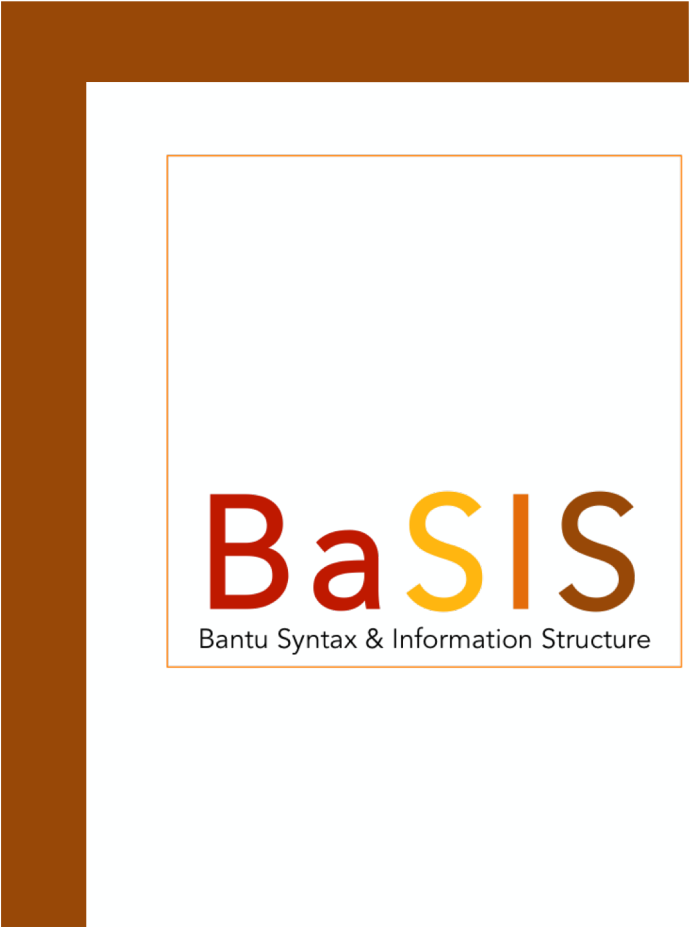




BaSIS

Bantu Syntax & Information Structure

Rukiga augments are like Greek

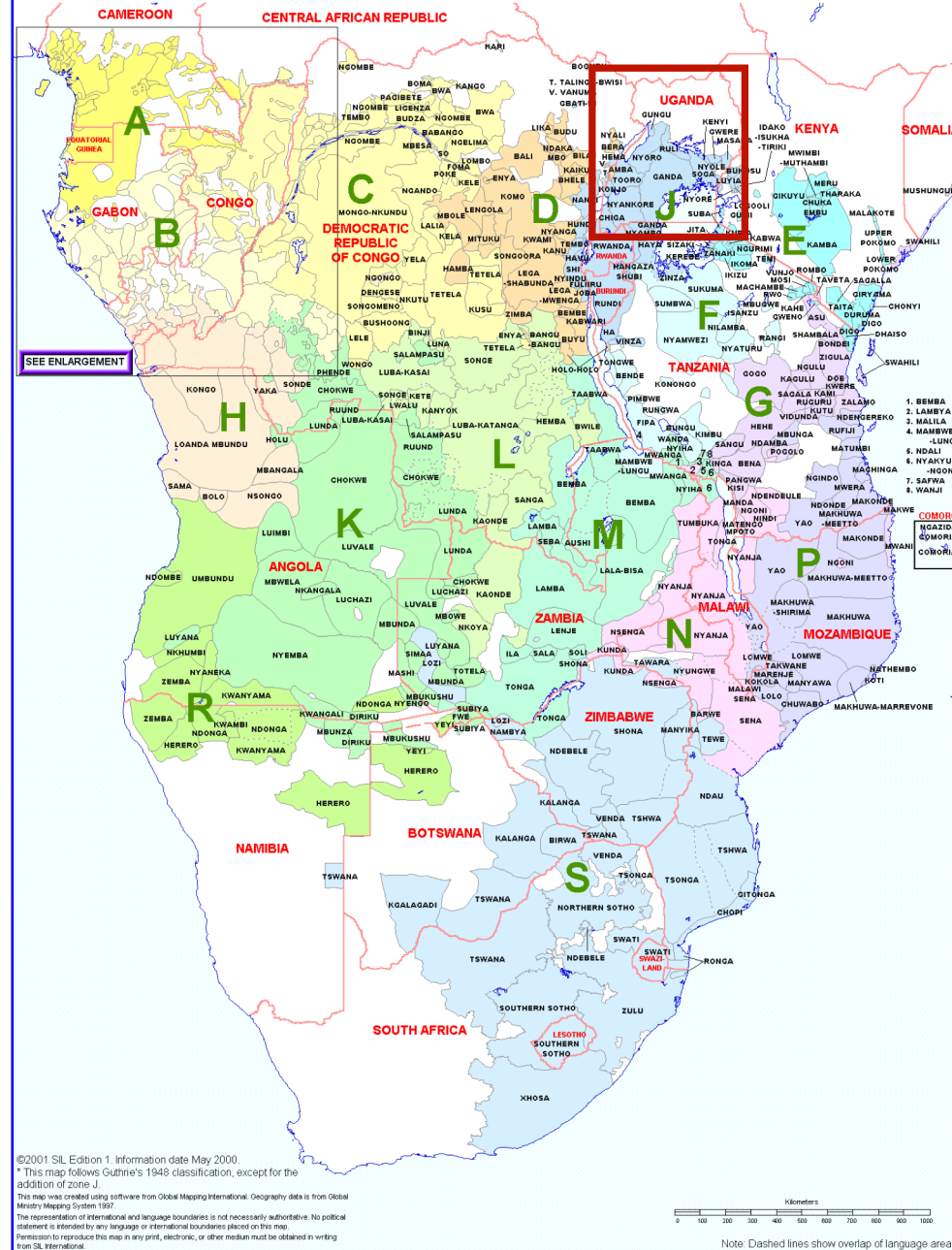
Allen Asiimwe

Jenneke van der Wal

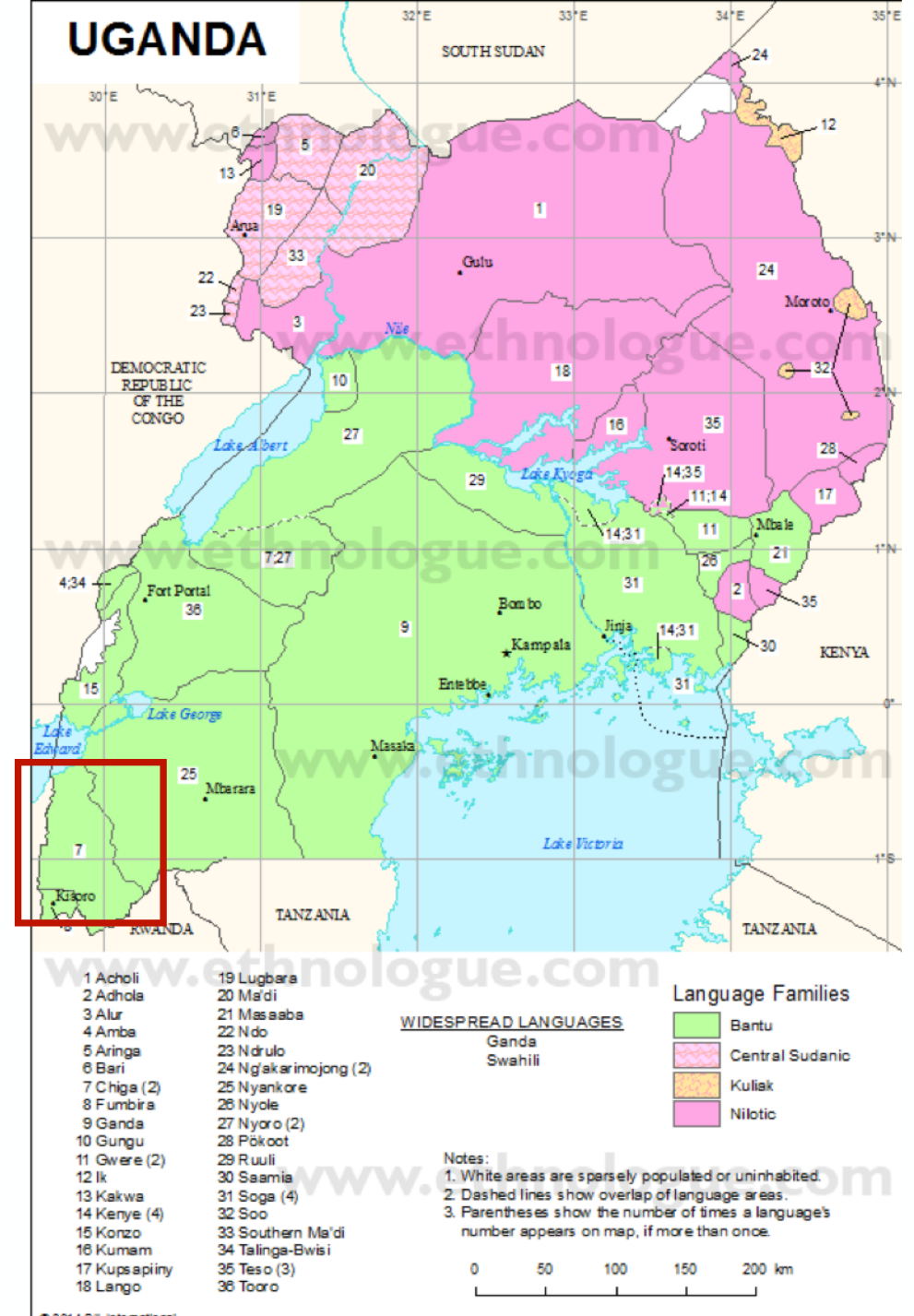


The Bantu languages of Africa

Groupings based on Guthrie, 1948*



UGANDA







- (1) N-aa-bugan' é-ki-hugúhúgu, ky-a ki-nekye.
1SG.SM-N.PST-meet AUG-7-butterfly 7-of 7-yellow
'I have found a yellow butterfly.'

