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Pragmatic Inferences of Locative Enclitics in Luganda

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This paper examines the non-locative functions of locative enclitics in Luganda (JE 15). Locative enclitics are words which cannot stand alone but attach on a verb to make meaning. Their status is ambiguous between free word and affix, hence motivating their analysis as enclitics. The enclitics are attached on the post final position of their hosts. Although the locative enclitics occur regularly in some Bantu languages (Luganda, Runyankore-Rukiga, Runyoro-Rutooro, Lunda, Ikizu, Fwe, Chichewa, Kinyarwanda among others), they have not been widely studied in the literature. The paper looks at verbal locative enclitics only but the locative enclitics also appear in other word categories such as adjectives in Luganda. This study is descriptive, with a qualitative approach. The data used in this study comes from reviewing texts in Luganda - novels and plays but also spoken discourses. The enclitic in Luganda serves many non-locative discourse pragmatic functions which include showing urgency, politeness, showing the idea of 'instead of' and also emphasis. It has also been observed that enclitics are widely used in the urban youth languages ('Luyaaye') but this is not the focus of the current study. The results from the study offer explanations of key areas of syntax, morphology and pragmatics relating to the form and functions of locative enclitics and the whole system of locative marking in Luganda and other Bantu languages.

Keywords: Bantu, Locative enclitics, Luganda, Non-locative functions, Morpho-syntax, pragmatics

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1 Introduction

Although the existence of locative suffixes as illustrated in (1) with class 17 =*ko* is attested in many Bantu languages, little attention has been paid to them in the existing literature.

1) *Ku sigiri kuliko omuliro*

Ku-	sigiri-	ku-	li =ko	o-	mu-	liro
17LOC-	charcoal.stove	17SM-	be =17ENC	IV-	3-	fire
'There is fire on the charcoal stove.'						

This paper therefore aims to give a descriptive analysis of these suffixes in Luganda (JE 15), and as well analyze their non-locative functions. The data used in this study is mostly from Nanteza (2018), unless otherwise stated.

After providing a brief profile of the language (§1), §1.1 looks at the anaphoric functions of the enclitics in Luganda. In §1.2 the Morpho-syntactic properties of the enclitics are given while §2 looks at the non-locative functions of these suffixes. §3 ends with a brief conclusion.

2 Brief profile of Luganda

Luganda is a Bantu language, which belongs to the subgroup of Benue-Congo of the Niger Congo family. The language is spoken by about 6,560,000 million people in Uganda, with 5,560,000 as native speakers and approximately 1,000,000 speaking it as a second language

(Eberhard et.al. 2021). In the New Updated Guthrie List of Bantu language classification, Luganda is labeled JE15 (Maho 2009)

Luganda has 23 noun classes and these are numbered according to the standard Bantu system as 1-23. Nouns are marked for class by a prefix, and noun class agreement is marked on all dependents, including subject marking and object marking. The noun class system in Luganda includes four locative noun classes (16 *wa*, 17 *ku*, 18 *mu* and 23 *e*). For all other nouns, a locative can be derived by stacking the locative noun class prefix onto the noun's inherent prefix, as illustrated in examples (2a-d):

- 2) a. *Wano*
 Wa- no
 16LOC- DEM
 'here'
- b. *Ku kisenge*
 Ku ki-senge
 17LOC 7-wall
 'at the wall.'
- c. *Mu nnyumba*
 Mu- n-nyumba
 18LOC 10-house
 'in the house.'
- d. *E Makerere*
 E Makerere
 23LOC Makerere
 'at Makerere'.

In terms of verbal Morphology, Luganda conforms to the general pattern of affix positioning around a verbal base (Meeussen 1967) as schematized in (3) below

- 3) Template of the inflected verb stem
- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|--------------|----|----|--------|-------|------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| Neg | SM | post-initial | TA | OM | Verbal | Final | Post final |

Each of the elements conveys grammatical information including person, number, negation, tense, aspect and mood. But what is of interest here is the post final position where the four locative enclitics are hosted.

