ORDER OF POSTVERBAL ARGUMENTS AND OBJECT MARKERS IN RUTOORO DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

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ABSTRACT The order of postverbal arguments and their realization as object markers have been shown to be some of the properties that evince variation in Bantu languages (cf. Marten et al., 2007). In Rutooro (JE12, Uganda), two different constraints may be said to govern the above syntactic phenomena, i.e. a morphological one for the former and a semantic one for the latter. With respect to the former, a distinction is made between monomorphemic and multimorphemic verbs as determining factors for the permutability of postverbal arguments, with multimorphemic verbs seen as allowing permutation, while monomorphemic verbs quintessentially preclude it. On the other hand, the order of object markers is variable in Rutooro, as opposed to languages such as Kihaya and Chichewa (Marten et al., 2007). In Rutooro, the order is typically contingent on whether the goal/beneficiary argument is [±human]: when the goal/beneficiary is [+human], it must be closer to the verb root, while when it is [–human], either it is flexible, as is the case for Kinyarwanda (cf. Zeller & Ngoboka, 2015) or it should exclusively be placed further from the verb root (for some speakers).

Key Words: Double object constructions; Order; Postverbal arguments; Object markers; Rutooro.

INTRODUCTION

This study sets out to delineate morphosyntactic properties of a hitherto overly underdescribed Bantu language, i.e. Rutooro (JE12, Uganda). Specifically, the study concerns itself with whether Rutooro allows the permutation of its postverbal arguments in ditransitive constructions realized as either full NPs, as in (1a), or expressed as object markers on the verbal complex, as in (1b):

(1) (a) Jeeni a-k a-twek-er-a makanika egaali.
Jane 1SM-PAST-sent-APPL-FV 1.mechanic 9.bike
'Jane sent the mechanic a bike.'

(b) Jeeni a-ka-gi-mu-twek-er-a
Jane 1SM-PAST-9OM-1OM-send-APPL-FV
'Jane sent it to him.'

The construction in (1) is known as double object construction (DOC). In DOCs, there are two contiguous objects, namely the primary object (OBJ) and the secondary object (OBJ2) (cf. e.g. Alsina & Mchombo, 1993 for the nomenclature). For a constituent to qualify as a true object, it has to meet certain criteria. One such criterion is adjacency; that is, the constituent must be adjacent to the verb (Hyman & Duranti, 1982: 220; Alsina, 1996: 691). For example, in Chichewa and Kiswahili (Alsina & Mchombo, 1993; Marten et al., 2007) the beneficiary/goal argument must be closer to the verb, while the patient/theme argument must be placed further from the verb, as shown in (2a) and (2c) for Chichewa. Placing the patient/theme argument adjacent to the verb renders the string ungrammatical (2b) and (2d). This means that it is only the goal/beneficiary argument that exhibits true properties of an object, while the theme/patient argument is just an object-like argument (Alsina, 1996; Marten et al., 2007):

(2) (a) Chitsiru chi-na-gul-ir-a atsikana mphatso.
Fool 7SM-PAST-buy-APPL-FV girls gift
'The fool bought a gift for the girl.'

(b) *Chitsiru chi-na-gul-ir-a mphatso atsikana.
Fool 7SM-PAST-buy-APPL-FV gift girls
'The fool bought a gift for the girls.'

(Chichewa: Alsina & Mchombo, 1993: 21)

(c) Ngombe zi-na-pats-a mbuzi nsima
Cows 10SM-PAST-give-FV goat(s) cornmeal
'The cows gave the goat(s) cornmeal.'

(d) *Ngombe zi-na-pats-a nsima Mbuzi
Cows 10SM-PAST-give-FV cornmeal goats
'The cows gave the goats cornmeal.'

(Chichewa: Sam Mchombo, p.c.)

However, in languages such as Kihaya, Setswana and Kinyarwanda (Hyman & Duranti, 1982; Marten et al., 2007; Zeller & Ngoboka, 2015), either non-subject argument can be placed adjacent to the verb (3) without rendering the strings ungrammatical. In such cases, both OBJ and OBJ2 exhibit properties of true objects:

(3) (a) A-ka-h' ómwáán' ebitooke.
1SM-PAST-give child bananas
'He gave the child bananas.'

(b) A-ka-h' ébitook' ómwáán.
1SM-PAST-give banana child
'He gave bananas to the child.'

(c) A-ka-cumb-il' ómwáán' ebitooke.
1SM-PAST-cook-APPL child bananas
'He cooked bananas for the child.'

(d) A-ka-cumb-il' ébitook' omwaana.
1SM-PAST-cook-APPL bananas child
'He cooked bananas for the child.'