- (2) Kááka ahiire á-bá-ána o-bu-coori.
1.grandmother 1SM-give-PFV AUG-2-child AUG-14-maize
'Grandmother gave (the) children maize.'
- (3) **Ti**-n-aa-gur-a _-n-kaito .
NEG-1SG.SM-N.PST-buy-FV AUG-10-shoe
'I have not bought shoes.'



- (4) N-aa-bugan' é-ki-hugúhúgu (é-)ki-hángo.
1SG.SM-N.PST-meet AUG-7-butterfly AUG-7-big
'I have found a big butterfly.'

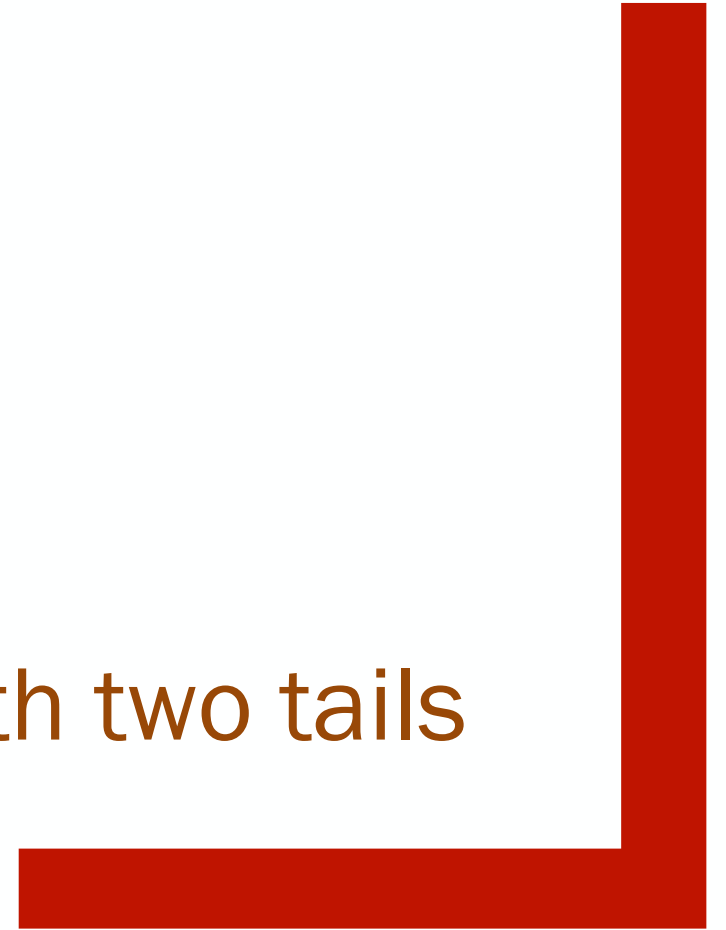
What determines the presence of the augment on modifiers?