2.1 Form of Locative enclitics in Luganda

Locative enclitics are derived from locative noun classes, and they attach on any kind of verb as observed by Marten & Kula (2014). Luganda has four locative noun classes, thus four locative enclitics as Ashton et. al. (1954:57) observes. The enclitics in Luganda correspond to the locative noun classes. Ashton et.al. (1954: 57) notes that the enclitics are formed by prefixing an appropriate locative noun class prefix on the enclitic -O. Thus:

- 4) a. E+O YO
 b. WA+O WO
 c. KU+O KO
 d. MU+O MU (Luganda JE15, Ashton et.al. 1954:57)

The enclitic in Luganda can occur with any verb. All kinds of verbs can occur with any of the four enclitics in Luganda. Unlike in Fwe (K402), where a verb cannot take more than one enclitic, it is possible in Luganda for two enclitics to appear on the verb, serving different functions. In the illustration in (5), the first enclitic -mu- shows the idea of “withinness”, while -yo- marks a location. When two enclitics appear on the verb, only the class 16 and 23 enclitics can appear as locative markers. The class 17 and 18 enclitics can only appear when they are serving other pragmatic functions (cf. chapter 2):

- 5) *Obudde bwe nagenderangamuyo.*
 O-budde bwe na-gend-er-a-nga-mu-yo
 IV-14.time when 1sg.SM-root.go-EXT-FV-HAB-18ENC-23LOC
 ‘The time when I used to go there.’

The enclitics appear in such a way that the locative enclitic appears after the locative serving a pragmatic function. The enclitics in this instance cannot be interchanged, as it would lead to ungrammaticality of the construction. However, if both enclitics are serving a pragmatic function, then the order is free depending on what the focus of the sentence is. Although it is rare, a verb can permit two enclitics, both serving two different pragmatic functions:

- 6) *Leetakoyyo.*¹
 Leet-a-ko-yyo
 bring-FV-17ENC-23ENC
 Lit: ‘Bring little of that particular one’
- 7) *Vvaakowwo.*
 Vv-aa-ko-wwo
 leave-FV-17ENC-16ENC
 Lit: ‘Leave that particular place (for a little while).’

When a verb phrase consists of two verbs, a locative enclitic is placed on the last verb of the phrase. In most cases, the main verb of the phrase bears the enclitic:

- 8) *Omwana asobola okufumbirayo emmere.*
 O- mwana a- sobol -a o- ku- fumb -ir -a =yo e- m- mere.
 IV- 1child 1SM- can -FV IV- INF- cook -APP -FV =23ENC IV- 10- food
 ‘The child can cook food from there.’

¹ When the two consonants appear, i.e. ‘yy’ the second one is phonologically a germinate but orthographical rules do not allow the two to appear.

The attachment of the enclitic on either a helping or linking verb results into ungrammaticality, if the verb phrase has two verbs:

- 9) **Yaliko alima mu nnimiro.*
 *Ya- li =ko a- lim -a mu nnimiro
 1SM- be- =17ENC 1SM- dig -FV 18LOC 9garden.
 Intended: ‘He was digging for some time in the garden.’

2.2 Anaphoric function of enclitics

Locative enclitics are typically used to pronominalize either a locative argument or locative adjunct (Guerois 2017; Diercks 2011). This means they mark anaphoric relations. Thus in (10) and (11) the class 16 =wo and 17 =ko refer to the relative clause *wansi* ‘down’ and *ku ntebe* ‘on the chair’ respectively. In (12) and (13) the class 18 =mu and class 23 =yo are used to avoid repeating the fronted locative adjunct in the preceding clause *mu nnyumba* ‘in the house’ and *e Kampala* ‘at Kampala’ respectively.