(Kihaya: Hyman & Duranti, 1982: 218-219)

In relation to the order of object markers in Chichewa and Kihaya, Marten et al. (2007: 267) show that they follow a fixed order, depicting what Dryer (1983: 132) postulates for Kinyarwanda (4), namely the object marker for the goal argument must be closer to the verb root (4a). Thus, the string in (4b) is ill-formed since the object marker for the goal argument is further from the verb root:

(4) (a) Umugabo y-a-ki-ba-haa-ye.
Man 1SM-PAST-7OM-2OM-give-FV
'The man gave it to them.'

(b) *Umugabo y-a-ba-ki-haa-ye.
Man 1SM-PAST-2OM-7OM-give-FV
'The man gave them it.'

(Kinyarwanda: Dryer, 1983: 132)

However, Zeller & Ngoboka (2015) show a more complex situation for Kinyarwanda, where they state that when both postverbal arguments are [–human], the order is not fixed. In addition, Marten et al. (2007) have shown that in a dialect

of Setswana, the order is not fixed either, moreover, irrespective of the [±human] constraint. Marten et al. (2007) have looked at such morphosyntactic variation exhibited by languages such as Chichewa, Kihaya, Kinyarwanda and Setswana as part of their 19 parameters, which provide insights into micro-parametric variations among Bantu languages. Ever since Marten et al.'s (2007) comparative study and the classification of Bantu languages thereof, there have been studies that have focused on either one language, using all the 19 parameters (e.g. Zeller & Ngoboka, 2015) or one language using some specific parameters (e.g. Riedel, 2009) in order to provide a deeper understanding of the phenomena under consideration. The current study lends itself to the above in order to bring to the limelight what takes place in Rutooro as regards two aspects of Marten et al.'s (2007) parameters, i.e. Parameter 4d, which concerns the permutation of object markers, and Parameter 5, which concerns the permutation of object NPs in DOCs. The data used in this study is mainly based on the intuition and insights of the author as a native speaker as well as grammaticality judgments from 30 native speakers of Rutooro drawn from Fort Portal in Kabarole District and Karugutu in Ntoroko District, Western Uganda.

ORDER OF POSTVERBAL ARGUMENTS IN DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Rutooro seems to behave in quite a different way from Chichewa and Kihaya (cf. (2) & (3)). As Bantu languages, however, Chichewa and Kihaya share one important property with Rutooro, in that all the three languages have both monomorphemic (lexical) and multimorphemic (derived) ditransitive verbs. However, monomorphemicity vs. multimorphemicity plays no role in the (non-)permutability of non-subject arguments in Chichewa or Kihaya. Conversely, this morphological constraint seems to play a role in Rutooro, since permutability can be said to depend on whether a verb is monomorphemic (5) or multimorphemic (6):

(5)	(a)	Jeeni	a-ka-h-a	Toomu	ekitabu.
		Jane	1SM-PAST-give-FV	Tom	book
		'Jane gave Tom a book.'			
	(b)	*Jeeni	a-ka-h-a	ekitabu	Toomu.
		Jane	1SM-PAST-give-FV	book	Tom
		'Jane gave Tom a book.'			
	(c)	Jeeni	a-ka-gwet-a	Toomu	enju.
		Jane	1SM-PAST-bequeath-FV	Tom	house
		'Jane bequeathed Tom a house.'			

(d) *Jeeni a-ka-gwet-a enju Toomu.
Jane 1SM-PAST-bequeath-FV house Tom
'Jane bequeathed a house to Tom.'

(6) (a) Jeeni a-ka-twek-er-a Toomu ekitabu.
Jane 1SM-PAST-send-APPL-FV Tom book
'Jane sent Tom a book.'

(b) ?Jeeni a-ka-twek-er-a ekitabu Toomu.
Jane 1SM-PAST-send-APPL-FV book Tom
'Jane sent a book to Tom.'

(c) Jeeni a-ka-cumb-ir-a Toomu ebyokulya.
Jane 1SM-PAST-cook-APPL-FV Tom food
'Jane cooked Tom food.'

(d) ?Jeeni a-ka-cumb-ir-a ebyokulya Toomu.
Jane 1SM-PAST-cook-APPL-FV food Tom
'Jane cooked food for Tom.'