Outline

- The squirrel with two tails
(What determines the presence of the augment on Rukiga modifiers?)
- Greek determiner spread
 - *structural parallels*
 - *interpretational parallels*
- Lekakou & Szendrői (2012): close apposition



The squirrel with two tails



- (5) a. o-mu-sháíja -mu-rungi
 AUG-1-man 1-good
 'a good man'
- b. o-mu-sháíjá o-mu-rungi
 AUG-1-man AUG-1-good
 'the good man'
- c. O-mu-sháíja (o)-mu-rungi n-oo-mu-ihá nkáhe?
 AUG-1-man AUG-1-good PRG-2SG.SM-1OM-get where
 'Where can you find a nice/good man?'

(6) Q: O-mu-kazi y-aa-gura e-n-shaho e-ha?
AUG-1-woman 1SM-N.PST-buy AUG-9-bag 9-which
'Which bag has the woman bought?'

A: O-mu-kazi y-aa-gur-a e-n-shaho e-m-pango.
AUG-1-woman 1SM-N.PST-buy AUG-9-bag AUG-9-big
'A/the woman has bought (specifically) a/the big bag.'

- (7) A-ba-rambuzi (a-)ba-a-gi-ire Bwindi ba-garuk-ire gye.
 AUG-2-tourists AUG-2.REL-PST-go-PFV Bwindi 2SM-return-PFV well
 'The tourists who went to Bwindi returned safely.'
- (8) N-deeb-ir' o-mu-kazi (o-)wu Ema y-aa-h-iire ponsho.
 1SG-see-PFV AUG-1-woman AUG-1RM 1.Emma 1SM-PST-give-PFV 9.shawl
 'I saw the woman who Emma gave a shawl.'



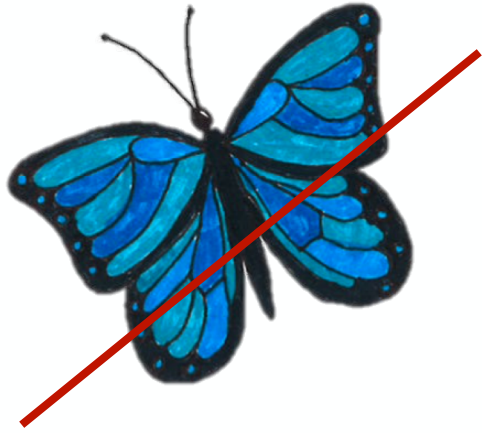
- (9) a. nibakund' ékanisa y' áBakíga baayómbekire
 b. nibakund' ékanísá **e**y' áBakíga baayómbekire
 'They appreciate the church which/that the Bakiga built.'

- (10) a. é-í-zooba -lí-ri hale
 AUG-5-sun 5-be far
 'the sun, which is far'
- b. # é-í-zóób' é-lí-ri hale
 AUG-5-sun AUG-5-be far
 'the sun that is far'

- $[+A]$ = restrictive
- $[-A]$ = non-restrictive

Broader hypothesis:

The presence of the augment selects one (type of) referent, characterised by the modifier, out of a larger set.





- (11) a. Naagur' énanáasi mbísi.
b. Naagura enanaas' émbísi.
'I have bought a/the unripe pineapple.'

- (12) a. Páápa -mu-kúru y-aah' ó-ru-bázo.
 1.pope -1-old 1SM-N.PST-give AUG-11-speech
 'The old Pope gave a speech.'
- b. #Pááp' ó-mu-kúru y-aah' ó-ru-bázo.
 1.pope AUG-1-old 1SM-N.PST-give AUG-11-speech
 'The old Pope gave a speech.'



- (13) a. E-bi-kópo wa-a-gura bi-iha?
AUG-8-cup 2SG.SM-N.PST-buy 7-which
'Which cups have you bought?'
- b. N-aa-gur' e-bi-kóp' é-bi-hángo
1SM-N.PST-buy AUG-8-cup AUG-8-big
'I have bought the big cups.'
- c. #N-aa-gur' e-bi-kopo -bi-hángo
1SM-N.PST-buy AUG-8-cup 8-big
'I have bought big cups.'

- (14) Mw-ij-é tu-shutám-e o-mu n-jú e-y-ángye
2PL-come-SBJV 1PL-sit-SBJV AUG-18 9-house AUG-9-POSS.1SG
'Come we sit at my home.'

(15) Enkofííra (#e)yangye teyomire. Kándi na sikááfu (#e)yangye nayó teyomire.

e-n-kofííra (#e)-ya-ngye te-y-om-ire. kándi na sikááfu
 AUG-9-hat AUG-9-1SG.PRO NEG-9SM-dry-PFV and and 9.scarf

(#e)-ya-ngye na-y-ó te-y-om-ire
 AUG-9-1SG.PRO and-9-even NEG-9SM-dry-PFV
 'My hat is not dry. And even my scarf is not dry.'

- (16) a. E-n-ju -nyîngi zi-tiir' é-rangi.
 AUG-10-houses -10-many 10SM-beat.PFV AUG-colour
 'Many houses are painted.'
- b. E-n-j' é-nyîngi zi-tiir' é-rangi.
 AUG-10-houses AUG-10-many 10SM-beat-PFV AUG-colour
 'The majority/most of the houses are painted.'

(17) [E-bi-hunyira -by-óna] bi-ine á-ma-gezi maíngi.
 AUG-8-owls -8-all 8SM-have AUG-6-wisdom much
 'All owls are very wise.'

(18) O-mu kashééshe [é-zi-ndi nyamaishwa]
 AUG-18 morning AUG-10-other 10.animals
 ku zi-iz-ire ku-kora...
 when 10SM-come-PFV 15-work
 'In the morning when (the) other animals came to work...'

	-A	+A
<i>relative</i>	non-restrictive	restrictive
<i>adjective</i>	neutral	exclusive
<i>possessive</i>	neutral	contrast/exclusive
<i>‘many’</i>	many	majority of
<i>‘all’</i>	✓	X
<i>‘other’</i>	X	✓

The augment on nominal modifiers selects one (type of) referent, characterised by the modifier, out of a larger set.

