A-movement locality and intervention effects in Luganda
*Keywords: A-movement, symmetric passives, Bantu*

Under standard assumptions about A-movement locality, the (Tense) head that drives passivization is able to attract only the closest c-commanded argument, e.g. the indirect object (IO) in a double-object construction (Rizzi 1990, Chomsky 2004). In **symmetric-passive** languages, however, the theme DO can passivize 'across' the IO – raising important questions about whether the notion of closest c-command needs to be relaxed (option 1) or whether these apparent locality violations can be derived by some other means, e.g. an independent **inverse** operation (option 2). The Luganda data presented here fill an important gap in the literature on symmetric passives and provide evidence in favor of option 2. Specifically, Luganda permits theme passives but only under tightly restricted circumstances: across a range of structures, it is shown that an argument can cross *at most one other argument*, suggesting that there is an independent source of argument inversion in at least some symmetric-passive languages.

    Initial observations. (i) Unlike in many other languages with symmetric passives, the IO strictly precedes the DO in the active in Luganda (1b), showing that the theme passive (1d) cannot be derived from an underlying V-DO-IO word order. (ii) Luganda permits certain kinds of applicative structures with *three* objects; in such cases, any of the three objects can be relativized but only the first or second can be passivized (2) – indicating that Luganda passivization cannot target just any argument in the structure but is still subjected to strict locality constraints. (iii) Unlike in most other languages, the 'demoted agent' in a Luganda passive is not a PP-adjunct but an argument in Spec,vP: it strictly precedes other arguments and vP-internal manner adverbials (3). Strikingly, when the external argument (EA) is overtly expressed, the theme passive is no longer available (4) – again showing that a passivized argument can cross *at most* one other argument (see Duranti and Byarushengo 1977, Doggett 2004 for similar facts in Haya).

    Basic proposal. If symmetric passives were derived by relaxing the 'closest c-command' condition on A-movement – e.g. by introducing some notion of equidistance within a minimal domain, or by stipulating that (un)checked features render potential interveners invisible – these observations would be unexplained: there would be no obvious way to rule out (4b) without also ruling out (4a). Instead, I argue that Luganda theme passives like (1d) involve a two-step derivation: (i) an inverse operation – ('**leap-frogging**') moves the theme to an *outer* specifier, just above IO, by virtue of an extra EPP feature on the lower v/Appl head (5); and (ii) since the higher vP is weak (lacking EA), the theme in the outer specifier raises to Spec,TP. When the EA is overt, as in (3a), leap-frogging may apply at the *higher* vP level, raising the IO to an outer specifier above the EA (6). But each step of movement in each of these derivations is still subjected to the closest c-command condition, so that (4b) is automatically ruled out.

    Refinements. Leap-frogging produces the desired reversal in word order and has accordingly been adopted in various guises in many treatments of symmetric passives (Ura 2000, McGinnis 2001 et seq., Anagnostopoulou 2003, Doggett 2004, Jeong 2007). However, a number of questions remain open about where these extra EPP features come from and in what contexts they are expected to be available (e.g., why can't leap-frogging apply in the lower vP in an *active* Luganda sentence, yielding the *S-V-DO-IO word order in (1b)?). Luganda is an appropriate place to begin examining these questions more closely, since it allows leap-frogging under such restricted circumstances. Descriptively, leap-frogging only applies in Luganda if the derived outer specifier immediately goes on to agree with T. I propose that this effect is derived by phase-bounded feature spread: T can 'pass down' its EPP feature to any heads within the same phase – i.e. up to, but not past, the next strong vP or ApplP. This treatment automatically limits the number of extra EPP features (and hence the number of leap-frogging applications) to one, as desired, and rules out the *S-V-DO-IO active in (1b) (the embedded ApplHP here would not be able to inherit EPP from T, since a strong vP phase boundary intervenes). The next question is whether feature-spread is obligatory or optional; preliminary evidence from unaccusative applicatives (e.g. 'Milk spilled for the cat') suggests that leap-frogging applies obligatorily when the structure associated with an EA is underlyingly absent. Implications for insertion of the passive suffix in Luganda, and for feature-spread in other A-movement structures (Chomsky 2004), are addressed here as well.

