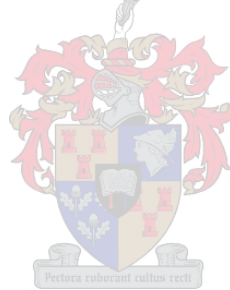


DEFINITENESS AND SPECIFICITY IN RUNYANKORE-RUKIGA

by

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the manifestations of the universal categories of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in the Runyankore-Rukiga determiner phrase by means of discourse-pragmatic and morpho-syntactic considerations. Runyankore-Rukiga, like all other Bantu languages, exhibits no (in)definite articles, but there are various ways the language employs to encode the definiteness. Lyons's (1999) semantic principles of definiteness and his definition of specificity are adopted for the study, as well as the Minimalist and Cartographic approaches to syntax. The data come from authentic written materials, recorded spoken discourse and elicitation (backed up by other native speakers' grammaticality judgement).

The study considers modified and unmodified (bare) nouns. Bare nouns are generally (save for those with inherent unique semantic features) ambiguous between (in)definite and (non-)specific readings. Thus, an appropriate reading is contingent on a correct discourse-pragmatic setting. Nominal modifiers are categorized into three groups (Visser, 2008). Those which contribute unambiguously to the definiteness interpretation of head nouns, e.g., demonstratives, the functional elements **-a** and **nya-**, some quantifiers and the absolute pronoun. The second category includes nominal modifiers which have neutral semantic features of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity, namely, adjectives, numerals, possessives as well as nominal and clausal relatives. Thirdly, nominal modifiers occur which are assumed to possess an inherent semantic feature of indefiniteness, for example, some quantifiers and the lexicalized element **haine**.

The study investigates the inferences associated with the Initial Vowel (IV) when it occurs optionally in the inflectional morphology of nominal modifiers with the neutral feature of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in prenominal, and postnominal positions, as well as in positions when the head of the phrase is a *pro* category. The intricate relation of the core morpheme of the demonstrative and the IV is investigated. The study concludes that the initial vowel occurring optionally in the inflectional morphology of neutral nominal modifiers and with bare object nouns following a negative verb evolved from the core demonstrative morpheme and exhibits anaphoric features in the absence of a full lexical head as well as functioning as a functional category determiner, expressing specificity, contrastive focus and sometimes emphasis features. Indefinite nominal modifiers contribute to indefiniteness reading of their head nouns although the indefinite feature is not inherent in them, in that they

can appear in definite contexts as well. Indefinite quantifiers too allow the IV in their inflectional morphology as a determiner that mainly encodes contrastive focus or emphasis.

The results from the study offer explanations of key areas of syntax, morphology and semantics relating to the Determiner phrase system from a perspective of no (in)definite articles, which constitutes a significantly major contribution to Bantu linguistic research.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie ondersoek die manifestasies van die universele kategorieë van (on)bepaaldheid en (nie-)spesifisiteit in die Runyankore-Rukiga bepalerfrase deur middel van diskoers-pragmatiese en morfo-sintaktiese oorwegings. Runyankore-Rukiga, soos ander Bantutale, het geen (on)bepaalde lidwoorde (bepalers) nie, maar daar is 'n verskeidenheid middele wat die taalkluster van gebruik maak om die verskynsels te enkodeer. Lyons (1999) se semantiese beginsels van bepaaldheid en sy definisie van spesifisiteit word aanvaar vir die studie, asook die Minimalistiese en Kartografiese benaderings tot sintaksis. Die data van die studie kom uit oorspronklike geskrewe materiaal, opnames van gesproke diskoers en elisitasie (ondersteun deur ander sprekers se grammatikaliteitsoordele).

Die studie ondersoek naamwoorde wat respektiewelik omskryf en nie-omskryf word deur bepalers. Naamwoorde in die algemeen (behalwe dié met inherente unieke semantiese kenmerke) is dubbelsinnig tussen (on)bepaalde en (nie-)spesifieke interpretasies. Dus is 'n gepaste interpretasie afhanklik van 'n gepaste diskoerspragmatiese konteks. Naamwoordelike bepalers kan in drie groepe geklassifiseer word (Visser, 2008). Daardie wat ondubbelsinnig bydra tot die bepaaldheids-interpretasie van kern-naamwoorde, bv. demonstratiewe, die funksionele elemente **-a** en **-nya** in Runyankore-Rukiga, sommige kwantifiseerders, en die absolute voornaamwoord. Die tweede kategorie sluit in naamwoordelike bepalers wat neutraal semantiese kenmerke het ten opsigte van (on)bepaaldheid en (nie-)spesifisiteit, naamlik adjektiewe, telwoorde, possessiewe, asook nominale en sinsrelatiewe. Die derde groep is naamwoordelike bepalers wat beskik oor 'n kenmerk van inherente onbepaaldheid, bv. sommige kwantifiseerders en die geleksikaliseerde element **haine** in Runyankore-Rukiga. Die studie ondersoek interpretasies geassosieer met die aanvangsvokaal (AV) wanneer dit opsioneel verskyn in die infleksiemorfologie van naamwoordelike bepalers met die neutrale kenmerk van (on)bepaaldheid en (nie-)spesifisiteit in prenominale en postnominale posisie, asook in posisies waar die kern van die naamwoordfrase 'n foneties leë pro kategorie is. Die ingewikkelde verhouding van die kernmorfeem van die demonstratief en die AV word ondersoek. Die studie maak die slotsom dat die aanvangsvokaal wat opsioneel verskyn in die infleksiemorfologie van neutrale naamwoordelike bepalers en met ongemodifiseerde naamwoorde wat volg na 'n negatiewe werkwoord, ontwikkel het uit die kern demonstratiewe morfeem en anaforiese kenmerke toon in die afwesigheid van 'n volledige leksikale kern naamwoord, en ook funksioneer as 'n funksionele kategorie, bepaler, met spesifisiteit, kontrastiewe fokus, asook somtyds beklemtoningskenmerke. Onbepaalde

naamwoordelike bepalers dra by tot die onbepaaldheidsinterpretasie van die kernnaamwoord alhoewel die onbepaaldheidskenmerk nie inherent is aan dié naamwoorde nie, omdat hulle in bepaaldheidskontekste kan verskyn. Onbepaalde kwantifiseerders vertoon die AV in hul infleksiemorfologie, as 'n bepaler wat hoofsaaklik kontrastiewe fokus of beklemtoning encodeer. Die resultate van die studie bied verklarings vir sleutel-areas van die sintaksis, morfologie en semantiek rakende die bepaler frase sisteem vanuit die perspektief van (on)bepaalde lidwoorde, wat 'n betekenisvolle bydrae maak tot navorsing in die Bantutale.

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List of symbols and abbreviations

Abbreviations used in annotations of illustrations

ABS	Absolute pronoun
Acc	Accusative (case)
ADJ	Adjective
ADV	Adverb
AgrOP	Object Agreement Prefix
AgrSP	Subject Agreement Prefix
APPL	Applicative
ASP	Aspect
AUX	Auxiliary
CAUS	Causative
CL	Noun class
COMP	Complementizer
CONJ	Conjunction
CONT	Continuous aspect
COP	Copula
DEF	Definite
DEM	Demonstrative
DEMr-t-	Demonstrative root
DIST	Distal (deixis)
EMPH	Emphatic (pronoun)
EXPLET	Expletive
FUT	Future tense
FUTnear	Near future tense
FV	Final vowel
GEN	Genitive morpheme
HAB	Habitual
IMP	Imperative
INDEF	Indefinite

INF	Infinitive
INFL	Inflectional
INTERJ	Interjection
IPFV	Imperfective aspect
LDCop	Locative demonstrative Copulative
LOC	Locative
MEDIAL	Medial (deixis)
N	Noun
NON-REF	Non-referential
NEG	Negative
NPI	Negative polarity items
NPP	Nominal preprefix
PART	Partitive
PARTint	Interrogative particle
PAST	Past tense
PASTrm	Remote past
PASTim	Immediate past
PASThst	Hesternal past: yesterday or earlier but not remote
PERF	Perfective aspect
PN	Proper Name
Pers.	Personified
PRES	Present tense
PREP	Preposition
POS	Positive verb
POSS	Possessive
PROX	Proximal (deixis)
PROG	Progressive aspect
PROposs	Possessive pronoun
PRSTV	Persistive aspect
PRTV	Partitive
RC	Relative Clause
REF	Referential
REFL	Reflexive
REL	Relative
SBJV	Subjunctive

SPEC	Specific
STAT	Stative aspect
STILL	Still tense
Q	Question word
QUANT	Quantifier
QUANTrt	Quantifier root
V	Verb,

Abbreviations for grammatical persons

1SG	First person singular pronoun
2SG	Second person singular pronoun
3SG	Third person singular pronoun
1PL	First person plural pronoun
2PL	Second person plural pronoun
3PL	Third person plural pronoun

Abbreviations used in the text

AgrP	Agreement Phrase
D	Determiner
DP	Determiner phrase
IS	Information structure
IV	Initial Vowel
N	Noun
Neg	Negative
NP	Noun Phrase
Pos	Positive
PP	Prepositional Phrase
Spec	Specifier
TP	Tense Phrase
v	Verb
VP	Verb Phrase
QP	Quantifier Phrase
NIV	New International Version

Notations used in the illustrations

∅	:used in the representation of a null or zero morpheme
*	:ungrammatical construction
*(...)	:the bracketed element is obligatory in the given syntactic context
(*...)	:the bracketed element is unacceptable in the given syntactic context.
(...)	:optional morphological element
#	:the construction is not acceptable in the given linguistic context
?	:questionable syntactic structure
^	:raising and falling tone
`	:falling tone
ˆ	:raising tone

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction and background to the study

This dissertation aims to do a comprehensive investigation of the morpho-syntactic and discourse-pragmatic nature and properties of definiteness and specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga (classified as JE13/JE14¹ in Maho, 2009). The study is undertaken within the Generative framework of determiner phrase (DP) syntax (cf. Abney, 1987, Szabolcsi, 1987, 1989, 1994; Bernstein, 1993; Longobardi, 1994; Alexiadou et al., 2007; Carnie, 2007; Radford, 2009; den Dikken, 2013, among others). The Minimalist version of Generative syntax (Chomsky, 1995, 2001) is adopted. A systematic overview of Minimalist Program is given in Hornstein et al. (2005), Boeckx (2006), Radford (2009), among others. In addition, the study adopts the branch of Generative syntactic research, known as Cartography (cf. Rizzi, 1997, 2013; Cinque, 1999, 2002; Cinque & Rizzi, 2008; Shronsky, 2010). The Generative syntactic theories are complemented in this dissertation by Lyons's (1999) framework of semantic principles for definiteness. The two-fold main question which this study attempts to answer concerns the issue of (i) whether the initial vowel (henceforth IV) in Runyankore-Rukiga, also known as the preprefix or augment (more widely in Bantu Languages), represents a functional category Determiner, which realizes definiteness or specificity, and (ii) how the initial vowel derives from the demonstrative and appears in the inflectional morphology of nominal modifiers which lack an inherent feature of definiteness. The study further attempts to explore a variety of other ways that are available in Runyankore-Rukiga, through which definiteness and specificity are realized.

¹ Runyankore and Rukiga are classified as separate languages as JE 13 and JE 14 respectively (see Maho, 2009; Lewis et al., 2013). However, since the two 'languages' have a high percentage of linguistic similarity (94-99%) (cf. section 1.9), they are regarded as dialects of one language (see also Ndoleriire & Oriikiriza, 1996; Rubongoya, 1999; Asiiimwe, 2007). The classification of Runyankore-Rukiga into E zone is based on Guthrie's (1971) with an incorporation of Tervulen's J zone, henceforth JE (cf. Maho, 2009: 7).

The definitions of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity of Lyons (1999) are assumed for the present study. According to Lyons (1999: 2-3), a noun phrase is said to be definite when an entity referred to is known to both the speaker and hearer, while in the case of an indefinite noun phrase, the speaker knows the referent but the hearer probably does not. With regard to specificity, Lyons (1999: 165-169) posits that the referent of the noun phrase is a particular entity in the mind of the speaker, which may be familiar to the hearer as well (definite specific) or which may be unknown to the hearer (indefinite specific). On the other hand, a non-specific referent of a noun phrase is considered non-particularized, or having an identity which is beside the point for an on-going communicative event.

In previous research, scholars such as Mould (1973), Mkunde (1974), Batibo (1985) and Taylor (1985) equated the IV in Bantu languages to the definite article in European languages. However, this view may not entail an adequately conceived comparison. As Hyman and Katamba (1993) point out, in Luganda [JE15²], the IV serves in a range of functions, and cannot be fully reduced to a definite determiner. With reference to Kagulu, classified as [G12] in Maho (2009), Petzell (2003, 2008) points out that the IV has various functions and may differ in properties and functions from one language to another. The IV in Runyankore-Rukiga too, appears complex, exhibiting several properties of usage. Note, however, that the IV does not occur in the nominal inflectional morphology of all Bantu languages. Moreover, it exhibits distinct properties in those languages where it does occur (cf. Bokamba, 1971; Dewees, 1971; Morris & Kirwan, 1972; Taylor, 1972, 1985; von Staden, 1973; Rubongoya, 1999; Petzell, 2008, among others³). Hence, it is more reasonable to examine the issue of definiteness and specificity with reference to the language-specific characteristics of the IV, rather than making generalizations for all the Bantu languages which exhibit it.

The current study focuses on nominal expressions, by examining both bare nouns and modified nouns. The role of the IV in relation to (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity marking is examined. In this study, the IV, which is argued to have the categorial status of a determiner, which appears as an optional element in the inflectional morphology of some nominal modifiers, is examined as to whether it exhibits definiteness and specificity features. In addition, the

² Luganda is classified as JE15 in Maho (2009).

³ Refer to chapter three for a review of the distribution and role of the IV in selected Bantu languages.

occurrence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of some nominal modifiers is investigated for its role in the interaction of specificity and focus. The study investigates the IV when it occurs as an optional element with modifiers such as adjectives, possessives, nominal and clausal relatives in the nominal domain (cf. chapter six to eight⁴). In the following example (1), for instance, the categorial role of the IV occurring in the inflectional morphology of the adjectival nominal modifier is to be examined with regard to (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity features. In addition other major morpho-syntactic and discourse-pragmatic cues are considered in respect to the investigation of the categorial status of the IV in terms of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity.

- (1) *Abaishiki baagura enkwanzi (e)nungi*⁵
A-ba-ishiki ba-aa-gur-a e-n-kwanzi e-n-rungi
 IV-2-girl 2-PASTim-buy-FV⁶ IV-10-bead IV-10-beautiful
 ‘(The) girls have bought (specifically) (the) beautiful beads.’

According to Visser (2008), adjectives have a neutral lexical semantic feature of definiteness. The question, therefore, that is pursued in the current study regards the role of the IV when attached to modifiers such as the adjective, possessive modifier, nominal and clausal relatives, which exhibit a neutral semantic feature of (in)definiteness in Runyankore-Rukiga (cf. chapter six and seven).

A further aspect which the study examines relates to the interpretations of DPs, whose lexical head is implicit. When a lexical head noun is absent, the DP is headed by a phonologically null element, that is, the *pro* category (Visser, 1984: 115). The assumption in Generative syntax is that any determiner has semantic content. The demonstrative, for instance, has deictic content (cf. Alexiadou, 2007: 95). When a nominal modifier occurs with an implicit head, traditionally, it was regarded as a pronoun. For example, the demonstrative modifier without a head would be a demonstrative pronoun (see, for example, Diessel, 1999 and Taylor, 1985). According to Visser (1984), in the absence of a full lexical head, the modifiers do not change status to become

⁴ The presentation of the key aspects in this section does not follow the order in which they are examined in the analysis chapters (four to eight).

⁵ The Runyankore-Rukiga illustrations used in this dissertation reflect to a larger extent the standard form of the language. However, where necessary, specific examples have been cited from either Runyankore or Rukiga dialect and a note is given to indicate so.

⁶ Unless otherwise stated, the final vowel (FV) bears the indicative mood.

pronouns. They retain the status of modifiers. Hence, according to Visser (1984) a *pro* element is posited in Generative syntax, as a phonologically empty head of a modifier in the absence of a full lexical noun, and bears the same features of gender, person and number. The generative notion of a *pro* head when the head noun is ellipsed is adopted in this dissertation.

As this study shows, the IV is mostly obligatory with modifiers which exhibit an inherent neutral semantic feature of definiteness, when headed by a *pro*. In such syntactic contexts, the IV is examined as to whether it has a connection with the (in)definiteness or (non-)specificity features received by the phonologically empty head. Relatedly, an investigation into the relationship between the IV and the demonstrative is done. Wald (1973), Du Plessis (1978), Du Plessis and Visser (1992), Visser (2008), state that the morpheme realized allomorphically as **a-**, **e-**, or **o-** occurring in the inflectional morphology of certain nominal modifiers is the historical demonstrative morpheme **a**, which surfaces in the inflectional morphology of many Bantu languages. The example in (2) serves to illustrate the occurrence of an IV in the inflectional morphology of an adjective modifier headed by a *pro* element.

(2) *Abaishiki baagura (e)nungi*

A-ba-ishiki ba-aa-gur-a (e)-n-rungi

IV-2-girl 2-PASTim-buy-FV IV-10-beautiful

‘(The) girls have bought the (specific) beautiful ones.’

The adjectival modifier exhibits agreement features of the *pro* head, which in turn bears the agreement features of the ellipsed noun, assumed to be already established in the discourse. Almost all the determiner phrases containing nominal modifiers examined in this study, regardless of their semantic properties, are capable of taking a *pro* head. Hence, the question that is investigated concerns the interpretation of referents represented by *pro* heads and the role of the IV when it occurs with a modifier headed by a *pro*.

Furthermore, the study examines a category of nominal modifiers viewed as exhibiting an inherent semantic feature of definiteness (cf. chapter five). These include both the functional elements **-a** and **nya-** in Runyankore-Rukiga and lexical determiners such as the demonstrative and some quantifiers including the absolute pronoun. The example in (3) with illustrates a medial pronominal deictic demonstrative.

(3) ***Ogwo (o)musyo nigubaasa kukushara.***

*A*⁷-*gu*⁸-*o* (*o*)⁹-*mu-syo ni-gu-baas-a* *ku-ku-shar-a*
 DEMrt-3-MEDIAL IV-3-knife PRES-3-can-FV INF-2SG-cut-FV
 ‘That knife can cut you.’

The given nominal modifiers are examined with the view that they contribute the feature of definiteness and/or specificity to the nouns they modify, following the semantic principles of definiteness and the definition of specificity according to Lyons (1999).

There are a number of modifiers in Runyankore-Rukiga assumed to possess an inherent indefiniteness feature (cf. Visser, 2008), which are investigated in the current study, in chapter eight. These modifiers include some quantifiers such as **-mwe** (some), and **-ona** (any) the interrogative **-ha** (which/who). In certain pragmatic contexts, some of the modifiers examined as having an intrinsic indefinite semantic feature optionally take an IV in their inflectional morphology. The study further explores the interpretations received by the head noun stemming from the IV when it appears as an optional element with some of the modifiers in this category, as for instance, illustrated in (4):

(4) a. ***Abeegi (a)bamwe bakaija***

*A-ba*¹⁰-*egi* (*a*)-*ba-mwe ba-ka-ij-a*
 IV-2-student IV-2-some 2-PASTrm-come-FV
 ‘Some (specific) students came.’

b. ***(A)bamwe bakaija***

(*a*)-*ba-mwe ba-ka-ij-a*
 IV-2-some 2-PASTrm-come-FV
 ‘Some of them came.’

Hence, the pragmatic role of the optional IV with certain quantifiers, as in (4) in relation to the rendering of definiteness and specificity is outlined in chapter eight.

⁷ Underlyingly, the core demonstrative morpheme is **a**, which is allomorphically realized as **a**, **e**, or **o** in Runyankore-Rukiga. Refer to section 5.2.1.1 and table 3 for the morphological structure of the demonstrative.

⁸ Whenever the vowel /u/ or /i/ comes in contact with another vowel, phonologically a glide is formed, [w] and [y] respectively.

⁹ A lexical head noun preceded by a demonstrative can optionally take an IV (cf. section 5.2.3).

¹⁰ The vowel of the class prefix becomes **e** on the surface when the nominal root begins with vowel **e**.

The notions of definiteness and specificity are further examined in respect of bare nouns¹¹ (cf. chapter 4). The purpose of examining bare nouns is to demonstrate that there are various means, mainly discourse-pragmatic in nature, through which an intended referent can be identified by the hearer. Recall that Runyankore-Rukiga and Bantu languages in general have no (in)definite articles, as illustrated in (5):

- (5) ***Orwigi rwigwire***
O-ru-igi ru-igu-ire
 IV-11-door 11- open-STAT
 ‘A/ the door is open.’

For either a definite or an indefinite reading, or (non-)specific interpretation of a bare noun, discourse-pragmatic procedures are relied on. In order for the hearer to identify the intended referent, as in (5), an appropriate discourse-pragmatic context is invoked. However, section 4.5 illustrates nouns which are viewed to possess unique properties, and proper names which do not take modifiers, and are regarded to be definite and specific because of their inherent semantic features.

Another consideration made with regard to bare nouns concerns the morpho-syntactic contributions to definiteness and specificity readings. The specificity and definiteness interpretations as a result of the (co-)occurrence of the IV on the bare object noun following either a negative or positive verb, with an (non-)obligatory object agreement prefix, are investigated. For example in (6):

- (6) a. ***Abashaija tibaabusa *(o)buro***
A-ba-shaija ti-ba-aa-bu-s-a oburo
 IV-2-man NEG-2-PASTim-14-grind-FV IV-14-millet
 ‘(The) men have not ground the (specific) millet.’

¹¹ The term ‘bare noun’ in this study is used to mean nouns that are not modified.

b. *Abashaija tibaasa (o)buro**A-ba-shaija ti-ba-aa-s-a* *o-bu-ro (...)*

IV-2-men NEG-2-PASTim-grind-FV IV-14-millet

‘(The) men have not ground (the) (specific) millet (but have ground or done something else).’

Hence, the study explores the view as to whether the IV in Runyankore-Rukiga plays a role in determining a specific referent when it is attached to the direct object noun.

Additionally, the notions of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity are investigated with respect to their interaction with genericity (cf. section 4.6) in Runyankore-Rukiga. Generic expressions do not refer to individual and particularized entities, but to a class of individuals in general. According to Lyons (1999), generics are semantically and pragmatically definite, but non-specific. Hence, Runyankore-Rukiga nominal expressions (section 4.6) are examined for evidence regarding the interpretation of generic referents in relation to the notions of definiteness and specificity, as the construction in (7) illustrates.

(7) *Abaishiki nibakunda ebimuri**A-ba-ishiki ni-ba-kund-a* *e-bi-muri*

IV-2-girl PROG-2-like-FV IV-8-flower

‘Girls (generally) like flowers.’

The above given constructions exemplify the core morpho-syntactic and discourse-pragmatic contextual properties and configurations investigated in chapters four to eight in the realization of definiteness and specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga. Various morpho-syntactic and discourse-pragmatic options are engaged since Runyankore-Rukiga, like Bantu languages generally, lacks (in)definite articles.

1.2 Rationale for the study

Numerous studies on (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity are available (cf. Hawkins, 1978, 1991; Heim, 1982; Enç, 1991; Diesing, 1992; Chesterman, 1992; Lyons, 1999, Abbott, 2006; Zamparelli, 2002, 2005a, 2005b, among others¹²). Furthermore, many studies within the

¹²Refer to chapter two for a review of some of the works on definiteness and specificity.

Generative framework of syntax have been conducted on the determiner phrase in various languages, especially European languages, such as English (cf. Abney, 1987; Szabolcsi, 1987, 1989, 1994; Bernstein, 1993; Longobardi, 1994; Alexiadou et al., 2007, among others). However, few studies on definiteness and specificity, from both descriptive and theoretical approaches, are available on Bantu languages (cf. Bokamba, 1971; Du Plessis, 1978; Louwrens, 1983; Mojapelo, 2007; Visser, 2008). As far as it can be established, there is no available extensive linguistic research that has been conducted on definiteness and specificity on any Ugandan language. The interest for this academic enquiry is, therefore, driven by the need to explore the realization of the phenomena in Runyankore-Rukiga, one of the indigenous Bantu language clusters of Uganda, especially in relation to the question as to whether the IV has a categorial status of a determiner realizing definiteness and/or specificity.

The study on Runyankore-Rukiga is envisaged to contribute new insights into various general and language-specific aspects of syntactic theory, especially pertaining to the DP structure. In addition, it is hoped that the study will contribute to the debate on the categorial status of the IV in Bantu languages in general, by providing comprehensive illustrations from Runyankore-Rukiga. In general, it is envisioned that the study will contribute to the existing linguistic literature, which, in turn, will lead to a better understanding of semantic and pragmatic aspects of definiteness and specificity in Bantu languages.

1.3 Statement of the research problem

The morpho-syntactic manifestation of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga constitutes an intricate problem relating to the occurrence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of nominal modifiers, including the adjective, numerals, possessive and relative clauses, in both prenominal and postnominal positions, as well as in noun phrases headed by *pro* categories in determining the interpretation of noun phrases as regards definiteness and specificity. The investigation is thus centrally concerned with the question of the categorial status of the IV which occurs in the inflectional morphology of nominal modifiers such as adjectives, possessives and relative clauses, as a functional category Determiner, realizing specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga, and the intricate relation of the root morpheme of the demonstrative and the

IV. The study further aims to identify various other morpho-syntactic and discourse-pragmatic means of marking definiteness and specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga.

1.4 Goals of the study

The purpose of the study is to explore the morpho-syntactic and discourse-pragmatic nature and properties of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga. The study is guided by the following specific objectives:

- (i) To determine the role of pragmatic considerations for establishing the interpretation of ambiguous bare noun phrases with regard to (in)definiteness and/or (non-)specificity;
- (ii) To investigate the co-occurrence of the object agreement marker and the direct object of bare nouns as an instantiation of definiteness and/or specificity;
- (iii) To determine within the broad Generative framework of syntax the extent to which the IV features, as a functional category determiner, encoding the specificity property of nouns and noun phrases in Runyankore-Rukiga;
- (iv) To determine the morpho-syntactic status and interpretation of the demonstrative and other lexical and functional elements, which exhibit an inherent semantic feature of definiteness and specificity;
- (v) To establish the role of the demonstrative root **a** in the inflectional morphology of modifiers which are inherently neutral with regard to (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity;
- (vi) To investigate the semantic and pragmatic interpretation of noun phrases occurring with modifiers which are assumed to bear an inherent lexical semantic indefiniteness property;
- (vii) To determine the other mechanisms available in Runyankore-Rukiga for realizing definiteness and specificity.

1.5 Research questions

This study seeks to address the following questions against the background of the issues that have already been presented in the preceding sections:

- (i) What pragmatic considerations contribute to resolving (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity properties of bare nouns in Runyankore-Rukiga?
- (ii) What is the semantic interpretation of the object noun in syntactic contexts where the optional object agreement prefix co-occurs with the object noun?
- (iii) What is the categorial status of the initial vowel (IV) in Runyankore-Rukiga in relation to definiteness and specificity?
- (iv) What is the status and interpretation of inherently definite determiners in Runyankore-Rukiga?
- (v) What is the role of the optional IV occurring with modifiers that are inherently neutral with respect to (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity?
- (vi) What is the semantic-pragmatic interpretation of noun phrases occurring with modifiers with an inherent lexical semantic indefiniteness property?
- (vii) What other mechanisms are available in Runyankore-Rukiga for marking definiteness and specificity?

1.6 Methodology of study

A comprehensive study of (i) recent works on definiteness and specificity and (ii) the relevant aspects of the Minimalist and Cartographic approaches to syntax was conducted. The purpose for this undertaking was to develop a proper theoretical framework in which to describe and explain the various morpho-syntactic and semantico-pragmatic properties of definiteness and specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga. At the same time, the available descriptive grammars of Runyankore-Rukiga, that is, Morris and Kirwan (1972) and Taylor (1985) were reviewed with the aim of understanding how the notions definiteness and specificity are treated by these authors.

As a native speaker of Runyankore-Rukiga, the researcher used own introspective judgments in identifying and analyzing relevant constructions for the study. The relevant constructions were verified through consultations with other native speakers who have adequate linguistic knowledge, and those who have very limited knowledge of linguistics (cf. Appendix III for a list of names of native language speakers I worked with). The purpose of involving speakers of the language was to minimize individual idiolectal and dialectal influences on the grammatical and pragmatic interpretations. In addition, consultations with native speakers were made for purposes of establishing the grammaticality or acceptability of linguistic data and determining their related interpretations. Variations that exist between Rukiga and Runyankore in terms of interpretations were captured by involving other native speakers of both Rukiga and Runyankore dialects.

Relatedly, the elicitation method was used to seek native speakers' intuitive understanding of various aspects considered in this study. The researcher elicited a number of constructions on particular aspects and asked native speakers to give their opinions regarding (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity. The elicitation method was, for instance, mostly relied on in examining the syntactic distribution and role of the IV in Runyankore-Rukiga. Additionally, sentences in either English or Runyankore-Rukiga were presented to the respondents so as to provide translations which guided the researcher in determining the interpretation of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity involving certain DPs. When choosing the participants for the study, a number of factors were considered, including the level of linguistic knowledge, age, where one lives, i.e., whether it is a rural or an urban¹³ setting, and the specific dialect one speaks (Rukiga or Runyankore¹⁴). Variations in language use do exist based on some of the factors named. The consultations were done on an individual basis with the consultants. I worked with consultants on selected constructions, as I found it necessary in terms of the properties investigated.

The study further makes use of available authentic written sources in Runyankore-Rukiga. The two weekly local newspapers, *Orumuri* and *Entatsi*, were used. Literary texts such as *Abagyenda Bareeba* (Mubangizi, 1997) and *Omuteizi omuri Bungyereza* (Mugumya, 2010) were used. Additionally, the 1962 Runyankore-Rukiga translated version of the Bible was another valuable

¹³ Those that live in towns where Runyankore-Rukiga is not the areal language have their language influenced by other languages especially Luganda.

¹⁴ Runyankore and Rukiga in this study are considered as dialects of the same language (cf. section 1.9).

source. Relevant utterances from written sources were picked and carefully analyzed within the context in which they are used. Moreover, a comparative analysis was used to find common linguistic features among writers and across generations. In addition, comparisons were made between the written and spoken discourse. These comparisons were made with the intention of identifying common features and divergences with regard to possible asymmetries in the typology and realization of a given aspect.

Furthermore, some recordings from conversations and radio programs were analyzed to identify relevant constructions exemplifying properties of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity, as they naturally manifest themselves. The reason for analyzing the spoken discourse is that language studies generally should not only depend on the written discourse, because there is a likelihood of missing out on some inferences, since the written form is typically standardized. Thus, with the understanding that a number of factors influence language use in society, including social, stylistic and dialectal factors, the spoken register was considered to capture naturally occurring constructions, in that the spoken form provides a wide range of ways through which language is used.

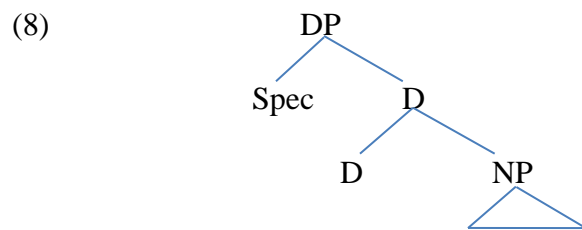
1.7 Theoretical framework

1.7.1 Introduction

This section presents the theoretical background on which this study is based. Recall that the analysis is restricted to the nominal domain. In order to gain insights into the morpho-syntactic manifestations of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga, particularly resulting from the presence or absence of the IV in the nominal domain, the Cartographic model of syntax (cf. Rizzi, 1997, 2004; Cinque, 1999, 2002; Belletti 2004, Shronsky, 2010) is assumed. The Cartography of syntax is complemented by Lyons's semantic principles of definiteness (cf. section 1.7.4). Since the current study is concerned with discourse-related information and hence the functional material within the nominal domain, it is important to give an overview of the main architecture of the DP, particularly the DP hypothesis as postulated in Generative Syntax.

1.7.2 The determiner phrase

In the early years of Generative syntax, the noun was analyzed as the maximal N head. Hence, it was assumed that any material appearing before the noun was a specifier (Jackendoff, 1977). Chomsky, in 1987, applied the x-bar notation to the verb phrase which meant that there are functional projections, that is CP and IP in the VP. However, Chomsky did not extend the same notation to the nominal domain. Later studies, led by Abney (1987), reanalyzed the noun as exhibiting functional projections contained in the head D, as postulated in the DP hypothesis (cf. Abney, 1987, Szabolcsi, 1987, 1989, 1994; Bernstein, 1993; Longobardi, 1994; Alexiadou et al., 2007, among others). According to the DP hypothesis, a determiner is the maximal head that selects the noun as its complement¹⁵. This means that the structure of the noun phrase is such that on top of the noun, there is a determiner, as illustrated in (8) below:



Different material can fill the determiner phrase domain. Hence, a determiner can either be a lexical entity, such as a demonstrative, or a functional element (cf. Alexiadou et al., 2007). With regard to English and other articulated languages, it is usually posited that articles head the functional projection (cf. Abney, 1987). Therefore, a question that is of concern is whether languages which possess no (in)definite articles also posit a determiner phrase. Other than demonstratives and quantifiers as lexical determiners, this study posits a functional determiner category in Runyankore-Rukiga. Among the morphological elements investigated is the IV which is examined as to whether it has the status of a determiner. In addition, the morphological elements **-a** and **nya-** are examined for their status as to whether they are heads of functional categories with an inherent semantic feature of definiteness (cf. chapter five). As it is assumed in the DP hypothesis that a noun is considered as the semantic nucleus of the DP for languages exhibiting (in)definite articles, in languages where there are no such articles, such as

¹⁵ Bare NPs are DPs headed by null determiners (cf. Abney, 1987).

Runyankore-Rukiga, morphological elements are examined as to whether they exhibit syntactic properties of a determiner.

Arguably, the nominal domain includes a determination area which hosts functional elements. This area is commonly argued to be located in the prenominal position. The IV that occurs optionally in the inflectional morphology of certain nominal modifiers is examined when a given modifier is postnominal, when it is in a prenominal position and when the DP has a *pro* head in relation to the features of specificity and focus. In addition, the determination area is said to be associated with semantic and pragmatic properties, contributing properties such as definiteness to the noun (cf. Alexiadou et al., 2007: 51), a claim that is also investigated with reference to Runyankore-Rukiga nominal domain.

In this dissertation, the functional determiner category is studied in relation to both functional and lexical elements in Runyankore-Rukiga with the aim to establish whether it is associated with the realization of definiteness and specificity features. Since languages differ in the ways they mark definiteness and specificity, it is probable that distinct elements fill the determination area cross-linguistically. The current study investigates empirical evidence for linking the IV in Runyankore-Rukiga to this domain, as a functional determiner category. The study further examines the interaction between specificity and focus stemming from the IV.

1.7.3 The Cartographic approach to Generative syntax

The Cartographic approach to syntax emerged from a series of colloquia which were held in Italy in the late 90's. The series resulted in the book volumes 'The Cartographic enterprise' (cf. Rizzi, 1997, 2004; Cinque, 1999, 2002; Belletti 2004, Shronsky, 2010). Within the Cartographic enterprise, the concern is that the nominal domain exhibits discourse-related information, as projected within topic and focus phrases¹⁶. Cartography advances the view that information structure is encoded in functional elements, based on their content, number and order. The purpose of including cartographic ideas in this study is to establish the availability of functional projections in the DP and their relation with the encoding of discourse-related information. Consequently, the current study investigates the question of whether the existence of the IV in

¹⁶ Note that only the cartography of the nominal domain is considered here.

the inflectional morphology of certain nominal modifiers such as possessives, adjectives, and nominal and clausal relatives (cf. chapter six and seven) is associated with specificity. Furthermore, the study examines the Focus Phrase in which the IV marks information structure related to focus. It is also apparent that the feature of specificity interacts with focus in the FocP and this dissertation investigates this interaction.

It is stipulated in Cartography that the Complementizer Phrase (CP) constitutes a structural zone. This zone is associated with structural information. In the same vein, the DP, which is regarded as the left periphery of the nominal domain (cf. Rizzi, 1997), has a zone in which information structural properties are expressed (see also Giusti, 1996; Aboh, 2004a). In this dissertation, it is postulated that information structure in the nominal domain of Runyankore-Rukiga can be encoded on the left periphery of other phrasal categories, such as adjectival and possessive phrases. Therefore, specificity and focus features are examined in this regard as to whether they are triggered by a morphological affix, (the IV). There is a constituent in one canonical position. Its movement is stimulated by feature checking. The element that is displaced, or which moves, has a feature of some kind which it must check with another element in another structural position. For that reason, it is moved to that position. Some nominal modifiers in Runyankore-Rukiga move from their base generated positions to other positions. The study examines the nominal modifiers in their canonical positions and when they move to other positions in the nominal domain for the features they check in their new positions. An extra feature of emphasis is posited to result from the movement of certain modifiers, such as the possessive phrase and demonstratives to the prenominal position.

1.7.4 The semantic principles of definiteness and specificity (Lyons, 1999)

Different semantic and pragmatic approaches have been advanced for the analysis of definiteness and specificity, e.g. Hawkins (1978), Heim (1982), Chesterman (1991), Lyons (1999) (see chapter 2 for details). However, the definitions and meanings of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity adopted for this study are specifically the ones outlined in Lyons (1999).

Lyons posits four key semantic features to describe (in)definite entities, viz. familiarity, identifiability, uniqueness and inclusiveness. According to Lyons (1999: 2), for a noun phrase to

be definite, the referent has to be familiar to both the speaker and the hearer. On the other hand, referents of noun phrases are said to be definite if the hearer is in a position to identify the intended referent. He further contends that for mass nouns and plurals, definiteness stems from inclusiveness. In addition, Lyons suggests that a referent is definite on the basis of the uniqueness factor. The feature of uniqueness, according to Lyons (1999:8), applies if both the speaker and hearer know about the entity from the context, or through common knowledge. Thus, to Lyons, a referent to be definite, the two main principles, namely identifiability (which subsumes familiarity) or inclusiveness will be at play, either separately or together. The above principles are adopted in the examination of what constitutes a definite or indefinite entity.

Lyons's (1999) notion of specificity, which is also assumed in this study, concerns situations where the speaker has a particular individual or object in mind, but does not necessarily expect the hearer to uniquely distinguish it from other entities in the universe of discourse. On the other hand, for a non-specific referent, according to Lyons, the speaker does not intend to communicate about a particular referent. Besides, the identity of the referent is not important for the conversation in progress. Hence, the given meaning of specificity, according to Lyons, is adopted in the analysis of nominal expressions for specificity reading in Runyankore-Rukiga.

In the section that follows, I present a brief overview of information structure, where particular interest is given to focus, a discourse property that is investigated as to whether it is marked concurrently with specificity on the basis of the presence of the IV, and whether the two features interact.

1.7.5 An overview of some core properties of syntactic research on information structure

The current study is not entirely about information structure (IS). However, a brief overview of the notion is in order more especially its category of focus as it is investigated in the study to be triggered simultaneously with specificity. Information structure is characterized by the partitioning of an utterance into information units based on the interlocutor's linguistic needs (cf. among others, Chafe, 1976; Lambrecht, 1994; Zerbian, 2006; Erteschik-Shir, 2007). Thus, the speaker's role in a communicative situation is to provide information to the hearer which can optimally be understood. Accordingly, the way information is packaged in a discourse reflects

what the speaker's assumptions of the hearer's communicative needs are for that moment in discourse (cf. Prince, 1981). For instance, the speaker makes assumptions about whether the hearer is able to identify the referent, or whether the hearer will realize that the referent is new at that particular time in discourse (cf. Aboh et al., 2010: 783). It is therefore important to establish the place of IS in grammar, and the means through which it is marked. At this point, two commonly known categories of IS are introduced, viz. topic and focus¹⁷.

The concept of topic is defined as old information, that is, what the sentence or utterance is about (cf. Chafe, 1976; Price, 1981; Lambrecht, 1994; Lyons, 1999; Gundel & Fretheim, 2004; Erteschik-Shir, 2007; Aboh et al., 2010; van Gelderen, 2013). In other words, topic expressions, as van Gelderen (2013: 173) for instance states, typically refer to 'entities that have a certain degree of activeness in the discourse'. Hence, the widely held assumption in literature is that topics are necessarily definite.

The concept of focus, on the other hand, has eluded scholars as far a concerted definition is concerned. However, it has been notoriously defined in terms of newness (cf. Halliday, 1967; Jackendof, 1972; Lambrecht, 1994; Erteschik-Shir, 2007; Hartmann & Zimmermann, 2009; Aboh et al. 2010; Gelderen, 2013). Hence, focus is commonly understood as the unpressuposed information that the speaker does not expect the hearer to know at the time of the utterance. However, according to Rooth (1992), Hartmann and Winkler (2013), Rochemont (2013), focus, as a category of information structure, has two types. It expresses new information, or it may have to do with selective expression to an element chosen from others belonging to one syntactic category and from within one semantic field. In addition, Zimmermann (2008) and Hartmann & Zimmermann (2009) suggest various focus types, viz. new information focus, corrective focus, contrastive focus and selective focus. Therefore, splitting focus into various types is an indication that focus has to do with more than newness. Moreover, Aboh et al. (2010), following Kiss (1998), recognize two kinds of focus, namely information focus, alternatively known as presentational focus, and contrastive focus, also termed identificational focus (see also Erteschik-Shir, 2007). Rochemont (2013) too identifies two kinds of focus, namely, focus-as-new and

¹⁷ In terms of information structure organization, other contrast terms, which are sometimes used interchangeably have been suggested in literature, such as topic-comment, theme-rheme, given-new, and presupposition-focus (cf. among others, Chafe, 1976; Price, 1981; Reinhart, 1981; Lambrecht, 1994; Lyons, 1999).

focus-as-alternatives. Krifka (2007) and Féry & Krifka (2008), on the other hand, do not recognize all the above kinds of focus. Hence, their understanding of focus is that it is that part of discourse which ‘indicates the presence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions’ (cf. Féry & Krifka, 2008: 4).

For the purposes of the current investigation, the meaning of focus adopted has to do mainly with focus-as-alternatives, or selectiveness, or contrastiveness especially since the interaction between focus and specificity at the morpho-syntactic level is examined in this study. According to Féry and Krifka (2008: 6), even when a referent appears as the topic in discourse, as long as the contrastive feature is available, there is focus within a topic. Accordingly, throughout the current study, there is no mention of contrastive topic but only contrastive focus. In chapters six to eight, the occurrence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of some nominal modifiers is examined for its pragmatic consequences on the lexical head, relating to specificity and the encoding contrastive focus. The sentence in (9) exemplifies the (non-)occurrence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of the adjective, whose role in relation to information structure and specificity is explored.

- (9) ***Tindikuzesa (e)nyundo (e)mpango*** (Morris and Kiwan, 1972:151)
Ti-n-ri-ku-kor-es-a *e-n-yundo* *e-n-hango*
 NEG-1SG-COP-INF-use-CAUS-FV IV-9-hammer IV-9-big
 ‘I am not using a/the (particular) big hammer.’

A focalized element does not necessarily have to express new information because discourse old or presupposed entities can as well receive the focus feature. This position is shared by scholars such as Lambrecht (1994), Erteschik-Shir (2007), Zerbian (2007), Krifka (2006) and Féry & Krifka (2008), Rochemont, (2013), among others. Therefore, the role of the IV in the selection of one specific entity, by eliminating other potential entities assumed to exist, which may be available within the immediate situational or linguistic context, is examined. The alternative entities should be of the same kind. To mention the alternatives or not to mention them depends on the speaker’s hypotheses about what the communication needs of his/her interlocutor are at the time of the utterance. Still, it may be the case that the meaning of focus denoting new information, as Zerbian (2006:10) observes, is different from the focus of alternatives. As such,

Krifka (2007) further points out that focus, apart from indicating alternatives, may serve to highlight the most salient part of a discourse, or to express new information. Therefore, focus is more than newness and the type of focus encoded depends on the discourse-pragmatic context evoked, or the structure of a given sentence. The adopted meaning of focus for this study is therefore not ring-fenced. However, focus-as-alternatives, which I constantly refer to as contrastive focus, features prominently.

In this dissertation, the question of whether the optional IV in the inflectional morphology of certain nominal modifiers has consequences for the semantic and pragmatic interpretations with respect to specificity and triggering a contrastive focus reading is explored. The issue of contrastive focus in this dissertation is mainly considered with respect to nominal modifiers which are inherently neutral to the features of (in)definiteness and (non)specificity (cf. chapter six and seven) on the basis of the availability of the optional IV.

1.8 Significance of the research

The research is anticipated to contribute to the body of knowledge in the area of definiteness and specificity in Bantu languages. As one of the aims of the study is to determine whether the IV is a determiner of definiteness, an issue that is unclear in literature, this research is therefore foreseen to contribute to the understanding of the categorial status of the IV, more especially whether there is a correspondence between the IV in Runyankore-Rukiga and the definite article in English. The study further contributes to the currently limited literature on the nature of the functional determiner phrase in Bantu languages in general.

In addition, there are limited linguistic resources available on Runyankore-Rukiga in previous studies on Bantu languages. Moreover, Runyankore-Rukiga was for a long time not used in the education domain. It is therefore envisaged that the outcomes of this research will be helpful in the writing of a modern grammar of Runyankore-Rukiga and other instructional materials which can be of great use in the teaching of indigenous languages of Uganda.

1.9 A brief overview of Runyankore-Rukiga

Runyankore-Rukiga is an interlucustrine Bantu language of the Niger-Congo family. It is one of the main indigenous languages of Uganda spoken in South-Western in the Kigezi (Rukiga) and Ankore (Runyankore) regions with an approximation of 4 million speakers according to the 2002 Uganda Population and Housing Census report. The two dialects are mutually intelligible to the extent of about 94% lexical similarity (Ladefoged et al., 1972 & Lewis et al., 2013).

Runyankore-Rukiga is closely related to another Bantu language cluster, Runyoro-Rutooro, also spoken in Western Uganda. The four dialects: Runyankore (JE13), Rukiga (JE14), Runyoro (JE11) and Rutooro (JE12) form Runyakitara¹⁸ [JE10A], which is the name of a newly standardized ‘language’ (Bernsten, 1998) taught in some universities in Uganda. There are two sources discussing the lexical similarities between these four dialects, viz. Ladefoged et al. (1972) and Lewis et al. (2013). The four dialects are highly intelligible as the percentages in table 1 table show.

	Runyankore and Rukiga	Runyankore and Runyoro	Rukiga and Rutooro	Rutooro and Runyoro	Rukiga and Runyoro
Ladefoged et.al. (1972)	94%	86%	85%	93%	87%
Lewis et al. (2013).	84-94%	68%		78-93%	77%

Table 1: The Lexical similarity for the four Runyakitara dialects

The four dialects were grouped into two languages in 1952 (Runyoro-Rutooro) and 1954 (Runyankore-Rukiga), and they have had two separate orthographies since then (Rubongoya, 1999). There are other languages spoken outside Uganda which are equally mutually intelligible

¹⁸ Two conferences were held at Makerere University in 1990 where it was decided that the four ‘languages’ should be merged. At first, there was a problem to decide on a name for the new language: Runyoro was rejected because it originated from Buganda and thus would have been the name of one of the languages to be merged. Some of the names which were suggested included: Runyabantu, Rucwezi, Rugweizooba and Runyotonki. But later the planners settled for Runyakitara, named after the former kingdom that united the western region of Uganda. The name ‘Runyakitara’ was endorsed during a conference in 1994 (Bernsten, 1998).

with Runyankore-Rukiga. These are Nyambo (JE21), Haya (JE22), Zinza (JE23) and Kerewe (Kerebe) [24] all spoken in Tanzania (cf. Lewis et al., 2013).

The linguistic studies on Runyankore-Rukiga are limited. Two traditional descriptive grammars on the language appeared, namely, Morris and Kirwan (1957) and a revised edition of 1972 and Taylor (1985). Much of the work available is on culture and literature as well as translation studies in unpublished theses, which are therefore not accessible to the wider research community. For purposes of the current study, the researcher made use of the mentioned traditional grammars that are available.

General basic linguistic characteristics of Runyankore-Rukiga as a Bantu language of the Great Lakes region which are relevant to the current investigation include the following:

- (i) Runyankore-Rukiga is a tonal language with four distinct tonal levels, that is, the high tone (´), low tone (˘) falling and raising (ˆ) and raising and falling (^);
- (ii) Like other Bantu languages, Runyankore-Rukiga has a complex morphological system;
- (iii) Nouns fall into classes determined by their semantics. There are about 20 noun classes in Runyankore-Rukiga (cf. Appendix I). However, different authors report a varying number of noun classes (cf. Morris & Kirwan, 1972; Taylor, 1985; Asimwe, 2007; Katshemererwe & Hanneforth, 2010). For purposes of illustrations, classes 1-18 are used. The last two classes (20 and 21) are the augmentatives;
- (iv) Runyankore-Rukiga possesses the IV which appears with nominal expressions for both grammatical and pragmatic purposes;
- (v) Runyakore-Rukiga has the basic word order of SVO. However, word categories can freely move from their base positions depending on structural configurations of the language, as well as the communicative needs of the moment.

1.10 Organization of the study

This study begins with the introduction to the study in chapter one. The chapter gives the background and motivation for the study. In addition, it sketches the underlying problem statement on which the study is based. The objectives and the questions which the study sought to answer are outlined. The theoretical frameworks adopted for the study, and methods used in

the investigation are indicated. The chapter, in addition, delves into the likely theoretical and empirical contributions from the current study.

Chapter two presents a review of literature on the phenomena of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity. First, a general review of some of the key literature on (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity is given. Next, the review focuses on the literature on (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in Bantu languages. Definiteness and specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga follows, particularly reviewing the two existing grammars (Morris & Kirwan, 1972 & Taylor, 1985), since there was no single work that comprehensively deals with definiteness and specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga (as far as I can tell).

The next chapter (three) comprises an overview of literature on the distribution and role of the IV in selected Bantu languages, including Runyankore-Rukiga. The reason for reviewing literature on the IV is that, the current study, among other aims, investigates the categorial status of the optional initial vowel in the inflectional morphology of certain nominal modifiers, in relation to definiteness and specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga.

The next five chapters of the dissertation are the analytical chapters. In discussing nominal modifiers (chapter five to six), the morpho-syntactic properties of the nominal modifiers examined in this study are discussed first in the respective sections before proceeding to investigate their contributions towards (in)definite and (non-)specific readings of nouns they occur with.

Chapter four examines (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity encoding involving bare (unmodified) nouns. A range of discourse-pragmatic contexts is considered as well as morpho-syntactic indications. Particular interest with regard to (non-)specificity is given to the (non-)occurrence of the agreement object prefix and the IV of the direct object. Hence, the properties of the (non-)occurrence of the IV occurring with a direct object noun are examined in relation to the question as to whether its presence in conjunction with the object agreement prefix is an instantiation of [+definite +specific] features. Furthermore, locative resumptive pronominals are examined in line with their morpho-syntactic properties, as to whether they relate to definiteness and specificity encoding. Bare nouns which uniquely refer, including proper names are, in

addition discussed in chapter four. Lastly, the concept of genericity is explored as regards their semantics in relation to definiteness and specificity.

Chapter five investigates definiteness and specificity readings of head nouns with modifiers that have an inherent semantic feature of definiteness. These include the demonstrative and the functional elements **-a** and **nya-**. Universal quantifiers, the inclusive quantifiers, and the absolute pronoun are also included. The absolute pronoun is discussed with quantifiers on the basis of its morphological and semantic resemblance with the given quantifiers. The demonstrative, the morphological definite markers **-a** and **nya-** as well as the absolute pronoun are assumed to have inherent definiteness and specificity features, while some of the quantifiers examined are definite but exhibit an ambiguous feature of (non-)specificity.

Chapter six and seven explore nominal modifiers which are semantically inherently neutral to the features of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity. Chapter six examines adjectives, numerals and possessive modifiers, whose presence in the nominal domain does not guarantee a definite or specific reading on the head noun. Chapter seven discusses relatives, categorized as nominal and clausal relatives on the basis of their inherent morpho-syntactic properties. Relatives are unspecified for the features of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity. The investigation of these nominal modifiers considers the question as to whether the occurrence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of the given modifiers can be regarded as a determiner with a specificity feature as well as encoding a contrastively focalized entity.

In chapter eight, nominal modifiers presumed to be inherently indefinite are examined. They include quantifiers such as **-mwe** (some), **-ona** (any) and **-ngi** (many), and the indefinite **-ndi** (other). The question term, **-ha** (what/which) is also explored. The lexical item **haine** (there is) is also discussed. **Haine** (there is) a lexicalized item. Based on its morphology, it is not a nominal modifier. However, it is included in the study due to its semantic properties. The question is examined whether the IV, in terms of its properties of (non-)obligatory and (non-)occurrence can be viewed as a functional category determiner bearing the feature of specificity as was argued for other nominal modifiers, particularly those with an inherent neutral semantic feature of (in)definiteness.

Chapter nine gives a summary of the key findings and the conclusions reached. It further outlines the significance of the study to linguistic theories, pertaining to determiner syntax, and suggests areas for future consideration.

CHAPTER TWO

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON DEFINITENESS AND SPECIFICITY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the key linguistic literature on the semantics and morpho-syntax of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity. The literature on definiteness is abundant, especially for European languages, and therefore it is not possible to give a complete review at all. Thus, this chapter is limited to selected studies, with the aim of bringing to light the major areas that have emerged in the study of definiteness and specificity. As for Bantu languages, the scope of literature on the phenomena is relatively limited. Nevertheless, available works on definiteness and specificity are reviewed. Among these works are a classic study by Bokamba (1971) for Dzamba and the more recent studies of Mojapelo (2008) for Northern Sotho and Visser (2008) for isiXhosa.

In this chapter, a general overview of literature on (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity is given first in section 2.2. Next, an overview of the phenomena in Bantu languages is given in 2.3. Section 2.4 is particularly concerned with definiteness and specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga (the focus of this study, also a Bantu language). Finally, section 2.5 summarizes the chapter by abridging the major ideas that cut across, highlighting various theories that have been proposed for the study of definiteness and specificity and presenting the main areas of contention, particularly with regard to the categorial status of the IV as a determiner-like element in relation to definiteness in Bantu languages. The summary section also points to the framework adopted for this study in Runyankore-Rukiga.

2.2 A general overview of previous views on definiteness and specificity

The following works are reviewed in this section: Hawkins's (1978) study of (in)definiteness properties in English is examined in section 2.2.1. Section 2.2.2 examines (in)definiteness in the work of Heim (1982). What follows next in section 2.2.3 is a summary of Enç's (1991) study of specificity. Chesterman (1991), who examined definiteness from a comparative angle between an articulated and a non-articled language, is reviewed next in section 2.2.4. Following, in section

2.2.5, is an overview of Lyons's (1999) research on definiteness. Ihsane and Puskás's (2001) observations about specifics versus definites are summarized in section 2.2.6. What follows in section 2.2.7 is von Heusinger's (2002) analysis of specificity, while Ionin's (2006) investigation of the specific properties of the indefinite *this* is summarized in section 2.2.8.

2.2.1 Hawkins (1978)

In reviewing Hawkins's (1978) work, the major consideration is his location theory and how it applies to definiteness interpretations. In addition, attention is given to his analysis on the use of the definite article. Furthermore, Hawkins's contribution in the areas of specificity and genericity is given attention. There are ungrammaticalities which are expected to arise from incompatibilities of the semantics of certain modifiers and the (in)definite articles which Hawkins explores. These are discussed in brief.

Hawkins's (1978) important perspective of analyzing definiteness and indefiniteness is obtained from the location theory he developed. The location theory considers the role pragmatics plays in defining a definite versus indefinite reading based on a shared set between speaker and hearer. He asserts that within a shared set, both definite and indefinite descriptions are locatable. According to Hawkins (1978: 167-168), the location theory assumes the existence of a shared set between speaker and hearer in which the definite entities are to be located. Hence, the theory presupposes prior introduction of the referent to the hearer. Subsequently, the speaker instructs the hearer to locate the referent in some shared set of objects, and refers to the totality of the objects in this set, which may be mass, plural or singular. The theory takes into consideration the fact that the set can be identified by the hearer. In other words, the hearer should be able to infer the meaning depending on the discourse-pragmatic contexts, such as shared previous discourse. Hawkins (1978: 168), therefore, makes the general observation that it is necessary that the speaker and hearer share the set of objects. Otherwise, there will be a breakdown in communication.

Apart from the location theory advanced by Hawkins, the following are key issues he discusses with regard to (in)definiteness.

2.2.1.1 The use of English articles

Hawkins explores (in)definite readings stemming from the use of articles in English, namely the definite *the*, and the indefinite *a* and *some*. For the definite article, Hawkins establishes that referents locatable in a shared set accompanied by a definite article are known to both speaker and hearer. He discusses the following uses of the definite article as it locates a referent in the shared set of the speaker and hearer.

First, the definite article has **anaphoric use**. The definite article is usually used when the speaker instructs the hearer to locate the referent in his memory for a referent that has been introduced in the previous discourse with an indefinite article, which is subsequently referred to. The hearer can identify the referent because it is locatable within the shared previous discourse set. Referring anaphorically to an entity, as Hawkins observes, may be done with the same (1) or a different predicate (2):

- (1) Fred was discussing *an interesting book* in class. I went to discuss *the book* with him afterwards.
- (2) Fred was discussing *an interesting book* in class. He is friendly with *the author*.

Hawkins also notes that demonstratives *this/that* can be used in the place of the definite article for anaphoric reference.

According to Hawkins (1978), the definite article is permitted if the referent exists in the **immediate situation** of the utterance, for referents which can either be seen or not seen by both speaker and hearer. Hawkins argues that the demonstrative can replace the definite article for the immediate usage for entities which can be seen. Thus, both the definite article and the demonstrative can play the role of either instructing or informing the hearer to trace a visible referent in the immediate situation of the utterance, for example:

- (3) a. Harry, mind *that* table.
b. Harry, mind *the* table. (cf. Hawkins 1978: 113)

The definite article can also be used for reference to entities in the **larger situation** context. Speakers may have shared knowledge about certain referents not because they have talked about them before, and not because they are in sight, but because they exist in the wider situation of the utterance. For instance, if the interlocutors are from the same country, talking about *The Prime Minister* with a definite description is appropriate even when there was no prior mention of the referent. Hawkins (1978: 116), however, adds that it is crucial to invoke context if the hearer is confused about the actual referent, and in case context also fails to perform the disambiguating role, more information, for example, through the use of a genitive can be given. Thus, for the larger situational use of the definite article to hold, both speaker and hearer, according to Hawkins, must have shared knowledge of existence of the referent in the wider context

Furthermore, Hawkins explains the **associative anaphoric use** of the definite article. He first examines indefinite description, which forms an association with a subsequent definite description. Hawkins (1978: 123) illustrates that the mention of *a wedding* triggers an associative anaphora of the *bride, the bridesmaids, the cake*, etc., because it is known that weddings involve brides, cakes, etc. In Hawkins's terms, the introductory indefinite description forms the 'trigger' while the associative anaphora is the 'associate'. Thus, identifying a correct set and locating the referent in either the mental or physical set characterize all the uses of the definite article. Whether with or without prior knowledge of the referent, what Hawkins advocates is for the speaker to appeal to the right pragmatic sets, which the hearer can use to locate an item, in which (s)he assumes to exist.

2.2.1.2 Inclusiveness and exclusiveness conditions

Hawkins (1978), besides the above uses of the definite article, advances the inclusiveness use of the definite article following the criticism of Russell's (1905) concept of uniqueness. Inclusiveness applies to definite referents while exclusiveness relates to indefinite referents. The inclusiveness feature, according to Hawkins, is purely semantic. He asserts that by the use of the definite article, the hearer is instructed that reference is made to the totality of members satisfying the description in a given shared set. In Hawkins's view, the inclusiveness feature of the definite article correlates with the universal quantifier 'all', and encompasses plural, mass as

well as singular entities in a given set. However, the pragmatic set with singular referents contains just one member.

Exclusiveness as a semantic feature of the indefinite article applies when reference is made to a sub-set of all potential referents satisfying the description. This, according to Hawkins, means that there are other members excluded from the set in question, which satisfy the description. The exclusiveness condition, for instance, makes the use of an indefinite article in (4) inappropriate, since it would mean that Fred had more than one head.

(4). *Fred lost a head during the war.

However, Hawkins points out that there is a special case to argue for, that is, the inclusive use of the indefinite article when the predicate 'have' is used. In an utterance such as '*I have a nose*', the indefinite article carries an inclusiveness meaning, while substituting the predicate with 'break' makes the construction odd. In addition, the verb 'be', according to Hawkins, presupposes the existence of a referent in a set, and disallows exclusive reference, and in this case an indefinite article behaves like definite descriptions in allowing inclusive reference.

2.2.1.3 Specificity and non-specificity

As regards the notion of specific and non-specific reference, Hawkins notes that indefinite entities are ambiguous between specificity and non-specificity based on pragmatic considerations. With respect to indefinite specific referents, the speaker has a particular referent in mind, which the hearer does not know about. By contrast, for indefinite non-specific entities, Hawkins argues that the speaker does not necessarily have a particular entity in mind. In addition, he states that the definite article and demonstratives are unambiguous with respect to specificity because the hearer is assumed to be in a position to identify a specific referent intended. That is, (s)he is aware of the existence of the referent, and can identify it. Thus, the combination of definite and specific is possible. However, a definite non-specificity feature combination, according to Hawkins, is unlikely since the hearer is assumed to hold prior knowledge about the existence of the referent in question and knows its identity.

2.2.1.4 Definite and indefinite generics

Hawkins further explores the uses of definite and indefinite articles with respect to generic reference. He observes that both definite and indefinite articles in English are available for generic usage. In addition, he maintains that both singular and plural referents accommodate generic readings. Furthermore, Hawkins asserts that the inclusive meaning of the definite article applies to generic as well as non-generic referents. Whether the meaning is generic or non-generic, the interpretation depends on the size of the pragmatic set, in that a generic reading is possible if the pragmatic set contains a large number of entities, while the non-generic understanding is obtainable if the number of entities within the set is reduced to those locatable in a relevant pragmatic set. Hawkins offers an explanation regarding the difference between singular indefinite specific reference and generic reference, that is, with the former, the speaker (not the hearer) may know the individual object of reference, while in the latter both speaker and hearer do not have any particular entity in mind. This apparent distinction is, according to Hawkins, pragmatically determined.

2.2.1.5 Ungrammaticalities arising from semantic contrast between definiteness and indefiniteness

Hawkins (1978) further examines ungrammaticalities resulting from the combination of articles and some modifiers which oppose each other semantically. First, he analyses the grammaticality of the use of the definite article with the quantifier *only*. He argues that both *the* and *only* comply with the inclusiveness condition. The difference between *the* and *only*, however, is that with the quantifier *only*, the referent is more specific. According to Hawkins (1978: 230), *only* conveys the meaning that there are no other objects of which the sentence quantified into holds, apart from those in the domain of quantification. Furthermore, substituting the definite article used with *only* with an indefinite article leads to an ungrammatical construction (5) (cf. Hawkins, 1978: 231). Thus, Hawkins argues that the indefinite article and *only* are semantically incompatible on the account that *the* and *only* obey the inclusive condition, while the indefinite article *a/an* is compatible with the exclusive property. Hawkins (1978: 232), however, gives an exception to the co-occurrence restriction, i.e., that *a* can be used together with the quantifier *only* in constructions like: '*He is an only child*'. Nevertheless, he cautions that the exception

should not be used to overrule the above argument, as illustrated in the following ungrammatical construction.

(5) *An only girl at the party was drunk. (cf. Hawkins, 1978: 231)

Next, Hawkins presents the *-est* superlative and its co-occurrence with the (in)definite articles. He maintains that the superlative *-est* is incompatible with the indefinite article on the basis of the superlative being semantically compatible with the inclusiveness feature. Just as there is an exception with regard to the quantifier *only*, *-est* is not without one. Hence, expressions such as ‘*a best buy*’ are not strange. On the exceptions to the compatibility of an indefinite description with *-est* or *only*, Hawkins (1978: 235-236) points out that the interpretation allowing compatibility with inclusiveness seems to belong to a subclass of referents in question. *Most*, as a superlative, also co-occurs with the definite article, but he argues that its occurrence with an indefinite article suggests otherwise, that is, the co-occurrence of *most* and *a* does not presuppose a superlative meaning, but an ‘extreme’ meaning:

(6) I met a/the most intriguing girl at the party.

The incompatibility of the indefinite article with superlatives and quantifiers like *only* is considered by Hawkins to be due to semantic and not syntactic restrictions with regard to inclusiveness and exclusiveness features. In other words, the semantics of the superlatives and the quantifier ‘*only*’ is inclusive in nature notwithstanding the exceptions mentioned, which makes it impossible for the indefinite article and the quantifier or superlative to appear together.

Hawkins goes on to investigate comparatives with respect to the use of (in)definite articles. The explanation which Hawkins gives for superlatives works for comparatives as well. With comparatives, however, two referents, not more than that (and therefore not any member of the set is excluded), are compared. Otherwise, the construction will be ungrammatical. The use of a definite article implies that the referents have been a subject of conversation in the previous discourse, and are unique.

Another argument involving semantic opposition with regard to (in)definite article usage is about associative clauses. These clauses take a definite description to be compatible with inclusiveness

because it is considered, for instance, that a *mountain* has one summit, a *cigarette* has one butt, *twins* have one father. However, the indefinite article is also possible with these referents, e.g.: *a butt of a cigarette* when it is assumed that there is more than one cigarette and more than one butt for the exclusiveness meaning to hold.

Other syntactic situations allowing only the use of a definite article for reasons of semantic restrictions include: predicational relatives involving the predicate *be*, expression of sameness with the adjectives *same* and *very*, and aforementioned reference with expressions like the referent *in question*, *the aforementioned referent*, *the said*, *the following*, among others. The indefinite article, for instance, is unacceptable in place of the definite article for aforementioned reference.

Hawkins's (1978) major contribution to the study of definiteness and indefiniteness is the introduction of the location theory which assumes a pragmatic set shared between speaker and hearer, in which an identifiable referent can be located based on an appropriate pragmatic context. Various pragmatic contexts for the use of the definite article are central to Hawkins's location theory. In addition, what came through the analysis of Hawkins's work is, on the one hand, the relationship between specificity and definiteness, and on the other hand, the parallelism between specificity and genericity, in that, genericity and specificity are two opposing concepts, while the definite and non-specificity features are incompatible. Furthermore, Hawkins holds the view that the definite article in English is quantificational considering the inclusiveness factor. Lastly, due to inherent semantic properties of certain modifiers such as superlatives and comparatives, it is generally inappropriate for an indefinite article to occur with them.

2.2.2 Heim (1982)

2.2.2.1 Indefinites have referential properties

Heim's point of departure is to account for the truth conditional properties of indefinite NPs and at the same time to account for their referential properties. This question, according to Heim, had been a major challenge among many logicians. The theory which Heim advanced is called the 'theory of file change'. In her account, she argues that neither definites nor indefinites have quantificational values but they should both be treated as variables. She begins by exploring the

issue of whether indefinites refer, against the background of logicians who argued that indefinite NPs do not refer, but have the meaning of existential quantifiers. This was specifically the view of Russell (1905). Heim's focus was on anaphoric pronouns, whose antecedents occur in preceding sentences, as exemplified in (7).

(7) *A dog came in. It lay down under the table.*

Heim argues that in a context like (7), the pronoun *it* refers, and so does the indefinite NP *a dog*, although she adds that reference is not the only role that pronouns play, and that they are bound variables. Quantified indefinite NPs with corresponding anaphoric pronouns cannot be bound by the quantified NP, unless the pronoun does not refer to the NP in the preceding discourse. Hence, she advances the view that anaphoric pronouns pick up referents of their antecedents. If the speaker has a particular referent in mind, the pronoun should be able to pick it up. Thus, indefinite NPs have 'speaker's reference'. If there is no particular referent in mind, then, the speaker's referent will not hold. Following Lewis (1975), Heim further argues that a referent may be picked out to be definite by virtue of being the most salient object in a given utterance, even if its identity is unknown.

Another approach taken by Heim is based on Evans (1977). Evans, who posited the E-Type pronouns, acknowledges the existence of both bound and pragmatic pronouns. The E-type pronouns always have quantified nouns as their antecedents but the pronouns are not bound by the quantifiers. According to this approach, a pronoun has a definite description:

(8) *A dog came in. It lay down under the table.*

(8') *A dog came in. The dog that came in lay under the table.*

Following the E-type analysis of pronouns, the appropriate definite description is derived from the sentence which contains the antecedent. In addition, E-type pronouns for singular entities, according to Evans (1977), carry uniqueness-implications, which Heim finds unconvincing. On Evans' analysis of pronouns, Heim posits that some anaphoric pronouns have the same meaning as some definite descriptions. She adds that paraphrasing is not a solution to the problem of accounting for anaphoric definiteness descriptions.

2.2.2.2 Donkey anaphora

Heim explores the properties of donkey sentences. According to Heim (1982: 35), these are sentences that contain an indefinite NP which is inside an *if*-clause or relative clause, and a pronoun which is outside that *if*-clause or relative clause, but is related anaphorically to the indefinite NP.

(9) If someone is in Athens, he is not in Rhodes.

(10) If a man owns a donkey, he beats it.

First of all, Heim is of the view that donkey sentences are not necessarily instances of generic indefiniteness, since, after all, not all indefinites are generics. She makes the assumption that an indefinite NP binds a pronoun outside its clause. Furthermore, she advances the argument that the indefinite NP which occurs inside the *if*-clause contains an existential quantifier whose scope goes beyond the clause boundaries. The indefinite is thus interpreted as a wide scope universal. Another view Heim posits about donkey sentences is that pronouns which refer to embedded indefinite NPs in donkey sentences do not refer at all, but can be existential.

2.2.2.3 Indefinite specifics

According to Heim (1982: 147), any indefinite noun can in principle be specific. However, for some indefinites, the specific reading comes more readily than in others. In Heim's view, following Fodor and Sag (1982), there are some factors which increase the availability of a specific reading. These are descriptive richness of the predicate in the NP, the use of modifiers such as *certain* and *particular* after the indefinite article, left-dislocation, topicalization, subject position and co-occurrence with a non-restrictive relative. A specificity reading is also obtainable if the indefinite *this* is used instead of an indefinite article. Heim states that a specificity reading is obtained when an indefinite NP is bound by the widest scope of the existential quantifier. Specific indefinites are also viewed as referring expressions except that the hearer cannot be assumed to be familiar with their referents.

2.2.2.4 The theory of file change semantics

Heim's major contribution to the study of (in)definiteness is her theory of file change. She discusses the distinction between definiteness and indefiniteness by using the metaphor of building up structures of a 'file'. The file contains cards representing discourse information, and the cards are given numbers. When the speaker utters something, what the hearer does is open up a file. At the beginning of the discourse, the file is empty. When the speaker conveys something, the first card is opened. Whenever a new referent is introduced in the discourse, a new card is added, whereas an appropriate existing card in the file is updated (a file changes) whenever new information about a referent already existing in the discourse is introduced. Thus, definiteness and indefiniteness through the 'appropriateness condition' affect the growth of discourse files differently.

In reality, Heim explains, the files can be true or false. They are true if they represent facts of the real world, and false, if they do not. The truthfulness of a file can be established if information provided is given following the right sequence. In other words, it should be provided in a sequence that each individual fits the description for a matching card in an appropriate sequence. Thus, according to Heim, a conversation is structured in a file-like way comprising indices as members. The file-card begins with F_0 , F_1 , F_3 , etc. The lifespan of a file-card is sustained as long as more descriptive information about the represented discourse referent is added to the card. On the other hand, a discourse referent's lifespan is ended when it has been eliminated from the file.

2.2.2.5 Novelty and familiarity

Taking up Christophersen's (1939) idea of familiarity, Heim contends that indefinites introduce unfamiliar referents, while the familiarity of a referent is assumed for definite entities at any stage in a discourse. For instance, both deictic and anaphoric definites presuppose familiarity of their referents on the part of the addressee, since they are contextually salient, and so, they can be added to an appropriate existing file-card.

Thus, according to Heim, the difference between definites and indefinites lies in the fact that definites are governed by the familiarity condition, assuming that the definite article is only

possible when the referent exists in a given discourse. Heim further proposes that the novelty condition is responsible for introducing new entities into discourse anew.

2.2.3 Enç (1991)

Enç's starting point in the investigation of specific marking of NPs is by opposing the view that a specific referent is one with a wide scope of an operator, propounded by researchers such as Fodor and Sag (1982), as the following example illustrates:

(11) Every woman talked to a child in the fifth grade.

Enç points out that, for instance, in the above construction, the two NPs, i.e. *every woman* and *a child in fifth grade* are ambiguous with respect to scope, whereby she paraphrased (11) as:

- (12) a. For every woman there is some child or other in fifth grade, such that the woman talked to the child.
b. There is a child in fifth grade such that every woman talked to him.

A *child in fifth grade* in (12b) receives a specific reading when interpreted as having a wider scope over the subject quantifier. In the same way, there are other operators such as negation, modals or propositional attitude verbs which afford indefinite NPs a specific meaning if they assume a wider scope over them.

Enç's major concern is to identify a mechanism through which a specific NP can be identified. Her view of specificity semantics is that an NP may receive specific interpretation whether under narrow or wide scope of an operator in a sentence. One NP may have a wide scope under one operator while within the scope of another operator it may have a narrow scope. Thus, the scope of an operator is not a satisfactory measure for determining whether an NP is specific or non-specific. According to Enç, a measure that is outside the frame of scope relations is the most reliable one.

Enç considers the question as to whether specific or non-specific referents are in any way marked in natural language. Consequently, with reference to English, Enç investigates some

adjectives which are assumed to have specificity meaning. Notable among these adjectives are *certain*, *specific* and *particular*, as illustrated in example (13).

- (13) a. John wants to own *a certain* piano which used to belong to a famous pianist.
 b. Ned must speak to *a particular* congressman who has sworn to vote against the bill.

Given the wide scope view, and the view that NPs containing such adjectives are specific, such NPs are thus regarded as having wide scope and are therefore specific. In contrast to the above view, Enç provides an example where the adjective *certain* has the narrowest scope:

- (14) Each husband had forgotten *a certain* date – his wife’s birthday.

The universal quantifier in (14), according to Enç, has a narrow scope over the indefinite NP which has the specific adjective *certain*. Thus, analysing NPs with respect to specificity by only looking at adjectives such as *certain* and *particular* has its own limitations as they are restricted in terms of their occurrence in sentences. For instance, as Enç observes, *certain* occurs only in indefinite contexts with the indefinite determiner *a* or the *null* article, as illustrated in (15).

- (15) a. *a certain* mad, *certain* trees
 b. *one/*two/*some/*that/*the *certain* woman

On the other hand, *particular* and *specific* in English may occur with ‘some’ as an indefinite determiner, or with a definite numeral as demonstrated in (16) below:

- (16) Some *specific* documents, one *particular* document.

Particular and *specific* are also compatible with definite determiners:

- (17) This *particular* document, that *specific* child.

Since these adjectives have different distributional properties, Enç argues that it is also important to identify a way of identifying specific NPs independent of them.

Enç further explores other means through which specificity is marked. With reference to Turkish, she points out that there are languages which contrast specific and non-specific entities

morphologically. Turkish employs accusative case to mark specific objects. Hence, a specific NP attracts an obligatory accusative case marker while a non-specific referent is not marked for accusative case:

- (18) a. Ali bir piyano-yu kirilamak istiyor
 Ali one piano-Acc to-rent wants
 Ali wants to rent a certain piano.
- b. Ali bir piyano kirilamak istiyor
 Ali wants to rent a (nonspecific) piano.

According to Enç, there are other indefinite NPs in Turkish which must take accusative case. Among them are those containing universal quantifiers, and are necessarily specific. Enç claims that universally, quantified NPs are specific since they govern over given contextually relevant sets, which are assumed to be already in the discourse. Moreover, these indefinite NPs will yield ungrammatical constructions if the accusative case (that must appear with specific NPs) marker is omitted, as illustrated in (19b).

- (19) a. Ali her kitab-i okudu
 Ali every book-acc read
 ‘Ali read every book ‘
- b. *Ali her kitap okudu.

Enç further investigates the relationship between definiteness and specificity, and notes that the two phenomena are related, because they both require a link to their referents previously established in discourse. Conversely, indefinite and non-specific referents have no established link to the already mentioned discourse. Enç (1991) establishes a contrast between definite and specific referents in that what links definites to their antecedents is an ‘identity relation’, while that of specific referents is an ‘inclusion relation’. She further refers to the antecedents of definites as ‘strong antecedents’, and those of specifics as ‘weak antecedents’. Enç also makes a claim that all definite NPs are specific, that is, names, pronouns, definite descriptions, because they entail inclusion, as illustrated in (20).

(20) Five children arrived late. They had missed their bus.

Hence, Enç's main argument is that definites are necessarily specific. She, however, observes that indefinites can be specific or non-specific. Enç argues that contrasting specific and non-specific referents can be done morphologically, by citing the example of Turkish, a property that is not available, for instance, in Indo-European languages.

2.2.4 Chesterman (1991)

Chesterman (1991) in his study investigates how definiteness is expressed from two perspectives, i.e., using a language that has (in)definite articles, e.g. English, and a language without (in)definite articles, e.g. Finnish. He examines different kinds of articles in English and explicates a variety of ways through which the phenomenon is expressed in the latter, as summarized in this review, beginning with the discussion on the English (in)definite articles.

2.2.4.1 English (in)definite articles

According to Chesterman, there are five articles in English, and each of these has a different meaning it enforces on the noun it occurs with. The articles include: *the*, *a*, the unstressed *some*, *zero* and *null* articles. The *zero* form applies to mass plural while the *null* article is used with singular proper nouns and some singular count nouns. Chesterman (1991) outlines three opposing principles in which the notion of definiteness can be discussed with respect to the five articles given. These are: *Locatability* which subsumes familiarity, *inclusiveness*, which has to do with quantity, and *extensivity*, which relates to abstractness and generality. Locatability and inclusiveness have their origin in Hawkins's (1978) study. The three opposing features are placed in the set theory proposed by Chesterman and he argues that by its nature, it caters for both referential and non-referential definites.

Chesterman (1991) examines different contexts in which each of the five articles is used. He notes that the class of the noun in question selects a specific article it will take depending on context. He, however, notes that it is sometimes difficult to classify nouns, because some nouns, depending on context, may, for instance, belong to countables or non-countables, thus posing a

challenge of accounting for the use of articles in given contexts. Chesterman, therefore, makes an assumption that all nouns are potential hosts of any article depending on the context.

Chesterman (1991) studies the usage of *some* and observes that it assumes different functions, that is, as an indefinite article for plural mass nouns, as a quantifier, as a partitive article, etc. Chesterman (1991: 45) categorizes *some* as an article, because ‘it can neatly be used in the place of *a*, before plural and mass nouns’. The *no article* form is subdivided into two forms: the *zero* form which applies to indefinite mass nouns as well as plural nouns, and the *null* form which occurs with definite singular proper nouns and some singular count nouns. Chesterman hints that exceptions, however, do occur, for instance, the case of proper nouns which should not take an article under normal circumstances.

Chesterman (1991: 52-53) further outlines different usage contexts of the definite article *the*, following Hawkins (1978) (cf. section 2.2.1.1). However, he argues that, for instance, ‘*The Americans have reached the moon*’ cannot be captured in Hawkins’s (1978) location theory, which assumes generalization of all relevant members in a shared set, which in a way equates *the* to the logical universal quantifier *all*. Chesterman (1991: 53) thus, argues that other exceptions to the use of *the* exist. He gives a context of an introductory line in story-telling discourse, and the sentence that follows where one would expect *the* but instead the demonstrative *this* fits well:

(21) Once upon a time there was a king. *This king* had three daughters.

According to Chesterman (1991: 53-54), there are other contexts in which other articles can be used where *the* would be expected, as given below:

Use of *zero* article instead of *the*:

(22) *Best results* were achieved by M and N.

Usage in non-referential context and *the* appears to be optional:

(23) She is now (the) *captain* of the team.

The is possible but instead the *null* form is used:

(24) *Lunch* is ready

Either *the* or *zero* article is used:

(25) *The discussion/Discussion* of the issue continued for several hours.

Plural proper nouns can also take the article *the*, e.g. names of rivers, seas, oceans, canals (e.g., *The Himalayas*, *The River Thames*, etc.). The plural proper nouns offer an exception, because singular proper names usually take the *null* article. The singular proper nouns will take *a* if they are used as common nouns.

Chesterman further outlines the following cases depicting when a certain article can be used:

- (i) *a* and *some* introduce new referents in discourse.
- (ii) *Zero* associates with generics.
- (iii) Both *a* and *zero* can apply to inalienable possession nouns.
- (iv) The indefinite *a* can also occur with unique referents when they are modified, e.g. *a pale moon*, and *a blue sky*.

Some major ideas come to light from Chesterman's exposition. He points out that the opposition between definiteness and indefiniteness is a complex one, in that they do not necessarily fall on the exact opposite poles, where, if, for instance, the definite article *the* is not used, either *a* or *some* is the ultimate choice for the indefinite opposite. Chesterman (1991) further notes that there are many exceptions with regard to the use of the definite article, as well as proper nouns. He also states that definiteness is not a matter of reference alone; non-referential uses should also be catered for. Key opposing features in referential definiteness are locatability in a shared set and inclusiveness versus exclusiveness.

Next, Chesterman allocates the English articles across three semantic oppositions, viz., locatability versus non-locatability, inclusiveness versus exclusiveness and limited extensivity versus unlimited extensivity.

The idea of locatability goes back to Hawkins (1978). According to Chesterman, the referent is locatable in some kind of a shared set, and it is not the same as an identifiable one, in that if a referent is locatable in a certain shared set, it does not necessarily mean it is identifiable. Thus, locatability is just one condition of identifiability. Chesterman points out that locatability is a necessary condition for the use of the article *the* but its absence does not warrant the use of *some*

or *a*. The *zero* article, on the other hand, cannot be used in the locatability paradigm while the *null* article presents a different case altogether, i.e. they are definite, e.g. proper names are locatable because they are unique in a given pragmatic context. The singular count nouns can occur with a *null* article, because their identifiability is presupposed.

Concerning the inclusiveness and exclusiveness opposition, Chesterman (1991: 66) argues that inclusiveness is about reference to the totality of members in a shared set. He observes that whereas Hawkins's (1978) idea of inclusiveness concerns the use of the universal quantifier *all*, the inclusiveness use of *all* is instead a pragmatic one, not a logical one. He further proposes that definite plurals do not necessarily include all members but just a representative of a whole set. In addition, Chesterman (1991: 67) suggests that a sentence like *The boys hit the girls* is a felicitous statement even if few of the boys hit few of the girls. Chesterman, therefore, argues that it is important to consider the pragmatic context of the sentence to be able to determine the quantity a particular set contains, and such quantity may vary from one to many.

With regard to limited versus unlimited extensivity, Chesterman argues that *zero* or *null* article forms do not apply to limited extensivity. The unlimited extensivity basically has to do with the use of 'no article'. He provides a schema where he summarizes the English article usage across the three oppositions (1991: 68):

	Locatable	Inclusive	Limited extensivity
Zero		±	-
Some	±	-	+
a	±	-	+
the	+	+	+
null	+	+	-

The schema above sums up the five English articles and how they are distributed across the three oppositions.

In an attempt to describe the semantic impact of the articles on nouns they appear with, Chesterman proposes the use of a 'set theory'. The set theory has two sets; one set has locatable units which are both definite and indefinite. The second set is called the referent set in which

inclusive versus exclusive members are defined. The second set further accommodates non-referential entities. The inclusive set includes members which are pragmatically relevant. The following equation represents the theory in summary:

$$U = r + r'$$

From the equation, Chesterman notes the following:

- (i) U contains all potential referents in a particular situation. The members may be mass, a single entity or many elements. If U contains a single unit, it implies that r' is empty.
- (ii) The element r has the actual referents referred to.
- (iii) For the use of *the*, r' is pragmatically empty but r will be filled and this is the inclusive use of *the*.
- (iv) For the exclusive use, r' will be filled and U will not be empty, where *a* (for singular) and *some* (for plural) mark members belonging to r' .

In relation to the discussion on the use of articles in generic contexts, Chesterman observes that generics appear to have different readings depending on the article with which they appear, and that genericity seems to lack an encompassing definition. He makes the following observations with regard to generics and use of articles:

- (i) The article *a* marks one member of a set which represents the whole class. It may either be specific or non-specific, as illustrated in (26) and (27):
 - (26). Fred found an otter in his garden the other night (specific).
 - (27). Have you ever seen an otter? (non-specific)
- (ii) The article *the*, on the other hand, is used for all members in a locatable set. It may cover one member as a subset and not an individual, or it may apply to a set of subsets. The set in this context for generic interpretation is expandable. It can also cover mass and plural nouns as well, e.g. '*the wines of France*'. For singular generic entities, Chesterman observes that *the* applies to the class in its entirety (in the pragmatic sense), where the class is not expandable, as he illustrates in (28):
 - (28) The otter is a dying species.

(iii) The *zero* article, on the other hand, names a set, though its usage is not uniform and the pragmatic context is the key determinant. In some contexts, Chesterman argues that the usage expands to the whole set (29), while in other contexts, it does not expand to the totality of the members, as in (30), where predication is to all members but not to each and every member:

(29) Insects have six legs.

(30) Dogs are friendly creatures.

With respect to the unstressed *some*, Chesterman (1991: 77) states that a specific meaning is obtained, and the generic meaning covers members of a set generally:

(31) Harriet is studying *some horses* – the Polish and the Shagya Arab in particular.

(iv) With regard to the *null* article, Chesterman observes that its usage is non-expandable; it refers to one unique pragmatic member of a class, nothing more.

In the preceding discussions, an investigation into the types and usage of articles in English has been presented, as discussed by Chesterman (1991). It has also been established that each generic interpretation calls for a particular article depending on context. Next, the case of Finnish (in)definiteness, as investigated in Chesterman (1991), is considered.

2.2.4.2 Finnish: no article

Chesterman (1991) studies Finnish, a non-articled and a highly agglutinative language, with fifteen cases. He examines the morpho-syntactic as well as pragmatic means through which definiteness is realized in this language. He remarks that case is one of the defining factors in (in)definite marking in Finnish. The three main kinds of case used in (in)definiteness marking in Finnish are nominative (subject), accusative (object), and partitive. The nominative case is unmarked for singular referents and marked with *-t* for the plural. The accusative case has three morphological forms, and the choice of one depends on syntax. These forms, according to Chesterman, are \emptyset /*-n* for singular and *-t* marked in plural. The partitive case has various morphological forms. Some of the forms are *-a*, *-ta*, *-tta*. The partitive remains the main case of

the object in Finnish, and has a host of roles it plays in the grammar of Finnish. One of the roles it plays is to mark indefiniteness. The partitive case derives this role from having the property of non-totality or impartial quantity reference. However, Chesterman cautions that the partitive case does not necessarily mark something that is unknown against one that is known.

Apart from case, Chesterman (1991: 93) observes that divisibility is a semantic feature to consider in determining whether a referent is definite or indefinite. He notes that Finnish nouns are grouped into two categories: divisible and non-divisible. 'A non-divisible noun is one whose referent is an individual unit, which can be multiplied but not divided, while a divisible noun has a conceptually divisible referent, that is, a sub-part of the referent may still be designated by the same noun'. Divisible nouns are either mass nouns or plural count nouns. Non-divisible nouns are singular count nouns. Only divisible nouns take the partitive case.

In investigating (in)definiteness in Finnish, Chesterman depended mostly on the tool of translation. In the study, he was mainly concerned with the equivalents of English articles in Finnish and how Finnish NPs are rendered in English. His main intention in this was to determine what mainly guides the translator to an appropriate form in Finnish or English with regard to (in)definiteness. He used both oral and written translations. The oral register was included for the reason that some inferences are not documented. Since the spoken discourse is influenced by a number of factors, including social and stylistic factors, considering both spoken and written discourse provides a wide range of ways through which the language is used. There are three structural features which Chesterman considered in the investigation of English-Finnish definiteness marking. These are: inflection, word order and function words.

Chesterman states that the partitive case is productive in marking indefinite or unknown entities. It is also used to mark subsets of total entities. The partitive case is used in reference to non-totality of entities. Thus, the partitive case is incompatible with the definite article *the*, which pragmatically refers to the totality of members in a given set. The accusative and nominative cases can be selected to correspond with the English *the* or *a*. With respect to generics or inalienable possession, the nominative or accusative case is selected with a corresponding English *zero* article (see Chesterman, 1991: 99 for illustrations). Chesterman points out that new and presupposed information in Finnish cannot be marked with a definite article when

rendered into English. The choice of a particular article for information rendered into English remains a matter of context, because, given the right context, the accusative case-marked referent can be rendered definite.

In his discussion of word order, Chesterman examines syntactic elements in marked as well as unmarked positions. For the marked positions, he considers preverbal objects, post-verbal logical subjects as well as preverbal predicate complements. He notes that post-verbal elements are usually marked with indefinite articles in English translation. In the unmarked order where the subject is preverbal, it occurs with a definite article in English translations for the marked order (cf. Chesterman, 1991: 100, examples 25-26). Chesterman observes that the initial-clausal position is reserved for familiar referents or discourse old information. He is, however, against the view of taking old information to being definite, and argues that the speaker determines definiteness, whereas the hearer always decides on what inference is there to be derived. He, furthermore, states that topicalized elements are also assumed to be definite. He, however, observes that exceptions do exist; for instance, new information can be encoded in sentence initial position, e.g. in contexts where the referent has a partitive meaning. As for the predicate noun, it may be definite or indefinite in the post-verbal position, but rendered definite if it occurs in preverbal position, because its meaning is approximated to that of a 'temporary state' (cf. Chesterman, 1991: 101).

According to Chesterman, there are certain circumstances which overrule the powers of word order in definiteness marking. The circumstances obtain when:

- (i) the referent is intrinsically unique;
- (ii) overt marking of definiteness is done by a function word;
- (iii) information in a sentence is all new so that there is no old/new information contrast;
- (iv) the referents involved derive definiteness from context regardless of the position they assume in a clause.

Thus, even though word order contributes to definiteness in Finnish, it is the least factor that the language makes use of.

The function words are, according to Chesterman, a category of elements which function as (prenominal) determiners in Finnish. The words under consideration are **se** 'it' and **ne** 'they'; the definite pronouns and the indefinite pronouns are **yksi** (one), **joku** (some/someone), **jokin** (some/something), **eräs** (a certain) and **muuan** sometimes used to mean 'a certain' for indefinite reference. The presence of the words serves mainly to express (in)definiteness. Chesterman also claims that they can as well be used for emphasis even when the (in)definiteness of an entity is already established. The function words also play a grammatical role, such that if the word is omitted, the sentence is rendered ungrammatical. The function words **se** (it) and **ne** (they) are, according to Chesterman, used principally for definite marking. When word order determines that a referent is to be indefinite, the presence of either **se** or **ne** cancels this. Several pronouns are, on the other hand, available for indefinite use in Finnish, as shown above. For example, **yksi** (one) is used for specific indefinites.

Although structural properties of the Finnish language influence the reading of a referent, Chesterman (1991) asserts that context remains the key factor in defining definiteness. He considers both textual and situational contexts to be active in this. For instance, it is textual context that mainly determines the translations of Finnish nominative or accusative case, and whether the referent is definite or indefinite, when word order is not considered. Another observation which Chesterman makes with regard to context is that where explicit textual context is unavailable, interpretation is purely a subject of pragmatics.

Chesterman maintains that there is no syntactic element which explicitly and distinctively marks definiteness in Finnish. What is central to the grammar of Finnish regarding (in)definiteness marking are the semantic concepts of divisibility and quantity. All nouns in Finnish are divisible or non-divisible, total or partial. He proposes a hierarchical representation of definiteness marking devices in Finnish. Word order ranks lowest, in that definiteness meaning inferred from word order can be overruled by case, or by function words. Next to word order in the hierarchy from the bottom, are the situationally unique entities as well as intrinsically unique referents such as proper nouns. The definiteness readings of, for instance, proper nouns can be changed by the insertion of indefinite function words. Function words, according to Chesterman, rank highest.

In summary, there are a number of key points which Chesterman (1991) puts forward with regard to definiteness marking in English and Finnish:

First, with regard to English, the analysis of definiteness is componential. The components considered are:

- (i) *Quantity*; \pm *all*, which is partly semantic and partly pragmatic.
- (ii) *Locatability*₂ which is also analyzed as partially pragmatic and partially semantic.
- (iii) *Extensivity*₂ which is analyzed in pure semantic sense.

Secondly, English (in)definite articles do not mark (in)definiteness in the same way, in the sense that some are more (in)definite than others and thus, according to Chesterman (1991:182), they appear on a continuum, as presented below.

Most indefinite ----- most definite
Zero *some* *a* *the* *null*

The cline indicates that *zero* is more indefinite than *some* and *a* in that order, while the *null* article is more definite than the article *the*. Chesterman argues that definiteness in English does not occur on a binary opposition, and at each point of the scale, there are no explicit articles.

Chesterman draws the following conclusions about (in)definiteness in Finnish. First, he observes that there are a variety of ways of marking definiteness in Finnish. The various markers used, however, do not bear the same strength, as he reports that there are some which are stronger than others. Secondly, some devices employed in marking definiteness are used more often than others, and that word order is used to strengthen either a definite or an indefinite reading, even though it can be overruled by other devices such as function words. The key factor in definiteness marking is, however, the pragmatic context, since Finnish lacks articles. Chesterman thirdly observes that defining concepts of definiteness are quantity and divisibility.