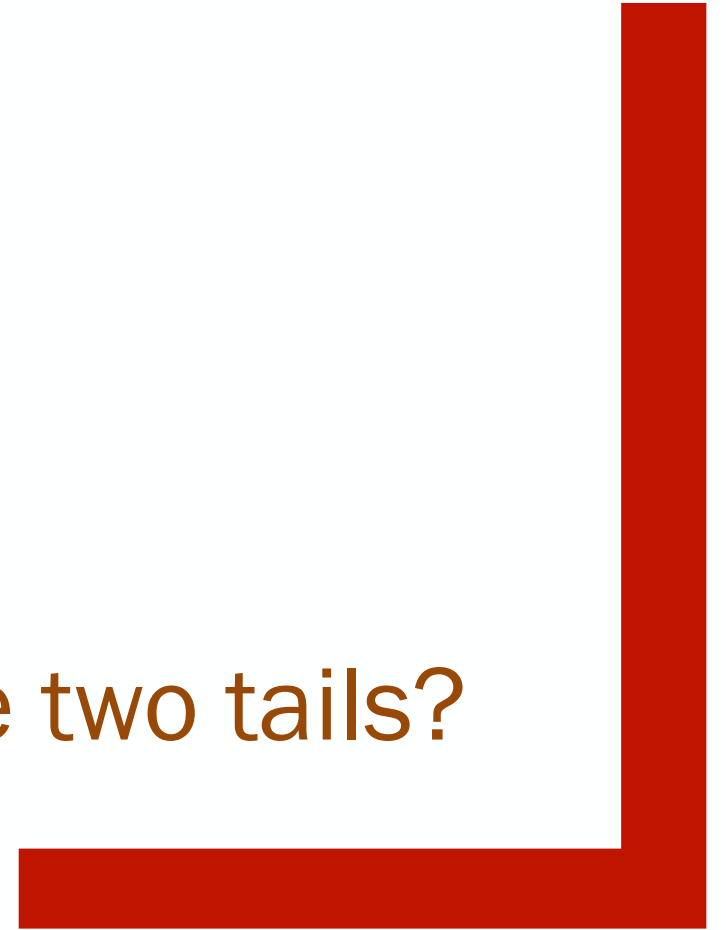
(‘In the middle of the road, there is a fox... no, a squirrel.’)

- (19) O-mu-tereré gw-in’ ó-mu-kira -mu-hângó gw-a kitaka.
 AUG-3-squirrel 3SM-have AUG-3-tail 3-big 3-of brown
 ‘The squirrel has a big brown tail.’



- The augment on nominal modifiers triggers a restrictive/subsective reading.
- This means that there is a set of alternatives = focus
- If some or all alternatives are excluded, then the augment expresses exclusive focus.

Do Greek squirrels also have two tails?



(Kolliakou 2004)

- (10) a. **to** kokino — podilato
the.N.SG red.N.SG bike.N.SG
'the red bike'
- b. **to** kokino **to** podilato
the.N.SG red.N.SG the.N.SG bike.N.SG
'the red bike'
- (21) a. Idame **tis** dilitiriodis ___ kobres.
'We saw the poisonous cobras.'
- b. #Idame **tis** dilitiriodis **tis** kobres.
(*'We saw the poisonous cobras.'*)

- (22) a. ...ton skiouro me ti megali oura
'(I saw) the squirrel with the big tail'
- b. ...ton skiouro me ti megali ti oura
'(I saw) the squirrel with the BIG tail'
(not the small tail)



(Kolliakou 2004)

- (23) a. O Yannis taise ta zoa. | mikres _ gates itan pinasmenes.
b. O Yannis taise ta zoa. | mikres i gates itan pinasmenes.
'John fed the animals. The young cats were hungry.'

Kolliakou's Polydefiniteness Constraint:

The discourse referent Y of a polydefinite is anaphoric to an antecedent discourse referent X such that $Y \subset X$.

- (27) a. **to** kokino ___ podilato
 the.N.SG red.N.SG bike.N.SG
- b. **to** kokino **to** podilato
 the.N.SG red.N.SG the.N.SG bike.N.SG
 'the red bike'
- (27') a. ***to** podilato ___ kokino
- b. **to** podilato **to** kokino
 'the red bike'

(Asiimwe 2014: 257)

(28) a. e-bi-muri -bi-hango
 AUG-8-flowers 8-big

 b. e-bi-muri e-bi-hango
 AUG-8-flowers AUG-8-big
 'big flowers'

(28') a. * -bi-hango e-bi-muri

 b. e-bi-hango e-bi-muri
 'big flowers'

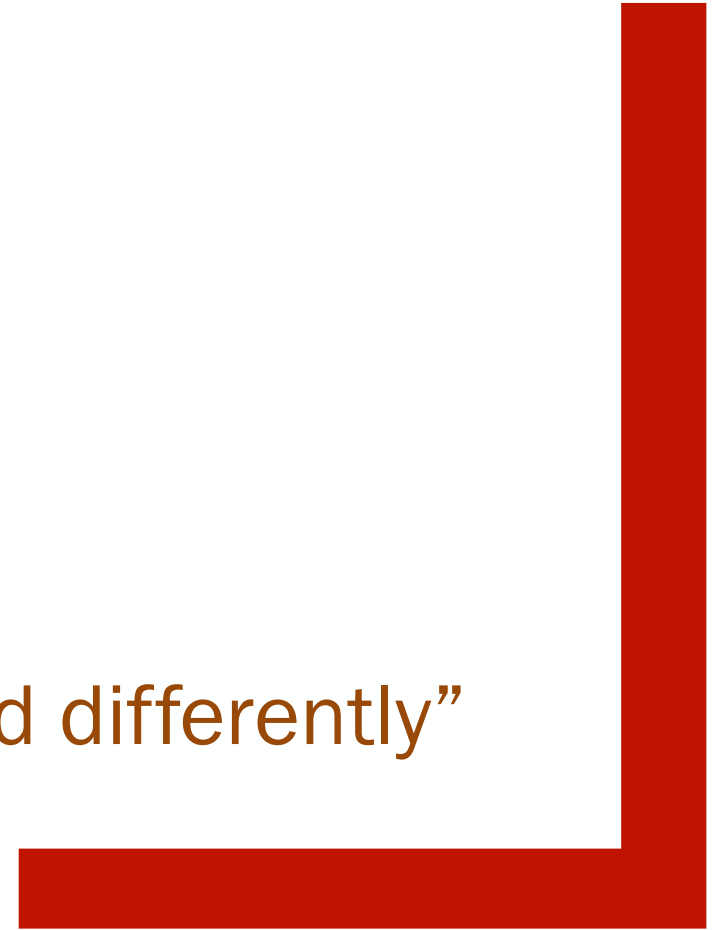
(29) to petrino (spiti)
the.N.SG stone.N.SG (house.N.SG)
'the stone one'

