>ta</i> | ACC | ACC, DAT, GEN, ABL, LOC, INST | = all other environments |

Source Crass 2005:118ff.

Nominal modifiers show a defective case inflexion. As table 4.13 illustrates, demonstratives occur in two different forms, one being morphologically marked and the other unmarked. The morphologically marked form is used when the head noun occurs in the nominative. In all other environments, the morphologically unmarked form is used. There is reason to argue that the morphologically marked form corresponds to the nominative (see 38c) and the morphologically unmarked form to the accusative (see 38a). The latter has the status of a default form. In 38b, the accusative form is used with its head being in the genitive.

- (38a) *ta k'ank'ut^a hi'riyoon-s^e.*
 DEM.F.ACC medicine.for.tapeworm.F.ACC buy.PFV.1.SG-3.SG.F
 "This medicine for tapeworm, I have bought (it)." (Crass 2005:119)
- (38b) *ta c'aa c'il'itⁱ hulbu hulbu yitaa.*
 DEM.F.ACC girl.GEN bottom.NOM constantly.waggle.with.one's.bottom.IPF.3SG.F
 "The bottom of this girl is constantly wagging." (Crass 2005:119)
- (38c) *ti 'adancutⁱ žumaa 'adafaffⁱ 'affi ittaⁱ.*
 DEM.F.NOM cat.NOM rat.ACC lie.in.ambush.CON.3.SG.F catch.CON.3.SG eat.IPF.3.SG.F
 "This cat lies in wait for rats, catches and eats them." (Crass 2003)

As table 4.14 illustrates, adjectives occur in up to three different forms: One is morphologically unmarked and two are morphologically marked. The morphologically unmarked form modifies head nouns in the accusative. One of the morphologically marked forms (called "marked form 2" by Crass) modifies masculine nominative heads only, while in all other environments the marked form 1 is used.

The case system is suggestive of the following generalizations: If K'abeena has a morphologically unmarked form then it is the accusative. There are traces where the accusative is functionally the most unmarked: First, the accusative of the determiner is used as the default case (see table 4.13). Second, the accusative is the basis for the ablative case. Third, the accusative has the widest range of applications: It encodes O, nominal predicates, and is used as the citation form. But the accusative is not the only case which is a candidate for being used in a wider range of functions as mentioned

Table 4.14 Adjectives in K'abeena

| Morphological status | Adjectives | Head noun | Example <i>roora</i> "big, much" |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| Derived (called marked form 2) | NOM.M | NOM.M | <i>roor^u</i> |
| Zero marked | ACC | ACC | <i>roora</i> |
| Derived (called marked form 1) | NOM.F, DAT, GEN, ABL, LOC, INST | NOM.F, DAT, GEN, ABL, LOC, INST = all other environments | <i>roor^a</i> |

Source Crass 2005:200ff.

earlier; the genitive is also used as the basis for case doubling. The fact that gender and case marking are interwoven might have led to a situation where no case form in K'abeena is morphologically unmarked.

Alaaba

Alaaba, another Highland East Cushitic language, shows a similar behavior as K'abeena with regard to case. Eight cases are distinguished according to Schneider-Blum (2006), namely accusative, nominative, genitive, dative, ablative, locative, instrumental, and similative. It also is a marked-nominative language of type 2: There is no morphologically unmarked case form; both cases, nominative and the accusative, are morphologically derived forms. Case marking is interwoven with gender marking. There are two genders: masculine and feminine. Case is encoded by accent shift, vowel devoicing, and suffixes. According to Schneider-Blum (2006:852), with feminine nouns the accusative is marked by the suffix ending *-(t)a* plus the accent on the penultimate syllable, the nominative by changing the ending to *-t(i)* (the accent remains). With masculine nouns ending in a long stressed vowel, the accusative is marked by shortening the final vowel to a short stressed vowel; final *-áa*, *-ée*, *-óo*, for example, are changed to *-á*, *-é*, *-ó*. Masculine nouns ending in a short vowel show no difference in the basic form or in the accusative. The nominative is marked by changing the word-final short stressed vowel to a devoiced *u*. The accusative is used as the citation form (see 39), encodes O (40), nominal predicates (42) and, in contrast to K'abeena, also time participants (43). The nominative encodes S (41) and A (40). As in K'abeena, cases are divided into two subclasses: The first class consists of the accusative, the nominative, and the genitive, which are all derived from the word stem. All other cases, such as dative, ablative, locative, instrumental, and similative, belong to the second class. They are derived from the accusative—thus being instances of case doubling.

Alaaba (East Highland, Cushitic, Afroasiatic)

(39) *mini*

house.ACC

"house." (Schneider-Blum 2003)

- (40) mánc(u) ka elóo albaa'l-isée. A O V
 man.S.M.NOM DEM1ACC hole.ACC be.wide-CAU-3S.M.PFV2
 "The man enlarged this hole." (Schneider-Blum 2003)
- (41) hiku mánc(u) orróo'y(o). S V
 DEM.2.NOM man.SG.M.NOM leave-3.SG.M.PFV
 "That man left." (Schneider-Blum 2003)
- (42) tiin(i) mancootáan(i). S N.PRED
 DEM.1.F.SG.NOM woman.SG.F.ACC.CL.SG.F.L/I
 "This is a woman." (Schneider-Blum 2003)
- (43) sasíic(i) shoólú iill(a) ameeet-áam(i). Time S
 three.ABL four.ACC until come-1SG.IPF
 "I'll come by three to four (o'clock)." (Schneider-Blum 2003)

Nominal modifiers always show a reduced pattern of case inflexions. One set of dependent demonstratives occurs in three case forms only, namely accusative, nominative, and another form which is used for all remaining cases. The first person feminine singular demonstrative meaning "near" belongs to this set. It occurs with the forms *ta* for accusative, *ti* for nominative, and *tan* elsewhere. Even more than in K'abeena, the accusative is the case which is functionally the least marked. This can be seen in the functional range covered by the accusative: In addition to the typical functions O, nominal predicate and the citation form, it also expresses a peripheral participant, namely time, and it forms the basis for case doubling. The genetically closely related language Kambaata, also Highland East Cushitic, shows a similar behavior with regard to case as Alaaba and K'abeena. Again, case marking is interwoven with gender marking in Kambaata. Here again, nominative and accusative are both derived forms (Treis 2006). In a similar fashion, Libido³⁹ (Cushitic, East Highland) belongs to type 2 as well, also encoding case by means of suffixes (Joachim Crass, p.c.).

Haro

Haro, an Omotic language, is a marked-nominative language according to Woldemariam (2003). Case is encoded by suffixes. In total, ten cases are distinguished. The core cases nominative, accusative, and genitive are only distinguished by suffixes with definite nouns; indefinite nouns show no case distinction with these three cases. All remaining cases are distinguished with definite and indefinite nouns. The nominative is marked by the suffix *-i*, the accusative either by the suffix *-a* (masculine, plural) or *-o* (feminine, singular) (called absolutive by Woldemariam), and the genitive suffix is *-i*. Seven further cases, which all encode peripheral participants are always used irrespective of whether the noun is definite or indefinite. These are dative, instrumental, locative, ablative, directive, comitative and vocative. The accusative

³⁹ Formerly known under the name Marāqo, the Amharic name for the people. Libido is the name by which the people designate themselves.

covers the direct object, O (see 44a). As indefinite forms show no case distinction, the citation form is not the accusative but the indefinite form. Nominal predicates, when definite, are encoded in the accusative (see 44c). In this respect, Haro behaves like a typical marked-nominative language.

Haro⁴⁰ (East Ometo, West Omotic, Afroasiatic)

- (44a) ?is-í gariná-z-a ?í-wod-ín-e.
she-NOM lion-M.DEF-M.ACC 3.F.SG-kill-PA-A.DEC
"She killed the lion."
- (44b) ?is-í garmá-t-o ?í-wod-ín-e.
she-NOM lion-F.DEF-F.ACC 3.F.SG-kill-PA-A.DEC
"She killed the lioness." (Woldemariam 2003:64)
- (44c) yé?-í garma-z-á-kko.
that-NOM lion-M.DEF-M.ACC-FOC
"That is the lion." (Woldemariam 2003:64)
- (44d) gaarmá-z-í deyššá-z-a-kko ?é-m-ín-e.
lion-M.DEF-NOM goat-M.DEF-M.ACC-FOC 3MS-eat-PA-A.DEC
"The lion ate the goat." (Woldemariam 2003:65)
- (44e) šaató-z-i maačč-idě-z-a ?é č'aš-ín-e.
boy-M.DEF-NOM woman-PL-M.DEF-M.ACC 3.M.SG insult-PA-A.DEC
"The boy has insulted the women."

The nominative shows no sensitivity to gender. It is always marked by the suffix *-i* (see 44b & d). All plural nouns take the masculine accusative suffix *-a*, even if feminine (see 44e "women"). The nominative and the genitive are encoded by the same suffix, namely *-i* (see Woldemariam 2003:67). Woldemariam considers this similarity to be accidental:

The Nominative and Genitive cases involve the same morphological marking as against the Absolutive. The formal similarity between the Nominative and Genitive is considered as a mere historical coincidence or homonymy since functionally there may not be much that can be said about the closeness between the Nominative and the Genitive.

(Woldemariam 2003:61)

There is case doubling in Haro. All seven peripheral cases listed above are added to the noun bearing a case suffix *-i*. Considering the homophony of genitive and nominative, the question arises whether this suffix *-i* is principally the nominative or the genitive. According to Woldemariam, it has the status of the genitive and not of the nominative (see Woldemariam 2003:61). Her main argument is based on genetic comparison. In genetically related languages, the genitive is also used as the basis for case doubling, such as K'abeena (Crass 2003) and Wolaitta (Amha forthc.); thus, the

⁴⁰ As mentioned above, Woldemariam uses the term absolutive instead of accusative. In order to be consistent, the original glosses have been changed.

noun "lion" appears as *garmá* when indefinite for S, A, O and as the citation form. The accusative masculine definite form of "lion" is *garm-z-a* (see 44a), with *-z-* encoding masculine definite, and *-a* masculine accusative. The corresponding feminine form is *garmá-t-o* with *-t* being feminine definite, and *-o* feminine accusative (see 44a & 44b). Nevertheless, as also mentioned by Woldemariam (loc. cit.), there are other Omoto languages which take the accusative as the basis for case doubling, such as Maale (Amha 2001, see above) and Zayse (Hayward 1990a).

Unlike type 1 languages, the morphologically unmarked form in Haro presents the indefinite form of the noun, which is "caseless". The latter form is used as the equivalent of the definite case forms nominative, accusative, and genitive. Definiteness and case are both marked by separate suffixes which follow the noun stem. Nominative, accusative, and genitive case forms are built in the following way:

Noun – DEF – CASE

All remaining cases involve case doubling, where case is suffixed to the noun in the genitive case form. All nouns bear case irrespective of whether they are definite or indefinite. Case doubling is built in the following way:

Noun-(DEF)-GEN-CASE

The encoding pattern type 2 came into existence in Haro in a slightly different way than in the languages of this type discussed so far. As in the other type 2 languages, case and gender are interwoven. With definite nouns, gender is marked twice on each noun: The definite suffixes and the case suffixes are both gender-sensitive. Nevertheless, unlike in many other type 2 languages, this interwovenness does not lead to an encoding pattern following type 2 in Haro, which is due to a different source: Haro has a split marked-nominative system which is neutralized with indefinite nouns. The fact that with indefinite nouns case is neutralized results in a situation where the morphologically unmarked form is taken to encode indefinite nouns.

Beja

The data for Beja (North Cushitic, Afroasiatic) are not entirely clear. Earlier authors emphasized the somewhat confusing situation of case in Beja:

Beja has case. But Beja speakers don't seem to care about case, and often the vowel differences between case markers are neutralized phonologically. Starting in the 1880s with Almkvist, linguists have complained about the apparent nonchalance of Beja speakers regarding case marking. We would argue that Beja can afford to be "careless" about case *because it is a head marking language.* (Wedekind & Wedekind 2002:3–4)

Beja has a defective case system, following type 1 with regard to nouns and type 2 with regard to determiners. Case is hardly seen on nouns, case and gender are interwoven (see table 4.15). Instead, case is seen on a preceding qualifier which is case-inflected (see table 4.16). Case is defective for all nouns in the feminine gender and for nouns ending

Table 4.15 Case inflexions in Beja⁴¹ on nouns

| Case | Gender | Marker |
|------|--------|---|
| NOM | M | Zero |
| | F -t | Zero |
| ACC | M | -b after a vowel, otherwise zero |
| | F -t | zero |
| GEN | M | -I after a consonant, -y after a vowel Pl. -e |
| | F -t | -I Pl. -e |

Source Tucker and Bryan 1966:514

Table 4.16 Case inflexions in Beja with determiners

| Case | Gender | Determinative | | | | Noun | |
|-----------|--------|---------------|------|--------|------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| | | Singular | | Plural | | Singular | Plural |
| NOM (ABS) | M | (w)uu- | 'u:- | (y)aa- | 'a:- | zero suffix (absolute form) | |
| | F | t-uu- | tu:- | t-aa- | ta:- | | |
| ACC | M | (w)oo- | 'o:- | (y)ee | 'e:- | | |
| | F | t-oo- | to:- | t-ee- | te:- | | |
| GEN | M | (w)oo- | 'o:- | (y)ee | 'e:- | -i or -y | -e Genitive |
| | F | t-oo- | to:- | t-ee- | te:- | -ti | -te Form |

Source Tucker and Bryan 1966:516

Note After the determiner, nouns appear in the nominative

in a consonant in the masculine gender (see table 4.15). "Defective" means that there is no distinction between nominative and accusative. On the basis of the morphological behavior of the nouns, Beja is a defective nominative-accusative language following type 1, as morphologically the nominative is unmarked and the accusative is marked (with a few masculine nouns ending on a vowel).

With a preceding qualifier the noun has to appear in the morphologically unmarked form, which is the nominative, showing no gender or case ending. As table 4.16 illustrates, the accusative and the nominative are morphologically marked with determiners. According to Martine Vanhove (p.c.) the homophonous forms of the accusative and the genitive are a feature of the Bishari dialect, which was Reinisch's source (and since Tucker and Bryan took Reinisch as their source it was also their source). Other dialects of Beja, however, have different forms for the determiners in the accusative and genitive, such as NOM (t)uu-, ACC (t)oo-, GEN (t)i- (for certain

⁴¹ Called Bedauye by Tucker and Bryan, see also Castellino (1978:32). Tucker and Bryan interpret the suffix -t as part of the case inflexion; it should, however, rather be interpreted as the feminine gender (Martine Vanhove p.c.).

types of nouns only). An example is *oo-gaw* "the house (ACC)", *i-gaw-i yaf* "the house door" (lit. the+GEN-house-GEN mouth).

Functionally, the case system follows a marked-nominative pattern. According to Reinisch, the accusative is used as the citation form (see Reinisch 1893:44⁴²); it encodes nominal predicates (Reinisch 1893:83⁴³), O and IO (Reinisch 1893:67⁴⁴). Beja is a split marked-nominative language of type S1. It either follows a marked-nominative pattern or shows no distinction at all. On nouns, the split is triggered by gender and phonology; only some masculine nouns show a case distinction between nominative and accusative. Beja is, to my knowledge, the only example of a mixed-case system following a nominative-accusative system with regard to morphology but a marked-nominative system with regard to function, being type 1 with nouns and type 2 with determiners.

Split type 2 languages

In addition, there are languages belonging partly to type 2: Arbore, Maale, and Wolaitta. As indicated above, in Arbore only few nouns have a basic form which differs tonally from the accusative. With these nouns, the accusative and the nominative are morphologically derived forms. As mentioned above on Maale, all definite nouns belong to type 2, in that accusative and nominative are both encoded by suffixes. Indefinite nouns, however, all behave according to type 1.

In Wolaitta (North Omoto, West Omotic), indefinite nouns follow type 1 with a morphologically unmarked accusative and a morphologically marked nominative, either encoded by vowel length, suffix, or high tone. There are a few exceptional nouns ending in a vowel *-e* where the nominative is also zero-marked. Yet, definite nouns follow type 2 in that both case forms, nominative and accusative, are morphologically marked forms. Case is marked by portmanteau morphemes which encode gender, definiteness, and case. Gender is only encoded with definite nouns (Azeb Amha, p.c.).

4.4 An alternative analysis?

Taking into account, first, that marked-nominative systems from a crosslinguistic point of view are such a rare phenomenon, second, that marked-nominative systems often encode case by a technique which is not found in other case languages, namely by tone, and third, that the range of functions covered by the morphologically unmarked form, the accusative, is so wide, being nearly unlimited, the question arises whether we are really dealing with case systems—in other words: What is the status of the

⁴² "Wenn man einen Bedawi nach irgend einen nennwort fragt, so gibt er dasselbe stets in der objectsform an" (Reinisch 1893:44).

⁴³ "Genau so verfährt das Bedauye, wenn das prädicat ein hauptwort ist, indem dasselbe stets in der objectsform steht" (Reinisch 1893:83).

⁴⁴ "Der dativ unterscheidet sich formell in nichts von der in § 122 und 123 beschriebenen bildung des accusatives" (Reinisch 1893:67).

unmarked form, can it be really be accounted for in terms of case, or is it something else?

I would argue in favor of an analysis in terms of case: First, the function served by the system is case in a prototypical sense: The members of the basic opposition (nominative vs. accusative) of marked-nominative languages, as in other case languages as well, are responsible for the encoding of the core participants S, A, and O. They serve this function by obligatory rules which apply to syntax first of all. In this respect, again, marked-nominative languages behave like other case systems.

Second, generally speaking, it is to be expected that if a system has a morphologically unmarked member, this is the one being used as a kind of default category in a whole range of different functions, opposed to other grammemes which serve to cover more specific functions (see Bybee 1994). The morphologically unmarked nominative in accusative systems is also the default category in all kinds of functions.

Third, even if there are quite a number of marked-nominative languages in which case inflexion consists only of the two cases, nominative and accusative, there are other marked-nominative languages where the nominative and the accusative are part of a complex paradigm consisting of up to ten different cases. It seems rather unsatisfactory to claim that, with regard to the other instances, we are dealing with case but with regard to nominative and accusative we are not.

Fourth, the languages belonging to type 2 may strengthen the analysis of marked-nominative being case and nothing else. As mentioned in section 4.2, in Arbore most nouns follow type 1. There are, however, a few which follow type 2. Both noun types, whether with a morphologically unmarked accusative (type 1) or a morphologically marked accusative (type 2), show the same range of functions. Furthermore, nouns following type 2 provide positive evidence that functions such as use as citation form, encoding dative object, encoding objects, and encoding nominal predicates are covered by the accusative and not the morphologically basic form as the latter form is excluded from encoding these functions.

Fifth, the unusual or even defective behavior of marked-nominative languages is not restricted to this particular kind of case system in Africa. Quite on the contrary, it rather seems to be a general phenomenon of case languages in Africa, irrespective of the specific type they belong to. The African languages bearing inflexional case are often rather odd from a crosslinguistic perspective. Among the 30 accusative languages listed in Appendix II there are six in which case is not an obligatory category but is only used when the distinction between S, A, and O is not marked by other means, such as word order (see chapter 2). Ik, a Kuliak language with an accusative system, also strengthens this point: As has been shown in chapter 2 and König (2002), Ik is a language with a rich case system. Seven cases are distinguished by means of suffixes. Nearly all elements of the language are to some degree case-inflected. But within the core domain the system is rather defective. Of the five different patterns which are used to encode core participants, only two show a nominative/accusative pattern; in all other environments there is no case distinction, which means that S, A, and O

are all encoded by the same form. The latter are contexts in which S, A, and O are differentiated by other means, either constituent order or cross-referencing.

It goes without saying that the cases used in marked-nominative languages also have some potential outside of the encoding of syntactic relationships. They all have a pragmatic value, as can be seen by the fact that case encoding is influenced by pragmatic functions such as topic and focus in particular. Again, the marked-nominative languages share this feature with other African case languages. The split “no case before the verb”, a pragmatically motivated feature of marked-nominative languages, is not restricted to the latter; rather it is a general feature of nearly all case languages, irrespective of the type they belong to (see 5.3). Second, in Ik, cases also have a pragmatic potential beyond the one already mentioned, as there is a copulative category which serves as a case for encoding focus participants; the copulative has become part of the case system.

4.5 Historical development

Dealing with a system which is obviously so rare from a crosslinguistic perspective and simultaneously prominent in one region of the world, the question arises how a marked-nominative case may have come into existence. So far, there is not enough evidence to account for this fact. Nevertheless, there are certain clues which allow for speculation about the possible rise of marked-nominative case forms. From a typological perspective, Plank (1985a) made some interesting hypotheses about the development from ergative to accusative and the other way round. Marked nominative as a “hybrid” of both case systems are a possible intermediate stage. According to Plank (1985a), a further intermediate stage within these developments is split S. I have not found appropriate evidence to substantiate these hypotheses in African languages.

4.5.1 Nominative encoding agents in passive-like clauses

A first clue is provided by the languages in which the nominative is the case covering such functions as S, A, and agent in passive clauses. We saw that in Maa agents are encoded by the nominative in passive constructions. This is a rather rare phenomenon in marked-nominative languages; nevertheless, Maa is not the only language showing this behavior. Dinka is another one: The agent of a passive-like clause occurs after the preposition (n)ɛ̃ in the nominative (see 45a). The preposition nɛ̃ is also used to introduce peripheral participants. However, when introducing peripheral participants other than agent in passive constructions, nɛ̃ takes the dependent noun in the accusative case (see 45b).

Dinka (West Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan)

(45a) d̥ɔk ɔ́-tóoc (n)ɛ̃ b̥an. S V-PAS Agent

boy.ACC D-send.PAS PREP chief.NOM

“The boy is being sent by the chief.” (Andersen 2002:7)

- (45b) à-yũup nè léc. V-AP INST
 D-beat.AP PREP stick.ACC
 "He is beating with a stick." (Andersen 2002:8)

Languages such as Dinka and Maa might provide a clue to the question of how a marked-nominative case has developed. Gerrit Dimmendaal (p.c.) suggests that the marked-nominative can come into existence first as a marker of peripheral agents in passive-like constructions. This procedure would explain why the nominative is morphologically marked. Agents of passive clauses are usually encoded by morphologically marked devices. Crosslinguistically, Dinka shows a common pattern: Agents of passive clauses are often encoded by the same tool which is used to encode peripheral participants such as locative or instrumental. In Maale, the agent of a passive clause is encoded by the same preposition which is used to encode instruments elsewhere (see 27). In Maa, the agent never shows a preposition. There is coherence between the case used after the preposition *te*, which introduces all kinds of peripheral participants (see 46), and the case used to encode the agent in passive clauses: In both cases the nominative is used (see 28d & 28e). The following example is from Samburu (S): Maa consists of different closely related dialects.

- (46) (S) Maa
 k-é-sídái te n-kerá-í
 k-3.SG-good PREP F-child-SG.NOM
 "It is good for the child." (Heine & Claudi 1986:102)

In Dinka, however, this coherence does not exist. Peripheral participants in general and the agent of passive clauses share the same preposition; both are introduced by *nè*, but the dependent noun occurs only when encoding an agent in the nominative; elsewhere the accusative is used instead (see 45a & 45b). This mismatch is in need of explanation.

4.5.2 Marked-nominative case as a former definiteness marker

A different kind of clue for the possible development of marked-nominative systems might be provided by the Northern Lwoo languages, Anywa, Pări, and Jur-Luwo which, as has been shown in chapter 3, are ergative and marked-nominative. As we saw in chapter 3, in Pări the suffix *-Cí* either functions as an ergative or as a marked-nominative case, that is, the same suffix either follows an ergative or a marked-nominative pattern. The split system is triggered by different clause types which among other features show different constituent orders. All clauses in the languages belong syntactically to either the so-called "verb-initial clauses" or the "NP-initial" clauses. In origin, this ergative/marked-nominative case marker is probably a definiteness marker. As has been argued in chapter 3.1, a definite marker has given rise first to a marked-nominative marker and later to an ergative marker in the Northern Lwoo languages Pări, Jur-Luwo, and to some extent also in Anywa (see section 3.1.1.4).

Note that in Burji, a Highland East Cushitic language, the nominative has developed out of a former definite marker, a suffix *-i* (see 5.2.1.2).

4.5.3 *Marked-nominative case as a former preceding definite element*

A marked-nominative case can go back to a former preceding definite element, resulting in stress and vowel change in the head noun, and the nominative is marked by vowel change and vowel reduction. Evidence for this pathway comes from Berber languages.

Berber (Afroasiatic)

The following account is principally based on Aikhenvald (1990, 1992, 1995); her view is not uncontroversial among Berberologists, however (see for example Kossmann 2005). According to Aikhenvald (1990, 1992, 1995), the Berber languages⁴⁵ show a complex situation with regard to case. Some have marked-nominative systems, others not. Some have split-S systems, others not. In some Berber languages, case is only encoded with definite nouns, in others with all nouns. Some Berber languages have split-S systems for pronouns, some for nouns. Case is always encoded by two means: Initial-vowel reduction and prefixes. Further information will be given below (see type A through D).

Table 4.17 gives an overview of case manifestations in different subbranches of Berber; note that not all Berberologists follow Aikhenvald's classification.

The information in table 4.17 is taken from Aikhenvald (1990:113, 1995:42), verified by Kossmann. According to Maarten Kossmann (p.c.) the following holds: Languages presented in bold in table 4.17 are marked nominative (according to Kossmann p.c.); languages presented in italics have case in dependent constructions only; languages underlined are without case. As table 4.17 illustrates, of the four Berber branches, generally speaking only two have case inflexions, namely North Berber and South Berber (Tuareg), the latter having a marked-nominative system. In East and West Berber no marked-nominative systems are found. Among North and South Berber there are also few which no longer have a marked-nominative system. The Algerian North Berber languages Ouargla and Mزاب as well as the Tunisian Sened, Djerba, and Zwara have lost their marked-nominative case inflexions (see Aikhenvald 1990:114–15).

Note that the genetic classification of the Berber languages/ dialects is controversial. The only genetically reliable connection exists between Tuareg and Zenaga (Maarten

⁴⁵ Among the Berberologists there is a discussion on whether Berber should be counted as one language or several. Most Berberologists prefer to consider Berber as one language with many dialects (e.g. Chaker 1995:7ff.). According to Kossmann (2005), this is exaggerated as Berber forms a dialect continuum whose internal variation is comparable to that found in Germanic. For our purpose this question is not essential. However, as Berber shows a complex behavior with regard to case, it is crucial to differentiate within Berber. I will follow Aikhenvald in speaking of "Berber languages". The different languages listed above might either have the status of dialects or of distinct languages. In order to be consistent, the language terms have been changed, such as Tashelhiyt for Shilh, Greater Kabylia for Great Kabylia and Lesser Kabylia instead of Little Kabylia, Ouargla instead of Wargla, and Awdjilah instead of Aujia.

Table 4.17 Case in the subbranches of Berber⁴⁶

| Genetic classification | Geographic region | Language example | Case inflexion | Further case features |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| North Berber | Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia | <i>Ouargla, Mzab, Kabyle, Tashelhiyt, Tamazight, South Beraber, Chaouia, Figuig, Riffian, Bougie, Irjen, Snus, Ntifa, Zekkara, Salah, Senwa, Djerba, Sened</i> | Mostly marked-nominative | Split S |
| South Berber | Algier, Mauretania, Mali, Niger | <i>Tuareg (Ahaggar, Ayer, Iwellemmeden, Adagh, Oudalan, Tayart, Tawellemet, Tamašek)</i> | All marked-nominative | All split S |
| East Berber | Libya, Egypt | <i>Siwa, Awdjilah, Nefusa, Sokna, Fezzan, Ghadames, Elfoqaha</i> | No case, recent development | Mostly no split S |
| West Berber | Mauretania | <i>Zenaga</i> | No case, recent development | Split S |

Kossmann, p.c.). According to Kossmann, Aikhenvald's classification has to be revised. Kossmann basically distinguishes between northern and eastern Berber only, emphasizing that this is a practical classification which reflects typological closeness but is by no means of historical value. Northern Berber includes variants spoken in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, Eastern Berber variants spoken in Libya, Egypt, and the Tuareg dialects of Algeria, Niger, Mali, and Burkina Faso. Marked nominative is found in the northern Berber languages of Morocco, such as Tashelhiyt, Middle Atlas, Riffian, and Figuig; in Algeria there are Berber languages where case is found in dependent constructions only. The eastern Berber languages are without case.

Before discussing a historical hypothesis about how case in Berber might have developed, I will briefly illustrate what kinds of functions the accusative and the nominative cover. In Berber, the nominative tends to be called "construct case", "relative case", or "annexed state" (*état d'annexion*) (Aikhenvald 1990:113). The functions covered by the core cases may be illustrated by the North Berber languages Kabyle and Tashelhiyt. The nominative encodes S and A after the verb, that is, non-topicalized subjects (see 47). Furthermore, the nominative encodes dependent members in head-dependent constructions. In particular, the nominative is used after prepositions (see 53) and for the possessor in nominal possession (see 51). The genitive is marked by a preposition *n* placed in front of the nominative stem. The genitive follows the general tendency to take nominative after prepositions

⁴⁶ See Aspinion 1953, Applegate 1970, Laoust 1928; for South Beraber see Willms 1972; for Kabyle see Hanoteau 1906, Basset & Picard 1948 and Picard 1958; for Tashelhiyt see Stumme 1899; Vincennes & Dallet 1960; for Berber dialects see Biarnay 1908, Destaïg 1907.

(see 51⁴⁷). In Kabyle (Chaker 1983), the nominative encodes right-dislocated participants, such as O in V-A O order, or S in a copula clause (in a COP N.PRED, S order).

The accusative, called "direct case" or "free state" (*état libre*) (Aikhenvald 1990:113), encodes topicalized S and A before the verb (see 48 & 49), and the object, O (see 47). Nominal predicates using the existential predicative particle *d* (see 50), and S in copulaless clauses (see 53) are also encoded in the accusative. The accusative is the form used in citation (see 51), and it is used after some prepositions, such as *s* "towards" (Maarten Kossmann, p.c.). Further functions are the encoding of heads in head-dependent constructions on phrase level, such as noun-postposition, noun-adjective, or numeral-noun (Aikhenvald 1995:44⁴⁸).

Kabyle (North Berber, Afroasiatic)

- (47) inya wərgaz aqjif.
3.SG.M.PER.kill man+NOM boy+ACC
"A man killed a boy." (Aikhenvald 1995:45)
- (48) aqjif inya argaz.
boy+ACC 3.SG.M.PERF.kill man+ACC
"A boy, (he) killed a man." (Aikhenvald 1995:45)
- (49) aqjif inya-t wərgaz.
boy+ACC 3.SG.M.PERF.kill-3.SG.M.O man+NOM
"A boy, a man killed him." (Aikhenvald 1995:45)
- (50) d aqjif.
EXIST boy+ACC
"There is a boy." (Aikhenvald 1995:45)
- (51) afus wwərgaz (> n wərgaz)
hand.ACC GEN-man+NOM
"the hand of a man" (Aikhenvald 1995:45)
- (52) s-wəqjif
with-boy+NOM
"with a boy" (Aikhenvald 1995:45)

Tashelhiyt (North Berber, Afroasiatic)

- (53) arrau gg-uḥam.
children+ACC in-house+NOM
"The children are in the house." (Aikhenvald 1995:45)

⁴⁷ Vowel *i*- has changed to glide *w*- because of morphophonological rules.

⁴⁸ See Stumme 1912.

Table 4.18 The development of the marking of grammatical relations in Proto-Berber

| | Bound affixes, cross-referencing markers | Free pronouns | Proper names | Common nouns | |
|--|---|---------------|--------------|---|-------------------|
| | | | | <i>Definite</i> | <i>Indefinite</i> |
| Stage 1 (e.g. East Numindian, Guanche) | S _O =O S _A =A | no case | no case | no | no |
| Stage 2 (e.g. Ait Ziyen) | S _O =O S _A =A | no | no | S=A marked-nominative | no |
| Stage 3 (e.g. Kabyle, Tashelhiyt, Tuareg) | Split of cross-referencing markers: S=A for agreement markers, S _O =O, S _A =A for bound pronouns | no | no | S=A (a subsequent loss of opposition between definite and indefinite nouns) | S=A |

Source Aikhenvald 1995:54

Kabyle

- (54a) a-qšiš a ō əmmi-ç.
ACC.M-child this COP son-2.SG.M

"This child is your son." (Kossmann 2005)

- (54b) ō- əmmi-ç w-əšiš a. COP N.PRED, S
COP son-2.SG.M NOM.M-child this

"It's your son, this child." (Kossmann)

- (54c) čča-n a-y ənni. V-A O
eat-P-3PL.M ACC.M-bread ANAPH

"They have eaten the bread." (Kossmann 2005)

- (54d) čča-n θ w-arraš, w-əyrum ənni. V A, O
eat-P-3PL.M NOM.M-children NOM.M-bread ANAPH

"The children have eaten it, the bread." (Kossmann 2005)

From a typological perspective it is exceptional that it is not the accusative which is used in case-doubling marking, as with the genitive, and that it is not the accusative which is used after most prepositions. Nevertheless, the accusative is also the functionally unmarked case. It covers all prototypical functions of accusatives in marked-nominative languages, such as O, citation form, nominal predicate, as well as S and A before the verb, and after some prepositions.

As mentioned above, the nominative case is encoded by a mixture of initial-vowel loss and a prefix. Aikhenvald comments on the rise of nominative thus:

[...] in constructions preposition-Noun, the accent of the noun is either shifted to one syllable toward the end of the word form, or the noun loses its accent, as in: *dăy-lämāwān*;

Table 4.19 The marking of grammatical relations in Berber languages: an overview

| Type | Marked-nominative case-marking for nouns | Split-ergative ⁴⁹ pattern for pronominal enclitics | Split-ergative patterns on nouns |
|---------------------|--|---|----------------------------------|
| A (e.g. Ouargla) | no | yes | – |
| B (e.g. Siwa) | no | no | – |
| C (e.g. Kabyle) | yes | yes | no |
| D (e.g. Tashelhiyt) | yes | yes | yes |

Source Aikhenvald 1995:44

as well as *dăy-lămăwăn* ‘in the skins’ (the latter from **dăy-əlămăwăn*); *dăy-kəbrân*, *day-kəbrân*, (**day-əkbrân*) according to Prasse, p. 36, the accent shift is due to the loss of the word initial vowel in annexed state; still, the comparative material of other Berber languages (see above) might suggest here a phenomenon of an accent shift (however, optional) common for a great many languages (cp. as well Brugnatelli 1986 etc). (Aikhenvald 1992:43)

Aikhenvald provides a phonological rule which triggers the rise of the marked-nominative form, referred to as annexed state, in that the language allows no stress structure with a preceding preposition, as in **dăy-əlămăwăn* but changes it to either a stressless version *dăy-lămăwăn* or a stress which is moved to the end of the word, as in *dăy-lămăwăn*. The element *day* serves as a preposition meaning ‘inside’. Maarten Kossmann (p.c.) has a different opinion on this issue: It is most likely that the nominative and the accusative are old prefixes which both are connected with determination. A former definite marker may have given rise to a nominative and a former indefinite marker to the accusative.

Table 4.18 shows the historical development of case in Berber. Two different aspects are considered: The rise of split S (second to fourth column from left) and the rise of a nominative (fifth column from left). As table 4.18 suggests, the development of a nominative started with definite nouns (stage 2) and spread to indefinite nouns (stage 3). At stage 1, there was no marked-nominative case system. Aikhenvald therefore concludes that Proto-Berber had no marked-nominative system, rather that it is a later development.

According to Aikhenvald, the Berber languages can be divided into four types, called type A through D. Each language is classified on the basis of two items: First, does the language have a marked nominative and, second, does the language show a split-S system? If so, there is a further subdivision with regard to the range of split S, namely whether only pronouns are split S or nouns also. Table 4.19 gives an overview of types A through D.

Languages belonging to the different types are the following, for example (see Aikhenvald 1995:42–3):

⁴⁹ Aikhenvald (1995) refers to split S by the term ‘split-ergative’.

- Type A: Ouargla, Mzab, Ghadames, Zenaga
 Type B: Siwa, Awdjilah, Sokna, Fezzan
 Type C: Kabyle (with its various dialects), Ait Ziyen
 Type D: Tashelhiyt, Tamazight, South Beraber, Tuareg

Some Berber languages have lost their nominative and with it their grammaticalized case system. This development is presented in table 4.19. Of the four types, only two have kept their case system up to the present day, namely types C and D in table 4.19. The languages of types A and B have lost case. For some languages the loss is even documented. There are traces of marked-nominative in languages which today no longer show morphological case: According to Aikhenvald (1995:59–61) a loss of marked-nominative is attested in the literature for the East Berber languages Ghadames and Nefusa, and the North Berber language Mzab.

In Mzab—as in the other type A languages—there is today no longer any nominal case. In more recent texts, the marked-nominative no longer encodes A or S (see 54a & 54b). In older texts however, marked-nominative case forms are documented (see 54c); in other words, Mzab used to be a marked-nominative language.

- Mzab (North Berber, Afroasiatic)
- (54a) yas-əd arg̃az-əs. V S
 3.M.SG.S_A=A.PER-come.here man.ACC-3.SG.POSS
 “Her husband came.” (Delheure 1986:67)
- (54b) yənna-yas azəllid i wɔf̃li
 3.M.SG.A.PER.say-3.SG.IO king.ACC to boy.NOM
 “The king said to the boy.” (Delheure 1986:309)
- (54c) inna-ias ourjaz i-tmet’tout-is
 3.SG.M.A.say-3.SG.IO man.NOM to-woman.NOM-3.SG.POSS
 “The man said to his wife.” (Basset 1893:22)

For the East Berber languages Ghadames and Nefusa, there is no more case marking today on nouns. But in traditional texts case marking is still present (see 55; Aikhenvald 1995:60). The same holds true for Nefusa, where today case marking is no longer found on nouns. In a text dating back to the thirteenth century (Lanfry 1972:183, Brugnatelli 1984:10), a nominative is still apparent (see 56).

- Ghadames (East Berber, Afroasiatic)
- (55) inna-y-as aziḍ. V S
 3.SG.A.M-PER-say donkey
 “The donkey said to him.” (Lanfry 1968:79)
- Nefusa (East Berber, Afroasiatic)
- (56) iḡin wang̃lu:s-n. V S.NOM
 3.PL.M.be angel.NOM-PL
 “Angels were witnesses.” (Lanfry 1972:183, Brugnatelli 1984:10)

Table 4.20 The rise and fall of case in Berber

| | Stage 1 | Stage 2 | Stage 3 = type D | Stage 4 = type A | Stage 5 = type B |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Case inflexion | No marked-nominative | Marked-nominative with definite nouns | Marked-nominative with all nouns | No more marked-nominative | No more marked-nominative |
| Further case pattern | Split S | Split S | Split S | Split S | No more split S |
| Language example | Numidian, Guanche, Proto-Berber | Ait Ziyen | Kabyle | Ouargla | Siwa (East Berber) |

The four subbranches of table 4.17, North, South, East, and West Berber, do not completely correspond to types A through D of table 4.19. In general, North and South Berber are those that still have case while East and West Berber languages no longer have case. However, there are mismatches. As mentioned above, among North Berber, Tunisian languages have lost their marked-nominative system. North Berber therefore belongs partly to type C (Kabyle) and to those languages without a marked-nominative system, for example Sened, Djerba, and Zwara (all Tunisian) to type A (cf. Aikhenvald 1995:61, see also Aikhenvald 1989, 1984). Nevertheless, the genetic subbranches and the types do correlate to some extent. It seems that all languages belonging to type B are East Berber (though not vice versa, as there are East Berber languages which belong to a different type, e.g. Ghadames). Similarly, it looks as if all languages belonging to type D are South Berber.

Taking all features presented by Aikhenvald into account, the following development must have taken place: First, as table 4.18 suggests, Proto-Berber was not marked nominative. Second, as table 4.19 suggests, today there are many Berber languages which have lost their marked-nominative system (types A and B); some have even lost their split-S system (type B). Third, at least some languages which have no marked-nominative system today still show traces of their former marked-nominative system (see Aikhenvald 1990:114–15), as has been shown for example for Ghadames, Mzab, Nefusa, and Zenaga: All four languages are no longer marked-nominative but still show traces of the former marked-nominative system (see Brugnatelli 1987 and Nicolas 1953). There is only one appropriate hypothesis: Berber is an instance of the rise and fall of a marked-nominative system and to some extent of split S. In table 4.20, the information given in tables 4.18 and 4.19 is conflated. Stages 1 to 3 correspond to stages 1 through 3 in table 4.18; the same holds true for type A through type D, which correspond to type A through D in table 4.19. Stages 1, 2, and 3 illustrate the rise of a marked-nominative system, which starts with definite nouns and spreads to all nouns. With regard to split S, Aikhenvald argues that Proto-Berber already was split S (1995:67–8) because there is evidence from non-Berber languages of the

Berber-Guanche family being split S as well. She even goes one step further, claiming that Proto-Afroasiatic was already split S (1995:53).⁵⁰ Stage 3 reflects the point where case has been grammaticalized the most: Case covers the widest range of the items it can occur with. Types A and B, which could from a historical perspective be regarded as stages 4 and 5, reflect the fall of case. At stage 4, there is decay of marked-nominative, and at stage 5 there is decay of split S as well.

The decay of case seems to be genetically rather than areally motivated: First, the accusative in *a-* versus nominative in *u-* is a feature of North Berber languages, lost in a few East Berber languages such as Mzab. Second, it is quite possible that the Tuareg (South Berber) languages never had it; all they perhaps had was initial vowel (erstwhile prefix) reduction: accusative in *a-*, nominative in *e-*. Third, Zenaga and the East Berber languages lost their cases (Alexandra Aikhenvald, p.c.). Further investigation would be necessary to arrive at final conclusions.

4.5.4 *Marked-nominative case as a former topic marker*

Tosco argues that the nominative in East Cushitic developed out of a topic marker, and the accusative out of a focus marker.

This cursory overview of a few subject systems in East Cushitic seems to suggest that subject marking can go back to an erstwhile topic marker, while object marking can derive from a focus construction. Both cases are clear instances of a grammaticalization process, whereby a more concrete (here: pragmatically-bound) element acquires a new, more abstract (: purely syntactic) meaning. (Tosco 1994:240)

Tosco (1994) furthermore argues that within Cushitic, in particular in Highland East Cushitic, and in Ometo, topic has given rise to a nominative marker. He enfoldes the following scenario: Sasse (1984) reconstructs **-i/-u* nominative in Proto-Cushitic as a suffix for masculine and feminine nouns which are animate. Inanimate feminine nouns remain unmarked.

Tosco (1994:231) claims that if tone is involved to mark the nominative it always involves the lowering of a high tone. He furthermore argues that this tone lowering might be the result of the loss of the original suffix **-i* which must have been high in order to result in a lowering when dropped. He adds that subject marking in marked-nominative Cushitic languages is weak. The discovery of the source of the marked-nominative is guided by the following hints: First, the nominative is often linked in East Cushitic languages to definiteness:

To sum up, HEC *-i* (and possibly other markers) seem to be as much definitizers as subject markers, or, at least, definite subject markers only. (Tosco 1994:234)

⁵⁰ "It confirms the reconstruction of a split-ergative pattern marked by cross-referencing for Proto-Afroasiatic, related to the semantics of predicates ($S_o=O$ for stative, or nominal predicates, $S_a=A$ for the rest)" (Aikhenvald 1995:53). Note that Aikhenvald uses the term split-ergative instead of split S.

Synchronically, in some East Cushitic languages, the nominative marking is still restricted to definite nouns. Second, the nominative does not occur with focused subjects (Tosco 1994:230). Third, the suffix *-i* can in some languages more appropriately be analyzed as a topic marker than a nominative marker. In particular in the Omoto languages Masketo and Kullo, *-i*, according to Tosco, functions more like a topic than a nominative marker. In the neighboring languages Wolaitta and Gamo, however, *-i* functions as a nominative (Tosco 1994:236). Note that Masketo has an accusative system, whereas Kullo, Wolaitta, and Gamo are marked-nominative (see Appendix II).

Note that Bennett (1974:27) also argues that in Cushitic an *-i* or *-ti* element has given rise to a case marker which originally encoded topicalization. Unlike the other scholars mentioned above, Bennett argues that these former topicalization markers developed in Northern and Central Cushitic into object marker whereas in East Cushitic (referred to as "in the South") they became a subject marker. This would mean that one and the same marker in some languages developed into a nominative and in others into an accusative. This hypothesis is not entirely convincing.

4.5.5 From accusative to marked-nominative

Hayward and Tsuge (1998) argue that within Omotic languages (Afroasiatic) marked nominative is a recent development out of a nominative/accusative system. They claim that Proto-Omotic was nominative/accusative (Hayward & Tsuge 1998:26). In particular the development of the three case suffixes **-n*, **-m* and **-s* are said to have been grammaticalized to accusative markers either out of a dative or an oblique marker:

| | | | | | |
|------------|---|-----|---|-----|----------------------------|
| <i>*-n</i> | > | DAT | > | ACC | (Hayward & Tsuge 1998: 30) |
| <i>*-m</i> | > | OBL | > | ACC | (Hayward & Tsuge 1998: 29) |
| <i>*-s</i> | > | DAT | > | ACC | (Hayward & Tsuge 1998: 32) |

All three suffixes **-n*, **-m* and **-s* are synchronically no longer used as accusative case markers. Instead, the languages have developed a nominative. The old accusative has been replaced by a new one with a slightly different profile. The "old accusative" was part of a nominative/accusative system in which the accusative was the morphologically and functionally marked member. The new accusative is part of a marked-nominative system in which the accusative is the functionally unmarked member. Synchronically, the former accusative marker is still apparent in some North Omotic languages: The suffix **-n* was in Proto-Omotic an accusative marker; and in Dizi (a North Omotic language), *-n* still functions as an accusative marker. However, also in Dizi a further accusative marker has developed: The suffix *-s*, which is used for masculine nouns, and the suffix *-n*, which is used for feminine nouns and all plurals. In some North Omotic languages the old accusative has survived only within the pronominal system (see Hayward & Tsuge 1998:24). A new nominative marker has developed, namely a

suffix *-i*. The old accusative **-n* has been replaced by a suffix *-a* (as in Gamo and Zayse). In Koorete (North Omotic) the old accusative **-m* has survived only in some personal pronouns of the first and second person as the accusative marker (see Hayward & Tsuge 1998:29).

4.5.6 Ergative origin of marked-nominative

In Africa, two scholars claim that a marked-nominative language goes back to an ergative language, namely Randal for Tennet (2000) and Schröder (2005:14) for West Nilotic languages such as Pāri. As has been argued by me, in Pāri it is more likely that the marked nominative has given rise to an ergative and not the other way round (see chapter 3).

Randal (2000:72–7) claims that Tennet has an ergative origin and he even suspects that Proto-Surmic has been ergative.⁵¹ His argument goes as follows:

(a) Even today there are clause types which are ergative in Tennet, namely certain subordinate clauses, such as complement clauses. In a transitive complement clause, A appears in the nominative and O in the accusative (see A “Loham” and O “bull” in 57a). In an intransitive complement clause, S appears in the accusative instead (see “Loham” in 57b). Therefore, in complement clauses, S is encoded like O and simultaneously different than A. In this way, an ergative system is said to have been established.

(57a) áróng Lowór-í kákút Lohám-í áriz.
want Lowor-NOM spear.SBJ Loham-NOM bull.ACC⁵²
“Lowor wants Loham to spear the bull.” (Randal 2000:72)

(57b) áróng Lowór-í Lohám kíkíya.
want Lowor-NOM Loham.ACC come.SBJ
“Lowor wants Loham to come.” (Randal 2000:72)

(b) Tennet shows ergative features in equational expressions without a copula (see 58).

(58) anét deméz-óh-t. S N.PRED
1SG.ACC teach-person-SG.ACC ACC ACC
“I’m the teacher.” (Randal 2000:71)

(c) Tennet is spoken in an area with languages showing ergative features.

(d) Subordinate clauses are generally more conservative than main clauses. As subordinate clauses are still ergative and main clauses are marked-nominative, an extending ergative is more likely than a “shrinking nominative”.