The concept of definiteness is available in every language of the world. It is only the means to mark it that differ, as the comparison between English and Finnish has demonstrated. Languages

exhibiting no overt (in)definite articles, such as Finnish, employ a variety of ways to mark definiteness, as the discussion on Runyankore-Rukiga will reveal in the subsequent chapters.

2.2.5 Lyons (1999)

2.2.5.1 Introduction

Not all languages possess definite and indefinite articles, as Lyons (1999) illustrates with a wide range of the world's languages. In the review of Lyons's study of definiteness, key issues regarding definiteness are summarized. Among them are the principles he puts forward for the explanation of (in)definite readings, the meaning of specificity, and the discussion on genericity, among other issues.

Definiteness, according to Lyons, is a semantic phenomenon expressed differently cross-linguistically. Some languages, such as English have definite and indefinite articles, while other languages like Arabic use affixes to mark definiteness. However, what cuts across all languages is the availability of demonstratives which, according to Lyons, possess an inherent semantic feature of definiteness.

2.2.5.2 Semantic principles of definiteness

According to Lyons, there are four semantic principles responsible for distinguishing between a definite and an indefinite entity, namely, familiarity, identifiability, uniqueness and inclusiveness.

In view of the **familiarity** hypothesis, Lyons (1999: 3) states that the article *the* in English signals that the noun phrase contains a familiar referent to both the speaker and hearer, while *a* is used when the speaker does not want to signal such shared familiarity. He observes that when *a* is used, the noun phrase is being introduced for the first time into the discourse. This entails that the speaker may be aware of it, but the hearer probably not. Lyons outlines a number of factors which contribute to shared familiarity.

The first factor is the *situational use* which is concerned with the physical situation where the speaker and hearer are situated. An entity may be familiar, because it is locatable within the

immediate environment, and both speaker and hearer can see it. Some other referents within a wider environment are familiar, because they are known to exist, as shown in the example below:

(32) I hear the *Prime Minister* behaved outrageously again today. (Lyons, 1999: 3)

The second factor which contributes to shared familiarity is *general knowledge*. There are some referents which both speaker and hearer can recognize because they form part of their shared knowledge. These include, for instance, entities which are inherently unique, for example *the moon*.

According to Lyons (1999), linguistic context also contributes to familiarity of definite referents through *anaphoricity*. He observes that referents that are being mentioned for the first time in discourse are unfamiliar to the hearer, and they are brought into discourse by indefinite expressions. The anaphoric *the* is used for subsequent mention of a referent in that its antecedent has already been introduced.

Lyons states that the *associative use* of the definite article also triggers familiarity. The associative context combines both the anaphoric and general knowledge types. For instance, the taxi, as in example (33), comes with all that is associated with it: the driver, the seats, wheels, fares, etc. (see also Hawkins, 1978). The referent will be referred to by a definite noun phrase, not because it has been mentioned previously, but because it is known through common knowledge that taxis have drivers.

(33) I had to get a taxi from the station. On the way, *the driver* told me there was a bus strike.

With regard to **identifiability** as a concept of definiteness, Lyons argues that when the definite article is used, it is an indication that the hearer is in a position to identify the referent of the NP, because its identity is already established. Lyons points out, however, that identifiability does not disregard familiarity. Instead, familiarity leads to the identifiability of a referent if it exists. He maintains that certain verbs contribute to the identifiability of a referent on the part of the hearer even if the speaker and hearer do not have shared knowledge of the referent:

(34) Pass me *the hammer*, will you?

By use of the definite article in (34), the hearer is informed that the referent, i.e. *the hammer* is identifiable, and the speaker knows that by looking around, the hearer will identify it. Here the hearer had no prior knowledge of the hammer but he is able to identify it, guided by the verb *pass*.

The **uniqueness** hypothesis suggests that the referent is one entity which satisfies the description which both speaker and hearer have shared knowledge about. Thus, there are some referents that require a definite article because they are unique. However, the identification of a referent due to the uniqueness hypothesis is not absolute but should be understood relative to a particular context:

(35) I have just been to a wedding. The bride wore blue.

Lyons states that, normally, a wedding is associated with one bride. The use of *a* would therefore be inappropriate, in that indefinite articles do not signal uniqueness of definite contexts. Uniqueness can also be absolute when considering nouns which are inherently unique. For example, when reference is made to nouns such as *sun*, *moon* or *universe*, they are usually accompanied by the definite article *the*, because they are inherently unique. Lyons (1999: 8) mentions that other words such as *the Pope* are also thought to be unique because there is usually only one pope at a given time.

Lyons (1999: 11) points out that plural and mass nouns involve the **inclusiveness** hypothesis. Therefore, 'reference is to the totality of the objects or mass in the context which satisfies the description'. With plural and mass nouns, Lyons suggests that the definite *the* is a universal quantifier just like *all* (see also Hawkins, 1978). In short, Lyons holds the view that the key principles to definiteness understanding are identifiability and inclusiveness, and that a referent may be definite due to either of the two or both principles.

The examples in (32) - (35) given in the foregoing discussion illustrate definiteness in simple noun phrases, i.e., NPs containing the definite article *the* whose primary role is to denote the semantic meaning of definiteness. Simple indefinite NPs, on the other hand, contain an indefinite article *a/an* and *some*, whose key role is to denote that the referent has a semantic meaning of

indefiniteness. Lyons also explores complex definites, where the definiteness feature stems from other determiners including demonstratives, proper nouns, pronouns, possessives and quantifiers, as briefly discussed below.

2.2.5.3 Complex definites

The **demonstratives**, according to Lyons, contain an inherent semantic feature of definiteness. Besides definiteness, demonstratives belong to a category of elements which encode deixis. Thus, *this* or *that* locates an entity in reference to the extra-linguistic context (Lyons, 1999: 18), where the distance from the speaker is encoded. Lyons explains that the distance may be spatial, temporal or emotional. 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. Hence, demonstratives are necessarily definite, e.g.:

(36) Pass me *that* book.

In addition, according to Lyons, **proper nouns** simply name particular entities, such as *John* and *Paris*, and are said to uniquely refer with no semantic meaning. Lyons, however, notes that different entities may be sharing the same proper name. Therefore, context is crucial in identifying the intended referent. Lyons further states that even though proper names uniquely refer, they differ from those entities which are inherently unique, e.g. *the sun*, in that while the sun takes an article, proper names generally do not. In addition, proper names denote individuals while *the sun* denotes a single member in the set.

Lyons further examines NPs containing **possessives** as modifiers. Possessives include determiners such as *my*, *their* as well as the genitive marker 's. In English, according to Lyons, possessives may render nouns definite. In Irish too, possessives carry a [+definite] feature. However, this feature of possessive determiners, as Lyons notes, is not universally attested. In English still they do not always attract definite reading. Lyons maintains that inalienable possessions and other intimate possessions, however, do carry definite meaning, not because they are familiar or identifiable, but due to the nature of their scope, i.e. having few members in their sets.

Lyons (1999: 27) points out that **personal pronouns** are both definite and indefinite. Some pronouns occur either as determiners or as pronouns, i.e., the first and second person pronouns are definite. On the other hand, the third person pronoun, which is only permissible as a pronominal element when occurring with the definite article, is also definite.

(37) I don't trust **you politicians** an inch.

Lyons points out that universal quantifiers *all*, *every*, and *each* are inherently definite by the inclusiveness factor, because they refer to the totality of elements in a given context.

In addition, Lyons investigates the semantic and pragmatic distinctions with regard to definiteness. The purpose of this is to provide an account as to whether definiteness is a semantic or pragmatic category, or both.

2.2.5.4 Some semantic and pragmatic distinctions

Lyons attempts to discuss some distinctions pertaining to some semantic and pragmatic distinctions. He is first of all concerned about whether definiteness is one super semantic category with one meaning that cuts across all languages, or whether it has subcategories, hence various definitions. Also Lyons is concerned about whether languages use unique resources in marking the phenomenon. He, in addition, considers the status of generics and how generics relate to definites and indefinites.

Lyons begins by exploring the two definiteness principles, i.e. **identifiability** and **uniqueness** as encoded by the definite article *the*. According to Lyons, the two features tend to overlap when it comes to the use of *the* as a definite article. He, however, maintains that for a referent to be definite, both features, or one of the two features is present.

In addition, Lyons discusses **anaphoric** and **non-anaphoric** definites. He notes that anaphoricity is one kind of definiteness the definite article encodes in English. The demonstrative in English and across many languages plays this semantic role as well. With regard to anaphoricity, Lyons notes that the referent of the NP is locatable with the linguistic context, and is inclusive, whereas non-anaphoric definites are derived through non-linguistic means.

Lyons further discusses **deictic** and **non-deictic** definites. In relation to deictic definites, he states that a referent is to be located in the extra-linguistic context, specifically within the physical environment relative to the speaker's position. Deictics, in addition, include temporal referring. In his discussion of deictics, Lyons introduces the term ostension, which is used to refer to the hearer's attraction towards the location of the referent, and as he observes, demonstratives across many languages are ostensive in nature. Therefore, demonstratives occur as both anaphoric and as deictic expressions.

Lyons also discusses **specificity** and **referentiality**. In considering these two notions, Lyons maintains that a referent of an indefinite NP may be specific or non-specific. A referent with indefinite and specificity features is one which is particular and known to the speaker, while one with indefinite and non-specificity features is not particular and its identity is not so important to the speaker. Another important observation made by Lyons is that definite NPs may be either specific or non-specific. An indefinite specific entails a particular referent in the mind of the speaker, while for the indefinite non-specific, the identity of the referent is not very useful to the interpretation of the utterance. Definiteness, on the other hand, shows this kind of distinction. Consider the following illustration which Lyons uses (cf. Donellan, 1966).

(38) The murderer of Smith is insane.

According to Lyons, there are two interpretations for the sentence in (38). The first interpretation is that the speaker has a particular individual in mind. The second is that the speaker does not refer to a particular individual, but intends to refer to whoever committed the murder, that that someone is insane.

Referentiality, on the other hand, involves a situation where the hearer is able to identify the referent of the construction and this comes with the use of the definite article, while the use of the indefinite article means that the hearer is not in a position to identify the referent. However, Lyons is of the opinion that it is not the case that definites will always refer because some definites do not refer. He acknowledges the fact that controversies exist when it comes to the interpretation of what counts as referential NPs and non-referential, and he takes the stand that the interpretation of an NP in referential terms may be semantic or pragmatic in nature.

Lyons explores the concept of **genericity**. There are a number of issues he puts forward in relation to this notion. He states that generics do not refer to individual entities but to a class of objects as a whole. He also observes that both mass and count nouns are candidates of generic reference. In addition, the interpretation of NPs as generics is a language specific phenomenon, whereby in some languages generic NPs are indefinite, while in others they are definite. Yet, in some languages definite and indefinite NPs are both available for generic interpretation, as well as both singular and plural NPs. Lyons (1999: 179) further indicates that genericity should not be considered as one of the semantic or syntactic categories; it can best be ‘described in other terms, such as non-specific’. Another property of generics, according to Lyons (1999: 180), is that generics do allow exceptions, as indicated by the fact that generics do not take quantifiers.

Lyons (1999: 180) observes that a generic interpretation is more readily available with some predicates. Expressions like *abound*, *die out* require their arguments to be a subject referring to a class in general. The predicate ‘rare’ also calls for its subject to be a class stated in plural because it denotes ‘a collection of individuals’.

(39) Ostriches are rare these days.

Aspect, according to Lyons, also contributes to the interpretation of a referent as either generic or non-generic. Some generics are expressed by way of a habitual aspect, which triggers a distinction between two kinds of generics, i.e., generic NPs and generic sentences. Lyons, however, notes that individual NPs can be found in generic sentences as well (see also Krifka et al., 1995). With reference to English, Lyons states that English permits various noun phrase types for generic reading. However, genericity is not permissible with definite plural NPs except if the noun refers to nationality and some nouns denoting classes of plants and animals:

(40) The Swiss consume a lot of chocolate.

About indefinite singular NPs as generics, Lyons (1999: 186) is of the view that they are not necessarily non-specific but he expresses the view that they are non-referential:

(41) An Indian smokes a pipe every night.

The construction (41), according to Lyons, has a three-way interpretation. One is that reference is made to a particular Indian who smokes a pipe every night, and therefore, a specific NP is intended. Second, every night a different Indian smokes a pipe, which renders the NP non-specific, and the third reading is that of generic interpretation, that is, Indians in general smoke a pipe every night. According to Lyons, when you consider the second and third meanings, generics are not on a par with non-specifics. Instead, Lyons argues that generic expressions are non-referential if interpreted in the right context.

With plural and mass nouns in English, Lyons posits that it is not enough to base oneself on the aspect of the predicate in a sentence for generic interpretation. Other factors, such as the position of an NP in a sentence in relation to the discourse structure, contribute to generic or non-generic interpretation.

Lyons furthermore discusses genericity in relation to proper nouns. He asserts that although generic expressions have descriptive semantic content (which proper nouns lack), in other respects, they resemble proper nouns in a way. His assertion is based on the fact that structurally, both expressions do not take determiners. He adds that all proper names are inherently definite and generics also behave like definites. Generics are inclusive, because reference is made to a whole class and are also said to be familiar and therefore identifiable. As such, according to Lyons, proper names are a kind of generics.

To conclude the issue of generics, Lyons's view concerning generics is that a hearer may be able to identify a class and not an individual entity, which implies that generics are semantically or pragmatically definite but not necessarily grammatically definite.

2.2.5.5 Interaction with other grammatical phenomena

Lyons discusses definiteness interpretation of NPs as stemming from the presence of some grammatical processes. In light of this, Lyons discusses direct object marking in languages which mark definiteness in opposition to those which do not. He notes that definiteness is one out of other functions played by the accusative case in some languages, e.g. Finnish, yet in others the accusative case is invariably a trigger of definiteness.

Lyons further investigates subject-verb agreement, and notes 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 regard to definiteness and animacy, Lyons points out that, elements which rank high on the animacy hierarchy are necessarily definite because of pragmatic factors. Other aspects discussed are trace, *pro* – a kind of personal pronoun but phonetically empty – and *PRO* a kind of a pronominal anaphor with no antecedent occurring in non-finite clauses, which Lyons categorizes as intrinsically definite. On the other hand, an implicit argument which is not syntactically represented but having semantic meaning applies to entities which are implied and therefore indefinite.

2.2.5.6 Definiteness effects

Lyons discusses (in)definiteness in relation to information structure. He argues that (in)definiteness of a referent is determined through context and the way information is packaged in sentences. There are various diagnostics which can be used to determine whether an NP is definite or not in respect of the way the information is packaged and the context. Hence, Lyons advances the view that most sentences divide into two parts in which information is presented. The two parts appear synonymously as topic-comment, or theme-rheme, or given-new, or presupposition-focus. These two-way distinctions are, according to Lyons, used interchangeably but should not be taken to be. He points out that the topic typically contains information which the speaker presumes to be familiar to the hearer and thus definite, for instance, from the previous discourse, or as shared knowledge which provides a starting point for the new information to be presented in the second part of the sentence. *Comment*, on the other hand, is the information about *topic*, the information that is generally assumed by the speaker to be new to the hearer. Many languages identify the subject in subject position to be the topic and the predicate as the comment, since it is more natural for the topic to come first. Syntactic processes such as topicalization, left-dislocation and passivization bring elements to the initial sentence position and they become ‘subjects’, hence topics. However, Lyons gives reasons as to why topic cannot always be identified by being in the subject-initial position. Among the reasons Lyons advances are that subject-second languages which show a tendency for subjects to be topics, when focused elements are also fronted to give them prominence and topics can also be right-dislocated.

In Lyons's view, topic NPs are frequently definite, where topic is the given information. With regard to generics, Lyons (1999: 233) establishes that 'generics are readily identifiable and represent given information'. Since a generic refers to a class, the hearer should be able to identify it and perhaps not the individual elements within it.

2.2.5.7 Definiteness and noun phrase structure

Lyons also discusses the representation of definiteness in syntax and notes that previously, the determiner was taken as a modifier and the noun as its head. Later, with the introduction of the DP-hypothesis attributed to Abney (1987), determiners were reanalyzed as heads, with the noun becoming a complement projecting from the determiner. Lyons argues that only determiners fill the D position. However, he proposes some modifications to the theory by suggesting that the functional category of determiner is D for definiteness and that the phrase is DP for definite phrase and this modification to the theory should apply to those languages which overtly mark the category of definiteness.

In summary, there are a number of key issues of relevance from Lyons (1999) to the present study. The investigation of definiteness in Runyankore-Rukiga is done assuming the semantic principles of definiteness outlined above. The four principles are familiarity, identifiability, uniqueness and inclusiveness. The current study further adopts the meaning of specificity as proposed by Lyons, whereby specificity reading is obtained when the speaker has a particular entity in mind, and non-specific when (s)he doesn't wish to communicate about a particular entity. In addition, the interpretation of generics given in Lyons (1999) is further acknowledged in this study (cf. section 4.5), especially where he observes that generics are necessarily non-specific but pragmatically definite.

2.2.6 Ihsane and Puskás (2001)

Ihsane and Puskás (2001), in their article titled 'Specific is not Definite', investigate the issue of specificity as a distinct notion from definiteness against the background that some previous researchers regarded the two notions to be intertwined. They cite Enç (1991), who argues that

definite entities are necessarily specific (cf. section 2.2.3). Ihsane and Puskás argue against this generalization, and show that they are not necessarily direct correlates. According to Ihsane and Puskás, there are non-specific definites. To distinguish definites from specifics, Ihsane and Puskás (2001:40) give the following definitions:

Definiteness: ‘selects one object in the class of possible objects’

Specificity: ‘relates to pre-established elements in the discourse’

If a referent has not been established in the discourse previously, it may be definite but receives non-specific reading. Therefore, Ihsane and Puskás argue against treating definiteness on a par with specificity. Below is one example Ihsane and Puskás (2001: 41) use from Hungarian to illustrate the distinction between definiteness and specificity.

(42) a. Anna lemaradt a vonatrol.

Anna down-stayed the train-from

‘Anna missed the train.’ [specific or non-specific]

b. A vonatrol lemaradt Anna.

the train-from down-stayed Anna

‘Anna missed the train’ [specific]

As indicated in the data from Hungarian above, the post-verbal definite DP in (42a) is ambiguous between a specific and non-specific reading, whereas the definite DP (42b) in the topic position unambiguously receives a specific interpretation.

Thus, the following four combinations are, according to Ihsane and Puskás, possible:

[+definite +specific]

[+definite non-specific]

[-definite +specific]

[-definite non-specific]

Ihsane and Puskás propose that two independent syntactic features are responsible for the apparent distinctions between the two phenomena. Each notion derives from an independent syntactic structure with its own projection line. They suggest that the feature [+specific] is

realized on the head Top^0 of the Topic Phrase (TopP), while [+definite] feature appears on a head Def^0 in the Definite Phrase (DefP).

In their investigation of the positions different features assume within the slots in the left periphery of the nominal domain, Ihsane and Puskás posit that definiteness is a feature realized by the DefP with features [+/-definite]. They also argue that the [+definite] feature is realized by a definite article, while the [-definite] feature is sometimes phonologically null. Ihsane and Puskás, on the other hand, posit that [+specific] is realized in a different phrase, with a different projection line. They relate specificity to information structure, and observe that the specific projection line contains old information pre-established in discourse. That is why they presume a specific projection to be anchored in the TopP with Top^0 as the head.

Ihsane and Puskás argue that [+definite] and [-definite] features occur on a binary opposition, and hence suggest that languages mark definiteness in a binary fashion. They, however, argue that specificity does not operate in the same way. There is nothing like [+/-specific]. They instead posit that if a referent is not specific, then it is non-specific. Specificity relates to the discourse while non-specificity does not. In addition, they postulate movement of elements within the nominal domain, but they argue that a non-specific article does not rise to the Top^0 which hosts old or given information. In relation to the aforementioned observation, Ihsane and Puskás argue that the [+specific] feature is more common with subject referents, while object referents are associated more with non-specific reading.

Furthermore, Ihsane and Puskás discuss the status of demonstratives with respect to definiteness and specificity features, and note that demonstratives move to the Top^0 position for specificity checking. Thus, they posit that demonstratives are generated in the specifier position which ranks highest in the left periphery. In addition, demonstratives get checked in the DefP. This observation leads Ihsane and Puskás to postulate that demonstratives have [+definite +specific] features.

Ihsane and Puskás further posit a Focus Phrase (FocP). They remark that the Foc^0 is the target landing site for modifiers such as numerals and possessives - modifiers that are not intrinsically definite. Ihsane and Puskás note that in the left periphery of the nominal domain, the FocP is

lower than TopP but higher than DefP. In addition, they consider the issue of compatibility between focus and specificity, and posit that focus is related to new information. Specificity, therefore, cannot be checked in the Focus Phrase, because it is associated with old information. On this issue, they conclude that focalized elements cannot receive specificity features, and they propose that separate movements are responsible for the incompatibility between the two notions.

In summary, Ihsane and Puskás suggest a distinct treatment of definiteness from specificity based on a feature disposition. The feature [+specific] is argued to be related to the Top⁰, whereas [+definite] is anchored in the Def⁰ head (see Lyons (1999) who too argues for the same treatment of the [+definite] feature). In addition, the authors support the proposal that information structure can too be realized in the left periphery of the nominal domain, parallel to Rizzi's (1997) postulation for the clausal domain. Hence, according to Ihsane and Puskás (2001), four possible DPs in the nominal domain are realized on an account supported by evidence from Hungarian. With regard to the analysis of the nominal domain in Runyankore-Rukiga, this study supports the availability of a left periphery of the nominal domain and other phrasal categories. However, contra Ihsane and Puskás (2001), specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga is not necessarily anchored in the DefP, but in the DP dominated by a FocP. In addition, specificity relates to both old and new information, as evidence is provided in chapters four – eight.

2.2.7 von Heusinger (2002)

In exploring the two semantic categories, namely specificity and definiteness, von Heusinger (2002) observes that, for long, specificity had been treated as a subcategory of indefiniteness, and he argues against this view. He instead proposes that the two categories be treated independent of each other. In the discussion, von Heusinger begins by recognizing the different interpretations his predecessors (Givón, 1978; Fodor & Sag, (1982); Enç, 1991) made with regard to the meaning of specificity. von Heusinger (2002: 246) highlights some of the definitions that are found in literature:

- (i) Certainty of the speaker about the identity of the referent;

- (ii) The referent is fixed/determined/not depending on the interpretation of the matrix predicate;
- (iii) Specific indefinite NPs are ‘scopeless’ or referential terms, i.e. they behave as if they always have the widest scope;
- (iv) Specific indefinite NPs are referential terms, i.e. they are existentially presupposed;
- (v) Specific indefinite NPs can be paraphrased by *a certain*.

From the above definitions, von Heusinger (2002: 247) concludes that there is no single definition for the concept of specificity that is satisfactory, and he makes the following suggestions regarding the meaning of specificity:

- (i) The interpretation of a specific NP does not depend on the interpretation of the matrix predicate or semantic operators such as modal verbs.
- (ii) The referent of a specific NP is functionally linked to the speaker of the sentence or to other referential expressions in the sentence such as the subject or object.
- (iii) The lexical item *a certain* prominently marks specific reading of an indefinite NP.
- (iv) The accusative-case suffix is a specific indefinite direct object (in the preverbal base position) in Turkish.

von Heusinger (2001) observes that it was a common belief that referents can be definite and specific if both speaker and hearer can identify them, and that non-specific indefinites are taken generally to be unknown to both speaker and hearer. von Heusinger, however, points out that a definite article may be used even when the referent is not known to both the speaker and the hearer; for example, if it introduces unidentifiable or new information in the discourse which perhaps relates to some other information not mentioned in the on-going discourse. He claims, therefore, that there are a number of other principles which support definiteness interpretation other than identifiability, including familiarity, anaphoricity and uniqueness.

In addition, von Heusinger (2002: 252) argues that specific indefinite referents may at times be unknown to the speaker. He illustrates that ‘a secret’ in the text in (43) is unknown to the speaker.

- (43) The fact is, Benno said, he had overheard a dialogue between Adelmo and Berengar in which Berengar, referring to **a secret** Adelmo was asking him to reveal, proposed a vile barter, which even the most innocent reader can imagine.

von Heusinger (2001: 252) gives definitions of what he views suitable for the notions of definiteness and specificity. von Heusinger defines definiteness in terms of the discourse pragmatic property of familiarity, an idea developed in Karttunen (1976), Heim (1982) and Kamp (1981). Specificity, on the other hand, adds referential meaning to referents of NPs and this property of specifics applies to both definites and indefinites.

Whereas Indo-European languages have definite and indefinite articles, specificity does not explicitly show this parallelism. von Heusinger seems to assert that specificity is a pragmatic concept as opposed to the semantic nature of definiteness. Outside the Indo-European group, there are languages with lexical items which mark specificity and others which employ morphological devices to mark the same. Turkish (as illustrated in Enç (1991)) is a typical example of languages which mark specificity morphologically through the direct object with the accusative case marker **-i**. The presence of the accusative **-i** in Turkish renders the noun specific and its absence means the direct object noun is non-specific (see example (18) in section 2.2.3). On the other hand, specificity in Turkish is reflected on the subject of an embedded clause with a genitive case **-in** on, and its absence means non-specificity. Furthermore, Turkish has an indefinite marker **bir**. The presence of **bir** and the genitive case marker **-in** on the subject of the embedded clause represent the marking of indefinite and specific marking in Turkish:

- (44) a. [Köy-ü **haydut** bas-tiğ-m]-i duy-du-m [Turkish]
 [Village-acc robber raid-Nom-poss.3sg]-acc hear-Past-1sg
 ‘I heard that robbers raided the village’
- b. .[Köy-ü **bir haydut-un** bas-tiğ-m]-i duy-du-m
 [Village-acc a robber-gen raid-Nom-poss.3sg]-acc hear-Past-1sg
 ‘I heard that a certain robber raided the village’ (cf. von Heusinger 2002:256)

von Heusinger proposes two theoretical approaches to the interpretation of specificity and definiteness. The first approach takes a pragmatic view and the second assumes a lexical ambiguity view. The two theories share the idea that definite and indefinite NPs are

quantificational. However, the pragmatic approach explains specificity in terms of scope of the quantifiers involved. The lexical ambiguity assumption, on the other hand, considers indefinite NPs as having two readings, i.e. the existential and referential meanings like proper names and deictic expressions. However, von Heusinger notes that the two theories do not succeed in explaining relative specific indefiniteness, and he proposes a unified approach, that is, specificity is referentially anchored.

The main view advanced by von Heusinger (2002: 268) is that specific expressions are referentially anchored to another element in a context of discourse. In other words, an NP is specific if its index can be linked to another index within the same sentence and not based on the whole discourse. This is where the difference between definiteness and specificity, according to von Heusinger, is drawn, that is, whereas specificity is sentence bound, definiteness is determined within the whole discourse.

The relevance of the study by von Heusinger (2002) points to the distinction between definiteness and indefiniteness. There is empirical evidence in Runyankore-Rukiga for treating the two notions separately. In addition, as von Heusinger observes, it is not always the case that a specific indefinite referent is known to the speaker. This claim is a valid one, supported by evidence from Runyankore-Rukiga (cf. section 8.4.1.4).

2.2.8 Ionin (2006)

Ionin (2006) investigates the meaning of indefinite DPs headed by the referential indefinite marker *this* as it occurs mainly in the English spoken register. Ionin argues that *this* encodes the semantic feature of specificity noteworthiness. Upon hearing *this*, the hearer classifies the DP it heads as containing a specific referent and that the speaker intends to convey something noteworthy about it.

However, Ionin acknowledges that the specificity she advocates is different from the specificity discussed in Enç (1991). For Enç, specificity involves partitive specifics which are presuppositional. According to Ionin, indefinite *this* does not involve partitivity nor is it governed by presupposition. Rather, indefinite *this* introduces new entities in discourse (cf. (45)).

- (45) There is *this man* who lives upstairs from me who is driving me mad because he jumps rope at 2 a.m. every night (this example is originally from Maclaran 1982: 85).

Ionin discusses the distribution of three determiners used in English. These are the definite *the*, the indefinite *a* and the referential indefinite *this*. She argues that the referential indefinite *this* is different from the definite *the* and the indefinite *a*. She claims that *this* is an indefinite specific marker. She further argues that the referential indefinite *this* and the deictic *this* are two distinct lexical items. One argument she puts forward in defending the idea that *this* is indefinite and differs from the determiner *the*, is that *this* cannot be replaced by *the*, yet *a* can, but this does not imply that the referential indefinite *this* and the indefinite determiner *a* have exactly the same distributional properties and meaning. *This* can also be used in existential there-sentences, yet *the* cannot. Another argument put forward in support of the argument that *this* and *a* are different determiners is that *this* does not get governed by the scope of an intentional/modal operator or negation. She adds that *this* takes a wide scope while *a* does not.

In addition to the properties of *this* and *a*, Ionin observes that they both occur in indefinite environments where the uniqueness of referents is not presupposed. Ionin (2006: 194) adds that *this* is preferred in situations where indefinite *a* does not (or is not relevant) to provide more information to explain why the statement is being made. Thus, *this* and *a* are not to be taken on a par.

Ionin states that referents which are headed by referential *this* are indefinite and are affected by the noteworthiness property. Ionin (2006: 186) observes that when referential indefinite *this* heads a DP, the implication is that the speaker has a particular referent in mind, whose identity is important (to the speaker) and ‘this ‘something important’ does not have to be directly related to the identity of the individual’. A noteworthy property holds if the identity of the referent is relevant on the side of the speaker, or if more information about the referent is required to be presented either overtly or covertly. In other words, a referent headed by the indefinite *this* usually requires additional information, and noteworthiness is assumed to be anchored in the information added. However, when the indefinite *a* is instead used, according to Ionin, the referent’s identity is beside the point; that is, no further information about the referent is required. Ionin, on the other hand, observes that there are sentences in which DPs are headed by the indefinite *this*, yet no other information about the referent is added.

Ionin (2006: 197) observes that the noteworthy property may be conveyed in any part of the discourse. It may be incorporated in a preceding statement, a separate following statement or in a predicate. What is important is that the speaker intends to communicate something worthy of note. Ionin cautions that if the speaker does not make the hearer understand why (s)he is using the indefinite *this*, then the speaker is being ‘uncooperative’. That is, introducing a discourse with the indefinite *this* is like saying ‘I have something to tell you’. In exploring the pragmatics of *this*, Ionin observes that the speaker considers his/her only view of what is worth noting and does not put into consideration the hearer’s knowledge. Thus, shared knowledge or uniqueness of the referent is not required. This, according to Ionin, is the main reason why *the* and referential indefinite *this* are incompatible, since *the* sets the condition that both speaker and hearer’s knowledge should be considered, and *this* does carry a non-uniqueness condition.

Ionin (2006) notes that, there is no single lexical item that marks definiteness and specificity at the same time. Moreover, the definite *the* and indefinite *this* cannot co-occur in the same DP. However, there are contexts in which definite specifics are allowed. Besides, Ionin observes that there are contexts which allow non-specific definites and non-specific indefinites.

It is worthy of note that the demonstrative determiner *this* exhibits a combination of [+definite +specific] and, on the other hand, a combination of [-definite +specific] features. The latter feature combination entails lack of deictic and anaphoric meanings since it introduces new referents into discourse. It is, however, the pragmatic context that determines which inference the speaker wants the addressee to pick.

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, literature on definiteness and specificity on languages outside the Bantu family abounds. Therefore, only a few works have been studied above. Studies on Bantu languages, on the other hand, are few. The section that follows, however, reviews some of the available literature on (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in Bantu languages.

2.3 Definiteness and specificity in Bantu languages

2.3.1 Introduction

Bokamba (1971), one of the early studies, investigated definiteness and specificity in Dzamba [C40]. Recent studies done on (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity include Lowrens (1983) and Mojapelo (2007) who investigated definiteness and indefiniteness marking in Northern Sotho, and Visser (2008) who examined the definiteness and specificity in the isiXhosa determiner phrase. Selected properties of the initial vowel (IV) in relation to definiteness in Runyankore-Rukiga are scantily presented in Morris and Kirwan (1972) and Taylor (1972, 1985).

This section, which presents literature on (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in Bantu languages, is organized as follows: 2.3.1 is the introduction. Section 2.3.2 reviews literature on Dzamba, as studied by Bokamba (1971). A brief review on referentiality in Bemba is given in section 2.3.3, as studied by Givón (1978). Section 2.3.4 gives an account of definiteness in Northern Sotho, according to Mojapelo (2007). Finally, section 2.3.5 highlights key issues on (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in the isiXhosa determiner phrase, as presented in Visser, (2008).

2.3.2 Bokamba (1971)

Bokamba (1971) explored the relationship of syntax and semantics of the preprefix in relation to specificity in Dzamba. In his investigation, Bokamba examined the preprefix (in his terms, the nominal preprefix, henceforth NPP) and its correlation with specificity and definiteness. The question he sought to answer was concerned with the interpretation of a phrase when the preprefix is present, and when the preprefix is absent.

According to Bokamba (1971: 217), a noun phrase that has the feature [+specific] has referentiality. In other words, the existence of the referent is presupposed. He claims that in Dzamba, a noun phrase is definite if it is preceded by a NPP in the form of a vowel or a CV type prefix. Bokamba examined both the subject NPs and object NPs in both positive and negative forms to test [+definite/-definite] contrasts. In Dzamba, as Bokamba observes, a subject NP is definite when a NPP occurs, and when the NPP is absent the subject noun phrase is indefinite.

With regard to specificity, Bokamba observes that when an affirmative verb is in the past tense, the subject NP has referentiality, because by virtue of the tense being in the past, the action has already occurred. This is compared with verbs in the present tense and future tense which do not have such semantic reference and so the existence of the referent is not presupposed. He further claims that modal verbs, which make no assertions, are not presupposed, hence, encode non-specificity.

Bokamba (1971) makes a four-way contrast between definiteness and specificity, namely, [+specific]/[-specific] and [+definite]/[-definite].

(46) a. [-definite, +specific]

Mo-kozi mɔɔ mo-lamu anyɔlɔkl ondaku
Chief one handsome entered in the house
'A handsome chief entered the house.'

b. [+definite, +specific]

Omo-kozi omo-lamu anyɔlɔkl ondaku
'The good/handsome chief entered the house.' (Bokamba, 1971: 217-218)

An NP in Dzamba, according to Bokamba, can be definite and specific if a NPP is present, and an NP is regarded to be indefinite and specific if the preprefix is lacking, as the examples in (46a-b) demonstrate.

According to Bokamba, a subject NP of a negative construction in Dzamba may be definite or indefinite, depending on the scope of the negation. If the scope is phrasal, the NP is optionally definite and if the negation is sentential, the subject noun phrase is obligatorily indefinite, as he exemplifies in (47):

(47) a [-definite, -specific]

Mo-ibi (mɔɔ) tanyɔlɔki ondaku emba
A thief (one) not did enter in the house not
'A thief (one) did not enter the house.'

b. [-definite, -specific]

Toonyɔlɔki na mo-ibi (mɔɔ) ondaku emba

Not enter did even a thief (one) in the house not

‘No single thief entered the house.’ (Bokamba, 1971: 221)

Sentence (47b) exemplifies phrasal negation, where only the verbal phrase is negated. In (47b) in which the scope of negation is at the sentence level, the speaker makes an assertion that no single thief entered the house. The assertion in (47b) would be an answer to a question like (48) (which is [-definite, +specific]):

(48) Mo-ibi (mɔɔ) ondaku anyɔlɔki ondaku waabo?

‘Did one thief enter this house?’ (cf. Bokamba, 1971: 222)

Bokamba (1971: 224) further suggests that in conditional constructions in Dzamba, the object noun phrase with a nominal NPP presupposes the existence of the referent. Therefore, the referent is definite. Bokamba further states that a noun modified by an adjective which has a preprefix is grammatically required on adjectives, which implies that nouns modified by adjectives are obligatorily definite. In the event that the head noun is deleted, the modifying adjective functions as an anaphoric pronoun, and the preprefix of the adjective, which is obligatory in this case, keeps the noun phrase definite. Topicalized elements require a preprefix and are always definite. Bokamba, furthermore, argues that elements which are topicalized are not new in the discourse. This implies that they have been a subject of discussion previously, and therefore are obligatorily marked as definite.

Specificity and definiteness do not always follow from the occurrence of the nominal preprefix alone but also depend on the type of predicate as well as the type of construction involved. Bokamba posits that in Dzamba, subjects of passivized verbs may be optionally definite. In addition, if the action has already taken place, he argues that there is referentiality, which means that the referent of the subject NP is specific. Object noun phrases, on the other hand, with predicates such as ‘see’, ‘hear’, ‘drink’ but not their negatives generally suggest referentiality of their objects, because these predicates imply the existence of their object nouns.

In addition, Bokamba argues that any noun phrase modified by a demonstrative in Dzamba, whether it is a subject or object is definite and specific. On the other hand, he states that a noun

modified by a relative clause is obligatorily definite, since the speaker presupposes the truth-value of the embedded relative clause.

Bokamba (1971: 235-236) makes a general remark that whenever the preprefix appears in Dzamba NPs, it is similar but not identical to the English definite article. Bokamba observes that the notion of specificity is the same as referentiality. However, he emphasizes that definiteness and specificity are two distinct phenomena, and that the two notions should not be treated on a par, and that definiteness is a subclass of specificity. Whereas there is no combination of the feature [+definite, -specific] in Dzamba, according to Bokamba (1971), the combination [-definite, +specific] is possible.

2.3.3 Givón (1978)

Givón (1978) studied referential marking in Bemba [M42]¹⁹ nominal expressions. He investigates the structure of nominals, and notes that the vowel-consonant-vowel (VCV) structure of the noun caters for referential encoding and the CV form stands for non-referential entities. Givón further observes that the distinctions for definite and indefinite interpretation of nominals are not provided for in the lexicon of the language. According to Givón, referentiality is a semantic property of nominals, which means that the speaker has an intention to communicate something that (s)he believes exists within a particular universe of discourse as opposed to non-referentiality. Givón postulates that the speaker does not commit to the existence within the relevant universe of discourse. The latter case involves generics where the speaker refers to a whole group and not to individual members.

Givón (1978) gives the following examples, indicating how referential and non-referential encoding is registered in the nominal domain in Bemba. In constructions lacking any form of modality, VCV represents a definite or generic referent. It may be a subject or an object. It is a requirement for the subject noun to take the form VCV and as such, the subjects in Bemba, according to Givón (1978: 301), are necessarily definite or generic.

¹⁹ (cf. Maho, 2009)

- (49) Umu-ana a-a-somene icitabo
 ‘The child read a/the book.’ (DEF-subject, REF-object)

Givón (1978) observes that the subject in Bemba must have a preprefix as the ungrammaticality in (51) shows:

- (50) *mu-ana a-a-somene icitabo
 ‘The child read a/the book.’ (DEF-subject, REF-object)

The following semantic co-occurrences are possible in Bemba, according to Givón: DEF=REF, NON-REF=INDEF and (REF=INDEF). The referential indefinite meaning, according to Givón (1978: 301), is a result of the presence of a VCV form on the object, while the non-referential meaning is due to the CV of the object:

- (51) a. Umuana a-a-fwaaya ici-tabo
 VCV-child he-past-want VCV-book
 ‘The child wanted a specific book.’ (REF, INDEF).
- b. Umuana a-a-fwaaya ci-tabo
 VCV-child he-past-want CV-book
 ‘The child wanted a book (be it any).’ (NON-REF).

Under the scope of negative modality, Givón’s observation is that the presence of VCV leads to obligatory definiteness of the object noun. Givón (1978: 302) clarifies that the semantic meaning of referential indefiniteness of an object NP is not possible under the scope of negation:

- (52) a. Umu-ana t-a-a-somene ici-tabo
 child neg-he-past-read VCV-book
 ‘The child did not read the book.’ (REF= DEF)
- b. Umu-ana t-a-a-somene ci-tabo
 child neg-he-past-read CV-book
 ‘The child did not read the book.’ (NON-REF= INDEF) (cf. Givón, 1978: 302)

The contrast in the use of the preprefix in marking referential against non-referential nominal expressions corresponds to what is observed in Dzamba (cf. preceding section), where the presence of the preprefix (or IV) leads to definiteness reading and its omission implies that the noun has an indefinite reading.

Bemba has a preprefix in its nominal system. Although Givón does not explicitly use such terms as preprefix or augment or initial vowel, as can be observed from the forms of examples he displays, this is the preprefix, or augment, as commonly referred to in the Bantu language system (cf. Hyman & Katamba, 1993; Petzell, 2008; Visser, 2008; Riedel 2011). Givón (1978) refers to the whole prefix segment as having the form VCV with the possibility of dropping the ‘initial vowel’ for semantic or pragmatic reasons.

2.3.4 Mojapelo (2007)

Mojapelo (2007) analyses definiteness and indefiniteness in Northern Sotho²⁰, a Bantu language of South Africa which does not have a preprefix (initial vowel). Northern Sotho, like all other Bantu languages, has no (in)definite articles. Therefore, she investigates (in)definiteness in nouns which are not modified, and nouns which occur with various modifiers, considering both pragmatic and morpho-syntactic factors.

Bare nouns are ambiguous between definiteness and indefiniteness in Northern Sotho. According to Mojapelo, pragmatic contexts are at the center of a communicative situation where no morpho-syntactic elements are present. Existential presupposition, transparent contexts and anaphoric reference contribute to definiteness interpretation of the bare nouns considering that the hearer is familiar with the context within which an utterance has been made, as exemplified in (53) below:

(53) Le se ke la tloga le se la botsa **kgosi**.

‘Do not leave without telling the king.’ (Mojapelo, 2007: 312)

²⁰ Northern Sotho is classified as [S32] according to Maho (2009).

The noun ‘king’ is identifiable, because the utterance assumes both speaker and hearer know the referent **kgosi**; perhaps, they live in the same village under the same kingship. The noun **kgosi**, therefore, refers to a familiar king.

Mojapelo, furthermore, investigates definiteness in morpho-syntax. In her discussion, she observes that nouns modified by demonstratives and quantifiers are definite. Demonstratives and quantifiers guide the hearer to the intended referent. About demonstratives, she notes that they are inherently definite, and their main function is to mark deixis. She also notes that demonstratives further refer anaphorically. Quantifiers, such as the universal quantifier **-ohle** (all), the absolute pronoun, refer to identifiable entities.

Additionally, Mojapelo (2007) states that proper names are definite, because they refer uniquely. She adds that pronouns refer back to familiar referents, and therefore, they are inherently definite. She further observes that subject pronominals (*pro*-AgrSP) are used if it is not necessary to repeat the subject, because it is already known. In other words, AgrSP are used for subjects the hearer is aware of. Mojapelo further states that an object pronominal (*pro*-AgrOP) is an element co-referenced with an overt object which is the topic of the construction and definite. She also notes that if the object marker appears with no overt full object, it refers back to something already mentioned in the previous discourse, which the hearer can identify (see Visser, 1984, for discussion of ‘small’ *pro* as subject and object in Xhosa).

As for indefinite marking in Northern Sotho, Mojapelo makes a general observation that the hearer is not conscious of a referent of an indefinite noun phrase. She identifies two categories of indefinite marking in Northern Sotho. These are simple and complex indefinites. Simple indefiniteness is registered in nouns with no modifiers accompanying them, that is, bare nouns, as shown in the example below:

(54) **Monnatsoko** o mphile tetšoba lehono.

‘A certain man gave me a/the flower today.’ (Mojapelo, 2007: 323)

Regarding complex indefinites, Mojapelo asserts that the quantifier **mang/mong** (what) in question sentences, suffix **-ngwe** (another/different/a certain) **selęc** (another/different/strange)

and **-fe** (who/whom) render the nouns they modify indefinite. Below is an example with the use of **mong**:

(55). Ngwana **ke mong**?

‘What gender is the child?’ (Mojapelo, 2007:324)

Since generics do not refer to individuals, Mojapelo considers them as referring to indefinite entities. Mojapelo submits that generic expressions do not concern specific individuals but classes of individuals. Close to generics are idioms, which in Mojapelo’s view, do not refer to particular individuals, and so are indefinites just like generics. On the notion of specificity, Mojapelo suggests that indefinite nouns in Northern Sotho are either specific or non-specific. A referent is specific when the speaker has a particular referent in mind, and non-specific when the identity of the referent is beside the point. To the hearer, the referent is unknown, whether it is specific or not.

Mojapelo further discusses ambiguities in definiteness in northern Sotho. Under this heading, bare nouns and modified noun phrases are analyzed. For bare nouns whether in subject or object position, Mojapelo contends that the referent is ambiguous between definiteness and indefiniteness. The pragmatic context plays a role in the interpretation of bare nouns:

(56). **Tihatse ke mosadi**

‘The/a witness is/the woman.’ (Mojapelo, 2007: 328)

From the example given in (56), the subject and object nouns are either definite or indefinite, depending on a given pragmatic context.

With modified NPs, Mojapelo notes that cardinal numbers, adjectives, descriptive possessives and relatives both nominal and verbal, do not guide the hearer to uniquely identify the nouns they occur with. The head noun of these modifiers may also register a generic reading if the verb allows. Hence, Mojapelo is of the view that pragmatic context may be invoked for an appropriate interpretation to be obtained.

Marking of a referent in Bantu languages generally as (in)definite is not straightforward as the languages lack explicit markers to do so. However, since definiteness is a universal category, languages without articles, as Mojapelo (2007) has demonstrated for Northern Sotho, have various ways of distinguishing between a known and an unknown entity. As for specificity, according to Mojapelo, it is a feature of indefinite referents in Northern Sotho.

2.3.5 Visser (2008)

Visser (2008) investigates (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in isiXhosa²¹, as realized in syntax, semantics and pragmatics. In her paper, Visser (2008) argues that the morpheme **a-** which occurs with nominal modifiers which are inherently neutral to definiteness is an instantiation of a determiner heading DP. She also asserts that the co-occurrence of the object agreement prefix with a full object noun leads to definiteness interpretation in the DP structure of isiXhosa.

Visser (2008) adopts the framework of the Minimalist program of Generative syntax to study (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in isiXhosa. For the semantic or pragmatic analysis of definiteness and specificity in isiXhosa, Visser follows Lyons's (1999) semantic framework of definiteness and specificity. First, she assumes the Minimalist framework to explore the meaning of the object agreement prefix when it co-occurs with the object noun bearing a preprefix. She notes that the preprefix or initial vowel (IV) in the above syntactic context correlates with definiteness and specificity in isiXhosa. Secondly, she explores the interpretation of the pronominal demonstratives in cases where the preprefix is either present or absent on the noun. Thirdly, she examines the interpretation of inherently neutral modifiers with respect to definiteness in relation to the (non-)occurrence of the inflectional morpheme which is underlyingly **a-**, presumed to be the demonstrative root.

Visser gives evidence for the presence of a determiner **a-** in the case of the inherently neutral modifiers with respect to (in)definiteness in isiXhosa, which correlates with the functional category Determiner in English. Visser (2008) is of the view that the three vowels **i**, **o**, **u** which occur with nouns in isiXhosa are allomorphic realizations of **a-** of the determiner category.

²¹ According to Maho (2009), Xhosa is classified as [S41].

Visser (2008) examines properties of object NPs in both positive and negative sentences. She begins by investigating the interpretation of the constructions in which an object prefix marker co-occurs with a bare noun which occurs with a preprefix. This is compared to a parallel construction where there is no object agreement prefix and no preprefix on the bare noun. The object agreement prefix is optional if the object argument of the verb is explicit. Visser observes that the occurrence of the object agreement prefix affords the full object appearing with a preprefix a specific reading, while in the corresponding sentences where the agreement prefix is absent the noun receives a non-specific reading. This is one instance in isiXhosa where specificity is realized morpho-syntactically.

In addition, Visser examines object NPs with no preprefix in positive constructions, and notes that objects lacking the preprefix are interpreted as non-specific. Visser (2008: 16) argues that for such syntactic structures, (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity interpretations are pragmatically generated in discourse context. If the preprefix is present in the contexts presented, the object is specific. Visser is of the view that the diagnostics provided give evidence for positing the preprefix in isiXhosa as a determiner bearing the feature [+specific].

Next, Visser (2008) analyses the (non-)occurrence of an object marker and a preprefix with bare nouns in negative verb constructions. She argues that when the AgrOP and the preprefix are absent, this leads to an indefinite and non-specific reading, while their presence is considered to render object NPs definite and specific, as the following sentences exemplify:

(57) a *Iintombi azihlambi ngubo*

iintombi(10) a-zi-hlamb-i ngubo(9)

girls Neg-AgrS-wash-Neg blanket

‘(The) girls do not wash (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, 2008: 17)

The occurrence of an object agreement prefix corresponding to an explicit object noun which has a preprefix in negative verb constructions provides evidence for the interpretations of the preprefix as having specific functionality, which, in turn, provides evidence for the interpretation of the preprefix as a determiner. The interpretation of the object noun phrase is indefinite, due to the absence of the preprefix and the object agreement in the verbal string. Where there is a mutual occurrence of the object agreement, co-referenced to an object noun which has a preprefix, the specific interpretation of the object noun is attained, while the definite or indefinite interpretation depends on the pragmatic context.

According to Visser, (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in isiXhosa, on the other hand, stems from nominal modifiers. Visser (2008:18) categorizes modifiers into three groups: the first category has modifiers which are assumed to possess an inherent semantic property of definiteness, for example, the demonstrative, some quantifiers: inclusive quantifier **-onke** (all/ the whole/ everything), the absolute and emphatic pronouns. The second group contains modifiers which she assumes to have an inherent lexical semantic indefiniteness property, such as **-phi** (which), **-nye** (other) and **-thile** ((a) certain). The third category has nominal modifiers that are neutral with respect to the (in)definiteness feature, namely, adjectives (including numerals 1-6), nominal relatives (including numerals from 7), clausal relatives and possessives.

Visser discusses definiteness in noun phrases containing demonstrative modifiers. She notes that a demonstrative was historically formed from the root (**I**)**a-**, and argues that because of this morpheme, nouns modified by demonstratives are rendered definite. She also states (with reference to Malinga, 1980) that a noun can be modified by a prenominal and a postnominal demonstrative at the same time. With regard to the preprefix of the head noun, Visser argues that if a prenominal demonstrative occurs with a noun, the preprefix is usually omitted and the head noun is regarded to be non-specific (58). If a prenominal demonstrative occurs with a noun that carries a preprefix, the head noun is interpreted with a specificity feature (59). The nouns in both illustrations are definite due to the presence of the demonstrative. Visser, in this regard, argues that the presence of the preprefix in the above syntactic environment gives evidence for positing that the preprefix is a determiner specified for the [+specific] feature.

- (58) *[Aba (a)bafazi (aba)] basebenza kwaMasipala*
aba (a)bafazi(2) (aba) ba-sebenz-a kwa-Masipala
 these women these AgrS-work-Pres at-(place-of)-Municipality
 ‘These women, these work at the Municipality.’ Visser (2008: 19),
- (59) *[Lo (u)mfundi (lo)] ufunda eyunivesithi*
lo (u)mfundi(1) (lo) u-funda e-yunivesithi
 Dem student Dem AgrS-study Loc-university
 ‘This student, this one, studies at university.’ Visser (2008: 19),

On the other hand, a noun modified by a postnominal demonstrative must take a preprefix. According to Visser (2008), the noun modified by a postnominal demonstrative is definite and specific, and further receives the emphasis feature.

Apart from the demonstrative, Visser (2008) discusses nominal modifiers that she regards to have inherently the neutral lexical semantic feature of (in)definiteness, viz. nominal and clausal relatives, possessives and adjectives. These nominal modifiers take the morpheme **a-** derived from the base morpheme of the demonstrative (**Da-**, but do not have deictic meaning. This morpheme, as Visser argues, appears to be intrinsically grounded in the nominal head, and she argues that this morpheme exhibits properties of a determiner. Since, in this case, the morpheme (related to the demonstrative) is given as a functional category, Visser (2008: 20) argues that the nominal modifiers occurring with the morpheme **a-** belong to the determiner phrase, projecting from the determiner head **a-**.

- (60) *Umfazi unceda umntwana omhle olusizi ogulayo*
umfazi u-nced-a umntwana om(←a+m)-hle o(←a+u)-lusizi o(←a+u)-gul-a-yo
 woman AgrS-help-FV child Det-Agr-beautiful Det-sad Det-AgrS-sick-FV-Rel
 ‘The/a woman helps the beautiful sad child who is sick.’ Visser (2008: 20)

The relationship between the demonstrative occurring prenominal and the modifiers which are inherently neutral in relation to indefiniteness is also considered in both positive and negative sentences. Visser observes that the preprefix of the head noun may be absent with the use of a prenominal demonstrative. She further observes that the morpheme **a-**, which optionally occurs in the modifiers that have neutral semantic properties in terms of (in)definiteness, may also be

absent. When the two segments are morphologically absent, the head noun receives a non-specific reading. However, Visser (2008: 26) points out that if the preprefix of the head noun preceded by a demonstrative is present, and the inflectional morpheme **a-** is also present in the inflectional morphology of modifiers which have neutral semantic properties of (in)definiteness, the modified head noun receives the property of specificity. In other words, where the determiner is present, and the preprefix of the object head noun is present, the object noun receives a definite specific reading. The definiteness properties result from the fact that the demonstrative **a-** is inherently definite and the preprefix introduces specificity properties.

Likewise, Visser considers (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in other nominal modifiers. She examines the inherently indefinite **-phi** ‘which’ in isiXhosa.

- (61) *Ufuna (o)wuphi umfundi?*
u-fun-a o-wu-phi umfundi(I)
 2s-want-FV Det-Agr-which student
 ‘Which (specific) student are you looking for?’ (Visser, 2008:26)

Visser contends that if the determiner **a-** (allophonically given as **o-**) is morphologically present in (61) above, the modified noun phrase is interpreted with a specificity reading. As exemplified in (62), the determiner **a-** in isiXhosa also occurs with the emphatic pronoun for specific encoding. The modified noun, according to Visser (2008), obligatorily drops its preprefix when the emphatic pronoun precedes it.

- (62) *Ndifuna ezona zihlangu zihle zidulu*
ndi-fun-a e-zona zihlangu zi-hle zi-dulu
 1s-want-FV Det-Em.pro shoes Agr-beautiful Agr-expensive
 ‘I want the most beautiful expensive shoes.’ Visser (2008:27)

In addition, Visser notes that the possessor in isiXhosa canonically follows the possessed. However, for specific reading, the possessor precedes the possessed and occurs with the determiner **a-**. Therefore, the structural order NP₁-GEN-NP₂, where NP₁ is the possession and NP₂ is the possessor entails specific reading of NP₁ (cf. Visser, 2008: 27).

The investigation of a range of NPs in both positive and negative phrases, in bare nouns as well as modified noun phrases in Visser (2008), has shown that the morpheme **a-**, relating to the demonstrative in isiXhosa, manifests itself in the inflectional morphology of isiXhosa nominal modifiers positing a determiner category specified for the [+specific] feature. With the empirical data presented, Visser (2008) concludes that isiXhosa has a functional determiner category hosting the specificity feature. The same analysis of isiXhosa is applied to Runyankore-Rukiga nominals to determine the categorial status of the optional IV (the morpheme **a-**) in terms of the DP phrase, when it appears with object bare nouns in negative and positive verb constructions, and when it appears in the inflectional morphology of modifiers with no inherent semantic feature of definiteness.

2.4 Definiteness and specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga

2.4.1 Introduction

Reviewing literature on definiteness and specificity reveals that there is an adumbration regarding the phenomena in the Runyankore-Rukiga linguistic literature. The researcher did not come across any literature exclusively discussing (in)definiteness and/or (non-)specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga. However, the scanty information regarding the phenomena in the two descriptive grammars available, that is, Morris and Kirwan (1972) and Taylor (1985) is presented in this section. Morris and Kirwan (1972) and Taylor (1985) claim that the presence of the initial vowel (IV) in certain syntactic contexts yields a definiteness reading, and particularizes a referent while its absence may lead to an indefinite reading.

2.4.2 Morris and Kirwan (1972)

Morris and Kirwan (1972) argue that the IV appearing with adjectives and numerals gives the modified head noun a definite meaning. They state that since the rule is that nominals should occur without the IV if they are within the scope of negation, and given that this rule does not affect the modifying adjective, this serves as evidence to support the initial vowel (IV) of the adjective as a definite marker, as the following example indicates²²:

²² The glosses provided for the illustrations used in this section are my own.

- (63) ***Tindikokoresa nyundo empango*** (Morris & Kirwan 1972:151)
Ti-n-ri-ku-kor-es-a n-yundo e-n-hango
 NEG-1SG -COP-INF-use-CAUS-FV 9-hammer IV-9-big
 ‘I am not using the big hummer.’

Furthermore, Morris and Kirwan (1972) indicate that the initial vowel occurring with possessives singles out the possessed entity, as a contrast is made between (64a) and (64b):

- (64) a. ***Ebintu eby’omushaija ogu mubite hangahari***
E-bi-ntu e-bi-a o-mu-shaija a-gu mu-bi-t-e hangahari
 IV-8-thing IV-8-GEN IV-1-man DEMrt-1-PROX 2PL-8-put-IMP aside
 ‘Put the belongings of this man on one side.’
- b. ***Ebintu by’omushaija ogu ni bingi***
E-bi-ntu e-bi-a o-mu-shaija a-gu-Ø ni bi-ngi
 IV-8-thing IV-8-GEN IV-1-man DEMrt-1-PROX COP 8-many
 ‘This man’s belongings are numerous.’

In addition, Morris and Kirwan state that adverbs (of place) usually take an IV (cf. (65)). However, when a definite place is referred to, the IV is dropped. Morris and Kirwan maintain that the IV is retained if the location is vaguely referred to, as (66) exemplifies.

- (65) ***Ari haihi.***
A-ri ha-ih
 1.3SG-COP 16-near
 ‘He is near.’
- (66) ***Ahaihi hariho abantu baingi***
A-ha-ih ha-ri-ho a-ba-ntu ba-ingi
 IV-16-near 16-COP-LOC IV-2-person 2-many
 ‘Nearby there are so many people.’

However, the IV is omitted in the case of adverb in (65) because the adverb follows a copula. The IV vowel is obligatorily deleted from any element that follows a copular verb. On the other

hand, the adverb retains the IV in (66) due to the fact that the adverb appears as the locative subject of the copular verb.

2.4.3 Taylor (1985)

Taylor (1985) observes that identifying definite phrases in languages such as Runyankore-Rukiga, which do not possess explicit definite and indefinite articles, poses a difficult task. He, nevertheless, identifies some indicators for the status of a noun which is either definite or indefinite. According to Taylor (1985), the IV in Runyankore-Rukiga plays a part in distinguishing between definite and indefinite nominal expressions. He points out that when an IV is attached to a modifier, the modified noun receives a definite reading. Conversely, a head noun is presumed to be indefinite if its modifier is without an IV. The modifiers which Taylor is concerned about in this respect are the adjectives and relative clauses. Besides the IV, Taylor gives other contexts in which an NP is presumed definite based on various syntactic factors.

The following examples illustrate (in)definiteness contrast stemming from the (non-)occurrence of the initial vowel in the inflectional morphology of an adjectival modifier.

(67) a. ***ekitabo kirungi/kirikutukura***

e-ki-tabo ki-rungi/ki-ri-ku-tukur-a

IV-7-book 7-good/7-COP-INF-red-FV

‘a good/red book’

b ***ekitabo ekirungi/ekirikutukura***

e-ki-tabo e-ki-rungi/e-ki-ri-ku-tukur-a

IV-7-book IV-7-good/IV-7-COP-INF-red-FV

‘the good/red book’

In cases where the IV is lacking on the modifying adjective, as in (67a), according to Taylor (1985) it means that the modified entity is indefinite, while in (67b) its presence signals that the entity is definite.

Furthermore, in the following construction (68), Taylor (1985) claims that the adjectival predicate renders the subject noun definite. However, the definiteness reading appears to be as a result of the absolute pronoun (cf. section 5.6.2):

- (68) ***Rukara niwe muto***
Rukara ni-u-e mu-to
 PN.Rukara COP-1-ABS 1-young
 ‘Rukara is the young one.’

Taylor further claims that substituting an adjective occurring with relativized verbs enforces definiteness interpretation on the head noun, as the example in (69) indicates:

- (69) ***Ekitabo kyangye nikyo kirikutukura.***
E-ki-tabo ki-a-ngye ni-ki-o ki-ri-ku-tukur-a
 IV-7-book 7-GEN-mine COP-7-ABS 7-COP-INF-red-FV
 ‘My book is the red one.’

Similarly, Taylor (1985: 39) examines another set of adjectives. These are adjectives with predicative meaning. He argues that their subject nouns are indefinite on the account that the adjective does not bear an initial vowel, which is deleted after the copular **ni**, as shown below:

- (70) ***Ekirabyo eki ni kirungi***
E-ki-rabyo a-ki ni ki-rungi
 IV-7-flower DEMrt-7-PROX COP 7-beautiful
 ‘This is a beautiful flower.’ [‘This flower is beautiful.’]

The subject noun, contra Taylor’s claim, bears the definiteness feature due to the presence of the demonstrative.

In addition, Taylor (1985: 39-40) claims that the descriptive nominal predicate also enforces indefiniteness interpretation on the subject, as illustrated in (71). However, see chapter seven for the interpretation of the IV when it occurs in the inflectional morphology of relative clauses.

(71) *Byona bikaba biri eby'omukago.**Bi-ona bi-ka-ba bi-ri e-bi-a o-mu-kago*

8-all 8-PASTrm-be 8-COP IV-8-GEN IV-3-friendship

'They were all friendly towards each other.'

'They were all friends.'

Concerning relative clauses, Taylor (1985: 125) considers a noun modified by a relative clause definite if the relative clause occurs with an initial vowel. In (72a) the noun **ekikoona** (crow) is, according to Taylor, definite, and indefinite in (71b):

(72) (a) *ekikoona ekirikwiragura**e-ki-koona e-ki-ri-ku-iragur-a*

IV-7-crow IV-7-COP-INF-black-FV

'the black crow'

(b) *ekikoona kirikwiragura**e-ki-koona ki-ri-ku-iragur-a*

IV-7-crow 7-COP-INF-black-FV

'a black crow'

In his discussion of demonstratives, Taylor (1985) argues that they do not form a word class of their own. Hence, they fall under adjectives. Taylor (1985: 179) states that in the phrase **embwa egi** (this dog), 'this' is an adjective. He further argues that if *this* 'adjective' stands alone, as in **egi n'embwa** 'this is a dog', 'this' functions as a pronoun. However, see chapter five for the investigation of demonstratives in this study.

Demonstratives are, according to Taylor, divided according to the relative distance from the speaker, i.e. near speaker, near hearer and far from both speaker and hearer. The last category is further divided between visible and invisible referents where two different forms are used, i.e. -**riya** for visible referents and -**ri** for invisible ones. Taylor argues that demonstratives have an IV which drops in the second and third degrees of distance. He asserts that when the IV is deleted, the stem of the demonstrative that remains is identical to personal pronouns. He, however, observes the fact that demonstratives are inherently definite, and that the issue of definiteness and indefiniteness contrast of nouns modified by demonstratives, based on the IV, is not

relevant. Thus, Taylor (1985: 136) observes that demonstratives are used to refer to entities assumed to be known to both speaker and hearer. The second degree demonstrative is also used specifically for anaphoric reference of a noun mentioned in the preceding discourse. Further, the third degree demonstrative for invisible referents may also be used for an entity that has been mentioned previously in the far discourse. Taylor further states that a first degree of distance demonstrative may be invoked for something in the mind of the speaker and not yet familiar to the hearer, which means, it may mark an indefinite specific referent (cf. section 5.2 for the discussion on form, distribution and meaning of the demonstrative in Runyankore-Rukiga).

Taylor also considers unmodified nouns. He observes that there are nouns which are definite themselves even when they do not possess the initial vowel. These include proper names, which denote unique entities. Personified names, e.g., **rufu** ‘death’ and **rukundo** (cf. Taylor, 1985: 126), where the IV is dropped during their formation, and are definite. More still, in the vocative, nouns lose their IV to make reference to identifiable entities. For example, **Boojo** ‘friends (Boys)’. Vocatives in this regard are used as a form of proper nouns.

Taylor (1985) examines the notion of anaphora. The following constitute anaphoric expressions, i.e., those expressions which refer back to antecedents already introduced in the discourse. Taylor (1985: 62) observes that adjectival elements (treated as genitives in this study, see section 6.4) can stay in the place of nouns which have already been mentioned in the preceding sentence or clause, as shown in the following example:

- (73) *Wakami yaaza kushoroma omu gwe musiri. Yaagyenda yaaza omu gwa Warugwe.*
Wakami.pers a²³-aa-za ku-shorom-a o-mu gu-e mu-siri
 Wakami.pers 1-PASTim-go INF-reap-FV IV-18.in 3-his 3-garden
- a-aa-gyend-a a-aa-za o-mu gu-a Warugwe.*
 1.3SG-PASTim-go-FV 1.3SG.1-PASTim-go IV-18.in 3-GEN Warugwe.pers
 ‘Rabbit went to harvest in his field. Then he went off and entered Leopard’s.’

²³ When the grammatical person for the third person singular pronoun(**-a-**) gets in contact with the immediate past tense marker (**-aa-**), the glide /y/ is formed.

Secondly, object markers (object agreement prefixes) are also, according to Taylor (1985: 63), anaphoric units if the verb is preceded by an object and subsequently this object is cross-referenced to.

(74) *Mugasho akaba ariho. Nkamureeba nyenka.*

Mugasho a-ka-ba a-ri-ho n-ka-mu-reeb-a ny-enka

PN.Mugasho 1.3SG-PASTrm-be 1.3SG-COP-LOC 1SG-PASTrm-1-see-FV 1SG-alone

‘Mugasho was there. I saw him myself.’

However, Taylor notes that when the object marker appears as an obligatory element in the verb, this may not necessarily be a case of anaphora, as illustrated in (75):

(75) *Mugasho nkamureeba*

Mugasho n-ka-mu-reeb-a

PN.Mugasho 1SG-PASTrm-1-see-FV

‘As for Mugasho, I did see him/Mugasho, I saw.’

According to Taylor (1985), locative enclitics attached to verbs (having a locative phrase in the position preceding the verb) refer anaphorically to an already known location from the preceding part of the sentence or clause. The locative enclitics include: **-ho**, **-mu** and **-yo** with the meanings: **-ho** (‘on-location’), **-mu** (‘in-location’), and **-yo** (‘unseen and wider place’).

Taylor (1985: 190) examines a special morpheme Runyankore-Rukiga employs to refer anaphorically to a noun that has been mentioned before. This morpheme is **nya-**, which in English may be translated as ‘the said’ (see section 5.4 for discussion on this anaphoric functional element).

(76) *...ahakuba nyamushaija n’omwibi*

...ahakuba nya-mu-shaija ni o-mu-ibi

...because DEF-1-man COP IV-1-thief

‘...for the [said] man is a thief’

Close to the **nya-** morpheme in function is **ki-**, which may be equivalent to **-er**, the English affix for agent. Unlike **nya-**, **ki-** is not always anaphoric. For instance:

(77) **Ki**²⁴*shwera* (Taylor, 1985: 190).

Ki-shwera

AGENT-bridegroom

‘the-bridegroom’

Taylor states that nouns marked by the two particles, that is, **nya-** and **ki-** are always specific.

In relation to indefinite reference, Taylor (1985) notes that there is a lexical unit in Runyankore-Rukiga used when reference is made to an indefinite entity. This word is **nanka**, meaning ‘so-and-so’. Taylor (1985: 126) indicates that this word may be used when one does not intend to refer to a specific person or place.

Furthermore, although pronouns are generally taken to be definite, Taylor (1985: 126) observes that indefiniteness is occasionally marked through affixing **ba-**, a third person pronoun, and infrequently **-o** for the second person pronoun in some idiomatic expressions, exemplified below in (78). According to Taylor (1985), the phrase in (79) may be a case of specific indefiniteness.

(78) **Baagira ngu afiire**

*Ba-aa*²⁵*-gir-a ngu a-fi-ire*

3PL-PASTim-say-FV that 3SG-die-PERF

‘It is said that (s)he has died.’

(79) **Omuntu omwe**

O-mu-ntu o-mwe

IV-1-person 1-one

‘A certain person’

Although there is no separate section in Morris and Kirwan (1972), and Taylor (1985) discussing definiteness and specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga, there is, however, scanty information regarding the phenomena scattered in these descriptive grammars, as presented above. It is the aim of the current study, therefore, to expound on the ideas presented, and to examine further

²⁴ This is not the **ki-** noun prefix for nouns in class 8. The formation of a plural form is by prefixing the plural class prefix **ba-**kishwera (the bridegrooms).

²⁵ The tense marker for the immediate past tense in Runyankore-Rukiga is **-aa-**. The prefix for class 2 nouns is **-ba-**. Therefore, underlying there are three consecutive vowels.

discourse and morpho-syntactic contexts for definiteness and specificity readings, and to categorially examine the role the IV plays in relation to (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity.

2.5 Summary

In this chapter, a review of selected major works relating to definiteness and specificity has been given. The review has revealed that definiteness is a universal semantic category marked differently across languages. Some languages have definite and indefinite articles, while some other languages have either definite or indefinite articles, and there are languages that mark definiteness through word order, certain lexical items, or morphological markers and pragmatic contexts (Chesterman 1991). Specificity, on the other hand, viewed generally as a pragmatic concept, has no distinct lexical markers. However, there are some languages which mark specificity morphologically. A notable example is Turkish, which marks specificity on the direct object through the accusative case (see Enç, 1991; von Heusinger, 2002).

Most works reviewed maintain that definiteness and specificity are distinct notions (cf. Hawkins, 1978; Lyons, 1999; Ihsane & Puskas, 2001; von Heusinger, 2002; Visser, 2008). However, some scholars view the concepts as related notions (e.g. Enç, 1991). For Bokamba (1971), definiteness is a subset of specificity, and he holds the view that specificity is synonymous with referentiality. Even though there are researchers who consider the two notions distinct, they have differing views on how they combine. For instance, according to Bokamba(1971), Hawkins (1978), Enç (1991) and Lyons (1999), the combination of [+definite, -specific] is not possible. For, Ihsane and Puskás (2001), it is possible to have definite non-specifics.

The subject of generics is reasonably crucial in the literature on definiteness and specificity, as discussed above. The question of how generics relate to specificity and definiteness is explored. From the works investigated, there seems to be unanimity that generics do not refer to individual entities but to kinds or species, and therefore are non-specific (cf. Hawkins, 1978; Lyons, 1999). In addition, almost all kinds of NPs accept generic reference.

As regards Bantu languages, scholars agree that determining whether a referent is definite or not is generally not straightforward, since the languages do not use explicit (in)definite articles.

However, as it is a general understanding that definiteness is a universal phenomenon, there are a host of ways which Bantu languages employ. The case of Finnish, a non-articled language, as Chesterman observed, does not differ much from the situation in Bantu languages, as, for instance, Mojapelo (2008) reports for Northern Sotho, that different means are employed to mark definiteness, and that pragmatic context seems to be at the core of the available means. Additionally, some scholars of Bantu languages (such as Bokamba 1971) have pointed out that the IV has a position close to the definite article, where in specific contexts, it conveys the meaning of definiteness and/or specificity, and its absence is associated with non-specificity and/or indefiniteness. For the case of Runyankore-Rukiga, Morris and Kirwan (1972) and Taylor (1985) claim that the presence of the initial vowel (IV) with certain modifiers, such as the adjective, encode a definite reading. However, further investigations are carried out in subsequent chapters to determine the extent to which the initial vowel relates to definiteness and specificity.

Different theories have been put forward for the explanation of definiteness and indefinites, as noted in the reviewed literature. For instance, Hawkins (1978) proposed the location theory, which considers the pragmatic meaning of a definite versus indefinite reading based on a shared set between speaker and hearer. Chesterman (1991) builds on Hawkins's location theory for his pragmatic set theory. Heim (1982), on the other hand, proposed a semantic theory of 'file change'. For the current study, Lyons's (1999) semantic framework of definiteness and specificity is adopted, invoking his principles of identifiability and inclusiveness (cf. section 2.2.5). Similarly, Lyons's assumption that a noun is specific if the speaker has a particular referent in mind, and non-specific if the speaker does not wish to communicate about a specific referent is adopted. As stated in chapter 1, the study is also placed within the Generative framework of syntax assuming minimalist syntax, and the syntax of Cartography (see section 1.7 for an overview of the theoretical framework).

CHAPTER THREE

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON THE DISTRIBUTION AND ROLE OF THE INITIAL VOWEL IN SELECTED BANTU LANGUAGES

3.1 Introduction

The occurrence of the initial vowel²⁶ (IV), also known as the preprefix or augment (as it is commonly referred to in Bantu studies)²⁷ (cf. Dewees, 1971; Maho, 1999; Hyman & Katamba, 1993; Petzell, 2008), has received considerable attention in the linguistic literature, because of its interesting features and the way it impacts on the grammar of the Bantu languages which exhibit it²⁸. In this chapter, I present an overview of the distribution and role of the IV in selected Bantu languages including Runyankore-Rukiga, the language under investigation in the present study. It is apparent from the literature reviewed that the (non-)occurrence and role of the IV vary from one Bantu language to another. It is also observed that the restrictions imposed on the use of the IV are mainly syntactic in nature. Besides the syntactic restrictions, the role the IV plays in the grammars of the selected Bantu languages differs. Crucially, Maho (1999) observes that in some languages, the IV has no semantic meaning, whereas in some other languages, the semantic function is not clear. Other scholars such as Taylor (1972), von Staden (1973), Moulds (1973), Petzell (2003, 2008), Visser (2008), among others, each of whom studied a different Bantu language that exhibits the initial vowel, point out that the IV in specific syntactic environments has semantic and pragmatic functions²⁹. These functions generally relate to definiteness, specificity and particularization. Hence, scholars such as Batibo (1985) regard the IV as a ‘vowel of definiteness’. However, the assertion that the IV marks definiteness and specificity is challenged by some scholars such as Dewees (1971) and Hyman and Katamba (1993) (cf.

²⁶ The term initial vowel is used in the current study to refer to the vowel that occurs initially as an obligatory or optional morpheme in nouns, adjectives, numeral modifiers, possessives, relative modifiers and some quantifiers. Not all vowels appearing as initial segments of Runyankore-Rukiga lexical items are initial vowels, as used in this study (cf. Dewees, 1973: 3).

²⁷ The augment can be a single vowel, or a consonant plus a vowel such as in Lumasaaba of Eastern Uganda (cf. Dewees, 1971).

²⁸ Not all Bantu languages exhibit the IV in their grammars. For example, the IV is absent in Kiswahili and Lingala (Katamba, 2003) and Northern Sotho (Mojapelo, 2007).

²⁹ See also Buell (2009) for a review of literature on the form, distribution and interpretation of the IV in some Bantu languages of Southern Africa.

section 3.2.5.3 below), who posit that the IV exhibits various functions, impacting on almost all areas of grammar in the Bantu languages which display it, and therefore it cannot be reduced to a single function.

The main purpose of reviewing literature on the occurrence of the IV in Bantu languages is to explore statements other scholars posit about the role the IV plays in the languages studied. It is further aimed at showing that the distributional properties and hence its role are not uniform across the board. Therefore, when investigating the IV, findings from one Bantu language should not be taken generally to apply to other Bantu languages which exhibit it. The review particularly informs the analysis of the interpretations pertaining to (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity, stemming from the (non-)occurrence of the optional IV, as examined in this study. The languages examined here are the Bantu languages of zone E based on the Guthrie's (1971) classification, with an incorporated Tervulen's J zone (Maho, 2009) (henceforth the classification JE). The languages (in the JE zone) examined are Runyankore-Rukiga [JE13/JE14], Luganda [JE15], Runyoro-Rutooro [JE11/JE12], and Haya [JE22]. Outside the JE zone, the languages examined are Kinande (JD42), Kagulu [G12] and Zulu [S42]. The choice of the languages reviewed depended mainly on the availability of linguistic literature regarding the usage of the IV.

The IV in Bantu languages received considerable attention, mostly in the 1970s, mainly from a descriptive point of view. A small number of recent studies have been conducted on the IV, for example, the investigation of the role of the IV in the isiXhosa determiner phrase within the Minimalist framework (cf. Visser, 2008). There is, however, no consensus as to the use of the IV in the grammars of the Bantu languages which exhibit it in their noun class morphology. Some scholars, such as von Staden (1973), Petzell (2003, 2008), argue that, to some degree, the IV has semantico-pragmatic functions of marking known and particular entities in specific syntactic environments. Other scholars, such as Hyman and Katamba (1993) who studied Luganda refute the idea, arguing that the IV is an inflectional morpheme, conditioned by syntactic configurations. In the following sections, key issues pertaining to the distribution and the role associated with the IV in selected Bantu languages are presented.

This chapter presents a discussion of the typology of IV structured as follows: A review on Zulu is given first (cf. section 3.2.1), as investigated by von Staden (1973) and de Dedreu (2008). de Dedreu also includes a theoretical analysis for the use of the IV as a determiner-like element. The study on Zulu is followed in section 3.2.2 by reviewing literature on the IV in Kagulu as studied by Petzell (2003, 2008). An overview of the IV in Kinande in Progovac (1993) is presented in section 3.2.3. Next, the IV in Haya, studied by Riedel (2011) is examined in section 3.2.4. What follows next is a review of the IV occurrence and usage in Luganda in section 3.2.5, as explored by Ashton et al (1954), Dewees (1971), Mould (1973) and Hyman and Katamba (1993). The distribution of the IV in Runyoro-Rutooro, as presented in Rubongoya (1999), is given in section 3.2.6. Finally, the properties of the IV in Runyankore-Rukiga, examined by Morris & Kirwan (1972) and Taylor (1972, 1985), are reviewed before presenting conclusions on the status of the IV based on the review made.

3.2 Previous studies on the initial vowel

3.2.1 Zulu

3.2.1.1 Introduction

Zulu is a Bantu language spoken in South Africa. It is one of the major languages spoken by slightly over ten million speakers (Lewis et al., 2013) in South Africa and some outside South Africa. Zulu is classified as S42 according to Maho (2009). It is one of the Nguni languages together with isiXhosa, Swati and Ndebele. Generally, all the Nguni languages have an IV in the morphology of lexical nouns (cf. von Staden, 1973). The current discussion presents a review of the (non-)occurrence of the IV in the nominal morphology in Zulu and the roles it plays in the language.

According to von Staden (1973), in Zulu, there are syntactic environments which call for the obligatory use of the IV of nouns, while there are others in which the IV is optional. There are also other syntactic contexts in which the IV must not occur.

3.2.1.2 Optionality of the IV in Zulu

Von Staden (1973) and de Dedreu (2008) observe that postposed subject nouns after a negative predicate may or may not carry an IV. With the presence of an IV, von Staden (1973: 166) points out that the referent is being particularized or individualized. Without the IV, the noun's referent is generalized and indefinite. The following examples illustrate this:

(1) a. Akufikanga abahambi

'No (particular, individual) travellers arrived.'

b. Akufikanga bahambi

'No (nothing like) travellers arrived.' von Staden (1973: 166)

Furthermore, von Staden (1973) and de Dedreu (2008) state that when a noun is the object of a negative predicate, the initial vowel may or may not be used. Below are illustrations taken from de Dedreu (2008: 18-19), exemplifying the (non-)occurrence of a direct object following a negative predicate.

(2) a. A- ka- limaz- a bantwana

NEG- SA1- hurt- FV 2.children

'He doesn't hurt any children.'

b. A- ka- limaz-a a- bantwana

NEG- SA1- hurt- FV AUG- 2children

'He doesn't hurt (some particular) children.'

Notice that in the translation of (2a), the absence of the noun's IV gives rise to the meaning of the object to be 'any children' while in (2b), the presence of the IV motivates a reading of particular 'children'.

Von Staden (1973: 167) further states that if two or more nouns appear after a negative verb, one or two or all of them can be used without an IV; this leads to the semantic interpretation of the sentences to vary. In this case, the noun(s) which appear(s) with the IV is/are particularized, and the one(s) without is/are not, as exemplified below:

- (3) a. Akamjikijelanga ngetshe noma izembe lomuntu
 ‘He didn’t throw a/the (particular, individual) stone or (particular, individual) axe of a/the (particular, individual) person at him.’
- b. Akamjikijelanga ngatshe noma zembe lomuntu
 ‘He didn’t throw any (anything like a) stone or any (anything like an) axe of any (anything such as a) person at him.’

In relation to the above examples, von Staden (1973) observes that nouns with the IV following a negative verb have a semantic feature which distinguishes them from those without one. In addition, von Staden (1973) and de Dedreu (2008) agree that nouns with an IV denote particular, individual objects, whilst those without are rendered indefinite, general, or generic, depending on the nature of the objects referred to and the context.

The IV of a noun which follows a positive verb may or may not be omitted, as von Staden (1973:167) demonstrates:

- (4) a. Nazi umuntu ngezwi lakhe?
 ‘Do you know a/the (particular, individualised) person by his voice?’
- b. Nazi muntu ngezwi lakhe?
 Do you know a/any person by (anything like) his voice?

According to von Staden, (1973), other environments which permit an optional IV in the nominal morphology are: nouns preceding quantitative pronouns, nouns used in copulatives of identification, and nouns occurring before enumeratives. The example below illustrates with a positive copulative of identification:

- (5) a. Izimbuzi ezibonwa
 ‘It is goats that are seen (i.e., either particular, individual goats)’
- b. Zimbusi ezibonwa
 ‘things like goats’ von Staden, (1973: 169),

3.2.1.3 The IV is obligatorily absent

In Zulu, according to von Staden (1973) and de Dedreu (2008), a demonstrative can follow or precede the modified noun. When the demonstrative precedes the head noun, the latter cannot occur with the IV. This is exemplified below:

- (6) a Ngi- biz- a labaya bafazi
 SA1S- call- FV that.2 women
 ‘I call those women.’
- b *Ngi- biz- a labaya a- bafazi
 SA1S- call- FV that.2 AUG- women (Dedreu 2008: 22).

In addition, according to de Dedreu (2008: 25), it is obligatory to drop the IV when the noun appears following an absolute pronoun. See example (7).

- (7) thina madoda
 PN1P 6.men
 ‘we men’

De Dedreu (2008) argues that the presence of the IV of a noun after an absolute pronoun yields an ungrammatical construction. However, according to von Staden (1973: 168), an IV may occur with a noun which follows an absolute pronoun, and if it is present, its presence expresses a particularized or individualized meaning.

In addition, both von Staden (1973) and de Dedreu (2008) state that an IV is not permitted when nouns are used in the vocative, e.g. **Nkosi** (King) (cf. de Dedreu, 2008: 16 & von Staden, 1973: 171).

Other environments which do not allow the use of the IV, according to von Staden (1973: 171-172), include, among others, the position of a noun after a locative possessive **kwa** for some cases (cf. (8)), and when a nominal follows after a negative associative copulative.

- (8) Kwafika isihambi emzini wakwaNxumalo
 ‘There arrived a traveler in the village of Nxumalo’s (place).’ von Staden (1973: 172)

3.2.1.4 The IV is obligatorily present

There are some syntactic environments which von Staden (1973) has studied as obligatorily for the occurrence of the IV of the noun in Zulu. He reports that the IV is obligatory when nouns are used as subjects. The idea, according to von Staden (1973: 176), is that nouns used as subjects always denote particular, individualized entities. However, the exception is when nouns are used for figurative purposes. He adds that when an object noun is used together with its object marker, the IV of the object noun is required, as illustrated in the following example:

- (9) Baxoxa bonke bemtshela utisha ngamacilongo
 ‘They all spoke and told the teacher about the trumpets.’

In the same way, there are some nouns which are used as adverbs. These also require an IV, for instance, **Izolo** ‘yesterday’. Here the presence of the IV, according to von Staden, means that a particular day is being referred to. Generally, von Staden (1973) maintains that nouns which take an obligatory IV are particularized, while a generic meaning or non-specific reading is available when the noun’s IV is omitted.

3.2.1.5 The IV as a determiner in Zulu

De Dedreu (2008) examines the role of the IV within the Minimalist framework, and argues that the IV takes the role of a determiner in the event that there is no determiner in the determiner position. De Dedreu maintains that if a noun is preceded by a demonstrative or an absolute pronoun, it must not take the IV. When the demonstrative and the absolute pronoun occupy the determiner position, they act as determiner heads. If they are absent, the IV occurs as the head of DP with the noun functioning as its complement. De Dedreu (2008) then concludes that the head of a DP phrase can either be a full lexical item or a functional morpheme, in the latter case being the IV. De Dedreu, however, points out that there cannot be more than one determiner at the same time appearing with a noun. The IV is thus the determiner head in the absence of any other determiner.

3.2.2 Kagulu

3.2.2.1 Introduction

Kagulu, classified as G12 (cf. Maho, 2009), is a minority language spoken in East-Central of Tanzania with a number of speakers estimated to be between 200,000 and 300,000 (Petzell, 2008). Kagulu, like many other Bantu languages, possesses an IV element in its noun class morphology. Petzell observes that there are no rules which apply generally as regards the use and occurrence of the IV across all Bantu languages which exhibit the IV. Below is an account of the form and meaning of the IV in Kagulu, as discussed by Petzell (2003, 2008).

3.2.2.2 Form and distribution of the initial vowel in Kagulu

In noun classes 1-10, the IV resembles the vowel of the agreement prefix, for example **ifitabo** (CL8) (books), **ulusigi** (CL 11) (string), with the exception of class 1 nouns where it is **i-**, as in **(i/a)wana** with **yu** as the agreement prefix. Petzell (2008) observes that the IV usually occurs with nouns, and conspicuously with determiners. It is rarely found on numerals. Petzell (2008: 64) further takes note of another element, which occurs with modifiers, e.g. mabiki **agamonga** (the other trees) which, she points out, is difficult to determine whether it is the initial vowel or some other morpheme. The IV element can also be found on subject clausal relatives³⁰, where the element underlyingly represents both the IV and the subject relative marker. It is never used with object clausal relatives. Instead, a different morpheme is employed. Petzell (2003, 2008), however, observes that the IV never occurs with adjectives and adverbs, but it can occur with a few forms of associative constructions. The initial vowel is also found on nouns denoting personified animals used in folktales.

It is generally assumed for Bantu languages that a negative verb does not permit its complement noun to take an IV (Ashton et al., 1954; de Blois, 1970; Taylor, 1985; Hyman & Katamba, 1993, among others). Petzell (2003, 2008), however, observes that this negation rule is not always observed in Kagulu, as illustrated below:

³⁰ A subject relative as the logical subject of the matrix clause is at the same time the head of the relative clause, as opposed to the object relative, where the structural object is the subject of the relative clause (cf. section 7.3).

- (10) Sikulima **umugunda** wangu
 ‘I am not cultivating my farm.’ Petzell (2008: 64)

This situation in Kagulu might mean that there are languages which do not conform to this generally held view.

Petzell (2008: 65) notes that nouns denoting kinship terms often do not take an IV (see also Taylor, 1985: 89, 223 for the case of Runyankore-Rukiga and Hyman & Katamba, 1993: 235 for Luganda). In Kagulu, a number of them do take an IV, as Petzell (2008: 65) demonstrates, for instance, **imai** (mother) **ikuku** (grandfather). Furthermore, the IV is never allowed on nouns preceded by the quantifier **chila** (each/every), before the interrogative **-ki** or **-ni** ‘what’, and in combination with the locative prefixes.

3.2.2.4 Function of the IV in Kagulu

According to Petzell, the role of the IV in the morphology of the noun is difficult to determine in Kagulu for the reason that it has become increasingly optional in use. As Petzell (2003, 2008) notes, among the young speakers, the segment is much less used. Further, it is less preferred among city dwellers. Petzell attributes this phenomenon to the influence of Kiswahili, since Kiswahili has no initial vowel. However, the function of the IV, as she observes, is driven by both syntactic and semantic considerations. Petzell (2008: 67) observes that the IV appears to play some role of definiteness and specificity marking besides being used as a phrase-initial marker. She adds that the morpheme also appears to particularize an entity to which it is attached. The functions of the IV in Kagulu, according to Petzell, are discussed below.

With regard to definiteness, Petzell (2008: 67-68) observes that the IV, to some degree, marks an entity that is identifiable to both speaker and hearer, as she illustrates with the following examples:

- (11) a. Kutola mfele kuswanu
 ‘Marrying a woman is good’
- b. Imfele yakwambikila awanagwe chakudia
 ‘The woman is cooking for her children.’ Petzell (2008: 68)

Petzell (2008: 68) nonetheless cautions that the role the IV plays in marking definiteness should not be generalized across Bantu languages which exhibit the IV. This is because the phenomenon of definiteness in Bantu is understood differently, and the IV is to give a cue into identifying a known referent. It should not be likened to how, say, European languages render referents definite since they possess explicit (in)definite markers. A noun phrase in Bantu may be definite with or without the noun bearing the IV.

According to Petzell's (2003, 2008) study, the IV, to some extent, renders nouns to which it attaches specific, as illustrated in (12):

- (12) Basi kowa munhu; imunhu yuya yeja yowa na...
 'Once there was a man; this man had...' Petzell (2008: 69)

Petzell states that the IV on the noun in the second part of the utterance in (12) signifies the reading of a particular man, not any man. Petzell asserts that the presence of the IV in Kagulu may signal topicalization. That is to say, it is used to give contextual information, or used with objects which are known. She observes that it is highly unlikely to find the IV used within the scope of focus.

The IV may also be used to mark something for which previous mention has been made, and therefore familiar. This is shown in the dialogue presented below between two men in their thirties (cf. Petzell, 2008: 70).

- (13) a. Awanike fowenuke na mdala hakaya?
 'How did the kids and wife (lit. old lady) wake up at home?'
 b. Wanike wenuka digoya.
 The kids have woken up well.

The IV in the noun class morphology, according to Petzell (2008), is used for an entity that is known to both discourse participants. However, the role of the IV is unpredictable here because it is observed in the second utterance (13b) that the IV is omitted, yet the entity is already

introduced, hence familiar. The non-usage of the IV, as in (13b), according to Petzell, could perhaps be due to the fact that the discourse participants are young (as noted above, the IV in Kagulu is less used by the young) or, maybe the IV is not worth repeating.

In sum, the IV in Kagulu, according to Petzell's (2003, 2008) investigations, plays a significant role in informing the hearer that the referent with which it occurs is a particular one worthy of note.

3.2.3 Kinande

According to Lewis et al. (2013), Kinande classified as [D42] (cf. Maho, 2009) is a Bantu language spoken in the Northern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo. It closely relates to Konzo [D41] of Uganda. Kinande is alternately known as Orunande, Nandi, among other names (Lewis et al., 2013).

Kinande has an IV which is realized as a non-high vowel, and it occurs with nominals in specific syntactic contexts (cf. Progovac, 1993: 257). The IV is realized as /a/, /e/ or /o/, depending on the vowel of the prefix. Progovac (1993) studies the distribution of the IV from a syntactic account on the basis that the asymmetries manifested between subject and object NPs are best handled in syntax not semantics.

Progovac (1993) posits that the distribution of the IV can be explained through binding theory, whereby she postulates that non-augmented forms correlate to Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) and thus require a licenser, while the augmented forms do not need one. The licensors of non-augmented forms in Kinande, according to Progovac, are negation, interrogative and conditionals. Progovac discusses the syntactic (non-)occurrence of the IV when it occurs with subject NPs as well as NPs in object positions.

With regard to subject NPs, Progovac states that in Kinande, a subject NP is required to take an IV in main clauses. Even if the subject appears in conditionals or interrogative sentences, the subject must retain its IV. However, the subject noun can lose the IV when it is preceded by a copular verb in a negative context, as shown in the examples below.

- (14) **(o)mukali anzile Yohani*
 ‘The woman likes John.’ Progovac (1993: 260)

When a negated copula comes before the subject NP, it is obligatory for the noun to appear with no IV (cf. (15)).

- (15) *Si hali mukali (*o)-wanzire Yohani*
 Not there-is woman likes John.
 ‘No woman likes John.’ Progovac (1993: 261)

In addition, it is obligatory for the subject noun in a neutral sentence (not subject to negation or interrogative) to occur with an IV. The IV is optional after a copula, if the sentence occurs in the interrogative form, as the following illustrations from Progovac (1993: 261) in example (16a-b) show:

- (16) a. *Hane mukali anzire Yohani (kwe)?*
 There-is woman like John Q
 ‘Does any woman like John?’
- b. *Omukali oyo wanzire Yohani aneho (kwe)?*
 AUG-woman who likes John is-there Q
 ‘Does any woman like John?’

In a subordinate clause, a subject noun in Kinande requires an IV when it is preceded by a copular verb in a neutral context:

- (17) a. *Marya ati hane omukali oyo wanzire Yohani*
 ‘Mary says that the woman likes John.’
- b. **Marya ati hane mukali oyo wanzire Yohani* Progovac (1993: 261)

Concerning the object NPs, Progovac (1993) observes that object nouns are more prone to losing their IV than subject nouns. The IV is likely to drop when the object follows a negative matrix verb, or when the main sentence appears in a question form or as a conditional. Note that

Progovac recognizes that an IV in Kinande can be used optionally when the main verb is negated, as exemplified below.

(18) a. Yohani si anzire omukali

‘John does not like the woman’

b. Yohani si anzire mukali

‘John does not like any woman.’ Progovac (1993: 262)

According to Progovac, the object appearing in an embedded clause can appear without an IV if the verb of the main clause is negated, or is in a question form. In addition, an object noun may also appear without an IV if its local clause is negative, interrogative or conditional.

Progovac proposes that nominal elements in Kinande, which occur without an IV in specific syntactic contexts (as outlined above), are best analyzed as A'-anaphors which are bound by one of the three operators, viz., negative, interrogative and conditional. She postulates that these operators are located in the INFL[ectional] position. Progovac, however, notes that her analysis does not pass without challenges. There are syntactic contexts in which nouns can appear without an IV, yet they do not fall under any of the given operators. For instance, in passive constructions, the logical subject takes an optional IV in the **na** (by) phrases. On the other hand, the copula **ni** (to be) allows only nominal forms with IV to follow it. Progovac (1993: 267) gives the following examples for the passive case.