The examples in (5b) and (5d) are considered to be completely unacceptable. As for (6b) and (6d), many speakers judge them to be acceptable but are quick to add that the analogue strings in (6a) and (6c) are much more common. This is understandable, as the strings in (6b) & (6d) could be said to be marked. Thus, for the current purpose, I will treat (5b) and (5d) as unacceptable, while (6b) and (6d) will be treated as acceptable. As mentioned above, the examples in (5) have monomorphemic verbs, while those in (6) have multimorphemic verbs. While Bantu languages have been said to have very few monomorphemic ditransitive verbs insofar as Kroeger (2004: 66) reports that there is only one monomorphemic ditransitive verb in Chichewa, i.e. *-patsa* 'give', Rutooro has several monomorphemic verbs such those in (5) as well as verbs such as -cwa 'charge/fine', *-kopa* 'give somebody something on credit', *-nyaga* 'exort/grab', *-saba* 'ask' (as in ask somebody for something), *-tuma* 'send' (as in send somebody for something) (see also Hyman & Duranti 1982: 220 for Kihaya monomorphemic verbs). While indeed such verbs are fewer in Rutooro than their multimorphemic counterparts, the fact that their morphological properties have a bearing on their syntactic behavior should be underscored. The preclusion of the permutability of postverbal

arguments for monomorphemic verbs has also been attested in Luganda (JE15, Uganda), as Ssekiryango (2006: 69) reports that the Luganda verb *-wa* 'give' does not allow the permutation of postverbal arguments, although he does not discuss what happens to Luganda multimorphemic verbs. Lexicalized causatives in Rutooro such as *-guza* 'sell', *-tebeza* 'preach' and *-ohoza* 'lend' (the suffix -z- is a causative), as well as the verb *-oleka* 'show' (which could be said to have a positional transitive suffix -ek-), are also used as goal ditransitive verbs. Due to the presence of the causative/positional transitive affix, these verbs may not be regarded as monomorphemic verbs in the strict sense of the term, despite their lexicalized nature. However, just like monomorphemic verbs, these lexicalized forms do not allow the theme argument to be closer to the verb, as shown in the following examples (7):

(7)	(a)	*Jeeni	a-ka-guz-a	ekitabu	Toomu.
		Jane	1SM-PAST-buy-FV	book	Tom
		'Jane sold a book to Tom.' [lit. 'Jane sold a book Tom.']			
	(b)	*Jeeni	a-ka-olek-a[akooleka]	ekitabu	Toomu.
		Jane	1SM -PAST-show-FV	book	Tom
		'Jane showed a book to Tom.' [lit. 'Jane showed a book Tom.']			

Thus, lexicalized ditransitive verbs behave like monomorphemic verbs. This is not surprising since their multimorphemicity is typically frozen, which makes them have a superficial morphological parallelism with monomorphemic verbs but with syntactic corollaries to the lexicalized verbs.

Crucially, the structural difference triggered by monomorphemicity vs. multimorphemicity in Rutooro ditransitive constructions is not surprising, as van der Wal (2018) states that a language can have such internal variation. Using the symmetrical vs. asymmetrical analysis (cf. Bresnan & Moshi, 1993), van der Wal (2018: 122) shows that in languages such as Kiluguru, only monomorphemic verbs are symmetrical. Although van der Wal (2018) does not use the permutability of postverbal arguments in her diagnostics (since she uses object marking), we are aware that it is one of the criteria used to determine symmetry in a language. However, while for Kiluguru, it is monomorphemic verbs that allow symmetry (with respect to object marking), in Rutooro, it is multimorphemic verbs which are said to allow symmetry (as in (6b) & (6d)) as regards the parameter of permutation of postverbal arguments.

Within the Lexical Functional Grammar approach, Bresnan & Moshi (1993: 76-85.) state that a postverbal argument that exhibits properties of a true object must have the underlying property of being an 'unrestricted object' (see also Jerro, 2015).

This property is specified by the value [–r] in what is known as the Lexical Mapping Theory (Bresnan & Moshi, 1993; Jerro, 2015). On the other hand, a postverbal argument that only exhibits object-like properties is a 'restricted object' with the value [+o]. Such an argument is unable to display true object properties. Alsina (1996: 675-690.) replaces the values [–r] and [+o] with "property U" and "property non-U." Crucially, he points out that this is a universal principle that licenses the surface realization of arguments. Bresnan & Moshi (1993: 76-85.) posit that beneficiary and goal arguments can only be [–r], while patient/theme arguments can be either [–r] or [+o]. Oblique arguments, on the other hand, are non-objective, i.e. [–o] and 'restricted', i.e. [+r], while subjects are [–r] and [–o]. Thus, in Chichewa (2) and Rutooro (5), the theme argument is [+o], since it does not display properties of a true object; whence, it cannot occupy the slot adjacent to the verb. Conversely, in Kihaya (3), the theme/patient and the goal/beneficiary arguments are 'unrestricted', i.e. specified as [–r], as well as the Rutooro theme/patient and the goal/beneficiary arguments in (6), since they display properties of true objects given their permutability.

The assumption that both postverbal arguments in Kihaya (3) and Rutooro (6) display the feature [–r] seems to be theoretically problematic, because it violates the 'function-argument biuniqueness principle' (8):

(8) THE FUNCTION-ARGUMENT BIUNIQUENESS PRINCIPLE
Each a-structure role must be associated with a unique function, and conversely.