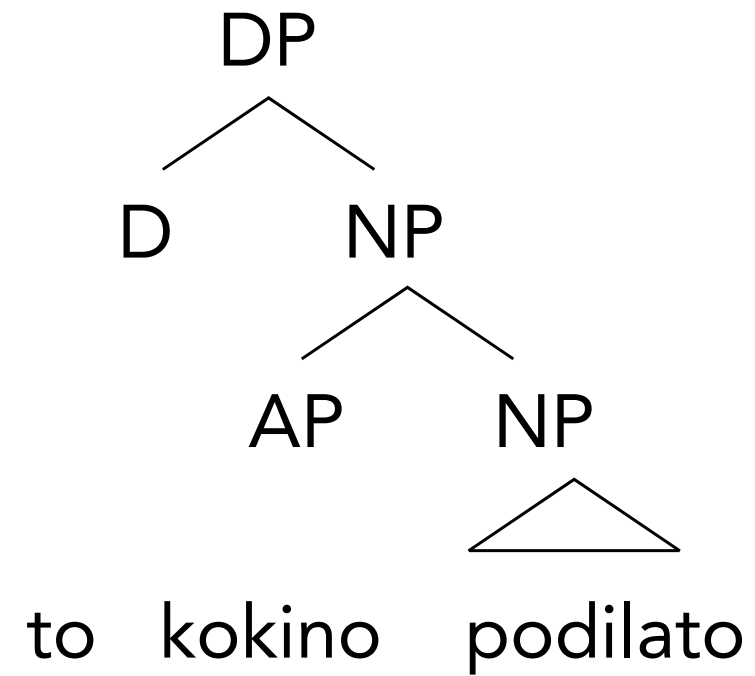
(30) e-bi-hango / a-ba-hango / e-mi-hango
AUG-8-big AUG-2-big AUG-4-big
'the big ones'

- Negation: *Ta-arikushoma _-ki-tabo* 'She's not reading any book.'
 - Vocative: *_Boojo!* 'Boys!', cf. *a-boojo* 'boys'
 - Compounds: *a-ka-cwa _-n-koni* (break-stick = nocturnal bird)
 - Predicate: *Kato ní _mu-raingwa* 'Kato is tall'
 - 'every': *buri _mwojo* 'every boy'
 - 'which': *_mwojo ki?* 'which boy?'
-
- Augment is absent in environments where NP is expected
 - Augment is in D (see discussion in van de Velde 2019, Halpert to appear)

	Rukiga augment	Greek determiner
'optional' morph. modifier	✓	✓
is in D	✓	✓
restrictive interpretation	✓	✓
flexible order	✓	✓
present in pronominal use	✓	✓

“They’re too much alike to be analysed differently”





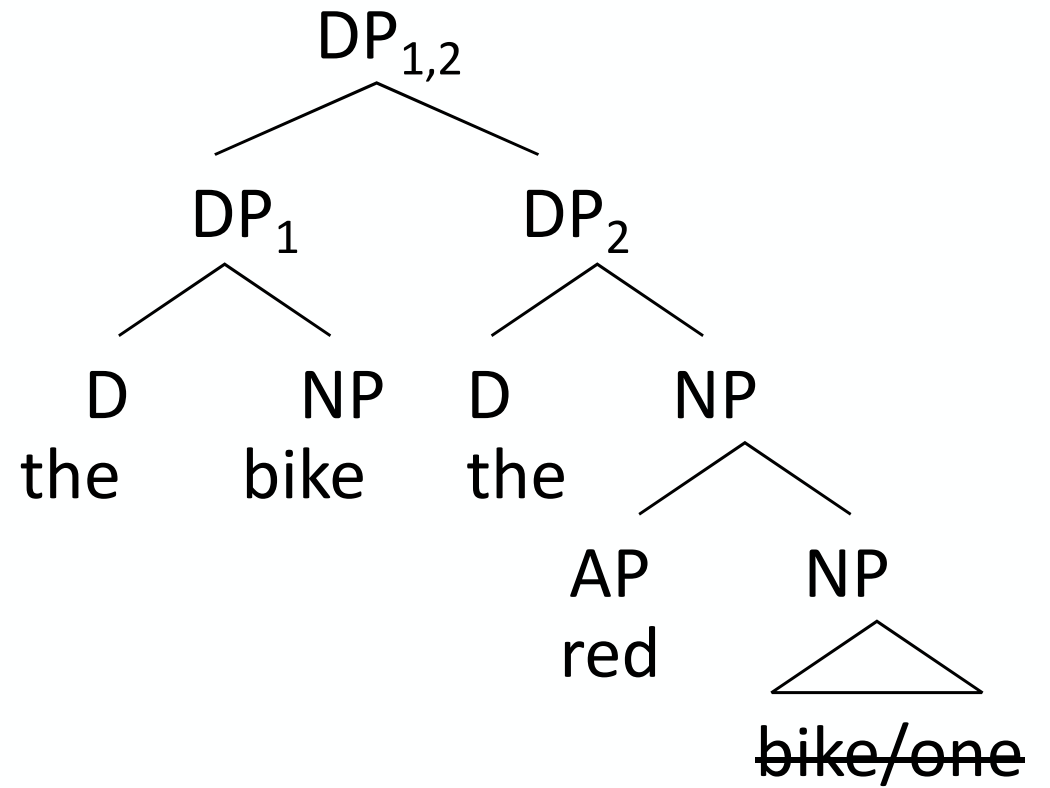
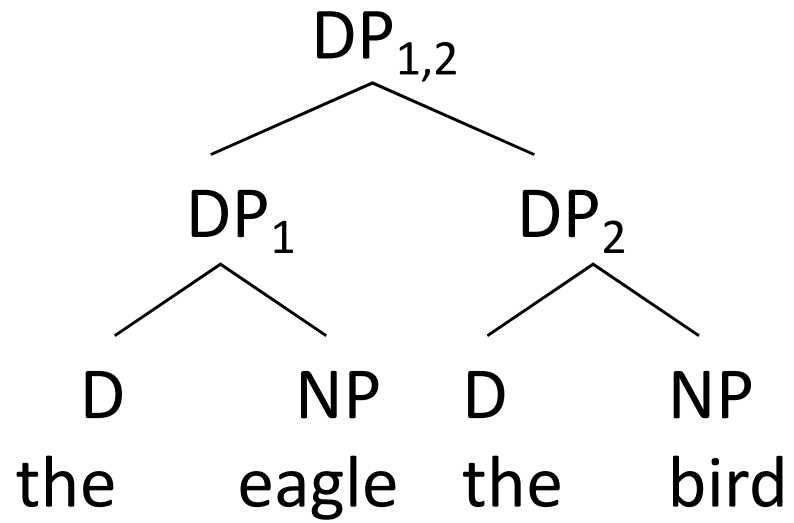
- Reduced relative (Alexiadou & Wilder 1998)
- FocP in extended DP (Kariaeva 2004)
- Close apposition + ellipsis (Lekakou & Szendrői 2012)