(19) a. Ekitabo kya heribaua na mukali

Book AGR was-lost by woman

‘The book must have been lost by a woman.’

b. Ekitabo kya heribaua n’omukali

‘The book must have been lost by the woman.’

The nominal forms without an IV, according to Progovac, attract emphasis while the augmented counterparts do not. This relates to Hyman and Katamba’s (1993) analysis with non-augmented elements having a FOC licenser (see section 3.2.5.3).

Although Progovac (1993) does not discuss the semantic-pragmatic meanings of nominals occurring with an IV versus those with no IV, from the translations provided (see for example the contrasts between (a) and (b) of illustrations (18) and (19) above), it appears that nominal elements which occur with an IV refer to known entities, while those forms without an IV appear to encode unfamiliar or non-specific referents.

3.2.4 Haya

3.2.4.1 Introduction

Haya is classified as [JE22] according to Maho (2009). It is spoken in Tanzania and is alternately known as Ekihaya, Kihaya, Luhaya, Ruhaya, or Ziba. Haya is closely related to Runyankore-Rukiga, as the mutual intelligibility is put between 70% (Rukiga) and 74% (Runyankore) (cf. Lewis et al., 2013).

3.2.4.2 Distribution of the IV

Riedel (2011) points out that in Haya, the IV occurs with common nouns but not with nouns denoting kinship terms and proper names. It also occurs optionally in the inflectional morphology of adjectives. She further indicates that though the associative morpheme and possessive pronouns generally do not take an IV, in some contexts it is allowed to occur. In addition, the IV in Haya, as Riedel observes, never occurs with demonstratives and numerals. She further states that Haya nouns modified by adjectives appearing with the IV are preferred to those which lack one. Therefore, adjectival modifiers with an IV are unmarked, while those that lack one are marked. She adds that adjectives occurring without an IV are preferred to be interpreted as predicates.

Riedel (2011) has demonstrated that there are syntactic environments where the IV must be present. She observes that in constructions where an overt noun is absent, the modifier, i.e. the adjective or possessive must occur with an IV. Removing the IV on the possessive in (20b) makes the construction ungrammatical.

- 20) a. E-my-ongu ya-nge t-e-ka-ire
 AUG-NC4-pumpkin 4my NEG-SM4-TAM-ripe-PERF
 ‘My pumpkins are not ripe.’
- b. *(E)-yange t-e-ka-ire
 AUG-4my NEG-SM4-TAM-ripe-PERF
 ‘Mine are not ready.’

On the other hand, the demonstrative in Haya can occur prenominally or postnominally. When it is prenominal, the IV of the head noun is not affected.

In Haya, like in other Bantu languages which exhibit the IV (cf. Ashton et al., 1954; Taylor, 1985; Hyman & Katamba, 1993, among others), the IV is absent on nouns after a zero copula, and on nouns preceded by the quantifier **huri** (every), as illustrated below.

Zero copular:

- (21) mwaana wange
 ‘it is my child’

With quantifier **huri**:

- (22) huri (*o)mu-ntu
 every AUG-NC1-person
 ‘every person’

It is also impermissible for the IV to appear with a noun following a locative clitic in Haya, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (23). This, according to Riedel, is a common feature in many Bantu languages (or the Northern Bantu languages which possess an IV). This is supported by studies on other Bantu languages reviewed in this chapter (cf. Dewees, 1971; Morris & Kirwan, 1972; Taylor, 1985; Hyman & Katamba, 1993; Petzell, 2008).

- (23) omu-(*e)-nju yangye
 LOC18-AUG-9house 9mine
 ‘in my house’

In Haya, Riedel observes syntactic contexts in which the IV is optionally used. The IV is optional in constructions with ‘which’ question word, as exemplified in (24) and (25).

(24) Chonka tinkumanya (e)kitabo ki
 But NEG-SM1S-PRES-know AUG-NC7-book which
 ‘But I don’t know which book...’

(25) O-bo-ine (a)baana ki?
 SM2S-see-p2 AUG-2children which
 ‘Which children did you see?’

Riedel (2011) further indicates that after a negative verb the noun following it may or may not occur with an IV, as illustrated in (26):

(26) a. Ti-n-a-guz-ile e-ki-tabo
 NEG-SM1S-p1-buy AUG-NC7-book
 ‘I did not buy a/the book.’

b. Ti-n-a-bona ki-ntu
 NEG-SM1S-PAST1-see NC7-thing
 ‘I did not see anything/a thing/the thing.’

3.2.4.3 The IV and definiteness in Haya

Riedel (2011) argues against the claim that the IV is a definite marker on the account that there are nouns in some constructions which take an obligatory IV and yet they are not definite. In addition, if the IV of the same noun is deleted, the nouns are not made indefinite. Instead, the construction becomes ungrammatical. She also argues that a definite interpretation may be possible even when an IV is absent. However, with the presence of the IV on the object of a negative verb, Riedel (2011: 8) observes that the meaning of ‘any’ is not possible, which implies that the object noun appearing with an IV is particularized. The sentence in (27) illustrates the point.

- (27) Ti-n-a-bona a-ba-ana a-ba-to
 NEG-SM1S-p1-SEE AUG-2child AUG-NC2-small
 *I didn't see any small children.'
 'I didn't see the small children.'

Where an object prefix marker is present in the verb form, and it is co-indexed to an object noun, the noun must take an IV. Riedel further demonstrates that it is not necessarily the case that the obligatory IV of an overt object occurring with a verb predicate containing an object marker is for definiteness encoding. Rather, the IV is required for grammatical purposes. Otherwise, its omission leads to ungrammaticality of the construction. Likewise, the presence or absence of the IV, as argued by Riedel (2011), has no direct bearing on the specificity of an NP, since non-specific or generic NPs take an IV.

Thus, Riedel's view is that there is no direct link between definiteness or specificity and the IV in positive constructions. Definiteness is registered with the presence of negative polarity items with the presence of the IV, and when the negative verb carries an object marker co-occurring with an object, which, as a grammatical requirement, must occur with an IV. Definiteness, from Riedel's observation, is required if there is an object agreement prefix present in the aforementioned syntactic situation. Thus, her view is that, to a greater extent, the IV behaves not like a syntactic marker (of definiteness) or imposing some semantic difference, but it is presumed to play a pragmatic role.

3.2.4.4 The IV and the Haya DP

Regarding the status of the IV in the Haya DP, Riedel identifies some modifiers that may occur with an IV in one DP in a fairly strict order, as shown in (26).

- (28) Eki e-ki-tabo kyange (e)ki-lungi
 7DEM AUG-NC7-book 7my AUG-NC7-nice
 'This nice book of mine (lit: this my nice book.)'

She argues that in Haya one modifier is allowed prenominally at a time, and that one postnominal modifier is allowed to appear with an IV. As for the issue of nominal modifiers

within the DP analysis, Riedel points out that when a demonstrative precedes a noun, the IV of the head noun is not affected by the demonstrative, as shown in (28).

Riedel's view on the status of the IV in relation to the DP in Haya is that the IV is not a determiner, because it has no semantic feature to associate with D. In addition, since it is a dependent morpheme attached to noun prefixes, it might be just an allomorph of the class prefix (cf. Dewees (1971) for a similar idea for Luganda). Riedel, thus, advocates the treatment of an IV as a variant of noun class prefixes. This analysis, she points out, is supported by data of *pro* constructions, where the IV must occur with the modifier of the implied noun.

3.2.5 Luganda

3.2.5.1 Introduction

Luganda is a major indigenous language spoken primarily in the central region of Uganda. In Maho's (2009) classification, Luganda is classified as [JE 15] in the major group of Nyoro-Ganda. Luganda exhibits the IV segment in its noun class morphology. Some of the scholars who have studied the form and use of the IV in Luganda include Ashton *et al.* (1954), Dewees (1971), Moulds (1973) and Hymn & Katamba (1993). These scholars are in agreement regarding the place of the IV in the grammar of the language, the fact that it is a complex issue, and that its functions differ from one Bantu language to another.

3.2.5.2 Form and Distribution of the IV

According to Hyman and Katamba (1993), the form of the IV can be predicted as to its shape from the prefix of the nominal. Thus, the form is in a way phonologically determined. According to Hyman and Katamba (1993: 211), the shape of the IV is **o-** when it precedes the noun prefix that has the shape **Cu-**; when the class noun prefix has the shape **Ca-**, the IV becomes **a-**. If the noun prefix has **Ce-**, **Ci-**, or **C-**, the IV becomes **e-**. Hence, the shape of the IV is determined by the rules of vowel harmony.

Hyman and Katamba (1993: 212-213) observe that the IV in Luganda occurs not only with nouns but also with the following word categories: adjectives, adverbs, infinitives, numerals, possessives, pronouns, genitive proclitics, and subject relatives. They point out that these

elements allow the IV in their inflectional morphology, because ‘they meet the minimum requirement of being nominal’.

In addition, there are syntactic elements which, according to Hyman and Katamba (1993), never occur with an IV, for instance, demonstratives, the object relative marker, complementizers, personal pronouns, conjunctions and prepositions. Furthermore, there are some nouns which inherently do not have an overt IV. Such nouns include those which denote deities, titles, proper names, kinship terms and personifications.

The following syntactic environments in relation to IV usage in Luganda are discussed:

- (i) where the IV is disallowed,
- (ii) when the IV is obligatorily omitted, and
- (iii) when it is optional to use it.

It is a grammatical requirement for subject nouns of main clauses to exhibit an IV. Likewise, in affirmative sentences, the object noun usually takes the IV (which is ambiguous between definiteness and indefiniteness). In addition, topicalized elements require a compulsory IV.

According to Ashton et al. (1954: 39), adjectives used as nouns must have an IV. Thus, as will be discussed in chapter six, an adjective appearing with a *pro* head must take an IV unless other rules apply, for example, the requirement for an IV not to appear with an object within the scope of a negative operator:

- (29) Leeta ebyeru (i.e. ebikopo)
 ‘Bring the white ones (i.e. cups)’.

Ashton et al. (1954: 46) state that a possessive also is required to occur with an obligatory IV when it is used as a quantifier:

- (30) Leeta ebitooke by’omwami
 ‘Bring the chief’s plantains.’

Furthermore, Ashton et al. (1954: 46) point out that it is a syntactic requirement that the associative nominal after the associative element or the genitive must occur with an IV. Orthographically, the last vowel of the associative particle drops, giving way for the pronunciation of the IV of the associative nominal³¹. The IV, in addition, is obligatory if the associative element occurs initially in a clause:

(31) Eby'omwami biwanvu

'The chief's are tall.'

According to Ashton et al. (1954: 52), the IV in Luganda does not occur with numerals, unless the numeral is used as a noun, or if the noun it occurs with is to be particularized, as illustrated in (32).

(32) a. Ebikopo ebyo ebisatu bimenyese

'Those three cups are broken.'

b. Leeta ebibiri

'Bring the two.'

Hyman and Katamba (1993: 227) observe that the possessive pronoun usually occurs in the position immediately following the noun denoting possession. When occurring with other modifiers and the possessive pronoun is moved from its canonical position, it is required to take an IV, as illustrated in (33):

(33) a. teyalaba bitabo byange binene

'he did not see my big books'

b. teyalaba bitabo binene (e)-byange

'he did not see my big books'

There are, on the other hand, syntactic environments in which the IV is never allowed. The IV is always absent on a noun preceded by the invariable **buli** 'every' (Ashton *et al.*, 1954; Dewees, 1973). In addition, after a negative verb, the IV may not appear with the object noun and its

³¹ This is the same case in Runyankore-Rukiga.

modifiers (Ashton *et al.*, 1954; Hyman & Katamba, 1993), as the following example from Hyman and Katamba (1993: 224) illustrates:

- (34) tebaawa baana bitabo
 NEG-they gave children books
 ‘they didn’t give the children books’

Furthermore, adverbs appearing immediately following a main verb cannot take the IV. This appears to be an inherent property of the adverbs in Luganda. Furthermore, the IV is omitted after a locative preposition (Ashton *et al.*, 1954; Dewees, 1971; Mould, 1973, Hyman & Katamba, 1993) (cf. (35)). In addition, Ashton *et al.* (1954) observe that nouns following a copulative particle *-e* do not take the IV. Mould (1973) points out that, generally, nouns appearing after a predicative do not take an IV.

- (35) Ateeka ekintu ku mumwa gwe
 ‘He is putting the thing on his mouth.’ Dewees (1971: 24)

Ashton *et al.* (1954: 37) maintain that nominal words used predicatively do not take an IV, as illustrated in (36):

- (36) a. Bino biki? What (are) these?
 b. Bitabo ‘(They are) books’.

Nouns in the vocative do not occur with an IV. Furthermore, according to Dewees (1971) and Hyman and Katamba (1993), the lexical word **nnyini/nanyini** (owner) in Luganda disallows an IV on the noun that follows:

- (37) nnyini kitabo.
 ‘owner of the book’ Hyman and Katamba (1993:239)

Dewees (1971) adds that a noun followed by the interrogative **ki** cannot appear with an IV, as demonstrated in (38):

- (38) Mwami ki eyagenda ekiro?
 ‘Which gentleman went at night?’

Next, the syntactic environments which allow an optional IV in Luganda are considered. An object noun of a positive sentence in its canonical position may or may not appear with an IV. This view is shared by Mould (1973) and Hyman and Katamba (1993). Mould (1973: 226) argues that the presence of the IV in this context serves to mark referentiality³², while its absence indicates that the object has non-referential features:

(39) a. Nnonya omusawo [+ref]
 ‘I am looking for a/the doctor.’

b. Nnonya musawo [-ref]
 ‘I am looking for a/any doctor.’

Mould (1973: 226) further notes that the initial vowel optionally occurs with adverbs in conditional clauses.

(40) a. senga okola ennyo ‘if you work hard...’ (I know you will)
 b. senga okola nnyo... ‘if you (should) work hard...’ (uncertain)

Although object nouns and their dependants are bound to lose their IV in negative sentences, the subject relative clause can optionally retain it, as Mould (1973: 225) illustrates:

(41) a. Saalaba musawo eyajja
 ‘I did not see the doctor who came.’
 b. Saalaba musawo yajja
 ‘I did not see a/any doctor who came.’

Deweese (1971) points out that the IV can appear as an optional element in the inflectional morphology of the genitive **a**. He mentions that the occurrence of the IV triggers a definiteness reading. However, its presence may also be associated with emphasis, or contrastive focus, exemplified in the example of (42).

³² Givón (1978) holds the same idea for Bemba. Referentiality is synonymous with specificity (cf. Bokamba, 1971 in section 2.3.2).

- (42) a. Nnonya omusumeeno gw'omubazzi
 'I am looking for the carpenter's saw'.
 b. Nnonya omusumeeno ogw'omubazzi
 'I am looking for the saw belonging to the carpenter'.

3.2.5.3 The function of the initial vowel in Luganda

There have been differing views as to what role the IV plays in Luganda. Mould (1973) maintains that it is necessary to first understand the speaker's intuition in determining the function of the IV. He asserts that the IV encodes referentiality as well as definiteness in specific contexts. The IV is, for instance, used with subjects of main clauses, because subjects are presupposed and thus correlate with referentiality. Object nouns of negative verbs are not presupposed to exist, and they, therefore, lack the IV element. On the other hand, Mould states that the IV which optionally appears with object nouns following positive verbs denotes referentiality (cf. (39a)), whereas those object nouns which appear without an IV after a positive verb are non-referential (cf. (39b)).

In addition, Mould (1973) points out that there are some syntactic environments involving the IV as a *definitizer*. These include nouns modified by possessives (see also Dewees (1971) for the illustration of possessive phrases, as exemplified in (42a-b)), numerals and some quantifiers. Mould (1973: 227) illustrates the issue under consideration with the following examples:

- (43) a. Abantu abasatu bagenze
 'The three people went.'
 b. Abantu basatu bagenze
 'Three (of the) people went.'
- (44) a. Abantu abangi bafudde
 'The many people (i.e., the majority of the) people died.'

b. Abantu bangi bafudde

‘Many (of the) people died’

(45) a. Omwana owange ajja

‘My child is coming’ (the child who is mine).’

b. Omwana wange ajja

‘My child is coming (a child of mine)’

In contrast, Hyman and Katamba (1993) argue that the IV in Bantu languages (which have it) generally performs distinct roles. Therefore, not a single account can explain its occurrence and functions. They state that the occurrence of the IV in Luganda is conditioned by a combination of phonological and syntactic factors. They maintain that the pragmatic use of the IV is realized in a few specific constructions, and therefore, should not be taken generally to account for the occurrence of the IV in Luganda.

Therefore, Hyman and Katamba (1993) do not support the idea that (in)definiteness reading in Luganda is a result of the (non-)occurrence of the IV. They claim that an IV may be present in the nominal morphology and the noun still receives an indefinite reading, or a noun may have no IV and yet it can be interpreted as definite. Instead, they posit that the IV has inflectional morphological properties whose role is determined through syntactic and morphological configurations. In addition, they argue that the (non-)occurrence of the IV is governed by syntactic rules of the language in that, for elements which follow the verb, the IV is licensed either by NEG or FOC operators. That is, elements which do not have the IV are licensed by the aforementioned operators, and the forms which occur with the IV are grammatical if they do not fall under the negation operator, or when they are not governed by focus.

Hyman and Katamba (1993: 219-220) further argue that, since a noun phrase may be definite or indefinite with or without the IV in the inflectional morphology of a category, the IV then has no semantic meaning of definiteness. This is illustrated in (46) with the use of a numeral as a noun modifier, where the occurrence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of the numeral is not associated with definiteness, because the noun has a definite or indefinite meaning, irrespective of the fact that the IV is present.

- (46) eyasoma ebitabo ebisatu
 ‘the one who read (the) three books.’

However, Hyman and Katamba (1993: 219) further observe that sometimes native speakers offer a definiteness interpretation for main clause NPs (either in subject or object position) modified by a numeral which occurs with an IV, and an indefinite interpretation if the modifying numeral occurs with no IV. Entities which take an IV could thus be taken as encoding definiteness in few contexts as illustrated with the contrast in the meaning involving the numeral ‘three’ in (47a-b). The lack of the IV on the numeral may imply that the head noun is indefinite.

- (47) a. ebitabo bisatu ‘three books’
 b. ‘ebitabo ebisatu ‘the three books’

However, note that not all modifiers may render their head nouns definite if they appear with an IV. For instance, Hyman and Katamba argue that relative clauses must occur with the IV in the verbal morphology, whether the NP is understood as either definite or indefinite.

Hyman and Katamba (1993) offer more evidence for the analysis of the IV as an element with inflectional features. They maintain that a noun appearing within the scope of either focus or negation cannot exhibit an IV. Hence, a form that occurs with no IV appearing outside the scope of the licenser, and a nominal form which occurs with an IV falling within the scope of one of the licensers yield ungrammatical forms. Hyman and Katamba (1993: 224) propose two well-formedness conditions, which must be observed:

- (i) [-A] is well-formed only if it is licensed by NEG or FOC;
 (ii) [+A] is well-formed only if it is not so licensed (i.e. it is free within the binding domain).

The licenser is NEG: Hyman and Katamba (1993: 225) posit that all elements coming after a negative verb, even though potential hosts of the IV, must not take one (cf. (48b)). In other words, the NEG licenser causes the elements that come after the negative verb to lose their IV. However, if the NEG licenser is not present (cf. (48a)), for the well-formedness condition (ii), the nominal elements occur with an IV.

(48) a. baalaba e-bitabo bye twawa abaana

‘they saw (the) books that we gave to (the) children’

b. te-baalaba bitabo bye twawa baana

‘they didn’t see (the) books that we gave to (the) children’

Elements which follow a complementizer, or those which are embedded are opaque to the negative licenser. Also, elements which have been moved out of their canonical positions are said to fall outside the scope of the NEG licenser, and therefore must take the IV, as the following example shows:

(49) Te-yalaba mwana nga agula ebitabo

NEG-he saw child comp he buys books

‘he didn’t see the child buy books’ Hyman and Katamba (1993: 225)

The licenser is FOC: The occurrence of the IV with nominal elements after a positive verb relates to what Hyman and Katamba (1993: 228) term ‘even-focus’, that is, elements are not governed by the FOC licenser. The lack of the IV in the same syntactic environment implies that the elements following the positive verb are licensed by FOC:

(50) a. Yagulira abaana ebitabo

‘He bought the children books’

b. Yagulira baana bitabo

‘He bought *the children books*’ Hyman and Katamba (1993: 228)

According to Hyman and Katamba, an element which is licensed by either of the licensers, together with all its dependants, cannot occur with an IV. They termed this ‘*augment agreement*’, where a [+A] or [-A] feature imposed by either of the licensers is passed on from the head to all elements that follow it in a canonical order. However, they admit that their analysis is not without problems, because not all elements will adhere to the well-formedness conditions, and yet they still yield grammatical strings. For example, ***Nnyini kitabo kinene** (owner of the

big book) (cf. Hyman & Katamba, 1993: 239) is unacceptable if the adjective **kinene** appears without an IV.

In summary, the view that the IV in Luganda is motivated by semantic or pragmatic factors, according to Hyman and Katamba (1993), is not watertight. They prefer to treat the IV as an element controlled by syntactic operators of NEG or FOC. However, considering the views from other scholars such as Mould (1973), the IV in Luganda, given specific syntactic and pragmatic contexts, is associated with definiteness and specificity (or referentiality) meaning.

3.2.6 Runyoro-Rutooro

3.2.6.1 Introduction

Runyoro-Rutooro is a Bantu language of class JE11/12³³ (cf. Maho, 2009) zone spoken in the western part of Uganda. It is closely related to Runyankore-Rukiga, with the percentage of mutual intelligibility approximated to be between 67%-77% (Lewis et al., 2013). There is scant information available regarding the properties of the IV in Runyoro-Rutooro. Nonetheless, in what follows, I represent the syntactic (non-)occurrence of the IV according to Rubongoya (1999).

3.2.6.2 Form and distribution of the IV

The IV in Runyoro-Rutooro occurs with nouns, adjectives, object and subject relatives, possessives, and genitives. Rubongoya discusses the phonological conditions for the shape of the IV, pointing out that the shape of the IV is determined by the shape of the vowel of the class prefix of the nominal (cf. Hyman & Katamba, 1993 for Luganda). For instance, all nouns in class 9 and 10 which accommodate the IV have **e-** as their IV.

In his ‘Modern Grammar of Runyoro-Rutooro’, Rubongoya (1999) gives sketches of syntactic contexts which do not permit the categories bearing the IV. A noun loses its IV when it is

³³ Due to the high level of similarity between Runyoro and Rutooro, they have been classified linguistically as two dialects of the same language (cf. Rubongoya, 1999).

preceded by a locative preposition **aha** ‘on/at’ or **omu** ‘in’. A locative preposition, according to Rubongoya, attaches to the noun it precedes, and the IV of the noun must be omitted, as in (51):

- (51) Omuruguudo hagazi okukira omumuhanda.
 ‘The road is wider than the foot path.’

Rubongoya (1999: 159), in addition, states that adding the particle **nya-** to a noun results in the noun losing its IV.

- (52) nya-mukazi ‘the woman both of us know’

The IV of the genitive is also dropped when answering the ‘what is this/that’ question, as demonstrated in the following sentence:

- (53) Q: Ogu muki? ‘What is that man?’
 A: Woomuruka ‘He is a parish chief.’

Furthermore, the IV, as Rubongoya states, is omitted from the morphology of the genitive element, when the genitive is used as a noun in an interrogative context.

- (54) Omukazi ogu w’oha?
 ‘Whose woman is this?’ (Rubongoya, 1999: 60)

Rubongoya (1999: 13) emphasises the fact that the genitive is not permitted to take an IV if it occurs between two proper names.

- (55) ‘Kibaale kya Nyandera
 ‘Kibaale the country of Nyandera.’

As for verbs, when a subject or relative concord follows a self-standing copular verb, it loses its IV, as in (56) below.

- (56) Muti nigwo gugwire
 ‘It is the tree that has fallen down.’ (Rubongoya, 1999:176)

Rubongoya (1999: 157) further points out that during the derivation process, nouns lose their IV, for instance, deriving a noun from another noun such as **embabazi** ‘kindness’, thus becoming

omunyambabazi ‘kind/sympathetic person’. Hence, **omunya(*e)mbabazi** is unacceptable. Conversely, according to Rubongoya (1999), the IV is obligatorily present when the genitive particle precedes a noun, or when the genitive follows a pronoun. In addition, the IV is required when the genitive is used as an object relative pronoun when it comes before the noun.

- (57) Owa Byamaani atakarwanisaga omukyaro kinu nooha?
 ‘Who is the person whom Byamaani has never fought in this village?’

With regard to the optional use of the IV, Rubongoya points out that the IV may or may not occur with subject relatives. When the IV is present, it implies that emphasis is being laid on the modified noun. Similarly, whenever it is necessary to emphasize a possession or to single out one entity from many, the IV is used.

- (58) Omukono gwatiire engoma tighunga nzige. Rubongoya (1999:58)
 ‘The hand which beat the drum (royal drum) does not catch locusts.’

- (59) Ente ez’amahembe maraira zisangwa Nkole. Rubongoya (1999: 62)
 ‘Cattle with long horns are found in Ankole (Lit: Cattle of long horns are found in Ankole).’

Though Rubogoya does not explicitly discuss the possible functions of the IV, he, however, mentions that its optional presence with possessive modifiers adds emphasis to the modified noun, or signals that the head noun is particularized. This in turn would mean that in a corresponding construction without the IV, the modified noun is non-particularized or not emphasized. The next section discusses the distribution and role of the IV in Runyankore-Rukiga.

3.2.7 Runyankore-Rukiga

3.2.7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this section is to give a typology of the (non-) occurrence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of various categories in Runyankore-Rukiga (see section 1.9 for a descriptive overview of Runyankore-Rukiga). Runyankore-Rukiga has the IV element, and some

of its properties in the language are shared by other Bantu languages such as Runyoro-Rutooro, Luganda and Haya, as discussed above. In addition, the phonological rules that govern the occurrence of the IV in Luganda (Hyman and Katamba 1993), as shown in section 3.2.5.2 apply to Runyoro-Rutooro as well as Runyankore-Rukiga.

3.2.7.2 (Non-)occurrence of the IV

There are grammatical conditions which require the obligatory appearance of the IV, and there are also syntactic conditions which do not allow it to occur. In addition, there are syntactic contexts in which the IV can optionally occur. Some of the syntactic properties are the same as those discussed already, for example, for Haya (section 3.2.4) and Luganda (section 3.2.5), while some differences also do exist. In the following discussion the syntactic distributional properties of the IV in Runyankore-Rukiga are given, as presented in previous literature (cf. Morris & Kirwan, 1972; Taylor 1972, 1985).

There are various syntactic environments which necessitate the obligatory appearance of the IV. First, the IV which occurs with nominal modifiers functioning as nouns in the absence of the modified head noun, is obligatory.

- (60) *abarungi bakora batyo* Morris and Kirwan (1972: 152)
*a-ba-rungi ba-kor-a ba-tyo*³⁴
 IV-2-good 2-do-FV 2-DEM
 ‘good (people) do thus’

In the negative imperative, the IV is obligatory in the noun class morphology. Compare the imperative sentence (61a) and the phrase in (61b) (cf. Taylor, 1972: 75). The semantic meaning in (61a) is different from the meaning of (61b), and the difference stems from the (non-)occurrence of the IV.

- (61) a. *Otataaha omu nju*
O-ti-taah-a o-mu n-ju
 2SG-NEG-enter-IMP IV-18.in 9-house
 ‘Do not enter into the house(s)’

³⁴ The morphological glosses provided in this section are mine.

b. *Otataaha mu nju*

O-ti-a-taah-a *mu n-ju*
 2SG-NEG-PASTim-enter-FV 18.in 9-house
 ‘One who has not entered in (the) house.’

In certain contexts, the IV is optional. It is optional in the sense that its appearance or non-appearance does not affect the syntax of the construction. The optional IV in Runyankore-Rukiga with adjectives, according to (Taylor, 1972), marks a definite entity, as shown in the English gloss in (62). According to Morris and Kirwan (1972: 151), adjectives as well as numerals usually occur without an IV, unless the nouns they modify are to be particularized. The following examples from Taylor (1972: 74) illustrate the issue:

(62) a. *omushaija murungi*

o-mu-shaija mu-rungi
 IV-1-man 1-good
 ‘a good man’

b. *omushaija omurungi*

o-mu-shaija o-mu-rungi
 IV-1-man IV-1-good
 ‘the good man’

Subject relatives also take an optional IV, where, if present, the modified NP is interpreted as a definite entity, while its absence yields an indefinite reading (Taylor, 1972: 74) (see also section 2.4.3 for the review of definiteness and specificity readings associated with the IV).

(63) a. *abashaija abasinzire*

a-ba-shaija a-ba-sind-ire
 IV-2-man IV-2.REL-drunken-STAT
 ‘the drunken men or ((the)men who are drunk)’

b. *abashaija basinzire*

a-ba-shaija ba-sind-ire
 IV-2-man 2.REL-drunken-STAT
 ‘drunken men or (men who are drunk)’

The object relative pronoun³⁵ in Runyankore-Rukiga takes an optional IV. Taylor (1972) asserts that the appearance or non-appearance of the IV with object relative could be merely dialectal. However, he speculates that the presence of the IV with object relatives could be for the purpose of emphasis. He further points out that the optional IV appearing with object relative pronouns tends to make (head) objects definite, while the relative pronoun without one signals that the (head) object noun is indefinite.

Taylor (1972: 76) further observes that numerals under ten do not usually take an IV. However, there are a few exceptions, where in the Runyankore dialect an IV may be attached to the numeral while in Rukiga it does not:

Runyankore:

(64) a. *Entebe mukaaga aha n'omukaaga aho*

e-n-tebe mukaaga a-ha na o-mukaaga a-ho

IV-10-chair six IV-16.here and IV-six IV-16.there

‘the six chairs here and the six there’

Rukiga:

b. *Entebe mukaaga aha na mukaaga aho*

e-n-tebe mukaaga a-ha na mu-kaaga a-ho

IV-10-chair six IV-16.here and six IV-16.there

‘the six chairs here and the six there’

For emphasis, the IV is retained in certain environments where it normally would not occur. For instance, the noun will normally lose its IV after a full copula, unless emphasis is to be laid on that noun, as Morris and Kirwan (1972:149) show:

(65) a. *Egi niyo nte ei ndikusiima*

A-gi-Ø ni-i-o e-n-te e-i n-ri-ku-siim-a

DEMrt-9-PROX COP-9-QUANTrt IV-9-cow IV-9.REL 1SG-COP-INF-admire-FV

‘This is the cow which I admire.’

³⁵ However, see section 7.3.3 for the categorial status of the object clausal marker in Runyankore-Rukiga.

b. *Ezi nizo ente ezi orikwenda?*

E-zi-Ø ni-z-o e-n-te e-zi o-ri-ku-end-a

DEMrt-10-PROX COP-10-QUANTrt IV-10-cows IV-10.REL 2SG-COP-INF-want-FV

‘Are these the cows you want?’

Besides the above syntactic environments which respectively allow the obligatory and optional presence of the IV, in the following syntactic contexts, the IV of the noun is obligatorily omitted. According to Morris and Kirwan (1972) and Taylor (1985), the IV must be omitted after the quantifier **huri/ibara** (every).

(66) *Buri/ibara muntu* (Taylor, 1985: 89)

Buri ibara mu-ntu

Every every 1-person

‘Each/every person.’

Taylor (1985: 88) further observes that if a noun follows the prepositions **omu** or **aha**, it is required to lose its IV (Taylor, 1985):

(67) *Ari omu kishengye*

A-ri o-mu ki-shengye

1.3SG-COP IV-18.in 7-room

‘He’s in the room.’

In addition, according to Morris and Kirwan (1972) and Taylor (1985: 88), it is obligatory for the noun coming before the interrogative **ki** not to have an IV, as illustrated in (66) below.

(68) *Nooyenda kitabo ki?*

Ni-o-ɣend-a ki-tabo ki?

PRES-2SG-want-FV 7-book Q.which

‘Which book do you want?’

Another syntactic context which does not permit an IV, according to Morris and Kirwan (1972) and Taylor (1985), is that in which an object noun follows a negative verb. These authors contend that the noun should lose its IV, as demonstrated in Taylor (1985: 89):

- (69) ***Tinaareeba muntu***
Ti-n-aa-reeb-a *mu-ntu*
 NEG-1SG-PASTrm-see-FV 1-person
 ‘I saw nobody.’

Taylor (1985:89) further argues that if an adjective is a complement to a copular verb, it must not exhibit an IV. For example:

- (70) ***Ni marungi***
Ni *ma-rungi*
 COP 6-good
 ‘It (the news) is good.’

Morris and Kirwan (1972: 150) give another group of nouns which do not exhibit an IV, indicating that they have an applied meaning, as exemplified in (71).

- (71) omukama mukama wa
 ‘a king’ ‘an elder of’

 omukuru mukuru wa
 ‘an elder’ ‘the elder brother of’

According to Taylor (1985: 89), a noun following a concordant (the absolute pronoun) loses its IV, as illustrated in (72):

- (72) ***Niwe mushomesa***
Ni-u-e *mu-shomesa*
 COP-1-ABS 1-teacher
 ‘He’s a teacher.’

Regarding kinship terms, Taylor (1972, 1985) argues that they normally do not exhibit an IV. However, there are a few exceptions, such as, **Omurumuna** (young sibling of same sex)’ (cf. Taylor, 1972: 76; Taylor, 1985: 223). The IV is also absent with agentive prefix ‘ki’ such as **kishwera** (bridegroom or one who married), **kifa** (the deceased or one who died) (cf. Taylor, 1972:76).

Morris and Kirwan (1972) and Taylor (1985) argue that when a demonstrative precedes a noun, the noun loses its initial vowel:

(73) ***Niinyenda eki kitabo***

Nii-n-ɣend-a *a-ki-∅* *ki-tabo*
 COP-1SG-want-FV DEMrt-7-PROX 7-book

‘I want this book.’

(cf. Taylor 1985: 89)

In the vocative voice, that is, when someone is addressed directly, the IV is dropped (Morris & Kirwan, 1972; Taylor, 1985), as illustrated below:

(74) ***Boojo mwije aha***

Morris & Kirwan (cf. 1972: 150)

Ba-ojo mu-ij-e *a-ha*
 2-boy 2-come-FV IV-16.here

‘Come here boys.’

Morris and Kirwan (1972: 151) further suggest that the demonstrative also takes an IV which can be dropped after a negative verb:

(75) ***Tindikwenda ki kitabo***

Ti-n-ri-ku-end-a *ki-∅* *ki-tabo*
 NEG-1SG.ArgS-COP-INF-want-FV 7-PROX 7-book

‘I do not want this book.’

3.2.7.3 Definiteness and specificity and the occurrence of the IV

For previous views in the literature on the role of IV in marking definiteness and specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga, refer to sections 2.4.2 and 2.4.3.

There are certain features of the IV in Runyankore-Rukiga which are similar to the features of the IV in other Bantu languages. For instance, by default, the subject noun must carry an IV if there are no rules to suggest otherwise, if for example, it is not preceded by the universal quantifier **huri** (every). The optionality of the IV in Runyankore-Rukiga provided questions to investigate further what its presence means in the grammar of the language. The optional IV that is associated with the pragmatic role of marking specificity and contrastive focus, constitutes the

question this study will investigate in the subsequent chapters. The optional IV is investigated to determine whether it has a role in the realization of definiteness in Runyankore-Rukiga.

3.3 Summary

This chapter discussed a wide range of issues relating to the distribution and role of the IV in selected Bantu grammars, and various observations have been made. It has been noted that there are grammatical constraints placed on the (non-)usage of the IV. Some of these constraints cut across the spectrum, while others apply to individual languages which exhibit the IV. For instance, the rule that there must not be an IV attached to a noun appearing before the invariant quantifier ‘every’ (**huri**) in Runyankore-Rukiga seems to cut across. In addition, topicalized elements seem to require a compulsory IV. On the other hand, while it is ungrammatical for Runyankore-Rukiga to have an IV omitted on the object of an affirmative verb, in Luganda, for instance, it is permissible for information structural encoding. The IV in Luganda must be present on nouns preceded by a demonstrative, yet in Runyankore-Rukiga, as demonstrated in the reviewed literature, the IV is not mandatory. Hence more light should be shed on this phenomenon. In chapter five, empirical data is presented to show that the IV can optionally occur with the noun preceded by a demonstrative.

The instances of the syntactic (non-)occurrence of the IV discussed above demonstrate that there cannot be a single account for the analysis of the role and distribution of the IV across Bantu languages. The IV manifestations in Bantu languages are not uniform, and therefore specific analytical designs are needed for each language which exhibits the IV in its inflectional morphology. The previous literature on the IV, however, provides favorable grounds to pursue further the relationship between the IV and definiteness/specificity marking in the languages studied.

Concerning the place of the IV in the DP of Bantu languages, de Dedreu (2008) presented the view that the IV morpheme in Zulu is a determiner head, where no other determiner, such as the demonstrative, is present (see also Visser (2008) on the isiXhosa determiner phrase). However, Riedel (2011) (cf. section 3.2.4.4) argues against treating the IV as determiner in Haya, with the argument that the IV has no semantic properties of its own, other than being an allomorph of the

inflectional noun class. With regard to Runyankore-Rukiga, there has not been any study of the IV within generative syntax, as far as the researcher can tell. Hence, the current study is aimed at investigating the categorial status of the IV hypothesizing that it is a functional determiner with [+specific] features.

CHAPTER FOUR

(IN)DEFINITENESS AND (NON-)SPECIFICITY OF BARE NOUNS

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to examine (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity properties of bare nouns in Runyankore-Rukiga, that is, nouns which appear with no modifiers. Generally, Bantu languages lack definite articles and indefinite articles, respectively, corresponding to *the* and *a* in English. The question addressed in this chapter concerns how the hearer arrives at the intended meaning of referents of bare nouns. The considerations which guide the hearer in the process of determining a definite or indefinite, specific or non-specific reading of a bare noun are mainly discourse-pragmatic in nature. The chapter discusses contexts in which nouns receive ambiguous (in)definite and (non-)specificity readings. Taken into consideration also are nouns which are semantically unique, which are identified unambiguously as definite and specific. Proper names are examined as well. Proper names are regarded as a typical class of nouns which take no determiners, and, according to Lyons (1999), they refer uniquely. Additionally, the chapter aims to determine the (in)definite or (non-)specific readings resulting from the morpho-syntactic use of the object agreement prefix (AgrOP) in conjunction with an explicit object noun occurring with an optional IV. Furthermore, locative nouns are examined particularly for the role the locative resumptive pronominals play in the realization of definiteness and specificity. Further attention is given to the interpretation of different syntactic environments of various bare nouns expressing generic meanings. Generic expressions are pragmatically definite and non-specific (cf. Lyons, 1999).

This chapter is organised as follows: In section 4.2, a range of discourse-pragmatic contexts are examined for the interpretation of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity of bare nouns. Section 4.3 explores morpho-syntactic devices which contribute to definiteness and specificity readings of bare nouns in which section 4.3.1 investigates the (co-)occurrence of the object agreement prefix and the IV of the direct object, and section 4.3.2 discusses locative nominals and the role of locative resumptive pronominals. Next, section 4.4 illustrates definiteness encoding by

association in some specific DPs involving particular nouns or predicates. Unique nouns and proper nouns, which in terms of their semantics, are inherently definite, are explored in section 4.5. Section 4.6 provides a discussion of generic expressions. Lastly, section 4.7 summarizes the chapter.

4.2 Discourse-pragmatic encoding of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in the morphology of bare nouns

This section examines different discourse-pragmatic contexts for the realization of (in)definite and (non-)specific readings of Runyankore-Rukiga bare nouns. Unless speakers share a discourse-pragmatic background concerning a given bare noun, ambiguity in interpretation is likely to arise.

Consider the illustration below (1):

- (1) ***Omupiira gwabaruka.***
O-mu-piira gu-aa-baruk-a
 IV-3-ball 3-PASTim-burst-FV
 ‘The/a ball has burst.’

The interpretation of the noun **omupiira** (ball) in (1) can either be definite and specific, or indefinite and specific considering the identifiability principle of definiteness and the meaning of specificity (see the discussion in 1.7.4 on principles of definiteness and the meaning of specificity according to Lyons (1999)). If the speaker assumes that the hearer is in a position to recognize a particular ball which they both know about, or can see, then it is definite and specific. By contrast, the hearer may have no knowledge of the ball that has burst, rendering the referent an indefinite, but still a specific entity, since the speaker knows the identity of the ball in question.

In comparison with the discourse-pragmatic context given in (1), consider next, the reading of the subject noun illustrated in (2):

(2) ***Omupiira gwahwa.****O-mu-piira* *gu-aa-hw-a*

IV-3-football.match 3-PASTim-end-FV

‘The football match has ended.’

The sentence given in (2) represents a situation where a noun is definite and specific even if it is not inherently unique (cf. section 4.5.1 and 4.5.2 for discussion on unique referents), and no morpho-syntactic cues are available. From the context given, it is assumed that discourse participants share the knowledge about the football game that has ended. The assumption is based on the possibility of the discourse participants having talked about the game before it started, or, they knew that there was a particular football match that was going to be played, and at that particular time. Hence, the speaker expects the hearer to be aware of the football match that was being played, about which the speaker is talking. Further, the verb which the speaker has selected suggests an episodic activity, which also contributes to the definiteness reading of the referent. Therefore, the referent **omupiira** (football match) in (2) is familiar, and uniquely identifiable by the hearer. The noun in the stated context does not support an indefinite reading, unless two different football games were being played at the same time, an occurrence that may lead the hearer to ask: **Guuha?** (which one?), to be able to arrive at the game referred to by the speaker. Notice that the illustrations such as (1) and (2) do not have any morpho-syntactic signs for definiteness readings. Therefore, their (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity interpretation relies entirely on assumed shared knowledge, and generally discourse-pragmatic background.

The following example illustrates an interpretation comparable to that in (1) but from a different discourse-pragmatic setting:

(3) ***Ente yaazaara.****e-n-te* *a-aa-zaar-a*

IV-9-cow 9.3SG-PASTim-calf-FV

‘The/a cow has calved.’

A definite and specific interpretation of the bare subject noun in (3) obtains if the speaker makes an assumption that the hearer is able to uniquely identify the cow being talked about. Hence, the definite reading of the subject noun is possible, assuming shared knowledge between speaker and

hearer about the referent. The speaker makes the utterance with the assumption that the hearer is aware that there is one cow which was pregnant, and it has calved. Another assumption for definiteness reading of the subject noun in (3) is that there could be more than one cow in a known kraal, and the cow talked about could have been the only one pregnant, which has calved, and that the hearer knew about it. Following Lyons's (1999) definition of specificity, the referent in question is specific on the grounds that the speaker has a particular cow in mind. Hence, the referent possesses definiteness and specificity features derived from the pragmatic setting.

Conversely, the cow in (3) may have an indefinite and specific reference if the speaker knows about a particular cow which the hearer is not able to identify at the time of the utterance. The given interpretation follows from the hearer's lack of prior knowledge concerning any pregnant cow which has calved. Furthermore, if there were more than one cow pregnant, the hearer may not be able to identify the particular one that has calved. Consequently, the hearer, if not able to identify the referent, may ask: 'Which one?' The question calls for the speaker to provide more information about the particular cow that has calved, which (s)he has in mind, for the hearer to be able to identify it.

The interpretations obtained in the next illustrations (4a-b) are mainly due to the tense and number used. In (4a), the subject is generic and it is non-generic in (4b). **Abeereere** (babies) in (4a) denotes a class of individuals, in which case reference is made to **babies** generally, and not individual babies. Hence, the class 'babies' is familiar to the hearer even if no specific babies are referred to (cf. section 4.6 for more on genericity). Plural nouns are more prevalent in generic expressions. Therefore, the singular **omwereere** (baby) would not favor a generic reading. Following Lyons's (1999) account of genericity and definiteness, the referent **abeereere** in (4a) is definite on the grounds that the hearer can identify babies as a class. The noun is also non-specific, because generic expressions do not involve particular individuals.

(4) a. ***Abeereere barira.***

A-ba-ereere ba-Ø-rir-a

IV-2-baby 2-cry-HAB-FV

'Babies cry.'

b. *Abeereere nibarira.**A-ba-ereere ni-ba-rir-a*

IV-2-baby PRES-2-cry-FV

‘(The) babies are crying.’ or ‘Babies cry.’

Conversely, the referent of the bare noun in (4b) can be ambiguous between a definite specific reading and an indefinite specific reading. Crucially, the present tense affords a generic reading to babies as a class if no individual babies are meant. For the definite and specific reading, reference is made by the speaker to individual babies identifiable to the hearer, and the crying is on-going. For instance, the crying babies are present in the physical environment where the interlocutors are. With regard to the indefinite specific reading, the speaker knows who the particular crying babies are, but are unknown to the hearer.

Consider another set of utterances given below. The discourse in (5a) was taken from a conversation between two friends I call TJ and ML. The utterance (5a) is uttered in reference to the Senior Six - Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education (U.A.C.E.) examinations for 2012, released on 26 - February - 2013 by the Ministry of Education and Sports.

(5) a. *Ebizaamu byashohora. Abaishiki bakozire gye kukira aboojo.**E-bi-zaamu bi-aa-shohor-a. A-ba-ishiki ba-koz-ire gye*

IV-8-exam 8-PASTim-release-FV IV-2-girl 2-perform-PASThst well

kukira a-ba-ojo

better-than IV-2-boy

‘The examination results are out. Girls have performed better than boys.’

b. *Ebizaamu bikashohora. Abaishiki bakakora gye kukira aboojo.**E-bi-zaamu bi-ka-shohor-a. A-ba-ishiki ba-ka-kor-a gye*

IV-8-exam 8-PASTrm-release-FV IV-2-girl 2-PASTrm-perform-FV well

kukira a-ba-ojo

better-than IV-2-boy

‘Examination results were released. Girls performed better than boys.’

With regard to the subject noun **ebizaamu** (exams) in the first part of the utterance in (5a), the meaning is time-bound. The speaker assumes that the addressee knows which examinations are

talked about. National examinations in the Ugandan education context are done at different levels, namely at primary seven, senior four, senior six, and higher levels of tertiary education, among others. However, the first three levels attract more public attention through the media than the rest. The sentence in (5a) was uttered on a specific day, 26-February-2013 when the 2012 UACE examinations had just been released by the Ministry of Education and Sports. As the subject noun bears no modifier, the speaker expected the hearer to be aware that the UACE results for 2012 are the ones which were expected around that time, given the fact that the primary seven and senior four results for 2012 had already been released. The speaker assumes that the particular referent is known to the hearer, which makes the subject noun of (5a) definite and specific. However, someone who is not familiar with the education system of Uganda would probably ask: ‘which exams?’ Chesterman’s (1991) view in this regard is that it is important to have in mind who the addressee is, in order to achieve the communicative purpose of the moment. Otherwise, (5a) would be irrelevant if the speaker does not first consider whether the addressee has background knowledge regarding the referent.

The background knowledge assumed in (5a) is not what the speaker of (5b) expects of the addressee to have when uttering the first statement. Note that the tense for (5a) is in the immediate past, for an action that has just taken place. When the tense changes to the past simple, as in (5b), the noun will require a different discourse-pragmatic framework for a given interpretation. In addition, the referent may need to be modified to provide more information for the hearer to be able to identify the intended referent, if there was no prior mention of it. If no further information is provided, and if it was not introduced earlier in discourse, then the question ‘which exams?’ is a valid one. In (5b), the addressee may not know which examinations, because as noted above, Uganda national examinations are done at different levels and at different times. The referent **ebizaamu** (exams) in (5b) can be definite when considering, for instance, a setting given in the dialogue in (6) below.

(6) Speaker A1: *Mpuriire ekirango aha reediyo kirikukwata aha bizaamu by’ekya mukaaga tinaakyategereza.*

I had an announcement over the radio about the senior six exams but I did not get it clearly.

Speaker B1: *Ebizaamu bishohoire.*

The exams have been released.

Speaker A2: *Abeegi bakoziire bata?*

How have the students performed?

Speaker B2: *Abaishiki bakoziire gye kukira aboojo.*

Girls have performed better than boys.

The pragmatic context given in (6) is distinct from the one presented in (5a) and (5b). The response of B1 in (6) is to be understood from the linguistic context provided in A1's utterance. The utterance given in A2 sets the scene for B2's utterance to be understood.

In the next illustration (7), a different context for a definiteness and specificity reading is assumed.

(7) *Reeba pusi neenywa amate.*

reeb-a Ø-pusi ni-e-nyw-a a-ma-te
 see-FV 9-cat PROG-9-drink-FV IV-6-milk
 'See, the cat is drinking milk.'

In the context provided in (7), the use of the verb **-reeba** 'see' is an indication that the hearer is to locate the referent in the immediate physical environment. Therefore, the referent **pusi** (cat) is definite and specific based on the identifiability account. Before the utterance, the hearer probably does not know that there is a cat in the immediate situational context. However, after the utterance, the hearer is made aware that there is a cat in the immediate environment, and (s)he can identify it. In the first place, after the verb **reeba** (see), the speaker may pause for the hearer to look in the direction (s)he is directed to (by the verb). In addition, a pointing gesture may accompany the proposition to further assist the addressee in locating the referent. On the other hand, the speaker may make the utterance without pausing, and this calls for the hearer's attention, and perhaps to move swiftly for some action, for example, to take away the milk, or chase away the cat. In relation to the discourse context of (7), consider the reading of the noun **omusyo** in (8) as well.

- (8) *Mpa omusyo.*
n-h-a o-mu-syo
 1SG-give-IND IV-6-knife
 ‘Give me the/a knife.’

The discourse context obtains for a definiteness reading of the object noun **omusyo** (knife) in (8), which is as follows: The utterance presupposes the existence of at least one knife in the proximate location. Hence, the speaker is instructing the hearer to locate it in the immediate situation shared by both discourse participants. One assumption concerning the pragmatic definiteness of the referent is that, at the time of the utterance, the addressee is holding the knife, or, it might be the case that the knife is near him/her when the speaker is asking for it. On the other hand, a definite reading may be possible even if the knife which the speaker is talking about is not visible but can still be located in the immediate physical environment. Another context for a definite reading relates to the assumption that there is only one knife known to be in that household.

The finite clause **mpa** (give me) contributes to the definiteness reading of the direct object ‘knife’, because it implies that the referent is locatable within the immediate situational context, and suggests that the referent should be passed on (immediately). Therefore, even if there are no morpho-syntactic indications for definiteness, the hearer can identify the intended referent from the immediate physical context, following the identifiability principle (cf. Lyons’s (1999) principles of definiteness outlined in section 1.7.4 and 2.2.5).

In addition, extra linguistic devices may be employed to further assist the hearer in identifying the intended referent. It is possible for the speaker to use a pointing gestural stimulus or any other form of demonstration to provide a cue for the exact location of the referent, especially if it can be seen, without necessarily using a deictic demonstrative. It is also probable that the speaker in (8) turns and asks for the knife looking in the direction where the knife is located if it is within sight, and the hearer can unambiguously identify it.

Alternatively, if the speaker is referring to a knife which the hearer cannot identify right away from the immediate situation of the utterance, the object of bare noun receives an indefinite reading. In languages such as Runyankore-Rukiga with no explicit (in)definite articles, the

speaker can utter (8) without considering whether the referent forms part of the hearer's shared knowledge or not. At the first mention of the referent, if there is more than one knife, the hearer may not be in a position to uniquely identify the knife intended. Consequently, the hearer may be compelled to ask for further information about the referent in order to be able to locate it.

Identifiability through the immediate situational context is crucial for the identification of referents, as illustrated in (7) and (8). Furthermore, observe that tense, finiteness and mood, as demonstrated in the same examples, contribute to definite reading of the given noun referents, in that the referents must be within the surrounding physical environments, where the interlocutors are situated at the time of the utterance.

The constructions analyzed so far in this section provide evidence that discourse-pragmatic contexts are mainly relied on for the appropriate interpretation of referents as definite or indefinite. The specificity feature is obtained in case the referent to which the speaker is referring is a particular one, either known or unknown to his/her addressee. The following illustrations involve subject nouns of copulative verbs.

The (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity readings of the count plural noun **abaana** (children) are considered to be triggered by specific discourse-pragmatic considerations.

(9) *Abaana ni barungi.*

A-ba-ana ni ba-rungi

IV-2-child COP 2-good

'Children are good.' or

'The children are good (the children look beautiful).'

The discourse background context of the above sentence relates to the view that parents are sometimes heard uttering statements similar to the one given in (9), not referring to any specific child, but children in general. In this respect, the phrase may mean that children bring warmth in a family, or they are a source of joy. The subject noun of the copulative in (9) has a generic and non-specific interpretation. However, the speaker could make the same statement at the sight of some children, and presuming that the hearer can also identify them, and see that they 'look'

beautiful, rendering the subject noun of the copulative definite and specific. In addition, the semantics of the adjective contributes to the two possible pragmatic readings of the noun.

Other illustrations involving an identifying copulative are given in(10a-b):

(10) a. ***Omuhigi ni Kato.***

O-mu-hiigi ni Kato

IV-1-hunter COP PN.Kato

‘The hunter is Kato.’

b. ***Kato n’omuhigi.***

Kato ni o-mu-hiigi

PN.Kato COP IV-1-hunter

‘Kato is a hunter.’

The sentence in (10a) presupposes reference to the existence of a role that is played, and such a role is expressed by the noun in the subject position. Its existential nature renders it definite. When the arguments are reversed (10b), the interpretation changes, that is, Kato’s livelihood is chiefly dependent on hunting, while the noun in the complement position is rendered indefinite.

The next sentence (11) illustrates further the contribution of discourse-pragmatic factors in rendering bare nouns of copular verbs (in)definite or (non-)specific.

(11) ***Ekyombeko ni kiraingwa!***

e-ki-ombeko ni ki-raingwa!

IV-7-building COP 7-tall

‘The building is (really) tall!’

In the sentence given in (11), the speaker has a particular building in mind and the hearer is instructed to use the immediate situational context to identify it. The discourse participants can uniquely identify the building, in that it is implied in the utterance that both speaker and hearer can see it. For instance, after approaching a tall building, one may get mesmerized by the tallness of the building and makes the utterance. Hence, the kind of verb and the tense used also contribute to the pragmatic interpretation of (in)definiteness for a given argument.

Consider also the examples in (12) and (13) which depict cases involving the interpretation of subject nouns used with descriptive copulatives.

(12) *Eshenda neeshaariira.*

e-Ø-shenda ni-e-shaariir-a
 IV-9-red pepper COP-9-hot-FV
 ‘(The) red pepper is hot.’

(13) *Omubazi nigushaariira.*

o-mu-bazi ni-gu-shaariir-a
 IV-3-medicine COP-3-bitter-FV
 ‘(The) medicine is bitter.’

The subjects of the phrasal predicates in (12) and (13) comprise the copula **ni** plus the nominal agreement prefix and the adjective root. The morpho-syntactic structure of these phrasal predicates contributes to the readings derived. The subject **eshenda** (red pepper) in (12) has a generic reference. It has an inherent property of being hot, the meaning that is expressed in the phrasal predicate. On the other hand, a non-generic definite interpretation is nevertheless obtainable, if, for instance, a visitor is served with a plate of food and on that particular plate, there is much red pepper. The person eating the food may make such a statement as in (12) in reference to the particular amount of red pepper on her/his plate.

Concerning (13), there are two possible interpretations that can be derived:

- (i) The proposition may assume that, generally, all medicines taste bitter. In this case, the construction expresses a non-specific generic reading of the subject.
- (ii) A particular type of medicine known to both discourse participants is the item of reference. This entails a referent with [+specific +definite] properties.

The examples in (12) and (13) present another setting for ambiguity in interpretation between a generic and non-generic reading. Recall that the current chapter investigates (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity encoding in Runyankore-Rukiga nouns which appear with no modifiers. Discourse-pragmatic factors as illustrated in this section play a major role in guiding the hearer

in the identification process for the (in)definite reading of a given referent, since there are no morpho-syntactic devices available.

The next section (4.3) examines morpho-syntactic indications which guide the hearer in accessing the appropriate reading of a given referent, but note that discourse-pragmatic contexts still play a role.

4.3 Morpho-syntactic realization of definiteness and specificity in bare nouns

This section examines the realization of definiteness and specificity stemming from the presence of morpho-syntactic devices. The section particularly gives evidence for the interaction of syntax, morphology, semantics and pragmatics in the realization of the phenomena. In subsection 4.3.1, the direct object noun is examined in relation to the (non-)occurrence of the agreement object prefix (AgrOP) and the IV of the direct object noun. Locative phrases are examined in subsection 4.3.2 especially considering the role of the locative resumptive pronominals in encoding definiteness and specificity.

4.3.1 The co-occurrence of the direct object noun and the object agreement prefix (AgrOP)

This subsection examines the readings of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in the DP with respect to the co-occurrence of the IV of an overt direct object and the AgrOP in the verb complex. The object noun is analyzed following positive and negative verbs. Seidl and Dimitriadis (1996) observe that the function of the AgrOP in Bantu languages corresponds to information structure, in the sense that, following Prince's (1981) notion of information structure, the AgrOP denotes hearer-old and discourse-old information. Seidl and Dimitriadis (1996) argue that entities which the hearer does not know about cannot uniquely identify, and those which denote new information are likely not to be object-marked. Wald (1973) also observes that one motivation for using an AgrOP in Bantu languages is for expressing definiteness, among other roles. The same view is shared by Byarushengo and Tenenbaum (1976). Hence, if the verb contains an AgrOP, it implies that the hearer is familiar with its co-referential object noun. Moreover, Byarushengo and Tenenbaum (1976) express the view that

generic referents do not take AgrOP, on account of the fact that generics do not refer to identifiable and particular entities.

The issue that is of interest in this section concerns the interpretation of bare object nouns in relation to the presence or absence of the AgrOP in conjunction with (non-)occurrence of the IV of the object noun. Visser (2008), in studying the DP of isiXhosa [S41], observed that the co-occurrence of the initial vowel and the AgrOP in a negative verb is an instantiation of definiteness and specificity encoding on the object noun. On the other hand, she states that when the AgrOP and the initial vowel are absent, the object noun is considered indefinite and non-specific (cf. section 2.3.5). The analysis of the Runyankore-Rukiga bare object nouns, in view of the co-existence of the AgrOP with the IV, corresponds to Visser's (2008) observations for isiXhosa.

The sentences given below in (14a-e) illustrate different possible syntactic structures with respect to the (co-)occurrence of the IV and the AgrOP, expressed in positive and negative sentences. Note that if the direct object is explicit, the AgrOP is optional. In addition, as a grammatical requirement, whenever an AgrOP is present in the verb structure, it conditions the obligatory occurrence of the IV on the object noun following the verb, irrespective of whether the verb is in the positive or negative form. When the AgrOP is absent, a direct object noun following a positive verb still requires an obligatory IV, while an object noun following a negative verb can optionally appear with its IV. This is against the view that was held in the past that for most Bantu languages which exhibit an IV (cf. Ashton et al., 1954; de Blois, 1970; Taylor, 1985; Hyman & Katamba, 1993, (but also see chapter 3)) that it is a rule for a noun appearing after a negative verb to lose its IV.

(14) a. ***Omwishiki naashoma *(e)kitabo.***

O-mu-ishiki ni-a-shom-a **(e)-ki-tabo*
 IV-1-girl PROG-3SG-read-FV IV-7-book
 'A/the girl is reading a/the book.'

b. ***Omwishiki naakishoma *(e)kitabo.***

O-mu-ishiki ni-a-ki-shom-a **(e)-ki-tabo*
 IV-1-girl PROG-3SG-7-read-FV IV-7-book
 'The girl is reading it (the book).'

c. *Omwishiki tarikushoma kitabo.*

O-mu-ishiki ti-a-ri-ku-shom-a *ki-tabo*
 IV-1-girl NEG-3SG-COP.PROG-INF-read-FV 7-book
 ‘A/the girl is not reading any book.’

d. *Omwishiki tarikukishoma *(e)kitabo.*

O-mu-ishiki ti-a-ri-ku-ki-shom-a **(e)-ki-tabo*
 IV-1-girl NEG-1.3SG-COP.PROG-INF-7-read-FV IV-7-book
 ‘The girl is not reading the (specific) book.’

e. *Omwishiki tarikushoma (e)kitabo.*

O-mu-ishiki ti-a-ri-ku-shom-a *(e)-ki-tabo*
 IV-1-girl NEG-3SG-COP.PROG-INF-read-FV IV-7-book
 ‘A/the girl is not reading a/the book (but she is reading or doing something else).’

The sentence structures given in (14a-e) exhibit different interpretations in terms of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity readings due to the (non-)occurrence of the AgrOP and/or the IV. The sentence given in (14a) exemplifies a positive verb followed by an object noun, which appears with an IV. The IV of the direct object noun, as mentioned already, is required in a positive sentence in Runyankore-Rukiga. Regarding the interpretation of the object noun, **ekitabo** (book), it is ambiguous between (in)definite and (non-)specific readings. The intended reading can be arrived at by invoking an appropriate pragmatic context. In the next construction (14b), the object noun is presumed to be definite and specific due to the co-occurrence of the AgrOP and the IV of the full object bare noun. The bare object noun in (14b) is thus an identifiable particular book. On the other hand, the non-appearance of the IV after the negative verb in (14c) leads to non-specificity interpretation of the object noun. The referent further has a [-definite] feature due to the absence of the AgrOP. Thus, the speaker does not intend to communicate about any particular known book. In a corresponding construction in (14d), the object noun receives [+definite, +specific] features due to the co-occurrence of the AgrOP and the IV of the object noun. In relation to (14e), the occurrence of the IV induces a contrastive focus reading (cf. section 1.7.5 for the meaning of contrastive focus) with ambiguous (in)definite and (non-)specific readings. The construction in (14e) has the meaning that it is not the case that the girl is reading a/the book, but something else. It may also be true that she is doing something

else altogether. Therefore, in the context of (14e), the presence of an IV following a negative verb without the presence of an AgrOP evokes alternatives in the discourse, which may be explicitly or implicitly stated (cf. chapters (six-eight) for further analyses of the IV as a contrastive focus marker but also see section 4.5.2 for more analysis of specificity encoding regarding the unique object noun ‘**omukazi**’ (wife/woman) after a negative verb). Note, however, that the presence of the IV alone without AgrOP does not warrant a definite specific reading.

The illustrations given in (14b) and (14d) above indicate that the co-occurrence of the AgrOP and the IV of the object bare noun conveys a definite and specific meaning to the object noun. However, observe the contrast in meaning between (14d) and (14e). In both constructions, the object noun appears with an IV, however, the specificity feature is obtainable in (14d), and not in (14e). The implication of this interpretation is that the feature [+specific] is available for bare object nouns when the IV of the object noun co-occurs with an AgrOP assuming other factors constant (cf. section 4.5.2 for a different analysis)). Table 2 below summarizes the above analyses pertaining to the semantic and pragmatic readings stemming from the co-occurrence and non-occurrence of the AgrOP with the IV of the object noun.

Verb polarity	(Non-)occurrence of the Object Agreement Prefix (AgrOP)	(Non-)occurrence of the IV	Semantic/pragmatic reading
Pos-v	-AgrOP	DP obj (with IV)	+/-definite +/-specific
Pos-v	+AgrOP	DP obj (with IV)	+definite +specific
Neg-v	-AgrOP	DP obj (without IV)	-definite –specific
Neg-v	+AgrOP	DP obj (with IV)	+definite +specific
Neg-v	-AgrOP	DP obj (with IV)	+/-definite +/-specific +focus

Table 2: Interpretations resulting from the (co-)occurrence of AgrOP with the IV

Based on the evidence provided in the contexts in (14b) and (14d), it can be postulated that the IV is a determiner with [+specific +contrastive focus] features. Its absence, as in (14c) implies that the head of the DP is a zero determiner. Thus, in this dissertation, the IV in such syntactic contexts will henceforth be identified as a determiner category.

Considering the effect of word order on the interpretation of object nouns, when an object occurs outside the verb phrase, for instance, in a left dislocated position, as illustrated in (15a), and (15b), the object is required to have an IV. With regard to the realization of definiteness of the bare object noun in a marked position, its familiarity is assumed, because the object has been moved to a more prominent position, and, usually, topicalized elements are assumed to be familiar (cf. Bokamba, 1971; Prince, 1981; Chesterman, 1991; Lambrecht, 1994; Aboh et al., 2010, among others).

(15) a. ***Omwishiki *(e)kitabo naakishoma.***

*o-mu-ishiki *(e)-ki-tabo ni-a-shom-a*
 IV-1-girl IV-7-book PROG-1.3SG-read-FV
 ‘Lit: The girl, the book, she is reading it.’
 ‘The girls is reading the book.’

b. ***Ekitabo omwishiki naakishoma.***

e-ki-tabo o-mu-ishiki ni-a-ki-shom-a
 IV-7-book IV-1-girl PROG-1.3SG-7-read-FV
 ‘Lit: The book, the girl is reading it.’
 ‘The girl is reading the book.’

c. ***Naashoma *(e)kitabo omwishiki.***

*ni-a-shom-a *(e)-ki-tabo o-mu-ishiki*
 PROG-1.3SG-read-FV IV-7-book IV-1-girl
 ‘Lit: She is reading the book, the girl.’
 ‘The girl is reading the book.’

Note, however, that in (15c) with a right dislocated subject, the object noun does not occur with a corresponding AgrOP. Although the AgrOP is absent, it still receives definiteness and specificity features like the object noun in (15a) and (15b), based on word order effect. Note that the IV of the object noun is required after a positive verb but it has nothing to do with the definiteness and specificity readings of the noun.

The schema below represents the structure of the construction in (14d). Recall that the AgrOP requires a co-referential object noun to have an IV. Given this requirement, an Agreement Object

Phrase (cf. Chomsky, 1995) is postulated in conjunction with a Determiner Phrase headed by the functional category, determiner (the IV), and the two functional phrases are interdependent. The construction in (14d) is repeated in (16a) for the purpose of convenience.

(16) a. *Omwishiki tarikukishoma ekitabo*

b. [_{TP} omwishiki [_{AgrOP} AgrO_i]_{cl.7} [_{vP} [_{spec} vP omwishiki³⁶] [_{VP} shoma [_{DP} D]_{cl.7} [_{FocP} Foc [_{DP} [_{De} [_{NP} kitabo]]]]]]]]

The Agreement Phrase and the Determiner Phrase of the object noun headed by the IV mandatorily co-exist. Their co-existence is not only a matter of grammar, but also it induces definite and specific readings of the bare object noun. The structure given in (16b) provides evidence for the claim that the IV is a determiner with [+specific] feature when it appears attached to a direct object noun corresponding to an AgrOP, and when it appears with a direct bare object noun with no corresponding AgrOP, following a negative verb.

4.3.2 Nominal locatives as verbal complements

This section illustrates the encoding of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity involving locative phrases. Locatives are examined due to their unique morpho-syntactic properties. To understand better the encoding of the phenomena involving locative complements, a brief typology of locatives in Runyankore-Rukiga is given first.

4.3.2.1 An overview of locative marking in Runyankore-Rukiga

Runyankore-Rukiga has three nominal locative classes viz., class 16, 17 and 18 marked with prefixes **-ha-**, **-ku-** and **-mu-** respectively. However, agreement between a nominal locative phrase and a verb, or other nominal elements, is expressed exclusively by the prefix **-ha-** (class 16), as examples in (17 a-d) demonstrate.

(17) a. *Omu nju haataahamu abagyenyi.*

O-mu n-ju ha-aa-taah-a-mu a-ba-gyenyi
IV-18.in 9-house 16-PASTim-enter-FV-18.in IV-2-visitor

³⁶ The subject noun is assumed to be generated verbal internally and moves to the TP head.

‘In the house, there entered (some) visitors.’

b. *Kabale hagwayo enjura nyingi.*

Kabale ha-aa-gw-a-yo e-n-jura n-yingi
 PN 16-PASTim-fall-FV-LOC IV-9-rain 9-a.lot.
 ‘In Kabale it has rained heavily.’

c. *Aheeru hariyo embwa.*

A-ha-eru ha-ri-yo e-n-bwa
 IV-16-outside 16-COP-LOC IV-9-dog
 ‘Outside there is a dog.’

d. *Okuzimu tihariyo kyererezi.*

O-ku-zimu ti-ha-ri-yo ki-ererezi
 IV-17-underground NEG-16-COP-LOC 7-light
 ‘Underground there is no light.’

A locative phrase triggers verbal agreement if it precedes the verb. Note, however, that this may not always be the case in that, the logical subject in the post-verbal position can sometimes agree with the verb, as will be shown below. Furthermore, the locative prefix may also appear in the verb complex even if the nominal locative is not overt. Similarly, in relative clause formation, as discussed in section 7.3.5.3, the locative object as head of the relative clause must show agreement with the verb of the relative clause. One way in which this is done is by attaching an agreeing morpheme to the verb. Hence, it is presumed that the locative object is marked through a locative resumptive pronominal, unlike other objects in the same clausal position in which object marking yields ungrammatical constructions.

Runyankore-Rukiga possesses two free-form locative nominal elements in its grammar. These are **aha** (on/at) and **omu**³⁷ (in). The property of these locative nominal elements having the force to trigger agreement on the verb, and other syntactic elements, partly explains why they are categorized here as nominal elements. Moreover, the two elements possess an IV, which is one of the characteristic elements of nominals (cf. Hyman & Katamba, 1993). The two descriptive grammars of Runyankore-Rukiga treat these locative elements as prepositions (cf. Morris &

³⁷ **Omu** and **aha** take the respective forms of **omuri** and **ahari** when they are immediately followed by a proper name or a demonstrative.

Kirwan, 1972: 22; Taylor 1985: 88-89, 181). However, prepositions in Runyankore-Rukiga such as **na** (with) do not show agreement morphology and do not take the IV (cf. (18)).

(18) ***Omuhingi naahiiga n'embwa.***³⁸

O-mu-hiingi ni-a-hiig-a na e-n-bwa

IV-1-hunter PROG-1.3SG-hunt-FV with IV-9-dog

A/the hunter is hunting with a/the dog.'

Moreover, Taylor (1985: 181) acknowledges that 'prepositions are invariable and do not agree with the noun phrase they govern'. It is upon this morphological fact that **omu** and **aha** are treated in this dissertation as locative nominal elements. The English translations of 'on', 'at' for **aha** and 'in' for **omu** tend to be misleading in relation to their category type. The translations for these elements simply indicate their locative meanings for their respective noun classes (cf. Appendix I for the noun class system of Runyankore-Rukiga).

In addition to the prefix **-ha-**, there are three locative agreement morphemes, I refer to as locative resumptive pronominals, involved in the grammar of locatives in Runyankore-Rukiga. The term is based on the agreement involved when referring back to a locative element. An appropriate locative resumptive pronominal invariably attaches to a verb whenever a locative phrase precedes a verb phrase. The three locative resumptive pronominals are **-ho** **-mu** and **-yo**. The pronominal **-mu** indicates that the preverbal locative nominal is an 'in-location'. The pronominal **-ho**, denotes 'on/at-location', while **-yo** points to an elsewhere location or to a location invisible to the speaker (cf. Morris & Kirwan, 1972; Taylor, 1985; Asimwe, 2007). Although a locative resumptive pronominal is required to appear on the verb when the locative phrase appears before the verb phrase, its appearance may also signal information structure properties, such as emphasis, focus, or specificity (cf. illustrations in (19-21)). The presence of a locative resumptive pronominal also may mark deictic distinctions, as well as existentiality, as for instance demonstrated in the example of (17c) above (see also Taylor, 1985).

³⁸ When the preposition **na** is followed by a common noun which begins with an IV, the vowel **a** of the preposition, according to the writing conventions of the language, is omitted to give way for the pronunciation of the initial vowel of the noun (phonetically, a long sound of **e** in (18) is pronounced).

4.3.2.2 (In)definiteness and (non-)specificity marking in bare locative nouns

Having given a brief discussion on the typology of locatives in Runyankore-Rukiga, next, pragmatic meanings pertaining to bare locative nouns occurring with the locative nominals **aha** (CL 16) and **omu** (CL 18) are examined. Word order is significant in relation to the interpretation of locative nouns expressing definite or indefinite, specific or non-specific readings, as already noted above for bare direct object nouns of transitive verbs. Particular attention is given to locative inversion and the resultant pragmatic implications in relation to the occurrence of the locative resumptive pronominals. The following sentences in (19) to (21) illustrate the pragmatic meanings of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity of locative phrases involving the locative resumptive pronominals **-ho** and **-mu**.

(19) a. **Abagyenyi baataaha omu nju.**

A-ba-gyenyi ba-aa-taah-a o-mu n-ju
 IV-2-visitors 2-PASTim-enter-FV IV-18.in 9-house
 (The) visitors have entered in a/the house

b. **Omu nju haataaha*(mu) abagyenyi.**

O-mu n-ju ha-aa-taah-a-(mu) a-ba-gyenyi*
 IV-18.in 9-house 16-PASTim-enter-FV-18.in IV-2-visitors
 ‘In the house, there entered (some) visitors.’

c. **Omu nju baataaha*(mu) abagyenyi.**

O-mu n-ju ba-aa-taah-a-(mu) a-ba-gyenyi*
 IV-18.in 9-house 2 -PASTim-enter-FV-18.in IV-2-visitor
 ‘In the house, they have entered (there) the visitors.’

(20) a. **Nooteekateeka kugaruka aha iziba shaaha zingahi?**

Ni-o-teekateek-a ku-garuk-a a-ha i-ziba Ø-shaaha zi-ngahi?
 PRES-2SG -think-FV INF-return IV-16.at 5-well 10-time 10-Q.how.many
 ‘At what time do you think you will go back to the well?’

b. **Aha iziba nooteekateeka kugaruka*(ho) shaaha zingahi?**

A-ha i-ziba ni-o-teekateek-a ku-garuk-a-(ho) Ø-shaaha zi-ngahi*
 IV-16.at 5-well PRES-2SG -think-FV INF-return-16.at 10-time 10-how.many
 ‘At what time you hope to go back to the well?’

As already noted, in locative inversion, the occurrence of an appropriate locative resumptive pronominal is obligatory. Besides this grammatical requirement, the locative resumptive pronominals are used to mark deictic distinctions for place referents. In addition, they also induce some other pragmatic inferences such as emphasis and specificity. The construction in (19a) illustrates this property with a locative phrase in situ, that is, the locative nominal **omu**, while (20a) exemplifies this property with **aha**. In (19a), the morpho-syntactic structure of the phrase does not indicate any presupposed familiarity of the locative nominal in question. In other words, the speaker does not assume the addressee to be familiar with the locative referent, i.e. **enju** (house). The same observation applies to the locative noun **ekibira** (forest) in (21a) below, unless discourse participants have shared knowledge of the referents. Thus, the locative complements in the given construction forms the new and unpresupposed information. Note, however, that although new and indefinite referents are usually presumed to occupy clausal-final positions (cf. among others, Prince, 1981; Chesterman, 1991; Aboh et al., 2010), it is undoubtedly a strong manifestation in (20a) for the locative noun in situ, **iziba** (well) to be definite. This expression suggests that other than word order, other factor(s) may be responsible. In the given syntactic context of (20a), the properties of the infinitive verb **ku-garuka** (to return) are partly responsible for the definiteness reading of the locative noun in question. The verb **ku-garuka** (to return) in the given context selects a locative constituent that is presupposed. For the speaker to make the utterance, (s)he assumes that the addressee had been to that place **-iziba** (well) before. As for (20b), the definite interpretation stems from both word order and the semantic properties of the infinitive verb **ku-garuka** (to return).

In case of locative inversion, as illustrated in (19b), the referent of the preverbal locative nominal phrase is the subject of the inverted construction. Based on word order, the locative noun obtains a definite reading. Typically, clausal-initial elements are normally associated with old or known information (cf. Byarushengo & Tenenbaum; 1976; Prince, 1981; Chesterman, 1991; Lambrecht, 1994). For instance, Byarushengo and Tenenbaum (1976: 89) particularly observe that, in Haya [JE 22], new information never precedes the verbal complex. The information presented after the verb is assumed to be ‘the new and non-recoverable information for the hearer’ (cf. Erteschik-Shir, 2007; Aboh et al. 2010: 785). However, word order becomes crucial in definiteness marking when it involves syntactic elements in marked positions. As exemplified with locative

inversion or topicalization, referents of preposed arguments are assumed to express presupposed or hearer-old information. As regards (19c), a different syntactic setting is presented. By virtue of the post-verbal logical subject agreeing with the verb, it means that the subject is familiar (as a direct object would, when cross-referenced with an AgrOP. Otherwise, bare subject nouns in their unmarked positions, as illustrated in section 4.2 (for example, see illustrations (1) and (3)), are not necessarily definite without invoking an appropriate pragmatic context.

The examples given in (19) and (20) involve the resumptive pronominals **-ho** and **mu**. In (21a-c), the pronominal **-yo**, which points to an elsewhere location, or a location invisible to the speaker (and the hearer) is exemplified.

(21) a. ***Twareeba enkyende omu kibira.***

Tu-aa-reeb-a e-n-kyende o-mu ki-bira
 1PL-PASTim-see-FV IV-10-monkey IV-18.in 7-forest
 ‘We saw monkeys in a/the forest.’

b. ***Omu kibira twareeba*(yo) enkyende.***

O-mu ki-bira tu-aa-reeb-a-(yo) e-n-kyende*
 IV-18.in 7-forest 1PL-PASTim-see-FV-LOC IV-10-monkey
 ‘In the forest, we saw (there) monkeys.’

c. ***Twareeba(yo) enkyende omu kibira .***

Tu-aa-reeb-a-(yo) e-n-kyende o-mu ki-bira
 1PL-PASTim-see-FV-LOC IV-10-monkey IV-18.in 7-forest
 ‘We saw there monkeys in forest.’

In the context of (21b), with regard to (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity, the interpretation is that the invisible location is familiar. When the locative nominal phrase is placed before the verb, it is an indication that the information presented in the locative phrase is known to the addressee. In addition, observe that what the speaker intends to communicate about in (21b) is **enkyende** (monkeys), which follows the verb, and forms the unpresupposed information. In contrast, in (21c), the locative nominal phrase occurs in situ and still triggers (optionally) agreement on the verb, implying that the locative noun phrase is definite. This is a counterexample for the analysis

of post-verbal elements in their canonical positions as marking un presupposed information, because, as suggested in (21c), the locative phrase contains the familiar information.

Thus, it is possible to have an optional cliticized locative pronominal on the verb even if the locative phrase is in situ, as (22) and (23) further demonstrate. In this case, the presence of a locative enclitic on the verb is not due to grammatical reasons. Rather, it expresses the pragmatic effects of definiteness and specificity of the locative bare noun. In addition, the optional cliticized locative adds an element of emphasis to the construction.

- (22) ... *naasiiba(mu) omu duuka nyenka*³⁹
 ... *n-aa-siib-a(-mu) o-mu Ø-duuka n-onka*
 ...1.1SG-PAST-stay-FV-16.in IV-16.in 9-shop 1SG-alone
 ‘I spent the whole day in the shop alone (selling goods).’

- (23) *Abaana nibaruga(mu) omu mashomero*.⁴⁰
A-ba-ana ni-ba-rug-a(-mu) o-mu ma-shomero
 IV-2-child PROG-2-leave-FV-18.in IV-18.in 6-school
 ‘Students drop out of (them) the schools.’

The appearance of the optional locative pronominal on the verbs in (22) and (23) is associated with the features [+definite +specific]. The referents of the nominal locative phrases in (22) and (23) are likely to have been topics of discussion in the previous discourse. The absence of the locative pronominals, on the other hand, would mean that the locative nouns are not specified for both the definiteness and specificity features.

The sentence in (24) presents a different scenario, where the definiteness feature of the locative referent is due to the identifiability hypothesis in the sense of Lyons (1999), that is, the noun **obunyaasi** (grass) is definite, because it is locatable in the situational context. The verb mood, too, contributes to the definiteness reading of the bare locative noun **obunyaasi** (grass).

³⁹ The construction in (22) is available from <http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/1281/17939/>. It was accessed on 16-04-2013. The glosses are mine.

⁴⁰ This construction (23) is available from <http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/1285/18247/>, and it was accessed on 16-04-2013. The morphological glosses, however, are mine.

- (24) *Muruge omu bunyaasi.*
mu-rug-e o-mu bu-nyaasi
 2.2PL-leave-IMP IV-18.in 14-grass
 ‘Get off the grass.’

In section 4.3.1, it was argued that the presence of an object agreement prefix is a morpho-syntactic indication that the reference of the explicit or implicit co-referential object, is known. Locative resumptive pronominals can be used for ellipitd and hence familiar locations too, as exemplified in (cf. (25)).

- (25) *Abagyenyi baataaha*(mu).*
A-ba-gyenyi ba-aa-taah-a-(mu)*
 IV-2-visitor 2-PASTim-enter-FV-18.in
 ‘(The) visitors have entered in (there).’

It is assumed in (25) that the implicit locative noun is familiar. This syntactic structure can be compared to the structure in which an object agreement prefix is available in the verbal morphology. In principle, the absence of the lexical head noun presupposes the existence of an antecedent. It is therefore reasonable to argue in favor of the locative resumptive pronominals as having definiteness and specificity properties in the same way as the AgrOP in the absence of a full lexical locative noun.

Thus, the three locative pronominal morphemes, namely, **-ho**, **-mu** and **-yo** play a morpho-syntactic role of marking a familiar locative noun. This is possible when the locative expression appears before the verb. A locative phrase may also trigger the occurrence of a locative resumptive pronominal on the verb even when it remains in situ for definiteness, specificity and emphasis encoding. Hence, despite their peripheral position in the verbal domain, they exhibit properties which relate them to AgrOP. The key property is that, the locative resumptive pronominals, like AgrOP, denote a familiar referent.

According to Diercks (2011), locative resumptive pronominals (locative clitics in his terms), like object agreement prefixes, can be used to pronominalize an argument. Diercks also argues that a locative resumptive pronominal has properties similar to those of object agreement prefixes. However, Diercks (2011: 709) argues that locative resumptive pronominals should not be

analysed as resumptive pronouns on the account that they only occur when the locative object is fronted (we have noted above that in Runyankore-Rukiga they can occur even when the locative phrase is in situ), they cannot promote a locative object to direct object, and that a ‘locative clitic’ is not a second object marker. An extensive debate on the categorial status of these morphological elements may be the topic of another study. What is relevant for the current study is that locative resumptive pronominals possess [+definite +specific] properties since they refer back to a structural subject element that is discourse-old, and hence marking an entity that is already familiar.

The illustrations given in this section have further demonstrated that the interpretation of definiteness and specificity of bare nouns depends on various factors. The section considered morpho-syntactic means, that is, the co-occurrence of the AgrOP and the determiner IV of the direct object noun (cf. table 2 for summary of interpretations resulting from the (co-)occurrence the AgrOP with IV). In addition, in locative constructions, the presence of a locative resumptive pronominal denotes a specific and familiar locative referent.

4.4 Definiteness by association

This section illustrates textual contexts in which the definiteness realization of bare nouns is based on shared understanding of the semantics of a given verb between the speaker and hearer. The subject noun **ente** (cows) in the second sentence (26) is triggered by the predicate - **kweshera** (to take cows to drink water) in the preceding sentence:

- (26) *Eihangwe ku ryabaire ryahanga, Kabangire yaaza kweshera aha rubaju rwa ya ngyezi. Ente ku zaahikireho, zaayanga kunywa amaizi.* Karwemera 1975: 47

E-i-hangwe ku ri-a-ba-ire ri-a-hang-a, Kabangire

IV-5-afternoon when 5-PAST-be-PAST 5-PAST-make-FV Np.Kabangire

a-Ø-za ku-esher-a a-ha ru-baju ru-a i-a n-gyezi.

1.3SG-HAB-go INF-take.cows.for.water IV-16.on 11-side 11-GEN 9-DEF 9-lake

E-n-te ku zi-a-hik-ire-ho, zi-a-yang-a

IV-10-cow when 10-PAST-reach-PERF-16.there 10-PRES-refuse-FV

ku-nyw-a a-ma-izi.

INF-drink IV-6- water

‘When the afternoon came, Kabangire took the cows to drink water near the other lake. When the cows reached there, they refused to drink the water.’

In the first part of the utterance in (26), the verb **kweshera** is used. This verb means ‘to take cows to drink water’ not any other animal. This is why the writer did not indicate the object which becomes optional, because the reader or (or addressee) will infer that the verb **kweshera** does not apply to any other animal, but **ente** (cows) which is the subject of the following utterance. The hearer will be in a position to pick out the intended meaning only if (s)he is familiar with the cultural context in which the utterance is made. The hearer’s ability to identify the referent **ente** (cows) depends on whether he/she has lived in a Runyankore-Rukiga speaking community and hence is conversant with the culture and terminology related to cattle rearing. It is noted that the referent which would have been the object of the first utterance is omitted, and instead brought as the subject of the next sentence. The speaker or writer assumes that the hearer or reader should be able to associate the subject of the second sentence with the ‘understood’ object of the verb **-kweshera** in the preceding sentence.

The next example is related to (26).

(27) *Twaza kuhakuura enjoki zaatubinga.*

Tu-aa-za ku-hakuur-a e-n-joki zi-aa-tu-bing-a

1PL-PASTim-go INF-extract.honey-FV IV-10-bees 10-PASTim-1PL-chase-FV

‘We went to extract (honey) (from a hive) (and) the bees chased us.’

Through general knowledge, it is likely for the addressee of the utterance in (27) to associate the noun **enjoki** (bees) with the predicate **-hakuura** (to extract honey), because the semantics of the predicate selects a particular argument in the clause. The addressee will infer the meaning, because **-(ku)-hakuura** ((to) extract honey) triggers arguments as **obwoki** (honey), **enjoki** (bees) and **eki/ebi-humi** (hive(s)). In principle, the noun **enjoki** in (27) is definite by association. In addition, the utterance presupposes the existence of **ekihumi/ebihumi** (hive/hives) even though it/they is/are not explicitly mentioned in the utterance, because it is generally the case that honey

is extracted from hives (cf. Hawkins 1978; Chesterman, 1992; Lyons, 1999 for related interpretations with English illustrations).

Consider another related example in terms of definiteness reading in (28).

(28) *Ente yaazaarira omu kishaka omwagazi yaagusigayo.*

E-n-te a-aa-zaar-ir-a o-mu ki-shaka o-mw-agazi

IV-9-cow 1.3SG.9 -PASTim-APPL-FV IV-in.18 7-bush IV-3-calf

a-aa-gu-sig-a-yo

1.3SG.9-PASTim-3 -leave-FV-LOC

‘The/a cow calved in a/the bush and left the calf there.’

In (28), the subject bare noun **ente** (cow) and the locative noun **-kishaka** (bush) in the first clause can have a definite or indefinite reading. The two nouns can have a definite reading if, for example, they had been a topic of conversation in the previous discourse. They can, on the other hand, be rendered indefinite if, for instance, they were being newly introduced in the discourse. However, the object bare noun of the second clause **omwagazi** (calf) is not identical to the subject of the first clause but still receives definiteness reading unambiguously. On the account of the subject and the semantics of the predicate of the first clause, the addressee is assumed to deduce that the noun **omwagazi** is associated with **ente** mentioned in the preceding clause. For this associative anaphoric relationship, the English translation allows a definite, but not the indefinite article. Hence, the noun ‘calf’ anaphorically relates to the ‘cow’ introduced in the preceding discourse and not any cow.

Definiteness encoding by association exemplified above assumes shared knowledge of the social-cultural context for the intended communicative intention to be achieved, i.e., the speaker intends to communicate about something that the addressee is in a position to identify by relating it to its associate(s). For example, **ente** (a cow), under normal circumstances, gives birth to **omwagazi** (calf), not **omwereere** (the term for the newly born baby of a human being in Runyankore-Rukiga). Thus, the sentence in (29) would not be acceptable, because the subject **ente** and object **omwereere** are incompatible.

(29) #*Ente yaazaarira omu kishaka omwereere yaamusigayo.*

E-n-te a-aa-zaar-ir-a o-mu ki-shaka o-mu-ereere

IV-9-cow 1.3SG.9-PASTim-calf-APPL-FV IV-18.in 7-bush IV-1-baby

a-aa-mu⁴¹-sig-a-yo

1.3SG.9-PASTim-1-leave-FV- LOC

‘#The/a cow calved in a/the bush and left the child there.’

In the examples given in (26)-(28), definiteness interpretation is by association. However, the specificity feature is unspecified. The referents **ente** (cows) in (26) and **enjoki** (bees) in (27), may receive [+/-specific] feature depending on whether the speaker communicates about particular referents or not. As for the illustration in (28), the referent **omwagazi** (calf) has [+definite +specific] features.

In section 4.2, it was pointed out that discourse-pragmatic context is a crucial determinant for the (in)definiteness interpretation of nouns which occur without any modifiers. In addition, it was observed that other than the context, tense/aspect, and verbal mood, also play a significant role. On the other hand, section 4.3 examined morpho-syntactic devices which contribute to the realization of definiteness and specificity. This section has demonstrated that inherent semantic features of certain nouns, the semantic properties of some verbs play an important role by influencing definiteness interpretation of given bare nouns, in given specific syntactic environments. Furthermore, as for instance argued in Mey (2001), for an addressee to understand an utterance, the social and cultural contexts in which it has been made must be familiar, for instance, as it is illustrated in (26).

In the next section (4.5), referents which are uniquely identifiable due to their inherent semantic features are examined. Furthermore, the polysymic lexical noun **omukazi** is examined for (in)definiteness and (non-)specific interpretations. Proper names too are explored in the same section because they uniquely refer.

⁴¹ The AgrOP is **-gu-** (for cl.9 nouns).

4.5 Unique nouns and proper nouns

4.5.1 Unique nouns

There are nouns which are inherently unique, as exemplified in (30) and (31) below. The referents of inherently unique entities are understood by the hearer as being definite, because they possess unique semantic properties, and are generally known to exist (cf. Lyons, 1999: 3-4). These entities form part of the general knowledge of both speaker and hearer, and therefore are unambiguously definite and specific.

(30) **Okwezi nikwakira kimwe!**

O-ku-ezi ni-ku-ak-ir-a kimwe!
 IV-15-moon PROG-15-shine-APPL-FV very
 ‘The moon is very bright!’

On a beautiful night, with a clear sky, the speaker is probably outside and (s)he makes the utterance in (30). Given the semantic properties of the ‘moon’, the addressee is in a position to uniquely identify the referent, because there is only one entity **okwezi** (moon) satisfying the description in the universe. Thus, although there is no morpho-syntactic indication and no pragmatic context is assumed, and assuming that the referent has not been talked about previously, the hearer, in principle, knows, on grounds of his/her knowledge of the world, that there is only one moon. Therefore, the meaning of the referent **okwezi** (moon) is incompatible with an indefiniteness reading.

Consider next the example in (31):

(31) **Ensi neeyetoorora eri aha nziga, mwije tugyende nayo etatusiga.**

E-n-si ni-e-etooror-a e-ri a-ha n-ziga, mu-ij-e
 IV-9-earth PROG-9-go.round-FV 9-COP IV-16.on 9-wheel 2PL-come-IMP

tu-gyend-e na-i-o e-ta-tu-sig-a
 1PL-go-FV with-9-ABS 9-NEG-1PL-leave-FV
 ‘The earth is revolving on a wheel, come and let us move with it before it leaves us.’
 (A line from a song mostly sung by children as they play).

In the sentence given in (31) the hearer is assumed to be in a position to identify the referent **ensi** (earth), because the earth is one unique entity. As mentioned above, Runyankore-Rukiga, like other Bantu languages generally, does not have articles (similar to *the*, *a* in English), and in the English translation of (31) the subject noun readily picks the definite article due to its unique semantics. Therefore, some nouns are definite and specific because they are inherently unique and are generally known to exist.

4.5.2 The unique noun **omukazi**

Some nouns possess an inherent [+definite] feature even though they are not proper nouns (cf. section 4.5.3 for discussion on properties of proper nouns), and they do not belong to the category of nouns such as *the sun*, *the moon*, *the sky*, exemplified above which exhibit an inherent uniqueness feature. These are nouns of inalienable possession, such as body parts, and nouns which form intimate relations. This section exemplifies sentences with the lexical noun **omukazi** having a unique and general meaning, respectively. Based on the uniqueness hypothesis, the object noun **omukazi** (woman), illustrated in (32) is definite and specific. The referent **omukazi** in the context of (32) is a unique entity due to the intimate relationship it holds with the subject proper noun, Baine.

(32) *Baine naakunda *(o)mukazi.*

*Baine ni-a-kund-a *(o)-mu-kazi*
 PN.Baine PRES-1.3SG-love-FV IV-1-woman
 ‘Baine loves his wife.’

It is presupposed in (32) that Baine has one wife and he loves her. In the given context, **omukazi** means (wife), not any woman. Note that the lexical noun **omukazi**⁴² can have both unique as in (32) or a general meaning ‘woman’ as illustrated in (33). In the discourse context of (32), it is highly probable for the addressee to discern a clear-cut definite reading if (s)he knows that Baine is married. Hence, knowing that Baine is married is sufficient for the addressee to recognize a single and unique entity of reference, even if the addressee may not know Baine’s wife personally.

⁴² Taylor (1985:101) claims that the noun **omukazi** has inalienable meaning. However, the noun **omukazi** is a unique entity not to be treated on a par with inalienable entities such as hands, head etc.