- 10) *Wansi waliwo ekitabo.*
 Wa- nsi wa- li =wo e- ki- tabo
 16LOC ground 16SM be =16ENC IV 7 book
 ‘There is a book on the ground.’
- 11) *Ku ntebe kuliko amagi.*
 Ku- n- tebe ku- li =17ko a- magi
 17LOC 9- chair 17SM be =ENC IV- eggs
 ‘On the table there are eggs.’
- 12) *Mu nnyumba musingiddemu abagenyi.*
 Mu n- nyumba mu- yingi- dde =mu a- ba- genyi
 18LOC 9 house 18SM enter PERF =18ENC IV- 2- visitors
 ‘In the house visitors have entered.’
- 13) *E kampala nagenzeeyo ggulo.*
 e- Kampala na- genz- ee =yo ggulo
 23LOC Kampala 1sg.SM- go PST =23ENC yesterday
 ‘At Kampala I went there yesterday’

A locative enclitic however does not need to replace a noun phrase (NP) mentioned earlier (overtly) in the discussion. It may point to something that is absent from the discourse, but which is clearly understood by the discourse participants, or in context. In (14), the locative enclitic =yo indicates the location (‘there’, i.e. at the place the child was) of the event referred to.

- 14) *Omwana asobola okufumbirayo emmere.*
 O- mu- ana a- sobol -a o- ku- fumb -ir -a =yo e- n- mere
 IV- 1- child 1SM- can -FV IV- INF- cook -APPL -FV =23ENC IV- 9- food
 ‘The child can cook food from there (at the place where the child is).’

Many Bantuists (cf. Marten & Kula 2012 among others) analyze locative enclitics as being part of a larger system of object marking, which comprise different patterns depending on the availability of pre-stem and post-stem hosting slots. Upon this, Bantu languages show considerable degree of variation (Guerois 2017). However, in comparison to many other Bantu languages, Luganda has a very reduced object marking system. This means that Luganda has no locative object markers and the post verbal clitic position is dedicated to locative phrases solely. This position cannot be used to pronominalize a second object marker which is not a locative phrase.

Interestingly however, each of the pre-stem and post-stem positions can be filled with more than one object marker, see for example Ssekiryango (2016) for a discussion on double object constructions in Luganda. What is of interest here is the locative enclitic, however and in Luganda a verb can host two enclitics in the post final position. (15) indicates two enclitics =*mu* and =*yo* hosted on the same verb, although serving different functions. The enclitic =*mu* here shows time and the enclitic =*yo* shows the place. these enclitics are serving different functions on the verb. In example (16) there are two object markers appearing on the verb.

- 15) *Obudde bwe nagenderangamuyo.*
 O- budde bwe- na- gend -er -a -nga =mu =yo
 IV 14.time when 1sg.SM- go -AP -FV -HAB =18ENC =23ENC
 ‘The time when I used to go there.’

- 16) *Kabaka azimuwadde.*
 Kabaka a- zi- mu- wa -dde
 1King 1SM- it- him- give -PERF
 ‘The King has given it to him.’ (Ssekiryango 2006:70)

2.3 Morpho-syntactic properties

The four locative enclitics =*wo*, =*ko*, =*mu*, and =*yo* in Luganda are built up on the locative nominal prefixes *wa-*, *ku-*, *mu-*, and *e-* followed by the *-o* of reference, as already mentioned above. These morphemes are clitics rather than suffixes because they morphosyntactically behave as separate from the verb they attach to. In Luganda the locative enclitic is the last morpheme after derivational and inflectional suffixes. In (17), the enclitic =*yo* occurs after the habitual suffix *-ang* and in (18), the enclitic =*ko* occurs after the applicative *-ir* and the final vowel *-e*.

- 17) *Obudde bwe nagenderangayo.*
 o- bu- dde bwe- na- gend -er -ang -a =yo
 IV 14 time when 1sg.SM- go -APP-HAB -FV =23ENC
 ‘The time when I used to go there.’

- 18) *Kimutwalireko.*
 Ki- mu- twal -ir -e =ko
 7OM- 1OM- take -APP -SBJV =17ENC
 ‘Take it to him/on behalf of him.’

Morphophonologically, these morphemes are analyzed as enclitics rather than as freestanding particles or prepositions (Guerois 2017). This is because speakers of Luganda do not recognize them as single words and secondly, they cause vowel lengthening when they are attached on verbs (Ashton et.al. 1954:423). This vowel lengthening occurs in monosyllables as shown in (19) and in stems ending in -s- or -z- (20). Vowel lengthening also occurs in the verb -li- as illustrated in (21) although here it is not regular, as Ashton et.al. (1954:423) observe.

19) *Nvaayo.*
 N- vaa =yo
 1sg.SM come.from =23ENC
 'I come from there.'

