

THE LOCATIVE IN LUGANDA: A SYNTAX- INTERFACES APPROACH

By

NKONGE D. KIYINIKIBI

Dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts and
Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University



Supervisor: Professor Marianna Visser

March 2021

DECLARATION

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification

Date: March 2021

Copyright © 2021 Stellenbosch University
All rights reserved

ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates intransitive and transitive active, passive, neuter-passive (stative) verb constructions with locatives, including locative inversion constructions in Luganda, a Bantu language spoken in Uganda. Locatives and locative inversion have received considerable attention in research on Bantu languages, however limited research has been done on constructions containing locatives for Luganda adopting a syntax-interfaces approach, as is assumed for the current study. This study examines the permissibility of locative inversion with intransitive and transitive verbs, and their associated interpretations in the constructions in which they occur, with respect to properties of argument structure, definiteness and specificity, information structure and event semantics. The interpretative properties exemplified in active, passive and neuter-passive (stative) verb constructions containing a locative, are thus correlated with their properties of argument structure, i.e. thematic role interpretation of DP constituents in various structural positions, such as the subject position and the postverbal position, including locative inversion, as an argument alternation construction.

The study furthermore examines the properties of argument structure exemplified in active passive and stative verb constructions as these relate to the analysis of event semantics, particularly the causative/anti-causative distinction, relevant to identifying aspectual verb class, i.e. situation type, as posited by Smith (1997). The study thus investigates how the interpretative properties of intransitive and transitive active, passive and stative verb constructions containing a locative, including locative inversion constructions, correlate with particular morphosyntactic properties of argument structure and the event structure these constructions exemplify. Taking into account these properties a small clause analysis is proposed for (some) locative inversion constructions that have an anti-causative interpretation. Thus, the properties of argument structure and event semantics interpretation are invoked in providing evidence for positing an ergative verb syntax for (some) locative inversion constructions in terms of proposals by Hoekstra and Mulder (1990), and views of Pross (2020) concerning a dispositional ascription reading for the subject argument of some locative inversion constructions. The study thus explores the syntax interface of argument structure and event semantics (i.e. aspectual verb type), taking into account the properties of the event expressed in the sentence variants with respect to the features [+/- Dynamic], (where causative semantics is generally, but not exclusively, associated with agentivity), [+/-

Telic], and [+/- Durative] in determining the situation type of various sentences as an activity, accomplishment, achievement event/situation, or an (habitual) state (according to proposals of Smith, 1997; Boneh and Doron, 2013; Choi and Fara, 2018).

The study furthermore examines the semantic-pragmatic properties of definiteness and specificity of DP constituents in a range of intransitive and transitive active, passive, and neuter-passive (i.e. stative) verb construction variants. These properties are explored in respect to the (non-)occurrence of the locative applicative suffix, the locative clitic, and the (non-)occurrence of the pre-prefix of the noun in the postverbal DP in some sentence constructions, invoking Lyons's (1999) notions of familiarity, identifiability, inclusiveness and uniqueness, in analysing the semantic-pragmatic factors of the speaker and hearer/addressee knowledge in discourse context.

The study explores, in addition, the interface of syntax and information structure in active, passive and neuter-passive sentence constructions containing a locative in examining the information structural status of various constituents, including DP, v/VP, and the clausal projection, with regard to focus, topic, and contrast, invoking in particular, Repp's (2016) three-fold distinction of explicit alternative, explicit alternative set, and implicit alternative, and views from Lambrecht (1994) and Krifka et al (1995) regarding the syntacticization of information structural notions. The interpretative properties of constituents examined in the intransitive and transitive active, passive, and neuter-passive (stative) verb construction variants are invoked to posit a focus phrase projection on the left edge (periphery) of DP, v/VP complex, and the clausal phrase, for particular constituents. The issues addressed in this examination, on the interface of information structure and morphosyntax, assumes, in particular, the cartography studies perspective of generative syntax concerning the postulation of discourse-related projections in the left-periphery of constituents, in positing structural representations, taking into account information structural properties in the respective sentence constructions. The Focus phrase, and the focus-related feature specification of the Focus head, receive particular attention in this regard.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie proefskrif ondersoek intransitiewe en transitiewe aktief, passief, en neutro-passief (statiewe) werkwoord konstruksies met lokatiewe, insluitende lokatief inversie konstruksies in Lunganda, 'n Afrikataal van Uganda. Lokatiewe en lokatief inversie het aansienlike aandag ontvang in navorsing oor Afrikatale, maar beperkte navorsing is egter gedoen oor konstruksies wat lokatiewe bevat vir Luganda vanuit 'n sintaksis-raakvlak benadering soos aanvaar word vir hierdie studie. Die studie ondersoek die toelaatbaarheid van lokatief inversie en intransitiewe en transitiewe werkwoorde, repektiewelik, en die geassosieerde interpretasies van die konstruksies waarin hulle verskyn, rakende die eienskappe van argumentstruktuur, bepaaldheid en spesifisiteit, informasiestruktuur, en gebeurtenis ('event') semantiek. Die interpretatiewe eienskappe vertoon in aktief, passief en neutro-passief (statief) werkwoordkonstruksies wat 'n lokatief bevat word dus gekorreleer met hulle eienskappe rakende argumentstruktuur, dit is, tematiese rol interpretasie van DP konstituente in verskillende strukturele posisies, soos byvoorbeeld die subjekposisie en die na-werkwoordelike posisie, insluitende lokatief inversie, as 'n argument alternasie konstruksie

Die studie ondersoek voorts die eienskappe van argumentstruktuur vertoon in aktief, passief en neutro-passief (statief) werkwoordkonstruksies soos wat hierdie eienskappe verband hou met gebeurtenis ('event') semantiek, in die besonder die kousatief/anti-kousatief onderskeid, relevant tot die identifisering van aspektuele werkwoordklas dit is, situasie tipe, soos gepostuleer deur Smith (1997). Die studie ondersoek sodoende hoe die interpretatiewe eienskappe van intransitiewe en transitiewe aktief, passief en neutro-passief (statief) werkwoordkonstruksies wat 'n lokatief bevat, insluitende lokatief inversie konstruksies, korreleer met spesifieke morfosintaktiese eienskappe van argumentstruktuur en die gebeurtenis ('event') struktuur wat hierdie konstruksies vertoon. Met inagneming van hierdie eienskappe word 'n 'klein' s in ('small clause') analise voorgestel vir sommige tipes lokatief inversie konstruksies wat 'n anti-kousatiewe interpretasie het. Aldus, word die eienskappe van argumentstruktuur en gebeurtenis ('event') semantiek ontgin in die gee van evidensie vir die postulering van 'n ergatiewe werkwoord sintaksis in terme van voorstelle van Hoekstra en Mulder (1990) en gesigspunte van Pross (2020) rakende 'n disposisie toekennings interpretasie vir die subjek van sommige loaktief inversie konstruksies Die studie ondersoek sodoende die raakvlak van argumentstruktuur en gebeurtenis semantiek (dit is, aspektuele werkwoord tipe), met inagneming van die eienskappe van die gebeurtenis ('event') uitgedruk

in die verskillende sinsvariante met betrekking tot die kenmerke [+/- Dinamies] waar kousatiewe semantiek in die algemeen, maar nie uitsluitlik nie, geassoseer word met agentskap ('agentivity'), [+/- Teliek], en [+/- Duratief] in die vasstelling van die situasietipe van verskillende sinne as 'n aktiwiteit vervulling ('accomplishment'), bereiking ('achievement'), of 'n (habituële) toestand (volgens voorstelle van Smith 1997; Boneh en Doron, 2013; Choi en Fara, 2018).

Die studie ondersoek voorts die semanties-pragmatiese kenmerke van bepaaldheid en spesifisiteit van DP konstituente in verskillende intransitiewe en transitiewe aktief, passief, en neutro-passief (statief) werkwoord konstruksie variante. Hierdie kenmerke word ondersoek met verwysing na die (nie-)verskyning van die lokatiewe applikatief suffiks, die lokatiewe klitiek, en die (nie-)teenwoordigheid van die pre-prefiks van die naamwoord in die naamwoordelike DP in sommige sinskonstruksies, met verwysing na Lyons (1999) se begrippe van familiariteit, identifiseerbaarheid, inklusiwiteit, en uniekheid, in die analise van semanties-pragmatiese faktore van die spreker en hoorder kennis in diskoers konteks.

Die studie ondersoek voorts ook die raakvlak van die sintaksis en informasiestruktuur in aktief, passief, en neutropassief sinskonstruksies wat 'n lokatief bevat in die ondersoek van die informasiestruktuurstatus van verskillende konstituente, insluitende DP, v/VP en die sinsprojeksie met verwysing na fokus onderwerp ('topic'), en kontras, met besondere verwysing na Repp (2016) se onderskeid tussen eksplisiete alternatief, eksplisiete alternatiewe stel, en implisiete alternatief, asook sieninge van Lambrecht (1994) en Krifka et al (1995) rakende die sintaktisering van informasiestruktuur terme. Die interpretatiewe eienskappe van konstituente ondersoek in verskillende aktief, passief, en neutro-passief werkwoordkonstruksie variante word ontgin ten einde 'n fokusprojeksie te postuleer aan die linker periferie van die DP, v/VP kompleks, en sin, vir spesifieke konstituente. Die vraagstukke aangespreek in hierdie ondersoek van die raakvlak tussen informasiestruktuur en morfosintaksis, aanvaar in die besonder, die kartografie studies perspektief van generatiewe sintaksis rakende die postulering van diskoers-verwante projeksies in die linker periferie van konstituente vir die doel van die postulering van strukturele representasies wat die informasiestruktuur eienskappe in ag neem in verskillende sinskonstruksies. Die fokusfrase en die fokus-verwante kenmerkspesifikasie van die fokus-kern, kry besondere aandag in die verband.

EKIKENENULO

Okunoonyereza kuno kwekaliriza entegeeze eza nnantabila ennanzi n'ennantabila nnantalanda mu nnakamwantette, mu kyesirikidde ne mu sitativu nga zekwanya ku nsonga ya zinnabifo omuli, entegeeze nnabifo kifuulannenge mu Luganda, olulimi OlunnaBantu olusibuka mu Buganda ne lusaasanira ebitundu bya Uganda ebiwera. Zinnabifo n'entegeeze nnabifo ez'ekifuulannenge zeekebejjeddwa nnyo mu kunoonyereza ku nnimi ezinnabantu. Wabula okunoonyereza kwa lusuluuju okwakoledwa ku ntegeeze ezikongojja nnabifo ku Luganda nga kwebonaanya kannansonalulimi-kasalaganyabisaawe, nga bwekiri mu kunoonyereza kuno. Okunoonyereza kuno kwekebejja obusobozi bwazinnantabira nnantalanda n'ennanzi okukkiriza nnabifo kifuulannenge n'entaputa yaazo nga zeekuusa ku mirimu kinnamiramwa/thematika rolo, obudifiniti n'obusipesifisite, obuyiventa semantika, ne kazimbabubaka. Emize egitaputiddwa negirabisibwa/negimulisibwa mu ntegeeze nnakamwantette, kyesirikidde, ne sitativu ezirina nnabifo mu bifo ebyenjawulo, gamba nga mu kitundu nnabukozi, ne nnabukolwako ssukkakikolwa nga mwemuli nnakifokifuulannenge ekiwaanyisizza ekifo n'ekitundu nnabukozi.

Okunoonyereza kuno nate kwekenneenya emize egyolekedwa ekikula ky'ekituttwa nnalinnya-kwaanyannantabira/ajumeneti mu ntegeeze eziri mu nnakamwantette, mu kyesirikidde, ne mu kinnambeera/sitativu nga bwe zikwanaganyizibwa mu kwekenneenya kannamakulunnakubeerawo/yiventi semantika, naddalaenjawulo wakati w'ekireetezi n'ekitali kireetezi ebituukira ku mminjawaza ya zinnantabila mu kinnakubeerawo/ekinnambeera nga bwe kinogaanyizibwa Smith (1997). Okunoonyereza mu kyo, kunoonyereza entaputa y'emize gya nnantabira-nnantalanda ne nnantabira ennanzi mu nnakamwantette, kyesirikidde ne sitativu eby'entegeeze omuli nnabifo, ne nnabifo-kifuulannenge, engeri gye zitabagana, naddala n'emize wabikula-nsonalulimi w'obuzimbe kituttwa nnalinnya-kwaanyannantabira, ekizimbe nnakubeerawo/yiventi situlakikya ebitegeeze bino bye byoleka. Nga tutwala ennekenneenya y'ekitutwakkako/simolo kiloozi egenderera okwekebejja entaputa y'entegeeze kifuulannenge ezitalina kireetezi. Mu kyo, entaputa y'emize gya ekituttwannalinnyakkwaanya nnantabira neya kannamakulu-nnakubeerawo bijulizibwa okwongera obukakafu okuteekawo ensonalulimi ey'ekitegeeze-kifuulannenge mu kwesigama ku biteeso bya Hoekstra ne Mulder (1990), n'ebirowoozo bya Pross (2020). Ku ntaputa nnabusobozi/disiposisona ey'ekituttwa nnalinnya-kkwaanya nnantabira nnabukozi/sabujekiti, n'ebitegeeze kifuulannenge ebimu. Okunoonyereza noolwekyo kuvumbula

ensalagalansonalulimi n'ekituttwa nnalinnya-kkwaanya nnantabira ne kannamakulu nnakubeerawo, mu kutunuulira emize gya ekibaddewo/yiventi ekyolekeddwa mu bitobeko/valiyanti y'entegeezo mu bulambiko [+/- Dayinamiki] mu ngeri nga kannamakulu w'obuleetezi okutwalira awamu, awatali kuwanduukulula, yeebonaanya ne agentivu [+/- teliki], ne [+/- Durativu] mu kusalawo ku bika /ku mminjawaza ya nnantabira-nnakubeerawo omuli: okukola, okumaliriza, okutuukiriza, n'embeera nnamize (okusinziira ku biteeso bya Smith, 1997; Boneh and Doron, 2013; Choi and Fara, 2018).

Okunoonyereza neera kwekenneenya emize gya kannamakulu w'ebigambo ne kannamakulu nnankozesa egya obwawule/difinetinesi ne obwenjawulo/sipesifisite obwa ebitundutundu by'entegeezo eby'ekituttwa nnabyawule/DP mu bitobeko by'entegeezo za nnantabira ezitali nnanzi n'ennantabira ennanzi mu nnakamwantette, kyesirikidde, nesitativu. Emize egyo gizuulwa mu kweyoleka n'obuteeyoleka bw'akawangonnabifo-ssemba, akawango-nzirugaze, n'obuteeyoleka oba okweyoleka kwa akawango-mpeerezi-ssooka ku nnalinnya mu kituttwa-ssukkannantabira ekyawule/ditaminafulleezi(DP) mu ntegeezo (nga tujuliza ebinnyonyolo bya Lyons, 1999) ebya; okumanyiira/familialite, okunokolayo, okuzingiramu, n'obwenjawulo mu kwekenneenya ensonga za kannamakulu w'ebigambo ne kannamakulunnankozesa eri kayogera ne kawuliriza nsonga eri mu ddiro.

Okunoonyereza nate kunoonyereza ku kusalagana kwa kannansonalulimi ne kazimbabubaka mu ntegeezo nnakamwatette, kyesirikidde, ne sitativu omuli nnabifo nga zeekenneenya engeri obubaka gye buzimbiddwaamu mu bitundutundu by'entegeezo ebyenjawulo, omuli ekituttwa ekyawuzi/ditaminafulleezi, ekituttwa nnantabira v/VP, ne empeekera/kiloozi pulojekisoni, ku nsonga ya omutwe/topiki n'essira/fokasi, ne kkontana/kontulasiti. Nga tujuliza, naddala ebyawuzo byonsatule ebya Repp (2016) omuli ebitobekoebirambike, n'omuteeko gw'ebitobeko ebirambike, ko n'ebitobeko ebitali birambike. Kuno tugattako ebiteeso bya Lambrecht, 1994 ne Krifka et al, 1995 ebiri ku kannansonalulimiwaza w'obuzimbe bw'obubaka. Entaputa y'emize gy'ebitundutundu by'entegeezo ebyekenneenezeddwa mu bitobeko by'entegeezo eza nnantabira ezitalanda ne nnantabira ennanzi mu nnakamwantette, kyesirikidde ne sitativu biyamba okuteekawo ekituttwa ekyoleka essira ku nkingizi/ku lukooto olwa kkono /lefuti periferi ya DP, v/VP, n'ekituttwa ky'empeekera, mu bitundu bya entegeezo ebimu. Ensonga ezittaanyiziddwa mu kwekenneenya kuno, ku kusalagana kw'enzimba-bubaka ne wabikula, ne kannansonalulimi

kutwaliramu naddala gulama wa katogulafia mu kunnyonnyola ebitundutundu by'entegeezo, obuzimbe bwabyo, kannamakulu, omutwe oba n'essira webibeera.

DEDICATION

This work is been dedicated to my late father Taata Douglas Ssaalongo Kaweesa Nkonge (1924 -1994) in honour and memory of the orientation and the mentorship he gave me during my childhood regarding our cultural heritage and systems of the Great Buganda Kingdom. In honour of my enduring mother, Eva Naiga who became a widow at an earlier age.

To my loving wife Kyennalinda Nakibuuka Bakungu and my charming daughters Nakiguli Lwalamukwano (13 years) and Nabbosa Nnyinimu-atiibwa (10 years), plus my sons the curious Kiguli Kijjojje (8 years), the smart Kamwanga Kiddugavu (4 years) and my baby Ssekkadde Kikuttoobudde (5 months) said to be resembling his father but I have not seen you before physically to prove this. This family has really missed me at home while carrying out this investigation. I thank you for the patience and courage you have accorded me to carry on this task. I dedicate this work to you all my own blood!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I had been hearing many colleagues who passed through the gates of Stellenbosch University in the faculty of Arts and social sciences describing the persona of Professor Marianna Visser as a magical professor, a good supervisor, a promoter, a reader, a mentor, and a mother. When I got admission to Stellenbosch University, my colleagues wanted to know the name of my supervisor and upon learning that it was Professor Marianna, they all congratulated me assuring me that I was in safe hands, and was going to enjoy my studies, and they told me that I should be ready to read widely and write wisely. I would like to confess now that those colleagues were spot on with their description of Professor Marianna! With that preamble, I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation to my magical supervisor Professor Marianna Visser who has intelligently and gently guided me through this arduous academic task right from day one when we sat down to reformulate my topic. The magical lively discussions on syntax-interfaces that she brought to the table in each of our daily tutorials has printed a lasting experience to my career. The level of tolerance Professor posed to me regarding some of my unclear ideas that I tabled in the tutorials makes her a unique supervisor and an exceptional mentor endowed with in generous manner. The work method of Professor Marianna, her inner love for the African languages and cultures, and her love for her students and the interest she has in their studies is a big motivation and blessing to the next generation of academia, in my observation. I always boarded a plane from Entebbe, in Buganda, Uganda just eager to meet my supervisor in order to catch up with our daily rich tutorials. She encouraged me, appreciated me, and gave me confidence. I have always loved to see her in our long department corridor, and whenever I come to my office, even when I have no appointment with her, I would always check on her door to see whether she came to the office. I will miss her tutorials and general guidance one-on-one but always good lasting memories of her. Professor has practical solutions to practical challenges posed by her student, she has guided me and settled me psychologically when I had family challenges at home and her solutions have always worked. We have always managed my family at home together. She has given me tips on how to go about my feeding in Stellenbosch; given me security tips and life skills on how to balance work and leisure for a health mind. She programmes my travels in the most considerate, appropriate and cost effective way. She has supported me in the hard times of the covid-19 pandemic both physically and psychologically. She has demystified the attitude I have had about supervisors. I cannot call her a supervisor anymore; she is my friend, my associate, and my promoter. In Luganda, this

untranslatable metaphorical expression is a summary of the greatest appreciation ever: *Neeyanzizza nnyo nnyabo Pulofeesa Marianna Visser, neeyanzeege, ow'enkajja, ow'e nakatu, ow'entamu enjalirire, omubi okulya omulungi emirimu, waakiri ndisula wansi ggwe n'osula waggulu, okaddiwenga omutwe so si mikono egigaba, lwe ndiyita ku luguudo lwewaffe oludda e Mityana-Ssingo ku mutala Bbira ndikubbirayo akakajjo. Kaakano leka neecwacwane n'obusigaddewo obunnyongere. Nkulabidde abanzaala.*

I would like to thank Professor M. Dlali, the Chair, Department of African languages at Stellenbosch University and the entire staff for their support and encouragement. In a special way, I would also like to appreciate Ms *Surena Du Plessis* the secretary for the Department of African Languages at Stellenbosch University, who has always been ready to schedule our tutorial sessions. I also appreciate her for formatting all my work right from the beginning of my studies to the time of submission. You are so wonderful; your door has always been open willing to help at all times. I also thank Mrs Karin de Wet in the same department for her secretarial assistance.

This dissertation has also benefited from the support from the learning and teaching I have gained at Makerere University way back since 2001/2002 as an undergraduate student. In that line, I thank very much the support and helpful comments long the years I have shared during my academic journey that has been climaxed with this level of academic growth. In that respect, I thank all my colleagues at Makerere University; Dr.Dr. K.B. Kiingi(my BA and MA supervisor), Dr. John Kalema, Dr. Levis Mugumya(also fellow Maties), Dr. Kizza Mukasa, Dr. Allen Asimwe (also a fellow Maties), Dr. Eva Nabulya(also fellow Maties), Dr. Judith Nakayiza, Dr Saudah Namyalo, Assoc. Prof. Suzan Kiguli, Prof. M. Muranga, Prof. A. Mushengyezi, Dr. Kasozi Mutaawe, Mr. John Mulindwa(for editing the first drafts of the preliminary chapters 2 and 3), Dr. Tushabe Ndawula, Prof. Edward Wamala, Mr. Micheal Wangotta Masakala, Mr. Justus Turamyomwe, and Mrs Mary Kisuule, Mr. L. Otika, and Ms Atwagala Donah. Dr. In a very special way, I want to thank my friends Dr. Ssentanda Medadi Erisa (also a fellow Maties), Dr. Nakijoba Sarah (also fellow Maties), Dr. William Wagaba (also for his recommendation), Dr. C. Oriikiriza (also for his recommendation), and for their support and guidance to apply on this program. I am grateful for the continuous support from my friend Dr Deo Kawalya. I thank him for sparing time to edit two of my preliminary chapters 2 and 3 of this dissertation.

I wish to thank my friends in Stellenbosch (the Maties), right from the bottom of my heart, the new doctor in the house Dr. Brighton Msagalla (also my very friend, officemate, housemate who also read through my second drafts of chapter 2, 3, and 4), Dr. Peter Msaka Konduani (for the syntax conversation and the kitchen lessons), Dr. Amon Mwiine (also for sharing the dining), Dr. Alfred Nuwamanya, Dr. Chikumbutso (also for sharing the kitchen) Manthalu, Dr. Matia Mukama, Dr. Hassan Kimbugwe Dr. Privaati, Dr. Mutaru Saibu, Dr. Norbert Basweti, Dr. Pauline Liru, Dr. Gaspudus Mwombeki, Dr. Dominick Makanjila, Dr. Mutaru Saibu, Dr. Nestroy Yamungu, Dr. Jude Mugalula, Dr. Lukanda Ivan, Ass Prof. Amani Lusekero, Mr. Cosmas Ndabubaha, the new doctors, Dr. F. Bimbo, Dr. J. Chelagat Kosgei (also my officemate, housemate with great support in the kitchen) Mr. Bichwa Saul (also my officemate and housemate), Mr Bagenda Bony (also a housemate), Mr. Kauma Bryan (for his computer assistance and doing the final formatting of this book), Ms. Marion Kajambo, Ms. Deniza Nyakana (also a housemate), the late Haji Makato (a great friend who died in his third year) friend, I was fortunate to have you around. Thank you very much for the encouraging words, and thank you for your moral support.

I hereby acknowledge the funding awarded to me from Partnership for Africa's Next Generation of Academics (PANGeA) through the Graduate School - Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University to pursue my full-time doctoral studies at Stellenbosch University. In a special way, I thank Dr. Cindy Lee Steenekamp, Ms Tanja Malan and Ms Smith for their efforts to initiate us into the program from the time of our arrival in Stellenbosch. You showed us tender care and love. We shall miss you physically.

In the same spirit, I would like to acknowledge the financial support from my employer Makerere University for granting me a study leave and for giving me travel and settling in funds through the Human Resource Department. I also acknowledge the support rendered to me by my home department of Linguistics, English language studies and communication skills through the Chair, Dr Merit Kabugo (also a fellow Maties).

I thank the almighty God through my ancestors for the devine protection, providence and guidance. I am also indebted to my Big family of the late Great ancestor Kamwanga Kiddugavu Kalyesubula of Mbaale, Mawokota; in the lineage of Nansambu; in the Mutuba of Mpiima (where I am the reigning Mpiima); in the sub-clan of Luwanga, and with Lwomwa

at the pinnacle of the Sheep clan and ultimately from Mbaale the founder/patriot of the Sheep clan at Mbaale in Mawokota, connecting directly to the King of Buganda Kingdom. We say, Awangaale Beene ‘Long live the King’

In particular I thank my Late father Taata Ssaalongo Douglas Nkonge Kaweesa (1924-1994) the son of Owoomutuba Mpiima Danieri. Kiguli Kijojje for the great love he had for me, I really miss him with fresh memories. I thank my mother who endured the life of being a widow at younger age for the good of her family. I also thank a few close relatives; my paternal aunt Ssenga Nalugwa Efulansi Lwalamukwano Musoke who raised me after the demise of my father while I was at a very tender age, the motivation from my paternal uncles; once again Dr. Dr. Kibuuka Balubuuliza Kiingi, Dr. S Sekkadde Kikuttoobudde Kiyingi, Dr. Lutalo Kigwiira Kiyingi, brother Dr Sam Lutalo Kiingi,. I also appreciate support from other relatives; sister Nakiguli Christina, brothers, Ssaalongo Kalyesubula Frediriko (who has just had twins this month as a sign of blessings forthcoming), Paulo Kiyingi Bbosa, and many others relatives, not forgetting my lovely friend and grandson Mr. ZZiwa Jimmy Amos, for their material, emotional and spiritual support. You have made me to believe that the family and other people around me is the best capital that I will forever treasure.

Finally, I extend my warm appreciation to my one and only loving wife Mastulah Nakibuuka Kyennalinda Bakungu, to my charming daughters, Nakiguli Lwalamukwano (13years) and Nabbose Nnyinimu-atiibwa (10 years) and to my sons Kiguli Kijojje (8 years), Kamwanga Kiddugavu (4 years), and my baby boy S Sekkadde Kikuttoobudde (now 5 months) whom I have not seen physically due to this task but I hear that he resembles the father, I am so delighted and eager to meet you all at home after here.

It is hard to complete a list of people in my acknowledgements due to a wide range of people who have stood with me in this academic journey. All those who have not been mentioned, thank you for all your support that has enabled me to work harder up to this level of finishing this piece of work that is before you. I am so delighted and I once again thank all those persons whose names have been mentioned for whatever they have done for me, *Neeyanzizza nnyo neeyanzeege mwenna bye munkoledde nsiimye.*

SYMBOLS, ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Abbreviations and annotations used in the illustrations

1Sg	first person singular pronoun/prefix
2Sg	second person singular pronoun/prefix
3Sg	third person singular pronoun/prefix
1Pl/PL	first person plural pronoun/prefix
2Pl/PL	second person plural pronoun/prefix
3Pl /PL	third person plural pronoun/prefix
Numbers 1... 23	noun class numbers
A	augment
I.V	initial vowel
V	verb/voice
PX	noun class prefix
DP	Determiner phrase
DP _{loc}	DP with locative morphology
SS	surface structure
DS	deep structure
CP	complementizer phrase
PPX	noun class pre-prefix
PP	prepositional phrase
Asp	Aspect
AspP	aspect phrase
Spec	specifier/specific
Adj	adjective
Adv	adverb
C	complement/complementizer
CONJ	conjunction
CT	checking theory
TP	tense phrase
CL	locative clitic
FS/FV	final suffix/final vowel
AgrO	object agreement prefix
AgrS	subject agreement prefix

SG	singular
MP	Minimalist Program
P&P	principles and parameters
GB	government and binding
FOC	focus
DEM	demonstrative
APPL	applicative
EMPH	emphasis
LOC	locative
FUT	future tense
POS/Pos	positive
SPEC/Spec	specifier/specific
PASS/Pas	passive
AGR	agreement
PAST	past tense
NEG	negative
PROG	progressive
PERF	perfective
STAT	stative
POSTVA	postverbal argument
OBJ.A	object argument
SUBJ	subject
LMSI	locative morphology subject inversion
BNSI	bare noun subject inversion
DET/D	determiner
LF	logical form
P	phrase/projection
IP	inflectional phrase
INTER	interrogative
IS	information structure
INF.	Infinitive
INSTR	instrument
CAUS	cause/causer
PF	phonetic form
HAB	habitual

TOP	topic
FP	functional projection
DP	determiner phrase
NP	noun phrase
PRON/pron/pro	pronoun/pronominal element
V/v	verb
VP	verb phrase
Lit.	literally
TAM	tense, aspect, and mood morphemes
vs.	versus
REL	relative morpheme
QUANT	quantifier
Def.	definite
Indef.	indefinite
PROX(IMAL)	proximal(deixis)
MED(IAL)	medial(deixis)
DIST(AL)	distal (deixis)
CP	Complement(izer) phrase
TP	tense phrase
Mid	Middle
T	Tense
F	function/final

Symbols/notations used in the illustrations

*	ungrammatical
(...)	optional morphological element
*(...)	ungrammatical without the hyphenated NP/PP/IP
(*...)	ungrammatical with the hyphenated NP/PP/IP
#	infelicitous
#(...)	infelicitous without the hyphenated NP/PP/IP
(#...)	infelicitous with the hyphenated NP/PP/IP
+(...)	with the hyphenated NP/PP/IP
+	plus/with
-	minus/without
-(...)	without the hyphenated NP/PP/IP

± (...)	with/without the hyphenated NP/PP/IP
?	questionable syntactic structure
...	incomplete
^	rising and falling tone
˘	falling tone
ˊ	rising tone
:	vowel length
∅	zero/null morpheme
Φ	Phi letter

LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES AND DIAGRAMS

List of tables

Table 2:1:	Luganda consonant sounds	18
Table 2.2:	Nominal derivation in Luganda through affixation.....	24
Table 2:3:	Agreement in noun classes and their detection scheme	27
Table 2.4:	Noun class affixes	40
Table 2:5:	Personal pronouns	46
Table 2:6:	Demonstratives	53
Table 2:7:	Pronominal forms	64
Table 2:8:	Interpretation resulting from the (co-)occurrence of AgrOPX with the PPX.....	69
Table 2.9:	Ordering verb extensions in Luganda complex verbs.....	84
Table 2:10:	Locatives, clitics, and object prefixes	98
Table 4.1:	Vendler's semantic verb classes with examples	212
Table 4:2:	Verkuyl's classification of verb class semantics	213
Table 4.3:	Smith's Situation types with their temporal features	216
Table 4:4:	Situation types and their temporal properties and example sentences	216
Table 5:1	Parameters of constructions with active, passive, and neuter-passive (stative) verbs	229
Table 5:2.	Distinct structure representations	249
Table 5:3:	Morphosyntactic and semantic-pragmatic interpretative properties of unergative and motion verbs	333
Table 6:1	Morphosyntactic properties of constructions with passives, neuter- passive (stative) transitive verb -nywa 'drink'	346
Table 6:2:	Morphosyntactic and semantic-pragmatic properties of transitive verb - nywa 'drink' constructions.....	426

List of figures and diagrams

Figure 2:1:	Luganda vowel phonemes	17
Figure 2.2	Structure of Luganda syllables	20
Figure 2:3	Noun class pairing	30
Diagram 4:1	The syntax-interfaces hexagonal model	175
Diagram 4.2:	A minimalist model of language generation	179
Diagram 4.3:	DP and SS levels as internal to syntactic computation system	180
Diagram 4.4:	vP sentence derivation in binary branching structure	181
Diagram 4.5:	TP sentence derivation	181
Diagram 4.6:	Lexicon full interpretation rule	182

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	i
ABSTRACT	ii
OPSOMMING	iv
EKIKENENULO	vi
DEDICATION	viii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ix
SYMBOLS, ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS	xiii
LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES AND DIAGRAMS	xvii

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1	AIMS AND RATIONALE OF STUDY.....	1
1.2	BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY	2
1.3	SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY.....	7
1.4	STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	8
1.5	RESEARCH QUESTIONS	8
1.6	THEORETICAL POINTS OF DEPARTURE	9
1.7	RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS	12
1.8	ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	13
1.9	LUGANDA LANGUAGE AND THE PEOPLE.....	13
1.10	OUTLINE OF THE DISSERTATION.....	14

CHAPTER TWO: KEY ASPECTS OF LUGANDA DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO LOCATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

2.1	INTRODUCTION	15
2.2	SOUND SYSTEM AND ORTHOGRAPHY	15
2.2.1	Vowel sound inventory	16
2.2.2	Consonant sound inventory	17
2.2.3	Syllable Structure.....	20
2.2.4	Sound alternations ('changes' or phonotactics).....	21
2.2.5	Tonal system	22
2.3	THE LUGANDA NOUN CLASSIFICATION	23
2.3.1	The Luganda noun class system	24
2.3.2	Noun formation.....	24
2.3.3	Noun classes and the phi-features resolution mechanism.....	25

2.3.4	The non-locative noun classes and their pairings	29
2.3.5	Locative noun classes	32
2.3.6	The nature of locative noun classes	34
2.3.7	The locatives <i>ku-</i> and <i>mu-</i> and the comparative <i>nga</i> and associative <i>-a</i>	38
2.3.8	Locatives in inverted constructions.....	38
2.3.9	Noun class indicators and noun formation.....	40
2.4	(IN)DEFINITENESS, (NON-)SPECIFICITY AND MODIFIERS	42
2.4.1	Introduction.....	42
2.4.2	(In)definiteness and (non-)specificity	42
2.4.3	Luganda nominal modifiers	44
2.4.4	The quantifier nominal modifier <i>-okka</i> ‘only’ and the verb <i>-kola</i>	47
2.4.5	The quantity nominal modifiers <i>buli</i> ‘every’ and <i>-onna</i> ‘all’	50
2.4.6	Locative noun <i>-fulum-a</i> ‘exit’ modified by the possessive <i>kya</i> ‘of’	52
2.4.7	Demonstrative, definiteness and specificity with the verb <i>fumba</i> ‘cook’	53
2.4.8	The demonstrative pronoun <i>-no</i> with the intransitive verb <i>-kola</i> ‘work’	56
2.4.9	Quantifiers nominal modifiers and numerals.....	58
2.4.10	Clausal relative pronouns, possessives and adjective nominal modifiers	59
2.4.11	(In)definiteness and specificity of elements with interrogatives	62
2.4.12	Absolute pronouns <i>byo, mwo</i> with the verb <i>-kola</i> and the locative phrase.....	63
2.4.13	The agreement system in (non-)locative phrases.....	65
2.5	THE (NON-) OCCURRENCE OF THE PRE-PREFIX IN LUGANDA.....	66
2.5.1	The pre-prefix in Luganda	66
2.5.2	Interpretation of the occurrence of the pre-prefix of the object noun	69
2.5.3	The pre-prefix of the locative noun with an intransitive motion verb	74
2.5.4	The non-locative use of locative prefixes	82
2.6	LUGANDA VERBAL MORPHOLOGY.....	83
2.6.1	The Luganda verb	83
2.6.2	Licensing locative inversion with (in)transitive verbs.....	86
2.6.3	Tense, aspect and mood	87
2.7	LOCATIVE APPLICATIVES, CLITICS, CAUSATIVES AND PASSIVES	88
2.7.1	Causatives and statives, and passives	88
2.7.2	The locative applicative	90
2.7.3	Discourse-pragmatic functions of locative clitics.....	91
2.7.4	Contexts in which the locative clitics occur.....	98

2.8	SUMMARY	100
CHAPTER THREE: PERSPECTIVES ON LOCATIVE INVERSION IN BANTU LANGUAGES FROM PREVIOUS STUDIES		
3.1	INTRODUCTION	101
3.2	THE PRE-PREFIX IN BANTU LANGUAGES	102
3.2.1	Introduction	102
3.2.2	The pre-prefix in Luganda	104
3.3	DEFINITENESS AND SPECIFICITY	108
3.3.1	Introduction	108
3.4	THE DISTRIBUTION AND CATEGORIAL STATUS OF LOCATIVES IN BANTU LANGUAGES	111
3.4.1	Introduction	111
3.4.2	The syntactic distribution and categorial status of locatives	111
3.5	LOCATIVE INVERSION TYPOLOGY, AGREEMENT AND VERB SELECTION	132
3.5.1	Introduction	132
3.5.2	Views from previous studies on locative inversion, agreement, and verb selection	132
3.6	LOCATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE ...	150
3.6.1	Introduction	150
3.6.2	Perspectives from studies on information structure	151
3.7	LOCATIVES, ARGUMENT STRUCTURE AND THEMATIC ROLES ...	156
3.7.1	Introduction	156
3.7.2	Previous studies on argument structure and thematic roles	156
3.8	THE LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX AND THE LOCATIVE CLITIC	159
3.8.1	Introduction	159
3.8.2	Perspectives on the (locative) applicative suffix from previous research.....	159
3.8.3	Perspectives on locative clitics from previous research.....	161
3.8.4	The locative applicative suffix and locative clitics	164
3.9	SUMMARY	166
CHAPTER FOUR: A MULTI-PERSPECTIVE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR INVESTIGATING LOCATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN LUGANDA		
4.1	INTRODUCTION	168
4.2	VIEWS FROM SYNTAX INTERFACES RESEARCH	169
4.3	THE MINIMALIST FRAMEWORK OF GENERATIVE SYNTAX	176

4.4	THE CARTOGRAPHIC STUDIES FRAMEWORK IN GENERATIVE SYNTAX	182
4.5	INFORMATION STRUCTURAL INTERFACE	187
4.6	DEFINITENESS AND SPECIFICITY (LYONS, 1999)	196
4.7	SEMANTIC VERB CLASSES AND ARGUMENT STRUCTURE.....	203
4.8	EVENT SEMANTICS AND ASPECTUAL VERB CLASSES/ SITUATION TYPES	209
4.9	SUMMARY	225
CHAPTER FIVE: INTRANSITIVE VERB CONSTRUCTIONS WITH A LOCATIVE		
5.1	INTRODUCTION	226
5.2	ANALYSIS OF PROPERTIES OF SENTENCE STRUCTURE VARIANTS	228
5.3	ACTIVE UNERGATIVE VERB (KOLA ‘WORK’) CONSTRUCTION, WITH/ WITHOUT THE LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX, AND WITH A POSTVERBAL LOCATIVE, AND WITH/WITHOUT A LOCATIVE CLITIC	239
5.3.1	Active unergative verb construction without the locative applicative suffix, with postverbal locative and with/without a locative clitic	240
5.3.2	Active unergative verb construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a postverbal locative argument, and with/without a locative clitic.....	243
5.4	ACTIVE UNERGATIVE VERB CONSTRUCTION WITH/WITHOUT THE LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX, AND WITH A LOCATIVE MORPHOLOGY SUBJECT, AND WITH /WITHOUT A LOCATIVE CLITIC.....	246
5.4.1	Active unergative verb locative inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with a locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic.....	247
5.4.2	Active unergative verb locative inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a locative morphology subject, and with/without the locative clitic.....	251
5.4.3	Active unergative verb subject inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with a bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic.....	257
5.4.4	Active unergative verb locative inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic	261
5.5	PASSIVE UNERGATIVE VERB CONSTRUCTION WITH A LOCATIVE MORPHOLOGY SUBJECT, AND WITH/WITHOUT THE LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX, AND WITH/WITHOUT A LOCATIVE CLITIC.....	265

5.5.1	Passive unergative verb subject inversion construction without a locative applicative suffix, and with locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic	266
5.5.2	Passive verb subject inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic	272
5.5.3	Passive verb subject inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with a bare noun subject, and with a locative clitic....	278
5.5.4	Passive verb subject inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic	281
5.6	NEUTER-PASSIVE (STATIVE) VERB CONSTRUCTION WITH A LOCATIVE MORPHOLOGY SUBJECT, AND WITH/WTHOUT THE LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX, AND WITH/WITHOUT A LOCATIVE CLITIC	285
5.6.1	Neuter-passive (stative) unergative verb construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with a locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic	285
5.6.2	Neuter-passive (stative)verb inversion construction with locative applicative suffix, and with locative morphology subject, and with/without locative clitic.....	290
5.6.3	Neuter-passive (stative) verb locative inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with bare noun subject, and with/without locative clitic	291
5.6.4	Neuter-passive (stative) verb subject inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with bare noun subject, and with/without locative clitic	295
5.7	ACTIVE INTRANSITIVE MOTION VERB (- GENDA ‘GO’) CONSTRUCTION WITH/WITHOUT A LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX, AND WITH A POSTVERBAL LOCATIVE ARGUMENT, AND WITH/WITHOUT LOCATIVE CLITIC	296
5.7.1	Active intransitive motion verb construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with a postverbal locative, and with/without a locative clitic	296
5.7.2	Active intransitive motion verb construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a postverbal locative argument, and with/without locative clitic	300
5.8	ACTIVE INTRANSITIVE MOTION VERB LOCATIVE INVERSION CONSTRUCTION WITH/WITHOUT THE LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX, AND WITH A LOCATIVE MORPHOLOGY SUBJECT, AND WITH/WITHOUT THE LOCATIVE CLITIC	303
5.8.1	Active intransitive motion verb locative inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with a locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic	303

5.8.2	Active intransitive motion verb locative inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic.....	307
5.8.3	Active intransitive motion verb locative inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with bare noun subject, and with/without locative clitic.....	309
5.8.4	Active intransitive motion verb locative inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic.....	311
5.9	PASSIVE INTRANSITIVE MOTION VERB -GENDA ‘GO’ LOCATIVE INVERSION CONSTRUCTION WITH/WITHOUT THE LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX, AND WITH A LOCATIVE MORPHOLOGY SUBJECT, AND WITH/WITHOUT A LOCATIVE CLITIC.....	312
5.9.1	Passive intransitive motion verb locative inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with a locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic.....	313
5.9.2	Passive intransitive motion verb locative inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic.....	314
5.9.3	Passive intransitive motion verb locative inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with a bare noun subject, and with/without locative clitic.....	315
5.9.4	Passive intransitive motion verb locative inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic.....	319
5.10	NEUTER-PASSIVE (STATIVE) INTRANSITIVE MOTION VERB LOCATIVE INVERSION CONSTRUCTION WITHOUT THE LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX, AND WITH A LOCATIVE MORPHOLOGY SUBJECT, AND WITH/WITHOUT LOCATIVE CLITIC.....	320
5.10.1	Neuter-passive (stative) intransitive motion verb locative inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with a locative morphology subject, and with/without locative clitic.....	320
5.10.2	Neuter-passive (stative) intransitive motion verb locative inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic.....	323
5.10.3	Neuter-passive (stative) intransitive motion verb locative inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with a bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic.....	323
5.10.4	Neuter-passive (stative) intransitive motion verb locative inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic.....	327
5.11	SUMMARY.....	328

CHAPTER SIX: TRANSITIVE VERB CONSTRUCTIONS WITH A LOCATIVE

6.1	INTRODUCTION	343
6.2	ANALYSIS OF PROPERTIES OF SENTENCE STRUCTURE VARIANTS WITH TRANSITIVE VERBS.....	346
6.3	ACTIVE TRANSITIVE VERB – NYWA ‘DRINK’ CONSTRUCTION WITH/ WITHOUT THE LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX, AND WITH A POSTVERBAL LOCATIVE (ARGUMENT), AND WITH/WITHOUT A LOCATIVE CLITIC.....	357
6.3.1	Active transitive verb – nywa ‘drink’ construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with a postverbal locative (argument), and with/without locative clitic.....	358
6.3.2	Active transitive verb – nywa ‘drink’ construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a postverbal locative argument, and with/without the locative clitic.....	362
6.4	ACTIVE TRANSITIVE VERB – NYWA ‘DRINK’ LOCATIVE MORPHOLOGY SUBJECT INVERSION CONSTRUCTION WITH/WITHOUT THE LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX, AND WITH/WITHOUT A LOCATIVE CLITIC, AND WITH/WITHOUT THE PRE-PREFIX ON THE POSTVERBAL ARGUMENT	366
6.4.1	Active transitive verb – nywa ‘drink’ locative morphology subject inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.....	367
6.4.2	Active transitive verb – nywa ‘drink’ locative morphology subject inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.....	370
6.4.3	Active transitive verb – nywa ‘drink’ bare noun subject inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument	378
6.4.4	Active transitive verb – nywa ‘drink’ bare noun subject inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument	383
6.5	PASSIVE TRANSITIVE VERB – NYWA ‘DRINK’ CONSTRUCTION WITH/WITHOUT THE LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX, AND WITH/WITHOUT A LOCATIVE CLITIC, AND WITH/WITHOUT A PRE-PREFIX ON THE POSTVERBAL ARGUMENT	388
6.5.1	Passive transitive verb – nywa ‘drink’ locative morphology subject inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.....	388
6.5.2	Passive transitive verb – nywa ‘drink’ locative morphology subject inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and	

	with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.....	396
6.5.3	Passive transitive verb – nywa ‘drink’ bare noun subject inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/ without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument	402
6.5.4	Passive transitive verb- nywa ‘drink’ bare noun subject inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument	406
6.6	NEUTER-PASSIVE (STATIVE) TRANSITIVE VERB - NYWA ‘DRINK’ LOCATIVE MORPHOLOGY SUBJECT INVERSION CONSTRUCTION WITH/WITHOUT THE LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX, AND WITH/WITHOUT) A LOCATIVE CLITIC, AND WITH/WITHOUT A PRE-PREFIX ON THE POSTVERBAL ARGUMENT	409
6.6.1	Neuter-passive (stative) verb – nywa ‘drink’ locative morphology subject inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.....	410
6.6.2	Neuter-passive (stative) transitive verb – nywa ‘drink’ locative morphology subject inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.....	415
6.6.3	Neuter-passive (stative) transitive verb – nywa ‘drink’ bare noun subject inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without the locative clitic and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.....	416
6.6.4	Neuter-passive (stative) transitive verb – nywa ‘drink’ bare noun subject inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument	420
6.7	SUMMARY	422
CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS		
7.1	INTRODUCTION	436
7.2	OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS TWO, THREE, AND FOUR	436
7.3	SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS OF THE STUDY	438
7.3.1	Overview of analytical chapters five and six	438
7.3.2	Active (in)transitive verb construction with/ without the locative applicative suffix, and with a postverbal locative (argument), and with/without a locative clitic, (and with/without an object argument)	441
7.3.3	Active (in)transitive verb locative morphology / bare noun subject inversion construction with/without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.....	444

7.3.4	Passive (in)transitive verb locative morphology / bare noun subject inversion constructions with/without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	446
7.3.5	Stative (in)transitive verb locative morphology/bare noun subject inversion constructions with/without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	448
7.4	LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	450
	REFERENCES	451

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 AIMS AND RATIONALE OF STUDY

The current investigation aims to present an account of selected intransitive and transitive verb active, passive and stative verb constructions containing a locative NP (DP) and locative morphemes, adopting a syntax interfaces perspective, an approach that has emerged as a prolific area of investigation in generative syntax (see Kiss and Alexiadou 2015). Thus, the study focuses on constructions containing locatives, including locative inversion constructions, in Luganda within a generative syntax interfaces approach, invoking minimalist syntax and cartography (Chomsky, 1995; Rizzi, 2013; Rizzi & Cinque, 2016), lexical semantics (Hoekstra & Mulder, 1990; Levin, 1993; Levin & Rappaport Havav, 1995), event semantics (Kearns, 2000; Pross, 2020; Smith, 1997), discourse-pragmatic information structure (Erteschik-Shir, 2007; Lambrecht, 1994), and definiteness and/ or specificity, particularly views posited by Lyons (1999).

A significant body of literature exists concerning the locative constructions in Luganda, and Bantu languages, in general, on a range of issues, including the properties of locative inversion and their parametric typology (Buell, 2007; Demuth & Mmusi, 1997; Diercks, 2010; Marten & van der Wal, 2014), object marking (Zeller, 2012) focus marking, locative clitics and applicatives (Simango, 2012). However, to the knowledge of the researcher, no comprehensive linguistic research has been conducted on Luganda, utilizing the interface of morphosyntax with lexical semantics, event semantics, definiteness and specificity, and information structure, to present a more comprehensive account of the interpretative effects of Luganda locative elements and locative inversion constructions.

Invoking theoretical approaches posited by, among others, Levin (1993), Levin & Rappaport Havav (1995, 2005) on semantic verb classification, Smith (1997) on event semantics, Lambrecht (1994) and Erteschik-Shir (2007) on information structure, and Chomsky (1993, 1995) on minimalist syntax, the current study aims to investigate and provide an account of Luganda constructions containing a locative NP/DP, including locative inversion constructions.

The study will in addition, present analyses that can serve as a resource for further studies on Luganda, and therefore, it can be a basis for writing a contemporary Luganda grammar that can be used in future research and in teaching at higher education institutions.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Languages generally have canonical (unmarked) and non-canonical (marked) word orders. Bantu languages have a canonical subject-verb-object word order, in that canonical basic sentence constructions normally begin with a subject, followed by a verb and then an object. However, non-canonical word orders such as verb-subject-object (VSO) also occur. Bantu languages are often characterized as having an extensive nominal and verbal morphology, including subject and object agreement, and a noun class system, with nouns divided into noun classes based on prefixes associated with concordial agreement in the phrase and clause (Makanjila, 2019; Msaka, 2019).

According to Zeller (2017), locatives are location words and phrases, which can be formal or semantic, where he states that the term formal locatives refers to the locatives in form and meaning, which determines verbal agreement, considering the four Luganda noun class prefixes 16 **wa**, 17 **ku**, 18 **mu** and 23 **e**, as exemplified in Luganda nouns: '**waggulu**' 'on top', '**ku nju**' 'on the house', '**mu nju**' 'in the house' and '**e Mengo**' 'in Mengo'. By contrast, semantic locatives denote entities such as the Luganda examples '**ekisenge**' 'room', '**enju**' 'house' that can be construed as denoting places and which retain the non-locative form, hence they do not actually belong to any of the four formal locative noun classes.

In order to examine the interpretation and morphosyntax of constructions containing locatives, including locative inversion, generally, in Bantu languages, and in Luganda, in particular, and address the questions these constructions pose to linguistic research concerned with the interfaces (interrelationships) between morphosyntax, lexical semantics, event semantics and discourse-pragmatic information structure, it is necessary to consider key properties of Bantu noun classes, specifically, the peculiarities of the locative noun classes. Generally, Bantu languages, including Luganda, exhibit a number of different noun classes (conceptually similar to grammatical gender), each of which triggers distinctive agreement morphology (concord) on different word categories, such as demonstratives, adjectives, quantifiers, and verbs (encoding subject or object agreement) morphology (see Asiimwe, 2014). In this regard, Luganda has four locative noun classes, which are strongly associated with particular spatial (directional) semantic concepts, with the most common forms of

locative morphology involving the class 16-18 locative prefixes **wa-**(class 16), **ku-** (class 17), **mu** (class 18) but seldom **e-** (class 23). The prefix **wa** denotes a general place or direction, 17 **ku** denotes a specific place, 18 **mu** denotes an enclosed place and 23 **e-** also denotes a general place, as demonstrated in the following example of one of the most productive locative noun classes (18 **mu**) in (1):

- (1) Omusekuzo gugwa mu kiyungu.
 O- mu-sekuzo gu- gw- a mu ki- yungu.
 3PPX.3PX-pestle 3AgrS-fall-FS 18mu 7PX.kitchen.
 ‘The pestle is falling in the kitchen.’

Bresnan and Kanerva (1989), Simango (2012), Buell (2007) and Dierks (2011a, 2011b) Marten and van der Wal (2014) concur that locative inversion constructions exhibit a non-canonical word order that entails fronting a locative phrase and displacing the thematic subject post-verbally. Marten (2010) points out that in many Bantu languages, locative nouns can function as grammatical subjects and trigger subject agreement on the verb. In Luganda, for example, noun classes 16-18, and 23 are encoded in the verbal morphology by a subject or noun class prefix, indicated in bold, in the following examples from noun class 18 **mu**, hence the verb exhibits agreement in noun (gender) class with the locative noun in (2):

- (2) **Mu** kiyungu **mugwa(mu)** omusekuzo
Mu ki-yungu **mu-** gw-a- (**mu**) o- mu-sekuzo
 18.LOC 7PX-kitchen 18AgrS-fall-FV 18.LOC 3PPX-3PX-pestle
 ‘In the kitchen there falls a pestle’.

Morphosyntactic and semantic-pragmatic properties of locative constructions have been documented in a variety of research studies, both with respect to specific languages, and for the Bantu language family, more generally. However, there are still several open questions, some of which the current study aims to address, assuming a syntax-interfaces approach that invoke the linguistic fields of lexical semantics, event semantics, definiteness and specificity, and information structure, in presenting an analysis of locative constructions. For example, regarding the syntactic representation of locatives in languages with locative suffixes, under-researched questions include the restrictions on the availability of alternative concord with certain nominal modifiers, the conditions that determine whether, or not, a language licenses locative object agreement, and the categorial status of locatives in a particular language, like for example, Luganda. Marten, Kula, & Thwala (2007) raise particularly interesting questions regarding the variations that have been observed in this regard among closely related Bantu languages.

Considerable cross-linguistic variation occurs with respect to the semantic classes of verbs that license locative inversion. Locative inversion is, according to some linguists, possible only with intransitive verbs, and not at all with transitive verbs. My own preliminary investigation indicates that, intransitive verbs in Luganda that license locative inversion fall into several lexical-semantic classes including motion verbs, positional verbs, and verbs of existence. Bresnan and Kanerva (1989) and Marten and van der Wal (2014) claim that locative inversion is restricted to verbs whose highest thematic role is a theme (generally, unaccusatives). However, on grounds of data from Chichewa, the claim is contested by Demuth & Mmusi (1997), who argue that in some languages locative inversion is also possible with unergative verbs (i.e. intransitive agentive verbs). From my own preliminary investigation, locative inversion is possible with most Luganda verbs with the presence of the locative applicative suffix and (optional) locative clitic. Hence, the unaccusativity claim, may not hold for Luganda, as illustrated by the grammaticality of the example in (3) with the locative applicative suffix.

- (3) Mu nsi mulund *(irwa)(mu) ente
 Mu nsi mu- lund- *(ir- w)- a- (mu) e- nte
 18.LOC 9.country 18AgrS-graze-*(APPL-PASS)-FS-(18.CL) 10PPX-10.cattle
 ‘In the country are grazing the cattle’

Marten (2006) maintains that some Bantu languages allow locative inversion with agentive active transitive verbs as he examined this construction in Otjiherero. In this regard, Diercks (2011b) examined locative inversion with respect to the following example from Digo:

- (4) Mu chumbani munaandika muntu baruwa [Digo]
 Mu chumba-ni mu-na-andik- a mu- ntu baruwa
 18.LOC 9.room 18AgrS-write-FS 1PX-person 9.letter
 ‘In the room someone is writing a letter’

In Luganda, the above sentence construction is ungrammatical without the locative applicative suffix, as indicated by the asterisks outside the bracket in the following example:

- (5) Mu kisenge muwandii*(ira) omuntu ebbaluwa
 Mu ki- senge mu- wandii-*(ir-) a o- mu-ntu e- bbaluwa
 18.LOC 7PX-7.room 18AgrS-write- APPL-FS 1PPX-1PX-person 9PPX-9.letter
 ‘In the room someone is writing a letter’

According to Bresnan and Kanerva (1989), locative inversion in Chichewa is possible with unaccusative verbs, but not with unergative verbs or transitive verbs. Setswana allows locative inversion with unergative and unaccusative verbs, but not with transitive verbs.

Otjiherero and Digo, on the other hand, allow locative inversion with unaccusative, unergative, and transitive verbs (Marten, 2011). The agreement properties exemplified in locative inversion constructions in Bantu languages have also attracted significant scholarly attention. Locative inversion constructions exhibit a non-canonical word order that is considered to front a locative phrase and displace the thematic subject postverbally (in canonically SVO languages), where the inverted subject is the thematic subject, and has presentational focus in discourse (Bresnan and Kanerva, 1989; Diercks, 2011b):

- (6) a. Wansi wa olusozi waserengeta emipiira
 Wansi wa o- lu-sozi wa-serenget-a e- mi-piira
 17.LOC down of 11PPX-11PX-mountain 17AgrS-roll –FS 4PPX-4PX-balls
 ‘Down the mountain rolls the balls’
- b. Wansi wa olusozi waserengeta omupiira
 Wansi wa o- lu- sozi wa- serenget- a o- mu-piira
 17.LOC down of 11A-11PX-mountain 17AgrS-roll - FS 3PPX-3PX-ball
 ‘Down the mountain rolls the ball’

The agreement in (6) invokes the view of the subject-verb agreement relation as proposed in Chomsky (1995). Locative inversion in many Bantu languages display agreement properties where a locative phrase occurs in canonical subject position and triggers agreement with the verb, and not with the logical (or thematic) subject that occurs in a postverbal position:

- (7) a. Omukazi atuula mu muti
 O- mu- kazi a- tuul- a mu mu- ti
 1PPX-1PX-woman 1AgrS-sitting –FS 18.LOC 3PX-3.tree
 ‘The woman is sitting in the tree’
- b. Mu muti mutuula omukazi
 Mu mu-ti mu- tuul- a o- mu- kazi
 18.LOC 3PX-.tree 18AgrS-sitting -FS 1PPX-1PX-woman
 Lit. ‘In the tree is sitting the woman’

Diercks (2011b) proposes a classification of two types of locative inversion to which he refers as disjointed agreement and repeated agreement locative inversion, respectively, illustrated in (8) and (9):

- (8) **Mu** nnyumba **ba**yingira (mu) abaana.
Mu n- yumba **ba-** yingir- a (mu) a- ba- ana.
 18.LOC-9PX-house 2AgrS-enter- FS-(18.CL) 2PPX-2PX-children
 Lit ‘In this house the children enter in it’.

- (9) **Mu** ki-senge **mu**no musulamu abagenyi.
Mu ki- senge **mu**-no mu- sul- a- **mu** a- ba-genyi.

18.LOC 7PX-room 18.DEM 18AgrS-sleep-FV- 18.CL 2PPX-2PX-guests
 ‘There are guests sleeping in this room.’

According to Diercks (2011b), Lubukusu exhibits both types of locative inversion. He states that the tentative tests done for Luganda indicate that Luganda also has both types of inversion. However, a key question addressed in this dissertation concerns the correlation of the interpretative and morphosyntactic properties of verb constructions with verbs that permit locative inversion in active, passive and stative verb constructions.

Marten and van der Wal (2014) propose seven types of locative inversion for Bantu languages, namely formal locative inversion, semantic locative inversion, instrument inversion, patient inversion, complement inversion, default agreement inversion, and agreeing inversion. Formal locative inversion has been studied widely by among others Bresnan and Kanerva (1989), Demuth and Mmusi 1997, and Buell (2007). All these studies seem to point to the view that the term formal locative inversion refers to the construction that Diercks refers to as repeated agreement locative inversion, as demonstrated in (9) above.

Buell (2007) proposes two basic structures for locative inversion constructions, which he terms ‘agreement constructions’ and ‘non-agreement constructions’. Agreement constructions are those in which an agreement relation is established between the fronted locative phrase and the verb, and non-agreeing constructions, on the other hand, are typified by a structure where a non-referential (impersonal) or expletive pronominal occupies the subject position. Buell’s argument is similar to that of Diercks (2011b), although expressed in different terminology, as demonstrated in (8) and (9) above. A novel area of the research conducted in this study relates to the investigation of the syntactic realization of discourse-semantic effects of verbs with the locative clitic and the locative applicative suffix in Luganda. Simango (2012) posits that the occurrence of locative applicative suffix has been researched quite extensively on a grammatical level, but not much attention has been paid to the discourse-semantic properties of this affix. The following example from Luganda illustrates this property:

- (10) a. Amazzi gakulukuta mu mugga
 A- ma- zzi ga- kulukut- a mu mu- gga.
 8PPX-8PX-water 8AgrS-flow- FS 18.LOC 3PX-river
 ‘The water flows in the river’
- b. Mu mugga mukulukuta amazzi.
 Mu mu- gga mu- kulukut-a a- ma- zzi.

- 18.LOC 3PX-river 18AgrS-flows-FS 8PPX-8PX-water
 ‘In the river flows the water.’
- c. Amazzi gakulukutira mu mugga.
 A- ma- zzi ga- kulukut-ir- a mu mu- gga.
 8PPX-8PX-water 8AgrS-flow- APPL-FS 18.LOC-3PX-river
 ‘The water flows in the river’
- d.(i) Mu mugga mukulukutiramu amazzi.
 Mu mu- gga mu- kulukut- ir- a- mu a- ma- zzi.
 18.LOC 3PX-river 18AgrS-flows- APPL-FS-18.LOC 8PPX-8PX-water
 ‘In the river flows the water.’

From the examples above, it is evident that the verb **-kulukuta** ‘flow’ exhibits the occurrence of the locative applicative suffix and the locative clitic. These suffixes introduce subtle interpretational effects relating to place and direction, while other interpretations can be derived from the discourse-context of use.

This chapter is further organised in the following way: Section 1.3 outlines aspects concerning the significance of the study. Section 1.4 outlines the research problem investigated, and section 1.5 presents the research questions. Section 1.6 highlights the theoretical views adopted. Section 1.7 gives a brief outline of the research design and methods of data collection, while section 1.8 discusses the ethical considerations taken into account for study. Section 1.9 discusses the Luganda language and society, and section 1.10 presents the organization of the study.

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Luganda is under-researched within a theoretical linguistic syntax-interfaces approach (see chapter Two, Three, and Four). This investigation therefore, contributes to research on sentence constructions with locatives, including locative inversion with selected Luganda intransitive and transitive verbs in regard to utilizing a syntax-interfaces approach in research on Luganda linguistics, and African linguistics, more broadly. Luganda is one of the African languages in Uganda that can be studied at university, hence Luganda is one of the Ugandan languages, that require advanced reference study materials. A further area of significance and relevance of this investigation relates to the view that lexical semantics and morphosyntax are essential for applied language research and informed practice, especially for lexicology.

1.4 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The morpho-syntactic variations of constructions containing locatives and locative morphemes, constitute a multi-faceted problem in light of the general typology of locative construction parameters postulated for Bantu languages by Marten and van der Wal (2014). The lexical-semantic types of verbs which permit locative inversion and alternation in Luganda and the morphosyntactic and interpretative properties of the constructions in which they occur, constitute a central problem addressed in the current study. Thus, this study examines under-researched questions concerning the correlation of the occurrence of locative nouns, the locative applicative suffix and locative clitics in locative inversion constructions with their associated discourse-pragmatic interpretations in active, passive and stative verb constructions. This study is especially concerned with questions concerning two types of locative inversion constructions in Luganda, their lexical and aspectual (event) semantics, the occurrence of the locative applicative suffix, and/or locative clitics, and their associated discourse-pragmatic (information structural) interpretations, in addressing issues of argument realization in intransitive and transitive verb constructions, and their interpretative properties.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study aims to explore the following research questions with regard to the interface syntax of constructions containing locative nouns and locative morphemes including locative inversion constructions in Luganda in clauses with intransitive and transitive base verbs (roots), respectively:

- (i) What are the differences in morphosyntactic and interpretative properties between the two types of locative-inversion distinguished and how can the argument-adjunct distinction regarding locative nouns be characterized, taking into account the lexical semantic properties of intransitive verbs?
- (ii) What is the relationship between the occurrence of a locative noun (in NP/DP) as verbal argument or adjunct, and its possibility to occur in a corresponding locative inversion construction as subject?
- (iii) What are the morphosyntactic properties of a locative noun or noun phrase (DP) occurring as object and subject argument, respectively in an active, passive or stative verb construction?

- (iv) What is the interpretational effect of the locative applicative suffix in licensing a locative argument in a canonical active verb sentence construction with a postverbal locative, and in the corresponding locative inversion construction, and what is the morphosyntactic nature of this suffix in yielding grammatical locative inversion clauses (contrasting with ungrammatical (illicit) inversion clauses with verbs lacking this suffix)?
- (v) What are the morphosyntactic and interpretative properties of a locative clitic on the verb in yielding grammatical (licit) locative inversion clauses (contrasting with ungrammatical locative inversion clauses lacking the locative clitic on the verb)?
- (vi) How can the morphosyntactic encoding of the interpretational effect of locative inversion be accounted for in terms of the interfaces (or interrelationships) of morphosyntax, lexical semantics, event semantics, definiteness and specificity, and information structure?
- (vii) How can a structural representation invoking the grammatical functional categories ‘Voice’ (representing the Agent argument in canonical (causative) active and passive verb clauses, and the theme argument in anticausatives and dispositional middle constructions), and ‘little v’ (representing verbalizer and/or transitivity properties of the verbal root) account for locative inversion constructions in Luganda?

1.6 THEORETICAL POINTS OF DEPARTURE

This section presents a brief overview of the theoretical framework adopted for the investigation of constructions containing locative nouns (DPs) and locative morphemes, including locative inversion constructions, in Luganda from a generative grammar perspective. Generative syntactic theory was developed through different versions by Chomsky and other generative linguists, beginning from the 1950’s versions of Transformational Grammar (TG) (see Carnie, 2007) to the 1980’s Government and Binding (GB), Principles and Parameters (P and P) versions, and its most recent version of the Minimalist Program (MP). The current study examines active, passive, and stative verb locative constructions in Luganda employing a syntax-interfaces approach, in accounting for the properties of these locative construction variants in Luganda. Thus, the study assumes the broad minimalist program version of generative syntax (Chomsky, 1995; Zwart, 1997), complemented by the cartographic approach to syntactic structures (Rizzi, 1997; van

Gelderen, 2017), concerning the syntacticisation of discourse-pragmatic properties. This study, therefore, investigates locative constructions in respect of the morphosyntactic interface perspectives of: (i) thematic role properties and argument structure, (ii) event semantics (situation types), (iii) information structure and (iv) definiteness and/or specificity properties of DP constituents.

This study invokes the syntax-lexicon interface, in respect to examining properties of lexical-semantically determined argument structure. Levin's (1993) theory of semantic verb classes in English. This theory posits that the behaviour of a verb, particularly with respect to the expression and interpretation of its argument(s), is to a large extent determined by its meaning. Levin presents a typology of alternations for English. Argument alternations are characterized by pairs of sentences with the same verb which may be related by paraphrase which show alternate expressions or realizations of the verb's arguments such as the causative alternation (Fernando, 2013; Levin & Rappaport Havav, 2005; Mallya, 2016). The current study investigates selected intransitive and transitive verb types and the alternation constructions they license, with locative arguments and/or adjuncts in Luganda. Thus, the interface approach to morphosyntax and lexical semantics assumed in this study is necessitated by the aim to explore the argument assignment properties of different semantic verb classes in Luganda that license locative inversion or alternation. The study assumes the view that the verb and its complements compositionally determine argument realization (Levin & Rappaport Havav, 2005; van Gelderen, 2013). Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (2005) argue that the relationship between thematic (θ)-role assignment and argument realization is essentially determined by the semantics of verb classes.

The syntax-event semantics interface, another syntax-interface investigated in the current study, relates to the investigation of aspectual verb class properties, i.e. event semantics, Smith (1997), Kearns (2000), Choi and Fara (2012). In examining locative inversion as an (anti)causative alternation in Luganda, the study employs the aspectual verb class (situation types) posited by Smith (1997). This study thus explores the syntactic properties of (anti)causative alternation constructions, in respect to their aspectual verb class (event type) distinctions. Smith's (1997) aspectual approach is theorized in terms of situation (i.e. lexical) aspect and viewpoint aspect. She posits that the information in situation type is conveyed by the verb constellation, while in viewpoint aspect such information is usually conveyed by a grammatical morpheme. Smith posits five aspectual classes: activities, achievements,

accomplishments, states and semalfactives. Kearns (2000) proposes a framework of event semantics invoking the occurrence of adverbials in the sentence. The current study investigates various types of locative inversion with respect to the permissibility and interpretation of adverbials, as demonstrated in the following example:

- (11) * Mu kiyungu mugwa(mu) omusekuzo busimba.
 Mu ki- yungu mu- gw- a- (mu) o-mu-sekuzo bu- simba.
 18.LOC 7PX-kitchen 18AgrS-fall- FV-18.LOC 3A-3PX-pestle 14PX-upright
 'In the kitchen there falls a pestle upright'

From the above examples, it is evident that the Luganda verb **-kugwa** 'fall' does not permit an adverbial.

The syntax-discourse information structure interface constitutes another aspect of the investigation conducted in this study. The study thus investigates locative and locative inversion constructions in Luganda invoking the interface of morphosyntax with the discourse-pragmatic properties of information structuring, in particular focus. This is necessitated to account for the morphosyntactic realization of some specific interpretational effects of locative inversion.

Lambrecht (1994) maintains that information structure is the level of sentence organization which represents how the speaker structures the utterance in context in order to facilitate information exchange. Specifically, it indicates how the propositional content of an utterance fits the addressee's state of knowledge at the time of utterance (Aboh, Corver, Dyakonova, & van Koppen, 2010; Dalrymple & Nikolaeva, 2011; Erteschik-Shir, 2007). Lambrecht (1994) describes the content of the information structure notions as follows: (a) topic, refers to the entity or entities that the proposition is about, or 'a matter of concern' about a new information that is conveyed (b) focus, refers to the most informative part of the utterance, bearing the information that the speaker takes to be new and non-recoverable for the hearer. (c) presupposition refers to the old information specifying detailed knowledge that may be necessary for a complete understanding of new focused information, and (d) completive, refers to new information to the addressee. The current study employs Lambrecht's notions of topic and focus to examine the syntax interface of Luganda with the semantic and pragmatic interpretations of speakers' utterance. The study invokes, in addition, Lyons's (1999) definitions of definiteness and/ or specificity (see discussion in chapter 4).

1.7 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

The investigation conducted in this study entailed a systematic gathering of data with the view to give a detailed description of the empirical facts of the Luganda locative inversion constructions and to present a theoretical analysis of these constructions within the syntax interfaces framework adopted for the study. A comprehensive study of the important previous research on locative inversion was undertaken with specific attention to previous generative grammar accounts, particularly its recent versions, the minimalist program and cartography. In addition, representative data on Luganda selected semantic verb classes, specifically the intransitive un-ergative verb **-kola** ‘work’ and motion verb **-genda** ‘go’ and transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ (Levin, 1993), was gathered and examined with regard to their syntactic alternation and semantic characteristics. Data on Luganda locative constructions was collected through researcher introspection. Nunan (1992) explains introspection as process of observing and reflecting on one’s thoughts, feelings, motives, reasoning processes, and mental states with the view of establishing the ways how these mentioned processes and states influence one’s behaviour. Dornyei (2007) is one of the scholars who posit that introspection is a process of data collection whereby data is obtained from one’s own speech as opposed from sourcing it from other speakers or from available texts. According to Merriam (2002), a researcher is the primary instrument of data collection and analysis in qualitative research focusing on assigning meaning or understanding. Hence in addition to using relevant data obtained from the descriptive grammars of Luganda in Crabtree (1923), Ashton, Mulira, Ndawula, and Tucker (1954), and Chesswas (1963), Kiyinikibi (2011, 2012), the researcher, a native speaker of Luganda, and also theoretical research publications, and scholarly collegial discussions was able to express linguistic intuitions of the Luganda constructions investigated in this study on locatives in a syntax-interfaces approach.

I thus employed as a main method concerning the Luganda example sentences examined in this study the method of introspection in making intuitive judgements about the grammaticality and acceptability of sentences, and their semantic and discourse-pragmatic interpretations. In this regard, I assume the view of Devitt (2006, 2010a, b, 2020) concerning the justification and methodological validity of invoking intuitive judgements about the grammaticality and acceptability of sentences for the purpose of providing evidence in support of views and explanations in theoretical linguistics. Devitt (2006:481) argues for a naturalistic view of intuitions in general according to which they are ‘empirical central

processor responses to phenomena differing from other such responses only, in being immediate and fairly reflective'. He argues that 'applying this view to linguistic intuitions yields an explanation for their evidential role without any appeal to representation of rules in the language faculty' (sometimes referred to as 'the voice of competence' from the Chomskian perspective regarding linguists' intuitive judgements). In assuming Devitt's view of the evidential justification and methodological validity of intuitive judgements (through introspection) about the grammaticality and acceptability of sentences, I, however, also have the view that experimental methods can be of value in some instances and for some purposes for determining the grammaticality and acceptability of sentences for linguistic evidence (see Brøcker, Drożdżowicz & Schindler 2020 for discussion).

1.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The data in this study was collected through introspection and the use of published descriptive grammar books written on Luganda, published theoretical research, and scholarly discussions. Thus, the ethical risk factor was minimally low.

1.9 LUGANDA LANGUAGE AND THE PEOPLE

According to Nurse and Philippson (1980), there are approximately 500 Bantu languages covering roughly a third of the African continent. Luganda is one of the many Bantu language spoken as a native language and a lingua franca in Uganda. Classified as E in terms of Guthrie's (1971) zonal geographic classification updated by Maho (2003) and J in Tervuren's zonal classification, Luganda is a central Bantu language, placed in zone J, unit JE15. Luganda is from the larger Bantu language family of Niger-Congo, spoken primarily in south eastern Uganda (Buganda region), along the shores of Lake Victoria, up north towards the shores of Lake Kyoga, spoken by the biggest linguistic group in Uganda, the Baganda who constitute 18% of the population (4,130,000 people) (Lewis, 2009; Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2020). Currently, Buganda is estimated at 25% of the total population of 46,000,000 equating to around 11,500,000 (see Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2020). It is the most widely spoken indigenous language and the most widely spoken second language in Uganda, in addition to English spoken mostly as an additional language. Hence, Baganda are both in population size, and geographically the primary ethnic group of the capital city of Uganda, Kampala. Although the Kampala region is the primary area of use for Luganda, its use has spread to other parts of the country, mainly in the urban centres, where it is used as a

business language, a prestige language and also as the medium of intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic communication. Luganda has several dialects, which include Lusese, spoken in the Ssesse Islands found on Lake Victoria, Lukooki spoken in the region towards the Uganda-Tanzania border, and Lunabuddu spoken in Masaka district and Luvuma. Despite the vitality of the use of Luganda, its dialects, apart from the central standard dialect, are severely endangered, and some like Lukooki and Lusese are almost extinct (Lewis, 2009; Nakayiza, 2012). The variety spoken in the central, capital area of Kampala is the standard variety which is used in official domains, learnt at school, and also used in traditional settings, and in all communication in official activities of the kingdom of Buganda.

1.10 OUTLINE OF THE DISSERTATION

After presenting the introduction to the study in the current chapter One in the sections concerned with stating the aims, rationale, background, and significance of the research, followed by statement of problem, research questions, the research design and methods, ethical considerations, and language and the people, the remaining part of the study is organised in the following way. Chapter Two presents an outline of key aspects of Luganda descriptive grammar with special reference to descriptive studies of locatives and constructions containing locative elements. Chapter Three, reviews selected previous research studies on the locative constructions in Bantu languages and Luganda in particular. Chapter Four presents the syntax interfaces of the multi-perspective theoretical framework assumed for the current study. Chapter Five investigates active passive and stative verb constructions with locatives, including locative inversion with the intransitive unergative verb **kola** ‘work’ and the intransitive motion verb **-genda** ‘go’, considering its interpretative properties of thematic roles, event semantics, definiteness and specificity of arguments, and information structure. Chapter Six examines active, passive and stative constructions with locatives including locative inversion with the transitive verb **nywa** ‘drink’, taking into account their interpretative properties of thematic role, event semantics, definiteness and/or specificity of arguments, and information structure,. Chapter Seven presents the summary and conclusions of the study and consolidates the major findings concerning active, passive, and stative verb constructions with locatives, including locative inversion in Luganda.

CHAPTER TWO

KEY ASPECTS OF LUGANDA DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO LOCATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the key grammatical aspects of the Luganda descriptive grammar based on a few early studies, viz. Crabtree (1921, 1923), Kirwan and Gore (1951), Ashton, et al (1954), Weatherhead and Bazongere (1933), and Chesswas (1963). In the course of my discussion, I refer to descriptive studies in other Bantu languages such as Morris and Kirwan (1957), and Tylor (1985) on Runyankore-Rukiga, Burt (1917) on Swahili, McLaren (1919) on isiXhosa, and Carter (2002) on Chitonga. Referring to other Bantu languages is not intended to make a comparative analysis, but rather to illuminate the (dis)similar properties to give a wider perspective of the particular aspects of Luganda grammar relevant to the current study. The work of early scholars in descriptive grammar is quite detailed, but in order to delimit my study, I only focus on those grammatical aspects with close relevance to locative constructions, forming the core of the analysis chapters, i.e. Chapter five and Chapter six.

Precisely, Section 2.2 discusses an inventory of the Luganda sound system and orthography, while Section 2.3 explains the Luganda noun class system. In section 2.4, I present the views of definiteness and specificity, including the modifiers, notably, pronouns, demonstratives, possessives, adjectives, interrogatives, relatives and quantifiers. Section 2.5 explains aspects of the occurrence of the pre-prefix in Luganda. Section 2.6 discusses selected properties of the verb morphology, namely TAM, and other relevant verbal properties. In section 2.7, I elaborate more specifically, on the properties of the locative applicative and locative clitics, and I present the concluding remarks on the chapter in Section 2.8.

2.2 SOUND SYSTEM AND ORTHOGRAPHY

Hyman (2003, p. 42) emphasises that, although Bantu languages are quite many and geographically spaced, they share several features and properties regarding syllable structure, phonemic inventories, and phonological processes. According to Crabtree (1921: 1), Kirwan and Gore (1957:7), Ashton et al (1954:3), the Luganda alphabet has two (2) broad categories; vowels and consonants. The arrangement of this alphabet seems to be similar to many other

languages, from **a-z** plus **ny**: a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, ŋ, o, p, r, s, t, u, v, w, y, z and ny. According to Kiingi (1999), it is a linguistic principle that allophones take the same phoneme. This is the case in Luganda for the phoneme /b/ but not for the phoneme /l/, as indicated in the following examples:

- (1) a. /b/ in the words **abaana** ‘the children’ and **baana** ‘children’; **only abaana**
 b. /l/ as in the words **lyato** ‘boat’ and **eryato** ‘the boat’; why not only **elyato**?

2.2.1 Vowel sound inventory

According to Ashton et al (1954:3), there are five vowels in Luganda: /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, and /u/. However, Crabtree (1921:7) emphasises that Luganda has ten vowels, counting the long counterparts of the five short vowels described by Ashton (1954): /ii/, /ee/, /aa/, /oo/, and /uu/. The shortening and lengthening of Luganda vowels has a great influence on the semantics of words, as the following example demonstrates:

- (2) a. **-sala** ‘cut’ and **-saala** ‘regret’
 b. **-lega** ‘taste’, and **-leega** ‘stretch’,
 c. **-siga** ‘plant’, **-siiga** ‘smear’,
 d. **-kola** ‘work’, **-koola** ‘weed’
 e. **-kula** ‘grow’, **-kuula** ‘uproot, pull out’

Luganda, similarly to some other Bantu languages, displays five vowel sounds: front high /i/, back high /u/, front mid /e/, back mid /o/ and open central /a/, as represented in the left side in figure (2:1):

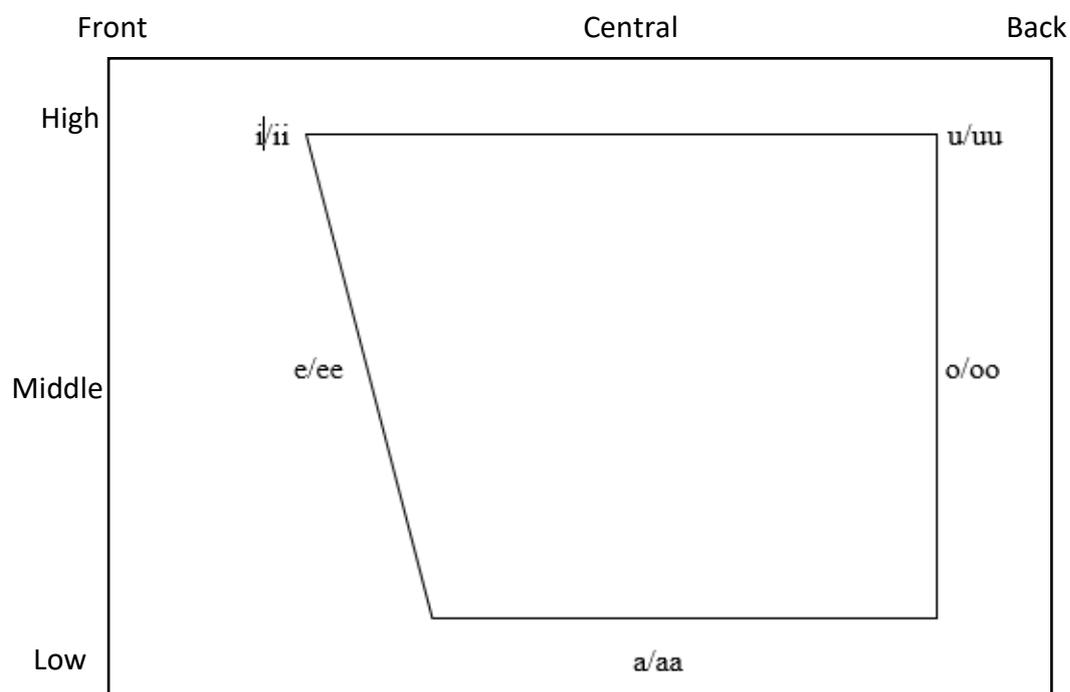


Figure 2:1: Luganda vowel phonemes

Ashton et al (1954:7) and Crabtree (1921:7) emphasize that the orthographic conventions of single consonants, double consonants and nasal compounds are followed by a short or long vowel. Long vowels in Luganda orthography are based on (a) word-formation when the word stem starts with a vowel; (b) the stem of the verb ending with the applicatives: **-era-**, **-ira-**; (c) adding possessive pronouns **-wo**, **-we** to kinship nouns; (d) the past tense or near past indicated with **-a-**; (e) when writing the reflexive verb extension **-ee-**; (g) when writing words with **naa**, **noo** indicating the near future tense; (f) verb stems ending with a locative clitic, as in the following examples:

- (4)
- | | | |
|----|--------------------|-------------------------|
| a. | beebase | ‘they are sleeping’ |
| b. | weera | ‘give from’ |
| c. | Leeta kojjaawo | ‘bring your uncle’ |
| d. | Abaana ba-a-soma | ‘The children read’ |
| e. | beevuma | ‘they abuse themselves’ |
| f. | tunaabasaba | ‘we shall request them’ |
| g. | Zzaayo omuggo gwo. | ‘Take back one stick’ |

2.2.2 Consonant sound inventory

According to Ashton et al (1954), 24 consonant phonemes can be identified in Luganda. The

inventory of consonants in Luganda includes nasals, stops, laterals, approximants, liquids, fricatives, and affricatives produced in eight different places of articulation, as illustrated in the following table:

Table 2:1: Luganda consonant sounds

	Bilabial	Labial-dentals	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Nasal	/m/		/n/		/ɲ/		
Plosives +voice	/b/		/d/			/g/	
-voice	/p/		/t/			/k/	
Fricatives +voice		/v/	/z/	/ʒ/			/h/
-voice		/f/	/s/	/ʃ/			
Liquids			/r/				
Glides	/w/				/j/		

Combinations of **ky** and **ty** in palatals may not be included. As Kiyinikibi (2011) suggests, these are complex biphonemic sounds. Thus, there is no reason for including them in the table because, if they were, other combined sounds such as **by**, **py**, **tw**, **ty**, etc., should also appear in the table.

On consonantal categories and orthographic conventions, as Crabtree (1923:7) and Ashton et al (1954:3) suggest, 20 consonants in Luganda can be classified as follows: (1) voiceless consonants: c, f, h, k, p, s, t; (2) voiced consonants: b, d, g, j, l, r, m, n, nny, v, z; and (3) semi-vowels: w, y; (4) gemination of **r**, **l**, **h**, **w**, and **y**; and nasal sounds: **m**, **n** and **ɲ**. If a nasal appears in front of another consonant, or with another nasal, it represents a nasal compound or a prenasal, for example: **mb**, **nc**, **nd**, **nf**. Nasalized compounds are not doubled and nasalized compounds are not lengthened, as demonstrated in the following examples:

- (5) a. embidde (em(*b)bidde) 'beer banana'
 b. omuganda (mug(*a)anda) 'a bundle'
 c. olutambi (oluta(*a)mbi) 'song'

In most cases **ɲɲ** is written at the beginning of the word: **Dɲoma** 'drum', **ɲɲaali** 'crested crane', but it can also change to single as in: **-ɲaɲala** 'yelp', **-ɲooɲa** 'moo', 'heckle'. These nouns are in class 9/10. The letters **ny** are in use for a single sound, and thus the **y** compound of **n** has to be written as **ni** instead of **ny**

2.2.3 Syllable Structure

Kirwan and Gore (1951) posits that, the canonical *Luganda* syllable structure is CV, but other types of syllable structure can also be found. Ashton et al (1954), as well as Crabtree (1921) have written considerable discussions on the syllable structure in Luganda. They emphasize that, verb roots can be expanded with various prefixes and suffixes to form the verb structure. The locative prefixes **wa**, **ku** **mu** are formed out of one syllable, of which the first is represented by a complex onset composed of the alveolar nasal [n] and the alveolar plosive [d] and the nucleus is represented by the mid back [o] while the second syllable consists of an onset represented by the fricative alveolar [z] and the nucleus is represented by a close front [i]. I illustrate the nature of Luganda syllables in the following diagram.

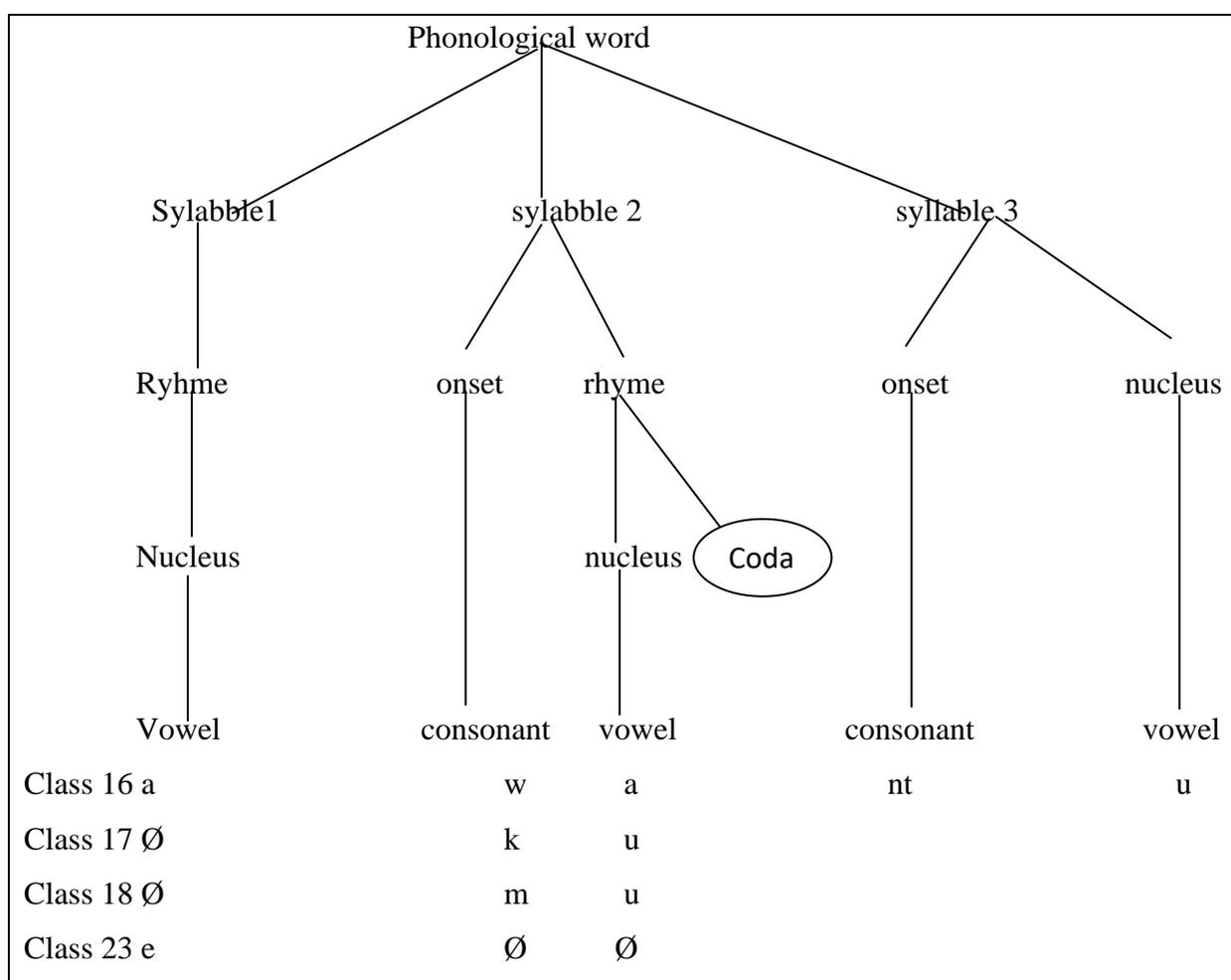


Figure 2.2 Structure of Luganda syllables

Ashton et al (1954) highlights the he typology of syllables in Luganda, stating that there are five classes of syllables: (a) one-letter syllable: **a-**, **e-** and **o-**, (b) two-letter syllables; **three-**

letter syllables: here those with semi-vowels (w, y) and those with nasal consonants (m,n) occur, and one consonant and one vowel. In writing, **cu**, **ku** and **lu** not [***cwu**, ***kwu**, and ***lwu**] occur because **y** and **w** are not pronounced, as seen in the bold syllables with the asterisks above. Others are (d) four-letter syllables. These syllables are constructed in three ways; (i) a double consonant plus a semi-vowel **w**, **y** and a vowel; (ii) (**m**, **n**), and a consonant, **w**, **y** and a vowel, and (iii) with double consonants and long vowels. There are also (e) five-letter syllables. These are constructed with doubled ‘g’ plus (w, y) plus a long vowel, and we can also use doubled ‘n’ and ‘y’ and a long vowel as indicated below: a five-letter syllable with **gg-** and **w** or **y**; a five-letter syllable with **nn-**, and **y**; as well as a five-letter syllable with **nn-**, and **y**.

- (9) a. a-, e- and o- as in A-baana ‘children’, e-nkoko ‘children’
 b. ba, be, bi, bo, bu; as in ba-ana ‘children’
 c. w, y, m ne n: bwa, bwe, bwi, bwo, ***bwu**; bwiino ‘ink’
 d. bbya, bbye, bbyi, bbyo, bbyu; babbye ‘they have stolen’
 e. gg- and w or y: ggwaa-, ggwee-, ggwii-, ggwoo-, ***ggwuu** ggwaatiro ‘peeling place’

Writing double consonants in Luganda is based on the following: (a) writing possessive pronouns; (b) when writing **-nna-** demonstrating that something is not yet done; (c) words in the near past and intermediate past; (d) when writing the near future tense with the personal pronoun in the first person singular; (e) most nouns class **5 Li**, usually start with double consonants; (f) writing adjectives which agree with nouns class **5 Li**, double consonants usually occur; (g) some nouns which are in class **9 N** and **10N**, usually have double consonants; (h) consonant doubling from The Ganda Law (Meinhof, 1899, 1932; Peng, 2007), stating that, after **n** followed by **b**, **l** and **ŋ**, we have consonant doubling as in the following examples:

- (10) a. banno ‘your friends’
 b. tebannalya ‘they have not yet eaten’
 c. ntambudde ‘I have walked’
 d. -n-naa-mulaba ‘I will see him/her’
 e. essomero ‘school’
 f. eddungi ‘good’, eddalu ‘mad’
 g. eŋŋano ‘wheat’; emmese ‘rat’
 h. e-n-bamba<emmamba

2.2.4 Sound alternations (‘changes’ or phonotactics)

Sounds do not ‘change’ but may be replaced by different sounds as a result of being adjacent to a particular vowel or consonants, or for other phonological reasons. In this section, such alternations are explained. The letter **n** stands for the first person singular pronoun or for the noun class marker of **9N** and **10N**. (a) If we add the pronoun ‘n’ on the verb starting with **l**,

the letter **l** disappears and it is replaced with **d**; (b) the letter **l** becomes **n** if **l** is followed by a nasalized consonant; (c) the letter **y** becomes **nnya** after **n** if **y** is followed by a nasal compound; (d) the letter **n** becomes **m** if **n** is followed by **b**, **p**, and **m**; (e) The letter **y** becomes **j** after **n** if **y** is followed by non-nasalized syllable; (f) the letter **w** becomes **p** after **n** if the verbs start with **w**, **y**; (g) the letter **g** becomes **ŋŋ** after **n** if **g** is followed by a nasalized syllable; (h) from the letter **n+bba** you get **nziba**, **n+ssa** you get **nzisa**, **n+dduka** you get **nziruka**, and in other ways as indicated in the examples below:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (11) a. Ndeetera ‘bring for me’ (n+leeta) | e. Njagala ‘I want’ (n+yagala) |
| b. Nnimiraako ‘dig for me’. (n+lima) | f. mpasa ‘I marry’ . (n+wasa) |
| c. Nnyinza ‘I am able’ (n+ yinza) | g. Djendako ‘I go’ (n+genda) |
| d. Mmenyera ‘break for me’,
(n+menya) | h. Nnyinyise ‘I have soaked’.
(n+nnyika) |

2.2.5 Tonal system

According to Ashton et al (1954), Luganda is a tonal language, employing diacritics internationally used for tone marking which are a grave accent (̀) for low tone and acute accent (́) for high tone. However, for practical reasons, the low tone is not generally marked, and the absence of a tone mark on a syllable means that the tone is low or the syllable is toneless.

Crabtree (1921) states that a high tone vowel bears a circumflex accent (ˆ) and that a low tone vowel is unmarked. Thus, the word *gutéma* ‘it cuts’ would be tone-marked. Long vowels are doubled. Thus, two types of tone can be distinguished in Luganda: lexical tone and grammatical tone. A lexical tone is a distinctive pitch of a particular syllable of a word that contributes to the meaning of a word in isolation. It can be called an inherent tone and can also be verified in a dictionary since words are presented there as lexical entries. In this respect, in Luganda there are several pairs or even three lexical items that can be distinguished by tone alone, vowel length, or tone and vowel length together:

- (12) a. *kúla* 'grow' vs. *kíula* 'remove'

Meeussen (1967, p. 79) points out that tones of the nominal prefix and verbal prefixes are low. In my view, this holds for Luganda. Thus, the relevance of invoking the sound inventory in the current study. Different words may have up to six different interpretations in different contexts based of the different tones or basing on different vowel lengths they can bear, as

demonstrated in the following examples. These interpretations include indicative, hypothetical, and conjunctive:

(13) a. **Abáana balima ennimiro**

A- ba- ana ba- lim- a e-nnimiro
2PPX-2PX-children 2AgrS-dig-FV 9PPX-9.garden
'Children dig the garden'

b. **Abáana a-ba-limá balya bulungi**

A- ba- ana a- ba- lim-a ba-ly-a bu-lungi
2PPX-2PX-children 2REL-2AgrS-dig-FV 2PPX-eat 14-well
'Children who dig eat well'

Tone greatly contributes to the meaning of a word in a particular sentence. Ashton et al (1954) discuss tone competition, where a lexical (underlying tone) of a verb is deleted if there is a post-stem high tone. The verb *-téma* 'cut' has a high lexical tone on the first syllable, but this high tone is deleted and a high tone appears on the last syllable as result of relativization. Relativization points to prominence or focus. The relative pre-prefix is optional upon dropping the noun in the locative noun.

Kisseberth and Odden (2003, p. 60), discussing tone in Bantu languages, posit that in nominal tonology, where there are a pre-prefix, a class-prefix and a stem, the class-prefixes are typically toneless. While stems usually reveal a lexical contrast between high and toneless; given that a verb having a high tone can predict the tonal shape of the stem. This study is not concerned with tone and thus tone is not marked on the words in this dissertation unless it is essential to do so. Another study may potentially take on the question of probing the aspect of tone in locatives. For more information on Luganda sound inventory, see Ashton et al, 1954 and Crabtree, 1921;1923.

2.3 THE LUGANDA NOUN CLASSIFICATION

Luganda has a rich morphologically structured noun system with roots and a range of overt and null prefixes. Numerous nouns have a root common with verbs, although many nouns are formed on nominal roots, and at times by change of prefix and the meaning of the word that is modified. The nominal category includes; nouns, pronouns, adjectives, demonstratives, relatives, interrogatives, and quantifiers.

2.3.1 The Luganda noun class system

The classification of nouns is an area that has drawn interest by many pre-theoretical and theoretical studies. According to Katamba (2003, p. 103), the noun class system is a strong areal feature in Africa that has always occupied a central position in Bantu linguistics. Heine (1989) posits that the issue of noun class systems concerns two-thirds of the approximately 600 African languages. The history of noun class systems reconstruction dates back to Bleek's Ancient Bantu (for historical details see, Bleek, 1869; Guthrie, 1971; Meeussen, 1967; & Welmers, 1973). Pre-theoretical Luganda grammars such as Crabbtree (1921:1923), Kirwan and Gore (1951), Ashton et al (1954), and Chesswas (1963) have written widely on noun classes. Before elaborating on the noun class system, I introduce the nature of a noun properties in Bantu languages in the following section (2.3.2).

2.3.2 Noun formation

Nouns typically consist of two morphemes, a noun prefix (NP), and a stem. The prefix may be replaced, for instance, to demonstrate plurality. In some contexts, an initial vowel (pre-prefix) is prefixed to the prefix, this is usually, **a-**, **e-**, and **o-**). Crabbtree (1921) examining noun formation in Luganda, asserts that nouns can be formed by the change of class, such as **omwami** 'chief' (class 1) to **obwami** 'chieftaincy' (class 14). Others can be formed from verbs, and by prefixation of 'formatives' to some nouns; they may also include compounding.(also see Carter, 2002) According to Ashton et al (1954:362), nouns in Luganda can be derived from other word classes such as verbs and adjectives using derivational prefixes and suffixes. Thus, noun formation is both inflectional and derivational (see Hyman & Katamba, 1993; Katamba, 2003). Some of the productive affixes include: **-a**, **-e**, **-i**, **-o**, and **-u**.

Table 2.2: Nominal derivation in Luganda through affixation

Number	deriv suffix	source word	Gloss	deriv noun	Gloss
I	-a	-lima(v)	Dig	Omulima	Digger
		-limba (v)	Lie	Omulimba	Lier
Ii	-e	-yagala (v)	Love	Omwagale	Lover
		-siba (v)	Detain	Omusibe	Prisoner

Iii	-i	-lima (v)	Dig	Omulimi	Digger
		-bba (v)	Steal	Omubbi	Thief
Iv	-o	-soma (v)	Read	Omusomo	Workshop
		-kala (v)	Dry	Omukalo	dry meat
V	-u	-kula (v)	Grow	Omukulu	Head
		wola (v)	Cool	Amawolu	cold food
Vi	-esa;-isa	-soma	Read	Omusomesa	Teacher

There are various word formation processes in Luganda (see Crabtree, 1921 and 1923; Ashton et al, 1954; Kirwan and Gore, 1951; Chesswas, 1963) for details.

2.3.3 Noun classes and the phi-features resolution mechanism

One of the well-known characteristics of Bantu languages is that nouns are divided into classes with person, gender and number features (henceforth phi-features, see Carstens (2008) for details), thus, they are morphologically and semantically grouped. Regarding the typology of locatives, Luganda retains the proto-Bantu locative noun classes: 16 17 18 and 23, realized as the prefixes and/or prepositions; **wa-**, **ku(-)**, **mu(-)**, and **e(-)** respectively (see Crabtree, 1921). Nouns in Luganda bear prefixes and pre-prefixes, both of which are realizations of a particular noun class. The locative form of a noun is formed by replacing a word's pre-prefix with a locative prefix.

Carstens (2008) asserts that some noun class prefixes generally convey plurality while others convey singularity. It is this pairing of singular and plural nouns that referred to as gender. For instance, in Luganda, the pairing of the nouns **omuti** (cl.3, singular) 'tree' and **emiti** (cl.4, plural), form a gender. Some controversy occurs in the classification of noun classes. Ashton et al (1954) and Crabtree (1921) present Luganda as having 15 noun classes and 4 locative classes. In other Bantu languages, there are up to 25 noun classes, but the minimum number is 10. Most nouns consist of a prefix and a stem. In addition, the pre-prefix exists matching the vowel in the noun prefix. This is illustrated in the following nouns:

- | | | | | | |
|---------|----------------|----|-------------|----|---------------|
| (14) a. | omukazi | b. | eryato | c. | amaato |
| | o-mu-kazi | | e-ri-ato | | a-ma-ato |
| | 1PPX-1PX-woman | | 5PPX-5-boat | | 5PPX-5PX-boat |
| | ‘woman’ | | ‘boat’ | | ‘boats’ |

In Luganda, as in many Bantu languages, there are lexical and coordinated nouns. Coordinated nouns have conjuncts from the same noun class or different noun classes. This leads to subject-agreement problems since such nouns have different noun class features. The construction (15) demonstrates a case of similar noun classes, either human or non-human entities, although in (16) the noun classes are the same, a different agreement comes from a different class 8. The plural noun class prefix of the coordinated nouns in (16) resolves the agreement. In (17) below, another case of different noun classes, human nouns vs. animal/bird, is illustrated.

- (15) Ejjambiya ne nkumbi bibuze
 E-ni- jambiya ne e-ni-kumbi bi- bul- e
 9PPX-9PX-panga CONJ 9PPX-9PX-hoe 8AgrS-lost-PERF
 ‘The panga and the hoe are lost’
- (16) Omwami ne mukyala we bazze
 O-mu- ami ne o- mu-kyala-we ba- jj- e
 1PPX-1PX-husband CONJ 1PPX-1PX-wife-1POSS 2AgrS-come-PERF
 ‘The man and his wife have come’
- (17) Omusajja ne endigaye bazze
 O-mu-sajja ne ni- diga- ye ba- jj- e
 1PPX-1PX-man CONJ 9PPX-9PX-sheep-1POSS 2AgrS-come-PERF
 ‘The man and his sheep have come’
- (18) Omusajja ne emmotokaye bibuze
 O- mu- sajja ne e- n- motoka-ye bi- bul- e
 1PPX-1PX-man CONJ 9PPX-9PX-car POSS 8AgrS-lost-PERF
 ‘The man and his car are lost’

The human features here override the animate features because the plural of the human takes the agreement. Different noun classes, human and non-human, are illustrated above in (18). The subject-agreement prefix is from class 8. In my observation, when the human noun is coordinated with another denoting non-human, the two are now viewed as ‘things’. The same is true of different noun classes, both human and non-human. A summary of Luganda noun classes is presented in the table below.

Table 2:3: Agreement in noun classes and their detection scheme

CLASS	A-PX-Stem	Gloss	Subj-Verb Stem	Gloss
1	(o)- mu -ntu	‘person’	Omuntu a -somye	‘The person has read’
2	(a)- ba -ntu	‘people’	Abantu ba -somye	‘The people have read’
3	(o)- mu -ti	‘a tree’	Omuti gu -kaluba	The tree is hard
4	(e)- mi -ti	‘trees’	Emiti gi -kakuba	The trees are hard
5	(e)- ri iso	‘an eye’	Eriiso li -raba	The eye is seeing
6	(a)- man nyo	‘teeth’	Amaaso gal aba	The eyes are seeing
7	(e)- ki -bbo	‘a basket’	Ekisenge kir abika bubi	The room looks bad
8	(e)- bi -bbo	‘baskets’	Ebisenge bifa anana	The rooms resemble
9	(e)- mb wa	‘a dog’	Embuzi er abika bubi	The goat looks bad
10	(e)- mb wa	‘dogs’	Embuzi zifa anana	The goats resemble
11	(o)- lu -so	‘aslasher’	Oluso lul abika bulungi	The slasher looks good
12	(a)- ka -so	‘slashers’	Akasoka lab ika bulungi	The knife looks good
13	(o)- tu -lo	‘sleep’	Otulo tuz ze mangu	The sleep has come soon
14	(o)- bu -sajja	‘small men’	Obusajja bufa anana	The small men resemble
15	(o)- ku -tu	‘an ear’	Okutu kul uma	An ear pains
16	wa -nsi	‘down’	Wansi wak aluba	Down is hard
17	ku -ngulu	‘on top’	Kungulu kuk aluba	On top is hard
18	mu -nda	‘inside’	Munda mufa anana	Inside resemble
20	(o)- gu -ti	‘a big tree’	Oguti guk ula	The big tree is grows
22	(a) ga -ti	‘big trees’	Agati gak ula	The big trees grow
23	(e)- ka	‘at home’	Eka efa anana	Home resembles

From the summary in the table above, it can be deduced that noun classes inherent to 16-18 and 23 are locatives which only specify a prefix. This reflects the fact that only a small set of nouns are inherently locative noun classes. However, almost any noun (save for the case of class 16 wa and 23 e), can be brought into a locative class by replacing the inherent noun class pre-prefix of that noun with a locative prefix as illustrated in the following examples.

- (19) a. (o)-**mu**-lyango [3 mu] ‘17-ku: **ku** (ϕ)**muly**ango ‘on the door’
 b. (o)-**mu**-lyango [3 mu] ‘18. **mu**: **mu** (ϕ)**muly**ango ‘in the door’

Although noun classes in Bantu languages are generally grouped in pairs of singular and plural, some nouns have no singular/plural pairing. These include: mass nouns referring to liquids in class 6 ma, e.g. **amata (a-ma-ta)** 'milk', abstract nouns in class 14 bu, e.g. **obulumi (o-bu-lumi)** 'pain', infinitival nouns with or without a pre-prefix in class 15, e.g. **kujja/okujja** 'to come', and some other nouns from different classes (see Ashton et al 1954 for further details).

Furthermore, from the table above, it can also be noted that nouns in class 9 and those in class 10 have the same prefix morphology and cannot be distinguished if they are out of context. They become distinct in a sentence when they agree with the verb or with an adjective or any modifier. This is also the case for classes 1 and 3. But, unlike classes 9 for singular and 10 for plural, these classes do not differ semantically apart from number. Both include non-humans.

Nouns in Luganda are arranged in twenty-three classes numbered individually. The noun class system is a system of agreement consisting of a set of concordial elements. Nouns may belong to more than one noun class. For example, when birds and animals belonging originally to cl 9/10 are anthropomorphised, they take class 1/2 as in:

- (20) a. **enkoko enjeru ebuze**
e-n-koko e- n- yeru e- bul- e
9PPX-9.hen 9PPX-9PX-white 9AgrS-lost-PERF
 'the white hen is lost'
- b. **ba/wankoko aberu babuze**
ba-/wa- n-koko e- a-ba-/omu- yeru ba-/a bul- e
2PX/1PX-9.hen(s) 2A/1PPX-9PX-white 9AgrS-lost-PERF
 'The Mr Wankoko(s) who are(is) white are(is) lost'

Some nouns may have singular noun class prefixes from a certain noun class but may take their plural prefixes from other classes. A prefix is a good guide to the class of a noun but sometimes two or more classes may have the same shape of prefix, and conversely nouns of different prefixes may share the same system of concord. Classes 1, 3, and 18 all have prefix **mu** as in:

- | | | | | | |
|---------|---|----|--|----|--|
| (21) a. | musajja
Mu-sajja
1PX-man
'man' | b. | mucungwa
m-cungwa
3PX-orange
'orange' | c. | mu nnyumba
mu n-yumba
18LOC 9PX-house
'house' |
|---------|---|----|--|----|--|

distribution and pairing of noun classes in Bantu, Katamba (2003:109) maintains that 1/2, 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 9/10, 11/10, 12/13, and 14/16 are very widely spread. However, I do not fully agree with Katamba's (2003:109) noun class pairing for the Luganda case. In my view, the Luganda non-locative noun class pairing is most appropriately demonstrated in the following diagram (also see Kirwan and Gore 1951:87-139):

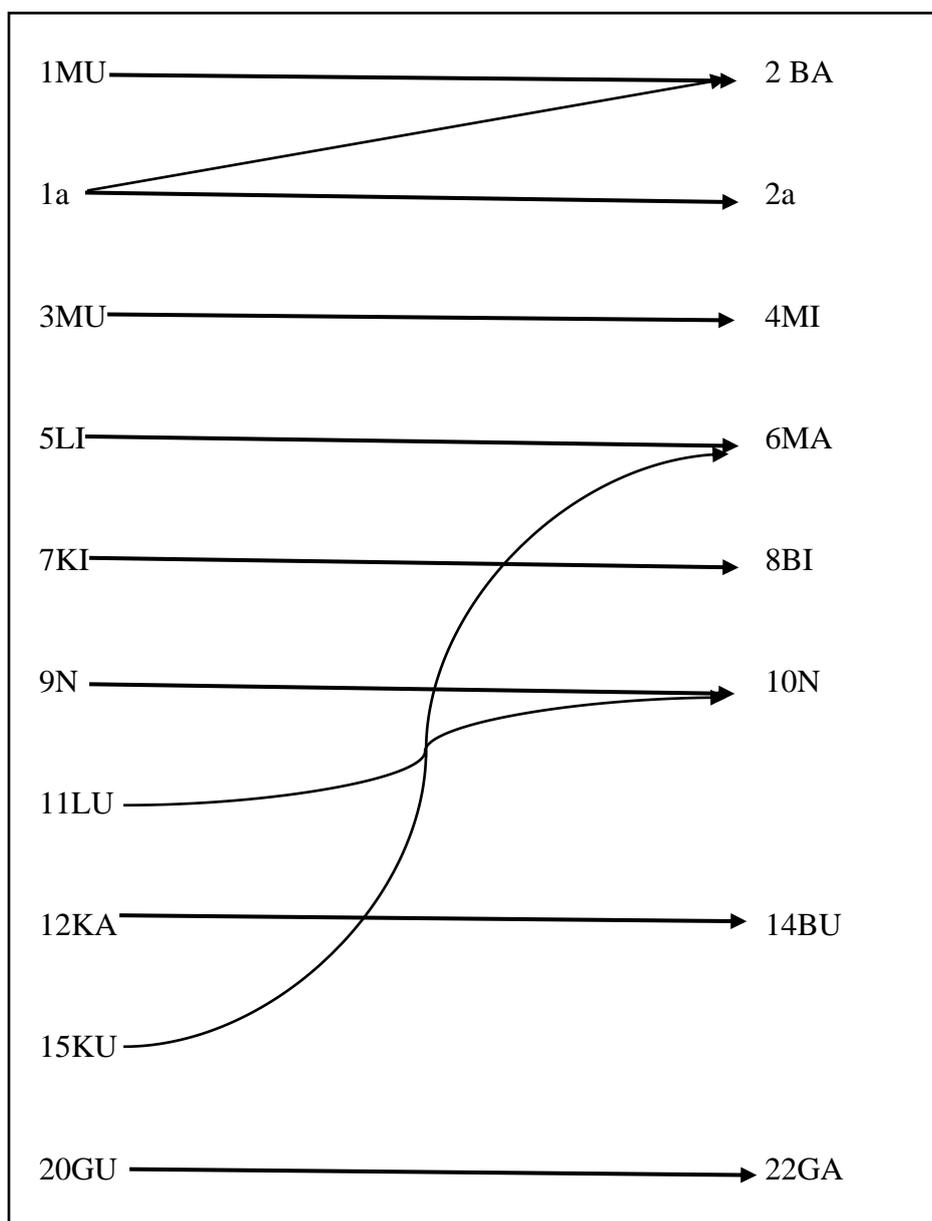


Figure 2:3 Noun class pairing

The above diagram indicates that class 13 and the locative classes 16, 17, 18, and 23 are not paired. Several classes also have additional connotations, such as diminutives derived from other classes. All classes, except 1a, 2a, 2b, and the locatives 16-8, and 23, when prefixed to

other nouns, have a potential pre-prefix. Classes 1/2: **mu-/ba-** contain mostly nouns referring to human beings. Proper nouns and many (overtly) pre-prefixless nouns belong here. However, in some cases, the noun prefix **ba-** (class.2) is placed before common nouns to turn them into plural nouns. The name *Musisi* can be referred to as *ba Musisi* and *musajja* ‘man’ can become *basajja* ‘men’. *Bakojja* would be translated as ‘my uncles’. Class 1a is composed of pre-prefixless kinfolk names or honorifics such as *taata* ‘my father’, nouns of some foods and animals such as **lumonde**, **kasooli**, **ggoonya**. Class 2a serves as honorific plural such as **bataata** ‘my fathers’. In such a case, they become indefinite.

Classes 3/4: **mu-/mi-**: the pre-prefix and noun prefix of class 3 are homophonous with those of class 1. However, despite having the same pre-prefix, nouns in classes 1 and 3 agree with the verb differently; class 1 has **a-** subject agreement prefix while class 3 has **o-** as its subject agreement. Regarding classes 5/6: **e-li**, **ly-ø** /**a-ma**, Guthrie (1971) observes that in many Bantu languages, most nouns in class 5 have lost the noun syllabic prefix. Generally, this is also true of Luganda. The pre-prefix is followed directly by the stem as in the following words: *essabo* (*e-ø-sabo*) ‘shrine’, *ejjuba* (*e-ø-yubá*) ‘dove’. However, a very small number of words in this class have maintained the noun prefix **li-**. The examples include *erúso* (*e-ri-iso*) ‘eye’, *erinyo* ‘tooth’ and *eryato* (*e-ri-ato*) ‘boat’. In classes 7/8: **ki-/bi-**, it exhibits singular common nouns with class prefix **ki-**. It also includes nouns from other classes used pejoratively in agreement with the demonstrative pronoun **kino** ‘this’.

Classes 9/10: **n-** or **ø-** contain many names of animals and nouns borrowed from other languages. Both classes (9 and 10) share the noun prefix **-n-** or zero (**-ø-**) prefix. Examples: *ente* (*e-n-te*) ‘cow’, *embaata* (*e-ø-baata*) ‘dark’. Pre-prefixless nouns of class 10 like **sumbuusa** ‘samosa’ are sometimes not different in form and, when in the plural form, it is done by affixing the morpheme **zi-** before them. Compare **sumbuusa** ‘samosa’ and **zi sumbuusá** ‘samosas’. Concerning class 11/10: **lu-/n-**, many class 11 nouns are abstract nouns derived from verbs, e.g. **olumanyo**<**kumanya**> ‘intuition’; some have plurals in class 10, e.g. **oluso** ‘slasher’ <**enso** ‘slashers’>.

Class 12/14: **ka-/bu-**: These are illustrated by the following nouns: *akambe* /*obwambe* ‘knife/knives’. Class 14: **bu-**: Many nouns in class 14 are abstract nouns for example *obulumi* ‘pain’, *obumanyi* ‘knowledge’, and collectives, such as **obuwunga** ‘floor’, hence, they have no plural form. In classes 15/6: **ku-** or **o-ku-/a-ma-**, class 15 has four nouns referring to parts of the body: *okutu*(*o-ku-tu*) ‘ear’. These are nouns that have their plural in class 6 as **a-ma-tu**. In

addition to nouns such as *okutu* 'ear', class 15 includes all infinitives. The pre-prefix *o-* may be prefixed to the infinitive but an infinitive with or without a pre-prefix has the same meaning. Some of the infinitives in Bantu, and Luganda, in particular, are part of the noun class system, type of class 15. (see Visser, 1989). Thus, the verb *okuzannya* 'to play' in (26) demonstrates a class 15 agreement.

- (26) Oku-zanny-a kw-a-gal-wa -a aba-ana
 Oku-zanny-a kw-a- gal- w- a- a- ba- ana
 15PPX-15PX-play 15AgrS-like-HAB-PASS-FV 2PPX-2PXchild
 'Playing is liked by children'

2.3.5 Locative noun classes

2.3.5.1 The locative noun class 16 (-) wa(-)

Locative class 16 with locative prefix *wa(-)* includes only one attested locative noun *awantu* (*a-wa-ntu*) (place of yours). Although it is a locative class, it behaves more like non-locative noun classes. It has a pre-prefix, a real noun prefix that is prefixed to the root, unlike the locative class prefixes *ku-* and *mu-*, for example, which precede other noun prefixes. Like nouns in other classes, the locative noun *awantu* controls concord on verbs, adjectives, and pronouns such as numerals, demonstratives, as well as the associative elements.

- (27) Awantu wo wano, mmanyiiwo, walungi naye wannyogoga
 A- wa- ntu- wo- wa- no, n- many- wo wa- lungi naye wa-nnyogog-a
 16PPX-16-place-16CL 16-DEM-here 1AgrS-know-16CL be 16PX-nice but 16-
 be.cold-FV
 'This place of yours, I know it, it is nice but cold.'

The example in (27) demonstrates that noun *awa-ntu* agrees with the demonstrative (*wa-no* 'this'), the possessive (*w-o* 'your'), the adjective (*wa-lungi* 'nice'), the verb has an object locative clitic *-wo* in (*mmanyii-wo* 'I know it'), as well as the subject agreement prefix *wa-* in (*wa-nnyogoga* 'it is cold'). It is possible to have pronouns bearing the prefixes of a particular noun class. Locative classes comprise different pronouns derived in this way. In this regard, class 16 has a full range of pronouns with the prefix *wa-*. Demonstratives *wano* (*wa-no*) 'here', *awo* (*a-w-o*) 'there', *wali* (*wa-li*) 'there', *weewo* (*we-wo/awantu*) refer to a specific known place 'the very place you know'. Absolute *wó* (*wa-ó*) refers to 'there'.

Numerals: *wamu* (*wa-mu*) refers to 'one place', and *waakuna* refers to 'four places' (note that locative prefix *wa-* is marked on the stems of the numbers). The indefinite *awalála* (*a-wa-*

lala) refers to 'another place'. The *interrogative wa (wa)* means 'where'. In addition, some other words referred to as 'paralocatif' (Grégoire, 1975) such as *wansí* 'down', *waggulu* 'up/in the air', *wampi* 'nearer' and *wala* 'further', which contain the prefix *wa-* and behave like locative expressions with locative prefixes. In addition to functioning as a numeral, the word *wamu* has other meanings: (i) it can be used as an indefinite when it refers to non-specific places and is translated as '(in) some places'; (ii) it can also function as an adverb meaning 'together.'

