
The Structural Determination of Case in English and Kambari

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Abstract

In this paper, focus has been on the Nominative and Accusative Case that have been used in similar studies of this type. Kambari language is from different language phyla with English, French or German. Kambari is thus classified as Niger-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Kainji, Western-Kainji, Kambari Group, (Crozier and Blench (1992: 62)). Anticipating our discussion in the sections below, we argue that English and Kambari languages satisfy the same structural and morphological Case structure encoded in the Government and Binding Theory. However, this might not be unconnected with the fact that the language exhibits the same basic configurational pattern – SVO with some languages of different phyla. A deductive approach is used in collating and analysing the data in Kambari, following the linguistic tools of analysis outlined by Chomsky (1981, 1986) in Government and Binding theory, particularly the sub-module of Case Theory. The paper is structured along the following lines: Section 1 contains the general consideration of Case in English and Kambari. A concise overview of the Case theory is presented in Section 2. Section 3 deals with the analysis of the Case in English and Kambari in the light of the Government and Binding theoretical constructs. Section 4 contains concluding remarks and direction for future research.

1) General Introduction

The focus of this study is to show the possible structure of Case system in English and Kambari with respect to its distribution in the light of Government and Binding Theory proposed by Chomsky (1981, 1986 and subsequent works).

Some natural languages have overt case systems in which every NP in a sentence bears particular relation to particular arguments. In a sentence, other languages may not have such overt case marking systems, or the case marking may be restricted as in English. In such languages, when we talk about an NP being marked for case, we are talking about an abstract notion rather than the concrete realization that does show up on noun phrases. Languages with extensive morphological case systems must be marked overtly with the appropriate case.

In case theory, Abstract Cases are assigned to noun phrases. An NP in a subject position in a sentence is assigned Nominative Case while a direct object is assigned Accusative Case. The assumption is that the verb in a sentence ‘governs’ the direct object and as a result assigns Accusative Case to it. However, the Nominative Case is not assigned by the verb because it is not directly governed or dominated by it.

Chomsky (1981) introduced the term “structural Case” for abstract Case which is predictably assigned, under government at s-structure, by heads of certain syntactic categories. Stowell (1981) further proposed an adjacency requirement. It should be noted that case assignment is done following the definition of Government theory of adjacency (sisterhood). Initially, structural Case assigners were identified as heads of [-N] categories: V, P, or finite I (Chomsky 1980, 1981, 1986). In more recent work (Chomsky 1989,

1992), the relevant categories have been taken to be members of the AGR family instead. Also, in addition to government, Case assignment is now taken to require the head-specifier relation. Which Case is assigned (nominative, accusative, genitive, etc) is determined by the syntactic category of the assigning head, following conventions which may vary cross linguistically (see, e.g., Bok-Bennema 1984, Levin and Massam 1985, Bobaljik 1992, Campana 1992, and Murasugi 1992, for different parametric accounts of accusative and ergative Case systems).

First and foremost, this study owes its motivation to the fact that, to the best of our knowledge, the structure of Case Theory in English and Kambari has not been addressed. More so, a study of this nature is also motivated by the fact that it demonstrates the extent to which syntactic theories can be generalized to languages other than English or those languages where such theories emanate from. We will be primarily concerned in this paper with the *Nominative Case*, which is found with subjects, and the *Accusative Case*, found with objects.

The study of Case structure across human languages is a very robust area of study especially within the theoretical framework of Universal Grammar advocated by Chomsky and those who subscribe with him. However, Case theory accounts for some of the formal properties of overt NPs and integrates the traditional notion of case into the grammar. Though, we will base our discussion in this paper on Case in English and Kambari. Abstract Case is distinct in English and Kambari from morphological Case. Abstract Case is a universal property, while the overt realization of abstract Case by means of morphological Case varies cross-linguistically. Though, the distribution and interpretation of Case in English and Kambari

language has not been addressed to the best of our knowledge, this further, underscores why we undertake the present study.

In order to determine how a specific language (say Kambari) is acquired and how knowledge in general is acquired, we have to determine to what extent the properties of languages vary from one language to another. Differently put, to what extent they are invariant across languages and its parameters postulated to explain cross-linguistic variation. The study of languages has revealed that the properties with respect to which languages vary tend to organize themselves in clusters which are stable across languages and which allow to arrive at a typology of languages. It therefore follows that the language faculty must incorporate a theory of Universal Grammar which enables the child to develop a grammar of *any* natural language on the basis of suitable linguistic experience of the language (Haegeman 1994:19). Hence, this serves as a launching-pad for this modest research.