20) *Asazeewo.*
 A- sa -zee =wo
 1SM- decide -PERF =16ENC
 'He has decided.'

21) *Siibeewo.*
 Si- i- bee =wo
 NEG- FUT- be =16ENC
 'I will not be there.'

2.4 Enclitics in locative inversion constructions

Locative inversion in Bantu languages is a reversed construction whereby the locative phrase is raised to the position of syntactic subject (Guerois 2017). Locative inversion is an area that has attracted a lot of attention among Bantu linguists (cf. among others Marten 2006; Buell 2007; and Diercks 2011a). As Nanteza (2018) observes, no study has particularly focused on locative inversion constructions in Luganda. However, in these constructions, a locative enclitic appears obligatorily attached on the verb, as illustrated in (20) below, with the enclitic =yo attached on the verb -li- 'to be'. Both (22) and (23) are instances of locative inversion. However, the absence of the enclitic on the verb in (23) makes it ungrammatical.

22) *E Kampala eriyo amatooke.*
 E kampala e- ri =yo a- ma- tooke
 23 Kampala 23SM- be =23ENC IV- 6- matooke
 'At Kampala there is matooke.'

23) **Mu nnyumba eyingidde abagenyi.*
 *Mu n- nyumba e- yingi -dde a- ba- genyi
 18 10-house SM- enter -PFV IV- 2- visitors
 Intended: 'in the house visitors have entered.'

The obligatory appearance of the enclitic is also seen in locative fronting constructions in Luganda, where, like in locative inversion, its absence leads to ungrammaticality. In (18), the

locative phrase is not in subject position (hence an instance of locative fronting), but the enclitic =*mu* still obligatorily attaches on the verb.

- 24) *Mu nnyumba abagenyi bayingiddemu.*
 Mu n- nyumba a- ba- genyi ba- yingi -dde =mu
 18 10- house IV- 2- visitors 2SM- enter -PFV =18ENC
 'In the house the visitors have entered.'

The enclitic in locative inversion constructions has to be in agreement with the fronted locative phrase, since its primary function is to pronominalize the NP. However, this agreement has to be on the subject marker that is attached on the verb as well, and Marten (2010) refers to this as verbal agreement in locative phrases. Thus, although the enclitic pronominalizes the NP in (25), the construction is ungrammatical because the subject marker attached on the verb is not in agreement with both the NP and the enclitic attached:

- 25) **Mu nnyumba eyingiddemu abagenyi.*
 *mu- n- nyumba (e)- yingi -dde =mu a- ba- genyi
 18 10- house 10SM- enter -PFV =18ENC IV- 2- visitors
 Inted: 'In the house the visitors have entered.'

While Guerois (2017) and Diercks (2011b) report that the locative enclitics are impossible with *in situ* locative phrases in both Cuwabo and Lubukusu respectively, Luganda enclitics show different properties, as they are possible with an *in situ* locative noun phrase. This possibility however depends on the background knowledge shared by the discourse participants. In this case, the enclitic is not obligatory and the speaker may choose to leave it out, if the other participant in the discourse is aware of the place being referred to. In (26), the locative phrase *ku luzzi* 'at the well' is put in brackets to illustrate this.

- 26) Eriyo ebizike (ku luzzi)
 E- li =yo e- bi- zike ku luzzi
 8SM- be =23ENC IV- 8- gorillas 17 11.well
 'There are gorillas at the well.'

3 Non-locative functions of Locative enclitics in Luganda

After the locative interpretation, many Bantuists observe that enclitics serve other functions. The partitive interpretation is the most widespread usage of the enclitics, as observed by Guerois (2017) and Diercks (2011b). However, as Nanteza (2018) observes, the enclitics in Luganda have far reaching meanings, in different contexts. The enclitic can be used as a politeness marker, as an urgency marker, as marker of the idea of 'instead of' among other functions as discussed below.