(Bresnan, 2001: 311)

According to Bresnan & Moshi (1993: 77), one of the corollaries of the above principle is that two [–r] theta roles cannot both be realized as objects. That is, if one object is 'unrestricted', i.e. [–r], the other one should be [+o]. In the canonical ordering of postverbal arguments (e.g. (3a) for Kihaya or (6a) for Rutooro), we are not faced with this challenge, since the theme here is [+o], given that it is not adjacent to the verb. But in cases where permutation is allowed (e.g. (3b) for Kihaya or (6b) for Rutooro), the problem becomes apparent. The problem arises if we assume that goals (or beneficiaries) can only be [–r] (cf. Bresnan & Moshi, 1993: 76). Yet in the cases where permutation occurs, the theme is adjacent to the verb and this requires it to be [–r]. Hence, we have two [–r] theta roles realized as objects. To solve this dilemma, we appeal to Alsina's (1996: 681-690.) observation, which stipulates that the thematic restriction in relation to beneficiary and goal arguments (that is having the feature [–r] or 'property U', as he prefers to call it) should be viewed as a parameter of variation, as some languages are constrained by it, while others are not. This, therefore, means that when the theme is adjacent to the verb, it is [–r] and the goal is [+o] for languages such as Kihaya and in some cases for Rutooro, where permutation is allowed. In other words, Kihaya and Rutooro are not constrained by the thematic restriction that requires goal/beneficiary arguments to always have the feature [–r], although for Rutooro this only holds when multimorphemic verbs are involved. This means that the goal is [–r] or [+o] and the

theme and the patient are [–r] or [+o]. But for languages like Chichewa, the goal and beneficiary arguments are invariably [–r]. It follows from the above that for Rutooro, the semantic criterion involving the specification [–r] for arguments is constrained by the morphology of the verb: monomorphemic verb constructions allow the goal arguments to have property [–r]. The goal argument can thus only occupy the position adjacent to the verb (cf. (5a) & (5c)). On the other hand, the theme arguments are not allowed this property and can therefore not be placed closer to the verb (cf. (5b) & (5d)). This behavior makes Rutooro pattern with Chichewa (cf. (2b) & (2d)). But unlike Chichewa, where both monomorphemic verbs and multimorphemic verbs preclude the possibility for the theme/patient arguments from having property [–r], Rutooro multimorphemic verbs are said to allow this possibility (cf. (6b) & (6d)). Remarkably, this possibility makes Rutooro pattern with Kihaya, but again in Kihaya it is not only multimorphemic verbs (3d) that allow the theme/patient argument to have property [–r], but also its monomorphemic verbs (3b) as well. We can summarize the differences and similarities between Rutooro, Chichewa and Kihaya in relation to allowing the theme/patient property [–r] in the following table:

Table 1: languages (and verb types) that (dis)allow permutation

Language	Verb type	
	Monomorphemic	Multimorphemic
Chichewa	*	*
Kihaya	√	√
Rutooro	*	√

It is, however, important to note that the Rutooro sentence in (9) is licit because the goal argument is realized as an object marker. As Alsina & Mchombo (1993: 22) explain in relation to the Chichewa example in (10), the full NP that agrees with the object marker is optional or "it can only appear as a topic outside the verb phrase:"[1]

(9)	Jeeni	a-ka-mu-h-a	ekitabu	Toomu.
	Jane	1SM-PAST-1OM-give-FV	book	Tom
	'Jane gave him a book Tom.'			
(10)	Chitsiru	chi-na-wa-gul-ir-a	Mphatso	(atsikana).
	Fool	7SM-PAST-2OM-buy-APPL-FV	gift	(girls)
	'The fool bought a gift for them (the girls).'			