Finally, there are several locative words with adverbial meaning that bear the prefix *wa-* with a locative meaning. They all agree with the pronouns, adjectives, and verbs they are used with, hence they function like locative nouns: *wa-bweru* 'outside', *wa-nsi* 'down', *wa-ggulu* 'up', *wa-kati* 'in the middle'. The prefix *wa-* is the canonical noun prefix for class 16. Moreover, it appears on nouns modifying expressions belonging to classes 17, 18, and 19. It can agree with the verb (as a subject prefix), adjectives, and pronouns. In these cases, the prefix *wa-* is said to have a locative meaning. Besides this locative use, the prefix *wa-* can appear in other constructions in which it does not have any locative meaning at all.

2.3.5.2 The locative noun class 17 ku(-)

Ashton et al (1954) explain that locative class 17 with prefix *ku(-)* refers to a specific location, small or large, and means 'at' or 'on', 'to', 'from', or 'towards'. The literal translation is 'at the place of'. In contrast to class 16, class 17 has no specific pronominal or any pronoun bearing its prefix. Pronouns bearing the prefix *wa-* of class 16 also refer to class 17.

2.3.5.3 The locative noun class 18 mu(-)

The locative class 18 with class prefix *mu(-)* expresses interiority and means *in, between, among, within*. It can refer to physical as well as temporal interiority. For further details on the use of *mu-*, see also Ashton et al (1954). Class 18 has a restricted number of possible pronominals when compared to class 16– it only has absolute and demonstrative pronouns. Absolute *mu (mu-ó)* means 'there' (also realized as *mwó*). Demonstratives *omwo (o-mu-o)* and *múli (mu-li)* refer to '(in) there'

2.3.5.4 Locative noun class 23 e(-)

Locative class 23 with locative prefix *e(-)* behaves differently from the other three locatives

in several ways; licensed by proper names of places; it is not generally licensed by common nouns as in the examples *kibuga* 'town'; **e-mu-kibuga* 'in town'. It corresponds to class 25 in the Bantu noun class system with the prefix *e(-)* referring to geographical names: *e Kampala* 'in Kampala'. Ashton et al (1954) note that this prefix is also used before the names of countries. This class is exceptionally found in a handful of common nouns, as in the examples below with a slight change in meaning. It also alternates with a pre-prefix in some nouns referring to directions, as in (a) *o-bu-vanjuba* cl.14 'the east' /*e-bu-vanjuba* cl. 9+14 'in the east'; (b) *o-bu-gwanjuba* cl.14. If the word agrees with the verb with the prefix *wa-*, then it is an instance of a locative expression. Noun class 23 prefix *e* does not attach to a wide range of pronouns. Those that can bear this prefix are demonstratives and absolute pronouns only. Demonstrative *engeri (e-no)* means 'this way' 'there' (also in that/your region). Absolute pronoun *eyo* means 'there'. Some locative adverbs bear two prefixes; that of class 16 plus that of 17 or 23. From locative absolute pronouns, it is possible to derive free relative pronouns for the classes 16, and 23, by prefixing the pronoun with a pre-prefix.

2.3.6 The nature of locative noun classes

According to Kirwan and Gore (1951), locatives in Luganda appear in four classes, namely classes 16, 17, 18, and 23 and their respective prefixes and/or prepositions; 16 (**wa**) indicating a definite place, 17 (**ku**) indicating on or the top, 18 (**mu**) meaning inside, and 23 (**e**) meaning a less definite place or a direction. Crabtree (1921:67) states that, **wa** means a 'place in general', **ku**, upon, **mu**, inside, within. Kirwan and Gore (1951:100) posit that the four locative classes consist of the concords used when an idea of place is the subject of the sentence. They are taken from the preposition **ku** and **mu** and from **awantu** 'place', a noun that is now rare except in expressions such as **buli wantu** 'everywhere', and the preposition **e**. The agreement of **ku** and **mu** are regular throughout, so are those of **wa** but those of **e** vary between the concords of 'wantu' and those of 'ensi' (N-N Class singular). The agreement of the last two cases are in some cases interchangeable. For instance, both **waliwo**, **eriyo**, and **waliyo** occur as demonstrated in the following example:

(28) **mu** nnyumba waliwo/yo
mu **n-yumba** wa-liwo/yo
 18LOC 9PX-house 16LOC9PX-there is
 'in the house there is'

(29) **mu** nnyumba eriyo
mu **n-yumba** e-ri-yo

18LOC 9PX-house 23LOCPX-there is
'in the house there is'

According to Asimwe (2014), and Morris and Kirwan (1957:104), in Runyankore-Rukiga, locative elements corresponding to classes 16 and 18 take a pre-prefix (see example 36). However, according to Hyman and Katamba (1993: 237), class 16 and 23 are marked respectively, by noun class prefixes **wa-** and \emptyset and by the pre-prefixes **a-** and **e-** respectively. In Luganda, in contrast to Runyankore-Rukiga, locative classes 17 and 18 are marked by the locative elements **ku** and **mu** and, in most environments, do not exhibit an overt pre-prefix as illustrated in (30) (see Hyman and Katamba 1993):

- (30) a. (*o)**ku mmeeza ku emmeeza**
 (*o)- **ku mmeeza ku** (*e-) **n- meeza**
 (*17PPX)17LOC 9-table* 17LOC 9PPX-9PX- table
 'on the table' 'On the table'
- b. (*o)**mu nju mu (*e)nnyumba**
 (*o)- **mu n- yumba mu** (*e)- **n-yumba**
 (18PPX)-18LOC 9PX-house 18LOC 9PPX- 9PX-house
 'in the house' 'In the house'

Locative elements **ku** and **mu** are the most productive locatives, sometimes termed prepositional nouns, depending on their nature and property. They are not prefixed to their nouns and their nouns can be replaced with their respective pronouns. These locatives elements are therefore non-canonical prefixes. One diagnostic that could prove that locatives are prepositional nouns is that their nouns can be replaced by their respective pronouns, which is not the case with other word categories. However, in some instances **ku-** and **mu-** do not express a precise meaning such as those of the prepositions *towards*, *through*, and *into*. An applicative is required to make the locative meaning more specific in this way.

- (31) a. Omusajja yalaba omubbi mu ddirisa
 O-mu-sajj-a ye- a- lab-ir- e o- mu- bbi mu li- dirisa
 1PPX-1PX-man 1AgrS-PAST-see-PERF 1PPX-1PX-thief 18LOC 5PX-window
 'A woman saw a thief in the window.'
- b. Omusajja yalabidde omubbi mu ddirisa
 O-mu-sajj-a ye- a- lab-ir- e o-mu-bbi mu li-dirisa
 1PPX-1PX-man 1AgrS-PAST-see-APPL-PERF 1PPX-1PX-thief 18LOC 5PX-
 window
 'A woman saw a thief through the window.'

The possible interpretation with the locative **mu-** without the applicative in (31a and 32) is that 'the thief was in the window', but with the applicative, (31b and 32b), two interpretations

are possible: ‘The woman saw the thief through the window’ or ‘the woman herself was in the window’, although the locative noun can be replaced with the pronoun but retains the meaning in the context. The following examples can further illustrate the phenomenon:

- (32) a. Omusajja yalaba omubbi mu lyo
 O- mu- sajja ye- a- lab- e o- mu- bbi mu li- o
 1PPX-1PX-man 1AgrS-PAST-see-PERF 1PPX-1PX-thief 18LOC 5PX-pron
 'A woman saw a thief in it.'
- b. Omusajja yalabidde omubbi mu lyo
 O- mu-sajja ye- a- lab- ir- e o- mu- bbi mu li-o
 1PPX-1PX-man 1AgrS-PAST-see-APPL-PERF 1PPX-1PX-thief 18LOC 5.pro
 'A woman saw a thief through it.'

The possible interpretation of (31a and b) is the same with that of (32a and b) but in (32b), the nouns in locative phrases can be replaced by their pronouns and they retain their meaning. This is not contrary to determiners, or any other word category. Thus, it may be right to say that locative phrases are prepositional nouns, and neither prefixes nor determiners. Locative nouns can also occur in the preverbal position and replaced by their pronouns as in the following example:

- (34) a. Omusajja akaabira mu ddirisa
 O- mu- sajja a- kaab- ir- a mu li-dirisa
 1PPX-1PX-man 1AgrS-cry-APPL-FV 18LOC 5PX-window
 'A man is crying in the window.'
- b. Mu lyo mukaabira(mu) omusajja
 Mu li-o mu- kaab- ir- a o- mu- sajja
 18LOC 5PX-pron 18AgrS-cry-APPL-FV 1PPX-1PX-man
 'In it the man cries from.'

In respect to definiteness, specificity and focus, locative pre-prefixes **a-** and **e-** for classes 16 and 23 respectively seem to be determiners in a given context giving a definiteness and specificity reading and a contrastive focus reading (see also Asimwe, 2014; Dewees, 1971; Hyman & Katamba, 1993; Katamba, 2003). Locative prefixes **wa-** and \emptyset (null prefix) of classes 16 and 23, respectively, are constant and cannot be replaced. A diagnostic that could prove that these elements are prefixed nouns is that these prefixes change with the change in the noun class while the root remains constant. This phenomenon can be illuminated in the following examples:

- (35) a. Omwana agenda (a)wantu
 O- mu- ana a- gend-a a- wa- ntu
 1PPX-1PX-child AgrS-go- FV 16PPX-16LOC16PX-place-STEM
 'The child is going somewhere'

- b. Omusajja agenda (e)buvanjuba
 O- mu- sajja a- gend- a e- bu- va- n- yuba
 1PPX-1PX-man AgrS-go- FV 23PPX-23LOCPX-from-9PX-sun
 ‘The man is going to the east Lit The man is coming from where the sun comes from’

In (35) above, it is illustrated that in both (35 a) and (35 b), there are optional pre-prefixes in Luganda locative classes giving additional meaning regarding definiteness and specificity. This phenomenon is a normal property of locatives in Runyankore. Morris and Kirwan (1957: 103) posit that Runyankore uses **ha** as the only AgrS. This is not the case for Luganda since all the four classes 16, 17, 18, and 23 are potential AgrS. The following Runyankore example in (36) demonstrate that phenomenon:

- (36) a. Aha meeza hariho ekitabob[Morris and Kirwan (1957: 103)]
 Aha n- meeza ha ri ho e- ki- tabo
 16LOC 9PX-table 16AgrS-be-16CL 7PPX-7PX-book
 ‘On the table there is a book’
- b. ha kwaitu hariho abaana
 A-ha ku-aitu ha ri ho a- ba- ana
 16LOC 17POSS 16AgrS-be-16CL 1PPX-1PX-children
 ‘Around our home, there are children’
- c. Omu kyaromumu harimubantu baingi.
 O-mu ku- alo ha ri mu a- ba- ntu ba- ngi
 18LOC 7PX-village 16AgrS-be-18CL 2PPX-2PX-people 2PX-many
 ‘In the village there are many people’
- d. Owaitu hariyobabababi
 O- wa- itu ha ri yo a- ba- ana ba- bi
 16LOC-POSS-our home 16AgrS-be-16CL 2PPX-2PX-children 2PX-bad
 ‘At our home, there are bad children’

The foregoing examples illustrate the view that locative prefixes in Runyankore-Rukiga are pre-prefixed. Furthermore, contrary to Luganda which still has all the four locative prefixes; 16, 17, 18, and 23, Runyankore-Rukiga has three locative prefixes. Class 23 does not feature in Runyankore-Rukiga (see Asiimwe 2014). My third observation is that Runyankore-Rukiga has one subject-agreement **ha** prefix for class 16 which cut-across all the three noun class. By contrast, all four locative class prefixes are potential subject agreement prefixes. In the next section, I briefly explain the locative ku, and mu in relation to the comparative **nga** and associative **-a**.

2.3.7 The locatives *ku-* and *mu-* and the comparative *nga* and associative *-a*

The comparative **nga** behaves exactly like the associative **-a**. The vowel **-a** becomes **-o** before a locative marker as illustrated in (37). Like locative expressions headed by **ku-** and **mu-**, any locative expression of class 16 bears the prefix **wa-** and the comparative **nga**. The vowel **-o** that surfaces in locative constructions in some contexts seem not to be specific to Luganda. A similar phenomenon is observed in other Bantu languages like Kirundi (see Ngoboka, 2016). In Luganda, the vowel **o-** appears before a locative expression when preceded by an associative element demonstrated in (38) (Hyman & Katamba, 1993:238):

- (37) Ku ssomero tekulinga waka.
 Ku ssomero te- ku- li- nga wa- ka.
 17LOC PX-school NEG 17LOC-ba-like 16PX-10-home
 'At school is not the same as at home.'
- (38) a. ku n-meeza
 17LOCPX 9PX-table
 'on the table'
- b. E- bi- tabo bi- a o- ku- n- meeza
 8PPX-8PX-book 8ASS POSS 17PPX-17LOCPX 9PX-table
 'books (of) on the table'

2.3.8 Locatives in inverted constructions.

Kirwan and Gore (1951:100) view inverted locative phrases as subjects of sentences. Ashton et al (1954:265) do not differ from this view. I find their assertion acceptable for Luganda, since locative phrases with subject prefixes **wa-**, **ku**, **mu** and **e-** control other concordial relationships to form the subject of the sentence. The following example explains this scenario:

- (39) a. Ku bbalaza kwayiiseeko amazzi. [Ashton et al 1954:265]
 Ku n- balaza ku- a- yiik- ko a- ma- zzi.
 17LOC 9PX-verandah 17AgrS-PAST-pour-17CL 6PPX-6PX-water
 'Lit. on verandah there has been split on it water.'
- b. Ku bbalaza (*kwange) kwayiiseeko amazzi. [Ashton et al 1954:265; Marten 2012]
 Ku n- balaza (*ku-ange) ku- a- yiik- ko a- ma- zzi.
 17LOC 9PX-verandah 17PX.my 17AgrS-PAST-pour-17CL 6PPX-6PX-water
 'Lit. on my verandah there has been split on it water.'
- c. Ku lubalaza lwange kwayiiseeko amazzi. [Ashton et al 1954:265]
 Ku lubalaza lw-ange ku- a- yiik- ko a- ma- zzi.

17LOC 11.verandah 11PX.my 17AgrS-PAST-pour-17CL 6PPX-6PX-water
'Lit. on my verandah there has been split on it water.'

Ashton et al (ibid) argue that '**ku bbalaza**' in construction (39) is the subject; while '**amazzi**', which comes at the end of the sentence, adds detail to the verb. Crabtree (1921:64) identifies locative elements as place prefixes, which, when combined with other parts of speech, yield a vast number of prepositions and prepositional phrases with far greater exactitude than is usual in a European language. Crabtree (1921) further states that locatives and locative inversion bring an emphatic reading on the place. In my view, Crabtree's perspectives of both authors have a lot to do with focus, although implicitly expressed. The following example demonstrates this view:

- (40) a. Mu lukiiko mw'ateeseza. [Crabtree al 1921:66]
 Mu lu- kiiko mu-a-tees-eza.
 18LOC 11PX.meeting 18AgrS-meet-CAUS
 'Lit. In that meeting in which he takes part.'
- b. Mu lukiiko (*mwange) mw'ateeseza. [Crabtree al 1921:66]
 Mu lu- kiiko (*mu-ange)/(lu-ange) mu-a-tees-eza.
 18LOC 11PX.meeting (*18-POSS)/(11-POSS)18AgrS-meet-CAUS
 'Lit. In that meeting in which he take part.'
- c. Mu lukiiko (lwange) mw'ateeseza. [Crabtree al 1921:66]
 Mu lu- kiiko (lu-ange) mu-a-tees-eza.
 18LOC 11PX.meeting (11-POSS)18AgrS-meet-CAUS
 'Lit. In my meeting in which he takes part.'

From the above observation (in 39 and 40), it is evident that intransitive verbs such as **genda** 'go' and **teesa** 'discuss (in a meeting)' do allow locative inversion in Luganda. Basing on examples (39) and (40), Marten (2012, p. 439) clarifies that Luganda has both inner and outer agreements respectively. In (40), the inner agreement signals a local relationship with the head of the noun phrase, while outer agreement (in 39b) signals a local relationship with the head of the locative phrase. Thus, the possessive in (39b) is restricted to the noun **lukiiko** 'meeting' whereas in (40) it applies to the entire locative phrase.

In my opinion, based on (39) and (40), there is a locative agreement (referred to as outer agreement, see Marten 2012) and there is also a noun agreement (referred to as the inner agreement). The example **ku bbalaza kwange** 'on my courtyard' presented by Ashton et al (1954) and adopted by Marten (2012:439) on locative agreement (referred to as outer

agreement by Marten 2012) is may not not be permitted with possessives in Luganda, but it can be allowed with some other modifiers such as demonstrated. (see the section on definiteness, specificity, and modifiers in this chapter). Furthermore, I do not fully agree with the use of the word **bbalaza** (class 9), I propose rather use the word **lupalaza** (class 11). I present details regarding the properties of verbs in section 2.5 and 2.6. In the next section, the noun class affixes are presented.

2.3.9 Noun class indicators and noun formation

2.3.9.1 Noun class affixes

There are particular morphological elements related to Luganda nouns, namely noun classes (n.cl), prefixes (PX), number, (numb.), pre-prefix (PPX), demonstrative pronouns (dem pr), subject agreement prefix (AgrS), possessive pronoun (Poss pro), adjective agreement prefix (AdjAgrS), emphatic pronoun (emp.pro), object agreement prefix (AgrO), subject pronoun (Subj pro), object relative pronoun (obj rel pro), and independent personal pronoun (pers pro). The following table illuminates the mentioned elements.

Table 2:4: Noun class affixes

Noun class	Prefix	Pre-prefix	Number	dem pron	Subj m	Poss.pron	AdjAgrpx	emph.pro	ObjM	Subj pr	Obj px	Pers pron
1	Mu	o -	Omu	Ono	n- o- a-	wange wo we	mu -	Ye	-n- -ku- mu-	a- a- a-	gwe gwe gwe	nze gwe ye
2	Ba	a-	Babir i	Bano	tu- mu- ba-	bange	ba-	Bo	-tu- -ba- -ba-	abaab a- aba-	be	ffe mmw e bo
3	Mu	o -	Gum u	Guno	gu-	gwange	gu-	gwe	-gu-	ogu-	gwe	gwo
4	Mi	e-	Ebiri	Gino	gi-	gyange	gi-	gye	-gi-	egi-	gye	gyo
5	li/-	e-	Limu	Lino	li-	lyange	li-	Lyo	-li-	eli-	lye	lyo
6	Ma	a-	Abiri	Gano	ga-	gange	ma-	Go	-ga-	aga-	ge	go

7	Ki	e-	Kimu	Kino	ki-	kyange	ki-	kyo	-ki-	eki-	kye	kyo
8	Ni	e-	Bina	Bino	bi-	byange	bi-	byo	-bi-	ebi-	bye	byo
9	N	e-	Emu	Eno	e-	yange	e-	Yo	-e-	e-	gye	yo
10	N	e-	Ssatu	Zino	zi-	zange	zi-	Zo	-zi-	ezi	ze	zo
11	lu-	o -	Lumu	Luno	lu-	lwaffe	lu-	lwe	-lu-	olu-	lwe	lwo
12	Ka	a-	Kamu	Kano	ka-	Kaffe	ka-	Ko	-ka-	aka-	ke	ko
13	Tu	o -	-	Tuno	tu-	twaffe	tu-	two	-tu-	otu-	twe	two
14	Bu	o -	Buna	Buno	bu-	bwaffe	bu-	bwo	-bu-	obu-	bwe	bwo
15	Ku	o -	Kumu	Kuno	ku-	kwange	ku-	kwo	-ku- -ga-	oku-	kwe	kwo
16	Wa	-	Wamu	Wano	wa-	wange	wa-	Wo	-wo	awa-	we	wo
17	Ku	-	Kumu	Kuno	ku-	kwange	ku-	kwo	-ko	oku-	kwe	kwo
18	Mu	-	Wamu	Muno	mu-	Mwange	mu- -	Mwo	mu-	omu-	mw e	mwo
20	Gu	o -	Gumu	Guno	gu-	gwange	gu-	gwo	-gu-	ogu-	gwe	gwo
22	Ga	a-	Asatu	Gano	ga-	gange	ga-	Go	-ga-	aga-	ge	go
23e	E	e-	Emu	Eno	e-	wange	e-	Yo	-yo-	e-	gye	yo

It is noted from Table (2.4) above that noun prefixes and adjective prefixes are identical in form, but subject prefixes and object prefixes are not identical with noun prefixes in all classes. In class 1, there are two subject prefixes: *o-* in relative clauses and *a-* in other cases (see Crabtree 1923; Ashton et al 1954, for more on the agreement and derivation of possessive concords ‘*wa*’ and ‘*ya*’). In the following section (2.4), I discuss the salient feature of definiteness and specificity in current Luganda descriptive grammars. I invoke this feature, in considering modifiers as a diagnostic test to establish the properties of locatives and locative inversion constructions in Luganda.

2.4 (IN)DEFINITENESS, (NON-)SPECIFICITY AND MODIFIERS

2.4.1 Introduction

The aspect of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in various sentence constructions is increasingly being researched in Bantu languages and beyond. To the best of my knowledge, current descriptive studies in Luganda have been somewhat non-explicit on the issue of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity. Crabtree (1921;1923), Ashton et al (1954), Kirwan and Gore (1951), and Chesswas (1963) have examined the role of the PPX in Luganda, but they do not address explicitly the issues of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity. A detailed study on the issue of definiteness and specificity has been done by Asimwe (2014) on Runyankore-Rukiga (henceforth RR). Asimwe (ibid) adopts Lyons's (1999) theory of definiteness and specificity to explore its applicability in RR bare nouns. She concurs with Lyons's view that different languages have different mechanisms of expressing (non-)specific reading, and (in)definiteness compared to the articles in such languages as English with such determiners as 'a', 'an', and 'the'. Besides, traditional grammars have not explicitly discussed the issue of topic and focus, albeit, they implicitly they tend to scantily express it.

In this study, Lambrecht's (1994) definitions of topic and focus are adopted. This section, therefore, explores the aspects of (in)definiteness such as definiteness, (non-)specificity, locatives and modifiers which have not been explicitly expressed in studies of early grammars. It also in a concise manner invokes the definitions of topic and focus proposed by Lambrecht (1994). As highlighted earlier, invoking modifiers in probing the aspect of definiteness and specificity is a diagnostic test to establish the properties of locatives and locative inversion constructions in Luganda. This observation breaks the ground for detailed analysis in chapter Five and Six.

2.4.2 (In)definiteness and (non-)specificity

Various studies have been conducted to analyze definiteness and specificity Hawkins (1978), Chesterman (1991), and Lyons (1999). This current investigation invokes the theory of definiteness and specificity by Lyons (1999) who posits four principles responsible for distinguishing between a definite and an indefinite entity, namely familiarity, identifiability, uniqueness, and inclusiveness (see more detailed discussion of the theory in Chapter Four, Section 4.5). According to Lyons (1999), (non-)specificity concerns the question of whether the speaker has a particular referent in mind or not while (in)definiteness relates to whether the speaker(S) and the hearer(H) have the same mental representation of the referent (see also

Lambrecht 1994). Lyons (1999) explains that languages which do not have articles to indicate definiteness and specificity have other mechanisms to denote these meanings. According to Lambrecht (1994), a topical expression is active in the mind of the hearer while the referent in the hearer's mind can be active, semi-active or inactive. Lambrecht's proposes a typology of focus. Many scholars present mainly two types of focus, namely information (presentational) focus and identification (contrastive) focus (see Chapter Three, Four, Five, and Six for more detailed discussion). Lambrecht's definitions of topic and focus will be adopted to establish the properties of topic and focus in Luganda.

Asimwe (2014) is of the view that the pre-prefix (PPX) is a determiner with specific and contrastive focus, and the discourse-pragmatic setting determines the features realised by the PPX in RR, stating that, the pragmatic factors contributing to (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity of bare nouns in RR include shared knowledge of discourse participants, the previous mention of a referent, socio-cultural, and situational factors. In (41a), the PPX indicates definiteness and specificity, infused in focus, while lack of the PPX in (41b) indicates indefiniteness and non-specificity, but with contrastive focus, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (41) a. Mpeereza ejjambiya
 N- weerez-a e- n- jambiya
 1PX-pron-bring- FV 9PPX-9PX- panga
 'Bring me the panga'
- b. Mpeereza jjambiya
 N- weerez- a e- n- jambiya
 1PX-pro-bring- FV 9PPX-9PX- panga
 'Bring me the panga'

According to Lyons (1999), the inherent properties of certain nouns or verbs influence the interpretation of referents. Unique entities such as 'moon' are definite. I am of the view that Lyons's (1999) view of immediate situational context bringing a definite and specific reading is valid for Luganda, as in (41). Syntactically, the presence of identifiability prefixes of modifiers and determiners with nouns are indicators to gauge such modified nouns as (non-) specific and/or (in)definite. However, discourse-pragmatic factors are often required to assign definiteness and specificity readings of bare and modified nouns with numerals, adjectives, and interrogatives.

Visser (2008) discusses the (non-)occurrence of an AgrO and the PPX with bare nouns in

negative verb constructions, arguing that, when the AgrO and the PPX are absent, this leads to an indefinite and non-specific reading, while their presence is considered to render object nouns definite and specific. This, in turn, provides evidence for the interpretation of the PPX (including the LOCPPX for cl 16, and cl 23) as determiners. The following isiXhosa examples illustrate her view:

- (42) a. Iintombi azihlambi ngubo
 Iintombi(10) a-zi-hlamb-i ngubo(9)
 Girls NEG-AgrS-wash-NEG blanket
 ‘(The) girls do not wash the (any) blanket’
- b. Iintombi aziyihlambi ingubo
 Iintombi(10) a-zi-yi-hlamb-i ingubo(9)
 girls NEG-AgrS-AgrO-wash-NEG blanket
 ‘(The) girls do not wash the (specific) blanket’.

Visser’s (2008) perspective regarding the occurrence of the AgrO and the PPX presented in (42) obtains in Luganda, as partially illustrated in example (41).

Lyons (1999) maintains that generic nouns are necessarily non-specific, but pragmatically definite, as the speaker is assumed to be familiar with a given class of entities and no particular individual is meant. According to Asimwe (2014), Runyankore Rukiga nouns can potentially receive a generic or non-generic reading, depending on the pragmatic context. I am of the opinion that that the properties of RR regarding definiteness and specificity may not deviate much from those of Luganda. (For, further discussion on the definitions and examples of Lyons’s theory of definiteness and specificity, see Chapter Four, Section 4.5 and Chapter five and six, on data analysis.)

2.4.3 Luganda nominal modifiers

The main aim of this section is to invoke modifiers to explore the Luganda properties on the aspect of definiteness and specificity in locative inversion constructions which is one aspect of analysis in Chapter Five and Six. Discussing the typology of Luganda modifiers, Crabtree (1921:33) points out that there is an co-occurrence of noun classes with nominal modifiers namely numerals, demonstratives, possessives, relative subject, and relative object. Visser (2008:18) also illustrates the categories of modifiers in isiXhosa: inherent semantic property of definiteness (demonstratives, absolute pronoun, emphatic pronoun, inclusive quantifier pronoun), inherent lexical-semantic indefiniteness property (which, other, and certain), and

nominal modifiers concerning (in)definiteness (adjectives, numerals, relatives, and possessives).

Visser (2008:18) posits that nominal modifiers introduce (in)definiteness to noun phrases through their inherent lexical-semantic features of (in)definiteness. Modifiers of the locative nouns can or must realise agreement (inflectional) morphology with the lexical noun to which the locative prefix of class 16, 17, 18, and 23 is affixed. Furthermore, they also realise the agreement morphology with the locative noun class prefix (e.g 16, 17, 18, and 23) itself. The locative noun class prefixes, 16 (*wa*), 17 (*ku*), 18 (*mu*) and 23 (*e*), replace the PPX of the noun with which it occurs in non-locative classes 1-15, 20, and 22. The agreement or nominal concord of the locative noun classes 16, 17, 18, and 23 has raised considerable interest in research (see Chapter three; Marten 2012 on inner and outer agreement concord).

Subject-verb agreement of a locative subject realises the locative prefix agreement features i.e **wa**, **ku**, **mu** and **e**. Unlike non-locative noun classes, Luganda locative noun classes cannot be associated with an object agreement prefix. Rather, each of these locative nouns in the various locative noun classes 16, 17, 18, and 23 have a distinct form of locative clitic which can appear as a verbal suffix. Marten (2012) states that the agreement between a locative noun and its modifiers (referred to as the inner agreement), exhibits agreement or inflectional morphology of the noun class of the noun to which the locative prefix is affixed. Nominal modifiers in Luganda, like in Bantu languages in general, include, among others, demonstratives, adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, possessives, interrogatives, relative clauses, and emphatic pronouns.

Investigating Chitonga, Carter (2002:38) suggests that pronouns and vocatives cannot be segmented into prefix and stem. Some pronouns have distinct forms for persons as well as classes. The vocative affixes apply to persons only. Generally, pronouns can function as demonstratives, but there are several series which function only as pronouns. Most have both unemphatic and emphatic/restrictive stabilization, and they are put into four classes: (i) personal independent pronouns, (ii) personal dependent pronouns (also known as subject agreement prefixes); the pronouns are affixed onto the verb, (iii) objective pronouns (Obj.pro), which demonstrate objects being worked upon, including direct and indirect objects, and (iv) possessive pronouns (Poss Pro)

Table 2:5: Personal pronouns

Personal pron	D.pro		AgrS		AgrO		Poss.	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	sg	Pl
1	Nze	Ffe	n-	tu-	-n-	-tu-	-ange	-affe
2	Ggwe	Mmwe	o-	mu-	-ku-	-ba-	-o	-ammwe
3	Ye	Bo	a-	ba-	-mu-	-ba-	-e	-abwe

- (43) a. **nze nnamutuma.** ‘I am the one who sent him/her’
 b. **bo be baamutuma.** ‘They are the one who sent him/her’

Personal or absolute pronouns replace noun phrases and are emphatic. When they co-occur with a noun, they convey the meaning of emphasis as well as contrast. They are found in the first and second person, singular and plural. Similar pronouns are also found in the third person in all classes. In the first and second person singular and plural, personal pronouns can be short or long. In the short form, the stem is *-e* in the first person singular, first and second person plural, but *-o* in the second person singular.

In these pronouns, the first part of the pronoun can stand alone or can be compounded with the second part (e.g. *nze* ‘me’, *ffe* ‘us’). However, the second person singular short form *wó* (u-o) can’t stand alone, as is indicated by the star in the table. On the contrary, the second part, *ggwe* ‘you’ can stand alone. The long and short forms do not have any difference in meaning; the use of one or the other depends on the speaker’s preference. Personal pronouns are usually used in subject position and after the copula; they may also be used in object position.

In contrast to personal pronouns in the first and second person, personal pronouns in classes 1-23 are short; they do not have two parts. The stem is *-o*, except for class 1 in which it is *-e*, similar to the one in the first and second persons. Class 17 does not normally take the root *-o* as a locative pronoun, *ko* has a special use. The prefix of absolute pronouns is not necessarily the noun class prefix. In some cases, it corresponds to the pre-prefix (classes 1, 3, 5, 6, 9), in others to the noun class prefix (classes 2, 4, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19), or the object /subject prefixes (class 10). All the pronouns in the above table may anaphorically co-occur with the noun they refer to.

Luganda is a pro-drop language, given that in pro-drop (or null subject) languages, the lexical

subject may be dropped, i.e. omitted, without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence (see Visser (1986, 1989) for details on the pro-drop and null subject). Both the noun *Musisi* in (a) can be dropped, leaving only the phrase *yagenze* 'he went' in (b). This is because there is a pro (i.e. a null subject).

- (44) a. **Musisi yagenze** 'Musisi went'
 b. Yagenze 'She) went'

2.4.4 The quantifier nominal modifier -okka 'only' and the verb -kola

I presume that the quantifier nominal modifier **-okka** 'only' can be definite and non-specific. Quantifier nominal modifiers in Luganda, include; universal and existential quantifiers. The universal quantifiers include, among others, **-onna** 'all', **buli** 'every', and **ebingi** 'many'; while existential quantifiers include; **-okka** 'only', **waliwo/waliyo** 'there is', and **(e)bimu** 'some'. Two modifiers may be used in a single construction. Thus, the following construction demonstrates the verb **-kola** 'work' with a locative noun modified by the adjective **-kulu** and the quantifier **-okka** in the following example (45a-d):

- (45) a. (i) Abaami bakola **mu** kibuga **ekikulu**/(**omukulu*) **kyokka**
 A- ba- ami ba- kol- a mu ki-buga (e)- ki- kulu *(o-mu-
 kulu) ki-okka
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work-FV 18LOC 7PPX-town 7PPX-7PX-capital city
 1PPX-18PX-capital 7PX-only
 'The men work only in the capital city'
- (ii) Abaami bakola **mu** kibuga **mwokka**
 ba- ami ba- kol- a mu ki- buga mu- okka
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work-FV 18LOC 7PX-town 18LOC-only
 'The men work in the town only'
- b. Abaami bakola **mu** kibuga **ekikulu**/(**omukulu*) **mwokka**
 A- ba- ami ba- kol- a mu ki-buga (e)-ki-kulu *(o-mu-kulu)
 mu-okka
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work-FV 18LOC 7PX-town 7PPX-7PX-capital city
 1PPX- 18LOCPX-capital 18LOCPX.only
 'The men work only in the capital city'
- c. (i) **Ekibuga ekikulu kyokka** (**omunene*) **mu**kolamu abaami
 E- ki- buga e- ki- kulu ki- -okka (**o-mu-nene*) mu-kol-a-mu a-ba-
 ami
 7PPX-7PX-town 7PPX-7PX-capital 7PX-only 1PPX-18PX-big 18AgrS-
 work-FV 18CL 1PPX-1PX-men
 'Only the big capital city is worked in by the men'

- (ii) **Kibuga kikulu kyokka** (*omunene) **omukola**(***mu**) abaami
 Ki-buga ki-kulu ki-o-okka (*o-mu-nene) o-mu- kol- a- (* mu) a-
 ba- ami
 7PX-town 7PX-capital 7PX-only 1PPX-18LOC-big 18PPX-18AgrS-work-
 FV 18CL 1PPX-1PX-men
 ‘Only in the capital city is where men work’
- d. (i) **Mu** kibuga ekikulu **mwokka mukolamu** abaami
 Mu ki-buga e- ki- kulu mu- okka mu- kol- a- mu a-
 ba-ami
 18LOC 7PX-town 7PPX-7PX-capital 18PX-only 18AgrS-work-FV 18CL
 2PX-1PX-men
 ‘Only in the capital city is where men work’
- (ii) **Mu** kibuga ekikulu **kyokka mukolamu** abaami
 Mu ki-buga e-ki-kulu ki-okka mu- kol- a- mu a-ba-ami
 18PX 7PX-town 7PPX-7PX-capital 18PX-only 18AgrS-work-FV-18CL
 1PPX-1PX-men
 ‘Only in the capital city is where men work’

Hyman and Katamba (1993) and Katamba (2003:107) posit that the pre-prefix (PPX) serves different discourse-pragmatic functions; definiteness, specificity, or focus. On this view, therefore, (45 a. i; b. ii), demonstrating the agreement between a locative noun and its modifier i.e the quantifier, **kyokka** ‘only’ includes in its scope the modified noun phrase with an adjective **kibuga ekikulu** ‘capital city’. In (45 a. ii; b. ii), demonstrating subject-verb agreement between a locative noun class subject, **mwokka** ‘only’ includes in its scope the whole locative phrase **mu kibuga** ‘in the city’. In Luganda the PPX is encoded by the element **e-** on the adjective **e-kikulu**. The modifier **-okka** ‘only’ therefore is of two types: that which modifies the noun to which the locative PX is affixed and that which modifies the locative PX itself bearing different interpretations (see also Marten (2012) on inner and outer locative agreement marking in Luganda). The example (46) below illustrates the verb **-kola** ‘work’ with a locative noun modified by the adjective **-kulu** and quantifiers **-okka**;

- (46) a. (i) **Abaami bakola mu** kibuga kikulu **kyokka**
 A-ba-ami ba- kol- a mu ki- buga ki- kulu ki-okka
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work- FV 18LOC 7PX-town 7PX-capital city 7PX.
 Only
 ‘The men work in the capital city only’
- (ii) **Abaami bakola mu** kikulu **kyokka**
 A- ba- ami ba- kol- a mu ki- kulu ki-okka
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work-FV 18LOC 7PX-capital 7PX- only
 ‘The men work in the capital only’

- (iii) Abaami bakola **mu** kibuga **mwokka**
 A-ba-ami ba- kol- a mu ki-buga mu-okka
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work-FV 18CL 7PX-capital city 18.only
 ‘The men work in the capital city only’
- (iv) Abaami bakola (o)mwo mwokka
 A-ba-ami ba- kol- a o- mu- o mu-okka
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work- FV 18PPX-18LOC-DEM 18.only
 ‘The men work in there only’
- b. (i) Abaami bakoleramu mu kibuga
 A-ba- ami ba- kol- el- a- mu mu ki-buga
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work-APPL-FV-18CL 18LOC 7PX-town
 ‘The men work in town’
- (ii) Ekibuga kyo mukoleramu abaami
 E- ki- buga mu- kol- el- a- mu a- ba- ami
 7PPX-7PX-town 18AgrS-work-APPL-FV-18CL 1PPX-1PX-chief
 ‘The town is worked in by the men’

In (46), (i) demonstrates an emphasis on **kikulu** ‘capital’ and adds on the locative noun Any Luganda noun can potentially receive a generic or non-generic reading, depending on the pragmatic context.. In (ii), the emphasis is on **kikulu** ‘capital’ but with no locative noun **mu kibuga** ‘in town’. In (iii) there exists agreement with class 18 **mu mwokka** ‘only’, and in (iv) the quantifier **mwokka** ‘only’ of cl 18 agrees with the demonstrative of the same noun class. In (46b), the occurrence of the locative applicative and the clitic gives emphasis to the locative phrase **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ while in (46b i), the bare noun locative morphology inversion is used in addition with an agreeing emphatic pronoun and a different locative agreement subject of class 18 (**mu**), and a postposed thematic subject. The properties of an intransitive verb –**genda** ‘go’ with a locative noun, modified by the adjective –**lungi** ‘good’ is demonstrated in example (47).

- (47) a. (i) Omwana yagenda ku kisaawe (e)-ki-lungi
 O- mu- ana a- a- gend-a (ku ki- saawe) (e- ki- lungi)
 1PPX-1PX-child 1AgrS-(*PAST)-go-FV-/(17LOC 7PX- field) (7PPX-7PX-
 good)
 ‘The child went to the field that was good’
- (ii) Omwana yagenda (ku kilungi)
 O-mu- ana a- a- gend-a (ku ki-kilungi)
 1PPX-1PX -child 1AgrS-(PAST)-go- FV (17LOC 7PX-good)
 ‘The child went to the good one’

- b. (i) Ku kisaawe ekilungi kwagenda(ko) (o)mwana
 Ku ki-saawe e- ki- lungi ku- a- gend- a- (ko) (o)- mu-ana
 17LOC 7PX-field 7PPX-7PX-good 17AgrS-(PAST)-go- FV-(17CL) (2PPX)-
 1PX-child
 ‘Onto the good field went (the) child’
- (ii) Ku kilungi kwagenda (ko) (o)mwana
 Ku ki- lungi ku- a- gend- a- (ko) (o)- mu- ana
 17LOC 7PX-good 17AgrS-(PAST)-go- FV-(17CL) (2PPX)-1PX-child
 ‘To the good one went (the) child’
- (iii) Ku kisaawe ekilungi y’agendako (omwana)
 Ku ki- saawe e- ki- lungi ye- a- gend-a-ko o- mu-ana
 17LOC 7PX-field 7PPX-7PX-good 1.EMPH.AgrS-PAST-go-FV-17CL
 1PPX-1PX-child
 ‘Onto the good field went the child’

In example (47a i), I observe that the adjectival modifier **ekirungi** ‘the good one’ is in agreement with class 7 (**ki**) of the noun **kisaawe** ‘field’ in the locative phrase **ku kisaawe** ‘on the field’, and if the noun **kisaawe** is omitted, and leave the adjective **ekirungi**, then it is only grammatical if the PP **e** in **ekirungi** is absent. In (47a ii) it is observed that depending on the pragmatic factors, it is grammatical to replace the noun **kisaawe** ‘field’ with adjectival modifier without a PPX. In (47b i) the locative morphology inversion of class 17 is followed by the adjective and a class 17 agreeing-subject, and an optional clitic with an obligatorily inverted subject, and with an optional PPX. In (47b ii), the inverted locative noun **kisaawe** ‘field’ has been replaced by an adjectival modifier. In (47 iii), the original thematic subject **mwana** ‘child’, now postposed, can be replaced by a personal preverbal Agrs pronoun, together with the locative clitic **-ko** ‘on’, such that the occurrence of the noun **omwana** ‘child’ is rendered optional. In my view, the property of the locative phrase to be replaced by any other modifier has prompted many scholars to refer to locatives as prepositional phrases and not nominal phrases (see Salzmann, 2004; J. Taylor, 2007).

2.4.5 The quantity nominal modifiers *buli* ‘every’ and *-onna* ‘all’.

The universal quantity nominal modifiers **buli** ‘every’ and **-onna** ‘all’ may both modify a noun. If they co-exist, **buli** occurs before the noun, and **-onna** takes the post-nominal position. Their co-occurrence is to emphasise the state of events expressed in the construction. These quantifiers refer to all the members in a given pragmatic set, thus definitely not by identifiability feature, but based on Lyons’s (1999) inclusiveness factor. In Lyons’s (1999) meaning of specificity, the quantifier **buli** and **-onna** do not have an inherent

feature of specificity. Therefore, the speaker in (48) may or may not have any particular referent in mind. The hearer may not identify each house that the man entered but, based on the inclusiveness factor, s(he) knows the houses. The property of an intransitive verb –**yingil-** a ‘enter’ with a locative noun modified by the quantifier –**onna** ‘all, the whole’, is demonstrated in example (48).

- (48) a. Omwami yayingila(mu) (mu nju) (zonna)
 O- mu- ami a- a- yingil- a- (mu)/ (mu - n-ju) zi-onna
 1PPX-1PX-chief 1AgrS-PAST-entered-FV-18LOC (18LOC 10.house) 10-all
 ‘The chief entered all the houses’
- b. Omwami yayingila(mu) mu (zi-onna)
 O- mu- ami a- a- yingil- a- (mu) (mu zi-onna
 1PPX-1PX -chief 1AgrS-PAST-entered-FV-18CL (18LOC 10.all)
 ‘The chief entered them all’

In construction (48 a), the sentence in the active sentence exemplifies the clitic **-mu**, the locative noun phrase **mu nju** ‘in the house’ and the universal quantifier **zonna** ‘all’, with all those elements being optional. In (48 b), the quantifier **zonna** ‘all’ replaces the locative noun **nju** ‘house’ and the sentence can render a similar meaning though without an explicit lexical noun. However, based on the previous discourse context, this sentence is appropriate.

- (49) a. Mu nju zonna mwayingila(mu) (o)mwami
 Mu nju zonna mu- a- yingil- a- (mu) (o)-mu-ami
 18LOC 9.house 10.all 18AgrS-PAST-entered-FV-(18CL) 1PPX-1PX.chief
 ‘Into all the house entered the chief’
- b. Mu zonna mwayingil(il)a(mu) ((o)mwami)
 Mu zonna mu- a- yingil- (il)- a- (mu) ((o)-mu-a-mi)
 18LOC 9.house 18AgrS-PAST-entered-APPL-FV-18CL ((9A)-1PX.chief)
 ‘Into all the houses was entered by the chief’
- c. ?Mu nju zonna y’ayingililamu omwami
 Mu nju zi-onna ye- a- yingil-il- a- mu o-mu-a-mi
 18LOC 9.house 10.QU.1.EMPH.AgrS-PAST-entered-APPL-FV-18CL9PPX-
 1PX.chief
 ‘Into all the houses was entered by the chief’

In (49 a) the inverted locative phrase **mu nju** of class 18 is followed by the class 9 quantifier and a class 18 AgrS, and an optional clitic and an optional postposed element **(o)mwami** ‘chief’. In (49 b), the inverted locative noun **enju** ‘house’ has been omitted with only the quantifier modifier **zonna** ‘all’. In (49 c), the original subject **(o)mwami** ‘chief’, now postposed, is obligatory, but with an optional pre-prefix. The presence of the pre-prefix in my

observation gives a definite and non-specific reading, while lack of it gives a definite contrastive focus (see Asiimwe, 2014, Lambrecht, 1994 for details on the issue of topic and focus). Furthermore, the locative applicative suffix on the verb changes the thematic role in the sentence, that is, from GOAL to SOURCE.

2.4.6 Locative noun **-fulum-a** ‘exit’ modified by the possessive **kya** ‘of’

The property of an intransitive verb **-fulum-a** ‘exit’ with a locative noun modified by the possessive **kya** ‘of’ is demonstrated in example (50 i-iv) below.

- (50) a. Omwana yafuluma mu kisenge kya maama we
 O- mu- ana a- a- fulum- a mu ki-senge ki-a maama we
 1PPX-1PX-child 1AgrS-PAST-exited-FV 18LOC 7PX-room 7.of 1.mother 1.his
 ‘The child exited his/her mother’s room’
- b. Omwana yafuluma mu kya maama we
 O- mu- ana a- a- fulum- a mu ki-affe
 1PPX-1PX-child 1AgrS-PAST-exited-FV 18LOC 7.our)
 ‘The child exited the mothers (room)’
- c. Mu kisenge kyaffe mwafulum-a(mu) ((o)mwana)
 Mu ki-senge ki-affe mu- a- fulum- a- (mu) ((o)- mu- ana)
 18LOC 7PX.room 7.our 18AgrS-PAST-exited-FV-18CL ((9A)-1PX.child)
 ‘From the house exited the child’
- d. Mu kyaffe mwafuluma(mu) (o)mwana
 Mu ki-affe mu- a- fulum- a- (mu) (o)- mu-ana
 18LOC 7.our 18AgrS-PAST-exited-FV-(18CL) 1PPX-1PX.child
 ‘From ours exited the child’

In (50 a), the possessive **ki-a (kya)** ‘of’ agrees with the locative noun **kisenge** ‘room’ and the possessive **we** ‘her’ is suffixed to the noun **maama** ‘mother’. In (50 b), the associative possessive **kya** ‘of’ represents the locative noun **kisenge** ‘room’, with the sentence remains grammatical giving a similar meaning that can be understood in the context. In (50 c), it is illustrated that intransitive verbs such as **fuluma** ‘exit’ do allow locative inversion. Furthermore, after the inverted locative phrase **mu kisenge** ‘in the room’, the following possessive **kyange** ‘my’ is in agreement with the locative noun but dissimilar with the AgrS **mu** of class 18 in **mwagendamu** ‘went there’. The locative clitic **-mu** emphasizes the location but it is optional. In (50 d), the inverted locative noun is replaced with the possessive and still, the possessive bears class 7 **ki** while the AgrS is class 18 **mu**, thus, no surface or outer subject-object agreement (see Marten, 2012).

2.4.7 Demonstrative, definiteness and specificity with the verb **fumba** ‘cook’

Examining Chitonga, Carter (2002:38) posits that some demonstratives have distinct forms for persons and classes. Generally, a demonstrative can function as a pronoun, but there are several series of forms which function only as demonstratives. Demonstrative pronouns are important in the analysis of locative constructions. The properties and syntactic nature of pronouns, help to inform this study in the analysis concluded in chapters 5 and 6. Demonstrative pronouns precede and agree with the noun they modify. Similar to locatives, when a noun is modified by a demonstrative, the pre-prefix of the noun is deleted, implying that demonstratives, pre-prefixes, and locatives share the property of being determiners. Demonstrative pronouns denote the position or location of someone or something, and they occur in three categories: proximal demonstratives denoting something that is near the speaker(S) and the hearer(H) with **-no**, medial demonstrative pronouns, denoting what is far from the speaker and near the hearer with the **-o**, and distal demonstrative pronouns, denoting what is far from the speaker and also far from the hearer with **-li** as in the following example.

- (51) a. Near the S: **O-no ye mwami wange**. ‘This one is my husband’
 b. Far from the S and near the H: **Aw-o we waabwe**. ‘That is their home’
 c. Far from the S and also far from H: **Bali** be baana bange. ‘Those are my children’

Table 2:6: Demonstratives

Class	Prefix	Noun	Dem. A	Dem.B	Dem.C
1	Mu	o-mu-sajja	o-no	oy-o	o-li
2	Ba	o-musajja	ba-no	ab-o	ba-li
3	Mu	o-mu-ti	Guno	ogw-o	gu-li
4	Mi	e-mi-ti	Gino	egy-o	gi-ri
5	Li	e-lii-so	Lino	ery-o	li-ri
6	Ma	a-ma-aso	Gano	ag-o	ga-li
7	Ki	e-ki-tabo	Kino	eky-o	ki-li
8	Bi	e-bi-tabo	Bino	eby-o	bi-ri
9	N	e-nte	Eno	ey-o	e-ri
10	N	e-nte	Zino	ez-o	Ziri
11	Lu	o-lu-so	Luno	olw-o	lu-li
12	Ka	a-ka-mbe	Kano	ak-o	ka-li
13	Tu	o-tu-lo	Tuno	otw-o	tu-li

14	Bu	o-bu-lo	Buno	obw-o	bu-li
15	Ku	o-ku-tu	Kuno	okw-o	ku-li
16	Wa	wa-ngulu	Wano	aw-o	wa-li
17	Ku	ku-ngulu	Kuno	okw-o	ku-li
18	Mu	mu-nda	Muno	omw-o	mu-li
20	Gu	o-gu-ti	Guno	Ogwo	gu-li
22	Ga	a-ga-ti	Gano	ag-o	ga-li
23	E	e-ngulu	Eno	ey-o	e-ri

Diagram (2.6) illustrates different nominal elements namely the noun class, the corresponding prefix, example noun, and the three demonstratives. Demonstrative A presents a demonstrative close to the speaker and possibly the listener, meaning 'this'. It has a stem **-no**; with no pre-prefix (e.g. **abasajja ba-no** cl.2) 'these men'). In some classes, the pre-prefix combines with the object prefix (e.g. **e-n-buzi (e-mbuzi) zi-no** cl.10) 'these goats'). Demonstrative **B** presents a demonstrative used to demonstrate that an entity is closer to the listener than the speaker, meaning 'that or those', and the stem **-o** also belongs to class 1, as demonstrated in the following example: In demonstrative **C**, the referent is far (in space and time) from both the speaker and the listener, meaning 'that... over there'. The stem is **-li** of Class 2. In the following examples, (52) illustrates a medial demonstrative expressing an extra-linguistic entity that is close to the addressee. Example (53) demonstrates a distal demonstrative indicating an extra-linguistic entity that is far from both the interlocutors. The following are the examples:

- (52) Oyo omukazi mulungi
 Oy-o o- mu- kazi mu-lungi
 1DEM 1PPX-1PX-woman be 1PX-beautiful
 'That woman is beautiful'
- (53) Abaana bali bakozi
 ba- ana ba-li ba-kozi
 1PPX-1PX-children 2DEM-be 2PX-worker
 'Those children are hard working'

In Luganda, demonstratives are considered as intrinsically possessing the feature of definiteness and specificity. The demonstrative can be proximal, medial, and distal. In the sentence **enjuba eno eyaka nnyo** 'this sun shines a lot', **enjuba** 'sun' is unique. Thus, by the definiteness factor of Lyons (1999), the semantic reading of the proximal and medial

demonstratives –**ono**, and –**o** respectively is based on common knowledge about the larger situation. In sentence with the verb –**fumba** ‘cook’ in (54), with a locative noun modified by the demonstrative –**no**, the modified noun takes a PPX for emphasis. The speaker assumes the hearer to be familiar with the entity based on common sense, thus definite and specific. The distal demonstrative –**li** ‘the other’ refers to an entity in the speaker’s mind, assuming that the hearer is aware of the same. This familiarity leads to a definite and specific reading. The following examples illustrate this view.

- (54) (i). Abakyala bafumba (e)mmere mu kiyungu kino
 A-ba-kyala ba- fumb- a e-mmere ki-yungu ki- no
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work-FV e-n-mere 18LOC 7PX-kitchen 7.DEM.this
 ‘The women cook food in this kitchen’
- (ii). Abakyala bafumba mu kino (ekiyungu)
 A- ba- kyala ba- fumb- a mu ki-no (e- ki- yungu)
 2PPX-2PX- women 2AgrS-cook- FV 18LOC 7PX-this (7PPX-7PX-kitchen)
 ‘The women work in this kitchen’
- (iii) Mu kiyungu kino mukolamu abakyala
 Mu ki- yungu ki- no mu- fumb- a- mu (a)- ba- kyala
 18LOC 7PX-kitchen 7PX-this 18AgrS-cook-FV-18CL (2PPX)-2PX-women
 ‘In this kitchen, women are cooking in it’
- (iv) Mu kino (ekiyungu) mukolamu abakyala
 Mu ki- no (e- ki- yungu) mu- fumb- a (a)- ba- kyala
 18LOC 7PX-this (7PPX-7PX-kitchen) 18AgrS-cook- FV (2PPX)-2PX-women
 ‘In this kitchen, women are cooking in it’

In (54 i) the demonstrative **kino** ‘this’, in agreement with the locative noun **kiyungu** ‘kitchen’, occurs in the sentence-final position after the direct object **emmere** ‘food’ and after the locative phrase **mu kiyungu** ‘in the kitchen’. The pre-prefix on the direct object **(e)mmere** ‘food’ is optional; its presence indicates a definite and non-specific reading while lack of it denotes a definite and contrastive focus reading. The demonstrative denotes an emphasis interpretation of the place where the event takes place. In (54 ii), the demonstrative **kino** ‘this’ refers to the noun **kiyungu** ‘kitchen’ and now the noun **kiyungu** ‘kitchen’ appears after the optional noun **ekiyungu** ‘kitchen’ with an obligatory PPX **e-**. In (54 iii), the locative morphology inversion construction, the demonstrative **kino** ‘this’ occurs immediately after the locative phrase **mu kiyungu** ‘in the kitchen’, while in (54 iv), the demonstrative in the inverted locative, refers to the locative noun **kiyungu** ‘kitchen’ found in the locative phrase.

When the demonstrative **kino** ‘this’ in (54 iv) refers to the locative noun **kiyungu** ‘kitchen’, the optional noun **ekiyungu** ‘kitchen’ occurs with an obligatory pre-prefix **e-**.

2.4.8 The demonstrative pronoun *-no* with the intransitive verb *-kola* ‘work’

The verb **-kola** ‘work’ combines with a locative noun modified by the first position demonstrative **-no**. In (55 i) the demonstrative **kino** ‘this’ in agreement with the locative noun **kibuga** ‘town’ occurs in the sentence-final position after the locative phrase. The demonstrative denotes an emphasis interpretation of the place where the event takes place. In (55 ii), the demonstrative refers to the noun, and the noun **kibuga** ‘town’ is optional. In (55 iii), in the locative morphology inversion construction, the demonstrative **kino** ‘this’ occurs immediately after the locative phrase while in (55 iv), the demonstrative in the inverted locative refers to the locative noun in the locative phrase. When the demonstrative in (55 iv) refers to the locative noun, the optional noun **ekibuga** ‘town’ occurs with an obligatory pre-prefix. The following examples illustrate these properties:

- (55) (i) Abaami bakola mu kibuga kino.
 A-ba-ami ba- kol- a mu ki-buga ki- no
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work-FV 18LOC 7PX-town 7.DEM.this
 ‘The men work in this town’
- (ii) Abaami bakola mu kino (ekibuga).
 A- ba- ami ba- kol- a- mu ki- no (e- ki- buga)
 2PPX- 2PX- men 2AgrS-work- FV- 18LOC 7PX-this (7PPX-7PX-town)
 ‘The men work in this town’
- (iii) Mu kibuga kino mukolamu abaami.
 Mu ki-buga ki- no mu- kol- a- mu (a)- ba- ami
 18LOC 7PX-town 7PX-this 18AgrS-work-FV-18CL (2PPX)-2PX-men
 ‘In this town there are men working’
- (iv) Mu kino (ekibuga) mukolamu abaami.
 Mu ki-no (e- ki- buga) mu- kol- a (a)- ba- ami
 18LOC 7PX-this (7PPX-7PX-town) 18AgrS-work-FV (2PPX)-2PX-men
 ‘In this town, men are working’

In (56 i) the demonstrative **muno** ‘this’ is in agreement with the locative prefix **mu** ‘in’ occurring in the sentence-final position after the locative phrase **mu kibuga** ‘in town’. The demonstrative renders an emphasis interpretation of ‘worthiness’ regarding the location where the event takes place. In (56 ii), the demonstrative **muno** ‘this’ has replaced the

locative noun phrase **mu kibuga** ‘in the town’, and the locative noun phrase **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ is optional. It is noted here that the demonstrative **muno** cannot co-occur with the prefix as in **(*mu) muno**, and the optional locative phrase cannot be alternated with the pre-prefixed locative noun **(#e)kibuga** ‘town’ to give the intended reading. In (56 iii), the locative morphology subject inversion construction, the demonstrative **muno** ‘this’ occurs immediately after the locative phrase **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ and the class 18 subject agreement prefix **mu** and the optional class 18 locative clitic occur. In (56 iv), the demonstrative **muno** ‘this’ in the inverted locative construction represents the locative phrase **mu kibuga** ‘in town’, otherwise it would be ungrammatical for the demonstrative to occur. The following examples illustrate these properties:

- (56) (i). **Abaami bakola mu kibuga muno**
 A- ba- ami ba- kol- a mu ki-buga mu- no
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work-FV 18LOC 7PX-town 18.DEM.this
 ‘The men work in this town’
- (ii) **Abaami bakola (*mu) muno/(*kino) (mu kibuga)(#e)kibuga**
 A- ba- ami ba- kol- a- mu (#mu)-no (e- ki- buga)
 2PPX-2PX- men 2AgrS-work- FV- 18LOC 7PX-this (7PPX-7PX-town)
 ‘The men work in this town’
- (iii) **Mu kibuga muno mukolamu abaami.**
 Mu ki-buga mu- no mu- kol- a- mu (a)- ba- ami
 18LOC 7PX-town 18PX-this 18AgrS-work-FV-18CL (2PPX)-2PX-men
 ‘In this town, men are working in it’
- (iv) **Mu *(mu)no (ekibuga) mukolamu abaami.**
 Mu *(mu)-no (e-ki-buga) mu- kol- a (a)- ba- ami
 18LOC 18PX-this (7PPX-7PX-town) 18AgrS-work-FV (2PPX)-2PX-men
 ‘In this town, men are working in it’

I observe, from the foregoing sentences, that demonstratives can represent and refer to locative phrases in Luganda. Also, locative inversion occurs productively with intransitive verbs in the context that there is not much that is required for such verbs to appear in locative inversion, such as the obligatory use of locative clitics and locative applicatives. Details on the kinds of verbs concerning locative inversion is presented in Chapter five and six. In the next section (2.4.9), I discuss the quantifier nominal modifiers and numerals.

2.4.9 Quantifiers nominal modifiers and numerals

The numerals **-biri/-ombi** ‘two/both’, and **-satu /-nsatule** ‘three’ are quantifiers which are inherently definite and specific, modifying a familiar element to the discourse participants. The example sentences with the verb **-kola** ‘work’ with a locative noun, modified by the numerals **-satu** ‘three’, **-biri** ‘two’ below, illustrate this point:

- (57) (i) Abaami bakola mu bibuga byonna ebisatu.
 A- ba- ami ba- kol- a mu bi- buga bi- onna (e)- bi- satu
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work-FV 18LOC 8PX-town 8PX-all 8PPX-8PX- three
 ‘The men work in all three towns’
- (ii) Abaami bakola mu byonna ebisatu.
 A-ba- ami ba- kol- a- mu bi-onna (e- bi-satu)
 2PPX- 2PX- men 2AgrS-work-FV- 18LOC 8PX-all (8PPX-8PX-three)
 ‘The men work in all these three towns’
- (iii) Mu byonna ebisatu mukolamu abaami.
 Mu bi- onna e- bi- satu mu- kol- a- mu (a)- ba- ami
 18LOC 8PX-all 7PPX-8PX-three 18AgrS-work-FV-18CL (2PPX)-2PX-men
 ‘In all the three there are men working in it’
- (iv) Mu byonna (ebisatu) mukolamu abaami.
 Mu bi-onna e- bi- satu mu- kol- a (a)- ba- ami
 18LOC 8PX-all (8PPX-8PX-three) 18AgrS-work-FV (2PPX)-2PX-men
 ‘In this town men are working in it’
- (58) (i) Abaami bakola mu bibuga ebinene bibiri.
 A- ba- ami ba- kol- a mu bi- buga e- bi- nene bi- biri
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work-FV 18LOC 8PX-town 8PPX-8PX-big 8PX-two
 ‘The men work in two big towns’
- (ii) Abaami bakola mu bi-nene bibiri.
 A-ba- ami ba- kol- a- mu bi-nene bi-biri
 2PPX- 2PX- men 2AgrS-work-FV- 18LOC 8PX-big 8PX-two
 ‘The men work in two big ones’
- (iii) Mu bibuga ebinene bibiri mukolamu abaami.
 Mu bi-buga e-bi-nene mu- kol- a- (*mu) a- ba- ami ba- biri
 18LOC 8PX-town 8PX-which 18PPX-18AgrS-work-FV-(*18CL) (2PPX)-2PX-
 men 8PX-two
 ‘In the two big towns men work ’
- (iv) Mu binene bibiri mukola(mu) abaami.
 Mu bi-nene bi-biri mu- kol- a- mu (a)- ba- ami
 18LOC 8PX-big 8PX-two 18AgrS-work-FV-18CL (2PPX)-2PX-men
 ‘In the two big ones are men are working’

2.4.10 Clausal relative pronouns, possessives and adjective nominal modifiers

Subject relative pronouns join verbs or adjectives, and there are three vowels which occur as initial vowels **a-**, **e-** and **o-**. They are considered to be subjective as they stand independently in the position of the subject, generally denoting the Agent of the action in the sentence, and they connect to the complement of the sentence, as illustrated in the following example:

- (59) a. Emicungwa egiyiise gyange.
 E- mi- cungwa e gi- yiik- e gi- ange
 4PPX-4PX- oranges 4REL-AgrS-pour-PERF 4PX-1SING.POSS
 ‘The oranges which are poured are mine’
- b. Maama atambula y’agudde.
 Maama a- tambul-a ye- a- gw- e.
 1 \emptyset -mother 1REL-AgrS-walk-FV 1emp.pron-1pron.fall-PERF
 ‘Mother who walks is the one who has fallen’.

Relative verbs bear a high lexical tone which points to prominence or focus as indicated in the verb **-kola** ‘work’ in relative clauses.

- (60) Abaami bakola mu bibuga e-bi-lilaanye
 A- ba- ami ba- kol- a mu (bi-buga) (e)- bi- lilaanye
 2PPX-2PX-chiefs 2AgrS-work-FV 18LOC 8PX-town 8PPX-8PX-near
 ‘The chiefV work in the neighbouring towns’

The relative clause occurs as a modifier of the locative phrase. The relative pre-prefix is optional in the case of dropping the noun in the locative (see Crabtree, 1921; Ashton et al, 1954). Two categories of relatives are further observed: nominal clauses and clausal relatives. Clausal relatives, like possessives and adjective nominal modifiers, are inherently neutral regarding properties of (in)definiteness and (non-) specificity, as they may have inherent features of definiteness. The presence of the PPX in inflectional morphology on both modifiers signifies a specific entity **mu bibuga** ‘in town’ which the hearer is assumed to be familiar with. In (61), the construction exemplifies both the adjective and the relative clause and the verb **-kola** ‘work’ modifying the locative phrase. A construction may take both categories of relatives, thus leading to specificity, contrastive focus, and emphasis on the modified noun in the sentence, as illustrated in (61) below.

- (61) a. (i) Abaami bakola mu bibuga ebinene e-bi-lilaanye amazzi.
 A-ba-ami ba- kol- a mu bi-buga e-bi-nene (e)-bi-lilaanye
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work-FV 18LOC 8PX-town 8PPX-8PX-big 8PPX-

8PX-near

‘The men work in the big towns nearby the waters’

- (ii) Abaami bakola mu bibuga e-bi-nene o-mu-lilaanye amazzi.

A- ba- ami ba- kol- a mu bi-buga (e-bi-nene) o-mu-lilanye a-ma-zzi

2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work-FV 18LOC 8PX-town 8PPX-8PX-big 18PPX-18PX-near 6PPX-6PX-water

‘The men work in the towns near in the waters’

- (iii) Abaami bakola mu binene ebililaanye.

A- ba- ami ba- kol- a mu bi- nene e- bi- lilan- e
2PPX-2PX- men 2AgrS-work- FV- 18LOC 8PX-big 8PPX-8PX-near-
PERF

‘The men work in the big ones nearby’

- (iv) Abaami bakola binene omulilaanye amazzi.

A- ba- ami ba- kol- a- mu bi-nene o-mu-lilaanye a-ma-zzi
2PPX-2PX- men 2AgrS-work-FV- 18LOC 8PX-big 8PPX- 8PX-near
8PPX-8PX-water

‘The men work in the big ones nearby water’

- b. (i) Mu bililaanye amazzi ebinene mukolamu abaami.

Mu bi-lilaanye a-ma-zzi e-bi-nene mu- kol- a- mu (a)- ba-
ami

18LOC 8PX-nearby 6PPX-6PX-water 8PPX-8PX-big 18AgrS-work-FV-
18CL (2PPX)-2PX-men

‘In those big one nearby water, men work there’

- (ii) Mu binene (*omu-)(ebi-)liraanye mukolamu abaami

Mu bi-nene o-mu-liraan-e mu- kol- a- mu (a)- ba- ami
18LOC 8PX-big 18PPX-18PX-nearby 18AgrS-work-FV-18CL (2PPX)-2PX-
men

‘In the big ones, nearby men are working’

In the discourse context of foregoing, the speaker assumes that the hearer is familiar with the construction (61 (iii)) even though the referent is not featuring on the surface. Regarding the notion of familiarity, Lyons (1999) categorizes such phrases as definite and specific. In the examples (62), the clause **kye** ‘which’ and the verb **va** ‘coming from’, with a modified locative phrase **mu kifo** ‘in a place’ denotes an assumption that the speaker has in mind the place being talked about, thus illustrating the property of definiteness and specificity, as demonstrated in the examples (62).

- (62) a. (i) Abantu bava mu kifo minisita ky'azimbamu daamu.
 A-ba-ntu ba- v- a mu ki- fo minisita ki-a- zimb-a-
 mu damu
 2PPX-2PX-people2AgrS-leave-FV 18LOC 7PX-place 1.minister 7AgrS-
 build 18CL9.dam
 'The people are leaving the place (where) the minister is building the dam'
- (ii) Abantu bava mu kifo minisita mw'azimba daamu.
 A-ba-ntu ba- v- a mu ki- fo minisita mu-a- zimb-
 a damu
 2PPX-2PX-people 2AgrS-leave-FV 18LOC 7PX-place 1.minister 18AgrS-
 build 9.dam
 'The people are leaving the place (where) the minister is building the dam'
- b. (i) Abantu bava ku kifo minisita ky'azimbako daamu.
 A-ba-ntu ba- v- a ku ki- fo minisita ki-a- zimb-
 a-ko damu
 2PPX-2PX-people 2AgrS-leave-FV 17LOC 7PX-place 1.minister 7AgrS-
 build 17CL9.dam
 'The people are leaving the place (where) the minister is building the dam'
- (ii) Abantu bava ku kifo minisita kw'azimba daamu.
 A-ba-ntu ba- v- a ku ki- fo minisita ku-a- zimb-
 a damu
 2PPX-2PX-people 2AgrS-leave-FV 17LOC 7PX-place 1.minister 17AgrS-
 build 9.dam
 'The people are leaving the place (where) the minister is building the dam'
- (63) a. (i) Abantu bava wamberi w'ekifo minisita ky'azimbako daamu.
 A-ba-ntu ba- v- a wambeli wa e-ki- fo minisita ki-a-
 zimb-a-ko damu
 2PPX-2PX-people 2AgrS-leave-FV 16LOC.infront of 7PX-place 1.minister
 16AgrS-build 17CL9.dam
 'The people are leaving the front place (where) the minister is building the
 dam'
- (ii) Abantu bava wambeli wa ekifo minisita w'azimba daamu.
 A-ba-ntu ba- v- a wa-mberi wa e-ki- fo minisita we-a- zimb-
 a damu
 2PPX-2PX-people 2AgrS-leave-FV 17LOC 7PX-place 1.minister 16AgrS-
 build 9.dam
 'The people are leaving the place (where) the minister is building the dam'
- b. (i) Abantu bava engulu w'ekifo minisita ky'azimbako(*yo) daamu.
 A-ba-ntu ba- v- a e-ngulu w'eki- fo minisita ki-a- zimb-
 a-ko damu
 2PPX-2PX-people 2AgrS-leave-FV 23LOC 7PX-place 1.minister 7AgrS-
 build 17CL9.dam
 'The people are leaving the place (where) the minister is building the dam'

- (ii) Abantu bava engulu w'ekifo minisita gy'azimba daamu.
 A-ba-ntu ba- v- a e-ngulu wa e-ki- fo minisita gi-a-
 zimb-a damu
 2PPX-2PX-people 2AgrS-leave-FV 23LOC 16.of 7PPX-7PX-place
 1.minister 23AgrS-build 9.dam
 'The people are leaving the place (where) the minister is building the dam'

2.4.11 (In)definiteness and specificity of elements with interrogatives

Interrogative pronouns are written in asking sentences, with question words such as: **wa** 'where', **ki** 'what', **ddi** 'when', **-ni** 'who', **-tya** 'how', and **(-)meka** 'how many'. Other than **-ni**, **-tya** and **meka**, the rest are written independently in the sentence as illustrated in (64). Interrogative sentences can as well be written in Luganda without a specification interrogative pronoun. Such sentences require a yes or no answer. These sentences also presuppose that the speaker has prior knowledge of what he or she is asking, as demonstrated in (65).

- (64) a. Ani akubye omwana? b. Okola ki mu nsiko?
 'Who has beaten the child?' 'What are you doing in the bush?'
 (65) a. Munaagenda kawungeezi? b. Taata awandiika?
 'Are you going in the evening?' 'Is father writing?'

Luganda also has lexicalized interrogative pronouns. These have pronouns **-ki** and **-wa** affixed on noun class syllables indicated in: **aluwa** 'where is he/she?', **galuwa** 'where are they?', **biruwa** 'where are they?', **biki** 'which are those?', **gaki** 'which are those?', **nki** 'what is it?' as in:

- (66) a. Aluwa obwedda ambuuzza?
 'Where is the person who has been asking me?'
 b. Biruwa ebitabo byaffe?
 'Where are our books?'

The interrogative **-wa** can occur with an empty head used with a human referent, like most other modifiers. However, the co-occurrence with an empty head noun is also not unusual. The intransitive **verb -kola** 'work' is investigated with a locative noun modified by interrogative **wa** as in **-luwa**. In (67), the referent is already stated, and the purpose of the interrogative **-wa** is to signal that the speaker is seeking to uniquely identify the stated entity, as demonstrated in (67). As regards the interrogative used with an adjective, if the adjective

has a PPX as in **Kibuga ki ekirungi ky'osulamu?** 'In which good town are you sleeping?', then it has a specificity reading.

- (67) (i) **Abaami bakola mu bibuga (biluwa) / (*muluwa)?**
 A- ba- ami ba- kol- a mu bi-buga bi-liwa / (*mu-
 luwa)?
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work- FV 18LOC 8PX-town (8PX-which one)/
 (18LOCPX-which ones)
 'The men work in which towns'
- (ii) **Abaami bakola (*mu) muluwa /mu biluwa?**
 A-ba- ami ba- kol- a (*mu) mu- luwa / mu bi- luwa
 2PPX- 2PX- men 2AgrS-work-FV (*18LOC) 18PX-where / 18LOC 8PX-which
 one
 'The men work in which one?s'
- (iii) **Mu bibuga muluwa omukola(*mu) abaami?**
 Mu bi-buga mu-luwa o- mu- kol- a- *(mu) a- ba- ami
 18LOC 8PX-town 18PX-which 18PPX-18AgrS-work-FV-(*18CL) (2PPX)-
 2PX-men
 'In which towns are men working?'
- (iv) **Mu (*muluwa) / biluwa e-bibuga omukola(*mu) abaami?**
 Mu (*muluwa) / bi-luwa e- bi- buga o- mu- kol- a(a)- ba- ami
 18LOC (*18PX-where) PX-which 8PPX-8PX-town 18PPX-18AgrS-work-FV
 (2PPX)-2PX-men
 'In which towns are the men working?'

2.4.12 Absolute pronouns **byo, mwo** with the verb **-kola** and the locative phrase

Ashton et al (1954), Crabtree (1921), and Chesswas (1963) refer to absolute pronouns as emphatic pronouns. These pronouns are nominal modifiers which appear as optional free form pronouns preceding the noun they modify. In this context, they signal familiarity since the hearer knows the referent, as it has already been mentioned. Emphatic pronouns **ye, ggwe, byo, zo**, resemble the copula, in which case they emphasize the subject in the sentence. The copula resembles the emphatic pronouns and the object relative pronoun, as they emphasize, put in focus, what the noun modified is about in the sentence. They resemble the emphatic pronouns in writing and function but in the pronunciation they are different. Grouped into singular and plural noun class forms, they can be presented as follows:

Table 2:7: Pronominal forms

Noun class	Relative pronouns		Emphatic pronouns		Possessive pronouns	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	pl
1/2	Gwe	Be	Ye	Bo	We	be
3/4	Gwe	Gye	Gwo	Gyo	Gwe	gy
5/6	Lye	Ge	Lyo	Go	Gye	ge
7/8	Kye	Bye	Kyo	Byo	Kye	bye
9/10	Gye	Ze	Yo	Zo	Ye	ze
11/10	Lwe	Ze	Lwo	Zo	Lwe	ze
12/14	Ke	Bwe	Ko	Bwo	Ke	bwe
13	Lwe	Twe	Two	Two	Twe	twe
15/6	Kwe	Ge	Kwo	Go	Kwe	ge
16	We	We	Wo	Wo	We	we
17	Kwe	Kwe	Kwo	Kwo	Kwo	kwo
18	Mwe	Mwe	Mw	Mwo	Mwe	mwe
20/22	Gwe	Ge	Gwo	Go	Gwe	gye
23	Gye	Gye	Gyo	Gyo	We	we

In the sentence, as a matter of clarity, the following example demonstrates the use of the possessive pronoun, object relative and copula.

(68) **Empapula ze₁ ze₂ walabye ze zibuze.**
 ‘His papers that you saw have got lost’.

(69) **Empapula ze ze walabye ze₃ zibuze.**
 ‘His papers that you saw have got lost’

In (68) and (69) above, **ze**₁ is the possessive pronoun, **ze**₂ is the relative pronoun introducing the objective relative clause, and **ze**₃ is the copula. These emphatic pronouns encode contrastiveness or emphasis (i.e. focus). The verb **-kola** ‘work’ with a locative noun modified by an emphatic pronoun **byo**, **mwo** is demonstrated in the following example:

(70) (i) **Abaami bakola mu byo ebibuga.**
 A-ba-ami ba- kol- a mu bi-o e-bi-buga
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work-FV 18LOC 8PX-EMPH-8PPX-8PX-town
 ‘The men work in them, the towns’

- (ii) Abaami bakola mu byo.
A-ba- ami ba- kol- a- mu bi- o
2PPX- 2PX- men 2AgrS-work-FV- 18LOC 8PX-EMPH
'The men work in them'
- (iii) Mu bibuga mwo mukolamu abaami.
Mu bi-buga mu-o mu- kol- a- (*mu) a- ba- ami
18LOC 8PX-town 18-EMPH 18AgrS-work-FV-(*18CL) (2PPX)-2PX-men
'In the towns, there men work'
- (iv) Mu bibuga mwo mukola(*mu) baami.
Mu bi-buga mu-o mu- kol- a- ba- ami
18LOC 8PX-town 18-EMPH 18AgrS-work-FV 2PX-men
'In the towns therein men work'

The locative clitics –**wo**, –**ko**, –**mwo**, –**yo**, also denotes emphasis if written separately as in **wo**, **ko**, **mwo**, **yo**. As mentioned earlier, locative prefixes can co-occur with emphatic pronouns, giving evidence of the prepositio-like nature of these prefixes. Non-locative classes 1-15, 20, and 22 all have emphatic pronouns as demonstrated in table (2:5): 1 (**ye**) 2 (**bo**) 3 (**gwo**), 4 (**gyo**), 5 (**lyo**), 6 (**go**), 7 (**kyo**), 8 (**byo**), 9 (**yo**), 10 (**zo**), 11 (**lwo**), 12 (**ko**), 12 (**two**), 14 (**bwo**), 15 (**kwo**), 20 (**gwo**), and 22 (**go**). I believe, taking into account the general observation of locatives, definiteness and specificity, and the modifiers, that there is general agreement in locative agreement and their modifiers. I deduce that the corresponding properties of RR regarding (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity may not deviate much from those of Luganda, considering the scanty descriptive information.

2.4.13 The agreement system in (non-)locative phrases

In Luganda, as in other Bantu languages, the noun head forms the basis for the agreement system. According to Asiimwe (2014: 144), agreement between a nominal locative phrase and a verb, or other nominal modifiers such as demonstratives and adjectives, is expressed by the respective locative elements **wa-**, **ku(-)**, **mu(-)**, and **e(-)**, contrasting with to Runyankore-Rukiga in which it is expressed exclusively by the prefix –**ha-** of class 16. The property of the nominal elements having the force to trigger agreement with the verb and other syntactic elements, partly explains why they are categorized here as nominal elements. Consider the following example, where the noun *muyembe* (cl.3) 'mango' triggers agreement on the other words in the sentence:

- (71) Guno muyembe mulungi guliika, ngwagadde.
Gu- no **mu-**yembe **mu-**lungi **gu-** ly- ik- a nga- o- yagal- e
3PX-DEM 3PX-mango 3PX-good 3AgrS-edible-STAT-FV -DJ-3PLAgrO-like-PERF

'This mango is a good possibility to be eaten, I have liked it.'

In this example, the noun *muyembe* 'mango' exhibits agreement (i.e. concord) with the demonstrative, on the adjective, and the verb. Note, however, that the agreement marker varies depending on the category of the word that agrees with the noun. The noun *muyembe*, which is in class 3, is marked with **-no-** on the demonstrative, and the verb as a subject marker; with **mu-** on the adjective; and with **gu-** on the verb as an object prefix. All these are agreement prefixes for noun class 3. This illustrates noun prefixes, agreement prefixes on the verb (as subject or object prefixes), on adjectives and pronouns.

Note also that the locative classes 17, 18, and 19 differ significantly from the other classes. They have a locative class marker without of a pre-prefix. Morphologically, Luganda nouns generally have a pre-prefix, a prefix, and a stem (and a suffix in some cases). In what follows, I briefly discuss the pre-prefix.

2.5 THE (NON-) OCCURRENCE OF THE PRE-PREFIX IN LUGANDA

2.5.1 The pre-prefix in Luganda

This section and the following sections are written to establish the status of Luganda regarding locatives and locative inversion constructions. This section and the following also ponders to explore the syntax-interfaces of the current Luganda. Insights from this presentation will lay a foundation to the analysis of of this study in chapter Five and Six.

The pre-prefix (PPX) (referred to as initial vowel (IV) or augment (A) by some scholars) is a morpheme affixed on another morpheme (the prefix) to modify the meaning of the word (see Crabtree 1921; Ashton et al 1954; Kirwan and Gore 1951; Chesswas 1963; Morris and Kirwan 1957; & Taylor, 1985). Crabtree (1921:44) posits that the pre-prefix is needed before the class prefix of the noun. However, it is usually omitted before adjectives which are closely related to nouns, after a negative in the predicate such as **ye mulungi** 'he is a nice person', after the prefixes of place **ku kitanda** 'on the bed', and when the noun is immediately followed by the interrogative **kitabo ki** 'which book?'.

Hyman and Katamba (1993) also argue that the pre-prefix does not determine (in)definiteness or (non-)specificity in Luganda. They add that a noun may be definite or specific without PPX or may be indefinite and /or non-specific with it. Thus, they conclude that the occurrence or non-occurrence of the PPX is determined by the phonological and

morphosyntactic configuration or the rules of a language. However, Crabtree (1921) further emphasises that if anything else follows the noun, the PPX is retained. Proper names take no PPX because it is associated with that person and it is dependent upon his existence.

- (72) a. Akola mu kibuga.
 A kol- a mu ki-buga
 1AgrS-work-FV LOC18 7PX-town
 ‘He is working in the town’
- b. Buli muntu alina okugenda.
 Buli mu- ntu a-lina o- ku- gend-a
 Quant.be 1PX-person -1AgrS-has- 15PPX-15PX- go- FV
 ‘Everyone must go’
- c. Omusajja ono ayagala okukulaba.
 O- mu- sajja o-no a- yagala o- ku- kulaba
 1PPX-1PX-man 1.DEM 1AgrS-want 15PPX-15PX- see
 ‘This man wants to see you’
- d. Saagala nju ndala.
 Si a- agala n-yumba n- lala
 NEG-1AgrS-want 9PX-house 9PX-another
 ‘I do not want another house’

Luganda is not very different from Runyankore-Rukiga regarding the issue of the pre-prefix (PPX). Morris and Kirwan’s (1957:148) discussion on Runyankore regarding the PPX refers to the properties of the PPX in Luganda. They point out that the PPX is retained if the verb is in the imperative or subjunctive, or if the particular emphasis is required. But its omission depends on finer shades of meaning in a sentence: after the prepositions **aha** and **omu**; after the invariable adjective **huri** and **ibara**; after the demonstrative that precedes a noun and normally after a negative verb, as illustrated in: (a) **Nakora omu rurembo** ‘He is working in the town; (b) **Buri muntu ashemereire** ‘Everyone must go’ (c) **Ogu mushaija naayenda okumureeba**; ‘This man wants to see him (d) **Tindikwenda nju egi** ‘I do not want this house’.

Commenting on Nkore-Kiga, Taylor (1985:126) concurs with Morris and Kirwan (ibid) regarding the view that the presence of the PPX (on nouns and adjectives) indicates a marked feature of definiteness while its omission indicates indefiniteness. The locative prefixes **ku** and **mu** lack a pre-prefix while 16 and 23 can take a pre-prefix optionally. Most Luganda nouns have pre-prefixes. Out of the 5 Luganda vowels, only three can occur as pre-prefixes: **a-**, **i**, and **o-** (see Hyman & Katamba, 1993). (Kiswahili, by contrast, does not have pre-

prefixes, apart from *u-* of class 11 and 14.) The pre-prefix is dropped in some contexts. These contexts include: in the vocative case, after demonstratives, with some question words, after locatives, in names of people and compound nouns, after some indefinite pronouns, and the negatives *si* and *ta-*. Some authors (e.g. Nkusi, (1995, p. 126) refer to it as an epenthetic vowel due to the fact it can be dropped without affecting the semantic content of the word. In my observation, and considering the views of Crabtree (1921; 1923), and Ashton et al (1954), Luganda does not differ much from RR and other Bantu languages with PPX, regarding the properties of the pre-prefix.

However, it is prefixed to words other than nouns to derive a nominal (pronoun). In this case, if it is dropped, the meaning may change. It is prefixed: (i) to a pronoun when the pronoun precedes the noun it modifies; *enju yo* (house-your) 'your house' > *e-yiyo nju* (your-house) 'your own house', (ii) to an associative to replace the noun it modifies, e.g. *oluggi lwa Musisi* 'door of Musisi' > *Olwa Musisi* 'that of Musisi', (iii) to an adjective, occurring without a lexical head, a noun, e.g. *musajja mukulu* (man-old) > *o-mukulu* 'the big one', (iv) to a finite verb in a relative clause occurring without a lexical head, hence a free relative, e.g. *abantu abakola* 'people who work' > *a-bakola* 'those who work', (v) to a numeral to mean 'in a group of', e.g. *abantu babiri* (people-two), and (vi) to an absolute pronoun to turn it into a relative pronoun referring to the object, e.g. *bó* 'them'. These derived words have nominal properties. They can function as subjects and objects, and they occur in all noun classes.

Crabtree (1923) distinguishes nominals that take a pre-prefix from those that do not. Nominals that have a pre-prefix include nouns, possessives, free relatives, indefinites, and interrogatives. Those that do not take pre-prefixes are nouns without class prefixes, e.g. nouns, locatives, personal pronouns, demonstratives, and those that bear an initial vowel, numerals, etc. The class 14 prefix *bu-* also seems to bear some locative features, or is rather used to form locative nouns. Apart from combining with the locative *e-* to form locative expressions referring to cardinal points (i.e. *ebuvanjuba* 'in the east', *ebugwanjuba* 'in the west'), it can also combine with a pre-prefix to form locative nouns. Locatives 16 wa and 23 e are prefixed, and thus can be termed as locative prefixes, as seen in the following example:

- (73) a. Omwana agenda awantu.
 O- mu- ana a- gend-a a- wa- ntu
 1PPX-1PX-child AgrS-go- FV 16PPX-16LOCPX-place-STEM
 'The child is going somewhere'

- b. Omusajja agenda ebuvanjuba.
 O- mu- sajj-a a- gend-a e- bu- va- njuba
 1PPX-1PX-man AgrS-go- FV 23PPX-23LOCPX-from- sun
 ‘The man is going to the east Lit The man is coming from where the sun comes from’

Locatives 17 **ku** and 18 **mu** do not take prefixes, and thus can appear as preposition-like phrases or nouns, as can be seen in the following example.

- (74) a. Ku lubalaza kutuula abaana.
 Ku lu- balaza ku- tuul- a a- ba- ana
 17LOC 11PX-veranda 17AgrS-sit- FV 2PPX-2PX-children
 ‘On the veranda sit the child’
- b. Mu nnyumba mutuula abaana.
 Mu n-yumba mu- tuul- a a- ba- ana
 18LOC 9PX-house 18AgrS-sit- FV 2PPX-2PX-children
 ‘In the house sit the children’

2.5.2 Interpretation of the occurrence of the pre-prefix of the object noun

The (non-)occurrence of the pre-prefix gives diverse interpretations of the object noun.

Table 2:8: Interpretation resulting from the (co-)occurrence of AgrOPX with the PPX

Verb polarity	(Non-)occurrence AgrOPX	(Non-) occurrence of the PPX	Semantic/pragmatic reading
Pos-v	-AgrOPX	Obj N (+PPX)	+/- Def +/-Spec
Post-v	+AgrOPX	Obj N (+PPX)	+Def +Spec
Neg-v	-AgrOPX	Obj N (-PPX)	-Def -Spec
Neg-v	+AgrOPX	Obj N (+PPX)	+Def -Spec
Neg-v	-AgrOPX	Obj N (+PPX)	+/- Def +/-Spec +Foc

Objects of bare nouns receive a definite and specific reading arising from the co-occurrence of the object agreement prefix (AgrO) and the PPX of the direct object while the absence of the AgrO and the determiner on the object noun is rendered as indefinite and non-specific, as demonstrated in cleft constructions of the verb **-soma** ‘read’ in non-cleft constructions:

- (75) a. (i) Omwana asoma ekitabo.
 O- mu ana a- som- a e- ki- tabo
 1PPX-1PX-child 1AgrS-read-FV 7PPX-7PX- book
 ‘The child is reading a book’

- (ii) Omwana asoma (*e)kitabo (si *(a)mawulire).
 O- mu ana a- som- a (*e)- ki- tabo (si *(a)- ma-
 wulire)
 1PPX-1PX-child 1AgrS-read- FV 7PPX- 7PX-book NEG 6PPX-6PX-
 newspapers
 ‘The child is reading a book, not newspapers’
- b. Omwana akisoma *(e)kitabo.
 O- mu ana a- ki- som- a *(e)- ki- tabo
 1PPX-1PX-child 1AgrS-7AgrO-read- FV *(7A)-7PX-book
 ‘The child is reading it, the book’
- c. Omwana tasoma (*e)kitabo (asoma *(a)mawulire).
 O- mu ana te a- som- a (*e)- ki- tabo (a- som- a *(a)-ma-
 mulire
 1PPX-1PX-child NEG-1AgrS- read- FV 7PPX-7PX-book 1AgrS-som-FV
 6PPX-6PX-newspapers
 ‘The child does not read a book he reads a newspaper’
- d. Omwana takisoma *(e)kitabo.
 O- mu ana te a- ki- som- a *(e)- ki- biina
 1PPX-1PX-child NEG-1AgrS-7AgrO- read- FV *(7A)-7PX-class
 ‘The child does not read it, the book’

The above constructions give evidence that the occurrence of the pre-prefix denotes discourse prominence associated with the reading of specificity of a noun phrase. Thus, the type of focus of a nominal constituent closely correlates with the (non-)occurrence of the prefix. Generally, the occurrence of the pre-prefix is associated with a reading of information focus on a nominal constituent whereas the non-occurrence of the pre-prefix is associated with a reading of contrastive focus; either excluding one or more alternative or exhaustive focus from a set of two or more alternatives. In example (75 a i) above, the presence of the pre-prefix on the noun **ekitabo** ‘book’ in the object noun is required to yield an information focus reading whereas its absence on the noun **kitabo** in (75 a ii) yields an exhaustive and contrastive focus reading.

In example (75b), where the object agreement prefix **-ki-** co-occurs with the object noun **ekitabo** ‘book’ the presence of the pre-prefix is obligatory. The difference in the interpretation between example (75 a i) in the case of where the pre-prefix occurs with the noun **ekitabo** ‘book’ and (75 b), where the object agreement prefix **-ki-** co-occurs with the object noun **ekitabo**, pertains to the reading of specificity in that the noun **ekitabo** ‘book’ in (75 a i) has a non-specific reading, whereas in (75 b) it has a specificity reading encoded by the co-occurrence of the object agreement **-ki-** and the object noun ***(e)kitabo** ‘book’. In

both (751a i) and (75 b), there may be an implicit alternative depending on the discourse context, and thus no explicit alternative is given, implying that contrastive focus is not possible. In (75 a ii) the explicit alternative **si mawulire** ‘not newspapers’ is given. If the object noun appears immediately following a negative verb, the object does not appear with a PPX. The PPX that is permitted to occur with the object noun in such a syntactic environment has a pragmatic role to play.

In example (75 c), where negation is used without the object agreement prefix **-ki-**, the pre-prefix must be absent. When the pre-prefix is absent, then a specific reading is denoted by the noun **kitabo**. By contrast, in example (75 d) the negative marker **te-** occurring together with the object agreement **-ki-** renders the presence of the pre-prefix on the object noun **ekitabo** ‘book’ obligatory. The difference in the interpretation between example (75 c), where there a negative morpheme and a pre-prefix is absent on the object noun **kitabo** ‘book’ and (75 d) where the negative morpheme **te-** occurs together with the object agreement prefix **-ki-** and the obligatory pre-prefix on the object noun **ekitabo**, pertains to the reading of (non-)specificity in that the noun **kitabo** ‘book’ in (75 c) has a specific reading, whereas the noun **ekitabo** in (75 d) has a non-specificity reading. In both constructions, i.e. (75 c) and (75 d), there is an explicit alternative given **asoma mawulire** ‘he reads newspapers’, denoting a contrastive focus reading.

The verb **-soma** ‘read’ can also occur in cleft relative constructions, as in example (76). The anaphoric emphatic pronoun reinforces the antecedent, thus introducing prominence or focus on this constituent, depending on the (non-) occurrence of the pre-prefix. The interpretations of (non-)occurrence of the pre-prefix on the subject and object noun are illustrated in the following examples.

- (76) a. (i) Omwana y’asoma *(e)kitabo si (*o)musajja.
 O- mu ana ye- a- som- a *(e)- ki-tabo (si (*o)-
 mu-sajja)
 1PPX-1PX-child 1pron’ 1AgrS-read-FV 7PPX-7PX-book (NEG-
 (*1PPX)-1PX-man)
 ‘It is the child who is reading the book’
- (ii) Mwana y’asoma *(e)kitabo si (*o)mu)musajja.
 Mu- ana ye- a- som-a *(e)- ki-tabo si (*o)-musajja
 1PX-child 1pron1AgrS-read-FV 7A -7PX-book NEG-1PX-man
 ‘It is the child who is reading book not the man’

- b. (i) Omwana y'akisoma *(e)kitabo
 O- mu ana ye a- ki- som- a (*(e)- ki- tabo)
 1PPX-1PX-child 1pron. 1AgrS-7AgrO-read- FV (*(7A)-7PX-book)
 'It is the child who reads the book'
- (ii) Mwana y'akisoma *(e)kitabo.
 Mu- ana ye a- ki- som-a (*(e)- ki- tabo)
 1PX-child 1pron1AgrS-7AgrO-read- FV (*(7A)-7PX-book)
 'It is the child who reads it, the book'
- c. (i) (O)mwana y'atasoma *(e)kitabo si (*o)musajja.
 (O)- mu ana ye-a- te a- som- a (*(e)-ki- tabo) si (*o)-mu-
 sajja
 (2PPX)-1PX-child 1pronNEG-1AgrS- read- FV (*(7A)-7PX-book) NEG
 (*1PPX-1PX-man
 'It is the child who does not read the book'
- (ii) Mwana y'atasoma kitabo.
 Mu ana ye- a- te a- som- a ki- tabo
 1PX-child 1pronNEG-1AgrS- read- FV 7PX-book
 'It is the child who does not read the book'
- d. (i) Omwana y'atakisoma ekitabo .
 O- mu ana ye- a- te a- ki- som- a (*(e)- ki-
 tabo)
 1PPX-1PX-child 1pron. PAST-NEG-1AgrS-7AgrO- read- FV (*(7A)-
 7PX-book)
 'It is the child who does not read the book'
- (ii) Mwana y'atakisoma ekitabo.
 Mu ana ye- a- te a- ki- som- a *(e)- ki- tabo)
 1PX-child 1pron-PAST- NEG-1AgrS-7AgrO- read- FV (*(7A)-7PX-
 book)
 'It is the child who does not read it, the book'

The above cleft relative clause constructions in (76 a i, ii) provide evidence that the occurrence of the pre-prefix on the copulative noun **omwana** 'child' answering a discourse context question **Ani asoma ekitabo?** 'Who reads the book?' denotes discourse prominence associated with the reading of specificity of the copulative noun in the subject position. Thus, the type of focus of the noun in the copulative noun phrase constituent closely correlates with the (non-)occurrence of the pre-prefix. Generally, the occurrence of the pre-prefix is associated with a reading of information focus on a nominal constituent whereas the non-occurrence of the pre-prefix is associated with a reading of contrastive focus, either excluding one or more alternative, or exhaustive focus from a set of two or more alternatives. In example (76 a i) above, the presence of the pre-prefix on the noun **omwana** 'child' in the

copulative subject phrase noun is required to yield an information focus reading whereas its absence on the copulative noun **mwana** in (76 a ii) yields an exhaustive and contrastive focus reading.

In the same way, example (76 b i, ii) illustrates object agreement prefix **-ki-** co-occurring with the object noun **ekitabo** ‘book’. The presence of the pre-prefix is obligatory in both denoting informational focus and non-specificity. The clefted copulative noun in example (76 a i) appears with the pre-prefix while (76 b ii) exemplifies the absence of it. The difference in the interpretation between example (76 b i) in the case of where the pre-prefix occurs with the noun **omwana** ‘child’ and (76 b ii) where the subject noun **baana** appears without a pre-prefix, pertains to the reading of specificity in that the subject noun **omwana** ‘child’ in (76 b i) has a non-specific reading, whereas **mwana** in (76 b ii) has a specificity reading.

In examples (76 c i, ii) where negation occurs without the object agreement prefix **-ki-**, the pre-prefix must be dropped. When the pre-prefix is dropped, specific reading is denoted by the noun **kitabō**. The noun **omwana** ‘child’ in the copulative noun in (76 c i) occurs **with** a pre-prefix **o-**, denoting information focus with a non-specific meaning, while the noun **mwana** in (76 c ii) occurs without a pre-prefix denoting a contrastive focus with a specific reading. Both constructions (76 c i) and (76 c ii) imply explicit alternatives, implying that both of them have contrastive focus. However, although both copulative nouns imply explicit alternatives, (76 c i) has a wider set of explicit alternatives (inclusive). (76 c ii) has a narrow alternative (exclusive), thus giving an exclusive contrastive focus.

In example (76 d i) and (75 d i), the negative marker **te-** occurring with the object agreement prefix **-ki-** requires an obligatory presence of the pre-prefix on the object noun **ekitabo** ‘book’. The noun **omwana** ‘child’ in the copulative noun in example (76 d i) occurs with the pre-prefix present while the noun **mwana** ‘child’ in the copulative in example (76 d ii) occurs with the pre-prefix absent. The difference in the interpretation between the pre-prefixed noun **omwana** ‘child’ in the copulative noun in example (76 d i) and non-pre-prefixed noun **mwana** ‘child’ in the copulative in example (76 d ii), pertains to the reading of non-specificity in that the noun **omwana** ‘child’ in (76 d i) is not particularly known by the interlocutors, whereas the noun **mwana** in (76 d ii) has a specificity reading due to the fact that, there seems to be contrast eliminating an alternative. Both copulative nouns are understood to have explicit alternatives. (76 d i) has a wider set of explicit alternatives

(inclusive) while (76 d ii) has an exclusive meaning, thus giving an exclusive contrastive focus reading.

2.5.3 The pre-prefix of the locative noun with an intransitive motion verb

This section discusses the interpretations associated with (non-)occurrence of the pre-prefix on the locative noun with an intransitive motion verb. The (non-)occurrence of the pre-prefix with a locative noun gives diverse interpretations, as demonstrated in the following example with the locative verb **genda** ‘go’.

- (77) a. (i) Omwana agenda (mu kibiina) (si mu kkanisa).
 O- mu ana a- gend- a mu ki- biina (si mu kkanisa
 1PPX-1PX-child 1AgrS-go- FV 18LOC 7PX-class (NEG-18LOC
 9.church)
 ‘The child is going to class, not to the church.’
- (ii) Mu kibiina mugenda(mu) omwana.
 Mu ki-biina mu-gend-a o-mu-ana
 18. LOC 7PX-class 18AgrS-go- FV 1PPX-1PX-child
 ‘ In the class goes the child.’
- (iii) Mu kibiina mugenda mwana (si musajja).
 Mu ki- biina mu- gend-a mu- ana (si mu- sajja)
 18. LOC 7PX-class 18AgrS-go- FV 1PX- child NEG-1PX- man
 ‘ In the class goes the child ’
- b. (i) Omwana akigenda*(mu) (*(e)kibiina).
 O- mu ana a- ki- gend- a- *(mu) (*(e)- ki- biina)
 1PPX-1PX-child 1AgrS-7AgrO-go- FV-*(18CL) (*(7A)-7PX-class)
 ‘The child is going in the class.’
- (ii) E-ki-biina akigenda*(mu) (o)mu-ana.
 E- ki-biina a- ki- gend- a-*(mu) (o)- mu- ana
 1PPX-1PX-child 1AgrS-7AgrO-go- FV-*(18CL) (2PPX)-1PX- child
 ‘The class the child goes in it.’
- (iii) E-ki-biina akigenda*(mu) mu-ana.
 E- ki- biina a- ki- gend- a- *(mu) mu-ana
 7PPX-7PX-child 1AgrS-7AgrO-go- FV-*(18CL) 1PX-child
 ‘The class the child goes in it.’
- c. (i) Omwana tagenda (mu *(e)kibiina) (agenda mu kkanisa).
 O- mu ana te a- gend-a *(mu) ki- biina (a-gend-a mu
 kkanisa)
 (1PPX)-1PX-child NEG-1AgrS- go-FV *(18LOC) 7PX-class 1AgrS-go
 18LOC 9.church
 ‘The child does not go to the class (he goes to the church).’

- (ii) Mu kibiina tagendamu *(o)mwana (si musajja).
 Mu ki-biina te-a-gend-a-mu *(o)- mu-ana (si mu-sajja)
 18. LOC 7PX-class 18AgrS-go- FV 1PX-child NEG-1PX-man
 ‘In the class goes the child.’
- (ii) Mu kibiina temugendamu *(o)mwana (mugendamu musajja).
 Mu ki-biina te-mu-gend-a-mu *(o)- mu-ana (mugendamu mu-sajja)
 18. LOC 7PX-class 18AgrS-go- FV PPX-1PX-child NEG-1PX-man
 ‘In the class goes the child.’
- d. (i) Omwana takigenda(mu) ekibiina (agenda mu kkanisa).
 O- mu ana te a- ki- gend- a- *(mu) *(e)- ki- biina (...)
 1PPX-1PX-child NEG-1AgrS-7AgrO- go-FV- (18CL) *(7A)-7PX-class
 ‘The child does not go to the class (he goes to the church).’
- (ii) E-ki-biina takigenda*(mu) *(o)mu-ana (agenda mu kkanisa).
 E- ki-biina te- a- ki- gend- a- *(mu) *(o)- mu-ana) ..a-gend-a mu
 1PPX-1PX-child NEG-1AgrS-7AgrO-go- FV-*(18CL) (*(2PPX)-1PX-
 child)
 ‘The class the child goes in it.’

The above sentence constructions (77 a i, ii, and iii) give evidence that the occurrence of the locative prefix in the locative noun denotes a generic discourse entity associated with non-specificity, while the (non-)occurrence of the pre-prefix in the object noun denotes discourse prominence associated with the reading of (non-)specificity of a noun. According to Lyons (1999), generic nouns/noun phrases are necessarily non-specific but pragmatically definite. Thus, the type of focus of a nominal constituent closely correlates with the (non-)occurrence of the pre-prefix. Generally, the occurrence of a locative with a non-pre-prefixed noun **(*e)kibiina** ‘class’ in the locative phrase **mu kibiina** ‘in class’ subsumes the role of the pre-prefix on the noun **(*e)kibiina** ‘class’ in the locative noun required to yield an information focus reading. The locative noun **mu kibiina** ‘in class’ is associated with a reading of information focus on the locative noun and a contrastive focus reading associated with an explicit alternative, possibly inclusive or exclusive in nature. The construction (77 a i) can give rise to locative subject morphology inversion in (77 a ii) and (76 a iii). The inversion of (77 a i) exemplifies the occurrence of the pre-prefix on the object noun **omwana** ‘child’ in (77 a ii) and is associated with a reading of information focus with no explicit possible alternative, whereas in (77a iii) the non-occurrence of the pre-prefix on the object noun **mwana** ‘child’ gives a reading of exhaustive and contrastive focus; either excluding one or more alternative or exhaustive focus from a set of two or more alternatives. These alternatives can be implicit or explicit in nature.

In example (77 b i) where the object agreement prefix **-ki-** co-occurs with the object noun **ekitabo** ‘book’, the presence of the locative clitic **-mu** and the object pre-prefix **e-** is obligatory. The obligatory co-occurrence of the object agreement **-ki-** and the locative clitic ***(-mu)**, together with the object pre-prefix in the object noun prefix ***(e)-** denotes a specific information focus. However, in (77 b i), the explicit alternative reading is not possible, and thus it has no contrastive reading. Example (77 b i) relates to the bare noun locative inversion in example (77 b ii) which presents the co-occurrence of the object agreement and the obligatory locative clitic ***(-mu)** and the optional pre-prefix **o-** in **omwana** which denotes information focus, non-specific and non-contrastive readings indicated by the impossibility of the explicit alternative. By contrast, example (77 b iii) illustrates an obligatory ***(-mu)** locative clitic and absence of the pre-prefix on the object noun **mwana** with a possible explicit alternative **si musajja**, demonstrating specificity and contrastive focus.

The interpretation of example (77 a ii, 77 b ii) where the pre-prefix occurs with the noun **omwana** ‘child’ pertains to the reading of non-specificity, whereas in (77 a iii, 77 b iii) has a specificity reading. In (77 a i, iii) and (77 b ii, iii) there may be an explicit alternative depending on the discourse context implying a contrastive reading while (77 a ii) and (77 b i) have no explicit alternative given implying that contrastive focus is not possible.

In examples (77 c i) where negation is used without the object agreement prefix **-ki-**, the locative clitic **-mu** is optional but the explicit alternative such as **agenda mu kkanisa** ‘goes to the church’ is possible, denoting a non-specific, contrastive information focus. The inversion of example (77 c i) results into a bare noun locative inversion construction in (77 c ii) with an obligatory locative clitic **-mu** and a non-pre-prefixed object noun **mwana** denoting a specific and contrastive focus. The use of negation results into the drop of the pre-prefix, thus causing a specificity reading. The alternative set **kigendamu musajja** ‘men go in it’ is possible in example (77 c ii), evidence of a contrastive focus reading.

In example (77 d I) occurrence of the negation morpheme **te-** with the object agreement **-ki-** and the obligatory locative clitic **-mu** renders the presence of the pre-prefix on the object noun **ekibiina** ‘class’ obligatory. Example (77 ii) indicates the bare noun locative inversion of (77 d i) and thus the negate morpheme **te-** and the object agreement prefix **-ki-** and the obligatory locative clitic **-mu** with the non-pre-prefixed object noun **mwana** denoting a specific and contrastive focus exemplifying by a possible explicit alternative **kigendamu**

musajja ‘goes in the man’. The following example with the verb **genda** ‘go’ with an anaphoric pronoun helps to illustrate this.

- (78) a. (i) Omwana y’agenda mu kibiina (si musajja).
 O- mu ana ye-a- gend- a mu ki-biina si mu-sajj-a
 1PPX-1PX-child 1pron 1AgrS-go- FV 18LOC 7PX-class NEG-
 1PX-man-FV
 ‘It is the child who is going to class not the man.’
- (ii) Mwana y’agenda mu kibiina (si musajja).
 Mu- ana ye-a- gend- a mu ki-biina si mu-sajj-a
 1PX-child 1pron 1AgrS-go- FV 18LOC 7PX-class NEG-1PX-man-FV
 ‘It is the child who is going to class not the man.’
- b. (i) Omwana y’akigenda*(mu) *(e)kibiina) (si musajja).
 O- mu ana a- ki- gend- a- *(mu)*(e)- ki- biina) si mu-sajj-a
 1PPX-1PX-child 1AgrS-7AgrO-go- FV-*(18CL) *(7PPX)-7PX-class
 NEG-1PX-man-FV
 ‘It is the child who is going to the class not the man.’
- (ii) Mwana y’akigenda*(mu) *(e)kibiina) (si musajja).
 Mu- ana a- ki- gend-a- *(mu) *(e)- ki- biina si mu-sajj-a
 1PX-child 1AgrS-7AgrO-go- FV-*(18CL)*(7PPX)-7PX-class NEG-1PX-
 man-FV
 ‘It is the child who is going in it, the class.’
- c. (i) (O)mwana y’atagenda(mu) mu kibiina si musajja.
 (O)- mu ana ye- a- te a- gend-a-(mu) mu ki- biina si
 mu-sajj-a
 (1PPX)-1PX-child NEG-1AgrS- go- FV-(18CL)*(18LOC)-7PX-class
 NEG-1PX-man-FV
 ‘It is the child who does not go in it, the class.’
- (ii) Mwana y’atagenda(mu) (mu kibiina).
 Mu- ana ye- a- te a- gend- a- (mu) mu ki- biina
 1PX-child NEG-1AgrS- go- FV- (18CL)*(18LOC)-7PX-class
 ‘It is the child who does not go in it, the class.’
- d. (i) (O)mwana y’atakigenda*(mu) *(e)kibiina si musajja.
 (O)- mu ana ye-a-te a- ki- gend-a-*(mu)*(e)- ki- biina si mu-
 sajj-a
 (1PPX)-1PX-child pron NEG-1AgrS-7AgrO- go- FV- (18CL)*(7PPX)-
 7PX-class NEG-1PX-man-FV
 ‘It is the child who does not go in the class no,t the man.’
- (ii) Mwana y’atakigenda*(mu) *(e)kibiina) si musajja.
 Mu- ana ye-a-te a- ki- gend-a- *(mu) *(e)- ki- biina si mu-
 sajj-a
 1PX-child pron NEG-1AgrS-7AgrO- go- FV- (18CL) *(7PPX)-7PX-

class NEG-1PX-man-FV

‘It is the child who does not go in class not, the man.’

Zerbian (2006) and Zimmermann (2008), maintain that cleft sentences encode focus across many African languages. The cleft relative clause constructions in (78 a i, ii) give evidence that the occurrence of the pre-prefix on the copulative noun **omwana** ‘child’ in a discourse context question **Ani agenda mu kibiina?** ‘Who goes to the class?’ denotes discourse prominence associated with the reading of specificity of the copulative noun in the subject position. Thus, the type of focus of the noun in the copulative noun constituent closely correlates with the (non-)occurrence of the pre-prefix. Generally, the occurrence of the pre-prefix is associated with a reading of information focus on a nominal or locative constituent, whereas the non-occurrence of the pre-prefix is associated with a reading of contrastive focus, either excluding one or more alternatives, or exhaustive focus from a set of two or more alternatives.

In example (78 a i) above, the presence of the pre-prefix on the noun **omwana** ‘child’ in the copulative noun subject noun is required to yield an information focus reading whereas its absence on the copulative noun **mwana** in (78 a ii) yields an exhaustive and contrastive focus reading. Example (78 b i) demonstrates a pre-prefix noun **omwana** ‘child’ in the copulative noun with the object agreement prefix **-ki-** co-occurring obligatorily with the locative clitic – **mu** and object noun **ekibiina** ‘class’ denoting a reading of definiteness, non-specificity and informational focus. The clefted copulative noun **omwana** ‘child’ in example (78 b i) appears with the pre-prefix while (78 b ii) illustrates the absence of it. The difference in the interpretation between example (78 b i) in the case of where the pre-prefix occurs with the noun **omwana** ‘child’ and (78 b ii) where the subject noun **mwana** ‘child’ appears without a pre-prefix pertains to the reading of specificity in that the subject noun **omwana** ‘child’ in (78 b i) has a definite and non-specific reading, whereas **mwana** in (78 b ii) has a specificity and contrastive focus reading.

Example (78 c i) demonstrates the pre-prefixed noun **omwana** ‘child’ in a negative sentence, and an optional locative clitic –**mu** with the negative verb occurring without the object agreement prefix **-ki-**. The noun **omwana** ‘child’ in (78 c i) occurs **with** a pre-prefix **o-**, giving an information focus, contrastive focus, definite but non-specific reading, while the non-pre-prefixed noun **mwana** ‘child’ in example (78 c ii) denotes a contrastive focus, non-definite, but specific in reading. Both constructions (78 c i and 78 c ii) have explicit

alternations, implying that both of them have contrastive focus. However, although both nouns are interpreted to have explicit alternatives, where (78 c i) has a wider set of explicit alternatives (inclusive). (78 c ii) has a narrow alternative (exclusive), thus giving an exclusive contrastive focus.

The pre-prefixed noun **omwana** ‘child’ in the example (78 d i) and the non-pre-prefixed noun **mwana** ‘child’ in (78 d ii) both illustrate the occurrence of the negative marker **te**-occurring together with the object agreement prefix **-ki-** and the obligatory locative clitic **-mu**. The presence of the pre-prefix on the object noun **ekibiina** ‘class’ is obligatory. The difference in interpretation between the pre-prefixed noun **omwana** ‘child’ in (78 d i) and non-pre-prefixed noun **mwana** ‘child’ in the noun in (78d ii) pertains to the reading of non-specificity of the noun **omwana** ‘child’ in (78 d i), whereas the noun **mwana** in (78 d ii) has a specificity reading. In respect to contrast, both nouns have explicit alternatives. (78 d i) has a wider set of explicit alternatives (inclusive). (78 d ii) has a narrow alternative (exclusive), thus giving an exclusive contrastive focus. The examples in (79) of the verb **-yogera** ‘speak’; **zannya** ‘play’; **-nywa** ‘drink’ illustrate these properties.

- (79) a (i) Omuyizi ayogera Olungereza mu kibiina.
O- mu-yizi a- yoger-a (O)-lu- ngereza (mu ki- biina)
1PPX-1PX-learner 1AgrS-speak-FV-(11A)-11PX-English (17LOC 7PX-
class)
‘The learner speaks English in class.’
- (ii) Omuyizi ayogera Lungereza mu kibiina.
O- mu-yizi a- yoger-a Lu-ngereza (mu ki- biina)
1PPX-1PX-learner 1AgrS-speak-FV- 11PX- English (17LOC 7PX-class)
‘The learner speaks English in class’
- b. (i) Mu kibiina mwogera omuyizi Olungereza.
Mu ki-biina mu- oger- a o- mu- yizi (O)- lu-
ngereza
18LOC 7PX-class 18AgrS-speak- FV 1PPX-1PX-learner (11PPX)-11PX-
English
‘In class the learner speaks English’
- (ii) Mu kibiina mwogera muyizi Olungereza.
Mu ki- biina mu- oger- a mu-yizi (O)- lu- ngereza
18LOC 7PX-class 18AgrS-speak- FV 1PX-learner (11PPX)-11PX-
English
‘In class the learner speaks English’
- c. (i) Omuyizi azannya ne omutendesi omupiira mu kisaawe.
O- mu- yizi a- zanny-a ne (o)- mu- tendesi o-mu-piira (mu ki- saawe)

1PPX-1PX-learner 1AgrS-play-FV ne (2PPX)-1PX-trainer 3PPX-3PX-ball
18LOC 7PX-field)

‘The learner plays the ball with the trainer in the field.’

- (ii) Omuyizi azannya na mutendesi omupiira mu kisaawe.
O- mu- yizi a- zanny-a na mu- tendek-i o-mu-piira (mu ki-
saawe)

1PPX-1PX-learner 1AgrS-play-FV na 1PX-train-er 3PPX-3PX-ball
(18LOC 7PX-field)

‘The learner plays the ball with the trainer in the field.’

- d. (i) Abasajja banywamu omwenge ((mu) bbaala).
A- ba- sajj-a ba- nyw-a o-mu- enge mu li- baala.
2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-drink-FV 3PPX-3PX-beer 18LOC 5PX-bar.
‘The men drink in the bar the beer.’

- (ii) Abasajja banywamu mwenge mu bbaala).
A- ba- sajj-a ba- nyw-a o-mu- enge mu li- baala
2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-drink-FV 3PPX-3PX-beer 18LOC 5PX-bar
‘The men drink in the bar the beer.’

- e. (i) Mu bbaala munywa(mu) (a)basajja (o)mwenge.
Mu bbaala mu- nyw- a- mu a- ba- sajj-a o-mu-enge
18LOC 7PPX-7PX 18AgrS-work-FV-18CL 2PPX-2PX-men 3PPX-3PX-
beer
‘In the bar is where the men drink beer.’
- (ii) Mu bbaala munywa(mu) basajja (o)mwenge.
Mu bbaala mu- nyw- a- mu ba- sajj-a mu-enge
18LOC 9.bar 18AgrS-drink-FV-18CL 2PX-men 3PX-beer
‘In the bar is where the men drink beer.’

The presence of the pre-prefix is obligatory on the noun in the preverbal position but optional in the postverbal position. The occurrence of the pre-prefix on the nouns in the above examples denotes a generic meaning while its absence means specificity.

- (80) a. (i) Omukyala yatwala emmere (mu nju).
O-mu-kyal-a y- a- twal-a e- mmere (mu nju)]
1PPX-1PX-wife 1AgrS-PAST-took-FV 9PPX- food (18LOC 9.house)
‘The wife took the food into the house.’
- (ii) Omukyala yatwala mmere (mu nju).
O-mu-kyal-a y- a- twal-a e- mmere (mu nju)
1PPX-1PX-wife 1AgrS-PAST-took-FV 9PPX- food (18LOC 9.house)
‘The wife took the food into the house’

I test, with reference to the following examples, the permissibility of certain verbs regarding locative inversion;

- b. (i) *Mu nju mwatwal-a emmere omukyala.
 *Mu nju mu- a- twal-a e-n-mmere o- mu- kyala.
 18LOC 9.house 18AgrS-PAST-took-FV 9PPX-9PX-food 1PPX-1PX.wife
 ‘Into the house took food the wife’
- (ii) *Mu nju mwatwal-a mmere omukyala
 Mu nju mu- a- twal-a mmere o- mu- kyala
 18LOC 9.house 18AgrS-PAST-took-FV 9PPX-9PX-food 1PPX-1PX.wife
 ‘Into the house took food the wife.’
- (81) a. (i) Abasajja tebanywamu omwenge ((mu) bbaala).
 A- ba- sajj-a te-ba- nyw-a o-mu-enge mu li- baala
 2PPX-2PX-men NEG-2AgrS-drink-FV 3PPX-3PX-beer 18LOC 5PX-bar
 ‘The men should not drink in the bar the beer.’
- (ii) Abasajja tebanywa mwenge mu bbaala.
 A- ba- sajj-a te-ba- nyw-a o-mu-enge mu li- baala
 2PPX-2PX-men NEG-2AgrS-drink-FV 3PPX-3PX-beer 18LOC 5PX-bar
 ‘The men do not drink beer in the bar.’
- b. (i) Mu bbaala temunywa abasajja mwenge.
 Mu bbaala te- mu- nyw- a a- ba- sajj-a o-mu-enge
 18LOC 7PPX-7PX NEG-18AgrS-work-FV 2PPX-2PX-men 3PPX-3PX-
 beer
 ‘In the bar men should not drink the beer.’
- (ii) Mu bbaala te-munywa(mu) basajja mwenge.
 Mu bbaala te- mu- nyw- a- mu ba- sajj-a mu-enge
 18LOC 7PPX-7PX NEG-18AgrS-work-FV-18CL 2PX-men 3PX-beer
 ‘In the bar is not where the men drink beer.’

In the above examples, it is evident that, not all verbs allow locative inversion. Details regarding the types of verbs and the permissibility of locative inversion, and their corresponding interpretations, is detailed in chapters Five and Six.

There is always a possible co-occurrence of the negative **te-** and the pre-prefix on the nominal **-nywa** ‘drink’ and the conjunction **ne/na**. The presence of negation together with a pre-prefix on a noun in the postverbal position denotes the imperative mood while the negation and the absence of the pre-prefix on the noun in the postverbal position denotes specificity. The occurrence of the pre-prefix of the noun and the conjunction **ne/na** with the verb **-nywa** is illustrated in the following example.

- (82) a. (i) Abasajja banywa omwenge ne ebijanjaalo mu kibiina.
 A- ba-sajj-a ba nyw-a o-mu-enge ne bi-janjaalo mu li- baala
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-drink-FV 3PPX-PX-beer and 8PX-beans 18LOC

5PX- bar

‘The men drink beer and eat beans in the class.’

- (ii) Abasajja banywa mwenge na bijanjaalo mu bbaala.

A- ba- sajj-a ba- nyw-a mu- enge na bijanjaalo mu li- baala
2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-drink-FV 3PX-beer and 8PX-bean18LOC 5PX-
bar

‘The men do not drink beer in the bar.’

The conjunction **ne** co-occurs with the pre-prefix of the nominal in the postverbal position denotes a definite and a non-specific interpretation while the conjunction **na** and the absence of the pre-prefix on the nominal in the postverbal position denotes non-definiteness and specificity.