3.1 Enclitics as politeness markers

The enclitic in Luganda serves as a politeness marker. Speakers use the enclitic whenever they want to make a polite request, as exemplified in (27)-(30) below:

- 27) *Nsituliraako ku mugugu guno.*²
 N- situl -ir -aa =ko ku mu- gugu gu- no.
 1sg.OM- lift -APP -FV =17ENC 17 3- luggage 3- DEM
 ‘Please help me carry this luggage.’
- 28) *Maama nnyongeraayo sente.*³
 Maama n- yonger -aa =yo ssente
 Mother 1sg.OM- give.more -FV =23ENC 10.money
 ‘Mom give me more money please’.
- 29) *Mugambe amufunireyo ku nsimbi.*
 Mu- gamb -e a- mu- fun -ir -e =yo ku n- simbi
 1OM- tell -FV 1SM- 1OM- get -APP -FV =23ENC 17LOC 10- money
 ‘Tell him to get him some money.’
- 30) *Mpaamu nvugemu.*
 M- wa -a =mu n- vug -e =mu
 1sg.OM give -FV =18ENC 1sg.SM- ride -FV =18ENC
 ‘Give me I drive for a short while please’

The politeness usage of the enclitics =*ko*, =*mu*, =*yo* found in these sentences were elicited from speakers of Luganda. According to the Luganda speakers, without the enclitics attached on the verbs, the sentences would sound rude. It is however important to note that the enclitic =*wo* is not used for this purpose. The enclitics can be attached on any kind of verb for the politeness meaning. The politeness use of =*yo* found in one of the sentences was extracted from a play, where the girl wanted her mother to give her more money, in addition to what she had already been given. In order to sound polite, the enclitic =*yo* is attached on the verb *okwongera* ‘to give more.’ The class 16 enclitic =*wo* is not used for this function. When attached on the verb, it would give a locative meaning, like in example (31), where it denotes place when attached on the verb *okwongera* ‘to give/put more’.

- 31) *Yongerawo omusenyu.*
 Yo- nger -a =wo o-musenyu
 23OM- put.more -FV =16ENC IV-sand
 ‘Put more sand there’.

3.2 Enclitic as an urgency marker

The enclitic also brings out the idea of ‘urgency’ when added on a verb. One speaker consulted said whenever she wants to show that something has to be done urgently, she adds an enclitic to the verb.

In 2 & 3, the enclitic brings about the lengthening of the final vowel. This happens with verbs ending with vowels ‘a’ mostly, and ‘e’ sometimes.

32) *Ekitabo kireeterewo kati.*

E- ki- tabo ki- leet -er -e =wo kati
 IV- 7- book 7OM- bring -APP -FV =16ENC now
 ‘Bring the book right now.’

33) *Yanguwako omusaja tatusaanga.*

Ya- nguw -a =ko o- mu- sajja ta- tu- saang -a.
 1SM- hurry -FV =17ENC IV- 1- man NEG- 2pl.OM- find -FV
 ‘Hurry, lest the man finds us.’

Examples (32)-(33) show that when the enclitic is attached on the verbs, there is urgency and haste it brings about. However, not all verbs license this urgency when an enclitic is attached. Certain transitive verbs like *okulya* ‘to eat’, *okutuula* to sit, ‘*okusiika*’ to fry do not license urgency when the enclitic is attached (cf. example (31)). Other motion verbs like *okugenda* ‘to go’, license urgency depending on the situational context. Thus, for urgency to be implied, there is background knowledge involved between the speaker and the hearer on a given topic. Tone is also key in analyzing the urgency brought about by the enclitic. The context in example (34) implies urgency depending on the situation at hand.

34) *Genderawo.*

gend -er -a =wo
 go -APP -FV =16ENC
 ‘Go right away.’

The interpretation derived here shows that the discourse participants share some background knowledge on where the other party is supposed to go and at that particular time. Sometimes, the speaker can choose to use other words that mean urgency together with the enclitic. For example, in (35) where the speaker adds the adverb *kati* ‘now,’ to imply urgency:

35) *nkugambye kitwalirewo kati.*

n- ku- gamb -ye ki- twal -ir -e =wo kati
 1sg.SM- 2sg.OM- tell -PERF 7OM-take -APP -FV =16ENC now
 ‘I have told you to take it right now.’

The urgency interpretation of the enclitic is mostly realized when =wo and =ko are attached on verbs. The enclitics =yo and =mu are not used for this function.