(1) a. Katonga y-a-kwat-ir-a   omusawo abaana
       Katonga I.sbj-pst-hold-appl-ind I.doctor   II.child
       'Katonga held the babies for the doctor.' (S-V-IO-DO)

   b. *Katonga yakwatira abaana omusawo (only means K. held the dr. for the babies) (*S-V-DO-IO)

   c. omusawo y-a-kwat-ir-w'   abaana
      I.doctor   I.sbj-pst-hold-appl-pass II.child
      'The doctor had the babies held for him.' (lit: 'The doctor was held the babies') (IO-V-DO)

   d. abaana ba-a-kwat-ir-w-a   omusawo
      II.child II-pst-hold-appl-pass-ind doctor
      'The babies were held for the doctor.' (DO-V-IO)

(2) a. n-a-lis-iza   ekijiiko   omwaana obutungulu
       1s-pst-feed-instr VII.spoon I.baby   XIV.onion
       'I fed onions to the baby with a spoon.'

   b. ekijiiko kyalisizibwa omwaana obutungulu 'A spoon was used to fed onions to the baby.'

   c. omwaana yalisizibwa ekijiiko obutungulu 'The baby was fed onions with a spoon.'

   d. *obutungulu bwalisizibwa ekijiiko omwaana 'Onions were fed to the child with a spoon.'

   e. Mukasa y-a-gul' obutungulu bwe_i n-a-lis-iz-a   **ekijiiko   omwaana** e_i
      Mukasa I.sbj-pst-buy XIV.onion   XIV.rel 1s-pst-feed-instr-ind VII.spoon I.child
      'Mukasa bought the onions that I fed to the baby with a spoon.'

(3) a. Babirye y-a-w-ebwa   (**omusajja**) ebitabo   (***omusajja**)
       Babirye I.sbj-pst-give-pass I.man   VIII.book
       'Babirye was given the books (by the man).'

   b. ebikopo (***mpola**) by-a-yoz-ebwa   (***mpola**) Katonga (**mpola**)
      VIII.cup (slowly)   VIII-pst-wash-pass (slowly)   Katonga (slowly)
      'The cups were washed (slowly) by Katonga.'

   c. cf. Katonga (***mpola**) y-a-yoza (**mpola**) ebikopo (**mpola**) 'Katonga washed the cups (slowly).'

(4) a. ebitabo   by-a-w-ebwa   Babirye
       VIII.book VIII-pst-give-pass Babirye
       'The books were given to Babirye.'

   b. *ebitabo by-a-w-ebwa (**omusajja**) Babirye (**omusajja**)
      'The books were given to Babirye (by the man).'

(5)   (6)
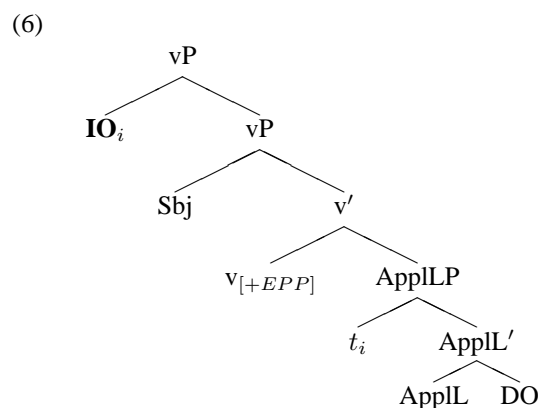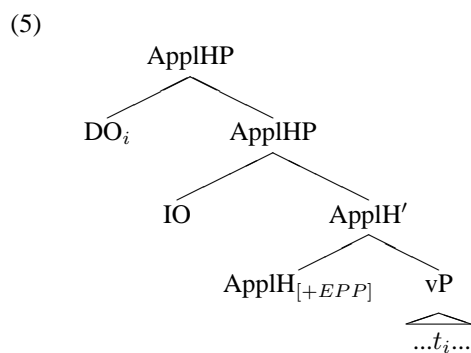
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