⁵¹ “The case marking system of Proto-Surmic is likely to have been ergative as well” (Randal 2000:77).

⁵² Glossed as *áriz* by the author cited.

(e) According to Randal (2000), Tennet behaves like Wappo, an American marked-nominative language, with regard to the features (a) to (d). Feature (a) is more widespread in Wappo than in Tennet: In Wappo, all subordinate clauses are ergative today (see Li, Thompson and Sawyer 1977). According to Li, Thompson and Sawyer (1977), the Wappo system goes back to an earlier ergative system. Since Wappo and Tennet share so many features synchronically, Tennet has undergone the same historical development as Wappo. In other words, like Wappo, Tennet goes back to a former ergative structure.

On (a): This is true; nevertheless, my interpretation differs from that of Randal. For me the accusative encoding of S in 57b is triggered by the rule "no case before the verb", that is to say in preverbal position the case distinction is neutralized and the only case form used for A, S, and O is the morphologically unmarked form, which in marked-nominative languages corresponds to the accusative. As will be argued in chapter 6, Tennet follows the rule to some extent only, but complement clauses follow the rule. As "no case before the verb" is a general constraint in East Africa it is more likely that complement clauses in Tennet are also shaped by this rule rather than being a relic of an earlier ergative system.

On (b): The accusative use for S in equational expressions without a copula is not a strong argument in favor of an ergative structure. Similar clauses in other marked-nominative languages behave the same: It is always the accusative which encodes S in copulaless clauses and not the nominative; this holds not only for Turkana but also for the western Bantu language Umbundu (see 5.1.1). In Turkana, in corresponding clauses with a copula, S is encoded in the nominative as in Tennet, and for Umbundu it is very unlikely that the accusative use for S is a relic of a former ergative structure.

On (c): Randal (2000:74) claims that the North Surmic language Majang (Nilo-Saharan) is ergative, referring to Pete Unseth (p.c.); there is little data available on this language. According to Randal, the ergative in Majang is expressed by an L tone, which requires an additional mora after H. The absolutive covers S and O, and is used as the citation form. The absolutive is the morphologically and functionally unmarked form. The ergative case system of Majang is a recent discovery, since in earlier publications Unseth claimed that there is no case for the core participants S, A, and O (in my terminology) (see Unseth 1989b:102⁵³). In 1989a, however, Unseth presents Majang as a canonical marked-nominative language (my terminology) with a nominative expressed by the suffix -ε and an accusative expressed by the morphologically unmarked form. The accusative is used as the citation form and encodes O, the nominative encodes S and A. Pete Unseth himself (p.c.) does not support the idea of Majang being ergative. Instead he says that the morphologically unmarked form is used as the citation form and as O. The nominative, derived from the morphologically unmarked form by suffix and tone, encodes S and A. If the noun

⁵³ In the paragraph on noun case, Unseth claims "Subjects and direct objects are unmarked" (Unseth 1989b:102).

is possessed, complex rules are at work; the nominative appears on the possessor after the genitive (Pete Unseth p.c.).

- Majang (North Surmic, Nilo-Saharan)
- (59a) ùtú-kò táng-ng máaw.
 drink-PAST COW-ERG water.ABS
 "The cow drank water." (Randal 2000:74)
- (59b) Dám-kò tang.
 eat-PAST COW.ABS
 "It ate a cow." (Randal 2000:74)
- (59c) rér-kò táng.
 die-PAST COW.ABS
 "The cow died." (Randal 2000:74)

On (d): this is true, but, as the behavior in complement clauses is triggered more likely by the general rule "no case before the verb" according to the present author, the ergative structure in complement clauses does not necessarily reflect an earlier structure.

On (e): There is hardly any substantial argument in favor of an earlier ergative structure left. The so-called reflexes of an earlier ergative structure are the canonical behavior of other marked-nominative languages as well; they are by no means suggestive of an ergative source, as for example the Umbundu example shows. Furthermore, it is more likely that Tennes shows a development similar to that of the adjacent Northern Lwoo languages Pári, Anywa, and Jur-Luwo; as has been argued here, for these three languages a development from ergative to marked-nominative is more likely than the other way round. Due to the lack of sufficient evidence it remains essentially unclear how substantial the ergative features in Majang are; it would seem that Majang is more appropriately classified as a marked-nominative language.

4.5.7 Summary

These different scenarios of how marked-nominative systems have come into existence allow for the following generalizations: Cushitic, according to Tosco (1994) and Sasse (1984), first developed a nominative-accusative system which later changed to a marked-nominative system in some languages. For Omotic, Hayward proposes the same development: Proto-Omotic had a nominative-accusative system which in some Omotic languages developed into a marked-nominative system. Aikhenvald claims that Proto-Berber was not yet a marked-nominative language. She furthermore hypothesizes not only the rise of a marked-nominative system but also its fall: Some Berber languages today are no longer case languages, having lost their marked-nominative system. For Pári the development from a marked-nominative system to an ergative system would be the most plausible. The grammaticalization processes can be represented overall as follows:

| | | | | |
|---------|---|------|---|--|
| ACC | > | MNOM | | Omotic (Hayward & Tsuge 1998), Cushitic (Tosco 1994, Sasse 1984) |
| No case | > | MNOM | > | no case |
| MNOM | > | ERG | | Berber (Aikhenvald 1990, 1995) Päri, Jur-Luwo (see section 3.1.1.4) |

4.6 Distribution of marked-nominative languages

4.6.1 Genetic

An overview of marked-nominative languages of Africa is provided in Appendix II and map 4.3. Within the Afroasiatic phylum, marked-nominative is found in Berber, Cushitic, and Omotic languages. Among the Cushitic languages, Eastern and Northern Cushitic are predominantly marked-nominative, whereas Central Cushitic languages are all accusative. There is no case marking in Southern Cushitic languages. Within Omotic, the West Omotic languages show a concentration of marked-nominative languages, whereas East Omotic has accusative systems only. The Omoto languages of West Omotic are overwhelmingly marked-nominative. Within Berber, most North and South Berber are marked-nominative whereas all East and West Berber have lost their marked-nominative system.

In the Nilo-Saharan phylum only two branches have marked-nominative languages, namely Nilotic and Surmic, both being subbranches of the Eastern Sudanic languages. Among the Nilotic languages, East and South Nilotic languages are marked nominative. Most West Nilotic languages show no case at all, but the only clear-cut African languages so far identified as having an ergative system are West Nilotic, namely Päri, Jur-Luwo, and Shilluk, the first two being partly ergative and partly marked-nominative. In Päri, the ergative marker, a suffix *-Ci*, functions in some clauses as an ergative case and in other clauses as a marked-nominative case (see chapter 3). Berta also has a marked-nominative system. Being genetically clearly distinct from Nilotic and Surmic, it has been classified as being a Chari-Nile language by Greenberg (1963a), but it may as well be a genetic isolate. Within Bantu, only some genetically closely related languages of south-western Africa show a marked-nominative structure. Type 2 marked-nominative languages are found in Highland East Cushitic and Omoto languages. Within Omoto the following tendency holds: If an Omoto language has a marked-nominative system then it belongs to type 2. The South Omoto language Maale is type 2 with definite nouns only.

To conclude, marked-nominative languages are at least to some extent a genetically motivated phenomenon. Marked nominative in Afroasiatic is characterized by some features which are basically unique to this language phylum, being found in no other marked-nominative language in Africa: Definiteness plays a crucial role in Afroasiatic languages, while in Nilo-Saharan languages it does not. In Afroasiatic, the impact of definiteness can be seen by the fact that only marked-nominative languages of Afroasiatic have split systems which work with definite nouns while indefinite

nouns show no case distinction. Some languages, such as Maale and Wolaitta, show a different case-marking system, one for definite nouns and one for indefinite nouns; again, definiteness is the factor which triggers the different encodings. In all Afroasiatic branches having marked-nominative languages, namely Berber, Cushitic, and Omotic, definiteness plays some role in case marking.

Afroasiatic is the only phylum which has marked-nominative languages of type 2; in Nilo-Saharan or Niger-Congo no such type is found. As suggested earlier, this might be due to yet another unique feature of Afroasiatic marked-nominative languages: Only here do languages have portmanteau morphemes for encoding gender and case in the form of suffixes, vowel loss, or stress change. Stress change as a means by which case is encoded within marked-nominative languages is also found only in Afroasiatic languages but, to my knowledge, it is never the only means for distinguishing cases within a particular language. All these features suggest that marked-nominative languages follow at least to some extent a genetically motivated pattern. Nevertheless, their distribution cannot be explained satisfactorily by means of genetic relationship only; it clearly exhibits an areal patterning in addition.

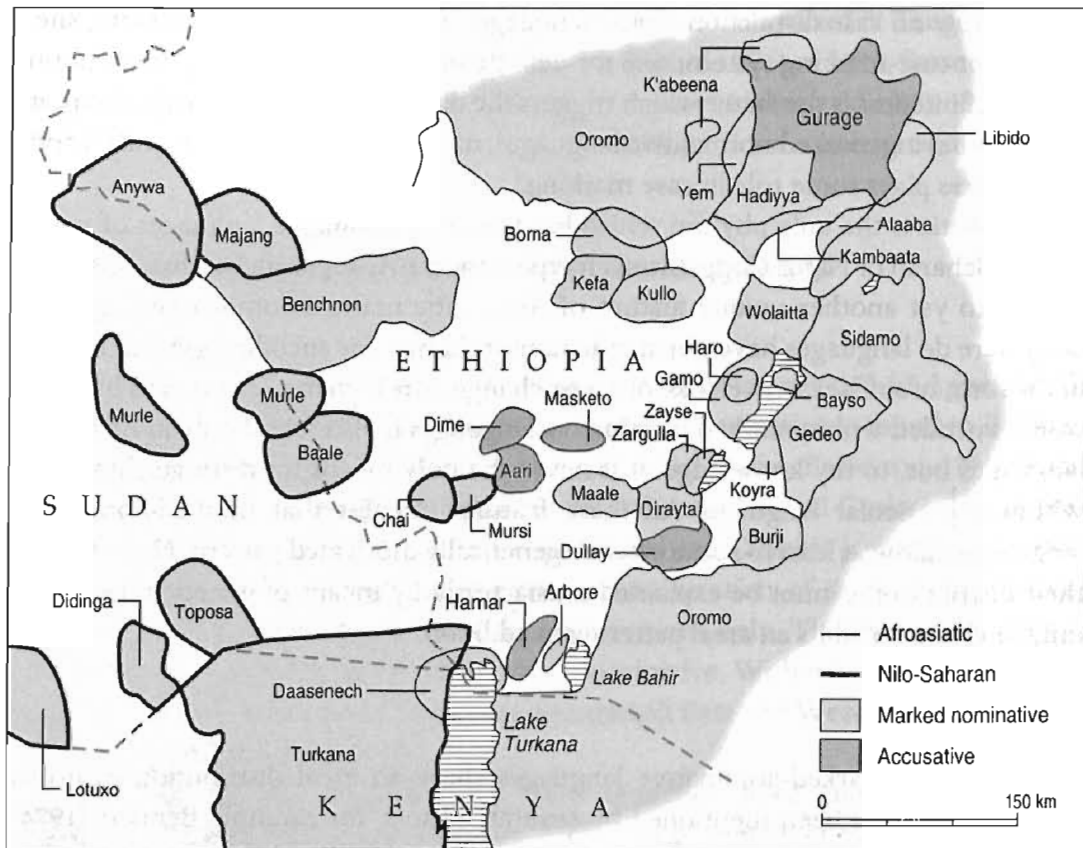
4.6.2 *Areal*

The idea that marked-nominative languages show an areal distribution in north-eastern Africa has been mentioned by several authors, for example Bennett (1974), Bender (1976a:195, footnote 4), and Andersen (1995:65–6). Map I.1 of Appendix I shows the distribution of case systems in Africa. The languages mentioned on map I.1 are identical to the ones listed with regard to their genetic classification in Appendix II.⁵⁴ In order to give a clear picture, each language is presented by one spot only. The areal distribution of languages has been disregarded, Berber being an exception. Berber is spoken in a large area; some relevant languages or dialects are listed separately (for some languages it is difficult to determine their exact position. Map 4.3 constitutes a first approximation).

Map 4.3, and map I.1 in Appendix I illustrate that, at least to a certain extent, marked-nominative systems are areally distributed: Within the border region of Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, and Ethiopia there are languages only with marked-nominative systems; genetically, they belong to either the Afroasiatic or the Nilo-Saharan phylum. Map 4.1 gives an overview of case languages spoken in the border region of southern Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, and Sudan. Each language represented in this map is represented in its approximate geographical expansion.

Evidence for the presence of areal relationship is of the following kind: First, marked-nominative systems cut across genetic boundaries. Within the border region of Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, and Ethiopia there are, with few exceptions, marked-nominative languages only; genetically, they belong to both the Afroasiatic and

⁵⁴ Kalenjin is an exception. On map I.1 in Appendix I it appears only once, while in the genetic overview (see Appendix II) four different dialects of it are listed.



Map 4.1 Areal distribution of case in southern Ethiopia and adjacent areas

the Nilo-Saharan phyla. Within both phyla, they belong to different branches. The following marked-nominative languages are of different genetic origin but are spoken in direct neighborhoods or even in overlapping areas:

(a) The Nilo-Saharan (NS) Surmic languages Majang, Murle, and Baale are spoken partially in an overlapping area with Bench (Benchnon), an Afroasiatic (AA) Omotic language.

(b) The Nilotic language Turkana (NS) is spoken in an overlapping area with the East Cushitic language Dhaasanac (AA). It is also spoken adjacent to the East Cushitic languages Oromo and Rendille.

(c) The Surmic language Chai (NS) is spoken around river Omo surrounded by Cushitic marked-nominative languages (AA).

(d) According to Andersen (1995:65), the West-Nilotic language Dinka and the isolate Berta (both Nilo-Saharan) show many overlapping features, case being one of them. Both languages share a marked-nominative system expressed by tone, and both have a construct case used for head nouns in modified noun phrases. Both languages use

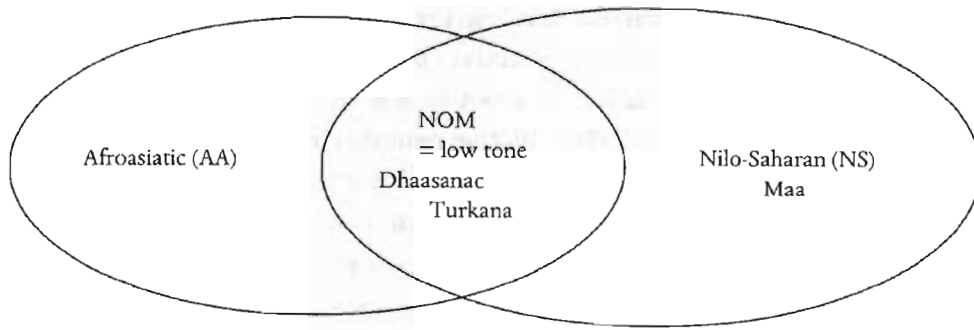


Figure 4.1 A schematic overview of the distribution of tone lowering for nominative encoding

the first position in the clause for topic. Both languages have AVO, SV constituent order. According to genetic classification, Berta stands out: It is the only Nilo-Saharan marked-nominative language which is neither Surmic nor Nilotic. The typological similarity between Dinka and Berta is therefore more likely the result of areal influence than of genetic origin. As Dinka shows a typical West Nilotic profile with regard to the features mentioned, whereas Berta looks different, it is more plausible to suggest that Berta has adopted numerous many features from Dinka, case being among them, due to areal influence and not the other way round.

The few exceptions in this area which are accusative rather than marked nominative are Afroasiatic languages, in particular East Omotic languages such as Hamar, Dime, and Aari, as well as Masketo, which is the only West Omotic language not being marked nominative. At the northern and the eastern fringe of map 4.1 there are Semitic accusative languages such as Gurage and Amharic. They seem to be without any greater influence on the case systems found in their neighborhood. In northern Ethiopia, the situation is different: Semitic accusative languages have influenced Cushitic languages. For example, the Semitic language Amharic has had massive influence on the Central Cushitic language Kemantney (Leyew 2003) and on the East Cushitic language Dullay (Tosco 1994:229). For Tosco, the lack of marked-nominative systems in Central Cushitic as well as in Dullay is the result of areal influence from Ethio-Semitic languages such as Amharic, Tigre, Tigrinya, and Gurage:

Diachronically, the weakness of subject marking is shown in its dismissal in the majority of Agaw (Central Cushitic) languages, in favour of an object marking system presumably borrowed from Ethiosemitic; and the same development is shown by Dullay, which has apparently given away subject marking and developed object marking.

(Tosco 1994:229)

Map I.1 in Appendix I supports Tosco's claim with regard to the Central Cushitic languages Kemantney and Awngi: Kemantney is in the direct neighborhood of the Ethio-Semitic language Amharic (numbers 56 and 4 on map I.1), and Awngi of the Ethio-Semitic language Tigrinya (numbers 8 and 94 on map I.1).

Tone or accent shift as a means of deriving the nominative from the accusative also shows an areal distribution. As we saw above, the nominative is marked in Turkana by a spreading low tone. Turkana shares this feature with other Nilotic marked-nominative languages, such as Maa. In the neighboring Dhaasanac language, the nominative is also expressed by tone lowering: There is accent shift from initial high to initial low. In the genetically closely related languages Arbore and Bayso, which are not spoken adjacent to Turkana, the marked-nominative is not expressed by initial low. Accordingly, it is likely that the Dhaasanac initial low encoding for nominative is the result of areal influence rather than of genetic relationship. Since tone lowering is common in East Nilotic but not in Cushitic languages, there is reason to hypothesize that this feature was transferred from Turkana to Dhaasanac. Figure 4.1 shows the areal distribution of this phenomenon.

Thus, I take the fact that neighboring languages that are genetically unrelated and typologically contrastive but share the presence of a marked-nominative system to be strongly suggestive of areal relationship, considering that such a system is rare in Africa and virtually non-existent outside Africa. This hypothesis is strengthened by the following observation: Turkana and Dhaasanac belong to two different language phyla, Nilo-Saharan and Afroasiatic, while other languages genetically closely related to Turkana or Dhaasanac, respectively, are not marked nominative: Lango or Bari are both Nilotic languages like Turkana but have no marked-nominative system, and Dullay or Agaw are Cushitic languages like Dhaasanac but lack a marked-nominative system.

As has been shown in section 4.5, there is not much information on the history of marked-nominative systems; the evidence available suggests, however, that these systems have developed more than once, that is, that there are different origins for the marked-nominative case. Possible sources for these markers are definite markers (e.g. in Pāri and Berber), topic markers (as in Cushitic; see Tosco 1994:231), and agent encodings in passive-like clauses (in Maa). Hayward and Tsuge (1998) claim that in Proto-Omoti a marked-nominative case has developed out of a former accusative system, and the same development is claimed by Sasse (1984) for Cushitic. Aikhenvald (1995) argues that in Proto-Berber marked-nominative was not yet present, which would be additional evidence for the assumption that marked-nominative developed independently in different languages.

Nevertheless, as has been hypothesized above, areal diffusion must also have been involved in the development of marked-nominative systems in eastern Africa. The question then is who influenced whom, that is: What is the directionality of diffusion? In general, it is plausible that East Cushitic languages influenced East and South Nilotic languages, and not the other way round. First, as has been demonstrated for example by Ehret (1974) and Heine, Rottland, and Voßen (1979), there has been massive East Cushitic influence on East and South Nilotic languages, resulting in lexical and other kinds of borrowing. Second, with regard to number and diversity of marked-nominative systems, it is more likely that their origin is to be sought in

Cushitic, that is, in Afroasiatic languages and not in Nilo-Saharan languages: The number of Cushitic languages having such a system is much larger than that of Nilotic and Surmic languages. The total number of marked-nominative systems found in Afroasiatic languages is 37, as opposed to 22 in Nilo-Saharan languages.

A third piece of evidence is possibly provided by the fact that there is much more structural diversity in Afroasiatic than in Nilo-Saharan languages:

(i) All Nilo-Saharan languages belong to type 1, while in Cushitic and Omotic, both type 1 and type 2 languages are found.

(ii) In Nilotic, the marked-nominative case is expressed by tone (Päri and Jur-Luwo are exceptions), and in Surmic only by suffixes (Tennet uses tone in addition), whereas in the Afroasiatic languages case is expressed by accent shift, suffix, tone, or some combination of these (see Appendix II).

(iii) The total number of case categories is restricted in Nilotic languages; except for Turkana, there are only two to three cases, while in the Afroasiatic languages there is as a rule a much larger set of case categories. Furthermore, there are three families within Afroasiatic that have a marked nominative, namely Omotic, Cushitic, and Berber, whereas in Nilo-Saharan, marked nominatives are found only in the Eastern Sudanic branch, to which Nilotic and Surmic belong, and Berta (Chari-Nile or isolate). These observations might suggest that inflexional case in general and marked-nominative systems in particular are older in Afroasiatic than in Nilo-Saharan languages.

As we observed in the case of Turkana and Dhaasanac, however, there is also one example where there is evidence for an opposite directionality from Nilotic to Cushitic. Note that contact between these two languages is a recent phenomenon, presumably less than two hundred years old.

Taking the western Bantu languages into account, there is a second area of marked-nominative languages in Africa, covering at least southeast Angola; according to Creissels et al. (2007), it possibly stretches from Gabon to Angola. In my view, not all instances of western Bantu languages are convincing instances of case languages; further investigation is required. As will be argued in 5.1.1.1, at least some of the western Bantu languages, especially those spoken in southeast Angola, are convincing candidates for having a marked-nominative system. This area is neither genetically nor areally connected to the marked-nominative languages spoken in eastern Africa (see map 4.3). It is also unlikely that historically there has been any contact between the two areas. Therefore, marked nominative must have developed independently from each other at least twice. The marked-nominative Bantu area itself consists of a language belt consisting of adjacent languages (see map 5.1 in 5.1.1.1) which are all areally and genetically closely interrelated.

Interestingly, in both African areas of marked-nominative languages, two crosslinguistically rare phenomena co-occur: case expressed by tone⁵⁵ and the

⁵⁵ As will be argued in 5.1.2, tone as a means of expressing case is on a worldwide perspective a rarity. In Africa however it appears often and exclusively in marked-nominative languages.

existence of a marked-nominative system. Since it is highly unlikely that the languages spoken in the two areas have influenced each other, only one solution seems possible: There is a connection between case expressed by tone and the existence of a marked-nominative system.

4.6.3 Generalizations

On the basis of the observations made above, the following generalizations can be proposed:

First, marked-nominative occurs in three of the four language phyla of Africa, namely Afroasiatic and Nilo-Saharan and Niger-Congo: Since at least some of the western Bantu languages are counted as instances of marked-nominative, Niger-Congo has to be added to the list (see section 5.1.1). There is a crucial difference between the occurrence of marked nominative in Afroasiatic and Nilo-Saharan on the one hand and Niger-Congo on the other. In the first two phyla marked nominative appears in a wide range of different subbranches; in the latter marked nominative is restricted to a few genetically closely related languages.

Second, case expressed by tone occurs in marked-nominative languages only; of the sixty-four marked-nominative languages, twenty-five are marked by tone (eighteen exclusively, seven in a mixed system by suffixes or tone), but in none of the accusative or the few ergative languages is case expressed by tone. This holds in particular for nouns. With pronouns, tonal marking is found in accusative languages as well.⁵⁶

Third, tone is also genetically determined: As a marker for case, it is found especially in western Bantu, Omo-Tana, a subbranch of East Cushitic, and in Nilotic languages, in particular East and South Nilotic languages. Among the Surmic languages, tone is only a minor means of expressing case—it appears only once or, more exactly, only half in Tannet (Tannet uses tone and suffixes). In addition, all western Bantu languages with case systems express case by means of tone (see 5.1.1.1).

Fourth, marked-nominative languages prototypically belong to type 1. Of the sixty-four marked-nominative languages (including the four split-ergative/marked-nominative languages), the majority, that is forty-seven languages, belong to type 1 with a zero-marked form as the accusative and a non-zero form as the nominative; seventeen follow type 2. Of the latter, four follow type 2 only partially.

Fifth, the marked-nominative type 2 languages behave homogeneously whereas the accusative type 2 languages do not. This holds with regard to the following features: In all type 2 marked-nominative languages case is obligatory. It is areally restricted to

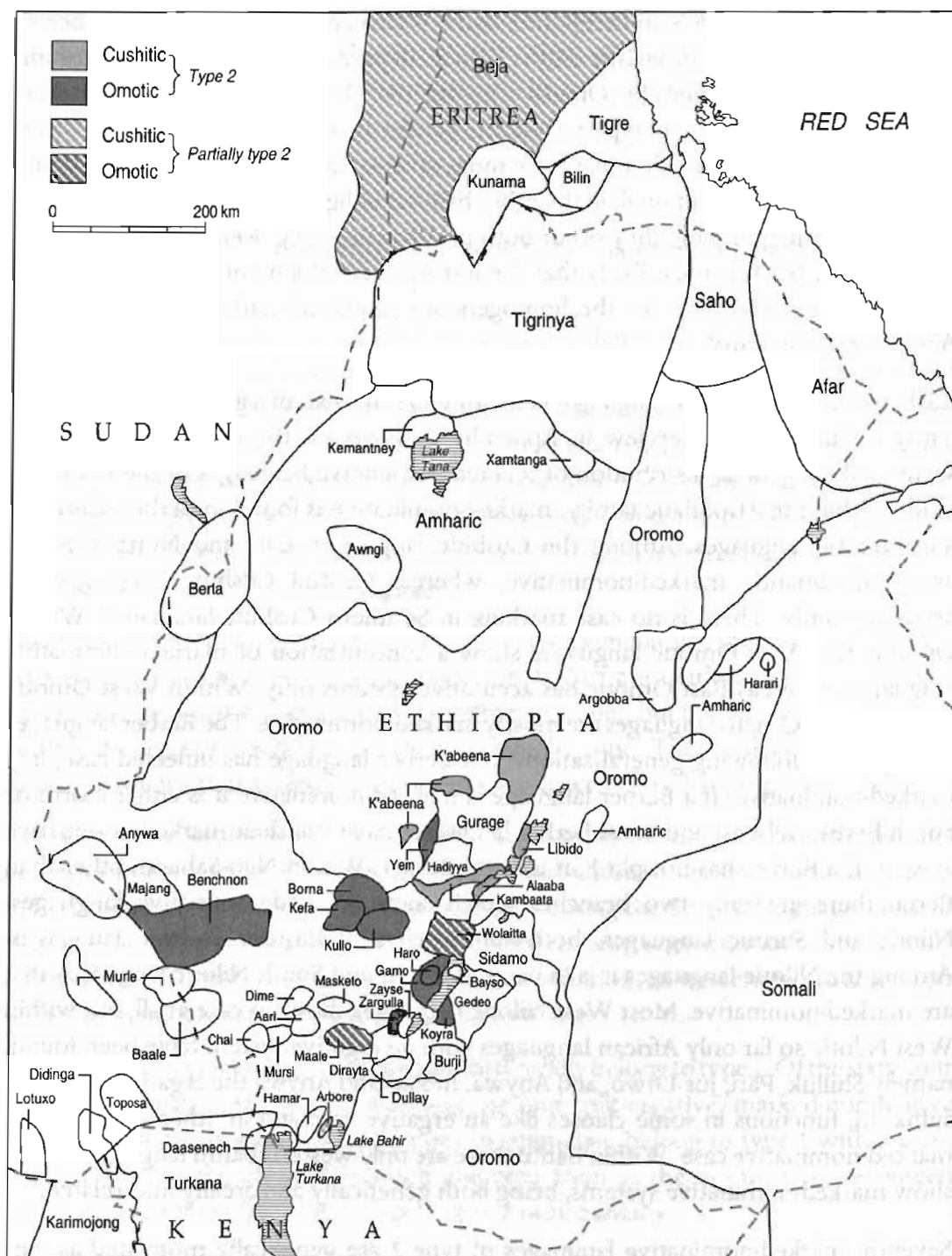
⁵⁶ Note the following exceptions: In the accusative language Fur, personal pronouns are partly case-marked by tone. The So language could be a further exception, the data, however, are not conclusive. In Shilluk there is a preceding downstep which is part of the ergative marker (see chapters 2 and 3, and Appendix II).

southern Ethiopia (Beja is an exception), and it is also genetically restricted. It occurs in two subbranches of Afroasiatic only: Cushitic, in particular Highland East Cushitic, and West Omotic, especially Omoto. Among the Omoto languages, all marked-nominative languages are of type 2. Case and gender are often interwoven. Accusative type 2 languages, on the other hand, are more diverse: In half of the accusative type 2 languages case is only optional, in the other half it is obligatory. They do not form any areal or genetic grouping; they occur both in Afroasiatic (e.g. Kemantney) and Nilo-Saharan (e.g. Ik). It is most likely that the historical development of case in Cushitic and Omoto is responsible for the homogeneous profile of marked nominative (see Appendix II and map 4.2).

Sixth, marked-nominative languages constitute to some extent a genetically motivated pattern. The genetic overview in Appendix II shows on the one hand that there seems to be a genetic distribution of marked-nominative languages of the following kind: Within the Afroasiatic family, marked-nominative is found in Berber, Cushitic, and Omotic languages. Among the Cushitic languages, East and North Cushitic are predominantly marked-nominative, whereas Central Cushitic languages are accusative only. There is no case marking in Southern Cushitic languages. Within Omotic, the West Omotic languages show a concentration of marked-nominative languages, whereas East Omotic has accusative systems only. Within West Omotic languages the Omoto languages are mostly marked-nominative. The Berber languages allow for the following generalizations: If a Berber language has inflected case, it is marked-nominative. If a Berber language is marked-nominative it is either North or South Berber; all East and West Berber languages have lost their marked-nominative system. If a Berber has no split S, it is West Berber. Within Nilo-Saharan other than Berta, there are only two branches which show marked-nominative languages: Nilotic and Surmic languages, both subbranches of Eastern Sudanic languages. Among the Nilotic languages it is in particular East and South Nilotic languages that are marked-nominative. Most West Nilotic languages show no case at all, but within West Nilotic so far only African languages with an ergative system have been found, namely Shilluk, Pāri, Jur-Luwo, and Anywa. In Pāri and Anywa the ergative marker, a suffix *-Ci*, functions in some clauses like an ergative case and in other clauses like a marked-nominative case. Within Bantu there are only western Bantu languages which show marked-nominative systems, being both genetically and areally interrelated.

Seventh, marked-nominative languages of type 2 are genetically motivated as well (see fifth above).

Eighth, marked-nominative languages occur with all constituent orders. The distribution, though, is genetically determined: With the exception of Berber, which is verb-initial, all Afroasiatic marked-nominative languages are verb-final; all Nilo-Saharan marked-nominative languages are verb-initial (East and South Nilotic, Surmic) or verb-medial (West Nilotic, Surmic, and western Bantu) (see map 4.3).



Map 4.2 Distribution of type 2 marked-nominative languages in Africa

Ninth, marked-nominative is statistically the most common case pattern found in eastern Africa, maybe even the most widespread within Africa as a whole. There are sixty-four marked-nominative languages, as opposed to thirty accusative languages, among them seven which in a strict sense would not count as case languages (see chapter 2), and four ergative languages (except for one, they are all only partially ergative).

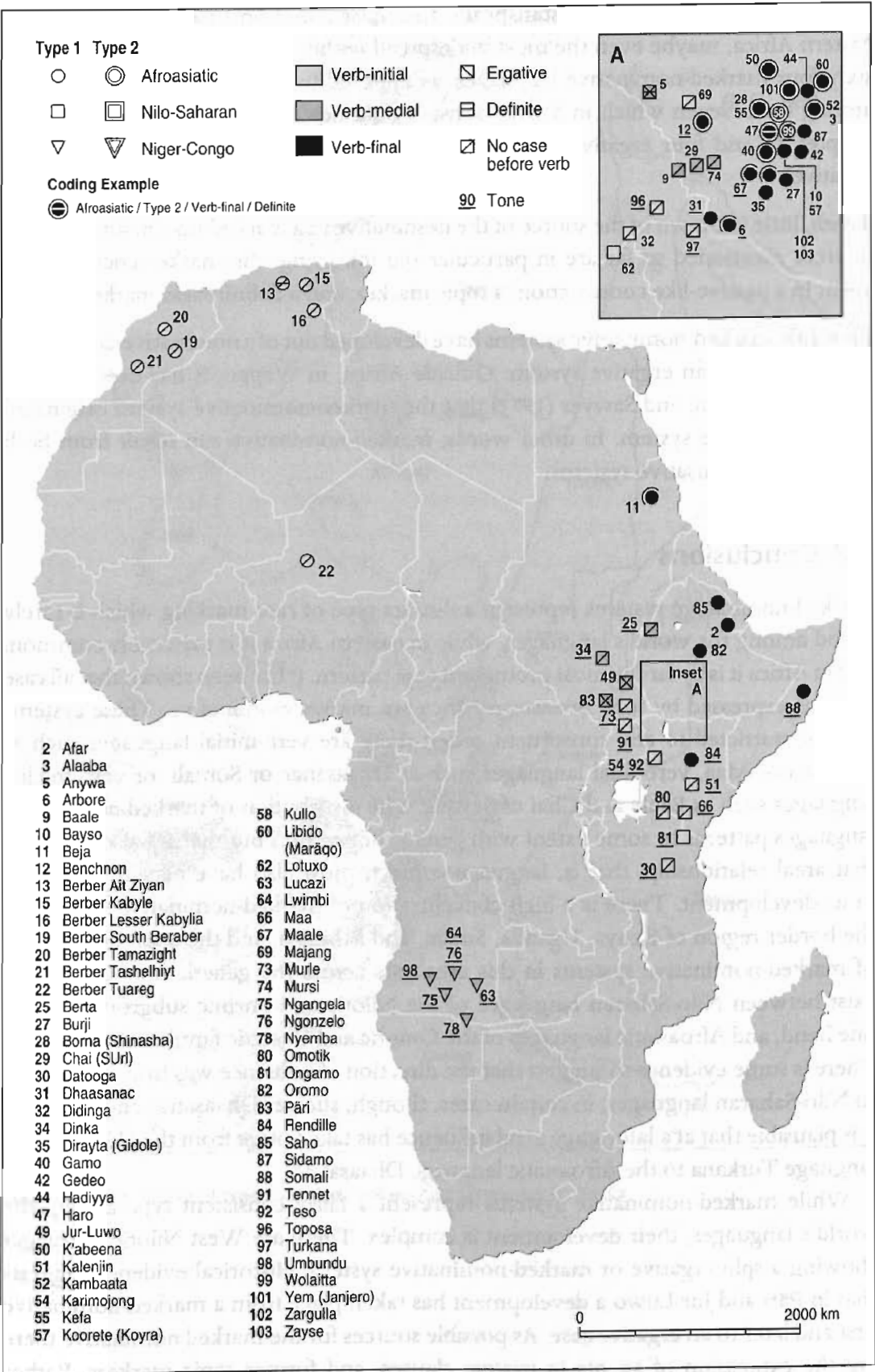
Tenth, little is known of the source of the nominative in a marked-nominative system. Sources mentioned so far are in particular the following: the marker encoding the agent in a passive-like construction, a topic marker, and a definiteness marker.

Eleventh, marked-nominative systems have developed out of a nominative-accusative-system, or into an ergative system. Outside Africa, in Wappo, it has been claimed by Li, Thompson, and Sawyer (1977) that the marked-nominative system originated from an ergative system. In other words, marked-nominative can result from both ergative and accusative systems.

4.7 Conclusions

Marked-nominative systems represent a distinct type of case marking which is rarely found among the world's languages, while in eastern Africa it is extremely common, and in Africa it is by far the most prominent case pattern. It has been shown that all case systems expressed by tone in eastern Africa are marked-nominative. These systems are not restricted to any constituent order; there are verb-initial languages such as Turkana or Maa, verb-final languages such as Dhaasanac or Somali, or verb-medial languages such as Baale and Chai of Surmic. The distribution of marked-nominative languages patterns to some extent with genetic boundaries but there is also evidence that areal relationship, that is, language contact, must also have played some role in its development. There is a high concentration of marked-nominative systems in the border region of Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, and Ethiopia, and the areal distribution of marked-nominative systems in this area cuts across the genetic boundaries that exist between Nilo-Saharan languages of the Nilotic and Surmic subgroups on the one hand, and Afroasiatic languages of the Omotic and Cushitic families on the other. There is some evidence to suggest that the direction of influence was from Afroasiatic to Nilo-Saharan languages; in certain cases, though, such as Dhaasanac and Turkana, it is plausible that at a later stage areal influence has taken place from the Nilo-Saharan language Turkana to the Afroasiatic language Dhaasanac.

While marked-nominative systems represent a fairly consistent type among the world's languages, their development is complex. There are West Nilotic languages showing a split-ergative or marked-nominative system. Historical evidence suggests that in Pāri and Jur-Luwo a development has taken place from a marked-nominative first and later to an ergative case. As possible sources for the marked nominative there are the expression of agents in passive clauses, and former topic markers. Berber



Map 4.3 Marked-nominative in Africa

languages also show a complex behavior as they have not only marked-nominative systems but also split S. It seems that split S was already present in Proto-Berber. Marked nominative is a later development, possibly out of an old definite particle.

The present chapter is a first attempt to give an overview of marked-nominative languages. In future research it would be helpful to compare the African type of marked-nominative languages with the few marked-nominative languages found elsewhere in the world. In particular, the following questions are of interest: First, is the profile of the accusative found in African marked-nominative languages similar to the profile of the accusative found elsewhere in marked-nominative languages? And second, are scenarios concerning the rise of marked-nominative languages applicable elsewhere in the world? Further research should also focus on the pragmatic aspects of marked-nominative systems. Of special interest here is the question of whether topic functions are a possible source of marked-nominative case forms.

Map 4.3 gives an overview of the marked-nominative languages discovered so far. Each language is presented with the language phylum it belongs to and the main features shaping marked-nominative languages, such as constituent order, type 1 or type 2, tone as a means of case, ergative split, definite split, and the “no case before the verb” constraint (the split types will be discussed in chapter 5).

5

Special phenomena

In this chapter, some special phenomena that are relevant for a better understanding of the behavior of case in Africa are highlighted. These are in particular tone as a means of case expression (5.1), definiteness as a crucial feature in case marking (5.2), and the rule “no case before the verb”, which is the most important split condition (5.3). Definiteness is important both as a condition for split and as a historical source for case markers. Section 5.4 sheds some light on the emergence of case in the Khoisan languages !Xun and Khwe. Marked nominative is also a phenomenon that belongs here. It has been treated extensively in the preceding chapter but there remain some issues that need to be further discussed, relating to some western Bantu languages which have been claimed to be marked-nominative (section 5.1.1). Most of the topics have already been discussed in previous chapters in some way or other but require further analysis, as we will see below.

5.1 Tone

Tone as a marker for case is a specifically African phenomenon. There are essentially two geographical areas where case is expressed by tone: Eastern Africa and southwestern Africa. In eastern Africa it is Surmic, Cushitic, Omotic, and Nilotic languages that show tone as a means of case marking. In southwestern Africa, some Bantu languages have been claimed to have tonal case. Both areas will be presented separately before the main results are summarized (see map 5.2).

5.1.1 Bantu

Bantu languages are widely held to lack inflexional case distinctions. As will be shown in the present section, such an assumption is in need of qualification. Table 5.1 lists the Bantu languages that are suspected of being case languages, expressing case by means of tone. They are located in one coherent area extending from Gabon to Angola.¹ Maniacky and Blanchon have argued in favor of a case analysis, Maniacky (2002) for southeast Angola, and Blanchon (1999) for southwest Gabon.

¹ “The western Bantu languages that have ‘tone cases’ constitute a compact geographical area from Gabon to Angola” (Creissels et al. 2007).

Table 5.1 Case languages in western Bantu

| Southeast Angola | Southwest Gabon |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| Ngangela (K.12b) | yisirə (B.41) ² |
| Ngonzelo (K) | Isá:ngù (B.42) |
| Lwimbi (K.12a) | ìpǔnù (B.43) |
| Lucazi (K.13) | |
| Nyemba (K.12b) | |
| Umbundu (R.11) | |

As Maniacky has shown (2002), the southeast Angolan languages are spoken in one coherent area. Map 5.1 presents Maniacky's results.

In the following section, a couple of western Bantu languages will be discussed, namely Umbundu and Ngangela, representing southeast Angola, and subsequently an overview of southwest Gabon languages is provided. Note, however, that the Bantu cases discussed here are perhaps not the only ones that one might wish to consider. For example, Bennett (1974:23–4) claims that even in the East African Bantu languages Kikuyu and Luganda clausal subjects (S and A) show a different tone pattern depending on whether they occur before or after the verb. This claim, however, has not been substantiated by subsequent research and will not be pursued any further.

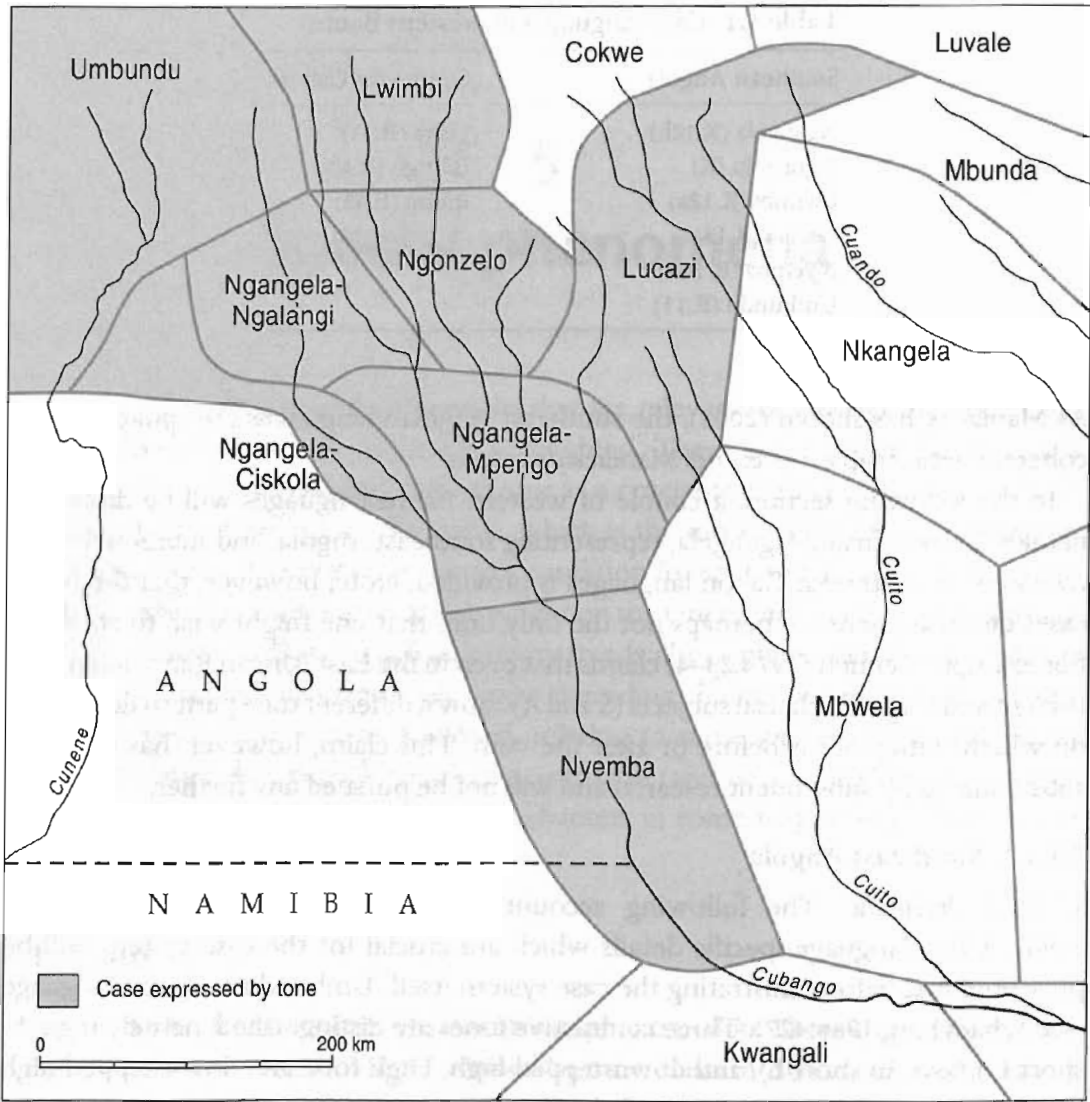
5.1.1.1 Southeast Angola

5.1.1.1.1 Umbundu The following account is based on Schadeberg (1986 and 1990). A few language-specific details which are crucial for the case system will be presented first before illustrating the case system itself. Umbundu is a tone language (see Schadeberg 1986:427). Three contrastive tones are distinguished, namely high (in short H), low (in short L), and downstepped high. High tone and downstepped high are both marked by an acute accent; the first acute accent in a word is a high (cf. the initial *ó* in 1b) and any subsequent one is a downstepped high (cf. the final *á* in 1c). Low tone is marked by a grave accent (cf. the first vowel *ù* in 1a). Unmarked syllables are understood to carry the same tone as the preceding syllable within the word (see 1a, all low) (Schadeberg 1986:427).

- (1a) *tùlevalisa* = [tùlèvəlìsà] “We lend.” (Schadeberg 1986:427)
 (1b) *ócilandisà* = [óçilándísà] “She sells it.” (Schadeberg 1986:427)
 (1c) *cilándá* = [cilánd'á] “Buy it.” (Schadeberg 1986:428)

The basic constituent order is AVO/SV (2f, 2k); OAV (2l) is also possible. IO is placed directly after the verb, before O in A V IO O order (see 2j).

² The labels given in parentheses, such as B.41, refer to Guthrie's referential classification of the Bantu languages (1967–71). Unfortunately, there is no internal genetic classification for the Bantu languages to allow locating the various languages genetically.



Map 5.1 Case languages in Bantu

According to Schadeberg (1986, 1990), Umbundu is a tone case language. Three cases, called “object case” (OC), “common case” (CC), and “predicative case”, are distinguished by him (see Schadeberg 1990:14). I will present a slightly different interpretation by distinguishing only two cases: Schadeberg’s “object case” and “predicative case” are expressed by the same means (1990:12)³; therefore, I will refer to the two as being one case, called accusative (see below), which is expressed by an initial H. The accusative is opposed to the only other form in which nouns occur, namely the nominative, called “common case” by Schadeberg (1990:12); it is expressed by an initial L tone. Table 5.2 gives a list of a few case-inflected lexemes with the accusative in the left column and nominative in the middle column.

³ “The form beginning with a High tone is used as the citation form and as a nominal predication. We call this PREDICATIVE case, which for nouns with an augment coincides formally with the OC” (Schadeberg 1990:14).

Table 5.2 Examples of case-inflected nouns in Umbundu

| Accusative | Nominative | Meaning |
|------------|------------|-------------|
| ú-lúme | ù-lúme | "man" |
| óci-túngo | òci-túngo | "sauce" |
| á-sénjele | à-sénjele | "milk" |
| óku-sonamà | òku-sonama | "to kneel" |
| é-celálá | è-celálá | "eight" |
| óngeve | òngevé | "hippo" |
| Ngévé | Ngèvé | "Mr. Ngévé" |

Source Schadeberg 1986:429 & 1990:14

The accusative encodes O (see 2h), more precisely the first object after the verb, which may be either O or IO (see 2j & 2k). If there are two objects after the verb only the first appears in the accusative while the second occurs in the nominative (see 2j). Furthermore, the accusative encodes a locative participant together with the marker of the locative class 17 (see 21), once again if placed immediately after the verb. In 2j and 2k, the same content is expressed in two ways: In 2j in an A V IO O structure, in 2k in an A V O LOC structure. The participant "children" appears as an IO/beneficiary in 2j in the sense "for the children", and as a locative in 2k in the sense "to the children", the latter encoded by the locative class marker 17 *ko-*. The accusative occurs in both clauses only once, namely just on the participant which is juxtaposed to the verb, irrespective of whether it is IO or LOC. The occurrence of the accusative, therefore, is triggered not only by the function but also by the position in the clause. In 2j the accusative encodes IO, in 2k O, and in 2l LOC. The remaining participants appear in the only possible alternative case, namely the nominative. If an object is frontshifted it is never encoded by the accusative; instead, it occurs in the nominative. This holds for O being frontshifted (see 2l), or LOC being frontshifted (see 2m). The agent of a passive clause also appears in the accusative, introduced by the locative class marker *ko-* (see 2n). Furthermore, the accusative occurs after the prepositions *kwénda* and *la*, both meaning "and", or "with" (see 2o & 2p). In addition, the accusative appears in extra-syntactic uses, such as the citation form (see 2a & 2b) and nominal predication (see 2c & 2d). The latter function is expressed either if only one noun is involved, in the sense "it is X" (see 2c & 2d), or if two are involved in the sense, "A is X" (see 2e). In both structures, there is no copula present.