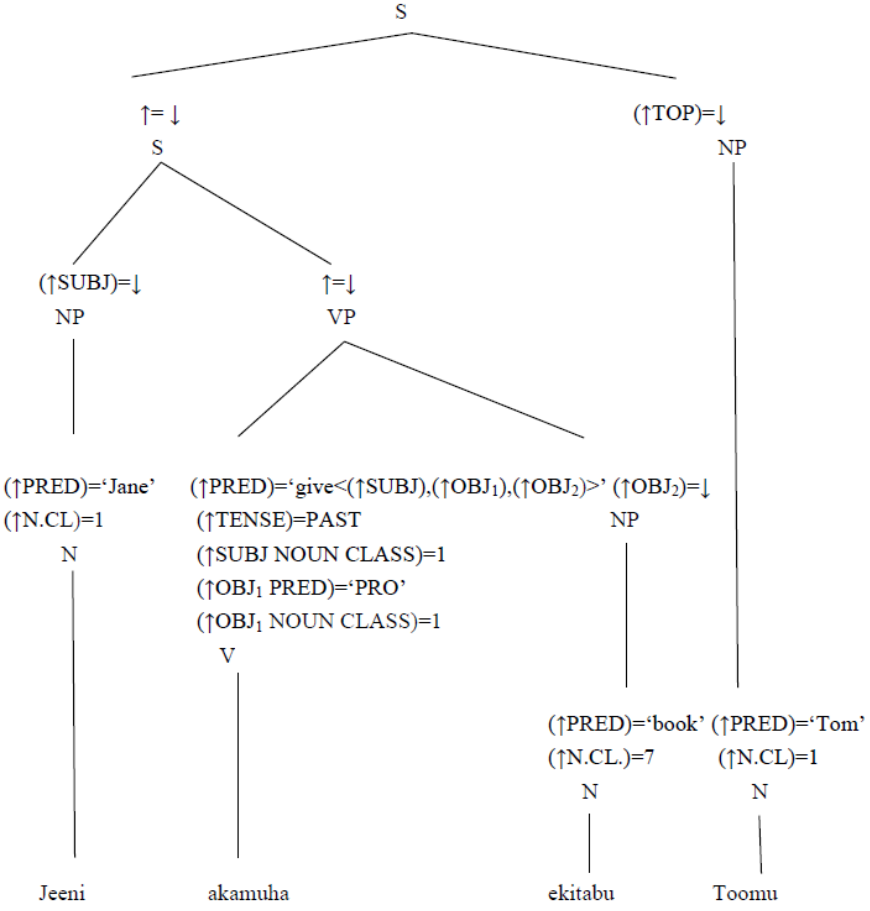
(Chichewa: Alsina & Mchombo, 1993: 22)

Let us translate Alsina & Mchombo's (1993: 22) observation into syntactic representations by means of phrase structure rules (11), constituent structure (12) and functional structure (13) of the Rutooro example in (9):

(11) PHRASE STRUCTURE RULES FOR (9)

S	→	S		(NP)
		↑=↓		(↑TOPIC)=↓
S	→	NP		VP
		(↑SUBJ)=↓		↑=↓
NP	→	N		
		↑=↓		
VP	→	V	NP	
		↑=↓	($\uparrow OBJ_2$)=	

(12) CONSTITUENT STRUCTURE FOR (9)



(13) FUNCTIONAL STRUCTURE FOR (9)

$$\begin{bmatrix} PRED & 'give\langle SUBJ, OBJ, OBJ_2\rangle' \\ TENSE & PAST \\ NOUN\ CLASS & 1 \\ SUBJ & \begin{bmatrix} PRED & 'Jane' \\ NOUN\ CLASS & 1 \end{bmatrix} \\ OBJ & \begin{bmatrix} PRED & 'PRO' \\ NOUN\ CLASS & 1 \end{bmatrix}_i \\ OBJ_2 & \begin{bmatrix} PRED & 'book' \\ NOUN\ CLASS & 7 \end{bmatrix} \\ TOP & \begin{bmatrix} PRED & 'Tom' \\ NOUN\ CLASS & 1 \end{bmatrix}_i \end{bmatrix}$$

In the constituent structure in (12), the NP 'Toomu' appears as a topic outside the VP and the goal argument is an incorporated pronoun inside the verb. In the functional structure in (13), the topic and the OBJ are anaphorically linked by means of coindexation. Thus, in (9) the theme is closer to the verb, not because it has the feature [–r], but rather because of the coreferential pronominalization/object marking of the NP 'Toomu' as well as the NP's consequent optionalization. In other words, the NP in (9) is syntactically optional, since its grammatical relation is assigned to the coreferential pronoun/objet marker. The NP is only assigned a pragmatic function, i.e. topic (cf. Bresnan & Mchombo, 1987: 746; Kroeger, 2004: 138).

Rutooro, as witnessed by the ill-formed string in (14a), does not allow fronting of the goal NP we (marginally) find in English in (16a). This type of extraction requires the extracted NP to be incorporated into the verb (as a pronoun/object marker), as in (15), which makes it a case of left dislocation rather than fronting. Fronting of the theme NP seems to be possible (14b) in Rutooro (as it is in English in (16b)), but the more common option is where the extracted NP is incorporated into the verb, i.e. a case of left dislocation (15b):

(14)	(a)	*Suzaana	Jeeni	a-ka-h-a	ekisumuruzo.
		Suzan	Jane	1SM-PAST-give-FV	key
		'Suzan, Jane gave the key.'			
	(b)	?Ekisumuruzo	Jeeni	a-ka-h-a	Suzaana.
		Key	Jane	1SM-PAST-give-FV	Suzan
		'The key Jane gave Suzan.'			