2) **Case Theory: A Concise Overview**

In many languages, according to Carnie (2006), nouns bearing various grammatical relations take special forms. For example, in Japanese, subjects are marked with the suffix *-ga*, objects are marked with *-o* and indirect objects and certain adjuncts with *-ni*. These suffixes represent **grammatical relations**. The three most important grammatical relations are **subject**, **object**, and **indirect object**. Notice that these are not the same as thematic relations. Thematic relations represent meaning. Grammatical relations represent how an NP is functioning in the sentence syntactically. The morphology associated with grammatical relations is called **Case**.

English is a morphologically poor language (Chomsky 1981, Carnie 2006, Black 1998, Bittner & Hale 1996 and Baker 1988). In sentences with full NPs, there is no obvious case marking. Grammatical relations are represented by the position of the noun in the sentence.

Carnie (2006) and Haegeman (1998) opine that Case is a general property of Language. They further see it to be associated with a syntactic phenomenon – the grammatical function (relations) of NPs. If it is indeed a syntactic property, then it should have a structural trigger. In the case theory of Chomsky (1981), NPs are given Case if and only if they appear in specific positions in the sentence. In particular, nominative case is assigned in the specifier of finite T, and accusative case is assigned as a sister to the verb (prepositions also assign what is often called “Prepositional case” to their complement NP):

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. NOMinative case | Specifier of finite T |
| ACCusative case | Sister to transitive V |
| PREPositional case | Assigned by a preposition |

Following Bittner & Hale (1996), we argue that the basic idea which has remained constant is that the ability of a head to assign structural Case is determined by its syntactic category. In this paper, we propose a different theory, where the category is not even relevant to this issue. What matters instead are the syntactic relations in the government domain of the head in both English and Kambari. These relations determine whether the head stands in a syntactic relation which we refer to here as “Casebinding” to any argument. The universal prediction of this theory is that any head, regardless of its category, will assign a *marked* structural Case—i.e., accusative,

ergative, or oblique—to any argument which it Case-binds. Otherwise, no marked structural Case can be assigned. Case-binding also constrains the *unmarked* structural Case—i.e., the nominative—which we analyse as Case-less. For a nominative argument, the constraint is that it must *not* be Case-bound.

Unlike the category, the structural relations in the government domain of a head can be altered by syntactic processes. By deriving or destroying Case-binding relations, these processes can therefore bestow or remove the capacity to assign structural Case. This accounts for Case alternations—another hallmark of structural, as opposed to inherent Case. For instance, in an accusative language, the transitive verb assigns the structural accusative Case to its object in an active sentence, but loses that ability in the related passive. The reason is that passive morphology destroys the Case-binding relation which, in a nominative–accusative sentence, characteristically holds between the verb and its object. An active sentence with the ergative–nominative array resembles a passive to the extent that the verb also fails to Case-bind its object and so cannot assign structural Case. The addition of antipassive morphology—syntactically, a nominal head adjoined to the verb (Baker 1988)—crucially establishes the requisite Case-binding relation, and thereby enables the verb to assign a structural oblique Case to its object.

In generalizing the notion of “marked structural Case” from the direct Cases, accusative and ergative, to obliques of the type represented by antipassive objects we depart from the tradition. We are motivated here by the similarities in the characteristic behaviour of these Cases—to wit, the predictability of their assignment and the ability to alternate with other structural Cases. In the theory

proposed by Bittner & Hale (1996), both characteristics follow from the fact that all marked structural Cases, direct as well as oblique, are predictably assigned under government and Case-binding. This makes them sensitive to syntactic processes, which may alter these structural relations.

Within this theory, the traditional notion of “Case assignment” can be analysed as follows. A head “assigns Case” to an argument, if the structural relation between the two satisfies the relevant licensing condition. Accordingly, a nominative argument is assigned Case by the functional head, which enables it to satisfy the Case Filter. Marked structural Case is assigned by the head which antecedent-governs the corresponding underlying empty node, and inherent Case is assigned by the head which selects the corresponding underlying filled node. On this view, the familiar government requirement on Case assignment need not be stipulated, since it follows from the independently motivated licensing conditions.

However, Case theory accounts for some of the formal properties of overt NPs and integrates the traditional notion of case into the grammar. Abstract Case is distinct in English and Kambari from morphological Case. Abstract Case is a universal property, while the overt realization of abstract Case by means of morphological Case varies cross-linguistically. Though, we will base our discussion in this paper on the Nominative and Accusative Case in English and Kambari.