It is observed above that a noun which denotes a meaning of some intimacy relation to some other nominal element in a particular construction, as demonstrated in (32), is definite and specific due to the unique semantic properties it possesses. The inherent unique semantic property of the referent in question favors a definite and specific reading, following Lyons's (1999) uniqueness hypothesis, and his definition of specificity (cf. sections 1.7.4, 2.2.5). The relevant point made here is that definiteness and specificity features realized on the referent bare noun **omukazi** (wife) in (32) are not necessarily associated with the IV of the object bare noun (compare the observations made in section 4.3.1) which follows a positive verb, but they relate to the inherent unique semantic features of the object noun. However, consider the illustrations in (33a-b):

(33) a. *Baine tarikukunda (o)mukazi.*⁴³

Baine ti-a-ri-ku-kund-a (o)-mu-kazi
 PN.Baine NEG-1.3SG-COP-INF-love-FV IV-1-woman/wife
 'Baine does not love his wife.'

b. #*Baine taine (*o)mukazi.*

*Baine ti-a-ine (*o)-mu-kazi*
 PN.Baine NEG-1.3SG-has IV-1-woman/wife
 'Baine does not have a wife.'

The context of (33a) demonstrates that the object noun, following a negative verb, as argued already in section 4.3.1 can occur with an optional IV for pragmatic reasons. The definite and specific encoding of the referent **omukazi** is, in the context of the negative verb, associated with the presence of the IV, in that its absence, as exemplified in (34a-b), implies any woman. If **omukazi** means 'any woman', then the IV is omitted. Also observe that the presence of the IV in (33b) leads to an unacceptable meaning. The construction in (33b), hence, gives more evidence that the IV after a negative verb plays a semantic role of yielding a specific and definite reading to the object noun (however, compare with the analysis of (14e) in section 4.3.1). The specificity feature of the object noun in (33a) with an IV is obtainable due to the unique semantic feature of the noun **omukazi**. In addition, the specificity reading holds due to the fact that the subject noun is a proper noun.

⁴³ Compare with the Kinande illustrations in Progovac (1993: 256).

(34) a *Baine tarikukunda mukazi.*

Baine ti-a-ri-ku-kund-a mu-kazi
 PN.Baine NEG-1.3SG-COP-INF-love-FV 1-woman
 ‘Baine does not love (any) woman.’

b. *Baine tarikukunda bakazi.*

Baine ti-a-ri-ku-kund-a ba-kazi
 PN.Baine NEG-1.3SG-COP-INF-love-FV 2-woman
 ‘Baine does not like women.’ Lit: ‘Baine does not love women.’

The absence of the IV on the object noun in (34a-b) leads to the indefinite and non-specific readings of the object nominal expressions. This, in turn, provides more evidence for the analysis of the IV of the direct object noun after a negative verb when absent as a functional zero head category with [-specific, -definite] features, with a complement NP headed by the bare object noun, while its presence in (33a) entails a determiner phrase with [+specific] features. Structurally, the object nominal domain in (33a) with an IV as a functional category head D with [+specific] features, is represented by the schema given in (35a), while (35b) represents a syntactic structure for (34), with a zero determiner.

(35) a. Baine tarikukunda [_{DP} [_D a] [_{NP} [_N [bakazi]]]].

b. Baine tarikukunda [_{DP} [_D [Ø]] [_{NP} [_N [bakazi]]]].

The object noun **omukazi** can refer to someone’s wife as illustrated in (33a) or another familiar woman. The discourse-pragmatic context constructed in (37) illustrates how the reading of ‘wife’ can be obtained. In the given context of (36), **omukazi** is used as an anaphor to the antecedent ‘Baine’. Hence, the two referents are related. On the other hand, the lexical noun **omukazi** in (37) may be rendered as an indefinite and specific or a definite and specific woman. An indefinite reading obtains if the discourse context does not support the meaning of a particular and familiar woman, leading to the reading of ‘any woman’ as one of the interpretations. A definite and specific reading of the same lexical noun is obtainable, if the discourse participants are familiar with the woman talked about.

- (36) ***Baine twashanga atarimu. Ku twaba niturugayo twabugana omukazi omu muhanda.***

Baine tu-aa-shang-a a-ta-ri-mu. Ku tu-aa-ba

PN.Baine 1PL-PASTim-find-FV 1.3SG-NEG-COP-18.in. When 1PL-PASTim-be

ni-tu-rug-a-yo tu-aa-bugan-a o-mu-kazi o-mu mu-handa.

PRES-1PL-leave-FV-LOC 1PL-PASTim-meet-FV IV-1-wife IV-18.in 3-path

‘We did not find Baine at his house. When we were coming back, we met the wife on the way.’

- (37) ***Twabugana omukazi omu muhanda.***

Tu-aa-bugan-a o-mu-kazi o-mu muhanda

1PL-PASTim-meet-FV IV-1-woman/wife IV-18.in 3-path

‘We met a/the woman on the way.’

‘We met his wife on the way’ or ‘We met the woman on the way’

Notice that in (36), the lexical noun **omukazi** (wife), appearing in the second sentence of the utterance, has its antecedent in the preceding sentence. Hence, the proper noun Baine in the first sentence of the utterance is sufficient for the hearer to understand that **omukazi** specifically refers to Baine’s wife. Besides, the English translation unambiguously takes the definite article for the referent in question. The indefinite article would be inappropriate on the grounds that **omukazi** is associated with Baine, the subject of the preceding sentence.

(38a) illustrates a case of an indefinite and non-specific reading for the noun **omukazi** (woman). This reading holds when the bare object noun appears in a negative context without a determiner IV. However, the same lexical noun in a left dislocated position in (38b) is rendered definite based on word order.

- (38) a. ***Titwabugana mukazi.***

Ti-tu-aa-bugan-a mu-kazi

NEG-1PL -PASTim-meet-FV 1-woman

‘We did not meet (any) woman.’

- b. ***Omukazi titwamubugana.***

O-mu-kazi ti-tu-aa-mu-bugan-a

IV-2-wife NEG-1PL-PASTim-2 -meet-FV

‘We did not meet the woman/wife.’

The object noun in (38b) appears outside the scope of the verb phrase, as a topicalized element, which entails a familiar object (topicalized elements require an obligatory IV).

A further possible distinction can be drawn in terms of (in)definiteness interpretation between the object in (32) above and in (39) given below. The reading of the subject noun which is a proper noun in (32) is replaced with a common noun, and the object noun **omukazi** (wife) in (32) which holds an intimate relationship with the subject noun is replaced with another common noun **abaana** (children):

(39) *Omushaija naakunda abaana.*

O-mu-shaija ni-a-kund-a a-ba-ana
 IV-1-man PRES-1.AgrS-like-FV IV-2-children
 ‘A/the man likes (the) children.’

The object (as well as the subject) noun in (39) is ambiguous between a (in)definite and (non-)specific readings. The referent of the direct object is indefinite if the speaker does not assume the addressee to be familiar with the referent. The referent, in addition, can be specific if there are particular children the speaker has in mind. Conversely, an appropriate context may lead to a definite and specific reading of the bare noun **abaana** (children), as long as both discourse participants have knowledge of the children talked about. Given an appropriate pragmatic setting, the object noun in (39) can receive a generic reading, while the object in (31) cannot be generically expressed. A generic reading can be obtained for the object noun **abaana** (children) if there are no particular children the speaker has in mind, meaning that: ‘*The man generally likes children*’ (cf. section 4.6 for more on genericity). The main reason why the noun **omukazi** in (32) cannot refer generically is the singularity of the object noun (**omukazi**) in relation to the presence of a proper subject noun (Baine). However, consider the illustration in (40) where the plural form **abakazi** (women) refers generically and the singular is used to refer to a unique particular individual.

(40) *Abakazi babeihwa nk’abaana, obwarikye babweta ekoome.*

Omukazi yaamuhurira kwonka yaahunama. Karwemera (1975: 6)
A-ba-kazi ba-Ø-beih-w-a nka a-ba-ana, o-bu-arikye
 IV-2-woman 2-HAB-deceive-PASS-FV like IV-2-child IV-14-hot.water

ba-bw-et-a *e-koome.* *O-mu-kazi* *a-aa-mu-hurira* *kwonka*
 3SG-14-call-FV IV-fire IV-2-woman 1.3SG.1-PAST-1-hear-FV but

a-hunam-a.

1.3SG-remain.silent-FV

‘Women are easily deceived just like children. They mistake water prepared for making millet bread to be fire. (His) wife heard but kept quiet.’

In the first part of the utterance, the referent of the subject noun is a kind-referring expression. In the second part of the utterance, **omukazi** means wife, which makes the individual object specific and definite. The noun **omukazi** can therefore have a unique referent with a close relationship with another referent. It may be understood as either definite or indefinite, depending on the pragmatic context, and it receives a generic reading as demonstrated by the plural form in (40) above (see the example in (46) for the singular form used in a generic context).

What follows is the analysis of proper nouns with regard to definiteness and specificity. The view held by some scholars, for example, Lyons (1999) (see section 2.6), is that proper nouns have no semantic meaning, but they refer uniquely.

4.5.3 Proper nouns

Proper nouns are referring expressions for unique entities. According to Lyons (1999), proper names are semantically empty. These are names of persons, places, languages and other expressions which refer uniquely. For example, the name Makerere refers to a unique geographical area, although it has no semantic meaning. However, in the naming process, the name could have been chosen due to some events or activities which were taking place in that area around that time, which influenced the selection of this particular name. Therefore, proper names in many communities in sub-Saharan Africa have conceptual meanings, which however, do not contribute to the truth condition of the proposition expressed by an utterance in which such names are used (cf. Isingoma, 2014 (to appear)).

Proper nouns are used as referring expressions for unique entities equivalent to definite descriptions (Lyons 1999: 21). Carlson (1982) suggests that proper nouns are denoting terms, which also act as antecedents of pronouns. Proper names normally do not take a determiner,

because they are assumed to be inherently definite. This idea is adopted in this study, that is, in Runyankore-Rukiga, proper nouns do not require modification, because they refer uniquely. In addition to the definiteness feature, proper nouns are specific, since they refer to particular entities. However, when a proper name is shared by two or more people, the pragmatic context is crucial in directing the identification process of the referent the speaker has in mind. More descriptive content may also be provided in the event that a proper name is shared. If it is a personal name, the speaker may modify the proper name by adding the person's second name, mentioning a person's family, use of some physical attributes of the person, mentioning where the person lives or works, or any other cue that may guide the hearer in the reference process.

Indigenous Runyankore-Rukiga proper names never occur with the IV. In fact, one strategy used in the formation of proper names, is by omitting the IV. The absence of the IV is required for derived proper nouns, as illustrated below:

Nouns derived from other word categories

(41) a.	<i>Adjective</i>	<i>meaning</i>	<i>derived personal name</i>
	Omurungi	'a beautiful one'	Murungi or Kirungi (female name)
	Omucureezi	'a humble one'	Mucureezi (female name)
b.	<i>Verb</i>	<i>meaning</i>	<i>derived personal name</i>
	Okwesiga	'to trust'	Kwesiga (male name)
	Okushemererwa	'to be happy'	Kushemererwa (both females and males)
c.	<i>Nouns</i>	<i>meaning</i>	<i>derived personal name</i>
	Obusingye	'peace'	Busingye (both females and males)
	Ekimuri	'flower'	Kimuri (both females and males)

The traditional personal names in the Runyankore-Rukiga social context bears semantic significance, as shown in the derived names in (41) above. Karwemera (1994) categorizes traditional names among the Bakiga according to circumstances surrounding the birth of a child. These names were also given according to the gender of the child. Note, however, that most of these names originate from the past before the coming of Christianity in Uganda, particularly to Western Uganda (Ankore and Kigezi where Runyankore-Rukiga is spoken). After the coming of Christianity, there was a change from the traditional naming criteria to those more inclined to

religious beliefs (cf. Muranga, 1989). Consider the following examples from Karwemera (1994: 112-116) (however, the English translations are my own).

Traditional naming circumstances

Names relating to sad events:

- Rukandonda (for boys) which means ‘it (death) looked for me’
- Nyinenaku (girls name) meaning ‘I am sorrowful’

Relating to the place where the child was born:

- Kamuhanda (for boys) meaning ‘is born on the roadside’
- Komwishwa (for girls) which means ‘born in the wilderness/bush’

Time when the child was born:

- Kobusheeshe (girls) ‘born in the morning’
- Rwomushana (boys) ‘born during the day or when the sun is bright’

According to the appearance of the child:

- Rubondo (boys) ‘having a fat belly’
- Nyakwera (girl) ‘the child has a light-skin complexion’

Children born as twins and those who follow twins (either boy or girl) had/have special names. The first one to be delivered is given the name **Kakuru** if he is a boy and **Nyangoma** for a girl. The second child is **Kato** if he is a boy and for a girl, she is given the name **Nyakato** (for more on traditional naming, see Karwemera, 1994: 112-119).

In addition, note that personified nouns commonly used in folktales also bear resemblance to proper names, as illustrated in the following examples:

(42) ***Kare hakaba hariho Waruhisi na Warutare barikutaaha hamwe.***

Kare ha-ka-ba ha-ri-ho Waruhisi na Warutare

Past EXPLET-PAST-be 16-COP-16.EXPLET PN. Waruhisi and PN.Warutare

ba-ri-ku-taah-a hamwe

2-COP-INF-stay together

‘In the past there was Brer Waruhisi and Brer Warutare. They were living together.’

Granted that traditional (family) names among the Banyankore and Bakiga have culturally-related meanings, it should be understood that those meanings do not determine their definiteness and specificity interpretations. The uniqueness property of proper names weighs more than their internal senses. This is partly verified through their failure to appear with determiners in English, unless they are used as common nouns (Krifka et al., 1995; Lyons, 1999). For Runyankore-Rukiga, they never take an IV, which sets them apart from common nouns and places them in another category of uniquely referring expressions. In addition, they usually do not take modifiers, unless there are discourse-pragmatic factors considered. For example, if a proper name is shared between individuals, descriptive content may accompany the noun for the hearer to identify the one intended (cf. illustration (30) in section 7.3.6).

The next section explores the phenomenon of genericity and examines its manifestation in Runyankore-Rukiga. Generic nouns are included in the investigation of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in bare nouns for the reason that they are considered to be pragmatically definite but non-specific (cf. Lyons, 1999). There are bare nouns which are definite not because they are particular and identifiable, but because the speaker assumes his/her interlocutor to be familiar with the class of the noun in question, as whole. The kinds of generic nouns and the forms which can be used in generic expressions in Runyankore-Rukiga are discussed. The discussion is limited to bare generic nouns. For purposes of clarity, a review is given of the basic notions of genericity, particularly those that are relevant to the discussion.

4.6 Generic expressions

4.6.1 The semantics of generic expressions

There is no general consensus in literature as to what constitutes a generic entity. The view that emerges is that in a generic expression, there is no particular referent that is referred to (cf. Hawkins, 1978; Krifka et al., 1995; Lyons, 1999; Mari et al., 2013, among others). In addition, scholars of genericity are in agreement that there are no linguistic markers for genericity cross-linguistically. In this regard, Mari et al. (2013) point out that genericity has its source in the noun

itself. A further general remark concerning generic expressions is that there are cross-linguistic variations in the forms of generic expressions. The variations result mostly from the fact that some world languages have distinct (in)definite articles while others, like Bantu languages, generally do not. This is an important consideration, because there is a relation between genericity and the article *a* or *the* versus bare nouns (bare in the sense that nouns appear with no article). It is argued that articles play an essential role in generic interpretations (cf. Chesterman⁴⁴, 1991; Krifka et al., 1995; Lyons, 1999, Mari et al., 2013, among others). However, the situation is different in Bantu languages, since there are no articles.

4.6.2 Generic categories and forms

According to Krifka et al. (1995: 2), there are two categories of generic reference. The first one involves a noun, whereby a generic noun does not refer to an ‘ordinary individual or object but to a kind or a genus’. The second category relates to the general property of objects in a sentence; that is, mention is made about a habit, state of affairs, or an event in general in a sentence as a whole. Thus, generic sentences, also known as characterizing, general or habitual, express generalizations (cf. Carlson, 1982; Krifka et al., 1995; Pelletier & Asher, 1997; Lyons, 1999; Pelletier, 2006). Note, however, that a generic sentence may also contain a generic noun (Krifka et al., 1995; Lyons, 1999; Pelletier, 2006). Contrary to the categorization of generics by Krifka et al. (1995), Mari et al. (2013) identify three categories, whereby the second category identified in Krifka et al. (1995) is subcategorized into two in Mari et al. (2013). Mari et al. argue that some generic meaning is associated with the VP. For the purpose of understanding generics in Runyankore-Rukiga, categories of generic reference according to Krifka et al. (1995) are assumed. Therefore, generic expressions in Runyankore-Rukiga are differentiated in two respects, that is, first, considering genericity as a property of a noun, and secondly, as a property of the whole sentence or clause. First, the bare generic nouns are considered.

⁴⁴ See, for instance Chesterman (1991) in section 2.2.4 for different interpretations of generic expressions based on the (in)definite article they appear with.

4.6.2.1 Generic nouns

Generics are expressions in which reference is to a kind or to the totality of a class. A generic interpretation is available for nouns which appear as arguments (either subjects or objects). Complements of prepositions and adjuncts may also receive a generic reading. Only subjects and object bare nouns are illustrated below.

Consider first the subject bare nouns illustrated in the following sentences (43-46):

- (43) *Abakaikuru tibarikurya nyama.*

A-ba-kaikuru ti-ba-ri-ku-ri-a n-yama

IV-2-old.woman NEG-2-COP-INF-eat-FV 9-meat

‘Old women do not eat meat.’

- (44) *Abaana nibakunda kuzaana.*

A-ba-ana ni-ba-kund-a ku-zaan-a

IV-2-child PRES-2-like-FV INF-play-FV

‘Children like playing.’

- (45) *Enjubu nizuura omuri Afrika.*

E-n-jubu ni-zi-tuur-a o-mu-ri Afrika

IV-10-hippopotamus PROG-10-live-FV IV-in.18 Africa

‘Hippopotami live in Africa.’

- (46) *Omukazi naatebeekanisa eka*

O-mu-kazi ni-a-tebeekanis-a e-ka

IV-1-woman PRES-1.3SG-organize-FV IV-home

‘A woman organizes a home.’

The subject nouns in (43)-(45) demonstrate subject plural generic referents while the singular subject noun is given in (46). This is an indication that both plural and singular referents receive a generic interpretation, although plural forms are more prevalent (cf. Krifka, et al.1995; Mari et al., 2013, Corblin, 2013, among others). It is generally observed that singular nouns are more restricted for generic usage in non-idiomatic references (see Mari et al. 2013). As noted above, in a generic sense, reference is to members in the entire class and not individuals. Thus, the subject

nouns given in (43) through (46), i.e., **abakaikuru** (old women), **abaana** (children), **enjubu** (hippopotami) and, **omukazi** (woman) are kind denoting. In sentence (43), given the linguistic context, the speaker does not intend to refer to specific identifiable **abakaikuru** (old women). Instead, the speaker refers generally to members of a class that fit the description **abakaikuru**, and that members in that class do not eat meat. The proposition expresses a generalized statement about this class, in that reference is made to individuals who satisfy the property of being women and of being old. Hence, it does not express the meaning that ‘all’ old women do not eat meat. It is a valid statement but leaves room for exceptions. This falls within the line of argument that generic expressions are not quantificational in nature (Carlson, 1982; Krifka et al., 1995; Lyons 1999; Cohen, 2002). Otherwise, it would be taken to be some kind of a rule that applies to all old women: that they are not supposed to eat meat. Krifka et al. (1995), Lyons (1999), Pelletier and Asher (1997) contend that generics allow for exceptions and, therefore, the proposition in (43) about **abakaikuru** (old women) is not entirely true for all referents which fit the description. It may be true for some members in the general class of old women. The same remark applies to all the other bare subject nouns exemplified in (44-46). It may be true or false that all children (44) like to play, all hippos live in Africa (45) and that a woman puts her home in order (46). Therefore, it is inferred that generics express default rules which are not entirely adhered to, as argued, among others, in Krifka (1987), Pelletier and Asher (1997) and Pelletier (2006).

Tense and aspect contribute to generic readings of nouns. As shown in (43)-(46), the present tense is available for expressing genericity. The habitual tense is also commonly used in generic reference, as exemplified in (47).

(47) *Abaana bakunda kuzaana.*

A-ba-ana Ø-ba-kund-a ku-zaan-a

IV-2-child HAB-2-like-FV INF-play-FV

‘Children like playing.’

The habitual tense of the verb exemplified in (47) contributes to the interpretation that generally children like playing. This kind of predication expresses a habit for all members in the class in question. In terms of (in)definiteness, the speaker communicates about the class (of children)

which is assumed to be familiar to the addressee. In this connection, Pelletier (2006) and Krifka et al. (1995) assert that typically indefinite nouns (except for those given a taxonomic interpretation) do not refer to kinds (see also Mari et al. 2013). Similarly, Lyons (1999) argues that generic statements are semantically and pragmatically definite but non-specific since they do not refer to individual entities.

The sentence in (48a) below illustrates that mass nouns may also refer generically. Thus, milk is used as a kind-referring noun. In (48b), however, **amate** (milk) refers non-generically, where the speaker is giving the addressee a direct polite command. Thus, for the subject noun of (48b), some specific milk is identifiable, which needs to be watched over, so that it does not spill.

(48) a. ***Amate gabuzire.***

A-ma-te ga-buz-ire

IV-6-milk 6-lost-PAST

‘Milk is scarce: There is a scarcity of milk (these days).’

b. ***Amate gataatika.***

A-ma-te ga-ta-a-tik-a

IV-6-milk 6-NEG-PRES-spill-FV

Lit: ‘Milk should not spill.’

‘Watch over the milk so that it does not spill.’

Next, consider bare nouns which are direct objects.

(49) ***Omwana naatiina omubazi.***

O-mu-ana ni-a-tiin-a o-mu-bazi

IV-1-child PRES-1.3SG-fear-FV IV-3-medicine

‘A/the child fears (the) medicine.’

(50) ***Omwana naanywa amate.***

o-mu-ana ni-a-nyw-a a-ma-te

IV-1-child PRES/PROG-1.3SG-drink-FV IV-6-milk

‘A child drinks milk.’ or

‘(The) child is drinking milk.’

- (51) *Abakazi nibakunda ebimuri*
A-ba-kazi ni-ba-kund-a e-bi-muri
 IV-2-woman PRES-2-like-FV IV-8-flower
 ‘Women like flowers.’

Generic nouns can also occur as direct objects of mono-transitive verbs, as illustrated in the utterances given in (49) through (51). Note that both count and mass nouns are considered, as well as singular and plural nouns. Taking an inventory of nouns occurring in the object position, singular bare noun generics are more restricted than plural nouns in non-idiomatic expressions. This is because singular nouns are likely to refer ambiguously between a generic and non-generic entity.

In the utterance expressed in (49), **omubazi** (medicine) is used generically. However, it is not clear from the given linguistic structure whether the subject **omwana** (child) fears medicine as a kind or whether the child is not afraid of certain kinds of medicine. The singular object noun is, therefore, ambiguous between a generic reading and (in)definite reading. The ambiguity puzzle is solved when an appropriate context is considered. In addition the plural noun **emibazi** (medicines) would readily accommodate a generic reading in light of an appropriate context. When considering object nouns which are in singular, it may not be clear whether they refer to a kind or individual entities, especially in a language which does not use articles, unless the habitual tense is used, or else, an appropriate pragmatic context is considered.

On the other hand, in (50), the object noun, which is a mass noun, may refer to a specific and identifiable object, or it may express genericity, as indicated by the two possible English translations given. The choice between the two readings is pragmatically determined. What comes through this analysis is that genericity is not an intrinsic property of nouns but it is determined by a number of factors such as pragmatic context, tense/aspect, number and the semantic properties of verbs. There are also adverbs which assist in the identification of generic expressions, but they will not be discussed in this study.

The next illustration (52) exemplifies the object noun with a different verb and a different tense from that which obtained in (50).

(52) ***Omwana yaayata omubazi****O-mu-ana a-aa-at-a o-mu-bazi*

IV-1-child 1.3SG.1-PASTim-pour-FV IV-3-medicine

‘A/the child has poured (the) medicine.’

The claim that tense is one of the determinant factors in establishing a generic interpretation is further substantiated in (52). The generic meaning is not available in (52) because of the immediate past tense used. As for the (in)definiteness meaning, the discourse-pragmatic context is relevant for determining an appropriate interpretation, as it is consistently argued in this chapter.

4.6.2.2 Generic sentences

Generic sentences express general properties of an event, activity or an episode. The sentences given in (53) to (55) illustrate this phenomenon.

(53) ***Abeereere barira.****A-ba-ereere Ø-ba-rir-a*

IV-2-baby HAB-2-cry-FV

‘Babies cry.’

(54) ***Enjoki nizitonera.****E-n-joki ni-zi-toner-a*

IV-10-bees PRES-10-sting-FV

‘Bees sting.’

(55) ***Omukazi aimukira omushaija aha kitebe.****O-mu-kazi a-imuk-ir-a o-mu-shaija a-ha ki-tebe*

IV-1-woman 1.3SG-stand-APPL-FV IV-1-man IV-16.on 7-stool

‘A woman leaves her seat for a man to sit.’

The propositions expressed in (53)-(55) represent characteristics for whole sentences. Bear in mind, however, that, generic sentences may contain generic nouns. In addition, it is a general property of generic expressions not to refer to a particular entity. The assumption is made in (53)

that babies cry. In (54), the claim made is that bees, as a kind, sting. Recall also that generics allow for exceptions. Hence, some bees may be stingless. The proposition in (54) is, therefore, a representation of people's general knowledge about bees, as pointed out in Pelletier and Asher (1997) that characterizing sentences express common knowledge of the world, which is neither true nor false. With reference to (55), in the culture of the Bakiga, the woman is usually expected to leave her seat for the man. This is a default cultural rule among the Bakiga ethnic group. It is, however, not mandatory that the woman should always leave her seat for the man to sit. Hence, as Pelletier (2006: 41) states, generics are 'acceptable regularities' and can be disregarded.

Generally speaking, generics are universal expressions. What differs is the way languages express them. Whether the generic meaning is associated with the noun or the sentence as a whole, the major concern for the current study is that the speaker does not communicate about a particular identifiable entity but the class in general, and assumes the addressee can identify it.

4.6.3 Genericity and idiomatic expressions

It is possible to derive a generic meaning in non-idiomatic expressions, as illustrated above. It is also possible to deduce a generic meaning in idiomatic expressions. This section serves to demonstrate idiomatic expressions which convey generic interpretations. Whether the nouns involved are used idiomatically or non-idiomatically, it remains a fact that generic readings do not have the combination features of [+definite +specific]. In an idiomatic expression, the intended meaning is not decoded from the literal meanings of words, but the meaning is usually hidden. The expressions illustrated under this cover term in this section include proverbs and idioms. First, consider the proverbs.

4.6.3.1 Proverbs

Proverbs are a category of expressions whose meaning cannot be deduced from the denotations of the words. Cisternino (1987) explains the meaning of the term **orufumu** ('proverb' in Runyankore-Rukiga) as deriving its meaning from the word **omufumu** (medicine-man). Cisternino (1987: 7) refers to a proverb as a short, witty and soothing sentence or medicine-phrase. In investigating the properties of generic expressions, only the surface syntactic structure

of proverbs is examined. The sentences in (56)-(58) are proverbial with generic readings. The proverbs illustrated are extracted from Cisternino (1987) but the morphological glosses are mine.

(56) *Efuuzi ibanda amabaare.* Cisternino (1987: 132)

E-Ø-fuuzi i-band-a a-ma-baare

IV-10-orphan 9-hit-FV IV-6-stone

‘Orphans hit stones.’

(57) *Emirimo ebiri ekarema empitsi.* Cisternino (1987: 88)

E-mi-rimo e-biri e-ka-rem-a e-n-hitsi

IV-4-job 4-two 4-PAST-defeat IV-9-hyena

‘Two jobs defeated the hyena.’

(58) *Enaku zishanga abaishaija.* Cisternino (1987: 128)

E-Ø-naku zi-shang-a a-ba-ishaija

IV-10-trouble 10-find-FV IV-2-men

‘Troubles find men.’

The referent nouns in the proverbial sentences in (56-58) are used for symbolism and no particular referents are intended. The sentences are therefore characterizing.

Genericity is highly dependent on the discourse-pragmatic context, in that the nouns involved are capable of expressing generic or non-generic meaning. The subject or object nouns used in proverbs do not refer. However, with reference to (57) the referent of the object noun **empitsi** (hyena) can refer to a particular hyena (for instance when it is used as a topic in a folktale). With reference to (57), the ambiguity between a generic and non-generic meaning explains why singular nouns are not commonly used in generic expressions.

4.6.3.2 Idioms

Similar to proverbs, the intended meaning in an idiom cannot be derived from the literal meanings of the constituent elements used in an idiomatic expression. As such, idioms do not refer to

particular entities. Consider the examples of idioms below, depicting a generic usage, based on Tumusiime (2007) (the glosses are my own).

(59) ***Okuteera eriisho***

O-ku-teer-a e-ri-isho

IV-INF-beat-IV IV-5-eye

Literal meaning: ‘To beat an eye’

Idiomatic meaning: ‘To look at somebody with a sharp or bad eye’

(60) ***Okwozyamu amaisho***

O-ku-ozy-a-mu a-ma-isho

IV-INF-go.through-FV-18.in IV-6-eyes

Literal meaning: ‘To make the eyes go through somebody’

Idiomatic meaning: ‘To look down upon somebody’

(61) ***Okwekuura eihwa***

O-ku-e-kuura e-i-hwa

IV-INF-REFL-remove-FV IV-5-thorn

Literal meaning: ‘To help yourself remove a thorn’

Idiomatic meaning: ‘To save yourself from what has been bothering you’

(62) ***Okuteeka omutwe***

O-ku-teek-a o-mu-twe

IV-INF-cook-FV IV-3-head

Literal meaning: ‘To cook a head’

Idiomatic meaning: ‘To do something unexpected in order to arrive at a much needed solution’

The phrases given in (59) to (62) contain nouns used idiomatically. The intended meaning expressed in idiomatic constructions is not based on the semantics of the nouns.

It is observed in Krifka et al. (1995), that genericity is a property of the noun and the sentence as well and illustrations from Runyankore-Rukiga have been used to demonstrate that. In addition, plural, singular, as well as mass nouns can refer to kinds. In Runyankore-Rukiga, there are few restrictions imposed on the nouns that allow a generic reading, apart from the fact that plural nouns are more prevalent in generic expressions than singular nouns. Furthermore, genericity

involves both idiomatic and non-idiomatic references. Another observation is that both subject and object nouns receive generic readings. It has also been established that tense or aspect plays a role in determining whether a noun or sentence is generic or not. Generally, generic referents are semantically and pragmatically definite, because the speaker assumes knowledge of a kind in question on the part of the addressee, and that generic expressions are non-specific.

4.7 Summary

In summary, the investigation of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in this chapter was limited to nouns which occur without any form of modification. Runyankore-Rukiga does not provide distinct determiners whose role is solely to differentiate between a definite and indefinite referent, nor are there determiners whose only role is to distinguish specific from non-specific entities. There are, however, a number of ways through which the addressee can identify the intended reading of a bare noun, as the various illustrations in this chapter have demonstrated. A range of sentences and discourse-pragmatic contexts were examined, with a variety of nouns and verbs exhibiting distinct semantics. From the investigation, it is evident that the interpretation of bare nouns depends on various factors, including tense/aspect of the verb used, word order, the presence or absence of AgrOP in conjunction with the IV of the object noun, the semantics of certain nouns, among others. However, it was observed that the interpretation of any referent of a bare noun depends mainly on discourse-pragmatic background.

Section 4.2, considered discourse-pragmatic contexts for the understanding of a referent as (in)definite or (non-)specific. The section demonstrated that successful processing of the right interpretation requires that an appropriate discourse-pragmatic context be invoked. For example, a hearer is able to identify a referent if it is present in the physical environment where the interlocutors are, at the time of the utterance. If the referent had been a topic of discussion previously, the hearer can recognize it. In addition, it is also important to consider the social-cultural setting in the communication process.

Some verbs such as **-reeba** (see) as illustrated in section 4.2 may inform the hearer that the entity referred to is locatable in the immediate physical environment, even if no extra-linguistic feature, or no form of modification accompanies the noun. A given bare noun may also receive a

definiteness or indefiniteness feature, or even a generic reading on the basis of tense/aspect or mood of the verb. It was shown that the habitual tense can lead to a generic reading, while the present tense, considering an appropriate discourse-pragmatic background, can render a noun either definite or indefinite.

In section 4.3, morpho-syntactic elements which mark definiteness and specificity were investigated. The co-occurrence of the AgrOP and the IV of the object noun was examined. It was noted that the presence of the AgrOP signifies a familiar object. Hence, an object which occurs with a corresponding AgrOP is incompatible with indefiniteness. The major observation that was made here is in terms of the DP analysis, that is, if an object occurs with an IV corresponding with an AgrOP, the object noun is rendered definite and specific. This analysis, therefore, provides evidence for viewing the IV as a determiner with [+specific] features with its own projection line, although anchored on the object noun. Section 4.3, in addition discussed locative resumptive pronominals (cf. section 4.3.2) which are required when the locative phrase is preverbal, and can occur optionally when the locative phrase is in situ. The present analysis has shown that the presence of a locative resumptive pronominal, in the same way as an agreement object prefix, encodes linguistically familiar referents.

Furthermore, from the illustrations given in section 4.5.1, the hearer is in a position to identify the referent of a bare noun if (s)he has common knowledge of the world, or if there is shared knowledge between the speaker and the hearer about a given referent. Referents such as *the sun*, *the moon*, and *the earth* are inherently definite, in that there is one referent of the kind in the universe. Therefore, their definiteness reading derives from the hearer's general knowledge of the world. Relatedly, there are some nouns which exhibit definiteness features, yet they are not inherently definite. The noun **omukazi** as an example was discussed in section 4.5.2. **Omukazi** can convey an intimate relation with its subject, and therefore receive a definite reading, as 'wife'. The same noun can be ambiguous between a definite (the woman) and indefinite (any woman) reading when it follows a positive verb. The intended reading is, however, dependent on an appropriate pragmatic background. The desired reading of the noun **omukazi** further depends on the availability of the IV in association with the polarity of the verb. Following the negative verb **-kunda** (love), with the object noun appearing with the IV, **omukazi** means a specific identifiable wife (cf. example (31) repeated as (63)). Without the IV, it means any unspecified

non-particular woman. Indeed the unacceptability of (32b) repeated below as (64) is an indication that in the context of the given negative verb, the presence of an IV on the noun - **mukazi** means ‘wife’, an inherent definite and specific referent, and not any woman.

(63) *Baine naakunda *(o)mukazi.*

*Baine ni-a-kund-a *(o)-mu-kazi*
 PN.Baine PRES-1.3SG-love-FV IV-1-woman
 ‘Baine loves his wife.’

(64) *#Baine taine (*o)mukazi.*

*Baine ti-a-in-e (*o)-mu-kazi*
 PN.Baine NEG-1.3SG-has-FV IV-1-woman
 ‘Baine does not have a wife.’

A discussion on proper names was given in section 4.5.3. Proper names are included in this chapter due to the fact that, typically, they do not take modifiers. Hence, they are regarded here as bare nouns with unique referential properties. In the event that a name is shared between individuals, some form of modification is required to uniquely identify the intended proper name bearer. Otherwise, though they contain no descriptive content, they uniquely refer. All in all, the overarching factor for an appropriate interpretation of a bare noun in terms of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity is the discourse-pragmatic context.

In addition, section 4.6 was dedicated to the notion of genericity, a phenomenon that is incompatible with the specificity feature, but pragmatically definite. It has been put to light that a generic reading in Runyankore-Rukiga largely depends on context, because every noun is capable of receiving a generic or non-generic reading. A generic reading is also obtainable depending on tense, and the grammatical number of the given noun, that is, whether it is singular or plural. However, it has been observed that generic expressions occur mainly with plural rather than singular nouns. Generics are pragmatically definite on the assumption that the addressee is in a position to identify the class of entities referred to.

The next chapter examines morpho-syntactic as well discourse-pragmatic realizations of definiteness and specificity as manifested in Determiner phrases occurring with modifiers which possess an inherent semantic feature of definiteness. The determiners examined include the

demonstrative, the definite functional determiner **-a**, and the proclitic **nya-**, as well as some quantifiers, such as the universal quantifiers and the absolute pronoun.

CHAPTER FIVE

NOMINAL MODIFIERS WITH AN INHERENT LEXICAL SEMANTIC DEFINITENESS PROPERTY

5.1 Introduction

There are various options in Runyankore-Rukiga for the expression of definiteness and specificity. In the previous chapter, it was demonstrated that for bare nouns, (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity readings are mainly inferred from discourse-pragmatic contexts. The current chapter focuses on nouns which derive definiteness and specificity readings from modifiers which are categorized as having an intrinsic semantic feature of definiteness (cf. Visser, 2008). The main view advanced in this chapter is that if, during the process of communication, the speaker uses the noun with a modifier which is inherently definite, (s)he informs the addressee that the referent is known. The modifiers in Runyankore-Rukiga that are considered as intrinsically possessing a semantic feature of definiteness include the demonstrative, the functional elements **-a** and **nya-**, universal quantifiers, inclusive quantifiers, and the absolute pronoun. As noted in section 1.7, this study is conducted within the current framework of Generative Syntax (including cartographic research), complemented by Lyons's (1999) principles of definiteness.

This chapter proceeds as follows: section 5.2 analyses the typological features of various forms of the demonstrative in Runyankore-Rukiga and the various pragmatic roles of demonstratives, including deictic and anaphoric meanings. Section 5.3 examines the definite functional determiner **-a**. Section 5.4 explores the morpho-syntactic properties and the definiteness and specificity features of the anaphoric proclitic **nya-**. Section 5.5 presents a unified account of the demonstrative, and the **-a** and **nya-** determiners as exhibiting an intrinsic relationship. The absolute pronoun quantifiers with an inherent semantic feature of definiteness are discussed in section 5.6. Lastly, section 5.7 gives a summary of the chapter.

5.2 Demonstratives

5.2.1 The morphology of demonstratives

The demonstrative is a deictic determiner occurring universally (Lyons, 1999). To understand the specific roles of the demonstrative with regard to definiteness and specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga, the various forms of the demonstrative are examined first. As the discussion progresses, it will become evident that the demonstrative occurs in different forms, with various semantic and pragmatic meanings. The discussion further establishes that the demonstrative in Runyankore-Rukiga underlyingly has the core morpheme **a-**. In addition, for medial and distal locations, it exhibits the suffixes, **-o** and **-ri(ya)** respectively. Considered in the typological study of the demonstrative are the other forms, i.e., the suffix **-nu** and the locative copulative demonstrative marked with the nasal **n-**.

This sub-section is organized as follows: sub-section 5.2.1.1 discusses the demonstrative root, sub-section 5.2.1.2 focuses on the demonstrative suffixes and sub-section 5.2.1.3 examines the locative demonstrative copulative.

5.2.1.1 The demonstrative root **a-**

Researchers such as Wald (1973), Du Plessis (1978), Du Plessis and Visser (1992) have argued that the canonical demonstrative core morpheme which has been attested in many Bantu languages is underlyingly the morpheme **a**. As Visser (2008) observes, this morpheme may appear allomorphically as **a-**, **e-**, or **o-** depending on the vowel of the agreement prefix, where vowel harmony rules apply (see table 3 illustrating the occurrence of the demonstrative root). In the current study, I argue that the initial element of the demonstrative forms the core of the demonstrative. Hence, regardless of the variety of Runyankore-Rukiga one speaks or the discourse type, the initial element of the demonstrative is not an IV per se as scholars such as Morris and Kirwan (1972) and Taylor (1985) state, but an integral part of the morphological make-up of the demonstrative. Next, I briefly review what the traditional Runyankore-Rukiga grammars say about this element.

According to Taylor (1985), the initial segment of the demonstrative is an initial vowel (IV) which is obligatory in the first degree of distance. He points out that, whereas the IV would be

deleted under syntactic conditions which lead to its omission, the deletion of the IV of the demonstrative can be avoided by placing the demonstrative before the lexical head, so that it is the head noun which is affected by the negative operator. Furthermore, Taylor proposes that using the demonstrative without its head noun will result in retaining its IV. Moreover, under the rule of negation, he states that nominals are required to drop their initial vowels, but this initial morpheme of the demonstrative is never omitted.

In the present study, I demonstrate that the occurrence of a demonstrative following a negative verb does not lead to the deletion of the initial morpheme of the demonstrative. Rather, it is the Bantu core morpheme of the demonstrative responsible for deictic or anaphoric meaning, and therefore, it cannot be affected by the negation rule (as other nominal modifiers following a negative verb), as sentences (1) and (2) illustrate.

(1) ***Omushaija taraagure egyo mbuzi.*** (*Rukiga*)

O-mu-shaija ti-a-ra-gur-e a-gi-o n-buzi
 IV-1-man NEG-1.3SG-NEG-buy-FV DEMrt-9-MEDIAL 9-goat
 ‘The man will not buy that goat.’

(2) ***Omwegi tarikukunda eki kitabo.***

O-mu-egi ti-a-ri-ku-kund-a a-ki-Ø ki-tabo
 IV-1-student NEG-1.3SG-COP-INF-like-FV DEMrt-7-PROX 7-book
 ‘The student does not like this book.’

Sentences (1) and (2) demonstrate that a demonstrative can be placed immediately after a negative verb without omitting its initial morpheme. However, example (3) below from Morris and Kirwan (1972: 151) indicates that the initial morpheme of the demonstrative can be omitted in terms of the rule of negation. Hence, it may be omitted if the demonstrative comes immediately after a negative verb.

(3) ***Tindikwenda ki kitabo.***⁴⁵

Ti-n-ri-ku-end-a ki-Ø ki-tabo
 NEG-1SG -COP-INF-want-FV 7-PROX 7-book
 ‘I do not want this book.’

⁴⁵ The glosses are mine.

However, constructions like the one given in (3) were not found in the discourse data analyzed during the study, where the initial morpheme is deleted when the demonstrative immediately follows a negative verb. Furthermore, native speakers of Runyankore-Rukiga who were consulted to give their views on the issue reasoned that the speech discourse phonetic factors may result in the appearance that some speakers may ellipit the initial morpheme of the demonstrative. However, this seems to be the case among a few speakers, therefore, the tendency is not very representative of the whole speech community. The same speakers who were contacted also expressed the view that in writing, one way of avoiding omitting the initial morpheme of the demonstrative is, for instance, by not placing the demonstrative next to a negative verb. They argue that this is more common than placing a demonstrative next to a negative verb. This is attested using the illustrations in (4)-(6)⁴⁶, the same example from Morris and Kirwan (1972) given above as (3).

(4) ***Tindikwenda ekitabo eki.***

Ti-n-ri-ku-end-a *e-ki-tabo* *a-ki-Ø*
 NEG-1SG -COP-INF-want-FV IV-7-book DEMrt-7-PROX
 ‘I do not want this book.’

(5) ***Eki (e)kitabo tindikukyenda.***

A-ki-Ø *(e)-ki-tabo* *ti-n-ri-ku-ki-end-a*
 DEMRT-7-PROX IV-7-book NEG-1SG-COP-INF-7-want-FV
 ‘I do not want this book.’

(6) ***Ekitabo eki tindakyenda.***

E-ki-tabo *a-ki-Ø* *ti-n-ra-ki-end-a*
 IV-7-book DEMrt-7-PROX NEG-1SG -COP-7-want-FV
 ‘This book, I do not want it.’

(7) ***Tindikwenda eki (e)kitabo***

Ti-n-ri-ku-end-a *a-ki-Ø* *(e)-ki-tabo*
 NEG-1SG -COP-INF-want-FV DEMRT-7-PROX-7 IV-7-book
 ‘I do not want this book.’

⁴⁶ The constructions in (4)-(6) are typically Rukiga.

The majority of the speakers the researcher spoke to contend that the structures in (4), (5), and even (6) are the most natural forms of using a demonstrative as a nominal modifier when the verb is negated. The illustration in (6) is the most natural way for some speakers of the Rukiga⁴⁷ dialect to configure the sentence. On the other hand, some speakers argue that a demonstrative can still follow a negative verb without the noun losing its initial vowel. Hence, (7) is equally acceptable with the head noun appearing with or without its IV (see section 5.2.3.3 for the discussion on the interaction of the IV of the modified head noun and the demonstrative. However, few among the speakers who were consulted claim that sentences such as those appearing in (8)-(10)⁴⁸ are acceptable in the spoken discourse (the demonstrative appears without its core morpheme). The majority of the speakers, though, indicate that they are ill-formed, regardless of the discourse genre.

(8) *?Abagyenyi tibaramanya ki kyaro*

A-ba-gyenyi ti-ba-ra-many-a ki-Ø ki-aro
 IV-2-visitor NEG-2 -NEG-know-FV 7-PROX 7-village
 ‘(The) visitors do not know this village.’

(9) *?Abeegi tibaashoma kyo kitabo*

A-ba-egi ti-ba-a-shom-a ki-o ki-tabo
 IV-2-student NEG-2-PASTim-read-FV 7-MEDIAL 7-book
 ‘(The) students have not read that book.’

(10) *?Ente teraanywe go maizi*

E-n-te ti-e-ra-a-nyw-e ga-o ma-izi
 IV-9-cow NEG-9-NEG-FUT-drink-IMP 9-MEDIAL 6-water
 ‘The/a cow will not drink that water.’

The Runyankore-Rukiga language varieties are diverse and speakers’ intuitions vary. However, the view assumed in this study is that the initial morpheme of the demonstrative forms its core element, and irrespective of whether it is ellipted among some speakers, it ought not to be affected by the negative rule. This may be the reason speakers find a way of avoiding the

⁴⁷ The language under study is comprised of two closely related dialects, that is Rukiga and Runyankore, and variations between these two dialects do exist.

⁴⁸ The constructions in (8) and (10), if acceptable, would distinctively be Rukiga.

demonstrative directly following a negative verb, that is to avoid the effects of the negative operator. To the majority of the speakers, sentences (8)-(10) are questionable, since for the demonstrative to occur without the initial morpheme is unacceptable (where this applies to the proximal and medial demonstrative forms only as the distal form does not overtly show the demonstrative core morpheme). The purpose of the above discussion was to argue for the view that although the initial morpheme of the demonstrative has been treated as an initial vowel by traditional Runyankore-Rukiga grammarians, it is the historical *definitizer* assumed to have developed into other morphological elements such as the IV that is exhibited in the inflectional morphology of a number of nominal modifiers with [+specific +contrastive focus] features (cf. chapter six and seven).

5.2.1.2 Runyankore-Rukiga demonstrative suffixes

Demonstratives in Runyankore-Rukiga agree with the nouns they modify in terms of gender and number. In addition, demonstratives express spatial relations using three distinct ways. The first position is unmarked with regard to spatial distance from the speaker. The second and third positions are marked by suffixes **-o** and **-riya/-ri** respectively. The third degree distance demonstratives are, according to Taylor (1985), further divided between reference to visible and invisible entities. For distant objects, which are nevertheless visible to the speaker and hearer, Taylor observes that the suffix **-riya** is used, while for distant and invisible entities, he argues that **-ri** is used. However, contra Taylor's (1985) claim, most often, **-ri** and **-riya** are used interchangeably for both visible and invisible entities, and the use of either of the forms is determined mainly by an individual's choice. The examples in (11a-b) illustrate medial and distal demonstratives with the use of the suffix **-o** and **-ri(ya)** respectively. Example (12) further demonstrates that **-riya** is appropriate for invisible referents as well.

(11) a. *Ekya kitabo tindikukyenda*

A-ki-o ki-tabo ti-n-ri-ku-ki-end-a

DEMrt-7-MEDIAL 7-book NEG-1SG-COP-INF-7-want-FV

'I do not want that book.'

b. *Ekitabo kiri(ya) tindakyenda**E-ki-tabo Ø-ki-ri(ya) ti-n-ra-ki-end-a*

IV-7-book DEMrt-7-DIST NEG-1SG-NEG-7-want-FV

‘I do not want that book (over there).’ (Farther from speaker and hearer) or

‘I do not want that book.’ (not visible but known)

(12) *Omwishiki ou yaashabire akamugira ati “Shana waaza kunshwera obanze oite bariya baana baawe.”* (Karwemera, 1975: 20)*O-mu-ishiki o-u a-a-shab-ire a-ka-mu-gir-a a-ti*

IV-1-girl IV-1.RE 1.3SG-PRES-ask-PAST 1-PASTrm-AgrO-tell-FV 1-that

“Shana u-a-za ku-n-shwer-a o-banz-e o-it-e Ø-ba-riya

May-be 1-PRES-go INF-1SG-marry-FV 2SG-first-FV 2SG-kill-FV DEMrt-2-DIST

ba-ana ba-a-we”

2-child 2-GEN-your

‘The girl whom he asked for a hand in marriage told him that ‘If you are to marry me, you will first kill those children of yours’.

With regard to the form **-ri** or **-riya**, (11b) shows that either of the forms can be used for visible referents, or entities out of sight. Relatedly, (12) shows that **-riya** is used to refer to referents not in sight.

On the other hand, for objects in a farther distance, but which can still be seen, in the spoken discourse context, the final **-a** among the Runyankore speakers may be lengthened, for example, **ente eriyaaaa** ‘that cow right over there (cf. Taylor 1985: 136-137). Example (13) below from Mubangizi (1966: 28) demonstrates the issue under consideration.

(13) *Reeba ekintu kirikugamba nkiri muriyaaaa.**Ø-reeb-a e-ki-ntu ki-ri-ku-gamb-a n-ki-ri Ø-mu-riyaaa*

2PL-see FV IV-7-thing 7-COP-INF-talk-FV LDCop-7-DIST DEMrt-16-DIST

‘Look, the thing that is making noise is there, in there (far but visible).’

Among the Rukiga speakers, instead it is the vowel **i** of the demonstrative suffix that may be lengthened to refer to an object that is far but which is still in sight: **muriya** ‘in there’- far but in

sight. The lengthening of the vowel goes with pouted lips (cf. Morris and Kirwan 1972: 59) and not the pointing gesture.

Table 3 below gives a list of demonstratives in Runyankore-Rukiga adapted from Taylor (1985: 136). The table shows that the root of the demonstrative morphologically expressing the proximal and medial locations as **a-**, **e-** or **o-** is underlyingly the morpheme **a-**. For the distal location, the core morpheme of the demonstrative is morphologically unmarked.

Noun Class	Proximal	Medial	Distal	
			For visible and invisible referents	
1 -mu-	ogu (a-gu)	ogwo (ou-o	o-riya	o-ri
2 -ba-	aba (a-ba)	abo (a-ba-o)	ba-riya	ba-ri
3 -mu-	ogu (a-gu)	ogwo (a-gu-o)	gu-riya	gu-ri
4 -mi-	egi (a-gi)	egyo (a-gi-o)	gi-riya	gi-ri
5 -ri-	eri (a-ri)	eryo (a-ri-o)	ri-riya	ri-ri
6 -ma-	aga (a-ga)	ago (a-ga-o)	ga-riya	ga-ri
7 -ki-	eki (a-ki)	ekyo (a-ki-o)	ki-riya	ki-ri
8 -bi-	ebi (a-bi)	ebyo (a-bi-o)	bi-riya	bi-ri
9 -n-	egi (a-gi)	egyo (a-gi-o)	e-riya	e-ri
10 -n-	ezi (a-zi)	ezo (a-zi-o)	zi-riya	zi-ri
11 -ru-	oru (a-ru)	orwo (a-ru-o)	ru-riya	ru-ri
12 -ka-	aka (a-ka)	ako (a-ka-o)	ka-riya	ka-ri
13 -tu-	otu (a-tu)	otyoo (a-tu-o)	tu-riya	tu-ri
14 -bu-	obu (a-bu)	obwo (a-bu-o)	bu-riya	bu-ri
15 -ku-	oku (a-ku)	okwo (a-ku-o)	ku-riya	ku-ri
16 -ha-	aha (a-ha)	aho (a-ha-o)	ha-riya	ha-ri
17 -ku-	oku (a-ku)	okwo (a-ku-o)	ku-riya	ku-ri
18 -mu-	omu (a-mu)	omwo(a-mu-o)	mu-riya	mu-ri

Table 3: List of demonstratives in Runyankore-Rukiga

As shown in table 3, for noun classes whose agreement prefix has a nasal, the prefix of the demonstrative is not identical to the class prefix of the head noun following vowel harmony rules. These are classes 1, 3, 4, 6, 9 and 10. The table further shows that the proximal demonstrative is unmarked for spatial distance. The medial demonstrative, however, exhibits the demonstrative root **a-** and suffix **-o** for marking distance, that is, for entities near to the hearer. For entities far from both the speaker and hearer, either in sight or out of sight, distance is

marked with **-ri(ya)**. However, the distal demonstrative does not explicitly exhibit the demonstrative core morpheme in its morphology.

The demonstrative may also appear in a form taking the suffix **-nu**. The suffix **-nu** is commonly used in storytelling (cf. Morris & Kirwan, 1972: 59). It is usually used with human referents in the third person. In addition, **-nu** is used with personified nouns, especially in folktales. The literal translation of **-nu** is ‘this one said’. It serves to mark an anaphoric definite entity, about which the discourse parties know because it is present in the recent previous discourse. It further serves to identify the main topic in discourse. Therefore, **-nu** is used to keep track of ‘human’ referents in an on-going discourse. The construction given in (14) from Mubangizi (1966: 31) illustrates the use of the demonstrative **-nu** (a detailed examination of the anaphoric use of demonstratives is presented in section 5.2.4.3).

- (14) *Omukama ayeta omwigarire Nyakwegira. Ku aija amubuuza ati “Ogu niwe sho ekiti?”
Onu ati “Buzima niwe tata ekiti”...*

Omukama a- et-a o-mu-igarire Nyakwegira. Ku a-ij-a
1.King 1.3SG-call-FV IV-1-princess Nyakwegira. When 1-come-FV

a-mu-buuz-a a-ti “A-gu-Ø ni-u-e sho ekiti?”
1.AgrS-1-ask-FV 1-that DEMrt-1-PROX COP-1-EMPH your.father real”?

O-nu a-ti “Buzima ni-u-e tata ekiti”
1-this.one 1-that “True COP-1-EMPH my.father real”

‘The king called the princess. And when she came, he asked her “Is this your real father?” Then this one (the princess) answered: “Yes he is my real father.”’

5.2.1.3 The locative demonstrative copulative **n-**

Another demonstrative in Runyankore-Rukiga is in the form of **n-**. This demonstrative morpheme occurs in the pre-position of the noun class prefix. Taylor (1985: 138) refers to it as an emphatic demonstrative, with the meaning ‘here it is or here (s)he is’. In Runyoro-Rutooro, a language variety that is close to Runyankore-Rukiga, Rubongoya (1999) identifies it as a nasal morpheme that is used for things that are seen and specified. This morpheme, according to Du Plessis and Visser (1992), occurs in the locative copulative constructions in isiXhosa. It is called

a locative demonstrative copulative because it behaves like a demonstrative used in a predicate, and also has a locative meaning, and this is the term adopted here. The demonstrative copulative **n-** is used to refer to specified entities, which may be seen or referred to. Since it is the case that **n-** has a locative meaning, it directs the addressee to the exact location of a referent. Table 4 shows the occurrence of the locative demonstrative copulative morpheme **n-** in all the three deictic positions.

Noun class	Proximal	Medial	Distal
			Visible
1 -mu-	n-gu-gu	n-gu-gu-o	n-gu-ri(ya)
2 -ba-	mbaba(n-ba-ba)	n-ba-ba-o	n-ba-ri(ya)
3-mu-	n-gu-gu	n-gu-gu-o	n-gu-ri(ya)
4 -mi-	n-gi-gi	n-gi-gi-o	n-gi-ri(ya)
5 -i/ri-	n-ri-ri	n-ri-ri-o	n-ri(ya)
6 -ma-	n-ga-ga	n-ga-ga-o	n-ga-ri(ya)
7 -ki-	n-ki-ki	nkikyo (n-ki-ki-o)	n-ki-ri(ya)
8 -bi-	mbibi (n-bi-bi)	nbiby (n-bi-bi-o)	n-bi-ri(ya)
9 -n-	n-gi-gi	ngigy (n-gi-gi-o)	n-gi-ri(ya)
10 -n-	n-zi-zi	nzizo (n-zi-zi-o)	n-zi-ri(ya)
11 -ru-	nduru (n-ru-ru)	nduryo n-ru-ru-o	n-ru-ri(ya)
12 -ka-	n-ka-ka	n-ka-ka-o	n-ka-ri(ya)
13 -tu-	n-tu-tu	ntuty (n-tu-tu-o)	n-tu-ri(ya)
14 -bu-	mbubu (n-bu-bu)	mbubwo (n-bu-bu-o)	n-bu-ri(ya)
15 -ku-	n-ku-ku	nkukwo (n-ku-ku-o)	n-ku-ri(ya)
16 -ha-	mpaha (n-ha-ha)	mpaho (n-ha-ha-o)	n-ha-ri(ya)
17 -ku-	-	n-ku-ku-e	-
18 -mu-	-n-mu-mu	n-mu-mu-o	-

Table 4: The locative demonstrative copulative

The basic function of the locative demonstrative copulative is to locate entities which are visible in the physical environment. Therefore as indicated in the table, unlike the ordinary demonstrative (see table 3), the copulative demonstrative **n-** has no deictic property for invisible entities at the third degree of distance. Furthermore, if **n-** serves to track an entity already established in the discourse, the referent must occur in the immediate adjacent discourse, as illustrated in (15). Table 4 further reveals that locative classes 17 and 18 rarely take the locative copulative demonstrative. However, expressions like **omu mumu** ‘exactly in here’ and

okwengkukwe ‘exactly (invisible place) there’ are not unusual, especially in the spoken register of Rukiga.

- (15) *Aha murundi ogu nkataayaayira enyanja ya Lomond na Ness. Egi ngigi ekaba neegambwaho kukye.* (Mugumya 2010: 59)

A-ha mu-rundi a-gu-Ø n-ka-taayaay-ir-a e-n-yanja i-a
IV-16 3-time DEMRT-PROX 1SG-PASTrm-visit-APPL-FV IV-9-lake 9-GEN

Lomond na Ness. A-gi-Ø n-gi-gi-Ø e-ka-ba
PN.Lomond and PN.Ness DEMrt-9.PROX LDCop-9.PROX 9-PASTrm-be

ni-e-gamb-w-a-ho ku-kye
PROG-9-talk-PASS-FV-PART 15-little

‘This time round, I visited Lake Lomond and Ness. This one, there was not much talked about it.’

Locative demonstrative copulatives are formed in a way peculiar to the ordinary demonstrative forms as examples (16-20) below show. For proximal demonstratives, the nasal prefix **n-** is prefixed on a duplicated nominal agreement prefix. Note that the noun preceded by a locative demonstrative requires the head noun to occur with an IV, as the unacceptability of (16b) shows.

- (16) a. *Mbaba *(a)baana.*

*n-ba-ba-Ø *(a)-ba-ana*
LDCop-2-2-PROX IV-2-child
‘Here they are (the children)’.

- b. *#Mbaba baana.*

n-ba-ba-Ø ba-ana
LDCop-2-2-PROX 2-child
‘Here they are (the children)’

For the medial demonstrative, the locative demonstrative copulative prefix, **n-** is added to a duplicated agreement prefix with a demonstrative suffix **-o** also attached.

- (17) *Abaana mbabo.*

a-ba-ana n-ba-ba-o
IV-2-child LDCop-2-2-MEDIAL
‘Children are there: There they are (the children)’.

With regard to the position farther from the deictic center, the locative demonstrative copulative prefix **n-** is attached to the agreement prefix and the demonstrative suffix **ri(ya)** is attached:

(18) a. *Abaana mbari(ya)*.

a-ba-ana n-ba-ri(ya)

IV-2-child LDCop-2-DIST

‘Children are there: There they are (the children)’ (some distance away but in sight).

b. *Abaana mbabari*. (Rukiga)

a-ba-ana n-ba-ba-ri

IV-2-child LDCop-2-2-DIST

‘Children are there: There they are (the children).’ (some distance away but in sight).

It is also prevalent in Rukiga to duplicate the noun prefix when it appears with a distal form of the demonstrative **-ri**, especially for emphasis encoding, as demonstrated in (18b).

A demonstrative adverb may, in addition to the locative demonstrative copulative, be added (cf. (19)). The locative copulative may also modify the demonstrative adverb for additional specificity, or emphasis, as illustrated in (20).

(19) *Mbaba hanu/aho/hari*.

n-ba-ba ha-nu/ a-ha-o/ha-ri

DEM-2-2 16-here/IV-16-MEDIAL/16-DIST

‘Here they are, here’/‘There they are, there’/‘There they are, over there (far but seen).’

(20) *Harugire kwija aha mpaha omushaija naaronda omwishiki we ngu akabura*.

(Mubangizi 1966: 29)

Ha-rug-ire ku-ij-a a-ha n-ha-ha-Ø o-mu-shaija

EXPLET-come-PERF INF-come-FV IV-16.here LDCop -16-16-PROX IV-1-man

ni-a-rond-a o-mu-ishiki we ngu a-ka-bur-a

PRES-1.3SG-search-FV IV-1-girl his that 1.3SG-PAST-disappear-FV

‘Recently a man came here looking for his daughter, that she (his daughter) disappeared.’

5.2.2 The syntax of demonstratives: previous studies

5.2.2.1 Introduction

While it is crucial to address the form and meaning of demonstratives, it is equally important to consider their syntactic properties for the analysis of definiteness and specificity. For instance, as discussed below in section 5.2.2.3, a demonstrative occurs with a phonologically null head because the explicit noun is assumed to be known. In generative terms, the demonstrative occurs in a DP taking an NP complement which is headed by an empty category, the *pro*, which is understood by its coreference with an established antecedent in the previous discourse, with which it shares inflectional properties. Diessel (1999) syntactically classifies demonstratives as adnominal, pronominal, identificational and adverbial. According to Dixon (2003), adnominal and pronominal forms are collapsed into one class, that is, the nominal demonstratives. Dixon (2003) identifies yet another class, labeled as verbal demonstratives. For the current discussion, adnominal, pronominal and identificational categories according to Diessel (1999) are discussed in turn in relation to the syntax of Runyankore-Rukiga demonstratives.

5.2.2.2 Adnominal demonstratives

The term adnominal is adopted from Diessel (1999). According to Diessel, adnominal demonstratives occur with nouns, and function as determiners. There are conflicting views about the historical position of the demonstrative in Runyankore-Rukiga. According to Wald (1973), it appears to have canonically appeared before the noun. Taylor (1985) argues to the contrary, that is, the demonstrative is canonically postnominal, but can precede the noun for pragmatic encoding of emphasis⁴⁹. Van de Velde (2005) is in agreement with Taylor (1985). However, synchronically, the demonstrative freely occupies any position in relation to the noun. The adnominal demonstrative may appear in the pre-N or post-N position, regardless of the pragmatic meaning, although, as it is argued in section 5.2.4.2, deictic demonstratives tend to appear frequently in pronominal position while anaphoric demonstratives mostly appear following the noun. Note, however, that there are various factors which may determine the position of the demonstrative in the nominal domain (cf. 5.2.3.2). The demonstrative may also appear far from

⁴⁹ Rugemalira (2007: 138) states that modifiers in Bantu languages are postnominal with the exception of the universal quantifier 'all/each'.

the head noun, and still maintains its agreement, and still having a modifying role to the head noun. The examples in (21a-c) illustrate the adnominal demonstrative positions in the Runyankore-Rukiga DP.

(21) a. *Ago maizi agu abaana barikuzaaniramu ni mabi.*

a-ga-o *ma-izi* *a-gu* *a-ba-ana*
DEMrt-6-MEDIAL 6-water IV-6.REL IV-2-child

ba-ri-ku-zaan-ir-a-mu *ni* *ma-bi*
2-COP-INF-play-APPL-FV-18.in COP 6-dirty

‘That water in which (the) children are playing is dirty.’

b. *Amaizi ago agu abaana barikuzaaniramu ni mabi.*

a-ma-izi *a-ga-o* *a-gu* *a-ba-ana*
6-water DEMrt-6-MEDIAL IV-6.REL IV-2-child

ba-ri-ku-zaan-ir-a-mu *ni* *ma-bi*
2-COP-INF-play-APPL-FV-18.in COP 6-dirty

‘That water in which (the) children are playing is dirty.’

c. *Amaizi agu abaana barikuzaaniramu ago ni mabi*

a-ma-izi *a-gu* *a-ba-ana* *ba-ri-ku-zaan-ir-a-mu*
6-water IV-6.REL IV-2-child 2-COP-INF-play-APPL-FV-18.in

a-ga-o *ni* *ma-bi*
DEMrt-6-MEDIAL COP 6-dirty

‘That water in which (the) children are playing is dirty.’

In (21a), the adnominal demonstrative appears before the noun. In (21b), it follows the head noun, while in (21c) it appears after a relative clause modifier (cf. section 7.3.7.1 for the analysis of the co-occurrence of a clausal relative with a demonstrative in terms of definiteness and specificity encoding).

5.2.2.3 Pronominal demonstratives

Pronominal demonstratives, according to Diessel (1999: 57), are independent pronouns in an argument position of the verb, occurring as adpositions. Thus, Diessel maintains, a pronominal demonstrative which appears without a head noun, functions as the nominal head. However, a phonologically empty category, *pro*, is posited in Generative syntax, whereby it is argued that the nominal modifiers do not change status when there is no full lexical head. The demonstrative thus modifies an NP, headed by a phonologically empty head *pro* for the ellipsed noun (cf. Visser, 1984; Lorpez, 2000 and Cornilescu & Nicolae, 2012). Note that for the current purpose, the term ‘pronominal’ will henceforth be omitted in favor of the *pro* head category term in accordance with recent generative grammar views on the occurrence of the empty category *pro*. Runyankore-Rukiga does not offer a distinct form of the demonstrative headed by a *pro* from the adnominal demonstrative⁵⁰, as the sentences in (22a) and (22b) indicate. Pragmatically, when the demonstrative occurs with a *pro* head, the demonstrative is used to identify a referent that has been previously established in discourse.

(22) a *Omukazi naakunda eki kiteteeyi.*

O-mu-kazi ni-a-kund-a a-ki-∅ ki-teteeyi
 IV-1-woman PRES-1.1SG-like-FV DEMrt-7-PROX 7-dress
 ‘A/the woman likes this dress.’

b. *Omukazi naakunda eki.*

O-mu-kazi ni-a-kund-a a-ki-∅
 IV-1-woman PRES-1.1SG-like-FV DEMrt-7-PROX
 ‘A/the woman likes this (one).’

5.2.2.4 Identificational demonstratives

Diessel (1999) identifies another class of demonstratives to which he refers as *identificational* demonstratives. He states that a demonstrative identifier occurs with copular and other non-verbal forms. Regarding its form, Diessel notes that identificational demonstratives have a distinct phonological and morphological form. For the case of Runyankore-Rukiga, this class of

⁵⁰ From this point, the term adnominal is dropped, since the idea in Generative syntax is that modifiers do not change status. Hence there are no different terms used to refer to the same modifier.

demonstratives is what has been categorized here as the locative demonstrative copulative, a term that is due to Du Plessis and Visser (1992), and it occurs in copulative constructions. The demonstrative identifier has a morphological form distinct from that of the demonstrative occurring with either a lexical or a *pro* head in that it is marked by the nasal **n-** (cf. section 5.2.1.3).

Like the ordinary demonstrative, the demonstrative identifier can occur before or after the referent noun (see examples (16a) and (17) in 5.2.1.3). For the demonstrative identifier to appear with a *pro* head, it is obligatory to occur with an ordinary demonstrative, in that in the second part of the utterance in (15) above, **ngigi** (here it is) cannot occur without being preceded by **egi** (this). Furthermore, when the demonstrative identifier occurs preminally, the head noun must appear with its IV, as exemplified by the unacceptable form in (16b) above, unlike the ordinary demonstrative which allows the IV of the head noun optionally.

Irrespective of the syntactic position the demonstrative assumes, that is, whether it occurs with a lexical head, with a *pro* form, as identificational demonstrative, or copulative, generally speaking, it performs the role of leading the addressee to a particular and identifiable object or location in the context of an utterance. The purpose of giving a fairly detailed discussion on the morpho-syntax of the demonstrative in Runyankore-Rukiga is to inform the reader that the choice of the form of the demonstrative depends on various factors. Among them, is the distance of the referent from the deictic center, or the distance in terms of when the referent was last mentioned in the discourse (but see other factors discussed below in section 5.2.3.2).

The next section examines the IV in terms of its distributional properties in the nominal domain in relation to the demonstrative modifier. Bear in mind that the current study, among others, aims to establish in a principled way the role of the optional IV with regard to definiteness and specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga. However, first, the position of the demonstrative in relation to the head noun is examined.

5.2.3 Position and co-occurrence of demonstratives with the initial vowel

5.2.3.1 The position of the demonstrative: previous studies

There seems to be no consensus among scholars regarding the canonical position of the demonstrative in Runyankore-Rukiga, as noted already in section 5.2.2.1. According to Wald (1973), the proto Bantu position of the demonstrative in most Bantu Languages is the prenominal position. Taylor (1985), however, argues that the demonstrative canonically appears after the noun in Runyankore-Rukiga. He further points out that for the purpose of emphasis, it can occur before the noun. Taylor also notes that if the noun is preceded by a demonstrative, the IV of the noun should be omitted (see also Dewees, 1971). Morris and Kirwan (1972) do not discuss the syntactic position of the demonstrative in Runyankore-Rukiga. However, the examples found in their work (e.g., see Morris & Kirwan 1972: 58) seem to suggest that the demonstrative follows the noun. Taking Taylor's (1985) position, the demonstrative typically occurs post-nominally, and that the IV cannot occur with the noun if the demonstrative precedes it. This view is not entirely supported by evidence, because variations have been widely observed. These variations are motivated by a number of factors discussed below.

5.2.3.2 Factors conditioning the position of the adnominal demonstrative

Individual preferences: It has been observed that a demonstrative, irrespective of its pragmatic function, can appear either before or after the noun. To a certain degree, it occurs in a particular position due to individual speaker preferences and style. This has been established after consultations with native speakers of the language, supplemented by various written materials, where different patterns have been identified with no clear motivation as to why some speakers or writers choose to place the demonstrative where they do place it. Below, I illustrate with excerpts from the novels by Mubangizi (1997: 267) and Mugumya (2010: 3) for evidence that the position of the ordinary demonstrative in the nominal domain may have no connection with the role it plays in a given construction, and that these writers differ with regard to their placement of the demonstrative. Also compare with the excerpts from the Runyankore-Rukiga Bible (25), which demonstrate that the anaphoric demonstrative can either be prenominal or postnominal.

- (23) *Kandi ekindi eki nsimire omuri ezi manja, n'omutima gw'okweteisa ogworekirwe baakisingwa-manja abarikukira obwingi[...].Aha muheru gw'okutabaaruka omu manja ezi zoonu ndi mwere, ntatangiibwe nari kukomwa, nkabanza kuraba Nyamitanga omu iramizo kusiima Ruhanga ozindabizemu gye*⁵¹. Mubangizi ((1997: 267)

'Another thing that I appreciated from these court cases is the spirit of repentance which was demonstrated by the majority of the offenders... After coming out of these court cases clean, without being told to pay any damages or being imprisoned, I first went to Nyamitanga church to thank God who enabled me to go through them well.'

- (24) *Abanyankore nibagira ngu waagwezesha (omweza) amaino nigukutambira akabi koonu". Ekyo kikaba nikimanyisa ngu ku haakubaho butandu y'endegye nyowe owaakoresa ogwo 'mubazi' mbaasa kuhonoka ahari butandu egyo.* (Mugumya 2010: 3)

'The Banyankore say that when you use it to clean your teeth, it will protect you from any danger". That meant that in case of a plane accident, I, who has used that 'medicine', would survive that accident.'

From the above extracts it is observed that the authors are not consistent with their use of the position of the anaphoric demonstrative. Take for instance **emanja** 'cases' in (23). The author in one sentence puts the demonstrative before the noun, while still talking about the same referent- 'cases', he puts the demonstrative after the noun in another sentence. The same observation is made with a different author from a different writing generation altogether, in (24). This is an indication that the demonstrative can freely appear before or after the noun, irrespective of its pragmatic role (see also the extracts in (25) from the Runyankore-Rukiga Bible).

Another factor to consider concerns *dialectal variations*. Recall that Runyankore-Rukiga is comprised of Rukiga and Runyankore which are linguistically regarded as dialects of the same language due to their high level of mutual intelligibility and grammatical affinity. The speakers of the language who were consulted argue that, to some degree, Runyankore speakers tend to use more of pronominal demonstratives while retaining the IV of the head noun, whereas the majority of the Rukiga speakers uses more of the postnominal position for the ordinary demonstrative. However, the observations made suggest that, in some areas of Rukiga speakers, the demonstrative is used pronominally, having no effect on the initial vowel of the head noun.

⁵¹ Long excerpts are not glossed to save space.

There is a contrast between *spoken and written discourses* regarding the position of the demonstrative. Through conversations and listening to radio programs, it was noted that in the spoken discourse, the demonstrative frequently occurs prenominal with the IV of the noun retained (see section 5.1.3, example (30) below for an excerpt from a radio recording). The language experts with whom the researcher worked are of the view that the insertion of the IV could be a mere case of language change. Moreover, in the written discourse, only one case where the IV appears with a noun modified by a prenominal demonstrative has been registered (see example (31)). The above trend of retaining the IV of the noun preceded by a demonstrative in the spoken discourse could have been triggered by Runyankore-Rukiga coming into contact with Luganda (many more other changes influenced by Luganda are taking place) because Luganda maintains an IV of the noun coming after a demonstrative⁵².

In the print media, i.e. *Entatsi* and *Orumuri*⁵³ newspapers, the demonstrative consistently follows the noun, whose role is mainly anaphoric. In literary works, the demonstrative does not occur in a regular position though it seems to occupy in more instances the prenominal position (cf. examples (23) and (24) above)⁵⁴. Taking into account the two literary texts from where (23) and (24) were extracted (i.e. Mubangizi (1997)⁵⁵ and Mugumya (2010) respectively), we find that the two writers belong to two different generations, yet their use of the demonstrative seems to match. On the other hand, the newspaper register presents a different structure, where the adnominal demonstrative consistently comes in the postnominal position while the texts from the Runyankore-Rukiga Bible show that the anaphoric demonstrative appears either before or after the noun. Consider the illustrations below, which demonstrate the disparity with regard to the position of the demonstrative with examples from the Bible (25a-b), Mugumya (2010) in (26)-(27), and *Orumuri* newspaper (October 22-28, 2012) in (28)-(29).

⁵² In Luganda, the omission of the IV on a noun preceded by a demonstrative leads to a predicative meaning of the noun (see, for instance, Wald (1973: 260)).

⁵³ *Orumuri* and *Entatsi* are two weekly newspapers written in Runyankore-Rukiga.

⁵⁴ See also example (54) in section 5.3.4, an extract from Karwemera (1994: 109) depicting the demonstrative consistently in the prenominal position.

⁵⁵ The novel series *Abagyenda Bareeba* were written in the 1960s, and compiled in 1997 into one memorial single volume.

- (25) a. *Saara yaagira enda yaazaarira Abrahamu omwana w'omwojo [...]Abrahamu yaayeta ogwo mwana ou yaazaire Ishaaka [...]Abrahamu akaba ahikize emyaka igana obu yaazaara ogwo mwana Ishaaka.* (Okutandika 21: 2-5).

Sarah became pregnant and bore a son to Abraham [...] Abraham gave the name Isaac to the son Sarah bore him [...]Abraham was a hundred years old when [this child Isaac was born to him] (NIV: Genesis 21: 2-5).

- b. *Bwanyima y'ebiro bikye omwana ogwo omuto yaateerana hamwe ebintu bye byona, yaagyenda, yaaza omu nsi endiijo eya hare. Ku yaahikireyo, yaashiishagura ebintu bye omu micwe mibi. Ku yaabiherizeho haabaho enjara nyingi omu nsi egyo; yaagyenda, yaashumba aha muntu ow'omu nsi egyo; omushaija ogwo yaamwohereza kuriisa empunu.* (Luka 15: 13-15).

Not long after that, [that] younger son got together all he had, set off for a distant country and there squandered his wealth in wild living. After he had spent everything, there was sever famine in that whoel country and he began to be in need. So he went and hired himself out to a citizen of that country, who sent him to his field to feed pigs. (NIV Luke 15: 13-15)

- (26) *Kyakiro tukagitunga nka shaaha mukaaga gw'ekiro obwo turi ahaiguru ya Misiri. Egyo kyakiro y'omu mwanya nkagirya weena nshemereirwe.* Mugumya (2010: 3)

'We had supper at around 12 midnight while flying over Egypt. I felt happy while eating that supper.'

- (27) *"Abanyankore nibagira ngu waagwezesha (omweza) amaino nigukutambira akabi koono". Ekyo kikaba nikimanyisa ngu ku haakubaho butandu y'endegye nyowe owaakoresa ogwo 'mubazi' mbaasa kuhonoka ahari butandu egyo.* (Mugumya 2010: 3)

'The Banyankore say that when you use it to clean your teeth, it will protect you from any danger". That meant that in case of a plane accident, I, who has used that 'medicine', would survive that accident.'

- (28) *Bwanyima y'eka y'abantu 4 kwitwa oburwairwe butamanyirwe, abashaho bagyerizeho kuyebera nikwo kushanga ngu n'oburwairwe bwa MARBURG [...] Endwara egi ebarukireho omuri Kabale [...] oburwairwe obu nibukwata nka Ebola [...] Orumuri newspaper (October 22-28, 2012)*

'After four members of one family had died of an unknown disease, doctors carried out tests, and found out the disease to be Marburg[...] This disease broke out in Kabale [district][...] this disease has signs like those of Ebola [fever]'

- (29) *Amahanga UK, Netherlands, hamwe na US gacumire enama gasharamu kusharaho purezidenti wa Rwanda Paul Kagame obuhwezi ahabw'okumuteekateekaho kuba naahagira abaheekyera ba M23 ...Okusharaho obuhwezi obu n'okurabura, amahanga aga gagyendeire aha ripoota ya UN [...] Orumuri July 30-3August 2012 :2*

‘The UK, Netherlands and US decided to reduce donor funding they give to President Kagame of Rwanda on account that they suspect he is supporting M23 rebels. The reason for cutting aid is to send a warning. These countries made the decision following the UN report [...].

The demonstrative, as demonstrated in the examples (25) to (29) above, appears either before or after the head noun. However, the position of the demonstrative modifier in newspaper texts, as exemplified in (28) and (29), is consistently postnominal.

Therefore, the position of the demonstrative in Runyankore-Rukiga is not dependent on the pragmatic role it plays in a given DP. This is due to various factors, such as those illustrated above. However, as for the deictic demonstrative, it appears to occur naturally before the head noun for pointing to a referent in the immediate situational context (see section 5.2.4.2 for illustrations). In addition, since demonstratives in the newspaper genre are frequently postnominal, it may be the case that deictic demonstratives are preferred in the prenominal position, while anaphoric demonstratives are typically postnominal. On the other hand, generally speaking, the use of the ordinary demonstrative before the noun when the IV of the head noun is retained has been found to characterize more of the informal language. As examined in the next subsection, however, the IV may have a pragmatic role to play when it appears with a noun preceded by a demonstrative.

5.2.3.3 Interaction of the demonstrative with the initial vowel

Empirical evidence shows that the IV can optionally occur with the head noun if the demonstrative is prenominal. This has been generally indicated to be a common practice in spoken discourse. However, it is not well established why, in written discourse, the IV is hardly found appearing on the noun if occurring with a demonstrative. The majority of the speakers who were consulted do not attach any meaning to the IV of the noun when it occurs with a prenominal demonstrative. This may explain why the structure has not yet found its way into the formal register. The general understanding among the speakers consulted is that language is not static, and that the retention of the IV may be attributed to language change. This suggests that in future a noun with its IV preceded by a demonstrative may be used formally in written materials.

The extract in (30) below offers a naturally occurring discourse, recorded from a radio program, *Katuhurirane*, loosely translated as ‘Let us hear from one another’ on *Radio West* on 21.09.2012: 9.00pm, demonstrating the use of the IV with nouns modified by prenominal demonstratives.

- (30) [...] *biryoni 15 ezi baihire ahari difensi omukama we naagira ngu timurikuziihaho. Kandi nabo abantu bagira ngu Your Excellency kasita eki twabaire nituteeraho esente nyingi aha rutaro tukaba twine orutaro omu north, tukaba twine orutaro nkahi [gap]. Mbwenu hati obu rutakiriho katuzite omu kurwanisa aba abakazi 16 abarikufa buriizooba, aba abantu 300 abarikwitwa omushwija buriizooba, aba abaana 435 abarikufa ahabw’endwara ezi twakubaire nitutamba, tube nikyo twaza kukora kandi nyowe nindeeba tikyakubaire kiri ekizibu.*

Translation

‘[...] 15 billion which was to be deducted from the defence budget, the ‘chief [president] as for him, he says that they cannot deduct it. And as for them, the people say that ‘Your Excellency’ we were allocating more money to war [defence] because there was war in the north, we had a war... where [gap]? Now that the war is no more, let us use this money in the struggle to minimize the level of death of these 16 women who die every day [of maternal health related complications], these 300 people who die of fever [malaria] every day, [and] these 435 children who die as a result of diseases we could prevent. That is what we should now do and to me, I see that would not be a problem.’

From the recording in (30), the speaker consistently puts an IV on nouns preceded by a demonstrative. However, a closer examination of the DPs in question points to the pragmatic meaning of additional specificity or emphasis encoded on the head noun by the IV. The nouns referred to are definite because demonstratives, which modify them, are inherently definite.

In the written discourse, one case where the IV is retained with a prenominal demonstrative, given in (31), has been identified. This study argues for the view that when the demonstrative occurs preminally, and the IV is retained, the head noun receives additional meaning of specificity.

- (31) *Ku baabaire bahikaho, babashangisa aha irembo enjugano zibaikiriziine. Bakaba babanza kubooreka ente kaasha (tikirikumanyisa ngu egi ente eine akaasha omu buso, kureka nikimanyisa ente nungi erikuhita ezindi)[...]* (Extract from Karwemera 1994: 86)

‘When they would arrive there, they would meet at the gate and they [the girl’s relatives] would look at the bride price which had been agreed upon. They would first show them the cow **kasha** (**kasha** does not mean that that (specific) cow has a white spot on its forehead, instead it means a nice looking healthy cow amongst all the cows brought)[...]’

Concerning the functions of the demonstrative, although I have mentioned some of them in passing in the foregoing sections, the next section focuses on the analysis of definiteness and specificity stemming from the presence of the demonstrative in the DP.

5.2.4 Definiteness and specificity in DPs containing demonstratives

5.2.4.1 Introduction

The preceding sections illustrated the morphological and syntactic properties of demonstratives in Runyankore-Rukiga. Factors influencing the position of the demonstrative with respect to the head it modifies have also been discussed. The aforementioned considerations aimed at providing the background information necessary for placing the demonstrative into perspective as regards the phenomena under study. With regard to the position of the demonstrative, it has been established in section 5.2.3.2 that there is no direct clear-cut connection between the position of the demonstrative and the pragmatic role it plays.

The discussion on the semantic-pragmatic functions of demonstratives in expressing definiteness and specificity follows in part Diessel's (1999) classification of demonstratives into *exophoric* use, that is, when demonstratives serve to point to a referent that is outside the discourse, and *endophoric* use, when demonstratives are used as tracking devices within a discourse. According to Diessel (1999: 7), the exophoric category represents the basic use from which all other uses of the demonstrative derive. Under the exophoric category, the deictic functions of demonstratives and other referential uses that are non-deictic and non-anaphoric are examined. On the other hand, endophoric demonstratives are considered typically anaphoric and cataphoric.

5.2.4.2 Exophoric use of the demonstrative

Recall that demonstratives generally contain an inherent semantic feature of definiteness, with an inherent feature of specificity, in that nominal referents modified by demonstratives are necessarily specific and identifiable to both the speaker and hearer. The exophoric demonstratives, on the one hand, accompany referents which are situated in the spatial environment, and can be seen by the interlocutors. This kind of demonstrative is dubbed 'deictic', as Fillmore (1997: 63) points out. Sometimes, 'the demonstrative is accompanied by a

gesture or a demonstration of some sort'. Besides the deictic use, there are other exophoric uses of demonstratives in Runyankore-Rukiga, which are discussed below, but first, the deictic uses are considered in (32) and (33).

(32) *Torotoora ezo (e)nkwanzi mwana we.*

Ø-torotoor-a a-zi-o (e)-n-kwanzi mu-ana we
 2SG-pick-FV DEMrt-10-MEDIAL IV-10-bead 1-child you
 'Pick up those beads you child.'

(33) *Obu waizire nsigarira n'ogu mwana nze kwereetera otwizi.*⁵⁶

Obu u-a-iz-ire n-sigar-ir-a na a-gu-Ø mu-ana
 Since 2SG-PRES-come-PERF 1SG-stay-APPL-FV with DEMrt-1-PROX 1-child

n-z-e ku-ereete-er-a o-tu-izi
 1SG-go-FV INF- bring-APPL-FV IV-12-water
 'Now that you have come, stay with this child for me while I go to fetch for myself some water.'

Referents modified by deictic demonstratives are definite on the basis of the identifiability principle (Lyons, 1999). The referents must be visible to communication participants at the time of the utterance, and are most often accompanied by a gesture (cf. Fillmore, 1997, Diessel, 1999; Lyons, 1999; Levinson, 2004). To guide the hearer to the intended referent, a gesture, an eye gaze, or any other kind of demonstration is important in case there is more than one potential referent.

In sentences (32) and (33), the demonstrative **ezo** (those) (cf. (32)) locates the referent in the physical environment near the hearer, while **ogu** (this) (cf. (33)) refers to the individual located near the speaker. In addition, although the referents are located at different points from the speaker, they are visible to both discourse participants. Furthermore, it is possible that a gesture may accompany the demonstratives in (32), while in (33), it may not, because it is highly probable that there are no other potential referents situated near the speaker, with the same semantic material. Since this study posits that definite entities, by virtue of the presence of the demonstrative, are necessarily specific, the noun **enkwanzi** (beads) in (32) and **omwana** (child)

⁵⁶ This sentence has been translated from Runyoro-Rutooro (Rubongoya 1999: 228).

in (33) exhibit [+definite +specific] features. Notice that in (32), the head noun has an optional IV, and its presence is intended to lay emphasis on the noun, which entails an additional feature of specificity.

As suggested in section 5.2.3.3, the deictic demonstrative appears to be preferred in the prenominal position, in that for instance in (32) and (33), the speakers spontaneously place the demonstrative before the noun, but not after the noun for a referent that is visible. The examples in (34a-b) and (35a-b) further illustrate this state of affairs:

(34) a. ***Egi reediyo nooha owaagita aha?***

A-gi-Ø *Ø-reediyo ni-u-ha* *o-u-aa-git-a* *a-ha?*
 DEMrt-9-PROX 9-radio COP-1-Q.who IV-1.REL-PASTim-put-FV IV-16.here
 ‘Who has put this radio here?’

b. ***Reediyo egi nooha owaagita aha?***

Ø-reediyo a-gi-Ø *ni-u-ha* *o-u-aa-git-a* *a-ha?*
 9-radio DEMrt-9-PROX COP-1-Q.who IV-1.REL-PASTim-put-FV IV-16.here
 ‘Who has put this radio here?’

(35) a. ***Egyo gaari mugitaasye omu nju.***

A-gi-o *Ø-gaari mu-gi-taa(h)-sy-e* *o-mu* *n-ju*
 DEMrt-9-MEDIAL 9-bicycle 2PL-9-enter-CAUS-IMP IV-18.in 9-house
 ‘(You) take that bicycle in the house.’

b. ***Egaari egyo mugitaasye omu nju.***

Ø-gaari a-gi-o *mu-gi-taa(h)-sy-e* *o-mu* *n-ju*
 9-bicycle DEMrt-9-MEDIAL 2PL-9-enter-CAUS-IMP IV-18.in 9-house
 ‘(You) take that bicycle in the house.’

The (a) versions of (34) and (35), with the prenominal demonstrative, are the more preferred forms for deictic reference. Even when the referent is not in the sight of the speaker at the time of the utterance, but the addressee can see it, for instance, assumed in (35a), the deictic force is still available. Hence, with respect to syntactic structure, the deictic demonstrative occurs mostly in the prenominal position. When a deictic demonstrative follows the noun, it adds emphasis to the

head noun. Conversely, anaphoric demonstratives appear mostly post-nominally, if the illustrations extracted from the newspapers are to be followed (cf. sections 5.2.3.2 and 5.2.4.2).

The constructions given in (36)-(37) below illustrate the deictic use of demonstratives involving a locative demonstrative copulative.

(36) a. **Reeba ekitebe nkikyo ohitseho omugongo.** Mubangizi (1966: 30)

Ø-reeb-a e-ki-tebe n-ki-ki-o o-hits-e-ho o-mu-gongo

2SG-see-FV IV-7-stool LDCop-7-7-MEDIAL 2SG-rest-FV-LOC IV-3-back

‘Lit: There is the stool; you may rest your back there.’

‘The stool is there, you may sit.’

(37) Speaker A: **Esimu yangye tindikugireeba.**

e-Ø-simu i-a-nyge ti-n-ri-ku-gi-reeb-a

IV-9-phone 9-GEN-mine NEG-1SG-COP-INF-9-see-FV

‘I can’t find my phone.’

Speaker B: **Ku ngigi hanu.**

Ku n-gi-gi ha-nu

but LDCop-9-9 16-here

‘But here it is.’

The illustration given in (36) indicates that the referent **ekitebe** (stool) can be seen and it is near the addressee. With regard to the utterance in (37), in B’s response, the locative copulative demonstrative occurs with a *pro* head in that the identity of the modified noun is already known from the preceding discourse. The demonstrative in response given in (37) plays the deictic and anaphoric roles at the same time.

In the next illustration (38), a deictic demonstrative is used as a modifier of a noun which possesses an inherent semantic feature of uniqueness.

(38) **Okwezi oku nikwakira kimwe!**

O-ku-ezi a-ku ni-ku-ak-ir-a kimwe

IV-15-moon PROX-15 PROG-INF-shine-APPL-FV very

‘This moon is very bright!’

In chapter 4 (cf. sentence (30) in section 4.5.1), it was observed that the moon has unique semantic features, and that the definite meaning of the referent **okwezi** (the moon) is determined by the uniqueness hypothesis (cf. Lyons, 1999). However, in (38), the moon is modified by a demonstrative, and it has already been established that demonstratives are intrinsically definite. Depending on the pragmatic context, an inherently unique entity can take an inherently definite modifier. Thus, the moon referred to here is the same unique moon discussed in section 4.5.1. However, the presence of the proximal demonstrative denotes the brightness of the universal referent ‘moon’ for that particular time. Thus, the demonstrative serves to contrast the appearance of the moon to other appearances.

Demonstratives can further be used for entities which are referentially identified within a wider geographical context; that is, entities which are not necessarily physically present. The illustration in (39) illuminates this usage. Fillmore (1997) and Levinson (2004) distinguish between deictic and symbolic demonstratives, whereby the former is accompanied by a gesture, and the latter is not. According to Diessel (1999: 94), the symbolic demonstrative draws on knowledge about a larger situational context, which involves more than that which is immediately visible in the surrounding situation.

(39) *Abantu b’omuri eki (e)kyaro n’abahingi.*

A-ba-ntu ba-a o-mu-ri a-ki-Ø (e)-ki-aro
 IV-2-person 2-GEN IV-18.in-EXPLET DEMRT-7-PROX IV-7-village

ni a-ba-hingi
 COP IV-2-farmer

‘People of this village are farmers.’

The medial demonstrative **eki** in (39) is based on common knowledge about the larger situation context or the symbolic use of **ekyaro** (village). In addition, the head noun takes an IV for emphasis.

Likewise, the exophoric demonstrative may be used for first mention referents if the speaker assumes the addressee to be familiar with the entity, based on common sense of the larger situation, as (40) demonstrates. Diessel (1999: 94) suggests that the exophoric use is not limited

to concrete referents that are present in the surrounding situation. Hence, the example in (40) illustrates another symbolic use of exophoric demonstratives.

- (40) *Omu kurangirira kooti ku yaayabuuka ahabwa wiikendi egi, katwemerere tusiime Nyamuhanga obaire naatwebembera omu murimo guti muhango [...]* Mubangizi (1997: 267)
 ‘As I announce the adjournment of the court for this weekend, let us all stand and thank God who has been leading us through this big task [...]

On the other hand, a demonstrative may function as referring to an entity in the mind of the speaker, and being assumed to be known to the hearer, when it serves to activate old familiar knowledge. Such kind of demonstrative, according to Himmelmann (1996) and Diessel (1999), has a *recognitional* role, and it is often accompanied by a relative clause or prepositional phrase. The distal demonstrative suffix **-ri(ya)** is used for this role, and can never occur without a lexical head. The recognitional role is alternatively performed by the definite functional determiner **-a** (cf. 5.3.4).

- (41) *Tindikumanya yaaba kariya (a)katabo waakantungiire.*
ti-n-ri-ku-many-a *yaaba ka-ri(ya) (a)-ka-tabo*
 NEG-1SG-COP-INF-know-FV whether 13-DIST IV-13-book

u-a-ka-n-tungi-ire
 2SG-PAST-13-1SG-find-PAST
 ‘I do not know whether you got for me the other (small) book.’

Given the context of (41), the distal demonstrative **kariya** activates specific shared knowledge about the referent **akatabo** (small book) between the speaker and hearer. Hence, the familiarity of the referent in (41) does not depend on the physical situation context, or the fact that it has been a subject of conversation in the previous discourse. It is based on common knowledge shared by the interlocutors. Moreover, it is being mentioned for the first time, which means it is discourse-new, but the discourse participants know about it, perhaps from the distant discourse. However, in case the addressee indicates that (s)he is unfamiliar with the referent, by asking **akatabo kaaha?** (which (small) book?), the speaker may provide more descriptive information, often embedded in a relative clause, to uniquely identify the intended referent.