Principally, case is restricted to nouns with an augment (in short, to augment nouns). The vast majority of independent nouns have an augment; only proper nouns and most kinship terms are without augment (see Schadeberg 1990:13). The augment is expressed by the vowel *o* or a floating tone. Basically, this means that the accusative occurs only on augment nouns. This holds for all the essential functions O, IO, LOC, and its use after the prepositions *kwénda* and *la*. Without the augment, neither O

(see 2i) nor IO, nor LOC, nor nouns after the prepositions *kwénda* and *la* (see 2q) are encoded in the accusative; instead, the nominative is used. The two extra-syntactic functions, citation form and the encoding of nominal predicates, however, do show case inflexion with all nouns, irrespective of whether they appear in the augment or not (see 2a & 2b for the citation form, and 2c & 2d for nominal predication). The nominative, expressed by initial L, appears in all other environments. This applies in particular to noun functions such as S (see 2f), A (see 2j & 2k), S in a verbless clause (see 2e), and peripheral participants. As has been shown above, for nouns without an augment the nominative additionally encodes O, IO, LOC, and nouns after the prepositions *kwénda* and *la*. The accusative thus is restricted in its use. In addition to the restrictions already mentioned, such as being used with augment nouns only, being used for nouns placed directly after the verb, the following restriction appears in negative clauses: O is encoded in the nominative even if the noun has an augment (see 2r). According to Schadeberg (1986:436), if a noun is modified by a numeral, the head may either be case-inflected or not. Therefore, an O expressed by a head noun with an augment modified by a numeral may occur either in the accusative, as in (2t), or in the nominative (see 2s).

Umbundu (Bantu, Niger-Congo)

- (2a) ónjíla
bird.acc⁴
"Bird" (Schadeberg 1986:432)
- (2b) Kándimba
Mr. Hare.acc
"Mr. Hare" (Schadeberg 1986:432)
- (2c) óngevé. N.PRED
AUG.hippo.acc
"It is a hippo." (Schadeberg 1990:14)
- (2d) Ngévé. N.PRED
Ngeve.acc
"It is Ngeve." (Schadeberg 1990:14)
- (2e) òngólo ócɪnamà. S N.PRED
AUG.zebra.nom AUG.animal.acc
"A zebra is an animal." (Schadeberg 1986:432)
- (2f) òngevé yá-mél-a. S V
AUG.hippo.nom C-come.close-PAST
"The hippo came closer." (Schadeberg 1990:14)⁵

⁴ The glosses are added by the present author; Schadeberg does not provide any.

⁵ Schadeberg uses a slightly different notation of tone in 1986 and 1990. The difference is that in 1990, initial low tone remains unmarked. In order to be consistent, the present author has changed the notation of his data from 1990: The original unmarked initial low is presented here with a grave accent.

- (2g) Ngèvé wá-mél-a. S V
Ngeve.NOM 3.PL-PAST-come.close-a
"Ngeve came closer." (Schadeberg 1990:14)
- (2h) nd-à-sang-á óngevé. A-V O
1.SG-PAST-meet-a AUG.hippo.ACC
"I met a hippo." (Schadeberg 1990:14)
- (2i) nd-à-sang-á Ngèvé. A-V O
1.SG-PAST-meet-a Ngeve.NOM
"I met Ngeve." (Schadeberg 1990:14)
- (2j) ònjali yáh-á ómála èpako. A V IO O
AUG.parent.NOM give.to AUG.children.ACC fruit.NOM
"The parent gave the children the fruit." (Schadeberg 1986:434)
- (2k) ònjali yác-á épakò k-òmála. A V O LOC
parent.NOM give.sth.-a fruit.ACC LOC-AUG.children.NOM
"The parent gave the fruit to the children." (Schadeberg 1986:434)
- (2l) èpako, ònjali í-ly-ec-à k-òmála. O A V LOC
fruit.NOM AUG.parent.NOM give.sth-PAST C17-AUG.children.ACC
"The parent gave the fruit to the children." (Schadeberg 1986:436)
- (2m) k-òmála, ònjali yác-á-ko èpako. LOC A V O
C17-children.NOM AUG.parent.NOM give.sth.-PAST-C17 fruit.NOM
"The parent gave the fruit to the children." (Schadeberg 1986:436)
- (2n) ndà-lúman-iw-à k-ómbwá. S-V PP
1.SG-PAST-bite-PAS-a C17-AUG.dog.ACC
"I was bitten by a dog." (Schadeberg 1986:433)
- (2o) òhósi kwénda óngandú vy-á-liyák-a. S V
AUG.lion.NOM and AUG.crocodile.ACC C-PAST-fight-a
"The lion and the crocodile were fighting." (Schadeberg 1986:433)
- (2p) òhósi l-óngandú vy-á-liyák-a. S V
AUG.lion.NOM and-AUG.crocodile.ACC C-PAST-fight-a
"The lion and the crocodile were fighting." (Schadeberg 1986:433)
- (2q) hósi làNgandú vá-liyák-a. S V
lion⁶ and.crocodile.NOM C2.PAST-fight-a
"Lion and crocodile were fighting." (Schadeberg 1986:433)
- (2r) syálandéle òmbisi. V O
NEG-1.SG-buy AUG.fish.NOM
"I did not buy (a/the) fish." (Schadeberg 1986:435)

⁶ According to Schadeberg (1986:433), nouns (used) without a syllabic prefix such as *hosi* "lion", show no difference between the nominative and accusative. In the present example, *hosi* should be in the nominative as it appears as A.

- (2s) wá-pond-a òvɪnama⁷ vítatu. V O
 3.SG-PAST-kill-a AUG.animal.NOM three
 "He killed three animals." (Schadeberg 1986:436)
- (2t) wá-pond-a óvɪnamà vítatu. V O
 3.SG-PAST-kill-a AUG.animal.ACC three
 "He killed three animals." (Schadeberg 1986:436)

In sum, generally in Umbundu all nouns appear in two case forms, expressed by initial L for nominative and initial H for accusative. But nouns without the augment appear in the accusative only when used as citation forms or in nominal predication; in all other environments only the nominative is used, irrespective of whether encoding S (see 2g), A, or O (see 2i). With augment nouns, the accusative encodes the citation form, nominal predication and O, IO, LOC, as well as the noun after the prepositions *kwénda* and *la*. With regard to the core participants A, S, and O, Umbundu either follows an accusative pattern or shows no distinction at all. The accusative pattern, with S and A treated the same and simultaneously different from O, is only present for augment nouns, in affirmative clauses, with the object placed directly after the verb. In all other environments, the case system is neutralized.

Since there are so many contexts in which case is neutralized one may wonder whether Umbundu has a case system at all. I argue in favor of a case system: First, there is no analysis which would be more appropriate for the initial H than one in terms of case. Second, even if there are so many contexts in which case is not marked there are a few remaining ones where there is an obligatory use of case. In the latter, the accusative shows the typical features of a case grammeme: It is triggered by syntax and it is used to encode certain participants. These properties of the case system may mean either that case in Umbundu is a recent acquisition which is still in the process of spreading to all environments of the language or that case is old but has been lost in most environments. For the description of case in Umbundu the distinction between syntactic and extra-syntactic functions, as established by Creissels (see chapter 1), is helpful. The accusative shows a different behavior when expressing extra-syntactic functions, such as citation form and nominal predication,⁸ than when expressing syntactic functions, such as O, IO, LOC.

Initial H: one case or two cases?

The variable behavior of the accusative with regard to the nouns it occurs with when expressing nominal predicates, the citation form, or O, IO, and LOC, may have induced Schadeberg to establish in total three cases instead of two. It is reasonable to argue that Umbundu has three cases, as Schadeberg does; but it is equally reasonable

⁷ Note that the form *òvɪnama* (Schadeberg 1986:436) has to be replaced by *óvɪnama* (Schadeberg p.c.).

⁸ According to the definition given in chapter 1, nominal predication is not part of extra-syntactic functions; but, since in Umbundu verbless clauses are expressed without a copula, one can argue that they belong to extra-syntactic functions.

to claim Umbundu has two cases, as I propose. The crucial question is whether initial H expresses one case or two different cases: In favor of Schadeberg's analysis there are the following facts: The initial H is used to encode case. Yet, with some functions, initial H occurs with all nouns of the language and, with other functions, initial H is restricted to nouns with the augment. The former functions are, as has been shown, the citation form and nominal predicates; the latter functions are O, IO, and LOC. Thus, taking the distribution of initial H as the basis, it makes sense to distinguish two cases both expressed by the same means, namely by initial H.

On the other hand, taking a different perspective, it can be argued as follows: First, if different case functions are expressed by the same means the two should be treated as one case, even if there may be exceptions to this principle. Second, the different occurrences of initial H are more likely the result of a specific historical development (see below) and less likely the result of two different origins. An analysis in terms of one case is in accordance with the historical facts. Third, from a general perspective, the range of functions covered by the initial H tone in Umbundu is found elsewhere in Africa as well: In marked-nominative languages, the accusative shows a similar profile to the initial H in Umbundu. It is therefore not exceptional to propose one case which shows a functional range like that of the initial H in Umbundu. Fourth, when proposing two cases for initial H, the impression is given that the augment is part of the case or has a case-like value, which, however, does not make much sense. From a historical point of view the augment is part of the construction in which the case function has developed; it does not stand for the case function itself. As in other languages, case often starts to develop when used with definite nouns (see for example sections 4.5.3 and 5.2). The augment is a reflex of this definiteness. In other words, the initial H must have developed its case functions when being used with definite nouns, apparent in the augment. If the augment had been part of the source of the case marker, it would be hard to explain how a definiteness marker emerged precisely as an object case marker (see below).

The question of which of the two cases is the morphologically unmarked one is not easy to answer. According to Schadeberg, the nominative (called CC) is phonologically the unmarked one:

Phonologically, the low tone augment is the unmarked form; correspondingly, CC functions as the unmarked, residual case. (Schadeberg 1986:438)

When taking the nominative as the basic form, the development of the initial H tone has to be explained. Schadeberg presents a historical explanation for the development of case in Umbundu, according to which a former definiteness marker was crucial in the development (Schadeberg 1986:444). In Schadeberg's view, a definiteness marker can hardly be the source of an accusative case since the latter should have developed into a subject rather than an object case marker (Schadeberg 1986:445). This problem can be solved when taking a slightly different position, as we will see below.

For Schadeberg (1986:445), the predicative has nothing to do historically with the object case and the augment.⁹ Furthermore, the source of the predicative case, as Schadeberg calls it, remains unclear. There is simply little evidence for a possible source:

A predicative index *ní- has been reconstructed for Proto-Bantu (Mecussen 1967). This morpheme, however, does not seem to be the source of UMBundu H₀, cf. the development of the associative index 'nà- > là-. Other Bantu languages have vocalic predicative indexes, e.g. Kongo *i-* and Bemba *e-* (tones not known), and such a vowel – if it had a high tone – would probably have changed into a floating high tone in pre-vocalic position in UMBundu. (Schadeberg 1986:445)

As Schadeberg argues, the emergence of initial H in predicative use must be of a different origin than that as the citation form, otherwise it could not be explained why with the extra-syntactic uses all nouns take the initial H, including those which never had the augment, such as kinship terms and proper nouns. If, as Schadeberg claims, initial H in the latter functions goes back to a former copula, the similarity between initial H-encoding objects and initial H-encoding nominal predicates would be accidental. Nevertheless, from a synchronic perspective the range of functions covered by initial H is identical with those of the accusative in marked-nominative languages.

The following observations are made by Schadeberg: First, case marking is not reconstructable for Proto-Bantu. Second, the augment, however, was already part of Proto-Bantu; it was either present or not, and it preceded the noun class prefix as a preprefix. Third, the augment had a determinative function (see De Blois 1970:152). Schadeberg gives the following scenario for the rise of the object case (OC) (= initial H), which corresponds to my accusative when restricted to augment nouns:

- (i) Generalization of the H tone to all classes.
- (ii) Loss of the initial consonant of the augment.
- (iii) Generalization of the back-rounded vowel *o* at the expense of *e* and *a* for all classes (with a special development in noun classes 5 and 10).
- (iv) Generalization of the segmental presence of *o-* for all syntactically defined environments. (Schadeberg 1986:444–5)

If taking the nominative as its basis, the augment must have been low in the nominative case form (see next footnote). Schadeberg therefore postulates that historically the initial H of the accusative continues the high tone of the Proto-Bantu definite form with the augment, while the nominative continues the initial L tone of the indefinite form without the segmental augment. Since today accusative and nominative case forms occur with augments, the segmental augment must have been introduced

⁹ "The UMBundu Predicative, historically speaking, has nothing to do with the Object Case and the augment" (Schadeberg 1986:445).

later to the nominative case forms by analogy. Schadeberg's (1986:445) historical development raises questions, as the augment appears synchronically as initial H and initial L. Schadeberg has to set up a complex development in order to explain the appearance of initial L. His scenario goes as follows:

Stage I

Proto-Bantu

- (a) *initial H definiteness marker > accusative case marker (called object case)
restricted to augment nouns
- (b) *initial L indefiniteness marker > nominative case marker (called common case)
without segmental augment

Stage II

Introduction of the augment to nominative case forms without initial definite H by analogy.

There is one problem with Schadeberg's scenario: The augment must have lost the semantic meaning of definiteness in order to have the ability to extend to non-definiteness, as in stage I(b).

To conclude, the source of the high tone remains unclear. This holds both for the high tone occurring in predicative function and for the high tone occurring with the augment. According to Schadeberg's reconstruction the high tone could not have been part of the augment, as in his view the augment originally appeared with high and with low tone. Furthermore, the fact that we know little about the source of the high tone occurring synchronically in predicative function and the citation form does not allow for a convincing hypothesis about the origin of the high tone without the augment. The augment can be reconstructed as a former definiteness marker, but the source of the high tone remains unclear. The only certain thing is that the high tone cannot have emerged out of the augment.

Blanchon (1998:26) presents a different view: Even if the nominative (called "common case" by Blanchon) is "simpler",¹⁰ he claims that the accusative (called "object case" by him) is the basic form (which he calls the "base form"). His scenario for accusative being the basic form goes as follows: First, if the nominative is the basic form, the accusative can be derived by what is technically known as floating high spread from left to right from the nominative form. So far, the hypothesis is convincing. Second, the problem with the nominative being the basic form would be the following: The

¹⁰ "As the form of the Common Case is simpler than the other form and corresponds nicely to the etymology, it is natural to take it as the base form. The form of the Object Case can be derived from it by allowing the high tone of the augment to spread towards the right. [...] In the Predicative Case, however, both ordinary nominals and proper names are affected by a high tone spreading from left to right. This cannot be the high tone of the augment since proper names never have any; therefore Schadeberg (1986) postulates a floating H as a marker of the Predicative Case. The analysis is descriptively adequate and beautifully simple. The only curious thing about it is that it requires a low augment in the Common Case" (Blanchon 1998:26).

accusative occurring in the predicative form cannot be triggered by the augment, as in the predicative form nouns without the augment also occur in the accusative. This problem is solved by establishing the additional predicative case by Schadeberg (1986) and also by Blanchon (1998:26). Blanchon (1998:27) argues further that the nominative goes back to a marker of old information. Accusative, that is, nouns with initial definite H, and the augment being the basic form, the nominative has come into existence by a delayed realization of initial H in utterance-initial position. This phenomenon is also present in the related Bantu languages Laadi and Nthandu. As a result of the delayed realization of initial H, subjects must have lost the initial H. Furthermore the new form (nominative with initial low) must have spread to all nominals expressing old information, whether utterance-initial or not. In this way, the nominative might have extended its use from subjects to objects as well (as in Nthandu). Blanchon's hypothesized historical development is illustrated in table 5.3: A low-tone case marker (= nominative) is derived from the basic form (= accusative = initial H) by delayed realization expressing old information. At first, the new nominative developed clause-initially, then it spread to all expressions of old information. In sum, the nominative developed out of a topic marker, called marker for old information by Blanchon (1998).

According to Blanchon (1998), Yoombi (H.12.b) developed a definite-indefinite distinction marked by tone, also a development out of the Proto-Bantu augment. Taking Blanchon's claims about the rise of the nominative in Umbundu as a basis, as presented in table 5.4, and his claims about Yoombi, I propose a first hypothesis about the historical developments leading to the rise of case in Umbundu. This hypothesis is expounded in table 5.4.

Table 5.3 A scenario of the historical development of the nominative in Umbundu

| | Stage 0 | Stage I | Stage II | Stage III |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|--|
| <i>Marker</i> | Initial H tone | Delayed initial H | L tone case marker emerges by loss of initial H | |
| <i>Occurs with</i> | Definite noun = with augment | | Definite noun (with augment) and Indefinite noun = without augment | |
| <i>Function</i> | | Old information utterance initial | Subject S & A | Old information in all positions (for S, A, but also O, PP) |
| <i>Synchronic function</i> | ACC | | NOM | |

Source Blanchon 1998:26

Table 5.4 A scenario of the historical development of case in Umbundu

| STAGE | Function of augment + initial H | Used with the following nouns: | Excluded either temporarily or permanently (= relics ; presented in bold) |
|-------|---|---|--|
| 0 | Earlier than Proto-Bantu | None | Today still apparent in proper nouns, kinship terms |
| Ia | Definiteness | Definite nouns | Proper nouns, kinship terms excluded Indefinite nouns |
| Ib | Referential + Specific | Referential indefinite + definite nouns | Non-referential indefinite nouns Nouns in negative clauses Nouns as nominal predicates |
| Ic | Semantically empty (+/-referential) | All nouns > augment having obligatory initial H = the only form of nouns | Relics of Ia-b excluded |
| | Function of initial L + augment (= new tone pattern) | | Function of initial H + augment (= old pattern) |
| IIa | A delayed articulation of initial H in sentence-initial position expressing old information (topic) leads to the new pattern initial L | All nouns of stage Ic with the augment + initial H expressing old information sentence-initially occur with initial L | All other nouns expressing new information All nouns expressing old information non-sentence-initially Initial H gets the value of new information (Focus) Relics of Ia-b excluded |
| IIb | Spread of delayed initial H for old information to all positions | All nouns expressing old information | All nouns expressing new information Relics of Ia-b excluded |
| III | Reinterpretation of a pragmatic system as a case system: NOM = initial L ACC = initial H | All nouns with augment S, A | All nouns with augment expressing O Relics of Ia-b excluded, such as proper nouns, kinship terms, negation, predicate clauses |

At stage 0 in Proto-Bantu or some earlier stage of Bantu, the augment did not exist; all nouns occurred without the augment and without initial H. This stage is today reflected in the few nouns in Umbundu which have no augment (neither segmentally nor tonally), such as proper nouns and kinship terms. At that stage, a high-tone copula is grammaticalized to a high-tone nominal predicate marker (see the grammaticalization chain I below).

At stage I (still in Proto-Bantu), an augment developed, marked by a prefix and an initial H which spread to the right (initial H in short). At stage Ia, the augment functioned as a definiteness marker. All nouns except for the few mentioned above occurred with the augment and initial H when definite, and without the augment and initial H when indefinite. At stage Ib, the augment changed its meaning; instead of expressing definite, it now functioned as a marker for referentiality or specificity. This functional change had the effect that the range of nouns that the augment occurred with was enlarged: All definite and indefinite nouns used referentially occurred with the augment and initial H. Only non-referential non-definite nouns occurred without the augment. In one domain, the augment was never used, that is, in negation. Negated clauses being prototypically non-referential excluded the augment. At stage Ic, the augment changed its function again: it encoded not only referential but also non-referential nouns. Thus, it covered all nouns of the language except for the ones mentioned before, and its meaning became empty. Such a development has been proposed by Greenberg (1978) as a general chain in the emergence of articles. All Bantu languages with an obligatory augment reflect stage Ic. Blanchon (1998) illustrates this for Yoombi, a Bantu language spoken in the Congo. In Yoombi there is synchronically a tonal distinction of nouns with initial H encoding mainly definiteness and referentiality, and they are opposed to initial L encoding mainly non-definiteness and non-referentiality, which developed from stages 0 to Ic. In Umbundu, the development of the augment went further. At stage II, a pragmatic distinction arose: Nouns expressing old information articulated the initial H with some delay when used clause-initially. In this way, a new distinction was created: Old information expressed clause-initially appeared with initial L, as a result of the delayed H utterance, and all other nouns appeared with initial H. At stage IIb, the pragmatic function of old information spread: All nouns expressing old information appeared with initial L, while all nouns expressing new information appeared with initial H. Exceptions of stage I, such as negation, proper nouns, and kinship nouns, have been retained as relics of earlier stages. With the transition from stage I to stage II, a former system of definiteness changed into a pragmatic system of marking topic (= old information) vs. focus (= new information). At stage III, the former pragmatic distinction was reinterpreted again: The marker for old information, expressed by initial L, developed into a case marker, namely the nominative, whereas the opposite form with the value of new information, expressed by initial H, was reinterpreted as an accusative marker. This stage is present in Umbundu. In sum, three different grammaticalization chains led to the case marking of modern Umbundu:

- (i) Grammaticalization chain I from copula to nominal predicate marker
Copula initial H > case for nominal predicates with initial H
- (ii) Grammaticalization chain II for *initial H + augment* (stages 0 to III)
Definite > referential > zero > focus > accusative
- (iii) Grammaticalization chain III for *initial L + augment* (stages II to III)
Topic > nominative.

Table 5.5 Nominative and accusative case functions in Umbundu

| Case | Function | Context |
|------|---|--|
| NOM | (a) Subject (S & A) | without augment noun, in negative clauses, if not placed directly after the verb |
| | (b) O | |
| | (c) IO | |
| | (d) LOC | |
| | (e) PP | |
| ACC | (a) Citation form | with augment noun, in affirmative clause, if placed directly after the verb, |
| | (b) Nominal predication | |
| | (c) O | |
| | (d) IO | |
| | (e) LOC | |
| | (f) Agent in passive clauses | |
| | (g) After the prepositions <i>kwenda</i> and <i>la-</i> | |

Table 5.5 gives an overview of the different functions covered by the nominative and the accusative. The accusative functions (c) through (g) of table 5.5 are expressed with augment nouns if placed directly after the verb, and in affirmative clauses only. In more general terms, Umbundu has a split marked-nominative system restricted to augment nouns, affirmative clauses, and often to the position directly after the verb. Thus, it follows either an accusative pattern or there is no case distinction at all. The question which of the cases is the default case is not easy to answer. As table 5.5 illustrates, both cases, nominative and accusative, occur in a wide range of functions. For Schadeberg, the nominative is the default case. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the nominative is phonologically unmarked, used in a wide range of functions, including all functions of the accusative when the latter is absent. In its syntactic functions, therefore, the nominative is unmarked. The accusative, on the other hand, could also be seen as the default case. It encodes more than the typically O and IO, the occurrence with locative participants being typologically exceptional. Of even more importance are the extra-syntactic functions, citation form, and nominal predication. This means that the accusative covers two functional domains whereas the nominative covers only one: The nominative is restricted to its syntactic uses, whereas the accusative covers both syntactic and extra-syntactic functions.

Taking Blanchon (1998) as the basis, there is convincing evidence that Umbundu is a case language expressed by tone with a split marked-nominative system where the nominative is derived from the accusative. Unlike in the marked-nominative languages spoken in East Africa, the nominative in Umbundu shows a wide range of functions as well. This is so because the case system is defective or, looking at it from a diachronic perspective, because case has not been grammaticalized to a full-fledged

system. A critical view on whether Umbundu and the other western Bantu languages under consideration are really case languages or whether the nominal tone patterns express something else will be discussed in section 5.1.1.3.

5.1.1.1.2 Ngangela According to Maniacky (2002), Ngangela, a southwest Bantu language, has case expressed by tone. Two forms are distinguished: One, expressed without initial H tone, is used for subjects (3b) and extraposed topics, while the other one, expressed with initial H tone, is used as citation form (3a), for objects (3d), and nominal predicates (3c). The distribution of the two case patterns looks like a marked-nominative system, with a nominative covering A, S, and topic and an accusative covering O, nominal predicate, and the citation form. There is only one crucial point contradicting this analysis: The case used for subjects is not derived—it is not the morphologically marked form. In the form used for subjects, an initial underlying H tone is not present, while it is present in the form used in all other contexts. Maniacky argues that the H tone form is the one with an inserted H tone. According to him, the initial H tone goes back to an old augment (called *augmentatif* by him; 2002:79)¹¹. If, however, as argued by Blanchon (1998) for Umbundu, the initial H accusative is the basic form in Ngangela and not the derived form, as claimed by Maniacky, Ngangela as well would follow a marked-nominative pattern. The similarities between Umbundu and Ngangela are striking: The case forms are identical—there are two cases expressed by tone, one as initial H, called accusative, and the other one expressed by the lack of initial H, called nominative. In both languages the initial H form can be traced back to the augment of Proto-Bantu. In both languages the nominative was or is also a topic marker.

Ngangela (southwest Bantu)

- (3a) káðila
bird.ACC, c7 (Maniacky 2002:68)
- (3b) kaðila wéekupulúla. S V
bird.NOM fly¹²
“The bird flies.” (Maniacky 2002:68)
- (3c) vakongo va-mufóvo wéetú va-lí na-nðili. S COP N.PRED
hunter.NOM GEN-clan our be strength.ACC
“The hunters of our clan are strong.” (Maniacky 2002:48)
- (3d) muuntu alikutala múcí wa-káamá ayongolá kuutééta. A V O V
person.NOM look.at tree.ACC big will fell
“The person who is looking at the big tree is going to fell it.”

¹¹ “Nombreux sont les bantouistes qui s’accordent à dire que ce ton viendrait d’un ancien augment. L’étude de sa présence selon le contexte a entraîné l’expression de ‘cas tonal’ (Schadeberg 1986, Blanchon 1998, 1999)” (Maniacky 2002:79).

¹² For a better understanding, the examples have been translated from French into English and glosses have been inserted by the present author.

Table 5.6 Nominative and accusative case functions in Ngangela

| Case | Function |
|------|---|
| NOM | (a) Subject (S & A) (b) Topic, if extraposed |
| ACC | (a) Citation form (b) Nominal predication (c) O |

Thus, case in Ngangela is expressed by two tone patterns: one, the nominative, without initial H tone, used for subjects and topics, and the second one, the accusative, with initial H tone, used in all other functions, for example, when occurring in isolation, as object or as nominal predicate. The initial H tone probably goes back to an old augment.

The range of functions expressed in Ngangela by the accusative covers all those which are minimally necessary for there to be a marked-nominative language, namely O, citation form, and nominal predication. The nominative also expresses all functions typical of a marked-nominative language. Therefore, despite the fact that if Maniacky is right with his assumption that the accusative is derived from the nominative, Ngangela constitutes a good example of a marked-nominative language. In addition to Umbundu and Ngangela there are further southwestern Bantu languages which have tonal case systems according to Maniacky (2002), namely Lwimbi, Ngonzelo, Lucazi, and Nyemba (see map 5.1). All are spoken adjacently in southeast Angola. Unfortunately, Maniacky does not provide any more information about these languages.

5.1.1.2 Southwest Gabon According to Blanchon (1999), in group B.40 spoken in southwest Gabon, languages such as *yisirè* (B.41), *Ísá:ngù* (B.42), and *Ìpǔnù* (B.43) are suspected of having tonal case. These languages show the following similarities: In *yisirè*, nouns belong to five different tone classes, called tonal contours by Blanchon. The tonal contours are partially determined by the tonal context. The five initial tonal contours can be reduced to two basic forms (called “base form” by Blanchon 1999). The initial five tonal contours can be derived from the two basic forms by contextual tone rules. The initial five tonal contours can be established by using all nouns in a fixed clause frame such as “What a _____” (e.g. what a woman, what a man, what a house). In *yisirè*, in the position after “what a” a noun occurs with five tone patterns. The two basic forms are related to Proto-Bantu.

In *Ìpǔnù* (B.43) there are two object tone classes, one, called object 1, for O, one, called object 2, for IO. The latter also covers the possessor, while the former is identical with the citation form (Blanchon 1999:58). In some languages, such as *Kíyó:mbì* (H.12b: Blanchon 1999:72), the two basic forms can be traced back to a former definite/indefinite distinction:

Our analysis of B.40 implies that forms that were once used to express a semantic/pragmatic distinction between definite and indefinite have ceased to do so and are now dead linguistic material subjected to the influence of purely contextual rules.

(Blanchon 1999:77)

It remains unclear whether the former definite/indefinite distinction has been grammaticalized in group B.40 to the extent that via a contextual adaptation a case system has emerged or whether the languages show a contextual variation only without expressing syntactic functions. Group B.40 could be seen as a pre-stage of what happened in Bantu languages spoken in southeast Angola, as discussed in 5.1.1.1.

5.1.1.3 An alternative analysis It may have become obvious that the western Bantu languages are not a clear-cut case when deciding on whether the nominal tone patterns express case or something else; further investigation is necessary to make any conclusive statements. Nevertheless, it would appear that in general there is a link between the tone patterns and case in these Bantu languages, even if not in all of them to the same degree. The ones mentioned in particular may exemplify a general tendency in western Bantu. Umbundu represents a language placed at one extreme end of the scale, while B40 languages are located at the other end of the scale.

Although Schadeberg (1986, 1990) and Blanchon (1998) claim that Umbundu is a case language with case expressed by tone (see above), other suggestions have been made as well; more recently Schadeberg himself (Thilo Schadeberg, p.c.) has expressed doubts that Umbundu is a case language. Nowadays he favors a position according to which the nominal tone patterns primarily express contextual variation, namely that the accusative pattern is nothing other than a tonal variation for a participant used directly after the verb. Erhard Voeltz (p.c.) also favors this position for all western Bantu languages under consideration. Defenders of the case analysis are for example Blanchon (1998, 1999), Creissels et al. (2007), and Maniacky (2002). Whatever analysis one may wish to adopt, Umbundu is an instance of a somewhat hybrid synchronic situation. The nominal tone patterns still reflect features of their origin and already bear the potential of the new function they have gained: If taking case as their primary function, it is a defective case system. If analyzing it as being nothing more than contextual variation, part of their occurrence is ignored. Overall, the nominal tone patterns in Umbundu behave like other cases in Africa. Arguments in favor of case are the following in particular:

First, as in other case languages, case in Umbundu is triggered by syntactic rules, for example objects have to occur in the accusative if the noun has an augment, if they are placed directly after the verb, and if the clause is affirmative. Nominal predicates always have to appear in the accusative. Subjects (S and A) always appear in the nominative. Therefore, just as in every other case language, the nominal tone patterns follow obligatory rules prescribed by syntax.

Second, of the seven functions covered by the accusative in Umbundu, three are not restricted to the position after the verb, namely use as the citation form, the nominal predicate (irrespective of whether there is no copula, as in existential expressions, "it is an X" (2c & 2d), or in equational expressions, "X is Y" (see 2e)), and use after the prepositions *kwénda* and *la-* "and" (see 2p). These three functions cannot be accounted for satisfactorily by an analysis of nominal tone patterns being contextual variations triggered by the position after the verb. As in all three functions, there is no verb present; the occurrence of the accusative cannot be triggered by the context.

Third, comparing the scale of functions covered by the accusative in Umbundu with that of marked-nominative languages in East Africa, there are striking similarities: (i) The accusative in Umbundu covers all crucial functions of an accusative in an East African marked-nominative language, namely the citation form, nominal predicate, and O. (ii) The additional functions, covered by the accusative in Umbundu, also fit the profile of an accusative of an East African marked-nominative language, such as IO, used after certain prepositions. Only the expression of the agent in passive clauses and the locative function do not appear in East African marked-nominative languages; however, as the locative in Umbundu is an alternative strategy of presenting IO this is no counterevidence either. From a typological point of view as well, the profile of the accusative in Umbundu is evidently similar to the profile of an East African accusative of a marked-nominative language.

Fourth, even if in Umbundu the number of contexts where case is neutralized is rather high, this is by African standards more of difference of degree than of kind. As has been shown in previous chapters, in general in Africa a high percentage of case systems are defective, whether ergative, marked-nominative, or accusative.

Therefore, the claim that the accusative is nothing more than a tone pattern triggered by the position after the verb is not really satisfactory. Taking other western Bantu languages into account it becomes even more obvious that the languages under consideration reflect a continuum stretching from one end where the tone patterns hardly cover any case functions and are suggestive primarily of contextual variation to languages in which the tone patterns clearly serve case functions, even if not in all environments. Along this continuum, Umbundu is placed more towards the end where the tone patterns express case, and this holds more generally for the southeast Angolan languages listed in table 5.1. The Bantu languages of group B40 spoken in Gabon are more towards the opposite end of the continuum where the tone patterns serve contextual variation, even if a first extension towards case functions is discernible.

5.1.1.4 Conclusions Nouns in western Bantu languages as listed in table 5.1 occur in at least two different tone patterns which are diachronically connected with a definite/indefinite distinction. Different positions are maintained on the synchronic interpretation of these tone patterns. They range from contextually defined tone

rules to case distinctions following an accusative system or a marked-nominative system. We saw that there is fairly convincing evidence to classify languages such as Ngangela and Umbundu as tone-case languages with a split marked-nominative system, either showing an accusative pattern or no case distinction at all. With regard to the southwest Gabon languages of group B.40 there is not enough evidence on this issue; presumably, these languages represent a stage of development that precedes that of the relevant languages of southeast Angola.

We saw that languages such as Umbundu and Ngangela show some striking similarities to the marked-nominative languages of East Africa: In both areas case is expressed by tone and tone as a marker for case is restricted to marked-nominative languages (see 4.6.3); nevertheless, we saw that there are also differences between the languages of the two areas.

5.1.2 Igbo

Echeruo (1998) raises the question of whether the Nigerian language Igbo (Kwa, Niger-Congo) has case expressed by tone or not. Igbo nouns show what he refers to as inherent and non-inherent tone patterns (1998:148). The inherent tone patterns are those occurring in nouns used in isolation; the non-inherent ones occur in constructions in which the noun is used. The non-inherent tone pattern is also referred to as grammatical tone. Not all nouns of the language show non-inherent tone patterns; some have to have a high tone on the second syllable. Two constructions are discussed where non-inherent tone patterns occur: First in the object slot (called double object construction); second in possessive constructions showing a possessee-possessor order (called associative by Echeruo 1998:150). At least some verbs in Igbo allow two objects to be expressed; they occur in a fixed order. Slot 1 is filled by the following ranking: (i) IO, (ii) O, (iii) what Echeruo refers to as cognate, or as a complement¹³ of the verb (see Echeruo 1998:152). The hierarchy predicts that if more than one object is expressed, the order will be IO O, never the other way round or O-complement. Case always affects slot 1 irrespective of whether this is O, IO, or some other complement.

Tone class B, as Echeruo calls it, occurs on nouns with a high tone on the second syllable if used in the first object slot, also in imperative clauses, or on possessors. His tone class A occurs with unmodified subjects, S and A, and after infinitive constructions, even if modified. Unfortunately, Echeruo does not provide any examples. One could argue that to a limited extent Igbo shows case expressed by tone, one serving as a nominative (tone class A), another serving as an accusative (tone class B). It is evident that both tone classes not only work on the syntactic level but also as a kind of construction case. This can be seen by the fact that the "nominative" only occurs with unmodified subjects. More evidence is required in order to make a

¹³ It remains unclear to what kind of participants Echeruo refers with the terms complement and cognate.

final statement about what exactly tone achieves. I will not therefore speculate further about whether we are dealing with a defective case system or with something else.

5.1.3 East Africa

5.1.3.1 Berta Berta is the only marked-nominative Nilo-Saharan language which is neither Nilotic nor Surmic. Nevertheless, it shows many features of a typical tonal case language, probably due to areal influence of the Nilotic language Dinka (see chapter 4 and section 5.1.3). According to Andersen (1995), four cases are distinguished in Berta, the nominative and the accusative (called absolutive by Andersen 1995) exclusively by tone, the genitive and the construct case (called antigenitive by Andersen 1995) by tone plus suffix. The construct case is used for the head noun if modified by a noun phrase or a relative clause. The question of what is the basic form of the two cases exclusively expressed by tone can be answered in Berta straightforwardly: Depending on the syllables of the noun, up to seven different accusative tone patterns are used for the accusative, while the nominative is expressed by two tone melodies only, either by a spread of L after initial H (HL_x) or a spread of L with final H (L_xH) (see Andersen 1995:49–53). Table 5.7 shows the tonal case behavior with four-syllable nouns. The accusative tone pattern is neither predictable nor derivable whereas the nominative tone pattern is predictable and derivable from the accusative by a complex rule: L_xH is obligatory for a small set of nominatives only whose accusative pattern is (i) HL with monosyllabic nouns, (ii) L with monosyllabic CVV nouns, or (iii) which are HL disyllabic nouns. In addition, L-H may appear as an alternative to HH(H) disyllabic and trisyllabic accusative nouns. Elsewhere the nominative is obligatorily expressed by the HL_x pattern (see Andersen 1995:53).

5.1.3.2 General According to Tosco (1994), Cushitic and Nilotic marked-nominative languages with case expressed by tone share the same nominative marking: The nominative is always expressed by loss of a high tone, triggering a low tone. He

Table 5.7 Tone patterns of nominative and accusative in Berta with four-syllable nouns

| Accusative | | | Nominative | | |
|------------|-------|------------|------------|------------|----------------|
| a | LLLL | às'àqàlèe | HLLL | ás'àqàlèe | "rainy season" |
| b | LLH | àdàrxàdì | HLLL | ádàrxàdì | "door" |
| c | LLLHL | àlhàjàwàan | HLLL | álhàjàwàan | "animal" |
| d | LLHL | áfjànqòt | HLLL | áfjànqòt | "spoon" |
| e | LLHH | àsìrjnc'it | HLLL | àsìrjnc'it | "shadow" |
| f | LHLL | àjjàbàkà | HLLL | ájjàbàkà | "net" |
| g | LHHH | màs'arqàdì | HLLL | màs'arqàdì | "bat" |

Source Andersen 1995:52

substantiates his hypothesis by referring to Dimmendaal (1986b), who claimed for Nilotic that the low tone is triggered by the loss of a former high-toned subject suffix, and by Sasse (1984), who argued similarly for Cushitic.

5.1.4 Summary

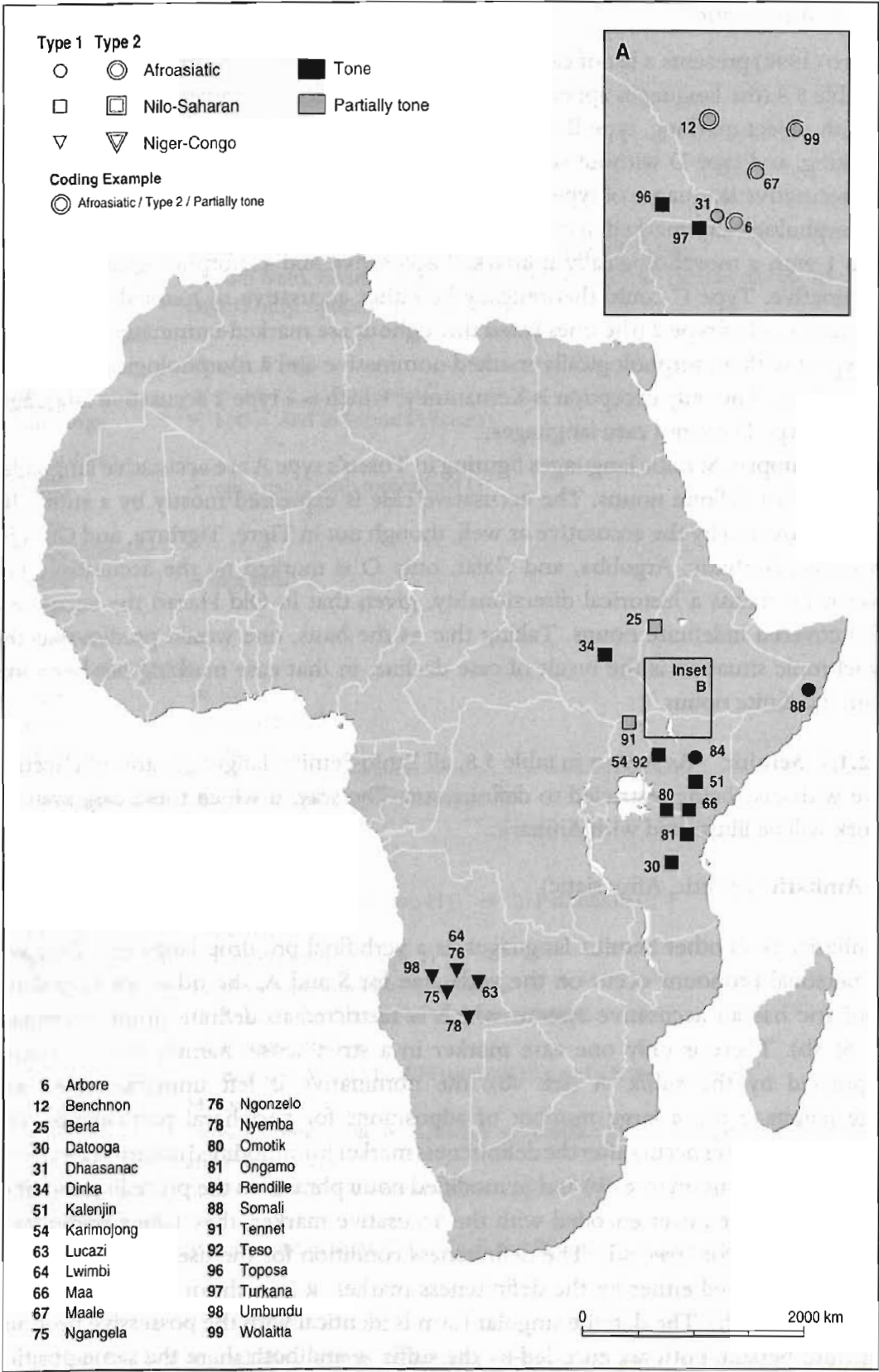
From a worldwide perspective, Africa has a unique characteristic as there are case systems expressed exclusively by tone. Outside of Africa only one instance of a language with a case system exclusively expressed by tone has been mentioned, namely Burmese (Tibeto-Burman, Sino-Tibetan; Plank 2007: *Raritaetenkabinett* No. 30), and this instance is marked by the author with a question mark. Therefore, tone as a marker for case is the most salient feature of case behavior in Africa. Map 5.2 gives an overview of tone case languages.

All African case systems expressed exclusively by tone share the following features: First, the total number of cases distinguished is limited to maximally three.¹⁴ Second, all belong to one case system only, namely marked-nominative, allowing for the following implicational generalization: If case is expressed by tone then there is a marked-nominative system. Note that this holds not only for East African but also for western Bantu languages, that is, two areas that are neither genetically nor areally connected.

5.2 Definiteness

There is evidence of a close relationship between case and definiteness, which is of the following kind: First, definiteness is a split condition for case systems, which means that a case system can be restricted to definite nouns. This applies in Africa to both accusative systems and marked-nominative systems. Ergative languages are also affected, if Anywa is counted as an ergative case language restricted to definite nouns (see chapter 3). Second, historically there is evidence that some case markers go back to definiteness markers. There is strong evidence that in the Northern Lwoo languages Anywa, Pāri, and Jur-Luwo, a definiteness marker has given rise to both a nominative and an ergative case marker (see chapter 3). Furthermore, it has been argued that in the western Bantu languages the tonal case markers have been developed with definite nouns (see 5.1.1). Third, it has been shown for Berber that definiteness has a part in the rise and fall of case systems: Case started its development with definite nouns before it spread to other nouns and, in its decay, case has been restricted to definite nouns prior to its complete loss (see 4.5.2). Fourth, the significance of definiteness may lead to split systems where case is restricted to personal pronouns only, the latter being inherently definite.

¹⁴ Turkana is an exception. Since, according to Dimmendaal (1983a), seven cases are distinguished by tone, the ones expressing peripheral cases are expressed by fixed tone patterns; see 4.1.4.



Map 5.2 Tone case languages in Africa

5.2.1 Afroasiatic

Tosco (1994) presents a list of case markings in Ethiopian languages, presented below in table 5.8 (the languages appear in bold). He differentiates between four types, type A with object marking, type B with subject marking, type C with subject and object marking, and type D without subject or object marking. In my terminology, type A are accusative languages of type 1 with a morphologically unmarked nominative and a morphologically marked accusative. Type B are marked-nominative languages of type 1 with a morphologically unmarked accusative and a morphologically marked nominative. Type C could theoretically be either accusative or marked-nominative languages, all of type 2 (the ones listed throughout are marked-nominative languages of type 2 with a morphologically marked nominative and a morphologically marked accusative). The only exception is Kemantney, which is a type 2 accusative language. Finally, type D are not case languages.

All Ethiopian Semitic languages figuring in Tosco's type A are accusative languages restricted to definite nouns. The accusative case is expressed mostly by a suffix. IO may be covered by the accusative as well, though not in Tigre, Tigrinya, and Gurage. In Ge'ez, Amharic, Argobba, and Gafat, only O is marked by the accusative. For Harari he claims a historical directionality, given that in Old Harari the accusative also covered indefinite nouns. Taking that as the basis, one would predict that the synchronic situation is the result of case decline, in that case marking has been lost with indefinite nouns.

5.2.1.1 Semitic As shown in table 5.8, all Ethio-Semitic languages are split accusative with case being restricted to definiteness. The way in which these case systems work will be illustrated with Amharic.

Amharic (Semitic, Afroasiatic)

Amharic, as all other Semitic languages, is a verb-final pro-drop language. Two sets of personal pronouns occur on the verb, one for S and A, the other for O and IO. Amharic has an accusative system which is restricted to definite nouns (compare 4a & 4b). There is only one case marker in a strict sense, namely the accusative expressed by the suffix *-n* (see 4b); the nominative is left unmarked (see 4a). The language has a large number of adpositions for peripheral participants. The accusative marker occurs after the definiteness marker in unmodified noun phrases, both attached to the noun (see 4b) and in modified noun phrases to the preceding modifier (see 4c). IOs are never encoded with the accusative marker, they take a preposition such as *lä* 'to, for' (see 4d). The definiteness condition for the use of the accusative marker is fulfilled either by the definiteness marker *-u* (see 4b) or by the possessive pronoun (see 4h). The definite singular form is identical with the possessive pronoun for third person; both are encoded by the suffix *-u* and both share the same position within the noun, suffixed directly to the noun stem preceding the accusative marker

Table 5.8 Case marking in Ethiopian languages

A. Languages with object marking [= ACC language of type 1¹⁵]

Ethio-Semitic

- Ge'ez:** -a, ~-hā; -la
Tigre: ?əgəl- ~ ?əl- (DEF O only; indirect O too)
Tigrinya: nə- (DEF O only; indirect O too)
Amharic, Argobba, Gafat: -n (DEF O only)
Harari: -u (-w after V; DEF O only; in Old Harari INDEF O too)
Gurage: PWG (Gyeto, Ennemor, etc.): ā-; other Gurage: yā- (Soddō also lā-, nā-;
 DEF O only; optional; indirect O too)

Central Cushitic:

- Bilin:** M: -s(i); F: -t(i)
Awngi: -e/-i; -wa / V___; -o ~ -wa / C___
Xamtanga: F: -t (O = ABS in M and Pl nouns)

East Cushitic:

- Dullay:** -n (opt.; usual with topicalized O)

Omotic:

Gonga (Kefoid):

- Kefa:** -n (optional)

Ometo:

- Basketo:** -n

East Omotic (Aroid):

- Aari:** -m
Dime: -im (also INDEF ?)
Hamer: -(d)am

B. Languages with subject marking [= MNOM, type 1]

Eastern Cushitic:

Omo-Tana:

- Somali:** final H tone becomes non-H (-' → -); F nouns in C: -i
Rendille: F nouns in C: -é
Bayso: -o (only nouns in -r ?; opt. ?)
Dhaasanac: -i and / or tone non-H with M nouns (?)
Arbore: 1. M nouns in C and F in V: subject = ACC
 2. F nouns in C: -é
 3. nouns in V with final H tone (all Pl's and a few M's): (-' → -)
?Afar: M nouns in V: -i
Saho: "stressed" nouns and with final -V are marked by the change of final V to /i/ and loss of stress
Oromo
 (Southern): nouns / adj's in -VV: -ni; M nouns / Adj's in -V: -it(ni); F nouns in -V: -ni(ni)
Dirayta
 (Gidole): M nouns not in -t: ACC + -(V)t; F and Pl nouns: subjects = ACC

(cont.)