2.5.4 The non-locative use of locative prefixes

Although the current discussion aims to provide an analysis of the locative use of locative prefixes, it is necessary to briefly look at their non-locative use. Luganda locatives appear in constructions in which they do not have a locative meaning. The locative use of the prefix (-) **wa-** yields a locative meaning when referring to the locative noun *awantu* ‘a place’ as well as locative expressions. In some instances, it does not have a locative meaning. In Luganda, **wa-** is used in expletive constructions, where a logical subject (83a), or object in passive sentences in (83b), are focused. *The prefix wa-* is also used/marked on weather condition verbs as demonstrated in the example (84):

- (83) a. **Wa**-a-baddeyo abakazi bana.
16.SM-PST-be-PERF 1PPX-2PX-woman 2PX-four
Lit: 'There have been four women.'
- b. **Wa**-a-zuul-iddw-a-yo e-bisero bi-biri.
16AgrS-PAST-find-PASS-PERF-23CL 8PPX-8PX-basket 8PX-two
Lit: 'There have been bought five books.'
- (84) **Wa**-tangadde.
16.DJ-be.bright-PERF
'It has become bright.'

The element **wa-** is also used in temporal expressions, appearing in a various words referring to location in time. The meaning of these time expressions is closely related to their counterpart locative expressions. In fact, as is demonstrated by their morphology, they share the stem:

- (85) a. **wa-mberi** 'before' ‘at the front’

b. **wa-bbali** 'after' 'at the side'

This is so because location can refer to space or time. The link between spatial and temporal expressions is real. Like locative expressions, preposed temporal expressions are marked on the verb or the adjective with the class 16 prefix **wa-**. The prefix **wa-** is non-locative when it appears in expletive constructions (where the thematic subject appears postverbally) or when no subject is expressed, such as in weather condition verbs. It also appears in temporal expressions because there is a conceptual link between time and space.

Temporal use of locative prefixes explains spatial location. Locatives **ku-** and **mu-** (and their counterparts **kuli/muli**) can also refer to a temporal location. These forms appear in many expressions. With the times of day, in some cases, it is unclear why one locative is used but not the other. Considering, for example, the grammaticality of **ku makya** 'in the morning' and the ungrammaticality of ***mu misana** 'during the day', in my view the locative meaning is not clearly expressed. Thus, locatives should be construed as having the meaning of 'with respect to'. This is why in Luganda, indeed, it is rather unclear why the word **makya** 'morning' should have 'interiority' features expressed by locative **ku-** of class 17, while **misana** 'the day' would lack these features. (see Ashton et al (1954). Regarding partitive use of the affix **-ko**, a locative expression with the affix **-ko** is often used to convey a partitive meaning.

- (86) Abaana ba-a-lidde-ko ku mmere.
 A ba- ana ba- a- ly- e- ko ku mmere.
 PPX-2PX-child 2AgrS-PAST-eat-PERF-17CL LOC17 9.food
 'The children ate some of the food.'

It is important to note that the constructions in which the locative **ku-** has a partitive meaning, the locative **wa-** is not used as an object prefix.

2.6 LUGANDA VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

2.6.1 The Luganda verb

Luganda verbs demonstrate the structure, typical of Bantu languages, of affixes fixed around a lexical core, called a radical root such as **-tem-a** 'cut'. Intransitive verbs have a single argument, and are categorized into unergative and unaccusative verbs depending on their underlying syntactic structure. An unaccusative verb has a single object which is an internal argument and has themes. An unergative verb has a single argument which is a subject, and

(88) Tetulikimuweeramuuko

Te- tu- li- ki- mu- w- el- a- muu- ko
 NEG-2pro-FUT-7pro-1pro-give-APPL-FV-18CL 17LOC
 ‘We will never give him or her in it’

Luganda transitive or intransitive verbs can be extended with verbal extensions such as applicatives, which introduce particular meanings to the verb, and non-extended, as found in their first forms with their final vowel affixed. Luganda verbs can be descriptive, denoting the state or likeness of the main noun working as a subject in the sentence such as **faanana** ‘resemble’. The following examples illustrate that the Luganda verb may be followed by one or two objects (mono-transitive and ditransitive) or may not need to be followed by an argument (intransitive):

- (89) a. Omwana yagenda (ku kisaawe) / *(ko) (*ekisaawe)/ (*kisaawe).
 O-mw-ana y-a-gend-a (ku ki-saawe) / *(ko) (*e-ki-saawe)/ (*ki-saawe)
 1PPX-1px-chief 1AgrS-past-went-FV (17LOC 7.field)/(7PPX-7.field)/ (7.field)
 ‘The child went (to the field) / (the field) / (field) ’
- b. A-ba-ana ba-a-som-a e-bi-tabo (mu ki-biina).
 A-ba-ana ba-a-som-a e-bi-tabo (mu ki-biina).
 2PPX-2PX-children 2AgrS-PAST-read-FV 8PPX-8 PX books (18LOC 7 PX -class).
 ‘The children read books in the class.’
- c. Omwana akaaba.
 O- mu- ana a- kaab-a
 1PPX-1px-child 1AgrS-cry-FV
 ‘The child is crying ’

In (89a), the verb **gend-a** has two arguments (mono-transitive), (89b) has three arguments (ditransitive) while (89c) has one argument (intransitive). Luganda intransitive verbs can be ergative (unaccusative) as in (90a) or unergative as in (90b).

- (90) a. Abaana basoma ebitabo.
 A- ba- ana ba- som- a e- bi- tabo (mu ki-biina).
 2PPX-3PX-children 2AgrS-read-FV 6PPX-6PX-books 18LOC 7PX-class
 ‘The tree broke’
- b. E-n-kuba e- tony-a.
 E- n- k uba e- tony-a.
 9PPX-9PX-rain 9AgrS-rain-FV.
 ‘The rain is are raining.’

The verb **tonny-a** in (90 b) is unergative because it has an agent argument, implying that unergative verbs have no transitive counterparts. The verb **menyek-a** in (91) is accusative because it has an argument. This argument may have originated from a verb phrase supported by the fact that unaccusative verbs have transitive counterparts as in the following example sentence.

(91) Omwana amenye omuti.

O- mu- ana a- meny- e o- mu- ti
 1PPX-1PX-child 1AgrS-break-PERF 3PPX-3PX-tree
 ‘The child has broken a tree.’

2.6.2 Licensing locative inversion with (in)transitive verbs

Bresnan and Kanerva (1989), in discussing Chichewa, have asserted that locative inversion is only possible with intransitive verbs. This may not be the case for Luganda as some transitive verbs such as **genda** ‘go’ and **yingira** ‘enter’ seem to allow inversion as illustrated in the following example:

- (92) a. Omwana yayingira (mu kibira) (*ekibira)/ (*kibira).
 O-mw-ana y-a-yingir-a (mu ki-bira) / (*e-ki-bira)/ (*ki-bira)
 1PPX-1px-child 1AgrS-PAST-enter-FV (17LOC 7.forest)/(7PPX-7.forest)/
 (7.forest)
 ‘The child entered (in the forest) / (the forest) / (forest)’
- b. Mu kibira mwayingira omwana / mwana.
 Mu ki-bira mu- a- yingir-a o- mu- ana / mu- ana.
 18LOC 7.forest 18AgrS-PAST-entered-FV 1PPX-1PX.child /1PX.child
 ‘In the forest entered (the child) / (child)’

The properties of selected transitive and intransitive verbs and their interpretation in Luganda are discussed in the analysis chapters Five and Six. I briefly demonstrate a transitive verb in regard to locative inversion:

- (93) a. Abakazi bafumb(ira)(mu) (e)mmere mu ffumbiro
 A- ba- kazi ba- fumb-ir-a-mu e-mmere mu ffumbiro
 2PPX-2PX-women 2AgrS-cook-APPL-FV-18CL 9PPX-9.food 18LOC 5PX-
 kitchen
 ‘The women cook food in the kitchen’
- b. Mu ffumbiro mufumb(ir)a(mu) (a)bakazi (e)mmere.
 Mu fumbiro mu- fumb- ir- a- mu a-ba- kazi e-mmere
 18LOC 5.kitchen 18AgrS-cook-APPL-FV-18CL 2PPX-2PX-women 9PPX-
 9.food
 ‘In the kitchen is where the women cook food from’

Transitive verbs such as **teek-a** ‘put’, **twal-a** ‘take’, and **simb-a** ‘plant’, which in terms of their inherent lexical semantics have a locative argument, do not license locative inversion as illustrated in the following examples.

- (94) a. Omukyala yatwal*(ir)a emmere mu nju.
 O- mu-kyala y- a- twal-*(ir)- a e-mmere mu nju
 1PPX-1PX-wife 1AgrS-PAST-took-*(APPL)-FV 9PPX-9.food (18LOC 9.house)
 ‘The wife took the food into the house’
- b. Mu nju mwatwalira emmere (omukyala).
 Mu nju mu- a- twal-ir- a e-mmere (o-mu-kyal-a)
 18LOC 9.house 18AgrS-PAST-took-APPL-FV 9PPX-food (1PPX-1PX.wife)
 ‘Into the house, the food was taken by the wife’

2.6.3 Tense, aspect and mood

Mallya (2016) posits that, although tense, aspect and mood are often expressed by a single morpheme, grammatically they are conceptually different. According to Katamba (2003: 107), tense and aspect are both related to time, but tense situates time of events about a particular point whereas aspects distribute events within time itself. Tense situates time of events externally whereas aspect situates time of events internally (see Makanjila, 2019: 43). Ashton et al (1954: 293) discuss six tenses: (i) present tense and every day tense, (ii) near past tense, (iii) Intermediate past, (iv) far past tense, (v) near future tense, and (vi) the far future tense. I illustrate the present, past, and future tenses exemplified in sentences (95 a-c)

- (95) a. Abazadde bawandiikira ebbaluwa mu kibiina [-a-]
 A- ba- zadde ba- wandiik-ir-a e- n- baluwa mu ki-biina
 2PPX-2PX-parents AgrS-write-APPL—FV 9PPX-9PX-letter 18LOC 7PX-class
 ‘The parents are writing the letter from the class’
- b. Abazadde baawandiikira ebbaluwa mu kibiina [-a-, -a]
 A- ba- zadde ba- a- wandiik-ir- a e- n- baluwa mu ki-biina
 2PPX-2PX-parents AgrS-PAST-write-APPL—FV 9PPX-9PX-letter 18LOC
 7PX-class
 ‘The parents wrote the letter from the class’
- c. Abazadde baliwandiikira ebbaluwa mu kibiina [-li-, -a]
 A- ba- zadde ba- li- wandiik-ir- a e- n- baluwa mu ki-biina
 2PPX-2PX-parents AgrS-FUT-write-APPL—FV 9PPX-9PX-letter 18LOC
 7PX-class
 ‘The parents will write the letter from the class’

According to Crabtree (1923), Luganda exhibits perfective and imperfective aspect. The perfective aspect is characterized by the morphemes **–e**, and **–a**. The imperfective appears in the form of a progressive and habitual. I illustrate the perfective and imperfective aspects in (96).

- (96) a. Abaana basiikira amagi mu ffumbiro [-a]
 A- ba- ana ba- siik-ir-a a- ma- gi mu n-fumbiro
 2PPX-2PX-children AgrS-fry-APPL—FV -HAB 6PPX- 6PX-eggs 18LOC
 9PX-kitchen
 ‘The children fry eggs in the kitchen’ [incomplete action][habitual]
- b. Abaana basiikidde amagi mu ffumbiro [ly, i, and e]
 A- ba- ana ba- siik-idde a- ma- gi mu n-fumbiro
 2PPX-2PX-children AgrS-fry-APPL—PERF 6PPX- 6PX-eggs 18LOC 9PX-
 kitchen
 ‘The children have (already) fried the eggs in the kitchen’ [perfective aspect,
 complete]
- c. Abaana banaasiikira amagi mu ffumbiro [siik, naa]
 A- ba- ana ba- naa-siik-ir- a a- ma- gi mu n-fumbiro
 2PPX-2PX-children AgrS-ASP-fry-APPL—FV 6PPX- 6PX-eggs 18LOC 9PX-
 kitchen
 ‘The children are going to fry the eggs in the kitchen’ [near future aspect]

The examples in (95) illustrate the present tense and their perfective and imperfective aspects; the progressive aspect denotes an incomplete action or event, whereas perfective aspects indicate the sense of completion of the event denoted by the verb. In (95a), the event is described as a tendency or habit, despite lacking that sense of perfective or completeness. This event is regarded as an imperfective habitual.

The final slot is for the final vowel, realised by **–a** when the verb which it occurs with is in the indicative mood. However, it changes to **–e** if the verb is in the subjunctive or imperative. It may also be realised by **–ile** if the verb it occurs with is in perfective aspect, while some borrowed words may be realised as **–i** or **–u**.

2.7 LOCATIVE APPLICATIVES, CLITICS, CAUSATIVES AND PASSIVES

2.7.1 Causatives and statives, and passives

Bresnan and Kanerva (1989) in investigating Chichewa, state that locative inversion is not allowed with transitive verbs. My view is that, locative inversion is possible, dependent on

the use of particular verb extensions, particularly the applicative and the locative clitics. Many verbal extensions in Luganda can occur in prefinal position, they include: applicatives (**-il/-el-**), the causative (**-is-, -es-**), statives (**-ik-, -ek-**), and the passive (**-w-, -bw-, -ebw**)

The causative verb extension exemplifies the causative affixes **-z.a, -y.a, -es.a, -s.a, -is.a** giving two major meanings: (i) demonstrating someone making or causing something to be done, and (ii) demonstrating something being used to do something. The stative verb extension exhibits affixes such as; **-ik.a, -ek.a, ezek.a** and **-izik.a**. These affixes are affixed to the verb to give the meaning of (i) to be done, or (ii) that the action of the verb is do-able by the person willing to do it. The causative, like the applicative, changes the valency of the verb by adding a new internal argument in the internal structure of the predicate. The anticausative stative verb does not. Thus, the causative investigated in the current study relates to the causative and anticausative uses of a verb, as demonstrated in examples (97) and (98).

(97) Abawala baayasa ensuwa ku luzzi[causative]
 A-ba-wala ba-a-yas-a e-n-suwa- k u lu-zzi
 2-child 2AgrS-PAST- break- FV 7-cup
 ‘The girls broke the pot at the well’

(98) *Ensuwa yayatika ku luzzi [anticausative]*
 E-n-suwa y-a-tik-a k ulu-zzi
 7-chair 7AgrS-PAST- break- STAT- FV
 ‘The cup broke’ (the cup became/got broken)

The passive verb extension affixes include **-ibwa, -ebwa, and -wa**. The affixes **-iddwa** or **-iddwa** or **-ibbwa, or -ebbwa** are written in the intermediate past tense if a meaning is expressed of more than 24 hours in the past. Passives entail argument alternation of the subject, maintaining the function of the subject in the sentence. Similarly to applicative, the passive in Luganda introduces an alternation of the actor and the non-actor roles, both syntactically and semantically, as demonstrated in (99).

- (99) a. Omukyala yafumba caayi mu ffumbiro.
 O- mu- kyala ya- fumb- a caayi mu ffumbiro
 1PPX-1PX-woman AgrS-cook- FV 1.tea 18LOC 5.kitchen
 ‘The woman cooked the tea in the kitchen’
- b. *Caayi yafumbibwa omukyala mu ffumbiro.*
 Caayi ya- fumb- ibw- a (o- mu- kyala mu
 ffumbiro)
 1tea 1AgrS-PST- cook- PASS-FV (1PPX-1PX-woman 18LOC 5.kitchen)
 ‘The tea was cooked (by the child in the kitchen).’

In Luganda, verbs which end with **-l-** normally take **-iddw.a/-eddw.a**, while others take **-ibbw.a/-ebbw.a**. After a passive affix, any other affix (except the locative clitic) may not occur on the verb. The final vowel in Luganda always takes the form **-a**, except in the perfective aspect constructions which take **-e**. In Luganda, in the very final slot there is one or two of the locative clitics **-wo**, **-ko**, **-mu**, and **-yo**, corresponding to noun classes 16, 17, 18, and 23, respectively.

2.7.2 The locative applicative

The applicative suffix broadly is associated with a variety of semantic roles, including benefactive, instrumental, and locative. The benefactive role is cross-linguistically the most prominent. The applicative form is the core way of expressing a benefactive role in many Bantu languages. The locative role, however, is not only expressed by the applicative affix given that this role can be expressed by the locative noun classes. This means that the locative applicative affix is generally an optional element in those languages where it occurs, as demonstrated in the following example.

- (100) (i) Omuwala yalya eryenvu ku kisasi.
 O-mu-wala y- a- ly- a e- li- nvu ku ki- sasi
 1PPX-1PX-girl 1.SM-PAST-eat-FV 5PPX-5PX.banana 16LOC 7PX-porch
 ‘The girl ate a banana on the porch.’
- (ii) Omuwala yaliira eryenvu ku kisasi.
 O-mu-wala y- a- li- ir- a e- li- envu ku ki- sasi
 1PPX-1PX-girl 1.SM -PAST-eat-APPL-FV 5PPX-5PX-banana 16LOC 7PX-
 porch
 ‘The girl ate a banana on the porch.’
- (iii) Omuwala yalyawo eryenvu ku kisasi.
 O-mu-wala y- a- li- a- wo e- li- envu ku ki- sasi
 1PPX-1PX-girl 1.SM-PAST-eat-FV-16LOC 5PPX-5PX.banana 16LOC 7PX-
 porch
 ‘The girl ate a banana on the porch.’

According to Ashton et al (1954), the applicative bears different meanings: (i) a place where the action takes place, (ii) demonstrating the reason why is being done by the person doing it, and (iii) demonstrating that someone is helping another to do something which he/she would have done. In the example below, (i) demonstrates the place, (ii) demonstrates the reason, while (iii) demonstrates helping.

- (101) a. **-er.a** in **-kolera** ‘work at ’ b. **ir.a** in **-situlira** ‘lift at ’

Regarding the semantics of locative clitics in Luganda, Ashton et al (1954) observe that there are verbs which need a clitic to express meaning, including **Ggya-wo** ‘Take away from a particular place’; **Vvaa-wo** ‘Get out of the way’; **Vvaa-mu** ‘Get out from inside’; **Vvaa-ko** ‘Get off from’; **Vvaa-yo** ‘Come out of there’; **Ggya-mu** ‘Take away from within’; and **Ggya-ko** ‘Take away from off the place’.

2.7.3 Discourse-pragmatic functions of of locative clitics

Languages which do not have object agreement prefixes like Luganda, generally have locative clitics. Luganda has a rich range of locative clitics. It is one of the Bantu languages which do have all the four locative clitics; 16 (**-wo**), 17 (**-ko**), 18 (**-mu**) and 23 (**-yo**) corresponding to the four locative noun classes; 16 (**wa**), 17 (**ku**), 18 (**mu**) and 23 (**e**). These locative clitics, together with locative applicatives play a central role in the locative inversion constructions, especially in the rather productive locative inversion sentences with intransitive verbs. When clitics in Luganda are affixed to the verb, they bear varying interpretations (see Nanteza, 2018) as will be indicated in this section. Chapter Five and Six of this study will examine in more detail the locative applicative.

Ashton et al (1954) assert that, clitics in Luganda have wider semantic implications than that of place. Clitics can be used for pragmatic functions as well as locative functions. Some of the contexts in which clitics may occur include the partitive concept, quantity and degree, and have a thematic relationship with the predicate which trigger agreement with a locative phrase. The partitive function of clitics is attested only with **-ko** and **-mu**, with **-mu** being more subtle than **-ko**, as demonstrated in the following examples:

- (102) Omusajja aguzeeko ebitabo bisatu ebirungi.
 O-mu-sajja a- gul- e- ko e- bi- tabo bi- satu e- bi- rungi.
 1PPX-1PX-man 1AgrS-buy-PERF-17CL 8PPX-8PX-book 7PX.three 1PPX-8PX-
 good
 ‘The man has bought three good books out of them.’

This partitive concept can be extended to express degree, quantity, time, and state, as demonstrated with **-ko**, in the following examples.

- (103) Ku bi-tabo omusajja a-gu-zee-ko bisatu ebirungi.
 Ku bi-tabo o- mu- sajja a- gul- e- ko bi- satu e- bi- rungi
 17LOC 8PX-book 1PPX-1PX-man 1AgrS-buy-PERF-17.CL 8PX-three 8PPX-
 8PX-good

‘The man has bought three books out of the good.’

- (104) Muwala we baamwogerezaako omwaka oguyise.
 Mu-wala- we ba- a- mu- ogerez- a- ko o-mu-aka o- gu- yit-
 e
 1PX-girl 2POSS 2AgrS-PAST-AgrO-engage-FV-17.CL 3PPX-3PX-year 3PPX-3PX-
 last-PERF
 ‘Her/his daughter was at one time engaged last year.’
- (105) Omwana kyo ky’akoze kirungiko.
 O- mu- wala ki-o ki- a- kol- e ki- lungi- ko.
 1PPX-1PX-girl 7.EMPH 7PX-1AgrS-do-PERF 7PX-good-17.CL
 ‘What the girl has done is fairly good.’
- (106) Omukyala afumbyemu matooke mu kifo kya muwogo.
 O-mu-kyala a- fumb- e- mu ma-tooke- mu ki-fo ki-a mu-wogo
 1PPX-1PX-woman 1AgrS-cook-PERF-18CL 8PX-banana 18LOC 7PX.Place 7PX.of
 1PX-cassava
 ‘The woman has cooked matooke instead of cassava.’
- (107) Mwanguwako omukyala tatusanga wano.
 Mu- anguw-a- ko o- mu-kyala te- a- tu- sang- a wa- no
 1AgrS-hurry-FV-17CL 1PPX-1PX-woman NEG-1AgrS-1AgrO-sang-FV 16LOC-
 here
 ‘You hurry the woman shouldn’t find us here.’
- (108) Mutuyambeko enkuba tetusanga wano.
 Mu- tu- yamb- e- ko e- nkub- a te- tu- sang- a wa- no
 1AgrS-1AgrO-help- FV- 17CL 9PPX-9.rain-FV NEG-1AgrO-sang-FV 16LOC-
 here
 ‘Help us such that rain should not find us here.’
- (109) (i) Buuza taata akubuulire.
 Buuz-a o-mu-wala a- ku- buulir- e
 Ask –FV 1PPX-1PX-girl 1AgrS-1AgrO-buulir- PERF
 ‘Ask the girl to tell you.’
- (ii) Buuzaako taata akubuulire.
 Buuz-a-ko o-mu-wala a- ku- buulir- e
 Ask –FV-17CL 1PPX-1PX-girl 1AgrS-1AgrO-buulir- PERF
 ‘Ask the girl to tell you.’
- (110) Omulenzi tagendangako mu kibuga.
 O-mu-lenzi te- a- gend-a- nga- ko mu ki- buga
 1PPX-1PX-boy NEG-AgrS-go- FV- HAB- 17CL 18LOC 7PX-town
 ‘The girl has never gone to the town.’

The clitic appearing on a verb with the habitual suffix **-nga**

- (111) Omusomesa tomutawaanya eby' okulima tebimukwatako.
 O- mu-somesa te- o- mu- tawaany-a e-bi-o-ku-lima te-bi-mu-kwat-a-ko
 1PPX-1PX-teacherNEG-1pro-1proAgrS-disturb-FV8PPX-8PX-15PPX-15PX-
 farmingNEG-8AgrO-1AgrO-concern-17CL
 'Do not disturb the teacher he is not concerned with the issues of farming.'

From the foregoing example sentences, the functions of each construction are observed: the partitive function of quantity (102, 103), the partitive function of time (104), the partitive function of degree/minimizing (105), clitics as a suffix the idea 'instead of' (106), clitics as a suffix urgency (107), clitics 17 **-ko**, 18 **-mu**, and 23 **-yo** as prefixes of politeness (108), clitics as prefixes of uncertainty (109), clitics as prefixes of negative emphasis (110, 111), and clitic **-ko** as a prefix bearing a reading of the idea of 'concern' or 'about'. According to Ashton et al (1954), the clitic **-mu** implies 'withinness' and 'through' or 'among', as illustrated in the following examples:

- (112) (a) Mu nte ezo londamu enzirugavu.
 Mu nte e- zi-o lond- a- mu enzirugavu.
 18LOC 10.cows 10PPX-10.DEM pick-FV-18.LC 9PPX-10.black
 'In those cows pick out the black ones'
- (b) Nnyimbiraamu oluyimba olulungi.
 N-n- yimb-a-ir- a- mu o- lu- yimb- a o- lu- lungi.
 1AgrS-sing-APPL-FV-18.CL 11PPX-11PX-song-FV 11PPX-11PX-good
 'Sing through your songs for me'
- (c) Lwaki tomuddamu kibuzo kye?
 Lwaki te-o-mu- dd- a- mu ki- buuzo ki- e?
 Why NEG-IV-AgrS-answer-FV-18.LC 7PX-question 7PX-his/her
 'Why don't you answer him?'

Regarding locative clitics in locative inversion constructions, Luganda clitics are licensed in locative inversion constructions. They are obligatorily affixed to the verb and agrees in class with the locative noun phrase that appears in the preverbal position. Thus, the subject agreement in such cases is controlled by the preverbal locative phrase, as demonstrated in the following example in (113), contrasting with (114) and (115):

- (113) E Mawokota eriyo omwenge.
 E Mawokota e- ri- yo o-mu-enge
 23LOC-PN 23 AgrS-to be 23.CL 3PPX-3PX-beer
 'At Mawokota there is beer.'
- (114) Ku lusozi twagendayo babiri.
 Ku lu-sozi tu- a-gend-a-yo ba-biri

17LOC 11PX-mountain 1AgrS-go-PAST-FV-23.CL 2PX-two
 ‘We went two on the mountain.’

- (115) Mu nju tu- a- gend- a- yo ba-biri
 18LOC 9.house 1AgrS-PAST- go- FV- 23.CL 2PX-two
 ‘We went two on the mountain.’

But it should be noted that only the locative clitic is in agreement with the fronted locative phrase appearing as subject. Locative clitics are licensed on locative fronting in Luganda, where the locative phrase occurs in the postverbal position, although not appearing as the subject of the construction since only the locative clitic obligatorily agrees with the preverbal locative phrase, as seen in the following examples:

- (116) Mu nju eyingiddeyo abaserikale.
 Mu nju e- yingil- e- yo a-ba-serikale
 18LOC- 9-house 23AgrS-enter- PERF- 23.CL 2PPX-2PX-soldiers
 ‘In the house entered the soldiers.’

- (117) Mu nju eyingidde (*mu) abaserikale.
 Mu nju e- ying-dde-(*mu) a-ba-serikale
 18LOC 9-house 23AgrS-enter-PERF-23.CL 2PPX-2PX-soldiers
 ‘In the house entered the soldiers.’

- (118) Mu nju eyingidde (*mu) abaserikale.
 Mu nju e- yingil- e- (*mu) a- ba- serikale
 18LOC- 9-house 23AgrS-enter-PERF- 23.CL 2PPX-2PX-soldiers
 ‘In the house entered the soldiers.’

Although a locative clitic in some Bantu languages cannot co-occur with a locative phrase in its post-verbal canonical position, in Luganda it is possible. The co-occurrence of the locative phrase and the locative clitic is optional and depends on background knowledge shared by the discourse participants.

- (119) Eriyo ebinyonyi (ku lusozi).
 E- ri- yo e- bi- nyonyi (ku lu- sozi)
 23AgrS-to be- 8PPX-8PX-birds- (17LOC-11PX-mountain)
 ‘There are birds on the mountain.’

The bracketed phrase in (119) is optional; the speaker may choose to mention it or leave it out as it may be presupposed in the background knowledge. Luganda is one of the Bantu languages where locative object prefixes do not exist, and thus, verbal locative clitics are

found in languages where locative object prefixes are absent. This property is illustrated in the following examples:

- (120) (i) Ekitabo kyo bakireetedde ku pikipiki.
 E- ki- tabo ki-o ba- ki- reet- e ku pikipiki
 7PPX-7PX-book 7.EMPH 2AgrS-AgrO-take-PERF-17LOC 9.motorcycle
 ‘The book they have taken on the motorcycle.’
- (ii) Bakigitwaliddeko.
 Ba- ki- gi- twal- il- e- ko
 2AgrS-7AgrO-9AgrO-take-APPL-PERF-17CL
 ‘They have taken it on it.’
- (121) (i) Ekitabo bakireetedde ku pikipiki.
 E- ki- tabo ba-ki-reet- e ku pikipiki
 7PPX-7PX-book 2AgrS-take-APPL-PERF 17LOC 9.motorcycle
 ‘The book they have taken it on the motorcycle.’
- (ii) Bakigitwaliddeko.
 Ba- ki- gi- twal- il- e -ko
 2AgrS-AgrO-AgrO-take-APPL-PERF-17CL
 ‘They have taken it on it.’

The examples above refer to ‘the book that was taken using a motorcycle’. However, (120 i) does not have an object prefix, hence the interpretation is ambiguous between a locative and a pragmatic reading. It is either that the book was taken on behalf of someone (pragmatic function) or something was used to take the book (the locative function). However, when the object agreement prefix is affixed to the verb as in (121 i), the only possible interpretation is the locative, that the book was taken using the motorcycle, hence ruling out the ambiguity. This conforms with Riedel and Marten’s (2012) observation that the absence of locative object prefixes in some Bantu languages makes the locative clitic an alternative to locative object prefixes. The applicative in Luganda serves different functions when affixed to the verb including locative, benefactive and motive or reason for doing something, as demonstrated by the following examples. Ashton et al (1954) state that, an applicative in Luganda can be expressed by the following verb extensions: **-ir-a**, **-er-a**. The vowel in the suffix must be in harmony with that in the root. I illustrate the function of the applicative using the following examples:

- (122) O-mu-wala a-lim-ir-a mu ki-bira. [Location]
 O-mu-wala a- lim- ir- a mu ki- bira
 1PPX-1PX-girl 1AgrS-read-APPL- FV 18-LOC 7PX-forest
 ‘The girl digs from the forest.’
- (123) O-mu-wala omuleetereyo ekitabo. [Benefactive]
 O-mu-wala o-mu-leet- er- a- yo e- ki- tabo
 1PPX-1PX-girl 1PPX-1AgrS-bring-APPL-FV-23.LC 7PPX- 7PX-book
 ‘Bring the girl a book.’
- (124) O-mu-wala alimira ssente. [Motive/Reason]
 O-mu-wala a- lim- ir- a nsimbi
 1PPX-1PX-girl 1AgrS-dig-APPL-FV 9-money
 ‘The girl digs for money.’

Construction (123) exhibits a benefactive reading while (124) has a motive reading. The co-occurrence of the applicative and a clitic on a transitive or intransitive verb yields a substitutive benefactive reading, where the action of the verb is performed by the subject instead of the benefactive object, as in the following examples.

- (125) Muwala, okibatwalirako ekitabo ekyo.
 Muwala, o- ki- ba- twal- ir- a- ko e- ki- tabo e -ki- o
 1PX-girl 7PPX-7AgrS-2AgrO-take-APPL-FV-17.LC 7PPX-7PX-book 7PPX-7PX-
 that
 ‘Girl, you take that book for them.’
- (126) Omusajja ajja kubasalirako keeki y’omugole.
 O-mu-sajj-a a- jja ku- ba- sal- ir- a- ko keeki ya-o- mu-gole
 1PPX-1PX-man 1AgrS-will 15PX-2AgrS-cut-APPL-FV-17.LC 9.cake of-1PPX-
 1PX-bride
 ‘He will cut the bride’s cake for you/on behalf of you.’

The clitic **-ko** is the only one used for the formation of the substitutive benefactive in Luganda. Suffixed to any of the other clitics, it would yield a different interpretation, as demonstrated in the example below.

- (127) Mulenzi, kibasomere (#mu) ekitabo bawulire..
 Mu-lenzi, ki- ba- som- er- e- (#mu) e- ki- tabo ba-wulire
 1PX-boy 7AgrS-2AgrO-read-APPL-PERF-18.LC 7PPX-7PX-book 2PPX-hear
 ‘Boy, read for them the book and they hear.’

In the construction (127) above, the clitic **#mu** does not bear a locative meaning. Regarding locative clitics and verb selection, all kinds of verbs can occur with any of the four clitics in

Luganda, and even more than one, unlike in some languages like Fwe where a verb cannot take more than one clitic. When two locative clitics appear on the verb, it is only **-wo** and **-yo** that can appear as locative prefixes. Other clitics **-ko** and **-mu** can only appear when serving other pragmatic functions:

- (128) Obudde bwe twagenderangamuuyo bubi.
 O-bu- dde bwe tu- a- gend-er- a- nga- muu- yo bu- bi
 14PPX-14-time 14.when 2AgrS-PAST-go- APPL- FV-HAB-18LC-23LC 8PX-bad
 ‘The time when we used to go there is bad.’
- (129) Leetakoyyo ebitabo bibiri.
 Leet- a- ko- yyo e- bi- tabo bi- biri
 Bring-FV-17CL- 23LC 8PPX-8PX-book 8PX-two
 Lit: ‘Bring little of that particular one.’
- (130) Vvaakowwo omusajja ayitewo.
 Vv- a- ko- wwo o- mu- sajja a- yit- e- wo
 Leave-FV-17-LC-16LC 1PPX-1PX-man 1AgrS-yit-PERF16CL
 Lit: ‘Leave that particular place for a little while and the man passes.’

If two verbs occur in the same verb phrase, a locative clitic is placed on the last verb of the phrase as in (131), as the main verb always bears the clitic. It is ungrammatical in a similar situation to suffix the clitic on the auxiliary verb (132). This is illustrated in the following examples:

- (131) Omukyala asobola okuzaalirayo abaana.
 O-mu-kyala a- sobol- a o- ku- zaal- ir- a- yo a- ba- ana
 1PPX-PX-wife-1AgrS-can- FV 15PPX-15PX-give birth-APPL-FV-23CL 2PPX-
 2PX-children
 ‘The woman can give birth to children from there.’
- (132) Omukyala asobola (*-yo) okuzaalira abaana.
 O-mu-kyala a- sobol-a- (*yo) o- ku- zaal- ir- a- a- ba- ana
 1PPX-PX-wife-1AgrS-can-FV-(*23CL)15PPX-15PX-give birth-APPL-FV-2PPX-
 2PX-children
 ‘The woman can give birth to children from there’

Locative clitics in my observation are prefixed on the main verb as demonstrated above in the situation when the sentence has two verbs. In the next section, I discuss the context in which the locative clitic occurs.

2.7.4 Contexts in which the locative clitics occur

There is a correspondence between the Luganda locative prefixes (-)wa-, *ku-* *mu-*, and *e(-)*, and the locative clitics *-wo*, *-ko*, *-mu*, and *-yo*, which is as follows: *wa-wo*, *ku-ko*; *mu-mu*; *e-yo*. The first context in which these clitics occur is when they refer to, or substitute for a locative expression comprising the locative NP: **Yakuttewo** 'He touched there.' The locative clitics *wo*, *ko*, *mu*, and *yo* can replace not only a locative NP but also the locative noun *awantu* 'place.' This is demonstrated in the following example:

- (133) a. **Yakutte awantu.** 'He touched someplace.' = **Yakutte-wo.** 'He touched there.'
 b. **Ava awantu** 'He is coming from someplace.' = **Avaa-yo** 'He is coming from there'

Although both *wo* and *yo* can refer to the noun *awantu* 'place', the locative *wo* appear when the place referred to is smaller or nearer, while *yo* refers to larger or farther places. For example, *wo* can replace the locative phrases *ku mmeeza* 'on/at the table', *ku muti* 'on a tree', *ku kisenge* 'on the wall', *ku lupapula* 'on a piece of paper', all of which refer to smaller/nearer places. The clitic *yó* is more appropriate for larger or farther places such as *ku katale* 'at the market', *ku ssomero* 'at school', *ewaká* 'at home', *mu kibuga* 'in town', *mu Bungereza* 'in England'. In this respect, if the place referred to is larger or farther, *yó* can correspond to all the three locatives (*wa*, *ku-*, *mu-*, and *e-*). The table (2:10) demonstrates the summary of the correspondence between the locative classes, prefixes and the locative clitics:

Table 2:10: Locatives, clitics, and object prefixes

Noun class	Loc prefixes	Clitic	AgrS/AgrO
16	Wa-	wo(yo)	wa-
17	ku(-)	ku(yo)	ku-
18	Mu	mu(yo)	mu-
23	e(-)	yo(wo)	e-

The clitic properties of *wo*, *ku*, *mu*, and *yó* are the suffixes written at the end of the verb, an adjective or an adverb to cause different meaning including *wo-*, *ko-*, *mu*, and *-yo*. So far, it has been assumed that *wo*, *mu*, and *yo* are clitics. Clitics differ from prefixes and words in three fronts, namely; binding, closure and construction. Regarding *binding*, a word is independent, whereas a clitic is a bound morpheme because it cannot occur in complete isolation. Only a word can occur in complete isolation. In this regard, Luganda clitics *wo*, *ko*,

mu, and *yo* are generally bound morphemes because they do not exist in isolation as they must be suffixed to a host. Certain affixes and clitics close off words to affixation, meaning they do not allow further affixation. This means that an element that closes off combinations to affixation, or indeed to cliticization, should be a clitic. The locatives *-wo*, *-ko*, *-mu*, and *-yo* 'close off' affixation; in other words, no suffix can follow them. All the other suffixes precede them. The locative *-mu* cannot, in any case, be followed by any other suffix apart from a non-locative clitic *-ko*, which is why some Luganda speakers are tempted to spell it as a separate word.

Regarding the property of construction, affixes combine with stems or full words. Put differently, unlike affixes, clitics do not combine with word stems. If the Luganda locative clitics *wo*, *ko mu*, and *yo* are considered against this background, they meet the criterion of construction. Indeed, they do not combine with stems and cannot appear before other suffixes. Therefore, they combine with fully inflected words; they follow the last morpheme, including the aspect morpheme in a tensed verb or the pre-prefix in an infinitive.

The results from the three tests above are corroborated by the conjoinability test which has been applied to other languages to determine the independent status of a constituent. The conjoinability test demonstrates that if two items can be conjoined, they are independent/free morphemes or lexical words. If they cannot be conjoined, then they have bound morphemes. The conjoinability test demonstrates that the locatives *-wo*, *-ko*, *-mu*, and *-yo* cannot be conjoined, thus suggesting that they are bound morphemes. Object clitics consistently demonstrate that object clitics in Luganda cannot be conjoined independently of their host nor can their host be conjoined independently of them. The fact that the locatives *-wo*, *-ko*, *-mu*, and *-yo* need a host, but that the host can be of a different category, is evidence that they are clitics.

Gapping is another test that demonstrates that locative clitics are not independent words. Words allow gapping but gapping should not be possible with affixes and clitics. Gapping is not possible with the locatives *-wo*, *-ko*, *-mu* and *-yo*. Gapping is possible with full locative expressions such as *ku nju* 'at the house' and *mu nju* 'in the house'. The conjoinability and gapping tests corroborate the results from the binding, construction and closure tests, all of which suggest that *-wo*, *-ko*, *-mu*, and *-yo* are not words, but that they are rather bound morphemes, notably clitics.

2.8 SUMMARY

This chapter discussed the phonological and morphosyntactic aspects of Luganda indicating the uses of the noun classes. In section 2.2, I have pointed out that *Luganda* has five vowels and its vowel length is phonemic with a distinction between short and long vowels. I pointed out further that consonant sounds segments represented as sequences are considered as complex segments and not underlying units. I demonstrated in section (2.2) the sound inventory of Luganda illuminating the Luganda morphemes, and further indicating the Luganda tonal properties and their interpretation regarding emphasis. This chapter considered key grammatical aspects of Luganda breaking the ground for the analysis of locative inversion in selected Luganda intransitive and transitive verbs (see chapter Five and Chapter Six). The rich properties of the noun class system was discussed in section (2.3) illustrated with special regard to the properties of the locative noun classes and their agreement system. It was pointed out that all the four nominal locative prefixes still exist in Luganda, although with varying productivity. In section (2.4), I have demonstrated the salient aspect of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity. The modifiers such demonstratives and adjectives were discussed, and section (2.5) illustrate the (co-)occurrence of pre-prefix have been explained. In section (2.6) I described TAM and selected morphemes, and in section (2.7) the importance of the argument in the analysis of verb extensions such as applicatives, passives, and statives have been explained. The properties of locative applicatives and locative clitics were included in locative classes 16, 17, 18, and 23 with their corresponding clitics. Cases of non-locative uses of locative clitics have also been examined. I conclude the chapter by setting the background to further probing into locatives in Luganda adopting a syntax-interfaces approach.

CHAPTER THREE

PERSPECTIVES ON LOCATIVE INVERSION IN BANTU LANGUAGES FROM PREVIOUS STUDIES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Locative inversion can be viewed as one of the most widely studied linguistic phenomena in Bantu languages, both from a descriptive and theoretical point of view. In Chapter two, I discussed key aspects of Luganda descriptive grammar as posited by early grammarians, including Crabtree (1921), Ashton et al (1954), Chesswas (1963), and Kirwan and Gore (1951). Although these descriptive studies provide foundational insights regarding the grammatical behaviour of locative nouns and phrases relevant to this study, they have, as pre-theoretical studies, not aimed to explore a range of questions concerning the theoretical analysis within a broadly generative approach, or considered the theoretical implications of particular descriptive properties of locative categories and constructions, as is the goal of the current investigation. Thus, the central aim of this chapter is to discuss some key perspectives on the locative and locative inversion constructions from previous theoretical studies on the locative in various Bantu languages.

Although Bantu languages exhibit a wide range of common linguistic properties due to the fact that they are genetically related (Guthrie 1971), exhibiting cross-cutting morphosyntactic and discourse-semantic properties and parameters, an extensive range of previous studies demonstrate that there exist areas of micro-variations among Bantu languages. In this chapter I discuss some key perspectives from previous theoretical studies to demonstrate some main aspects of how Luganda locatives and locative inversion constructions relate to the wider range of properties of locatives in Bantu languages by considering the Luganda locative categories and locative constructions along a continuum between typical locative and inverted locative systems. Taking into account the wide range of studies on locatives in Bantu languages, conducted within a variety of linguistic approaches, I identify seven core aspects, or areas of investigation from previous research for examining on the locative as category and locative constructions. The seven aspects are: (i) the form and distribution of the noun pre-prefix (3.2), (ii) definiteness and specificity interpretations and the occurrence of the pre-prefix (3.3,) (iii) the syntactic distribution and categorial status of locatives(3.4), (iv) locative

inversion typology, agreement and verb selection (3.5), (v) locatives and information structure (3.6), (vi) locatives, argument structure and thematic roles (3.7), and (vii) the locative applicative suffix, locative clitics, and the locative in passive, and stative verb constructions (3.8). In Section 3.9, I give a brief synthesis of the key perspectives that have emerged from the selected studies. I consider some perspectives on the theoretical accounts provided by selected scholars in their studies conducted within various theoretical approaches. This theoretical overview aims to determine aspects of research on the locative in Luganda that still require further investigation for the purpose of presenting a comprehensive syntax-interfaces of locative inversion constructions in Luganda through a detailed examination of the above-mentioned seven areas (or aspects).

3.2 THE PRE-PREFIX IN BANTU LANGUAGES

3.2.1 Introduction

Bokamba (1971) investigated the relationship between the syntax and semantics of the pre-prefix and the expression of specificity and definiteness in Dzamba. He argues that, in Dzamba, a noun is definite if it exhibits by a pre-prefix, observing that the presence of the pre-prefix in the subject noun phrase yields a definite reading, while its absence in the nominal morphology yields an indefinite reading of a noun phrase. Bokamba furthermore argues that specificity and definiteness interpretations of noun phrases do not always follow from the occurrence of the nominal pre-prefix alone, but also depend on the type of predicate and the type of construction involved. The notion of referentiality, according to Bokamba (*ibid*), is synonymous with specificity. In my view, the notion of specificity has some interaction and relationship with properties of focus, thus Bokamba's study informs aspects of the current study as regards the interface of syntax and information structure.

Bokamba points out that affirmative verbs in the past tense contribute to denoting referentiality to the subject noun, hence a specificity reading, while present and future tense verbs, like modal verbs, have no reference presupposed for the subject noun phrase, and in making no assertions, thus encodes non-specificity. Bokamba maintains that the noun phrase in negative constructions can be definite or indefinite, depending on the scope of the negation. Thus, if the negation is phrasal, the noun phrase is optionally definite and if the scope is sentential, the subject noun phrase is obligatorily indefinite.

Bokamba argues that in Dzamba, any noun phrase modified by a demonstrative, whether it is a subject or an object, is definite and specific, while subjects of passive verbs may be optionally definite. He asserts that, if the subject is present, it bears referentiality, thus the subject noun phrase is specific. He further emphasises that object noun phrases with predicates such as ‘drink’, and ‘see’, but not their negatives, always encode referentiality of their objects nouns because these objects imply the existence of their subject nouns, and thus they are specific.

Regarding conditional constructions in Dzamba, Bokamba maintains that the object noun phrase with a nominal pre-prefix presupposes the existence of a referent, thus, it bears a definite and specific reading. Furthermore, he proposes that nouns modified by adjectives are obligatorily definite. He suggests that also topicalized elements, not new in the discourse, are obligatorily marked definite since it is assumed that they have been discussed before in discourse context, and thus they are familiar (see Lyons 1999).

Gambarage (2019) posits the notion of belief-of-existence in respect to the interpretation of determiners, providing evidence from the syntax and semantics of Nata pre-prefixes. He examines the the existence of augments (or determiners) in Luganda, presenting example data to support the view that an adequate account of determiners cannot be one postulating determiner features such as (in)definiteness or (non-)referentiality/(non-)specificity, although there is a possible unified semantic account for Luganda augments (or determiners).

Gambarage claims that, as is the case in Nata, the choice between different determiners in Luganda relates to the notion of belief-of-existence, and although other factors such as focus marking do also interact with the occurrence of the augment (determiner), this was not observed with Nata. The current study on the locative and locative inversion, which employs a syntax-interfaces approach, however, views the pre-prefix in Luganda as relating to definiteness and specificity, also interacting with properties of focus, invoking Lyons’ (1999) semantic principles of definiteness and specificity. As Mould (1974) states, the augment encodes referentiality as well as definiteness in specific contexts. Thus, in respect to Gambarage (2019:259), I will demonstrate in the current study that I disagree with his claim that Luganda pre-prefixes do not encode definiteness and specificity, also referring to the views of Hyman and Katamba (1993: 219) that the reading introduced by the pre-prefix relates to the type of sentence in which nouns occur. The current study will invoke the information structural notions of topic, focus and contrast, assuming Lyons’s (1999)

semantic-pragmatic notions of definiteness and specificity to determine the readings associated with the pre-prefix of nouns in different structural positions of the DP in Luganda.

3.2.2 The pre-prefix in Luganda

Within the framework of an earlier version of generative grammar, Dewees (1971) studied the role of syntax in the occurrence of the initial vowel (IV) in Luganda and some other Bantu languages. He investigated the following issues: (i) The morphological form of the prefix in Luganda, including the IV, pointing out that all prefixes are selected based on noun classes and features of class, number, and person which can be realized on a noun or an adjective, where the noun (phrase) occurring before the verb is a subject and the one occurring after the verb is the object, (ii) terminal categorization and lexical insertion in the theory of the lexicon he assumes, (iii) the transformational component: case placement, agreement, and adjustment, (iv) the phonological component: distinctive features, spelling rules, phonological conditioning, IV deletion, and optionality of the phonological rules.

Dewees (1971) argues that the presence of the IV is conditioned by syntax (and not by semantics). He points out that, generally, the IV can appear as an optional element in the inflectional morphology of the genitive **a**. He maintains that the occurrence of the IV triggers a definiteness reading, although its presence may also be associated with emphasis or contrastive focus. He furthermore points out that a noun followed by the interrogative **ki** cannot appear with the IV, while the IV is omitted with the locative preposition (see also Mould 1974). The study of Dewees on the IV in Bantu languages has relevance for the current study, which will examine how the semantic and pragmatic properties associated with the (non-)occurrence of the noun pre-prefix of nouns in DPs in Luganda in a range of sentence constructions containing locatives can be accounted for invoking notions of definiteness, specificity, and information structure, thus exploring these interfaces.

Mould (1974) investigated the syntax and semantics of the initial vowel (IV) in Luganda. He asserts that some syntactic environments exhibit the occurrence of the IV of Luganda nouns as a definitizer. These include nouns modified by possessives, numerals, and some quantifiers. He examines the syntactic environments which allow an optional IV in Luganda, stating that an object noun in a positive sentence in its canonical position may or may not appear with an IV. Mould (ibid) further posits that the presence of the IV in this context serves to mark referentiality, and that according to Bokamba (1971), referentiality is

synonymous with specificity. He further asserts that generally, nouns appearing after a predicate do not take an IV. This assertion may apply generally to Luganda as there may always be constructions with postverbal nouns bearing IVs. He states rather that the IV is always omitted after a locative preposition.

Regarding the function of the IV in Luganda, Mould (ibid) asserts that to determine the role of the IV, it is necessary to understand the speaker's intuition. He maintains, as pointed out earlier, that the IV encodes referentiality and definiteness in specific contexts. He further explains that the IV is used with the noun subject of a main clause, since subject nouns are presupposed to exist, and they, therefore can lack the IV. He furthermore points out that the IV which optionally appears with the object noun following a positive verb denotes referentiality, whereas an object noun which appears without an IV after a positive verb, is non-referential. Thus, Mould (1974) views the IV as a marker of definiteness which is predictable on semantic or pragmatic grounds. In my view, Mould's position can be maintained only if one ignores a wide variety of structures where the IV does not correlate with definiteness and/or specificity interpretations.

Hyman and Katamba(1993) explored the intricate interplay of phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic/pragmatic factors relating to the (non-)occurrence of the pre-prefix of nouns in Luganda. They identify the augment as an initial vowel (IV) of nominals, for example, **bantu** 'people' vs **a-bantu** 'the people'. The views of Hyman and Katamba (1993) partly correspond to Dewees's argument, stating that non-augmented noun forms are grammatical only if they are licensed by one of two syntactic operators, NEG (negation) or FOC (focus), while augmented forms are grammatical only if they are not so licensed. Luganda has reflexes of all four Proto-Bantu locative classes 16, 17, 18, and 23, which in classes 16 and 23 are realized by **wa-** and **o**, and by the IV augments **a-** and **e-**, respectively. Classes 17 and 18 realize the proclitics (locative prefixes) **ku-** and **mu-**, and in most environments, do not exhibit an overt augment.

Hyman and Katamba (1993: 237) argue that locative prefixes (proclitics) do not appear with an IV **o-**. The genitive noun [+A] with even focus is [-A] where it is licensed by the FOC and the NEG operators, respectively. The genitive noun is [+A] by augmenting agreement with the (unlicensed) IV-marked relative verb. They thus conclude that a locative noun preceded by **ku-** or **mu-** can be either [+A] or [-A], but that it may not receive an IV. The genitive noun, on the other hand, does not have this restriction, and hence appears without IV, as

expected. They conclude that **ku-** and **mu-** do not themselves take an IV, while this is generally the case. The IV **o-** is present whenever these locative prefixes/proclitics are in turn preceded by the same genitive proclitic. The IV is present with the locative proclitics only if the latter acquire a [+A] specification.

Hyman and Katamba argue that when locative nouns in Luganda are preceded by the genitive linker ‘of’, this generally indicates that the location is customary to a place where the items are located or kept, i.e. ‘the book is kept on the table or in the house’. They maintain that there are at least two pronominal forms, **buli/kiisi** ‘every’ and **nnyini** ‘owner’ that are frequently cited as disallowing an IV on the following nominal. The augmentless noun **kitabo** ‘book’ may be followed by a dependent noun that has an IV. They state that a similar case obtains with [-IV] nouns, and with nouns following **ku-** and **mu-**. Considering the possibility of **buli** in the same slot as the IV, they state that there is no evidence seen for this other than the mutual exclusivity of the two morphemes. They point out that the copula in Luganda occurs without an augment referring to the copula **-e** fused with a noun class prefix, singular class 1 vs plural class 2.

Hyman and Katamba point out that locatives in Bantu languages are often expressed through non-augment nominals, but this may not follow necessarily in Luganda, as non-locative nominals also do exist, as in **(o-)mu-gwagwa!** ‘fool!’ (fool come here), **o-buwoomi!** ‘delicious’, **a-babbi!** ‘thieves’. In this regard, they provide examples of vocative cases where the noun is [-A], **mugwagwa ggwe!** ‘fool you!’, **ggwe o-mugwagwa** ‘you fool’, positing an abstract FOC operator, such that these sentences are translatable as ‘it’s a fool you’. They point out that **Mugwagwa** ‘he is a fool’ is not a vocative since it has an isolated noun. They maintain that **ne** has focus without a FOC operator, has postverbal focus, thus being realized as **na-** n (see 7b), where the NEG operator licenses a [-A] **na-** also without a licenser, and by augmenting agreement within the [+A] relative (see 7d), which also must be [+A], or **ne-**. In summary, Hyman and Katamba argue that a nominal must be licensed either by a NEG or a FOC operator, and that this licensing, although related to semantic and pragmatic notions of NEG and FOC, is a syntactic phenomenon, considering cases where specific morphological classes like adverbs, and the copula require a FOC operator. Hyman and Katamba maintain, concerning the spelling of [+/-A], that a nominal can be [+A] without acquiring an IV. Whether [+A] is spelt out via an IV, or not, may depend upon the construction, the host, or both, for instance, an IV may appear on the locative proclitics **ku-** and **mu-** only if these are

in turn preceded by a proclitic genitive linker **e-bitabo bya- o-ku -mmeeza** ‘the books (of/on) the table’

Caha and Pantcheva (2015) posit that Luganda locative classes lack an initial vowel. They refer to another difference between locative and non-locative classes which is realized in Luganda only. Noun class markers in Luganda are generally of the form VCV (while they are the only CV in non-pre-prefix languages like Shona). Thus, they state that there are reasons to think that the initial vowel of the VCV class marker corresponds to a morpheme, variously called the pre-prefix, the augment, or simply the initial vowel: **o-mu-ntu** ‘a person’, **a-ba-ntu** ‘people’; **e-ki-ntu** ‘thing’, **e-bi-ntu**, ‘things’ The form of the pre-prefix is determined by the prefix; the pre-prefix corresponds to the coalescence of the A with the vowel of the prefix (**u+a=o**, **i+a=e**, **a+a=a**). They consider the question of why the initial vowel is considered a separate morpheme, stating that the main reason is that the vowel is not always present in the nominal morphology. They point out that the factors which control its appearance are notoriously complex (see Hyman & Katamba 1993).

Caha and Pantcheva (2015) assume that the IV in Luganda is a separate head in the structural representation, and that it resides somewhere in the region where specificity and/or definiteness is determined. In light of this view they address the question that the locative classes in Luganda systematically lack the IV, even in contexts where other classes must have it, as for instance, when a locative phrase appears in the subject position. In this position, the IV is expected to appear (it does so for non-locative classes). They point out that for the locative prefix **mu** the inclusion of the expected IV **o-** (**a+u**) results in ungrammaticality. Caha and Pantcheva point out that the absence of the IV is characteristic for the locative classes. Locatives were tested in many contexts where a regular noun would have to have an IV. They maintain that, given the plausible analysis of IVs as members of the determiner system, the fact that locative class prefixes lack the IV can be reformulated as the view that locatives do not accept determiners, and in doing so, they contrast with regular noun class markers. If the description in terms of a missing determiner is correct, it is tempting to understand it as a consequence of the hypothesis that locative class markers are similar to members of the AxPart category.

Caha and Pantcheva (ibid) assert that modifiers, determiners (i.e., initial vowels) are not allowed with locative nouns, and that locative forms of demonstratives and quantifiers are viewed to be possible class markers as a part of a complex Specifier. For the lexical entry of

locative class markers, they propose that all the restrictions on modification be followed if the locative class markers spell out the whole phrase in a structural position Specifier, Place; i.e., a phrase that contains a noun at the bottom, a class node, and the Place head. Thus they maintain that (i) locatives in Bantu languages are built with a complex structure in the node Specifier, PlaceP, and (ii) this whole structure is pronounced by the class marker. They conclude that locatives can be used as noun class markers, referring to Shona, in which they state, a single root may be classified by distinct class markers, thus noun class markers are complex nominal elements in the Specifier of the noun class head.

3.3 DEFINITENESS AND SPECIFICITY

3.3.1 Introduction

Mojapelo (2007) investigated definiteness and specificity in Northern Sotho, a Bantu language in South Africa, which does not have a pre-prefix, in contrast with other Southern African Bantu languages like Zulu, Xhosa and Siswati. She examines bare nouns in DPs occurring in a range of structural positions in Northern Sotho sentence constructions, pointing out that their interpretation regarding definiteness and specificity is often ambiguous if considered out of discourse-pragmatic context. She argues that in order to determine the interpretative properties of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity of bare noun DPs, the pragmatic context information and the communication situation is particularly relevant, since Northern Sotho bare nouns lack morpho-syntactic reflexes of definiteness and specificity. In this regard she examines how the contexts relating to presupposition, transparent contexts, and anaphoric references encode definiteness interpretations, assuming that the addressee is familiar with the context of an utterance.

Regarding definiteness and in morphosyntax, Mojapelo points out that nouns modified by demonstratives and quantifiers are definite, since these modifiers guide the addressee to the intended referent, where demonstratives mark deixis and universal quantifiers and absolute pronouns mark identifiable entities. Mojapelo argues that proper names are definite as they refer to unique entities and pronouns are inherently definite since they refer back to familiar referents. She maintains that the addressee is not always aware of the referent in indefinite noun phrases, considering two categories of indefinites, namely the simple indefinite encoded by nouns with no modifiers and the complex indefinite encoded by nouns with modifiers, such as the quantifiers. She proposes that generic nouns and idioms are indefinite entities

since they do not refer to particular individuals but rather to a whole group or general expressions. Regarding specificity, Mojapelo asserts that indefinite nouns in Northern Sotho are either specific or non-specific.

Mojapelo argues that adjectives, numerals, possessives, relatives (both nominal and verbal), do not guide the addressee to uniquely identify the nouns with which they occur, and that the head nouns in the DPs containing these modifiers may encode generic interpretations if permitted by the verb, hence the rationale for consideration of the pragmatic context to obtain appropriate interpretations. In respect to the interpretation of definiteness and specificity in Northern Sotho, Mojapelo concludes that considering the pragmatic context is of key relevance to the question of the interpretation of DPs, given that Northern Sotho lacks explicit articles for encoding these properties.

Mojapelo's investigation on definiteness and specificity in Northern Sotho provides some aspects of insight for the current investigation on Luganda. Although Luganda is a pre-prefix language, the questions of determining the readings introduced by the occurrence of the pre-prefix are similar. The current study invokes semantic-pragmatic notions of definiteness and specificity, and the notions of information structure regarding pragmatic context to examine the interpretations of the readings introduced by noun pre-prefixes in Luganda and the focus properties of DPs.

Visser (2008) invokes Lyons's principles of definiteness and specificity to investigate the interpretation of isiXhosa object nouns, occurring with or without object agreement prefix following indicative verbs. She argues that an object noun in isiXhosa can be (in)definite or (non-)specific, depending on the pragmatic context. She posits that the occurrence of an object agreement prefix renders an object noun specific. Hence, if an object agreement prefix in Xhosa occurs obligatorily, the object noun is interpreted as specific, and if the prefix does not occur, a non-specific reading obtains. She concludes that object agreement prefixes in Xhosa are an instantiation of noun class prefixes, and that noun class prefixes are realisations of the isiXhosa functional category of determiners. The proposals made in this study will be employed in the investigation of Luganda sentence constructions with locatives in the current study.

Asiimwe (2014) investigated the properties of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in the Runyankore-Rukiga (RR) determiner phrase (DP) from the perspectives of pragmatic-

discourse considerations and morphosyntax, assuming a generative framework, including cartography, a version of generative grammar which is particularly concerned with the syntacticization of discourse-pragmatic properties of sentences. She investigates the interaction of modifiers with the head nouns of the DPs containing them. She points out that bare nouns can be specific if the discourse participants have common ground knowledge about the referent of the noun in question. She employs Lyons's (1999) semantic principles of familiarity, identifiability, uniqueness, and inclusiveness for exploring properties of definiteness and specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga.

Asiimwe maintains that the presence of an agreement object prefix (AgrOP) in Runyankore-Rukiga licenses obligatory occurrence of the pre-prefix with the object noun in positive and negative constructions, while its absence makes the IV optional. She notes further that, when the IV appears without an AgrOP, the object noun gives a non-specific and indefinite reading. Thus, she deduces that in RR an initial vowel (IV) is a determiner category with a specificity feature. Asiimwe furthermore argues that an object noun receives a contrastive focus reading when it occurs with the IV after a negative verb and with an object prefix co-referential with the object noun.

Concerning locatives, an area of investigation relevant to this study, Asiimwe (*ibid*) examines the nature of locatives, stating that the property of locatives in Runyankore-Rukiga to trigger agreement on the verb partly explains why she views them as nominals. She points out that some locatives in Runyankore-Rukiga have pre-prefixes (IVs), which is characteristic of nominals. Asiimwe disagrees with Morris and Kirwan (1957) and Tylor (1985: 88-89, 181) who view Runyankore-Rukiga locatives as prepositions, pointing out that viewed as prepositions, locatives in Runyankore-Rukiga do not satisfy the characteristic diagnostics of prepositions. Asiimwe's investigation is particularly insightful to this study of locatives in Luganda which assumes an interfaces approach, invoking Lyons's (1999) semantic principles to explore the role of the pre-prefix of nouns in Luganda DPs in a range of sentence constructions containing locatives, with respect to definiteness, specificity and focus.

3.4 THE DISTRIBUTION AND CATEGORIAL STATUS OF LOCATIVES IN BANTU LANGUAGES

3.4.1 Introduction

In this section, I discuss the views of scholars relating to the categorial status of locative expressions from studies conducted on a range of Bantu languages. The main studies on which I focus my discussion include Ziervogel (1971), Bresnan (1994), Machobane (1995), Moshi (1995), Demuth and Mmusi (1997), Neumann (1999), Diercks (2011b), Baxter (2016), Guérois (2016), Bentley & Cruschina (2018), Zeller (2012, 2017), Caha and Pantcheva (2015), Taylor (2007) and Beermann and Asimwe (2020). Scholars' views differ regarding the categorial status of locatives. Demuth (1990) asserts that locatives are adverbials since they pattern with temporal adverbs. Salzmänn (2004), however, calls into question her claim in concurring with the view of locatives as nominals, as advanced by Machobane (1995), who points out that locatives may take modifiers. Salzmänn, in advancing the view of the nominal nature of locatives, points out that locatives agree with modifiers, they may occur in subject position, and also in object position, they may be coreferential with object markers, they can be raised in passive verb constructions, function as oblique complements, and they may occur in adjunct positions. Taylor (2007) claims that locatives do not conform to any of the existing word categories, and that a new category therefore needs to be created for locatives. The categorial status of locatives is addressed in more detail in section 3.4.2 immediately below.

3.4.2 The syntactic distribution and categorial status of locatives

Ziervogel (1971:371) conducted a morphosyntactic comparative study of the locative in a range of South African Bantu languages. He posits that the term locative in these languages refers to the forms assumed by certain words to express place or locality, found in their most typical form in Bantu languages when derived from the locative noun classes **16 *pa-**, **17 *ku-**, and **18 *mu-**. Ziervogel points out that the pronominal derivations of locatives, both concordial and substantival, are for instance, on a par with noun classes in general.

As is the case for Luganda, Ziervogel (1971:371) observes peculiarities of locative class prefixes, pointing out that they seldom occur immediately before a stem; they are usually pre-prefixes. Another peculiarity in the form of the locative prefixes is that they have no IV, not even in those languages that employ the IV with their class prefixes. The occurrence of the IV in Luganda differs from that exemplified in the Southern African Bantu languages, as will

be discussed in Chapters Five and Six of this dissertation. Ziervogel (1971) maintains that in the peripheral Bantu language areas, the locative exhibits a variety of properties. The prefixes ***pa-**, ***ku-**, and ***mu-** are either superseded by the suffix ***-ni**, as in Swahili: **nyumbani** ‘in the house’ <**nyumba**, or as in Xhosa **endlwini** ‘in the house’ <**indlu** ‘house’, with the suffix **-ini**. He points out that the meanings of ***pa-**, ***ku-**, and ***mu-** seem to be determined more precisely, stating that the consensus is that ***pa-** refers to the location of objects placed ‘against each other’ whereas ***ku-** refers to the location of objects placed ‘next to each other’ and ***mu-** refers to a position of objects placed ‘inside each other’. In other words ***pa-** refers to relative proximity, ***ku-**, to relatively further proximity and ***mu-** to encircling. In the Southern African Bantu languages, the concords for class 17, ***ku-** is used with all locatives. Ziervogel furthermore points out that in Shona, where ***pa-**, ***ku-**, and ***mu-** are regular active features, the possessive concord may be coreferential with either the locative class noun or with the original noun.

In addition to discussing the locative class prefixes ***pa-** (16), ***ku-** (17), ***mu-** (18), Ziervogel (1971:157) proposes that there is also a locative class prefix ***ka-** belonging to the noun class numbered 24. According to Ziervogel (1971:371), viewed diachronically, all locatives with locative class prefixes are nouns. He states that the class prefixes ***pa-**, ***ku-**, and ***mu-** bear this out clearly. Ziervogel (1971: 379) furthermore examines the various syntactic positions of locatives to determine to what extent they should be regarded as nouns in their syntactic context, discussing the locative as a subject of the sentence, taking the subject concord **ku-** of class 17, the locative as an object, associated with the object concord **ku-**, and the locative as a grammatical possessor, where the possession noun is followed by its possessive concord. According to Ziervogel (1971:381), qualificatives never qualify the locative; they can only qualify the noun from which the locative is derived.

Ziervogel (1971:383) advances the following views regarding the categorial nature of the locative in Southern African languages, including Nguni, Sotho, Venda, Tsonga, Xhosa, Zulu, Pedi, and Siswati: (i) Two types of locatives occur, namely (a) those formed by means of the suffix ***-(i)ni**, and (b) those formed by means of the class prefixes 16, 17, 18, and 24; (ii) Locatives, whether they are derived by means of prefixes or suffixes, are basically nominal in nature; (iii) Locatives may, as far as their meanings permit, occur either as subject or as object, like any other substantives; (iv) There is a clear division into two groups of locatives: (a) those with a general locative meaning (mainly ***-ni** locatives), and (b) those

with localized meanings which form the base for a prepositional word-group (mainly the locatives with the class prefixes supplemented with a small number of others); (v) In the (a) group of locatives, qualificatives agree with the class of the basic noun; in the (b) group qualification is limited to the possessive which takes the possessive concord; (vi) substantives which are not nouns become locative nouns of class 17 or of class 24, according to language; (vii) locatives are often also adverbial extensions; (viii) the pronominal prefixes (concord) of the locative classes are those of class 17 (***ku-**) except for the possessive concord which in addition may be that of class 24 (***ka-**); (ix) true pronouns of the locative class are limited to the following: (a) demonstratives which occur in all the four classes; (b) absolute pronouns which are limited to those of class 17; and possessive pronoun stems which are limited to those of class 17. Some of Ziervogel's conclusions, in my view, seem to hold for a wider range of East African Bantu languages, including Luganda.

Bresnan (1994: 95) conducted a comparative study on Bantu languages including Chichewa and Kichaga, comparing them with English, assuming the Lexical Mapping Theory (henceforth LMT), a component of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG). She argues that there are identifiable differences between English and Bantu language constructions. She points out that in Bantu languages such as Chichewa, subject-verb agreement is controlled only by the preverbal locatives. In contrast, it is the theme argument that triggers agreement on the verbs in English. According to Bresnan (1994:109), similarly to other languages, the inverted locative phrases in English can be raised to the subject position. However, unlike the inverted locative phrases, which are DPs in many Bantu languages, Bresnan points out that the inverted locatives are PPs in English; and thus cannot be raised to the subject position.

Bresnan (1994:87) maintains that, like other Bantu languages, preposed locatives in English can relativize. Unlike in Bantu languages such as Chichewa, attributive VPs headed by participles cannot be inverted, as illustrated by Bresnan (ibid). Concerning the properties of the theme argument in English locative inversion, Bresnan states that it has been evidenced that the theme does not display typical subject properties apart from its ability to trigger subject-verb agreement. Nevertheless, given its behaviour, the theme argument in English locative inversion cannot, according to Bresnan, be associated with the object relation, thus making it difficult to determine the syntactic status of the inverted logical subject in English.

With reference to locative morphology, Bresnan (1994) asserts that Bantu languages indicate that not all languages exhibit productive locative morphology. For example, unlike

Chichewa, Setswana and Otjiherero that exhibit all of the three Proto-Bantu locative prefixes, Sesotho and Kichaga have lost some of the prefixes, thus locative nominal morphology is less productive in these languages. The locative nouns in Sesotho and Kichaga are derived through suffixation.

In regard to the properties of the preposed locatives, Bresnan (1994) maintains that the preposed locative DPs assume subject status, as evidenced by properties of agreement and raising to subject position. Thus, she states that the languages she examined reveal further that the postposed subjects occupy the object position. However, these subject arguments do not exhibit the typical object properties such as the properties of raising to the subject in passive verb constructions, occurring as antecedent head of a relative clause, and of being associated with an object agreement affix. Bresnan's study on locative inversion is further discussed in Section 3.5.

Machobane (1995) investigated locative inversion constructions in Sesotho and Chichewa, focusing in more detail on Sesotho. She proposes that locatives are PPs in Sesotho but NPs in Chichewa. She argues that locatives cannot trigger object agreement, while locatives introduced through the locative applicative suffix do not have the behavioural characteristics of an object in Bantu languages, as they cannot immediately follow the verb.

In her study, Machobane (ibid) notes that, unlike Chichewa, Sesotho has lost the proto locative noun class prefixes, and only the remnant of class 17 (*ho-*) exists. She asserts that in Sesotho, locative nouns are derived by attaching the locative prefix *ho-* (equivalent in meaning to the English preposition 'to'), and the suffix *-ng*. She maintains that in locative inversion constructions, it is the locative prefix *ho-* that determines the agreement on the verb, irrespective of the type of locative nouns appearing in the preverbal position.

Machobane (1995) points out that, like in many Bantu languages, inherent locatives are not marked in Sesotho. She asserts that, like prototypical subjects, the preverbal locative nouns in Sesotho locative inversion undergo subject raising. Concerning the inverted subject in locative inversion, the study by Machobane demonstrates that the postposed logical subject appears in the object position, but unlike the typical object, it cannot be passivized or object-marked, respectively.

She argues that in Sesotho, contrary to Chichewa, locatives exhibit both DP and PP properties. Her argument is based on the observation that, like typical DPs, locatives can be

modified by qualificative phrases, and occupy the position of subjects and objects in a sentence. According to Machobane (1995), unlike Chichewa, locatives in Sesotho can be analyzed as prepositional phrases (PPs) because, unlike determiner phrases (DPs), PPs cannot be associated with object agreement. She further argues that locatives introduced through the applicative do not display features of typical objects in Bantu because they cannot immediately follow the verb. She points out, however, that locative PPs display subject properties. She assumes that locatives are base-generated in a VP-adjoined position. She argues that to derive their subject properties, locatives have to move to the position Spec-IP (Specifier of the Inflection Phrase) for checking agreement features and other properties of typical subjects in preverbal position.

Regarding the postverbal theme argument, Machobane (1995) suggests that it remains in its base-generated object position, (i.e., inside VP) and it receives oblique case from the verb. Machobane's comparative analysis of locative inversion in Sesotho and Chichewa has, however, not gone unchallenged. Firstly, analysing locatives in Sesotho as PPs just because they cannot be associated with object agreement or because they appear immediately after the verb is questionable. This, she proposes, is because the agreement issue can simply be accounted for by the fact that Sesotho lacks productive locative nominal morphology. Regarding the inability of locatives to occur immediately after the verb, this is a common property in Bantu languages, where the highest argument concerning animacy is normally required to immediately follow the verb, rather than the applied object. About the Chichewa examples, her assumption that locatives originate in adjunct position is unclear, because in locative inversion constructions, locatives are commonly regarded as arguments and should, therefore, originate VP-internally.

Machobane's analysis falls short in some respects in adequately characterizing the properties of locative inversion constructions in Sesotho and Chichewa. As a result, her account insufficiently captures the similarities and the differences between the two typologically related languages about locative inversion. Although the arguments, i.e., the theme and the location display almost identical behaviour in both languages, she proposes different analyses.

Moshi (1995:129) conducted a systematic study on the description of locatives in KiVunjo-Chaga, arguing that although some in many languages are considered as adverbs, in KiVunjo-Chaga they have a dual function, appearing as adverbs and as nouns. Moshi (1995:129) refers

to the study of Bresnan and Moshi (1990), stating that as a gender class, locatives will share syntactic similarities of nouns in other gender classes, and that KiVunjo- Chaga locatives are no exception since they can function as subject and object and can appear with a variety of modifiers which must assume the gender marking of the head locative noun. He states that a thorough analysis of agreement would require analysis of the number, person and gender features.

Regarding the locative prefix, Moshi (1995:130) points out that the locative nouns in KiVunjo-Chaga, **handu** and **kundu**, are derived by affixation of the locative prefixes **ha-** and **ku-** to the stem **-ndu**, ‘place’. **Handu** denotes a specific location or surficial area while **kundu** denotes a general location or inside location. **Handu** may also be used to describe locations known or close to the speaker. Moshi states that proper place names such as Nairobi and general place names such as **numba** ‘house’ do not need a prefix or a suffix for their intended meaning in KiVunjo-Chaga. Moshi furthermore maintains that quasi-locatives nouns like **ukou** ‘yesterday’ are not locatives, although they can assume locative agreement markings. Rather, they are true adverbials. Moshi states that locatives formed by suffixation, of the suffix **nyi** are common, including, among others regular noun **kilri**, locative noun, **kilrinyi** ‘in the room’, regular noun; **mlri**, locative noun, **mlrinyi** ‘in/at the city/compound’. Moshi (1995:130) further points out that, like nouns from other gender classes, locative nouns can trigger agreement on the verb.

Moshi (ibid) states that, although there is evidence for the equivalent of the Proto-Bantu locative prefixes ***pa-**, ***ku-**, ***mu-** in KiVunjo-Chaga, only two are productive, namely: 16 ***ha-** (class 16), and 17 ***ku-**; this is not the case in Chichewa and Sesotho. She demonstrates that the preverbal locatives in Kichaga locative inversion exhibit typical subject properties such as subject-verb agreement, and can also undergo subject raising, as her examples in (3a) and (3b), respectively, indicate (Moshi 1995:131). Similar cases have been observed in Chichewa and Sesotho (see examples (3a, b) pp. 131). Moshi states that, unlike Sesotho, Kichaga exhibits two locative prefixes as agreement markers. She maintains that the appearance of the **ha-** or **ku-** prefixes in the subject-verb agreement are determined by the semantics of the preverbal locative nouns. She demonstrates that when the locative subject noun denotes the specific location or surface area, the prefix **ha-** is used. By contrast, the locative prefix **ku-** triggers subject-verb agreement of all the sentences in which the locative subject nouns denote general or inside location (see examples (3a, b) p.).

Moshi (ibid) posits that a selection restriction obtains on the agreement markers **ha** and **ku** based on the locative meaning of the locative noun. The selection of the rare affix **ha** is for a specific location or surficial area, while the highly distributed **ku** denotes general location or inside location. According to Moshi, locative nouns are derived by suffixation, acquiring a full locative status; and may not appear with the agreement marking of their source class. KiVunjo-Chaga restricts agreement to class 17 as in Sesotho and Setswana; however, the restriction is only particular to possessives as it does not extend to adjectives.

Moshi (1995:134) points out that locative nouns in KiVunjo-Chaga may appear as subjects and, like Chichewa and Siswati, locatives induce obligatory subject-verb agreement in addition to the following three other justifications for the subjecthood of locative nouns: (i) the ability to question a locative subject in situ; (ii) raising to the subject, and (iii) the ability to control a reflexive pronoun.

Moshi (1995:136) argues that the objecthood status of locatives within the group of symmetrical object languages like Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi 1980) and KiVunjo-Chaga, appears to be unique in that they have the ability to allow up to three postverbal lexical object NPs in a non-applied construction and up to four in applied constructions. The decision concerning the status of these multiple objects is based on the classical object tests for Bantu languages namely: (a) the ability to control object agreement, (b) the ability to show the syntactic properties of raising to the subject position in passive constructions, and (c) word order (Bresnan and Moshi 1990). Moshi points out that, like other objects in KiVunjo-Chaga, locative objects cannot co-occur with their object markers and locative nouns can be one of the objects in a multiple objects construction.

Moshi (ibid) argues that the locative object exhibits the same characteristics as regular object nouns, for example the complementizer **kye** ‘that’ for raising the object is optional in KiVunjo-Chaga, and any or all postverbal objects, irrespective of their semantic roles, applied or not applied, can be passivized. Locative objects share the same properties as the theme, and locative objects are capable of assuming the role of the subject of the passive verb.

Moshi (1995:143) concludes that KiVunjo-Chaga locatives constitute a gender class because they exhibit the same characteristics shown by other noun classes, and locative nouns can function as subjects and objects. They can trigger agreement primarily with the class 17

locative marker **ku** and with the class 16 locative marker **ha** in specific contexts. As objects, Moshi states that locative nouns satisfy the classical tests for objecthood in Bantu languages: object marking on the verb, passivization and word order. They do not show any restrictions on the occurrence with transitive or intransitive (unaccusative) verbs in active, passive, applicative, and non-applicative constructions. Moshi asserts that, like in Sesotho, KiVunjo-Chaga locatives are primarily adjuncts, but they may assume object status through syntactic processing, while their status as adjunct can be determined through topicalization or inversion (see. example (31a, b, c, d) and (32, 33, and 34) pp. 142-143).

Demuth & Mmusi (1997) state that, like in Chichewa, Setswana locative noun prefixes, 16 *fa-*, 17 *ko-/kwa-* and 18 *mo-* are productive in nominal morphology. However, unlike Chichewa, but similarly to Sesotho, locative nouns in Setswana are invariably marked by the suffix *-ng*, and agreement on verbs is exclusively marked by what they name the class 17 formative *go-* (see *ibid* 1997:8, 169). In discussing Asiimwe's study above, it was pointed out that Runyankore-Rukiga locative verb agreement is exclusively marked by cl 16 prefix *ha-*, whereas in Luganda, it is marked by the class 16, 17, 18, and 23 prefixes **wa-**, **ku(-)**, **mu(-)**, and **e(-)**, respectively. Demuth & Mmusi (1997) point out that, like typical subjects, preposed locatives trigger subject-verb agreement, and can also undergo subject raising (*ibid* 1997:11).

Neumann (1999) asserts that, in Shengologa, and presumably some other Bantu languages, the use and function of locatives is a complex phenomenon. She examines various aspects of the Shengologa locative. Her data was gathered through eliciting techniques consisting of interactive games, questionnaires and drawings. She defines the overall objective of her study as to describe "the behaviour of the locative class in Shengologa [...] and its interaction with other parts of grammar in its language-specific terms". She examines "form classes" of locative nouns, discusses the "Locative prefixes in the formation of spatial adverbials" (pp. 181–184), briefly discussing the use of deictic adverbials such as **ho**. She examines the locative suffix, with reference to the use and function of the suffix **-ŋ**. In regard to the locative concord, she discusses the forms of the locative concords (agreement markers). She also considers "alternative concords", pointing out that when non-locative class nouns are suffixed with the locative **-N** they may exhibit locative or non-locative concords, the choice of which involves certain changes in the meaning of the construction as a whole. Neumann further explores the syntactic status of different locative constructions in terms of a noun-to-adposition continuum, invoking for her analysis a set of test parameters originally posited by

Heine (1989).

Neumann (1999) discusses the etymology of various locative morphemes and their relation to similar prefixes in selected Bantu languages. She considers, the locative *i-* prefix, relating it to what she identifies as a locative zero-prefix (\emptyset -), which she in turn relates to the so-called Y class in Northern Sotho (Lombard, 1985). This has been given the class number 25. Neumann's discussion indicates that she relates the Shengologa *i-* prefix to a particular locative prefix found in some Bantu languages labelled as noun class '23' (Maho, 2009). Locative prefixes across Bantu languages are etymologically related. Neumann does not reach a definite conclusion about whether or not the Shengologa *i*-prefix is related to this putative class 23. Thus, concluding that the locative *i*-prefix in Shengologa is related either to class 23(/24/25) or to class 25(/9/Y), assuming they should be treated as separate classes.

Diercks (2011b) investigated the morphosyntax of Lubukusu locative inversion (see also the discussion in Section 3.5). He examines the nature of locatives pointing out that Bantu languages possess a (potentially) large number of noun classes, which are generally comparable to grammatical genders. These noun classes, Diercks states, trigger different agreement forms on various heads in the language. Bantu noun classes are categorized into numbers which correspond to the reconstructed proto-Bantu noun classes, allowing comparison across languages. Bantu languages generally have at least 5 sets of noun classes (singular and plural pairs, classes 1-10), in addition to the locative classes 16-18, though the precise noun class inventory varies from language to language. According to Diercks Lubukusu retained the proto-Bantu locative noun classes: class 16 ***pa**, class 17 ***ku**, and class 18 ***mu**. In Lubukusu these are realized as the prefixes *a-*, *khu-*, and *mu-*, respectively. Diercks points out that, like in many Bantu languages, nouns in Lubukusu bear two prefixes—the prefix and the pre-prefix—both of which are realizations of a particular noun class. The locative form of a noun is formed by replacing a word's pre-prefix with a locative pre-prefix.

Baxter (2016) conducted an investigation of Shona. He explains that certain Bantu languages such as Shona display an optional agreement strategy between either the logical subject appearing to the right of the verb or the preposed locative. He states that, in Bantu languages, the agreement relation depends only on an NP residing in the correct structural position (Specifier TP (Tense Phrase), referring to Baker's analysis). Baxter maintains that locative inversion constructions in languages like Shona appear to licence both upward agreement

with the preposed locative and downward agreement with the postposed logical subject in an optional paradigm. He furthermore states that Shona exhibits a three-way distinction of locative noun classes that bear slightly different semantic interpretations. Class 16 **pa-** is used in an indicative locative sense, as though the location is being pointed to. Class 17 **ku-** is taken to mean the more general status of being ‘at a location’ although it can also be used to refer to a location distant from the speaker, and class 18 **mu-** is used in the sense of being contained within a certain location. These prefixes are applied as pre-prefixes to nouns which are already coded for nominal class. As for the wider status of agreement in the language, there can be shown to be seven possible agreeing constituents: adjective; demonstrative; number; quantifier; possessive; subject; and object. To this list can further be added the relative marker which appears on the verb and must agree with any non-subject relative. Of most significance to the present study is the issue of locative subject agreement.

Guérois (2016) analyzes the locative system in Cwabo and Makhuwa languages, presenting and comparing their locative morphosyntax. Analysis of these languages is based on several parameters, such as the existence of the three historical locative affixes in both nominal and verbal morphology, the question of agreement in modified locative phrases, the existence of locative inversion constructions, and the development of an expletive subject marker, providing evidence of morphosyntactic variation among these two genetically related languages.

Guérois (2016) asserts that in her study different aspects can be identified concerning the locative system in Bantu languages which include the locative nominal morphology, agreement of dependent nominals within the noun phrase, locative marking on verbs, two syntactic constructions involving the locative system, locative relatives and locative inversion, respectively. She maintains that locative nominal morphology and variation in Bantu languages locative marking is an interesting case cross-linguistically. The most common pattern involves the three reconstructed locative prefixes from class 16 ***pà-**, class 17 ***ku-**, and class 18 ***mù-**, which precede either the original noun class or the augment. According to Guérois (2016), the locative derivational process involves the prefixation of either **va-**, **o-** or **mu-**, but that the second aspect of locative derivation must be taken into account in both Cwabo and Makhuwa, namely the suffixation of the suffix **-ni**.

Regarding the agreement of dependent nominals, Guérois (2016) explores the question as to whether dependent nominals such as possessives, demonstratives, connectives realize

agreement with the original noun class, the locative noun class, or both. She points out that in many Bantu languages, locative nouns are analyzed as being part of the noun class system, in which case locative morphology is projected on the dependent constituents. This agreement may be referred to as ‘outer’ agreement (Marten 2012), as it takes place with the added locative prefix and not with the inherent noun class prefix.

Guérois (2016) posits that, in contrast, in Siswati, locative nouns are analyzed as being no longer part of the noun class system, but rather as heading prepositional phrases (Marten 2010). As a result, the modifier does not display locative agreement, but ‘inner’ agreement with the inherent noun class prefix. Between these two edges of the spectrum, Guérois states that, there are intermediate systems which allow both outer and inner agreement on the modifiers as is the case in Ganda with possessive modifiers. These two different patterns in Luganda are examined by Marten (2012). Guérois (2016) explains that two possible patterns found in Kagulu and Ngangela, seem to occur without any apparent conditioning for their distribution. Regarding Cuwabo and Makhuwa, she states that, in most cases, the modifier agrees with the locative noun class, and not the inherent class of the noun. This outer agreement is identified with possessives and demonstratives. Guérois (2016) asserts that the locative morpheme functions as the head of the locative phrase in terms of the agreement.

In the case of connective constructions headed by derivational locative phrases, i.e. having a locative pre-prefix, Guérois (2016) asserts that a noun class prefix and a stem, (the connective relator) does not agree with the locative class, but with the inherent noun class of the head constituent. The locative markers, she states, can be reanalyzed as prepositions (or prepositional proclitics). This unusual behaviour is reminiscent of Ganda and Kagulu, which display outer as well as inner agreement, but with no apparent morphological conditioning as in Cuwabo.

Guérois (2016) posits that locative morphology is not only found in the nominal domain but it also occurs in the verbal domain, through both subject and object agreement morphology. Furthermore, she maintains that Bantu languages that are characterized by the historical three-way distinction of their locative nominal morphology normally have a corresponding locative marking on their verb forms. Languages which have lost one or two of the three locative prefixes in the nominal domain, and the corresponding agreement morphology on the verb tend to be reduced to the actual number of locative prefixes still attested with nouns. Guérois (2016) refers to Kikuyu, which productively forms locative nouns by the suffixation,

and these nouns trigger locative agreement in classes 16 and 17 on every dependent constituent, including subject marking on verbs. She further explains that the expletive use of class 17 is widely attested in Southern Bantu, referring to more examples provided for Tswana and for Southern Sotho. She notes that class 17 locative marker **ku-** is also recurrently used as an expletive marker in languages characterized by a more typical locative system, such as Bemba or Swahili. However, to Guérois (2016), this development from locative semantics to an expletive function analysed as a grammaticalization path, has reached a further stage in Southern Bantu languages, since the class 17 subject prefix has lost its locative meaning and realizes an expletive function (see Buell, 2007; Marten, 2010).

According to Guérois (2016), verbs in typical Bantu languages may also host locative object markers, either in the form of prefixes, as in Sambia, Makwe, and Chewa, or enclitics, as in Haya. In Bemba, both locative prefixes and locative enclitics are possible. She states that the second marker seems to be obligatorily required when the locative phrase is dislocated to the left periphery. The absence of the prefix would lead to ungrammaticality. In a certain number of Bantu languages (*e.g.* in Lozi, Ciruri and Chasu, see Marten *et al.* 2007), the slot for object marking has been restricted to non-locative noun class constituents, thus excluding classes 16 to 18. Guérois (2016) points out that this process of locative marking reduction obtains in Swati, whose verbal morphology only permits non-locative objects.

Regarding object prefixing on the verb, in both Cuwabo and Makhuwa, Guérois (2016) posits that it is restricted to class 1 and class 2. This situation contrasts with typical Bantu systems, in which object agreement is possible with every noun class, including locative classes. She states that, as a result, locative object prefixes do not exist in P30 languages. Guérois (2016) asserts that in Cuwabo, there are three resumptive locative enclitics, **-vo** (class 16), **-wo** (class 17), and **-mo** (class 18). Due to anaphoric function, the locative enclitics cannot co-occur with an *in situ* locative phrase (unless the locative phrase is right dislocated and thus interpreted as an afterthought). They obligatorily appear when the locative phrase is dislocated to the left-periphery, but they are prohibited in locative inversion constructions, which is expected since the headed locative expression assumes a subject position and thus triggers subject agreement on the verb.

Considering typical locative systems, Guérois (2016) states that it is expected that locative phrases are relativized in the same way as non-locative phrases. She considers relative constructions in Makwe and in Kagulu, pointing out that, in Makwe, non-subject relatives are

built upon the connective particle **-a-** in verbal pre-initial position. This connective particle, she states, is preceded by the relevant noun class prefix, which is co-indexed with the antecedent noun phrase. She points out that Siswati differs from the regular patterns in that Siswati locative relatives are marked by an invariable relative marker **la-** prefixed to a locative formative **-pho**, considered as a derived form of class 16 marker **pa-** (Marten 2010).

According to Guérois (2016), locative phrases in Bantu languages usually function as optional complements to the verb and occupy a peripheral position (S-V-Complement word order), and in many Bantu languages, the locative phrases may be raised to the position of the syntactic subject, where they control the subject marker on the verb in reversed constructions, known as the locative inversion constructions. Guérois (2016) maintains that, as in the Southern Bantu languages, the locative NP preceding the verb in Makhuwa cannot be considered as a core constituent.

Zeller (2017) investigates the morphological, syntactic and semantic-pragmatic properties of locatives in various Bantu languages, identifying three main categories of locative formation, namely (i) locative noun classes, (ii) the locative suffix **-(i)ni**, and (iii) prepositional locatives. Zeller (2017:2) asserts that a specific meaning expressed by a particular locative class may differ from language to language, and can usually only be determined when the semantics of the whole construction is taken into account, stating that there are few studies which attempt to provide a fine-grained semantics of locative prefixes in Bantu languages. He points out that it is possible to identify certain general, prototypical locative meanings associated with the three locative classes. Zeller asserts that variation occurs concerning whether locatives themselves can take an augment. In Lamba (M54), this is not possible, for example, the noun *icipuna*, 'stool' becomes *pacipuna* in class 16, and an "augmented" locative form such as **apacipuna* does not exist (Ziervogel 1971: 371). In contrast, in Haya (JE22), class 16-18 locatives appear with their own augment. Luganda has both base augments as in **kiraalo** 'kraal' and locative augments such as **mu kimbejja** 'in princess' resident'. The class 16, 17 and 18 locative markers are not only used as secondary prefixes but can also function as primary noun class markers with a small set of nominal stems.

Zeller (ibid) explains that in several Bantu languages of zones D, H, K, L and M, the locative prefixes of class 16, 17 and 18 are replaced by the bi-morphemic forms. These bi-morphemic forms are used, for example, with augmentless nouns in languages in which nouns normally require augments. A special class of locative expressions is derived from relational nouns

(often referring to body parts) which denote "axial parts" of an object, i.e. its front, back, bottom sides. With reference to Grégoire (1975), Zeller considers the following twelve basic locative relations that are typically expressed by restricted locatives in Bantu: "above, on", "below, under", "in front of", "behind", "beside", "to the right of", "to the left of", "inside", "outside", "near to", "far from" and "at X's place, at home". Zeller (*ibid*) asserts that many Bantu languages have locative enclitics with pronominal reference. He points out that while the three locative noun classes 16-18 are used with much regularity in the central Bantu domain, certain classes are no longer productive in languages outside this area. Reduced locative systems are found particularly in the J-languages. The difference between inner and locative concord often corresponds to systematic semantic differences. Zeller maintains that locative agreement in class 16, 17 or 18 is independent of whether the locatives themselves are marked through locative prefixes. In Zone G-languages such as Swahili (G41-43), Shambala (G23) or Bondei (G24), locatives are formed with the suffix *-(i)ni*, and there are no locative noun class prefixes. Nevertheless, the agreement markers on modifiers reflect the three-class distinctions. He also refers to Swahili, stating that it does not license inner concord.

Zeller (*ibid*) argues that locative concord in Bantu languages such as Kinyarwanda does not reflect locative noun class distinctions, but is expressed by one "generic" locative class. A similar pattern of the generic locative agreement is observed with predicates. He states that in Kinyarwanda and other languages of the J-group, and also in Sukuma (F21), locative agreement on predicates is always in class 16, regardless of the noun class of the locative (Grégoire 1975; Maho 2009). Zeller asserts that an invariant locative subject prefix (class 17) also appears with preverbal locatives in Lozi (K21) and the Nguni and Sotho-Tswana languages (Marten et al. 2007). Locative concord is also attested in languages in which locative noun class prefixes no longer exist. Locatives in Luganda exhibit noun class agreement with predicates (Marten 2012).

Zeller (*ibid*) explains that, in many Bantu languages, predicates can also agree with locative objects. Locative object agreement is more restricted than agreement with locative subjects and not possible in every language. Bantu languages without locative object markers include e.g. Lozi (K21), Chasu (G22b), Yeyi (R41), and the languages of the Nguni group (S40) (Marten et al. 2007). He asserts that, with reference to Marten et al. (2007) and Zeller and Ngoboka (2015), a cross-Bantu generalization seems to be that languages with a full set of

locative subject markers of class 16-18 always have locative object markers. This also the case for Luganda.

Zeller's (2017) views of locatives as nominal categories seem uncontroversial, given that they are derived using locative noun class prefixes, hence are nominals. Consequently, their phrasal projection must be analysed as a noun phrase (NP) or a determiner phrase (DP). Bresnan and Mchombo (1995) apply a range of lexical integrity tests, considering that locative noun class prefixes are syntactically independent elements.

According to Zeller (2017), locatives behave like ordinary NPs in Bantu languages concerning subject and object agreement. Furthermore, he states, the fact that both NP-projections can serve as attachment sites for locative-internal modifiers, explains why both inner concord (when the modifier is adjoined to the lower NP) and locative concord (modifier adjoined to the higher NP) occurs. Zeller asserts that, assuming that post-nominal modifiers are right-adjoined to an NP, the generalization holds that a modifier exhibiting noun concord can never follow a modifier which agrees with the locative noun.

Zeller (2017) maintains that locative noun class is still encoded on the locative noun. The morphological form of the prefix in group K is determined via an agreement relation with this null locative. He refers to the idea that locative nouns in Bantu which are phonetically null can also account for the structure of locatives formed by the suffix *-(i)ni*. Zeller argues that the claim that the base noun does not project in languages with locative suffixes does not explain why modifiers in some languages from Zone E license inner concord with *-(i)ni* locatives, as observed by Grégoire (1975: 69).

Zeller (ibid) posits some locatives as prepositional categories. He states that, in contrast to locatives in the languages of the central and northeastern Bantu region, locatives in the Nguni (S40) and the Sotho-Tswana groups (S30) of Southern Bantu are typically not analysed as nominals. Rather, most contemporary studies treat them as PPs. He asserts that locative nouns disappeared from the Nguni lexicon, and the locative noun class prefixes were re-analysed as prepositions. He points out that locatives in most Nguni and Sotho-Tswana languages do not allow locative concord (Creissels, 2011; Demuth & Mmusi, 1997).

Zeller furthermore considers properties concerning the thematic roles and grammatical functions of locatives, stating that locatives in Bantu languages can act as internal or external

arguments of their predicates. If the locative saturates the internal goal-theta role of the verb, it is the thematic subject argument of the verb. He states that locatives can also function as arguments of nouns, and act as predicates. He furthermore asserts that when locatives are used as adjuncts, they can be freely ordered concerning other adjuncts, such as temporal adverbs.

Zeller (2012) investigated parametric variations in locatives and locative marking, considering the following properties: (i) the number of object markers that can occur in the verbal morphology in a given Bantu language; stating two or more in Kinyarwanda, Kichaga or Tswana, only one is possible in Zulu, (ii) locative object markers, considering whether a Bantu language has object markers for locative objects; (iii) object markers and resumption: relative clauses, the availability of object markers in relative clauses, (iv) if, and under which conditions, an object marker can co-occur with a corresponding object that follows the verb, (v) object marking and right dislocation: an object-marked object typically cannot appear in the same position as an unmarked object, (vi) with ditransitive verbs, it is generally not possible to maintain the word order IO>DO, (vii) object marked DPs in Zulu are not in their base position, (viii) a dislocated object is c-commanded by negation, (ix) an object-DP can only be dislocated in Zulu if there is a corresponding object marker, (x) the object marker and definiteness/specificity considering whether an object marker in a given Bantu language is ever required to co-occur with certain types of objects.

In considering the properties of objects in Zulu, specifically animate, inanimate, definite, and specific object DPs, Zeller (2012) states that object DPs in Zulu can all appear with, but never require, the object marker. He states in regard to (xi), (a)symmetries in double object constructions that either object of a ditransitive construction in Zulu can be object-marked, hence, Zulu seems to be a 'symmetrical' language concerning object marking in double object constructions, (cf. Bresnan and Moshi 1990). In regard to the property (xii), Animacy, Zeller states that indirect and direct objects in Zulu can be realized or doubled by an object marker, if the indirect object can be animate and the DO is inanimate. He asserts that the semantic property animacy influences object marking and passivization in Bantu languages, Concerning the parameter (xiii) Inalienable possession, where in double object construction expressing inalienable possession, Zeller states that the direct object (typically a body part of the indirect object) cannot be object-marked. Regarding the parameter (xiv), Zeller asserts that grammatical function alone does not determine whether or not an object in a double

object construction can be object-marked. Rather, the semantic relation between the two objects also plays a role in determining this possibility. He points out concerning parameter (xv), Object marking in passive, that ditransitive verbs in Nguni and Xhosa (Visser 1986) generally allow the passivisation of either object. Passivisation of the indirect object is compatible with object marking of the direct object. As regards (xvi), Object marking in inversion constructions, Zeller states the object marker may not occur.

Caha and Pantcheva (2015:22) discuss locatives in Shona and Luganda regarding several properties. They point out that in Shona, Luganda and in other Bantu languages, location in space is expressed by morphemes which are referred to as noun class markers. In their prototypical instantiations, noun class markers express two functions, namely class/gender (e.g., animate vs. inanimate) and number (singular vs. plural). They state that class markers are prefixes that encode nominal class (or gender) and number. The difference in the form of the class marker encodes the difference between singular and plural. The class marker also encodes the distinction in animacy. These facts lead to the conclusion that noun class markers are portmanteau morphemes, for class/gender and number. The root and the class marker often form a non-compositional semantic unit, as well as a phonological unit (see their example (1a,b, c, d) on p:3).

Caha and Pantcheva (2015:22) assert that, in Shona (as well as Luganda), the locative and non-locative marker is in a complementary distribution on the modifier, where the combination of the locative (**pa**) and the class/number marker (**rw**) on the possessor results in ungrammaticality. They point out that in Finnish, the the number marker (**i**) and the case marker (**ssa**) are both copied by concord and may co-occur. According to Caha and Pantcheva, ordinary possessive structures cannot show locative concord on the possessor, the markers **pa** and **ru** on the modifier is excluded from this statement, since when they are affixed to the noun, there is need for a recursive structure. They assert that locatives differ from nouns in the absence of a 'linker', and in ordinary bi-nominal structures the linker **e** is present between two nouns.

Caha and Pantcheva (2015) postulate that if an example is constructed along the lines of the bi-nominal example, just substituting the noun 'picture' with the hypothesised silent noun PLACE (with an overt modifier/class marker **mu**). They state that there are reasons to assume that even a silent PLACE takes the regular linker **-e** when it combines with a second noun. The evidence for this view they invoke from Luganda. Referring to the translation provided,

they point out that the meaning of the sentence involves the noun ‘place,’ but there is no morpheme meaning place and it is impossible to add one since ‘place’ in Luganda is in class 16, not 18. Furthermore they state that the overt material following the verb looks exactly like a remnant after an ellipsis (non-pronunciation) of a head-noun. This is formally reflected in the shape of the possessor, which would normally lack the initial vowel **o-**, a marker that only appears on possessors when the ellipsis of the head takes place. Caha and Pantcheva assert concerning modifiers, that possessors and certain modifiers can bear locative concord. They refer to the study of Bresnan and Mchombo (1995:196), who have proposed that if the locative marker heads a regular nominal projection, it is expected that there is also syntactic space for such modifiers. Caha and Pantcheva, however, maintain that possessors may occur higher than a preposition in some languages, a full range of nominal modifiers with locative concord is restricted, ordinary possessors can only appear with non-locative concord. They state that, since alienable possessors are never bare, such a silent pronoun is ruled out for inalienable possession, hence the contrast.

Regarding restrictions on modifiers, Caha and Pantcheva (ibid) assert that adjectives may not bear locative concord either, considering the simple phrase ‘the white village;’ in no locative marker occurs. They state that when this phrase is embedded under the locative **pa**, the original non-locative concord can still occur on the adjective, but the locative concord is impossible

Taylor (2007) addresses some semantic and syntactic aspects of Zulu locatives. He states that practically every noun (and pronoun) in Zulu can be localized, such that a thing-concept is converted into a place-concept. In many Bantu languages, locatives are fully-fledged nominals, functioning as subjects and direct objects controlling the full range of concordial agreements. He states that Zulu locatives fail to behave like regular nominals, and they can not be assimilated to any of the recognised categories, such as prepositional or adverbial phrases. Thus, Taylor is of the view that since locatives designate places, they should be recognised as a distinct syntactic-semantic category of place-referring expressions.

Taylor (ibid) states that there is considerable confusion concerning the proper treatment of Zulu locatives, citing Doke (1981:305) who states that there is a close relationship between nouns and adverbs in Bantu languages, but categorises locatives as adverbials, not as nouns (Doke, 1981, p. 231). Taylor refers to Nkabinde (1988, p. 178) who gives recognition to the syntactic ambivalence of locatives speaking of ‘spacio-temporal nouns’ which function as

adverbials. He also cites Cope (1984, p. 89), stating that locatives behave as adverbials, not explicitly stating that they are adverbs. Taylor also refers to the study of van der Spuy (1993), who views locatives as PPs, where the locativising morphemes **ku** and **e- ... -ini** are prepositions in complementary distribution.

Concerning the internal structure of locatives, Taylor (2007) asserts that Zulu locatives constitute a rather heterogeneous collection of items, comprising a single lexeme (e.g. **lapho** ‘here’), localised nouns and pronouns (**esikoleni** ‘LOC: school’) and more complex orientational and topological expressions (**phambi kwami** ‘in front of me’). He states that irrespective of the difference in their internal make-up, locatives do share much the same distributional potential. Thus, he proposes that it is reasonable to say that locatives constitute a coherent semantico-syntactic category, altogether.

Taylor (2007) advances the view that most syntactic theories presuppose a small, finite set of universally valid syntactic and lexical categories, minimally nouns, verbs, adjectives, and prepositions with their syntactic projections; the noun phrase, the verb phrase, the adjective phrase and the prepositional phrase. On that account, Taylor (*ibid*) argues that Zulu locatives cannot comfortably be assigned to any of the traditionally assumed categories.

Taylor (*ibid*) asserts that, although Zulu locatives may have derived from nouns, their distribution in modern language diverges in crucial respects from that of regular nominal. In particular, locatives are not able to function as subjects or direct objects, and they do not control concordial agreement. Besides, he adds that locatives must also be differentiated from prepositional phrases, as this category is understood as concerning, for English. Thus, he emphasises that, Zulu locatives, in most of their uses, are not at all relational, as they do not designate a relation between a trajectory (whether nominal or clausal) and a landmark. He asserts that prepositional notions such as motion ‘to’, ‘from’, ‘past’, and ‘around’; also notions of the path, and direction, are rather contributed by the verb, not by the locative. He rejects the analysis of locatives as adverbials, arguing that, locatives do not in general, serve to modify a relational predication.

Taylor (*ibid*) proposes that an analysis of locatives, must take into consideration their semantics. He asserts that what unifies the locatives is the fact that they refer to places. He cites Lyons (1999) who noted that English fails to distinguish grammatically between thing-

denoting and place-denoting expressions. Taylor (ibid) asserts that, in Zulu, the conceptual distinction is strictly observed. This distinction can also be observed in Luganda.

Beermann and Asiimwe (2020) investigate the morphosyntax and semantics of locatives in Runyankore-Rukiga. They concur with many scholars in arguing that locative phrases are noun phrases although they invoke in particular, spatial semantics. Their view contrasts with that of earlier grammarians like Taylor (1985) and Morris and Kirwan (1957) who analyse locatives as prepositional phrases. In defence of their view, they contend that, although locative phrases configurationally take the form of a prepositional phrase, with the locative as a free form preceding a noun, their morphosyntax corresponds to that of noun phrases in the language. They refer to the study of Marten (2012) who proposes that Luganda locative phrases are noun phrases although with notable differences to other noun phrases. In Southern Bantu languages, locatives have been analysed by Marten (2006; 2010); Buell (2007) as prepositional phrases, contrasting with Taylor (2007).

Beermann and Asiimwe (forthcoming) refer to Taylor (1985) who claims that **omu** and **aha** are prepositions while **omuri** and **ahari** are long prepositions. They challenge this view suggesting that **omuri** and **ahari** are locative particles in that their roots are mu- and ha- respectively, and their IV **a-** and **o-**, respectively, followed by the suffix **-ri**. They further assert that the locatives **omu** and **aha** in Runyankore-Rukiga only occur in transparent locative NPs which constitute a single agreement domain under both the locative particle and the internal nouns being heads while **omuri** and **ahari** occur in closed locative NPs, headed by the locative particle, which takes a pre-modified NP as its complement.

Beermann and Asiimwe (forthcoming), like Marten (2012), discuss ‘inner’ and outer agreement, stating that inner agreement obtains where the demonstratives that follows the internal noun can agree with either the nominal head (inner agreement) or with a locative marker (outer agreement), also known as locative morphology agreement. Regarding the nature of locatives, they suggest that place-denoting nouns are members of the locative classes, where, for inherent locative nouns, the locative class marker is directly prefixed to the root such as the noun **a-ha-ntu** ‘place’, **o-mu-n-da** ‘inside’. They also consider nouns expressing topological notions such as ‘yonder’ ‘beneath’, ‘on top’, ‘above’ and ‘under’. Beermann and Asiimwe maintain that locative pronouns, such as a proximal **kunu** ‘this side’, the medial **aho** ‘there’, or the distal **mu-ri-ya** ‘in the visible’ may serve as demonstratives or adverbs as they can either modify in a noun or accompany verbs (see their examples (5) and

(6)). They assert that, locative pronouns modify a locative noun, preceding a verb, thus, triggering the locative clitic. They also discuss an example where the locative **okwo** ‘there’ is an adverb.

Beermann and Asiimwe (forthcoming) assert that, locative phrases trigger verb agreement when they occur in a preverbal position. They state that, in Runyankore-Rukiga locative agreement on the verb is always marked by the class 16 **ha-**, as is subject-verb agreement, and in a case of a fronted locative, the verb must occur with a locative clitic; **-mu** and **-yo**. They invoke semantic concord rather than agreement to refer to the case when the agreement trigger is not morphologically marked as a locative, and also not a member of one of the locative classes.

Beermann and Asiimwe discuss the argument that one of the key properties of locative nominals is to trigger external locative agreement. They refer to Marten (2010) who argues that locatives in Bantu languages do not trigger agreement on the verb nor other constituents of the NP, hence are best analysed as prepositional phrases. They also refer to Grégoire (1975) who proposed that in Luganda and some other Bantu languages, all the three classes of locatives (16,17, and 18), serve as locative agreement markers on verb predicates. In Runyankore-Rukiga, as pointed out, only the prefix **ha-** is used as an agreement prefix for all the three noun classes 16, 17, and 18. Beerman and Asiimwe emphasise that a preposition in Runyankore-Rukiga cannot function as an agreement controller, neither internally nor externally, and that PPs have a different syntactic distribution than locative nominals. To further explain agreement with locatives in Runyankore-Rukiga, they discuss Marten’s (2012) views on ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ agreement.

Beermann and Asiimwe (forthcoming), in contrast to Taylor (1985), argue that Runyankore-Rukiga locatives are not prepositional, but that they are rather two-layered nominal phrases, occurring as words and as phrases. In this regard they discuss inherently locative nouns, relational nouns, and locative pronouns. Regarding locative phrases, they propose that, locatives behave like noun phrases, stating that nouns often denote things but also may denote events or properties, and as locative nouns, they denote places. They further assert that, in Bantu languages, both nominals and prepositional phrases occur that refer to places, in concluding their argument that locatives in Runyankore -Rukiga are nominals.

3.5 LOCATIVE INVERSION TYPOLOGY, AGREEMENT AND VERB SELECTION

3.5.1 Introduction

In this section, I discuss perspectives on locative inversion from previous research conducted within various linguistic frameworks, including generative grammar, language typology, and comparative linguistic studies. The issues discussed relate in particular to locative inversion (henceforth LI) typology, agreement, and verb selection. The studies I discuss include Bresnan and Kanerva (1989), Bresnan (1994), Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995), Machobane (1995), Demuth and Mmusi (1997), Marten (2006), Marten et al. (2007), Marten and Kula (2012), Buell (2007), Diercks 2011b), Salzmann (2004, 2011), Zeller 2012; 2017), Ngoboka (2016, 2017), Khumalo (2010), Marten and van der Wal (2014), Riedel and Marten (2012), Baxter (2016), and Marten (2012) on Luganda.

These studies present many aspects viz: a typology of LI, agreement, and verb selection. The locative morpho-syntax; (i) properties of the inverted locative include the proposed locatives as grammatical subjects, (ii) properties of the inverted logical subject and postposed object (1993, p. 347), (iii) locative inversion and the lexical-semantic properties of verbs.

3.5.2 Views from previous studies on locative inversion, agreement, and verb selection

Bresnan and Kanerva (1989:03), in investigating Chichewa, assert that locative inversion, a phenomenon that has been well studied from both typological and theoretical perspectives, is a construction in which a locative phrase is preposed and the subject is postposed, characteristically alternating with uninverted forms that share the same thematic role structure. It exhibits a non-canonical word order that entails fronting of a locative phrase and displacing the thematic subject post-verbally. In examining locative inversion in Chichewa, they state that Chichewa is one of the Bantu languages that has preserved the Proto-Bantu locative classes: 16 (*pa-*), 17(*ku-*), and 18 *mu-*). They demonstrate that in Chichewa, these classes are productive and they trigger subject-verb agreement. They point out that in locative inversion, the preposed locative exhibits subject-verb agreement, an obligatory part of the sentence that cannot be separated from the verb. They assert that, just like in the canonical sentences, the preposed locative in inverted sentences can be raised to the subject position of the matrix clause, and occur in relative verb clauses.

Bresnan and Kanerva (1989) demonstrate that, in Chichewa, the preposed locatives, like prototypical subjects, can take a non-finite VP as a modifier or a predicative complement, thus functioning as the external argument of the non-finite verb. They state that these characteristics provide strong evidence for the view that the preposed locative DPs in Chichewa locative inversion constructions are typical subjects (see examples (36), (37) and (38) on p.14). Bresnan & Kanerva (1989) characterize the inverted subject as an object because it occupies a position within the smallest phrase containing the verb. However, they point out that, unlike the typical object, the inverted subject in locative inversion constructions cannot be raised to the subject position in passive verb constructions; or relative verb clauses, and neither can they be associated with an object agreement prefix. These properties set the inverted subject apart from the prototypical object relation in Chichewa.

Bresnan (1994) conducted a comparative investigation into Bantu languages such as Chichewa comparing it with English. She examined locative inversion in terms of the Lexical Mapping Theory (henceforth LMT), a sub-theory of Lexical Functional Grammar (henceforth LFG), arguing that the locative inversion construction is restricted to predicates whose highest thematic role is <theme>. She further points out that, similarly to other Bantu languages, not all verbs can undergo locative inversion in English. She notes that locative inversion in English is restricted to intransitive and certain passive transitive verbs only, stating that locative inversion in English is ungrammatical with transitive and unergative verbs.

Increasing evidence emerged, as seen in Bresnan & Kanerva's (1989) study, that variations exist concerning verbs that license inversion. Bresnan (1994) demonstrates that, while locative inversion in Chichewa, Kichaga, and English is restricted to intransitive (unaccusatives) verbs, Setswana and Sesotho allow locative inversion with all verb types, except active transitive verbs. In contrast, Otjiherero presents the most liberal system: all verbs can undergo inversion, except ditransitives. Bresnan's (ibid) advances the view in her comparative analysis of locative inversion in English and Chichewa, that English locatives are topics, while Chichewa locatives only subjects. This is an unsatisfactory account because, in both languages, locatives can be topical (see Salzmann 2004). In Bresnan's view, it is, therefore, difficult to capture this information: structural similarities between the two languages if location arguments have to be analyzed differently.

Invoking an information structural approach and a theory of lexical semantics, Levin and

Rappaport Hovav (1995) hold that verbs that undergo LI are unaccusative or passive (cf. Bresnan & Kanerva 1989; Bresnan 1994). Generally, verbs permitting locative inversion lack an external (i.e. subject) argument, thus locative inversion has been regarded as an unaccusative diagnostic. Focusing on the unaccusative hypothesis, Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) challenge the commonly held view that locative inversion is related to unaccusativity on grounds of their view that not all unaccusative verbs participate in locative inversion. They argue that certain types of unergative verbs undergo locative inversion in English. They, therefore, postulate that verbs that license LI are determined by the discourse function of the construction. They further point out that the locative inversion construction is used in the discourse function of presentational focus, which restricts the verbs occurring in the construction to be informationally light. They state that if a verb contributes a substantial amount of new information, the newness of the postverbal DP decreases, and hence the construction fails to be representative.

Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) maintain that the condition for a verb permitting locative inversion to be informationally light rules out transitive verbs, some unergative verbs, and unaccusative verbs which are not informationally light. They propose that informationally light verbs regardless of being unaccusative or unergative can permit locative inversion. They state that since presentational focus naturally selects a theme locative argument structure, in a scene where a referent is introduced by the change of state or location, it is obvious for the unaccusative-like distribution to occur.

Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) present a further argument against analysing locative inversion (LI) in terms of unaccusativity. They argue that there is no syntactic evidence that the postverbal DP occupies the direct object position. They assert that considering the VP-internal subject hypothesis, the postverbal argument can remain VP-internally. Concerning unergative predicates, the discourse function or the case filter forces the logical subject to move out of the Specifier- of VP position, to the VP-adjoined position. They state that in the case of unaccusatives, the same derivation is possible, particularly in cases where the theme appears to the right of a VP-internal PP. However, they acknowledge that there are cases where the theme must occupy the object position because it precedes a VP-internal PP.

Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) however, point out that the position of the postverbal subject argument might qualify as a DP position because it patterns with the subject position. Concerning locatives, they postulate that they originate VP-internally and move to the subject

position. These scholars give no further explanation on whether the locatives remain in such a position or topicalize. Levin and Rappaport Hovav's analysis, however, has some weaknesses. The restriction of verbs that can undergo locative inversion they propose is inconclusive, particularly with respect to Bantu languages. The discussion of locative inversion they presented demonstrate that verbs that permit locative inversion are less restrictive in Bantu languages compared to English. For example, in Otjiherero, it has been reported that all verbs can undergo locative inversion except ditransitives (cf. Marten 2006).

Concerning verbs that undergo locative inversion, Machobane (1995) points out that all verbs can be used in this construction except active transitive verbs. This view contrasts with Chichewa which limits the verbs that can be found in LI to intransitive and passive verbs. In her study on LI constructions, Moshi (1995) did not address the question regarding specific verbs that undergo LI in KiVunjo-Chaga. In the current study, this gap is addressed.

Marten (2006) conducted a study on locative inversion (LI) in Otjiherero, observing that the characteristics of LI in Otjiherero resemble those of other Bantu languages, such as Chichewa and Setswana. He characterizes Otjiherero locative inversion in comparison with those two languages. Marten states that, like in Chichewa, but contrary to Setswana, Otjiherero displays all three locative noun class prefixes, 16, 17, and 18. He asserts that these prefixes are productively used in locative nominal morphology and trigger agreement on verbs. Marten points out that, similarly to Chichewa and Setswana, the locative DP of the inverted sentences exhibits properties of the grammatical subject. On the other hand, the postposed DP behaves like the logical subject and cannot be omitted or separated from the verb, as is the case in Chichewa and Setswana. Marten furthermore asserts that the postposed DP in Otjiherero locative constructions is used in presentational focus as it is in many other Bantu languages. Marten (2006) maintains that some Bantu languages allow LI with agentive active transitive verbs. In the same line of argumentation, Demuth and Mmusi (1997) compare LI and presentational focus in Setswana with that of other Bantu languages.

In respect to verbs that can license locative inversion, Marten (2006) states that, unlike Chichewa and Setswana, Otjiherero locative inversion constructions are licensed by all verb types, except ditransitive verbs. He argues that unaccusatives, passive, transitive, and active unergative verbs permit LI in Otjiherero (see Marten's examples (171a, b and c) on pp:114)). He demonstrates that verbs that permit locative inversion are less restrictive in Bantu languages compared to English. Marten (2006) demonstrated that there are also Bantu

languages which allow LI with active transitive verbs. He argues that LI constructions occur in an implicational hierarchy across the Bantu language family in that some are more restrictive, while others are less restrictive. He states that LI in Chichewa is possible with unaccusative verbs, but not with unergative verbs or transitive verbs. Setswana allows LI with unergatives and unaccusatives, but not with transitive. Otjiherero and Digo allow LI with unaccusatives, unergatives, and transitive.

Marten et al. (2007), and Marten and Kula (2012), explore parameters of morphosyntactic variation in Bantu particularly South-East Bantu languages. They describe these Bantu languages as being fairly uniform, with an elaborated noun class system exhibiting approximately 15-20 formal distinctions, complex verb morphology encoding agreement, temporal-aspectual distinctions, and valency and meaning-affecting morpho-lexical operations. They state that these languages display a basic or underlying SVO word order, which can be varied according to pragmatic or information structure considerations. However, a high degree of morpho-syntactic variations between these languages has been demonstrated in studies, for example, regarding the typological differences relating to object marking, locative inversion (LI) constructions and information structure, and locative agreement, more generally. (also see Demuth and Mmusi 1997, Marten 2006, Buell 2007). They identify 14 parameters of morphosyntactic variation for Bantu languages, two of which have sub-parameters, thus giving a total of 19 parameters.

According to Marten et al. (2007), like in Nsenga, locative object marking is also not possible in Siswati. All languages they researched have locative subject markers, however, not all languages have locative subject markers for all three locative classes (classes 16-18). Marten et al. maintain that subject agreement and object agreement are independent. While some languages do not have locative object agreement, all languages have a locative subject agreement. However, they point out that sampled languages indicate that those languages which do not have locative object marking such as Lozi and siSwati, are in the group of languages which do not have a full set of subject locative markers.

Marten et al. (2007) posit that any language which does not have locative object marking will have a full set of locative subject markers. These parameters provide a systematic way to explain a given phenomenon. They assert that the applicative double object constructions show that different surface variation patterns of double object constructions result from one underlying source of variation. The two parameters concerned with passivisation and object

marking of the two objects in applicative constructions would indicate two sources of variation that are not independent. They state that variation in word order in double object constructions reveals a different pattern of languages, and thus appears to be independent of passivisation and object marking.