5.2.4.3 Endophoric use of the demonstrative

In addition to the exophoric uses examined above, demonstratives have endophoric functions as well, i.e., serving to track referents in an on-going discourse (cf. Himmelman, 1996; Diessel, 1999; Lyons 1999; Levinson, 2004; Guillemin, 2011). A demonstrative takes an endophoric role if the referent exists in the linguistic universe. The antecedent of a demonstrative may be a noun phrase (which I call here noun phrase anaphora) or it may be a piece of text- a clause, paragraph, or even a full story (textual anaphora). The term *textual anaphora*, due to Dixon (2003: 64), is alternatively known as the discourse deictic use (Himmelmann, 1996; Diessel, 1999; Levinson, 2004). I adopt the *Dixonian* term ‘textual anaphora’ to avoid confusion of the meaning of deixis. I begin by illustrating the definiteness marking of noun referents labeled *noun phrase anaphora* to contrast with textual anaphora. Dixon (2003) proposes the term *substitution anaphora/caphora*, the term I will not adopt here because not all anaphoric demonstratives examined in this study replace their antecedents.

Concerning **noun phrase anaphora**, in discourse, whether spoken or written, there is always a tendency to keep track of the aforementioned participants. This is one of the roles demonstratives play. Consider the discourse from a newspaper (42) and a literary text (43).

- (42) *Bwanyima y’eka y’abantu 4 kwitwa oburwaire butamanyirwe, abashaho bagyerizeho kukyebera nikwo kushanga ngu n’oburwairwe bwa MARBURG[...]Endwara egi ebarukireho omuri Kabalef[...]Joburwaire obu nibukwata nka Ebola. Orumuri (October 22-28, 2012)*

After four members of one family died of an unknown disease, doctors carried out tests and found out that the disease was Marburg[...] This disease has broken out in Kabale [district][...] this disease has signs like those of Ebola [fever].

- (43) *Eshaaha y’okwetebeekanisiza okutemba endegye ekarindwa yaahika; ntyo naasiibuurana n’abo abaabaire banshendekyereize. Emigugu yangye naagyehisya haihi, naaza omu runyiriri. Ntyo naahika ahi barikushwijumira tikiti, paasipoota hamwe n’emigugu. Tikiti naagiha empagare nungi, nayo ndeeba yaagirabyamu amaisho kandi yaateeraho sitampu. Emigugu yangye bagirabya omu kyoma, bangira ngu tiinyine nshonga yoona. Egyo mpangare engira ngu egyo migugu niinyija kugishanga Gatiwick. (Mugumya 2010: 1).*

‘Time to prepare for boarding the plane came. I bid farewell to those who had accompanied me. I got my baggage closer, and joined the queue. I then approached the passport, air-ticket and baggage checking desk. I handed my ticket to a nice looking lady.

She checked it and then stamped it. My baggage was sent on a conveyor belt, and I was told that there was no problem. That lady told me that I will find that baggage at Gatwick.’

The demonstratives in (42) and (43) guide the reader on the identification of the referents introduced in the previous discourse. In (42), the writer mentions **oburwaire** (disease) in the first utterance. In the subsequent statements, (s)he refers back to the head noun **oburwaire** with a demonstrative, with an assumption that the reader is able to relate the subsequently mentioned referent **oburwaire/endwara** (disease) to the one mentioned previously. Note, however, that usually in such contexts, the lexical head noun is repeated, accompanied by the anaphoric demonstrative. Therefore, a *pro* head may not be favored on account that there may be more than one noun phrase in the preceding discourse. Hence, to avoid ambiguity or vagueness, the head noun is repeated. Moreover, the anaphoric demonstrative may have its antecedent in the immediate preceding discourse, as in (42), or the antecedent may be situated far from the anaphoric demonstrative, as demonstrated in (43), between the antecedent **empagare** (lady) and the noun phrase anaphora **egyo**. Nevertheless, the addressee will be able to know what is happening and to who. Observe that when the distance between the antecedent and the tracking demonstrative is short without any intervening noun, as in (42), a proximal demonstrative is used. When the antecedent is located far from the co-referenced demonstrative, with other utterance(s) containing other different referent(s) in between, the medial form of the demonstrative is used, as demonstrated in (43).

The next construction in (44) exemplifies anaphoric use of demonstratives with a *pro* head in the complement NP. The demonstrative **ogwo** is associated with an NP headed by an empty category on the assumption that the addressee can track the referent that is already established, and that it forms the most important topic in the previous discourse.

- (44) *Ku baahikire omu kyaro ky’owaabo, baateekyerereza Omukama waabo eby’omuhiigo, n’eby’oburungi bwa munyaanya wa Muyanda, n’oburungi bw’ente zi yaabaire atungire. Omukama ku yaabihuriire yaagira ati “Ntashwire ogwo ndyashwera oha?” Omukama ahabwokwenda ngu ashwere ogwo mwishiki kandi anyagye n’ente za Muyanda, akateekateeka eihe ry’okuza kurwanisa.* (Karwemera 1975: 21).

‘When they returned to their village, they told their King about hunting and the beauty of Muyanda’s sister, and about the beauty of the cows which Muyanda reared. When the King heard all that he said ‘If I don’t marry that girl, who else would I marry?’ Because the King wanted to marry that girl, and to rustle the Muyanda’s cows, he organised a militia group to go and fight with.’

The bold-faced and underlined pronominal demonstrative **ogwo** in (44) has an anaphoric meaning. It also selects the topic for the next clause. The co-referenced demonstrative thus gives the most important referent selected from the previous discourse which forms the main topic for the subsequent discourse.

Text anaphoric demonstratives on the other hand serve to refer to a portion of discourse or an event. Diessel (1999: 101) states that this is when a demonstrative is used to capture ‘the hearer’s attention on aspects of meaning expressed by a clause, a sentence, a paragraph or an entire story’ (see also Himmelmann (1996)). Therefore, there is no specific noun existing in the previous discourse that is pointed at. One condition for the use of a text anaphora as Himmelmann (1996: 224) states, is that the proposition referred to must be located in the immediate adjacent discourse, as illustrated in (45).

- (45) *Tukaba tuteera orunyiriri rw’okuza omu kinaabiro-kihoronyo kwekoraho. Abandi ab’emicwe etagunjukire bakaba bamarayo ebyanda, ekyo kireetera abantu kweshanya ogwo otarikwenda kuheereza abandi omugisha gw’okweshemeza.* (Mugumya 2010:3)

We would queue to go to the bathroom to clean ourselves. Other people with no good manners would spend there a long time, and that would make people angry at that one who does not want to give others a chance to clean themselves.’

The demonstrative **ekyo** in (45) does not point to any particular referent in the adjacent discourse. It refers to the clause: **bakaba bamarayo ebyanda** ((they) would spend there a long time), containing the information about ‘the act of spending a long time in the bathroom’. The purpose of including the text anaphora is to demonstrate that a demonstrative is capable of having its antecedent that exceeds a determiner phrase to cover a clause or even a story. Not much about this anaphoric use of the demonstrative is discussed here, because the scope of the study is limited to the nominal domain.

Other than the textual anaphoric use of the demonstrative, the above illustrations provide definite and specific contexts of noun referents as stemming from the presence of either an exophoric or endophoric demonstrative. The next section explores syntactic contexts in which two demonstratives co-occur in the same DP and the resultant interpretation(s) in terms of definiteness and specificity.

5.2.5 The occurrence of two forms of demonstratives in one DP

It is possible for two demonstratives of the same form to co-occur: one in the prenominal position, and another one as a postnominal demonstrative in one DP, as shown in (46). It is also permissible for two different forms of the demonstrative to co-occur in the same DP. The locative copulative demonstrative can co-occur with the ordinary demonstrative, as illustrated in (47) and (48). When two demonstratives co-occur, an additional specificity or emphasis property is realized on the modified noun.

(46) ***Omukazi naakunda eki ekiteeeyi eki.***

O-mu-kazi ni-a-kund-a a-ki-Ø e-ki-teteeyi a-ki-Ø
 IV-1-woman PRES-1.3SG-like-FV DEMrt-7-PROX IV-7-dress DEMrt-7-PROX
 ‘A/the woman likes this dress, this one exactly.’

(47) ***Nyampangare zombi zihika abo bahingi, ibuuza omuhanda guza ow’enyanja, bagubarangira. Bagumizamu. Bakiteera bariya amabega, ohurira ngu “Oine ente akaashweire ogu ngugu owaatsigara enyima”.*** (Mubangizi 1966: 78).

‘Both of the girls went to those cultivators and they asked them the way to the lake. They (cultivators) gave them directions. After leaving, you would hear the cultivators saying that ‘One with cows would marry this (particular) one who is behind.’

(48) ***Aha murundi ogu nkataayaayira enyanja ya Lomond na Ness. Egi ngigi ekaba neegambwaho kukye.*** (Mugumya 2010:59)

Aha mu-rundi a-gu-Ø n-ka-taayaay-ir-a e-n-yanja i-a Lomond
 IV-16 3-time DEMrt-3-PROX 1SG- PAST- visit-APPL-FV IV-9-lake 9-GEN *Lomond*
na Ness a-gi-Ø n-gi-gi e-ka-ba ni-e-gamb-w-a-ho ku-kye
andNess DEM-9-PROX LDCop-9-9 9-PAST-be PROG-9-talk-PASS-FV-PRTV 15-less
 ‘This time round, I visited Lake Lomond and Ness. For this (specific) one, there was not much talked about it.’

The constructions given above in (46)-(48) would remain grammatical with one demonstrative form. Therefore, the co-occurrence of two demonstratives denotes the pragmatic meaning of additional specificity or emphasis.

Demonstratives are DP heads occupying D, selecting the lexical NP. Regarding the structural position of the demonstrative, recall that the ordinary demonstrative in Runyankore-Rukiga occupies either the prenominal or the postnominal position. Hence, following Taylor (1985) and Van de Velde (2005), who argue that the demonstrative in Runyankore-Rukiga historically

5.3.2 Morphological form of the definite determiner -a

The definite morpheme appears as a free form grammatical element (free in the sense that it does not attach to the noun it precedes). It exhibits the morphological property of agreement with the head noun, in that a suitable agreement prefix is attached to it. Table 5 below illustrates the morphological structure of the definite determiner **-a** as it occurs with nouns from class 1 to 18.

Noun class	Definite morpheme	Example phrase	Meaning of the phrase
1 -mu-	u-a	wa mwana	The other child
2 -ba-	ba-a	ba baana	The other children
3 -mu-	gu-a	gwa mucungwa	The other orange
4 -mi-	i-a	ya micungwa	The other oranges
5 -ri-/i-	ri-a	rya ibaare	The other stone
6 -ma-	ga-a	ga mabaare	The other stones
7 -ki-	ki-a	kya kikopo	The other cup
8 -bi-	bi-a	bya bicoori	The other cups
9 -n-	i-a	ya nkoko	The other chicken
10 -n-	zi-a	za nkaito	The other shoes
11 -ru-	ru-a	rwa rushozi	The other hill
12 -ka-	ka-a	ka kate	The other small cow
13 -tu-	tu-a	twa tute	The other small cows
14 -bu-	bu-a	bwa buro	The other millet
15 -ku-	ku-a	kwa kutu	The other ear
16 -ha-	ha-a	ha handi	The other (place)
17 -ku-	-	-	-
18 -mu-	?mu-a	?mwa mundi	(Inside) the other place

Table 5: The definite determiner -a with noun class agreement markers

Table 5 illustrates the occurrence of the definite determiner having the root morpheme **a**. It occurs with almost all the noun classes in Runyankore-Rukiga except class 17 which is incompatible with the determiner. The determiner uncommonly appears with locative nouns in class 18. Furthermore, notice that classes 1, 4 and 9 show exceptional properties from the rest, in that their agreement prefix markers are not homogeneous with the noun class prefix. To compensate for the lost consonant, on the surface, there is glide formation: **y-a** for classes 3 and 9 and **w-a** for class 1. It should also be acknowledged that when the vowel of the noun class prefix is **a**, the definite morpheme coalesces with this vowel, so that a single vowel **-a** is written, but pronounced as a long vowel (cf. cl. 2, 6, 12, and 16). When the vowel of the noun class

prefix is **-u**, it changes into a glide in accordance with Runyankore-Rukiga writing conventions (Taylor, 1960).

5.3.3 The syntax of the definite morpheme **-a**

The grammatical element **-a**, to which an appropriate noun class prefix of the head noun attaches, appears invariably as a prenominal determiner. Whereas a prenominal demonstrative permits the IV of the head noun to optionally occur, when the noun is preceded by the determiner **-a**, the noun must obligatorily occur without its IV. Compare (50a) and (50b).

(50) a. **ya (*e)micungwa**

i-a (**e*)-*mi-cungwa*
 3-DEF (IV)-3-orange
 ‘the other (known) oranges’

b. **eriya (e)micungwa**

e-riya (*e*)-*mi-cungwa*
 3-DIST IV-3-orange
 ‘those oranges’

Note also that the determiner **-a** is permitted to co-occur with a postnominal demonstrative. As a matter of fact, **-a** cannot occur with a prenominal demonstrative or adjacent to any other modifier. For instance, the structure in (51a) is unacceptable. Usually, the use of a demonstrative after the noun when the determiner **-a** already exists in the DP implies that the speaker intends to provide more information about the referent, and this information is usually contained in a relative clause. As shown in (51b), the construction is often unacceptable if **wa** and **oriya** co-occur without a relative clause as modifiers of the same head noun. The determiner **wa** signifies that the referent is non-deictic but familiar through shared knowledge. Moreover, a deictic demonstrative cannot co-occur with the typically non-deictic determiner **-a** (cf. (51b)).

(51) a. ***Oriya wa mukazi naakunda ekiteteeyi eki**

O-riya *u-a* *mu-kazi* *ni-a-kund-a* *e-ki-teteeyi* *a-ki-∅*
 1.3SG-DIST 1-DET 1-woman PRES-a-1.-like-FV IV-7-dress DEMrt-7-PROX
 ‘The other woman likes this dress’

b. *?Wa mukazi oriya naakunda ekiteteeyi eki*

u-a mu-kazi o-riya ni-a-kund-a e-ki-teteeyi a-ki-Ø
 1-DET 1-woman 1.3SG-DIST PRES-1.AgrSP-like-FV IV-7-dress DEMrt-7-PROX
 ‘The other woman likes this dress’

c. **Wa oriya naakunda ekiteteeyi eki*

U-a o-riya mu-kazi ni-a-kund-a e-ki-teteeyi a-ki-Ø
 1-DEF 1.3SG-DIST 1-woman PRES-1-like-FV IV-7-dress DEMrt-7-PROX
 ‘The other woman likes this dress’

Another syntactic feature of the definite determiner **-a** is that, unlike most other modifiers, **-a** cannot appear without its head noun (cf. example (51c)), even if there are other modifying elements present, like a demonstrative, or an adjective. This syntactic property manifested by **-a** indicates a possibility that **-a** could be a stronger determiner than, for instance, the demonstrative.

5.3.4 The definiteness and specificity properties of **-a**

The grammatical morpheme **-a** corresponding to the demonstrative is inherently definite and specific. In addition, the two determiners are in complementary distribution (see section 5.5), and they are incompatible with use in indefinite contexts. The primary role of **-a** is to alert the addressee that the entity it refers to is a specific familiar one, because there is individual shared knowledge assumed between the interlocutors. The shared knowledge may be from a recent discourse, thus stored in the short memory. It may be from a distant discourse, for instance, if it was talked about the previous day or some days before, and therefore stored in the long-term memory. The assumed specific shared knowledge may also be due to the wider situational context, as illustrated in (55). The following examples (52)-(53), followed by an extract (54) from Karwemera (1994: 109), illustrate the occurrence of the definite marker **-a**. Examples (52) and (53) particularly indicate definiteness encoding due to individual shared knowledge, while (54) signals that the referent has been mentioned previously in an on-going discourse.

(52) a. *Kya kiteteeyi kikanga kumpika.*

Ki-a ki-teteeyi ki-ka-ang-a ku-n-hik-a
 7-DEF 7-dress 7-PASTrm-refuse-FV INF-1SG-fit-FV

‘The other dress could not fit me.’

b. *Kya kiteteeyi ki naaguzire buriya turi hamwe kikanga kumpika.*

Ki-a ki-teteeyi ki n-a-guz-ire bu-riya tu-ri hamwe
 7-DEF 8-dress 7.REL 1SG-PAST-buy-PAST 14-DIST 1PL-COP together

ki-ka-ang-a ku-n-hik-a
 7-PASTrm-refuse-FV INF-1SG-fit-FV

‘The other dress which I bought the other time when we were together could not fit me.’

(53) *Ya baruha ya wa mushaija mwagimuha?*

i-a Ø-baruha i-a u-a mu-shaija mu-a-gi-mu-h-a
 9-DEF 9-letter 9-GEN 1-DEF 1-man 2PL-PASTim-9-1-give-FV

‘Have you given the other letter to the other man?’

In the sentences given in (52) and (53), the speaker assumes that the referents in question form a representation in the mind of the hearer, which could be in the short-term or long-term memory. By the use of **kya** (52a-b), **ya** and **wa** in (53), the referents in question are being activated. In this context, **kya**, **ya** and **wa** play a recognitional role.

The excerpt in (54) below from Karwemera (1994: 109) further illustrates the anaphoric role of the determiner **-a**.

- (54) [...] Enkundi ku erikumara kuragara omuzaire naaruga aha kiriri, omwana nibamushohoza aheeru [...]. Nibaronda omwojo n’omwishiki b’omuka endiijo, reero omwishiki naaheeka **wa** mwereere naagyenda n’ogwo mwojo⁵⁷ ou baija hamwe nibaza omu kishaka; omwojo naashenya enku, omwishiki naiha obunyaasi, obwo akiheekire **wa** mwereere. Baaheza kukanyisa nibegura nibagaruka omu ka. Baahika omu ka nibashanga nyina w’omwereere yaaseire akasaano k’oburo bw’obusire (obutakarangire) aku arikumanya ngu yaashigisha ogwo mwojo n’omwishiki nibakanywa nibakamaraho. Obunyaasi bu omwishiki yaareeta naabwarira omu nju, kandi enku z’omwojo yaareeta nizo zirikushigisha obwo bushera. Ku burikumara kusya, **wa** mwishiki naabanza yaakozamu akakumu yaasiiga **wa** mwereere omu kanwa. Omuzaire naagira orushare naarutaho obwo bushera (enkombe) [bu] yaashigisha naarutwarira ishezaara na

⁵⁷ Notice that the writer consistently places the anaphoric demonstrative before the noun (compare with illustrations in section 5.2.3.2).

nyinazaara yaaba abaine (nibwo beeta obuzaire); reero obwasigaraho **ba** baana nibabwinama nibabutiha, baaheza nibakwata omuhanda nibataaha.

[...] After the umbilical cord has fallen off, the days for the mother to remain in the house with the child (after the child has been born) are over, and the child is taken outside[...] They (people) get a boy and a girl from another family and then the girl carries **the (other)** baby on her back and goes with that boy whom she has come with, to the bush; the boy gathers firewood and the girl collects grass while carrying **the (other)** baby on her back. After gathering enough firewood and grass, they carry them and go back home. Reaching home, they find when the mother of the baby has already prepared millet flour (prepared from millet which is not roasted), which she knows will be enough for the boy and the girl, and which she knows will all be consumed. The mother of the baby will spread the grass which the girl has brought in the house, and the firewood which the boy has brought will be used to prepare the porridge. When the porridge is ready, **the (other)** girl will first dip her finger in the porridge and puts it in the mouth of **the (other)** baby. The mother of the baby will then get a calabash and put the porridge which she has made and then take it to her father-in-law and mother in-law if they are still alive; the porridge which remains is taken by **the (other)** children (**the boy and girl**) and thereafter they go back home.

In the passage given in (54), the anaphoric use of the determiner with the core morpheme **-a** is illustrated. The nominal expression it precedes is given as familiar information, which the reader can track from previous mention. In addition, **-a** signifies that there is mention of the most salient topic of the discourse at a particular stage.

The determiner with **-a** as the head of the determiner phrase, realizes the meaning that the speaker expects is the hearer to recall a specific entity they both know about. The referent is retrievable from the previous discourse, or from specific information they both share, not necessarily from the immediate linguistic discourse. Hence, the definite morpheme **-a** performs anaphoric as well as recognitional pragmatic functions. The latter role is successful if discourse participants have individual shared knowledge about the referent. Sentence (55) illustrates this further within a wider situational context for the definiteness encoding of **-a**.

(55) *Kya kitagata kya Kabeerebere kikooma.*

Ki-a ki-tagata ki-a Kabeerebere ki-ka-om-a

7-DEF 7-hot spring 7-GEN PN.Kabeerebere 7-PASTrm-dry-FV

‘The other hot spring of Kabeerebere dried up.’

In (55), the speaker assumes that the hearer is aware of the referent within the broader context. Therefore mentioning the referent for the first time should activate it in the mind of the hearer, assuming the familiarity factor. However, if the addressee expresses lack of knowledge of the referent, (s)he will signal so, for example, by asking for more descriptive information, which can be provided in a relative clause. The construction in (55) further has the meaning that the hot spring which dried up was the only one in the geographical area mentioned. Otherwise, making the statement such as (55) leaves the hearer with a big task of identifying which one it is, in case (s)he is aware of the existence of more than one hot spring in that location, and is not sure of the exact one that dried up. Bear in mind that the determiner **-a** is suitable for first mentions as well because of the assumed shared knowledge between the speaker and addressee.

Although the definite element **-a** typically has non-deictic properties, there are specific pragmatic contexts, as in (56a), in which it can be used for a referent located in the immediate spatial context.

(56) a. ***Reeba wa mwana ebi arikukora!***

Reeb-a u-a mu-ana e-bi a-ri-ku-kor-a

See-FV 1-DEF 1-child IV-8.REL 1-COP-INF-do-FV

‘Look at what the other child is doing!’

b. ***Reeba oriya (o)mwana ebi arikukora!***

Reeb-a o-riya (o)-mu-ana e-bi a-ri-ku-kor-a

See-FV 1-DIST IV-1-child IV-8.REL 1-COP-INF-do-FV

‘Look at what that child is doing!’

The construction in (56a) indicates that in exceptional circumstances, the definite **-a** can conspicuously exhibit deictic properties. Thus, the context of the utterance in (56a) indicates that the child talked about is within the immediate situational context. The statement may be accompanied by an eye gaze, and not a pointing finger. However, even when the pragmatic meaning of **wa** in (56a) is ‘pointing’ at the entity referred to, spatial distance is unmarked and distance may not be relevant for the interpretation of the utterance. The referent may be located near the speaker, or hearer, or far but visible to the interlocutors. The use of **wa** is aimed at signaling to the addressee to turn and see the referent and his/her actions. Therefore, **wa** signals

to the hearer that the referent is specific and identifiable in the immediate physical environment, and that his/her action(s) is(are) unexpected or improper.

Crucially, a demonstrative can be used in the same position as **-a**, as given in (56b). However, when a demonstrative replaces **-a** in the same context, the pragmatic meaning slightly changes. Thus, in (56b), in addition to the pragmatic meaning of locating the referent in the physical context and implying that the action of the child is questionable or unexpected, the demonstrative indicates spatial distance of the referent, which is far from the speaker and addressee. Further, note that the kind of verb used, e.g., in the case of (56a) ‘see’, and the present tense contribute to the deictic meaning expressed by **-a**. The present tense implies that the referent is present in the physical environment, whereas a past tense would not make the deictic use in both (56a) and (56b) possible.

The illustrations given above (56a-b), demonstrate that it is possible for a demonstrative to replace the definite morpheme **-a**, but this will not be possible in all pragmatic and syntactic environments. For instance, replacing **-a** with a proximal demonstrative in some cases in the extract in (54) is unquestionable, but replacing **kya** in (55) with a demonstrative may yield an anaphoric meaning. Similarly, the context of (56a) shows that the demonstrative leads to a slightly different pragmatic meaning, as demonstrated in (56b). Moreover, the definite morpheme in (57) is inappropriate for the deictic meaning.

(57) *?Ninkunda wa mukazi omugufu ojwaire ekiteteeyi ekiraingwa.*

ni-n-kund-a u-a mu-kazi o-mu-gufu
PRES-1SG-like-FV 1-DEF woman IV-1-short

o-jwa-ire e-ki-teteeyi e-ki-raingwa
1-wear-STAT IV-7-dress IV-7-long

‘I like that woman, the short one, who is wearing the/a long dress.’

Unless pragmatic factors are considered (for instance in (56a)), the definite morpheme **-a** cannot be used for deictic purposes. Conversely, either a medial or distal demonstrative can be used in place of **-a** without affecting the meaning, if the appropriate context of the utterance is considered. The medial demonstrative replaces **-a** to encode an anaphoric meaning for an antecedent that is located in the immediate preceding discourse, while a distal demonstrative is

suitable if **-a** plays the recognitional role, or when it is used to refer to an entity not in the immediate preceding discourse, but a familiar entity.

5.3.5 **-a+ndi** form of the definite morpheme **-a**

The definite element **-a** can occur with the stem **-ndi**. When **-a** occurs with **-ndi**, the head noun still receives a definite and specific reading. Therefore, **-a-ndi** is another form, of the same definite determiner **-a**, with the meaning ‘the other’. I will refer to **-a** as the short form and **-a-ndi** as the long form of the functional determiner.

The long form of the determiner is formed by doubling the nominal agreement prefix with the definite **-a** coming in between the duplicated prefix, and attaching to the stem **-ndi**, as illustrated in table 6 below.

Noun class	Example noun	Form	Morpheme composition	Meaning
1 -mu-	omuntu	wawundi	u-a-u-ndi	the other (person)
2 -ba-	abantu	baabandi	ba-a-ba-ndi	the other (people)
3 -mu-	omuti	gwagundi	gu-a-gu-ndi	the other (tree)
4 -mi-	emiti	yaayindi	i-a-i-ndi	the other (trees)
5 -ri-/-i-	eishomero	ryarindi	ri-a-ri-ndi	the other (school)
6 -ma-	amahuri	gaagandi	ga-a-ga-ndi	the other (eggs)
7 -ki-	ekitabo	kyakindi	ki-a-ki-ndi	the other (book)
8 -bi-	ebitabo	byabindi	bi-a-bi-ndi	the other (books)
9 -n-	ente	yaayindi	i-a-i-ndi	the other (cow)
10 -n-	ente	zaazindi	zi-a-zi-ndi	the other (e.g. cows)
11 -ru-	orutindo	rwarundi	ru-a-ru-ndi	the other (bridge)
12 -ka-	akatare	kaakandi	ka-a-ka-ndi	the other (market)
13 -tu-	otucoori	twatundi	tu-a-tu-ndi	the other (little maize)
14 -bu-	oburo	bwabundi	bu-a-bu-ndi	the other (millet)
15 -ku-	okutu	kwakundi	ku-a-ku-ndi	the other (ear)
16 -ha-	ahantu	haahandi	ha-a-ha-ndi	the other(place)
17 -ku-		-	-	-
18 -mu-	Omunda	mwamundi	mu-a-mu-ndi	The other ((inside) place)

Table 6: Morphological structure of the determiner **-a** co-occurring with the root **-ndi**

Table 6 shows the long form of the definite determiner with the stem **-ndi**, for noun class prefixes of nouns classes 1 to 18. From the table above, it is indicated that the form for class 17 is not available, and that the structure for class 18 is rather uncommon similar to what is shown for the short form **-a** in table 5. Usually, the form for class 16 **hahandi** is used for class 17 and 18 as well. In addition, **bwabundi**, which falls in class 14 is used for reference to time as well, which is in the past, besides reference to concrete nouns. Note that nouns such as ‘time’, ‘period’, season, ‘generation’ and ‘moment in time’ are all rendered as **obwire**. The following example (58) illustrates the use of **bwabundi**, to mean ‘time’.

(58) *Noijuka bwabundi obu twaza omu zuu?*

Ni-o-ijuk-a

bu-a-bu-ndi

o-bu

tu-a-z-a

PRES-2SG-remember-FV 14-DEF-14-other IV-REL.when 1PL-PAST-go-FV

o-mu *Ø-zuu*

IV-18.in 9-zoo

‘Do you remember the other time when we went to the zoo?’

The kind of language register in (58) above is characteristic of the young Runyankore-Rukiga speakers. The older generation would prefer the distal demonstrative forms, e.g. in (58) the demonstrative **huri** (mostly Rukiga) or **huriya** (especially Runyankore) is preferred to **bwabundi**.

Generally, the use of the form illustrated in table 6, as a way of denoting a specific known referent, is used commonly in an informal communication setting, mainly in the spoken discourse (it may also be used in the written discourse (cf. example (60))). This form, with a double noun agreement prefix, may be used in the same phrase with the ordinary short form **-a**, as exemplified in (59). Note that as both the ordinary short form and the long form co-occur, each is sometimes followed by a relative clause modifier, whose function is to provide more information about the referent, to assist the hearer in accessing the intended referent, in case (s)he has trouble processing it.

- (59) *Wa mukazi u twagyzire nawe omu motoka, waawundi owaabaire ashutami haihi naitwe...*

Wa mukazi u twagyzire nawe omu motoka,
u-a mu-kazi u tu-a-gyenz-ire na-u-e o-mu Ø-motoka,
 1-DEF 1-woman 1.REL 1PL-PAST-go-PAST with-1-PN IV-18.in 9-car

waawundi owaabaire ashutami haihi naitwe ni shwenkazi

u-a-u-ndi o-u-aa-ba-ire a-shutam-i haihi na-itwe
 1-DEF-1-other IV-1.REL-PAST-be-PAST 1.3SG-sit-FV near with-1PL

‘The other woman whom we went with in the car, the other one who was sitting next to us...’

In (59), the speaker assumes that the hearer may not immediately identify the referent. Therefore, (s)he adds **waawundi**, which is followed by a relative clause that contains more information regarding the referent **-mukazi** (woman). Before the utterance, the speaker presumed the entity to be familiar to the hearer, since the definite determiner **wa** is used. However, if the speaker expects the hearer to have trouble in identifying the referent when it is first mentioned, (s)he will add more information regarding the subject, as shown in (59).

Although the form exemplified in (59) is characteristic of spoken discourse, it is also found in written discourse, as illustrated in (60).

- (60) *Okwo ntyo nkubuukayo, nza omuri rwarundi oru naabaire nyeshazire ahabw’okushanga rwabaire rwine abantu baingi.* Mugumya (2010: 6).

Okwo n-tyo n-ku-buuka-yo n-z-a o-muri ru-a-ru-ndi
 There 1SG-then 1SG-FV-return-LOC 1SG-go-FV IV-16.in 11-DEF-11-other

o-ru n-aa-ba-ire n-eshaz-ire ahabwa o-ku-shang-a
 IV-11.REL 1SG-PAST-be-PAST 1SG-avoid-PAST because IV-INF-find-FV

ru-a-ba-ire ru-ine a-ba-ntu ba-ingi.

11-PAST-be-PAST 11-has IV-2-person 2-many

‘I then left that (queue) and joined the other one which I had avoided because it had many people.’

In using the sentence in (60) the writer assumes that the reader is familiar with the queue referred to. The writer modifies the referent with a relative clause to further guide the reader to the

specific queue he refers to, which had already been mentioned. Note also that with the form **-a-ndi**, the IV of the relative marker appears to be mandatory, and offers an additional specificity property to the modified noun (see chapter seven for the function of the IV appearing with relative clause markers). In addition, the long form of the determiner offers a possibility of the determiner to appear without a head noun (cf. (61)), a syntactic property that the short form **-a** lacks (see 5.3.3). The syntactic form of (60) is particularly possible because of the presence of the nominal **omuri**⁵⁸. The construction in (61) is another illustration for the occurrence of the long form of the determiner with a *pro* locative head.

(61) **Tuze haahandi**

Tu-z-e ha-a-ha-ndi
 1PL-go-IMP 16-DEF-16-other
 ‘Let us go to the other place.’

The place implied in (61) is known between the interlocutors. In addition to the familiarity factor, the utterance may be used if the speaker and hearer do not want other people present in the communicative environment to know about the referent. It can be argued that the long form permits a *pro* head due to the fact that it has a lexical stem **-ndi** (other).

In the next section (5.4), the analysis of the anaphoric proclitic **nya-** is given. The function of **nya-** is to assist the hearer in keeping track of participants in the preceding discourse. This role is alternatively played by the medial demonstrative (cf. section 5.2.4.2). Similar to the definite element **-a**, the proclitic **nya-** exhibits an intrinsic relationship with the demonstrative, particularly the medial form (cf. section 5.5). The morphological structure and syntactic behavior of **nya-** are discussed first before examining its definiteness and specificity properties. Recall that this chapter aimed at examining nominal modifiers which are regarded to possess an inherent semantic feature of definiteness.

⁵⁸ The forms **omu(ri)** ‘in’ and **aha(ri)** ‘at/on’ are locative nominals (cf. section 4.3.2.1).

5.4 The anaphoric proclitic *nya-*

5.4.1 Morpho-syntactic properties of *nya-*

Runyankore-Rukiga has a special proclitic marker **nya-**, used as a functional determiner to refer anaphorically to an entity that has been introduced previously. It never occurs as a free form, and it therefore invariably attaches to nominal elements, namely, nouns, nominalized verbs and adjectives by replacing the IV. The nominalized form of the verb must appear with the infinitive morpheme ‘**ku**’ for the verb to function as a nominal. According to Morris and Kirwan (1972: 169), it is equivalent to English ‘that’, while Taylor (1985: 90) states that **nya-** translates roughly into ‘the said’. In addition, Morris and Kirwan (1972: 169) observe that ‘**nya-** is prefixed on a noun of any class to which reference has already been made to mean ‘the aforesaid’. Thus, according to Morris and Kirwan, **nya-** is a prefix of reference. Note further that **nya-** is commonly used with singular entities (although plural forms can as well permit it, particularly the nominalized verb forms). Whereas **-a** takes the agreement prefix of the head noun, **nya-** does not share the agreement morphology with the nominal word it attaches to. It is commonly used in literary narrative discourse. (62) – (64) are examples of the anaphoric **nya-** attached to a noun, a nominalized verb and an adjective, respectively.

- (62) *nyamushaija*
nya-mu-shaija
 DEF-1-man
 ‘the (said) man’

Nya- replaces the IV of the noun, as shown in (62), to attach to the noun class prefix. The noun that is referred to is presumed to be familiar to the hearer because it has been mentioned previously.

- (63) *nyakukikora*⁵⁹
nya-ku-ki-kor-a
 DEF-INF-AgrO-do-FV
 ‘the one who has done it/did it’

⁵⁹ The plural form of the intended referent in (63) would be **baanyakukikora**, (the ones who did it), and the plural agreement (e.g., **ba-**) prefix must precede the proclitic **nya-**.

When the proclitic **nya-** is used with a nominalized verb form, it precedes the infinitival verbal prefix. The doer of the action in (63) is known to both the speaker and the hearer, in that (s)he has been mentioned before.

- (64) *Nyamurungi*
nya-mu-rungi
 DEF-1-beautiful
 ‘the beautiful one’

The proclitic **nya-** can be used with nominalized adjectives, as exemplified in (64). The nominalized adjective with **nya-** may be used in the vocative, for example, **nyamurungi wangye!** (my beautiful one!).

The proclitic **nya-**, whenever it attaches to nominal elements, replaces the IV (see examples (62)-(64)). Thus, the IV cannot co-occur with **nya-**, as the unacceptability of (65) shows.

- (65) **Nyomushaija akaija amaririire kutwara ebye.*
*Nya-(*o)-mu-shaija a-ka-ij-a a-mar-ir-ire*
 DEF-(*IV)-1-man 1.3SG-PASTrm-FV 1.3SG-decide-APPL-PERF

ku-twar-a e-bi-e
 INF-take-FV IV-8-his
 ‘The (said) man came determined to take what belongs to him.’

5.4.2 Definiteness and specificity properties of **nya-**

Nya- encodes familiarity of a referent that has been established in the foregoing discourse, as (66) demonstrates. The nominals in (66) to which **nya-** is attached are identifiable from the preceding discourse. Furthermore, **nya-** can be used to activate knowledge shared by discourse participants, in which case, it can be used for new discourse referents, as exemplified in (67a). The latter function appears to be the same recognitional role which is alternatively played by the determiner **-a**, discussed in section 5.3.2.5 and repeated in (67b). The same role can be played by a distal demonstrative. The illustrations give evidence that the three determiners, namely, the demonstrative, the determiner **-a** and the proclitic **nya-** belong together (cf. section 5.5).

- (66) ***Nyamwojo** w’Omugyaruwo, **nyakwita** omuntu owaabaire yaakwasirwe omu biro by’okucondooza kwa bwanyima, yaareetwa, yaayehakana byona eby’okufa kw’omuntu. Kwonka ahabw’okushangwa we na mugyenzi we baabakwatsire ekijumbukano batamanyiine, ku yaizire **nyamwojo** owa kabiri yaabaza byona nk’oku Byabazaire yaaba yaaheza kubishoboorora.* (Mubangizi 1997: 69)

‘The Luo boy, the one who killed the person, who had been arrested during the latter days of searching, denied everything about the death of the person. But because he and his friend were arrested without knowing each other and unexpectedly, when that second boy came, he said everything as Byabazaire had just explained.’

- (67) a. ***Nyabaruha mwagiha omushaija?***

Nya-Ø-baruha mu-a-gi-h-a o-mu-shaija?

DEF-9-letter 2PL-PASTim-9-give-FV IV-1-man

‘Have you given the said letter to the man?’

- b. ***Ya baruha mwagiha omushaija?***

I-a Ø-baruha mu-a-gi-h-a o-mu-shaija?

9-DEF 9-letter 2PL-PASTim-9-give-FV IV-1-man

‘Have you given the other letter to the man?’

With regard to the anaphoric use of **nya-**, it can have its antecedent in the adjacent discourse, or it may have been mentioned in the distant previous discourse. For both discourse contexts, if the addressee has been following the subjects in the discourse, (s)he should be able to identify what the specific referent meant. In (68) below, the Indian talked about is not mentioned in the immediate adjacent discourse but far back in the discourse (see Mubangizi 1997: 53-69).

- (68) ***Nyamuhindi** wangye yaashaasha kureeba ataabaasa kunkoresa n’okunkuza aha murimo nk’oku yaabaire naateekateeka.* (Mubangizi 1997:69)⁶⁰

‘The Indian friend of mine was sad that he was not able to employ me, and to give me promotion at work, as he had hoped.’

Definite entities in Runyankore-Rukiga are necessarily specific, as a result of the presence of a demonstrative or the determiner **-a** in the DP. In addition, the proclitic **nya-** marks a specific definite entity. For instance, as exemplified in (67a), the interlocutors are talking about a specific

⁶⁰ **Nyamuhindi** (the Indian) was previously last mentioned on page 53.

letter, which they both know about. In (68), the writer refers to a particular Indian introduced in a distant previous discourse.

There are semantic as well as pragmatic features which the demonstrative, the determiner **-a** and the proclitic **nya-** share. Thus, the next section provides a unified analysis of these determiners, with the view that they semantically can be grouped together.

5.5 A unified account of demonstratives and the functional determiners *-a* and *nya*

In the previous sections, 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4, definiteness and specificity involving demonstratives and the **-a** and **nya-** grammatical elements, respectively were examined. Their individual morpho-syntactic behaviors were also discussed. This section aims to provide a unified analysis of the three definite determiners. In light of the analysis provided above, the three determiners possess inherent semantic features of definiteness and specificity.

In section 5.2.1.1, it was argued that the demonstrative in Runyankore-Rukiga, and in many other Bantu languages, possesses the root morpheme **a-**. It appears as the initial element of the proximal and medial demonstrative forms in Runyankore-Rukiga, and it is unmarked in the distal form. A possible view to pursue is that the same morpheme **a-** underlies the anaphoric element **nya-**, and that it is the same morpheme manifested as the functional determiner **-a**, discussed in section 5.3. Although the three determiners, i.e., the demonstrative, **-a** and **nya-** may have some variations in their phonological and morphological make-up, semantically, they appear to be historically connected. One possible lead to follow is the possibility that **nya-** and **-a** may be grammaticalized elements of the demonstrative.

The linguistic literature abounds with claims that demonstratives are the source of definite articles and personal pronouns in many languages, such as English (cf. Christophersen, 1939; Greenberg, 1978; Givón, 1984; Lehmann, 1985; Epstein, 1994; Himmelmann, 1996; Alexiadou et al., 2007, among others). The emergence of the article from the demonstrative is a result of the grammaticalization process. Hopper (1996: 217) defines grammaticalization as ‘the transformation of lexical items or phrases into grammatical forms’. Hence, it is possible to argue that the demonstrative in Runyankore-Rukiga underwent grammaticalization for the emergence of the inherent definite and specific functional determiners **-a** and **nya-**. Lyons (1999) and

Diessel (1999) state that some of the features of grammaticalization are such that the grammaticalized items form a closed class, and that they may occur as free-form items, or they may attach to their hosts as ‘affixes’. The two authors also conform to the fact that a grammaticalized element is reduced morpho-phonologically (see also Alexiadeou, et al. (2007: 96)). For detailed studies of grammaticalization, refer to works such as Greenberg (1978a), Heine et al. (1991a), Hopper & Traugott (1993), Bybee et al. (1994), Hopper (1996), Diessel (1999), and the references cited in these works. Diessel (1999: 118) gives the following eight properties characterizing the grammaticalization of demonstratives:

Functional change

- a. Grammatical items that developed from demonstratives are no longer used to focus the hearer’s attention to entities in the outside world;
- b. They are deictically non-contrastive;

Syntactic change

- c. Their occurrence is often restricted to a particular syntactic context;
- d. They are often obligatory to form a certain grammatical function;

Morphological change

- e. They are usually restricted to the distal or, less frequently, the proximal form;
- f. They may have lost their ability to inflect;

Phonological change

- g. They may have undergone a process of phonological reduction;
- h. They may have coalesced with other free forms.

If we follow Diessel’s (1999) criteria outlined above, it is plausible to posit that the determiner **-a** developed from the distal demonstrative. The following are some properties of the determiner **-a**, which link it to the demonstrative, following Diessel’s criteria in part.

- (i) The demonstrative underwent a morphological reduction, so that the source and the outcome differ;

- (ii) The demonstrative core morpheme **a-**, implicit in the morphology of the distal demonstrative form, could be the one that manifests itself as the grammaticalized form **-a**;
- (iii) **-a** and the demonstrative have distributional restrictions, in that they cannot assume the same (prenominal) syntactic position in the same DP;
- (iv) **-a** only occurs in the prenominal position, which indicates that the demonstrative has undergone a syntactic change of assuming a fixed position;
- (v) **-a** typically does not locate entities in the outside world, which means that the grammaticalized form has reduced semantic/pragmatic use to mainly recognitional meaning; in other words, it is the demonstrative which has been stripped of its deictic properties;
- (vi) Since a grammaticalized item can appear as a free-form, but should belong to a closed class system, **-a** meets the criterion;
- (vii) **-a** is more restricted than the full demonstrative, like any other grammaticalized item;
- (viii) **-a** shows agreement with the head noun. It is assumed that once it fully grammaticalizes, it may no longer have its inflectional properties.

Similarly, the definite determiner **nya-** appears to be another grammaticalized demonstrative, particularly the medial demonstrative, as the following characteristics indicate:

- (i) There is morpho-phonological reduction, from a free form demonstrative to a bound clitic (see also Himmelmann, 1999 on this property of grammaticalized elements), in that **nya-** is syntactically dependent on a nominal;
- (ii) **nya-** and the demonstrative both assume the role of referent tracking in the previous discourse;

- (iii) **nya-** will not be used for deictic reference, a role that seems to have been lost in the process of grammaticalization;
- (iv) **nya**, like **-a**, cannot appear in the same prenominal position with the demonstrative;
- (v) **nya-** is syntactically and semantically more restricted than the full demonstrative.

Another piece of evidence in support of the view that the determiners **-a** and **nya-** could have evolved from demonstratives lies in their high level of interchangeability. Although the three definite determiners may not be used interchangeably in all contexts, there is evidence that there is a reasonable degree of interchangeability. For instance, a medial or distal demonstrative, depending on the context can be used in place of **nya-** (compare (69a) and (69b)). Recall that **nya-** is anaphoric, and therefore **ogwo** refers to **(o)mushaija** introduced in the previous discourse. Similarly, in the nominal domain, **nya-** can also replace the determiner **-a**, if it plays the anaphoric role, demonstrated in (70) which is part of the extract given in (54) for the illustration of anaphoric **-a**.

(69) a. *Nyamushaija akaija amaririire kutwara ebye.*

Nya-mu-shaija a-ka-ij-a a-mar-ir-ire
 DEF-1-man 1.3SG-PASTrm-FV 1.3SG-finish-APPL-PERF

ku-twar-a e-bi-e
 INF-take-FV IV-8-his

The (said) man came determined to take what belongs to him.

b. *Ogwo mushaija akaija amaririire kutwara ebye.*

A-gu-o mu-shaija a-ka-ij-a a-mar-ir-ire
 DEM-1-MEDIAL 1-man 1.3SG-PASTrm-FV 1.3SG-finish-APPL-PERF

ku-twar-a e-bi-e
 INF-take-FV IV-8-his

‘That man came determined to take what belongs to him.’

(70) ***Ku burikumara kusya, nyamwishiki naabanza yaakozamu akakumu yaasiiga nyamwereere omu kanwa.***

Ku bu-ri-ku-mar-a ku-sy-a nya-mu-ishiki

When 14-COP-INF-finish-FV INF-get.ready-FV DEF-1-girl

ni-a-banz-a a-a-ko-z-a-mu a-ka-kumu

PRES-1.3SG-first-FV 1.3SG-PRES-dip-APPL-FV-18.in IV-13-finger

a-a-siig-a nya-mu-ereere o-mu kanwa

1.3SG-PRES-smear-FV DEF-1-baby IV-18.in 13.mouth

‘When it (the porridge) is ready, the (said) girl will first dip her finger in the porridge and put the finger in the mouth of the (said) baby.’

In (70), **nya-** replaces **-a** and the pragmatic meaning is unaltered (refer to the extract in (54) to which sentence (70) belongs). Therefore, **nya-** can be replaced by a medial demonstrative (or even distal depending on the distance between the anaphor and its antecedent), as shown in (69b), and **nya-** can also be used in place of **-a** (cf. example (70)), provided the role of the determiner is reference tracking.

Another piece of evidence for the intricate relation that exists among the three determiners is provided by history. It is assumed that the IV was never allowed to appear with the noun if a pronominal demonstrative occurred (cf. Morris & Kirwan, 1972; Wald, 1973; Taylor, 1985). In addition, the pronominal position is presumed, by some researchers, to be the Proto-Bantu position of the demonstrative in Runyankore-Rukiga (cf. Wald, 1973). Likewise **nya-** and **-a** are always pronominal, and never permit the noun they modify to take an IV. This distributional restriction can be explained in terms of the nature of these determiners, in that if, indeed, they are grammaticalized elements, they are syntactically restricted to one position.

Another significant trait that is common among all the three determiners, thereby bringing them closer to being one historical determiner, is that they do not occur in generic expressions, for instance, the presence of a demonstrative and **-a** in (72) and (73) respectively offsets the generic meaning, obtained in example (43) of chapter 4, repeated here as (71):

(71) ***Abakaikuru tibarikurya nyama.***

A-ba-kaikuru ti-ba-ri-ku-ri-a n-yama
 IV-2-old.woman NEG-2-COP-INF-eat-FV 9-meat
 ‘Old women do not eat meat.’

(72) ***Abo bakaikuru tibarikurya nyama.***

A-ba-o a-ba-kaikuru ti-ba-ri-ku-ri-a n-yama
 DEMrt-2-MEDIAL IV-old.woman NEG-2-COP-INF-eat-FV 9-meat
 ‘Those old women do not eat meat.’

(73) ***Ba bakaikuru tibarikurya nyama.***

Ba-a ba-kaikuru ti-ba-ri-ku-ri-a n-yama
 2-DEF 2-old.woman NEG-2-COP-INF-eat-FV 9-meat
 ‘The other old women do not eat meat.’

Furthermore, either **nya** or **-a** can co-occur with an anaphoric demonstrative, just as two demonstratives can occur in the same determiner phrase, as illustrated in (74) from Ntungweriisho (2004: 3) in relation to **nya-**. However, the demonstrative must follow the head noun, since it cannot immediately follow or precede **-a** or **nya-**.

(74) ***Omuri nyakyaro ekyo hakaba hatuuramu omushaija nk’ab’obutoosha otari mutungi.***

O-mu-ri nya-ki-aro a-ki-o ha-ka-ba ha-tuur-a-mu
 IV-18-EXPLET DEF-7-village DEMrt-7-MEDIAL 16-PASTrm-be 16-live-FV-18.LOC

o-mu-shaija nka a-ba-a o-butoosha o-ta-ri mu-tungi
 IV-1-man like IV-2-GEN IV-14.ordinary 1.REL-NEG-COP 1-wealthy
 ‘In that village there was a man who, like other ordinary men, was not wealthy.’

Giusti, (1997) and Brugè (2002) argue that it is not necessary for a determiner to appear in the determination area when another determiner is already there to check a given feature. Otherwise, an ungrammatical string results. Hence, the demonstrative is not permitted in the prenominal position since there is a functional determiner already available for definiteness and specificity checking. The co-occurrence restriction in the D position is the reason why a demonstrative, as in (74), occupies the lower (postnominal) position if either **-a** or **nya-** modifies the same head noun which assumes the prenominal position. Other than the co-occurrence restriction, there

appears to be two additional explanations for this structure. If the claim that the demonstrative originated in the determiner area holds, then the grammaticalized forms **-a** and **nya-** are stronger determiners than the demonstrative. This is because if one of them is present, the demonstrative surrenders the D position to occupy the lower position, after the head noun. However, note that researchers such as Taylor (1985) and Van de Velde (2005) posit the view that the demonstrative in Runyankore-Rukiga originated in the postnominal position, and therefore, taking this view would mean that the demonstrative retains its canonical position. Hence, there is no movement or displacement taking place in the DP.

Moreover, historically, the English definite article is argued to have evolved from the demonstrative (see among others, Christophersen, 1939; Greenberg, 1978; Himmelmann, 1996; Alexiadou et al., 2007). As a reminder, the determiner **-a** never comes after a noun, e.g., **omwojo wa*, to mean ‘the other boy’, is ill-formed. In the same way, the English grammar rules do not permit such an arrangement of elements like ‘boy the’. It is also impermissible for the demonstrative to co-occur with the morpheme **-a**, or **nya-** e.g. *ogu wa* ‘this the other’ or **ogu nya-** ‘this that’ in the same syntactic slot. In the same vein, in English, a string of words like ‘that the boy’ is not acceptable, because, as central determiners, the words are mutually exclusive in English. Thus, the grammatical element **-a** or **nya-** and the demonstrative can never appear adjacent to one another. On the whole, the three determiners share the inherent property of being anaphoric, which implies that they are intrinsically connected. Hence, it is possible to argue that the two grammatical elements developed from the demonstrative.

In view of the illustrations and analyses given above, Runyankore-Rukiga has a Determiner phrase, which can be filled by a lexical, or functional element. The functional elements **-a** and **nya-** belong to the closed class with semantico-pragmatic features of definiteness and specificity. For instance, if **nya-** is present in the nominal domain, it serves as the head of the DP with the noun it is anchored to as its complement, just like its free form counterpart **-a** and the full demonstrative, rendering the lexical head definite and specific. Moreover, the affixes **nya-** and **-a** cannot stand alone, just like the English articles *a* and *the* (cf. Abney, 1987), which implies that they are heads of nouns.

The determiners **-a** and **nya-** are functional heads in the DP encoding familiar information. This means that they are hosted in a TopP. The structural representation of the DP in (75) below demonstrates the presence of the determiner head **-a** of the nominal projection. Recall that the determiner **-a** is restricted to the pre-N position; hence, there is no movement taking place.

- (75) a. *Ba bakaikuru* ‘the other familiar old women’ (cf. (73))
 b. [DP [Det [a [TopP [AgrP Agr [NP [bakaikuru]]]]]]]

It is argued above that the combination of two of the determiners in the prenominal position is ungrammatical. In the event that two of the determiners co-occur in the same DP, two determiner positions are required, so that one hosts the functional determiner, and another, the demonstrative. The functional element assumes the higher position in the specifier of the DP, while the demonstrative occupies the lower position in the DP. The presence of the functional determiner in the prenominal position prevents the demonstrative from moving to that same (higher) position. The following schema in (76) presents the structure of the co-occurrence of one functional determiner and the demonstrative determiner in the DP, as illustrated in (74) above:

- (76)a. *nyakyarō ekyo*
 [DP det nya<sub>[AgrP Agr [DP Det [NP kyaro [FocP Foc [AgrP Agr [DP Dem]]]]]]]]
 [anaphoric] [±specific] [anaphoric]</sub>

In conclusion of the discussion about the role of the three determiners (i.e. the demonstrative and the functional items **-a** and **nya-**), as inherent markers of definiteness and specificity, it is plausible to sum it up using Scott’s (2013: 58) view, namely, ‘the effect of a demonstrative [or the grammatical elements **-a** and **nya-**] is to single out the intended referent and add an extra layer of activation to its representation so that the referent it refers to is the most accessible one in the discourse context.’ In addition, Scott (2013: 60) states that the speaker’s intention is for ‘the hearer to pick out a certain referent, and provides whatever linguistic or non-linguistic clues necessary to achieve this aim’.

The next section presents quantifiers with an inherent semantic property of definiteness. In the same section, the absolute pronouns (cf. subsection 5.6.2) are also discussed together with the

inherently definite quantifiers. The quantifiers under consideration are **-ona** (all) in section 5.6.3, **huri/ibara** (every) discussed in subsection 5.6.4, **ombi** (both) as examined in subsection 5.6.5, **-onka** ‘only’ discussed under subsection 5.6.6.

5.6 Quantifiers with an inherent semantic property of definiteness

5.6.1 Introduction

A number of quantifiers in Runyankore-Rukiga possess an inherent semantic feature of definiteness. The study has established that when a quantifier with such semantic properties appears as a nominal modifier, the modified noun is rendered definite. The quantifiers discussed are: **-ona** (all), **huri** (every), **-ombi/onshatu** (both/the three), and **-onka** (only). The inclusiveness hypothesis of Lyons (1999) offers the explanation for the definiteness encoding of nouns modified by the above mentioned quantifiers. Under consideration also is the absolute pronoun since its properties and those of the given quantifiers in terms of morphological make-up and semantic properties are intimately related. I will begin with the absolute pronoun.

5.6.2 The absolute pronoun

The absolute pronoun is a nominal modifier which appears as an optional free form pronoun following or preceding the noun it modifies. The absolute pronoun is used to signal that the noun it refers to is a familiar one, i.e. the hearer knows it because it has already been mentioned. In Taylor’s (1985: 127-131) terms, absolute pronouns are referred to as emphatic pronouns, whose role is to encode ‘contrastiveness or mere emphasis’. He further states that free form pronouns are optional and do not occur as non-emphatic pronouns.

5.6.2.1 Morpho-syntactic structure

The absolute pronoun comprises an agreement marker corresponding to the head noun and the quantifier root **-o**. Table 7 shows the morphology of the absolute pronoun for noun classes 1-18 (cf. table in Taylor 1985: 130).

Noun class	Absolute pronoun	Morphological structure
1 -mu-	we	u-e
2 -ba-	bo	ba-o
3 -mu-	gwo/gwe	gu-o
4 -mi-	yo	i-o
5 -ri-	ryo	ri-o
6 -ma-	go	ga-o
7 -ki-	kyo	ki-o
8 -bi-	byo	bi-o
9 -n-	yo	i-o
10 -n-	zo	za-o
11 -ru-	rwo	ru-o
12 -ka-	ko	ka-o
13 -tu-	two	tu-o
14 -bu-	bwo	bu-o
15 -ku-	kwo/kwe	ku-o
16 -ha-	ho	ha-o
17 -ku-	yo	i-o
18 -mu-	mwo	mu-o

Table 7: Morphological structure of absolute pronouns

The absolute pronoun can appear with the noun to which it refers. However, it can also occur with no lexical head noun used as a subject, object or complement of a preposition, as exemplified in (77a-c):

(77) a. *bo tibaija*

ba-o ti-ba-ij-a

2-ABS NEG-2-come-FV

‘As for them, they have not come.’

b. *bo twabeeta*

ba-o tu-a-ba-et-a

2-ABS 1PL-PASTim-2-call-FV

‘As for them, we have called them.’

c. *yaija nabyo*

a-aa-ij-a

na-bi-o

1.3SG-PASTim-come-FV with-8-ABS

‘(S)he has come with them.’

The absolute pronoun, as a modifier, follows its head noun. It may also precede the noun if more emphasis is to be laid onto the noun (cf. Du Plessis & Visser 1992: 371 for a discussion on the isiXhosa absolute pronoun). When the absolute pronoun precedes the noun, it does not lead to the omission of the IV of the head noun.

There is a subtype of the absolute pronoun which takes a copular verb clausal form, encoding emphatic meaning. This form of the absolute pronoun is analyzed as the copular form of the free personal (emphatic) pronouns in Runyankore-Rukiga according to Taylor (1985) (see the table in Taylor 1985: 130). This copular verb clause is composed of the copulative **ni-**, which brings about the emphatic meaning, plus the nominal agreement marker and the quantifier morpheme **-o**. Table 8 illustrates the morphological structure of the copulative clausal form of the absolute pronoun for noun classes 1-18, and table 9 illustrates its occurrence with grammatical persons (cf. Taylor 1985: 130).

Noun class	Copular verb clausal form of the absolute pronoun	Morphological composition
1 -mu-	Niwe	ni-u-e
2 -ba-	Nibo	ni-ba-o
3 -mu-	nigwo/gwe	ni-gu-o
4 -mi-	Niyo	ni-a-o
5 -ri-	Niryo	ni-ri-o
6 -ma-	Nigo	ni-ga-o
7 -ki-	Nikyo	ni-ki-o
8 -bi-	Nibyoy	ni-bi-o
9 -n-	Niyo	ni-i-o
10 -n-	Nizo	ni-za-o
11 -ru-	Nirwo	ni-ru-o
12 -ka-	Niko	ni-ka-o
13 -tu-	nitwo/nitwe	ni-tu-o
14 -bu-	Nibwo	ni-bu-o
15 -ku-	nikwo/kwe	ni-ku-o
16 -ha-	Niho	ni-ha-o
17 -ku-	Niyo	ni-a-o
18 -mu-	Nimwo	ni-mu-o

Table 8: The morphological structure of the copular verb structure of the absolute pronoun

person	Morphological form		English gloss
1SG	ni-i-e	Niinye	It is me
1PL	ni-tu-e	Niitwe	It is us
2SG	ni-u-e	Niiwe	It is you
2PL	ni-mu-e	Niimwe	It is you
3SG	ni-u-e	Niwe	It is him/her
3PL	ni-ba-o	Nibo	It is them

Table 9: The morphological structure of the copular verb clausal form of the absolute pronoun with grammatical persons

The copular verbal structure of the absolute pronoun in all classes the 1-18, as demonstrated in table 8, contains the quantifier morpheme **-o-** with the exception of class 1 nouns, whose root appears as **-e**. The grammatical persons, apart from the third person plural that has **-o**, have the quantifier root **-e**. In the negative, the copular morpheme coalesces with the negative morpheme, and only the negative form appears, as exemplified in (78):

(78) *Ebitabo ebyo tityo ndikwenda*

E-bi-tabo a-bi-o ti-ni-bi-o n-ri-ku-end-a

IV-8-book DEMrt-8-MEDIAL NEG-COP-8-ABS 1SG-COP-INF-want-FV

‘It is not those books that I want.’

Although the copular clausal form of the absolute pronoun does not morphologically exhibit an overt relative clause marker, it exhibits a relative meaning, triggered by the presence of the copulative **ni**. Thus, the resultant construction is a cleft sentence. Clefts are a common way of encoding focus across many languages (cf. Zerbian, 2007; Zimmermann, 2008, among others). Hence, the copular form subsumes the focus feature. As demonstrated below, the use of a copular verb clausal form usually triggers contrastiveness in the discourse (cf. example (79)).

Regarding the position of the copulative clausal absolute pronoun, it follows the noun it refers to. However, for an extra feature of emphasis, it may precede the head noun. If a demonstrative is present in the same construction (cf. (79)), the copular verb clausal structure appears immediately following the demonstrative which precedes the head noun. The copulative clausal

absolute pronoun can, however, precede the demonstrative in the prenominal position (cf. (80a)), or postnominal position (80b) for more emphasis. The copular clausal form of the absolute pronoun can further head a DP with a phonologically null head, if the noun is familiar, such as in (81).

(79) *Aka niko kamanyiso aku Mukama akuhaire.* (Isaaya 15.7)

a-ka-∅ ni-ka-o ka-manyiso a-ku Mukama a-ku-h-a-ire
 DEM-12-PROX COP-12-ABS 12-sign IV-12.REL God INF-give-PERF
 ‘This is the sign which God has given you.’ (NIV Isaiah 15: 7)

(80) a. *Nikwo ako akacumu.*

ni-ka-o a-ka-o a-ka-cumu
 COP-12-ABS DEMrt-12-MEDIAL IV-12-pen
 ‘It is exactly that pen.’

b. *Akacumu nikwo ako.*

A-ka-cumu ni-ka-o a-ka-o
 IV-12-pen COP-12-ABS DEMrt-12-MEDIAL
 ‘It is exactly that pen.’

(81) *Ni-byo.*

Ni-bi-o
 COP-8-ABS
 ‘They are the ones.’

5.6.2.2 Definiteness and specificity encoding in DPs containing the absolute pronoun

Absolute pronouns are considered to possess an inherent semantic feature of definiteness. Hence, the nouns they modify are presumed to be familiar to both the speaker and hearer. In addition, the absolute pronoun marks an entity that is specific in the mind of the speaker. Therefore, they possess [+definite, +specific] features. Examples (82) to (84) illustrate these features.

(82) *Empene yaagireeta, entaama yo ebuzire.* Morris and Kirwan (1972: 128)

E-n-hene a-aa-gi-reet-a, e-n-taama i-o e-bur-ire
 IV-9-goat 1.3SG-PASTim-9-bring-FV IV-9-sheep 9-ABS 9-lost-PERF
 ‘The goat, he brought it; as for the sheep, it is lost.’

(83) *Abaana bo basigare**A-ba-ana ba-o ba-sigar-e*

IV-2-child 2-ABS 2-remain-SBJV

‘The children, as for them, they should stay.’

(84) *Okurya kyansya kukaba kuri aha shaaha emwe y’akasheeshe. Kandi yo kyakiro ekaba egaburwa shaaha ikumi na ibiri kuhisya shaaha emwe n’ekicweka.* (Mugumya 2010:4)

‘Taking breakfast was at 7.00am. As for supper, it would be served from 6.00pm to 7.30pm.’

When the head noun has already been introduced, and it is no longer new information, the absolute pronoun can also be used with a *pro* head element. The role of the absolute pronoun is, therefore, to refer to an already established referent in the preceding discourse. Consider (85):

(85) *Amabaruha g’abamanyi nago gakaba gaineo omugasho. Reero yo ey’omurigirwa wangye Seerina nkaba ngirabyamu amaisho haihi buri izooba nka birivaariyo y’Omusosodoti.* Mubangizi (1997: 146)

‘Letters from the people I know also contributed a lot. As for the one from my lover Serina, I would read it almost every day like a breviary read by a Catholic priest.’

The absolute pronoun occurring before the noun in (84) indicates that a familiar and specific entity is being emphasized. To avoid repeating a subject already familiar in the discourse, an absolute pronoun which refers to an antecedent established in the preceding discourse is used alone (cf. (85)).

With regard to the copular verb clause form of the absolute pronoun, consider examples (86) and (87):

(86) *Akacumu niko ndikwenda**A-ka-cumu ni-ka-o n-ri-ku-end-a*

IV-12-pen COP-12-ABS 1SG-COP-INF-want-FV

‘It is the pen that I want.’

(87) *Esente zaawe tizo naakoresa**E-sente zi-a-e ti-ni⁶¹-zi-o n-aa-kor-es-a*

IV-10-money 10-GEN-your NEG-COP-10-ABS 1SG-PASTim-use-CAUS-FV

‘It is not your money that I have used.’

⁶¹ In the negative, the copula verb **-ni-** is ellipted.

As demonstrated in (86) and (87), the copular clausal form of the pronoun gives a contrastive reading, as the sentence in (88) further illustrates.

- (88) *Esente zaawe tizo naakoresa. Naakoresa ezangye*
E-sente zi-a-e ti-zi-o n-aa-kor-es-a
 IV-10-money 10-GEN-your NEG-10-ABS 1SG-PASTim-use-FV

N-aa-kor-es-a e-zi-a-nye
 1SG-PASTim-use-CAUS-FV IV-10-GEN-mine
 ‘It is not your money that I have used but mine.’

The first part of the utterance in (88) evokes an alternative in the discourse, as, for example, provided in the second part of the utterance. Although the lexical head modified by the copulative clausal form is familiar, the triggered alternatives encode contrastively new information in the utterance. Hence, clefts (cf. Zimmermann, 2008) are one way by which the speaker directs the hearer to pay attention to discourse alternatives which form the focus of the discourse, by eliminating the already given referent (cf. chapters six to eight for contrastive focus analysis based on the occurrence of the determiner (IV) in the DP). Therefore, the use of the copular clausal form encodes emphasis on the head noun and further triggers an occurrence of alternative entities which are apparently new in the discourse.

5.6.3 -ona

The quantifier **-ona** (all or whole) is a universal quantifier used to refer to the totality of entities in a set, or to an entity as a whole. Nouns modified by **-ona** are definite by the inclusiveness factor. The quantifier does not possess an inherent property of specificity, and therefore, determiner phrases headed by **-ona** bear the features [+definite, +/-specific].

5.6.3.1 Morpho-syntactic properties of -ona

When **-ona** is used in the nominal domain, an appropriate nominal agreement prefix is attached to it. When the quantifier **-ona** is split, we realize that **-o-** is an independent morpheme, as well as the core morpheme of the quantifier. This morpheme also exists in other inherently definite quantifiers discussed below. The stem of the quantifier is **-na**. The quantifier morpheme **-o-** is

found in other Bantu languages, for example, in isiXhosa (Du Plessis & Visser, 1992), and isiZulu (cf. Poulos & Msimang, 1998).

The quantifier **-ona** can be used with countable, uncountable, singular and plural nouns. For singular nouns, **-ona** signifies wholeness. However, in a different context, **-ona** has a different meaning, that is, the indefinite ‘any’ (see section 8.2.5). Table 10 below demonstrates the morphological make-up of the universal quantifier **-ona** for nouns in class 1 to 18.

Noun class		Morphological form	Example phrase	English gloss
1 mu	omuntu	u-e-na	omuntu weena	whole person
2 ba	abantu	ba-o-na	abantu boona	all people
3 mu	omutumba	gu-o-na	omutumba gwona	the whole banana stem
4 mi	emitumba	i-o-na	emitumba yoona	all banana stems
5 ri	eishomero	ri-o-ona	eishomero ryona	the whole school
6 ma	amate	ga-o-na	amate gwona	all the milk
7 ki	ekitebe	ki-o-na	ekitebe kyona	the whole stool
8 –bi-	ebitebe	bi-o-na	ebitebe byona	all the stools
9 -n-	ente	i-o-na	ente yoona	the whole cow
10 -n-	ente	zi-o-na	ente zoona	all the cows
11 -ru-	orutookye	ru-o-na	orutookye	the whole banana plantation
12	akaju	ka-ona	akaju koona	the whole small house
13	obutare	bu-ona	obutare bwona	all the markets
14	obwire	bu-ona	obwire bwona	all the time
15	okutu	ku-ona	okutu kwona	the whole ear
16	ahantu	ha-ona	ahantu hoona	the whole place
17				
18	-	hoona	omu nju hoona	the whole of the house inside

Table 10: The morphological makeup of the universal quantifier **-ona** for nouns classes 1-18

Table 10 indicates that the universal quantifier has two semantic meanings: ‘whole’ and ‘all’. The ‘whole’ meaning applies to singular nouns while ‘all’ applies to plural entities, including mass nouns. Consider the examples in (89) and (90) for the use of the quantifier **-ona** for both ‘all’ and ‘whole’ meanings.

- (89) ***Yaabagara orutookye rwona***
a-aa-bagar-a *o-ru-tookye* *ru-ona*
 1.3SG-PAST-weed-FV IV-11-banana.plantation 11-whole
 ‘He/she has weeded the whole banana plantation.’
- (90) ***Ebintu byona bikahangwa Ruhanga***
e-bi-ntu *bi-o-na* *bi-ka-hang-w-a* *Ruhanga*
 IV-8-thing 8-QUANTrt-all 8-PAST-create-PASS-FV God
 ‘All things were created by God.’

In (89) **-ona** modifies a singular entity, and means ‘whole’ while in (90) the head noun is plural, and **-ona** refers to ‘all things’.

The quantifier **-ona** canonically appears after the noun it modifies (cf. (91a)). For achieving pragmatic emphasis, however, it may precede the modified noun, as illustrated in (91b). In addition, **-ona** may be used with a *pro* head, even when no prior mention of the noun has been made, but the referent should be of common knowledge among the interlocutors, as illustrated in (92):

- (91) a. ***Amate goona gaafa***
a-ma-te *ga-o-na* *ga-a-f-a*
 IV-6-milk 6-QUANTrt-all 6-PASTim-spoil-FV
 ‘All the milk got spoilt.’
- b. ***Goona amate gaafa***
Ga-o-na *a-ma-te* *ga-a-f-a*
 6-QUANTrt-all IV-6-milk 6-PASTim-spoil-FV
 ‘All the milk got spoilt.’
- (92) ***Byona eby’ekitiinisa ebihango n’ebikye, bikahangwa Ruhanga.*** (Ebyeshongoro Eby’okuhimbisa Ruhanga, S.P.C.K: 1966: 105)
bi-ona *e-bi-a* *e-ki-tiinisa* *e-bi-hango na*
 8-all IV-8-GEN IV-7-respect IV-8-big and
- e-bi-kye* *bi-ka-hang-w-a* *Ruhanga*
 IV-8-small 8-PASTrm-create-PASS-FV PN.God
 ‘All respectable (things), big and small were created by God’

5.6.3.2 Definiteness encoding of the universal quantifier *-ona*

With reference to the examples (91) and (92), reference is made to the totality of all members in the given pragmatic sets. The set in (90) involves count plural entities, while in (91) it has a mass noun. On the other hand, reference to singular NPs is definite because the pragmatic set of ‘all’ entities has just one member to which reference is made, as in (89) (cf. Hawkins 1978; Chesterman, 1991; Lyons, 1999). The inclusiveness factor, therefore, determines definiteness within DPs containing *-ona* as the determiner, because it is assumed that all the members included in a set are familiar to the interlocutor. However, the DP referent modified by *-ona* is ambiguous between a specific and non-specific reading. For example, when reference is made to a single entity, it is possible that the speaker has a specific referent in mind. When reference is made to a set with more than one member, as in (92) above, it is probable that no particular member of the set is the intended referent. This is a counter-argument to the claim, for instance, made by Enç (1991) that all quantifiers are inherently specific when she claims that they quantify over a range of NPs which are context-bound. This further serves to provide evidence that not all definites are necessarily specific, as Enç (1991) claims (cf. section 2.2.3). Hence, nouns modified by *-ona* exhibit [+definite +/-specific] features.

5.6.4 *Buri/ibara*

5.6.4.1 Morpho-syntactic features

Buri and **ibara** typically mean the same, ‘every’. **Buri** means ‘each’ as well. One of the two quantifiers can be used at a time, though **ibara** is used rarely, or both can co-occur for emphasis. The two quantifiers, **buri** and **ibara**, cannot be morphologically decomposed. In addition, they do not show morphological agreement with the nouns.

- (93) *Buri ibara muntu.*
Buri ibara mu-ntu
 Every every 1-person
 ‘Each and every person’

Buri and **ibara** invariably occupy the pre-N position in the DP (cf. Taylor 1985: 54). On the basis of the position they take, they can be regarded as true determiners, in that they assume the

position that is reserved for determiners. In addition, unlike most other modifiers, the quantifier **huri/ibara** requires to occur with an explicit head noun since it has no agreement morphology. Hence, they never occur with a *pro* element. **Buri** can, however, occur with the quantifier **-mwe** ‘each’, which never appears with its head noun. When the two modifiers co-exist, they require no explicit head noun, as exemplified in (94a-b). The covert noun must, however, be known. The quantifier **-mwe** too has the inherent feature of inclusiveness.

(94) a. ***Buri omwe naamweta.***

Buri o-mwe n-a-mu-et-a

Every 1-each 1.1SG-PASTim-1-call-FV

‘Lit: I have called/invited each and every person’: ‘I have called/invited everyone.’

b. ***Buri ha-mwe waarondaho?’***

Buri ha-mwe w-aa-rond-a-ho

Every 16-each 1.2SG-PRES-search-FV-LOC

‘Lit: Have you checked each and every place?’: ‘Have checked everywhere?’

The universal quantifiers **huri** (every) and **-ona** (all) discussed above may both modify a noun. If they co-exist, **huri** occurs before the noun, and **-ona** takes the postnominal position. Their co-occurrence is to emphasize the state of events given in the construction. This is illustrated in the example in (95b).

(95) a. ***Omushomesa yaatwara huri kitabo.***

O-mu-shomesa a-aa-twar-a *huri ki-tabo*

IV-1-teacher 1.3SG-PASTim-take-FV every 7-book

(The) teacher has taken every book.’

b. ***Omushomesa yaatwara huri kitabo kyona.***

O-mu-shomesa a-aa-twar-a *huri ki-tabo ki-ona*

IV-1-teacher 1.3SG-PASTim-take-FV every 7-book 7-all

(The) teacher has taken every single book.’

5.6.4.2 Definiteness and specificity properties of *huri/ibara*

The two quantifiers (**huri** and **ibara**) have an inherent semantic feature of definiteness. The quantifiers refer to all members in a given pragmatic set. As is the case with the quantifier **-ona** discussed in the previous subsection, nouns modified by **huri** or **ibara** (or both) are definite, not by the identifiability principle, but on the basis of Lyons's (1999) inclusiveness principle. As illustrated in (94a), the speaker assumes that by accompanying the noun with the quantifier **huri**, the addressee may not identify each book that has been taken, but following the inclusiveness hypothesis, (s)he knows the books. Note that following Lyons's (1999) meaning of specificity, the quantifier **huri/ibara** does not possess an inherent feature of specificity. Therefore, the speaker, in the examples given above exhibiting the presence of **huri** (e.g., in (95a)), may or may not have a particular referent in mind.

5.6.5 *-ombi(ri)*⁶² and *-onshatu*

5.6.5.1 Morpho-syntactic features of *-ombi* and *-onshatu*

The quantifier **-ombi** has the meaning of 'both', while **-onshatu** means 'all the three'. They are both inclusive quantifiers. The two quantifiers have complex morphological forms, possessing the quantifier morpheme **-o-** which is found in other inherently definite quantifiers **-ona** (cf. section 5.6.3) and **-onka** (cf. section 5.6.6). The two inclusive modifiers take an appropriate agreement prefix of the modified head noun (see table 11). The quantifier forms also include a nasal **-n-**, with the remaining part being the numeral root **-bi(ri)** for two and **-shatu** for three. The quantifiers **-ombi** and **-onshatu** canonically follow the modified noun. However, it is grammatically acceptable for them to precede their head nouns (cf. (97c)). It is acceptable for either **-ombi** or **-onshatu** to modify a *pro* element when the explicit noun is familiar (cf. example (97b)). For purposes of exemplifying the morphological structure of the inclusive modifier **-ombi(ri)**, plural forms for nouns from class 2 to 10, are given in table 11 while table 12 illustrates the morphological forms with grammatical persons.

⁶² **-mbi** and **-mbiri** are variants.

Noun class	Example noun	Morphological form	Example phrase	English gloss
2 -ba-	abashaija	ba-o-n-bi(ri)	Abashaija bombi(ri)	Both of the men
4 -mi-	emitumba	i-o-n-bi(ri)	Emitumba yombi(ri)	Both of the banana stems
6 -ma-	amahuri	ga-o-n-bi(ri)	Amahuri gombi(ri)	Both of the eggs
8 -bi-	ebitebe	bio-n-bi(ri)	Ebitebe byombi(ri)	Both of the stools
10 -n-	ente	zi-o-n-bi(ri)	Ente za-o-bi(ri)	Both of the cows

Table 11: The inclusive quantifier **-ombi(ri)** for nouns in the plural classes from 2-10

The morphological forms involving grammatical persons are given in table 12

person	Morphological form	English gloss
1PL	tu-e-n-bi	both of us
2PL	mu-e-n-bi	both of you
3PL	ba-o-n-bi	both of them

Table 12: Morphological forms for the grammatical persons with inclusive quantifier **-ombi**

5.6.5.2 Definiteness and specificity properties of **-ombi** and **-onshatu**

Consider the illustrations given in (96) and (97) for definiteness encoding involving **-ombi** and **-onshatu**, respectively.

- (96) **Hakaba hariho abaishiki babiri, Nyabwangu na Nyabucureera. Omu mitwarize y'abo baishiki bombi abaabaire bari empangare, omwe akaba naatwaza obwira, kandi ondiiho ari encureezi, arikukora naayeetwara.** (Mubangizi 1966: 79).

There were two girls, one called Nyabwangu and another one Nyabucureera. Both of them were grown up girls in character; one was quick in whatever she did while the second one was humble and would do her work slowly but carefully.

- (97) a. ***Omu nju harimu entebe ishatu.***

O-mu n-ju ha-ri-mu e-n-tebe ishatu

IV-18.in 9-house 16-COP-16.in IV-10-chairs three

'There are three chairs in the house.'

b. *Zonshatu zireete.*

Zi-o-nshatu *zi-reet-e*
 10-QUANTrt-three 10-bring-IMP
 ‘Bring all the three.’

c. *Entebe zonshatu zireete.*

e-n-tebe *zi-o-nshatu* *zi-reet-e*
 IV-10-chairs 10-QUANTrt-three 10-bring-IMP
 ‘Bring all the three chairs.’

When **-ombi** modifies a noun, it means there are strictly two members in the set, which are referred to in totality, while **-onshatu** has three as the maximum number of entities. The inclusive quantifier **-ombi** in (96) refers to identifiable referents from the preceding discourse. In (97b) **-nshatu** appears with no explicit noun head. This is acceptable because the noun is familiar already, that is, if we assume that (97b) was a response to (97a). However, nouns modified by either of the quantifiers may be definite with no prior mention, as demonstrated in (98a), for instance, when the referent is present in the immediate situational context.

(98) a. *Yozya esohaani zombi.*

u-ozy-a *e-Ø-sohaani* *zi-o-n-bi*
 1.2SG-wash-FV IV-10-plates 10-QUANTrt-NASAL-two
 ‘Wash both of the plates.’

b. *Ebitabo byonshatu naabigura.*

E-bi-tabo *bi-o-n-shatu* *n-aa-bi-gur-a*
 IV-8-books 8-QUANTrt-NASAL-three 1SG-PASTim-8-buy-FV
 ‘I have bought all the three books.’

It may not necessarily require a deictic demonstrative, as in (98a), for the addressee to identify the referent. As long as the addressee can see the set of two entities referred to, they are definite by the inclusiveness feature. The pragmatic context plays a role here in delineating the intended referent. Even when the referent of the DP is not visible, as long as the addressee can uniquely identify the two or three members of the pragmatic set referred to in totality, the communicative purpose is achieved. When the referent is not in the spatial context of the utterance, then both discourse participants must have shared knowledge about the referent, as assumed in (98b).

Since the number of entities in a set is either two or three, i.e. a small set, the quantifiers **-ombi** and **-onshatu** exhibit the feature of specificity. As exemplified in (96), the two girls referred to are particular and identifiable. In the same way, the books referred to in (98b) are specific.

5.6.6 -onka ‘only’

5.6.6.1 The morpho-syntax of -onka (only)

The quantifier **-onka** is a nominal modifier with the English meaning ‘only’⁶³. As a determiner, like most other nominal modifiers, it takes an agreement marker corresponding to the class prefix of the head noun. The quantifier **-onka** exhibits the core quantifier root **-o-** in its morphological structure, like those discussed in section 5.6.3 and 5.6.5 above. In the determiner phrase, **-onka** follows the noun (98a⁶⁴), and does not move to the prenominal position, as the ungrammaticality of (99c) shows. In addition, **-onka** can appear without an overt head noun if there is a corresponding pronominal (cf. (100)), or another modifying element present, as exemplified in (101).

(99) a. *Yaareeta burangiti yonka.*

a-aa-reet-a *Ø-burangiti* *i-o-nka*
1.3SG-PASTim-bring-FV 9-brancket 9-QUANTrt-only
(S)he brought the blanket only.’

b. [TP [SpecT^r PRO] [VP [Specv^r PRO] [VP reeta [DP [D Ø] [N burangiti] [QP yonka]]]]]
[cl.1]

c. **Yaareeta yonka burangiti.*

a-aa-reet-a *i-o-nka* *Ø-burangiti*
1.3SG-PASTim-bring-FV 9-QUANTrt-only 9-brancket
(S)he brought the blanket only.’

(100). *Abaamara bonka baashohore.*

A-ba-a-mar-a *ba-o-nka* *ba-a-shohor-e*
IV-2-PRES-finish-FV 2-QUANTrt-only 2-PRES-go.out-SBJV
(Only those who have finished should go out.’

⁶³ The same form **-onka** appears as a verbal modifier to mean ‘alone’.

⁶⁴ (98b) gives the structural representation of the DP in (98a) containing the quantifier **-onka**.

- (101) *Kyo kyonka kikaba nikimara.*
Ki-o ki-o-nka ki-ka-ba ni-ki-mar-a
 7-ABS 7-QUANTrt-only 7-PASTrm-be COP-7-enough
 ‘Only it would have been enough.’

Concerning the structural representation given in (99b), the quantifier is given in the post-N, and it does not move to the pre-N position. The quantifier **-onka** can, however, in rare circumstances appear with a *pro* head and without any other modifier, especially in response to a question. It can also appear in a question to signal disbelief, discontent or surprise. Consider the response of B in (102a) below. The schema in (102b) illustrates the structural representation of a DP containing the quantifier **-onka** with a *pro* head.

- (102) a. A: *Omu nju harimu entebe emwe.*
O-mu n-ju ha-ri-mu e-n-tebe e-mwe
 IV-18.in 9-house 16-COP-18.in IV-9-chair 9-one
 ‘In the house there is only one chair.’

- B: *Yonka?*
i-o-nka
 9-QUANTrt-only
 ‘Only (one really)?’

- b. [DP [_{PRO} [_{QP} yonka]]]
 [cl.9]

5.6.6.2 Definiteness and specificity encoding in the DP involving **-onka**

The quantifier **-onka** has an inherent semantic feature of definiteness by the inclusiveness factor. In addition, the feature of specificity, depending on context, may be rendered to a DP modified by **-onka**. A DP modified by **-onka** has definite and specific features if the speaker communicates about a particular entity that the hearer is able to identify. For instance, in (99a) the blanket talked about is a particular referent, uniquely identifiable to the speaker and the addressee. On the other hand, the DP in (100) is definite and non-specific because the speaker does not have a particular referent in mind. Hence, nouns modified by **-onka** are definite by the inclusiveness factor, while the specificity feature is unspecified.

Thus, the quantifiers discussed above, including the absolute pronoun, enforce a definite reading to DPs they modify. Depending on the context and the kind of quantifier involved, DPs modified by quantifiers can have [+definite +specific] or [+definite +/-specific +contrastive focus] features.

5.7 Summary

This chapter was concerned with the investigation of determiners which possess an inherent semantic feature of definiteness. These include the demonstrative, the functional determiners **-a** and **nya-**, some quantifiers as well as absolute pronouns. Regardless of the position these modifiers assume in the DP in relation to the head noun, what they share in common is the feature of definiteness they contribute to nouns they occur with.

The discussion in section 5.2 paid attention to the morpho-syntactic and semantico-pragmatic properties of demonstratives. The core view is that the demonstrative bears a historical intrinsic morpheme **a**. Irrespective of the form, or syntactic properties of the demonstrative, one feature that all demonstrative forms have in common is the pragmatic property of directing the hearer to the fact that the intended referent is specific and identifiable. The referent may be available within the linguistic context of discourse or in the physical world. The physical world may be immediate, or the entity may be contained in the broader situational context. Furthermore, the use of a demonstrative may signal that the referent is familiar because both speaker and hearer have individual shared knowledge of it.

In section 5.3, the functional determiner **-a** was examined. The determiner **-a** invariably appears preminally allowing no other determiner in the same position, and it requires an explicit full lexical head. Its presence in the DP offers a recognitional role, in that it activates shared common knowledge between the speaker and hearer about a particular referent. In addition, it exhibits the pragmatic property of referring anaphorically.

Furthermore, section 5.4 identified **nya-** as another functional determiner exhibiting inherently definite features. **Nya-** is basically used for anaphoric reference, and is not compatible with entities that are hearer-new. **Nya-**, as it has been argued, attaches to nouns, nominalized verbs

and adjectives. It is commonly used in narratives to guide the addressee in tracking back referents in an on-going discourse. On the basis of the empirical evidence provided in the investigation of the three modifiers, that is the demonstrative and the determiners **-a** and **nya-**, the three determiners are intimately related. The evidence given indicates that in the light of the morpho-syntactic properties of the two functional determiners, as well as their semantico-pragmatic meanings, they could be grammaticalized forms of the demonstrative, following the criteria given in Diessel (1999), and the other scholars cited (cf. Lyons, 1999; Alexiadeou, et al., 2007). Another possible view to explore is that the morpheme **a-** could be the source of both the demonstrative and the proclitic **nya-**.

This chapter, in addition, considered quantifiers which render modified NPs definite if they are present in the DP as modifiers (cf. section 5.6). These include: **-ona**, **huri/ibara**, **-ombi**, **-onka**. The absolute pronoun, as an independent form of pronouns with inherent features of definiteness and specificity, has also been considered with quantifiers. The pronoun is considered with quantifiers owing to the fact that it exhibits the core quantifier morpheme **-o-** with an inherently semantic feature of definiteness. These quantifiers render their head nouns definite on the basis of the inclusiveness factor.

Although the semantics of the modifiers discussed in this chapter accord a definite reading to the nouns they modify, a desired interpretation may still depend on an appropriate pragmatic context in which an utterance is made. The next chapter explores the realization of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity as mainly stemming from the presence of an optional IV. This study traces the optional IV (the determiner) to the demonstrative core morpheme **a-**. The IV occurs in the inflectional morphology of nominal modifiers assumed to exhibit neutral semantic features with regard to (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity, including adjectives, numerals, possessives, nominal relatives and clausal relatives.

CHAPTER SIX

NOMINAL MODIFIERS WITH NEUTRAL SEMANTIC PROPERTIES OF (IN)DEFINITENESS AND (NON-)SPECIFICITY

6.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter, it was demonstrated that definiteness and specificity encoding in the determiner phrase may result from determiners which possess an inherent feature of definiteness, namely, the demonstrative, the functional determiners **-a** and **nya**, and some quantifiers. It has, however, been demonstrated that not all definite modifiers possess an inherent feature of specificity (cf. section 5.6), in that some quantifiers, such as the universal quantifiers **-ona** (all) (cf. section 5.6.3) and **buri** (every) (cf. section 5.6.4) can denote non-specific entities. This chapter is concerned with examining the morpho-syntactic and discourse-pragmatic realizations of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in DPs involving modifiers that exhibit neutral semantic features of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity (cf. Visser (2008: 18)). The modifiers examined here are adjectives, numerals and possessive modifiers⁶⁵. The investigation of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in this chapter is focused on the interpretations that result from the (non-)occurrence of the determiner (the IV) in the inflectional morphology of the given modifiers. Aboh (2004a: 3) argues that the nominal left periphery has an elaborated structure, encoding topic and focus, comparable to the CP. Following Aboh's observation, it is posited in the current chapter that in Runyankore-Rukiga, the focus feature, which interacts with specificity, can be found on the left periphery of the adjectival, numeral and possessive phrasal categories, realized morphologically by means of the determiner IV.

The determiner (IV), which, in certain syntactic and pragmatic situations, is presented allomorphically as **a-**, **e-**, or **o-** on adjectives, numerals and possessive modifiers, resembles the demonstrative root **a-**. Hence, it is argued that the IV evolved linguistically from the

⁶⁵ Nominal and clausal relatives discussed in chapter seven exhibit the same neutral semantic features of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity.

demonstrative (cf. Wald, 1973; Visser, 2008, among others). However, along the evolution path, some of the core properties of the demonstrative were lost. For instance, in terms of semantic features, the IV does not exhibit the deictic property. The present chapter reveals that, in certain syntactic conditions, the IV hosted as either an optional or an obligatory morphological element by an adjective, numeral, or the genitive, exhibits features analogous to the anaphoric properties of the demonstrative. Typical examples include constructions headed by a *pro* element. Hence, one can arguably say that the determiner IV evolved from the original anaphoric demonstrative. In addition, empirical evidence reveals that the IV exhibits the feature of specificity, which the demonstrative intrinsically possesses. In addition, the IV, as a grammatical category determiner, assumes the role of marking contrastive focus, which, as will be discussed below, interacts with specificity.

There are conflicting views in the linguistic literature as to what role the IV plays in the grammars of languages which exhibit it (cf. chapter three for a discussion on the role and distribution of the IV in selected Bantu languages). Particularly, the role of the IV with regard to (in)definiteness encoding has been a subject of considerable debate among Bantuists (cf. Mould, 1973; Hyman & Katamba, 1993; Petzell, 2003, 2008; Riedel, 2011, among others), as discussed in chapter three. Literature has shown that the distribution and role of the IV across Bantu languages which exhibit it are not uniform. It is also observed that the functions of the IV vary from language to language. The implication of this disparity is that the findings from one Bantu language regarding the properties and roles of the IV should not necessarily be assumed to apply generally across other Bantu languages which possess it. It should further be understood that not every initial morpheme of Runyankore-Rukiga words is an ‘initial vowel’ in the real sense of the term used here. Some morphemes that look like an initial vowel may not be one, e.g., in demonstratives, where the initial morpheme is the core morpheme of the demonstrative (cf. section 5.2.1.1). In fact, even finite verbs exhibit an initial morpheme in the form of a vowel,

which is a noun class agreement prefix, corresponding to the class prefix of the structural subject⁶⁶.

The initial vowel analyzed in this chapter is mainly the morpheme that appears in the inflectional morphology of nominal modifiers, namely, adjectives, numerals and the genitive. Peripheral consideration is given to the IV of lexical head nouns, only when it appears optionally.

The layout of this chapter is as follows: section 6.2 examines the adjective, by first describing its morpho-syntactic properties as a nominal modifier in section 6.2.2. Next, the discourse-pragmatic interpretations stemming from the (non-)occurrence of the IV in positive constructions are explored in subsection 6.2.3. Subsection 6.2.4 examines the interpretation of the IV attached to adjectives in negative verb constructions. Subsection 6.2.5 deals with the co-occurrence of an adjective and a demonstrative. Section 6.3 gives an analysis of the realization of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in DPs modified by numerals. Their morpho-syntactic behaviors are examined first in subsection 6.3.2, their role in determining a(n) (in)definite and (non-)specific referents is considered next in subsection 6.3.3. Section 6.4 is devoted to possessive constructions involving the genitive **a**, examining their morpho-syntax (cf. subsection 6.4.2), as well as their role in marking (in)definite and (non-)specific entities, examined in subsection 6.4.3. Then, subsection 6.4.4 explores the combination of possessive expressions and the demonstrative. The co-occurrence of a possessive construction and a nominal relative is discussed in subsection 6.4.5. Lastly, section 6.5 gives a summary of the key analyses made in the chapter.

⁶⁶ For example:

- (i) **Aryaija**
A-rya-ij-a
 1.3SG-FUT-come-FV
 '(S)he will come.'
- (ii) **ente ebyami** *e-n-te* *e-bya-mi*
 IV-9-cow 9-sleep-FV
 'A/the cow is sleeping.'

The agreement prefixes which occur as vowels in the initial position of finite verbs and clauses correspond to the third person singular nouns.

6.2 Adjectives

6.2.1 Introduction

The investigation of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity involving adjectives is based mainly on the analysis of the (non-)occurrence of the IV with adjectives. When an adjective appears as a nominal modifier, its primary role is to provide more information concerning the attributive features of the head noun. However, this additional information does not explicitly determine whether a nominal expression contained in a DP is (in)definite or (non-)specific cross-linguistically. Therefore, additional morpho-syntactic or pragmatic considerations are employed to determine the right interpretation of the referent. Before examining the role of the IV in the inflectional morphology of adjectives, first consider the basic morpho-syntactic properties of adjectives in Runyankore-Rukiga. The purpose of giving the basic morpho-syntactic properties of adjectives (and the other nominal modifiers considered in the chapter generally) is to determine the use of the IV in the inflectional morphology, and what positions the adjective is capable of taking in the nominal domain.

6.2.2 The morpho-syntactic structure of adjectives

Adjectives consist of three morphological elements. The first morpheme is the optional IV⁶⁷, which, when available, has some pragmatic readings it affords the head noun. Next, is the nominal agreement prefix. Adjectives constitute a homogenous class with the nouns they modify, in that they carry the same nominal class prefix agreement as the head noun (cf. table 13). Taylor

⁶⁷ There is a class of adjectives exhibiting an obligatory IV even when the lexical head is explicit, and this IV does not contribute any semantic or pragmatic meaning to the modified noun. Examples are:

- (i) **omwana** *(e)kihaze
O-mu-ana *(e)-ki-haze
 IV-1-child IV-8-wild
 ‘an/the unruly child’
- (ii) **embwa** *(e)nshaariizi
e-n-bwa *(e)-n-shaariizi
 IV-9-dog IV-9-fierce
 ‘a/the fierce dog’
- (iii) **omwana** w’ekihaze
O-mu-ana u-a *(e)-ki-haze
 IV-1-child 1-GEN IV-8-wild
 ‘A child who is unruly’

This category of adjectives, however, does not share the agreement morphology with the head noun. In fact, one may argue that morphologically they are nouns, which can also optionally be connected to the head noun by the genitive **a** (iii) (see section 6.4.2 for discussion on the genitive).