(15) (a) Suzaana Jeeni a-ka-mu-h-a ekisumuruzo.
Suzan Jane 1SM-PAST-1OM-give-FV key
'Suzan, Jane gave her the key.'

(b) Ekisumuruzo Jeeni a-ka-ki-h-a Suzaana.
Key Jane 1SM-PAST-7OM-give-FV Suzan
'The key Jane gave it Suzan.'

(16) (a) ?Sue he gave the key.
(b) The key he gave Sue.

(English: Huddleston, 2002: 248)

OBJECT MARKING IN DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

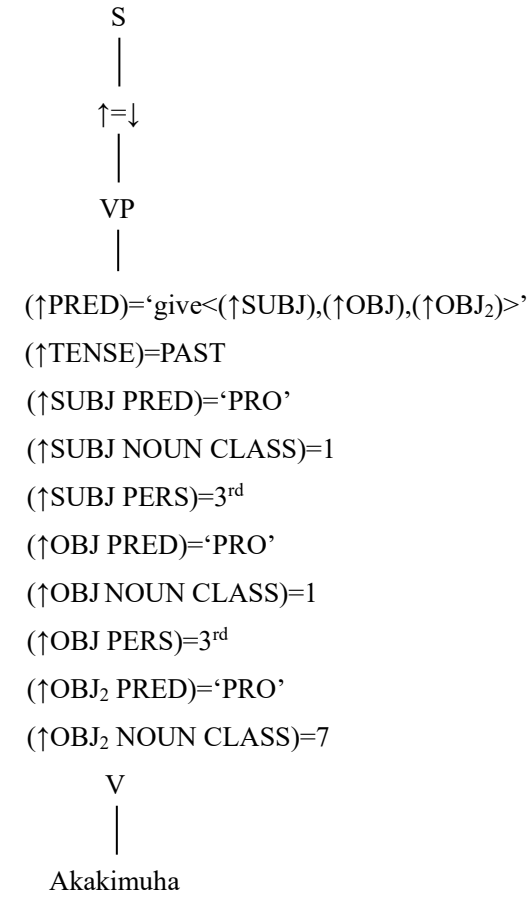
As is the case in many Bantu languages, in the Rutooro DOC, when the postverbal arguments are not realized as full NPs, they are morphologically coded on the verb (cf. (17a) vs. (17b)).[(2)] Moreover, when all the arguments in (17a) are realized as subject/object markers, a 'one-word' sentence (17c) emerges, with all the arguments incorporated into the verb. What is 1SM subject agreement marker in (17a) (i.e. the prefix -a) now becomes the subject in (17c), whose structural representation can be visualized in (18).

(17) (a) Jeeni a-ka-h-a Toomu ekitabu.
Jane 1SM-PAST-give-FV Tom book
'Jane gave Tom a book.'

(b) Jeeni a-ka-ki-mu-h-a.
Jane 1SM-PAST-7OM-1OM-give-FV
'Jane gave it to him.'[lit. 'Jane gave it him.']

(c) A-ka-ki-mu-h-a.
1SM-PAST-7OM-1OM-give-FV
'She gave it to him.' [lit. 'She gave it him.']

(18) CONSTITUENT STRUCTURE FOR (17c)



When postverbal arguments are expressed as object markers on the verbal complex in Rutooro, the following characteristics manifest themselves. First of all, Alsina (1996: 700) points out that animacy, noun class and person all affect the ordering of object markers in Kichaga. In Rutooro, animacy (particularly humanness) plays a linchpin role in the ordering of object markers (see also Jerro 2015 for the role of animacy in determining the order of objects in Bantu languages). Just as is the case in Kihaya and Kisambaa (Alsina 1996: 700), a human goal/beneficiary is placed closer to the verb root than a non-human object (19b) and (20b). Thus, (19c) and (20c) are illicit because the human goal/beneficiary is placed further from the verb root than the non-human object. While we have seen that with multimorphemic verbs postverbal arguments realized as full NPs can be permuted, this is not possible when they are realized as object markers with human goal/beneficiary arguments (20c):

(19) (a) Jeeni a-ka-h-a Toomu ekitabu.
Jane 1SM-PAST-give-FV 1.Tom 7.book
'Jane gave Tom a book.'

(b) Jeeni a-ka-ki-mu-h-a.
Jane 1SM-PAST-7OM-1OM-give-FV
'Jane gave it to him.' [lit. 'Jane gave it him.']

(c) *Jeeni a-ka-mu-ki-h-a.
Jane 1SM-PAST-1OM-7OM-give-FV
'Jane gave it to him'[lit. 'Jane gave him it']

(20) (a) Jeeni a-ka-cumb-ir-a Toomu ebyokulya.
Jane 1SM-PAST-cook-APPL-FV 1.Tom 8.food
'Jane cooked Tom food.'