Buell (2007: 105) investigated the typology of locative inversion (LI) in Zulu (S40, South Africa) and Tharaka (E54, Kenya). He identifies two types of LI. In the first type, the locative expression appears in preverbal position and the verb agrees with it in the same way that a canonical preverbal subject would, while the logical subject appears in an immediate postverbal position and triggers no agreement on the verb. In the second type, the locative expression is a topic and the verb bears locative “expletive” agreement. Buell discusses the properties of LI in several different Bantu languages referring to the views of Demuth and Mmusi (1997). In all of the languages discussed by Demuth and Mmusi, the inverted locative expression appears in the locative form (such as with a preposition or locative noun class morphology) and the verb has subject agreement corresponding to locative noun class 16, 17, or 18. Any inversion of this type Buell terms “formal locative” inversion. His purpose is to fit languages like Zulu (S40, South Africa) and Tharaka (E54, Kenya) into a typology. These languages have a type of LI in which a noun denoting a place or space, raised to subject position in its canonical form, without any concomitant locative morphology.

Buell states that most Bantu languages have different noun classes (conceptually similar to grammatical genders), each of which triggers distinctive agreement morphology on different word categories, such as demonstratives and verbs (as subject or object agreement morphology), (see Buell’s examples (1a, b), (2a, b) and (3) on p.105-106). Buell (2007) points out that the initial DP is formally marked as a locative DP and that the verb agrees with it in locative noun class through a locative subject marker. By contrast, in semantic LI, the initial DP is locative in terms of reference, but is not marked formally as locative, as in Zulu and siSwati. He points out that noun classes are usually referred to with a standardised numbering system (Meinhof 1899) which captures cross-Bantu language comparisons. Some of these classes are strongly associated with particular semantic concepts of particular interest; 16 (general place or direction), 17 (specific place), and 18 (enclosed place). Some of the languages have all three of these classes, while others have only one or two of them.

According to Buell (2007), the locative expression refers to an enclosed place and the subject marker on the verb accordingly has class 18 agreement. Typically, a language also uses either

class 16 or 17 as the agreement class for existential clauses. Place nouns such as **shule** ‘school’ and **chumba** ‘room’, although they denote things that can be construed as places, do not themselves belong to one of the three locative classes. To nouns like these, Buell refers as “semantic locatives”. In contrast, locative forms like **chumbani** ‘in the room’ and locative prepositional phrases such as **nje ya chumba** ‘outside the room’ is referred to by Buell as “formal locatives”, since they are locative not only in meaning but also in their grammatical form. Thus, in formal LI, the locative expression is in a locative form and the verb exhibits subject agreement with one of the three locative classes, in which the word for ‘house’, which itself is a class 9 noun, is prefixed with a class 18 morpheme. (see schematized example (5a, b and c) on p.107).

Buell (2007:119) posits that the canonical position of lexical subjects in Bantu languages (a topic position or a true subject position) is subject to debate and may differ from language to language, but what is important in all the cases that the subject marker agrees with the locative expression, either through a surface specifier-head relation or mediated by a trace or an empty pronominal (*pro*) which is coindexed with and has the same person, number, gender features as, the locative expression. Buell argues that semantic LI fits into the locative inversion typology. The grammatical function of the subject marker for Zulu semantic LI would be “agreement with the locative expression”. Buell proposes the main difference between the Zulu inversion and, the ciChewa one, for example, is that the locative expression in Zulu is of a canonical class (that is, a non-locative one) and thus controls non-locative subject agreement on the verb.

Buell (2007:119) claims that Zulu also allows suppression of the agent in semantic LI, in contrast with the ability to suppress an *there*. Herero and Zulu both disallow suppression of the theme of an unaccusative verb. He argues that Herero agreeing formal LI and Zulu semantic LI thus share at least five different syntactic properties and one semantic one, namely word order, the subject agreement that varies according to the preposed locative, ability to suppress an agent, inability to suppress an unaccusative theme, and an impersonal reading when the agent is suppressed. These five points of commonality, Buell argues, can be viewed as sufficient evidence that the two constructions are essentially “equivalent”, warranting them the same type of slot in the LI typology. Buell furthermore argues that the distribution of Zulu semantic LI resembles those previously found for agreeing formal LI in other languages. While unaccusatives and unergatives can participate in agreeing inversion,

verbs of a more complex nature, such as transitive and ditransitives cannot. However, unergative verbs in Zulu require the use of an applicative suffix to make the construction possible.

Buell (2007:119) addresses the question of the degree of morphological variation and uniformity between the verb and argument types allowed in agreeing locative inversion sentences and in non-agreeing locative topicalisation. In the languages (in all of which the agreeing inversions are formal locatives), Buell states that the verb and argument types are identical for the agreeing and non-agreeing inversions. He points out, however that, in Zulu and Tharaka, languages in which agreeing inversions are formal locatives, the verb types are divergent. He suggests that more languages must be studied to learn whether this uniformity or divergence is predictable, depending on whether the agreeing inversion is of the formal or semantic type, or whether this is an artefact of the small number of languages in the sample. Buell (2007) unveils that locative forms as subject agreement on the verb may perform different functions: either a fully locative function (with locative meaning) or a non-locative, mainly expletive function that does not realize a sense of a location being referred to. He argues that a null locative pronoun or null expletive occurs in subject position and triggers class 17 subject agreement on the verb when the locative phrase is in the left periphery. In addition to these differences in subject agreement, he maintains that cross-linguistic variation obtains concerning the types of verbs that permit locative inversion.

Diercks (2011b) investigated the morphosyntax of Lubukusu locative inversion (LI), with respect to the agreement patterns that generally occur in these constructions in Bantu languages. He defines locative inversion as a construction exhibiting a non-canonical word order that fronts a locative phrase and positions the subject postverbally (in canonically SVO languages). Diercks (2011b:702) examines two types of LI constructions in Lubukusu concerning both their theoretical and typological significance. The first type of locative inversion, to which he refers as repeated agreement locative inversion (henceforth RALI) is characterized by two distinct verbal affixes which agree with the fronted locative phrase, where the verb agrees with the fronted locative. In the second type of locative inversion, the postverbal subject exhibits disjoint agreement locative inversion (henceforth DALI). Diercks explores various aspects of these constructions, including the nature of the locative clitic that appears, the position of the fronted locative phrase, and the position of the postverbal subject for the purpose of identifying the different structural properties of the two LI constructions.

He discusses the structures posited in examining the apparently ‘downward’ agreement pattern (henceforth DALI) with reference to the Upward Agreement Hypothesis (henceforth UAH), posited by Baker (1988), which states that heads in Bantu languages agree with structurally higher phrases, an analysis proposed to offer insight into the place of Lubukusu LI among other (Bantu) LI constructions. Diercks provides evidence that the apparent counter-evidence of DALI is amenable to an ‘upward’ agreement analysis, further supporting the UAH. He maintains that locative inversion in many Bantu languages displays agreement properties distinct from the ‘downward-looking’ properties.

Diercks (2011b:705) adopts the framework for a syntactic agreement posited by Baker (2008), which proposes a revised version of Chomsky’s (2000, 2001) Agree relation. According to Chomsky (2000, 2001), the uninterpretable Φ -features of a probe α seek goal β with interpretable Φ -features and an unchecked Case feature within its c-command domain. Scholars have argued that for Bantu languages agreement occurs in a strictly local (usually specifier-head) relationship in Bantu (cf. Demuth & Harford, 1999), stating that Baker’s macro-parametric approach may be a way of deriving this view. According to Diercks, Lubukusu confirms the predictions of the UAH, taking into account evidence from relative and cleft complementizers, embedding complementizers, associative markers, locative clitics, and (generally) subject agreement. Diercks (2011b) states with respect to Lubukusu RALI constructions that subject agreement is realized with the fronted locative phrase, and there is no agreement with the in situ logical subjects. (see Diercks’s example (18, 19) on p:705). He states that the same ‘downward’ agreement pattern is also true of what might be termed “presentational constructions” in Lubukusu. He points out that in prototypical presentational constructions in Bantu languages the verb exhibits invariant locative subject agreement (see Diercks’s (2011b) example (20, 21) on p:706).

With respect to the structure of locative inversion sentences in Lubukusu, Diercks (2011b) posits two different (agreeing) constructions. He points out that the verb in these constructions has an obligatory locative clitic which agrees with the fronted locative phrase. Diercks (2011b) states that DALI displays subject agreement with the postverbal logical subject, which he considers a surprising pattern given previously reported properties in this regard for locative inversion constructions in Bantu languages. He states that the verb in these Lubukusu constructions in effect agrees with both the fronted locative and the postverbal subject, as the locative clitic agrees with the fronted locative phrase and the subject marker

agrees with the postverbal subject. Diercks (2011b) asserts that these Lubukusu locative inversion constructions require the presence of an agreeing locative clitic (DALI).

Diercks (2011b:708) explores further the properties of the locative clitics in Lubukusu. Diercks (2011b) asserts that the unaccusative verb *-ola* ‘arrive’ is compatible with both DALI and with RALI (the same pattern holds for *-biringikha* ‘roll’, *-kwa* ‘fall’, *-fwa* ‘die’, and *-kona* ‘sleep’). He maintains that unaccusative verbs can occur with both types of locative inversion constructions, however, the verb *-echa* ‘come’ shows different properties than the formerly mentioned unaccusative verbs do (the same pattern holds for *-cha* ‘go’). Diercks states that RALI is disallowed with unaccusative verbs. *He points out that locative unergative verbs that have a single (agentive) argument, selecting for a locative phrase are locative unergatives, for example with -engila* ‘enter’, (also for *-khala* ‘stay’ and *-suna* ‘jump’) DALI is permitted, but RALI is impermissible. Diercks states that this property suggests some kind of relationship between the selection of the locative phrase by the verb and the availability of locative inversion.

Salzmann (2004) conducted a comparative study on locative inversion utilizing a multi-dimensional theoretical approach to examine this construction in various languages, including Chichewa, Sesotho, Chishona, Setswana, Tshiluba, Kichaga, Kinyarwanda, Kirundi, and English. He examines locative inversion in these languages with respect to the following main properties of parametric variation: (i) lexical morphology, (ii) properties of the inverted locative or theme, (iii) properties of the inverted logical subject, (iv) status of the locative subject prefix, (v) argument structure, (vi) information structure, (vii) the categorial status of locatives.

In his investigation of the inventory of locative morphology, Salzmann (2004) asserts that some languages like Sesotho have lost the locative noun class prefixes, and thus lack locative reference. In terms of the agreement properties of the inverted locative or theme, Salzmann asserts that, in most of the languages with locative noun classes such as Chichewa, the inverted locatives are grammatical subjects, having raised to subject position. In regard to the properties of the inverted logical subject, he asserts that in some languages such as Chichewa, the behaviour of the inverted logical subject is atypical of the object in Bantu languages. Regarding the status of the locative subject prefix, Salzmann states that the inverted locative subject prefix exhibits subject properties, where the verb usually agrees with the preposed locative and that it has an impersonal concord which is semantically empty with no sense of

locality. He refers to the example of the prefix **ho-** in Chichewa, stating that it is pronominally empty, bearing no locative reference. In regard to the argument structure properties of locative inversion sentences, Salzmänn considers a wide range of verb classes, drawing a distinction between those which do allow LI and those which do not allow LI, emphasising that Sethoso permits LI with a wider range of verbs including unaccusative and unergative verbs, than does Chichewa.

With regard to information structure, Salzmänn asserts that the two locative inversion types he examined realize similar meanings in many languages. Inverted subjects mostly serve a discourse function of presentational focus, rather than contrastive focus. With respect to the categorial status of locatives, Salzmänn makes reference to Demuth (1990), who asserts that locatives are adverbials since they pattern with temporal adverbs. He, however, disagrees with her view that locatives, as Machobane (1995) states, may take modifiers. Salzmänn advances the view of the nominal nature of locatives stating that they agree with modifiers, can occur in subject position, and also in object positions, they can be associated with an object marker, can raise to the subject position in passive verb constructions, they can occur as oblique complements, and they can also occur in adjunct positions.

Salzmänn's analysis of locatives and locative inversion constructions presents some core aspects of insight for the investigation conducted in the current study. In addition to the parameters of variation that Salzmänn examined, I will explore for Luganda locative inversion sentence constructions, the properties of another parameter relating to the (non-)occurrence, co-occurrence and interpretative properties of the locative applicative suffix and locative clitics, also taking into account their properties in canonical active verb constructions, stative verb constructions, and passive verb constructions.

Salzmänn (2011) investigated locative inversion in a range of Bantu languages, with particular reference to Chichewa. He refers to the study of Bresnan and Kanerva, (1989:8ff) in discussing areas where locative inversion may not be possible in Chichewa. He states that intransitive active object-drop verbs do not permit locative inversion, in contrast with their passive transitive verb variants.. With reference to (Bresnan & Kanerva (1989:19) Salzmänn asserts that passive applicative verbs do not permit locative inversion, as exemplified in Chichewa. His observations partially obtain for Luganda, as I will demonstrate in chapters 5 and 6 of this study.

Zeller (2017) asserts that locative inversion constructions in the Sotho-Tswana and Nguni languages cannot be analysed on a par with locative inversion constructions in languages such as Kinyarwanda or Chichewa. He argues that whereas the preverbal locatives in the latter languages are grammatical subjects which trigger locative agreement with their verbs, the locative inversion constructions in the Sotho-Tswana and Nguni constructions, are expletive constructions with topicalized locatives, which are not in the subject position, but left-adjoined to a higher functional projection, referring to Buell (2007) and Creissels (2011).

Ngoboka (2016) investigated locative inversion in Kinyarwanda with respect to various properties, including the syntactic status of the locative markers *ku-*, *mu-*, and *i-* of classes 17, 18, and 19, respectively, and the corresponding locative elements *hó*, *mó* and *yó*, the derivation of locative shift and locative inversion, the question of whether the proposed locative DPs/expressions are base-generated in the preverbal position or whether they are the result of a movement from the postverbal position, and whether they are subjects or topics. Ngoboka conducted his study within the framework of the Minimalist Program, invoking, in particular, phase theory and locality.

In investigating locative inversion in Kinyarwanda, Ngoboka (2017) posits that locatives are determiners. He asserts that, despite having the semantic properties of prepositions, syntactically, the Kinyarwanda locative markers *ku-*, *mu-*, and *i-* are determiners, similarly to augments and demonstratives. He argues that the locative elements *hó*, *mó*, and *yó* are clitics and that they are derived morphologically by combining the locative marker with the pronominal root. He argues that locative shift, and the different types of locative inversion, involve a small clause in their derivation.

With regard to the typology of locative inversion, Ngoboka (2016:178) argues that Kinyarwanda exemplifies two types of locative inversion, which are also found in some other Bantu languages, namely semantic LI and formal LI referring to Buell (2007). He points out that formal locative inversion is the type of locative inversion that has received a considerable amount of attention in the research literature. In this kind of locative inversion, he states, a locative expression comprising of a locative marker and a DP is preposed and the logical subject follows the verb. Ngoboka furthermore asserts that scant attention has been devoted in research regarding the semantic properties of locative inversion in Bantu languages, some of which include Buell (2007) for Zulu, Zeller (2013), Ngoboka and Zeller (2013), and Zeller and Ngoboka (2006) for Kinyarwanda and Zulu.

Ngoboka (2017) argues that locative inversion constructions are based on the same syntactic configuration and derivational processes in terms of which a locative D-head realized as a locative marker, selects a locative DP to form a "big" locative DP. When the locative marker incorporates into the functional head that selects the "big DP", the Locative DP moves from the small clause to the specifier of a higher functional head (the so-called Linker in Locative shift constructions, and T in locative inversion constructions). Ngoboka proposes that locative DPs in semantic locative inversion are structural subjects, whereas the preposed locative expressions in formal locative inversion are topics which are base-generated in the left periphery, from where they bind a locative pro in the subject position.

Khumalo (2010) investigated the syntactic properties of passive and locative inversion constructions in Ndebele, employing the framework of Lexical Mapping Theory (henceforth LMT). He argues that unique properties obtain in Ndebele concerning the possibility of active transitive verbs to permit locative inversion. (Ndebele is also spoken in South Africa, but there are no known studies that compare the Zimbabwean and South African Ndebele.) Khumalo (ibid) demonstrates these unique properties concerning the violation of the thematic hierarchy in Ndebele, stating that he agrees with Harford (1990) that locative inversion in Ndebele can be formed without any contextual any restrictions. He maintains that Ndebele presents a challenge to the Unaccusative Hypothesis (UH) and sharpens the distinction between passive and impersonal verb constructions. Khumalo asserts that a central consideration in any grammatical theory is valency alternations. These alternations relate to passive verb constructions, locative inversion, and causative verb constructions. Apart from passive verb constructions, Khumalo (ibid) states that he examines locative inversion in Ndebele since it provides an argument for positing the expletive **ku-**, given that the **ku-** construction seems to license the passivization of intransitive verbs. Khumalo points out that it is generally the case that in passive constructions, the subject NP of the sentence in the active voice is either deleted (suppressed) or expressed by an oblique function of the object NP.

Khumalo (ibid) explores the Unaccusativity Hypothesis (UH) within the Government and Binding (GB) framework of Chomsky (1981) to explain the syntactic behaviour of intransitive predicates. The UH postulates that there are two classes of intransitive predicates which represent two hypothetical classes of intransitive verbs, i.e. unergative verbs and unaccusative verbs. Khumalo points out that the former class of verbs consists of those verbs

whose subjects act like the subjects of transitive sentences (for example, dance, run, fly); the latter class contains verbs whose subjects sometimes seem to act like the objects of transitive sentences (for example, come, fall, go). In their underlying syntactic configurations in transformational syntax, an unergative verb takes a subject but no object whereas an unaccusative verb takes an object but no subject.

Khumalo (2010) posits that the occurrence of locative inversion depends on the argument structure of the verb that permits it. He concurs with Bresnan and Kanerva (1989) who distinguish three types of argument structure in respect to locative inversion constructions. A transitive verb has an agent and patient/theme role in its argument structure, an unergative verb has an agent in its argument structure, but no theme; an unaccusative verb has a theme role in its argument structure but no agent. Khumalo further points out that whether or not a sentence can undergo locative inversion also depends on whether the verb is active or passive. He states that Chichewa and Chishona pattern alike for the three verb types in that unaccusative verbs undergo locative inversion while unergative and transitive verbs do not.

Khumalo (ibid) observes that in Chishona, like in Ndebele, the passives of all three verb types permit locative inversion, while in Chichewa only transitive verbs license locative inversion in the passive. In considering the comparison between Chichewa and Chishona Khumalo states that Chichewa permits locative inversion in only two domains, namely with active unaccusative verbs and passive transitive verbs without agent phrases. He points out that, on the other hand, Chishona permits locative inversion in all but two domains, namely in active unergative verb and active transitive verb constructions, and also allows (or sanctions) agent phrases in passive inversions. Ndebele permits locative inversion in all domains. Khumalo furthermore states that the use of adjunct phrases (or agent phrases) with passives of unaccusatives seems to be limited, but largely optional.

Marten (2011) advances the view that there are different ways of viewing subject nodes in Swahili and Herero. He argues that subject agreement markers in Bantu languages are in some respect incorporated pronouns, but extends his analysis by discussing further parallels between pronouns and subject markers to explicate the understanding of subjects and subject agreement in Bantu, Marten states that the interpretation of the subject markers depends on the context in which they are found. He asserts that the relevant context includes both the wider, pragmatic context as well as the relation between overt subject and agreeing subject marker, and thus includes word-order variation between subject-verb and verb-subject

structures. Marten discusses lexical restrictions on the interpretation of subject markers regarding the different ways in which logical subjects can be syntactically related to the verb, expressing different information structure relations such as topic and focus. He invokes the Dynamic syntax notion of incremental growth of semantic representations in positing a formal analysis to demonstrate how the interaction between context, word-order and lexical information from agreement markers result in the step-by-step development of the context-specific interpretation.

Marten and van der Wal (2014:319) investigate the variations in the typology of subject inversion constructions in Bantu languages, positing seven types of inversion constructions. They discuss the main invariant common characteristics and variable features of inversion constructions in terms of the following properties: (i) The logical subject follows the verb and cannot be omitted, (ii) The postverbal subject is non-topical (but is often underspecified for narrow subject focus or used as athetic sentence), (iii) Object marking is not possible, (iv) Close ‘bonding’ between verbal and postverbal DP is often indicated in phonological phrasing, in the absence of augmenting conjoint verb form, or complement tone pattern. (v) Morphological marking of the preverbal phrase is inclusive of (a) locative marking, (vi) Thematic restrictions on the preverbal phrase; (a) locative, (b) instrument, (c) patient, and (d) proposition, (vii) Agreement: (a) agreement with the preverbal DP/ ‘topic’/clause (b) default (locative) agreement, (c) agreement with the inverted logical subject, and (viii) Word order; (a) VS only, (b) VS and VOS, (c) VS and VSO. Thus, they distinguish seven types of subject inversion constructions, to which they refer as formal locative inversion (FLI), semantic locative inversion (SLI), instrument inversion (InsI), patient inversion (PatI), complement inversion (CmpI), default agreement inversion (DAI), and agreeing inversion (AI), including passive (PASS) as a related construction.

Riedel and Marten (2012) investigated issues including objecthood and locative marking in Bantu languages. They considered, for example, whether verbs in Bantu languages can have more than one object. They also examined questions relating to word order and the argument-adjunct distinction, stating that object marking and raising to subject position in passive verb constructions are common tests for objecthood in Bantu languages. They assert that properties concerning word order present a clear way to distinguish adjuncts from objects in Bantu languages, given that Bantu languages generally have the word order SVOX, or rather SV IO DO X, where locatives usually follow any objects, and high adjuncts, such as temporal

modifiers, also follow the objects. Marten and Riedel examined properties of object marking, objecthood, and locative phrases, stating that the object in Bantu languages are those categories which trigger object marking. They point out that there is, however, a number of objects particular languages can allow. They discuss contexts in which only locative object markers may be used referring to Bantu languages like Kiswahili and Sambia, where locative but not non-locative object marking is possible with intransitive verbs. This, they state, is typically overtly reflected in the valency morphology of the verb by the appearance of the applicative. Marten and Riedel maintain that the locative object marker behaves just like a locative noun phrase or adverbial and it can be freely added or dropped without affecting the argument structure of the verb. They furthermore consider object marking paradigms without locative markers, stating that, in addition to morphosyntactic differences between locative and non-locative object-markers, there are also purely morphological differences, related to the object marking paradigm. Thus, they state, a number of Bantu languages like siSwati, and Lozi do not have locative object markers (Marten et al 2007).

Riedel and Marten (2012) argue that in languages without morphological, preverbal object markers, postverbal pronominal locative clitics are often used to mark locative complements. They point out that locatives in Bantu languages are typically part of the noun class system and behave in many aspects like other nouns. They state that there are very few lexical locative nouns, so most locative nouns result from derivation, where a noun for example **omuti** ‘tree’ cl 3 is shifted to class 16 **ku muti** ‘on the tree’, cl 18 **mu muti** ‘in the tree’. Riedel & Marten discuss locative grammaticalization paths relating to applicatives, relatives, and negation. They assert that locative morphology is not only involved in the processes of locative reconstructing, but post-verbal historic locative clitics are also found in the context of a range of other grammaticalization paths, including applicatives as, for example, locative applicatives in Kinyarwanda are marked by a class 16 clitic functioning as applicative marker. Riedel and Marten assert that in Bemba, a former class 17 locative marker has developed into a marker of substitutive benefactive applicatives, and the class 17 clitic **-ko** has developed into a marker to specifically indicate this reading, as opposed to recipient or plain benefactive reading. Riedel and Marten maintain that the coding of negation in some languages sometimes involves grammaticalised locative markers, a former locative marker **ko** appears as a clause-final negative polarity item.

Marten (2012:443) discusses agreement in locative phrases in Luganda, stating that locative noun classes in Bantu are cross-linguistically ambiguous, with the most common pattern of locative marking involving the classes 16-18 locative prefixes **pa-** (class), **ku-** (class 17) and **mu-** (class 18), prefixed to the original noun class prefix, as indicated in Bemba [M42]. Marten (2012: 444), posits that, like some other Bantu languages, Luganda has a fourth locative class 23 locative prefix **e(-)**.

Marten (ibid) points out that different Bantu languages combine different locative marking strategies, stating that some, particularly the Northwest Bantu languages have no locative marking, or only remnants of locative marking. He asserts that locative nouns, in some Bantu languages such as Bemba [M42] and Luganda [E15] can function as subjects and trigger subject agreement on the verb, and that the verb agrees in class with the locative noun. He states that in Luganda, class 25/23 also triggers class 25/23 subject agreement. He further points out that across Bantu languages, both locative agreement (outer agreement) and agreement with the original non-locative noun (inner agreement) are found. In some languages, only one type of agreement is possible while in others both types are found. Marten (ibid) states that verbal locative agreement can also be found in languages which do not mark locative nouns with a class prefix. He refers to the agreement between a locative noun and its modifiers as inner agreement in stating that locative nouns often exhibit agreement with nominal dependents such as possessives, demonstratives or adjectives. Marten (2012:440) proposes that pragmatic differences are associated with the two structures of agreement. In my study, I observed that locative agreement also occurs with other nominal modifiers in Luganda, such as numerals, quantifiers, interrogatives, emphatic pronouns, and relatives (see my discussion in chapter Two on nominal modifiers in Luganda).

Marten (2012) asserts that subject-verb agreement of a locative subject realises the locative prefix agreement features **wa**, **ku**, **mu** and **e**. He asserts that, unlike non-locative nouns classes, Luganda cannot be associated with an object agreement prefix. Rather these locative nouns in the various locative noun classes 16, 17, 18, and 23 each have a distinct form of locative clitic which can appear as the verbal suffix. This subject-verb agreement between a locative noun class and a subject is referred to by Marten (ibid) as outer agreement. According to Marten (2012), the demonstrative modifies the noun phrase head, and thus can be thought of as ‘defining it’. He states that, in contrast, if the modifier is part of the larger locative structure, presumably, the ‘whole’ inner and outer agreements are associated, with

slight differences in interpretation, reflecting the fact that they result from different syntactic configurations. Marten asserts that a modifier such as the quantifier **–okka** ‘only’ can be focus-related and due to its semantics, it is unlikely to modify an empty head, which he considers an example of outer agreement, as the alternative adjunction analysis is unlikely to be correct in this case. He further asserts that the quantifier **–kyokka** ‘only’ in **mu kisenge ekinene kyokka** ‘in the room only’ restricts the head with which it agrees, while **mwokka** ‘only’ in **mu kisenge omulungi mwokka** ‘in the good room only’ restricts the whole locative phrase **mu kisenge** ‘in the room’.

Marten furthermore discusses the interpretational effects of different agreement patterns, stating it relates to the interaction of agreement with the focus particle **-e**, that takes the concord prefix of the noun or adverb to which it refers, and brings the noun or adverb to which it refers into prominence. Marten (ibid) maintains that the difference between the two examples rests on the presence of the focus particle **be** agreeing with the head noun **abalenzi abo abakulu** ‘those mature boys’, in that the head noun is emphasized or focused, as indicated by the translation with an English cleft sentence. He furthermore asserts that the locative phrase functions as a subject of the locative inversion construction, and that it appears from the English translation that the post-verbal noun phrase is presentationally focused, as has often been observed concerning Bantu locative inversion constructions (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989; Marten 2006). Marten states that, in contrast, the focus particle **mwe** ‘is where’ follows the locative phrase, agreeing with class 18. He points out that the demonstrative **kino** ‘this’ now shows inner agreement, modifying the noun phrase. The effect of the focus particle, like in the non-locative examples above, is to emphasize the preceding locative phrase. Marten maintains that it appears from the English translation provided that **mu kisenge kino** ‘in this room’ is focused, even though the phrase remains the grammatical subject of the locative inversion construction. According to Marten, this property confirms the view that agreement reflects different levels of modification, **kino** ‘this’ modifies the noun phrase head, showing inner agreement, while **mwe** modifies the locative head showing outer agreement.

According to Marten (ibid) interpretative differences are associated with the difference between inner and outer agreement. He states that these differences are pragmatic, rather than semantic, and this may reflect the fact that the syntactic locative head of the locative phrase does not contribute its referential semantic meaning so that the meaning of the locative phrase

is a result of the combined semantic contribution of head and complement. He states that, in contrast, the nominal head of the noun phrase does have referential meaning, and so modification of the two heads has rather different effects. Marten points out that the presence of pragmatic effects systematically related to inner and outer agreement provide support for the proposed syntactic analysis of Luganda locative phrases as involving modification at the noun phrase level (inner agreement) and the locative phrase level (outer agreement).

In investigating Shona locative inversion, Baxter (2016) argues that an atypical Shona declarative phrase follows the canonical SV ordering. The verb in such a phrase bears a prefix referred to as the subject marker. This prefix co-varies in f-features with the subject nominal. The verb cannot agree with any other NP in the sentence. Baxter views agreement in locative inversion as impersonal concord in Shona. He points out that subjects are available for relativization, demonstrating that preposed locative NPs behave in the same way as preverbal logical subjects in their properties regarding relativisation. Baxter maintains that the agreement marker on the verb in Shona is too closely linked to the class of locatives to allow for any other interpretation than direct control in the manner of typical preverbal subjects. He states that the behaviour of agreement in Shona locative inversion is directly compatible with Diercks' (2011b) account of Lubukusu agreement.

3.6 LOCATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE

3.6.1 Introduction

Bresnan (1994: 85) asserts that locative inversion serves a special function in discourse, namely as realizing presentational focus, in which the referent of the inverted subject is introduced or re-introduced on the scene referred to by the preposed locative. The preposed locative is taken to be typically representing old information, whereas the inverted logical subject is focal, introducing new information. Bresnan & Kanerva (1989: 35), however state that locative inversion, in its presentational function, is also used for contrastive focus. Whereas the uninverted construction allows focussing of either participant, only the theme would receive contrastive focus in the inverted structure. Kimenyi (1980, p. 56) posits that postverbal NPs are contrastively focused, like cleft meanings or like impersonal constructions. Polinsky (1993: 343) asserts that, locative inversion seems to have the same function in most languages, the existential, and also the contrastive function. In this section, I discuss related previous studies, including Bresnan and Kanerva (1989), Bresnan (1994),

Machobane (1995), Moshi (1995), Demuth (1990), Polinsky (1993), Bostoen and Mundeke (2012), and van der Wal and Namyalo (2016) on Luganda.

3.6.2 Perspectives from studies on information structure

Regarding the discourse function of the locative inversion construction, Bresnan and Kanerva (1989) assert that locative inversion (LI) is used in the presentational function. They maintain that in an inverted sentence, the preposed locative denotes a topical element which expresses old information, while the inverted subject is focal, introducing new information. In relation to the verbs that are found in Chichewa LI, they state that the LI construction is possible only with intransitive verbs, including motion verbs, verbs of spatial configuration, and verbs of existence. They also note that some passive transitive verbs permit locative inversion in Chichewa. From the data of my study on locative inversion in Luganda, I am of the view that the LI construction is also possible with Luganda transitive verbs with no locative argument, but not permitted with transitive verbs that also have a locative argument.

Concerning the discourse function of locative inversion in English, Bresnan argues that, similarly to Chichewa, the locative inversion construction in English is used for presentational focus. Regarding the discourse function of the construction, Bresnan (1994) maintains that in all languages she examined, the locative inversion construction is used for the discourse function of presentational focus. She states that, generally, the properties identified for locative inversion constructions across languages seem to demonstrate more similarities than differences.

Moshi (1995) and Machobane (1995) omitted discussion of the discourse function of locative inversion in Sesotho. However, Demuth (1990) states that, similarly to Chichewa, the inverted subject in Sesotho locative inversion introduces a new discourse referent. This suggests that, similar to many languages, locative inversion in Sesotho is used in the discourse function of presentational focus.

Bostoen and Mundeke (2012) investigated the marking of argument focus in Mbuun (B87, Guthrie, 1971), a western Bantu language from the Democratic Republic of Congo. They assert that, in Mbuun, the marking of argument focus relies on syntactic, morphological and prosodic devices, a tendency that deviates from that of the eastern and southern Bantu languages. They state that, focalising a non-verbal constituent in Mbuun obligatorily involves deviations from the canonical SVO word order. Bostoen and Mundeke argue that Mbuun is a

head-marking language with core arguments-subject and object-that can be cross-referenced on the verb by agreement markers corresponding in person, number, and gender. They state that, a focused object is fronted immediately before the verb (IBV) in Mbuun, resulting in an SOV word order, which runs counter to the narrow focus found immediately after the verb (IAV) in many other Bantu languages. They furthermore assert that, the object also moves in Mbuun when other non-verbal clause constituents are focused. Thus, they conclude, that both subjects are oblique arguments focused *in situ* but their focalization triggers a movement of the object to the clausal-initial position resulting in OSV word order.

Bostoen and Mundeke assert that Mbuun argument focus is morphologically peculiar because it involves a class 1 **a-** versus **ka-** allophony in the verbal subject-concord slot, which co-varies not only with focus, but also with tense/aspect. They point out that this morphological focus device is not reported in eastern and southern Bantu, where the conjoint/disjoint distinction in the Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM) slot is more common, but a wider western Bantu feature, which may have its origin in an identification copula.

Bostoen and Mundeke point out that Mbuun has a relatively strict canonical SVO word order and any deviation from that order is significant in terms of ‘information packaging’. They state that SVO is not pragmatically neutral, since it is used in topic-comment articulation, where the subject is a topic representing presupposed or old information, and the predicate bears information focus or is highly salient in a transitive sentence (van der Wal, 2009, p. 11), thus, it has ‘predicate focus’ when the entire verbal phrase is highlighted (Lambrecht 1994:226,96). Bostoen and Mundeke (2012) state that in many Bantu languages, SVO is maintained in sentences with a narrow focus on the object involving conjoint/disjoint distinction morphologically marked in the TAM-slot of certain verbal conjugation. They point out that Mbuun deviates from this pattern especially common to East-Bantu languages in that the Immediate After Verb (IAV) position is not the site for argument focus, but rather that object focus triggers SOV, and other non-verbal constituents are focused *in situ*, but require object movement.

Bostoen and Mundeke (2012) argue that the focused objects in Mbuun occur in the immediate before verb position, or site before the verb, where the semantic-pragmatic function of focus is to signal alternatives that matter for the correct interpretation of utterances (van der Wal, 2011, p. 1734). They maintain that the scope of focus include argument focus, predicate focus, and sentence focus, discussing in particular the first type of

focus with a distinct meaning of the alternatives which focus indicates. They further discuss (new) information or assertive focus versus identification or contrastive focus (cf. Kiss, 1998), stating that information focus is about ‘asserted information projected against a neutral background’ (Hyman & Watters, 1984, p. 239), linked with WH-questions and their answers. Bostoen and Mundeke (2012) assert that information object focus in Mbuun is naturally obtained using object questions (‘what?’/ ‘whom?’), where the speaker requests new information for the object slot, the question words, and that the new information/answers occur immediately before the verb (IBV) like an object in SVO order, but the fronted object is not cross-referenced on the verb. They state that a sentence is not ungrammatical keeping the object immediately post-verbal, but it is not appropriate.

Bostoen and Mundeke (2012) point out that, other than the object in Mbuun, arguments are focused *in situ* in that their focalization does not involve movement from their canonical linear position. They state that argument focus on ‘non-objects’ does involve, however, a movement of the object, and that, if present, in case of object focus, it can be argued that, the fronting of the object weakens the topicality of the *in situ* focused subject. Bostoen and Mundeke maintain that a contrastively focused locative phrase occurs pre-verbally, in contrast to one assertively focused. It is not necessarily focused in IBV position, since the lexical subject may also follow it. They maintain that the fronting of the focused object to IBV position is not unique to Mbuun. Argument focus in Mbuun is also particular in terms of inversion constructions, because the object also moves when other non-verbal clause constituents are focused. They state that both subjects and oblique arguments are focused *in situ*, at least as new information focus, and that their focalization triggers movement of the object to clause-initial position resulting in OSV. They state that the locative inversion construction in English is similar to that in Bantu languages.

Van der Wal and Namyalo (2016) investigated the interaction of two focus marking strategies in Luganda, pointing out that Luganda is an SVO canonical word order language with extensive verbal morphology including subject and object indexing. They point out that, Luganda has noun stems preceded by a noun class prefix as well as an augment or initial vowel (augment). They propose that Luganda has three morphosyntactic strategies to express focus on a nominal referent. They examine interpretational properties of two strategies, namely the preverbal focus construction (PFC) and augmentless nouns. Of the two strategies proposed, they consider identificational focus and exclusive focus, respectively. They state

that the augment is important in the expression of focus, and that in their view, focus indicates the presence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions. According to van der Wal and Namyalo, the triggering of a set of alternatives is a unified core function of focus, and the various types of focus can be seen as the outcomes of additional pragmatic and semantic factors (Zimmermann and Onea, 2011).

Van der Wal and Namyalo posit that the focus can be underspecified in its exact interpretation, the only semantically consistent part being the presence of a set of alternatives. The semantic type of focus not only triggers a set of alternatives, but also operates on that set of alternatives. This, they state, can result in a scalar, exhaustive or exclusive reading; and can have a truth-conditional effect. They assert that the exhaustive or exclusive reading is important, where exclusive focus means that there is at least some referent in the set of alternatives to which the predicate does not apply. Exhaustive focus means that for all alternative referents the predicate does not hold, i.e the predicate is true only for the focused referent, e.g the snake caught the rat and nothing else. They maintain that these semantic types of focus is more specific than merely triggering alternatives. A separate type of focus is associated with a presupposition.

According to van der Wal and Namyalo, Luganda has a dedicated linear position for focus, namely the Immediate After Verb (IAV) position. They state that the focus effect of the IAV position can be seen in restrictions on the placement of inherently focused content questions, which need to be in IAV position. They point out that it is ungrammatical for a content question word like ‘who’ ‘what’ to occur in other postverbal positions when postverbal, focused arguments, and adverbs, must occur in the IAV position. They furthermore point out that answers to content questions are also found in IAV position, with potential intervening of non-focal elements in the dislocated position.

Van der Wal and Namyalo refer to the study of Hyman and Katamba (1993) in discussing that the noun without an augment [A] in Luganda in an affirmative clause is in focus. They maintain that if a [A] noun occurs postverbally, it can only appear in IAV, and that it is grammatical as the first noun after the verb, but not as the second after an augmented [+A] noun. They point out that when both postverbal objects are [-A], the interpretation is VP focus, including the verb and both objects. They assert that the interaction of two focus marking strategies in Luganda is about the interpretation of focus in IAV which is not restricted to one type, but is underspecified in that postverbal objects can be interpreted as

exclusive focus, and in locative inversion, the subject can occur in IAV too. In subject inversion, they state, either the subject is in focus, as a narrowly focused subject, or it is delocalised as part of athetic sentence

Van der Wal and Namyalo examine the interaction of two focus marking strategies in Luganda as predicted not in the PFC. These can be interpreted as a specific entity or the type named by the noun, further test involves incomplete ‘yes/no’ questions. They maintain that Focus particles ‘only’ and ‘even’, also reveal the identificational nature of the PFC. The absence and presence of the augment on nouns, apart from the IAV position and the PFC is related to focus (see Hyman & Katamba (1993). Van der Wal and Namyalo state that the augment is related to two licensors: negation and focus. They show that any NP following an ergative verb must be [-A]. This means that one or more alternatives are excluded. The [-A] form is obligatorily used, shows that nouns with the augment in object position result in ungrammaticality of the question. They state that overt contrast/correction, a second test for exclusivity involves adding an overt contrast to a statement. The overt contrast phrase excludes the mentioned alternative(s). Thus requires the [-A] form of the object, and object in contrast.

Van der Wal and Namyalo state that the [+A] form is judged as felicitous if the contrasting clause is absent. For indefinites, a test of exclusivity involves an indefinite noun such as **(o)muntu** ‘person’. This can be interpreted as non-specific [+A] form, but referring to a type of entity when in its [-A] form and when the scope of the object. According to van der Wal and Namyalo, this is because non-specific indefinites do not allow for the exclusion of alternatives (‘anyone’ includes everyone), whereas [-A] types do allow for exclusion. They state concerning the focus particles ‘only’ and ‘even’, the exhaustive focus particle **-okka** ‘only’ requires the noun it modifies to be [-A], which is expected considering that an exhaustive reading excludes all alternative referents. The logical subject can, however, be [-A] in locative inversion. The syntactic licensing of augmentless nouns seems to be restricted to avP-internal Position, leaving syntax, this study unravels the precise interpretation of focus, considering the presence and absence of the augment and the encoding of focus interpretation that is more specific.

Van de Wal & Namyalo conclude that their study demonstrated how the IAV position, the PVF construction and augment(less) nouns are used to express focus, and that, while the IAV position expresses an underspecified type of focus (in the sense of merely triggering a set of

alternatives), the PFC expresses identificational focus and the augmentless nouns encode exclusive focus (see Krifka, 2006; Lyons, 1999).

3.7 LOCATIVES, ARGUMENT STRUCTURE AND THEMATIC ROLES

3.7.1 Introduction

Several studies have been concerned with argument structure in Bantu languages. Some of these studies examined the types of verb classes which allow locative inversion. For instance, Salzmann (2004) asserted that Sesotho permits locative inversion in a wider range of verbs (unaccusative, unergatives) compared to Chichewa. Other studies that will be discussed in this section include Bresnan and Kanerva (1989), Du Plessis and Visser (1992), Bresnan (1994), Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995), Moshi (1995), and Demuth and Mmusi (1997).

3.7.2 Previous studies on argument structure and thematic roles

Bresnan and Kanerva (1989) assert that the term ‘unaccusative verb’ is defined as an intransitive verb whose single syntactic argument is not semantically an agent: such an argument does not initiate or is not responsible for the action denoted by the verb, thus, unaccusative verbs resemble passive verbs in terms of their D(eep)-structure representation. They argue that similarly to unaccusatives, passives involve a direct internal argument; but lack an external argument. Bresnan and Kanerva assert that, given their characteristics, unaccusative verbs are widely found in locative-inversion constructions across languages. They state that locative inversion in Chichewa and English is restricted to verbs whose highest thematic role is a theme. This view was contested by Demuth and Mmusi (1997), who demonstrated that in some languages locative inversion is also possible with unergative verbs (i.e. agentive verbs).

Du Plessis and Visser (1992:136) in examining (locative) applicative constructions in Xhosa, state that when intransitive verbs occur with the (locative) applicative suffix, the argument may be interpreted in terms of six thematic roles, namely location, direction, source, recipient, theme and benefactive, with location and source being dominant with the locative applicative as the locative applicative suffix generally occurs with intransitive verbs. Du Plessis and Visser (1992: 137) state, in regard to locative transitive verbs, that when a transitive verb with an object argument also has a locative argument, the locative complement functions in one of three ways, namely as location, source, or recipient. They state that with

the interpretation of location, it is important to consider the features in the locative noun phrase, as some verbs would allow locatives only when the locative noun has the feature [-animate]. On the question of locative inversion involving a reversal of grammatical functions, Du Plessis and Visser (1992:136) examine locative inversion in Xhosa as a relation-changing operation which does not involve any additional morphology (as opposed to for example, the passive and applicative), stating that the inverted and the non-inverted structures have distinct uses in discourse, which makes locative inversion an area of interest in information structural research, thus raising questions on argument realization interacting with the discourse factors.

Bresnan (1994) examines locative inversion in terms of the Lexical Mapping Theory (LMT), a sub-theory of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG). She argues that the locative inversion construction is restricted to predicates whose highest thematic role is a <theme>. Her characterization of predicates that undergo locative inversion is based on the thematic classification of verbs developed in LFG. Demuth and Mmusi (1997) indicate that predicate types and their thematic roles include: Verb type Active Passive: Unergatives <ag, loc> <(ag), loc>; Unaccusatives <th, loc> <(th), loc>; Transitives <ag, th, loc> <(ag), th, loc>; and Ditransitives <ag, th, pat, loc> <(ag), th, loc>.

Given the classification of predicates and their associated thematic information, Bresnan (ibid) argues, concerning locative inversion, that only predicates with a theme as their highest role can participate in locative inversion. She states that this suggests that, except unergative predicates, all other predicates undergo locative inversion. She asserts that unergative verbs are incompatible with locative inversion because their highest thematic roles are <agents>. Bresnan maintains that the restriction of unergative verbs to locative inversion is a universal characteristic of these constructions.

Bresnan (ibid) asserts that, in LMT, syntactic functions are classified according to the features [+/-r], (see (Bresnan 1994:89 fn 25), namely [-r]: functions that are semantically unrestricted in terms of the semantic role: SUBJ(ect), OBJ(ect), [+r]: functions with semantically restricted thematic roles: OBJ(ect), OBL(ique). Given the classification of syntactic functions, Bresnan argues that an unaccusative verb *khala* 'remain' in Chichewa licenses two semantic roles: a <theme> and a <location>, and receive their default classification.

Bresnan (1994) posits that the locative role can be generated in the subject position, but in the

normal case, the default applies and induces restrictions to the location argument. She states that the theme remains underspecified due to monotonicity. She asserts the theme is specified as [-r] which is compatible with both the subject and the object functions. She points out that, according to the subject condition rule, which requires that all lexical form or function structure has a subject, and the theme is then mapped onto the subject function. Bresnan maintains that the specific default can apply, and given the view that the theme argument is the most prominent in locative inversion constructions, the locative becomes unrestricted. The general subject default then becomes redundant because the features it can assign would threaten monotonicity. Thus, Bresnan states, the theme remains underspecified and functions as subject or object, but because the subject function is already taken by the locative, the theme is then mapped onto the object function. She points out that transitive predicates such as *peza* ‘find’ is not allowed in Chichewa locative inversion constructions because the theme is not the highest argument of such predicates.

Bresnan (ibid) argues that transitive passive predicates permit locative inversion because the passive operation demotes the agent, and promotes the theme to become the highest argument, thus providing the context for the special subject default. She asserts that the restriction of the *by*-phrase in locative inversion can be explained by assuming that the agent is still present and bound to the adjunct agent; and as a result, the context for the special subject default is destroyed. She argues further that passive ditransitive and applied predicates do not permit locative inversion for the reason that these predicates lack a theme argument. Thus, Bresnan states, the context for the special subject default is not present.

Bresnan (ibid) posits that, similar to passive ditransitive and applied predicates, unergative verbs are also unacceptable in the locative inversion for the same reason: these predicates involve an agent as their highest argument, thus the special subject default cannot apply. She states that, although the theme argument is assigned the object function in locative inversion constructions, it is not a prototypical object assuming the highest semantic role, it occurs as subject semantically; it does not passivize.

Moshi (1995) posits that a locative noun co-occurs with the beneficiary and theme, and the locative object controls the concordial agreement while the beneficiary and theme appear as full nouns. Moshi (1995:137) refers to the study of Bresnan and Moshi (1990) in arguing that locative nouns in applied constructions should be accorded the same status as in the applied beneficiary and theme object markers, which she considers evidence for objecthood status of

the locative noun (see. example (19(a)-(e)) pp. 136). In regard to argument structure, she points out that, unlike in Chichewa, locative inversion in Setswana allows several verb types. She maintains that all verbs can undergo locative inversion except transitive and ditransitive verbs. Demuth and Mmusi (1997) demonstrate that locative inversion construction in Setswana is used for presentational focus.

3.8 THE LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX AND THE LOCATIVE CLITIC

3.8.1 Introduction

In this section, I present views from studies by Jerro (2016a, 2016b), Diercks (2011a), and Simango (2012) relating to the properties of the locative applicative suffix, and the locative clitic in various Bantu languages. I discuss, in particular, their views on the morphosyntactic properties of these morphemes and the interpretative effects with which they are associated.

3.8.2 Perspectives on the (locative) applicative suffix from previous research

Jerro (2016a) investigated questions concerning the interaction of verb class and the locative applicative in Kinyarwanda. He makes reference to the studies of Bresnan and Moshi (1990) and Jerro (2016b) who examined applicative morphology, focusing on the syntax of the applied object. Jerro points out that applicative suffix introduces a new object argument with a transparent thematic role. He argues that the interpretation of the applied object is contingent upon the meaning of the verb, with the applied object having a <Path>, <Source>, or <Goal> semantic role with motion verbs from different classes. Jerro states that the general <Location> role appears with non-motion verbs, outlining a typology of the interaction of the locative applicative with four different verb types and the provision of semantic analysis of applicative as a paradigmatic constraint on the lexical entailments of the applicative verb variant of a particular verb. He maintains that verb class affects the argument realization of the applicative morpheme. He points out that the applicative suffix has traditionally been analysed as a valency-increasing morpheme which introduces a new object and associated thematic role to the argument structure of a given verb. Jerro states that the transitive verb **kwa-ndika** ‘write’ licenses a subject and one object, the applicative verb variant in has two post-verbal NPs. He furthermore points out that applicative morphology often licenses objects that are assigned one of the various thematic role types, such as <Benefactive>, <Reason/Motive>, and <Location>.

Regarding the typology of locative meaning, Jerro examines four kinds of locative meaning. First, he discusses verbs with which the applicative introduces a general locative role, i.e, the location where the event took place, referring, as an example, to the verb **kw-gera** ‘talk’ which is a lexicalized applicative. In the second category, Jerro asserts that the applicative introduces a <Goal> to the event described by the verb. He states that this meaning appears with verbs such as **kw-iruka** ‘run’, **ku-jya** ‘to go’, **gu-simbuka** ‘to jump’.

Jerro (2016a) asserts that in the third type, the applied object may be a <Path>. Apart from the verb **ku-vuga** ‘to talk’, the non-applicative variant of the verb **kw-injira** ‘to enter’ permits a locative object in the non-applicative variant, other verbs that pattern like **kw-injira** ‘to enter’ are **gu-shoka** ‘to exit’, **ku-manuka** ‘to descend’, **ku-zamoka** ‘to ascend’, and **ku-rira** ‘to climb’. Jerro states that here, the applied object describes the <Path> through which the motion event occurs, and the applicative is obligatory. Lastly, Jerro states, the applied object may be a <Source> where the applicative suffix appears on the verb **kw-ambuka** ‘to cross’. He states that here, the applied object is obligatorily interpreted as the <Source> of the motion event.

Jerro (2016a, p. 295) asserts that in Kinyarwanda different locations are selected by different verbs with locative clitics. Kinyarwanda has three locative clitics that replace locative phrases, referring to their intuitive definitions, **-ho** (at or on something), **-yo** (at or to a place), and **-mwo/-mo** (inside of something), corresponding to noun classes 16, 17 and 18 respectively. According to Jerro, the use of a locative clitic is conditioned by two factors: the clitic must replace a locative phrase selected by a verb (or applicative suffix, and behave as a syntactic object, and secondly, the semantics of the clitic must be compatible with the specific motion conveyed in the sentence. Jerro asserts that there are three classes of motion predicates where the applied object is assigned the role of <Source>, <Path>, or <Goal>, and these are the verbs of transversal (**kw-ambuka** ‘to cross’), path verbs/change of location (**kw-injira** ‘to enter’), and manner of motion verbs (**kw-iruka** ‘to run’) respectively

Jerro (2016a, p. 304) points out that the locative morphemes **ku** and **mu** are locative class markers in Kinyarwanda and that nouns marked with locative class prefixes are arguments, not prepositional phrases, for the following reasons. The locative can appear as a subject of a passive. It is the subject that triggers agreement on the verb, an agreement relation is reserved for arguments. He states that, furthermore, locative phrases can be object-marked on verbs where for example class 16 object marker **ha-** replaces the locative phrase. Jerro asserts that

locative phrases are arguments since they cannot appear productively across predicates, which would be expected if the locative prefixes were prepositions that license oblique phrases. He states that, for example, the locative phrase **mu nzu** ‘in the house’ can not be used with the verb **ku-vuga** ‘to talk’. In order to have a locative phrase such as **mu nzu** ‘in the house’ with the verb **ku-vuga** ‘to talk’, the applicative is obligatory..

3.8.3 Perspectives on locative clitics from previous research

Diercks (2011a) examines the locative clitic (henceforth CL) in a variety of morpho-syntactic and lexical contexts in locative phrases in Lubukusu. He argues that the locative clitic functions as a locative agreement marker which appears suffixed to the verb, as illustrated by the postverbal *-mo*. According to Diercks (2011a), the locative clitic may pronominalize a locative phrase. Thus, he argues, the locative clitic(CL) and the object marker have some similar properties in that they occur with left dislocated triggering phrases. He states that relative clauses exhibit a similar contrast, as the locative clitic may occur in a relative clause where the locative is the head of the relative clause, but the object marker cannot occur in an object relative clause Diercks (2011a) states that the object marker and the locative clitic(CL) in Lubukusu can co-occur in the same sentence.

Diercks (2011a) explores a range of properties of the locative clitic in Lubukusu constructions. He asserts that locative clitics in Lubukusu exhibit the following properties: (i) they agree only in locative noun class, with locative phrases, (ii) they can ‘pronominalize’ a locative argument, (iii) they do not co-occur with an *in situ* locative phrase, (iv) they can occur with a left-dislocated locative phrase, (v) they can occur optionally with an extracted locative phrase, (vi) they occur obligatorily in locative inversion constructions, and (vii) they cannot promote a locative to direct object. Diercks (2011a) maintains that the fact that the locative clitic(CL) and the object marker may exhibit similar properties suggests that they are theoretically identical.

Diercks (2011a) argues the fact that the bifurcation of properties between the locative clitic(CL) and object markers in extraction contexts suggests that they are different morphosyntactic elements. However, as the object marker is illicit in object extraction, but the CL is possible in locative extraction, he invokes this evidence, to propose that the Lubukusu object marker is an incorporated pronoun, and the CL is an agreement morpheme that is designated for locative noun class agreement. Furthermore, he proposes that the CL

structurally occurs on a separate functional head from the position where the object marker is represented. This functional head designated for locative agreement does not bear a full set of unvalued phi-features, but rather bears only unvalued locative features.

Gunnink (2017, p. 120) examined verbal locative clitics in Fwe. He asserts that the status of these morphemes is ambiguous between free word and affix. He points out that they have a locative use, expressing anaphoric reference to a location; but they also have three non-locative uses namely, expressing a partitive, a polite request, and a progressive aspect. He compares locative clitics to other locative markers in Few, showing that there is a considerable functional and formal overlap with a particular paradigm of locative demonstratives which may be their diachronic source. Gunnink (2017:121) points out that nouns in Fwe are divided over 19 noun classes, marked for noun class by a prefix, and noun class agreement is marked on all dependants, including obligatory subject marking and optional object marking on the verb.

According to Gunnink, the noun class system of Fwe has three locative classes, namely class 16, 17, and 18. He explains that a locative can be derived by stacking a locative noun class prefix onto the noun's inherent prefix. Fwe also has a rich verbal morphological structure with pre-initial (tense, aspect, negation); subject, post-initial (tense aspect, negation, spatial deixis); object, root, derivation (passive, causative, applicative), and final vowel, post-final (locative). According to Gunnink (2017:121), Fwe has for three locative noun classes; 16, 17, and 18 three corresponding verbal clitics: **-ho**, for class 16, **-ko** for class 17, and **-mo** for class 18. Gunnink states that the locative clitic is suffixed to the end of the verb, and is underlyingly toneless as it surfaces with a low tone. He points out that in Fwe, a verb cannot take more than one locative clitic. This is also possible in Luganda though as in **soma-muu-ko**. The locative clitic in Fwe it is suffixed after all other derivational and inflectional suffixes, and when a reduplicated verb occurs with a clitic, the clitic itself is not reduplicated.

Gunnink asserts that locative clitics are used for anaphoric reference to a known location. This location may be known through the earlier discourse. Locative clitics can also be used for cataphoric reference, referring to a locative that is not mentioned in the preceding discourse, but introduced in the following discourse shown by a dislocated locative adjunct. Gunnink (2016:123) argues, with reference to Hyman (2013), that the interaction of penultimate lengthening with the locative clitics provides evidence for the phonological dependence of the locative clitics on the verb.

According to Gunnink, locative clitics can also be used to refer back to a topicalized referent, where the locative clitic refers back to the left-dislocated referent. He points out that a locative clitic is not allowed when a locative phrase to which it refers is in the same clause as the verb that takes the locative clitic. Locative clitics are also not allowed in locative inversion. He states that locative clitics may also be used for anaphoric reference to nouns that are not locative, in which case the locative clitic on the verb adds the locative semantics. Gunnink argues that verbal locative clitics can express locative semantics, rather than take over the locative semantics of their referent, for instance class 18 locative clitic **-mo** refers back to a noun which is marked with a class 17 noun class prefix. He furthermore points out that the three locative noun classes 16, 17, and 18 each has their own semantics, and this is also reflected in the use of the verbal locative clitics. The class 16 clitic **-ho** is used for a location on or a more general location at or near something. Class 17 locative clitic **-ko** is used for direction, but also general location. Gunnink maintains that the semantics of the class 18 locatives clitic **-mo** is more restricted and specifically encode a location, or a movement into, or out of, a certain place.

Gunnink (2016:127) points out that locative clitics also have certain non-locative functions, one expressing a partitive function, where the locative clitic **-ko** is used to express the meaning a bit, not the whole of it. The partitive locative clitic function is attested with all the three locative clitics, class 17 seen above, there is also the partitive function of class 16 locative clitic **-ho** and the class 18 locative clitic **-mo**. The partitive interpretation is sometimes confused with the locative function, when that happens, disambiguation is done by adding an object marker, in which case the only possible interpretation is locative, and the partitive interpretation is ruled out.

Gunnink (2017:128) makes reference to the study of Marten and Kula (2014) in explaining that the partitive function of locative clitic correlates with the minimizing interpretation attested in various Bantu languages, although, he states, this has not been attested in Fwe. Gunnink asserts that another non-locative function of locative clitics in Fwe is restricted to the class 17 locative clitic **-ko**, which can be used to express a polite request. The locative clitics of class 16 and 18 are not used for the expression of a polite request. The use of the class 17 locative clitic to mark a polite request is related to the use of class 17 nominal prefix, which is also used to mark politeness. The use of class 17 nominal prefix and class 17 locative clitic may combine, the clitic adding the notion of ‘for a short time’, this may be an

extension of the politeness interpretation of the locative clitic. Gunnink points out that the marking progress aspect in construction is another non-locative function of locative clitic. The use of **-ho**, and **-ko** on progressive auxiliaries may combine with the use of a locative clitic on the lexical verb, in which case this locative clitic has a locative reference.

Gunnink (2017:129) states that locative pronominal prefixes and locative demonstratives are also used in Fwe to express location, exhibiting formal and functional overlap with verbal locative clitics, potentially possible to be the diachronic source of development of locative clitics. He points out that locative pronominal prefixes, formally verbal locative clitics resemble locative pronominal prefixes, especially when combined with a connective prefix, used to mark agreement on connectives, quantifiers, and possessive pronouns. Fwe has pronominal prefixes for all noun classes, including the three locative noun classes where the pronominal prefixes are **ha-**(class 16), **ku-**(class 17), and **mu-**(class 18). Pronominal prefixes occur in various contexts, one of which is to mark agreement on the connective prefix.

Gunnink (2017:131) asserts that locative demonstratives are free words, and they can function either as independent pronouns, or they can be used attributively to modify a locative noun. Thus, he states, they directly precede the noun it modifies and as such occurs in the same clause as the locative expression it modifies Gunnink proposes that locative clitics and locative demonstratives should be analysed as separate grammatical markers. The prefixes **a-** and **o-** augment are optional on demonstratives. He posits that Fwe has four paradigms of demonstratives depending on the relative distance of the referent to the speaker and the hearer, having forms for all noun classes, including the three locative noun classes 16, 17, and 18 derived from the pronominal prefixes: (Proximal 1) (close to both hearer and speaker), with the bare pronominal prefix (**ha-**, **ku-**, **mu-**), proximal 2 (close to the speaker), distal 1 (close to the hearer/anaphoric), distal 2 (far from both hearer and speaker) of locative demonstratives.

3.8.4 The locative applicative suffix and locative clitics

Simango (2012:141) investigated the syntactic realization of discourse-semantic effects of verbs with the locative clitic (CL) and the locative applicative (henceforth APPL) suffix in Chichewa, arguing that their occurrence relates to subtle interpretations. He states that each of these morphemes can appear individually on the verb, or both morphemes can simultaneously appear on the verb, or neither morpheme appears on the verb. He furthermore

asserts that some verbs allow both the locative applicative suffix and the locative clitic. He asserts that these suffixes introduce subtle interpretational effects relating to place and direction, while other interpretations can be derived from the discourse-context of use.

Simango states that the locative clitic(CL) is an under-researched topic and in-depth investigations of this morpheme are scant even though it occurs regularly in Chichewa and related languages. He demonstrates that these morphemes introduce readings other than merely establishing the location in which a particular event occurred. He argues that the locative clitic encodes meanings that link the theme argument to the location, whereas the locative applicative suffix encodes meanings that link the event itself to the location.

According to Simango (2012), locative clitics have relevance to various components of grammar, from morphology, syntax, to pragmatics. He states that, morphologically, clitics share some similarities with inflectional affixes and, syntactically, clitics share some similarities with free forms. Simango points out that the productivity of cliticization, and the domain over which the process occurs, varies from language to language and within a single language. He asserts that, in Chichewa, cliticization of demonstratives is more productive in the nominal system, but less so in the verbal domain. Simango (ibid) posits that, in Chichewa, the locative applicative suffix(APPL) is associated with a variety of semantic roles such as benefactive, instrument and locative, with the benefactive occurring cross-linguistically in Bantu languages as the most prominent role among all applicative readings. Simango states that the applicative suffix seems to be the only way of expressing a benefactive role in many Bantu languages. He points out that the locative role, however, is not expressed by the applicative suffix only, because this role can be expressed by the noun classes.

Simango (2012:145), examines verbs of creation in Chichewa demonstrating that the suffixation to the verb, of either the locative clitic or the locative applicative suffix, or both morphemes, introduces subtle meanings to the verb relating to readings of specificity, location, time, and beneficiary. Simango (2012: 148) states that the verb merely describes the action without anchoring the event spatially. He asserts that the locative applicative suffix situates the event described by the verb in space whereas the locative clitic introduces an interpretation concerning how the theme argument relates to the location. He points out that the location can either be the theme's source or (final) goal. He furthermore asserts that when only the locative clitic is suffixed to the verb, the interpretation of whether the location is a source or goal depends on the semantics of the verb and not the clitic itself. Verbs of creation

yield the ‘goal’ meaning whereas other activity verbs yield the ‘source’ meaning. Simango states that the combination [applicative+clitic] first identifies the location as a site at which the event occurred and second, it introduces a non-locative meaning. In the current study, I will invoke some of Simango’s views in investigating the syntactic realization of discourse-semantic effects of Luganda locative inversion (LI) constructions with specific intransitive and transitive verbs in Chapter Five and Six.

3.9 SUMMARY

The studies discussed in the various sections of this chapter illustrate the use of a range of different theories and approaches by scholars for investigating the various locative phenomena, including generative grammar, Lexical Mapping Theory, event semantics, lexical semantics, pragmatics, discourse analysis and information structure, and thematic role theory. This chapter has discussed the core perspectives emerging from research on locatives and locative inversion constructions in Luganda regarding a range of aspects including form and distribution of the pre-prefix in section 3.3.2, definiteness and specificity and the occurrence of the initial vowel (IV) in section 3.3.3. The research reviewed indicated that there is a relationship between the syntax and semantics of the pre-prefix and the expression of definiteness and specificity and definiteness in most Bantu languages. In section 3.3.4, I discussed views on the distribution and categorial status of locatives. Scholars’ views differ regarding the categorial status of locatives. Some assert that locatives are prepositional phrases, some posit that locatives are adverbials, while others view locatives as nominal. Taylor (2007) claims that locatives do not conform to any of the existing word categories, and that a new category therefore needs to be created for locatives. In section 3.3.5 another aspect on locative inversion typology, agreement and verb selection was considered, and locative inversion typology was discussed, including informal and semantic locative inversion (see Marten, 2006). I explore views on locatives and information structure in section 3.3.6, considering the interpretation of the properties of the notions of topic, focus and contrast. In section 3.3.7, argument structure and thematic roles in locative constructions were discussed. Different scholars posit that there is a relationship between verb class and the permissibility locative inversion (see Bresnan & Kanerva, 1989). Locative applicatives clitics, passives, and statives were explored in section 3.3.8.

The research literature on locative and locative inversion indicates that Bantu languages employ different approaches and strategies to account and encode information structural

requirements. Studies reviewed indicate that Bantu use grammatical function processing to place topical elements in prominent syntactic positions. Thus, discourse information seems to be more grammaticized in Bantu compared to other languages such as English (Bresnan 1994). In my view there is scant systematic theoretical linguistic research that exists for Luganda on the interface of morphosyntax with lexical semantics, event semantics and information structure aimed at presenting a more comprehensive examination of the interpretative effects of locative and locative inversion constructions in Luganda invoking morphosyntax, semantics, and discourse pragmatics

CHAPTER FOUR

A MULTI-PERSPECTIVE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR INVESTIGATING LOCATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN LUGANDA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter presented perspectives on locative inversion in Bantu languages from a range of research studies. The central aim of this chapter is to discuss some key perspectives from the selected previous theoretical studies on the linguistic sub-fields that constitute the syntax-interfaces approach. The central goal of this dissertation is to present an account of locative constructions in Luganda. The sub-fields I explore concern in particular how, by adopting a broad generative perspective, the interfaces framework for this study is comprised. To this end, I take into account the interface of morphosyntax with the following aspects: (i) verbal lexical semantics (relating to issues of thematic role assignment, predicate-argument structure/realization, the argument-adjunct distinction, argument alternation), (ii) event semantics (aspectual verb types/ situation types) and event structure, including the role of the clausal functional categories (little) *v* and Voice, (iii) the nominal projection functional category, determiner, specified for definiteness and/or specificity features), and (iv) semantic-pragmatic properties of information structure. The syntax- interface framework which I employ in the current study on locative constructions in Luganda is thus informed by a multi-perspective framework and approach adopted from the morphosyntax interfaces in Luganda with perspectives from the four sub-fields indicated, which I discuss with reference to selected previous research in this chapter. As I shall demonstrate in chapters five and six, the interfaces framework that emerges from taking into account the interaction of the research perspectives, from the selected previous research sub-fields I discuss in this chapter, is necessitated to give a unified and comprehensive account of locative constructions in Luganda.

This chapter reviews selected previous of theoretical research studies in the field of syntax-interfaces in (see section 4.2), both typological and generative theoretical studies, given the complexities of multi-perspective research. However, theoretical studies on syntax-interfaces is extensive, hence a complete review of all studies in these sub-fields is not possible. Thus, this chapter is limited to some of the studies which will relate to the analysis of Luganda locative constructions in chapter five and chapter six. This chapter therefore seeks to answer

the question of which lexical-semantic and syntactic properties allow/disallow these locative inversions and how theories of aspect address the issue under investigation. It further explores views (theoretical and typological) in relation to locative inversion in some languages of the world. Most of the studies examine data from English.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 4.2 discusses general views from syntax interfaces research, and section 4.3 reviews key aspects of the minimalist framework of generative syntax. Section 3.4 focuses on the cartographic studies framework in generative syntax, while section 4.5 discusses views from previous research on information structural interfaces. Section 4.6 examines aspects of definiteness and specificity, focusing on the principles of Lyons (1999). Section 4.7 discuss selected views on semantic verb classes and argument structure while section 4.8 explores aspect of event semantics and aspectual verb classes/situation types. Finally, in section 4.9, a summary of the main views discussed is presented. Thus this chapter constitutes the theoretical background of syntax-interfaces research investigation to facilitate the investigation on Lugana locative constructions conducted in Chapters Five and Six.

4.2 VIEWS FROM SYNTAX INTERFACES RESEARCH

Kiss and Alexiadou (2015) maintain that it has become clear in recent research that syntax based on formal options interacts with other components of linguistic knowledge, through correspondence rules or defined interfaces. Thus, they discard the view relating to the earlier view of ‘the autonomy of syntax’, and they explore further the widely assumed view in recent generative syntax research that the syntax is not autonomous.

Mycock (2015) presents a comprehensive overview of the interfaces of syntax with other linguistic sub-components. Harley (2015) similarly, explores the syntax-morphology interface. Lechner’s (2015) study is concerned with the syntax-semantics interface, while Tsoulas (2015) focuses on the syntax-pragmatics interface. In discussing the views of Chomsky (1970), Mycock (2015) states that the lexicon and grammar do not exist in isolation, but that the relationship between the two can rather be viewed as a continuum based on both lexical and syntactic constructions representing pairs of both form and meaning which differ only in terms of internal complexity. Mycock further discusses the views of Chomsky (1970:187) with examples in (1a) and (1b) regarding the Lexicalist Hypothesis identifying regularities in the relation between a nominal (N) and the verb (V) from which it

had been derived (1a). She points out that this nominalization process had idiosyncratic features such as restricted productivity (1b), which made it incompatible with syntactic rules characterized as applying without exception.

- (1) a. John criticized the book (V)
 John's criticism of the book (N)
- b. John amused (interested) the children with his stories (V)
 *John's amusement (interest) of the children with his stories (N)

In discussing the views of Baker (1988), Mycock (2015) points out that Baker has challenged the LH, and he proposed that the incorporation of a noun into a verb is a word-formation process that is not lexical but syntactic. Other scholars have rejected the LH entirely, holding the view that primitives and processes, relevant to lexical items and word-formation, are wholly syntactic. In this regard, Mycock in considering Baker's (1988) views, states that central to all the formulations of the LH is the notion that syntactic operations, which follow those responsible for word-formation, are blind to the internal structure of lexical items.

With reference to Beard's (1995) Separationist Hypothesis theory which advance the view of divorcing the meaning or morphological function of a morpheme from its form, regarding to the syntax-morphology interface, Mycock (2015:33) argues that syntax and morphology are related in accounting for the realisation of arguments and argument structure alternations such as dative, unaccusativity. She refers to the studies by Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, 2004; Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995), and views of Erteschik-Shir (2007) and Rappaport Hovav (2005). She maintains that the analysis of causativization serves to illustrate particular valency changing operation.

Mycock furthermore discusses the view that the dative alternation is possible in English when the indirect object in the double-object construction appears as the complement of the preposition [to] or as a locative noun, referring to the study by Levin (1993), who maintains that dative alternation is characterized by an alternation between the preposition frame [NP1 V NP2 to NP3] and the double object frame [NP1 V NP3 to NP2]. The NP, which is the preposition [to] in the prepositional frame, turns up as the first object in the double object construction.

Mycock (2015) states, with reference to the views advanced by Burzio (1986), that unaccusative verbs are characterized in terms of three properties. They select an internal argument, do not assign external theta role, and consequently the internal argument has to

move to the subject position where it receives the nominative case. Mycock points out that the verb ‘burn’ in her example, selects one internal argument, ‘fire’ but it is unable to assign an accusative case to this argument. Hence the argument must move to the subject position where it is assigned nominative case. Mycock furthermore refers to the view that the inability of the surface subject to argument to be de-externalised in passive verb constructions serves as diagnostic for establishing unaccusativity.

In examining the syntax-semantics interfaces, Mycock (2015:47) posits that a native speaker can determine and interpret the correct syntactic form and meaning of a word, phrase, or sentence. She discusses the principle of compositionality, which accounts for the productivity and systematicity of language in terms of the mind’s finite resources, whereby the speaker knows the meaning of smaller elements of language and the rules which combine them to form larger, potentially novel pieces of language. Mycock asserts that the meaning of the whole is composed of the meaning of its parts as they are put together in the syntax. Thus, she states, syntactic structures and semantic interpretation are proposed to be linked closely. She, however, points out that quantifier scope construal represents a challenge for any theory of the syntax-semantics interfaces. She argues that different approaches taking the principle of compositionality as their starting point continue to contribute to our understanding of syntax, semantics, and organization of the grammar as a whole.

In exploring the relationship between syntax and pragmatics, Mycock (2015:55) states that syntax cannot be divorced from semantics as pragmatics without syntax being empty, and that, likewise, syntax without pragmatics is ‘blind’. She maintains that, since pragmatics is the study of meaning in context (also see Levinson, 1983, p. 5), its interface with syntax is explored concerning the effect that context may have on sentence structure and its acceptability. According to Mycock, the acceptability of sentences is not simply a matter of being syntactically well-formed and interpretable, but rather the felicity of the context. She maintains that some sentences may be grammatical and interpretable but infelicitous in the context they have been used, discussing the following examples.

- (2) a. He will be succeeded by Ivan Allen Jr
 b. The major will be succeeded by him
 c. The mayor's present term of office expires January 1 He will be succeeded by Ivan Allen Jr.... (Brown Corpus)

- d. Ivan Allen Jr. will take office January 1. # The mayor will be succeeded by him
(Ward & Birner, 2004, pp. 169–170)

Mycock states that in the above constructions, (a) and (b) are both grammatical, and that (b) is infelicitous in the context given in (d), whereas (a), on the other hand, can appear in a similar context in (c). She makes reference to the study of Ward and Birner (2004:169-170) who account for the infelicity of passive construction in (d) in terms of the relative discourse status of the syntactic subject ‘the mayor’ and the logical subject ‘him’ (Ivan Allen Jr.) which appears in the postverbal by-phrase. She points out that Ward and Birner (2004:169-170) claim that, in this, and other similar argument-reversing constructions, the syntactic subject must represent information which is at least as familiar as that represented by the logical subject in the by-phrase within the context of the discourse. Mycock further points out that in (c), ‘the mayor’, the antecedent of the syntactic subject ‘he’ is old information, having been given in the first sentence, while Ivan Allen Jr. is new information, as a result, the passive construction is felicitous.

In (d), by contrast, Mycock states, ‘the mayor’ (the syntactic subject) is new information while Ivan Allen Jr. (the antecedent of the logical subject, him) is old information, having been mentioned in the first sentence; as a result, the passive, although grammatical, is infelicitous. Thus, Mycock asserts, (d) exemplifies a mismatch at a syntax-pragmatics interface. She argues that, apart from passive verb constructions, other elements such as ellipsis, anaphora can also be invoked to demonstrate syntax-pragmatics interface phenomena. (see section 4.5 for discussion of perspectives from information structure research.)

Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2020) maintain that the notion of ‘interface’ has become central in grammatical theory, including in Chomsky’s Minimalist Program. They assert that in linguistic research, work on the interfaces between syntax and semantics, syntax and morphology, phonology and phonetics, among other interfaces research, has led to a deeper understanding of particular linguistic phenomena and the architecture of the linguistic component of the mind/brain. They maintain that event semantic features are correlated with verb semantics, and with the morphosyntactic encoding of verbal argument structure in an integral manner. Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2020) discuss aspects of the interfaces between core components of grammar, including the interfaces of syntax and morphology, syntax and semantics, syntax and phonology, syntax and pragmatics, morphology and

phonology, phonology and phonetics, semantics and pragmatics, intonation and discourse structure, and phonetics and speech processing. They discuss issues regarding the way that the systems of grammar involving these interface areas are acquired and deployed in use, stating that a proper understanding of particular linguistic phenomena, languages, language groups, or inter-language variations all require reference to interfaces.

Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2020:1) define lexical semantics as the study of the meaning of words (and morphemes), especially in terms of how they relate to other components of language, such as the syntax or morphology. They assert that the most richly developed component is in the study of verb meaning, a fitting case study since verbs prototypically define the core semantic nucleus of a given clause, whereas other major constituents in the clause, especially those serving core grammatical functions like subject and object, are usually seen as selected dependents of the verb. They also assume that, perhaps, the simplest theory of a verb's meaning is that it describes events and takes arguments naming participants in that kind of event.

Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2020:1) explore the interface between general event structure (to which they refer as templatic meaning), and the idiosyncratic meanings attributed to roots themselves, arguing against theories which take the idiosyncratic meaning to be divorced from templatic meaning. They argue for the necessity of detailed investigation of verb meanings, for determining a more nuanced relationship between templatic verb meaning and idiosyncratic verb meaning and a richer understanding of the lexical meaning of verbal roots. Their exploration leads them to a new predictive theory of possible verb classes. Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2020:1) conclude that there are systematic classes of roots and templates, and each comes with properties that will result in particular behaviours of the verbs formed when these roots occur with these templates. Thus, they maintain that the root typology they outline derives predictions about possible verb classes that crosscut but also interact with predictions already made by templates. Their views are invoked in the analysis of Luganda locative constructions in chapters five and six of the present study.

Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2020) discuss an earlier proposal for a principled theory of verb meaning, referring to studies by Gruber (1965), Fillmore (1968), and Jackendoff (1972) where it is proposed that the grammatically significant meaning of a verb consists of a list of “thematic roles” that define what a given participant in the event described by the verb is doing. They maintain that such roles are furthermore drawn from a cross-linguistically

universal set that cuts across verbs, such as agent (the instigator of an action), patient/theme (an entity that changes, moves, or comes into/goes out of existence; they use “patient” and “theme” interchangeably), location (an entity at which something is located), and instrument (an intermediate entity an agent uses to affect a patient).

With reference to Dik (1978, 1989), Lambrecht (1994) explores the quadratic and triadic nature of language interfaces. He states that Fillmore (ibid) proposes a threefold division of syntax (for grammatical forms that occur in language), semantics (pairing form and the potential communicative function), and pragmatics concerned with the three-term relationship that unites (i) linguistic form and (ii) the communicative functions that these forms are capable of serving with (iii) the contexts or settings in which those linguistic forms can have those communicative functions. In another perspective, the linguistic interfaces are perceived as quadratic: morphosyntax-lexical semantics-event semantics and discourse-pragmatics.

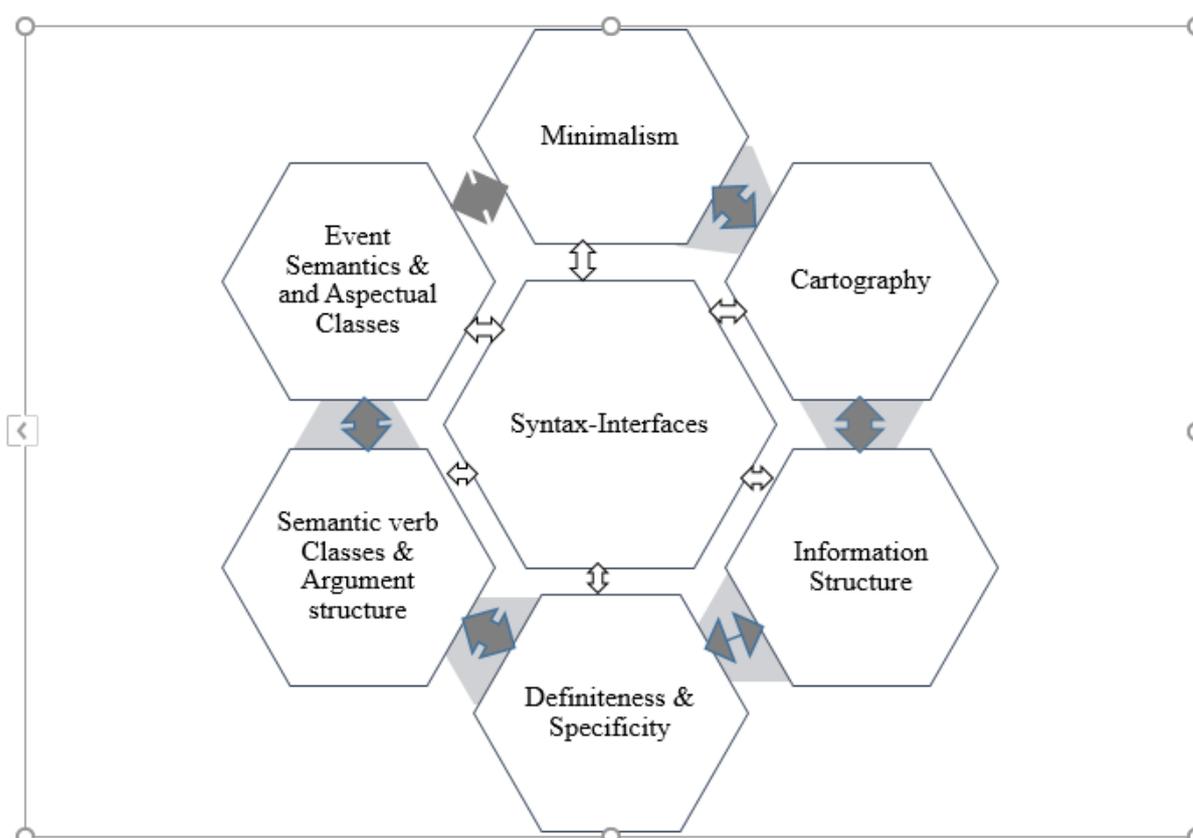
Chomsky (1965) states that it may not be the case that syntax is autonomous, since it does not follow that one has to have a complete account of the levels of syntax and semantics to engage successfully in discourse pragmatic research. Thus, the view is assumed in the present study that the linguistic (sub-)components are interdependent, hence attention must be given to the linguistic interfaces of morphosyntax with lexical semantics, semantics, discourse-pragmatics and event semantics, respectively.

The present study is conducted within the broad framework of the generative syntax, which was developed through different versions by Chomsky and other generative linguists from the 1950's version of Transformational generative grammar, to the 1980's Government and Binding theory and Principles and Parameters theory. The current study explores Luganda locative constructions, invoking a syntax-interfaces approach, including the generative syntactic frameworks of minimalism (Chomsky 1995) and cartographic studies (see Cinque & Rizzi, 2008; Rizzi, 1997; Shlonsky, 2010; van Gelderen, 2017).

The Cartographic approach has, as a central concern, the syntacticization of discourse-pragmatic properties. Given the syntax interfaces approach adopted in the present study, it invokes perspectives from lexical semantics (see e.g. Levin, 1993, Levin and Rappaport 1995), event semantics (see Smith, 1997 and Kearns, 2000), discourse pragmatics in information structuring, considering the syntactic realization of topic and focus (see e.g. Erteschik-Shir, 2007; Halliday, 1967; Lambrecht, 1994; Neeleman & Vermeulen, 2012;

Rizzi, 1997; and Lyons's (1999) semantic principles of definiteness and specificity for examining the feature specification of the functional category Determiner in the Luganda Determiner Phrase). The syntax-interfaces approach employed in the current study is necessitated to investigate how the morphosyntactic properties of locative constructions in Luganda correlate with their interpretative properties. This interfaces approach can be demonstrated diagrammatically as shown in the following diagram.

4:1 The syntax-interfaces hexagonal model



The theoretical framework as seen in the diagram above represents a hexagonal-interface theoretical approach: (i) the generative morphosyntactic approach, invoking minimalism and its complementary framework, cartographic studies, (ii) information structure (for discourse-pragmatics interpretation of topic or focus of (subject) arguments in locative inversion constructions involving information structuring, (iii) definiteness and specificity, (iv) semantic verb classes and argument structure, invoking lexical semantics, and (v) event semantics and aspectual verb classes. Principles and aspects from these theories are employed to investigate and explain, in a comprehensive way, the morphosyntactic properties of locatives and locative constructions in Luganda.

4.3 THE MINIMALIST FRAMEWORK OF GENERATIVE SYNTAX

This section discusses aspects of the general model of the minimalist program with reference to the properties of argument structure (realization), phrase structure, grammatical relations (functions) such as subject, object, prepositional object/complement, and the distinction between lexical categories and functional categories with reference to views of Chomsky (1995; 2000; and 2001) and van Gelderen (2017). The study also invokes views from Kiss and Alexiadou (2015), Primus (2015), and Ackema (2015) on arguments and adjuncts, Hole (2015) also on arguments and adjuncts, Doron (2015) on voice and valence change, and Wechsler (2015) on the syntactic role of agreement.

According to van Gelderen (2017:08) minimalism is a program, not a theory. Chomsky (2005) asserts that it is concerned with connecting sound (or sign or writing) to meaning, which is the same for all languages. He states that the emphasis is on innate principles, not specific to the language faculty (Universal Grammar), but to ‘general properties’ of organic systems. Van Gelderen (2017:08) refers to Chomsky (2007, p. 3) in discussing the view that there are three factors which are crucial in language development: (i) genetic endowment (nearly uniform for the human species in any environment), (ii) experience (leading to variation) and (iii) principles (not specific to the particular faculty of language) in types, principles of efficient computation, and economic principles that reduce the role of Universal Grammar.

Van Gelderen states that the Minimalist Program (MP) constitutes the most recent version in the generative syntax research program, following Chomsky's (1981) Government and Binding (henceforth GB) theory, and the Principles and Parameters (P&P) theory of generative grammar. She points out that the GB theory assumes that the grammar of a language consists of four levels of representation, namely Deep Structure (DS), Surface Structure (henceforth SS), Phonetic (phonological) Form (henceforth PF), and Logical Form (henceforth LF), referring to Chomsky (1981). Van Gelderen states with reference to Hornstein, Nunes, and Grohmann (2005) that these four levels of grammatical representation are regarded as formal objects with specific functional and substantive characteristics. Within the GB theory, the organization of grammar is represented by the so-called T-Model, referring to studies by Haegeman (1997) and Hornstein et al. (2005), in that SS is the only level that directly relates to the other levels.

Van Gelderen (2017) points out that the MP invokes the X-bar theoretical model of the specifier-head, head-head, and head-complement relationship (Chomsky, 1993). She states that in the structure-building process of the MP, however, necessity determines what should be licensed by both morphosyntactic and lexical evidence from the lexicon of the language in question. The MP may thus defy the maximum projection principle. Van Gelderen further explains that the SPEC(ifier) position checks for case in the Checking Theory (henceforth CT), referring to Webelhuth (1995) who argues that checking is meant to eliminate morphological features that might cause derivations to either crash (be ungrammatical) or converge (be grammatical).

With reference to Pollock's (1989) Split-INFL(ection)-Hypothesis, which proposes a split of the projection of functional heads Tense Phrase (TP) and Agreement Phrase (AgrP) into Agreement Subject (AgrS), Tense(TNS), and Agreement Object (AgrO), van Gelderen points out that the minimalist program assumes the functional categories TNS and Agr for checking Tense and Agreement features of the verb. Case and Agreement features, like class and number, are also checked by raising them to SPEC(ifier)-AgrS and SPEC(ifier)-AgrO positions. Van Gelderen maintains that abstract feature checking occurs during the derivational process between the lexicon and the interface levels. The computation of a grammatical representation (derivation) finally reaches a "spell out" point which determines the movement which will inform the phonological form (pronunciation).

Van Gelderen (2017:9) posits that the minimalist model for deriving a sentence, from Chomsky (1995) onward, involves making a selection from the lexicon forms, as in (3) and merging items, as in (4), from bottom to top, where the brackets indicate unordered sets that need to be ordered when they are externalized as follows:

- (3) {they, read, will, the, books}
- (4) a. {the, books}
 b. {read, {the, books}}
 c. {they, {read, {the, books}}}
 d. {will, {they, {read, {the, books}}}}
 e. {they, {will, {~~they~~, {read, {the, books}}}}}

Van Gelderen maintains that, in the steps (4a-b), the object and the verb are combined, thus constructing the VP. Other steps depend on the subject being merged immediately with the VP (4c) before the auxiliary *will* in (4d), and that sometimes the merge is 'internal', from

inside the derivation in *they* in (4e), often referred to as a subject moving to a higher position. Van Gelderen (2017:09) refers to Kayne (1994) in discussing a view contrasting with that of Chomsky, in having unordered derivation. She asserts that there is a base order, SVO, with an agent before the verb and its theme, since externalization is not understood well if there is a derivation without order.

Van Gelderen (2017:10) asserts that a tree is a way of representing derivation, filled in part with the TP (tense phrase), where all vital information on finiteness and agreement is stored; assuming that what appears to the left of one word in the tree is also spoken, signed, or written first. Minimalism postulates that the derivation is not labelled when the tree/derivation is built. Syntax only combines objects and yields unordered sets without label (Chomsky, 2013, p. 42). The labelling is done when the syntax hands over its combined sets to the interfaces.

In discussing language building blocks, van Gelderen (2017:10) asserts some linguists argue that the mental lexicon lists no categories, but rather lists roots without categorial information, and that the morphological morphemes/markers convert roots into categories. She, however, assumes that there are categories of two kinds. The lexical category (e.g. noun, verb, adjective, adverb, and preposition) has a lexical meaning, which is learnt/acquired early, easily translatable to other languages, borrowed and code-switched easily. Another kind of word category is the grammatical/functional category (e.g. determiner, auxiliary, coordinator, complementizer) that has no lexical meaning, rare to borrow, and hard to code-switch. Van Gelderen (2017:28) maintains that there exist a lot of ambiguity among lexical categories, since nouns can often be verbs because English has lost many of the endings that earlier made nouns and verbs distinguishable. Grammatical categories and some grammatical categories are also often confused. Thus, she proposes the following preposition/complementizer/adverb/determiner rule for easy disambiguation:

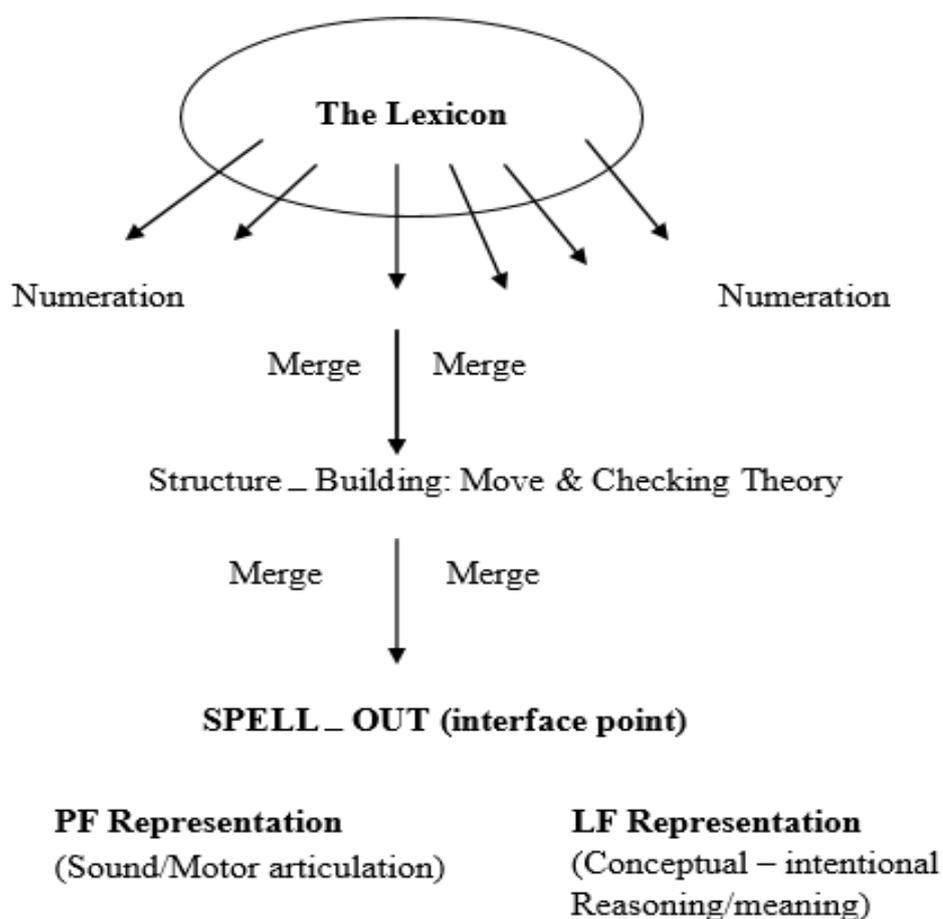
(5) The P/C/A/D Rule

A preposition introduces a noun;
 a complementizer introduces a sentence; and adverb is on its own; and
 a Determiner points to the noun it goes with and who it belongs to

Van Gelderen (2017:29) discusses the ambiguity of ‘that’ in the sentence, ‘I know that he left’ that can be a complementizer, while in the phrase ‘that book’ it is a determiner. The word ‘for’ in the construction ‘I expected for him to do that’ can be a complementizer while a preposition in ‘for that reason’. She maintains that, one should be able to label categories of

the words in a text. In discussing Chomsky's (1995) minimalist views, Basweti, Achola, Barasa, and Michira (2015) maintain that, the computation of a grammatical representation (derivation) at last reaches a 'spell out' point which determines the movement which will inform the phonological form and movement of the logical form. Hence, at this point all operations between spell out and the two levels of interface are separately computed to avoid crashing demonstrated in diagram 4.2 below.

Diagram 4.2: A minimalist model of language generation (adopted from Basweti, 2005)

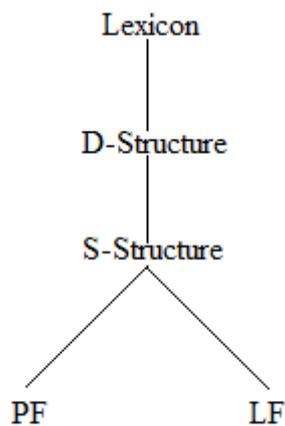


Basweti et al (2015) discussed the views of Chomsky and model of the minimalist program, proposing the diagram above on the representation of the computational process that sees the production of the two interface levels after the point of spell out. According to Chomsky, in the GB theory, lexical items project into Deep Structure (DS) level. GB theory furthermore posits that DS deals particularly with the mappings of grammatical functions with their respective thematic roles. Thus, DS respects the Theta Criterion hypothesis which requires that each argument be assigned one and only one theta role, and that each theta role is associated with one and only one argument (see Chomsky, 1995; van Gelderen, 2013). In the

course of derivation, the operation *Move* applies which maps the DS level into SS. SS is the point at which the derivation splits into two interface levels of interpretation, namely Phonetic (Phonological) Interpretation (i.e. the PF level) and Semantic Interpretation (i.e. the LF level). According to the GB theory, PF and LF provide the grammatical information required to assign a phonetic and semantic interpretation to a sentence (Chomsky, 1995; van Gelderen, 2013).

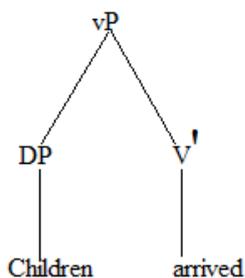
Chomsky (1995) posits that, unlike Government and Binding theory (GB), the Minimalist Program (MP) reduces linguistic levels of representations to only those required for the interfaces between the computational system of human language, on the one hand, and the component of the brain concerned with the articulatory-perceptual system (A-P) and the conceptual-intentional system (C-I), on the other hand. He asserts that MP thus assumes that the A-P and C-I interface with the PF and LF, respectively. In this regard, Deep Structure and Surface Structure posited in the GB framework have no place in Minimalism. In MP, DS and SS levels are regarded as internal to the syntactic computational system.

Diagram 4.3: DS and SS levels as internal to syntactic computation system (Chomsky, 1995)



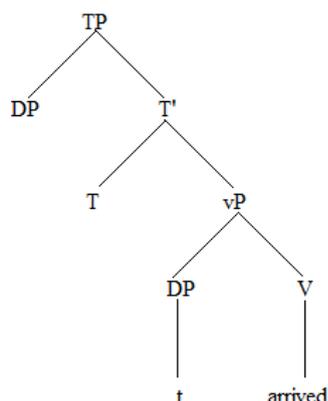
Chomsky (1995) posits that MP assumes that the computational system of human language involves operations for generating structures. The first operation is Merge (also known as an external merge). He further maintains that this operation takes fully-fledged lexical items selected from the so-called *Numeration* and combines them or their projections in a pair-wise fashion in the derivation of sentences. Lexical items are selected and combined to derive the sentence ‘Children arrived’ in the structure (4.4), the verb *arrived* merging with noun *children* giving rise to the binary branching structure illustrated in (4.4).

Diagram 4.4: vP sentence derivation in binary branching structure (Chomsky 1995:225).



Chomsky (1995) maintains that the operation is recursive in the output of Merge and that it may be merged with other elements resulting in a new unit. Hence, the vP can be merged with the tense phrase (TP) by selecting the functional head T from the numeration. Such selection and merging will yield the structure in (4.5) (see Chomsky, 1995).

Diagram 4.5: TP sentence derivation (Chomsky, 1995)

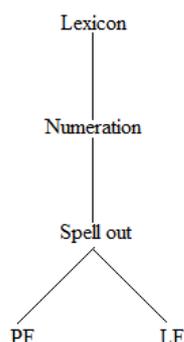


According to Chomsky (2000), in the MP framework, the merged elements may contain unvalued formal features that must be valued by entering into the syntactic relation *Agree* with some other element in their syntactic (c-command) domain with corresponding valued formal features. The unvalued formal features function as probes that search within a certain domain for a Goal with corresponding valued features. He points out that the Minimalist Program assumes further that this probe can be assigned Extended Projection Principle feature, which requires that the Goal be placed in its minimal domain through an operation Move (or internal merge), as the DP in the structure.

Chomsky (1995) points out that, when the numeration is exhausted, the subsequent applications of Merge and Move must have resulted in an output representation that satisfies the Full Interpretation Principle. He argues that Full Interpretation is the principle of

representation economy, which requires that all the features of the pair be legible at the relevant interfaces (also see Hornstein et al, 2005). If the operations Merge and Move resulted in a legitimate structure, the derivation is said to converge both at Phonetic Form (PF) and Logical Form (LF), and it is assigned phonological and semantic representations respectively.

Diagram 4.6: Lexicon full interpretation rule (Chomsky, 1995)



If the formed pair of either PF object or LF object does not satisfy the Full Interpretation rule, the derivation is said to crash at the relevant interface level. The organization of the grammar in the current Minimalist approach is as summarized in Diagram 4.6. The Minimalist program is adopted for the current investigation for the reason that its architecture in terms of Merge, Move and feature checking (Agree) is relevant to investigating Luganda locative constructions.

Regarding middles as disposition ascriptions, Lekakou (2004, p. 193) maintains that any analysis of middles has to account for the fact that across languages there is variation in their syntax. She points out that English and Dutch employ an unergative verb, whereas in French and Greek it is passives that can encode the middle interpretation, thus she proposes to treat ‘middle’ as the targeted interpretation, which different languages express in different ways, depending on the means available to them concerning encoding genericity. She qualifies middles as disposition ascriptions to the internal argument.

4.4 THE CARTOGRAPHIC STUDIES FRAMEWORK OF GENERATIVE SYNTAX

The current study also invokes the Cartographic studies approach in generative syntax, particularly with respect to the role of functional categories in discourse-related representations of information structure, assuming the complementarity of Minimalism and

Cartography. This section discusses some main perspectives that characterize Cartography, rather than giving details and examples from language-specific studies. The discussion makes reference to the views of some scholars who adopted the cartographic studies framework in their studies, including Rizzi (1997) on the structure of the left periphery, Cinque (1999) on adverbs and functional heads, Rizzi (2004) and Cinque and Rizzi (2008) on central properties of the Cartography of syntactic structures, Aboh (2004) on information structural representations in the Kwa left periphery(edge), Aboh et al. (2010) on focus representations in the left periphery, Cinque and Rizzi (2008) on the Cartography of syntactic structures, Shlonsky (2010) in his study on core perspectives in the Cartography of syntactic structures and syntactic representation in the peripheries respectively, Rizzi (2013) on Cartography and syntactic variation, including a comparative discussion with Minimalism, Rizzi and Cinque (2016) on functional categories and syntactic theory, and van Gelderen (2017) on the distinction between lexical categories and grammatical categories. In the current study, it is postulated that information structure in the Luganda locative constructions can be encoded on the left periphery of phrasal categories, including the clausal (CP), v/VP, and DP edge. In addition, the investigation of the possible relationship between focus interpretation and interpretation of definiteness and specificity, specified as features in the category Determiner, are examined.

Cartography has been defined as a research project constituting a further development from the syntactic theory of Principles and Parameters (cf. Cinque and Rizzi 2008). Shlonsky (2010: 417) states that, as a research approach, Cartography is guided by the view that syntactic structures are uniform, locally simple, and both necessary and sufficient to structurally represent the grammatical or functional information relevant for semantic/pragmatic interpretation. With reference to Rizzi (1997), Aboh et al (2010:147) discusses the perspective in Cartography that information structure directly relates to syntactic heads that project within the clausal left periphery, stating that Cartography, as a research program, cuts across syntactic theory, semantics, discourse-pragmatics and information structure.

Van Gelderen (2017:100) states that Cartography is concerned with the syntactic representation of properties of topic and focus. She discusses the difference between the notions of topic and focus, stating that certain pragmatic-related constituents are placed in special areas of the clause, also known as the left-periphery in terms of the perspective of a

the split CP. Van Gelderen points out that topic constituents denote old information or known entities with which the speaker is familiar, for example **that guy** in (6). She maintains that topics are definite and may have a pronoun double in the main clause, for example **him** in (6).

(6) **That guy**, I hate **him**

She states that, by contrast, a focus constituent denotes new information, i.e. an element unknown to the hearer. In this regard, she refers to the example of **what** in (7a) and **cookies** in (7b), providing an answer to a wh-question, hence need not move to the left. Van Gelderen points out that, in English, the focus constituent often occurs last, thus putting the answer to (7a) in a typical topic position is pragmatically strange, indicated by a # in (8). He further points out that (certain) topics in English can be preceded by **as for**, as in (9), and focus by **only**, as in (8), in explaining that focus phrases also appear in a cleft, as in (11), or in a pseudo-cleft, as in (12). Van Gelderen (2017) maintains that topics are either base-generated in the CP-layer, or moved there, whereas focus-elements are always moved.

(7) a. Question: What did you bring yesterday?

b. Answer: I brought cookies.

(8) Answer to (11a): #Cookies, I brought them

(9) **As for** me, I am rooting for my beloved Red Sox to win the World Series.

(10) I brought **only cookies!**

(11) It was **cookies** I brought.

(12) What I brought was **cookies**.

Van Gelderen's (2017: 101) distinction between topic and focus in English relates to word order. He asserts that a topic constituent does not bring about movement of the verb to the CP-layer, as (13) demonstrated, but the focus **never again** does, as in (14), because the auxiliary **will** moves to C. Thus, she points out, the focus in (14) and the wh-elements in (15) have a similar position.

(13) **Bees**, I like them in my garden.

(14) **Never again** will I write a poem that sounds like that.

(15) **Who** will I see

Van Gelderen (2017: 102) maintains that, within the Cartography approach, CP adverbials and Determiner Phrases (DPs) are viewed to include the representation of discourse-related

information, projected with Topic and Focus phrases. The present study employs the Cartographic framework to account for the information structural properties, represented by features in functional heads of the variants of the locative constructions investigated in Luganda. Van Gelderen (2017:102) and Rizzi (1997) argue that, in the Cartographic framework, the Complementizer Phrase (CP) is regarded as a rich structural zone, which, among other things, hosts positions dedicated to discourse-related information such as topic and focus (see also Rizzi 2013).

Shlonsky (2010: 417) states that Cartography is a research program, developed from the Principles and Parameters framework of syntactic theory, which draws precise and detailed maps of syntactic configurations, placed in the broader perspective of functional or grammatical categories, their content, number, and order. Cinque and Rizzi (2008) assert that Cartography has as a central goal of the structural representation of the grammatical or functional information relevant for semantic-pragmatic interpretation. They posit that Cartography is not an alternative to minimalism, but rather a feature-driven approach to syntax, relying on simple operations such as merge, project, and search to draw up a precise inventory of features and discover their relations. They maintain that, just like minimalism, it attributes a cardinal role to features in syntax, but whereas minimalism focuses on the driving force of the uninterpretable features, Cartography is concerned with the inventory of interpretable features, thus contributing to a growing affinity between research in syntactic theory, semantics, discourse and information structure.

Shlonsky (2010:217) argues that syntactic structures are uniform in guiding cartography in that they are locally simple and both necessary and sufficient to structurally represent the grammatical and functional information relevant for semantic and /pragmatic interpretation. Cinque (1999) argues against the adjunction view of adverbials. Cinque and Rizzi (2008) maintain that syntactic structures are complex objects and that Cartography is an attempt to draw maps, as precise and detailed as possible, of syntactic configurations. Broadly constructed in this way, they assert that Cartography is not an approach or a hypothesis but a research topic asking the question: what are the right structural maps for natural language syntax?

Rizzi (1997:289-291) and van Gelderen (2017:100) discuss the following differences between topics and focus constituents: (i) a topic can involve a resumptive clitic (and it is obligatory if the topic is the direct object), while a focalized constituent cannot, (ii) a topic

never creates a weak crossover effect, whereas a focus does, (iii) bare quantificational elements cannot be topics in clitic left dislocation constructions, but they easily allow focalization, (iv) uniqueness, in that multiple topics are allowed but multiple focus is not, and (v) a wh-operator in main clauses is compatible with a topic in a fixed order (Top wh), whereas it is incompatible with focus. Rizzi (1997:288) proposes the expansion of the CP projection, accommodating all the material appearing on the left edge of the sentence, where the Force indicates the type of sentence (e.g. declarative) and the Fin the finiteness. Thus, the Topic accommodates *bees* in (13) and the Focus incorporates either the focus *never again* in (14) or the wh-element in (15). Van Gelderen (2017: 101) points out that sentences such as (16) and (17) prove that the Topic precedes the Focus Phrase, stating that many English speakers do not accept combinations of topic and focus phrases.

(16) ... Force ... (Topic) ... (Focus) ... Fin ... TP

(17) That kind of behaviour, how can we tolerate it in a civilized society?

In addition to sentence type, topic, and focus, van Gelderen (2017: 103) views mood adverb(ial)s as being accommodated in the CP, including adverbs such as speech act adverbs (frankly, honestly), evaluative adverbs ((un)fortunately), evidential adverbs (alleged, evidently), and modal affixes in some languages. She refers to Cinque (1999:106), demonstrating a full range of the CP-adverbs in (18), and proposing the addition of epistemic TP-adverbs. Van Gelderen points out that, in testing the compatibility of these adverbs with topics and focus, one finds the odd (19), and testing them with each other, the ungrammatical (20), while the adverbials in (18) all express a particular mood of the speaker and, therefore, only one of these can be present. In (21) and (22), he demonstrates that adverbials and topics again co-occur and that the restriction on multiple CP-adverbials also holds for subordinate clauses.

(18) Mood_{speech act} Mood_{evaluative} Mood_{evidential} Mod_{epistemic}

(19) ?Frankly, those books, he should have read (them) before class

(20) *Frankly, surprisingly, he read those books

(21) I actually think *that fortunately* with all the different media that we have, people have the choice of both of those

(22) McCain: Oh, I think *that frankly* any person who's the vice presidential nominee, it's his job, his or her job to get along with – with the nominee.

Lambrecht (1994) defines IP, in arguing for its place in grammar when analyzing information structure and sentence form in markedness, relating information to syntax. He explores questions concerning information structuring in discourse, presupposition and assertion, and the pragmatic accommodation of propositional structure. The mental representation of discourse referents, including discourse referents, identifiability (identifiability and presupposition, identifiability and definiteness, and the establishment of identifiability in discourse), in exploring the activation states of referents, the principles of pragmatic construal, indicating identifiability, activation, and the topic-focus parameters.

Lambrecht (1994:117) explores pragmatic relations with respect to the definition of topic, including topic and aboutness, topic referents, and topic expressions. He furthermore addresses issues concerning the topic and the subject, including subjects as unmarked topics, non-topical subjects and thethetic-categorical distinction. Lambrecht, in addition, examines topical non-subjects and multiple-topic sentences. He explores properties relating to topic and presupposition, semantic interpretation, topic and the mental representations of referents, with reference to aspects he refers to as topic relation and activation state, and the topic acceptability scale. Other information structural aspects he explores include unaccented pronominals as preferred topic expressions, topic promotion, presentational constructions and detachment constructions.

Lambrecht (1994) examines the pragmatic relation to focus in terms of various aspects of focus, presupposition, assertion, and sentence accents. He investigates focus structure and focus marking, referring to types of focus structure, including predicate-focus structure, argument-focus structure, and sentence-focus structure. In addition, he discusses aspects of prosodic accents, iconicity, and rule default, with regard to accent, intonation, stress, and default accentuation. He further addresses issues relating to contrast, with reference to contrastive foci, and contrastive topics, and marked and unmarked focus structure, including predicate focus and argument focus, and sentence focus.

Lambrecht (1994) maintains that information structure is the level of sentence organization that represents how the speaker structures the utterance in context to facilitate information exchange. Specifically, it indicates how the propositional content of an utterance fits the addressee's state of knowledge at the time of utterance (Lambrecht 1994; Aboh, et al, 2010; Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011; Ertischik-Shir, 2007). Lambrecht (1994) outlines the content of the various information structure categories as follows:

- (a) Topic (T): the entity or entities that the proposition is about, or ‘a matter of concern’ about the new information that is conveyed,
- (b) Focus (F): the most informative part of the utterance, bearing the information that the speaker takes to be new and non-recoverable for the hearer,
- (c) Presupposition (P): the old information specifying detailed knowledge that may be necessary for a complete understanding of new focused information different from TOPIC,
- (d) Completive (C): this term refers to new information to the addressee but, unlike focus, it is not associated with the difference between pragmatic assertion and pragmatic presupposition.

The current study invokes notions from Lambrecht’s theory to examine the syntax - information structure interface in different variants of locative constructions in Luganda.

Lambrecht (1994:5) states that information structure is the component of sentence grammar in which propositions of a conceptual representation of states of affairs are paired with lexico-grammatical structures following the mental states. He asserts that interlocutors use and interpret these structures as units of information in given contexts. Lambrecht argues that, from his view of information structure, three important aspects are deduced: (i) how propositional content is transmitted, (ii) the successful transmission of content by the speaker’s assumption about the hearer’s mental state regarding the identifiability of the referent in question, and (iii) the speaker’s choice of the grammatical structures or morphemes in expressing his message that reflects his assumption about the hearer’s mental state, for instance, the use of the definite article ‘the’ in English.

In exploring topics and focus with respect to identifiability and activation, Lambrecht’s information structural theory of topic and focus invokes the notions of mental representations of mind entities, subsuming the psychological constructs of identifiability and activation.

With regard to Topic, identifiability and activation, Lambrecht views topic as a pragmatic category identifiable and activated in the minds of the discourse participants, where identifiability is concerned with whether the referent is identifiable in the hearer's mind or not. Thus, a referent can be (non-)identifiable. Regarding the issue of activation, he maintains

that it is connected to the speaker's assumption about the mental awareness of the hearer on the discourse entity in a particular time of the utterance. Thus, according to Lambrecht (1994), a topical expression is active in the mind of the hearer while the referent in the hearer's mind can be active, semi-active or inactive.

Regarding topic, identifiability, and activation, Lambrecht (1994: 207) asserts that the pragmatic category of focus constitutes a relation in which presupposition and assertion are different. Thus, he posits that focus relates to information that is not shared by the discourse participants. This implies that the focal elements are new in the sense that the hearer cannot recover it from the discourse, and it is also not yet active in the mind of the hearer, although it is in the hearer's long memory.

In respect to Lambrecht's typology of focus, it can be pointed out that scholars generally identify mainly two types of focus, namely information (presentational) focus and identification (contrastive) focus (see Kiss, 1998; Zerbian, 2006). Lambrecht refers to these types of focus as 'focus structure'. He describes a focus structure as a scope of a sentence under which focus fall, pointing out that every sentence has an element on which information focus falls, referring to three elements of argument, predicate, and the whole sentence. It is from these three elements that Lambrecht distinguishes the three types of focus, namely argument focus, predicate focus, and sentence focus.

On the issue of argument focus, Lambrecht (*ibid*) posits that an argument is an entity not like a predicate. It comprises of subjects, direct and indirect objects, and obligatory adjuncts, all these seem to be arguments. Lambrecht (1994) posits that argument-focus is the focus presupposition type and normally functions as identification (contrastive focus), identifying an entity or entities as both new and the only one among other possible alternatives. One alternative is selected for exclusion from others for instance while from all other types of colours. He refers to a focus type in which the domain of the new information falls on one of the arguments (subject, object, and adjunct) as argument-focus.

Lambrecht (1994) posits that sentence focus is a presentational (event-reporting) focus type where the domain of the new information is equated to the whole proposition, including arguments and predicates combined. He maintains that the role of sentence focus is to introduce new referents (presentational sentences) or to declare a new discourse event (event-reporting sentences) regarding what happened. According to Lambrecht predicate focus

obtains when the domain of new information extends over the predicate to exclude the subject of the sentence, and thus, the predicate focus is of a topic-comment structural nature, canonical in order, where the topic occurs initially and the focus post-verbally.

Regarding the issue of focus marking strategies, Lambrecht (1994) maintains that information structural analysis can only be viewed as a grammatical component if psychological notions studied concerning it can have formal manifestations in natural human languages. He argues that focus can be marked syntactically, morphologically, and prosodically. He refers to English as one of the examples of a language that marks focus prosodically using pitch accents, tonal morphemes, vowel length, and other intonational or suprasegmental features to indicate a constituent in focus. He points out that, morphologically, some languages or groups of languages can mark focus using free morphemes or bound morphemes (see discussion of Asiiimwe (2014; van der Wal & Namyalo 2016; Hyman & Katamba 1993 in chapter three).

Lambrecht points out that some Romance languages, like Italian, predominantly use a syntactic word order mechanism and processes such as clefting, dislocation, topicalization, and inversion to mark focus. In my observation, Luganda combines all the three mechanisms, namely prosody, morphology, and syntax to mark focus, as will be illustrated in chapters five and six.

The current study in addition assumes Repp's (2010, p. 1333) definition of contrast as an information-structural notion in grammar. Repp decomposes the notion of contrast, arguing from a semantic-pragmatic point of view in considering the environments where contrast occurs. She posits contrast-related distinctions relating to the size of the alternative set for contrast versus focus, the explicit mention versus, implicit presupposition of alternatives, and their identifiability. Repp argues that exhaustivity often accompanies contrast and vice versa but that the two meaning components do not necessarily occur together. She further argues that contrast in contrastive focus has different characteristics from the contrast in contrastive topics, which also interacts with the contexts in which they occur.

Repp (2010) discusses views from research on contrast and contrastive focus, assuming a semantic-pragmatic approach which builds on the views of Kiss (1998) and Rooth (1992). She posits that the connotation of the expression of alternatives serves as a common denominator or ground for distinguishing focus and contrastive focus. In this regard, she discusses three distinctions that need to be drawn. The first view relates to the notion of

identifiability concerning which Repp states that a set from which an entity invoked in contrastive focus is identified, must be given contextually, but that this is not the case with a contrastive element. Secondly, she posits, concerning the size of the alternative set, that the set is open for contrastive elements, but that it is closed for contrastive focus. Thirdly, she discusses the difference regarding the notion of exclusivity, stating that an item identified as a contrastive focus entails that there is some other item(s) to which the proposition does not apply, but that this is not a requirement for contrast. Repp's views on contrast and contrastive focus are invoked in the present study.

Van Gelderen (2017: 100) explores the difference between topic and focus, stating that certain pragmatic roles are placed in special areas of the clause, also known as the left-periphery or the split CP. She maintains that the topic constituent provides old information (background) while the focus constituent provides new or unknown information to the hearer/addressee. She discusses the example of an utterance providing an answer to wh-questions, stating that the wh-element need not to move to the left. In English, she points out, the focus is often last as in the following examples (Van Gelderen 2017: 100):

(25) a Question: What did you bring yesterday?

b Answer : I brought cookies.

(Certain) topics in English can be preceded by *as for* and focus by *only*

(26) a [As for] [me], I am rooting my beloved Red Sox to win the World Series.

b I brought [only] [cookies].

Van Gelderen (2017) explains that topics are either base generated in the CP-layer or moved there, but that focus-elements are always moved. She furthermore states that Topics and focus differ in word order in that the topic does not bring about movement of the verb to the CP-layer, as in (25), but the focus does, as in (26), because the auxiliary will move to CP using the focus element 'only'

Repp (2010) argues that contrast can be described as opposition or unlikeness of things compared, a juxtaposition or comparison, between entities showing striking differences. She maintains that contrast co-occurs with other information-structural categories such as topic and focus. A contrastive topic can be considered a subtype of the topic and a contrastive focus can be considered as a subtype of focus. In this regard, Repp points out that contrastive topics are often viewed as topics with a focus. A focus constituent is often considered

contrastive if it occurs in a correction, or in a parallel structure (like ellipsis) where it is juxtaposed directly with another contrastive focus.

With reference to the views of Dik (1978) and Fillmore (1976), Lambrecht (1994:05) asserts that information structure is component of sentence grammar in which propositions, as the conceptual representations of states of affairs, are paired with lexical grammatical structures following the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts. Lambrecht (1994:05) refers to Zimmermann and Onea (2011:1652) in stating that information-structural categories are defined as universal categories of information structure. Ozerov (2018, p. 78) points out that many theories of the current concept of information structure have (at least) two dimensions, namely contextual properties of information with the corresponding cognitive status of discourse referents (givenness-newness or activation state), and the role of the information in the modification and management of the common ground (CG). He states, with reference to Krifka (2008, p. 265), that topic and focus are the most widely known and used categories of information structure. The *topic* is defined in terms of aboutness or the entity that a speaker identifies about which the information, the comment, is given presupposing that information in human communication and memory is organized in a certain way so that it can be said to be ‘about’ something to the notion of common ground (henceforth CG), identifying what an examined proposition is about. He states that what is communicated about new information, the focus, is information update.

As has been pointed out above, Lambrecht (1994) argues that information structure cuts across all meaning bearing levels of the grammatical system, and, more importantly, information structure focuses on comparing sentence pairs, such as active versus passive, canonical versus topicalized, as well as canonical versus clefted or dislocated. Lambrecht argues that these pairs of sentences are semantically equivalent, but structurally and pragmatically different. He maintains that discourse-related word order variation is best explained in terms of the interface between syntax and other components of grammar like information structure, as is also suggested by Neeleman and Vermeulen (2012). Lambrecht (1994) points out that information structure comprises three important categories, namely Presupposition and Assertion, Identifiability and Activation, in addition to Topic and Focus.

In information structure research, Topic is generally defined as the old or given information about which the sentence or an utterance is conveyed (Lambrecht 1994; Erteschik-Shir 2007;

Aboh et al. 2010). Erteschik-Shir maintains that Topic conveys information in the sentence that is assumed to be shared by both the speaker and the hearer. Thus, he states, *Topic* generally denotes presupposed information in the sentence. As has been pointed out above, Topic and Focus are mutually exclusive information-structural notions (Erteschik-Shir 2007). Whereas Topic denotes the old and presupposed information in the sentence, Focus has been defined as new, non-recoverable, and non-presupposed information in an utterance (Jackendoff 1972; Lambrecht 1994; Erteschik-Shir 2007). In other words, contrary to Topic, Focus denotes information in the sentence which the speaker assumes to be unknown to the hearer in given discourse contexts.

Different categorizations concerning notions of focus have been proposed by linguists in numerous studies. Focus constituents have generally been classified into two types, namely focus-as-new and focus-as-alternative, by Rooth (1992) and Rochemont (2013), among others. The general view assumes that focus as new, expresses new information in the sentence, while focus as an alternative concerns the selective expression of an element chosen from others, sharing one syntactic category and one semantic field. Following Kiss (1998), among others, Aboh et al. (2010) identified two types of Focus, namely information focus, which is referred to as presentational focus or wide focus, and contrastive focus, also known as identificational focus (Erteschik-Shir 2007). Lambrecht (1994) distinguishes three types of focus: predicate focus, argument focus, and sentence focus. It should be noted that the classification of the notion Focus has widely involved two key ideas, namely ‘newness’ and ‘contrastive’. However, with the multiplicity of categories attributed to the information-related notion, Focus suggests that there is more than ‘newness’ as far as this concept is concerned.