¹⁵ Square brackets are additional comments by the present author. For convenience of the reader, Tosco's terminology has been adjusted to the one used in the present volume.

Table 5.8 (Continued)

| | |
|---|---|
| Highland East Cushitic (HEC): | |
| Sidamo: | F nouns; subject = ACC; M N's: -V → -i/-u |
| Burji: | subject: -VV → -V in F N's; -V → -i in M N's |
| Hadiya, Kambaata, Gedeo: | -(V) → -i (?) |
| Omoti: | |
| Ometo: | |
| North Ometo: | |
| Gamo: | -ii |
| Wolaitta: | -i |
| Zayse: | -i (-y after V) |
| Koyra: | -i (-y after V) |
| C. Languages with both subject and object marking [type 2 languages] | |
| Central Cushitic: | |
| Kemantney: | subject: M: -i/a; = NOM (/C__); F: subject = ACC; O (DEF): M: -s; F: -t |
| Omoti: | |
| Janjero¹⁶: | subject: -u (opt?); O: -n |
| Gimira: | subject: -i ³ , -a ³ ; O: -is ³ (obligatory only with "specific" nouns; N.B.: superscript numbers indicate tone) |
| Kefoid: | |
| Bworo¹⁷: | subject: M: -a, F: -ni; O: -a |
| Kefa: | subject: -y (emphatic?); O: -n (optional) |
| Ometo: | |
| North Ometo: | |
| Welaitta¹⁸: | -i, -y, -wi; O: -a |
| Kullo: | subject: -i; O: -n |
| D. Languages without subject or object marking [no case languages] | |
| East Cushitic: | |
| Omo-Tana: | |
| Southern Somali | (inclusive of Boni) |
| Bayso | (?; see also under C.) |
| Elmolo | (?) |
| Omoti: | |
| Ometo: | |
| Chara | |

Source Tosco 1994:226-8

Note Language names appear in bold¹⁹¹⁶ Now called Yem, the name the people use for themselves.¹⁷ The language is called Borna (Shinasha).¹⁸ Probably Wolaitta.¹⁹ In order to be consistent, language names have been changed. Further information for some of the languages presented in the table is provided in the following sources: for Kullo see Allan (1976), for Wolaitta see Aclams (1990), for Mursi see Abebe (1993), for Bayso see Hayward (1979), for Dirayta see Hayward (1981), for Guana-Gurage see Herzon (1977), for Gamo see Hampo (1990), for Kambaata see

(see 4e). The use of *-u* is ambiguous, it can function either as a possessive pronoun or as a definiteness marker; possibly the possessive pronoun has further grammaticalized into a definiteness marker. Considering the close relationship of the possessive pronoun and the definiteness marker it comes as no surprise that the accusative is used in both contexts. The noun appears either in a noun-DEF-ACC (see 4b) or in a noun-POSS-ACC structure (see 4h). In a causative clause, the accusative can be used twice, both for the agent and the patient (see 4h). Alternatively, the agent can be encoded by the preposition *bä-* (see 4i). The first set of pronouns on the verb, used for S and A, occurs directly after the verb stem. The second one used for O and IO appears after the subject pronouns preceded by a shortened version of one of the prepositions used to encode IO elsewhere, such as *-bb-*, the shortened version of *bä-* (see 4e for O, and 4f for IO), or *-ll-*, a shortened version of *lä-* (see 4g). The definiteness condition for the use of the accusative is restricted to the accusative; all adpositions are used irrespective of whether the corresponding noun is definite or indefinite (see 4j). The nominal predicate never appears in the accusative, even if definite, but in the morphologically unmarked form which serves as the nominative (see 4k & 4l). The citation form is covered by the nominative as well. In this respect, Amharic behaves like a canonical nominative/accusative language.

Amharic (Afroasiatic, Semitic)

- (4a) wəšša-w ləḡ nākkäs-ä.
dog-DEF child bite-3.SG.M.S
"The dog bit a child."
- (4b) wəšša-w ləḡ-u-n nākkäs-ä.
dog-DEF child-DEF-ACC bite-3.SG.M.S
"The dog bit the child."
- (4c) wəšša-w tənnaš-u-n ləḡ nākkäs-ä.
dog-DEF small-DEF-ACC child bite-3.SG.M.S
"The dog bit the small child."
- (4d) däbdabbe lä-gäbäre-w šaf-ku.
letter DAT-farmer-DEF write-1.SG.S
"I wrote a letter to the farmer."
- (4e) nəbəb-u fiyyel-u-n
leopard-DEF/3.SG.M.POSS she-goat-3.SG.M.POSS-ACC
yəbāla-bb-är-all.
eat-IPV.3.S.M.S-MAL-3.SG.M.O-AUX.3.SG.M
"The/His leopard eats the/his goat." (Crass 2004:10).

Leslau (1952) and Schneider-Blum 2006, for Hadiyya see Plazikowsky-Brauner (1960), for Alaaba see Plazikowsky-Brauner (1962), for Koyra see Hayward (1982), for Agaw see Sasse (1974), for Dhaasanac see Sasse (1976) and Tosco (2001), for Saho see Welmers (1952), for Oromo see Owens (1982), for Somali see Saeed (1987), for Zayse see Hayward (1990a:249ff.), for HEC in general see Hudson 1976, and for Semitic languages see Bender et al. (1976a).

- (4f) mälʔəkt lak-ä-bb-ən̄.
message send-3.SG.M.S-to-1.SG.O
"He sent me a message."
- (4g) däbdabbe lak-ä-ll-ən̄.
letter send-3.SG.M.S-to-1.SG.O
"He sent me a letter."
- (4h) ənnat bet-u-n ləḡ-wa-n as-ṭärräq-äčč.
mother house-DEF-ACC child-POSS.F-ACC CAU-clean-3.SG.F.S
"The mother had her child clean the house." (Richter 1973:315)
- (4i) ənnat bet-u-n bā-ləḡ-wa as-ṭärräq-äčč.
mother house-DEF-ACC PREP-child-POSS.F CAU-clean-3.SG.F.S
"The mother had her child clean the house." (Richter 1973:315)
- (4j) yä-'ityop'ya bunna kā-lelocc agärocc bunna
GEN-Ethiopia coffee ABL-other.P²⁰ country.P coffee.ABL
yışshalall.
be.better.IPV.3.SG.M.AUX.3.SG.M
"Ethiopian coffee is better than the coffee of [all] other countries."
(Crass & Meyer forthc.:8)
- (4k) astämri nāw
teacher COP.3.SG.MAS
"He is teacher."
- (4l) astämri-w nāw
teacher-DEF COP.3.SG.MAS
"He is the teacher."

5.2.1.2 Cushitic In Cushitic languages (Afroasiatic), definiteness is involved in case marking on various levels. Tosco (1994) collected evidence to argue that in Highland East Cushitic not only gender but also definiteness is crucial in case marking. Typically, gender, number, and case marking are interwoven, all expressed word-finally. Some languages in this branch show gender-, number-, and definite-sensitive case marking, appearing either in feminine or in masculine forms, or in singular or plural forms, or definite nouns are encoded differently for case than indefinite nouns.

Burji (Highland East Cushitic, Afroasiatic)

The emergence of case and the interwovenness of case, gender, and definiteness of a Highland East Cushitic language can be illustrated by Burji. In Burji, case marking is sensitive to gender and definiteness; Burji is a marked-nominative language (Hayward 1988). As in other marked-nominative languages, the nominative is principally derived from the accusative (called absolutive by Hayward). For the nominative there is a

²⁰ It remains unclear what the "P" stands for.

definite/indefinite distinction, but not for the accusative. Note that the last two vowels of the accusative form are separated from the rest (see second column from left in table 5.9, *baš+aa* "grass.F.ACC"). These separated vowels are called "terminal vowels" by Hayward (1988:682). They are not inflexional suffixes, they are part of the lexicon, though they may be replaced in certain contexts, and therefore they are presented separately. The coding of definiteness and case is interwoven. The following means are used to encode the nominative: The definite nominative is encoded by vowel reduction and devoicing of the last vowel for feminine nouns (see first line, third column from left in table 5.9: *baš+a* /*báʃə*/ "grass.NOM.DEF.F"), by the suffix -i for masculine nouns (see second line, third column from left in table 5.9:), the indefinite nominative by the suffix -ti for feminine nouns (see first line, fourth column from left in table 5.9: *baš+aa +t+i* /*bafá:fə*/ "grass.INDEF.NOM.F").

So far, the forms are as expected. The masculine indefinite nominative forms show an odd behavior: They are marked by the suffix -ku. Unlike the corresponding feminine forms, they are not derived from the accusative forms but rather from the definite masculine nominative forms. An indefinite masculine nominative noun shows the following structure: noun stem-DEF.M.NOM-INDEF.M.NOM (see second line, fourth column from left in table 5.9 *min+i+k+u* /*minúh*/ "house.NOM.DEF.M-INDEF.M.NOM"). According to Hayward (1988), the resulting noun has an indefinite value. The indefinite masculine nominative shows case doubling, as the nominative is marked twice, and definiteness doubling, as the form contains a definite and an indefiniteness marker. There are complex rules on the relation between the phonetic form (presented in table 5.9 between slashes) and the underlying form. Obviously, the basis of the masculine indefinite nominative is not the accusative (as it is with the other nominative forms) but the definite nominative masculine form. In sum, the definite nominative is derived from the accusative. However, the indefinite nominative of masculine nouns is derived from the definite nominative.

Principally, the definite nominative is used for subjects which are modified ("with expansion", as Hayward calls it) (see 5a), and the indefinite nominative is used for subjects which are not modified ("without expansion"; Hayward 1988:686) (see 5b).

Table 5.9 Case forms in Burji

| Gender | Accusative | Definite nominative | Indefinite nominative | Meaning |
|-------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| Feminine | <i>baš+aa</i> / <i>baʃá</i> / | <i>baš+a</i> / <i>báʃə</i> / | <i>baš+aa +t+i</i> / <i>bafá:fə</i> / | "grass" |
| Masculine | <i>min+a</i> / <i>miná</i> / | <i>min+i</i> / <i>miní</i> / | <i>min+i+k+u</i> / <i>minúh</i> / | "house" |
| Masculine personal name | <i>waac¹č¹+ee</i> / <i>waac¹č¹é</i> / | <i>waac¹č¹</i> | | "Waac ¹ č ¹ e" (name) |
| Feminine personal name | <i>t¹ummi+aa</i> / <i>t¹ummiá</i> / | <i>t¹ummi</i> | | "T ¹ ummi" (name) |
| Personal pronoun | <i>ee</i> | <i>an+i</i> / <i>ání</i> / | | I. SG |

Source Hayward 1988

Modification may consist of a possessor, an adjective, or a relative clause. "Basically" means that their appearance is typical but not restricted to the contexts mentioned above. In narrative discourse, definite nouns appear also with non-modified subjects.

- (5a) ičči harr/i/ laafaa.
 my donkey-NOM.F.DEF be weak²¹
 "My donkey is weak." (Hayward 1988:685).
- (5b) č'iid'd'aa[[i]] mina gaa tayd'aččeetta.
 bird.NOM.F.INDEF house.ACC on roost
 "A bird is roosting on the house." (Hayward 1988:686)

Hayward (1988:686–7) discusses the question of why a language should have a definite/indefinite distinction applying to subjects only. He discusses different basic meanings of the elements involved, such as a specific/non-specific distinction. The fact that personal pronouns and personal names occur in one form only which, with regard to the latter, correspond clearly to the definite nominative (see table 5.9), corroborates the hypothesis that the items under consideration encode definiteness. As personal pronouns and personal names are inherently definite, the definiteness analysis would be in accordance with that. Hayward is puzzled by the fact that a language should develop an indefinite nominative marker as subjects in general are more likely to be definite. From a historical point of view, the building pattern of masculine nouns suggests that the definiteness marker is obligatory with masculine nouns in the nominative. The nominative indefinite form must have developed at a later stage. The following scenario describes the stages involved (see table 5.10). Table 5.10 gives an overview of the rise of case in Burji and the emergence of the indefinite marked-nominative in particular.

As indicated in table 5.10, case in Burji, and indefinite nominative masculine nouns in particular, have been grammaticalized in accordance with the following scenario:

Stage I: Nouns occur in one form only, which is the bare noun stem with the different terminal vowels.

Stage II: A definiteness marker develops—nouns occur in either the unmarked indefinite form or the marked definite form. With masculine nouns the definiteness marker is a suffix *-i*.

Stage III: The definiteness marker develops into a nominative case marker—nouns occur either in the marked form, which is the nominative but still maintains its definiteness value, or in the unmarked form, which is reinterpreted from the former indefinite form to the new accusative, the morphologically unmarked member in the case opposition. A marked-nominative system has emerged. The unmarked accusative form encodes at least O, nominal predicates, and is used as the citation form; the definite nominative form encodes S and A by means of a suffix *-i* for masculine nouns.

²¹ The glosses are added by the present author.

Table 5.10 The emergence of case in Burji

| | | Stage I | Stage II | Stage III | Stage IV |
|---------------------|--------------------------|---------|---------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Forms of the nouns | Morphologically unmarked | Noun > | Noun = INDEF > | Noun = ACC | Noun = ACC |
| | Morphologically marked | | Noun-DEF > | Noun-NOM.DEF | |
| | | | | | Noun-NOM. INDEF |
| Markers involved | | | -i DEF > | -i NOM | |
| | | | | | -ku INDEF |
| Categories involved | | | Definiteness system | Case system | |

In the new case function, the old definiteness marker is restricted to subjects since one marker, for example the suffix *-i* for masculine nouns, encodes definiteness and nominative as a portmanteau morpheme. With regard to definiteness, the picture is unbalanced: Nominative nouns are obligatorily definite, accusative nouns no longer have the potential to take a definiteness marker; the unmarked member of the former definite/indefinite opposition covers both indefinite and definite uses. This stage is still visible with personal names and pronouns, as they occur in one morphologically marked form only which corresponds to the definite nominative form opposed to the morphologically unmarked form serving as the accusative form.

The development of stage III shows the present status of the category: Subjects have a higher probability of being definite than indefinite; therefore a combination of definiteness and subject marking is very likely. Nevertheless, as not all subjects are definite, there could be a need for distinguishing indefinite subjects via the development of an extra indefiniteness marker at stage IV.

Stage IV: The nominative develops an additional indefinite form, namely *-ti* for feminine nouns and *-ku* for masculine nouns. Nouns occur in either the unmarked form serving as an accusative, not determined with regard to definiteness, or the two marked forms, namely the definite nominative and the indefinite nominative. With regard to definiteness, the picture is even more unbalanced than at stage III, as the distinction is restricted to the nominative, that is, to subjects. This applies to all nouns except the ones mentioned under III.

That the indefinite nominative is a later development than the definite nominative is suggested by the way in which the masculine indefinite nominative is built: It is added to the inflected definite nominative form of the noun. The resulting building pattern is the following: Stem-NOM.DEF.M-NOM.INDEF.M. If in Burji, as in other languages, the former definiteness marker which has given rise to the nominative should have lost its definiteness value, there would have been no need for an

additional indefinite nominative. Obviously, the former definiteness marker has kept its definiteness capacity to such an extent that indefiniteness was not included. The result is a marked-nominative system with a definite/indefinite distinction which applies only to the nominative, while the accusative lacks the definite/indefinite distinction.

The way in which indefiniteness is marked with masculine nouns is actually not as odd as it seems at a first glimpse. Other languages show the same behavior. In languages such as Ewe of West Africa, as well as in French mass nouns, for example, the presence of the indefiniteness marker presupposes the definiteness marker. A French noun such as *farine* 'flour' does not allow the usual indefinite article (**une farine*); instead it takes the partitive *de* as an indefiniteness marker which cannot occur without the definite article *la*, i.e. *de la farine* 'flour' (indefinite). Similarly, in Ewe the indefinite article *-dɛ* can only be used if preceded by the definite article (*lɔ*), e.g. *ati* 'the/a tree', *ati-(lɔ)* 'the tree' vs. *ati-á-dɛ* 'a tree'. According to Tosco (1994: 232–9), the *-ku/-ti* suffixes are used in other Highland East Cushitic languages as a link between modifiers and their following head with which they agree in gender. In Burji they have become full-fledged indefinite articles.

5.2.1.3 Berber and Omoto As has been shown in chapter 4 for the Berber languages, definiteness was crucial in the development of case. In Berber, historically, there is a rise and fall of case, more precisely of the marked nominative. We saw in chapter 4 that the Berber languages present a complex picture with regard to case; some are marked-nominative, some are split S, some are both, some are no longer case languages. The rise of the case system started with definite nouns and its decay led to a situation where in some languages case is now restricted to definite nouns (see table 4.20 on the rise and fall of case in Berber languages; section 4.5.3). The nominative case marker itself has been grammaticalized out of a preceding definite element (see 4.5.3). In the Omoto language Haro (Omoti, Afroasiatic), with a marked-nominative system, case is restricted to definite nouns only. Definiteness and case are encoded separately on the noun (see 4.3).

5.2.2 Other languages

Lukas (1953) argued for Tubu, a Saharan language (Nilo-Saharan) having an optional accusative system, that the use of case is influenced by the definiteness of the noun in that definite nouns are more likely to be case-inflected than not (see 2.2.1). For the Nilo-Saharan language Masalit it has been claimed that the accusative marker *-ko* is a former definiteness marker but more recent studies show that this does not hold true (see 2.4). As we saw in chapter 3, the ergative languages Pāri and Anywa have developed a case marker out of a definiteness marker *-Cɪ*. In Anywa, it still functions as a definiteness marker used primarily after the verb; in the closely related language Pāri it has been grammaticalized to both a marked-nominative and an ergative case marker. For Anywa, I have argued that, instead of calling the clitic *-Cɪ* a definiteness

marker, it is also possible to say that Anywa is a case language where case is restricted to definite nouns. The following scenario on the grammaticalization of the ergative case marker *-Cr* in Pāri and Anywa was proposed in 3.1.1.4:

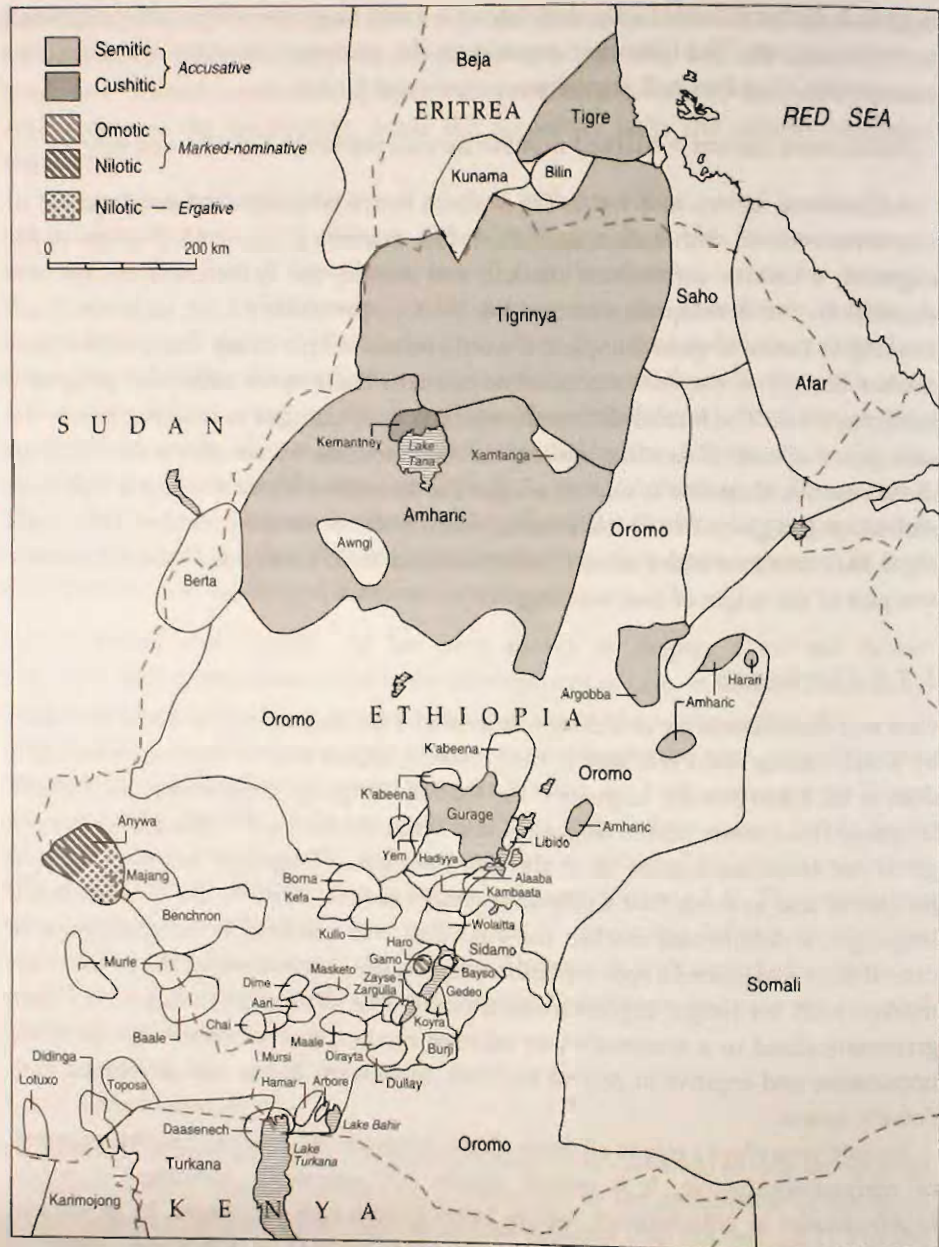
Definiteness marker > Marked-nominative case marker > Ergative case marker

As has been shown in 5.1.1, in the western Bantu languages the development of case is interwoven with definiteness: First, case marking is restricted to nouns in the augment, a former definiteness marker, and second, the definiteness marker was essential for the development of case (see 5.1.1, in particular 5.1.1.1, table 5.4). Case marking in Bantu is quite complex; it would be too simple to say that a definiteness marker has given rise to an accusative marker. There were additional pragmatic factors at work. The former definiteness marker itself changed its meaning before the emergence of case. If, as some authors have claimed, the nominative is derived from the accusative then this is due to a topic-like structure, where a delayed high-tone realization has given rise to a low tone, which is the nominative marker. One could argue that case in a wider sense is restricted to definite nouns, and that definiteness was part of the origin of case marking.

5.2.3 Conclusions

Case and definiteness are in a close relationship. First, definiteness is a split condition by which case is restricted, that is, case marking applies only to definite nouns, as it does in all Ethio-Semitic languages, the Cushitic language Kemantney, the Omotic language Haro, some Berber languages, and Maba. Second, a definiteness marker has given rise to a case marker, as in the Northern-Lwoo languages Anywa, Pāri, and Jur-Luwo, and in some East Cushitic languages such as Burji. In the western Bantu languages, a definiteness marker, the augment, was involved in the emergence of case: It once established a split condition which is still at work even if the definiteness marker itself no longer expresses definiteness. The definiteness marker has been grammaticalized to a nominative, or ergative marker, such as nominative in Burji, nominative and ergative in Anywa and Pāri. In western Bantu case developed with definite nouns.

Definiteness plays a role in all types of case systems—whether accusative, ergative, or marked-nominative. It is neither areally nor genetically restricted; it occurs in Afroasiatic, in Nilo-Saharan, and in Niger-Congo case languages. In an area of northern Ethiopia, nearly all case languages are influenced by definiteness, either as a split condition, or as the source for case marking. In northern Ethiopia, definiteness could be genetically and areally motivated; it is likely that the Ethio-Semitic languages influenced the Cushitic languages in this region, as indicated by Tosco (see map 5.3). The languages concerned belong to two different branches of one phylum, Cushitic and Semitic, which are both Afroasiatic. A genetic explanation can be excluded since it has been argued that the accusative system in Central Cushitic and Dullay is an



Map 5.3 Split definite case languages in Ethiopia

innovation and, furthermore, the remaining Cushitic case languages are marked nominative. Instead, it is very likely that the Semitic languages have influenced the Central Cushitic languages.

Map 5.3 illustrates that the definiteness split is an areal phenomenon, that is, all Semitic languages of Ethiopia are split definite languages: Tigre, Tigrinya, Amharic,

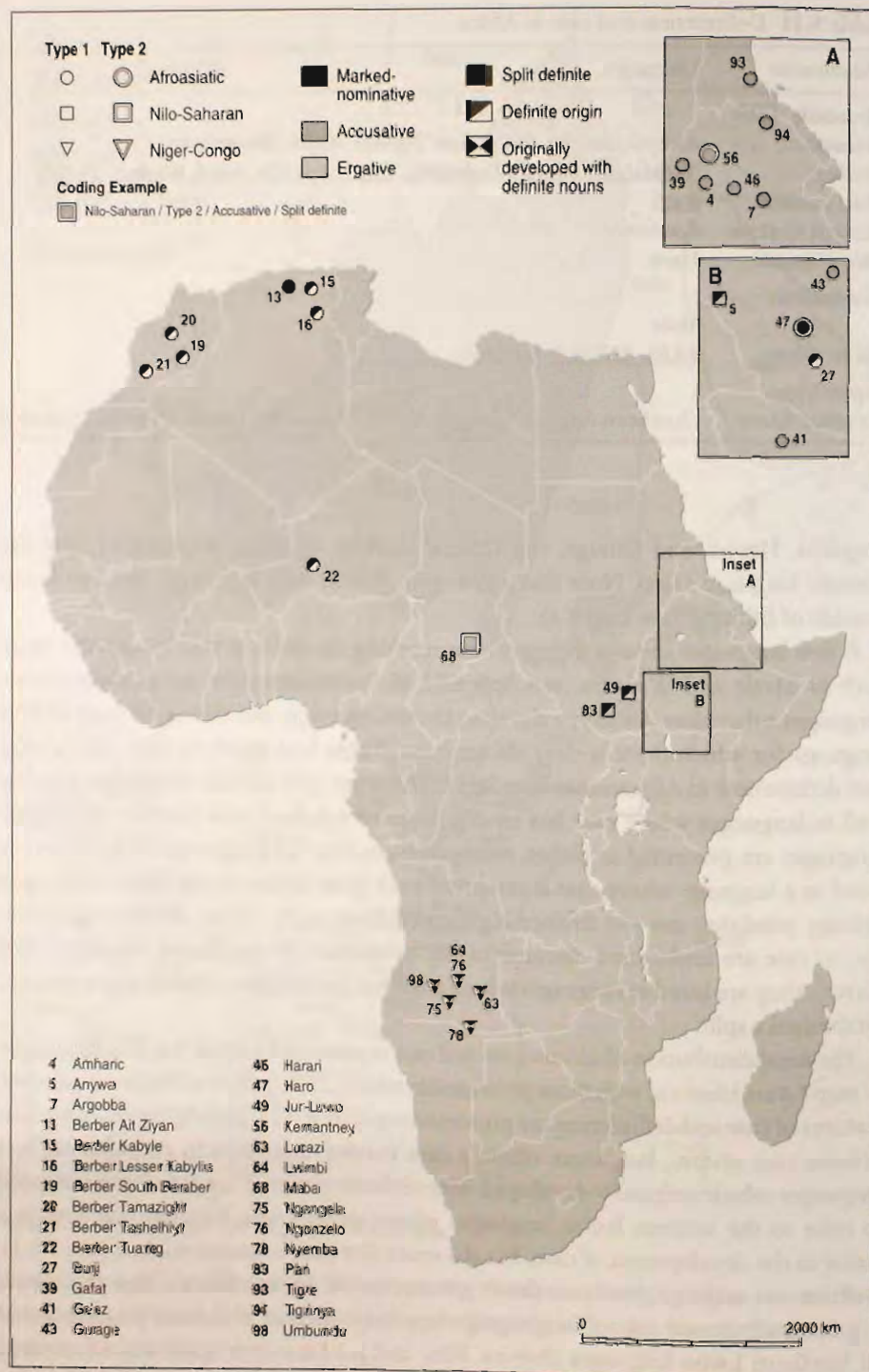
Table 5.11 Definiteness and case in Africa

| Classification | Languages |
|-------------------|---|
| Afroasiatic | |
| Semitic: | <i>Amharic, Argobba, Gafat, Tigre, Tigrinya, Harari, Gurage</i> |
| Berber: | <u>Tamazight, Kabyle, Tashelhiyt, Lesser Kabylia, South Beraber, Tuareg</u> |
| East Cushitic: | <u>Burji</u> |
| Central Cushitic: | <i>Kemantney</i> |
| West Omotic: | Haro |
| Nilo-Saharan | |
| | <i>Maba</i> |
| West Nilotic: | <u>PÄRI, ANYWA, Jur-Luwo</u> |
| Niger-Congo | |
| Western Bantu: | (Southeast Angola) <i>Ngangela, Ngonzelo, Lwimbi, Lucazi, Nyemba, Umbundu</i> |

Argobba, Harari, and Gurage, the Central Cushitic language Kemantney, and the Omotic language Haro. Note that a few split definite case languages are also found outside of Ethiopia (see map 5.4).

A few languages show a different case marking for definite and indefinite nouns, such as Maale and Wolaitta (see Appendix II). In Berber there are probably more languages other than Ait Ziyen showing the definite split, but this is the only Berber language for which there is clear information. Table 5.11 gives an overview of case and definiteness in African case languages. There are split definite languages listed as well in languages where case has emerged out of a definiteness marker. Accusative languages are presented in italics, marked-nominative languages in bold. Anywa is listed as a language where case is restricted to definite nouns. Languages with a split definite condition are not further highlighted, languages where definite has given rise to case are underlined. Because of the complexity of the Bantu languages (see above), they are listed as languages where a former definiteness marker, the augment, established a split.

The areal distribution of definiteness and case is presented in map 5.4. The languages of map 5.4 are identical with those presented in table 5.11. In map 5.4, the three essential features of case and definiteness are presented separately, that is, languages with a split definite case system, languages where a case marker originates in definiteness, and languages which originally developed with definite nouns. The last feature is used to refer to the western Bantu languages where definiteness through augment is a factor in the development of case, but the exact situation remains unclear (see 5.1.1). Definiteness as the origin of case shows some remarkable correlations: First, it appears in genetically closely related language groups only, such as all Berber languages and all Northern Lwoo languages (Anywa, Pärì, and Jur-Luwo); it is therefore primarily genetically motivated. Second, a definite marker has been always grammaticalized to a nominative case marker in these languages. This holds for all marked-nominative



Map 5.4 Definiteness and case in Africa

languages presented in map 5.4, such as Berber, but also for the split ergative/ marked-nominative languages Anywa, Pāri, and Jur-Luwo (all Northern Lwoo). As has been argued in 3.1.1.4, in these Northern Lwoo languages the development extended from definite marker to (marked-) nominative case marker to ergative case marker.

The appearance of definiteness splits, the second most frequent split in Africa, seems to be genetically motivated as it applies to all Semitic accusative languages of Ethiopia. In addition, there are some areal forces as well, as in the Cushitic language Kemantney, spoken in an Amharic-speaking area (see map 5.3). With regard to the case systems concerned, a clear pattern is apparent: Nearly all languages with a definite split are accusative languages. In addition, a few marked-nominative and marked-nominative/ergative languages show the definiteness split as well. Among them are the marked-nominative languages Haro (type 2), Ait Ziyān (Berber), and Anywa (split ergative/ marked nominative). The definiteness split documents an instance of case gain in Anywa and Ait Ziyān (see 3.1.1.2 and 4.5.3, in particular table 4.20) and an instance of case loss in the Ethiopian Semitic languages.

If a definiteness marker is the source for a case marker, both are identical in form. The order of the development is always DEF > CASE, never the other way round.

If definiteness is the split condition for the occurrence of case, definiteness and case are marked either by two separate markers or by one marker only. The latter is true for Kemantney, where the morphologically unmarked form is caseless and indefinite, and nominative definite and accusative definite are derived each by one suffix only. The former is true for Semitic, and Haro, always in the order: Noun-DEF-CASE. Both phenomena lead to one conclusion: Historically, definiteness comes before case, never the other way round. Burji is no contradiction. In Burji, there has been a development of a case marker for indefinite subjects only. The latter, however, has been added to the definite case-marked form, and therefore the order is: Noun-DEF.CASE-INDEF. Definiteness is associated with both the gain and loss of case: Definite elements are the first to acquire case and the last to show case if there is loss of case. Among Berber languages, according to Aikhenvald, definite elements are the last which show case inflexion (see 4.5.3); in West Nilotic, definiteness plays a role in the gain of case (see 3.1). Therefore, the synchronic situation of definite split can reflect either the beginning or the end stage of a case system.

If a language has case inflexions then it has them with definite elements (such as definite nouns or pronouns). This holds true, irrespective of whether the case marker is used for subject (such as nominative/ergative) or object (such as accusative); it applies to the nominative in Burji, Anywa, Pāri, and Jur-Luwo, to the ergative in Anywa, Pāri, and Jur-Luwo, and to the accusative in the Semitic languages of Ethiopia, such as Amharic, Tigre, Tigrinya, Gurage, and Harari. The definiteness split is the second most frequent split condition in Africa.

5.3 No case before the verb

In northeastern Africa there is another structural phenomenon concerning case, namely what I call the “no case before the verb” rule, more appropriately “no case distinction before the verb” (henceforth in short: the rule). All case languages share the following feature: In preverbal position the core participants S, A, and O occur always in one case form only, namely the morphologically most unmarked one. This rule holds, regardless of what constituent order they have, whether AVO or VAO (except for AOV, which is excluded for obvious reasons), regardless of the means by which case is expressed, whether by affixes or tone, whether ergative, or marked-nominative. In marked-nominative systems, this form is identical with the accusative; and in ergative systems with the absolutive. With regard to accusative systems, no generalization is possible as there is only one language which is not verb-final, Ik (Kuliak), and this language is an exception to the rule (see 5.3.3.2.8). The rule is also a split condition as it specifies a context in which case is neutralized. In the following paragraphs, a number of examples are taken up for convenience of the reader that have been already presented in preceding chapters but that are immediately relevant for an understanding of the issue to be discussed here.

5.3.1 Data

5.3.1.1 Pāri Pāri (West Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan) has a split-ergative system, meaning either that it shows an ergative or a marked-nominative system (see 3.1.1.1). In clauses which follow the ergative system, the morphologically unmarked absolute covers S and O, as with *ùbúr* “Ubur” in 6a, and *jòobì* “buffalo” in 6b. A is encoded by the ergative case, as with *ùburr-i* “Ubur” in 6b. The ergative is derived from the absolutive form by the suffix *-i* (cf. chapter 3).

- Pāri (West Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan)
- (6a) *ùbúr á-túuk’*. S V
 Ubur COMP-play
 “Ubur played.” (Andersen 1988)
- (6b) *jòobì à-kèel ùburr-i*. O V A-ERG
 buffalo COMP-shoot Ubur-ERG
 “Ubur shot the buffalo.” (Andersen 1988)

There is no case distinction before the verb, which means: in preverbal position only one case form is used, irrespective of whether the participant serves as S, A, or O. A also occurs in the absolute case in preverbal position, so that with an AOV-order, both A and O occur in the absolute, as in 7a.

- Pāri
- (7a) *ùbúr joobì á-kèel-é*. A O V-A
 Ubur buffalo COMP-shoot-3.SGA
 “Ubur shot the buffalo.”

In clauses which follow a marked-nominative system, again there is no case distinction before the verb. As has been shown in section 3.1.1.1, the ergative and the nominative are expressed by the same suffix *-i*.²² The suffix *-i* serves as an ergative in so-called NP-initial clauses and as a nominative²³ in so-called VP-initial clauses. As a nominative it covers S and A, like S ("man") in 7b and A ("child") in 7c. O occurs in the unmarked accusative, like "her" in 7c. Nevertheless, even in the clauses which belong to the marked-nominative type, the rule holds: There is no case distinction before the verb: If A and O are placed before the verb, both occur in the unmarked accusative form, like the participants A ("child") and O ("woman") in 7d.

- (7b) pìr ɲò ì pɛ́ɛr cícò-ê ? V S-ERG
 matter what LINK jump man-ERG
 "Why did the man jump?" (Andersen 1988:318)
- (7c) pìr ɲò ì còl yí ɲìpònd'-ê ? V O A-ERG
 matter what LINK call 3.SG child-ERG
 "Why did the child call her?" (Andersen 1988:319)
- (7d) pìr ɲò ɲìpònd'-ò dháago ì còl-ε gò ? A O V-A O_{pp}
 matter what child woman LINK call-3.SG 3.SG
 "Why did the child call the woman?" (Andersen 1988:319)

5.3.1.2 Teso According to Bennett (1974), the East Nilotic language Teso is a VS/AO language with a marked-nominative system. Case is expressed by tone. The accusative encodes S and A before the verb (see 8b), O, nominal predicates (see 8c–8f), and the case used in citation (see 8i). Note that the nominal predicate can also alternatively appear in the nominative (see 8g). Additional information is needed to interpret 8g. The nominative encodes S and A after the verb (see 8a). According to Bennett (1974:23), with the topicalizer *baa* only the accusative is used, irrespectively of whether A, S, or O is topicalized. The topicalized constituent always occurs before the verb. In Teso, the rule applies even to copula clauses (see 8c & 8d).

- Teso (East Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan)
- (8a) epól ét'úɲanan. V S
 be.big man.NOM²⁴
 "The man is big." (Bennett 1974:22)
- (8b) étúɲánán epól. S V
 man.ACC be.big
 "The man is big." (Bennett 1974:22)

²² With the allomorphs *-ɲ*, *-ɪ*, *-i*, or *-è*, *-ε* allomorphs are realized for example as *-ε* with different tones in examples 9b & 9c.

²³ Note that for consistency *-i* is always encoded in the glosses as ERG even when functioning as NOM.

²⁴ The glosses have been added by the present author.

- (8c) eraí ét'úṇanan ékátátán. COP S N.PRED
 be man.NOM blacksmith.ACC
 "The man is a blacksmith." (Bennett 1974:22)
- (8d) étúṇánán eraí ékátátán. S COP N.PRED
 man.ACC be blacksmith.ACC
 "The man is a blacksmith." (Bennett 1974:22)
- (8e) eraí ét'úṇananiló 'ékátátán. COP S N.PRED
 be man.NOM.this blacksmith.ACC
 "This man is a blacksmith." (Bennett 1974:19)
- (8f) ékátátán 'ét'úṇananiló. N.PRED S
 blacksmith.ACC man.NOM.this
 "This man is a blacksmith." (Bennett 1974:19)
- (8g) lo ṇés 'ét'úṇanan. DEM.M 3.SG.PRON man.NOM
 "This is a man." (Bennett 1974:19)
- (8h) étúṇánániló. N.PRED
 man.ACC
 "This is a man." (Bennett 1974:19)
- (8i) étúṇánániló Citation
 man.ACC.this
 "this man" (Bennett 1974:19)

5.3.1.3 Shilluk As illustrated in section 3.1.2, Shilluk is the only ergative language of Africa which has no split system. The ergative case is expressed by a preceding tonal downstep and an enclitic *yī* which precedes the noun. The only core participant which is case-marked is A (see 9a), as it is an ergative language. S and O appear in the absolutive, which is morphologically unmarked (see 9a & 9b). Shilluk in all respects follows the rule "no case before the verb". Three clause types have to be distinguished, as constituent order and case marking vary among them, (i) independent clauses, conjoined clauses (introduced by *ká*), and circumstantial clauses, (ii) sequential clauses, and (iii) focus clauses.

(i) Independent clauses, conjoined clauses, circumstantial clauses

I will only discuss the independent clauses of this group here, as according to Miller and Gilley the other two behave in all respects in the same way (see also section 3.1.2). The basic order of independent clauses is verb-medial, either OVA (see 9a) or SV (9b). In pragmatically marked variants, AVO-order or AOVA_{pp} is possible as well. In the latter two, no A can be case-marked (see 9c for AVO and 9d for AOVA_{pp}).

(ii) Sequential clauses

In sequential clauses, used in narrative discourse to encode a sequential order, the basic constituent order is verb-initial; either VOA or VS-order is used. In a VOA-order,

A is case-marked (see 9e). There is a pragmatically marked variant VAO in addition to the basic order. With VAO-order, though, A cannot be case-marked (see 9f), and the preceding tonal downstep remains. Sequential clauses are also in line with the rule, as A never appears preverbally. The fact that A in VAO-order is not case-marked is in need of explanation.

(iii) Focus clauses

Focus is expressed by the verbal suffix *-a*. The focal participant has to appear directly after the verb. If A is focused the resulting constituent order is OVA; if O is focused the resulting constituent order is AVO. In OVA-order, A is case-marked (see 9g); in AVO-order, A is not case-marked (see 9h). In sum, in all clause types, whether with basic verb-medial order or basic verb-initial order, there is never a case-marked form used before the verb. Therefore, Shilluk is an ergative example which follows the rule in every respect.

The superficially unusual behavior of case encoding in VAO-order of sequential clauses provides an additional clue as to the question of why in Shilluk case marking is restricted to the postverbal position, and more precisely to the last position of the core participants after the verb. As we saw in 3.1.2, the origin of the ergative case marker in Shilluk is presumably a preposition originally encoding peripheral participants. The latter occurred clause-finally, after the core participants. In all examples, irrespective of the clause type, the ergative marker appears only after the verb and after all other core participants. It is very likely that the ergative marker has retained this constraint in its new case function.

Shilluk (West Nilotic, Northern Lwoo, Nilo-Saharan)²⁵

Independent clause

- (9a) byél á-'rākk' yī nān ḍájò. O V A
 grain.PL PAST.E-grind.TR.REP ERG person female
 "The woman ground the durra." (Miller and Gilley 2001:36)
- (9b) māc á-dùṅ áwāl. S V
 fire PAST.E-smoke.ITER yesterday
 "The fire smoked yesterday." (Miller and Gilley 2001:37).
- (9c) nān ḍájò á-'rākk' byél. A V O
 person female PAST.E-grind.TR.REP grain.PL
 "The woman chose to grind the durra." (Miller and Gilley 2001:36)
- (9d) ūṇótī úgīk á-'kēl' èn. A O V A_{pp}
 Onyoti buffalo PAST.E-spear.TR 3.SG
 "As for Onyoti, he speared the buffalo (unexpectedly)."
 (Miller and Gilley 2001:45)

²⁵ The majority of the following examples have already been presented in chapter 3; we are repeating them here for convenience of the reader.

Sequential clause

- (9e) ā-kwāp̄n gīncām` yī jīmēn. V O A
 SQ-take.TR food ERG sister
 "... and then the sister took the food." (Miller and Gilley 2001:57)
- (9f) a-kwāp̄n` jīmēn gīncām. V A O
 SQ-take.TR.PM sister food
 "... and then the sister chose to take the food." (Miller and Gilley 2001:57)
- (9g) byél á-rākk-à` yī jān dájò. O V A
 grain.PL PAST.E-grind.TR.REP-FOC ERG person female
 "The woman (not someone else) ground the durra". (Miller and Gilley 2001:36)
- (9h) jān dájò á-rākk-à` byél A V O
 person female PAST.E-grind.TR.REP-FOC grain.PL
 "The woman chose to grind the durra (not another grain)."
 (Miller and Gilley 2001:36)

5.3.1.4 Dinka According to Andersen's (1991 & 2002) analysis, Dinka is a case language with a marked-nominative system. Four cases are distinguished, namely nominative (called oblique by Andersen) marked by tone; accusative, the morphologically unmarked form; two locatives, called allative and inessive; and ablative, marked by an overlong vowel and tone change. Modified nouns appear in what Andersen (2002:29) calls the construction case, and in two additional forms. The construction case forms are also referred to as internal cases whereas the nominative, accusative, allative, and inessive are referred to as external cases (see Andersen 2002). Andersen defines the difference between the two as follows: the "external" cases encode the relationship of the participants on clause level, distinguished from "internal" cases, which operate within complex noun phrases. "External" case inflections are not marked by linear tools but by root internal change (= zero marked form). Some nouns show no variation in the nominative and accusative form; with them case is neutralized. Syntactically speaking, Dinka is a VAO language but often, due to pragmatics, a topic is placed clause-initially so that the resulting constituent order is presented by Andersen as follows:

Topic Verb_{finite} Subject Object_{prim} Verb_{non-finite} Object_{sec} Adverbial
 (Andersen 2002:6).

In other words, the VAO/VS-order often appears as AVO/SV-order if the subject is topicalized. The language shows many contexts where the topicalized structure is required; all declarative clauses for example prefer AVO constituent order (see 10b–d), whereas in other clauses VAO-order is maintained (see 10e–h). Maybe the frequency of occurrence of topic constructions has led to the hypothesis figuring in the literature that Dinka is a verb-medial language. As in other marked-nominative languages, the nominative encodes S and A, but only in postverbal position (for A see 10g); in preverbal position the accusative is used instead (for A see 10b and for S 10f); the agent

in passive-like constructions is encoded in the nominative as well after the preposition (n)ɛ̃ (see 10i). The possessor appears in the nominative after the preposition ɛ̃ (see 10j). In addition, the accusative is used as the citation form (see 10a); it encodes O (see 10b) whether placed in its default slot after the verb (see 10b) or in topicalized position before the verb (see 10c). It encodes the noun after the preposition nɛ̃ when encoding peripheral participants other than agents (see 10d). Patients in antipassive constructions appear as peripheral participants after the preposition ɛ̃ in the accusative (see 10e); and nominal predicates appear in the accusative as well (see 10h). There are two prepositions which can either take the nominative or the accusative due to the function they express: The preposition ɛ̃, when used in nominal possession, takes the nominative in order for the dependent noun to express the possessor (see 10j); when used as a copula, however, the following element has to occur in the accusative instead (see 10k). The accusative is triggered by the general rule that nominal predicates appear in the morphologically unmarked form, which corresponds to the accusative. The preposition (n)ɛ̃ is used to introduce all kinds of peripheral participants and as a rule the following noun has to appear in the accusative (see 10d). If, however, the preposition is used to introduce an agent in a passive-like clause, the nominative is used instead (see 10i). In chapter 4 it has been argued that Dinka may provide clues on one pathway in which the marked-nominative case may emerge, namely from a structure in which the agent is presented as a peripheral participant. The rule is obeyed since the accusative is morphologically the unmarked member in the case opposition.

Dinka (West Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan)

- (10a) bɔ̃n
chief.ACC
Chief
- (10b) bɔ̃n à-tòoc dɔ̃k. A V O
chief.ACC²⁶ D-send boy.ACC
“The chief is sending the boy.” (Andersen 2002:7)
- (10c) dɔ̃k à-tòoc bɔ̃n. O V A
boy.ACC D-send chief.NOM
“The chief is sending the boy.” (Andersen 2002:7)
- (10d) à-yùup nɛ̃ lɛc. V-AP INST
D-beat.AP PREP stick.ACC
“He is beating with a stick.” (Andersen 2002:8)
- (10e) à-dɛ̃ek ɛ̃ pɛ̃w. V-AP PP (=O)
D-drink.AP PREP water.ACC
“He is drinking water.” (Andersen 2002:9)

²⁶ In order to be consistent, the original glosses have been changed: Oblique (OBL) by Andersen is glossed as NOM for nominative by me. I introduce ACC (accusative) for the unmarked form, which is called absolutive (either glossed as ABS or not glossed) by Andersen.