(b) Jeeni a-ka-bi-mu-cumb-ir-a.
Jane 1SM-PAST-8OM-1OM-cook-APPL-FV
'Jane cooked it for him.'[lit. 'Jane cooked them him']

(c) *Jeeni a-ka-mu-bi-cumb-ir-a.
Jane 1SM-PAST-1OM-8OM-cook-APPL-FV
'Jane cooked it for him.' [lit. 'Jane cooked him them.']

The picture is, however, different if the goal/beneficiary argument is non-human (21), (22), (23) and (24):

(21) (a) Jeeni a-ka-h-a ente obunyansi.
Jane 1SM-PAST-give-FV 10.cows 14.grass
'Jane gave the cows fodder.' [lit. 'Jane gave the cows grass.']

(b) Jeeni a-ka-zi-bu-h-a.
Jane 1SM -PAST-10OM-14OM-give-FV
'Jane gave them them.' = 'Jane gave it to them.'

(c) ?Jeeni a-ka-bu-zi-h-a.
Jane 1SM-PAST-14OM-10OM-give-FV
'Jane gave it to them.' [lit. 'Jane gave them them.']

(22) (a) Jeeni a-ka-h-a omuti ibara.
Jane 1SM-PAST-give-FV 3.tree 5.name
'Jane gave the tree a name.'

(b) Jeeni a-ka-gu-li-h-a.
Jane 1SM-PAST-3OM-5OM-give-FV
'Jane gave it to it.' [lit. 'Jane gave it it.']

(c) Jeeni a-ka-li-gu-h-a.
Jane 1SM-PAST-5OM-3OM-give-FV
'Jane gave it to it.' [lit. 'Jane gave it it.']

(23) (a) Jeeni a-ka-twek-er-a ente omubazi.
Jane 1SM-PAST-send-APPL-FV 10.cows 3.medicine
'Jane sent the cows medicine.'

(b) Jeeni a-ka-zi-gu-twek-er-a.
Jane 1SM-PAST-10OM-3OM -send-APPL-FV
'Jane sent it for them.' [lit. 'Jane sent them it.']

(c) Jeeni a-ka-gu-zi-twek-er-a.
Jane 1SM-PAST-3OM-10OM-send-APPL-FV
'Jane sent it for them.' [lit. 'Jane sent it them.']

(24) (a) Jeeni a-ka-gur-r-a ebitabu bye ensaho.
Jane 1SM-PAST-buy-APPL-FV 8.books her 9.bag
'Jane bought a bag for her books.' [lit. 'Jane bought her books a bag.']

(b) Jeeni a-ka-bi-gi-gur-r-a.
Jane 1SM-PAST-8OM-9OM-buy-APPL-FV
'Jane bought it for them.' [lit. 'Jane bought them it.']

(c) Jeeni a-ka-gi-bi-gur-r-a.
Jane 1SM-PAST-9OM-8OM-buy-APPL-FV
'Jane bought it for them.' [lit. 'Jane bought it them.']

Three main observations follow from (21), (22), (23) and (24): first, as can be seen from the (b) examples, if the goal/beneficiary argument is non-human, it appears further from the verb root. However, placing a non-human goal/beneficiary closer to the verb root seems to be acceptable for some speakers (cf. the (c) examples) in addition to placing it further from the verb root, although for other speakers only the (b) examples are acceptable. Despite the two positions in (21), (22), (23) & (24), the situation makes us see the contrast between cases where the goal/ beneficiary is human, as in (19) and (20), and cases where the goal/beneficiary is non-human, as in (21), (22), (23) and (24) and this makes us posit what we may dub here the 'humanness constraint' (25):

(25) THE HUMANNESS CONSTRAINT
When the OBJ and OBJ2 are morphologically coded, the position of the OBJ is contingent upon whether the referent is human or non-human. A human referent is obligatorily placed adjacent to the verb root, while a non-human referent either is placed further from the verb root or it is free to be permutated between the two positions.