■ Close apposition

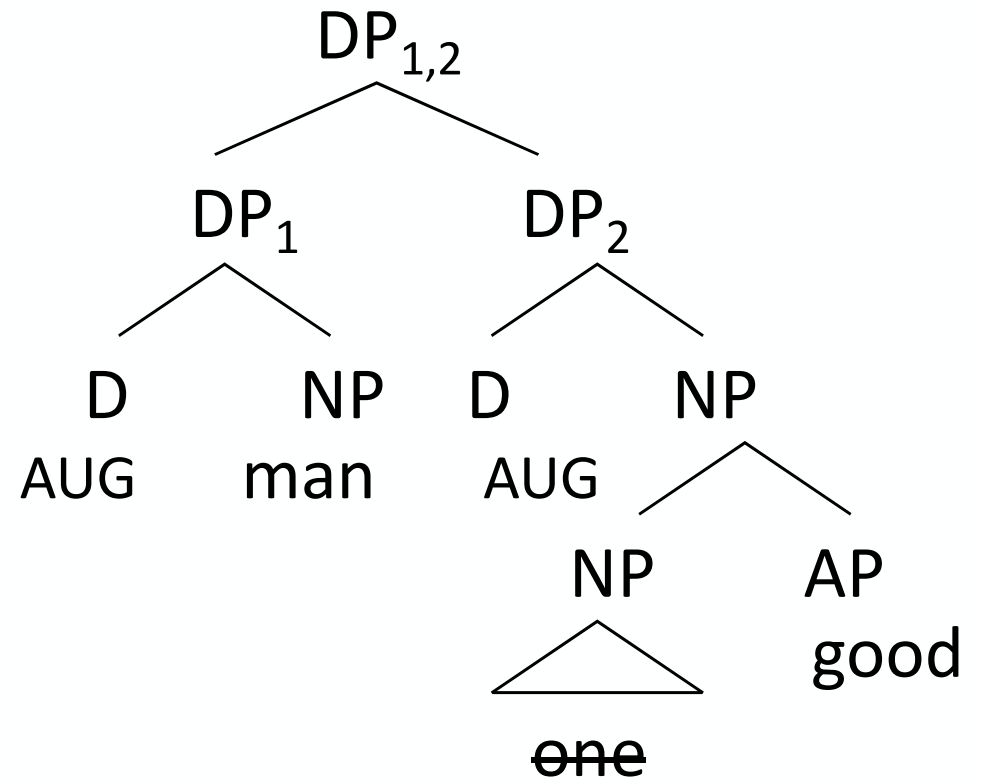
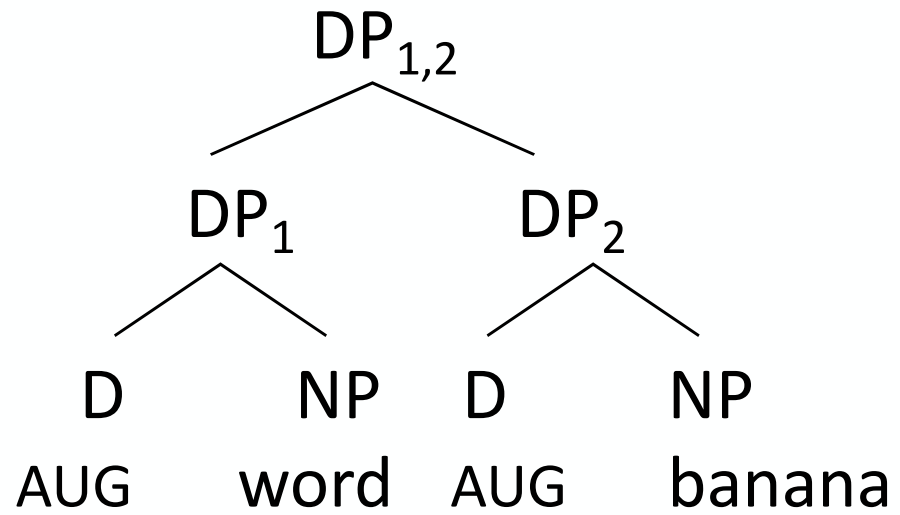
- (31) a. my friend the physicist
b. the actor Tom Cruise

(Lekakou & Szendrői 2012)

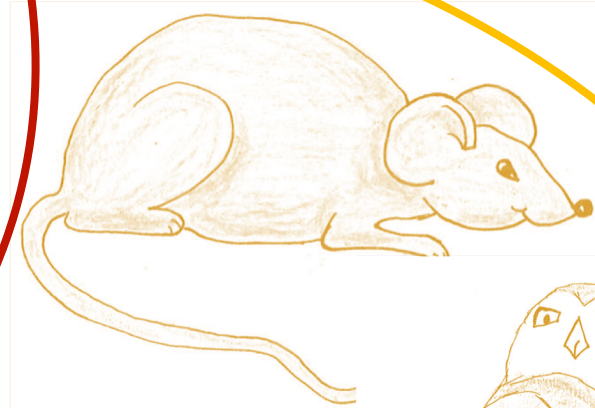
- (32) o aetos to puli
the eagle the bird
'the eagle that is a bird' (not the kite)



- (33) [E-ki-gambo o-mu-nekye] ni-ki-shesya.
 AUG-7-word AUG-3-banana PROG-7SM-funny
 'The word banana is funny.'
- (34) W-aa-shashura [Kato o-mu-baizi] atari[Kato o-mu-hingi].
 2SG-N.PST-pay 1.Kato AUG-1-carpenter not 1.Kato AUG-1-farmer
 'You paid Kato the carpenter, not Kato the farmer.'



- The augment on nominal modifiers triggers a restrictive/subsective reading.
- This means that there is a set of alternatives = focus
- If some or all alternatives are excluded, then the augment expresses exclusive focus.



Kolliakou (2004)

(35) O Yannis taise ta zoa. I mikres i gates itan
the Yannis fed the animals. the young the cats were
pinasmenes, opos episis ke i megales (i gates).
hungry, as also and the big the cats

‘Yannis fed the animals. The young cats were hungry,
and so were the old ones.’

Kolliakou (2004)

- (35') O Yannis taise ta zoa. I MIKRES i gates itan
the Yannis fed the animals. the young the cats were
pinasmenes, # opos episis ke i megales (i gates).
hungry, as also and the big the cats
'Yannis fed the animals. The young cats were hungry,
#and so were the old ones.'

- (36) Yaareeb enteéb' (é)nnungí neémbí nazó yáázíreeba.
 y-a-reeba e-n-tebe e-n-rungi
 1SM-N.PST-see AUG-10-chairs AUG-10-good
 na e-n-bi na-zo a-a-zi-reeba
 and AUG-10-bad and-10.PRO 1SM-N.PST-10OM-see
 'He saw good chairs, and bad ones he also saw.'