Table 5.12 Nominative and accusative case functions in Dinka

| Case | Function |
|------|--|
| NOM | (a) Subject (S & A) after the verb (b) Agent in passive-like constructions after PREP (n)è (c) Possessor after the preposition è |
| ACC | (a) Citation form (b) O (all inclusive topicalized) (c) Nominal predication (d) Subject (S & A) before the verb (e) All peripheral participants after PREP (n)è (except agent) (f) Patient in passive-like constructions (g) Patient in antipassive after PREP è (h) Patient (S) of passive |

- (10f) òòk à-tóoc. S V
boy.ACC D-send.PAS
“The boy is being sent.” (Andersen 2002:7)
- (10g) nək mǎryàal tòok. V A O
kill Marial.NOM goat.ACC
“Is Marial killing a goat?” (Andersen 2002:8)
- (10h) mən è bən N.PRED = acc
child.cs1 be chief.ACC
“a child who is (going to be) a chief” (Andersen 2002:15)
- (10i) òòk à-tóoc (n)è bən. S V-PAS Agent
boy.ACC D-send.PAS PREP chief.NOM
“The boy is being sent by the chief.” (Andersen 2002:7)
- (10j) mən è bən
child.cs1 PREP chief.NOM
“the chief’s child” (Andersen 2002:15)
- (10k) mən è bən
child.cs1 be chief.ACC
“a child who is (going to be) a chief” (Andersen 2002:15)

Dinka is a typical type 1 marked-nominative language, with case expressed by tone. The accusative is morphologically and functionally unmarked. A profile of the accusative and the nominative is presented in table 5.12. The prepositions (n)è and è show an interesting behavior in that they do not trigger a fixed case pattern but one which is semantically motivated. This is seen by the fact that agents after (n)è occur in the nominative, but all other participants do not, or by the fact that the patient

in an anti-passive construction is introduced after the preposition *è* in the accusative whereas the possessor triggers the nominative.

To conclude, Dinka constitutes an interesting case as it shows that the rule even holds if the language is not strictly verb-initial, often using a verb-medial order instead.

5.3.1.5 Chai How ubiquitous the rule “no case before the verb” is can be seen from the fact that, even in languages which (at least today) have AVO-order, the rule is obeyed. I will illustrate this with examples from Chai, a Surmic language with a marked-nominative system. Chai has basic AVO constituent order.²⁷ Four cases are distinguished, an unmarked accusative (called absolute by Last & Lucassen 1998), a nominative, derived from the accusative by the suffix *-o*, a genitive, encoded by the suffix *-ín*, and a locative, encoded by the suffix *-ó*.²⁸ Chai also follows the rule. Accordingly, in the basic orders SV and AVO, both core participants occur in the unmarked accusative. In 11a, S (“my children”²⁹) occurs in the accusative in SV-order and in 11b A (“Bume”) occurs in the accusative in AVO-order. After the verb, however, S and A appear in the nominative. In 11c, the same content as in 11b is presented in a different word order, namely OVA-order, where A (“Bume”) occurs in the nominative case. 11b reflects the basic order, 11c the pragmatically marked structure, where the object is topicalized. S in VS-order also appears in the nominative, as in 12a (“I” and “you” in “I know” and “you are ignorant”).³⁰ The constituent order is relatively free; pragmatic structure is more important than syntax. A focus participant is placed immediately after the verb and the topic is placed clause-initially (see 12c). Note that in 12c the topic is presented in a copula clause. As Chai is a pro-drop language, the presence of an independent pronoun is pragmatically marked when used clause-initially as topic or after the verb as focus (see 12b & 12c). In 12b, the relevant information on the question is placed directly after the verb.

Chai (Southeast Surmic, Nilo-Saharan)

- (11a) *érró-á-gàpú ilá:gàsè gó:rè nà rògònó resèò.* S V
 children.ACC-my³¹ be.sick.IPF.3.PL very NAR tomorrow die.IPF.3.PL
 “My children are very sick and tomorrow they will die.”
 (Last & Lucassen 1998:406)

²⁷ Dimmendaal (1998a:59–60) says that Chai is better described as a verb-second language, with the main orders OVA and SV and *VS (but in the data presented by Last & Lucassen 1998 there are counterexamples to the latter).

²⁸ The instrumental suffixes INST and LOC may be interpreted alternatively as postpositions.

²⁹ *érró-á-gàpú* consists of the noun *érró* in the accusative form, the copula *á*, and “my”, the possessor pronoun. (The possessor pronoun shows the number of both possessor and possessee; see Last & Lucassen 1998:396–7.)

³⁰ Note that the authors claim that S is encoded in ACC (ABS) also in VS-order; but their examples suggest something else.

³¹ The element *a* is a copula; see Last & Lucassen 1998:397. “The children are mine” appears in the same structure.

- (11b) bume haŋae ŋakogine. A V O
 Bume.ACC chase.PFV.3.PL.O3.SG Ngakogine.ACC
 "The Bume chased Ngakogine." (Last & Lucassen 1998:408)
- (11c) ŋakogine haŋae bume-o. O V A
 Ngakogine.ACC chase.PFV.3.PL.O3.SG Bume-NOM
 "The Bume chased Ngakogine." (Last & Lucassen 1998:407)
- (12a) kagai aŋ-o: cíê: imàgí íŋ-ó. V S V S
 know.1SG I-NOM but be.ignorant.2SG you-NOM
 "I know, but *you* don't know." (Last & Lucassen 1998:397)
- (12b) òlécàgì kún minà? òlécàgì kún ñàkàldà.
 Olecagi.ACC come.IMV.3.SG when? Olecagi.ACC come.IMV.3.SG today
 "When will Olecagi come? Olecagi will come today."
 (Last & Lucassen 1998:412)
- (12c) ... kó àŋ[è] ándà kótókôn biò ...
 ... and 1.SG.ACC COP.PP bring.IMV.1.SG cattle.ACC
 "... well, I thus led the cows away..." (Last & Lucassen 1998:413)

Note that the authors doubt whether Chai really has a case system. On account of the fact that under certain conditions S and O are treated the same, they wonder whether an ergative pattern could not be at work. Last argues that the ergative hypothesis needs to be reconsidered since not only S and O are treated in the same way when positioned preverbally but also S, O, and A—in other words, we observe once again that case is neutralized when S and A are placed verb-initially.

The authors say that in OVA-order (according to their data), A is also not marked in the nominative case; but this contradicts 12d, where A occurs in the nominative in OVA-order:

- (12d) mòlkóví dónè ájàn màngísí. O V A
 Moskovitch one give.PFV.3.SG.O.1.SG government (< Mengistu)
 "The government had given one Moskovitch (= type of Russian gun) to me."
 (Last & Lucassen 1998:408).

Taking the behavior of the whole linguistic area into consideration, the analysis of Chai as being a case language with a marked-nominative system is supported, first, by the fact that all case languages show the neutralization of case when placed preverbally. Second, there are syntactic rules which obligatorily require certain cases to follow a marked-nominative structure.

5.3.1.6 Baale Baale is another marked-nominative language. The nominative is expressed by a suffix *-jē*; the accusative (called absolutive by Yigezu & Dimmendaal 1998) is morphologically unmarked. Unseth (1986) claims Baale to be verb-medial; Dimmendaal and Yigezu (1998), however, suggest that Baale has a relatively free word order. In this respect, Baale is an exception within Southwest Surmic; other

languages of the group, such as Murle and Didinga, are strictly verb-initial languages. Baale is more likely to be a verb-second language, having the following orders (listed according to frequency):

- (1) AVO & SV(13c, 13b)
- (2) OVA & VS (13i, 13a)
- (3) AOV (13j).

Of the three orders listed, the nominative can only appear in constituent order (2); in all other orders, core participants appear in the accusative. Case, therefore, is highly restricted and used only in pragmatically marked expressions. The SV-order applies also if there is an S COP order (see 13g). S in a copula clause therefore behaves like S in a verbal clause.

As in other marked-nominative languages, the nominal predicate appears in the accusative (see 13h). Participants introduced by verbal derivation, such as dative³² or instrumental, also appear in the accusative (see 13d for the dative suffix *-gē* and 13f for the instrumental suffix *-(y)ē*).

Baale (Southwest Surmic, Nilo-Saharan)

- (13a) ágūr tēerrú-jē. V S
 IMV-drink.3.SG woman-NOM
 "Yesterday/today/tomorrow the woman was/is/ will be drinking."
 (Yigezu & Dimmendaal 1998:304)
- (13b) āndá kādāg-ēē. S V
 1.ACC 1.SG.IMV.eat
 "As for me, I eat/am eating." (Yigezu & Dimmendaal 1998:300)
- (13c) nónō á-āk ṭlā. A V O
 3SG.ACC IMV-cook.3.SG food.ACC
 "She cooks food." (Yigezu & Dimmendaal 1998:306)
- (13d) nónō á-ā-gē éérú ṭlā A V IO O
 3.SG.ACC IMV-cook-DAT child.ACC food.ACC
 "She cooks food for the child." (Yigezu & Dimmendaal 1998:306)
- (13e) á-gṣ lō. V O
 IMV-till.3SG ground.ACC
 "S/he is tilling the ground." (Yigezu & Dimmendaal 1998:306)
- (13f) á-gṣ-yē lō. V O
 IMV-till.3.SG-INST ground.ACC
 "S/he is tilling the ground (with something)."
 (Yigezu & Dimmendaal 1998:306)

³² Dative is not used as a case marker by the authors cited but as a verbal derivation—most like an applicative.

- (13g) (āndá) kénī bāalééjíní. S COP N.PRED
 1.ACC 1.SG.be Baale.ACC
 "I am a Baale." (Dimmendaal 1998a:40)
- (13h) kīginnā bāalé. COP N.PRED
 COP.1.PL Baale.ACC
 "We are Baale." (Yigezu & Dimmendaal 1998:297)
- (13i) āndá á-ūk-ká määgī. O V A
 me 1MV-kill-me hunger.NOM
 "I am hungry." (Dimmendaal 1998a:62)
- (13j) āndá sārā kīmágēē. A O V
 1.ACC name.ACC escaped
 "As for me, I forgot the (your) name." (Dimmendaal 1998a:62)

To summarize, even in a language with relatively free word order and a basic verb-medial order, the rule "no case before the verb" holds, as is the case of Baale. In general, the no case before the verb constraint entails that—compared to verb-initial languages—verb-medial languages have fewer possibilities of distinguishing case. Accordingly, this constraint may lead to a complete loss of case. Conceivably, this happened in Bari, synchronically the only East Nilotic language without a case system and the only East Nilotic language with a strict verb-medial order (see 5.3.3.1).

5.3.1.7 Tennet—a counter example? The South-West Surmic language Tennet has already been introduced in 4.1.1 as a canonical marked-nominative language. With regard to the rule, Tennet offers a more complex situation. The following presentation is based on Randal (1998:219–72).

Clause types which follow the rule

Tennet has a variety of different verbless clauses. The so-called attributive clauses are verbless clauses for non-specific nominal predicates (see 14a–14c). The copula appears clause-initially, followed by S in the nominative, and by the nominal predicate in the accusative (see 14a–14b).

Verbless clauses

- (14a) k-eéní anná mót-tót-t. COP S N.PRED
 1-be 1SG.NOM be.angry-AGNM-SG NOM ACC
 "I am a brave man (not bragging)." (Randal 1998:233)
- (14b) égin tíin-a nkó meélé. COP S ADJ.PRED
 be.PL COW.PL-NOM DEM many.ACC NOM ACC
 "These cattle are many." (Randal 1998:233)

The so-called equational clauses are used when the nominal predicate is specific. The copula appears clause-medially, preceded by the subject *S* in the accusative (see 15a), followed by the nominal predicate in the accusative ("teacher" in 15a and 15b). Alternatively, there is no copula present and the nominals involved are juxtaposed, both in the accusative (see 15b—the answer to the question "Who is the teacher"). According to Schröder (2005), only pronominal subjects appear in the accusative in constructions presented in 15a and 15b; nominal subjects, however, take the nominative as well.

- (15a) anét cí k-ééní deméz-zóh-t. S COP N.PRED
 1SG.ACC AM 1-be teach-AGNM-SG.ACC ACC ACC
 "I'm the teacher." (Randal 1998:234)

- (15b) anét deméz-zóh-t. S N.PRED
 1SG.ACC teach-AGNM-SG.ACC ACC ACC
 "I'm the teacher." (Randal 2000:71³³)

The verbless clauses presented so far follow the "no case before the verb" rule. They appear with different constituent orders.

Some constructions trigger a word-order change. Some of them are in accordance with the rule; others are not. First, I will present the instances which are in accordance with the rule. In complement clauses, the subordinate clause may either occur with VS-order (see 16a) or with SV-order (see 16b). In the former, *S* occurs in the nominative, in the latter in the accusative. There are at least some focus constructions which follow the rule "no case before the verb" (see 16c & 16d). Note that personal nouns are also case-inflected; the nominative of *Lokúli* is *Lokúli-í*. In focus-cleft constructions, the focused participant is placed clause-initially followed by the semantic main clause, presented as a relative clause (16c–d).

- (16a) k-aggá anná á-rúgum atin enné. V S V S
 1-IPV.know 1.SG.NOM IPV-dance FUT 3.SG.NOM
 "I know that he will dance." (Randal 1998:255)

- (16b) k-aggá anná nónnó á-rúgum atin. V S S V
 1-IPV.know 1.SG.NOM 3.SG.ACC IPV-dance FUT
 "I know that he will dance." (Randal 1998:255)

- (16c) Lokúli cí á-rúh Lohâm. A V O
 Lokuli.ACC AM IPV-beat Loham.ACC
 "It is Lokuli who is beating Loham." (Randal 1998:261)

- (16d) Lokúli néné cí á-rúh Lohâm. A V O
 Lokuli.ACC the.one.ACC AM IPV-beat Loham.ACC
 "Lokuli is the one who is beating Loham." (Randal 1998:262)

³³ Spelling and glosses have been homogenized; they are slightly different in Randal 2000 and Randal 1998.

Clause types which contradict the rule

(i) Verbless clauses

There are, however, also clause types which contradict the rule "no case before the verb". Among them are some verbless clause types.

- (17c)³⁴ égin tíin-a ñkó meélê. COP S ADJ.PRED
 be.PL COW.PL-NOM DEM many.ACC NOM ACC
 "These cattle are many." (Randal 1998:233)

- (17d) meélê tíin-a ñkó. ADJ.PRED S
 many COW-PL-NOM DEM PRED NOM
 "These cattle are many." (Randal 1998:233)

- (17e) tiin cí-k múún-ik ñkó. S.ACC ADJ
 COW.PL.ACC AM-PL tan-mod.PL.ADJ DEM ACC PRED
 "These are the tan cows." (Randal 1998:234)

- (17f) múún-ê tíin-a ñkó. ADJ S
 tan-PL.ADJ COW.PL-NOM DEM PRED NOM
 "These cows are tan-colored." (Randal 1998:234)

17d is a variant of 17c, presented earlier. 17d is a counterexample to the rule, if, as indicated by Randal, it is an instance of a copulaless construction in which both elements are of a nominal nature. In this case, both should occur in the accusative (see 15b). Yet, if the adjectival element should be interpreted as a predicate, 17d would be no counterexample to the rule. In the latter interpretation, the structure would behave like a V-S structure of verbal clauses, with S appearing in the nominative. There are examples of adjectives which serve as predicates (see 17f). The correspondences between 17d and 17f are obvious: In both clauses, the adjective occurs first, followed by S in the nominative. 17f is the corresponding copulaless construction of 17e. In 17e, the adjective serves as a nominal predicate, is placed clause-finally, and S occurs clause-initially in the accusative followed by the associative marker.³⁵

The behavior of adjectives is complex; they show nominal behavior, like their ability to be case-inflected or to take plural agreement (see table 5.13), and they show verbal behavior, as the ability to serve as predicates may have shown. Adjectives have a more complex case behavior than nouns. They have an extra form when used as predicates which is different from their accusative form. Case on adjectives is only expressed by tone. Table 5.13 presents the case forms of the adjective "bad" in Tennet.

³⁴ First presented as 21c, repeated here for convenience.

³⁵ The associative marker (AM) has a wide range of functions. It introduces relative clauses, stands before verbs expressing qualities, such as verbs with an adjectival semantics, and is used in one type of nominal possession. Randal suggests that the main function of the AM is to connect a nominal participant and a clausal one, which always has a verbal core (Randal 1998:241).

Table 5.13 Case forms of the adjective “bad” in Tennet

| | Singular | Plural |
|-------------------------|----------|--------|
| Predicate ³⁶ | gerza | gerzé |
| Modifier (accusative) | gérzé | gérzék |
| Modifier (nominative) | gerzé | gerzék |

Source Randal 1998:233.

An additional verbal behavior can be seen in their inability to modify a noun directly but requiring an associative marker in between (see 18). In this respect, they contrast with other modifiers which can modify the noun directly, like numerals and demonstratives (Randal 1998:225).

- (18) *tɪn cí-k mári-k*
 COW-PL AM-PL red-PL
 “red cows” (Randal 1998: 225)

The overall behavior of adjectives leads to the conclusion that they undoubtedly share features with nouns and verbs.

(ii) Negation

There are certain constructions where the basic word order changes. Among these are negative and focus constructions. According to Randal, both constructions are counterexamples to my rule, as S or A occur in the nominative. A closer look may give a more detailed picture. In negative clauses, word order changes from VAO to A V O. A before the verb is still encoded in the nominative case (see 19b & 19d). For the negation of the perfective clauses with *ngén*, it is likely that the synchronically new word order NEG A V O goes back historically to a VAVO-order, as the NEG particle appears to be historically a verb. Traces of the negative marker being a verb can still be seen in the fact that the main verb of the negative clause appears in the subjunctive form. Accordingly, Randal concludes: “It is possible that historically the negative marker was a verb, since when the main verb is negated it appears in the subjunctive form” (Randal 1998:248). As the subjunctive form normally cannot encode the main verb, this must be seen as a relic of an older VAVO-order. Considering the original order, the case behavior is in accordance with the rule: A occurs in the nominative because it follows the erstwhile verb in VA-order. According to Heine and Reh (1984:185–6) a strikingly similar situation is found in the East Nilotic language Teso, where the basic order VAO (20a) is replaced by AVO in negative clauses (20b), as a result of the grammaticalization of the verb *-mam* “not to exist” to a sentence-initial

³⁶ This reminds us of the oblique case form in Ik (see chapter 2); at least for adjectives, it might be that the accusative is not the most basic form—but there is yet another form. It would be interesting to know which of the three is the basic form.

negation marker *mam*. The AVO-order (see 20e) is a reinterpretation of the original V complement VO-structure (see 20c).

- (19a) k-á-cín-í anná Lokúli íyókó nékô. V A O
1-IPF-see-1.SG 1.SG.NOM Lukuli.ACC now DEM
"I see Lokuli now." (Randal 1998:248)
- (19b) iróng anná k-á-cín-í Lokúli íyókó nékô. NEG A V O
not 1.SG.NOM 1-IMPV-see-1.SG Lukuli.ACC now DEM
"I don't see Lokuli now." (Randal 1998:248)
- (19c) kí-cín-a anná Lokúli balwáz.
1-PFV-see-1.SG 1.SG.NOM Lokuli.ACC yesterday
"I saw Lokuli yesterday." (Randal 1998:248)
- (19d) nganní anná k-í-cín Lokúli balwáz. NEG A V O (>*V A V O)
not 1.SG.NOM 1-SBJ-see Lokuli.ACC yesterday
"I didn't see Lokuli yesterday." (Randal 1998:248)
- Teso (East Nilotic; Nilo-Saharan)
- (20a) ekoto petero ekiŋok.
wants Peter dog
"Peter wants a dog." (Heine & Reh 1984:185–6)
- (20b) mam petero ekoto ekiŋok.
NEG Peter wants dog
"Peter doesn't want a dog." (Heine & Reh 1984:185–6)
- (20c) *³⁷e- mam petero ekoto ekiŋok.
3- not:be Peter wants dog
"It is not Peter (who) wants a dog." (Heine & Reh 1984:185–6)
- (20d) *Verb + complement + verb + object (O)
- (20e) NEG + subject (A) + verb + object (O)

(iii) In some focus constructions, the constituent order may change to SV but S is still encoded in the nominative. As has been shown above, there are focus constructions which are in line with the rule but there are also others which are not. In fact, focus constructions could be real counterexamples, as S occurs in the nominative when placed before the verb (see 21a). It would be of interest what the status is of the first element in the clause *íjja zm* in 21a, that is, whether it can be traced back to a verb, as I suspect. In this case, even this example would not be a counterexample.

- (21a) íjja zm wála-í í-kíya. S.NOM V
and then crow-NOM IPF-come
"And then Crow came." (Randal 1998:261)

³⁷ The asterisk stands for historical reconstruction.

The focus type presented in 21b would only be in line with the rule if the syntactic structure is seen as a relic of the source structure and synchronically has been reinterpreted as one copula clause. The basic construction of 21b is a main clause followed by a relative clause, translatable as "It is Lokul who is the teacher". That there is relative clause structure is suggested by the presence of the associative marker. Due to semantic pressure, this structure could have been reinterpreted as a simple main clause with a COP S N.PRED-order, with the first copula being the predicate of the clause and Lokuli being a following subject. Then the case marking would be in accordance with the rule. Reinterpretations of this kind are common in other languages, as will be argued in 5.3.4.

- (21b) míng één Lokúlí-í cí één deméz-zóh-t. S.NOM COP N.PRED
 but be Lokuli-NOM AM be teach-AGNM-SG NOM ACC
 "But it's Lokuli who is the teacher." (Randal 1998:262)

To conclude, Tennet behaves to some extent in accordance with the rule, but there are also instances which contradict this rule. Some of them can be explained when the historical basis of the constructions is considered, in particular that of negation clauses. With others, a historical scenario is less compelling as there is not enough information on the nature of the elements involved. This concerns the focus constructions in particular. Nevertheless, there are clear instances of clause types which follow the rule, such as complement clauses, some focus constructions, and some verbless clauses—suggesting that instances of clause types which are in accordance with the rule might be remnants of a past situation and instances which contradict are suggestive of a later development of the language. In Tennet, one might expect a drift towards verb-medial order without loss of the case system (unlike the development I hypothesize to have happened in Bari).

5.3.1.8 Tima The split-ergative language Tima (possibly Kordofanian) might be another counterexample to the rule. Usually the ergative case only appears postverbally (see 22a), but Dimmendaal (forthc.) also mentions clauses where the ergative appears preverbally with A (see 22b). The language has not yet been studied well enough to make final statements about this (see 3.2).

- (22a) yáḃùh-é yálùk ṇlḥúnèn.
 meat-FOC eat.PL ERG.women
 "The women are eating *meat*." (Dimmendaal forthc.: 16, (62))

- (22b) ṇ-iyémé ú-kùḏú-í.
 ERG-who REL-catch-Q
 "Who caught it?" (Dimmendaal forthc. 17, (66))³⁸

³⁸ For convenience, examples 22a and 22b first presented in 3.3 as 64a and 64h are repeated here.

5.3.2 Genetic distribution

As can be seen in Appendix II and map 5.5, the rule applies in a wide range of languages, including marked-nominative systems such as Turkana, and ergative systems such as Shilluk. Accusative systems are excluded as the only possible candidate, Ik, shows an irregular behavior; I will return to this language in section 5.3.3.2.8. The rule is also not restricted to one constituent order: It applies to basic verb-initial languages like Turkana, and to verb-medial languages like Pāri or Baale. The only constituent order which is excluded, for obvious reasons, is verb-final. Accordingly, all Cushitic and Omotic languages in Appendix II which have a marked-nominative system cannot show this split condition—if they did they would not be case languages. Nor is the rule restricted to any of the means by which case is expressed. It affects case systems expressed by tone, such as Turkana and Maa, as well as case systems expressed by suffixes, such as Pāri or Chai. The rule also applies across genetic boundaries, applying to Nilo-Saharan languages of the Surmic, East and South Nilotic branches and to some West Nilotic languages, as well as to Afroasiatic, in particular to Berber.

In the western Bantu languages spoken in Angola, Namibia, and Botswana, which are all verb-medial languages, the situation is complex. As has been argued for example for Umbundu, the accusative is restricted to the occurrence after the verb only; in preverbal position the nominative has to be used (see 5.1.1.1). If the accusative is the basic form and the nominative is the derived form, as Blanchon argues (1998), then the western Bantu languages differ significantly from the ones mentioned here, in that in Umbundu it is not the caseless form which occurs preverbally but the case-inflected form, the nominative. As the Bantu situation is in need of more investigation, I will not consider it further here. Ignoring Bantu, the rule is clearly suggestive of an areal phenomenon of East Africa.

5.3.3 Towards a historical explanation

The question then arises: Why have case languages in East Africa developed the split condition “no case before the verb”? The following observation may provide a clue. As will be shown below, in many languages where the rule applies, the preverbal position expresses pragmatic functions such as focus and/or topic. Most of these languages have verb-initial order, but there is one noteworthy exception, namely Bari.

5.3.3.1 Bari Bari is in fact exceptional among the East Nilotic languages: First, the basic constituent order is not verb-initial but verb-medial; and second, Bari has no case: Neither nouns nor free pronouns show any case distinction (see Spagnolo 1933:55, 80). The personal pronouns for first and second person appear the same irrespective of whether they are used for A or O (see 23c & 23d). The constituent order is relatively rigid (see 23a with AVO, 23b with SV).

Bari (East Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan)

- (23a) *ɲurɔ amet kine'*. A V O
 child see sheep
 "The child saw the sheep." (Spagnolo 1933:55)
- (23b) *nan tutu i kadi*. S V
 I go PREP house
 "I go to the house." (Spagnolo 1933:57)
- (23c) *nan amet do*.
 I see you
 "I saw you." (Spagnolo 1933:80)
- (23d) *do amet nan*.
 you see I
 "You saw me." (Spagnolo 1933:80)

As Bari has no case, the rule cannot apply. Historically, however, the two exceptional features mentioned above may be relevant for the historical development of the language. Suppose Bari once had a case distinction as all other East Nilotic languages do. Suppose further that in Bari, as in all other East Nilotic languages (and even beyond), the rule applied, the caseless situation of Bari today could be the result of a word-order change. With the transition from VS/AO to S/AVO, no contexts were left where the derived nominative form could appear. In this way, the former nominative/accusative distinction could have been reduced to accusative. All nouns appeared in one form only, and that was the accusative. Therefore, even in a language such as Bari where today case is no longer present, the rule might have been of influence in the development of the language. The limited information on Bari does not allow for any solid reconstruction of the word-order change.

Table 5.14 provides a scenario of what might have led to the loss of case in Bari: At stage I, Proto-East Nilotic had a marked-nominative system. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that, first, all East Nilotic languages have a marked-nominative system expressed by tone except Bari and, second, as there are also marked-nominative systems in South Nilotic and to some extent also in West Nilotic, case may have been present before Proto-East Nilotic. With regard to word order, it is most likely that Proto-East Nilotic had verb-initial order, as, again, within East Nilotic all languages are verb-initial except Bari, and, second, South Nilotic languages are also verb-initial. Due to topic or focus-cleft constructions, a second, pragmatically marked word order appeared with preceding focused or topicalized participants. Topicalized participants were placed clause-initially followed by the main clause in the structure: "As for X, (X) did Y" with X being topicalized. This construction is also referred to as anti-cleft or topic-cleft by Harris and Campbell (1995:165³⁹), where the topicalized participant

³⁹ "The peculiarity of the structure [...], which we term an anti-cleft, is that, unlike focus-clefts familiar from many languages, the subordinate clause, rather than the matrix, contains the copula and

Table 5.14 A three-stage scenario of case loss in Bari

| Stage | I | II | III |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|--|--|
| <i>Constituent order</i> | VS/AO = basic constituent order | S/AVO = pragmatically marked order expressing topic or focus | S/AVO = basic order |
| <i>Case</i> | MNOM with ACC/NOM | Only ACC because of "no case before the verb" | ACC the only remaining case form = no case |
| <i>Language</i> | Proto-East Nilotic | Teso, Turkana, Maa | Bari |

is presented in a copula clause or as an appositive pre-thought. In many languages, focused participants are presented in the form of a cleft construction. The focused participant is presented in a copula clause, and an adjacent relative clause semantically presents the main clause. The structure can be paraphrased as "It is X who did Y" with X being focused, referred to as focus-cleft by Harris and Campbell (1995:56 & 166). As in marked-nominative systems the nominal predicate of a copula clause is encoded in the morphologically unmarked case, that is, the accusative (see chapter 4); the case of the preceding participant is the same as that of the nominal predicate, namely the accusative. Evidence for this stage is found for example in Maa, Turkana, or to a certain degree also in Teso. In this way, not only did a different word order appear but word-order change was accompanied by a different case behavior, namely that of "no case before the verb". The complex construction consisting of a copula clause plus a relative clause, or a copula clause plus the semantic main clause, was reinterpreted as one main clause. Traces of the earlier construction are still found in the case behavior.

At stage II, the verb-medial order was still pragmatically marked. At stage III, a reinterpretation took place. The former pragmatically marked structure became the basic word order. A side effect of this reinterpretation was the loss of case since there were no contexts left for the nominative to occur. The accusative became the only remaining case form; being morphologically unmarked and no longer being used in opposition to another case form, no case distinction was left.

The scenario presented above, which relates to focus marking, is based on findings in a number of African languages, perhaps most notably in the East Cushitic languages Somali and Rendille. And a similar strategy of frontshifting the pragmatically marked participant to the clause-initial position is employed for topic (or theme) marking. The hypothesis that the verb-medial order is triggered by pragmatic constructions such as focus or topic can be substantiated by the following data.

Outside Africa, there are languages where a word-order change has also been the result of a former focus construction, Breton providing an example. Unlike the other Celtic languages, Breton today mostly shows AVO-order (see 24a), whereas all other

the topicalized element. Correspondingly, the empty position occurs in the matrix clause, rather than the subordinate" (Harris & Campbell 1995:165).

Celtic languages are verb-initial (see 24b). According to Heine and Kuteva (2005) the change in constituent order was the result of the following process:

[The AVO-order in Breton] is the result of a pragmatic process whereby a focus construction, having the structure of a (bi-clausal) cleft construction, is grammaticalized to a new (mono-clausal) syntactic pattern where the (focalized) subject is placed sentence-initially (see Harris & Campbell 1995: 155–7; Ternes 1999 for details). Thus, a sentence of the form [24b] is diachronically derived from a cleft construction of the type [24c].

(Heine & Kuteva 2005)

Welsh (Celtic)

- (24a) Mae 'r tywydd yn braf.
is the weather AP nice
“The weather is nice.” (Ternes 1999:238)

Breton (Celtic)

- (24b) An amzer a zo brav.
the weather that is nice⁴⁰
“The weather is nice.” (Ternes 1999:238)
- (24c) [It is X [that Y]], where [It is X] = copular matrix clause, and [that Y] = relative clause. (Heine & Kuteva 2005)

5.3.3.2 Topic or focus In the following section, in general languages will be discussed where the rule applies and where the preverbal position is used for topic or focus. In addition, languages will be presented where the rule does not apply but which nevertheless support the hypothesis presented above.

5.3.3.2.1 Turkana In Turkana, preposed participants are, according to Dimmendaal, topicalized or focused. In 25a, A is topicalized and, in 25b, O is topicalized, both occurring in the accusative.

Turkana (East Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan)

- (25a) è-kile lo' pe-è-à-yen-i ŋa-kīrō ŋuna', k-īdar'. A V O
man.ACC this not-3-PA-know-A matters.ACC those 3-wait
“This man, not knowing about these problems, waited ...”
(Dimmendaal 1983a:408)
- (25b) ε-maànik ŋol' kī-gelēm-i. O V A
bull.ACC that we-castrate-A
“That bull we castrated.” (Dimmendaal 1983a:408)

The development proposed here is corroborated by work dealing with syntactic changes from a general historical perspective (see Harris & Campbell 1995).

⁴⁰ Ternes (1999:238) describes the particle *a* as a “verbal particle” (VP). Heine and Kuteva 2005 follow Harris and Campbell (1995:155–6) in glossing it as a relative clause marker.

5.3.3.2.2 *Toposa* In Toposa the rule also holds. The preverbal position is used for pragmatic functions such as focus. The focused participant is placed clause-initially, appearing in the accusative regardless of whether S, A (see 26a), or O (see 26b) are involved. For a historical interpretation of the focus clause it may be interesting that the focused participant appears in the form used before a pause (see 4.1.3). The pause most likely is a trace of the original structure from which the focus clause developed. Obviously, the focused participant was not always a part of the main clause but was a preposed pre-thought instead.

Toposa (East Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan)

- (26a) nya-kuj^u e-yen-i daanⁱ na pa ny-a-yen-i ayon.
 F.PL-God/ACC 3.SG-know-IMV all.ACC which not NEG-1.SG-know-IMV I.NOM
 “God [alone] knows everything that I don’t know.” (Schröder 2002:88)
- (26b) ŋuna daani e-rwor-o nye-tau a-rija a-ya-i kidiama.
 these all.ACC 3.SG-speak-RFL M/SG-heart.NOM 1.SG-be.still 1.SG-be-SG up/above
 “My heart spoke **all that** while I was still up in the air.” (Schröder 2002:88)

5.3.3.2.3 *Nandi* The South Nilotic Kalenjin dialect Nandi has a canonical marked-nominative system of type 1, expressed by tone in the basic constituent order VAO/VS (Creider & Creider 1989). The accusative is morphologically unmarked; the nominative is derived from the accusative (Creider & Creider call the nominative the subject-case and the accusative the object-case). The accusative marks O (see 27a), IO (27a), and the nominal predicate either after the copula *kó* (see 27e) or in copulaless clauses (see 27f), while the nominative marks S and A after the verb (27a). Word order can be changed in topicalized constructions, where the topicalized participant occurs preverbally always in the morphologically unmarked form, namely the accusative (see 27b for S, 27c for A, and 27d for O being topicalized). The topic participant is followed by the topic marker *kó*. Note that there is also an element *kò* serving as a copula; whether the two elements, topic marker and copula, are the same does not become clear from the evidence available (compare 27e with 27b–27d). There are no remnants of a former relative clause; there is no relative clause marker. At least the case of the topicalized participant matches the case used for the nominal predicate in copula constructions: Both occur in the accusative.

Nandi (Kalenjin, South Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan)

- (27a) kí-ka:c-i kipe:t la:kwé:t ce:kà. V A IO O
 PAST-give-cut Kibet.NOM child.ACC milk.ACC⁴¹
 “Kibet gave the child milk.” (Creider & Creider 1989:124)
- (27b) ce:pyó:sé:t kó rúey. S V
 woman.ACC TOP sleep
 “The woman is sleeping.” (Creider & Creider 1989:125)

⁴¹ The glosses are added by the present author.

- (27c) kipe:t kó kê:rɛy la:kwé:t. A V O
 Kibet.ACC TOP look child.ACC
 "Kibet is looking at the child." (Creider & Creider 1989:125)
- (27d) la:kwé:t kó kê:rɛy kipe:t. O V A
 child.ACC TOP look Kibet.NOM
 "Kibet is looking at the child." (Creider & Creider 1989:125)
- (27e) kipe:t kò la:kwét. S PRED.N
 Kibet.ACC COP child.ACC
 "Kibet is a child." (Creider & Creider 1989:125)
- (27f) ná:nti:intèt kipe:t. PRED.N S
 Nandi.ACC⁴² Kibet.NOM
 "Kibet is a Nandi." (Creider & Creider 1989:121)

5.3.3.2.4 *Datooga* In Datooga, another South Nilotic canonical marked-nominative language, the preverbal position is used for topic: The topicalized participant occurs clause-initially in the accusative, which is the morphologically unmarked form (see 28b, compared to 28a, the non-topicalized variant where A occurs in the nominative instead). The case marking of the topicalized participant corresponds to the case used for nominal predicates (see chapter 4).

Datooga (South Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan)

- (28a) gàjáanùwâa háadígà jèedá húlándápàwà. V S LOC
 must.go men.NOM in men's tent.ACC
 "The men must have gone into the men's tent." (Kießling 2001:17)
- (28b) háadígà gàjáanùwâa jèedá húlándápàwà. S V LOC
 men.ACC must.go in men's tent.ACC
 "As for the men, they must have gone into the men's tent." (Kießling 2001:17)

5.3.3.2.5 *Berber* The Berber languages are verb-initial. Their behavior with regard to case is quite complex, as has been shown in chapter 4. All Berber languages with case inflexions are marked-nominative languages and follow the rule "no case before the verb". The nominative encodes only non-topicalized subjects, S and A, placed after the verb (see 29a), whereas the accusative encodes topicalized subjects, S and A, placed preverbally (see 29b and 29c).

Kabyle (North Berber, Afroasiatic)

- (29a)⁴³ inya wərgaz aqʃif.
 3.SG.M.PERF.kill man+NOM boy+ACC
 "A man killed a boy." (Aikhenvald 1995:45)

⁴² Creider and Creider call the accusative case form the oblique (see for example Creider & Creider 1989:41, 57)

⁴³ The examples 29a–29c were originally presented in chapter 4 as 47–49; they are repeated for convenience of the reader.

- (29b) aqfiʃ inya argaz.
 boy+ACC 3SG.M.PERF.kill man+ACC
 "A boy, (he) killed a man." (Aikhenvald 1995:45)

- (29c) aqfiʃ inya-t wərgaz.
 boy+ACC 3.SG.M.PERF.kill-3-SG.M.O man+NOM
 "A boy, a man killed him." (Aikhenvald 1995:45)

5.3.3.2.6 *Maa* In *Maa*, the clause-initial position is used for focus participants. In the focus construction, the relative clause is still visible in the presence of a relative clause marker (see 30).

- (30) en-tító na-dól ninyé.
 F.SG-girl.ACC REL.F.SG-see 3.SG.ACC
 "It is the girl who sees him." (Tucker & Mpaayei 1955)

5.3.3.2.7 *Tennet* As has been shown in section 5.3.1.6, the preverbal position is used for focus in *Tennet*. Some of the focus constructions which are in accordance with the rule "no case before the verb" still bear witness to a relative clause expressed by the associative marker (AM)⁴⁴ (see 31a and 16d above). The case used with the focus participant corresponds to the case of the nominal predicate: Both appear in the accusative (see chapter 4, example 3). The first part of 31a (*Lokili néné*) is identical with a copulaless clause meaning "Lokuli is the one".

- (31a)⁴⁵ Lokúli néné cí á-rúh Lohâm. A V O
 Lokuli.ACC the.one.ACC AM IPF-beat Loham.ACC
 "Lokuli is the one who is beating Loham." (Randal 1998:262).

Even some of the counterexamples support the hypothesis that the rule is the result of the pragmatic functions topic or focus. As has been shown above, some negation constructions in *Tennet* do not follow the rule: The preverbal subject occurs in the nominative rather than the accusative (see 31b). At first sight, this is an example which contradicts the rule. However, looking at it from a historical point of view and considering the source construction, it is the expected situation. As the preverbal position of the subject in these negative constructions is not triggered by the copula clause, and the negated subject does not go back to a nominal predicate, consequently it cannot show any change in case. Instead, it is more likely that the negation construction goes back to a VS VS-structure, since the negation marker itself is of verbal origin, as has been argued above. Therefore, the subject is in accordance with its source structure: It still shows the case of the formally postposed position, namely the nominative.

⁴⁴ For the range of functions expressed by the associative marker, see footnote in section 5.3.1.6 above.

⁴⁵ For convenience, 16c is repeated as 31a.

- (31b)⁴⁶ nganní anná k-i-cín Lokúli balwáz. NEG A V O (*V A V O)
 not 1.SG.NOM 1-SBJ-see 1.SG Lokuli yesterday
 “I didn’t see Lokuli yesterday.” (Randal 1998:248)

It goes without saying that in Tennessean there are counterexamples which lack a convincing explanation and which therefore do not support the hypothesis. More research is required on these examples.

5.3.3.2.8 *Ik* As illustrated in section 2.8, the Kuliak language *Ik* with its basic verb-initial order (see 32a & 32b) shows a split accusative system with many irregularities, and it does not follow the rule. We saw in section 2.8 that *Ik* is a type 2 accusative language, meaning that both the accusative and the nominative are morphologically derived. In addition, the language uses the underived form of the noun in certain contexts; I have referred to the latter form as oblique case. Yet, the oblique never occurs before the verb. Therefore, strictly speaking, *Ik* can be considered a counterexample. Nevertheless, the language does show some changes in case behavior once participants are placed preverbally. The trigger for the case changes are to some extent the same as in the languages which are in line with the rule. It is therefore worth taking a closer look at *Ik*. In preverbal position, the following cases are found depending on the clause type concerned: First, the copulative, second the nominative, and third the accusative. The copulative occurs in focus constructions, the nominative in topic constructions, and the accusative in various other clause types.

(i) Focus

If a participant is focused, it occurs preverbally in the copulative case (see 32c). If the focused participant is not the subject, S or A, the subject obligatorily occurs preverbally as well in the accusative (see 32d). The copulative is a case marker which serves a wide range of functions, such as copula, focus, or encoding peripheral participants such as time (see section 2.8 under copula clause). As in other languages following the rule, the focus construction goes back to a structure of a preceding copula clause followed by a relative clause which contains the main semantic information. Traces of the old structure are still present in *Ik*: The copula case that encodes focus has its origin in its basic function, namely the copulative function. As 32e illustrates, even today each noun can suffix the copulative case, resulting in a complete expression meaning “It is X”. Therefore, the first participant in 32c and 32d still could mean respectively “It is me” and “It is the children”. The former relative clause has also left some traces: The encoding of S and A, if not focused themselves, corresponds to the encoding of S and A in relative clauses, that is, S and A occur preverbally in the accusative (compare 32d to 32f). There is a slight difference between the remnant of the relative clause found in focus constructions and the relative clause: Whereas in relative clauses O can optionally also appear preverbally in the accusative (see 32g), this is not possible in focus constructions.

⁴⁶ Presented already as 19d.

In sum, the case behavior of preverbal participants in focus constructions reflects its original structure in a cleft construction: The original structure consists of a copula clause followed by a relative clause. Both features are the same in languages where the rule applies. Now, why does Ik not follow the rule? This is due to the fact that in Ik nominal predicates and relative clauses trigger different case markings than in the other languages which obey the rule, since in Ik the nominal predicate does not appear in the morphologically unmarked form, the oblique. Furthermore, since the relative clause triggers such an unusual word-order change accompanied by case change, the outcome is different from that in other languages. And it is possible to go even one step further: Even though Ik is an exception to the rule, its focus construction supports the hypothesis presented above about the origin of the rule.

(ii) Topic

In topic clauses the topicalized participant is positioned preverbally in the nominative case (see 32h for O), irrespective of S, A, or O. The case of the topicalized participant, similar to the focus construction, is most likely triggered by a copula clause. In addition to the copulative already mentioned, Ik has several copulas which each has its own fossilized case pattern. There is one copula, *i-on*, which takes the nominal predicate in the nominative (see 32j). It is most likely that the case of the topicalized participant has its origin in this copula construction. Literally, the topic clause would have the structure: "There is X, X did" (if the subject is topicalized) or "There is X, Y did to X" (if the object is topicalized).

(iii) Clause types which obligatorily take S and A preverbally in the accusative

As mentioned before, S and A are placed preverbally in the accusative in relative clauses, copulative clauses and some other clauses, for example after the conjunction *na*, where the verb is constructed in the subjunctive (see chapter 2). It remains unclear what structure might have triggered the occurrence of the accusative in preverbal position. This is a counterexample where no explanation can be given. As has been shown in section 2.8, Ik shows many irregularities with regard to the encoding of core participants, not only when placed before the verb but also when placed after the verb. Some of them remain unexplained, like the present one. Unlike the clause types presented under (i) and (ii), those in (iii) no longer involve any pragmatic markedness; they are obligatory structures which most likely present fossilized structures.

Ik (Kuliak)⁴⁷

(32a) en-ugot-á ím-a nyárama-k^a.

see-AND-a child-NOM girl-ACC

"The child sees the girl."

(32b) gó-i-a aka ník^a.

go-1.SG-a PER I-NOM

"I've gone."

⁴⁷ The examples presented here have been mentioned already in chapter 2; they are repeated for convenience.

- (32c) nci-ó en-és-ugot-í-a bí-k^a.
I-COP see-IRR-AND-1.SG-A you-ACC
‘‘It’s me (who) will see you.’’
- (32d) wic-ó na bí-a en-ugo-íd-a.
children-COP ENC you-ACC see-AND-2.SG-a
‘‘It’s the children you see.’’
- (32e) saba-k^o
river-COP
‘‘It’s a river.’’
- (32f) cek-a ná nci-a en-ugot-í-á ntsí wice-k^a
woman-NOM REL.SG I-ACC see-AND-1.SG-a she.OBL children-ACC
bíra-a neé na.
be.not-a here.DAT DEM
‘‘The woman whose children I saw is not here.’’
- (32g) cek-a ná ntsí wíce-á en-ugot-í bíra-a
woman-NOM REL.SG she.OBL children-ACC see-AND-1.SG be.not-a
neé na.
here.DAT DEM
‘‘The woman whose children I saw is not here.’’
- (32h) wík-a níc-i en-í-a ník-a nák^a.
children-NOM I-GEN see-1.SG-a I-NOM ENC
‘‘My children, I see (them).’’
- (32i) ntsa-á jur-í-á nak^a.
he-NOM break-1.SG-a ENC
‘‘Him, I cut [the hair]. (Lit.: He, I broke.)’’
- (32j) i-a dakw-a.
be-a tree-NOM
‘‘There is a tree.’’

Even if Ik does not follow the rule, two of the three clause types being involved with preverbal participants nevertheless support the hypothesis about the origin of the rule. This is due to the fact that the source constructions are similar but the cases used in these constructions are different and, consequently, so is the outcome. Unfortunately, Ik is the only verb-initial accusative case language so far discovered in Africa; there are no verb-medial accusative languages, all the remaining ones being verb-final; therefore it remains unclear whether the behavior of Ik is of a more general nature within accusative languages. As Ik also shows irregularities in other respects with regard to its case behavior, more than are found in other accusative languages, it is most likely that these irregularities are not of a general nature.

5.3.3.2.9 *Dhaasanac* As we saw in chapter 4, Dhaasanac is a verb-final language with a canonical marked-nominative system of type 1. Pragmatic structures such as topic

and focus do not trigger any word-order change, unlike in the languages discussed above; still, there is a change in their case behavior: Topic and focus participants occur in the accusative, irrespective of where they occur. In 33a, the subject is topicalized: It occurs in the accusative and not the nominative, which would be required for a non-topicalized S (see section 4.1.6). Similarly, the subject in 33b is focused and also occurs in the accusative and not in the nominative, which would be the case required for unfocused participants. Focus is even more grammaticalized than topic. Topic is marked by case change only, focus by case change plus the focus marker *ru*. As in the marked-nominative languages presented earlier, the accusative serves as the case to encode nominal predicates in copula clauses in Dhaasanac as well (see section 4.1.4).

Dhaasanac (East Cushitic, Afroasiatic)

(33a) *múor hé kufi. S V*

leopard.ACC 3.NOM die.PER.A

‘‘The leopard died; as to the leopard, it died.’’ (Tosco 2001:95)

(33b) *múor=ru kufi. S V*

leopard.ACC=FOC die.PER.A

‘‘The leopard died. (Answer to the question: Who died?)’’ (Tosco 2001:95)

Dhaasanac supports the hypothesis on the rise of the ‘‘no case before the verb’’ rule since it is an example of a marked-nominative language where focused and topicalized participants have to occur in the accusative. This is a clear parallel between ‘‘no case before the verb’’ languages and Dhaasanac: It illustrates that the case shift proposed for the ‘‘no case before the verb’’ languages really can be triggered by pragmatic functions like topic and focus. Dhaasanac is not the only Cushitic language where pragmatic functions trigger a different case for subjects (S and A): Sasse (1984:113) claims for Cushitic that focused subjects occur in the accusative (called absolute by Sasse) and not in the nominative (called subject case by Sasse) as they do elsewhere. The same holds for Somali: The subject of focus constructions occurs in the case otherwise used for nominal predicates. Harris and Campbell see this irregular case behavior as an instance of ‘‘little actualization’’, meaning the subject has not yet adopted the case otherwise used with subjects in the language (see Harris & Campbell 1995:167–8).