Kratch (1999) says not only that case is independent of structure but also that case is — in some circumstances — a substitute of syntactic structure as shown in the structure of both English and Kambari. In the same line of argument, Radford (2009)

posits that an unvalued case feature on a goal is valued as accusative via agreement with a transitive probe. Agreement between a transitive verb and its object is invisible in English (in the sense that it has no overt phonetic manifestation), but is visible in languages (say Swahili) with overt object-agreement morphology.

Although English does not have the overt case-marking that we find, for example, in Latin and in German, it has the remnants of an overt case system, seen in its pronominal system. We therefore do not wish to say that English lacks case. Rather, in terms of agreement, we postulate that English and Kambari have a fully-fledged system of abstract case, similar to that in Latin or German. We assume that abstract case is part of universal grammar as Haegeman 1998, Chomsky 1981, Radford 2009 and Baker 1988 posited. In English the abstract case-marking is often not morphologically realized. The degree of morphological realization of abstract case varies parametrically from one language to another. The concept of abstract case is an important part of Government and Binding Theory. Based on work by Vergnaud (1985), Chomsky and his followers have developed a theory of case, case theory. Attempts have been made to relate case theory to other components of the grammar, notably theta theory. We first look at some examples of English case forms and try to show how case theory can be developed on that basis vis-à-vis the examples in Kambari.

3) Structural Case: NOMINATIVE and ACCUSATIVE - Extensions: Case Theory

The main interest in Case Theory in GB and on into Minimalism lies not in the original empirical result, but in the consideration of a variety of intricately connected consequences. The postulation of

the Case Filter had ramifications well beyond the distribution of infinitival subjects. For example, Case could now be seen as one of the driving forces of movement for a variety of constructions. Thus, a unified account of promotion to subject in passive, raising, and unaccusatives, became possible: in each construction, the NP in its original position is not governed by a case assigner, and thus in each configuration, the NP must raise to finite subject position in order to satisfy the Case Filter. The Case Filter thus becomes one of the answers to the perennial question of why movement occurs.

Another early result of Case Theory, set out by Stowell (1981), regards the “order of complements” problem. As will be seen, for verbs in English and Kambari that select for multiple complements, it is generally held that the NP argument must precede all other (PP, CP) arguments, at least in “neutral” clauses (i.e., clauses that are not derived by, for instance, *Heavy NP Shift* or similar operations which are typically associated with a “special” intonation).

Case is a syntactic and a morphological category. Theories of syntax and morphology give ample evidence of this. But it is not at all clear whether case is also a semantic category. In the Minimalist Program, for example, case is the prototypical example of a feature that serves no interpretive purpose and hence must be deleted before the structure is shipped to the syntax-to-meaning interface. A note of clarification is in order. Mel’cuk (1986), following traditional usage, defines case merely as a morphological category. Syntax simply uses the case distinctions for its own purpose. In our view, there is no distinction from a syntactical point of view between a case marked NP and a PP. Both can assume the role of an argument or an adjunct, depending on circumstances. This

means that one should in effect consider argument PPs as if they were case marked NPs. Thus, there appear to be two kinds of cases: the ones that show up as syntactic labels and the cases that we traditionally know of from morphology. English, for example, has no morphological dative and so is Kambari, but one can argue that syntax does distinguish a dative (realized as to NP). So we basically claim that case, in addition to being a morphological category, is also a syntactic category. Syntax typically distinguishes more cases than morphology.

This has been put forward by Rauh (2010) that Case theory distinguishes between two types of Case assignment: inherent Case assignment, which is specified in the lexicon, and structural Case assignment. The latter takes place at S-structure at the latest and requires, in languages like English and Kambari, adjacency of the Case-assigning and the Case-receiving units. Thus, in the context of verbs, which belong to the set of structural Case assigners, the order of complements (which can be NP, PP, and/or S) need not be specified because NP necessarily assumes verb-adjacent position, and other complements, if specified for, will follow.

Case is Independent of Syntactic Structure. In much of the transformational literature, structural cases are viewed as determined by the syntactic configuration. In particular, the accusative case is assigned through a structural relation between the verbal head and its complement, namely sisterhood. However, there are arguments that militate against such a view. One such argument has been put forward in Haider (1993). According to Haider, the innermost (i.e most immediate) complement of a verb is the dative complement, and the accusative complement.