- (37) N-a-gura e-ki-tabo (e-)ki-riku-tukur-a
 1SG.SM-N.PST-buy AUG-7-book AUG-7RM-PROG-be.red-FV
 hamwe n' e-ki-tabo e-ki-rikw-iragur-a.
 and and AUG-7-book AUG-7RM-PROG-be.black-FV
 'I have bought a *red* book, and a black one I bought too.'
- (38) N-a-gura e-ki-tabo e-ki-riku-tukura
 1SG.SM-N.PST-buy AUG-7-book AUG-7RM-PROG-be.red
 #na e-bi-a e-rangi e-zi-ndi n-a-bi-gura.
 and AUG-8-of AUG-10.colour AUG-10-other 1SG-N.PST-8OM-buy
 'I have bought a red book, and (of) other colours I bought too.'

- (39) E-bi-kóp' (e-)bi-hango n-aa-bi-teera=mu a-ba-gyenyi.
 AUG-8-cup AUG-8-big 1SG-N.PST-8OM-put=18.LOCAUG-2-visitor
 'As for the big cups, I have served the visitors tea in them.'
- (40) **E-bi-kopo** (e-)bi-hango ni-by-o n-aa-teera=mu a-ba-gyenyi.
 AUG-8-cup 8-big COP-8-R.PRO 1SG-put=18.LOC AUG-2-visitor
 'It is the big cups that I have served the visitors tea in.'

Conclusion

- The augment on nominal modifiers in Rukiga triggers a restrictive/subsective reading.
- The augment does not encode exclusive focus.
- The interpretation of the augment as indicating specificity follows naturally: selecting a subset specifies the referent.
- Greek determiner spread shows remarkable structural and interpretational parallels.
- Lekakou & Szendrői's (2012) analysis as close apposition accounts for the properties found in both languages.

Questions

- What about multiple modifiers? (order, presence augment)

(41) e-bi-muri (e-)bi-rungi (e-)bi-hango (e-)bi-ngi
AUG-8-flower AUG-8-beautiful AUG-8-big AUG-8-many
'many (of the) big beautiful flowers'

- How do focus on the sub-NP level and focus on the clause-level interact?

Thank you!/Yebare!

We also thank our Rukiga speakers Pamellah Geiga, Joel Tumusiime, and Ronald Twesigomwe, as well as Georg Höhn, Stavros Skopeteas, and others at Göttingen in April this year.

<https://bantusyntaxinformationstructure.com>

(Stavros Skopeteas, p.c.)

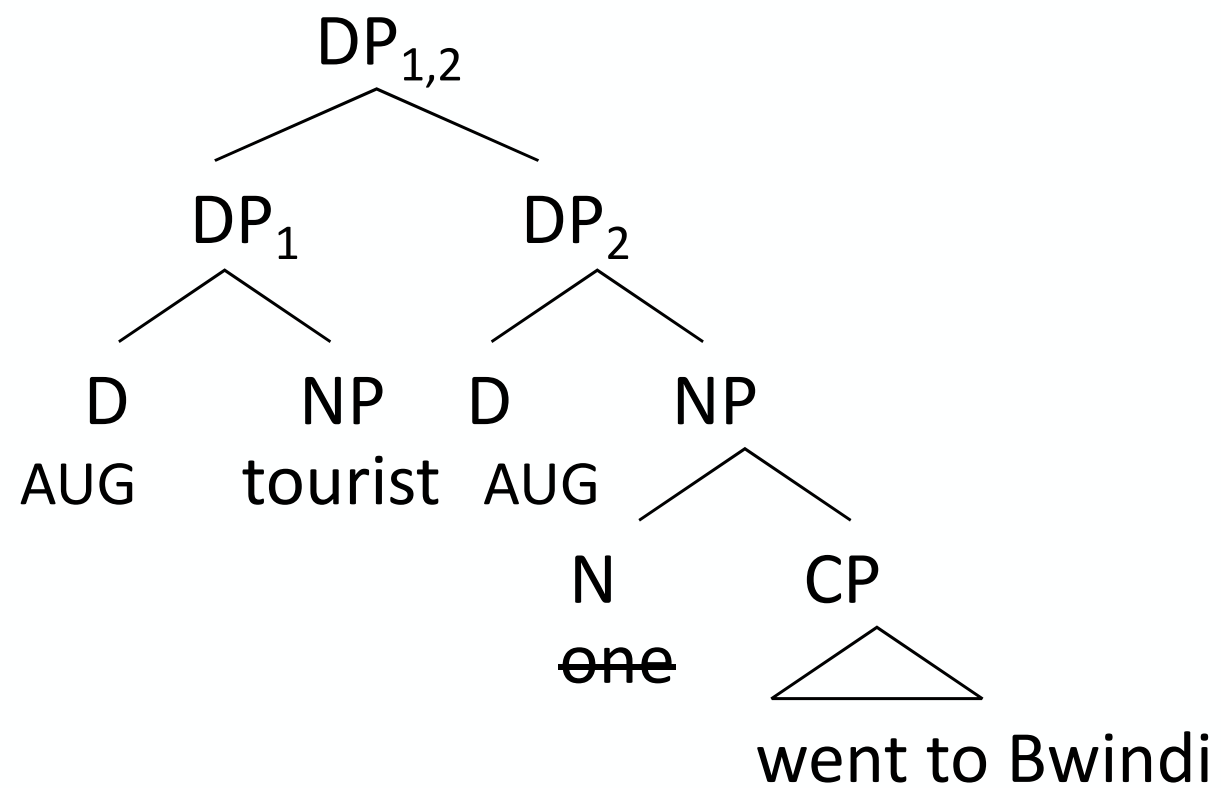
- (24) a. ta perissótera spítia
the more houses
'most of the houses' (out of a contextually relevant set)
- b. ta perissótera **ta** spítia
the more the houses
'the larger set of houses' (compared to a smaller set)
- (25) oi perissoteroi **oi** prosfyges erchontai apo tin Syria
the most the refugees come.3pl from the Syria
'Most (of the?) refugees come from Syria.'

(Stavros Skopeteas, p.c.)