While the urgency function is realized as shown in the above examples, certain intransitive verbs do not license urgency when the enclitics =mu and =yo are attached. For example, in (36) below, the meaning derived here is that the person has been kidnapped or arrested. This usage is very common especially in Luyaaye, an urban youth language that borrows heavily from Luganda (Namyalo, 2015).

36) *Bamuliddewo.*

Ba- mu- lidd -e =wo
 2SM- 1OM-eat -FV =16ENC
 ‘They have arrested him.’

3.3 Enclitic =*ko* as a marker of uncertainty

The attachment of the enclitic =*ko* on a verb brings in some element of doubt or uncertainty. The absence of the enclitic in (37) indicates the absence of doubt i.e., that the speaker is certain that the mother knows the right answer. However, in (38) the presence of the enclitic on the verb signals doubt. The speaker is not certain of the mother's answer or knowledge of what is being talked about.

37) *mubuuze Peter.*
 mu- buuz -e Peter
 IOM- ask -SBJ Peter
 'Ask Peter.'

38) *mubuuzeeko Peter.*
 Mu- buuz -e -e =ko Peter
 IOM- ask -SBJ =17ENC Peter
 'Ask Peter.'

These sentences were got from a conversation between two sisters and their mother. The sisters were looking for a certain book and could not find it at the location they expected it to be. Their mother then tells them to ask Peter (38) as he might be knowing the whereabouts of the book. Sentence (37) was elicited from sentence (38) to show the uncertainty. In (37) the speaker sounds sure that by asking Peter, the location of the book would be revealed. The attachment of the enclitic =*ko* on the verb in (38) is indicative of the uncertainty that the speaker has. By adding the enclitic =*ko* on the verb, the speaker shows that he/she is not sure if Peter may actually know the exact location of the book that was being searched for.

3.4 'Instead of'

The idea of '*instead of*' and 'surprise' is established when the enclitic =*mu* is attached on different verbs. When the enclitic is attached it adds a nuance of surprise to the sentence and implies that the action is not supposed to be done in a particular way. In (39), the children were sent to buy mangoes, but they brought jackfruit instead. (40) was elicited from a speaker, who was expecting eggs, but the person who was sent brought bread. In (41) the person sold black cows instead of the striped ones because the customers had preferred the black ones. He then reports to the owner that he sold the black ones instead of the stripped ones. In all these sentences, =*mu* is attached on the verbs to bring out the idea of "instead of."

39) *Abaana baguzeemu ffene.*
 A- ba- ana ba- guz- ee =mu ffene
 IV- 2- child 2SM- buy -PERF =18ENC 14.irish.potatoes
 'The children have instead bought jackfruit!'

- 40) *Aleseemu mugaati!*
 A- le -see =*mu* mu- gaati!
 1SM- bring -PERF =18ENC 3- bread
 ‘He has brought bread instead.’
- 41) *Natunzeemu ziri enzirugavu.*
 Na- tun -zee =*mu* zi- ri e- n- zi- rugavu
 1sg.SM- sold -PERF =18ENC 10- DEM IV- 10- 10- black
 ‘I sold the other black ones instead.’

The enclitic =*mu* is the only one used for the expression of ‘instead of’ and for expressing surprise. The other enclitics do not serve this function

3.5 ‘Concern’ and ‘about’

When =*ko* is attached on the verbs *okwojera* ‘to talk’ and *okukwata* ‘to touch’, the idea of ‘concern’ and ‘about’ is shown. (42) is from a television talk show, where there is sarcasm intended by the speaker, since the other person enjoys praising himself so much, even when it is not necessary. (43) on the other hand is showing concern, where the speaker is really feeling concerned about the trouble that a child faced. Upon being told about this, the speaker feels concerned, and the enclitic =*ko* is then attached to bring out this interpretation.

- 42) *Weeyogereko nga bulijjo.*
 Wee- yog -er -e =*ko* nga bulijjo
 RFM talk -APP -FV =17ENC HAB usually
 ‘Talk about yourself as usual.’
- 43) *Wabula kyankutteko nnyo.*
 Wabula ki- a- n- kutt -e =*ko* nnyo
 By.the.way 7SM- PST- 1OM- touch -FV =17ENC much
 ‘By the way I felt really concerned.’