Case Theory provides the motivation for A-movement of the particular NP which rises in passives, unaccusatives, and raising constructions. The English pronoun system gives us a glimpse of the positions that are assigned case and which morphological case they receive. Two principles associated with case theory are: (i) Case Filter and (ii) Case Uniqueness.

(i) **Case Filter**

This principle states that ‘every NP must be marked for case’. By this principle every NP in a structure must be assigned a case otherwise it will be filtered out for violating the case filter. It should also be noted that a lexical NP is qualified to be case-marked only once in accord with Case Uniqueness principle.

(ii) **Case Uniqueness**

This principle states that ‘a lexical NP may have only one case marking’. In a strictly syntactic theory of case assignment, the conditions under which these cases are assigned must be syntactic. In the case of Accusative Case, for example, there are in fact several different syntactic relations that would serve to uniquely identify the NP:

- (a) The NP is immediately dominated by the node in the tree that immediately dominates the case assigner (i.e. the case assigner and the NP are sisters; and
- (b) The NP is dominated by the lowest maximal projection that dominates the case assigner.
- (c) In the linear ordering of constituents, the NP is strictly adjacent to V;
- (d) The NP is dominated by the node in the tree that immediately dominates the case assigner;

There is a GB principle which ensures that every S-structure NP has Case, the so-called Case Filter. GB Principle (case-filter): every phonetically realized NP must be assigned (abstract) case.

Those NPs which have not received inherent Case at D-structure will receive structural Case at S-structure. V and P structurally assign accusative Case. But how should nominative Case be assigned?

The claim that every sentence has an inflected verbal element is closely connected to the claim that most sentences have a nominative subject. It is therefore natural to suggest that INFL assigns structural nominative Case. If a subject has not received inherent Case at D-structure, it will receive structural nominative Case at S-structure.

If we accept the subject-within-VP hypothesis, the case filter forces the subject to move up: It will only receive Case in a position in IP-specifier. We have mentioned briefly that sub categorisation selection only has a limited domain of validity. A head (and all lexical entries are heads) can only subcategorise for arguments, and sometimes specifiers. But the subject cannot receive Case when it remains in the VP-specifier position.

Unlike inflectional languages, Schneider (1998) posits that English has a very poor case system. But since GB aims to be a part of a Universal Grammar, a theory of Case was adopted, irrespective of whether Case is covert and abstract like in English or overtly marked. We have seen that morphological processes of inflection are dealt with by stipulating a functional category INFL, which finally ended up being the head of the sentence. Case is realized in a different way. It is firmly assumed to be a morphological process. We have seen that I places morphological restrictions on V by means

of **features**, such as [NUM: pl] or [-INFL], the feature for e.g. accusative case is then [CASE: acc], etc. Selection of Case is at least partly idiosyncratic.

GB distinguishes between **inherent** and **structural** Case. Inherent Case is subcategorised for by a lexical entry, structural Case is given to certain positions in the sentence structure. While most verbs take accusative objects, less take dative objects. Dative is an inherent Case.

4) Distribution of Case in English and Kambari

In this section we concentrate on the distribution of NOMINATIVE and ACCUSATIVE case forms in English and Kambari.

2. Peshe je'en ta na Cigashi.
Peshe dance.Pst. CM with Cigashi
'Peshe danced with Cigashi.'

In Kambari, the overt morphological realization of case in full lexical noun phrases is restricted to the GENTIVE case. As seen in (2), NOMINATIVE and ACCUSATIVE are not realized overtly in modern English and Kambari full NPs, though these case forms were overtly marked in earlier stages.