The second observation is that Rutooro behaves differently from many Bantu languages, e.g. Chichewa, Kibemba, Kihaya, whose order is fixed in terms of the goal/beneficiary object marker appearing strictly closer to the verb root irrespective of the humanness constraint (cf. Marten et al, 2007). Rutooro is also different from Setswana, as the latter allows permutation in the order of its object markers including when the goal/beneficiary object marker is human (cf. Marten et al., 2007: 267). However, Marten et al. (2007: 267) note that this only happens in the Sekgatla dialect of Setswana. It might be the case that dialectal differences could be responsible for the acceptance of the varied order in (21), (22), (23) & (24) by some speakers of Rutooro, although the scope of the current study does not allow us to establish which dialect(s) may be involved. But even though dialectal differences could come into play here, Rutooro will still be different from Setswana because for Rutooro such permutation is only allowed when the feature [+human] is absent for the goal/beneficiary argument. Instead, speakers who allow permutation in (21), (22), (23) & (24) make Rutooro look like Kinyarwanda, which, according to Zeller & Ngoboka (2015: 212), allows permutation if neither of the objects is [+human]. However, since there is a section of Rutooro speakers for whom permutation is disallowed in (21), (22), (23) & (24), i.e. only the (b) examples are acceptable (where a [–human] goal/beneficiary argument is prototypically placed further from the verb root), that makes (their variety of) Rutooro different from all the Bantu languages studied so far in this respect, since this means that Rutooro is the only Bantu language which allows a non-human goal/beneficiary argument to be exclusively placed further from the verb root.

The third observation is that the situation in Rutooro provides revelations that diverge from Adams' (2010: 147) sweeping claim that "[w]e expect as possible an order IO-DO object markers on the verb. In fact such an order is *ungrammatical across Bantu* [my emphasis]." As we have seen in the Rutooro examples in (21),

(22), (23) & (24), having the order of object markers where an indirect object precedes the direct object on the verbal complex is possible. Moreover, it is the only option for some speakers of Rutooro provided that the goal/beneficiary argument is [–human]. While Rutooro behaves in a somewhat different way from Setswana and Kinyarwanda, the behavior exhibited by these languages in this respect (cf. Marten et al., 2007; Zeller & Ngoboka, 2015) also points to the untenability of Adams' (2010) claim.

CONCLUSION

As research into the morphosyntactic properties of Rutooro (a hitherto underdescribed Bantu language) gains currency, albeit with only a handful of studies conducted so far (i.e. Rubongoya, 1999; Isingoma, 2012, 2020; Kaji, 2009, 2017), a revelation of more points of convergence and divergence in Bantu syntax becomes apparent, thereby providing more empirical material and impetus to research as regards what has been known as parameters of micro-morphosyntactic variation in Bantu (cf. Marten et al., 2007; Zeller & Ngoboka, 2015). The revelations in this study confirm the fact that whether languages are typologically and genetically close to each other, variations cannot be ruled out. Even though Rutooro and Kihaya are very close to each other, in that both belong to the same cluster of Bantu languages, i.e. the JE cluster, they still display differences in some respects. For example, while Kihaya enjoys free permutability of its postverbal arguments, Rutooro is only said to allow permutation when the verbs are multimorphemic. On the other hand, as is well known, belonging to different clusters in the Bantu phylum does not rule out (some aspects of) similarities between languages. For instance, while Setswana belongs to a different cluster of Bantu languages, it shares the property of allowing the permutation of object markers with Rutooro, even though some semantic constraints are involved for Rutooro. Crucially, Rutooro seems to be micro-variationally distinct from other Bantu languages whose morphosyntactic property of object marking has been studied. Specifically, since a section of Rutooro speakers insists on having the object marker of a non-human goal/beneficiary argument exclusively placed further from the verb root (even though this may be dialectally motivated), this distinguishes Rutooro from all other Bantu languages so far studied in this respect, with only Kinyarwanda coming closer to it, but for Kinyarwanda, permutation of the object markers is quintessentially allowed. Thus, studies of this kind reiterate the need to pursue what has been said to be "more fine-grained morphosyntactic micro-variation" (Marten et al., 2007: 253) among Bantu languages despite the observable homogeneity of underlying genetic and typological parameters that characterize them.

NOTES

(1) The Chichewa verb in (10) is multimorphemic, but this also occurs with its monomorphemic verb *-patsa* (give), as in (i) from Baker (1988: 282). Note that Baker (1988: 282) provides an idiomatic translation of the sentence. Otherwise, literally the theme argument (nsima) precedes the goal argument (mbuzi):

(i)	Ngombe	zi-na-zi-pats-a	nsima	mbuzi.
	Cows	10SM-PAST-10OM-give-FV	cornmeal	goats
	'The cows gave the goats cornmeal.'		(Chichewa: Baker, 1988: 282)	

(2) There are instances where 'independent personal pronouns' can be used, especially when there is a need to place contrastive focus on the OBJ referent, as in (i):

(i)	Jeeni	a-ka-twek-er-a	nyowe	ekitabu.
	Jane	1SM -PAST-send-APPL-FV	me	book
	'Jane sent me the book.'			

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APPENDIX: Abbreviations and notation

1, 2, 3,...	=	noun class 1, 2, 3,…
APPL	=	applicative
FV	=	final vowel
N.CL	=	noun class
OM	=	object marker
PERS	=	person
PRED	=	predicate
PRO	=	pronoun
PSIT	=	positional transitivizer
SM	=	subject marker
TOP	=	topic

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