In all the above examples, the interpretation of ‘concern’ and ‘about’ would not be reached upon without the attachment of the enclitic =*ko*. This interpretation is however reached upon only when the enclitic =*ko* is attached on the specific verbs already mentioned. The other three enclitics when attached on these verbs do not derive this particular meaning.

3.6 Partitiveness

The partitive function is the most widely used non locative function of the enclitics in Bantu languages, and Luganda is no exception. The enclitic =*ko* is widely used for this function more than the other enclitics. The partitive idea is extended to include time, degree and quantity (Nanteza 2018). The enclitics can also be used pragmatically to show state. The other enclitics serve other pragmatic functions as discussed in the previous sections of this chapter, but not the partitive function. Although, enclitic =*mu* also expresses a partitive idea, it appears to be subtler than =*ko*:

- 44) *Amufaananamu.*
 A- mu- faanan -a =mu
 1SM- 1OM- lookalike -FV =18ENC
 ‘She somewhat looks like him.’
- 45) *Ankubyemu obuggo.*
 a- n- kub -ye =mu o- bu- ggo
 1SM- 1sg.OM- beat -PERF =18ENC IV- 14- stick
 ‘He gave me a beating.’ (i.e. he hit me small sticks.)

The partitive function of the locative enclitics goes hand in hand with a “minimizing” function. The minimizing function, i.e. ‘just a little bit’ is expressed by both =*ko* and =*mu* as (46)-(48) show:

- 46) *Nensituka nentagalamu.*
 Ne- n- situk -a ne n- tagal -a =mu.
 And 1sg.SM- get.up -FV and 1sg.SM- sway -FV =18ENC
 ‘And I got up and I swayed a little bit.’
- 47) *Naye toswalako?*
 Naye te- o- swal -a =ko?
 But NEG- 2sg.SM- shame -FV =17ENC
 ‘But do you feel a little bit of shame?’
- 48) *Atambulako.*
 A- tambul -a =ko
 1SM- walk -FV =17ENC
 ‘He walks a little bit.’

This “minimizing” function of enclitics is not only attested in Luganda, but also in other Bantu languages (see for example Marten & Kula 2014), although not in Fwe as Gunnink (2017) observes. The minimizing function is also carried on in the time aspect, where the enclitic means for a short period of time, like in (49) below.

- 49) *Tugendeyokko.*
 Tu- gend -e =yo =kko
 1pl.SM- go -FV =23ENC =17ENC
 ‘Let us go there for a short while.’

3.7 Comparative function

The enclitics serve a comparative function when added onto adjectives in Luganda. In this case, the enclitic is still attached on the post final position of the adjective and a comparison is then made. For the comparative function, only the class 17 enclitic =*ko* and class 23 =*yo* are used. In (50), the shop attendant is told to choose the most beautiful dress and give it to the customer among all the dresses in the shop. In (51), a girl was being sent for a basket, to be used in

packing the gifts to take to the in-laws. She is sent for a basket, but brings a small one, hence being sent to bring the one bigger than the one she had brought:

50) *Leeta ekisingayo obulungi.*

Leet -a e- ki- sing -a =yo o- bu- lungi
bring -FV IV- 7- most -FV =23ENC IV- 14- beautiful
'Bring the most beautiful one.'

51) *Muwe ekineneko ku kino.*

Mu- w -e e- ki- nene =ko ku ki- no
1OM- give -FV IV- 7- big =17ENC 17 7- DEM
'Give her one that is bigger than this one.'

4 Conclusion

This paper focused on describing the morphological and syntactic properties of the locative enclitics in Luganda. The enclitics are derived from the locative noun classes, hence their name. Their basic function is to refer back to a location already mentioned in the text. However, they serve other non-locative functions including comparative and partitive. The enclitics in Luganda are widely used in the urban youth languages, or Luyaaye. In words like 'twebereremu' (the current slogan of the 'people Power movement in Uganda) with a wide range of meanings, which I leave to future researchers to explore and study.

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