Aboh (2004) and Aboh et al (2010) investigated a range of issues concerning topic and focus. Aboh (2004) investigated the information structural issues of topic and focus, assuming a Cartographic approach, in the Gungbe language of the Kwa family. He argues that specificity elements in Gungbe are nominal, including noun element(s), nominal modifiers, specificity elements, and number morphemes, which obligatorily follow the lexical head. Aboh (ibid) further asserts that the elements indicating specificity are pre-supposed and necessarily definite while the number morpheme encodes plurality and definiteness. He maintains that definite noun phrases select one entity in the set of entities in the universe of discourse. Specificity and definiteness in those scenarios are therefore related to topic and focus

confirming such reading in the discourse-pragmatic contexts, represented in the left periphery of the nominal domain (See also Cinque & Rizzi 2008).

Aboh et al (2010) employed a syntactic-pragmatic approach to investigate issues of concerning the differences between the information structural notions of contrast and contrastive focus, an issue which is central to this current study. Their view regarding postulating topic and focus in the nominal domain concurs with that of Lambrecht (1994) such that topic and focus are analysed in regard to the discourse participant's referent in mind. Thus, the referent in the mind of the hearer is encoded as identifiable (old or presupposed) or new information, emphasising that focus can be the presentational (or new) focus or it may be identificational (or contrastive focus) (See also Kiss, 1998).

Aboh et al (2010) maintain that a constituent is identified as new in terms of contrastive focus, and it is identified as new, and also as contrast, to other sets of alternatives. Thus, they state, focus and topic are also properties of the nominal domain in that the nominal heads and modifiers result in different interpretations of the referent of a noun phrase, with the displaced ones producing mostly a contrastive focus reading. Aboh et al adopt a non-minimalist approach of information structure according to which discourse sensitive properties like topic and focus can project to syntax.

Ozerov (2018) however, expresses his disagreement with most of the information research previously done that makes 'a simplistic' form-function correlation between certain constituents. He thus, advances the view of a semantic-pragmatic interpretation of sentences, questioning the theoretical bases and applicability of information structural categories such as topic and focus.

Krifka (2006) discusses the basic notions of Information Structure (IS). He first provides a general characterization of IS, following Chafe (1976), within a communicative model of Common Ground (henceforth CG), which distinguishes between CG content and CG management. He points out that information structure is concerned with those features of language that concern the local CG, defining the notions of Focus (as indicating alternatives) and its various uses. He states that Givenness (as indicating that a denotation is already present in the CG) is Topic (as specifying what a statement is about). He proposes a new notion, Delimitation, which comprises contrastive topics and frame setters with reference to the view that the (current) conversational move does not satisfy the local communicative

needs. He further proposes that the rhetorical structuring partly belongs to information structure. Krifka, 2006; 2007 as well as Féry & Krifka (2008) explored notions of information focus, maintaining that the focus is the part of discourse indicating the presence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions.

Focus is not limited to new information (+focus) particles, and that the old (given) elements can also receive a focus feature. (See Krifka, 2007). Féry and Krifka (2008) maintain that, even when the referent appears as a topic in the discourse, if the contrastive feature is available, there is a focus within a topic. Thus, a focus reading will be found everywhere in the sentence in the preverbal position and the postverbal position.

In addition to his proposal positing focus as alternatives, Krifka (2008) argues that focus can denote new information, and another salient part of discourse, such as type of focus, depending on the discourse-pragmatic context or the structure of the sentence. He states that, although one may look at focus-as-alternatives (contrastive focus) which is more prominent, analyses from different scholars indicate that the meaning of focus should not be taken as constant and ring-fenced (See also Asiimwe, 2014).

According to Kiss (1998:262), identificational focus involves a quantificational (+focus, +polarity, + contrast) operation over a set of referents, in particular an operation excluding some (contrastive) or all (exhaustive) referents, as opposed to non-identificational or informational focus that do not bear any quantificational properties. A non-canonical syntactic configuration is more likely to be induced by the identificational instances of focus than by non-identificational instances. Gussenhoven (2008, p. 91) states that contrastive focus (+focus, +contrast) is a constituent that is a direct rejection of an alternative, either spoken by the speaker himself (not A, but B) or by a hearer, hence a removal of information. With reference to Rochemont (1986), Lambrecht states that cleft constructions constitute an alternative means of expressing narrow focus. Kiss (1998: 262) posits that cleft constructions include a presupposed part, which surfaces as a relative clause, and that it is generally assumed that the cleft constituent is identificationally focused.

4.6 DEFINITENESS AND SPECIFICITY (LYONS, 1999)

Lyons (1999:1) maintains that it is not the case that all languages possess definite and indefinite articles to mark (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity. He explores key issues regarding the interpretation of (in)definiteness readings, including the interpretation of

specificity and genericity. He defines definiteness as a semantic phenomenon expressed differently cross-linguistically. Lyons maintains that the aspect that cuts across all languages is the availability of demonstratives that possess an inherent semantic feature of definiteness.

Different approaches are advanced by scholars to explain the issues relating to the interpretation and morphosyntactic encoding of definiteness and specificity including, among others, Chesterman (1991), Lyons (1999), and Abbott (2006). This study employs the definitions concerning definiteness and specificity posited by Lyons (1999:2). Lyons posits semantic principles for the interpretation of (in)definiteness readings of entities, the meaning of specificity and genericity, invoking the notions of familiarity, identifiability, uniqueness, and inclusiveness. The current study utilizes Lyons's views concerning (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in the investigation of locative constructions in Luganda, particularly in regard to the role of the pre-prefix of nominal constituents in the constructions investigated.

According to Lyons, the point of familiarity hypothesizes a situational context concerned with the physical situation where the interlocutors are situated. The referent may be in a physical space where the interlocutors see or may not be in the physical space, but known by both. He points out that, in English, the article 'the' signals a familiar referent to the interlocutors while 'a' is used when the speaker is not willing to let the hearer know it. In identifiability, the use of the definite article makes the hearer able to identify the referent of the NP. Lyons (1999:2) asserts that identifiability does not disregard familiarity but rather familiarity leads to the identifiability of the referent. Lyons (ibid) thus, gives two examples of sentences comparing the proposed principles of familiarity and identifiability:

- (27) a. I bought a car this morning.
 b. I bought the car this morning.

Lyons points out that [*the car*] in the above example is in some sense more "definite", "specific", "particular", and "individualized" than [*a car*], but, as noted above, [*a car*] certainly denotes a particular or specific car as far as the speaker is concerned. He asserts that the difference is that the reference of [*the car*] in (27b) is assumed to be clear to both the hearer and the speaker. In this regard, he states that, whereas in the case of an indefinite noun phrase the speaker may be aware of what is being referred to and the hearer probably not, with a definite noun phrase this awareness is signalled as being shared by both participants. In regard to the question where definiteness meets lexical semantics, Lyons (1999) maintains

that some verbs such as ‘pass’ contribute to the identifiability of a referent on the part of the hearer, even if there is no shared knowledge between the interlocutors.

Lyons (1999:6) posits the uniqueness hypothesis, in respect to which, he states that the referent is one entity that satisfies the description about which both the speaker and the hearer have shared knowledge. In terms of the principle of uniqueness, Lyons maintains that the interlocutors should have shared knowledge about the referent for it to be unique. Unique referents such as sun, moon, are known and therefore should have definite articles. In this regard, he discusses the example of ‘the Pope’, stating it is a known fact that there is always one pope at a time, so it is both definite and specific. He states that a uniqueness criterion is particularly attractive in cases where the referent is hypothetical, potential, or in the future.

- (28) a. **The winner of this competition** will get a week in the Bahamas for two.
 b. **The man who comes with me** will not regret it.

Lyons states that, assuming the competition in (28a) is not yet over, and no one has yet agreed to accompany the speaker in (28b), the winner and the man are certainly not yet identifiable. Yet, he states, they are unique in that a single winner and a single male companion are implied. Thus, Lyons asserts, the idea of uniqueness expressed by the definite article signals that there is just one entity satisfying the description used, and that uniqueness is generally not absolute, but is to be understood relative to a particular context.

Lyons (1999: 11) points out that the interpretation of plural and mass nouns relates to the **inclusiveness** hypothesis. In terms of the inclusiveness principle, he states, it involves plural and mass nouns, and thus the referent is the totality of the objects or mass in the context which satisfies the description. He points out that the definite article ‘the’ is a universal quantifier used with plural and mass nouns just like ‘all’. Plural and mass nouns such as ‘students’ are indefinite and non-specific since the hearer may not know the detailed or particular/specific student the speaker is referring to. Lyons (1999:8) demonstrates that there are certain other modifying constituents of the noun phrase which are incompatible with the indefinite article; among these are superlatives, *first*, *same*, *only* and *next*:

- (29) a. Janet is **the/(*a) cleverest child** in the class.
 b. You are **the/(*a) first visitor** to our new house.
 c. I’ve got **the/(*a) same problem** as you.
 d. He is **the/(*an) only student** who dislikes phonology.

- e. I offered a discount to **the/(*a) next customer**.

Lyons (1999: 9) further discusses the issue of inclusiveness, stating that uniqueness explains the above facts, according to Hawkins (1978), since the unacceptability of the indefinite article seems likely to stem from a semantic incompatibility between an element of uniqueness in the meaning of the modifier and the non-uniqueness of *a*. Lyons maintains that, although the indefinite article is neutral concerning uniqueness, there are cases where choosing *a* rather than *the* implies non-uniqueness, if the descriptive material in the noun phrase indicates that the referent is unique, then the only appropriate article is the element that encodes uniqueness. This, he points out, is the case with inherently unique nouns, and noun phrases containing superlatives, for example *cleverest* means ‘cleverer than all the others’, and *first* means ‘before all the others’. Thus, Lyons maintains, uniqueness can be argued to be involved here, as it is with *only*. He points out that *next* means ‘immediately following’, and given that customers are generally dealt with one by one, there can be only one customer who immediately follows the preceding one. He points out that a definite article can occur equally well with plural count nouns and mass nouns. The noun phrases *the pens* and *the butter* cannot refer to just one pen and just one butter. The examples corresponding to those above, but with plural (the (a) sentences) and mass (the (b) ones) definite noun phrases, are demonstrated as follows:

- (30) a. We’ve just been to see John race. The Queen gave out **the prizes**.
 b. We went to the local pub this lunchtime. They’ve started chilling **the beer**.
- (31) a. [Nurse about to enter operating theatre] I wonder who **the anaesthetists** are.
 b. [Examining restaurant menu]
 I wonder what **the pâté** is like.
- (32) a. We’re looking for **the vandals** who broke into the office yesterday.
 b. I can’t find **the shampoo** I put here this morning.
- (33) a. Beware of **the dogs**.
 b. Beware of **the electrified wire**.
- (34) a. We’re offering several prizes, and **the winners** will be invited to London for the presentation.
 b. Fred’s decision to take up home brewing. He plans to sell **the beer** to his friends.
- (35) a. Janet and John are **the cleverest children** in the class.

- b. This is **the best muesli** I've ever tasted.
- (36) a. You are **the first visitors** to our new house.
 b. This is **the first rain** to be seen here for five months.
- (37) a. I've got **the same problems** as you.
 b. All the family used to take their bath in **the same water**.
- (38) a. They are **the only students** who dislike phonology.
 b. This is **the only water** you're likely to see for miles.
- (39) a. I offered a discount to **the next three customers**.
 b. **The next water** is beyond those hills.

Lyons (1999:9) asserts that the view that [*the*] signals uniqueness with singular noun phrases and inclusiveness with plural and mass noun phrases, is unsatisfactory. He argues that uniqueness can be assimilated to inclusiveness. Therefore, he states, when the noun phrase is singular, inclusiveness turns out to be the same as uniqueness, because the totality of the objects satisfying the description is just one. Lyons proposes that definiteness, at least with plural and mass noun phrases, involves not uniqueness but inclusiveness, a term he attributes to Hawkins (1978). Thus, he maintains, the reference is to the totality of the objects or mass in the context which satisfies the description. Lyons asserts that the key principles for understanding definiteness are identifiability and inclusiveness, and that a referent may be definite due to either of the two or both principles.

In regard to complex definites, Lyons (1999:18) maintains that demonstratives contain an inherent semantic feature of definiteness, where the distance from the speaker is encoded as spatial, temporal, or emotional. Hence, the definiteness feature of a noun occurring with a demonstrative is due to identifiability, in that the hearer is in a position to identify the referent, because (s)he can see it. Therefore, Lyons states, demonstratives are necessarily definite.

Lyons (1999:22) asserts that proper nouns naming particular entities uniquely refer with no semantic meaning, although different entities may be sharing the same proper name. He maintains that, even though proper names uniquely refer, they differ from those entities which are inherently unique. Thus, the uniqueness of reference of proper nouns is what aligns them with definites, and this very uniqueness will generally ensure the identifiability of their

referent. He points out that proper names denote individuals while *the sun* denotes a single member in the universe of discourse set.

Lyons (1999:21) asserts that the interpretation of generic expressions is necessarily non-specific but pragmatically definite. He states that proper nouns differ from inherently unique nouns like *sun*, since they are both generally used as though they denote a unique entity, but differ grammatically: *sun* behaves like a common noun in that it takes the article, or some other definite determiner (*the sun, that lucky old sun*); *John*, unless recategorized, generally does not, and is not only a noun, but also a complete noun phrase. Therefore, nouns like *sun* denote singleton sets, while proper nouns denote individuals. This would be in keeping with the view that proper nouns have a reference but not sense. Another view, implying that proper nouns do have sense, is that both types of noun denote singleton sets, but in the case of the *sun* the set just happens to have only one member, while the set satisfying *John* is by definition a single-member set.

In explaining why English proper nouns do not take the definite article, Lyons (1999:22) argues that, if by definition, they denote a singleton set, there is no need to signal the uniqueness of their referent. He suggests that it seems to be a determiner feature in common noun phrases and it would be preferable to be able to say that the definiteness feature occurs in one place only, and in general, the determiner seems the most probable locus (unless we say a grammatical feature can have its locus in a phrasal category so that it is the noun phrase, not the noun or the determiner, which carries [\pm Def]). If we assume that the feature [+Def] pertains only to determiners, it may be that proper nouns are accompanied by a phonetically null determiner, or that the feature does not after all appear on proper nouns. Lyons (1999), argues that proper nouns in English are indefinite, and their definite behaviour comes from their being generics – generic noun phrases anyway (whether definite or indefinite) showing similar distributional behaviour to definite non-generics.

Lyons (1999:30) posits that bound variable pronouns are dependent on (or “bound” by) a quantifying expression (such as one expressible in terms of the logician’s universal quantification), and, though singular, do not have a specific referent but rather denote a range of individuals. For example:

- (40) a. **Every girl** thinks **she** should learn to drive.
 b. **Every student** thinks **they** have passed the exam.

Lyons points out that *they* in (40a) expresses the vague singular use, becoming increasingly common nowadays where the antecedent is of mixed gender. These examples are anaphoric in that the pronoun has an antecedent, *every girl*, and *every student*, but this antecedent defines a range of entities and the pronoun refers to each of these individually.

Lyons (1999:26) maintains that the personal pronouns are traditionally called so because they express grammatical person, but they have also long been recognized as definite and are often referred to as “definite pronouns” (by contrast with indefinite pronouns like *one* and *someone*). He refers to Postal (1970) proposes to account for the definiteness of personal pronouns by deriving them transformationally from definite articles. These will include a range of pronouns and also possessives. Thus, according to Lyons (1999), a specificity reading is obtained when the speaker has a particular entity in mind, and non-specific when (s)he does not wish to communicate about a particular entity.

In regard to the interaction of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity with other grammatical phenomena, Lyons (1999) explores properties of subject-verb agreement. He points out that subject-agreement cases are abundant compared to object-agreement and that subject-object agreement is not tied to definiteness, as is the case with object-agreement in some languages. With respect to the relationship (interface) of definiteness and specificity effects with information structure, Lyons (1999) argues that the (in)definiteness of a referent is determined through context and the way information is structured in the sentences. He points out that there are diagnostics to determine (in)definiteness of an NP in respect of information structure or context in two parts appearing synonymously as topic-comment, or theme-rheme, or given-new, or presupposition-focus, used interchangeably. He posits that the topic contains information presumed familiar to the addressee, thus it is definite, providing a starting point for the new information to be presented in the second part of the sentence. On the other hand, *comment* is the information about *topic*, the information that is generally assumed by the addresser to be new to the addressee.

From Lyon’s perspective, topic NPs are always definite, where the topic is the given information. Lyons (1999:233) points out that the term generic refers to the entity the hearer should be able to identify, although perhaps not the individual elements within it. Thus, he maintains that that generic expressions are readily identifiable and represent given information (see chapter three for more discussions regarding definiteness and specificity in African languages).

4.7 SEMANTIC VERB CLASSES AND ARGUMENT STRUCTURE

This section discusses some theoretical perspectives on semantic verb classes and argument structure (realization), considering views from previous research on semantic verb classes and argument realization. In this regard, particular attention is given to the views on semantic verb classes and argument structure of Levin (1993) as well as Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (1995). Reference is also made to Hoekstra and Mulder's (1990) analysis of motion verbs as licensing both unergative and ergative patterns, in which the latter licenses a small clause complement (henceforth SC) where, following Stowell (1981), Hoekstra (1988), defines a small clause as a clause that lacks inflection/agreement and case assigning properties (see related discussion in Hoekstra & Mulder 1990, Hoekstra 1988).

Levin (1993) conducted a comprehensive investigation of semantic verb classes in English with respect to their argument structure properties and syntactic alternation properties. Her approach is informed by the assumption that the behaviour of a verb, particularly concerning the expression and interpretation of its argument(s), is to a large extent determined by its meaning. Levin states that argument alternation is characterized by pairs of sentences with the same verb, which may be related by paraphrase which shows alternate expressions or realizations of the verb's arguments, such as the causative alternation (Levin and Rappaport-Hovav, 2005). The current study takes into account the views from studies on argument alternation by Levin (1993) and Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (2005), among others, in the investigation of locative construction variants and alternations, including locative inversion, with different semantic verb classes.

Levin (1993) states that from the example sentences considered it is evident that the verb 'to appear' cannot be used transitively to mean 'cause to appear - intransitive'. According to Levin (1993), the ability of speakers to make such judgement extends to novel combinations of arguments and adjuncts. The syntax interfaces approach relating to morphosyntax and lexical-semantics assumed in the present study is necessitated by the aim to explore the argument assignment properties of different semantic verb classes in Luganda that license locative inversion / (alternation) in chapter five and chapter six of the current investigation. In investigating the syntax-lexical semantics interface, Levin (1993) analysed different types of semantic verb classes in the English lexicon, presenting a typology of argument alternation constructions for English.

The interfaces approach to morphosyntax and lexical-semantics, assumed in this study, is necessitated to explore the argument assignment properties of different semantic verb classes that license locative inversion or alternation. It has been argued that the verb and its complements compositionally determine argument realization (Levin and Rappaport-Hovav, 2005; van Gelderen, 2013). Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (2005) maintain that the relationship between thematic (θ)-role assignment and argument realization is essentially determined by the semantics of verb classes.

As regards verb arguments and thematic roles, Levin (1993) maintains that there is a one-to-one correspondence between the grammatical arguments of a verb and the thematic (θ)-roles that it can assign. She states that, generally, this view has been employed as a means of representing argument structure in that verb meaning is taken to be its main determinant. Thus, the lexical semantics of a verb directly determines its syntactic requirements. Levin states that, although there has been general agreement about the significance of thematic (θ)-roles in determining the grammatical arguments of a verb, it has been pointed out that this approach is inadequate because argument realization (i.e. possible syntactic expressions of the verb's participants) cannot be determined by the verb alone. Levin points out that it has been argued that, rather, the verb and its complements compositionally determine argument realization (see Levin and Rappaport-Hovav, 1995, 2005; van Gelderen, 2013).

Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (2005) maintain that the relationship between thematic (θ)-role assignment and argument realization is essentially determined by the semantics of verb classes. In terms of argument realization, the verbs *break* and *hit*, which can be described as verbs that involve an agent and patient argument, correlate with the grammatical functions of subject and object respectively. They present a bi-eventive analysis of causative verb constructions. They argue that the lexical-semantic representation of causative verbs involves the predicate 'cause' which takes two arguments, namely the external (subject) argument and the internal (object) argument, or the causing subevent and the central subevent. They maintain that, in the transitive use of a given verb like 'break', the 'cause' and the 'theme' are projected from the lexical-semantic representation into argument structure, and then mapped from argument structure onto the syntax.

Investigating thematic roles as a theory of verb meaning, Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2020:6) point out that one early proposal for a principled theory of verb meaning (Gruber 1965; Fillmore 1968; Jackendoff, 1972) is that the grammatically significant meaning of a

verb consists of a list of thematic roles that define what a given participant in the event described by the verb is doing. They state that such roles were viewed to be drawn from a cross-linguistically universal set that cuts across verbs, such as agent (the instigator of an action), patient/theme (an entity that changes, moves, or comes into/goes out of existence), location (an entity at which something is located), and instrument (an intermediate entity an agent uses to affect a patient). Thus, Beavers and Koontz-Garboden state, the view is that verbs in the same semantically-defined grammatical classes assign the same thematic roles to their arguments, which in turn serve as the basis for supposedly universal “linking rules” that constrain the possible grammatical configurations a verb can occur in. They discuss this view with reference to the verb *kill* as example. They state that, if the verb *kill* takes an agent and patient, then, if (41) defines universal principles relating these thematic roles to grammatical functions, it determines that one argument is a possible denotation for *kill while another* is not.

- (41) a. If the verb has an agent argument, it is the subject.
 b. If the verb has a patient argument, it is the object.

Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) point out that some studies conducted on locative inversion have invoked the unaccusative hypothesis. This view holds that verbs that undergo locative inversion are unaccusative or passive verbs (cf. Bresnan & Kanerva 1989; Bresnan 1994, among others). They point out that, generally, verbs undergoing locative inversion lack an external (i.e. subject) argument. Thus, they state, locative inversion has been regarded as an unaccusative diagnostic. Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995:224), however, challenge this view on grounds that not all unaccusative verbs participate in locative inversion. They argue that certain types of unergative verbs undergo locative inversion in English. They maintain that verbs that undergo locative inversion are determined by the discourse function of the construction. They argue that the locative inversion construction is used in the discourse function of presentational focus, which restricts the verbs occurring in the construction to be informationally light. They state that if a verb contributes a substantial amount of new information, the newness of the postverbal DP decreases, hence the construction fails to be representative. Levin and Rappaport-Hovav argue that the condition that renders the verb undergoing locative inversion to be informationally light rules out transitive verbs, some unergative verbs, and unaccusative verbs which are not informationally light.

Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (1995:226) argue that since presentational focus naturally

selects a theme locative argument structure, in a sentence in which a referent is introduced by a change of state or location, it is obvious for the unaccusative-like distribution to occur. They point out that another argument against analysing locative inversion in terms of unaccusativity is that there is no syntactic evidence that the postverbal DP occupies the direct object position. They assert that, considering the VP-internal subject hypothesis, the postverbal argument can remain VP-internally. Concerning unergative predicates, the discourse function or the case filter forces the logical subject to move out of the Spec- of VP position, to the VP-adjoined position. They point out that, in the case of unaccusatives, the same derivation is possible, particularly in cases where the theme appears to the right of a VP-internal PP. However, they acknowledge that there are cases in which the theme must occupy the object position because it precedes a VP-internal PP, as evidenced in constituency tests (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995:226).

With regard to the argument-adjunct distinction, Tutunjian and Boland (2008) state that the notion of argumenthood concerns phrases that represent obligatory or core components of an event, relation, or entity from those that supplement the core meaning. They state that modifying phrases are commonly viewed as adjuncts. Arguments are closely associated with the meaning of a predicate itself, while adjuncts are not (Kroeger, 2004). Carnie (2007, p. 51) maintains that arguments are entities that can be abstract, participating in the predicate relationship.

Tallerman (2005, p. 98) proposes the following criteria with respect to the argument-adjunct distinction:

- (i) arguments are syntactically obligatory and required while adjuncts are optional,
- (ii) arguments are core participants, semantically required, while adjuncts are not specifically required,
- (iii) an argument must always be moved with a preposed verb, but adjunct can be left behind,
- (iv) arguments are more likely to have a fixed preposition, and adjunct phrases are more likely to allow for any number of prepositions to head the phrase,
- (v) In regard to prepositional content, argument phrases are less likely to utilize the core meaning of the preposition,

- (vi) In regard to pseudo-cleft, only adjuncts, but not arguments, can appear after direct object in a VP-focused pseudo-cleft,
- (vii) (vii) on uniqueness/iterativity, argument positions must be filled by one and only one phrase, while adjuncts can be iterated multiple times, and
- (viii) argument phrases cannot be added to the verb phrase anaphoric ‘do-so’ clauses, while adjuncts can,
- (ix) The complement is selected by the head and thus closely related, while adjuncts are built on extra information and may not particularly have a direct relationship with the head.

Radford (2004, p. 3) posits that subjects and complements share in common the fact that they generally represent entities directly in particular action or event described by the predicate. Thus, subjects and complements are arguments of the predicate with which they are associated. Radford maintains that an additional expression that serves to provide optional additional information about the time or place (or manner, or purpose etc.) of an activity or event is said to serve as an adjunct.

Hoekstra and Mulder (1990) propose that, in light of the properties of the locative DP and the theme DP of locative-subject alternation sentences, an alternative account invoking a Small Clause structure analysis is in order. According to the Small Clause (SC) analysis, Hoekstra and Mulder (1990) argue that the theme is predicated of a location, and the verb does not assign a thematic role to it. A Small Clause which is the complement and an internal argument of the verb contains the theme and the location arguments. Both the locative and the theme DPs originate in vP-internal position. The assumptions of the current Minimalist version of generative syntax (Radford, 1997) suggest that subjects carry a strong nominative case feature that needs to be checked in the Spec, TP position. Thus, adopting this view of minimalism, it can be assumed that in canonical sentences, the theme DP moves to the Spec, TP position to check its nominative case and the subject agreement features on T, whereas the locative DP remains in its base position where it is assigned inherent case (Baker, 2008).

Hoekstra (1988) points out that, in the example above, the NP functions as the semantic subject of the predicative expression. This entails that the NP is not an argument of the verb but rather of the predicative expression. He argues that a consequence of the Projection Principle is that each complement of the verb is an argument of the verb. Hence, he states,

interpreting the Projection Principle in its strictest sense, it must be assumed that the NP and the predicative expression form a single constituent which functions as an argument of the verb. This type of constituent is commonly referred to as Small Clause (SC).

Hoekstra and Mulder (1990:9-10) adopt Stowell's (1981) definitions of SC, stating that a SC is a maximal projection of the head of the predicate. They further discuss the notion of the PP-complement, making a distinction between predicative PP complements which project a SC structure, and PP functioning as prepositional objects, while complements may freely occur on either side of the verb in Dutch. Hoekstra and Mulder (1990:9-10) discuss the notion of the small clause, establishing two conclusions concerning constructions with physical activity verbs that are interpreted as verbs of motion:

- (42) a. The prepositional phrase is a complement
 b. The verb is ergative, i.e., it does not assign an external role, and its S-structure subject originates in the V-governed position.

Hoekstra and Mulder consider the question of the thematic status of the S-structure subject concluding that it is an argument of V or of the P, i.e. is the structure as in (43a) or as in (43b).

- (43) a. np V NP PP (order irrelevant and np denotes ... position)
 b. np V [sc NP PP]

Hoekstra and Mulder (1990:9-10) invoke Stowell's SC proposal, according to which all categories have subjects, including P(repositions). They argue that if it is assumed that a locative preposition as in (43) has both an internal argument (the location) and an external one (the locatum), these roles are always projected, whether they are realized by overt or empty NPs, these options being determined by the external environment in which the PP occurs.

Hoekstra (1988) argues that the small clause structure requires that the S-structure subject is not selected by the motion verb, suggesting that the verb does not impose any selectional restrictions on it. He states that the examples in (44)-(45) indicate that S-structure subjects are indeed not lexically selected by the verb, and provide evidence for the ergative analysis of such verbs.

- (44) a. dat het licht op groen springt. that the light to green jumps

- b. dat het huis in brand vliegt.that the house on fire flies
 - b. dat het feest in het honderd loopt.
that the party out of hand walks
- (45) a. My skin turned red.
- b. John flew into a rage.
 - c. The well ran dry.
 - d. They fell in love.

4.8 EVENT SEMANTICS AND ASPECTUAL VERB CLASSES/SITUATION TYPES

This section presents an overview of key perspectives from the research field of event semantics and research on aspectual verb classes, or situation types, in the terminology of Smith (1997). This is an area invoked for the investigation of locative constructions in Luganda conducted in the present study. Truswell's (2019) perspectives on issues in the field of event semantics, event structure, and aspectual verb classes (situation types) are discussed. This section also includes a discussion of the functional category (little) *v* as representing the feature of causative (henceforth +CAUS), for eventive/causative verbs, and the feature of anti-causative (henceforth -CAUS) for non-eventive (i.e. stative and middle(-like) verbs), and the relationship between causation and the functional category Voice. Some attention is given to views of scholars addressing the event semantics-syntax interface relating to the distinctions between active, passive, and middle Voice, in particular.

A further syntactic-interface explored in the proposed study thus relates to the aspectual verb class, i.e. event semantics, as postulated by, among others, Smith (1997). In examining some instances of locative inversion, as an anticausative alternation, the study invokes this aspectual analysis. This study thus explores the syntactic behaviour of some instances of locative inversion as (anti)causative alternation constructions, which are contingent on aspectual verb class distinctions. The aspectual verb class perspective is theorized in terms of situation and viewpoint aspects. Smith (1997) asserts that the information in the situation aspect is conveyed by the verb constellation, while that in viewpoint aspect is usually conveyed via a grammatical morphemes. She posits five aspectual classes: *activities*, *achievements*, *accomplishments*, *states*, and *semalfactives*.

Smith (1997:3) states that a general theory of aspect needs to provide general and specific

accounts of aspectual systems. She points out that aspect is a parameter which is realized differently in the languages of the world, traditionally referring to grammaticized viewpoints such as the perfective and the imperfective viewpoints, or focusing on part of a situation, including neither initial nor final endpoints, and the neutral viewpoints which are flexible, including the initial endpoint of a situation and at least one internal stage. She states that these aspectual distinctions have been broadened to include the following temporal properties of situations, or situation types, in terms of the features stativity, durativity and telicity.

- (ii) Activity: dynamic, durative, atelic,
- (iii) Accomplishment: dynamic, durative, telic, consisting of process and outcome,
- (iv) Semelfactives: dynamic, atelic, instantaneous,
- (v) Achievements: dynamic, telic, instantaneous.

Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2020:9) assert that research on event structure, as a theory of verb meaning, date back to at least Lakoff (1963), stating that verbal meanings can often be paraphrased by analytic constructions that make plain certain basic subcomponents of how the events they describe unfold. They discuss the example of the transitive change-of-state verb *flatten* in (46a), which is subject to the near paraphrase in (46b), which paraphrases the structure of the event it describes as an (action on the part of an) agent that caused a change, demonstrated in (46). They point out that the intransitive *flattened* in (47a) has the near paraphrase (47b), which effectively constitutes a portion of (46b) in the following example:

- (46) a. Mary flattened the rug.
- b. Mary caused the rug to become flat.
- (47) a. The rug flattened.
- b. The rug became flat.

Beavers and Koontz-Garboden point out that other change-of-state verbs are subject to nearly identical paraphrases regarding the unfolding of the event, differing only in respect to the final state, as in (48) and (49). They state that, conversely, paraphrases of intransitive *jog* and *run* emphasize an action and not a change of state, differing only in which action each verb describes as demonstrated in the following examples in (50):

- (48) a. Mary dried the rug.
- b. Mary caused the rug to become dry.
- (49) a. The rug dried.

- b. The rug became dry.
- (50) a. Mary jogged/ran.
- b. Mary did jogging/running actions.

Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2020:9) assert that paraphrases do not just make explicit the kinds of events each verb describes but decompose them into more basic subevents. In this regard, they refer to frequent and recurring event types such as “action,” “cause,” and “become” that differentiate whole classes of verbs, with more specific notions like “flat,” “dry,” “jogging,” and “running”, differentiating verbs within these classes.

Beavers and Koontz-Garboden maintain that a considerable body of previous research has proposed that the grammatically significant aspects of a verb’s meaning consists of some type of event structure. They state that an event structure is a level of representation associated with a surface verb, relative to which generalizations, relating a verb to its grammatical properties, can be defined. They posit that event structures consist of two basic components. The first is an event template built of some universal set of grammatical primitives defining basic event types such as action, causation, and change, taking arguments filling in standard participants in those events to define the event’s broad temporal and causal contours. They posit a second component of an event structure as being an idiosyncratic verb-specific or constant that describes real world actions(e.g. jogging) and states (e.g. hungry) that distinguish verbs with the same template from one another either by serving as arguments to eventive primitives or modifying them in some way.

In discussing aspectual classification, Truswell (2019:49) refers to Vendler’s (1967) four-part distinction, which he states has proved to be resilient, although, the distinction between activities and accomplishments is still problematic. Truswell (2019) discusses Semelfactive events as the fifth aspectual category, though loosely attached to Vendler’s scheme by an additional feature, which groups them with activities. Truswell (2019) states that, according to Verkuyl (1989), Vendler-classes play an important role in the linguistic and philosophical literature. He asserts that Vendler extended the old Aristotelian tripartition model of situational types by proposing a quadripartition of States, Activities, Accomplishments, and Achievements. Truswell (2019) maintains that Vendler’s extended quadripartition model of aspectual semantic verb classes is based on their restrictions on time adverbials, tenses, and logical entailments, as illustrated in the following table, as adapted from Dowty (1979, p. 54):

Table 4.1: Vendler's semantic verb classes with examples

States	Activities	Accomplishments	Achievements
know	run	paint a picture	recognize
believe	walk	make a chair	spot
have	swim	deliver a sermon	find
desire	push a cart	draw a circle	lose
love	drive a car	push a cart	reach
		recover from illness	die

Truswell (2019) refers to the Verkuyl (1989) in discussing that Vendler (1967:106) used the following time schemata to characterize his four verb classes:

- (i) Activity: *A was running at time t* means that time instant t is on a time stretch throughout which A was running.
- (ii) State: *A loved somebody from t_1 to t_2* means that at any instant between t_1 and t_2 A loved that person.
- (iii) Accomplishment: *A was drawing a circle at t* means that t is on the time stretch in which A drew that circle
- (iv) Achievement: *A won a race between t_1 and t_2* means that the time instant at which A won that race is between t_1 and t_2 .

In discussing Verkuyl's (1989) views, Truswell (2019) posits a two-binary-feature based classification in examining Vendler's proposal of aspectual classes, concluding that Vendler's quadripartition is not appealing for he confused some of the criteria for distinguishing one class from another. He further examines Dowty's revision of the Vendlerian classes based on time adverbials and tensed verb parameters and argues that they were not useful for characterizing aspectual verb classes. Truswell (2019) concurs with Verkuyl's proposal of a classification based on two binary features: continuousness and boundedness. He asserts that, while continuousness defines whether the event has direction, boundedness determines whether the event has an inherent endpoint.

On the grounds of these two parameters, Truswell (2019) reports that Verkuyl separates Activity and Accomplishment verbs from States and Achievements. He argues that, on the one hand, Activity and Accomplishment verbs describe events that take place over some

time, contrary to State and Achievement verbs. On the other hand, Accomplishments and Achievements verbs are bounded, whereas States and Activities are unbound. Thus, Verkuyl's aspectual classes and the two parameters are demonstrated in Table 4:2.

Table 4:2: Verkuyl's classification of verb class semantics

Verb classes	Continuous	Bounded
Activities	[+]	[-]
Accomplishments	[+]	[+]
States	[-]	[-]
Achievements	[-]	[+]

Generally, it is viewed that boundedness (also referred to as telicity), duration, and dynamism are the key features that determine the classification of aspectual predicates. Bounded (telic) events (Achievements and Accomplishments) are described as events with the natural endpoint. Conversely, unbounded (atelic) events (States and Activities) lack inherent natural finishing points, and thus can continue indefinitely.

Smith (1997) defined two main parameters of aspect: (i) lexical aspect – the aspectual classes of predicates, and (ii) event perspective – the view of the entire event, for which she explores properties of lexical aspect is explored in more detail. Kearns (2000) discusses three characteristics which are used to classify events: (a) a bounded or telic event that has a natural endpoint, or bound, at which the event is finished, thus unbounded or atelic events lack a natural endpoint; (b) durative event unfolds over a measurable period as opposed to non-durative events which occur in an instant; and (c) a static or homogeneous events that has no internal change. Dynamic or heterogeneous events mark some type of change in their participants.

Smith's aspectual approach is theorized in terms of situation aspect and viewpoint aspect. The two components are essentially independent in that the information in the situation aspect is conveyed by the verb constellation, while that in viewpoint aspect is conveyed by a grammatical morpheme, usually a verb or adverb. Viewpoint aspect can present a situation in full or partially, while situation aspect indirectly classifies the events or states according to their internal temporal properties.

In Smith's (1997) theory, five aspectual classes (or situation types) are posited: *activities*, *achievements*, *accomplishments*, *states* and *semelfactives*. The basic difference between stative and non-stative is that the statives do not involve a change. The non-stative aspectual verb classes, accomplishments and achievements, have an inherent temporal endpoint, designated as telic. Activities, on the other hand, lack inherent temporal endpoint; therefore, they are regarded as atelic. Achievements and accomplishments are telic, but they differ in the sense that achievements lack duration and are close to punctual (instantaneous).

Smith proposes that an aspectual meaning offers two independent kinds of information. On the one hand, she states, it provides information about the situation type which is presented from a particular viewpoint and indirectly classified as a state or an event of a certain type. On the other hand, an aspectual meaning offers information about the viewpoint aspect which presents the situation with a particular focus, giving a full or partial view of the situation talked about. Smith argues that the information about the situation aspect is conveyed by the verb constellation (i.e. the main verb and its arguments, including the subject and the verb's complement arguments), while viewpoint aspect information is conveyed by grammatical morphemes such as the verb and adverbials.

Smith (ibid) describes viewpoint as an aspect that gives temporal properties to a sentence. Viewpoint on aspect presents a situation with a particular perspective or focus, providing a full or partial view of the situation talked about. Smith identified three types of viewpoints: perfective, imperfective, and neutral. She argues that perfective viewpoints present a situation in its entirety. Imperfective viewpoints present only part of the situation (i.e. span only part of the situation or event). She states that, on the other hand, a neutral viewpoint is flexible in that it may focus on an entire situation, or may present only the internal stage of a situation. Smith maintains that, although viewpoints are similar across languages, they are not identical. She maintains that to know a language is to know the semantic value of the language's viewpoints and their distribution according to situation types.

Smith's situation types and their temporal properties can be contrasted with that proposed by other scholars. She identifies five classes of situation types, building on views of Kenny (1963), Vendler (1967), Dowty (1979), and Verkuyl (1989): *States*, *Activity*, *Accomplishment*, *Achievement*, and *Semelfactives*. These classes are distinguished according to three temporal properties: dynamism, durativity and telicity; (i) states (static, and durative), (ii) Accomplishment-involve outcome (dynamic, durative, and telic), (iii) Activities

(dynamic, durative, and atelic), (iv) Achievements (dynamic, telic, punctual), and (v) Semelfactives (dynamic, atelic, and punctual).

In discussing situation types on conceptual temporal features, Smith (1997:20) points out that, in terms of temporal features, situation types are generally classified as states or events. Smith's temporal features are presented in terms of contrastive pairs in the following numbers. Firstly, in regard to the distinction dynamic versus static, Smith asserts that states are the simplest situation type that involves a single period which cannot be differentiated. She asserts that states obtain in time but do not hold in time, they are both static/non-dynamic and dynamic. Static situation types do not change over time and a state of the situation is the same at all times for which it holds. She states that, on the other hand, dynamic or non-static situations change over time and have stage property in that they involve successive stages which occur at different moments. Dynamic situations are subject to change whenever a new input is applied. Smith maintains that static features characterize *States*, whereas dynamic features describe *Events*; Activities, Accomplishments, Achievements and Semelfactives.

Secondly, in regard to the distinction telic versus atelic, Smith (1997) asserts that telic situations are described as events that change state. Telic situation types involve the goal or an outcome of the event. Telic situations types of events are expected, by their internal characteristics, to have a result state after the situation has reached its endpoint. She maintains that the events are counted as complete when the change of state has been achieved. She states that, on the other hand, atelic events do not involve natural culmination. They are just processes that can stop at any time and are, therefore, regarded as events that involve arbitrary endpoints. Smith asserts that generally, whereas telic events constitute a goal or an outcome, atelic events do not.

In regard to the distinction between durative and punctual, Smith postulates that situations can also be either durative or punctual. Situations that do not last in time are viewed as punctual or instantaneous events. Punctual or instantaneous events are situations that can be regarded to occur instantly but do not last. Different from punctual events, durative events occupy and last in time, either short or long. Situation types, with their distinctive temporal features according to Smith, are summarized in the following table.

Table 4.3: Smith's Situation types with their temporal features

	Static	Durative (interval)	Telic (result)	Examples
State	[+]	[+]	[-]	hot, have, like
Activity	[-]	[+]	[-]	run, push a cart
Accomplishment	[-]	[+]	[+]	build a house
Achievement	[-]	[-]	[+]	reach, spot, find
Semelfactive	[-]	[-]	[-]	knock, cough

According to Smith (1997:20), situation types represent properties of the time in different ways. Thus, this component of the aspectual meaning of a clause indirectly classifies the situation according to its temporal properties. Building on Vendler (1967), Kenny (1963), and Dowty (1979) among others, Smith (1997) distinguishes five types of situation, as shown in Table (4:4). These classes differ in the temporal properties of dynamism, durativity, and telicity.

Table 4:4: Situation types and their temporal properties and example sentences

Situation types	Sentences examples	Temporal properties
States	John loves Judy. She knows the answer.	stative vs durative
Activities	My brother drives a blue car. They run.	dynamic, durative, atelic)
Accomplishments	Musa builds a house.Jane walks to school. John made a chair.	dynamic, durative and telic (process and result)
Semelfactives	Maria is coughing. Someone is knocking the door.	dynamic, atelic, punctual (i.e. non- durative/instantaneous)
Achievements	He has found the solution for the problem. He recognized the burglar.	dynamic, telic, punctual (i.e. durative/instantaneous)

Apart from the five typical situation types presented in the previous subsections, Smith (1997) identifies another group of situation types she regards as derived situation types. She argues that all languages have different mechanisms of shifting the aspectual value of a verb constellation in a way that classes change from one aspectual type to another.

In discussing super-lexical morphemes, Smith is of the view that a situation may be presented broadly as a whole, or it may be presented in terms of a narrow view with a focus of one endpoint or the middle of a situation only. Different languages have different ways of expressing broader and narrower views of situations. In English, for example, a broader view is expressed in a simple sentence, whereas narrower views are conveyed by verbs or phrases that have the simple sentence as a complement, as exemplified in (51a) and (51b), respectively.

- (51) a. John built the house.
 b. John started building the house

Sentence (51a) presents the situation as a whole in its broader viewpoint. By contrast, in (51b), the situation appears in its narrower perspective. Smith points out that the function of the super-lexical morphemes such as *begin*, *finish* and others of that nature is to give a narrow view of a situation, while other lexical morphemes determine the type of situation presented. Therefore, whereas the lexical morphemes contribute to defining a situation type, super-lexical morphemes change the focus of a situation rather than determining the situation itself. Smith concludes that endpoints of all situations are telic events as they bring about a change of state, either into a situation (beginning) or out of it (finishing).

Smith (1997) examines the aspectual type of multiple-event Activities. An Activity is a situation type that consists of a succession of events. The multiple-event Activities, therefore, have a series of repetitions with an arbitrary endpoint, and the subevents of multiple-event activities may consist of all event types. Smith postulates that the verb constellation of multiple-event Activity sentence has the basic-level category of its sub-events. She points out that such sentences often have durative adverbials which shift the interpretation of a situation from a single event Activity to multiple event Activities, as (52) illustrates:

- (52) a. They knocked the door.
 b. They repeatedly knocked the door.
 c. They knocked the door for ten minutes

Smith maintains that sentence (52a) can be interpreted as a single-stage event as is the case with Semelfactives, different from the sentences in (52b-c) which can be perceived as Activities involving multiple events. She asserts that the shift of aspectual type from (52a) to (52b-c) is triggered by the temporal adverbials used in those sentences. Smith argues that, when there is a mismatch between the times presented in a sentence, the derived, multiple-event Activity reading arises. She maintains that the event may typically have a short or long duration depending on the temporal adverbials employed. She points out that, in most cases, multiple-event readings emerge as a result of the presence of long durative temporal adverbials.

Smith posits another derived situation type, to which she refers as habitual statives. She asserts that, in any situation types, habitual sentences are derived and these sentences present a pattern of situations and have a stative reading.

- (53) a. John meets his doctor monthly
 b. We read the Bible on Mondays

Both sentences in (53) are semantically stative. Smith points out that these types of sentences denote a single event or state at the basic level of categorization. However, she illustrates that a habitual interpretation may also be triggered by information in the context. For example, in a sentence, adverbials may signify a relatively long interval, whereas the events routinely require a relatively short interval. The difference between intervals presented by modifiers influences the habitual stative interpretation of a sentence. Smith (*ibid*) argues that, although habitual sentences have stative reading, they lack the syntactic characteristics of stative sentences. She points out that habitual sentences can occur in imperatives, they are compatible with agent-oriented adverbials and the progressive form, in contrast to basic Statives. In marked focus situation shift, Smith demonstrates that States are presented as events and events as states. The aspectual choices are presented in a way that situation types consist of a marked focus, as (54) illustrates.

- (54) a. Mother is having treating
 b. I was thinking that she wanted to go to school
 c. The room is smelling particularly bad these days

Smith argues that sentences like those in (54) are States with dynamism temporal features hence the focus of the sentences seem to be on dynamism, typical of events situation types.

However, sentences with adverbials, as in (54c), may present the situation to be perceived as unusual. However, it is normal for a speaker during a conversation to present information in a marked or an unmarked focus depending on what the speaker wants to underline. Smith points out that a speaker may choose a marked focus to emphasize the internal stages of events as continuous or homogenous. When this happens, the sentences are interpreted as syntactically stative.

With regard to the basic level verb constellations, Smith (1997) argues that there is a close relationship between verb constellations and situation types. She asserts that a situation type is determined by the verb constellation (i.e. main verb and its arguments), and that the interpretation of situation type depends on the particular verb, DPs, PPs, and sentential complements of a verb constellation. She emphasizes that the verb constellation is essential in the key notion of interpretation, and that to compose or interpret the situation type of a verb constellation, one needs to consider the relevant values of its component forms.

Smith (1997:54) points out that the role of compositional rules is to provide a natural mechanism for the situation type. These rules determine the situation type value of a given verb constellation according to its internal makeup. As Smith (ibid) puts it, the rules assign to the constellation a composite value, an associated situation type. Smith adds that the situation type of a verb constellation is not identified by syntactic structure because all situation types are syntactically different. She suggests that nominal features are relevant to situation type. On the one hand, features such as [count and mass] determine whether a nominal is quantized or cumulative. On the other hand, she posits that the features of prepositional phrases such as [locative and directional] are also relevant and necessary. Smith (1997:55) discusses the example in (55) to argue that in English, the verb with the inherent [-telic] combines with two arguments.

- (55) a. The child walk the dog
 NP[+Count] + v[-Telic] + NP[+Count] → VCon[-Telic]
- b. The child walk to school
 NP[+Count] + v [-Telic]] + pp[Direct'I] →VCon[+Telic]

In (55a), the verb has an atelic feature that is associated with a telic argument, whereas in (86b), the verb bears a telic feature that combines with a goal locative. According to Smith (1997:55), this implies that aspectual values such as telic/atelic of the basic-level verb constellation are overridden by other relevant forms. Smith further identifies this situation as

a principle of compositional rule. This principle states that the aspectual value of the basic-level verb constellation is overridden by that of an adverbial or similar relevant form.

A theory of Voice relating to the causative/anticausative distinction is developed in Alexiadou and Doron (2012), and Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou and Schäfer (2015). They posit two distinct instantiations of morpho-syntax corresponding to the same semantic category: in Greek, middles and reflexives surface with non-active morphology, while they both surface with active morphology in English. They address the question of whether this means that in both languages the same syntactic head Voice is present in these alternations. They propose that in Greek non-active morphology correlates with unaccusative syntax, while in English active morphology correlates with unergative syntax. This leads to their proposal that distinct Voice heads must be present in these two argument structure alternations in the two languages

Alexiadou (2014, p. 19) explores the variation found concerning how languages morphologically mark argument structure alternations, a variation taken to be related to the realization of the syntactic Voice head. She discusses the behaviour of dispositional middles and reflexives in languages such as English as opposed to their Greek counterparts. She advances the hypothesis that there are three Voice related heads implicated in argument structure alternations across languages. Active Voice is involved in the structure of all transitive and unergative predicates across languages, which in English subsumes middles and reflexives. Passive Voice, which she only briefly discusses in her investigation, takes as an input, a transitive structure, and gives an English/German/Hebrew type passive. She proposes that Middle Voice is the non-active counterpart of Kratzer's (1996, 2005) active Voice and gives rise to reflexives, passives and dispositional middles in Greek type languages.

According to Alexiadou (2014:21), the term Voice is used at least in three ways in the literature. First, it denotes a particular alternation in a verb's argument structure, referred to as AS alternations. Second, as Voice alternations are typically marked on the verb's morphology, Voice is considered a morpho-syntactic category of the verb. She uses the term Voice morphology to refer to the realization of Voice. Third, Voice is taken to be a syntactic head introducing the verb's external argument.

Alexiadou (2014:21) offers an account of how Kartzer's Voice head relates to the realization of Voice in the context of Voice alternations, by giving particular attention to the crosslinguistic variation found with dispositional middle and reflexive formation. She argues that, in several AS alternations which have been thoroughly discussed in the literature, a central AS alternation is the one between active Voice and the eventive passive Voice, as exemplified in (56) for English:

- (56) a. John read the book. (active)
 b. The book was read (by John). (passive)

According to Alexiadou (2014:21), three AS alternations that have been the subject of much controversy are (i) the causative-anticausative alternation, (ii) the generic or dispositional middle alternation, and (iii) the reflexive alternation. Anticausative predicates refer to spontaneous events like *break*, *open*, or *melt* which can also be construed as transitive/causative verbs. It is generally agreed upon that the transitive counterpart of the alternation is interpreted roughly as 'cause to verb _{intransitive}' (see Levin (1993), and Schäfer (2008) for discussion), as shown below.

- (57) a. John broke the vase (causative)
 b. The vase broke (anticausative)

In regard to the generic or dispositional middle alternation (henceforth d. middle), according to Levin (1993:26), the intransitive variant of this alternation, the d. middle construction in (58b), is characterized by lack of specific time reference and by an understood but an unexpressed agent. D. middles tend to, and in some languages must, include an adverbial or a modal element. It is precisely these properties that distinguish the d. middle alternation from the causative-anticausative alternation (see Schäfer 2008 for a detailed comparison).

The reflexive alternation involves naturally reflexive verbs, e.g. 'body care verbs' in Kemmer's (1993) classification (*wash*, *comb*), or 'verbs of assuming position' (*sit down*, *turn*), which can have transitive construals. The intransitive variant in this case, (59a), describes an action which is directed towards the subject of the verb. Also, d. middles are generally considered to be stative predications, as illustrated in the following examples.

- (58) a. The butcher cuts the meat.
 b. The meat cuts easily.

- (59) a. John washed and combed every morning.
 b. John washed Mary

Regarding dispositional middles across languages, Alexiadou (2014:25) discusses Lekakou's (2005) proposal, which instantiates a novel way to approach the relationship between the semantics and the morphological realization of d. middles across languages. For Lekakou (2005: 1), 'the cross-linguistic variation relates to the following two factors. First, she states, the different means available to languages to encode genericity distinguishes between unergative and unaccusative middles. Lekakou maintains that unaccusative middles obtain in languages like French and Greek, which encode genericity in the morphosyntax in the form of imperfective aspect. Languages where genericity is not expressed by aspectual morphology, i.e. German, Dutch and English, employ unergative structures.'

According to Schäfer (2008), Voice systems show a significant amount of syncretisms, i.e. different semantic Voices share the same morphological marking. Thus, languages form subsets of semantic Voices subsumed under the same morphology: Active, Analytic passive, Synthetic passive, Dispositional middle, Anticausative, and Reflexive. Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) and van Gelderen (2013) discuss various typological and theoretical viewpoints on argument structure and realization, as well as aspectual semantic verb classes

Dom, Kulikov, and Bostoen (2016) in their comparative and typologically-oriented research on Bantu languages, employ a working definition of the middle as a verbal category regularly encoded using verbal morphology (e.g. verbal suffix, type of inflection., typically called "middle marker(s)" in the grammars of the corresponding languages; see Kemmer 1993: 15) that is used to encode a variety of closely related functions which (i) belong to the domain of voices and voice-related categories, (ii) focus on the activity expressed by the base (most often, transitive) verb on one single argument, and (iii) syntactically amount to intransitivization of the base verb. They maintain that in most languages where the grammatical tradition posits the category of the middle, the functions of the middle marker include the reflexive, the passive, the anticausative, the antipassive, and the reciprocal (which can be considered as the functional core of this category) as well as, often, a few other related functions, such as autobenefactive or impersonal. A middle voice, thus, is neither active nor passive, because the subject of the verb cannot be categorized as either agent or patient, having elements of both.

Dom, Kulikov and Bostoen assert that the content of the category of middle can be considered as a cluster of both semantically and syntactically closely-related (usually associated with intransitivization) functions (see Kulikov, 2013, pp. 265–266). In the event when a verbal marker is used to encode more than one (two or three) functions of the middle domain, which do not, however, encompass the major part of the middle domain, they use the working term ‘quasi-middle’. The neuter suffix is used in three types of constructions, of which the first type can be defined as derivations in which the corresponding object of the active clause is promoted to subject position, and the corresponding subject is demoted to an oblique position or omitted. This first type includes anticausative, agentless passive and passive constructions.

Dom et al. (2016) maintain that several polysemous Bantu verbal morphemes cover large parts of the functional domain which is generally considered the canonical middle voice. They state that, although neither of them covers the majority of the subcategories subsumed under the canonical middle voice and therefore cannot be considered a ‘canonical’ middle, these morphemes divide up the semantic space of the middle voice into different smaller, but still multifunctional, semantic units. They further maintain that there seems to be a general distinction between morphemes whose semantics can be qualified as agent-oriented, such as the associative and reflexive, and others which exhibit patient-oriented semantics, such as the neuter, the intransitive separative and the positional. From a typological point of view, these scholars argue, Bantu languages can, therefore, be categorised as languages with multiple-form middle systems.

Mallya (2016) presents a unified linguistic analysis that combines the argument realization and alternation constructions particularly the anticausative, passive, and middle alternation constructions in Bantu languages. Her study particularly investigates the properties of change of state and change of location/position verbs concerning argument realization, (anti)causative alternation, and event semantics in Kiwoso. She outlines a sample of change of state and change of location/position verbs (Levin, 1993) concerning their syntactic and semantic characteristics. The study adopted a syntactic decomposition approach postulated by Alexiadou et al. (2015), Alexiadou and Schäfer (2006), and Alexiadou (2010).

Mallya (2016:188) investigated the (anti-)causative alternation focusing on two central issues: firstly, the lexical-semantic properties that determine verbal alternations, and the derivational relationship between the alternates, and secondly, the similarities between (anti-)

causative, passive, and middle alternations. Mallya demonstrated that both externally and internally caused change of state verbs, as well as change of location/position verbs productively alternate in Kiwoso. Her investigation establishes that participation of verbs in (anti-)causative alternation is determined by the encyclopaedic lexical semantics of verb roots. The results illustrate that the causative variants of externally caused change of state verbs in Kiwoso are morphologically marked, but the anticausative alternates are unmarked. Her investigation further demonstrates that both causative and anticausative variants of internally caused change of state, and change of location/position verbs are morphologically unmarked in Kiwoso.

Mallya investigated the categorization of verb roots into semantic and aspectual verb classes and her findings demonstrated that their categorization is mainly determined by an incremental theme argument, and the grammatical aspect. She points out that an applicative suffix affects the aspectual property of change of location/position verbs in Kiwoso. She proposes that the realization of an external argument is determined by the lexical-semantic property of verb roots. Furthermore, she maintains that verbs which denote human-oriented events realize an agent and instrument arguments, but not causers, whereas other verbs realize agent, instrument, and causer arguments. Her investigation demonstrates that anticausative, passive, and middle constructions are syntactically similar in that they do not express the syntactic external (subject) argument, but they are semantically different aspects. Mallya proposes that alternating verbs in Kiwoso are compositionally built in the syntax. Thus, derivational approaches are inadequate in accounting for the properties of these verbs. Her research, on the whole, adopts the generative syntax approach which accounts for the properties of these verbs in alternation constructions. Thus, argument alternation, causation, and aspectual verb class properties are interrelated in accounting for verbal argument alternation properties.

Fernando (2013) investigated the permissibility of the syntactic decomposition explaining the causative and anticausative alternation in *Kikongo (Kizombo)* in terms of the structural nodes of Voice, vCAUS and Root. He invoked the aspectual semantic theory postulated by Vendler (1967) and developed by Verkuyl (1989) and Smith (1997) since the two alternants are related with aspectual verb class differences. His debate was twofold, focusing on, first, the properties of meaning determining the alternation and the derivational relationship between the alternants, and second, the relation between the causative alternation and other transitivity

alternations, e.g. passives and middles. His study explored a range of acceptability judgments associated with anticausative uses of *Kizombo* in externally and internally caused change of state and change of location/position verbs emphasizing that the verb root is the element of meaning that permits the *Kizombo* verbs to alternate irrespective of their verb classes, including agentive verb roots. The permissibility of modifiers with anticausatives and passives presupposes a presence of a causer in both constructions. The causative form of change of location/position verbs is syntactically intransitive, but its anticausative variant acquires a transitive-like form.

4.9 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I discussed key aspects of the various theories comprising the multiperspectivistic syntax-interfaces approach adopted for the current study. Section 4.1 presented the introduction to the chapter, section 4.2 presented views from syntax interfaces research, and section 4.3 discussed core aspects of generative framework of syntax, particularly the Minimalist program. Section 3.4 focused on the factors for complementing the minimalist program with the cartographic studies framework of generative syntax. The chapter also discussed views on lexical semantic theories relating to locative inversion constructions interpreted in terms of the properties of argument structure and verb classification, adopting the proposals of Levin (1993) in section 4.7, event semantics exploring the views of Smith (1997) in section 4.8, information structure invoking Lambrecht (1994) and Repp (2010) in section 4.5, as well as definiteness and specificity adopting Lyons's (1999) principles in section 4.6. This theoretical review was done considering the statement of the research problem of investigation. Indeed, this exercise was successful in the sense that it helped the investigator to comprehend the status of synchronic theories in relation to the interpretational properties of argument structure, event semantics, definiteness and specificity, as well as information structure in regard to locative inversion constructions. The investigation of Luganda intransitive and transitive verb locative inversion constructions in Chapters five and six employs this syntax-interfaces approach comprising of the various theoretical perspectives presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

INTRANSITIVE VERB CONSTRUCTIONS WITH A LOCATIVE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter investigates the question of how aspects of the interpretative readings of active, passive and neuter-passive (stative) intransitive verb constructions containing a locative, correlate with their properties of argument structure (realization), hence thematic/semantic role interpretation in various structural positions, such as the subject position or the postverbal position, including, in particular, locative inversion, as an argument alternation construction. The examination of the properties of argument structure (realization) conducted in this chapter is related to the analysis of the event semantics, particularly the causative/anti-causative properties, relevant to identifying aspectual verb class, i.e. situation type, that sentences express, invoking, in particular Smith's (1997) classification of aspectual verb classes. The examination in this chapter on how the interpretative properties of sentences correlate with particular morphosyntactic properties of argument structure and event structure they exemplify, will include discussion of the small clause analysis proposed for (some) locative inversion constructions that have an anti-causative interpretation. Thus, it will be demonstrated that the argument structure and event semantics interpretation provide evidence for positing an ergative verb syntax for (some) locative inversion sentence constructions in terms of Hoekstra and Mulder's (1990), and Pross's (2020) event structure proposals of dispositional ascription for the subject argument of these locative inversion sentences. In this regard, I examine the permissibility in sentences regarding the occurrence of manner adverbials such as **bulungi** 'well', purpose clauses, for example, **okusobola okufuna** 'in order to', and instrument adverbials, in **ne** 'with' phrases, as diagnostics to establish the status of sentences in regard to aspectual verb class (situation type). Thus, this chapter explores the interface properties of argument structure and event semantics (i.e. aspectual verb type), taking into account the properties of the event types expressed in the sentence variants with respect to the features [+/- Dynamic], (where causative semantics is generally, but not exclusively, associated with agentivity), [+/- Telic], and [+/- Durative] in determining the situation type of various sentences as an activity, accomplishment, or achievement event/situation, or an (habitual) state (according to proposals by Boneh & Doron, 2013; Choi & Fara, 2012; and Smith, 1997).

This chapter examines, in addition, the semantic-pragmatic properties of definiteness and specificity of DP constituents in the intransitive active, passive, and neuter-passive (i.e. stative) verb sentence variants investigated. These properties are explored in respect to the (non-)occurrence of the locative clitic, and the (non-)occurrence of the pre-prefix of the noun in the postverbal DP in some sentence constructions, invoking Lyons's (1999) notions of familiarity, identifiability, inclusiveness and uniqueness, in explaining the semantic-pragmatic factors of the speaker and hearer/ addressee knowledge in the discourse context. These interpretative properties of DP constituents are invoked in positing features of [+/-] definite and [+/-] specific in the determiner category head of DP constituents in the structural representations of the sentence construction variants examined. Thus, this aspect of the investigation conducted, relates to exploring the interface of the semantic-pragmatic properties concerning definiteness and specificity and the nature of the morphosyntactic realization and feature specification of the functional category Determiner.

A further dimension in the investigation conducted in this chapter of active, passive and neuter-passive sentence constructions containing a locative expression, explores the information structural status of various constituents, including DP, v/VP, and the clausal phrases, with regard to focus, topic, and contrast, in the speaker's and hearer's understanding/ knowledge in the particular discourse context, invoking Repp's (2016) three-fold distinction of explicit alternative, explicit alternative set, and implicit alternative, and views from Lambrecht, 1994; Krifka et al, 1995; Kiss, 1998; Aboh, 2010; Ertischik-Shir, 2007; Neeleman and Vermeulen, 2012; Rizzi, 1997 regarding notions of the syntacticization of information structural notions. The morphosyntactic properties of argument structure, in particular argument realization in locative inversion constructions, and the occurrence of the locative applicative suffix, in particular, are considered. The interpretative properties of constituents in the range of sentence construction variants examined are invoked to posit a focus projection on the edge(periphery) of the DP, v/VP complex, and the clausal phrase, for particular constituents. Thus, the issues addressed in this examination, relates to the interface of information structure and morphosyntax, assuming, in particular, the cartography studies perspective of generative syntax concerning the postulation of discourse-related projections in the left-periphery of constituents, in positing structural representations taking into account information structural properties of sentence constructions. The Focus phrase, and the focus - related feature specification of the Focus head, receives particular attention in this aspect of investigation.

These interpretative and morphosyntactic properties examined for intransitive active, passive and neuter-passive(stative) verb constructions, are invoked in proposing structural representations for the respective sentence construction variants. For this purpose, the functional categories of Voice (specified as Voice Act(ive), Voice Pas(sive), and Voice Mid(dle), for neuter-passive(stative) verb and some locative inversion constructions, respectively), and ('little') *v* (specified for +/- CAUSE) to indicate a causative or anticausative readings, respectively), are invoked, in addition to word order properties. Thus, the chapter presents an analysis of the argument structure and other interpretative properties relating to event structure, definiteness and specificity, and information structure, of canonical active verb sentence constructions, and (non-canonical) argument alternation constructions, including locative inversion, passive verb and neuter-passive (stative) verb constructions. Furthermore, taking into account the interpretations of various informational structure properties (of topic, focus, contrast) of various constituents, DP, *v*/VP, and the sentence as a whole, some particular structural representations of feature specifications in Topic Phrase or Focus Phrase projections on the DP or *v*/VP or CP edge/periphery will be proposed.

The remainder of this chapter is organized as follows. In Section 5.2, I discuss perspectives on the investigation of locative constructions in a syntax-interfaces approach. In section 5.3, I examine active verb constructions with unergative verbs. In Section 5.4, I discuss locative inversion constructions with an unergative verb with a locative applicative suffix. In section 5.5 the passive verb constructions containing a locative constituent are examined. Section 5.6 examines locative inversion constructions with a stative unergative verb. Section 5.7 examines active verb constructions with a motion verb. Section 5.8 discusses locative inversion with an intransitive motion verb with a locative applicative suffix, and locative inversion constructions with an intransitive passive verb are examined in section 5.9. Locative inversion constructions with an intransitive neuter-passive(stative) verb are examined in section 5.10. Lastly, section 5.11 summarizes the main issues addressed and findings of the chapter.

5.2 ANALYSIS OF PROPERTIES OF SENTENCE STRUCTURE VARIANTS

Table 5.1 gives a holistic representation of the range of active, passive, and neuter-passive verb constructions that will be examined in this chapter in addressing the question of how the interpretative properties of these constructions as regards the thematic roles of arguments,

event semantics, definiteness and specificity, and information structural status of constituents, correlate with the particular morphosyntactic properties they exemplify, as specified in Table 5.1. Thus, regarding the use of analytical properties of sentence structure variants (i.e. alternates), I analyse intransitive verbs, starting with the active form of the verb in sentences in (a) and (b), and their variants (in A, B, C, D). Inversion constructions of the same active verb are given (c, d and e), with the corresponding locative applicative verb in (c), passive verb in (d), and neuter-passive (stative) in (e). The inverted sentences have variants A, B, C, and D. The descriptive representations below are specified with respect to an intransitive verb. The following abbreviations are used in the table: AV: active verb, POSTVLOC.A: postverbal locative argument, LMSI: locative morphology subject inversion, BNSI: bare noun subject inversion, CL: locative clitic, APPL: applicative, PASS: passive, STAT: stative, PPX: pre-prefix, LOCPX: locative prefix, AG: agent.

Table 5:1 Parameters of constructions with active, passive, and neuter-passive (stative) verbs

Analytical properties of sentence structure variants (alternates) and their abbreviations			
No	Properties of LI with sative/medio/neuter-passive verbs	Abbreviations	
a	a	Active verb [-Applicative] construction with a postverbal locative argument, and with/without a locative clitic.	AV, -APPL, POSTVLOC.A, ±CL
	A	Active verb [-Applicative] construction with a postverbal argument, and without a locative clitic.	AV, -APPL, POSTVLOC.A, -CL
	B	Active verb [-Applicative] construction with a non-pre-prefix postverbal argument, and without a locative clitic.	AV, -APPL, POSTV.A-LOCPX, -CL

	C	Active verb [-Applicative] construction with a non-pre-prefix postverbal locative argument, and with/without a locative clitic.	AV, -APPL, POSTV.A-LOCPX, ±CL
	D	Active verb [-Applicative] construction with a postverbal locative argument, and with/without locative clitic.	
b	B	Active verb [+Applicative] construction with a postverbal locative argument with/without a locative clitic.	AV, +APPL, POSTVLOC.A, ±CL
	A	Active verb [+Applicative] construction with a postverbal locative argument, and without a locative clitic.	AV, +APPL, POSTVLOC.A, - CL
	B	Active verb [+Applicative] construction with a non-prefix postverbal locative argument, and without a locative clitic.	AV, +APPL, POSTV - PXLOC.A, - CL
	C	Active verb [+Applicative] construction with a postverbal locative argument, and with/without a locative clitic.	AV, +APPL, POSTVLOC.A,±CL
	D	Active verb [+Applicative] construction with a non-prefix postverbal locative argument, and with/without a locative clitic.	AV, +APPL, POSTV-LOCPX.A, ±CL
c	(i)	Active verb [-Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	AV, -APPL, LMSI, ±CL

	A	Active verb [-Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, and without a locative clitic, and with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	AV, -APPL, LMSI, -CL, +PPXPOSTV.A
	B	Active verb [-Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, and without a locative clitic, and without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	AV, -APPL, LMSI, -CL, -PPXPOSTV.A
	C	Active verb [-Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, and with a locative clitic, and with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	AV, -APPL, LMSI, +CL, +PPXPOSTV.A
	D	Active verb [-Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, and with a locative clitic, and without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	AV, -APPL, LMSI, +CL, -PPXPOSTV.A
c	(ii)	Active verb [+Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	AV, +APPL, LMSI, ±CL, -PPXPOSTV.A
	A	Active verb [+Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, and without a locative clitic, and with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	AV, +APPL, LMSI, -CL, +PPXPOSTV.A
	B	Active verb [+Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, and without a locative clitic, and without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	AV, +APPL, LMSI, -CL, -PPXPOSTV.A
	C	Active verb [+Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, and with a locative clitic, and	AV, +APPL, LMSI, +CL,

		with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	+PPXPOSTV.A
	D	Active verb [+Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, and with a locative clitic, and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	AV, +APPL, LMSI, +CL, -PPXPOSTV.A
c	(iii)	Active verb [applicative] inversion construction with bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	AV, -APPL, BNSI, ±CL, ±PPXPOSTV.A
	A	Active verb [-applicative] inversion construction with bare noun subject, and without a locative clitic, and with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	AV, -APPL, BNSI, -CL, +PPXPOSTV.A
	B	Active verb [-applicative] inversion construction with bare noun subject, and without a locative clitic, and without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	AV, -APPL, BNSI, -CL, -PPXPOSTV.A
	C	Active verb [-applicative] inversion construction with bare noun subject, and with a locative clitic, and with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	AV, -APPL, BNSI, +CL, +PPXPOSTV.A
	D	Active verb [-applicative] inversion construction with bare noun subject, and with a locative clitic, and without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	AV, -APPL, BNSI, +CL, -PPXPOSTV.A
c	(iv)	Active verb [+applicative] inversion construction with bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	AV, +APPL, BNSI, ±CL, ±PPXPOSTV.A
	A	Active verb [+applicative] inversion construction with bare noun subject, and without a locative clitic, and with the pre-	AV, +APPL, BNSI, -CL,

		prefix on the postverbal argument.	+PPXPOSTV.A
	B	Active verb [+applicative] inversion construction with bare noun subject, and without a locative clitic, and without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	AV, +APPL, BNSI, -CL, -PPXPOSTV.A
	C	Active verb [+applicative] inversion construction with bare noun subject, and with a locative clitic, and with a-the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	AV, +APPL, BNSI, +CL, +PPXPOSTV.A
	D	Active verb [+applicative] inversion construction with bare noun subject, and with a locative clitic, and without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	AV, +APPL, BNSI, +CL, -PPXPOSTV.A
d	(i)	Passive verb [-Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	PASS, -APPL, ±PPXPOSTVA, LMSI, ±CL
	A	Passive verb [-Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, and without a locative clitic, and with a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	PASS, APPL, +PPXPOSTVA, LMSI, -CL
	B	Passive verb [-Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, and without a locative clitic and a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	PASS, APPL, PPXPOSTVA, LMSI, -CL
	C	Passive verb [-Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, and with a locative clitic, and with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	PASS, -APPL, ±PPXPOSTVA, LMSI, ±CL

	D	Passive verb [-Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, and with a locative clitic, and without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	PASS, -APPL, ±PPXPOSTVA, LMSI, ±CL
d	(ii)	Passive verb [+Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, and with/without a locative clitic, and with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	PASS, +APPL, ±PPXPOSTVA, LMSI, +/- CL
	A	Passive verb [+Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, without a locative clitic, and with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	PASS, +APPL, ±PPXPOSTVA, LMSI, - CL
	B	Passive verb [+Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, without a locative clitic and the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	PASS, +APPL, - PPXPOSTVA, LMSI, - CL
	C	Passive verb [+Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, and with a locative clitic, and with a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument	PASS, +APPL, +PPXPOSTVA, LMSI, +CL
	D	Passive verb [+Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, and with a locative clitic and without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument	PASS, +APPL, - PPXPOSTVA, LMSI, +CL
d	(iii)	Passive verb [-Applicative] construction with bare noun subject with/without the locative clitic, and with / without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument	PASS, -APPL, ±PPXPOSTVA, BNSI, ±CL
	A	Passive verb [-Applicative] construction with bare noun subject, and without a locative clitic, and with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument	PASS, -APPL, +PPXPOSTVA, BNSI, - CL

	B	Passive verb [-Applicative] construction with bare noun subject, and without a locative clitic, and without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument	PASS, -APPL, - PPXPOSTVA, BNSI, - CL
	C	Passive verb [-Applicative] construction with bare noun subject, and with a locative clitic, with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument	PASS, -APPL, +PPXPOSTVA, BNSI, + CL
	D	Passive verb [-Applicative] construction with bare noun subject, and with a locative clitic, and without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument	PASS, -APPL, - PPXPOSTVA, BNSI, +CL
d	(iv)	Passive verb [+Applicative] construction with bare noun subject with/without a locative clitic, and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument	PASS, +APPL, POSTVLOCA, BNSI, ±CL
	A	Passive verb [+Applicative] construction with bare noun subject, and without a locative clitic, and with a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument	PASS, +APPL, +PPXPOSTV.A, BNSI, - CL
	B	Passive verb [+Applicative] construction with bare noun subject, and without a locative clitic, and without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument	PASS, +APPL, - PPXPOSTV.A, BNSI, - CL
	C	Passive verb [+Applicative] construction with bare noun subject, and with a locative clitic, and with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument	PASS, +APPL, +PPXPOSTVA, BNSI, +CL
	D	Passive verb [+Applicative] construction with bare noun subject, and with a locative clitic, and without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument	PASS, +APPL, - PPXPOSTVA, BNSI, +CL

e	(i)	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [-Applicative] construction with locative morphology, and subject with/without a locative clitic, and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	+STAT, -APPL, ±PPXOSTVA, LMSI, ±CL
	A	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [-Applicative] construction with locative morphology subject, and without a locative clitic, and with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	+STAT, -APPL, +PPXOSTVA, LMSI, - CL
	B	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [-Applicative] construction with locative morphology subject, and without a locative clitic and the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	+STAT, -APPL, - PPXOSTVA, LMSI, - CL
	C	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [-Applicative] construction with locative morphology subject, and with locative clitic, and with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	+STAT, -APPL, +PPXOSTVA, LMSI, +CL
	D	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [-Applicative] construction with locative morphology subject, and with a locative clitic, and without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	+STAT, -APPL, - PPXOSTVA, LMSI, +CL
e	(ii)	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [+Applicative] construction with locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	STAT, +APPL, ±PPXPOSTVA, LMSI, ±CL
	A	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [+Applicative] construction with locative morphology subject, and without a locative clitic, and with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	STAT, +APPL, +PPXPOSTV.A, LMSI, -CL

	B	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [+Applicative] construction with locative morphology subject, and without a locative clitic and the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	STAT, +APPL, -PPXPOSTV.A, LMSI, -CL
	C	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [+Applicative] construction with locative morphology subject, and with a locative clitic, and with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	STAT, +APPL, +POSTVA, LMSI, +CL
	D	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [+Applicative] construction locative morphology subject with a locative clitic and without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	STAT, +APPL, - POSTVA, LMSI, +CL
e	(iii)	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [-Applicative] construction with bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	+STAT, -APPL, ±PPXPOSTVA, BNSI, ±CL
	A	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [-Applicative] construction with bare noun subject, and without a locative clitic, and with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	+STAT, -APPL, +PPXPOSTVA, BNSI, -CL
	B	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [-Applicative] construction with bare noun subject, and without a locative clitic and the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	+STAT, -APPL, - PPXPOSTVA, BNSI, -CL
	C	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [-Applicative] construction with bare noun subject, and with a locative clitic, and without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	+STAT, -APPL, +PPXPOSTVA, BNSI, -CL
	D	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [-Applicative] construction with bare noun subject, and with a locative clitic, and with the pre-	+STAT, -APPL, - PPXPOSTVA,

		prefix on the postverbal argument.	BNSI, +CL
e	iv)	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [+Applicative] construction with bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	+STAT, +APPL, ±PPXPOSTV.A, BNSI, ±CL
	A	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [+Applicative] construction with bare noun subject without a locative clitic, and with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	+STAT, +APPL, +PPXPOSTV.A, BNSI, -CL
	B	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [+Applicative] construction with bare noun subject, and without a locative clitic and the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	+STAT, +APPL, -PPXPOSTV.A, BNSI, -CL
	C	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [+Applicative] construction with bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	+STAT, +APPL, +PPXPOSTV.A, BNSI, -CL
	D	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [+Applicative] construction with bare noun subject, and with a locative clitic, and without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.	+STAT, +APPL, -PPXPOSTV.A, BNSI, CL

The table 5.1 above specifies the defining morphosyntactic properties of the range of intransitive active, passive, and neuter-passive (stative) verb constructions that I investigate in this chapter. In the following section, I examine these sentence variants with respect to the active verb form of the agentive verb **kola** ‘work’, an unergative verb.

5.3 ACTIVE UNERGATIVE VERB (KOLA ‘WORK’) CONSTRUCTION, WITH/WITHOUT THE LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX, AND WITH A POSTVERBAL LOCATIVE, AND WITH/WITHOUT A LOCATIVE CLITIC

This section investigates the properties, referred to in Table 5.1 above, of the intransitive unergative verbs: **-kola** ‘work’. Other verbs in this semantic class in Luganda include the verbs **-kaaba** ‘cry’, **-seka** ‘laugh’, **-ebaka** ‘sleep’, **-bimba** ‘overflow’, **-wunya** ‘smell’, **-asama** ‘open the mouth’, **-zikiza** ‘extinguish’, drip, **-yokya** ‘burn’, and **-leekaana** ‘shout.’ I discuss, as regards to the interaction between argument structure and locative inversion, how different locative inversion constructions in Luganda exhibit variation concerning the semantic type, and morphosyntactic properties of verbs that permit (license) them. I consider the possible occurrence of locative inversion with the intransitive verbs with different argument structures, including, the unergative verb **-kola** ‘work’, and the inherently directed motion verbs **-genda** ‘go’. Other inherently directed motion verbs in Luganda, which have a locative argument, include **tuuka** ‘arrive’, **yiringita/** ‘roll’, **gwa** ‘fall’, **jja** ‘come’, **yingira** ‘enter’, **sigala** ‘stay’ and **buuka** ‘jump’). I examine locative inversion constructions, taking into account both constructions with locative subject morphology and bare noun locative subject, respectively, contrasting the properties of the unergative verb **-kola** ‘work’ with those of the inherently directed motion verb **-genda**.

This chapter thus investigates how the morphosyntactic properties, indicated in Table 5.1 above, of intransitive active, passive and neuter-passive verb constructions, containing a locative, and their alternate locative inversion variants, with intransitive verbs, realize different interpretations relating to thematic role, event semantics, definiteness and specificity, and information structure that correlate with their argument structure and morphosyntactic properties. I demonstrate that motion verbs such as **-genda** ‘go’ are permitted with both a locative morphology subject and a bare noun subject in locative inversion constructions. Unergative verbs are usually viewed to have a single (agentive) argument, but the verbs I considered may also have a locative phrase complement, and for that reason I refer to them as *locative unergatives*. (see related discussion in Chapter Three). The morphosyntactic and interpretative properties of unergative verbs such as **-kola** ‘work’, without a locative applicative suffix, are discussed in section 5.3.1 directly below.

5.3.1 Active unergative verb construction without the locative applicative suffix, with postverbal locative and with/without a locative clitic

I examine first the intransitive active unergative verb construction without a locative applicative suffix, with a postverbal locative, and with/without a locative clitic, respectively, which illustrates the canonical occurrence of the locative DP in postverbal position. I examine the interpretation of the properties of these sentence constructions relating to the thematic roles of their arguments, their aspectual verb class properties, definiteness and /or specificity of the postverbal DP, and information structural status of the DP constituents of the variants of the active verb constructions, as they occur in the following examples in (1a. A–D). I discuss, in particular, their interpretative properties relating to argument structure, the locative subject DP, and the (non-)obligatory occurrence of the postverbal DP, in sentence constructions with the verb **-kola**, with/without the locative clitic **-mu** in the following sentence construction variants.

- (1) a. *Abaami bakola(mu) ((mu) kibuga)* [DP pro cl. 18]
 A- ba- ami ba- kol- a- mu mu ki- buga
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work-FV-18CL 18LOC 7PX-town
 ‘The men work in the town’

- A *Abaami bakola mu kibuga*
 A- ba- ami ba- kol- a mu ki- buga

The above sentence has the following structural representation, taking into account its morphosyntactic properties and interpretation, as described below.

[TP [SpecT¹ *Abaami*] T [VoiceArtP [SpecVoice ActP *abaami*] Voice Act
 2.men 2.Agrs (+Agent)]

[vP [SpecvP] v [VP -kola [DP_{loc} [SpecD¹ [Det *mu*] [NP *kibuga*]]]]]]
 (+cause) work 18.Loc town

- B #*Abaami bakola kibuga*
 A- ba- ami ba- kol- a ki-buga
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work- FV 7PX-town
 ‘The men work town’

- C *Abaami bakolamu mu kibuga*
 A- ba- ami ba- kol- a- mu mu ki-buga

elements can be absent, as illustrated in the sentence in (1a. B) appearing without any locative element, #**Abaami bakola kibuga** ‘The men work town’.

The sentence (1a. B) without the locative suffix is ungrammatical. The suffixation of the locative clitic **–mu** to the verb **–kola** ‘work’ has the effect that the postverbal locative DP coreferential with this clitic **–mu** appears as an argument of the verb, and not as an adjunct, as it does with the verb without the locative clitic. Thus, the suffixation of the locative clitic entails that the locative is selected, i.e. subcategorised as an argument by the verb to which it is suffixed. If no lexical locative DP follows the locative clitic, the phonetically empty pronominal, *pro*, with the grammatical feature [class 18] appears as head of the noun phrase dominated by the DP. In the constructions (1a. B) and (1a. D), infelicitous readings are obtained. In (1a. B), with neither the locative clitic nor the locative prefix, the interpretation is that a town is being built/constructed in any place. The sentence (1a. D), with a locative clitic but without a locative prefix, has the interpretation that a town is being built/constructed within a specified place, country, or region.

Regarding the definiteness and specificity properties of DP constituents in the active unergative verb construction with **–kola** ‘work’, the view in general obtains that if a nominal subject phrase occurs before the verb, the information presented is known to the addressee, and the postverbal constituent expresses information that is new and unfamiliar to the addressee. However, the full interpretation of this sentence can only be derived by taking into account its discourse context. Thus, the subject DP **abaami** ‘men’ may have a definiteness interpretation if, in the discourse context, both speaker and hearer know the particular men, i.e. know the names of the men in terms of the identifiability criterion (see Lyons 1999). Concerning (in)definiteness and (non)specificity, the interpretation is that the referent of the noun **abaami** ‘men’ is familiar. The postverbal DP in (1a. A-D) has an indefinite, non-specific reading if the locative phrase **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ appears with its locative prefix. This locative phrase may have a specific reading, in terms of familiarity with the referent **mu kibuga** ‘in town’, or a definite non-specific reading if both speaker and hearer share knowledge of the referent **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ in terms of identifiability in the discourse context. The subject DP **abaami** ‘men’ has a specificity reading if, within the discourse context, both the speaker and hearer have a familiarity with **abaami** ‘men’ as the workers in a possible location of work for men, as a result of the speaker’s utterance. In the following section, I examine the occurrence of the clitic, an applicative and the locative phrase.

5.3.2 Active unergative verb construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a postverbal locative argument, and with/without a locative clitic

In this section, I examine the morphosyntactic properties of active applicative verb constructions with a postverbal locative argument, and with/without a locative clitic, respectively. I consider how these properties correlate with the interpretative properties of the sentence construction variants concerning thematic role interpretation, definiteness and specificity of the DP constituents, the event/situation type semantics that the sentence realizes, and the information structural status of sentence constituents. Sentence (2b.), demonstrates the occurrence of the active verb sentence with the subject DP **abaami** ‘men’, a class 2 noun, with the verb **-kola** ‘work’, where this subject agrees with the verb. This example furthermore demonstrates that the locative DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ is optional, hence, if present, it occurs as an adjunct phrase, a property which is generally characteristic of an adjunct category. This example sentence demonstrates the co- occurrence, or individual occurrence of the locative applicative suffix **-er-** and the locative clitic **-mu**, i.e. the sentence is grammatical if both the locative applicative suffix **-er-** and the locative clitic **-mu** appear, or only one of these elements appear in the verbal morphology. The locative applicative suffix realizes a focus (‘only’) effect of the whole predicate/verb phrase.

- (2) b. *Abaami bakolera*(mu) *(mu kibuga) pro [cl 18]*
 A- ba- ami ba- kol- er- a- (mu) (mu ki- buga)
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work-APPL-FV-18CL 18LOC 7PX-town
 ‘The men work from the town’

The locative applicative suffix realizes or introduces a focus (‘only’) effect of the whole predicate or verb phrase, which includes the locative DP realizing focus. Thus, this focus reading is denoted by the predicate, i.e. v/VP projection that relates to the predicate encoded by the v/VP as a whole in which the locative DP occurs (which can also be expressed by the locative clitic). Hence, this (‘only’) reading entails that the action is performed exclusively/only at a particular location by some people. The applicative suffix **-er-** introduces the thematic roles of location, as illustrated in the structure in (2b. A) and locative in (2b. B) in the structural representation. The locative thematic role in Luganda, is not only introduced by the applicative suffix; this thematic role can be expressed by the noun class prefixes 16 **wa**, 17 **ku**, 18 **mu**, and 23 **e-**.

- A *Abaami bakolera mu kibuga*
 A- ba- ami ba- kol- er- a mu ki- buga

Comparing the formulations in (3a) and (3b), sentence construction (3b) differs from that in (3a) in that the former exemplifies the presence of the locative applicative suffix **-er-**. This is not the same as the latter.

- (3) a. Abaami bakola(mu) ((mu) kibuga) [DP pro cl. 18]
 A- ba- ami ba- kol-a-mu mu ki- buga
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work-FV-18CL 18LOC 7PX-town
 ‘The men work in the town’
- b. Abaami bakolera(mu) (mu kibuga) pro [cl 18]
 A- ba- ami ba- kol- er- a- (mu) (mu ki- buga)
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work-APPL-FV-18CL 18LOC 7PX-town
 ‘The men work from the town’

Regarding information structural properties, the examples from (1a. A-D), (2b. A-D), (3a. and b) and (4a. and b) illustrate that in (1a. A-B) **abaami** ‘men’ is a topical element. Scholars (see Chapter Four) have demonstrated that, in most Bantu languages, every topicalized subject elements such as **abaami** ‘men’ must carry a pre-prefix **a-** if there is no rules to suggest otherwise, for example, if it is not preceded by the universal quantifier **buli** ‘every’ as in buli **mwami** ‘everyman’ contrary to **omwami** ‘the man’.

Example sentences (2b. A-D) and (3b) illustrate that, the applicative suffix **-er-** introduces a locative argument. Thus, in contrast to the locative DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ in (1a. A) which occurs as an adjunct (in the absence of the locative clitic), the locative DP **mu kibuga** ‘in the town’ in (2b. A) appears as an argument of the verb with the locative applicative suffix **-er-**, even if the locative clitic **-mu** is absent on the verb. The occurrence of this locative DP argument **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ is obligatory with the locative applicative verb **-kolera** ‘work in’. Furthermore, the locative prefix **mu** in **mu kibuga** is obligatory if the locative prefix occurs in the construction (1a. C) and (2b. C). The constructions (2b. B and D), with the applicative verb suffix, illustrate the occurrence of the applicative suffix on the verb, with the absence of both the locative clitic **-mu** and the locative prefix **mu**, giving rise to infelicitous readings, as both DP arguments associated with the applicative suffix realize a thematic role of reason.

The locative applicative suffix introduces the reading/interpretation that the event of working denoted by the verb takes place exclusively in the town, and not in any other location. Thus a reading of contrastive exhaustive focus is introduced by the locative applicative suffix. This reading supports the structural presence of a focus projection on the v/VP left periphery. In

addition, the co-occurrence of the locative clitic with the locative DP containing a lexical noun introduces a reading of identificational (contrastive) focus to the location denoted by the DP containing the noun **kibuga** ‘town’, providing evidence for positing a focus projection on the DP left periphery.

Regarding their event semantics, the examples in (1a, 2b) have two possible interpretations. They can have the reading of the process of **Abaami bakola mu kibuga** ‘(the) men working in town’, taking place in the present time of the utterance or a generic interpretation of denoting a situation obtaining such that (the men) generally work in town. The subject DP **abaami** ‘men’ is Agent, hence the event reading can be specified by the feature [+dynamic] or [+Agentive] for the activity (or process) event denoted by the sentence, which, therefore, expresses a causative [+Cause] reading. (Fernando, 2013; Mallya, 2016; Smith, 1997; Kearns, 2007). This agentivity reading is supported by the acceptability of the sentences (1a, 2b) with agentive adverbs such as **bulungi** ‘well’ as illustrated in the following example:

- (4) a. *Abaami bakola(mu) bulungi ((mu) kibuga) [DP pro cl. 18]*
 A- ba- ami ba- kol- a- mu bu-lungi mu ki- buga
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work-FV-18CL 14-well 18LOC 7PX-town
 ‘The men work in the town’
- b. *Abaami bakolera(mu) bulungi (mu kibuga) pro [cl 18]*
 A- ba- ami ba- kol- er- a- (mu) bu-lungi (mu ki- buga)
 2PPX-2PX-men 2AgrS-work-APPL-FV-18CL14-well 18LOC 7PX-town
 ‘The men work from the town’

The essential difference in interpretation between the sentences (4a. and b) pertains to (i) the exhaustive focus (‘only’) reading introduced by the locative applicative to the locative DP, providing evidence for positing a v/VP left peripheral focus projection, and (ii) the informational focus on the locative DP introduced by the locative clitic –**mu**, providing evidence for positing a DP left periphery focus projection.

5.4 ACTIVE UNERGATIVE VERB CONSTRUCTION WITH/WITHOUT THE LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX, AND WITH A LOCATIVE MORPHOLOGY SUBJECT, AND WITH /WITHOUT A LOCATIVE CLITIC

In this section I examine the unergative verb (**-kola** ‘work’) locative inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with a locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic in (5.4.1); the unergative verb locative inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a locative morphology subject, and with/without

- B Mu kibuga mukola baami
 Mu ki-buga mu- kol- a ba- ami
 8LOC 7PX-town 18AgrS-work-FV 2PX-men
 ‘In the town is where the men work’
- C Mu kibuga mukolamu abaami
 Mu ki-buga mu- nkol- a- mu a- ba- ami
 18LOC 7PX-town 18AgrS-work-FV-18CL 2PPX-2PX-men
 ‘In the town is where the men work’
- D Mu kibuga mukolamu baami.
 Mu ki-buga mu- kol- a- mu ba- ami

The above sentence has the following structural representation, considering its morphosyntactic and interpretative properties discussed below.

[CP [TP [SpecT¹ mu kibuga] T [VoiceActP [SpecVoiceAct¹ ~~abaami~~] VoiceAct
 18.LOC 7.town 18.AgrS (+Agent)]

[vP [Specv¹] v [VP -kola-mu [DP [SpecD¹ [FocP [SpecFoc¹] [baami]]
 (+Cause) work-18.LOC (+Definite)
 +Specific]

Foc [DP [SpecD¹ [D¹ mu [DP [Det ~~mu~~] [NP kibuga]]]]]]]]]
 (+Contrast Pro.Emphatic town
 +Exhaustive (+Definite
 +Specific)

In contrast to the sentence constructions in (1a. A-D) and (2b. A-D), and (4a. and b) that exemplify the canonical occurrence of a locative DP in postverbal position, the following examples in (5c. i A-D) demonstrate the non-canonical locative subject inversion (alternation) construction in Luganda in (5c.i A, B), with the locative subject DP exhibiting locative morphology, realised by the class 18 locative prefix **–mu**, and the examples in (5c. i C, D) demonstrating the locative subject DP lacking the locative morpheme **mu**, to which I will refer as the bare noun locative subject DP.

Sentence (5c. i) **Mu kibuga mukola(mu) (a)baami** ‘In town men work in’, can in respect to the (non-)occurrence of the morphemes in parenthesis, indicated as optional, i.e. the locative clitic and the pre-prefix of the postverbal DP **(a)baami** ‘men’, be associated with the following four variants in (5c.i A-D). I discuss the respective interpretations obtaining through the presence (i.e. occurrence) or absence (i.e. non-occurrence) of these morphemes, describing how the interpretation of each results from the interplay of its argument structure,

information structural and event semantic properties in conjunction with the definiteness/specificity properties of the postverbal DP **(a)baami** ‘men’.

(6)	c.i	Mu	kibuga	mukola(mu)	(a)baami
	A.	Mu	kibuga	mukolamu	abaami
	B.	Mu	kibuga	mukola	baami
	C.	Mu	kibuga	mukola	abaami
	D.	Mu	kibuga	mukolamu	baami

The respective sentence constructions in (5/6c. i A-D) above illustrate variants of the construction commonly referred to as locative inversion in the research literature. However, from the analysis I present below of the properties of the sentence variants in (5/6c. i A-D) concerning their distinct properties of argument (thematic role) type, particularly regarding agentivity and causation semantics, information structural and event semantic properties, I will demonstrate that these sentence constructions are not merely variants but that they are significantly different from each other, having distinct structural representations.

Table 5:2 Distinct structure representations

Sentence	Locative clitic	Pre-prefix of postverbal DP
(A)	+	+
(B)	-	+
(C)	-	-
(D)	+	-

Concerning argument type (i.e. thematic role), the subject DP (exhibiting class 18 locative morphology) is in all the examples in (5/6c.i A-D) a Location argument, denoting the reading of the location at/in which the event denoted by the verb phrase takes place. The English translations provided for the various examples in (5/6c.i A-D) can at best render vague and imprecise approximations of the interpretations of these sentences regarding their exact readings, hence an a more presice description of their information structural and event semantic properties is necessitated. In addition, I discuss the definiteness/specificity properties of the postverbal DP **(a)baami** ‘men’.

With regard to its information structural status, the (class 18 locative morphology) DP subject **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ in (5/6c. i A-D) realizes informational focus. Furthermore, the occurrence of the postverbal DP **(a)baami** ‘men’ is obligatory; its non-occurrence will render the sentence ungrammatical. The presence of the locative clitic in examples (5/6c.i A-D) introduces a stative event (situation) type property, in that the sentence expresses a generic reading of habitual state, denoting that the town is the place where the habitual working of (the men) occurs. The town is thus ascribed the dispositional property of the location of work when the action of working of the men is realized. In example (5/6c.i A) the postverbal DP **abaami** ‘men’ is not interpreted as an Agent argument, but rather as a complement of the verb bearing the locative clitic, **-kolamu**, with which it forms a predicate. This lack of agentivity of **abaami** ‘men’ in (5/6c.i A) is evidenced by the fact that the use of a manner adverbial such as **bulungi** ‘well’, typically an agent-oriented adverbial, introduces a reading of modification of the habitual state expressed in the sentence, rather than the DP **abaami** ‘men’. The sentence interpretation thus resembles, in terms of its interpretation with such an adverbial, a middle (-like) construction expressing a dispositional ascription of the subject DP, given that, rather than modifying the DP **abaami** ‘men’, which is not interpreted as an Agent argument in **Mu kibuga mukolamu bulungi abaami** ‘In town is where the men work well’, an adverbial such as **bulungi** ‘well’ modifies the entire habitual state expressed by the sentence (see Hallman & Kallulli, 2013; Pross, 2020 for relevant discussion).

In addition to introducing stative-like event semantic properties to the sentence in (5/6c.i A), the locative clitic **-mu** of the verb **-kolamu** ‘work’ renders a reading of specificity to the locative subject DP, which is absent in the examples (5/6c.i B and C) where the locative clitic does not occur with the verb **-kola** ‘work’. Thus, the interpretation is that the working of men habitually happens specifically in/at the town. This sentence can typically be the answer to the following question: **Bani abakola mu kibuga?** ‘Who works in town’, the kind of question diagnostic associated with contrastive focus. The locative clitic **-mu** also denotes a reading of emphasis to the generic activity, that may be in progress.

With respect to its information structural status, the postverbal DP **abaami** ‘men’ in (5/6c.i A) is a contrastive (identificational) focus constituent in terms of the notion of alternative set (Repp, 2014), i.e. it has a contrastive focus reading with various alternatives implied. Thus, the town is the place where men habitually work, not women, or young men or some other alternative group of people. The locative clitic **-mu** in (5/6c. i C) and (5/6c. i D) encodes

emphasis, that is, a contrastive focus reading denoting interiority by the locative noun phrase **mu kibuga** ‘in town’, providing evidence for positing a focus projection in the left periphery of the DP.

In the example (5/6c.i, A and B), the locative clitic **-mu** does not occur with the verb. The interpretation of (5/6c.i A and B) in respect to its event type is that of an activity event, i.e. the sentence expresses an event of the working of the men as an ongoing process, which may also be taking place during the time of the utterance. The postverbal DP **abaami** ‘men’ is an Agent argument, as evidenced by the reading of the agentive adverbial **bulungi** ‘well’ as modifying **abaami** ‘men’ in the sentence **Mu kibuga mukola bulungi abaami** ‘In town men work well’.

The structural position of manner adverbials such as **bulungi** ‘well’ in Luganda, is that of the immediate postverbal position, adjacent to the verb and preceding the postverbal DP **abaami** ‘men’. In respect of the information structural constituents exemplified in (5/6c.i B), the subject DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’, as in (5/6c.i A) is an informational focus constituent. The speaker thus assumes that this constituent introduces new information to the hearer(s) (or addressee(s)). The postverbal DP **abaami** ‘men’, similarly to (5/6c. i A), bears a contrastive focus in respect to an alternative set, i.e. various possible alternatives may be relevant in the discourse-pragmatic context. The DP **abaami** ‘men’, with its pre-prefix occurring, has a non-specific (generic) reading, encoding men in general (see Lambrecht, 1994; Repp, 2010).

5.4.2 Active unergative verb locative inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a locative morphology subject, and with/without the locative clitic

This section further examines and discusses the interpretative properties that relate to thematic roles, event semantics, definiteness and /or specificity of the postverbal DP, and information structural status of the DP constituents of the variants of locative morphology subject inversion constructions with the unergative verb **-kol-** ‘work’ exemplified in (7c.ii), as they occur in the examples (7c.ii A – D). In particular, these constructions are analysed with respect to their properties of argument structure, the reading of the locative subject DP, and the (non-) obligatory occurrence of the postverbal DP, corresponding to the Agent subject of the verb **-kola** with/without the locative clitic suffix **-mu** in the corresponding canonical active verb construction.

- (7) c. (ii) Mu kibuga mukolela(mu) (a)ba-ami
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- er- a- (mu) (a)- ba- ami
 18LOC 7PX-town 18AgrS-work-APPL-FV-(18CL) 2PPX-2PX-men
 ‘In the town is where the men work’

A Mu kibuga mukolela abaami
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- er- a a- ba- ami

Given its morphosyntactic and interpretative properties described below, the above sentence has the following structural representation.

[CP [TP [SpecT¹ [DP mu kibuga]] T [VoiceActP [SpecVoiceAct¹ **abaami**] VoiceAct
 18.LOC 7PX-town 18.AgrS (+Agent)
 [vP [Specv¹] [FocP [SpecFoc¹] Foc [vP [Specv¹] v [VP -kol-er- [DP
 (+Contrast (+Cause)
 +exhaustive)
 [SpecD¹] [Foc{ [SpecFoc¹] Foc [DP [a] [NP baami] [DP ~~mu kibuga~~
 (+Contrast Det 18.LOC 7.PX.town
 +exhaustive) (-Definite
 -Specific)

In terms of the argument structure, the preverbal DP argument **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ is interpreted as a locative DP denoting the place or location where the action denoted by the predicate is performed by a person. The above construction, which exemplifies the postverbal DP argument **abaami** ‘the men’, has an agentive event reading, which can be specified by the features [+Durative], [+Dynamic/+Agentive], and [+Atelic] for the activity (or process) event denoted by the sentence. This sentence thus expresses a causative reading, as supported by the acceptability of the use of agent-oriented adverbs such as **bulungi** ‘good’, as for example in **mu kibuga mukolera bulungi abaami** ‘In town is worked well by the men’.

In respect to its event semantics, the above sentence realizes a process event of (the) men working in town, taking place in the present time of the utterance, or a generic reading denoting that men generally work in town. In terms of information structure, the preverbal locative DP argument **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ bears an alternative set contrastive focus reading. This expression of the locative DP realizes, in terms of an implicit alternative set, a contrastive focus reading which excludes the entire set of all possible alternative referents existing in the knowledge of the interlocutors, as for example in **mu kyalo** ‘in the village’, **mu ssomero** ‘in school’, among others. The postverbal nominal DP **abaami** ‘the men’ realizes an inherent or implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading. This inherent or

implicit alternative set focus reading of the postverbal position excludes the entire set of all other possible alternative referents existing in the knowledge of the interlocutors, such as **abakyala** ‘women’, **abaana** ‘children’, among other alternatives. The locative applicative –**er-** suffixed on the predicate introduces an inherent or implicit exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the locative DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent, that can be tested by addition of the **si** ‘not’ phrase **si kyalo** ‘not village’.

In terms of definiteness and specificity properties, the preverbal locative phrase **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ has an indefinite reading, in that there may be no familiar town known by the interlocutors. However, it has a specificity reading encoded by the presence of the locative prefix **mu** in **mu kibuga** ‘in town’, and the occurrence of the locative applicative suffix –**er-** in **mukol-er-a** ‘worked from’. The locative applicative suffix –**er-** introduces a reading of specificity to the locative DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’. The locative DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’, with this specificity reading, can express the meaning that, in the discourse-pragmatic context shared by the speaker and hearer(s), there is a town where the men work. The postverbal argument **abaami** ‘men’ is indefinite, expressing the reading that there are not necessarily particular men familiar to the interlocutors in terms of their common ground knowledge within the discourse-pragmatic context. The argument **abaami** ‘men’ has a specific reading denoted by the presence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **a-baami** ‘men’.

B Mu kibuga mukolela baami
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- er- a ba- ami
 18LOC 7PX-town 18AgrS-work-APPL-FV 2PX-men
 ‘In the town is where the men work’

In respect of the argument structure, the preverbal locative DP argument **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ is interpreted as a locative argument DP, denoting a place or location where the action performed by the person takes place. This sentence with the postverbal DP argument **baami** ‘men’ is interpreted as an agentive event, that can be specified by the features [+Durative], [+Dynamic/+Agentive], and [+Atelic] for the activity (or process) event denoted by the sentence. Thus, the sentence expresses a causative reading, as evidenced by the acceptability of the occurrence of agentive adverbs such as **bulungi** ‘good’. In terms of event semantics, the sentence realizes an activity of (the) men working in town, taking place in the present time, or a generic reading of habitual state, denoting that men generally work in town.

In terms of information structure, the preverbal locative DP argument **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ realizes focus in terms of an alternative set contrastive focus reading. The locative DP in the preverbal position bears an inherent or implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading in that it excludes the entire set of all alternative referents as, for example, in **mu kyalo** ‘in the village’, **mu ssomero** ‘in school’, among many other alternatives that may exist in the common ground discourse-pragmatic knowledge of the interlocutors. The postverbal nominal DP **baami** ‘men’ bears an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading, encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** on the postverbal DP **baami** ‘men’. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative, or referent, that can be introduced by addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, like, for example **si bakyala** ‘not women’. The locative applicative suffix **-er-** introduces an exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the locative DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’. Even when the referent denoted by this DP appears as the topic constituent in terms of information structural status, if the contrastive feature is expressed, there is also focus feature on such a topic, although it may not have a contrastive topic, but rather a contrastive focus reading. (see also Féry & Krifka, 2008; Krifka, 2008; Lambrecht, 1994; Repp, 2010; and Rochemont, 2013).

With respect to the properties of definiteness and specificity, the preverbal locative phrase **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ is indefinite, since there is no reading of a familiar town known by the interlocutors. It is, however, specific due to the presence of the locative prefix **mu** in **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ in terms of its inherent directional/spatial semantics, which appears to function similarly to a pre-prefix, and the locative clitic **-mu** in **mukolamu** ‘worked in’. The locative clitic **-mu** denotes specificity of the locative DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’. This specificity reading of **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ thus means that, in the discourse-related common ground knowledge of the interlocutors, there is a town where the men work. The postverbal argument **baami** ‘men’ is indefinite, in that the reading obtains that there are not necessarily particular men familiar to the interlocutors in terms of their common ground discourse-pragmatic knowledge. The postverbal argument **baami** ‘men’ has a specificity reading that correlate with a contrastive focus reading encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **baami** ‘men’. (Lyons, 1999).

- C Mu kibuga mukolelamu abaami
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- er- a- mu a- ba- ami
 18LOC 7PX-town 18AgrS-work-APPL-FV-18CL 2PPX-2PX-men
 ‘In the town is where the men work’

suffixed on the verb introduces an inherent or implicit exhaustive contrastive focus ('only') reading to the locative DP **mu kibuga** 'in town'. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent, a reading that can be established through the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** 'not' phrase, like, for example **si kyalo** 'not village'.

With regard to definiteness and specificity, the preverbal locative phrase **mu kibuga** 'in town' is indefinite since in terms of their common ground knowledge there may be no familiar town known by the interlocutors. However, it has a specificity reading encoded by the locative prefix **mu** in **mu kibuga** 'in town', in terms of its inherent directionality semantics that functions similarly to a pre-prefix, and the locative clitic **-mu** in **mukol-mu** 'worked in'. The locative clitic **-mu** denotes specificity of the locative DP **mu kibuga** 'in town'. The locative DP **mu kibuga** 'in town', being specific, denotes that, in the common ground knowledge of the interlocutors there is a town where the men work. The postverbal argument **abaami** 'men' is indefinite in that it has the reading that there are not necessarily particular men familiar to the interlocutors in discourse-pragmatic context. The argument **abaami** 'men' has a specificity reading encoded by the presence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **abaami** 'men'.

- D Mu kibuga mukolelamu ba-ami
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- er- a- (mu) ba- ami
 18LOC 7PX-town 18AgrS-work-APPL-FV-(18CL) 2PX-men
 'In the town is where the men work'

In respect of the argument structure, the preverbal locative DP argument **mu kibuga** 'in town' is interpreted as a locative argument DP denoting the place or location where the action performed by the persons takes place. This sentence with the postverbal DP argument **baami** 'men' has an agentive event reading that can be specified by the features [+Durative], [+Dynamic/+Agentive], [+Atelic] for the activity (or process) event denoted by the sentence. Thus, this sentence expresses a causative reading, as evidenced by by the acceptability of the occurrence of agentive adverbs such as **bulungi** 'well'. In respect of its event semantics, the sentence denotes an activity of (the) men working in town, taking place in the present time, or generic habitual state reading obtains that men generally work in town.

In respect to information structure, the preverbal locative DP argument **mu kibuga** 'in town' bears an alternative set contrastive focus reading. The locative DP in the preverbal bears an inherent or implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading that excludes the entire set of all

alternative referents such as **mu kyalo** ‘in the village’, **mu ssomero** ‘in school’, among other alternatives existing in the knowledge of the interlocutors. The postverbal nominal DP **baami** ‘men’ bears an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading denoted by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** on the postverbal DP **baami** ‘men’. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent, a view that can be tested by the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, as in **si bakyala** ‘not women’. The locative applicative **-er-** together with the locative clitic **-mu** realize emphasis and an exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the locative DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’. Hence, the locative applicative suffix realizes a focus (‘only’) effect on the whole predicate. This is also reflected in the focus projection posited in the v/VP edge (left periphery)

In respect of definiteness and specificity, the preverbal locative phrase **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ is indefinite since in terms of common ground knowledge there is no familiar town known by the interlocutors. However, it is specific due to the presence of the locative prefix **mu** in **mu kibuga** ‘in town’, in terms of its inherent spatial directional semantics, that seems to function similarly to a pre-prefix, and the locative clitic **-mu** in **mukolamu** ‘worked in’. The locative clitic **-mu** denotes specificity of the locative DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’. In this regard, the specificity reading of **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ entails that, in terms of the common ground knowledge of the interlocutors, there is a town where the men work. The postverbal argument **baami** ‘men’ is indefinite since the reading obtains that there are not necessarily particular men familiar to the interlocutors. The argument **baami** ‘men’ has a specificity reading and a contrastive focus reading encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **baami** ‘men’.

5.4.3 Active unergative verb subject inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with a bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic

In this section, I examine sentence (8c. iii) in respect to the (non-) occurrence of the morphemes in parenthesis, indicated as optional, i.e. the locative clitic **-mu** and the pre-prefix **a-** of the postverbal DP **(a)baami** ‘men’. The construction (8c.iii) is associated with the following four variants in (8c. iii A-D). Thus, I examine and discuss the respective interpretations that obtain with regard to the presence or absence of these morphemes. I furthermore explain how the interpretation of each is derived through the interplay of its argument structure, information structural and event semantic properties in conjunction with the definiteness/specificity properties of the postverbal DP **(a)baami** ‘men’.

- (8) c. (iii) E-kibuga kikola#(mu) (a)baami.
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- a- *(mu) (a)- ba- ami
 7PPX-7PX-town 7AgrS-work-FV-*(18CL) (2A)-2PX-men
 ‘The town is where the men work’

Luganda allows bare noun subject locative inversion constructions with unergative verbs. The locative clitic **-mu** is obligatory the variants in (8c.iii), and without it in (8c.iii A and B) the constructions are ungrammatical. I am of the view that the obligatory occurrence of the locative clitic **-mu** in the bare subject inversion constructions relates to the absence of the locative prefix **mu** in the subject locative phrase. The absence of the locative clitic results in infelicitous constructions, as demonstrated in (8c.iii A and B).

The obligatory occurrence of the locative clitic in the verbal morphology of constructions demonstrating a bare noun subject inversion DP in (8c.iii C and D) establishes the reference to the bare noun subject as a location argument. Thus, the obligatory locative clitic **-mu** is coreferential with the bare the noun subject **ekibuga** ‘the town’. These bare noun subject locative inversion constructions have a middle-like (hence anti-causative) habitual state reading (compared with the locative morphology subject noun DP in (5/6/7c.i A-D) and (5/6/7c.ii A-D), which has a causative eventive reading, since the postverbal DP **abaami** ‘men’ has an agentive reading, in contrast with the postverbal DP **abaami** ‘men’ of bare noun locative inversion constructions, which does not have an agentive reading, and for which I propose a small clause analysis, following Hoekstra and Mulder (1990). (For discussion regarding the dispositional ascription semantics of these sentences, see Boneh, 2019; Choi & Fara, 2012; Cohen, 2018; and Pross, 2020).

In constructions with unergative verbs such as **kola** ‘work’, as for other intransitive verbs examined, a locative clitic is almost always required for bare noun subject locative inversion construction to be licensed. I suggest that this is because unergative verbs generally do not have a location argument. Thus, a clitic locative phrase must be projected as an element originating in the small clause complement of the verb, as the following examples illustrate.

- A #E-kibuga kikola abaami.
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- a (a)- ba- ami
 7PPX-7PX-town 7AgrS-work-FV (2A)-2PX-men
 ‘The town works the men’ (IdiomatiC The town gets busy with men)
- B # E-kibuga kikola baami.
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- a ba- ami

men working in town, taking place in the present time, or a generic habitual state reading obtains such that men generally work in town.

In terms of information structure, the preverbal bare noun locative DP argument **e-kibuga** ‘in town’ bears an alternative set contrastive focus reading. This locative DP preverbal inherent or implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading excludes the entire set of all possible alternative referents existing in the common ground knowledge of the interlocutors such as **ekyalo** ‘the village’, **essomero** ‘in school’, among others. The postverbal nominal DP **abaami** ‘the men’ bears an inherent or implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading. This inherent or implicit alternative set focus reading in the postverbal position excludes the entire set of all other possible alternative referents existing in the knowledge of the interlocutors such as **abakyala** ‘women’, **abaana** ‘children’, among other alternatives. The locative clitic –**mu** suffixed to the predicate **mukola-mu** introduces an inherent or implicit exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the bare noun locative DP **ekibuga** ‘the town’. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent, a reading that can be established by the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, for example **si kyalo** ‘not village’.

With respect to properties of definiteness and specificity, the preverbal bare noun locative phrase **ekibuga** ‘the town’ is indefinite since there may be no familiar town known by the interlocutors. It is, however, specific due to the presence of the pre-prefix **e-** in **e-kibuga** ‘the town’, and the presence of the locative clitic –**mu** in **mukol-mu** ‘worked in’. The locative clitic –**mu** denotes specificity of the bare noun locative DP **e-kibuga** ‘the town’. The bare noun locative DP **e-kibuga** ‘the town’, being specific entails that, in the discourse context interlocutors have the knowledge that there is a town where the men work. The postverbal argument **abaami** ‘men’ is indefinite since there is necessarily no particular men familiar to the interlocutors in the discourse of context. The argument **abaami** ‘men’ has, in addition, a specific reading denoted by the presence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **a-baami** ‘men’.

In terms of the argument structure in (8c.iii C and D), the preverbal bare noun locative DP argument **e-kibuga** ‘the town’ is interpreted as a locative argument DP denoting a place or location where the action performed by the person (or higher-order animal) (volitionally) takes place. The postverbal DP argument **baami** ‘men’ is interpreted with an agentive reading, hence the sentence can be specified by the feature [+Dynamic] or [+Agentive], [+Durative] and [+Atelic] for the activity (or process) event denoted by the sentence. It

expresses a causative reading supported by the acceptability of the agentive adverbs such as **bulungi** ‘good’ in **Ekibuga kikolamu bulungi abaami** ‘The town is worked in well by the men’.

In terms of event semantics, the sentence can denote an activity of (the) men working in town, taking place in the present time of the utterance, or a generic, habitual state reading denoting that men generally work in town. In terms of information structure, the preverbal bare noun locative DP argument **e-kibuga** ‘the town’ bears an alternative set contrastive focus reading. The locative DP in the preverbal bears an inherent or implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading that excludes the entire set of all alternative referents such as **e-kyalo** ‘the village’, **e-ssomero** ‘the school’, among other alternatives existing in the knowledge of the interlocutors. The postverbal nominal DP **baami** ‘men’ bears an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading denoted by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** on the postverbal DP **baami** ‘men’. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent, a view that can be tested using a **si** ‘not’ phrase, as in **si bakyala** ‘not women’. The locative clitic **-mu** introduces an exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the locative DP **e-kibuga** ‘the town’.

In terms of definiteness and specificity, the preverbal bare noun locative phrase **e-kibuga** ‘the town’ is indefinite since there is no familiar town known by the interlocutors. It is, however, specific due to the presence of the pre-prefix **e** in **e-kibuga** ‘the town’ and the locative clitic **-mu** in **mukolamu** ‘worked in’. The locative clitic **-mu** denotes specificity of the bare noun locative DP **e-kibuga** ‘the town’. Being specific in **e-kibuga** ‘the town’ entails that, in the discourse of context there is a town where the men work. The postverbal argument **baami** ‘men’ is indefinite since there is necessarily no particular men familiar to the interlocutors in the discourse of context. The argument **baami** ‘men’ has a specific reading denoted by a contrastive focus reading, and a specificity denoted by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **baami** ‘men’.

5.4.4 Active unergative verb locative inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic

In this section, I examine sentence (9c. iv) in respect to the (non-)occurrence of the morphemes in parenthesis with the asterisk, indicating obligatory occurrence, i.e. the locative clitic with the asterisk (*), indicating obligatory occurrence, and the optional pre-prefix **a-** of

the postverbal DP **(a)baami** ‘men’, that is to be associated with the following four variants in (9c.iv A-D). I examine the respective interpretations obtaining through the obligatory occurrence of the locative clitic **-mu** and the optional occurrence of the pre-prefix and I discuss how the interpretation of each results from the interplay of its argument structure, information structural and event semantic properties in conjunction with the definiteness and/or specificity properties of the postverbal DP **(a)baami** ‘men’

(9 c. (iv) Ekibuga kikolera#(mu) (a)baami
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- el- a- *(mu) (a)- ba- ami
 7PPX-7PX-town 7AgrS-work-APPL-FV- *(18CL) (2A)-2PX-men
 ‘The town is where the men work’

A # Ekibuga kikolera abaami
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- el- a a- ba- ami
 7PPX-7PX-town 7AgrS-work-APPL-FV 2PPX-2PX-men
 ‘The town is where the men work’

B # Ekibuga kikolera baami
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- el- a ba-ami
 7PPX-7PX-town 7AgrS-work-APPL-FV 2PX-men
 ‘The town is where the men work’

Example sentences (9c.iv A and B) do not have the locative clitic on the verb, and thus, they are infelicitous. The construction (9c. iv A) above has a different (#) interpretation **#Ekibuga kikolera abaami** ‘the town works for the men’. The argument **ekibuga** ‘the town’ being inanimate cannot perform an action possible by an animate agentive argument. Similarly, the construction (9c. iv B) below has a different (#) interpretation since the argument **ekibuga** ‘the town’ being inanimate cannot perform an action as is done by an animate agentive argument. The reason for the obligatory occurrence of the locative clitic **-mu** in bare subject inversion constructions, as pointed out earlier likely relates to the absence of the locative prefix **mu** in the subject locative phrase. Given the ungrammaticality of examples (9c.iv A) and (9c.iv B), I further discuss examples (9c.iv C) and (9c.iv D) which are relevant to this investigation concerning locative inversion constructions and the range of associated interpretations.

C Ekibuga kikoleramu abaami
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- el- a- mu a- ba- ami

Given its morphosyntactic and interpretative properties, the above sentence has the following structural representation for its habitual state reading.

postverbal position excludes the entire set of all other possible alternative referents existing in the knowledge of the interlocutors such as **abakyala** ‘women’, **abaana** ‘children’, and many other alternatives. The locative applicative suffix **–er-a** and the locative clitic **–mu** suffixed to the verb **mukol-er-a-mu** introduce an inherent or implicit exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the bare noun locative DP **ekibuga** ‘the town’. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent that can be tested through addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, as in **si kyalo** ‘not village’.

With regard to the definiteness and specificity of DP constituents in (9c.iv C), the preverbal bare noun locative phrase **ekibuga** ‘the town’ is indefinite since in terms of the interlocutors’ common ground knowledge there may be no familiar town known by the interlocutors. It is, however, specific due to the presence of the pre-prefix **e-** in **e-kibuga** ‘the town’, the presence of the locative applicative **–er-a** and the locative clitic **–mu** in **mukol-er-a-mu** ‘worked in’. The locative applicative suffix introduces the focus (‘only’) effect on the whole predicate, providing evidence for positing a focus projection in the the v/VP edge (left periphery). Hence, both the locative applicative **–er-a** and locative clitic **–mu** denote specificity of the bare noun locative DP **e-kibuga** ‘the town’. The bare noun locative DP **e-kibuga** ‘the town’, specificity reading entails that in the common ground knowledge of the interlocutors, there is a town where the men work. The postverbal argument **abaami** ‘men’ is indefinite since, in the interlocutors’ common ground knowledge, there are not necessarily particular men familiar to them. The argument **abaami** ‘men’ has a specific reading denoted by the presence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **a-baami** ‘men’.