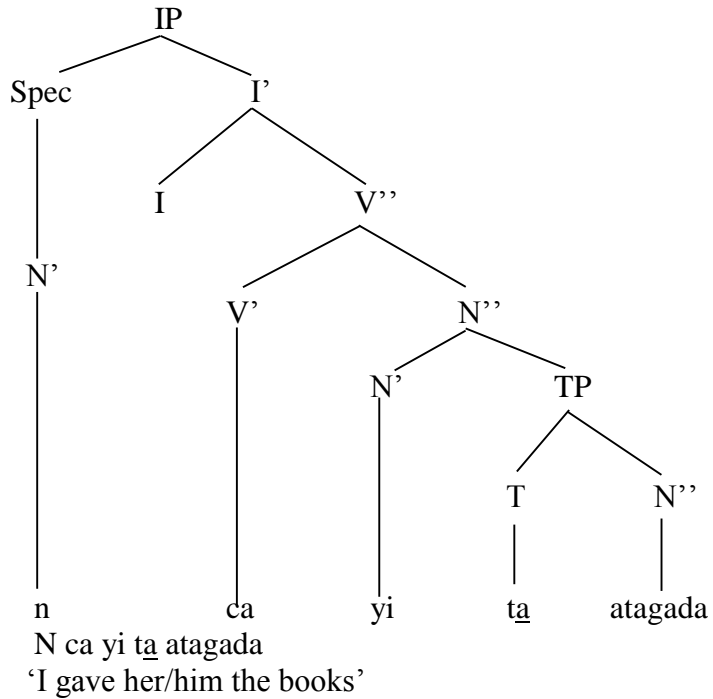
3. U kambuwa ta mota.
S/he return.Pst. CM car
'S/he returned the car'.

Here, the verb *kambuwa* as the head and governor assigns a structural accusative case to the object of the sentence, being it (verb) transitive. Consider what obtains in (4) below:

4. N ca yi ta atagada.
1.sg. give.Pst. her CM books

‘I gave her/him the books.’

The verb *ca* in this example, being it a ditransitive, takes two objects and it assigns accusative case to the direct object *yi* which it governs in the sentence. This can be represented on a tree thus:



The tree diagram above indicates that *ca* is a case assigner and it assigns a structural accusative case to direct object *yi* which is governed by the verb *ca*. The verb *ca* is not a governor to *n* (I) and

do not assign structural case to it. Thus the IP Spec of N' in this example assigns nominative case to *n*.

- 5a. U riyaa yi ta
He fell on him CM
'He attacked him.'
- b. A na u riyaa yi ta ili ya asalama i da
That he fall.pst on him CM thing of surprise it is
'That he attacked him is surprising.'
- c. U riyaa yi u to o'wo ili ya asalama
He to fall on him it will be thing of surprise
'For him to attack him would be surprising.'

Depending on their positions in the sentences, the third person pronouns appear in different forms. When the pronoun is the internal argument of *attack* in English, it takes the form *him*. Analogously, when the pronoun is the internal argument of *riyaa* in Kambari, it takes the form *yi*. Adopting the terminology of traditional grammar we call this form the ACCUSATIVE case. When the third person pronoun is the external argument of *attack* in English it takes either the form *he* or the form *him*, while in Kambari the external argument of *riyaa* will always remain *u* as a pronoun. The latter form is again the ACCUSATIVE case of the pronoun; the form *he* in English and *u* in Kambari will be called the NOMINATIVE case. Pronouns thus can be seen to have different case forms: *he/u* is NOMINATIVE, *him/yi* is ACCUSATIVE in English and Kambari respectively.

As can be seen in (5), the NOMINATIVE case is reserved for the NP in the subject position of finite clauses. The ACCUSATIVE case (*him*) in English and (*yi*) in Kambari are used both for the object NP of a transitive verb (5a), (5b) and (5c)) and

for the subject NP of an infinitival subordinate clause (5c), in English. We also find ACCUSATIVE case realized on the NP complement of a preposition.

Adopting the concepts of traditional grammar, we can say that subjects of finite clauses have NOMINATIVE case and that NPs that are complements of prepositions or verbs as well as NPs that are subjects of infinitival clauses appear in the ACCUSATIVE. But this informal system needs some discussion. At this point we have provided a list of occurrences without trying to relate the distribution of the case forms to other properties of the sentences in question. Consider (6) below:

- 6a. Muwu'un ma adanga u riyaa ta vivu
Child the of stick (police) he fall.pst. CM on robber
'The police attacked the robber.'
- b. [A na mawu'un ma adanga u riyaa ta vivu] ili
[That child the of stick he fall.Pst. on CM robber] is thing
ya asalama i d'a
of surprise it is
'[That the police attacked the robber] is surprising.'
- c. [Muwu'un ma adanga ma riyaa vivu] u to o'wo ili
[Child the of stick to fall on robber] it will be thing
ya asalama
of surprise

'[For the police to attack the robber] would be surprising.'

(6a) is a simple sentence, containing two NPs, the police (Muwu'un ma adanga) and the robber (vivu). In (6b) the simple sentence (6a) is used as the subject clause of an adjectival predicate (*surprising*).

In (6c) we find the non-finite parallel of (6a) used as the subject of the adjectival predicate.