(1985: 85) argues that ‘true’ adjectives in Runyankore-Rukiga are few in number. He states that, at most, they are twenty in number. He further points out that there are adjectival forms which resemble verbs either in their stative or present participial form, and these outnumber the ‘true’ adjectives. However, the latter category of adjectives in the sense of Taylor is analyzed in this study as nominal relatives (see section 7.2), and it mainly constitutes color terms.

Noun class	Example noun	adjective	English gloss
1 -mu-	o-mu-baizi	(o)-mu-rungi	good carpenter
2 -ba-	a-ba-baizi	(a)-ba-rungi	good carpenters
3 -mu-	o-mu-ti	(o)-mu-raingwa	tall tree
4 -mi-	e-mi-ti	(e)-mi-raingwa	tall trees
5 -ri/i-	e-i-baare	(e)-ri-hango	big stone
6 -ma-	a-ma-baare	(a)-ma-hango	big stones
7 -ki-	e-ki-muri	(e)-ki-rungi	beautiful flower
8 -bi-	e-bi-muri	(e)-bi-rungi	beautiful flowers
9 -n-	e-n-koni	(e)-n-raingwa (n+r=d)	long walking stick
10 -n-	e-n-koni	(e)-n-raingwa	long walking sticks
11 -ru-	o-ru-hu	(o)-ru-bi	bad hide/skin
12 -ka-	a-ka-muri	(a)-ka-rungi	(small) beautiful flower
13 -tu-	o-tu-muri	(o)-tu-rungi	(small) beautiful flowers
14 -bu-	o-bu-ro	(o)-bu-rungi	good millet
15 -ku-	o-ku-guru	(o)-ku-hango	big leg
16 -ha-	a-ha-ntu	(a)-ha-hango	big place
17 -ku-	-	(a)-ha-hango	big (unfamiliar, far or wider) place
18 -mu-	-	(a)-ha-hango	big (inside) place

Table 13: The morphological structure of adjectives

Notice that the IV is given in parentheses, which means that it is not an integral part of the adjective as a modifier of an overt head noun. The IV, however, may become an indispensable

morpheme of the adjective, when an adjective occurs with an NP headed by a phonologically empty category, the *pro* form, as will be illustrated later on.

Adjectives are syntactically categorized into attributive and predicative, according to the role they play in a construction. Attributive adjectives occur in the nominal domain, and take an optional IV, in addition to a nominal agreement prefix. Adjectives with a predicative role do not take an IV, and are marked with a copular verb form **ni** (cf. Wald, 1973, Taylor, 1985), or **ba** (the verb ‘to be’) (cf. Taylor, 1985: 175). The examples in (1) and (2) illustrate the use of attributive and predicative adjectives respectively. The discussion on predicative adjectives, however, will not be pursued here because the current study is focused on nominal modifiers.

Attributive adjective

- (1) **omushaija (o)murungi**
o-mu-shaija (o)murungi
 IV-1-man IV-1-good/nice
 ‘a/the good man’

Predicative adjective

- (2) **omwana ni (*o)murungi**
*o-mu-ana ni (*o)-mu-rungi*
 IV-1-child COP IV-1-nice/good
 ‘The/a child is nice/good.’

Attributive adjectives in Runyankore-Rukiga appear canonically following the nouns they modify (cf. (3a)). Certain pragmatic contexts, however, can lead the adjective to precede the head noun, and takes an obligatory IV, as exemplified in (3b), although this sequence of adjective-noun is not commonly found. When an adjective precedes the head noun, the adjective may be followed by a pause before the head noun is uttered as an indication that the head noun is uttered as an afterthought as will be discussed later.

- (3) a. **ebimuri (e)bihango**
e-bi-muri (e)-bi-hango
 IV-8-flower 8-big
 ‘(the) big flowers’

- b. **(e)bihango ebimuri*
(e)-bi-hango e-bi-muri
 IV-8-big IV-8-flower
 ‘the big flowers’

Furthermore, one head noun can be modified by more than one adjective (cf. (4)), like in most other languages of the world. The adjective in addition can co-occur with other modifiers in the same DP. If a head noun, in addition to an adjectival modifier, includes other modifiers in a position other than the prenominal one, the adjective is flexible in terms of the position it takes in relation to the other modifying categories. The examples in (5a-c) illustrate the situation.

- (4) *Ebimuri birungi bihango*
E-bi-muri bi-rungi bi-hango
 IV-8-flower 8-beautiful 8-big
 ‘(the) big beautiful flowers’

- (5) a. *Ninkunda oriya (o)mukazi (o)mugufu ojwaire *(e)kiteteeyi (e)kiraingwa*
ni-n-kund-a o-riya (o)-mu-kazi (o)-mu-gufu
 PRES-1SG-like-FV 1-DIST IV-1-woman IV-1-short

*o-jwa-ire *(e)-ki-teteeyi (e)-ki-raingwa.*
 1-wear-STAT IV-7-dress IV-7-long

‘I like that woman, the short one, the one wearing a long dress.’

- b. *Ninkunda *(o)mukazi oriya *(o)mugufu ojwaire *(e)kiteteeyi (e)kiraingwa*
*Ni-n-kund-a *(o)-mu-kazi o-riya *(o)-mu-gufu*
 PRES-1SG-like-FV IV-1-woman 1-DIST IV-1-short

*o-jwa-ire *(e)-ki-teteeyi (e)-ki-raingwa.*
 1.REL-wear-STAT IV-7-dress IV-7-tall

‘I like that short woman, the one who is wearing a long dress.’

- c. *Ninkunda *(o)mukazi ojwaire *(e)kiteteeyi kiraingwa oriya *(o)mugufu*
*Ni-n-kund-a *(o)-mu-kazi o-riya *(o)-mu-gufu*
 PRES-1SG-like-FV IV-1-woman 1-that.DIST IV-1-short

o-jwa-ire **(e)-ki-teteeyi (e)-ki-raingwa.*

1.REL-wear-STAT IV-7-dress (IV)-7-tall

‘I like the woman who is wearing a long dress, that one who is short.’

d. *Ninkunda *(o)mugufu *(o)mukazi oriya ojwaire *(e)kiteteeyi kiraingwa*

Ni-n-kund-a **(o)-mu-gufu *(o)-mu-kazi o-riya*

PRES-1SG-like-FV IV-1-short IV-1-woman 1-DIST

o-jwa-ire **(e)-ki-teteeyi ki-raingwa.*

1.REL-wear-STAT IV-7-dress 7-long

‘I like the woman, who is wearing a long dress, that one who is short.’

The adjective modifying the object noun **omukazi** (woman) in (5a) immediately follows the modified noun. The adjacency of the demonstrative to the adjective licenses the adjective to take a compulsory IV. In sentence (5b), the adjective follows the demonstrative that immediately comes after the head noun, while in (5c), the adjective **omugufu** (the short one) comes last, following the other modifiers, i.e., the demonstrative and the subject clausal relative. The adjective in (5d) in the prenominal position comes more naturally when followed by a pause before the demonstrative.

An adjective qualifies to modify a phonologically empty head in the absence of an overt full lexical head noun. This happens in contexts where the head noun is considered to be textually familiar to discourse participants, and hence, it may not be necessary to repeat it, as shown in (6)-(7). Recall that a *pro* head exhibits the phi features of the lexical noun. Therefore, the *pro* head carries number and agreement properties which it shares with the adjectival modifier.

(6) *Ninkunda omugufu.*

Ni-n-kund-a *o-mu-gufu*

PRES-1SG-like-FV IV-1-short

‘I like the short one.’

- (7) ***omugufu omu nte ze***⁶⁸ Morris and Kirwan (1972: 188)
o-mu-gufu o-mu n-te zi-e
 IV-1-short IV-16.in 10-cow 10-his/hers
 ‘the short one among his cattle’

In syntactic situations where the head noun is not explicitly stated, i.e., in *pro* constructions, the adjective occurs with an obligatory determiner (the IV), as shown with the ungrammaticality of (8a). However, there are some syntactic contexts which are exceptional, in which the adjective is permitted to occur without an IV when it is headed by a *pro*. Consider the examples given in (8b) and (i) of (8c). The absence of the IV, however, is not an indefinite entailment. The fact that the head noun is absent is an indication that it is familiar.

- (8) a. ****Wakame abagambira ku*(-)mpango eri eye kandi*(-)kakye ku kari aka Warujojo.***

Wakame a-ba-gamb-ir-a ku(-)n-hango e-ri e-ye kandi*(-)ka-kye*
 Rabbit.pers. 1-2-tell-APPL-FV that 9-big 9-COP 9-his and 12-small

ku ka-ri a-ka-a Warujojo.

that 12-COP IV-12-GEN Elephant.pers.

‘Mr Rabbit told them that the big cow is his and that the small cow is for Mr. Elephant.’

- b. ***Ogure mpango otagura kakye.***

O-gur-e n-hango o-ta-gur-a ka-kye
 2SG-buy-IMP 9-big 2SG-NEG-buy-IMP 12-small
 ‘Buy a big one, not a small one.’

- c. (i) ***Ahabweki waagura mugufu?***

Ahabweki a-aa-gur-a mu-gufu?
 Why 1.3SG-PASTim-buy 3-short
 ‘Why have you bought a short one (mat)?’

- (ii) ****Mugufu tigukahwire.***

Mu-gufu ti-gu-ka-hw-ire
 3-short NEG-3-ASP-finish-IPFV
 ‘The short one is not yet finished.’

⁶⁸ The construction in (7) exemplifies the use of an adjective with a *pro* form category of the head in a riddle. A riddle is structured in a way that the head noun is usually omitted.

Note that an adjective in an NP headed by a *pro* in subject position does not permit an adjective without an IV. Compare the constructions in (i) and (ii) of (8c), where the construction in (8c(i)) is well formed showing the adjective with no lexical head and no IV. On the other hand, (8c(ii)) is ungrammatical due to the omission of the IV on the adjective that occurs in an NP headed by a *pro*. Hence, an adjective modifying a *pro* head can appear without IV as an object, but not a logical subject. Notice in (8c(i)) that even when the IV is not available, a referent can be definite.

6.2.3 (In)definiteness and (non-)specificity in nominal expressions modified by adjectives in positive sentences

As noted above, adjectives are one category of nominal modifiers which, according to Visser (2008), possess neutral semantic features with regard to (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity. This section examines a range of illustrations in positive constructions for the interpretation of DPs containing adjectives with regard to the properties of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity. In addition, the interaction between adjectives and demonstratives is examined, for the interpretations of the head noun when the two modifiers exhibiting different semantic properties interact. The investigation of the phenomena in DPs modified by adjectives is particularly grounded in the analysis of the (non-)occurrence of the IV. Reflecting on the DP category in languages with definite and indefinite articles as determiners, such as English, the current study assumes the presence of the IV to be a determiner with [+specific] feature and encoding an added feature of contrastive focus. In *pro* constructions, the IV determiner participates in the definite encoding of the head noun. Its absence on the other hand implies a DP with a zero functional determiner head with [-specific] feature.

In example (1), repeated as (9a) below, Taylor (1985: 125) claims that the IV occurring with the adjective renders the modified noun definite. In (9b), the adjective modifying the object noun appears with no IV, and according to Taylor, it is an indication that the noun phrase is indefinite.

- (9) a. ***Omushaija omurungi***
O-mu-shaija o-mu-rungi
 IV-1-man IV-1-nice/good
 ‘the nice/good man’

b. ***Omushaija murungi****O-mu-shaija mu-rungi*

IV-1-man 1-nice/good

‘a nice/good man’

c. ***Omushaija (o)murungi noomwiha nkahi?****O-mu-shaija (o)-mu-rungi ni-o-mu-ih-a nkahi?*

IV-1-man IV-1-good PRES-2SG-1-get-FV Q.where

‘Where can you find a nice/good man?’

d. ***Jane akebonera omushaija murungi.****Jane a-ka-e-bon-er-a o-mu-shaija mu-rungi*

PN.Jane. 1.3SG-PASTrm-REFL-find-APPL-FV IV-1-man 1-good

‘Jane got herself a nice man.’

Contrary to Taylor’s (1985) claim, the IV attached to the adjectival modifier as in (9a) does not render the head noun definite, by considering only the inflectional morphology of the adjective in question. Hence, discourse-pragmatic factors need to be considered as well to arrive at the intended reading of the DP. Consequently, a definiteness interpretation cannot be inferred by only considering the presence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of the adjective. For instance, shared knowledge or previous mention of the referent may provide background information from which definiteness meaning can be inferred. Nevertheless, the occurrence of the IV, such as in (9a), is a morpho-syntactic characterization of specificity of the modified head noun. Therefore, the head noun in (9a) is specified for the [+specific] feature. In addition, the presence of the IV realizes the contrastive focus feature (cf. section 1.6.5 for the meaning of contrastive focus). Unless a clear discourse context is constructed, the referent of the head noun in (9a) remains ambiguous between a definite and indefinite reading. Additionally, it could also be interpreted generically if an appropriate context is sought, for instance, as in the rhetoric question in (9c), not any identifiable specific man, but ‘man’ as a species. On the other hand, the corresponding DP in (9b) with the non-occurrence of the IV implies that the referent is (in)definite and either specific or non-specific. Notably, following purely pragmatic cues, the adjective in (9b) without an IV is not incompatible with definiteness and specificity readings. As demonstrated in (9d), the object noun can be understood as definite specific, indefinite specific or indefinite non-specific, depending on the discourse-pragmatic context.

Furthermore, consider the readings in the illustrations given in (10a-c) below:

(10) a. *Ndeetera ekiibo kihango.*

N-reet-er-a e-ki-ibo ki-hango

1SG-bring-APPL-FV IV-7-basket 7-big

‘Bring me a big basket.’

b. *Ndeetera ekiibo ekihango.*

N-reet-er-a e-ki-ibo e-ki-hango

1SG-bring-APPL-FV IV-7-basket IV-7-big

‘Bring me a/the big basket.’

c. *Ndeetera *(e)kihango.*

*N-reet-er-a *(e)-ki-hango*

1SG-bring-APPL-FV IV-7-big

‘Bring me the big one.’

Notice that the adjective **kihango** (big) in (10a) occurs with no IV. In the utterance, the speaker instructs the hearer to bring a big basket. The hearer may or may not be familiar with the referent that the speaker wants. Perhaps, there is more than one basket, and the speaker wants any, as long as it is big. In one reading, therefore, the utterance does not assume the hearer to have shared knowledge regarding the referent. In addition, the linguistic context of the construction does not provide any sign indicating that the speaker has a particular identifiable big basket in mind. Therefore, the referent **ekiibo** in (10a) is interpreted with indefinite and non-specific reading, ‘any big basket’. In the second reading, a definite non-specific reading is obtainable for the referent modified by the adjective in (10a), if, for instance, both discourse participants know that there exists at least one big basket among other baskets, big and small, which both interlocutors know about, such that the hearer is instructed to bring it.

In the corresponding utterance in (10b), the adjectival element contains the determiner (IV). The presence of the determiner signals that the hearer has a specific big basket in mind, whose familiarity on the part of the speaker is contingent on the right pragmatic context, for instance, based on prior knowledge shared by both the speaker and hearer, or if the referent is co-

referenced to an antecedent traceable in the preceding discourse. Consider (11), which provides a context for the definite reading of (10b), assuming a prior mention of the referent.

(11) *Omu nju harimu ebiibo bibiri. *(E)kikye n'*(e)kihango. Ndeetera (ekiibo) *(e)kihango.*

*O-mu n-ju ha-ri-mu e-bi-ibo bi-biri. *(E)-ki-kye na *(e)ki-hango.*

IV-16.in 9-house 16-COP-18.in IV-8-baskets 8-two. IV-7-small and IV-7-big

*N-reet-er-a (e-ki-ibo) *(e)-ki-hango*

1SG-bring-APPL-FV IV-7-basket IV-7-big

‘There are two baskets in the house; the small one and the big one. Bring me the big one.’

The first part of the utterance presupposes the existence of baskets. In the second part of the utterance, following from the previous mention, the hearer is aware of the existence of two baskets of different sizes in the house. Thus, a setting, like the one provided in the first part of the utterance in (11), gives an appropriate procedure for the hearer to deduce a definite reading of the given referent. In sentence (10b), repeated as the third sentence in utterance (11), the hearer is in a position to identify the referent because its familiarity has already been established.

Similarly, the aim of the speaker in (10b) to attach an IV to the adjective could be to mark information structure, that is, contrastive (or identificational) focus (cf. Lambrecht, 1994; Kiss, 1998; Zimmerman, 2008). Hence, the object noun in (10b) further receives a contrastive focus reading, as a result of the presence of the IV on the adjective. Recall that the focus meaning adopted here is the focus of alternatives (cf. section 1.7.5). Thus, in (10b), the speaker is informing the hearer to be aware that there are alternative baskets available. However, those alternatives are not clearly defined. Nonetheless, the alternatives must also be baskets, all smaller in size than the one the speaker picked out. The speaker is alerting the addressee to take the cue seriously, when (s)he puts the IV on the adjective, for it will eliminate all other potential referents present, with the same semantics.

The IV, therefore, has a pragmatic role of pointing to a specific entity or set of entities that is selected from other potential entities. As Kiss (1998: 249) points out, identificational (contrastive) focus evokes a ‘suitable subset of the contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially hold’. The same idea is shared by Gundel and

Fretheim (2004: 181), who assert that ‘the speaker calls to the addressee’s attention, thereby often evoking contrast with other entities that might fill the same position’. The contrast evoked by the use of an adjective with an IV selects the modified noun from other alternatives in the universe of discourse. The use of IV, relatedly, points to an item that is the most salient one in an utterance.

In relation to the construction in (10c), the adjective occurs without a full lexical head noun, but a phonetically empty head, with the meaning ‘the big one’. This construction normally follows one with a full noun as its antecedent. It may also be used in situations when the speaker and hearer have shared knowledge of the referent. Otherwise, the referent represented by the empty category *pro* cannot be understood without linking it to an established antecedent in the previous discourse (cf. Lopez, 2000; Cornilescu & Nicolae, 2012, for a similar idea), or if there is no shared knowledge assumed. Therefore, the determiner (IV), as an inflectional morpheme in this context participates in a definite reading, thereby unambiguously denoting a definite specific entity. In addition, the IV marks a referent that is contrastively focalized. It can be argued that in the given syntactic context, the IV displays the anaphoric qualities of the demonstrative. The same can be argued for in relation to other nominal modifiers, such as the genitive modifier in possessive constructions (cf. section 6.4.4) and clausal and nominal relatives (cf. chapter seven), when they take an obligatory IV in the syntactic configuration with a *pro* head.

In the same vein, consider the illustrations in (12a-c). In (12a) the adjective occurs without the determiner (IV), while in (12b), the adjective occurs with one. In examples (i-ii) of (12c), a generic reading is established, with or without the IV on the adjective.

(12) a. ***Omukazi yaagura *(e)nshaho mpango.***

*o-mu-kazi a-aa-gur-a *(e)-n-shaho n-hango*
 IV-1-woman 1.3SG-PRES-buy-FV IV-9-bag 9-big
 ‘A/the woman has bought a/the big bag.’

b. ***Omukazi yaagura *(e)nshaho (e)mpango.***

*o-mu-kazi a-aa-gur-a *(e)-n-shaho (e)-n-hango*
 IV-1-woman 1.3SG-PRES -buy-FV IV-9-bag (IV)-9-big
 ‘A/the woman has bought specifically a/the big bag.’

c. (i) ***Omukazi naagura enshaho mpango.***

o-mu-kazi ni-a-gur-a e-n-shaho n-hango

IV-1-woman PRES-1.3SG-buy-FV IV-10-bag 10-big

‘A/the woman buys big bags.’

‘The woman is buying a/the big bag.’

(ii) ***Omukazi naagura enshaho (e)mpango.***

o-mu-kazi ni-a-gur-a e-n-shaho (e)-n-hango

IV-1-woman PRES-1.3SG-buy-FV IV-10-bags IV-10-big

‘A/the woman buys big bags.’

In (12a), the proposition expressed in the object DP modified by an adjective which appears with no determiner may have information assumed by the speaker to be unfamiliar to the hearer. Consider, for example, when the modified head noun comes as an introductory sentence, hence, recording discourse-new information. The speaker in (12a) does not have a particular identifiable bag in mind (s)he wishes to communicate about. On the other hand, the referent may be understood to be definite and specific if an appropriate pragmatic context is assumed. The non-occurrence of the IV on the modifying adjective may also be associated with a non-specificity feature. Thus, the lack of the determiner in the inflectional morphology of the adjective leads to ambiguous (in)definite and (non-)specific readings of the head noun. Conversely, (12b) shows that the IV on the adjective modifying the object noun realizes a specificity property on the head noun, as it has been demonstrated in (10b). However, as stated earlier, the morpho-syntactic realization of the IV on the adjective does not necessarily license the head noun to be definite, unless a proper discourse-pragmatic context is evoked. The context in (13) illustrates the familiarity setting for the referent in (12b), given as a response to the question in (13).

(13)Q: ***Omukazi yaagura enshaho eha?***

O-mu-kazi a-aa-gur-a e-n-shaho e-ha?

IV-1-woman 1.3SG-PASTim-buy-FV IV-9-bag 9-Q.which

‘Which bag has the woman bought?’

A: ***Omukazi yaagura enshaho empango.***

o-mu-kazi a-aa-gur-a e-n-shaho e-n-hango

IV-1-woman 1.3SG-PASTim-buy-FV IV-9-bag IV-9-big

‘A/the woman has bought (specifically) the big bag.’

Enshaho empango (the big bag) in the reply to the question is recoverable from the interrogative sentence, where the speaker asks **enshaho eha** (which bag)? The context in the discourse in (13) licenses a definite and specific reading for the referent **enshaho** (bag). Therefore, discourse-contingent factors enable discourse participants to arrive at a definite reading for a referent modified by an adjective that occurs with an IV. The referent **enshaho empango** is discourse-old since it is established in the preceding context of the WH-question. Therefore, with respect to the textual context in (13), the referent in (12b) is rendered definite and specific. It is inappropriate for the adjective in the response to (13) to appear with no IV, which is responsible for the contrastive focus meaning, in that the question requires that in the response, one entity must be selected from other potentially relevant referents.

The illustrations given in (12) and (13) provide further evidence that the IV, besides rendering nouns specific, serves to mark contrastive focus. The presence of the IV attached to the adjective in (12b) and in the response to (13) signifies that the speaker selects one particular big bag, assuming the availability of other bags, not as big as the one chosen. The other alternatives are not explicitly stated, especially if their mention is not important to achieve the purpose of the ongoing communication.

Note, however, that the presence of the determiner on a modifying adjective does not pose any restrictions for the head noun to be used in indefinite and generic situations. It is argued above that an indefinite reading is obtainable even when the determiner is present in the adjectival phrase. The object DP in (i) of (12c), with no IV on the modifying adjective, receives a generic reading, i.e., that a/the woman generally buys big bags, which also implies that the speaker does not refer to any particular big bag. Crucially, the generic reading is obtainable partly due to the plurality effect of the object noun (note that the noun *enshaho* has the same form in singular and plural). Recall from section 4.6 that singular nouns infrequently accommodate generic interpretations. The generic meaning in (i) of (12c) is further attributed to the present tense (or progressive aspect) of the verb (cf. section 4.6 for more on genericity). However, with regard to the tense or aspect of the verb, the referent in (i) whether singular or plural can receive a non-generic reading, if it is assumed that the activity is on-going (that is where the progressive aspect is involved). On the other hand, although the object DP in (ii) of (12c) can still receive a generic

reading, the IV appearing in the inflectional morphology of the adjective marks an additional pragmatic meaning of contrastive focus. The utterance, therefore, further means that a/the woman generally buys big bags, not small bags. It was noted in section 4.6 that generic referents are necessarily non-specific. Therefore, the IV, in the context of genericity, has nothing to do with specificity, but only to select a certain entity from other relevant entities.

Generally, object DPs which are modified by an adjective occurring with no IV have no contrastive focus meaning with ambiguous (in)definite and (non-)specific readings. On the other hand, the presence of the IV on the adjective entails a specific and contrastive focus reading of the head noun. Given that the IV is used to evoke alternatives to the focalized object, this property correlates with its specificity feature, in the sense that the IV singles out one entity from other potential entities the speaker has in mind at that moment in the discourse, whether the alternatives are explicitly stated or not. So, if reference is made to one entity, such as the big bag in (9b), selected from other potential bags, it is that one particular bag the speaker has in mind, and whose definiteness reading is contingent on an appropriate discourse-pragmatic context. Following Gundel and Fretheim's (2004: 181) view that 'contrastive focus [is] coded by some type of linguistic prominence across languages', the IV can safely be said to be a contrastive focus marker, in that its occurrence with adjective modifiers, as illustrated above, triggers a pragmatic sense of the availability of choices in the universe of discourse.

The next example (14) from Taylor (1985: 80) gives further evidence for the claim that the IV is not a definite marker but a marker of specificity and contrastive focus when it appears with a modifying adjective.

- (14) ***Wakame abagambira ku ente empango eri eye kandi akate akakye ku kari aka Warujojo.***

Wakame a-ba-gamb-ir-a ku e-n-te e-n-hango e-ri e-i-e
Rabbit.Pers. 1-2.3PL-tell-APPL-FV that IV-9-cow IV-9-big 9-COP IV-9-his

kandi a-ka-te a-ka-kye ku ka-ri a-ka-a Warujojo
and IV-12-cow IV-12-small that 12-COP IV-12-GEN Elephant.Pers.
'Rabbit told them that the big cow is his and the small cow is Elephant's.'

The adjectival modifiers appearing with full head nouns in (14) possess the determiner morpheme. It was pointed out that when a full lexical noun is present, the adjective takes an optional IV, which, according to Taylor (1985), marks definiteness. However, the (in)definiteness ambiguity issue is resolved in the discourse-pragmatic context. The IV on both adjectives **empango** (the big) and **akakye** (the small) in (14) means that the referents of the head nouns are familiar. The familiarity of the referent stems from shared knowledge of the interlocutors about the referents, or the referents may have been previously mentioned. In essence, without an appropriate pragmatic context, the use of the IV does not mean that the referents are known. The speaker in (14) intends to focus the hearer's attention on one particular referent, the big cow as belonging to **Wakame**, and also to alert the discourse participant(s) that it is particularly the small cow, not the big cow, that belongs to **Warujojo**.

The readings associated with the (non-)occurrence of the IV attached to the adjective in positive constructions are summarized in table 14.

Modifying adjective in positive constructions	(Non-)occurrence of the determiner (IV) with adjective	Semantico-pragmatic readings
Adjective with lexical head	Adj without IV	+/-definite +/-specific
Adjective with lexical head	Adj with IV	+/-definite +specific +contrastive focus
Adjective with <i>pro</i> head	Adj with compulsory IV	+definite +specific +contrastive focus
Adjective with <i>pro</i> head	Adj with no IV	+definite +/-specific

Table 14: Semantico-pragmatic readings associated with (non-)occurrence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of a modifying adjective in positive constructions

The pragmatic features of specificity and contrastive focus stemming from the IV of the adjective in the nominal domain are associated with the left peripheral area of the adjectival phrase. This supports the idea (cf. Aboh 2004a; Aboh et al., 2010) that information structure is not only associated with the clausal domain, but also it is available in other phrasal categories as well. The feature of specificity is generated in the Focus Phrase in the left periphery of the adjectival phrase in the lower position of the nominal domain. When the adjective moves to the prenominal position, hence marking a familiar referent, it picks an extra feature of emphasis

generated in the FocP projected by the determiner IV. The following schemata in (15), using the examples in (10a-c), serve to exemplify the structure of the nominal domain containing an adjectival modifier that appears without an IV (15a), with an IV (15b), while (15c) represents a DP headed by a phonologically null category, and (15d) has a prenominal adjective that takes an obligatory IV.

(15) a. *ekiibo kihango*

[DP e [NP [N kiibo] [DP [D Ø] [AgrP Agr] [kihango]]]]
 [+/-specific] [cl.7]

b. *ekiibo ekihango*

[DP e [NP [N kiibo] [DP [D e] [FOCP [FOC] [AgrP Agr] [hango]]]]]
 [+specific] [cl.7]
 [+contrastive focus]

c. **(e)kihango*

[DP [*pro*] [D e] [FOCP FOC[kihango]]]
 [cl.7] [definite +specific +contrastive focus]

d. *ekihango ekiibo*

[DP [D e] [AgrP Agr] [FOCP FOC [AdjP kihango [DP e [FOCP FOC] [NP kiibo kihango]]]]]
 [+definite +focus +specific]

The evidence provided above supports the idea that Runyankore-Rukiga has a focus projection headed by the IV as a determiner with [+specific +contrastive focus] features.

The construction given in (16) provides a somewhat different context for the analysis of the IV in the morpho-syntactic realization of specificity. Although the examples cited above, such as those in (11), (12b) and (14), indicate that the occurrence of the determiner IV with modifying adjectives is unambiguously a specific marker, the context presented in (16) offers an exceptional context.

(16) *Ogambire omuntu (o)mukuru ebibi ebi abandi barikukora.*

O-gamb-ir-e o-mu-ntu o-mu-kuru e-bi-bi e-bi a-ba-ndi
 2SG-tell-APPL-FV IV-1-person IV-1-old IV-8-bad IV-8.REL IV-2-other

ba-ri-ku-kor-a

2-COP-INF-do-FV

‘Report to an/the mature person the bad things others are doing.’

The adjective **mukuru** in (16) takes an optional IV. When the IV is not present, the head noun is interpreted most probably with indefinite and non-specific readings. The presence of the IV on the adjective **omukuru** may not license a definite reading to the head noun, if not interpreted in the right discourse-pragmatic context, as already indicated. In addition, whereas the IV in examples, such as (11), (12b) and (14), is associated with specificity meaning, the context of (16) indicates that the presence of the IV on the modifying adjective is mainly for contrastive reasons, and hence, does not necessarily signal that the speaker has a particular mature person in mind. Given the context in (16), the IV on the adjective is purposely meant to alert the addressee that only a mature person should be informed. It can be any person with that attribute, and not, say, a young person.

Given the contexts examined thus far, the presence of the determiner IV in the inflectional morphology of adjectives has morpho-syntactic as well as pragmatic functions it plays. In *pro* constructions, the occurrence of the IV is interpreted with both grammatical and pragmatic roles. Pragmatically, its presence entails a referent with [+definite +specific +contrastive focus] features. In the presence of a full object referent, there are two roles the IV plays in the DP when it occurs with the adjective, namely, to mark specificity and contrastive focus. The two pragmatic meanings may be realized simultaneously, and depending on the context, the IV may at times be without the feature of specificity, as is the case in the example shown in (16). Therefore, in view of the above illustrations, the interpretation of DP referents containing adjectival modifiers in terms of definiteness and specificity on the basis of the occurrence of the IV requires appropriate contexts to be considered. In addition, the evidence given above shows that the contrastive focus feature is constant, in that the presence of the IV invariably triggers the contrastive focus meaning.

In the next section, the occurrence of the IV in negative syntactic contexts is examined. According to Morris and Kirwan (1972) and Taylor (1985), normally a noun and its modifiers lose their IV when they follow a negative verb.

(cf. section 6.2.3), the IV relates mainly to contrastive focus and specificity encoding. In other words, the speaker communicates about a particular hammer he has in mind, which is chosen from other potential hammers available in the discourse. The eliminated hammers must be smaller in size than the one singled out. In addition, if the context provides that both the speaker and hearer know about the singled out hammer, then it will receive a definite reading as well.

The evaluation of the object DP in (17a), in terms of the interpretation of (non-)specificity and (in)definiteness, can be made in comparison with corresponding forms with or without the IV on the adjective and/or the head noun. The IV occurring with the adjective in (17a) has the features [+specific +contrastive focus]. In (17b), the referent **enyundo** (hammer) has an indefiniteness feature. At the same time, it is non-specific due to the non-occurrence of the IV on the adjective (cf. section 4.3.1 for related discussion involving bare object nouns), and due to the fact that the verb is in the negative. Hence, the speaker does not intend to focus the hearer's attention on any particular hammer. The occurrence of the IV on the head noun, and not the modifying adjective in (17c) is an instantiation of [-specific -contrastive focus] rendering on the head noun. Hence, the IV of the head noun does not contribute to the definiteness, specificity or even contrastive interpretation of the head noun. In other words, there is no particular hammer referred to. However, the presence of the IV on the noun contributes the feature of emphasis to the lexical head. Concerning the interpretation of (17d), the referent receives emphasis due to the presence of the IV on the head noun, while the occurrence of the IV on the adjective entails a particular big hammer. In addition, the IV contributes the feature of contrastive focus to the lexical head. The interpretation of the IV of the adjective in *pro* constructions in a negative construction is similar to that which obtains in a positive construction. An object DP modified by an adjective, following a negative verb exhibits the following features summarized in table 15.

Non-occurrence of IV of lexical head	(non-)occurrence of IV of modifying adjective	Semantico-pragmatic reading
N without IV	Adj with IV	+/-definite, +specific +contrastive focus
N without IV	Adj without IV	-definite -specific -contrastive focus
N with IV	Adj without IV	-definite -specific -contrastive focus +emphasis
N with IV	Adj with IV	+/-definite +specific +contrastive focus +emphasis
<i>pro</i> head	Adj with compulsory IV	+definite +specific +contrastive focus
<i>pro</i> head	Adj with no IV	+definite +specific

Table 15: Semantico-pragmatic interpretations associated with the (non-)occurrence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of a modifying adjective in negative constructions

The presence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of the adjective does not exhibit an inherent feature of definiteness, but specificity and contrastive focus features, while the IV of the head noun is associated with emphasis. The next section investigates the co-occurrence of an adjective and demonstrative in terms of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in the nominal domain.

6.2.5 Co-occurrence of the adjective and the demonstrative

The speaker has an obligation of assisting the hearer to arrive at the intended meaning in the communicative process. Hence, when the speaker includes a demonstrative in the nominal domain, its role is to point to the referent that the hearer can identify. In chapter 5, it was illustrated that demonstratives are inherently definite and specific. Therefore, nouns modified by demonstratives are necessarily definite and specific. Since the demonstrative is already specified for the [+definite +specific] features, the concern for this section are the interpretations the head noun receives as a result of the (non-)occurrence of the determiner IV with the adjective and/or the head noun.

If an adjective without an IV co-occurs with a demonstrative in the postnominal area, the adjective typically precedes the demonstrative (18e). When the IV is used with the adjective, the ordering of the demonstrative with the adjective in relation to the head noun is flexible (cf.

examples (18a-f). The modifiers assume varying positions relative to the head noun. As a result of different word orders in the nominal domain, and (non-)occurrence of the IV, the head noun receives different interpretations, as discussed below.

(18) a. *Ninkunda eki kiteeteyi kirungi*⁶⁹.

Ni-n-kund-a *a-ki-∅* *ki-teeteyi* *ki-rungi*
 PROG-1SG-like-FV DEMrt-7-PROX 7-dress 7-beautiful
 ‘I like this beautiful dress.’

b. *Ninkunda ekiteeteyi eki ekirungi.*

Ni-n-kund-a *e-ki-teeteyi* *a-ki-∅* *e-ki-rungi*
 PROG-1SG-like-FV IV-7-dress DEMrt-7-PROX IV-7-beautiful
 ‘I like the dress this that is beautiful.’

c. *Ninkunda eki ekiteeteyi ekirungi.*

Ni-n-kund-a *a-ki-∅* *e-ki-teeteyi* *e-ki-rungi*
 PROG-1SG -like-FV DEMrt-7-PROX IV-7-dress IV-7-beautiful
 ‘I like this dress that is beautiful.’

d. *Ninkunda ekiteeteyi ekirungi eki.*

Ni-n-kund-a *e-ki-teeteyi* *e-ki-rungi* *a-ki-∅*
 PROG-1SG-like-FV IV-7-dress IV-7-beautiful DEMrt-7-PROX
 ‘I like the dress which is beautiful, this particular one.’

e. *Ninkunda ekiteeteyi kirungi eki.*

Ni-n-kund-a *e-ki-teeteyi* *ki-rungi* *a-ki-∅*
 PROG-1SG-like-FV IV-7-dress 7-beautiful DEMrt-7-PROX
 ‘I like the beautiful dress, this one.’

f. (i) *Ninkunda eki ekirungi.*

Ni-n-kund-a *a-ki-∅* *e-ki-rungi*
 PROG-1SG-like-FV DEMrt-7-PROX IV-7-beautiful
 ‘I like this one, which is beautiful.’

⁶⁹ There are several modifier co-occurrences and permutations, and all cannot be tested in the present study.

(ii). *Ninkunda ekirungi eki.*

Ni-n-kund-a e-ki-rungi a-ki-Ø

PROG-1SG-like-FV IV-7-beautiful DEMrt-7-PROX

‘I like the one which is beautiful, this one.’

The sentences given in (18a-d) above show different positions assumed by the adjective and the demonstrative in relation to the head noun. In (18a), the demonstrative appears preceding the head noun. The sentences (18b-c) indicate the occurrence of the demonstrative in the postnominal position, immediately following the head. In (18d-e), the demonstrative appears after the adjective. The sentences given in (18f (i-ii)) illustrate the occurrence of the *pro* category as head of the NP.

The sentence in (18a) illustrates the non-occurrence of the IV on the head noun, as well as the adjective. The presence of the demonstrative, as discussed in chapter five (section 5.2.4), signals that the speaker has a specific and identifiable entity about with (s)he is communicating. In the context of (18b), the object head noun following a positive verb must possess an IV as a grammatical requirement, and the adjective appears with an optional IV. The presence of the IV on the adjective **e-kirungi** (the beautiful one) has an extra pragmatic role of contrasting the beautiful dress with other dresses in addition to rendering the head noun with an additional specificity meaning. Thus, the utterance in (18b) establishes that there is one particular identifiable dress that is among other situationally identifiable dresses. The context further entails that the other dresses are not as beautiful as the one selected.

Recall from section 5.2.3.3 that the occurrence of a prenominal demonstrative does not warrant compulsory omission of the IV from the head noun. So, the head noun in (18c) is allowed to take an IV. With regard to the interpretation of the referent, it is a particular identifiable beautiful dress selected from other not so beautiful identifiable dresses. Attaching the IV on the head noun preceded by a demonstrative and having another IV on the adjective, signals a contrast in dresses bearing different attributes. Hence, the head noun receives an additional pragmatic reading of specificity, as well as emphasis as a result of the presence of the IV on the head noun. Furthermore, emphasis is encoded on the head noun when the demonstrative comes in the final position, as shown in (18d), i.e., emphasizing one particular identifiable beautiful dress from

other dresses which, in the speaker's opinion, are not as beautiful as the one selected. The speaker pauses before the demonstrative that comes last. The prosodic pause can be interpreted as adding an element of emphasis to the head noun. As for the reading of the object noun in (18e), there is no contrast made since the adjective lacks the IV. Hence, utterance (18e) means that there is only one particular and identifiable beautiful dress. The interpretation arrived at in (18e) is similar to the interpretation obtained in (18a). Canonically, when a demonstrative co-occurs with an adjective, the demonstrative precedes the adjective (cf. Taylor, 1985: 55)⁷⁰. Therefore, as observed in (18d) and (18e), the demonstrative appearing after the adjective is uttered after a prosodic pause, which adds an element of emphasis to the lexical head.

Sentences (i) and (ii) of (18f) illustrate the co-occurrence of the adjective and demonstrative in an NP with a phonetically null head. The demonstrative can precede the adjective, as in the case of (18f(i)). The demonstrative may also appear after the adjective, as in (ii) of (18f). Regardless of the position of the demonstrative in relation to the adjective, the adjective must occur with an IV, as long as there is no overt lexical head noun. The implicit head noun in (i) and (ii) of (18f) receives definite encoding from the demonstrative. Additionally, as argued above, the non-overt noun is definite, in that the head noun, being implicit, requires that it has been mentioned previously, or at least there is an assumption of shared knowledge between the interlocutors.

Section 6.2 was concerned with (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity interpretations stemming from the (non-)occurrence of the IV with attributive adjectives in Runyankore-Rukiga. Definiteness encoding in the nominal domain containing an adjective is mainly derived from the pragmatic context, since the adjective bears no inherent semantic feature of definiteness. The occurrence of the IV on the adjective does not necessarily lead to definite encoding on the head noun without evoking an appropriate discourse-pragmatic context. In addition, when the IV is present in the inflectional morphology of the adjective headed by a *pro* category, it must be linked to an appropriate context for the meaning. Moreover, it has been observed that it mostly occurs as an anaphoric definite marker, linked to an antecedent which is traceable in the previous discourse. Furthermore, the use of an obligatory IV of an adjective within an NP with a *pro* head, further indicates that the head noun must be familiar, from the linguistic or extra-linguistic setting. Hence, it is not the case that the IV as an inflectional morphological element has an

⁷⁰ However, Taylor (1985:55) observes that the ordering of modifiers in the nominal domain is not rigid.

inherent feature of definiteness. Nonetheless, given the empirical data provided, the IV that manifests in the inflectional morphology of the adjective is an instantiation of the pragmatic encoding of information structure, particularly of contrastive focus, and of the realization of specificity. The data analyzed further provides evidence for postulating information structure encoding in the left peripheral of other phrasal categories (other than the clausal domain) as indicated by evidence from the analysis of adjectival phrases.

6.3 Numerals

6.3.1 Introduction

Numerals occur in the DP as either modifiers or as nominal heads. As nominal modifiers, they are similar to adjectives in terms of having an unspecified semantic feature of (in)definiteness. Numerals are quantificational, and therefore incompatible with mass and abstract nouns. Semantically, unique entities such as **okwezi** (moon) and **eizooba** (sun) do not take numerals, since their sets comprise singletons.

For purposes of the current study, only simple numerals 1-9 as modifiers are examined. These numerals directly modify nouns like other modifiers, such as adjectives. The structure of numeral words from 11 is complex, and gets more complicated as one goes higher (see Taylor 1985: 182 for a list of examples of numerals in Runyankore-Rukiga). Due to the complexity and internal peculiarities of numeral words above 10, a different analysis altogether may be required. Therefore, this study considers only simple numerals (1-9) for purposes of illustrating (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity properties stemming from the presence of a numeral in the nominal domain. The numerals analyzed here (1-9) are divided into two categories, based on their morphological distinctiveness, namely, 1-5, and 6-9. To begin with is the category with numerals 1 to 5.

6.3.2 The morpho-syntax of numerals 1-5

The numeral words for the cardinal numbers 1-5 are given in (19). When these numerals occur as modifiers, they take an inflectional prefix, agreeing with the head noun, like most other nominal modifiers.

(19)	1	e ⁷¹⁷² -mwe	‘one’
	2	i-biri	‘two’
	3	i-shatu	‘three’
	4	i-na	‘four’
	5	i-taano	‘five’

The table below shows the morphology of numerals 1-5 as modifiers, for noun classes 1-18.

Noun class	Example noun	Nominal agreement				
		1	2	3	4	5
1 -mu-	o-mu-ntu (person)	o-mwe	-	-	-	-
2 -ba-	a-ba-ntu (people)	-	ba-biri	ba-shatu	ba-na	ba-taano
3 -mu-	o-mu-ti (tree)	gu-mwe				
4 -mi-	e-mi-ti (trees)	-	e-biri	e-shatu	e-na	e-taano
5 -ri-/i-	e-ri-ino (tooth)	ri-mwe	-	-	-	-
6 -ma-	a-ma-ino (teeth)	-	a-biri	a-shatu	a-na	a-taano
7 -ki-	e-ki-tabo (book)	ki-mwe	-	-	-	-
8 -bi-	e-bi-tabo (books)	-	bi-biri	bi-shatu	bi-na	bi-taano
9 -n-	e-n-ju (house)	e-mwe	-	-	-	-
10 -n-	e-n-ju (houses)	-	i-biri	i-shatu	i-na	i-taano
11 -ru-	o-ru-share (calabash)	ru-mwe	-	-	-	-
12 -ka-	a-ka-tare (market)	ka-mwe	-	-	-	-
13 -tu-	o-tu-ju (hut)	-	tu-biri	tu-shatu	tu-na	tu-taano
14 -bu-	o-bu-ju (huts)	-	bu-biri	bu-shatu	bu-na	bu-taano
15 -ku-	o-ku-guru (leg)	ku-mwe	-	-	-	-
16 -ha-	a-ha-ntu (place)	ha-mwe	ha-biri	ha-shatu	ha-na	ha-taano
17 -ku-	-	-	-	-	-	-
18 -mu-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 16: The morphology of numerals 1-5

⁷¹ The initial morpheme of numerals 1-5 resembles an IV. This study does not treat it as an IV morpheme.

⁷² The initial morpheme of numerals is obligatory when numerals appear with no head noun; with no inflectional morphological information.

Table 16 shows that numerals from 1 to 5 exhibit agreement morphology. However, all the singular noun classes show adjectival agreement properties in terms of nominal agreement, while the plural noun classes exhibit irregularities. Nouns in classes 4, 6, and 10 are exceptional, because they do not show the adjectival inflectional properties of forming a homogenous class with their head nouns. Compare the agreement patterns for the nouns modified by an adjective and a numeral in the illustrations provided in (20a-d). Note that the locative noun class 16 takes the numeral in the sense of quantifying different places, i.e. ‘**ahantu**’ as exemplified in (21):

(20) a. ***ebimuri bishatu bihango***

e-bi-muri bi-shatu bi-hango
 IV-8-flower 8-three 8-big
 ‘three big flowers’

b. ***emiti eshatu mihango***

e-mi-ti e-shatu mi-hango
 IV-3-tree 3-three 3-big
 ‘three big trees’

c. ***amahuri abiri mahango***

a-ma-huri a-biri ma-hango
 IV-6-egg 6-two 6-big
 ‘two big eggs’

d. ***enkoko ibiri mpango***

e-n-koko i-biri n-hango
 IV-10-chicken 10-two 10-big
 ‘two big chickens’

(21) ***Twayemerera ahantu habiri.***

Tu-a-emerer-a a-ha-ntu ha-biri
 1PL-PASTim-stop-FV IV-16-place 16-two
 ‘We stopped at two points/places.’

In the nominal domain, a numeral canonically follows the noun it modifies, and may precede it for laying emphasis on the head noun. If the numeral precedes the noun, it allows an optional IV:

(22) a. ***obuta bubiri****o-bu-ta bu-biri*

IV-14-arrow 14-two

‘two arrows’

b. ***(*o*)bubiri obuta***o-bu-biri o-bu-ta*

IV-14-two IV-14-arrow

‘the two (small) arrows’

Numerals 1-5 can occur as derived nouns and thus are capable of occurring as lexical heads in the nominal domain, allowing modifiers. When these numerals assume the role of nominal heads, they take agreement morphemes for classes 9 and 10, as shown in (23).

(23) ***Tuzaane itaano zonka.****Tu-zaan-e Ø -itaano zi-o-nka*

1PL-play-FV 10-five 10-QUANTrt-only

‘Let us play only fives’

The numerals 1-5 have the ability to stand alone with a phonologically null head noun, as shown in (24).

(24) **(*A*)babiri baze aha (a)bashatu baze hari.***(A)-ba-biri ba-z-e a-ha- a-ba-shatu ba-z-e ha-ri*

IV-2-two 2-go-FV IV-16-here IV-2-three 2-go-FV 16-there

‘The two should come here and the three should go there.’

In the sentence provided in (24), it is indicated that the IV is optional when the NP head noun is represented by a *pro*. The interpretation of the optional occurrence of the IV with numerals headed by a *pro* category is analysed in 6.3.4 below.

6.3.3 The morpho-syntax of numerals 6-9

The numerals 6 through 9 (cf. 25a (i)), as modifiers, do not behave like the numerals 1-5, in that the numerals from 6-9 do not form agreement with the head noun they modify (cf. 25a(ii)). Similarly to the numerals 1-5, these numerals can as well function as semantic heads in the DP. In addition to permitting an IV, a feature that numerals 1 to 5 also possess, the numerals 6-9 have nominal agreement prefixes *mu/mi*, which places them into noun classes 3 and 4, for singular and plural respectively, as demonstrated in (25b)). Furthermore, as nouns, they allow modifiers, such as another numeral or a quantifier, as illustrated in (26a-b).

(25) a.(i) 6- *mu-kaaga* ‘six’

7- *mu-shanju* ‘seven’

8- *mu-naana* ‘eight’

9- *mwenda* ‘nine’

(ii) *abantu mukaaga* ‘six people’

amahuri mushanju ‘seven eggs’

ebitabo munaana ‘eight books’

ente mwenda ‘nine cows’

b. Singular numeral

6- *o-mu-kaaga* (a/the) six

7- *o-mu-shanju* (a/the) seven

8- *o-mu-naaga* (an/the) eight

9- *o-mu-enda* (a/the) nine

plural numeral

e-mi-kaaga ‘sixes’

e-mi-shanju ‘sevens’

e-mi-naana ‘eights’

e-mi-enda ‘nines’

(26) a. ***omukaaga gumwe gwonka***

o-mu-kaaga gu-mwe gu-o-nka

IV-3-six 3-one 3-QUANTrt-only

‘only one six’

b. ***emyenda yoona ikumi***

E-mi-enda i-o-na ikumi

IV-4-nine 4-QUANTrt-all ten

‘all the ten nines’

The numerals 6 through 9 are different from the numerals 1 to 5, and numerals from 10 and above because they possess a nominal prefix, as shown in (25b). The **-mu-** morpheme enables them to derive from nominal modifiers into the category of lexical nouns (cf. (25a (i-ii))). The numerals 1 to 5 do not exhibit this property. The next subsection examines (in)definite and (non-)specific interpretations of a noun modified by numerals.

6.3.4 (In)definiteness and (non-)specificity in DPs containing numeral modifiers

The numerals in Runyankore-Rukiga, have a neutral semantic feature of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity. As argued out for adjectives in section 6.2, the definiteness feature for a noun modified by a numeral is dependent on discourse-pragmatic settings. The examples in (27a-c) illustrate the (non-)occurrence of the IV with numerals:

(27) a. ***Omwishiki yaagura ebimuri (*e)bibiri***

*O-mu-ishiki a-aa-gur-a ebimuri (*e)-bi-biri*
 IV-1-girl 1.3SG-PASTim-buy-FV IV-8-flowers IV-8-two
 ‘A/the girl has bought (the) two flowers.’

b. ***Omwishiki yaagura (*e)bibiri***

*O-mu-ishiki a-aa-gur-a (*e)-bi-biri*
 IV-1-girl 1.3SG-PASTim-buy-FV IV-8-two
 ‘A/the girl has bought the two.’

c. ***Omwishiki yaagura ebyo (e)bimuri (e)bibiri***

O-mu-ishiki a-aa-gur-a a-bi-o (e)-bi-muri (e)-bi-biri
 IV-1-girl 1.3SG-PASTim-buy-FV DEMrt-8-MEDIAL IV-8-flowers IV-8-two
 ‘A/the girl has bought those (specific) two flowers.’

d. ***Omwishiki yaagura ebimuri ebyo (e)bibiri***

O-mu-ishiki a-aa-gur-a e-bi-muri a-bi-o (e)-bi-biri
 IV-1-girl 1.3SG-PASTim-buy-FV IV-8-flowers DEMrt-8-MEDIAL IV-8-two
 ‘A/the girl has bought those (specific) two flowers.’

e. ***Omwishiki yaagura ebimuri (e)bibiri ebyo***

O-mu-ishiki a-aa-gur-a e-bi-muri (e)-bi-biri a-bi-o

IV-1-girl 1.3SG-PASTim-buy-FV IV-8-flowers IV-8-two DEMrt-8-MEDIAL
 ‘(A/the) girl has bought those specific two flowers.’

f. *Omwishiki yaagura (e)bibiri ebyo*

O-mu-ishiki a-aa-gur-a (e)-bi-biri a-bi-o
 IV-1-girl 1.3SG-PASTim-buy-FV IV-8-two DEMrt-8-MEDIAL
 ‘(A/the) girl has bought those two (flowers).’

As shown in (27a), it is impermissible for the numeral to take an IV when the numeral appears with a full lexical head. It is unacceptable too for the numeral to appear with an IV when it occurs in an NP headed by an empty head category, as indicated in (27b) without any other modifier present. In the case of (27c), the demonstrative precedes the numeral, while in (27d), the demonstrative follows the head noun but precedes the numeral. The illustration in (27d) reads unnaturally but sounds acceptable. With regard to the structure presented in (27c), the presence of the demonstrative in the nominal domain containing a numeral makes it possible for both the head noun and the numeral to take an optional IV. On the other hand, it appears that if the head noun appears with no IV, the numeral should also appear without one. In (27e), the head noun obligatorily takes an IV, because it appears immediately after a positive verb. The order of categories in (27e) is more acceptable than the structures presented in (27c-d), where the demonstrative follows the numeral that takes an IV. In (27f), without a lexical head, and with the presence of a demonstrative, and provided the demonstrative follows the numeral, the numeral can take an IV. Note that all the instances, exemplified above, are grammatical without the IV occurring with the numeral.

Concerning the pragmatic inferences with respect to the presence of the IV in the grammatical strings exemplified in (27c-f), the presence of the optional IV with numerals denotes the features of contrastive focus and emphasis. The presence of the demonstrative is associated with the definite and specific readings.

Consider next, the discourse in the illustration given in (28a).

(28) a. *Abashaija bataano bashangirwe nibaiba esente omu mashiini ya ATM eya banka ya Stanbic. Abataano aba nikigambwa ngu n'enzaarwa za Burugeeriya.*

A-ba-shaija ba-taano ba-shang-ir-w-e ni-ba-ib-a e-sente o-mu
IV-2-men 2-five 2-find-APPL-PASS-FV PROG-2-steal-FV IV-money IV-18.in

Ø- mashiini i-a ATM e-i-a Ø-banka i-a Stanbic. A-ba-taano
maschine 9-GEN 9.ATM IV-9-GEN 9-bank 9-GEN Stanbic.PN IV-2-five

(a-ba-Ø) ni-ki-gamb-w-a ngu ni e-n-zaarwa zi-a Burugeeriya
DEMrt-2- PROX PROG-7-say-PASS-FV that COP IV-9-birth 10-GEN Bulgaria.PN
'Five men were found stealing money from a Stanbic bank ATM machine. The five men are said to be Bulgarians.'

b. **Abashaija abataano*

A-ba-shaija a-ba-taano
IV-2-man IV-2-man
'the five men'

In Runyankore-Rukiga, as illustrated in (27a) and (28b), the IV may not appear on the modifying numeral when the lexical head is present, without the presence of another modifier, such as the demonstrative. Otherwise, the construction is rendered ungrammatical. Regarding the interpretation of the utterance in (28a), the head noun **abashaija** (men) is mentioned in the first part of the utterance. The second sentence contains the modifier **abataano** (the five), meaning that the reader or hearer can track the referent from the previous discourse. The numeral in the second part of the discourse in (28a) can appear without a demonstrative. However, in natural discourse, when the numeral occurs with an IV for subsequent mention of an already introduced noun, it is normally followed by another modifier, mostly a demonstrative. As demonstrated in (28a), the demonstrative has an anaphoric role of retrieving the referent of the previously established antecedent **abashaija** (men). Yet, the numeral alone with an IV would be sufficient for the same interpretation. However, the presence of the IV, in addition, realizes an additional feature of specificity. Given both pragmatic and morpho-syntactic factors, the referent **abashaija** (men) has [+definite +specific] features. Recall that the numeral, whether modifying a subject or object referent does not require a compulsory IV in the absence of a full head noun,

and therefore, the IV on the numeral in (28a) can be dropped. In the absence of the IV, the presence of the demonstrative provides the feature of specificity to the ellipsed head noun. The optionality property of the IV in the inflectional morphology of the numeral, in case the head noun is omitted, may explain why the numeral is most times accompanied by another modifier. Note that the feature of contrastive focus in the context exemplified in (28a) is not readily available. This is an indication that, unlike for the adjective (cf. 6.2), possessive (section 6.4) and clausal, as well as nominal relatives (discussed in the next chapter), the feature of contrastive focus is not intrinsically linked to the IV when it occurs in the inflectional morphology of numerals.

Further illustration for the morpho-syntactic and discourse-pragmatic realization of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity involving numerals follows in (29).

(29) a. ***Mbair nyine obume buna, bubiri bwabura. Obubiri obu bubaire nibwera.***

n-ba-ire *n-ine* *o-bu-me* *bu-na. Bu-biri bu-aa-bura*
1SG-be- PASThst 1SG-have IV-14-rabbits 4-four. 14-two 14-PAST-lose-FV

O-bu-biri o-bu *bu-ba-ire* *ni-bu-era*
IV-14-two DEMrt-14 14-be-STAT COP-14-white

‘I had four rabbits. Two disappeared. These two were white.’

b. ***Mbair nyine obume buna, bubiri bwabura. Bubiri *(o)bubuzire bubaire nibwera.***

n-ba-ire *n-ine* *o-bu-me* *bu-na. Bu-biri bu-a-bura.*
1SG-be-PAST 1SG-have IV-14-rabbits 14-four. 14-two 14-PRES-lose-FV

*Bu-biri *(o)-bu-buz-ire* *bu-ba-ire* *ni-bu-era*
14-two IV-14.REL-lose-PASThst 14-be-STAT COP-14-white

‘I had four rabbits. Two disappeared. The two which disappeared were white.’

In the first clause of (29a), the head noun is mentioned for the first time, and therefore, it is new in the discourse, and new to the hearer. In the second clause, the speaker talks about two rabbits. Since the clause immediately follows the first clause in which four rabbits are mentioned, the hearer will relate the two rabbits to the four mentioned previously. Following the inclusiveness concept (cf. Lyons, 1999), the two rabbits are definite. In the third clause, the numeral takes an

IV, and it is followed by a demonstrative. Without an accompanying modifier, the meaning seems incomplete. The numeral is often followed by either a demonstrative or a relative.

It was argued above that the lack of an overt head noun does not warrant a compulsory occurrence of an IV on the numeral. Therefore, the occurrence of the IV on the numeral in the third clause of the utterance in (29b) can be omitted. The omission of the IV yields the interpretation that the speaker does not have a particular referent in mind. However, there is more information that is provided in the clausal relative, about the already introduced referent, in which case, the referent still receives a specific reading inferred from the additional content provided in the clausal relative which appears with an obligatory IV. (cf. section 7.3.4 for specificity analysis of clausal relatives).

When the numeral takes no IV, without the head noun or without any other modifier(s) available, it implies that the speaker does not intend to communicate about any particular referent. Hence, without the head noun and without any additional descriptive content, or any other form of identification, the referent in the second part of the utterance in (30a) has definite and non-specific readings.

(30) a. ***Mbair nyine obume buna; bubiri bubuzire.***

N-ba-ire *n-ine* *o-bu-me* *bu-na.* *bu-biri* *bu-buz-ire*
 1SG-be-PASThst 1SG-have IV-14-rabbit 14-four 14-two 14-lose-PASThst
 ‘I had four rabbits; two disappeared.’

b. ***Mbair nyine obume buna; (*o)bubiri bubuzire.***

N-ba-ire *n-ine* *o-bu-me* *bu-na.* *(*o)-bu-biri* *bu-buz-ire*
 1SG-BE-PASThst 1SG -have IV-14-rabbit 14-four 14-two 14-lose-PASThst
 ‘I had four rabbits; two disappeared.’

In the second clause in (30a), although the referent has a non-specific reading, it is definite by the inclusiveness factor. However, the identity of the two missing rabbits is beside the point for the on-going communication. Note that the second clause in (30b) is ungrammatical. The ungrammaticality of the construction arises from the fact that no further information about the head noun is provided, which is expected when the numeral occurs with an IV in an NP with a *pro* head. Therefore, when no more information or any other form of identification is required in

the nominal domain for the subsequent mention of a referent, the IV should not be attached to the numeral.

The illustrations in (31a-c) involve a noun of class 10, which has exceptional properties with regard to the (non-)occurrence of the IV with the numeral, in that there is no clear-cut distinction between the morphological IV and the noun agreement prefix.

(31) a. ***Omushaija yaagura ente ina. Ezi nte ina niza bihogo.***

O-mu-shaija a-aa-gur-a e-n-te i-na
 IV-1-man 1.3SG- buy-PASTim-FV IV-10-cows 10-four.
A-zi-Ø n-te i-na ni-za bihogo
 DEMrt-10-PROX 10-cows 10-four COP-are.10 dark.brown
 ‘A/the man has bought four cows. These four cows are dark brown.’

b. ***Ina ezi niza bihogo.***

i-na a-zi-Ø ni-za bihogo
 10-four DEMrt-10-PROX COP-are.10 dark.brown
 ‘These four are dark brown.’

c. ***?Omushaija yaagura ente ina. Ina niza bihogo.***

O-mu-shaija a-aa-gur-a e-n-te i-na
 IV-1-man 1.3SG-buy-PASTim-FV IV-10-cows 10-four.

i-na ni-za bihogo
 10-four COP-are.10 dark.brown
 ‘?A/the man has bought four cows. Four cows are dark brown.’

As already pointed out in section 6.3.2, any numeral from 2 to 5 occurring with a head noun which belongs to class 4, 6 and 10 does not show the characteristic morphological agreement properties exhibited by adjectives. Therefore, as indicated in (31a) **ina** (four), as a numeral, does not change even when it occurs as a modifier for a class 10 noun. The head noun does not appear to share its morphological properties with the numeral in the noun class in question. Regarding the semantic features of (in)definiteness, the head noun in the first sentence of (31a) is ambiguous between a definite and indefinite reading. In addition, the head noun is unspecified for the (non-)specificity feature as well. However, in the second sentence, the features [+definite +specific] are specified due to the presence of the demonstrative. It is common for the numeral to

occur with a demonstrative rather than with a lexical head noun for subsequent mention of a given noun.

For definiteness or specificity reading, the numeral in a clause that follows the discourse in which the referent had been first mentioned must be part of the whole set of entities in the preceding discourse. Otherwise, the referent appears disconnected from its antecedent. As (31c) demonstrates, the numeral modifier occurring with an NP with a *pro* head appears to be independent of the antecedent in the first sentence. Therefore, if subsequent reference is to be made to all members in a given set mentioned in the previous discourse, an inclusive quantifier or a demonstrative may be required in addition to the numeral modifier, as illustrated in (32) with an inclusive modifier, particularly for nouns in classes 4, 6 and 10.

(32) ***Omukazi yaagura ebikopo bina. Byona bina naabyozya.***

O-mu-kazi i-aa-gur-a e-bi-kopo bi-na.

IV-1-man 1.3SG-buy-FV IV-8-cup 8-four.

bi-o-na bi-na n-aa-bi-ozy-a

8-QUANTrt-all 8-four 1SG-PASTim-8-wash-FV

‘A/the woman has bought four cups. All the four cups, I have washed them.’

Consider also the examples in (33a-b) involving the peculiarities of the numeral **-mwe** (one) exemplified with a class 5 noun. Note that **-mwe** is polysemic, exhibiting numeral as well as quantifier meaning. As a quantifier, it has a semantic property of indefiniteness (cf. section 8.2.1).

(33) a. ***Eihuri rimwe ryatikire***

e-i-huri ri-mwe ri-atik-ire

IV-5-egg 5-one 5-break-STAT

‘One egg is broken.’

b. ***Eihuri erimwe ryatikire***

e-i-huri e-ri-mwe ri-atik-ire

IV-5-egg IV-5-one 5-break-STAT

‘One of the eggs is broken.’

c. (e)*rimwe ryatikire**e-ri-mwe ri-atik-ire*

IV-5-one 5-break-STAT

‘One of the eggs is broken.’

The illustrations in (33a-b) show that the numeral ‘one’ is particularly unique, because it freely allows an optional IV, apart from cases involving nouns in class 9, where the initial morpheme (e-) of the numeral modifier doubles as an IV and the nominal agreement marker. In the case of nouns in class 9, the IV coalesces with the class agreement marker, so that, on the surface, one morpheme emerges, representing two morphemes (cf. Taylor, 1985). As for (33a), the IV on the numeral is absent and the head noun **eihuri** (egg) is ambiguous between (in)definite and (non-)specific reading. In (33b), the presence of the IV implies that the speaker has a specific egg in mind that is broken, which may or may not be identifiable to the speaker. As regards the numeral **-mwe** (one) appearing with an NP with a *pro* head (33c), the IV is optional, like with other numerals. The presence of the IV is associated with specificity and contrastive focus. With or without an IV, the implicit head noun is definite, in that its identifiability is presupposed.

In (34) below, the second category of cardinal numbers (6-9) and their (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity properties are exemplified. Their (in)definite and (non-)specific properties, as modifiers, do not differ from those in the category of 1-5. As already stated, the numerals from 6-9 have properties of modifiers as well as full nominal heads. In the following illustration, numerals 6-9 as modifying expressions are examined.

(34) *Mbair nyine obume ikumi. Haaburaho mukaaga. Omukaaga obwo bubaire nibwera.**n-ba-ire n-ine o-bu-me ikumi. Ha-a-bur-a-ho*

1SG-be-PAST 1SG-have IV-14-rabbit 14.ten. EXPLET-PAST-lose-FV-PRTV

mukaaga. O-mukaaga a-bu-Ø bu-ba-ire ni-bu-era

six IV-six DEMrt-14-PROX 14-be-STAT COP-14-white

‘I had ten rabbits. Six disappeared. The six which disappeared were white.’

It was observed that numerals from 1 to 5 take an optional IV. The numerals from 6 to 9 also take an optional IV, which is associated with the specificity feature. The first sentence in (34) introduces the referent **obume** (rabbits), in which the speaker does not expect the hearer to

identify them. In the second sentence, the hearer knows the referent, because the six rabbits are part of the ten which are talked about in the introductory sentence. Moreover, the verb contains an enclitic **-ho** for partitive marking, which reflects the fact that the six rabbits are part of the ten mentioned previously. In the third sentence of the utterance in (34), the speaker provides further information about the six rabbits. Since most often when the numeral occurs with no head noun it is followed by a demonstrative, it retrieves the referent that is discourse-old. Therefore, the IV on the numeral provides an added feature of specificity. In addition, as argued for adjectives when headed by a *pro* category, the IV contributes anaphoric meaning, supported by the fact that the set of referents mentioned in the subsequent discourses is part of the set of referents given in the initial utterance.

The IV attached to an adjective has been analysed to mark contrastive focus. However, the IV attached to numerals does not always realize a contrastive focus reading. In certain contexts, the IV does not signal that the modified noun has been selected from other available entities. However, the feature of contrastive focus readily obtains when the numeral is connected to the head noun of the NP complement by the genitive **a**, to which an appropriate agreement affix, and an optional IV can be attached (the genitive is discussed in the next section). Consider the illustrations in (35-a-c):

(35) a. ***omuti (o)gwa kabiri***

o-mu-ti (o)-gu-a ka-biri
 IV-1-tree IV-3-GEN 12-two
 ‘a/the second tree’

b. ***eitaagi (e)rya kabiri***

e-i-taagi (e)-ri-a ka-biri
 IV-5-leaf IV-5-GEN 12-two
 a/the second branch’

c. ***orutindo (o)rwa kataano***

o-ru-tindo (o)-ru-a ka-taano
 IV-11-bridge IV-11-GEN 12-five
 ‘a/the fifth bridge’

Notice from the illustrations in (35a-c) that the genitive agrees with the matrix noun. However the numerals invariably take the **ka-** agreement prefix for class 12, and normally, the head is a singular count noun. The morphological make-up of such numerals differs from that of numerals analyzed above. Therefore, it is plausible to argue that the numerals exemplified in (35a-c) form a different category of (genetic modifiers) from that of the numerals examined previously. Presumably, the numerals exemplified in (35a-c) are nouns of class 12. Their nominal properties are realized only if they are modifiers of other nouns, linked to the head noun by the genitive **-a**. In the context of (35a-c), the genitive morpheme takes an optional IV, which conveys the information structural meaning of contrastive focus, and specificity.

This section analysed numerals 1-9 in Runyankore-Rukiga in two sets of 1-5 and 6-9 due to their internal semantic and morphological differences. The numerals 1-9 generally function as nouns or modifiers. As modifiers, they exhibit, in specific environments, specificity and contrastive focus readings, with an optional IV attached. Unlike adjectives, their readings, in terms of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity, are often supported by other modifiers, such as the demonstrative, and clausal relatives. For instance, it has been noted that the numeral often takes an IV only if the head noun is implicit, or when a full lexical head is in addition modified by, for example, a demonstrative. On the other hand, it is shown that if all members in a set of referents mentioned previously are quantified, a demonstrative normally co-occurs with the numeral. In addition, when reference is made to some specific members of a given set, a demonstrative or clausal relative may also accompany the numeral modifier for a definite or specific reading. Hence, the illustrations considered above indicate that the numeral often co-occurs with another modifier, for the reason that it does not readily accommodate an IV, whose role is fulfilled or supported by another available modifier. The permutations exhibited by the numeral modifier in respect of the (non-)occurrence of the IV are, therefore, not exactly the same as those exhibited by adjectival modifiers.

Table 17 summarizes the syntactic contexts in which the IV occurs with numeral modifiers. The table shows the contexts in which the numeral is obligatory, when it is optional, and when it is disallowed.

Position of the numeral	IV is obligatory	IV is optional	IV is impermissible
Postnominal with lexical head	-	-	✓
Prenominal with lexical head	-	-	✓
with <i>pro</i> head	-	✓	-
Preceded by demonstrative	-	?	-
Followed by demonstrative	-	✓	-

Table 17: The occurrence of the IV with the numeral as a nominal modifier in different syntactic contexts

6.4 Possessives

6.4.1 Introduction

Researchers such as Jackendoff (1977) and Barker (1995), as reported in Alexiadou (2005), have put forward a concept of “definite spread”, which suggests that if the possessor is definite, the possession should also be definite. Lyons (1999: 24) states that in some languages such as English and Irish, the possessive renders the matrix head definite. He further points out that in Italian and Ancient Greek, possessives are compatible with both the definite and indefinite articles. Thus, they can occur with both definite and indefinite referents. In Runyankore-Rukiga, this study generally assumes that possessives are semantically neutral with regard to the (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity features. The investigation of the interpretation of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity features of the head noun in a possessive construction is based on the (non-)occurrence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of the genitive **a**. The scope of the current study does not allow a detailed account of possessive constructions in Runyankore-Rukiga. However, for purposes of discussing the (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity interpretations, their basic properties are given below.

6.4.2 Morpho-syntactic properties of possessive constructions

The possessive in Runyankore-Rukiga, as in most other Bantu languages, has the root morpheme **a** (cf. among others Morris & Kirwan, 1972; Taylor, 1985; Du Plessis & Visser, 1992; Poulos & Msimang, 1998; Petzell, 2008, Van der Wal, 2009; Van de Veld, forthcoming). This morpheme has been called by different terms such as an associative marker (see, for instance, Petzell, 2008),

a connector (cf. Van der Wal, 2009) or a connective relator (Van de Velde (to appear)). To others, it is a morpheme or just a particle (cf. Taylor, 1985). A cover term of possessive constructions is often used to refer to a range of different meanings of relation. However, generally, in Bantu languages, the morpheme **a** relates two nominal constituents in a range of meanings beyond the meaning of possession. Indeed, as Taylor (1985: 72) observes, the possessive form in Runyankore-Rukiga exhibits a wide range of applications. According to Van de Velde (to appear), the dependent clause introduced by the genitive **a** can be a noun, an adjective, even a verb form. Since the morpheme is used in different syntactic situations, I cannot demonstrate all of them in the current study. Hence, for purposes of illustrating the phenomena under study, mostly nouns depicting a possession-possessor relation are used, and therefore, these canonical terms will be preserved. The head noun is the possession, while the dependent noun, introduced by the genitive **a** is the possessor. The term genitive is adopted for the morpheme which connects the possession and the possessor constituents in a dependence relation. The whole construction is referred to by the descriptive term, i.e., the possessive construction (but see Van de Velde (forthcoming) for alternative terminology).

Two constituents, one realizing the possession, the other, realizing the possessor, are connected by the genitive **a**. Agreement is realized between the dependent constituent, that is, the possessor and the genitive **a**. Hence, when the possessor is a lexical noun, an appropriate agreeing morpheme is prefixed to the genitive morpheme (see table 19), (but see also, for instance, Taylor, 1985: 71 and Van de Velde, to appear). If the possessor is a pronoun, the genitive morpheme is part of the morphology of the pronoun. Hence, the possessive pronoun is composed of an agreeing morpheme, the genitive **a** and the pronoun stem, as shown in example (36a), and in table 18 (see also Taylor, 1985: 71, 100). If the possessor is a lexical noun (but not a proper name), the Runyankore-Rukiga writing conventions require that the genitive **a** merges with the initial vowel of the possessor noun, and an apostrophe is used to join the genitive to the possessor (cf. Taylor, 1985). This happens when the possessor noun begins with a vowel. Following the rules of vowel harmony, a corresponding vowel is then written, as exemplified in (i-ii) of (36b). For instance, when the vowel of the noun class prefix on the possessor noun is **u**, the possessive morpheme **a** coalesces with the IV of the possessor noun, which is **o-**, as in (i) of

(36b). According to Taylor (1985: 73), the possessive morpheme disappears owing to the vowel of the following noun of the possessor.

(36) a. ***orutookye rwawe***

o-ru-tookye *ru-a-we*
 IV-11-banana.plantation 11-GEN-your
 ‘your banana plantation’

b.(i) ***orutookye rw’omutungi***

o-ru-tookye *ru-a* *o-mu-tungi*
 IV-11-banana.plantation 11-GEN IV-1-wealthy.person
 ‘a/the banana plantation of a wealthy person’

(ii) ***akakira k’enjojo***

a-ka-kira *ka-a* *e-n-jojo*
 IV-12-tail 12-GEN IV-9-elephant
 ‘a (small) tail of an elephant’

The examples above depict an interface of morphology and phonology, whereby, on the surface, one cannot pronounce ***ka enjojo***. In (ii) of (36b), for instance, one vowel, which is usually the genitive, gives way for the pronunciation of the initial vowel of the dependent noun.

person	Possessive pronoun root	English gloss
1SG	-ngye	my/mine
1PL	-itu	our/ours
2SG	-we	your/yours
2PL	-nyu	your/yours
3SG	-e	his/her/hers
3PL	-bo/yo	their/theirs

Table 18: Possessive forms for grammatical persons

Noun class	Example noun	Possessive pronoun form	Morphological structure of the possessive pronoun	English gloss
1 -mu-	o-mu-baizi	(o) waitu	(o-)u-a-itu	our carpenter
2 -ba-	a-ba-baizi	(a)banyu	(a-)ba-a-nyu	your carpenters
3 -mu-	o-mu-ti	(o)gwawe	(o-)gu-a-we	your tree
4 -mi-	e-mi-ti	(e)yangye	(e-)i-a-ngye	my trees
5 -ri/i-	e-i-baare	(e)rye	(e-)ri-e	his stone
6 -ma-	a-ma-baare	(a)gaabo	(a-)gi-a-bo	their stones
7 -ki-	e-ki-muri	(e)kyangye	(e-)ki-a-ngye	my flower
8 -bi-	e-bi-muri	(e)byawe	(e-)bi-a-we	your flowers
9 -n-	e-n-koni	(e)ye	(e-)i-e	his walking stick
10 -n-	e-n-koni	(e)zaabo	(e-)zi-a-bo	their walking sticks
11 -ru-	o-ru-hu	(o)rwayo	(o-)ru-a-yo	its hide/skin
12 -ka-	a-ka-motoka	(a)kaawe	(a-)ka-a-we	your small car
13 -tu-	o-tu-motoka	(o)twangye	(o-)tu-a-ngye	(small) beautiful cars
14 -bu-	o-bu-ro	(o)bwaitu	(o-)bu-a-tu	our millet
15 -ku-	o-ku-guru	(o)kwe	(o-)ku-e	his leg
16 -ha-	a-ha-ntu	ahawe	a-ha-we	at his place
17 -ku-	-	-	-	-
18 -mu-	-	omwabo	o-mu-a-bo	inside their place (house)

Table 19: The morphology of the possessive pronoun exemplifying nouns in classes 1-18

The table in (18) shows the roots for the possessive pronouns, including both singular and plural forms. The second table (19) illustrates agreement between the genitive **a** and the possessed noun. However, note that the third person singular for non-human (as in the example given in table 19 for class 11, **oruhu rwayo**) as the possessor pronoun does not use the core possessive morpheme **-e**, as is the case with human possessors. Notice also that the locative noun class forms in table 19 are complex, involving an IV, a locative agreement marker and the genitive morpheme. The complexity of these locative forms may be due to the fact that the locative noun class prefixes rarely have ordinary nouns to which they attach. In addition, notice that the genitive **a** for nouns in classes 5 and 6 is not morphologically realized, if the third-person

possessive pronoun is the stem, involving both singular and plural forms. Furthermore, for discourse-pragmatic reasons, the possessor can occur with an optional IV, as will be discussed below. The IV of the locative pronouns is necessary as its removal renders the possessive locative pronouns ungrammatical⁷³.

Syntactically, the possessor, which is the modifier in this case, prototypically follows the possessed entity, the head noun (cf. 36a-b), introduced by the genitive **a**. This order, however, is not rigid, as the possessor can precede the possessed, as illustrated in (i-ii) of (37b). The genitive relates more to the dependent phrase than the head noun, since its purpose is to connect the syntactically dependent phrase to the head noun (the possession) (cf. Van de Velde, (to appear)). When the genitive occurs initially, it requires an obligatory IV. When the possessive pronoun (the possessor) precedes the possession, it is required to take an obligatory IV as well, as the ungrammaticality of (i-ii) in (37c) shows. Similar to the adjective, the possessive in situ can appear with an optional IV. This is exemplified in (i-ii) of (37a).

- (37) a. (i) **orutookye (o)rwanyu**
 o-ru-tookye (o)-ru-a-nyu
 IV-11-banana.plantation IV-11-GEN-your.2PL
 ‘your banana plantation’
- (ii) **embwa (e)y’omuhiigi**
 e-n-bwa (e)-i-a o-mu-hiigi
 IV-9-dog IV-9-GEN IV-1-hunter
 ‘a/the dog of a/the hunter, or ‘a hunter’s dog’
- (b) (i) **orwanyu orutookye**
 o-ru-a-nyu o-ru-tookye
 IV-11-GEN-your.2PL IV-11-banana.plantation
 ‘your banana plantation’

⁷³ In the context of a negative verb, however, the IV of the locative possessive pronouns can be omitted. For example:

Tari mwabo
Ti-a-ri mu-a-bo
 NEG-1.3SG-COP 18-GEN-theirs
 (s)he is not in theirs (their home)

(ii) *(e)y'omuhiigi embwa**(e)-i-a o-mu-hiigi e-n-bwa*

IV-9-GEN IV-1-hunter IV-9-dog

'a/the dog of a//the hunter, or 'a hunter's dog'

(c)(i) **y'omuhiigi embwa**i-a o-mu-hiigi e-n-bwa*

9-GEN IV-1-hunter IV-9-dog

'a/the dog of a//the hunter, or 'a hunter's dog'

(ii) **rwanyu orutookye**ru-a-nyu o-ru-tookye*

11-GEN-your.2PL IV-11-banana.plantation

'your banana plantation'

Possessive constructions can further be used predicatively. Whereas predicative adjectives require the obligatory omission of the IV (cf. example (ii) of (2a) in section 6.2.2), for the predicative possessives after a copula verb, the occurrence of the IV is obligatory (cf. illustration (38)). Since the current study is focused on the nominal domain, the predicative possessives will not be examined further here.

(38) *Akate akakye n'akaawe, ente empango n'eyangye.**A-ka-te a-ka-kye ni a-ka-a-we e-n-te e-n-hango*

IV-12-cow IV-12-small COP IV-12-GEN-yours IV-9-cow IV-9-big

ni e-i-a-nye

COP IV-9-GEN-mine

'The small cow is yours, and the big cow is mine.'

The genitive **a** syntactically is regarded as a preposition-like element heading the possessive phrase, often translated as the English preposition 'of'. Categorially, it can be viewed as a preposition (hence, a possessive prepositional phrase (PPP)). It exhibits some syntactic features similar to those of prepositions, such as establishing a connection between two constituents. However, unlike true prepositions such as **na** (with), the genitive exhibits agreement morphology.

ambiguity of the referent of the possessive phrase in (39) is resolved by considering the linguistic context of the immediate preceding discourse.

Consider (40a-d) as well, which illustrate the use of a possessive modifier with and without the IV.

(40) a. *Esimu y'omushomesa tarikugikwata.*

E-simu i-a o-mu-shomesa ti-a-ri-ku-gi-kwat-a

IV-phone 9-GEN IV-1-teacher NEG-1.3SG-COP-INF-9-pick-FV

‘(S)he does not pick up a/the call of a/the teacher.’

b. *Esimu ey'omushomesa tarikugikwata.*

E-simu e-i-a o-mu-shomesa ti-a-ri-ku-gi-kwat-a

IV-phone IV-9-GEN IV-1-teacher NEG-1.3SG-COP-INF-9-pick-FV

(S)he does not pick up (specifically) a/the teacher’s call.’

c. **(E)y'omushomesa esimu tarikugikwata.*

**(e)-i-a o-mu-shomesa e-simu ti-a-ri-ku-gi-kwat-a*

IV-9-GEN IV-1-teacher IV-phone NEG-1.3SG-COP-INF-9-pick-FV

‘(Specifically) the teacher’s call, (s)he does not pick it up.’

d. **(E)y'omushomesa tarikugikwata.*

**(E)-i-a o-mu-shomesa ti-a-ri-ku-gi-kwat-a*

IV-9-GEN IV-1-teacher NEG-1.3SG-COP-INF-9-pick-FV

‘(Specifically) the teacher’s, (s)he does not pick it up.’

According to the structure in (40a), the possessor appears in its canonical place, preceded by the genitive occurring without an IV. The possessed entity is ambiguous between (in)definite and (non-)specific. However, the possessor in (40b) appears with an IV, in which case, the head noun receives the specificity feature, but remains ambiguous between a definite and indefinite reading. The definiteness feature can be obtained through an appropriate pragmatic context. The possessed element, in addition to the specificity feature, receives contrastive focus reading due to the presence of the IV, as it has been observed, especially for adjectives. Thus, the occurrence of the IV with the genitive in (40b) indicates that specifically, it is the teacher’s calls that are not being answered, which leads to the assumption that ‘calls’ from other callers are being answered.

Hence, in view of the context in (40b), the IV focuses the attention of the hearer on one specific referent, assuming the availability of choices.

The possessor in (40c) precedes the head noun. Bear in mind that the IV of the genitive in that marked position is obligatory. In this study, I have argued that preposed elements are presumed to be familiar (see, for instance, section 4.3). Hence, the speaker assumes the hearer to be aware of the referent **esimu** (call), which receives definiteness and specificity features. The compulsory IV in (40c) encodes both specificity and contrastive focus features. Additionally, (40d) illustrates that when a full lexical head is presented by a phonetically null head, it is mandatory for the possessive modifier to take an IV and the head noun is assumed to be familiar. As it has been argued, for instance, for adjectives, the presence of the IV in *pro* constructions participates in definiteness marking, assuming the anaphoric role it inherited from the demonstrative (the IV is assumed to have evolved from the demonstrative (cf. section 6.1 above)). In the case of (40d), the lexically explicit noun is assumed to be understood, for instance, from a previous discourse, as demonstrated in the context given in (41). The dialogue in (41) shows that the omitted head noun is known because it has been mentioned already, and that the second sentence in S2 utterance follows from what speaker S1 said.

(41): S1: *Naaheza kugamba na Katungi aha simu.*

I have just spoken to Katungi on phone.

S2: *Nyowe nimuteerera atarikukwata.*

For me I call him but he does not pick up.

S2: *Eyangye ahabwenki atarikugikwata?*

Why doesn't he pick up (specifically) mine?

Granted that the presence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of nominal modifiers with a neutral semantic feature of definiteness is associated with two features of specificity and contrastive focus, these features are, however, not always simultaneously realized. A referent may have a (non-)specific and contrastive focus reading, depending on the pragmatic background, as illustrated above with adjectives (cf. example (16)). The sentence in (42) gives an exceptional context involving a possessive construction.

(42) *Endimi (e)z'enzaarwa tizirikwegyesibwa.*

E-n-rimi (e)-zi-a e-n-zaarwa ti-zi-ri-ku-egy-es-ibw-a

IV-10-language IV-10-GEN IV-10-native NEG-10-COP-INF-learn-CAUS-PASS-FV

'(The) indigenous languages are not taught.'

The presence of the IV in the morphology of the genitive modifier, in the example given in (42), encodes contrastive focus meaning of the lexical head. However, either the referent may be particular in the mind of the speaker, or the speaker may not be referring to any specific indigenous languages. In addition, since the definiteness feature is not part and parcel of the IV, the definiteness feature in (42) is unspecified, and can only be resolved by an appropriate discourse-pragmatic context.

The data presented above, extending the analysis of the IV as a determiner with specific and contrastive focus features, give more support to the argument that the FocP is not only found on the left of the clausal phrase (CP) but also on the left periphery of other phrasal categories (cf. Aboh, 2004a; Aboh, et al. 2010), such as the Possessive Prepositional Phrase (PPP)⁷⁴, headed by the genitive **a**. In the PP phrase '*esimu ey'omushomesa*', in (40b), there is a FocP available, while the absence of the IV (cf. (40a)) means that the FocP is unavailable. When the PPP phrase moves to the prenominal position (40c), it implies that it has moved from the FocP of the postnominal P to the FocP of the noun, where it obtains an extra feature of emphasis. This in turn implies that there is double focus marking in the prenominal position. Foc is a phrasal category with a functional head, in which certain categories move into. Hence, when a possessor phrase is moved to the prenominal position, the IV which heads it obtains an extra feature of emphasis. The generalization from the given illustrations on the PPP provides evidence to posit a DP headed by the determiner (IV) with [+specific] features. In addition, a FocP on top of the DP category with the [+contrastive focus] feature is posited. The four syntactic environments for the (non-)occurrence of the IV as a determiner, as demonstrated in (40a-d) above, are syntactically represented in the schemata below in (43a-d)

⁷⁴ Syntactically, the genitive **a** has a categorial status of a preposition.

(43) a. The possessive phrase occurs in postnominal position: IV is absent

[_{DP} Det [_{NP} child] [_{AgRP} Agr [_{PP} Gen.a [_{DP} mushomesa]]]
[specific] [cl.1]

b. Possessive/genitive phrase occurs in postnominal position: IV is **present**:

[_{DP} ..Det... [_{NP} esimu] [_{FocP} Foc] [_{AgRP} Agr] [_{DP} Det [_{AgRP} Agr [_{PP} Gen a [_{DP} omushomesa]]]]]
[Specific] [Specific]

c. Possessive/genitive phrase occurs in prenominal position: IV is **obligatory**

[_{DP} [_{FocP} ey'omushomesa] [_{AgRP} Agr¹] [_{DP} Det [_{NP} esimu [_{FocP} Foc] [_{AgRP} Agr [_{DP} Det] [_{AgRP} Agr
[_{PP} Genitive a [_{DP} omushomesa]]]]]]]]
[specific] [specific]

d. Possessive/genitive phrase with phonetically empty category *pro* as head in DP: IV is **obligatory**.

[_{DP} [_{FocP} ey'omushomesa] [_{AgRP} Agr¹] [_{DP} Det [_{NP} esimu] [_{FocP} Foc [_{AgRP} Agr [_{DP} Det [_{AgRP} Agr
[_{PP} a [_{DP} omushomesa]]]]]]]]]
[specific] [specific]

The structural representations in (43a-d) demonstrate a head to head kind of movement. The PP head (**a**) moves to the specifier Agreement, to check the agreement feature with the head. Feature checking takes place in the specAgreement. On top of PP, there is an agreement phrase projection to represent the agreement morphology because the head noun of P, which is **a**, due to head to head movement, merges with the head of agreement, since **ya** (i=a) is a complex morpheme. Hence, the head of P merges with the agreement morpheme **i**. If the IV is present, then there is another phrase, the Focus Phrase projection on top of the DP. If the IV is absent, there will be nothing. The possessor phrase can move from the specifier of the postnominal FocP to the specifier position of the prenominal Foc Phrase. If no movement takes place, the features [+specific +contrastive focus] are checked in the postnominal position. Modifiers with a contrastive focus feature have a FocP on top of the DP. The focus feature marking is not the main course of the current study. However, it has been included for the reason that the determiner IV, occurring in the inflectional morphology of adjectives and possessives often triggers the features of specificity and contrastive focus simultaneously.

In the next illustration (44), the possessive pronoun occurs with a compulsory IV. However, the context in which it is presented is unique from what is discussed in the examples above.

(44) *Owangye yaakuramusya**O-u-a-nyye a-a-ku-ramusy-a*

IV-1-GEN-mine 1-PRES-2SG-greet-FV

‘Lit: Mine has greeted you.’

‘My husband/wife has sent you greetings.’

It is a cultural tendency for married couples in the Runyankore-Rukiga speaking communities to refer to their spouses as **owangye**, meaning ‘mine’ (my husband/wife⁷⁵). Culturally, among the Banyankore-Bakiga⁷⁶, women are not supposed to call their husbands by their names. Thus, as a sign of respect, or as a way to adhere to the cultural norms, for that matter, some women prefer to use the form of possessive pronoun ‘**owangye**’ (mine). In (44), the speaker, and most probably a female, is extending regards from specifically her husband, and not her child, or any other person. To understand the expression, the addressee must be familiar with the socio-cultural context in which the utterance is made. Otherwise, the expression is vague, or it may not mean anything significant to someone if this cultural setting is not familiar. For certain communicative aims to be achieved, it is crucial for the social setting to be taken as part of the communication chain. Mey (2001) argues that language and society are inseparable, in the sense that for a communicator to understand an utterance, the social and cultural contexts in which it has been said must be accessible. Therefore, the utterance in (44) is made against the background that the addressee understands the cultural setting, in that (s)he will know that the speaker is referring to none but her husband. The possessive pronoun **owangye** (mine) does not necessarily require previous mention in that regard, as long as familiarity of the cultural context is considered, not forgetting the presupposition that the speaker (a female) is married. The social-cultural context can also be applied in the understanding of the use of the pronoun in the case of (45):

(45) *Abangye bari bata?**A-ba-nyye ba-ri ba-ta?*

IV-2-mine 2-COP 2-Q.how

‘How are mine.’

How are my children?’

⁷⁵ This expression is mostly used by women.

⁷⁶ Runyankore-Rukiga speaking people.

(47) *Naahendeka okuguru (o)kwa buryo**N-aa-hend-ek-a o-ku-guru o-ku-a buryo*

1SG-PASTim-break-STAT-FV IV-15-leg IV-15-GEN right

'I have broken my right leg.'

The genitive takes an optional IV. Its occurrence comes with an additional specificity feature or emphasis. Without the IV, the speaker still specifically refers to the right leg, and not the left leg that is broken since the pragmatic set contains only two members. In addition, the speaker focuses the hearer's attention on the right leg, if the IV is attached to the possessive marker, thereby contrasting it with the left leg.

Next, consider the interpretations of the head noun when the possessive construction, which is unspecified for the semantic features of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity, interacts with the demonstrative, an inherently definite and specific determiner.

6.4.4 Co-occurrence of the possessive and the demonstrative

This section examines the co-occurrence of a head noun with a possessive and a demonstrative in the nominal domain. Consideration is given to the interpretations of the possession, based on the existence or non-existence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of the genitive modifier. In relation to the structure of the nominal domain containing both modifiers, the demonstrative normally precedes the noun (cf. (48a)), and the IV of the head noun is not favored. If the demonstrative appears postnominally, it must follow the possessor (cf. (48b)). When the demonstrative and genitive modifiers precede the head noun, the genitive **a** requires a compulsory IV, and a pause follows before the head noun is uttered.

(48) a. *Torotoora ezo nkwanzi (e)z'omukaikuru.**Ø-torotoor-a a-zi-o n-kwanzi (e)-zi-a o-mu-kaikuru*

2SG-pick-FV DEMrt-10-MEDIAL 10-bead IV-10-GEN IV-1-old.woman

'(You) pick up those beads of the old woman.'

b. *Torotoora enkwanzi (e)z'omukaikuru ezo.**Ø-torotoor-a e-n-kwanzi (e)-zi-a o-mu-kaikuru a-zi-o*

2SG-pick-FV IV-10-bead IV-10-GEN IV-1-old.woman DEMrt-10-MEDIAL

'(You) pick up those (specific) beads that belong to the old woman.'

c. *Torotoora ezo ez'omukaikuru enkwanzi.*

Ø-torotoor-a a-zi-o e-zi-a o-mu-kaikuru e-n-nkwanzi
 2SG-pick-FV DEMrt-10-MEDIAL IV-10-GEN IV-1-old.woman IV-10-bead
 'Lit: (You) pick up those of the old woman, the beads.'
 'Pick up those beads of the old woman.'

d. *Torotoora ezo ez'omukaikuru.*

Ø-torotoor-a a-zi-o zi-a o-mu-kaikuru
 2SG-pick-FV DEMrt-10-MEDIAL 10-GEN IV-1-old.woman
 '(You) pick up those specifically for the old woman.'

In terms of the (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity features, the referent **enkwazi** (beads) in all the contexts presented in (48a-c) is definite and specific, owing to the presence of the demonstrative. It can, however, be argued further that the occurrence of the IV with the genitive morpheme **a** adds a feature of specificity or emphasis. In addition, the presence of the IV provides that there are other beads available, and the speaker's aim is to focus the hearer's attention to the beads particularly belonging to the old woman. With regard to (48c), in particular, it is uncommon for both the demonstrative and possessive modifiers to precede the noun. In fact, (48d), where both modifiers occur with a complement NP headed by a *pro* category, is more appropriate than (48c). However, if the head noun is to appear, as shown in (48c), it will follow a pause, implying that it occurs as an afterthought for emphasis. Hence, the hearer can still understand the referent in question even when the head noun is not given explicitly.