5.3.3.2.10 Berta The Nilo-Saharan isolate, Berta, is a canonical marked-nominative language of type 1, with case being expressed by tone. Berta follows the rule ‘‘no case before the verb’’—all preverbal participants occur in the unmarked accusative, unless when being modified, in which case the construct case is used instead. Andersen states that the preverbal position in Berta is used for topic only. Berta has the following basic constituent order: Topic Verb Subject Object Adverbial (Andersen 1995:44). Berta allows the topicalization of all participants; the topicalized participant always occurs clause-initially in the accusative, illustrated by 34a through 34c, which are variants of

the clause “The child hit the man with a boomerang” with a topicalized subject in 34a, a topicalized object in 34b, and a topicalized instrument in 34c.

| | Topic ACC | Verb | Subject NOM | Object ACC | Adverbial |
|-------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| (34a) | gàdì child.ACC | fij-óo hit-PAST | | màabà person.ACC | tá báŋ with boomerang |
| (34b) | màabà person.ACC | fij-óo hit-PAST | gàdì child.ACC | | tá báŋ with boomerang |
| (34c) | báŋ boomerang.ACC | fij-óo hit-PAST | gàdì child.NOM | màabà person.ACC | táŋ with.it |

“The child hit the man with a boomerang.” (Andersen 1995:44)

For Andersen, the preverbal position does not have any grammatical relation to the verb. He sees a proof for his hypothesis in clauses like 34d, which literally means “As to this fish, the meat is good”.

- (34d) jàgùt-á- lé òìŋ-i ʔúʔùuŋ.
 fish-CC- this be.good-PRES meat.NOM
 “This fish tastes good.” (Andersen 1995:43)

He therefore concludes:

Given these facts, the preverbal NP of any clause is best considered a constituent that does not *per se* bear any grammatical relation to the verb. This NP, which is an obligatory constituent of the clause, will henceforth be called a *topic*. (Andersen 1995:44)

With regard to the preverbal position, which follows the rule “no case before the verb”, he observes the following on Berta and Dinka:

The preverbal position is obligatorily filled by a noun phrase which performs a pragmatic function that may be identified as that of topic. (Andersen 1995:65)

In sum, there is good evidence that the preverbal position in Berta goes back to a topic structure and that the “no case before the verb” rule has come into existence via a topical structure. Therefore, Berta supports the idea that the rule came into existence via a pragmatic structure, for Berta in particular via a topicalization structure.

5.3.3.2.11 *Surmic* According to the hypothesis about the rise of the rule presented above (see 5.3.3), there should be a connection between constituent order and case. The claim is that in East Africa within genetically related languages, verb-initial languages have case, whereas it is more likely that verb-medial languages have no case. Furthermore, the hypothesis about the rise of this rule is based on the assumption that the original constituent order in the languages concerned was verb-initial. In the

Table 5.15 The Surmic⁴⁸ family

| Surmic | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|---|---|---|---|-----------|---|-----|---|-----------|---|-----|---|---|
| North | | | | | South | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | Southwest | | | | Southeast | | | | |
| | | | | | DNM | | CTM | | Me'en | | YKM | | |
| M | D | N | M | T | B | C | T | M | T | B | K | Y | M |
| a | i | a | u | e | a | h | i | u | i | o | w | i | u |
| j | d | r | r | n | a | a | r | r | s | d | e | d | g |
| a | i | i | l | n | l | i | m | s | h | i | g | i | u |
| n | n | m | e | e | e | | a | i | e | | u | n | j |
| g | g | | | t | | | | | n | | | i | i |
| a | | | | | | | | | a | | | t | |

Source Dimmendaal 1998a:13

literature different positions have been maintained. Some historical evidence will be provided for Surmic and Nilotic on whether they were originally verb-initial or not. After having discussed a few Surmic languages with regard to the rule, I will make a few general remarks on Surmic, in particular on constituent order and case. Table 5.15 gives a classification of the Surmic languages according to Dimmendaal (1998a:13).

In Table 5.15, verb-initial languages (VS/AO) are presented in bold and verb-medial ones (S/AVO) in italics. North and Southwest Surmic languages are essentially verb-initial, like Majang, Didinga, Murle, whereas languages of Southeast Surmic, like Chai, Tirma, Mursi, Tshema, Bodi, Kwegu, are predominantly verb-medial (Unseth 1986). Baale is an exception among the Southwest Surmic languages as it also has S/AVO-order instead of VS/AO. Dimmendaal (1998a) prefers to speak of V2 languages, that

⁴⁸ For Kwegu see Hieda 1998, for Me'en see Will 1989 & 1998, for Majang see Cerulli 1948, for Murle see Lyth 1971.

is, languages which place their verb in second position, instead of S/AVO. He prefers the term V2 because in his opinion in these languages the word order is relatively free (Dimmendaal 1998a:76). Nevertheless, he revises some of these observations: Baale, Southwest Surmic, is not strictly verb-initial; instead, it has a relatively free word order (Dimmendaal 1998a:59). With regard to the Proto-Surmic constituent order the following suggestions are made in the literature: Unseth (1986) claims Proto-Surmic to be verb-initial (see Dimmendaal 1998a:71), while Dimmendaal claims that Proto-Surmic was more likely a verb-second (V2) language rather than verb-initial (Dimmendaal 1998a:66). His arguments are as follows:

(i) In Surmic languages there are postpositions which from a typological point of view are a problem. VSO languages should have prepositions instead of postpositions as the head tends to precede its dependents in such languages. He observes that the word order of postpositions is the result of a pragmatic ordering, and the preceding noun always shows the same case marking as the postposition. Both occur for instance in the oblique case, which always is a hint that the postposition goes back to a pragmatically determined afterthought participant. Such structures, where the following element always takes the same case as the preceding one, are typical instances of specification (Bernd Heine, p.c.). In a verb-second language there is no strict head-modifier structure, so the presence of postpositions would be less odd from a typological point of view.

(ii) Among the Surmic languages, a number of negation markers, all of verbal origin, are used in a range of different patterns, like the following (Dimmendaal 1998a: 67–9):

(a) NEG AVO

Tennet

- (35a) nganní anná k-i-cin Lokúli balwáz. NEG A V O (< *V A V O)
not 1.SG.NOM 1-SBJ-see 1.SG Lokuli yesterday
‘I didn’t see Lokuli yesterday.’ (Randal 1998:248)

(b) NEG V-NEG

Majang

- (35b) kú kijù-kà.
NEG be.black-NEG
‘It is not black.’ (Dimmendaal 1998a:68)

(c) AOV-NEG

Me’en

- (35c) ede or kobu?-o.
they see chicken-PL
‘They see the chicken.’ (Dimmendaal 1998a:68)
ede kobu-o or-on.
they chicken-PL see-NEG
‘They don’t see the chicken.’ (Dimmendaal 1998a:68)

(d) AVO-NEG or A NEG V O

Chai

(35d) ànè kátábí bàrtú náyò.

I 1SG.cheat.IMV Bartu NEG

"I did not cheat Bartu." (Dimmendaal 1998a:69)

(35e) ànè nà kátábí bàrtú.

I NEG 1.SG.cheat.IMV Bartu

"I did not cheat Bartu." (Dimmendaal 1998a:69)

As negation is probably one area in language where original patterns tend to be frozen, Dimmendaal interprets the diversified situation among the Surmic languages with regard to negation as suggesting that it must be the result of the fact that Proto-Surmic already had a relative free word order with verb-second position.

Re. (i): If the odd occurrence of postpositions in verb-initial languages is the result of a pragmatic ordering, as Dimmendaal argues, it is no longer odd. Their pragmatic origin would neither be an argument for any preferred word order since the syntax has not given rise to it.

Re. (ii): The diversity among negation markers needs more detailed diachronic analysis before any claims about the original word order can be made. As has been argued for example with regard to Tennet, negation appears to be a fairly new pattern, where word-order change has been triggered by the fact that the negation marker goes back to a verb (see 5.3.1.7).

In Dimmendaal's verb-second order he has to find the following solution for Baale, which is verb-second today but genetically so close to verb-initial languages

Table 5.16 Reconstruction of case markers in Surmic

| | Accusative | Nominative | Dative | Oblique*** | Genitive |
|--------------|------------|---------------------------------|--------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Proto-Surmic | Ø | *-ε | *-a | *-ε (-e) | *-on |
| Majang | Ø | -ε | -a | -ε | -onk, -k (sg), -a, ak (pl) |
| Murle | Ø | -ε, -i (sg), -a (pl) | -a** | -a (sg), -i, -ε (pl) | -o, -(n)u (sg) -u (pl) |
| Tennet | Ø | -i, -ε* | -a** | -a, -to (sg), -(n)i (pl) | -o, -i (C), -(C)o (sg), -u (pl) |
| Baale | Ø | -(j)ε, -(j)i (sg), -na (pl)* | -a** | -(C)a (sg) -nε (pl) | |
| Chai | Ø | -o | | -(y)o, -gie | -n |
| Mursi | Ø | -o | | -o, -fo, -jo | -i(n) |
| Me'en | | | | -ok, -ok (sg), -ge (pl) | -un, -o |

* With tonal inflexion ** not distinct from oblique *** oblique = locative-instrumental

Source Dimmendaal 1998a:41

that Dimmendaal (1998a:77) concludes: “Baale must have moved from a verb-initial syntax back to the original system”—hence, *SVO > VSO > SVO. According to Dimmendaal the shift from original V2 in Surmic to VSO is due to the fact of the neighboring Nilotic languages, which are strictly VSO, also have in all respects a strict head-modifier structure with prepositions. Based on Unseth (1989a), Dimmendaal (1998a:41) presents case reconstructions in Surmic as summarized in table 5.16.

In table 5.16 there are seven Surmic languages listed with their case markers. Among them there is one which according to our definition cannot be counted as a case language, namely Me'en. In Me'en there are case suffixes but only for peripheral participants; core participants are not marked for case. All six remaining languages have a marked-nominative system of type 1, as the morphologically unmarked form covers S and A (after the verb) and the morphologically marked form covers O. Case is mostly expressed by suffixes; in Tennet and Baale tone as an additional means is used as well. Didinga is not mentioned, although it also is a case language with a marked-nominative system according to Bennett (1974). A comparison between table 5.16 and table 5.15 reveals that in Surmic all verb-initial languages have case systems, namely Majang, Didinga, Murle, and Tennet. Of the ten verb-medial languages, only four have case. All Surmic marked-nominative languages are case languages, and all express case by suffixes, some, in addition, also by tone. However, unlike in Nilotic, case is never exclusively expressed by tone.

5.3.3.2.12 Nilotic Table 5.17 gives an overview of case and constituent order in Nilotic. Marked-nominative languages are presented in bold, ergative languages in capitals, verb-medial languages in italics, verb-initial languages are left unmarked; languages without case are put in parentheses. For Nilotic, the situation is similar as in Surmic—all verb-initial languages are case languages but not all verb-medial languages are. Of the thirteen verb-medial languages, all are West Nilotic except Bari, only four and “a half” (depending on how one interprets the situation of Anywa) are case languages. All verb-initial languages (Kalenjin is counted as one language) have case, generally marked-nominative systems, all expressed exclusively by tone, and in all of them the rule applies. Ongamo has not yet been mentioned. It is extinct. According to the description given by Heine and Voßen (1975–76), Ongamo is a marked-nominative language (our terminology) with a basic verb-initial order which often is replaced by verb-medial. Case is expressed by tone. The nominative is derived from the accusative by initial H (see Heine & Voßen 1975–76:85–7). There is not enough data available on whether Ongamo follows the rule.

5.3.4 Summary

As I have argued above, the East African case languages probably have required the “no case before the verb” rule as a result of historical processes. Originally, the languages considered were verb-initial, as most of them still are today, and they were case languages. In focus constructions, the focused participant is presented in a bi-clausal

Table 5.17 Case and constituent order in Nilotic⁴⁹

| West | South | East |
|--|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <u>Lwoo</u> | <u>Kalenjin</u> | <u>Teso</u> |
| <u>Northern</u> | <u>Pokot, Nandi</u> | <u>Toposa</u> |
| <u>PÄRI</u> | <u>Sebei, Kipsigis</u> | <u>Karimojong</u> |
| (ANYWA ⁵⁰) | | <u>Turkana</u> |
| <u>JUR-LUWO</u> | <u>Datooga</u> | <u>Maa</u> |
| <u>SHILLUK</u> | <u>Omotik</u> | <u>Lotuxo</u> |
| <u>Southern</u> | | <u>Ongamo</u> |
| (Lango), (Luo), (Achoi) | | (Bari) |
| (Alur), (Kumam), (Padhola) | | |
| <u>Dinka</u> | | |
| (Nuer) | | |
| → all verb-medial | → all verb-initial | → except for Bari, all verb-initial |
| → case expressed by suffix, tone, postposition | → case expressed by tone | → case expressed by tone |

cleft construction with a preceding copula clause and the focused participant being a nominal predicate, and the subsequent relative clause expressing the main clause semantics. Due to semantic pressure, the bi-clausal construction was grammaticalized to a mono-clausal construction, roughly as follows:

Source structure: It is X who does Y. X being focused

Target structure: X does Y

The copula clause-relative clause structure was reinterpreted as the new main clause structure with verb-medial order, but the cases of the source structure have been retained. As in all case languages, whether ergative or marked nominative (or accusative), typically the nominal predicate occurs in the morphologically unmarked form, that is, the accusative in marked-nominative languages and the absolutive in ergative languages, and the rule applies to all case systems except for accusative, where the situation is different: There is only one language where the rule could apply, namely Ik, a verb-initial language (all remaining accusative languages are verb-final). Ik is an exception: Preverbal participants do not occur in the morphologically unmarked form. Nevertheless, Ik supports the hypothesis to a large extent. Ik does not encode the nominal predicate in the morphologically unmarked form but in the copulative, one of the cases found in preverbal position. The irregular behavior of Ik

⁴⁹ Some of the Nilotic languages without case have not been mentioned so far: For Lango see Noonan (1992), for Luo see Tucker (1994), for Sebei see O'Brien, Cuypers and Cuypers (1975). For a genetic classification of Nilotic see Voßen (1981, 1982:273, & 1983).

⁵⁰ Anywa is placed in parentheses as it is disputable whether Anywa has a case system (see Reh 1996). Ergative patterns are definitely present, reflected in the constituent order and in bound pronouns.

provides additional evidence that the “no case before the verb” rule is not an accident but the result of history.

Topicalized clauses are similar in structure. The source is a complex structure with topic presented either in a copula clause or like a pre-thought and a subsequent main clause. This complex structure was grammaticalized, with the effect that the former topic is a new main clause participant, the result being the following:

Source structure: As for X, (X) does Y. X being topicalized.

Target structure: X does Y.

The case encoding of the source structure has been retained. Since in all case languages a presentative function is typically encoded by the case which is morphologically unmarked (referred to as the citation form), the preceding participant appears in the morphologically unmarked form. Again, the “no case before the verb” rule applies.

Bari, a language with no case distinction is also in accordance with the hypothesis, as the loss of case in Bari is most likely the result of the same processes. The hypothesis for the rise of the rule is supported by the fact that in the languages concerned all verb-initial languages have case whereas most of the genetically related languages with a verb-medial order do not.

5.4 On the rise of new case markers

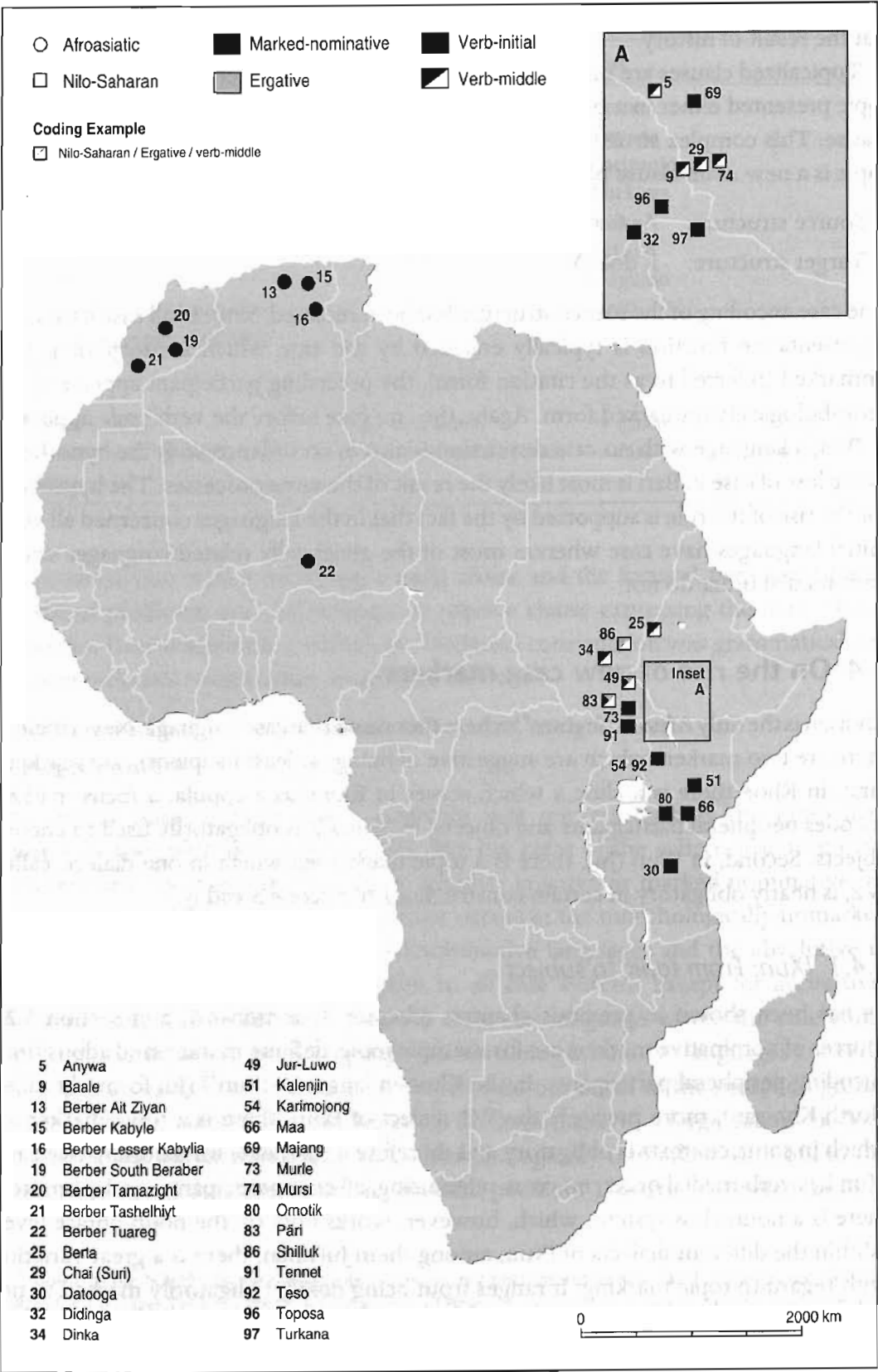
Khoisan is the only African phylum⁵¹ where there is no one case language. Nevertheless, there are two markers which are suggestive of being (at least incipient) case markers: First, in Khoe there is a clitic *a* which serves in Khwe as a copula, a focus marker, encodes peripheral participants and objects; in Nama it is obligatorily used to encode objects. Second, in !Xun (Ju), there is a topic marker *má* which in one dialect, called W2, is nearly obligatory in certain constructions to encode S and A.

5.4.1 !Xun: From topic to subject

As has been shown in previous chapters (chapter 3, section 4.5, and section 5.2), sources of nominative markers are for example topic, definite marker, and adpositions encoding peripheral participants. In the Khoisan language !Xun⁵² (Ju; formerly called North Khoisan), more precisely the W2 dialect of !Xun, there is a topic marker *má* which in some contexts is obligatory and therefore a candidate for a nominative case. !Xun has verb-medial order, no cross-referencing; all core participants can be omitted; there is a noun class system, which, however, works only on the noun phrase level. Within the different dialects of !Xun, among them Jul'hoan, there is a great variation with regard to topic marking: It ranges from being nearly obligatorily marked to not

⁵¹ Note that it is controversial whether Khoisan really is a genetically defined unit.

⁵² Further see Snyman (1968).



Map 5.5 No case before the verb

marked at all. In the W2 dialect, the topic marker *má* is obligatory for subjects, S and A, in normal declarative clauses. It encodes S (see 37a) and A (see 37b). In the closely related W1 dialect, the same topic marker is used optionally with subjects (see 36a & 36b).

!Xun, W1 dialect

(36a) *hã (má) òhã !Uni.*

N1 TOP COP !Uni

"He is !Uni." (Heikkinen 1987:37)

(36b) *!Uni (má) òhã !xūún.*

!Uni (TOP) COP !Xun

"!Uni is a !Xun Bushman." (Heikkinen 1987:37)

Although the topic marker is nearly obligatory with S and A, it is not restricted to encoding S and A in the W2 dialect. In examples 38 to 39, the a-variant presents the basic clause with the subject as topic and the b-variant presents the clause with a different topic. All participants, if topicalized, can take the topic marker, as O (see 37c), or even peripheral participants when used clause initially, such as the beneficiary (38b), or the locative (39b), or even with complete clauses (40). As 37c to 40 show, *má* still functions as a topic marker. Nevertheless, there are indications that *má* has developed one step further, at least in W2. This can be seen by the fact that there are clauses where the topic marker is used twice, in particular when the topicalized participant is not the subject: *má* is then used first with the topicalized participant and second with the subject (see 40 & 41). Thus, in 40, the object of the sentence is presented as given, topical information, followed by the main predication, and separated from it by *má*, and the main clause subject receives the marker *má*. In 41, the temporal subordinate clause is presented as a topic, but the main verb subject takes *má* as well.

!Xun, W2 dialect

(37a) *m̃hm̃ má djòqě.*

1.PL.IN TOP happy

"We are happy."

(37b) *mí má h̃j hã.*

1.SG TOP see N3

"I see him."

(37c) *n!āō hã ndò'à má mā lō- ē h̃j.*

house N1 DI TOP 1.SG NEG- PAST see

"That house I didn't see."

(38a) *kā ṇṇ má lx'āō- ā à.*

N4 PR TOP be.bad- T 2.SG

"This is bad for you."

- (38b) à má kã ñ̃ má lx'āō- ā.
2.SG TOP N4 PR TOP be.bad- T
"For you, this is bad."
- (39a) hã má kē lāmā !'ō.
N1 TOP PAST come.from bush
"He came from the bush."
- (39b) !'ō má hã kē lāmā.
bush TOP N1 PAST come.from
"As for the bush, that's where he came from."
- (40) lhā- ñhè wōhēcēcē kã- è lúā cǐ kũ- ndò'à má n!hàè má
animal- DIM.PL all N4- REL HAB drink there TOP lion TOP
lúā n!hè mí lhā- ñhè.
HAB take.PL eat animal- DIM.PL
"All animals who usually drank there, the lion used to catch and eat them."
- (41) kã gāō lōā cūǵ glí má mí má kē ú.
when sun not. yet rise TOP 1.SG TOP PAST go
"Before the sun rose, I had left."

So far the nearly obligatory occurrence of the topic marker *má* for S and A in the W2 dialect is restricted to declarative clauses. In the following clause types there is typically no topic marker:

- (a) imperative and other modally marked clauses,
- (b) interrogative clauses,
- (c) clauses introduced by the coordinating conjunctions *tà*, *kā*, or *ō* "and",
- (d) subordinate clauses,
- (e) if S or A are focused.

Even if in !Xun the topic marker *má* is not yet a case marker, there is evidence that it has proceeded beyond its topic function towards that of a subject case marker.

5.4.2 *Khwe and Khoekhoe (Nama): From focus to object*

In Khoe (former called Central Khoisan) languages, there is a clitic 'a which is a candidate for being a case marker encoding objects. Heine (1986b) claims that 'a goes back to a copula and has been grammaticalized to a focus marker. In this function, it further developed in different directions: In the Khwe language of northeastern Namibia, the erstwhile focus marker has given rise to a so-called *Junktur II*, a verbal suffix which obligatorily occurs between the verb stem and the tense-aspect morphology. With nouns, the focus marker has given rise to a case marker while still being used as a focus marker. I will illustrate the behavior of 'a in the Khoe languages Khwe and Khoekhoe (Nama) concerning this second grammaticalization path from copula to

case marker only: In Khwe *'a* functions as a copula which is employed to present new and focal information (see 42a). Khwe is a verb-final language which favors a sentence structure with only one argument, namely S. Additional arguments, in particular O, tend to be introduced by the copula *'a*, as in 42b. The effect of this strategy has been that the copula has become strongly associated with clausal objects even if the latter are pragmatically unmarked, that is, do not express any focal information. The result is that in this context, *'a* has acquired properties of a case marker, namely those of an object marker, while retaining its copula and focus functions in other contexts. Since constituents taking *'a* tend to be placed sentence-initially, Khwe has acquired a preferred sentence structure OSV, where the object precedes the subject. In a similar fashion, *'a* occurs as a copula (see 43a) and as a marker for objects, such as O (see 43b) and IO (see 43c) in Khoekhoe. If two objects are present, O and IO, both are marked by *'a* (see 43c), while A and S are not normally marked by *'a* (see 43a–d). The focus meaning of *'a* is no longer productive in Khoekhoe. But there is circumstantial evidence that historically it was part of the meaning: Its use is obligatory in many question words (see Rust 1965:45, Hagman 1977:142).

Khwe (Khoe, Khoisan)

- (42a) yì 'á.

tree COP

“It is a tree.”

- (42b) yì 'á tí múùn-à-tè.

tree COP 1.SG see-I-PRES

“I see a tree.”

Khoekhoe (Nama) (Khoe, Khoisan)

- (43a) l'ũ-p ke xám-à.

he-3MS DEC lion-COP

“He is the lion.” (Hagman 1977:58)

- (43b) 'ào-p ke 'àrí-p-à kè mùũ.

man-3MS DEC dog-M-OBJ PAST see

“The man saw the dog.” (Hagman 1977:76)

- (43c) 'ào-p ke tará-s-à péré-p-à kè maa.

man-3MS DEC⁵³ woman-F-OBJ bread-M-OBJ PAST give

“The man gave the woman bread.” (Hagman 1977:76)

- (43d) tará-s ke ra l'ũ.

woman-3FS DEC PROG go

“The woman is going.” (Hagman 1977:76)

⁵³ “The meaning of *ke* is accurately conveyed by the word ‘declarative’; it means that information is being presented without making any assertion as to the truth or falsity of that information” (Hagman 1977:54); *ke* is not used in embedded clauses, imperatives, and interrogatives (Hagman 1977:54).

One problem with the analysis as an accusative marker is the wide range of functions that this marker also serves. In addition to the encoding of direct and indirect objects, *-a* encodes temporal relations, is used before a subordinating postposition, etc. The range of its functions suggests that *-a* originally was a focus marker which was grammaticalized to a case marker. The grammaticalization chain given below summarizes the hypothesis that is proposed here for the rise of a case marker in the two Khoe languages.

- (44) 'ào-p ke 'àri-p-à kè mùü.
 man-3.M.S DEC dog-3.M.SG-ACC PAST see
 "The man saw the dog." (Hagman 1977:76)

Copula > focus marker > object marker

[Grammaticalization from copula to object marker in Khoe.]

Again, we are dealing with a grammaticalization process whereby a construction used for a pragmatic function, namely presenting new, focal information, was desemanticized by losing this function, and decategorized in that it lost its freedom for marking all kinds of nominal constituents, turning into a largely predictable case marker. As in other cases of grammaticalization, the process was confined to one particular context, that is, other uses of the construction were not affected. Thus, in Khoisan, the only phylum in Africa without grammaticalized case, there are two potential case markers, but neither is a full-fledged case marker. One is still primarily a topic marker in !Xun, and the other one a focus marker in Khwe; as has been shown in 5.3, both of these pragmatic functions provide common sources for case markers.

In the case of Khoekhoe there is good evidence to argue that this is an accusative language, even if the accusative marker *-a* still shows traces of its origin: The functions covered are O and IO, but also S and A in structures which are typically related to focus, such as imperatives, subjects of interrogative sentences, subjects of elliptic clauses, and subjects of imperative-hortative sentences (see Haacke 1976; Hagman 1977:57). Additional functions marked by the accusative, such as the encoding of deposed subjects, need further investigation. According to Haacke (1976:74), five cases can be distinguished in Khoekhoe⁵⁴: An accusative *-a* (called oblique by Haacke 1976:74), a genitive *-di*, an ablative *-i*, and a vocative *-e*. The nominative is the morphologically unmarked form.

5.5 Conclusions

In this chapter, ninety-seven African languages satisfying the definition of case language given in chapter 1 were analyzed (see Appendix II, entries highlighted in

⁵⁴ I follow Haacke (1976) in not treating the element *ge* as a case marker, even if it exhibits a case (subject) related behavior in declarative sentences (see Haacke 1976:63ff. for discussion). Haacke (1976:67) calls it a "phrase designant" since it marks the end of an NP.

gray).⁵⁵ Of the ninety-seven languages, sixty-four are marked-nominative, thirty accusative, and five ergative. Sixty of the languages are verb-final, twenty-one verb-initial, and sixteen verb-medial. The total numbers of languages showing the split condition "no case before the verb" does not correspond entirely to the total numbers of case languages in Africa. With regard to ergative, the correspondence is 1:1, meaning that all ergative languages of Africa are also split languages obeying the rule "no case before the verb"; among the sixty-four marked-nominative languages, twenty-seven obey the rule; thirty redundantly do not since they are verb-final languages. Of the thirty accusative languages, none follows the rule, since twenty-nine are verb-final and the remaining one, the verb-initial language Ik, exhibits an irregular behavior. By far the majority of languages showing this split belong to the marked-nominative type. Map 5.5 shows the geographical distribution of the rule "no case before the verb" in Africa (languages are presented with regard to their genetic classification and their constituent order). On the basis of the preceding observations, the following unidirectional implications can be proposed on the languages of northeastern Africa with regard to constituent order and type of case system:

- 1 If a language is verb-initial then it is marked-nominative. The other way round does not hold as there are many verb-final and some verb-medial languages that are marked-nominative. The only exceptions are the Kuliak languages Ik and So.
- 2 If a language has an accusative system then it is verb-final. The only exception is Ik.
- 3 If a language has an ergative system then it is verb-medial, mostly using the highly unusual constituent order OVA/SV.
- 4 If a language is verb-initial then case is obligatory. The only exception is the Kuliak language So of northeastern Uganda (Heine 1986a; Carlin 1993).
- 5 If case use is optional then this is a verb-final language. The only optional systems are found in verb-final languages, mainly in accusative but also in some marked-nominative languages (see map 5.6 and Appendix II). The only exception is Anywa.
- 6 If there is no case then this is a verb-medial language. This is true for Nilotic and Surmic languages. There is a partial exception, namely So (Kuliak), which is a verb-initial language but case is only present with personal pronouns. It has a split accusative system either following an accusative system or showing no case distinction at all. As So is nearly extinct it is possible that there was case loss due to the fact that the last informants, on whom all descriptions of So are based, no longer produced the full system. According to Heine and Kuteva (2005), in situations of language decay the following case features are lost:

⁵⁵ So (Kuliak) is not considered in the counting, as the database is unclear. In Heine's manuscript (1986a), tone distinguishes case in personal pronouns of So. Carlin (1993) does not mark tone, hence there are no case distinctions.

One problem with the analysis as an accusative marker is the wide range of functions that this marker also serves. In addition to the encoding of direct and indirect objects, *-a* encodes temporal relations, is used before a subordinating postposition, etc. The range of its functions suggests that *-a* originally was a focus marker which was grammaticalized to a case marker. The grammaticalization chain given below summarizes the hypothesis that is proposed here for the rise of a case marker in the two Khoe languages.

- (44) 'àò-p ke 'àrí-p-à kè mùũ.
 man-3.M.S DEC dog-3.M.SG-ACC PAST see
 "The man saw the dog." (Hagman 1977:76)

Copula > focus marker > object marker

[Grammaticalization from copula to object marker in Khoe.]

Again, we are dealing with a grammaticalization process whereby a construction used for a pragmatic function, namely presenting new, focal information, was desemanticized by losing this function, and decategorized in that it lost its freedom for marking all kinds of nominal constituents, turning into a largely predictable case marker. As in other cases of grammaticalization, the process was confined to one particular context, that is, other uses of the construction were not affected. Thus, in Khoisan, the only phylum in Africa without grammaticalized case, there are two potential case markers, but neither is a full-fledged case marker. One is still primarily a topic marker in !Xun, and the other one a focus marker in Khwe; as has been shown in 5.3, both of these pragmatic functions provide common sources for case markers.

In the case of Khoekhoe there is good evidence to argue that this is an accusative language, even if the accusative marker *-a* still shows traces of its origin: The functions covered are O and IO, but also S and A in structures which are typically related to focus, such as imperatives, subjects of interrogative sentences, subjects of elliptic clauses, and subjects of imperative-hortative sentences (see Haacke 1976; Hagman 1977:57). Additional functions marked by the accusative, such as the encoding of deposed subjects, need further investigation. According to Haacke (1976:74), five cases can be distinguished in Khoekhoe⁵⁴: An accusative *-a* (called oblique by Haacke 1976:74), a genitive *-di*, an ablative *-i*, and a vocative *-e*. The nominative is the morphologically unmarked form.

5.5 Conclusions

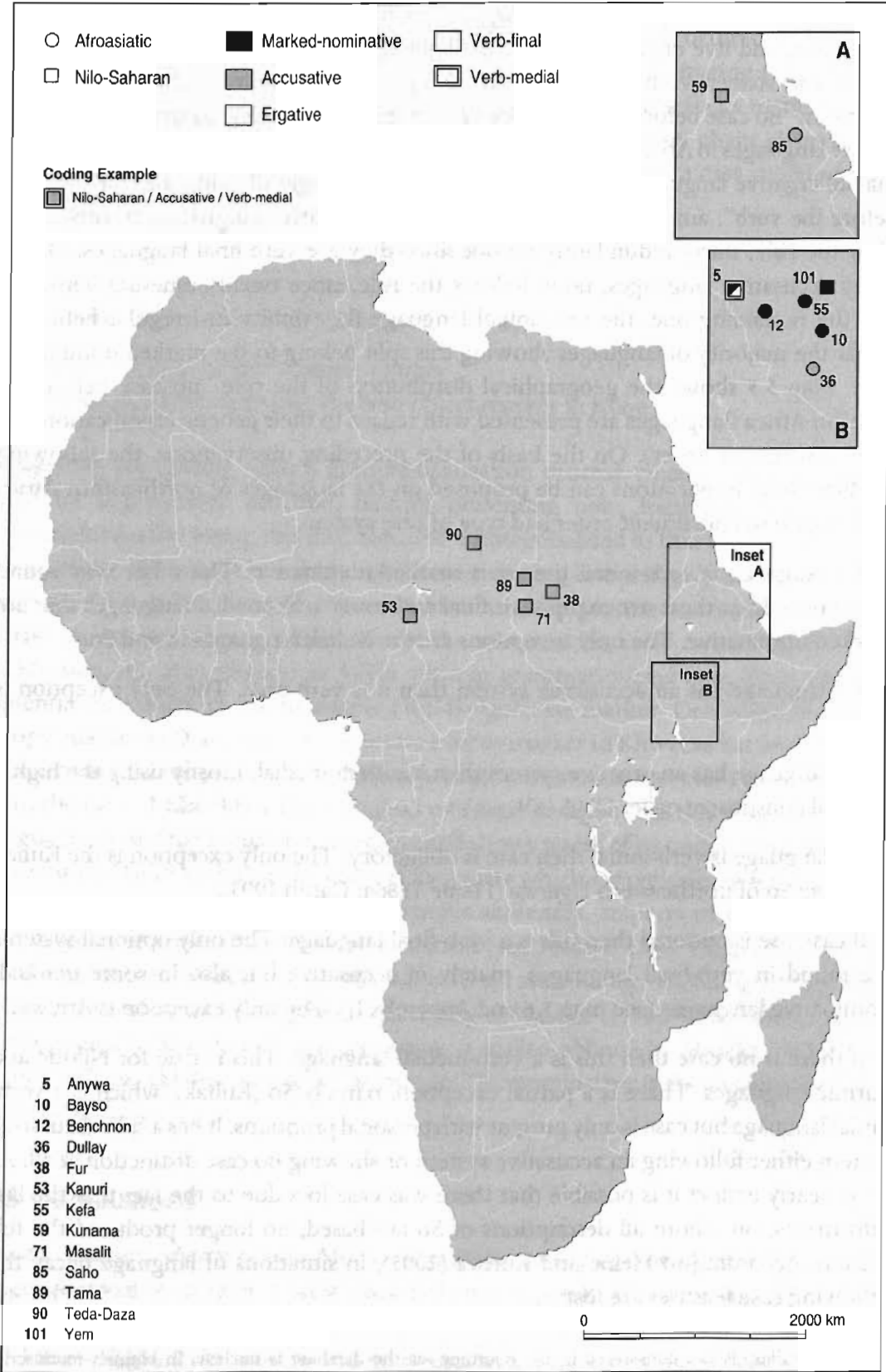
In this chapter, ninety-seven African languages satisfying the definition of case language given in chapter 1 were analyzed (see Appendix II, entries highlighted in

⁵⁴ I follow Haacke (1976) in not treating the element *ge* as a case marker, even if it exhibits a case (subject) related behavior in declarative sentences (see Haacke 1976:63ff. for discussion). Haacke (1976:67) calls it a "phrasc designant" since it marks the end of an NP.

gray).⁵⁵ Of the ninety-seven languages, sixty-four are marked-nominative, thirty accusative, and five ergative. Sixty of the languages are verb-final, twenty-one verb-initial, and sixteen verb-medial. The total numbers of languages showing the split condition “no case before the verb” does not correspond entirely to the total numbers of case languages in Africa. With regard to ergative, the correspondence is 1:1, meaning that all ergative languages of Africa are also split languages obeying the rule “no case before the verb”; among the sixty-four marked-nominative languages, twenty-seven obey the rule; thirty redundantly do not since they are verb-final languages. Of the thirty accusative languages, none follows the rule, since twenty-nine are verb-final and the remaining one, the verb-initial language Ik, exhibits an irregular behavior. By far the majority of languages showing this split belong to the marked-nominative type. Map 5.5 shows the geographical distribution of the rule “no case before the verb” in Africa (languages are presented with regard to their genetic classification and their constituent order). On the basis of the preceding observations, the following unidirectional implications can be proposed on the languages of northeastern Africa with regard to constituent order and type of case system:

- 1 If a language is verb-initial then it is marked-nominative. The other way round does not hold as there are many verb-final and some verb-medial languages that are marked-nominative. The only exceptions are the Kuliak languages Ik and So.
- 2 If a language has an accusative system then it is verb-final. The only exception is Ik.
- 3 If a language has an ergative system then it is verb-medial, mostly using the highly unusual constituent order OVA/SV.
- 4 If a language is verb-initial then case is obligatory. The only exception is the Kuliak language So of northeastern Uganda (Heine 1986a; Carlin 1993).
- 5 If case use is optional then this is a verb-final language. The only optional systems are found in verb-final languages, mainly in accusative but also in some marked-nominative languages (see map 5.6 and Appendix II). The only exception is Anywa.
- 6 If there is no case then this is a verb-medial language. This is true for Nilotic and Surmic languages. There is a partial exception, namely So (Kuliak), which is a verb-initial language but case is only present with personal pronouns. It has a split accusative system either following an accusative system or showing no case distinction at all. As So is nearly extinct it is possible that there was case loss due to the fact that the last informants, on whom all descriptions of So are based, no longer produced the full system. According to Heine and Kuteva (2005), in situations of language decay the following case features are lost:

⁵⁵ So (Kuliak) is not considered in the counting, as the database is unclear. In Heine's manuscript (1986a), tone distinguishes case in personal pronouns of So. Carlin (1993) does not mark tone, hence there are no case distinctions.



Map 5.6 Non-obligatory case systems in Africa

Neutralization of contrasts in case inflections in language attrition

- a Nominative/subject markers tend to replace accusative/direct object markers.
- b Accusative/direct object markers tend to replace dative/indirect object markers.
- c Markers for core participants (subject, object) tend to replace markers for peripheral case functions, such as locatives or instrumentals. (Heine & Kuteva 2005)

The So data would be in line with the proposed case decay: Case inflections of core participants have been lost, with the exception of personal pronouns. The peripheral cases, dative and ablative, are still productive.

We furthermore saw that the split “no case before the verb” rule applies irrespective of whether case is marked by tone or by suffixes. Nearly all languages which follow the rule are located in northeastern Africa. Berber languages are the only exception. Their distribution covers most of northern Africa, but they are spoken outside of the area to which the above generalizations apply. In other respects, Berber languages behave like those of northeastern Africa (see chapter 4). There is additional evidence in support of the hypothesis that this rule is areally motivated: The only other languages within Africa that have been claimed to be case languages are some western Bantu languages, all verb-medial (see 5.1.1). Depending on one’s analysis it can be argued that none of these languages follows the rule. According to an alternative analysis, they have a marked-nominative system where the accusative is the morphologically unmarked case and the nominative the derived case: Before the verb, all participants have to appear in the nominative, regardless of whether they are O, IO, S, or A. Therefore, even in Bantu, preposed participants trigger a change in case behavior, irrespective of how much they may differ otherwise from the languages of northeastern Africa.

7 If the language is verb-initial or verb-medial, then the “no case before the verb” rule applies. There is one partial (Tennet) and one full exception (Ik). Tennet is a verb-initial language with a marked-nominative system where some preverbal participants follow the rule while others do not. Some counterexamples can be explained on account of the historical structures out of which they evolved, others, in particular with regard to copula constructions, are unclear. Ik, the only verb-initial accusative case language discovered so far, is a clear counterexample, as has been shown in 5.3.3.2.8: Of the three cases occurring before the verb, none is the morphologically unmarked one. Nevertheless, some irregularities are again due to the historical source structures; for others, no explanation has been found so far. Generalization 7 applies to marked-nominative, ergative systems, type 1, type 2, split systems, and to languages where case is expressed by tone, suffix, or postpositional clitic.

8 If there is no case distinction before the verb, then preverbal participants occur in the morphologically unmarked form. This is true for all marked-nominative languages, as preverbal participants occur in the morphologically unmarked accusative form. This is also true for ergative languages as the preverbal participants occur in the morphologically unmarked absolutive form; and it holds even when there is more

than one core participant before the verb, as within an AOV-order in Pàri. Ik is an exception again, in two respects (see 5.3.3.2.8). First, preverbal participants occur in the marked accusative form; second, as the only language in the sample, Ik has three different case forms before the verb: accusative, nominative, and oblique. The accusative is by far the most generalized case form before the verb; only in topical frontshifting do core participants occur in the nominative.

9 If there is no case distinction preverbally, then the preverbal position is syntactically not obligatory. This is true for all verb-initial languages, where a preverbal position is pragmatically marked either for focus or for topic. This is also true for the verb-medial language Shilluk, as a preposed A is always pragmatically marked for topic. However, this is not true for S/AVO verb-medial languages such as Tennenet and Chai, which follow the above rule as well (see 5.3.1.5 and 5.3.1.7).

The split "no case before the verb" is by far the most common and constitutes the most generalized split condition, occurring in all kinds of genetically divergent languages. Other split conditions found so far are (a) person, where case never appears with first and second person subject referents, as in Datooga and Ik, (b) definiteness, the second most frequent split (see 5.2), and (c) pronoun split, where case is restricted to personal pronouns, as in So. As a possible explanation for this rule, a scenario has been proposed according to which topicalized or focused constructions may have given rise to a change of constituent order and the loss of case in preverbal position. Consequently, even today the preverbal position tends to be reserved for pragmatically marked encodings; obviously, in languages where the word order change has been concluded, this no longer applies.

6

Conclusions

Even if it has more to offer than has been assumed so far in the literature, the fact remains that case as a grammaticalized category is a rather rare phenomenon in Africa. It occurs mainly in the Nilo-Saharan and Afroasiatic phyla, marginally also in some Kordofanian and western Bantu languages of Niger-Congo (see section 5.1.1). There is reason to argue that even in Khoisan languages, grammaticalized case is not entirely absent. In languages such as Khoekhoe, Khwe, and !Xun there are elements that can be taken to be incipient case markers (see section 5.4).

With reference to genetic affiliation, it is in particular the Berber, Semitic, Cushitic, and Omotic families of Afroasiatic and the Saharan and Eastern Sudanic families of Nilo-Saharan where concentrations of case languages can be found. The only Afroasiatic family where case is blatantly absent is Chadic. Appendix II gives a more detailed overview of the genetic distribution of case in Africa. The genetic distribution includes languages with a grammaticalized case system, that is, languages that have a marked-nominative, an accusative, or an ergative system. Furthermore, other manifestations of case are considered with regard to split S and ergativity. In addition, general splits are marked, such as splits relating to definiteness and personal deixis.

Within the Nilo-Saharan phylum, Nilotic languages show a clear correlation between case and genetic affiliation: South and East Nilotic languages are marked-nominative, with case distinguished throughout by means of tone—an exception being Bari of East Nilotic, which has no case. West Nilotic languages show marked-nominative and ergative systems. The Surmic languages are marked-nominative throughout. In other branches of the Eastern Sudanic family, such as Mararit, Tama, Nobiin, and Nyimang, accusative systems are found. The Saharan languages Tubu (Teda-Daza) and Kanuri are accusative as well, with case marking being optional. Ik, Fur, Maba, and Masalit are further languages belonging to the Nilo-Saharan phylum having an accusative system.

According to this survey, case in Africa clearly patterns along genetic boundaries. Nevertheless, it also shows an areal distribution, as map I.1 in Appendix I suggests. In eastern and northeastern Africa, that is Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Kenya, and Uganda, there is an abundance of languages with case inflexions, covering genetically unrelated languages. Other areal phenomena are the definiteness split in Ethiopia, the high occurrence of type 2 languages in southern Ethiopia, or marked-nominative in

Ethiopia and adjacent areas. Accordingly, a comparative description of case in Africa also requires an areal perspective. Generally in Nilo-Saharan accusative languages, such as Saharan, Eastern Sudanic, and some genetically fairly isolated languages, as well as within some languages of the Cushitic family, case is not obligatory. In a strict sense, these languages would not be case languages. All of them are verb-final, irrespective of whether they are Nilo-Saharan or Afroasiatic, or accusative or marked-nominative, Anywa being a notable exception.

From a worldwide perspective, possible unusual features of case in Africa are the following: Tone as a means for marking case (section 5.1), marked-nominative languages (chapter 4), a paucity of ergative languages (chapter 3), and absence of case languages in vast areas, such as West, Central, and South Africa. Altogether roughly one hundred case languages, including case languages with split S, have been found in Africa so far. Marked-nominative languages are by far the most common type. Some features are restricted to marked-nominative languages, in particular the coding of case by tone, or verb-initial constituent order. Historically, marked-nominative may be an innovation:¹ As most experts (such as Sasse, Tosco, Aikhenvald, or Hayward) have argued, none of the Afroasiatic families, be they Proto-Berber, Proto-Cushitic, or Proto-Omoti, had a marked-nominative system. In the last two, a development from accusative to marked-nominative systems has been claimed (see chapter 4).

The second most widespread type consists of accusative languages. Many of these systems do not behave homogeneously; split conditions such as definiteness only, or only optional case are frequent. From a worldwide perspective, African accusative languages do not behave like "canonical" accusative languages elsewhere, for example in Europe (see chapter 2). Non-restricted accusative languages are rare. They are found in Central Cushitic, Awngi, Bilin, in Omotic, Masketo, Hamar, Dime, and Aari (all Afroasiatic), in Eastern Sudanic Nobiin, Mararit, and Nyimang (all Nilo-Saharan). All type 2 accusative languages show numerous irregularities. The case system is either not obligatory (Kunama, Teda-Daza, and Kanuri) or case is neutralized in many contexts (as in Kemantney, Ik, and Maba). Type 2 accusative languages are much less homogeneous than type 2 marked-nominative languages. Non-obligatory case systems are found in both type 2 and type 1 languages (such as Dullay, Fur, Tama, and Masalit).