A third case form found in English and Kambari NPs is the GENITIVE, illustrated in (7a) and (7b).

7a. Utugu u vuma'a u shi t_a mgbain lon
Shirt he man the it was CM very big
'The man's shirt was too big.'

In the translation of (7a) above, the data is somewhat awkward, but this cannot be unconnected with the fact that Kambari language exhibit double antecedent, most especially with Full lexical NPs (see Dantata 2014, Muhammad & Dantata 2015 for details).

7b. Utugu w_a yi u shi t_a mgbain lon
Shirt of him it was CM very big
'His shirt was too big.'

Adjectives and determiners, which used to have case forms in earlier stages of the language, have also lost distinct overt case forms. The overt distinction of NOMINATIVE and ACCUSATIVE forms in modern English is still to be found in the pronoun system, though even there we find several examples of case syncretism: two case forms having the same morphological realization.

Table (1) illustrates the overt realization of the case forms in NPs in English and Kambari: in (8a) we find the full lexical NPs, in (8b) we list the pronouns. As can be seen NOMINATIVE and ACCUSATIVE are the same for the pronouns *you* and *it* in English, but different in Kambari, where the Nominative and Accusative in both second and third person differ morphologically, but the first

person plural in Kambari is the same for both Nominative and Accusative.

Table 1. English and Kambari Case forms:

	NOMINATIVE	ACCUSATIVE	GENITIVE
(8.) a. Lexical NPs:			
	vuma'a man the 'the man'	vuma'a za man the 'the man'	vuma'a - Kambari of man the 'the man's' - Gloss
	vuma'a va abula man the of good 'the good man'	vuma'a va abula za man the of good 'the good man'	vuma'a va abula -Kambari of man the of good 'the good man's' – Gloss
b. Pronominal NPs:			
1 sg	I n, me, amu	me mu	my
2 sg	you mu/avu/vu	you wu	your
3 sg. masc	he	him	his
3 sg. fem	she	her	her
3 sg. naut	it	it	its
1 pl.	we wu/ u tsu	us yi tsu	our
2 pl.	you adu	you du	your
3 pl.	they a/ e	them le/ ele	their

*Note that Kambari lacks gender distinction.

The bold inscriptions are examples from Kambari language. Though Kambari lacks gender distinction and genitive correlation to English, yet both languages exhibit similar pronominal system and sentence structure (SVO).

Table 2. Pronominal of Kambari and English

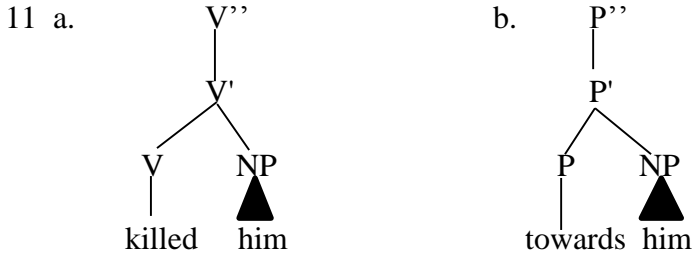
(9)	ENGLISH		KAMBARI	
	<u>Nominative Form</u>			
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	i	we	n, me, amu	tsu
2 nd	you	you	mu/avu/vu	adu
3 rd	he/she/it	they	wu/ u	a/ e
	<u>Accusative Form</u>			
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	me	us	mu	tsu
2 nd	your	your	wu	du
3 rd	him/ her	them	yi	le/ ele
	<u>Genitive Form</u>			
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	my	our		
2 nd	yours	yours	wu	du
3 rd	their	theirs		

The verb and preposition are case assigners. Before discussing this, let us first look at the complements of transitive verbs and prepositions. From Kambari, we give the following examples:

10. Cidawa wala ta a tyo ubata wa yi/*u
 Cidawa walk.Pst. CM go.Pr.cont. place to him /*he
 ‘Cidawa moved towards him/-*he.’

Following traditional accounts of case we might say that transitive verbs and prepositions assign ACCUSATIVE case to the NP they govern. They case-mark an NP which they govern. Thus in (11) the

V and the P will case-mark the complement NPs. In this view, heads assign case.



The subject of infinitival clauses used as main clauses is assigned either NOMINATIVE in (12a) or ACCUSATIVE in (12b):

12. (a) He go there? Impossible.
(b) Him attack Bill? Never.

Sentences such as (12a-b) are clearly marked. They cannot be used to start a conversation; rather they will be used to echo a preceding utterance. The source of the case on their subjects is a matter for further research.