The illustration in (49) is given to establish further the interpretation of the head noun as a result of the co-occurrence of the demonstrative and the possessive modifiers, and the interpretation of the IV when it is attached to the genitive. Notice that in the given example, the head noun occurs with an optional IV. As argued in chapter 5, its presence adds an element of emphasis to the modified noun. With respect to a genitive modifier, the IV lays emphasis on the head noun, **emisyo** (knives), to which it is attached.

(49) *Egyo (e)misyo (e)y'omuhiigi mugibiike.*

a-gi-o (e)-mi-syo (e)-i-a o-mu-hiigi mu-gi-biik-e
 DEMrt-4-MEDIAL IV-4-knife IV-GEN IV-1-hunter 2PL-4-keep-IMP
 '(You) keep those knives which specifically belong to the hunter.'

The demonstrative is, thus, adequate to inform the addressee that the possessed item referred to is particular and identifiable. The occurrence of IV with the genitive **a**, therefore, denotes the meaning of contrastive focus to the possessor. In addition, the noun denoting possession receives an additional feature of specificity if the IV is present in the possessor phrase, because as argued already, the IV, when present in the possessor phrase, is normally associated with both features of specificity and contrastive focus. If more emphasis is needed to mark the specific and identifiable referent, the demonstrative occurs preminally and the head noun retains its IV.

However, it is reasonable to argue that the possessive pronoun in itself is inherently specific and definite⁷⁸, which implies that even when the IV is not present, or when the demonstrative is not present, the element denoting possession still receives definiteness and specificity features. As exemplified in (50), where the IV is not attached to the possessive pronoun, and no other morpho-syntactic means is available, if the speaker says ‘*polish my shoes for me*’, (s)he is talking about no other thing but a particular identifiable pair of shoes which belongs to him/her. However, if the speaker in (50) has many pairs of shoes, (s)he is likely to modify the referent further to assist the hearer in identifying the particular pair of shoes meant.

(50) *Nterera enkaito zangye omubazi.*

N-ter-er-a e-n-kaito zi-a-ngye o-mu-bazi
 1SG-polish-APPL-FV IV-10-shoe 10-GEN-mine IV-3-polish
 ‘Polish my shoes for me.’

6.4.5 Co-occurrence of the possessive and the nominal relative

This section illustrates the co-occurrence of the possessive construction with another modifier that is neutral with regard to the semantic features of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity. First, consider the possessive in combination with a nominal relative (but refer to section 7.2.1 for the analysis of nominal relatives) and the copular clausal form of the absolute pronoun, exemplified in (51a-c) below.

⁷⁸ Pronouns encode familiar referents.

(51). a. ***Enkaito zaawe ezirikutukura nizo naateera omubazi.***

E-n-kaito *zi-a-we* *ezirikutukura* *ni-zi-o*
 IV-10-shoe 10-GEN-yours IV-10-COP-INF-red COP-10-ABS

n-aa-teer-a *o-mu-bazi*
 1SG-PASTim-polish-FV IV-3-polish

‘It is (specifically) your shoes that are red which I have polished.’

b. ***Ezaawe enkaito ezirikutukura naaziteera omubazi.***

E-zi-a-we *e-n-kaito* *e-zi-ri-ku-tukura*
 IV-10-GEN-yours IV-10-shoes IV-10-COP-INF-red

n-aa-zi-teer-a *o-mu-bazi*
 1SG-PASTim-AgrO-polish-FV IV-3-polish

‘(Specifically) your shoes that are red, I have polished them.’

c.(i) ***Enkaito zaawe ezirikutukura naaziteera omubazi.***

E-n-kaito *zi-a-we* *e-zi-ri-ku-tukura*
 IV-10-shoe 10-GEN-yours IV-10-COP-INF-red

n-aa-zi-teer-a *o-mu-bazi*
 1SG-PASTim-10-polish-FV IV-3-polish

‘Your shoes (specifically) that are red, I have polished them.’

(ii) ***?Enkaito zaawe zirikutukura naaziteera omubazi***

E-n-kaito *zi-a-we* *zi-ri-ku-tukura*
 IV-10-shoe 10-GEN-yours 10-COP-INF-red

n-aa-zi-teer-a *o-mu-bazi*
 1SG-PASTim-10-polish-FV IV-3-polish

‘Your shoes that are red, I have polished them.’

d. ****(E)zaawe *(e)zirikutukura naaziteera omubazi***

**(E)-zi-a-we* **(e)-zi-ri-ku-tukura* *n-aa-zi-teer-a* *o-mu-bazi*
 IV-10-GEN-yours IV-10-COP-INF-red 1SG -PASTim-10-polish-FV IV-3-polish

‘Yours specifically the red ones, I have polished them.’

The sentence given in (51a) contains a copular clausal form of the absolute pronoun. Hence, the illustration exemplifies a cleft sentence, in which the focalized noun **enkaito** (shoes) has definiteness and specificity features. The definiteness feature stems from the possessive pronoun and the presence of the copular clausal form of the absolute pronoun, which, as discussed in section 5.6.2, has inherent semantic features of definiteness and specificity. The presence of the IV on the nominal relative yields contrastive focus reading, implying that the owner of the red shoes has at least one more other pair of shoes of a different color. Hence, the speaker's aim is to inform the addressee when (s)he attaches an IV to the nominal relative that, particularly, the red shoes, not any other pair with a different color, have been polished.

When the absolute pronoun is left out, as in (51b), the element denoting possession, still receives definite and specific readings, since the modifier is a pronoun⁷⁹. However, if the addressee has more than one pair of red shoes, (s)he will not be in a position to identify uniquely which pair of red shoes has been polished. If the addressee has one pair of red shoes, then it will be a specific identifiable one. Notice that structurally, the contrastive focus marker (the IV) in (51b) appears both in the possessor phrase and the nominal relative clause. This means that there are more than one possible shoe owners. In addition, the selected owner possesses more than one pair of shoes, and among them there is one which is red. Hence, the presence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of the possessive pronoun and the nominal relative marks the availability of alternative shoe owners and alternative pairs of shoes which are not red.

Turning to the constructions in (i-ii) of (51c), the IV of the nominal relative is obligatory when a nominal relative follows a possessive modifier, with an explicit lexical head. The construction in (ii) of (51c) sounds unnatural because the IV appears to be required in the given configuration. Even when the head noun is implicit, the nominal relative, following a possessive modifier requires an IV, as shown in (51d). This grammatical requirement in the co-occurrence of a possessive and a nominal relative is further demonstrated in (52a-b) exemplifying with a full possessor noun headed by the genitive **a**. Whereas the IV of the genitive is optional in (52a), the

⁷⁹ Luseleko (2009, 2013) and Rugemarla (2007) argue that since the possessive appears closer to the head noun than any other modifier, it qualifies to be a determiner. Rather than argue for the possessive as a (definite) determiner on the basis of the position it assumes in the DP, it is reasonable to argue that the possessive pronoun is definite, like any other pronoun because their antecedents are assumed to be present in the previous discourse, or, that the noun it has replaced is assumed to be information commonly shared by the speaker and hearer.

nominal relative requires an obligatory IV, whether the head noun is an explicit element or a *pro* head (cf. (51b)).

(52) a. ***Enkaito (e)z'omushaija *(e)zirikwiragura naaziteera omubazi.***

E-n-kaito e-zi-a o-mu-shaija e-zi-ri-ku-iragura
IV-10-shoe IV-10-GEN IV-1-man IV-10-COP-INF-black

n-aa-zi-teer-a o-mu-bazi
1SG-PASTim-polish-FV IV-3-polish

‘A/the (specific) man’s (specifically) shoes that are black, I have polished them.’

b. ****(E)z'omushaija *(e)zirikwiragura naaziteera omubazi.***

**(e)-zi-a o-mu-shaija e-zi-ri-ku-iragura*
IV-10-GEN IV-1-man IV-10-COP-INF-black

n-aa-zi-teer-a o-mu-bazi
1SG-PASTim-10-polish-FV IV-3-polish

‘A/the (specific) man’s shoes which are (specifically) black, I have polished them.’

On the basis of the data analyzed in this section (6.4), and in section 6.2, generally, the IV marks specific entities which are contrastively focalized. The focus reading is the main property of the IV in the syntactic contexts examined, while the specificity feature is subsumed. The definite reading of the IV is an extra feature it receives in contexts where the modifiers examined have an NP complement headed by a phonetically null category. Since the IV participates in definite situations, in which contrastive focus is marked, focalized entities do not necessarily mark new information (in the context of the current study). This is to say that contrastive focus is compatible with both definites and indefinites.

6.5 Summary

This chapter presented extensive empirical data for the analysis of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga focusing on the analysis of the (non-)occurrence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of adjectives, numerals and possessive expressions. The analysis has revealed that the IV plays a role in marking definiteness only when the head noun is implicit, hence, anaphorically linking the ellipted head noun to an old-discourse specific referent. This revelation is, however, not adequate to categorially license the IV as a definite marker. Essentially the IV has two main roles it plays when it occurs particularly in the inflectional morphology of adjective and possessive modifiers. It functions, simultaneously as a contrastive focus and a determiner of specificity. The two pragmatic roles are related in the sense that when the speaker wants to select one entity from other potential entities in the discourse, the entity forms a particular representation in his/her mind. Therefore, entities which are contrastively focused are necessarily specific, but the reverse may not be true. It has been argued that in some pragmatic contexts, the speaker may not necessarily have a particular entity in mind that (s)he has excluded from other entities as exceptions revealed. On the other hand, the analysis has shown that, generally, when the referent is not very essential for the theme of the on-going discourse, and there is no contrast to be made, the IV is absent in the inflectional morphology of the modifying adjective or possessive in the presence of a full lexical head.

Regarding numerals as modifiers (cf. 6.3), the discussion has shown that they exhibit peculiar qualities with regard to the (non-)occurrence of the IV. Unlike adjectives and possessives, their interpretations in terms of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity, based on the IV, are most often supported by other modifiers such as the demonstrative, clausal relatives and quantifiers. Moreover, the numeral must not occur with an IV when a full head noun is explicit (see table 17). Numerals only take an IV if the head noun is implicit, and a demonstrative normally follows, if reference is to be made to all the members in the set of the referents mentioned previously. This apparent difference between adjectives and numerals may be due to the quantificational property the numerals possess.

The analysis has further considered the effect of the co-occurrence of the demonstrative with an adjective. The adjective is inherently neutral with regard to the feature of (in)definiteness, while

the demonstrative is inherently specified for the feature of definiteness. Hence, a referent which is modified by both a demonstrative and an adjective exhibits the features [+definite +specific]. In addition, the referent receives the contrastive focus feature if the determiner IV is present in the inflectional morphology of the adjective. The same interpretation obtains where there is the co-occurrence of the possessive and the demonstrative. In addition, depending on the position of the demonstrative, the head noun may further be emphasized. On the other hand, the illustration of the possessive modifier and a nominal relative in section 6.4.5 shows that the features of (non-)specificity and (non-)definiteness remain ambiguous, while the presence of the IV in the nominal morphology of both modifiers mark double contrastive focus reading. This means that the possession and possessor nouns both receive the feature of contrastive focus, whereas only the possession noun receives the specificity feature when the IV is attached to the genitive alone. However, note that pronouns are inherently definite. Hence, when the possessor is a pronoun, the presence of the IV on the possessive pronoun is to offer a contrastive focus reading and an added feature of specificity.

This chapter serves to contribute to the existing literature on the function of the IV in Bantu languages, particularly in Runyankore-Rukiga, in relation to the marking of (non-)specificity. The data analyzed in this chapter reveals that the IV is not an empty morpheme. Therefore, to add to the voices of other Bantuists, such as Bokamba (1971), Givón (1978), Visser (2008) (cf. section 2.3 and chapter three), the IV is associated with specificity (also known as referentiality in Givón's (1978) terms). In addition, the IV is a determiner with a contrastive focus feature in Runyankore-Rukiga, a feature that closely relates to specificity. In terms of the DP analysis, given the examples discussed, evidence supports the argument that the IV has a place in the DP syntax. It is a functional determiner with a specificity feature, at the same time marking contrastive focus projected from the FocP.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RELATIVE CLAUSES

7.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter, the role of the (non-)occurrence of the IV in the realization of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in the inflectional morphology of adjectives, numerals (1-9) and possessive modifiers was examined. This chapter takes further the investigation of the realization of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in the nominal domain. It takes into account the effects the (non-)occurrence of the IV on the relative clause has on the general interpretation of the antecedent of the relative clause. Relative clauses in this dissertation are categorized as semantically neutral in terms of the features of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity, like adjectives, possessives and numerals (cf. Visser, 2008). In other words, the presence of a relative clause, as a nominal modifier, does not morpho-syntactically signal that the referent is to be understood as familiar, unless an appropriate pragmatic context is induced. Furthermore, as the discussion below will reveal, relative clauses permit an optional IV in their inflectional morphology, whose role is to signal that the referent is specific and focalized. This is in contradistinction to Taylor (1985), who claims that the IV that occurs in the inflectional morphology of relative clauses marks a known referent.

The relative clause in Runyankore-Rukiga has been categorized into two, viz., nominal and clausal relatives. Both categories permit an optional IV. These categories will be discussed in turn, by examining their inflectional morphology and syntactic behaviors, and the role they play in the morpho-syntactic as well as discourse-pragmatic realization of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity.

This chapter is organized as follows: section 7.2.1 presents some remarks on the morpho-syntax of nominal relatives. Next, the nominal relatives are analyzed for their role in (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity encoding (7.2.2). Section 7.3 deals with the basic morpho-syntax of clausal relatives, that is subject (cf. 7.3.2) and object clausal relatives (cf. 7.3.3). Subsection 7.3.4 investigates (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity marking involving subject and object clausal

relatives, in relation to the (non-)occurrence of the IV. Resumption, as a strategy of clausal relative formation and the subsequent effect on the realization of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity, is dealt with in subsection (7.3.5). A clausal relative plays a vital role in the realization of definiteness and specificity when it co-occurs with proper names (cf. subsection 7.3.6), and when it appears with inherently definite modifiers, that is the demonstrative (cf. 7.3.7.1) and definite determiner **-a** (7.3.7.2). Subsection 7.3.8 examines the co-occurrence of a clausal relative and an inherently neutral modifier with the (in)definiteness feature. The conclusion to the chapter, which outlines the key analyses made, is given in section 7.4.

7.2 Nominal relatives

7.2.1 Formation and morpho-syntactic properties

The nominal relative takes a noun agreement prefix corresponding to the noun class prefix of the modified lexical head. Additionally, a nominal relative contains the copula verb form **-ri-**, and an infinitival morpheme **-ku-**, attached to a nominal complementizer stem. Nominal relatives further take an optional IV, which is associated with the pragmatic effects of specificity and contrastive focus, as will be illustrated. This category of relatives mainly comprises color terms. According to Taylor (1985: 21), they are ‘adjective clauses’. Taylor further states that they are adjectives which behave like verbs (cf. Taylor, 1985: 194), whereby, he, for instance, takes **-tukura** ‘red’ to be a verb stem. He further refers to these elements as a form of adjective phrase (cf. Taylor, 1985: 48), containing a relativized verb. Hence, there is not one clear term given to this category of relatives, as there seems to be no criteria Taylor (1985) follows in categorizing them. In this study, the categorial term *nominal clausal relative* is used. The motivation for this term is given below:

(1) a (i) *enkwazi (e)zirikutukura*

enkwazi (e)-zi-ri-ku-tukur-a

IV-10-bead IV-10-COP-INF-red-FV

‘beads which are red’

(ii) *omwenda ogurikwera**o-mu-enda o-gu-ri-ku-er-a*

IV-3-cloth IV-3-COP-INF-white-FV

‘a/the cloth which is white’

(iii) *esaati erikwiragura**e-Ø-saati e-ri-ku-iragur-a*

IV-9-shirt IV.9-COP-INF-black-FV

‘a/the shirt which is black’

b. *enkwazi (e)nungi**e-n-kwazi (e)-n-rungi*

IV-10-bead IV-10-beautiful

‘beautiful beads’

The nominal modifier forms exemplified in (i-iii) in (1a) are often treated in traditional descriptive grammars (for example, see Taylor, 1985) as adjectives. Looking at these forms from a morphological point of view, they are distinct from adjectives (compare the forms in (i-ii) of (1a) with the form in (1b)). The given nominal modifier forms in (1a) form a morphologically distinct category from the form given in (1b). The nominal modifiers in (i-iii) of (1a) have both nominal and verbal properties and the nominal modifier in (1b) is an adjective, and exhibits no verbal features. Such forms, as exemplified in (1a) are dubbed in this study, *nominal relatives* and they consist mainly color term stems. They are regarded as lexicalized elements exhibiting both nominal and clausal properties. The forms in (i-iii) of (1a) are nominal on the basis of the availability of the inflectional morpheme **-ku-**, which exhibits an ambivalent character of being nominal and verbal. In addition, the clausal properties of the category stem from the copular verb **-ri-**, which takes a color term stem as its nominal complement. Another piece of evidence for placing color terms in a different category from adjectives comes from the fact that, whereas adjectives like **-rungi** (good/nice/beautiful) have the nominal prefix in their inflectional morphology similar to the prefix of the head noun (see table 13), the color terms do not exhibit such a morphological property (compare the modifier forms (1a) and (1b) above).

Another motivation for separating color terms from adjectives is that color terms can take a suffix, in form of an intensifier or a causative. For example: **-tukura** (red) can become **ku-tuku-**

za ‘to make red’ or **ku-tukukur-ir-a (kimwe)** ‘to be/become very red’. One can also argue that with the help of the inflectional morpheme **-ku-**, due to its nominal properties, a color term can be nominalized. Hence, **ekirikwiragura** ((something) black) can become **okwiragura ‘o-ku-iragura’** (to become black). On the basis of the dual character of **-ku-**, the root (color term stem) becomes the nominal complement (to be categorized as an NP of the inflectional category) of the copular verb **-ri-**. Therefore, with the morphological evidence given, the color terms possess nominal properties contained in a clausal structure, and hence the motivation for the term *nominal relative*. Note that the relative clause meaning is encoded in the agreement prefix that precedes the **-ri-ku** morphemes.

There are irregularities observed in the formation of nominal relatives. Noun classes 1 and 9 as shown in (1b) and (c), as also observed in Taylor (1985: 141), show no morpheme break between the class marker and the IV. One morpheme doubles as IV and the class marker. In other words, the noun class marker coalesces with the IV, leading to one affix representing two distinct morphemes on the surface, simultaneously (technically referred to as a ‘portmanteau morpheme’).

There is another strategy for the formation of nominal relatives, where the genitive **a** is involved preceding a color term. For instance, the color term for ‘white’ in the Rukiga dialect is **mutare**. To form a nominal relative with this term, the resultant form takes a genitive form, as illustrated in (2). The Runyankore form is given in (3a), manifesting the clausal and infinitival morphemes **-ri--ku-**.

(2) *Maama naakunda omwenda (ó)gwa mutare.*

Ø-maama ni-a-kund-a (o)-mu-enda o-gu-a mutare

1.mother PROG-1.3SG-like IV-3-cloth IV-3-GEN white

‘My mother likes specifically a/cloth that is white.’

Syntactically, a nominal relative in its canonical position follows the head noun it modifies. Hence, (3a) exemplifies the basic word order of the nominal relative in relation to its head. The nominal relative may precede the lexical head noun, as demonstrated in (3b), where the logical subject appears in the final position. In addition, a nominal relative can be used with no explicit

head noun, but a *pro* category, exemplified in (3c), as observed with most other modifiers discussed thus far.

(3) a. ***Maama naakunda omwenda (o)gurikwera.***

Ø-maama ni-a-kund-a o-mu-enda (o)-gu-ri-ku-er-a
 1-my.mother PROG-1.3SG -like-FV IV-3-cloth IV-3-COP-INF-white-FV
 ‘My mother likes a/the white cloth.’

b. ***Naakunda ogurikwera omwenda maama.***

*Ni-a-kund-a *(o)-gu-ri-ku-er-a *(o)-mu-enda Ø-maama*
 PROG-1.3SG-like-FV IV-3-COP-INF-white-FV IV-3-cloth 1-my.mother
 ‘She likes the cloth that is white, my mother.’

c. ***Maama naakunda *(o)gurikwera.***

*Ø-maama ni-a-kund-a *(o)-gu-ri-ku-er-a*
 1-my.mother PROG-1.3SG-like-FV IV-3-COP-INF-white-FV
 ‘My mother likes the one (cloth) that is white.’

7.2.2 (In)definiteness and (non-)specificity meaning in the DP modified by nominal relatives

A DP referent containing a nominal relative modifier which occurs with an IV is assumed to have a specific (and contrastive focus) reading. On the other hand, the omission of the IV correspondingly leads to a non-specific reading of the noun head. For example, in the illustrations given in (3) above, the subject **maama** (mother) likes a particular white cloth, but not any white cloth. More illustrations for these morpho-syntactic realizations are given below:

(4) a. ***Omwishiki ahunzire n’enkwazi ezirikutukura.***

O-mu-ishiki a-hund-ire na e-n-kwazi e-zi-ri-ku-tukur-a
 IV-1-girl 1-adorn-STAT with IV-10-bead IV-10-COP-INF-red-FV
 ‘A/the girl is adorned with (specific) red beads.’

b. ***Omwishiki ahunzire n’enkwazi zirikutukura.***

O-mu-ishiki a-hund-ire na e-n-kwazi zi-ri-ku-tukur-a
 IV-1-girl 1-adorn-STAT with IV-10-bead 10-COP-INF-red-FV
 ‘(A/the) girl is adorned with red beads.’

referent can be any beads that are red. Besides, the color of the beads may not be very important for the on-going communication.

In the preceding chapter, the IV occurring with neutral modifiers has been considered to possess a contrastive focus feature for the interpretation of given nouns, besides the specificity feature. Therefore, the specificity reading of the red beads in (4a) relates to the contrastive focus properties of the IV. Accordingly, the speaker selects a particular referent from other potential referents that (s)he chooses to communicate about. Conversely, when the IV is lacking, as in (4b), it entails that there are no particular beads with which the red beads are contrasted within the utterance. It is therefore presumable that when the IV exhibits the meaning of contrastiveness, the contrasted entity is a particular entity. It can arguably be said that the contrastive focus feature entails specificity but the reverse is not true, as the exceptional contexts illustrated in (16) in section 6.2.3 and (42) in section 6.4.3 in the preceding chapter revealed. Therefore, a referent with the feature of contrastive focus is necessarily specific, while specific referents are not always contrastively focalized.

If we reformulate (4a-b) by changing the verb mood and the tense, as well as making the subject a plural entity, the object referent **enkwanzi** (beads) will receive a generic interpretation:

(6) a. *Abaishiki nibakunda enkwazi ezirikutukura.*

A-ba-ishiki ni-ba-kund-a e-n-kwazi e-zi-ri-ku-tukur-a

IV-2-girl PROG-2-like-FV IV-10-bead IV-9-10-COP-INF-red-FV

‘(The) girls like (specific) red beads.’

b. *Abaishiki nibakunda enkwazi zirikutukura.*

A-ba-ishiki ni-ba-kund-a e-n-kwazi zi-ri-ku-tukur-a

IV-2-girl PROG-2-like-FV IV-10-bead 10-COP-INF-red-FV

‘(The) girls like (specific) red beads.’

In (5a), girls generally like beads which are red. It was demonstrated with (i-ii) of (12c) in section 6.2.3 that a generic meaning in referents involving adjectives is established with or without the IV. As illustrated in example (6a), the presence of the IV on the nominal relative leads to a contrastive focus meaning. Recall that generic referents are pragmatically non-specific (cf. section 4.6). Therefore, the presence of the IV in (6a) does not entail a specific entity, but a

contrastively focalized one. When the IV is lacking in the context of genericity, it is not necessarily a non-specific entailment, but an indication that there are no alternative beads (i.e. beads of other colors) assumed in the discourse. The generic meaning can be attributed to the semantics of the verb used **-kukunda** (to like), as well as the progressive aspect of the verb. Note further that a non-generic reading is not impossible if a different context from that assumed for a generic reading (6a) is considered. For instance, the utterance in (6a) can as well mean that girls like specific (selected known or unknown) beads.

Introducing another nominal modifier which has an inherent semantic feature of definiteness, in this case a demonstrative, leads to a definite reading, and also disallows a generic interpretation. Consider (6a) reconstructed in (7):

- (7) *Abaishiki nibakunda enkwanzi ezo *(e)zirikutukura.*
*A-ba-ishiki ni-ba-kund-a e-n-kwazi a-zi-o *(e)-zi-ri-ku-tukur-a*
 IV-2-girl PROG-2-like-FV IV-10-bead DEMrt-10-MEDIAL IV-10-COP-INF-red-FV
 ‘(The) girls like those (specific) beads which are red.’

Sentence (7) demonstrates that the presence of the deictic demonstrative **ezo** leads to unambiguous definite and specific reading of the object noun **enkwanzi** (beads). However, note that the nominal relative following the demonstrative requires an IV. Otherwise, the construction is ill-formed. The demonstrative is permitted to follow the nominal relative after a prosodic pause. When it does, the nominal relative takes an optional IV. The IV of the nominal relative, although grammatically required, contributes an additional specificity feature to the modified noun, since, as demonstrated in chapter five, demonstratives possess an inherent specificity feature. In addition, the beads which are red are chosen from other beads which are not red, which the hearer can identify.

Further evidence for the analysis of the IV of the nominal relative as a determiner, exhibiting [+contrastive focus +specific] features comes from the retention of the IV morpheme following a negative verb (cf. 8b). Normally, an object noun loses its IV following a negative verb (cf. 8a) (see also section 3.2.7) including its modifiers.

The referents in (8a-c) are ambiguous between a definite and indefinite reading. In contrast, the referent in the context of the negative verb in (9), besides the specificity feature, receives the definiteness feature due to the presence of the copular clausal form of the absolute pronoun that has an intrinsic semantic feature of definiteness (cf. section 5.6.2).

(9) ***Abaishiki enkwanzi (e)zirikutukura tizo baagura***

A-ba-ishiki e-n-kwanzi (e)-zi-ri-ku-tukur-a ti-zi-o ba-aa-gur-a

IV-2-girls IV-10-bead IV-10-COP-INF-red-FV NEG-10-ABS 3SG-PASTim-buy-FV

‘It is not the (specific) beads which are red that the girls have bought.’

Recall again from chapter 4 (section 4.3.1) that when an object appears preceding the verb, it is assumed to encode information that the hearer already knows, and hence, it may signal that the referent is not new in the discourse. Other than word order, the presence of the copula form of the absolute pronoun in (9) affords the head noun a definite reading. In section 5.6.2, it was argued that the copula clausal form of the absolute pronoun signals a particularized and emphasized entity. In addition, the pronoun and the IV of the nominal relative mark contrastive meaning. The alternatives may be beads of other different colors, or something else not necessarily beads (refer to related analysis and the examples given in section 5.6.2).

The feature of specificity may be assigned to a referent due to differential tone marking on the nominal relative modifier. Consider the following illustrations (10a-b).

(10) a. S1: ***Nooyenda kujwara ki?***

No-o-enda ku-jwar-a ki?

PRES-2SG-want-FV INF-wear-FV Q.what

‘What do you want to wear?’

S2: ***Esaati erikwiragura***

E-∅-saati e-ri-ku-iragur-a

IV-9-shirt 9-COP-INF-black-FV

‘Any shirt that is black.’

b. S1: *Nooyenda kujwara ki?*
No-o-end-a ku-jwar-a ki?
 PRES-2SG-want-FV INF-wear-FV Q.what
 ‘What do you want to wear?’

S2: *Esaati erikwiragura.*
E-∅-saati e-ri-ku-iragur-a
 IV-9-shirt 9-COP-INF-black-FV
 ‘A/the specific shirt that is black.’

In the response to (10a), the nominal relative **erikwiragura**, whose initial vowel is assigned a low tone, is a sign that the referent is non-specific. Thus, the referent **esaati** (shirt) can be any shirt as long as it is black. However, in S2’s response in (10b), the raised tone on the initial vowel that doubles as an agreement prefix marker and an IV and the vowel of the copular verb form signals that the modified noun **esaati** (shirt) is singled out. The speaker is, thus, referring to one particular shirt that is black, thereby signaling the meaning that there are other available shirts from which one particular black one is selected which are not black. The referent **esaati** (shirt) will receive the definiteness feature, if the hearer knows about a particular shirt that is black, which the speaker is talking about. Note, however, that such contrast in tone marking is realized in almost all the nominal modifiers which permit an optional IV for specific and contrastive focalized referents. Notice that the tone of the vowels of the copula form (-**ri**-) and the infinitive form (-**ku**-) are high as well in the context where the referent modified is marked with the specificity and contrastive focus features.

In relation to the data examined above, the IV is a determiner encoding specificity in the D. In addition, a left periphery of the nominal clausal domain is assumed, where the IV encodes the feature of contrastive focus, as a result of head to head movement from the DP to the FocP.

The next section discusses the second class of relatives, that is, the clausal relatives. Clausal relatives are divided into two types, viz., subject and object clausal relatives. The basic general morpho-syntactic properties of both types of clausal relatives are discussed before examining their role in the realization of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity of referents they modify.

7.3 Clausal relatives

7.3.1 Introduction

Clausal relatives are nominal modifiers occurring as subordinate clauses within the clause headed by the noun they refer to. There are two categories of clausal relatives, namely, subject and object relatives. They are categorized in this way because two distinct strategies are involved in their formation. Subject clausal relatives take a syntactic subject as the head, while object clausal relatives involve the relativization of structural objects. Both strategies are discussed in turn below. Before that, the general basic features that characterize clausal relatives generally are outlined below:

- (i) Both use the agreement prefix for relativization;
- (ii) Both subject and object clausal relatives take full nouns (11a) as well as pronouns (11c) as their heads (see also Taylor, 1985: 52);
- (iii) A modifying relative clause can occur internally in the modified DP or outside the clause containing the modified DP;
- (iv) A clausal relative can appear with no explicit head noun (cf. (11b));
- (v) There is usually a high tone marked on the relativizing element, for both subject and object relative clauses;
- (vi) Tense has an impact on clausal relative formation. For instance, in the case of the near future tense, if the clausal relative contains a deficient⁸⁰ (or what one may call an auxiliary) verb, agreement is indicated on the deficient verb not on the main one, and the main verb is not inflected for any grammatical category (cf. (12a)). Note that it is not compulsory for the clausal relative with a future tense to take a deficient verb, since it is possible to include a future tense marker (**ri/rya-**) within the verb structure (cf. 12b).

Note that these and more other features of clausal relatives are illustrated under the specific headings of subject and object clausal relatives.

⁸⁰ Deficient verbs take compulsory clausal complements; they never take any other complement, such as a noun phrase. Another characteristic of deficient verbs is that they never appear on their own (cf. Du Plessis & Visser, 1992: 246).

(11)a.(i) ***Abeegi (a)baatungire ebihembo.***

A-ba-egi a-ba-a-tung-ire e-bi-hembo
 IV-2-student IV-2.REL-PAST-get-PERF IV-8-gifts
 ‘(The) students who received gifts...’

(ii) ***Ebihembo (e)bi abeegi baatungire.***

E-bi-hembo (e-)bi a-ba-egi ba-a-tung-ire
 IV-8-gift IV-8.REL IV-2-student IV-2- PAST-get-PERF
 ‘(The) gifts which students received...’

(iii) a. ***Abeegi nimbamanya (a)baatungire ebihembo.***

A-ba-egi ni-n-ba-many-a a-ba-a-tung-ire e-bi-hembo
 IV-2-student PROG-1SG-AgrOP-know-FV IV-2.REL-PAST-get-PERF IV-8-gift
 ‘The students who received gifts I know them.’

b. ****(E-)bi ba-a-tung-ire...***
 IV-8.REL 2- PAST-get-PERF
 ‘(The) ones they received...’

c. ***Imwe abaatungire ebihembo...***

imwe a-ba-a-tung-ire e-bi-hembo
 2PL IV-2.REL- PAST-get-PERF IV-8-gift
 ‘You who received gifts...’

(12) a. ***Omwegi orikwija kutunga ekihembo***

O-mu-egi o-ri-ku-ij-a ku-tung-a e-ki-hembo
 IV-1-student 1-COP-INF-come-FV INF-receive-FV IV-7-gift
 ‘A/the student who will receive a gift...’

b. ***Omwegi oryatunga ekihembo***

O-mu-egi o-rya-tung-a e-ki-hembo
 IV-1-student 1.REL-FUT-receive-FV IV-7-gift
 ‘A/the student who will receive a gift...’

Clausal relatives take an optional IV. Contrary to the claim made by Morris and Kirwan (1972) and Taylor (1985), that a clausal relative in Runyankore-Rukiga is formed by attaching an IV to the verbal element preceding the noun class agreement prefix, it is evident that even when the IV

is absent, the clausal relative meaning is available (e.g., the IV is optional in (i) and (ii) of (11a)). Therefore, clausal relative meaning is originated within the nominal agreement prefix by a raised tone on the vowel of the agreement prefix. Hence, tone is crucial in the formation of clausal relatives. Consider, for instance, the subject clausal relative, as illustrated in (i) of (11a). Without the IV, the meaning ‘*students who received gifts...*’ is obtainable. However, to obtain a subject clausal relative meaning, the tone of the vowel of the agreement prefix is raised. If the tone of the vowel in question is low, there is no clausal relative meaning. The clause in (11a), in the absence of an IV, in fact, becomes a full simple sentence, meaning: ‘*(The) students have already received gifts.*’ With regard to the object clausal relative, although the tone of the vowel of the object relative marker is invariably high, it is not used as a strategy to derive clausal relative meaning. Hence, the formation of the clausal relative generally is not contingent on the IV. With or without the IV, the object clausal relative meaning is obtainable. In other words, there are no minimal pairs formed on the basis of differential tone marking regarding the object clausal relative marker. For instance, **bi** (without the IV) in (ii) of (11a) unambiguously carries a relative meaning besides the nominal agreement role it takes.

In the following two subsections, the basic specific morpho-syntactic properties of subject and object clausal relatives are discussed, beginning with subject clausal relatives.

7.3.2 Subject clausal relatives

The subject relative forms part of the relative verbal inflection. The head of the clausal relative is the structural subject of the matrix clause. Similar to most other modifiers, clausal relatives share the agreement properties with the head noun, and take an optional IV. Note that some noun classes are irregular regarding the use of the IV, especially depending on the tense of the relative clause. For instance, as shown in (13a-b), the IV inflectional segment of the subject relative involving nouns in class 1 can be dropped in the present and past tenses (13a), while it is obligatory in the future tense, as the ungrammaticality of (13b) shows.

(13) a. *Omwegi (o)waatunga ekihembo nimmumanya.*

O-mu-egi (o)-wa-a-tung-a e-ki-hembo ni-n-mu-many-a

IV-1-student VI-1.REL-PRES-receive-FV IV-7-gift PRES-1SG-3SG-know-FV

‘I know the student who has received a gift.’

b. **Omwegi ryatunga ekihembo nimmumanya.*

O-mu-egi rya-tung-a e-ki-hembo ni-n-mu-many-a

IV-1-student FUT-receive-FV IV-8-gift PRES-1SG-3SG.AgrOP-know-FV

‘I know the student who will receive a gift.’

However, the plural counterparts in all tenses can have the IV dropped, without affecting the grammaticality of the construction. The exception is realized in singular subject heads in class 1, and 9 as well, as it is the case that the initial element of the clausal verb for noun heads in these two classes exhibits a morpheme with a merged subject agreement prefix.

In terms of syntactic position, the subject clausal relative canonically follows the subject head noun (cf. 14a). However, this order is not strict, in that the clausal relative can occur in other positions. The sentence in (14b) demonstrates the occurrence of the clausal relative in the initial position, preceding the subject of the main clause. Whichever position the clausal relative assumes, it must, however, agree with the structural subject.

(14) a. *Abeegi abaatungire ebihembo bakataaha.*

A-ba-egi a-ba-a-tung-ire e-bi-hembo ba-ka-taah-a

IV-2-student IV-2.REL-PAST-get-PERF IV-8-gift 2-PASTrm-go.home-FV

‘(The) students who received gifts went home.’

b. *Abaatungire ebihembo abeegi bakataaha.*

A-ba-a-tung-ire e-bi-hembo a-ba-egi ba-ka-taah-a

IV-2.REL-PAST-get-PERF IV-8-gift IV-2-student 2-PASTrm-go.home-FV

‘Lit: Those who received the gifts, the students, they went home.’

‘The students who received gifts went home.’

Under the scope of negation, the subject clausal relative may or may not take an IV. Furthermore, it is not entirely impossible for the object of the clausal relative to retain the IV. Crucially, certain syntactic situations require the clausal relative to retain its IV within the negative scope. In Luganda⁸¹, for instance, Hyman and Katamba (1993) state that elements appearing after a negative verb do not take the IV; otherwise, the construction turns out to be

⁸¹ The current study is not comparative. However, it is a standard practice to compare data from different languages when certain properties seem particularly pertinent. Some comparisons are made with languages close to Runyankore-Rukiga, that is, Runyoro-Rutooro [JE11/12] and Luganda [JE15].

ungrammatical (cf. discussion of literature regarding the IV in Luganda, in section 3.2.5). Conversely, in Runyankore-Rukiga, the ungrammaticality of (15b) is due to the absence of an IV on the object noun, and as it is shown, the modifying subject clausal relative may occur with an IV.

(15) a. ***Tibarareebire *(a)baaguzire *(e)bitabo***

Ti-ba-ra-reeb-ire **(a)-ba-a-guz-ire* **(e)-bi-tabo*
 NEG-2-COP-see-IPFV IV-2-PAST-buy-PERF IV-8-book
 ‘They did not see those who bought (the) books.’

b. ****Tibarareebire (a)baaguzire bitabo***

Ti-ba-ra-reeb-ire *(a)-ba-a-guz-ire* *bi-tabo*
 NEG-2.REL-COP-see-IPFV IV-2-PAST-buy-PERF 8-book
 ‘They did not see those who bought (the) books.’

It is necessary for the IV to appear with both the clausal relative and the object of the clausal relative if they immediately follow a negative verb. According to Hyman and Katamba (1993: 224), the construction in (15a) would be ungrammatical in Luganda. In Runyankore-Rukiga, since the clausal relative modifies a phonologically null head, the IV is required for an anaphoric meaning. In addition, since the clausal relative is a verbal element, it is a grammatical requirement in Runyankore-Rukiga for any noun following a positive verb to appear with an IV.

Additionally, a subject noun can be modified by more than one clausal relative. As illustrated in (16), the first clausal relative may occur with no IV, but the second clausal relative takes a compulsory IV to obtain a subject clausal relative meaning. Otherwise, the second form with no IV turns out to be non-relative.

(16) ***Abantu (a)batakamanyirwe *(a)babaire baine emihoro.***

A-ba-ntu *(a)-ba-ta-ka-many-ir-w-e* **(a)-ba-ba-ire*
 IV-2-person IV-2.REL-NEG-STILL-know-APPL-PASS-FV IV-2.REL-be-PAST_{hst}

ba-ine e-mi-horo

2-have IV-4-machetes

‘People who are still at large, who had machetes...’

It turns out that the IV of the second clausal relative in (16) is required for an anaphoric definite meaning, as compared to the IV in *pro* categories, which is the same core definite morpheme of the demonstrative. In the next subsection, I turn to the morpho-syntactic properties of the object relative clause.

7.3.3 Object clausal relatives

The object relative marker in Runyankore-Rukiga is a phonologically free-form element. It is used as a strategy for relative clause formation when a structural direct object is the target of relativization. The object relative clause marker is an obligatory syntactic element in Runyankore-Rukiga object clausal relatives, which must agree with the relativized object, and may also agree with the matrix verb of the construction depending on the type of the construction. Consider the examples in (17a-b).

(17) a. *Abaana tibarikuzaana omupiira ogu omushaja yaabaha.*

A-ba-ana ti-ba-ri-ku-zaan-a o-mu-piira o-gu o-mu-shaja
IV-2-child NEG-2-COP-INF-play-FV IV-3-ball IV-3.REL IV-2-man

a-aa-ba-h-a

1.3SG-PASTim-2-give-FV

‘(The) children are not playing (a/the) ball which (a/the) man has given them.’

b. *Omupiira ogu abaana barikuzaana baaguheebwa omushomesa*

O-mu-piira o-gu a-ba-ana ba-ri-ku-zaan-a
IV-3-ball IV-3.REL IV-2-child 2-COP-INF-play-FV

ba-aa-gu-h-eebw-a o-mu-shomesa

3PL-PASTim-3-give-PASS-FV IV-1-teacher

‘The ball which (the) children are playing has been given to them by a/the teacher.’

Notice that in (17a), the relativized object **omupiira** (ball) agrees with the relative clause marker. In (17b), the structural head of the object clausal relative **omupiira** shows agreement with the object clausal relative marker and it is morphologically marked in the matrix verb.

An important question to consider in this section is whether the object clausal relative marker is a relative pronoun, as it is commonly labeled. In some Runyankore-Rukiga linguistic works, it is termed a relative pronoun (cf. Taylor, 1985; Ndoleriire & Oriikiriza, 1996). Cocchi (2004: 23-24) states that there are no relative pronouns in Bantu generally, corresponding to the English WH-phrases. Instead, she argues that affixes are used for the encoding of clausal relative meaning, which form agreement with the antecedent of the clausal relative, and are part of the verbal complex. Cheng and Downing (2007: 53) too point out that in Zulu, a Bantu language, there is no relative pronoun. Furthermore, Kinyalolo (1991), cited in Letsholo (2009: 137) argues that the relative pronoun in Bantu Languages is an abstract one, while Letsholo agrees with Kinyalolo, by arguing that Bantu languages possess null articles, and therefore the relative pronoun too is phonologically null. In the formation of object clausal relatives in Runyankore-Rukiga, an agreement-bearing complementizer, as a full-fledged lexical item, is argued for in this dissertation.

Another question to consider concerns whether the object clausal relative marker intrinsically relates to the demonstrative. Researchers such as Wald (1973), Zeller (2006) and Visser (2008) consider this stand-alone element as having a historical connection with the demonstrative. They argue that it evolved from the demonstrative. However, the demonstrative look-alike object clausal relative marker is none deictic, and also appears to have no anaphoric properties. If the object clausal relative marker was indeed demonstrative-like, it would exhibit the definiteness or specificity feature inherent in the demonstrative. However, a nominal head modified by an object clausal relative is ambiguously (in)definite and (non-)specific. The current study, therefore, treats this demonstrative look-alike syntactic element as a complementizer bearing inflectional morphology of agreement of the clausal relativized object noun. Moreover, not all object clausal relative markers resemble the demonstrative (cf. table 20). Nonetheless, through linguistic evolution, one can argue that the demonstrative, as an inherently definite and specific nominal modifier, developed into the object clausal relative marker, and that, due to grammaticalization, it may have lost both the deictic and anaphoric properties. An open question that emerges at this point concerns why the same tendency is not manifested in the subject clausal relative structure.

Although the object clausal relative marker is to a greater extent similar in form to the (proximal) demonstrative (cf. examples in (17) above or table 20), it does not function like an anaphoric

demonstrative. Unless a preceding discourse is considered or common knowledge is assumed, the object clausal relative, based on the object clausal relative marker, morpho-syntactically does not lead to the interpretation of the head noun as a definite entity. Recall that for a noun to be definite, according to Lyons (1999), the referent must be known to both the speaker and hearer (cf. section 1.6.4 and 2.2.5) due to either the identifiability or inclusiveness factor. The object clausal relative marker is, therefore, semantically different from the demonstrative, and it is not a relative pronoun as some authors state because relative pronouns are definite. The object relative marker is treated here categorially as an agreement-bearing complementizer. Therefore, the head of a clausal relative is a CP, which shares agreement properties with the lexical head of the relative clause. The head of the phrase is capable of receiving definite and specific readings if an appropriate pragmatic context is assumed.

Table 20 below presents the proximal demonstrative forms compared to object clausal relative markers for noun classes 1-18.

Noun Class	Proximal demonstrative forms	Object clausal relative forms
1 -mu-	ogu (a-gu)	(o)u
2 -ba-	aba (a-ba)	(a)bu
3 -mu-	ogu (a-gu)	(o)gu
4 -mi-	egi (a-gi)	(e)i
5 -ri-	eri (a-ri)	(e)ri
6 -ma-	aga (a-ga)	(a)gu
7 -ki-	eki (a-ki)	(e)ki
8 -bi-	ebi (a-bi)	(e)bi
9 -n-	egi (a-gi)	(e)i
10 -n-	ezi (a-zi)	(e)zi
11 -ru-	oru (a-ru)	(o)ru
12 -ka-	aka (a-ka)	(a)ku
13 -tu-	otu (a-tu)	(o)tu
14 -bu-	obu (a-bu)	(o)bu
15 -ku-	oku (a-ku)	(o)ku
16 -ha-	aha (a-ha)	(a)hu
17 -ku-	oku (a-ku)	(e)i
18 -mu-	omu (a-mu)	(o)mu

Table 20: Comparison of proximal demonstrative forms with the forms of the object clausal relative markers⁸²

⁸² Note that the difference between subject and object clausal relative forms is that, object clausal relative forms are phonologically independent elements while subject clausal relative markers are structurally dependent on the subject clausal verb.

As table 20 shows, some forms of object relative markers are similar to the demonstrative, while others are not exactly the same. The demonstrative contains an obligatory core morpheme **a** which the object clausal relative markers do not exhibit. In addition, object clausal relatives permit an optional IV, thereby exhibiting the anaphoric property of the demonstrative, when the head of the clausal relative is implicit. Other than the surface resemblance, the object clausal relative and the demonstrative are semantically distinct. As far as the IV is concerned, in object clausal relative formation, the IV of the object relative marker can be omitted without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence.

When the head of an object clausal relative is a locative pronominal element (cf. section 7.3.1.3), an obligatory locative resumptive pronominal element is attached to the verb of the clausal relative (cf. (18a)). In (18b), the locative noun is the head of the object clausal relative, and it is not mandatory for the locative noun to have an agreeing locative enclitic on the verb, if there is no locative nominal element contained in the clause (see section 4.3.2.1).

(18) a. *Timwaraba mu muhanda ogu twarabiremu*

Ti-mu-aa-rab-a *mu* *mu-handa* *o-gu* *tu-a-rab-ire-mu*
 NEG-2PL-PASTim-pass-FV 18.in 3-path IV-3.REL 1PL-PAST-pass-PAST-18.in
 ‘You have not used the (same) path which we used.’

b. *Mwaraba omuhanda ogu twaresirwe(mu)*

mu-aa-rab-a *o-mu-handa* *o-gu* *tu-a-rab-ire-(mu)*
 2PL-PASTim-pass-FV IV-3-path IV-3.REL 1PL-PAST-pass-PAST-18.in
 ‘You have used the (same) path which we used.’

The illustrations in (18a-b) show agreement between the logical subject, the relative marker and the main verb. The base-generated object, which is the head of the clausal relative construction, agrees with the main verb. The object clausal relative can occur anywhere in the construction (cf. Taylor, 1985), as in (18b), which exemplifies the occurrence of the object clausal relative preceding the main clause. Even in (19a) (below), the relative clause precedes the main clause, because this relative clause plays the nominal syntactic function of the subject of the main clause. The difference between (19a) and (19b) is that in (19b) the antecedent of the relative clause is right-dislocated.

(19a) *Okucondooza oku poriisi yaakozire kukooreka ku ataine mushango**O-ku-condooza o-ku poriisi a-a-koz-ire ku-ka-orek-a*

IV-15-investigation IV-15.REL 9.police 9-PAST-do-PERF 15-PASTrm-show-FV

ku a-ta-ine mu-shango

that 3SG-NEG-have 3-case

‘The investigation which police carried out showed that (s)he is innocent.’

b. *Oku poriisi yaakozire okucondooza kukoreka ku ataine mushango**O-ku poriisi a-aa-koz-ire o-ku-condooza ku-ka-orek-a*

IV-15.REL 9.police 9.3SG-PAST-do-PERF IV-15-investigation 15-PASTrm-show-FV

ku a-ta-ine mu-shango

that 1.3SG-NEG-have 3-case

‘The investigation which police carried out showed that (s)he is innocent.’

Some Bantu languages, such as isiXhosa (Du Plessis & Visser, 1992; Du Plessis, 2007), Chichewa (Mchombo, 2004), Zulu (Cheng & Downing, 2007) employ the resumptive pronoun strategy in relative clause formation. Runyankore-Rukiga, however, does not use the resumptive pronoun strategy, as the ungrammaticality of (20) shows (the issue of resumption is dealt with in subsection 7.3.5).

(20) **Ebihembo (e)bi abeegi baa(*bi)tungire**E-bi-hembo (e-)bi a-be-egi ba-a-(*)bi-tung-ire*

IV-8-gifts IV-8.REL IV-2-students 2- PAST-8-get-PERF

‘(The) gifts which students received...’

Bear in mind that it is necessary to provide the basic typology of respective nominal modifiers due to the fact that morpho-syntactic features of a given modifier directly or indirectly influence the pragmatic interpretations of the modified head noun. It is, for instance, pertinent to investigate whether a given modifier permits an IV which is a determiner specified for the specificity feature, and definite in the syntactic context where a *pro* is the head of the phrase. In addition, it is necessary to give information regarding whether a given modifier moves within a DP. Information regarding the permissibility of the IV with modifiers is equally important for

subsequent analysis of a given modifier. Such considerations guide in the interpretation of the head noun in terms of its morpho-syntactic and discourse-pragmatic readings as regards (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity.

Having provided the basic properties regarding the morpho-syntax of both subject and clausal relatives, the next section examines the role of clausal relatives, as nominal modifiers in the realization of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity. Note that the object clausal relative is not a demonstrative or a pronoun but an agreement-bearing complementizer. Note also that the discussion on the morpho-syntax of clausal relatives has shown that the IV is not an inherent morphological part of clausal relatives. Hence, the presence of the optional IV is viewed as having discourse-pragmatic roles it plays in the inflectional morphology of clausal relatives, marking specificity and contrastive focus, as established in the next subsection.

7.3.4 (In)definiteness and (non-)specificity marking within DPs modified by clausal relatives

Taylor (1985: 22) asserts that the presence of an IV in the inflectional morphology of the clausal relative in Runyankore-Rukiga renders the noun it modifies definite. It is apparent, however, that the IV occurring with clausal relatives may not necessarily identify the referent of the relativized noun. It instead contributes to the particularization of referents. Therefore, in this dissertation, it is argued that the relative clause in Runyankore-Rukiga does not afford definite meaning to the head noun. With or without the presence of the IV, the clausal relative generally provides more descriptive content about an entity, from many other entities satisfying the description. When an IV is attached to a clausal relative, its categorial status is that of a determiner, serving to add a feature of identifying the entity as being particular, thereby serving to alert the hearer to realize that the speaker has something specific in mind to which (s)he (the speaker) wishes to draw his/her (the hearer) attention to. The subject clausal relative illustrated in (21), adopted from Taylor (1985: 22), is reanalysed here as exhibiting [-/+ definite +specific +contrastive focus] features.

(21) *Akacumu akarikuhandiika gye kari aha meeza*⁸³

A-ka-cumu a-ka-ri-ku-handiik-a gye ka-ri a-ha Ø-meeza
 IV-12-pen IV-12-COP-INF-write-FV well 12-is IV-16.on 9-table
 ‘(The) (specific) pen that writes well is on the table.’

The determiner IV, attached to the relative inflectional verb in (21), signifies that the speaker has in mind a particular pen that writes well (s)he is referring to. The hearer may or may not be familiar with the particular pen. Hence, the definite reading of the given lexical head is determined through the pragmatic context. The referent **akacumu** (pen) is particularized, in the sense that there are other referents with the same description assumed, which have been excluded and can potentially fill the same position. The alternative pens assumed in the given discourse do not write well. In the absence of the IV, the head noun is ambiguous between a specific and non-specific reading, and there are no other pens that are necessarily assumed. Therefore, the feature of contrastive focus, which interacts with the feature of specificity, stems from the presence of the determiner IV in the given context. The feature of specificity is encoded in D and the determiner moves to the Focus Phrase where it picks the feature of contrastive focus.

The sentences in (22a-b) (from Taylor 1985: 22) exemplify an object clausal relative.

(22) a. *Akacumu (a)ku waakozesa kari aha meeza.*

A-ka-cumu (a-)ku w-aa-koz-es-a ka-ri a-ha Ø-meeza
 IV-12-pen IV-12.REL 2SG-PASTim-use-CAUS-FV 12-COP IV-16.on 9-table
 ‘The (specific) pen that you have used is on the table.’

b. *Akacumu ku waakozesa kari aha meeza.*

A-ka-cumu ku w-aa-koz-es-a ka-ri a-ha Ø-meeza
 IV-12-pen 12.REL 2SG-PASTim-use-CAUS-FV 12-COP IV-16.on 9-table
 ‘[The] the pen which you used is on the table.’

When the determiner IV manifests itself in the inflectional morphology of object clausal relatives (cf. (22a-b)), the IV does not guarantee the identifiability of the referent to the hearer. Instead, the referent receives a feature of specificity and contrastive focus, because the IV denotes a selected entity that is particular in the mind of the speaker. In addition, depending on the

⁸³ The glosses are mine.

discourse context, the referent may further receive emphasis. When a referent is said to be definite, both speaker and hearer are assumed to have knowledge of the given referent. From the illustrations given above ((22a-b), the definiteness reading is contributed by the tense of the verb in the relative clause, and not necessarily the IV attached to the object relative. The speaker is directly addressing the hearer to locate the referent (s)he (the hearer) used previously, an indication that the hearer knows it (the pen). On the other hand, the corresponding construction, where the IV is absent in the inflectional morphology of the clausal relative in (22b), it implies that the entity is definite on the basis of the tense of the relative verb.

(23) *Aku waakozesa kari aha meeza.*

A-ku w-aa-koz-es-a ka-ri a-ha Ø-meeza

IV-12.REL 1.3SG-PASTim-use-CAUS-FV 12-COP IV-16.on 9-table

‘The one which you used is on the table.’

Concerning (23), the head of the clausal relative is a *pro* implying that its antecedent is familiar, for instance, from a previous discourse. Therefore, the ellipited referent is a particular entity, which both the speaker and hear know about.

The structures in (24) below (representing the CP structures in (22) and (23) present the occurrence of the IV as a functional determiner with specificity and contrastive focus features in DPs containing CPs, the head of the CP being a clausal relative marker.

(24) a. The agreement bearing morpheme occurs without an IV;

(i) *Akacumu ku waakozesa*

(ii) [DP[NP[akacumu [AgrP Agr [DP D Ø [CP [ku] TP T[VP]]]]]]]
cl.12 [+/-definite -specific]

b. The agreement bearing morpheme occurs with an optional IV;

(i) *Akacumu (a)ku waakozesa*

(ii) [DP[NP[akacumu[FOCP FOC [AgrP Agr[DP D [CP[aku] TP T[VP]]]]]]]]]
cl.12 [+/-definite +specific +focus]

c. The CP appears preceding the head noun; the CP head is a compulsory IV determiner

(i) **(A)ku waakozesa akacumu*

(ii) [FOCP FOC [AgrP Agr [DP D [CP[aku] TP T[VP [DP[NP[akacumu]]]]]]]]]
cl.12 [+definite +specific +focus +emphasis]

- d. The object clausal relative occurs with a phonetically empty head; the CP head is a compulsory IV determiner
- (i) **(A)ku waakozesa*
- (ii) [FOCP FOC [AgrP Agr[DP D [CP[aku] TP T[VP]]]]]]
cl.12 [+definite +specific +focus]

Clausal relatives are inherently neutral in relation to the semantic properties of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity. However, unlike the other modifiers discussed in sections 6.2 and 6.3, which bear the same semantic property, clausal relatives contribute to the interpretation of the head noun by narrowing down the set of entities with the same description. This is the reason as to why clausal relatives are often used to contribute further information in the process of identifying an intended referent in a given communicative event. This has been exemplified, for instance in the investigation of the definite functional determiner **-a** (for example, see example (52b) in section 5.3.4, but also see section 7.3.7.2, or section 8.4 for the analysis of the indefinite lexical item **haine**).

7.3.5 The resumptive pronoun strategy

7.3.5.1 A brief investigation

Some Bantu languages, such as the languages of the Nguni⁸⁴ group in Southern Africa (cf. Du Plessis 2007; Du Plessis & Visser, 1992; Zeller, 2006, 2004, Cheng & Downing, 2007, among others) and Chichewa (Mchombo, 2004), use the resumptive pronoun strategy in the formation of clausal relatives. However, there is no resumptive pronoun in relative clause constructions in Runyankore-Rukiga⁸⁵. Nevertheless, there is an exception in Runyankore-Rukiga, since there are syntactic structures which show ‘object’ agreement morphology, because they share some properties with the object agreement prefix of direct objects. These include locatives and prepositional phrases containing the preposition **na** (with). Whereas an object agreement prefix is free to appear in the verb in a non-relativized construction, a resumptive pronoun in Runyankore-Rukiga is impermissible in direct object relatives, as the ungrammaticality of example (20) above shows. Instead, what is close to a resumptive pronoun is found in

⁸⁴ These are [S40] languages, namely, Xhosa, Zulu, Swati and Southern Transvaal Ndebele (Zeller 2004:220).

⁸⁵ Riedel (2010) observes that Haya [JE22], a language closely related to Runyankore-Rukiga does not use a resumptive pronoun as well.

constructions in prepositional phrases involving the preposition **na** (with) and relative locative constructions involving locative pronominals, as discussed below.

7.3.5.2 Resumption in prepositional phrases

In a relative construction which contains the preposition **na**, a resumptive pronominal element is required on the preposition **na**, referring back to the object relative head. An ungrammatical construction results if the pronoun is not attached to the preposition **na**, as the example of a commutative construction in (25b) demonstrates.

(25) a. ***Tukeeta abagyenyi (a)bu Kato yaagyenzire nabo.***

Tu-ka-et-a *a-ba-gyenyi (a)-bu* *Kato* *a-aa-gyend-ire*
 1PL-PASTrm-call-FV IV-2-visitor IV-2.REL Kato.PN 1.3SG-PAST-go-PAST
na-ba-o
 with-2-ABS
 ‘We called the visitors whom Kato went with (them).’

b. ****Tukeeta abagyenyi (a)bu Kato yaagyenzire na***

Tu-ka-et-a *a-ba-gyenyi (a)-bu* *Kato* *a-aa-gyend-ire* *na*
 1PL-PASTrm-call-FV IV-2-visitor IV-2.REL Kato.PN 1.3SG -PAST-go-PAST with
 ‘We called the visitors whom Kato went with.’

A resumptive pronominal element is also required in reciprocal constructions, as shown in (26).

(26) ***Tiimu ei twazaana nayo twagiteera.***

Ø-tiimu e-i *tu-aa-zaan-a* *na-i-o* *tu-aa-gi-teer-a*
 9-team IV-9.REL 1PL-PASTim-play-FV with-9-ABS 1PL-PASTim-9-beat-FV
 ‘The team we played with, we beat it.’

However, the co-occurrence of a matching resumptive pronominal element with the preposition **na-** is not appropriate to all arguments. For instance, if an instrumental object is relativized in a causative construction, a pronominal element referring back to it is disallowed. In addition, in non-causativized sentences, the appearance of a pronominal of the object antecedent makes the construction sound odd. These exceptions are exemplified below in (27) and (28) respectively.

(27) **Efuka ei twahingisa nayo baagitiiza.*

E-∅-fuka e-i tu-a-hing-is-a na-i-o ba-aa-gi-tiiz-a
 IV-9-hoe IV-9.REL 1PL-PASTim-dig-CUAS-FV with-9-ABS 3PL-PASTim-9-borrow-FV
 ‘The hoe which we have used to dig (with it) has been borrowed (by someone).’

(28) *?Efuka ei twahinga nayo baagitiiza.*

E-∅-fuka e-i tu-aa-hing-a na-i-o ba-aa-gi-tiiz-a
 IV-9-hoe IV-9.REL 1PL-PASTim-dig-FV with-9.ABS 3PL-PASTim-borrow-FV
 ‘The hoe which we have used to dig (with it) has been borrowed (by someone).’

In terms of definiteness encoding, the ‘pronoun’ of the complement of the preposition **na**, bears the definiteness feature, similar to object agreement prefixes (cf. 4.3.1) bearing in mind that pronouns encode familiar information.

7.3.5.3 Locative relative clauses

The discussion under this section is concerned with the formation of locative clausal relatives, pronominal resumption involving locative entities and how definiteness and specificity features are realized in these subordinate clauses (for a brief discussion on the morpho-syntax of locative constructions, see section 4.3.2.1).

The following illustrations in (29a)-(29b) involving locative object clauses demonstrate that a locative object (29a) obligatorily triggers a locative agreement enclitic on the relative clausal verb, and agrees with the matrix verb too in Runyankore-Rukiga. When the clausal relative is headed by a locative nominal element, as shown in (29b), the relative clause requires an obligatory locative resumptive pronominal (cf. section 4.3.2.1) to be attached to the matrix verb. In (29c) the locative enclitic need not be attached to the matrix verb, because the locative prepositional element is not the head of the clausal relative.

(29) a. *Enju ei abagyenyi baatahamu terimu ntebe.*

E-n-ju e-i a-ba-gyenyi ba-aa-taah-a-mu ti-e-ri-mu
 IV-9-house IV-9.REL IV-2-visitor 2-PASTim-enter-FV-18.in NEG-9-be-18.in
n-tebe
 10-chair

‘There are no chairs in the house where (the) visitors have entered.’

b. *Omu nju omu abagyenyi baataaha tiharimu ntebe.*

O-mu n-ju o-mu a-ba-gyenyi ba-aa-taah-a ti-ha-ri-mu
 IV-18.in 9-house IV-18.in IV-2-visitor 1-PASTim-enter-FV NEG-16-be-18.in
n-tebe
 10-chair

‘In the house, where (the) visitors have entered there are no chairs.’

c. *Enju (e)i abagyenyi baataahamu tekondwire.*

E-n-ju (e)-i a-ba-gyenyi ba-aa-taah-a-mu ti-e-kond-w-ire
 IV-9-house 9.REL IV-2-visitor 2-PASTim-FV-in.18 NEG-9-sweep-PASS-STAT
 ‘The house which (the) visitors have entered is not swept.’

In (29a), the locative expression **enju**, as the head of the clausal relative, agrees with an attached locative resumptive pronominal **-mu** on the verb of the clausal relative, as an in-location. Further, notice that the agreement bearing complementizer is in agreement with the locative noun heading the object relative clause. Another strategy with regard to relative formation would be to begin the phrase with the locative preposition **omu** (in) as illustrated in (29b). **Omu**, as a nominal head, triggers agreement with the complementizer and the matrix verb, while (e.g. as in (29a)) the matrix verb agrees with the head noun **enju** and the verb of the relative clause does not occur with the locative pronominal **-mu**. In (29c), on the other hand, the head of the relative clause obligatorily agrees with the complementizer but does not agree with the main verb.

From the above illustrations, two kinds of relative clause formation strategies are noted in which locative phrases are involved. In each case, two kinds of agreement markers co-indexed to the head of the object relative clause are realized. One is inside the relative clause attached as an enclitic (cf. (29a)), the second one is where a locative nominal element precedes a locative noun, and agrees with the locative complementizer as well as the matrix verb (cf. (29b)).

Locative resumptive pronominals exhibit the [+definite +specific] properties, since they are cross-referenced to entities already established in the discourse, and hence marking an entity that the hearer already knows. This analysis is consistent with the conclusions made in section 4.3.2.2 about the role of the locative resumptive pronominals in non-relative clause structures.

It is pertinent to sketch out the co-existence of the clausal relative with other nominal modifiers, that is, those that are specified for the semantic feature of definiteness, and those that are neutral in relation to the semantic features of (in)definiteness. Illustrations with regard to the co-occurrence of clausal relative with an inherently indefinite and specific element **haine** are given in section 8.4.4. The purpose for the analysis of the combination of clausal relatives with other nominal modifiers is to study the effect of the (non-)occurrence of the IV with respect to the interpretation of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity. First, a clausal relative modifying a proper noun is examined.

7.3.6 A clausal relative in combination with a proper noun

Recall that proper names refer uniquely (cf. 4.6). However, they can be modified, for instance, by a clausal relative. Consider the illustration in (30).

(30) S1. ***Rukundo akagura hanu orugoye.***

Rukundo a-ka-gur-a ha-nu o-ru-goye

PN.Rukundo 1SG-PASTrm-buy-FV 16-here IV-11-cloth

‘Rukundo bought here a piece of clothing.’

S2. ***Rukundo oha (weena)?***

Rukundo o-ha (u-ona)?

Rukundo.PN. 1.3SG-Q.who (1-exactly)

‘Which Rukundo (exactly)?’

S1. ***Rukundo orikuruka *(e)by'emikono.***

*Rukundo o-ri-ku-ruk-a *(e)-bi-a e-mi-kono*

PN.Rukundo 1.REL-COP-INF-weave-FV (IV-8-GEN IV-4-hand

‘The Rukundo who makes crafts.’

If there are more than one Rukundo known to the hearer (and to the speaker), a relative clause can be used to provide more information to uniquely identify the specific Rukundo that the speaker is talking about. Therefore, although proper names uniquely refer (cf. section 4.5.3), sometimes, they are modified, in case there is more than one known referent bearing the same name. Let us now consider the co-existence of a clausal relative with other nominal modifiers.

7.3.7 Co-occurrence of clausal relatives with inherently definite modifiers

The following illustrations and discussions are aimed at presenting the interpretation of definiteness and specificity involving a clausal relative in combination with other modifiers in the nominal domain which contain an inherent semantic feature of definiteness (cf. chapter 5). For illustration purposes, a demonstrative and the functional determiner **-a** are considered.

7.3.7.1 Clausal relatives in combination with a demonstrative

(31) a. *Shara ahari*⁸⁶ *ogwo muyembe (o)gu naareeta.*

\emptyset -*shar-a* *a-ha-ri* *a-gu-o* *mu-yembe (o)-gu*
2SG-cut-IMP IV-16.on-EXPLET DEMrt-3-MEDIAL 3-mango IV-3.REL

n-aa-reet-a

1SG-PASTim-bring- FV

‘Cut a piece from that (specific) mango which I have brought.’

b. (i) *Shara ahari ogwo muyembe gu naareeta.*

\emptyset -*shar-a* *a-ha-ri* *a-gu-o* *mu-yembe gu*
2SG-Cut-FV IV-16.on-EXPLET DEMrt-3-MEDIAL 3-mango 3.REL

n-aa-reet-a

1SG-PASTim-bring- FV

‘Cut a piece from that mango which I have brought.’

(ii) *?Shara aha muyembe ogwo gu naareeta.*

\emptyset -*shar-a* *a-ha* *mu-yembe a-gu-o* *gu*
2SG-cut-FV IV-16.on 3-mango DEMrt-3-MEDIAL 3.REL

n-aa-reet-a

1SG-PASTim-bring- FV

‘Cut a piece from that mango which I have brought.’

Definiteness and specificity features realized on the lexical head **omuyembe** (mango) in (31a) stem from the presence of the deictic demonstrative. Notice also that the head noun and the

⁸⁶ The locative nominal **aha** (or **omu**) is required to have an added expletive morpheme **-ri** when the locative precedes a demonstrative to enable locative inversion. The empty morpheme **-ri** is also syntactically required on either **omu** or **aha** when preceding a proper name.

object clausal relative appear with an IV. The presence of the determiner IV in both categories is motivated by pragmatic encoding of additional specificity or emphasis. In addition, the IV of the clausal relative signals that there could be other mangoes available, and attaching the determiner IV on the agreement-bearing complementizer singles out one particular mango which the speaker has brought. The inference resulting from the omission of the determiner IV, as in (i) of (31b) is that the speaker does not presuppose the existence of other potential mangoes. Hence, the mango referred to is assumed to be the only mango available. In the natural spoken form, the demonstrative appears in the prenominal position if the clausal relative is to appear with no IV (compare (i) of (31b) and (ii) of (31b)).

The next subsection, examines the combination of a clausal relative with the definite morpheme **-a**.

7.3.7.2 Clausal relatives in combination with the definite morpheme -a

The presence of the clausal relative in a given DP is mainly to supply more descriptive content to assist the hearer in arriving at the intended referent. As exemplified above, clausal relatives are allowed to co-exist with demonstratives. The demonstrative provides the deictic or anaphoric content for identification of the referent, while the clausal relative narrows down further the identification procedure to one intended referent. In addition, if the determiner IV is part of the inflectional morphology of the clausal relative, the addressee is directed to one identifiable particular referent out of other potential entities. When the clausal relative is used in conjunction with the definite functional **-a** (cf. section 5.3 for the analysis of the determiner **-a**), the speaker assumes that the referent in question forms a representation in the mind of the hearer, for there is assumed knowledge shared between the discourse participants. However, if the speaker realizes that the referent is not readily activated in the mind of the hearer, the speaker may accompany the definite functional determiner with a clausal relative to add descriptive material to assist the hearer to arrive at the right referent. Thus, the clausal relative may have no inherent semantic feature of definiteness, but its role in activating a presumed familiar referent is recognized. Recall the examples in (52) in section 5.3.4, repeated here for purposes of illustration in (32a-b).

(32) a. ***Kya kiteteeyi kikanga kumpika****Ki-a ki-teteeyi ki-ka-ang-a ku-n-hik-a*

7-DEF 7-dress 7-PASTrm-refuse-FV INF-1SG-fit-FV

‘The other dress could not fit me.’

b. ***Kya kiteteeyi ki naaguzire buriya turi hamwe kikanga kumpika****Ki-a ki-teteeyi ki n-aa-guz-ire bu-riya tu-ri hamwe*

7-DEF 7-dress 7.REL 1SG-PAST-buy-PAST 14-DIST 1SG-COP together

ki-ka-ang-a ku-n-hik-a

7-PASTrm-refuse-FV INF-1SG-fit-FV

‘The other dress which I bought the other time when we were together could not fit me’

c. ***Kyakindi eki naaguzire tugiire omu katare****Ki-a-ki-ndi e-ki n-aa-guz-ire tu-gi-ire o-mu*

7-DEF-7-other IV-7.REL 1SG-PAST-buy-PAST 1PL-go-PAST IV-18.in

ka-tare

12-market

‘The other one which I bought when we went to the market’

The presence of the functional determiner **-a** implies that the speaker assumes that (s)he shares information about the dress with the addressee. If the hearer expresses lack of shared knowledge, the speaker provides more information to aid the hearer in processing the information so that (s)he is able to arrive at the exact referent the speaker has in mind. One of the mechanisms used to provide more information is by use of a clausal relative, as demonstrated in (32b). The object clausal relative marker usually does not attract an IV in the DP where the definite **-a** too exists. In case it is attached, its purpose is to lay emphasis on the head noun. Alternatively, the speaker may repeat the utterance leaving out the lexical head, and using the long form of the functional determiner (cf. section 5.3.5), as in (32c), to lay more emphasis to the head noun.

7.3.8 A clausal relative in combination with an adjective

Clausal relatives, as noted already, are inherently neutral with regard to the properties of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity. Possessives and adjectives too, as discussed already in chapter six are unspecified for the same features. In section 6.4.5, the co-occurrence of a

possessive modifier and a nominal relative was examined. The illustrations given below demonstrate the occurrence of a clausal relative and an adjective in one DP, and the interpretations that result, based on the (non-)occurrence of the IV, as well as the position each modifier assumes.

(33) a. *Ndeetera ekiibo (e)kihango (e)ki turikuriiramumu oburo.*

N-reet-er-a *(e)-ki-ibo* *(e)-ki-hango* *(e)-ki*
 1SG-bring-APPL-FV IV-7-basket IV-7-big IV-7.REL

tu-ri-ku-ri-ir-a-mu *o-bu-ro*
 1PL-COP-INF-eat-APPL-FV-18.in IV-14-millet

‘Bring me a/the big basket which we use to serve millet bread.’

b. *Ndeetera *(e)kihango *(e)ki turikuriiramumu oburo*

N-reet-er-a **(e)-ki-hango* **(e)-ki* *tu-ri-ku-ri-ir-a-mu*
 1SG-bring-APPL-FV IV-7-big IV-7.REL 1PL-COP-INF-eat-APPL-FV-18.in

o-bu-ro
 IV-14-millet

‘Bring me the big one which we use to serve millet bread.’

c. *Ndeetera *(e)ki turikuriiramumu oburo ekiibo *(e)kihango.*

N-reet-er-a **(e)-ki* *tu-ri-ku-ri-ir-a-mu* *o-bu-ro*
 1SG-bring-APPL-FV IV-7.REL 1PL-COP-INF-eat-APPL-FV-18.in IV-14-millet

(e)-ki-ibo **(e)-ki-hango*
 IV-7-basket IV-7-big

‘Bring me the one we use to serve millet bread, the big basket.’

Notice that the adjective and the object agreement-bearing complementizer in (33a) both occur with an optional determiner IV. The presence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of both modifiers signifies a single specific basket which the hearer is assumed to be familiar with. In the pragmatic context of (33a), it is required that both the adjective and clausal relative occur with an IV, if they are to occur with one. Otherwise, they should both appear without one. For both the adjective and clausal relative to take an IV is evidence that the hearer is assumed to know the basket referred to. The presence of the IV on the adjective modifier denotes the presence of only

one big basket, out of other baskets presumably smaller in size, while the IV of the clausal relative signifies that it is that big basket, out of other baskets, that is used to serve millet bread. Hence, when both nominal modifiers take an IV, it implies that all other baskets, except the one that the speaker is communicating about, are not big, and all other baskets available in the discourse are not used for serving millet bread. The assumed definiteness feature is a result of the fact that the referent has two modifiers with an IV, which reduce the set from possible referents considerably, making it possible for the hearer to identify the basket that the speaker has in mind. The other contributing factor results from the role the clausal relative plays in the nominal domain, that is, by reducing the number of entities with the same description. Hence, with the help of another syntactic cue, as the presence of the IV on both nominal modifiers in (33a) can be interpreted, it is possible that the hearer will identify the referent.

In the case of the adjective and clausal relative appearing with a *pro* head, both modifiers grammatically require an IV rendering the head noun definite and specific with an extra feature of contrastive focus. Consider also when the object clausal relative precedes the head noun with the adjective in the postnominal position, as given in (33c). Both the object clausal relative and adjective require an IV in their given positions. The occurrence of the clausal relative preceding the head noun can be taken as if the clausal relative modifies a phonologically null head. Consequently, the head noun is regarded to be familiar. However, the head noun follows the clausal relative after a pause. The prosodic break signals that the speaker realizes that although the hearer can identify the basket, more information is needed. The added information is about the attributive feature of the basket. Hence, the hearer is further guided to pick a big basket, and perhaps not a small basket, meaning that there is at least one big basket and one other basket that is smaller in size, and both baskets are used to serve millet. Therefore, the positions which the adjective and clausal relative assume in relation to the head noun give rise to different interpretations of the head noun (for instance, compare the examples in (33a) and (33c)).

The permutations involving clausal relatives are particularly peculiar, in that relatives exhibit some degree of specificity. If the speaker intends to add more descriptive information regarding a particular referent, it is most probably provided in a relative clause, an indication that there is probably a certain referent to which attention needs to be paid. However, this is not to say that clausal relatives are inherently [+definite +specific] like demonstratives, for instance. Their role

is mainly to reduce the possible number of referents in the universe of discourse meeting the same description. Adding the IV completes the task, by eliminating all other possible alternatives, and remaining with one particular entity, which can be identifiable, if the discourse-pragmatic factors determine so. In addition, the co-occurrence of the adjective and clausal relative both bearing the IV, as illustrated in (33a), is a strong manifestation for the interpretation of the head noun as a definite and specific entity.

7.4 Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to establish the morpho-syntactic as well as discourse-pragmatic realizations of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity DPs containing a relative clause. Two kinds of relative clauses have been discussed, that is, nominal and clausal relatives. Nominal relatives bear nominal and clausal properties, and include mainly color terms, and the motivation for the term nominal relatives has been given. Clausal relatives are of two kinds, that is, subject and object clausal relatives. In addition, it has been observed that Runyankore-Rukiga does not use the resumptive pronoun strategy in relative clause formation, which would lead to definite encoding of the head of the clause. However, close to the resumptive pronoun are the locative resumptive pronominals, as well as a resumptive pronominal attached to the preposition **na** (with), which denotes a definite entity in the same way an agreement prefix of a direct object would.

It has been established that a relative clause provides additional descriptive content to aid the hearer in arriving at the intended referent. Essentially the role of the IV attached to either a nominal or clausal relative has been central to the discussion, whereby its presence introduces the feature of specificity to the head noun. In addition, the IV contrastively focuses the hearer's attention to one lexical head, thereby eliminating all other alternatives available. The data provided in this chapter gives further evidence that the IV is a DP head exhibiting [+specific +contrastive focus] features in Runyankore-Rukiga.

Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that the IV as an optional element in the inflectional morphology of both nominal and clausal relatives, is not a determiner of definiteness except when the modifier occurs with a *pro* head. In this regard, the IV, which occurs as an obligatory

element in the absence of a lexical head, appears to possess definiteness features comparable to the anaphoric properties of the demonstrative. This manifestation strengthens the claim associating the IV to have originated from the core demonstrative **a** (cf. chapter six). Note that the IV we are concerned about in the current study is the type that occurs optionally in the inflectional morphology of nominal modifiers which exhibit a neutral feature with regard to (in)definiteness. It is, however, the discourse-pragmatic context that mainly determines the (in)definiteness feature of the referent of a head noun.

This chapter and the preceding chapter have shown that the IV has morpho-syntactic as well as discourse-pragmatic roles it plays in determining pragmatic readings, particularly specificity, contrastive focus and emphasis of the modified lexical head. Another category of modifiers with inherent indefinite semantic meaning is considered in the next chapter. The modifiers in this category are assumed to render the nouns they modify indefinite. Under this category are some quantifiers, such as **-ndi** (others), **-mwe** (some), and question word **-ha** (what/who/which). In addition, the lexical item **haine** (a certain) which exhibits [-definite +specific] features is included in the discussion.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DEFINITENESS AND SPECIFICITY MARKING WITH NOMINAL MODIFIERS WITH AN INHERENT LEXICAL SEMANTIC PROPERTY OF INDEFINITENESS

8.1 Introduction

Chapter five considered modifiers which exhibit an inherent semantic feature of definiteness and specificity, which included demonstratives, the grammatical functional morphemes **-a** and **nya-** and the universal quantifiers such as **huri** (every), **-ona** (all), among others. It was thus established that Runyankore-Rukiga has lexical as well as functional elements marking definiteness and specificity. In chapter six and seven, nominal modifiers which particularly allow an optional IV, and which have an inherent neutral feature of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity were examined, with particular interest in the interpretations of nominal expressions with or without the VI. This chapter is aimed at investigating another category of nominal modifiers assumed to possess an inherent semantic feature of indefiniteness, namely, **-mwe** (some), **-ona** (any), **-ingi** (many), the indefinite **-ndi** (other) and the indefinite interrogative **-ha** (which/who). The impersonal **haine/hariho** (there is) too is examined. Although there are definite markers in Runyankore-Rukiga, as discussed in chapter five, there seems to be no morphological elements, whose sole role is to mark the noun as indefinite. As the discussion will reveal, most of the above listed indefinite modifiers are acceptable in definite contexts.

Lyons (1999) states that an indefinite referent is generally not assumed to have shared familiarity between the discourse participants. With regard to indefinite quantifiers, for instance, the modified head nouns are exclusively referred to, and are therefore necessarily indefinite because of the inapplicability of the inclusiveness principle. In relation to the feature of specificity, a noun modified by an indefinite modifier is assumed to have a non-specificity reading. However, the occurrence of the optional IV attached to a given indefinite modifier may render the head noun specific. Of particular interest, further, is the lexical item **haine** which has the existential meaning ‘there-is’, with [-definite and +specific] properties (cf. 8.4). Semantically, **haine** is used to mark a particular entity, whose identifiability on the part of the hearer is un presupposed.

This chapter is organized as follows: section 8.2 analyses lexical elements categorized here as indefinite quantifiers, beginning with **-mwe** (some) in subsection 8.2.1, while subsection 8.2.2 examines **-ona** (any). In subsection 8.2.3, **-ingi** (many/much/several/ a lot of) is explored. Section 8.2.4 is concerned with **-ndi** (other). The indefinite interrogative **-ha** follows in section 8.3. Section 8.4 is devoted to the analysis of the specific indefinite impersonal **haine** (there is). Finally, section 8.5 summarizes the discussion with the key analyses made.

8.2 Indefinite quantifiers

The lexical elements examined as indefinite quantifiers are **-mwe** (some), **-ingi** (many, much/several), **-ona** (any) and **-ndi** (other). According to Rugemalira (2007) ‘all’, ‘both’⁸⁷, and ‘other’ are quantifiers while ‘many’ and ‘few’ are adjectives. Taylor (1985) as well considers **-ndi** as one of the quantifiers. However, Rugemalira (2007) argues that ‘few’ and ‘many’ are adjectives because quantifiers are not modifiable by an intensifier (e.g., very), yet, ‘few’ and ‘many’ can. According to Depraetere and Langford (2012), ‘few’ ‘many’ and ‘any’ (among others) are English quantifiers. There is therefore, lack of agreement as regards what word elements form the category of quantifiers. Morphologically, in Runyankore-Rukiga, the lexical words under consideration, exhibit the adjectival property of taking an appropriate nominal agreement prefix of the head noun, although they are not considered in the same category as adjectives. The motivation for examining them separate from adjectives is that, semantically, they encode the property of indefiniteness (by indicating an unspecified range over entities), whereas ‘true’ adjectives exhibit a neutral feature with regard to (in)definiteness. Note that the terminology adopted for the given lexical words, i.e. categorizing **-mwe** (some), **-ingi** (many) and **-ona** (any) as quantifiers does not affect their interpretations regarding definiteness and specificity.

⁸⁷ See respectively sections 5.6.3 and 5.6.5 for the discussion on **-ona** (all) and **-mbi** (both) as inherently definite modifiers.

8.2.1 -mwe (some)

8.2.1.1 Meaning and morpho-syntactic properties

The quantifier **-mwe** has a specified semantic property of indefiniteness by non-inclusiveness, and it means ‘some’. It is polysemic, in that it may also be rendered as the indefinite ‘one’. The quantifier **-mwe** canonically occurs in the postnominal position but it can occasionally move to the prenominal position. Furthermore, **-mwe**, like adjectives, shares with the noun it modifies its agreement properties (see examples in (1) below). The IV occurs optionally in the inflectional morphology of **-mwe**, for pragmatic reasons (cf. 1a-b), like in most other nominal modifiers discussed already. Additionally, **-mwe** too permits an empty category head for a referent that is already established in the discourse (cf. (1b)). In addition, the indefinite **-mwe** (some) can occur preceding the head noun for an extra feature of emphasis, as will be discussed in the next subsection.

(1) a *Ente (e)zimwe zaarya.*

E-n-te (e)-zi-mwe zi-aa-ri-a

IV-10-cow IV-10-some 10-PASTim-eat-FV

‘Some of the cows have grazed.’

b. *(E)zimwe zaarya.*

(e)-zi-mwe zi-aa-ri-a

IV-10-some 10-PASTim-eat-FV

‘Some have grazed.’

c. *(E)zimwe ente zaarya.*

(e)-zi-mwe e-n-te zi-aa-ri-a

IV-10-some IV-10-cow 10-PASTim-eat-FV

‘Some of the cows have grazed.’

8.2.1.2 Definiteness and specificity encoding in DPs containing -mwe

The quantifier **-mwe** expresses meaning about non-identifiable individuals excluded from a given familiar set. Concerning the specificity feature, the indefinite quantifier is generally regarded to encode non-specific reading. However, the occurrence of the IV in its inflectional morphology may imply a specific and focalized entity of the lexical head, as illustrated in (2).

(2) a. ***Banywani bangye bamwe nibamanya ngu ninshoma.****Ba-nywani ba-a⁸⁸-ngye ba-mwe ni-ba-manya ngu ni-n-shom-a*

2-friend 2-GEN-mine 2-some PROG-2-know that PROG-1SG-study-FV

‘Some friends of mine know that I am studying.’

b. ***Banywani bangye abamwe nibamanya ngu ninshoma.****Ba-nywani ba-a-ngye a- ba-mwe ni-ba-manya ngu ni-n-shom-a*

2-friend 2-GEN-mine IV-2-some PROG-2-know that PROG-1SG-study-FV

‘Some of my friends (particular ones?) know that I am studying.’

The referent modified by **-mwe** in both (2a) and (2b) is indefinite. The hearer may not rightly identify the referent modified by **-mwe**. In addition to the indefiniteness feature, the head noun in (2b) may receive a specificity reading due to the presence of the IV. However, the utterance of (2a) is a plain assertion about the referent, implying that the set of friends is not empty. By attaching an IV to the indefinite **-mwe**, the speaker further intends to emphasize the referent modified. Hence, the IV occurring in the inflectional morphology of **-mwe** gives the pragmatic reading of contrastive focus and an ambiguous interpretation of specificity of the lexical head. In addition, an extra feature of emphasis is encoded when **-mwe** precedes the noun, and when the IV is present, as exemplified in (3c).

The sentences in (3a-c) exemplify further the meaning of the quantifier **-mwe** with or without the IV.

(3) a. ***Ente zimwe zaarya.****E-n-te zi-mwe zi-aa-ri-a*

IV-10-cow 10-some 10-PASTim-eat-FV

‘Some cows have grazed.’

⁸⁸ On the surface, one vowel is written because the orthography rules of the language do not permit a double vowel before a nasal compound.

b. *Ente ezimwe zaarya.**E-n-te e-zi-mwe zi-aa-ri-a*

IV-10-cow IV-10-some 10-PASTim-eat-FV

‘Some of the cows have grazed.’

c. *(E)zimwe ente zaarya.**(e)-zi-mwe e-n-te zi-aa-ri-a*

IV-10-some IV-10-cow 10-PASTim-eat-FV

‘Some of the cows have grazed.’

In (3a) and (3b), the referent **ente** (cows) is rendered indefinite as a result of the presence of the indefinite quantifier **-mwe**. In (3a), there is a set of cows known to the speaker from which an assertion is made to a subset of its total members. The quantifier **-mwe** may allow for a specificity reading if an IV is affixed to it. In addition, an unidentified subset of the set of cows is selected. It may also mean that the cows in (3b) and (3c), which have grazed form the most salient part of the proposition, which may not necessarily be particular. Recall, however, that in both instances, the hearer is not in a position to identify the particular cows which have grazed, based on the morpho-syntax of the constructions.

Some Runyankore-Rukiga speakers argue that the IV appearing with the quantifier **-mwe** has no pragmatic meaning it carries. Others contend that **-mwe** which appears with an IV is the formal and frequently used form in the written discourse rather than **-mwe** (without IV), while others are of the view that it marks a particular set of entities. However, the current study relates the pragmatic meaning of contrastive focus or specificity to the IV occurring with the quantifier, if an appropriate pragmatic context is considered.

As is the case with most other modifiers so far discussed, the noun modified by **-mwe** may appear with a *pro* head category head. This occurs when the modifier is linked to an antecedent in the old discourse, regardless of the inherent semantic features of the modifier, as demonstrated (4a-b):

position to the pre-N, as shown in the structure in (5c) is necessitated by the need to mark an additional feature of emphasis.

In a different semantic setting, note that **-mwe** is also the stem for the indefinite ‘one’⁸⁹ in Runyankore-Rukiga. The following example in (6) demonstrates its usage and meaning.

(6) *Omuntu omwe akangira ngu esente bakazirya.*

O-mu-ntu o-mwe a-ka-n-gir-a ngu e-Ø-sente
IV-1-person 1-one 1.3SG-PASTrm-1SG-tell-FV that IV-10-money

ba-ka-zi-ri-a

3PL-PASTrm-10-eat-FV

‘Lit. One person told me that they actually ate the money.’

‘Someone told me that they embezzled the money.’

The identity of the referent modified by **-mwe** is not revealed. This is usually done deliberately to hide the identity of the subject, or when his/her identity is not important in the conversation. Although the referent is not revealed, and therefore, unknown to the hearer, (s)he remains a particular individual in the mind of the speaker. Recall that a specific referent concerns situations where the speaker has a particular entity in mind, but does not necessarily expect the hearer to uniquely distinguish it from other entities or individuals in the universe of discourse (cf. Lyons, 1999).

8.2.1.3 Co-occurrence of the indefinite **-mwe** and the demonstrative

Consider the following illustrations in (7) for the co-occurrence of the indefinite quantifier **-mwe** with an inherently definite nominal modifier, the demonstrative.

(7) a. *?Enju zimwe ezo tizirimu bantu.*

E-n-ju zi-mwe a-za-o ti-zi-ri-mu ba-ntu
IV-10-house 10-some DEMrt-10-MEDIAL NEG-10-COP-18.in 2-person

‘Lit. Some of those houses do not have people in them.’

‘Some of those houses are empty.’

⁸⁹ See the interpretation of **-mwe** as the numeral ‘one’ discussed in section 6.3.4 (cf. examples in (33) and the analyses that follow).

b. *Enju ezo ezimwe tizirimu bantu.*

E-n-ju *a-za-o* *e-zi-mwe* *ti-zi-ri-mu* *ba-ntu*
 IV-10-house DEMrt-10-MEDIAL IV-10-some NEG-10-COP-18.in 2-person
 ‘Lit. Some of those houses do not have people in them’
 ‘Some of those houses are empty.’

It is questionable for the demonstrative to co-occur with **-mwe** without an IV in the same nominal domain (cf. (7a)). Thus, the presence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of the indefinite quantifier appearing with a demonstrative makes the construction more acceptable. It appears that the absence of the IV makes the partitive meaning impossible. The DP receives contrastive focus reading due to the presence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of the quantifier, which co-occurs with a demonstrative. In addition, the referent of the DP is definite as a result of the presence of the demonstrative. One would expect the referent **enju** (houses) to be specific as a result of the presence of the demonstrative. However, the context given in (7b) does not favor a specific reading unambiguously. Imagine a context where the speaker and the hearer are taking a walk, and the speaker, who is presumed to be more familiar with the area points at some houses and says that *some of those houses are empty*. The houses are situationally identifiable but the fact that the speaker has used the quantifier ‘some’, entails that (s)he has not pointed at specific houses and has not necessarily singled out those particular ones which are empty. Therefore, it is arguable that the quantifier, with an IV attached to it, maintains an ambiguous reading of specificity, even in the presence of a demonstrative.

8.2.1.4 The indefinite **-mwe** (some) in combination with a possessive modifier

The indefinite quantifier can co-occur with one or more nominal modifiers which are categorized as having an unspecified semantic feature of (in)definiteness (cf. chapter six and seven). For purposes of demonstration, a possessive modifier is used. Already, the illustrations in (2) above include a possessive pronoun, which shows that possessive modifiers can combine with the quantifier **-mwe**. Consider again the construction in (8).

(8) *Ente (e)z'omushomesa (e)zimwe zaarya.**E-n-te (e)-zi-a o-mu-shomesa (e)-zi-mwe zi-aa-ri-a*

IV-10-cows IV-10-GEN IV-1-teacher IV-10-some 10-PASTim-eat-FV

'Some of the cows that belong to the teacher grazed.'

On the basis of the presence of the IV with the genitive, and the IV in the inflectional morphology of **-mwe** (some), the interpretation obtained is that some cows that belong to the teacher have grazed while some other cows of the same teacher, and perhaps other cows belonging to other individuals have not grazed. There is therefore selective focus reading, thereby assuming alternative cows in the discourse. However, the referent of the DP is ambiguous between a definite and indefinite reading, since the genitive morpheme in itself is unspecified for the semantic feature of (in)definiteness. In addition, the discourse context entails that the cows are specifically the ones that belong to the teacher owing to the presence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of the genitive marker.

Next, the indefinite quantifier **-ona** (any) is analyzed. The stem **-ona** is polysemic, with the meaning of the definite universal quantifier 'all' (cf. 5.6.3) and the indefinite meaning 'any'.

8.2.2 -ona (any)**8.2.2.1 Meaning and morpho-syntactic form**

The indefinite quantifier **-ona** can be translated as 'any', 'anything', 'nobody', or 'anybody'. The indefinite **-ona** can appear with singular nouns as well as plural countable and uncountable nouns. Whether the head noun is overtly used or represented by the empty category *pro*, the indefinite **-ona** in Runyankore-Rukiga never occurs with an IV. In addition, although the quantifier is semantically a negative item, it is used with both positive and negative verbs (cf. (9) and (10)). Morpho-syntactically, in sentences where the head noun is governed by a negative operator, the noun normally occurs with no initial vowel (11a) when modified by **-ona**. Note that there are some exceptional cases, where, if the quantifier occurs in a DP that follows a positive verb, the construction sounds odd (11b).

(9) ***Ogure omugaati gwona ogu oraashangeyo.***

O-gur-e o-mu-gaati gu-ona a-gu o-ra-~~a~~-shang-e-yo
 2PL-buy-SBJV IV-3-bread 3-any IV-3.REL 2PL-FUT-find-FV-LOC
 ‘Buy any bread that you will find there.’

(10) ***Omushomesa tareesire mwegi weena.***

O-mu-shomesa ti-a-ra-et-ire mu-egi u-ena
 IV-1-teacher NEG-1.3SG-PAST-call-PAST 1-student 1-any
 ‘A/the teacher did not call any student.’

(11) a. ***Torikwetenga kintu kyona.***

Ti-o-ri-ku-eteng-a ki-ntu ki-ona
 NEG-2SG-COP-INF-need-FV 7-thing 7-any
 ‘You do not need anything.’

b. ***#Nooyetenga kugyenda n’ekintu kyona***

Ni-o-y-eteng-a ku-gyend-a na e-ki-ntu ki-ona
 PRES-2SG-need-FV INF-go-FV with IV-7-thing 7-any
 ‘#You need to take anything.’

Syntactically, the indefinite **-ona** canonically occurs post-nominally (for instance see (9) and (10) above). However, it may also precede the head noun. It can also appear with an empty head category *pro*, for a referent that is unfamiliar to both discourse participants, or which is familiar textually. Recall that in Generative syntax, a nominal modifier occurring with an implicit head does not change status to become a pronoun (cf. Visser, 1984). It is rather headed by a *pro* element exhibiting the *phi*-features of the ellipted lexical head.