In example (9c.iv D), concerning the argument structure, the preverbal bare noun locative DP argument **e-kibuga** ‘the town’ is interpreted as a locative argument DP denoting the place or location where the action performed by the person takes place. The postverbal DP argument **baami** ‘men’ in the postverbal DP interpreted can have as an agentive event reading that can be specified by the feature [+Durative], [+Dynamic/+Agentive], and [+Atelic] for the activity (or process) event denoted by the sentence. This sentence, therefore, can express a causative reading, as evidenced by the acceptability of the occurrence of agentive adverbs such as **bulungi** ‘good’ in **Ekibuga kikoleramu bulungi baami** ‘The town is worked in well by the men’.

In respect of event semantics, in example (9c.iv D), the sentence can realize an activity of (the) men working in town, taking place in the present time, or a generic reading of habitual

state denoting that men generally work in town. In terms of information structure, the preverbal bare noun locative DP argument **e-kibuga** ‘the town’ bears an alternative set contrastive focus reading. The locative DP in the preverbal bears an inherent or implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading that excludes the entire set of all alternative referents such as **e-kyalo** ‘the village’, **e-ssomero** ‘the school’, among other alternatives existing in the knowledge of the interlocutors. The postverbal nominal DP **baami** ‘men’ bears an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** on the DP **baami** ‘men’. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent, a reading that can be established by the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase **si bakyala** ‘not women’. The locative clitic **-mu** introduces an exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the locative DP **e-kibuga** ‘the town’.

In respect to definiteness and specificity, the preverbal bare noun locative phrase **e-kibuga** ‘the town’ in example (9c.iv D) is indefinite since, in their common ground knowledge, there is no familiar town known by the interlocutors. However, it is specific due to the presence of the pre-prefix **e** in **e-kibuga** ‘the town’ and the locative clitic **-mu** in **mukolamu** ‘worked in’. The locative clitic **-mu** denotes specificity of the bare noun locative DP **e-kibuga** ‘the town’. In this regard the specificity reading of **e-kibuga** ‘the town’ entails that in the common ground knowledge of the interlocutors, there is a town where the men work. The postverbal argument **baami** ‘men’ is indefinite since the reading obtains that there are not necessarily particular men familiar to the interlocutors. The argument **baami** ‘men’ has a specific reading denoted by a contrastive focus reading encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **baami** ‘men’.

5.5 PASSIVE UNERGATIVE VERB CONSTRUCTION WITH A LOCATIVE MORPHOLOGY SUBJECT, AND WITH/WITHOUT THE LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX, AND WITH/WITHOUT A LOCATIVE CLITIC

The passive suffix in Luganda, as is general in Bantu languages, is a very productive verbal derivational morpheme which can appear with most verbs, including most intransitive verbs. There is general agreement among scholars that in the Bantu languages, as in many languages of the world, the passive morphology introduces argument alternation of the corresponding active verb argument realization. This is also the case with the neuter-passive (stative) suffix, which I examine in the next section, i.e. section 5.6. In this section, I examine passive verb constructions containing a locative, without a locative applicative suffix, and

with a locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic in subsection 5.5.1, passive verb locative inversion constructions with a locative applicative suffix, and with locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic in subsection 5.5.2, passive verb locative inversion constructions without the locative applicative suffix, and with a bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic in subsection 5.5.3, and passive verb locative inversion constructions with a locative applicative suffix, and with a bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic in subsection 5.5.4.

5.5.1 Passive unergative verb subject inversion construction without a locative applicative suffix, and with locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic

In this section I examine and discuss the properties of unergative passive verb constructions with the verb **-kola** relating to their thematic roles and argument structure, event type (i.e. aspectual verb class), definiteness and /or specificity of the postverbal DP (**abaami** ‘men’ in the examples considered), and the information structural status of the DP constituents, including the variants of locative morphology subject inversion constructions. These properties are exemplified in (10c.i), as they occur in the following examples in (10c.i A– D). I examine, in particular, how the morphosyntactic properties of the variants correlate with their interpretive properties in terms of argument structure, the locative subject DP, and the (non-)obligatory occurrence of the postverbal DP realized as the Agent subject of the corresponding active verb construction with **-kola**. I furthermore consider the interpretations associated with the absence and presence, respectively of the locative clitic **-mu**.

- (10) d. (i) Mu kibuga mu-kol-wa-(mu) ((a)-ba-ami)
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- w- a- (mu)/ ((a)- ba- ami)
 18LOC 7PX-town 18AgrS-work-PASS-FV-(18CL)/ (2PPX-2PX-men)
 ‘In town is where is worked by men’
- A Mu kibuga mukolwa abaami
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- w- a- a- ba- ami
 18LOC 7PX-town 18AgrS-work-PASS-FV- 2PPX-2PX-men
 ‘In town is where is worked by men’

With respect to the argument structure properties exemplified in in example (10d.i A), the preverbal DP argument **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ is interpreted as the locative DP denoting the place or location where the action denoted by the verb is performed by a person or persons. This sentence, with the postverbal DP argument **abaami** ‘the men’, is interpreted as an

agentive event that can be specified by the features [+Dynamic/+Agentive], [+Durative], and [+Atelic] for the activity (or process) event denoted by the sentence. Hence, this sentence expresses a causative reading, as evidenced by the acceptability of agentive adverbs such as **bulungi** ‘good’, in for example, **mu kibuga mukolela bulungi abaami** ‘In town is worked well by the men’. In terms of event semantics, the sentence realizes a process event of (the) men working in town, taking place in the present time of the utterance, or a generic reading, denoting that men generally work in town.

In regard to the information structural properties exemplified in (10d. i A), the preverbal subject locative DP argument **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ expresses an alternative set contrastive focus reading. This inherent or implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading of the preverbal locative subject DP excludes the entire set of all possible alternative referents existing in the common ground knowledge of the interlocutors, as, for example **mu kyalo** ‘in the village’, **mu ssomero** ‘in school’, among others. The postverbal DP **abaami** ‘the men’ realizes an inherent or implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading, introduced by the passive suffix **-w-** of the verb. This inherent or implicit alternative set focus reading of the DP in the postverbal position excludes the entire set of all other possible alternative referents existing in the common ground knowledge of the interlocutors, such as **abakyala** ‘women’, **abaana** ‘children’, among other alternatives. In terms of the argument alternation realized by suffixation of the passive suffix **-w-** to the verb, an inherent or implicit exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading is introduced to the locative subject DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent, a view that can be established by applying the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, as for example **si kyalo** ‘not the village’.

In respect of the definiteness and specificity properties of the DP constituents in example (10d.i A), the preverbal locative phrase **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ is indefinite since the reading obtains that there is no familiar town in terms of the common round knowledge of the interlocutors. However, it has a specificity reading due to the presence of the locative prefix **mu** in **mu kibuga** ‘in town’, which expresses inherent specificity in its directionality semantics, thus functioning similarly to a pre-prefix, and the presence of the locative applicative suffix **-er-** in **mukol-er-a** ‘worked from’. The passive suffix **-w-** of the verb **-kol**, in demoting its (active form) external argument, introduces the optionality of this argument, which if, realized, expresses a reading of definiteness and specificity. The locative DP **mu**

kibuga ‘in town’, given its specificity reading, entails that in the common ground knowledge of the interlocutors in the discourse-pragmatic context, there is a town where the men work. The postverbal argument **abaami** ‘men’ is indefinite, in that it has the interpretation that there are not necessarily particular men familiar to the interlocutors. The optional postverbal argument **abaami** ‘men’ has a specificity reading, encoded by the presence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **a-baami** ‘men’.

B Mu kibuga mukolwa ba-ami
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- w- a (ba-ami)
 18LOC 7PX-town 18AgrS-work-PASS-FV (2PX-men)
 ‘In town is where is worked by men’

With respect to the properties of argument structure, in example (10d. i B), the preverbal subject locative DP argument **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ is interpreted as a locative argument DP denoting the place or location where the action denoted by the verb is performed by a person. This construction with the optional postverbal DP argument **baami** ‘men’ is interpreted as an agentive event, that can be specified by the features [+Dynamic/+Agentive], [+Durative], and [+Atelic] for representing the activity (or process) event denoted by the sentence. This sentence thus expresses a causative event, as evidenced by the acceptability of the occurrence of agentive adverbs such as **bulungi** ‘good’, as, for example in **Mu kibuga mukolwa bulungi baami** ‘In town is worked well by the men’.

With respect to its event semantics properties illustrated in (10d. i B), the sentence realizes an activity of (the) men working in town, taking place in the present time of the utterance, or a generic reading denoting that men generally work in town. In respect of information structure, the preverbal locative DP argument **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ bears an alternative set contrastive focus reading. The preverbal locative subject DP expresses an inherent or implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading that excludes the entire set of all alternative referents such as **mu kyalo** ‘in the village’, **mu ssomero** ‘in school’, among other alternatives, existing in the common ground knowledge of the interlocutors. The postverbal nominal DP **baami** ‘men’ bears an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading denoted by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** on the postverbal DP **baami** ‘men’. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative referent, a reading that can be established by applying the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, as for example **si bakyala** ‘not women’. The passive suffix **-ebw-a**, in demoting the (active verb) external Agent argument, contributes to introducing an exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the locative subject DP **mu**

kibuga ‘in town’, interpreted as the location where the action performed by the agent takes place.

In respect to the definiteness and specificity properties demonstrated by the example (10d. i B), the preverbal locative subject phrase **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ has an indefinite reading in that there is no familiar town in terms of the common ground knowledge of the interlocutors. It, however, has a specificity reading, encoded by the presence of the locative prefix **mu** in **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ which appears to function similarly to a pre-prefix. Given that the passive suffix **-w-** in **mukolwa** ‘worked by’ has the effect of demoting the (active verb) external agent argument, it may be viewed to contribute to the specificity reading of the locative subject DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’. This specificity reading of **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ entails that, in the common ground knowledge of the interlocutors in discourse-pragmatic context, there is a known town where the men work. The postverbal argument **baami** ‘men’ has an indefinite reading, given the interpretation that there are not necessarily particular men familiar to the interlocutors in terms of their common ground knowledge. The postverbal argument **baami** ‘men’ has a specificity reading associated with the contrastive focus reading infused in the specificity reading encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **baami** ‘men’. In the following example sentence, the inverted locative morphology subject occurs in the preverbal subject position, the verb bears the locative clitic **-mu**, and the noun dominated in the postverbal DP realizes its pre-prefix **a-** :

C Mu kibuga mukolwamu (aba-ami)
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- w- a- mu (a- ba- ami)
 18LOC 7PX-town 18AgrS-work-PASS-FV-(18CL) (2PPX-2PX-men)
 ‘In town is where is worked by men’

With regard to the properties of argument structure in example sentence (10d.i C), the preverbal DP subject argument **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ is interpreted as the locative DP, denoting the place or location where the action denoted by the verb is performed. Hence this sentence with the postverbal DP argument **abaami** ‘the men’ is interpreted as an agentive event, that can be specified by the features [+Dynamic], [Agentive], [Durative], and [+Atelic] for representing the activity (or process) event denoted by the sentence. This sentence thus expresses a causative reading, as evidenced by the acceptability of the occurrence of agentive adverbs such as **bulungi** ‘good’, as for example in **Mu kibuga mukolwamu bulungi abaami** ‘In town is worked well by the men’.

In respect of its event semantics, the example sentence in (10d.i C), realizes a process of (the) men working in town, taking place in the present time of the utterance, or a generic reading denoting that men generally work in town. In terms of information structure, the preverbal locative subject DP argument **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ bears an alternative set contrastive focus reading. This inherent or implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading excludes the entire set of all possible alternative referents existing in the common ground knowledge of the interlocutors, as for example in **mu kyalo** ‘in the village’, **mu ssomero** ‘in school’, among many others. The postverbal DP **abaami** ‘the men’ bears an inherent or implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading. This inherent or implicit alternative set focus reading of the postverbal DP **abaami** excludes the entire set of all other possible alternative referents existing in the common ground knowledge of the interlocutors, as, for example **abakyala** ‘women’, **abaana** ‘children’, among other alternatives. The locative clitic **-mu** suffix of the verb introduces an inherent or implicit exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the locative DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent, a reading that can be established by the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, as in for example **si kyalo** ‘not the village’.

In respect of the properties of definiteness and specificity, the preverbal locative subject phrase **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ is indefinite, since there is no familiar town in the discourse-pragmatic context that is known by the interlocutors. It has, however, a specificity interpretation, encoded by the locative prefix **mu**, in terms of its inherently specific directionality semantics, in **mu kibuga** ‘in town’, which seems to function similarly to a pre-prefix. The presence of the locative applicative suffix **-er-** and the locative clitic **-mu** in **mukol-er-a-mu** ‘worked in’ also contribute to realizing this specificity reading. The locative clitic **-mu** denotes specificity of the locative DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’. The locative subject DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’, in terms of its specificity reading, entails that, in the discourse-related common ground knowledge of the interlocutors, there is a town where the men work. The postverbal argument **abaami** ‘men’ is indefinite since it has the reading that there are not necessarily particular men familiar to the interlocutors in the discourse-pragmatic context. This argument **abaami** ‘men’ has a specificity reading, encoded and denoted by the presence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **a-baami** ‘men’.

D Mu kibuga mukolwa-mu ba-ami
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- w- a- mu ba-ami

With regard to definiteness and specificity, in example (10d.i D), the preverbal locative subject DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ is indefinite since, in terms of common ground, there is no familiar town known by the interlocutors. However, it is specific due to the presence of the locative prefix **mu** in **mu kibuga** ‘in town’, in terms of its inherent directionality semantics, functioning similarly to a pre-prefix, and the locative clitic **-mu** in **mukolwamu** ‘worked in’. The argument alternation introduced by the passive **-w-**, together with the locative clitic **-mu** encode specificity of the locative subject DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’. This specificity of **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ entails that, in the discourse context of the interlocutors, there is a known town where the men work. The postverbal argument **baami** ‘men’ is indefinite since there are no particular men familiar to the interlocutors in the context of discourse. The argument **baami** ‘men’ has a specific reading denoted by a contrastive focus reading infused in the specificity denoted by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **baami** ‘men’.

5.5.2 Passive verb subject inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic

In this section I examine the properties relating to thematic roles, event type, definiteness and /or specificity of DP constituents, including the postverbal DP (**abaami** ‘men’ in these examples), and information structural status of the DP constituents of the variants of passive applicative verb constructions exemplified in (11d.ii), as they occur in the following examples in (11d.ii A–D). I examine, in particular, properties of argument structure, including the locative subject DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’, and the (non-) obligatory occurrence of the postverbal DP, realized as the Agent subject of the corresponding active verb sentence, with the verb **-kola** ‘work’ without the applicative suffix **-er-**.

(11) d. (ii) Mu kibuga mukolerwa(mu) ((a)baami)
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- el- w- a- (mu) ((a)- ba- ami)
 18LOC 7PX-town 18AgrS-work-APPL-PASS-FV-(18CL) ((2A)-2PX-men)
 ‘In town is where is worked by the men’

A Mu kibuga mukolerwa (abaami)
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- el- w- a (a- ba- ami)
 18LOC 7PPX-7PX 18AgrS-work-APPL-PASS-FV (2PPX-2PX-men)
 ‘In town is where is worked by the men’

In respect to argument structure, in example sentence (11d.ii A), the preverbal subject DP argument **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ is interpreted as a locative DP denoting the place or location where the action of the predicate is performed. Thus, this sentence with the postverbal DP

argument **abaami** ‘the men’ is interpreted as an agentive event, which can be specified by the features [+Dynamic/+Agentive], [+Durative] and [+Atelic] for representing the activity (or process) event denoted by the sentence. This sentence, therefore, expresses a causative reading, as evidenced by the acceptability of the occurrence of agentive adverbs such as **bulungi** ‘good’, as for example, in **Mu kibuga mukolerwa bulungi abaami** ‘In town is worked well by the men’. In terms of event semantics, the sentence realizes a process of (the) men working in town, taking place in the present time, or a generic reading, denoting that men generally work in town.

With regard to the information structural properties of the sentence construction in (11d.ii A), the preverbal locative subject DP argument **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ bears an alternative set contrastive focus reading. This inherent or implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading excludes the entire set of all possible alternative referents existing in the common ground knowledge of the interlocutors, such as **mu kyalo** ‘in the village’, **mu ssomero** ‘in school’, among many others. The postverbal nominal DP **abaami** ‘the men’ expresses an inherent or implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading. This inherent or implicit alternative set focus reading of the postverbal DP excludes the entire set of all other possible alternative referents existing in the common ground knowledge of the interlocutors, such as **abakyala** ‘women’, **abaana** ‘children’, among other alternatives. The locative clitic **-mu** suffixed of the verb introduces an inherent or implicit exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the locative DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent, a reading that can be established through applying the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, as for example **si kyalo** ‘not the village’.

In terms of the definiteness and specificity of DP constituents in (11d.ii A), the preverbal locative subject phrase **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ has an indefinite reading, since there may be no familiar town in terms of the common ground knowledge of the interlocutors. It, however, has a specificity reading encoded by the locative prefix **mu** in **mu kibuga** ‘in town’, which expresses specificity in terms of its inherent directional (spatial) semantics, and which seems to function similarly to a pre-prefix. The locative applicative suffix realizes a focus (‘only’) effect of the entire verb phrase which includes the locative DP. Thus, this focus expressed by the v/VP constituent provides evidence for positing a focus projection in its left edge(periphery). Hence, the ‘only’ reading entails that the action denoted by **kola** ‘work’ is performed exclusively/only at a specific/particular location **mu kibuga** ‘in town’. The

locative applicative suffix **-er-** in the passive verb **mukol-er-w-a** ‘worked in’ contributes to realizing an exclusiveness/‘only’ reading of the locative subject DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’. This specificity reading of the locative subject DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’, entails that, in the common ground knowledge of interlocutors in discourse-pragmatic context, there is a town where the men work. The postverbal argument **abaami** ‘men’ is indefinite, given that there are not particular men familiar to the interlocutors. This postverbal argument **abaami** ‘men’, nevertheless, has a specificity reading, encoded and denoted by the presence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **a-baami** ‘men’. The following construction I examine, exemplifies a locative morphology subject inversion passive verb construction without the locative clitic, and with the pre-prefix occurring on the postverbal argument:

B Mu kibuga mukolerwa (baami) [si bakyala]
 Mu ki-buga mu- kol- el- w- a (ba- ami)
 18LOC 7PX-town 18AgrS-work-APPL-PASS-FV (2PX-men) [not women]
 ‘In town is where is worked by the men, not women’

In respect to the properties of argument structure exemplified in sentence (11d.ii B), the preverbal locative subject DP argument **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ is interpreted as a locative argument DP, denoting the place or location where the action denoted by the verb is performed. Hence, this sentence with the postverbal DP argument **baami** ‘men’ is interpreted as an agentive event that can be specified by the features [+Dynamic/+Agentive], [+Durative] and [+Atelic] for the activity (or process) event denoted by the sentence. This sentence thus expresses a causative reading, as evidenced by the acceptability of agentive adverbs such as **bulungi** ‘good’, as for example, in **Mu kibuga mukolerwa bulungi baami** ‘In town men work well’.

In terms of event semantics, the sentence realizes a habitual state of (the) men working in town, taking place in the present time, or a generic reading obtaining with the reading that that men generally work in town. In terms of information structure, the preverbal locative subject DP argument **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ in (11d.ii B) realizes an alternative set contrastive focus reading. The preverbal locative subject DP expresses an inherent or implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading that excludes the entire set of all alternative referents such as **mu kyalo** ‘in the village’, **mu ssomero** ‘in school’, among other alternatives existing in terms of the common ground knowledge of the interlocutors. The postverbal nominal DP **baami** ‘men’ realizes an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading, denoted by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** on the postverbal DP **baami** ‘men’. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading

excludes a particular alternative or referent, an interpretation that can be established by applying the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, as for example, **si bakyala** ‘not women’. The locative applicative **–er–** introduces an exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading effect to the whole predicate/verb phrase. This interpretation is represented in the focus projection included in the v/VP edge (left periphery).

In regard to the properties of definiteness and specificity of DP constituents, the preverbal locative subject DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ in example sentence (11d.ii B) is indefinite in that there is no familiar town in terms of the discourse-related common ground knowledge of the interlocutors. However, it has a specificity reading encoded by the locative prefix **mu** in **mu kibuga** ‘in town’, which bears inherent specificity spatial(directional) semantics, and seems to function similarly to a pre-prefix, and to which the locative applicative **–er–** in **mukolerwa** ‘worked in’ contributes. The locative applicative **–er–** introduces a reading of specificity of the locative DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’, in terms of the verb phrase focus it encodes. This specificity interpretation of **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ entails that, in the discourse-related common ground of the interlocutors there is a known town where the men work. The postverbal argument **baami** ‘men’ is indefinite since there are not particular men familiar to the interlocutors. The argument **baami** ‘men’ has a specificity reading that correlates with the contrastive focus reading infused in this specificity reading, encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **baami** ‘men’. In the following example sentence the noun dominated by the postverbal DP occurs with its pre-prefix.

C Mu kibuga mukolelwamu abaami
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- el- w- a- mu a- ba- ami
 18LOC 7PX-town 18AgrS-work-APPL-PASS-FV-18CL 2PPX-2PX-men
 ‘In town is where is worked by the men’

With regard to the aspect of argument structure, in example sentence (11d.ii C), the preverbal DP argument **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ is interpreted as a locative DP denoting the place or location where the action of the predicate is performed by a person. The postverbal DP argument **abaami** ‘the men’ in the postverbal DP position is interpreted as an agentive event reading specified by the feature [+Durative], [+Dynamic/+Agentive], or [+Atelic] for the activity (or process) event denoted by the sentence. This expresses a causative reading, as evidenced by the acceptability of the agentive adverbs such as **bulungi** ‘good’ in **Mu kibuga mukolerwamu bulungi abaami** ‘In town is worked well by the men’.

In respect to the event semantics exemplified in (11d.ii C), the sentence expresses a process event of men working in town, taking place in the present time of the utterance, or a generic reading, denoting that men generally work in town. In terms of information structure, the preverbal locative DP argument **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ bears an alternative set contrastive focus reading. This locative DP subject has an inherent or implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading which excludes the entire set of all possible alternative referents existing in the knowledge of the interlocutors such as **mu kyalo** ‘in the village’, **mu ssohero** ‘in school’, among others. The postverbal nominal DP **abaami** ‘the men’ bears an inherent or implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading. This inherent or implicit alternative set focus reading in the postverbal position excludes the entire set of all other possible alternative referents existing in the knowledge of the interlocutors such as **abakyala** ‘women’, **abaana** ‘children’, and many other alternatives. The locative applicative suffix **-er-**, together with the locative clitic **-mu** suffixed on the predicate in **mukolerwamu** ‘worked in’ introduce an inherent or implicit exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the locative DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent, a reading that can be established by the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, as in **si kyalo** ‘not village’.

With regard to the properties of definiteness and specificity, the preverbal locative phrase **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ in example (11d.ii C) is indefinite, since the reading obtains that there is no familiar town known by the interlocutors. However, it has a specificity reading, due to the presence of the locative prefix **mu** in **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ that functions similarly to a pre-prefix, and the presence of the locative applicative suffix **-er-**, and the locative clitic in the verb **mukol-er-w-a-mu** ‘worked in’. The locative applicative **-er-**, and the locative clitic **-mu** together encode and denote a specificity reading to the locative DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’. The locative DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’, having a specificity reading, entails that, in the context of discourse there is a town where the men work. The postverbal argument **abaami** ‘men’ is indefinite since there are no particular men familiar to the interlocutors in the discourse-pragmatic context. The argument **abaami** ‘men’ has a specific reading denoted by the presence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **a-baami** ‘men’.

D Mu kibuga mukolelwamu baami
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- el- w- a- mu ba- ami

applicative **-er-** and the locative clitic **-mu** contribute to introducing an exhaustive contrastive focus ('only') reading to the locative DP **mu kibuga** 'in town'.

In regard to the definiteness and specificity properties of DP constituents, the preverbal locative subject phrase **mu kibuga** 'in town' in (11d.ii D) is indefinite in that there is no familiar town in terms of the common ground knowledge of the interlocutors. It, however, has a specificity reading encoded by the locative prefix **mu** in **mu kibuga** 'in town' which has an inherent specificity reading in terms of its spatial(directional) semantics, and which seems to function similarly to a pre-prefix. The locative applicative **-er-**, and the locative clitic **-mu** in **mukolerwa** 'worked in' compositionally contribute to denoting specificity of the locative DP **mu kibuga** 'in town'. This specificity property of **mu kibuga** 'in town' entails that there is a town where the men work. The postverbal argument **baami** 'men' is indefinite, in that there are not necessarily particular men familiar to the interlocutors. The argument **baami** 'men' has a specificity reading that relates to the contrastive focus reading infused in the specificity reading that is encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **baami** 'men'.

5.5.3 Passive verb subject inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with a bare noun subject, and with a locative clitic

I pointed out above that bare noun subject locative inversion with unergative verbs and some other verb types, is not very productive in Luganda, as I will discuss in more detail below. In bare noun locative subject inversion construction, the locative clitic is obligatory on the verb, as demonstrated by the asterisk (*) in (12d.iii) The sentence in (12d. iii) can, in respect to the (non-)occurrence of the morphemes in parenthesis, indicated as optional, i.e. the pre-prefix **a-** of the postverbal DP **(a)baami** 'men', be associated with the following four variants in (12d.iii A-D). The verb in the constructions (12d.iii A) and (12d.iii B) do not bear a locative clitic **-mu**, and thus both sentences are ungrammatical. Thus, I refer (12d.iii C) and (12d.iii D) to discuss the respective interpretations obtaining through the presence (occurrence) or absence (non-occurrence) of these morphemes while explaining how the interpretation of each results from the interplay of its argument structure, information structural and event semantic properties in conjunction with the definiteness/specificity properties of the postverbal DP **(a)baami** 'men'.

- (21) d. (iii) Ekibuga kikol-(w)-a-#(mu) ((a)baami)
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- w- a- (mu)/ ((a)- ba- ami)

7PPX-7PX-town 7AgrS-work-PASS-FV-(18CL)/ ((2A)-2PX-men)
 ‘The town is where the men work’

- A #Ekibuga kikulwa (abaami)
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- w- a (a- ba- ami)
 7PPX-7PX-town 7AgrS-work-PASS-FV ((2A)-2PX-men)
 ‘The town is worked by men (Lit. The town is being made by men)’
- B #Ekibuga kikulwa (baami) [si bakyala]
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- w- a (ba- ami) [not women]
 7PPX-7PX-town 7AgrS-work-PASS-FV (2PX-men)
 ‘The town is where the men work’
- C Ekibuga kikulwamu ((a)baami)
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- w- a- mu (a- ba- ami)
 7PPX-7PX-town 7AgrS-work-PASS-FV-18CL (2PPX-2PX-men)
 ‘The town is where the men work’
- D Ekibuga kikulwamu (baami) [si bakyala] / [bokka]
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- w- a- mu (ba- ami)

Considering its morphosyntactic and interpretative properties, the above sentence has the following structural representation.

[CP [TP [SpecT¹ [DP Ekibuga]] T [VoicePasP [SpecVoicePas¹ [DP ekibuga]]
 7PPX.PX.book 7AgrS

VoicePas [vP [Specv¹] v [vP -kol-wa-mu
 (+Theme (+Cause) work-PAS-18.LOC
 -Agent)

[DP [SpecD¹] [FocP [SpecFoc¹] FOC [DP [SpecD¹] [D¹ mu [DP ekibuga]
 (+Contrast) ProEmphatic
 (+Definite
 +Specific)

[DP [Det Ø] [NP baami]]]]]]]]]]
 2.men

Sentence (12d.iii C and D) illustrates the occurrence of class 7 bare noun location DP subject **ekibuga** ‘town’ in the passive construction with the verb **-kola** ‘work’ with which the subject agreement prefix is coreferential. This example furthermore demonstrates that the agent DP **abaami** ‘men’ is optional, hence, if present, it occurs as an adjunct phrase, a property which is generally characteristic of the agent passive verb constructions in Bantu languages

In respect to its event semantics, the sentence (12d iii C) denotes a habitual state event, hence expressing an anti-causative reading. The sentence has two possible readings, namely that the working of men takes place in the present at the time the utterance is made, or a generic reading, that the activity takes place usually, but not necessarily precisely at the time of the utterance. The causative event designated by the sentence is evidenced by the permissibility of a manner or instrument adverbial, such as **bulungi** ‘well’, **Ekibuga kikulwamu bulungi abaami** ‘The town is worked in well by the men’; the instrument adverbial **ne** ‘by means of’ such **Ekibuga kikulwamu abaami nenkumbi ennene** ‘The town is worked in by the men with the big hoes’; and the purpose clause diagnostic **okusobola/olwensonga/olwokubanga** ‘so that/in order/because’ as in **Ekibuga kikulwamu abaami okufuna emisaala** ‘The town is worked by the men to get salaries’ These adverbials and the purpose clause modify the agent DP **abaami** ‘men’ even when this agent argument is absent, i.e. it is implicit.

In respect to the interpretative property of definiteness and specificity, the class 7 bare noun DP subject in (12d.iii C) denotes a general location of where work (by men) takes place. In the discourse context, the speaker expresses the meaning of **ekibuga** ‘town’ as having a definite reading in that the hearer is familiar with the fact that the town is the location where there is worked by (the) men, without knowing exactly which town, the hearer is not able to name the particular town in terms of the identifiability criterion. In the line, The head noun **abaami** ‘men’ of the postverbal optional agent DP has a definite reading since the interlocutors are familiar with the topic **abaami** ‘men’ in the context of discourse. The argument **abaami** ‘men’, is thus, non-specific due to the presence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **abaami** ‘men’.

In respect to information structural interpretation, the class 7 bare noun DP subject **ekibuga** ‘town’ in (12d.iii C) exemplifies the properties of a contrastive topic, i.e. a topic constituent with a (contrastive) focus reading. This locative DP preverbal inherent or implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading excludes the entire set of all possible alternative referents existing in the knowledge of the addressee such as **e-kyalo** ‘the village’, **e-ssomero** ‘in school’, among others. It may also have a contrastive focus constituent with an implicit alternative reading (see Repp 2016), which can be made explicit by adding an alternative constituent in a **si** ‘not’ phrase **si bakyala** ‘not women’, discussed in example sentence (12d.iii D). The passive suffix **-w-**, relates to the fact that the external argument of the corresponding active verb construction is demoted, hence that internal argument moves to the

subject position of the sentence, and therefore occur as topic or focus constituent. This also obtains to the neuter-passive (stative) suffix.

The properties demonstrated in expositions for sentence (12d.iii C) in most aspects obtains in (12d.iii D) with exception of the fact that in (12d. iii D) the postverbal nominal DP **baami** ‘men’ bears an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** on the postverbal DP **baami** ‘men’. This contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent that can be tested using a **si** ‘not’ phrase **si bakyala** ‘not women’. Both the passive **-ebw-a** and locative clitic **-mu** denotes specificity of the bare noun locative DP **e-kibuga** ‘the town’. The bare noun locative DP **e-kibuga** ‘the town’, being specific means that, in the context of discourse there is a town where the men work. Every subject must bear a pre-prefix if there is no rule to suggest otherwise in order to encode definiteness for instance in the declarative sentences such as **Omusajja yakola mu kibuga** ‘The man worked in town’, if for example is not preceded by a quantifier **buli** ‘every’ as in **buli musajja** ‘everyman’. However, the optional use of the pre-prefix is associated with the pragmatic role of encoding specificity and contrastive focus as indicated in the above examples in (12d.iii A-D)

In terms of definiteness and specificity, the postverbal argument **baami** ‘men’ as mentioned in (12d.iii B) is indefinite since there is necessarily no particular men familiar to the interlocutors in the context of discourse while it has a specific and contrastive focus reading realized by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** in the postverbal nominal DP **baami** ‘men’. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative of the referent that can be tested using a **si** ‘not’ phrase **si bakyala** ‘not women’, therefore encoding specificity due to the fact the referent **baami** ‘men’ can be identified from other contrasting alternative by the interlocutors. Specificity interacts closely with contrastive focus, thus a specific entity **baami** ‘men’ is indefinite, but specific and contrastively focused.

5.5.4 **Passive verb subject inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic**

Concerning the sentence construction (13d. iv), I demonstrate with respect to the (non)occurrence of the morphemes in parenthesis, indicated as optional, i.e. locative clitic **-mu**, the locative applicative **-er-** and the pre-prefix **a-** of the postverbal DP **(a)baami** ‘men’, that it can be associated with the following four variants in (13d.iv A-D). The constructions

(13d.iv A and B) do not bear a locative clitic, which renders both these sentences are infelicitous. The obligatory nature of the locative clitic is indicated with the asterisk (*). Thus, I refer to (13d.iv C and D) to discuss the respective interpretations obtaining through the presence or absence of these morphemes in discussing how the interpretation of each relates to its argument structure, information structural and event semantic properties in conjunction with the definiteness/specificity properties of the postverbal DP **(a)baami** ‘men’.

(13) d. (iv) Ekibuga ki-kol-(er)-wa-*(mu) ((a)-ba-ami))
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- er- w- a- (mu) ((a)- ba- ami))
 7PPX-7PX-town 7AgrS-work-APPL-PASS-FV-(18CL) ((2A)-2PX-men)
 ‘The town is where the men work’

A #Ekibuga ki-kol-(er)-wa (abaami)
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- (er)- w- a (a- ba- ami)
 7PPX-7PX-town 7AgrS-work-APPL-PASS-FV ((2A)-2PX-men)
 ‘The town is made for the men’

B #Ekibuga kikol-(er)wa (baami)
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- (er)- ebw- a (ba- ami)
 7PPX-7PX-town 7AgrS-work-APPL-PASS-FV (2PX-men)
 ‘The town is made for the men’

C Ekibuga ki-kol-(er)-wa-mu (abaami)
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- ((er)- ebw- a- mu ((a- ba- ami))
 7PPX-7PX-town 7AgrS-work-APPL-PASS-FV-18CL (2PPX-2PX-men)
 ‘The town is where the men work’

D Ekibuga kikol-(el)-wamu (baami)[*si bakyala*]
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- (er)- -w- a- mu (ba- ami)
 7PPX-7PX-town 7AgrS-work-APPL-PASS-FV-18CL (2PX-men)
 ‘The town is worked in by men [*not women*]’

The example sentences (13iv A and B) are infelicitous due to the fact that they do not have the locative clitic –**mu**. The example sentence (13c. iv A) demonstrated above has another (#) interpretation **#Ekibuga kikolerwa abaami** ‘the town is worked for by the men’, meaning that the town is being made for the men. The construction (13c. iv B) **#Ekibuga kikolerwa baami** ‘The town is worked/made for the men only’ also has a different (#) benefactive meaning, since the first locative meaning of denoting the place where men work is unavailable. I have pointed out earlier that, the obligatory occurrence of the locative clitic –**mu** in bare subject inversion constructions, relates to the absence of the locative prefix **mu** in the subject locative phrase. Since examples (9c.iv A and B) are infelicitous, I now discuss examples (9c.iv C and D).

The example sentence (13d.iii C and D) demonstrates the occurrence of class 7 bare noun location DP subject **ekibuga** ‘town’ in the passive verb construction with the verb **-kola** ‘work’ taking a locative applicative suffix, with which the subject agreement prefix is coreferential. In addition, this sentence demonstrates that the agent DP **abaami** ‘men’ is optional, hence, if present, it occurs as an adjunct phrase. This property is generally a characteristic of the agent passive verb constructions in Bantu languages (see chapter Three)

In terms of event semantics, the example (13d iii C) encodes a habitual state event, hence it expresses an anti-causative reading. The sentence has two possible interpretations, namely that the working of men that takes place in the present at the time the utterance is made, or a generic reading, denoting the activity that takes place usually, but not necessarily precisely at the time of the utterance. There is a causative event designated by the sentence as evidenced by the permissibility of a manner adverbial such as **bulungi** ‘well’ as **Ekibuga kikolerwamu bulungi abaami** ‘The town is worked in well by the men’; the instrument adverbial **ne** ‘and/with (using)’ as in **Ekibuga kikolerwamu ne loole ennene** ‘The town is worked in using the big lorries’ and a purpose clause **okusobola/olwensoga/olwokubanga** ‘so that/in order/because’, as in **Ekibuga kikolerwamu abaami okusobola okufuna ensimbi** ‘The town is worked by the men in order to get money’ that modifies the agent DP **abaami** ‘men’ even when this agent argument is absent, i.e. it is implicit. Although the manner and instrument adverbials and the purpose clauses are allowed in the bare noun construction, they modify the habitual situation, and not the postverbal DP, hence are compatible with an anticausative interpretation.

In terms of definiteness and specificity, the class 7 bare noun DP subject in (13d.iii C) is interpreted as a general location of where the activity of working by men takes place. The addresser expresses the meaning of **ekibuga** ‘town’ as having an indefinite reading in that the addressee is assumed to be familiar with the fact that the town is the location where there is worked by (the) men in the discourse of context, but without knowing exactly which town, thus, the speaker is not able to name the particular town in terms of the identifiability criterion (see Lyons, 1999). In addition, the head noun **abaami** ‘men’ of the postverbal optional agent DP has a definite interpretation since the speaker and hearer are familiar with the DP **abaami** ‘men’ in the given context of discourse. The argument **abaami** ‘men’, further, encodes a non-specific reading having a pre-prefix.

In respect of information structure, the class 7 bare noun DP subject **ekibuga** ‘town’ in (13d.iii C) is interpreted as a contrastive topic, i.e. a topic constituent with a (contrastive) focus reading. This locative DP preverbal inherent or implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading excludes the entire set of all possible alternative referents existing in the knowledge of the addressee such as **essomero** ‘the school’, **ekyalo** ‘the village’, **oluguudo** ‘the road’, **ennimiro** ‘garden’ among others. It may also have a contrastive focus constituent with an implicit alternative reading (see Repp 2016), which can be made explicit by adding an alternative constituent in a **si** ‘not’ phrase, as in **si bakyala** ‘not women’, discussed for example sentence (13d.iii D). The argument alternation property of the passive suffix **-w-** relates to the fact that the external argument of the corresponding active verb construction is demoted, hence that internal argument moves to the subject position of the sentence, and therefore occurs as topic or focus constituent.

Most aspects of the properties for example (13d.iii C) obtain in respect to (13d.iii D) with exception that in (13d. iii D) the postverbal nominal DP **baami** ‘men’ denotes an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading encoded by the non-occurrence of the prefix of the postverbal DP **baami** ‘men’. This contrastive focus interpretation excludes a particular alternative or referent a view that can be established by use of a **si** ‘not’ phrase **si bakyala** ‘not women’. Regarding the interpretation of the passive in bare noun locative inversion and the optional occurrence of the pre-prefix, see example 12d iii in the previous section 5.5.3

In respect of definiteness and specificity, the postverbal argument **baami** ‘men’ as, noted for (13d.iii B), is indefinite since there are no particular men familiar to the speaker and hearer in the discourse-pragmatic context, while it has a specific and contrastive focus reading realized by the non occurrence of the pre-prefix in the postverbal DP **baami** ‘men’. This exhaustive contrastive focus interpretation excludes a particular alternative of the referent that can be established by the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, as in **si bakyala** ‘not women’, thus encoding specificity in that the referent **baami** ‘men’ can be identified from some other contrasting alternative by the speaker and hearer. This specificity reading interacts closely with contrastive focus, thus the specific DP **baami** ‘men’ is indefinite, but specific and contrastively focused.

In regard to argument structure, as pointed out above, the applicative **-er-** introduces an exhaustive focus (‘only’) effect of the whole predicate **kola** ‘work’ i.e. the whole verb phrase which includes the locative DP realizing focus. This exhaustive focus reading is denoted by

the predicate, i.e. v/VP projection, relates to the predicate encoded by the v/VP as a whole in which the locative DP, which can also be expressed by the locative clitic, is included. Thus, the ('only') reading, of the action performed exclusively/only at a particular location. As pointed out above, this view is represented in the Focus projection included in the v/VP edge (left periphery).

5.6 NEUTER-PASSIVE (STATIVE) VERB CONSTRUCTION WITH A LOCATIVE MORPHOLOGY SUBJECT, AND WITH/WITHOUT THE LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX, AND WITH/WITHOUT A LOCATIVE CLITIC

Similarly to the passive suffix, the neuter-passive (stative) suffix is productive in Luganda in that it can appear with most semantic classes of verbs, including most intransitive verb types. Like passive verb morphology, neuter-passive (stative) verb morphology, has an argument alternation effect on the argument structure of the corresponding active verb in that the external argument is suppressed, thus the subject position can be filled by a locative or expletive in the case of intransitive verb constructions. The neuter-passive (stative) suffix has an inherent anti-causative semantic feature, hence it realizes [-Dynamic] event in a clause with a neuter-passive verb, often expressing a middle-like reading. In this section, I examine a range of unergative neuter-passive (stative) verb constructions without the locative applicative suffix, and with a locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic in subsection 5.6.1; the stative verb with the locative applicative suffix in a locative inversion construction, with a locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic in subsection 5.6.2; the stative verb without the locative applicative suffix in a bare noun subject locative inversion construction, with/without a locative clitic in subsection 5.6.3, and the stative verb with the locative applicative suffix in a locative inversion construction with a bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic in subsection 5.6.4.

5.6.1 Neuter-passive (stative) unergative verb construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with a locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic

In this section, I examine the properties of unergative stative verb constructions with the verb **-kola** in respect to their event type/aspectual verb class, thematic roles and argument structure, definiteness and /or specificity of the postverbal DP **abaami** 'men', and the information structural status of the DP constituents, including the variants of locative

morphology subject inversion constructions. These properties are exemplified in (14c.i), as they occur in the following examples in (14c.i A– D). I, therefore, examine the question of how the morphosyntactic properties of the variants correlate with their properties with regard to argument structure, the locative subject DP, and the (non-)obligatory occurrence of the postverbal DP realized as the the agent subject of the corresponding active verb construction with reference to the verb **-kola**, without the locative clitic **-mu**.

(14) e. (i) Mu kibuga mukoleka(mu)/((a)baami)
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- ek- a- (mu)/ ((a)- ba- ami)
 18LOC 7PX-town 18AgrS-work-STAT-FV-(18CL)/ ((2A)-2PX-men))
 ‘In town, it is possible for men to work in there’

A Mu kibuga mukoleka (abaami)
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- ek- a (a- ba- ami)
 18LOC 7PX-town 18AgrS-work-STAT-FV ((2A)-2PX-men))
 ‘In town, it is possible for men to work in there’

The example in (14e.i A) demonstrates the occurrence of class 18 locative noun **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ in the DP subject, with which the subject agreement prefix is coreferential. The preposition-like categorial nature of the locative prefix **mu** is evidenced by the fact that it may appear without the lexical (class 7) noun **kibuga** ‘town’, hence with a (phonetically) empty pronominal head, when it co-occurs with one or more nominal modifiers like a demonstrative or adjective, for example, in **Mu (kino) mukoleka abaami** ‘In this (one) it is possible (for men) to work’, or **Mu kino ekinene mukoleka abaami** ‘In this big (one) it is possible (for men) to work’ (see also the discussion in sections 2.3.6 and 2.4.12)..

In the sentence **Mu (kino) mukoleka abaami** ‘In this (one) it is possible (for men) to work’, and **Mu kino ekinene mukoleka abaami** ‘In this big (one) it is possible (for men) to work in’, the agreement morphology of the demonstrative **kino** ‘this’ and adjective **kinene** ‘big’ is that of class 7 (for **kibuga**). Alternatively, the demonstrative agreement morphology may also be that of the class 18, hence the demonstrative **muno** ‘in this’ in the sentence **mu kibuga muno mukoleka abaami** ‘In this town it is possible for men to work’, in which case the class 18 inflectional subject agreement prefix occurs. However, it is impermissible for the agreement morphology of noun class class 18 to occur with the adjective, as in in **Mu kino (*omunene) mukoleka abaami** ‘In this big town it is possible for men to work’. The demonstrative **kino** ‘this’ and adjective **ekinene** ‘big’ are in agreement with the absent noun **kibuga** ‘town’, with which the verbal subject agreement is coreferential. The class 18 adjective agreement morphology of the omitted class 7 noun **kibuga** ‘town’, therefore, does

not realize the locative class agreement. (see Marten, 2006; 2012 for discussion regarding inner and outer agreement). The demonstrative **kino** ‘this’ and the adjective **ekinene** ‘the big’ encodes a definiteness and specificity reading, respectively.

The sentence (14e.i A) illustrates the optional occurrence of the (class 18) locative clitic in the verbal morphology. The occurrence of the locative clitic **-mu**, encodes emphasis relating to a contrastive focus reading with respect to the interiority semantics of the locative prefix in the DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’. The locative clitic **-mu** encodes a deictic distinction for locational referents, relating to the readings of emphasis and specificity. Furthermore, (14e.i A) illustrates the optional occurrence of the noun **abaami** ‘men’ in the postverbal DP, and if **abaami** occurs, the optional occurrence of its pre-prefix.

In respect to argument structure properties, in example (10d.i A), the preverbal DP argument **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ is interpreted as the locative DP encoding the location where the action of the unergative verb **kola** ‘work’ can potentially be performed by a person or persons. As regards thematic role interpretation, the class 18 locative subject argument **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ denotes a ‘within (town)’ locational meaning, characteristic of the class 18 locative semantics. This example sentence, with the postverbal DP argument **abaami** ‘the men’ is interpreted as a stative or middle-like event that can be specified by the features [-Dynamic/-Agentive], [+Durative], and [+Atelic] for the stative event denoted by the sentence. Given that stative (neuter-passive) verb morphology in Luganda, as generally in Bantu languages, suppresses the agentive argument of the corresponding (agentive) base verb, and given its optional occurrence, the postverbal DP **abaami** ‘men’ appears as an adjunct with a theme-like, not an agent interpretation. In terms of the anti-causative event semantics associated with the stative verbal suffix, (14e.i A) has the reading of a generic, middle-like statement that **Mu kibuga mukoleka abaami** ‘In town there is the possibility or potentiality of working (for men)’. The reading obtains that the subject DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ has a dispositional ascription reading as a location of the possible or potential action of men working. The event situation of (habitual) state is thus denoted by (14e.i A). (see Vendler, 1967; Verkuyl, 1989; Smith, 1997; Pross, 2020).

In example (14e. i A), The subject DP **mu kibuga** has a specificity reading, given that within the common ground knowledge of interlocutors in the discourse context, both the speaker and hearer have a familiarity with **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ as a possible location of work for men, as a result of the speaker’s utterance. The DP **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ may also have a definiteness

interpretation if, in the discourse context, both speaker and hearer know the particular town, i.e. know the name of the town in terms of the identifiability criterion. Thus, concerning (in)definiteness and (non)specificity, the interpretation is that the location **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ is familiar. The locative subject DP is a position which realizes the view that the information presented in the locative phrase is known to the addressee.

Given that in locative inversion constructions, a locative DP occurs as subject, hence the locative DP expresses a definite reading. In locative inversion constructions realizing topicalization, referents of preposed arguments are viewed to express presupposed or hearer-old information. The clitic **-mu** encodes locational interiority i.e. a locational ‘within’ reading that is familiar to both the speaker and the hearer.

The verb may have a locative clitic coreferential with the locative, also if the locative DP occurs in situ. In this case, the presence of a locative clitic on the verb encodes a pragmatic effect of definiteness and specificity of the locative noun, and also a focus-related emphasis to the construction. The appearance of the optional locative clitic **-mu** on the verbs is associated with the features [+definite +specific]. The referents of the inverted subject DP in **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ is interpreted to have been a topic of discussion in the previous discourse. The absence of the locative clitic **-mu**, on the other hand in **mu kibuga mukoleka abaami** ‘In town it is possible for the men to work’, has the reading that the locative DP ‘**mu kibuga**’ is not specified for definiteness or specificity features.

An implicit locative DP may be familiar to the interlocutors, as in **Abaami bakolamu** ‘men work in it’. The absence of the lexical head noun presupposes the existence of an antecedent. It is, therefore, plausible to assume that the locative clitics in Luganda encode definiteness and specificity properties, similarly to the way that the agreement object prefix does which is coreferential with a full lexical noun in any of the non-locative noun classes. Thus, the locative clitic **-mu** encodes a familiar locative noun referent. This reading is possible when the locative expression appears as DP subject. A locative DP may also be associated with a coreferential locative clitic on the verb, even when it remains in situ, thus encoding a definiteness, specificity reading, which is focus-related.

The postverbal DP in (14e. i A) has an indefinite, non-specific reading if the noun **abaami** appears with its pre-prefix, whereas the DP has a specific reading, in terms of familiarity with the referent ‘**abaami** ‘men’, or a definite – specific reading if both speaker and hearer share

knowledge of the referent **abaami** ‘men’ in terms of identifiability in the discourse context. In respect to informational structure status, the DP subject **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ bears a contrastive focus, with an implicit alternative reading (see discussion in Repp, 2016). Frascarelli and Hinterholz 2007, in investigating the notion of contrastive topic, distinguish three types of topic, stating that, even when the referent appears as the topic in discourse, as long as the contrastive feature is available, there is also focus within a topic, hence contrastive focus (see Féry & Krifka, 2008; Krifka, 2008).

If it occurs, the postverbal DP, **abaami** ‘men’ similarly bears a contrastive focus reading in terms of implicit alternative, which can be realized as an explicit alternative, as demonstrated in **Mu kibuga mukoleka abaami (abakyalala, abaana, abavubuka, n’abantu abalala)** ‘In town is possible for the men to work in (the women, the children, the youth, and other alternatives’.

- B Mu kibuga mukoleka (baami)
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- ek- a (ba- ami)
 18LOC 7PX-town 18AgrS-work-STAT-FV (2PX-men)
 ‘In town, it is possible for men to work in there’
- C Mu kibuga mukolekamu (abaami)
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- ek- a- mu (a- ba- ami)
 18LOC 7PX-town 18AgrS-work-STAT-FV-18CL (2PPX-2PX-men)
 ‘In town, it is possible for men to work in there’
- D Mu kibuga mukolekamu (baami)
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- ek- a- mu (ba- ami)

The following structure represents the morphosyntactic and interpretative properties of the above sentence.

[CP [TP [SpecT¹ [DP mu kibuga]] T [VoiceMidP [SpecVoiceMid¹ mu kibuga]
 18.LOC 7PX.town 18.AgrS

VoiceMid [vP [Specv¹] v [vP -kol-ek-a-mu
 (+Theme (-Cause) work-STAT-FV-18.LOC
 -Agent)

[DP [SpecD¹] [FocusP [SpecF¹] FOC [DP [SpecD¹] [D¹ mu
 (+Contrast) [D¹ [Det mu
 Pro.Emphatic
 (+Definite
 +Specific)

[kibuga] [DP [Det∅] [NP baami]]]]]]]]
 2.men

Most properties demonstrated by sentence (14e.i A) obtain in (14e.iv B) with exception of the fact that in (14e. i B) the postverbal nominal DP **baami** ‘men’ bears an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** on the postverbal DP **baami** ‘men’. This contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent that can be tested using a **si** ‘not’ phrase **si bakyala** ‘not women’. The optional use of the pre-prefix is associated with the pragmatic role of encoding specificity and contrastive focus as indicated in the above examples in (14e.iv A-D)

Regarding definiteness and specificity, the absence of the prefix on the postverbal argument **baami** ‘men’ in (14e iv B) is associated with an indefinite reading because there is necessarily no particular men familiar to the hearer in the context of discourse. However, the non-prefixed postverbal argument encodes a specific and contrastive focus reading realized by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-**. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative of the referent that can be tested using a **si** ‘not’ phrase **si bakyala** ‘not women’, therefore encoding specificity due to the fact the referent **baami** ‘men’ can be identified from another contrasting alternative by the interlocutors. The specificity correlates with contrastive focus, thus a specific entity such as **baami** ‘men’ is indefinite, but specific and contrastively focused. (Lyons, 1999)

In terms of argument structure in (14e. i. B-D), the stative **-ek-**, leads to an optional non-prefixed argument **baami** ‘men’ in (14e. i B and D) which encodes explicit contrastive focus. Locative clitic in sentences (14e. i C) and (14e. i D) can sometimes replace the locative phrases and the verb selects a locative and a clitic to attach. The locative clitic **-mu** emphasises the contrastive focus reading in **mu kibuga** ‘in town’ encoding interiority, represented by focus in the left periphery. The clitic **-mu** also encodes the emphasis of the generic reading activity in progress demonstrated in (14e.i C).

5.6.2 Neuter-passive (stative) verb inversion construction with locative applicative suffix, and with locative morphology subject, and with/without locative clitic

In this section, as exemplified in (15e. ii), I demonstrate, using the asterisk (*) convention to indicate ungrammatical sentence constructions, that in Luganda, it is impermissible for the locative applicative suffix **-er-** to co-occur with the stative **-ek-**. Thus, I examine properties of unergative verb stative constructions relating to thematic roles, event type, definiteness and /or specificity of the postverbal DP, and the information structural status of the DP

constituents of the variants of stative verb constructions, in (14e. i A), as demonstrated in the examples in (14e.ii A–D) without the applicative suffix **-er-*. The stative suffix does not permit co-occurrence with the locative applicative suffix, as demonstrated in the examples (15e.ii A-D).

- (15) e. (ii) Mu kibuga mukol-(*el-) ek-a-(mu)/ ((a)baami)
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- ek- (*el)-a- (mu) ((a)- ba- ami)
 18LOC 7PX-town 18AgrS-work-APPL-STAT-FV-(18CL) (2PPX-2PX-men)
 ‘In town it is possible for men to work in there’
- A Mu kibuga mukol-(*el) eka (abaami)
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- (*el)- ek-a (a- ba- ami)
 18LOC 7PX-town 18AgrS-work-APPL-STAT-FV (2PPX-2PX-men)
 ‘In town, it is possible for men to work in there’
- B Mu kibuga mukol(*el) eka (baami)
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- (* el)- ek-a (ba- ami)
 18LOC 7PX-town 18AgrS-work-APPL-STAT-FV (2PX-men)
 ‘In town it is possible for men to work in there’
- C Mu kibuga mukol(*el) ekamu (abaami)
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- (* el)- ek-a- mu (a- ba- ami)
 18LOC 7PX-town 18AgrS-work-APPL-STAT-FV-18CL (2PPX-2PX-men)
 ‘In town it is possible for men to work in there’
- D Mu kibuga mukol(*el) eka(mu) (baami)
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- (* el)- ek- a- (mu) (ba- ami)
 18LOC 7PX-town 18AgrS-work-APPL-STAT-FV-18CL (2PX-men)
 ‘In town it is possible for men to work in there’

The above example in (15e.ii A-D) illustrate that in Luganda the applicative *-er-* is not permissible in stative verb constructions in active verb constructions or in locative inversion constructions with unergative verbs such as **kola** ‘work’.

5.6.3 Neuter-passive (stative) verb locative inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with bare noun subject, and with/without locative clitic

In this section, as exemplified in (16e. iii), I discuss the interpretative properties relating to thematic roles, event semantics, definiteness and /or specificity of the postverbal DP, and information structural status of the DP constituents of the variants of stative verb constructions, as demonstrated in the following examples in (16e.iii A – D) with the stative verb **-kola-ek**. Examples (16e.iii A and B) demonstrate that sentences without the locative

clitic in bare noun locative inversion are infelicitous. Thus, my discussion below will concern the felicitous constructions with the locative clitic.

- (16) e. (iii) Ekibuga kicol-(ek)-a-#(mu)/ ((a)baami)
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- ek- a (mu)/ a- ba- ami
 7PPX-7PX-town 7AgrS-work-STAT-FV-(18CL)/ ((2A)-2PX-men)
 ‘The town is possible for the men to work in’
- A #Ekibuga kikoleka (abaami)
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- ek- a (a- ba- ami)
 7PPX-7PX-town 7AgrS-work-STAT-FV (2PPX- 2PX-men)
 ‘The town is possible for the men to work’
- B #Ekibuga kikoleka (baami)
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- ek- a ba- ami
 7PPX-7PX-town 7AgrS-work-STAT-FV (2PX-men)
 ‘The town is possible for the men to work in’
- C Ekibuga kikolekamu (abaami)
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- ek- a mu a- ba- ami
 7PPX-7PX-town 7AgrS-work-STAT-FV-18CL (2A)-2PX-men)
 ‘The town is possible for the men to work in’
- D Ekibuga kikolekamu (baami)
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- ek- a mu ba- ami

The morphosyntactic and interpretative properties of the above sentence can be demonstrated further using the following structure representation.

[CP [TP [SpecT¹ [DP ekibuga]] T [VoiceMidP [SpecVoiceMid¹ ekibuga]
 7.town Agrs

VoiceMid [vP [Specv¹] v [vP -kol-ek-a-mu
 (+Theme (-Cause) work-STAT-FV-18.LOC
 -Agent)

[DP [SpecD¹] [FocP [SpecFoc¹] FOC [DP [SpecD¹] [DP ~~mu~~ [DP [Det e]
 (+Contrast) 18.Pro.Emphatic
 (-Definite
 +Specific)

[NP ~~kibuga~~ [DP [Det∅] baami]]]]]]]]
 men

Regarding thematic role properties and argument structure, the sentence (16e.iii C and D) illustrates the obligatory occurrence of the (class 18) locative clitic –**mu** in the verbal

morphology. This occurrence of the locative clitic **–mu**, expresses a contrastive focus reading, encoding the interiority of the locative noun **ekibuga** ‘the town’ as the subject DP. The locative clitic **–mu** encodes a deictic distinction for a place/location referent, in addition to focus-related emphasis and specificity.

The clitic **–mu** in (16e.iii C and D) encodes locational interiority i.e. a location ‘within’ that is familiar to both the speaker and the hearer. The appearance of the optional locative clitic on the verbs is associated with the features [+definite +specific]. The referent of the inverted locative DP subject **ekibuga** ‘the town’ is interpreted to have been a topic of discussion in the previous discourse. The absence of the locative clitic **–mu**, in (16e.iii A and B) on the other hand, is associated with a reading that the locative noun ‘**ekibuga**’ is not specified for definiteness and specificity features. It is assumed that, the implicit locative noun is familiar, as in **Abaami bakolamu** ‘men work in it’. The absence of the lexical head noun presupposes the existence of an antecedent. The view is thus plausible that the locative clitic has the effect of encoding definiteness and specificity properties in the same way as the agreement object prefix does in the absence of a full lexical noun. Thus, the locative **-mu** encodes a familiar locative referent when the locative DP occurs as subject. Furthermore, (16e.iii C and D) illustrate the optional occurrence of the noun **abaami** ‘men’ in the postverbal DP, and if **abaami** occurs, that its pre-prefix is optional. In locative inversion constructions, the locative DP subject generally obtains a definite reading. In locative inversion or topicalization, referents of preposed arguments are assumed to express presupposed or hearer-old information.

As regards thematic role interpretation, the class 7 bare noun locative subject argument **ekibuga** ‘the town’ denotes a ‘general (town)’ locational dimension, that can be supported by the optional occurrence of class 18 locative clitic. Given that stative (neuter-passive) verb morphology in Luganda, as generally in Bantu languages, suppresses the agent argument of the corresponding (agentive) base verb, and given its optional occurrence, the postverbal DP **abaami** ‘men’ appears an adjunct with a theme-like, not an agent, interpretation.

In terms of aspectual verb types, the anti-causative event semantics associated with the stative verbal suffix **–ek**, (16e.iii C and D) has the reading of a generic statement that **Ekibuga kikolekamu abaami** ‘The town there is the possibility or potentiality of working (for men)’ in the sense that the subject DP **ekibuga** ‘the town’ has a dispositional ascription reading as a location of the possible or potential action of men working. The event situation of (habitual)

state is thus denoted by (16e.iii C and D) which can be represented by aspectual verb type features of [-Dynamic/-Agent], [-Telic] and [+ Durative]

The postverbal DP (**a**)**baami** in (16e. iii C, D) has an indefinite, non-specific reading if the noun **abaami** appears with its pre-prefix, whereas the DP has a specific reading, in terms of familiarity with the referent in the '**baami** 'men', or a definite –specific reading if both speaker and hearer share knowledge of the referent **abaami** 'men' in terms of identifiability in the discourse context. The subject DP **ekibuga** has a specificity reading in that within the discourse context, both the speaker and hearer have a familiarity with **ekibuga** 'the town' as a possible location of work for men as a result of the speaker's utterance. The DP **ekibuga** 'the town' may also have a definiteness interpretation if, in the discourse context, both speaker and hearer have knowledge of the particular town, i.e. know the name of the town in terms of the identifiability criterion. Thus, with regard to (in) definiteness and (non)specificity, the interpretation is that the invisible location **ekibuga** 'the town' is familiar to interlocutors. When the locative DP occurs as subject, it realizes a reading that the referent denoted by the the locative is known to the addressee.

In terms of information structural status, the DP subject **mu kibuga** 'in town' bears a contrastive focus reading, with an implicit alternative reading. In Luganda, focus can be found on either sides of the construction. The inverted locative subject DP denotes an entity familiar to the hearer, hence in example (16e. ii C), the reading obtains that the hearer has previous knowledge about the topic under discussion. The postverbal DP, **abaami** 'men' similarly bears a contrastive focus reading in terms of implicit alternative, which can be realized as an explicit alternative, as demonstrated in **Mu kibuga mukoleka abaami (abakyala, abaana, abavubuka, n'abantu abalala)** 'In town is possible for the men to work in, not the women, the children, the youth, among other alternatives.

I have stated above that the postverbal nominal DP **baami** 'men' bears an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** on the postverbal DP **baami** 'men'. This contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent, a view that can be established through the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** 'not' phrase, as in **si bakyala** 'not women'.The optional occurrence of the pre-prefix is associated with the encoding of specificity and contrastive focus, as demonstrated in the above examples in (16e.iii C, D).

In respect of definiteness and specificity, the postverbal argument **baami** ‘men’ in (16e.iii B) without a pre-prefix, is indefinite in that there are no particular men familiar to the hearer in the context of discourse. However, the posverbal DP containing the noun without a pre-prefix encodes a specific and contrastive focus reading, realized by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-**. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative of the referent that can be established by the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, as in **si bakyalala** ‘not women’, thus encoding specificity in that the referent **baami** ‘men’ can be identified from other contrasting alternatives by the interlocutors. The specificity reading is associated with contrastive focus, thus a specific entity, **baami** ‘men’ is indefinite, but specific, and contrastively focused.

5.6.4 Neuter-passive (stative) verb subject inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with bare noun subject, and with/without locative clitic

The example in (17e. iv), exemplifies, as indicated by the asterisk (*) convention, that ungrammaticality results in Luganda if the locative applicative **-er-** co-occurs with the stative suffix **-ek-**. The following example sentences demonstrate this property.

- (17) e. (iv) Ekibuga kikul-(*el)eka (mu)/ ((a)baami)
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- (*er)- ek- a- (mu)/ ((a)- ba- ami)
 7PPX-7PX-town 7AgrS-work-APPL-STAT-FV-(18CL) ((2A)-2PX-men)
 ‘The town is possible for the men to work in’.
- A Ekibuga kikul-(*el)-eka (mu)/ ((a)baami)
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- er- (*ek)- a- (mu)/ ((a)- ba- ami)
 7PPX-7PX-town 7AgrS-work-APPL-STAT-FV-(18CL) ((2A)-2PX-men)
 ‘The town is possible for the men to work in’.
- B Ekibuga kikul-(*el)-eka (mu)/ ((a)baami)
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- (*er)- ek- a- (mu)/ ((a)- ba- ami)
 7PPX-7PX-town 7AgrS-work-APPL-STAT-FV-(18CL) ((2A)-2PX-men)
 ‘The town is possible for the men to work in’.
- C Ekibuga kikul-(*el) eka (mu)/ ((a)baami)
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- (*er)- ek- a- (mu)/ ((a)- ba- ami)
 7PPX-7PX-town 7AgrS-work-APPL-STAT-FV-(18CL) ((2A)-2PX-men)
 ‘The town is possible for the men to work in’.
- D Ekibuga kikul-(*el) eka (mu)/ ((a)baami)
 E- ki- buga ki- kol- (*er)- ek- a- (mu)/ ((a)- ba- ami)
 7PPX-7PX-town 7AgrS-work-APPL-STAT-FV-(18CL) ((2A)-2PX-men)
 ‘The town is possible for the men to work in’.

The example sentences above in (17e.iv A-D) above demonstrate that the locative applicative suffix **-er-** cannot co-occur with neuter-passive (stative) verb suffixes. Hence, the properties relating to thematic roles, event type, definiteness and /or specificity of the postverbal DP, and information structural status of the DP constituents of the variants of stative verb constructions, discussed in (16e. iii A) obtain, as in the examples in (17e.iv A– D).

5.7 ACTIVE INTRANSITIVE MOTION VERB (-GENDA 'GO') CONSTRUCTION WITH/WITHOUT A LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX, AND WITH A POSTVERBAL LOCATIVE ARGUMENT, AND WITH/WITHOUT LOCATIVE CLITIC

In the previous sections of this chapter, I have examined the morphosyntactic and pragmatic interpretation of the sentences with the intransitive unergative verb **-kola** 'work' in relation to argument structure, event semantics, information structure, and definiteness and specificity. In this section now, I investigate constructions with the intransitive motion active verb **-genda** 'go' with/without an applicative construction with postverbal locative argument with/without locative clitic **-ko** with the motion verb **-genda** 'go' in (5.7.1), and active verb with an applicative construction with postverbal locative argument with/without the locative clitic **-ko** of motion verb **-genda** 'go' (5.7.2). These verb categories may share common properties, with pertinent variation identified in this investigation.

5.7.1 Active intransitive motion verb construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with a postverbal locative, and with/without a locative clitic

Inherently directed motion verbs such as **-genda** 'go' include a specification of the direction of motion, even in the absence of an overt directional complement (see Levin, 1993). They differ as to how they can express Goal, Source, or Path of motion, and have the ability to take direction/path locatives. When the verb **-genda** 'go' take the static goal locative complement **mu-**, it denotes static location such as **-genda mu nnyumba** 'go in the house' and when **-genda** 'go' take the directional goal locative complement **ku-**, they denote dynamic location for example **-genda ku ssomero** 'go to school'. The verb **-genda** 'go' does not take a Theme argument as subject.

Lexicalized locatives (with applicative morphemes and clitics) are inherently directed motion verbs that are often referred to as arrive verbs bearing specified direction of motion even when they appear with no overt directional complements for example **-tuuka** 'arrive'

[denoting achievement of motion to a specific point and **-kka** ‘descend’ [specifying motion downwards]. They express the Goal, Source or Path of motion differently depending on the type of verb these notions may express. They may occur with lexicalized applicative suffix, including **-yingira** ‘enter’, **-genda** ‘go’, **-fuluma** ‘exit’, **-jja** ‘come’. Locative DPs, while occurring with certain verbs, have another property that is analysed in this study. These are verbs that have in-built locatives, in the sense that they can not exist or make sense without them.

In Luganda active verbs can occur without an applicative suffix, and with postverbal locative argument with/without locative clitic. The semantic classification of verbs arises from a consideration of a range of verbal properties. Inherent directional verbs are members of the class of motion verb. They differ from other groups in that their meaning includes a sub-class of inherently specified direction motion verbs referred to as the arrive class. While some arrive verbs show ways of motions, others like the ones below indicate achieved motion, to a specific point or location: Agent with arrive verbs; **-tuuka** ‘arrive’, return **-dda** ‘return’. Constructions with the verb **-genda** ‘go’ are demonstrated in the following example sentences in (18a. A-D).

I first discuss sentences with the canonical occurrence of the postverbal locative phrase in relation to the interpretation of the properties concerning thematic roles, event type, definiteness and /or specificity of the postverbal DP, and information structural status of the DP constituents of the variants of the active verb constructions, as they occur in the following examples in (18a. A–D). In addition, I discuss in particular, their interpretative properties that relate to argument structure, the locative subject DP, and the (non-) obligatory occurrence of the postverbal DP, corresponding to the agent subject of the corresponding verb **-genda** with/without the locative clitic suffix **-ko**.

- (18) a. Omukazi agend-a-(ko) ku ki-saawe)[DP pro cl 17]
 O- mu- kazi a- gend- a- (ko) (ku ki-saawe)
 1PPX-1PX-woman 1AgrS-go- FV- 17CL (17LOC 7.field)
 ‘The woman goes onto (to the field) ’
- A O-mu-kazi a-genda ku ki-saawe ‘The woman goes to the field’
 O- mu- kazi a- gend- a ku ki-saawein

The morphosyntactic and interpretative properties of the above sentence are illustrated the following structural representation.

meanings). In line, the absence of the locative prefix **ku** in (18a D), #**Omukazi agendako kisaawe** ‘The woman goes field’ is grammatical but infelicitous, meaning idiomatically that the woman runs/walks or digs/cultivates the field very fast and easily only (and other possible meanings). In sentence (18a C), the occurrence of the locative clitic **-ko** encodes the effect that the postverbal locative phrase **ku kisaawe** is coreferential with the locative clitic now appearing as an argument of the intransitive motion verb **-genda** ‘go’, and not as an adjunct as it does with the verb constructions without a locative clitic. Therefore, when the locative clitic **-ko** entails, the locative phrase is selected, and classified as an argument by the verb to which it is suffixed. In case there is no lexical locative phrase following the locative clitic, the phonetically empty pronominal *pro* with the grammatical feature [class 17] appear as head of the DP.

In terms of event semantics, the example in (18a. A) has two possible interpretations. It can have the reading of the process of **Omukazi agenda bulungi ku kisaawe** ‘(The) woman goes well on the field’, taking place in the present time of the utterance or a generic interpretation of denoting that a situation obtains such that (the woman) generally goes to the field. The subject DP **omukazi** ‘woman’ Agent, hence the event reading can be specified by the feature [+Dynamic/+Agentive] for the activity (or process) event denoted by the sentence, which, therefore, expresses a causative [+Cause] reading (see Pross, 2020, Cohen, 2018, Boneh & Doron, 2013).

In terms of definiteness and specificity, the subject DP **omukazi** ‘woman’ may have a definiteness interpretation if, in the discourse context, the interlocutors have knowledge of the particular woman, i.e. know the name of the woman in terms of the identifiability principle. Therefore, with regard to (in)definiteness and (non)specificity, the interpretation is that, **omukazi** ‘woman’ can be familiar. The postverbal DP in the example sentences (18a. A-D) has an indefinite, non-specific reading if the locative phrase **ku kisaawe** ‘on the field’ appears with its locative prefix. This locative phrase may have a specific reading, in terms of familiarity with the referent **ku kisaawe** ‘on the field’, or a definite –specific reading if the interlocutors have common ground knowledge of the referent **ku kisaawe** ‘on the field’ in terms of identifiability in the discourse context locatable by the addressee as uttered by the addresser. The subject DP **omukazi** ‘woman’ has a specificity reading in that within the discourse context, the interlocutors are assumed to be familiar with **omukazi** ‘woman’ as an identifiable person, resulting from the utterance of the of the speaker. (see Lyons, 1999).

Considering the information structure properties in sentences (18a. A-D) regarding the topic subject **omukazi** ‘the woman’, as discussed in section 5.3.1, example ((1)a. A-D), the occurrence of the pre-prefix in declarative sentences is associated with the pragmatic function of encoding of contrastive focus and specificity. In the following section, I examine the active motion verb **-genda** ‘go’ with an applicative, with a postverbal locative argument, and with/without the locative clitic.

5.7.2 Active intransitive motion verb construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a postverbal locative argument, and with/without locative clitic

In this section, I discuss the morphosyntactic and pragmatic interpretation of the properties of active motion intransitive verb sentences with the locative applicative suffix **-er-** with a postverbal locative argument, and with/without a locative clitic **-ko**. These properties are correlated with the interpretative properties of sentence variants concerning thematic role and argument structure of the locative DP, event semantics (i.e. aspectual verb types), definiteness and specificity, and information structural properties (of topic, focus and contrast) with the intransitive motion verb **-genda** ‘go’.

- (19) b Omukazi agend(#er)-a-(ko) (ku kisaawe)
 O-mukazi-ana a-gend-er #_{i,j}-a-(ko) [# θ Goal]_i / [θ Source]_j (ku ki-saawe).[pro[cl 17]]
 1PPX-1PX -child 1AgrS-go-APPL-FV 17LOC 9.field / 7PPX-7.field / 7.field
 ‘The child goes to some other place via the field.’
- A Omukazi agendera ku kisaawe ‘The woman goes through the field to some other location’
 O-mukazi-ana a-gend-er #_{i,j}-a [# θ Goal]_i / [θ Source]_j ku ki-saawe

Taking into consideration its morphosyntactic and interpretative properties, the following structural representation is posited for the above sentence.

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{[CP [TP [SpecT}^1 \text{ omukazi] T [VoiceActP [SpecVoiceAct}^1 \text{ omukazi] VoiceAct} \\
 \text{1.woman 1.AgrS (+Agent)} \\
 \text{[vP [Specv}^1 \text{] [FocP [SpecFoc}^1 \text{] FOC [vP [Specv}^1 \text{] v [VP -gend-er [DP [SpecD}^1 \text{] } \\
 \text{(+contrast (+Cause) go-APPL} \\
 \text{+exhaustive)} \\
 \text{[Det ku] [NP kisaawe]]]]]]]]] \\
 \text{17.LOC field}
 \end{array}$$

- B #Omukazi agendera kisaawe
 O-mukazi-ana a-gend-er #_{i,j}-a [# θ Goal]_i / [θ Source]_j ki-saawe
 1PPX-1PX -child 1AgrS-go-APPL-FV 9.field / 7PPX-7.field / 7.field
 ‘The child goes to some other place via the field.’
- C Omukazi agenderako ku kisaawe ‘The woman through the field to some other location’
 O- mu-kazi a- gend-er #_{i,j}-a-(ko) [# θ Goal]_i / [θ Source]_j (ku ki-saawe).[pro[cl 17]]

Considering its morphosyntactic and interpretative properties, the following structural representation is posited for the above sentence.

[CP [TP [SpecT¹ omukazi] T [VoiceActP [SpecVoiceAct¹ omukazi] VoiceAct
 1.woman 1.AgrS (+Agent)

[vP [Specv¹] [FocP [SpecF¹] Foc [vP [Specv¹] v [VP gend-er-ko [DPloc [SpecD¹]
 (+contrast (+Cause) go-APPL-17.LOC
 +exhaustive)

[FocP [SpecF¹] Foc [DPloc [SpecD¹] [D¹ ku [DP [Det ku]
 17.Pro.Emphatic 17.LOC
 (+Definite
 +Specific)

[NP kisaawe]]]]]]]]]]]]
 field

- D #Omukazi agendera(ko) (kisaawe)
 O-mukazi-ana a-gend-er #_{i,j}-a-(ko) [# θ Goal]_i / [θ Source]_j (ku ki-saawe).
 1PPX-1PX -child 1AgrS-go-APPL-FV 17LOC 9.field / 7PPX-7.field / 7.field
 ‘The child goes to some other place via the field.’

I have discussed in the previous section 5.3.1 with reference to example sentence (18a. B and D) that sentences without the locative prefix are infelicitous. This obtains in the active motion verbs with a locative applicative, but without a locative prefix since example sentences (19b. B and D) are also infelicitous but with different meaning from that (18b. B and D). The sentence (19b. B) **#Omukazi agendera kisaawe** ‘The woman goes for/because of the field’ is grammatical but infelicitous, meaning idiomatically that the field is the reason why the woman goes on something/some location (and other possible meanings). Similarly, the absence of the locative prefix **ku** in (19b D), **#Omukazi agenderako kisaawe** ‘The woman goes on it, the field’ is grammatical but infelicitous, rendering the meaning idiomatically that the woman goes onto something/some location because of the field only (and other possible meanings).

Regarding thematic/semantic roles in sentences (19b. A and B), if the locative applicative verb occurs without the locative clitic **-ko**, the postverbal argument object ku **kisaawe/ kisaawe** ‘the on the field/field’ is obligatory. However, the occurrence of the locative clitic **-ko** in (19b. C and D), renders the postverbal argument optional. The applicative **-er-** in the above encodes two possible thematic roles one being the Goal thematic role[# θ Goal], which do not give the intended meaning of ‘denoting the location where the action of the main verb took place’ but rather introduces a change of thematic role to Source role [θ Source] meaning that ‘The action of the argument took place for example into some other place passing through/via the field location’ (see Simango, 2012).

In terms of information structural properties, the presence of the locative applicative in (19b. A-D) introduces the reading that the event of going takes place exclusively on the field-no other location. This implies that a locative applicative **-er-** realizes an exclusive/('only') or exhaustive contrastive focus ('only') effect of the whole predicate/verb phrase which includes the locative DP encoded by the v/VP as a whole including the locative DP that can also be expressed by the locative clitic **-ko**. In addition, the occurrence of the locative clitic **-ko** also introduces the identification (contrastive) focus reading on the location encoded reflected by the locative DP containing the noun **kisaawe** ‘field’ (Krifka et al., 1995; Lambrecht, 1994; Repp, 2010).

As pointed out above, the morphosyntactic and pragmatic interpretation sentences examined in section 5.3.1 example sentences (18a. A-D) obtains in (19b. A-D) accordingly with minor exceptions in regard to argument structure, information structure, definiteness and specificity, and event semantics. The major difference indicated relates to the introduction of the locative applicative suffix which introduces the change in the thematic role from Goal to Source or possibly an implicit Goal with a Source argument.

5.8 ACTIVE INTRANSITIVE MOTION VERB LOCATIVE INVERSION CONSTRUCTION WITH/WITHOUT THE LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE

SUFFIX, AND WITH A LOCATIVE MORPHOLOGY SUBJECT, AND WITH/WITHOUT THE LOCATIVE CLITIC

In this section, I examine the active motion verb subject inversion construction without an applicative suffix, with a locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic in (5.8.1); active motion verb subject inversion construction with an applicative, with a locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic in (5.8.2); active motion verb locative subject inversion construction without an applicative, with a bare noun subject inversion, and with/without a locative clitic (5.8.3), and an active motion verb locative subject inversion construction with an applicative, with a bare noun subject inversion, and with/without a locative clitic in (5.8.4)

5.8.1 Active intransitive motion verb locative inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with a locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic

In section 5.4 I examined the unergative verb **-kola** ‘go’ with respect to its morphosyntactic and interpretative properties exemplified in sentences (5c.iii A-D). In this section, I examine the properties of the thematic roles and argument structure, aspectual verb class (event type), (in)definiteness and /or (non-)specificity of the subject DP and the postverbal DP, and the information structural properties of the DP constituents of the variants of locative morphology subject inversion constructions of the intransitive motion verb **-gend-** ‘go’, exemplified in (20c.i), with its variant constructions in (20c.i A–D). In this regard, I analyse the respective interpretations of the construction (20c. i) regarding the optionality, i.e. (non-) occurrence, of the morphemes indicated in parenthesis, specifically, the locative clitic **-ko** and the pre-prefix **o-** of the postverbal DP **(o)mukazi** ‘woman’, demonstrated in the following variants in (20c.i A-D).

- (20) c.(i) Ku kisaawe kugenda(ko) (o)mukazi [pro[cl 17]]
 Ku ki-saawe ku- gend- a- ko o- mu- kazi
 17LOC 7PX.field 17AgrS-go- FV-17CL 1PPX-1PX.woman
 ‘On the field goes the woman’.
- A Ku kisaawe kugenda omukazi [pro[cl 17]]
 Ku ki-saawe ku gend-a o- mu- kazi

In terms of its morphosyntactic and interpretative properties, the following structural representation can be posited for the above sentence.

[CP [TP [SpecT¹ **ku** kisaawe] T [VoiceActP [SpecVoiceAct¹ **omukazi**] VoiceAct
17.LOC 7PX-field 17.AgrS (+Agent)

[VP [Specv¹] v [VP -gend- [DP [SpecD¹ [FocP [SpecFoc¹] Foc
(+Cause) go (+Contrast)
(+exhaustive)

[DP omukazi]]] [DP_{loc} [D¹ [Det **ku** [NP kisaawe]]]]]]]]]]
1.woman 17.LOC 7.field

- B Ku kisaawe kugenda mukazi
Ku ki-saawe ku- gend- a mu- kazi
17LOC 7PX.field 17AgrS-go- FV 1PX.woman
'On/to the field goes the woman'.
- C Ku kisaawe kwagendako omukazi
Ku ki- saawe ku -a- gend-a- ko o- mu- kazi
17LOC 7PX.field 17AgrS-PAST-go- FV-17CL 1PPX-1PX.woman
'On/to the field went the woman'.
- D Ku kisaawe kugendako mukazi
Ku ki-saawe ku- gend- a- ko mu- kazi
17LOC 7PX.field 17AgrS-go- FV-17CL 1PX.woman
'On/to the field goes the woman'.

Considering its morphosyntactic and interpretative properties, the following structural representation is posited for the above sentence.

[CP [TP [SpecT¹ **ku** kisaawe] T [VoiceActP [SpecVoiceAct¹ **omukazi**] VoiceAct
17.LOC 7.field 17.AgrS (-Agent)

[VP [Specv¹] v [VP -genda-ko [DP [SpecD¹ [FocP [SpecFoc¹] [mukazi]]
(-Cause) work-17.LOC (+Definite)
+Specific

Foc [DP [SpecD¹ [D¹ **ku** [DP [Det **ku** [NP kisaawe]]]]]]]]]]]]
(+Contrast Pro.Emphatic field
+Exhaustive (+Definite
+Specific)

In contrast to examples in (18a. A-D) and (19b. A-D) exhibiting the canonical word order with the locative DP occurring in the postverbal position, the sentences I examine in this section, in the examples (20c. i A-D), that demonstrate the non-canonical locative subject inversion construction in Luganda. These sentences demonstrate the occurrence of a locative subject DP exhibiting locative morphology realised by the class 17 locative prefix **ku**. The examples in (20c. i A-D) illustrate the variants of the locative morphology subject inversion. These sentence variants in (20c. i A-D) display distinct properties with respect to thematic

role type, particularly regarding agentivity and causation semantics, definiteness and specificity, information structural and event semantic properties. These constructions are not mere variants; rather they exemplify significant differences regarding their interpretative properties, hence their structural representations.

In respect of argument type, the inverted subject DP **ku kisaawe** ‘on the field’ exhibits class 17 locative morphology. The subject DP of the sentences (20c.i A-D) is a location argument, interpreted as the location on/at which the event denoted by the intransitive verb **-genda** takes place. The English translations provided for the various examples in (20c.i A-D) can at best render vague and imprecise approximations of the interpretations of these constructions, hence an analysis of their information structural and event semantic properties is required, in addition to taking into account the (in)definiteness and/or (non-)specificity properties of the postverbal DP **(o)mukazi** ‘women’.

With regard to its information structural status, the locative DP subject **ku kisaawe** ‘on the field’ in (20c. i A-D) denotes informational focus. The occurrence of the postverbal argument DP **(o)mukazi** ‘the women’ is obligatory for the sentences (20c.i A-D) to be grammatical. The presence of the locative clitic **-ko** in examples (20c.i A-D) introduces a stative event (situation) type, in that the sentence has a generic reading of a habitual state, denoting that the field is the place where the habitual going of (the woman) occurs. In example (20c.i A) the postverbal DP **omukazi** ‘woman’ is not interpreted as an Agent argument, but rather as a complement of the locative clitic bearing verb **-gendako**, with which it forms a predicate. This lack of agentivity of **omukazi** ‘woman’ in (20c.i A) is evidenced by the fact that the use of a manner adverbial such as **bulungi** ‘well’, typically an agentive adverbial, introduces a reading or modification of the habitual state as a whole expressed in the sentence, resembling the occurrence of manner adverbials in a middle(-like) construction, rather than modifying only the DP **omukazi** ‘woman’. Thus, the latter DP is not interpreted as an Agent argument in **Ku kisaawe kugendako bulungi omukazi** ‘On the field goes on well by the woman’.

In addition to introducing stative-like event semantic properties to the sentence in (20c.i A), the locative clitic **-ko** on the verb **-gendako** ‘go on’ renders a reading of specificity to the locative subject DP **ku kisaawe** ‘on the field’, which is absent in the examples (20c.i B and C) where the locative clitic does not occur with the verb **-genda** ‘go’. Thus, the interpretation is that the working of men habitually happens specifically in/at the town. This sentence can typically be the answer to the following question: **Ani agenda ku kisaawe?** ‘Who goes to the

field’. This is the kind of diagnostic question for establishing a contrastive focus reading. The locative clitic **-ko** encodes emphasis on the generic activity, that may be in progress, denoted by the sentence.

Concerning its information structural status, the postverbal DP **omukazi** ‘woman’ in (20c.i A) is a contrastive (identificational) focus constituent in terms of the notion of the alternative set (cf Repp 2014), i.e. it has a contrastive focus reading with various alternatives implied. Thus, the town is the place where men habitually work, not women, or young men or some other alternative group of people. The locative clitic **-ko** in (20c. i C) and (20c. i D) encodes emphasis relating to the contrastive focus reading of the locative subject DP **ku kisaawe** ‘on the field’.

In the example (20c.i B), in contrast to (20c.i A), the locative clitic **-ko** does not occur with the verb. The reading of (20c.i B) in respect to its event type is that of an activity event, i.e. event of the working of the men as an ongoing process which also takes place during the time of the utterance. Thus, the postverbal DP **omukazi** ‘woman’ is an Agent argument, as evidenced by the reading of the agentive adverbial **bulungi** ‘well’ as modifying **omukazi** ‘woman’ in the sentence **Ku kisaawe kugenda bulungi omukazi** ‘On the field goes well the woman’.

In regard to their structural position, manner adverbials such as **bulungi** ‘well’ in Luganda appear in the immediate postverbal position, adjacent to the verb, and preceding the postverbal DP, **omukazi** ‘woman’ in the above sentence. With regard to information structural constituents exemplified in (20c.i B), the subject DP **ku kisaawe** ‘on the field’, as in (20c.i A), is an informational focus constituent. The speaker thus assumes that this constituent realizes new information to the hearer(s). The postverbal DP **omukazi** ‘woman’, as in (20c. i A), denotes contrastive focus in respect to an alternative set, with a range of possible alternatives that may be relevant in the discourse-pragmatic context, where other possible referents in the alternative set could include, for example, **omusajja** ‘man’, **omulenzi** ‘boy’, and **omuwala** ‘girl’. The DP dominating the noun **omukazi** ‘woman’, with the occurrence of its pre-prefix, has a non-specific (generic) reading, encoding men in general. In the next section, I examine the active motion verb **-genda** ‘go’, with the locative applicative suffix, in a locative inversion construction, with a locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic **-ko**

5.8.2 Active intransitive motion verb locative inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic

The morphosyntactic and semantic-pragmatic properties discussed for example sentences in (20c.i A-D) partly obtain in (21c. ii A-D) as well. However, as indicated by the # in the constructions (21c.ii A-D), the locative applicative suffix **-er-** introduces a change in the thematic roles of the arguments of the motion verb **genda** ‘go’, specifically relating to a change of the locative argument from GOAL to PATH. The applicative **-er-** encodes two possible changes of thematic roles in the construction. One of these concern the Goal thematic role [# θ Goal], which do not give the intended meaning of denoting the location where the action of the main verb took place, but rather introduces a change of thematic role to Source role [Source], rendering the reading that the action denoted by the verb took place for example into some other place, passing through/via the location of the house. Thus, the reading obtains that the woman did not go to the field but rather passed via or through the field to go to some other location. It is possible to posit that the SOURCE thematic role is introduced by the locative applicative suffix to the verb **-genda**, and that the GOAL role is implicit. (I omit discussion of the non-locative functions of the applicative suffix since that is not related to the current investigation.)

(21) c.(ii) Ku ki- saawe ku- gend-er #_{i,j} - a- ko [θ Goal]_{#i} / [θ Source]_j o-mu- kazi
 17LOC 7PX.field 17AgrS-go- APPL- FV- 17.CL 1PPX- 1PX.woman
 ‘Through/via the field goes the woman to some other location’

A Ku kisaawe kugendera omukazi
 Ku ki-saawe ku-gend-er #_{i,j} -a [θ Goal]_{#i} / [θ Source]_j o-mu-kazi

In view of its morphosyntactic and interpretative properties, the following structural representation can be posited for the above construction.

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{[CP [TP [SpecT}^1 \text{ [DP ku kisaawe]] T [VoiceActP [SpecVoiceAct}^1 \text{ omukazi]} \\
 \text{VoiceAct} \\
 \text{17.LOC 7PX-field 17.AgrS} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{(+Agent)} \\
 \text{[vP [Specv}^1 \text{ [FocP [SpecFoc}^1 \text{] Foc [vP [Specv}^1 \text{ v [VP -gend-er- [DP} \\
 \text{(+Contrast (+Cause)} \\
 \text{+exhaustive)} \\
 \text{[SpecD}^1 \text{ [Foc}^1 \text{ [SpecFoc}^1 \text{ Foc [DP [O] [NP mukazi] [DP ku-kisaawe]} \\
 \text{(+Contrast Det 17.LOC 7.PX.field}
 \end{array}$$

This section examines the bare noun locative subject inversion with the motion verb **-genda** ‘go’. The morpho-syntactic and semantic-pragmatic interpretations displayed in (5c.iii A-D) regarding the unergative verb **kola** ‘work’ partly obtain in these sentences as well, with the exception that bare noun subject inversion construction without a locative clitic is ungrammatical, as illustrated in (22c. iii A) and (22c. iii B).

I have illustrated earlier in example (8c.iii) that Luganda allows bare noun subject locative inversion with unergative verbs. The locative clitic **-ko** is obligatory in (22c.iii) and without it in (22c.iii A and B) the constructions variants are ungrammatical and infelicitous. Thus, the obligatory locative clitic **-ko** in the verbal morphology in bare noun locative inversion constructions, as in (22c.iii C and D), establishes reference to the bare noun subject DP as a location argument. Thus, the obligatory locative clitic **-ko**, coreferential with the bare noun subject DP **ekisaawe** ‘the field’ encodes the locative argument status of the bare noun subject DP. These bare noun subject locative inversion constructions have a middle-like (hence anticausative) habitual state reading (in contrast to the locative morphology subject DP constructions in (5/6/7c.i A-D), (5/6/7c.ii A-D), (29c.i) and (30c.ii) which have a causative eventive reading, since the postverbal DP **abaami** ‘men’ and **omukazi** ‘the woman’ has an agentive reading, in contrast with the postverbal DP **abaami** ‘men’ and **omukazi** ‘the woman’ of bare noun locative inversion sentences, which does not have an agentive reading, for which I posit a small clause analysis.

In motion verb constructions, as discussed for **genda** ‘go’, like intransitive verb constructions with the unergative verb **kola**, ‘work’ a locative clitic is required for a bare noun subject locative inversion construction to be grammatical. Thus, the clitic-bearing verb is associated with a locative DP projected in its small clause complement, as demonstrated in the following examples.

(22) c.(iii) Ekisaawe kigend-a-#(ko) (o)-mu-kazi
 E- ki- saawe ki- gend- a- ko o- mu- kazi|
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go- FV-17CL 1PPX-1PX.woman
 ‘The field is gone on the woman (=The woman goes on the market)’

A #Ekisaawe kigenda o-mu-kazi
 E- ki- saawe ki- gend- a o- mu- kazi
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go- FV 1PPX-1PX.woman
 ‘The field goes the woman’

B #Ekisaawe kigenda mu-kazi
 E- ki- saawe ki- gend- a mu-kazi

7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go- FV 1PX.woman
 ‘The field goes the woman’

In (22c. iii A), #**Ekisaawe kigenda omukazi** ‘The field goes the woman’, is infelicitous for the conventional kind of locative inversion interpretations discussed, although it may have the idiomatic reading that the field is interestingly and easily worked in when a person is (working) with a woman. Similarly, sentence (22c. iii B) #**Ekisaawe kigenda mukazi** ‘The field goes the woman’ is also infelicitous, but it can express the idiomatic reading that the field is interestingly and easily worked in when a person is (working) with a woman only. However, with suffixation of the locative clitic in (22c. iii C and 22c.iii D), the sentences are grammatical. I analyse the properties regarding argument structure, event semantics, definiteness and specificity, as well as information structural properties, in discussing the readings for (5c.iii C and 5c.iii D).

C Ekisaawe kigenda*(ko) omukazi
 E- ki- saawe ki- gend- a- ko o- mu- kazi
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go- FV-17CL 1PPX-1PX.woman
 ‘Lit.The field is gone on the woman (=The woman goes on the field)’

D Ekisaawe kyagenda*(ko) mukazi
 E- ki- saawe ki- a- gend- a- ko mu- kazi

With regard to its morphosyntactic and interpretative properties, the following structural representation is posited for the above sentence.

[CP [TP [SpecT¹ [FocP [SpecF¹ [DP ekisaawe] Foc [TP [SpecT¹] T
 7.PX.field (+Contrast) 7.AgrS

[VoiceMidP [SpecVoiceMidP ekisaawe] VoiceMid [vP [Specv¹] v [VP -genda-mu
 +Theme (=Cause) go 17.Loc
 +Agent

[5.C(DP_{loc}) [DP [SpecD¹ mukazi] [D¹ ku [DP ekisaawe]]]]]]]]]]
 men Pro Emphatic 7.field
 (+Definite (+Definite
 +Specific) +Specific)

The constructions in (18c iii A-D) illustrate that the locative clitic –**ko** is obligatory in order to have grammatical and felicitous sentences. In the following section, I examine active verb constructions with the verb –**genda** ‘go’ with a locative applicative suffix, in a locative inversion construction with bare noun subject, and with/without the locative clitic –**ko**.

5.8.4 Active intransitive motion verb locative inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic

The properties discussed with respect to the example sentences in (20c.i A-D and 21c. ii A-D) regarding the interpretation introduced by the locative applicative suffix, partly obtain in (23c.iv A-D) in that, in all these constructions, the applicative suffix –er- introduces a change in the thematic roles of the motion verb **genda** ‘go’ from GOAL to PATH, thus encoding the reading that the action denoted by the verb took place into some other place, passing through/via the location of the house. It is possible to posit that the locative applicative suffix introduces the PATH and that the GOAL is implicit.

- (23) c. (iv) Ekisaawe kigend-(er)-a-*(ko) (o)-mu-kazi
 E- ki- saawe ki- gend-er #_{i,j} -a- ko [θ Goal]_{#i} / [θ Source]_j o-mu-kazi
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go-APPL- FV-17.CL 1PPX-
 1PX.woman
 ‘Through/via the field goes the woman to some other location’
- A *Ekisaawe kigendera o-mu-kazi
 E- ki- saawe ki- gend-er- a o- mu- kazi
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go- APPL-FV 1PPX-1PX.woman
 ‘The field goes for the woman’
- B *Ekisaawe kigendera mu-kazi
 E- ki- saawe ki- gend- er- a mu-kazi
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go- APPL- FV 1PX-woman
 ‘The field goes for the woman’
- C Ekisaawe kigenderako o-mu-kazi
 E-ki-saawe ki-gend-er #_{i,j} -a-ko [θ Goal]_{#i} / [θ Source]_j o-mu-kazi

Considering its morphosyntactic and interpretative properties, the following structural representation is posited for the above construction.

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{[CP [TP [SpecT}^1 \text{ [FocP [SpecFoc}^1 \text{] Foc [SpecT}^1 \text{ [DP ekisaawe] T} \\
 \text{7.AgrS} \\
 \text{[VoiceMidP [SpecVoiceMid ekisaawe] VoiceMid [VP [Specv}^1 \text{] [FocP [SpecFoc}^1 \text{]} \\
 \text{(+Theme} \\
 \text{-Agent)} \\
 \text{Foc [VP [Specv}^1 \text{] v [VP-gend-er-ko [SC(DPloc) [SpecD}^1 \text{ omukazi]} \\
 \text{(+Contrast) (-Cause) go-APPL-17.LOC}
 \end{array}$$

(+Definite
+Specific)

The above examples demonstrate how the morphosyntactic properties exhibit correlate with the semantic-pragmatic interpretative properties of the variants in respect of argument structure, the locative subject DP, and the (non-)obligatory occurrence of the postverbal DP corresponding to the Agent subject of the corresponding active verb construction, without the locative clitic suffix (see discussion in section 5.5.1 (10 i A-D)).

5.9.2 Passive intransitive motion verb locative inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic

The following sentence constructions with the verb *genda* ‘go’ exemplify the locative applicative suffix on the verb. These constructions have the interpretation of ‘the child goes exclusively to the field’. It was demonstrated that intransitive verb constructions with a Goal/Locative argument subject with locative morphology are felicitous with the locative applicative verb. The morphosyntactic and semantic-pragmatic properties discussed for (11d.ii A-D) partly obtain in the example sentences in (25d.ii A-D).

- (25) d.(ii) Ku kisaawe kugend-(er)-(w)-a-#(ko) (o)mukazi
 Ku ki-saawe ku- gend-er-w- #_{i,j} - a- ko [θ Goal]_{#i} / [θ Source]_j o-mu-
 kazi
 17LOC 7.field 17AgrS-go-APPL-PASS-FV-17.CL 1PPX- 1PX.woman
 ‘Through/via the field goes the woman to some other location’
- A #Ku kisaawe kugenderwa omukazi
 Ku ki-saawe ku- gend-er- w- #_{i,j} -a [θ Goal]_{#i} / [θ Source]_j o-mu-kazi
 17LOC 7.field 17AgrS-go-APPL-PASS-FV 1PPX-1PX.woman
 ‘Through/via the field goes the woman to some other location’
- B #Ku kisaawe kugenderwa mukazi
 Ku ki-saawe ku- gend-er- w- #_{i,j} -a [θ Goal]_{#i} / [θ Source]_j mu-kazi
 17LOC 7.field 17AgrS-go-APPL-PASS-FV 1PX.woman
 ‘Through/via the field goes the woman to some other location’
- C Ku kisaawe kugenderwako omukazi
 Ku ki-saawe ku- gend-er- w- #_{i,j} -a-ko [θ Goal]_{#i} / [θ Source]_j o-mu-
 kazi
 17LOC 7.field 17AgrS-go-APPL-PASS-FV-17.CL 1PPX-
 1PX.woman
 ‘Through/via the field went the woman to some other location’

- (26) d.(iii) Ekisaawe kigendebwa *(ko) (o)mukazi
 E- ki-saawe ki- gend- w- a- ko o- mu- kazi
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS -go- PASS-FV-17.CL 1PPX-1PX.woman
 ‘The field is gone on by the woman’

Passive verb morphology constructions were discussed for the unergative verb **-kola** ‘work’, and intransitive motion verbs such as **-genda** ‘go’ can similarly appear in the passive, including in locative subject inversion constructions. In bare noun locative inversion constructions with a passive unacusative verb, the thematic role of the Theme/ is absorbed, and the Locative DP moves to the subject position. When the verb is unergative such as **-kola** ‘work’, the Agent theta-role is absorbed, and thus the locative DP can move to the subject position..

- A #Ekisaawe kigendwa o-mu-kazi
 E- ki- saawe ki- gend- w- a o- mu- kazi
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go- PASS-FV 1PPX-1PX.woman
 ‘The field goes for the woman’
- B #Ekisaawe kigendwa mu-kazi
 E- ki- saawe ki- gend- w- a mu- kazi
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go- PASS-FV 1PX.woman
 ‘The field went for the woman’

The example sentences (26d.iii A and B) are infelicitous. Both the locative clitic and the pre-prefix of the postverbal noun can be absent; in this case the sentence (26da. iii A) **#Ekisaawe kigendwa omukazi** ‘The field is is gone by the woman’ is grammatical but infelicitous, expressing the idiomatic reading that the woman runs/walks or digs/ cultivates the field very fast and easily (among other possible meanings). Similarly, the absence of the pre-prefix **o-** in (26d. iii B), **#Ekisaawe kigendwa mukazi**. ‘The field is gone on by the woman only’ is grammatical but infelicitous as well, expressing the idiomatic reading that the woman runs/walks or digs/cultivates the field very fast and easily only (among other possible meanings). Since these constructions are infelicitous, my discussion will be concerned with the grammatical and felicitous examples in (26d.iii C and D) that exemplify the occurrence of the locative clitic.

- C Ekisaawe kigend-ebwako o-mu-kazi
 E- ki- saawe ki- gend- w- a- ko o- mu- kazi
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go- PASS-FV-17CL 1PPX-1PX.woman
 ‘The field goes for the woman’
- D Ekisaawe kigendebwako mu-kazi [si musajja/yekka]
 E- ki- saawe ki- gend w- a- ko mu- kazi

7PPX-7PX- field 7AgrS-go- PASS- FV-17CL 1PX.woman
 ‘The field gone on by the woman (=It is the woman who goes to the field)’

In terms of its morphosyntactic and interpretative properties, I posit the following structural representation for the above construction.

[CP [TP [SpecT¹ [DP Ekisaawe]] T [VoicePasP [SpecVoicePas¹ [DP ekisaawe]]
 7PPX.PX.book 7AgrS

VoicePas [vP [Specv¹] v [vP -gend-wa-ko
 (+Theme (+Cause) work-PAS-18.LOC
 +Agent)

[DP [SpecD¹] [FocP [SpecFoc¹] FOC [DP [SpecD¹] [D¹ ku [DP ekisaawe]]
 (+Contrast) ProEmphatic
 (+Definite
 +Specific)

[DP [Det Ø] [NP mukazi]]]]]]]]
 1.woman

Example (26d.iii C) illustrates the occurrence of the class 7 bare noun location DP subject **ekisaawe** ‘field’ in the passive construction with the verb **-genda** ‘go’ with which the subject agreement prefix is coreferential. This example furthermore demonstrates that the agent DP **omukazi** ‘woman’ is optional with suffixation of the locative clitic **-ko**. Thus, when the agent DP is present, it occurs as an adjunct phrase. This property of the optionality of the agent phrase is generally a characteristic of passive verb constructions in many languages, including Bantu languages..

In respect to its event semantics, the example (26d iii C and D) denotes an activity event, having the features [+Dynamic], [+Telic], and [+Durative], hence it denotes a causative event. The construction has two possible readings, namely that the going of woman that took place in the past at the time the utterance it was made, or a generic reading, denoting that the activity that takes place usually, but not necessarily precisely at the time of the utterance. The causative event designated by the sentence evidenced by the permissibility of a manner adverbial as in **Ekisaawe kigendwako bulungi omukazi** ‘The field goes on well by the women’ or instrument adverbial such as **Ekisaawe kigendwako bulungi mukazi** ‘The field goes on well went was gone well by the woman’, and also the use of **ne** ‘and/with (by means of) a small car’ as in the sentence **Ekisaawe kigendwako ne mmotoka entonono** ‘The field is gone on by the women with a small car’. The purpose clause is also another diagnostic test

to establish whether the agent is (implicitly) expressed in the construction as in **Ekisaawe kigendwako omukazi okubaka omupiira** ‘The field was gone by the woman so that she plays netball’. The addition of these adverbials as diagnostics for establishing agentive, hence causative semantics, modify the agent DP **omukazi** ‘woman’, even when this agent argument is overtly absent, i.e. it is implicit. This provides evidence that the constructions (26d.iii C and D) possess an agent, which can be explicit or implicit.

In terms of definiteness and specificity, example (26d.iii C and D) bearing the class 7 bare noun subject **ekisaawe** ‘field’ encoding a general location of where going (by woman) took place. In the discourse context, the speaker expresses the meaning of **ekisaawe** ‘field’ as having a definite reading in that the hearer is familiar with the fact that the town is the location where there is going by (the) woman, without knowing exactly which field, the hearer is not able to name the particular field in terms of the identifiability criterion. Therefore, the head noun **omukazi** ‘woman’ of the postverbal optional agent DP has definite reading since the interlocutors are familiar with the topic **omukazi** ‘woman’ in the context of discourse. The argument **omukazi** ‘woman’, is thus, non-specific due to the prefixed postverbal argument in **o-mukazi** ‘woman’.

In view of the information structural interpretation, the class 7 bare noun subject **ekisaawe** ‘the field’ in (26d.iii C) exemplifies the properties of a contrastive topic, i.e. a topic constituent with a (contrastive) focus reading. This locative DP preverbal inherent or implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading excludes the entire set of all possible alternative referents existing in the knowledge of the addressee such as **oluggya** ‘courtyard’, **e-nnimiro** ‘garden’, and many others. It may also have a contrastive focus constituent with an implicit alternative reading, which can be made explicit by adding an alternative constituent in a **si** ‘not’ phrase **si musajja** ‘not man’, illustrated in (26d.iii D). It can be deduced from the analysis that, the passive suffix **-w-**, and the locative clitic **-ku** introduces specificity and an exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the bare noun locative DP **kisaawe** ‘the field’. In addition, to introducing emphasis relating to a contrastive focus reading, the locative clitic **-ko** encodes interiority.

5.9.4 Passive intransitive motion verb locative inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic

In the (27d.iv C and D), the suffixation of the locative applicative suffix to the motion verb **kola** ‘work’ introduces a thematic role changes from GOAL to PATH. The locative applicative suffix **-er-** encodes two possible changes of thematic roles in the construction, one being the Goal thematic role [# θ Goal], which does not demonstrate the intended meaning of denoting the location where the action of the main verb took place, but rather introduces a change of thematic role to Source role [θ Source], with the interpretation that the action of the argument takes place, for example into some other place passing through/via the house location. Thus the reading obtains that the woman did not go to the field (which is the original meaning), but rather that the woman passes via or through the field to go to some other location.

- (27) d.(iv) Ekisaawe kigenderwa#(ko) (o)mu-kazi
 E-ki-saawe ki-gend-er- #_{i,j} w-a-ko [θ Goal]_{#i} / [θ Source]_j o-mu-kazi
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go-APPL-PASS-FV-17.CL 1PPX-1PX.woman
 ‘Through/via the field goes the woman to some other location’
- A #Ekisaawe kigenderwa o-mu-kazi
 E-ki-saawe ki-gend-er- #_{i,j} w-a [θ Goal]_{#i} / [θ Source]_j o-mu-kazi
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go-APPL-PASS-FV 1PPX-1PX.woman
 ‘The field goes for the woman’
- B #Ekisaawe kigenderwa mu-kazi
 E- ki-saawe ki- gend-er- #_{i,j} w- a [θ Goal]_{#i} / [θ Source]_j mu-kazi
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go-APPL-PASS-FV 1PX- woman
 ‘The field goes for the woman’
- C Ekisaawe kigenderwako o-mu-kazi
 E-ki-saawe ki-gend-er- #_{i,j} w-a-ko [θ Goal]_{#i} / [θ Source]_j o- mu- kazi
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go-APPL-PASS-FV-17CL 1PPX- 1PX.woman
 ‘The field is gone through by the woman to some other location’
- D Ekisaawe kigenderwako mu-kazi
 E-ki-saawe ki-gend-er- #_{i,j} w-a-ko [θ Goal]_{#i} / [θ Source]_j mu-kazi
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go-APPL-PASS-FV-17CL 1PX-woman
 ‘The field is gone through by the woman to some other location’

In (27d. iv A), **#Ekisaawe kigenderwa omukazi** ‘The field goes the woman’ is infelicitous. It has the idiomatic reading that the field is interestingly and easily gone to by the woman. Similarly, the sentence construction (27d. iv B) **#Ekisaawe kigenderwa mukazi** ‘The field goes the woman’ is also infelicitous, although it expresses the idiomatic reading that the field is interestingly and easily gone to/through by the woman only. However, with the suffixation of the locative clitic in (27d. iv C and 22d.iv D), the sentences are felicitous and grammatical.

I selectively discuss the properties regarding argument structure, event semantics, definiteness and specificity, and information structural properties for (5c.iii C), (5c.iii D), (26d iii C), and (26d iii D).

5.10 NEUTER-PASSIVE (STATIVE) INTRANSITIVE MOTION VERB LOCATIVE INVERSION CONSTRUCTION WITHOUT THE LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX, AND WITH A LOCATIVE MORPHOLOGY SUBJECT, AND WITH/WITHOUT LOCATIVE CLITIC

This section illustrates stative motion verb without an applicative suffix construction with a locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic in (5.10.1); the stative motion verb with an applicative inversion construction with locative morphology subject inversion with/without a locative clitic in (5.10.2); the stative motion verb without an applicative suffix inversion construction with bare noun subject inversion with/without locative clitic (5.10.3), and the stative motion verb with an applicative inversion construction with bare noun subject inversion with/without locative clitic in (5.10.4)

5.10.1 Neuter-passive (stative) intransitive motion verb locative inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with a locative morphology subject, and with/without locative clitic

In this section, I explore stative verb constructions with the inherently directed motion verbs **genda** ‘go’. I further examine the interpretative property of these constructions in respect to the dispositional middle reading they exemplify in sentences expressing a habitual state situation type. I examine the interpretative properties of these stative verb construction variants with respect to their thematic roles properties, event types, definiteness and /or specificity, and information structure of the DP constituents of the verb **genda** ‘go’ exemplified in (28e.i), with its variants in (28e.i A – D):

- (28) e.(i) Ku kisaawe kugendeka(ko) omukazi [pro[cl 17]]
 Ku ki- saawe ku gend- ek- a- ko o- mu- kazi
 17LOC 7PX.field 17AgrS-go- STAT- FV-17CL 1PPX-1PX-woman
 ‘It was possible for the woman to go on the field’.

The bare noun subject locative inversion constructions with stative verbs in (28e. i A-D), like the locative morphology subject inversion constructions, demonstrate that the stative suffix, similarly to the passive verb suffix, in locative inversion constructions, suppress the agent

argument of the corresponding active verb. The examples (28e. i A-D) and (30e. iii A-D) illustrate that, although the stative verb and passive verb locative inversion are similar in respect to the suppression, or demotion, of the corresponding active verb agent argument, they differ in some aspects. Morphologically, the Agent is demoted by the passive morpheme *-w* in passive verb constructions, and by the perfective aspect morpheme *-ik/-ek* in stative verb locative inversion constructions. Syntactically, the difference concern the optional appearance of the demoted or suppressed Agent argument, and the tense-aspect properties. In stative verb locative inversion constructions, the Agent is suppressed and cannot be expressed as a by-phrase Agent, but it can optionally appear as an adjunct phrase in passive verb constructions. With respect to tense and aspect properties, stative verb clauses can appear in a limited tenses, given the perfective semantics of the stative suffix *-ik/-ek*. Stative verb constructions are possible only in the perfective aspect, i.e. the present perfective, past perfective and future perfective. In respect to locative inversion, stative verb constructions differ from passive verb constructions in that the former are possible only with a restricted number of verbs, which entail, but do not always require, a goal argument.

- A Ku kisaawe kugendeka omukazi.
 Ku ki- saawe ku gend- ek- a- o- mu- kazi |
 17LOC 7PX.field 17AgrS-go- STAT- FV 1PPX-1PX-woman
 ‘It is possible for the woman to go to the field’.

Locative morphology subject inversion and bare noun subject inversion are similar in a number of ways, despite exemplifying some differences as outlined above. Both sentence constructions occur with intransitive verbs, including inherently directed motion verbs and unergative verbs, and also with transitive verbs (as will be examined in Chapter Six of this study). The verb can take a locative clitic, such as *-mu* with the unergative verb *-kola* ‘work’, where the locative clitic *-mu* is obligatory in bare noun subject inversion constructions, whereas in locative morphology subject inversion constructions it is not obligatory. In both sentence constructions, the post-verbal argument, such as *abaami* ‘men’ has the discourse-pragmatic property of being focused; therefore, it cannot be left implicit.

Bare noun subject inversion occurs with an intransitive verbs such as *-kola* ‘work’, and *-genda* ‘go’, where the locative DP moves to the subject position. This kind of derivation affirms the view that an unergative verb can appear in an unaccusative frame if the construction contains a locative expression (see Hoekstra & Mulder, 1990; Levin and Rappaport Hovav, 1995).

The following example sentences (29e.ii A-D) illustrate that the applicative suffix is not compatible with the stative verb suffix. Therefore these sentences are ungrammatical with the applicative. The reason for this incompatibility relates to the inherent [+Dynamic] event semantic feature of the locative applicative suffix and the inherent [-Dynamic] nature of the stative suffix.

- (29) e.(ii) Ku kisaawe kugend(*er)eka(ko) omukazi [pro[cl 17]]
 Ku ki- saawe ku gend- er-ek- a- ko o- mu- kazi
 17LOC 7PX.field 17AgrS-go- APPL- STAT- FV-17CL 1PPX-1PX-woman
 ‘It is possible for the woman to go on the field’.
- A Ku kisaawe kugend(*er)eka omukazi.
 Ku ki- saawe ku- gend- er- ek- a- o- mu- kazi
 17LOC 7PX.field 17AgrS-go- APPL-STAT- FV 1PPX-1PX-woman
 ‘It is possible for the woman to go to the field’.
- B Ku kisaawe kugend(*er)ka omukazi.
 Ku ki- saawe ku gend- er- ek- a- mu- kazi
 17LOC 7PX.field 17AgrS-go- APPL-STAT- FV 1PX-woman
 ‘It is possible for the woman to go to the field’.
- C Ku kisaawe kugend(*er)ekako omukazi.
 Ku ki- saawe ku- gend- er- ek- a- ko o- mu- kazi
 17LOC 7PX.field 17AgrS-go- APPL-STAT- FV-17CL 1PPX-1PX-woman
 ‘It is possible for the woman to go on the field’.
- D Ku kisaawe kugend(*er)ekako omukazi.
 Ku ki- saawe ku gend- er- ek- a- ko mu- kazi
 17LOC 7PX.field 17AgrS-go- APPL-STAT- FV-17CL 1PX-woman
 ‘It is possible for the woman to go on the field’.

The above examples demonstrate that the locative applicative suffix cannot co-occur with the stative verb suffix the applicative in bare noun locative inversion constructions.

5.10.3 Neuter-passive (stative) intransitive motion verb locative inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with a bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic

In this section, I refer to the example (30e. iii) to examine the interpretative properties relating to thematic roles, and argument structure, event type, (in)definiteness and /or (non-)specificity of the postverbal DP, and the information structural status of the DP constituents of the variants of the stative verb constructions, as they occur in examples (30e.iii A–D). In particular, I discuss properties of argument structure, the locative subject DP, and the

occurrence of the postverbal DP **omukazi** ‘woman’, realized as the Agent subject of the corresponding verb **-genda** ‘go’.

As pointed out before, bare noun subject inversion constructions without the locative clitic are ungrammatical in regard to expressing the typical reading associated with locative inversion, as illustrated in the infelicitous constructions in (30e.iii A and B) above. Both the locative prefix of the subject DP and the locative clitic can be absent, in which case the sentence (18a. B) **#Ekisaawe kigendeka omukazi** ‘The field is possible for woman to go to the field’ is grammatical, but infelicitous, having the idiomatic reading that the woman runs/walks or digs/ cultivates the field very fast and easily (among other possible meanings). Similarly, in the absence of the locative prefix **ku** in (18a D), **#Ekisaawe kigendeka mukazi**. ‘The field is possible for the woman to go on’ the sentence is grammatical, but infelicitous, having the idiomatic interpretation that the woman runs/walks or digs/cultivates the field very fast and easily only (among other possible meanings). Given that these sentences are infelicitous, I will examine and discuss the felicitous examples (30e.iii C and D) which exhibit the locative clitic.

- (30) e.(iii) Ekisaawe kigend(eka)#(ko) o-mu-kazi
 E- ki- saawe ki- gend- ek- a- ko o- mu- kazi
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go- STAT-FV-17CL 1PPX-1PX.woman
 ‘It is possible for the woman to go to the field’
- A #Ekisaawe kigendeka o-mu-kazi
 E- ki- saawe ki- gend- ek- a o- mu- kazi
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go- STAT-FV 1PPX-1PX.woman
 ‘It is possible for the woman to go to the field’
- B #Ekisaawe kigendeka mu-kazi
 E- ki- saawe ki- gend-ek- a mu-kazi
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go- STAT-FV 1PX.woman
 ‘It is possible for the woman to go to the field’
- C Ekisaawe kigendekako o-mu-kazi
 E- ki- saawe ki- gend- ek- a- ko o- mu- kazi
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go- STAT-FV-17CL 1PPX-1PX.woman
 ‘It is possible for the woman to go to the field’
- D Ekisaawe kigendekako mu-kazi
 E- ki- saawe ki- gend- ek- a- ko mu-kazi

Considering its morphosyntactic and interpretative properties, the following structural representation can be posited for the above sentence.

[CP [TP [SpecT¹ [DP ekisaawe]] T [VoiceMidP [SpecVoiceMid¹ ekisaawe]
7.field 1.AgrS

VoiceMid [vP [Specv¹] v [VP -gend-ek-a-ko
(+Theme (-Cause) go-STAT-FV-17.LOC
-Agent)

[DP [SpecD¹] [FocP [SpecFoc¹] FOC [DP [SpecD¹] [DP ~~ku~~ [DP [Det e]
(+Contrast) 17.Pro.Emphatic
(+Definite
+Specific)

[NP ~~kibuga~~ [DP [Det Ø] mukazi]]]]]]]]]
woman

As pointed out, in the bare noun subject locative inversion illustrated in (30e. iii) with the intransitive motion verb **genda** ‘go’, the locative clitic is obligatory. Thus, the examples (30e. iii A and 30e.iii B) are ungrammatical. Therefore my discussion will concentrate on examples (30e. iii C and 38e. iii D) which are grammatical.

Concerning the thematic role and the argument structure, the sentence (30e.iii C) illustrates the obligatory occurrence of the (class 17) locative clitic **-ko** in the verbal morphology. The obligatory occurrence of the locative clitic **-ko**, introduces a contrastive focus reading encoding the exteriority of the locative noun **ekisaawe** ‘the field’ occurring in the subject position. The locative clitic **-ko** encodes a deictic distinction for place referents, in addition, to some other pragmatic properties such as emphasis and specificity. The locative clitic also encodes that the generic activity process is in progress. This locative noun **ekisaawe** ‘field’ can also allow another clitic **-mu** for class 18 encoding interiority, but it cannot allow class 16 **wa** or class 23 **e**. The locative clitic may denote the presupposition of familiarity of the referent on the side of the addressee.

The example (30e. iii C and D) also illustrates that, locative clitic **-ko** denotes locational exteriority locatable by both the speaker and the hearer. The appearance of the obligatory locative clitic **-ko** on the verbs is associated with the features [+definite +specific]. The referent of the inverted locative DP in **ekisaawe** ‘the field’ may have been a familiar topic of discussion in the prior discourse. The absence of the locative clitic **-ko** encodes a felicitous and grammatical construction, where **Ekisaawe kigendekako baami** ‘The town is possible for the men to work’, would mean that the locative noun thereof ‘**ekibuga**’ is specified for both definiteness and specificity features. In terms of the common ground knowledge of the

interlocutors it is assumed that the implicit locative noun is familiar as in **Abaami bakolamu** ‘men work in it’. The absence of the lexical head noun thus presupposes the existence of an antecedent. Hence the view is plausible that the locative clitics encodes definiteness and specificity properties in the same way as the agreement object prefix in the absence of a lexical (locative) noun. Thus, the locative **-ko** encodes a familiar locative noun referent.