Analogously, Kambari patterns the same with English as the following example buttress:

13. *[A yi u riyaa Bawa] woo o'wo mejege shi
[they him he fall on Bawa] it will be right not
*[Him to attack Bawa] would be illegal.

Here, despite the fact that Kambari exhibit double antecedent (Muhammad & Dantata (2015), Dantata (2014)), there is no

scenario of the Kambari data which allowed 3 antecedents following each other, such as the case of (13) above, *a/they*, *yi/him* and *u/s/he* respectively.

The conditions of case assignment are partly structural: ACCUSATIVE case is assigned under government. A verb cannot assign ACCUSATIVE case to an NP outside the VP such as the subject, as in (14 & (15) for English and Kambari respectively:

14 *Him found the evidence.

In (14) the V *find* does not govern the subject NP in English, and the V *kara* in Kambari does not govern the subject NP in the embedded sentence in (15) and it patterns in exactly the same way between English and Kambari.

15. *N la'a ta ciga lon [yi/u kara gogo]
I prefer CM very much [him/he to go now]
'*I prefer very much [him to go now].'

Consider the definition of government given below:

(16) Government

a governs *β* if and only if:

- a. *a* is a head [\pm N, \pm V] or $I_{[+fin]}$ or $C_{[for]}$, and
- b. every XP that dominates *a* also dominates *β*, and
- c. every XP (other than IP) that dominates *β* also dominates *a*.

In this definition, α and β stand for particular categories. Clause (a) requires that α be one of the heads N, V, A, P, $I_{[+fin]}$ or $C_{[for]}$. Almost always, β is an NP, since NPs need Case, which is assigned under the government relation. Clause (b) determines how high up the tree a head may govern: if every maximal projection above the head must

also dominate the NP in question, then the NP must be below the maximal projection of the head (e.g. VP for V, IP for I_[+fin]). Clause (c) provides the lower limit of government by not allowing the head to govern down into another maximal projection other than IP. Together, clauses (b) and (c) establish locality constraints on the government relation for each head. A head (N, V, A, P, I_[+fin], C_[for]), GOVERNS its NP specifier and its NP complement and the NP specifier of an IP_[-fin] complement.

The Case assignment rules in terms of government are simply:

- a. I_[+fin] assigns nominative case to the NP specifier that it governs.
- b. N assigns genitive case to the NP specifier that it governs.
- c. V, P, C_[for] assign accusative case to the NP that they govern.

The possibility of case assignment is also a function of the type of verb, i.e. the governor. Only transitive verbs and prepositions assign case. Intransitive verbs like *wander* or *overeat* cannot assign case to a complement NP as in (17a-b) below:

- 17 a. *He wandered them.
- b. *He overate them.

Nouns and adjectives also do not assign ACCUSATIVE case.

- 18 a. *Poirot's attack him.
- b. *Poirot is envious him.

We shall classify transitive verbs and prepositions as ACCUSATIVE case assigners. Case theory requires that each NP must be Case marked, and this is achieved by the Case filter, which filters out at PF structures with NPs that are not Case marked. Case theory distinguishes between two types of Case assignment:

inherent Case assignment, which is specified in the lexicon, and structural Case assignment. The latter takes place at S-structure at the latest and requires, in languages like English and Kambari, adjacency of the Case-assigning and the Case-receiving units. Thus, in the context of verbs, which belong to the set of structural Case assigners, the order of complements (which can be NP, PP, and/or S) need not be specified because NP necessarily assumes verb-adjacent position, and other complements, if specified for, will follow.

Thus, movement of NPs located in non-Case positions in D-structure, for example in complement positions of participles or unaccusative verbs, is motivated by the requirements of Case theory. Consider the data in (19):

- 19a. Wakaso gura ta [Kambari] ulobonu
Wakaso knows CM [Kambari] properly
'Wakaso speaks [_{NP} Kambari] fluently.'
- b. *Wakaso gura ta ulobonu [Kambari]
Wakaso knows CM properly [Kambari]
'*Wakaso speaks fluently [_{NP} Kambari].'
- c. *Wakaso amayun ta tara [Kambari ili ya abula]
Wakaso truly CM took [Kambari thing of goodness
(important)]
'*Wakaso sincerely believes [_{IP} Kambari to be important].'
- d. Wakaso tara ta amayun [_{IP} Kambari ili ya abula]
Wakaso took CM truly [Kambari thing of goodness]
'Wakaso believes sincerely [_{IP} Kambari to be important].'
- e. Wakaso tara ta amayun [_{CP} a na Kambari ili ya abula i da]
Wakaso took CM truly [that Kambari thing of goodness it is]
'Wakaso believes sincerely [_{CP} that Kambari is important].'