Ergativity hardly exists in Africa. One center of ergativity is found in Northern Lwoo, a subbranch of West Nilotic (Nilo-Saharan): Pāri, Jur-Luwo, Anywa (depending on the viewpoint adopted) and Shilluk. The first three are split ergative languages where one and the same case marker serves either as an ergative in an ergative system or a nominative in an accusative system. The split is triggered by different clause types. Shilluk is the only ergative language discovered so far in Africa which is not restricted

¹ Note, however, that some authors have claimed that Proto-Afroasiatic was marked-nominative (Orin Gensler, p.c.).

to a split other than the widespread “no case before the verb” split. The Kordofanian language Tima has been claimed to have a split ergative system restricted to focus clauses only (see chapter 3). Northern Lwoo illustrates an instance of the emergence of case out of a definite marker.

Marked-nominative is the second most unusual feature of case in Africa: Worldwide it is extremely rare while in Africa it is the most frequent pattern; more than two-thirds of all case languages in Africa are marked-nominative, and it appears with all kinds of constituent order. Less than two-thirds are type 1, as compared to one-third which is type 2. In type 2 languages, gender, case, number are interwoven. They are found in North Omoto, a subbranch of Omotic, and in Highland East Cushitic (all Afroasiatic).

For reasons of space, split S, alternatively referred to as active systems, could not be discussed in this work. It appears to be a feature that has escaped the attention of much previous research. Languages so far found to have it belong to three different phyla: Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan, and Afroasiatic, namely the Mande language Loma, nearly all Saharan languages,² such as Beria, Teda, Daza, though not Kanuri, and Berber. It is manifested mainly in the cross-referencing system. In some Berber languages, split S has its widest occurrence, being also found on nouns. In Saharan languages, split S came into existence because of the partial collapse of a Proto-Saharan verb class system. In Proto-Saharan there has been a verb class system consisting of two classes, I and II, where class I contained intransitive verbs only and class II transitive verbs only. The cross-reference pattern was ergative ($S_O = O$). At a later stage, class I verbs shifted to class II. The former class I verbs show the new pattern: $S_A = A$ (see König in prep.), resulting in a split S pattern.

A unique feature of case in Africa is tone. Africa is the only continent with case languages which exclusively use tone as a means for case. Tonal case is restricted to marked-nominative languages: All case languages where case is exclusively expressed by tone are marked-nominative languages. Tonal case seldom appears in accusative and ergative languages, and if it does it is with pronouns only, never with nouns. In some tonal case languages, it is difficult to decide what the morphologically unmarked form is, as in Umbundu (Bantu) (see 5.1.1); in most languages, however, it is not. Most tone case languages distinguish few cases only, up to three or four, an exception being Turkana, where seven cases are distinguished. In most tone case languages, the question of what the derived case is can be answered fairly unambiguously: The derived case appears in few regular tone patterns only while the underived case appears in a number of tone patterns (see for example Berta in 5.1.3.1). One-third of all marked-nominative languages are exclusively marked by tone, to be found especially in western Bantu, Omo-Tana, a subbranch of East Cushitic, and in East and South Nilotic.

² For split S in Saharan languages see Cyffer (1991 & 1996) and Lukas (1937b); in Beria see Crass and Jakobi (2000) and Jakobi and Crass (2004).

There is a correlation between case and constituent order (chapter 5). Ignoring a few exceptions, the following generalizations can be proposed:

- (a) If a language is verb-initial then it is a marked-nominative;
- (b) if a language has an accusative system then it is verb-final;
- (c) if a language has an ergative system, then it is verb-medial;
- (d) if a language is verb-initial then case is obligatory;
- (e) if case is optional then this is a verb-final language;
- (f) if a language is verb-initial or verb-medial, then the "no case before the verb" rule applies;
- (g) if there is no case distinction before the verb, then preverbal participants occur in the morphologically unmarked form;
- (h) if there is no case distinction preverbally, then the preverbal position is syntactically not obligatory.

As has been shown in chapter 5, the following generalizations can be made with regard to the relationship between definiteness and case in Africa: Definiteness is a diachronic source of case marking but not the other way round (see 5.2 and 3.1). Definiteness plays a role both in the rise and fall of case.

If a language has case inflexions then it has them with definite elements (such as definite nouns, pronouns). This holds irrespective of whether the case marker is used for subject (such as nominative or ergative) or object (such as accusative). This applies to the nominative in Burji, Anywa, Pări, and Jur-Luwo, for the ergative in Anywa, Pări, and Jur-Luwo, and for the accusative in the Semitic languages of Ethiopia, such as Amharic, Tigre, Tigrinya, Gurage, and Harari.

The synchronic situation of definiteness splits can reflect either the beginning or the end stage of a case system. Definiteness splits constitute the second most frequent split condition in Africa. As has been shown in particular in chapter 5, the most important split conditions are, first, what I proposed to call "no case before the verb", and, second, definiteness, where a case system is restricted to definite nouns only. Definiteness does not only provide a common split condition, it is also the source of some case markers (see 5.2). A rare type of person split, namely "no case with first and second person", is found in Ik and Datooga.

The "no case before the verb" split, where the case distinction is neutralized before the verb, probably goes back to constructions used for topic or focus marking. The source construction consists of a copula clause which expresses the topicalized or focused participant followed by a relative clause or a main clause. This split applies essentially to all verb-initial and verb-medial case languages spoken in North and East Africa. It applies to all marked-nominative and ergative languages which are verb-initial or verb-medial; it cannot apply to accusative languages, since they are all verb-final, with the exception of the verb-initial accusative language Ik, which lacks the split (see section 5.3 for discussion).

Table 6.1 Grammaticalization pathways of case in Africa

| Source | | Case | Case | Languages |
|---------------------|---|------|-------|---|
| Definite marker | > | NOM | > ERG | Anywa, Pări |
| Definite determiner | > | NOM | | Berber, Burji |
| Topic marker | > | NOM | | Cushitic, in particular HEC Ometo: Masketo and Kullo still topic; in Wolaitta, Gamo already NOM Western Bantu: Umbundu, Ngangela Ju: W2 dialect of !Xun |
| Adposition for PP | > | NOM | | Dinka, Maa |
| Adposition for PP | > | ERG | | Shilluk |
| OBL ³ | > | ACC | | Omoti |
| DAT | > | ACC | | Omoti |
| FOC | > | ACC | | East Cushitic Khoe: Khwe, Khoekhoe |

With regard to constituent order and case, the following generalizations were proposed (see chapter 5):

- (a) If a language is verb-initial then it is marked-nominative;
- (b) if a language is ergative then it is verb-medial;
- (c) if it is accusative then it is verb-final.

(a) holds even though there are plenty of marked-nominative languages with verb-final order, and some with verb-medial order.

Since Africa is a continent where hardly any written documents on earlier language states are available, little is known about the origin of case marking. Reconstruction therefore has to rely on synchronic evidence. Table 6.1 gives an overview of the hypotheses that have been proposed and are discussed in the book. They are in particular the following:

First, a definite marker has given rise to case: In West Nilotic Anywa and Pări, a definite marker first developed into a nominative and later into an ergative case marker (see section 3.1.1.4). In Berber (Afroasiatic), a definite determiner has given rise to a nominative (see section 4.5.3 and Aikhenvald 1992:43). The grammaticalization from definiteness to case can affect all core participants in the various case systems, including accusative, nominative, and ergative systems.

Second, a topic marker has given rise to a nominative, as claimed by Tosco (1994:234 & 236; see also section 4.5.4) for Highland East Cushitic (HEC) and Ometo. In Ometo, a suffix *-i* in Masketo and Kullo still functions as a topic marker, whereas in Wolaitta and Gamo it serves as a nominative marker.

³ Oblique case here means case used for peripheral participants.

Table 6.2 Development of case systems in Africa

| Source situation | Target situation | | Languages |
|----------------------|------------------|------|-----------------------|
| ACC | > | MNOM | Omotic, Cushitic |
| Proto-Omotic | | | |
| Proto-Cushitic | | | |
| No case Proto-Berber | > | MNOM | > no case Berber |
| MNOM | > | ERG | Anywa, Pări, Jur-Luwo |

Third, an adposition for peripheral participants can give rise to a nominative via a passive-like construction with a demoted subject, as has possibly happened in Dinka and Maa (see 4.5.1), and to an ergative, as appears to have happened in Shilluk (see 3.1.2). Thus, the same source, an adposition for peripheral participants, can be grammaticalized to either a nominative in a marked-nominative system or an ergative in an ergative system.

And fourth, a marker encoding peripheral participants and a dative marker can both give rise to an accusative marker, as has been hypothesized for Omotic (see section 4.5.5 and Hayward & Tsuge 1998:29–32).

With regard to the development of case systems (see table 6.2), the following observations have been made: An accusative system may develop into a marked-nominative system, as has been claimed by Hayward and Tsuge (1998) for Omotic and Cushitic (see also Tosco 1994 and Sasse 1984). In the view of these authors, Proto-Cushitic and Proto-Omotic had an accusative system which later developed in some languages into a marked-nominative system. Berber, according to Aikhenvald (1990), made a development from no case (Proto-Berber) to marked-nominative (still apparent in particular in North Berber and South Berber) and back to no case (recent development in East and West Berber).

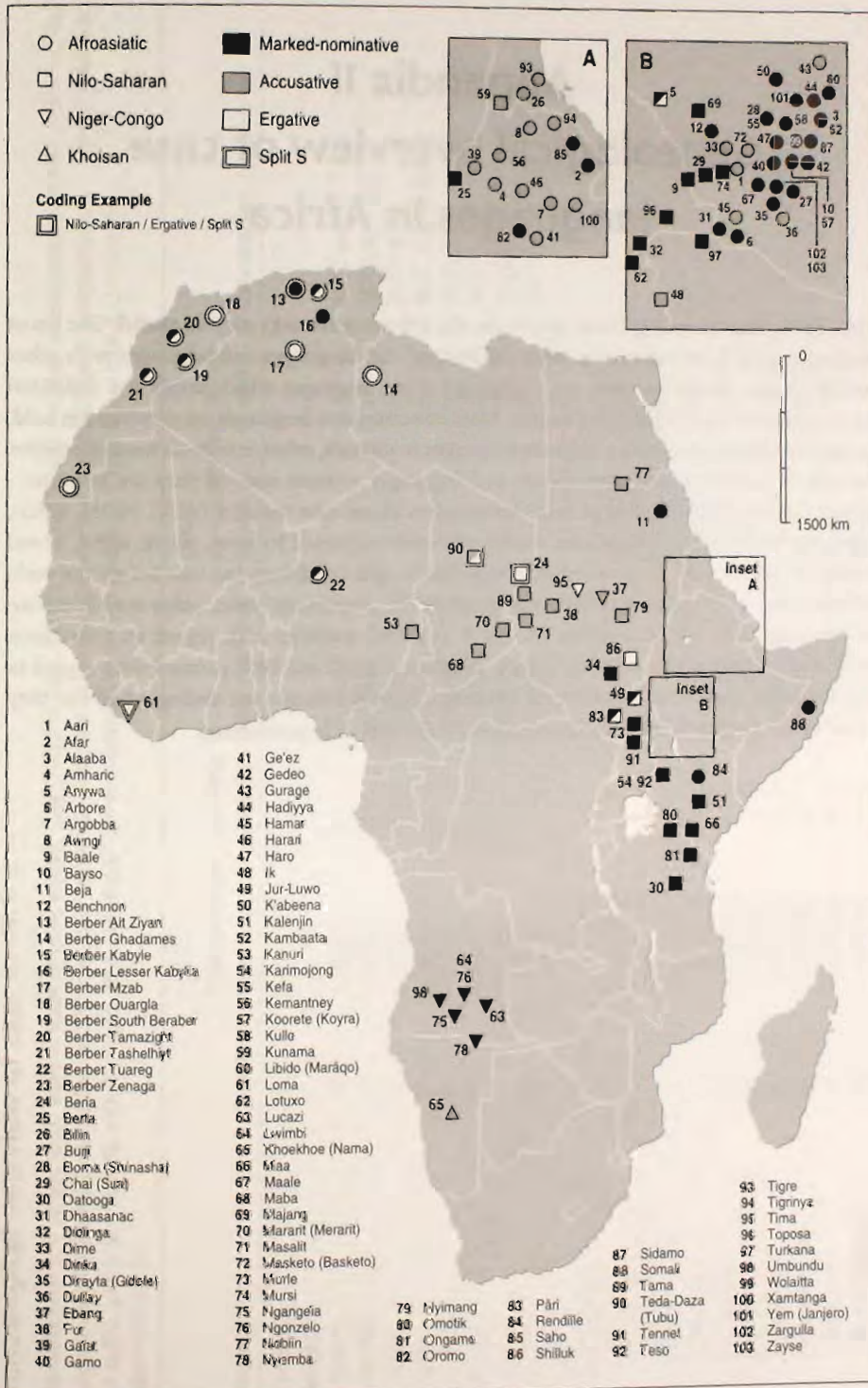
We saw that there is a close relationship of definiteness and case (5.2) and, diachronically, there is a clear order between the two functions: Definiteness may develop into case, never the other way round, that is, definiteness occurs first in time, case later. With regard to gain and loss of a case within a language, definite elements are the first which are case-inflected in the process of gaining case (see Anywa, Pări, chapter 3), and definite elements are the last elements which still show case inflexions in the process of case decay (cf. Aikhenvald 1990, 1995, on Berber; see also 4.5.3). Therefore, the following generalization can be made: If a language has a case inflexion then it occurs with definite elements (such as definite nouns, pronouns). This holds irrespective of whether the case marker is used for subject (e.g. nominative or ergative) or object (e.g. accusative). Examples are provided by the nominative in Burji (see 5.2.1.2), Anywa, Pări, Jur-Luwo, the ergative in Anywa, Pări, Jur-Luwo (see 3.1.1.3), and the accusative in the Semitic languages of Ethiopia (Amharic, Tigre, Tigrinya, Gurage, Harari; see 5.2.1.1). The synchronic situation of definiteness splits can either reflect the beginning or the terminal stage of a case system.

This book can be seen as a first step in trying to understand case in Africa. Important areas for future research are in particular the structure of split S, the consequences of the use of tone as a case marker, and the relationship between tone and marked-nominative. The topic of the book was limited to types or core cases; areas like the encoding of peripheral participants, or the semantics of case encoding had to be left out entirely. Hopefully, a better database will deepen the analysis in order to arrive at a more comprehensive picture of case in Africa.

Appendix I

Case in Africa

Map I.1 provides an overview of case languages in Africa. In order to give a clear picture, each language is presented by one spot only; the areal distribution of a language had to be disregarded. Berber is an exception: Berber languages are spoken in a large area, and some relevant languages or dialects are listed separately. For some languages, it is difficult to determine their exact location; the map constitutes a first approximation. Kalenjin is listed only once on the map (in Appendix I), while in the genetic overview (in Appendix II) four different dialects are listed separately—it is counted as one language only. The Ethio-Semitic language *Ge'ez* has died out. Therefore, it is not presented in map I.1 but in Appendix II. As can be seen on map I.1, there is a high concentration of case languages in Ethiopia and the border region of Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, and Sudan.



Map 1.1 Case in Africa

Appendix II

Genealogical overview of case languages in Africa

For a better understanding of the Appendix, the following remarks may be useful: The list of languages is far from exhaustive. Both full-fledged case languages and languages with other manifestations of case patterns are considered. Case languages which satisfy the definition given in chapter 1 are highlighted in gray. Marked-nominative languages are presented in bold, accusative languages in italics, ergative languages in capitals, other manifestations of ergative patterns in capitals within parentheses, and languages without case—if they are relevant—in parentheses. The columns provide information about case systems (ACC, NOM, ERG), types (type 1, type 2), types of case marker (whether expressed by tone, prefix, suffix, vowel reduction, accent shift, preposition, or postposition), split conditions (no case before the verb, definite only, not obligatory, person split, gender split), constituent order, other manifestations of case alignment (all occurrences of split S and ERG patterns with regard to constituent order and pronominal cross-referencing, a selection of ACC and ERG patterns with regard to pluractionals), and the case marker (if available). Several Kalenjin are distinguished but they count as one language only; therefore most of them appear in parentheses.

Genealogical overview of case in Africa

Abbreviations: A = accent shift; **bold** = marked-nominative; CAPITALS = ERGATIVITY; (CAPITALS) = Other manifestations of ERGATIVITY; def only = case only with definite nouns; NCBV = no case before the verb; not obl = not obligatory; P = prefix; Post = postposition; R = vowel reduction; S = suffix; split S: S₁ = A & S₀ = O; T = tone; Vf = verb-final; Vi = verb-initial; Vm = verb-middle; 1 = type 1; 2 = type 2; 0 = (no case)

italics = accusative.

| Language | Number ¹ | Case system & type | Marking strategy | Split condition | Other manifestations of case | Word order | Case marker |
|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|------------|---|
| Afroasiatic | | | | | | | |
| Semitic | | | | | | | |
| <i>Amharic</i> | 4 | 1 ACC | S | def only | | Vf | ACC: -n |
| <i>Argobba</i> | 7 | 1 ACC | S | def only | | Vf | ACC: -n |
| <i>Gǝʿǝz</i> | 39 | 1 ACC | S | def only | | Vf | ACC: -n |
| <i>Tigre</i> | 93 | 1 ACC | S | def only | | Vf | ACC: <i>ʔagəl</i> , <i>ʔəl</i> |
| <i>Tigrinya</i> | 94 | 1 ACC | S | def only | | Vf | ACC: -n |
| <i>Harari</i> | 46 | 1 ACC | S | def only | | Vf | ACC: -u |
| <i>Gurage</i> | 43 | 1 ACC | P | def only | | Vf | ACC: <i>a-</i> , <i>yä-</i> |
| <i>Ge'ez</i> | 41 | 1 ACC | S | def only | | Vf | ACC: <i>-a</i> , <i>hā</i> , <i>-la</i> |
| Berber | | | | | | | |
| North Berber | | | | | | | |
| (Ouargla) | | | | (split S) | | (Vi) | |
| (Mzab), (Zekkara), | | | | (split S) | | (Vi) | |
| (Salah), (Senwa) | | | | | | | |
| (Menacer) | | | | (split S?) | | (Vi) | |
| Tamazight | 20 | 1 MNOM | R+P | NCBV | split S | Vi | |
| Kabyle | 15 | 1 MNOM | R+P | NCBV | split S | Vi | |
| Tashelhiyt | 21 | 1 MNOM | R+P | NCBV | split S | Vi | |
| Lesser Kabylia | 16 | 1 MNOM | R+P | NCBV | split S | Vi | |
| Ait Ziyian | 13 | 1 MNOM | R+P | NCBV, def only | split S | Vi | |
| South Berber | 19 | 1 MNOM | R+P | NCBV | split S | Vi | |

(cont.)

| Language | Number ¹ | Case system & type | Marking strategy | Split condition | Other manifestations of case | Word order | Case marker |
|--|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|------------|---|
| <u>South Berber:</u> | | | | | | | |
| Tuareg | 22 | 1 MNOM | R+P | NCBV | split S | Vi | |
| <u>East Berber:</u> | | | | | | | |
| (Siwa), (Awdjilah), (Nefusa), (Sokna), (Pezzan) | | | | | | Vi | |
| (Ghadames) | | | | | (split S) | (Vi) | |
| <u>West Berber:</u> (Zenaga) | | | | | (split S) | (Vi) | |
| <u>Cushitic:</u> | | | | | | | |
| <u>East</u> | | | | | | | |
| <u>Dullay</u> | 36 | 1 ACC | S | not obl | | Vf | ACC: -n; topical O only |
| Afar | 2 | 1 MNOM | S | split/none | | Vf | NOM: M nouns in V; -i |
| Dirayta (Gidole) | 35 | 1 MNOM | S | split/none for F & pl nouns | | Vf | NOM: M.S.G, if not in -t: -(V)r |
| <u>Lowland East:</u> | | | | | | | |
| Saho | 85 | 1 MNOM | A+S | not obl | | Vf | NOM: "stressed" nouns with final -V are marked by change of final V to -i and loss of stress |
| Oromo | 82 | 1 MNOM | S | | | Vf | Oromo (Southern): NOM: Nouns & Adj. ending in -VV: -ni: M in -V: -ii(ni); F in -V: -tii(ni) |
| <u>Omo Tana:</u> | | | | | | | |
| Arbore | 6 | 1+2 MNOM | T+S | | | Vf | NOM: (1) M nouns in C and F in V; none; (2) F nouns in C: -é; (3) nouns in V with final H tone (= all PL's and a few M's: final H becomes final L |

| | | | | | |
|------------------------|----|----------|-----|------|--|
| Dhaasanac | 31 | 1 MNOM | T+S | Vf | NOM: accented (H) becomes non accented (non-H) |
| Rendille | 84 | 1 MNOM | T | Vf | NOM: F nouns in C: -e |
| Somali | 88 | 1 MNOM | T | Vf | NOM: final H becomes non-H; F nouns in C: -i |
| Bayso | 10 | 1 MNOM | S | Vf | NOM: -o (only nouns in -r?) |
| (Elmolo) | | | | (Vf) | only few nouns other none |
| Highland East: | | | | | |
| Sidamo | 87 | 1 MNOM | S | Vf | NOM: M: -V → i/-u |
| Alaaba | 3 | 2 MNOM | A+S | Vf | NOM: -(V) → i? |
| Kambaata | 52 | 2 MNOM | A+S | Vf | NOM: final vowel change: depending on the number of morphemes of the word, e.g. with 2 morphemes: M.ACC: a, aa, ee, i, o, oo, u; F.ACC: e, o; M.NOM: ¹ u, ¹ oo; F.M: ¹ u + accent shift |
| K'abeena | 50 | 2 MNOM | A+S | Vf | NOM: final vowel change: depending on the number of morphemes of the word, e.g. with 2 morphemes: M.ACC: a, aa, ee, i, o, oo, u; F.ACC: e, o; M.NOM: ¹ u, ¹ oo; F.M: ¹ u + accent shift |
| Libido (Maräqo) | 60 | 2 MNOM | S | Vf | NOM: -(V) → i? |
| Gedeo | 42 | 1 MNOM | S | Vf | NOM: F: -VV → -V; M: -V → -i |
| Burji | 27 | 1 MNOM | S+R | Vf | NOM: -(V) → i? |
| Hadiyya | 44 | 1 MNOM | S | (Vf) | |
| South: (Iraqw), (Ma'a) | | | | | ACC: M: -b after vowel, otherwise zero; F: -t |
| North: Beja | 11 | 1+2 MNOM | S | Vf | NOM: M zero; F: -t |

(cont.)

| Language | Number ¹ | Case system & type | Marking strategy | Split condition | Other manifestations of case | Word order | Case marker |
|---------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|--|------------------------------|------------|--|
| <u>Central: Agaw</u> | | | | | | | |
| Awngi | 8 | 1 ACC | S | | | Vf | ACC: -e/-i; wa/V-/-ō-wa/C— |
| Xamtanga | 100 | 1 ACC | S | S1/none | | Vf | ACC: F; -t; M + PL none |
| Bilin | 26 | 1 ACC | S | | | Vf | ACC: M: -s(i); F: -t(i) |
| Kemantney | 56 | 2 ACC | S | def only; NOM only with M, SG, no F, no PL | | Vf | NOM: M SG -i; ACC: M, SG + PL -i(s); F, SG: -t(i)t |
| <u>Oromo</u> ² | | | | | | | |
| <u>West:</u> | | | | | | | |
| <u>Omoto:</u> | | | | | | | |
| <u>South:</u> | | | | | | | |
| Maale | 67 | 1+2 MNOM | indef = T; def = S | | | Vf | NOM indef. final L becomes final H + NOM def.: -d ACC def.: -ō |
| <u>West:</u> | | | | | | | |
| Maaleto (Basketo) | 72 | 1 ACC | S | | | Vf | ACC: -n |
| <u>East:</u> | | | | | | | |
| Haro | 47 | 2 MNOM | S | def only | | Vf | |
| Koorere (Koyra) | 57 | 1 MNOM | S | | | Vf | NOM: -I (-y after V) |
| Zayse | 103 | 1 MNOM | S | | | Vf | NOM: -I (-y after V) |
| Zargulla ³ | 102 | 1+2 MNOM | S | | | Vf | NOM: -d; (-y after V) ACC: -n; -ō |
| <u>North:</u> | | | | | | | |
| Gamo | 40 | 2 MNOM | S | | | Vf | NOM: -il |
| Kullo | 58 | 2 MNOM | S | | | Vf | NOM: -I, ACC: -n |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----|--------------------------------|-----|---|-------|--|
| Wolaitta | 99 | MNOM; indef = S+T 1 def = 2 | | | Vf | NOM: -i |
| Benchnon | 12 | 2 MNOM | S+T | ACC = obl. only with "specific" nouns | Vf | NOM: -i ¹ , -a ³ ; ACC: -is ³ |
| Yem (Janjero) | 101 | 2 MNOM | S | | Vf | NOM -u (opt.?), ACC -n |
| Kefoid: | | | | | | |
| Borna (Shinasha) | 28 | 2 MNOM | S | | Vf | NOM.M: -a, F: -ni; ACC: -a |
| Kefa | 55 | 2 MNOM | S | not obl | Vf | NOM -y (emphatic) ACC: -n |
| (Chara) | | | | | | |
| East: (= Aari-Banna) | | | | | | |
| Hamar | 45 | 1 ACC | S | | Vf | ACC: -(d)am |
| Dime | 33 | 1 ACC | S | | Vf | ACC: -im (also INDEF?) |
| Aari | 1 | 1 ACC | S | | Vf | ACC: -m |
| Chadie: | | | | | | |
| (HAUSA) | | | | | (V/m) | |
| (TANGALE) | | | | | (V/m) | |
| (MANDARA) | | | | | (V/m) | |
| (KANAKURU) | | | | | (V/m) | |
| Nilo-Saharan | | | | | | |
| Ik | 48 | 2 ACC | S | person split; clause type split | Vi | NOM: vowel loss + -a; ACC: -k ^a |
| (So)⁵ | | (1 ACC) | (T) | (split pronouns/ none) | (Vi) | |
| Fit | 38 | 1 ACC | S | not obl | Vf | ACC: -si |
| Maba | 68 | 2 ACC | S | only with def particle; def only | Vf | |
| Masalit | 71 | 1 ACC | S | only with few nouns; not obl, SG only | Vf | ACC: -ka |
| Kumama | 59 | 2 ACC | S | not obl | Vf | NOM: -m, or -dem; ACC: -si (cont.) |

| Language | Number ¹ | Case system & type | Marking strategy | Split condition | Other manifestations of case | Word order | Case marker |
|--|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|------------|---|
| Berta | 25 | 1 MNOM | T+S | NCBV | | Vm | NOM: HL ₃ or L ₃ H, ACC: ø, GEN: suffix; Construct case: suffix |
| <u>Saharān:</u> <i>Teda-Daza = Tubu</i> | 90 | 2 ACC | S | not obl | split S | Vf | ACC: postpositions <i>ga</i> ; NOM: <i>yī ~ i</i> |
| <i>Kanuri</i> | 53 | 2 ACC | S | not obl | | Vf | ACC: postposition <i>ga/a</i> ; NOM: postposition <i>ye</i> |
| (Beria) <u>Eastern Sudanic</u> <i>Nobin</i> | 24 | | | | (split S) | | |
| 77 | | 1 ACC | S | | | Vf | ACC: <i>-ga</i> |
| <u>Western:</u> <i>Mararit (Merarit)</i> | 70 | 1 ACC | S | | | Vf | |
| <i>Tama</i> | 89 | 1 ACC | S | not obl | | Vf | ACC: <i>-ŋ, -n</i> |
| <i>Nyɔmang</i> | 79 | 1 ACC | S | | | Vf | ACC: <i>-o; -ɔ</i> |
| Nilotic: | | | | | | | |
| <u>West</u> | | | | | | | |
| PÄRL, | 83 | 1 MNOM/ERG S | S | NCBV | ERG/ACC | Vm | NOM/ERG: <i>-i</i> |
| (ANYWA ⁶) | 5 | 1 MNOM/ERG S | S | def only; not obl; NCBV | ERG/ACC | Vm | NOM/ERG: <i>-Ci</i> |
| JUR-LUWO | 49 | 1 MNOM/ERG S | S | NCBV | ERG/ACC | Vm | NOM/ERG: <i>-ɛ</i> |
| Dinka | 34 | 1 MNOM | T | NCBV | | Vm | NOM: tone |
| (Nuer) | | | | | | Vm | |
| SHILLUK | 86 | 1 ERG | Post | NCBV | ERG(ACC) | Vm | ERG: preceding tonal downstep and an enclitic <i>yī</i> |
| (Lango) | | | | | | Vm | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|----|--------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|-----|--------------------|--|
| <u>East</u> Maa | 66 | 1 MNOM | T | NCBV | ACC | Vi | ACC: complex rules, depending on noun class; e.g. NOM: floating low tone, except last syllable NOM: first syllable becomes initial H |
| | 81 | 1 MNOM | T | ? | | Vi | |
| | 92 | 1 MNOM | T | NCBV | | Vi | NOM: floating low tone LOC: HHL ₂ or HHL(L...) |
| | 97 | 1 MNOM | T | NCBV | | Vi | GEN: SG: HHL ₂ or LHL(L...) & HHL ₂ or HHL(L...) INST: HHL ₂ or HHL(L...) VOC: LHL ₂ or L(L...) HLH (Dimmendaal 1983:259-68) NOM: complex rules, depending on the noun class; e.g. NOM: all H, except the last L |
| Toposa | 96 | 1 MNOM | T | NCBV | | Vi | |
| Karimojong Lotuxo (Bari) | 54 | 1 MNOM | T | NCBV | | Vi | |
| | 62 | 1 MNOM | | | | Vi (V/m) | |
| <u>South</u> Kalenjin: (Pokot) (Nandi) | 51 | 1 MNOM (1 MNOM) (1 MNOM) | T (T) (T) | NCBV (NCBV) (NCBV) | | Vi (Vi) (Vi) | complex rules; different noun classes, NOM e.g.: change final vowel to H |
| | | (1 MNOM) (1 MNOM) | (T) (T) | (NCBV) (NCBV) | | (Vi) (Vi) | |

(cont.)

| Language | Number ¹ | Case system & type | Marking strategy | Split condition | Other manifestations of case | Word order | Case marker |
|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|------------|--|
| Datooga | 30 | 1 MNOM | T | NCBV; person split | | Vi | NOM: change to initial and final H |
| Omotik | 80 | 1 MNOM | T? | NCBV | | Vi | |
| Surmic: | | | | | | | |
| North: | | | | | | | |
| Majang | 69 | 1 MNOM | S | NCBV | | Vi | NOM: -ε |
| Southwest: | | | | | | | |
| Didinga | 32 | 1 MNOM | S | NCBV | | Vi | NOM: SG: -ε, -i (sg.); -a (pl.) |
| Murle | 73 | 1 MNOM | S | NCBV | | Vi | NOM: tone or suffix -i or -a |
| Tennet | 91 | 1 MNOM | S+T | partly NCBV | | Vi | NOM: -(j)ε, (j)i (sg.), -na (pl.) and tone |
| Baale | 9 | 1 MNOM | S | NCBV | | Vm | NOM: -o |
| Mursi | 74 | 1 MNOM | S | NCBV | | Vm | NOM: -o |
| Southeast: | | | | | | | |
| Chai (Suri) | 29 | 1 MNOM | S | NCBV | | Vm (Vm) | |
| (Kw'egu), (Me'en) | | | | | | | |
| Niger-Congo | | | | | | | |
| Kordofanian | | | | | | | |
| Tima | 95 | 1 ERG | P | Focus only | | Vm | ERG: N |
| Ebang | 37 | 1 ACC | S | | | Vf | ACC: suffix (different realizations) |
| Mande: | | | | | | | |
| (Loma) | 61 | | | | (Split S) | (Vf) | |
| South-Mande: | | | | | (2ERG) | (Vf) | Personal pronouns ERG pattern? |
| (Guro) | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|----|--------|---|--------|------|---|
| (Mano) | | | | (?ERG) | (Vf) | Personal pronouns ERG pattern? |
| (Ben) | | | | (?ERG) | (Vf) | Personal pronouns ERG pattern? |
| <u>Bantu:</u> | | | | | | |
| Ngangela | 75 | 1 MNOM | T | | Vm | NOM = without initial H; (ACC = initial H) |
| Umbundu | 98 | 1 MNOM | T | | Vm | NOM = becomes initial L; (ACC = initial H) |
| Lwimbi | 64 | 1 MNOM | T | | Vm | |
| Ngonzelo | 76 | 1 MNOM | T | | Vm | |
| Lucazi | 63 | 1 MNOM | T | | Vm | |
| Nyemba | 78 | 1 MNOM | T | | Vm | |
| <u>Khoisan</u> | | | | | | |
| !u (!Xun) | | | | (ERG) | (Vm) | ERG pattern with pluralactional verbs |
| (!Hǃa) | | | | (ERG) | (Vm) | ERG pattern with pluralactional verbs (Gruber 1975) |
| Khoe; Khoekhoe | 65 | 1 ACC | S | | Vf | ACC ^a |
| (Nama) | | | | | | |

¹ Reference number of the language used in maps.² Classification according to Fleming 1976.³ Superscript numbers indicate tone; ACC = obligatory only with "specific" nouns (see Tosco 1994:226-8).⁴ It remains unclear from the data whether case occurs with pronouns or not.⁵ Anywa is placed in parentheses as it is questionable whether Anywa has a case system (see 3.1.1).⁶ According to Azeb Amha p.c.

Terminology

For more detailed information on the terms used in this book, see chapter 1.

Absolute (sometimes called **absolutive**) is used in East Africa for the case referring to the morphologically and functionally unmarked form in marked-nominative systems (called accusative here), or in accusative systems (called nominative here). The term is not used in order to avoid terminological confusion.

Absolutive is the case covering S and O in an ergative system.

Accusative is the case covering O in either an accusative or a marked-nominative system.

Accusative pattern or **accusative alignment** is present if, by any means, S and A are treated the same and simultaneously different from O (in short: S, A-O).

Accusative system is present if S and A are treated the same and simultaneously different from O (in short: S, A-O) by means of nominal inflexion. The case covering A and S, called nominative, is morphologically unmarked, functionally unmarked, and syntactically unmarked. And the case covering O, called accusative, is morphologically marked, functionally marked, and syntactically marked.

Adjunct refers to participants of the clause which are not required by the verb, as opposed to verbal complements. Instead of adjunct, the term peripheral participant is preferred here.

Agent. The entity that performs an activity or brings about a change of state.

Ambitransitive. Verbs which may be used either as intransitive verbs or transitive verbs. Two subgroups are distinguished, either S=A, as with the English verb *to eat* in *I eat.* / *I eat it.*, or S=O, as with the English verb *to open* in *The door is open.* / *I open the door.*

Beneficiary. The animate entity on whose behalf an activity is carried out.

Case is a system in which the relation that the dependent noun bears to its head is expressed. Typically, the head of the noun is a verb on clause level; the phrase level with the head being an adposition or another noun is also considered.

Case alignment see **Case pattern**.

Caseless form is used for the morphologically unmarked form of the noun in a type 2 case language. In a type 2 split case language with a case/no-case system the morphologically unmarked form of the noun occurs in contexts where the case system is neutralized. This applies for example to the morphologically unmarked form of the noun in Kanuri, a type 2 accusative language, where case is optional only. Note that the caseless form must be distinguished from the morphologically unmarked form of the noun in a type 1 case language. The latter has the value of a case form used as the unmarked member in a case opposition.

Case doubling is the morphological occurrence of more than one case ending on one noun, with the noun having the value of one case only. It refers to a special building pattern. In case doubling, the case marker is not suffixed to the morphologically unmarked form but to a form which itself is already a derived case form. Case doubling should not be confused with (→) double case.

Case form is the complete case-inflected word.

Case function is the syntactic function expressed by case, such as, S, A, O, IO, peripheral participant, nominal predicate, or citation form.

Case language is defined as a language that has grammatical forms within the NP used exclusively or primarily to distinguish core participants, S, A, and O. Use of these forms may be obligatory, as the case inflections of Latin, or optional, as the postposed case markers of Kanuri.

Case marker is the marker used to express case.

Case role "is the semantic relation borne by a **dependent** to its **head**. In *She washed the tablecloth*, the subject *she* could be described as having the role of agent and *the tablecloth* as having the role of patient. Other terms used are semantic role, thematic role, and theta role (Blake 1994:205).

Case pattern (or **case alignment**) is present when by any means an accusative, ergative, or tripartite alignment is expressed with regard to S, A, and O.

Case system is present when a (→) case pattern with regard to S, A, and O is expressed by a grammaticalized means, such as affixes, tone, and/or adpositions.

Cause. The cause of an activity.

Citation form is the form of the noun when used in isolation. It is one of the (→) extra-syntactic functions of a noun.

Complement refers to participants which are required by the verb, as opposed to adjuncts. The term core participant is preferred here.

Copula. "A verb with little or no independent meaning, whose primary function is to link elements of clause structure, typically the subject and the complement, to show that they are semantically equivalent." (Crystal 1992:85)

Core participants are the intransitive subject, S, the transitive subject, A, the direct object, O, and the indirect object, IO. All further participants are (→) peripheral participants.

Cross-reference refers to bound affixes on the verb or auxiliary which provide information about person and/or number and/or gender of NPs in certain syntactic functions (see Dixon 1994:42).

Decategorialization. A linguistic element loses morphosyntactic features which a good member of the category to which the linguistic element belongs has.

Destination. The point to or towards which an entity moves or is oriented.

Ditransitive. A predicate has three core participants, namely the transitive subject, A, the transitive object, O, and the indirect object, IO.

Double case. Two case endings occur on one noun, and the noun has syntactically the value of two cases. Typically, double case occurs with genitives in languages where the latter appear on the possessor. The possessor then bears both the case required by the clausal syntax and by the possessor. Sometimes genitives which occur on the possessee and not the possessor are called anti-genitive, or anti-genitival (Kießling 2001, Andersen 2002). Double case must not be confused with (→) case doubling.

Ergative is the case covering A in an ergative system.

Ergative pattern or **ergative alignment** is present if, by any means, S and O are treated the same and simultaneously different from A (in short: S, A–O).

Ergative system is present if, by means of nominal inflexion, S and O are treated the same and simultaneously different from A (in short: S, O–A). The case covering A is called ergative, and the case covering S and O absolutive.

Ergativity is present if S and O are treated the same and simultaneously different from A (in short: S, O–A).

Experiencer. The participant experiencing an emotion or perception.

Extra-syntactic function is a term used by Creissels (2004) to refer to nominal functions such as pure designation or quotation. It covers all occurrences of nouns in isolation. Extra-syntactic functions are syntactically unmarked rather than marked.

Extent. The distance, area, or time over which an activity is carried out or over which a state holds.

Filler. A class of elements which can occur in a certain slot.

Focal attention is sometimes used in the discourse literature instead of topic. "From the set of activated elements [in short-term memory], it is possible for a further subset to receive even more specialized and localized processing. Elements which receive this more focused processing fall within **focal attention**. They represent elements which have been selected to form novel associations against information in long-term memory. Focal attention is a particularly limited kind of processing state, requiring sustained expenditure of rather limited attentional resources. Consequently, only one or two elements ordinarily receive focal attention at any given time" (Tomlin & Pu 1991).

Focus. "[...] the focus of the proposition expressed by a sentence in a given utterance context is seen as the element of information whereby the presupposition and the assertion DIFFER from each other. The focus is that portion of a proposition which cannot be taken for granted at the time of speech. It is the UNPREDICTABLE or pragmatically NON-RECOVERABLE element in an utterance. The focus is what makes an utterance into an assertion" (Lambrecht 1994:2015).

Grammaticalization. "[...] consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a derivative formant to an inflectional one" (Kuryłowicz [1965] 1975:52).

Grammeme (or *gram*) is a linguistic form used to express some grammatical function. *Present* could be for example a grammeme in a tense system, or *dative* a grammeme in a case language.

Head-dependent. "The head is the word which determines the syntactic type of the entire constituent and hence the privileges of occurrence and syntactic distribution of the constituent. If there is any government (by which I mean requirement of one word in a particular grammatical function by another) within the constituent, it is the head that governs the *dependent*" (Nichols 1992:46).

Instrument. The means by which an activity or change of state is carried out.

Intransitive. In an intransitive clause the predicate has only one core participant in subject function, namely S, resulting in a VS or SV structure.

IO. The participant semantically encoding case roles like beneficiary, recipient, or directional, if syntactically no head-marking device like verbal derivation is required.

IO equivalent. The participant semantically encoding case roles like beneficiary, recipient, or directional, if syntactically a head-marking device like verbal derivation is required.

Location. The location of an entity.

Manner. The way in which an activity is carried out or the way in which a change of state takes place.

Marked-nominative system is present if, by means of nominal inflexion, S and A are treated similarly and simultaneously different from A (in short S, A-O), and the case covering A and S, called nominative, is morphologically marked, functionally marked, and syntactically marked, whereas the case covering O, called accusative, is morphologically unmarked, functionally unmarked, and syntactically unmarked.

Nominal predicate. The copula complement in a copula clause.

Nominative is the case covering S and A in either an accusative or a marked-nominative system.

Non-transitive. In a non-transitive clause the predicate has two core participants none of which is an object, O; instead, it is for example the transitive subject, A, and a locative participant, LOC.

Other manifestations of case patterns are present if a case alignment is manifested with regard to constituent order, cross-reference, bound pronouns, etc.

Partitive. A form which refers to a part or quantity (Crystal 1992:291).

Path. The course over which an entity moves.

Patient. Either (i) an entity viewed as existing in a state or undergoing change; (ii) an entity viewed as located or moving; or (iii) an entity viewed as affected or effected by an entity.

Peripheral participant is a participant of the clause which is not (\rightarrow) a core participant.

Pluractional is "a verbal formation indicating plurality of action, i.e., action affecting a number of subjects or objects and/or extending over time and space" (Newman *forthc.*:1).

Possessor. The entity that possesses another entity.

Predication. "PREDICATION is that operation which allows a proposition to assume a self-contained linguistic form, a sentence. By the act of predication we posit the existence of a state of affairs. A proposition without a predication is just the idea of a state of affairs; it is predication that provides the proposition with illocutive force" (Sasse 1993a:651).

Pro-forms "are functionally defined as substitutes which replace members of the corresponding full-word category. Actually, they do not form a single class, for which a formal characterization in terms of syntactic distribution and/or category-establishing morphemes can be provided, but rather a number of different classes, each of which normally exhibits the formal characteristics of the class it substitutes" (Sasse 1993a:669).

Purpose. The purpose of an activity.

Reason. The reason for an activity.

Recipient. A sentient destination.

Sender. A sentient source.

Slot. A functional position in a clause which is to be filled by a filler.

Source. The point from which an entity moves or derives.

Split S. S is not treated coherently; rather in some contexts S is treated like A (in short: $S=S_A$) and in other contexts S is treated like O (in short: $S=S_O$).

Split system is present if not in all contexts in a language the same case system is at work (= case split). Instead, there are either different case systems at work, such as ergative/ marked-nominative, or the case system is neutralized, such as accusative/no case.

Temporal destination. The temporal point to or towards which an entity is oriented.

Temporal source. The temporal point from which an entity derives.

Time. The temporal position or extension of an entity.

Topic. "The topic of a sentence is the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence is ABOUT" (Lambrecht 1994:118).

Transitive. In a transitive clause the predicate has two core participants, namely the transitive subject, A, and the object, O.

Tripartite refers to case systems in which S, A, and O are all treated differently (in short S-A-O).

Type 1. A case language in which, in the basic case opposition, one case is morphologically unmarked and the other is morphologically marked, such as the nominative being usually the morphologically unmarked case in an accusative system and the accusative being the morphologically marked case.

Type 2. A case language in which, in the basic case opposition, both cases are morphologically marked, such as a morphologically marked nominative and a morphologically marked accusative (e.g. in Kanuri).

References

- Abebe, Alemayehu (1993), 'A Sketch of the Masketo Grammar', S.L.L.E. (Survey of Little-known Languages of Ethiopia). Linguistic Report 8 (Addis Ababa, June/July 1993), 1–9.
- Adams, Bruce (1990), 'Name nouns in Wolaitta', in Hayward (eds.) 1990a, 406–12.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (1990), 'On Berber case in the light of Afroasiatic languages', in Hans G. Mukarovskiy (ed.), *Proceedings of the 5th International Hamito-Semitic Congress*, 1. (Beiträge zur Afrikanistik, 40). Wien, 113–19.
- (1992), 'An outline of word and sentence prosody in Berber: Towards a reconstruction'. [Manuscript, 74 pages].
- (1995), 'Split ergativity in Berber languages', *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies* 4:39–68.
- Allan, Edward J. (1976), 'Kullo', in Hayward (ed.) 1976, 324–50.
- Amha, Azeb (2001), *The Maale language*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
- Andersen, Torben (1988), 'Ergativity in Pāri, a Nilotic OVS language', *Lingua* 75:289–324.
- (1991), 'Subject and topic in Dinka', *Studies in Language* 15:265–94.
- (1995), 'Absolutive and nominative in Berta', in Robert Nicolai & Franz Rottland (eds.) *Proceedings of the 5th Nilo-Saharan Linguistics Colloquium*. Nice. August 24–29, 1992. (Nilo-Saharan, 10). Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 39–69.
- (2000), 'Anywa and Pāri, II: A morphosyntactic comparison', *Afrika und Übersee* 83:65–87.
- (2002), 'Case inflection and nominal head marking in Dinka', *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 23:1–30.
- Anderson, Stephen R. (1977), 'On mechanisms by which languages become ergative', in Li (ed.) 1977, 317–63.
- Applegate, J. R. (1970), 'The Berber language', in C. R. Hoge (ed.) 1971, *Afroasiatic: a survey*. (Janua Linguarum. Series Practica, 163). The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 96–118.
- Appleyard, David L. (1989), 'The relative verb in focus constructions: An Ethiopian areal feature', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 32,2:291–305.
- Aspinion, R. (1953), *Apprenons le berbère: Initiation aux dialectes chleuhs*. Rhabat.
- Bach, E. & R. T. Harms (eds.) (1968), *Universals in linguistic theory*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Basset, Andre & Andre Picard (1948), *Éléments de grammaire berbère (Kabylie-Irjen)*. Alger.
- Basset, René (1893), *Études sur la Zenatia du Mzab, D'Ouargla et de l'Oued-Rir*. Publications de l'École des Lettres d'Alger. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- Bayer, Josef (2004), 'Non-nominative subjects in comparison', in Peri Bhaskararao & Karumuri Venkata Subbarao (eds.) 2004a, 49–76.
- Bender, Marvin Lionel (ed.) (1976a), *The non-Semitic languages of Ethiopia*. East Lansing: African Studies Center, Michigan State University.
- (1976b), 'Nilo-Saharan overview', in Bender (ed.) 1976a, 439–83.
- (ed.) (1983), *Nilo-Saharan language studies*, 13. Committee on Northeast African Studies, African Studies Center. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University.
- (ed.) (1989), *Topics in Nilo-Saharan linguistics*. (Nilo-Saharan, 3). Hamburg: Helmut Buske.