8.2.2.2 (In)definiteness and (non-)specificity in DPs modified by -ona

Consider the sentence given in (9) for the illustration of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity marking. The utterance in (9) may imply that there is a certain type of bread which the speaker normally buys. The speaker is giving the addressee liberty to buy any bread that (s)he finds in the stores, in case the bread they usually eat is not found there. As long there is bread, the addressee should not come back empty-handed. Based on this context, the utterance implies that there is a specific type of bread that the speaker is interested in. However, any other alternative can serve,

in case the preferred and known type of bread is not found. An alternative meaning is that the utterance does not presuppose any preferred type of bread, but any bread. Hence, there is no specific type of bread that the speaker has in mind, and therefore, it remains with the hearer to make a choice from the different kinds of bread which will be available in the store. The two contexts provided both demonstrate that the quantifier **-ona** renders the head noun indefinite and non-specific. Additionally, the linguistic context in (10) does not provide for a definite or specific reading. Hence, the utterance (10) indicates that there are no specific identifiable students that are talked about.

The quantifier occurring with an empty head category *pro* is exemplified in (12). The implicitness of the head noun cannot be explained in terms of previous mention. The speaker does not have any item in mind. In comparison to the modifiers so far discussed, **-ona** (any/anything/anybody) is the only one when used, there is lack of assumed knowledge of the ellipted noun due to the semantics of the word.

(12) S1: *Nkureetereyo ki omu katare?*
N-ku-reeter-e ki o-mu ka-tare
 1SG-AgrO-bring-FV what IV-18.in
 ‘What should I bring for you when I go to (the) market?’

S2: *Kyona eki oraasiime.*
Ki-ona e-ki o-raa-siim-e
 7-any IV-7.REL 2SG-FUT-like-SBJV
 ‘Anything you like.’

In the question posed by speaker 1 in (12), there is no item mentioned, and neither does the reply given by speaker 2 point to a specific item. Hence, the referent is not mentioned, not because it has been a central theme in the preceding discourse, but the speaker does not commit himself/herself to a particular item at the time of the utterance.

A referent modified by the indefinite **-ona** cannot receive a definite reading because, unlike the indefinite modifiers discussed such as **-ingi** (many/several) (cf. 8.2.3), and **-ndi** (other) (cf. 8.2.4), **-ona** is incompatible with any semantically specified definite nominal modifier, such as the demonstrative, hence the unacceptability of (13). In addition, the specific reading cannot be

realized with the quantifier given its inherent semantic features in addition to the unacceptability of the IV in its inflectional morphology.

(13) **Ogure ogu mugaati (*o)gwona ogu oraashangeyo.*

O-gur-e *a-gu-Ø* *mu-gaati (*o)-gu-ona* *o-gu* *o-ra-~~a~~-shang-e-yo*
 2PL-buy-SBJV DEMrt-3-PROX 3-bread IV-3-any IV-3.Rel 2PL-FUT-find-FV-LOC
 ‘*Buy any this bread that you will find there.’

What follows in section 8.2.3 is the investigation of the nominal modifier **-ingi** (many). The quantifier **-ingi** in Runyankore-Rukiga traditional grammars is regarded as an adjective (cf. Taylor, 1985). Rugemalira (2007), while examining the noun phrase for selected Bantu languages views **-ngi** (many) as an adjective. However, **-ingi** (many) has semantic properties, different from those identified for ‘pure’ adjectives, and this is the reason why the lexical element is not classified together with them (cf. section 6.2).

8.2.3 -ingi⁹⁰ (many/several/much)

8.2.3.1 Meaning and morpho-syntactic properties

The quantifier **-ingi** is another nominal modifier with an assumed inherent semantic feature of indefiniteness. The quantifier **-ingi** has distinct senses in English. It means ‘many/much’, a lot ‘most’ or several, depending on the context of the utterance, and the type of noun modified. The modifier canonically follows the noun it modifies (see (i) of (14a)). However, it can precede the head noun and shares with it its inflectional properties of agreement, as exemplified in (ii) of (14a). The nominal modifier can also modify a *pro* head (cf. (14b)). In addition, the IV occurs optionally in the inflectional morphology of the quantifier (see (14c)), for derivational purposes, or discourse pragmatic meaning of specificity or contrastive focus, as will be demonstrated in the next subsection

⁹⁰ Note that the interpretations arrived at with the investigation of **-ngi** are closely related to the inferences derived with regard to the indefinite **-kye** (few/little). The difference lies in the semantics of these two modifiers. For that reason, the indefinite **-kye** is not examined.

(14) a.(i) ***Emiti mingi bakagitema.****E-mi-ti mi-ngi ba-ka-gi-tem-a*

IV-4-tree 4-many 3PL-PASTrm-3-cut-FV

‘Many trees were cut down.’

‘Most trees were cut down.’

(ii) ****(E)mingi *(e)miti bakagitema.*****(E)-mi-ngi *(e)-mi-ti ba-ka-gi-tem-a*

IV-4-many IV-4-tree 3PL-PASTrm-4-cut-FV

‘Many of the trees were cut down.’

‘Most of the trees were cut down.’

b. ***(E)mingi bakagitema.****(e)-mi-ngi ba-ka-gi-tem-a*

IV-4-many 3PL-PASTrm-cut-FV

‘Many were cut down.’

‘The majority were cut down.’

c. ***Emiti (e)mingi bakagitema.****E-mi-ti (e)-mi-ngi ba-ka-gi-tem-a*

IV-4-tree IV-4-many 3PL-PASTrm-4-cut-FV

‘Many trees were cut down.’

‘Most of the trees were cut down.’

The quantifier **-ngi** is selective in terms of the grammatical number of the lexical head, in that only plural or mass lexical heads select **-ngi** and never singular referents, hence, the unacceptability of (15).

(15) ****omuti mingi mihango****o-mu-ti mi-ngi mi-hango*

IV-3-tree 4-many 4-big

‘*many big short tree’

The subsection that follows examines the semantic properties of the quantifier **-ingi**, bearing in mind that **-ngi** is presumed to possess inherent semantic features of indefiniteness and non-specificity.

8.2.2.2 Definiteness and specificity encoding in DPs containing -ingi

Regarding the semantics of **-ingi** (many), its presence serves to refer to an unidentified large number of countable, uncountable or mass referents. Consider the illustration in (16).

(16) *Amahanga maingi [...] geeraarikiire ahabwa firimu ei Abamerika bakozire [...]*

A-ma-hanga ma-ingi [...] ga-eraarikiir-e ahabwa Ø-firimu e-i

IV-6-countries 6-many 6-worry-FV because.of 9-film IV-9.REL

A-ba-merika[...] ba-koz-ire

IV-2-American 2-make-PASThst

‘Many countries [...] are now worried because of the film which the Americans produced [...].’

Given the illustrations in (16) above, **maingi** (many) renders the lexical head noun **amahanga** (countries) indefinite and non-specific, because there are no particular identifiable countries mentioned. The presence of **-ingi** (many) in the DP presupposes that the hearer cannot uniquely identify the referent based on the morpho-syntax and semantics of the modifier. The hearer, can, however, identify the referent if there is presupposed shared knowledge between the interlocutors regarding the modified head noun. In addition, the speaker may use the modifier when (s)he has particular countries in mind. By use of the modifier, it indicates that the set of the entities is non-exhaustive. This implies that the speaker may have specific referents in mind, and the hearer may be familiar with some referents but not all entities can be identified. This remains an indicator that the quantifier is inherently indefinite and non-specific.

(17) *Obujurizi (o)bwingi bukaheebwa ab’enganda ze*

O-bu-jurizi (o)-bu-ingi bu-ka-h-ebw-a a-ba-a e-n-ganda

IV-14-testimony IV-14-most 14-PASTrm-give-PASS-FV IV-2-GEN IV-10-relative

za-e

10-his

‘Most of the testimonies came from his/her relatives.’

Similarly, the uncountable lexical head **obujurizi** in (17) is indefinite due to the presence of the indefinite **(o)bwingi** (most). However, a definite reading here is also possible if the right pragmatic context is evoked. The occurrence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of the

quantifier, however, may imply that the lexical head is focalized. With regard to specificity, the IV does not necessarily translate into a specific reading in this context. The specificity meaning, in this case, depends on whether the speaker has a particular set of entities in mind or not, realized pragmatically. Hence, the specificity reading, with regard to the occurrence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of **-ngi** is ambiguous. In addition, usually, the presence of the IV leads to the meaning of the indefinite ‘most’ not ‘many/much’. When the IV is attached to **-ingi**, the translation in English sometimes becomes ‘many of’. This is illustrated with examples (18) and (19b) contrasted below with additional examples of the rendering of **-ngi** into ‘most of’.

- (18) ***Eky'omugisha murungi enguuto enyingi zikagabwa zikingirwe ahabw'ebiro bikuru mbibi*** (Mugumya, 2010: 61)

E-ki-a o-mu-gisha mu-rungi e-n-guuto e-n-yingi zi-ka-gab-w-a

IV-8-GEN IV-3-luck 3-good IV-10-road IV-10-most 10-PASTrm-already-PASS-FV

zi-king-ir-w-e ahabwa e-bi-ro bi-kuru n-bi-bi

10- close-APPL-PASS-FV because-of IV-8-day 8-important LDCop-8-8

‘The good thing is that most of the roads were already closed for these festive days.’

In (18) the presence of the IV leads to the interpretation of the quantifier as ‘most of’, while the lack of the IV renders the quantifier as ‘many’. However both ‘many’ and ‘most’ are semantically indefinite, although, as indicated above, can allow a definite reading given the right pragmatic context. Consider more examples in (19a-b), illustrating the interpretation of **-ingi** with the (non-)occurrence of the IV.

- (19) a. ***Banywani bangye baingi nibamanya ngu ninshoma.***

Ba-nywani ba-a⁹¹-ngye ba-ingi ni-ba-manya ngu ni-n-shom-a

2-friends 2-GEN-mine 2-many PROG-2-know that PROG-1SG-study-FV

‘Many of my friends know that I am studying.’

- b. ***Banywani bangye abaingi nibamanya ngu ninshoma.***

Ba-nywani ba-a-ngye a-ba-ingi ni-ba-manya ngu ni-n-shom-a

2-friends 2-GEN-mine IV-2-many PROG-2-know that PROG-1SG-study-FV

‘Most of my friends know that I am studying.’

⁹¹On the surface, one vowel is written because the orthography rules of the language do not permit a double vowel before a nasal compound.

There is a difference in the pragmatic interpretation of the noun modified by **-ingi** with an IV (19a) and **-ngi** without an IV (cf. (19b)). Although both sentences are rendered indefinite by the modifying quantifier **-ingi**, the phrase with the quantifier without IV (cf. (19a)) means ‘many of my friends’, while the one occurring with an IV (19b) means ‘most of my friends’. It appears that a noun modified by **-ngi** occurring without an IV is non-specific. Therefore, regardless of the context, nouns modified by **-ngi** without an IV have a [-specific] feature. The presence of the IV, on the other hand, leads to an ambiguous interpretation of [+/-specific] and a feature of emphasis. The definite reading can be coded through pragmatic context, or through anaphoric reference, if the DP is headed by a *pro* category, that is, in the event that the referent is traceable from the previous discourse.

In the constructions given in (20a-b), **abaingi** reads as ‘the majority’ with the IV present on the quantifier (20a), while in the absence of it, the English meaning is ‘many (of them)’ (20b), with the quantifier used in the same way as any other pronoun.

(20) a. ***Abaingi nibamanya ngu ninshoma.***

(A)-ba-ingi ni-ba-many-a ngu ni-n-shom-a

IV-2-many PROG-2-know-FV that PROG-1SG-study-FV

‘The majority know that I am studying.’

b. ***Baingi nibamanya ngu ninshoma.***

Ba-ingi ni-ba-many-a ngu ni-n-shom-a

2-many PROG-2-know that PROG-1SG-study-FV

‘Many (of them) know that I am studying.’

Notice that unlike most other modifiers already discussed, which require an obligatory IV in the absence of a full lexical head noun (for example possessives, nominal and clausal relatives), the IV can be omitted when **-ingi** (many) appears with an empty category *pro*. Hence, its presence is not conditioned by the rules of grammar. Instead, the appearance of the IV is semantically or pragmatically motivated. Note that the phonologically empty head in both cases in (20a) and (20b) is definite because the referent can textually be located through cross-referencing to the already existing referent. Significantly, there is evidence to show that the quantifier headed by a *pro* element is permissible even when there is no prior mention of the head noun. In this regard,

it is generally taken for granted that the reader or addressee is familiar with the kind of referent implied, which may not be necessarily the case. Hence, the referent may not be definite, as illustrated in (21) below:

(21) *Oryashemererwa oyesiiime, kandi baingi baryashemerererwa okuzaarwa kwe.*

(Runyankore-Rukiga Bible, Luka 1: 14)

O-rya-shemererw-a o-y-esiim-e, kandi ba-ingi ba-rya-shemer-er-er-w-a

2SG-FUT-happy-FV 2-delight-FV and 2-many 2-FUT-happy-APPL-APPL-FV

o-ku-zaar-w-a ku-e

IV-15-birth-PASS-FV 15-his

‘He will be a joy and delight to you, and many will rejoice because of his birth.’

(Luke 1: 14 NIV)

The implicit lexical head in (21), which must be plural and human, is not mentioned in the previous discourse. Notice that the illustrated context excludes an IV on the quantifier, which would imply the pre-existence of a particular referent.

The illustrations in (22) below show that the presence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of the quantifier **-ingi** can, at times, encode specificity and contrastive focus.

(22) a. (i) *Omukazi yaataha amaizi maingi*

O-mu-kazi a-aa-tah-a a-ma-izi ma-ingi

IV-1-woman 1.3SG -PASTim-fetch-FV IV-6-water 6-a-lot

‘A/the woman has fetched a lot of water.’

(ii) *Omukazi yaataha amaizi (a)maingi*

O-mu-kazi a-aa-tah-a a-ma-izi (a)-ma-ingi

IV-1-woman 1.3SG-PASTim-fetch-FV IV-6-water IV-6-a-lot

‘A/the woman has fetched a lot of water (more than the rest).’

b. (i) *Omukazi yaataha maingi.*

O-mu-kazi a-aa-tah-a ma-ingi

IV-1-woman 1.3SG -PASTim-fetch-FV 6-a-lot

‘A/the woman has fetched a lot.’

(ii) ***Omukazi yaataha amaingi.****O-mu-kazi a-aa-tah-a a-ma-ingi*

IV-1-woman 1.3SG -PASTim-fetch-FV IV-6-a-lot

‘A/the woman has fetched a lot (more than the rest).’

c. ***Omukazi yaataha (a)maingi *(a)maizi.****O-mu-kazi a-aa-tah-a (a)-ma-ingi *(a)-ma-izi*

IV-1-woman 1.3SG-PASTim-fetch-FV IV-6-a-lot IV-6-water

‘A/the woman has fetched a lot of water (more than rest).’

The object referent in the illustration given in (i) of (22a) exhibits indefinite and (non-)specific properties. On the other hand, the referent in (ii) of (22a) is unspecified for definite and indefinite readings. The occurrence of the IV in (ii) of (22a) signals that the referent receives specific and contrastive focus readings, in that the speaker intends to refer to the particular highest quantity of water a/the woman fetched, as compared to the different quantities of water assumed to have been fetched by other individuals. Similarly, (i) of (22b) can be contrasted with (ii) of (22b) on the basis of the (non-)occurrence of the IV, where the presence of the IV introduces the contrastive focus reading, while the non-occurrence of it indicates a non-contrastive focus reading. In addition, there is definite encoding in the DPs of (22b) regardless of the (non-)occurrence of the IV. Definiteness encoding in (22b), as seen in (20a-b), derives from the fact that the head noun, which is implicit, has already been established in the previous discourse.

The quantifier **-ingi**, as argued in section 8.2.3.1, can precede its head noun. When it does (cf. (22c)), it can still allow an optional IV, for contrastive focus reading or specificity. The interpretation with regard to the (non-)occurrence of the IV on the quantifier that precedes its head noun is similar to when it appears in its canonical place, that is, following the head noun. However, the head noun receives a definite reading, due to the fact that it is preceded by a pause, which signals that it is uttered as an afterthought, an indication that it is assumed to be familiar to the addressee. In addition, the noun receives an extra feature of emphasis due to the prosodic pause.

In terms of the properties of the (non-)occurrence of the IV, it is viewed as a functional category determiner bearing the feature of specificity when available in the inflectional morphology of the

To emphasize a referent that is identifiable, the referent may further be modified by the copulative form of the absolute pronoun. At the same time, the referent occurs in the initial position of the utterance for prominence. As argued in section 5.6.2, absolute pronouns are inherently definite. Hence, the contrastively focalized referent is identifiable. It appears that for the intended meaning of an identifiable and selected referent from other referent(s) bearing the same semantic meaning, the quantifier requires an IV; otherwise, the meaning is altered. Without the IV, the referent is for instance contrasted to some other referent with different semantic content altogether. Hence, it may be the case that it is the water the woman has fetched that is a lot, not something else. The construction may sound awkward if the dimension of comparison to a different noun is not considered. Consider further the comparison of the examples in (25a) and (25b).

(25) a. *Abeegi (abu orikureeba⁹²) abaingi nibo baahikire ebigyezo.*

A-ba-egi (a-bu o-ri-ku-reeb-a) a-ba-ingi ni-ba-o
IV-2-student IV-2.REL 2SG-COP-INF-see-FV IV-2-majority COP-2-ABS

ba-aa-hik-ire e-bi-gyezo
2-PASTim-pass-PAST IV-8-examination

‘It is the majority of the students you are seeing that passed the examinations.’

b. *?Abeegi baingi nibo baahikire ebigyezo.*

A-ba-egi ba-ingi ni-ba-o ba-aa-hik-ire e-bi-gyezo
IV-2-student 2-majority COP-2-ABS 2-PASTim-pass-PAST IV-8-examination

‘?It is the many students who passed the examinations.’

The absence of the IV makes the construction sound odd (cf. (25b)), and moreover the rendering of the construction is different (in English). Therefore, it can be said that the combination of **-ngi** with the inherently definite absolute pronoun requires the IV to appear with the quantifier **-ngi**, for both grammatical and pragmatic reasons. The following examples in (26) illustrate the co-occurrence of **-ngi** with the demonstrative.

⁹² To make the construction more conceivable, the subject noun can further be modified by a relative clause.

(26) a. *Abo beegi abaingi bahikire ebigyezo.*

A-ba-o *ba-egi* *a-ba-ingi* *ba-a-hik-ire* *e-bi-gyezo*
 DEMrt-2-MEDIAL 2-student IV-2-many 2-PASThst-pass-PAST IV-8-examination
 ‘Many of those students passed the examinations.’

b. *?Abo beegi baingi bahikire ebigyezo.*

A-ba-o *ba-egi* *ba-ingi* *ba-a-hik-ire* *e-bi-gyezo*
 DEMrt-2-MEDIAL 2-student 2-many 2-PAST-pass-PAST IV-8-examination
 ‘Those many students passed the examinations.’

Although there are no particular students identified in (26a), the presence of the demonstrative identifies the indefinite class of students as a whole, while the IV attached on the quantifier selects an indefinite number of students from the general identifiable group of students. The demonstrative exhibits similar properties as the absolute pronoun in the use of the IV on the quantifier **-ingi**. The illustration in (26b) is odd due to the absence of the IV on the quantifier. Hence, it is possible that the indefinite quantifier requires an IV when it appears with a definite modifier for the purpose of selecting an indefinite quantity of members of a given identifiable class.

Examples in (27a-d) below present cases where there is a combination of **-ngi** and an adjective. Note that more permutations are allowed, but for the current purpose, I illustrate with only a few ones.

(27) a. *Omushaija atemire emiti mingi miraingwa.*

O-mu-shaija *a-tem-ire* *e-mi-ti* *mi-ngi* *mi-raingwa*
 IV-1-man 1.3SG-cut-PERF IV-4-tree 4-many 4-tall
 ‘A/the man cut down many tall trees.’

b. *Omushaija atemire emiti (e)mingi emiraingwa.*

O-mu-shaija *a-tem-ire* *e-mi-ti* **(e)-mi-ngi* **(e)mi-raingwa*
 IV-1-man 1-cut-PERF IV-4-tree IV-4-many IV-4-tall
 ‘A/the man cut down many of the trees which are tall.’

c. *Omushaija atemire emiti mingi (e)miraingwa.*

O-mu-shaija a-tem-ire e-mi-ti mi-ngi (e)mi-raingwa

IV-1-man 1 -cut-PERF IV-4-trees 4-many IV-4-tall

‘A/the man cut down many trees which are tall.’

d. *Omushaija atemire emiti emiraingwa mingi.*

*O-mu-shaija a-tem-ire e-mi-ti *(e)-mi-ngi *(e)mi-raingwa*

IV-1-man 1 -cut-PERF IV-4-trees IV-4-many IV-4-tall

‘A/the man cut down many trees which are tall.’

From the English glosses, it is shown that different interpretations result from the (non-) occurrence of the IV on either or both nominal modifiers, and the position one modifier takes in the nominal domain. With regard to the (in)definite reading of the head noun, in all instances provided, it is pragmatically determined, since the adjective is neutral with regard to the (in)definiteness feature, while **-ngi** is considered to be indefinite. In addition, the head noun is not specified for the specificity feature even when the adjective appears with an IV. The presence of the IV on the given modifiers appears primarily for contrastive focus reading.

The next subsection examines the indefinite **-ndi** (other) in relation to indefiniteness and non-specificity.

8.2.4 **-ndi** (other)

8.2.4.1 Meaning and general morpho-syntactic features

The indefinite **-ndi** means ‘other’ or ‘another’. It has an exclusive meaning, in the sense that when it is present in the nominal domain as a modifier, reference is made to members of a set that are not included in the set of similar known referents.

Morphologically, **-ndi** exhibits agreement with the head noun, like most other nominal modifiers discussed above. In addition, **-ndi** usually takes an IV, which may be omitted under certain syntactic conditions; for instance, when the quantifier is used within the scope of negation (cf. (31b)). Furthermore, **-ndi** occurs in three forms, depending on the noun class, that is, the ordinary **-ndi** that virtually occurs with all noun classes (except 17 and 18), **-ndiijo** which is used with singular nouns in classes 1, 4 and 9 (it is common to find **-ndiijo** with nouns 1, 4, and 9

rather than **-ndi**). On the other hand, some speakers use **eyindi** for nouns in class 4 and 9 (cf. (28a-b)). The indefinite **-ndi**, however, does not occur with locative noun classes 17 and 18⁹³. Note also that the form **-ndiijo** is not acceptable with nouns in class 2 and all singular noun classes with the exception of class 1 and 9 (cf. table 21 for the illustration of the occurrence of the three forms of the indefinite modifier).

(28) a. *Ekaraamu endi(ijo) eri nkahi?*

E-∅-karaamu e-ndi(ijo) e-ri nkahi?

IV-9-pencil IV-9-other 9-COP Q.where

‘Where is another pencil?’

b. *Ekaraamu eyindi eri nkahe?* (Typically Rukiga)

E-∅-karaamu e-i-ndi e-ri nkahe?

IV-9-pencil IV-9-other 9-COP Q.where

‘Where is another pencil?’

Noun class	Morphological structure of the quantifier -ndi	Example noun	Meaning of the phrase
1 -mu-	o-ndi(ijo)	omwana	another child
2 -ba-	a-ba-ndi	abaana	other children
3 -mu-	o-gu-ndi	omucungwa	another orange
4 -mi-	e-ndi(ijo)/e-y-indi	emicungwa	other oranges
5 -ri-/i-	e-ri-ndi	eibaare	another stone
6 -ma-	a-ga-ndi	amabaare	other stones
7 -ki-	e-ki-ndi	ekikopo	another cup
8 -bi-	e-bi-ndi	ebikopo	other cups
9 -n-	e-ndi(ijo)/eyindi	enkaito	another shoe
10 -n-	e-zi-ndi	enkaito	other shoes
11 -ru-	o-ru-ndi	orushozi	another hill
12 -ka-	a-ka-ndi	akamuri	other small flower
13 -tu-	o-tu-ndi	otumuri	other small flowers
14 -bu-	o-bu-ndi	oburo	other millet
15 -ku-	o-ku-ndi	okuguru	another leg
16 -ha-	a-ha-ndi	ahantu	another (place)
17 -ku-	-	-	-
18 -mu-	-	-	-

Table 21: Morphological structure of the quantifier **-ndi**

⁹³ The form **mwamundi** ‘inside the other place’ is however possible when the stem **-ndi** occurs with the definite morpheme **-a** (cf. table 6 in section 5.3.5).

(ii) ***Yaareeta *(e)ndiijo (e)migaati.***

a-aa-reet-a *e-n-ndiijo (e)-mi-gaati*
 1.3SG-PASTim-bring-FV IV-4-other IV-4-bread
 ‘(S)he has brought other bread.’

b. (i) ***Tiyaareeta migaati *(e)ndiijo.***

Ti-a-aa-reet-a *mi-gaati *(e)-n-ndiijo*
 NEG-1.3SG-PASTim-bring-FV 4-bread IV-4-other
 ‘(S)he has not brought other (loaves of) bread.’

(ii) ***Tiyaareeta (e)ndiijo (e)migaati.***

Ti-a-aa-reet-a *(e)-ndiijo e-mi-gaati*
 NEG-1.3SG-PASTim-bring-FV IV-4.other 4-bread
 ‘(S)he has not brought other (loaves of) bread.’

From the occurrences of the quantifier and its use with the IV discussed above, it can be argued that **-ndi** (other) does not behave like an adjective (cf. section 6.2.2), though its agreement morphology resembles that of adjectives.

It is obligatory for the object head noun immediately following a negative verb in the imperative mood to retain its IV (cf. (30a)). This grammatical conditioning is also exhibited by the modifier **-ndi**, as exemplified in (30a-b), irrespective of the position the modifier takes in relation to the noun.

(30) a. ***Otareeta *(o)mugaati *(o)gundi.***

O-ti-a-reet-a *o-mu-gaati *(o)-gu-ndi*
 2PL-NEG-1.3SG-bring-FV IV-3-bread IV-3-other
 ‘Do not bring another (piece of) bread.’

b. ***Otareeta *(o)gundi (o)mugaati.***

O-ta-reet-a **(o)-gu-ndi (o)-mu-gaati*
 2PL-NEG-bring-FV IV-3-other IV-3-bread
 ‘Do not bring another (piece of) bread.’

For a noun referent that is already established in discourse, the quantifier can occur with a *pro* head (31a). In the negative context in (31b), not only is the quantifier headed by an empty category, but it also appears with an optional IV.

(31) a. *Yaareeta endiijo.*

a-aa-reet-a *e-ndiijo*
 1.3SG-PASTim-bring-FV IV-4.other
 ‘(S)he has brought others.’

b. *Tiyaareeta (e)ndiijo.*

Ti-a-aa-reet-a *(e)-ndiijo*
 NEG-1.3SG-PASTim-bring-FV IV-4.other
 ‘(S)he has not brought others.’

The indefinite **-ndi** canonically leads to the omission of the IV of the noun if it occurs preminally. However, it has been observed that the quantifier does not license compulsory dropping of the IV, and hence, the IV can optionally be used for pragmatic reasons (e.g. (ii) of (28a)). When the IV is present, the lexical head receives the pragmatic feature of emphasis or focus (cf. section 8.2.1.2).

On the other hand, **-ndi** may also mean ‘more’ in English, as illustrated in (32) (also see Morris & Kirwan 1972: 60). In (32), the meaning cannot be ‘other’ but ‘more’ in the English rendering.

(32) *Niinyenda *(a)gandi (a)maizi.*

Ni-n-enda **(a)-ga-ndi* *(a)ma-izi*
 PRES-1-want-FV IV-6-more IV-6-water
 ‘I want more water.’

As shown in (32), **amaizi** is a mass noun, and hence cannot be modified by ‘other/another’. However, in the sense of ‘more’, **-ndi** can be used with countable nouns, e.g., if one says:

(33) *Mpa agandi mahuri.*

N-h-a *a-ga-ndi* *ma-huri*
 1SG-give-FV IV-6-other 6-egg
 ‘Give me more eggs.’ Or ‘Give me other eggs.’

The above discussion gives a background to the morpho-syntactic properties of the indefinite quantifier, especially concerning the use of the IV. What is to be examined next are the discourse-pragmatic readings of nominal expressions containing the modifier **-ndi**. One of the concerns is whether the quantifier is purely indefinite, or whether it can be associated with definite contexts. In addition, the interpretation of the head noun in relation to the optional IV of the head noun modified by **-ndi** (other) is explored in relation to (non-)specificity.

8.2.4.2 (In)definiteness and (non-)specificity encoding in nominal modifiers containing **-ndi** (other)

A referent modified by the modifier **-ndi** is assumed to be non-identifiable and non-specific. The modifier **-ndi** is used to refer to additional or alternative member(s) of a given set of referents understood from the discourse. The entities which are excluded from a given set are usually familiar but the speaker does not take it to be necessary to talk about them. The focus is on the additional members of the set excluded, assumed to be unidentifiable to the hearer. Although **-ndi** is assumed to have an inherent indefiniteness feature, it can be used in definite contexts, as the illustrations below show. The modifiers examined in chapters six and seven, namely, adjectives, numerals, possessives and nominal as well as clausal relatives allow an optional IV in their inflectional morphologies. The lexical item **-ndi** (other) contains an IV, which is required mainly for grammatical purposes. Hence, the IV morpheme occurring with **-ndi** may not be directly linked to the feature of specificity or contrastive focus, as it is the case with most of the modifiers examined above. Consider the illustrations in (34a-c):

(34) a. *Abagyenyi *(a)bandi baizire.*

*A-ba-gyenyi *(a)-ba-ndi ba-ij-ire*
 IV-2-visitor IV-2-other 2-come-PERF
 ‘Other visitors have already come.’

b. *Abandi (a)bagyenyi baizire.*

A-ba-ndi (a)-ba-gyenyi ba-ij-ire
 IV-2-other IV-2-visitor 2-come-PERF
 ‘Other visitors have already come.’

c. *Abandi baizire.**A-ba-ndi ba-ij-ire*

IV-2-other NEG-2-come-PERF

'Others have already come.'

From the illustrations given in (34a-c), all the contexts require an obligatory occurrence of the IV on the indefinite **-ndi**. It is assumed that there are some visitors who have already arrived, and are perhaps identifiable to both discourse participants. The quantifier **-ndi** refers to entities that are excluded from those that are familiar to the speaker and most unlikely to be unfamiliar to the hearer. With regard to the specificity feature, the referent of the head noun in (34a) has a [-specific] feature. However, the presence of the optional IV on the head noun, preceded by **-ndi** (cf. (34b)), signals specificity. In other words, the speaker is aware of some other particular visitors who have arrived. In addition, change in word order in (34b-c) for the indefinite quantifier to appear in the position preceding the noun, and the noun taking an optional IV, suggests that the head noun is emphasized. Relatedly, the DP in (32) above has its lexical head as a mass noun. The IV of the quantifier has nothing to do with specificity, and the IV of the head noun marks emphasis. Therefore, there is no morphological marking of specificity on **-ndi**.

The indefinite quantifier **-ndi** can also modify a *pro* category. Thus, as exemplified in (34c), **-ndi** modifies a discourse-old entity. Recall that a definite entity is not necessarily specific. The referent in (34c) is definite but non-specific, in that the speaker does not necessarily communicate about particular individuals. Further, note that the identifiability factor, proposed by Lyons (1999), is not responsible for the definite reading of the individuals in (34c), neither is the principle of inclusiveness (cf. Lyons, 1999) applicable in the given context. Therefore, the definiteness feature in the given context is textually-dependent.

The illustrations above (e.g., (34b)) indicate that the pragmatic reading of emphasis results from the presence of the optional IV on the head noun, especially when the quantifier occurs in the prenominal position. The IV of the quantifier **-ndi**, regardless of the position the quantifier assumes, appears to be neutral to any pragmatic reading. Hence, the pragmatic effect of emphasis or focus within the nominal domain containing **-ndi** is realized in the projection of the lexical head by the determiner-like element, the IV with [+emphasis] feature. Moreover, removing the IV from the quantifier is unacceptable, as further demonstrated in the ungrammaticality of the

interrogative sentence given in (35). Note that while the IV of the quantifier is obligatory after an affirmative verb (cf. 30a), it may be deleted when it immediately follows a negative verb (cf. 30b).

- (35) **Mwabugana abaana*(-)bandi?*
Mu-aa-bugan-a a-ba-ana(-)-ba-ndi?*
 2PL-PASTim-meet-FV IV-2-child 2-other
 'Have you met other children?'

All the modifiers discussed, except **-ona** (any) used in the absence of the head noun, in principle, presuppose the existence of a familiar referent, in the same sense as pronouns. The context in (34c), for instance, provides that the implicit head noun is familiar from the linguistic context.

It is permissible for the indefinite quantifier **-ndi** to combine with a definite modifier in the same DP (**-ona** (any) discussed in subsection 8.2.2 cannot). In the subsection that follows next, the co-occurrence of **-ndi** and a demonstrative, and the resultant interpretations are examined.

8.2.4.3 Co-occurrence of **-ndi** and the demonstrative

The quantifier **-ndi** can combine with a demonstrative. Recall that demonstratives have an inherent definiteness feature. Hence, the presence of a demonstrative in the nominal domain generally entails a definite and specific referent. The example in (36) exemplifies **-ndi** in combination with a deictic demonstrative. The demonstrative denotes a definite specific referent. The referent, in addition, obtains an emphasis reading due to the demonstrative preceding the quantifier in the second part of the utterance modifying a *pro*.

- (36) *Oyegwire enshaho ibiri, egyo endiijo erimu ki?*
O-egwir-e e-n-shaho i-biri a-gi-o e-n-ndiijo
 1.2SG-carry-STAT IV-9-bag 9-two DEMrt-9-MEDIAL IV-9-other

e-ri-mu ki?
 IV-COP-18.in Q.what
 'You are carrying two bags, what is in that other one (the second bag)?'

Following the discourse-pragmatic context, the quantifier in the second part of the utterance in (36), appearing with a *pro* head and with a deictic demonstrative signals that the referent is specific and identifiable.

The demonstrative, however, cannot combine with the quantifier **-ndi** if the context does not allow a definite reading. In other words, if the referent occurs with the inherently indefinite quantifier **-ndi**, without prior presupposition of the referent, the demonstrative cannot combine with it. Consider the illustration in (37). The co-occurrence of the quantifier **abandi** with a non-deictic demonstrative gives rise to an ungrammatical structure, as shown in (11).

(37) * *Baizire abandi abo bagyenyi.*

ba-ij-ire a-ba-ndi a-ba-o ba-gyenyi

2-come-PERF IV-2-other DEMrt-2-MEDIAL 2-visitor

‘*Other those visitors have already come.’

For any inherently definite nominal modifier to combine with **-ndi**, the referent is required to have been established in the discourse, or when the deictic demonstrative appears to locate a physically accessible entity. Otherwise, the construction turns out to be odd. The argument for presuppositionality of the definite reading of a noun modified by **-ndi** is further strengthened by the definite reading of a referent modified by **-ndi** in combination with an absolute pronoun, as in (38).

(38) *Abandi (abagyenyi) bo baizire.*

A-ba-ndi a-ba-gyenyi ba-o ba-ij-ire

IV-2-other IV-2-visitor 2-ABS 2-come-PERF

‘As for the others (visitors), they have already come.’

Whether the quantifier appears with a lexical head or a *pro*, the definiteness feature in (38) is realized by considering that the referent **abagyenyi** (visitors) had been a subject of conversation in the previous discourse. Although the referent in question is modified by the definite absolute pronoun, it may be understood as specific or non-specific.

Next, consider the combination of **-ndi** with nominal modifiers which have an unspecified feature of (in)definiteness.

8.2.4.4 When **-ndi** combines with a nominal modifier with a neutral semantic feature of (in)definiteness

The quantifier **-ndi** can co-occur with a modifier which has a neutral feature of (in)definiteness in the same DP. Consider the combination of **-ndi** with an object clausal relative below:

(39) a. *Ekiteeteeyi (e)ki waayozya ekindi tikikoomire?*

E-ki-teeteeyi (e)-ki w-aa-ozy-a e-ki-ndi ti-ki-ka-om-ire?
 IV-7-dress IV-7.REL 2SG-PASTim-wash-FV IV-7-other NEG-7-ASP-dry-IPFV
 ‘Lit: The dress you have washed, another one, hasn’t it dried?’
 ‘Hasn’t another dress you have washed dried?’

b. *Ekindi *(e)ki waayozya *(e)kiteeteeyi tikikoomire?*

*e-ki-ndi *(e)-ki w-aa-ozy-a *(e)-ki-teeteeyi ti-ki-ka-om-ire?*
 IV-7-other IV-7.REL 2SG-PASTim-wash-FV IV-7-dress NEG-7-ASP-dry-IPFV
 ‘Lit: Another one you have washed, the dress, hasn’t dried?’
 ‘Hasn’t another dress you have washed dried?’

The referent **ekiteeteeyi** (dress) in (39a-b) has the features [+specific] and [+contrastive focus], stemming from the IV of the object clausal relative. With regard to the (in)definiteness feature, the referent in (39a) receives the feature [+definite] if the hearer is able to identify which dress the speaker is referring to. Note that there is an intonational pause after the clausal relative modifier in (39b), implying that the explicit lexical head comes as an afterthought, an indication that the speaker initially assumed the hearer to be familiar with the dress, but after realizes that the hearer may have trouble in recognizing that it is a particular identifiable dress intended. The intonation pause, in addition, signals that the referent is focalized.

Consider the illustrations in (40a-c), exemplifying the co-occurrence of the quantifier **-ndi** with an adjective. For purposes of illustration, three possible structural orders are given, although more permutations are allowed with respect to the co-occurrence of the given nominal modifiers.

(40) a. *Ekiteeteeyi (e)kirungi *(e)kindi tikyayoma.*

E-ki-teeteeyi e-ki-rungi e-ki-ndi ti-ki-a-ɣom-a
 IV-7-dress IV-7-beautiful IV-7-another NEG-7-PASTim-dry-FV
 ‘Another dress which is beautiful has not dried.’

b. *Ekindi *(e)kirungi *(e)kiteteeyi tikyayoma.*

E-ki-ndi e-ki-rungi e-ki-teteeyi ti-ki-a-ɣom-a

IV-7-another IV-7-beautiful IV-7-dress NEG-7-PASTim-dry-FV

‘Lit: Another beautiful one, the dress, has not dried.’

‘Another beautiful dress has not dried.’

c. *Ekindi (e)kiteteeyi (e)kirungi tikyayoma.*

E-ki-ndi e-ki-teteeyi e-ki-rungi ti-ki-aa-ɣom-a

IV-7-another IV-7-dress IV-7-beautiful NEG-7-PASTim-dry-FV

‘Another dress which is beautiful has not dried.’

The examples in (40a-c) illustrate the combination of **-ndi** and an adjective in the same DP. Recall that adjectives bear neutral features with respect to (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity, while **-ndi** is assumed to have a specified feature of indefiniteness, marking exclusive items. Accordingly, the referents are indefinite when we consider the morpho-syntax of the constructions. However, invoking appropriate discourse-pragmatic contexts may lead to a definite interpretation of the referent. Notice that the modifiers assume different positions. In addition, depending on the position of the modifier, an IV can optionally or obligatorily appear with the adjective and the head noun. For the case of the quantifier **-ndi**, the IV is almost an obligatory part of its morphological make-up.

In (40a), the IV of the adjective is optional. Its presence denotes a specific and focalized dress. The referent can be understood as either definite or indefinite, depending on the right pragmatic context. Concerning (40b), the adjective appears with an obligatory IV, and the head noun too requires an obligatory IV. The head noun receives a definite reading if we assume that it appears after a prosodic pause. Hence, it would mean that the speaker assumes that the hearer is already familiar with the item. Bringing the lexical head as an afterthought is nearly the same as leaving it out with the assumption that the head of the DP is a *pro*. Recall that *pro* elements link to discourse-old referents. The referent **ekiteeteyi** in (40c), on the other hand, is marked for the feature [+specific], and shows an ambiguity reading between definiteness and indefiniteness. If the pragmatic context favors a definite reading, the referent in (40c) is a particular known dress excluded from other equally beautiful dresses. When the head noun and the adjective appear

play a central role in specificity and focus reading, apart from **-ndi** (other) which requires the IV for grammatical reasons and **-ona** (any) (subsection 8.2.2) that never takes one. However, unlike the modifiers analyzed in chapters six and seven, the optional IV with inherently indefinite quantifiers marks the feature of specificity ambiguously. Another finding in this chapter is that a prosodic pause is pertinent in marking definiteness, especially when a modifier precedes the head noun. A referent that is uttered after a pause, as an afterthought, is rendered definite (as for example demonstrated in (13b) and (14b)). The discussion has also shown that most of the modifiers analysed under the category of inherently indefinite modifiers can occur with definite modifiers. Therefore, following Lyons (1999), I posit that such modifiers are not necessarily -definite and the feature of indefiniteness of nominal expressions is due to lack of the [+definite] feature. Crucially, this section has provided more evidence for postulating a functional head in the nominal domain headed by a determiner-like element, that is, the IV with [+focus, +specific or +emphasis] features, depending on the syntactic and pragmatic contexts. The next section analyses (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity involving the question word **-ha** as a nominal modifier. Bear in mind that nominal modifiers normally take the agreement morpheme of the modified noun.

8.3 Indefinite interrogative form **-ha**

There are lexical items used in interrogative sentences seeking more information about entities that are indefinite and non-specific. The interrogative **-ha** is the only question word that exhibits nominal agreement morphology. For instance **ki**, which means ‘what’, and sometimes mean ‘which’ or ‘what’ is not concordant with the head noun, (and does not take an IV) (cf. Morris & Kirwan, 1972; Taylor, 1985:88).

8.3.1 Morphological structure and syntactic properties

The interrogative stem **-ha**⁹⁴ appears with a nominal agreement prefix corresponding to the agreement prefix of the head noun. The interrogative **-ha** may be rendered as ‘what’ ‘which’ or ‘who’ or ‘whose’ depending on the kind of head noun it modifies and the pragmatic context of the utterance. The interrogative word **-ha** usually comes after the head noun (e.g., in (42a)) although infrequently, it can be used before the head noun (cf. 42b), especially if the speaker

⁹⁴ The element **-ha** has a variant (**-hi**), which is commonly used in the Runyankore.

wants to express surprise or doubt in the assertion made previously by the other participant in the discourse. In addition, the interrogative never takes an IV, and the head noun must occur with an IV when the interrogative appears preceding it. When the interrogative **-ha** precedes the head noun, the IV may infrequently be attached to the noun. It can also be used as a predicate of a copulative verb (cf. (42c)).

(42) a. ***Omuti guuha?****Omu-ti gu-#⁹⁵-ha?*

3-tree 3-Q.which

‘Which tree?’

b. ***Guuha (o)muti?****Gu-#-ha (o)-mu-ti?*

3-Q.which IV-3-tree

‘Which tree?’

c. ***Omuti ogu waabyara ni guuha⁹⁶****O-mu-ti o-gu w-aa-byar-a ni gu-#-ha*

IV-3-tree IV-3.REL 2SG-PASTim-plant-FV COP 3-Q.which

Lit: The tree you have planted is which one? (‘Which (specific) tree have you planted?’)

The interrogative **-ha** may also occur with a phonologically empty head just like most other modifiers discussed in this dissertation. It may also appear with no verb, as in (43b).

(43) a. ***Waagura ziiha?****w-aa-gur-a zi-i-ha*

2SG-PASTrm-buy-FV 10-Q.which?

‘Which ones have you bought?’

b. ***Ziiha?****zi-i-ha*

10-Q.which

‘Which (ones)?’

⁹⁵ The vowel sound of the noun class prefix attached to **-ha** is long.

⁹⁶ Most other modifiers examined above such as **-ndi**, and **-ngi** can also appear as copulative predicates.

Note that when the interrogative morpheme appears with a human referent, it commonly appears with an empty head, but the co-occurrence with an explicit head noun is not unusual (cf. (45)).

8.3.2 (In)definiteness and (non-)specificity marking in DPs containing the interrogative **-ha**

The referent is already stated, and the purpose of interrogative **-ha** is to signal that the speaker is seeking to uniquely identify the stated entity, as demonstrated in (44).

- (44) *Nshome ekitabò kiiha?*
N-shom-e e-ki-tabò ki-i-ha?
 ISG-read-FV IV-7-book 7-which
 ‘Which book should I read?’

The class of the entity is familiar but the speaker uses the interrogative to ask the addressee to point to one particular referent. In (44), for instance, there are different books and the speaker seeks for the addressee’s guidance on which particular book to read.

The interrogative **-ha** does not usually appear with proper nouns. When it does appear with one, it means that the speaker is asking for information in order to uniquely identify, or confirm the referent, as exemplified in (45).

- (45) Speaker A: *Rukundo naakweta*
Rukundo ni-a-ku-et-a
 Pn.Rukundo PRES-1.3SG-2SG-call-FV
 ‘Rukundo is calling you.’
- Speaker B: *Rukundo oha (weena)?*
Rukundo o-ha (u-ona)
 Pn.Rukundo 1.3SG-Q.who (1-exactly)
 ‘Which Rukundo (exactly)?’

Speaker A assumes that B knows an individual called Rukundo. The utterance of speaker B presupposes that there are more than one individual bearing the same name. Therefore, B asks to ascertain who exactly it is. Furthermore, the context presupposes that both interlocutors know more than one individual with the name Rukundo. Otherwise, speaker B would not have asked

the given question. Therefore, as demonstrated in (45) the role of the indefinite interrogative **-ha** in a given utterance is to seek for information to uniquely identify a given referent.

8.3.3 Co-occurrence of the interrogative **-ha** and the demonstrative

The interrogative **-ha** has semantic features that are incompatible with the inherently definite modifiers such as the demonstrative. The example in (46a) illustrates the unacceptability of the combination of the indefinite interrogative **-ha** and the demonstrative. The construction is grammatical if the question word appears in the predicate position as in the case of (46b). Hence, the interrogative **-ha** can never co-occur with a definite modifier in the same DP. In (46b), for example, the demonstrative precedes the noun, and the subject clausal relative follows. This is obligatory for the predicate meaning of the interrogative to be realized.

(46) a. **Ogu muti guuha ogwayoma?*

A-gu-∅ mu-ti gu-#ha o-gu-a-#om-a?
 DEMrt-3-PROX 3-tree 3-which IV-3.REL-PAST-dry-FV
 ‘*This tree which has dried?’

b. *Ogu muti ogwayoma ni guuha?*

A-gu-∅ mu-ti o-gu-a-#om-a ni gu-#ha?
 DEMrt-3-PROX 3-tree IV-3-PASTim-dry-FV COP 3-which
 ‘Which tree is this that has dried up?’

8.3.4 Co-occurrence of the interrogative **-ha** and a nominal modifier with a neutral semantic feature of (in)definiteness

With respect to the inherently neutral modifiers, the interrogative usually appears in the predicate position. However, as (47b) illustrates, an adjective can appear adjacent to the question word in the nominal domain. Likewise, it is possible to have a possessive and the question word in the same DP (48).

(47) a. (i) *Omuti omuhango ni guuha?*

O-mu-ti o-mu-hango ni gu-#ha
 IV-3-tree IV-3-big COP 3-Q.which
 ‘Which one is the big tree?’

(ii) ***Omuti muhango ni guuha?***

O-mu-ti mu-hango ni gu-#ha
 IV-3-tree 3-big COP 3-Q.which
 ‘Which one is a big tree?’

b. (i) ***Omuti omuhango guuha?***

O-mu-ti o-mu-hango gu-#ha?
 IV-3-tree IV-3-big 3-Q.which
 ‘Which (specific) big tree?’

(ii) ***Omuti muhango guuha?***

O-mu-ti mu-hango gu-#ha?
 IV-3-tree 3-big 3-Q.which
 ‘Which big tree?’

(48) a. ***Omuti gw’omushomesa guuha (gwena)?***

O-mu-ti gu-a omushomesa gu-#ha (gu-ena)
 IV-3-tree 3-GEN IV-1-teacher 2-Q.which (3-exactly)
 ‘Which exact tree of the teacher?’

b. ***Omuti ogw’omushomesa guuha (gwena)?***

O-mu-ti o-gu-a omushomesa gu-#ha (gu-ena)
 IV-3-tree IV-3-GEN IV-1-teacher 2-Q.which (3-exactly)
 ‘Which exact tree of the teacher?’

It has been argued in chapter 6 (section 6.2.3) that the presence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of the adjective is mainly for pragmatic encoding of specificity and contrastive focus. Hence, the presence of the IV on the adjective in (i) of (47a) and (47b) is to single out one particular tree from other equally big trees. The presence of the IV on the genitive in (48b) too is for emphasis or focusing the hearer’s attention on one tree out of other trees that belong to the teacher.

The next section (8.4) deals with the lexical item **haine/hariho**. **Haine** can be regarded as a nominal modifier exhibiting verbal features.

8.4 The specific indefinite lexical item **haine**

8.4.1 Meaning

The lexicalized item **haine**, with an existential meaning, which means ‘there-is’ with its variant **hariho** has indefiniteness and specificity features. The identity of the referent of the noun when **haine** is present may be known to the speaker, but the hearer may have no clue of the identity of the referent. Although **haine** does not share agreement with the noun it occurs with, and therefore it is not a nominal modifier, it is pertinent to discuss it here due to its semantic and syntactic properties. Its occurrence in adjacent to a noun warrants a discussion on its semantics and pragmatic effects on the noun.

8.4.2 Morphological structure

Haine is composed of the locative expletive morpheme **ha-** and the form of the verb stem ‘to-be’ ‘-ine. **Hariho** a variant of **haine**, on the other hand, is morphologically composed of the expletive **ha-**, the copula **-ri-** and another expletive morpheme **-ho**. The morphemes **ha-** and **ho-** are semantically empty morphemes grammaticalized from the locative morphemes (class 16). The translation in English for the lexical elements **haine/haine** is the existential ‘there-is’. **Haine/hariho** exhibits no agreement morphology. Since it has been lexicalized, it can semantically agree with nouns in all classes. Decomposing the lexical items in question is not necessary since none of the morphemes that make them up is irreplaceable to derive a somewhat different meaning or word in a particular syntactic context. Since the lexical items **hariho** and **haine** are semantically identical, for illustrations and discussions, only **haine** is henceforth analyzed.

8.4.3 Syntactic position

Strictly speaking, **haine** occurs prenominal, and obligatorily triggers the occurrence of a clausal relative in the postnominal position. It may come at the beginning of a sentence, or in the middle depending on the position of the argument it is modifying, regardless of the kind of argument. It will be shown that the function of the relative clause is to provide more information about the specific and indefinite entity it introduces. The clues given in the clausal relative aid the hearer in processing the identity of the referent introduced, so that subsequently as the

utterance is still being processed, the referent is likely to turn out to be familiar to the hearer, depending on the context. In addition, when **haine** precedes a clausal relative, in the natural setting of the language, the IV of the relative element is usually omitted (cf. (49a-b)). Recall that one of the objectives of the current study is to investigate the meaning of the (non-)occurrence of the IV in the inflectional morphology of certain nominal modifiers, as discussed in chapters six and seven.

8.4.4 Indefiniteness and specificity encoding with **haine**

Haine is a lexical element which marks an indefinite and specific referent. Thus, it marks a particular entity which cannot be uniquely determined by the hearer. The lexical element **haine** is used when the speaker has a specific individual or entity in mind, and intends to communicate to the hearer about this individual or entity. The referent of the DP containing **haine** is not manifest to the hearer in that it usually serves to introduce a new referent in the discourse. Consider the following example in (49a). The lexical item **haine** gives a specific and indefinite interpretation to the noun that follows it. Thus, there is a particular individual the speaker has in mind, but the hearer does not necessarily know him/her. The specificity meaning of **haine** is discourse-bound and the referent unknown to the addressee at the beginning of the discourse is expected to become familiar to the addressee as the discourse develops. Recall Lyons' (1999) account of specificity, that is, the referent of a noun is a particular individual known to the speaker but not necessarily known to the hearer.

(49) a. ***Haine omushomesa waaba naakuronda***

Haine o-mu-shomesa a-aa-ba ni-a-ku-rond-a

There-is IV-1-teacher 1.3SG-PASTim-be PROG-1.3SG-2SG-look.for-FV

‘There is a certain teacher who was looking for you.’

b. ***Haine omushomesa waaba naandonda***

Haine o-mu-shomesa a-aa-ba ni-a-n-rond-a

There-is IV-1-teacher 1.3SG-PASTim-be PROG-1.3SG-1SG-look.for-FV

‘There is a certain teacher who was looking for me.’

From the linguistic context of (49a) above, it can be said that the speaker is communicating about a particular teacher in mind, who was looking for the addressee. However, the speaker

makes no assumption about whether the addressee knows the teacher who was looking for him/her. The addressee may or may not be familiar with the teacher in question. In case the addressee was expecting some teacher to come looking for him/her, (s)he may make a guess. On the other hand, in case the addressee knows several teachers, and was not expecting any particular one to come looking for him/her, (s)he will not be in a position to identify him/her. Essentially, the use of **haine** in (49b) is an indication that there is a particular teacher who was looking for the speaker. The use of **haine** in (49b) could be based on the fact that the speaker does not know the name of the teacher or any other information to serve him/her (the speaker) in identifying the teacher who was looking for him/her (the speaker). Otherwise, if (s)he knew it, (s)he would mention it. Alternatively, the speaker may be in a position to identify the teacher, but it is just that the identity of the teacher is not so important to achieve the communicative purpose for that particular moment.

In some other contexts, the speaker may at times have no idea of the referent of the noun (s)he is communicating about. This is, for instance, possible with reported speech (cf.51), where neither the speaker nor the hearer may have knowledge about the identity of the referent. Thus, reference can be located within the discourse. Consider first the following example in (50).

(50) *Ku oraakore gye ebigyezo haine eki ndaakuhe.*

Ku o-ra-a-kor-e gye e-bi-gyezo haine e-ki n-ra-a-ku-h-e

If 2SG-FUT-do-FV well IV-8-exam there-is IV-7.REL 1SG-FUT-2SG-INF-give-FV

‘When you pass well your examinations, there is something that I will give you.’ or

‘If you pass well your examinations, I will give you something.’

Two possible interpretations arise from (50). In the first instance, the speaker knows what (s)he intends to give the hearer but the hearer does not know it. Hence, the undisclosed item is specific. In the second interpretation, the speaker does not have a particular item in mind at the time of the utterance, and the hearer definitely cannot guess what it could be. The second reading appears to be triggered by **haine** together with the object relative marker which translates into ‘something’. In other words, ‘*there-is something...*’. The first interpretation is usually the first option. Although with the second interpretation the speaker may be just speaking with no particular gift (s)he has in mind, (s)he may make the utterance to motivate the hearer to work

hard. Then, as results come, and the addressee's performance is impressive, the speaker may now think of something specific as a reward.

In the next illustration (51), another context for the indefinite and non-specific readings of **haine** is illustrated. Note that processing the required meaning cannot be done out of pragmatic context, since **haine** exhibits different readings.

(51) *Kahiigi yangira ngu haine omushomesa waaba nandonda.*

Kahiigi a-aa-n-gir-a ngu haine o-mu-shomes-a
 PN.Kahingi 1.3SG.1-PASTim-1SG-tell-FV that there-is IV-1-teacher-FV

u-aa-ba ni-aa-n-rond-a
 1.REL-PASTim-be PROG-1.3SG-1SG-look.for-FV

'Kahiigi has told me that there is a certain teacher who was looking for me'

The sentence in (51) is complex with a CP, and the indefinite element **haine** appears immediately after the complementizer. The utterance shows that there is a specific teacher who was looking for the speaker. This is asserted through the use of the lexical item **haine**. Neither the hearer nor the speaker knows the teacher who was looking for the addressee (because of the reported speech). Therefore, **haine** can be used in environments in which the lexical head is non-specific. Removing the word **haine** changes the semantics of the sentence in that the non-specific meaning is overridden, and the sentence reads:

(52) *Kahiigi yaagira ngu omushomesa yaaba nandonda*

Kahiigi a-aa-n-gir-a ngu o-mu-shomes-a u-aa-ba
 PN.Kahingi 1.3SG.1-PASTim-1SG-tell-FV that IV-1-teacher-FV 1-PASTim-be

ni-aa-n-rond-a
 PROG-1SG-look.for-FV

'Kahiigi has told me that some/the teacher was looking for me.'

Notice that the sentence (52) no longer contains a clausal relative because **haine** which triggers it is omitted. Crucially, **haine** always triggers the occurrence of a clausal relative. Its presence denotes a particular referent, although as demonstrated in (50) and (51), it may not always be represented in the mind of the speaker. This assertion, therefore, implies that a specific referent can, following Lyons (1999) and von Heusinger (2002), be unknown to the speaker as well.

In (52), no claim that the speaker of the reported speech has a specific teacher in mind is made. That is, the utterance does not necessarily single out one particular teacher from perhaps many who satisfy the description. The referent **omushomesa** (teacher) may either be specific or non-specific. In addition, the referent may have a definite or indefinite reading given the context in which it is made.

Regarding the use of an IV with a clausal relative following the noun preceded by **haine**, it is usually dropped, since **haine** has the feature of specificity already. However, in certain instances, it is used. The clausal relative occurring with an IV denotes that the subject of the construction, which is a specific entity owing to the lexical element **haine**, is emphasized. In other words, one may say the IV adds an extra feature of specificity (the IV in the inflectional morphology of the clausal relative denotes a specific referent, cf. section 7.3.4). This is illustrated in (53).

(53) *Haine ekitabo (e)ki nkyashoma.*

Haine e-ki-tabo e-ki n-kya-shom-a

There.is IV-7-book IV-7.REL 1SG-PRSTV -read-FV

‘There is a particular book I am still reading.’

Furthermore, if an unspecified entity is the subject of an interrogative sentence, **haine** can be used. Notice that the IV of the object clausal relative in (54) is obligatory, for it modifies an empty category head (for example see illustration (23) in section 7.3.4).

(54) *Haine *(e)ki waanaga?*

*Haine *(e)-ki w-aa-nag-a*

There.is *(IV)-7.Rel 2SG-PASTim-lose-FV

‘Is there anything that you have lost?’

Perhaps there is something specific which the hearer is looking for, and the other discourse participant has no knowledge about it. Utterance (54) assumes a scenario where the addressee (call him/her A) is searching for something, and has not shared with speaker (B) what (s)he is searching for. When B realizes that A is busy searching everywhere, turning things upside down, (s)he asks him/her (A) whether there is something (s)he is searching for. **Haine** is then used as an indication that speaker B (the one asking) does not know what the addressee is searching for.

The addressee (A) has not shared the knowledge in relation to what is missing with B. **Haine** signals that the entity is at least unknown to the speaker (B) and it is at least known by (A).

The lexical item **haine** may be used to introduce an apparently new referent into the discourse. The introduced referent is likely to be the topic in the subsequent discourse, as shown in (55).

(55) *Haine omushaija waabaire atuura omu kyaró eki eiziina rye Munumi. Omushaija ogu akaba ari omutungi.*

Hariho o-mu-shaija a-aa-ba-ire a-tuur-a o-mu ki-aro
There-is IV-1-man 1.3SG-PAST-be-PAST 1.3SG-live-FV IV-18.in 7-village

a-ki-Ø e-i-ziina ri-e Munumi. O-mu-shaija o-gu-Ø
DEMrt-7-PROX IV-5-name 5-his Munumi.PN. IV-1-man DEMrt-1-PROX

a-ka-ba a-ri o-mu-tungi.
1.3SG-PAST-be 1-be IV-1-farmer.

‘There was a man who used to live in this village. His name was Munumi. This man was a farmer.’

In the context of (55), the initial sentence containing **haine** serves to introduce a referent, which becomes the topic in the following discourse. At the first mention of the referent, it is presumed that the hearer has no shared information about the referent, but it becomes familiar in the course of the discourse.

It was indicated above that **haine** and **hariho** are synonymous. However, note that there are certain contexts in which they are not in free variation, as illustrated with opening lines in most folktales. In the context of (56) replacing **hariho** with **haine** is unacceptable (in fact, even in (55) above, **hariho** suits the context best).

(56) *Omu biro bya kare, hakaba hariho/*haine omushaija orikwetwa Munumi[...]*

*O-mu bi-ro bi-a kare, ha-ka-ba hariho/*haine o-mu-shaija*
IV-18.in 8-day 8-GEN long.ago EXPLET-PASTrm-be there.is IV-1-man

o-ri-ku-et-w-a Munumi[...]
1-COP-INF-call-PASS-FV Munumi.PN

‘Long time ago, there was a man named Munumi [...].’

The speaker in (56) is introducing a new specific referent into the discourse with **hariho**, not yet known to the addressee. In the given context, **hariho**, encodes existential meaning supported by the deficient verb. The given context does not permit the use of **haine**.

Furthermore, **haine** has partitive meaning in complex sentences, as shown in (57). Note that, the context of the discourse is crucial for the relevant interpretation, and that a clausal relative must co-occur with **haine** for the partitive meaning to be obtained.

57) *Abagyenyi baareeta ebihembo bingi, haine ebi tutakashembwire.*

A-ba-gyenyi ba-a-reet-a e-bi-hembo bi-ngi, Haine

IV-2-visitors 2.AgrS-PASTim-bring-FV IV-8-gift 8-many. There-are

e-bi tu-ta-ka-shembw-ire.

IV-8.REL 1PL-NEG-IPFV-open-IPFV

‘(The) visitors have brought many gifts. There are some gift packs which we have not yet opened.’

In the context given in (57), the head noun **ebihembo** occurs as the direct object of the first clause. **Haine** appears in the second clause with no immediate explicit lexical head but a *pro* head, co-referenced to the object of the previous clause. Hence **haine** presupposes that there is a larger set of entities to which the DP headed by a *pro* containing **haine** refers to, hence enabling the partitive meaning of marking a subset of the referent **ebihembo** (gifts). Partitives, according to von Heusinger (2002), can be specific or non-specific and from the context of (57), the partitive reading of **haine** correlates with the feature [-specific]. Furthermore, consider the short dialogue in (58) below for a somewhat different reading of **haine**:

(58) Speaker A: *Nindonda ebishumuruzo byangye.*

Ni-n-rond-a e-bi-shumuruzo bi-a-nyge

CONT-1SG-search-FV IV-8-key 8-GEN-mine

‘I am looking for my keys.’

Speaker B: *Haine ebi ndareeba hanu*

Haine e-bi n-ra-reeba ha-nu

There-are IV-8.REL 1SG-PRES-see-FV 16-here

‘There are some keys I see here.’

Speaker A is looking for keys. They must be specific keys, and unknown to the hearer (B), as the response from B shows. In B's response, **haine** precedes a *pro* head, which means that (s)he has identified some keys, which may or may not be the exact keys A is looking for. Such a context provides further support for the argument that **haine** is used when the speaker has a particular entity in mind which the hearer is assumed to have no knowledge of.

To conclude the discussion on **haine**, note that the lexical item does not reflect nominal morphology exhibited by most of the nominal modifiers examined above. **Haine** is discussed together with nominal modifiers due to the fact that semantically, it behaves like a nominal modifier. Moreover it occurs immediately preceding the noun, and introduces it into the discourse. On the other hand, it can be argued that **haine** is a dummy subject containing a copula verbal affix, bearing no morphological nominal properties, but, a lexicalized element. Note further from the discussion above that **haine** usually triggers the obligatory occurrence of a clausal relative which provides information regarding the entity it introduces. The role of **haine** in an utterance according to the analysis above is typically for marking an indefinite and specific entity. Therefore, the presence of **haine**, notwithstanding the exceptions noted, denotes a particular entity which the hearer cannot readily identify.

8.5 Summary

This chapter analyzed nominal modifiers which are regarded to have an inherent semantic feature of indefiniteness, in light of Visser (2008: 18), viz. **-mwe (some)**, **-ona (any)**, **-ingi (-ingi)** and **-ndi (other)**, and the interrogative word **-ha**. Morpho-syntactic features of these modifiers have been highlighted. There is a tendency to classify some of these lexical items as adjectives. As noted above, since the items in question share the semantics of being inherently indefinite, they are put together in one category, under the umbrella term 'quantifier'. Moreover, there seems to be no agreement on the terminology as regards to which categories or category the given modifiers, viz. **-mwe**, **-ona**, **-ingi** and **-indi** belong. However, note that, the terminology adopted here does not have any effect on the analyses made in relation to (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity.

The central aim of presenting the morpho-syntactic features of the modifiers analyzed above was to understand mainly the (non-)occurrence with the IV in their inflectional morphology. It has been observed that **-mwe** (some), **-ingi** (many) allow an optional IV in their inflectional morphology, for pragmatic encoding of contrastive focus mainly. On the other hand, **-ndi** requires an almost obligatory IV (cf. section 8.2.4.1). However, it has been noted that the lexical head of **-ndi** can occur with an optional IV when the quantifier is prenominal. In addition, **-ndi** can move to the postnominal position, and when it does, the head noun takes an optional IV. When the IV is present, it is associated with the pragmatic meaning of emphasis projected from the FocP.

Although the quantifiers **-mwe**, **-ngi**, and **-ndi**, are classified semantically as having an inherently semantic indefiniteness feature, they are not completely incompatible with definite contexts. Hence, both the speaker and hearer can still have common knowledge of a referent modified by any of the quantifiers in question, especially in light of the linguistic contexts, as examined above. They can occur in definite environments, especially when they are headed by a *pro* element. Noted also was the fact that the modifier **-ona** (any) (cf. section 8.2.2) can never take an IV. In addition, it is the only modifier which, when headed by a *pro*, the *pro* element is not linked to any previously established referent. Hence due to its semantics, **-ona** (any) cannot be used in definite environments. Accordingly, as noted above, **-ona** (any) cannot co-occur with any inherently definite modifier.

This chapter further explored the interrogative term **-ha** (which/what) (cf. 8.3). It has been established that the interrogative never occurs with an IV. In addition, it has been observed that its meaning changes with the semantics of the head noun. Furthermore, **-ha** can combine with other nominal modifiers which are inherently definite, and those which have a neutral semantic feature with regard to (in)definiteness. Note also that the fact that **-ha** (what/which) disallows an IV on the noun it is further evidence that the IV has [-specific] features when it is absent.

The lexical item **haine/hariho** (there-is) (cf. section 8.4) has also attracted attention in this chapter, notably for its indefiniteness and specificity features. It is discussed with nominal modifiers although with no agreement features. The motivation for including **haine** in the discussion with nominal modifiers is its semantic properties. In addition, **haine** invariably

triggers the occurrence of a clausal relative, which is needed to guide the addressee to the intended referent. **Haine** has been argued to have different readings, including partitive meaning, depending on the context of the utterance in which it has been used. It can also be used to introduce a new a referent in discourse. It can be argued that **haine** is semantically incompatible with definite situations, but on the other hand, if we consider pragmatic factors, an addressee may make an informed guess, rendering the noun appearing with **haine** familiar.

It is worthwhile to note, in a nutshell, that indefinite modifiers are generally not incompatible with definite situations. Therefore, a clear line cannot be drawn between definite and indefinite contexts on the basis of the contribution nominal modifiers make to the interpretations. Instead, following Lyons (1999), in part, a noun is indefinite because there is lack of a definite modifier and that the discourse-pragmatic context does not favor a definite reading.

CHAPTER NINE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

9.1 Introduction

The purpose of the study was to examine the morpho-syntactic and discourse-pragmatic realizations of the two closely related, but at times unclear concepts of definiteness and specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga. This chapter is aimed at giving a summary and conclusions of the main findings, and outlining the theoretical implications of the study with regard to determiner phrase (DP) analysis. The conclusions reached are in line with the research questions posed in chapter one (section 1.5). In addition, this chapter gives suggestions for further enquires.

Throughout the study, Lyon's (1999) approach of definiteness and specificity (cf. section 1.7.4) has been used as a yardstick in examining discourse-pragmatic readings in the realization of definiteness and specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga. The definite readings have been examined against the four principles of definiteness outlined in Lyons (1999), namely, familiarity, identifiability, inclusiveness and uniqueness. Similarly, the meaning of specificity adopted for the study is due to Lyons (1999), where, a referent is assumed to be specific when the speaker has a particular entity in mind, which may either be identifiable or non-identifiable to the hearer, while a non-specific entity holds when the speaker does not assume a particular referent. In addition, the generative framework of syntax, especially the concepts of the latest version of the Minimalist Program, has been adopted in conjunction with the Cartographic approach to syntax.

The empirical data used for this study was gathered from both primary and secondary sources. The researcher, being a native speaker of the Rukiga dialect, used own intuition in the compilation and interpretation of data with regard to (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity. In addition, the elicitation method was heavily relied on. The elicited data were, however, verified by Runyankore-Rukiga native speakers. Data from authentic written materials, such as the local newspapers *Orumuri* and *Entatsi*, novels and the translated Runyankore-Rukiga Bible version of 1962, were greatly relied on during the study. In addition, the researcher captured natural spoken

discourse through listening to conversations. All the data collected were carefully glossed and analyzed for the interpretations of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity. In the subsections that follow, I present a summary of the conclusions and empirical as well as theoretical implications of the study.

9.2 Summary and major conclusions of the study

9.2.1 Introduction

There are no definite and indefinite articles in Runyankore-Rukiga, neither does the language possess markers whose role is to exclusively mark specificity. However, there are various mechanisms, both morpho-syntactic and discourse-pragmatic, that Runyankore-Rukiga employs to mark the phenomena, as the study has revealed with empirical data. The central idea, is that the speaker packages information in such way that the hearer is able to interpret it the way (s)he (the speaker) intends.

The study first considered previous literature on (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity generally, in Bantu languages, and then in Runyankore-Rukiga (cf. chapter two). The concepts of definiteness and specificity are well studied in Indo-European languages. A few studies are available on the phenomena in Bantu languages (cf. section 2.3). In Runyankore-Rukiga, in particular, the phenomenon of definiteness is mentioned in passing in the two descriptive grammars of Runyankore-Rukiga, that is, Morris and Kirwan (1972) and Taylor (1985). As for specificity, there are few instances where it is referred to in these grammar books. Specifically it is said that the IV is used to particularize a given item (see the review in section 2.4). To the best of my knowledge, there is no detailed study in the available literature that analyses definiteness and specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga. Hence, this study breaks the ground with the first extensive and systematic analysis on definiteness and specificity in the language.

The central aim of the study was to examine the role of the IV in relation to the realization of (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity in Runyankore-Rukiga. Furthermore, the study examined the categorial status of the IV within the Minimalist Program. As literature (cf. chapter 3) reveals, there are differences in the distribution and grammatical roles of the IV across Bantu languages which exhibit it. Literature further indicates that the categorial status of the IV is not

yet resolved. For instance, some scholars posit that the IV is a determiner-like element within the DP (cf. de Dreu, 2008; Visser, 2008), while others do not view it through this mirror (Riedel, 2011, for instance). With reference to Haya (JE 22), Riedel posits that the IV should better be analyzed as an allomorph of the noun prefix, and therefore should not be viewed as an independent morpheme, hence not a possible DP head (cf. section 3.2.4). However, the key findings from this study as presented especially in chapter six and seven point to the fact that the IV is a determiner possessing [+specific] and [+contrastive focus] features. A crucial point to note is that particular discourse-pragmatic settings determine the given features realized by the IV. Accordingly, the current study contributes to the existing literature in trying to categorially determine the behavior of the IV in Runyankore-Rukiga..

9.2.2 Bare nouns

Chapter four presented the analysis on (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity readings involving nouns which are not modified, i.e. bare nouns. The data examined in this chapter demonstrate that there are various pragmatic factors which contribute to resolving (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity ambiguities of bare nouns in Runyankore-Rukiga. It has been established that discourse participants follow different cues in identifying a(n) (in)definite and (non-)specific bare noun. Shared knowledge between discourse participants, previous mention of the referent, socio-cultural, as well as situational factors all contribute to definiteness and specificity readings of the referents of bare nouns as discussed and illustrated in chapter four. In addition, inherent properties of certain nouns or verbs may further influence the interpretation of referents with regard to (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity. Unique entities, for instance, the nouns **eizooba** (sun), **okwezi** (moon) and **ensi** (earth) are definite based on speaker-hearer common knowledge of the world (cf. for instance example (1) in section 4.5.1, also see Lyons, 1999). Furthermore, proper nouns are inherently unique (see section 4.5.3). Therefore, they are necessarily definite and specific, registering minimal levels of semantic ambiguity with regard to (in)definiteness. However, recall that different referents can share one proper name. If this is the case, ambiguity is a likelihood. Therefore, more descriptive content is summoned to uniquely identify the intended referent (cf. section 7.3.6).

Recall the example below depicting an immediate situational context for definiteness and specificity reading of a bare noun:

- (1) *Mpa omusyo*
n-h-a o-mu-syo
 1SG-give-FV IV-6-knife
 ‘Give me the/a knife’

The referent **omusyo** (knife) does not appear with any morpho-syntactic cue for definiteness interpretation. However, through the immediate situational context, the addressee is in a position to identify the knife that needs to be passed on to the speaker (cf. example (8) in section 4.2 and the given contexts for definiteness and specificity reading of the noun **omusyo** (knife) come into play.

The semantics of verbs such as **kweshera** (to take cows to drink water) and **kuhakuura** (to extract honey), examined in section 4.4, even when the object referent is not mentioned, the hearer is able to identify what is intended because, for instance, the verb **-kweshera** selects a unique argument, that is, **ente** (cow), while **-kuhakuura** requires that its arguments include **obwoki** (honey), **ebihumi** (hives) and **enjoki** (bees) (cf. examples (26) and (27) in section 4.4 for a discussion). On the other hand, some nouns receive definite and specific readings based on the relationship they hold with another argument in the sentence. The bare noun **omukazi**, for example, as examined in section 4.5.2 may be rendered as ‘wife’, or ‘a/the woman’, depending on both syntactic and pragmatic contexts. The two examples below give two distinct pragmatic readings based on the (non-)occurrence of the determiner (IV) on the noun (o)**mukazi**. It is established that having a proper name in the subject position, and the object noun (**mukazi**) occurring with the determiner is an indication that the object noun bears unique semantic features, and therefore, refers to a unique particular entity. The absence of the determiner, on the other hand is an indication that there is no particular known individual woman intended.

- (2) a. *Baine tarikukunda mukazi*
Baine ti-a-ri-ku-kund-a mu-kazi
 PN.Baine NEG-1.3SG-is-INF-love-FV 1-woman
 ‘Baine does not love any woman.’

b. *Baine tarikukunda omukazi*

Baine ti-a-ri-ku-kund-a o-mu-kazi

PN.Baine NEG-1.3SG-is-INF-love-FV IV-1-woman

‘Baine does not love his wife.’

The study has further examined the nature of generic nouns in Runyankore-Rukiga (cf. section 4.5). Following Lyons (1999), it was noted that generics are necessarily non-specific, but pragmatically definite on the basis that the speaker is assumed to be familiar with a given class of entities and no particular individual is meant (cf. section 2.2.5). Furthermore, it is pointed out that any noun in Runyankore-Rukiga can potentially receive a generic or non-generic reading depending on the pragmatic context. In addition, inherent properties of nouns, the grammatical number of the noun, as well as the tense or aspect of a given verb, all contribute to generic interpretation.

The involvement of morpho-syntactic cues in identifying a definite and specific entity is examined with regard to bare object nouns. Objects of bare nouns receive definite and specific readings stemming from the co-occurrence of the object agreement prefix and the IV of the direct object (cf. section 4.3.2.1). In the absence of the object agreement prefix, and the determiner on the object noun, the object noun is rendered indefinite and non-specific:

(3) a. *Omwishiki tarikushoma kitabo*

O-mu-ishiki ti-a-ri-ku-shom-a ki-tabo

IV-1-girl NEG-1-3SG-COP-INF-read-FV 7-book

‘A/the girl is not reading any book.’

b. *Omwishiki tarikukishoma ekitabo*

O-mu-ishiki ti-a-ri-ku-ki-shom-a e-ki-tabo

IV-1-girl NEG-1.3SG-COP-INF-AgrOP-read-FV IV-7-book

‘The girl is not reading the (specific) book.’

Moreover, if the object noun appears immediately following a negative verb, the object normally does not appear with an IV. The IV that is permitted to occur with the object noun in such syntactic environment has a pragmatic role to play, as empirical evidence in section 4.3.2.1 has shown.

9.2.3 DPs containing modifiers with an inherent semantic feature of definiteness

This subsection summarizes the major findings with regard to definiteness and specificity involving modifiers which are inherently specified for the definiteness and specificity features, as examined in chapter five. The modifiers are demonstratives (5.2), the functional elements **-a** (section 5.3) and **nya-** (cf. section 5.4), quantifiers, and the absolute pronoun (cf. section 5.6). It is established that when the speaker accompanies the noun with one of the given modifiers, (s)he intends to make the hearer aware that the referent is familiar or identifiable:

(4) *Eki (e)kitabo tindikukyenda*

A-ki-Ø (e)-ki-tabo ti-n-ri-ku-ki-end-a

DEMrt-7-PROX IV-7-book NEG-1SG.AgrS-COP-INF-7-want-FV

‘I do not want this (particular) book.’

The semantic feature of identifiability, according to Lyons (1999), is responsible for the definiteness reading of the object entity in (4), as encoded by the pronominal demonstrative. The referent further receives a specificity feature from the demonstrative, while the IV on the noun with a preceding demonstrative adds an element of emphasis (see discussion on co-occurrence of the pronominal demonstrative and the determiner IV appearing with a lexical head in section 5.2.3.3).

I agree with the view of previous scholars (e.g., Visser, 2008), that the historical demonstrative morpheme, which has been attested in many Bantu languages, is underlyingly the core morpheme **a** (cf. section 5.2.1.1). This morpheme is considered to be the historical *definitizer*, and intricately relates to the definite morpheme **-a** (cf. section 5.3), and the anaphoric bound morpheme **nya-** (cf. section 5.4). Empirical data have pointed to a possibility of the demonstrative as the source of the definite morpheme **-a** and the bound anaphoric proclitic morpheme **nya-**. Evidence for this claim comes from the fact that the three determiners are in complementary distribution, and can be used interchangeably to a greater degree for anaphoric reference (cf. section 5.5). Indeed, nominal expressions accompanied by the grammatical element **-a**, or the morpheme **nya-**, like the demonstrative, are unambiguously definite and specific. In addition, evidence is given for supporting the view that the morphemes **-a** and the

proclitic element **nya-** are functional determiners specified for the features [+definite +specific]. Moreover the two functional elements occupy a specific place in the Determination area, the pronominal position, and that their co-occurrence in the same position is prohibited. The difference between the determiners **-a** and **nya-** lies in the fact that **-a** is an independent functional element⁹⁷, while **nya-** must attach to a nominal. In addition, **-a** inflects for class of the lexical head noun, while **nya-** does not. On the whole empirical evidence presented in section 5.5 argues for the view that these two functional determiners are grammaticalized forms of the demonstrative. Accordingly, the three definite determiners belong together semantically.

The quantifiers discussed in section 5.6 render lexical head nouns definite if they are present in the DP. These are **-ona** (all) (5.6.3), **huri/ibara** (every) (5.6.4), **-ombi** (both) (5.6.5), **-onka** (only) (5.6.6). In addition, the absolute pronoun (cf. 5.6.2), which closely relates to the above mentioned quantifiers has also been examined. The absolute pronoun has been categorized together with the quantifiers on the basis of its close semantic relation with the inherently definite quantifiers. Similar to the quantifiers in question, the pronoun possesses an inherent feature of definiteness, and its morphological make-up relates to that of the quantifiers, in that the absolute pronoun exhibits the quantifier root **-o-** in its morphology (cf. tables 7 and 8). The given quantifiers render their head nouns definite based on the inclusiveness and uniqueness factors, while the absolute is definite due to the familiarity concept of Lyons (1999). Example (5) below illustrates with an absolute pronoun (cf. section 5.6 for more illustrations).

- (5) *Empene yaagireeta, entaama yo ebuzire.* (Example from Morris and Kirwan 1972:128
E-n-hene a-aa-gi-reet-a, e-n-taama i-o e-bur-ire
 IV-9-goat 1.3SG-PRES-9 -bring-FV IV-9-sheep 9-QUANTTrt 9-lose-PERF
 ‘(S)he brought the goat but the sheep is lost.’

9.2.4 The role of the IV occurring with nominal modifiers which are neutral with regard to the semantic feature of (in)definiteness

This study has examined the occurrence of the IV with nominal modifiers which are presumed to possess neutral semantic features with regard to (in)definiteness and (non-)specificity (cf. chapter six and seven). These include adjectives, numerals, possessives as well as nominal and clausal

⁹⁷ Independent in the sense that it does not appear attached to the noun it precedes.

relative modifiers. An attempt has been made to establish the relationship between the determiner IV occurring with these modifiers and the demonstrative. The IV is not a definite morpheme but has anaphoric features when considered in the right pragmatic and syntactic contexts. Nominal modifiers appearing with phonologically empty heads are pragmatically definite in the sense that the IV they occur with links to an already established entity in the old discourse. Hence, this particular syntactic context allows the IV to appear in an anaphoric definite environment, a feature that is inherent in the demonstrative. Although the IV lacks the deictic meaning, the anaphoric reading it triggers when it is present in the inflectional morphology of the above named modifiers is evidence that it relates to the demonstrative. In addition, when a modifier occurs in the prenominal position, it requires an obligatory IV that is specified for the feature of specificity. This occurrence gives further support for positing that the IV developed from the demonstrative (recall that the demonstrative is inherently specific) (cf. discussions and illustrations especially in sections 6.2.3, 6.4.3, 7.2.2 and 7.3.4).

Categorially, the IV has been analyzed as a specific and contrastive focus marker. It was established that more often when the IV is present optionally in the inflectional morphology of adjectives, possessives, clausal and nominal relatives, it mainly triggers a specific and contrastive focus reading simultaneously. The absence of the IV generally means that the lexical head has non-specific reading with no contrastive focus meaning:

(6) a. ***Omukazi yaagura enshaho mpango.***

o-mu-kazi a-aa-gur-a e-n-shaho n-hango

IV-1-woman 1.3SG.1-PRES-buy-FV IV-9-bag 9-big

‘A/the woman has bought a/the big bag.’

b. ***Omukazi yaagura enshaho empango.***

o-mu-kazi a-aa-gur-a e-n-shaho (e)-n-hango

IV-1-woman 1.3SG.1-PRES-buy-FV IV-9-bag (IV)-9-big

‘A/the woman has bought specifically a/the big bag.’

From the empirical data presented, generally, one entity the speaker selects from other entities is typically one that forms a particular representation in his/her mind. In this study, therefore, it is argued that entities which are contrastively focalized are necessarily specific, but the reverse may

not true. In the context provided in (6), the determiner IV does not necessarily render the head noun definite, unless an appropriate discourse-pragmatic context is evoked.

Numerals as modifiers present somewhat peculiar properties in relation to the use of the determiner IV, and generally the encoding of definiteness and specificity. Grammatically, a numeral is not required to take an obligatory IV when it modifies a *pro* head. In addition, a numeral taking an IV does not appear with a full lexical head. Furthermore, a numeral modifier more often triggers the occurrence of another modifier such as the demonstrative. Thus, the IV occurring with numerals does not exhibit the specificity feature as for example the adjective and possessive modifiers do. The apparent dissimilarity between the numeral with regard to the use of the IV and other nominal modifiers in the same category could be stemming from the quantificational nature of the numerals.

9.2.5 The role of the IV occurring with nominal modifiers with an inherent semantic feature of indefiniteness

A number of modifiers categorized as having inherently indefiniteness features (cf. chapter 8) have been examined. These include quantifiers, namely, **-mwe** (some) (8.2.1), **-ona** (any) (8.2.2), **-ingi** (many) (8.2.3) and **-ndi** (other) (8.2.4). The interrogative element, **-ha** (what/which/who) has also been examined (cf. 8.3). In specific pragmatic contexts, some of the given indefinite quantifiers optionally take an IV, which provides the nouns they modify with contrastive focus interpretation, and to some extent, , convey the specificity meaning, in specific pragmatic contexts, as shown in the contrast between (7a) and (7b). Hence the primary role of the IV with indefinite modifiers is to mark contrastive focus.

(7) a. ***Abeegi abamwe bakaija.***

A-ba- egi *(a)-ba-mwe ba-ka-ij- a*
 IV-cl.2-students IV-2-some 2-PST-come-FV
 ‘Some of the students came.’

b. ***Abeegi bamwe bakaija.***

A-ba-egi *ba-mwe ba-ka-ij-a*
 IV-2-student 2-some 2-PST-come-IND
 ‘Some students came.’

Contrary to what is observed with the nominal modifiers analyzed in chapters six and seven, i.e., those that have a neutral semantic feature of (in)definiteness, the optional IV with inherently indefinite quantifiers ambiguously marks the feature of specificity. In addition, it has been shown that some indefinite quantifiers discussed, are compatible with definiteness, since, in the absence of a full lexical head, the definite reading is available with a *pro* head. Another conclusion reached with regard to indefinite quantifiers discussed in chapter eight is that intonational pause is a pertinent cue in marking definiteness, especially when an indefinite modifier co-occurs with one that is neutral to the feature of (in)definiteness. A referent that is uttered after a pause comes as an afterthought, and is typically definite (see, for instance, illustrations in section 8.2.1.4).

The study further analyzed the lexical item **haine** (which can be loosely translated as ‘there is’). **Haine** bears no agreement properties of nominals (it instead exhibits verbal properties), but it invariably appears next to a noun or a *pro*. **Haine** has been considered in the current study due to its semantic properties of possessing [-definite +specific] features. Hence, normally, its presence in the nominal domain entails that the speaker has a particular referent (s)he wants to communicate about, which the hearer is unlikely to be aware of at the time of the utterance,.

According to Lyons (1999), indefinite modifiers are not necessarily with the feature [-definite], in that the feature of indefiniteness of nominal expressions is due to lack of definite determiner. This claim is supported by the fact that a definite reading is attained when, for instance, an indefinite modifier is headed by a *pro* element (cf. for example (20a-b) in section 8.2.2.2) . In addition, as demonstrated in (7b) in section 8.2.1.3, that a deictic demonstrative can co-occur with the indefinite **-mwe** (some), is an indication that the absence of a definite determiner is what leads to an indefinite interpretation, or the interpretation is obtained if the pragmatic context does not favor a definite determiner, but not the presence of an ‘indefinite’ modifier.

9.3.6 Definite referents are not always specific

On the basis of the extensive data presented, it is reasonable to claim that the concepts of definiteness and specificity are not equivalent (this is the same view held by Ihsane & Puskás, 2001 and von Heusinger, 2002). Therefore, definite entities are not always specific and not all

specifics are definite. Hence, the following four combinations, based on the empirical evidence presented in the current study, are all possible in Runyankore-Rukiga.

- (8) [Definite specific]
 [Definite non-specific]
 [Indefinite specific]
 [Indefinite non-spec]

Demonstratives and the functional determiners **-a** and **nya-** are inherently definite and specific. However, the occurrence of a demonstrative and an inherently indefinite quantifier may give rise to a definite and non-specific reading, as exemplified in (41b) in section 8.2.4. On the other hand, the quantifier **-ona** (all), for instance, is inherently definite. However, the quantified head noun may be specific, or non-specific if reference is to no particular member of a given set of referents quantified over. Generic entities are non-specific but (pragmatically) definite. Bare nouns discussed in chapter 4 which do not possess unique properties may receive [+definite +specific], [-definite +specific], or even [-definite -specific] readings. In addition, the lexical item **haine** examined in section (cf. 8.4.1.4) typically marks an indefinite specific entity.

9.3 Theoretical significance of the study

The current study is couched in the generative framework of syntax, particularly the Minimalist approach, complemented by the Cartographic tradition. Following the DP hypothesis, all nominals are headed by determiners. Therefore, they are Determiner phrases. Evidence for postulating the presence of DP in Runyankore-Rukiga comes from the presence of the demonstrative and semantically specified definite quantifiers. In addition, the functional definite morphemes, namely **-a** and **nya-** have been analyzed as functional determiner heads with [+definite +specific] features.

On the other hand, the IV of the bare object noun (which occur in conjunction with the AgrOP), and the IV occurring (optionally) in the inflectional morphology of modifiers, such as adjectives, possessives, nominal and clausal relatives and some quantifiers which allow an optional IV, is a determiner. Data analyzed in this study presented evidence for postulating a functional head in the nominal domain headed by a determiner-like element, that is, the IV with [+focus, +specific

or +emphasis] features, depending on the syntactic and pragmatic contexts. Hence, the presence of the optional IV can be explained in minimalist terms as representing a functional category determiner.

On the basis of the occurrence of the IV, since specificity interacts with definiteness and indefiniteness features, a specific entity which may be definite or indefinite may receive the (contrastive) focus feature. This confirms the claim that focalized elements do not always represent discourse new information. This study, further, makes a contribution to the argument that information structure can be expressed not only in the clausal domain but also in other phrasal categories as well (cf. Aboh, 2004; Aboh et al., 2010). The IV is thus posited as a determiner hosted in the focus phrase of nominal phrasal categories, either in the prenominal or postnominal positions, or in positions headed by a null determiner. The different word combinations and word orders illustrated in the study give insights into the analysis of determiner phrase syntax, especially in relation to languages whose nominal modifiers take an optional determiner IV, and which are free to occupy either the prenominal or postnominal position. In the event that a given modifier moves to the specifier position, a double FocP is posited with an additional feature of emphasis (a constituent according to Alexiadou et al. (2007: 9) moves only if there is need to move). In the absence of the IV, the FocP is unavailable, but a DP is available with a null determiner head with [-specific] feature.

The absence of overt (in)definite articles does not imply the absence of DP system in languages with no articles. In addition to the demonstrative which is a universal category, and quantifiers, morphological devices are posited to head the DP, as illustrated in this study. Therefore, apart from the lexical DP categories that are universal, there are language specific morphological devices representing the functional category determiner exhibiting distinct features.

9.4 Suggestions for further research

The study has laid a firm background for the study of definiteness and specificity in the DP of Runyankore-Rukiga, which can be used to study the phenomena in other related Bantu languages. The investigation, among other findings established the IV as a specificity and contrastive focus marker (and sometimes marking emphasis). There is need for an in depth

exploration of information structure in the Cartography of syntax stemming from the VI. This undertaking should be done beyond the DP to include clausal categories. There is also need to consider the relation between focus (and perhaps topic) and definiteness and specificity. The investigation of the status of the IV in Runyankore-Rukiga should be carried forward, especially given that different scholars depict the IV differently, not only in Runyankore-Rukiga, but also in other Bantu languages. Hence, the findings from this study can be used to further explore the status of the IV and generally the understanding of definiteness and specificity in other related Bantu languages.

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Appendix I: Runyankore-Rukiga noun class system⁹⁸

Noun class	Prefix marker	Number	Example	Meaning
1	-mu-	singular	omwana	child
2	-ba-	plural	abaana	children
3	-mu-	singular	omucungwa	orange
4	-mi-	plural	emicungwa	oranges
5	-ri-/i-	singular	eibaare	stone
6	-ma-	plural	amabaare	stones
7	-ki-	singular	ekikopo	cup
8	-bi-	plural	ebicoori	cups
9	-n-	singular	enkoko	chicken
10	-n-	plural	enkoko	chickens
11	-ru-	singular	orushozi	hill
12	-ka-	singular	akatare	market
13	-tu-	plural	obutare	markets
14	-bu-	plural	oburo	millet
15	-ku-	singular	okutu	ear
16	-ha-	-	-	-
17	-ku-	-	-	-
18	-mu-	-	-	(Inside) the other place
19	-	-	-	-
20 ⁹⁹	-gu-	singular	oguhunu	big/ugly pig
21	-ga-	plural	agahunu	big/ugly pigs

⁹⁸ See Katushemerewe and Hanneforth (2010) for a slightly different version of the list.

⁹⁹ Class 20 and 21 contain nouns used derogatively, and they are not used in the illustrations.

Appendix II: List of literary works and other written sources of data used

Ebyeshongoro Eby'okuhimbisa Ruhanga, (1966). S.P.C.K:

Entasi Newspaper articles (2012-2013), published by Redpper Uganda.

Karwemera, F. (1994). *Emicwe n'emigyenzo y'Abakiga*. Kampala. Fountain Publishers.

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The Bible in Runyankore-Rukiga. (1964). Kampala: The Bible Society of Uganda.

Tumusiime, J.R. (2007). *Entanda y'Omugambi w'Orunyankore-Rukiga*. Kampala. Fountain Publishers.

Appendix III: Native language speakers consulted¹⁰⁰

Consultant	Level of education	Language/dialect they speak	Dwelling setting
Dr. Celestino Oriikiriza	PhD	Rukiga	urban
Dr. Gumoshabe Gilbert	PhD	Runyankore	urban
Dr. Fridah Katushemererwe	PhD	Runyankore	urban
Dr. Levis Mugumya	PhD	Runyankore	urban
Mr. Aron Turyasingura	BA	Runyankore	urban
Mr. Misah Natumanya	Masters	Runyankore	urban
Mr. Justus Turamyomwe	Masters	Rukiga	urban
Mr. Kamukama Jasper	O'level	Rukiga	rural
Ms Kembabazi Rosette	Primary seven	Rukiga	rural
Ms. Natuhwera Immaculate	Primary seven	Runyankore	rural
Mr. Deo Kawalya	PhD candidate	Luganda ¹⁰¹	urban
Mr. Ssentanda Medadi	PhD candidate	Luganda	urban

¹⁰⁰ More observations during the study were made through listening or participating in casual conversations.

¹⁰¹ Although the study was not comparative in nature, whenever it was necessary, some Luganda experts were consulted to verify the grammaticality of certain aspects and to establish how Runyankore-Rukiga relates or differs from other Bantu languages, such as Luganda, in terms of the properties investigated.