In the data above, adjacency and case assignment plays an important role in Kambari just like in English language. In (19a), the verb *knows* (*gura*) as the head assigns accusative case to the NP it governs, against the backdrop of (19b) where the NP is far from its governor, and resulted to its ill-formed construction. Similarly, (19c-e) explained the case and adjacency requirement in Kambari by the well-formed and ill-formed constructions. (19c) is an ill-formed construction while (19d-e) are well-formed due to the order of adverbs and the presence of IP and CP respectively. Such can be found in English data below:

20. John would have liked for **her**/***she** to come.
21. John was glad that **she**/***her** came.
22. John wondered whether **she**/***her** would come.

We can generalize from this data that:

- a. *she, they, I*, etc. are used in subject position of main and embedded clauses, except for embedded clauses headed by C_[for].
- b. *her, them, me*, etc. are used in object position and as the object of a preposition and in subject position after C_[for].
- c. *their, his, my*, etc. are used in possessor position.

As usual, GB rephrases the generalizations in terms of phrase structure. Also, even though only pronouns show overt morphological case in English, it is assumed that all NPs have Case (called abstract case) that matches the morphological case that shows up on pronouns. Appeal is made to other languages with much richer case systems than English to back up this claim.

In phrase structure terms:

- a. Nominative Case is assigned to the NP specifier of $I_{[+fin]}$.
- b. Accusative case is assigned to the NP sister of V or P. The $C_{[for]}$ which is homophonous with the preposition *for* acts like P for Case assignment. Note that the subject of a non-finite clause could not receive Case from $I_{[-fin]}$ since only $I_{[+fin]}$ assigns Nominative Case.
- c. Genitive Case is assigned to the specifier of N.

What is the same about these positions that receive Case and the positions that assign Case? Chomsky observed that every maximal projection (=XP) that dominates the NP that receives Case also dominates the head that assigns it (if we do not count the IP that intervenes between the $C_{[for]}$ and the NP).

5) Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, the study makes the following finding: adjacency and case assignment plays an important role in Kambari just like in English language. The conditions of case assignment are partly structural in both English and Kambari: Accusative case is assigned under government. It was seen that Nominative and Accusative are the same for the pronouns *you* and *it* in English, but different in Kambari, where the Nominative and Accusative in both second and third person differ morphologically, but the first person plural in Kambari is the same for both Nominative and Accusative.

There are two distinct elements of 3rd person singular nominative form in Kambari: *wu* and *u*, and two plural accusative form: *a* and *e*. *Wu* and *e* comes before a verb that begins with a vowel sound, while *u* and *a* comes before a verb that begins with a consonant sound. There are three distinct elements of 1st person singular Nominative form in Kambari: *n/me/amu*. Here, *me/amu* comes

before a verb that begins with a vowel sound while *n* comes before a verb that begins with a consonant sound. This is a clear phonological contrast between Kambari and English. There are three distinct elements of 2nd person Nominative pronoun in Kambari: *mu/avu/vu* which all comes before a verb that begins with a vowel sound, a clear contrast in phonology too. Real names and other Full NP types pattern the same way in Kambari and some languages of the west, most especially English language. Kambari and English languages exhibits an SVO word order and/or structure. When the pronoun is the internal argument of a verb, like (*riyaa*) in Kambari, it takes the form *yi*, and when the third person pronoun is the external argument of a verb, like (*attack*) in English it takes either the form *he* or the form *him*, while in Kambari the external argument of *riyaa* will always remain *u* as an NP.

In terms of agreement we postulate that English and Kambari have a full-fledged system of abstract case, and it is distinct from morphological Case. Abstract Case is a universal property, while the overt realization of abstract Case by means of morphological Case varies cross-linguistically.

The study further reveals that NOMINATIVE and ACCUSATIVE Case are the same for the pronouns *you* and *it* in English, but different in Kambari, where the Nominative and Accusative Case in both second and third person differ morphologically, but the first person plural in Kambari is the same for both Nominative and Accusative.

The realization of Genitive case will be a subject of further research, we try to bring forth the Nominative and Accusative case forms as it patterns or diverges between English and Kambari.

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