- Bender, Marvin Lionel (ed.) (1991), *Proceedings of the 4th Nilo-Saharan Linguistics Colloquium*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- (1996), *The Nilo-Saharan languages: A comparative essay*. Munich: Lincom Europa.
- , J. D. Bowen, R. L. Cooper, C. A. Ferguson (eds.) (1976), *Language in Ethiopia*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Bennett, Patrick R. (1974), 'Tone and the Nilotic case system', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (BSOAS) 37:19–28.
- & J. P. Sterk (1977), 'South Central Niger-Congo: A reclassification', *Studies in African Linguistics* (SAL) 8:241–73.
- Benoist, J.-P. (1969), *Grammaire Gourou. Groupe Mandé – Côte d'Ivoire*. (Afrique et langage, 3). Lyon.
- Bhaskararao, Peri & Karumuri Venkata Subbarao (eds.) (2004a), *Non-nominative subjects*, 1. (Typological studies in language, 60). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- (eds.) (2004b), *Non-nominative subjects*, 2. (Typological studies in language, 61). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Biarnay, S. (1908), *Étude sur le dialecte berbère de Ouargla*. Paris.
- Blake, Barry (1994), *Case*. (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics, 32). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (2001), 'Global trends in language', *Linguistics* 39,5:1009–1028.
- Blanchon, Jean Alain (1998), 'Semantic/pragmatic conditions on the tonology of the Kongo noun-phrase: a diachronic hypothesis', in Larry Hyman & Charles Kisseberth (eds.) 1998, 1–32.
- (1999), '"Tone cases" in Bantu Group B.40', in Jean A. Blanchon & Denis Creissels (eds.) 1999, 37–82.
- & Denis Creissels (eds.) (1999), *Issues in Bantu tonology*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Böhm, Gerhard (1983), 'Zwei Typen "Ergativsprachlicher" Prädikation in Tschadischen Sprachen', in Ekkehard Wolff & H. Meyer-Bahlburg (eds.) 1983, 95–113.
- Brecht, Richard D. & James S. Levine (eds.) (1986), *Case in Slavic: Studies dedicated to the memory of Roman O. Jakobson*. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers.
- Brenzinger, Matthias (ed.) (1998), *Endangered languages of Africa*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Brooks, B. (1991), 'Pluractional verbs in African languages', *Afrikanische Arbeitspapiere* (AAP) 28:157–68.
- Brugnatelli, Vermondo (1984), 'Lo stato dei nomi in berbero orientale', *Atti SGM* 24 (1982–83) [1984], 4–14.
- (1986), 'Alternanze accentuali e morfo-sintassi nominale nel berbero orientale', in Carlo Della Casa, Renato Arena (eds.), *Contributi di Orientalistica, Glottologia e Dialettologia*. (Quaderni di ACME, 7). Milano, Cisalpino-Goliardica: Istituto Editoriale Universitario Cisalpino, 61–72.
- (1987), 'Deux notes sur l'état d'annexion en berbère', in Hermann Jungraithmayr, W. W. Müller (eds.), *Proceedings of the 4th International Hamito-Semitic Congress*, Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 349–59.
- Bryan, Margaret Arminel (1971), 'The verb classes in the East Saharan languages', in Veronika Six, Norbert Cyffer, Ludwig Gerhardt, Hilke Meyer-Bahlburg & Ekkehard Wolff (eds.), *Afrikanische Sprachen und Kulturen – ein Querschnitt*. (Hamburger Beiträge zur Afrikakunde, 14). Hamburg: Deutsches Institut zur Afrikaforschung, 224–34.

- Bryant, Michael (2001), Collection of narrative discourses in Tirmaga-Chai. [Manuscript].
- Buth, Randall (1981), 'Ergative word order—Luwo is OVS', *Occasional Papers in the Study of Sudanese Languages* 1:74–90.
- Butt, Miriam (2006), *Theories of case*. (Cambridge Textbook in Linguistics). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bybee, L. Joan (1994), 'The grammaticalization of zero: Asymmetries in tense and aspect systems', in William Pagliuca (ed.), *Perspectives on grammaticalization*. (Current issues in linguistic theory, 109). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 235–54.
- Bynon, J. (ed.) (1984), *Current progress in Afro-Asiatic linguistics. Papers of the 3rd International Hamito-Semitic Congress*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Carlin, Eithne (1993), *The So language*. (African Monographies, 2). Cologne: University of Cologne.
- Carstairs, Andrew (1981), *Notes on affixes, clitics and paradigms*. Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club.
- Castellino, Giorgio R. (1978), 'The case system of Cushitic in relation to Semitic', in Pelio Fronzaroli (ed.), *Atti del secondo congresso internazionale di linguistica camito-semitica*. Firenze, 16–19 aprile 1974. Istituto di linguistica e di lingue orientale, Università di Firenze, 31–42.
- Cerulli, Enrico (1948), 'Il linguaggio dei Masongo dell'Etiopia Occidentale', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 7,2:131–66.
- Chafe, Wallace L. (1970), *Meaning and the structure of language*. Chicago University Press.
- Chaker, Salem (1983), *Un parler berbère d'Algérie (Kabylie) Syntaxe*. Université de Provence.
- (1995), *Linguistique Berbère. Études de syntaxe et de diachronie*. (Selaf, 353). Paris, Louvain: Peeters.
- Chomsky, Noam (1975), *Reflections on language*. New York: Pantheon.
- Cole, Peter & Jerrold M. Sadock (eds.) (1977), *Grammatical Relations*. (Syntax and Semantics, 8). New York: Academic Press.
- Comrie, Bernard (1978), 'Ergativity', in Winfried P. Lehmann (ed.), *Syntactic typology: Studies in the phenomenology of language*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 329–94.
- (1981), *Language universals and linguistic typology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- (1986), 'On delimiting cases', in Brecht & Levine (eds.) 1986, 86–105.
- (1993), 'Argument structure', in Jacobs, von Stechow, Sternefeld, Vennemann (eds.) 1993, 905–14.
- Cook, Walter A. (1979), *Case grammar: development of the matrix model (1970–1978)*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Crass, Joachim (2003), 'Kasusmarkierung in einer markierten Nominativsprache: der Fall des K'abeena'. Paper presented in Cologne 2003. [Manuscript].
- (2005), *Das K'abeena. Deskriptive Grammatik einer hochlandostkuschitischen Sprache*. (Cushitic Language Studies, 23). Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.
- & Angelika Jakobi (2000), 'Der Kube-Dialect des Beria (Zaghawa) im Tschad—eine erste Skizze', *Africa und Übersee* 83:1–46.
- & Ronnie Meyer (2007), 'Ethiopia', in Bernd Heine & Derek Nurse (eds.) 2007, 228–49.
- Crazzolara, F. J. P. (1933), *Outlines of a Nuer Grammar*. (TOME, 13). Mödling, St. Gabriel: Anthropos.
- Creider, Chet & Franz Rottland (1997), 'Noun classification in Southern Nilotic: Datooga', *Afrika und Übersee* 80:71–93.

- Creider, Chet A. & Jane Tapsuei Creider (1989), *A grammar of Nandi*. (Nilo-Saharan, 4). Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Creissels, Denis (2000), 'Typology', in Heine & Nurse (eds.), 2000, 231–58.
- (2004), 'The basics of case typology and the question of so-called "marked nominative"', Lyon: Université Lumière. [Manuscript, 12 pages].
- (2006), 'Ditransitive alignment in African languages'. Paper presented at the Fifth World Congress of African Linguistics, Addis Ababa, August 7–11, 2006. [Manuscript].
- , Gerrit Dimmendaal, Zygmunt Frajzyngier, & Christa König (2007), 'Africa as a morphosyntactic area', in Bernd Heine & Derek Nurse (eds.) 2007.
- Croft, William, Keith Denning, & Suzanne Kemmer (eds.) (1990), *Studies in typology and diachrony: Papers presented to Joseph H. Greenberg on his 75th birthday*. (Typological studies in Language, 20). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Crystal, David (1992), *An encyclopedic dictionary of language and languages*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Cyffer, Norbert (1981), 'Pluralization in Saharan languages'. *Afrika und Übersee* 64:161–86.
- (1983), 'Case marking in Kanuri?' *Afrika und Übersee* 66:191–202.
- (1991a), 'The Zaghawa verb structure and its relation to other Saharan languages', in Marvin Lionel Bender (ed.) 1991, 79–90.
- (1991b), *We learn Kanuri*. (Wilhelm Möhlig & Bernd Heine (eds.) *Afrikawissenschaftliche Lehbücher*, 2). Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.
- (1996), 'Die Saharanischen Sprachen. Innere und äußere Beziehungen', in Axel Fleisch & Dirk Otten (eds.), *Sprachkulturelle und historische Forschungen in Afrika*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 103–118.
- (2000), 'Linguistic properties of the Saharan languages', in Petr Zima (ed.), *Areal and genetic factors in language classification and description: Africa South of the Sahara*. (Lincom Studies in African Linguistics, 47). Munich: Lincom Europe, 30–59.
- & John Hutchison (eds.) (1990), *Dictionary of the Kanuri language*. (Publications in African languages and linguistics, 13). Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
- Declerck, R. (1988), *Studies on copular sentences, clefts and pseudo-clefts*. Leuven: Foris Publications.
- Delancey, Scott (1984), 'Notes on agentivity and causation', *Studies in Language* 8,2:181–213.
- Delheure, Jean (1986), *Faits et dires du Mzab' Tuggad-Yiwan n-at-mzab*. Paris: SELAF.
- Dench, Alan & Nicholas Evans (1988), 'Multiple case-marking in Australian languages', *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 8:1–47.
- Destaing, E. (1907), *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Beni Snous*. Paris.
- Diakonoff, Igor M. (1965), *Semito-Hamitic languages. An essay in classification*. Moscow: Nauka.
- (1989), *Afrasian languages*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Dik, Simon (1978), *Functional grammar*. Amsterdam: North Holland.
- Dimmendaal, Gerrit Jan (1983a), *The Turkana language*. (Publications in African Languages and Linguistics, 2). Dordrecht & Cinnaminson: Foris Publications.
- (1983b), 'Turkana as a verb-initial language', *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 5:17–44.
- (ed.) (1986a), *Current approaches to African linguistics*, 3. Leiden: Foris Publications.
- (1986b), 'Prominence hierarchies and Turkana syntax', in Gerrit Jan Dimmendaal (ed.) 1986a, 127–48.

- (1989), 'On language death in Eastern Africa', in N. Dorian (ed.), *Investigating obsolescence: Studies in language contraction and death*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 13–31.
- (1996), 'Attitude markers and conversational implicatures in Turkana speech acts', *Studies in Language* 20:249–74.
- (1998a), 'Surmic languages and cultures: An introduction', 'A syntactic typology of the Surmic family from an areal and historical-comparative point of view', in Gerrit Jan Dimmendaal & Marco Last (eds.) 1998, 3–82.
- (1998b), 'Language contraction versus other types of contact-induced change', in Matthias Brenzinger (ed.) 1998, 71–117.
- (forthc.), 'Tima', in Gerrit Jan Dimmendaal (ed.) *Coding participant marking: Construction types in twelve African languages*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- & Marco Last (eds.) (1998), *Surmic languages and cultures*. (Nilo-Saharan, 13). Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Dixon, Robert M. W. (1979), 'Ergativity', *Language* 55:59–138.
- (1980), *The languages of Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (1994), *Ergativity*. (Cambridge studies in linguistics, 69). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (2002), *Australian languages: their nature and development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- & Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (1995), 'Research project: The categories of human languages. Summarising grammatical information'. [Manuscript, 46 pages].
- Donohue, Mark & Lea Brown (1999), 'Ergativity: Some additions from Indonesia', *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 19:57–76.
- Downing, Pamela & Michael Noonan (eds.) (1995), *Word order in Discourse*. (Typological Studies in Language, 30). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Dressler, Wolfgang U., Martin Prinzhorn, John R. Rennison (eds.) (1997), *Advances in Morphology*. (Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs, 97). Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Driever, Dorothea (1976), *Aspects of a case grammar of Mombasa Swahili: with special reference to the relationship between informant variation and some sociological features*. (Hamburger Philologische Studien, 43). Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Durie, Mark (1985), *A grammar of Acehnese on the basis of a dialect of North Aceh*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
- Ebert, Karen (ed.) (1993), *Studies in clause linkage*. (Arbeiten des Seminars für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, 12). Zürich: Universität Zürich.
- Echeruo, Michael J. C. (1998), 'The case-tone factor in Igbo nouns, with special reference to the Igbo associative construction', in Ian Maddieson & Thomas J. Hinnebusch (eds.) 1998, 147–53.
- Edgar, John A (1989), *A Masalit grammar with notes on other languages of Darfur and Wadai*. (Sprache und Oralität in Afrika, 3). Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Ehret, Christopher (1974), *Ethiopians and East Africans: the problem of contacts*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.
- (1981a), 'The classification of Kuliak', in Thilo Schadeberg & Marvin Lionel Bender (eds.) 1981, 269–90.

- Ehret, Christopher (1981b), 'Revising Proto-Kuliak', *Afrika und Übersee* 64, 1:81–100.
- (1989), 'Sub-classification of Nilo-Saharan', in Marvin Lionel Bender (ed.) 1989, 35–49.
- Fillmore, Charles J. (1968), 'The case for case', in Bach & Harms (eds.) 1968, 1–88.
- (1971), 'Some problems for case grammar', *Working Papers in Linguistics Ohio State University* 10:245–65.
- (1977), 'The case for case reopened', in Cole & Sadock (eds.) 1977, 59–82.
- Fleming, Harold C. (1976), 'Omotic overview', in Marvin Lionel Bender 1976a, 299–323.
- (1983), 'Kuliak external relations: step one', in Rainer Voßen & Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst (eds.) 1983b, 423–78.
- Fortescue, Michael, Peter Harder & Lars Kristoffersen (eds.) (1992), *Layered structure and reference in a functional perspective*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt (1984a), 'Ergative and nominative-accusative features in Mandara', *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 6:35–45.
- (1984b), 'On the proto-Chadic syntactic pattern', in Bynon (ed.) 1984, 139–59.
- Galand, L. (1966), 'Les pronoms personnels du berbère', *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique*, 61, 1: 286–98.
- Gerhardt, Ludwig (1983), *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprachen des nigerianischen Plateaus*. (Afrikanistische Forschungen, 9). Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin.
- (1984), 'More on the verbal system of Zarek (Northern Nigeria)', *Afrika und Übersee*, 67:11–30.
- (2002), 'Pluraktionale Verben in einigen Benue-Congo-Sprachen des nigerianischen Plateaus, Teil 1: Allgemeines, das Suffix *s, seine Varianten, seine Kombinationen', *Hamburger Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* (HAAP), 1:38–58.
- Givón, Talmy (1976), 'Topic, pronoun, and grammatical agreement', in Charles N. Li (ed.) 1976, 149–88.
- (1980), 'The drift away from ergativity', *Folia Linguistica Historica (FLH)* 1:41–60.
- (1983), *Topic continuity in discourse*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- (1990), *Syntax. A functional typological introduction*, 2. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Gordon, Lynn (1986), *Maricopa morphology and syntax*. (University of California publications in linguistics, 108). University of California Press.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. (1959), 'The origin of the Maasai passive', *Africa* 29, 2:171–6.
- (1963a), *The languages of Africa*. The Hague: Mouton.
- (1963b), 'Some universals of grammar, with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements', in Joseph H. Greenberg (ed.) 1963, *Universals of language*. Cambridge, MA: M.I.T., 58–90.
- (1978), 'How does a language acquire gender markers?', in J. H. Greenberg (ed.), *Universals of human language*, 3. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 47–82.
- Gregersen, Edgar A. (1977), *Language in Africa. An introductory survey*. (Library of Anthropology.) New York, Paris, London: Gordon and Breach.
- Gruber, J. S. (1975), 'Plural predicates in #Hoa', *Bushman and Hottentot linguistic studies* 2: 1–50.
- Gundel, Jeanette (1976), 'The role of topic and comment in linguistic theory', Bloomington, Indiana. [Circulated by the Indiana University Linguistics Club.]

- Guthrie, Malcom (1967–1971), *Comparative Bantu: an introduction to the comparative linguistics and prehistory of the Bantu languages*. 4 volumes. Farnborough.
- Haacke, Wilfrid Heinrich Gerhard (1976), 'A Nama grammar: the noun-phrase'. M.A. thesis, Department of African Languages, University of Cape Town. [Unpublished manuscript].
- Hagman, R. S. (1977), *Nama Hottentot grammar*. Bloomington: Indiana University.
- Hall, Beatrice L. et al. (1973–74), 'African vowel harmony systems from the vantage point of Kalenjin', *Afrika und Übersee* 57,4:241–67.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1967–68), 'Notes on transitivity and theme in English', Parts 1, 2 and 3. *Journal of Linguistics* 3:199–244, 4:189–215.
- (1985), *An introduction to functional grammar*. London et al.: Edward Arnold.
- Hanoteau, A. (1906), *Essai de grammaire kabyle*. Paris.
- Harris, Alice C. (to appear), 'On the explanation of typologically unusual structures', in Jeff Good (ed.) *Language Universals and Language Change*.
- & Lyle Campbell (1995), *Historical syntax in cross-linguistic perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Harris, Martin B. (1980), 'The marking of definiteness: A diachronic perspective', in Elizabeth C. Traugott, Rebecca Labrun, & Susan Shepherd (eds.), *Papers from the 4th international conference on historical linguistics*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins, 75–82.
- Haspelmath, Martin (1991), 'On the question of deep ergativity: the evidence from Lezgian', *Papiere zur Linguistik* 44/45:5–27.
- (2005), 'Ditransitive constructions: the verb "give"', in Martin Haspelmath, Matthew S. Dryer, David Gil, & Bernard Comrie (eds.) 2005, 426–9.
- (2006), 'Ditransitive alignment splits and inverse alignment'. Typescript, July 2006.
- , Matthew S. Dryer, David Gil, & Bernard Comrie (eds.) (2005), *The world atlas of language structures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hayward, Richard J. (1979), 'Bayso revisited: some preliminary linguistic observations II', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (BSOAS) 42:101–42.
- (1981), 'Nominal suffixes in Dirayta (Gidole)', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (BSOAS) 44:126–44.
- (1982), 'Notes on Koyra language', *Afrika und Übersee* 65:211–68.
- (1984), *The Arbore Language: A First Investigation*. Including a Vocabulary. (Cushitic language studies, 2). Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- (1988), 'Is there a language with an indefinite nominative—Burji', in Taddese Beyene (ed.) *Proceedings of the 8th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*. University of Addis Ababa, 1984. Huntingdon: Elm Publications, 679–91.
- (1990a), 'Notes on Zayse language', in Richard Hayward (ed.) 1990b, 210–355.
- (ed.) (1990b), *Omotiic language studies*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
- & Yoichi Tsuge (1998), 'Concerning case in Omotic', *Afrika und Übersee* 81:21–38.
- Heikkinen, Terttu (1987), 'An outline of the grammar of the !Xū language spoken in Ovamboland and West Kavango', *South African Journal of African Languages* (Pretoria) 7, Supplement 1 (African Languages).
- Heine, Bernd (1975/6), 'Ik – eine ostafrikanische Restsprache', *Afrika und Übersee* 59,1:31–56.
- (1976), *The Kuliak languages of Eastern Uganda*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.
- (1983), 'The Ik language'. Cologne: Universität zu Köln. [Manuscript, 514 pages].

- Heine, Bernd (1985), 'The Mountain People: Some notes on the Ik of north-eastern Uganda', *Africa* 55, 1: 3–16.
- (1986a), 'The So language'. [Manuscript].
- (1986b), 'Bemerkungen zur Entwicklung der Verbaljunkturen im Kxoe und anderen Zentralkhoisan-Sprachen', in Rainer Voßen & Klaus Keuthmann (eds.) *Contemporary studies on Khoisan*, 2. (Quellen zur Khoisan-Forschung, 5.2). Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 9–21.
- (1990), 'The dative in Ik and Kanuri', in William Croft, Keith Denning, & Suzanne Kemmer (eds.) 1990, 129–49.
- (1999), *Ik-dictionary*. (Nilo-Saharan, 15). Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.
- & Ulrike Claudi (1986), *On the rise of grammatical categories*. Some examples from Maa. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- & Tania Kuteva (2002), *World lexicon of grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (2005), *Language contact and grammatical change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- & Derek Nurse (2000), *African languages: An introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (eds.) (2007), *A linguistic geography of Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- & Mechthild Reh (1984), *Grammaticalization and reanalysis in African languages*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- , Franz Rottland, & Rainer Voßen (1979), 'Proto-Baz: Some aspects of early Nilotic-Cushitic contacts'. *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* (SUGIA) 1: 75–92.
- & Rainer Voßen (1975–1976), 'Zur Stellung der Ongamo-Sprache (Kilimandscharo)', *Afrika und Übersee* 59, 2: 81–105.
- (1981), 'Sprachtypologie', in Bernd Heine, Thilo Schadeberg, & Ekkehard Wolff (eds.) 1981, 407–77.
- , Thilo Schadeberg, & Ekkehard Wolff (1981), *Die Sprachen Afrikas*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Hengeveld, Kees (1992a), *Non-verbal predication. Theory, typology, diachrony*. (Functional Grammar Series, 15). Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- (1992b), 'Parts of speech', in Fortescue, Harder, & Kristoffersen (eds.) 1992, 29–56.
- Hetzron, Robert (1977), *The Gannan-Gurage languages*. Napoli: Istituto Orientale.
- (1978), 'The nominal system of Awngi (Southern Agaw)', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (BSOAS) 41: 121–41.
- (1990), 'Dialectal variation in Proto-Afroasiatic', in P. Baldi (ed.), *Linguistic Change and Reconstruction Methodology*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 557–97.
- Hieda, Osamu (1998), 'A sketch of Koegu grammar: Towards reconstructing Proto-Southeastern Surmic', in Gerrit Jan Dimmendaal & Marco Last (ed.) 1998, 345–74.
- Hombert, Jean-Marie & Larry M. Hyman (eds.) (1999), *Bantu historical linguistics: theoretical and empirical perspectives*. Stanford: C.S.L.I.
- Hompó, Éva (1990), 'Grammatical relations in Gamo: a pilot sketch', in Richard Hayward (ed.) 1990b, 356–405.
- Hudson, Grover (1976), 'Highland East Cushitic', in Marvin Lionel Bender (ed.) 1976a, 232–77.

- Hutchison, John P. (1981), *The Kanuri language—A reference grammar*. Madison: University of Wisconsin, African Studies Program.
- (1986), 'Major constituent case marking in Kanuri', in Gerrit J. Dimmendaal (ed.) 1986a, 191–208.
- Hyman, Larry & Charles Kisseberth (eds.) (1998), *Theoretical aspects of Bantu tone*. (Center for the study of language and information.) Stanford: Stanford University.
- Jacobs, Joachim, Arnim von Stechow, Wolfgang Sternefeld, Theo Vennemann (eds.) (1993), *Syntax*, 1. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Jakobi, Angelika (1989), *A Fur grammar. Phonology, morphophonology and morphology*. (Nilo-Saharan, 5). Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- (2001), 'Split S in the Saharan languages'. [Manuscript].
- & Joachim Crass (2004), *Grammaire du beria (langue saharienne)*. (Nilo-Saharan, 18). Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann & Wilhelm J. G. Möhlig (eds.) (1983), *Lexikon der Afrikanistik. Afrikanische Sprachen und ihre Erforschung*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Keenan, Edward L. (1976), 'Towards a universal definition of "subject"', in Li (ed.) 1976, 303–33.
- Kießling, Roland (2001), 'Case in Datooga'. [Manuscript].
- Klimov, G. A. (1973), *Očerki obščej teorii ergativnosti*. (Outline of a general theory of ergativity). Moscow: Nauka.
- (1974), 'On the character of languages of active typology', *Linguistics* 131:11–25.
- Klingenheben, August (1949), 'Zur Nominalbildung im Galla', *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 35:21–47.
- Kohnen, B. (1933), *Shilluk grammar*. Verona: The Nigrizia School Press.
- König, Christa (2002), *Kasus im Ik*. (Nilo-Saharanische Reihe, 16). Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.
- (2005), 'Case in Africa: On categorial misbehavior', in Erhard Voeltz (ed.) *Studies in African linguistic typology*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 195–207.
- (2006), 'Marked nominative in Africa', *Studies in language* 30:4, 705–82.
- (forthc. a.), 'Dative in Ik', in Erhard Voeltz (ed.), *Datives in African languages*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- (forthc. b.), 'Is there no dative in !Xun', in Erhard Voeltz (ed.), *Datives in African languages*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- (forthc. c.), 'Verb serialization in !Xun', in Matthias Brenzinger & Christa König (eds.), *Khoisan Languages and Linguistics. The Riezler Symposium 2003, 2004*. (Quellen zur Khoisan Forschung, 17) Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- (In prep.), 'Split S in Africa'. [Manuscript, 40 pages].
- & Bernd Heine (In prep.), 'Are there ditransitive verbs in !Xun?' [Manuscript, 38 pages].
- Kossmann, Maarten (1995), 'Berber'. [Manuscript, 250 pages].
- Kozinsky, I. Sh. (1980), 'Nekotorye universal'nye osobennosti sistem sklonenija lichnykh mestoimenij' [Some universals in the declension of personal pronouns], in I. F. Vardul' (ed.) *Teorija i tipologija mestoimenij*. [Theory and typology of pronouns]. Moscow: Nauka.
- Kulikov, Leonid, Andrej Malchukov, & Peter de Swart (eds.) (2006), *Case, Valency and Transitivity*. (Studies in language companion series, SLCS, 77). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Kuryłowicz, Jerzy [1965] (1975), 'The evolution of grammatical categories', in Kuryłowicz (ed.), *Esquisses linguistiques*, 2. Munich: Fink, 38–54.
- Ladefoged, P. (1964), *A phonetic study of West African languages*. (West African Language Monograph, 1). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lamberti, Marcello (1988), *Kuliak and Cushitic: A comparative study*. (Studia Linguarum Africae Orientalis, 3). Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Lambrecht, Knud (1994), *Information structure and sentence form: Topic, focus, and the mental representations of discourse referents*. (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics, 71). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lanfray, Jean (1968), *Ghadames. Étude linguistique et ethnographique*. Fort-National. Fichier de documentation Berbère.
- (1972), 'Deux notes sur le berbère de Ghadamès', *Comptes rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'Études Chamito-Sémitiques* 16: 175–84.
- Langdon, Margaret (1970), *A grammar of Diegueño. The Mesa Grande dialect*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Laoust, E. (1928), *Cours de berbère marocain*. Paris.
- Last, Marco & Deborah Lucassen (1998), 'A grammatical sketch of Chai, a Southeastern Surmic language' in Gerrit Jan Dimmendaal & Marco Last (ed.) 1998, 375–436.
- Laughlin, Charles (1975), 'Lexicostatistics and the mystery of So ethnolinguistic relations', *Anthropological Linguistics* 17:325–41.
- Le Cœur, Charles (1956), *Grammaire et textes Teda-Daza*. (Mémoire de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, 46). Dakar: IFAN.
- Lehmann, Christian (1982), 'Thoughts on grammaticalization. A programmatic sketch', 1. *Arbeiten des Kölner Universalien-Projekts* (AKUP). 48.
- Leslau, Wolf (1952), 'Notes on Kambatta of Southern Ethiopia', *Africa* 22:348–59.
- Lewis, G. L. (1967), *Turkish grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Leyew, Zelealem (2003), *The Kemantney language. A sociolinguistic and grammatical study of language replacement*. (Cushitic language studies, 20). Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Li, Charles N. (ed.) (1976), *Subject and topic*. New York: Academic Press.
- (ed.) (1977), *Mechanisms of syntactic change*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- & R. Lang (1979), 'The syntactic irrelevance of an ergative case in Enga and other Papuan languages', in Frans Plank (ed.), *Ergativity: Towards a theory of grammatical relations*. London, New York: Academic Press, 307–45.
- & Sandra A. Thompson (1976), 'Strategies for signaling grammatical relations in Wappo', *Chicago Linguistic Society*. 12:450–8.
- , Sandra A. Thompson, & Jesse O. Sawyer (1977), 'Subject and word order in Wappo', *International journal of American linguistics*, 43, 2:85–100.
- Longacre, R. E. (1976), *An anatomy of speech notions*. Lisse: Reter de Ridder.
- Lukas, Johannes (1937a), *A study of the Kanuri language. Grammar and vocabulary*. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press for International Institute of African Languages & Cultures.
- (1937b), *Zentralsudanische Studien*. Hamburg Friederichsen, de Gruyter and Co.
- (1951–52), 'Umriss einer ostsaharanischen Sprachgruppe', *Afrika und Übersee* 36:3–7.
- (1953), *Die Sprache der Tubu in der zentralen Sahara*. (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung. 14). Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

- Lüpke, Friederike (2005), 'A grammar of Jalonke argument structure'. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nijmegen.
- Lyth, Richard E. (1971), *The Murle language: Grammar and vocabulary*. (Linguistic Monograph Series, 7). Khartoum: Sudan Research Unit, Faculty of Arts, University of Khartoum.
- Maddieson, Ian & Thomas J. Hinnebusch (eds.) (1998), *Language history and linguistic description in Africa*. (Trends in African linguistics, 2). Trenton, Asmara: Africa World.
- Mallinson, Graham & Barry J. Blake (1981), *Language typology: Cross-linguistic studies in syntax*. Amsterdam, New York, Oxford: North-Holland.
- Malouf, Robert (2000), 'A head-driven account of long-distance case assignment', in R. Cann, C. Grover, & P. Miller (eds.), *Grammatical Interfaces in HPSG*. CSLI Publications, Stanford, 201–14.
- Maniacky, Jacky (2002), 'Tonologie du Ngangela. Variété de Menongue'. (Angola). Ph.D. dissertation, L'Inalco University.
- Meeussen, A. E. (1967), 'Bantu grammatical reconstructions', *Africana Linguistica* 3:79–121. (Annales, 61). Tervuren: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale.
- Mel'čuk, A. Igor (1986), 'Towards a definition of case', in Richard D. Brecht & James S. Levine (eds.), *Case in Slavic*. Columbus, OH: Slavica, 35–85.
- (1997), 'Grammatical cases, basic verbal construction, and voice in Maasai: Towards a better analysis of the concepts', in Wolfgang U. Dressler, Martin Prinzhorn, & John R. Rennison (eds.) 1997, 131–70.
- Merlan, Francesca. (1987), 'Split intransitivity: functional oppositions in intransitive inflection', in Johanna Nickols & Anthony C. Woodbury (eds.), *Grammar inside and outside the clause*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Miller, Amy (2001), *Grammar of Jamul Tiipay*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Miller, Cynthia L. & Leoma G. Gilley (2001), 'Evidence for ergativity in Shilluk', *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 22,1:33–68.
- Mithun, Marianne (1991), 'Active/agentive case marking and its motivations', *Language* 76:510–46.
- Müller-Bardey, Thomas & Werner Drossard (eds.) (1993), *Aspekte der Lokalisation*. (Bochum-Essener Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaftsforschung, 19). Bochum: Brockmeyer.
- Nebel, F.S.C. (1948), *Dinka Grammar. REK-Malual dialect with texts and vocabulary*. Verona: Missioni Africane.
- Newman, Paul (1990), *Nominal and verbal plurality in Chadic*. (Publications in African languages and linguistics, 12). Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
- (forthc.), 'Pluractionals', in *The encyclopedia of language & linguistics*, 2nd edition. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Nichols, Johanna (1986), 'Head-marking and dependent-marking grammar', *Language* 62:56–119.
- (1992), *Linguistic diversity in space and time*. Chicago & London: Chicago University Press.
- Nicolas, F. (1953), *La langue berbère de Mauritanie*. Dakar.
- Noonan, Michael (1992), *A Grammar of Lango*. Mouton de Gruyter.
- O'Brien, Richard J., S. J. Cuypers, & Wim Cuypers (1975), *A descriptive sketch of the grammar of Sebei*. (Georgetown University Working Papers on Languages and Linguistics, 9). Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

- Odhiambo, M. (2006), 'Ergativity in Dholuo: A comparative study with Shilluk and Pari'. [Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Nairobi].
- Ohman, Walter A., Hailu Fulass, James Keefer, Aurelia Keefer, Charles V. Taylor & Habte-Mariam Marcos (1976), 'Three other Ethiopian Languages', in Marvin Lionel Bender (ed.) 1976a, 155–80.
- Owens, Jonathan (1982), 'Case in the Booran dialect of Oromo', *Afrika und Übersee* 65: 43–74.
- Payne, Doris L. (ed.) (1992), *The pragmatics of word order flexibility*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- (1995), 'Verb-initial languages and information order', in Downing & Noonan (eds.) 1995, 449–85.
- Payne, John R. (1980), 'The decay of ergativity in Pamir languages', *Lingua* 51:147–86.
- Payne, T.E. (1997), *Morpho-syntax: A guide for field linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Picard, A. (1958), *Textes berbères dans le parler des Irjen (Kabylie, Algérie)*. Algiers.
- Plank, Frans (1985a), 'The extended accusative/restricted nominative in perspective', in Frans Plank (ed.) 1985b, 269–310.
- (ed.) (1985b), *Relational typology*. Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter.
- (ed.) (1985c), *Ergativity towards a theory of grammatical relations*. London: Academic Press.
- (1995a), 'Syntactic change: Ergativity', in Joachim Jacobs et al. (eds.) 1993, 1184–99.
- (ed.) (1995b), *Double Case. Agreement by Suffixaufnahme*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- (ed.) (2007), 'Das grammatische Raritätenkabinett'. <http://ling.uni-konstanz.de:591/universals/intro.html>.
- Plazikowsky-Brauner, Hermann (1960), 'Die Hadiya-Sprache', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 16:38–76.
- (1962), 'Grammatik der Alaba-Sprache', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 18:83–96.
- Randal, Scott (1998), 'A grammatical sketch of Tenet', in Gerrit Jan Dimmendaal & Marco Last (eds.) 1998, 219–72.
- (2000), 'Tenet's ergative origins', *Occasional papers in the study of Sudanese languages* 8:67–80. Nairobi: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Reh, Mechthild (1996), *Anywa Language: Description and internal reconstructions*. (Nilo-Saharan, 11). Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.
- (1998), 'The language of emotion: an analysis of Dholuo on the basis of Grace Ogot's novel "Miaha"', in Angeliki Athanasiadou & E. Tabakowska (eds.), *Speaking of emotions, conceptualisation and expression*. Berlin etc.: Mouton de Gruyter, 375–408.
- , Christiane Simon, & Katrin Koops (1998), *Erlebnis-Konstruktionen in afrikanischen Sprachen typologisch gesehen: Formen und ihre Motivierungen*. Hamburg: Institut für Afrikanistik und Äthiopistik, Universität Hamburg.
- Reinhart, Tanya (1982), 'Pragmatics and linguistics: An analysis of sentence topics', Bloomington, Indiana. [Circulated by the Indiana University Linguistics Club].
- Reinisch, Leo (1893), *Die Bedaue-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*. Wien: F. Temksky.
- Richter, Renate (1973), 'Studies of the verb in Amharic', in Thea Büttner & Gerhard Brehme (eds.) 1973, *African Studies, dedicated to the 3rd International Congress of Africanists in Addis Abeba*. Berlin: Akademie, 313–27.

- Rottland, Franz (1982), *Die Südnilotischen Sprachen. Beschreibung, Vergleichung und Rekonstruktion*. (Kölner Beiträge zu Afrikanistik, 7). Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- (1983), 'Lexical correspondences between Kuliak and Southern Nilotic', in Rainer Voßen & Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst (eds.) 1983b, 10, 2: 479–97.
- (1996), 'Genetic and areal features of vowel harmony in East Africa', *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* (AAP) 45: 129–37.
- & Laura A. Otaala (1983), 'Mid-vowel assimilation in Teso-Turkana', in Voßen & Bechhaus-Gerst (eds.) 1983a, 169–81.
- Rude, Noel (1983), 'Ergativity and the active-stative typology in Loma', *Studies in African linguistics* 14.3: 265–83.
- Rust, F. (1965), *Praktische Namagrammatik*. (The School of African studies. University of Cape Town, 31). Balkema, Cape Town, Amsterdam: Gothic.
- Saaed, John Ibrahim (1987), *Somali reference grammar*. Wheaton, Maryland: Dunwoody.
- Sapir, Edward (1917), 'Review of C. C. Uhlenbeck, Het passieve karakter van het verbum transitivum of van het verbum actionis in talen van Noord-Amerika', *International Journal of American Linguistics* 1: 82–6.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen (1974), 'Ein Subjektskasus im Agaw', *Folia Orientalia* 15: 55–67.
- (1976), 'Dasenech', in Marvin Lionel Bender (ed.) 1976a, 196–221.
- (1982), 'Zur Ergativität im Afroasiatischen (Hamitosemitischen)'. [Unpublished manuscript].
- (1984), 'Case in Cushitic, Semitic and Berber', in James Bynon (ed.), *Current progress in Afro-Asiatic linguistics*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 111–26.
- (1993a), 'Syntaktische Phänomene in den Sprachen der Welt I: Kategorien und Relationen', in Joachim Jacobs et al. (eds.) 1993, 646–86.
- Schadeberg, Thilo C. (1981a), 'Kordofanisch', in Bernd Heine, Thilo C. Schadeberg, & Ekkehard Wolff 1981, 117–28.
- (1981b), *A survey of Kordofanian, Vol. 1. The Heiban Group*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- (1981c), *A survey of Kordofanian, Vol. 2. The Talodi Group*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- (1986), 'Tone cases in Umbundu', *Africana Linguistica* 10: 423–47.
- (1990), *A sketch of Umbundu*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.
- & Marvin Lionel Bender (eds.) (1981), *Nilo-Saharan: Proceedings of the First Nilo-Saharan Linguistics Colloquium*, Leiden, September 8–10, 1980. Dordrecht, Cinnaminson: Foris Publications.
- Schneider-Blum, Gertrud (2003), 'Case system in Alaaba'. Paper presented in Cologne 2003. [Manuscript, 19 pages].
- (2006), 'Case in Alaaba (Highland East Cushitic)' in Siegbert Uhlig, Maria Bulakh, Denis Nosnitsin, & Thomas Rave (eds.) *Proceedings of the 15th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*. Hamburg, July 20–25, 2003. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 851–60.
- Schröder, Helga (2002), 'Word order in Toposa. As aspect of multiple feature-checking'. Nairobi. [Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nairobi. Manuscript].
- (2005), 'Antipassive and ergativity in Nilotic and Surmic'. [Manuscript, 15 pages].
- Serzisko, Fritz (1985), 'Nepak'a Longoriaimie nda Arwakori—A Quarrel between Longoria and Arwakori: An Ik Dialogue', *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* (AAP) 3: 51–61.
- (1985–87), *Textsammlung*. Köln. [Manuscript].
- (1987), 'The verb "to say" in Ik (Kuliak)', *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* (AAP) 11: 67–91.

- Serzisko, Fritz (1988), 'On bounding in Ik', in Rudzka-Ostyn (ed.) 1988, 429–45.
- (1990), 'A structural comparison of the Kuliak languages', in Bender (ed.) 1990, 385–404.
- (1992), *Sprechhandlungen und Pausen: Diskursorientierte Sprachbeschreibung am Beispiel des Ik*. (Linguistische Arbeiten, 282). Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- (1993a), 'Lokalisierung im Ik: Beobachtungen zur Verwendung deiktischer Elemente in narrativen Texten', in Müller-Bardey & Drossard (eds.) 1993, 178–200.
- (1993b), 'Prädikationskomplex und Paragraph am Beispiel des Ik', in Karen Ebert (ed.) 1993, 199–218.
- Simon, Christiane & Mechthild Reh (1999), 'Experienskonstruktionen in afrikanischen Sprachen', in *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 52,2:167–82.
- Snyman, J. W. (1968), *An introduction to the !Xun language*. Communications, 34, of the University of Cape Town School of African Studies.
- Sohn, Ho-min (1994), *Korean*. (Bernard Cormie (ed.) Descriptive Grammars, 17). London, New York: Routledge.
- Spagnolo, F. S. C. (1933), *Bari Grammar*. Verona. Missioni Africane.
- Stassen, Leon (2003), 'Noun phrase conjunction: The coordinative and the comitative strategy', in Frans Plank (ed.), *Noun phrase structure in the languages of Europe*. (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology, Eurotyp 20–7). Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Stumme, H. (1899), *Handbuch des Schilhischen von Tazerwalt*. Leipzig.
- (1912), 'Eine sonderbare Anwendung des Akkusativs im Kabylishen', in *Karl Meinhof Festschrift*. Leipzig.
- Ternes, Elmar (1999), 'Ist Bretonisch SVO oder VSO? Typologische Überlegungen zu einer umstrittenen Frage', in Zimmer, Ködderitzsch, & Wigger (eds.) 1999, 236–53.
- Thompson, David, E. (1983), 'Kunama: Phonology and noun phrase', in Marvin Lionel Bender (ed.), *Nilo-Saharan language studies*. (Monograph series of the committee on Northeast African Studies, 13). Michigan: African Studies Center, Michigan State University, 281–322.
- Tomlin, Russel & Ming Ming Pu (1991), 'The management of reference in Mandarin discourse', *Cognitive Linguistics* 2:65–93.
- Tosco, Mauro (1994), 'On case marking in the Ethiopian language area (with special reference to the subject marking in East Cushitic', in Vermondo Brugnatelli (ed.), *Sem, Cam, Iafet Atti della 7ª Giornata di Studi Camito-Semita e Indoeuropei*. Milano: Centro studi camito-semitici, 225–44.
- (2001), *The Dhaasanac language: grammar, texts, vocabulary of a Cushitic language of Ethiopia*. (Cushitic Language Studies, 17). Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Treis, Yvonne (2006), 'Form and function of case marking in Kambaata', *Afrikanistik online*: <http://www.dipp.nrw.de/afrika/archiv/379/>. (35 pages.)
- Tucker, Archibald N. (1940), *The Eastern Sudanic Languages*. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- (1955), 'The verb in Shilluk', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 3:421–62.
- (1967a), 'Fringe Cushitic', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (BSOAS)* 30,3:656–80.
- (1967b), 'Erythraic elements and patternings: Some East African findings', *African Language Review* 6:17–26.
- (1971–73), 'Notes on Ik', *African Studies*. 30,3–4:341–54; 31,3:183–201; 32,1:33–48.

- (1994), *A grammar of Kenya Luo (Dholuo)*. (C.A. Creider (ed.) Nilo-Saharan, 8.1 & 8.2). Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.
- & Margaret A. Bryan (1966), *Linguistic Analyses: The Non-Bantu Languages of North-Eastern Africa*. London, New York, Cape Town: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute.
- & J. Tompo Ole Mpaayei (1955), *A Maasai Grammar*. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co.
- Unseth, Peter (1986), 'Word order shift in negative sentences of Surma languages', *Studies in African* 17:151–63.
- (1989a), 'An initial comparison and reconstruction of case suffixes in Surmic languages', *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 22:97–104.
- (1989b), 'Sketch of Majang syntax', in Marvin Lionel Bender (ed.) 1989, 97–127.
- Vincennes, L. & J. Dallet (1960), *Initiation à la langue berbère (Kaylie)*. Fort National.
- Voßen, Rainer (1981), 'The classification of Eastern Nilotic and its significance for ethnohistory' in Thilo C. Schadeberg & Marvin Lionel Bender (eds.) 1981, 41–57.
- (1982), *The Eastern Nilotes: Linguistic and historical reconstructions*. (Kölner Beiträge zur Afrikanistik, 9). Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- (1983), 'Comparative Eastern Nilotic', in Marvin Lionel Bender (ed.) 1983, 177–207.
- & Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst (eds.) (1983a), *Nilotic studies: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Languages and History of the Nilotic Peoples*, Cologne, January 4–6, 1982. Part one. (Kölner Beiträge zur Afrikanistik, 10,1). Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- (eds.) (1983b), *Nilotic studies: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Languages and History of the Nilotic Peoples*, Cologne, January 4–6, 1982. Part two. (Kölner Beiträge zur Afrikanistik, 10,2). Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Angelika Mietzner, & A. Meissner (eds.) (2000), 'Mehr als nur Worte...'. Afrikanistische Beiträge zum 65. Geburtstag von Franz Rottland. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Vydrine, Valentine (2006), 'Emergence of morphological cases in South Mande', in L. Kulikov, A. Malchukov, & P. de Swart (eds.) 2006, 49–64.
- Wayland, E. J. (1931), 'Preliminary studies of the tribes of Karamoja', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 61:187–230.
- Wedekind, Klaus & Charlotte Wedekind (2002), 'RRG universal verb classes vs. Beja verb classifications based on morphologies and textual functions', Paper presented at the RRG Conference 2002, University of La Rioja, Logroño. Abuzaynab Musa, Asmara.
- Welmers, William E. (1952), 'Notes on the structure of Saho', *Word* 8:145–62 & 236–51.
- (1973), *African language structures*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Werner, Roland (1987), *Grammatik des Nobiin (Nilnubisch)*. (Nilo-Saharan, 1). Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Westermann, Dietrich (1912), *The Shilluk people: Their language and folklore*. Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin.
- Wierzbicka, Anna (1983), 'The semantics of case marking', *Studies in Language* 7:247–75.
- Will, Hans-Georg (1989), 'Sketch of Me'en grammar', in Malcom Lionel Bender 1989, 129–50.
- (1998), 'The Me'en verb system: Does Me'en have tenses?', in Gerrit Jan Dimmendaal & Marco Last (eds.) 1998, 437–58.

- Willms, A. (1972), *Grammatik der südlichen Berberdialekte (SüdMarokko)*. Morocco.
- Woldemariam, Hirut (2003), 'The grammar of Haro with comparative notes on the Ometo linguistic group'. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Addis Ababa. [Manuscript].
- Wolff, Ekkehard & Hilke Meyer-Bahlburg (eds.) (1983), *Studies in Chadic and Afroasiatic Linguistics*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Yigezu, Moges & Gerrit Jan Dimmendaal (1998), 'Notes on Baale', in Gerrit Jan Dimmendaal, & Marco Last (eds.) 1998, 273–318.
- Zimmer, Stefan, Rolf Ködderitzsch, & Arndt Wigger (eds.) (1999), *Akten des Zweiten Deutschen Keltologen-Symposiums*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Author Index

- Abebe, Alemayehu 228
 Adams, Bruce 228
 Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 11-12, 26, 28, 118,
 138, 161, 180-7, 191-2, 196, 239, 261-2,
 284, 287-8
 Allan, Edward 228
 Almkvist, Herman 174
 Amha, Azeb 21, 153-6, 163-4, 173-4, 176,
 301
 Andersen, Torben 4, 29, 96-104, 108-9, 112,
 117-21, 135, 159-61, 166-7, 178-9, 193-4,
 223, 240-1, 244-6, 266-7
 Anderson, Stephen 130
 Applegate, J. R. 181
 Aspinion, R. 181
- Basset, Andre 181
 Basset, René 185
 Bayer, Josef 2
 Bender, Marvin Lionel 8, 72, 193, 229
 Bennett, Patrick 3, 188, 193, 205, 241-2,
 271
 Benoist, J.-P. 134
 Bhaskararao, Peri 2
 Biarnay, S. 181
 Blake, Barry 1, 3-7, 12-15, 20, 24, 29, 119,
 138
 Blanchon, Jean Alain 4, 138, 204, 213-14,
 216-20, 256
 Böhm, Gerhard 32
 Brown, Lea 9
 Brugnatelli, Vermondo 184-6
 Bryan, Margret Arminel 3-4, 13, 23-4,
 29-30, 39, 56, 67-9, 72, 122-3, 168, 175
 Bryant, Michael 167
 Butth, Randall 4, 110, 114-16, 122, 135
 Butt, Miriam 2
 Bybee, L. Joan 22, 91, 177
- Campbell, Lyle 6, 26, 130, 257-9, 266
 Carlin, Eithne 279
 Carstairs, Andrew 11
 Castellino, Giorgio R. 175
 Cerulli, Enrico 268
 Chafe, Wallace 4, 30
 Chaker, Salem 180, 182
 Chomsky, Noam 28
 Claudi, Ulrike 164-6, 179
 Comrie, Bernard 6, 14-15, 20-1, 54
 Cook, Walter A. 4
 Crass, Joachim 161, 169-73, 229-30, 285
 Creider, Chet 29, 159, 162, 166, 260-1
 Creissels, Denis 3, 14, 16, 23-4, 26, 29-30, 88,
 118, 197, 204, 210, 220
 Crystal, David 20
 Cuypers, S. J. 272
 Cuypers, Wim 272
 Cyffer, Norbert 38, 48, 50, 56, 285
- Dallet, J. 181
 Delheure, Jean 185
 Dench, Alan 21
 Destaing, E. 181
 Dik, Simon 4, 28
 Dimmendaal, Gerrit 29, 70, 89, 130-3,
 141, 142, 143, 144, 146, 147, 166, 179, 224,
 247-50, 255, 259, 268-71, 299
 Dixon, R. M. W. 1, 5-6, 8-9, 11-12, 16-17,
 19, 23, 26-28, 117
 Donohue, Mark 9
 Driever, Dorothea 4
 Durie, Mark 12
- Echeruo, Michael J. C. 222
 Edgar, John A. 60-65
 Ehret, Christopher 72, 196
 Evans, Nickolas 21