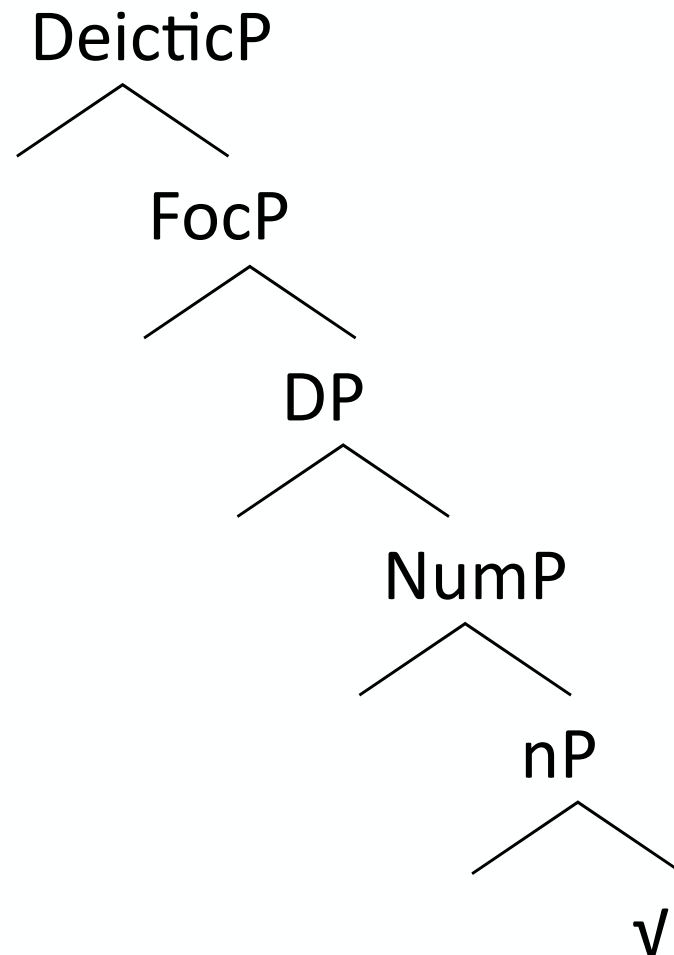
(26) a. to allo — podilato
the other bike
'the other bicycle'

b. to ALLO to podilato
the other the bike
'the other bicycle (not this one)'

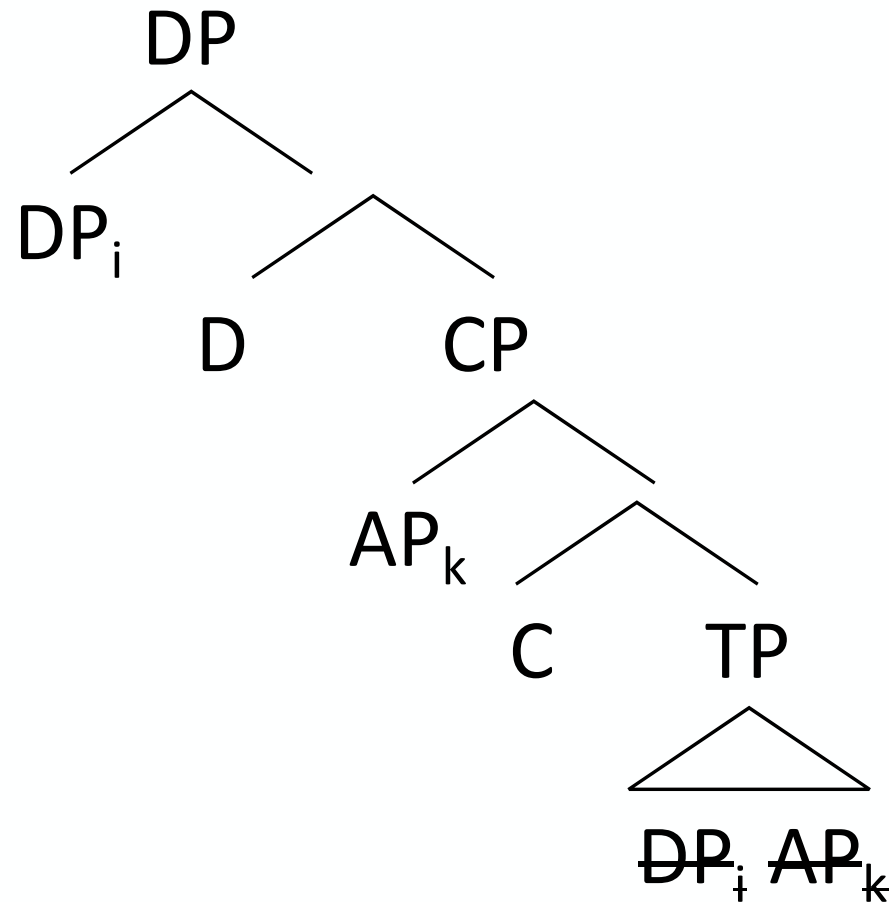
	Rukiga	Greek
<i>relative</i>	+/-	-
<i>adjective</i>	+/-	+/-
<i>possessive</i>	+/-	- (clitic or adjective)
<i>‘many’</i>	+/-	+/-
<i>‘all’</i>	+	- (diff order)
<i>‘other’</i>	-	+/- (with stress)
<i>numerals</i>	-	+/-



Kariaeva (2004)



Alexiadou & Wilder (1998)

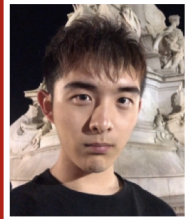


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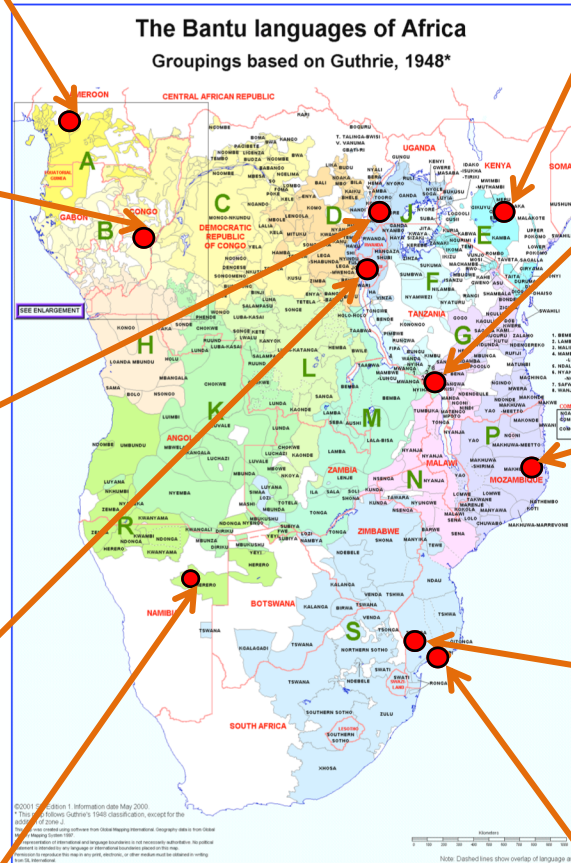
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