Furthermore, (30e.iii C) illustrates the optional occurrence of the postverbal noun **omukazi** ‘woman’ in the postverbal DP, and if **omukazi** ‘woman’ occurs, then it has an optional occurrence of its pre-prefix.

In the bare noun subject locative inversion construction, the referent of the preverbal locative DP is the subject of the locative inversion construction. Thus, based on word order, the locative DP obtains a definite reading. In bare noun locative inversion, where the bare noun is a topic constituent with a contrastive focus feature, the referent of a preposed argument is viewed to express presupposed or hearer-old information. The post-verbal DP agrees with the intransitive verb **genda** ‘go’. The subject is thus familiar, like a direct object referent would be when cross-referenced with an agreement object prefix.

With respect to the thematic role properties, the class 7 bare noun locative subject argument **ekisaawe** ‘the field’ encodes a ‘general (town)’ locational dimension, a view that is supported by the optional occurrence of class 18 locative clitic. Stative (neuter-passive) verb morphology in Luganda, and generally in Bantu languages, suppresses the agent argument of the corresponding (agentive) base verb, and given its optional occurrence, the postverbal DP **omukazi** ‘men’ appears an adjunct with a theme-like, not an agent interpretation.

In terms of aspectual verb types, the anti-causative event semantics associated with the stative verbal suffix **-ek**, (30e.iii C) introduces the reading of a generic statement, denoting that **Ekisaawe kigendako omukazi** ‘The town there is the possibility or potentiality of working (for men)’ in the sense that the subject DP **ekibuga** ‘the town’ has a dispositional ascription reading as a location of the possible or potential action of men working. The event situation of (habitual) state is thus denoted by (30e.iii C and D), as is the case in (30e. iii C and D).

The postverbal DPs in (30e. iii C and D) has an indefinite, non-specific reading if the noun **omukazi** appears with its pre-prefix. In addition, the DP has a specific reading, in terms of familiarity with the referent **omukazi** ‘woman’, or a definite –specific reading, if both the interlocutors share knowledge of the referent **omukazi** ‘woman’ in terms of identifiability in

the discourse context. The subject DP **ekisaawe** ‘field’ has a specificity reading, since within their common ground knowledge, both the interlocutors have a familiarity with **ekisaawe** ‘the field’ as a possible location of work for men as a result of the speaker’s utterance. The DP **ekisaawe** ‘the field’ may also have a definiteness interpretation if, in the discourse context, both the interlocutors have knowledge of the particular town, i.e. know the name of the town in terms of the identifiability criterion. Thus, with regard to (in)definiteness and (non)specificity, the interpretation obtains that the invisible location **ekisaawe** ‘the field’ is familiar. When the locative DP appears in the subject position, the information expressed in this locative DP is assumed to be known to the hearer.

In terms of information structural status, the DP subject **ekisaawe** ‘the field’ has a contrastive focus reading, with an implicit alternative reading. The inverted locative argument seem to be familiar to the hearer, thus, looking at example (30e. iii C and D), it is presumed that the hearer has previous knowledge about the topic under discussion. The postverbal DP, **omukazi** ‘woman’ similarly encodes a contrastive focus reading in terms of implicit alternative, which can be realized as an explicit alternative, as demonstrated in **Ekisaawe kigendekamu omukazi (abaana, abavubuka, n’abantu abalala)** ‘The field is possible for the woman to go in (the children, the youth, and other alternatives’ (cf. Krifka et al, 1995).

5.10.4 Neuter-passive (stative) intransitive motion verb locative inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic

In the example sentences (31e.iii A-D) it is evident that the locative applicative suffix—**er**—marked by the asterisk (*) is not permissible in stative constructions marked by the suffix —**ek**. Therefore the example sentences (31e.iv A-D) are ungrammatical with the locative applicative suffix —**ek**.

- (31) e. (iv) Ekisaawe kigend(*er)eka(ko) o-mu-kazi
 E- ki- saawe ki- gend- er- ek- a- ko o- mu- kazi
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go- APPL-STAT-FV-17CL 1PPX-1PX.woman
 ‘It is possible for the woman to go through/via the field to some other location’
- A Ekisaawe kigend(*er)eka o-mu-kazi
 E- ki- saawe ki- gend- er- ek- a o- mu- kazi
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go- APPL-STAT-FV 1PPX-1PX.woman
 ‘It is possible for the woman to go through/via the field to some other location’

- B Ekisaawe kigend(*er)eka o-mu-kazi
 E- ki- saawe ki- gend- er- ek- a mu- kazi
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go- APPL-STAT-FV 1PX- woman
 ‘It is possible for the woman to go through/via the field to some other location’
- C Ekisaawe kigend(*er)ekako o-mu-kazi
 E- ki- saawe ki- gend- er- #_{i,j} ek-a-ko [θ Goal]_{#i} / [θ Source]_j o-mu-kazi
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go-APPL-STAT-FV-17.CL 1PPX-1PX.woman
 ‘It is possible for the woman to go through/via the field to some other location’
- D Ekisaawe kigend(*er)ekako o-mu-kazi
 E- ki- saawe ki- gend- er- ek- a- ko mu- kazi
 7PPX-7PX-field 7AgrS-go- APPL-STAT-FV-17CL 1PX-woman
 ‘It is possible for the woman to go through/via the field to some other location’

The properties of example sentences (30e. iii A-D) obtain in the constructions in (31e.iv A-D) without a locative applicative suffix in regard to the thematic roles exemplified, and the argument or adjunct status of the locative DP, the event (or situation) type, definiteness and/or specificity of the DP constituents, and the information structural properties of topic, focus and contrast.

5.11 SUMMARY

This chapter investigated a range of intransitive active, passive, and stative unergative and motion verb constructions in Luganda containing a locative DP, with/without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without the locative clitic. The constructions examined in this chapter were analysed in respect of their interpretative thematic role properties, event semantics, definiteness and specificity, and information structure. In section 5.3 and 5.7, the occurrence of the active unergative verbs **-kola** ‘work’ and **genda** ‘go constructions with/without the locative applicative suffix, and with a postverbal locative, and with/without a locative clitic, was explored, and the interpretations associated with the respective variants were discussed. The investigation further demonstrated in section 5.4 and 5.8 the occurrence of active unergative verb constructions with/without the locative applicative suffix in locative morphology subject inversion, and with /without a locative clitic. The examination in section 5.5 and 5.9 demonstrated the occurrence of the passive unergative verb construction with a locative morphology subject, and with/without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic. In addition, the neuter-passive (stative) verb constructions with a locative morphology subject, and with/without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic was discussed in section 5.6 and 5.10. It was demonstrated from the analysis that Luganda intransitive unergative and motion verbs allow locative

morphology and bare noun subject locative inversion only with the obligatory suffixation of the locative clitic. In the event of the absence of the clitic, the constructions are infelicitous. Unergative verbs generally do not entail a location, thus, they require an applicative suffix to introduce a small clauses complement. Motion verbs such as **genda** ‘go’ with an inherent location argument, do not require the locative applicative suffix to select a small clause complement. In respect to the categorial status of the locative, the chapter has demonstrated that locative expressions are nominal, realized in DP projections, although they exhibit some prepositional properties. The subject agreement prefix on the verb may realize agreement with a lexical argument, or may have an expletive reading. It was demonstrated that the locative DPs in the constructions examined were either are base-generated in a subject (topic) position, or they occur in the subject position as a result of movement from a postverbal position, exemplifying varying information structural interpretations.

This chapter investigated the question of how aspects of the interpretative readings of active, passive and stative intransitive verb constructions containing a locative, correlate with properties of their argument structure in various structural positions, e.g. in subject position or the postverbal position. Thus argument realization, particularly locative inversion, as an argument alternation construction, was explored in respect to a number of variants. It was demonstrated in the analysis that the properties of argument realization relate to the interpretation of constructions regarding event semantics, including causative/anti-causative properties of aspectual verb class expressed in sentences. The examination conducted on how the interpretative properties of sentences correlate with particular morphosyntactic properties of argument structure and event structure they exemplify also included positing a small clause analysis for (some) locative inversion constructions that have an anti-causative interpretation. Thus, the analysis demonstrated that the argument structure and event semantics interpretation provide evidence for positing an ergative and and unergative syntax for motion intransitive verb syntax for (some) locative inversion sentence constructions in terms of Hoekstra and Mulder’s (1990) and Hoekstra’s (1988) proposals concerning a small clause analysis for some locative inversion constructions, and Pross’s (2020) event semantics proposals concerning a dispositional ascription reading of the subject argument of some locative inversion sentences. Manner and instrument adverbials, and purpose clause diagnostics have been applied to explore properties of arguments relating to causative/anticausative readings and aspectual verb class. This chapter, thus explored the interface properties of argument structure and event semantics, demonstrating that the

properties of the event are expressed in the sentence variants in terms of [\pm Dynamic/ \pm Agentive], [\pm Telic], and [\pm Durative] determining the situation (event) type of various sentences.

In regard to definiteness and specificity, this chapter considered Lyons's (1999) notions of familiarity, identifiability, inclusiveness and uniqueness in exploring the semantic-pragmatic interpretation of the interlocutors' understanding of the various sentences in discourse-pragmatic context. It was demonstrated that in some locative inversion constructions the postverbal argument, e.g. **abaami** 'men' is indefinite, expressing the reading of unfamiliarity of the referent to the interlocutors in terms of their common ground knowledge within the discourse-pragmatic context. However, this postverbal argument, e.g. **abaami** 'men', has a specific reading denoted by the presence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **a-baami** 'men'. The argument such as **baami** 'men' is indefinite due to unfamiliar reading that obtains to the interlocutors. The argument such as **baami** 'men' has a specificity reading and a contrastive focus reading denoted by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **baami** 'men'.

Another dimension of investigation conducted in this chapter regards the information structural status of various constituents, including DP, v/VP and the clausal constituents, with regard to focus, topic, and contrast, in respect to interlocutors' knowledge in the particular discourse of context. In this regard, Repp's (2016) three-fold distinction of explicit alternative, explicit alternative set, and implicit alternative was employed, in addition to views from Lambrecht, (1994) regarding information structural notions. It was demonstrated that Luganda exemplifies the realization of focus, both on the preverbal subject position and the postverbal position of some constructions. The morphosyntactic properties of argument structure, in particular argument realization in locative inversion constructions, and the occurrence of the locative applicative suffix, were particularly considered. The interpretative properties of constituents in sentence construction variants examined, provided evidence for positing a focus projection on the v/VP edge (left periphery), and the clausal constituent, for particular constituents.

This chapter explored the interpretive properties of intransitive unergative and motion verb constructions with respect to the interface of information structure and morphosyntactic properties in variants of active, passive, and stative verb construction, invoking in particular the cartography studies perspective of generative syntax concerning the postulation of discourse-related projections in the left-periphery of constituents. In addition, this chapter

posited structural representations for the respective sentence variants, taking into account the information structural properties of topic, focus and contrast realized in the respective intransitive verb sentence constructions. These interpretative aspects have been considered in proposing structural representations for the respective sentence variants, invoking the functional categories of Voice (specified as Voice (act(ive)), Voice Pas(sive), and Voice Mid(dle) (for stative verb and some locative inversion constructions), respectively), and ('little') v (specified for \pm CAUSE indicating a causative or anti-causative reading, respectively).

For the purpose of presenting a holistic tabulated view, table 5.3 below illustrates the properties of the variants of the intransitive verb constructions examined in this chapter. The unergative intransitive verbs **-kola** 'work' and the motion verb **-genda** 'go' exemplify considerable similarities, with a few instances of variation, as the discussion in this chapter has demonstrated. The verbs **-kola** 'work' and **-genda** 'go' are representative of intransitive unergative and motion verbs, respectively, which exhibit similar properties in regard to the following morphosyntactic and semantic-pragmatic properties of the intransitive verb constructions with locatives investigated : canonical active verb construction (AV), locative inversion : locative morphology subject inversion (LMSI), bare noun subject inversion (BNSI), the locative clitic (CL), the locative applicative suffix (APPL), passive verb (PASS), stative verb (STAT), the pre-prefix (PPX), the locative prefix (LOCPX), definiteness (DEF), specificity (SPEC), generic reading (GEN), agent (AG) and contrastive focus (CFOC). The symbol (+) indicates the presence of a property, and the symbol (-) represents the absence of the property, while the symbol (\pm) indicates an either / feature.

The following table indicate (+) in the AV feature column due to the fact that all constructions have canonical sentences. In the next two columns I indicate the two types of locative inversions explored in this study viz. LMSI and BNSI. The mechanism concerning the occurrence of locative applicatives and locative clitics in passive and stative verb constructions and the occurrence of the pre-prefix is also investigated further in other constructions. In addition, the semantic-pragmatic interpretations in respect of definiteness and specificity, agent (or causative-anticausative) interpretations, and information structural encoding (of topic, focus and contrast) are represented.

Table 5:3: Morphosyntactic and semantic-pragmatic interpretative properties of unergative and motion verbs

		Mopho-syntactic properties									Semantic-pragmatic interpretative properties				
No		AV	LMSI	BNSI	CL	APPL	PASS	STAT	PPX	LOCPX	DEF	SPEC	GEN	AG	CFOC
a	a.	+	-	-	#	-	-	-	-	+	±	±	±	-	±
	A	+	-	-	±	-	-	-	-	+	±	±	±	-	+
	B	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	C	+	-	-	±	-	-	-	-	+	±	±	±	+	±
	D	+	-	-	±	-	-	-	-	+	±	±	±	+	±

b	B	+	-	-	±	+	-	-	-	+	±	±	±	±	±
	A	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	±	+	+	+
	B	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	#	#	#	+	±
	C	+	-	-	±	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	D	+	-	-	±	+	-	-	-	-	#	#	#	+	+
c	(i)	+	+	-	±	-	-	-	±	±	±	±	±	±	±
	A	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	±	±	+	+	+
	B	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	±	±	+	+	+
	C	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	±	±	+	+	+

	D	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	±	±	+	+	+
c	(ii)	+	+	-	±	+	-	-	-	-	±	±	+	+	+
	A	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	±	±	±	+	+
	B	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	±	±	±	+	+
	C	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	±	±	±	+	+
	D	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	±	±	±	+	+
c	(iii)	+	-	+	±	-	-	-	±	-	±	±	±	+	+
	A	+		#+	-	-	-	-	+	-	±	±	±	+	+
	B	+		#+	-	-	-	-	-	-	±	±	±	+	+

	C	+		+	+	-	-	-	+	-	±	±	±	+	+
	D	+								-					
c	(iv)	+		#+	+	+	-	-	±	-	±	±	±	+	+
	A	+		#+	-	+	-	-	+	-	±	±	±	+	+
	B	+		#+	-	+	-	-	-	-	±	±	±	+	+
	C	+		+	+	+	-	-	+	-	±	±	±	+	+
	D	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	±	±	±	+	+
d	(i)	+	+	-	±	-	+	-	±	-	±	±	±	+	+
	A	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	±	±	±	+	+

	B	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	±	±	±	+	+
	C		+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	±	±	±	+	+
	D	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	±	±	±	+	+
d	(ii)	+	#+	-	+	+	+	-	±	-	±	±	+	+	+
	A	+	#+	-	+	+	+	-	±	-	±	±	±	+	+
	B	+	#+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	±	±	±	+	+
	C	+	#+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	±	±	±	+	+
	D	+	#+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	±	±	±	+	+
d	(iii)	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	±	-	±	±	±	+	+

	A	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	±	±	±	+	+
	B	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	±	±	±	+	+
	C	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	±	±	±	+	+
	D	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	±	±	±	+	+
d	(iv)	+	-	#+	+	+	+	-	±	-	±	±	±	+	+
	A	+	-	#+	+	+	+	-	+	-	±	±	±	+	+
	B	+	-	+	-	*+	+	-	-	-	±	±	±	+	+
	C	+	-	+	+	*+	+	-	+	-	±	±	±	+	+
	D	+	-	+	+	*+	+	-	-	-	±	±	±	+	+

e	(i)	+	+	-	±	-	-	+	±	-	±	±	±	+	+
	A	+	+	-	-	-	-	+		-	±	±	±	+	+
	B	+	+	-	-	-	-	+		-	±	±	±	+	+
	C	+	+	-	+	-	-	+		-	±	±	±	+	+
	D	+	+	-	+	-	-	+		-	±	±	±	+	+
e	(ii)	+	+	-	±	-	-	+	±	-	±	±	±	+	+
	A	+	+	-	-	*+	-	+	+	-	±	±	±	-	+
	B	+	+	-	-	*+	-	+	-	-	±	±	±	-	+
	C	+	+	-	+	*+	-	+	+	-	±	±	±	-	+

	D	+	+	-	+	*+	-	+	-	-	±	±	±	-	+
e	(iii)	+	-	+	±	-	-	+	±	-	±	±	±	-	+
	A	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	±	±	±	+	+
	B	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	±	±	±	+	+
	C	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	±	±	±	+	+
	D	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	±	±	±	+	+
e	iv)	+	-	+	±	*+	-	+	±	-	±	±	±	-	+
	A	+	-	+	-	*+	-	+	+	-	±	±	±	-	+
	B	+	-	+	-	*+	-	+	-	-	±	±	±	-	+

	C	+	-	+	+	*+	-	+	+	-	±	±	±	-	+
	D	+	-	+	+	*+	-	+	+	-	±	±	±	-	+

In the table above, it is evident that the passive in Luganda is productive. In the locative subject morphology inversion passive sentences, the presence of the postverbal argument is optional. With regard to sentence information structure and the occurrence of the pre-prefix, the object argument may have a pre-prefix (+PPX) to indicate specificity(+SPEC), or may not have a pre-prefix(-PPX) as in **mukazi** ‘woman’ when there is no meaning of specificity. It has been mentioned throughout this chapter that, inversion locative applicative verbs with passive and locative clitic sentences are grammatical, but the internal argument thematic role changes from Goal to Path. The applicative **-er-** encodes two possible thematic roles, one of which is the Goal thematic role (# θ Goal), which does not yield a locative meaning (#+) of ‘expressing the location where the action of the main verb took place’, but rather denotes a change of thematic role to a Source role (θ Source), with the reading that ‘The action of the argument took place for example into some other place passing through/via the house location’. It has also been demonstrated in the analysis, as reflected in the table 5.3 with (*+) indicating that stative verbs do not permit the locative applicative suffix or passive morphology.

CHAPTER SIX

TRANSITIVE VERB CONSTRUCTIONS WITH A LOCATIVE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter investigates the question of how aspects of the locative-related interpretative properties of transitive active, passive and neuter-passive(stative) verb constructions containing a locative DP, correlate with their morphosyntactic properties, and properties of argument structure (realization), and thematic role readings. The properties of argument realization, particularly locative inversion, as an argument alternation construction, are examined for the respective active, passive and neuter-passive (stative) verb alternates, also referred to as variants, of the verbs **-nywa** ‘drink’. In addition to the arguments of intransitive verbs examined in chapter Five, transitive verbs have an additional argument, the object argument DP, which I consider in the current chapter, in respect to argument realization. The investigation of the properties of argument structure (realization) conducted in this chapter, relates the morphosyntactic properties of sentence constructions to the analysis of their event semantics, including causative/anti-causative properties, relevant to identifying aspectual verb class, referred to as situation types, in Smith’s (1997) classification of aspectual verb classes. The analysis of sentence constructions presented in this chapter thus demonstrates how the interpretative properties of sentences correlate with particular morphosyntactic properties of argument structure and event structure they exemplify. In this regard, the chapter includes discussion of the small clause analysis proposed by Hoekstra and Mulder (1990) for (some) locative inversion constructions that have an anti-causative middle-like reading. Thus, it will be illustrated that the argument structure and event semantics readings of some locative inversion constructions provide evidence for positing an ergative verb syntax for these constructions in terms of Hoekstra and Mulder’s (1990), and Pross’s (2020) event semantics proposals and dispositional ascription views of the subject argument of certain locative inversion constructions. In this regard, I examine the permissibility of the occurrence of manner adverbials such as **bulungi** ‘well’, of purpose clauses, for example, **okusobola/olw’ensonga/ olwokuba** ‘so that/in order to/because’, and instrument adverbials, in **ne** ‘with’ phrases, as diagnostics for establishing the status of sentences in regard to aspectual verb class. Thus, this chapter investigates the interface of argument structure and event semantics, taking into account the properties of the event type expressed in construction variants regarding [\pm Dynamic/ \pm Agentive], (where causative semantics is generally, but not

exclusively, associated with agentivity), [\pm Telic], and [\pm Durative] in determining the situation type of various sentences. (see discussion in Smith, 1997; Boneh & Doron, 2013; Cohen, 2018; Choi & Fara 2012; Pross, 2020).

In addition, this chapter investigates the semantic-pragmatic properties of definiteness and specificity of DP constituents in the transitive active, passive and neuter-passive (stative) verb sentence variants investigated. These properties are explored in respect to the (non-) occurrence of the locative clitic, and the (non-) occurrence of the pre-prefix of the postverbal DP in some sentence constructions, invoking Lyons's (1999) notions of familiarity, identifiability, inclusiveness and uniqueness, in considering the semantic-pragmatic factors of the speaker and hearer's/addressee's understanding and common ground knowledge in the discourse-pragmatic context. These interpretative properties of DP constituents are invoked for positing features of [\pm] definite and [\pm] specific in the determiner category head of DP constituents in the structural representations of the sentence construction variants examined. Thus, this dimension of the investigation, relates to exploring the interface of the semantic-pragmatic properties concerning definiteness and specificity, with the morphosyntactic realization and feature specification of the functional category Determiner.

A further dimension of the investigation in the current chapter of active, passive and neuter-passive sentence constructions containing locative constituents explores the information structural status of various phrase types, including DP, v/VP and clausal constituents, with regard to focus, topic, and contrast. In this regard, the speaker's and addressee's understanding and common ground knowledge in the particular discourse-pragmatic context, is analysed in terms of Repp's (2016) three-fold distinction of explicit alternative, explicit alternative set, and implicit alternative, and proposals by Lambrecht (1994), Krifka et al (1995), Kiss (1998), Aboh et al. (2010), Ertischik-Shir (2007), Neeleman and Vermeulen (2012) and Rizzi (1997) regarding notions of the syntacticization of information structural notions. The morphosyntactic properties of argument structure, in particular argument realization in locative inversion constructions, and the occurrence of the locative applicative suffix, are considered. The interpretative properties of constituents in the range of sentence construction variants examined are invoked to posit a focus projection on the left edge (periphery) of some instances of DP, v/VP, and clausal phrase, for particular constituents. Thus, the properties of sentence constructions discussed in this chapter, relate to the interface of information structure and morphosyntax, in particular the cartography studies

perspective of generative syntax concerning the postulation of discourse-related projections in the left-periphery of constituents, in positing structural representations taking into account information structural properties. The Focus phrase, and the focus -related feature specification of the Focus head, receive particular attention in this aspect of investigation of the chapter.

These respective interpretative and morphosyntactic properties examined for intransitive active, passive and neuter-passive (stative) verb construction, are invoked in proposing structural representations for these sentence construction variants. For this purpose, the functional categories of Voice (specified as Voice Act(ive), Voice Pas(sive), and Voice Mid(dle), for neuter-passive (stative) verb and some locative inversion constructions, respectively, and (little) v (specified for +/- CAUSE to indicate a causative or anti-causative reading, respectively), are particularly relevant, in addition to word order properties. Thus, the chapter presents an analysis of the argument structure and other interpretative properties relating to event structure, definiteness and specificity, and information structure, of canonical active verb sentence constructions, (non-canonical) argument alternation constructions, including locative inversion, passive verb and stative/neuter (medio-)-passive verb constructions. Taking into account the interpretations of various information structural properties (of a topic, focus, contrast) of various constituents, DP or v/VP, and the sentence as a whole, particular structural representations including feature specifications in Topic Phrase or Focus Phrase projections in the DP or v/VP or CP edge/periphery are proposed. (Chomsky, 1995; van Gelderen, 2013)

The remainder of this chapter is organized as follows. In Section 6.2, I discuss perspectives on the investigation of locative constructions in a syntax-interfaces approach. In section 6.3, I examine active verb constructions with the transitive verb **nywa** ‘drink’. Section 6.4 examines locative inversion constructions with an applicative transitive verb **nywa** ‘drink’. In section 6.5 the passive verb constructions with a locative constituent are examined. Section 6.6 examines locative inversion constructions with a stative a transitive verb **nywa** ‘read’. Lastly, section 6.7 summarizes the main issues addressed and findings of the chapter.

6.2 ANALYSIS OF PROPERTIES OF SENTENCE STRUCTURE VARIANTS WITH TRANSITIVE VERBS

Table 6.1 gives a holistic representation of the range of active, passive, and neuter-passive verb constructions that will be examined in this chapter in addressing the question of how the interpretative properties of these constructions as regards thematic roles of arguments, event semantics, definiteness and specificity, and information structural status of constituents, correlate with the morphosyntactic properties they exemplify, as specified in Table 6.1. Thus, regarding the properties of sentence structure variants (alternates), I examine the transitive verb constructions, beginning with the active verb construction of a sentence in (a) and (b) and the variants in (A, B, C, D). Locative inversion constructions of the same active verbs are presented in (c, d and e), with the locative applicative suffix verb construction in (c), passive verb construction in (d), and stative verb constructions in (e). The inversion sentences have variants A, B, C, and D. The morphosyntactic properties specified below are illustrated in detail for the transitive verb **-nywa** 'drink'. The following abbreviations are used in the table: AV: active verb, POSTVLOCA: postverbal locative argument, LMSI: locative morphology subject inversion, BNSI : bare noun subject inversion, CL: locative clitic, APPL: applicative, PASS: passive, STAT: stative, PPX : pre-prefix, LOCPX: locative prefix, AG: agent, OBJ= object, and A: argument

Table 6:1 Morphosyntactic properties of constructions with passives, neuter-passive (stative) transitive verb –nywa ‘drink’

Analytical properties of sentence structure variants (alternates) and their abbreviations			
No		Properties of LI with sative/medio/neuter-passive transitive verbs	Abbreviations
a	A	Active verb [-Applicative] construction with a postverbal locative argument with/without locative clitic, and with object argument	AV, -APPL, POSTVLOC.A, ±CL, OBJ.A
	A	Active verb [-Applicative] construction with a postverbal	AV, -APPL, OBJ.A,

		argument without locative clitic, and with object argument	POSTVLOC.A, - CL
	B	Active verb [-Applicative] construction with a non-prefix postverbal argument without locative clitic, and with object argument	AV, -APPL, POSTV.A-LOCPX, - CL, OBJ.A
	C	Active verb [-Applicative] construction with a prefixed postverbal locative argument with locative clitic, and with object argument	AV, -APPL, POSTV.A+LOCPX, +CL, ±OBJ.A
	D	Active verb [-Applicative] construction with a postverbal locative argument with locative clitic, and with object argument	AV, -APPL, POSTV.A-LOCPX, +CL, ±OBJ.A
b	B	Active verb [+Applicative] construction with a postverbal locative argument with/without the locative clitic, and with object argument	AV,+APPL, POSTVLOC.A, ±CL, ±OBJ.A
	A	Active verb [+Applicative] construction with a postverbal locative argument without the locative clitic, and with object argument	AV,+APPL, POSTVLOC.A, - CL, OBJ.A
	B	Active verb [+Applicative] construction with a non-prefix postverbal locative argument without the locative clitic, and with object argument	AV, +APPL, POSTV -PXLOC.A, - CL, OBJ.A
	C	Active verb [+Applicative] construction with a postverbal locative argument with/without the locative clitic, and with object argument	AV,+APPL, POSTVLOC.A,±CL, OBJ.A
	D	Active verb [+Applicative] construction with a non-prefix postverbal locative argument with/without the locative clitic,	AV,+APPL, POSTV-LOCPX.A,

		with object argument	±CL, OBJ.A
c	(i)	Active verb [-Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology with/without the locative clitic, with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	AV, -APPL, LMSI, ±CL, POSTV.A, ±OBJ.A
	A	Active verb [-Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology without the locative clitic, with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	AV, -APPL, LMSI, -CL, +PPXPOSTV.A, ±OBJ.A
	B	Active verb [-Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology without the locative clitic, without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	AV, -APPL, LMSI, -CL, -PPXPOSTV.A, ±OBJ.A
	C	Active verb [-Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology with the locative clitic, with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	AV, -APPL, LMSI, +CL, +PPXPOSTV.A, ±OBJ.A
	D	Active verb [-Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology with the locative clitic, without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	AV, -APPL, LMSI, +CL, -PPXPOSTV.A, ±OBJ.A
c	(ii)	Active verb [+Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology with/without the locative clitic, with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	AV, +APPL, LMSI, ±CL, -PPXPOSTV.A, ±OBJ.A

	A	Active verb [+Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology without the locative clitic, with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	AV, +APPL, LMSI, -CL, +PPXPOSTV.A, ±OBJ.A
	B	Active verb [+Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology without the locative clitic, without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	AV, +APPL, LMSI, -CL, -PPXPOSTV.A, ±OBJ.A
	C	Active verb [+Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology with the locative clitic, with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	AV, +APPL, LMSI, +CL, +PPXPOSTV.A, ±OBJ.A
	D	Active verb [+Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology with the locative clitic, with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	AV, +APPL, LMSI, +CL, -PPXPOSTV.A, ±OBJ.A
c	(iii)	Active verb [applicative] inversion construction with bare noun subject with/without locative clitic with/without pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	AV, -APPL, BNSI, ±CL, ±PPXPOSTV.A, ±OBJ.A
	A	Active verb [-applicative] inversion construction with bare noun subject without locative clitic, with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	AV, -APPL, BNSI, -CL, +PPXPOSTV.A, ±OBJ.A
	B	Active verb [-applicative] inversion construction with bare	AV, -APPL, BNSI, -

	noun subject without locative clitic, without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	CL, -PPXPOSTV.A, ±OBJ.A
C	Active verb [-applicative] inversion construction with bare noun subject with locative clitic, with pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	AV, -APPL, BNSI, +CL, +PPXPOSTV.A, ±OBJ.A
D	Active verb [-applicative] inversion construction with bare noun subject with locative clitic, without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	AV, -APPL, BNSI, +CL, - PPXPOSTV.A, ±OBJ.A
c (iv)	Active verb [+applicative] inversion construction with bare noun subject with/without locative clitic, with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, with object argument	AV, +APPL, BNSI, ±CL, ±PPXPOSTV.A, ±OBJ.A
A	Active verb [+applicative] inversion construction with bare noun subject without locative clitic, with a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	AV, +APPL, BNSI, -CL, +PPXPOSTV.A, ±OBJ.A
B	Active verb [+applicative] inversion construction with bare noun subject without locative clitic, without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	AV, +APPL, BNSI, -CL, - PPXPOSTV.A, ±OBJ.A
C	Active verb [+applicative] inversion construction with bare noun subject with locative clitic, with a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	AV, +APPL, BNSI, +CL, +PPXPOSTV.A,

			±OBJ.A
	D	Active verb [+applicative] inversion construction with bare noun subject with locative clitic, without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	AV, +APPL, BNSI, +CL, -PPXPOSTV.A, ±OBJ.A
d	(i)	Passive verb [-Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, with/without the locative clitic and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	PASS, -APPL, ±PPXPOSTVA, LMSI, ±CL, ±OBJ.A
	A	Passive verb [-Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, without the locative clitic and with a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	PASS, APPL, +PPXPOSTVA, LMSI, - CL
	B	Passive verb [-Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, without the locative clitic and a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	PASS, APPL, PPXPOSTVA, LMSI, - CL, ±OBJ.A
	C	Passive verb [-Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, with the locative clitic and with a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	PASS, -APPL, ±PPXPOSTVA, LMSI, ± CL, ±OBJ.A
	D	Passive verb [-Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, with the locative clitic and without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	PASS, -APPL, ±PPXPOSTVA, LMSI, ±CL, ±OBJ.A,

d	(ii)	Passive verb [+Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, with/without the locative clitic and with a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	PASS, +APPL, ±PPXPOSTVA, LMSI, +/- CL, OBJEC.A
	A	Passive verb [+Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, without the locative clitic and with a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	PASS, +APPL, ±PPXPOSTVA, LMSI, - CL, ±OBJ.A,
	B	Passive verb [+Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, without the locative clitic and a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	PASS, +APPL, - PPXPOSTVA, LMSI, - CL, ±OBJ.A,
	C	Passive verb [+Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, with the locative clitic and with a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	PASS, +APPL, +PPXPOSTVA, LMSI, +CL, ±OBJ.A,
	D	Passive verb [+Applicative] inversion construction with locative subject morphology, with the locative clitic and without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	PASS, +APPL, - PPXPOSTVA, LMSI, +CL, ±OBJ.A,
d	(iii)	Passive verb [-Applicative] construction with bare noun subject with/without the locative clitic with and without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	PASS, -APPL, ±PPXPOSTVA, BNSI, ±CL, ±OBJ.A
	A	Passive verb [-Applicative] construction with bare noun	PASS, -APPL,

		subject without the locative clitic with a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	+PPXPOSTVA, BNSI, - CL, ±OBJ.A
	B	Passive verb [-Applicative] construction with bare noun subject without the locative clitic without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	PASS, -APPL, - PPXPOSTVA, BNSI, - CL, ±OBJ.A
	C	Passive verb [-Applicative] construction with bare noun subject with the locative clitic, and with a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	PASS, -APPL, +PPXPOSTVA, BNSI, + CL, ±OBJ.A
	D	Passive verb [-Applicative] construction with bare noun subject with the locative clitic, without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	PASS, -APPL, - PPXPOSTVA, BNSI, +CL, ±OBJ.A
d	(iv)	Passive verb [+Applicative] construction with bare noun subject with/without locative clitic with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	PASS, +APPL, POSTVLOCA, BNSI, ±CL, ±OBJ.A
	A	Passive verb [+Applicative] construction with bare noun subject without locative clitic with a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	PASS, +APPL, +PPXPOSTV.A, BNSI, - CL, ±OBJ.A
	B	Passive verb [+Applicative] construction with bare noun subject without locative clitic without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	PASS, +APPL, - PPXPOSTV.A, BNSI, - CL, ±OBJ.A
	C	Passive verb [+Applicative] construction with bare noun subject with locative clitic with a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	PASS, +APPL, +PPXPOSTVA, BNSI, +CL, ±OBJ.A

	D	Passive verb [+Applicative] construction with bare noun subject with locative clitic without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	PASS, +APPL, -PPXPOSTVA, BNSI, +CL, ±OBJ.A
e	(i)	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [-Applicative] construction with locative morphology subject with/without the locative clitic and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, with object argument	+STAT, -APPL, ±PPXOSTVA, LMSI, ±CL, ±OBJ.A
	A	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [-Applicative] construction with locative morphology subject without the locative clitic and with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	+STAT, -APPL, +PPXOSTVA, LMSI, -CL, ±OBJ.A
	B	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [-Applicative] construction with locative morphology subject without the locative clitic and the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	+STAT, -APPL, -PPXOSTVA, LMSI, -CL, ±OBJ.A
	C	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [-Applicative] construction with locative morphology subject with the locative clitic and with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	+STAT, -APPL, +PPXOSTVA, LMSI, +CL, ±OBJ.A
	D	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [-Applicative] construction with locative morphology subject with the locative clitic and without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	+STAT, -APPL, -PPXOSTVA, LMSI, +CL, ±OBJ.A
e	(ii)	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [+Applicative] construction locative morphology subject with/without the locative clitic	STAT, +APPL, ±PPXPOSTVA,

		and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	LMSI, ±CL, ±OBJ.A
	A	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [+Applicative] construction locative morphology subject without the locative clitic and with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	STAT, +APPL, +PPXPOSTV.A, LMSI, -CL, ±OBJ.A
	B	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [+Applicative] construction locative morphology subject, without the locative clitic and the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	STAT, +APPL, -PPXPOSTV.A, LMSI, -CL, ±OBJ.A
	C	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [+Applicative] construction with locative morphology subject, and with the locative clitic and with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	STAT, +APPL, +POSTVA, LMSI, +CL, ±OBJ.A
	D	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [+Applicative] construction with locative morphology subject, and with the locative clitic and without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	STAT, +APPL, -POSTVA, LMSI, +CL, ±OBJ.A
e	(iii)	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [-Applicative] construction with bare noun subject, with/without the locative clitic and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	+STAT, -APPL, ±PPXPOSTVA, BNSI, ±CL, ±OBJ.A
	A	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [-Applicative] construction with bare noun subject, without the locative clitic and with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object	+STAT, -APPL, +PPXPOSTVA, BNSI, -CL, ±OBJ.A

	argument		
B	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [-Applicative] construction with bare noun subject, without the locative clitic and the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	+STAT, -APPL, -PPXPOSTVA, BNSI, -CL, ±OBJ.A	
C	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [-Applicative] construction with bare noun subject with the locative clitic and without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	+STAT, -APPL, +PPXPOSTVA, BNSI, -CL, ±OBJ.A	
D	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [-Applicative] construction with bare noun subject, with the locative clitic and with the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	+STAT, -APPL, -PPXPOSTVA, BNSI, +CL, ±OBJ.A	
e	iv)	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [+Applicative] construction with bare noun subject, with/without the locative clitic and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	
	A	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [+Applicative] construction with bare noun subject, without the locative clitic and with a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	+STAT, +APPL, +PPXPOSTV.A, BNSI, -CL
	B	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [+Applicative] construction with bare noun subject without the locative clitic and a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	+STAT, +APPL, -PPXPOSTV.A, BNSI, -CL, ±OBJ.A

C	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [+Applicative] construction with bare noun subject with/without the locative clitic and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	+STAT, +APPL, +PPXPOSTV.A, BNSI, -CL, ±OBJ.A
D	Neuter-passive (stative) verb [+Applicative] construction with bare noun subject with the locative clitic and without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument	+STAT, +APPL, -PPXPOSTV.A, BNSI, CL, ±OBJ.A

The properties in the table above illustrate the active verb constructions and their respective passive, and stative verb variants with the transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ that I examine in respect to the morphosyntactic expression of locative elements in this chapter. I indicate sentences which are ungrammatical with an asterisk (*) to the left. Sentences which are grammatical, but semantically unacceptable (i.e. anomalous) will be indicated with a hashtag (i.e. #) to the left.

6.3 ACTIVE TRANSITIVE VERB **-NYWA** ‘DRINK’ CONSTRUCTION WITH/WITHOUT THE LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX, AND WITH A POSTVERBAL LOCATIVE (ARGUMENT), AND WITH/WITHOUT A LOCATIVE CLITIC

This section examines the properties, referred to in Table 6.1 above, of the transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’, which is examined in detail in the next main section of this chapter. The properties of the transitive verbs such as **-teeka** ‘put’, and **-twala** ‘take’ are mentioned. I discuss the interaction between argument structure and locative inversion, and how locative inversion constructions in Luganda exhibit variation concerning the semantic verb type, and morphosyntactic properties of the verb that permits (licenses) them. I thus consider the possible occurrence of locative inversion with the transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ with different argument structures including a locative (argument). In this regard, I examine locative inversion constructions, taking into account both constructions with a locative morphology subject and a bare noun locative subject, respectively, for the transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’.

This section thus investigates how the morphosyntactic properties, indicated in Table 6.1 above, of transitive active, passive and neuter-passive verb constructions, containing a locative, and their alternate locative inversion variants, realize and correlate with different interpretations relating to thematic role, event semantics, definiteness and specificity, and information structure. I demonstrate that the transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ is permitted with both a locative morphology subject and a bare noun subject in locative inversion constructions.

6.3.1 Active transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with a postverbal locative (argument), and with/without locative clitic

In this section, I examine the transitive active verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ without the locative applicative suffix, with a postverbal locative, and with/without a locative clitic, respectively. This sentence construction illustrates the canonical occurrence of the locative DP in postverbal position. I further examine the interpretation of the constructions relating to the thematic roles of their arguments, their aspectual verb class properties, definiteness and /or specificity of the postverbal DP, and the information structure of the DP constituents of the variants of the active verb constructions, as they occur in the following examples in (1a. A–D). In addition, I examine, in particular, the interpretative properties relating to argument structure, the locative subject DP, and the (non)obligatory occurrence of the postverbal DP, in sentence constructions with the transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’, with/without the locative clitic **-mu** in the following sentence construction variants.

- (1) a. Abasawo **banywa** (mu) ((o)mwenge) ((mu) bbaala) [DP pro cl. 18]
 A- ba- sawo ba- nyw-a-(mu) o- mu- enge ((mu) bbaala)
 2PPX-2PX-doctors 2AgrS-drink-FS-(18CL) 3A-3PX-beer ((18.LOC) 9.bar)
 ‘The doctors drink in the bar the beer’
- A Abasawo banywa omwenge mu bbaala
 A- ba- sawo ba- nyw- a o- mu- enge mu bbaala
 2PPX-2PX-doctors 2AgrS-drink-FS 3A-3PX-beer 18.LOC 5.bar
 ‘The doctors drink in the bar the beer’
- Abasawo banywa mwenge *(mu) bbaala
 A- ba- sawo ba- nyw- a mu- enge mu bbaala
 2PPX-2PX-doctors 2AgrS-drink- FS 3PX-beer 18.LOC 5PX-bar
 ‘The doctors drink in the bar the beer’

- C Abasawo banywamu omwenge mu bbaala
 A- ba- sawo ba- nyw- a- mu o- mu- enge mu bbaala
 2A-2PX-doctors 2AgrS-drink-FS-18CL 3A-3PX-beer 18.LOC 5.bar
 ‘The doctors drink in the bar the beer’

Given its morphosyntactic and interpretative properties, the above sentence has the following structural representation

[CP [FocP [TP [SpecT¹ Abasawo]] [T¹ [VoiceAct{ [SpecVpocAft¹ [DP ~~Abasawo~~]]
 doctors
 [VoiceAct¹ VoiceAct [vP [Specv¹] [v¹ V [VP -nywa-mu [DP [SpecD¹] [D¹
 (+Agent) (+Cause) drink-clitic
 [Det O-] [NP mwenge] [DP_{loc} -mu.Pro [Det mu [NP bbaala]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]
 beer (+Emphatic) 18.LOC bar
 (+Specific)

- D Abasawo banywamu mwenge *(mu) bbaala
 A- ba- saw-o ba- nyw- a- mu mu- enge mu bbaala
 2A-2PX-doctors 2AgrS-drink-FS-18CL 3PX-beer 18.LOC 5.bar
 ‘The doctors drink in the bar the beer’

In regard to properties of information structure, the sentences in (1a. A-D), demonstrate the occurrence of the DP **(a)basawo** ‘doctors’ as a topic subject, and **(o)mwenge** ‘beer’ as the object, as represented in the structure in (1a. C). The occurrence of the pre-prefix **a-** of **abasawo** ‘doctors’ as the topic subject, and the pre-prefix **o-** of the object noun **omwenge** ‘beer’ encodes definiteness, as for instance in the declarative sentences **Abasawo banywa omwenge mu bbaala** ‘The doctors drink beer in the bar’. This definiteness property is absent if the topic subject is preceded by a quantifier **buli** ‘every’ as in **buli musawo** ‘every doctor’/ **buli mwenge** ‘every beer’. The optional occurrence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **abasawo** ‘doctors’ is associated with the pragmatic function of encoding specificity and contrastive focus in Luganda. (see discussion on definiteness and specificity in Lyons, 1999).

The sentence in (1a.) illustrates that the locative clitic **-mu** may occur optionally on the transitive verb **nywa** ‘drink’, also when the locative phrase **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ occurs in situ. The occurrence of the locative clitic, also demonstrated in (1a. C), encodes focus-related emphasis, associated with definiteness and specificity effects of the locative DP. Its absence, on the other hand, as in (1a. A), encodes indefiniteness and non-specificity of the locative DP. Thus, the locative clitic **-mu** in (1a. C) and (1a. D) encodes emphasis associated with a

contrastive focus interpretation denoting an interiority reading of the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ in the position adjacent to the verb in the sentence.

Regarding argument structure, the construction (1a. A) illustrates the adjunct status of the postverbal locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ with the agentive transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’. In sentence (1a. C), the locative clitic **-mu** and the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’, can co-occur, or only one of these elements may occur, as in (1a. A, B, and D), in which case the locative DP appears as adjunct of the verb **-nywa**. If the locative prefix **mu** is absent on the locative DP, then the sentence is ungrammatical, as illustrated in sentence (1a. B and D), in ***Abasawo banywa (omwenge) bbaala** ‘The doctors drink beer bar’/***Abasawo banywamu mwenge bbaala** ‘Doctors drink in beer in bar’. However, if the word order is altered, as in **#Abasawo banywa bbaala omwenge** ‘Doctors drink the bar the beer’, the sentence is infelicitous with a locative reading, but expressing the idiomatic reading that doctors drink beer because of the bar being nice, cheap, near, among other possible readings. In the sentences (1a. A and B), the object argument **(o)-mu-enge** ‘beer’ and the locative adjunct **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ are both optional and can be alternated without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence. The occurrence of the postverbal argument denotes an emphatic reading in immediate postverbal position, and a less emphatic reading for the argument not adjacent to the verb. In sentence (1a. B and D) with the locative prefix **mu** in the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’, the object argument **mwenge** ‘beer’ in **Abasawo banywa mwenge mu bbaala** ‘The doctors drink beer in the bar’ lacks a pre-prefix. The non-prefixed object noun argument DP **mwenge** ‘beer’ is indefinite since there is necessarily no particular brand of beer familiar to the speaker and hearer in their common ground knowledge in the context of discourse. The object noun argument DP **mwenge** ‘beer’ without a pre-prefix, also has a specificity reading related to a contrastive focus reading, associated with specificity denoted by the absence of the pre-prefix **o-** in **mwenge** ‘beer’ as in **Abasawo banywamu mwenge mu bbaala** ‘The doctors drink in beer in the bar’. (see Lyons, 1999; Krifka et al, 1995)

I have pointed out in chapter Five, as is evident in chapter Six, that the sentences in (1a. B and D) without the locative prefix **mu** on the locative DP is ungrammatical. The suffixation of the locative clitic **-mu** to the transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ has the effect that the postverbal locative DP coreferential with this clitic **-mu** appears as an argument of the verb, and not as an adjunct, as it does with the verb without the locative clitic. Thus, the suffixation

of the locative clitic entails that the locative is selected, i.e. subcategorised as an argument by the verb to which it is suffixed. If no lexical locative DP follows the locative clitic, the phonetically empty pronominal, *pro*, with the grammatical feature [class 18] is the head of the noun phrase dominated by the DP. In the constructions (1a. B) and (1a. D), ungrammaticality obtains unless the object noun **omwenge** ‘the beer’ and the locative noun **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ are pre-prefixed as in #**Abasawo banywa omwenge ebbaala** ‘The doctors drink beer the bar’, thus rendering the infelicitous interpretation that the bar is the reason why doctors drink beer in any place. The sentence (1a. D), with a locative clitic **-mu** but without a locative prefix **mu**, is ungrammatical with the interpretation regarding lack of clarity on reference of a specified place where the doctors drink beer.

In terms of definiteness and specificity, it is generally assumed that if a subject DP occurs in the preverbal position, the information presented is known to the addressee, whereas the postverbal constituent expresses information that is new and unfamiliar to the hearer. The full interpretation of this sentence is derived by taking into account its discourse context. Thus, the subject DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’ has a definiteness interpretation if, in the discourse context, both the interlocutors know the particular doctors, i.e. know the name of the doctors in terms of the identifiability criterion (see Lyons 1999). Concerning the properties of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity, the interpretation is that the referent of the DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’ is familiar.

The postverbal DP in (1a. A-D) has an indefinite, non-specific reading if the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ appears with its locative prefix. This locative may have a specific reading, in terms of familiarity with the referent **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’, or a definite non-specific reading, if both the interlocutors share knowledge of the referent **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ in terms of identifiability in the discourse context. The subject DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’ has a specificity reading if, within the common ground knowledge in the discourse context, both the speaker and hearer are familiar with **abasawo** ‘doctors’ as the workers in a possible location of drinking for doctors, as a result of the speaker’s utterance.

In the canonical active verb sentences (1a.A and C), the presence of the pre-prefix on the postverbal object DP **omwenge** ‘beer’ is interpreted as being definite and specific, in that the beer is familiar to both the speaker and the hearer. While the absence of the pre-prefix on postverbal object noun DP **omwenge** ‘beer’ in (1a. B and D) has an indefinite, non-specific reading in that the referent is not familiar to the speaker and the hearer.

Transitive verbs such as **-nywa** ‘drink’ in active verb constructions permit the object agreement prefix **-gu-** in the verbal morphology, but this is not possible in locative inversion constructions. In the example **abasawo bagunywamu omwenge mu bbaala** ‘The doctors drink beer from it, the bar’, the object agreement prefix class 3, **-gu-** denotes an emphatic reading to the object referent in the construction. In the canonical transitive active verb sentences (1a.A-D), the object agreement prefix **-gu-** can co-occur with the presence of the pre-prefix on the object argument DP **omwenge** ‘beer’, and the locative clitic **-mu** co-occurs with the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’, as in the example **Abasawo bagunywamu (omwenge) mu bbaala** ‘Doctors drink it, (beer) in the bar’. In the event of co-occurrence of the object agreement prefix **-gu-** with the object DP, the pre-prefix on the postverbal object DP **omwenge** ‘beer’ is obligatory, as the pre-prefix encodes the features +definite and +specific. Thus, the object agreement prefix **-gu-** encodes familiarity of the object to both the speaker and the hearer. In contrast, the absence of the object agreement prefix permits an optional object noun pre-prefix **mwenge** ‘beer’ on the postverbal object noun DP **omwenge** ‘beer’, which is associated with an indefinite, non-specific reading when the referent is not familiar in terms of the common ground knowledge of the speaker and the hearer.

6.3.2 Active transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with a postverbal locative argument, and with/without the locative clitic

This section examines the morphosyntactic and interpretative properties of active verb locative applicative constructions with a postverbal locative argument, and with/without a locative clitic, respectively. I further consider how these properties correlate with the interpretative properties of the sentence construction variants concerning thematic role interpretation, definiteness and specificity of the DP constituents, the event (or situation) type semantics that the sentence realizes, and the information structural status of sentence constituents. Sentence (2b.) demonstrates the occurrence of the active transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ with the subject DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’, a class 2 noun, where this subject is in agreement with the transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’. This example furthermore demonstrates that the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ is optional, hence, if present, it occurs as an adjunct phrase, given that the property of optionality is generally characteristic of an adjunct category. This example sentence demonstrates the co-occurrence, or individual occurrence, of the locative applicative suffix **-er-** and the locative clitic **-mu**. The sentence is grammatical if

D Abasawo banywera(mu) mwenge *(mu) bbaala

A- ba- sawo ba- nyw- er- a- mu mu- enge mu bbaala
 2PPX-2PX-doctors 2AgrS-drink-APPL-FV-18CL 3PX-beer 18LOC 9.bar
 ‘The doctors drink beer in the bar’

In example sentence (2b. A), the applicative **-er-** can introduce a number of thematic roles, including Locative in (2b. B), and Benefactive (see chapter Four). As pointed out above, the locative thematic role in Luganda, is not introduced only by the applicative suffix, since this thematic role is also encoded by the four locative noun classes. The class 18 locative clitic **-mu** in (2b. C) encodes the features +emphatic, +definite, and +specific of the location **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ where the action of drinking beer is performed by the doctors. Thus, the locative applicative suffix denotes the feature +specific, as illustrated by the locative applicative suffix **-er-** in (2b. A-D) (see Lyons, 1999). Sentence (3a), in contrast to (3b), demonstrates the absence of the locative applicative suffix **-er-**.

(3 a. Abasawo banywa(mu) ((o)mwenge) ((mu) bbaala) [DP pro cl. 18]

A- ba- sawo ba- nyw- a- mu o- mu- enge mu bbaala
 2PPX-2PX-doctors 2AgrS-drink- FV-18CL 3PPX-3PX-beer 18LOC 9.bar
 ‘The doctors drink from it, the bar’

b. Abasawo banywera(mu) omwenge (mu bbaala) pro [cl 18]

A- ba- sawo ba- nyw- er- a- mu o- mu- enge mu bbaala
 2PPX-2PX-doctors 2AgrS-drink-APPL-FV-18CL 3PPX-3PX-beer 18LOC 9.bar
 ‘The doctors drink from it the beer, the bar’

In respect of information structure, the examples from (1a. A-D), (2b. A-D), (3a. and b) and (4a. and b) demonstrate that in (1a. A-B) the DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’ is a topic constituent. Topic subject DPs such as **abasawo** ‘doctors’ bear a pre-prefix, **a-**, in this case, if there is no rules suggesting otherwise, for example, if it is not preceded by the quantifier **buli** ‘every’ as in **buli musawo** ‘every doctor’, contrasting with **omusawo** ‘the doctor’. The postverbal object noun DP **omwenge** ‘beer’ is interpreted as exemplifying an inherent alternative set contrastive focus reading. This implicit alternative set focus reading excludes the entire set of all other possible alternative referents existing in the common ground knowledge of the interlocutors, such as **amazzi** ‘water’, **caayi** ‘tea’, among other alternatives. The occurrence of the pre-prefix on the postverbal object DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’ in sentence (1a. A and C) denotes an exhaustive focus reading that presupposes other alternative sets. On the other hand, the absence of the pre-prefix on the postverbal object DP **mwenge** ‘beer’ encodes a contrastive focus interpretation, evidenced by the possibility for a **si** ‘not’ phrase to occur, as

in **Abasawo banywa mwenge si mazzi** ‘doctors drink beer in the bar, not water’. (see related discussion in Krifka, 2006; Krifka et al, 1995; Repp, 2010; Aboh et al, 2010)

The sentence constructions (2b. A-D) and (3b) demonstrate that, the applicative suffix **-er-** encodes a focus reading of the whole predicate realized by the v/VP, including the locative argument **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ and the clitic **-mu**. Thus, in contrast to the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ in (1a. A) which occurs as an adjunct (in the absence of the locative clitic), the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ in (2b. A) appears as an argument of the transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ with the locative applicative suffix **-er-**, even if the locative clitic **-mu** is absent on the verb. The occurrence of this locative DP argument **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ is obligatory with the locative applicative verb **-nywera** ‘drink in’. The locative prefix **mu** on the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ is obligatory if the locative occurs in the sentences (1a. C and 2b. C). The constructions (2b. B and D), with the locative applicative suffix **-er-** on the verb **nywa** ‘drink’, and with the absence of both the locative clitic **-mu** and the locative prefix **mu**, give rise to infelicitous locative readings, as both DP arguments associated with the applicative suffix are interpreted as having a thematic role of the reason, yielding the reading of why a particular action denoted by the verb was performed by the said persons. The locative applicative suffix **-er-** introduces the reading that the event of drinking denoted by the transitive verb **nywa** ‘drink’ takes place exclusively in the bar, and not in any other location. Hence, the interpretation of contrastive exhaustive focus is introduced by the locative applicative suffix **-er-**. This interpretation provides evidence for the structural presence of a focus projection on the v/VP left periphery. In addition, the co-occurrence of the locative clitic **-mu** with the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ containing a lexical noun, introduces a reading of identificational (contrastive) focus to the location denoted by the DP containing the noun **bbaala** ‘bar’, providing evidence for positing a focus projection on the DP left periphery.

In respect of their event semantics, the sentences (1a, 2b) denote two possible readings. They can have the reading of a process of **Abasawo banywa (omwenge)mu kibuga** ‘(the) doctors are drinking (the beer) in the bar’, taking place in the present time of the utterance, or a generic reading of denoting a situation which obtains such that **omusawo** ‘the doctor’ generally drink **omwenge mu bbaala** ‘beer in the bar’. The subject agent DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’, is interpreted as agent argument, hence entails the event reading that can be specified by the feature [+Dynamic] or [+Agentive] for the activity (or process) event

denoted by the sentence, which, therefore, expresses a causative [+Cause] reading (see related discussion by Kearns, 2000, 2007; and Smith, 1997). This agentivity reading is evidenced by the acceptability of the sentences (4a, 4b) with agentive adverbs such as **bulungi** ‘well’ as demonstrated in the following example:

- (4) a. Abasawo banywa(mu) bulungi (omwenge) ((mu) bbaala) [DP pro cl. 18]
 A- ba- sawo ba- nyw- a- mu bu-lungi o-mu-wenge mu bbaala
 2PPX-2PX-doctors 2AgrS-drink-FV-18CL 14-well 3PPX-3PX-beer 18LOC 9.bar
 ‘The doctors drink beer well in the bar’
- b. Abasawo banywera(mu) bulungi (omwenge) (mu bbaala) pro [cl 18]
 A- ba- sawo ba- nyw- er- a- mu bu-lungi (omwenge) mu bbaala
 2PPX-2PX-doctors 2AgrS-drink-APPL-FV-18CL 14-well 3PPX-3PX-beer 18LOC
 9.bar
 ‘The doctors drink beer well in the bar’

The difference that obtains in the interpretations between the sentences (4a. and b) pertains to (i) the exhaustive focus (‘only’) reading introduced by the locative applicative suffix **–er-** to the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’, providing evidence for positing a v/VP left peripheral focus projection, and (ii) the informational focus reading of the locative DP encoded by the locative clitic **–mu**, providing evidence for positing a DP left periphery focus projection.

6.4 ACTIVE TRANSITIVE VERB **–NYWA** ‘DRINK’ LOCATIVE MORPHOLOGY SUBJECT INVERSION CONSTRUCTION WITH/WITHOUT THE LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX, AND WITH/WITHOUT A LOCATIVE CLITIC, AND WITH/WITHOUT THE PRE-PREFIX ON THE POSTVERBAL ARGUMENT

In this section, I examine the morphosyntactic properties concerning the realization of locative elements, and their related interpretative properties, of active verb locative morphology subject inversion constructions without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without the locative clitic, and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal DP argument, with the transitive verb **–nywa** ‘drink’ in 6.4.1. I then examine active verb locative morphology subject inversion sentences with the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, in 6.4.2. In subsection 6.4.3, I examine active bare noun subject inversion constructions with the verb ‘**nywa**’ ‘drink’ without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument. In section 6.4.4, I explore the properties of active bare noun subject inversion constructions with the verb **–nywa** ‘drink’

with the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument..

6.4.1 Active transitive verb -nywa ‘drink’ locative morphology subject inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument

In this section I investigate locative morphology subject inversion constructions with the transitive verb - **nywa** ‘drink’, without an applicative suffix **-er,-** and with/without the locative clitic **-mu**. I discuss their interpretative properties concerning thematic role, event (situation) type, definiteness and /or specificity, and information structural properties, demonstrated in (5c.i), with the variant constructions in (5c.i A– D).

- (5) c. i Mu bbaala munywa(mu) (a)basawo ((o)mwenge)
 Mu bbaala mu- nyw- a- mu a- ba- sawo o- mu-enge
 18LOC 9.bar 18AgrS-drink-FV-18CL 2PPX-2PX-doctors 3PPX-3PX-beer
 ‘In the bar doctors drink in, the beer’
- A Mu bbaala munywa abasawo omwenge
 Mu bbaala mu- nyw- a a- ba- sawo o- mu- enge
 18LOC 9.bar 18AgrS-drink- FV 2PPX-2PX-doctors 3PPX-3PX-beer
 ‘In the bar is where the doctors drink beer’
- B Mu bbaala munywa basawo omwenge
 Mu bbaala mu- nywa- a ba- sawo mu-enge
 18LOC 9.bar 18AgrS-drink- FV 2PX-doctors 3PX-beer
 ‘In the bar is where the doctors drink beer’
- C Mu bbaala munywamu abasawo omwenge
 Mu bbaala mu- nyw- a- mu a- ba- sawo o- mu-enge
 18LOC 9.bar 18AgrS-work-FV-18CL 2PPX-2PX-doctors 3PPX-3PX-beer
 ‘In the bar doctors drink in, the beer’
- D Mu bbaala munywamu basawo mwenge.
 Mu bbaala mu- nyw- a- ba- sawo mu-enge
 18LOC 9.bar 18AgrS-work-FV-18CL 2PX-doctors 3PX-beer
 ‘In the bar doctors drink in, the beer’

Given its morphosyntactic and interpretative properties, the above sentence has the following structural representation

postverbal agent DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’ severs the adjacency relation that usually occurs between a transitive verb such as **nywa** ‘drink’ and its object argument **omwenge** ‘beer’.

Regarding its information structure, the locative morphology DP subject **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ in (5c. i A-D) bears information focus. The postverbal DP **(a)basawo** ‘doctors’ is obligatory for the grammaticality of the sentence. The postverbal object DP **omwenge** ‘beer’ is optional, but when it occurs, its pre-prefix must obligatorily be present. The presence of the locative clitic **-mu** in examples (5c.i C and D) realizes a stative-like activity (or process) event type, in that the sentence has a generic interpretation denoting a habitual activity, hence that the bar is the place where the habitual activity/ process of drinking of beer by (the doctors) occurs all the time. (see Krifka et al, 1995; Choi and Fara, 2012)

In example (5c.i A and C), the postverbal agent DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’ has a weaker reading of an Agent argument in the position as a complement of the locative clitic verb **-nywamu** ‘drink, with which it forms a predicate, than it has when occurring as subject DP in the corresponding canonical active verb sentence. This weaker agentivity reading of **abasawo** ‘doctors’ in (5c.i A and C) can be established by the diagnostic test of the permissibility of a manner adverbial such as **bulungi** ‘well’. The agentive adverbial has a reading of modifying the habitual activity expressed in the sentence, similarly to the occurrence of a manner adverbial in a middle (-like) sentence, rather than modifying only the argument **abasawo** ‘doctors’, given that the latter DP has a weaker interpretation of Agent argument (see Cohen, 2018; Pross, 2020; Boneh and Doron, 2013; Hallman and Kallulli, 2013).

In terms of definiteness and specificity, the locative clitic **-mu** in the example (5c.i A) with the verb **-nywamu** ‘drink in’ encodes a specificity reading of the locative subject DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’. In contrast, the absence of the locative clitic in the examples (5c.i A and B) on the verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ encodes a non-specificity reading of the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’. Thus, the interpretation obtains that the drinking of doctors habitually happens specifically in the interior of the bar. (see Krifka et al, 1995; Lekakou, 2004; Dowty, 1979).

Concerning its information structure properties, the postverbal agent DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’ in (5c.i A) is a contrastive (identificational) focus constituent in terms of the notion of the alternative set (Repp, 2014), i.e. it has a contrastive focus reading with various alternatives implied. Thus, the bar is the place where doctors habitually drink beer, not teachers, or

farmers, or some other alternative group of people. The locative clitic **-mu** in (5c. i C and D) encodes the features +emphasis, +contrastive focus reading, denoting interiority of the locative noun DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’. A typical diagnostic question for establishing this contrastive focus reading, is **Bani abanywa mu bbaala?** ‘Who drinks in the bar, the bear’. The locative clitic **-mu** also emphasises the generic activity in progress.

The examples in (5 c.i A and B), in respect to its event type, illustrate an activity event, i.e. event of doctors drinking as an ongoing process that takes place during the time of the utterance. Therefore, the postverbal agent DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’ is an agent argument evidenced by the reading of the agentive diagnostic adverbial adjunct **bulungi** ‘well’ as modifying **abasawo** ‘doctors’ in the sentence **Mu bbaala munywa bulungi abasawo omwenge** ‘In bar doctors drink well the beer’. The diagnostic adverbial adjunct **bulungi** ‘well’ must appear in the immediate postverbal position, adjacent to the verb, and preceding the postverbal DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’.

In respect to information structure, in the sentences in (5c.i A and B), the locative subject DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ is an informational focus constituent. The speaker thus assumes that the sentence introduces new information to the hearer(s). The postverbal DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’ bears a contrastive focus reading in respect to an alternative set, i.e. various possible alternatives may be relevant in the discourse-pragmatic context. The DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’, with its pre-prefix occurring, has a non-specific (generic) interpretation, denoting men in general. The object DP **omwenge** ‘the beer’ has an inherent alternative set contrastive focus reading that excludes the entire set of all other possible alternative referents that may exist in the common ground knowledge of the interlocutors, such as **obutunda** ‘passion fruit juice’, **amazzi** ‘water’, **caayi** ‘tea’, among other alternatives (Krifka, 2006; Kiss, 1998; Lambrecht, 1994; Repp, 2010;).

6.4.2 Active transitive verb –nywa ‘drink’ locative morphology subject inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument

This section explores properties of argument structure, including the immediate postverbal DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’, and the postverbal object noun **omwenge** ‘beer’ in transitive verb - **nywa** ‘drink’ constructions with the locative applicative suffix, and with/without the locative clitic **-mu**. Furthermore, properties of event semantics, definiteness and /or specificity of the

exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent, a reading that is evidenced by the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, as in (**Abasawo**) **banywera (omwenge) mu bbaala si mu nnyumba** ‘The doctors drink beer from the bar not in the house’ (see Lambrecht, 1994; Aboh et al, 2010; Kiss, 1998).

Concerning definiteness and specificity in example sentence (6c.ii A), the preverbal locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ is indefinite in that there may be no familiar bar assumed to be known by both the speaker and the hearer where the drinking of beer by the doctors is taking place. These features of –definite, –specific are encoded through the absence of the locative clitic –**mu** in the verbal morphology, its presence of which usually denotes previous knowledge of the referent by the interlocutors. The presence of the locative clitic –**mu** in addition to the locative applicative suffix –**er-** in the examples (6c.ii C and D) encodes the features of + definite, +specific through the presence of the locative prefix **mu** in **mu bbaala** ‘in town’, which functions similarly to a pre-prefix, and the locative applicative –**er-** in **munyw-er-a** ‘drink from’. The locative applicative –**er-** introduces a reading of focus of the whole predicate, including the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’, encoded by the v/VP. The specificity reading, encoded by the locative clitic –**mu** to the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’, entails that in the discourse-pragmatic context there is a particular bar where doctors drink beer, and it is assumed to be known by both the speaker and hearer.

The immediate postverbal agent argument DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’ in (6c.ii A and C) has an indefinite, non-specific reading if the noun **abasawo** ‘doctors’ appears with its pre-prefix, whereas the DP has a specific reading, in terms of familiarity with the referent **abasawo** ‘doctors’, or, a definite and specific reading if both the speaker and hearer have knowledge of the referent **abasawo** ‘doctors’ in terms of identifiability in the discourse-pragmatic context. The postverbal object DP has an indefinite, non-specific reading if the noun **omwenge** ‘beer’ appears with its pre-prefix, whereas the DP has a specific reading, in terms of familiarity with the referent **omwenge** ‘beer’, or, a definite and specific reading if both the speaker and hearer have knowledge of the referent **omwenge** ‘beer’ in terms of identifiability in the discourse context. (see Lyons, 1999; Visser, 2008)

Regarding argument structure, in (6c.ii B), the argument **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ is interpreted as a locative argument DP encoding the location where the activity of drinking beer performed by the doctors takes place. The immediate postverbal agent DP argument **basawo** ‘doctors’ is interpreted as an agentive argument, hence the sentence expresses an activity

event reading that can be specified by the features [+Dynamic] or [+Agentive], [Durative] and [+Atelic] for the activity (or process) event denoted. The sentence thus expresses a causative interpretation, as evidenced by the acceptability of the sentence with an agentive adverb, such as **bulungi** ‘good’. In regard to its event type, the construction has an activity event reading denoting that the doctors’ drinking beer in the bar, takes place in the present time of the utterance, or a generic activity reading, denoting that doctors generally drink beer in the bar.

In the example sentence (6c.ii B), regarding information structure properties, the locative DP argument **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ encodes an alternative set contrastive focus reading. The locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ denotes an implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading that excludes the entire set of all alternative referents such as **mu nnyumba** ‘in the house’, **mu cinema** ‘in cinema’, **mu luggya** ‘in the courtyard’, among other alternatives existing in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and the addressee. The immediate postverbal nominal DP **basawo** ‘doctors’ encodes an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix on the immediate postverbal agent DP **basawo** ‘doctors’. This exhaustive contrastive focus interpretation excludes a particular alternative or referent, as evidenced by the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, such as **si bakyala** ‘not women’. The object noun DP **mwenge** ‘beer’ denotes an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading, encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix on the object DP **mwenge** ‘beer’. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent, as evidenced by the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, such as **si mazzi** ‘not water’, **si mubisi** ‘not juice’, **si mata** ‘not milk’.

The locative applicative suffix **-er-**, as pointed out above, realizes the focus (‘only’) effect to the whole predicate encoded by the v/VP. Hence, the applicative suffix introduces an exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’. Luganda thus permits two instances of focus. Thus, even when the referent encoded by the DP occurs as a topic in terms of information structure, if the contrastive feature is expressed, there is focus feature on that topic, hence it may not have a contrastive topic, but rather a contrastive focus interpretation (see Féry & Krifka, 2008; Lambrecht, 1994; Repp, 2010; Rochemont, 2013).

Regarding definiteness and specificity in the example sentence (6c.ii B), the preverbal locative phrase **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ is indefinite, since there is no familiar bar in the

common ground knowledge of by the speaker and hearer where the doctors drink beer. It does, however, have a specificity reading encoded by the locative prefix **mu** in the locative phrase **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ that functions similarly to a pre-prefix, and the locative clitic –**mu** in **munywamu** ‘drinks in’. The locative clitic –**mu** denotes specificity of the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’. Thus, the reading encoded in **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ implies that, in the context of discourse there is a particular bar assumed to be known by both the speaker and hearer in which the doctors drink beer. The immediate postverbal agent argument DP **basawo** ‘doctors’ is indefinite, since there are not necessarily particular doctors drinking in the bar that are assumed to be familiar to both the speaker and the hearer in the context of discourse. The immediate postverbal argument **basawo** ‘doctors’ also has a specificity reading, that relates to a contrastive focus reading infused in the specificity reading encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix on the immediate postverbal agent argument **basawo** ‘doctors’. (Lyons, 1999).

In both the locative morphology subject inversion in (6c.ii A-D) constructions, and the bare noun subject inversion constructions in (7c.iii A-D), the pre-prefix is absent from both the immediate postverbal argument DP **basawo** ‘doctors’ and the object noun DP **mwenge** ‘beer’, as in the construction **Mu bbaala munywa(mu) basawo mwenge** ‘In the bar doctors drink beer’, and **Ebbaala enywamu basawo mwenge** ‘The bar is drunk in beer by the doctors’ This omission of the pre-prefix encodes a specificity reading which correlates with a contrastive focus interpretation.

With regard to argument structure, the argument **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ is interpreted as the locative DP denoting the location where the action of drinking beer is performed by the doctors. The immediate postverbal DP agent argument **abasawo** ‘the doctors’ has an agentive reading, hence the sentence expresses an activity event that can be specified by the feature [+Durative], [+Dynamic/+Agentive], and [+Atelic] for the activity (or process) event denoted. This sentence, therefore, expresses a causative reading, as evidenced by the acceptability of an agentive adverb such as **bulungi** ‘well’ in **Mu bbaala munywamu bulungi abasawo omwenge** ‘In the bar doctors drink beer well’ which modifies the event expressed as well as the agent argument. With respect to event type, the construction thus encodes the activity (process) of (the) doctors drinking beer in the bar, where this action is taking place in the present time of the utterance, or a generic reading, denoting that doctors generally drink beer in the bar. (Pross, 2020; Boneh and Doron, (2013)

Regarding information structure, the locative DP argument **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ encodes an alternative set contrastive focus reading. This locative DP implicit alternative set contrastive focus interpretation excludes the entire set of all possible alternative referents that may exist in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and hearer, such as **mu nnyumba** ‘in the house’, **mu cinema** ‘in the cinema’, among other alternatives. The immediate postverbal DP **abasawo** ‘the doctors’ denotes an implicit alternative set contrastive focus interpretation. This implicit alternative set focus interpretation excludes the entire set of all possible alternative referents assumed to be known by both the speaker and hearer, such as **abasuubuzi** ‘traders’, **abatimbi** ‘decorators’, among other alternatives. The locative clitic –**mu** on the verb encodes an implicit exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent, as evidenced by the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, such as **si mu nnyumba** ‘not in the house’.

In example (6c.ii C), regarding definiteness and specificity, the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ is indefinite, since there is no familiar bar assumed to be known by the speaker and the hearer in the discourse-pragmatic context. It does, however, have a specificity reading encoded by the locative prefix **mu** in the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’, which functions similarly to a pre-prefix, and the occurrence of the locative clitic –**mu** in the verbal morphology **munywa-mu** ‘drunk in’. The locative clitic –**mu** encodes specificity of the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’. The locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’, being specific, entails that, in the context of discourse there is a particular bar where the doctors drink beer. The immediate postverbal agent argument **abasawo** ‘doctors’ is indefinite, since there are no particular doctors assumed to be familiar to the speaker and the hearer in the context of discourse. The immediate postverbal agent argument **abasawo** ‘doctors’ has a non-specificity reading encoded by the presence of the pre-prefix on the noun **abasawo** ‘doctors’, indicating non-familiarity of the referent to both the hearer and the speaker.

Regarding the argument structure in the example (6c.ii D), the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ is a locative argument DP denoting a place or location of the bar where the action of drinking beer by the doctors takes place. The immediate postverbal agent DP argument **basawo** ‘doctors’ is interpreted as an agentive event reading specified by the feature [+Durative], [+Dynamic/+Agentive, +Atelic] for the activity (or process) event denoted by the construction. This expresses a causative interpretation that is supported by the

acceptability of the agentive adverbs such as **bulungi** ‘well’. In terms of event semantics, the sentence encodes a habitual activity of (the) doctors drinking beer in the bar, taking place possibly in the present time of the utterance made, or a generic stative-like reading obtained such that doctors generally drink beer in the bar.

Regarding information structural properties in example (6c.ii D), the locative DP argument **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ encodes an alternative set contrastive focus reading. The locative DP denotes an implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading that excludes the entire set of all alternative referents such as **mu nnyumba** ‘in the house’, **mu luggya** ‘in the courtyard’, among other alternatives in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and the hearer. The agent DP **basawo** ‘doctors’ encodes an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading, denoted by the absence of the pre-prefix of this agent DP in the immediate postverbal position. This exhaustive contrastive focus interpretation excludes a particular alternative or referent, as evidenced by the diagnostic of adding a **si** ‘not’ phrase, as in **si bazimbi** ‘not builders’. As pointed out above, the locative applicative suffix realizes a focus (‘only’) of the whole predicate encoded by the v/VP. Hence, the locative applicative suffix **-er-**, together with the locative clitic **-mu**, encode an exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) interpretation to the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’.

In respect to definiteness and specificity, in example (6c.ii D), the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ is indefinite, since there is no familiar bar assumed to be known by the speaker and hearer in the discourse of context. It does, however, express a specificity reading, encoded by the locative prefix **mu** in in the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’, which functions similarly to a pre-prefix, and the locative clitic **-mu** in in the verbal morphology **munywamu** ‘drunk in’. The locative clitic **-mu** encodes specificity of the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’. Thus, the DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ has the reading that, in the context of discourse, there is a particular bar where the doctors drink beer, assumed to be known by the speaker and the hearer. The immediate postverbal agent argument **basawo** ‘doctors’ is indefinite, since there are no particular doctors, familiar to both the speaker and hearer, in the discourse-pragmatic context. The argument **basawo** ‘doctors’ has a specificity reading associated with a contrastive focus reading infused in the specificity encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix on the DP **basawo** ‘doctors’ in the immediate postverbal position.

I have discussed with regard to (6c. I A-D) the respective interpretations obtaining through the presence (i.e. occurrence) or absence (i.e. non-occurrence) of the various morphemes,

describing how the interpretation of sentence constructions that exemplify each of these morphosyntactic elements results from the interaction of its argument structure, information structural and event semantic properties in conjunction with the definiteness/specificity properties of the postverbal DP **(a)baami** ‘men’. These variant constructions discussed can be summarized as follows in (7c.i A-D)

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|----|---------|----------|---------|-----------|
| (7) | c.i | Mu | bbaala | munywamu | abasawo | (o)mwenge |
| | A. | Mu | bbaala | munywa | abasawo | omwenge |
| | B. | Mu | bbaalaa | munywa | basawo | mwenge |
| | C. | Mu | bbala | munywamu | abasawo | omwenge |
| | D. | Mu | bbaala | munywamu | basawo | mwenge |

The respective sentence constructions in (7c. i A-D) above illustrate variants of the construction generally referred to as locative inversion in the research literature. However, from the analysis I presented above of the properties of the sentence variants in (7c. i A-D) concerning their distinct properties of argument (thematic role) type, particularly regarding agentivity and causation semantics, information structural and event semantic properties, I demonstrate through this analysis that these sentence constructions are not merely variants, but that their interpretations differ in certain respects, and that they have distinctly different structural representations.

6.4.3 Active transitive verb –nywa ‘drink’ bare noun subject inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument

In this section, I investigate the morphosyntactic and interpretative properties of the bare noun locative inversion construction in (8c. iii) with the transitive verb **–nywa** ‘drink’ with particular reference the ommissibility of the elements indicated in parenthesis, i.e. the locative clitic **–mu**, the pre-prefix **a-** of the immediate postverbal DP **(a)basawo** ‘doctors’, and the postverbal object noun DP **omwenge** ‘beer’. The sentence (8c.iii) is associated with the following four variants in (8c. iii A-D). I thus examine how the interpretations of these respective variants correlate with the the (non-)occurrence of the morphemes in parenthesis. In this regard, I also examine how the interpretation of each variant results from the interaction of properties of thematic roles and argument structure, information structure, and event structure, in addition to definiteness/specificity properties of DP constituents, in particular the immediate postverbal DP **(a)basawo** ‘doctors’.

- (8) c. (iii) E-bbaala enywa*(mu) (a)baami ((o)mwenge))
 E- bbaala e-nyw- a- mu a- ba- asawo o-mu-enge
 7PPX-7PX-town 9AgrS-drink-FV-18CL 2PPX-2PX-doctors 3PPX-3PX-beer
 ‘The bar is where the doctors drink beer in ’
- A *Ebbaala enywa abasawo omwenge
 E- bbaala e- nyw- a a- ba- sawo o- mu-enge
 9PPX-9.bar 9AgrS-work-FV (2PPX)-2PX-doctors 3PPX-3PX- beer
 ‘The bar drinks the doctors beer’
- B *Ebbaala enywa basawo omwenge.
 E- bbaala e- nyw- a ba- sawo mu-enge
 9PPX-9.bar 9AgrS-work-FV 2PX-doctors 3PX-beer
 ‘The bar drinks doctors the beer’
- C Ebbaala enywamu abasawo omwenge
 E- bbaala e- nyw- a- mu a- ba- sawo o- mu-enge
 9PPX-9.bar 9AgrS-drink-FV-18CL 2PPX-2PX-doctors 3PPX-3PX-beer
 ‘The bar is drunk in the beer by the doctors’
- D Ebbaala enywamu basawo mwenge
 E- bbaala e- nyw- a- mu ba- sawo mu-enge
 9PPX-9.bar 9AgrS-drink-FV-18CL 2PX-doctors 3PX-beer
 ‘The bar is drunk in the beer by the doctors’

Taking into account its morphosyntactic and interpretative properties, the above sentence has the following structural representation:

[CP [FocP [SpecFoc [DP ebbaala]] [Foc¹ Foc [TP [SpecT¹ ebbaala] T [VoiceMidP
 [SpecVoiceMid¹ [DP ebbaala]] [VoiceMid¹ VoiceMid [vP [SpecvP [DP ebbaala] [v¹ v
 (-Agent) (=Cause)
 [VP [FocP [SpecFoc¹ [DP ebbaala]] [Foc¹ Foc [VP nywa-mu [SC(DP.LOC [DP
 (+Contrast) drink-clitic
 [Det Ø] [NP basawo]] [DPLOC muPro.18 ebbaala]] [VP [v¹ [DP [Det Ø]
 (+Specific) (+Emphasis) (+Specific)
 (+Specific)
 [NP mwenge]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]
 beer

The example sentences in (8c.iii) above demonstrate that Luganda allows bare noun subject locative inversion transitive verbs such as the verb of ingestion and drinking *nywa* ‘drink’, on condition that, the locative clitic **-mu** obligatorily appears in the verbal morphology, as in (8c iii C and D). Thus, the absence of the locative clitic results in ungrammaticality, as

demonstrated in (8c. iii A and B). A plausible reason for the obligatory occurrence of the locative clitic in the bare subject inversion constructions is that it encodes the locative reference of the bare noun locative subject, i.e., the absence of the locative prefix **mu** in the subject locative phrase. I examine the grammatical constructions in the examples (8c.iii C and D) in the paragraphs below.

The obligatory occurrence of the locative clitic **-mu** in the verbal morphology of **-nywa** 'drink' in the bare noun subject inversion construction with the subject DP **ebbaala** 'the bar' in (8c.iii C and D) establishes a reference relation to the bare noun subject as a location argument. Thus, the obligatory locative clitic **-mu** encodes the thematic role reference of the bare noun locative subject **ebbaala** 'the bar'. These bare noun subject locative constructions express a middle-like, anti-causative reading of habitual state (compared with the locative morphology subject noun DP inversion in (5/6/7c.i & ii A-D), which has a causative eventive reading, given that the immediate postverbal agent DP **abasawo** 'doctors' has an agentive reading, in contrast with the postverbal DP **abasawo** 'doctors' of bare noun locative inversion sentences which does not have an agentive reading or has a weak agentive reading. This interpretation provides evidence for positing a small clause analysis for the bare noun subject inversion constructions above along the lines of Hoekstra and Mulder (1990), according to which the bare noun locative subject originates as the head of a small clause complement of the verb **-nywa** 'drink,' with which it forms a predicate in an ergative pattern syntax. (see related discussion in Cohen, 2018; Boneh, 2019; Pross, 2020).

In terms of the argument structure, the bare noun argument **ebbaala** 'the bar' in (8c. iii C and D) is interpreted as a locative DP encoding the location **ebbaala** 'the bar' where the action of drinking beer – denoted by the verb **nywa** 'drink' is performed by persons, i.e., **abasawo** 'the doctors'. The immediate postverbal DP argument **abasawo** 'the doctors' is not interpreted as agentive, thus, in expressing a habitual state, the sentence has an anti-causative, generic middle-like reading, that can be specified by the features [-Dynamic]/ [-Agentive], [+Durative], and [+Atelic] for representing the habitual state denoted by the sentence. This generic, middle-like interpretation is evidenced by the acceptability of the acceptability of an agentive adverb, such as **bulungi** 'well' in the sentence **Ebbaala enywamu bulungi abasawo omwenge** 'The bar is drunk in well by the doctors the beer', which modifies the state as a whole expressed, rather than the postverbal DP **abasawo** 'doctors'. In terms of event type, the examples (8c. iii C and D) denote a typical derived reading of habitual state of

(the) doctors drinking beer in the bar, including in the present time of the utterance, or a generic reading obtained such that doctors generally drink in the bar, with the location of the bar having this habitual event as a dispositional ascription. Furthermore, (8c.iii C and D) illustrate the optional occurrence of the object DP argument **omwenge** ‘beer’ in the postverbal position, and if **omwenge** ‘beer’ occurs, the optional occurrence of its pre-prefix.

In regard to information structure, the locative bare noun DP argument **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ denotes an alternative set contrastive focus reading. This bare noun locative DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ bears an implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading, excluding the entire set of all the possible alternative referents assumed to be existing in the knowledge of the speaker and the hearer such as **ennyumba** ‘the house’, **oluggya** ‘the courtyard’, **ekisenge** ‘the room’, among other possible alternatives. The immediate postverbal DP **abasawo** ‘the doctors’ encodes an inherent alternative set contrastive focus reading. This implicit alternative set focus reading in the postverbal position excludes the entire set of all other possible alternative referents in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and the hearer, such as **abasomesa** ‘teachers’, **abalimi** ‘farmers’, **abavubi** ‘fishers’, **abayizzi** ‘hunters’, among other possible alternatives. The locative clitic **-mu** on the verb **-munywa-mu** introduces an implicit exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the bare noun locative DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent that can be established through the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, as in **Ebbaala enywamu abasawo (omwenge) si basomesa** ‘The bar is drunk in doctors the beer, not teachers’. The object DP just like the immediate postverbal agent DP expresses an exhaustive focus reading with the pre-prefix while the absence of the pre-prefix of the object noun **mwenge** ‘beer’ in (8c.iii D) encodes an explicit contrastive focus.

With regard to definiteness and specificity, the bare noun locative DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ is indefinite in that there may be no familiar bar assumed to be known by the speaker and hearer where the persons, **abasawo** ‘doctors,’ drink beer in the discourse-pragmatic context. It, however, has a specificity reading encoded by the presence of the pre-prefix **e-** in **e-bbaala** ‘the bar’ that functions similarly to a pre-prefix, and the occurrence of the locative clitic **-mu** in **munywa-mu** ‘drunk in’. The locative clitic **-mu** encodes specificity of the bare noun locative DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’. The bare noun locative DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’, being specific entails that, in the discourse-pragmatic context, there is a particular bar assumed to be known by the speaker and hearer where the doctors drink beer. The immediate postverbal argument

abasawo ‘doctors’ has an indefinite reading, denoting that there are no particular doctors drinking in the bar who are familiar to the speaker and hearer in the context of discourse. This immediate postverbal DP argument **abasawo** ‘doctors’ also denotes a non-specific reading encoded by the occurrence of the pre-prefix on **abasawo** ‘doctors’.

With regard to argument structure, in the example sentences (8c.iii C and D), the bare noun locative DP argument **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ denotes a locative argument DP with a dispositional ascription reading of denoting the place where the event of drinking beer is habitually performed by the doctors. The immediate postverbal DP argument **basawo** ‘doctors’ has a theme-like interpretation, rather than an agentive interpretation, hence the habitual state expressed by the sentence can be specified by the features [-Dynamic] or [-Agentive], [-Durative], [+Atelic]. This encodes an anti-causative reading, as evidenced by the permissibility of the agentive adverbs such as **bulungi** ‘well’ in **Ebbaala enywamu bulungi abasawo omwenge** ‘The bar is drunk in well beer by the doctors,’ in which the adverb modifies the habitual state as a whole expressed by the sentence, rather than the postverbal DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’. Regarding event type, the example sentence (8c. iii D) expresses a derived event of an habitual state, along the lines of habitual state events proposed by Smith (1997), of (the) doctors generally drinking beer in the bar, which includes, in the generic, middle-like reading the denotation that the activity can possibly be taking place in the present time of the utterance.

In respect to information structure, the bare noun locative DP argument **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ is interpreted as having an alternative set contrastive focus reading. The bare noun locative DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ encodes an implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading that excludes the entire set of all alternative referents such as **ennyumba** ‘the house’, **oluggya** ‘the courtyard’, among other alternatives, in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and the hearer. The immediate postverbal agent DP **basawo** ‘doctors’ is interpreted as having an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading, associated with the specificity reading encoded through the absence of the pre-prefix of the immediate postverbal DP **basawo** ‘doctors’. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent that can be established by the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, as in **si basomesa** ‘not teachers’, **si balimi** ‘not farmers’, **bavubi** ‘fishers’. The locative clitic **-mu** encodes an exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading of the bare noun locative DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’.

The interpretation of the object DP **mwenge** ‘beer’ without the pre-prefix relates closely to the focus interpretation of the immediate postverbal argument **basawo**

Regarding definiteness and specificity, the bare noun locative DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ is indefinite, denoting that there is no particular bar, familiar to the speaker and the hearer where the doctors drink beer. However, it has a specificity reading, encoded by the occurrence of the pre-prefix **e** in **ebbaala** ‘the bar’, and the locative clitic **-mu** in the verbal morphology **muywamu** ‘drunk in’. The locative clitic **-mu** thus encodes specificity of the bare noun locative subject DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’. In this regard, the subject DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ has the interpretation that, in the discourse-pragmatic context, there is a particular bar known by the speaker and hearer where the doctors drink beer. The immediate postverbal argument **basawo** ‘doctors’ is indefinite in that there are not necessarily particular doctors familiar to the speaker and the hearer in their common ground knowledge, who are drinking beer in the bar. The postverbal argument **basawo** ‘doctors’ encodes a specificity reading, associated with a contrastive focus interpretation infused in this specificity reading encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix of the immediate postverbal argument **basawo** ‘doctors’.

6.4.4 Active transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ bare noun subject inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument

In this section, I consider the occurrence of the locative applicative suffix in examining how the morphosyntactic properties of bare noun subject inversion constructions with the transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ correlate with their interpretative properties. In this regard, I examine the construction (9c. iv) in respect of the presence and absence, respectively, of the morphemes in the parenthesis, including those with the asterisk, indicating obligatoriness. These morphemes are, namely, the locative clitic **-mu** with the asterisk (*), indicating obligatory occurrence, and the optionality pre-prefix **a-** of the immediate agent postverbal DP **(a)basawo** ‘doctors’ and the optional object argument DP **omwenge** ‘beer’, which respectively occur with the sentence variants in (9c.iv A-D). I examine the interpretations of these variant constructions in terms of their argument structure, information structural and event semantic semantic properties and definiteness and/or specificity.

- (9) c. (iv) Ebbaala enywera*(mu) (a)basawo ((o)mwenge)
 E- bbaala e- nyw- er- a- mu a- ba- sawo o-mu-enge
 9PPX-9.bar 9AgrS-drink-APPL-FV- 18CL 2PPX-2PX-doctors 3PPX-3PX-beer
 ‘The bar is drunk in beer by the doctors’

constructions, (see 8c.iii A and B), relates to the omission of the locative prefix **mu** on the subject DP. Given that the constructions in (9c.iv A and B) are ungrammatical, thus, I will examine below the grammatical examples in (9c.iv C and D).

Regarding argument structure, the example (9c.iv C) illustrate the bare noun locative DP argument **ebbaala** ‘the bar’, a location argument, denoting the place where the action of drinking beer is performed by the doctors. The immediate postverbal agent DP argument **abasawo** ‘the doctors’ is interpreted as a Theme-like argument, or a weakly interpreted Agent, rather than an Agent argument in the interpretation associated with the corresponding canonical active verb sentence, in which it appears as subject. Thus, the sentence expresses an anti-causative, middle-like reading of a habitual state, which can be specified by the features [-Dynamic]/ [-Agentive], [+ Durative], and [+Atelic] for the habitual state denoted by the sentence. This anti-causative, generic reading expressed is evidenced through the diagnostic of the permissibility of the occurrence of a manner adverbial, such as **bulungi** ‘well’, in the sentence **Ebbaala enyweramu bulungi abasawo** ‘The bar is drunk in beer well by the doctors’, which modifies the habitual state as a whole, rather than (only) the immediate postverbal DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’. Thus, in terms of its event semantics, the sentence (9c. iv C) realizes a habitual state pertaining to a generic process of (the) doctors drinking beer, that includes the interpretation that it is taking place in the present time of the utterance, in the middle-like reading that, as a dispositional ascription, the bar is the the place where doctors generally drink beer.

Regarding information structure, the bare noun locative DP argument **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ in the example (9c.iv C), encodes an alternative set contrastive focus interpretation. This locative DP denotes an implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading that excludes the entire set of all possible alternative referents assumed to be existing in the knowledge of the speaker and the hearer such as **ennyumba** ‘the house’, **effumbiro** ‘the kitchen’, among others. The immediate postverbal agent DP **abasawo** ‘the doctors’ has an implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading. This alternative set focus interpretation excludes the entire set of all other possible alternative referents assumed to exist in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and the hearer, such as **abalimi** ‘farmers’, **abavubi** ‘fishers’, **abayizzi** ‘hunters’, among other alternatives. The object noun DP **omwenge** ‘beer’ also encodes an alternative set contrastive focus. The locative applicative suffix **-er-a** and the locative clitic **-mu** on the

transitive verb of **-nywa** ‘drink’ in **munyw-er-a-mu** realize an implicit exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading for the bare noun locative subject DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’.

In respect of definiteness and specificity in (9c.iv C), the bare noun locative subject DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ is indefinite, since the reading obtains that there is no particular bar assumed to be known, or familiar to the speaker and the hearer. This DP does, however have a specificity reading, encoded by the occurrence of the presence of the pre-prefix on the bare locative subject noun **e-bbaala** ‘the bar’, the locative applicative suffix **-er-a** and the locative clitic **-mu** in the verbal morphology **munyw-er-a-mu** ‘drunk in’. The locative applicative **-er-** realizes a focus (‘only’) effect to the whole v/VP or the v/VP edge/left periphery, including the immediate postverbal DP. Hence, both the locative applicative **-er-a** and locative clitic **-mu** contribute to encoding the specificity reading of the bare noun locative DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’. The bare noun locative DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’, being specific is interpreted expresses the reading that, in the discourse-pragmatic context, there is a particular bar where the doctors drink beer, assumed to be known by both the speaker and hearer. The immediate postverbal agent argument DP **abasawo** ‘the doctors’ has an indefinite, non-specific reading if the pre-prefix occurs with the noun **abasawo** ‘doctors’, whereas the DP has a specific reading, in terms of familiarity with the referent **abasawo** ‘the doctors,’ or a definite and specific reading, if both the speaker and hearer have common ground knowledge of the referent **abasawo** ‘doctors’ in terms of identifiability in the discourse-pragmatic context. The properties in this regard of the immediate postverbal argument **abasawo** ‘the doctors’ also obtain for the object DP **omwenge** ‘beer’. Thus, the object DP encodes the features –definite and -specific if the noun **omwenge** ‘beer’ appears with its pre-prefix, whereas the DP has a specific and definite interpretation if the speaker and hearer have common ground knowledge about the referent.

In terms of argument structure, in the sentence (9c.iv D) demonstrates that the bare noun locative DP argument **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ is interpreted as a locative argument DP, denoting the place, as a dispositional ascription, in the derived event of the habitual state, where the generic activity of drinking beer is performed by the doctors. The immediate postverbal Theme-like DP argument **basawo** ‘doctors’, contributes to the anticausative interpretation of habitual state reading denoted by the sentence, which can be, specified by the features [-Dynamic] / [-Agentive], [+Durative] and [+Atelic]. This anti-causative, habitual state reading is evidenced the diagnostic of the addition of a typically agent-oriented manner adverbial,

such as **bulungi** ‘well’ in the construction **Ebbaala enyweramu bulungi basawo omwenge** ‘The bar is drunk in beer well by the doctors only, in which the reading obtains that the adverbial modifies the habitual state as a whole, rather than (only) the immediate postverbal argument **abasawo** ‘doctors’. The object DP argument (**o**)**mwenge** ‘beer’, can occur with or without a pre-prefix. This example demonstrates the optional occurrence of the object noun **omwenge** ‘beer’ in the postverbal DP, and if **omwenge** ‘beer’ occurs, the optional occurrence of its pre-prefix.

Concerning event semantics in example (9c.iv D), the sentence exemplifies a habitual state of (the) doctors drinking beer in the bar, taking place possibly in the present time, or a generic reading such that doctors generally drink beer in the bar. In regard to information structure, the subject DP bare noun locative argument **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ is interpreted as having an alternative set contrastive focus reading. The locative DP **ebbaala** ‘bar’ encodes an implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading that excludes the entire set of all alternative referents such as **ennyumba** ‘the house’, **oluggya** ‘courtyard’, among other alternatives in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and hearer. The immediate agent argument DP **basawo** ‘doctors’ in (9c.iv D) has an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading, denoted by the absence of the pre-prefix on the immediate postverbal Theme-like DP **basawo** ‘doctors’. This explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent that can be established by the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, such as **si bakyala** ‘not women’. The locative clitic **-mu** introduces an exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the bare noun locative subject DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’.

In terms of definiteness and specificity, the bare noun locative phrase **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ in example (9c.iv D) is indefinite, since there is no familiar doctors assumed to be known by the speaker and hearer. The construction is also specific due to the presence of the pre-prefix **e** in on the locative bare noun **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ that functions similarly to a prefix, and the locative clitic **-mu** in the verbal morphology **munywamu** ‘drunk in’. The locative clitic **-mu** encodes specificity of the bare noun locative DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’. Thus, **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ has the interpretation that, in the discourse-pragmatic context, there is a particular bar where the doctors drink beer, assumed to be known by the speaker and hearer. The immediate postverbal agent argument DP **basawo** ‘doctors’ is indefinite, since there are not necessarily particular doctors familiar to the speaker and hearer in the discourse-pragmatic context. The absence of the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument DP **basawo** ‘doctors’ encodes a specific

reading, associated with a contrastive focus reading infused in the specificity reading encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix on the immediate postverbal argument **basawo** ‘doctors’. The non-occurrence of the pre-prefix on the postverbal object noun **mwenge** ‘beer’ in (8c.iv D) encodes a indefinite and specific reading, as it does for the immediate postverbal argument DP **basawo** ‘doctors’.

6.5 PASSIVE TRANSITIVE VERB –NYWA ‘DRINK’ CONSTRUCTION WITH/WITHOUT THE LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX, AND WITH/WITHOUT A LOCATIVE CLITIC, AND WITH/WITHOUT A PRE-PREFIX ON THE POSTVERBAL ARGUMENT

This section examines the passive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ in locative morphology subject inversion constructions without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without the locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument in subsection 6.5.1. I then examine passive verb locative morphology subject inversion constructions with an applicative suffix, and with/with(out) the locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument in subsection 6.5.2. Furthermore, I examine passive verb bare noun subject inversion constructions without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without the locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument in subsection 6.5.3. Fourthly, I examine passive verb bare noun subject inversion constructions with the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, in subsection 6.5.4. The argument structure and morphosyntactic properties of these respective passive verb variants with the transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ are analysed in respect to the interpretative properties exemplified by each variant.

6.5.1 Passive transitive verb –nywa ‘drink’ locative morphology subject inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument

In this section, I investigate the passive verb constructions with regard to the thematic roles and argument structure, event structure, i.e. aspectual verb class properties, definiteness and /or specificity of DP constituents, information structural properties for the variants of locative morphology subject inversion with the transitive verb of ingestion and drinking **-nywa** ‘drink’, illustrated in (10c.i), with the respective variants in (10c.i A– D).

drinking is performed by the doctors. The immediate postverbal DP argument **abasawo** ‘the doctors’ bears the thematic role of Agent. Hence the sentence realizes an event reading that can be specified by the features [+Dynamic]/[+Agentive] [+Durative], and [+Atelic] for the activity (or process) event denoted by the sentence construction. This sentence construction thus expresses a causative reading, as evidenced by the diagnostic of the addition of a n agent-oriented adverbial such as **bulungi** ‘well’, as in **Mu bbaala munywebwa bulungi abasawo omwenge** ‘In the bar is drunk in beer well by the doctors’. With regard to its event semantics, the construction therefore denotes the process of (the) doctors drinking in the bar, taking place in the present time, or a generic activity reading denoting that doctors generally drink beer in the bar.

Regarding the information structure properties exemplified in(10d. i A), the locative DP argument **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ is interpreted as having an alternative set contrastive focus reading. This implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading excludes the entire set of all possible alternative referents in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and the hearer, such as **mu nnyumba** ‘in the house’, **mu kisenge** ‘in the room’, **mu luggya** ‘in the courtyard’ among other alternatives. In respect of familiarity and identifiability, the locative DP encodes an exhaustive contrastive focus reading that excludes a particular alternative or referent tested using an inherent **si** ‘not’ phrase **si kyalo** ‘not village’. The immediate postverbal agent DP **abasawo** ‘the doctors’ has an implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading. This inherent or implicit alternative set focus reading of **abasawo** ‘doctors’ in the immediate postverbal position excludes the entire set of all other possible alternative referents that may exist in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and the hearer, such as **abamesa** ‘teachers’, **abavubi** ‘fishers’, among other alternatives. The passive verb also introduces an inherent or implicit exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the subject locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’.

In respect of definiteness and specificity, in example (10d.i A) with the passive transitive verb **nywa** ‘drink’, the locative morphology subject DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ has an indefiniteness reading in that there is no familiar or particular bar in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and the hearer where the doctors drink beer. This specificity reading is encoded by the presence of the locative prefix **mu** on the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’, which functions similarly to a pre-prefix. The suffixation of the passive morpheme–**ebw** has the effect that the external argument of the corresponding active verb is

demoted, hence that the internal argument can move to the subject position of the sentence, thus occurring as a topic or focus constituent. The immediate postverbal agent argument DP **abasawo** ‘the doctors’ has an indefinite reading, entailing that there are no particular doctors in the discourse-pragmatic context that are familiar to the speaker and hearer. The immediate postverbal agent argument **abasawo** ‘doctors’ may optionally occur, and if realized, it has a specificity interpretation encoded by the presence of the pre-prefix on this agent argument **a-basawo** ‘doctors’. The object DP **omwenge** ‘beer’ similarly has an indefinite reading, and it furthermore has a specificity reading, encoded by its pre-prefix, as is the case for the immediate postverbal agent DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’.

In respect of argument structure, in sentence (10d. i B), the locative DP argument **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ is interpreted as denoting a place or location where the action of drinking beer is performed by the doctors. The optional immediate postverbal DP argument **basawo** ‘doctors’ interpreted as an Agent of the passive verb. The passive sentence has an activity event reading that can be specified by the features [+Dynamic] / [+Agentive], [+Durative], and [+Atelic] for this activity (or process) event. This sentence thus expresses a causative reading, as evidenced by the acceptability of agentive adverbs such as **bulungi**, as in **Mu bbaala munywebwa bulungi basawo omwenge** ‘In the bar is drunk beer well by the doctors’, where the adverb modifies the Agent argument. The object DP **mwenge** may also appear without a pre-prefix, thus, denoting a specificity reading. Regarding event semantics, the sentence construction (10d. i B), denotes a habitual activity of (the) doctors drinking beer in the bar, which may be taking place in the present time of the utterance, or a generic reading, denoting the activity that doctors generally drink beer in the bar.

With regard to information structure, the locative DP argument **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ is interpreted as having an alternative set contrastive focus reading. Thus, this locative morphology subject DP has an implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading that excludes the entire set of all alternative referents such as **mu luggya** ‘in the courtyard’, **mu kisenge** ‘in the room’, **mu wooteeli** ‘in the hotel’, among other possible alternatives in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and the hearer. The immediate postverbal agent DP **basawo** ‘doctors’ expresses an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix the DP **basawo** ‘doctors’. This exhaustive contrastive focus interpretation excludes a particular alternative or referent, a view that can be established through the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase such as **si bajjanjabi** ‘not caretakers’. The

object DP **mwenge** ‘beer’ also encodes an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix **o-** on the DP noun **mwenge** ‘beer’. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent, that can be diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase such as **si mazzi** ‘not water’. The passive verb suffix –**ebw-a**, through its demotion of the external argument, introduces an exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the locative subject DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’, the location where the action of drinking beer is performed by the postverbal agent DP **basawo** ‘doctors’.

In respect of definiteness and specificity, in the example (10d. i B), the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ is indefinite, since there is no particular or familiar bar in the discourse-pragmatic context that is assumed to be known by the speaker and hearer. It does, however, have a specificity reading, encoded by the presence of the locative prefix **mu** in the locative subject DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’, that functions similarly to a pre-prefix, and the argument alternation introduced by the passive morpheme –**ebwa** in the passive verb **munywebwa** ‘drunk in by’. This interpretation of the locative DP subject thus relates to the argument alternation effect of the the passive suffix –**ebwa** entailing that the external argument of the corresponding active verb sentence is demoted, and the internal argument is moved to the subject position of the sentence, where it occurs as a topic or focus constituent. The immediate postverbal agent argument **basawo** ‘doctors’ has an indefinite reading in that there are no particular doctors in the discourse-pragmatic context assumed to be familiar to the speaker and hearer, who are drinking beer in the bar. The absence of the pre-prefix of the immediate postverbal agent argument **basawo** ‘doctors’ encodes a specificity reading that correlates with a contrastive focus reading infused in the specificity reading encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix on the postverbal agent argument **basawo** ‘doctors’. This can be diagnostically tested using a **si** ‘not’ phrase. The object noun DP **mwenge** ‘beer’ also denotes an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading realized by the absence of the pre-prefix **o-** on the object noun **mwenge** ‘beer’. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent, which can be established by the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, such as **si caayi** ‘not tea’.

In terms of argument structure, the example sentence (10d.i C) demonstrates the locative DP argument **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ that interpreted as the locative DP encoding the place/location where the action of the transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ is performed by the doctors. The sentence with the immediate postverbal DP agent argument **abasawo** ‘the

doctors’ is interpreted as an agentive event specified by the feature [+Durative], [+Dynamic/+Agentive], or [+atelic] for the activity (or process) event denoted by the sentence. This expresses a causative interpretation diagnostically supported by the permissibility of the agentive adverbs such as **bulungi** ‘well’ for instance in **Mu bbaala munywebwamu bulungi abaami omwenge** ‘In the bar is drunk beer well by the doctors’. With regard to event semantics exemplified in (10d.i C), the sentence realizes an activity or process event of (the) doctors drinking beer, that may take place in the present time of the utterance, or a generic reading, denoting the activity that doctors generally drink beer in the bar.

With regard to information structure, the locative subject DP argument **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ is interpreted as having an alternative set contrastive focus reading. This locative subject DP denotes an implicit alternative set contrastive focus interpretation which excludes the entire set of all possible alternative referents in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and the hearer, for example **mu nnyumba** ‘in the house’, **mu wooteeli** ‘in the hotel’, **mu luggya** ‘in the courtyard’, **mu kisenge** ‘in the room’, among other alternatives. The immediate postverbal agent DP **abasawo** ‘the doctors’ is interpreted as having an implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading. This implicit alternative set focus reading excludes the entire set of all other possible alternative referents in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and the hearer such as **abalimi** ‘farmers’, **ababumbi** ‘porters’, **abawandiisi** ‘writers’, among other alternatives. The object DP noun **omwenge** ‘the beer’ encodes an inherent alternative set contrastive focus reading that excludes the entire set of all other possible alternative referents in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and hearer, such as **amazzi** ‘water’, **caayi** ‘tea’, among other alternatives. The argument alternation/inversion effect introduced by the passive suffix **-ebwa**, and the locative clitic **-mu** on the passive verb, contribute to encoding an implicit exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’.

In regard to definiteness and specificity in (10d.i C), the locative subject **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ has an indefinite reading in that there is no familiar bar in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and hearer where doctors drink beer. It does, however have a specificity reading, encoded by the presence of the locative prefix **mu** of this locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’, that functions similarly to a pre-prefix, the argument alternation/inversion introduced by the passive morpheme **-ebw--**, and the locative clitic **-mu** in the

verbal morphology **munyw-ebw-a-mu** ‘drunk in’. Thus, the locative clitic **-mu** contributes to encoding the specificity property of the locative subject DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’. This specificity of the locative subject DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ entails that, in the discourse-pragmatic context, there is a particular bar where the doctors are drinking beer. The immediate postverbal agent argument **abasawo** ‘doctors’ is indefinite in that there are no particular doctors in the discourse-pragmatic context assumed to be familiar to the speaker and hearer. The agent argument **abasawo** ‘men’ also has a specific reading, encoded by the presence of pre-prefix on this immediate postverbal agent argument **abasawo** ‘doctors’. The object argument **omwenge** ‘beer’ has an indefinite reading in that there is no particular brand of beer in the discourse context assumed to be familiar to the speaker and the hearer that was drunk by the men in the bar. It also has a specificity reading, encoded by the presence of the pre-prefix **o-** in **o-mwenge** ‘the beer’.

With regard to argument structure, in sentence (10d.i D), the locative DP argument **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ is interpreted as a place/location where the activity performed by the doctors drinking beer takes place. The immediate postverbal DP argument **basawo** ‘doctor’ is an Agent argument. The sentence realizes an agentive activity event, that can be specified by the features [+Dynamic] / [+Agentive], [+Durative], and [+Atelic] for the activity (or process) event expressed. This sentence expresses a causative reading, that can be established through the acceptability of an agentive adverb such as **bulungi** ‘well’, as in **Mu bbaala munywebwamu bulungi baami mwenge** ‘In the bar is drunk in beer well by the doctors, where the adverb modifies the postverbal agent DP ’ In regard to its event semantics, the sentence expresses the habitual activity of (the) doctors drinking beer in the bar, taking place in the present time of the utterance, or a generic activity, denoting that doctors generally drink in the bar.

With regard to information structure, in sentence (10d.i D), the preverbal locative DP argument **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ denotes an alternative set contrastive focus reading. This locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ has an implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading that excludes the whole set of possible alternative referents such as **mu nnyumba** ‘in the house’, **mu kisenge** ‘in the room’, **mu ffumbiro** ‘in the kitchen’ among other alternatives in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and the hearer. The absence of the pre-prefix on the immediate postverbal agent DP **basawo** ‘doctors’ encodes an inherent exhaustive contrastive focus reading. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular

alternative or referent, a view that can be established through the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, as in **si basomesa** ‘teachers’, **balimi** ‘farmers’, **bavubi** ‘fishers’ ‘not women’ The absence of the pre-prefix on the object DP **mwenge** ‘beer’ encodes an implicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent, as evidenced by the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, such as **si caayi** ‘not tea’, **si mazzi** ‘not water’, **si mubisi** ‘not juice’, among other alternatives. The argument alternation/ inversion effect introduced by the passive suffix –**ebwa**, together with the locative clitic –**mu** contribute to encoding an exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the locative subject DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’.

In sentence (10d.i D), regarding the definiteness and specificity interpretation of DP constituents, the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’, has an indefinite reading in that there is no particular or familiar bar assumed to be known by both the speaker and the hearer. It does, however, have a specificity reading, encoded by the presence of the locative prefix **mu** in the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ that functions similarly to a pre-prefix, as pointed out above, and the argument alternation/inversion effect introduced by the passive suffix –**ebw-**, together with the locative clitic –**mu** in the verbal morphology **munywebwamu** ‘drink in by’. The passive verb –**ebw-**, together with the locative clitic –**mu** thus contribute to encoding focus of the postverbal argument that correspond to the external argument of the corresponding active verb construction. The absence of the pre-prefix on the immediate postverbal agent argument DP **basawo** ‘doctors’, encodes an indefinite reading, in that there are no particular doctors assumed to be familiar to the speaker and hearer in the discourse-pragmatic context. The immediate postverbal agent argument **basawo** ‘doctors’ has a specific reading, associated with a contrastive focus reading infused in the specificity reading encoded by the non-occurrence of the pre-prefix on the immediate postverbal agent argument DP **basawo** ‘doctors’. The absence of the pre-prefix on the object argument DP **mwenge** ‘beer’ encodes an indefinite reading, as there is no particular beer assumed to be familiar to the speaker and hearer in the discourse context. This object argument **mwenge** ‘beer’ furthermore has a specificity reading correlating with a contrastive focus reading infused in the specificity reading encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix **o-** in in the immediate postverbal agent argument **basawo** ‘men’.

6.5.2 Passive transitive verb –nywa ‘drink’ locative morphology subject inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument

In this section, I examine the passive verb construction (11d.ii), with its variants in (11d.ii A-D), in respect of their properties relating to thematic roles and argument structure, event type, definiteness and /or specificity, and information structure. I discuss the question of how these interpretative properties of each variant correlate with its morphosyntactic properties, with reference to the locative subject DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’, the (non-) obligatory occurrence of the postverbal DP, corresponding to the Agent subject of the corresponding transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’, the locative applicative suffix **-er-**, and the argument alternation introduced by the passive suffix **-ebw-**. I furthermore examine the related properties of the object DP argument **omwenge**.

- (11) d. (ii) Mu bbaala munyw(er)(w-)-a-(mu) ((a)basawo) ((o)mwenge))
 Mu bbaala mu- nyw- el- w- a- mu a- ba- sawo o- mu-
 enge
 18LOC 9.bar 18AgrS-work-APPL-PASS-FV-18CL 2A-2PX-doctors 3PPX-
 3PX-beer
 ‘In the bar is drunk in beer by the doctors’
- A Mu bbaala munywerwa (abasawo) (omwenge)
 Mu bbaala mu- nyw- el- w- a (a- ba- sawo) (omwenge)
 18LOC 9.bar 18AgrS-drink-APPL-PASS-FV (2PPX-2PX-doctors)
 (omwenge)
 ‘In the bar is drunk in beer by the doctors’
- B Mu bbaala munywerwa (basawo) (mwenge) [si bakyala]
 Mu bbaala mu- nyw- el- w- a ba- sawo mu-enge
 18LOC 9.bar 18AgrS-drink-APPL-PASS-FV 2PX-doctors 3PX-beer
 ‘In the bar is drunk beer in by the doctors’
- C Mu bbaala munywelwamu abasawo omwenge
 Mu ki- buga mu- kol- el- w- a- mu a- ba- sawo
 omwenge
 18LOC 9.bar 18AgrS-drink-APPL-PASS-FV-18CL 2PPX-2PX-doctors 3PPX-3PX-
 beer
 ‘In the bar is drunk in beer by the doctors’
- D Mu bbaala munywelwamu basawo mwenge
 Mu bbaala mu- nyw- el- w- a- mu ba- sawo mu-enge
 18LOC 9.bar 18AgrS-drink-APPL-PASS-FV-18CL 2PX-doctors 3PX-beer
 ‘In the bar is drunk in beer well by the doctors’

mu kisenge ‘in the room’, **mu nnyumba** ‘in the house’, among others. Furthermore, the locative clitic **–mu** on the verb **nywa** ‘drink’ encodes an inherent exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the subject locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’. The immediate postverbal agent DP **abasawo** ‘the doctors’ realizes an implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading, which excludes the entire set of all other possible alternative referents in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and the hearer, such as **abasomesa** ‘teachers’, **abalimi** ‘farmers’, among other alternatives. The object noun DP **omwenge** ‘the beer’ realizes an implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading that excludes the entire set of all other possible alternative referents in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and hearer, such as **amazzi** ‘water’, **sooda** ‘soda’, among other alternatives. Furthermore, the locative clitic **–mu** on the verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ introduces an implicit exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the preverbal locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’. Thus, this exhaustive contrastive focus interpretation excludes a particular alternative or referent, as evidenced by the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, such as **si mu nnyumba** ‘not in the house’.

With regard to the properties of definiteness and specificity, in sentence (11d.ii A), the locative subject DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ is indefinite in the sense that, there is no familiar bar in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and hearer in the discourse context. This locative DP has a contrastive focus interpretation which is infused with the specificity reading encoded by the presence of the locative prefix **mu** on the locative subject DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’, which functions similarly to a pre-prefix. The locative applicative suffix **–er-** and the argument alternation introduced by the passive suffix **–ebw-** in the verbal morphology **munyw-er-w-a** ‘drunk in by’ also contribute to encoding this interpretation. This specificity interpretation of the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ entails that, in the discourse-pragmatic context, there is a bar where the doctors drink beer, assumed to be familiar to the speaker and hearer. The immediate postverbal agent argument **abasawo** ‘doctors’ is indefinite, in that there are no particular doctors familiar to both the speaker and hearer in the discourse-pragmatic context. The immediate postverbal agent argument **abasawo** ‘doctors’ also has a specificity reading, encoded by the presence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **a-basawo** ‘doctors’. The object DP argument **omwenge** ‘the beer’ is indefinite, in that there is no particular type of beer, familiar to both the speaker and hearer in their common ground knowledge. The object argument DP **omwenge** ‘the beer’ is interpreted as having a specific reading, encoded by the presence of the pre-prefix **o-** in **omwenge** ‘the beer’.

With regard to its argument structure, in sentence (11d.ii B), the locative subject DP argument **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ is interpreted as the location where the action denoted by the verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ is performed by the doctor. The immediate postverbal DP argument **basawo** ‘doctors’ is interpreted as an agent argument. Thus, the sentence realizes an activity (or process) event reading that can be specified by the features [+Dynamic] / [+Agentive], [+Durative], [+Atelic]. The sentence expresses a causative reading, as evidenced by the diagnostic of the acceptability of an agent-oriented manner adverb diagnostic, such as **bulungi** ‘well’ in **Mu bbaala munywerwa bulungi basawo** ‘In the bar is drunk beer well by the doctors’, where the manner adverb modifies the agent argument. In addition, the object noun DP **omwenge** ‘beer’ denotes a Theme or Patient argument. In respect to its event semantics, the sentence expresses a (habitual) activity of (the) doctors drinking beer in the bar, taking place in the present time of the utterance, or a generic reading, denoting the activity that doctors generally drink beer in the bar.

In regard to information structure, the locative subject DP argument **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ in (11d.ii B) realizes an alternative set contrastive focus reading. This locative DP has an implicit alternative set contrastive focus interpretation that excludes the entire set of all alternative referents such as **mu nnyumba** ‘in the house’, **mu kisenge** ‘in the room’, among other alternatives in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and hearer. The postverbal agent DP **basawo** ‘doctors’ realizes an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading, encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix on this postverbal agent DP argument. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent, as evidenced through the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, such as **si bajjanjabi** ‘not caretakers’. The argument alternation introduced by the passive verb suffix **-ebw-**, and the locative applicative suffix **-er-** contribute to encoding an exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading of the locative subject DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’.

In regard to definiteness and specificity, the locative subject DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ in sentence (11d.ii B) is indefinite as there is no familiar bar in terms of the discourse-related common ground knowledge of the speaker and hearer. However, it has a specificity reading encoded by the locative prefix **mu** in **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’, which bears an inherent specificity feature of spatial(directionality) semantics, and which functions similarly to a pre-prefix. The locative applicative suffix **-er-** in **munywerwa** ‘drink in’ contributes to encoding this reading. This specificity reading in **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ entails that, in the discourse-

pragmatic context, there is a bar where the doctors drink beer. The immediate postverbal agent argument **basawo** ‘doctors’, which lacks a pre-prefix, has an indefinite reading, in that there are no particular doctors drinking beer in the bar, who are familiar to the speaker and hearer in the discourse context. The postverbal argument **basawo** ‘doctors’ has a specificity reading, correlating with a contrastive focus reading infused in the specificity reading encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **basawo** ‘doctors’.

In terms of argument structure properties, in sentence (11d.ii C), the subject locative DP argument **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ denotes the location where the action denoted by the verb is performed by the doctors. The immediate postverbal DP argument **abasawo** ‘the doctors’ in the postverbal DP position is an agent argument. Thus, the sentence realizes an activity (or process) event reading that can be specified by the features [+Durative], [+Dynamic] / [+Agentive], [+Durative], and [+Atelic]. The sentence thus expresses a causative reading, as evidenced by the diagnostic of the acceptability of an agent-oriented manner adverb, such as **bulungi** ‘well’ in **Mu bbaala munywerwamu bulungi abasawo omwenge** ‘ In the bar is drunk in beer well by the doctors’, in which the adverb modifies the agent argument. With regard to its event semantics, it follows that the sentence in (11d.ii C), denotes a process of (the) doctors drinking beer in the bar, taking place in the present time of the utterance, or a generic reading, denoting that doctors generally drink beer in the bar.

With respect to information structure, the locative subject DP argument **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ encodes an alternative set contrastive focus interpretation. This locative DP denotes an implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading that excludes the entire set of all possible alternative referents in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and hearer, such as **mu nnyumba** ‘in the house’, **mu kisenge** ‘in the room’, among other possible alternatives. The immediate postverbal agent DP **abasawo** ‘the doctors’ encodes an inherent alternative set contrastive focus interpretation. This implicit alternative set focus interpretation in the postverbal position excludes the entire set of all other possible alternative referents in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and hearer, such as **abavubi** ‘fishers’, **abalimi** ‘farmers’, among other possible alternatives. The locative applicative suffix **-er-**, the argument alternation effects introduced by the passive suffix **-ebw**, together with the locative clitic **-mu** on the verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ in **munywerwamu** ‘worked in’, contribute to encoding an implicit exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’.

In regard to definiteness and specificity, the locative phrase **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ in (11d.ii C) has an indefinite reading, as there is no familiar particular bar known by the speaker and hearer in the discourse-pragmatic context. However, it does have a specificity interpretation, encoded by the occurrence of the locative prefix **mu** in the locative subject phrase **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ which has an inherent feature of specificity in its spatial(directional) semantics, and functions similarly to a pre-prefix. The locative applicative suffix –er- in **munyw-er-w-a-mu** ‘drunk in by’ contributes to this reading. The immediate postverbal agent argument **abasawo** ‘the doctors’ is indefinite, in that there are no particular doctors familiar to the speaker and hearer in the discourse-pragmatic context. This immediate postverbal agent argument **abasawo** ‘the doctors’ has a non-specificity reading, encoded by the presence of its pre-prefix.

In respect of the argument structure sentence (11d. ii D), the locative DP argument **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ is interpreted as a locative argument DP, encoding the place where the action of drinking beer is performed by the the doctors. The immediate postverbal agent argument DP **basawo** ‘doctors’ is an Agent argument. The sentence realizes an activity event reading that can be specified by the features [+Dynamic], /+[+Agentive], [+Durative], and [+Atelic] for the activity (or process) event. It follows that the sentence expresses a causative reading, as evidenced by the diagnostic of the permissibility of agentive manner adverbs, such as **bulungi** ‘well’ in **Mu bbaala munywerwamu bulungi basawo omwenge** ‘In the bar is drunk well beer by the doctors’, where the interpretation obtains that the manner adverb modifies the postverbal agent argument. Regarding its event semantics the sentence (11d.ii D) denotes a habitual activity of (the) doctors drinking beer in the bar, taking place in the present time of the utterance, or generic reading, denoting that the doctors generally drink beer in the bar.

With respect to information structure, the locative subject DP argument **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ encodes an alternative set contrastive focus reading. This locative DP denotes an implicit alternative set contrastive focus interpretation that excludes the entire set of all alternative referents such as **mu nnyumba** ‘in the house’, **mu luggya** ‘in the courtyard’, among other alternatives in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and hearer. The immediate postverbal agent DP **basawo** ‘doctors’ has an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading, encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix on the postverbal DP **basawo** ‘doctors’. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent, as

evidenced by the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, such as **si bajjanjabi** ‘not caretakers’. The argument alternation/inversion introduced by the passive suffix **–ebw-**, the locative applicative suffix **–er-**, and the locative clitic **–mu** contribute to encoding an exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) interpretation to the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’.

With regard to the properties of definiteness and specificity, in (11d.ii D), the locative subject DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ in (11d.ii D) is indefinite, in that there is no familiar bar known by the speaker and hearer in their common ground knowledge. However, it has a specificity reading, encoded by the locative prefix **mu** in **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ that functions similarly to a pre-prefix. In addition, the argument alternation/ inversion introduced by the passive suffix **–ebw-**, the locative applicative suffix **–er-**, and the locative clitic **–mu** in **munywerwa** ‘drink in’ contribute to encoding this interpretation. This specificity reading of the subject DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’, entails that, in the discourse-pragmatic context, there is a particular bar where the doctors drink beer. The postverbal argument **basawo** ‘doctors’ is indefinite, since there are no particular doctors familiar to the speaker and hearer in the discourse context. The argument **basawo** ‘men’ furthermore has a specificity reading associated with a contrastive focus reading, infused in this specificity reading, encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix on the agent argument **basawo** ‘doctors’.

6.5.3 Passive transitive verb **–nywa** ‘drink’ bare noun subject inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/ without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument

The sentence constructions in (12d.iii A and B) illustrate that bare noun subject locative inversion is impermissible with a passive transitive verb, unless the locative clitic is suffixed to the verb. Thus, the locative clitic is obligatory, as demonstrated in (12d.iii C and D). In this section, I, therefore, investigate the grammatical constructions in (12d.iii C and D) in discussing how their respective interpretations with respect to argument structure, information structure, event semantics and definiteness and specificity, correlate with their morphosyntactic properties relating to argument realization, and the(non-)occurrence of the the locative applicative suffix, and the locative clitic.

- (12) d. (iii) Ebbaala enywebwa*(mu) ((a)basawo) ((o)mwenge))
 E- bbaala e- nyw- ebw- a- mu a- ba- sawo o- mu- enge
 9PPX-9.bar 9AgrS-drink-PASS-FV-18CL 2PPX-2PX-doctors 3PPX-2PX-
 beer
 ‘The bar is drunk in beer by the doctors’

- A *Ebbaala enywebwa abasawo omwenge
E- bbaala e- nyw- ebw- a- ba- sawo o- mu-enge
9PPX-9.bar 9AgrS-drink-PASS-FV 2PPX-2PX-doctors 3PPX-3PX-beer
'The bar is drunk beer by the doctors'
- B *Ebbaala enywebwa basawo mwenge [si bakyala]
E- bbaala e- nyw- ebw- a- ba- sawo mu-enge
9PPX- 9.bar 9AgrS-drink-PASS-FV 2PX-doctors 3PX-beer
'The bar is drunk beer by the doctors'
- C Ebbaala enywebwamu abaami omwenge
E- bbaala e- nyw- ebw- a- mu a- ba- sawo o- mu-enge
9PPX-7.bar 9AgrS-drink-PASS-FV-18CL 2PPX-2PX-doctors 3PPX-3PX-beer
'The bar is drunk in beer by the doctors'
- D Ebbaala enywebwamu basawo mwenge [si bakyala] / [bokka]
E- bbaala e- nyw- ebw- a- mu ba- sawo mu-enge
9PPX- 7.bar 9AgrS-drink-PASS-FV-18CL 2PX-doctors 3PX-beer
'The bar is drunk in beer by doctors'

Given its morphosyntactic and interpretative properties, the following structural representation is posited for the above sentence:

[CP [FocP [SpecFoc¹ [DP **Ebbaala**]] [Foc¹ FOC [TP [SpecT¹ [DP **ebbaala**]] [T¹ T [VoicePasP
(+Contrast)

[SpecVoicePasP [DP **ebbaala**]] [VoicePas¹ VoicePas [vP [Specv¹ [DP **ebbaala**]]
(+Agent) (+Agent)

[v¹ v [VP [FocP [SpecFoc¹ [DP **ebbaala**]] [Foc¹ focus [VP -nyebwa-mi
(+Cause) (+Contrast) is-drink-clitic

[DP [Det Ø] [NP **basawo**] [VP [v¹ [DP [Det Ø] [NP **nwenge**]]] [VP [v¹
(+Specific) doctors (+Specific)

[DP 18.mu.Pro [DP [18.mu.Pro [DP **ebbaala**]]]
(+Emphasis)
(+Specific)

The example sentences in (12d.iii C and D) demonstrate the occurrence of the class 9 bare noun location DP **ebbaala** 'the bar' as subject DP in the passive construction with the transitive verb **-nywa** 'drink,' with which the verbal subject agreement prefix is coreferential. These sentences furthermore illustrate that immediate postverbal agent DP **abasawo** 'the doctors', is optional, hence, if present, it occurs as an adjunct phrase, a property which is generally characteristic of the agent of passive verb constructions in Bantu languages.

Regarding event semantics, the example sentence (12d iii C) realizes a derived event of a habitual activity, with an causative interpretation. The sentence has two possible readings, namely that the drinking of beer takes place in the present at the time the utterance is made, or in terms of a generic reading, that the activity usually takes place, but not necessarily precisely at the time of the utterance. The causative habitual event designated by the sentence is evidenced by the diagnostic of the permissibility of a manner or instrument adverbial, such as **bulungi** ‘well’ and **ne** ‘with (using) small glasses’, or a purpose clause **okusobola okusanyuka** ‘so that they become happy’ that modifies the agent DP **abasawo** ‘doctors,’ even when this agent argument is absent, hence its interpretation is implicit. The addition of an agent-oriented manner and/or instrument adverb, and purpose clause in the sentences can be demonstrated as follows. The sentence **Ebbaala enywebwamu bulungi abasawo omwenge** ‘The bar is drunk in beer well by the doctors’, includes an agent-oriented manner adverb, the sentence **Ebbaala enywebwamu abasawo omwenge nendeku** ‘The bar is drunk in beer by the doctors with a calabash’, illustrates the addition of an agent-oriented instrument adverb, and the sentence, **Ebbaala enywebwamu abasawo omwenge okusobola okusanyuka** ‘The bar is drunk in beer by the doctors in order to become happy’ illustrates the inclusion of a purpose clause.

In terms of definiteness and specificity, the class 9 bare noun DP subject **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ in (12d.iii C) denotes a general place where the drinking of beer (by the doctors) takes place. In the discourse of context, the sentence thus expresses the meaning of **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ as having a definite interpretation in that the addressee is assumed to be familiar with the fact that the bar is the location where there is beer drunk by (the) doctors, but without knowing exactly which bar. Thus, the addressee is not able to name the particular bar in terms of the identifiability criterion. (see Lyons, 1999) The immediate immediate postverbal agent DP **abasawo** ‘the doctors’ is interpreted as having a definite reading, in that the speaker and hearer are familiar with the referent **abasawo** ‘doctors’ in the discourse-pragmatic context. This immediate postverbal agent argument **abasawo** ‘doctors’, however, has a non-specific reading, encoded by the occurrence of its pre-prefix. The optional object DP **omwenge** ‘the beer’ is interpreted as having a definite reading, in that the speaker and hearer are familiar with the object DP **omwenge** ‘beer’ in the discourse context. The object DP argument **omwenge** ‘the beer’, similarly has a non-specific reading, encoded by the presence of the pre-prefix **o-** on the noun **o-mwenge** ‘beer’.

With regard to information structure, the class 9 bare noun locative DP subject **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ in (12d.iii C) exemplifies a contrastive topic, i.e. a topic constituent with a (contrastive) focus interpretation. This bare noun locative subject DP denotes an implicit alternative set contrastive focus interpretation that excludes the entire set of all possible alternative referents in the common ground knowledge of the interlocutors, such as **ennyumba** ‘the house’, **ekisenge** ‘the room’, among other alternatives. It is also a contrastive focus constituent, with an implicit alternative reading (see Repp 2016). The argument alternation introduced by the passive suffix **-ebw-**, and the locative clitic **-mu** contribute to encoding an exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the locative subject DP. The immediate postverbal agent DP **abasawo** ‘the doctors’ denotes an implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading, excluding the entire set of all other possible alternative referents in the common ground knowledge of the interlocutors, such as **abavubi** ‘fishers’, **ababumbi** ‘porters’, among other alternatives. The object noun DP **omwenge** ‘the beer’ has an implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading that excludes the entire set of all other possible alternative referents in the common ground knowledge of the interlocutors, such as **sooda** ‘soda’, **amata** ‘milk’, among other alternatives.

The properties discussed for the analysis of sentence (12d.iii C) obtain in most respects for the sentence (12d.iii D), with exception that the immediate postverbal agent DP **basawo** ‘doctors’ in (12d.iii D) realizes an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading, encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix on this postverbal agent DP argument. This contrastive focus interpretation excludes a particular alternative or referent, as evidenced through the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, such as **si bavubi** ‘not fishers’. As pointed out above, the interpretation of these sentences relates in respect to argument structure (realization) to the effect of passive verb morphology that the external argument of the corresponding active verb sentence is demoted, hence that the internal argument can move to the subject position of the sentence and thus occur as a topic or focus. Therefore, the argument alternation introduced by the passive **-ebw-a**, and the locative clitic **-mu** contribute to encoding the contrastive focus property of the bare noun locative subject DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’. From the examples in (12d.iii A-D), it is evident that a subject DP such as **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ occurs with its pre-prefix, if there is no rule to suggest otherwise, to encode definiteness. This is most common in declarative sentences such as **Abasawo banywa omwenge mu bbaala** ‘The doctors drink beer in the bar’, and also obtains for bare noun subject inversion constructions such as **Ebbaala enywamu abasawo omwenge**. ‘The bar is drunk in beer by

the doctors’ unless, for example the noun in the subject DP is preceded by a quantifier, such as **buli** ‘every’, as in **buli musajja** ‘every man’. The occurrence of the noun pre-prefix is associated with the pragmatic role of encoding specificity and contrastive focus, as indicated in the above examples in (12d.iii A-D)

Regarding the properties of definiteness and specificity, the immediate postverbal agent argument **basawo** ‘doctors’ in (12d.iii B) is interpreted as indefinite, in that there are no particular doctors familiar to the addresser and the addressee in the discourse context. However, it has a specificity and a contrastive focus interpretation, encoded by absence of its pre-prefix. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative of the referent, as evidenced by the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, such as **si bajjanjabi** ‘not caretakers’, encoding specificity, in that the referent **basawo** ‘doctors’ can be identified from the contrasting alternative by the addresser and the addressee. The property of specificity interacts closely with contrastive focus in that a specific entity, **basawo** ‘doctors,’ is indefinite, but specific, and contrastively focused.

6.5.4 Passive transitive verb-nywa ‘drink’ bare noun subject inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument

In this section, I examine the interpretative properties of the example sentence in (13d. iv) in respect to their morphosyntactic properties concerning the (non-)occurrence of the morphemes in parenthesis, indicated as optional, i.e. locative clitic **-mu**, the locative applicative **-er-**, the pre-prefix **a-** of the postverbal DP **(a)basawo** ‘doctors’, and the pre-prefix of the object noun DP, as illustrated in the following four variants in (13d.iv A-D). The constructions (13d.iv A and B) do not bear a locative clitic **-mu**, and thus both sentences are infelicitous(#). Thus, I refer to the sentence constructions (13d.iv C and D) in discussing the question of how their interpretative properties in regard to argument structure, information structure, event semantics, definiteness/specificity properties correlate with their morphosyntactic properties.

(13) d. (iv) Ebbaala enyw-(er)-wa-#(mu) ((a)-ba-ami) ((o)mwenge)
 E- bbaala e- nyw- er- w- a- mu a- ba- sawo o- mu-enge
 9PPX-9.bar 7AgrS-drink-APPL-PASS-FV-18CL2PPX-2PX-doctors 3PPX-3PX-beer
 ‘The bar is drunk in beer by the doctors’

A #Ebbaala enywerwa abasawo omwenge
 E- bbaala e- nyw- er- w- a a- ba- sawo o- mu-enge

are drinking beer so that they get or win the bar (among other meanings). The obligatory occurrence of the locative clitic **-mu** in bare subject inversion constructions, relates to the absence of the locative prefix **mu** in the subject locative DP. Since examples (13d.iv A and B) are infelicitous in a locative-related sense, I discuss the examples in (13d.iv C and D).

The example sentence (13d.iv C) illustrates the occurrence of the class 9 bare noun location DP subject **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ in the passive construction with the transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’, with which the verb-subject agreement prefix is coreferential. This example further illustrates that the immediate postverbal agent DP argument **abasawo** ‘doctors’ is optional, and, if present, it occurs as an adjunct phrase, as is generally characteristic of the agent passive verb constructions in Bantu languages. This example sentence further illustrates the occurrence of the locative applicative suffix **-er-** in the verbal morphology. The locative applicative suffix encodes a focus (‘only’) effect of the of the whole predicate..

Regarding event semantics, the sentence (13d iv C) denotes an activity event, having the features [+Dynamic/+Agentive], [+Telic], and [+Durative], hence it has a a causative reading. This example sentence has two possible readings, namely that the drinking of beer by the doctors takes place in the present at the time the utterance is made, or a generic reading of the activity event taking place usually, but not necessarily precisely at the time of the utterance. (Krifka et al, 1995; Boneh and Doron, 2013). The causative event designated by the sentence is evidenced by the permissibility of a manner adverbial **bulungi** ‘well,’ as in **Mu bbaala munywebwamu bulungi abasawo omwenge** ‘In the bar is drunk in beer well by the doctors’ or the instrument adverbial **ne** ‘with (by using) as in **Mu bbaala munywebwamu abasawo omwenge ne gilasi** ‘In the bar is drunk in beer by the doctors with a glass’, or a purpose clause **okusobola** ‘so that’ as in **Mu bbaala munywebwamu abasawo omwenge okusobola okufuna essanyu** ‘In the bar is drunk in beer by the doctors in order to get happiness. These adverbials and the purpose clause modify the agent DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’, even when this agent argument is absent, i.e. it is implicit.

With regard to definiteness and specificity, the class 9 bare noun DP subject in (13d.iv C) denotes a general place where the action of drinking beer (by the doctors) takes place. In the discourse context, the speaker expresses the meaning of **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ as having a definite interpretation in that the addresser is assumed to be familiar with the fact that the bar is the place where there is drinking of beer by (the) doctors, without knowing exactly which bar, in that the addresser is not able to name the particular bar in terms of the identifiability

criterion. The immediate postverbal agent DP noun **abasawo** ‘doctors’ of the optional agent DP is indefinite, given that there are no familiar doctors known to the speaker and hearer in the discourse of context. However, the sentences (13d.iv C, D) are specific due to the presence of the locative clitic **-mu** standing in for locative DP **ebbaala** ‘in the bar’ that functions as a pronominal proform and the presence of the locative applicative **-er-** in the verbal morphology **enyw-er-a** ‘drinking from’. The locative applicative **-er-** in example sentence (13d.iv C and D) denotes contrastive focus of the locative DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’.

In respect to information structure in (13d.iv D), the class 9 bare noun DP subject **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ in (13d.iv C) exemplifies the properties of a contrastive topic, i.e. a topic constituent with a (contrastive) focus reading. It may also occur as a contrastive focus constituent with an implicit alternative reading (see Repp 2016; Kifka et al, 1995; Rooth, 1992), which can be made explicit by adding an alternative constituent, in a **si** ‘not’ phrase, as in **basawo si bajjanjabi** ‘doctors not caretakers’. The locative applicative suffix **-er-** encodes an exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the predicate, including the locative DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’. The referents in the examples (13d.iv A-D) may appear as the topic constituent, but as long as the contrastive reading obtains in the sentence, there is a focus feature within the topic, hence a contrastive focus interpretation. (see also Krifka, 2008; Repp, 2010).

6.6 NEUTER-PASSIVE (STATIVE) TRANSITIVE VERB -NYWA ‘DRINK’ LOCATIVE MORPHOLOGY SUBJECT INVERSION CONSTRUCTION WITH/WITHOUT THE LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE SUFFIX, AND WITH/WITHOUT) A LOCATIVE CLITIC, AND WITH/WITHOUT A PRE-PREFIX ON THE POSTVERBAL ARGUMENT

In sub-section 6.6.1, I examine the occurrence of the transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ in neuter-passive (stative) verb locative morphology subject constructions without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without the locative clitic, and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument. I discuss the neuter-passive (stative) verb locative morphology subject construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with/without the locative clitic, and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument in 6.6.2. I then examine the neuter-passive/stative verb construction without an applicative with bare noun subject with/without the locative clitic and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument in 6.6.3. I also discuss neuter-passive/stative verb sentences with an applicative,

with bare noun subject with/without the locative clitic and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with object argument in 6.6.4.

6.6.1 Neuter-passive (stative) verb –nywa ‘drink’ locative morphology subject inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument

In this section, I discuss the interpretative properties relating to thematic roles and argument structure, event types and aspectual verb class properties, definiteness and /or specificity of the DP constituents, and information structural status of constituents, with reference to the stative verb –nywa ‘drink’ construction, exemplified in (14e.i), with the following variants in (14e.i A – D). I examine, in particular, the question of how the interpretative properties of these variants correlate with properties of argument structure, the locative subject DP, and the (non-) obligatory occurrence of the postverbal DP, corresponding to the Agent subject of the corresponding active verb -nywa (without the stative suffix -ek).

- (14) e. (i) Mu bbaala munyweka(mu) ((a)basawo) ((o)mwenge)
 Mu bbaala mu- nyw- ek- a- mu a- ba- sawo o- mu-enge
 18LOC 9.bar 18AgrS-drink-STAT-FV-18CL 2PPX-2PX-doctors3PPX-PX-beer
 ‘In the bar, it is possible for the doctors to drink in beer’
- A Mu bbaala munyweka abasawo omwenge
 Mu bbaala mu- nyw- ek- a a- ba- sawo o- mu-enge
 18LOC 9.bar 18AgrS-drink-STAT-FV 2PPX-2PX-doctors 3PPX-3PX-beer
 ‘In the bar, it is possible for the doctors to drink in beer’
- B Mu bbaala munyweka basawo mwenge
 Mu bbaala mu- nyw- ek- a ba- sawo mu-enge
 18LOC 9.bar 18AgrS-drink-STAT-FV 2PX-2.doctors 3PX-beer
 ‘In the bar, it is possible for doctors to drink in bar’
- C Mu bbaala munywekamu abasawo omwenge
 Mu bbaala mu- nyw- ek- a- mu a- ba- sawo o- mu-enge
 18LOC 9.bar 18AgrS-drink-STAT-FV-18CL 2PPX-2PX-doctors 3PPX-3PX-beer
 ‘In the bar, it is possible for doctors to drink in beer’
- D Mu bbaala munywekamu basawo mwenge
 Mu bbaala mu- nyw- ek- a- mu ba- sawo mu-enge
 18LOC 9.bar 18AgrS-drink-STAT-FV-18CL 2PX-doctors 3PX-beer
 ‘In the bar, it is possible for doctors to drink in beer’

Considering its morphosyntactic and interpretative properties, the above sentence has the following structural representation:

realizes locative agreement. (see chapter Three for discussion of Marten, 2006; 2012 regarding the distinction he makes between inner and outer agreement). The demonstrative **eno** ‘this’ and the adjective **ennene** ‘the big’, through their inherent lexical semantics, introduce a definiteness and specificity reading of the DP constituents in which they occur.

The example (14e.i A) demonstrates the non- occurrence of the (class 18) locative clitic **-mu** in the verbal morphology. This occurrence of the locative clitic **-mu**, denotes emphasis relating to a contrastive focus interpretation, encoding the interiority of the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’. The locative clitic **-mu** furthermore encodes deictic distinctions for place referents, and pragmatic inferences relating to specificity, as is evident from the previous discussion in this chapter and in chapter five. The locative clitic **-mu** also contributes to encoding the generic middle-like state expressed by the sentence. The example (14e.i A) illustrates the optional occurrence of the DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’ in the immediate postverbal DP position, and in case of its occurrence, **abasawo** ‘doctors’, the optionality of its pre-fix.

Regarding thematic role properties and argument structure in (14e. i A), the class 18 locative subject argument **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ expresses an interpretation of ‘within (the bar)’, a locational dimension, characteristic of the class 18 locative semantics. In this example sentence, the postverbal DP argument **abasawo** ‘doctors’ is interpreted as a Theme argument, not an Agent. Thus the sentence realizes a middle-like generic state that can be specified by the features [-Dynamic]/[-Agentive], [+Durative], and [+Atelic]. Given that stative(neuter-passive) verb morphology in Luganda, as generally in Bantu languages, demotes the agent argument of the corresponding active transitive verb, and given its optional occurrence, the postverbal DP **abasawo** ‘ the doctors’ appears an adjunct, bearing a theme-like semantic role, and lacking an agentive interpretation. Considering the concomitant anti-causative semantics associated with the stative verbal suffix **-ek-**, the sentence construction in (14e.i A) has the interpretation of a generic state, denoting the reading that **Mu bbaala munyweka abasawo omwenge** ‘In the bar there is the possibility or potentiality of drinking of beer (for doctors)’ in the sense that the subject DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ has the reading of a dispositional ascription as a location of the possible or potential activity of the doctors drinking beer. Thus, the situation type of (habitual) state is denoted by (14e.i A) (see Vendler, 1967; Kearns, 2000; Verkuyl, 1989; Smith, 1997).

In the example sentence (14e. i A), the subject DP **mu bbaala** has a specificity reading in that within the discourse context, the interlocutors have a familiarity with the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’, as a location of possible or potential drinking of beer for doctors. The locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ in addition, may have a definiteness and specificity interpretation if, in the discourse context, the interlocutors know the particular bar, i.e. know the name of the bar in terms of the identifiability criterion. Thus, concerning (in)definiteness and (non)specificity, the interpretation obtains that the location **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ is familiar to the interlocutors in discourse context.

The sentence (14e. i A) demonstrates a locative morphology subject inversion construction with the stative verb *nywa* ‘drink’, where the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ occurs as the subject of the inverted construction. Thus, through argument realization, the locative subject DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ has a definite interpretation. In locative inversion or topicalization, the referents of preposed arguments are assumed to express presupposed or hearer-old information.

In example sentence (14e. i A), the verb may appear without a locative clitic, even if the locative phrase is in situ. In this case, the presence of a locative clitic **-mu** on the verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ expresses the pragmatic effect of definiteness and specificity of the locative subject bare noun. In addition, the occurrence locative clitic encodes focus-related emphasis to the verb to which it is suffixed. The occurrence of the locative clitic **-mu** on the verb is associated with the features [+definite +specific]. The referent of the inverted nominal locative DP in **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ is likely to have been a topic of discussion in the previous discourse. The absence of the locative clitic **-mu**, on the other hand in **Mu bbaala munyweka abasawo omwenge** ‘In the bar it is possible for the doctors to drink beer’, entails that the locative noun ‘**mu bbaala**’ is not specified for both the definiteness and specificity features.

In the example sentence (14e. i A), it is assumed in discourse-related context, that the implicit locative DP is familiar, as in **Abasawo banywamu omwenge** ‘doctors drink beer in it’. The absence of the lexical head noun presupposes the existence of an antecedent. Hence the view is plausible, of locative clitics as having definiteness and specificity properties, similarly to the agreement object prefix, in the absence of a full lexical locative noun. Thus, the locative **-mu** encodes a familiar locative noun. This is possible when the locative expression appears as subject DP. A locative DP may also be associated with the occurrence of a locative clitic,

such as **-mu** on the verb **nywa** ‘drink,’ even when it remains in situ, for encoding definiteness, specificity and focus-related emphasis.

Regarding definiteness and specificity, the immediate postverbal agent DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’ demonstrated in (14e. i A) has an indefinite, non-specific interpretation if it bears its pre-prefix **a-**, whereas the DP has a specific interpretation, in terms of familiarity with the referent **abasawo** ‘doctors’, or a definite – specific interpretation, if both the speaker and hearer have knowledge of the referent **abasawo** ‘doctors’ in terms of identifiability in the discourse context (see Lyons, 1999). In terms of informational structural properties, the subject DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ realizes a contrastive focus constituent, with an implicit alternative reading (see discussion by Franscarelli & Hinterholz, 2007; and Repp, 2016) on contrastive topic in terms of the three types of topic, and also Féry & Krifka, 2008; Krifka, 2008).

If it occurs, the immediate postverbal DP, **abasawo** ‘doctors’ similarly bears a contrastive focus interpretation in terms of implicit alternative, which can be realized as an explicit alternative, as demonstrated in **Mu bbaala munyweka abasawo omwenge (abasomesa, abavubi, abalimi, n’abantu abalala)** ‘In the bar it is possible for the doctors to drink in the beer (the teachers, the fishers, the farmers, and other alternatives’.

Most properties demonstrated by sentence (14e.i A) obtain in (14e.iv B) with the exception that in (14e. i B), the postverbal nominal DP **basawo** ‘doctors’ bears an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** on the postverbal DP **basawo** ‘doctors’. This contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent that can be tested using a **si** ‘not’ phrase **si bajjanjabi** ‘not caretakers’. The optional use of the pre-prefix is associated with the pragmatic role of encoding specificity and contrastive focus as indicate in the above examples in (14e.iv A-D)

With regard to properties of definiteness and specificity, the absence of the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument **basawo** ‘doctors’ in (14e iv B) encodes an indefiniteness reading, in that there are no particular doctors assumed to be familiar to the speaker and hearer in the discourse of context. Although, the non-prefixed immediate postverbal agent argument DP encodes a specific and contrastive focus interpretation realized by the non-pre-prefixed immediate postverbal agent argument DP **basawo** ‘doctors’. This exhaustive contrastive focus interpretation excludes a particular alternative of the referent that can be tested using a

si ‘not’ phrase **si bajjanjabi** ‘not caretakers’, hence denoting a specificity reading due to the fact the referent **basawo** ‘doctors can be identified from another contrasting alternative by the speaker and hearer in the discourse context. The property of specificity relates closely to contrastive focus, thus a specific entity such as **basawo** ‘doctors’ is indefinite, but specific, and contrastively focused. (Lyons, 1999)

In respect of argument structure, in example sentences (14e. i. B-D), like in the stative verb constructions discussed above, it is demonstrated that the stative suffix **-ek-**, like the passive suffix, has the effect that the external argument of the corresponding active verb sentence is demoted. Hence the internal argument is moved to the subject position of the construction, where it may occur as a topic or focus constituent. The stative verb constructions above thus permits an optional adjunct, **basawo** ‘doctors’ in (14e. i B and D), which realizes an explicit contrastive focus constituent. The locative clitic **-mu** in sentences (14e. i C and D) can replace the locative DP and thus, the transitive verb **nywa** ‘drink’ selects a locative through the occurrence of the clitic **-mu**. The locative clitic **-mu** encodes a contrastive focus reading on the locative DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’, relating to interiority. Thus,, the clitic **-mu** encodes focus-related emphasis of the generic state realized in (14e.i C). The view regarding the interpretation of the object DP **omwenge** ‘beer’ obtains in this example, as discussed in the previous sections (see section 6.3, 6.4, and 6.5).

6.6.2 Neuter-passive (stative) transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ locative morphology subject inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument

The following example in (15e. ii), with its variants in (15e.iiA- D), illustrate that the co-occurrence of the locative applicative suffix **-er-** and the stative suffix **-ek-** in the morphology of a verb is disallowed, and gives rise to ungrammaticality, like in the following constructions with the transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’.

(15) e. (ii) Mu bbaala munyw-(*el-) ek-a-(mu) ((a)baami) ((o)mwenge)
 Mu bbaala mu- nyw- (*el-) ek- a- mu a- ba- sawo o- mu-enge
 18LOC 9.bar 18AgrS-drink-APPL-STAT-FV-18CL 2PPX-2PX-doctors 3PPX-3PX-
 beer
 ‘In the bar is possible for the doctors to drink beer’

A Mu bbaala munyw-(*el) eka abaami omwenge
 Mu bbaala mu- nyw- (*el)- ek- a a- ba- sawo o- mu-enge

18LOC 9.bar 18AgrS-drink- APPL-STAT- FV 2PPX-2PX-doctors 3PPX-3PX-beer
 ‘In the bar, it is possible for the doctors to drink beer’

- B Mu bbaala munyw(*el) eka basawo mwenge
 Mu bbaala mu- nyw- (*el)- ek- a ba- sawo mu-enge
 18LOC 9.bbaala 18AgrS-drink-APPL-STAT-FV 2PX-doctors 3PX-beer
 ‘In the bar is possible it is possible for doctors to drink beer’
- C Mu bbaala munyw(*el) ekamu abasawo omwenge
 Mu bbaala mu-nyw-(*el)-ek- a-mu a- ba-sawo o- mu-enge
 18LOC 9.bar 18AgrS-drink-APPL-STAT-FV-18CL2PPX-2PX-doctors 3PPX-3PX-beer
 ‘In the bar it is possible for the doctors to drink in there beer’
- D Mu bbaala munyw(*el) ekamu baami mwenge
 Mu bbaala mu- nyw- (*el)- ek- a- (mu) ba- sawo mu-enge
 18LOC 9.beer 18AgrS-drink-APPL-STAT-FV-18CL 2PX-doctors 3PX-beer
 ‘In the bar it is possible for doctors to drink beer in there’

The constructions in (15e.ii A-D) demonstrate that in Luganda the locative applicative suffix **-er-** is not permissible in stative verb constructions, including locative morphology subject inversion sentences like the above examples with transitive verbs such as **nywa** ‘drink’. A plausible reason for the impermissibility of the co-occurrence of a stative verb with a locative applicative suffix relates to the inherent event semantics of these respective verbal derivational morphemes. Whereas the the neuter-passive(stative) morpheme has an inherent anti-causative semantics, the locative applicative suffix, like applicative morphology generally, has an inherent causative semantic feature.

6.6.3 Neuter-passive (stative) transitive verb –nywa ‘drink’ bare noun subject inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without the locative clitic and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument

In this section, I examine the stative verb bare noun subject inversion construction in (16e.iii), with respect to its interpretative properties of thematic roles and argument structure, event semantics, definiteness and /or specificity of especially the postverbal DP, and information structural properties of the DP constituents in the respective variant, as they occur in the following examples in (16e.iii A – D) with the transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ with the stative suffix **-ek**. The examples (16e.iii A and B) demonstrate that sentences without the locative clitic **-mu** in bare noun subject inversion constructions are ungrammatical. Thus, my discussion is concerned with the grammatical sentences with the locative clitic (16e. iii C and D).

interiority of the bare noun locative DP subject **ebbaala** ‘the bar’. This locative clitic **–mu**, in addition, encodes deictic distinctions for place referents, and also pragmatic inferences of focus-related emphasis and specificity. The locative clitic **–mu** furthermore contributes to encoding the generic state-like process realized by the sentence.

The locative clitic **–mu** in (16e.iii C and D) denotes locational interiority, which is identifiable by the speaker and hearer in discourse-pragmatic context. The occurrence of the locative clitic **–mu** on the verb **nywa** ‘drink’ is associated with the features [+definite, +specific]. The referent of the bare noun locative DP **ebbaala** ‘the the bar’ denotes a reading that presupposes that it has been a topic of discussion in previous discourse in the discourse-pragmatic context. The absence of the locative clitic **–mu**, in (16e.iii A and B), on the other hand, denotes that the locative noun DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ does not have a reading of definiteness and specificity. The implicit locative noun is assumed to be familiar, as in **(Ebbaala) enywamu abasawo omwenge** ‘(The bar) is drunk in the doctors beer’. The absence of the lexical head noun presupposes the existence of an antecedent. It is, therefore, plausible to assume the view that locative clitics realize definiteness and specificity properties in the same way as the agreement object prefix in the absence of a full lexical (locative) DP. Thus, the locative clitic **–mu** encodes reference to a locative noun in the subject DP that is familiar to both the speaker and the hearer in the discourse context. This reading is possible when the locative expression appears as subject DP. In addition, the examples (16e.iii C and D) demonstrate the optional occurrence of the immediate postverbal noun DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’, and if **abasawo** ‘doctors’ is present, the optional occurrence of its pre-prefix. This property of the immediate postverbal argument DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’ also obtains with regard to the object DP **omwenge** ‘beer’

In the locative morphology subject inversion construction in (16e. iii), the locative subject has a definite reading given that, in locative inversion argument structure, realizing topicalization, the referent of the preposed subject arguments DP denotes presupposed or hearer-old information.

As regards thematic role interpretation, the class 9 bare noun locative subject argument **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ denotes a ‘general (bar)’ locational reading, due to the non- occurrence of the of class 18 locative clitic **–mu**. Given that stative (neuter-passive) verb morphology in Luganda, as generally in Bantu languages, demotes the agent argument of the corresponding

(agentive) active verb, and given its optional occurrence, the postverbal DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’ appears an adjunct with a theme-like, not an agentive, interpretation.

With regard to event semantics, the anti-causative event semantics associated with the neuter-passive verbal suffix **-ek**, (16e.iii C and D) introduces the interpretation of a generic state, denoting that **Ebbaala enywekamu abasawo omwenge** ‘The bar is possible of drinking beer (for the doctors)’, in the sense that the subject DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ has a dispositional ascription interpretation as a location of the possible or potential action of doctors drinking beer. The situation type of an (habitual) state is thus encoded by (16e.iii C and D), which can be represented by the aspectual verb class classification features [-Dynamic]/ [-Agentive], [+Atelic] and [+Durative] (see Lekakou, 2004; Pross, 2020).

The postverbal DP (**a**)**basawo** ‘doctors’ in (16e. iii C, D) has an indefinite, non-specific reading if this immediate postverbal agent DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’ appears with its pre-prefix, whereas the DP has a specific reading, if it appears without its pre-prefix, in terms of familiarity with the referent in the noun ‘**basawo** ‘doctors’, or a definite-specific reading, if the interlocutors have common ground knowledge of the referent **abasawo** ‘doctors’ in terms of identifiability in the discourse context. The object DP (**o**)**mwenge** ‘beer’ in (16e. iii C, D) has an indefinite, non-specific reading if the object noun **omwenge** ‘beer’ appears with its pre-prefix, whereas the the DP has a specific reading, if it appears without its pre-prefix, in terms of familiarity with the referent in **mwenge** ‘doctors’, or a definite –specific reading, if the speaker and the hearer have common ground knowledge of the referent **omwenge** ‘beer’ in terms of the identifiability criterion in the discourse context. The subject DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ has a specificity reading in that, within the discourse context, the interlocutors have a familiarity with **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ as a possible location of the drinking of beer for the doctors. The locative argument DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ may also have a definiteness interpretation if, in the discourse context, both speaker and hearer have knowledge of the particular bar, i.e. know the name of the bar in terms of the identifiability criterion. Thus, with regard to (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity, the interpretation obtains that the location **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ is familiar to the interlocutors (see Lyons, 1999).

In respect of information structural properties, the DP subject **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ realizes a contrastive focus reading, with an implicit alternative reading. In Luganda, focus can be realized on the beginning or the end, or both sides, of a sentence construction. The inverted locative subject DP argument denotes a reading of being familiar to the hearer, thus, in

example (16e. ii C), the reading obtains that the hearer has previous knowledge about the topic under discussion. The postverbal DP, **abasawo** ‘doctors’ expresses a contrastive focus reading in terms of an implicit alternative, which can be realized as an explicit alternative, as in **Mu bbaala munyweka abasawo omwenge (si abasomesa, abalimi, abavubi, n’abantu abalala)** ‘In the bar is possible for the doctors to drink beer (not the teachers, the farmers, the fishers), and other alternatives. The postverbal nominal DP **basawo** ‘doctors’ denotes an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** on the postverbal DP **basawo** ‘doctors’. This contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent, as evidenced through the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, such as **si bajjanjabi** ‘not caretakers’. The optional use of the pre-prefix is associated with the pragmatic role of encoding specificity and contrastive focus as indicated in the above examples in (16e.iii C, D).

In terms of definiteness and specificity, the presence of the pre-fix on the postverbal argument **basawo** ‘doctors’ in (16e.iii B) encodes an indefinite reading, entailing that there are no particular doctors familiar to the hearer in the discourse context. However, the absence of the prefix on the postverbal argument encodes a specific and contrastive focus reading, realized by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-**. This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative of the referent, as evidenced by the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase, such as **si bajjanjabi** ‘not caretakers’. Thus a specificity reading is encoded, entailing that the referent **basawo** ‘doctors’ can be identified from other contrasting alternatives by the interlocutors. The specificity reading is related to the contrastive focus reading, in that the postverbal DP **basawo** ‘doctors’ is indefinite, but specific, and contrastively focused.

6.6.4 Neuter-passive (stative) transitive verb –nywa ‘drink’ bare noun subject inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument

In this section I consider the example sentence (17e. iv), with its variants in (17e. iv A-D), indicated with (#) for (17e. vi A and B), which are infelicitous in respect to a locative reading without a locative clitic. The locative applicative suffix-**er-** is impermissible in the verbal morphology with the stative suffix **-ek-**, as indicated in the following examples. The occurrence of the locative clitic is obligatory for yielding grammatical constructions in (17e. iv C and D). I discuss below the interpretative properties relating to thematic roles, event

type, definiteness and/or specificity, and information structural properties of the DP constituents in the grammatical locative variants of the stative verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ constructions.

(17) e. (iv) Ebbaala enyw-(*el)eka (mu) ((a)basawo) ((o)mu-enge
 E- bbaala e- nyw- (*er)- ek- a- mu a- ba- sawo o-mu-enge
 9PPX-9.bar 9AgrS-drink-APPL-STAT-FV-18CL 2PPX-2PX-doctors 3PPX-3PX-beer
 ‘The bar is possible for the doctors to drink in beer’.

A #Ebbaala enyw-(#el)-eka mu abasawo omwenge
 E- bbaala e- nyw- er- (ek)- a- a- ba- sawo o-mu-enge
 9PPX-9.bar 9AgrS-drink-APPL-STAT-FV 2PPX-2PX-doctors 3PPX-3PX-beer
 ‘The bar is possible for the doctors to drink beer in’.

B #Ebbaala enyw-(#el)-eka abasawo omwenge
 E- bbaala e- nyw(er)- ek- a- a- ba- sawo o- mu-enge
 9PPX-9.bar 9AgrS-drink-APPL-STAT-FV 2PPX-2PX-doctors 3PPX-3PX-beer
 ‘The bar is possible for the doctors to drink beer in’.

The examples (17e.iv A and B) are infelicitous due to the absence of the locative clitic **-mu**. The example sentence (17c. iv A) above **#Ebbaala enywereka abasawo omwenge** ‘The bar is possible to be drunk beer by the doctors’, has a different, non-locative interpretation, with the reason/purpose related reading of the applicative, namely that the doctors are drinking beer so that they get or win the bar (and other meanings). The construction (17c. iv B) **#Ebbaala enywereka basawo omwenge** ‘The bar is possible to be drunk in beer by the doctors only’ also has a different non-locative reading in terms of the non-locative reason/purpose applicative argument, namely the reading that the doctors only are drinking beer so that they get or win the bar (among other meanings). Thus, the obligatory occurrence of the locative clitic **-mu** in bare subject inversion constructions, relates to the absence of the locative prefix **mu** on the locative DP subject. Since examples (17e.iv A and B) are infelicitous in a locative-related sense, I refer below to the examples (17e.iv C and D).

C Ebbaala enyw-(el) eka (mu) ((a)basawo) ((o)mwenge)
 E- bbaala e- nyw- (er)- ek- a- mu a- ba- sawo o-mu-enge
 9PPX-9.bar 7AgrS-drink-APPL-STAT-FV-18CL 2PPX-2PX-doctors 3PPX-3PX-beer
 ‘The bar is possible for the doctors to beer in’.

D Ebbaala enyw-(el) eka (mu) ((a)basawo) ((o)mwenge)
 E- bbaala e- nyw- (er)- ek- a- mu a- ba- sawo omwenge)
 9PPX-9.bar 9AgrS-drink-APPL-STAT-FV-18CL 2PPX-2PX-doctor 3PPX-3PX-beer
 ‘The bar is possible for the doctors to drink beer in’

The example sentences in (17e.iv A -D) above indicate that the locative clitic is obligatory in order to realize felicitous and grammatical locative constructions. The discussion above in respect to the examples in (16e.iii A -D) also obtains for the corresponding sentence constructions of this section with respect to the properties of definiteness/specificity, information structure, argument structure/thematic role, and event semantics.

It is worth noting that transitive verbs such as **teek-a** ‘put’, **twal-a** ‘take’, and **simb-a** ‘plant’, which in terms of their inherent lexical semantics have a locative argument, do not license locative inversion as illustrated in the following example sentences.

(18) a. Omukyala yateeka emmere mu nju.

O- mu-kyala y- a- teek- a e-mmere mu nju
 1PPX-1PX-wife 1AgrS-PAST-put-FV 9PPX-9.food (18LOC 9.house)
 ‘The wife took the food into the house’

b. *Mu nju mwateeka emmere (omukyala).

Mu nju mu- a- teek- a e-mmere (o-mu-kyal-a)
 18LOC 9.house 18AgrS-PAST-put-FV 9PPX-food (1PPX-1PX.wife)
 ‘Into the house, the food was taken by the wife’

In the next section 6.7, I present a summary of this chapter with a morphosyntactic and semantic interpretation table 6.2.

6.7 SUMMARY

This chapter presented an introduction to the properties concerning the investigation of transitive verb constructions with a locative in section 6.1 A general overview was presented in section 6.2 of the organization of the sentence construction variants with the verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ that the chapter aims to examine systematically with respect to properties relating to the the syntax-interfaces approach adopted in this study. Table 6.1 presented a schematic overview of the morphosyntactic properties of the sentence construction variants with the transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ with reference to the range of active, passive, and neuter-passive verb constructions identified for investigation regarding their interpretative properties of thematic roles and argument structure, event semantics, definiteness and specificity, and information structural status. In section 6.3, I examined the interpretative properties of the active transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ construction with/without the locative applicative suffix, with/without the locative clitic, with/without an object argument, and with/without a postverbal locative (argument). Section 6.4 analysed the interpretative properties of active verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ locative morphology subject inversion constructions with/without the

locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without the pre-prefix on the immediate postverbal argument, and with/without a pre-prefix on the object argument noun. In section 6.5, I examined the interpretative properties of passive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ constructions with/without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the immediate postverbal argument noun, and with/without a pre -prefix on the object argument noun. In section 6.6, I investigated neuter-passive (stative) verb **--nywa** ‘drink’ locative morphology subject inversion constructions with/without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument noun, and with/without a pre-prefix on the object argument noun. It was pointed out that ransitive verbs such as **-teeka** ‘put’, **-twala** ‘take’, and **-simba** ‘plant’, which in terms of their inherent lexical semantics have a locative argument, do not license any of the two types of locative inversion constructions examined, as demonstrated in the example (18).

In section 6.3.3, concerned with active locative morphology subject inversion sentence constructions, it was pointed out that the thematic role of the immediate postverbal argument **abasawo** ‘doctors’ is Agent, and that the object argument appears as the Patient in the construction. The discussion concerning bare noun subject inversion sentence constructions in 6.4.3 posited that these sentences express a habitual state, with a middle-like generic interpretation. Thus, the immediate postverbal DP argument is not interpreted as an Agent, but rather has a Theme-like interpretation. These sentences have an anti-causative reading, given that they express a habitual state. The object argument *omwenge* ‘beer’, appears as Patient argument. In respect to the diagnostics for agentivity, it was demonstrated that, whereas the addition of a manner adverbial like **bulungi** ‘well’ in the canonical active verb sentence modifies the subject Agent argument, in a habitual state sentences like the bare noun subject inversion constructions, the manner adverbial does not modify the postverbal argument, **abasawo** ‘doctors’, but rather the habitual state as a whole. The bare noun locative subject DP in bare noun inversion constructions exhibits thereading of a place/location, as a dispositional ascription where the drinking of beer by doctors takes place. Thus, the sentence exemplifies a generic, middle-like interpretation of habitual state. This dispositional ascription reading (of being the usual or typical or characteristic place/location of drinking beer by doctors) is contingent on the event of drinking by doctors actually materializing i.e. taking effect (see Pross 2020).

In regard to definiteness and specificity, this chapter employed Lyons's (1999) notions of familiarity, identifiability, inclusiveness and uniqueness in exploring the semantic-pragmatic interpretation concerning the interlocutors' understanding of DP constituent readings in the discourse context. The discussion demonstrated that an argument such as **abasawo** 'doctors' is indefinite, expressing the reading of unfamiliarity of the referent to the interlocutors in terms of their common ground knowledge within the discourse-pragmatic context. However, the argument **abasawo** 'doctors' has a specificity reading encoded by the presence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **a-basawo** 'doctors'. The argument **basawo** 'doctors' has an indefinite reading due to the unfamiliar reference that obtains to the interlocutors. The argument **basawo** 'doctors', however, has a specificity reading, and in addition, a contrastive focus reading encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** in **basawo** 'doctors'.

A further aspect of the investigation conducted in this chapter concerned the information structural status of various constituents, including DP, v/VP and clausal constituents, with regard to focus, topic, and contrast. In this regard the analysis of the interlocutors' knowledge in the particular discourse – context was discussed, invoking Repp's (2016) three-fold distinction of explicit alternative, explicit alternative set, and implicit alternative, and views from Lambrecht (1994). It was demonstrated that in Luganda focus can be realized both on the preverbal subject DP and the immediate postverbal argument of a construction. The morphosyntactic properties relating to argument structure, in particular argument realization in locative inversion constructions, and the occurrence of the locative applicative suffix, in particular, were considered. The interpretative properties of constituents in the range of sentence construction variants were examined positing a focus projection on the v/VP edge (left periphery), and the clausal constituent, for particular constituents. Thus, the chapter explored the question of how the interpretive properties of sentence constructions with the transitive verb **-nywa** 'drink' correlate with their morphosyntactic properties, examining transitive active, passive, and stative verb construction, invoking in particular, the cartography studies perspective of generative syntax concerning the postulation of discourse-related focus projections in the left-periphery of constituents. This chapter posited structural representations for various sentence construction variants, taking into account the information structural properties of the notions of topic, focus and contrast of transitive verb sentence constructions.

The functional categories of Voice, specified as Voice Act(ive)), Voice Pas(sive), and Voice Mid(dle), were invoked in positing structural representations for the sentence construction variants examined. The functional category ('little') v was specified for the feature \pm CAUSE, representing a causative or anti-causative reading, respectively.

The morphosyntactic and associated interpretative properties of the transitive verb **-nywa** 'drink' constructions examined in this chapter are specified in the table below in regard to the following properties : active verb construction (AV), locative inversion : locative morphology subject inversion (LMSI), bare noun subject inversion (BNSI), the locative clitic (CL), the locative applicative suffix (APPL), the passive (PASS), the stative (STAT), the pre-prefix (PPX), the locative prefix (LOCPX), definiteness (DEF), specificity (SPEC), generic reading (GEN), agent (AG), and contrastive focus (CFOC). In the following schematic specification of constructions examined with the verb **nywa** 'drink' the symbol (+) indicates the presence of the property, the symbol (-) represents the absence of the feature, and the symbol (\pm) indicates an either /or property. In the table below, the AV column contains only a (+) feature, indicating the canonical sentence constructions for all the variants. In the next two columns I specify the properties relating to the two types of locative inversions explored in this chapter, namely. LMSI and BNSI. The table below thus specifies the interpretative properties associated with the occurrence of the locative applicative suffix and the locative clitic in active, passive and stative verb constructions, and the occurrence of the pre-prefix that were investigated with respect to definiteness and specificity, event type (causative/anticausative) readings, and information structural status (of topic, focus and contrast).

Table 6:2: Morphosyntactic and semantic-pragmatic properties of transitive verb -nywa'drink' constructions

		Mopho-syntactic properties										Semantic -pragmatic interpretive properties				
No		AV	LMSI	BNSI	CL	APPL	PASS	STAT	PPX	LOCPX	OBJ.A	DEF	SPEC	GEN	AG	CFOC
a	a.	+	-	-	#	-	-	-	-	+	±	±	±	±	-	±
	A	+	-	-	±	-	-	-	-	+	±	±	±	±	-	+
	B	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	-	-	-	-
	C	+	-	-	±	-	-	-		+	±	±	±	±	+	±
	D	+	-	-	±	-	-	-		+	±	±	±	±	+	±

b	B	+	-	-	±	+	-	-	-	+	±	±	±	±	±	±
	A	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	±	-	±	+	+	+
	B	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	±	#	#	#	+	±
	C	+	-	-	±	+	-	-	-	+	±	+	+	+	+	+
	D	+	-	-	±	+	-	-	-	-	±	#	#	#	+	+
c	(i)	+	+	-	±	-	-	-	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±
	A	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	±	±	±	+	+	+
	B	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	±	±	±	+	+	+
	C	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	±	±	±	+	+	+

	D	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	±	±	±	+	+	+
c	(ii)	+	+	-	±	+	-	-	-	-	±	±	±	+	+	+
	A	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	B	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	C	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	D	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
c	(iii)	+	-	+	±	-	-	-	±	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	A	+		#+	-	-	-	-	+	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	B	+		#+	-	-	-	-	-	-	±	±	±	±	+	+

	C	+		+	+	-	-	-	+	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	D	+								-	±					
c	(iv)	+		#+	+	+	-	-	±	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	A	+		#+	-	+	-	-	+	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	B	+		#+	-	+	-	-	-	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	C	+		+	+	+	-	-	+	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	D	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
d	(i)	+	+	-	±	-	+	-	±	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	A	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	±	±	±	±	+	+

	B	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	C		+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	D	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-		±	±	±	+	+
d	(ii)	+	#+	-	+	+	+	-	±	-	±	±	±	+	+	+
	A	+	#+	-	+	+	+	-	±	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	B	+	#+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	C	+	#+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	D	+	#+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
d	(iii)	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	±	-	±	±	±	±	+	+

	A	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	B	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	C	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	D	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
d	(iv)	+	-	#+	+	+	+	-	±	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	A	+	-	#+	+	+	+	-	+	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	B	+	-	+	-	*+	+	-	-	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	C	+	-	+	+	*+	+	-	+	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	D	+	-	+	+	*+	+	-	-	-	±	±	±	±	+	+

e	(i)	+	+	-	±	-	-	+	±	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	A	+	+	-	-	-	-	+		-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	B	+	+	-	-	-	-	+		-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	C	+	+	-	+	-	-	+		-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	D	+	+	-	+	-	-	+		-	±	±	±	±	+	+
e	(ii)	+	+	-	±	-	-	+	±	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	A	+	+	-	-	*+	-	+	+	-	±	±	±	±	-	+
	B	+	+	-	-	*+	-	+	-	-	±	±	±	±	-	+
	C	+	+	-	+	*+	-	+	+	-	±	±	±	±	-	+

	D	+	+	-	+	*+	-	+	-	-	±	±	±	±	-	+
e	(iii)	+	-	+	±	-	-	+	±	-	±	±	±	±	-	+
	A	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	B	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	C	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
	D	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	±	±	±	±	+	+
e	iv)	+	-	+	±	*+	-	+	±	-	±	±	±	±	-	+
	A	+	-	+	-	*+	-	+	+	-	±	±	±	±	-	+
	B	+	-	+	-	*+	-	+	-	-	±	±	±	±	-	+

	C	+	-	+	+	*+	-	+	+	-	±	±	±	±	-	+
	D	+	-	+	+	*+	-	+	+	-	±	±	±	±	-	+

It was pointed out that in locative subject morphology inversion passive sentences, the presence of the postverbal argument/indirect object **abasawo** ‘doctors’ is optional. With regard to information structure and the occurrence of the pre-prefix on arguments, it was pointed out that the object argument bears a pre-prefix to encode specificity, or may lack a pre-prefix, as in **basawo** ‘doctors’ when no specificity reading obtains. The properties of the transitive verb **nywa** ‘drink’ are generally representative of the properties of transitive verbs in Luganda in regard to the morphosyntactic and semantic-pragmatic properties examined in this chapter. These properties relate to their occurrence in canonical active verb constructions, locative inversion, including locative morphology subject inversion, bare noun subject inversion, the occurrence of the locative clitic, the locative applicative suffix, occurrence in passive and stative verb constructions, the occurrence of the pre-prefix on arguments, the locative prefix, definiteness, specificity of DP arguments, generic readings exemplified, and agentivity and contrastive focus properties exemplified. I explored two types of locative inversion constructions, namely locative morphology subject inversion and bare noun subject inversion. In the locative subject morphology inversion passive sentences, it was demonstrated that the presence of the postverbal argument/indirect object **abasawo** ‘doctors’ is optional. In regard to information structure and the (non-)occurrence of the pre-prefix, it was pointed out that object argument may have a pre-prefix to encode specificity, or may lack a pre-prefix, as in **basawo** ‘doctors’, when there is no reading of specificity. It was demonstrated that Luganda allows bare noun subject locative inversion with the transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’, only with the obligatory suffixation of the locative clitic. In the event of the absence of the clitic, the construction is infelicitous, or even ungrammatical. Since transitive verbs such as **nywa** ‘drink’ do not have a location argument, they require a locative applicative suffix for selecting a small clause complement in some locative inversion constructions (Hoekstra and Mulder 1990). Thus, this chapter explored issues concerning the argument structure that locative inversion realize, the categorial nature of locative expressions, positing that locatives are nominal, realized DPs, with preposition-like properties (see also the related discussion in section 2.3.6), whether the locative expressions are base-generated in a subject(topic) position, or whether they appear in the subject DP position as a result of movement from a postverbal position, and their information structural properties exemplified by the respective sentence construction variants.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The main goal of this chapter is to give an overview of the key aspects of the investigation conducted in the current study, as presented in the previous chapters. In addition, this chapter aims to provide a summary of the major findings and conclusions of the study, taking into account the research questions posed in section 1.5 of chapter one. The summary of major findings and conclusions is followed by suggestions for further areas of research in Luganda regarding the question of how the morphosyntactic realization of locative elements in Luganda sentence constructions correlate with their semantic and discourse-pragmatic interpretative properties.

7.2 OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS TWO, THREE, AND FOUR

Chapter one introduced the study in section 1.1, discussing aspects of the general introduction and background to the study. Section 1.2 presented an outline of the rationale of the study, and the significance of the study was explicated in section 1.3. The broad statement of the problem the dissertation addresses was presented in section 1.4. The research questions addressed in the current study, which are also re-stated in the discussion on the summary of findings of this chapter, were presented in section 1.5, followed by a discussion of the theoretical framework adopted in section 1.6. The research design and methodology assumed in the study is presented in section 1.7. I presented an outline of the language demographics of Luganda and its speakers in section 1.8. I discussed the ethical considerations relevant to the study in section 1.9, and I concluded chapter one with an outline of the organization of the study in section 1.10.

Chapter two discussed the Luganda sound inventory and key aspects of Luganda morphosyntax with special reference to the locative noun classes in the Luganda noun class system. In respect to the sound inventory, it was pointed out that Luganda has five vowels and that its vowel length is phonemic, with a distinction between short and long vowels. It was stated that consonant sounds in Luganda are represented as sequences and are considered as complex segments, not underlying units. In section 2.2, I discussed some descriptive

aspects of Luganda morphemes, Luganda tonal properties, and their interpretation regarding emphasis. Key grammatical aspects regarding locative inversion with selected Luganda intransitive and transitive verbs were discussed in respect to the properties of the (locative) noun class system and agreement in section 2.3. It was pointed out that, all four nominal locative prefixes exist in Luganda, although with varying degrees of productivity. Section 2.4 presented a descriptive outline of the salient aspects of (in)definiteness and (non)specificity of nominal constituents, and properties of some modifiers, including demonstratives and adjectives were discussed. Section 2.5 presented some descriptive views on the (non)occurrence of the pre-prefix of nouns in various syntactic contexts. In section 2.6, selected tense, aspect and mood morphemes were discussed, while section 2.7 presented a brief descriptive discussion of verbal inflectional and derivational morphemes, including the applicative, passive, and stative suffixes. The chapter discussed, in addition the locative applicative suffix and locative clitics in relation to locative classes 16, 17, 18, and 23. Various sentences exemplifying instances of non-locative meanings of locative clitics were also discussed.

Chapter three reviewed selected studies from previous research on locative inversion constructions in Bantu languages, and Luganda, in particular. The discussion presented referred to studies conducted within a range of approaches, and was organized around seven major considerations: (i) the form and distribution of the noun pre-prefix, discussed in section 3.2, (ii) definiteness and specificity interpretations and the occurrence of the pre-prefix, discussed in section 3.3, (iii) the distribution and categorial status of locatives, discussed in section 3.4, (iv) locative inversion types, agreement and verb selection, discussed in section 3.5, (v) locatives and information structure, discussed in section 3.6, (vi) locatives, argument structure and thematic roles, discussed in section 3.7, and (vii) the locative applicative suffix, locative clitics, and the locative in passive, and stative verb constructions, discussed in section 3.8.

Chapter four presented key perspectives from selected previous theoretical studies on the linguistic sub-fields that constitute the syntax-interfaces approach adopted in the current study. The sub-fields I explored concerned, in particular how, by adopting a broad generative perspective, the interfaces framework for this study was comprised, taking into account the interface of morphosyntax with the following sub-fields and structural representation issues: (i) verbal lexical semantics (relating to issues of thematic role assignment, predicate-

argument structure (realization), the argument-adjunct distinction, (ii) event semantics and aspectual verb types (situation types) in the event structure, including the role of the functional categories (little) *v* in representing the verbalizer feature [+/- CAUSE], and Voice, representing the feature [+/- Agent] of the external argument, (iii) the nominal projection functional category, Determiner, specified for definiteness and/or specificity features, and (iv) semantic-pragmatic properties of information structure. The syntax-interfaces framework which I employed in this study on locative constructions in Luganda thus represents a multi-perspective framework, invoking the interface of morphosyntax with these four sub-fields. In the following section 7.3, I present a summary of the main findings and the conclusion of the study derived from chapters five and six regarding the interpretation of locative constructions with specific intransitive and transitive verb constructions with locatives, respectively, within the syntax-interfaces approach assumed.

7.3 SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS OF THE STUDY

7.3.1 Overview of analytical chapters five and six

This section presents a general outline of the investigation conducted in chapters Five and Six. In sections 5.3.1-5.3.2 and 5.7.1-5.7.2, I examined the occurrence of active unergative verb **kola** ‘work’ and the motion verb **genda** ‘go’ constructions with/without the locative applicative suffix, and with a postverbal locative, and with/without a locative clitic with varying interpretations. I examined the occurrence of the active unergative verb **kola** ‘work’ and the motion verb **-genda** ‘go’ constructions with/without the locative applicative suffix, and with locative morphology subject inversion, and with/without a locative clitic in section 5.4.1-5.4.4 and 5.8.1-5.8.4. Section 5.5.1-5.5.4 and 5.9.1-5.9.4 investigated the occurrence of the passive unergative verb **-kola** ‘work’ and motion verb **-genda** ‘go’ construction with a locative morphology subject, and with/without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic. In addition, the neuter-passive (stative) verb constructions with a locative morphology subject, and with/without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic were discussed in section 5.6.1-5.6.4 and 5.10-5.10.4.

In chapter six, section 6.3.1-6.3.2, I examined the interpretative properties of the active transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ construction with/without the locative applicative suffix, with/without the locative clitic, with/without the object argument, and with/without a

postverbal locative (argument). Section 6.4.1-6.4.4 examined the active transitive verb – **nywa** ‘drink’ locative morphology subject inversion construction, with/without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal immediate argument, and with/without a prefix on the object argument noun. In section 6.5.1-6.5.4, I examined the passive transitive verb –**nywa** ‘drink’ construction with/without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the immediate postverbal argument, and with/without a pre-prefix on the object argument. In section 6.6.1-6.6.4, I investigated the neuter-passive (stative) transitive verb –**nywa** ‘drink’ locative morphology subject inversion construction with/without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without a pre-prefix on the postverbal argument, and with/without a (non-)prefixed object argument. It was pointed out that transitive verbs in Luganda such as **teek-a** ‘put’ and **twal-a** ‘take’ which in terms of their inherent lexical semantics have a locative argument, do not license any of the two types of locative inversion constructions, as demonstrated in the example (18).

Theoretically, the present investigation examined issues of locative inversion in Luganda, adopting a syntax-interfaces approach, throughout the analysis in chapter five and six. In section 5.3.1-5.3.2, the study examined canonical sentences with/without a locative applicative, and with/without a locative clitic, followed by an examination of their non-canonical counterparts, illustrating the corresponding inversion construction variants. The study examined the two types of locative inversion constructions exemplified in Luganda with specific intransitive base verb (roots) in chapter five, section 5.4.1-5.6.4, 5.8.1-5.10.4 and transitive base verbs (roots) in chapter six, section 6.4.1-6.6.4, respectively. In both canonical constructions and (non-canonical) inversion constructions with the transitive and intransitive verbs, respectively, the investigation explored the interpretative properties of these constructions in terms of their argument structure, event semantics, definiteness and specificity, and information structural properties. The study addressed the seven research questions stated in section 1.5 of chapter one.

The summary of the major findings of the study and the conclusions presented below relate key aspects of the summaries of each analytical chapter in a broad way to the key aspects of the theoretical framework of the study presented in chapter four, invoking the scheme of sentence construction variants presented in Table 5.1 and Table 6.1 concerned with argument

realization/alternation, i.e. active, passive neuter-passive (including the inversion variants of each). In addition, the study explored these sentence variants with regard to interpretative properties associated with the morphosyntactic encoding of various locative elements, namely the locative DP (in postverbal position and in subject position), the locative applicative suffix, and the locative clitic, in addressing the question of how these respective morphosyntactic properties correlate with the various interpretative properties of event semantics (aspectual verb type), information structure, and definiteness and specificity, considering how the functional categories Voice and 'little' v can be invoked in structural representations of the interpretations associated with the respective sentence construction variants concerning the semantic verb types investigated,.

As pointed out above, Table 5.1 and Table 6.1 present a schematic overview of the variants of sentence constructions examined in this study, including the canonical sentence variants and the locative inversion variants with active, passive and neuter- (medio)-passive (i.e. stative). The aim in this regard was to determine the different properties of the respective variants. Chapter five examined the canonical sentence constructions and the corresponding locative inversion constructions with the intransitive unergative verb **-kola** 'work' and the motion verb **-genda** 'go', while chapter six examined locative inversion constructions with the (mono)transitive base verb **-nywa** 'drink'. Thus, the differing properties of the locative inversion constructions, examined in sections 5.4.1-5.6.4, 5.8.1-5.10.4, and the corresponding canonical (i.e. non-inversion) active verb constructions, examined in section 5.3.1-5.3.2 and 6.3.1-6.3.2 were examined in respect to their occurrence in passive verb constructions, examined in sections 5.5.1-5.5.4, 5.5.1-5.5.4, and neuter(medio-)passive verb constructions, examined in section 5.6.1-5.6.4, 6.6.1-6.6.4) with regard to their (i) lexical semantics (i.e. semantic verb class), (ii) argument structure (including the locative DP as argument versus adjunct), (iii) event semantics and event structure, and (iv) information structural properties. In respect to the latter, the study employed in particular Lambrecht's (1994) notions of topic and focus, and Repp's (2010, 2014) views on contrastive focus. It was proposed that the focus phrase is also realized on the left periphery of the v/VP projection, in addition to the left periphery in the CP projection. This view was especially relevant in representing interpretative properties associated with the locative applicative suffix and the (postverbal) locative clitic.

The key perspective advanced in the study is that a syntax- interfaces approach is required for a comprehensive investigation of constructions containing locatives, including locative (inversion) constructions in Luganda that take into account the syntacticization of semantic-pragmatic, information structural and event semantic (i.e. aspectual verb class) properties. In the latter respect, the study employed, in particular, the classification of Smith (1997) on aspectual verb classes (i.e. the situation types) of states, activity events, accomplishment events, and achievement events, in terms of the feature [+/- dynamic] where [-dynamic] denote state, [+/- durative], and [+/- telic], where [-telic] denotes atelic, and especially the derived situation type of habitual statives, which was demonstrated to be particularly relevant to interpreting the event semantics of (some) locative inversion sentences.

7.3.2 Active (in)transitive verb construction with/ without the locative applicative suffix, and with a postverbal locative (argument), and with/without a locative clitic, (and with/without an object argument)

This section presents a summary of the findings and conclusions of the investigation of the canonical intransitive and transitive active verb constructions with a locative with respect to the thematic roles and argument structure exemplified, their aspectual verb properties, definiteness and/ or specificity, and the information structural status of the DP constituents in the variants of the active verb constructions.

With regard to argument structure, the analysis in section 5.3.1, 5.7.1, 6.3.1, and 6.3.2 demonstrated that in the construction (1a. A, 2b. A), the postverbal locative DP has the status of an adjunct with the agentive intransitive verb **-kola** ‘work’, and with the agentive transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’. In sentence construction (1a. C) of chapter Five and Six, the locative clitic **-mu** and the locative DP (cf **mu kkubo** ‘in the road’ and **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’, respectively), can co-occur, or only one of these elements may occur, as in (1a. A, B, and D), in which case the locative DP appears as adjunct of the verb **-nywa** ‘drink’, as discussed in chapter Six. If the locative prefix **mu** is absent on the locative DP, then the sentence is ungrammatical, as illustrated in section 6.3.1 for sentence (1a. B and D). It has been demonstrated in chapter six, section 6.3.1-6.3.2, that the suffixation of the locative clitic **-mu** to the transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’ has the effect that the postverbal locative DP is coreferential with this locative clitic **-mu**, in which case it appears as an argument of the verb, and not as an adjunct, as it does with the verb without the locative clitic. In the case of the locative applicative verb construction discussed in chapter Five section 5.3.2 and chapter

Six section 6.3.2, the applicative suffix **-er-** realizes a focus ('only') effect of the whole predicate. This focus reading is denoted by the whole predicate, including the locative clitic **-mu**, thus encoding the ('only') reading that the action is performed exclusively at a particular location. The locative applicative suffix in both intransitive and transitive verb constructions introduces the thematic role of exclusive location, as illustrated in the structural representations in chapter Five and chapter Six in example sentences (2b. A), the locative construction in (2b. B). It was pointed out that this locative thematic role in Luganda, is not only introduced by the applicative suffix, but it is expressed inherently by the locative class nouns 16,17,18, and 23 with their respective locative noun class prefixes.

In respect of the thematic roles and argument structure properties of constructions examined in chapter Five and Six, it was stated that the applicative suffix and the clitic in sections 5.3.2, 5.4.2, 5.5.2, 5.6.2, 5.7.2, 5.8.2, 5.9.2, 5.10.2 and 6.3.2, 6.4.2, 6.5.2, 6.6.2, respectively, can be associated with different semantic roles such as benefactive, instrumental, and locative, with the benefactive appearing to be cross-linguistically the most prominent, but that only the locative applicative is of concern to the current study. Each of these two morphemes can independently appear in the verbal morphology, or both morphemes can simultaneously occur with the verb. Two locative clitics are permitted on a single verb in Luganda, and when this happens, a clitic expressing a pragmatic function appears after the one with a locative interpretation. It was pointed out in the more general discussion of locative clitics, that a locative clitic must occur obligatory on the verb in some constructions, hence its absence in these constructions results in ungrammaticality. Luganda lacks locative object agreement prefixes, hence the view was assumed that the locative clitics function similarly to an object agreement prefix in that its occurrence represents a pronominal reading of location, among other functions. Suffixation of the clitic **-ko** to an applicative verb can yield a benefactive applicative reading. It was pointed out that non-locative semantic readings of locative clitics include expressing politeness, by the partitive **-mu**, the notion 'instead of', 'concern', 'about', 'urgency', **-ko** uncertainty, and negative emphasis.

In regard to the distribution and categorial status of locatives (see chapter Five, section 5.4.1-5.10.4 and chapter Six, section 6.4.1-6.6.4), it was stated that locatives in Luganda are viewed as nominal DP categories that exhibit preposition-like properties. Luganda has four locative noun classes, which can trigger agreement on the verb and on some nominal modifiers, and some of these have a pre-prefix. Locative DPs may occur in subject and object position, and

some modifiers of locative DPs may exhibit agreement with these locatives in noun class. It was stated that place names are inherently locative. Locatives can occur as complements to nouns and can also occur as locative complement of intransitive verbs, and as adjuncts. Locative DPs do not only exemplify the semantic role of location, they may also bear thematic roles like Theme, Goal, and Source.

In regard to properties of information structure, the sentence constructions in section 5.3.1-5.3.2 in examples (1a. A-D, 2b. A-D), and those in section 6.3.1-6.3.2 in the example (1a. A-D, 2b. A-D), demonstrated the occurrence of the subject DP as a topic subject, and the postverbal non-locative argument as the object, as represented in the structure in section 6.3.1-6.3.2 (1a. C). The occurrence of the pre-prefix on the topic subject, and on the object noun encodes definiteness, as exemplified, among others in the canonical sentence constructions. It was pointed out that this definiteness property is absent if the topic subject is preceded by a quantifier **buli** ‘every’. The optional occurrence of the pre-prefix on the topic subject and the object argument in section 5.3.1-5.3.2 in examples (1a A-D) and (2b. A-D) respectively, is associated with the encoding of the pragmatic function of specificity and contrastive focus in Luganda, assuming notions of definiteness and specificity in Lyons (1999). The presence of the clitic, demonstrated in the structural representation in (1a. C) encodes focus-related emphasis, definiteness and specificity effects of the locative DP while its absence in the structure (1a. A), on the other hand, denotes indefiniteness and non-specificity of the locative DP.

Regarding their event semantics, it was stated that the sentences in section 5.3.1-5.3.2 in example (1a. A-D, 2b. A-D) of chapter Five and chapter Six, section 6.3.1-6.3.2 in examples (1a. A-D, 2b. A-D) denote two possible readings. They can have the reading of a process (i.e. activity) event, taking place in the present time of the utterance, or a generic reading of denoting a habitual state situation. The subject agent DP (such as **abasawo** ‘doctors’) is interpreted as agent argument, hence the sentence entails the event reading that can be specified by the feature [+Dynamic] / [+Agentive] for the activity (or process) event denoted by the sentence, which, therefore, expresses a causative [+Cause] reading (see Smith, 1997). This agentivity reading is evidenced by the acceptability of the sentences (see chapter six, section 6.3.2 example 4a, 4b) with an agentive adverb such as **bulungi** ‘well’ that is interpreted as modifying the agent argument.

7.3.3 Active (in)transitive verb locative morphology / bare noun subject inversion construction with/without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument

In this section I summarise the properties of the unergative verb **-kola** 'work', the intransitive motion verb **-genda** 'go', and the transitive verb **-nywa** 'drink' locative inversion constructions with/without the locative applicative suffix, and with a locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic examined in section 5.4.1-5.4.4, 5.8.1-5.8.4, 6.4.1-6.4.4. In terms of argument type, the analysis demonstrated that the subject DP (exhibiting class 18 locative morphology) in all the examples in section 5.4.2, (5/6c.i A-D) and section 6.4.2, (6c.i A-D) is interpreted as a location argument, denoting the location at/in which the event denoted by the sentence takes place. In respect of information structural status, it was posited that the locative DP subject in both intransitive and transitive verb constructions examined in chapter five and six, respectively, realizes information focus. The unergative verb locative inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a locative morphology subject, and with/without a locative clitic was examined in in section 5.4.2, the active unergative verb locative inversion construction without the locative applicative suffix, and with a bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic was examined in section 5.4.3, and the active unergative verb locative inversion construction with the locative applicative suffix, and with a bare noun subject, and with/without a locative clitic was examined in section 5.4.4.

Regarding argument structure and thematic role properties, it was pointed out that Luganda permits locative inversion with a range of verb types, including intransitive unergative verbs, discussed in in chapter Five section 5.4.1-5.6.4, intransitive motion verbs, examined in section 5.8.1-5.10.4, and transitive verbs, examined in 6.4.1- 6.6.4. The investigation in chapter Five and chapter Six demonstrated that passive verb variants with intransitive motion and unergative verbs, and with transitive verbs exemplify locative inversion, where the agent argument may optionally occur in passive variants in postverbal position. In passive verb constructions exemplifying locative inversion, given the property of passive morphology of demoting the agent argument of the corresponding active verb, the postverbal locative DP may move to occupy the subject position of the passive verb construction. In the analysis in chapter Six of example (18), it was indicated that verbs such as **teeka** 'put' and **twala** 'take', which have both a Theme and a Location argument, do not permit locative inversion.

Inversion constructions occurring with passive motion verbs and unergative verbs, exemplify an impersonal subject reading when these verb constructions exemplify locative inversion.

The sentence constructions in chapter five, section 5.8.2 demonstrate that, the properties discussed with respect to the examples in (20c.i A-D and 21c. ii A-D) regarding the interpretation of the locative applicative suffix, also partly obtain for the examples in (23c.iv A-D) in that in all these constructions, the applicative suffix **-er-** introduces a change in the thematic roles of the motion verb **genda** ‘go’, from GOAL to PATH, thus encoding the reading that the action denoted by the verb took place into some other place, passing through/via the location of the house. This change in thematic role can also be viewed as that the GOAL argument is realized implicitly in these constructions, hence that there are indeed two arguments, a PATH and a GOAL argument, with the latter realized implicitly.

With regard to event semantics, it was stated that the constructions in section 5.4.2 (7c.ii A, C) and 6.4.2 (6c.ii A) denote a process event, taking place in the present time of the utterance, or a generic reading, denoting that doctors generally drink beer in the bar. In discussing the event semantics (situation types) in chapter Five and Six, of the bare noun subject inversion constructions in section 5.4.3, 5.4.4, 5.5.3, 5.5.4, 5.6.3, 5.6.4, 5.8.3, 5.8.4, 5.9.3, 5.9.4, 5.10.3, and 5.10.4 and 6.4.3, 6.4.4, 6.5.3, 6.5.4, 6.6.3, and 6.6.4, it was posited that bare noun subject inversion sentences express a habitual state, with a generic, middle-like interpretation. Thus, it was pointed out that the immediate postverbal DP argument is not interpreted as an Agent, but rather has a Theme-like interpretation, and that these sentences, therefore, have an anticausative reading in terms of the habitual state they express. The object argument **omwenge** ‘beer’ still has the reading of a Patient argument. The DP **abasawo** ‘doctors’ has the reading of Agent when it appears as subject in the canonical active verb sentence construction. A manner adverbial (like **bulungi** ‘well’) in the canonical active verb sentence modifies the subject Agent argument but if it appears in habitual state sentences in bare noun subject inversion, the manner adverbial is interpreted as not modifying the postverbal argument, **abasawo** ‘doctors’, but rather the habitual state as a whole. The bare noun locative subject DP in bare noun inversion constructions then exemplifies the interpretation of a place/location, as a dispositional ascription of the subject argument, following Lekakou, and Pross (2020), expressing the reading that the drinking of beer by doctors happens/takes place habitually in the bar, hence a generic, middle-like interpretation of an habitual state situation. This dispositional ascription reading of the bare noun subject, the bar, in bare noun subject

inversion constructions, as being the usual, typical or characteristic place/location of drinking beer by doctors, is contingent on the event of drinking by doctors materializing i.e. taking effect (see Pross 2020).

7.3.4 Passive (in)transitive verb locative morphology / bare noun subject inversion constructions with/without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.

Regarding the definiteness and specificity properties of DP constituents, it was stated with reference to example (10d.i A) in chapter Five with the passive intransitive verb **-kola** ‘work’, and for the corresponding constructions with the motion verb **-genda** ‘go’, and the transitive verb **-nywa** ‘drink’, that the locative morphology subject DP has an indefiniteness reading in that there is no familiar or particular referent in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and the hearer where the action denoted by the verb takes place. A specificity reading is encoded by the presence of the locative prefix **mu** on the locative DP, which functions similarly to a pre-prefix. The suffixation of the passive morpheme **-ebw** has the effect that the external argument of the corresponding active verb is demoted, hence that the postverbal locative argument can move to the subject position of the sentence, occurring as a topic or focus constituent. The immediate postverbal agent argument DP examined in section 6.5.3-6.5.4 has an indefinite reading, entailing that there is no particular referent for the DP in the discourse-pragmatic context that is familiar to the speaker and hearer. The immediate postverbal agent argument occurs optionally, and if realized, it has a specificity interpretation encoded by the presence of the pre-prefix on this agent argument. The object DP similarly has an indefinite reading and, in addition, it has a specificity reading, encoded by its pre-prefix, as is the case for the immediate postverbal agent DP. The study thus established in this regard the different interpretations of the two types of locative inversion constructions investigated (see sections 5.4.1-5.4.2, 5.8.1-5.8.2, 6.4.1-6.4.2, 6.5.1-6.5.2, 6.6.1-6.6.2, 5.4.3-5.4.4, 5.8.3-5.8.4, 6.4.3-6.4.4, 6.5.3-6.5.4, 6.6.3-6.6.4). It was pointed out that the locative prefix **-mu** in locative morphology subject inversion constructions encodes an interiority reading while the bare noun expresses a generic location reading, which is given a specificity reading by the obligatory locative clitic suffixed to the verb in bare noun locative inversion.

In respect of argument structure, it was pointed out in discussing sentence (10d. i B), that the locative DP argument **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’ is interpreted as denoting a place or location where the action of drinking beer is performed by the doctors. The optional immediate postverbal DP argument **basawo** ‘doctors’ is interpreted as an Agent of the passive verb construction. The passive sentence expresses an activity event reading that can be specified by the features [+Dynamic] / [+Agentive], [+Durative], and [+Atelic] for this activity (or process) event. This sentence expresses a causative reading, as evidenced by the acceptability of the occurrence of an agentive adverb such as **bulungi** ‘well’, interpreted as modifying the Agent argument. It was stated that the object DP **mwenge** may appear without a pre-prefix, thus, denoting a specificity reading. Regarding its event semantics, it was established that the sentence construction in chapter six, example sentence (10d. i B), denotes a situation or event type of the habitual activity of (the) doctors drinking beer in the bar, which may be taking place in the present time of the utterance, or a generic reading, denoting the activity that doctors generally drink beer in the bar.

With regard to information structure, the examination conducted in chapters Five and Six established that the locative DP argument (**mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’) is interpreted as having an alternative set contrastive focus reading. Thus, this locative morphology subject DP has an implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading that excludes the entire set of all alternative referents (such as **mu kisenge** ‘in the room’, **mu wooteeli** ‘in the hotel’), among other possible alternatives in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and the hearer. The immediate postverbal agent DP (see chapter Six, section 6.5.1, 10d. i B) expresses an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading, encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix of the noun dominated by the DP (**basawo** ‘doctors’). It was stated that this exhaustive contrastive focus interpretation excludes a particular alternative or referent, a view that can be established through the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase. The object DP (see chapter Six, section 6.5.1-6.5.2) also encodes an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix **o-** on the DP noun (see chapter Six, section 6.5.1, 10d. i B). This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent, a reading that can be established through the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase. It was furthermore stated the passive verb suffix **-ebw-a**, through its demotion of the external argument, introduces an exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the locative subject DP **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’, the location where the action of drinking beer is performed by the postverbal agent DP **basawo** ‘doctors’.

It was established with respect to information structure, that the locative subject DP argument (**mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’) is interpreted as having an alternative set contrastive focus reading. This locative subject DP denotes an implicit alternative set contrastive focus interpretation which excludes the entire set of all possible alternative referents in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and the hearer (for example **mu wooteeli** ‘in the hotel’, **mu luggya** ‘in the courtyard’, among other alternatives). The immediate postverbal agent DP (such as **abasawo** ‘the doctors’) is interpreted as having an implicit alternative set contrastive focus reading. This implicit alternative set focus reading excludes the entire set of all other possible alternative referents in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and the hearer (such as **abalimi** ‘farmers’, **ababumbi** ‘porters’, among other alternatives). The object DP noun **omwenge** ‘the beer’ encodes an inherent alternative set contrastive focus reading that excludes the entire set of all other possible alternative referents in the common ground knowledge of the speaker and hearer (such as **amazzi** ‘water’, **caayi** ‘tea’, among other alternatives). It was posited that the argument alternation/inversion effect introduced by the passive suffix **-ebwa**, and the locative clitic **-mu** on the passive verb, contribute to encoding an implicit exhaustive contrastive focus (‘only’) reading to the locative DP (as **mu bbaala** ‘in the bar’).

7.3.5 Stative (in)transitive verb locative morphology/bare noun subject inversion constructions with/without the locative applicative suffix, and with/without a locative clitic, and with/without the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument.

In respect of thematic role properties and argument structure, the examination in chapter Five section 5.6.1-5.6.4 example (14e. iii C and D), (15e. iii C and D) and (16e.iii C and D) and chapter Six, section 6.6.1-6.6.4 examples (14e. iii C and D), (15e. iii C and D) and (16e.iii C and D) demonstrated the obligatory occurrence of the (class 18) locative clitic **-mu** in the verbal morphology. It was pointed out that the locative clitic **-mu**, encodes a contrastive focus reading, denoting the interiority reading of the bare noun locative DP subject **ebbaala** ‘the bar’. In both intransitive verbs and transitive verb **nywa** ‘drink’ constructions that were analysed, the locative clitic **-mu**, in addition, encodes deictic distinctions for place referents, in addition to pragmatic inferences of focus-related emphasis and specificity. The absence of the locative clitic **-mu**, in (16e.iii A and B), on the other hand, denotes that the locative noun DP **ebbaala** ‘the bar’ does not have a reading of definiteness and specificity. The locative

clitic **-mu** furthermore contributes to encoding the generic state-like process realized by the sentence.

As regards thematic role interpretation, as was examined in chapter Five section 5.6.1-5.6.4, and for the transitive verb **nywa** ‘drink’ in chapter Six, section 6.6.1-6.6.4, it was posited that the class 9 bare noun locative subject argument (**ebbaala** ‘the bar’) in transitive verb constructions denotes a ‘general (bar)’ locational reading, due to the non-occurrence of the class 18 locative clitic **-mu**. Given that stative (neuter-passive) verb morphology in Luganda, as generally in Bantu languages, demotes the agent argument of the corresponding (agentive) active verb, and given its optional occurrence, the postverbal DP (such as **abasawo** ‘doctors’) appears an adjunct with a theme-like, not an agentive, interpretation.

With regard to event semantics examined for the stative (neuter-/medio -passive) verb constructions in chapter five section 5.6, 5.10 and chapter Six, section 6.6, the analysis demonstrated the anti-causative event semantics associated with the neuter-passive verbal suffix **-ek**, (see example 16e.iii C and D) introduces the interpretation of a generic state, denoting that the subject DP (such as **ebbaala** ‘the bar’) has a dispositional ascription interpretation as a location of the possible or potential action performed by the referent in relation to the object (such as **omwenge** ‘beer’). The situation type of an (habitual) state is thus encoded (by for example 16e.iii C and D), which can be represented by the aspectual verb class classification features [-Dynamic]/[-Agentive], [+Atelic] and [+Durative].

In respect of information structural properties of DP constituents in intransitive and transitive verb constructions, it was posited that the locative DP subject in section 6.6.1-6.6.2 of chapter six realizes a contrastive focus reading, with an implicit alternative reading. It was pointed out that focus can be realized in the initial position (beginning), or the post-verbal position, or both positions in a sentence construction in Luganda. The inverted locative subject DP argument denotes a reading of being familiar to the hearer, and, thus, in chapter Six, section 6.6.3, example (16e. ii C), the reading obtains that the hearer has previous knowledge about the topic under discussion. Hence, the postverbal DP, expresses a contrastive focus reading in terms of an implicit alternative, which can be realized as an explicit alternative. It was stated that the postverbal nominal DP in chapter six, section 6.6.3 denotes an explicit exhaustive contrastive focus reading encoded by the absence of the pre-prefix **a-** on the postverbal DP (such as **basawo** ‘doctors’). This contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative or referent, as evidenced through the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase. It was

posited that the optional occurrence of the pre-prefix is associated with the pragmatic role of encoding specificity and contrastive focus as indicated in the above examples in 6.6.3 (16e.iii C, D) of section 6.6.3, chapter Six.

With regard to the properties of definiteness and specificity of DP constituents, it was posited that, the presence of the pre-prefix on the postverbal argument (**basawo** ‘doctors’ in section 6.6.3, example (16e.iii B)) encodes an indefinite reading, entailing that there are no particular doctors familiar to the hearer in the discourse context. However, it was pointed out that the absence of the prefix on the postverbal argument encodes a specific and contrastive focus reading, realized by the absence of the pre-prefix (such as **a-** in **abasawo** ‘doctors’). This exhaustive contrastive focus reading excludes a particular alternative of the referent, as evidenced by the diagnostic of the addition of a **si** ‘not’ phrase. Thus, a specificity reading is encoded, entailing that the referent (such as **basawo** ‘caretakers’) that can be identified from other contrasting alternatives by the interlocutors. The specificity reading is related to the contrastive focus reading, in that the postverbal DP (as **basawo** ‘doctors’) is indefinite, but specific, and contrastively focused.

7.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The main goal of this study was to explore a syntax-interfaces approach to presenting a comprehensive account of the question of how the morphosyntactic properties of constructions with a locative DPs, the locative applicative suffix, and a locative clitic, correlate with the interpretative properties exemplified in a range of intransitive and transitive verb constructions, including locative inversion constructions. Chapter Five of the study presented an in-depth investigation of two intransitive verb classes, namely the unergative verb class the verb of creation, **-kola** ‘work’, and the motion verb class of **-genda** ‘go’, and in chapter Six, the one verb class of ingestion and drinking, with the verb **-nywa** ‘drink’, in Levin’s (1993:111-276) classification of semantic verb classes, hence limiting the study in respect to these semantic verb classes. Future research is required for Luganda and other Bantu languages for the purpose of exploring the extent to which other intransitive and transitive semantic verb classes exemplify the interpretative properties discussed in the current study in relation to the morphosyntactic properties of constructions containing a locative DP, the locative applicative suffix, and the locative clitic.

REFERENCES

- Abbott, B. (2006). Definite and indefinite. In K. Brown (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics* (pp. 392–399). Elsevier.
- Aboh, E. O. (2004). Topic and focus within D. *Linguistics in the Netherlands*, 21, 1–12.
- Aboh, E. O., Corver, N., Dyakonova, M., & van Koppen, M. (2010). DP-internal information structure: Some introductory remarks. *Lingua*, 120, 782–801.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2009.02.010>
- Ackema, P. (2015). Arguments and adjuncts. In A. Alexiadou & T. Kiss (Eds.), *Syntax-theory analysis: An international handbook* (pp. 246–274). Munich: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Alexiadou, Artemis. (2014). Active, middle, and passive: The morpho-syntax of Voice*. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 13, 19–40.
- Alexiadou, Artemis, Anagnostopoulou, E., & Schäfer, F. (2015). *External arguments in transitivity alternations: A layering approach*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Alexiadou, Artemis, & Schäfer, F. (2006). Instrument subjects are agents or causers. In D. Montero & M. Scanlon (Eds.), *25th West Coast conference on formal linguistics* (pp. 40–48). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Ashton, E. O., Mulira, E. M. K., Ndawula, E. G. M., & Tucker, A. N. (1954). *A Luganda grammar*. London: Longmans.
- Asiimwe, A. (2014). *Definiteness and specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga*. Doctoral thesis. Stellenbosch University.
- Baker, M. (1988). *Incorporation: A theory of grammatical function changing*. Chicago: IL University of Chicago Press.
- Baker, M. (2008). *Baker, M., 2008. The syntax of agreement and concord. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. 1.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Basweti, N. (2005). *A morphosyntactic analysis of agreement in Ekegusii in the Minimalist*

program. MA thesis. University of Nairobi.

- Basweti, N., Achola, E., Barasa, D., & Michira, J. N. (2015). Ekegusii DP and its sentential symmetry: A Minimalist inquiry. *International Journal of Language and Linguistics*, 2(2), 93–107.
- Baxter, B. (2016). Agreement patterns in Shona locative inversion. *UCLWPL*.
- Beard, R. (1995). *Lexeme-morpheme base morphology: a general theory of inflection and word formation*. Albany: Suny Press.
- Beavers, J., & Koontz-Garboden, A. (2020). *The roots of verbal meaning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Beermann, D., & Asimwe, A. (forthcoming). *Locatives in Runyankore-Rukiga*.
- Bentley, D., & Cruschina, S. (2018). Non-canonical postverbal subjects. *Italian Journal of Linguistics/Rivista Di Linguistica*, 30(2), 3–10.
- Bleek, W. (1869). *A comparative grammar of South African languages*. London: Truber & Co.
- Bokamba, G. (1971). Specificity and definiteness in Dzamba. *Studies in African Linguistics*, 2, 217–238.
- Boneh, N. (2019). Dispositions and characterizing sentences. *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics*, 4(1), 1–20.
- Boneh, N., & Doron, E. (2013). Hab and Gen in the expression of habituality*. In A. Mari, C. Beyssade, & F. del Prete (Eds.), *Genericity* (pp. 176–191). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bostoen, K., & Mundeke, L. (2012). Subject marking, object-verb order and focus in Mbuun (Bantu, B87). *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 30(2), 139–154. <https://doi.org/10.2989/16073614.2012.737588>
- Bresnan, J. (1994). Locative inversion and the architecture of universal grammar. *Language*, 70(1), 72–131.

- Bresnan, J., & Kanerva, J. M. (1989). Locative inversion in Chichewa : A case study of factorization in grammar. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 20(1), 1–50. Retrieved from <http://cat.inist.fr/?aModele=afficheN&cpsidt=11810038>
- Bresnan, J., & Mchombo, S. (1995). The lexical integrity principle: Evidence from Bantu. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 13, 181–254.
- Bresnan, J., & Moshi, L. (1990). Object asymmetries in comparative Bantu syntax. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 21(2), 147–185.
- Brøcker, K., Drożdżowicz, A. and Schindler, S. (2020). Introduction. In S. Schindler, A. Drożdżowicz & K. Brøcker (Eds), *Linguistic intuitions: Evidence and Method* (pp 51-68). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Buell, L. (2007). Semantic and formal locatives: Implications for the Bantu locative inversion typology. *SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics*, 15, 105–120.
- Burt, F. (1917). *Swahili grammar and vocabulary*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
- Burzio, L. (1986). *Italian syntax: A government-binding approach* (Vol. 1). Dordrecht: Springer.
- Caha, P., & Pantcheva, M. (2015). Locatives in Shona and Luganda. *Workshop on Building Blocks*, 1–40. Leipzig.
- Carnie, A. (2007). *Syntax: A generative introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Carstens, V. (2008). DP in Bantu and Romance. In C. De Cat & K. Demuth (Eds.), *The Bantu-Romance connection: A comparative investigation of verbal agreement, DPs, and information structure* (pp. 131–166). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Carter, H. (2002). *An outline of Chitonga grammar*. Lusaka: Bookworld.
- Chafe, W. (1976). Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subjects, topics and point of view. In C. N. Li (Ed.), *Subject and topic* (pp. 27–55). New York: Academic Press.
- Chesswas, J. D. (1963). *The essentials of Luganda* (3rd ed.). London: Oxford University Press.

- Chesterman, A. (1991). *On definiteness: A study with special reference to English and Finnish*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Choi, S., & Fara, M. (2012). Dispositions. In E. Zalta (Ed.), *The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy*. Stanford.
- Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge: MIT.
- Chomsky, N. (1970). Remarks on nominalization. In R. Jacobs & P. Rosenbaum (Eds.), *Readings in English transformational grammar* (pp. 184–221). Waltham MA: Ginn.
- Chomsky, N. (1981). *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Chomsky, N. (1993). A Minimalist program for linguistic theory. In K. Hale & S. Keyser (Eds.), *The view from building 20: Essays in linguistics in honour of Sylvain Bromberger* (pp. 1–52). Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1995). *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (2000). Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In R. Martin, D. Michaels, & J. Uriagereka (Eds.), *Step by step: Essays in syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik* (pp. 89–155). Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (2001). Derivation by phase. In M. Kenstowicz (Ed.), *Ken Hale: A life in language* (pp. 1–52). Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (2005). Three factors in language design. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 36, 1–22.
- Chomsky, N. (2007). Approaching UG from below. In *Interfaces + recursion = language? Chomsky's Minimalism and the view from syntax-semantics* (pp. 1–29).
- Chomsky, N. (2013). Problems of projection. *Lingua*, 130, 33–49.
- Cinque, G. (1999). *Adverbs and functional heads: A cross-linguistic perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cinque, G., & Rizzi, L. (2008). The Cartography of Syntactic Structures. *Studies in Linguistics*, 2, 42–58.

- Cohen, A. (2018). The square of disposition. *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics*, 3(1), 1–19.
- Cope, A. (1984). An outline of Zulu grammar. *African Studies*, 43(2), 1984.
- Crabtree, W. A. (1921). *A Manual of Luganda*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crabtree, W. A. (1923). *Elements of Luganda grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Creissels, D. (2011). Tswana locatives and their status in the inversion construction. *Africana Linguistica*, 17, 33–52.
- Dalrymple, M., & Nikolaeva, I. (2011). *Objects and information structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Demuth, K. (1990). Locatives, impersonals and expletives in Sesotho. *The Linguistic Review*, 7, 233–249.
- Demuth, K., & Harford, C. (1999). Verb raising and subject inversion in Bantu relatives. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics*, 20(1), 1–44.
- Demuth, K., & Mmusi, S. (1997). Presentational focus and thematic structure in comparative Bantu. *Journal of African Languages & Linguistics*, 18, 1–19.
- Devitt, M. (2006). Intuitions in linguistics. *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science*, 57:481-513.
- DeVitt, M. (2010a). What "intuitions" are linguistic evidence? *Erkenn* 73:251-264.
- DeVitt, M. (2010b). Linguistic intuitions revisited. *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science* 61:833-865.
- DeVitt, M. (2020). Linguistic intuitions again: A response to Gross and Rey. In: S. Schindler, A. Drożdżowicz & K. Brøcker (Eds), *Linguistic intuitions: Evidence and Method* (pp 51-68). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Deweese, J. (1971). *The role of syntax in the occurrence of the initial vowel in Luganda and some other Bantu languages*. Doctoral thesis. University of Wisconsin.

- Diercks, M. (2010). *Agreement with subjects in Lubukusu*. Doctoral thesis. Georgetown University.
- Diercks, M. (2011a). Incorporating location in argument Structure: The Lubukusu Locative Clitic. In E. G. Bokamba & et al. (Eds.), *Selected Proceedings of the 40th Annual Conference on African Linguistics: African Languages and Linguistics Today* (pp. 65–79). Somerville, MA.
- Diercks, M. (2011b). The morphosyntax of Lubukusu locative inversion and the parameterization of Agree. *Lingua*, 121(5), 702–720.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2010.11.003>
- Dik, S. (1978). *Functional grammar*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Dik, S. (1989). *The theory of functional grammar*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Doke, C. (1981). *Textbook of Zulu Grammar*. Cape Town: Longman Southern Africa.
- Dom, S., Kulikov, L., & Bostoen, K. (2016). The middle as a voice category in Bantu: Setting the stage for further research. *Lingua Posnaniensis*, 58(2), 129–149.
- Dornyei, Z. (2007). *Research methods in applied linguistics*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Doron, E. (2015). Voice and valence change. In T. Kiss & A. Alexiadou (Eds.), *Syntax-theory analysis: An international handbook* (pp. 749–776). Munich: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Dowty, D. R. (1979). *Word meaning and Montague grammar*.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2184639>
- Du Plessis, J., & Visser, M. (1992). *Xhosa syntax*. Pretoria: Via Africa.
- Erteschik-Shir, N. (2007). *Information structure: The syntax-discourse interface*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fernando, M. (2013). *The causative and anticausative alternation in Kikongo (Kizombo)*. Doctoral thesis. Stellenbosch University.

- Féry, C., & Krifka, M. (2008). 'Information structure: Notional distinctions, ways of expression. In P. van Sterkenburg (Ed.), *Unity and diversity of languages* (pp. 123–136). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Fillmore, C. (1968). The Case for case. In E. Bach & R. Harms (Eds.), *Universals in linguistic theory* (pp. 1–88). New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Franscarelli, M., & Hinterholz, R. (2007). Types of topics in German and Italian. In S. Winkler & K. Schwabe (Eds.), *On information structure, meaning and form* (pp. 87–116). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Gambarage, J. J. (2019). *Belief-of-existence determiners: Evidence from the syntax and semantics of Nata augments*. Doctoral thesis. The University of British Columbia.
- Grégoire, C. (1975). *Les locatifs en bantou*. Tervuren: Musée Royal de l' Afrique.
- Gruber, J. (1965). *Studies in lexical relations*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Guérois, R. (2016). The locative system in Cuwabo and Makhuwa. In N. Quint & P. Roulon-Doko (Eds.), *African languages and linguistics* (pp. 43–75). Paris: L'Öic-Michel Perrin.
- Gunnink, H. (2017). Locative clitics in Fwe. *Africana Linguistica*, 23, 119–136.
- Gussenhoven, C. (2008). Types of focus in English. In C. Lee, M. Gordon, & D. Büring (Eds.), *Topic and focus: Cross-linguistic perspectives on meaning and intonation* (pp. 83–100). Dordrecht: Springer.
- Guthrie, M. (1971). *Comparative Bantu, 2: Bantu prehistory, inventory and indexes*. London: Gregg International.
- Haegeman, L. (1997). Elements of grammar. In L. Haegeman (Ed.), *Elements of grammar: Handbook of generative syntax* (pp. 1–72). Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic.
- Halliday, M. (1967). Notes on transitivity and theme in English. *Journal of Linguistics*, 3, 199–244.
- Hallman, P., & Kallulli, D. (2013). Passive components and composition. *Lingua*, 125, 1–94.
- Harford, C. (1990). Locative inversion in ChiShona. In J. Hutchison & V. Manfredi (Eds.),

- Current approaches to African linguistics* (pp. 137–144). Dordrecht: Foris.
- Harley, H. (2015). The syntax-morphology interface. In T. Kiss & A. Alexiadou (Eds.), *Syntax-theory analysis: An international handbook* (pp. 1128–1153). Munich: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Hawkins, J. (1978). *Definiteness and indefiniteness: a study in reference and grammaticality prediction*. London: Croon Helm.
- Heine, B. (1989). Adposition in African languages. *Linguistique Africaine*, 2, 77–127.
- Hoekstra, T. (1988). Small clause results. *Lingua*, 74, 101–139.
- Hoekstra, T., & Mulder, R. (1990). Unergatives as copular verbs. *The Linguistic Review*, 7, 1–79.
- Hole, D. (2015). Arguments and adjuncts. In T. Kiss & A. Alexiadou (Eds.), *Syntax-theory analysis: An international handbook* (pp. 1285–1321). Munich: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Hornstein, N., Nunes, J., & Grohmann, K. (2005). *Understanding Minimalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hyman, L. (2003). Segmental phonology. In D. Nurse & G. Philippson (Eds.), *The Bantu languages* (pp. 42–58). London and New York: Routledge.
- Hyman, L., & Katamba, F. (1993). The augment in Luganda: Syntax or pragmatic? In S. Mchombo (Ed.), *Theoretical aspects of Bantu grammar* (pp. 209–236). Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Hyman, L., & Watters, J. (1984). Auxiliary focus. *Studies in African Linguistics*, 15(3), 233–274.
- Jackendoff, R. (1972). *Semantic interpretation in generative grammar*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Jerro, K. (2016a). The locative applicatives and the semantics of verb class in Kinyarwanda. In D. L. Payne, S. Pacchiarotti, & M. Bosire (Eds.), *Diversity in African languages* (pp. 289–309). Berlin: Language Science Press.

- Jerro, K. (2016b). *The syntax and semantics of applicative morphology in Bantu*. Doctoral thesis. University of Texas.
- Katamba, F. (2003). Bantu nominal morphology. In D. Nurse & G. Philippson (Eds.), *The Bantu languages* (pp. 103–120). London and New York: Routledge.
- Kayne, R. (1994). *The Antisymmetry of syntax*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Kearns, K. (2000). *Semantics*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Kearns, K. (2007). Telic senses of deadjectival verbs. *Lingua*, 117(1), 26–66.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2005.09.002>
- Kemmer, S. (1993). *The middle voice*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Kenny, A. (1963). *Action, emotion and will*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Khumalo, L. (2010). Passive, locative inversion in ndebele and the unaccusative hypothesis. *South African Journal of African Languages*, 30(1), 22–34.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02572117.2010.10587333>
- Kiingi, K. (1999). *Enkuluze ya Oluganda eya e Makerere*. Kampala: Fountain.
- Kimenyi, A. (1980). A semiotic analysis of causative constructions. *Linguistics*, 18(3/4), 223–244.
- Kirwan, B. E. R., & Gore, P. A. (1951). *Elementary Luganda*. Kampala: Uganda Bookshop.
- Kiss, K. E. (1998). Identificational focus versus information focus. *Linguistic Society of America*, 74(2), 245–273.
- Kiss, T., & Alexiadou, A. (2015). Syntax- The state of controversial art. In T. Kiss & A. Alexiadou (Eds.), *Syntax-theory analysis: An international handbook* (pp. 1–14). Munich: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Kisseberth, C., & Odden, D. (2003). Tone. In Derek Nurse & G. Philippson (Eds.), *The Bantu languages* (pp. 59–70). London and New York: Routledge.
- Kiyinikibi, N. (2011). *Ensulo y'olulimi Oluganda*. Kampala: Kamprint.

- Kiyinikibi, N. (2012). *Gulama w'olulimi Oluganda*. Kampala: Kamprint.
- Kratzer, A. (1996). Severing the external argument from its verb. In J. Rooryck & L. Zaring (Eds.), *Phrase structure and the lexicon* (pp. 109–137). Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic.
- Kratzer, A. (2005). Building resultatives. In C. Maienborn (Ed.), *Event arguments: Foundations and applications* (pp. 177–212). Tübingen: Niemmeyer.
- Krifka, M. (2006). Basic notions of information structure. In C. Fery, G. Fanselow, & M. Krifka (Eds.), *Working papers of the SFB62 (Interdisciplinary studies on information structure, 6)* (pp. 13–56). <https://doi.org/10.1556/ALing.55.2008.3-4.2>
- Krifka, M. (2008). Basic notions of information structure. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica*, 55(3/4), 243–276.
- Krifka, M., Pelletier, F., Carlson, G., ter Meulen, A., Link, G., & Chierchia, G. (1995). Genericity: An introduction. In G. Carlson & F. Pelletier (Eds.), *The generic book* (pp. 1–12). Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Kroeger, P. (2004). *Analyzing syntax: A lexical-functional approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kulikov, L. (2013). Middles and reflexives. In S. Luraghi & C. Parodi (Eds.), *The Bloomsbury companion to syntax* (pp. 261–280). Bloomsbury: Continuum.
- Lakoff, G. (1963). Towards generative semantics. In J. D. McCawley (Ed.), *Syntax and semantics* (pp. 159–164). Cambridge.
- Lambrecht, K. (1994). *Information structure and sentence form: Topic, focus, and the mental representations of discourse referents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lechner, W. (2015). The syntax-semantic interface. In T. Kiss & A. Alexiadou (Eds.), *Syntax-theory analysis: An international handbook* (pp. 1198–1255). Munich: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Lekakou, M. (2004). Middles as disposition ascriptions. In C. Meier & M. Weisgerber (Eds.), *Proceedings of the Conference "sub8 - Sinn und Bedeutung"* (pp. 181–196). Konstanz: Fachbereich Sprachwissenschaft.

- Lekakou, M. (2005). *In the middle, somewhat elevated: The semantics of middles and its crosslinguistic realizations*. University of London.
- Levin, B. (1993). *English verb classes and alternations: A preliminary investigation*.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/415968>
- Levin, B., & Rappaport Havav, M. (1995). *Unaccusativity: At the syntax-lexical semantics interface*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Levin, B., & Rappaport Havav, M. (2005). *Argument realization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Levinson, S. (1983). *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lewis, M. (2009). *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*. Dallas: SIL International.
- Lombard, D. (1985). *Introduction to the grammar of Northern Sotho*. Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik.
- Lyons, C. (1999). *Definiteness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Machobane, M. M. (1995). The Sesotho locative constructions. *JALL*, 16(1995), 115–136.
- Mahapatra, B. B. (2015). The parameters of aspect for Odia. In J. Gueron & B. Copley (Eds.), *Constructing aspect: Syntactic reflections on aspectual distinction* (pp. 21–46).
<https://doi.org/10.4000/rlv.2232>
- Maho, J. F. (2003). A classification of Bantu languages: An update of Guthrie's referential system. In Derek Nurse & G. Philippson (Eds.), *The Bantu languages* (pp. 639–651). London and New York: Routledge.
- Maho, J. F. (2009). *NUGL Online: The online version of the new updated Guthrie list, a referential classification of the Bantu languages*.
- Makanjila, D. (2019). *The internal syntax of Chimakonde determiner phrase*. Doctoral thesis. Stellenbosch University.
- Mallya, A. (2016). *Argument realization, causation and event semantics in Kiwoso*. Doctoral thesis. Stellenbosch University.

- Marten, L. (2006). Locative Inversion in Otjiherero: More on morpho- syntactic variation in Bantu. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics*, 43, 97–122.
- Marten, L. (2010). The great siSwati locative shift. In A. Breitbarth, C. Lucas, S. Watts, & D. Willis (Eds.), *Continuity and change in grammar* (pp. 249–267). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Marten, L. (2011). Information structure and agreement: Subject markers in Swahili and Herero. *Lingua*, 121(5), 787–804.
- Marten, L. (2012). Agreement in locative phrases in Luganda. In M. Brenzinger & A.-M. Fehn (Eds.), *6th World Congress of African Linguistics* (pp. 433–443). Cologne: Koppe.
- Marten, L., & Kula, N. (2012). Object marking and morphosyntactic variation in Bantu. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 30(2), 2012.
- Marten, L., Kula, N., & Thwala, N. (2007). Parameters of morphosyntactic variation in Bantu. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 105(3), 253–338.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-968X.2007.00190.x>
- Marten, L., & van der Wal, J. (2014). A typology of Bantu subject inversion. *Linguistic Variation*, 14(2), 318–368. <https://doi.org/10.1075/lv.14.2.04mar>
- McLaren, J. (1919). *A Xhosa grammar* (G. H. Welsh, Ed.). Longmans, Green & Co.
- Meeussen, E. (1967). Bantu grammatical reconstruction. *Africana Linguistica*, 3(1), 79–121.
- Meinhof, C. (1899). *Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus.
- Meinhof, C. (1932). *Introduction to the phonology of the Bantu languages*. Berlin: Ernst Vohsen.
- Merriam, S. (2002). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Mojapelo, M. (2007). *Definiteness in Northern Sotho*. Doctoral thesis. Stellenbosch University.
- Morris, F., & Kirwan, B. (1957). *A Runyankore grammar*. Kampala: East African Literature

Bureau.

- Moshi, L. (1995). Locative in KiVunjo-Chaga. In A. Akinlabi (Ed.), *Theoretical approaches to African linguistics* (pp. 129–145). Trenton: World Press.
- Mould, M. (1974). The syntax and semantics of the initial vowel in Luganda. In V. Erhard (Ed.), *Proceedings of the 3rd Annual Conference on African Linguistics* (pp. 223–229). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Msaka, P. K. (2019). *Nominal classification in Bantu revisited : The perspective from Chichewa*. Doctoral thesis. Stellenbosch University.
- Mycock, L. (2015). Syntax and its interfaces: An overview. In T. Kiss & A. Alexiadou (Eds.), *Syntax-theory analysis: An international handbook* (pp. 24–69). Munich: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Nakayiza, J. (2012). *The sociolinguistics of multilingualism in Uganda*. Doctoral thesis. University of London.
- Nanteza, M. (2018). Locative enclitics in Luganda: Form and meaning. MA thesis. *Makerere University*.
- Neeleman, A., & Vermeulen, R. (2012). The syntactic expression of information structure. In A. Neeleman & R. Vermeulen (Eds.), *The syntax of topic, focus, and contrast* (pp. 1–38). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Neumann, S. (1999). *The locative class in Shengologa (Kgalagadi)*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Ngoboka, J. P. (2016). *Locatives in Kinyarwanda*. Doctoral thesis. KwaZulu-Natal.
- Ngoboka, J. P. (2017). Locative markers in Kinyarwanda as determiners. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 26(4), 292–317.
- Ngoboka, J. P., & Zeller, J. (2013). Locative inversion in Kinyarwanda. *SOAS Inversion Workshop*.
- Nkabinde, A. (1988). Word order in Zulu. In C. Nyembezi & A. Nkabinde (Eds.), *Anthology of articles on African linguistics and literature* (pp. 152–194). Johannesburg: Lexicon.

- Nkusi, L. (1995). *Analyse syntaxique du Kinyarwanda, y compris ses dialectes et avec référence spéciale à la syntaxe des formes de la littérature orale rwandaise*. Thèse de doctorat. Université de Paris.
- Nunan, D. (1992). *Research methods in language learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nurse, Derek, & Philippson, G. (1980). *The Bantu languages*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Ozerov, P. (2018). Tracing the sources of information structure. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 138, 77–97.
- Peng, L. (2007). Geminatio and anti-geminatio: Meinhof’s law in LuGanda and Kikuyu. *Working Papers in Linguistics*, 13(1).
- Polinsky, M. (1993). Subject inversion and intransitive subject incorporation. *Proceedings of CLS*, 29, 343–361.
- Pollock, J. (1989). Verb movement, universal grammar, and the structure of IP. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 20(3), 365–424.
- Postal, P. (1970). On coreferential complement subject deletion. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 1(4), 439–500.
- Primus, B. (2015). Grammatical relations. In T. Kiss & A. Alexiadou (Eds.), *Syntax-theory analysis: An international handbook* (pp. 219–247). Munich: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Pross, T. (2020). Dispositions and the verbal description of their manifestations: a case study on emission verbs. *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 43, 149–191.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10988-019-09268-5>
- Radford, A. (1997). *Syntactic theory and the structure of English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Radford, A. (2004). *Minimalist syntax: Exploring the structure of English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Repp, S. (2010). Defining “contrst” as information structural notion in grammar. *Lingua*, 120,

1333–1345.

- Repp, S. (2014). Contrast: Dissecting an elusive information-structural notion and its role in grammar. In Caroline Fery & S. Ishihara (Eds.), *Handbook of Information Structure* (pp. 1–26).
- Repp, S. (2016). Contrast: Dissecting an elusive information-structural notion and its role in grammar. In Caroline Fery & S. Ishihara (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of information structure* (pp. 270–289). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Riedel, K., & Marten, L. (2012). Locative object marking and the argument-adjunct distinction. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 30(2), 277–292.
- Rizzi, L. (1997). The fine structure of the left periphery. In Liliane Haegeman (Ed.), *Elements of grammar: Handbook of generative syntax* (pp. 281–337). Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic.
- Rizzi, L. (2004). Locality and left periphery. *Structures and Beyond: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, 3, 223–251.
- Rizzi, L. (2013). The syntactic cartography and the syntacticization of scope-discourse. *Probus*, 25(1), 197–226.
- Rizzi, L., & Cinque, G. (2016). Functional categories and syntactic theory. *Annual Review of Linguistics*, 2, 139–163. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-linguistics-011415-040827>
- Rochemont, M. (1986). *Focus in Generative grammar*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Rochemont, M. (2013). Discourse new, F-marking, and normal stress. *Lingua*, 136, 38–62. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2013.07.016>
- Rooth, M. (1992). A theory of focus interpretation. *Natural Language Semantics*, 1, 75–116.
- Salzmann, M. (2004). *Theoretical approaches to locative inversion*. MA thesis. University of Zurich.
- Salzmann, M. (2011). Towards a typology of locative inversion – Bantu, perhaps Chinese

- and English – but beyond ? *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 5(4), 169–189.
- Schäfer, F. (2008). *The syntax of (anti-)causatives. External arguments in change-of- state contexts*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Shlonsky, U. (2010). The Cartographic enterprise in syntax. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 4(6), 417–429.
- Simango, S. R. (2012). The semantics of locative clitics and locative applicatives in ciCewa. In B. Connell & N. Rolle (Eds.), *Selected Proceedings of the 41st Annual Conference on African Linguistics* (pp. 141–149). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Smith, C. (1997). *The parameter of aspect (second edition)*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic.
- Stowell, T. (1981). *Origins of phrase structures*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Tallerman, M. (2005). *Understanding syntax (3rd edition)*. London: Hodder Education.
- Taylor, C. (1985). *Nkore-Kiga: Croon Helm Descriptive Grammars*. London: Croon Helm.
- Taylor, J. (2007). Things and places. *Language Matters*, 38(1), 105–131.
- Truswell, R. (Ed.). (2019). The Oxford Handbook of Event Structure. In *The Oxford handbook of Event structure*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tsoulas, G. (2015). The syntax-pragmatic interface. In T. Kiss & A. Alexiadou (Eds.), *Syntax-theory analysis: An international handbook* (pp. 1256–1283). Munich: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Tutunjian, D., & Boland, J. (2008). De we need a distinction between arguments and adjuncts? Evidence from psycholinguistic studies of comprehension. *Linguistics Compass*, 2(4), 631–646.
- Uganda Bureau of Statistics. (2020). Population of Uganda. Retrieved September 24, 2020, from <http://www.ubos.org>
- van der Spuy, A. (1993). Dislocated noun phrases in Nguni. *Lingua*, 90(4), 335–355.
- van der Wal, J. (2009). *Word order and information structure in Makhuwa-Enahara*.

- Doctoral thesis. Leiden University.
- van der Wal, J. (2011). Focus excluding alternatives: conjoint/disjoint marking in Makhuwa. *Lingua*, 121(11), 1734–1750.
- van der Wal, J., & Namyalo, S. (2016). The interaction of two focus marking strategies in Luganda. In D. Payne, S. Pacchiarotti, & M. Bosire (Eds.), *Diversity in African languages* (pp. 355–377). <https://doi.org/10.17169/langsci.b121.490>
- van Gelderen, E. (2013). *Clause structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- van Gelderen, E. (2017). *Syntax: An introduction to minimalism*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Vendler, Z. (1967). *Linguistics in philosophy*. Ithaca, NC: Cornell University Press.
- Verkuyl, H. J. (1989). Aspectual classes and aspectual composition. In *Linguistics and Philosophy* 12 (pp. 39–94).
- Visser, M. (1986). Cliticization and case theory in Xhosa. *South African Journal of African Languages*, 6(3), 129–137. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02572117.1986.10586664>
- Visser, M. (1989). The syntax of the infinitive in Xhosa. *South African Journal of African Languages*, 9(4), 154–185.
- Visser, M. (2008). Definiteness and specificity in the isiXhosa determiner phrase. *South African Journal of African Languages*, 28(1), 11–29. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02572117.2008.10587298>
- Ward, G., & Birner, B. (2004). Information structure and non-canonical syntax. In L. Horn & G. Ward (Eds.), *The handbook of pragmatics* (pp. 153–174). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Weatherhead, H., & Bazongere, S. (1933). *Grammar eyo Lungereza*. London: The Shelton Press.
- Webelhuth, G. (1995). *Government and binding theory and the minimalist program*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Wechsler, S. (2015). The syntactic role of agreement. In T. Kiss & A. Alexiadou (Eds.),

- Syntax-theory analysis: An international handbook* (pp. 309–342). Munich: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Welmers, W. (1973). Functional and vestigial noun class systems. *African Language Structures*, 184–210.
- Zeller, J. (2012). *Object marking in Zulu*. 1–21.
- Zeller, J. (2013). Locative inversion in Bantu and predication. *Linguistics*, 51(6), 1107–1146.
- Zeller, J. (forthcoming). *Locatives in Bantu* (pp. 1–24). pp. 1–24.
- Zeller, J., & Ngoboka, J. P. (2006). Kinyarwanda locative applicatives and the Minimal Link Condition. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 24(1), 101–124.
- Zeller, J., & Ngoboka, J. P. (2015). On parametric variation in Bantu, with particular reference to Kinyarwanda. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 113(2), 206–231.
- Zerbian, S. (2006). *Expression of information structure in the Bantu language Northern Sotho*. Humboldt University.
- Ziervogel, D. (1971). The Bantu locatives. *African Studies*, 30(3/4), 371–384.
- Zimmermann, M. (2008). Contrastive focus and emphasis. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica*, 55(3–4), 347–360. <https://doi.org/10.1556/aling.55.2008.3-4.9>
- Zimmermann, M., & Onea, E. (2011). Focus marking and focus interpretation. *Lingua*, 121(11), 1651–1670. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2011.06.002>
- Zwart, C. (1997). *Morphosyntax of verb movement*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic.